

umuntu onenja efileyo (the person whose dog is dead; lit. who has the dead dog).

abantu abanabantwana abadlalayo—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 elinezindlebe ezinde > ihhashi elizindlebe-zinde (a horse whose ears are long; lit. a horse with long ears, a long-eared horse).

inkosi enabantwana ababi > inkosi ebantwana-babi (a chief whose children are evil).

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

inkabi enezimpondo ezibeké phezulu > inkabi 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 [engiyibeké etafuleni]—Give me the book which I put on the table.

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

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

Nasi isando [asifunayo]—Here is the hammer which he wants.
Zingenis'okwamasela, zikunyonyobe 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 concordially linked to the object of the subordinate verb.

Abantwana [esapheka ukudla kwaabo] abakho—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:

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

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

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

(b) Conjunctive Relationship:

Abantu [engihamba nabo] bangabaThembu—The people with whom I travel are Tembu.

(c) Instrumental Relationship:

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

Kwakungaleso-sikhathi [abadlula ngaso]—It was then that they passed.

(d) *Agentive:*

This occurs in Zulu when the subordinate verb is passive, and in oblique relationship to the antecedent. In such cases the antecedent is represented by the copulative form of its pronoun after the passive subordinate verb.

Umuntu [ashaywa nguye] useboshiwe—The person by whom he was struck is now under arrest.

Abantu bafuna ukuwabulala amadoda [abathakathwa yiwo]—The people want to kill the men by whom they were bewitched.

Nansi isihlahla [engahlathswa ngameva aso]—Here is the bush by whose thorns I was pricked.

(e) *Comparative Relationship:*

Uyibonile indoda [abagijima njengayo] na?—Did you see the man like whom they run?

(f) *Positional Relationship:*

Singayibona intaba [owakhiwe phansi kwayo umuzi]—We can see the hill beneath which the kraal is built.

Yilomfudlana [ebezaluka eduze nawo izinyathi]—It is this stream near which the buffalo were grazing.

Nansi indoda [esihlezi phandle kwendlu yayo]—Here is the man outside whose house we are sitting.

Obs. For the rules governing the use of *-yo* suffixed to relatives, see Z.G. § 718.

THE SYNTAX OF THE ENUMERATIVE

(i) The enumerative is a very restricted part of speech in Zulu, being confined to four monosyllabic roots, *-nye*¹ (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 inkomo inye enkulu ebomvu—I want one big red beast.

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

(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. *Balethé 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*, *mbíbi*, *pho*, *qhwába*, *qhwi*, *zwi*, and possibly others; e.g. *Balethé 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 ones?).

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 munye kuphela—I want only one.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngifuna*.

Obj. *munye kuphela*¹ (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 muphi?* (attributive: lit. It is person which?) with *Muphi umuntu?*—Which person is it? When copulative, the tone on *mu-* is relatively higher.

In analysis the former would be:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ngumuntu muphi* (extended copulative).

The latter would be:

Subj. *umuntu*.

Pred. *muphi* (copulative).

Similarly, compare *Ngibona umuntu munye* (I see one person) with *Lomuntu munye* (This person is one), the tone on *mu-* in the latter case being again relatively higher.

¹*Kuphela* describes the original qualificative *munye*, and the whole phrase *munye kuphela* has become pronominal.

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 munye* (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 *Kuzobakhoma 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 *ibenye*—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 indiscreetly; 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. *uthé*.

Obj. *-ni* (enclitic, objectival).

That this is truly objectival is evidenced from all answers to questions employing *-ni*, e.g.

Bafunani?—What do they want?

Answer: *Bafuna ukudla*—They want food.

Lezi-zincwadi zibizani na?—What is the price of these books? (lit. What do they call?).

Bagijimelani?—Why are they running? (lit. What are they running for? *-ni* is here the object of the applied form *gijimela*).

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

Ufuna izimbuzi 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 muni 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 *uhlobo*).

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?

¹See Chapter IV, pp. 106-7.

²This is really a formation from the noun equivalent *ini*; Z.G. § 134b.

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?

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

(2) With the other classes the copulatives are formed from the qualificative 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 okushoyo?—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 qualificative *-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 ziphi 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 ziphi izimvu?—Which sheep do you want?

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

ngasiphi isikhathi? (at which time?)

kuliphi igeja? (on which plough?)

kuyiphi indlu? (in which house?)

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

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 qualificative forms, as observed in (iv) above; e.g.

Eyami iphi?—Which is mine?

(2) Fuller formations are derived from the qualificative 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*.¹ Examples:

Iyiphi eyamlumayo?—Which bit him?

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

Yibuphi 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.

Kwakungumuphi umuthi owawufunayo?—Which was the medicine you wanted?

Ibiyiphi inyoka eyamlumayo?—Which was the snake that bit him?

Enumeratives forming Word-compounds

The enumeratives *-nye*, *-mbe* 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-linye* (with a single eye; ct. *ngeso elinye* with adjectival *-nye* "some," with some eye)

ngasandla-sinye (with one hand)

ngasikhathi-sinye (at one and the same time)

ngalusuku-lunye or *ngasuku-lunye*² (on one and the same day)

*ngalanga-linye*¹ (on one and the same day; note the adverb *langalinye*, "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.

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

²In 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).

- mbe: ngasikhathi-simbe* (on a different occasion; note the adverb and conjunctive *khathisimbe*, "on some occasion," "perhaps," formed from this)
ngalusuku-lumbe or *ngasuku-lumbe* (on a different day; adverb *sukulumbe*, "some day")
AbaThwa bakhuluma lulimi-lumbe—The Bushmen speak by a different language. (The compound here is adverbial in force; cf. *ukukhuluma ngesiZulu*, to speak by means of Zulu, i.e. to speak Zulu.)
-ni: Bahamba nazinja-zini?—With what dogs do they travel?
ukukhuluma ngalulimi-luni? (to speak by what language?).

