umuntu onenja efileyo (the person whose dog is dead; lit. who has the dead dog).
abantu abanaabantu abadalayo—abangadlali (the people whose children are playing—are not playing; lit. who have children who are playing—who are not playing).

This type of construction is liable to contraction into a form resembling that of the previous paragraph; but it must be noticed that compounds result in which the possessive is not expressed:

ihhashi elinezindlele ezinde > ihhashi elizindlele-zinde (a horse whose ears are long; lit. a horse with long ears, a long-eared horse).

inkosi enabantwana ababiy > inkosi ebantwana-babiy (a chief whose children are evil).

umfana onesisu esikhulu > umfana osisis-sikhulu (a big-bellied boy).

inka bi enezimpondo ezibeké phezulu > inka bi empondo-zibeké phezulu (an ox with up-pointing horns).

II. THE RELATIVE OF INDIRECT RELATIONSHIP

Under this heading are found all the oblique cases of relative clause construction in Zulu, and they may be classified as: (i) objectival; and (ii) adverbial. In each of these cases the relative concord introducing the clause represents the subject of the subordinate verb. But it must be noted that the relative concord used in indirect relationship differs from that used in direct relationship in the 3rd person 1st class singular form, which is a- in place of the direct o-; e.g.

(direct) umuntu ombonayo (the person who sees him).
(indirect) umuntu ambonayo (the person whom he sees).

(i) Objectival Relationship

This is of two kinds in Zulu: (a) Plain objectival relationship; and (b) Objectival possessive relationship.

(a) Plain Objectival Relationship

The concord with the antecedent is made by means of the objectival concord with the subordinate predicate, or by means of a pronoun representing the object, if the verb is one which may take two objects:

Ngiphe incwadi [engiyiseke etafuleni]—Give me the book which I put on the table.

Isinkabi [abazibulele] zinamafutha—The oxen which they killed are fat.

Indaba [obewungitshele yona] iqinisile na?—Is the story thou wast telling me true?

Nasi isando [asifunayo]—Here is the hammer which he wants.

Zingeni's kwabana, zincunyonyo bele kahle [ezikufumana kuphakathi]—They enter like thieves and carefully stalk what they find to be within.

(b) Objectival Possessive Relationship

In this case the concord with the substantive qualified is made by means of the representative possessive stem conditionally linked to the object of the subordinate verb.

Abantuwa [esapheka ukudla kwabo] abakhono—The children whose food she (isalukazi) cooked are not present.

Nanso inkosi [eliBulele amadoda ayo ibubesi]—There is the chief whose men the lion killed.

(ii) Adverbial Relationship

There are various types of adverbial relationship into which the subordinate verb may be brought in relative construction; the main types are (a) Locative; (b) Conjunctive; (c) Instrumental; (d) Agentive; (e) Comparative; and (f) Positional. The concord in each case is expressed after the subordinate verb by the adverb (locative, instrumental, etc., as the case may be) formed from the pronoun representing the antecedent. Here again there are two types, the plain and the possessive, with each adverbial relationship. The possessive relationship is indicated (as in the case of objectival possessive) by employing the possessive stem with concord agreeing with the noun from which the adverb has been formed.

(a) Locative Relationship:

Ngiufume ukuthenga isihlalo [engihlala kuso]—I want to buy the chair on which I sit.

Indlu [uMgawza ahlala kuyo] ishe ekuseni-nje—The house in which Magwaza stays was burnt this morning.

Ngiyambona umfana [engahlala esiqgokweni sakhe]—I see the lad on whose hat I sat.

(b) Conjunctive Relationship:

Abantu [engihamba nabondo] bangabathembe—The people with whom I travel are Tembu.

(c) Instrumental Relationship:

Abelungu baphangâ ingola [ebengihamba ngayo]—The Europeans confiscated the wagon by which I was travelling.

Kwakungaleso-sikhathi [abadiula ngaso]—It was then that they passed.
The Syntax of the Qualificative

(ii) Of the enumeratives, it is only -nye which may be used in association with descriptives. This enumerative is found with the adverb kuphela, e.g. Ingonyama ibulalé inkonyana inye kuphela — The lion killed only one calf. It may also be used with the adverbial enclitic -nje, e.g. Balethu isibonda sinye-nje — They brought only one pole.

There is quite a number of emphatic ideophones used with -nye, which emphasise solitariness; they are jwi, mbibi, pho, ghubhu, zwi, and possibly others; e.g. Balethu isibonda sinye zwi — They brought a solitary pole.

(iii) Enumeratives may be used pronominally without change of form, e.g.

Bathatha maphi amageja ethu? — Which hoes of ours did they take?
Subj. (bona).
Pred. bathatha.
Obj. maphi (qual. pronoun, enum. = which one?).
Enl. of O. amageja ethu (appositional).

Kwakungekho namumbe umfana — There was not a single boy.
Subj. (na)mumbe (logical, qual. pronoun, enum., preceded by proclitic na = even).
Enl. of S. umfana (appositional).
Pred. kwakungekho (indef.).

Ngifuna mune nyekuphela — I want only one.
Subj. (mina).
Pred. ngifuna.
Obj. mune kufhela¹ (qual. pronoun, enum. with descriptive adverb).

The stem -ni is not used in this way, its use as an enclitic to a certain extent fulfilling the pronominal function (see vii (a) below).

(iv) Simple copulatives formed from enumeratives are unchanged in form, but differ from attributive forms in tone. Compare Ngumuntu mpaphi? (attributive: lit. It is person which?) with Maphi umuntu? — Which person is it? When copulative, the tone on mu is relatively higher.

In analysis the former would be:
Subj. (yena).
Pred. ngumuntu mpaphi (extended copulative).

The latter would be:
Subj. umuntu.
Pred. mpaphi (copulative).

Similarly, compare Ngibona umuntu mune (I see one person) with Lamuntu mune (This person is one), the tone on mu in the latter case being relatively higher.

¹Kuphela describes the original qualitative mune, and the whole phrase mune kufhela has become pronominal.

The Syntax of the Enumerative

(i) The enumerative is a very restricted part of speech in Zulu, being confined to four monosyllabic roots, -nye¹ (one), -mbe (another), -ni (what?) and -phi (which?). In more typical Bantu languages, where the system of counting is purely quinary, the first five numerals belong to this category. Zulu, however, has moved towards a decimal system of numeration, and in this process the numerals two to four have become adjectival in concordance, only one retaining true enumerative concords. The enumeratives share with the possessives a normal precedence in word-order over the two other qualificative types.

Bathatha amageja ethu maphi? — Which hoes of ours did they take?
Ngilahlekelwe ihhashi linye lami (or lami linye) — I have lost one of my horses.
Ngifuna inkomiso inye enkulu ehomvu — I want one big red beast.

¹This must not be confused with the adjectival stem -nye (some, other).
Syntactical usages of -nye

For ordinary purposes this enumerative follows the substantive qualified, as shown in (i) above, e.g. ihhashi linye (one horse), umfana mnuye (one boy), inkabi inye (one ox). These forms may be used no matter what tense of the verb is employed, e.g. Kukhona isitsha sinye (There is one plate), or KwaKukhona isitsha sinye (There was one plate), or Kuzobakhona isitsha sinye (There will be one plate).

However, as with the adjectival numerals, when expressing desire or command, or in future tenses, it is more idiomatic in Zulu to use a type of consecutive construction in which -nye is subordinated with the subjunctive mood of the auxiliary verb -ba. Examples:

Letha usheleni abemunye—Bring one shilling (lit. Bring a shilling (and) let it be one).

Ngizopheka iqanda libelinye—I will cook one egg (lit. I will cook an egg (and) it will be one).

Bulala inkuku ibeyinye or ibenyne—Kill one fowl.

When referring to past time, the use of the past subjunctive tense of -ba gives intensity or exclusiveness to the significance of -nye, e.g. Ngathenga ihhashi labalinye—I bought but one horse (lit. I bought a horse (and) it was one). In each of the above cases we have examples of complex sentences, the analysis of which, however, will not be discussed at this stage.\(^1\)

Idiomatic usage of -mbe

This enumerative when used pronominally is found in certain idioms with the instrumental formative nga-; the meaning is then that of a "single one," e.g.

ukuthatha ngasimbe (to have bad manners; lit. to receive with a single one, i.e. a single hand. The full form would be ngasandla-simbe).

ukuthatha ngalimbe (to act indiscrately; lit. to take with a single one, i.e. a single shoulder. The full form would be ngahlombe-limbe).

For explanation of the compounded full forms, see (ix) below.

Syntactical usages of -ni?

(a) This enumerative occurs, as a regular enclitic, drawing forward the stress; it is here objectival in force.

Utheni?—What did you say?

Subj. (wena).

Pred. uhé.

Obj. -ni (enclitic, objectival).

(b) Used as a qualitative -ni follows the normal rule of accompanying and succeeding in word-order its substantive. Qualitative pronouns (see (iii) above) are not formed from -ni.

Ufuna izimbazi zini?—What goats do you want?

Nisho idada lini na?—What sort of duck do you mean?

The above examples show its use as an enlargement of the object. It does not occur as a plain enlargement of a subject, but most commonly when its substantive is inflected to form a copulative:

Ngumfula munti lowaya?—What river is that yonder?

Yizilwane zini?—What animals are they?

Ngumuntu muni?—What sort of person is it?

Sekuyisikhathi sini?—What time is it now?

Lowo-muntu uluhlobo luni?—Of what tribe is that person? (lit. What kind is he? luhlobo is copulative form of uloho).

With nouns of class 5 sg., the form ini is very seldom heard, a construction being effected by suffixing -ni to the noun, or the copulative formed therefrom, e.g.

Yinto ini? Yintoni?—What thing is it?

Yindabani eniyixoxayo?—What affair is it that you are discussing?

When -ni is suffixed to the noun (not to the copulative therefrom) word-compounding takes place, e.g.

Nifuna-malini?—How much money do they want?

This type of construction will be further considered in (ix) below.

(c) Used to form copulatives: This is effected generally by prefixing yi-.

(1) In the case of class 5 sg. the result is yini,\(^1\) which may be used alone or with subjectival concords giving an indefinite significance, e.g.

Yini?—What is it? What is the matter?

Kuyini lokho?—What is that?

Bayini na?—What are they?

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\(^1\) This is really a formation from the noun equivalent ini; Z.G. § 134b.
ZULU SYNTAX AND IDIOM

Obs. The form *yini*? may also function descriptively as an interrogative adverb, much with the significance of *na*? though a little more emphatic.

*Inkosi isifile yini*?—Is the chief really dead now?

*Abantuwa bafuna ukudla yini*?—Do the children want to eat or not?

(2) With the other classes the copulative adverbs are formed from the qualitative pronouns, *yi*- being prefixed, with alternatively *ngu*- before forms with *u* in the concord, e.g.

*Yizini lezo ezimsukelayo*?—What are those which are attacking him?

*Ngukuni* (or *Yikuni*) *khona lokho okushayo*?—What is that which you are saying?

(d) Used to form possessives: These have the significance of “of what?” or “for what?”:

*umuntu wani*? (a person to do what? or a worthless person).

*Yizinsimbi zani*?—They are tools for what purpose?

*Ufuna ukhezo lwani*?—A spoon for what are you wanting?

(e) Used to form adverbs: Various adverbs are formed from this stem by prefixing *na* (conjunctive), *nga* (instrumental), *kuna*, *njenga*, *nganga*, (comparative), e.g.

*Uzohamba nani*?—With what will you travel?

*AbakwaZulu balima ngani*?—With what do the Zulu plough?

*Lencwadi inkulu kunani*?—This book is bigger than what?

*Bagijima njengani*?—Like what do they run?

Syntactical usages of *phi*?

(a) Used as a qualitative *phi* follows the normal rule of accompanying and succeeding in word-order its substantive; examples seem to be confined to those which follow the copulative form of a substantive, e.g.

*Yizimvu ziphishi ozifunayo*?—Which sheep are they which you want?

*Ngamaqanda maphi*?—Which eggs are they?

(b) This stem is used pronominally, when preceding the substantive, e.g.

*Ufuna ziphishi izimvu*?—Which sheep do you want?

Adverbs, instrumental, locative, etc., are formed from these pronouns, e.g.

*ngasiphishi isikhathi*? (at what time?)

*kuliphushi igeja*? (on which plough?)

*kuyiphushi indlu*? (in which house?)

Such adverbs may then be used copulatively and undergo conjugation, e.g.

The Syntax of the Qualificative

*Kwakungasiphi isikhathi*?—At what time was it?

(c) Used to form copulatives:

There are two main types of formation.

(1) Simple copulatives, differing only in tone from the qualitative forms, as observed in (iv) above; e.g.

*Eyami iphi*?—Which is mine?

