

ZULU SYNTAX AND IDIOM

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PREFACE

This is intended as a supplementary volume to the *Text-book of Zulu Grammar*, a knowledge of which it assumes from the commencement. The *Grammar* contains four chapters (XIX to XXII) dealing with syntax in a more-or-less elementary and general way; that material has been embodied in the present work and further elaborated. References to the *Grammar* are to the latest, the fifth, edition; though in most cases they apply equally well to the fourth edition, which appeared in 1945.

In this syntactical study there is of necessity a certain amount of repetition of some phenomena, as they are studied from varying aspects: this but emphasises the inter-action of the processes in Zulu. I realize that many of the analyses given appear to be very elementary, and I may be charged with including far more analyses than necessary; but experience has shown that, in South Africa to-day, the general standard of grammatical grounding is so inadequate, that a constant application of analytical principles throughout must be of the utmost value to students of the language. It is in these analyses that the real inter-relationships of the words composing the Zulu sentence are revealed.

I wish to record my indebtedness to my late colleague, Dr. B. W. Vilakazi for the richness of Zulu idiom which he supplied, mainly in his work on the *Zulu-English Dictionary*, but also when co-operating in research. My warm thanks are also accorded to my colleague in the Department of Bantu Studies (at the University of the Witwatersrand), Mr. C. L. S. Nyembezi, M.A., (now Professor at the University College, Fort Hare) who read through this manuscript, gave valuable criticisms, and supplied a number of needed examples.

C.M.D.

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ABBREVIATIONS

abs.	absolute	P.	predicate
adj.	adjective, adjectival	p.	page
adv.	adverb, adverbial	part.	particle
appos.	apposition, appositional	particip.	participial
caus.	causative	pass.	passive
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare	perf.	perfect
cl.	(i) class; (ii) clause	pers.	person
comp.	comparative	pl.	plural
compd.	compound	posit.	positive
con.	(i) connective; (ii) conjunctive	poss.	possessive
concd.	concord, concordial	pp.	pages
conjunct.	conjunctive, conjunction	pred.	predicate, predicative
cop., copul.	copulative	pref.	prefix
def.	definite	pres.	present
defic.	deficient	progress.	progressive
demons.	demonstrative	pron.	pronoun, pronominal
descr.	descriptive	qual.	qualifying, qualificative
ed.	edition	qualific.	qualificative
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example	quant.	quantitative
emphat.	emphatic	ref.	reference
enl.	enlargement	reflex.	reflexive
enum.	enumerative	rel.	relative
exclus.	exclusive	rem.	remote
ext.	extension	rt.	root
fol.	followed	S.	subject
ideo.	ideophone, ideophonic	sg.	singular
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is	st.	stem
immed.	immediate	subj.	subject, subjectival
indef.	indefinite	subjunct.	subjunctive
indic.	indicative	subsid.	subsidiary
infin.	infinitive	subst.	substantive, substantival
instr.	instrumental	v., vb.	verb
interj.	interjective, interjection	viz.	namely
interrog.	interrogative	voc.	vocative
irreg.	irregular	Z.G.	Text-book of Zulu Grammar
lit.	literally		
loc.	locative		
monosyll.	monosyllabic		
neg.	negative		
neuf.	neuter		
no(s).	number(s)		
O.	object		
obj.	object, objectival		
obs.	observation		
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary		

SIGNS

§	paragraph
+	plus
=	equals
<	derived from, derivative of
>	producing, forming as derivative

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO SYNTACTICAL STUDY

From Words to Sentences

The study of the grammar of a language may be roughly divided into three sections: (a) the phonology, a study of the sound components and their inter-relationships including the "prosodic" elements of length, stress and tone; (b) the morphology or accidence, a study of word-formation and the inflexions which words may undergo; and (c) the syntax, a study of sentence-structure and the inter-relationship of words in the composition of sentences.

We are concerned here with the third of these sections, syntax; but it will be found necessary not to interpret our definition of the term too narrowly, but to allow of certain references to both of the other sections of grammar also, as they are of necessity closely inter-connected. This will be noticed especially when dealing with the syntax of any one particular part of speech, when dealing with idiom, and particularly when dealing with parsing. While this last subject, in its greater part, is a study of morphology, that whole aspect, it will be seen, is subservient to the syntactical function of each word parsed.

Our study, here, is the syntax of Zulu, a highly inflexional language of the Bantu family, rich in phonological and morphological phenomena, but also employing syntactical devices, at times, of considerable intricacy. From the morphological study of words,¹ we are now to pass to the syntactical study of sentences. Differentiation is at times difficult, for, often, single words may be sentences: this is the case when those words are predicative or interjective in type. Single word sentences are by no means uncommon; for instance *Yini?* and the reply *Yinyoni*, each composes a sentence, and each may be treated either morphologically or syntactically. From the former viewpoint *yini* is the copulative form of the irregular interrogative class 5 noun *ini*, meaning

¹ Commonly treated in Zulu "grammar".

"what?", and *yinyoni* is similarly the copulative form of the cl. 5 noun *inyoni*, meaning "bird." From the latter viewpoint both *yini* and *yinyoni* would be treated under the "syntax of the predicative" as copulative predicates of "absolute" type, i.e. without indication of any subjectival concord.

Under syntactical treatment these single-word sentences may be extended to comprise a number of words, e.g. *Yini lokho?* (What is that?); or *Yini le?* (What is this?—referring to a noun of class 5 sg.¹); or *What are these?*—referring to a noun of class 2 pl.); or *Yini oyishoyo?* (What is it you are saying?). It is in these various possibilities that the syntactical nature of Zulu reveals itself.

We need not here pursue this dual aspect of many single words in Zulu. The study of both the predicative types and the interjective will come up in due course.

Words and Word-compounds

Before entering upon a systematic examination of Zulu syntax, it will be well to attempt certain definitions of terms that will of necessity be frequently used in the following pages. Definitions are by no means easy to arrive at, and often there are as many definitions of one grammatical term as there are philologists or lexicographers dealing with it. The definitions I give hereunder are specifically to apply to the use of the terms in Bantu grammar, and of course more especially to Zulu.

First of all, what is meant by a WORD in Zulu? In my *Text-book of Zulu Grammar*,² when dealing with the "word" more especially from the morphological angle, I stated: "A word is a mental concept signified by 'a part of speech' which has in itself a main stress, and thus may be pronounced alone, not necessarily attached to anything else." This definition, to which I still hold, was designed particularly to emphasise the part played by stress in determining true Bantu word-division. Here I now suggest an alternative statement for guidance in our present study of Zulu, viz.: WORDS ARE MEANINGFUL UNITS OF SPEECH, CONSISTING OF ONE OR MORE SYLLABLES, ADHERING TOGETHER IN A UNITY OF ENUNCIATION, BY THE ATTRACTIVE FORCE OF A FULLY STRESSED SYLLABLE. The function of stress in word-formation in Zulu is here fully recognized.

The agglutinative "tendency" in Bantu languages is well seen in the liability to compounding of words. This is especially the case with Bantu languages, such as Zulu, which employ

¹Also used when the class of the object indicated is not necessarily known, *into* (thing) being implied.
²§ 54.

initial vowels in the formation of their noun-prefixes and, as a secondary result, in other formations also.¹ When, therefore, words are combined to form WORD-COMPOUNDS, one or more of the hitherto fully stressed syllables has been so weakened as to become subservient to a remaining fully stressed syllable; in Zulu this is invariably the stressed syllable of the final component of the word-compound. Brief examples may be seen from the following, due to compulsory elision of an initial vowel: *funa* (want) and *imáli* (money) in the axiomatic negative word-compound *Angifuni-máli*—I want no money, where the fully-stressed syllable of the verb *funa* has become subservient, or secondary,² in the compound; *umuntu* (person) and *lowo* (that one) when the demonstrative pronoun is used preceding the noun, i.e. in *lowo-muntu* (that person). This type of compounding may involve more words, even, than two; note for instance: *Angibóni-muntu-mkhulu*—I see no big person. *Akùkho-bantu-bahambáyo*—No travelling people are present.³

Another type of word-compound is found in what is commonly called the "compound noun",⁴ e.g. in *umninimúzi* (kraal-head) < *umnini* (owner) and *umúzi* (kraal). Naturally the rule of subservience of precedent stress may be subject to upset, if such an "irregularity" as the employment of a monosyllabic stem in the second word occurs, e.g. *umninindlu* (house-owner) < *umnini* and *indlu* (house; of monosyllabic stem *-ndlu*). The same observation would apply in the previous cases of compounding; compare, for instance, *angifuni-máli* with *angifuninja*.

We may now define a WORD-COMPOUND in Zulu as a COMBINATION OR FUSION OF TWO OR MORE WORDS, BROUGHT ABOUT BY COMPULSORY VOWEL ELISION, IN THE COURSE OF MORPHOLOGICAL OR SYNTACTICAL FORMATION, IN WHICH THE MAIN STRESS OF ONE WORD HAS ASSUMED PROMINENCE OVER THAT OF ANY OF THE OTHERS.

Somewhat similar occurrences result from the optional elision of a final vowel. This is due to quick or to fluent speech, but is not carried out in slow or deliberate enunciation. It is therefore not recommended for ordinary written forms of Zulu. Note the following: *Ngifun'ukubón'uyihlo*—I want to see your father; from the basic words *ngifuna*, *ukubóna* and *uyihlo*. The subservience of stresses here is mainly due to the fluency of the

¹e.g. in adjectival or relative concords, and in the formation of pronouns from possessives.

²Main (full) stress is indicated by the acute accent (á), and secondary (subservient) stress by the grave accent (à).

³For further examples, see Z.G. §§ 837-838.

⁴cf. Z.G., particularly §§ 222-229.

speech, and one would hesitate to term such a grouping of words a "word-compound"; it is better described as a "word-group."

Sentences, Clauses and Phrases

Continued Zulu speech is composed of a series of CONCEPT-GROUPS,¹ each containing an expression of a complete concept, or thought. These concept-groups we commonly term SENTENCES. The concept-group may comprise but a single word; on the other hand, it may be made up of one or more SENSE-GROUPS. The sense-group is but an incomplete concept-group, and seems usually to end at convenient spaces for breathing. Quite frequently the "sense-grouping" corresponds with any clause formation there may be in the sentence; but this is by no means always the case.

The main difference, phonetically, between the sense-group and the concept-group is that the main stress of the last word in the concept-group is more heavily stressed than any other, and the length of that vowel usually considerably increased. This heavy stressing does not take place at the end of sense-groups. Another significant difference between the concept-group and the sense-group is that the pause between concept-groups is decidedly longer than that between sense-groups. This would lead to the conclusion that, apart from emotional marks, such as the "exclamation mark" and "mark of interrogation," it is proper to employ for Zulu but two period marks, the full stop (.) to close a concept-group, and the comma (,) to close a sense-group. The use of the semi-colon seems out of place in Zulu, and that of the colon only to be justified as a device to mark off quoted words.

Following are some examples of the natural division of Zulu speech into sense-groups and concept-groups:

Uma ukhuluma nomuntu, mbeke ebusweni (When you speak with a person, look him in the face). Here the sense-grouping corresponds exactly to the clause-formation.

Hamba nabantu abahungileyo, uma ufuna ukuba abantu bathi, Ulungile (Go about with righteous people, if you want people to say, you are righteous). In this case the second sense-group is composed of two clauses, viz. *uma ufuna* (if you want) and *ukuba abantu bathi* (that people should say).

Kwathi ukuba kuhlwe, kwafika impisi, yamthabatha uDlokweni, inkosikazi yomuzi omkhulu. Yamthwala yahamba naye, yafika ehlathini yathi, Dlokweni, sizohamba ngayiphi indlela na? (When

¹For further examples of this treatment, see Doke "The Phonetics of the Zulu Language" pp. 194-6 and the texts on pp. 253-71.

it was dark, a hyena arrived, [and] it took away Dlokweni, the queen of the great kraal. It took her [and] went off with her, [and] reached a forest [and] said, Dlokweni, by which path shall we travel?). It will be noticed in the above that consecutive clauses (indicated in the translation by "and" at the commencement) sometimes reveal a break in the sense-groups and sometimes not. It is also noticeable that a parenthetical expression in apposition, as *inkosikazi yomuzi omkhulu*, constitutes, as it would in English, a separate sense-group—really a breath-group. There is, in fact, in Zulu a close correspondence between the sense-group and the serviceable breath-group of speech enunciation. It is further clear that the interjective, *Dlokweni*, a vocative in the above, is also treated as a sense-group. In fluent speech, the Zulu carries out numerous elisions which serve to bring into great relief this system of sentence grouping; with these effected, the above quotation reads:

Kwath'uba kuhlwe, kwafik'impisi, yamthabath'uDlokweni, inkosikazi yomz'omkhulu. Yamthwala yahamba naye, yafik'ehlathini yathi, Dlokweni, sizohamba ngayiph'indlela na? Such optional elisions, naturally, can only take place within sense groups.

From this we conclude that a study of the natural sense-grouping in Zulu sentences is of value to an appreciation of correct punctuation. But quite other considerations have to be examined for a formal study of Zulu syntax involving a survey of sentences and clauses.

A SENTENCE, then, in Zulu, may be defined as A WORD OR SUCCESSION OF WORDS EXPRESSING A COMPLETE CONCEPT. It will later be observed that there is a type of sentences which are interjective;¹ but the more usual type in Zulu is what is termed THE PREDICATIVE SENTENCE, and, as the term implies, this means that, in each such case, the presence of a predicate (verb or copulative) is essential. It is important, in this connexion, to note that, normally, the Zulu speaker makes no statement in any other form than that of a predicative.² The answer, for instance to the question *Kuyini lokho?* (What is that?) is not in the form of a noun, as it would be in, say, English, "a house," "a tree," "my horse," but in a predicative (here copulative) form: *yindlu* (or *indlu*, with low initial tone), *ngumuthi* (or *wumuthi* or *umuthi*, with low initial tone), *lihhashi lami* (or *yihhashi* or *ihhashi*, again with lowered initial tone), signifying "it is a house," "it is a tree," "it is my horse," respectively. In each case, that is, the answer is in the form of a sentence, a predicative sentence.

¹See Chapter VII, p. 163.

²Unless, of course, the statement is of interjective type.

Before leaving this consideration, two more terms require definition, those of CLAUSE and PHRASE. While the term "clause" will very commonly be used to indicate a statement containing a predicate, which is subordinate to the main statement of the sentence, it will also be used to indicate the main statement shorn of such "subordination." There will therefore be referred to such phrases as "main clause," "subordinate clause" or even "co-ordinate clause." The subordinate clauses will be of various types according to certain of the main parts of speech in Zulu: "substantival clauses," "qualificative clauses," and "descriptive clauses." Hence a CLAUSE may be defined as A PREDICATIVE STATEMENT WHICH FORMS PART OF A SENTENCE INVOLVING MORE THAN ONE PREDICATE. The essential characteristic of a clause is that its predicate is expressed in one of the finite moods (indicative, potential, subjunctive or participial) of the Zulu conjugation.

A PHRASE, on the other hand, typically lacks the predicative element; if a verb occurs therein, it is used in the infinitive form which is essentially nominal in function. PHRASES MAY BE SUBSTANTIVAL, QUALIFICATIVE OR DESCRIPTIVE, AND ARE, IN EFFECT, EXTENSIONS OF THESE PARTS OF SPEECH BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE ADDITION OF A DEPENDENT WORD OR WORDS CONTROLLED BY NO FINITE PREDICATE. Examples may be given as follows:¹

- (a) Substantival phrase: [*Ukusebenzisa umuntu ogulayo*]² *akufanele*—[To make a sick man work] is not right.
- (b) Qualificative phrase: *Gawula umuthi* [*waphansi kwentaba leyo*]—Fell the tree [from the foot of that hill].
- (c) Descriptive phrase: *Sizofika* [*emzini wenkosi yabo enkulu ntambama*]—We shall arrive [at the kraal of their great chief] in the afternoon.