(b) in predicative formation:

Reference has already been made to this (under vii (b) above). It concerns the stem *-ni*.

- (1) In the case of class 5 sg., *ini* becomes *-ni* compounded, e.g.

Yintoni? (What thing is it? <into).

Yinkomoni? (What beast is it? <inkomo).

- (2) In all classes compounding is common in association with verbs, e.g.

Babiza-malini?—What price do they ask?

Ufuna-muthi-muni?—What kind of medicine do you want?

Balethé-sibonda-sini?—What kind of pole have they brought? (This would have the same meaning as *Balethé isibonda esinjani?*).

- (3) Compounds with the initial vowel of the noun elided are also found used predicatively, e.g.

Zimbuzi-zini ozifunayo?—What kind of goats do you want?

Kati-lini lelo?—What kind of cat is that? (Note the elision of the whole prefix in class 3 sg.)

Mahhashi-mani awathengayo?—What sort of horses is he buying?

This complex sentence may be analysed as follows:

Subj. *awathengayo* (qual. pron. rel.).

Pred. *mahhashi-mani* (cop).

The subordinate clause *awathengayo*, a relative clause used pronominally, is further analysed:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *awathengayo* (relative).

Obj. (*wona*).

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;¹ 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.²

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

- (a) The *uninfluenced* possessive concord is formed before most pronominal possessive stems (e.g. *iso lakhe*, 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. *-ithu* and *-imu*; e.g. *amahhashi ethu*, our horses), and with all nouns other than those of class 1a sg.³ (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 qualificative 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 awobaba*, 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).

¹Called in this case the possessee.

²There are some Bantu languages which differentiate in form between the direct and the descriptive possessive concord. The Zulu distinction with cl. 1a. sg. nouns may also be noted (see vii (a) i, below).

³Except in certain descriptive forms, see vii (a) i, below.

(f) Nouns of class 1a sg. retain what is sometimes considered to be the original Bantu form of possessive in *-ka-* (e.g. *izinkomo zikaMpande*, Mpande's cattle).

(iii) Whether direct or descriptive, the possessive as a qualificative has a tendency to follow its antecedent immediately. It has already been observed¹ 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 ezibomvu zilapha—Our red cattle are here.

If the possessive is moved from its position following its antecedent, it undergoes inflexion² 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 concordial 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 namahhashi ami abalekile—My cattle, sheep and horses have run away.

Izinkomo zami nezimvu namahhashi zibalekile.

Izinkomo nezimvu namahhashi ami abalekile.

Izinkomo zami nezimvu namahhashi 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 [banganeno 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 *zasendlini*.)

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-zinqola ezisindayo kangaka entabeni]—They have not got the cattle for pulling such heavy wagons as these on the mountain.

Possessive clauses:

Babulalé 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 pronominal 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. *induma yenkosi* (the chief's headman, < *ya-* + *inkosi*); the concord may be used directly before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *iso lalengane* (this child's eye); before qualificative 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 pronominal 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 subjectival concord agreeing with the antecedent, when that concord contains a consonant; if the subjectival 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 likababa* (my father's voice), but *amazwi kababa* (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 yebumba* (a clay pot)
- inkomishi yegolide* (a golden goblet)
- izembe letshe* (a stone axe)
- ishinga lentombazane* (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)
- uboya bonogwaja* (hare fur; ct. *uboya 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 sokudlala* (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)
- utshwala bokuphuzwa* (beer intended for drinking).

5. Indicating order:

This covers ordinal numeral construction, and includes certain verb infinitive bases.

- umuntu wesibili* (the second person)
- isifundo sesithathu* (the third lesson)
- isikhathi sekhulu* (the hundredth time)
- umuthi womuvo* (the eleventh time)

isikhathi sokuqala (the first time)
isikhathi sokugcina (the last time)
usuku lokuphela (the last day).

6. Indicating object:

This occurs after agentive nouns formed from verbs.

abafuyi bezimvu (sheep farmers)
umshayeli wenqola (wagon driver)
umfundisi wabantwana (a teacher of children).

(b) *Descriptive possessives with adverbial 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)
umkhuba wakhona (a local custom)
umuntu wakwaZulu (a Zulu, a person from Zululand)
utshani basemfuleni (river grass)
amahhashi asendle (wild horses)
umuthi wasentabeni (a mountain tree).

2. Temporal base.

izindaba zamanje (current matters)
abantu banamhlanje (present-day people)
abantu bakuqala (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 yezinyoni*, one of the birds); *omunye wabo* (one of them, e.g. *omunye wabafana*, 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).

Baletha izibonda [ezintathu kuphela]—They brought only three poles.

Ngifuna incwadi [enkulu kunalena]—I want a bigger book than this one.

(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 [okumnandi kakhulu] kulowo-muzi—We were eating most tasty food at that village.

(b) Relatives intensified by ideophones:

Wathenga imvana [emhlophe thwa]—He bought a pure white lamb.

(c) In certain numeral formations beyond "ten":

Abantwana [abayishumi¹ nanhlanu] 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 *kuphela* and several ideophones being used.

Letha incwadi [inye kuphela]—Bring just one book.

Ngibona 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:

Ngiitshela 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 [yenkosi yethu endala] ishile—Our old chief's house is burnt.

Sifuna izikhumba [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.

Ngitshela amagama [abakhulu bakulomuzi]—Tell me the names of the elders of this village.

(b) Descriptive possessive phrases occur with noun bases, particularly of verb infinitive type, and with extended adverbs.

1. With noun bases:

Sithanda izindlu [zamatshela amakhulu]—We like houses (built) of huge stones.

Baletha imbiza [yamanzi ashisayo¹]—They are bringing a pot of hot water.

Analysis: Complex sentence.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *baletha*.

Obj. *imbiza*.

Enl. of O. *yamanzi ashisayo* (complex poss. qual. phrase).

Sub-analysis of *ashisayo*:

Subj. (*wona*).