(2) Fuller formations are derived from the qualitative pronouns; they employ mainly the copulative prefix *yi*- , with alternatively *ngu*- before forms of classes 1 sg. and 2 sg.; class 5 sg. has the form *iyiphi*.

Examples:

*Iyiphi eyamlumayo*?—Which bit him?

*Ngumuphi umuthi awufunayo*?—Which is the medicine he wants?

*Yiphi ubuso*?—Which is the face?

It will be noticed that this construction is commonly followed by a relative clause.

These copulatives are, naturally, susceptible of conjugation, e.g.

*Kwakungamuphi umuthi owufunayo*?—Which was the medicine you wanted?

*Iiyiphi inyoka eyamlumayo*?—Which was the snake that bit him?

Enumeratives forming Word-compounds

The enumeratives -*nye*, -*mba* and -*ni* have a distinct tendency towards forming word-compounds, in certain circumstances, with preceding words. There are two main circumstances in which this formation takes place: (a) with each of the stems in certain types of adverbial formation, and (b) with the stem -*ni* in particular types of copulative and verbal combination.

(a) in adverbial formation:

- *nye*: *ngaso-nye* (with a single eye; ct. *ngeso elinye* with adjectival -*nye* “some,” with some eye)

*ngasandla-nye* (with one hand)

*ngasikhathi-nye* (at one and the same time)

*ngalusuku-lyne* or *ngasu-lyne* (on one and the same day)

*ngalanga-lyne* (on one and the same day; note the adverb *langaline*, “for one day” formed from this).

Note that in these and the succeeding examples, when compounding takes place, the initial vowel of the preceding noun is elided, *nga* being prefixed without any coalescence.

1 For the full set, see Z.G. § 827 (a).

2 In the case of cl. 3 sg. and cl. 6 sg. the whole prefix is elided. This complete elision is analogous to the complete elision of class 3 sg. prefixes in forming relative stems from nouns; cf. examples in Z.G. § 277 (b).
THE SYNTAX OF THE POSSESSIVE

(i) There are two functions of the possessive in Zulu, the direct and the descriptive. In the case of the direct, the possessive indicates the actual possessor of the antecedent qualified; in the case of the descriptive, it indicates generally some quality, characteristic or constituent of the antecedent. Direct possessives are confined to formations from nouns and pronouns, while descriptive possessives are formed from nouns, adverbs and only in rare or extreme cases from pronouns. In Zulu there is no distinction in concord form whether the possessive is direct or indirect.

(ii) The possessive concord appears in various guises according to the type of stem to which it is prefixed. Note the following:

(a) The uninflected possessive concord is formed before most pronominal possessive stems (e.g. iso laka, his eye), before demonstrative pronouns (e.g. iso laleyo-nkabi, the eye of that ox), and before adverbs commencing in consonants (e.g. umuntu wakwaZulu, a person from Zululand).

(b) The coalesced possessive concord is formed with two pronominal possessive stems (viz. -iMhu and -iMvu; e.g. amahashi ehu, our horses), and with all nouns other than those of class 1a sg. (e.g. ukuhlakanipha komuntu, the person’s wisdom; isifundo sesibili, the second lesson.)

(c) The elided possessive concord, in which the -a- falls away, is found with all qualitative pronouns (e.g. amandla ezinye izizwe, the strength of other races; umuthi womkhulu, the medicine of the great one, ubuhle bezethu, the beauty of ours—cattle).

(d) The reinforced possessive concord, which appears in two instances:

1. before nouns of class 1a pl. when the semi-vowel w is inserted (e.g. amandla avobaba, the strength of our fathers).
2. before locative adverbs commencing in vowels, when prelocative -s- is inserted (e.g. utshani basemfuleni, river-grass).

(e) Quantitative pronouns are not themselves inflected to form possessives, but assume the pronominal possessives before them (e.g. amagama abo bobathathu, the names of all three of them).

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1 Called in this case the possessive.
2 There are some Bantu languages which differentiate in form between the direct and the descriptive possessive concord. The Zulu distinction with cl. la. sg. nouns may also be noted (see vii (a) i, below).
3 Except in certain descriptive forms, see vii (a) i, below.
Nouns of class 1a sg. retain what is sometimes considered to be the original Bantu form of possessive in -ka- (e.g. izinkomo zikaMpane, Mpane's cattle).

(iii) Whether direct or descriptive, the possesive as a qualificative has a tendency to follow its antecedent immediately. It has already been observed that the possessive normally shares with the enumerative in a precedence in word-order over the adjective and the relative.

Izinkomo zethu zonke (or zonke zethu) zisesibayeni—All our cattle are in the kraal.
Izinkomo zethu ezibonvu zilapha—Our red cattle are here.

If the possessive is moved from its position following its antecedent, it undergoes inflexion to become a qualificative pronoun, e.g.

Ezethu izinkomo zilapha—Ours, the cattle, are here.

When two possessives are used qualifying a common antecedent, one will be direct and the other descriptive. If the direct possessive is formed from a pronominal possessive stem it will precede the other in word-order, e.g. indlu yami yamatshe (my stone house). In other cases choice of order is possible, e.g. isifundo sabantwana sokuqala or isifundo sokuqala sabantwana (the children’s first lesson). Further choice of word-order will also be determined by possible extensions of one possessive or the other, e.g. indlu yamatshe yenkosi yethu (our chief’s stone house), where the descriptive possessive is naturally first.

(iv) When a possessive is intended to qualify more than one substantive, it may (a) be repeated after each, in concordia agreement with each; or (b) agree concordially with either the first or the last of such substantives; or (c) be used after both first and last:

Izinkomo zami nezimvu zami namhhashi ami abalekile—My cattle, sheep and horses have run away.
Izinkomo zami nezimvu namhhashi zibalekile.
Izinkomo nezimvu namhhashi ami abalekile.
Izinkomo zami nezimvu namhhashi ami kubalekile.

Note that in the above examples of compound subjects indicating animals, concord with the verb may be zi- or ku- or even a-, since amahhashi comes nearest to the verb; should the possessive come immediately before the verb, it would be liable to influence the form of concord used therewith.

(v) Both direct and descriptive possessives are susceptible of extension to form possessive phrases and, more rarely, even possessive clauses.

Possessive phrases:
(a) Direct: amazwi [enkosi yethu enhle] (the words of our good king)
Amadoda ayaziBala izinkomo [zikaBaba omkhulu]—The men are counting the cattle of my father’s elder brother.
(b) Descriptive: utshani [bangane komfula] (grass from this side of the river)
umuthi [waphezu kwentaBa leyo] (medicine from the top of that hill)
Zisuseni izinto [zendlu yami eyonakele]—Take out the things which belong to my damaged house. (Note the English idiom “belong to” in this context does not indicate the direct possessive, it signifies “have their place at;” this, as the two previous examples, is a descriptive possessive formation. Note also that the phrase is complicated by the inclusion of a relative clause eyonakele, qualifying the noun indlu in zasadlindini.)

Descriptive possessive phrases are commonly formed with verb infinitive bases:
isikhathi [sokubalobela abangane izincwadi] (time to write letters to one’s friends)
Abanazo izinkomo [zokudonsa lezi-zinqala ezisindyayo kangaka entabeni]—They have not got the cattle for pulling such heavy wagons as these on the mountain.

Possessive clauses:
Babulale umuntu [walapha behlala khona]—They killed a person from (or belonging at) the place where they are staying.
indaba [yamsukwana ifa inkosi] (the affair of the day the chief died).

In these cases the possessive concord is used with conjunctives.

The Direct Possessive

There are three aspects of this: (a) with possessive pronominal roots; (b) with ordinary nouns and certain pronouns; and (c) with nouns of class 1a singular.

(a) Possessives formed from possessive pronominal roots are distinctive in 1st pers. pl., 2nd pers. sg. and pl., and 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg., but are typical of the absolute pronouns for each
other instance. The distinctive forms are -ithu, -kho, -inu and -khe, while the ordinary forms are -mi, -bo, -wo, -yo, etc. The possessive concord agrees with the possessee, (i.e. the antecedent) and the possessive nominal stem represents the possessor. Coalescence of concord and stem takes place with -ithu and -inu. For examples, see Z.G. § 299.

(b) With ordinary nouns the -a- of the possessive concord coalesces with the initial vowel, e.g. induna yenkosiu (the chief’s headman, < ya- + inkosi); the concord may be used directly before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. iso lalengane (this child’s eye); before qualitative pronouns the -a- of the concord is elided, e.g. izandla zomkhulu (the big one’s hands, za + omkhulu); while before quantitative pronouns it is necessary to employ the possessive nominal roots (as in (a) above) followed by the pronoun in apposition, e.g. izinkomo zabo bonke (the cattle of them all). For examples, see Z.G. §§ 304, 305, 306 and 307.

(c) Nouns of class 1a sg., when forming direct possessives, have a concord composed of the formative -ka-, preceded by the subject concord agreeing with the antecedent, when that concord contains a consonant; if the subject concord is merely a vowel (-a, -i or -u) it is omitted, and the formative -ka- alone is prefixed to form the possessive; e.g. izwi likaba (my father’s voice), but amazwi kaba (my father’s words). For examples, see Z.G. § 302.

The Descriptive Possessive

There are two main types of these: (a) those formed from nouns, including verb infinitives; and (b) those formed from adverbs.

(a) Descriptive possessives with noun base. There are several sub-divisions of these according to significance, of which the following are the most important:

1. Indicating constituent material:
   indlu yotshani (a grass hut)
   imbiza yeomba (a clay pot)
   inkomishi yegolide (a golden goblet)
   izembe lethey (a stone axe)
   ishinga lentombasane (mischievous girl)
   uthokazi lwemamba (a great hulk of a viper).

With these are included noun bases of class 1a sg. when used with possessive concord -a-, instead of the more usual -ka-, e.g.
   amakhasi ogwayi (tobacco leaves)
   uboza bonogwaja (hare fur; ct. uboza bukanogwaja, the hare’s fur).

2. Indicating quality (including type, features, characteristics):
   abantu besilisa (male person)
   umfundisi wesifazane (lady teacher)
   izwi leqiniso (a true word)
   ingulube yensikazi (a female pig, sow)
   inyathi yenkomazi (buffalo cow).

Many of these are of sex indication.

3. Indicating content:
   imbiza yamanzi (a pot of water)
   ujeke wobisi (a jug of milk)
   isaka lommbila (a sack of mealies).

These forms are usually interpretable according to significance No. 4, giving use or purpose; context alone determines which significance to apply.

4. Indicating purpose or use:
   imbiza yamanzi (a water pot)
   igula lamasi (a sour-milk calabash)
   into yokudla (something to eat).

Among these are commonly found verb infinitive bases, and niceties of distinction are achieved by using the simple stem, the applied form, the causative form or the passive.

Simple form; plain purpose:
   indoda yokusebenza ensimini (a man to work in the garden)
   isikhathi sokudala (playtime)
   usuku lokuphumula (day of rest).

Applied form; locative force:
   indlu yokudlela (a room to eat in)
   incwadi yokulobela (exercise book, lit. a book to write in).

Causative form; instrumental force:
   into yokusebenzisa (something for causing work, an instrument, e.g. whip, stick)
   amanzi okugcwalisa (water to fill up with).

Passive form; special significance:
   ukudla kokuphekwa (food for cooking purposes)
   uthwala bokuphuzwa (beer intended for drinking).

5. Indicating order:

This covers ordinal numeral construction, and includes certain verb infinitive bases.
   umuntu westibili (the second person)
   isi fundo sesithathu (the third lesson)
   isikhathi sekhuhlu (the hundredth time)
   umuthi wu mu (the eleventh time)
isikhathi sokuqala (the first time)
isikhathi sokucina (the last time)
usuku lokuphela (the last day).

6. Indicating object:
This occurs after agentive nouns formed from verbs.

- abafuyi bezimvu (sheep farmers)
- umshayeli wengola (wagon driver)
- umfundisi waBantu (a teacher of children).

(b) Descriptive possessives with adverbal base. There are two types of these: 1. Locative; and 2. Temporal.

1. Locative base, generally indicating place of origin, place to which the antecedent belongs.

- inkomo yalapha (a beast from here)
- umkhuwa wakhona (a local custom)
- umantu wakwaZulu (a Zulu, a person from Zululand)
- utshani basemfuleni (river grass)
- amakhoshi asendle (wild horses)
- umuthi wasentabeni (a mountain tree).

2. Temporal base.
izindaba zamanjane (current matters)
abantu banamhlanje (present-day people)
abantu bakuguala (people of former times).

(c) It is possible to have descriptive possessive constructions with a pronominal base, e.g. imbiza yalawa-manzi (a pot of this water); enye yazo (one of them, e.g. enye yeziphanyini, one of the birds); umanye wabo (one of them, e.g. omanye wabo, one of the boys).

