

ZULU SYNTAX AND IDIOM

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
LONDON CAPE TOWN NEW YORK

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO., LTD.
6 & 7 Clifford Street, London, W.1
BOSTON HOUSE, STRAND STREET, CAPE TOWN

and at
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS
DELHI VIJAYAWADA DACCA

First published 1955



Printed by
Galvin & Sales (Pty.) Ltd., 11 Castle Street, Cape Town

496.35
56587

PREFACE

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

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

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

C.M.D.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

SIGNS

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

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO SYNTACTICAL STUDY

From Words to Sentences

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

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

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

¹ Commonly treated in Zulu "grammar".

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

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

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

Words and Word-compounds

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴cf. Z.G., particularly §§ 222-229.

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

Sentences, Clauses and Phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹See Chapter VII, p. 163.

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

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

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

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

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

Sentence Analysis

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

¹The phrases are indicated within brackets.

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

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

Order of Words in the Zulu Sentence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹Adverbial or ideophonic.

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

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

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

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

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

With emphasis upon the predicate:

Ziyadonsa¹ inqola izinkabi or *Ziyadonsa izinkabi inqola*—

The oxen are indeed pulling a wagon.

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

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

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

The Main Divisions of Zulu Syntax

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II

THE SYNTAX OF THE SUBSTANTIVE

Introductory

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

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

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

The Indefinite, the Definite and the Emphatic

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

Kuhamba umuntu—There travels a person.

Umuntu uyahamba—The (or a) person travels.

Yen'umuntu uyahamba—The person travels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subjects and Objects

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

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

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

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

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

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

Qualificative Pronouns

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

Inkabi yami ifile—My ox is dead.

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

Eyami ifile—Mine is dead.

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

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

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

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

Inkabi enkulu ifile—adjective.

Enkul'inkabi ifile—pronoun.

Enkulu ifile—pronoun.

THE SIMPLE SUBJECT AND OBJECT

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

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

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

Kwafika amazimu—There arrived cannibals.

Kukhona izinkomo—There are cattle.

Sekufile izinyamazane—There have now died some buck.

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

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

Kulwa abantu: Simple sentence.

Subj. *abantu* (logical).

Pred. *kulwa* (indef.).

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

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

Amazimu afika—(The) cannibals arrived.

Izinkomo zikhona—(The) cattle are present.

Izinyamazane sezifile—(The) buck are now dead.

Abakhulu bayakhuluma—(The) elders are speaking.

Or with predicate preceding the subject:

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

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

Makuqale bona—Let them begin.

Sekudhulé lezo phambili—Those have now passed in front.

Laba bayizikhonzi—These are dependents.

Ubaba uyasenga—My father is milking.

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

*Kubus'inkosi*¹—The chief reigns.

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

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

Ngibona umuntu—I see a person.

Abantwana bathanda izinja—(The) children love dogs.

Sithenge izincwadi—We have bought some books.

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

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

Ngiyambona umuntu—I see the person.

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

Sizithengile izincwadi—We have bought the books.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Axiomatic negatives:

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

Azikho izinkomo—The cattle are not present).

Akufikanga-zinduna—No captains arrived.

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

Abafuni-lutho—They want nothing.

Asishayanga-bantwana—We struck no children.

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

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

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

The answers anticipated would be respectively:

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

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

Akufikanga-zinduna: Simple sentence.

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

Pred. *akufikanga* (indef.).

Ubona-sihlalo lapho na?

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ubona*.

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

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

(ii) *na* (interrog.).

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

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

Siyababona (We see them): Simple sentence.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *siyababona*.

Obj. (*bona*).

Abantwana abazithandi (The children do not like them):

Simple sentence.

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

THE COMPOUND SUBJECT AND OBJECT

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

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

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

(i) Indefinite Compound Subjects and Objects

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

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

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

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

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

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

(ii) Definite Compound Subjects and Objects

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

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

(1) First Word of the Grouping determining Concord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that therefore, here, one is bound to use a subjectival concord which indicates compound subjects.¹¹ A more natural rendering of the former of these sentences would be: *Umfana ufikile nekati*—The boy came with (or along with) the cat. Further it cannot be overlooked that in such a sentence as *Umuntu nenja uhambile* the importance of the person may override that of an animal or thing, and thus command the concord. A similar example is in *Abantu nezinkomo bashile emlilweni*—The people and the cattle are burnt in the fire.

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

(2) Use of a Classificatory Concord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AmaXhoza nabakwaZulu bafuya izinkomo—Xhosas and Zulus keep cattle.

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

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

¹¹ But see below: the use of the concord *ku-* where a person is concerned is liable to be derogatory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mixed compounds:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amandla nobudoda buligugu—Strength and manliness are valued possessions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Inflected Forms of Compound Substantives

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

- (a) Inflexion of first substantive only:
(copulative) *inja nekati > yinja nekati* (by the dog and the cat, or it is a dog and a cat).
(conjunctive adv.) *inja nekati > nenja nekati* (together with the dog and the cat).
(comparative adv.) with prefixes *kuna-*, *njenga-*, *nganga-*:
UJoni mkhulu kunami nomngane wami—John is bigger than me and my friend.
Banjengobaba nomame—They are just like my father and mother.
- (b) Inflexion of each substantive:
(locative adv.) *izwe nemizi nezindlu > ezweni nasemizini nasezindlini* (in the land and the villages and the houses).
izulu nomhlaba > ezulwini nasemhlabeni (in heaven and on earth).
(instrumental adv.) *induku nomkhonto > ngenduku nango-mkhonto* (by means of kerrie and spear).
(possessive) *abantu nezinkomo > ubukhulu babantu nobezinkomo* (the size of the people and the cattle).

THE APPOSITIONAL SUBJECT AND OBJECT

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

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

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

(i) Noun + Noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. *ubaba*.

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

Pred. *wakhé*.

Obj. *indlu*.

Enl. of O. *yakhe*.

Ext. of P. *eMngeni*.

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

Subj. *leso-silwane*.

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

Pred. *sinolaka*.

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

(ii) Noun + Pronoun

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

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

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

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

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

(b) *Noun + Demonstrative Pronoun*:

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

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

(c) *Noun + Quantitative Pronoun*:

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

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

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

(iii) Pronoun + Pronoun

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

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

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

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

(2) Adjectival and Relative:

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

(iv) Pronoun + Noun

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

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

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

Ngiyakubona wena-ndoda—I see you man.

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

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

Yizona-zinkomo—They are the real cattle.

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

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

Zon'izinkomo (Zona izinkomo) sezidla ehlathini ngalaphayá—They, the cattle, are now grazing in the bush yonder.

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

These are emphatic in significance.

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

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

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

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

Leso-sitsha asisihle—That plate is not nice.

The same thing takes place when the demonstratives are inflected:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sibona ababil'abantu—We see two people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ezam'izinkomo zikhuluphele—My cattle are sleek.

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

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

Abafana abathile—Certain boys.

Abathil'abafana—Certain ones, boys.

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

(v) Apposition in Izibongo

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

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

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

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

Inflected Substantives in Apposition

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

Note also:

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

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

NguMpande inkosi—It is Mpande, the chief.

Yinkosi uMpande—It is the chief, Mpande.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SUBSTANTIVAL PHRASES

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

The Infinitive and its Extensions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Applied: *ukubonela* (to see for).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sentences with phrases are still considered "Simple Sentences."

(a) *Infinitive with Object*:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The analysis of the sentence would be as follows:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *umtshелеle*.

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

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

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

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

Here the phrase is subject of the sentence.

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

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

(b) *Infinitive with Adverbial Extension:*

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

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

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

Examples with both object and adverbial extension:

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

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

(c) *Infinitives used with Ideophones:*

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

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

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

The analysis of this sentence would be as follows:

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

Enl. of S. *kwengwe*.

Pred. *kuyakhanga*.

(d) *Complex Phrases:*

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

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

A suggested analysis is as follows:

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

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

Suggested analysis:

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

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

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

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

SUBSTANTIVAL CLAUSES

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

(i) Substantival Clauses employing the Indicative Mood:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Substantival Clauses employing the Subjunctive Mood:

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹Not necessarily clearly expressed in all copulative constructions.

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Specimen Analyses:¹

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamangala*.

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

1a. *ukuthi ngakwenza kanjani*:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngakwenza*.

Ext. of P. *kanjani*.

2. *Kusobala ukuthi banecala.* Complex sentence.

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

Pred. *kusobala* (copulative).

2a. *ukuthi banecala*:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *banecala* (copulative).

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

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sifuna*.

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

3a. *ukuba bazilethe izimvu*:

Con. *ukuba*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bazilethe*.

Obj. *izimvu*.

(v) Contractions of Substantival Clauses:

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

¹ From sections (i) to (iii) above.

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

Kufanele [sihambe]—We ought to go.

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

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

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

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

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

Pred. *kufanele*.

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

Con. (*ukuba*).

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sibabone*.

Obj. (*bona*).

Ext. of P. *ekuseni*.

(vi) Qualificative Clauses used Substantivally:

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

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

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

Pred. *sebefikile*.

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

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *masilondoloze*.

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

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

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angazi*.

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

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

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

Subj. *izitha*.

Pred. *zababulala*.

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

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

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

(b¹) *esinakho*.

Subj. (*thina*).

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

(c¹) *engingakwenza*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *engingakwenza* (rel.).

Obj. (*khona*).

Reported Speech

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Specimen analysis:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *usho*.

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

Sub-analysis of the clause:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uyesaba*.

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *usho*.

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uthi*.

Obj. *Ngiyesaba* (subst. clause).

B¹. *Ngiyesaba*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiyesaba*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The analysis of this sentence would be as follows:

Subj. *uNomjadu*.

Pred. *kwasho*.

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

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

Sub-analysis of the substantival clause:

Subj. *mina*.

Enl. of S. *kababa*.

Pred. *ngayaleka*.

IZIBONGO AS SUBJECT OR OBJECT

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRINCIPAL AND SUBSIDIARY OBJECTS

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

(i) Simple Verbs taking Principal and Subsidiary Objects

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. *abafana*.

Pred. *bangihlubula*.

Obj. (i) (*mina*).

(ii) *ingubo*.

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

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

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngasikwa* (passive).

Obj. *ubuso*.

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

(ii) *ngomese* (instrumental).

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

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

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

Wangisika umunwe—He cut my finger.

Wangisikela ipulangwe—He cut a plank for me.

Further examples:

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

Bamgwaza isisu—They wounded him in the stomach.

Inja ikufakile ukudla ikhala elimakhaza—The dog put its cold nose into the food; or it cold-nosed the food.

Inkosi yazikhipha izinhlozi amehlo—The chief put out the eyes of the spies.

Nginike imali—Give me some money.

Wapha uNgoza isinkwa nezinkobe nenyama—He gave Ngoza bread, cooked mealies and meat.

Wasibuza umbuzo olukhuni—He asked us a difficult question.

Ngitshele konke—Tell me everything.

Bamenza inkosi—They made him king.

Ake umbuze indlela—Ask him the way.

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

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

(a) *Applied*: *Bazokusishayela abafu*—They will punish the fellows for us (principal object *thina* understood).

Intombazana yabaphekela abafanyana ukudla—The girl cooked some food for the little boys.

Wabebela imali—He stole their money (lit. he stole, to their detriment, money).

Mus'ukungonela ingubo—Don't spoil my blanket for me.

UNtengo wayilethela inkosi incwadi—Ntengo brought the chief a letter.

Sizokunithengela izingubo—We shall buy some blankets for you. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sizokunithengela*.

Obj. (i) (*nina*).

(ii) *izingubo*.

(b) *Causative*: *Ngibonise incwadi yakho*¹—Shew me your book (principal object *mina* understood).

Siyamthwesa umfana impahla—We are helping the boy to carry the goods.

Ak'ungiphuzise ingcosana yamanzi esitsheni sakho—Please give me a little water to drink in your vessel. Simple sentence.

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

Con. *ake*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ungiphuzise*.

Obj. (i) (*mina*).

(ii) *ingcosana*.

Enl. of O. *yamanzi* (qual. subsidiary object).

Ext. of P. *esitsheni sakho*.

(c) *Alternative Renderings*: *Umfundisi uyabafundela abantwana incwadi* or *Umfundisi uyayifundela abantwana incwadi*—The teacher is reading the book to the children.

Sibaphekele ukudla or *Sikuphekele bona ukudla*—We cooked the food for them.

Wangibonisa inyoni or *Wayibonisa mina inyoni*—He showed me the bird.

The analysis of the last rendering would be:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wayibonisa*.

Obj. (i) (*mina*).

(ii) *inyoni*.

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

COGNATE OBJECTS

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

(i) Full Cognates:

cula iculo (sing a song).

chwaya unchwayo (dance the hut-dance.)

buza umbuzo (ask a question).

Basibuza imibuzo eminingi—They asked us many questions. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *basibuza*.

(i) (*thina*).

(ii) *imibuzo*.

Enl. of O. *eminingi* (qual. subsidiary object).

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

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

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *mawusibuzele*.

Obj. (i) (*thina*).

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

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

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

(ii) Natural Cognates:

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

The following examples may be noted:

qamba amanga (fabricate lies).

basa umlilo, phemba umlilo (light a fire).

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

otha umlilo (warm oneself at the fire).

xoxa indaba (relate an affair).

hlabelela ingoma (sing a hymn).

na imvula (rain down rain).

theza izinkuni (gather firewood).

*lala ubuthongo*¹ (sleep).

lumula ingane (wean a child).

qomisa intombi (court a maiden).

lobola umfazi (contract marriage with a woman).

Analysis of sentences involving these natural cognates is straightforward.

IDIOMATIC OBJECTS

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

ukungena indlu (to inherit family rights).

ukuhamba isonto (to attend church regularly).

ukulala umgodi (to inhabit a burrow).

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

¹The noun here is almost adverbial in its use.

²Cf. Chapter IV, p. 87.

³Cf. pp. 213 *et seq.*

ABSOLUTE AND DESCRIPTIVE USE OF SUBSTANTIVES

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

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

¹See Chapter V, p. 124.

CHAPTER III

THE SYNTAX OF THE QUALIFICATIVE

Introductory

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

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

umuntu OMkhulu (a big person; adjective).

umuntu Oqotho (an honest person; relative).

umuntu MUphi (which person?; enumerative).

umuntu WAKhe (his servant; possessive).

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

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

SYNTACTICAL ORDER OF QUALIFICATIVES

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

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

An analysis of the following sentences will illustrate this:

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

SEQUENCE OF QUALIFICATIVES

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

¹ See Chapter II, p. 12.

izinkomo zami ezinkulu (my big cattle).

ihhashi linye elimnyama (one black horse).

Induna yayo eqotho ilapha—His honest captain is here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With extensions:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wathenga*.

Obj. (i) *izingubo*.

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

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

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

QUALIFICATIVES USED WITH INFLECTED SUBSTANTIVES

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

¹See (i) above.

(i) With Copulatives:

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

The analysis of this simple sentence is as follows:

Subj. (*sona*).

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

(ii) With Adverbs:

(a) Locative:

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

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

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

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

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

(b) Conjunctive: *Ngikuluma nendoda ehlakaniphile*—I am speak-
 ing with a wise man (< *indoda ehlakaniphile*).

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

Ingwe ifana nekati elikhulu elesabekayo—The leopard resem-
 bles a huge and terrifying cat.

This may be analysed as follows:

Subj. *ingwe*.

Pred. *ifana*.

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

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

(c) Instrumental:

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

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

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

(d) Comparative:

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

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

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

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

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

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

This simple sentence may be analysed as follows:

Subj. *umsebenzi*.

Pred. *wenziwa*.

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

(iii) With Possessives:

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

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

THE SYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVE

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

Ngibona umfana omkhulu—I see a big boy.

Sithenge izinkomo eziningi—We have bought many cattle.

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

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

Thina esibakhulu siyakhuluma.

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

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

¹ See p. 55.

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

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

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

(a) Ordinary diminution of the adjective:

abantu abaningana (a fair number of people).

ihhashi elibanyana (a miserable horse).

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

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

(c) Diminutive and feminine harmonizing suffixes:

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

indukwana enhlana (a handsome little staff).

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

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

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

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

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

²Cf. Chapter X, p. 227.

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

(a) *kuna-*

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

Analysis:

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngabona*.

Obj. *umuntu*.

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

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

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

(b) *ka-*
umuntu omkhulu kakhulu (a very big person).

abantu abadala kabi (terribly old people).

(c) Miscellaneous:

Siboné izinyamazana eziningi impela—We saw really many buck.

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

Sifuna osheleni ababili kuphela—We want merely two shillings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Predicative Use of the Adjective

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

Examples:

Umkakhe muhle kakhulu—His wife is very beautiful.

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

Indaba leyo imbana kabi—That matter is very bad.

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

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

Sifuna ukubabahle—We want to become beautiful.

(pres. indic. neg.):

Akamkhulu—He is not grown up.

(immed. past indic. posit.):

Abesilisa bebebathathu—The males were three.

Imithi ibimincane—The trees were small.

(rem. past indic. neg.):

Izinkomo zazingezinkulu—The cattle were not large.

(future indic. posit.):

Izincwadi zonke ziyokubazintsha—All the books will be new.

(rem. past progress. posit.):

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

(pres. exclus. neg.):

Imithi ayikabimide—The trees are not yet tall.

(subjunctive posit.):

Sifuna ukuba nibebakhulu—We want you to be big.

The Relative Use of the Adjective

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

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

abesilisa ababebathathu (males who were three).

imithi ebimincane (trees which were small).

izinkomo ezazingezinkulu (cattle which were not large)

izincwadi eziyokubazintsha (books which will be new).

uJane owayesemncane (Jan who was still small).

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

The Adjective definitely one of the Zulu Parts of Speech

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

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

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

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

Simple sentence.

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

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

THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE

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

I. The Relative of Direct Relationship.

II. The Relative of Indirect Relationship.

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

I. THE RELATIVE OF DIRECT RELATIONSHIP

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

¹i.e. the substantive qualified.

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

(a) The Syntactical Use of Relative Stems

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

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

Izinkomo ezibomvu zihle kakhulu—Red cattle are very fine.

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

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

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

Mina engiqotho ngiyakhuluma—I who am honest am speaking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Diminution of the relative:

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

¹Cf. Z.G. § 277.

(b) Feminine harmonizing suffix:

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

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

(a) with adverbs:

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

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

(b) with ideophones:

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

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

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

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

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ugqoké*.

Obj. *ingubo*.

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

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

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ugqoké*.

Obj. *ingubo*.

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

(2) *ethé qwa* (relative clause).

2a. *ethé qwa*:

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *ethé*.

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

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

Inkabi yakhe imhlophe—His ox is white.

Izingubo zami zimanzi—My clothing is wet.

Sonke simpofu—We are all poor.

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

Omese bonke bebebuthuntu—All the knives were blunt.

Ziseqatha—They are still strong.

Uzobamnene—He will be kind.

uma engemnene (if he is not kind).

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

omese ababebuthuntu (knives which were blunt).

umuntu ongemnene (a person who is not kind).

abantu abazobamnene (people who will be kind).

(b) Copulatives in Relative Relationship

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

(1) Plain copulatives preceded by the relative concord:

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

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

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

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

umuntu onamandla (a strong person).

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

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

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

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

(3) *Various tense forms:*

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

umuntu ongenamandla (a person without strength).

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

umuntu owayenamandla (a person who had strength).

amadoda ayengamavila (men who were sluggards).

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

indoda eyayiseyinkosi (the man who was still king).

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

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

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

(1) *Plain subjectival relationship:*¹

Banezinja [ezihlakaniphileyo]—They have wise dogs.

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

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

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

Analysis of this complex sentence:

Subj. *abazingeli*.

Pred. *balibulala*.

Obj. *ibubesi*.

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

Sub-analysis of the clause:

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *elayidla* (relative).

Obj. *inkosi*.

Enl. of O. *endala*.

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

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

(ii) *nyakenye* (time).

(2) *Subjectival possessive relationship:*

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

(a) *With indicative predicate:*

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

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

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

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

(b) *With relative predicate:*

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

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

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

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

(c) *With special participial predicate:*

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

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

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

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

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

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 [engahlatshwa 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 substantively 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. *ukuahleka* (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. *Wakhulumama wahleka* or *Ukhulumé wahleka*, where *wahleka* 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 zibezinhlanu—We want five cattle. This is more expressive than *Sifuna izinkomo ezinhlanu*; and might be more literally translated as: "We want cattle, (and) let them be five."

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*.

¹For a more detailed treatment see Chapter V under "Descriptive Clauses", p. 126.

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.

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 zazingeqe—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.

Apart from the special cases just considered, the normal treatment of all locatives is purely descriptive in Zulu (as in No. 2 of the previous section). The following may be noticed:

Sihlala [eGoli], [endlini enkulu]—We are staying in Johannesburg in a big house.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sihlala*.

Ext. of P. (i) *eGoli* (loc.).

(ii) *endlini enkulu* (extended loc.).

Inkosi yethu yabuyela [kwaZulu]—Our chief has returned to Zululand.

Uvelaphi?—Where do you come from?

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uvela*.

Ext. of P. *-phi?* (interrog. enclitic; locative).

Sivela [ekhaya]—We have come from home.

Bacasha [esihlahleni] [kulelozwe]—They hid in a thicket in that country.

Certain temporal adverbs are derived from nouns by means of locative formation; any such nouns are, in themselves, indicative of time, e.g.

Sizohamba [ekuseni]—We shall travel in the morning.

Ngifuna ukukubona [emini]—I want to see you at midday.

Zidla [ebusuku]—They eat at night.

Wayekhona [esikhathini sikaShaka]—He lived in the time of Shaka. This is an example of a descriptive phrase, being an extended locative.

DESCRIPTIVE PHRASES

These may be divided into four sections for consideration:

(i) **Descriptive phrases of place and time consisting of locatives followed by possessive or conjunctive formation:** These formations were discussed in the previous section, under "Syntax of the Locative." It remains to consider examples in sentences.

Bemi [phakathi kwendlu]—They are standing in the middle of the hut.

Impi yashisa imizi [enhla nezwe]—The army burnt villages up-country.

Subj. *impi*.

Pred. *yashisa*.

Obj. *imizi*.

Ext. of P. *enhla nezwe* (descr. phrase of place).

[*Emuva kwalokho*] *sadla*—After that we ate.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sadla*.

Ext. of P. *emuva kwalokho* (descr. phrase of time).

Hlalani phansi [ekupheleni nemithi]—Sit on the ground near the end of the trees. Interjective sentence:

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *hlalani*.

Ext. of P. (1) *phansi* (place).

(2) *ekupheleni nemithi* (descr. phrase of place).

[*Ekufikeni kwenkosi*] *ngahamba*—When the chief arrived I went (lit. at the arriving of the chief).

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngahamba*.

Ext. of P. *ekufikeni kwenkosi* (descr. phrase of time).

Yafa [phambi kokuvuthwa kwamabele]—He died before the corn ripened.

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *yafa*.

Ext. of P. *phambi kokuvuthwa kwamabele* (descr. phrase of time).

bakhé [eduze nakithi]—They live near where we do (lit. near our home).

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bakhé*.

Ext. of P. *eduze nakithi* (descr. phrase of place).

(ii) **Extended adverbs:** Most types of adverbs are susceptible of extension as for instance:

endlini > *endlini yethu enkulu* (in our big house)

emzini > *emzini wenkosi yethu* (in our chief's village)

kusasa > *kusasa kakhulu* (very early in the morning), or

kusasa namhlanje (early this morning)

kahle > *kahle impela* (very carefully)

ngamandla > *ngamandla akhe onke* (with all his strength)

nenja > *nenja yabo emnyama* (with their black dog)

kunomuntu > *kunomuntu lowo onesihlangu senkosi* (rather than that person with the chief's shield)

ngumuntu > *ngumuntu lowo ophethe isihlangu somufo* (by that person who is carrying the fellow's shield)

In the last two examples the phrases are complex, each including a relative clause, *onesihlangu senkosi* and *ophethe isihlangu somufo* respectively. Analysis follows the usual method:

UMagama ugwazwé [ngumuntu lowo ophethe umkhonto obukhali]—Magama was stabbed by that person who was carrying a sharp spear.

Subj. *UMagema*.

Pred. *ugazwé*.

Ext. of P. *ngumuntu lowo [ophethe umkhonto obukhali]* (desc. complex phrase of agent; within this phrase is a relative clause, marked in brackets, which qualifies *umuntu*, from which *ngumuntu* is derived).

Sub-analysis:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ophethe*.

Obj. *umkhonto*.

Enl. of O. *obukhali*.

Savuka sonke [kusasa kakhulu]—We all rose very early in the morning.

Subj. *sonke*.

Pred. *savuka*.

Ext. of P. *kusasa kakhulu* (descr. phrase of time).

Abangane bethu bahamba [nezingola zabo zonke]—Our friends trekked with all their wagons.

Subj. *abangane*.

Enl. of S. *bethu*.

Pred. *bahamba*.

Ext. of P. *nezingola zabo zonke* (descr. phrase of conjunction).

(iii) **Substantival phrases used "adverbially", principally with temporal significance:**¹

Wahlala khona [amasonto amathathu]—He remained there three weeks.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wahlala*.

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

(ii) *amasonto amathathu* (temporal phrase).

Bakhulumé esibayeni [isikhathi eside]—They talked in the cattle-kraal for a long time.

Ngihamba [indawo yonke]—I go everywhere.

(iv) **Descriptive phrases of reference:**

Substantives are sometimes used in Zulu in a parenthetical manner, generally introducing a remark, or in reference to some topic. As they constitute neither subject nor object of the predicate, and are not in apposition to any other substantive, their function has sometimes been described by the phrase "absolute use of substantives."² Treating their function syntactically, the best description of them is as "descriptives of reference"; and as they are found idiomatically to be used almost always in association with a succeeding possessive, they usually appear as descriptive phrases of reference. Note the following:

¹Cf. Z.G. § 743.

²Cf. Chapter II, p. 45; and also Z.G. § 742.

Yathi impi [ukuphendula kwayo], Yebo Nkosi!—Said the army, in its reply, Yea, O King!

Subj. *impi*.

Pred. *yathi*.

Obj. *Yebo Nkosi* (interjective clause).

Ext. of P. *ukuphendula kwayo* (descr. phrase of reference).

Unjani wona [isiqa sawo] na?—What is it, as to its substance?

Subj. *wona*.

Pred. *unjani*.

Ext. of P. (i) *isiqa sawo* (descr. phrase of reference).

(ii) *na* (interrogative).

Kodwa [ukufa kwabantu], bafa ngendaba yokwesaba amanzi—But, as to the death of the people, they died through fear of the water.

Con. *kodwa*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bafa*.

Ext. of P. (i) *ukufa kwabantu* (descr. phrase of reference).

(ii) *ngendaba yokwesaba amanzi* (descr. phrase of instrument).

DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSES

These may be divided into two main types, those which employ the subjunctive mood and those which employ the participial sub-mood (and sometimes the indicative in place of this). They do not fully correspond in significance to the various types of adverbs, though clauses of place, time and comparison are found: there are no clauses of manner, instrument, conjunction, agent or state.

(i) **Descriptive Clauses, Subjunctives:**

Subjunctive clauses may be divided into: (a) plain subjunctives; (b) subjunctives after deficient verbs; and (c) subjunctives introduced by conjunctives.

(a) *Plain Subjunctive Clauses: Consecutive Clauses*

It was noticed, when dealing with the "Syntax of the Subjunctive Mood"¹ that consecutive verb construction is expressed in Zulu by using the subjunctive mood in all verbs following the first. The subject was discussed at some length there, and we may be content now with a few additional examples.

Kulesi-sikole abantwana bayafunda, [babale], [babale], [badiale futhi]—In this school the children read and write and count and also play.

Siyokumbona, [simchachisele indaba yonke]—We shall see him and explain the whole matter to him.

¹Chapter IV, section (e) on p. 105.

Bayibulala inkomo, [bayihlinza], [badla inyama yonke]—They killed the ox, skinned it and ate all the meat.

Woza lapha, [sikutshela]—Come here and let us tell you.