All these features of clauses and phrases will be examined in due course.

Sentence Analysis

Considerable space will be given, throughout this study of Zulu syntax, to the syntactical analysis of sentences. Chapter VIII will be devoted especially to this subject, and the framework of analysis will there be discussed. It is sufficient, at this stage, to state that the general framework used by many grammarians for English is adequate. The following classification is here used, and applied in the following order:

¹The phrases are indicated within brackets.

²*ogulayo* is a qualificative (relative) clause within the phrase in this example.

1. CONJUNCTIVE or CONNECTIVE [con.], introductory or linking word or words.
2. SUBJECT [subj.], the substantive governing the predicate. If this is not expressed as a substantive in the sentence, the analysis must use the absolute pronoun representing the subjectival concord used.
3. ENLARGEMENT OF SUBJECT [enl. of s.], a qualificative word, phrase or clause, or substantive in apposition to the subject.
4. PREDICATE [pred.], a verb or a copulative indicating what the subject does or the state in which it is.
5. OBJECT [obj.], the substantive acted upon by a verbal predicate.
6. ENLARGEMENT OF OBJECT [enl. of o.], a qualificative word, phrase or clause, or substantive in apposition to the object.
7. EXTENSION OF PREDICATE [ext. of p.], a descriptive¹ word, phrase or clause relating to the predicate.

Order of Words in the Zulu Sentence

The normal word-order, for unemotional speech is Subject—Predicate—Object, e.g. *Izinkabi zidonsa inqola*—(The) oxen are pulling a wagon.

Enlargements of subject and object naturally follow² closely after each of these respectively, e.g. *Izinkabi zikababa ezibomvu zidonsa inqola yakhe endala*—My father's red oxen are pulling his old wagon.

Extensions of the predicate follow the predicate, either immediately or sometimes after the object:³

Izinkabi zidonsa kahle inqola yakhe—The oxen are pulling his wagon well.

Izinkabi zakho zidonsa inqola kahle kunezethu—Your oxen pull a wagon better than ours.

Temporal adverbs may precede the predicate to which they are extensions,⁴ e.g.

Namhlanje inkosi izomema inqina—The chief will summon a hunting party to-day.

Nevertheless this normal word-order may be radically altered for emotional purposes, if it is desired to emphasise a particular word; and to do this the Zulu speaker puts the emphatic word first. This alteration of word-order does not obscure word

¹Adverbial or ideophonic.

²Rules governing order of sequence, according to type of qualificative, will be given under "Syntax of the Qualificative" (see p. 47).

³Varying rules will be given under "Syntax of the Descriptive" (see p. 117).

⁴See further under "Syntax of the Descriptive" (p. 117).

relationship within the sentence; for the subject, wherever it may be, is indicated by the subjectival concord in the predicate; in the same way the object, if emphatic (or definite), may be indicated in the predicate by the objectival concord. To emphasise the subject (with more emphasis than its normal initial position gives), it is usual to make it predicative (by using the copulative form), and to transform the rest of the sentence into relative clause construction, e.g.

Yizinkabi ezidonsayo inqola—It is oxen which are pulling a wagon.

With emphasis upon the predicate:

Ziyadonsa¹ inqola izinkabi or *Ziyadonsa izinkabi inqola*—

The oxen are indeed pulling a wagon.

To emphasise the object, it is usual, as with the subject, to make it predicative, and to place it first, e.g.

Yinqola eziyidonsayo izinkabi or *Yinqola izinkabi eziyidonsayo*—It is a wagon which the oxen are pulling.

Due consideration will be given later to these and other varieties of expression in Zulu speech.

The Main Divisions of Zulu Syntax

For syntactical study it is convenient to follow the six basic parts of speech in Zulu. It is these which indicate the *function* of words in the sentence; the twelve ultimate parts of speech are differentiated rather by form than by function. Morphology concerns itself with the forms, the formations and the inflexions of words; syntax concerns itself with the functioning of the words in sentences and with the formations of the sentences themselves. Syntactical study will, therefore, proceed under the following headings:

- (a) The Syntax of the Substantive.
- (b) The Syntax of the Qualificative.
- (c) The Syntax of the Predicative.
- (d) The Syntax of the Descriptive.
- (e) The Syntax of the Conjunctive.
- (f) The Syntax of the Interjective.

However, within such main studies, differences of syntactical treatment of the adjective from the possessive, for instance, or of the verb from the copulative, the adverb from the ideophone, or even such specialized studies as the "syntax of the locative," will be included; and naturally, as previously observed, a certain amount of morphological data will have to be referred to or included.

¹Note the use of the emphatic tense with infix *-ya-*.

CHAPTER II

THE SYNTAX OF THE SUBSTANTIVE

Introductory

In Zulu there are four sentence relationships which a substantive may assume, that of *subject* of the sentence, that of the *object* of the sentence, that *appositional* to another substantive in the sentence, and an *absolute* use which, as will be seen later, is not far removed from the function of the adverb. This overlapping of the functions of words is quite a feature in Bantu, and it will be repeatedly noticed in Zulu.

The term substantive is basic among the Zulu parts of speech; it covers nouns and pronouns, as well as certain clauses and phrases. Morphologically the nouns are divided into their various classes, and the pronouns into certain distinct types. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind both the nominal and pronominal exemplifications when dealing with the details of the syntax of the substantive.

Since many of the rules governing concordial agreement apply equally to subject and to object, it has been found possible, to a large extent, to treat together the varying types of subject and object, as, for instance, "the simple subject and object," "the compound subject and object," and so on.

The Indefinite, the Definite and the Emphatic

A close study of the syntax of the substantive in Zulu reveals the fact that the language is able to convey at least three degrees relating to definiteness in the case of the nouns. A comparison of the following sentences will illustrate this:

Kuhamba umuntu—There travels a person.

Umuntu uyahamba—The (or a) person travels.

Yen'umuntu uyahamba—The person travels.

The terms "indefinite," "definite," and "emphatic" may be applied to these three types, respectively. It will be patent immediately, however, to anyone cognizant with the force of these Zulu sen-

tences, that the English translations are but approximations. In English, a twofold division of definiteness is made by the use of the articles "a" and "the." Zulu, in common with other Bantu languages, lacks the part of speech called "the article";¹ nevertheless the idea of definiteness or indefiniteness, to one degree or another, in subject or object, or even when the noun is inflected to form some other part of speech, may be conveyed in Zulu—though in other ways. These ways will be considered later; but, meanwhile, it must be emphasised that the degrees of definiteness conveyed in Zulu do not exactly correspond to those of any European language; and, while the English articles "a" and "the" are used in translating, the translations must be accepted with the foregoing reservation.

It may be taken, then, as a working rule, that *an indefinite subject or object is not represented in the predicate by its class concord, but by an indefinite concord or by none at all.* Examples of this will be given in those sections dealing with the various types of subject and object. The natural converse of this rule is that *a definite subject or object is represented by its class concord in the predicate.*

Further, to emphasise the significance of distinction in Zulu between the emphatic and the other degrees of definiteness, it will be helpful to consider some of the other parts of speech when formed from nouns by inflexion; for degrees of definiteness are conveyed with them also. In adverbial formation the locative well illustrates the point:

(indef. & def.): *Ngiya esibayeni*—I am going to the (or a) cattle-kraal.

(def. & emphat.): *Ngiya kuso isibaya*—I am going to the (or the very) cattle-kraal.

In the second example the degree of definiteness is considerably emphasised, and the form is to a great extent parallel to that of *Yen'umuntu uyahamba*, quoted above as giving a third degree of definiteness; while the first example may be translated according to context by either "a" or "the." The fact that quantitative pronouns may not themselves be inflected, but demand inflected

¹Quite a number of writers on Bantu languages claim this term to designate the initial vowel of the noun prefix which is used in certain languages, paralleling its use and disuse with the syntactical circumstances of the use of the article in such languages as Greek and Hebrew. One potent objection to the use of the term in Bantu is that "parts of speech" in Bantu classification always indicate complete words; the "initial vowel" is invariably a formative. From the Zulu examples given above, degrees of definiteness are seen not to depend upon the use or disuse of the initial vowel, the vowel appearing in each case. Similar indication of degrees of definiteness is possible with such a language as Sotho in which no initial vowel is found with the noun prefix. Regarding the function of the initial vowel and its disuse in certain compounds (e.g. *lowo-muntu*), in the formation of vocative interjectives (e.g. *muntu*), in locative formation (e.g. *kumuntu, kubantu*), and in positive and negative axiomatic statements (e.g. *ubona-muntu na? do you see anyone?; angiboni-muntu, I see no-one*), some of these instances parallel classical disuse of the article, or employment of the definite article; but this does not justify the use of the term "article" in Bantu; "initial vowel" is of sufficient significance.

forms of the absolute pronouns to precede them, shews that the quantitative pronouns are intrinsically very definite, e.g. the form *Ngiya kubo bonke* (I am going to them all) is the only one possible. In the same way note the distinction between *Ngiya kubantu* and *Ngiya kubo abantu*.

Similar distinctions are made in the agentive use of copulatives formed from nouns, as the following examples shew:

(indef. or def.): *Ngabonwa ngabantu*—I was seen by people (or the people).

(def. or emphat.): *Ngabonwa yiabo abantu*—I was seen by the the (or the very) people.

Similarly *Amazwi akhulunywa ngumuntu* may be contrasted with *Amazwi akhulunywa nguye umuntu*.

The other adverbial formatives *nga-, njenga-, nganga-, na-, kuna-*, etc. are governed in their usage by similar considerations. Note as examples:

(indef. or def.): *Inkomo inkulu kunembuzi*—An ox is bigger than a goat, or The ox is bigger than the goat.

(def. or emphat.): *Inkomo inkulu kunayo imbuzi*—The ox is bigger than the goat (itself).

Or *Wahamba nenja* and *Wahamba nayoinja*, in which last case some definite *inja* is the topic of conversation.

In the foregoing examples are several clear instances of the appositional use of substantives. The substantive in apposition, whether to another substantive as subject or object or to an inflected substantive (such as *kuso, yiabo, kunayo*, inflected respectively from the pronouns *sona, bona, yona*) acts in a definite capacity. From this, then, we are able to deduce the implication of the appositional use of absolute pronoun and noun; compare for instance *yen'umuntu* with *kuye umuntu* (to him, the person, i.e. to the person).

Subjects and Objects

While Zulu employs subjects and objects of the 1st and 2nd persons, represented by pronouns when represented substantively, it employs a variety of class forms in the 3rd person, and these last may be represented substantively either by nouns or by pronouns. *Representation of a subject or an object by an absolute, demonstrative or quantitative pronoun¹ ensures that the subject or object concerned is definite.* If the representation is by a noun, the subject or object concerned will be definite or indefinite according to other considerations. It follows, therefore, that 1st

¹ Qualificative pronouns may be definite or indefinite according to syntactical use.

and 2nd person representation is always definite, while 3rd person or noun-class representation may be either definite or indefinite.

In the case of nouns, those of class 1a have, *as a rule*, a potentiality for definiteness rather different from other nouns.¹ But this does not extend to all nouns of class 1a. There is a potential definiteness differing in degree between such nouns as *uZashuke*, *ubaba* (my father) and *ugwayi* (tobacco). And even here, the very fact of the distinctive content of the plural of a proper name such as *oZashuke*, proves that the idea of the definite in Zulu differs considerably from that in English. Further, a degree of definiteness may be extended to nouns of other classes, as in the case of *inkosi* (chief). All types of pronouns such as *thina*, *zona*, *yena*, demonstrative pronouns such as *lokhu*, *lezo*, *labayá*, and quantitative pronouns such as *bonke*, *sodwa*, *zombili* are all definite in their use; but qualificative pronouns such as *abakhe* (his), *ezimbili* (two of them), *abesifazane* (women), *omnyama* (black one), do not, in themselves, convey any idea of definiteness. In the case of pronouns formed from adjectives which are numerals, such as *abathathu*, the definite is achieved by the use of the corresponding quantitative pronoun, e.g.

(indef.): *Ngibon'abathathu*—I see three.

(def.): *Ngibona bobathathu*—I see the three, *or* I see all three.

Qualificative Pronouns

From the above it is seen that qualificative pronouns, i.e. pronouns formed from qualificatives (adjectives, relatives, enumeratives and possessives), have a different potentiality from the other types of pronouns. This is inherent in their origin. With Bantu languages which have no initial vowel with the noun prefixes, qualificatives may be used substantivally (e.g. as subject or object) without any change of form; but with Bantu languages which have an initial vowel with the prefix, while adjectives, relatives and enumeratives may be used substantivally without change, all possessives undergo inflexion, assuming an initial vowel of one type or another.² This is an interesting and important point, which emphasises the significance of the substantival use of qualificatives. For instance:

Inkabi yami ifile—My ox is dead.

Eyami inkabi ifile—Mine, the ox, is dead.

Eyami ifile—Mine is dead.

¹This different potentiality inspired Fr. J. Torrend to divide all nouns into two categories: (1) common nouns, and (2) proper nouns (i.e. nouns of cl. 1a). But it is not all nouns of class 1a which are "proper". Certainly "proper names" and some of the kinship terms may be considered so.

²In Zulu the initial vowel is secondary, *e*, *a* or *o*; in Lamba it is basic, *i*, *a* or *u*; while in Shona it is merely implied, and then it is a basic vowel which is implied.

An analysis of these sentences reveals the following points. In the first, *inkabi* is noun (subject) with *yami* possessive (enlargement of the subject). In the second, *eyami* is pronoun (subject) with *inkabi* noun (in apposition). In the third *eyami* is again pronoun (subject).

Similar deductions may be made in the case of other qualificatives, when used out of the qualificative position. The qualificative position is accompanying but succeeding, in word order, the substantive qualified. If the qualificative is, for emphatic or other reasons, moved from this position, it becomes substantival, e.g. with *enkulu* (big):

Inkabi enkulu ifile—adjective.

Enkul'inkabi ifile—pronoun.

Enkulu ifile—pronoun.

THE SIMPLE SUBJECT AND OBJECT

(i) A simple subject or object is one which consists of a single word.

(ii) When the simple subject is indefinite it is represented by the indefinite (cl. 10) concord, and in that case the predicate precedes the subject.

Kulwa abantu—There fight people, *or* People are fighting.

Kwafika amazimu—There arrived cannibals.

Kukhona izinkomo—There are cattle.

Sekufile izinyamazane—There have now died some buck.

Kukhuluma abakhulu—There are speaking elders, *or* Elders are speaking.

In analysing such sentences, the predicate will be indicated as "indefinite," and the subject as "logical subject," not "concordial subject," e.g.

Kulwa abantu: Simple sentence.

Subj. *abantu* (logical).

Pred. *kulwa* (indef.).

(iii) When the simple subject is definite, (a) if a noun or qualificative pronoun, it is represented by its class concord with the predicate; (b) if a definite pronoun or a noun with definite significance, it is represented either by its own class concord or by the cl. 10 concord, in which latter case the predicate precedes the subject.

(a) *Abantu bayalwa*—(The) people are fighting.

Amazimu afika—(The) cannibals arrived.

Izinkomo zikhona—(The) cattle are present.