Pred. *ashisayo* (relative).

Asinazo izinkomo [zokulima amasimu ethu nonyaka]—We haven't the cattle to plough our fields this year.

Sifuna isikhathi [sokufunda kahle izifundo zethu]—We want time to learn our lessons properly.

2. With extended adverbs:

Sizosebenzisa umhlabathi [waphakathi kwensimu]—We shall use the soil from the middle of the field.

Ngitshela ngendaba [yasemuva kwalokho]—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 participial² 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 oqotho (an honest person)

umuntu ongeqotho (a person who is not honest).

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 subjectival possessive relationship, in which the indicative mood is used; see p. 61.

(c) *relative with copulative base*:

umuntu oyinkosi (a person who is a chief)

umuntu ongenkosi¹ (a person who is not a chief)

(d) *relative with adverbial base*:

umuntu onamandla (a strong person)

umuntu ongenamandla (a person who has no strength).

(e) *relative verb*:

umuntu ohambayo (a person who travels)

umuntu ongahambi (a person who doesn't travel).

It must be noticed that the ordinary significance of the positive forms given in (a), (b), (c) and (d) above is not that of a clause. This is particularly the case with (a), the adjective. Reference may be made to the discussion in the "Syntax of the Adjective" above.²

(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.³ For instance:

(a) *adjective*:

abantu ababebakhulu (people who were big)

umuntu ongabamkhulu (a person who can be big)

isihlalo ebesingesihle (a chair which was not nice)

indoda engakabinde (a man who is not yet tall)

izinkomo ebezise(zi)ncane (cattle which are still small).

(b) *relative stem*:

abantu ababegotho (people who were honest)

umuntu ongabaqotho (a person who can be honest)

isihlalo ebesingebanzi (a chair which was not wide)

indoda engakabimnene (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 ezazingenaboya (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.⁴

¹Note the contraction in the usual "indefinite" negative; a definite negative here would be *ongeyiyo inkosi* or *ongeyon'inkosi* (who is not the chief).

²See p. 55.

³See Z.G. § 559, and Chapter IV, "Syntax of the Participial Sub-mood," p. 107.

⁴See p. 56.

(iii) Possessive Clauses: These are formed by prefixing the possessive concord to certain "locative" or "temporal" conjunctives introducing clauses.

Examples:

Sifulela ngotshani obude [*balapho umhlabathi uvundé khona*]
We thatch with long grass from where the soil is rich.

UMagama waloba indaba [*yamhla umBishobi waseNatali ehambela kwaZulu*]
Magama wrote an account of the time when the Bishop of Natal visited Zululand.

Analysis: Complex sentence.

Subj. *uMagama*.

Pred. *waloba*.

Obj. *indaba*.

Enl. of O. *yamhla . . . kwaZulu* (poss. qual. clause).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. (*ya*)*mhla*.

Subj. *umBishobi*.

Enl. of S. *waseNatali*.

Pred. *ehambela* (participial).

Ext. of P. *kwaZulu*.

(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 qualificative 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* [*ephethe isihlangu somufo*]
Zashuke ran off carrying the fellow's shield.

Subj. *uZashuke*.

Enl. of S. *ephethe isihlangu somufo* (particip. qual. clause).

Pred. *ubaleké*.

(b) *Ngiziboné* [*zibaleka*]
I saw them running away.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiziboné*.

Obj. (*zona*).

Enl. of O. *zibaleka* (particip. qual. 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 qualificative, 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 qualificative. These occur (a) when the concord introducing them does not

¹Cf. "Syntax of the Participial Sub-mood in Chapter IV. p. 108.

agree with either subject or object; and (b) when they are preceded by a conjunction such as *uma*, *inxá*, etc. These will be treated in more detail later under the "Syntax of the Descriptive";¹ 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. *ngedwa*² (appositional).

Pred. *bengihlezi*.

Ext. of P. *belele* (particip. clause of reason).

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

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sizobona*.

Ext. of P. *uma befika* (particip. 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 qualificatively. Note the following:

Ngifuna ompondwe [*babebathathu*]
I want three pounds.

Sabona amadube [*abamahlamu*]
We saw only five zebras.

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

¹See Chapter V, pp. 134, 135.

²Alternatively this may be considered as an extension of the predicate, of manner.

CHAPTER IV

THE SYNTAX OF THE PREDICATIVE

Introductory:

It has been stated elsewhere¹ 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 concord or at least implied), but in the case of the interjective sentence no subject is either indicated by concord or expressed substantivally or even implied.

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

Jojo! ngiyakufuna—Jojo, I want you.

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) *Baba* (interjective sentence).

(2) *angifanele* (predicative sentence):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angifanele*.

¹Z.G. § 67.

²Chapter I, p. 5.

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. *Ngilethele incwadi yami khona-manje*—Bring me my book immediately. Simple interjective sentence.

Subj. no subject.

Pred. *ngilethele* (imperative).

Obj. (i) (*mina*) (principal).

(ii) *incwadi* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. *yami* (qual. subsid. obj.).

Ext. of 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 concord, and are, in function, substantives. All the finite moods, however, indicative, 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 concord. Take for example the following:

Lomuntu lidaka—This person is a sot.

Subj. *lomuntu* (appositional).

Pred. *lidaka* (copul.).

Yisitsha lesi—This is a plate.

Subj. *lesi*.

Pred. *yisitsha* (copul.).

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

Ingonyama yayilikati—The lion was a cat.

Lowo-muntu ungubani na?—Who is that person?

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

Kukhona izinyamazane kulelizwe—There is game in this country.

Subj. *izinyamazane* (logical subj.).

Pred. *kukhona* (indef. copul.).

Ext. of P. *kulelizwe* (locative).

Kufuneka imali yokukhokha namuhla—Money for paying today is needed.

Subj. *imali* (logical subj.).

Enl. of S. *yokukhokha namuhla* (poss. phrase).