Imperatives and present and future tenses are succeeded by verbs in the present subjunctive; past tenses by verbs in the past subjunctive. Specimen analysis:

Inkosi iyokuwabiza amadoda, [iwathumele emsebenzini wasemgwaqweni]—The chief will call the men, and send them to the road work. Complex sentence.

Subj. *inkosi*.

Pred. *iyokuwabiza*.

Obj. *amadoda*.

Ext. of P. *iwathumele emsebenzini wasemgwaqweni* (descriptive clause of consecutive or subsequent action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *iwathumele*.

Ext. of P. *emsebenzini wasemgwaqweni* (descriptive phrase, locative).

Somewhat similar is the subjunctive construction with numerals,¹ also to be considered consecutive:

Nginike osheleni [babebahlanu]—Give me five shillings.

Wanginika osheleni [babahlanu (or bababahlanu)]—He gave me only five shillings.

Note also the construction with ideophones following a derivative or cognate verb in future or past time:

Itende labakuza [lathi baku-baku]—The tent blew about violently.

Uzoyitwengula ingubo ayithi twii—She will rip the cloth badly.

(b) Subjunctive Clauses after Deficient Verbs

These were discussed under the "Syntax of the Subjunctive" in Chapter IV,² where it was noticed that an alternative treatment to that as a multiverbal predicate, is to consider the complementary verb after the deficient verb as constituting a descriptive clause. The analysis of such clauses is now given:

1. *Wahlalake khona [waze wafa uDingane]*—He stayed there until Dingane died. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wahlalake*.

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

(ii) *waze wafa uDingane* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

1a. *waze wafa uDingane*:

Subj. (*yena*, referring to *uDingane*.)

Pred. *waze*.

Ext. of P. *wafa uDingane* (descr. clause of eventual action).

1a¹. *wafa uDingane*:

Subj. *uDingane*.

Pred. *wafa*.

2. *Usimze [abeke-nje]*—He simply looks. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *usimze*.

Ext. of P. *abeke-nje* (descr. clause of mere action).

2a. *abeke-nje*:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *abeke*.

Ext. of P. *-nje* (enclitic).

3. *Wake [wasebenza emgodini] na?*—Did you ever work on a mine? Complex sentence.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *wake*.

Ext. of P. (i) *wasebenza emgodini* (descr. clause of occasional action).

(ii) *na?* (interrog.).

3a. *wasebenza emgodini*:

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *wasebenza*.

Ext. of P. *emgodini*.

From an examination, as above, deficient verbs which take subjunctive complements may be classified as follows:

(1) of consecutive action: *-buye*.

(2) of imminent action: *-cishe*.

(3) of concessive action: *-dlule*.

(4) of prior action: *-fike*.

(5) of mere action: *-hle, -simze, -suke*.

(6) of occasional action: *-ke, -ye*.

(7) of subsequent action: *-nce, -sale*.

(8) of immediate action: *-nele, -suke, -qede*.

(9) of repetitive action: *-phinde*.

(10) of preferable action: *-sale*.

(11) of sudden action: *-se, -hle*.

(12) of complete action: *-shaye*.

(13) of eventual action: *-ze*.

(14) of strong past negative action: *-bange, -bonange, -bonaze, -vange, -zange*.

¹ Cf. Chapter IV, section (f) on p. 106.

² See p. 104.

(c) *Subjunctive Clauses after Conjunctions*

These may be divided into clauses of purpose and clauses of time.

(1) *Subjunctive Clauses of Purpose: Final Clauses:*

In Zulu they may be divided into (i) those introduced by the conjunctions *ukuba*, *ukuthi* and *ukuze*; (ii) those introduced by *nce*; and (iii) those indicating negative purpose and introduced by *funa* and *hleze*.

(i) The conjunctions *ukuthi* and *ukuba* have wide use with both indicative and subjunctive moods following them. In indicating purpose they are associated with *ukuze* and the present subjunctive, in this significance *ukuthi* being rather less used than the other two.¹

Senza lokho [ukuba basiphe imali]—We did that in order that they might give us money.

Bangena esibayeni [ukuze bazisenge izinkomazi]—They entered the cattle-kraal in order to milk the cows.

Ngifuna lezi-zincwadi [ukuba ngifunde iziZulu]—I want these books in order to study Zulu. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngifuna*.

Obj. *lezi-zincwadi* (appositional).

Ext. of P. *ukuba ngifunde isiZulu* (descr. clause of purpose).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *ukuba*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngifunde*.

Obj. *isiZulu*.

Bayagijima [ukuze bangabanjwa]—They are running lest they be caught. (Here with negative subjunctive.)

(ii) The conjunction *nce* (in order that) is used in much the same way as *ukuba* and *ukuze* above:

1. *Hlala lapha [nce ngibone ukuthi uzohlalaphi yena]*—Stay here so that I may see where he is going to sit. Complex interjective sentence.

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *hlala* (imperative).

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

(ii) *nce . . . yena* (descr. clause of purpose).

1a. *nce ngibone ukuthi uzohlalaphi yena:*

Con. *nce*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngibone*.

Obj. *ukuthi . . . yena* (substantival clause).

1a¹. *ukuthi uzohlalaphi yena:*

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. *yena*.

Pred. *uzohlala*.

Ext. of P. *-phi* (interrog. enclitic).

(iii) Negative purpose, with the significance of "lest", is achieved by using the conjunctions *funa* or *hleze* before a present subjunctive.

Mus'ukweqa, [hleze ulimale]—Don't jump, lest you get hurt.
Ungayethusi inyamazane, [funa ibaleke]—Don't startle the buck, lest it run off. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ungayethusi*.

Obj. *inyamazane*.

Ext. of P. *funa ibaleke* (descr. clause of purpose, negative).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *funa*.

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *ibaleke*.

(2) *Subjunctive Clauses of Time: Temporal Clauses:*

There are two sets of these: (i) those commencing with any of a series of conjunctions, *anduba*, *andubani*, *andukuba*, *anduma*, or *kaduba*, *kadukuba*, contracted from *kade ukuba*, all signifying "before", "and then afterwards", indicating prior action on the part of the main predicate; and (ii) those commencing with the conjunction *qede* signifying "as soon as". In each of these cases it is the present subjunctive that is used.

(i) Examples with *anduba*, *kaduba*, etc.

Mshaye [anduba ahambe]—Hit him before he goes.

Ake niye kwaNgoza, [andubani nibuyele lapha]—Just go to Ngoza's, and afterwards come back here. Complex sentence.

Con. *ake*.

Subj. (*nina*).

Pred. *niye*.

Ext. of P. (i) *kwaNgoza* (loc.).

(ii) *andubani . . . lapha* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *andubani*.

Subj. (*nina*).

Pred. *nibuyele*.

Ext. of P. *lapha*.

Bahlala [kaduba badle]—They sat down before they ate (or and then they ate).

¹Cf. Chapter II, p. 33; and Chapter IV, p. 103.

(ii) The word *qéde* has very free usage in Zulu:

It may be used as a conjunctive followed by a predicate in the subjunctive mood, e.g.

[*Bazothi qéde bafike*] *sihlale*—As soon as they arrive, we shall sit down; note that *sihlale* is also subjunctive.

It is most commonly found followed by the conjunctive *ukuba*, e.g. *qéde ukuba bafike* (as soon as they arrived).

It may further be used as a deficient verb followed by subjunctive, participial or infinitive, e.g.

Baqéde bafike balale—As soon as they arrive they go to bed; (*bafike* and *balale* are two complements to the common deficient verb).

It may also be used as an adverb with similar significance, e.g.

Bafike qéde baphumula—As soon as they arrived, they rested. Note however that in Zulu *Bafike qéde* is the main clause, *baphumula* being past subjunctive in consecutive construction. The literal translation is "They arrived immediately (and) rested."

All this but emphasises the flexibility of Zulu syntax.

(iii) The subjunctive mood may be used after the deficient verb *-thi* used conjunctively, when descriptive clauses of time are formed. The fact, however, that the "main" verb following such a clause is always subjunctive, and that, on occasion, the "clause" may be used alone as a main statement, makes it possible to treat, as an alternative analysis, the succeeding subjunctive as subordinate in consecutive construction. For examples see Chapter VI (vi) c. Note the following alternatives:

Bathi bafike emzini baphumule—When they reach the kraal, they rest. (Complex sentence.)

(a) Treating *baphumule* as main predicate, *bathi bafike emzini* is a descriptive clause of time.

(b) Treating *bafike* as the main predicate, the analysis is as follows:

Con. *bathi*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bafike*.

Ext. of P. (i) *emzini* (locative).

(ii) *baphumule* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

In this case, the translation would be, literally, "Then they reach the kraal and rest." It seems that the treatment under (a) is nearer to the Zulu idiom.

(ii) **Descriptive Clauses, Participial:**

These participial clauses may be divided into: (a) plain participials; (b) participials after deficient verbs; and (c) participials introduced by conjunctives.

(a) *Plain Participial Clauses: Clauses of Situation*

It has already been observed¹ that plain participial clauses may be treated as enlargements of subject or object and therefore as qualificative clauses. Many of them, however, are more easily handled as descriptive clauses of situation. Note for instance the following:

(1) With subjectival reference:

Bakhuluma naye [*bephethe imikhonto yabo*]—They conversed with him while carrying their spears. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bakhuluma*.

Ext. of P. (i) *naye* (conj.).

(ii) *bephethe imikhonto yabo* (descr. clause of subjectival situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bephethe*.

Obj. *imikhonto*.

Enl. of O. *yabo*.

Izinkomo zabaleka [*zibodla ngamandla*]—The cattle ran off bellowing mightily.

Abantwana bebephuma esikoleni [*behlekana bonke*]—The children were coming out of school all laughing at one another.

(2) With objectival reference:

Izinduna zamshaya [*ekhala ngamandla*]—The captains struck him while he yelled vociferously.

Subj. *izinduna*.

Pred. *zamshaya*.

Obj. (*yena*).

Ext. of P. *ekhala ngamandla* (descr. clause of objectival situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ekhala*.

Ext. of P. *ngamandla*.

Wazibulala izinyathi [*zidla ethafeni*]—He killed the buffaloes eating on the plain.

Basibona [*silele ethunzini*]—They saw us sleeping in the shade.

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

(3) With other reference:

Bengigijima kakhulu, [*bengilandela ehlathini bonke*]
—I was running hard, all of them following me in the forest.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *bengigijima*.

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

(ii) *bengilandela ehlathini bonke* (descr. clause of situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. *bonke*.

Pred. *bengilandela*.

Obj. (*mina*).

Ext. of P. *ehlathini*.

Bamshaya, [*inkosi ibuka-nje*]
—They hit him while the chief just looked on.

Sasifunda esikoleni, [*izinyoni zihlabelela emithini ngaphandle*]
—We were learning in school while the birds sang in the trees outside.

Umlilo wala ukubaswa, [*izinkuni zimanzi*]
—The fire refused to be kindled, the firewood being wet.

(b) Participial Clauses after Deficient Verbs

These were discussed in the consideration of the multiverbal predicates.¹ It may prove advisable, and it is certainly possible in many cases, to treat as a single predicate the deficient verb and its subordinate complement; nevertheless that subordinate complement when participial does constitute a clause, and its consideration in that aspect must not be overlooked. Deficient verbs followed by the participial sub-mood were also noted when dealing with the syntax of the participial.² Here it is only necessary to consider the analysis treatment and reference terminology required. Each type of deficient verb will entail a special reference in describing the clause. Take for examples:

1. *Badamene* [*bebalekela emahlathini akude*]
—They always run away into the distant forests. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *badamene*.

Ext. of P. *bebalekela . . . akude* (descr. clause of habitual action).

1a. *bebalekela emahlathini akude*:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bebalekela*.

Ext. of P. *emahlathini akude* (descr. phrase, locative).

¹Chapter IV, p. 91.

²Chapter IV, p. 112.

2. *Izitha zazilokhu* [*zihlasela amabutho akithi*]
—The enemy kept on attacking our soldiers. Complex sentence.

Subj. *izitha*.

Pred. *zazilokhu*.

Ext. of P. *zihlasela . . . akithi* (descr. clause of persistent action).

2a. *zihlasela amabutho akithi*:

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zihlasela*.

Obj. *amabutho*.

Enl. of O. *akithi*.

3. *Zonke izikhathi uma ngona, ngisuke* [*ngingazi ukuthi ngiyona*]
—Whenever I do wrong, it is because I don't know that I am doing wrong. Complex sentence.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngisuke*.

Ext. of P. (i) *zonke izikhathi uma ngona* (complex phrase of time).

(ii) *ngingazi . . . ngiyona* (descr. clause of consequence).

3a. *uma ngona* (descr. clause of time, describing the descriptive phrase *zonke izikhathi*):

Con. *uma*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngona*.

3b. *ngingazi ukuthi ngiyona* (descr. clause of consequence, complement to pred. *ngisuke*):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngingazi*.

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

3b¹. *ukuthi ngiyona*:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiyona*.

From an examination, as above, deficient verbs which take participial complements may be classified as follows:

(1) of habitual action: *-damene*, *-dane*, *-dé*, *-zingé*.

(2) of continual action: *-hambe*, *-hlezé*, *-libele*.

(3) of persistent action: *-ló*, *-lokhu*.

(4) of consequential action: *-sale*, *-suke*.

(5) of immediate action: *-qéde*.

(6) of incipient action: *-thi*.

(7) of strong past negative action: *-bange*, *-bonange*, *-bonaze*, *-vange*, *-zange*.

Participial Clauses after Conjunctives

According to the significance of the conjunctive used, these descriptive clauses may be classified under the following headings:

1. Temporal clauses (of time).
2. Locative clauses (of place).
3. Causal clauses (of reason).
4. Concessive clauses (of concession).
5. Comparative clauses (of comparison).
6. Conditional clauses (of condition).

(1) Participial Clauses of Time: Temporal Clauses:

There are several introducing conjunctives with participial clauses of time, principally the following:

- (a) *lapha, lapho, la* (when).
- (b) *uma, ma* (when, if).
- (c) *inxá, nxa* (when, if).
- (d) *selokhu, seló* (ever since).
- (e) *mhlá, mdlá, mdlana; msuku, msukwana; mzuku, mzu-kwana* (on the day when).

(f) *-thi* (when, when it happens that).

From the above list it is evident that there is not always a clear distinction in Zulu between the idea of time and that of condition: *uma ngifika* may be rendered in English either as "when I arrive" or "if I arrive." This lack of clarity of distinction is noticed in the cases of (b) and (c) above. In the case of (d) *selokhu* is closely linked with *lokhu*, a conjunctive of reason, and in this there is apparent a certain amount of overlapping of significance.

The following examples of these clauses may now be noticed:

- (a) [*Lapho eseqedile*] *makabuye*—When he has finished, let him come back.
[*Lapho sisafika-nje*] *wagoduka*—Just as we came, he went home.
Wafa [la sisahamba]—He died while we were still on the way.
- (b) *Mtshale [uma efika]*—Tell him, when he arrives.
[*Uma esalele*] *kwafika isela*—While he was sleeping a thief arrived.
[*Ma simbona*] *sizokubaleka*—When we see him we shall run away.
- (c) [*Inxá usugedile umsebenzi*] *uyokhumuka*—When you have finished the work, you will be set free.
Masiphume [nxa kungena umusi]—Let us go out when the smoke comes in.
- (d) [*Selokhu afika*] *ubegula*—Ever since he arrived, he has been ailing.

(e) *Sambona [mhlá sifikayo]*¹—We saw him on the day we arrived.

Ngababona [mzukwana ifa inkosi]—I saw them on the day the chief died.

Regarding (f) the position is rather different from that of the others. In the first place *-thi* is, in form, a deficient verb and, when assuming subjectival concords and varying tense forms, it functions as a conjunctive. In the second place the "main" verb following such a clause is always subjunctive. Examples and treatment may be seen in Chapter VI (vi) a.

(2) Participial Clauses of Place: Locative Clauses:

These are regularly introduced by one of the conjunctives *lapho, lapha* or *la* and closed off by the adverb *khona*.

Yibeke incwadi [lapho ibikhona]—Put the book where it used to be.

Sizongena [lapho ehlala khona]—We shall go in where he lives.

These locative clauses may also be used: (i) as qualificative clauses when following some noun indicating place; or (ii) as substantival clauses, object of a predicate.

(i) *Qualificative use:*

Ikamelo alikhathaleli amazwe ashisayo, [lapha ezinye izilwane ezithwalayo zingeye khona]—The camel takes no concern about hot countries, where other beasts of burden cannot go.

Subj. *ikamelo*.

Pred. *alikhathaleli*.

Obj. *amazwe*.

Enl. of O. (i) *ashisayo* (relative).

(ii) *lapha . . . khona* (qual. clause of place).

Sub-analysis of (i) *ashisayo*:

Subj. (*wona*).

Pred. *ashisayo* (rel.).

Sub-analysis of (ii) *lapha ezinye izilwane ezithwalayo zingeye khona*:

Con. *lapha*.

Subj. *ezinye*.

Enl. of S. (i) *izilwane* (appositional).

(ii) *ezithwalayo* (relative).

Pred. *zingeye*.

Ext. of P. *khona*.

Further sub-analysis of *ezithwalayo*:

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *ezithwalayo*.

¹ The relative suffix *-yo* is quite commonly found with clauses employing the conjunctives under (e).

(ii) *Substantival use:*

Locative clauses used substantivally are open to several treatments, and it will be well to set out the different forms in which they might appear. Take the following:

Angazi [*lapho ehlala khona*];

Angikwazi [*lapho ehlala khona*];

Angimazi [*lapho ehlala khona*].

These are all possible ways of expressing "I do not know where he stays." In the first case the clause is object of *angazi*; in the second it is also object, made definite by the inclusion of an objectival concord *ku-* referring to the whole clause; in the third the main object of the predicate is *yena* (understood) represented by the objectival concord *m-*, while the clause may be treated as parenthetical to *yena* (understood). This would then be, once again, a descriptive clause, closely akin in function to the "descriptive phrases of reference," already treated.¹ Compare the two following analyses:

1. *Angikwazi lapho ehlala khona:*

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angikwazi*.

Obj. *lapho ehlala khona* (substantival clause).

2. *Angimazi lapho ehlala khona:*

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angimazi*.

Obj. (*yena*).

Ext. of P. *lapho ehlala khona* (descr. clause of reference).

In either case the subordinate clause would be analysed as follows:

Con. *lapho*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ehlala*.

Ext. of P. *khona*.

(3) *Participial Clauses of Reason: Causal Clauses:*

Of these, the most obvious are those introduced by *ngokuba* or *ngoba*:

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

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

When, however, emphasis is required on the predicate of the casual clause, the indicative mood may be used instead of the participial, e.g.

Ulele [*ngoba uyagula*]*—*He is lying down, because he is sick.

¹See p. 124.

But in addition to such clauses there are those introduced by other conjunctives of reason, principally (i) *ukuba*, (ii) *lokhu*, etc.

(i) *ukuba*: It is noteworthy how wide a significance this conjunctive has, indicating: (a) that (followed by the indicative); (b) in order that (followed by the subjunctive); (c) if (in conditional construction = *uma*), in addition to (d) this use equivalent to that of *ngokuba* followed by the participial sub-mood:

Basho [*ukuba bebona izinkomo zethu*]*—*They say so, because they see our cattle.

(ii) *lokhu*, *lo*, *lokhu-phela*, *lokhu-nakhu*, etc.:

[*Lokhu sengimtshelile*] *ngisayokuthini?**—*Since I have already told him, what shall I now say more?

Uyokuqhubeka, [*lokhu-phela ehlakaniphile*]*—*He will progress since for sure he is clever.

These conjunctives may alternatively take the indicative mood.¹

(4) *Participial Clauses of Concession: Concessive Clauses:*

These are introduced by one or other of several conjunctives commencing in *na-*, e.g. *noma* (*na-* + *uma*), *nanxa* or *nonxa* (*na-* + *nxa*), *nakuba* or *nokuba* (*na-* + *ukuba*), each signifying "although, even if."

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

[*Nakuba efundile*], *akamedhuli ubaba**—*Although he is educated, he does not surpass my father.

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

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angithandi*.

Obj. *ukuya khona*.

Ext. of P. *nokuba kunjalo* (descr. clause of concession).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *nokuba*.

Subj. (*khona*).

Pred. *kunjalo*.

Alternatively, the indicative mood is often used in concessive clauses.

(5) *Participial Clauses of Comparison: Comparative Clauses:*

These are introduced by one of the three conjunctives, *kunokuba* (rather than),² *njengokuba* (just as) and *ngangokuba* (as big as).

¹See p. 141.

²*Kunokuba* may also be found followed by the subjunctive mood, e.g. *Angayitshanela yena imihla yonke* [*kunokuba ayibuke igcwele izibi*]*—*He can sweep it himself every day rather than see it full of dirt.

Ingonyama iyazibamba ezinye izilwane nezinkomo, [njengokuba ikati libamba amagundane]—The lion catches other wild animals and cattle, just as the cat catches mice.

Sifuna ukwakha eyethu indlu, ibenkulu [ngangoba yakhiwa ngabakwaZulu]—We want to build our house the size of that built by the Zulu.

Ucupha kalula ngesife, [kunokuba ephethe umgoga]—He traps birds much more easily with a stone trap than by using a noose trap.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ucupha*.

Ext. of P. (i) *ngesife* (instr.).

(ii) *kalula kunokuba ephethe umgoga* (complex descriptive phrase of manner).

Sub-analysis of *kunokuba ephethe umgoga* (descr. clause of comparison, extending adverb *kalula*):

Con. *kunokuba*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ephethe*.

Obj. *umgoga*.

(6) Participial Clauses of Condition: Conditional Clauses:

Though these descriptive clauses, in the main, employ the participial sub-mood, both the indicative and the potential are also used. It is preferable, therefore, to treat the whole subject of Conditional Construction, in all its aspects, together, and not merely the participial clauses of condition. This we do immediately.

(iii) Conditional Construction:¹

In this section it will be advisable to go somewhat beyond the examination merely of the subordinate clauses, and to classify also the type of construction found in the main statement of conditional construction. In conditional propositions there are always two clauses, the main statement, called the *apodosis*, and the conditional descriptive clause, called the *protasis*.

In Zulu three types of condition may be conveyed: (a) simple condition; (b) condition involving doubt; and (c) unfulfilled past condition.

(a) Simple Condition

These are straightforward sentences expressing present or future condition. The apodosis is generally in the indicative, though subjunctive and imperative predicates may occur; the protasis (i.e. the conditional clause) is introduced by the conjunctive *uma* followed normally by the participial mood, though

¹This section is a development of Z.G. §§ 853-858.

the indicative is sometimes used. Note that the protasis may be placed either before or after the apodosis. In the examples given the protasis is placed within brackets.

[*Uma ngifika*] *bazokuhamba*—If I come, they will go.

[*Uma belokhu bemshaya*] *uzofa*—If they keep on hitting him, he will die.

Bayokufa [uma bedla lokho]—They will die, if they eat that.
Complex sentence.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bayokufa*.

Ext. of P. *uma bedla lokho* (descr. clause of condition).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *uma*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bedla*.

Obj. *lokho*.

Examples with subjunctive and imperative apodosis:

[*Uma efika*], *mabamtshela ukuthi ngiyamfuna*—If he comes, let them tell him that I want him.

Yithenge [uma unemali]—Buy it if you have the money.

At times it is not possible to distinguish simple condition from time significance; this is especially the case when the present tense is used in the apodosis, e.g.

[*Uma ngifika*] *bayahamba*—When (or whenever) I come, they go.

Ngiyagula [uma ngidla lokho]—I get sick when (whenever, or if) I eat that.

It is possible to use the indicative mood in the protasis; this seems to convey emphasis:

Bazokumusa esibedlela [uma uyagula]—They will take him to hospital if he is really ill. (Or even better: *uma ngabe uyagula*.)

Obs.: Instead of *uma*, or its contracted form *ma*, the conjunctive *nxá* (or *inxá*) may be used with the same significance, e.g. *Manihlale [nxá bekhuluma]*—Sit down when (or if) they speak.

(b) Condition Involving Doubt

In conditional construction involving a doubt or inexpectancy of fulfilment in present or future time, two main types of construction are used:

(1) Apodosis introduced by the optative conjunctive *nga* (or *ngabe*, *ngaye*, *ngakube*, *kungaba* as alternatives) followed by the indicative (rarely the participial) mood; with the protasis in the

participial or the indicative mood introduced by the conjunctive *uma* or *ukuba*.

(protasis participial)

Nga ngiyahlala [uma enginika imali]—I would stay if he gave me money.

Nga siyamthuka [ukuba esenzela lokho]—We would revile him if he were to do that to us.

(protasis indicative)

Nga angihlali [ukuba awunginiki imali]—I would not stay if you did not give me money. Complex sentence.

Con. *nga*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *angihlali*.

Ext. of P. *ukuba awunginiki imali* (descr. clause of condition).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *ukuba*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *awunginiki*.

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

(ii) *imali* (subsidiary).

(2) Apodosis potential; with the protasis potential or participial potential introduced by *uma* or *ukuba*.

Ngingehlale [uma engenginike imali]—I would not stay if he did not give me money, or I cannot stay if he will not give me money.

Singamthuka [ukuba angasenzela lokho]—We would revile him if he were to do that to us.

Obs.: In Zulu there are no such differences as that between "could" and "would" in English; the potential does not indicate whether the possibility is that of capability or desirability.

(c) Unfulfilled Past Condition

There are several constructions possible to indicate this, but their variance mainly concerns the apodosis, which may be introduced by the optative conjunctive *nga* or its variants, or may be in the potential mood, or may be in the contingent mood. The protasis, however, is always introduced by *uma* or *ukuba*, generally followed by the participial.

(1) Apodosis optative:

[Uma ebefikile], ngakube ngihambile—If he had come, I would have gone.

[Uma bekuyimina], ngakube ngimshayile—If it had been I, I would have struck him.

Nga ngahlala [uma wanginika imali]—I would have stayed, if you had given me money.

(2) Apodosis potential:

Sasingehlale [uma wawungasiniki imali]—We would not have stayed, if you had not given us money.

Alternatively a potential may also be used in the protasis, e.g.

Sasingahlala [uma wawungasinika imali]—We would have stayed, if you had given us money.

Obs.: An emphatic form is achieved by using the negative potential of the deficient verb *-ke* (of occasional action) in the apodosis:

Besingeke sihambe [uma ubukhona]—We would never have gone, had you been there.

(3) Apodosis contingent:

Bengohlala [uma ubunginike imali]—I would have stayed if you had given me money.

[Uma ngangifikile] wayeyohamba—If I had come he would have gone.

(iv) Descriptive Clauses, Indicative:

It is by no means the function of the indicative mood to form descriptive clauses, but it was noticed, from time to time, in the foregoing sections of this chapter, that, after certain conjunctives, the indicative may take the place of regular construction with the participial. When the indicative is so used, the force of the predicate is decidedly emphasised. Instances have been recorded in the case of descriptive clauses of time, condition, reason and concession. Note the following conjunctives used with the indicative:

uma (if, when):

uma uyafuna (if he does want)

uma bayafika (when they actually arrive).

ukuba (if):

ukuba awunginiki imali (if you were not to give me money).

noma (whether; although):

Ngitshele noma uthelile noma awuthelanga—Tell me whether you have paid tax or not.

Ngiyokufika noma liyaduma—I shall come even if it actually thunders.

ngokuba (because):

ngokuba uyagula (because he is sick).

lokho (since, because):

Singehambe lokho siyaqhuga—We cannot travel, since we are limping.

The use of the indicative is especially noticeable with the emphatic compound conjunctives built up on *lokhu*,¹ e.g.

lokhu-kodwa uyazibika (since, however, he explains himself)

lokhu-nakhu akakho (since, you see, he is not here)

lokhu-phela yena uthi akathandi (since, for sure, he says he is not agreeable).

These seem to give corroborative evidence that the use of the indicative in descriptive clauses is emphatic.