QUALIFICATIVE PHRASES

Phrase formation has been noted from time to time in the preceding sections of this chapter. It but remains to summarise the various forms here. A first natural division is fourfold, into: (i) adjectival phrases; (ii) relative phrases; (iii) enumerative phrases; and (iv) possessive phrases.

(i) Adjectival phrases:
These are very limited, being confined to the use of the few possible adverbs, which may be associated with an adjective, e.g. Nansi intombazana [enhle kabi]—Here is the marvellously beautiful maiden.

Analysis: Simple sentence.
Subj. intombazana.
Enl. of S. enhle kabi (adj. qual. phrase).
Pred. nansi (loc. demons. copulative).

(ii) Relative phrases:
Three types of these may be noted:
(a) Relatives extended by adverbs (as in the case of the adjectives above):
Sasidla ukudla [okumandi kakhulu] kulowo-muzi—We were eating most tasty food at that village.

(b) Relatives intensified by ideophones:
Wathenga imwana [emhlombo thwa]—He bought a pure white lamb.

(c) In certain numeral formations beyond “ten”:
Abantu [abashishumi1 nanhlunu basenqoleni]—Fifteen children are in the wagon.

When relatives are of verbal base, or when any forms such as the above are conjugated, clauses, not phrases, are naturally the result.

(iii) Enumerative phrases:
Only with the stem -nye is phrase formation possible, the adverb kuphele and several ideophones being used.
Letha incwadi [nye kuphele]—Bring just one book.
Ngifana umuthi [munye zwi]—I see a solitary tree.

(iv) Possessive phrases:
These occur with both direct and descriptive possessives.
(a) Direct possessive phrases occur very commonly, with possessive pronominal stems, with nouns and pronouns of all types.
1. With possessive pronominal stems:
Ngitshele amagama [abo bobaBili]—Tell me the names of both of them.
AniwaBoni amandla [ethu thina-bantu benu]?
Do you not see the strength of us, your people?

2. With nouns:
Indlu [yenkosiyethu endala] ishile—Our old chief's house is burnt.
Sifuna izikhumbi [zezinkabi ezinkulu ezintathu]—We want the hides of three big oxen.

3. With pronouns:
Balinganisa ubude [balezi-zitaladi ezintsha]—They are measuring the length of these new streets.

1Since this employs a copulative, it may be considered as clause-forming; but in such expressions as this, or as abayingcosana (few), there is no conjugational or tense idea conveyed.
(b) Descriptive possessive phrases occur with noun bases, particularly of verb infinitive type, and with extended adverbs.

1. With noun bases:
   Sithanda izindlu [zamaishe amakhulu]—We like houses (built) of huge stones.
   Baletha imbiza [yamanzi ashisyayo]—They are bringing a pot of hot water.
   Analysis: Complex sentence.
   Subj. (bona).
   Pred. Baletha.
   Obj. imbiza.
   Enl. of O. yamanzi ashisyayo (complex poss. qual. phrase).

   Sub-analysis of ashisyayo:
   Subj. (wona).
   Pred. ashisyayo (relative).
   Asinazo izinkomo [zokulisa amasim'ethu nonyaka]—We haven’t the cattle to plough our fields this year.
   Sifina isikhathi [sokufunda kahle izifundo zethu]—We want time to learn our lessons properly.

2. With extended adverbs:
   Sizosebenzisa umhlabathi [waphakathi kwesim]—We shall use the soil from the middle of the field.
   Ngitishele ngendaba [yasemvu kwakoloko]—Tell me about the matter that occurred thereafter (lit. matter of after that).

QUALIFICATIVE CLAUSES

(i) The basis of all qualificative clause construction in Zulu is the participial mood. All relative clauses consist of a relative concord introducing the verb in the participle mood. This is not generally noticed in the positive forms but is plain at once in the negatives. It further shews itself in the negatives formed from adjectival and relative stems, as well as from relative forms of copulative and adverbial base. Note the following:

(a) adjective:
   umuntu omkhulu (a big person)
   umuntu ongemkhulu (a person who is not big).

(b) relative stem:
   umuntu ogotho (an honest person)
   umuntu ongegotho (a person who is not honest).

(ii) All qualificatives of adjectival or relative base, whether of clause type or not, are capable of expression in various implications and tenses, such as are applicable to the participial mood in the copulative conjugation. For instance:

(a) adjective:
   abantu ababebakhulu (people who were big)
   umuntu ongabamkhulu (a person who can be big)
   isihlalo ebesingesihe (a chair which was not nice)
   indoda engakabinde (a man who is not yet tall)
   izinkomo ebezisezi ncane (cattle which are still small).

(b) relative stem:
   abantu ababeqotho (people who were honest)
   umuntu ongabagqotho (a person who can be honest)
   isihlalo ebesingesibani (a chair which was not wide)
   indoda engakabinene (a man who is not yet kind)
   izinkomo ebeziseqatha (cattle which were still strong).

(c) relative, adverbial and copulative:
   inkosi ebinamandla (the chief who was strong)
   izimvu ezasingenabo ya (sheep which had no wool)
   Sinenkosi engumfundisi—We have a chief who is a teacher.

The most fruitful source of qualificative clauses is found in Relative Clause construction. This has been exhaustively dealt with already in the section on "The Syntax of the Relative," to which reference may be made.

1This is a complex phrase, i.e. a phrase containing a clause. These are common occurrences.
2Except in one strange case, that of an alternative construction of "relative clauses" of subjectiv possesive relationship, in which the indicative mood is used; see p. 61.

3Note the contraction in the usual "indefinite" negative; a definite negative here would be ongezayo inkosi or ongezayo inkosi (who is not the chief).

4See p. 55.


6See p. 56.
agree with either subject or object; and (b) when they are preceded by a conjunction such as una, inxa, etc. These will be treated in more detail later under the “Syntax of the Descriptive”; here an example of each is all that is necessary.

(a) Bengihlezi ngedwa, [belele]—I was sitting alone, they being asleep.

Subj. (mina).
Enl. of S. ngedwa4 (appositional).
Pred. bengihlezi.
Ext. of P. belele (participle clause of reason).

(b) [Uma befika], sizobona—When (or if) they come, we shall see.

Subj. (thina).
Pred. sizobona.
Ext. of P. uma befika (participle clause of time or condition).

Further sub-analysis of each clause may, of course, be made.

(v) In a certain idiomatic use of the numerals, a strange type of descriptive clause, employing the auxiliary verb -da in the subjunctive mood, may be used qualitatively. Note the following:

Ngifuna ompondwe [bahebathathu]—I want three pounds.
Sabona amadube [abamahlanu]—We saw only five zebras.

For a full discussion of this see Chapter IV, p. 177, under “Syntax of the Subjunctive Mood” (iii) (e).

(iv) As the participial mood underlies the relative clause construction, so we find, in Zulu, participial clauses qualifying substantives with no relative concord, or even relative “particle,” introducing them. These participial qualitative clauses may be of two kinds: they may qualify the subject, or they may qualify the object of the sentence. The following are examples:

(a) uZashuke ubaleké [ephethi isihlangu somufu]—Zashuke ran off carrying the fellow’s shield.

Subj. uZashuke.
Enl. of S. ephethi isihlangu somufu (participle clause).
Pred. ubaleké.

(b) Ngizibonë [zibaleka]—I saw them running away.

Subj. (mina).
Pred. ngizibonë.
Obj. (zona).
Enl. of O. zibaleka (participle clause).

Such participial clauses might alternatively be treated as descriptive clauses extending the predicate: they would be so treated in English, but in Zulu it seems better to treat them as qualitative, especially as they may have special reference to either subject or object according to concord.1

There are however definite cases of participial clauses in Zulu which are descriptive, and cannot be treated as qualitative. These occur (a) when the concord introducing them does not

1See Chapter V, pp. 134, 135.

4Alternatively this may be considered as an extension of the predicate of manner.

CHAPTER IV
THE SYNTAX OF THE PREDICATIVE

Introductory:

It has been stated elsewhere\(^1\) that “apart from the case of the interjectives, no concept in Zulu is complete without its being or containing a predicate.” The predicative, then, constitutes the very core of the Zulu sentence; and the definition of the Zulu sentence has been given as “a word or succession of words expressing a complete concept.”\(^2\)

We are faced, then, with two kinds of complete concept, two kinds of sentence: the interjective sentence and the predicative sentence. The former will be studied later; the latter is the subject of this chapter, and it is naturally the more commonly used. There cannot, however, be an absolutely clear-cut division between the two, for imperatives, which loom large in interjective formation, have their verbal aspect and may command many of the constructions which follow the normal verbal predicate.

One very important distinction between the predicative sentence and the interjective sentence is that in the former there is always a subject (either expressed or indicated by concordial or at least implied), but in the case of the interjective sentence no subject is either indicated by concordial or expressed substantivally or even implied.

Interjective sentences commonly occur introducing predicative sentences, as for instance:

\(\text{Jojo! ngiyakufuna—Jojo, I want you.}\)

\(\text{Baba! angifanele—Father, I am not worthy.}\)

Such sentences must be treated as compound, and the second, for instance would be analysed as follows:

1. \(\text{Baba (interjective sentence).}\)
2. \(\text{angifanele (predicative sentence):}\)
   - \(\text{Subj. (mina).}\)
   - \(\text{Pred. angifanele.}\)

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\(^1\)Z.G. § 67.
\(^2\)Chapter I, p. 5.

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Many interjective sentences are susceptible of analysis, and the same framework as that used for predicative sentences may be used, provided the subject is always indicated as wanting, e.g. \(\text{Ngilethele incwadi yami khona-manje—Bring me my book immediately. Simple interjective sentence.}\)

- Subj. no subject.
- Pred. \(\text{ngilethele} (\text{imperative}).\)
- Obj. (i) \(\text{(mina)} (\text{principal}).\)
- (ii) \(\text{incwadi} (\text{subsidiary}).\)
- Enl. of \(\text{O. yami} (\text{qual. subsid. obj.}).\)
- Ext. of \(\text{P. khona-manje}.\)

Further discussion and treatment of the interjective sentence will be deferred at this stage, though individual occurrences, in examples, will of necessity present themselves from time to time. The whole question will be dealt with in Chapter VII.

The Predicative Sentence:

In Zulu there are two main types of predicates, the verb and the copulative. All imperatives are excluded from treatment in the predicative sentence; they belong to the interjective sentence. Similarly all infinitives are excluded; they also have no subjectival concordial, and are, in function, substantivs. All the finite moods, however, indicasive, subjunctive, participial, potential and contingent, may be used to form either main or subordinate predicative sentences. In what ways these may each be used will later be discussed.

The copulative, commonly used with subjectival concords, is the one type of predicate, in a predicative sentence, which need not on all occasions assume a subjectival concordial. Take for example the following:

\(\text{Lomuntu lidaka—This person is a sot.}\)
- Subj. \(\text{lomuntu} (\text{positional}).\)
- Pred. \(\text{lidaka} (\text{copul}).\)

\(\text{Yisitsha lesi—This is a plate.}\)
- Subj. \(\text{lesi}.\)
- Pred. \(\text{yisitsha} (\text{copul}).\)

Subjectival concords are also, of course, used with copulative predicates:

\(\text{Ingonyama yayilikati—The lion was a cat.}\)
\(\text{Lowo-muntu ungubani na?—Who is that person?}\)

With both copulatives and verbs it is possible to have a subjectival indefinite concordial not in agreement with the subject:

\(\text{Kukhona izinyamazane kulelizwe—There is game in this country.}\)
THE VERBAL PREDICATE

There are two types of verbal predicate to be considered in Zulu, the univerbal or plain predicate, and the multi verbal or complicated predicate. As the terms "simple," "compound" and "complex" have definite application in sentence analysis, they have been purposely avoided in a description of predicate types. The plain predicate is one consisting of a single verb, hence "univerbal," while the complicated predicate, consisting of more than one verb, viz. a deficient verb followed by a subordinate complemental verb, is termed "multi verbal." Further, the univerbal or plain predicate may be composed of a simple or a derived stem; hence the avoidance of the term "simple." Again, the multi verbal or complicated predicate, consisting of two or even more verbs, might, according to analytical treatment, be considered either "compound" or "complex" or even "simple" (when followed by an infinitive object); so it is best not to use the terms "compound" and "complex" in relation to predicate form.

There are many aspects in which verbs in Zulu may be viewed; but, for purposes of syntax and sentence analysis, two are of prime importance: (i) what is the mood of the verb? and (ii) what is the import of the verb?

(i) The Mood of the Verb:

Of the five Zulu moods, the participial may only be used in subordinate construction; the subjunctive is generally used in subordinate construction, though it may on occasion be used in the main predicate; the indicative is the prime mood for the main predicate, though on occasion it may be used in subordinate construction; a similar observation may be made regarding the potential mood; while the contingent mood always implies, if it does not always actually have, an accompanying subordinate clause. The syntax of these moods will be studied later. It is sufficient here to note the following regarding the three most important moods, the indicative, the participial and the subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Main Predicate</th>
<th>Subordinate Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>generally</td>
<td>rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>generally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- Indicative in the main predicate:
  - Inkosi [aiyiyukafika] emzini wakwethu—The chief will not reach our kraal.
  - Abontwana abahlale [balalela] abazali babo—Good children obey their parents.