Izinyamazane sezifile—(The) buck are now dead.

Abakhulu bayakhuluma—(The) elders are speaking.

Or with predicate preceding the subject:

Bayalwa abantu; Afika amazimu; Zikhona izinkomo; Sezifile izinyamazane; Bayakhuluma abakhulu; in which case more emphasis or prominence is given to the predicate than when the normal order obtains.

(b) *Bonke bayahlabelela*—All are singing.

Makuqale bona—Let them begin.

Sekudhulé lezo phambili—Those have now passed in front.

Laba bayizikhonzi—These are dependents.

Ubaba uyasenga—My father is milking.

Kuseng'ubaba—My father milks (i.e. The milking is done by him; emphasis on the predicate).

*Kubus'inkosi*¹—The chief reigns.

In the analysis of such a sentence as *Makuqale bona*, while the subject, *bona*, will be indicated as "logical subject," the predicate (though using cl. 10 concord) will not be indicated as "indefinite."

(iv) When the simple object is indefinite it is not represented by any concord with the predicate.

Ngibona umuntu—I see a person.

Abantwana bathanda izinja—(The) children love dogs.

Sithenge izincwadi—We have bought some books.

Mabagawule emikhulu—Let them fell big ones (trees).

(v) When the simple object is definite, the objectival concord agreeing therewith is incorporated in the predicate, though this concord may be omitted if the object is a definite pronoun or a noun with definite significance.

Ngiyambona umuntu—I see the person.

Abantwana bayazithanda izinja—(The) children love the dogs.

Sizithengile izincwadi—We have bought the books.

Mabayigawule emikhulu—Let them fell the big ones (trees).

Ngibona bonke or *Ngiyababona bonke*—I see them all.

Ngibona ubaba or *Ngiyambona ubaba*—I see my father.

Bambulele uDingane or *Babulele uDingane*—They killed Dingane.

Obs. 1. Note that a choice of tenses in present and immediate past time is necessary, according as to whether an objectival concord is used or not.

Obs. 2. Note that the definite object in Zulu is more closely akin to that indicated by the definite article in English than is the definite subject.

¹ Regarding the choice of tense, reference must be made to the Syntax of the Predicative.

(vi) In axiomatic statements, both positive and negative, the indefinite subject or object involved loses its initial vowel and is compounded into one word-compound with the predicate.

(a) Axiomatic negatives:

Subject: *Akukho-zinkomo*—There are no cattle (contrast:

Azikho izinkomo—The cattle are not present).

Akufikanga-zinduna—No captains arrived.

Object: *Angiboni-muntu*—I see nobody (contrast: *Angimboni umuntu*—I do not see the person).

Abafuni-lutho—They want nothing.

Asishayanga-bantwana—We struck no children.

(b) Axiomatic positives: These occur in questions involving indefinite subject or object, and generally expecting a negative reply.

Subject: *Kukhona-bantu lapha na?*—Are there any people here?

Object: *Ubona-sihlalo lapho na?*—Do you see any chair there?

The answers anticipated would be respectively:

Akukho-bantu lapha; and *Angiboni-sihlalo lapho*.

In analysing such sentences as the above it is best to split the compounds, e.g.

Akufikanga-zinduna: Simple sentence.

Subj. (i) *zinduna* (axiomatic).

Pred. *akufikanga* (indef.).

Ubona-sihlalo lapho na?

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ubona*.

Obj. (i) *sihlalo* (axiomatic).

Ext. of P. (i) *lapho* (place).

(ii) *na* (interrog.).

(vii) Simple sentences may have no substantival subject expressed; it will be indicated by the subjectival concord with the predicate. In analysis it must be represented by the corresponding absolute pronoun placed in parentheses. An example of this is given at the end of the previous section.

Similarly a definite object may be merely referred to by means of the objectival concord; in this case, too, the corresponding absolute pronoun must represent the object; e.g.

Siyababona (We see them): Simple sentence.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *siyababona*.

Obj. (*bona*).

Abantwana abazithandi (The children do not like them):

Simple sentence.

Subj. *abantwana*.Pred. *abazithandi*.Obj. (*zona*).

THE COMPOUND SUBJECT AND OBJECT

A compound subject or object is one which consists of more than one substantive co-ordinated. In Zulu, each such substantive following the first in co-ordination commences with the proclitic *na-* (a conjunctive formative), e.g. *Ngabona izinkomo nezimvu nezimbuzi nezimbongolo*—I saw cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys.

Obs.: A modern tendency to imitate English idiom and omit the *na-* in certain cases is to be deprecated.

Treatment of compound subjects and objects will be in two sections: as to whether they are indefinite or definite; and it will be observed that differences of construction, akin to what are made with simple subjects and objects, are employed to indicate these distinctions.

(i) Indefinite Compound Subjects and Objects

Broadly speaking, when the subjects are indefinite, the indefinite class 10 concord is used; and when objects are indefinite no concord corresponding thereto will appear with the verb. For instance:

Subjects: *Bekudlela lapha izinkomo nezimbuzi nezimvu nama-hhashi*—There were grazing here cattle, goats, sheep and horses.

Kwakhé ezweni leli abaNtu namaLawu nabaThwa—Bantu, Hottentots and Bushmen live in this country.

Obs.: In this indefinite construction the predicate precedes the compound subject.

Objects: *Sifuna izinkomo nezimbuzi nezimvu namahhashi*—We want cattle, goats, sheep and horses.

Singabona abantu nezindlu nemithi—We can see people and houses and trees.

(ii) Definite Compound Subjects and Objects

There is a great deal of difference of opinion among users of Zulu concerning concord rules in this case, and only general indications can be given. Much depends upon the psychological approach in every case. Roughly speaking there are three aspects of treatment, as follows:

1. Treating the first word in the compound grouping as of greater relative importance than any other and deriving the concord therefrom.
2. Using the prefix *ba-* for personal compounds, the prefix *zi-* for animal compounds, the prefix *ku-* for material compounds and for compounds of mixed substantives.
3. Employing the concord representing the substantive nearest the predicate.

(1) First Word of the Grouping determining Concord

This type of construction is used when relative importance is given to one of the words.¹ It is probably not as common an occurrence as other types of construction. Examples:

Isalukazi nexhegu sifuna indlu—The old lady and the old gentleman want a house (but the old lady is the driving force!).

Inceku nezinja zayo iyabaleka—The attendant and his dogs are running away.

Umfana nekati ufikile—The boy and the cat have come.

Lenja nomfana imanzi—This dog and the boy are wet (attention being particularly drawn to the condition of the dog).

Owesifazane nezimpahla zami umanzi—The woman and my goods are wet.

Izimpahla zami nowesifazane zimanzi—My goods and the woman are wet (in which my concern over the goods is supreme!).

From an examination of a series of similar sentences it is observable that the substantives succeeding the first are in effect parenthetical, being treated functionally much as appositional construction; and, in a number of cases it is more usual to place the predicate immediately after the first, the relatively important, substantive or substantival grouping, in which case the succeeding substantive or substantives become adverbial, as for instance:

Lenja imanzi nomfana (or *kanye nomfana*)—This dog is wet, and also the boy.

Much, however, depends upon the significance of the verb, when it is a verb that is used in the predicate. A comparison may be made between the verbs *fika* (arrive; a verb of motion) and *khala* (cry). As a student once quaintly put it: "If one said, *Umfana nekati ufikile*, it would not be clear whether the cat voluntarily contributed to the coming, or whether the cat was carried by the boy, and may not have come of its own free will; but if one said, *Umfana nekati kuyakhala*, it would be clear that these subjects are individually performing the action indicated by the verb, and

¹A further instance of initial position for emphasis; cf. p. 7.

that therefore, here, one is bound to use a subjectival concord which indicates compound subjects."¹ A more natural rendering of the former of these sentences would be: *Umfana ufikile nekati*—The boy came with (or along with) the cat. Further it cannot be overlooked that in such a sentence as *Umuntu nenja uhambile* the importance of the person may override that of an animal or thing, and thus command the concord. A similar example is in *Abantu nezinkomo bashile emlilweni*—The people and the cattle are burnt in the fire.

All of the examples given in this section are of compound subjects. The argument would be inconclusive if applied to objects, as the first object would be that nearest to the predicate and therefore be an example of the third type of treatment, which will be considered below.

(2) Use of a Classificatory Concord

Three of these are used in Zulu: *ba-* for persons, *zi-* for animals, and *ku-* for things and for compounds of mixed substantives.

(a) A succession of nouns indicating persons may be represented by the class 1 plural concord with the predicate:

Subjects: *Umshayeli nenkosi yakhe bemukile*—The driver and his chief have gone away.

Ixhegu nesalukazi bafikile—The old gentleman and the old lady have arrived.

Amaxhegu nezalukazi bayahleka—The old gentlemen and the old ladies are laughing.

Izizwe ezinye nabantu abanye abakhathaleli imiphefumulo yabo—Some tribes and some people do not worry about their souls.

Abafundisi nabafundi sebesendlini—The teachers and the pupils are now in the room.

AmaXhoza nabakwaZulu bafuya izinkomo—Xhosas and Zulus keep cattle.

Objects: *Sizobabiza umntwana nesalukazi nevila, bobathathu*—We shall summon the child, the old lady and the lazy fellow, all three of them. (It would here, however, be preferable to place the predicate after the three objects, viz. *Umntwana nesalukazi nevila, sizobabiza bobathathu*.)

Ngibabonile umlamu wami nomntanakhe—I saw my brother-in-law and his child (though here *ngimbonile* is preferable, according to the third type of treatment).

But see below: the use of the concord *ku-* where a person is concerned is liable to be derogatory.

Bayabashaya abafana namantombazana—They are hitting the boys and the girls.

Obs.: It is clear that the use of the *ba-* concord is regular to indicate objects, only when they are a succession of personal plurals, or when the predicate follows the objects and is itself followed by a definitive pronoun, such as *bona, bonke, bodwa, bobabili*, etc.

(b) A succession of nouns indicating animals may be represented by the class 5 plural concord with the predicate:

Subjects: *Yona nenkomazi zinkulu zombili*—It (the bull) and the cow are both big.

Ikati nengwe nofundu zeqile—The cat, the leopard and the tortoise have escaped.

Izinkomo namahhashi azidingi ukuphuza lawa-manzi—The cattle and the horses do not need to drink this water.

Objects: *Sizozithenga, inkomo nemvu nembuzi*—We shall buy the ox, the sheep and the goat. (*Siyoyithenga*, according to the third method of treatment, below, would however be more commonly found, the comma being omitted.)

Mawuzingenise izimbongolo namahhashi—Bring in the donkeys and the horses.

(c) A succession of nouns indicating material objects, and a succession of nouns of mixed signification, may be represented by the class 10 concord with the predicate.

Material compounds, subjects: *Ikhanzi negeja nezitsha kusendlini*—The pot, the hoe and the plates are in the hut.

Ikhandu lentshe lincinyane. Lona nentamo akumazimpaphe, kunezindosi zodwa—The head of the ostrich is small. It and the neck have no feathers; they have hair only.

Isikhwama sami nemali kulahlekile konke—My pouch and money are all lost.

Objects: *Amasi nesinkwa ngiyakuthanda kokubili*—I like both the curdled milk and the bread.

Mabakulethe, amapensele namaphepha nezincwadi—Let them bring the pencils, the paper(s) and the books. (Though it would be more natural Zulu to put the predicate after the objects, as in the previous example, i.e. *Amapensele namaphepha nezincwadi, mabakulethe*, shewing that the object construction is less susceptible to these rules than is that of the subject.)

Mixed compounds:

The use of the *ku-* concord is more common with animals and things, than with persons and things or with persons and animals. When persons are involved in compound subjects and objects with non-persons, the implication of *ku-* is definitely derogatory. It has been reported that "some old men were shocked to think that one could attempt to use *ku-* for 'friendly' persons."

Subjects: *Imithi namahhashi kushile*—The trees and the horses are burnt.

Izinkabi nenqola kwathi khálakatha emanzini—The oxen and the wagon plunged into the water.

Izindlu nabantu kushile konke—The houses and the people are all burnt. (This would imply, "the houses with the people in them.")

Umfana nekati kufikile—The boy and the cat have come (derogatory).

Abantu nezinkomo kuyabaleka-nje—The people and the cattle are just making off (derogatory).

Objects: *Umlilo wakushisa, indlu nakho konke okukuyo*¹—The fire consumed the house and all it contained.

(3) Use of Concord representing the Substantive nearest to the Predicate

This is an extremely common way of representing compound subjects and objects with the predicate, but is probably more frequent with objects than with subjects.

Subjects: *Umkhumbi nabantu bashonile*—The ship and the people went down. (The importance of the loss of the persons here, however, cannot be overlooked.)

Amandla nobudoda buligugu—Strength and manliness are valued possessions.

Objects: *Masiwathenge amabantshi neziggoko*—Let us buy the coats and hats.

Bebeyifuna ingubo nobuhlalu—They wanted the blanket and the beads.

Yingeniseni impahla nezincwadi—Bring in the goods and the books.

Ngimbonile umntwana wami nenja yakhe—I saw my child and his dog.

And even: *Ngimbonile umntwana wami nomntwana wakho*—I saw my child and your child (instead of *Ngibabonile . . .*).

¹Note the parenthetical pause indicated by the comma after *wakushisa*.

(iii) The Analysis of Sentences with Compound Subjects or Objects

The simplest method is to treat the subjects or objects concerned together, and to take out, as enlargements, any qualifying words there may be, referring each to the particular substantive qualified; the labelling of the subject or object as "compound" will account for seeming anomalies in type of concord used with the predicate; e.g.

(a) *Owesifazane nezimpahla zami umanzi*: Simple sentence.
Subj. *owesifazane nezimpahla* (compound).
Enl. of S. *zami* (qualifying *izimpahla*).
Pred. *umanzi*.

(b) *Ngifuna izincwadi zakho namaphepha kababa* (I want your books and my father's papers): Simple sentence.
Subj. (*mina*).
Pred. *ngifuna*.
Obj. *izincwadi namaphepha* (compound).
Enl. of O. (i) *zakho* (qualifying *izincwadi*).
(ii) *kababa* (qualifying *amaphepha*).

(iv) Inflected Forms of Compound Substantives

Two methods of inflexion are found, that of the first substantive only, and that of each substantive. The former occurs in the formation of copulatives, and of conjunctive and comparative adverbs. The latter occurs in the formative of locative adverbs, instrumental adverbs, and possessives.

(a) Inflexion of first substantive only:
(copulative) *inja nekati > yinja nekati* (by the dog and the cat, or it is a dog and a cat).
(conjunctive adv.) *inja nekati > nenja nekati* (together with the dog and the cat).
(comparative adv.) with prefixes *kuna-*, *njenga-*, *nganga-*:
UJoni mkhulu kunami nomngane wami—John is bigger than me and my friend.
Banjengobaba nomame—They are just like my father and mother.

(b) Inflexion of each substantive:
(locative adv.) *izwe nemizi nezindlu > ezweni nasemizini nasezindlini* (in the land and the villages and the houses).
izulu nomhlaba > ezulwini nasemhlabeni (in heaven and on earth).
(instrumental adv.) *induku nomkhonto > ngenduku nango-mkhonto* (by means of kerrie and spear).
(possessive) *abantu nezinkomo > ubukhulu babantu nobezinkomo* (the size of the people and the cattle).