(v) Descriptive Clauses, Potential:

The potential mood may be used after the deficient verb *-thi* used conjunctively; and, taking one syntactical view, it may be considered to form a descriptive clause; as, however, the succeeding "main" verb is always subjunctive, an alternative view is to regard the potential clause as the main predicate, and relegate the succeeding subjunctive to subordinate consecutive position. For examples see Chapter VI (vi) *b*. Note the following alternatives:

Uthi angaqeda abaleke—As soon as she finishes she runs off.

(a) Treating *abaleke* as main predicate, *uthi angaqeda* is a descriptive clause of time.

(b) Treating *angaqeda* as main predicate, the analysis is as follows:

Con. *uthi*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *angaqeda*.

Ext. of P. *abaleke* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

In this case, the translation would be, literally, "Then she can finish and run off". The treatment under (a) accords better with the "feel" of the Zulu.

THE SYNTAX OF THE IDEOPHONE

(i) Introductory:

In Zulu the most usual syntactical function of the ideophone is as a descriptive complement to a special idiomatic use of the verb *-thi*. In this idiomatic use, *ukuthi* seems to mean "to express," "to act," "to demonstrate" or "to manifest". It is noticeable that the ideophone cannot be of itself either transitive or intransitive; in other words, *-thi bhlhi* may bear the force of either *bhlika* (slide off) or *bhliza* (scrape off). With the latter significance it may be used with an object which, if definite, will be represented by an objectival concord with the verb *-thi* e.g. *ukuluthi bhlhi udaka* (to scrape off the plaster).

This construction of ideophones may be used following an ordinary tense of an ideophonic derivative verb, in which case it

¹ Cf. Chapter VI, p. 154.

acts as an intensifier of the action, e.g. *Walubihliza udaka waluthi bhlhi* (He actually scraped off the plaster). Further, in order to convey a repetition or continuation of the action, state, etc. conveyed by the ideophone, the latter may be repeated, e.g. *Waluthi bhlhi bhlhi udaka* (He scraped and scraped off the plaster). Some ideophones are confined to this reduplicated use, in which case they are hyphenated together, e.g. *Iqoma lithi béke-béke* (The basket is weakly sagging).

When ideophones are used to describe relatives or enumeratives, they commonly follow those parts of speech without any assistance from the verb *-thi*, e.g. *ingubo emhlophe qwa* (a snow-white dress).

Examples and the analysis of ideophones used in these various ways will now be considered.

(ii) The ideophone with *-thi*:

Note that only short forms of this verb are possible, e.g. *ngithi*, *ngimuthi* (not *ngiyathi* or *ngiyamuthi*), *ngithé*, *ngibathé* (not *ngithile* or *ngibathile*). This is due to the descriptive action of the ideophone, which is closely knit to the verb *-thi*.

Wamuthi tánkla isisu ngonyawo—He kicked him in the stomach. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamuthi tánkla*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*) (principal).

(ii) *isisu* (subsidiary).

Ext. of P. *ngoyawo*.

An alternative treatment would be:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamuthi*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*) (principal).

(ii) *isisu* (subsidiary).

Ext. of P. (i) *tánkla* (ideo.).

(ii) *ngonyawo* (instr.).

It is preferable however to treat as an extended predicate *wamuthi tánkla* as one.

Hlalani lapha nithi dingilizi—Sit in a circle here; lit. Sit here and make a circle. Complex interjectional sentence.

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *hlalani* (imperative).

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

(ii) *nithi dingilizi* (descr. clause of consecutive action, subjunctive).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*nina*).

Pred. *nithi dingilizi*.

Ngiyithé hlúthuluzi ngetshe—I killed it by means of a stone.

Simple sentence.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiyithé hlúthuluzi*.

Obj. (*yona*).

Ext. of P. *ngetshe*.

(iii) **The ideophone repeated:**

The analysis of such ideophones is identical with the above,

e.g. *Wamuthi bóklo bóklo*—He repeatedly hit him "biff" in the

ribs. Simple sentence.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamuthi bóklo bóklo*.

Obj. (*yena*).

or

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wamuthi*.

Obj. (*yena*).

Ext. of P. *bókho bókho* (ideo.).

Izilwanyazanyana ezincane zazithi námbu-námbu—The small insects were moving hesitantly along. Simple sentence.

Subj. *izilwanyazanyana*.

Enl. of S. *ezincane*.

Pred. *zazithi námbu-námbu*.

(iv) **The ideophone with derivative verb:**

(a) With present time, the indicative is used with *-thi* forming a compound sentence:

Leli-tende liyabakuza lithi báku-báku—This tent is being blown about; lit. This tent is blowing about; it is doing *báku-báku*.

Lomuntu uhlakaza uthango, uluthi hláka-hláka—This person is breaking down the fence, and making it fall to pieces. Compound sentence.

(1) *Lomuntu uhlakaza uthango*.

(2) *Uluthi hláka-hláka*.

(b) With past time and future time, a consecutive construction is used with *-thi* in the subjunctive:

Lomuntu uzohlakaza uthango, athi hláka-hláka—This person will break down the fence and make it fall to pieces.

Walimokloza ithambo, walithi móklo—He broke the bone.

Bamchifiza noma esefile, bamuthi chifi—They bashed him about the head although he was already dead.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bamchifiza*.

Obj. (*yena*).

Ext. of P. (i) *noma esefile* (descr. clause of concession).

(ii) *bamuthi chifi* (descr. clause of intensive action).

Sub-analysis of clause (i):

Con. *noma*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *esefile*.

Sub-analysis of clause (ii):

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bamuthi chifi*.

(c) The ideophonic section may be in participial subordination when it clarifies and defines the action:

Wambokloza izimbambo emuthi bóklo—He struck him in the ribs giving him a resounding blow.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wambokloza*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*) (principal).

(ii) *izimbambo* (secondary).

Ext. of P. *emuthi bóklo* (descr. clause of subjectival situation).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *emuthi bóklo*.

Intengu ibabalala emanzini ithi bábalala—The drongo bird falls flat into the water, dropping flat and helpless.

(v) **The ideophone with cognate verb:**

Similar to the previous use of the ideophone with derivative verb, is that with cognate verbs, verbs bearing an associated meaning but entirely separate in origin.

Izimvu zaphuma zathi búdu-búdu—The sheep all poured out.

Sekuvuthwé sekuthi bóto-bóto—It is now cooked and soft.

Umlilo wavutha wathi bee—The fire blazed. Complex sentence.

Subj. *umlilo*.

Pred. *wavutha*.

Ext. of P. *wathi bee* (descr. clause of intensive action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*wona*).

Pred. *wathi bee*.

Bekuthulé umsindo kuthé zwi—The noise was overpowering.

Ngimshayé walala wathi ja—I hit him and he lay out flat.

Thula uthi du—Keep quite quiet.

(vi) The ideophone as an intensifier with relative and enumerative stems:

- (a)**
- Intensifiers with colour terms; the perfect stem of
- thi*
- is used as these are statives:

Kumhlophe kuthé gwa—It is snow white.*Ngifuna ingubo emnyama ethé kháce*—I want pitch black cloth.*Kubomvu kuthé klébu*—It is bright red.

- (b)**
- Intensifiers with the enumerative stem
- nye*
- ; there are at least six
- ¹
- so used, e.g.

Bazoletsha umuthi munye ghwába—They will bring only one tree—a single tree.**(vii) Employment of ideophones without *-thi*:**

This is commonly done in the case of accompaniment as intensifiers to relatives and enumeratives. Less often is it done in association with derivative or cognate verbs:

- (a) With relatives and enumeratives:**

Kumhlophe gwa—It is snow white.Subj. (*khona*).Pred. *kumhlophe*.Ext. of P. *gwa* (ideo.).*Sabona umuthi munye zwi*—We saw only one tree.

- (b) With derivative and cognate verbs:**

Indlu igcwele swi abantu—The house is chock full of people.Subj. *indlu*.Pred. *igcwele*.Ext. of P. (i) *abantu* (adv. use, of reference).(ii) *swi* (ideo.).*Wayishwiba shwi*—He threw it underhand well.**(viii) The ideophone with derivative forms of *-thi*²**

Ideophones may be used with the following derivatives of *-thi*, the passive, the neuter, the applied, the reciprocal and the causative.³

- (a) Passive (*thiwa*):**

Induku yathiwa phóqo—The stick was broken to pieces.*Inja ithiwé kle enye ngamazinyo*—The dog had a gash torn in him by the other dog's teeth.

- (b) Neuter (*theka*):**

Umkhonto watheka búxe—The spear went deep into the flesh.*Ngitheké kháxa emgodini*—I went right in the middle of the hole.

- (c) Applied (*thela*):**

Uyamthela bóbobó—He gives false evidence against him.*Ingalo ngiyithela nso nso nso ngezinyo*—I am giving bites to the arm.

Of this example Vilakazi remarks: "This construction is very hard to explain, since the action passes on to the arm, and the subject does not do it on behalf of anybody or anything."

Induku ngayithela gqíbu kuye—I broke off a stick and passed on a blow to him.*Ngimthelé fáhla-fáhla izindaba zasekhaya*—I gave him a few essential points about matters at home.

- (d) Reciprocal (*thana*):**

Bathi ukuhlangana bathana hálamzi—When they met, they had a short fight.*Sathana sházi emgwaqweni*—We had a glimpse of one another in the street.

- (e) Causative (*thisa*):**

Bamthisa wee—They caused him to answer.*Intombazana bayithisa du*—They caused the girl to keep quiet.

- (f)**
- In order to convey diminution of the ideophone, the diminutive form of
- thi*
- (
- thiyithi*
-) is not used; but the ideophone itself is generally reduplicated:

Umuntu wathi qáphu-qáphu—The person put in a word here and there.*Umbani wathi pházi-pházi*—Lightning flashed a little.¹ See Chapter III under "Syntax of the Enumerative" (ii), p. 65.² Examples in this section are from information supplied in 1937 by my late colleague, Dr. B. W. Vilakazi.³ There is no intensive form of *-thi*; for the diminutive, see (f) below.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYNTAX OF THE CONJUNCTIVE

Introductory:

The syntactical function of the conjunctive in the Zulu sentence is twofold; it may have an introducing function or it may have a connecting function. In connection with the latter function, Zulu conjunctives are divided into two types: co-ordinating conjunctives¹ which form compound sentences; and subordinating conjunctives which form complex sentences. Examples of all these kinds of conjunctives have already been given in the previous chapters, when dealing with the various moods of the verb and types of subordinate clause formation. Here they will be classified and briefly summarised.

(i) Conjunctives of Introducing Function:

In rare instances these may be non-influencing, but generally they command a subjunctive or a participial mood of the verb following them.

(a) Non-influencing:

kanti (after all, then):

Kanti usumdala kangaka?—Are you so old then? (Simple sentence.)

Con. *kanti*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *usumdala*.

Ext. of P. (i) *kangaka* (degree).

(ii) (*na?*) (interrog.).

konje (so then):

Konje wathini unlungu?—What did the white man say then?

Konje ufikile?—So then, you've come?

pho (well then):

Pho usuthini manje?—Well then, what have you to say to it now? (Simple sentence.)

¹Called "non-influencing" in the grammar, i.e. having no effect upon the mood of a succeeding verb; cf. Z.G. § 652.

Con. *pho*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *usuthi*.

Obj. *-ni?* (enclitic).

Ext. of P. *manje*.

It is noticeable that each of these, while having introducing function, definitely carries on from some previous statement; and each is used interrogatively.

(b) Governing a dependent predicate:

(1) Subjunctive:

ahle, ngahle, ngase (maybe):

Ahle aye ngomuso—Maybe he will go tomorrow.

Ahle ngikushaye khona-manje—Mind I don't hit you right now! (Simple sentence.)

Con. (*ahle*).

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngikushaye*.

Obj. (*wena*).

Ext. of P. *khona-manje*.

Konje ngahle bawudle-nje?—Will they really eat it? (Simple sentence.)

Con. (i) *konje*.

(ii) *ngahle*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bawudle*.

Obj. (*wona*).

Ext. of P. *-nje* (enclitic).

ake (just let):

Ake balime manje—Just let them plough now.

Ake ukhulume nabo—Just speak with them. (Simple sentence.)

Con. *ake*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ukhulume*.

Ext. of P. *nabo*.

ke (just let!—threatening):

Ke alinge-nje!—Just let him try!

Ke uhlaleke, uzobona!—Just you stay and you will see! (Compound sentence.)

(i) Con. *ke*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uhlale*.

Ext. of P. *-ke* (enclitic).

(ii) Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uzobona*.

(2) Participial:

kade (just now, a little while ago):*Kade sisebenza lapho*—We have just been working there.*kade* (already):*Kade behambile*—They have already gone.*nga, ngaye* (should, would—forming optative tenses):*Nga ehambile, kodwa uyise uyagula*—He would have gone, but his father is ill. (Compound sentence.)(i) Con. *nga*.Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *ehambile*.(ii) Con. *kodwa*.Subj. *uyise*.Pred. *uyagula*.

(3) Indicative (of rarer occurrence):

ahle-kube (maybe):*Ahle-kube ufile*—He may be dead.*nga, ngabe, ngaye, ngakube, kungaba* (would, would have—in apodosis of conditional construction involving doubt):*Nga angihambanga, uma awungitshelanga ukuba ubaba uyagula*—I would not have gone, if you had not told me that my father was ill.

(ii) Conjunctives of Connecting Function:

These, as noticed already, may be (a) co-ordinating, forming compound sentences; or (b) subordinating, forming complex sentences. In the latter case it is normal for the subordinate clause, introduced by the conjunctive, to follow the main clause; but this is by no means a universal rule, and the subordinate clause (for purposes of emphasis) may precede the main clause; this does not in any way alter the function of the conjunctive as subordinating, e.g. *Ngizofika uma ungifuna* or *Uma ungifuna, ngizofika* (I shall come if you want me or If you want me, I shall come); the changed position is the same in the English equivalents.

(a) Co-ordinating:

futhi (moreover):*Umhlabathi umnyama, futhi uvundile kakhulu*—The soil is black, and moreover it is very rich. (Compound sentence.)(i) Subj. *umhlabathi*.Pred. *umnyama*.(ii) Con. *futhi*.Subj. (*wona*).Pred. *uvundile*.Ext. of P. *kakhulu*.*kanti* (whereas):*Awukakwazi ukubala, kanti uya njalo esikoleni?*—Don't you yet know how to write, whereas you have been going continually to school?*kepha* (but):*Uwile, kepha akalimalanga*—He fell, but was not hurt.*kodwa* (but):*Mkhulu, kodwa akahlakaniphile*—He is grown up but has no sense. (Compound sentence.)(i) Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *mkhulu*.(ii) Con. *kodwa*.Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *akahlakaniphile*.*ngakho, ngakhoke* (therefore):*Bamthumile, ngakhoke usehambile*—They sent him, and so he has gone.*nokho* (nevertheless):*Ubeshilo uyise, nokho akwenzanga*—His father had said so, nevertheless he didn't do it.*noma* (or else): see (iii) below.*pho* (well but):*Ulele, pho ngimvuse?*—He is asleep; do you mean to say I should wake him?(i) Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *ulele*.(ii) Con. *pho*.Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngimvuse* (subjunctive of permissive interrogation)Obj. (*yena*).

(b) Subordinating:

(1) Subjunctive:

ande, anduba, andukuba, andubani, anduma, andukuthi, andukuze (before, and then afterwards):*Mshaye anduba ahambe*—Hit him before he goes. (Complex interjective sentence.)

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *mshaye* (imperative).Obj. (*yena*).Ext. of P. *anduba ahambe* (descr. clause of time).

Analysis of clause:

Con. *anduba*.Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *ahambe*.

Hlabela ande sijabule—Sing and then we'll be happy.

The basis of all the above conjunctives is *andé*, with which have been associated *ukuba* and *uma*. There are other forms associated with person and concord reference employing the verb *-thi*, e.g. *andé uthi* (2nd pers. sg.) > *anduthi*, *andé athi* (cl. 1 sg.) > *andathi*.

Wagqoka andathi uliSwazi—He dressed up and thereupon looked like a Swazi.

funa, hleze (lest):

Bambopha funa ege—They tied him up lest he should escape.

káde (and then, and next):

Yidlani káde nihambe—Eat and then go.

nce (in order that):

Sondela nce sizwe kahle—Come near that we may hear properly.

qéde, qeduba, qedubane (as soon as, immediately):

Kwathi, qéde bafike, sababona—As soon as they arrived, we saw them.

Ukhulekile qeduba angene—He paid his respects and immediately entered. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ukhulekile*.

Ext. of P. *qeduba angene* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *qeduba*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *angene*.

ukuba, ukuthi, ukuze (in order that): The first two may be used in forming substantival clauses of purpose; all three are used in forming descriptive clauses of purpose.

Ngithanda ukuthi uhlale lapha—I would like you to stay here. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngithanda*.

Obj. *ukuthi uhlale lapha* (subst. clause of purpose).

Analysis of clause:

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uhlale*.

Ext. of P. *lapha*.

Uhlabé inkomo ukuze badle—He slaughtered a beast that they might eat.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uhlabé*.

Obj. *inkomo*.

Ext. of P. *ukuze badle* (descr. clause of purpose).

Analysis of clause:

Con. *ukuze*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *badle*.

Sizosebenza ukuba singalambi—We shall work lest we starve (lit. that we starve not).

(2) Participial:

lapha, lapho, la (when):

Lapho efika, mtshela konke—When he arrives, tell him all. (Complex interjective sentence.)

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *mtshela* (imperative).

Obj. (i) (*yena*) (principal).

(ii) *konke* (subsidiary).

Ext. of P. *lapho efika* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *lapho*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *efika*.

When the subordinate clause is closed by the locative adverb *khona*, these conjunctives signify "where," e.g.

Yibeke lapho behlezi khona—Put it where they are sitting.

lokhu, etc. (since, because); this is also commonly used with the indicative (see (3) below):

Uzofika lokhu efuna ukusibona—He will come since he wants to see us.

mhlá, mdlá, mdlana, msuku, msukwana, mzuku, mzukwana, mzolo, mzolwana, mhlazana, mdlazana (on the day when):

Mdlá eza kithi, uzobona okuhle—On the day when he comes to our place, he will see something nice.

ngokuba, ngoba (because):

Angimthandi ngoba ethukuthela kabi—I do not like him because he gets terribly angry.

noma, nonxá, nanxá, nokuba, nakuba, noba (even if, although):

Ngizohamba noma ethukuthela—I shall go even if he is angry.

nxa, inxá, uma, ma (if, when):

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

Uma ethanda, angakwenza—If he likes he can do it. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *angakwenza*.

Obj. (*khona*).

Ext. of P. *uma ethanda* (descr. clause of time or condition).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *uma*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ethanda*.

selokhu, seló (since, ever since):

Selokhu safika, besigula—Ever since we arrived, we have been ill.

(3) Indicative:

Subordinating conjunctives governing the indicative mood are relatively rare; apart from *ukuthi* and *ukuba*, their use seems primarily to bring emphasis upon the verbal action.¹ The following may be noted:

(a) Forming descriptive clauses:

lokhu (since, because—forming many compound conjunctives, e.g. *lokhu-cishe, lokhu-mane, lokhu-kodwa, lokhu-phela*, etc.):²
Singehambe lokhu siyaqhuga—We cannot travel as we are limping.

Lokhu-phela engavumi-nje, ngiyokumenza njani?—Since for sure he is just unwilling, how shall I manage him?

ngokuba, ngoba (because):

noma ((i) whether; (ii) although).

ukuba (if).

uma, ma (if, when).

For examples of the above, see Chapter V, p. 141.

(b) Forming substantival clauses:

The conjunctives *ukuthi* and *ukuba* are used governing the indicative mood when forming substantival clauses indicating fact or occurrence after verbs of saying, knowing, telling, etc. in the main clause,³ e.g.

Nibona [ukuthi ugula kakhulu]—You see that he is very sick.

The clause here is object of *nibona*.

Kuqinisile [ukuthi inkosi ifile]—It is true that the chief is dead.

The clause here is subject of *kuqinisile*.

(iii) Conjunctives Joining Substantives and Adverbs:

In Zulu *noma* and its associates, *nokuba, nonxa*, etc. are the only conjunctives which may be used in this way; though it is clear that the substantive or the adverb succeeding *noma* was originally inflected to become a copulative, and is so used in the best Zulu construction to-day.

¹ Cf. Chapter V, pp. 141-142.

² Cf. "Zulu-English Dictionary" (Doke and Vilakazi), p. 461.

³ Cf. Chapter II, p. 32.

Letha ihhashi, noma imbongolo, or better, *Letha ihhashi, noma yimbongolo*—Bring either a horse or a donkey (lit. Bring a horse or else it is a donkey). This would form a compound sentence analysed as follows:

(i) interjective sentence:

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *letha*.

Obj. *ihhashi*.

(ii) predicative sentence (co-ordinate):

Con. *noma*.

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *yimbongolo*.

If the first rendering is analysed *ihhashi noma imbongolo* will be a compound object after *letha*.

Bazofika noma namuhla, noma ngomuso—They will arrive either to-day or to-morrow; with an alternative copulative rendering: *Bazofika noma yinamuhla, noma yingomuso* (lit. They will arrive, either it is to-day, or it is to-morrow). In this latter case there are three co-ordinate clauses forming the compound sentence.¹

(iv) Conjunctives and Deficient Verbs:

It was noticed when dealing with the deficient verbs that, in the main, there are two sets, those followed by a complement in the subjunctive mood² and those followed by a complement in the participial mood.³ Much the same division is general with the subordinating conjunctives, revealing a close parallel in syntactical use between the conjunctives and the deficient verbs. There is, however, an even closer link, one of fundamental common origin. Certain deficient verbs are capable of use, when shorn of subjectival concords, as conjunctives governing precisely similar subordinate predicates; similarly, certain conjunctives are found to assume subjectival concords and function as deficient verbs. Note the following, which it is hardly expected to be an exhaustive list:

(a) *Deficient Verbs serving as Conjunctives*

-cishe (act almost, do nearly):

Ngacishe ngawa—I nearly fell. As a conjunctive *cishe* means "almost", and is followed by the subjunctive mood as above, e.g. *Cishe ngawa* (I almost fell).

-nce (do presently, afterwards):

¹ It must be emphasised that conjunctive *na-* is not a self-standing word, but a proclitic formative. The function of this proclitic in forming compound subjects and objects was fully discussed in Chapter II, cf. pp. 16 *et seq.*

² Cf. Chapter V, p. 127.

³ Cf. Chapter V, p. 133.

Uzoncé aye laphayá—He will go yonder presently. Con-
junctive use:¹ *Nce wenze lokhu!* (Do this afterwards).

-*phinde* (do again, repeat):

Uphinde aye khona lapho—He goes over there again. Con-
junctive use: *Phinde umbone!* (You won't see him again!)

-*lokhu*, -*ló* (keep on doing):

Ngangilokhu ngisebenza—I kept on working. As a con-
junctive the form is copulative,² i.e. *yilokhu* or *yiló*, e.g.
Yiló bethengisa izinkomo (They keep on selling cattle).

(a) *Conjunctives serving as Deficient Verbs*

Andukuba (and its variants)³ may be used with varying subjectival
concord, functioning as a deficient verb, giving such forms as
Nandukuba (2nd pers. pl.), *wandukuba*, *bandukuba*, etc., e.g.

Maziboshelwe kuqala, zandukuba ziyokudla—Let them be
inspanned first before they eat (*ziyokudla* is subjunctive, a
contraction from *ziye ukudla*).

Nga (and its variants),⁴ expressing incumbency, may be used as a
deficient verb with past subjunctive concord, followed by the
present potential mood, expressing "would that", e.g.

Wanga ungaphumelela!—Would that you may succeed!

Wanga angasinda!—Oh that he might escape!

Sanga singahlokoma!—Would that we might sing with joy!

It is noticeable that these usages closely resemble the con-
junctive use of *-thi* discussed in (vi) below. For purposes of
analysis it would seem easiest to treat them still as conjunctives
even when used with subjectival concord, e.g.

Sanga singahlokoma! (Simple sentence.)

Con. *sanga*.

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *singahlokoma*.

Maziboshelwe kuqala, zandukuba ziyokudla. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *maziboshelwe*.

Ext. of P. (i) *kuqala* (time).

(ii) *zandukuba ziyokudla* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *zandukuba*.

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *ziyokudla*.

¹Very rare.

²See (v) a (3) below.

³See (ii) b (1) above.

⁴See (i) b (2) and (3) above.

(v) *Inflexion of Conjunctives:*

(a) Prefixal inflexion of conjunctives is mainly confined to those
of noun form (cl. 8), i.e. *ukuthi* and *ukuba*; for instance:

(1) with conjunctive *na-*:

ukuthi . . . nokuthi (that . . . and that)

ukuba . . . nokuba (so that . . . and so that)

ngokuba . . . nangokuba (because . . . and because).

Angiyifuni ngoba imbi, nangoba ibiza imali eningi—I do not
want it, because it is bad, and because it is expensive.

Obs. The conjunctives *noma*, *nakuba*, *nanxa* are of earlier formation
by inflexion with *na-*.

(2) with adverbial formatives *nga-*, *njenga-*, *nganga-* and *kuna-*,
forming:

ngokuba (because); *njengokuba* (just as, inasmuch as);

ngangokuba (since, inasmuch as); *kunokuba*, *kunokuthi*
(rather than). Contracted forms are *ngoba*, *njengoba*,

ngangoba and *kunoba*.

Ucupha kahula ngesife kunokuba ephethe umgoga—He traps
more easily with a stone trap than by using a noose trap.

(3) forming copulatives:

ngokuba > yingokuba (it is because).

Copulatives from other conjunctives are so in form only; they
retain normal conjunctive function.

lo, *lokhu > yiló*, *yilokhu* (since, because):

Yilokhu ehambile siyasebenza—Since he went away we are
working. (Here *yilokhu*, though copulative in form, func-
tions as a conjunctive; the main clause is *siyasebenza*).

lapho > yilapho (in order that):

yilapho ezokwenza (so that he may do it).

(b) Suffixal inflexion is found with certain conjunctives:

(1) Many may assume the enclitic *-ke* (so, then), e.g. *nga-
khoke* (therefore), *kodwake* (but then), *nokhoke* (however),
futhike (and further), *kantike* (after all), etc.

(2) Various desinences are found with the basic *ukuba*, e.g.
ukubani, *ukube*, *ukubeni*; *ngokuba > ngokubani*, *ngokubeni*; *andu-
kuba > andukubani*, with variant *andukuma* becoming *andukumani*.
The desinences here appearing are *-e* and *-ni*, neither of which
affects the significance of the conjunctive in any way.

The desinences used with conditional *nga*, viz. *-ye* and *-be*,
forming *ngaye* and *ngabe*, are of verbal origin, derived from *-ya*
and *-ba* respectively.

That used with *mhlá*, *mdlá*, *msuku*, etc., viz. *-ana*, forming *mhlana*, *mdlana*, *msukwana*, etc., is but the diminutive suffix to the original noun, e.g. *umuhla*, *umsuku* (day).

(vi) The Conjunctive Use of *-thi*:

This highly idiomatic defective verb functions: (a) as an ordinary verb signifying "to say" or "to mean";¹ (b) as the normal verb associated with ideophones, when it may assume objectival concords;² (c) as a deficient verb,³ indicating "time", and thus used conjunctively; and (d) as a conjunctive when in the infinitive form, i.e. *ukuthi*.⁴ In this section we shall deal with what is referred to under (c).

We have already noticed⁵ the close parallel between the deficient verbs and the conjunctives in Zulu, and though, in its form and conjugation, *-thi* is definitely a deficient verb, its idiomatic function is as definitely conjunctive in the examples which we shall study; it is much more straightforward, therefore, to treat it as a conjunctive for purposes of analysis.

In the first place *-thi* may be used in various tenses, e.g.

(present) *kuthi*, *uthi*, *bathi*, *ngithi*, etc.

(imm. past) *kuthé*, *uthé*, *bathé*, *ngithé*, etc.

(rem. past) *kwathi*, *wathi*, *bathi*, *ngathi*, etc.

(future) *kuzothi*, *uyothi*, *bayothi*, etc.

(past contin.) *bekuthi*, *kwakuthi*, *ayethi*, etc.