- Indicative in the subordinate predicate:
  - Sonke siyazi ukuthi amazwi [ayokwahlula]—We all know that your words will prevail.

- Subjunctive in the main predicate:
  - [Maabasheshe] abafana bonke—Let all the boys make haste.

- Subjunctive in the subordinate predicate:
  - Sifuna ukuba [bagqoke] masinyane—We want them to dress immediately.
  - Musa ukumshaya kanga, hleze [afe]—Don't hit him so hard, lest he should die.

- Participial in the subordinate predicate:
  - Uma [ethanda] ukukhuluma makakhulume—If he wants to speak, let him speak.
  - Asibathandi [abakohlisayo]—We do not like the deceivers.

- Potential in either predicate:
  - [Ngingahlala], uma [unganginika] imali—I would stay if you gave me money.

- Contingent in main predicate:
  - [Bezizokhuluphala] lezi, ukuba utshani bunungi lapha—These (cattle) would have been fat, if there had been much grass here.

It is clearly seen from the above that the distinction between the main predicate and the subordinate predicate is very much the same in Zulu as in English. Greater detail of analysis later will, however, reveal real differences in certain cases.

(ii) The Import of the Verb:

Zulu verbs may roughly be divided into six types according to their import—

1. The infinitive being considered a noun, and the imperative an interjective, they are not called mood forms.

1. Relative clause with participial base.
ZULU SYNTAX AND IDiom

(a) **Intransitive** verbs, which are self-contained in their action, e.g. *Bayagula* (They are ill); *Isinkomo sezikhamba kakhu* (The cattle are now travelling much). These include many static verbs and neuter forms.

(b) **Transitive** verbs, which need an object to complete their action, e.g. *Bashayi ezinkabi* (They struck oxen); *ikusebenzela* (to work for someone). These include causative and most applied forms of the verb.

(c) **Locative** verbs, which need a locative adverb to complete their action, e.g. *Sivela kwaZulu* (We come from Zululand); *Bagijinélwa emithini* (They ran to the trees). These include certain applied forms, generally of verbs of motion.

(d) **Agentive** verbs, which need a copulative (expressing the agent) to complete their action, e.g. *Ngabonwa nguMalandela* (I was seen by Malandela). These include passives.

(e) **Conjunctive** verbs, which need a conjunctive expression to complete their action, e.g. *Ingonyama ifana nekati* (The lion resembles the cat). These include many reciprocal forms.

(f) **Instrumental** verbs, which require an instrumental adverb to complete their action, e.g. *Sihamba ngendela* (We travel by road).

In Zulu then the usual distinction of verbs into transitive and intransitive is insufficient, and different verbs and different types of verb may have varying imports. These imports have a strong bearing upon the analysis of the sentences. Examples of each are now taken in turn, universal predicates being used.

(a) **The Intransitive Verb**

This constitutes the simplest type of verbal predicate one can have in Zulu. There may be an extension of the predicate in the form of an adverb of manner but this is not a necessary concomitant. All that is stipulated is a predicate with a reference (a concord) to a subject, whether this latter is expressed or only inferred. In analysis it is well to include the subject; if not expressed, it should be represented by the absolute pronoun equivalent in parentheses.

*Bagudukile* > *(bona)* bagudukile.
*Zihlekel* > *(zona)* zihlekelé kakhu.
*Sizohamba ngomuso* > *(thina)* sizohamba ngomuso.

(b) **The Transitive Verb**

The transitive verb is one which normally is used with an object. The object is not always expressed but it is always implied. Such verbs as *bona, shaya, thanda* demand an object in conception to complete their action. The test for transitive verbs is that they can be used with the interrogative enclitic *-ni?* (what?); e.g. *Ubonani?* (What do you see?).

*Ubona leziya-zinkomo na?*—Do you see yonder cattle?
*Angiziboni*—I don’t see them.

Subj. *(mina)*
Pred. angiziboni.
Obj. *(zona)*

*Lomuntu angebone*—This person cannot see.

Subj. *lomuntu* (appositional).
Pred. angebone.
Obj. *(lupho* implied.

*Uzibulele*—He has committed suicide.

Subj. *(yena)*
Pred. uzibulele (reflex.).
Obj. *(yena)*

Most applied forms of the verb are *ipso facto* transitive:

*Uba baja uzukuyihambela inkosi*—Father will visit the chief.
*Amadodana akhe ayamsebenzela umfundo*—His sons are working for the teacher.

*UMalandela wangishiyela lempahla yonke*—Malandela has left me all these goods.

Subj. *uMalandela*.
Pred. wangishiyela.
Obj. 1. *(mina)* (principal).
2. *lempahla* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. *yonke* (appositional to subsidi. obj.).

**Obs.**: Applied forms of verbs of motion are not necessarily transitive; they may be locative (see under (c) below).

All causative forms of the verb are transitive, that is, they require an object of the causation, and they may in addition have a subsidiary object of the simple action of the verb (as in the last example of the applied verb above).

*Iinkosazana iyababonisa abantwanyana imifaneke* — The young lady is showing the little children some pictures.

Subj. *inkosazana*.
Pred. iyababonisa.
Obj. 1. abantwanyana (principal).
2. imifaneke (subsidiary).

*Bayazisebenzisa izincwadi zethu*—They are using our books.
*Abafana bazozingenisa izinkomo kusihlwa*—The boys will klaal the cattle at dusk.

(c) **The Locative Verb**

Certain verbs in Zulu demand a locative construction after them, either expressed or implied, to complete their action. The test for locative verbs is that they can be used with the interrogative
(d) The Agentive Verb

Passive verbs in Zulu demand or imply as agent to complete their action. This agent is expressed by the copulative form of the substantive (an agentive adverb). The test for agentive verbs is that they can be used with the copulative interrogative (agentive), yini? (by what?) or ngubani? (by whom?); e.g. Washaywa ngubani? (By whom was he struck?); Uqulise yini? (By what were you made ill?). Some neuter verbs are agentive in force also.

Inkosi ya bonwa ngubani laphaya?—By whom was the chief seen yonder?
Amasela abanjwa yimpi kaShaka—The thieves were caught by Shaka’s army.

Subj. amasela.
Pred. abanjwa.
Ext. of P. yimpi kaShaka.

(e) The Conjunctive Verb

A reciprocal verb, ending in -ana, may in Zulu be used with a singular subject, in which case it is incomplete without a conjunctive expression in na-. The test for conjunctive verbs is that they can be used with the interrogative nobani? (with whom?) or nani? (with what?); e.g. Ufana nani? (What is it like?). These also include such verbs as hamba, khuluma, etc.

Ngahlangana namabubesi endlelani—I met with lions on the path.

Inkosi yethu izondene nazo izinduna zayo—Our chief is at variance with his captains.

Subj. inkosi.
Enl. of S. yethu.
Pred. izondene.
Ext. of P. nazo izinduna zayo (conjunctive).

(f) The Instrumental Verb

Certain verbs of action are completed by an instrumental adverb (with prefix nga-); such verbs as hamba, shaya, bulala, bamba, etc. The test for instrumental verbs is that they can be used with the interrogative adverb ngani? (by means of what?); e.g. Washaywa ngani? (With what were you hit?).

ukuhamba ngendlela (to travel by road)
ukuhamba ngezinyawo (to travel on foot)

Ngamshaya ngenduku—I struck him with a stick.

Subj. (mina).
Pred. ngamshaya.
Obj. (yena).
Ext. of P. ngenduku.

The instrumental import is far less convincing than any of the previous five, and all verbs used with it may alternatively be classified among one of the other categories.
(g) Verbs with Idiomatic Usages

The above instances of the use of intransitive, transitive, locative, agitative, conjunctive and instrumental verbs show their regular import. There are, however, numerous idiomatic uses of these types of verbs, which do not conform strictly to the above. For instance, such a verb as khwela (climb, mount) may be used as an ordinary transitive verb, as an alternative to its more regular locative import, and we have ukukhwela intaba as well as ukukhwela entl雯. Even such a verb as lafa, which is especially locative, e.g. ukulala phansi, ukulala esthlaleni, is found used transitively in such an expression as the following: Isambane simb'umgodi singawulali (The ant-bear digs a hole and doesn't lie (in) it). Note also thela, ordinarily transitive and locative, but also found with two objects, e.g. Amachibi babewathela sona lesi-sihlungu sabo (They used to pour this poison of theirs (onto) the pools). This varying of import has gone so far that such a verb as juma (and its variant jumana), which is conjunctive in form, is to-day used solely as a transitive verb, e.g. Ngimfuneme eletle (I found him asleep).

Further, the Zulu instrumental idiom is much more correct in its usage than the corresponding forms in English. For instance Zulu has ukukhambaba ngendilela, ukukhambaba ngomkhumbi, ukukhambaba ngesitimela, ukukhambaba ngengola, etc., where in English the idiom is loose: to travel by path or on the path, to travel by ship or in a ship, etc. Quite a different meaning would be conveyed if the locative were used in Zulu: ukukhambaba endleleni would be "to walk about in a path," ukukhambaba emkhunjini "to walk about on a ship," and so on. The verb hamba, in fact, may be used with various imports, e.g. (a) intransitive: ukukhamba, to travel; (b) locative: ukukhambaba obala, to walk in the open; (c) conjunctive: ukukhambaba nenja, to travel with a dog; (d) instrumental: ukukhambaba ngengola, to travel by wagon.

Other verbs again may regularly vary their import idiomatically from transitive to locative, though they are essentially transitive verbs. Examples of such are buza and bonga. For instance:

Wabuza uSomtsewu—He asked Shepstone (directly).

Wabuza kuSomtsewu—He asked from Shepstone—by a messenger.

Bambonga uShaka—They thanked Shaka (himself).

Babonga kuShaka—They sent thanks to Shaka.¹

Generally speaking, then, while verbs in Zulu naturally fall under one of the divisions of import, intransitive, transitive, locative, agitative, conjunctive or instrumental, there is not always a hard-and-fast division between these, and many verbs may belong to more than one such division at different times according to idiomatic usage.

THE MULTIVERBAL PREDICATE

In the "Grammar"¹ the multiverbal predicate was treated under the heading of "Compound Tenses," tenses consisting of more than one word, and formed by the employment of a deficient verb followed by a complement. Comparison of the following examples will reveal the function of the components of the multiverbal predicate.

1. Nqide ngeqa—I continually jump.
2. Abafana bake babone izinyamazane—The boys sometimes see game.
3. Bacishe ukusizwa sikuluma—They almost heard us talking.

In each of the above sentences the verbal treatment in Zulu is the opposite of that in the English equivalents. The English main verbs are: (1) jump; (2) see; and (3) heard. They are modified by the use of the adverbs: (1) continually; (2) sometimes; and (3) almost. In the Zulu sentences, on the other hand, the deficient verbs: (1) nqide (I act continually), (2) bake (they act sometimes), and (3) bacishe (they almost acted), have been promoted to the position of main predicate, the verbs ngeqa, babone and ukusiza being expressed by subordinate forms of the verb, the participial, the subjunctive and the infinitive respectively.

The simplest method of analysis would seem to be to treat the multiverbal predicate in one as the predicate of the sentence, thus:

1. Subj. (mina).
   Pred. nqide ngeqa.
2. Subj. abafana.
   Pred. bake babone.
   Obj. izinyamazane.
   Pred. bacishe ukusiza.
   Obj. (thina).
   Enl. of O. sikuluma (qual. clause).²

There is, however, an alternative possibility, viz. to treat the

¹Z.G., Chapter XII, cf. § 487.
²Alternatively this might be treated as Ext. of P., of manner.
subordinate verbs as constituting separate clauses, with the
exception of the infinitive which demands substantival treatment. Our analysis will then read as follows:

(1) Subj. (mina).
   Pred. ngide.
   Ext. of P. ngeqa (descriptive clause of continued action).

(2) Subj. abafana.
   Pred. bahe.
   Ext. of P. babone izinyamazane (descriptive clause of occa-
   sional action).

(3) Subj. (bona).
   Pred. bacise.
   Obj. ukusizwa sikhu uma (substantival phrase).

Such a treatment would seem to be specially useful in cases where more than one complementary verb follows the deficient verb, as for example:

(4) Abantu wana babelokhu bedala, behleka, bebanga umsindo
    esikoleni—The children kept on playing and laughing and
    making a noise in school.

   Subj. abantu wana.
   Pred. babelokhu (defic. v.).
   Ext. of P. (i) bedala (esikoleni),
       (ii) behleka (esikoleni),
       (iii) bebanga umsindo esikoleni.