THE APPOSITIONAL SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Zulu, substantives may be used in apposition to the subject or object of the sentence. Such substantives are used for definitive purposes, and may therefore, in analysis, be considered as the enlargement of the subject or object, but they are not qualificatives. The appositional substantive in Zulu always succeeds, in word-order, the subject or object of the sentence or any main substantive which is undergoing inflexion. For this reason, the first of any two substantives in apposition is the more important, the one which commands the sentence concord, or the one which undergoes inflexion to form other parts of speech, such as copulatives, adverbs (locative or otherwise), etc. Examples of this latter type will be given later.

The following five are the types of apposition found in Zulu:

(i) Noun + Noun, (ii) Noun + Pronoun, (iii) Pronoun + Pronoun, (iv) Pronoun + Noun, and (v) Apposition in *izibongo*.

(i) Noun + Noun

Whether the nouns forming an appositional subject or object belong to the same class or different classes, the concord with the predicate is that corresponding to the class of the first noun, e.g.

Ubaba uZashuke wakhé indlu yakhe eMngeni—My father, Zashuke, has built his house at the Umngeni River.

Sizombonga uMpande inkosi—We shall give thanks to Mpande, the chief.

Bafuna ukuyibona inkosi uMpande—They want to see the chief, Mpande.

Ixhegu induna livela kwaZulu—The old man, the captain, comes from Zululand.

Leso-silwane ingwe sinolaka—That animal, the leopard, is fierce.

Ngiyibulele ingwe, isilwane esesabekayo—I have killed the leopard, a terrifying animal.

Ngisibulele isilwane esesabekayo ingwe—I have killed the terrifying animal, a leopard.

Unyoko inkosikazi uNozidiya wathenga imbuzi, yema kimi—Your mother, the queen Nozidiya, bought a goat and it stayed with me.

Specimens of analysis: (a) *Ubaba uZashuke wakhé indlu yakhe eMngeni*: Simple sentence.

Subj. *ubaba*.

Enl. of S. *uZashuke* (appositional).

Pred. *wakhé*.

Obj. *indlu*.

Enl. of O. *yakhe*.

Ext. of P. *eMngeni*.

(b) *Leso-silwane ingwe sinolaka*: Simple sentence.

Subj. *leso-silwane*.

Enl. of S. *ingwe* (appositional).

Pred. *sinolaka*.

In this second example, though *leso* and *isilwane* are also in apposition, since the word-compounding is compulsory, it is best to treat them together.

(ii) Noun + Pronoun

When noun and pronoun are in apposition, there must be concordial agreement between them, i.e. the pronoun must be of the same class and number as the noun with which it is in apposition. Agreement with the predicate is naturally straightforward. Absolute, demonstrative and quantitative pronouns may each be used following nouns and in apposition to them, but qualificative pronouns, from their very nature, may only precede nouns when used appositionally.

(a) *Noun + Absolute Pronoun*: This has the effect of making the noun very prominent and emphatic.

Abantu bona bathukuthele kakhulu—As for the people they are very enraged.

Kodwa izinkomo zona zikhulphela—But as for the cattle they are sleek.

Angimthandi umuntu yena—I don't like the person, or As for him, I don't like the person.

(b) *Noun + Demonstrative Pronoun*:

Ikati leli lingaphungula amagundane—This cat (the cat, this one) can keep down the mice.

Uyazibona izintaba leziyá na?—Do you see yonder mountains?

(c) *Noun + Quantitative Pronoun*:

Abantu bonke sebesendlini—All the people are now in the room.

Yimina engizibulele izinyamazane zombili—It is I who killed both the animals.

Kukhona utshani bodwa ezweni leli—There is only grass in this district.

(iii) Pronoun + Pronoun

Here again concordial agreement must be maintained between each pronoun of an appositional pair. Sense does not

permit of absolute pronoun + absolute pronoun, of demonstrative + demonstrative, nor quantitative + quantitative.

- (a) *Absolute pronoun + Demonstrative pronoun:*
Ngiyamfuna yena lowo—I want that very one (person).
Yona leyo ifile—That very one is dead.
Yena lowo ubulalé izitsha zami—That very person broke my dishes.
Bona laba bangibambisé udonga—These very people deceived me.
 Further emphasis is given by using a copulative form, e.g.
Yiyona leyo efileyo—It is that very one which is dead.
- (b) *Absolute pronoun + Quantitative pronoun:*
Bona bonke bahlakaniphile—All of them are wise.
Thina sodwa siyafunda—We only are learning.
Ubaba uzithengile zona zombili—My father bought both of them.
- (c) *Demonstrative pronoun + Quantitative pronoun:*
Leyo yonke ibiza imali eningi—All of those are very expensive.
Zibopheni lezo zonhlanu—Tie up all five of those.
- (d) *Quantitative pronoun + Demonstrative pronoun:*
Zonke lezo-zinkomo ezisesibayeni ngezami—All those cattle which are in the kraal are mine.
- (e) *Qualificative pronoun + Absolute pronoun:*
Abakhulu bona basaxoxa esibayeni—As for the elders, they are still conversing in the cattle-kraal.
Engizifunayo zona zinkulu—As for the ones which I want, they are big.
- (f) *Qualificative pronoun + Demonstrative pronoun:*
Abantwana bangehleke abakhulu labo—The little children cannot laugh at those elders.
Abesifazane laba bagaya utshwala—These women are making beer.
- (g) *Qualificative pronoun + Quantitative pronoun:*
Abesilisa bobathathu banamandla—The three men are strong.
Ezinkulu zonke zidonsa kahle—All the big ones are pulling well.
- (h) *Pronoun + Qualificative pronoun:*
 (1) Possessive:
Lez'ezami zihle—These of mine are fine.
Bobabil'abesifazane basensimini—Both the women are in the fields.
Siyababona bon'abesilisa—We see the men themselves.
 When the first pronoun is a qualificative pronoun there is a variety of construction possible. If the possession is direct,

apposition is used, e.g. *abakhul'abethu* (our big ones) or *abeth'abesilisa* (our male ones), where the reference may be to "children belonging to us"; but if the possession is descriptive, the second word is a possessive qualificative, e.g. *abakhulu bethu* (our elders) or *abethu besilisa* (our males ones), where the reference is to "elders to whom we belong."

(2) *Adjectival and Relative:*

Lab'abakhulu bahlakaniphile—These elders are wise.
Zon'ezimnyama ngezakhe—As for the black ones, they are his.

(iv) *Pronoun + Noun*

When pronoun + noun occur in apposition, vowel elision usually takes place, resulting in a compounding of the words. *When the elision is that of the initial vowel of the noun it is compulsory, but when it is that of the final vowel of the pronoun it is optional.* Except in the case of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, there must be concordial agreement between pronoun and noun in apposition, and the predicate is always in agreement with the pronoun, the first word of the appositional pair.

- (a) *Absolute pronoun + Noun:* After absolute pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, and, in rare instances, after those of the 3rd person, elision of the initial vowel of the noun in apposition takes place compulsorily:

Inkosi yethu ayisithandi thina-bantu bayo—Our chief does not love us, his people.

Ngiyakubona wena-ndoda—I see you man.

Mina-muntu sengikhathele-nje—As for me poor human, I am absolutely tired.

Initial elision seems to take place after 3rd person absolute pronouns, when inflected to form copulatives, as the following examples shew:

Yizona-zinkomo—They are the real cattle.

Uyena-mfazi esimbonileyo—It is the real woman whom we saw.

In other cases of the 3rd person absolute pronouns, followed by a noun in apposition, optional final elision takes place:

Zon'izinkomo (Zona izinkomo) sezidla ehlathini ngalaphayá—

They, the cattle, are now grazing in the bush yonder.

Awumboni yen'umuntu (yena umuntu) na?—Don't you see him, the person?

These are emphatic in significance.

- (b) *Demonstrative pronoun + Noun:* When a demonstrative pronoun is used before a noun in apposition, compulsory

elision of the initial vowel of the noun takes place, a word-compound always resulting.

Lomuthi uzokuwa kusasa—This tree will fall in the morning.

Leziya-zindlu sezibonakele ethafeni—Yonder huts are now visible on the plain.

Leso-sitsha asisihle—That plate is not nice.

The same thing takes place when the demonstratives are inflected:

Yilezo-zinkomo—Each beast; or It is those beasts.

Sasihamba ngaleyo-nqola—We were travelling by that wagon.

(c) *Quantitative pronoun + Noun*: In this case of apposition, optional final elision takes place. Though the elision is optional, it is far more commonly carried out than disregarded.

Bonk'abantu (bonke abantu) bayahlabelela—All the people are singing.

Ubaba uzibonile zontath'izinkomo—My father has seen the three cattle.

Laba-bantu angabashaya yedw'ubaba—Father may hit these people all alone.

Angithandi bahlale bodw'abantwana ngasemlilweni—I do not like children to sit all by themselves near a fire.

(d) *Qualificative pronoun + Noun*: Optional elision of the final vowel of the qualificative pronoun takes place in this case of apposition.

Adjectival: Abany'abantu (Abanye abantu) bahlakaniphé kakhulu—Other people are very clever.

Sibona ababil'abantu—We see two people.

Kukhona emzini ezinkul'izinja (ezinkulu izinja)—There are in the village huge dogs.

Relative: Siboné endleleni oz'umuntu (oze umuntu)—We saw on the path a naked man.

Ababomv'abantu bakhé ngaphesheya—Red people are living on the other side (of the river).

Enumerative: Usho muph'umuntu (muphi umuntu)?—Which person do you mean?

Siboné iny'inkonyana (inye inkonyana)—We saw one calf.

Possessive: Ngiyazithanda ezakhw'izinja (ezakho izinja)—I like thy dogs.

Ikati likhotha obal'ubuso (obalo ubuso)—The cat is licking its own face.

Ezam'izinkomo zikhuluphele—My cattle are sleek.

It must be observed that the pronominal use of qualificatives, as exemplified in this section, is for purposes of emphasis, the noun being in apposition to a more important qualificative pronoun for

parenthetical purposes of explanation, for definitive purposes, to prevent the qualificative pronoun from being mistakenly taken to refer to some other noun of the same class. The pronominal or first portion of the appositional pair is therefore the more important, and may be considered emphasised, thus:

Abafana abathile—Certain boys.

Abathil'abafana—Certain ones, boys.

Abathile alone, while meaning "certain ones," does not so clearly refer to *abafana*, and might be interpreted too vaguely as referring to *abantu*.

(v) Apposition in Izibongo

The grammatical treatment of the *izibongo*, or praises of chiefs and prominent persons, presents considerable difficulty in Zulu. At this stage but brief reference will be made to it as various phases present themselves. Certain *izibongo*, or certain portions of *izibongo*, become definite "nicknames" of prominent persons, and as such, although they may consist of whole sentences or successions of words, may be used either themselves as subject or object of a predicate, or more commonly, maybe, in apposition to a subject or object. The following is illustrative of this:

*Kwesukela uGubudele kaNomantshali, [uMthungi wembeng'ebanzi, angathumg'ezincane ziyazibekelana], wakhipha izinkomo, wazisa emadlelweni.*¹

Once upon a time Gubudele son of Nomantshali, "Weaver of a wide basket, if he weaves little ones, they fit in one another," took out the cattle, and took them to pasture.

The portion within brackets is the *izibongo* in apposition to *uGubudele*.

Inflected Substantives in Apposition

Several examples have been given of substantives in apposition undergoing inflexion. Whenever this takes place *it is the first, not the definitive or appositional substantive, which is inflected*. Thus *inqola leyo > enqoleni leyo* (locative), *ngenqola leyo* (instrumental), *nenqola leyo* (conjunctive), *yingqola leyo* (copulative), etc., while under similar conditions *leyo-nqola > kuleyo-nqola, ngaleyo-nqola, naleyo-nqola, yileyo-nqola*, respectively.

Note also:

Amazwi kaMpande inkosi—The words of Mpande, the chief.

Amazwi enkosi uMpande—The words of the chief, Mpande.

NguMpande inkosi—It is Mpande, the chief.

Yinkosi uMpande—It is the chief, Mpande.

Safika eMaqongqo, izintaba ezimbili—We arrived at the Amaqongqo, two mountains.

uDingane waphuma eMbebeni, umuzi omkhulu—Dingane left Umbebe the great kraal.

Kwaba-yibo bodwa abafikayo—It was only they who arrived.

Cases of both appositional elements being inflected are found in Zulu books, but they are incorrect:

*UZulu walandelwa abantu abaningi abasuka enkosini, kuQwabe*¹ (should be *uQwabe*)—Zulu was followed by many people who left the chief, Qwabe.

*Inkosikazi yayisisa imbuzi kuMpungose, enduneni*¹ (should be *induna*)—The queen gave the goat in charge to Mpungose, the captain.

SUBSTANTIVAL PHRASES

In Zulu, substantival phrases are built up on the infinitive form of the verb. Most commonly they occur as object of the predicate, but are also found as subject, and may also be used in inflected forms.² It is true that the infinitive, in Zulu, is a genuine noun (of cl. 8) with its class concordial agreement (e.g. *ukudla kwami okuhle*, my nice food), but it is also a genuine verb, in that it is subject to derivative formations, it may contain an objectival concord, and may have a negative form and various extensions, such as objects, adverbs or ideophones. In Zulu, further, it works in with the moods of the verb, sharing, for instance, in the formation of future tenses (after *-ya-* or *-za-*) and of compound tenses after certain deficient verbs.³ The infinitive of the verb has no subjectival concord—a necessary feature of every tense of the moods—but it has a nominal prefix *uku-*. It is only, however, insofar as its verbal function operates, forming an extended substantive, that the term "phrase" can be applied to it.

The Infinitive and its Extensions

(i) The infinitive, which may function as a simple subject or object of the sentence, is susceptible of a number of inflexions, not possible to nouns of any other class; this is due to its verbal nature. It may be used in the following ways:

¹J. Stuart: *uTulasizwe*, ed. 1937, p. 86 (second example slightly adjusted).

²The equivalent forms in English would also be regarded as phrases; but English has, in addition, a very commonly used phrase formation employing the participle in *-ing*; e.g. "To fly by Comet is thrilling", also "Flying by Comet is thrilling". The Zulu has but one form, infinitive, e.g. *Ukundiza ngeComet kuyajabulisa*. Other equivalents of the English participle are, in Zulu, found with the participial mood, which forms clauses, not phrases.

³Full consideration is given later (see Chapter IV) to the syntactical aspect of such deficient verbs and their position in sentence analysis.

Simple positive: *ukubona* (to see, seeing, vision).¹

Simple negative: *ukungaboni* (not to see, not seeing).

Progressive negative: *ukungasaboni* (to see no longer).

Exclusive negative: *ukungakaboni* (not yet to see).

Further it may undergo derivative inflexion, each derivative form being capable of use in the above four ways, for instance:

Passive: *ukubonwa* (to be seen, being seen).

Neuter: *ukubonakala* (to be visible, visibility¹).

Applied: *ukubonela* (to see for).

Reciprocal: *ukubonana* (to see one another, mutual seeing).

Causative: *ukubonisa* (to cause to see, shewing).

Intensive: *ukubonisisa* (to see clearly, clear vision¹).

Diminutive: *ukubonabona* (to see somewhat, indistinct vision¹).

Used alone any of these forms constitute simple (substantival) subjects or objects, e.g.

Ukungabonisisi kuyahlupha—Not to see clearly, or Indistinct sight is a handicap.

Ngifuna ukudla—I want food, or I want to eat.

Sifikele ukusebenza—We came in order to work; lit. We came for a working.

Kwabayisimangaliso ukufika kwethu—It was a wonder we arrived; lit. Our arriving was a wonder. The purely nominal function of *ukufika* with possessive enlargement is unimpaired.