Pred. *kufuneka* (indef.).

THE VERBAL PREDICATE

There are two types of verbal predicate to be considered in Zulu, the univocal or plain predicate, and the multivocal 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 "univocal," while the complicated predicate, consisting of more than one verb, viz. a deficient verb followed by a subordinate complementary verb, is termed "multivocal." Further, the univocal or plain predicate may be composed of a simple or a derived stem; hence the avoidance of the term "simple." Again, the multivocal 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,¹ 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

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

important moods, the indicative, the participial and the subjunctive.

	(main predicate)	(subordinate predicate)
Indicative:	generally	rarely
Subjunctive:	rarely	generally
Participial:	never	always

Examples:

Indicative in the main predicate:

Inkosi [ayiyukufika] emzini wakwethu—The chief will not reach our kraal.

Abantwana abahle [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:

[Mabasheshe] 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 kangaka, 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 [abakhohlisayo¹]—We do not like the deceivers.

Mkhulu, ngoba [edla] amasi—He is big because he eats sour milk.

Potential in either predicate:

[Ngingahlala], uma [unganginika] imali—I would stay if you gave me money.

Contingent in main predicate:

[Bezizokhuluphala] lezi, ukuba utshani buningi 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—

¹Relative clause with participial base.

- (a) *Intransitive* verbs, which are self-contained in their action, e.g. *Bayagula* (They are ill); *Izinkomo sezihamba kakhulu* (The cattle are now travelling much). These include many stative verbs and neuter forms.
- (b) *Transitive* verbs, which need an object to complete their action, e.g. *Bashayé izinkabi* (They struck oxen); *ukusebenzela* (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); *Bagijimela 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 ngendlela* (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 pronominal equivalent in parentheses.

Bagodukile > (*bona*) *bagodukile*.

Zihleké¹ kakhulu > (*zona*) *zihleké kakhulu*.

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

¹ *Hleka* may also be transitive, e.g. *ukuBahleka* (to laugh at them).

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. (*lutho*) implied.

Uzibulele—He has committed suicide.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uzibulele* (reflex.).

Obj. (*yena*).

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

Ubaba uzokuyihambela inkosi—Father will visit the chief.

Amadodana akhe ayamsebenzela umfundisi—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 subsid. 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).

Inkosazana iyababonisa abantwanyana imifanekiso—The young lady is showing the little children some pictures.

Subj. *inkosazana*.

Pred. *iyababonisa*.

Obj. 1. *abantwanyana* (principal).

2. *imifanekiso* (subsidiary).

Bayazisebenzisa izincwadi zethu—They are using our books.

Abafana bazozingenisa izinkomo kusihlwa—The boys will kraal 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

enclitic *-phi?* (where?); e.g. *Uvelaphi?* (Where do you come from?). Such verbs are *ngena*, *phuma*, *hlala*, *vela*, *-ya*, *-ehla*, *-enyuka*, *khwela*, *suka*, *khipha*, *faka*, *beka*, *-za*, and many others.

Isambane singené emgodini lona—The antbear has entered this hole.

Bavela kwaZulu—They come from Zululand.

Sesiya emzini—Now we are going to the kraal.

Sizoya ngomuso—We shall go (there) tomorrow (implying *sizoya khona*).

Applied forms of verbs of motion usually have locative import; and indicate "motion towards":

USobantu wabehambela kwaZulu—Bishop Colenso was travelling to Zululand.

Inyamazane ibuyele ehlathini—The buck went back into the forest.

Isitsha sokudlela (A plate for eating from; *kuso* being understood).

Certain verbs have both transitive and locative import:

Abafana bayawakhipha amankonyane esibayeni—The boys are taking the calves out of the kraal.

Subj. *abafana*.

Pred. *bayawakhipha*.

Obj. *amankonyane*.

Ext. of P. *esibayeni*.

Abantu bayazisusa izinto endlini—The people are taking the things from the house.

Umfundisi wangenisa abantwana esikolweni—The teacher made (the) children go into school.

(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 *ngu bani?* (by whom?); e.g. *Washaywa ngu bani?* (By whom was he struck?); *Uguliswé yini?* (By what were you made ill?). Some neuter verbs are agentive in force also.

Inkosi yabonwa ngu bani 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*.

Inkosi yadunyiswa ngabantu ababehlala kwaDukuza—The chief was lauded by the people who lived at Dukuza's.

This last is a complex sentence, embodying a relative clause, and is analysed as follows:

Subj. *inkosi*.

Pred. *yadunyiswa*.

Ext. of P. *ngabantu ababehlala kwaDukuza* (agentive adverb extended by rel. clause).

Sub-analysis of *ababehlala kwaDukuza*, which qualifies *abantu*, the basis of the agentive adverb:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *ababehlala* (relative).

Ext. of P. *kwaDukuza*.

(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 endleleni—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?).

uku hamba ngendlela (to travel by road)

uku hamba 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, agentive, conjunctive and instrumental verbs shew 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 entabeni*. Even such a verb as *lala*, which is especially locative, e.g. *ukulala phansi*, *ukulala esihlahleni*, 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 lesihlungu 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 *fumana* (and its variant *funyana*), which is conjunctive in form, is to-day used solely as a transitive verb, e.g. *Ngimfumene elele* (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 *ukuhamba ngendlela*, *ukuhamba ngomkhumbi*, *ukuhamba ngesitimela*, *ukuhamba ngenqola*, 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: *ukuhamba endleleni* would be "to walk about in a path," *ukuhamba 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: *ukuhamba*, to travel; (b) locative: *ukuhamba obala*, to walk in the open; (c) conjunctive: *ukuhamba nenja*, to travel with a dog; (d) instrumental: *ukuhamba ngenqola*, 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

¹So me consider that there is no essential difference in meaning between these pairs of sentences.

Generally speaking, then, while verbs in Zulu naturally fall under one of the divisions of import, intransitive, transitive, locative, agentive, 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) *Ngide ngeqa*—I continually jump.