Each extension constitutes a descriptive clause of continued
action; and the locative esikoleni must be considered as applicable
to each of the complements. The clauses will be: 4a. bedala
(esikoleni); 4b. behleka (esikoleni); and 4c. bebanga umsindo
esikoleni, this last being sub-analysed as follows:

   Subj. (bona).
   Pred. bebanga.
   Obj. umsindo.
   Ext. of P. esikoleni.

A further advantage of this method of treatment is found in
the labelling of the descriptive clause in each case, which reveals
the semantic force of the deficient verb employed.

For ordinary purposes, however, this latter method is some-
times cumbersome, and, unless there is some such special reason
to the contrary, the former method is the simpler to handle,
treating the two verbs (a deficient and a subordinated complement)
as constituting the predicate, a multiveralic predicate. Note,
however, the examples under “The Syntax of the Subjunctive”
and “The Syntax of the Participial Sub-mood,” where the other
treatment is used.

THE COPULATIVE PREDICATE

The very nature of the copulative, some non-predicate part
of speech inflected to form a predicate, makes it possible to use
such without any subjectival concord, without any formal link
with the subject whether expressed or understood. It must be
pointed out, however, that directly a copulative is conjugated, to
indicate mood, implication or tense, a subjectival concord
becomes at once a necessity.

(i) Absolute copulatives:

This term may be used for copulatives when used without
any subjectival concord. They may be divided into two cate-
gories: (a) formations from nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs
and even conjunctives acting as the predicate of the sentence; and
(b) formations from substantives only, which function as agentive
adverbs.

(a) Absolute Copulatives as Predicate

They may be used with or without a subject expressed subst-
ancially, and, when formed from substantives, the subject
commonly occurs as a qualificative pronoun of relative type.

(from nouns)
Yini?—What is it? (<irreg. cl. 5 noun in).1
Yinkunjzi—It is a bull.
Yinkunjzi eyambudlayo—It is a bull which gored him.

This is a complex sentence. Analysis:
Subj. eyambudlayo (subst. clause, relative).
Pred. yinkunjzi (abs. copulative).

Sub-analysis:
Subj. (yona).
Pred. eyambudlayo (relative).
Obj. (yona).

Ngubani lowayi?—Who is yonder one?
Ngungaza—It is Ngoza.
Abantu or Ngabantu—It is people.
Ikati yisilwane—The cat is an animal.
UMagema ngumfundi—Magema is a teacher.
Inkosi likhulu—The chief is an old man.

(from pronouns)
Yini noqabili—It is both of you.
Yimina engikufunayo—It is I who want you.
Yilezo ezizumukeleyo—It is those which attacked him.
Yithi sonke—It is all of us.
Yibuphi ubuso obubonileyo?—Which is the face you saw?

1Cf. Z.G. § 134b.
ZULU SYNTAX AND IDIOM

Yizini ezimunileyo?—Which are the ones that bit him?

Ngowesifazane—It is a woman.

(from adjectives)¹

Mkhulu kakhulu—He is very big.

Lomuntu mkhulu—This person is big.

Lezi-zimbali zinhle kakhulu—These flowers are very beautiful.

Obs. Copulatives formed from adjectives never assume subjectival concords in the present positive tense of the indicative.

(from adverbs)

Yisendlini—It is in the house.

Yilapha abafayo ngakhona—It is here where they died.

(from conjunctives)

Yingoṣa ngingasebenzi ukuba ngingayitholi imali—It is because I do not work that I do not get the money.

(b) Absolute Copulatives used as Agentive Adverbs

These are formed only from substantival, e.g.

SiBono we yibo—We were seen by them.

Inyama yethu yadiwa yizinja zakho—Our meat was eaten by your dogs.

Uthandwa ngabantu bonke—He is loved by everybody.

It has been suggested that in such a sentence, for instance, as

Ngisibonwe nguNgosa (I was seen by Ngoza), the basic meaning is

“I was seen, it is Ngoza,” this being a contraction for

Ngisibonwe, nguNgosa ongibonileyo (I was seen, it is Ngoza who saw me). But this is certainly reading into the Zulu sentence far more than is legitimate, and certainly to-day the Zulu speaker conceives of

nguNgosa as merely meaning “by Ngoza.” We therefore treat

this as a copulative used as an agentive adverb.

(ii) Copulatives in conjugation:

With every significance of conjugation, expressing something more than mere predication, involving maybe first and second person relationship, a time indication, a negating or a subordination of mood, the subjectivval concord with the copulative is necessary, whether the substantival subject is expressed or understood. Such subjectival concord is also often used to render more definite the relationship even in present time.

(a) Subjectival concord in present indicative relationship (3rd person):

Bangabantu—They are people.

(b) Present indicative copulatives with 1st and 2nd person subjects:

SingabakwaZulu—We are Zulu.

Ngimkhulu—I am big.

Uncono na?—Are you better?

Nina nityizithuha—As for you, you are simplesons.

(c) Copulatives in past indicative tenses:

Bengiyinkosi kithi kwazuZulu—I was a chief at home in Zulu-

land.

Benguyselimo abakhulumayo—We were not those who talked.

Isinoko zazizinkulu impela—The cattle were very big.

Umfanu waysendelini—The boy was in the house.

(d) Copulatives in the participial mood:

Lomuntu emkhulu uyaphiwa—This person being big rules.

Izingwe zinganihsiswa uma zizincane—Leopards may be
tamed when they are small.

Nxa bebakhulu banamandla—When they are big they are strong.

Safika besendlini—We arrived while they were in the house.

(e) Subjectival concords used with the auxiliary -ba (infinitives, subjunctives, past and future indicative tenses):

Kufanele ukuba ubelapha namuha—It is necessary for you to be here to-day.

Lezi-zinoko zizokubaqathwa—These cattle will be strong.

Lempahla avifanele ukubazinama (ukubankulu)—These goods
must not be heavy (big).

Wabamkhulu—He became big.

(f) Copulatives in progressive and exclusive implications:

Lenja yami isincinyane—This dog of mine is still very small.

Izincwadi zakho sezingasetafule—Your books are now by
the table.

Amadoda akakahisenzini—The men are not yet at the village.

¹Adjectives are practically the only qualitatives forming absolute copulatives. Predicative forms of
relatives are here excluded, as they assume subjectival concords. Copulatives are not formed
from possessives but from pronouns derived therefrom, as is also the usual case with enumeratives
(cf. "Syntax of the Enumerative," pp. 68, 69); but note examples of absolute copulatives
from enumeratives on pp. 65 and 67.
Myeko uma esengenamandla—Leave him alone if he has no longer any strength.

In the conjugation of the copulative the similarity of form to that employed for static verbs is noticeable; divergence therefrom, however, must be observed in the cases of negative -nge- which appears as -nge- in the copulative, and progressive -sa- which appears as -se-.

(iii) Extended Copulative Predicates:

So far our examples of copulative predicates have dealt with more or less simple forms. These predicates however may be extended to form predicative phrases, and will have to be treated so in analysis. In these predicative phrases the original from which the copulative has been formed may be enlarged or extended, and the copulative formation may be considered to cover the whole phrase.

Thus:

izinkomo > Yizinkomo
izinkomo zethu > Yizinkomo zethu
izinkomo zethu zonke > Yizinkomo zethu zonke
izinkomo ezinkulu ezibomvu ezokudonsa ingola yami > Yizinkomo ezinkulu, ezibomvu, ezokudonsa ingola yami—It is big red cattle for pulling my wagon.

Yizindaba ezinhle lezo—That’s good news.

Subj. lezo.
Pred. yizindaba ezinhle (copul. phrase).

Abantu bethu abampho abahawo amandla okubaleka, uma kuza impi—Our poor people haven’t the strength to run away if the army should come.

Subj. abantu.
Enl. of S. (1) bethu; (2) abampho.
Pred. abahawo amandla okubaleka, uma kuza impi (complex copul. phrase).

The subordinate clause of time or condition is not an extension of the predicate, but an extension of -bahleka an incidental portion of the predicate. Uma kuza impi is extension of okubaleka, which is a possessive enlargement of amandla, which in turn is in apposition to wona, the pronoun from which the copulative predicate abahawo is derived.

Sesinabo abantu abangasakhela izindlu ezweni lakwaMagwaza—We now have the people who can build us houses in Magwaza’s country.

Subj. (thina).
Pred. sesinabo abantu abangasakhela izindlu ezweni lakwaMagwaza (complex copul. phrase).

Here again abangasakhela izindlu ezweni lakwaMagwaza, the qualitative clause, relative, enlarges abantu, which is in apposition to bona, the basis from which the copulative sesinabo is derived.

CO-ORDINATION OF PREDICATES—COMPOUND SENTENCES

Where normally in English co-ordination is the construction, subordination often takes its place in Zulu. For instance, the simple English co-ordinates with “and”, as “He spoke and laughed”, “I shall buy the ox and sell it again”, are subordinates in Zulu, e.g. Wakhuluwa wabeleka or Ukhulumu wabeleka, where wabeleka is past subjunctive mood, and Ngiyoyithenga inkabi, ngibuye ngithengise ngayo.

(i) Nevertheless there are cases of true co-ordination in Zulu, when non-influencing conjunctives are used to join sentences. It is not certain exactly how many such conjunctives there are in Zulu, but among them are the following, fuhi, kanti, kepha, kodwa, ngalokho, nokho. Sentences joined by these conjunctives must be considered in Zulu as Compound.

Labo-bantu banamandla amakhulu, || futhi banemali eningi—
These people have great strength, moreover they have much money.

(a) Subj. labo-bantu.
Pred. banamandla amakhulu.

(b) Con. futhi.
Subj. (bona).
Pred. banemali eningi.

Awukakwazi ukubala, || kanti uya njalo esikoleni?—Don’t you yet know how to write, whereas you have been going continually to school?

(a) Subj. (weni).
Pred. awukakwazi.
Obj. ukubala.
Ext. of P. (na) (interrog.).

(b) Con. kanti.
Subj. (weni).
Pred. uya.
Ext. of P. (i) njalo (manner).
(ii) esikoleni (place).

Isinyazane zabaleka, || kepha azeqanga—The buck ran away, but did not escape.

Lezi-zinkomo bezisebenza, || kodwa lezo beziphumula-nej—
These cattle were working, but those were merely resting.

3Sentence division is indicated by ||.


NGICABANGA NGITHI, MuHLE KAKHULU LOWO-MFANA—My idea is, that boy is very fine.

(iv) Interjective sentences introducing predicative sentences may produce co-ordinated compounds, e.g.

Woza! bafuna ukukubona—Come, they want to see you.

Maye! safa namhlanje—Alas, we are done for to-day.

(a) Maye—interjective sentence.

(b) safa namhlanje—simple predicative sentence.

Further consideration of such compound sentences and their analysis will be given in Chapter VII.

SUBORDINATION OF PREDICATES

We have already noticed that the main function of the indicative mood is that of supplying the main predicate, while on rare occasion it is employed in the subordinate predicate; that the main function, on the other hand, of the subjunctive mood is the indication of subordination, a subjunctive mood in the main predicate being rare; and that the participial mood is only found in the indication of subordination. The presence of a subordinate predicate makes the sentence complex; hence the presence of a subjunctive tense will usually indicate a complex sentence, while the presence of a participial tense is invariably an indicator of the complex.

In the foregoing chapters we have noticed, particularly, instances of substantival subordinate clauses and qualitative subordinate clauses. In the next chapter, we shall consider descriptive subordinate clauses, which will naturally all be adverbial.

Subordination in Zulu takes place on occasions when it would little be expected. One of these occasions, which we shall later consider at length, is that of “consecutive construction”. When, in English, co-ordination is the construction, e.g. “They laugh and play”, Zulu demands a subordination of the second predicate. It is very difficult to understand this and we shall discuss it fully later. It must not be thought, however, that because a predicate may be in the subjunctive mood, it is ipso facto subordinate. It will be seen that there are uses for the subjunctive mood in a main predicate, even as there are uses for the indicative mood in a subordinate predicate. A subordinate predicate must always accompany a main predicate, and is therefore only possible in a complex sentence.

THE SYNTAX OF THE INDICATIVE MOOD

The indicative mood is the mood of statement, is used to state what was, is or will be, or what was not, is not or will not
be, and may be used in asking some question about fact.

*Izinkomo zidla emadlelweni*—The cattle are eating in the pastures.

*Izinkomo sezidla emadlelweni*—The cattle are now eating in the pastures.

*Izinkomo zisadla emadlelweni*—The cattle are still eating in the pastures.

*Kwakukhona izinyamazane lapha*—There were buck here.

*Sizobona amafu ntambama*—We shall see clouds in the afternoon.

*Angibabonanga endini*—I did not see them in the house.

*Abafuni-luho*—They do not want anything.

*Lizokuna namuha la?*—Will it rain to-day?

*Abahambanga abafowethu*—Our brothers did not travel.