Ukungazondani kubafanele abangane—Not to hate one another is proper to friends.

(ii) When, however, the verbal function of the infinitive overrides the purely nominal, the infinitive automatically becomes phrase-forming. This takes place in three ways:

- (a) when followed by an object, or when indicating one by concord;
- (b) when extended adverbially; and
- (c) when used with ideophones.

Sentences with phrases are still considered "Simple Sentences."

(a) *Infinitive with Object*:

Ngizele [ukuthenga izinkomo]—I came to buy cattle.

(Here the phrase, placed between brackets, is the object of the applied form *zela*, of the verb *za*.)

Umtshelele [ukumvusa]—He told him in order to warn him.

(Note that, in this and the previous example, the use of

¹With these significances the verbal force seems to be receding, a strictly nominal force taking its place.

the applied form followed by an infinitive indicates purpose; cf. also *Sifikela ukusebenza*, in the previous section.)

The analysis of the sentence would be as follows:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *umtshelale*.

Obj. (i) principal: *ukumvusa* (obj. of *tshelala*).

(ii) subsidiary: (*yena*) (obj. of original *tshela*).

The reason for treating *ukumvusa* as a phrase is that in full it is *ukumvusa yena*, the objectival concord *m-* carrying that implication.

[*Ukwenza lokho*] *kuletha icala*—Doing that brings trouble.

Here the phrase is subject of the sentence.

Ngifuna [ukudla inyama]—I want to eat meat.

Ngifuna [ukudla inyama yenkomo]—I want to eat beef.

(b) *Infinitive with Adverbial Extension:*

[*Ukuvuka ekuseni kakhulu*] *kuhle impela*—To wake up very early in the morning is very good.

Sithanda [ukuya eThekwini]—We like going to Durban.

Musani [ukugigitheka kanjalo esontweni]—Don't giggle like that in church! The whole phrase is here the object of *musani*; but, as this is a deficient verb, an alternative method of analysis is possible (see under "The Multiverbal Predicate" in Chapter IV).

Examples with both object and adverbial extension:

Ngifuna [ukuyidla inyama yami ekhaya manje]—I want to eat my meat at home now.

Asithandi [ukuwashiya amankonyane ethu odwa esibayeni imini yonke]—We do not like to leave our calves alone in the kraal the whole day. Here the whole phrase within brackets constitutes the object of *asithandi*; it is incapable of further sub-analysis.

(c) *Infinitives used with Ideophones:*

Umlilo usuqala [ukuvutha bee]—The fire is now beginning to roar.

Bebelinga [ukumbokloza boklo boklo boklo]—They were trying to bash him in the ribs.

[*Ukuthi bādu-bādu*] *kwengwe kuyakhanga*—The leopard's spottings are fine to look at.

The analysis of this sentence would be as follows:

Subj. *ukuthi bādu-bādu* (substantival phrase, ideophonic).

Enl. of S. *kwengwe*.

Pred. *kuyakhanga*.

(d) *Complex Phrases:*

Substantival phrases, whether acting as subject or as object, may be complicated by the inclusion of a clause having reference to the verb in the infinitive or to one of the words extending that infinitive. It would be unwise to pursue these possibilities far at this stage, and two examples merely are given.

1. [*Ukuvuka ekuseni kakhulu uma abantu besalele*] *akusizi*—Waking up very early in the morning, while the people are still asleep, is no use. The clause here, *uma abantu besalele*, is one of time (or condition) extending the verb *vuka* of the infinitive.

A suggested analysis is as follows:

1. Complex Sentence.¹
Subj. *ukuvuka ekuseni kakhulu uma abantu besalele* (substantival phrase containing subordinate clause).
Pred. *akusizi*.
- 1a. *uma abantu besalele*: descriptive clause of time (or condition) extending the verb *vuka*, which governs the substantival phrase.
Con. *uma*.
Subj. *abantu*.
Pred. *besalele*.

2. *Ngifuna [ukudla inyama ayiphekile urname]*—I want to eat the meat which my mother has cooked. Here the phrase (objectival) contains a relative qualificative clause, *ayiphekile urname*.

Suggested analysis:

2. Complex sentence.
Subj. (*mina*).
Pred. *ngifuna*.
Obj. *ukudla inyama ayiphekile urname* (substantival phrase containing subordinate clause).
- 2a. *ayiphekile urname*: relative qualificative clause enlarging the noun *inyama*, object of the verb *dla*, which governs the substantival phrase.
Subj. *urname*.
Pred. *ayiphekile* (relative).
Obj. (*yona*), referring to *inyama*.

This makes it clear that the relative clause is one of objectival relationship.

To pursue this type of construction further would obviously be beyond the present stage of our syntactical study.

¹The sentence will have to be considered as complex, since it contains more than one predicate; one being "main", and one "subordinate".

SUBSTANTIVAL CLAUSES

We now come to what might be termed a study of the *Complex Subject and Object*, in which the subject or object concerned is expressed by means of a subordinate clause employing one of the moods of the verb.¹ Typical substantival clauses in Zulu are introduced by the conjunctives *ukuthi* and *ukuba*. Each of these is a verb infinitive, and therefore also a noun of class 8; but here they have conjunctive function. The dual, and sometimes triple, function of certain words in Zulu is an important feature of the language, and tends to give it elasticity and freedom. In the vast majority of cases, such substantival clauses occur as object of the main predicate, but instances of occurrences as subject will also be noted.

(i) Substantival Clauses employing the Indicative Mood:

These are used after verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, seeing, wondering, hearing, telling, etc., and indicate the fact or occurrence which is thought, seen, heard, told, etc. The conjunctive *ukuthi* is more commonly used in this way, though *ukuba* also is often used followed by the indicative.

As object: *Ngizwa [ukuthi uboné amahhashi]*—I hear that you have seen some horses.

Sibona [ukuthi akalungile]—We see that he is not straightforward.

Sicabanga [ukuthi sizofika ngomuso]—We think that we shall arrive tomorrow.

Abayukwazi [ukuthi bayokuthini?]—They will not know what to say.

Wamangala [ukuthi ngakwenza kanjani?]—He wondered how I did it (lit. He wondered that I did it how).

Baboné [ukuthi asishanelanga]—They saw that we did not sweep.

Izinyamazane zizwé [ukuthi sesisondele]—The buck have heard that we have approached.

Ngimtshelé [ukuthi uyihlo usefile]—I told him that your father is now dead.

Bangitshela [ukuba isikhonyane siyeza]—They told me that the locusts are coming.

As subject: [*Ukuthi wafikelela emzini*] *kwamangalisa kakhulu*—It was a wonder he got right to the village.

Kuqinisile [ukuthi impi yahluliwe]—It is true that the army has been beaten.

Similar clauses may be formed by means of copulatives, in which case a verb need not appear in plain predication.¹

Examples: *Ngizwa [ukuthi bakhulu]*—I hear that they are grown up (object of the predicate).

Kusobala [ukuthi banecala]—It is obvious that they are to blame (subject of the predicate).

Ngicabanga [ukuthi bazokubaseThekwini]—I think that they will be in Durban. (Here the auxiliary verb *-ba* is used for future tense formation with the copulative.)

(ii) Substantival Clauses employing the Potential and Contingent Moods:

The usage here is closely similar to that with the indicative mood.

Angazi [ukuthi ngingenza kanjani?]—I don't know what to do (lit. I don't know that I can do how).

Akazi [ukuthi angathini?]—He does not know what to say.

Asazanga [ukuthi sasingacabanga sithini?]—We did not know what to think.

Sibona [ukuthi ungafunda izincwadi ezilukhuni]—We see that you can read difficult books.

Basitshela [ukuthi bangakhokha imali yonke ngasikhathisinye]—They told us that they can pay all the money at one time.

Bengazi [ukuthi ubungezukulimala, ukuba awuhambanga ebusuku]—I knew that you would not have been hurt if you had not gone by night.

(iii) Substantival Clauses employing the Subjunctive Mood:

These are used after verbs of desire, intention, purpose, necessity. In this construction *ukuba* is used more commonly than *ukuthi*, though the latter also occurs followed by the subjunctive mood.

As object: *Sifuna [ukuba bazilethe izimvu]*—We want them to bring the sheep, lit. We desire that they bring the sheep.

Ngithanda [ukuba uhlale izinsuku ezintathu]—I would like you to stay three days, lit. I like that you stay three days.

Ngamtshela [ukuba ahlale emzini]—I told him to stay at the kraal. (ct. *Ngamtshela ukuba bahlala emzini*—I told him that they are staying at the kraal; indicative used.)

Sifuna [ukuthi ukhulume kahle]—We want you to speak carefully.

As subject: *Kufanele [ukuba sihambe]*—It is necessary for us to go.

¹Not necessarily clearly expressed in all copulative constructions.

¹When no idea regarding time, negation or implication is to be conveyed.

Kudingeka [ukuba silale]—We need to sleep; lit. That we sleep is needful.

Kumelwe [ukuba bayeke]—They must leave off; lit. That they leave off is obligatory.

Kuswelekile [ukuba ngibone umsebenzi wakho]—It is necessary that I should see your work.

Obs.: These subjunctive mood clauses may, in other syntactical conditions, be descriptive clauses. This further illustrates the elasticity of function in Zulu grammar; nouns may, on occasion, function, unchanged in form, as adverbs; so may certain substantival clauses function, unchanged in form, as descriptive clauses. Take, for instance, the first example above, *ukuba bazilethe izimvu*; in the sentence, *Bafika [ukuba bazilethe izimvu]*—They came, in order that they might bring the sheep; it is a descriptive clause of purpose, an extension of the predicate.

(iv) Specimen Analyses:¹

1. *Wamangala ukuthi ngakwenza kanjani?* Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamangala*.

Obj. *ukuthi ngakwenza kanjani* (subst. clause).

1a. *ukuthi ngakwenza kanjani*:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngakwenza*.

Ext. of P. *kanjani*.

2. *Kusobala ukuthi banecala.* Complex sentence.

Subj. *ukuthi banecala* (subst. clause).

Pred. *kusobala* (copulative).

2a. *ukuthi banecala*:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *banecala* (copulative).

3. *Sifuna ukuba bazilethe izimvu.* Complex sentence.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sifuna*.

Obj. *ukuba bazilethe izimvu* (subst. clause).

3a. *ukuba bazilethe izimvu*:

Con. *ukuba*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bazilethe*.

Obj. *izimvu*.

(v) Contractions of Substantival Clauses:

In a substantival clause involving the subjunctive mood, the conjunctive *ukuba* (or *ukuthi*) may sometimes alternatively be

¹ From sections (i) to (iii) above.

omitted. This type of construction may be considered a contraction. It occurs most commonly after such forms as *kufanele*, *kudingeka*, *kulungile*, *kumelwe*, *kuswelekile*, etc.

Kufanele [sihambe]—We ought to go.

Kulungile [sibatshela]—It is right (that) we tell them.

Kuswelekile [ngibone umsebenzi wakho]—It is necessary (that) I should see your work.

In analysing such sentences it is best to reconstruct with the conjunctive *ukuba* or *ukuthi*, and treat the completed clause as substantival, e.g.

1. *Kufanele sibabone ekuseni*—We ought to see them in the morning. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*ukuba*) *sibabone ekuseni* (subst. clause).

Pred. *kufanele*.

1a. (*ukuba*) *sibabone ekuseni*.

Con. (*ukuba*).

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sibabone*.

Obj. (*bona*).

Ext. of P. *ekuseni*.

(vi) Qualificative Clauses used Substantivally:

Just as adjectives and relatives may be used substantivally as qualificative pronouns, either preceding or instead of the original substantives, so qualificative clauses, of relative type, may be used as subject or object of a sentence or in apposition to a substantive. Reference should be made to qualificative clauses in the next chapter.

Examples: (a) [*Abahambileyo*] *sebefikile*—Those who went have arrived.

Subj. *abahambileyo* (substantival rel. clause).

Pred. *sebefikile*.

(b) *Masilondoloze [esinakho]*—Let us preserve what we have.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *masilondoloze*.

Obj. *esinakho* (subst. rel. clause).

(c) *Angazi [engingakwenza]*—I don't know what to do.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angazi*.

Obj. *engingakwenza* (subst. rel. clause).

(d) [*Abangasebenziyo*] *abayukudla*—Those who do not work will not eat.

(e) *Izitha zababulala [ababebakhulu bodwa]*—The enemy killed only those who were adults.

Subj. *izitha*.

Pred. *zababulala*.

Obj. *ababeſakhulu* (subst. rel. clause, with adj. base).

Enl. of O. *bodwa* (appositional).

Further sub-analysis of the clauses is, of course possible, e.g. of (b) and (c) above:

(b¹) *esinakho*.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *esinakho* (rel. of copulative).

(c¹) *engingakwenza*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *engingakwenza* (rel.).

Obj. (*khona*).

Reported Speech

Reported speech in Zulu, after some form of the verb *-thi*, constitutes a type of substantival clause, object of that verb.

(a) Such substantival clauses may be found preceded simply by the verb *-thi*, e.g.

Uthé [*ufiké lapha izolo*]—He said he came here yesterday.

Bathé [*yimi engikuniké incwadi*]—They said that it was I who gave you the book.

Inkosi yathi [*sasifanele ukulima*]—The chief said that we ought to have ploughed.

Ngithi, [*Hamba-ke manje, sizokubona ngomuso*]—I say, "Go along now, and we shall see you tomorrow."

UMagewu wathi [*ngingakhokha imali yonke*]—Magewu said that I can pay the whole amount.

The difference between *oratio recta* (direct speech, conveying the actual words spoken) and *oratio obliqua* (indirect speech) is signified by a sense-group pause after *-thi* in the case of *oratio recta*; this does not occur with *oratio obliqua*. This may be indicated, in Zulu, by using a comma followed by a capital letter in the first case, and by neither comma nor capital in the second. There is, of course, the alternative use of inverted commas for *oratio recta*, which is becoming quite common in Zulu writing.

Examples: *Uthé ufiké lapha izolo* (indirect); with the following possible interpretations: He said that he (i.e. himself) came here yesterday; or He said that he (a third party) came here yesterday. Those interpretations are taking *ufiké* to refer to cl. 1 sg.; it could refer to cl. 2 sg., or even, with lowered tone, to the 2nd person sg., i.e. He said that you came here yesterday. Only context can decide these things with present Zulu orthography.¹

¹In all these examples *Uthé* is read with relatively high tone; quite another set of meanings would accompany low toned *Uthé* viz. "You said that . . ."

Uthé, Ufiké lapha izolo (direct)—He said, "He (or 'It,' cl. 2) arrived here yesterday." (Or, with lowered tone on the first syllable of *Ufiké*, He said, "You arrived here yesterday.")

Uthé ngifiké lapha izolo (indirect)—He said that I arrived here yesterday.

Uthé, Ngifiké lapha izolo (direct)—He said, "I arrived here yesterday." (This may then have the same intent as the first interpretation of *Uthé ufiké lapha izolo*, above.)

Isalukuzi sathi, Bangamathe nolimi—The old lady said "They are inseparable friends."

Isalukazi sathi bangamathe nolimi—The old lady said that they were inseparable friends. (Here "they" is either inclusive or exclusive of the speaker; only context can decide.)

Induna yathi, Indaba inendodana, uyise kanacala—The officer said, "The fault is with the son; the father is blameless."

Abantwana bathi, Sihlale?—The children said "Are we to sit down?"

Wathi yena, Ngiyasebenza—He said, "I am busy!"