(2) *Abafana bake babone izinyamazane*—The boys sometimes see game.

(3) *Bacishe ukusizwa sikhuluma*—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) *ngide* (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 *ukuzwa* 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. *ngide ngeqa*.

(2) Subj. *abafana*.
Pred. *bake babone*.
Obj. *izinyamazane*.

(3) Subj. (*bona*).
Pred. *bacishe ukusizwa*.
Obj. (*thina*).
Enl. of O. *sikhuluma* (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. *bake*.
Ext. of P. *babone izinyamazane* (descriptive clause of occasional action).
- (3) Subj. (*bona*).
Pred. *bacishe*.
Obj. *ukusizwa sikhuluma* (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) *Abantwana babelokhu bedlala, behleka, bebanga umsindo esikoleni*—The children kept on playing and laughing and making a noise in school.

Subj. *abantwana*.
Pred. *babelokhu* (defic. v.).
Ext. of P. (i) *bedlala (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. *bedlala (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 sometimes 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 multiverbal 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 categories: (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 substantivally, 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 *ini*).¹

Yinkunzi—It is a bull.

Yinkunzi eyambudlayo—It is a bull which gored him.

This is a complex sentence. Analysis:

Subj. *eyambudlayo* (subst. clause, relative).

Pred. *yinkunzi* (abs. copulative).

Sub-analysis:

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *eyambudlayo* (relative).

Obj. (*yena*).

Ngubani lowayá?—Who is yonder one?

NguNgoza—It is Ngoza.

Abantu or *Ngabantu*—It is people.

Ikati yisilwane—The cat is an animal.

UMagama ngumfundisi—Magama is a teacher.

Inkosi lixhegu—The chief is an old man.

(from pronouns)

Yini nobabili—It is both of you.

Yimina engikufunayo—It is I who want you.

Yilezo ezimsukeleyo—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.

Yizini ezimlumileyo?—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)

Yingoba 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 substantives, e.g.

Sibonwé yibo—We were seen by them.

Inyama yethu yadliwa 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 *Ngibonwé nguNgoza* (I was seen by Ngoza), the basic meaning is "I was seen, it is Ngoza," this being a contraction for *Ngibonwé, nguNgoza 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 *nguNgoza* 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 subjectival 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):*

(positive)

Bangabantu—They are people.

¹Adjectives are practically the only qualificatives 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.

Leli-kati liyisilwane—This cat is an animal.

Labo-bantu bangabafundisi—Those people are teachers.

Inkosi yethu ilixhegu—Our chief is an old man.

Bona bannene—They are kind.

(negative)

Asiyibo abefundisi—We are not the teachers.

Iwula alinyoni or *Iwula aliyiyo inyoni*—The oribi is not a bird.

Izinkomo azikho lapha—The cattle are not here.

Azisesibayeni—They are not in the cattle kraal.

Akamkhulu—He is not big.

Abannene—They are not kind.

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

SingabakwaZulu—We are Zulu.

Ngimkhulu—I am big.

Ungcono na?—Are you better?

Nina niyizithutha—As for you, you are simpletons.

(c) *Copulatives in past indicative tenses:*

Bengiyinkosi kithi kwaZulu—I was a chief at home in Zululand.

Besingeyilabo abakhulumayo—We were not those who talked.

Izinkomo zazizinkulu impela—The cattle were very big.

Umfana wayesendlini—The boy was in the house.

(d) *Copulatives in the participial mood:*

Lomuntu emkhulu uyabusa—This person being big rules.

Izingwe zingathanjiswa 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 namuhla—It is necessary for you to be here to-day.

Lezi-zinkomo zizokubaqatha—These cattle will be strong.

Lempahla ayifanele ukubanzima (ukuBankulu)—These goods must not be heavy (big).

Wabamkhulu—He became big.

(f) *Copulatives in progressive and exclusive implications:*

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

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

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

Myeke 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 stative verbs is noticeable; divergence therefrom, however, must be observed in the cases of negative *-nga-* 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 inqola yami > *Yizinkomo ezinkulu, ezibomvu, ezokudonsa inqola 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 abampofu abanawo 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) *abampofu*.

Pred. *abanawo 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 *-baleka* 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 *abanawo* 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 qualificative 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. *Wakhulumahleleka* or *Ukhulumé wahleleka*, where *wahleleka* 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, *futhi, kanti, kepha, kodwa, ngalokho, nokho*. Sentences joined by these conjunctives must be considered in Zulu as Compound.

*Laba-bantu banamandla amakhulu, || futhi banemali eningi*¹—

These people have great strength, moreover they have much money.

(a) Subj. *laba-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. (*wena*).

Pred. *awukakwazi*.

Obj. *ukubala*.

Ext. of P. (*na*) (interrog.).

(b) Con. *kanti*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uya*.

Ext. of P. (i) *njalo* (manner).

(ii) *esikoleni* (place).

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

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

¹Sentence division is indicated by ||.

Zimbuzi zakhe zinokufa, || *ngalokho ufuna ukuzibulala zonke*—His goats have disease, and therefore he wants to destroy them all.

Ubeshilo uyise, || *nokho kakwenzanga*—His father has said so, nevertheless he didn't do it.

Instances of two co-ordinate subjunctive tenses are found, e.g.

Mabahlale lapha, || *kepha mabathi du-nje*—Let them stay here, but let them just keep quiet.

(ii) Co-ordination of main predicates is found in Zulu, without any conjunctive between them, with a sequence of *continuous* (or even indefinite) *tenses* of simple or exclusive implication:

Bayalima, || *bayathenga*, || *bayaganwa*, || *benza konke*—They plough, they barter, they marry, they do all things.

Ngiyangena endlini, || *useyangilandela*, || *sengiyabalekake*—I enter the house, he follows me, off I run.