(in multiverbal forms) *kuye kuthi*, *babuye bathi*, etc.

These tenses may have varying complements, which vary the significance of the preceding conjunctive (or deficient verb).⁶

(a) *With participial complement*: The general significance seems to be "when it happens that"; and it is noteworthy that the verb in the succeeding clause, the main verb, is always subjunctive; e.g.

Uthi ehamba, abone inyoka—When he happens to be walking, he sees a snake.

Bathé behlabelela, bakhala—When they were in the act of singing, they cried.

¹Cf. "Reported Speech," Chapter II, p. 36.

²Cf. "Syntax of the Ideophone," Chapter V, p. 142.

³Cf. also the deficient verb *-the* signifying "to act almost," a synonym of *-cisha*, e.g. *Ngithé angive* (I nearly fell). It is further used: (a) followed by an indicative, and indicating incipient action, e.g. *Indoda yabe iyathé iyahamba, yakhathala* (Whenever the man started to walk, he got tired); *Ulwandle lwabe luyathé, luyagcwala iwadla abantu* (When the sea began to flood, it destroyed people); in which cases it is used in a subordinate clause. (b) Followed by the past subjunctive, and indicating "despite all," e.g. *Wawuyathé, wahluleka* (You have tried your best but failed); *Kwakuyathé, ngahlaba inyamazane* (Despite all, I killed a buck); here the clause is not subordinate.

⁴See (ii) b (1) above, p. 152.

⁵Cf. Section (iv), p. 155, above; see also Z.G. § 680.

⁶To a great extent, I am indebted to my late colleague Dr. B. W. Vilakazi for the examples in this section; from notes he made for me in 1937.

Inja yathi ixosha inyamazane, yalimala—As the dog was chasing the buck, it got hurt. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *yalimala*.

Ext. of P. *inja . . . inyamazane* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of *inja yathi ixosha inyamazane*:

Con. *yathi*.

Subj. *inja*.

Pred. *ixosha*.

Obj. *inyamazane*.

Umfana wathi ebaleka, wawa phansi—When the boy happened to be running, he fell down.

Utshwala bathi bubila, bachitheka bonke—When the beer was in process of boiling, all got spilt.

Ngithi ngisho njalo, ngibe ngineqiniso—When I speak thus, I speak the truth.

Kwathi¹ behleli, kwavela umsindo—Whilst they were sitting down, there was a noise.

Kuthé kusahlwa, ngolunye usuku, kwavela ibubesi—When it was just becoming dark on another day, a lion appeared.

Ngithé ngisathi ngisahlala, bangibiza—As soon as I was making to sit down, they called me. (Complex sentence.)

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bangibiza*.

Obj. (*mina*).

Ext. of P. *ngithé ngisathi ngisahlala* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *ngithé*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngisathi ngisahlala* (multiverbal).

An alternative treatment is to break up the multiverbal predicate, as follows:

Con. *ngithé*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngisathi*.

Ext. of P. *ngisahlala* (descr. clause of incipient action, participial).

¹ Referring to *kwathi*, the remote past form, indefinite, Vilakazi pointed out that its use is peculiarly Zulu in the narration of fables. When a man starts narrating a fable, he says *Kwathi*; this is equivalent to the English phrase "Once upon a time," and implies "At a certain time it happened that." *Kwathi abantu behlezi, kwaqhamuka inanabahule*—Once upon a time while men were resting, there appeared a monster. "Any statement or narration started with *kwathi* already subjects itself to such remoteness of time and place, that there is no necessity for the listeners to believe that the thing narrated ever took place. It admits at once of doubt, and places the narrator of that, such an event on the level of a fiction teller, or even a story, or even a story, the children will at once among children, when one of them begins a story and says *Kwathi*, the children will at once either say, *Hhawu, Somangase!* (if it is a boy), *Nomangase* (if it is a girl), or they will say *Hubu-hubu kaBejane*, both statements meaning that the other children do not believe the story to be true." Sometimes this *kwathi* gives way to *kwesukela*, sometimes both are used together, *Kwathi kwesukela . . .* (Once upon a time it started . . .), when fables are narrated round the fireside.

Further sub-analysis:

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngisahlala*.

Kuzothi kuhlwa, bahlasele—They will attack at dusk (lit. When it will happen to be dusk, they attack).

- (b) *With potential complement*: The significance here is that of "if," "as soon as," "when able to." It is noteworthy that the potential complement is always in the present tense, and again, as in (a) above, the main verb in the succeeding clause is always subjunctive (present or past).

Uthi angaqeda, abaleke—As soon as she finishes, she runs off.

Uthi ungafa umkhomo, untante phezu kwamanzi, uboshelwe emkhunjini—As soon as the whale dies, it floats on the water and is secured to the ship.

Zathi zingadutshulwa, zahlakazeka nendle yonke—As soon as the shot was fired, they were scattered all over the veld.

Kuzothiwa kungaphela ukudla, bahambe—As soon as the food gets finished, they will go. (Note use of passive of *-thi* here.) This is a complex sentence:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bahambe*.

Ext. of P. *kuzothiwa kungaphela ukudla* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *kuzothiwa*.

Subj. *ukudla*.

Pred. *kungaphela*.

- (c) *With subjunctive complement*: The significance here seems to be purely of time, "when"; both present subjunctive and past subjunctive occur in the complementary verb, the latter after a past form of *-thi*. It is further noticeable that the *-thi* may be dependent clause forming, or be part of a main statement; in the former case the main verb is noticeably in the subjunctive. Examples:

Bathi bafike emzini baphumule—When they reach the kraal, they rest. Notice a fuller form with *qéde*: *bathi qéde bafike*, or *bathi qéde ukuba bafike* (as soon as they arrive).

Lathi igwababa lalalela, lakhukhumala—And the crow listened, and drew himself up.

*Kwathiinja yangena endlini*¹—And then the dog went into the house. Simple sentence:

Con. *kwathi*.

Subj. *inja*.

Pred. *yangena*.

Ext. of P. *endlini*.

Special significance is conveyed when the contingent mood of *-thi* is used, the idea being of mere action or of intention:

Bengizothi ngisuke ngihambe—I would simply go away (Complex sentence).

Bengizothi ngisuke—I meant to go away (Simple sentence).

Wayeyothi abonwe—He would be seen anyhow (Simple sentence).

Kuye kuthi basebenze—It happens sometimes that they work.
Kwakuthi kusetshenzwe—Work happened on occasion to be done.

Kuye kuthi ngikhumbule ekhaya, ngikhale—When I remember home I cry (Complex sentence):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngikhale*.

Ext. of P. *kuye kuthi ngikhumbule ekhaya* (descr. clause of time).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *kuye kuthi*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngikhumbule*.

Ext. of P. *ekhaya*.

But, if *-thi* is followed by *uma* or *nxa*, the clause becomes participial, and the conjunctive (form with *-thi*) is promoted to the main statement:

Kuye kuthi nxa ngikhumbula ekhaya ngikhale—When I remember home, I cry (Complex sentence):

Con. *kuye kuthi*.

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngikhala*.

Ext. of P. *nxa ngikhumbula ekhaya* (descr. clause of time or condition).

¹The fact that *-thi* may be used, as here, to introduce a main statement suggests that, throughout sections (b) and (c), as is done in section (d) 2 below, the subjunctive might alternatively be treated as a subordinate consecutive clause. In this way, *Lathi igwababa lalalela, lakhukhumala* would be analysed as follows:

Con. *lathi*.

Subj. *igwababa*.

Pred. *lalalela*.

Ext. of P. *lakhukhumala* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *lakhukhumala*.

Such treatment is not possible with Section (a), as the participial is never used in a main statement. Cf. also Chapter V, pp. 130 and 142.

Sub-analysis of clause:

Con. *nxá*.

Subj. *ngikhumbula*.

Ext. of P. *ekhaya*.

- (d) *With infinitive complement*: In this case the verbal function of *-thi* is more emphasised, the infinitive acts as object to it, and it cannot be treated in analysis as a conjunctive. Note the following:

(1) In the main statement:

Sithé ukuhlala phansi—We just sat down a while (Simple sentence):

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *sithé*.

Obj. *ukuhlala phansi* (subst. phrase).

Wathi ukuthi qáphu-qáphu—He picked up his points a little in speaking.

Bazothi ukuklela—They will line up for a short time.

Umfana wathi ukubuka—The boy merely looked.

Ubuso bakhe buthi ukuqhamuka—Her face just appears.

- (2) In the main clause, followed by a subjunctive (consecutive):

Wathi ukudla walala—When he had finished eating he slept (Complex sentence):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wathi*.

Obj. *ukudla*.

Ext. of P. *walala* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *walala*.

Uzothi ukuqhubeka abuye—When he has gone a little way, he will return.

*Ngithi ukuhleka, bese ngithula*¹—When I finish laughing a little I keep silent.

Bengizothi ukusuka ngihambe—I would simply go away.

Wayeyothi ukubonwa anyamalale—He would simply disappear when discovered.

CHAPTER VII

THE SYNTAX OF THE INTERJECTIVE

Introductory:

The interjective is an emotional word, often ejaculatory, which conveys a complete concept without the implication of any subject. From the grammatical aspect there are three main types of interjectives, primitive interjectives (which may be called interjections), vocative forms of substantives, and imperative forms of verbs. Primitive interjectives have no grammatical or concordial bearing on any sentence with which they may be used; the other types, however, owing to their substantival or verbal basis may be associated with qualifying or dependent words.

Since the interjective constitutes a complete concept it may be considered to form a sentence,¹ but it is markedly differentiated from the predicative sentence in that it has no subject either indicated by concord or expressed substantivally or even implied; while the predicative sentence invariably has at least the implication of a subject.²

In the case of primitive interjectives, the emotional aspect is more important than with the other cases, and this is reflected in the tones used; completely altered concepts may be achieved by an alteration of this emotional tone. For instance the normal tones for the interjections of negation and assent are: *hhayi* , no! and *yebo* , yes! respectively; but note the significance with changes of tone; *hhayi* —Are you sure? and *yebo* —Is it so? These significances emphasise that these words constitute interjective sentences. Notice also the added significance of a raising of the tone, e.g. *qha* , no! and *qha* —No, I can't listen to you!

¹ Cf. Chapter I, p. 4.

² Cf. Chapter IV, Introductory, p. 83.

¹ Here is a different type of consecutive construction with *bese* and the participial.

INTERJECTIVE SENTENCES

(i) Isolated interjectives may constitute *simple interjective sentences*, e.g.

Cha!—No!

Hhawu!—Oh my! or Don't!

Hambani!—Go along!

It is unnecessary to analyse these sentences; but in the case of imperatives, if there is any implication of an object, analysis should be undertaken, e.g.

Zishaye!—Hit them! Simple interjective sentence:

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *zishaye* (imperative).

Obj. (*zona*).

(ii) When two interjectives succeed one another, *compound interjective sentences* are the result, e.g.

Maye! madoda!—Alas, oh men!

Madoda! hlomani!—Men, arm!

Jojo! ngitshela konke!—Jojo, tell me everything.

(a) *Jojo*, interjective sentence.

(b) *ngitshela konke*, interjective sentence:

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *ngitshela*.

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

(ii) *konke* (subsidiary).

In each of these cases are two interjective sentences co-ordinated.

(iii) When an interjective sentence is followed by a co-ordinated predicative sentence, the result is a *compound interjective-predicative sentence*, e.g.

Baba! angifanele!—Father, I am not worthy.

Hawu! ngathola-santwana!—Hurrah, I've got a lovely thing.

Hhawu! umntanami bambulele?—Alas, have they killed my child?

Hawu! unamanga!—Emphatically, you lie!

(a) *hawu*, interjective sentence.

(b) *unamanga*, predicative sentence:

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *unamanga*.

Minani! nakhu ukudla kwenu!—Come here, here is your food.

(a) *minani*, interjective sentence.

(b) *nakhu ukudla kwenu*, predicative sentence:

Subj. *ukudla*.

Enl. of S. *kwenu*.

Pred. *nakhu* (loc. demons. copulative).

Ntombindini! wala mina-nje, bazokulungisa abanye!—Wise girl, you refused me, others will pay you out!

(a) *ntombindini*, interjective sentence.

(b) *wala mina-nje*, predicative sentence:

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *wala*.

Obj. *mina-nje*.

(c) *bazokulungisa abanye*, predicative sentence:

Subj. *abanye*.

Pred. *bazokulungisa*.

Obj. (*wena*).

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

Woza lapha! bayakubiza!—Come here, they are calling you.

(a) *woza lapha*, interjective sentence:

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *woza*.

Ext. of P. *lapha*.

(b) *bayakubiza*, predicative sentence:

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bayakubiza*.

Obj. (*wena*).

Ee! mngane! izindaba ezinhle? Hail, friend! Is it good news?

(a) *ee*, interjective sentence.

(b) *mngane*, interjective sentence.

(c) *izindaba ezinhle*, predicative sentence.

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. (y) *izindaba ezinhle* (extended copulative).

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

Hawu! wamude lomuthi!—My! what a tall tree this is.

(a) *hawu*, interjective sentence.

(b) *wamude lomuthi*, predicative sentence.

Subj. *lomuthi* (appositional).

Pred. *wamude* (copulative; idiomatic contraction of *waba-mude*).

(iv) When an interjective sentence is followed by a subordinate predicative sentence, the result is a *complex interjective sentence*. Interjectives governing subordinate clauses are imperatives, and the most common construction is for the subordinate clause to be in the subjunctive.

(a) In this case the construction is consecutive:

Hamba, ubabone!—Go and see them.

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *hamba*.

Ext. of P. *ubabone* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *ubabone*.
 Obj. (*bona*).

Yiza lapha, uthathe lencwadi—Come here and take this book.

Subj. (no subject).
 Pred. *yiza*.
 Ext. of P. (i) *lapha* (place).

(ii) *uthathe lencwadi* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

Sub-analysis of clause:

Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *uthathe*.
 Obj. *lencwadi* (appositional).

In the case of such a sentence as *Woza, ngikutshela* (Come and let me tell you), where the subject of the second clause is not 2nd person, it is best to insert a possibly lapsed *ukuba*, i.e. *Woza ukuba ngikutshela* (Come, that I may tell you). This is a complex interjective sentence.

(b) Another method of expressing consecutive command is by using *bese* and the participial after the imperative, e.g.

Dlana, bese uthatha igeja, bese ulima lapha—Eat, and then take the plough, and then plough here. Complex interjective sentence.

Subj. (no subject).
 Pred. *dlana*.

Ext. of P. (i) *bese uthatha igeja* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

(ii) *bese ulima lapha* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

Sub-analysis (i):

Con. *bese*.
 Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *uthatha*.
 Obj. *igeja*.

Sub-analysis (ii):

Con. *bese*.
 Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *ulima*.
 Ext. of P. *lapha*.

(c) Other conjunctives may be used following imperatives and introducing subordinate clauses; e.g.

Khuhuma [uma ufuna]—Speak, if you wish to.

Mshaye [ngoba ethuka]—Hit him, because he is swearing.

Hlala [lapho behlezi khona abesifazane]—Sit where the women are sitting.

Hlala [kaduba udle]—Sit down before you eat.

Thulani [nce sizwe]—Be quiet so that we may hear.

Letha abantwana [noma liduma]—Bring the children, even if it is thundering.

In each of these cases complex interjective sentences result.

SEQUENCE OF COMMANDS

Command is generally expressed by means of the imperative of the verb, though a milder form is found in which the present subjunctive is used with the hortative prefix *a-* or *ma-*. When the imperative is used, the sentence is interjective, e.g. *Hamba!*—Go! When the subjunctive is used, the sentence is predicative, e.g. *Mawuhambe*—Go along.

If there is a succession of commands, and the first is in the imperative, succeeding ones will be subjunctive forming subordinate clauses, generally consecutive; e.g.

Hamba, uye emzini, ubize umfana, umlethe lapha—Go, and go to the kraal, and call a lad, and bring him here.

The formation will be the same if the first command is expressed hortatively:¹

Mawuhambe, uye emzini, ubize umfana, umlethe lapha.

ANALYSIS OF IMPERATIVES

It has been argued that, since the imperative, e.g. *yiza* (*yizani*) has second person implication, *wena* (or *nina*) should be treated as the understood subject in analysis. There is however serious objection to such treatment. In the first case, were the "pronouns" expressed they would be vocative; therefore interjective themselves; and no vocative may be used as subject of a sentence. In the case of imperatives, e.g. *hambani*, *beka*, *phuma*, etc., the command is addressed to *nina*, *wena*, *wena*, etc., and these 2nd personal forms are not subjects at all. There are variants to *yiza* (*yizani*) which are interesting from the point of view of analysis:

Imperative: *yiza*, *yizani*.
zana, *zanini*.
woza,² *wozani*.

Subjunctive: *mawuze*, *manize*.

The analysis in the case of the subjunctives will be that of a predicative sentence, for here you have subjectival concords and therefore a subject implied.

¹ Though this is a less-used form with the 2nd person.

² This differs in tone from *woza* the future indicative, which has a plural *noza*.

Further, the only possible real negative imperative must be expressed by *musa* (*musani*) with no subjectival implication or concord. The forms *ungezi* (*ningezi*) are fully predicative and will form predicative sentences. For example:

- (a) *Mus'ukuyihluph'inja*—Don't tease the dog.
 Subj. (no subject).
 Pred. *musa*.
 Obj. *ukuyihluph'inja* (substantival phrase).
- (b) *Ungayihluphiinja*—Don't tease the dog.
 Subj. (*wena*).
 Pred. *ungayihluphi*.
 Obj. *inja*.

While the English translation is given as the same in each case, the syntactical significance of the Zulu is so radically and startlingly distinct. It is the difference between an interjective sentence and a predicative sentence.

INTERJECTIVE PHRASES

Interjective phrases are extended forms of interjectives generally used as introductory to a co-ordinated sentence, interjective or predicative. It is only vocative interjectives which may be used to form interjective phrases; the term "phrase" could not be applied in any way to extended imperatives.

- O! maye!* [*nina-bazenzisi*]—O alas, ye hypocrites!
 [*Nkosi yami*], *ngizé ukuba ngikhonze*—My chief, I have come to pay my respects.
 [*Bantu bakithi*], *hlomani!*—O our people, arm yourselves!
 [*Nkosi, wen'omnyama, wen'owakhula silibele, wen'ongange-Nanda!*] *siyabonga*—Chief, thou who art black, thou who hast grown while we delayed, thou who art as big as the Inanda, we give thanks! (In this is a series of appositional phrases qualifying *inkosi*; note also the relative clauses, *omnyama, owakhula silibele* and *ongangeNanda*, within the second of which is a participial descriptive clause of time. The whole constitutes a complex phrase.)

INTERJECTIVE CLAUSES

These only occur when used substantivally in reported speech, e.g.

- Inkosi yasitshela yathi*, [*Zingeniseni izinkomo esibayeni*]—The chief told us and said, "Put the cattle into the kraal."

Complex sentence.

Subj. *inkosi*.

Pred. *yasitshela*.

Ext. of P. *yathi, Zingeniseni izinkomo esibayeni* (descr. clause of consecutive action).

(Sub-analysis of clause):

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *yathi*.

Obj. *Zingeniseni izinkomo esibayeni* (substantival clause, interjective).

(Sub-analysis of interjective clause used substantivally):

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *zingeniseni*.

Obj. *izinkomo*.

Ext. of P. *esibayeni*.

Yathi impi ukuphendula kwayo, [Yebo Nkosi!]—Said the army in its reply, "Yea, O Chief!"

of treatment for (a) simple sentences; (b) compound sentences; and (c) complex sentences.

CHAPTER VIII SENTENCE ANALYSIS

Introductory:

In Chapters IV and VII the two types of sentence in Zulu were set out, the predicative sentence and the interjective sentence. In every *predicative sentence* there is implicit a subject, and in analysis that subject must be indicated by the appropriate absolute pronoun (in parentheses) if it is not already expressed substantivally. Where no substantival object is actually expressed in the sentence, but where it is indicated by an objectival concord with the predicate, the corresponding absolute pronoun should be inserted as object (in parentheses). Similarly interrogative sentences may have *na?* (in parentheses) added to the extension of the predicate, if there is no other interrogative element (beyond tone indication) to denote the question.

In the case of *interjective sentences*, those of imperative type are capable of analysis, but it must be emphasised that they have no subject; when interjectives of radical and of vocative type are included, they may be indicated, if desired, in the framework as "Interj." (i.e. interjection) and "Voc." (i.e. vocative) respectively. The framework used has already been set out.¹

The treatment of the *enclitics* in analysis has not hitherto been dealt with. Alternative treatments are possible. They may be included in the scheme together with the word to which each is attached. On the other hand, it is of advantage to detach and place such of them as have functional significance in their respective places, e.g. *-ke* (connective), *-ni?* (object), *-phi?* (Ext. of Pred. of place), *-ze* (Ext. of Pred. of manner), *-bo* (Ext. of Pred. of intensity), *-nye* (Ext. of Pred. of degree); but the relative enclitic *-yo* cannot be so detached.

It must be observed that in sub-analysis of subordinate clauses, provision must also be made for treating clauses within extended forms and phrase forms. These will be noted in due course. Here follow specimen analyses dealing with the manner

SPECIMENS OF ANALYSIS

A. SIMPLE SENTENCES

- (1) *Zonk'izinkomo zethu ezinhle seziphuza amanzi emfuleni laphayá.*
 Subj. *izinkomo.*
 Enl. of S. (i) *zonke* (quant. pron. in appos.).
 (ii) *zethu* (poss.).
 (iii) *ezinhle* (adj.).
 Pred. *seziphuza.*
 Ext. *amanzi.*
 Obj. of P. (i) *emfuleni* (loc. adv.).
 (ii) *laphayá* (demons. loc. adv.).
- (2) *Imikhuyu ayimili kahle kulomhlabathi.*
 Subj. *imikhuyu.*
 Pred. *ayimili.*
 Ext. of P. (i) *kahle* (manner).
 (ii) *kulomhlabathi* (loc.).
- (3) *Sengithula duke.*
 Con. *-ke*¹ (enclitic).
 Subj. *(mina).*
 Pred. *sengithula.*
 Ext. of P. *du* (ideo.).
- (4) *Wathula-njeke uyise.*
 Con. *-ke* (enclitic).
 Subj. *uyise.*
 Pred. *wathula.*
 Ext. of P. *-nje* (enclitic).
- (5) *Ingonyama yabonwa yizinsizwa zakithi eduze nomfudlana.*
 Subj. *ingonyama.*
 Pred. *yabonwa.*
 Ext. of P. (i) *yizinsizwa zakithi* (agentive).
 (ii) *eduze nomfudlana* (positional).
- (6) *Lezi-zindlu zinkulu kunezethu.*
 Subj. *lezi-zindlu*² (appositional).
 Pred. *zinkulu* (cop.).
 Ext. of P. *kunezethu* (comp.).

¹ Enclitics may be treated in analysis as separate words; or they may alternatively be left attached to the main word (see "Introductory").

² Alternatively *lezi* could be treated as subject with *izindlu*, Enl. of S., in apposition.

(7) *UMagama lo ngumfundisi waseMhlali.*Subj. *uMagama.*Enl. of S. *lo* (demonstr. pron. in apposition).Pred. *ngumfundisi waseMhlali* (extended cop.).(8) *Abesifazane bakwaNtengo bafuna ukugaya utshwala kubo namuhla.*Subj. *abesifazane.*Enl. of S. *bakwaNtengo.*Pred. *bafuna.*Obj. *ukugaya utshwala kubo namuhla* (substantive phrase).(9) (a) *Abantu bakhona lapha.*Subj. *abantu.*Pred. *bakhona* (cop.).Ext. of P. *lapha* (loc.).(b) *Kukhona abantu lapha na?*Subj. *abantu* (logical).Pred. *kukhona* (cop. indefinite).Ext. of P. (i) *lapha* (loc.).(ii) *na?* (interrogative).(c) *Kukhona-bantu lapha na?*Subj. (*khona*—concordial).Pred. *kukhona-bantu* (cop. axiomatic).Ext. of P. (i) *lapha* (loc.).(ii) *na?* (interrogative).(d) *Akukho-bantu lapha.*Subj. (*khona*—concordial).Pred. *akukho-bantu* (cop. axiomatic).Ext. of P. *lapha* (loc.).(10) (a) *Angimboni umuntu ethafeni.*Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *angimboni.*Obj. *umuntu.*Ext. of P. *ethafeni* (loc.).(b) *Angiboni-muntu ethafeni.*

Either (i):

Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *angiboni-muntu* (axiomatic).Ext. of P. *ethafeni* (loc.).

or (ii):

Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *angiboni* } (axiomatic).Obj. *-muntu* }Ext. of P. *ethafeni* (loc.).

The first treatment is preferable.

(11) *Umshayeli nenkosi yakhe bemukile.*

Either (i):

Subj. *Umshayeli nenkosi yakhe* (compound).Pred. *bemukile.*

or (ii):

Subj. (i) *umshayeli.*(ii) *inkosi (+na-).*Enl. of S. (ii): *yakhe* (poss.).Pred. *bemukile.*(12) *Sizokubabiza umntwana nesalukazi nevila.*

Either (i):

Subj. (*thina*).Pred. *sizokubabiza.*Obj. *umntwana nesalukazi nevila* (compound).

or (ii):

Subj. (*thina*).Pred. *sizokubabiza.*Obj. (i) *umntwana.*(ii) *isalukazi (+na-).*(iii) *ivila (+na-).*(13) *Ngiyibulele ingwe, isilwane esikhulu.*Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngiyibulele.*Obj. *ingwe.*Enl. of O. *isilwane esikhulu* (apposition).(14) *UDingane waphuma eMbebeni, umuzi omkhulu.*Subj. *uDingane.*Pred. *waphuma.*Ext. of P. *eMbebeni, umuzi omkhulu* (loc., extended by apposition).(15) *Ukungazondani kubafanele abangane.*Subj. *ukungazondani.*Pred. *kubafanele.*Obj. *abangane.*

(16) *Asithandi ukuwashiya amankonyane ethu odwa esibayeni imini yonke.*

Subj. (*thina*).

Pred. *asithandi*.

Obj. *ukuwashiya . . . yonke* (substantival phrase).

(17) *Ukuthi bádu-bádu kwengwe kuyakhanga.*

Subj. *ukuthi bádu-bádu* (substantival phrase).

Enl. of S. *kwengwe* (poss.).

Pred. *kuyakhanga*.

(18) *Inkosi yazikhipha izinhlozi amehlo.*

Subj. *inkosi*.

Pred. *yazikhipha*.

Obj. (i) *izinhlozi* (principal).

(ii) *amehlo* (subsidiary).

(19) *Bamenza inkosi.*

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bamenza*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*, principal).

(ii) *inkosi* (subsidiary).

(20) *Ngibonise incwadi yakho.*

(Interjective sentence.)

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *ngibonise*.

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

(ii) *incwadi* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. (ii): *yakho* (poss.).

(21) *Ningabaqambeli amanga.*

Subj. (*nina*).

Pred. *ningabaqambeli*.

Obj. (i) (*bona*, principal).

(ii) *amanga* (cognate).

(22) *Sabonana nomngane wami.*

Either (i):

Subj. (*mina*) *nomngane wami* (compound).

Pred. *sabonana*.

or (ii):

Subj. (i) (*mina*).

(ii) *umngane (+na-)*.

Enl. of S. (ii): *wami* (poss.).

Pred. *sabonana*.

(23) *AmaBunu amshaya uZulu amacala omathathu.*

Subj. *amaBunu*.

Pred. *amshaya*.

Obj. *uZulu*.

Ext. of P. *amacala omathathu* (adv. use of substantive).

(24) (a) *Yaquleka nokuquleka.*

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *yaquleka*.

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

(b) *Ukwenza kwabo kunamandla ngamandla.*

Subj. *ukwenza*.

Enl. of S. *kwabo* (poss.).

Pred. *kunamandla ngamandla* (extended cop.).

(25) (a) *Walala ubuthongo.*

Either (i):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *walala ubuthongo* (cognate).

or (ii):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *walala*

Obj. *ubuthongo* } (cognate).