In each of the above cases the sentences are complex, and the subordinate clauses (of *oratio recta* or *oratio obliqua*) are substantival clauses, being object of the verb *-thi*.

Specimen analysis:

1. *Uthé ufiké lapha izolo*. Complex sentence.
Subj. (*yena*).
Pred. *uthé*.
Obj. *ufiké lapha izolo* (subst. clause).

- 1a. *ufiké lapha izolo*:
Subj. (*yena*) or (*wona*) or (*wena*).
Pred. *ufiké*.
Ext. of P. (i) *lapha* (place).
(ii) *izolo* (time).

2. *Isalukazi sathi, Bangamathe nolimi*. Complex sentence.
Subj. *isalukazi*.
Pred. *sathi*.
Obj. *bangamathe nolimi* (subst. clause).

- 2a. *Bangamathe nolimi*:
Subj. (*bona*).
Pred. *bangamathe nolimi* (extended copulative).

- (b) Similar substantival clauses may be found after the verb *-thi* preceded by such verbs as *-sho*, *khuluma*, *tshela*, *phendula*, *cabanga*, *khala*, *babaza*, *phika*, etc.

There are two ways in which *-thi* may be used after such verbs as the above: (i) in infinitive form *ukuthi* when it functions as a conjunctive to indicate indirect speech; and (ii) in the indicative mood, when it forms, with the preceding verb, a co-ordinate construction, the result being a compound sentence with the second part complex; this implies direct speech.

(i) with *ukuthi* (indirect speech):

Usho [ukuthi uyesaba]—He means that he is afraid.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *usho*.

Obj. *ukuthi uyesaba* (subst. clause).

Sub-analysis of the clause:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uyesaba*.

Wabatshela [ukuthi inkosi isifile]—He told them that the chief is now dead.

Sicabanga [ukuthi sizolala lapha-nje]—We think we shall sleep just here.

(ii) with indicative co-ordinate (direct speech): Note that this type of construction goes further in Zulu than it would in English, as, for instance, in the example after *cabanga*.

Usho uthi, Ngiyesaba—He says, "I am afraid"; lit. He speaks (and) says. This is a compound sentence¹ and would be analysed as follows:

A. *Usho*. Simple sentence, co-ordinate to B.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *usho*.

B. *uthi, Ngiyesaba*. Complex sentence, co-ordinate to A.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uthi*.

Obj. *Ngiyesaba* (subst. clause).

B¹. *Ngiyesaba*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiyesaba*.

Ngisho ngithi, Akunacala—I mean, "It does not matter."

(Note the direct in Zulu, translation of which is strange in English.)

Sicabanga sithi, Sizolala lapha-nje—We think, "We shall sleep just here."

Wabatshela wathi, Inkosi isifile—He told them, saying, "The chief is now dead."

*Inkosi yasitshela yathi, Zingeniseni izinkomo esibayeni*²—The chief told us, saying, "Put the cattle into the kraal." The

¹ See "Co-ordination of Predicates" in Chapter IV.

² Analysis of this sentence is not given here, as it involves an interjective clause; see Chapter VII.

indirect equivalent of this would be (according to (i) above):
Inkosi yasitshela ukuthi sizingenise izinkomo esibayeni—
The chief told us to put the cattle in the kraal (lit. that we put).

UDingane washo wathi, Kanti impi yami, Ndlela, uyonile!—
Dingane spake saying, "So my army, Ndlela, you have disorganised!"

(c) There is a construction in Zulu, in which the actual words of reported speech may precede the verb of saying. In this case, the verb is *-sho*, which may not directly precede reported words. The reported words must still be considered as constituting a substantival clause, in essence object of *-sho*.
Izinkabi zilahlekile, sekusho abafana—"The cattle are lost," now say the boys.

*Wo! kwasho uNomjadu, Ngayaleka, mina kababa!*¹—"Oh!" said Nomjadu, "I am done for, as for me, child of my father!"

It is noticeable that in these cases the cl. 10 concord is used with *-sho* followed by the subject. Further, such substantival clauses cannot be cut up, by the interposition of *-sho*; a complete clause must precede *-sho*. In the second example above, the interjection *Wo!* constitutes a complete clause, an interjective one.

The analysis of this sentence would be as follows:

Subj. *uNomjadu*.

Pred. *kwasho*.

Obj.: (1) *Wo!* (interjective, used substantivally).

(2) *Ngayaleka, mina kababa* (subst. clause).

Sub-analysis of the substantival clause:

Subj. *mina*.

Enl. of S. *kababa*.

Pred. *ngayaleka*.

IZIBONGO AS SUBJECT OR OBJECT

Izibongo, i.e. praise-names, praise-phrases or praise-clauses, may be used as subject or object of sentences. In their formation are considerable complications of form through the verb stem often being inflected to form a substantive, that substantive then acting as subject or object of the main predicate, but still retaining its verbal force in being followed by an object or by a descriptive extension. Here a few typical examples are given.

¹ D. McK. Malcolm, *Ezasekhaya*, 2nd ed. p. 30.

[*USalusa-Mtsholoz'eq'abulawe*] *wathatha isikhumba sika-Shaka*¹—Sir Herd-of-Mtsholoz-he-escapes-and-is-killed carried Shaka's kaross.

Ngambona [*uGongod'umuntu-ngomqweleba*]²—I saw Sir Crumple-up-a-person-with-a-hard-wood-stick.

Kwavezwa [*uMvelas'ovel'enyandeni kwaMabaso*]³—There was shewn Appearer-who-appeared-in-the-grass-bundle-at-Mabaso's-kraal.

Usho-ke [*uMagaju-njengengwe*], [*Inhlang'eyeq'iphindela*], *ethi, Nkosi, elami lelo-hhemu!*⁴—Then spoke Leaper-like-the-leopard, Reedbuck-which-jumps-turning, saying, "Chief, that white-patched ox is mine!" (In this, the subject is *uMagaju-njengengwe* and, in apposition thereto, is *Inhlang'eyeq'iphindela*; the objects of *ethi*⁵ are: (1) *Nkosi*, a vocative interjective used substantivally, and (2) *elami lelo-hhemu*, a substantival clause, being direct reported speech.

PRINCIPAL AND SUBSIDIARY OBJECTS

There are certain verbs, in Zulu, which naturally may take two objects; and there are others which would, in their simple forms, take one object, but which may take two in their applied or causative forms. One of these objects is considered subsidiary to the other, the principal object generally being represented by an objectival concord. There are cases, however, with applied and causative forms of the verb, in which the subsidiary object is represented by concord, but in that case the verb is immediately succeeded by the principal object itself (whether noun or pronoun).

(i) Simple Verbs taking Principal and Subsidiary Objects

In most instances the action of the verb directly affects some person, though this is not invariably the case. Common verbs used in this way are: *pha, nika, tshela, buza, thela, khipha, faka, ambula, amuka, hluhula, phanga, sika, nquma, shaya, gwaza, hlaba*, etc. Example:

Abafana bangihlhubula ingubo—The boys stripped me of my garment.

In such a case, where the principal object is only represented by a concord, the representative absolute pronoun must be inserted for purposes of analysis, e.g.

¹Adapted from J. Stuart, *UThulasizwe*, 2nd ed. p. 4.

²Adapted from J. Stuart, *UThulasizwe*, 2nd ed. p. 12.

³Adapted from J. Stuart, *UThulasizwe*, 2nd ed. p. 16.

⁴Adapted from J. Stuart, *UThulasizwe*, 2nd ed. p. 19.

⁵Here this is participial, following upon *usho-ke* which contains a participial element.

Subj. *abafana*.

Pred. *bangihlhubula*.

Obj. (i) (*mina*).

(ii) *ingubo*.

Similarly with *Wamshaya isihlathi* (He struck him on the cheek; lit. He struck him the cheek), the full reading would be *Wamshaya yena isihlathi*.

The importance of the principal object is exemplified in the passive. For instance the passive of *Wangisika ubuso ngomese* (He cut me in the face with a knife, or He cut my face with a knife) is *Ngasikwa ubuso nguye ngomese*. Only the principal object of the active may become subject of the passive, in which case the subsidiary object—however difficult it may be to understand it—remains in the position of an object. The above would be analysed as follows:

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngasikwa* (passive).

Obj. *ubuso*.

Ext. of P. (i) *nguye* (agentive).

(ii) *ngomese* (instrumental).

Naturally an alternative treatment would be to consider *sika ubuso* as a single predicate, signifying to "face-cut," in which case *ngasikwa ubuso* would be the predicate in the above analysis.

A contrast to the construction of the second object is found when a locative may follow the verb, e.g. *Wamshaya endlini*—He struck him in the house (in which *endlini* is the place where the action of the verb was carried out). The English idioms are not distinctive. "He struck him in the face" and "He struck him in the house" are alike in construction. Though it is possible in Zulu to say *Wamshaya ebusweni*, this is considered less idiomatic, and it is better to use *Wamshaya ubuso*, clearly differentiated from *Wamshaya endlini*. So in Zulu it is natural and easy to say *Wamshaya ubuso endlini*; the English equivalent is ponderous: "He hit him in the face in the house."

Often verbs, which take a subsidiary object when the actual person is affected, have to be used in the applied form when the person is not so affected. For instance:

Wangisika umunwe—He cut my finger.

Wangisikela ipulangwe—He cut a plank for me.

Further examples:

Babaphanga abafowethu impahla—They robbed our brothers of their goods.

Bamgwaza isisu—They wounded him in the stomach.

- Inja ikufakile ukudla ikhala elimakhaza*—The dog put its cold nose into the food; or it cold-nosed the food.
Inkosi yazikhipha izinhlozi amehlo—The chief put out the eyes of the spies.
Nginike imali—Give me some money.
Wapha uNgoza isinkwa nezinkobe nenyama—He gave Ngoza bread, cooked mealies and meat.
Wasibuza umbuzo olukhuni—He asked us a difficult question.
Ngitshele konke—Tell me everything.
Bamenza inkosi—They made him king.
Ake umbuze indlela—Ask him the way.

(ii) Applied and Causative Forms of the Verb taking Two Objects

In these cases it is the object of the derived form which becomes the principal object, and which is ordinarily represented by an objectival concord. The object of the original simple form of the verb becomes subsidiary in importance, and secondary in word-order; it may, however, be represented by an objectival concord, provided it appears in substantival form as well, and provided the principal object (in substantive form) precedes it immediately after the verb.

- (a) *Applied*: *Bazokusishayela abafu*—They will punish the fellows for us (principal object *thina* understood).
Intombazana yabaphekela abafanyana ukudla—The girl cooked some food for the little boys.
Wabebela imali—He stole their money (lit. he stole, to their detriment, money).
Mus'ukungonela ingubo—Don't spoil my blanket for me.
UNtengo wayilethela inkosi incwadi—Ntengo brought the chief a letter.
Sizokunithengela izingubo—We shall buy some blankets for you. Simple sentence.
 Subj. (*thina*).
 Pred. *sizokunithengela*.
 Obj. (i) (*nina*).
 (ii) *izingubo*.
- (b) *Causative*: *Ngibonise incwadi yakho*¹—Shew me your book (principal object *mina* understood).
Siyamthwesa umfana impahla—We are helping the boy to carry the goods.
Ak'ungiphuzise ingcosana yamanzi esitsheni sakho—Please give me a little water to drink in your vessel. Simple sentence.

¹ Explanation of the analysis of such a sentence as this is deferred: it is interjective, and treatment is given in Chapter VII.

- Con. *ake*.
 Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *ungiphuzise*.
 Obj. (i) (*mina*).
 (ii) *ingcosana*.
 Enl. of O. *yamanzi* (qual. subsidiary object).
 Ext. of P. *esitsheni sakho*.

- (c) *Alternative Renderings*: *Umfundisi uyabafundela abantwana incwadi* or *Umfundisi uyayifundela abantwana incwadi*—The teacher is reading the book to the children.
Sibaphekele ukudla or *Sikuphekele bona ukudla*—We cooked the food for them.
Wangibonisa inyoni or *Wayibonisa mina inyoni*—He showed me the bird.

The analysis of the last rendering would be:

- Subj. (*yena*).
 Pred. *wayibonisa*.
 Obj. (i) *mina*.
 (ii) *inyoni*.

By this means it is possible to differentiate between a definite and indefinite subsidiary object. The first rendering in each of the above examples would more correctly give "a book," "food" and "a bird," respectively; and the second rendering of the first example above would more correctly give "to some children" (indefinite), since, in this case, the principal object is not represented pronominally.

COGNATE OBJECTS

Certain verbs may take objects which express again, with or without some limitation, the action of the verb with which they are used. Such objects are termed *cognate*. Two types are found in Zulu: (i) full cognates, which are derived from the same stem as the verb itself; and (ii) natural cognates, which are associated in meaning, but not in derivation.

(i) Full Cognates:

- cula iculo* (sing a song).
chwaya unchwayo (dance the hut-dance).
buza umbuzo (ask a question).
Basibuza imibuzo eminingi—They asked us many questions.
 Simple sentence.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *basibuza*.
 (i) (*thina*).
 (ii) *imibuzo*.
 Enl. of O. *eminingi* (qual. subsidiary object).

It is observable, from this last, that a cognate object may become subsidiary. It is, in fact, possible to have as many as three objects. to a verb like *buza*, e.g.

Mawusibuzele laba-bantu imibuzo leyo—Do ask these people those questions for us. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *mawusibuzele*.

Obj. (i) (*thina*).

(ii) *laba-bantu* (subsidiary).

(iii) *imibuzo* (cognate, subsidiary).

Enl. of O. *leyo* (qual. cognate object).

(ii) Natural Cognates:

There is a large range of these in Zulu, as in most languages.

The following examples may be noted:

qamba amanga (fabricate lies).

basa umlilo, phemba umlilo (light a fire).

ethamela ilanga, otha ilanga (bask in the sun).

otha umlilo (warm oneself at the fire).

xoxa indaba (relate an affair).

hlabelela ingoma (sing a hymn).

na imvula (rain down rain).

theza izinkuni (gather firewood).

*lala ubuthongo*¹ (sleep).

lumula ingane (wean a child).

qomisa intombi (court a maiden).

lobola umfazi (contract marriage with a woman).

Analysis of sentences involving these natural cognates is straightforward.

IDIOMATIC OBJECTS

Certain verbs in Zulu may take idiomatically, as objects, nouns which one would expect to be used adverbially. These generally accompany verbs of locative import,² and a locative form would have been expected; but, instead, they are used as true objects, and may be termed "idiomatic objects." Numerous examples will be found in Chapter X;³ but the following will be noted here:

ukungena indlu (to inherit family rights).

ukuhamba isonto (to attend church regularly).

ukulala umgodi (to inhabit a burrow).

Labo-bantu bayawahlala amatende—Those people live long in tents. (The objectival concord here is very significant.)

¹The noun here is almost adverbial in its use.

²Cf. Chapter IV, p. 87.

³Cf. pp. 213 *et seq.*

ABSOLUTE AND DESCRIPTIVE USE OF SUBSTANTIVES

It is necessary, here, briefly to refer to a use of substantives which is neither subjectival, objectival nor appositional, and which has been termed "absolute." Syntactically such substantives are more descriptive than substantial in their function, and are more naturally classified with the adverbs than with the nouns, though they are distinctly the latter in form. There are two types: (a) nouns used adverbially, generally to indicate duration of time, e.g. *Siyohlala khona izinyanga ezine* (We shall stay there four months); and (b) nouns used in an introductory or parenthetical way, e.g. *Kodwa ukufa kwabantu, bafa abaninginingi* (But regarding the death of the people, they died in great numbers). Fuller treatment will be given to this when dealing with the Syntax of the Descriptive.¹

But it must nevertheless be noticed that the Zulu differentiation between the noun and the adverb is, at times, difficult to ascertain; for instance, in regard to the phrase *ukuhlala iminyaka* (to live for years), while it would be normal to consider *iminyaka* as adverbial, it is possible to say, *iminyaka engayihlala nabo* (the years I spent with them), in which *iminyaka* is represented by an objectival concord with the verb! Both aspects of approach for syntactical purposes must therefore be kept open.