Ngingené endlini, || *waseyangilandela*, || *ngase ngiyabaleka*—I entered the house, he then followed me, off I then ran.

Similar co-ordination of *negative tenses* in consecutive construction is found:

Abafundi, || *ababali*, || *abakhulumi*—They do not read, they do not write, they do not speak (i.e. They neither read nor write nor speak).

Asifundanga, || *asibalanga*, || *asikhulumanga*—We did not read, (or) write, (or) speak.

The best way to deal with such types of co-ordination is to treat the predicates together as compound without connective conjunctives.

(iii) In Chapter II¹ it was noted that one construction, in the present tense, of Direct Reported Speech, involved a type of co-ordination of predicates, e.g.

Usho uthi, Bazofika namhlanje?—Do you say, they will arrive to-day?

(a) *Usho*—simple sentence.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *usho*.

(b) *uthi, Bazofika namhlanje*—complex sentence.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uthi*.

Obj. *Bazofika namhlanje* (reported speech).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bazofika*.

Ext. of P. *namhlanje*.

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.

Wozal! 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 qualificative 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 zisidla 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 endlini—I did not see them in the house.

Abafuni-lutho—They do not want anything.

Lizokuna namuhla na?—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:¹**

Ngizwé ukuthi [balapha]—I have heard that they are here.

Ngicabanga ukuthi leli-qanda [libolile]—I think that this egg is bad. (This is the fact which I have in my thought.)

(b) **In reported speech:²**

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.³**

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

(d) **In "relative" construction of subjectival possessive relationship, one of the forms possible involves the use of the indicative.⁴**

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

¹See fuller examples in Chapter II, p. 32.

²See fuller examples in Chapter II, pp. 36 *et seq.*

³The normal construction after *ngoba* is participial, see Chapter V, p. 136.

⁴See Chapter III, "The Syntax of the Relative," p. 61.

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.¹ 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 interjective sentence, in the case of the former a predicative sentence. In the interjective 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 abazibuyise lapha izinkomo namankonyana—The boys must bring back here the cattle and calves.

Subj. *abafana*.

Pred. *abazibuyise*.

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",

¹This is Webster's definition.

"should" and "let" are auxiliaries employed with perhaps more closeness to the idiom. It must be noticed that in none of these instances do we have any record of fact, such as would be implied by the employment of the indicative.

Further imperative uses of the subjunctive mood are to be found after certain hortative conjunctives such as *ahle*, *ake*, *ke*, etc.

Ahle ngikushaye khona-manje—Mind I don't hit you right now!

Con. *ahle*.
Subj. (*mina*).
Pred. *ngikushaye*.
Obj. (*wena*).
Ext. of P. *khona-manje*.

Ake zihlale lapha—Just let them stay here.

Con. *ake*.
Subj. (*zona*).
Pred. *zihlale*.
Ext. of P. *lapha*.

Ke balinge-nje—Just let them try!

Con. *ke*.
Subj. (*bona*).
Pred. *balinge-nje*.

(b) *The subjunctive mood in permissive interrogation:*

In asking questions as to what is proper, or in seeking advice as to procedure, the present subjunctive tense, generally without the interrogative adverb *na*, is used:

Sihlale?—Are we to sit?

Ngenzeni kini na?—What am I to do at your place?

Subj. (*mina*).
Pred. *ngenzeni*.
Ext. of P. (1) *kini* (loc.).

(2) *na* (interrog.).

Alternatively: Pred. *ngenze*; Obj. *-ni* (enclitic).

Izinkomo ziphume manje?—Should the cattle go out now?

Are the cattle to go out now?

It may be considered that the above are really contractions for such forms as *kufanele sihlale*, *kufanele ziphume*, etc., which would be complex sentences. This is of course possible, but the widespread use of this idiom in other Bantu languages rather bespeaks for it a regular idiomatic use of the present subjunctive.

(c) With certain construction employing the deficient verb *-thi* conjunctively, the subjunctive verb following may be considered as constituting the main clause, e.g.

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 endlini yamluma—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 ukuba and ukuthi:* These have already been dealt with at some length (in Chapter II),¹ 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 [ukuba abafana bafunde kahle]—The teacher wants the boys to learn well.

Kufanele [sifunde kahle]—We must learn well.

Subj. (*ukuba*) *sifunde kahle* (subs. clause).
Pred. *kufanele*.

Sub-analysis of (*ukuba*) *sifunde kahle*:

Con. (*ukuba*).
Subj. (*thina*).
Pred. *sifunde*.
Ext. of P. *kahle*.

(b) *In the formation of descriptive clauses of purpose after the conjunctives ukuba, ukuthi and ukuze.*²

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

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

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

(c) *In the formation of descriptive clauses after such conjunctives as anduba, funa, hleze, qede, etc.*³

Mtshela [andukuba ahambe]—Tell him before he goes.

¹See pp. 33, 34.

²*Nze* is used in much the same way. Cf. also Chapter V, p. 128.

³Cf. also Chapter VI, pp. 129, 130.

Mus'ukuyihluphainja, [*funa ikulume*]*—*Don't tease the dog, lest it bite you.

[*Bathi qéde bafike*,] *sibabingelele**—*As soon as they arrive we greet them.

- (d) *In the formation of multiverbal predicates¹ after certain deficient verbs*, a type of descriptive clause is found employing the subjunctive mood. Among the commonest of the deficient verbs so used are *-buye*, *-cishe*, *-fike*, *-hle*, *-ke*, *-mane*, *-nele*, *-phinde*, *-sale*, *-símze*, *-ze*, *-bonange*.

(1) *Wabuye wasinda**—*Then he recovered.

(2) *Abafana bafike bakhipe izimbuzi**—*The boys first take out the goats.

(3) *Uphinde enze njalo**—*He does the same again.

The above three examples will serve for an analytical examination of this construction.

- (1) Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wabuye*.

Ext. of P. *wasinda* (descriptive clause of consecutive action).

- (1a) Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wasinda*.

- (2) Complex sentence.

Subj. *abafana*.

Pred. *bafike*.

Ext. of P. *bakhipe izimbuzi* (descriptive clause of prior action).

- (2a) Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bakhipe*.

Obj. *izimbuzi*.

- (3) Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uphinde*.

Ext. of P. *enze njalo* (descriptive clause of repetitive action).

- (3a) Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *enze*.

Ext. of P. *njalo* (manner).

The subjunctive predicate, in each case, forms an extension of the main predicate in form of a descriptive clause, the actual relationship of which is in each case dependent upon the force of the deficient verb, the main verb in the Zulu predicate. Each of these Zulu deficient verbs, has a definite function such as, "to act almost," "to act again," "to act first," "to act of necessity," etc. It is probably best therefore to indicate that function in

¹See "The Multiverbal Predicate" earlier in this chapter, p. 91, and the fuller treatment in Chapter V under "Descriptive Clauses," p. 126.

labelling 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 multiverbal 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 [uziphuzise 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,] [bathenge ukudla]**—*In this country they cultivate fields, herd cattle and barter foodstuffs.

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

*UNozilwa ufiké 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 bangahleka*, *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. *UQwabe weza namabutho, waxosha abakithi.* (Complex sentence).

Subj. *uQwabe.*

Pred. *weza.*

Ext. of P. (1) *namabutho* (conjunctive).

(2) *waxosha abakithi* (descriptive clause of subsequent action).

(1a) *waxosha abakithi.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *waxosha.*

Obj. *abakithi.*

2. *Abantwana bayahleka, badlale.* (Complex sentence).

Subj. *abantwana.*

Pred. *bayahleka.*

Ext. of P. *badlale* (descriptive clause of subordinate action).

(2a) *badlale.*

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *badlale.*

(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 *-ba* being used.

(1) The present subjunctive is used when desire or command is expressed, and in future contexts:

Sifuna izinkomo zibezinhlano—We want five cattle. This is more expressive than *Sifuna izinkomo ezinhlano*; and might be more literally translated as: "We want cattle, (and) let them be five."

Banike amahhashi abemabili—Give them two horses.

Khokha usheleni abemunye—Pay one shilling. This construction is perhaps more commonly used with the enumerative stem *-nye* (one), than with the other numerals.

Bulala inkuku ibenye (or *ibeyinye*)—Kill one fowl.

Sizohlala edolobeni izinyanga zibezine—We shall stay in town for four months.

Alternative methods of analysis may be used here, in either of which *zibezine* will constitute a subordinate clause.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sizohlala.*

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

(ii) *izinyanga zibezine* (time).

In this case *zibezine* will be a descriptive clause used qualificatively, qualifying *izinyanga*. It will be analysed as follows:

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zibezinye* (copul.).

The alternative analysis would be to treat *zibezinye* 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.

Ngathenga izinkomo zabazine—I bought only four beasts.

Literally, this is: "I bought beasts, (and) they were four."

Contrast the plain statement in *Ngathenga izinkomo ezine* (I bought four beasts).

Kwafika amahhashi abamabili—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. *zaba-*, *aba-*, *yaba-*, etc., may become *za-*, *a-*, *ya-*, etc., with noticeably long vowels, e.g.

Kwafika izinqola zantathu (or *zazintathu*)—Only three wagons arrived.

(3) *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:

Ngicishé ngawa, ngazibulala—I nearly fell (and) killed myself.

Bafike bahlale, badle ukudla kwabo—They first sit down (and) eat their food.

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 conjugations. So far, within the conjugations 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 clauses¹ which enlarge the subject or object of the sentence.

(a) *Participial Enlargement of Subject:*

Izindlovu zabaleka [zixhuga]—The elephants ran off limping.
Abesifazane bafika [bethwele impahla 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 [benezinkomo zabo]—They all came accompanied by their cattle. Complex sentence.

Subj. *bonke*.

Enl. of S. *benezinkomo zabo* (participial).

Pred. *bafika*.

Sub-analysis of *benezinkomo zabo*:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *benezinkomo zabo* (extended copul.).

¹Cf. Chapter III, section on "Qualificative Clauses" (iv), see p. 80.

(b) *Participial Enlargement of Object:*

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

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngababona*.

Obj. (*bona*).

Enl. of O. *becashé otshanini* (participial).

Sub-analysis of *becashé otshanini*:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *becashé*.

Ext. of P. *otshanini*.

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

(c) *Participial Enlargement of an Inflected Substantive:*

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

Subj. (*nina*).

Pred. *nizohlangana*.

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

Sub-analysis of *ihlezi esibayeni* (participial clause, qualifying *yona* < *nayo*):

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *ihlezi*.

Ext. of P. *esibayeni*.

Wabulawa yiBo [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) *yiBo* (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 yiBo, uma bengena ngentuba esigodlweni.

Similarly with subjectival agreement we may have:

Wabulawa yibo ehlezi esibayeni, or

Wabulawa 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.

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

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngaqala*.

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*.

Bamgwaza [impi ibaleka]—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* (*ngoba*), *noma*, *nonxá*, *nakuba*, *nokuba*, *lapho* (*lapha*, *la*), *nga* (*ngaye*), *selokhu* (*seló*), *kade*.

Uma, *ma*:

[*Uma sifuna*] *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.

Bazohamba [uma ungafiki]—They will go if you do not come.

[*Ma befika*], *batshela*—When they come, tell them.

Inxá, *nxa*:

[*Nxa befika*], *uze ubanike lokhu*—When they come, give them this.

[*Inxá usuqedile umsebenzi*], *uyokhumuka*—When you have finished the work, you will be free.

Ngokuba, *ngoba*:

Ngizé [ngoba bengimfuna]—I came because I wanted him.

Wakwenza [ngokuba enesihawu]—He did it because he had pity.

Ngithanda ukusebenza [ngoba kuholwa imali]—I like working because people are paid.

Ulele [ngoba egula]—He is lying down because he is sick.

Noma, *nonxá*:

[*Noma bebahle*], *abahlakaniphile*—Even if they are pretty, they are not wise.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *abahlakaniphile*.

Ext. of P. *noma bebahle* (participial clause of concession).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *noma*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bebahle*.

[*Noma ngigula*], *angilele phansi*—Although I am sick, I am not lying down.

[*Noma ngingalele 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.

[*Nokuba kunjalo*], *angithandi ukuya*—Although it is so, I do not care to go.

[*Nakuba efundile*], *akamedluli ubaba*—Although he is educated, he doesn't surpass my father.

Lapho, *lapha*, *la*:

*Angazi [lapho behlala khona]*¹—I do not know where they live.

[*Lapho eseqedile*] *makabuye*—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 stuffs him.

Nga, *ngaye*:

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

¹ 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, seló:

[*Selokhu befikile*], *angikababoni*—Ever since they came, I have not yet seen them.

[*Seló kwadatshulwa umhlaba*], *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*, *-dé*); *-hambe*; *-hleze*; *-libele*; *-lokhu* (*-ló*); *-suke*; *-zinge*; and at times with *-bange*, *-vange*, *-zange*, etc.

(1) *Angibonange ngiyibona inkunzi ihlaba kangaka*—I have never seen a bull so vicious as this.

(2) *Balibele behlabelela 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.¹

(v) (a) 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 *-be* in Zulu, e.g.

Bengihlezi—I was seated.

Bengingahlezi—I was not seated.

The full forms are: *Ngibe ngihlezi* 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. *Sengihlezi*—I am now seated, of which the full form is *Ngise ngihlezi*.

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

(c) Somewhat similar to *-be* 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 ohambayo* is derived from *umuntu ehamba*, and *umuntu ongahambi* 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 umhlabathi—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.

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

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

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

(b) *As enlargements of a common antecedent:*

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

Ngababona bebaleka, belinga ukuzisindisa ngejubane—I saw them, they running away (and) trying to save themselves by means of speed.

(c) *As extensions of a common predicate:*

Abazali bethu basibona amasosha edlula, ehlakaza imihlambi yethu—Our parents saw us (while) the soldiers (were) passing (and) scattering our flocks.

¹For 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,¹ is used generally in the main statement, as follows:

Abantwana bangafunda kahle—The children can read well.

Singekhwele kulentaba—We cannot climb this hill.

Izinyamazane zazinge—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 unghahlala—I would stay, if you too would stay.

Sasingehambe uma 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 ngingenza kanjani]*—I don't know what to do.
Ngibona [ukuba ungagijima ngejubane]—I see that you can run very fast.

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

(c) *Ngifuna 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.

Singekhulume [uma bengesicele]—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.

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

Banokwazi konke—They know everything; or They have all knowledge; or They can know all.

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.

Abanakukhuluma 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.¹

(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 bakusize uma uyobanika okumnandi—They were still going to help you, if you were going to give them something nice.

Wayengasezukumnika imali yakhe ukuba akammangalelanga—He was no longer going to give him his money, if he had not sued him.

Yebo, bengomsebenzela—Yes, I would have worked for him.

(iii) The contingent mood may be subordinated and then its construction is basically participial:

(a) *In relative clauses:*

Uyibonile inkabi [eyayingayukufa] 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 ebeyohamba—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).

Besebezombamba ukuba angimcashisanga—They were just going to catch him, if I had not hidden him.

Nase ningezukuganana, kodwa nacindezelwa umthetho—You were not going to marry one another then, but you were compelled by the law.

¹ Cf. Doke: "Bantu Linguistic Terminology," p. 79.

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 qualificative, 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] izinqola ezisindayo—The cattle pulled well the heavy wagons.

Sizohamba [ngokushesha]—We shall travel fast.

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

(2) As part of enlargement, or part of extension.

(a) *In enlargement of subject:*

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

Subj. *leyo-nkomo* (appositional).

Enl. of S. *enkulu 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. (*wena*).

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. *Abesifazane 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 (commencing 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 ngokushesha—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 accident, 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 (cf. *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*, *kumnandi*, *ngokuliqiniso*, *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*, *kamnandi* (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: *bume* (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.¹

Specimen analyses with adverbial extensions of the predicate:

(1) Manner:

Izinkabi bezizidonsa kabi izinqola—The oxen were pulling the wagons badly. Simple sentence.

Subj. *izinkabi*.

Pred. *bezizidonsa*.

Obj. *izinqola*.

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:

Sifiké ekuseni—We arrived this morning. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sifiké*.

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.).

Lezo-zilwane zifana nezingulube—Those animals look like pigs. Simple sentence.

Subj. *lezo-zilwane* (appositional).

Pred. *zifana*.

Ext. of P. *nezingulube* (conj.).

¹ Cf. Chapter IV, p. 85.

- (6) 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.).
- (7) Agent:
Ngabonwa yinkosi—I was seen by the chief. Simple sentence.
 Subj. (*mina*).
 Pred. *ngabonwa*.
 Ext. of P. *yinkosi* (agent).
Ingane ilunywé yinja kabani?—By whose dog was the child bitten? Simple sentence.
 Subj. *ingane*.
 Pred. *ilunywé*.
 Ext. of P. *yinja kabani?* (agent; extended copulative).
- (8) 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 1*a*), 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

¹Z.G. § 578.

²Some scholars think it is preserved in a few words of class 2, such as *umvuva* (the rear).

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)
emuva kwalokho (after that)
nganeno komfula (on this side of the river)
phambi kukababa (in front of my father; *kuka-*, not *kwa-* before a noun of class 1*a*).

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 nezwe (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 nawe* (near you), the former using the possessive pronominal stem *-kho*, the latter the absolute pronoun *wena* in its shortened form.

¹See also Z.G. §§ 164-168.