(b) *Imbiza yayigcwele amanzi.*

Subj. *imbiza*.

Pred. *yayigcwele* } (cognate).

Obj. *amanzi*

(26) *Sebekhathele ukuhamba.*

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *sebekhathele*.

Ext. of P. *ukuhamba* (agentive).

(27) *Ngiphiwe ngumlungu lenja.*

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngiphiwe*.

Obj. *lenja* (appositional).

Ext. of P. *ngumlungu* (agentive).

(28) *Basho njalo ukucabanga.*

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *basho*.

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

(ii) *ukucabanga* (reference).

(29) *Sifuna lezo ezinde. Asifuni lezi ezimfushane.*Two simple sentences:¹A. *Sifuna lezo ezinde.*Subj. (*thina*).Pred. *sifuna*.Obj. *lezo* (demonstr. pron.).Encl. of O. *ezinde* (adj.).B. *Asifuni lezi ezimfushane.*Subj. (*thina*).Pred. *asifuni*.Obj. *lezi* (demonstr. pron.).Encl. of O. *ezimfushane* (adj.).

B. COMPOUND SENTENCES

I. Compounded of interjective and predicative sentences with no conjunctive between.

(1) *Woza mfana, ngikutshele konke.*(a) Interjective:² *Woza mfana.*Voc. *mfana*.Pred. *woza*.(b) Predicative: *ngikutshele konke.*Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngikutshele*.Obj. (i) (*wena*, principal).(ii) *konke* (subsidiary).(2) *Madoda, manidonse kahle.*(a) Interjective: *Madoda.*Voc. *madoda*.(b) Predicative: *manidonse kahle.*Subj. (*nina*).Pred. *manidonse*.Ext. of P. *kahle* (manner).

Alternatively this sentence may be analysed in one as:

Voc. *madoda*.Subj. (*nina*).Pred. *manidonse*.Ext. of P. *kahle*.¹Not to be treated as compound.²Analysis of interjective sentences may include a vocative (voc.) a predicate in the form of an imperative, which of course has no subject but may have object or extension, or an interjection (interj.). If a vocative or an interjection stands alone, it must be treated as a complete interjective sentence.(3) *Hhawu mfana, musa ukusho lokho, akulungile.*(a) Interjective: *Hhawu mfana, musa ukusho lokho.*Interj. *hhawu*.Voc. *mfana*.Pred. *musa*.Obj. *ukusho lokho*.[or alternatively: Pred. *musa ukusho lokho*].(b) Predicative: *akulungile.*Subj. (*khona*).Pred. *akulungile*.

II. Compounded predicative sentences with or without a conjunctive.

(1) *Izinyamazane zabaleka, kepha azeqanga.*(a) *Izinyamazane zabaleka.*Subj. *izinyamazane*.Pred. *zabaleka*.(b) *kepha azeqanga.*Con. *kepha*.Subj. (*zona*).Pred. *azeqanga*.(2) *Izimbuzi zakhe zinokufa, ngalokho ufuna ukuzibulala zonke.*(a) *Izimbuzi zakhe zinokufa.*Subj. *izimbuzi*.Encl. of S. *zakhe* (poss.).Pred. *zinokufa*.(b) *ngalokho ufuna ukuzibulala zonke.*Con. *ngalokho*.Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *ufuna*.Obj. *ukuzibulala zonke* (subst. phrase).(3) *Mabahlale lapha, kepha mabathi du-nje.*(a) *Mabahlale lapha.*Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *mabahlale*.Ext. of P. *lapha* (place).(b) *kepha mabathi du-nje.*Con. *kepha*.Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *mabathi*.Ext. of P. (i) *du* (ideo).(ii) *-nje* (enclitic of degree).

(4) *Ngiyangena endlini, useyangilandela, sengiyabalekake.*(a) *Ngiyangena endlini.*Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngiyangena*.Ext. of P. *endlini* (loc.).(b) *useyangilandela.*Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *useyangilandela*.Obj. (*mina*).(c) *sengiyabalekake.*Con. *-ke* (enclitic).Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *sengiyabaleka*.

C. COMPLEX SENTENCES

These will include ordinary complex sentences with subjects, objects, enlargements or extensions in the form of clauses, and in addition those with clauses within extended predicates, for instance, as well as compound complex sentences.

(1) *Abanazo izinkomo zokudonsa lezi-zinqola ezisindayo kangaka entabeni.*Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *abanazo . . . entabeni* (extended copulative predicate).1a. *ezisindayo kangaka* (rel. cl. qual. *lezi-zinqola* within the extended predicate).Subj. (*zona*).Pred. *ezisindayo* (rel.).Ext. of P. *kangaka* (manner).(2) *Ukuthi wafikelela emzini kwamangalisa kakhulu.*Subj. *ukuthi wafikelela emzini* (subst. cl.).Pred. *kwangangalisa*.Ext. of P. *kakhulu*.2a. *ukuthi wafikelela emzini.*Con. *ukuthi*.Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *wafikelela*.Ext. of P. *emzini* (loc.)(3) *Angazi ukuthi ngingenza njani?*Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *angazi*.Obj. *ukuthi ngingenza njani?* (subst. cl.).3a. *ukuthi ngingenza njani?*Con. *ukuthi*.Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngingenza*.Ext. of P. *njani?* (manner).(4) *Kuswelekile ukuba ngibone umsebenzi wakho.*Subj. *ukuba ngibone umsebenzi wakho* (subst. cl.).Pred. *kuswelekile*.4a. *ukuba ngibone umsebenzi wakho.*Con. *ukuba*.Subj. (*mina*).Pred. *ngibone*.Obj. *umsebenzi*.Enl. of O. *wakho* (poss.).(5) *Kufanele bazakhe izindlu ngokushesha.¹*Subj. (*ukuba*) *bazakhe izindlu ngokushesha*.Pred. *kufanele*.5a. (*ukuba*) *bazakhe izindlu ngokushesha.*Con. (*ukuba*).Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *bazakhe*.Obj. *izindlu*.Ext. of P. *ngokushesha* (instr.).(6) *Abangasebenziyo abayukudla.*Subj. *abangasebenziyo* (subst. rel. cl.).Pred. *abayukudla*.6a. *Abangasebenziyo.*Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *abangasebenziyo* (rel.).(7) *Abangayukuthanda abayukubanakho.*Subj. *abangayukuthanda* (subst. rel. cl.).Pred. *abayukubanakho* (cop.).7a. *abangayukuthanda.*Subj. (*bona*).Pred. *abangayukuthanda* (rel.).(8) *Isalukazi sathi bangamathe nolimi.*Subj. *isalukazi*.Pred. *sathi*.Obj. *bangamathe nolimi* (reported speech).¹ Note that it is necessary to restore the lapsed conjunctive *ukuthi* or *ukuba* in such a contracted sentence.

8a. *bangamathe nolimi.*

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *bangamathe nolimi* (compd. cop.).

(9) *uDingane washo wathi, Kanti impi yami, Ndlela, uyonile.*

Subj. *uDingane*.

Pred. *washo*.

Ext. of P. *wathi, Kanti impi yami, Ndlela, uyonile* (descr. cl. of subordinate action).

9a. *wathi, Kanti impi yami, Ndlela, uyonile.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wathi*.

Obj. *Kanti impi yami, Ndlela, uyonile* (reported speech).

9a¹. *Ndlela* (interjective).

Voc. *Ndlela*.

9a². *Kanti impi yami uyonile* (predicative).

Con. *kanti*.

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *uyonile*.

Obj. *impi*.

Enl. of O. *yami*.

(10) *Walunywa yinja yaso eyesabekayo.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *walunywa*.

Ext. of P. *yinja yaso eyesabekayo* (extended agentive).¹

10a. *eyesabekayo* (rel. cl. qual. *inja* within the extension of the pred.).

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *eyesabekayo* (rel.).

(11) *Ibithi iMdlenevu iyawungena ngesango kwaNodwengu, yena abeseyongena ngentuba, elanda utshwala esigodlweni.*

Subj. *yena*.

Pred. *abeseyongena*.

Ext. of P. (i) *ibithi iMdlenevu iyawungena ngesango kwaNodwengu* (descr. cl. of time).

(ii) *ngentuba* (instr.).

(iii) *elanda utshwala esigodlweni* (particip. cl. of subjunctive situation).

11a. *ibithi iMdlenevu iyawungena ngesango kwaNodwengu.*

Con. *ibithi*.

Subj. *iMdlenevu*.

Pred. *iyawungena*.

¹It is not necessary to sub-analyse copulatives when they are used agentively.

Obj. (*wona*, representing *umuzi*).

Ext. of P. (i) *ngesango* (instr.).

(ii) *kwaNodwengu* (loc.).

11b. *elanda utshwala esigodlweni.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *elanda*.

Obj. *utshwala*.

Ext. of P. *esigodlweni* (loc.).

(12) *Uduké nezwe, waya wafika kwaNgoza.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *uduké*.

Ext. of P. (i) *nezwe* (con.).

(ii) *waya*.

(iii) *wafika kwaNgoza* } (subjunctive cls. of consecutive action).

12a. *waya*.

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *waya*.

12b. *wafika kwaNgoza.*

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wafika*.

Ext. of P. *kwaNgoza* (loc.).

(13) *Izinkomo zangena esibayeni zihlabana ngezimpondo.*

Subj. *izinkomo*.

Pred. *zangena*.

Ext. of P. (i) *esibayeni* (loc.).

(ii) *zihlabana ngezimpondo* (particip. cl. of subjunctive situation).

13a. *zihlabana ngezimpondo.*

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zihlabana*.

Ext. of P. *ngezimpondo* (instr.).

(14) *Nembala, selulubamba-ke ngamazipho, selukhwela nalo luya phezulu ezulwini, kude le.*

Compound Complex Sentence.

14a. Con. *-ke* (enclitic).

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *selulubamba*.

Obj. (*lona*).

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

(ii) *ngamazipho* (instr.).

- 14b. Subj. (*lona*).
Pred. *selukhwela*.
Ext. of P. (i) *nalo* (con.).
(ii) *luya phezulu ezulwini kude le* (particip. cl. of subjectival situation).
- 14b¹. *luya phezulu ezulwini kude le*.
Subj. (*lona*).
Pred. *luya*.
Ext. of P. (i) *phezulu* (loc.).
(ii) *ezulwini* (loc.).
(iii) *kude* (loc.).
(iv) *le* (place).
- (15) *Izinkabi zilahlekile, sekusho abafana*.
Subj. *abafana* (logical).
Pred. *sekusho*.
Obj. *Izinkabi zilahlekile* (reported speech).
- 15a. *Izinkabi zilahlekile*.
Subj. *izinkabi*.
Pred. *zilahlekile*.
- (16) *Sizwile ukuhlala kwezizwe ezingenayo incwadi kaNkulunkulu*.
Subj. (*thina*).
Pred. *sizwile*.
Obj. *ukuhlala*.
Enl. of O. *kwezizwe ezingenayo incwadi kaNkulunkulu* (extended poss.).
- 16a. *ezingenayo incwadi kaNkhlunkulu* (rel. cl. qual. *izizwe* in Enl. of O.).
Subj. (*zona*).
Pred. *ezingenayo incwadi kaNkulunkulu* (rel. extended cop.).
- (17) *Izinkomo ezimilenze inodaka zikhathele*.
Subj. *izinkomo*.
Enl. of S. *ezimilenze inodaka* (rel. cl.).
Pred. *zikhathele*.
- 17a. *ezimilenze inodaka* (rel. cl. of subjectival possessive relationship).
Concord: *ezi*-¹.
Subj. (*imilenze*).
Enl. of S. (*yazo*).
Pred. *inodaka* (cop.).

¹ Note that in such rel. clause analysis it is necessary to make provision for the concord when it is not subj. of the rel. pred.

- (18) *Zingenisa okwamasela, zikunyonyobeke kahle ezikufumana kuphakathi*.
Subj. (*zona*).
Pred. *zingenisa*.
Obj. *okwamasela* (qual. pron. poss.).
Ext. of P. *zikunyonyobeke kahle ezikufumana kuphakathi* (descr. cl. of subsequent action).
- 18a. *zikunyonyobeke kahle ezikufumana kuphakathi*.
Subj. (*zona*).
Pred. *zikunyonyobeke*.
Obj. *ezikufumana kuphakathi* (substantival cl. rel.).
Ext. of P. *kahle*.
- 18a¹. *ezikufumana kuphakathi*.
Subj. (*zona*).
Pred. *ezikufumana* (rel.).
Obj. (*khona*).
Enl. of O. *kuphakathi*¹ (particip.).
- 18a^{1a}. *kuphakathi*.
Subj. (*khona*).
Pred. *kuphakathi* (particip.).
- (19) *Nanso inkosi elibulele amadoda ayo ibubesi*.
Subj. *inkosi*.
Enl. of S. *elibulele amadoda ayo ibubesi* (rel. cl.).
Pred. *nanso* (cop.).
- 19a. *elibulele amadoda ayo ibubesi*.
Subj. *ibubesi*.
Pred. *elibulele* (rel.).
Obj. *amadoda*.
Enl. of O. *ayo*.
- (20) *Singayibona intaba okwaxhiwe phansi kwayo umuzi*.
Subj. (*thina*).
Pred. *singayibona*.
Obj. *intaba*.
Enl. of O. *okwaxhiwe phansi kwayo umuzi* (rel. cl.).
- 20a. *okwaxhiwe phansi kwayo umuzi*.
Subj. *umuzi* (logical).
Pred. *okwaxhiwe* (rel.).
Ext. of P. *phansi kwayo* (positional).
- (21) *Babulalé umuntu walapha behlala khona*.
Subj. (*bona*).

¹ Alternatively this might be treated as Ext. of P.

- Pred. *babulalé*.
 Obj. *umuntu*.
 Enl. of O. *walapha behlala khona* (poss. clause).
- 21a. *lapha behlala khona* (descr. cl. of place, the basis of the possessive enlargement).
 Con. *lapha*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *behlala* (particip.).
 Ext. of P. *khona* (place).
- (22) *Sonke siyazi ukuthi amazwi akho ayokwahlula*.
 Subj. *sonke* (quant. pron.).
 Pred. *siyazi*.
 Obj. *ukuthi amazwi akho ayokwahlula* (subst. cl.).
- 22a. *ukuthi amazwi akho ayokwahlula*.
 Con. *ukuthi*.
 Subj. *amazwi*.
 Enl. of S. *akho* (poss.).
 Pred. *ayokwahlula*.
- (23) *Bezizokhuluphala lezi ukuba utshani buningi lapha*.
 Subj. *lezi*.
 Pred. *bezizokhuluphala*.
 Ext. of P. *ukuba utshani buningi lapha* (descr. cl. of condition).
- 23a. *ukuba utshani buningi lapha*.
 Con. *ukuba*.
 Subj. *utshani*.
 Pred. *binongi* (cop.).
 Ext. of P. *lapha* (place).
- (24) *Yingoba ngingasebenzi ukuba ngingayitholi imali*.
 Subj. *ukuba ngingayitholi imali* (subst. cl.).
 Pred. *yingoba ngingasebenzi* (extended cop.).
- 24a. *ukuba ngingayitholi imali*.
 Con. *ukuba*.
 Subj. (*mina*).
 Pred. *ngingayitholi*.
 Obj. *imali*.
- 24b. *ngoba ngingasebenzi* (descr. cl. of reason, basis of cop. pred.).
 Con. *ngoba*.
 Subj. (*mina*).
 Pred. *ngingasebenzi*.

- (25) *Sathi sifika-nje, sezwa isalukazi sikhala*.
 Subj. (*thina*).
 Pred. *sezwa*.
 Obj. *isalukazi sikhala* (substant. particip. cl.).
 Ext. of P. *sathi sifika-nje* (descr. cl. of time).
- 25a. *isalukazi sikhala*.
 Subj. *isalukazi*.
 Pred. *sikhala*.
- 25b. *sathi sifika-nje*.
 Con. *sathi*.
 Subj. (*thina*).
 Pred. *sifika*.
 Ext. of P. *-nje* (enclitic of degree).
- (26) *Ngababona mzukwana ifa inkosi*.
 Subj. (*mina*).
 Pred. *ngababona*.
 Obj. (*bona*).
 Ext. of P. *mzukwana ifa inkosi* (descr. cl. of time).
- 26a. *mzukwana ifa inkosi*.
 Con. *mzukwana*.
 Subj. *inkosi*.
 Pred. *ifa*.
- (27) *Kulesi-sikole abantwana bayafunda, babale, babale, badlale futhi*.
 Subj. *abantwana*.
 Pred. *bayafunda*.
 Ext. of P. (i) *kulesi-sikole* (loc.).
 (ii) *babale*
 (iii) *babale*
 (iv) *badlale futhi* } (descr. cls. of subsequent or subordinate action).
- 27a. *babale*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *babale*.
- 27b. *babale*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *babale*.
- 27c. *badlale futhi*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *badlale*.
 Ext. of P. *futhi*.

(28) *Izimvu zaphuma, zathi búdu-búdu.*Subj. *izimvu.*Pred. *zaphuma.*Ext. of P. *zathi búdu-búdu* (descr. cl. of subordinate action).28a. *zathi búdu-búdu.*Subj. (*zona*).Pred. *zathi.*Ext. of P. *búdu-búdu* (ideo.).

D. MISCELLANEOUS SENTENCES

The following will give examples of how full analysis should be set down.

(1) *Sizwa sengathi kwakukhona izintambo zilenga eceleni komutsha, umutsha usezowukhuphula ngazoke umuntu, enza ngawo amabaxa la. Awogagane wona.* Compound complex sentence. The use of *-ke* in *ngazoke* links the first two sentences into a compound; therefore:

A + B. *Sizwa . . . la* = Compound sentence.

A. *Sizwa sengathi kwakukhona izintambo zilenga eceleni komutsha* (Complex sentence).

Subj. (*thina*).Pred. *sizwa.*Obj. *sengathi kwakukhona izintambo zilenga eceleni komutsha* (substantival cl.).

A¹. *Sengathi kwakukhona izintambo zilenga eceleni komutsha* (subst. cl. obj. of *sizwa*):

Con. *sengathi.*Subj. *izintambo* (logical).Enl. of S. *zilenga eceleni komutsha* (particip.).Pred. *kwakukhona* (cop. indef.).

A¹a. *zilenga eceleni komutsha* (particip. cl. qual. *izintambo*):

Subj. (*zona*).Pred. *zilenga.*Ext. of P. *eceleni komutsha* (extended loc.).

B. *Umutsha usezowukhuphula ngazoke umuntu, enza ngawo amabaxa la* (Co-ordinate complex sentence):

Con. *-ke* (enclitic).Subj. *umuntu.*Enl. of S. *enza ngawo amabaxa la* (particip.).Pred. *usezowukhuphula.*Obj. *umutsha.*Ext. of P. *ngazo* (instr.).

B¹. *enza ngawo amabaxa la* (particip. cl. qual. *umuntu*).

Subj. (*yena*).Pred. *enza.*Obj. *amabaxa.*Enl. of O. *la* (apposit.).Ext. of P. *ngawo* (instr.).

C. *Awogagane wona* (Simple sentence):

Subj. *wona.*Pred. (*ng*)*awogagane* (cop.).

(2) *Yekani-bo ukudlala lokhu kwenu okubi kangaka kokulimaza ngabomu! Aniboni yini ukuthi lokhu enithi nina ukudlala, kithi kungukufa uqobo lwakho na?* (Two sentences).

A. *Yekani-bo ukudlala lokhu kwenu okubi kangaka kokulimaza ngabomu!* (Simple interjective sentence):

Subj. (no subject).

Pred. *yekani.*Obj. *ukudlala.*Enl. of O. (i) *lokhu* (demons. in appos.).(ii) *kwenu* (poss.).(iii) *okubi kangaka* (adj. extended).(iv) *kokulimaza ngabomu* (poss. phrase).Ext. of P. *-bo* (emphatic enclitic).

B. *Aniboni yini ukuthi lokhu enithi nina ukudlala, kithi kungukufa uqobo lwakho na?* (Complex sentence):

Subj. (*nina*).Pred. *aniboni.*Obj. *ukuthi lokhu, enithi nina ukudlala, kithi kungukufa uqobo lwakho* (subst. cl.).Ext. of P. *yini na?* (cop. interrog. functioning as adv.).

B¹. *ukuthi lokhu enithi nina ukudlala, kithi kungukufa uqobo lwakho* (subst. cl. obj. of *aniboni*):

Con. *ukuthi.*Subj. *lokhu.*Enl. of S. *enithi nina ukudlala* (rel. cl.).Pred. *kungukufa uqobo lwakho* (extended cop.).Ext. of P. *kithi* (loc.).

B¹a. *enithi nina ukudlala* (rel. cl. qual. *lokhu*):

Subj. *nina.*Pred. *enithi* (rel.).Obj. (*ng*)*ukudlala*¹ (subst. cl. cop.).

¹ A separate analysis of this is not necessary. If it were done, the subject would be (*khona*).

- B². *yini na?* (cop. cl. descr. *aniboni*).
 Subj. (*khona*, indef.).
 Pred. *yini* (cop.).
 Ext. of P. *na* (interrog.).
- (3) *UMafavuke, uyise kaCakijana noNhliziyonkulu, wabatshela ukuthi msukwana efayo, bayobona ngokushunqa kwentuthu.* (Complex sentence):
 Subj. *uMafavuke*.
 Enl. of S. *uyise kaCakijana noNhliziyonkulu* (appos.).
 Pred. *wabatshela*.
 Obj. (i) (*bona*, principal).
 (ii) *ukuthi msukwana efayo bayobona ngokushunqa kwentuthu* (subsidiary, substant. cl.).
- 3a. *ukuthi msukwana efayo bayobona ngokushunqa kwentuthu* (substantival cl., subsidiary obj. of *wabatshela*):
 Con. *ukuthi*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *bayobona*.
 Ext. of P. (i) *msukwana efayo* (descr. cl. of time).
 (ii) *ngokushunqa kwentuthu* (instr.).
- 3a¹. *msukwana efayo* (descr. cl. of time).
 Con. *msukwana*.
 Subj. (*yena*).
 Pred. *efayo* (particip.).
- (4) *Wabatshela futhi ukuthi kuyothi angafa, bahambe baye kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo.* (Complex sentence):
 Subj. (*yena*).
 Pred. *wabatshela*.
 Obj. (i) (*bona*, principal).
 (ii) *ukuthi kuyothi angafa, bahambe baye kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo* (subsidiary, substantival cl.).
 Ext. of P. *futhi* (conjunctive).¹
- 4a. *ukuthi kuyothi angafa, bahambe baye kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo* (subst. cl., subsidiary obj. of *wabatshela*):
 Con. *ukuthi*.
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *bahambe*.
 Ext. of P. (i) *kuyothi angafa* (descr. cl. of time).
 (ii) *baye kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo* (descr. cl. of consecutive relationship).

¹Alternatively *futhi* may be treated as Con. instead of Ext. of P.

- 4a¹. *kuyothi angafa* (descr. cl. of time):
 Con. *kuyothi*.
 Subj. (*yena*).
 Pred. *angafa*.
- 4a². *baye kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo* (descr. cl. of consecutive relationship dependent on *bahambe*):
 Subj. (*bona*).
 Pred. *baye*.
 Ext. of P. *kwaMkindinkomo-wenkosi, udadewabo* (loc. phrase).
- (5) *Kodwa uCakijana wathi, Qha, mina baba ngiyohamba ngiye kuleli lasenhla.* (Complex sentence).
 Con. *kodwa*.
 Subj. *uCakijana*.
 Pred. *wathi*.
 Obj. (i) *qha* (interj.) } (interjectives used substantivally).
 (ii) *baba* (voc.) }
 (iii) *mina ngiyohamba ngiye kuleli lasenhla* (substantival cl.).
- 5a. *mina ngiyohamba ngiye kuleli lasenhla* (substantival cl., complex, obj. of *wathi*):
 Subj. *mina*.
 Pred. *ngiyohamba*.
 Ext. of P. *ngiye kuleli lasenhla* (descr. cl. of consecutive relationship).
- 5a¹. *ngiye kuleli lasenhla* (descr. cl. of consecutive relationship):
 Subj. (*mina*)
 Pred. *ngiye*.
 Ext. of P. *kuleli lasenhla* (loc. phrase).
- (6) *OkaNtombinde wafika kuqala emfuleni kukhona umhlanga endleleni, ezibukweni. Umhlanga wahlangana, waluvimbela udwendwe lwakoNtombinde, waze wacela kuSilwanyakazane ukuba ahambe phambili.* (Two complex sentences, A and B.)
- A. *OkaNtombinde wafika kuqala emfuleni kukhona umhlanga endleleni, ezibukweni* (Complex sentence):
 Subj. *okaNtombinde*.
 Pred. *wafika*.
 Ext. of P. (i) *kuqala* (time).
 (ii) *emfuleni* (loc.).
 (iii) *kukhona umhlanga endleleni, ezibukweni* (particip. cl. of situation).
- A¹. *kukhona umhlanga endleleni, ezibukweni* (particip. cl. of situation, descr. *wafika*):
 Subj. *umhlanga* (logical).
 Pred. *kukhona endleleni, ezibukweni* (extended cop.).

- B. *Umhlanga wahlangana, waluvimbela udwendwe lwako-Ntombinde, waze wacela kuSilwanyakazane ukuba ahambe phambili* (Complex sentence):

Subj. *umhlanga*.

Pred. *wahlangana*.

Ext. of P. (i) *waluvimbela udwendwe lwakoNtombinde* (descr. cl. of subsequent action).

(ii) *waze wacela kuSilwanyakazane ukuba ahambe phambili* (descr. cl. of subsequent action).

- B¹. *waluvimbela udwendwe lwakoNtombinde* (descr. cl. of subsequent action, following on the pred. *wahlangana*):

Subj. (*wona*).

Pred. *waluvimbela*.

Obj. *udwendwe*.

Enl. of O. *lwakoNtombinde* (poss.).

- B². *waze wacela kuSilwanyakazane ukuba ahambe phambili* (descr. cl. of subsequent action following on the pred. *wahlangana*):

Subj. (*yena*, reference to *okaNtombinde* in A).

Pred. *waze wacela* (multiverbal).

Obj. *ukuba ahambe phambili* (subst. cl.).

Ext. of P. *kuSilwanyakazane* (loc.).

- B^{2a}. *ukuba ahambe phambili* (subst. cl. object of *waze wacela*):

Con. *ukuba*.

Subj. (*yena*, reference to *uSilwanyakazane*).

Pred. *ahambe*.

Ext. of P. *phambili* (loc.).

- (7) *Lendaba engiyibala kulencwadi namuhla, yindaba engayitshelwa ubaba ngisemncane kakhulu* (Complex sentence):

Subj. *lendaba*.

Enl. of S. *engiyibala kulencwadi namuhla* (rel. cl.).

Pred. *yindaba engayitshelwa ubaba ngisemncane kakhulu* (extended cop.).

- 7a. *engiyibala kulencwadi namuhla* (rel. cl. qual. *lendaba*):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *engiyibala* (rel.).

Obj. (*yona*).

Ext. of P. (i) *kulencwadi* (loc.).

(ii) *namuhla* (time).

- 7b. *engayitshelwa ubaba ngisemncane kakhulu* (rel. cl. qual. *indaba* basis of *yindaba*):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *engayitshelwa* (rel.).

Obj. (*yona*).

Ext. of P. (i) (*ng)ubaba* (agent.).

(ii) *ngisemncane kakhulu* (particip. cl. of situation or time).

- 7b¹. *ngisemncane kakhulu* (particip. cl. of situation or time, descr. pred. *engayitshelwa*):

Subj. (*mina*).

Pred. *ngisemncane kakhulu* (extended cop.).

- (8) *Lapha eThekwini wayephekela izinsizwa zabelungu ezazingonongqayi, zimnika zonke izingubo zazo ezindala, zimthwalisa izikhwama zazo lapho ziya emidlalweni eMgungundlovu, apha the amahhashi* (Complex sentence):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *wayephekela*.

Obj. *izinsizwa*.

Enl. of O. (i) *zabelungu* (poss.).