¹See Chapter V, p. 124.

CHAPTER III

THE SYNTAX OF THE QUALIFICATIVE

Introductory

In this chapter we are concerned with the relationship of the qualificative to the sentence. Our definition of a qualificative—a word which qualifies a substantive—precludes its being used as subject or object of a sentence. The word *abakhulu* may have two distinct syntactical uses in Zulu; e.g. in *Abantu abakhulu bayeza* it is an adjective, a qualificative, used as enlargement of the subject; while in *Ngibona abakhulu* it is a substantive, a qualificative pronoun, used as object of the predicate. The qualificative in Zulu is indicated by a concordial link with the substantive qualified; this concordial link is typically prefixal, though we shall see that there is one case, that of indirect relative construction, in which the link is represented by the pronoun (in full concord) or some part of speech formed therefrom by inflexion.

Zulu employs four different sets of qualificative concords, and the words—or clauses—introduced by these are therefore divided into four categories. These are the Adjective, the Relative, the Enumerative and the Possessive. Typical examples may be given in agreement with a noun of class 1 singular:

umuntu OMkhulu (a big person; adjective).

umuntu Oqotho (an honest person; relative).

umuntu MUphi (which person?; enumerative).

umuntu WAKhe (his servant; possessive).

In these cases the concords *om-*, *o-*, *mu-* and *wa-* are typical of the four parts of speech; it is only with class I sg. that clear distinctions are possible; equivalent concords for class I pl., for instance, are, *aba-*, *aba-*, *ba-* and *ba-*.

The above are cases of simple qualificatives, but Zulu also employs qualificative phrases and qualificative clauses, which latter make a sentence complex.

SYNTACTICAL ORDER OF QUALIFICATIVES

Qualificatives have a very definite syntactical word-order in Zulu, and the following important rule has to be observed: *The*

qualificative always accompanies and succeeds the substantive which it qualifies. If perchance this order is interfered with, either by the removal of the substantive, or by transferring the qualificative to precede the substantive, as for emphatic purposes, the qualificative becomes pronominal, and is treated syntactically as a "qualificative pronoun," either instead of the substantive or in apposition thereto. In the case of possessives, this alteration in syntactical function is accompanied by inflection in form, one of the secondary vowels *a-*, *e-*, or *o-* being prefixed, according as to whether the noun prefix of the class concerned contains *a-*, *i-* or *u-*.¹

An analysis of the following sentences will illustrate this:

- (i) *Umuntu omkhulu ufikile*—The big person has come.
Subj. *umuntu*.
Enl. of S. *omkhulu* (adj.).
Pred. *ufikile*.
- (ii) *Omkhulu ufikile*—The big one has come.
Subj. *omkhulu* (qual. pron.).
Pred. *ufikile*.
- (iii) *Omkhul'umuntu ufikile*—the big one, the person, has come.
Subj. *omkhulu* (qual. pron.).
Enl. of S. *umuntu* (noun in apposition).
Pred. *ufikile*.
- (iv) *Bayazithanda izinkomo zami*—They are fond of my cattle.
Subj. (*bona*).
Pred. *bayazithanda*.
Obj. *izinkomo*.
Enl. of O. *zami* (poss.).
- (v) *Ezami zihle kakhulu*—Mine are very fine.
Subj. *ezami* (qual. pron.).
Pred. *zihle*.
Ext. of P. *kakhulu*.

SEQUENCE OF QUALIFICATIVES

(i) When more qualificatives than one are used with a substantive, there is, in certain cases, priority of sequence. A general rule may be observed for normal, non-extended qualificatives, when no especial emphasis is intended on any one of them. It is this: *The possessive and the enumerative take precedence in word-order over the adjective and the relative.* Examples:

¹ See Chapter II, p. 12.

izinkomo zami ezinkulu (my big cattle).

ihhashi linye elimnyama (one black horse).

Induna yayo eqotho ilapha—His honest captain is here.

Yizinkomo ziphi enizithengileyo?—Which cattle did you buy?
(lit. it is cattle, which, that you bought).

(ii) *There is no preferential word-order between possessives and enumeratives, except such as is employed to bring one or other into emphatic prominence, or owing to an extension of one or other.*

Ufuna ihhashi liphi lami? or *Ufuna ihhashi lami liphi?*—Which horse of mine do you want? (In the former case attention is focused on the selection; in the second on the fact of my ownership.)

Ngumuntu wami muphi? or *Ngumuntu muphi wami?*—Which servant of mine is it?

An extension of a possessive or an enumerative, to form a qualificative phrase, or embodying a subordinate clause, will require such possessive or enumerative to follow the one not so extended.

*ihhashi lami [linye zwi]*¹ (my solitary horse).

ihhashi linye [lenkosi yezwe] (one horse belonging to the chief of the land).

Yizinkomo ziphi [zalowo-muntu engimbonile izolo]?—Which are the cattle of that man whom I saw yesterday? (Here the extended possessive contains also a relative clause, viz. *engimbonile izolo*.)

(iii) *Similarly there is no preferential word-order between adjectives and relatives, except such as is employed to bring one or other into emphatic prominence, or owing to an extension of one or other.* The more emphatic takes precedence in word-order; the extended qualification preferably follows the one comprising a single word.

Isisebenzi esikhulu esiqotho sikhona, or *Isisebenzi esiqotho esikhulu sikhona*—The big honest workman is present. (The former indicates "the big workman who is honest," the latter "the honest workman who is big.")

intombazana enhle ehlekayo or *intombazana ehlekayo enhle* (a beautiful, laughing girl).

With extensions:

isisebenzi esiqotho [esikhulu kunami] (an honest workman bigger than myself).

isisebenzi esikhulu [esiqotho ngempela] (a big absolutely honest workman).

indoda enhle [enamandla amakhulu] (a fine man of great strength).

¹The phrase or extended form is within brackets in these and succeeding examples.

(iv) *The general rule¹ is over-ridden when a possessive or enumerative is extended, while the adjective or relative remains a single word.*

indlu enhle [yenkosi yethu endala] (our old chief's beautiful house).

umuntu oqotho [munye zwi] (a solitary honest person).

This is especially necessary when, in long sentences, a qualifying word would otherwise be separated far from its substantive.

(v) It must be further observed, however, that for particular purposes of emphasis, or for personal whim, the general rule is at times set aside. This only emphasises the elasticity which is often found in Zulu syntax. Note the following examples:

Hamb'utshela umalume akunike induku enkulu yami—Go and tell my maternal uncle to give you my big stick. (That this sentence verges on the colloquial is further revealed in the omission of *ukuthi* or *ukuba* before *akunike*.)

Leso-sifo samonel'ubuso obuhle bakhe—That disease disfigured her beautiful face for her. (Attention is focused on the previous beauty of her face.)

(vi) It must be emphasised that the conjunctive formative *na-* may never be used to join qualificatives; it may however precede a qualificative pronoun. The analysis of the following will illustrate this.

Wathenga izingubo ezimnyama nezimhlophe—He bought black blankets and white ones.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wathenga*.

Obj. (i) *izingubo*.

(ii) (*n*)*ezimhlophe* (qual. pron.).

Enl. of O. (i) *ezimnyama* (rel.).

abantu abancane nabakhulu (small people and big ones).
izinkomo zami nezakho (my cattle and yours).

QUALIFICATIVES USED WITH INFLECTED SUBSTANTIVES

When some other part of speech, such as a copulative, adverb or possessive, is formed from a substantive, qualificatives may still be used agreeing with the original substantive; in other words the substantive and its enlargements together form a group which is inflected, only the first word of the group undergoing formal change.

¹See (i) above.

(i) **With Copulatives:**

umuntu omkhulu > *Ngumuntu omkhulu*—It is a big person.
isihlalo sami esimnyama > *Yisihlalo sami esimnyama*—It is my black chair.

The analysis of this simple sentence is as follows:

Subj. (*sona*).

Pred. *yisihlalo sami esimnyama* (extended copulative).

(ii) **With Adverbs:**(a) **Locative:**

Bahlezi ezihlalweni zethu ezilukhuni—They are sitting on our hard chairs (< *izihlalo zethu ezilukhuni*).

Hamba, uye enkosini endala esemzini—Go along, go to the old chief who is at the kraal.

Sifiké kumuntu wayo omdala kakhulu—We reached his very old retainer (< *umuntu wayo omdala kakhulu*).

Bakhuluma kuCetshwayo kaMpande—They are speaking to Cetshawayo son of Mpande.

Zifake kuleyo enkulu engikulethele yona—Put them into that big one which I brought you.

(b) **Conjunctive:** *Ngikuluma nendoda ehlananiphile*—I am speaking with a wise man (< *indoda ehlananiphile*).

Sizohamba nabantu bethu abayingcozana—We shall travel with a few of our people.

Ingwe ifana nekati elikhulu elesabekayo—The leopard resembles a huge and terrifying cat.

This may be analysed as follows:

Subj. *ingwe*.

Pred. *ifana*.

Ext. of P. *nekati elikhulu elesabekayo* (conjunct.).

The relative clause *elesabekayo* is susceptible of further sub-analysis.

(c) **Instrumental:**

Inkosi yangena ngesango elikhulu—The chief entered by the great gateway.

Lamafutha enziwa ngolaza lwembuzi—This butter was made from goat's cream (< *ulaza lwembuzi*).

Inkosi yahamba ngenqola yayo enamasondo amane—The chief travelled by his four-wheeled wagon.

(d) **Comparative:**

Izimu lakhula langangomuthi omude—The ogre grew as big as a tall tree.

Izwe lakwaNtengo linjengethafa elikhulu elingenamithi—The county at Ntengo's is like a huge treeless plain.

(e) **Agentive** (cf. use of Copulative, No. (i) above):

Ngabonwa yinkosi endala ehlala esibayeni—I was seen by the old chief who sits in the cattle-kraal.

Waluywa yinja yaso (isalukazi) eyesabekayo—He was bitten by her fierce dog.

Umsebenzi wenziwa yithi sonke—The work was done by all of us (< *thina sonke*).

This simple sentence may be analysed as follows:

Subj. *umsebenzi*.

Pred. *wenziwa*.

Ext. of P. *yithi sonke* (agentive).

(iii) **With Possessives:**

Ngibona izinyane lenyoni enkulu kakhulu—I see the young of a very big bird.

Izwi lenkosi yethu endala liqinisile—The word of our old chief is true (< *inkosi yethu endala*).

THE SYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVE

(i) Each adjective has its prefixal element, the adjectival concord. An adjective must always be in agreement with a substantive of the 3rd person, since adjectival concords for the 1st and 2nd persons do not exist in Zulu.

Ngibona umfana omkhulu—I see a big boy.

Sithenge izinkomo eziningi—We have bought many cattle.

Should agreement by an adjective with a 1st or 2nd person pronoun be required, one of two possible constructions is employed: (a) a relative concord is used before a copulative formed from the adjective or adjectival pronoun with class 1 reference; or (b) the pronominal form of the adjective is used in apposition to the 1st or 2nd person pronoun concerned.

(a) *Mina engimkhulu ngiyakhuluma*—I who am big am speaking (*mkhulu* being the copulative formed from *omkhulu*, referring to class 1 sg.). The plural equivalent is:

Thina esibakhulu siyakhuluma.

(b) *Min'omkhulu ngiyakhuluma*—I, the big one, am speaking (*omkhulu* here being the qualificative pronoun, class 1 sg.). The plural equivalent is: *Thin'abakhulu siyakhuluma*.

(ii) The relationship of structure between the relative and the adjective, as parts of speech, and the fact that clauses may be formed in both cases, will be fully discussed.¹ Suffice it to say, here, that *there is ample evidence that in Zulu there are true adjectival stems*, even as there are true relative stems distinct from the clause formation.¹

¹ See p. 55.

First, we treat of the adjective in its function as a simple attribute, without any reference to time, implication, mood or possible negation.

The formal distinction between the adjectival concord and the relative concord is that the former requires closer similarity to the noun prefix, revealed in the assumption of the nasals which appear in that prefix; apart from that there is correspondence of concord; and the initial vowels correspond throughout.¹

(iii) The inflexion of adjectives to give diminutive, augmentative or feminine implication does not affect the concordial agreement, but may sometimes be used to give added suffixal concord.

(a) Ordinary diminution of the adjective:

abantu abaningana (a fair number of people).

ihhashi elibanyana (a miserable horse).

(b) Ordinary augmentation of the adjective, found with stem *-khulu* only:

Kade sihamba nendoda enkulukazi engaka!—We have been travelling with such a big man!

(c) Diminutive and feminine harmonizing suffixes:

imishana emibilana (two little trees; note that the concept of "two" cannot in itself be diminished).

indukwana enhlana (a handsome little staff).

inkomazi endekazi (a tall cow; *-kazi*, as a feminine suffix with adjectives, is found only with the stem *-de*).

The use of this type of harmony is a fruitful source of idiomatic Zulu composition.²

(iv) There being no such thing as emphatic stress in Zulu, prominence is often conveyed by altering word-order. To make an adjective prominent it may be placed before its noun, when it becomes functionally (syntactically) a qualificative pronoun; e.g. *indlu enkulu* (a big house) > *enkul'indlu* (a huge house; lit. a huge one, a house). But apart from this, when one substantive has several adjectives qualifying it, the first is the most prominent. Thus, *umuntu omkhulu omubi* conveys the idea of "the evil big-man" or "the big man who is evil"; while *umuntu omubi omkhulu* conveys the idea of "the big evil-man" or "the evil man who is big." There are similar differences of emphasis between *abantu ababili abakhulu* and *abantu abakhulu ababili* (two big people).

(v) Adjectives may be used in association with certain adverbs which extend them. These are principally of three kinds: (a) those formed with the prefixal formative *kuna-*, (b) those formed

¹By some these have been referred to as "relative particles"; they are the secondary vowels, *a-*, *e-* and *o-*.

²Cf. Chapter X, p. 227.

with *ka-*, and (c) miscellaneous adverbs of manner. A type of qualificative phrase (adjectival) is the result.

(a) *kuna-*

Ngabona umuntu omkhulu kunami—I saw a person bigger than myself (lit. a person big compared-with-me).

Analysis:

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngabona*.

Obj. *umuntu*.

Enl. of O. *omkhulu kunami* (adjectival phrase).

Similar forms are found when the adjective is inflected to form a copulative:

Leyo-ndlela inde kunalena—That path is longer than this one. (Here *inde kunalena* will be treated as predicate, being an "extended copulative.")

(b) *ka-*

umuntu omkhulu kakhulu (a very big person).

abantu abadala kabi (terribly old people).

(c) Miscellaneous:

Siboné izinyamazana eziningi impela—We saw really many buck.

isalukazi esifushane-nje (an old woman just short; *-nje* now used suffixially as an enclitic must originally have been a separate adverb).

Sifuna osheleni ababili kuphela—We want merely two shillings.

(vi) Adjectives, when qualifying more substantives than one are generally in concordial agreement with the one which they immediately follow, and this is generally the last one:

Siboné amasimu nezindlu ezinhle—We saw beautiful gardens and houses.