Similar examples, of course, may be multiplied to illustrate the various implications, manners and tenses found in the indicative mood. All these shew the indicative used with its normal function, constituting the main predicate.

(i) The indicative in consecutive construction:

Examples of this use, forming compound sentences, were noticed under “Co-ordination of Predicates” (ii) above. The continuous tenses are generally used in the positive; and it is the normal mood for consecutive negative tenses.

(ii) The indicative in subordinate construction:

(a) In substantival clauses indicating fact:

*Ngiwok ekuhi* [balapha]—I have heard that they are here.

*Ngcabanga ekuhi* [lilqanda] [libolelile]—I think that this egg is bad. (This is the fact which I have in my thought.)

(b) In reported speech:

*Bathi,* [Sizofika] *ngomuso*—They said, We shall come tomorrow.

(c) In descriptive clauses of reason, after *ngokuba* or *ngoba,* when the statement is emphatic; such instances are of rare occurrence.

*Awunakumbona ngoba* [uyagula]—You cannot see him because he is ill.

(d) In “relative” construction of subjectiv possessive relationship, one of the forms possible involves the use of the indicative.

*Nangu umuntu onkomazi yakhe* [iyagula]—Here is the man whose cow is sick.

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3 See fuller examples in Chapter II, p. 32.
4 See fuller examples in Chapter II, pp. 36 et seq.
5 The normal construction after *ngoba* is participial, see Chapter V, p. 136.

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THE SYNTAX OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive mood expresses the action of the verb or its state, not as a fact, but only as a contingent and dependent mental conception. The subjunctive, then, primarily functions in subordinate construction; nevertheless there are instances of its use in the main predicate. These will be dealt with first.

(i) The Subjunctive mood in the main predicate:

There are two instances in which the subjunctive mood may be used in the main predicate: (a) in the case of the subjunctive used imperatively; and (b) in the case of permissive interrogation; with a possible third (c) as an alternative interpretation.

(a) The subjunctive mood used imperatively:

In Zulu this use of the subjunctive mood demands an accompanying prefixal *a-* or *ma-,* but not invariably so; especially in the negative it is common to use the tenses without the prefix. The significant difference between the use of the subjunctive mood here and that of the imperative proper is that, in the case of the latter, one has an interrogative sentence, in the case of the former a predicative sentence. In the interrogative sentence there is no subject; in the predicative sentence there is. The term “hortative” is commonly applied when the prefix *a-* or *ma-* is used.

*Masihlabelele sonke-kanye*—Let us all sing together.

Subj. *(thina).*

Enl. of S. *sonke-kanye.*

Pred. masihlabelele.

Or alternatively: *sonke-kanye* may be taken to be a descriptive phrase of manner, a substantive used adverbially, and therefore extension of the predicate.

*Ungakwenzi lokho*—Don’t do that (lit. That you should not do that).

Subj. *(wena).*

Pred. ungakwenzi.

Obj. lokho.

*Abafana abazibuye lapha izinkomo namankonyana*—The boys must bring back here the cattle and calves.

Subj. *abafana.*

Pred. abazibuye.

Obj. izinkomo namankonyana (compound).

Ext. of P. *lapha.*

Various devices are possible for the translation of the subjunctive tenses in these cases; in the second person an ordinary imperative is generally employed, though it is very doubtful if this really reflects the meaning of the subjunctive mood; “must”,

1 This is Webster’s definition.
The Syntax of the Predicative

Uthi ehamba abone inyoka—When he happens to be walking, he sees snakes (abone, main predicate).

Uthi angaqeda abaleke—As soon as she finishes, she runs off (abaleke, main predicate).

Kwathi yangena endini yamhluma—As soon as it entered the house, it bit him.

Reference may be made to Chapter VI, Section (vi); but the alternate renderings, as consecutive construction, are probably more strictly correct according to Zulu principles, viz.: “Then he happens to be walking, and sees snakes”; “She immediately finishes and runs off”; “Then it entered the house and bit him.”

(ii) The Subjunctive mood in the subordinate predicate:

There are several distinct cases of this, which is the prime function of the subjunctive mood, viz. subordination. We shall treat of them seriatim.

(a) In the formation of substantival clauses after the conjunctives ukuva and ukuthi: These have already been dealt with at some length (in Chapter II), both in full and contracted form. It is after a main predicate indicating desire, purpose, necessity, etc. that the substantival clause is in the subjunctive mood:

Umfundisi ufuna [ukuva abafana bafunde kahle]—The teacher wants the boys to learn well.

Kufanele [sifunde kahle]—We must learn well.

Subj. (ukuva) sifunde kahle (subs. clause).
Pred. kufanele.

Sub-analysis of (ukuva) sifunde kahle:
Con. (ukuva).
Subj. (thina).
Pred. sifunde.
Ext. of P. kahle.

(b) In the formation of descriptive clauses of purpose after the conjunctives ukuva, ukuthi and ukuze.

Ngibakhiphile [ukuva kungene inkosi]—I turned them out that the chief might come in.

Uhlaba inkomo [ukuze badle ngokujabula]—He slaughtered a beast so that they might eat merrily.

Ngizosebenza [ukuze ngingalambis]—I shall work lest I starve.

(c) In the formation of descriptive clauses after such conjunctives as andubha, funa, hleze, qede, etc.

Mtshele [andukuba akambe]—Tell him before he goes.

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1See pp. 33, 34.

2Nor is used in much the same way. Cf. also Chapter V, p. 128.

3Cf. also Chapter VI, pp. 129, 130.
labeling the subordinate clause, e.g. "descriptive clause of proximity," "descriptive clause of repetitive action," "descriptive clause of prior (or immediate) action," "descriptive clause of necessity," etc. This type of descriptive construction is entirely foreign to European grammar.

The alternative treatment of a multi-verbal predicate as one, previously discussed, must not be overlooked.

(e) In consecutive verb construction: The rule for the normal sequence of verb tenses in consecutive construction is that each tense after the first is expressed in the subjunctive mood. However difficult it is to understand the construction, this implies a subordination of all subsequent predicates to the first. A few examples will give material for the consideration of this.

Yana [uzifhuzise izingane]—Go and give the babies their drink.

UQwabe weza namabutho, [waxosha abakithi]—Qwabe came with soldiers and drove away our people.

Ezweni leli balima amasimu, [baluse izinkomo], [bathebhe ukuda]—In this country they cultivate fields, herd cattle and barter foodstuffs.

Abantwana bangaleka, [badlale]—The children can laugh and play.

UNozilwa ufikê ekuseni, [walethela uyise inyama]—Nozilwa came this morning and brought his father some meat.

Uyafunda, [angabali]—He reads and does not write.

After such verbs as -ya, -za, fika, the subordination of the succeeding subjunctive mood verb seems to be that of subsequence in time, with possibly a suggestion of purpose: the first verb, that in the main predicate, indicates the action which takes place first; there is therefore a type of subordination in the subsequent verbs. In other cases, such as that of Abantwana bangaleka, badlale, the subordination is probably one of decrease in importance, the more important action taking priority of order, and therefore occupying the position of main predicate. In the case of one verb being positive and the other negative, it is the negative which will naturally take subordinate position and be placed second, as in Uyafunda, angabali. Should the negative be placed first, it would be necessary to interpose kodwa between the predicates making a compound sentence—Akabali, kodwa uyafunda, or to make two sentences—Akabali. Uyafunda. In cases where one might argue that each of several consecutive verbs is of equal importance, the Zulu naturally gives priority of importance to the one which comes first to him in speech: the
one which comes to the speaker's mind or tongue first must of necessity be the most important to him at that time.

We should analyse such sentences as follows:

1. \textit{UQwabe weza namabutho, waxosha abakithi.} (Complex sentence).
   \begin{itemize}
   \item Subj. \textit{uQwabe}.
   \item Pred. \textit{weza}.
   \item Ext. of P. (1) \textit{namabutho} (conjunctive).
   \item (2) \textit{waxosha abakithi} (descriptive clause of subsequent action).
   \end{itemize}

(1a) \textit{waxosha abakithi}.
   \begin{itemize}
   \item Subj. \textit{(yena)}.
   \item Pred. \textit{waxosha}.
   \item Obj. \textit{abakithi}.
   \end{itemize}

2. \textit{Abantwana bayahleka, badlale.} (Complex sentence).
   \begin{itemize}
   \item Subj. \textit{abantwana}.
   \item Pred. \textit{bayahleka}.
   \item Ext. of P. \textit{badlale} (descriptive clause of subordinate action).
   \end{itemize}

(2a) \textit{badlale}.
   \begin{itemize}
   \item Subj. \textit{(bona)}.
   \item Pred. \textit{badlale}.
   \end{itemize}

(f) A further type of consecutive verb construction, employing the subjunctive mood, is found with numerals. The present subjunctive positive, and the past subjunctive positive occur in this connection, the auxiliary verb \textit{-ba} being used.

(1) The present subjunctive is used when desire or command is expressed, and in future contexts:
\textit{Sifuna izinkomo zibezinlanu—We want five cattle. This is more expressive than Sifuna izinkomo ezinhlanu; and might be more literally translated as: “We want cattle, (and) let them be five.”}
\textit{Banike amahhashi abemabili—Give them two horses.}
\textit{Khokha usheleni abemunye—Pay one shilling. This construction is perhaps more commonly used with the enumerative stem -$nye$ (one), than with the other numerals.}
\textit{Bulala inkuku ibenyi (or ibeyiniyie)—Kill one fowl.}
\textit{Sizohlala edolobeni izinyanga zibeze—We shall stay in town for four months.}

Alternative methods of analysis may be used here, in either of which \textit{zibeze} will constitute a subordinate clause.

Subj. \textit{(thina)}.
Pred. \textit{sizohlala}.
Ext. of P. (i) \textit{edolobeni} (place).
(ii) \textit{izinyanga zibeze} (time).

In this case \textit{zibeze} will be a descriptive clause used qualitatively, qualifying \textit{izinyanga}. It will be analysed as follows:
\begin{itemize}
\item Subj. \textit{(zona)}.
\item Pred. \textit{zibezinye} (copul.).
\end{itemize}

The alternative analysis would be to treat \textit{zibeze} as a third Ext. of P. and labelling it “descriptive clause of subordinate action.” The former method, however, is preferable, and more nearly reflects the present usage of these idiomatic forms.

(2) When the past subjunctive is used, in referring to past time, a special colouring is given to the meaning, and the significance is limited to that of “only two,” “only five,” etc.
\textit{Ngathenga izinkomo zabezise—I bought only four beasts. Literally, this is: “I bought beasts, (and) they were four.” Contrast the plain statement in \textit{Ngathenga izinkomo ezine (I bought four beasts).}
\textit{Kwafika amahhashi abemabili—There arrived only two horses.}

The analysis of these sentences has the same alternative possibilities as with the present tense under (1) above.

It is noteworthy that contractions take place in these past subjunctives, viz. \textit{zaba-, aba-, yaba-, etc.}, may become \textit{za-, a-, ya-, etc.}, with noticeably long vowels, e.g.
\textit{Kwafika izingola zanthathu (or zazintathu)—Only three wagons arrived.}

(3) \textit{Sequence of subjunctive tenses} is further found in a series of verbs dependent upon a common deficient verb, and thus forming a series of complements:
\textit{Ngicishé ngawa, ngazishula—I nearly fell (and) killed myself.}
\textit{Baafike bahale, badle ukudla kwabo—They first sit down (and) eat their food.}
\textit{Uke azibone, azithenge—He sometimes finds them and buys them.}

THE SYNTAX OF THE PARTICIPIAL SUB-MOOD

(i) The use of the term “participial mood” is open to serious question. In Lamba the corresponding tenses are treated as of the “relative conjugation”: this also is open to question. In Sotho, Jacottet used the term “dependent indicative”: at this also criticism may be levelled. First of all the participial tenses are not confined to forms equivalent to the indicative; there are also forms equivalent to the potential and contingent moods. It is therefore seriously questionable whether this is a mood at all. The treating of it as a conjugation is also questionable, since it
has no infinitive or imperative forms and no subjunctive, each of which is found in some form or other in the conjuctions. So far, within the conjuctions and certain of the moods we have implications (simple, progressive and exclusive), manners or aspects (indefinite, definite, continuous and perfect) and tenses (indicating time limits). The participial cannot come under any one of those categories, as all of them are found represented in participial tenses. A way of describing this would be to say “the participial form of the indicative,” “the participial form of the potential,” etc. But as this is rather cumbersome and as the term “form” is used for the verbal derivatives, e.g. “applied form,” etc., it is easiest in Zulu to use the term “sub-mood.” This is an especially useful term when it is remembered that the participial is always used in subordinate constructions.

(ii) The Participial sub-mood in simple subordination indicates the situation in which the substantive in a sentence finds itself during the action of the main predicate. Various Bantu languages have various ways of expressing that which the English participle expresses, and in Zulu this is done by using the present tenses of the participial sub-mood of the verb. Such participial forms compose qualificative clauses which enlarge the subject or object of the sentence.

(a) Participial Enlargement of Subject:

Izindlovu zabaleka [zikhuga]—The elephants ran off limping.

Abesifazane bafika [bethwele imphila emakhanda] — The women arrived carrying goods on their heads.

Ukhezo nalo lubekwa khona-lapho [lulunye]—The spoon too is put in the same place, it being one. Complex sentence.

Subj. ukhezo.

Enl. of S. lulunye (participial).

Pred. lubekwa.

Ext. of P. (i) nalo (conj).

(ii) khona-lapho (loc.).

Sub-analysis of lulunye:

Subj. (lona).

Pred. lulunye (copulative).

Bafika bonke [benzinkomo zabo]—They all came accompanied by their cattle. Complex sentence.

Subj. bonke.

Enl. of S. benzinkomo zabo (participial).

Pred. bafika.

Sub-analysis of benzinkomo zabo:

Subj. (bona).

Pred. benzinkomo zabo (extended copul.).

(b) Participial Enlargement of Object:

Ngaba bona [becashé otshanini]—I saw them hiding in the grass. Complex sentence.

Subj. (mina).

Pred. ngaba bona.

Obj. (bona).

Enl. of O. becashé otshanini (participial).

Sub-analysis of becashé otshanini:

Subj. (bona).

Pred. becashé.

Ext. of P. otshanini.

Nizompumana [edlala obala]—You will find him playing in the open.

(c) Participial Enlargement of an Inflected Substantive:

Nizohlangana nayo [ithlezi esibayeni]—You will come on him sitting in the cattle kraal.

Subj. (mina).

Pred. nizohlangana.

Ext. of P. nayo ithlezi esibayeni (complex descriptive phrase, conjunctive).

Sub-analysis of ithlezi esibayeni (participial clause, qualifying yona<nayo>:

Subj. (yona).

Pred. ithlezi.

Ext. of P. esibayeni.

Wabulawa yiibo [bengena ngentuba esigodlweni]—He was slain by them, they entering the chief’s court by a side entrance.

(d) Descriptive treatment of this type of participial clause:

It is of course possible to treat these participial clauses in analysis as descriptive clauses of situation, and the last example might be analysed as follows:

Subj. (yena).

Pred. wabulawa.

Ext. of P. (i) yiibo (agent).

(ii) bengena ngentuba esigodlweni (descriptive clause of situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (bona).

Pred. bengena.

Ext. of P. (i) ngentuba (instr.).

(ii) esigodlweni (loc.).

This is much clearer when it is realised that, in many cases, the conjunctive uma, inxá or lapha might be inserted before the clause, e.g.

Wabulawa yiibo, uma bengena ngentuba esigodlweni.
Similarly with subjectival agreement we may have:

_Wabalwa yibo ehlezi esibayeni, or_
_Wabalwa yibo lapho ehlezi esibayeni—He was killed by them_

(while) sitting in the cattle-kraal.

This only serves to illustrate the elasticity of Zulu syntax, and no hard and fast rule for such analysis can be set down.

(e) The Participial unconnected with either subject or object of the sentence:

Naturally such instances must be treated as descriptive clauses of situation.

_Ngqala indlela yami [engakavuthwa amabele]—I began my journey before the corn ripened (lit. the corn not yet being ripe)._

Subj. (mina).
Pred. _ngqala._
Obj. _indlela._
Enl. of O. _yami._
Ext. of P. _engakavuthwa amabele_ (descriptive clause of situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:
Subj. _amabele._
Pred. _engakavuthwa._

[Sebefikile] _sadla—When they had arrived we dined. A fuller form of this might be expressed with the addition of a conjunctive, e.g. Bathé _sebefikile sadla_ or _Lapho sebefikile sadla_.

_Bangwaza [impi isaleka]—They stabbed him (while) the impi (was) running away._

(iii) The Participial sub-mood is regularly used after certain conjunctives, notably _uma_ (ma), _inxá_ (nxa), _ngokuba_ (ngo:ba),_noma, nonxá, nakuba, nokuba, lapho (lapha, la), nga (ngaye), selokhu (selo), kade._

_Uma, ma:_

_[Uma sifuma] singazithenga—If we want to, we can buy them._
_[Uma bemshaya] uzogula—If they beat him he will sicken._
_[Uma belokhu bemshaya] uzokufa—If they keep on beating him he will die._

_Eazohamba [uma ungafiki]—They will go if you do not come._
_[Ma befika], balsele—When they come, tell them._

_Inxá, nxa:_

_[Nxa befika], uze ubanike lokhu—When they come, give them this._
_[Inxá uswedile umsebenzi], uyokhumuka—When you have finished the work, you will be free._

_Ngoku:ba, ngo:ba:_

_Ngizé [ngo:ba bengimfuna]—I came because I wanted him._
_Wakwenza [ngoku:ba enesi:hwu]—He did it because he had pity._
_Ngithanda ukusebenza [ngo:ba kuholwa imali]—I like working because people are paid._
_Ulele [ngo:ba egula]—He is lying down because he is sick._

_Noma, nonxá:_

_[Noma beba:hal], abahlakaniphile—Even if they are pretty, they are not wise._

Subj. (boma).
Pred. _abahlakaniphile._
Ext. of P. _noma beba:hal_ (participial clause of concession).

Sub-analysis of clause:
Conj. _noma._
Subj. (boma).
Pred. _beba:hal._

_[Noma ngigula], angilele phansi—Although I am sick, I am not lying down._
_[Noma nginxalele phansi], ngiyagula—Although I am not lying down, I am sick._
_Ngiyokufika [noma liduma]—I shall come, even if it thunders._
_[Nonxá eyinkosi], angimesabi—Even though he is the chief, I am not afraid of him._

_Nakuba, nokuba:_

_[Nakuba emkhulu], akalungile—Although he is grown up, he is not straightforward._
_[Nakuba kunjalo], angithandi ukuya—Although it is so, I do not care to go._
_[Nakuba efundile], akamedluil u:ba:ba—Although he is educated, he doesn’t surpass my father._

_Lapho, lapha, la:_

_Angazi [lapho behlala khona]—I do not know where they live._
_[Lapho eseqedile] maka:buye—When he has finished, let him come back._
_Ikamelo lingahamba [lapha ezinye izilwane zingeye khona]—The camel can travel where other animals cannot go._
_Umuntu [la ethi uzidla ngamandla izinyosi] zimxele—When a man happens to eat honey excessively, it stufls him._

_Nga, ngaye:_

_[Nga ngihlalile] uma ubunginiké imali—I would have stayed, if you had given me money._

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3 In this case the clause formed is substantival, object of _angazi;_ all the other instances in section (ii) are of descriptive clauses.
[Ngaye singathandi] ukuba ubefikile—We would not have been pleased, if he had come.

Selokhu, selo:  
[Selokhu befikile], angikaɓaboni—Ever since they came, I have not yet seen them.  
[Seló kwadathulwa umhlaɓa], kwakunjalo—Since the world was created, it has been the same.

(iv) The Participial sub-mood is regularly used after certain deficient verbs to form their complement, notably -damene (-dane, -dě); -hameɓe; -hleze; -liɓele; -lokhu (-lơ); -suke; -zinge; and at times with -bange, -vange, -zange, etc.

1. Angiɓonange ngiyibona inkunzi ihlaɓa kangaka—I have never seen a bull so vicious as this.
2. Eliɓele behalelela izingoma—They kept on singing songs.
3. Sasilokhu silima umhlabathi—We kept on cultivating the soil.

Example of analysis of No. (3):

(a) Method by multiverbal predicate:
   Subj. (thina).  
   Pred. sasilokhu silima.  
   Obj. umhlabathi.

(b) Method by subordinate clause:
   Subj. (thina).  
   Pred. sasilokhu (deficient).  
   Ext. of P. silima umhlabathi (descriptive clause of continuous action).

Sub-analysis of clause:
   Subj. (thina).  
   Pred. silima.  
   Obj. umhlabathi.

Such predicates as instanced above are multiverbal, and may be analysed in either of the two ways shewn. In ordinary circumstances it would be simpler to treat together as one predicate the deficient verb and its complement.

(v) The Participial sub-mood also acts as the basis of the past continuous tenses of the indicative mood, formed by a contraction with the deficient verb -ɓe in Zulu, e.g.

Bengiɓlezi—I was seated.

Bengingahlezi—I was not seated.

The full forms are: Ngibe ngiɓlezi and Ngibe ngingahlezi, respectively.

(b) It is further used as the basis of exclusive tenses, formed by a similar contraction of the deficient verb -se, e.g. Sengiɓlezi—

I am now seated, of which the full form is Ngise ngiɓlezi.

The negative of this is formed in quite a different way by the employment of the verbal auxiliary -ka.

(c) Somewhat similar to -ɓe and -se is the conjunctive kade, which assumes a midway position between that of a deficient verb and a conjunctive.

Note—Kade behamba (They have just been travelling), of which relative forms appear as: abantu abakade-behamba, or abantu ekade-behamba (people who have just been travelling).

(vi) The use of the participial sub-mood as the basis of relative clause construction has already been fully discussed (see "Qualificative Clauses" in Chapter III). For instance, umuntu ohamboya is derived from umuntu ehamba, and umuntu ongahambhi from umuntu engahambi. The rule is to substitute the relative concord for the participial concord.

(vii) Participial tenses may follow one another continuously if they are dependent upon a common deficient verb, or if they qualify a common antecedent or extend a common predicate.

(a) As complements to a common deficient verb:

Sasilokhu sigawula imithi, sishisa amagatsha, silima umhlaba-thi—We kept on felling trees, burning the branches (and) ploughing the soil.

Here each of the three clauses, sigawula imithi, etc., constitutes an extension of the predicate sasilokhu (deficient), being a descriptive clause of continued action.

Ababaonange beya esikoleni, befunda—They never went to school (and) learned.

Ubelima ehlakula—He was ploughing and weeding (full form: uɓe elima).

Ngase ngidla ngiphuza—I was then eating and drinking (full form: ngabe ngise ngidla).

(b) As enlargements of a common antecedent:

Ngababona ngiɓlezi, ngicashe esihlahleni—I saw them, I sitting down (and) hiding in a thicket.

Ngababona behaleka, belinga ukuzinsinda ngejoɓane—I saw them, they running away (and) trying to save themselves by means of speed.

(c) As extensions of a common predicate:

Abazali bethu basiɓona amasosha edlula, ehlakaza imihambi yeethu—Our parents saw us (while) the soldiers (were) passing (and) scattering our flocks.

1 For a more detailed treatment see Chapter V under "Descriptive Clauses", p. 126.
THE SYNTAX OF THE POTENTIAL MOOD

(i) The potential mood, expressive of ability, is used generally in the main statement, as follows:
   *Abantwana bangafunda kahle*—The children can read well.
   *Singekwete kulentaba*—We cannot climb this hill.
   *Izinyamazane zazingege*—The buck could not escape.

It is further commonly used in the apodosis of conditional construction; hence it might with justice be named the *conditional mood*, as it is in a number of Bantu languages; examples:
   *Ngingahlala uma nawe unghlala*—I would stay, if you too would stay.
   *Sasingehambu una wabukhona*—We would not have gone, if you had been here.

(ii) The potential mood may be subordinated: (a) when forming substantival clauses after verbs of statement of fact; (b) when forming descriptive clauses of time after *-thi*, used conjunctively; (c) in relative construction (basically participial); and (d) in the protasis of conditional construction after *uma*, when it is again participial.
   (a) *Angazi [ukuthi ngingenzi kanjani]*—I don’t know what to do.
   *Ngibona [ukuba ungagijima ngejubane]*—I see that you can run very fast.

   (b) [Bathi bangquele] *baphumule*—As soon as they finish, they rest.

   (c) *Ngtfuma umuntu [ongagijima]*—I want a person who can run.
   *Isebi lixhegu [elingebone]*—The thief is an old man who cannot see.

   (d) *Ngingahlala [uma unganginika imali]*—I would stay if you gave me money.
   *Singekhulupe [uma bengesicile]*—We wouldn’t speak if they didn’t beg us to (lit. We cannot speak if they cannot beg us to).

(iii) It is noteworthy that the potential mood in Zulu applies only to past and present time, there being no future potential tenses. Potentiality in the future is conveyed by using such a verb as *-azi* (be able). This is akin to the limits of use of the English “can” and “could.”

(iv) The potential mood is not used in Zulu as commonly as it is in English. Zulu speakers often prefer to use the conjunctive construction with *na-* followed by an infinitive, e.g.
   *Nginokugijima*—I can run.

In the negative, the initial vowel of the infinitive is elided; and the significance is of “will not” as much as “can not”, e.g.
   *Anginakugijima*—I cannot run; or I won’t run.
   *Abanukukhuluma kahle*—They cannot (or won’t) speak politely.

THE SYNTAX OF THE CONTINGENT MOOD

(i) The contingent mood is one which expresses that the action is liable or possible, but not certain to occur, and is dependent upon certain unlikely circumstances.

(ii) The tenses of the contingent mood in Zulu are in form past tenses containing a future element; they have been termed “past-futures” for this reason. Structurally they are as the past continuous tenses, since they indicate a past condition of future possibility. In their use they imply, if they are not always followed by a subordinate or consequential clause:
   *Bebesayophinda bakusise uma yobanika okumnandi*—They were still going to help you, if you were going to give them something nice.
   *Wayengasezukunika imali yakhe ukuba akammangalalekwa*—He was no longer going to give him his money, if he had not sued him.
   *Yebo, bengomebenza*—Yes, I should have worked for him.

(iii) The contingent mood may be subordinated and then its construction is basically participial:
(a) In relative clauses:
   *Uyibontile inkabi [eyayingayukusa] na?*—Did you see the ox which would not have died?
   *Lowo ngowesifazane [engangoganwa nguye]*—That is the woman whom I would have married.

(b) After certain conjunctives:
   *Musa ukusho lokho, ngokuba ebeyoomba*—Don’t say that, for he would have gone.

(c) After the deficient verb -se, forming the exclusive implication in this mood, e.g.
   *Besengiyokuthenga* (I was just about to buy).
   *Besebesombamba ukuba angincashisanga*—They were just going to catch him, if I had not hidden him.
   *Nase ngingezukugana*—They were not going to marry one another then, but you were compelled by the law.

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1 Generally Bantu languages do not distinguish between “ability” and “willingness”; hence the variant possibilities reflected in the translations throughout this section.

THE SYNTAX OF THE DESCRIPTIVE

CHAPTER V

THE SYNTAX OF THE DESCRIPTIVE

Introductory:

Syntactically descriptives may perform two functions: they
may constitute the extension of the predicate, their more usual
function, or they may constitute part of the enlargement of
subject or object describing a qualitative, or part of the extension
of the predicate, describing some adverb. They further appear in
two main aspects—as adverbs or as ideophones. The latter
demand a separate treatment. Regarding the adverbial aspect of
the descriptives we have three types to consider: descriptive
words (i.e. adverbs), descriptive phrases, and descriptive clauses.

The following will illustrate the functions of adverbial
descriptives:

(1) As extension of the predicate:

Izinkomo zadonsa [kahle] izingola ezisindayo—The cattle
pulled well the heavy wagons.

Sizohamba [ngokusheza]—We shall travel fast.

Bonke bangena [endini]—They are all entering the hut.

(2) As part of enlargement of subject:

Leyo-nkomo enkulule [kangaka] inemali eningi—Such a big
beast as that costs a great deal.

Subj. leyo-nkomo (appositional).

Enl. of S. enkulule kangaka.

Pred. inemali eningi.

(b) In enlargement of object:

Sifuna izinkwa eziningi [kakhulu]—We want very many
loaves.

Subj. (thina).

Pred. sifuna.

Obj. izinkwa.

Enl. of O. eziningi kakhulu.

(c) In extension of predicate:

Wenza kabi [kakhulu]—You acted very badly.

Subj. (wenza).

Pred. wenza.

Ext. of P. kabi kakhulu.

Lezi-zinja zizingela kahle [kunezethu]—These dogs hunt
better than ours.

Subj. lezi-zinja (appositional).

Pred. zizingela.

Ext. of P. kahle kunezethu.

By far the more usual use of adverbial descriptives is as in
(1), acting as extension of the predicate; the second function is
but rarely found, and is confined to very few adverbs; they must
be adverbs of manner (in the broad usage of that term); no
locatives may be so used.

Descriptive phrases contain no finite mood of the verb; they
may have an infinitive or no verb form at all. Descriptive clauses
are almost entirely relegated to the subjunctive mood and the
participial sub-mood of the verb.

The Syntactical Order of the Descriptive:

As may be seen from the sentences already given, the
descriptive prefers the place immediately following the word it
describes. It is possible however for the object, if this latter be a
single word, to precede the descriptive. For instance:

Abesifazane bathanda kakhulu izingane, or Abesifazane
bathanda izingane kakhulu—Women are very fond of
children.

While the former of these would be normal, the latter would also
tend to place the emphasis on “children,” i.e. “The women are
fond especially of children.” Should the adverb, however, be
extended, the second would be the preferred order, e.g. Abesi-
 fazane bathanda izingane kakhulu kunezimbuzi—Women are more
fond of children than of goats. Should the object, on the other
hand, be enlarged, the first order would certainly be preferred,
e.g. Abesifazane bathanda kakhulu izingane zabo ezincane—The
women are very fond of their little children.

Some adverbs have a much closer affinity with the predicate
than do others. It is noteworthy that adverbs of manner (com-
mencing in ka- or ngoku-) and locative adverbs are intimately
connected with the verb, naturally demanding short forms of
present and immediate past tenses; whereas temporal adverbs
(often nouns in form) have but loose association with the verb,
begin used with both long and short forms, and may even at
times precede the verb introducing the sentence:
Izinkomo zingena esibayeni—The cattle are entering the kraal.
Izinkomo zingené esibayeni—The cattle entered the kraal.
Bahambé kahle—They journeyed well.
Sihamba ngokushesa—We are travelling fast.

whereas:
Zingena manje, or Ziyangena manje, or Manje ziyangena—
They are entering now.
Sizofika ngomuso or Ngomuso sizofika—We shall arrive tomorrow.

There is however a certain amount of latitude to-day in the strict observance of these tense rules.

The Formation of Adverbs:
This is really a matter for accidence, but it might be observed here that there are in Zulu three types of formation.

(a) The unaltered use of nouns, e.g. izolo (tomorrow), ubusuku (night), impela (truth), isiminya (truth), etc.

Isiminya ngimzwé ngezami izindlebe—Truly I heard him with my own ears.

Incwadi ayikafiki impela—The letter has not yet quite reached there.

Wahlala khona izinsuku ezintathu—He stayed there (for) three days.

Sizohamba ubusuku—We shall travel through the night or for a night (ct. Sizohamba ebusuku—We shall travel by night; where the locative adverb gives point of time).

(b) The use of the noun shorn of initial vowel, e.g. ntambama, kuqala, mandulo, etc.

(c) The use of inflected forms of substantives and qualificatives, e.g. emzini, kubo, ngothi, kahle, kumandi, ngokulisiniso, yinkosi.

The Semantic Division of Adverbs:

For classificatory purposes adverbs may be divided semantically, i.e. according to their meaning, into eight types, as follows: (1) manner; (2) place; (3) time; (4) instrument; (5) conjunction; (6) comparison; (7) agent; and (8) state. As this is a classification for accident rather than syntax the giving of a few examples will here suffice:

(1) Manner: kahle, ngokukhulu, kumandi (all formations in ka-).
(2) Place: kude, kubaba, endlini, emuva (locatives).
(3) Time: izolo, manje, namuhla, ebusuku (certain locatives).
(4) Instrument: ngamabomu, ngomuthi (all formations in nga-).
(5) Conjunction: nenja, nokuhamba (formations with na-).

(6) Comparison: kunami, njengabo, ngangezimvu (all formations with kuna-, njenga-, nganga-).
(7) Agent: ngumuntu (all copulatives formed from substantives).
(8) State: bule (formation with bu-).

Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7 are naturally used with verbs of special import, viz. locative, instrumental, conjunctive and agentive verbs respectively.

Specimen analyses with adverbial extensions of the predicate:

(1) Manner:

Izinkabi bezizidonsa kabi izingola—The oxen were pulling the wagons badly. Simple sentence.
Subj. izinkabi.
Pred. bezizidonsa.
Obj. izingola.
Ext. of P. kabi (manner).

(2) Place:

Ngawangenisa amankonyane esibayeni somnumzana—I put the calves in the headman's cattle-kraal. Simple sentence.
Subj. (mina).
Pred. ngawangenisa.
Obj. amankonyane.
Ext. of P. esibayeni somnumzana (place; extended locative).

(3) Time:

Sifikile ekuseni—We arrived this morning. Simple sentence.
Subj. (thina).
Pred. sifikile.
Ext. of P. ekuseni (time).

(4) Instrument:

Impi izohamba ngendlela enye—The army will travel by another route. Simple sentence.
Subj. impi.
Pred. izohamba.
Ext. of P. ngendlela enye (instr.).

(5) Conjunction:

Bamshaya nokumshaya kakhulu—They hit him very severely.
Simple sentence.
Subj. (bona).
Pred. bamshaya.
Obj. (yena).
Ext. of P. nokumshaya kakhulu (conj.).

Leso-zilwane zifana nezingulube—Those animals look like pigs. Simple sentence.
Subj. leso-zilwane (appositional).
Pred. zifana.
Ext. of P. nezingulube (conj.).

1 Cf. Chapter IV, p. 55.
Comparison:

UJojo mkhulu kunami—Jojo is bigger than me. Simple sentence.

Subj. UJojo.
Pred. mkhulu.
Ext. of P. kunami (comp.).

Lezo-zilwane zihamba njengezimvu—Those animals walk like sheep. Simple sentence.

Subj. lezo-zilwane.
Pred. zihamba.
Ext. of P. njengezimvu (comp.).

Agent:

Ngabonwa yinkosi—I was seen by the chief. Simple sentence.

Subj. (mina).
Pred. ngabonwa.
Ext. of P. yinkosi (agent).

Ingane ilunywè yinja ka'bani?—By whose dog was the child bitten? Simple sentence.

Subj. ingane.
Pred. ilunywè.
Ext. of P. yinj a ka'bani? (agent; extended copulative).

State:

Akadli bume—She does not eat standing. Simple sentence.

Subj. (yena).
Pred. akadli.
Ext. of P. bume (state).

THE SYNTAX OF THE LOCATIVE

As was noticed in the “Grammar”¹ the general rule of formation of locatives from nouns is by suffixing -ini and prefixing e-; though nouns of class 1 (and 1a), instead of this, maintain the older Bantu formation by prefixing ku-. Regular Central Bantu languages use three such prefixes, ku-, pa- and mu- with differentiated significances. Zulu has retained ku- for formations from nouns of class 1, and from pronouns. The prefix pa- occurs, as a remnant formation with certain adverbs, e.g. phandle (outside), phansi (down), phezulu (up), etc. For all intents and purposes, the Bantu prefix mu- is now lost in Zulu,² being merged in the -ini suffix formation. The Central Bantu locatives constitute noun classes (Meinhof’s Nos. 16, 17 and 18) and may be used as subject or object of sentences, employing regular concords in agreement. In Zulu the locatives are used adverbially, though there are faint traces of substantival use. Whenever this is the case, the concord

used is that of class 10, viz. ku- (subjectival or objectival), or kwa- (possessive). Note the following sentences:¹

Endlini kuyashisa—In the house it is hot; or The interior of the house is hot.

This might be analysed in one of two ways:

(a) Subj. (khona).
Pred. kuyashisa (indef.).
Ext. of P. endlini.

(b) Subj. endlini (loc. used as subj.).
Pred. kuyashisa.

Phandle akukuhle namhlanje—It is not nice outside to-day.

Subj. phandle (loc. used as subj.).
Pred. akukuhle.
Ext. of P. namhlanje.

Asikuthandi emsamo—We do not like it at the back of the hut.

Subj. (thina).
Pred. asikuthandi.
Obj. emsamo (loc. used as obj., with obj. concord ku- in the predicate asikuthandi).

This principle of concord is further revealed with locative phrases, composed of a locative followed by a possessive, e.g.

phakathi kwendlu (in the middle of the house)
phandle komuzi (kwa- + umuzi, outside the kraal)
emvula kwalokho (after that)
nganeno komfula (on this side of the river)
phambi kuka'baba (in front of my father; kuka-, not kwa-
before a noun of class 1a).

Nevertheless, while the origin of this kwa- is clearly that of a possessive concord of the ku- class (appearing as pa- and mwa-
with the pa- and mu- classes in Central Bantu), its force as a concord is so far lost in Zulu to-day that it shares this function, of forming locative phrases, with the conjunctive formative na-; e.g.

eduze komuzi or eduze nomuzi (near the kraal)
enzansi nezwé (towards the coast).

Compare: phezu komuthi (on top of the tree) and phezulu kodonga (on top of the wall) with phezulu nodonga (on the upper part of the wall). Still it must be remembered that kwa- retains a possessive force entirely lacking in na-; for instance phezu kwakho (above you) but eduze na'we (near you), the former using the possessive pronounal stem -kho, the latter the absolute pronoun wena in its shortened form.

¹Z.G. § 578.
²Some scholars think it is preserved in a few words of class 2, such as umvula (the rear).