(ii) *ezazingonongqayi* (rel. cl.).

Ext. of P. (i) *zimnika zonke izingubo zazo ezindala* (particip. cl. of situation).

(ii) *zimthwalisa izikhwama zazo lapho ziya emidlalweni eMgungundlovu, apha the amahhashi* (particip. cl. of situation).

- 8a. *ezazingonongqayi* (rel. cl. qual. *izinsizwa*):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *ezazingonongqayi* (rel. cop.).

- 8b. *zimnika zonke izingubo zazo ezindala* (particip. cl. of objectival situation):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zimnika*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*, principal).

(ii) *izingubo* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. (ii). (i) *zazo* (poss.).

(ii) *ezindala* (adj.).

- 8c. *zimthwalisa izikhwama zazo lapho ziya emidlalweni eMgungundlovu, apha the amahhashi* (particip. cl. of objectival situation):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zimthwalisa*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*, principal).

(ii) *izikhwama* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. (ii). *zazo* (poss.).

Ext. of P. *lapho ziya emidlalweni eMgungundlovu, apha the amahhashi* (descr. cl. of time).

8c¹. *lapho ziya emidlalweni eMgungundlovu, aphaathe amahhashi*
(descr. cl. of time extending the pred. *zimthwalisa*):

Con. *lapho*.

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *ziya*.

Ext. of P. (i) *emidlalweni eMgungundlovu* (loc.).

(ii) *aphathe amahhashi* (descr. cl. of subordinate action).

8c^{1a}. *aphathe amahhashi* (descr. cl. of subordinate action,
extending pred. *ziya*):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *aphathe* (subjunctive).

Obj. *amahhashi*.

(9) *UNobanibani lowo ombuzayo uthanda ekuthini insizwa egama layo lingubani* (Complex sentence):

Subj. *uNobanibani*.

Enl. of S. (i) *lowo* (appos.).

(ii) *ombuzayo* (rel. cl.).

Pred. *uthanda*.

Obj. *insizwa*.

Enl. of O. *egama layo lingubani* (rel. cl.).

Ext. of P. *ekuthini* (loc.).

9a. *ombuzayo* (rel. cl. qual. *uNobanibani*):

Subj. (*wena*).

Pred. *ombuzayo* (rel.).

Obj. (*yena*).

9b. *egama layo lingubani* (rel. cl. qual. *insizwa*):

Concord: *e-*.

Subj. (*igama*).

Enl. of S. *layo* (poss.).

Pred. *lingubani* (cop.).

(10) *KwaZulu, uma izinsizwa zifuna ukwazi ngentombi yesifunda esithize, kaziqondi kubantu bakhona abadala ziyobuza, ngoba funa babatshela into engayikhona, engamanga* (Complex sentence):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *kaziqondi*.

Ext. of P. (i) *kwaZulu* (loc.).

(ii) *uma izinsizwa zifuna ukwazi ngentombi yesifunda esithize* (descr. cl. of time or condition).

(iii) *kubantu bakhona abadala* (extended loc.).

(iv) *ziyobuza* (particip. cl. of situation).

(v) *ngoba funa babatshela into engayikhona, engamanga*
(descr. cl. of reason).

10a. *uma izinsizwa zifuna ukwazi ngentombi yesifunda esithize*
(descr. cl. of time or condition, extending pred. *kaziqondi*):

Con. *uma*.

Subj. *izinsizwa*.

Pred. *zifuna*.

Obj. *ukwazi ngentombi yesifunda esithize* (substantival phrase):

10b. *ziyobuza* (= *ziya kubuza*: participial cl. of subjectival situation, extending pred. *kaziqondi*):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *ziya*.

Ext. of P. *kubuza* (short infin. of purpose after *-ya*).¹

10c. *ngoba funa babatshela into engayikhona, engamanga*
(descr. cl. of reason, extending pred. *kaziqondi*):

Con. *ngoba funa*.

Subj. (*bona*).

Pred. *babatshela*.

Obj. (i) (*bona*, principal).

(ii) *into* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. (ii). (i) *engayikhona* (rel. cl.).

(ii) *engamanga* (rel. cl.).

10c¹. *engayikhona* (rel. cl. cop. qual. *into*):

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *engayikhona* (rel. cop.).

10c². *engamanga* (rel. cl. cop. qual. *into*):

Subj. (*yona*).

Pred. *engamanga* (rel. cop.).

(11) *Zasho kwabasengathi kazikho ezinye ezingase zibuye zivele zahlule zona* (Compound complex).

A. *Zasho* (Simple sentence):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zasho*.

B. *kwabasengathi kazikho ezinye ezingase zibuye zivele zahlule zona* (Complex sentence):

Con. *kwabasengathi* (predicative type).

Subj. *ezinye* (qual. pron.).

Enl. of S. *ezingase zibuye zivele zahlule zona* (rel. cl.).

Pred. *kazikho*.

B¹. *ezingase zibuye zahlule zona* (rel. cl. qual. *ezinye*):

Subj. *zona* (emphatic).

Pred. *ezingase* (defic.).

Ext. of P. (i) *zibuye*

(ii) *zivele*

(iii) *zahlule*

(descr. cls. of contingent action).

¹Alternatively Pred. *ziyobuza*.

B¹a. *zibuye* (descr. cl. of contingent action, following deficient pred. *ezigase*):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zibuye* (subjunct.).

B¹b. *zivele* (descr. cl. of contingent action, following deficient pred. *ezingase*):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zivele* (subjunct.).

B¹c. *zahlule* (descr. cl. of contingent action, following deficient pred. *ezingase*):

Subj. (*zona*).

Pred. *zahlule* (subjunct.).

(12) *Igama elithi "John" liyaziwa kakhulu eBayibeleni, kodwa elithi "Langalibalele" kusobala ukuthi uyise wamnika lona ekhumbula elinye lamaqhawe akwaZulu, uLangalibalele wakwaMthimkhulu* (Compound complex).

A. *Igama . . . eBayibeleni* (Complex sentence):

Subj. *igama*.

Enl. of S. *elithi "John"* (rel. clause).

Pred. *liyaziwa*.

Ext. of P. (i) *kakhulu* (degree).

(ii) *eBayibeleni* (place).

a. *elithi "John"* (rel. cl. qual. *igama*):

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *elithi*.

Obj. "*John*" (voc. interjective form).

B. *kodwa . . . wakwaMthimkhulu* (Complex sentence):

Con. *kodwa*.

Subj. *ukuthi . . . wakwaMthimkhulu* (subst. cl.).

Pred. *kusobala*.

b. *ukuthi . . . wakwaMthimkhulu* (and incorporating *elithi "Langalibalele"*; subst. clause, subject of *kusobala*):

Con. *ukuthi*.

Subj. *uyise*.

Pred. *wamnika*.

Obj. (i) (*yena*, principal).

(ii) *lona* (subsidiary).

Enl. of O. (ii). *elithi "Langalibalele"* (rel. clause).

Ext. of P. *ekhumbula . . . wakwaMthimkhulu* (particip. descr. clause of subjectival situation).¹

b¹. *elithi "Langalibalele"* (rel. cl. qual. *lona*).

Subj. (*lona*).

Pred. *elithi*.

Obj. "*Langalibalele*" (voc. interjective form).

b². *ekhumbula . . . wakwaMthimkhulu* (descr. cl. of subjectival situation):

Subj. (*yena*).

Pred. *ekhumbula*.

Obj. *elinye lamaqhawe akwaZulu, uLangalibalele wakwaMthimkhulu* (subst. phrase, extension of qual. pron. *elinye*).

¹ Alternatively this could be treated as a qualificative clause, enlargement of the subject, *uyise*.

CHAPTER IX

PARSING: WORD ANALYSIS

Introductory:

Though parsing is properly a function of grammar—accidence—yet it has a secondary function bearing upon syntax. This may be shown from the second portion of the following definition:¹ "Parsing is the detailed examination of a word to determine what part of speech it is, and what part it plays in the building up of a sentence." The detailed dissection of the words not only reveals their grammatical classification and their etymology, but also reflects their function and their relationship to other words in the sentence. This is implicit in the concordial agreement of Bantu structure. For instance taking the word *ezibabonayo*, the elements *ezi-* and *ba-* must refer to some substantives in *izi-* and *aba-* respectively, and the suffix *-yo* reveals the word as a relative clause form in relation to others in the sentence—all this without having before one the other words comprising the sentence. When one has the complete sentence, however, a more exact parsing becomes possible.

SPECIMENS OF PARSING

- (1) *Abanazo izinkomo zokudonsa lezi-zinqola ezisindayo kangaka entabeni.*

Abanazo: copulative <*nazo*, conjunctive adv. <abs. pron. *zona* (representing noun *izinkomo*, cl. 5 pl.); pres. indic. neg., with subjectival concord for cl. 1 pl. representing *bona*.

izinkomo: noun, cl. 5 pl. in apposition to *zona* in *abanazo*; plur. of *inkomo* <rt. *-khomo*.

zokudonsa: initial word of possessive phrase qual. *izinkomo*; poss. <infin. (cl. 8) of verb *donsa*, with cl. 5 pl. poss. concord *za-*.

lezi-zinqola: demons. pron. of 1st position + noun of cl. 5 pl. in apposition, object of verb *donsa* in poss. phrase *zokudonsa*. *Izinqola* (which has lost its initial vowel in the compound) is plur. of *inqola* <rt. *-nqola*.

¹"Bantu Linguistic Terminology" by C. M. Doke, p. 159.

ezisindayo: qualific. rel. clause, qual. *izingola*; <verb *sinda* with rel. concd. of cl. 5 pl. *ezi-* and rel. suffix *-yo*; <particip. basis *zisinda*, present tense positive.

kangaka: adv. of manner <*ka* + rel. stem. *-ngaka*; extending *sinda* in rel. predicate *ezisindayo*.

entabeni: loc. adv. <noun *intaba* (cl. 5 sg. <rt. *-thaba*); extending verb *donsa* in poss. phrase *zokudonsa*.

- (2) *Ngenkathi imbongi iqandula iya enhla iya enzansi, uDingiswayo wayehleli ebuka.*

Ngenkathi: adv. instrumental <*nga-* + noun *inkathi*, cl. 5 sg. <rt. *-khathi*.

imbongi: noun, cl. 5 sg. <st. *-bongi* <vb. *bonga*.

iqandula: verb, posit. particip., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 5 sg. with concord for subject *imbongi*; ideophonic deriv. <*qandu*.

iya: verb, posit. particip., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 5 sg. with concord for *imbongi*; <monosyll. stem *-ya*.

enhla: loc. adv. <obsolete basic cl. 5 noun *inhla*.

iya: (as previous).

enzansi: loc. adv. <obsolete basic cl. 5 noun *inzansi*, cf. *ezansi* <noun *i(li)zansi* (cl. 3).

uDingiswayo: noun, cl. 1a sg. personal name; <*odingiswayo*, rel. cl. <pass. of *dingisa*, caus. of verb *dinga*.

wayehleli: verb, posit. indic. simple, rem. past, perfect <*hlala* (perf. st. *-hleli* or *-hlezi*), with concord for cl. 1 sg. subj. *uDingiswayo*.

ebuka: verb, posit., particip., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg. with concord for *uDingiswayo*; vb. stem *buka*.

- (3) *Zasho, kwabasengathi kazikho ezinye ezingase zibuye zivele zahlule zona.*

Zasho: verb. posit. indic. simple, rem. past. indef. 3rd pers. cl. 5 pl.¹ of defective monosyll. verb *-sho*; reference to subject *zona* understood.

kwabasengathi: conjunctive made up of a multiverbal predicative form. The basis is *sengathi*, conj. <verb rt. *-thi*; the form is made remote past by prefixing the cl. 8 form of the past remote tense of the auxiliary verb *-ba*, i.e. *kwaba-*, signifying in all "it was as though".

kazikho: copulative, neg., indic., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 5 pl. with adverbial basis of *khona*; *kazikho* or *azikho* has neg. pref. *a-* or *ka-* with *khona* shortened to *-kho*, and concord for subject *ezinye*.

ezinye: qualific. pron. (subj. of pred. *kazikho*) <adj. rt. *-nye* with concord *ezi-* referring to a noun of cl. 5 pl.¹

¹It might alternatively be cl. 4 pl. or cl. 6 pl.; this cannot be determined without knowing the noun referred to by *zona*.

ezingase: qualific. rel. clause <defic. vb. -se; posit. potential pres. with cl. 5 pl. rel. concord, qual. *ezinye*, and followed by complementary verbs *zibuye*, *zivele* and *zahlule* in the subjunctive.

zibuye: verb, posit., subjunct. pres. cl. 5 pl. <*buya* (or possibly <defic. vb. -buye), complement to *ezingase*.

zivele: verb, posit., subjunct. pres. cl. 5 pl. <*vela*, complement to *ezingase* (or possibly to *zibuye*).

zahlule: verb, posit., subjunct., pres. cl. 5 pl. <*ahlula*, complement to *ezingase* (or possibly to *zibuye*).

zona: abs. pron. cl. 5 pl. (or 4 pl. or 6 pl.), referring to some noun not stated; used as emphatic subject of *ezingase*.

(4) *UCakijana waziqhuba izinkomo zenkosi, wazishonisa emahlathini akude.*

UCakijana: noun, cl. 1a sg. proper name <*i(li)cakijana* (cl. 3 sg.) diminutive form of *i(li)cakide* (a weasel).

waziqhuba: verb, posit., indic., simple, rem. past, 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg. (agreeing with subj. *uCakijana*) <*qhuba*, with obj. concord. of cl. 5 pl. agreeing with object *izinkomo*.

izinkomo: noun, cl. 5 pl. of *inkomo* <stem -*khomo*.

zenkosi: direct possessive, qual. *izinkomo*, made up of poss. concord. *za-* (cl. 5 pl.) and *inkosi* (noun of cl. 5 sg.).

wazishonisa: verb, posit., subjunct., past, 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg., agreeing with *uCakijana*; with obj. concord of cl. 5 pl. agreeing with *izinkomo*; <verb *shonisa*, caus. derivative form from *shona*.

emahlathini: loc. adv. <*amahlathi*, noun of cl. 3 pl. of *i(li)hlathi* <stem -*hlathi*.

akude: possessive <loc. adv. *kude*; poss. concord. *a-* (cl. 3 pl.), agreeing with *amahlathi*; *kude*, loc. adv. <adj. rt. -*de*.

(5) *Waphindela ekhaya wafika wathi: Izinkomo zenkosi zilahlekile, angazi lapha zishoné khona.*

Waphindela: verb, posit., indic., simple, rem. past. cl. 1 sg. (referring to subject *yena*, understood); applied form of stem *phinda*.

ekhaya: loc. adv. <*i(li)khaya*, noun, cl. 3 sg.

wafike: defic. verb. posit. subjunct. past, cl. 1 sg. (<-*fike*), introducing complementary verb *wathi*.

wathi: verb, posit., subjunct., past (complement of *wafike*), cl. 1 sg. <defective monosyll. verb -*thi*.

izinkomo: (see No. 4).

zenkosi: (see No. 4).

zilahlekile: verb, posit., indic., simple, present perfect tense, cl. 5 pl.; -*lahlekile*, perf. stem <*lahleka*, neut. form of *lahla*.

angazi: verb, neg. indic., simple, present, 1st pers. sg. (neg.

prefix *a-* + subj. concord. *ngi-* + defective vowel verb stem -*azi*).

lapha: conjunctive (foll. by particip. mood); originally adv. of place, locative of cl. (9) of 1st demonstrative position, meaning "here."

zishoné: verb, posit., particip., simple, contracted perf. (full form *zishonile*), cl. 5 pl.; <*shona*.

khona: adv. of place, being abs. pron. cl. 10.

(6) *Abazingelike abaphila ngokuqaphela ukundiza kwamange baphuthuma eqeleni, noma ehlahini, lapho lezi-zinyoni zibuthene khona.*

Abazingelike: (= *abazingeli* + enclitic -*ke*) noun, cl. 1 pl. subj. of main verb *baphuthuma*; agentive noun <verb *zingela*; enclitic -*ke* referring back to a previous statement.

abaphila: rel. clause direct, qual. *abazingeli*; <verb *phila* with rel. concord. of cl. 1 pl. *aba-*; <particip. basis *bephila*, present tense positive.

ngokuqaphela: instr. adv. <infinitive cl. 8 form *ukuqaphela*, with instr. prefixal formative *nga-* (*a + u > o*); extension of verb *phila*; *qaphela* is applied form of verb *qapha*.

ukundiza: noun cl. 8, being infinitive of verb *ndiza*; object of verb *qaphela* in *ngokuqaphela*.

kwamange: direct possessive, qual. *ukundiza*, made up of poss. concord. *kwa-* (cl. 8) and *amange* (noun of cl. 3) pl. of *i(li)nqe*.

baphuthuma: verb, posit. indic., simple, present indef., 3rd pers. cl. 1 pl. (agreeing with subject *abazingeli*) <*phuthuma*, ideophonic derivative verb <*phúthu*.

eqeleni: loc. adv. <*i(li)qele*, noun, cl. 3 sg.

noma: conjunctive, non-influencing, <*na + uma*.

ehlahini: loc. adv. <*i(li)hlathi*, noun, cl. 3 sg.

lapho: conjunctive (governing participial mood); originally adv. of place, locative of cl. (9) of 2nd demonstrative position, meaning "there."

lezi-zinyoni: demons. pron. of 1st position + noun of cl. 5 pl. in apposition, subject of verb *zibuthene*. *Izinyoni* (which has lost its initial vowel in the compound) is pl. of *inyoni* <rt. -*oni*.

zibuthene: verb, posit., particip., simple, perfect, cl. 5 pl. <*buthana*, associative form <*butha*.

khona: (see No. 5).

(7) *Lenyoni okuthiwa ingede, ingenye yezinyoni ezimangalisayo zaseAfrika.*

Lenyoni: demons. pron. of 1st position + noun of cl. 5 sg. in apposition, subject of copul. pred. *ingenye*. *Inyoni* (which has lost its initial vowel in the compound) is <rt. -*oni*.

- okuthiwa*: rel. clause, indefinite cl. 10 form, qual. *inyoni*; < verb *thiwa*, pass. < *-thi*, with rel. concord of cl. 10; < particip. basis *kuthiwa*, present tense positive.
- ingede*: (= *yingede*, with low initial tone) copul. < noun *ingede*, cl. 5 sg. < rt. *-gede* < ideo. *gède*.
- ingenye*: copulative, pres. indic. (agreeing with subj. *inyoni*); *i-* subj. concd. cl. 5 sg.; *ngenye*, copul. < *enye*, pronominal form of *enye*, adj. < rt. *-nye* in agreement with cl. 5 sg. noun. The meaning is: "it is a certain one."
- yezinyoni*: descriptive possessive, qual. *enye* (in *ingenye*), made up of poss. concd. *ya-* (cl. 5 sg.) and *izinyoni* (noun of cl. 5) pl. of *inyoni*.
- ezimangalisayo*: rel. clause, qual. *izinyoni* (in *yezinyoni*); < verb *mangalisa* with rel. concd. of cl. 5 pl. *ezi-* and rel. suffix *-yo*; < particip. basis *zimangalisa*, present tense positive; *mangalisa* is causative form of verb *mangala*, from obsolete rt. *-manga*.
- zaseAfrika*: descriptive possessive, qual. *izinyoni* (in *yezinyoni*), made up of poss. concd. *za-* (cl. 5 pl.) and *eAfrika*, locative form of *i(li)Afrika* (noun of cl. 3 sg.), imported word from English *Africa*; note that the locative is preceded by prelocative *-s-*, when the possessive concord is prefixed.

- (8) *Igama elithi "John" liyaziwa kakhulu eBayibeleni, kodwa elithi "Langalibalele" kusobala ukuthi uyise wamnika lona ekhumbula elinye lamaqhawe akwaZulu, uLangalibalele wakwaMthimkhulu.*

- Igama*: noun, cl. 3 sg. (*i(li)gama*); subj. of pred. *liyaziwa*.
- elithi*: qualific. rel. clause, qual. *igama*; < verb *-thi* with rel. concd. of cl. 3 sg. *eli-*; < particip. basis *lithi*, present tense positive.
- John*: this is a vocative form of reported speech after *-thi*; < cl. 1a noun *uJohn*.
- liyaziwa*: verb, posit., indic. simple, present definite < *aziwa*, passive form of defective verb *azi*, with concd. for cl. 3 sg. subj. *igama*.
- kakhulu*: adv. of manner < *ka-* + adj. stem *-khulu*; extending verb *liyaziwa*.
- eBayibeleni*: loc. adv. < noun *i(li)Bayibeli* (cl. 3 sg. < English *Bible*); extending verb *liyaziwa*.
- kodwa*: conjunctive, non-influencing; cl. 10 form of quant. pron. stem *-dwa*.
- elithi*: (as above).
- Langalibalele*: this is in vocative form of reported speech after *-thi*; < cl. 1a noun *uLangalibalele*, a compound noun consisting of noun + predicative, viz. *i(li)langa* + *libalele*, the latter being verb, posit., particip., simple, perfect <

- balela*, with concord for cl. 3 sg. subject; lit. "sun-shining".
- kusobala*: copulative, posit., indic., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 10 indef., with basis in loc. adv. *obala* < *u(lu)bala*, with concord *ku-* representing substantival clause subject, and prelocative *-s-*.
- ukuthi*: conjunctive (governing indicative mood of statement), being infinitive noun form of cl. 10, < verb *-thi*.
- uyise*: noun, cl. 1a sg. < stem *-yise*; subject of verb *wamnika*.
- wamnika*: verb, posit., indic., simple, rem. past, 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg. (agreeing with subject *uyise*) < *nika*, with obj. concd. *m-* of cl. 1 sg. agreeing with object *yena* understood.
- lona*: abs. pron. cl. 3 sg., secondary object of verb *wamnika*; referring to *igama*.
- ekhumbula*: verb, posit., particip., simple, present, 3rd pers. cl. 1 sg. (agreeing with subject *uyise*) < *khumbula*; *e-* is participial subjectival concd. of cl. 1 sg.
- elinye*: qualific. pronoun < adj. *elinye* (referring to *i(li)qhawe*); composed of adj. concd. of cl. 3 sg. *eli-*, and stem *-nye*; object of *ekhumbula*.
- lamaqhawe*: direct possessive, qual. *elinye*; composed of *la-*, poss. concd. for cl. 3 sg., and *amaqhawe* (noun of cl. 3) pl. of *i(li)qhawe*.
- akwaZulu*: descriptive possessive, qual. *amaqhawe* (in *lamaqhawe*); composed of *a-* (poss. concd. for cl. 3 pl.), and *kwaZulu*, locative possessive adverb, composed of *kwa-* (poss. concd. for cl. 10), and *uZulu*, noun of cl. 1a sg.
- uLangalibalele*: noun, cl. 1a sg. (see under *Langalibalele*, above); this is in apposition to *elinye*.
- wakwaMthimkhulu*: descriptive possessive, qual. *uLangalibalele*; composed of *wa-* (poss. concd. for cl. 1 sg.), and *kwaMthimkhulu*, locative possessive adverb, composed of *kwa-* (poss. concd. for cl. 10), and *uMthimkhulu*, noun of cl. 1a sg.; this noun is a compound of noun + adjective, viz. *umuthi* + *omkhulu*, lit. "Mr. Bigtree".

style in this way."¹ Of these figures of speech, Zulu uses simile and metaphor, and of the latter makes very considerable use.

(i) Simile:

Webster defines simile as: "A rhetorical figure of speech which likens or draws on explicit comparison between two different things in one or more aspects." In Zulu, simile is generally expressed by employing the formatives *njenga-* (just as), *nganga-* (the size of) and *kwa-* (like), e.g.

Abafanyana bakulomuzi bagijima njengezinja—The youngsters of this village run like dogs.

Eonke bambeka njengenyoka—They all regarded him with hatred (lit. looked at him like a snake).

Ayingangamlomo—One does not always carry out one's boasts (lit. The matter is not as big as the mouth).

UBabona kwamuntu abantu—You see the people man-fashion.

Eambulala kwanyoka—They killed him as one does a snake

Simile, however, is quite commonly found in a certain type of noun formation with the formatives *-a-* and *-nga-*. There are nouns of class 4 with prefix *isa-* embodying the formative *-a-*, e.g. *isamnutu* (ghost; an appearance like a person). *isandlu* (shelter; something like a house).

Such words may be used in a verb compound construction as follows:

Lokhu-kulwa sekuzenza-sampi—This fight is developing into a kind of war.

Kushaya-samoya lapho—It seems as though the wind is blowing there.

There are also nouns of class 5 with prefix *inga-*, of class 4 with prefix *isinga-*, and of class 3 with prefix *i(li)nga-*, embodying the formative *-nga-*, e.g.

ingasiqingi (promontory; something like an island).

i(li)ngamunwe (a grey beast).

From the last type of example (class 3) are formed relative stems, e.g.

-ngamunwe (finger-like; grey-coloured).

-ngamfazi (woman-like).

Note also:

Ngibeké ngashiwuzangangamfazi—I looked and "blushed" like a woman (here *ngangamfazi* is contracted from *ngaba-i(li)ngamfazi*).

¹ A. Bain: "English Composition and Rhetoric".

CHAPTER X IDIOM IN ZULU

Introductory:

The term "idiom" commonly signifies "a structural form or a form of expression peculiar to a particular language, and one which reflects the genius of the language and the psychological workings of the speakers of such language."¹ As H. W. Fowler points out, idiom is not necessarily incompatible with accepted grammatical rules.² Nevertheless, the use of the term in this chapter is meant to include, more particularly, "forms of expression, grammatical constructions, phrases, etc. often having a signification other than their grammatical or logical one."³ In many languages the idiom is strongly reflected in what are called *figures of speech*; these may be defined as "a deviation from the plain and ordinary use of words with a view to increasing or specializing the effect."⁴

Figures of speech play a large part in rhetoric or rhetorical expression, the skilled use of artistic or oratorical speech. Zulu, along with other Bantu languages, tends to use the concrete rather than the abstract in speech, and therefore lacks many of the finer usages of figures of speech. This use of the abstract, however, does provide numerous examples of certain figures of speech, more particularly those of similitude and personification. Such as have applicability to Zulu will now be considered.

SIMILITUDE

Similitude is the expression of comparison. Bain says, "The intellectual power named Similarity, or Feeling of Agreement, is the chief inventive power of mind. When like objects come under our notice, we are impressed by the circumstance, as when we see the resemblance of a child to its parent. The Figures named *Simile*, *Metaphor*, *Allegory*, are modes of increasing the force of

¹ Doke: "Bantu Linguistic Terminology", p. 119.

² "Modern English Usage", p. 251.

³ O.E.D.

⁴ Nesfield.

Simile is regularly expressed by a special use of the causative form of the verb followed by a qualificative pronoun derived from a possessive with class 8 concord; this indicates 'to act like'.¹

ukugijimisa okwezinja—to run like dogs (lit. to-cause-to-run it-of-dogs; the full form would be *ukugijimisa ukugijima kwezinja*—to cause to run, the running of dogs).

Mus'ukuhlekisa okwesiwula—Don't laugh like a fool.

Gqokisa okomnumzana—Dress like a gentleman.

(ii) Metaphor:

Webster defines metaphor as: "A rhetorical figure of speech by which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is applied to another to suggest a likeness between them; as in 'the ship plows the sea'." The difference between metaphor and simile is, according to Fowler, that the latter is "a comparison proclaimed as such, whereas a metaphor is a tacit comparison made by the substitution of the compared notion for the one to be illustrated."

Metaphor occurs in Zulu in several ways. There is the metaphorical use of concrete nouns and of certain verbs; there is wide use of metaphor of a direct type in *izibongo*; and then there is the employment of metaphor in many names, particularly of plants. It is obvious that out of metaphor has arisen that idiomatic use of nouns and verbs in Zulu, that will claim a large part of our attention in this chapter.

(a) Metaphorical Use of Nouns and Verbs

Large numbers of nouns and verbs are found with extended or metaphorical meanings; but a few examples are given here:

isandla (hand) has come to signify in addition: (1) touch, e.g. *Unesandla ekwenzeni lento* (He has a delicate touch in doing this thing); (2) handful, e.g. *Caphuna izandla eziningana* (Take out a few handfuls); (3) handwriting, e.g. *Ngigefunde isandla sakho* (I cannot read your writing).

u(lu)baqa (grass stalk used as torch) has come to signify in addition: (1) tall, handsome, virtuous person, e.g. *Akangenwa, lubaqa* (He is not led astray, he is sound in character); (2) forerunner, one who lights the way; (3) a beast given by the bride's family to the bridegroom's father to "light up" the lobolo cattle.

boboka (be pierced, spurt out) is used metaphorically in such phrases as: *ukuboboka kwempi* (outbreak of war), and *ukuboboka kwesifo* (epidemic of disease).

¹Cr. Z.G. § 375.

isibaya (cattle-kraal) is also used to refer to the bald patch on a head, or the space within a man's headring.
i(li)bele (sorghum), a staple food, is used to apply to good health, life, e.g. *ukudla amabele* (to enjoy good health, be prosperous).

umuzi (kraal) is applied to the family inhabiting the kraal.
isibindi (liver) is metaphorically applied: (1) to the essential internal part, heart, pith or germ; and (2) to the quality of courage, boldness, e.g. *Akanasibindi* (He has no courage), or *Isibindi siyanikwana* (Courage rouses courage).

chela (sprinkle) is also applied to broadcasting, spreading reports, e.g. *ukuchela indaba yonke indawo* (to spread a report everywhere).

qeda (complete, finish) has the metaphorical meaning of "understand," e.g. *Angisamqedi lomuntu* (I no longer understand this person's intentions).

Similar examples could be multiplied.

Some examples of metaphorical use illustrate the figure of speech called *metonymy*, in which an instrument may signify the effect, e.g. for "war" the Zulu often uses either the term *umkhonto* (spear) or *impi* (regiment).

(b) Direct Metaphor in *Izibongo*

Zulu *izibongo* provide a very fruitful source of direct metaphor, in which the person praised is entitled with numerous terms representing animals, natural objects or even phenomenal happenings. These become his metaphorical titles. It is in this way that the Zulu king becomes *Isilo* (Leopard), *Ingonyama* (Lion); or the great chieftainess *Indlovukazi* (Elephant cow). An illustration may be taken from the "*Izibongo zikaCetshwayo*":

*UMahlamvana abul'umlilo,
Ubaswé abamhlophe abelungu,
Ubaswé uMantshonga noNgqelebana.
Igwagwala likaMenzi
Elibejé eNtumeni,
Kwaye kwabeja ulwandle noThukela!*

"The Branchlets which beat out the fire,
Kindled by the white-men, Europeans,
Kindled by Mantshonga and Ngqelebana.
The Lowry of the Creator,
Which flashed red on Entumeni Heights,
Till it reddened the sea and the Tugela."

Here are two metaphors: the bunch of little branches (*amahlamvana* is diminutive plural of *i(li)hlamvu*) beating out a mighty fire, and

the loury bird (*Turacus corythaix*) with its brilliant plumage flashing as it flies.

It is a particular feature of the formation of *izibongo* that concord within the "praise" is from the original of the metaphor; thus, in the quotation above, even though *amahlamvana* has been transferred to class 1a as *uMahlamvana*, the concord following is *a-* not *u-*; *igwalagwala* naturally has its concord *li-*, which it too would retain even if altered to *uGwalagwala*.

Such metaphors abound in all *izibongo*: it will suffice to illustrate briefly from the "*Izibongo zikaShaka*."

*Ilemb*¹ *eleq'amany'amalemb*
Ngokukhalipha.

*Inkom*² *ekhal'emthonjaneni . . .*

*Uteku*³ *lwabafazi bakwaNomgabi . . .*

*Umlilo*⁴ *wothathe kaMjokwane . . .*

Further study of the incidence of these would entail a syntactical study of the whole subject of *izibongo*, which is beyond our present purpose.

(c) Metaphor in Names of Natural Objects

Natural objects, particularly plants, are often named after common objects, often some part of the body, e.g.

i(li)dlebe-lendlovu (elephant's ear: *Rhynchosia sigmoides* plant).

i(li)dlebe-lenja (dog's ear: *Helichrysum* plant).

indlebe-yempithi (blue-buck's ear: *Gerbera piloselloides* plant).

indlebe-yemvu (sheep's ear: *Helichrysum appendiculatum*).

indlebe-yenkawu (monkey's ear: *Kalanchoe* plant).

i(li)khanda-lempaka (wild-cat's head: *Doryalis celastroides* thorn tree).

i(li)so-lemamba (mamba's eye: *Cassinopsis tinifolia* tree).

i(li)so-lendlovu (elephant's eye: Sow thistle).

i(li)so-lenkosazana (young lady's eye: Jasmine).

i(li)so-lenyoni (bird's eye: *Synclostemon* shrub).

indlu-yengwe (leopard's house: a Regiment).

indlu-yenkonjane (swallow's nest: dimple on cheek).

indlu-yesikhova (owl's house: a Regiment).

ubuhlungu-bemamba (mamba's herb: St. John Lily).

ubuhlungu-bendlovu (elephant's herb).

ubuhlungu-benyoka (snake's herb, or snake's poison: poisonous *Acocanthera* bush).

¹ Hoe.
² Joke.

³ Beast (of cattle).
⁴ Fire.

ubuhlungu-besigcawu (herb of the meeting place: *Blepharis capensis*, snakebite antidote).

Also several well-known examples with *inhlunu* (vulva), e.g. *inhlunu-yamanzi* (Natal kingfisher); *inhlunu-yembuzi* (Christmas tree), etc.

CONTRAST

The main figure of speech expressing contrast is called *antithesis*, which may be defined as "An opposition or contrast of ideas, expressed by using as the corresponding members of two contiguous sentences or clauses, words which are the opposites of, or strongly contrasted with, each other."¹ Occurrences of antithesis are found in Zulu in certain aphorisms, of which the following examples might be noted:

Ikhab'eyikhabayo; ikhoth'eyikhothayo—It kicks what kicks it; it licks what licks it (Tit for tat!).

Inala ayihambi; kuhamb'indlala—Prosperity does not travel; there travels famine.

Contrast in ordinary speech is often brought about by the employment of the contrast conjunctives, *kodwa*, *kepha*, *nokho*; e.g.

Bona abanamanga, kodwa nina anazi iqiniso—They are not deceitful, but you know not truth.

Lenja iyakhonkotha, nokho ayisukeli-muntu—This dog barks but it does not attack anyone.

Uwile kepha akalimalanga—He fell but did not get hurt.

EXAGGERATION

This term is generally applied to an undue magnification of words in speech; as a figure of speech it may have a real purpose, not for the sake of deception, but for the sake of emphasis; it is then termed *hyperbole*. Bain states that "hyperbole consists in magnifying objects beyond their natural bounds, so as to make them more impressive or more intelligible."²

Hyperbole is commonly indulged in in ordinary speech in Zulu; and it forms no inconsiderable part of persuasive rhetoric. *uNdaba ongangezintaba* (Ndaba who is as big as mountains). *Wamqhumisa amehlo ngempama*—He blew up his eyes with an open hand.

Ubuhlomé bakhawule ngentamo—He is full to the neck with beer.

Yahlangana kwahlw'emini—When the opposing armies met there was an eclipse.

¹ O.E.D.

² A. Bain: "English Composition and Rhetoric".

That exaggeration or hyperbole has entered the very language itself is evident from the use of certain common words in Zulu; for instance instead of *limaza* (hurt) it is common to use *bulala* (kill), for *gula* (be ill) and *limala* (suffer hurt) it is common to use *fa* (die); e.g.

Ngizibulele—I have hurt myself.

isifo (sickness < *fa*, die).

Ungebulile—He beat me hard < *ebula* (strip, skin).

This tendency is clearly revealed in the exaggerations of *izibongo*. The very titles of kings and queens, e.g. *Silo!* (Leopard!), *Ndlovukazi!* (Elephant cow!) reveal the same propensity.

EMPHASIS

Emphasis is the use of language in such a way as to bring into prominence or special importance.¹ In Zulu, emphasis is achieved in several ways. The most usual is by altering the normal word-order in the sentence, for, in Zulu, the first word in a sentence is usually the most emphatic.² An examination of the following sentence will illustrate Zulu methods of emphasis.

UMagama ufuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla—Magama wants to drive my wagon to-day.

In order to emphasise the first word (i.e. *Magama* wants to drive my wagon to-day), the following alternative methods may be employed:

(a) By use of the absolute pronoun:

Yen'uMagama ufuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.

(b) By use of the copulative followed by a relative construction:

NguMagama ofuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.

In order to emphasise the main verb (i.e. *Magama* wants to drive my wagon to-day), the definite or long form of the present tense may be used:

UMagama uyafuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.

Or a preceding infinitive may be used to reinforce the verbal statement:

Ukufuna uyafuna uMagama ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.

In order to emphasise the word *ukushayela* (i.e. *Magama* wants to drive my wagon to-day), it is made the main predicate by becoming a copulative:

Akufunayo uMagama (w)ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.

In order to emphasise the noun object (i.e. *Magama* wants to

¹In certain languages, e.g. English and German, word stress or force of utterance conveys emphasis. This is not the case in Zulu.

²Cf. Chapter I, p. 7.

drive my wagon to-day), the following alternative methods may be employed:

(a) By use of the absolute pronoun:

UMagama ufuna ukushayela yon'inqola yami namuhla.

(b) By use of the copulative followed by a relative construction:

Yinqola yami afuna uMagama ukuyishayela namuhla.

In order to emphasise the possessive (i.e. *Magama* wants to drive my wagon to-day), the following alternative methods may be employed:

(a) By using the possessive pronominally before the noun in apposition:

UMagama ufuna ukushayela eyam'inqola namuhla.

(b) By using the copulative form of the apposition above, followed by a relative construction:

Ngeyam'inqola afuna uMagama ukuyishayela namuhla

In order to emphasise the temporal adverb (i.e. *Magama* wants to drive my wagon to-day), the adverb is placed first in the sentence.

Namuhla uMagama ufuna ukushayela inqola yami;

or in copulative form:

Yinamuhla lapho uMagama efuna ukushayela inqola yami.

From the above we may deduce the following general rules:

(1) *Substantives*¹ are made emphatic:

(a) By employment of the corresponding absolute pronoun in apposition:

Ukhulumona zon'izindaba—You speak the very facts.

ngalona lelo-langa (on that very day).

Wamshaya ubuso bona—She struck him in the face.

The very use of the absolute pronoun, in addition to the concord, is usually emphatic, e.g.

Mina ngifuna ukuhamba, kodwa yena akafuni—I want to go, but he doesn't.

Yena akafuni ukuhamba—He doesn't want to go.

(b) By using the copulative form of the substantive followed by a relative construction:

Yimina engishoyo lokho—It is I who say that.

Yinkosi abayihlekayo—They are laughing at the king.

(2) *Qualificatives* are made emphatic by using them pronominally before their substantives, which are then in apposition to them:

¹Other than absolute pronouns themselves.

Abantu ababi bazohlushwa—Evil people will suffer > *Aba-b'abantu bazohlushwa*—Evil people will suffer.
Izinkomo zethu zilapha—Our cattle are here > *Ezeth'izinkomo zilapha*—Our cattle are here.

(3) *Predicatives* may be made emphatic in one of the following ways:

- (a) By employing the "long" tenses, when present or immediate past, i.e. *ngiyabona* for *ngibona*, and *ngibonile* for *ngiboné*:
Ngiyabona imithi—I do see some trees.
Ngibonile imithi—I did see some trees.
- (b) By preceding the predicate by an infinitive form of the same verb:
Ukubona ngiyabona—I do see.
- (c) By using an adverbial extension, such as *impela*, *nembala*:
Ngiyabona impela—I really see.

(4) *Descriptives* are made emphatic by placing them before the predicate they describe:

Sifuna kakhulu ukubabona—We very much want to see them >
Kakhulu sifuna ukubabona—Especially we want to see them,
 or Our real desire is to see them.
Bambulala ngesibamu—They killed him with a gun > *Yisi-bamu abambulala ngaso*—It is with a gun that they killed him. (Here the copulative form of the basic noun is used, as the adverb is derived from a noun.)

TAUTOLOGY

Tautology is generally a term of reproach for pleonastic expression, in which the same thing is said twice, either by literal repetition, or by repetition in meaning; it may be wearisome to listen to and may indicate a sign of incompetence in the speaker; on the other hand it may be impressive and a stroke of rhetoric; that usually depends upon whether it is deliberate or unconscious.¹

Bengihamba nabazali bami, obaba nomame—I was going with my parents, my father and mother.
Ngiboné ngalana awami amehlo—I saw them with these very eyes of mine.
Ngizizwele ngezami izindlebe—I heard them with my own ears.
Inja imlumé ngamazinyo ayo—The dog bit him with its teeth.

¹ Cf. Fowler, "Modern English Usage".

Other examples are found with the use of cognates, e.g. *finya amafinyela* (blow nasal mucus); *khamisa umlomo* (open the mouth). The combination, in Zulu, of *yini?* and *na?* may be considered tautological; e.g. *Uyazifuna yini na?* is adequately expressed by *Uyazifuna yini?* This applies to all uses of *na?* when there is already an interrogative in the sentence.

Perhaps the Zulu have sensed something tautological in the full, strict use of concords; there seems to be a tendency to escape from this, when *zombili*, for instance, is used for *zozimbili*, or *inkomo zami* for *izinkomo zami*.¹ Some Zulu speakers will do the same with certain demonstratives, e.g. *lesihlalo* for *lesisihlalo*, *labantu* for *laba-bantu*; but this is to be deprecated.

EUPHEMISM

Euphemism, or decorous speech, is "that figure of speech which consists in the substitution of a word or expression of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that would more precisely designate what is intended."² Euphemisms abound in Bantu languages. The following are examples of Zulu usage:

goduka (go home) for *fa* (die).
godusa (send home) for *bulala* (kill).
amanzi (water) for *umthondo* (urine).
chitha amanzi (spill water) for *shobinga* or *thunda*.
hlangana (meet together) for *zeka* (copulate).
umphambili (front) for *umthondo* (male organ).
umbilini (bowels) for (a) *umthondo* (male organ); and (b) *isibunu* or *inhlumu* (female organ).
geza (wash), *phambuka* (deviate) or *ya emfuleni* (go to the river) for *qaka* (menstruate).
isibinco (garment) or *isivatho* (clothing) for vaginal pad.
amaphambili (frontage) or *amandla obudoda* (man's strength) for *amalotha* (semen maris).

PERSONIFICATION

Personification in rhetoric is a figure of speech in which an inanimate object or an impersonal creature is endowed with the attributes of a person.

This process provides a rich means of forming proper names, for instance, in Zulu. For this purpose class 1a is employed, and "common" nouns from the other classes are susceptible of transference to that class. Note the following:

¹ This is carried further in Sotho, for instance, *fate* (for *sefate*) *sa-ka*; *sell* (for *leseli*) *le-lehoio*; *nku* (for *linku*) *tsa-ka*.
² O.E.D.

- uSikhotha* (Mr. Long-grass) < *isikhotha* (cl. 4).
uNtaba (Mr. Mountain) < *intaba* (cl. 5).
uMasuku (Mr. Days) < *amasuku* (pl. of *u(lu)suku*).
uZulu (Mr. Sky) < *i(li)zulu* (cl. 3).

It may be due to this principle that other nouns, indicating animals and even botanical objects, are found in class 1a, which is commonly regarded as particularly personal. In Bantu folk-tales the animals, and other objects, speak and act like persons.¹ This is done to a considerably less degree in Zulu than in many other Bantu languages, but an interesting Zulu instance of this personification is with the word *i(li)chakide* of class 3, the name of the slender mongoose, *Herpestes gracilis*. There is an alternate form in class 1a, viz. *uchakide*, and the diminutive of this, viz. *uchakijana*, indicates "a small mongoose"; but this word has been fully personified, and has become *uChakijana*, a most renowned, cunning, little mythical being in Zulu folk-lore, whose full praise title is *uChakijana-bogcololo umphephethi wezinduku zabafo* (Chakijana the clever one, medicator of the fighting-sticks of the fellows).

Another rich source of personification in Zulu is in formations with abbreviations, *-so-* (from the old Bantu form of *uyihlo*,² thy father), *-no-* (from the old Bantu form of *unyoko*,³ thy mother), and *-ma-* (connected with *umntaka-*, the child of).

The general significance of words compounded with *-so-* is "the father of," e.g.

- usokhaya* (the head of the house);
uSomandla (the Almighty, lit. father of strength);
uSobantu (the Father of the people).

The general significance of words compounded with *-no-* is the feminine, or "the mother of," though many words no longer show this:

- uNomkhubulwana* (the Princess of heaven, lit. the mother of resowing or rereaping < *umkhubulo*, "goddess" of harvest);
unondlini (heavy milking cow < *endlini*, loc. of *indlu*, house; a cow to support a household);

¹Lamba gives a good example of this: the lion, *inkalamu*, in the folk-tale becomes *Nkalamu* (Lion) or with honorific plural prefix *waNkalamu* (Sir Lion) used in class 1a. The name for the "little-hare" is in the "ka-tu" class, viz. *akalulu*, pl. *utululu*; but in the folk-tales, where "Little-hare" is a principal figure, he becomes *Kalulu* (Mr. Little-hare) or more often with the honorific plural prefix *waKalulu* (Sir Little-hare) in class 1a. In Lamba nouns of class 1a have no prefix in the plural, singular, but take concords of class 1 sg., and assume the monosyllabic prefix *wa-* in the plural, which either indicates plurality or, more usually, honour and respect. Note the class concordances:

this little-hare: *akalulu aka*;
 these little-hares: *utululu utu*;
 this Mr. Little-hare: *Kalulu yyu*;
 this Sir Little-hare: *waKalulu awwa*.

²Cf. Lamba form, *wiso*.

³Cf. Lamba form, *noko*.

- unomthebe* (termite queen);
unohhemu (crested crane; lit. mother of the crest);
unogwaja (little-hare; cf. *i(li)gwaja*, with the same meaning).

The general significance, to-day, of words compounded with *-ma-* is that of "the daughter of," e.g. *uMamhlongo* (the daughter of *Mhlongo*); but it is also used with other significances, e.g. *umalibombo* (*Rudia cordifolia* climbing plant), *umalala* (species of straggling shrub, *Osiridocarpus natalensis*, < *lala*, lie down).

An examination of proper names in Zulu is very instructive in regard to personification; many, of noun-compound form, become allegorical, e.g. *uLangalibalele* (Hot-sun), *uDinuzulu* (the one irksome to the Zulu nation), *uCetshwayo* (the slandered one). Allegory is tacitly recognised in Bantu tales—and Zulu to a certain extent shares this—where the animals chosen reveal each some fixed character, as is classically illustrated in Aesop's Fables.

RESPECTFUL ORDER OF WORDS

In Zulu, the etiquette of word-order is often the reverse of what it is in English. The male precedes the female, and the first person precedes the second or third persons, e.g.

*Manene namanenekazi*¹ (Gentlemen and ladies! *not* "Ladies and gentlemen").

Bobaba nomame—or *nabomame* (Fathers and mothers!).

Mina nawe (I and you; *not* You and I).

Mina naye (I and he; *not* He and I).

THE IDIOMATIC USE OF WORDS

In Zulu it is mainly the verbs which are susceptible of special idiomatic use, in addition to their normal significance; nevertheless there are also certain nouns, and a few qualificatives which reveal this extension of the metaphorical instinct. We shall also notice certain idiomatic constructions involving formatives.

(i) The Idiomatic Use of Nouns:

The following examples may be taken as representative:

isandla (forearm, hand):

The main idiomatic significance is that of ability to use the hand, dexterity, delicate touch, and even hand-writing, as in the following:

Unesandla ekwenzeni lokho (She has a delicate touch in doing that); *Ngingefunde isandla sakhe* (I cannot read his writing); and even *Anginasandla kulokho* (I have given no help in that matter). "Left" and "right" are indicated, as in

This is being generally used in Zulu to-day, but is derived from Xhosa.

English, by reference to the hand; *esokunene*, *esokuphosa*, *esokudla* (on the right-hand side), and *esokunxele*, *esokhohlo* (on the left-hand side) having concord reference to *isandla*. *Isandla* is further used to represent a handful, e.g. *caphuna izandla ezintathu* (take out three handfuls); *buya ngezandla* (return empty-handed). Other idiomatic usages are shown in the following: *imali esesandleni* (ready cash); *beka isandla* ((i) strike; (ii) help); *beka izandla* (bless); *enza ngaphandle kwezandla* (act without proper authorisation); *indaba yezandla* (an exciting affair).

isibedlela (hospital):

lala isibedlela (lie about helpless, of numbers of wounded); *lwela isibedlela* (fight a sanguinary battle); *shaya isibedlela* (fight savagely with sticks).

i(li)dolo (knee):

Lendaba isidlulé amadolo (This affair has gone too far); *Lendaba ixegisa amadolo* (This affair is terrifying); *Ulwazi luqinisa amadolo* (This woman now shows signs of pregnancy; lit. bathes as far as the knees).

isifuba (chest, bosom):

Two idiomatic significances are found in the ideas of secrecy, keeping within the bosom, and force, pushing with the chest. *Isifuba senkosi* (chief's confidant); *Akanaso isifuba* (He cannot keep a secret); *thwala ngesifuba* (force one's way).

umfula (river):

Akasayukuya emfuleni (He is at the point of death); *Bonke baphuza mfula-munye* (They all act in harmony).

umkhonto (assegai, spear):

Bamdlixa ngomkhonto ongaphakathi (They poisoned him); *umkhonto wokubema* (achievement).

umkhuba (custom, practice):

This has a secondary idiomatic use in reference to prank, trick or undesirable habit; but there are shades of difference between its employment in the singular and in the plural. *Unomkhuba lomfana* (This boy has plenty of go in him); *Unemikhuba lomfana* (This boy has undesirable habits); *Akanamkhuba lomfana* (This boy is a good-for-nothing); *indaba engephele-mkhuba* (an affair of no consequence).

umlomo (mouth):

From the normal meaning, the idiomatic use passes to the functions of the mouth, speaking, spokesman, rumour, garrulity, scandal. *Wena, unomlomo!* (You are too talkative!); *umlomo*

wenkosi (spokesman of the chief); *Unomlomo omude* (He is a mischief-maker); *Ayingangamlomo* (It is not as big as rumour has it); *hlaba inkomo yomlomo* (slaughter a beast for personal use).

intaba (mountain):

ukuma ngentaba (to deny flatly); *ukubasentabeni* (to be away from home); *ukukhwela ngentaba* (to be unduly excited).

The terms *umuntu* and *umntwana* have a gradation of meanings which point to idiomatic usage.

Umuntu means primarily: human being, person; then: member of the South African Native race; and the special meanings are: (i) person with human feelings, person of importance, e.g. *Akumuntu*, *yisilwane* (He is inhuman, he is brutal); *Akakabi-muntu* (He is insignificant, still a baby); *Akamuntu* (He is as good as dead); *ukwenza komuntu* (the behaviour of a decent person); (ii) (with possessives) servant, subject, e.g. *abantu benkosi* (the subjects of the king); *Uzothuma umuntu wakhe* (He will send his servant). A further special idiomatic use of *umuntu* is found in the saying, *Inkomazi ilele umuntu phakathi* (The cow lies "a man in the middle," i.e. its flanks differ in colour from the rest of its body).

Umntwana means primarily: baby, child, offspring; but has a special significance: prince, princess, e.g. *Umntwana akahambi yedwa* (A prince does not travel unaccompanied); *Kuthé mbo kuhlangatshewe umntwana* (There is a crowd to meet the prince).

umthakathi ((i) witch, wizard; (ii) skilful person): *umthakathi wendaba* (the thing on everyone's lips).

i(li)zulu (sky, heaven) has developed a large range of idiomatic usages with the general significance of (i) lightning; and (ii) weather.

(a) *Izulu lishisé indlu* (The lightning has burnt a house); *Kwehlé izulu izolo kwaḡani* (The lightning struck yesterday at so-and so's kraal).

(b) With the significance of "weather," it is often merely the concord (*li-*) which is used. Note the following:

Izulu liyahloma (The weather is threatening); *Izulu libuyisile* (The weather is very cold); *Izulu licwengile* (The weather is bright; or The sky is clear); *Savinjezelwa yizulu* (We were detained by the weather); *Liyana* (It is raining); *Liguqubele* (It is cloudy); *Libalele* (It is hot; alternative

ref. to *i(li)langa*); *Limakhaza* (It is cold); *Liyakhithika* (It is snowing); *Liyabaneka* (Lightning is flashing); *Liyaduma* (It is thundering); *Liyavunguza* (It is blowing).

(ii) The Idiomatic Use of Qualificatives:

Idiomatic tendencies are to be found with a few qualificatives. Note might be made of the following:

-bomvu (relative stem: (i) red, (ii) ripe):

Ngithanda inyama ebomvu, emhlophe angiyithandi (I like lean meat, I do not like fat); *Kukhona indlala ebomvu kulelozwe* (There is extreme famine in that country); *ukubeka ngamehlo abomvu* (to be wide awake); *ukubanenhliziyo ebomvu* (to be bad-tempered).

-mhlophe (relative stem: white):

Idiomatically used, this gives the idea of "pleasant", "good", e.g. *indlela emhlophe* (a good journey); *amehlo amhlophe* (good fortune); *inyama emhlophe* (fat meat).

-mnyama (relative stem: black):

The idiomatic significances are of depth, gloom, disaster, e.g. *iwa elimnyama* (a deep abyss); *amehlo amnyama* (lack of appetite); *usuku olumnyama* (an unlucky day).

-dala (adjectival stem: old):

Selilidala ilanga (The day is well advanced); *Wabaleka ngejubane elidala* (He made off with tremendous speed).

(iii) The Idiomatic Use of Verbs:

The main richness in idiom in Zulu is with the special usages of a number of verbs. While some, such as *bamba*, *beka*, *dla*, *hlaba*, *shaya* and *thatha*, are very prolific in idioms, there are many others which reveal a strong tendency in this direction. The following are among the most important:

akha (build) > live at: e.g. *Wakhephi?* (Where do you live?);

Izangoma azakhi ndawonye (Rivals keep apart).

aluka (go out to graze) > be on the war-path; e.g. *Sahlangana nempi isaluka* (We met an unexpected difficulty).

amukela (receive) > admit; e.g. *ukwamukela icala* (to admit guilt).

beca (daub) > besmirch character; e.g. *beca ngokweba* (accuse unjustly of theft).

beka (look, look after):

Ngisabekile (I am still awake); *Wangibeka njengenyoka* (He regarded me with hatred); *beka eceleni* (avoid); *b. phansi* (be submissive, humble); *b. phezulu* (be overbearing).

bula (beat, thresh) > consult diviner, divine, exorcise, e.g. *Inyanga ibula umhlola* (The doctor is divining an evil

omen); *Baya kubula* (They have gone to consult a diviner); *bula isifo* (diagnose a disease).

baba (be acrid, sting) > (i) be hot-tempered; e.g. *uthisha obabayo* (a strict teacher); (ii) be keen, smart; e.g. *Uyababa ezifundweni zakhe* (He is smart at his lessons).

bamba (catch, grip, grasp) > undertake, e.g. *bamba isamuku* (i) stifle; (ii) prevaricate); *b. indlela* (undertake a journey); *b. umjaho* (get into stride); *b. umlomo* (be amazed); *b. uphapha* (give authority for signature); *b. umsebenzi* (undertake a job); *b. utalagu* (follow a will-o'-the-wisp); *b. ithambo* (shake hands, congratulate); *b. umzimba* (put on flesh after illness); *b. izulu* (be over-ambitious); *b. okhambeni* (take a drink from the beer-pot); *b. ongaphansi* (be perplexed); *ukubamba kwempi* (the full engagement of the army); *ukubamba kwelifuphi* (to be grateful); *ukubanjwa komfazi* (a woman's confinement); *ukubanjwa ithambo entanyeni* (to have a bone stuck in the throat); *Ake ulokhele, nami ngizobamba* (Just light up, and I also will take a pull).

basa (kindle, make fire) > stir up:

basa uchuku (cause a disturbance); *b. ngesagila* (strike a hard blow with the kerrie); *b. umuntu enkosini* (speak evil of a person before the chief).

beka (place, put):

beka umbala (breed a certain colour of animal); *b. amehlo* (condole; enquire after a sick person); *b. indlebe* (pay attention); *b. induku* ((i) challenge to fight; (ii) leave an heir); *b. iqanda* (lay an egg); *b. isandla* ((i) molest; (ii) sponsor); *b. isifengo* (give a nickname); *b. itafula* (lay the table); *b. izandla* ((i) bless; (ii) ordain); *b. izwana* (talk a little); *b. kancu* (walk slowly); *ukungabeki phansi* (to be a good shot); *Sekubekwé inhlamvu-nja* (He is only just alive).

dla (eat) has developed a number of resultant metaphorical meanings, e.g.

(i) take as a beverage: *Angilidli itiye, ngidla ubisi* (I don't take tea, I take milk).

(ii) bite, pinch: *Wadliwa yinyoka* (He was bitten by a snake); *ukudla ngozipho* (to pinch with the nail).

(iii) eat into, corrode: *Amanzi ayayidla insimbi* (Water rusts the iron).

(iv) inherit: *ukudla ifa* (to inherit); *ukudla isikhundla* (to succeed to a position).

(v) confiscate, waste, cheat: *Wadla impahla kayise* (He wasted his father's property); *Inkosi yamudla zonke izinkomo*

zakhe (The chief confiscated all his cattle); *Ungidlé imali yami* (He cheated me out of my money).

- (vi) catch: *ukudliwa yinkatho* (to be chosen by lot); *Icala limdlile* (The case has gone against him).
- (vii) cost, be expensive: *Iyadla lenkomo* (This beast is expensive).
- (viii) enjoy: *ukudla amaxoxo* (to enjoy a conversation); *ukudla ingubo* (to delight in clothing); *Idlé ibomvu ingane* (The child is decked out in red clay).
- (ix) surpass in, excel: *Lenja idla ngokubamba* (This dog excels in catching game); *ukudla isisuso* (to dance attractively); *ukudlana imilala* (to compete in championships).

Nevertheless, this verb has true idiomatic usages as follows: *dla amanzi* (drink beer); *d. amazwi* ((i) deny; (ii) take credit); *d. igeja* (die); *d. ihlobo* (spend the summer); *d. ikumbe* (be optimistic); *d. imihlathi* (be morose); *d. ngoludala* (be conservative); *d. ubuthongo* (sleep); *d. udledle* (be on the trot); *d. umbuso* (live at ease); *Wafumanisa uphondo ludla umunyu* (He came on an immense number of cattle).

fa (die) > do in excess; e.g.

Wathukuthela wafa (He was terribly angry); *Wajabula wafa* (He was tremendously pleased); *ukufa ngomntwana* (to be very concerned about a child); *ukufa ngumsebenzi* (to be overburdened with work); *Intaba ifile izimvu* (The mountain is covered with sheep); *Inhliziyo kayifi* (One is never satisfied).

faka (put in; put round):

faka indlebe (listen secretly); *f. induku* (strike with a stick); *f. isicathulo* (kick); *f. umlomo* ((i) drink; (ii) put on one's guard; (iii) give a tip to); *f. unyawo* (speed; disappear).

funa (want, seek):

Usefuna ukufa (He is now on the point of death); *Bafuna ukulimala* (They are looking for trouble); *Bafuna ukwesaba* (They are haunted by fear); *Bafuna ukuboshwa* (They are running the risk of arrest).

gcoba (anoint; flatter):

gcoba ngensilane (flick with a whip).

gwinya (swallow):

gwinya itshe (take courage).

hamba (travel, move along):

Akasahambi ubaba, useyagula (My father is no longer well, he is sick now); *Uhamba kanjani?* (How does he conduct himself); *hamba namanzi* (be very ill); *h. nomoya* (have a bad character); *h. intombi* (court a girl); *h. unhlaba* (be a rolling stone); *h. ngemuva* (work behind one's back); *h.*

icala (take part in a law-case, attend a court-case regularly); *h. isonto* (attend church regularly).

hlaba (pierce, stab) has developed a number of resultant metaphorical meanings, e.g.

- (i) kill, slaughter: *hlaba inkomo* (kill a beast).
- (ii) cause stabbing pain: *Ukufa kuyamhlaba lapha* (The disease gives him stabbing pain here).
- (iii) reach to: *Insimu iye yahlaba emfuleni* (The garden extends to the river).
- (iv) do perfectly: *Ubani ohlabé lencwadi?* (Who wrote this letter with so fine a hand?)
- (v) wound mentally: *amazwi ahlabayo* (words that hurt).
- (vi) criticise: *Inkulumo yakhe wayihlaba, ngoba ingesiyo eyendoda* (He criticised his speech, because it was not manly).

Apart from the above, this verb shares with *shaya* the distinction of having the most true idiomatic usages, as follows:

hlaba amathe ku- (express pleasure in); *h. amazonde* (bind hut wattlings); *h. ibece* (rout); *h. igama* (strike up a tune); *h. ihele* (go in single file); *h. ikhefu* (take a breather); *h. ikhono* (feel pleasure); *h. ikhwelo* (whistle); *h. incwadi* (scribble a letter); *h. ingoma* (start up a song); *h. izinhlanga* (brand); *h. inhlanhla* (bless); *h. inhliziyi* (strike the fancy); *h. iphika* (take a breather); *h. isikhozi* (establish good business relations); *h. ngamehlo* (fix with the eyes); *h. ngamkhonto-munye* (give one dose only); *h. ngendololwane* (nudge); *h. ngendololwane ocansini* (rest with elbows on the mat); *h. ngombuzo* (cross-question); *h. phansi ngekhandanda* (land on the ground on one's head); *h. ujenga* (form a file); *h. ungonqo* (attend a girl on her attaining puberty); *h. umhlola* (hit the nail on the head); *h. umkhosi* (sound an alarm); *h. umkhulungwane* (set up a howl, of dog); *h. umlomo inhlali* (keep quiet); *h. umsebenzi* (obtain a job); *h. umxhwele* (give satisfaction); *h. usentu* (toss up the soil); *h. usolo* (enter into conspiracy).

hlala (sit, stay):

hlala phezu kwegeja elishisayo (be in great trouble); *h. phezu kwemali* (be economical); *h. phezu kwezikhali* (be fore-armed); *ukuyihlala indlu* (to live in a house; ct. *ukuhlala endlini*, to sit or stay in a house).

hluba (peel, shed):

hluba indlubu (detail matters); *hlubela nhlanye* (be unsociable); *hluba izwe ngejubane* (cover much country with speed).

hola (drag):

hola imali (draw wages); *h. amehlo* (pretend not to watch);
h. izingubo (wear long dresses); *h. izinyawo* (drag behind).

khipha (take out, extract):

khipa impi (attack); *k. inyumbazana* (treat cruelly); *k. iqhude*
(i) bully; (ii) exclude from one's society); *k. isisu* (cause
miscarriage); *k. ithwasa* (send out an initiate); *k. umkhonto*
(threaten with a spear); *k. amandla* (put forth strength);
Lokhu-kudla kuyangikhipha (This food disagrees with me).

khomba (point):

khomba inkosi (meet with hardships); *k. ngophakathi* (dom-
ineer, have an easy life).

khuza (express disapproval):

khuza amabutho (command soldiers); *k. impisi* (shout
sportingly); *ukukhuza kwelanga* (the heat of the sun);
Indlu ikhuza phezulu (The house is unusually full); *Izinkomo*
zikhuzisa ishumi (The cattle reach a total of ten).

khwela (climb; annoy):

khwela ngengalo (take advantage of); *k. phezu kwabantu*
(domineer over people); *k. ngentaba* (be obstinate; attempt
the impossible); *Uphiké wakhwela emthini* (He denied
flatly).

lahla (throw away, abandon):

lahla amandla (waste energy); *l. amehlo* ((i) throw a glance at;
(ii) condole); *l. umlomo* (speak in vain); *l. amathunga*
(come to a last resort); *l. amathambo* (be desperate).

lala (lie down; sleep):

Ukudla kulele ezweni leli (Food is plentiful in this land);
ukuwulala umgodini (to make a lair in a hole); *Akulele-lutho*
lapho (There is nothing to fear there); *inkomo elele umuntu*
(a vari-coloured beast); *lala phezu komuntu* (shield a
person); *l. ngendlu* (be sick); *l. ngenkomo* (be on the
defensive); *l. umlalela wafuthi* (be dead); *l. ngamanzi*
(starve); *lalelwa amazolo* (sleep in the open); *lalwa inkungu*
(be innocent of worldly knowledge).

netha (get wet):

netha inhamba (pour abuse); *nethwa yizinduku* (receive a
shower of kerrie blows); *nethwa yizinhlamvu* (receive a
volley of bullets); *nethwa amazwi* (be beaten in argument).

ngena (enter):

Ilanga selingene kunina (The sun has now set); *ngena enhlizi-
yweni* (take one's fancy); *n. ngesihluthu* (interfere; go in
bald-headed); *n. umfula* (attempt to cross a flooded river);
n. indlela (set out on the road); *n. indlu* (inherit family

rights); *n. ngenxeba* (find the weak spot); *ngenwa yinyoni*
(be afraid).

nika (give):

nika amehlo (sympathise); *n. induku* (punish); *n. impama*
(slap); *n. unyawo* (kick); *Akabaniki-mlomo* (He makes no
reply to them).

phatha (handle; treat):

Ungangiphathi (Don't mention me); *phatha ngesandla*
(assault); *p. ngolimi* (slander); *p. ngendluzulu* (oppress); *p.*
ngomsindo (worry); *p. ngodaka* ((i) besmirch; (ii) deceive).

phuma (go out; discharge):

Lomuthi uphuma izinyoni (This tree is full of birds); *phuma*
ngesamagundane (be kicked out without notice); *p. izulu*
(profess a knowledge of rain-making or astronomy); *p.*
muva (be inspanned on the off side).

qhuba (drive along):

qhuba ngamadolo (procure assistance by false promises); *q.*
imali (raise the wages); *q. isikhathi* (while away the time);
q. imbuzi (be drunk).

qinisa (strengthen):

qinisa imihlathi (be patient, determined, self-controlled); *q.*
amehlo (appear wise);

shaya (strike, hit) has developed a number of resultant meta-
phorical meanings, e.g.

(i) chastise, punish: *Umthetho ushaya izigebengu* (The law
punishes criminals); *Ungishayé ngamazwi ashisayo* (He
chastised me with burning words); *shaya ngoswazi* (give
light punishment).

(ii) play or sound an instrument: *shaya ugubu* (play an organ);
s. icilongo (blow a bugle); *s. insimbi* (ring a bell).

(iii) (with reflexive prefix) appear to be: *Wazishaya isazi* (He
pretended to be an expert).

This verb is the most prolific in true idiomatic usages. Its
counterpart in some other Bantu languages is similarly rich
idiomatically, cf. Xhosa *betha*, Swahili *piga*. Note the following:

shaya amagongo ((i) die; (ii) turn a somersault); *s. ama-
khwapha* (bring out reserve supplies); *s. amangqeshane* ((i)
die; (ii) be too clever for); *s. amaphepha* ((i) play cards; (ii)
gamble); *s. emhloleni* (speak the right word); *s. emuva*
naphambili (tell the lies and the truth of a thing); *s. ibesi*
(sing base); *s. ibuqe* (wipe out); *s. ihele* (go in single file);
s. ihlombe ((i) clap rhythmically; (ii) applaud); *s. ikhefu*
(take a breather); *s. ikhwelo* (whistle); *s. imbadazi* (walk
clumsily); *s. imbombombo* (conspire against); *s. ingqakala*

(have very clean feet); *s. ingqathu* (bustle about); *s. inkwici* (give the slip); *s. isicathulo* (dance the boot dance); *s. isigekle* (dance a wedding dance); *s. isijingi* (destroy wantonly); *s. ithwabi* (hiccup); *s. izinhlu* (make coils); *s. nqo* (strike the mark); *s. phansi* (fail); *s. phansi ngenduku* (express stern disapproval); *s. ubayede* (shout a royal welcome); *s. uchithe* (race off); *s. ucingo* (send a telegram); *s. udumo* (send a thunderstorm); *s. udwendwe* (walk in single file); *s. ukhamba* (assemble in three-quarter circle); *s. umagqibane* (pat down the hair); *s. umcathu* (walk very slowly); *s. unduvo* (refuse to participate); *s. umhlahlo* (divine by bone-throwing); *s. umlozi* (whistle softly); *s. umthetho* (frame a law); *s. umunwe* (assert vigorously); *s. unobaqa* (walk barefoot, unsteadily); *s. utshani* (disappear); *ukushaya phansi, ukushaya phezulu* (to be unstable).

Note the following idioms with passive: *shaywa luvalo* (be alarmed); *s. ngumoya* ((i) get fresh air; (ii) hear a rumour); *s. ngumukhwa* (hear a rumour); *s. yibungane* (find a place empty); *s. yindlebe* (overhear); *s. yindlovu esifubeni* (blurt out a secret); *s. yithwabi* (have hiccups).

shona (sink down; set):

Ngishonile (I am ruined); *Uzoshonaphi?* (What will become of you?); *Inhliziyo ishona phansi* (The heart is becoming depressed); *Inhliziyo yami yashona phakathi* ((i) I came over faint; (ii) I became despondent).

sukwa (get started off):

sukwa amanga (start lying); *s. ugqozi* (have an inspiration); *s. ukufa* (be attacked by illness); *s. ukuhamba* (feel like a stroll); *s. ulaka* (burst into anger); *s. umona* (be jealous); *s. umunyu* (feel sorry); *s. uphithi* (receive a sudden impulse); *Ngisukwa okwami* (I act on my own initiative); *Usukwa okwakho* (You are looking for trouble).

susa (remove; send forth):

susa insini (be humorous); *s. izinyawo* (get a move on); *s. uchuku* (start a quarrel); *s. umsindo* (make a noise); *s. ushikishi* (cause a disturbance); *s. usinga* (inspire).

thanda (love, like), has the idiomatic meaning of tending towards, being apt to, (cf. *funa*) as in the following: *thanda ukuhlwa* (tend to get dark); *t. ukulimala* (run the risk of getting hurt); *t. ukufa* (court death); *t. ukuboshwa* (look for arrest).

thatha (take):

thatha indaba (commence a narration); *t. iculo* (lead in singing); *t. umfazi* (marry a wife); *t. ikhefu* (rest awhile); *t.*

inhlamvu (be a good marksman); *t. inhlansi* (be a good shot); *t. ngamandla* (react violently); *t. ngesivu* (speed of); *t. ngejubane* (make speed); *t. ngozwani* (steal); *t. phansi* (begin over again); *t. ukhasha* (make sure of prey); *t. umzimba* (recuperate); *t. unyawo* (walk quickly).

Passive: *thathwa yihlombe* (be easily influenced); *t. ukufa* (die); *t. yinhlanzane* (hunt with the wolves); *t. yinhliziyoy* (be carried away by impulse).

Applied: *thathela phezulu* (act high-handedly); *t. phansi* (relate from the beginning).

thela (pour; boom):

thela ngenhlamba (revile obscenely); *t. ngamanzi* (cool down); *t. ngehlozo* (disgrace); *t. ngomlotha* (besmirch the character).

-thi (say; manifest, demonstrate): This defective verb has already been noticed, introducing direct speech,¹ forming the conjunctive *ukuthi*,² preceding ideophones,³ and as a deficient verb indicating "time", when it is used conjunctively.⁴ In addition there are certain idiomatic usages to be noted here:

(i) Especially idiomatic is the usage of *-thi* followed by the infinitive, when it indicates to "do a little". This was noticed in Chapter VI.⁵ In regard to this usage, B. W. Vilakazi⁶ makes the following observations:

'In the case of *-thi* governing the infinitive, the meaning is "simply to do," e.g.

(a) *Umfana wathi ukubuka* (remote past).

(b) *Insizwa iyothi ukubela* (future).

(c) *Ubuso bakhe buthi ukuqhamuka* (present).

Sentence (a), in the past remote, means "The boy looked", and implies that he did nothing else. It limits the action of *ukubuka* in time and place. Sentence (b) means "The young man will simply appear". Sentence (c) means "Her face simply appears". The meaning of *-thi* in constructions like (b) and (c) is hard to explain; as in sentence (a) the idea is implied that the boy looked at what happened, and then became disgusted and left, or he only looked and turned his face away to other things. It shows dissatisfaction in doing something, and therefore doing it only once. In sentence (c) the action is done only once, and with quickness. It may also refer to something done rarely or unwillingly, as in sentence (b), where the idea conveyed is that the

¹ Chapter II, p. 36.
² Chapter VI, p. 152.
³ Chapter V, p. 142.

⁴ Chapter VI, p. 158.

⁵ See p. 162.

⁶ In notes made for me in 1937.

young man will appear simply to satisfy the audience, or that the action will not be repeated.

(ii) Other idiomatic usages:

Wathi akafane nawe (He almost looks like you); *Awuthanga ukwenza wakhulumama kabi, inkosi yaze yathukuthela!* (What a fool you were to speak evil until the chief became angry!); *Wawuyathé wahluleka* (You have tried your best but failed); *Bazobeyathé bakubone* (They will see you easily).

thola (pick up):

thola icala (get into trouble); *t. umntwana entabeni* (bear an illegitimate child); *Ngamthola ikhanda* (I fetched him a blow on the head).

thwala (carry on head or shoulders):

thwala amanzi ngesifuba (go counter to public opinion); *t. amaphiko* (show off); *t. amehlo* (be disrespectful); *t. ikhanda* (be haughty); *t. imikhono ekhanda* (wail in mourning); *t. inganga* (show off); *t. iqholo* (be conceited); *t. izwe ngesifuba* (disregard public opinion); *t. umhlwenga* (be conceited).

ya (go towards) > happen; and has other idiomatic significances: *kuya ngokuya* (It goes by degrees); *Bengiya ngezwi lakhe* (I acted according to his orders); *ukuya na-* (to carry off); *Akayiwa* (He is not touched; i.e. He is beyond the ordinary); *Kungiyile ukuba . . .* (I am at a loss to understand how); *Kuya ngaye* (It depends on him); *Kuya kuya kuze kwenzake* (It gradually goes on until it takes place); *Iya nayo* (Things are bad; ref. to *impi*); *Ngoya ngifele khona* (I will make a supreme effort).

(iv) The Idiomatic Use of Applied Forms of the Verb:

Some verbs, in their applied forms, have developed special idiomatic significances, of which the following are examples:

akha (build): *akha indlu* (build a house); *akha umuzi* (build a village); *akha udumo* (establish a reputation).

akhela, apart from the normal applied significance of "build for, build at," or even "plot against" (i.e. erect against), as in *akhela amanga* (witness falsely against), has the special significance of "make a nest": *akhela isidleke*, and also "provide for nesting," e.g. *Ikhanjana lakhe lingakhela ongoso ngelanga* (His little head may be used by the field-mice for nesting in no time; i.e. He will soon meet his death).

bamba (catch, grasp, handle): *bamba isela* (catch a thief); *bamba umthetho* (understand the law); *bamba umsebenzi* (undertake a job).

bambela, in addition to its normal meaning of "catch for, at," has the special significance of "deputise for," e.g. *Wathi angimbambele izinsuku ezintathu* (He said, might I take his place for three days).

beka (place, put, put aside): *beka etafuleni* (place on the table); *beka ukudla* (put food away).

bekela, with its ordinary applied meaning of "put aside for," "appoint for," and that of "put a patch on," e.g. *bekela isiziba engutsheni* (put a patch on clothing), has the specialised meaning of "bewitch, place a charm against someone," e.g. *Bambekela ngokumdwebela* (They bewitched him by making scratches on the ground against him).

bona (see).

bonela, apart from the meaning of "see for or at," has the special meaning of "prepare ahead," e.g. *bonela indlela* (map out a road); *bonela umthetho* (amend a law); *bonela inhlalo* (improve living conditions).

bophela, applied form of *bopha* (tie, arrest) has acquired also the specific significance of "inspanning, saddling up," e.g. *bophela izinkabi* (inspan oxen); and a further significance of "arranging in order, allocating," e.g. *bophela ekwakheni amahubo* (be very good at composing music).

bukela, applied form of *buka* (watch, look at), has special idiomatic significance in *bukela emanzini* (be pessimistic), and *bukela phansi* (despise).

hlabela, applied form of *hlaba*, in addition to the ordinary meaning of "slaughter for," "pierce at," signifies to "cut tribal or medicinal incisions."

shayela, applied form of *shaya* (strike), in addition to its ordinary meaning of "strike for," has the special significance of "driving inspanned animals," e.g. *shayela inqola* (drive a wagon).

zalela, applied form of *zala* (beget, give birth), apart from meaning "give birth for or at," means specifically to "lay eggs," e.g. *zalela amaqanda*.

(v) The Idiomatic Use of the Reflexive Prefix with Certain Verbs:

In Zulu the reflexive prefix functions in the same way as an objectival concord; in fact it is really an immutable objectival concord. But, with certain verbs, the constant use of this prefix

has caused the verb to assume special idiomatic significances which are of considerable importance. The following are but a few of many such examples:

- ukwazisa* (to cause to know) > *ukuzazisa* (to be conceited).
ukubusa (to govern) > *ukuzibusa* (to be comfortable).
ukudla (to eat) > *ukuzidla* (to be proud).
ukwenza (to do, make) > *ukuzenza* (to appear; e.g. *ukuzenza ngcono*, to appear improved).
ukwenzela (to act for) > *ukuzenzela* (to be independent).
ukwenzisa (to help to make) > *ukuzenzisa* (to pretend, feign).
ukufela (to die for; to yearn for) > *ukuzifela* (to be engrossed in; e.g. *uyazifela ngokuhlabelela*, he devotes his whole time to singing).
ukuhloma (to skewer) > *ukuzihloma* (to compromise oneself, place oneself in an awkward position).
ukukhalela (to cry for; to be sorry for) > *ukuzikhalela* (to cry for mercy; to blame oneself).
ukukhuza (to correct, scold) > *ukuzikhuza* (to be temperate).
ukusola (to reprove) > *ukuzisola* (to pity oneself).
ukuthwala (to carry on head or shoulders) > *ukuzithwala* (to be proud).
ukutika (to overcome) > *ukuzitika* (to overindulge; e.g. *ukuzitika ngokudla*, to eat to excess; *ukuzitika ngamehlo*, to have a full view).
ukuzwa (to perceive) > *ukuzizwa* (to feel self-important).

(vi) Idiomatic Use of Certain Formatives:

The formative *na-* appears idiomatically in the following: *Wemuka nengwenya* (He went off with a crocodile; i.e. a crocodile took him); *muka nempi* (be taken captive in battle); *muka namanzi* (be swept away by water); *muka nomkhumbi* (be involved in shipwreck)—all with the verb *muka*; also *Iya nayo* (Things are bad).

The formative *nga-* is used idiomatically in such an expression as *Zavela ngamakhanda* (Only their heads appeared; lit. They appeared by their heads). Note also the use of *nga-* in *ukuphatha ngomlomo* (to carry in the mouth; lit. by means of the mouth).

(vii) Vocative Idiom:

Zulu idiom employs the demonstrative pronoun with vocative force in such an expression as *Lesi-siphukuphukwana!* (You fool! lit. This fool!).

(viii) Diminutive Idiom:

Finally we might notice the highly idiomatic use of diminutives in Zulu composition. The effective use of these is well

illustrated from two passages of J. Stuart's description¹ of the diminutive Bushmen:

*Abathwa abantu abancane kakhulu, bafushanyana, nemzimbanayo yabo empofana, ilulana*² (The Bushmen are very tiny people; they are very short indeed; and their tiny bodies, sallowish, are lightish in weight).³

*Sesifulelwake ngamacansana, ingabe izikhunjana zezinyamazane. Sekuyindleke njalo yokulala. La kungekho khona imgede namahlahla, kugunjagunjwa ehlabathini phansi, bese kugxunyekwa izintungwana emaceleni, sokufulelwa ngecansanake, nangesikhunjana-nje. Kungaphela lokho, sekuthelwa utshani esiselaneni la kade begumba khona, benzele ukulala. Kuthi noma isisele sisincane, usuzophelela khona wonke umuzi, kuhlohlwe-nje konke, nezinganyana zakhona.*⁴

And (the branches) are covered over with tiny mats or may be with tiny skins of animals.⁵ And it thus becomes a house for sleeping. Where there are neither caves nor bushes, the ground is hollowed out a bit,⁶ and then tiny withies are stuck in round the sides; and this is covered over with a tiny mat or just a tiny skin. When that is done, grass is stuffed into the tiny holes where they had made hollows; and a sleeping-place is made. So that, even if the hole is tiny, it will suffice for the whole family, and all will be squeezed in, even the tiny children belonging to them.

¹ Taken down verbatim from Native sources.

² *uVusezakithi*, 1938 ed., p. 107.

³ Italicized words are rendered by the suffixal diminutive.

⁴ *uVusezakithi*, 1938 ed., p. 108-109.

⁵ This word is normally diminutive in Zulu.

⁶ Here the reduplication of the verb stem indicates diminution of action.

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ukuzwa (to perceive) > *ukuzizwa* (to feel self-important).

(vi) Idiomatic Use of Certain Formatives:

The formative *na-* appears idiomatically in the following: *Wemuka nengwenya* (He went off with a crocodile; i.e. a crocodile took him); *muka nempi* (be taken captive in battle); *muka namanzi* (be swept away by water); *muka nomkhumbi* (be involved in shipwreck)—all with the verb *muka*; also *Iya nayo* (Things are bad).

The formative *nga-* is used idiomatically in such an expression as *Zavela ngamakhanda* (Only their heads appeared; lit. They appeared by their heads). Note also the use of *nga-* in *ukuphatha ngomlomo* (to carry in the mouth; lit. by means of the mouth).

(vii) Vocative Idiom:

Zulu idiom employs the demonstrative pronoun with vocative force in such an expression as *Lesi-siphukuphukwana!* (You fool! lit. This fool!).

(viii) Diminutive Idiom:

Finally we might notice the highly idiomatic use of diminutives in Zulu composition. The effective use of these is well

illustrated from two passages of J. Stuart's description¹ of the diminutive Bushmen:

*Abathwa abantu abancane kakhulu, bafushanyana, nemzimbana yabo empofana, ilulana*² (The Bushmen are very tiny people; they are very short indeed; and their tiny bodies, sallowish, are lightish in weight).³

*Sesifulelwake ngamacansana, ingabe izikhunjana zezinyamazane. Sekuyindleke njalo yokulala. La kungekho khona imgede namahlahla, kugunjagunjwa ehlabathini phansi, bese kugxunyekwa izitungwana emaceleni, sokufulelwa ngecansanake, nangesikhunjana-nje. Kungaphela lokho, sekuthelwa utshani esiselaneni la kade begumba khona, benzele ukulala. Kuthi noma isisele sisincane, usuzophelela khona wonke umuzi, kuhlohlwe-nje konke, nezinganyana zakhona.*⁴

And (the branches) are covered over with tiny mats or may be with tiny skins of animals.⁵ And it thus becomes a house for sleeping. Where there are neither caves nor bushes, the ground is hollowed out a bit,⁶ and then tiny withies are stuck in round the sides; and this is covered over with a tiny mat or just a tiny skin. When that is done, grass is stuffed into the tiny holes where they had made hollows; and a sleeping-place is made. So that, even if the hole is tiny, it will suffice for the whole family, and all will be squeezed in, even the tiny children belonging to them.

¹ Taken down verbatim from Native sources.

² *uVusezakithi*, 1938 ed., p. 107.

³ Italicized words are rendered by the suffixal diminutive.

⁴ *uVusezakithi*, 1938 ed., p. 108-109.

⁵ This word is normally diminutive in Zulu.

⁶ Here the reduplication of the verb stem indicates diminution of action.

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