Ezweni lelo kukhona izinkomo namahhashi amafushane kuphela—In that country there are only short cattle and horses.

It is alternatively possible to use the adjective with each substantive qualified, though this idiom is naturally more ponderous:

Kukhona izinkomo ezimfushane namahhashi amafushane—There are short cattle and horses.

When, however, the adjective is inflected to form a copulative, the rules applicable to concord choice with a plurality of subjects must be followed,¹ e.g.

Amahhashi nezinkomo mancane—The horses and the cattle are small (where concord with the first noun has been effected).

¹Cf. Chapter II, p. 16, "The Compound Subject and Object".

The Predicative Use of the Adjective

When the adjective is used predicatively a copulative is formed from it. The rule of formation is, briefly, that the initial vowel (the "relative particle" so-called) is elided; thus *omkhulu* > *mkhulu*; *elikhulu* > *likhulu*; in the case of class 5 sg., where the adjectival concord is monosyllabic, the initial *e-* gives place to *i-*, thus: *enkulu* > *inkulu*.

Examples:

Umkakhe muhle kakhulu—His wife is very beautiful.

Lezi-zibonda zimfushane—These poles are short (or too short).

Indaba leyo imbana kabi—That matter is very bad.

These predicative forms constitute the copulative base when conjugation takes place. As soon as conjugational effects are brought in, this copulative base has to be treated as any other copulative undergoing conjugation. Reference may be made to the "Text-book of Zulu Grammar" §§ 555-561. A few examples are given here:

(infinitive): *ukubamkhulu*, *ukubabakhulu*, *ukubayinkulu*, *ukubazinkulu* (to be big) according as to whether the adjectival copulative base is *mkhulu* (cl. 1 sg.), *bakhulu* (cl. 1 pl.), *inkulu* (cl. 5 sg.) or *zinkulu* (cls. 4, 5 or 6 pl.).

Sifuna ukubabahle—We want to become beautiful.

(pres. indic. neg.):

Akamkhulu—He is not grown up.

(immed. past indic. posit.):

Abesilisa bebebathathu—The males were three.

Imithi ibimincane—The trees were small.

(rem. past indic. neg.):

Izinkomo zazingezinkulu—The cattle were not large.

(future indic. posit.):

Izincwadi zonke ziyokubazintsha—All the books will be new.

(rem. past progress. posit.):

Ngaleyo-nkathi uJane wayesemncane—At that time Jane was still small.

(pres. exclus. neg.):

Imithi ayikabimide—The trees are not yet tall.

(subjunctive posit.):

Sifuna ukuba nibebakhulu—We want you to be big.

The Relative Use of the Adjective

Following directly from the preceding predicative use of the adjective, relative clauses may be formed by substituting the relative concord in each case¹ for the initial predicative concord, e.g.:

umfana ongemkhulu (a boy who is not grown up); note that this form, as with all true relative clause construction, is built up on the participial forms;² *-nge* (not *-nga-*) before a copulative.

abesilisa ababebathathu (males who were three).

imithi ebimincane (trees which were small).

izinkomo ezazingezinkulu (cattle which were not large)

izincwadi eziyokubazintsha (books which will be new).

uJane owayesemncane (Jan who was still small).

imithi engakabimide (trees which are not yet tall); note that here, since the auxiliary verb *-ba* is integral in the formation, recourse has to be made to the participial equivalent with negative infix *-nga-* (with verb *ba*) in place of prefix *a-*.²

The Adjective definitely one of the Zulu Parts of Speech

It is abundantly clear from the above examples, that all "tense" cases of adjectives—as it will later be seen also of relatives—must be considered as qualificative clauses—obviously "relative" clauses with adjectival base. It has been suggested that even the simple adjective should be similarly considered, as really a relative clause, i.e. that *umuntu omkhulu* really signifies "the person who is big" and not basically "the big person." That this is a fallacy, however, is demonstrable.

- (a) In the first place, the predicative form of *umuntu omkhulu* is *umuntu mkhulu*, in which predicate there is no subjectival concord; this is markedly distinct from the predicative form corresponding to a relative (whether relative stem or relative clause), e.g. *umuntu oqotho* > *umuntu uqotho*, or *umuntu ohambileyo* > *umuntu uhambile*, with subjectival concord *u-*.
- (b) In the second place, the adjective may be used as a qualifier unchanged in form even if the time reference is other than present. Take, for instance, the following sentence:
Ezweni lakwaZulu kwakukhona izinkomo eziningi ezimnyama—In Zululand there used to be many black cattle.

¹ Naturally this is not possible with a subjunctive, as in the final example.

² For the participial basis of relative construction, see p. 78.

Simple sentence.

Subj. *izinkomo* (logical).Enl. of S. (i) *eziningi* (adj.).(ii) *ezimnyama* (rel.).Pred. *kwakukhona* (copul. indef.).Ext. of P. *ezweni lakwaZulu*.

If the adjective and relative here used were in effect clause forms, the translation would be ludicrous, viz. "In Zululand there used to be cattle, which *are* many (and) which *are* black." The only logical clause form would have to be expressed with past tense sequences, as follows: *Ezweni lakwaZulu kwakukhona izinkomo ezaziningi ezazimnyama*; this would be a complex sentence, meaning: "In Zululand there were cattle which were many (and) were black." The use of the plain adjective and the plain relative, however, is the Zulu normal construction; and this fully justifies the conclusion that both the adjective and the relative constitute parts of speech within the functional designation of the qualificative.

THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE

All relatives and relative clauses are introduced by the relative concord, but the relative is sharply distinguished from the other three types of qualificative in that there is a relative construction in which the relative concord is not in agreement with the antecedent.¹ In every case of the adjective, the numeral and the possessive, the qualificative is in concordial agreement with its substantive. Relatives, however, are divided into two distinct sets, those which have a relative concord in agreement with the antecedent, and those which shew that agreement, not in the relative concord with which they begin, but in some other concordial way. These two types of relatives are termed:

I. The Relative of Direct Relationship.

II. The Relative of Indirect Relationship.

In all types of relative clause construction *the relative concord used invariably represents the subject of the relative predicate*. Further, except in one type of subjectival possessive relationship (when alternatively the indicative may be used), the relative predicate is always treated in the participial mood, the participial subjectival concords giving place to relative concords.

I. THE RELATIVE OF DIRECT RELATIONSHIP

There are three main types of this relative in Zulu: (a) that formed from relative stems; (b) that formed from copulatives;

¹i.e. the substantive qualified.

and (c) that formed by subjectival relationship with a subordinate verb. In each of these cases the substantive qualified has a direct relationship with the relative.

(a) The Syntactical Use of Relative Stems

(i) Most relative stems are traceable to an original noun derivation,¹ these stems acting as copulative bases and merely requiring a prefixed subjectival concord for them to act as predicates; when used attributively they simply assume direct relative concords. This is the reason for terming them "relatives." As example, from the stem *-manzi* (wet; < noun *amanzi*, water), the predicative form appears in *Lezi-zingubo zimanzi* (These clothes are wet), and the attributive or "relative" form in *izingubo ezimanzi* (wet clothes).

Following are examples of direct relative stems shewing the prefixal relative concord agreeing with the substantive qualified:

Izinkomo ezibomvu zihle kakhulu—Red cattle are very fine.

Ngiboné umuntu othile endleleni—I saw a certain person on the path.

Abantwana bafunda isifundo sabo esilukhuni—The children are learning their difficult lesson.

The direct relationship of the relative stems is clearly demonstrated when it is seen that relative concords of the 1st and 2nd persons may also be used with them; this further demonstrates that they may function as copulative bases:

Mina engiqotho ngiyakhuluma—I who am honest am speaking.

Nina eningcono niyazi ukuthwala—You who are better are able to carry.

Alternatively the pronoun may be used in apposition to a pronoun formed from the relative:

Mina oqotho ngiyakhuluma—I, an honest person (concd. for *umuntu*), am speaking.

Nina abangcono niyazi ukuthwala—You, recovered ones, are able to carry.

Thina abamhlophe sifuna ukufunda imithetho yenu—We white people want to learn your laws.

(ii) As with adjectives, the inflexion of relative stems to give diminutive or feminine implication does not affect the concordial agreement, but in the latter case may be used to give added suffixal concord.

(a) Diminution of the relative:

Lenkabi ebomvana inolaka—This reddish ox is bad-tempered.

¹Cf. Z.G. § 277.

(b) Feminine harmonizing suffix:

Umlamu wethu uthengé izinkomazi ezilungakazi eziyishumi—
Our brother-in-law has bought ten black-and-white cows.

(iii) As with the adjectives, relatives may be used in association with certain adverbs which extend them. Further, certain relatives are used in Zulu in association with their definite accompanying ideophones. These extensions may be regarded as qualificative phrases (relative).

(a) with adverbs:

*Ngiboné inkabi [emhlophe kunezethu]—*I saw an ox whiter than ours.

*Bagqoké izingubo [ezimanzi kakhulu]—*They are wearing very wet garments.

(b) with ideophones:

*Ugqoké ingubo [emhlophe qwa]—*She is wearing a pure white dress.

*Safika ebusuku [obumnyama kháce]—*We arrived on a pitch-black night.

incwadi [ebomvu klébu] (a bright red book).

An alternative construction with ideophones, one almost invariably found in Zulu when the ideophone describes a predicate, is to employ the verb *-thi*. This may even be done in the above cases; thus *Ugqoké ingubo emhlophe ethé qwa*. Analysis of the two forms is as follows:

1. *Ugqoké ingubo emhlophe qwa*. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ugqoké*.

Obj. *ingubo*.

Enl. of O. *emhlophe qwa* (relative phrase).

2. *Ugqoké ingubo emhlophe ethé qwa*. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ugqoké*.

Obj. *ingubo*.

Enl. of O. (1) *emhlophe*.

(2) *ethé qwa* (relative clause).

2a. *ethé qwa*:

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *ethé*.

Ext. of P. *qwa* (ideophone).

(iv) As already noticed predicative forms are made with the requisite subjectival concord; these constitute the present positive tense of the indicative mood, e.g.

*Inkabi yakhe imhlophe—*His ox is white.

*Izingubo zami zimanzi—*My clothing is wet.

*Sonke simpofu—*We are all poor.

The negatives would be: *ayimhlophe*, *azimanzi*, and *asimpofu*. Examples of other tenses:

*Omese bonke bebebuthuntu—*All the knives were blunt.

*Ziseqatha—*They are still strong.

*Uzobamnene—*He will be kind.

uma engemnene (if he is not kind).

(v) In all forms of conjugation, other than that of the present positive tense, these stems, when used attributively, constitute relative clauses, as was found to be the parallel case with adjectives. The following examples illustrate this:

omese ababebuthuntu (knives which were blunt).

umuntu ongemnene (a person who is not kind).

abantu abazobamnene (people who will be kind).

(b) Copulatives in Relative Relationship

Naturally all types of copulatives, or words which may be used as copulatives, may be brought into relative relationship with substantives, by substituting the relative concord for the subjectival concord. All such form relative clauses, even in the present positive form.

(1) Plain copulatives preceded by the relative concord:

*AmaSwazi abulalé izitha eziyisikhombisa—*The Swazis killed seven of the enemy.

*Kukhona abantu abayingcosana-nje—*There are but a few people.

*Sinenkosi engumfundisi—*We have a chief who is a teacher.

(2) Adverbs brought into relative relationship. Since adverbs commencing with consonants may be used predicatively with subjectival concords without any further inflexion, so relative concords may be prefixed directly to such adverbs. Adverbs (locative) which commence in vowels assume the prelocative *s-* with relative concords, as they do when used predicatively.

umuntu onamandla (a strong person).

*Bazobabopha abantu abalapho—*They will arrest the people who are there.

*Ngithanda ukulwa nomuntu ongangami—*I like to fight with a person who is my own size.

*Abantu abasendlini bangamaSwazi—*The people who are in the house are Swazi.

Akhipheni amankonyane asesibayeni—Take out the calves which are in the kraal.

(3) *Various tense forms:*

inkosi engemfundisi (a chief who is not a teacher).

umuntu ongenamandla (a person without strength).

amankonyane angekho esibayeni (calves which are not in the kraal).

umuntu owayenamandla (a person who had strength).

amadoda ayengamavila (men who were sluggards).

inzinkezo ezizokubasendlini (spoons which will be in the house).

indoda eyayiseyinkosi (the man who was still king).

Sizwile ukuhlala kwezizwe ezingenayo incwadi kaNkulunkulu—We have heard of the condition of tribes which have not the Word of God.

(c) **Relative Clauses of Subjectival Verb Relationship**

There are two types of these, plain subjectival relationship and subjectival possessive relationship. In the first case the subject of the subordinate verb is the antecedent; in the second it is something belonging to the antecedent. In each type the "relative clause" is introduced by the relative concord agreeing with the substantive qualified.

(1) *Plain subjectival relationship:*¹

Banezinja [ezihlakaniphileyo]—They have wise dogs.

Asiyithandi inkosi [engahlakaniphi]—We do not like the chief who does not get wise.

Abantu [abangasebenziyo] abayukudla—People who do not work will not eat.

Abazingeli balibulala ibubesi [elayidla inkosi endala ehlathini nyakenye]—The hunters killed the lion which ate the old chief in the forest last year.

Analysis of this complex sentence:

Subj. *abazingeli*.

Pred. *balibulala*.

Obj. *ibubesi*.

Enl. of O. *elayidla inkosi endala ehlathini nyakenye* (rel. clause).

Sub-analysis of the clause:

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *elayidla* (relative).

Obj. *inkosi*.

Enl. of O. *endala*.

¹Relative clauses are indicated between brackets. Fuller examples may be found in Z.G. §§ 760-772 for the whole treatment of Relative Clauses.

Ext. of P. (i) *ehlathini* (place).

(ii) *nyakenye* (time).

(2) *Subjectival possessive relationship:*

In order to express this a variety of forms is used by different Zulu speakers: no one of which seems to have yet become static. In all cases the relative clause is introduced by the direct relative concord, and the possessive is included after the possessee. The relative predicate may assume one of three forms: (a) indicative; (b) relative; or, less usually (c) a special form with participial basis but indicative concords.

(a) *With indicative predicate:*

umuntu onja yakhe ifile—ayifile (the person whose dog is dead—is not dead).

abantu ababantababo (for *ababantwana babo*) *bayadlala—abadlali* (the people whose children are playing—are not playing).

izinkomo ezimilenze yazo inodaka—ayinadaka (the cattle whose legs are muddy—are not muddy).

inkosi emntwana wayo uyagula—akaguli (the chief whose child is sick—is not sick).

(b) *With relative predicate:*

umuntu onja yakhe efile—engafile (the person whose dog is dead—is not dead).

abantu ababantababo abadlalayo—abangadlali (the people whose children are playing—are not playing).

izinkomo ezimilenze yazo enodaka—engenadaka (the cattle whose legs are muddy—are not muddy).

inkosi emntwana wayo ogulayo—ongaguli (the chief whose child is sick—is not sick).

(c) *With special participial predicate:*

umuntu onja yakhe ifile—ingafile (the person whose dog is dead—is not dead).

abantu ababantababo badlalayo—bangadlali (the people whose children are playing—are not playing).

izinkomo ezimilenze yazo inodaka—ingenadaka (the cattle whose legs are muddy—are not muddy).

inkosi emntwana wayo ugulayo—ungaguli (the chief whose child is sick—is not sick).

It is to be noted however, that the Zulu speaker prefers a construction which employs, in its full form, the conjunctive *na-*. In this construction the direct relative concord is used, but the possessive is not used: