

A
GRAMMAR OF XHOSA
FOR THE
XHOSA SPEAKING

BY
W. G. BENNIE, B.A.

THE LOVEDALE PRESS

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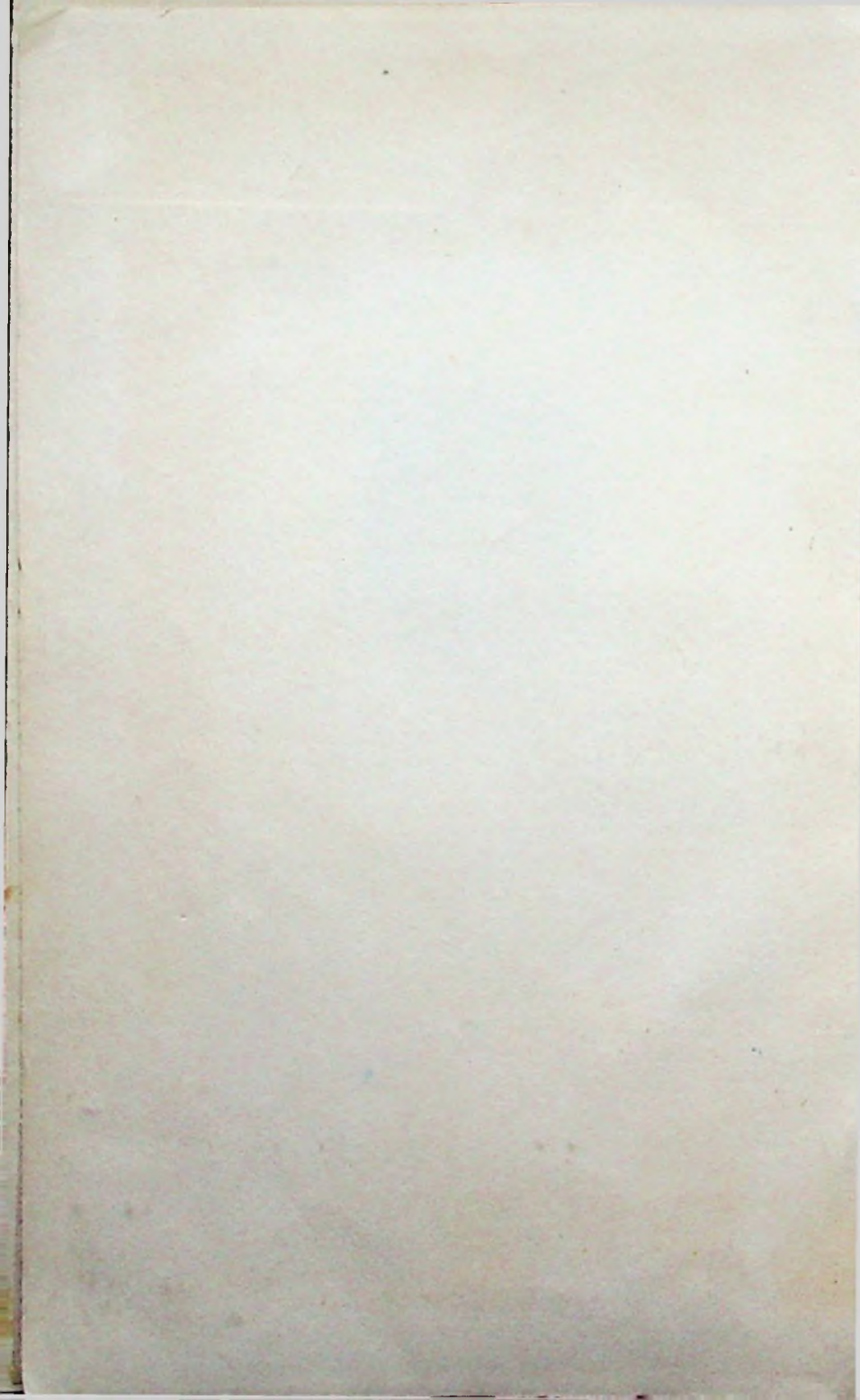
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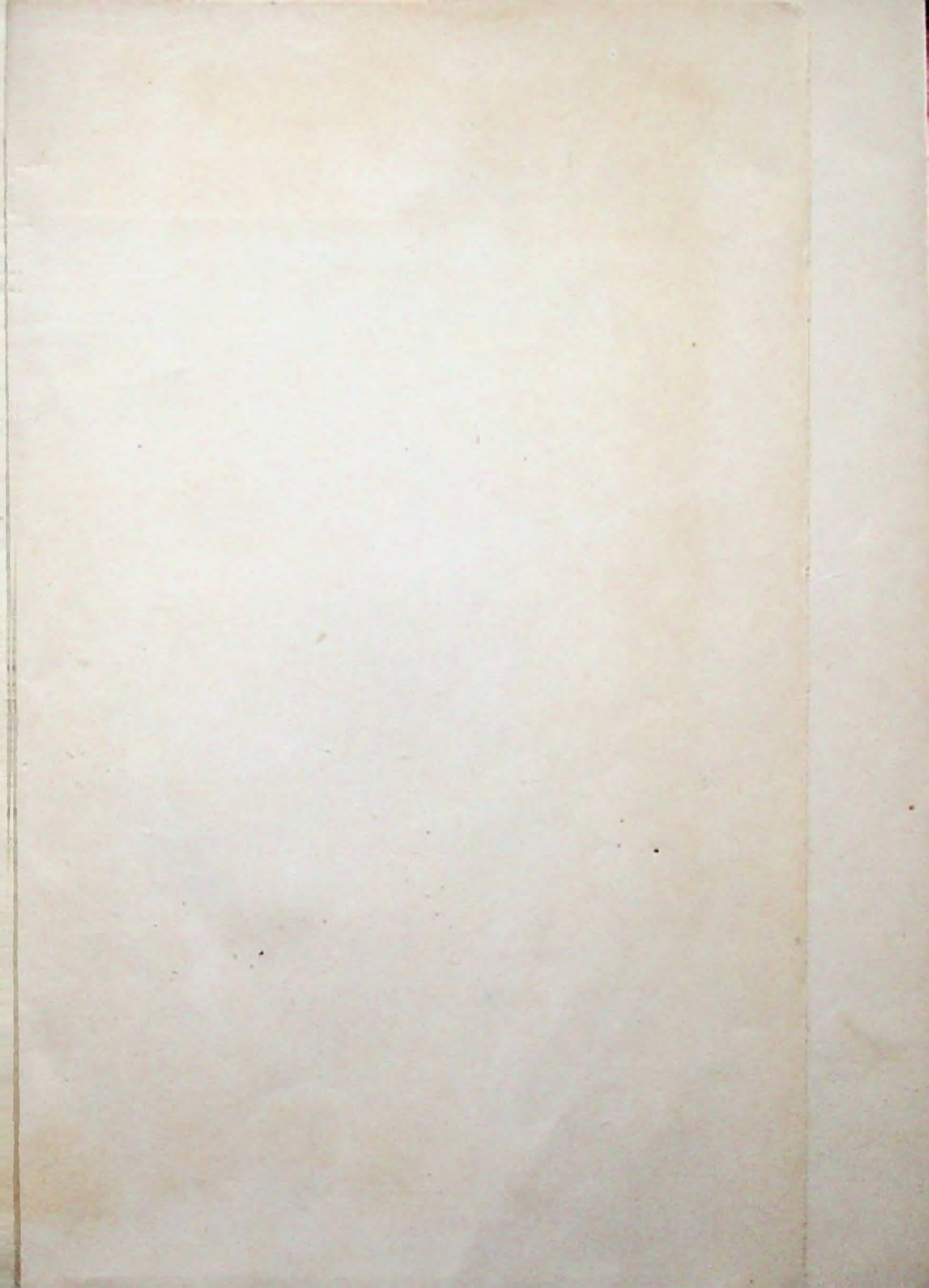
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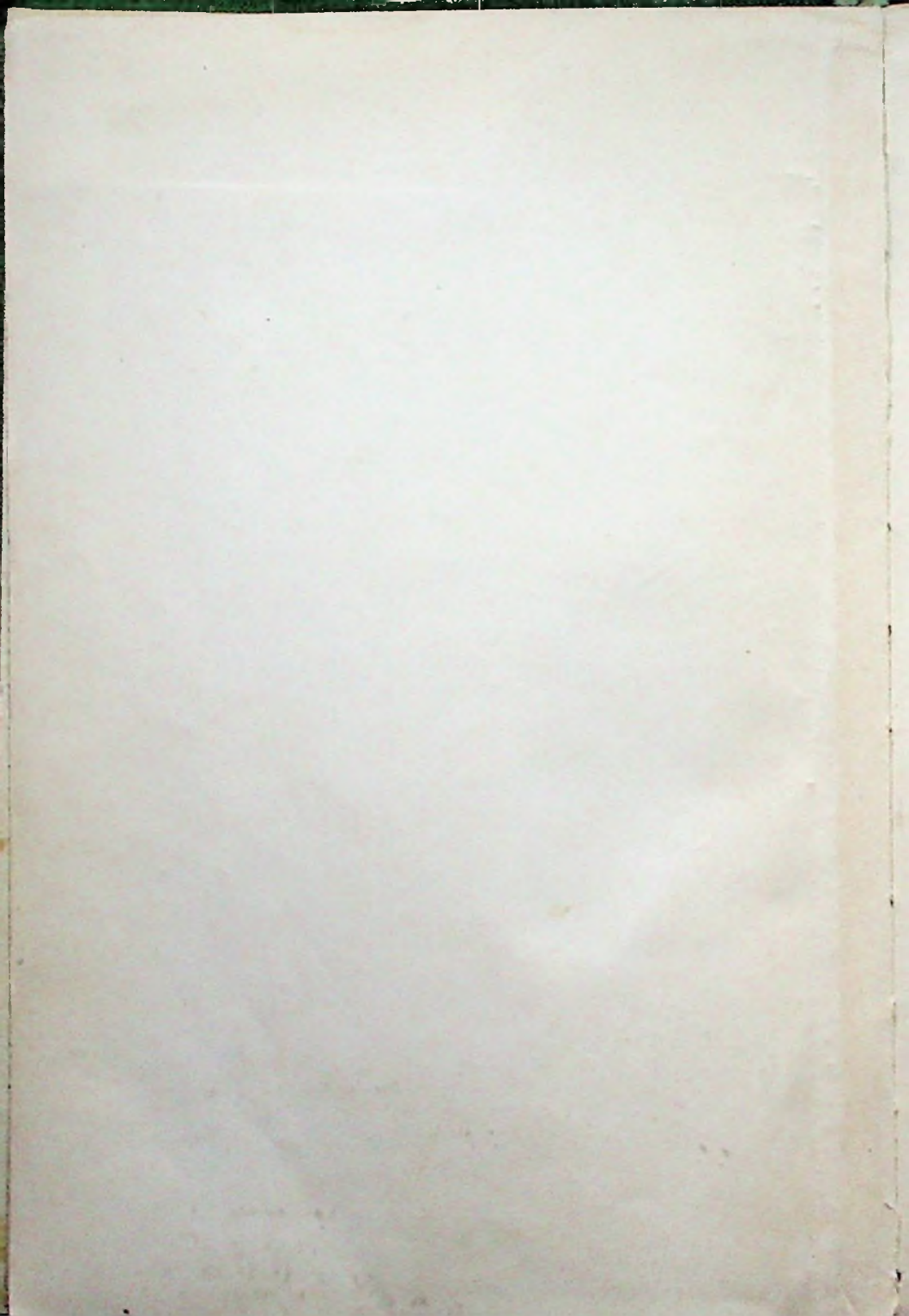


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PREFACE.

The preparation of this book is the outcome of the experience of many years, in examining Native students in University and Departmental examinations, and in lecturing to Native teachers at Vacation Courses of the Education Department; which led me to the opinion that some such presentation of the grammar of Xhosa, as I have tried to give—one specially adapted to the needs and knowledge of the Xhosa-speaking—was needed, if we were to get the young people interested in the study of their own language. Upon various occasions, the same view was expressed by teachers of Xhosa in Native training and secondary schools. A promise was given, to do what I could to meet the need; but other Xhosa work, more urgently required, delayed the undertaking for ten years.

Some will doubtless ask the question why, if the book is for the Xhosa-speaking, it has not been written in Xhosa. To this, the plain answer is, that the medium has been chosen that will establish the most ready and most accurate contact between writer and reader, in a field in which there is much of the abstract. While Xhosa is extraordinarily expressive in the field of the concrete and the life of the people who use it, it requires further development on the side of the abstract, before it becomes as suitable a medium as English for the clear and brief presentation of the facts of language-structure. And such development must proceed from below upwards. A suitable beginning in this direction would be, that some young African should set out to write in Xhosa a simple book or books on the elements of the structure of Xhosa and on Xhosa composition, for use in the Native primary schools of the Province.

There has been no intention to write an exhaustive treatise on Xhosa, but it is hoped that the book will be found to contain all—or almost all—that is needed for students at the stage for which it is intended.

The style of the formal textbook has been purposely avoided, in the hope that a more familiar style may prove attractive to young Africans—for every teacher of Xhosa knows that the greatest obstacles in the way of success are a lack of interest on the part of the pupils, and the mistaken idea that there is little value in the study of their own language.

Since a working knowledge of Xhosa is assumed, the examples given have been limited to what are necessary for illustration, save in the case of points that are unusual or of other special interest; and paradigms are sometimes contracted. On the other hand, it will occasionally be found that the same fact is referred to under more than one heading; teachers will know that such presentation from more than one angle is a valuable aid to clear understanding.

Acknowledgment must be made of the great assistance derived from the late Mr. James McLaren's *Kafir Grammar*, which I used for many years; from Professor Doke's *Grammar of Zulu* and his *Zulu Phonetics*; from the late Dr. Alice Werner's *The Bantu Languages*; from Westermann and Ward's *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*; and from the Rev. Robert Godfrey's Introduction to the second edition of Kropf's *Kafir Dictionary*. I am indebted also to Professor Doke and to Mr. Godfrey for valued criticisms and suggestions, and to Mr. Godfrey for assistance in proof-reading. I desire especially to record here the ever-ready help given me, not only in preparing this book, but in much other work in the Xhosa language, by the Rev. P. Matshikwe of

{PREFACE.

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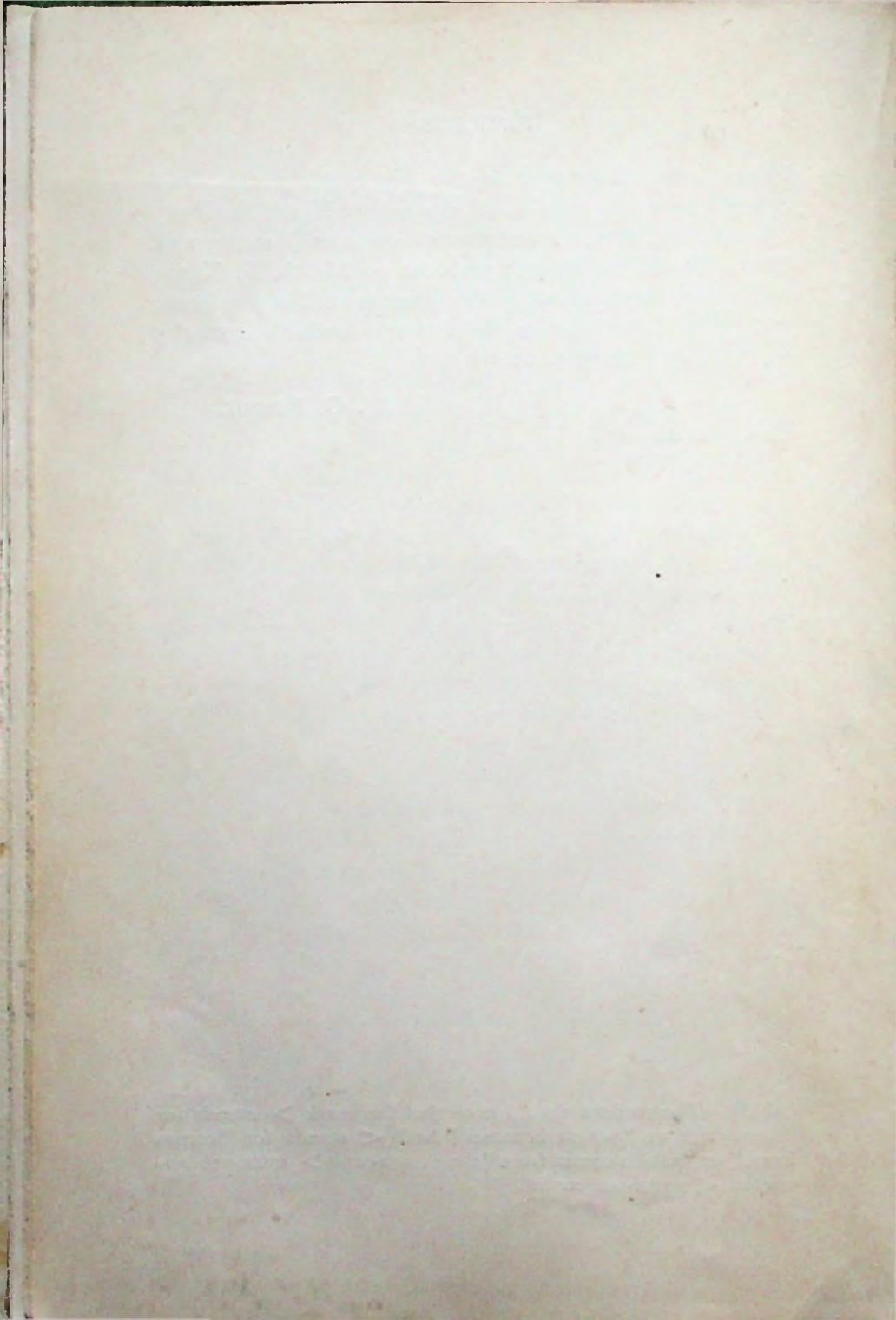
Langa, who, belonging to the Ngcangatelo clan, and brought up in the very home of standard Xhosa, has been a valued and unwearied adviser on questions dealing with Xhosa words and usage; and also to Mr. S. E. Kṛune Mqhayi, whose services to the literature of his people are well-known, and who has been to me a reliable authority on Xhosa for many years.

W. G. BENNIE

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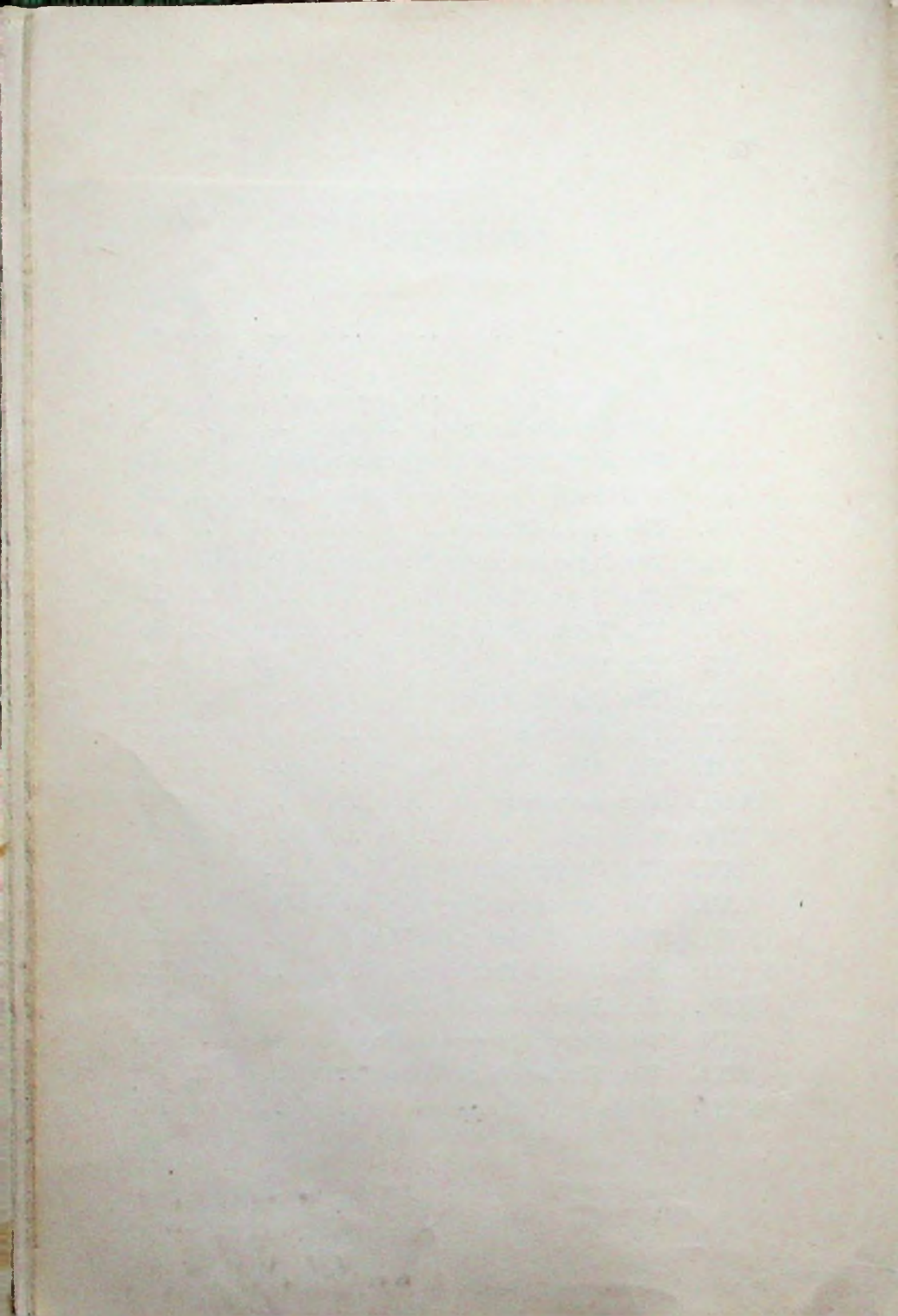
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N.B.—The student should note that the mark > stands for “becomes,” or “which becomes,” and < stands for “comes from,” or “which comes from”; e.g., *nga-into* > *ngento*; *mnu-mzethu* < *mnini-mzi wethu*.



CONTENTS.

		Page.
	Preface	iii
Chap.		
I.	Introductory	1
II.	The Speech-Sounds of Xhosa	5
III.	The Modification of Speech-Sounds	22
IV.	Words and Formative Particles	35
V.	The Noun-Prefixes	39
VI.	The Concords ; The Prepositional Particles	44
VII.	The Noun-Classes	55
VIII.	The Forms of the Noun	66
IX.	The Pronoun	74
X.	The Demonstrative	78
XI.	The Relative	83
XII.	The Adjective	87
XIII.	The Numerals	92
XIV.	The Verb	96
XV.	The Conjugation of the Verb	103
XVI.	The Derivative Forms of the Verb	123
XVII.	The Auxiliaries of the Verb	126
XVIII.	Non-Verbal Predicates	135
XIX.	The Adverb and the Conjunction	138
XX.	The Ideophone and the Interjection	143
XXI.	The Formation of Words	145
XXII.	Notes on Construction	153



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

From the very beginning of his study of language, the student must realize that a spoken language is not fixed, like a manufactured article, but is a living thing that has grown during the ages of the development of the race, and continues to grow, as a plant does, in one direction or another. Outside influences may be brought to bear upon it ; or, as in dress and manners, certain fashions may arise and prevail for a time, leaving behind them changes or tendencies that are suitable and necessary to meet new conditions, and therefore desirable ; or that do violence to characteristic qualities that make it the proper expression of the spirit of the race.

In studying Xhosa, therefore, we shall trace its development as far as we can, and examine its usages and present tendencies, much as a naturalist studies the growth of a plant. This study, properly carried out, should lead us to see more of the beauty of the language, to realize its capabilities more fully, and so to make a better use of it as a means of self-expression.

Such study should also enable us to discriminate, in these days of change, between changes that are desirable, or rendered necessary by the coming of a civilization new to the Bantu, and those that arise from slovenliness of speech or thoughtless caprice of fashion, tending to lower the dignity of the language or spoil its beauty. Particularly at the present day, when so large a proportion of the population—women as well as men—goes out to the cities and towns of the Union in search of work, and brings back

strange words and usages of speech, it is more important than ever to resist unnecessary—and often undesirable—change, that would reduce a virile language of beauty and strength to a characterless hotch-potch. In this campaign of defence, the educated of the race, and especially the teachers, must take the lead.

I-i-i-wu! Yemk' intetho! Babambene ngayo emigodini, ezidolopini, ezilalini, nasezikolweni! Vingcani ezinkalwent nasemazibukweni, mlisela, nani mthinjana! Viityo, viityo, vi-i-i-tyo!

The Bantu Family of Languages.—Xhosa belongs to a large family of languages, called the Bantu Family. This name was given to it first by Dr. Bleek, a learned and wise student of South African languages, because in all the languages of the Family, the word for “people” is *bantu*, or some modification of this (*abandu, batho, wantu, anthu*, etc.).

The people who speak these languages occupy almost the whole of Africa, south of a line drawn (roughly) from the Cameroons, on the west coast, to the Tana river, on the east. The principal races in this area that are not Bantu speaking are the Masai and the Galla, of the Hamitic Family, in the north-east; and the Hottentots and Bushmen in the south-west and the Kalahari. The number of known Bantu languages is well over 200, and further investigation still leads to the discovery of more.

On the one hand, these languages show certain resemblances to the Sudanic languages on the west; and on the other, they share certain characteristics with the Hamitic languages of the north-east. Scholars think it probable that they are a cross between these two Families, that developed somewhere in Central Africa, in the region of the Great Lakes. The people who spoke them spread

out in various directions, and are represented in South Africa by three Groups—the South-Western, including Herero, Mbo¹ and Kwanyama; the Central, including Tswana, Sotho, and Pedi; and the South-Eastern, whose spear-head was Xhosa, followed by Zulu, Thonga, and kindred dialects.

Characteristics of the Bantu Languages.—These languages have certain characteristics, which appear from Uganda, on the shores of Victoria Nyanza, to Xhosaland in the extreme south.

Among these, the out-standing characteristic is the use of noun-prefixes: the grouping of all nouns into classes according to the prefixes they take, and the use of each noun's prefix, or a modified form of the prefix, with all words or expressions referring to that noun, such as adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and their equivalents; e.g., *Bonke abantu bona baya yithanda inkosi yabo*. This system of Noun-Classes, with their distinguishing prefixes, embraces the Alliterative Concord, so called because it leads to identical or similar sounds at the beginning of all the words in a sentence that stand in certain relations to the same noun.

Other characteristics are:

(1) The absence of grammatical gender. While there may be separate words for the male and the female of certain animals, or suffixes that denote the female, there are not separate pronouns or adjectives for the sexes, nor are names of inanimate objects divided into gender-groups, as in Greek, Latin or French.

¹ This is the language of the *ovaMbo* of South-West Africa, and has no known connection with *abaMbo*, certain tribes of Natal and the Northern Transkei.

(2) The genitive (called the "possessive" hereafter) normally follows the name of the thing owned; e.g., *indlu kabawo*; *iinkomo zenkosi*; *inkabi yakowethu*.

(3) The normal order of words in a sentence is: subject, predicate, object; e.g., *thina maXhosa sithanda iinkomo*.

(4) A particle, corresponding to the prefix of the noun-subject, is always prefixed to the predicate; and a similar particle, corresponding to the noun-object, may be inserted between the subject-particle and the predicate; e.g., *abantu baya yihlonela inkosi yabo*.

(5) Syllables end in a vowel, except that *m*, standing for an older *mu* or *mi*, may constitute a syllable in itself, as in *umva*, *mzise*, *mbi*, *wam*.

(6) The meaning, especially of verbs, may be changed by the use of suffixes, of which one, two or more may be added to the same verb-stem; from *va* we may have *vana*, *v'ela*, *velana*, *velanisa*, *visa*, *visisa*, *visisana*, *vakala*, *vakalisa*, etc.

(7) The languages make use of a large number of descriptive, invariable words, following a special verb (which in Xhosa is *thi*), to describe graphically various striking actions or states; e.g., (*ukuthi*) *tu*, *thu*, *balulu*, *fwaka*, *gxuphu*, *gelekeqe*.

(8) Many Bantu languages (though not all), employ "tone," a rise or fall of the pitch of the voice, to distinguish words otherwise similar; e.g., *'uthanda* and *uthanda*; *ul'usu* and *ulusu*; *ith₁ang₁a*, *ith₁ang'a* and *ith₁aa₁ng₁a*; *ig'ala* and *ig₁ala*; *ung'aphiwa* and *ung₁aphiwa*.

Fuller reference to these points will be made later on, each in its proper place.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPEECH SOUNDS OF XHOSA.

In order to study any language, it is necessary to examine the sounds that compose it, and the way in which they are produced. This is especially necessary if one would understand the many sound-changes found in Bantu languages.

Further, the student should always bear in mind that what we are studying now are the spoken sounds, which really constitute the language ; the symbols by which those sounds are represented, constituting the written or the printed form, must be looked upon merely as a representation of, and so subordinate to, the spoken language.

Speech.—Speech is produced by means of a current of air, sent by the lungs through the throat, and the mouth or the nose. In normal breathing, this air-stream passes quietly through these organs ; but in speaking, it is acted upon in one or other of them in such a way, as to produce the wonderful variety of sounds that go to form human speech. These sound-waves travel through the air, are picked up in the ear of the hearer, transmitted to the brain, and there interpreted according to the speaker's meaning.

Voice.—The air-stream may be affected even before it leaves the throat.

In the front of the throat one can feel from outside, and in the case of men one can see, the projection called " Adam's apple " (*inqhula*). This is the larynx, or sound-box; in which voice is produced. It contains a pair of

delicate muscles, the "vocal cords" (*amařanana*), which we can draw together across the air-passage at will, so that the current of air, in passing between them, causes the cords to vibrate (*ukungcangcazela*). These in turn communicate their vibration to the air, and thus sound is produced. The process is exactly similar to what happens when one blows upon the quill in *ugwali*, or when the wind blows upon the telegraph wires and produces a humming sound.

The sound produced by this vibration of the vocal cords is called "voice," and those speech-sounds that are produced to the accompaniment of voice are called "voiced" sounds. Examples of these are the vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the sounds represented by *b*, *g*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *z*. If we take hold of Adam's apple with thumb and fingers while we pronounce any of these sounds, the vibration can actually be felt. When we pronounce the sounds denoted by *p*, *k*, *t*, *s*, *f*, no vibration is felt; such sounds are therefore called "voiceless."

The Vowels.

If we produce voice, but do not check the air-stream, we produce a **Vowel**. With the mouth wide open, and the tongue low, the sound will be the one represented by *a*; but we can change the sound by altering the shape of the mouth—particularly the position of the tongue and the lips. The vowel sound we produce will depend on (1) the part of the tongue that is raised (whether the free, front portion, or the back); (2) how much it is raised; and (3) whether the lips are wide open, partly closed and drawn to the sides, or rounded.

If voice is produced with the mouth wide open, and the tongue low down, we hear the "low" or "basic" vowel, represented by *a*, as in *vala*.

If the front of the tongue is slightly raised, and the lips drawn slightly to the sides, we get the sound of *e* in *wena*, *etc*, *izembe*, called "open e." If the tongue is raised a little more, the sound is that of *e* in *wethu*, *eli*, *umenzi*, *emhlana*, called "close e."

Now raise the tongue still more, and draw the lips slightly closer, and you produce the sound of *i* in the English "did"; yet more, and the sound is the sound of *i* in the Xhosa *indidi* and in the beginning of the vowel in the English "deed." With the raising of the tongue for the higher variety of *i*, goes a slight tightening of the muscles of the tongue and the lips, which the student can feel for himself.

Again, starting from the position for *a*, instead of raising the front, raise the back part of the tongue a little, and round the lips slightly, and you have the sound of *o* in the English "not"; raise it a little higher, and the sound becomes the *o* heard in *bona*, *umona*, which we call the "open o." Now raise the tongue still higher, and round the lips more, and you get the "close o" of *olu*, *ubomi*, and the first vowel of *ngomso*.

If the tongue be raised yet more, and the lips be completely rounded, we have the sound of *u* in *fufu*.

The student should test these positions for himself, as far as he can, by standing with his back to the light, holding a mirror before his mouth so that the light is reflected into the mouth, and watching the movements of the tongue and the lips as he pronounces the various sounds. Further to verify these positions, let him take a pencil, rest the blunt end of it upon the tongue—first on the front, and then on the back—and press the pencil lightly against the upper front teeth, using them as a fulcrum, while he says in turn, *a*, *e*, *i*; and then *a*, *o*, *u*. At each step, the

point of the pencil will be seen to fall, showing that the blunt end has been lifted, by the rising of the tongue.

According with the part of the tongue that is raised, we call the two *e*'s and *i*, the "front" vowels, and the two *o*'s and *u* the "back" vowels. The sound of *a* is also produced in the back of the mouth, and is associated with the back vowels.

Further, according with the extent to which the tongue is raised, we call the sounds of *i* and *u* "high" vowels, and of the *e*'s and *o*'s "mid" vowels; the sound of *a* is the "low" vowel.

The Open and the Close Mid-Vowels.—In some Bantu languages (for example, in Tswana), it may make a difference in the meaning of a word whether you use the "open" or the "close" *e*; the "open" or the "close" *o*. In Xhosa, however, there are definite "laws" of usage regarding these sounds, and there can be no confusion; accordingly we use one symbol for each pair. These laws are: (i) that "close" *e* or *o* is used if the next syllable in the word contains a "high" vowel, *i* or *u*, or is *m* standing for *mu*; (ii) the "open" variety is used if the vowel of the next syllable is a "low" vowel, *a*, *e* or *o*; but (iii) if the *e* or *o* is long and not stressed, the "close" form is used, even if a low vowel follows.

Examples of (i) and (ii) have already been given; examples of (iii) are *nehafe*, *boobawo*, *notyani*, *nobomi*. The student should examine additional examples for himself.

Vowel Diagrams.—The following diagrams show the position of the tongue for the various vowels:—

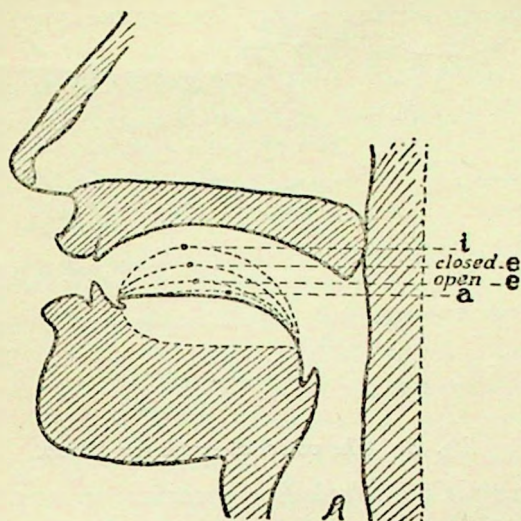


Fig. 1. The position of the tongue for *a* and the front vowels.

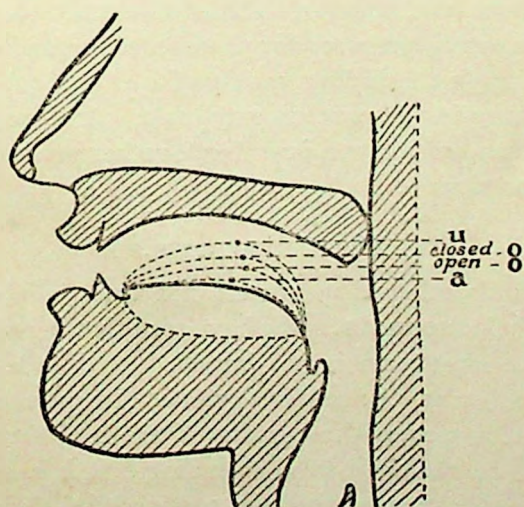


Fig. 2. The position of the tongue for the back vowels.

The results obtained may be represented for easy reference by the following simple chart, where the dots represent the highest part of the tongue, as raised to produce the sounds indicated beside them.

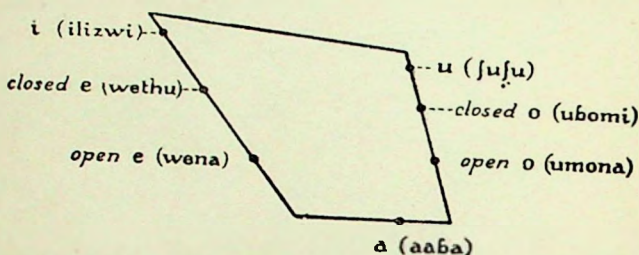


Fig. 3. The vowel diagram for Xhosa.

This study of the vowels is of great importance, and will serve to explain many points in the language. For example, we now see why close *e* and close *o* are found in syllables preceding syllables that contain *i* or *u*. Since *i* and *u* are high vowels, the speaker, whose thought travels faster than his speech, prepares for them unconsciously beforehand, by using the higher variety of *e* or *o*, if one of these letters comes in the preceding syllable. And we are able to understand why *a* and *i* coming together produce *e*, and *a* and *u* produce *o*.

The Consonants.

All sounds other than vowels and their combinations are called **Consonants**. We have seen that in sounding a vowel, the air-stream is not impeded after it leaves the throat; it has merely acquired voice. In pronouncing a consonant, however, the current of air is either entirely stopped for a moment, as in sounding *b*, *t*, *k*, *q*, *x*; or the passage is so narrowed that the passing of the air-stream produces a definite sound, as in sounding *s*, *l*, *m*, *f*, *r*.

The languages of the South-Eastern Group include, among their consonants, a class of sounds that stand apart and are foreign to other Bantu languages, the **Clicks**. Most of these must have been derived from a click-using race with which the tribes that now use the languages of the South-Eastern Group came into close contact many generations ago; and doubtless the Xhosa adopted many words embodying clicks also from their Hottentot and Bushmen neighbours in South Africa. It will readily be understood that, as they moved slowly southwards, driving before them the races then in possession, they often in their raids captured women and children for their service; and that words used by their captives naturally found their way into the language of their captors, especially through the women and their offspring.

The Plain Consonants.

By this term, we mean all consonants that are not clicks, leaving the latter to be dealt with by themselves.

The Explosives.—If we completely stop the current of air for an instant, and then release it suddenly, we produce a slight explosion of breath; the sounds so produced are called “Explosives.”

If the check and the release are effected by the lips, we get the voiceless sound of **p** in *ipuni*, *ipeni*; or, if voice is added, the **b** of *babama*, *uhambo*. As both lips are used in forming *p* and *b*, we call these “bilabial” (or two-lipped) explosives.

If the breath is stopped by putting the tongue against that part of the palate (*amakhuhlangubo*) which is just behind the upper teeth, and is called the “alveolus,” we produce without voice the **t** of *utolo*; or, with voice, the **d** of *udade*. These are the “alveolar” explosives.

If the check is produced by pressing the tongue against the hard palate (or roof of the mouth), while the tip is lowered, and if the stream is suddenly released, we get the sound of **ty** without voice, as in *utyani*; or of **dy** with voice, as in *dyoba*. Although these are represented each by two letters, they are single sounds. They are called the "palatal" explosives.

At the back of the mouth, a curtain of soft muscle hangs down from the palate, and carries the "uvula" (*ugovane*); this curtain is the "velum," or soft palate. It can be moved up or down at will; while it hangs down, the passage from the throat to the nose is open, but when we raise it, we close the passage. One can watch its movements in speech by looking into a mirror (as already described), as one first breathes through the nose, and then says *a-a*.

Now if we check the air-stream by raising the back of the tongue to the velum, we produce, without voice, the **k** of *ikati*; and, with voice, the **g** of *ugaga*. These are the "velar" explosives.

Aspiration.—In Xhosa, the voiceless explosives, *p*, *t* and *k*, are often followed by a strong emission of breath, when the check to the air-stream is removed; this emission can be felt by placing the hand before the mouth, as one says *iphepha*, *thetha*, *ikhaka*. It can be shown also by holding a sheet of thin paper before the lips, as these sounds are produced. With such a sheet before the lips, say, in turn, *ipeni* and *iphepha*; *into* and *thetha*; *ikati* and *ikhaka*. When these sounds are so strengthened, they are said to be "aspirated," and this is marked by adding *h* after the consonant.

It is to be noted that aspiration does not take place if the consonant is immediately preceded by *n*, or by *m* of the

prefix *im-*, as in *inkomo*, *iintolo*, *impatho* ; but it may occur after syllabic *m* (for *mu*), as in *umphathi*, *umtholo*, *umkhonto*.

The Implosive.—If, when the lips are closed, the cavity of the mouth is enlarged by lowering the larynx, the passage to the nose being closed by the velum, suction is produced in the mouth (as it would be in a bicycle pump, if you put your finger over the hole at the end, and drew the handle back). Then, if the lips are suddenly parted, there is a sharp inrush of air between them, and a suction sound is heard. This is “implosive **ɓ**,” found in *ibubu*. It is so called because the rush of air is inwards, instead of outwards as it is in the explosives ; compare *bonga* and *bonga*, *bala* and *bala*.

The Fricatives.—In the consonants dealt with so far, the stream of air is completely stopped for a moment. Another class of sounds is produced, not by checking the stream completely, but by obstructing it sufficiently to produce a rubbing or a hissing sound. Such sounds are called Fricatives, because they are produced by friction of the air against some part of the mouth.

When the obstruction is made by putting the lower lip against the upper teeth, we produce, without voice, the **f** of *lufifi* ; and, with voice, **v** of *vava*. These are called the “dentilabial” (or teeth-and-lip) fricatives.

Or, we may make the obstruction by placing the tongue just behind the teeth against the alveolus, leaving a narrow passage between it and the alveolus. Sending the air-stream through this passage against the upper teeth, we obtain a hissing sound, the sound of **s** in *susa*, if it is voiceless ; or of **z** in *zuza*, if voice is added. These are the “alveolar” fricatives.

If the tongue be placed a little further back, against the front part of the palate, and be not contracted quite as

much as for *s*, a wider passage is left, and the air passes through with a hushing sound, less sharp than the *s*. Without voice, this gives the sound represented by *ʃ* in *fufu*; with voicing, we get the sound heard in the English "pleasure," which does not occur alone in Xhosa, but is heard with the *d* stop in *j*, referred to later. This voiced sound does occur alone in Hlubi, in such words as *ʒii!* *uzuba*. These sounds, *ʃ* and *ʒ*, are called the "prepalatal" fricatives.

If the back of the tongue be placed against the velum, the stream produces a rough vibration, the sound of *ɾ* in *ɾola*, if it is voiceless; or of *gɾ* as in *igronya*, if it is voiced. These are the "velar" fricatives.

Far back, in the larynx between the vocal cords, is the cavity called the "glottis." If air be suddenly expelled from the lungs, and meet with friction between the open cords, the sound of *h* in *ihafe* is heard. This is the "glottal" fricative. In *uHili* we find a variety of this sound, produced with aspiration.

The Laterals.—These consonants are so called because, in forming them, the air-passage is kept closed in the middle of the mouth, and the stream escapes on one or on both sides of the tongue.

If we place the tongue against the alveolus and along the palate, narrowing it in front, so that the air escapes freely at the sides with little friction, we get the "alveolar" lateral, *l*, as in *lala*.

If the tip of the tongue is placed as for *l*, but the rest is spread at the sides, so that the air escapes between the tongue and the side teeth with considerable friction, we produce the "fricative" laterals: without voice, the sound represented by *hl* in *ihlahla*; and with voice, the sound of *dl* in *dlala*.

The Affricates.—We have seen that, in sounding an explosive like *p* or *t*, the check to the air is released suddenly; but it may be released gradually, so that a fricative sound follows the stop sound. The result is a pair of sounds, formed in the same part of the mouth, and in so close succession as often to appear to be one. These are called “Affricates.”

There are the “bilabial” affricates in *im(p)fene* and *im(b)vu*; the “alveolar” in *phantsi* and *aman(d)zi*; the “prepalatal” in *iintʃaba*, aspirated in *utʃhaba*, and voiced in *joja* (where *j* represents *dʒ*); the “lateral” in *izintlu* (for *t+hl*), and voiced in *indlala* (for *d+dl*); and the “velar” in *kɾakɾa*.

Where the explosive is not strongly heard, as in *imfene*, *imvu*, *amanzi* and *indlala*, for the sake of simplicity it is not written; but a little testing will show the student that the sounds are there, if the words are correctly pronounced.

The Rolled Consonant.—The “rolled” sound of *r* is foreign to Xhosa, though it is common in the languages of the Central Group. It is, however, becoming increasingly used in borrowed words, where formerly the Xhosa used *l*; so we have both *ibloɾo* and *ibroɾo*, *utitʃhala* and *uti-tʃhara*, *ibulukhwe* and *ibrukhwɛ*.

The Nasals.—In the production of all the sounds hitherto described, the passage leading from the back of the mouth to the nose is closed by the raised velum. In the sounds that follow, the passage is left open; the air-stream escapes through the nose, and not through the mouth. The sounds are accordingly called “Nasals.” If the student will take his mirror as before, and say, *ng'a*, *ng'a*, *ng'a* (as in *ing'ang'ane*), he will see that, while the velum is raised for *a*, it is not raised but rests on the tongue for *ng'*. Also he will recognize in the nasals the sounds that he

cannot produce correctly, when the passage of the nose is closed by a bad cold in the head; his *ing'ang'ane* then becomes *igagade*.

If the air-stream is voiced and sent through the nose, while the lips are closed as for *b* or *p*, we hear the sound of **m**, as in *mema*; this we call the "bilabial" nasal.

If, on the other hand, the lips are open, but the tongue is laid against the alveolus, as for *t* or *d*, the sound is the sound of **n** in *nina*, which is called the "alveolar" nasal.

If, instead of the tip, the blade of the tongue is raised, and pressed against the front part of the palate, while the nose passage is left open, we get the "prepalatal" nasal sound represented by **ny** as in *inyoka*.

With the tongue against the velum, as for *k* or *g*, the "velar" nasal is produced—the sound **ng'** heard in *ing'ang'ane*, *ng'ong'ozza*. This is also heard before the velar explosives in *inkomo*, *ingwe*, *ibanga*, but for the sake of simplicity it is not specially marked as distinct from *n*.

Syllabic M.—In Xhosa, *m* before a consonant often stands for an older *mu* or *mi*, as in *mntu* for *muntu* (compare the Zulu); as in *lumka* for *lumuka* (compare the passive, *lunyukiswa*, where the *u* is retained); and as in *mna* for *mina* (compare the Zulu). In such cases, the *m* forms a syllable by itself, and is called "syllabic **m**"; further examples are: *umbali*, *umthunzi*, *isilumko*, *yam*. Note that *m* is not syllabic when it stands for *n* in such words as *imfe*, *izimvu*.

Digraphs.—The student should note that, like *ty* and *dy*, the sounds represented conventionally by *hl*, *dl*, *gr*, *kr*, *ny* and *ng'* are single sounds, although they are represented here by two letters; phoneticians have a special symbol for each.

The Semivowels.—These are sounds, to produce which the tongue and lips are first placed in the position of one of the “ high ” vowels, *i* or *u*, and the tongue is then allowed to glide towards the position of the corresponding “ mid ” vowel, *e* or *o*. If the glide is in the front of the mouth, from *i* towards *e*, we form the “ palatal ” semivowel **y**, as in *yaya* ; if it is at the back, from *u* towards *o*, the semivowel is **w**, as in *wawa*, called the “ velar ” semivowel. In the production of *w*, the lips play so important a part, that it might almost as well be called a “ bilabial.”

The plain consonants are classified as follows :—

TABLE OF THE PLAIN CONSONANTS.

	Blabial.	Denti labial.	Al- veolar.	Pre- palatal.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.
Explosive :							
Simple	<i>p</i>	..	<i>t</i>	..	<i>ty</i>	<i>k</i>	..
Aspirated	<i>ph</i>	..	<i>th</i>	..	<i>tyh</i>	<i>kh</i>	..
Voiced	<i>b</i>	..	<i>d</i>	..	<i>dy</i>	<i>g</i>	..
Implosive	<i>ɓ</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fricative :							
Simple . . . . .	..	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	..	<i>r</i>	<i>h</i>
Voiced . . . . .	..	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	(<i>ʒ</i>) ¹	..	<i>gr</i>	..
Lateral :							
Plain voiced . . . . .	..	..	<i>l</i>	..	..	..	..
Voiceless fricative . . . . .	..	..	<i>hl</i>	..	..	..	..
Voiced fricative . . . . .	..	..	<i>dl</i>	..	..	..	..
Affricate :							
Simple . . . . .	..	(<i>p</i>) <i>f</i> ²	<i>ts</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	..	<i>kɾ</i>	..
Aspirated . . . . .	..	..	<i>tʃh</i>	<i>tʃh</i>	..	..	..
Voiced . . . . .	..	(<i>b</i>) <i>v</i> ²	(<i>d</i>) <i>z</i> ²	<i>dʒ=j</i>	..	..	..
Affricate Lateral :							
Simple . . . . .	..	..	<i>tl</i> ³	..	..	..	..
Voiced . . . . .	..	..	(<i>d</i>) <i>dl</i> ²	..	..	..	..
Rolled . . . . .	..	..	<i>r</i>	..	..	..	..
Nasal	<i>m</i>	..	<i>n</i>	..	<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i> ³	..
Semivowels	(<i>w</i>)	..	..	..	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	..

¹ This sound (as of *z* in *azure*) does not occur alone in Xhosa words ; but it is heard with *d* in *j*, as in *inja* (*indʒa*).

² The bracketed explosive is present in speech, but is not written in ordinary script.

³ This is a convention for *t+hl*.

The following are illustrations of the use of these sounds in words :—

Explosives.

ipeni, a penny.
iphepha, paper.
bala, write.
utolo, an arrow.
thetha, speak.
udade, a sister.
utyani, green grass.
tyhala, push.
indyebó, wealth.
ikati, a cat.
ikhaka, a shield.
ugaga, a dried skin.

Implosive.

bala, count.

Fricatives.

fana, resemble.
vala, shut.
susa, remove.
zuza, gain.
fufu, hot.
rola, drag.
igronya, sacking.
hamba, go.

Laterals.

lala, sleep.
hlala, sit.
dlala, play.

Affricates.

imfene, a baboon.
imvu, a sheep.
phantsi, down.
isitshaba, a crown.
amanzi, water.
iintshaba enemies.
utshaba, an enemy.
joja, smell.
kyokya, suspect.

**Fricative
Laterals.**

izintlu, rows.
indlala, famine.

Rolled.

iorenji, an orange.

Nasals.

mema, invite.
nina, you.
inyoka, snake.
ing'ang'ane, the
green ibis.

Semivowels.

yena, he.
wena, thou.

The Clicks.

Like the implosive, *b*, the clicks are produced by creating suction, and then allowing a sudden inrush of air into the suction cavity. But, instead of the suction and the release being produced by the lips, these take place between the tongue and the teeth, palate and velum.

If the tongue be placed behind the upper front teeth and against them, a suction space may be formed by lowering the middle of the tongue. If now the tip is sharply withdrawn from the teeth, the sudden rush of air into the suction space produces the snap or click sound of **c** in *caca*. This is called the "dental" click, formed against the teeth.

If a similar process is followed, but with the tongue-tip pressed against the front part of the palate, **q**, or the "palatal" click, is heard, as in *uqaqqa*.

The tongue may be placed as for *q*, but, instead of breaking the suction by withdrawing the tip, we may do so by withdrawing one side of the tongue, so that the inrush of air takes place from the side. This produces the "lateral" click **x**, heard in *voxa*.

The above examples give (1) the "radical," or simplest, voiceless forms of the clicks.

But these may be modified in various ways. (2) The click may be followed by a strong emission of breath (as with the explosives), and so become "aspirated," as in *chana*, *qhuba*, *xhasa*; or, (3) it may be accompanied by "voicing," as in *gcoba*, *gqiba*, *gxeka*.

If a click immediately follows a nasal, it may be distinctly separated in sound from the nasal, by closing the passage to the nose before the click is sounded; or, the click may itself be "nasalized," i.e., it may be sounded with the velum down and the passage open.

If the click is kept separate we get (4) the voiceless sounds heard in *inkcani*, *inkqubo*, *inkxaso*; or (5) the voiced sounds found in *ingcambu*, *ingqele*, *ingxolo*.

If the click is itself nasalized, we may get (6) the plain sounds of *incam*, *inqawa*, *inxila*; or (7) we may have the nasalized click accompanied by friction in the glottis, as heard in *incha*, *inqholowa*, *inxhowa*.

It will be noted that, where the click, coming after *n*, is nasalized, the sound is much softer than when the click retains its independence. Compare the examples given in (6) and (7), with the examples in (4) and (5), where the click is very hard and sharp.

Students should carefully observe the distinction both in sound and in symbol between numbers (5) and (7). Careless speakers and writers often confuse them, particularly in those tribes in which the sound of the click is exaggerated. Such exaggeration in itself is to be avoided, otherwise the beauty of the language is marred.

It should also be noted that *h* in (7) marks, not aspiration, but glottal friction.

Reduced to tabular form, the classification of the clicks is as follows:—

TABLE OF THE CLICKS.

	Dental.	Palatal.	Lateral.
Radical : Plain	<i>c</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>x</i>
After a nasal	<i>nkc</i>	<i>nkq</i>	<i>nkx</i>
Aspirated	<i>ch</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>xh</i>
Voiced : Plain	<i>gc</i>	<i>gq</i>	<i>gx</i>
After a nasal	<i>ngc</i>	<i>ngq</i>	<i>ngx</i>
Nasalized : Plain	<i>nc</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>nx</i>
With voiced glottal friction	<i>nch</i>	<i>nqh</i>	<i>nXH</i>

Examples of the clicks and their various forms used in words, are:—

Dental.

caca, be clear.
inkcaza, a comb.
chaza, (to) comb.
gcoba, rejoice.
ingcambu, root.
incam, the end.
incha, grass.

Palatal.

qala, begin.
inkqubo, progress.
qhuba, drive.
gqiba, finish.
ingqe, frost.
inqawa, a pipe.
inqholowa, wheat.

Lateral.

xoxa, discuss.
inkxaso, support.
xhasa, (to) support.
gxeka, disparage.
ingxolo, a noise.
inxila, a drunkard.
inxhowa, a bag.

CHAPTER III.

THE MODIFICATION OF SPEECH SOUNDS.

With some knowledge of the manner in which the speech sounds of Xhosa are produced, the student is now in a position to understand the modifications that these sounds undergo in connected speech.

These modifications and changes take place under various influences. One is the mood or emotion of the speaker : calmness or anger, haste or deliberation, emphasis or question ; compare *yiza apha* and *yiz' apha* ; *wena* and *wenna ! andisayi kuya* (of the orator of the *inkundla*) and *andisokuya* (of the cheeky herd boy). Another is prevailing fashion, for which often one can give no reason. A third is the influence of a neighbouring language ; note the elision of *ku* in *nokuba* and *ngokuba*, and the sounding of *ngq* for *nqh* in *inqholowa*, and similar changes with the other clicks, all due probably to Zulu or Hlubi influence.

But probably most potent is the influence of a neighbouring sound in a word. This may cause people who use the language subconsciously to modify a particular sound, or even to substitute another, in a desire to secure greater ease of speech or beauty of sound. Of this influence, many instances will appear in the following sections.

Vowel Length.

A vowel may be long drawn out for emotional or descriptive reasons, as in *yo-o-o !* (distress), *i-i-i-wu !* (urgency), *phaya-a* ("very far off").

Apart from these reasons, a vowel in Xhosa may have one of three lengths. It may be very short, especially at the end of a word, as in *betha*. Before a word beginning with a vowel, a final vowel may be so much shortened as to be hardly heard; and in colloquial speech it may be dropped altogether, as in *zis' ility' elo*. In writing, this elision should not be allowed, unless the writer is recording such dramatic dialogue as requires it, to secure a desired effect.

In the middle syllables of *ndihamba*, *inkwenkwe*, we get what may be called "half-length."

Full length is found in the stem syllables of the imperatives *bona*, *thanda*; in the prefixes of *iinkomo*, *utyani*, *oonina*; the stems of *umphuunga*, *ithaanga*; the demonstratives, *aabo*, *aabaa*, *loo (nto)*. When it is necessary for the avoidance of ambiguity, this full length is marked by the doubled vowel; otherwise it is not indicated.¹ Numbers of instances where ambiguity is avoided by the doubled vowel may be found by the student for himself; these are a few: *aBo* and *aabo*; *lo* and *loo (mlambo)*; *nálo* or *naló* and *naalo*; *umphunga* and *umphuunga*; (*ufike*) *nonyana* and *noonyana*; *siya kwazi* (pres.) and *siya kwaazi* (fut.; see *I Kor.* xiii. 12); (*sibe*) *singaboni* and *singabooni* (see *Is.* lxiv. 5); *ukuba* and *ukuuba*; *wona* and *woona (umphefumlo wakhe)*; *ababi* and *abaabi*.

The Avoidance of Hiatus.

Hiatus is the sounding of two vowels in close succession, as would happen if one said, *ndaibona (inkomo)*, *asiafuni (amasi)*. This is avoided wherever it is possible; it cannot be avoided, however, in some words of foreign origin,

¹ It is to be hoped that it will not be long before this compromise is abolished, and all full-length vowels will be doubled, as being not only the logical method, but also easier for writer and reader alike.

as in *iorenji*, *ama-apile*, where the student can himself feel the effort required in making the necessary break in his speech.

Hiatus is prevented in one of five ways.

(1) If both vowels are important to the meaning, and so must be retained, a consonant, which in other circumstances would be dropped, is retained, if its retention prevents hiatus; e.g., we say *apha*, but we say, *na-l-apha*, *l* being a relic (cf. Zulu *lapha*) and not an inserted letter. So in the present participle, *ndisoyika*, *s* is the relic of a syllable *si* that is usually dropped, but appears with monosyllabic verbs, as in *ndisiya*. The *s* found before a locative, as in *nasekhaya*, *baseQonce*, is probably also a relic.

(2) A semivowel may come in to separate necessary vowels, representing the glide from one vowel to the other; *y* appears before *i*, and *w* before *a*, *o* or *u*. Examples are: *ndiyibona*; *asiwafuni*; *nguGcaleka owoyisileyo*; *umayamo awayama ngawo*; *siya wugawula umthi*.

(3) The first vowel may be replaced by the corresponding semivowel; so *i* becomes the front semivowel *y*, and *o* or *u* becomes the back semivowel *w*. For example: (*inkosi*) *iafika* > *yafika*; (*umfo*) *uafika* > *wafika*; *intoana* > *intwana*; *endluini* > *endlwini*.

(4) One of the vowels may be elided. In Xhosa this is usually the first; thus in rapid speech we say, *ngamahaf' am*, *umf' omkhulu*, *komkhulu* (for *ku-omkhulu*). But sometimes it is the second that is dropped, as in *kubantu* (for *ku-abantu*). In *mntwan' am*, the elision of the final vowel of the first word makes the initial semivowel, *w*, of the second cumbersome, and it also is dropped.

(5) The vowels may fuse and become one sound; if their sounds are far apart, the result is an intermediate vowel. The rules for such fusion are quite definite, and

are always followed. The commonest instances of fusion are those in which the first vowel is *a*, for the fusion of which the following rules apply :

(i) *A* with *a* naturally forms *a* ; thus *nga-amahafe* > *ngamahafe*.

(ii) With a front vowel, *e* or *i*, the mid-front vowel *e* is formed ; e.g., *na-cyethu* > *neyethu*, *nga-elo* > *ngelo*, *ya-imvu* > *yemvu*.

(iii) With a back vowel, *o* or *u*, the result is the mid-back vowel, *o* ; e.g., *na-ozayo* > *nozayo* ; *nga-uyise* > *ngoyise*.

Elision.

Elision is common in Xhosa, and to the examples given below students will be able to add many more.

Reference has already been made to the frequent elision of final vowels in rapid speech. Further, we find *u* omitted, and *m* becoming syllabic, in the prefixes of such nouns as *umntu* (for *umuntu*) and *umlambo* (for *umulambo*), and in the stems of some verbs like *tyumza* (for *tyumza* ; cf. the passive *tyunyuzwa*), and *lumka* (for *lumuka* ; cf. the passive *lunyukiswa*). It is held by some that there has been elision also in the prefixes of cl. 5, so that *inkomo* represents an older *inikomo*, and *izinto* an older *izinito*.

We find that consonants are dropped from *amazinyo* and *wathi*, giving, with vowel fusion, *amenyo* and *wee* (*fwaka*) ; similarly *ambathisa* and *thwalisa* frequently become *ambesa* and *thwesa*. The past tense of *ba* very commonly drops *b* in such expressions as *ndaba mkhulu*, *waba ngukumkani*, which become *ndaamkhulu*, *waangukumkani*. Similarly *thabatha* becomes *thatha*. *Mnini-mzi wethu* and *mnini-mzi-ana* become *mnumzethu* and *mnumzana* respectively, the bilabial *m* of *mzi* being responsible for the change of *i* into *u*, pronounced with rounded lips.

Further, where the noun stem consists of more than one syllable, its prefix regularly loses a consonant in: (a) class 3 sing. (*ixhego* for *ilixhego*); (b) class 6 sing. (*unyawo* for *ulunyawo*); and (c) classes 5 and 6 plur. (*iinkosi* for *izinkosi*, and *iinyawo* for *izinyawo*). In such plurals as *oonina*, *oo* is probably a contraction for *aŋo*.

In studying the formation of concords (or particles of agreement), the demonstratives, and certain verbal forms, we shall find numerous additional traces of elision and contraction.

Vowel Weakening.

It may be that a final vowel is not elided, but is so weakened that it is barely heard; or it may be softened to a mid-vowel. One constantly hears and reads *ndobuye* for *ndobuya* (*ndive*), and *wade* for *wada* (*wafika*). This change is to be avoided, both in speech and in writing; the expressions should be used in their proper form.

Assimilation.

Why do we say, *yenje nje*, and not *yenza nje*? The explanation clearly is, that the speaker's mind travels faster than his speech. He feels the palatal *j* coming, and subconsciously prepares for it by substituting *j* for the alveolar *z*; similarly he substitutes *e* for *a*, in preparation for the *e* in *nje*, and the result is a pleasing and easy reduplication.

This process by which one sound is attracted to or towards another, is called "Assimilation." It is common to all languages, and plays an important part in Xhosa. The sound affected may become identical with the attracting sound ("complete assimilation"), as in the example already given, or it may be drawn to a sound nearer to it ("incomplete assimilation").

Many instances of assimilation might be given ; a few are noted here. We have seen that before a syllable containing a high vowel, *e* and *o* take their higher or "close" forms, as in *eli* and *ubomi*. In careless speech one often hears *uyokuthi* for *uye kuthi*, *sowusiya* for *use usiya*, *e* being attracted to the corresponding back vowel, by the following *u*. In the perfect of verbs ending in *-ana* and *-akala* we find *a* of the penult assimilated to the final *-e*, as in *bambene*, *bonakele* ; similarly one hears *tyelwe* (for *tyalwe*) used by good speakers as the perfect of *tyalwa*. In *abe-Suthu*, *abeLungu*, the usual *-a* of the prefix of cl. 1 plur. has been raised to *-e* by the influence of the high vowel *-u-* of the stem. The directive form of a verb ends in *-a*, but in *Rom.* xi. 36, we have *zikholo yona zonke izinto*, and S. E. K. Mqhayi writes, *Eyona nto ikhola le sinala*, where final *a* is completely assimilated to the *o* of the preceding syllable. Similarly from *tsho* we get *tsholo* and *tshono*.

The student will note that assimilation may work backwards, the influence affecting a sound in the preceding syllable, as in *eli* ("retrogressive assimilation"); or it may work forwards, the affected sound being in a following syllable, as in *ikhola* ("progressive assimilation"). Of the two forms, the retrogressive is much the more common in Xhosa.

This assimilation of vowels, illustrated in the preceding paragraphs, is sometimes spoken of as "vowel harmony"—very appropriately, since it adds much to the musical flow of the language.

But assimilation extends also to consonants. Before the labials *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, the *n* of the prefix *in-* of cl. 5 is regularly replaced by the labial nasal *m*, as in *imbola*, *impahla*, *imvula*, *imfe*. The plural of *uqaqambo* may be either *iingqaqambo* or *iingqagqambo*, and *qabuka* gives the noun *ingqabuko*. According to Meinhof, the verb *ukubola*

yields the noun *ububovu* ; by the attraction of the preceding bilabial, *l* has been partially assimilated to the dental labial *v*.

The changes indicated in this section are chiefly due to a subconscious desire to economize effort in speaking ; but in addition they tend, as already indicated, to more musical speech.

One may find assimilation carried even into construction, as when, in *kwakukhoxwa ukusengwa*, we find the auxiliary as well as the principal verb taking the passive ending.

Dissimilation.

In assimilation, sounds tend to draw nearer to each other ; but changes may take place in the reverse direction—similar sounds coming into close proximity may tend to diverge, as though the speaker wished to avoid monotony, or to escape the additional effort of distinguishing clearly sounds that are much alike. This is “Dissimilation.” A desire to avoid a string of *e*'s may account for the use of *ukwazalelela* for *ukwazelelela*, from *ukwazi*.

Palatalization.

A common form of dissimilation is “Palatalization,” a consonantal change strongly characteristic of Xhosa and some other Bantu languages. If *w*, which is a labial, in that it is formed with a considerable rounding of the lips, is added to a verb-stem having a bilabial consonant in the last syllable, this bilabial is replaced by a prepalatal. This may happen to a bilabial in the syllable preceding the last, or even to one in the last syllable but two.

The change takes place without variation according to a fixed rule : *p* > *ts* ; *b* > *j* ; *ɸ* > *ty* ; *m* > *ny* ; *mp* > *ntʃ* ; and *mb* > *nj*. Thus we have : *ɸopha*, *ɸotʃhwa* ; *dyoba*, *dyojwa* ; *thoba*, *thotywa* ; *luma*, *lunywa* ; *sompa*, *sontʃwa* ;

bamba, *banjwa*. Similarly we find *bubisa*, *bujiswa*; *fumayela*, *funyayelwa*.

Palatalization may be induced also by the diminutive suffix *-ana*, and by the locative suffix *-eni*, as in *usapho*, *usatshana*, *elusatsheni*; *idobo*, *idotyana*, *edotyeni*; *umlambo*, *umlanjana*, *emlanjeni*. The diminutive ending almost always induces the change; but there are many nouns in which the locative *-eni* has not this effect.

Even *v* may be palatalized; in *UHambo lomHambi* (1st edition, p. 71) Tiyo Soga uses *eyadlajulwayo*, from *dlavula*; and in the Transkei, the diminutive of *umvembe* is *umvemtshane*.

Fricativization.

Coming after the plain lateral *l*, the diminutive ending *-ana* sometimes has the curious effect, for which no explanation suggests itself, of changing the plain lateral into the fricative lateral, *dl*; e.g., *indlela* may give *indlelana* or *indledlana*; *nkulu* becomes *nkudlwana*; *icelu*, *icedlana*; *ithole*, *ithodlana*; and a tributary of *inGcambele* is *inGcambedlana*.

Stress.

In Bantu languages, the main stress (or accent) is usually on the penult, or last syllable but one, of the word. It tends to travel forward to this position when additional syllables are added at the end. Examples are: *hamba*, *sihambéle*, *siya hambelána*; *vtsa*, *vistsa*, *visisáni*. This forward movement is, however, not invariable; for, while we have *hambítsa* and *endleléni*, we have also *use uhámbise* and *eDítkeni*.

In addition to the main stress, we usually find minor stresses on every alternate syllable, working back from the main one; e.g., *úkúlungísélu*, *ndándingékáftki*, *úkúnkólo-nkóloza*.

Stress does not play the part in Bantu languages that it plays in some European languages, such as English; but one does find instances in Xhosa, where words alike in every other respect are distinguishable only by a difference of stress. Compare *ubéthe* (pf. of *betha*) with *ubethé* (for *ube ethe*); *aabo bangendyo* (who do not have it), with *aabo bangénayo* (who enter); *uya bonàkalisa* (he destroys them), with *uya bònakalisa* (he shows); *wayaléka* (he overlaid it), with *wayáleka* (he took warning); *ukuzmela* (to hide), with *ukuziméla* (to stand for oneself).

Tone.

In all languages, people raise or lower the pitch of the voice, according to the mood in which they are speaking; e.g., the pitch rises in a question, or if one is angry, and falls if one is sad and depressed.¹

Such rise and fall of pitch, depending on emotion, is called "emotional tone."

But in Xhosa, as in many other Bantu languages, and especially in the West African languages of the Sudanic Family and in Chinese, tone plays a much more important part than merely expressing emotion.

The importance that may attach to the intonation of a word was well illustrated in 1923, at the inaugural Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, when the minutes recording the final meetings of the presbyteries of the United Free Church of Scotland, dissolving themselves, were read. The minutes of the Natal Presbytery were kept in Zulu, but were read by a European, who read, *Kugqitywe ekubeni iPresbitari ingachithwa*; the Zulu

¹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the negative, *hayi*, carries a falling, and the affirmative, *ewe*, a rising tone; or that the infix *-nga-* is low when it means "not," and high when it means "can," as in *ung'aviwa* and *ung'aviwa*.

members protested that it was not so, and one of them read the verb correctly as *ing¹achithwa*. It made all the difference between retaining and dissolving the presbytery!

Such tones, making a difference in meaning as they vary, are called by grammarians, "semantic" tones.

The first reference to semantic tone in South Africa occurs in a manuscript Grammar of Xhosa, presented by the Rev. John Bennie to his friend the Rev. John Ross in 1832, in which we find the following:

"The rising or the falling inflexion of the accent gives to words which correspond in letters, a different signification; as

<i>Bona see</i>	<i>Umyama dark</i>	<i>Tiya snare</i>
<i>Bona they</i>	<i>Umyama the rainbow</i>	<i>Tiya hate."</i>

Since those days scholars have investigated this subject of tone, which is nothing more than a matter of musical pitch. For our purpose, the most useful investigation is Professor C. M. Doke's investigation of the tones of Zulu, the results of which are given in his *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*. Xhosa and Zulu are so much akin, that the student of Xhosa may study the book with great profit.

Professor Doke discovered that the man whose speech he examined used nine tones, ranging from F sharp of the bass clef to F below the line, a range of more than an octave. The highest tone, heard in the first syllable of "*inkulu na?*" Professor Doke found, is not much used. The highest heard in ordinary speech is the second, heard in the first syllables of *into iwile*. The first syllables of *umntu uthenga* will give the pitch of the third tone; and the initial *e-* of *endlwini*, the fourth. The fifth tone is the usual tone of the preposition *na-* in *naye*; and the sixth is heard in the subject concord of the I. pers. sing. in the indicative, as in *ndithi*. The seventh, Professor Doke finds, is rare. The eighth, a common tone, appears in the

subject concord of the II. pers. sing. in the indicative, as in *utsho wena*, and in the last syllable of *eli*. The ninth appears usually at the end of a word ; it is the tone of the final *-ni* of the locative, as in *endleleni*, and the *-na* of diminutives, as in *umntwana*.

Two points must be carefully noted. In the first place, the tone of a syllable is not always level, but frequently falls in a glide to a lower level, within the syllable ; less frequently it rises to a higher, also within the syllable. Examples of a falling tone are the stem vowels of *funa*, *ibala* ; and the prefixes of *iinkosi*, *boobawo*, *utyani*. The rising tone is heard in the *o* in *imithi yonke*, and in the second *u* of *ukuya*.

In the second place, syllabic *m*, being a complete syllable, may have a tone of its own, and may take a falling or a rising tone. Let the student test himself with *umlambo*, *umfana*, *umva*.

The Marking of Tone.—In writing, it is sometimes necessary to clearness that the tone of a syllable should be marked. In ordinary circumstances, it is sufficient to mark relative tone ; i.e., to show whether the syllable is higher or lower than the corresponding syllable from which it is to be distinguished. This is simply and clearly done by inserting a thin vertical line before the vowel of the syllable, or before syllabic *m* : above the line for a high tone, and below the line for a low tone ; e.g., *ithang¹a* (thigh) and *ithang₁a* (pumpkin). If a glide is to be marked, this is conveniently done by putting the high tone mark before the vowel and the low after it, to denote a falling tone ; thus, *b¹o₁na* (see !), *ith¹aa₁nga* (a cattle-post).

If greater accuracy is required, as in writings on language, it may be desirable to distinguish high or low tones from mid-high or mid-low tones. For this purpose, for the

mid-tones a dot may be used, instead of the vertical line, but in the same positions ; thus, in a full marking, we might put, *and.iy'ith'and,i* ; *'u,ms.eb'e,nz,i* (work) and ; *'u,ms'eb'enz,i* (worker).

The present writer, after trying various methods, has found this method of dealing with tone the most satisfactory ; it has the great advantage, also, that the printer, instead of having to stock parallel sets of marked vowels, requires to add to his font merely the thin movable line, which may be turned about for high or low. For the dot, if this is needed, the ordinary full-stop, which can also be turned about for mid-high, is sufficient. As a matter of fact, in transliterating the Xhosa Bible into the present orthography, the vertical line proved sufficient for all practical purposes.

Examples of Semantic Tone.—The Xhosa-speaking student might easily draw up a long list of words whose meanings differ according to intonation. An important example has already been given in the case of the high and the low infix *-nga-*. Another important instance is the differentiation of the II. and the III. person in the indicative, as in *uLuka*, i. 14-5 : *'Uya kuba nokuvuya . . . 'Uya kuba mkhulu . . .* Other examples are seen in *uNeh.* ix. 14 & 23 : *wabaz'isa* (made known), and *wabaz₁isa* (brought) ; *intΣum.* iii. 14 : *kung₁ongezwa . . kung₁acatshulwa* ; also, *wabenzela inceba wab'asa endlwini yakhe* (not *wab₁asa*) ; *sibe sis₁iwa ezintabeni* (not *sis'iwa*).

The tone of a word-stem may vary considerably as formative particles are added to it. Compare the intonation of the stem syllable in *f'u₁na*, *ndif'una*, *ndif₁unile* ; or in *v₁al'a!* *ndiya v₁al₁a*, *ndilw'alile* ; or, *b'eth₁a!* *ndimb'e-thile*, *nd₁imb₁ethe* (perf.), *nd'ib₁ethe* (subjunct.) ; *ukub₁ala*, *ukub'alisa*. Compare the following parallel forms :

- (a) (*Sithunywe ukuba*) *sib₁ase* (*endlwini*), *sab¹asa*.
 „ „ *sib¹ase* „ *sab₁asa*.
- (b) *B¹a₁la!* (*uze*) *ub₁ale*; (*waza*) *wab¹ala*.
E₁ala! „ *u¹b₁ale*; „ *wab₁ala*.
- (c) *¹Ab¹al¹iv¹a* (*ilizwi lam*), who hear my voice;
₁*Ab₁al¹iv₁a* „ „ they do not hear my voice;
₁*Ab¹al¹i.v₁a* „ „ they did not hear my voice.

The investigation of the rules governing these changes offers to Xhosa-speaking students a wide and interesting field of research.

CHAPTER IV

WORDS AND FORMATIVE PARTICLES.

For the study of Xhosa it will be convenient to classify words principally according to their functions, i.e., the part they play in the sentence. Further, though similar words in various languages may not be used in exactly the same manner, it will be convenient for practical purposes to use the names of the Parts of Speech used in studying European languages.

The Parts of Speech.—We shall call names of persons, places and things, Nouns ; and words that are used for nouns, Pronouns. Words that do no more than limit nouns, or describe the things they name, we shall call Adjectives ; save that parts of the verb that describe a state, the result of action, and that are so commonly used to describe nouns, shall retain their classification as verbs. Words used in commands, statements and questions, to denote action, or state as the result of action, will be called Verbs ; and words adding to the meaning of verbs or qualifying words, Adverbs. Conjunctions join sentences or clauses. Interjections are exclamations that merely express emotion and do not enter into the structure of the sentence. Then we must add a very large class of words, found throughout Bantu, of the nature of adverbs, graphically describing action or state, and in Xhosa always used with the verb *thi*. These have been called by almost as many names as there are grammarians of Bantu ; of these the expression Ideophones is at present in favour.

Formatives.—In addition to the above, which are all recognizable as words, there are in Bantu languages a large number of particles, or formative elements, that may be added to the stems of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs—some, to modify the meaning; others, to show connection with other words in the sentence; and others again, to form another part of speech with the same stem. These formative particles usually consist of a consonant and a vowel, or two consonants and a vowel; but some are disyllabic. They are added to existing words, before or after the stem, without making any change in it, save in the case of the three referred to under palatalization, and (sometimes) formatives derived from the prefixes *in-* and *izin-*.

Of the formatives placed before the stem, the most important in Xhosa are: (1) The prefixes of nouns, and the pre-prefix or “article” that usually precedes the prefix; e.g., *u-m-ntu*, *i-li-tye*, *i-si-caka*, *a-ba-ntu*, etc.

(2) The concords, placed before nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs, to link them up with the nouns to which they refer; e.g., *Aba-ntu aba-nqenayo b-ona a-ba-yi ku-yi-fumana i-mali e-ninzi*.

(3) The prepositional particles (often styled “prepositions” for brevity), *ka-*, *ku-*, *kwa-*, *na-* and *nga-*, that connect the nouns or pronouns before which they are placed, with other words in the sentence.

(4) The particle *a*, which indicates the relation of an attribute to a noun, and is used usually in the possessive, in relative clauses, and with adjectives that qualify nouns.

(5) The negative particles *!a-* and *-ng!a-*, used, the one with most verbs in the indicative, and the other with verbs in the other moods.

(6) The locative particle, *e-*.

(7) The particles *ka-* and *bu-*, used with adverbs, and *lu-* and *bu-* used with adjectives.

(8) Such modifying particles as: *-^la-* of the past tense; *-sa-* (meaning "still"); *-ka-* (meaning "yet" in negative sentences); *-ng^la-* (meaning "can" or "may"); which are inserted in predicative forms.

The principal formatives coming after the stem are as follows :

(1) The locative noun-ending, *-eni* or *-ini*; and the diminutive noun-endings, *-ana*, *-anyana* and *-azana*.

(2) The noun- and adjective-ending, *-kazi*, which denotes a female animal, or an object of great size for its class.

(3) The ending *-ya*, added to nouns, adjectives and adverbs, and meaning "somewhat," or "in the manner of."

(4) The verb-endings: *-ile* (often contracted to *-e*) of the perfect tense; *-e* of the present subjunctive; and *-i* and *-anga* of the negative form.

(5) The infix *-w-* of the passive voice.

(6) The verbal endings: *-ana*, *-ela*, *-elela*, *-isa*, *-isisa*, *-eka*, *-akala*, which strongly modify the meaning of the verb.

(7) The ending *-yo* of predicative forms in certain dependent clauses.

Agglutination.—Owing to this system of using detachable particles, which can be added to stems without affecting their form, and may even be added one to the other, the Bantu languages are said to be "agglutinative." They occupy a position intermediate between "inflectional" languages like English and Latin, where inflections modify-

ing meaning are much more closely incorporated with the stem, and "isolating" languages like Chinese and the Sudanic languages of the Guinea coast, in which words are mostly monosyllabic, and distinctions of gender, number, mood, tense, etc., are expressed by separate words or by the order of words in the sentence.

In his *Primer of Philology* (Macmillan), Professor Peile thus describes agglutinative languages:—"They all agree in this principle, that they keep the essential part of each word, the root, uncorrupted, while the other syllables may suffer more or less of change; and since these syllables can be added to or taken from the unchangeable core of the word, the languages are called 'agglutinative,' that is, the languages which 'glue,' or join on, their varying to their permanent elements. . . . (They) keep distinct the radical and the formative parts of (their) words."

Languages of this type are found in Hungary and Finland, the steppes of Central and Northern Asia, in Ceylon and Southern India, Siam and Malacca, and in the islands of the Pacific.

It will be noticed, however, that cases do occur in Xhosa where a prefix or a suffix exercises influence upon the stem, though the number that do so is but small; and even they do so only under certain circumstances, and not invariably. Xhosa may therefore be more accurately described as an agglutinative language, well on the way in the direction of the inflectional principle.

CHAPTER V.

THE NOUN-PREFIXES.

While almost all the languages of Europe express the connection and agreement of words by inflections at the end of words, the Bantu languages do this by prefixes and particles of concord placed at the beginning. This was first noted by an Italian missionary monk, named Brusciotto, who published in 1659 *A Grammar of the Congo Language*, and who wrote of it, that "the language of the Congos and others of Negro lands is not founded, nor forms its rules, upon the declension of words, but upon their principiation," i.e., their beginnings.

Bantu Noun-Classes.—Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, a learned and shrewd philologist, who published in 1862 and 1869 portions of *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, recognized, in the Bantu languages at his disposal, sixteen noun prefixes, singular and plural prefixes being counted separately. Others, notably Professor Meinhof of Hamburg, working on the foundations well and truly laid by Bleek, and with much more material to work upon, have discovered several more. Professor Meinhof gives the number now recognized as twenty-one. These are as follows, the numbering being Bleek's up to sixteen, and Meinhof's thereafter; the corresponding forms in Xhosa (when they occur) are also given.

Class.	Original Bantu.	Xhosa.
1	<i>mu-</i>	1 s. <i>m(u)-</i>
2	<i>va</i> ¹	p. <i>ba-</i>
3	<i>mu-</i>	2 s. <i>m(u)-</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	p. <i>mi-</i>
5	<i>li-</i>	3 s. <i>li-</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	p. <i>ma-</i>
7	<i>ki-</i>	4 s. <i>si-</i>
8	<i>vî</i> ¹	p. <i>zi-</i>
9	<i>ni-</i>	5 s. <i>n(i)-</i>
10	<i>lini-</i>	p. <i>zin(i)-</i>
11	<i>lu-</i>	6 s. <i>lu-</i>
12	<i>tu-</i>	—
13	<i>ka-</i>	—
14	<i>vu</i> ¹	7 <i>bu-</i>
15	<i>ku-</i>	8 <i>ku-</i>
16	<i>pa-</i>	—
17	<i>ku-</i>	—
18	<i>mu-</i>	—
19	<i>pi-</i>	—
20	<i>ru-</i>	—
21	<i>ri-</i>	—

} Locatives.

It will be observed that Xhosa uses thirteen of these prefixes. It has, however, traces of others; e.g., *pha-*, in such locative nouns as *phantsi*, *phakathi*, was originally the prefix of the sixteenth class, and doubtless in earlier days had its concords in Xhosa as it still has in Nyanja and some other languages. In *ekunene* we have probably a survival of the seventeenth class.

Zulu and Tswana have the same number of prefixes as Xhosa; Sotho has lost the eleventh, and nouns that used to take that prefix now take the fifth, *li-*.

¹ *v* represents a sound called "bilabial *v*," not unlike the Xhosa *δ*.

The Noun-Classes in Xhosa.—For comparative study, Meinhof's system of numbering the prefixes is the best; but for the elementary study of one language, it is preferable to take the singular, and the plural that usually corresponds to it, as one "class." We may therefore group the prefixes used in Xhosa as follows:—

Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1	<i>m(u)-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
2	<i>m(u)-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
3	<i>li-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
4	<i>si-</i>	<i>zi-</i>
5	<i>n(i)-</i>	<i>zin(i)-</i>
6	<i>lu-</i>	”
7	<i>bu-</i>	—
8	<i>ku-</i>	—

This is not the order of classes used in the older grammars and dictionaries of Xhosa, but it has the great advantages—especially to those students who go on to the study of other Bantu languages, and whose numbers should greatly increase with the progress now being made—(1) that it brings the prefixes into the same order as they occupy in Meinhof's list, which is much used in comparative work on Bantu languages; (2) that it agrees with the numbering in what is now the standard grammar of Zulu, the second edition of Professor Doke's *Textbook of Zulu Grammar*; (3) that it agrees with the accepted numbering in Sotho, as far as may be. It is to be hoped that in future grammars of Tswana, a similar order will be followed. The bewildering divergences in the spelling and in the noun-classes of the South African Bantu languages that have until recently existed, and are not yet wholly removed, form a serious handicap in their study—almost as great a handicap as English has in its orthography; but fortunately they can be much more easily amended.

In the prefix *mu-*, and in *ni-* with its plural *zini-*, the final vowel is smothered in Xhosa, which has *umntu* where Zulu has *umuntu*. The smothered vowel *u* will, however, re-appear in some of the concords. And it is quite possible that the consonantal changes that often follow the use of *ni-* and *zini-* may be due to the influence of the latent *i*.

Strong and Weak Classes.—It will be noticed that the prefixes of the 1st, 2nd and 5th classes, in the singular, and the 2nd and 3rd classes, plural, have as their sole consonant a nasal, *m* or *n*. When we come to the formation of the concords, we shall find that these nasals have a strong tendency to drop out, leaving the vowel unsupported. These prefixes are therefore called "weak"; the others (including *zini-* of classes 5 and 6, plur.), with their more assertive consonants, are termed "strong." This distinction will frequently come up, and should be carefully noted.

The Initial Vowel.—The forms given in the above table of Xhosa prefixes are the prefixes in their simple form, and many Bantu languages, including Sotho and Tswana, are content with these. But in the languages of the South-Eastern and the South-Western Groups, the noun in its commonest uses takes before the simple prefix an initial vowel, which is always the same as the prefix vowel; e.g., *u-m(u)-fana*, *a-bu-fana*, etc.¹

¹ As the result of comparative study of a large number of Bantu languages, Meinhof considers that in old Bantu a demonstrative with the sound of *gya* was regularly prefixed to nouns (as we prefix "a" and "the" in English); the vowel of the demonstrative became assimilated to the vowel of the prefix, so that *gyamuntu* and *gyamithi* became *gyumuntu* and *grimithi*; and that in course of time the velar was dropped, leaving *umuntu* and *imithi*. In many Bantu languages, even the remaining vowel has been dropped, and the last relic of the demonstrative has disappeared.

The initial vowel has a certain defining force, and its omission always extends the application of the noun—save in the vocative, and after a demonstrative, where, of course, no further definition is necessary. The Xhosa-speaking student will feel the difference between *akakho umntu*, and *akukho mntu* ; and between, *andiyifuni imali yakho*, and *andifuni mali yakho* ; in each case the second is much more sweeping and effective.

This initial vowel has been called the pre-prefix, but this is not a euphonious word. In view of the defining influence referred to, which is clearly felt by the Xhosa-speaking, and in spite of the fact that its use is very different from the use of the English definite article—as that in turn differs in its use, from the French and the Greek—we shall in this book speak of it as the “Article.”

Having thus two sets of prefixes at our disposal in Xhosa—with the power this gives, of attaining nice shades of meaning, for which students should study the writings of the Rev. Tiyo Soga—we shall distinguish them by calling the one set the “plain prefixes,” and the other, the “augmented prefixes.”

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONCORDS ; THE PREPOSITIONAL
PARTICLES.

THE CONCORDS.

As the concords are so closely dependent on the prefixes, it will be convenient to consider them next.

They are formative elements, put before nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, or their equivalents, to link them up with the nouns to which they refer. By their use, the several parts of a sentence are bound together into a compact unity.

They are evidently derived from the noun prefixes—usually the plain prefix. It is noticeable that all of them, except the adjective concords (used with certain primitive adjectives), drop the nasal letters of the prefixes.

In considering the derivation of concords from the prefixes, the distinction between strong and weak prefixes is important, and we shall consider these as divided thus :

STRONG AND WEAK PREFIXES.

Class.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Strong.	Weak.	Strong	Weak.
1	—	<i>mu-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	—
2	—	<i>mu-</i>	—	<i>mi-</i>
3	<i>li-</i>	—	—	<i>ma-</i>
4	<i>si-</i>	—	<i>zi-</i>	—
5	—	<i>ni-</i>	} <i>xini-</i>	—
6	<i>lu-</i>	—		—
7	<i>bu-</i>	—	—	—
8	<i>ku-</i>	—	—	—

The Consonantal Forms of the Prefixes.

Several of the concords consist simply of the plain prefix, adapted, if necessary for phonetic reasons, to the particles or stems following them. Before a particle or stem beginning with a vowel, a form is used in which the prefix is reduced to a consonant, or a consonant and the semivowel *w*.

In this form, (a) all nasals are dropped; (b) in the strong classes, *a* and *i* are dropped; and *u* becomes *w* except after *b* or before *o*, where it would not be heard; (c) in the weak classes, *i* becomes *y*, *u* becomes *w*, and *a* (in cl. 3 plur.) is fused with the following vowel. So we get the forms:—

THE CONSONANTAL FORMS OF THE PREFIXES.

Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1	<i>w-</i>	<i>b-</i>
2	<i>w-</i>	<i>y-</i>
3	<i>l-</i>	—
4	<i>s-</i>	<i>z-</i>
5	<i>y-</i>	<i>z-</i>
6	<i>lw-</i>	<i>z-</i>
7	<i>b-</i>	—
8	<i>kw-</i>	—

Examples of their use are : *ixhego l-enza* ; *abantu b-oyika* ; *uluthi lw-aphukile* ; *abantu b-alile* ; *usana l-oyika* ; *indoda y-aakha* ; *umfazi w-onile* ; *amadoda a-(i)vu > eva*.

The Possessive Concords.

These concords are prefixed to nouns or pronouns denoting the owner, so forming what is called the "possessive form"; and they always correspond to the prefixes of the nouns denoting the things owned. There are two possessive concords : (i) the special concord, used with the singular of proper names of persons and of certain other

nouns grouped with them as class 1(a); and (ii) the general concord, used with the plural of these nouns and with the singular and plural of all others.

(i) The **special concord** of class 1(a) consists of the prepositional particle *ka-*, preceded, in the case of strong prefixes, by the plain prefix of the noun to which the concord refers. So we get :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sing.	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>lika-</i>	<i>sika-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>luka-</i>	<i>buka-</i>	<i>kuka-</i>
Plur.	<i>baka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	—	—

(ii) The **general concord** consists of the particle *-a-*, preceded by the consonantal form of the prefix, giving the forms :

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Sing.	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>yá-</i>	<i>lwa-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>
Plur.	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>za-</i>	—	—

The Adjective ConCORDS.

These concords—evidently very old ones, since they are used only with primitive adjectives—retain the nasals of the prefixes; but before a labial, *n* becomes *m*, as in *embi*, *ezimbini*.

(a) If the adjective is used as a predicate, the concord is identical with the plain prefix, save that *mu-* becomes syllabic *m-*; and *ni-* becomes *in-*, since Xhosa does not use syllabic *n*. The tone of the concord is high. So we get : *'m-hle*, *l'i-hle*, *s'i-hle*, *z'i-hle*, *z'in-tle*, etc.

(b) If the adjective is the attribute of a noun that has no article, the concord is identical with the above in form, but the tone is low; e.g., *ndithanda lua mntwana m-hle*; *akukho bantu ba-hle kunaaba*; *sezikabani ezi nkomo z'in-tle kangaka?*

(c) If the adjective is attribute to a noun with the article, its concord is formed by prefixing *a-* to the augmented prefix of the noun, and fusing it with the initial vowel. So we get: (*umntu*) *a-um-hle* > *om-hle*; (*ilitye*) *a-ili-hle* > *eli-hle*; (*usana*) *a-ulu-hle* > *olu-hle*; (*ukutya*) *a-uku-hle* > *oku-hle*; (*izandla*) *a-izi-hle* > *ezi-hle*; (*iinkomo*) *a-izin-hle* > *ezin-hle*.

The following is therefore the table of the adjective concords:

THE ADJECTIVE CONCORDS.

Class.	Singular.			Plural.		
	Pred.	Attributes.		Pred.	Attributes.	
		Short.	Long.		Short.	Long.
1	¹ <i>m-</i>	₁ <i>m-</i>	<i>om-</i>	<i>β¹a-</i>	<i>β₁a-</i>	<i>aba-</i>
2	¹ <i>m-</i>	₁ <i>m-</i>	<i>om-</i>	<i>m¹i-</i>	<i>m₁i-</i>	<i>emi-</i>
3	¹ <i>i-</i>	₁ <i>i-</i>	<i>eli-</i>	<i>m¹a-</i>	<i>m₁a-</i>	<i>ama-</i>
4	^s <i>i-</i>	_s <i>i-</i>	<i>esi-</i>	<i>z¹i-</i>	<i>z₁i-</i>	<i>ezi-</i>
5	¹ <i>in-</i>	₁ <i>in-</i>	<i>en-</i>	} <i>z¹in-</i>	} <i>z₁in-</i>	<i>ezin-</i>
6	¹ <i>u-</i>	₁ <i>u-</i>	<i>olu-</i>			
7	<i>β¹u-</i>	<i>β₁u-</i>	<i>obu-</i>	—	—	—
8	<i>k¹u-</i>	<i>k₁u-</i>	<i>oku-</i>	—	—	—

Care should be taken not to use the concords of cl. 5 plural with nouns of cl. 4 plural. This is often done by careless speakers and writers, since the former are so much more commonly heard: *izandla ezinkulu* for *izandla ezikhulu*, and *zombini izandla* for *zozibini izandla*, are wrong.

The Verb Concords.

(a) The **subject concord** of a verb is the plain prefix without the nasals, and therefore differs from the adjective predicate concord only in the case of those prefixes that have a nasal—i.e., the weak prefixes, and *zini-*. So we get:

(*umfazi*) *u-buleka* ; (*isicaka*) *si-buleka* ; (*amanzi*) *a-buleka* ; (*iigufa*) *zi-buleka*. Again an upper tone is used.

If the verb stem begins with a vowel, and in the past tense with *-a-*, the consonantal form of the prefix is used ; e.g., (*umfazi*) *w-enza* ; (*isicaka*) *s-enza* ; *z-afika* (*iinkomo*).

(*b*) The **object concord** is also the plain prefix, save that (*i*) in cl. I sing. the concord is *-m-* ; and (*ii*) in weak classes, *-y-* or *-w-* is used to prevent hiatus. Examples are : *ndi-m-thanda* ; *si-ba-thandu* ; *ndi-wa-thanda* ; *ndi-yi-thandu*.

(*c*) There is a **short relative concord**, which refers to a noun used without the article. It is the same in form as the subject concord, but takes a lower tone ; e.g., *lo mfo* *u-thethayo* ; *uaba bantu* *b₁a-fikileyo* ; *la madoda* *antloko* *z₁i-hexayo* ; *akukho* *ndoda* *i-fana naye*.

(*d*) The **long relative concord**, referring to a noun used with the article, is formed by fusing the particle *a-* with the article of the augmented prefix of the noun qualified, and dropping nasals. It therefore differs from the longer qualifying concord of adjectives only in the case of weak prefixes and *zini-*. We therefore get the forms : (*umntwana*) *a-um-sileyo* > *a-u-sileyo* > *o-sileyo* ; (*ihafe*) *a-ili-balekayo* > *elibalekayo* ; (*intonga*) *a-in-omeleleyo* > *a-i-omeleleyo* > *e-(y)-omeleleyo* ; (*amahafe*) *a-ama-omeleleyo* *a-a-omeleleyo* *a-(w)-omeleleyo*.

We may therefore summarize the main concords used with the verb as follows :

THE VERB CONCORDS.

Cls.	Singular.				Plural.				
	Subj.	Obj.	Relative.		Subj.	Obj.	Relative.		
			Short.	Long.			Short.	Long.	
1	'u-	-m-	u-	o-	β'a-	-βa-	β ₁ a-	aba-	
2	'u-	-wu-	u-	o-	'i-	-yi-	i-	e-	
3	l'i-	-li-	l ₁ i-	eli-	'a-	-wa-	a-	a-	
4	s'i-	-si-	s ₁ i-	esi-	z'i-	-zi-	z ₁ i-	ezi-	
5	'i-	-yi-	i-	e-	}	z'i-	zi-	z ₁ i-	ezi-
6	l'u-	-lu-	l ₁ u-	olu-					
7	β'u-	-βu-	β ₁ u-	obu-	—	—	—	—	
8	k'u-	-ku-	k ₁ u-	oku-	—	—	—	—	

The Copula.

When the predicate of a clause is a noun or pronoun, this is linked with the subject, not by a verb, but by a concord called the copula. In the case of the strong prefixes (except cl. 1 pl.), this is identical in form with the subject concord as shown above. The subject concord of a weak prefix is felt to be too weak for the importance of the particle, and relics of what are thought to be earlier forms of the copula are retained; *a-* and *u-* take *ng-* before them, and *i-* takes *y-*. Cl. 1. pl. also takes *ng-*. Hence we get the concords:

THE COPULA CONCORDS.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Sing.	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>βu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
Plur.	<i>nga-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	—	—

Examples of the use of the copula are: *ngumntu ongevayo*; *eliya lihase lam*; *ngabantu benkosi aaba*; *le ndodu yinkosi kwelakowabo*.

The Concord of Emphasis.

There is a minor concord, used when independent pronouns, and the possessive forms of nouns and pronouns, require to be emphasized. This consists of a single vowel prefixed to the word, this being the vowel resulting from the fusion of the particle of relation, *a-*, with the characteristic vowel of the noun-prefix. Examples are: *o-yena* (*mntu*); *e-sona* (*sityebi*); *o-bona* (*bulunko*); *e-kabuwo intonga*; *a-wenkuku amaqanda*; *e-yethu imithi*; *a-wabo amasimi*.

Summary of the Formation of the Concords.

There is no doubt that all the concords dealt with in this chapter were originally derived from the noun prefixes, and in their development there has not been much change, as the following summary, which shows how the concords may be formed from their prefixes at the present day, will testify.

A. Attributive :—(i) The Possessive : the consonantal representative of the prefix + *-a-*.

(ii) **The Short Adjective ;** the simple prefix on a lower tone ; but note cl. 5 sing., *in-* or *im-*.

(iii) **The Short Relative :** the simple prefix on a lower tone, omitting nasals.

(iv) **The Long Adjective :** *a-* + the augmented prefix.

(v) **The Long Relative :** *a-* + the augmented prefix, omitting nasals.

B. Predicative :—(i) The Adjective : like (ii) above, but on a higher tone.

(ii) **The Subject, before consonants :** like (iii) above, but on a higher tone.

(iii) The **Subject, before vowels** : the consonantal representative of the prefix.

(iv) The **Copula** : the simple prefix, omitting nasals, strengthening initial *a-* and *u-* with *ng-*, and initial *i-* with *y-* ; but note cl. 1 pl., *nga-*.

(v) The **Object** : the simple prefix, omitting nasals, and preceded by *-w-* or *-y-* if necessary, to avoid hiatus ; but note cl. 1 sing. *-m-*.

C. **Emphatic** : *a-* + the characteristic vowel of the prefix.

The Concords of the I. and II. Persons.

Although they are not strictly concords, in that they are not connected with any noun prefix, the forms for the I. and II. persons, corresponding to the concords of the III. person given above, for the copula, subject, object, and relative are shown below :

CONCORDS OF THE I. AND II. PERSONS.

	Copula.	Subject.	Object.	Relative.	
				Short.	Long.
Sing. I.	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>-ndi-</i>	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>endi-</i>
II.	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>o-</i>
Plur. I.	<i>si-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>-si-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>esi-</i>
II.	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>eni-</i>

The low tone of *u-* in the subject concord of the II. person singular occurs only in the indicative ; in the subjunctive, the temporal and the participle, it is raised ; no confusion with cl. 1 of the III. person arises, since the concord of this class in the subordinate moods is *a-* or *e-*.

In a relative clause where the predicate comes first, the relative concord of the I. or II. person is either identical with the subject concord on a low tone, or the short relative

concord of cl. 1 (the personal class) is used ; we may say, *mna ndibalayo*, or *mna ubalayo* ; *nina nikhoyo*, or *nina bakhoyo*.

In a relative clause introduced by a noun governing a possessive expressed or understood, the short relative concord of the 1st class seems to be favoured ; thus, *mna ugama libaliweyo* ; *thina bankomo zibanjiweyo* ; *nina bantamo zilukhuni*.

THE PREPOSITIONAL PARTICLES.

Though the prepositional particles seem to belong to quite a different order from that of concords, they have this in common, that both are particles of relation. While the concord shows the relation of various words to the noun, the prepositional particle shows the relation in which the noun stands to other words in the sentence. Further, we know that three of the old Bantu prefixes were prepositional in function. One of them, *ku-* (distinct from *ku-* of cl. 8) survives as a prefix in *ekunene* ; but otherwise, in Xhosa *ku-* is purely prepositional, and has lost the concords it had.

There are five prepositional particles in Xhosa. The commonest of these is *na-*, the development of whose various meanings is interesting. The original meaning seems to have been "with" ; e.g., *ndihamba naye*. The next step would be, that it was used to link two or more nouns or pronouns into one, producing the effect of "and," thus, *mna naye siya hamba* ; *uDavide noYonatan babethandana*. Then in such a sentence as, *ndifuna nemali*, it has acquired the force of "also" ; and in *nemali andiyifuni*, it is equivalent to "even."

But there is another line of development. In *uDavide noYonatan*, the preposition links names of persons of co-ordinate standing ; the one is with the other ; but if

one member is very much subordinate to the other, the idea of possession creeps in, as in, *uDavide unekhaka*; and if the idea of possession extends to the performance of acts, as in *ndinokubaleka*, we have the further idea of ability to perform. In some such way have been developed the six main uses of this hard-worked particle.

Nga- may denote the instrument or the means of action, thus: *sihlamba ngamanzi*; *silima ngamakhuba*. The means may be indirect, and amount to no more than reason, as in: *sohlwaywe ngaye*; *sisenkathazweni nje, kungaye*; *kungam ngoku*. Prefixed to a noun of time, it denotes point of time or period; e.g., *ubawo wofika ngomso*; *ufe ngekaNgcayechibi*; *banduluke ngexefa lesithoba*. To a locative expression it gives a wider field of application; *ngaseDikeni* is not as definite as *eDikeni*. The preposition is used also in distribution, thus, *babele ama-apile ngamathathu*; *bahlalise ngamahlanu, ngamahlanu*.

Ku- is primarily locative, and takes the place of the locative form with pronouns, nouns of cl. 1(a), and nouns preceded by a demonstrative: e.g., *kuye, kumaa, kulaa mlambo*. It is often used as an alternative to the locative form with other nouns; we may say, *enkosini* or *kwinkosi, kumzi* or *emzini kaFani*. Indeed with nouns denoting persons, the tendency is to use *ku-*; it would be unusual to say, *emfazini*. *Ku-* may be used also of time, in the sense of "up to," as in *kude kuye kwimini yokumka kwethu*; and occasionally it denotes point of time, as in, *basfike kwiveki ephelileyo*.

Ka- is possessive in force. It takes the place of the ordinary possessive concord with proper names of cl. 1(a) and certain other nouns of this class, though not all; with many, the use of the special or the general concord of possession is optional.

Kwa- combines possession and place, and denotes "at the place belonging to"; and with names of tribes it is equivalent to "among": e.g., *kwamalume*, *kwaMona*, *kwaXhosa*. It may be the locative preposition *ku-* with the particle of relation, *-a-*, and in any case is quite distinct from the adverb *kwa* in *kwa yena*, or in such a sentence as *ikwanguye*. The difference of intonation is to be noted—*kw'a-* (prep.) and *kw,a* (adv.).

CHAPTER VII.

THE NOUN-CLASSES.

The First Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES : *M(U)-, BA-*.

AUGMENTED PREFIXES : *um(u)-, aba-*.

In all Bantu languages, this is pre-eminently the class to which names of persons belong ; e.g., *umfo, umfazi*, etc.

The name of the agent is commonly formed from the verb stem by means of the prefixes of this class, with the substitution of *-i* for final *-a* of the verb ; as in *umfundisi, abafundisi*, from *fundisa* ; *umaakhi, abaakhi*, from *aakha*. The name of the person acted upon may be similarly formed, but final *-a* is retained ; e.g., *umthunywa, umma-ngulekwa*.

Tribal and national names almost all belong to this class in the singular ; in the plural many take the plural prefix of cl. 3 ; e.g., *umThembu, abaThembu* ; *umThwa, abaThwa* ; but, *umXhosa, amaXhosa* ; *umGcaleka, amaGcaleka*. There seems to be no rule governing the use of *aba-* or *ama-* for these names.

If the noun stem has the high vowel *u* in its first syllable, the *a* of the plural prefix may by assimilation become *e*, as in *abeSuthu*.

Class 1(a).—With class 1 goes a sub-class of nouns which take only the vowel *u* in the singular, and *oo* in the plural ; e.g., *uVena, ooVena*.

To this sub-class belong : (i) Proper names of persons and animals, like *uLanga, ooLanga* ; *uPhalo, ooPhalo* ;

uBantom. The plural denotes "those with X," or "X and his companions," often with a depreciatory connotation.

(ii) Some nouns denoting close relationship; e.g., *ubawo*, (*uyihlo*, etc.), *umaa* (*unyoko*, etc.), *unyana*, *udade*, *ukhokho*, *oomawokhulu*.

(iii) Names of certain animals and plants and a few articles, which are, as it were, personified, often with a suggestion of humour; e.g., *uxam*, *undlebe-nde*, *unomadudwane*, *usokhetfhe*, *umbona*, *utiya*, *ufephwe*.

(iv) Other parts of speech used as nouns; e.g., *uhayi noewe*, *uvimba*, *undilele*, *uphemb'efiya*, *umahla-ndinyuke*.

(v) Some foreign words, as, *ulolwe*, *unomentefe*.

The fact that the vocative of the plural takes *boo*, as in *boobawo*, suggests that the prefix *oo* was originally *obo-* or *abo-*, possibly by fusion of *aba-* and *u-* and elision of *b*, which in some other instances shows a tendency to drop out in Xhosa.

There is a curious double plural to the noun *usithupha* (thumb), viz., *oozithupha* (see *abaGwebi*, i. 6); the Xhosa-speaking person feels that the stem is *thupha*, and treats the word as having two prefixes, one of cl. 1 (a) and the other of cl. 4, each taking its appropriate plural form.

Nouns of this sub-class take the same concords as nouns of cl. 1.

The concords of class 1 are given below; of attributive concords, only the long forms are shown, since the short forms are like the predicative, except in tone.

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
	Spec. Gen.	Pred. Att.		Subj. Obj. Rel.
S.	<i>ka- wa-</i>	<i>m- om-</i>	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>u-, a-, -m- o-</i>
				<i>e-</i>
P.	<i>baka- ba-</i>	<i>ba- aba-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ba- -ba- aba-</i>

The Second Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES: *M(U)-*, *MI-*.AUGMENTED PREFIXES: *um(u)-*, *imi-*.

In spite of the similarity of prefix in the singular of this class and of cl. 1, we shall see that there are important differences in certain concords and pronouns, indicating that the prefixes are not identical in origin.

The second class embraces names of various kinds, but especially connected with it are: (i) names of trees, e.g., *umnga*, *umkhiwane*, *umsenge*; and even of foreign plants; named from their fruit; e.g., *umdiliya* (from *idiliya*), *umapile* (from *iapile*).

(ii) Names of many rivers; e.g., *umGwali*, *umNqhesa*.

(iii) Various parts of the body; e.g., *umlomo*, *umlenze*, *umqolo*.

(iv) Words denoting the result of action, formed from verbs by means of the prefix, with *-o* to replace final *-a* of the verb; e.g., *umbono*, *umvubo*, *umGqibelo*, *umdudo*, *ummangaliso*. Note that *umoya* (pl. *imimoya*) drops an *-m-* in the singular; and the plural of *umendo* (from the stem: *endo*) is *imendo*.

The concords of class 6 are:

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
	Spec. Gen.	Pred. Attr.		Subj. Obj. Rel.
S.	<i>ka- wa-</i>	<i>m- om-</i>	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>'u- -wu- o-</i>
P.	<i>ka- ya-</i>	<i>mi- emi-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>i- -yi- e-</i>

Note that the object concord is not *-m-*, as in cl. 1, but *-wu-*.

The Third Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES: *LI-*, *MA-*.AUGMENTED PREFIXES: *ili-* (*i-*), *ama-*.

To this class belongs a large number of names of things in general; e.g., *ilitye*, *ilizwi*, *ilizwe*, *ithole*. Names of persons belonging to this class are usually descriptive, denoting persons distinguished by a particular quality, so that they are often used where in English an adjective would be used; e.g., *ihkwempu*, *ixhego*, *iciko*.

It will be noted above that nouns whose stems consist of more than one syllable drop the *-l-* of the prefix. This is occasionally done also with some monosyllabic nouns; e.g., *izwi*, for *ilizwi*; *izwe*, for *ilizwe*; *iso*, for *iliso*.

Many nouns take the plural prefix of this class, whose singulars take the prefixes of other classes; in fact, tribal and national nouns generally do so. Examples are: *indoda*, *amadoda*; *intsimi*, *amasimi*; *iMfengu*, *amaMfengu*; *unNgqika*, *amaNgqika*.

The use of this prefix is increasing. Not only do we find *anantombazana*, corresponding to *iintombi*, and *amankonyana*, corresponding to *iinkomo*, showing that derivatives tend to assume it, but one observes a growing tendency to use it with foreign words, where formerly the plural of the fifth class was used; e.g., *amatapile* and *ama-apile*, for *iitapile* and *iiapile*; and *amakeriji* and *amatikiti*, where in days gone by the forms would have been *iikeriji* and *iitikiti*. In this respect, as in others, Johannesburg, with its assemblage of other Bantu languages, seems to exercise strong influence; the prefix is a favourite one in Zulu.

An important group of nouns in this class embraces names of liquid and other materials, and a few abstract

nouns, which are used only in the plural ; e.g., *amaenzi*, *amasi*, *amafutha*, *amazimba*, *amendu*, *amandla*. Curiously enough, the noun *ameva* also lacks a singular.

The noun *iliso* (or *iso*) takes the plural *amehlo* ; and the plural of *izinyo* may be either *amazinyo* or (by the elision of *z*, and fusion) *amenyo*.

The concords of cl. 3 are :

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
	Spec. Gen.	Pred. Attr.		Subj. Obj. Rel.
Sing.	<i>lika- la-</i>	<i>li- eli-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>li- -li- eli-</i>
Plur.	<i>ka- u-</i>	<i>ma- ama-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>a- -xa- a-</i>

The Fourth Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES : *SI-*, *ZI-*.

AUGMENTED PREFIXES : *isi-*, *izi-*.

This class is particularly the class of nouns denoting collections, including such ideas as language and custom ; e.g., *isinga*, *isikhoba*, *isifazi*, *isiNgesi*, *lo mtu ukhwela siXhosa* (i.e., he rides in Xhosa fashion). It includes also a number of names of persons having a distinctive quality, like *isityebi*, *isiyatha* ; names of instruments, like *isikhali*, *isandc*, *isibophelelo*, *isitya* ; and nouns denoting the result of action, like *isenzo*, *isibizo*, *isiphelo*.

Nouns borrowed from foreign sources and beginning with *s-* are usually assigned to this class, the *s-* going into the prefix and not into the stem ; e.g., *isikolo*, *isileyiti*, *isitibile* ; plur. *izikolo*, etc.

Before nouns whose stems begin with a vowel, *i* of the prefix is dropped, and we get *is-onka*, *is-akhiwo*, *is-enzo* ; but in some words there appears to be a tendency to elide the initial vowel, e.g., we hear *isakhwatsha* and *isikhwatsha*.¹

¹It is a question whether, in such word, *a* is part of the stem, or whether for some unknown reason the prefix has taken the form *isa-*.

The concords of cl. 4 are :

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.		
	Spec. Gen.	Pred. Attr.	Subj.	Obj.	Rel.	
Sing.	<i>sika- sa-</i>	<i>si- esi-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>-si-</i>	<i>esi-</i>
Plur.	<i>zika- za-</i>	<i>zi- ezi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	<i>ezi-</i>

The Fifth Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES: *N(I)-, ZIN(I)-*.

AUGMENTED PREFIXES: *in(i)-, (im-, i-); izin(i)-, (izim-izi-, iin-, iim-, ii-)*.

This is the widest class in Xhosa, and embraces the common names of a large number of persons, things, and, especially animals; e.g., *into, indlu, indlela, indoda, inkwenkwe, igufa, inkomo,inja, ingwe*.

Foreign words are usually assigned to this class, unless they begin with *s-*; e.g., *ikomityi, idyokhwe, ibokhwe, iBayibile, ipensile*.

A noun formed from a verb by means of the prefix *in-* or *im-*, with the final vowel *i-*, denotes one who excels in the action; compare *umbaleki* (one who runs) and *imbaleki* (one who excels in running); *umnchibi* and *inchibi*; *umdadi* and *indadi*.

Nouns of this class ending in *-o* usually denote the result of action, or action looked upon in a passive rather than an active light; e.g., *inzondo, intando, intetho*.

The form of the prefix depends partly upon the initial sound of the noun stem. It is *im-* before a labial sound (*p, b, f, v*.) by assimilation; and stems beginning with *h* and *m* drop the nasal, taking only *i-*. Words of foreign origin also take only *i-*. Examples are *impuku, invubu, imbali, imfenc; ihagu, imini; ipeni, itafle, ileli*.

Again, if the noun stem consists of more than one syllable, *-z-* of the plural prefix is dropped, and we get

iinkosi, iimfene, iimini. In colloquial speech this is sometimes done even with monosyllabic nouns; e.g., *iinto*, for *izinto*. The plural prefix, however, is an assertive one, and in certain forms of the noun the *-z-* is retained even with nouns of two or more syllables, as in *ezinkosini, zinkosi!*

It may be noted here that the plural prefix, *zin-*, in its various forms serves also for nouns of the next class, and for a few in cl. 7.

The prefixes *n(i)-* and *zin(i)-* exercise strong influence on certain initial consonants of noun stems to which they are added. The following changes are found:—

(i) *B* becomes the voiced explosive, *b*; as in *baleka, imbaleki; balisa, imbaliso*.

(ii) The voiceless explosive *ty* becomes voiced *dy*; as in *tyeba, indyebo; utywala, indywala*.¹

(iii) A simple voiceless click becomes voiced but not nasalized; e.g., *cinga, ingcinga; qonda, ingqondo; xakeka, ingxakeko*. On the other hand we do find *inkxola-zwe* from *xola*, and *inkxози* from *xoza*.

(iv) An aspirated click loses its aspiration, but is neither voiced nor nasalized; e.g., *chana, inkcani; qhuba, inkqubo; xhasa, inkxaso*.

(v) Fricatives become affricates. The slight check to the breath, caused by passing from a "nose sound" to a "mouth sound," produces an explosive which may be noticeable, or may be so slight as to be almost inaudible, as for example before a voiced fricative. Examples are: *usizi, iintsizi*; the root *simi, intsimi; sela, intselo; dlala,*

¹ The question arises whether the strong voicing influence noted in (i), (ii) and (iii) is due to the final vowel *i* of the prefix, which has disappeared and, as it were, left its voice behind or to assimilative influence exercised by voiced *m* or *n*.

indlali; zonda, inzondo. Note that, where the explosive is very faint, it is not written.

The concords of cl. 5 are :

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
	Spec. Gen.	Pred.	Attr.	Subj. Obj. Rel.
Sing.	<i>ka- ya-</i>	<i>in-,im-</i>	<i>en-,em-</i>	<i>yi- i- -yi- e-</i>
Plur.	<i>sika- za-</i>	<i>zin-,zim-</i>	<i>esin-, ezim-</i>	<i>zi- -zi- esi-</i>

The Sixth Class.

PLAIN PREFIXES : *LU-*, *ZIN(I)-*.

AUGMENTED PREFIXES : *ulu-*, (*u-*) ; *izin(i)-* (*izim-*, *izi-*, *iin-*, *iim-*, *ii-*).

This class embraces many common nouns, but not many new nouns, other than derivatives, are added to it. In some languages, e.g., Shona, it definitely indicates long objects. It includes the names of several parts of the body, like *unyawo*, *ubambo*, *uzwane* ; and nouns denoting action, considered in the abstract, like *uthando*, *ukholo*, *uBalo*, with which one may compare the meaning of the corresponding nouns of the 5th class, *intando*, *inkolo*, *imbali*. The nouns of cl. 5 are distinctly less abstract.

As in the singular of cl. 3, *-l-* of the prefix is dropped before nouns of more than one syllable ; e.g., *uhlobo*, *unyawo* ; but the prefix is assertive, and *-l-* is retained in certain forms of these nouns, as in *elunyaveni*, *lulwimi* !

As nouns of this class take the prefixes of the fifth class in the plural, the points noted in regard to the plural prefix in that class apply here also. But it should be noted that the phonetic changes caused by the prefix produce considerable differences in form between the singular and the plural stems of certain nouns. We get *ubambo*, *iimbambo* ;

utyelo, iindyelo ; ucingo, iingcingo ; uqogo, iingqogo ; uxande, iingxande ; uchuku, iinkcuku ; usana, iintsana ; uluhlu, izintlu ; urwebo, iinkrwebo.

Note that the plural of *ulovane* is *amalovane* ; and the plural of *ulwagcibe* is *izangcibe*, *-a-* of the stem having found its way into the prefix. *Ukrozo* has no plural, *imikrozo* (from *umkrozo*) being used ; but *ukyolo* has the plural *iinkyolo*.

The concords of class 6 are :

	Possessive.	Adjective.		Copula.	Verb.		
	Spec. Gen.	Pred.	Attr.		Subj.	Obj.	Rel.
S.	<i>luka- lwa-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>olu-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>-lu-</i>	<i>olu-</i>
P.	<i>ziku- za-</i>	<i>zin-,zim-</i>	<i>ezin-, ezim-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	<i>ezi-</i>

The Seventh Class.

PLAIN PREFIX : *BU-*.

AUGMENTED PREFIX : *ubu-*

This is the class to which especially belong abstract nouns formed from adjectives and descriptive nouns, and denoting quality ; e.g., *ubuhle, ubumanzi, ubuyatha*. There are, however, a few names of concrete objects, like *utyani, utywala, uboya, ububovu, ubuhlanti* ; and in *ubuxhwangu* a collection is indicated.

It will be noted in the above section, that with some of the nouns the prefix seems to have been reduced to *u-*. As a matter of fact, in the case of *utywala*, comparison with other languages leads one to believe that the noun was *ubuyalwa* (cf. Tswana *boyalwa*), that the semivowel *-w-* was transposed to the preceding syllable, and that there it caused palatalization of the *-b-* of the prefix (cf. *goba, gotywa*). *Utyani* was evidently *ubu + ani* ; *-u* before *a-*

became *-w*, which in turn palatalized *-b-*, as in *utywala*. *Ubomi* takes a short prefix *ub-*, before a vowel stem *-omi*.

There is no corresponding plural. The nouns *utywala* and *ubuhlanti* borrow the plural prefix of cl. 5, and form *iindywala* and *iintlanti*; and for *ubukumkani* the plural of *isikumkani* is borrowed. In the Scriptures we find *ubusuku obumafumi mané* (*Gen.* vii. 4), *ebusweni bonke* (*Is.* xxv. 8) and *ubuso obune* (*Hez.* i. 6). Indeed the Translators were driven to use these singulars for plurals throughout their version; for to use the plural prefix of cl. 5 would have created confusion with *iintsuku* from *usuku*, and *izintso* from *intso*.

The concords of cl. 7 are :

	Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
	Spec. Gen.	Pred. Attr.		Subj. Obj. Rel.
S.	<i>buka- ba-</i>	<i>bu- obu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>bu- -bu- obu-</i>

The Eighth Class.

PLAIN PREFIX : *KU-*

AUGMENTED PREFIX : *uku-*.

This class is identical with the infinitive mood of the verb, and denotes the performance of action; it is practically equivalent to the English verbal noun ending in *-ing*. Thus while *ulufo* and "theft" denote the abstract idea, *ukuufa* and "stealing" denote rather the action in progress; there is the same difference between *uthando* and *ukuthanda*, *ukholo* and *ukukholwa*, etc.

Being both nouns and verbs, such nouns can effect and undergo whatever is appropriate to each of these parts of speech. Like verbs, they can take an object, two objects or a noun of reference; and, by means of auxiliaries, changes of tense can be effected; a passive and a negative.

can be formed. On the other hand, like nouns, they can be the subject or the object of the sentence, be used with a prepositional particle, have adjectival attributes, or take the vocative, the possessive or the locative form of the noun. The Xhosa-speaking student will find it a profitable exercise to form sentences illustrative of these facts.

There are a very few concrete nouns in this class; examples are *ukudla* (food, and the cutting edge of a tool), *ukuhlwa* (evening) and *ukukhanya* (light).

The concords of cl. 8 are :

Possessive.	Adjective.	Copula.	Verb.
Spec. Gen.	Pred. Attr.	Subj. Obj. Rel.	
<i>kuka- kwa-</i>	<i>ku- oku-</i>	<i>ku- ku-</i>	<i>-ku- oku-</i>

These concords of the eighth class are important also in that they are commonly used in the impersonal construction; e.g., *kuya na*; *kufufu*; *kufike umntu wasemzini*; *oku ukuthethayo ndiya kuva*.

BANI and NI.

The words *bani* and *ni* play the part in Xhosa that is played in European languages by the interrogative and the indefinite pronouns; but, owing to the forms they assume, they seem rather to partake of the nature of nouns—nouns that refer to the unknown, like *x* in an equation.

Bani may take any one of the forms of cl. 1(a): *ubani*, *kabani*, *ngubani*, *ngabani*, *oobani*, etc.; and *ni* may take the forms of cl. 1: *umnt*, *abant*, *ngabant*; or it may behave like a noun of cl. 5: *yint*, *ngant*, *zint*, etc.

Examples of their use are: *ubone bani? ngcobani? ukuba ubani uthe wanyelisa, ma kaxulutye*; *ukuba inkomo kabaniithe yamhlaba umntu, ma ibulawe*; *ngabant aabaya? umenze ni umntwana wam? yini le? ndone enini? umfo wasemaNini; yinto yant le? ndibe ndingathi ni, akwanceda lutho.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FORMS OF THE NOUN.

The form of the noun may be modified in accordance with its use in the sentence or a modification of its meaning. Adjustments according to its use are sometimes called "cases," but it is better to reserve this term for inflected forms in inflecting languages; we shall therefore call these modifications, "forms."

The Vocative Form.

In this form, used in addressing the person named, the initial vowel of the prefix, which we call the article, is dropped; e.g., *Mvinjelwa! madoda! kufa!*

Where, in the ordinary form of the noun, a consonant has been dropped from the prefix, in cl. 6 sing., and cl. 1(a), cl. 5 and cl. 6 pl., this consonant is retained in the vocative; it is not retained in cl. 3 sing. Examples are, *boomaa! zinkosi! lutshaaba!* but, *xhego!*

In addressing equals or inferiors, the speaker will sometimes add the particle *ndini*, often with a suggestion of contempt or a sneer. It is, however, often used also between familiar friends, without any suggestion other than familiarity, especially in the common terms of address among men, *mfo ndini! baso ndini!*

The Possessive Form.

The general rules for the formation of the possessive are:

(1) In most nouns of cl. 1(a) sing., the prepositional particle *ka-* takes the place of the article; and, if the name

of the thing owned carries a strong prefix, *ka-* takes before it this prefix in its simple form. So we get the following forms of the special concord :

THE SPECIAL POSSESSIVE CONCORD.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>lika-</i>	<i>sika-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>luka-</i>	<i>buka-</i>	<i>kuka-</i>
P.	<i>baka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	—	—

(2) With nouns other than those of cl. 1(a) sing., the particle of qualification, *-a-*, is used. This fuses with, instead of replacing, the article ; and before it, is placed the consonantal form of the prefix appropriate to the name of the thing owned. The general possessive concords are therefore :

THE GENERAL POSSESSIVE CONCORD.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>lwa-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>
P.	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>za-</i>	—	—

The rule for the fusion of *a* with a following vowel was given in the chapter on the Modification of Sounds ; it remains *a* before a prefix beginning with *a*, becomes *e* before *i*, and becomes *o* before *u*. If the noun following has no article, naturally *a* remains unaltered. So we get (*amasimi*) *aabantu*, (*abantu*) *benkosi*, (*amanzi*) *omlambo*, (*andifuni nkomo*) *yamntu*, (*akukho nyama*) *yankwenkwe*.

In regard to the first of these rules, it must be noted that the rule is not invariable for names other than proper names of persons or animals, and that, in quite a number of instances, the general rather than the special concord would be used by good speakers. Where the idea of relationship is strong and intimate we should always use *ka-*, as in *iinkomo zikubawo*, or *zikayise* ; on the other hand, we should always say *izikhwebu zombona*. In between are

many instances where no rule can be given, and where even good speakers will vary. Probably sound has a much to do with the choice; possibly nearness or remoteness of idea also has some influence, *ka-* being favoured for the nearer and *-a-* for the more remote. It is difficult to ascertain why a speaker will prefer *igama likayise*, but *igama lonina*; or why another, one of the most reliable authorities on good Xhosa, would say *amaqanda kaxam*, but *amaqanda okhet/she*. In *I. Tim.* we have *phezu kukabani* in v. 22, and *phambi koPontiyo Pilato* in vi. 13, although *phezu* and *phambi* require the same construction. In *II. Kor.* xii. 19, we find *phambi kukaThixo*.

The Emphatic Possessive.—We have seen that the usual order of two nouns in the possessive relation is that the name of the thing owned precedes the name of the owner; but if it is desired to emphasize the latter, the order may be reversed. In that case the possessive is introduced by the concord of emphasis, which is the result of fusion of *a* with the characteristic vowel of the prefix —*a-*, *e-* or *o-*, according as the noun prefix contains *a*, *i*, or *u*.

This form is also used when a noun in the possessive is a predicate, or when it stands alone, with the governing noun understood.

Examples are: *elenkosi ihafe lityebile*; *ndithanda ezika-Fani iinkomo*; *le mali yekamaa*; *ndiya kukubetha ngoluka-Benya (uswazi)*; *uyu kubetha ngezikaTshiwu namhla nje*.

The Locative Form.

If the student will refer to the table of Old Bantu prefixes given in the chapter on the Prefixes, he will note three, called locative prefixes — nos. 16 (*pa-*), 17 (*ku-*) and 18 (*mu-*). In the languages that still use them, *pa-* generally carries the idea of “at” or “upon”; *ku-*, “to” or “from”; and *mu-*, “in” (as in Tswana, where it is now

mo). Xhosa has lost the use of these, although it still has six words, now virtually adverbs, that were originally nouns with the prefix *pa-*: *phambi*, *pheseya*, *phexulu*, *phantsi*, *phukathi*, *phandle*; *phonosono* may also be a relic of this class. *Ekunene* probably contains *ku-* of cl. 17; but, the force of *ku-* having been lost, the modern *e-* is added.

Instead of these three prefixes, Xhosa uses a form of locative that usually takes both a prefix and a suffix. And it denotes merely location in space, or position in time, leaving it to the verb of the clause to show whether the relation intended is motion to, into, in or by; rest in or on; or motion from, or out of. We use *endlwini* equally with *vela*, *hlala*, *lala*, *ngexa*, *phuma*, *ya*, *gqitha*, *ondela*, etc.

The general rule for the formation of the locative is, that the particle *e-* replaces the article of the noun; and that the suffix *-eni* replaces a final *-a* or *-e*; *-ini* replaces final *i*; *-weni* replaces *-o*; and *-wini* replaces *-u*.

If the student will recall what was said about vowel production in an earlier chapter, he will readily understand why *-eni* is used with nouns ending on the mid and low vowels (*e*, *o*, *a*), and *-ini* with nouns ending on the high vowels *i* and *u*; and *w* represents the rounding of the lips required for final *o* and *u*.

But with this general rule go the important modifications given below.

(1) When the noun is used in such a sense that, were it in its ordinary form, it would be without the article, initial *e-* is omitted; e.g., *andihlali mzini unjalo*; *andingeni ntweni yakufekethu*.

(2) After initial *e-*, contracted prefixes in cl. 6, sing., and in cl. 5 and cl. 6, pl., retain the consonant that is usually dropped, as in *elunyaweni*, *ezinkomeni*, *ezinyaweni*. On

the other hand, in colloquial speech monosyllabic nouns sometimes retain contraction even in the locative, as in *ezweni*, *etyeni*, *efini*.

(3) After labials, the *-w-* representing the lip-rounding of *-o* or *-u* disappears, as in *emgubeni*, *egubini*, *embewini*.

(4) In most nouns, a bilabial in the final syllable is palatalized, as explained in the chapter on the Modification of Sounds. So we get: *ehlotyeni*, *emlonyeni*, *eluzitsheni*, *emlanjeni*, *ehlwentfini*.

These are some of the nouns whose labials in the final syllables are not palatalized:

<i>igaba</i>	<i>inkomo</i>	<i>impi</i>
<i>umgubo</i>	<i>isimo</i>	<i>umpu</i>
<i>igubu</i>	<i>inqaba</i>	<i>umgquba</i>
<i>igumbi</i>	<i>inyama</i>	<i>intsomi</i>
<i>umhlaba</i>	<i>ubomi</i>	<i>intaba</i> .

(5) Proper names of places, that are not also common nouns, omit the suffix; e.g., *eKapa*, *eMonti*; but *eDikeni* (from *idike*). Also, many common nouns of place and time that are much used in a locative sense, and seldom otherwise, do the same. The following list probably contains the most important of such locatives:

<i>ebotwe</i>	<i>ekwindla</i>	<i>enqentsu</i>	<i>entloko</i>
<i>ebunzi</i>	<i>elwandle</i>	<i>enqhina</i>	<i>entsona-langa</i>
<i>emhlana</i>	<i>emini</i>	<i>entlakohlaza</i>	<i>entungo</i>
<i>ebuhlanti</i>	<i>endle</i>	<i>ebusika</i>	<i>eziko</i> .
<i>ekhaya</i>	<i>emnyango</i>	<i>ebusuku</i>	
<i>ekhohlo</i>	<i>ephulo</i>	<i>emathaanga</i>	
<i>ekunene</i>	<i>empuma-langa</i>	<i>entlango</i>	

As a general rule, the suffix appears even with these nouns, if they are accompanied by qualifying words, as in *entlokweni yam*, *buhlantini bunye*, *ezikweni elivutha umlilo*, *ekhayeni elingxondoya*; a few, however, neglect the suffix

even if they are qualified; e.g., *emini enkulu*, *emnyango womlomo wam* (*in Dum.* cxli, 3)—though Tiyo Soga writes, *eminyangweni yezindlu zethu*.

(6) Proper names of persons and other nouns of cl. 1(a) use *ku-* for the locative ideas of "to" and "from," and *kwa-* for the idea, "at the home or village of"; e.g., *yiya kuMenziwa*; *ndivela kubawo*; *caphula kutiya lowo*; *ndivela kwaVenu*; *ndiya kwamalume*.

(7) If the noun is preceded by a demonstrative or any word in apposition, *ku-* is used instead of the locative form, and this goes with the demonstrative or the word in apposition; e.g., *kulaa ndlu*; *kweli gumbi*; *kobuya ubuhlanti*; *kubo bonke abantu*.

It is to be noted that a locative may have before it the possessive concord, or a preposition (*na-* or *nga-*), or a subject or relative concord; in such cases, an *-s-* separates the vowels. Examples are: *umfo waseKapa*; *abantu baseTini* (in such an expression, the plain possessive of the noun would not be used); *ndakha ndaya naseKapa*; *ndakhele ngasemlanjeni* (where *nga-* carries the idea of nearness, approximation); *useQonce ngoku*; *iinkomo ezisebuhlanti zilifumi*.

Augmentatives.

To indicate an object unusually large for its class, the suffix *-kazi* is added to a noun; as in *umthikazi*, *umlambokazi*.

What is apparently an extension of this use, is that *-kazi* is also used to denote certain relationships; e.g., *ubawokazi*, my father's brother; *umaakazi*, my mother's sister.

Diminutives.

Objects small for their class take the endings *-ana*, *-anyana* (a doubling of *-ana*); and for female animals, *-azana*, *-kazana*. Examples are: *umzana*, *injana*, *injanyana*, *umfana*

(from *umfo*), *intombazana*, *belukazana*. Occasionally one diminutive ending is followed by a second, as in *intwanazana*, *imvnanazana*.

The ending *-ana* often causes the palatalization of a preceding bilabial, as described in the chapter on the Modification of Sounds. This change does not invariably occur, but it is found in a much greater proportion of nouns here, than in the locative. Examples are: *igunjana*, *ingutyana*, *umloxyana*, *usatshana*, *umlanjana*, *ihlventfana*.

As previously mentioned, *l* may be similarly affected, as in *indledlana*, *ithodlana*.

The ending itself is sometimes modified by the change of final *-a* to *-e*, usually with a change of meaning; cf. *indlwana* (an ordinary house, but small) and *indlwane* (used in *UHambo lomHambi* for a cage); *ikhowa* (the horse mushroom) and *inkowane* (the small mushroom, or a toadstool); *intombazana* (a young girl) and *intonjane* (a girl at her initiation); *idolo* (the knee) and *idololwane* (the elbow); *umkhaza* (the red tick) and *inkazane* (a very small tick); *inkunzi* (a bull) and *inkunzane* (whose fruit bears horn-like thorns). John Bennie's *Vocabulary* has *uthuli* (dust) and *intulwane* (fine dust).

The suffix *-azana* is frequent in pet names, e.g., *uFudwoazana*, *ntwanazana*.

The Distinction of Sex.

Xhosa has no grammatical gender, but the suffixes *-kazi* and *-azana* are used to indicate female animals; e.g., *ingoryamakazi*, *ingwekazi*, *intwazana*. From *ithole* is formed *ithokazi*, and the feminine of *inzwana* is *inzwakazi*. *Inkuku* changes its prefix when it takes *-kazi*, and becomes *isikhukukazi*; no reason is apparent.

Sex may be marked also: (*i*) by the use of separate

words for the male and the female ; e.g., *indoda*, *umfazi* ; *inkwenkwe*, *intombi* : *inkunzi*, *imazi*.

(ii) By using *inkunzi* or *imazi* with the possessive of the noun ; e.g., *inkunziyehafe*, *imazi yegufa* ; or (less commonly) these words may follow the noun and take the copula, thus, *ibokhwe eyinkunzi*, *igufa eyimazi*.

(ii) By adding *iduna* or *induna* for the male, immediately after the noun ; e.g., *ithol' iduna* or *ithole eliduna*, *inja induna*. Note that *iduna* or *induna* is used, according as the noun is of the third or the fifth class.

In old Xhosa, *umaa-khulu* was used of both grandparents, and when it was necessary to distinguish them, the grandfather was called *umaa-khulu osidoda*.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRONOUN.

The Basic Stem.

Taking as our definition of a pronoun, that it is a word used in place of a noun, we may regard the concords as pronominal in character, since they represent the nouns to which they refer ; but they are no more than particles, unable to exist independently, and so lacking the status of words. In Xhosa, however, there are stems forming the basis of independent words that discharge the functions of pronouns.

In the I. and II. persons, these stems are :

THE BASIC STEMS OF THE I. AND II. PERSONS.

Sing. I.	-m	Pl. I.	-thi
II.	-we	II.	-ni

In the III. person, the stem for cl. 1 sing. is *-ye* ; otherwise the basic stems are regularly formed by the vowel *-o*, preceded by the consonantal representatives of the various prefixes. This gives us the forms :

THE BASIC STEMS OF THE III. PERSON.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	-ye	-wo	-lo	-so	-yo	-lo	-bo	-kho
P.	-bo	-yo	-wo	-zo	-zo	-zo	—	—

Note that *k* of cl. 8 acquires aspiration in its new dignity.

The Independent Pronoun.

If to the basic stem we add the suffix *-na*, we have the forms of the pronoun used when the pronoun stands alone. They are as follows :

THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUN.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
S.	<i>mua</i>	<i>wena</i>	<i>yena</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>lona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>lona</i>
P.	<i>thina</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>zona</i>	<i>zona</i>	<i>zona</i>
			III. 7.	8.				
S.			<i>bona</i>	<i>khona</i> .				

As the subject of the clause is always, and the object is very often, embodied in the verb form, the independent pronouns are of use mainly for purposes of emphasis, contrast, or some similar effect; e.g., *kade sinibiza*, *ke nina anisabeli*; *iinkabi zenu zityebile*, *ezethu zona zinginile*; *sibe sisebenza thina*, *abafana bona bedlala*.

Pronouns with Prepositions and the Copula.

With prepositional particles and the copula, the basic stem is used, thus:

FORMS OF THE PRONOUN WITH PREPOSITIONS.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.
S.	<i>na-m</i>	<i>na-we</i>	<i>na-ye</i>	<i>na-wo</i>	<i>na-lo</i>	<i>na-so</i>
P.	<i>ku-thi</i>	<i>ku-ni</i>	<i>ku-bo</i>	<i>ku-yo</i>	<i>ku-wo</i>	<i>ku-zo</i>
		III. 5.	6.	7.	8.	
S.		<i>na-yo</i>	<i>na-lo</i>	<i>na-bo</i>	<i>na-kho</i> .	
P.		<i>ku-zo</i>	<i>ku-zo</i>	—	—	

FORMS OF THE PRONOUN WITH THE COPULA.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.
S.	<i>ndi-m</i>	<i>ngu-we</i>	<i>ngu-ye</i>	<i>ngu-wo</i>	<i>li-lo</i>	<i>si-so</i>
P.	<i>s'i-thi</i>	<i>n'i-ni</i>	<i>nga-bo</i>	<i>yi-yo</i>	<i>nga-wo</i>	<i>zi-zo</i>
		III. 5.	6.	7.	8.	
S.		<i>yi-yo</i>	<i>lu-lo</i>	<i>bu-bo</i>	<i>ku-kho</i> .	
P.		<i>zi-zo</i>	<i>zi-zo</i>	—	—	

The Possessive Form.

After the possessive concord appropriate to the name of the thing owned, the basic stem appropriate to the name of the possessor is used. The possessive pronoun has therefore a double concord: the first looks back, as it were, to the name of the thing owned, while the second looks forward to the name of the possessor; and the link between them is the qualificative particle *a*. Dr. Alice Werner, in her book on *The Bantu Languages*, says that this double agreement is characteristic of those Bantu Languages that retain most old forms; among them she mentions Ganda, Herero and Zulu, at three extremes of the Bantu area.

The following changes in the stem occur: (i) in the sing., the II. pers. has *-kho* instead of *-we*, and cl. 1 of the III. pers. has *-khe*, instead of *-ye*; (ii) in the plur., the I. pers. has *-thu*, instead of *-thi*, and the II. has *-nu* instead of *-ni*. Also, before *-thu* and *-nu*, *a* of the possessive concord becomes *e*, under the influence, either of the following *-u-*, or of an *-i-* latent in the stem.

If we assume the governing noun to be *into*, we have the following possessive forms:

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.
S.	<i>ya-m</i>	<i>y¹a-kho</i>	<i>ya-khe</i>	<i>ya-wo</i>	<i>ya-lo</i>	<i>ya-so</i>
P.	<i>ye-thu</i>	<i>ye-nu</i>	<i>ya-bo</i>	<i>ya-yo</i>	<i>ya-wo</i>	<i>ya-zo</i>
		III. 5.	6.	7.	8.	
S.	<i>ya-yo</i>	<i>ya-lo</i>	<i>ya-bo</i>	<i>y¹a-kho.</i>		
P.	<i>ya-zo</i>	<i>ya-zo</i>	—	—		

Note the different intonation of *y¹akh₁o* (II. pers.) and *y₁akh¹o* (cl. 8).

The Emphatic Possessive.

Like nouns, pronouns have an emphatic possessive, similarly formed by means of the concord of emphasis,

(*a, e* or *o*) and similarly used, when the emphasis is to be laid on the possessor, or when the possessive is used independently or with the copula. Examples are: *ezethu iinkomo zintle kunezenu* ; *la masimi ngawabo, awethu asese phaya*.

The Emphatic or Distinctive Pronoun.

A very distinctive form of the pronoun consists of the independent pronoun, preceded by the concord of emphasis, *a, e* or *o*, and yielding the forms :

THE DISTINCTIVE PRONOUN.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
S.	<i>o-yena</i>	<i>o-wona</i>	<i>e-lona</i>	<i>e-sona</i>	<i>e-yona</i>	<i>o-lona</i>
P.	<i>a-bona</i>	<i>e-yona</i>	<i>a-wona</i>	<i>e-zona</i>	<i>e-zona</i>	<i>e-zona</i>

7. 8.

S. *o-bona o-khona*.

Examples of their use are: *ngoyena mntu ndimfunayo* ; *abona bantu sibathiyileyo ngamaxoki : ezo zezona ndizithandayo*. Note that, if the noun is expressed, it drops the article ; and that the relative concord in the subordinate clause that follows is the short form.

CHAPTER X.

THE DEMONSTRATIVES.

Xhosa has three demonstratives, corresponding, we might say, to the foreground, the middle distance and the background of a picture. They might well be called the proximate, the mediate, and the remote: the first, near the speaker; the second, near the hearer, or at no great distance from either; the third, remote from both.

The Proximate Demonstrative.—These demonstratives can all be traced back to a demonstrative particle of the form *la-*,¹ which united with the augmented noun prefixes. The *-a-* fused with the article in the usual way; nasals were dropped; and, where the resulting forms were felt to be strong enough to do without it, the initial *l* was dropped in Xhosa, but not in Zulu. Thus: *la-umu* > *la-u* > *lo*; *la-eli* > *leli* > *eli*; *la-esi* > *lesi* > *esi*; *la-ini* > *la-i* > *le*, etc. If the student will work out the rest, he will get the forms of the proximate demonstrative, so familiar to him:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>lo</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>olu</i>	<i>obu</i>	<i>oku</i>
P.	<i>aaba</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ezi</i>	<i>ezi</i>	<i>ezi</i>	—	—

These forms are used before or after the noun, or alone.

The Mediate Demonstrative.—This demonstrative is based upon the first, and has as its characteristic a final

¹ The source of *lo* in *izibongo* (e.g., *uloThixo omkhulu*; *ulodal' ubomi*) and in naming a home from one of the children or a woman (*kulooFani*) has long been a puzzle. The question arises whether it may not be this demonstrative particle, *a* having fused with *u* or *oo* of the following formative.

-o. Forms derived from strong prefixes merely change the final vowel of the proximate into -o. Those formed from weak prefixes add -wo to a final back vowel (a or o), and -yo to the front vowel e; e.g., *lo-wo*, *la-wo*, *le-yo*. The following are the results:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>lowo</i>	<i>lowo</i>	<i>elo</i>	<i>eso</i>	<i>leyo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>obo</i>	<i>oko</i>
P.	<i>aabo</i>	<i>leyo</i>	<i>lawo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	—	—

These forms are used after the noun or alone. If the demonstrative comes before the noun, a form representing a weak prefix will drop the first vowel and the semivowel, and become merely *loo*: this will then yield the forms:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>loo</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>elo</i>	<i>eso</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>obo</i>	<i>oko</i>
P.	<i>aabo</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	—	—

The Remote Demonstrative.—The remote demonstrative is also based upon the first, and is characterized by a long final -a, preceded by a semivowel. After *lo* or *la*, -wa is added; otherwise the ending is -ya. The forms are therefore:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>lowa</i>	<i>lowa</i>	<i>eliya</i>	<i>esiya</i>	<i>leya</i>	<i>oluya</i>	<i>obuya</i>	<i>okuya</i>
P.	<i>aabaya</i>	<i>leya</i>	<i>lawa</i>	<i>eziya</i>	<i>eziya</i>	<i>eziya</i>	—	—

These are used after the noun or alone. Before the noun, shortened forms are used; the semivowel and the vowel preceding it fall away, and we get the forms:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>laa</i>	<i>laa</i>	<i>elaa</i>	<i>esaa</i>	<i>laa</i>	<i>olkwaa</i>	<i>obaa</i>	<i>okaa</i>
P.	<i>aabaa</i>	<i>laa</i>	<i>laa</i>	<i>ezau</i>	<i>ezaa</i>	<i>ezaa</i>	—	—

These closely correspond to the forms of the mediate, with *aa* in place of *o* or *oo*.

251 → 250

The Place of the Demonstrative.—When the demonstrative is to be emphasized (e.g., when the object referred to is mentioned for the first time), it comes before the noun; and then, naturally, the noun drops the article. When it refers to something already mentioned or otherwise in the minds of speaker and hearer, the demonstrative follows the noun.

The above is the normal usage; but one may sometimes hear such an expression as *leyo into*, referring to something already mentioned, and used to give the effect of deliberation and thought. Note that where there are two forms of a demonstrative, the short, crisp form is the more emphatic; *loo nto* is more emphatic than *into leyo* or *leyo into*.

The Predicative Demonstrative.

There is a demonstrative which not only indicates a particular object or objects, but makes the statement that it, or they, are here, there or yonder, the positions corresponding to those indicated above for the simple demonstrative. Various names have been given to these; the one at the head of the section seems to describe their function as well as any.

The Predicative Demonstrative, Proximate.—Here the basic demonstrative particle is *naa-*; the question occurs to one, whether this is related to the interjection, *ina!* used when one hands an object to some one else.

The forms that follow this particle go to show that, either they are derived from the copula, or they and the copula come from the same early forms. Their predicative use supports the suggestion that *naa-* was originally followed by the copula.

If we start with the copula concords, and (i) change *ngu-* of cl. 1 sing. into *-nku*; (ii) drop *nga-* of cl. 1. pl.;

(iii) turn *yi-* into *-ntsi*, and turn *zi-* (when it comes from *zin-*) into *-nzi*: we have the whole series of the proximate demonstrative; thus:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
S.	<i>naa-nku</i>	<i>naa-ngu</i>	<i>naa-li</i>	<i>naa-si</i>	<i>naa-ntsi</i>	<i>naa-lu</i>
P.	<i>naa-ba</i>	<i>naa-ntsi</i>	<i>naa-nga</i>	<i>naa-zi</i>	<i>naa-nzi</i>	<i>naa-nzi</i>
		7.	8.			
S.	<i>naa-bu</i>	<i>naa-ku</i>				

The Predicative Demonstrative, Mediate.—Like its sister form among the simple demonstratives, this one has final *-o* for its characteristic. All final vowels of the proximate demonstrative are changed into this vowel.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
S.	<i>naanko</i>	<i>naango</i>	<i>naalo</i>	<i>naaso</i>	<i>naantso</i>	<i>naalo</i>
P.	<i>naabo</i>	<i>naantso</i>	<i>naango</i>	<i>naazo</i>	<i>naanzo</i>	<i>naanzo</i>
		7.	8.			
S.	<i>naabo</i>	<i>naako</i>				

The Predicative Demonstrative, Remote.—Again there is correspondence with the simple demonstrative of the same position, for the characteristic is a final long *-a*; but here the *-a* is always preceded by the front semivowel, *y*. This ending *-ya* is added to all the forms of the proximate.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
S.	<i>naankuya</i>	<i>naanguya</i>	<i>naaliya</i>	<i>naasiya</i>	<i>naantsiya</i>
P.	<i>naabaya</i>	<i>naantsiya</i>	<i>naangaya</i>	<i>naaziya</i>	<i>naanziya</i>
		6.	7.	8.	
S.	<i>naaluya</i>	<i>naabuya</i>	<i>naakuya</i>		
P.	<i>naanziya</i>	—	—		

The student should note the forms for cl. 4 pl., *naazi*, *naazo*, *naaziya*: coming from the prefix *izi-*, they must have no nasal before *z*. *Naanzo izicaku* is wrong.

The Distributive Demonstrative.

This is a demonstrative used usually with verbs, in the sense of "each," and naturally only in the singular.

Its derivation is not a matter of assertion, but it would seem to have developed in narrative in the past tense, and later attained more extended use.

It is a very common practice in Xhosa to shorten the past tense of *ukuba*, in such a sentence as *waba mkhulu*, by dropping the *b*, so making *waa mkhulu*, *wau ngumkhonzi*. If, in the sentences, *abantu babesebenza*, *waba kwo uhlakula eyakhe indima*, and, *amaxhego ayexoxa*, *laba elo liphakamisa okwalo ulwvo*, we shorten *waba* and *laba*, we get *waa lowo*, *lua elo*, which in colloquial speech become *walowo*, *laelo*. Carrying this out through the singular, we get the full forms of the distributive demonstrative, thus: 1. *walowo*, 2. *walowo*, 3. *laelo*, 4. *sueso*, 5. *yaleyo*, 6. *kwaolo*, 7. *baobo*, 8. *kwaoko*. The intonation of the *a* gives strong support to the hypothesis advanced.

Forms beginning with a semivowel are often apparently reduced to *elowo* and *ileyo*. Note, however, that *e* and *i* correspond to the concords of the present participle of cl. 1 and cl. 5 in the singular; this leads to the view that these are not shortened forms of *walowo* and *yaleyo*, but contractions of actual participial forms—*eba lowo* and *iba leyo*—, cl. 2 following cl. 1 by analogy, *elowo umthi*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RELATIVE.

Xhosa has no relative pronoun, but it has a very definite form of relative clause, introduced by one of the relative concords.

There can be little doubt that the relative clause was originally an explanatory parenthesis thrown into the narrative; as though one should say, *ndibone loo mntu— andimazi loo mntu—engena ebuhlanti*. In such a sentence there would be a definite break before and after the parenthesis; also there would be a lowering of tone at the beginning of the clause, with a resumption of the original tone when the narrative was resumed.

Since the Xhosa relative clause is almost always qualificative, in course of time it might easily be felt that the nature of the clause would be made clearer by extending to it the use of the qualificative particle *-a-*, that was already used with adjectives and the possessive. So, one may well suppose, would come to be developed the relative concord that follows a noun that has the article—much the more common construction. So we should have: qualificative *a* + the full prefix of the noun, nasals being dropped by analogy with the subject concord—which is the formula given for the full relative concord in Chap. VI.

In the less common but crisper construction, where the noun is used without article, the need of such connection was evidently not felt to the same extent, and the clause retained more of the form of the parenthesis, including the lower intonation of the opening syllable.

Working on this very probable hypothesis, and calling the parenthesis "the plain statement," we find, if we come to investigate the relative clause in Xhosa, that the following facts hold good :

1. 'The relative clause may be derived from a direct or plain statement of the fact referred to in the clause, and is often identical with it, save for a change in the introductory concord. These are examples, "P.S." standing for "plain statement" :

P.S. *Lisibulele isilo* : Rel. (*Ikhalipha*) *elisibuleleyo isilo*.

P.S. '*Ufikile* : Rel. (*Lo mfo*) *ufikileyo*.

P.S. *Abantu bafuna yona le nkosi* : Rel. *Le nkosi bafuna yona abantu*.

P.S. *Ndiya yithanda inyama* : Rel. (*Naantsi*) *inyama endiyithandayo*.

P.S. *Iintloko zabo zilukhuni* : Rel. (*Abantu*) *abantloko (zabo) zilukhuni*.

2. In the relative clause, the first word is either *A*. the predicate, or *B*. a noun governing a possessive, expressed or understood.

Type A.—The predicate comes first where the antecedent, if it were in the clause, would be either (*a*) the subject, (*b*) the object, (*c*) governed by a preposition, or (*d*) used with the copula. Examples are :

(*a*) *Ngumntu othanda ukufeketha kodwa.*
Ndihlangene nexhego elibethe ndoyika.
Akukho mntu ufumane azifake ezingozini.

(*b*) *Ndithanda le nyama undiphe yona.*
Undiphe inyama endiyithandayo.
Uphi laa mntu bambethileyo ?

- (c) *Ndiphe kwezo nkomo uze nazo.*
Ngokabani laa mzi uvela kuwo?
Babuyele emzini ababephume kuwo.
- (d) *Xelani igama lomuntu enithunywe nguye.*
Asililo nehase elo uwiswe lilo.
Ngawo la amadoda esibizwe ngawo.

Type B.—A noun comes first where the antecedent, if it were in the clause, would be in the possessive; the initial noun denotes the thing owned. Examples are: *Naanga amadoda azindlu (zawo) zitshileyo.* *Ningabantu abantliziyo (zabo) zilukhuni.* The possessive pronoun may or may not be omitted.

3. At the very beginning, the clause is stamped as relative by its introductory particle; and the form of the particle depends upon the form of the noun—whether the noun has, or has not, the article. If the noun has the article, the clause is introduced by the full relative concord (*o-*, *o-*, *eli-*, *esi-*, etc.); if the noun has not the article, the particle is the subject concord on a lower tone (*ᵇu-*, *ᵇu-*, *ᵇi-*, *sᵇi-*, etc.).

If the student will examine the examples given in the preceding section, he will find that, in clauses of type *A.*, the introductory particle always agrees with the subject of the clause, so that only in clauses under (a) will it agree with the antecedent: and that, in clauses of type *B.*, it always agrees with the antecedent.

The rule given must be qualified, however, where, in clauses of types *A.* (b) and (c), the impersonal construction is used. We say, *abantu ekuthethwa bona*; *umcimbi ekuvunyenwe ngawo*; in which it would seem that, while the verb takes *ku-* of cl. 8 for its subject, this associates with itself *e-* of cl. 5, which also is often used

impersonally. Nouns of cl. 8 of course follow the usual rule, as in *ukudla okuphekiweyo, ukukhanya akubonayo*.

4. If the emphasis of the clause is on the verb, or if the verb comes last, the suffix *-yo* is added to the verb. Compare, *akukho nkwali iphandel' enye*, and, *akukho nkwali ingabaphandeliyo abantwana bayo*; and, *ulivila umntu ongasebenziyo*, and, *akamntu usebenza kakhulu*.

5. In the indicative present, only the short form is used, not the form with *ya*; thus we say, *ndiya mbona*, but *umntu endimbonayo*.

6. In a clause of type *A. (b), (c) or (d)*, if there is a noun subject, the tendency is to throw it to the end of the clause; e.g., *naali ihase afuna lona uyihlo*; *laa mxi ivela kuwo inkosi*; *ipolisa abanjwe lilo uFunani*.

7. In a negative clause, the negative infix *-nga-* replaces the negative prefix *a-* in the indicative.

8. In clauses other than those of type *A. (a)*, the subject concord of cl. 1 sing. is not *u-* but *a-*: e.g., *imali andiphe yona ubawo*; *indodu ahamba nayo uVena*.

9. A relative clause, having as its antecedent a pronoun or a demonstrative, is introduced by the short concord; e.g., *mna ndithethayo* (some would say, *uthethayo*); *nina nikhoyo*; *lowo unyelisayo woxulutywa*; *inkunzi leyo uyibonayo*; *mna, ugama likhankanyiwewo*. But one says *nguye oyibileyo*, for *-ye* is part of the predicate (= *umntu oyibileyo nguye*).

It will be worth the while of any student who wishes to write good Xhosa to study the usages described in the above sections, and to practice forming relative clauses of the various types, and for the various classes; for it is found that even those whose mother-tongue is Xhosa often lose their way in the relative construction.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ADJECTIVE.

Like other Bantu languages, Xhosa is deficient in adjectives; but those who use it have no difficulty in expressing most of the ideas that Aryan languages express by means of adjectives.

(a) Use is made of the great range of descriptive nouns, which denote a person or thing characterized by a particular quality; so Xhosa calls "a rich man," *umntu osisityebi*; "a blind boy," *inkwenkwe eyimsama*.

(b) Abstract nouns are used, as in *iindaba ezilusizi*, sad news; *imela ebuthuntu*, a blunt knife.

(c) Use is made of the abstract noun preceded by the preposition *na-*, "with" or "having;" e.g., *umfazi onobubele*, a kind woman; *umfo onenchwangu*, a quarrelsome man.

(d) Great use is made of verbs, with the relative construction, as *amanzi abandayo*, cold water; *ithole eliyalayo*, a greedy calf. This use is especially common (*i*) with the perfect tense denoting a state as the result of completed action, as in *ihase elidiniweyo*, a tired horse; *imini efudumeleyo*, a warm day: and (*ii*) with the stative form of the verb, which denotes a passive state as the result of action, or "liable to be acted upon"; e.g., *umntwana othandekayo*, a lovable child; *isimilo esibukekayo*, an admirable character.

Xhosa adjectives fall into two distinct classes.

I. The **First Class** is a small one, consisting of 18 adjectives, six of which are numerals. They are evidently

of very early origin, and have concords of their own, described in the chapter on the Concords.

It must be noted that when one of these adjectives is the predicate to a pronominal particle of the First or Second Person, it carries with it the adjective concord of the first or personal class; e.g., *ndi-m-hle*, *u-m-khulu*, *si-ba-bini*, *ni-ba-ncinane*.

The adjectives of this class are as follows :

ADJECTIVES OF THE FIRST CLASS.

<i>bi</i>	<i>khulu</i>	<i>nye</i>
<i>dala</i>	<i>ncinane</i>	<i>bini</i>
<i>de</i>	<i>ni?</i>	<i>thathu</i>
<i>fuphi</i>	<i>ninzi</i>	<i>ne</i>
<i>futshane</i>	<i>ngaphi?</i> (how many?)	<i>hlanu</i>
<i>hle</i>	<i>t/ha</i>	<i>thandathu</i> .

II. The **Second Class** includes a much larger number of adjectives, many of them evidently of much later origin than those of the first class. A considerable number are connected with noun stems. In this class we find the wide range of terms describing the markings of cattle.

These adjectives take the same subject and relative concords as verbs and other predicate forms, as given in a previous chapter: the subject concord, if the adjective is a predicate; the full relative concord, if it is attribute to a noun having the article; the short relative concord, if it is attribute to a noun used without the article.

The Concords used with Adjectives.—Students will remember that the adjective and the verbal concords differ only when they are derived from prefixes that contain a nasal. We may therefore show the full attribute and the predicate concords of adjectives of Classes I. and II. thus, it being remembered that the short attributive concord is

identical in form with the predicative, but on a lower tone :

THE CONCORDS OF ADJECTIVES.

Noun- Class.	Full Attributive.			Predicatives.		
	I. Cl.	Both.	II. Cl.	I. Cl.	Both.	II. Cl.
S. 1.	<i>om-</i>		<i>o-</i>	<i>m-</i>		<i>u-</i>
2.	<i>om-</i>		<i>o-</i>	<i>m-</i>		<i>u-</i>
3.		<i>eli-</i>			<i>li-</i>	
4.		<i>esi</i>			<i>si-</i>	
5.	<i>en-</i>		<i>e-</i>	<i>in-</i>		<i>i-</i>
6.		<i>olu-</i>			<i>lu-</i>	
7.		<i>obu-</i>			<i>bu-</i>	
8.		<i>oku-</i>			<i>ku-</i>	
P. 1.		<i>aŋa-</i>			<i>ŋa-</i>	
2.	<i>emi-</i>		<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>		<i>i-</i>
3.	<i>ama-</i>		<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>		<i>a-</i>
4.		<i>ezi-</i>			<i>zi-</i>	
5 & 6	<i>ezin-</i>		<i>ezi-</i>	<i>zin-</i>		<i>zi-</i>

Four adjectives have special concords.

Onke and *odwa* (or *edwa*), as attributes, take as concords merely the consonantal forms of the prefixes of their nouns ; as predicates, they take the subject concord before their attributive form ; e.g., (*mna*) *ndonke* (*Yobi*, x. 8), *zonke iinkomo*, *iinkomo zonke*, *iinkomo zizonke* ; *yena yedwa*, *yena uyedwa*.

Mbi (other) and *phi* ? (which one ?) take a concord formed of the vowel of the noun prefix, preceded (*i*) in the case of strong prefixes, by the consonantal representative of the prefix ; or (*ii*) in the case of weak prefixes, by the semi-vowel appropriate to the vowel. So we get, *wumbi*, *limbi*, *simbi*, *yimbi*, etc. ; and *w₁uphi*, *l₁iphi*, *s₁iphi*, *y₁iphi*,

etc. Note that the concords of *phi?* (which one?) are on a low tone, while those of *phi?* (where?) are high, so that there is no confusion between *b₁aphi?* (which people?) and *b'aphi?* (where are they?)

The Forms of the Adjective.

Like nouns, adjectives may take one of the suffixes, *-kazi* or *-azana*, to mark a female animal; indeed the best Xhosa usage requires that this be employed in describing a cow, heifer calf or mare; e.g., *imazi enkonekazi*, *ihafekazi elimpempvukazi*, *inkonyana emnyamazana*. The adjective *waba* changes *b* into *s* before the feminine ending, forming *wasakazi*; this is probably due to the desire to avoid bilabials in close proximity; the combination is endured when the second bilabial comes in a final syllable with a low tone, but not when the syllable takes on a high tone, and so becomes more prominent. The feminine form of *nala* is *nakazi* by elision of *l*.

Adjectives may take also the augmentative suffix, *-kazi*, or one of the diminutive suffixes, *-ana* or *-azana*. This may be done to modify the meaning of an adjective of size, as in *khulukazi* (very large indeed), *nkudlwana* (not very large), *ncinanana* (extremely small). Or, a diminutive may be used in describing an object small for its kind, as in *intwazana entlana*, *imazi emhlotshazana*; or it may denote contempt, as *esi sidenge simbana*. It will be noted that the diminutive suffixes cause palatalization in adjectives as in nouns.

A prefix, *bu-*, or a suffix, *-ra*, or both, may be added to an adjective to denote possession of the quality signified, to an imperfect degree; e.g., *bumanzifa*, of the nature of water, damp; *bumnyama*, inclined to be black; *nzulu_{ra}*, somewhat dark in shade.

Xhosa uses no particle whereby we may compare the degree to which various objects show the quality signified by an adjective ; but such comparison between two is made : (i) by the help of the prepositional particle *ku-*, with or without *na-*, as in : *ndimdala kuwe*, or *ndimdala kunawe* ; (ii) by the use of the adverb *ngapheszu*, as in, *ndimdala ngapheszu kwakho* ; or (iii) by the use of a verb like *gqitha*, meaning to excel or be superior to another, as in, *ndiya k'ugqitha ngobudala*.

To express superiority to all others, Xhosa uses the emphatic or distinctive pronoun, *oyena*, *owona*, *elona*, etc., with the adjective introduced by its short attributive concord ; e.g., *oyena mkhulu*, *owona mkhulu*, *elona likhulu*, etc. ; *oyena umsulwa*, *owona unzulu*, *elona limhlophe*, etc., Students should guard against using the full attributive form ; *oyena omkhulu*, *elona elikhulu*, do not accord with good Xhosa usage.

A neat method of expressing absolute superiority is seen in the construction, *sihlobo sikasihlobo* ; *nkosi kankosi* ; *kroti lamakroti* ; *intshabalala yakwantshabalala* (*Yobi*, xxx. 3).

la

ndiyenide

CHAPTER XIII.
THE NUMERALS.

Students are doubtless familiar with the practice of the older men, of indicating numbers by means of the fingers, beginning the count always with the little finger of the left hand, since the right usually carries the stick. Some races use only one hand, and their numeration is based on five; but the Bantu of South Africa use both hands, so that their numeration is based on ten.

The Cardinal Numbers.

These are the basic numbers, on which ordinals and adverbials "hinge" (Latin *cardo*, a hinge).

We have seen that the first six of the series — *nye, bini, thathu, ne, hlanu, thandathu*, — are adjectives of Class I. and take the concords of adjectives, both as attributes and as predicates; and, as such, they are influenced by the prefix *izin*, so that, in agreement with *izimvu*, *bini* becomes *mbini*; *thathu* and *thandathu* become *ntathu* and *ntandathu*; and *hlanu* becomes *ntlanu*. We therefore get *umntu omnye*; *abantu ababini*; *izimvu ezintathu*; *izindlu eziné*; *izando ezihlanu*; *imihla emithandathu*.

The other numerals: *isixhenxe, isibozo* or *isiphohlongo, isithoba, ithoba* or *isicakathiso, ifumi, amanci, ikhulu, iwaka, isigidi*, are all nouns of cl. 3 or cl. 4. Therefore as nouns they take the concord of the copula; and, according as they are used attributively or predicatively, they take the relative or the subject concord before this. Examples are: *abafana abalifumi, izimvu ezisisithoba* (usually contracted to *ezisithoba*), *iminyaka eliwaka*; *abafana balifumi, izimvu zisithoba, iminyaka iliwaka*.

This order may, at the will of the speaker, be reversed, the qualified noun taking the possessive form; we may say, *ifumi lamadoda, isithoba sabantu*. For this construction, an adjective-numeral is converted into a noun of cl. 4, as in *isithandathu seenkabi*.

It should be noted that *isiphohlongo* and *isicakathiso* are now seldom used; that *amanci* is used only in compound numbers, and never in the singular; and that *isigidi*, now accepted for a million, originally meant a countless number. Note also the tonal distinction between 'o₁nye (one) and 'omnye (another); and that *nye* (one) may take a plural concord, as in, *amaKhuze namaUfe manye ngentetho*.

Compound numbers, formed of *ifumi*, *amanci*, *ikhulu*, *iwaka* or *isigidi*, or a multiple of one of these, followed by other numerals, link those numerals to the larger by means of the relative concord with the preposition *na-*; e.g., *ifumi elinambini*; *amakhulu amabini anethoba*; *amawaka angamakhulu amathathu*; *abantu abangamawaka amané*. For the sake of brevity, the copula is often dropped, and an adjective-numeral following the larger number takes the short concord; thus: *amawaka amakhulu mathathu*; *abantu abamawaka mané*.

The larger number is sometimes put at the end, in the possessive, as in *ikhulu lamawaka*; *amakhulu amané aamawaka*. While this method may be useful upon occasion, for variety or other effect, it is not as clear as the former, unless the number is a simple one, as in the illustrations given.

The noun *umvo* (a "one," from the verb *va*, to produce, increase) is sometimes used after *ifumi* or a multiple of this, thus, *amufumi amabini anomvo* (21). The verb is sometimes used, in the sense of "a little more"; e.g., *amafumi amabini avayo* (21, 22 or thereabout).

If the unit number of a compound number is an adjective-numeral, good Xhosa usage requires that it should agree with the noun qualified, in the singular or plural, as the case may be; thus, *amathole amafumi mabini anamané*, *abafana abalifumi elinamnye*. It is allowed, however, to use the unit numeral in its noun form, and say, *amathole amafumi mabini anesine*. The practice often followed in these days, of using the concords of cl. 5 for all nouns, as in *amathole amafumi mabini anantathu* should be avoided.

The Inclusive Numerals.

A special form of the numerals emphasizes the fact that the whole number specified is referred to, and there are no exceptions. These inclusive numerals are formed by prefixing to the stems of the cardinal numerals the particle *o*, preceded by the characteristic consonant of the noun prefix; e.g., *bobahlanu abantu*, or *abantu bobahlanu*; *bamba ngazo zozibini izandla*.

One sometimes hears this form used for the simple numeral in compound numbers, apparently for no other reason than variety, as in: *amakhulu omané*; *amafumi omathathu*. Possibly assimilative influence enters into it.

The Ordinal Numerals.

These indicate the place of objects in a numbered order, and take the possessive form throughout. Adjective-numerals become nouns of cl. 4., except that for *isinye*, *ukuqala* is used. The ordinal naturally takes the possessive concord of the noun qualified. Examples are: *umntu wokuqala*; *usuku lwesibini*; *umnyaka wamafumi amahlanu*.

The Adverbial Numerals.

To denote the number of times an event occurs, the adverbial prefix *ka-* is used with simple numbers; thus, *kabini*, *kalisumi*, *kaliwaka*. While one might say, *kalisumi*

elinesibini, it is usually clearer to use the noun *amaxeſa*, followed by a cardinal; e.g., *amaxeſa amafumi asixhenxe*.

To show "how many at a time," the preposition *nga-* is used, the numeral agreeing with the noun referred to; thus: (*amahafe*) *ngamathathu*; (*iifeleni*) *ngambini*; (*izitya*) *ngazihlanu*. Sometimes, for graphic effect, the numeral is repeated—*ngambini, ngambini*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE VERB.

The verb plays a very important part in Xhosa. Just as the language prefers to use descriptive nouns, rather than many adjectives, so it prefers using a large range of verbs, each describing one of the various ways of performing an action, to using fewer verbs and more adverbs. To satisfy himself on this point, the student might study the list of Xhosa verbs given under the verb "Go," in McLaren's *Concise English-Xhosa Dictionary*.

Verb Stems.—Simple verbs in Bantu normally consist of two syllables; and in the infinitive, imperative singular, and most of the tenses in the affirmative they end in *-a*. In Xhosa, exceptions to the second of these rules are the verbs *azi*, *thi* and *tsho*.

The first sound of the stem is a consonant, except in certain so-called vowel verbs, such as *andula*, *enza*, *oona*, *aaba*; it is possible that even these originally had initial consonants, which were weakened later and ultimately dropped.

A few verbs would seem to have dropped even the vowel of the first syllable, showing the influence of a lost *i* only in those parts of the verb where *a* precedes the stem, as in *ndeva* from *va*; (*amadoda*) *emba*, from *mba*. These are called *I-verbs*, and are as follows: *ba* (steal), *mba*, *ma*, *za*, *hla*, *va* (hear), *va* (increase), *pha* (pluck).

The Conjugation of the Verb.—The conjugation of the Xhosa verb is extremely regular in form; except for a

few defective or auxiliary verbs, such variations as are found are almost all due to phonetic considerations.

Professor Beach, formerly of the University of Cape Town, discovered some years ago that disyllabic verbs fall into three tonal divisions: I. the **b'a,la** division, with a long stem-vowel and a strongly falling tone in the first syllable; II. the **ḡ,ala** division, with the first syllable low; and III. the **h'amba** division, in which the first syllable is high. Other examples are: I. *funa, biza, thanda*; II. *lima, beka, zama*; III. *betha, beka, xhasa*. Within these divisions, interesting changes occur quite regularly, the working out of which would provide students with a profitable holiday exercise.

Voice.

The passive is sometimes regarded as a derived form of the verb, along with such forms as *ncedisa, bonana*, etc.; but, as it stands in a much closer relation to the active than these forms do to the simple verb, it seems better to retain it in the conjugation of the verb, and to speak of the **Active** and the **Passive Voice**. In the former, the action is described from the point of view of the agent; in the latter it is described from the point of view of the person or object acted upon; but the action itself is not modified.

Mood.

Similarly, the action is the same in the various moods of the verb, but it is described under various conditions.¹

If we give an order for the action to be performed, we use the **Imperative**, the simplest form of all: *betha! buya!*

If we name the action, we use the **Infinitive**, which is both a mood of the verb, and a noun of the eighth class, as in: *ukulila; ekufikeni kwam; isoono sokuxoka; ukubetha*

¹ See Dr. Werner's *The Bantu Languages*, p. 156.

umfazi kulihlazo ; uthanda ukuzingela ; kufa, luphi na ulwavila lwakho ?

In making a simple statement, or asking a simple question, the **Indicative** is used ; e.g., *bafikile ; sobuya ngomso ; uze nabani ?*

If a statement, question, command or verbal noun refers to a succession of acts or states, the first of the series is described in the appropriate mood, and the second and succeeding ones are described in the **Subjunctive**. Examples are : *yiya kubawo, umxelele, ucele icebo ; soya komkhulu, sizibike enkosini ; kulihlazo ukumbeka umntu ngedinga, uze ubuye uroxo kuloo nto.*

The Subjunctive is used also in certain subordinate clauses, introduced by *ukuze, ukuba*, etc. : e.g., *ndiphe, ukuze ndidle ; kulusizi ukuba enje nje ukuthetha.*

To link up the time of the occurrence described in the main clause with some other event, we may use the adverb *xa*, or *mhla* ; or we may make the link by describing " the other event " in the **Temporal** mood. Instead of saying, *ndiya kukunika xa ndibuyileyo*, we may say with neat brevity, *ndiya kukunika ndakubuya*. Note that the Temporal mood is used only when the action of " the other event " is antecedent to that of the main clause. One cannot put into the Temporal mood the subordinate verb in such sentences as : *ndifike xa athethayo, bemke xa ndiza kubalungiselela.*

The **Participle** is qualificative, and, although it takes the subject concords, it does not form a predicate alone, save in certain clauses of reason beginning with *kuba*. Its use in temporal clauses beginning with *xa* is not a Xhosa idiom. Examples of its use are : *ndibone umntu ehamba ; ndithe, ndisafika, ndambona sel' esilwa ; bambulala kuba ebulele uyise wabo.*

Tense.

There are four main tenses in Xhosa, the **Present**, the **Past**, the **Perfect** and the **Future**. In the indicative, one form of the present, one of the future, and the past and the perfect forms are simple, in that they consist of single words : *ndifuna*, *ndofuna*, *ndafuna*, *ndifunile*. One form of the present and two of the future are compound, employing auxiliaries : *uya ya*, *uya* or *uza kuya*.

Also, there are two sets, each of three compound tenses, dealing with action in the past, and describing it as then (*i*) in progress, the **Past Continuous** (or past imperfect) ; (*ii*) already completed, the **Past Complete** (or pluperfect) ; and (*iii*) still contemplated at the time, the **Past Contemplated** (or future in the past).

One of these sets refers particularly to comparatively **Recent** time, and the other, to time more **Remote** in the past. Examples are : Recent : *ndibe ndisiya* ; *ube uvile* ; *sibe siza kuya* ; Remote : *waye ehamba* ; *baye befikile* ; *ndaye ndiya kubuya*.

The Verb ConCORDS.

The Subject Concord.—Every verb in the indicative, the subjunctive, the temporal or the participial mood must take, before the verb stem (but not necessarily immediately before it) the subject concord appropriate to the noun or pronoun to which it refers, whether the noun or pronoun be expressed or be understood.

The main subject concords used before consonants have been given in Chapter VI. To these must be added : (*i*) in cl. 1. sing., *a-* in the subjunctive and the temporal, and with the indicative in certain subordinate clauses ; (*ii*) in cl. 1. sing., *e-* ; in cl. 1. plur., *be-* ; and in cl. 3. plur., *e-*, with participles. The full list is therefore :

THE SUBJECT CONCORDS.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>'u-</i>	<i>'u-, a-</i>	<i>'u-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>s'i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
			<i>e-</i>							
P.	<i>s,i-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ba-, be-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-, e-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	—	—

The low tones in I. plur. and II. sing. apply only to the indicative.

Before vowels, *a-* of cl. 1. sing. and cl. 3. plur. fuses with the vowel according to rule; and in the participles, *e-* and *be-* are separated from the initial vowel by the retention of an old *-s-*, that belonged to a particle now dropped (save with monosyllabic verbs). Otherwise the consonantal representatives of the prefixes are used as concords. Examples are: *amadoda enza inkathazo*; *ufika oone izinto zethu*; *amakhwenkwe oyisiwe*; *sifike besenza isijwili*; *ndimbone esaakha indlu*; *inkosi yabela abantu iinkomo*; *abantu bandile emhlabeni*; *unyawo lwenzakele*.

The Relative Concord.—If the verb comes first in a relative clause, it takes one of the relative concords, as described in Chapters VI. and XI.

It remains only to give the forms of the full concords used before a vowel; they are:

THE RELATIVE CONCORDS BEFORE A VOWEL.

	I.	II.	III. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>end-</i>	<i>ow-</i>	<i>ow-, aw-</i>	<i>ow-</i>	<i>el-</i>	<i>es-</i>	<i>ey-</i>	<i>olw-</i>	<i>ob-</i>	<i>ok-</i>
P.	<i>es-</i>	<i>en-</i>	<i>ab-</i>	<i>ey-</i>	<i>aw-</i>	<i>ex-</i>	<i>ex-</i>	<i>ex-</i>	—	—

Note the use of the semivowels, to prevent the disappearance of the relative particle by fusion with the vowel of the verb; e.g., *umphefumlo owonayo*; *amakhwenkwe awalusayo*; *indoda eyenza okulungileyo*; *unlambo owatsha kudala*; *ihase awalithengayo ubawo*. In cl. 1. sing., *ow-* is used in relative clauses of type *A. (a)*, and *aw-* in types

A. (b), (c) and (d); e.g., *umntu owoyikayo; into awone ngayo umfana; iinkabi awazibophayo uyihlo.*

The Object Concord.—If the verb take an object, it may or may not take (immediately before its stem) the object concord corresponding to the noun-object, whether this be expressed or understood.

Whether the concord is used or not is determined by the emphasis of the clause or sentence. It is inserted if the emphasis is *not* on the object; as, for example, when the object denotes something familiar, something that is already in the minds of speaker and hearer. If the emphasis falls on the object, e.g., if a contrast is drawn, or if the thing is mentioned in the narrative or discussion for the first time, then the object concord is not used. The student might compare the fall of the emphasis in the following: *ndiya lithanda kakhulu elaa hafe, ndilithanda kakhulu elaa hafe, and ndithanda kakhulu elaa hafe; ndiya yifuna imali yam, and ndifuna imali yam.* The insertion of the object concord throws the stress on the verb.

The forms of the object concord before a consonant are as follows:

THE OBJECT CONCORDS.

	I.	II.	III.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
S.	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	
P.	<i>si-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	—	—	

Before a vowel verb, the concords are the consonantal representatives of the above forms.

The Concords of the Impersonal.—Verbs used impersonally, denoting action at large or natural phenomena, take the subject concord of cl. 8; examples are: *kuvaliwe ezivenkileni; akufikanga bantu izolo; kube kumnyama, ngoku kuya sa.*

In enumerations, the subject concord of cl. 5 sing. may be used, as in, *yabe inguMona yedwa ongafikanga*.

Where the object concord or the relative concord is required, that of cl. 8 is used ; thus, *ndiyakuzuma oko ; oku ukuxelayo kuyinene*.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

THE ACTIVE VOICE, AFFIRMATIVE.

The Infinitive Mood.

The Infinitive consists of the verb stem, preceded by the noun prefix *uku-* (sometimes without the article *u-*) before consonants, *ukw-* (or *kw-*) before *a-* or *e-*, and *uk-* (or *k-*) before *o-*; e.g., *ukufuna*; (*ndiza*) *kufuna*; *ukwaaba*; (*ndiza*) *kwaaba*; *ukoyisa*; (*ndiza*) *koyisa*.

Frequently emphasis is given to a verb by repeating it in the infinitive with the prepositional particle *nga-*, as in, *wakhula ngokukhula*; and in negative clauses with *na-*, as in, *andiyifuni nokuyifuna*.

The Imperative Mood.

The Imperative in the singular consists of the bare verb stem, except that monosyllabic verbs are reinforced by the prefix *yi-*, of unknown origin; and vowel verbs take *y-*, evidently a relic of *yi-*; thus: *funa!* *yidla!* *yaaba!*

In the plural, the suffix *-ni* is added, as in: *funani!* *yidlani!* *yabani!*

If the stem has the object concord, the endings become *-e* and *-eni* respectively, thus: *mfune!* *sidle (isonka)!* *maabe (umbona)!* *mfuneni!* *sidleni!* *mabeni!*

Directions are frequently given more politely or less brusquely by using the subjunctive, depending upon an auxiliary verb expressed or understood, as will be seen in the section on the subjunctive.

The Indicative Mood.

The Present Tense.—There are two forms of the present tense, a simple form and a compound. If the emphasis of the sentence or clause is on the verb, the compound form is used; if the emphasis is upon the object or an adjunct of the verb, the simple form is the appropriate one; thus, *siya dlala*; but *sidlala sodwa*; *sidlala ibola*; *sidlala yonke imini*.

In the simple form, either the subject or the relative concord is prefixed to the verb stem; in the compound form, the concord goes with the auxiliary particle *ya*. Before a vowel verb, the vowel of the auxiliary is dropped, and auxiliary and stem unite. The forms for consonantal and for vowel verbs are as follows:

THE PRESENT INDICATIVE.

		Simple Form.		Compound Form.	
		Cons.	Vowel.	Cons.	Vowel.
S. I.		<i>ndifuna</i>	<i>ndoyika</i>	<i>ndiya</i>	<i>ndiyoyika</i>
II.		<i>ufuna</i>	<i>woyika</i>	<i>uya</i>	<i>uyoyika</i>
III.	1	<i>'ufuna</i>	<i>w'oyika</i>	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uyoyika</i>
	2	<i>'ufuna</i>	<i>w'oyika</i>	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uyoyika</i>
	3	<i>lifuna</i>	<i>loyika</i>	<i>liya</i>	<i>liyoyika</i>
	4	<i>s'ifuna</i>	<i>s'oyika</i>	<i>s'iya</i>	<i>s'iyoyika</i>
	6	<i>lufuna</i>	<i>loyika</i>	<i>luya</i>	<i>luyoyika</i>
	5	<i>ifuna</i>	<i>yoyika</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>iyoyika</i>
	7	<i>bufuna</i>	<i>boyika</i>	<i>buya</i>	<i>buyoyika</i>
	8	<i>kufuna</i>	<i>koyika</i>	<i>kuya</i>	<i>kuyoyika</i>
} <i>funa</i>					
P. I.		<i>s₁ifuna</i>	<i>s₁oyika</i>	<i>s₁iya</i>	<i>s₁iyoyika</i>
II.		<i>n₁ifuna</i>	<i>noyika</i>	<i>n₁iya</i>	<i>n₁iyoyika</i>
III.	1	<i>ba_{funa}</i>	<i>boyika</i>	<i>ba_{ya}</i>	<i>ba_{yoyika}</i>
	2	<i>ifuna</i>	<i>yoyika</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>iyoyika</i>
	3	<i>a_{funa}</i>	<i>oyika</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>ayoyika</i>
	4, 5, 6	<i>zi_{funa}</i>	<i>zoyika</i>	<i>zi_{ya}</i>	<i>zi_{yoyika}</i>
} <i>funa</i>					

If the present tense of the auxiliary *ya* is used with the present participle instead of the plain stem, a very idiomatic "progressive present" is formed: e.g., *uya etyeba ngokutyeba*; *isifo siya sisandu emizini*.

The Past Tense.—This tense denotes action, not in the immediate past, but in time more or less remote from the present.

It takes the vowel *-a-* between the subject concord and the stem; if there is an object concord, the vowel will precede it, since nothing may come between the object concord and the stem. The subject or relative concord will be consonantal.

The vowel *-a-* is usually long, and at the beginning of a narrative, or section of a narrative, it is much prolonged; *kwa-athi ke kaloku ngantsomi*, is the traditional beginning for *iintsomi*.

The forms for the past tense are as follows¹:

THE PAST INDICATIVE.

	Sing.	Plur.
I.	<i>ndafuna</i>	<i>s,afuna</i>
II.	<i>w,afuna</i>	<i>nafuna</i>
III.	1 <i>w'afuna</i>	<i>bafuna</i>
	2 <i>w'afuna</i>	<i>yafuna</i>
	3 <i>lafuna</i> , etc.	<i>afuna</i> , etc.

The tense-vowel *-a-* fuses with the lost *i* of the *i-* verbs, producing *-e-*; the past tense of *ukuva* is *ndeva*; of *ukuuba*, *ndeeba*.

The Perfect Tense.—This much used tense serves three purposes. (*i*) It is used to describe an action in the recent past: e.g., *ndifike izolo*; *zimke kule nyanga*

¹ In this and succeeding tenses it should be unnecessary to give the whole scheme.

iphelileyo. (ii) It describes action as now completed ; e.g., *ndiwenzile umsebenzi* ; *bayibulele inyoku*. (iii) It is used to describe a present state as the result of completed action, and therefore frequently corresponds to a present tense in English ; e.g., *ityebile (tyeba, become fat)* ; *sihleli (hlala, take a seat)* ; *bal'ele (lala, go to sleep)* ; *kulungile (lunga, become suitable)*.

The full form of the perfect is formed by replacing the final *-a* of the verb stem by *-ile*. This is used whenever the emphasis is on the verb ; if the emphasis is on some other word in the sentence, a shortened form, resulting from the dropping of *-il-*, is used ; e.g., *sifikile ekhaya ngoku*, but, *sifik'e namhla nje* ; *inkomo yam ifile*, but, *if'e yimofu*.

In the shortened form the final *-e* is long, and takes a clear, high tone. The following are the forms for the perfect tense :

THE PERFECT INDICATIVE.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Full.	Short.	Full	Short.
I.	<i>ndifunile</i>	<i>ndifunⁱe</i>	<i>s_iifunile</i>	<i>s_iifunⁱe</i>
II.	<i>'ufunile</i>	<i>'ufunⁱe</i>	<i>nifunile</i>	<i>nifunⁱe</i>
III. 1	<i>'ufunile</i>	<i>'ufunⁱe</i>	<i>bafunile</i>	<i>bafunⁱe</i>
2	<i>'ufunile</i>	<i>'ufunⁱe</i>	<i>ifunile</i>	<i>ifunⁱe</i>
3	<i>lifunile, etc.</i>	<i>lifunⁱe, etc.</i>	<i>afunile, etc.</i>	<i>afunⁱe, etc.</i>

A few verbs form the perfect irregularly ; these are *hlala, hleli* ; *hl'utha* (be full, satisfied), *hluthi* ; *mitha, mithi* ; *tsho, tshilo*. *Thi* and *ba* (to be, to think) have only the short forms, *the* and *be*. *Ma* has the form *mi*, as well as the regular forms, *mile* and *me* ; *ndimile* and *ndime* convey the idea of coming to a stand-still, or standing still in the past, while *ndimi* is strictly stative and present, "I am standing."

Verbs ending in *-ala*, *-ana*, *-atha* usually have perfects ending in *-ele*, *-ene*, *-ethe*; it seems probable that these verbs favoured the short form, and that *a* in the penult became *e* by assimilation to the final *e*. Examples are: *zala*, *z'ele*; *hambana*, *hamb'ene*; *vatha*, *v'ethe*.

Verbs having the directive ending *-ela* commonly form only the short perfect, as in *m'ele* (from *ma*), *sihamb'ele* (from *hamba*).

It is to be noted that the perfects referred to in the last two paragraphs take the high tone on the penult, not on the final *-e*, so long as there is no object concord; the addition of the object concord may upset the intonation of the whole word.

The Future Tense.—In this tense there are three forms: two compound, and one simple that is believed to be a derivative of one of the compound tenses.

For a plain statement that an event will occur, a compound formed by the auxiliary *ya* with the infinitive of the verb is used; the infinitive drops the initial vowel of its prefix, and we get: *siya kubuya*; *kuya kuna ngomso*. We may call this the **General Future**.

A similar form, using the auxiliary *za* instead of *ya*, states that the action will occur shortly, is "just about" to occur; e.g., *ndiza kukunika*, *kusa kuna* (i.e., quite soon). This may be styled the **Immediate Future**.

The third and simple form is used usually with the suggestion, expressed or implied, that the occurrence of the event is contingent on the occurrence of some other event. It may therefore be called the **Contingent Future**. The form consists of the concord, the vowel *-o-*, and the verb stem; e.g., *ndoya ukuba ubawo wuwmile*. It is commonly stated that this a contracted form of the General: that *ndiya kuya* dropped *iy* and became *nd₁akuya*, which in turn

dropped *k*, so that *a* and *u* fused, yielding *o* ; but it is not easy to understand why the attrition should have taken place in the least common of the uses of the future. No other explanation, however, seems forthcoming.

The forms of the future are therefore :

THE FUTURE INDICATIVE.

	General.	Immediate.	Contingent.
S. I.	<i>ndiya</i>	<i>ndiza</i>	<i>ndofuna</i>
II.	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uza</i>	<i>w'ofuna</i>
III. 1.	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uza</i>	<i>w'ofuna</i>
2.	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uza</i>	<i>w'ofuna</i>
3.	<i>liya, etc.</i>	<i>liza, etc.</i>	<i>lofuna, etc.</i>

The Past Compound Tenses.—As already stated, these tenses describe action in the recent or the remote past, either as actually proceeding (the **Continuous**) ; or as completed (the **Completed**) ; or as contemplated or about to occur (the **Contemplated**)—at the time referred to.

The tenses of the **Recent** past are formed with the help of the verb *ba* in the perfect tense ; those of the **Remote** past take *ya* or (less commonly) *ba* in the past tense. As so often happens to auxiliaries in Xhosa, the final *-a* of (*w*)*aya* and (*w*)*aba* is weakened and becomes *-e*, and we get *waye* and *wabe*.

With the auxiliary goes the appropriate participle of the verb : the present for the **Continuous** ; the perfect for the **Completed** ; and the future for the **Contemplated**. Thus used, the future participle of *ya* does not take the particle *-si-*, that it would take as an independent verb. Accordingly we have the forms : Recent, *ndibe ndisebenza* ; *sibe siggibile* ; *baye beya kusipha* ; Remote, *ndaye ndiphumla* ; *saye sidiniwe* ; *baye beya kubona*. In the **Completed Past**,

as in the simple perfect, *il-* or *i-* may be dropped, when the verb is not stressed, as in: *sibe sigqibe kusasa*; *sibe sidinw'e kakhulu*.

These are the forms of the tenses in full; but in colloquial speech they are usually contracted. In the Recent Past, if the concord be a strong one, it is shed from the auxiliary; if it be weak, the auxiliary sheds final *-e* and joins the participle. *Ube* of cl. 1. sing. and *abe* of cl. 3. pl. often become *ebe* by assimilation. Thus *ndibe ndisebenza* becomes *be ndisebenza*, and *abe egqibile* becomes *abegqibile*, or by assimilation, *ebegqibile*.

In the Remote Past of colloquial speech, the auxiliary verb *ye* drops out altogether, leaving its concord and *-a-* of the past tense, which unite with the verb; a semivowel is used where necessary to prevent hiatus: e.g., *laye libalele* becomes *lalibalele*; *waye uzele* becomes *wawuzele*; *yaye ityebile* becomes *yayityebile*. We thus get the result that the verb carries a duplicated concord.

These are accordingly the compound past tenses of the verb:

THE PAST CONTINUOUS.

		Recent.		Remote.	
		Full.	Contr.	Full.	Contr.
S.	I.	<i>ndibe ndifuna</i>	<i>be ndifuna</i>	<i>ndaye ndifuna</i>	<i>ndandifuna</i>
	II.	<i>'ube ufuna</i>	<i>'ubufuna</i>	<i>waye ufuna</i>	<i>wawufuna</i>
	III. 1	<i>'ube efuna</i>	<i>'ubefuna</i> or <i>ebefuna</i>	<i>waye efuna</i>	<i>wayefuna</i>
	2	<i>'ube ufuna</i>	<i>'ubufuna</i>	<i>waye ufuna</i>	<i>wawufuna</i>
	3	<i>libe lifuna,</i>	<i>be lifuna,</i>	<i>laye lifuna,</i>	<i>lalifuna,</i>
		etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

THE PAST COMPLETED.

		Recent.		Remote.	
		Full.	Contr.	Full.	Contr.
S.	I.	<i>ndibe ndivile</i>	<i>be ndivile</i>	<i>ndaye ndivile</i>	<i>ndandivile</i>
	II.	<i>ube uvile</i>	<i>ubuville</i>	<i>waye uvile</i>	<i>wawuvile</i>
	III. 1	<i>'ube evile</i>	<i>'ubevile or ebevile</i>	<i>waye evile</i>	<i>wayevile</i>
	2	<i>'ube uvile</i>	<i>'ubuvile</i>	<i>waye uvile</i>	<i>wawuvile</i>
	3	<i>libe livile,</i>	<i>be livile,</i>	<i>laye livile,</i>	<i>laliivile,</i>
		etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

THE PAST CONTEMPLATED.

		Recent.		Remote.	
		Full.	Contr.	Full.	Contr.
S.	I.	<i>ndibe ndiya</i>	<i>be ndiya</i>	<i>ndaye ndiya</i>	<i>ndandiya</i>
	II.	<i>ube uya</i>	<i>ubuuya</i>	<i>waye uya</i>	<i>wawuya</i>
	III. 1	<i>'ube eya</i>	<i>'ubeya or ebeya</i>	<i>waye eya</i>	<i>wayeya</i>
	2	<i>'ube uya</i>	<i>'ubuuya</i>	<i>waye uya</i>	<i>wawuya</i>
	3	<i>libe liya,</i>	<i>be liya,</i>	<i>laye liya,</i>	<i>laliya,</i>
		etc.]	etc.]	etc.]	etc.]

If the past of *ba* be used in the Remote tenses instead of *ya*, the forms are exactly similar, with the difference of *be* for *ye* in the auxiliary; thus, *ndabe, wabe, wabe, wabe, labe, etc.* This form is not common, and it always keeps its full form.

The Subjunctive Mood.

In the Subjunctive Mood there are two tenses, a **Present** and a **Past**.

In a sequence of actions, the present follows an initial verb in the present or the future, while the past follows a verb in the historic perfect or the past. Examples are: *inkosi isipha iinkomo, size he thina siyikhonze; baya kufika basibethe; sibabona besebenza kancinane, baze bamane bencokola; kuhle ukubahlonela abakhulu, wenze*

izinto oyalezwe zona ngabo ; ufike waccla izinto ezininzi ; wafika wangxola, wandibetha.

In a subordinate clause, however, the tense is independent of the tense of the principal clause ; that one is used that would be appropriate at the time of the main action : e.g., we say, *simbetha*, or *siya kumbetha*, or *sambetha*, or *simbeth¹e*, *ukuze ayaleke* ; *siva*, or *siv¹e*, or *seva into embi*, *ukuba athethe izinto ezinjalo*.

In narrative, it is very common to find the action of the main verb expressed in the subjunctive, following an introductory verb like, *thi*, *fika*, *za*. This is especially useful if it is desired to put a clause of time before the verb ; e.g., *baza bavuya* ; *ufika athethe amanga* ; *uthe, xa kunje, wawakhupha onke*.

The subjunctive, depending on an auxiliary verb expressed or understood, is commonly used in polite requests, or in giving directions less formally than by the use of the imperative. In such constructions the subjunctive usually depends on the auxiliary verb *ma*, as in, *ma uye ufune* ; or on *za* following *ma*, as in, *ma nize nifune*. This construction will be dealt with in Chap. XVII., on auxiliaries.

The **Present Tense** consists of the plain stem following the subject concord, but with *-e* replacing the final *-a* of the stem. In this tense, the subject concord of cl. 1. sing. becomes *a-* instead of *'u-*. Except in verbs of the *bala* division, the intonation of the concords of the I. and II. persons rises in the present subjunctive ; verbs of the *bala* division have low concords for all classes. In this tense therefore there is then no distinction in tone between the concords of the II. pers. and cl. 2. in the singular, or between those of cl. 4. in the singular and the I. pers. in the plural ; (*ukuze*) *uvivwe* might apply equally to *wena* or

umthandazo ; *siwive* to *thina* or *isandi* ; and *uwele* to *wenu* or *ummangaliso*.

The Past Tense is identical in form with the past indicative, but *-a-* of the past tense is shorter in the subjunctive than it is in the indicative.

The forms of *funa* in the subjunctive are therefore as follows :

THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

	Present.		Past.	
I.	<i>nd¹ifune</i>	<i>s¹ifune</i>	<i>ndafuna</i>	<i>safuna</i>
II.	<i>'ufune</i>	<i>n¹ifune</i>	<i>wafuna</i>	<i>nafuna</i>
III.	1 <i>afune</i>	<i>ɓafune</i>	<i>wafuna</i>	<i>ɓafuna</i>
	2 <i>'ufune</i>	<i>ifune</i>	<i>wafuna</i>	<i>yafuna</i>
	3 <i>lifune</i> , etc.	<i>afune</i> , etc.	<i>lafuna</i> , etc.	<i>afuna</i> , etc.

The intonation of verb stems in the present subjunctive requires investigation. In the following verbs, representing the three tonal divisions of disyllabic verbs, note the curious reversal of tones, as compared with the indicative :

	I. Div.	II. Div.	III. Div.
Indicative	<i>nd₁ib¹al₁a</i>	<i>nd₁ib₁al₁a</i>	<i>nd₁ih¹amb₁a</i>
Subjunctive	<i>nd¹ib₁al¹e</i>	<i>nd₁ib¹al¹e</i>	<i>nd¹ih₁amb¹e</i>

Note that final *-e* in the subjunctive is not as high in tone, nor as long, as it is in the perfects : *ndibal¹e*, *ndibal¹e*, *ndihamb¹e*.

The Temporal Mood.

You will sometimes hear a man say, *ndaba kufika*, *ndafika esebenza nzima*, "when I arrived," the time of the main action being fixed by the occurrence of "the other event," as already explained. Now, just as *waba ngukumkani* is commonly reduced to *waa ngukumkani*, by the elision of *ɓ*, so *ndaba kufika* is now usually used in the similarly contracted form, *ndakufika*, a form that has by

grammarians been raised to the rank of a mood, the Temporal. The origin of the mood explains why it can be used only where the action precedes the action of the main verb. It also accounts for the intonation, which is quite invariable—*'ak,u-* with all concords and verbs.

The mood may be conveniently described as formed by a concord and *-a-* of the past indicative, added to the infinitive without its article.

There is only one tense to the mood ; it takes the forms :

THE TEMPORAL MOOD.

	Sing.	Plur.
I.	<i>ndakufuna</i>	<i>sakufuna</i>
II.	<i>wakufuna</i>	<i>nakufuna</i>
III.	1 <i>akufuna</i>	<i>bakufuna</i>
	2 <i>wakufuna</i>	<i>yakufuna</i>
	3 <i>lakufuna</i> , etc.	<i>akufuna</i> , etc.

Note the concord *a-* of cl. 1. sing., by analogy of other subordinate moods.

If it is desired to emphasize the completion of the action, the Temporal of *ba* may be used with the perfect participle of the principal verb, thus, *sakuba sigqibile ukusebenza, siya zihlamba* ; but such an expression is more idiomatically rendered by the verb *khova*—*sakukhova ukusebenza*.

The Participles.

The participles are qualificatives in Xhosa, as they are in other languages ; and, as in other languages, they are useful in the formation of certain tenses in the other moods. Also, there is an absolute use of the participle, usually, but not always, accompanied by the adverb *nje*. Examples are : *uzele nje umlambo, abayi kufika ; ifkile nje inkosi, ma kuxhelwe ; kusina nje, siya kuthi ni ukuhamba ? sibuy'e belele*.

There are three main tenses : the **Present**, a simple tense ; the **Perfect**, with a shortened form, corresponding to that of the indicative ; and a **Future**, which, as in the indicative, has a general and an immediate form, both compound.

In form, the participles are identical with the indicative, save in four respects.

(i) In the participles, the vowel of the subject concord is lengthened.

(ii) The intonation is different. Subject concords are all sounded in a higher tone than they are in the indicative. In the present, the initial syllable of a disyllabic verb of the I. or II. tonal division is also changed : compare *nd¹if¹una* and *nd¹if¹u¹na* ; and *nd¹ib¹a¹la* and *nd¹ib¹ala* ; and in the full perfect, *-i-* of the penult is lengthened, and takes a strongly falling tone, as in *behamb¹i¹le*.

(iii) When there is no object concord, monosyllabic verbs usually take the particle *-si-*, and vowel verbs take *-s-*, before the stem. Thus we say ; *esithi*, *besiiba*, *ndisimba* ; *nisaakha*, *besotha*. There is little doubt that at one time the particle *-si-* was added to the stems of all participles, and that, when it was dropped elsewhere, it was retained where it was necessary to give weight to monosyllabic verbs. Its consonant was retained with vowel verbs to avoid hiatus.

(iv) This hypothesis is much strengthened by the fact that in participles, *a-* in the concords of cl. 1, sing. and plur., and cl. 3. plur. becomes *e-* ; *asi-hamba* and *basi-hamba* have dropped *s* ; fused *a* and *i* ; and become *ehanba*, *behamba*.

The participial forms of *funa* are accordingly as follows:

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

	Sing.	Plur.
I.	<i>nd'if'u,na</i>	<i>s'if'u,na</i>
II.	<i>'uf'u,na</i>	<i>n'if'u,na</i>
III.	1 <i>'ef'u,na</i>	<i>b'ef'u,na</i>
	2 <i>'uf'u,na</i>	<i>'if'u,na</i>
	3 <i>l'if'u,na</i> , etc.	<i>'ef'u,na</i> , etc.

THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Full.	Contr.	Full.	Contr.
I.	<i>nd'ifun'i,le</i>	<i>nd'ifune</i>	<i>s'ifun'i,le</i>	<i>s'ifune</i>
II. 1	<i>'ufun'i,le</i>	<i>'ufune</i>	<i>n'ifun'i,le</i>	<i>n'ifune</i>
III. 1	<i>'efun'i,le</i>	<i>'efune</i>	<i>b'efun'i,le</i>	<i>b'efune</i>
	2 <i>'ufun'i,le</i>	<i>'ufune</i>	<i>'ifun'i,le</i>	<i>'ifune</i>
	3 <i>l'ifun'i,le</i> ,	<i>l'ifune</i> ,	<i>'ef'un'i,le</i> ,	<i>'efune</i> ,
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	General.	Immediate.	General.	Immediate.
I.	<i>nd'iya</i>	<i>nd'iza</i>	<i>s'iya</i>	<i>s'iza</i>
II.	<i>'uya</i>	<i>'uza</i>	<i>n'iya</i>	<i>n'iza</i>
III. 1.	<i>'eya</i>	<i>'eza</i>	<i>b'eya</i>	<i>b'eza</i>
	2. <i>'uya</i>	<i>'uza</i>	<i>'iya</i>	<i>'iza</i>
	3. <i>'liya</i> ,	<i>l'iza</i> ,	<i>'eya</i> ,	<i>'eza</i> ,
	etc. } <i>kufuna</i>	etc. } <i>kufuna</i>	etc. } <i>kufuna</i>	etc. } <i>kufuna</i>

The use of a participle instead of the indicative after the adverb *xa*, as in: *amakhwenkwe aya feketha xa esalusa iinkomo*; *ndimbone xa esuka ekhaya*, is to be avoided. Such usage is permitted in Zulu, but it is quite wrong in Xhosa. The correct forms are: *amakhwenkwe aya feketha xa awalusayo*; *ndimbone xa asuka ekhaya*.

THE PASSIVE VOICE, AFFIRMATIVE.

In Xhosa, as in many other Bantu languages, the characteristic of the passive is *-w-*, inserted before the final vowel of the verb. In Ronga, the ending is *-iwa*; in Nyanja, *-edwa* or *-idwa*; in Ganda, *-ebwa* or *-ibwa*; in Xhosa it is reduced to *-wa*, except that monosyllabic verbs and primitive vowel verbs have *-i-* before *-wa*. So we get the forms, *bethwa*, *bizwa*; *viwa*, *thiwa*; *oniwa*, *enziwa*; but *onelwa*, *enzelwa*, *ambathiswa*, *alathwa*.

In the full perfect, *-l-* is elided before *-w-*, as in *bethiwe*, *biziwe*.

Since in Xhosa *-w-* cannot follow a bilabial, a bilabial consonant in the final syllable is almost always palatalized, according to the rule given in the chapter on the Modification of Sounds. We find therefore the following passives: *dyoba*, *dyojwa*; *goba*, *gotywa*; *luma*, *lunywa*; *bopha*, *botshwa*; *bamba*, *banjwa*; *sompa*, *sontshwa*.

Palatalization may extend to a bilabial in the penult, and even to one in the antepenult: e.g., *bubela*, *bujelwa*; *thabatha*, *thatyathwa*; *sumayela*, *sunyayelwa*.

Reduplicate words take the passive form in both sections: e.g., *cholwa-cholwa*, *gotywa-gotywa*.

In reciprocal verbs ending in *-ana*, *-w-* is inserted before the whole ending, as in: *kumana kubuzwana*, and the old war-cry, *kubanjwene ngazo ekuthini!* But N. C. Mhala writes *se kudinene ngamaGcaleka*. (See *ImiBengo*, p. 154.)

One occasionally finds palatalization in two syllables in the same word, as in *nqumamisa*, which becomes *nqunya-nyiswa*; or a vanished *-u-* comes to light with the change, as in *lumkisa*, *lunyukiswa*; *tyumza*, *tyunyuzwa*; *qhagamfela*, *qhaganyuselwa*. *Bulala* drops an *-l-*, and gives *bulawa*; but *Tiyo Soga* (in *UHambo*) gives the passive of *bulalela* as *bulawelwa*, with two *w*'s. On the other hand, the directive

form of *nxanwa* is *nxanela* (instead of *nxanelwa*); and of *bazwa*, *bazela* (instead of *bazelwa*; see in *Dum.* cxxx. 2).

From *tyala* we find the perfect passive *tyelwe* by assimilation, as well as *tyalw'e*; and from *andlala*, *andlelwe*.

Where the ending is *iwa*, no palatalization occurs, and we have *mba*, *mbiwa*; *ba* (steal), *biwa*.

Where a modal verb is used, it may take the passive along with the principal verb, thus, *kwakukhozwa ukusengwa*.

It is very common to find the passive of an intransitive verb used impersonally, as in: *kuyiwa phi? kuya ntlithwana phaya*.

The tenses of the passive correspond, tense for tense, with those of the active voice. For ease of reference they are given below, in the singular form of cl. 1:

THE TENSES OF THE PASSIVE VOICE.

	Indic.	Partic.	Subj.
Pres., simple	<i>ufunwa</i>	<i>ef'u,nwa</i>	<i>afunwe</i>
compd.	<i>uya funwa</i>	—	—
Past.	<i>wafunwa</i>	—	<i>wafunwa</i>
Perf., full.	<i>ufuniwe</i>	<i>efun'i,we</i>	—
short	<i>ufunwe</i>	<i>efunwe</i>	—
Fut., general	<i>uya kufunwa</i>	<i>eya kufunwa</i>	—
immed.	<i>uza kufunwa</i>	<i>eza kufunwa</i>	—
conting.	<i>wofunwa</i>	—	—
Compd. Past:			
Contin., rec.	<i>ube efunwa</i>		
remote	<i>waye efunwa</i>	Temporal	
Compl., rec.	<i>ube efuniwe, or</i> <i>efunwe</i>	<i>'akufunwa</i>	Imperative
remote	<i>waye efuniwe, or</i> <i>efunwe</i>	<i>(funwa)</i>	Infinitive
Contem., rec.	<i>ube eya kufunwa</i>	<i>ukufunwa</i>	
remote	<i>waye eya kufunwa</i>		

THE NEGATIVE CONJUGATION.

As a rule, a verb in the negative takes two particles, one associated with the subject concord, and the other coming at the end of the verb stem. Of each set, there are two to choose from; the concord-negative to be used depends on the mood, and the stem-negative on the tense of the verb.

The Concord-Negative.—In the indicative (save in certain subordinate clauses) and in the past subjunctive, the concord-negative is *a-*, prefixed to the concord; in the participles, the present subjunctive and the infinitive, and in relative and some other dependent clauses, it is *-ng*, *a-*, inserted immediately after the concord. Examples are, *andilali*, *aziyanga*, *aseva nto*, *aniyi kuya*; *engavumi*, *angayi*, *ukungaboni*, *xa angafikanga*. Both particles take a low tone, and frequently it is desirable to mark this, to avoid confusion; compare *abanayo* and *'abanayo*, *ang'aviwa* and *ang'aviwa*.

With weak concords, hiatus after the initial *a-* is prevented by a semivowel in cl. 2., sing. and pl., and in cl. 5. sing. (*awu-*, *ayi-*, *ayi-funwa*), and by *k* in the II. pers. sing., in cl. 1 sing. and cl. 3. pl. (*aku-*, *aka-*, *aka-sebenzi*). *Amanzi awabaleki* is not Xhosa, and should not be used; the form *akabaleki* is the correct form.

The Stem-Negative.—In the present tenses of the active voice, the stem-negative is *-i*, which displaces final *-a* or *-e*. In the perfect tenses, active and passive, it is *-anga*, which replaces final *-ile* or *-e*. In the active, the simple past tense has no stem-negative; and in the passive, the present tenses and the simple past tense do not take the stem-negative. Examples are: *asiboni*, (*ukuze*) *singaboni*, *bengasebenzi*, *ukungezi*; *abafikanga*, *ayixelwanga*; *asiphiwa*, *asafumana nto*.

Students should give to the past tense of *ba* (be) its proper negative form—*akaba nabuganga*, *akaba sabuya*, not *akabi*, as one so often hears it. The correct form is by far the more sonorous. Similarly *-zanga* should have its proper ending, which is *-a*, not *-e*—*andizanga ndimbone*.

The verb *va* retains final *-a* in the sense of “hearing,” “obeying,” save that in *Dut.* iv. 28, we have *abangaviyo*¹ in the indicative, and in *Zek.* vii. 13, the subjunctive *ndingevi*. Mqhayi uses *ingevi* in the subjunctive (*ImiBengo*, p. 209), but Gqoba uses *angeva* (*ImiBengo*, p. 197). In the sense of “feeling” we have *andivi* in *Yobi*, ix. 35; and in *Hag.* i. 6, *ningavi*, in the very sound version of 1889.

In the perfect tenses, when the sense of a state resulting from action is uppermost, the best Xhosa usage does not employ the stem negative; *ayilungile* accords more with the idiom of the language than *ayilunganga*, and *ayityebe* than *ayityebanga* (*ngako*).

It should be noted that in the compound tenses, the negative goes with the auxiliary in the future and the past contemplated, as in *abayi kufika*, *baye bengayi kufika*; and with the principal verb in the past continuous and complete, as in: *zibe zingatsali*, *waye engalalanga*.

There are no negatives corresponding in form to (i) the long form of the indicative, (ii) the contingent future, (iii) the temporal mood, or (iv) the imperative.

If the negative of a verb in the temporal is desired, it might be formed by using the temporal of *ba* with the negative participle, as in, *akuba engafikanga*; but it would be more idiomatic to say, *ekubeni engafikanga*.

¹ *Abangaviyo* here refers solely to the sense of hearing. To have used *abangevayo* would have brought in the association of disobedience.

Prohibitions are expressed by means of auxiliaries, such as, *musa, yamsa, wamsa, wasa*, with the infinitive; e.g., *musa ukwoenje njalo, yamsa ukumthembisa, wasa kulibala*.

Or the subjunctive in the negative may be used, depending upon *ma*, expressed or understood, and with or without the introductory *za*, itself in the subjunctive; examples are, *ma ungayi, ungayi*; (*ma*) *nize ningambethi*. And we have the contracted forms, *maze ningamxeleli, ze ningatsho*. In each case the negative particles go with the principal verb.

The following are the tense-forms of the negative conjugation :

The Negative Conjugation.

THE INDICATIVE.

	Active.	Passive.
Present.	<i>andifuni</i>	<i>andifunwa</i>
Past.	<i>andafuna</i>	<i>andafunwa</i>
Perfect.	<i>andifunanga</i>	<i>andifunwanga</i>
Future :		
general.	<i>andiyi kufuna</i>	<i>andiyi kufunwa</i>
immed.	<i>andizi</i> ,,	<i>andizi</i> ,,
Compd. Past :		
contin., rec.	<i>ndibe ndingafuni</i>	<i>ndibe ndingafunwa</i>
remote.	<i>ndaye</i> ,,	<i>ndaye</i> ,,
comp., rec.	<i>ndibe ndingafunanga</i>	<i>ndibe ndingafunwanga</i>
remote.	<i>ndaye</i> ,,	<i>ndaye</i> ,,
contemp. rec.	<i>ndibe ndingayi kufuna</i>	<i>ndibe ndingayi kufunwa</i>
remote.	<i>ndaye</i> ,,	<i>ndaye</i> ,,

THE PARTICIPLES.

	Act.	Pass.
Present.	<i>ndingafuni</i>	<i>ndingafunwa</i>
Perfect.	<i>ndingafunanga</i>	<i>ndingafunwanga</i>
Future :		
general.	<i>ndingayi kufuna</i>	<i>ndingayi kufunwa</i>
immed.	<i>ndingazi</i> ,,	<i>ndingazi</i> ,,

THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

	Act.	Pass.
Present.	<i>ndingafuni</i>	<i>ndingafunwa</i>
Past.	<i>andafuna</i>	<i>andafunwa</i>

THE INFINITIVE.

Active.	Passive.
<i>ukungafuni</i>	<i>ukungafunwa</i>

MONOSYLLABIC AND VOWEL VERBS.

It will be useful to summarize here the points in which it has been noted that monosyllabic and vowel verbs differ from other verbs in their conjugation. The differences, it will be seen, are due either to a desire to avoid hiatus, or to an instinctive feeling of speakers that certain parts of these verbs would be phonetically weak, if elements were dropped that had been dropped in other verbs.

Monosyllabic Verbs.—(a) In the imperative, if there is no object concord, *yi-* is prefixed to the stem. (b) In the present participle, if there is no object concord, an old *-si-* is retained between the subject concord and the stem; in colloquial speech, however, this is sometimes neglected. (c) In the present, past and future, passive, *-iw-* instead of *-w-* is inserted before final *-a*.

Monosyllabic Verbs are either (i) consonantal: *ba* (be), *ba* (think), *da*, *dla* (*tya*), *fa*, *hlwa*, *kha* (do once), *kha*

(pluck), *lwa*, *na*, *nga* (wish), *pha* (give), *sa* (dawn), *sa* (be foolish), *tha*, *thi*, *tfha*, *wa*, *ya* ; or,

(ii) *i*- verbs, in which a lost *i* makes its influence felt in the concord of cl. 3. pl., the past tense, and the lengthened *-u-* of the infinitive prefix with its high tone ; they are : *fa* (steal), *hla*, *ma*, *mba*, *pha* (pluck), *sa* (take to), *va* (hear, feel), *va* (increase), *za*.

With **Vowel Verbs**, the following differences appear:—

(a) In the imperative, if there is no object concord, *y-* is prefixed to the stem. (b) In the participles, if there is no object concord, *-s-* is retained between the subject concord and the stem. (c) In the present, past and future, passive, of the more primitive verbs, *-iw-* instead of *-w-* is inserted between the stem and final *-a*. (d) Where subject, relative or object concords come immediately before the stem, their consonantal forms are used.

The number of vowel verbs is fairly large, as reference to the dictionary will show. These are some of the more important : *azi*, *aala*, *aphula*, *alusa*, *aleka*, *andula*, *aakha* ; *enza*, *enda*, *eela* ; *oona*, *oyika*, *oyisa*, *onda*, *oma*, *otha*, *osa*, *opha*, *ondla*, *othuka*.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DERIVATIVE FORMS OF THE VERB.

The forms now to be described express important modifications of the action associated with the simple verb. The action is limited to oneself or to one's companions, or to a particular place, or direction, or purpose; or the form denotes causation, frequency or intensity, or it may indicate liability to the action of the simple verb. By means of the particles that yield these derivative forms, one verb may give rise to many others, each conveying the modification of action intended by the speaker; and so the vocabulary is greatly extended.

1. The **Reflexive Form**, denoting action directed to oneself, is formed by inserting *-zi-* in the place of the object concord, immediately before the stem of the verb; e.g., *laa mntu uya zidla*; *inkwenkwe izisikile ngemela*. In such an expressions as, *yeka ndizenzele*, *uzihlalele endlwini*, the form denotes independence of action.

2. The **Reciprocal Form**, denoting mutual action, each actor acting upon the other, is formed by replacing final *-a* of the stem by *-ana*; e.g., *aaba bantwana baya thandana*. It is often followed by a noun with *na-*, indicating the other party or parties to the action; e.g., *sibambene noVena*, which may mean either that "we have quarrelled with Vena," or that "I have quarrelled" with him, Vena being included in the plural subject concord.

A transitive verb may retain an object of reference, as in, *baya lumana iindlebe*. Note the perfect, ending in *-lene*.

3. The **Directive Form**, formed by substituting *-ela* for final *-a* of the stem, is wide in its implications. It may describe the action as for a certain purpose or reason, or on behalf of some person, or as performed at a particular place, or directed to a particular place or person. Examples are : *ndibambele ubawo* ; *umbethela ni? sihambele eQonce* ; *ufele eDikeni*.

This form may take two objects, one the object of the main action, the other of the person or thing with which the action is otherwise concerned ; and where the verb becomes passive, either object may become the subject of the verb, according to the meaning intended. The object which it is desired to emphasize is retained, the other becoming the subject of the verb. Examples are : *ndixhelele inkosi inkabi yenkomo* ; *inkosi ixhelelwe inkabi yenkomo* ; *inkabi ixhelelwe inkosi*. The directive of an intransitive verb may be used in the passive to represent action performed in relation to the subject of the verb, or in which the person indicated by the subject is specially interested ; as in : *sifikelwe ziindwendwe* ; *bafelwe nguyise wabo*.

4. The **Causative Form** is formed by substituting *-isa* for final *-a*. As the name indicates, the subject of the verb does not perform the action, but causes some one else to do so. It is also used in the sense of helping to perform the action. Examples are : *ngenisa impahla* ; *bafundise abantwana* ; *nd^libambise le tafle* ; *kha undithwalise le emele*. An intensive effect is obtained by duplicating or even triplicating the ending, as in *gondisisa*, *visisa*, *visisisa*. Disguised causatives are found in *ambesa* for *ambathisa* (by elision of *th*), and *thwesa* for *thwalisa* (by elision of *l*). *Phola* has two causatives, *pholisa* and *phoxisa*.

5. The **Stative Form** uses one of two endings, *-eka* and *-akala* ; *enza* uses both, with different meanings, *enzeka* and *enzakala*, but usually each verb takes either one or

the other. The Stative indicates a state or tendency in a passive sense; but, while the passive voice describes action undergone on a particular occasion, or at the hands of a particular person, the stative denotes a general state as the result of action, or a tendency to undergo action, without taking into account when or by whom the action is performed. Compare: *bonwa* and *bonakala*; *ukumbiwa* and *ukumbeka*; *'uya thandwa* and *'uya thandeka*. Tiyo Soga uses the stative once in an active sense: *esi sikhali asisikeki* ("does not cut"); but this is very unusual.

6. The **Intensive Form** uses one of three reduplicated forms, *-alala*, *-elela*, *-ulula*, and, as its name shows, it denotes thoroughness of action, as in *tshabalala*, *lambelela*, *hlambulula*.

7. The simple verb-stem may be reduplicated to indicate action frequently repeated. Examples of this **Frequentative Form** are: *chola-chola*; *hamba-hamba*; *iindlebe zobetha-bethana*; *kufumana kuhanjwa-hanjwe*; *olucingo lugoba-gobekile*. From the last three examples, it will be observed that, while both parts of the reduplication take the passive *-w-*, only the second part takes modal or derivative endings.

An important feature in the use of these derivative formatives is that a verb-stem may take two or three endings, one following the other; thus from *phamba* we may get *phambana*, *phambanisa*, *phambaniseka*; from *ma-misa*, *misela*, *miseleka*; from *oona-onakala*, *onakalisa*, *onakalisana*. Even such a form as, *niphambanisekele ni?* though undesirable, would be understood.

A considerable number of other endings are used in the formation of verbs, but they are more closely bound up in them, and cannot be added and removed at the will of the speaker. They therefore belong more properly to the chapter on the Formation of Words.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AUXILIARIES OF THE VERB.

Auxiliary Particles.

In Xhosa there are a number of particles used in verb-forms, usually with adverbial force. Some of these (possibly all) were once verbs themselves, but have lost their identity to the extent that they no longer take concords of their own, but are inserted between the subject concord and the stem of the verb ; or between the subject concord and the object concord, if there is one.

We have seen that an auxiliary particle *-ya* is used to form the compound or emphatic form of the present indicative ; and that *-ng₁a-* is the concord-negative particle in certain moods and subordinate clauses.

There is another infix *-ng₁'a-*, differing from the negative in having a high instead of a low tone, which is used : (i) to denote permission, possibility, ability, as in : *ung₁'aya*, *kung₁'ana*, *nding₁'amoyisa* ; (ii) in the principal clause of a sentence containing a condition still in doubt, as in, *nding₁'avuya ukuba uthe wafika*. With a negative it takes the form *ng₁'e*, as in : *akungemoyisi* ; *wanga akungefiki ngoku*.

The particle *-s₁'a-* (i) describes action as still in progress, as not yet ended, in *sisafunda*, *basamfuna* ; (ii) with a negative, denotes “(no) longer,” as in *asisafundi* ; (iii) with the infinitive of *thi*, indicates that the act is habitual, as in *besisakuthi*, *basakuthi balwe*. With non-verbal predicates, the particle takes the form of *-se-*, as in *usekho*, *akasekho*.

With negatives, the particle *-ka-* describes an expected act as unaccomplished, as in : *andikamboni* ; *abakafiki*.

Auxiliary Verbs.

Xhosa is well supplied with auxiliary verbs. There are, as we have seen, auxiliaries of tense; but there are also a number that express a modification of action, much as adverbs do, and others that are used to obtain certain desired effects. They may make it possible to throw the main action of the sentence forward, without allowing intervening clauses to break the thread of the narrative; or they may give to speech that smoothness of flow that pleases a people as appreciative of beauty of language as the Xhosa are.

These auxiliary verbs have their own subject concords, apart from the subject concord of the principal verb, even although in colloquial speech some may drop their concord; we may hear one say, *khe ndiye*, but this is only a lazy way of saying, *ndikha ndiye*, as *se ndifikile* is a short way of saying *ndisele ndifikile*.

It will be useful to take these auxiliaries separately.

Andula has two uses. (i) It is commonly used with the infinitive to express action just now accomplished; in colloquial speech, it is often contracted to *and'*. Examples are: *basandula ukufika*; *zisand' ukuphuma*. (ii) It may be used with the infinitive or the subjunctive to indicate action following the accomplishment of some other action, "then, and not before that," as in: *wadla, wuandula ukuhamba*; *sebenza, wandule ukulala*.

We have seen (i) that **Ba** in the perfect tense forms the compound tenses of the recent past, as in, *habe begula*, or *be begula*; and (ii) in the past tense, with final *-a* softened to *-e*, it may be used instead of *ya* in the compound tenses of the remote past, as in, *ndabe nditshilo*. (iii) It is also largely used to form tenses, other than the present indicative and present participle, for non-verb predicates. A

following noun or pronoun retains the copula ; a following adjective of the I. Class retains its predicative concord ; while an adjective of the II. class takes no formative. Examples are : *niya kuba ngamakhoboka ; yaba nguye okhulu-lwayo ; bavatha ukuze babe bahle ; ubuso bada baba mnyama ngumsindo.* (iv) Similarly it ckes out other expressions, for which the language provides simple forms only in the present, such as a perfect for the temporal (*akuba efikile*) ; or a perfect or future for forms with the infix *-ng¹a-* (*angaba ufikile, angaba uya kufika*). (v) It serves as an introductory verb to sentences and clauses : e.g., *ndaba ngathetha, andafeza lutho ; siya sebenza, sisebenze, abe yena elele ; saba kufika, sabona ise ifile.* Furthermore, the verb *ba* is the basis of a large proportion of the adverbs and conjunctions used in Xhosa.

Betha, with the subjunctive, expresses with graphic force the result of something that has happened ; thus, *la mazwi akho abéthe ndafumana ndakhohlwa.*

Buya, with the subjunctive, expresses repetition of action, thus : *sobuya sifike ; uze ungabuyi uyithethe loo nto.* Sometimes it merely indicates action as the response to some previous act ; as in, *uthi ndakumngxolisa, abuye andithuke.*

Da is a defective verb, taking the subjunctive after it, and expressing the idea of doing at length, final accomplishment, as in : *sisebenz¹e sada sadinwa ; ude wafika okade simlinda ; niya kuda niyaleke.* It may also denote the extent of action, as in, *ude wathi uya kusibetha.* The weakening of final *-a* to *-e* in the present indicative or the past tense is to be avoided.

Dia, followed by the prepositional particle *nga-* with the infinitive, indicates habitual action, action that, in the

circumstances implied, more commonly takes place than not; e.g., *badla ngokulima ngamakhuba*. Often an auxiliary *thi* or *ba* introduces the main verb, which then becomes subjunctive, as in, *badla ngokuthi benze utywala ngamazimba*.

Fika is much used, with the main verb in the subjunctive, to take off abruptness in introducing a new statement or request: e.g., *lo mfo ufika athethe izinto ezininzi*; *w'ofika umxelele oku ndikuthethileyo*.

Fudula is a defective verb, used only as an auxiliary with participles, to express habitual action in the past: e.g., *sibe sifudula silima ngemithathi*. In colloquial speech it may lose its ending, and even its concord, becoming merely *fuda*, but this should not be done in writing.

Fumana has two distinct uses. (i) With a participle it expresses the action of the main verb as vain and useless, as in: *nifumana nizixhamla*; *ufumanu ethetha*. (ii) With the subjunctive it denotes random, thoughtless action, as in: *umfana lo ufumana enze, engacingi*. Students should avoid the habit of substituting *-e* for final *-a* of this verb; even more reprehensible is the elision of *-um-*, and saying, *ufan' athethe*.

Hla, with the subjunctive, denotes early action: e.g., *w'ohla abuye*; *sohla sibone kambe*. A common form takes *be* before the verb, as in, *w'obehle abuye*. This would appear to be due to the use of the auxiliary *ba* before *hla*, thus, *woba ehle abuye*, becoming *wobehle abuye* by vowel fusion; in the case of strong concords, the falling out of the auxiliary *ba* would reduce *bofa behle bafike*, to *bobehle bafike*. This would be parallel with the formation of *ubehamba* from *ube ehamba*, and *babehamba* from *babe behamba*.

Hlala expresses habitual or continued action: e.g., *inyaniso ihleli ikho; olu lusana luhlala lulila akuphuma unina.*

Kha is a defective verb used with the subjunctive. It might be called the auxiliary of infrequency, for it denotes that the action of the main verb occurred once, or occurs but occasionally: e.g., *ndakha ndayibona inKosazana; sikha siye eQonce.* Following on this, it comes to be used in polite requests, as though the speaker would say, "do it just this time"; so used, it is virtually the equivalent of "please": e.g., *kha undiphe; ma (ndi) khe ndibuze.* Final *-a* should be retained in tenses where it is appropriate. In negative sentences *kha* has the effect of a strong "never"—*andikhanga ndimbone.*

Kholisa with the infinitive expresses much the same as *dla*, already dealt with—action that generally takes place; e.g., *sikholisa ukuya ngenqwelo eMonti.* It also denotes a state that commonly prevails; e.g., *elo lizwe likholise ngokuba yinkqantosi.*

Khova is used, usually in the temporal mood, with the infinitive to denote completion of action before the occurrence of some other event; thus *sisuke bakukhova ukusenga; wakukhova ukusebenza ungasoduka.* As we have seen, it may take the passive by assimilation with a following verb in the passive; e.g., *kwakukhovwa ukutyiwa.*

Ma, as we have seen, is used with the subjunctive in polite commands, exhortations or requests, either directed to the person or persons addressed, or by them to be transmitted to some other person; thus, *ma nisebenza ngoku; ma kaye evenkileni.* It often takes the subjunctive of *za* as an additional auxiliary—*ma nize nimzise*—and a subsequent development is, that *ma* is dropped, and we

have the common form, *nize nimzise* ; or the two may unite, as in, *maze nimzise*. *Ma* also acquires the sense of " must " in such a sentence as, *ma kube uzalelwe ngumlambo*.

Mana is followed by a participle or an infinitive, to which it adds the idea of continual or frequent occurrence ; thus, *simana ukuhlangana naye endleleni* ; *aaba bantwana bamana ukufika emva kwexesha*. It has been so much used with *wanga* in prayer (e.g., *wanga ungamana usigcina*), that *wanga* is often dropped, so that *ngamana* serves for both, although *mana* in itself originally conveyed no optative idea ; e.g., *ngamana ungaphila*.

Ng'a has four distinct uses. I. It is used with the indicative to express an apparent but uncertain state or action : e.g., *bang'a b'angabantu abanesimilo* ; *bang'a bakhwele emahafeni* ; *kwang'a kuza kuna*. A very idiomatic use is that of its perfect in such an expression as, *unge akatshongo*, " it was as if he had not said so," and so, " no sooner had he said so " ; and in, *kusebenz'eni (konke) . . kunge kukwiniKosi (Kol. iii. 23)*.

II. It is used in wishes, the verb following always taking the infix of possibility, *-ng'a-* ; e.g., *ndinga ung'afika* ; *singa inkosi ing'asipha indawo yokwaakha* ; *intsumayeli yafuna, isinga ingafumana (intSum. xii. 10)*. But as so often happens with an introductory verb in Xhosa, its virtual subject may be forgotten, and its concord be assimilated to that of the verb that follows ; so that we find *nga* taking the concord referring to the person whose action is desired, instead of that of the wisher : e.g. *yanga inkosi ing'asipha indawo* ; *wanga ung'abuya kamsinya*.

III. The perfect, *nge*, is used with a participle in the principal clause of a sentence of " unfulfilled condition " ; e.g., *ndinge ndivuyile, ukuba ubeth'e weza*.

IV. The perfect is employed also to express the idea of obligation or duty, thus, *singe sibuyela ekhaya ngoku*.

In both these uses of the perfect, an *l* is sometimes employed to prevent hiatus with a weak concord, possibly by analogy with *sel'*; e.g., *ungel' engatshongo ukuba ebekhe wayinginga loo nto*.

Phantsa is defective, being used only in the past and the perfect. It takes the infinitive or the subjunctive, to denote action almost successful, or a condition narrowly missed: e.g., *ndiphantse ndafikelela*; *saphantsa ukufa*; *le nto iphantse yalunga*.

Phatha introduces parallel clauses describing alternate action, as in, *baphatha kusebenza, baphathe kuphumla*. It takes the infinitive without its article.

Sala, in the perfect, *sele*, is employed with participles to indicate action, or the initiation of action, as completed at the time referred to. It usually drops final *-e* before a weak concord, as in: *usel' efile*; *imilambo isel' itshile*; it drops final *-le* before a strong concord, as in *zise ziphumile*; and in colloquial speech it often loses its concord as well, thus: *se sidiniwe*; *sel' uhamba?* This should not be done in writing or in dignified speech. In its short form, *se*, this auxiliary must not be confused with the infix *-se-* of continuance.

Suka takes the subjunctive, and introduces a sentence or clause relating to fresh action, or a new development in the narrative. It gives a "snap" to the action. Examples are: *inkosi imthethisile, wasuka wahamb' apha*; *uthethe wathetha, wasuka wee tshiki*.

Thi has been described as the most important verb in Bantu languages. Quite apart from its use as an independent verb, meaning to do, to say, to think, to name—a fairly

wide range to be covered by a single word—its uses as an auxiliary are many. (i) It is much used with gestures, imitating action or indicating direction. (ii) An extension of this is its use with ideophones in all their variety: e.g., *bathe tu*; *ithe thu*; *zithe b₁uu*. Used thus, the past tense in colloquial speech often drops *th* and the vowels fuse, as in, *wee* (for *wathi*) *qatha*. (iii) It is a most important verb of introduction, especially if the main verb of the sentence is preceded by a subordinate clause; e.g.: *ukuba nithe nafika sisekho*, *siya kunipha*; *uthe*, *akufika emadlelweni*, *wazihlanganisa iinkomo*. This use of *thi* gives flow to speech, prevents abruptness, and gives the speaker time to collect his ideas and marshal his arguments.

Ya.—(i) This verb, as we have seen, helps with the infinitive of the verb to form the general future: e.g., *siya kufa yindlala*. (ii) With the present participle, it describes progressive action, as in, *baya bekhula ngokukhula*. (iii) We have seen that with the participles, its past tense (final *-a* having become *-e*) goes to form the compound tenses of the remote past: e.g., *baye bengabantu abanenchwangu*. (iv) It is much used with verbs of motion that do not connote direction, to indicate "motion towards": e.g., *bahamba*, *baya eDikeni*; *baleka uye ebuhlanti*; *yihla uye emlanjeni*.

Za.—(i) With the infinitive, *za* forms the immediate future. (ii) It introduces sentences and clauses, or otherwise accompanies a verb, indicating smooth sequence of action: e.g., *waza*, *akuba etshilo*, *wahlala phantsi*; *ndiyityalile imithi leyo*, *ndaza ndayinkcenkcefela*. (iii) We have noted its common use in polite commands, requests and prohibitions: e.g., (*ma*) *nize ningemki*; *maze eze kum kusasa*; *'ze nikhuthale ke*. (iv) With the negative, it has the effect of "never": e.g., *imvula ayize ifike*; *aabo bantu*

abazanga barafe. Note that *abazanga* is better than *abazange*.

The present tendency of weakening the final vowel of the auxiliary, repeatedly noted in this section, is to be resisted; it is constructionally incorrect, and deprives the language of much of the sonorous beauty of strong final *-a*'s.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NON-VERBAL PREDICATES.

It is very common in Xhosa to use predicates that have no verbs, the predicative element being one of the concords described in Chapter VI. These concords form predicates referring only to the present tense; but with the help of the verb *ba* it is possible to build up on these present forms—except those of section (4) below—a conjugation almost parallel to that of the verb in the active voice.

(1) The copula forms predicates with nouns and pronouns, thus: *ngabantu baphi aaba? ngamaHlubi; yinkomo kabani le? yekaFani; nguye oyibileyo imali yam.* It is used even if the substantive verb *ba* is used before the noun or pronoun; e.g., *waba yinkosi; yoba yeyakho.*

(2) The predicative adjective concord described in Chapter VI. forms predicates with adjectives of the I. Class; e.g., *eli litye likhulu; amanzi maninzi; iinkomo zam zintathu qha.*

(3) The subject concord forms predicates with (i) adjectives of the II. Class, as: *izulu limnyama, iinkomo zam zibomvu;* (ii) a noun or a pronoun with its copula, as: *lo mntu uyinkosi, ubawo ungoyena mkulu;* (iii) an adverb, as: *'ukho apha, silapha sonke;* (iv) a noun in the locative, as: *useDikeni umfana lowo;* (v) a noun or pronoun with a prepositional particle, as: *ikubani imela yam? ingaye le nkathazo.*

Note that under (ii), the copula may be omitted for graphic effect; we may say *akanguye umntu endimthembi-*

leyo, akanguye nomntu ukuba nomsindo : or *akamntu ndimthembileyo, akanntu ukuba nomsindo*.

By prefixing the subject concords of the participle to the predicate forms given in (1) and (2) above, or to any one of the forms mentioned in (3), we get non-verbal participles, thus : *bebahle* ; *'inguye nje* ; *zizininzi nje* ; *ebomvu njalo* ; *ekho nje amadoda*.

Further, these non-verbal forms have negative forms corresponding to those of the present indicative and present participle of verbs, except that the infix *-ng₁a-* becomes *-nge-*, usually on a raised tone. Examples are : *akamhle, amanzi akakho, akanguye umntu omfunayo ; engemhle, beng'ekho, ing'enguye*. And we have seen that *ikho* may take the directive ending, with its final vowel assimilated to *-o*, as *-olo* ; e.g., *eyona nto ndikholo yona ; sikholo yena izinto zonke*.

Using the verb *ba*, we may form the following conjugation, based on the non-verbal predicates given above : an imperative, *yibani zizilulami* ; an infinitive, *ukuba mhlophe* ; a future, *ziya kuba kho* ; a subjunctive, *nize mibe lapha* ; a temporal, *akuba yinkosi*. Their participial forms, again, may be used to form the past continuous and past contemplated tenses, just as participles of verbs are used ; and we get : *sibe s'ikho ; baye bebakhulu aabo bantu ; zaye ziya kuba zininzi iinkomo zenu ; naye niya kuba ngabantu*.

Impersonal constructions of non-verbal predicates take the concord of cl. 8, as verbs do : e.g., *kufufu ; k'uhle ; kumanzi phaya ; kumhla ndimbonayo*. With or without the copula, the impersonal negative prefix *asi-* is used, as in : *asinguye, asililo elam elo ihase, asimntu* ; and in the past compound tenses, the concord of cl. 5, singular, is often found : e.g., *yabe (or yaye) inguMona nomkakhe bodwa abangekhoyo*.

(4) We have seen in Chapter X. that the predicative demonstratives have the force of predicates within themselves, as in : *naanga amanzi ; naabu utyani obuhle.*

(5) Similar to the predicative demonstratives are the expressions *elokoko, eloko, ekoko, yekoko*, (usually with *ukuyu*), meaning " there (he, she, it) they go."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ADVERB AND THE CONJUNCTION.

The Adverb.

Except in relation to time, space and reason, adverbs do not play a large part in Xhosa. With the wide range of descriptive verbs available, and the assistance of the ideophones, there is little need for an extensive vocabulary of adverbs of manner; and, in the early days, refinements of degree and comparison did not enter largely into Xhosa life and language.

The number of primary adverbs is comparatively small. Most are derivatives; these are so recent, and their formation so obvious, that it is often quite immaterial whether they are classed as adverbs, or as still belonging to the parts of speech from which they are derived. *Phefeya*, once a noun, is no longer used as a noun, and is therefore definitely an adverb; and *kusasa*, once a participle with an infixed particle *-sa-*, would probably be called an adverb by most. But *ngomso* and *endle* may be taken either as forms of nouns or as adverbs, according as one is more impressed by their etymology or their use.

Adverbs of Manner.—Primary adverbs of manner are *nje*, *njalo*, *njeya*, *njani*? (possibly from *nje ngunt*?).

The common formative of adverbs of manner is the prefix *ka-*, as in *kamnandi*, *kahle*, *kanene*, *kanjalo*. *K₁uhle* and *k₁ubi* were originally predicatives from adjectives, and they may take *ka-* before their concord, thus, *kakuhle*, *kakubi*. Less common than *ka-* is the prefix *bu-*, related

to the prefix of cl. 7., and often associated with the suffix *-ra*: e.g., *bumini*; *bume*; *umphethe bungqwanga-ngqwili*; *kusezwa bunkomora* (Mantsayi: *ImiBengo*, p. 71); *amehlo abomvu mlilora* (Ross: *ImiBengo*, p. 163).

If additional modifications of the verb are required, adverbial expressions may be formed by the use of the prepositional particle *nga-* with nouns, including the infinitive: e.g., *ngamendu*, *ngokunshama*, *ngobunshamo*, *ngokungakhathali*.

There are few primary **Adverbs of Time**: *futhi*, *tanci*, *nini*? probably exhaust the list. But there are many derivatives formed with *ka-*: *kade*, *kakade*, *kaloku*, *kamsinya*, *kanye*, *kabini*, *kangaphi*? *Namhla* and *naphakade* are formed from nouns; the latter, literally "even ever," has been so often used with a verb in the negative, that it is frequently used alone to mean "never." Others are locatives of nouns, such as *emini*, *ebusuku*; or nouns or pronouns used with the prepositional particle *nga-*, such as *ngomso*, *ngoku*, *ngoko*, *ngokuya*; or nouns or pronouns in their simple form, such as, *izolo*, *oko*, *okuya*. *Kuqala* is probably an infinitive, and *kusasa* is a participle.

Primary **Adverbs of Place** are: *phi*? *apha*, *apho*, *phaya*, *kho*, *khona*, *lee*. We have seen that *pheseya*, *phambi*, *phozulu*, *phantsi*, *phakathi*, *phandle* were nouns with the locative prefix *pha-*. Others are modern locatives, such as *endle*, *ezantsi*, *emva*, *ekhohlo*. Many of these may take the prepositional prefix *nga-*, which widens the field of application of the adverb; compare *eQonce* and *ngaseQonce*. Note that the six *pha-* adverbs, *phonosono*, and some locatives like *emva*, *ecaleni*, *ekhohlo*, take the possessive concord of cl. 8 with a noun following: e.g. *phexu kwendlu*; *phantsi kwam*; *phexu kukabani*; *emva kobuhlanti*.

Of **Adverbs of Degree**, *cebetshu*, *qha*, *ifshu*, *mu* and *tu* are primary. *Kanye*, *kancinane*, *kakhulu*, *kangaka*, *ngakumbi* and *kodwa* are from adjectives, and *kuphela* is a verb.

The interrogative adverb, *na*, may or may not be used in direct questions, according to the taste of the speaker ; in indirect questions, it should always be used. It may be employed also to make universal the application of an indefinite expression, like *yiphi* ; thus, *lo mthi awumnandi nakusiphi na isidalwa*.

Other primary adverbs, with conjunctival force, in that they implicitly link up statements with previous statements or happenings, are *phofu*, *kambe*, *gxebe*, *kwa*. *Ngoko*, denoting reason, and *mhlawumbi*, denoting uncertainty, are of obvious derivation.

Conjunctival Adverbs.—There is a series of adverbs of time and place, usually derived from nouns and pronouns, which are followed by the relative construction, and so might be called conjunctival adverbs. If, for example we take *xa*, which was a noun, it is easy to understand how *xa afikileyo* came from such an expression as *ngexa afike ngalo*. Similar to this are *xefikweni*, *xenikweni*, *mhlenikweni*, *mhlana*, *mnyakana*, *kuseloko*, *oko*, *okuya* ; and of place, *apho*.

Comparison.—Where adverbial comparisons have to be made, similar expedients are used as are used for adjectives. We may use *kuna-*, or *ngaphezu* with *kwa-* ; or we may use a periphrasis: e.g., *eli hase lihamba kamnandi kuneliya* ; or, *lihamba kamnandi ngaphezu kweliya* ; or, *liya ligqitha eliya ngokuhamba kamnandi*.

The Conjunction.

Conjunctions come late in the development of a language, and in consequence there are few primary conjunctions in

Xhosa. The majority of its connectives are derived from the infinitive of *ba*, while others are derived from *za* or *thi*.

Certain conjunctions serve merely to connect sentences, either formally or by implication, with what has gone before; they do not otherwise affect the construction. Such are *ke*, *kaloku*, *kodwa*, *kuloko* (with its contraction *koko*), *noko*, *nokuba*; and to this list some would add *gxebe*, *kambe* and *phofu*, referred to under the adverb.

Clauses of **indirect statement** or **question** are usually introduced by *ukuba* (with its variant *okokuba*), but sometimes by *ukuthi*: e.g., *yiya uxele ukuba inkosi ifikile*; *buza ukuba inkosi ifikile na*; *ucinga ukuthi ndingakuboleka imali engako?*

Clauses of **condition** are introduced by *ukuba* or *nokuba*: e.g., *ukuba ucele ukudla, mphe*; *nokuba akacelanga, uze umphe*.

The clauses so far referred to have the verb in the indicative.

Clauses of **purpose** usually have *ukuze* or *hleze*, but sometimes *ukuba*, to introduce them, and have the verb in the subjunctive. Examples are: *yidla, ukuze utyebe*; *lumka, hleze uwe*; *mbize, ukuba eze*.

Clauses of **reason** may be introduced by *kuba*, with or without the prepositional particle *nga-*; *ngokuba* is generally used if the verb in the principal clause is in the affirmative, and *ngakuba* if it is negative; or the locative, *ekubeni*, may be used. The verb of the clause is a participle, if the fact it states is the reason given by the agent, for the action of the principal clause; it is in the indicative if the reason is assigned by the narrator. Compare, *banyule uMona, kuba bemthanda*, and, *bamnyule kuba be bemthanda*; in the first sentence, the people's reason is

given, and in the second the narrator is responsible for the reason.

The **concessive** conjunctions *noko* and *nangona* take the indicative, and the clause is of relative form; e.g., *noko usivimbileyo nje, asiyi kukuvimba*; *nangona inkosi inkileyo, umsebenzi wona usaqhutywa*.

CHAPTER XX.

THE IDEOPHONE AND THE INTERJECTION.

These parts of speech are similar in that both are exclamatory in their nature—are, as it were, gestures of speech; nor do they vary in their forms. They are, however, clearly divided in that the ideophone is descriptive, and therefore closely related to the adverb, while the interjection gives expression to emotion.

The Ideophone.

The use of the ideophone is an out-standing characteristic of the Bantu languages; it plays an important part also in the Sudanic family.

It is descriptive, and frequently imitative of the sound of the action described, or of a sound associated with it. Also it is a radical, in that it is exclamatory, and not derived. It might, therefore, quite well be called a “graphic radical”; but for students it is best to use the term now generally accepted, which is based on the frequent connection found between the sound of the radical and the idea expressed.

Ideophones are numerous in Xhosa; in the closely related Zulu, the number recorded runs into hundreds. Some Xhosa-speaking student would do well to compile a corresponding list for Xhosa.

The ideophone in Xhosa normally follows the verb *thi*, as in: *yithi tu, ukuthi thu*. One occasionally finds it, however, without its friend, as in: *urce gxuphu emanzini; cebetshu ukuba sisinde*. In such cases, it is virtually an adverb.

By conjugating the auxiliary, a complete ideophonic conjugation can be secured, the radical itself never varying. Thus we can say, *uthi, uthe, wothi, uya kuthi, wathi, athi, akuthi (qheke)*; *ukuthiwa wambu*; *andithanga nqa*. The combination may take an object, thus: *le ngubo ndiyithe nkxu emanzini*; *ngamthi qa laa mtu!* It may also assume one of the derivative forms: e.g., *uzithe wambu*; *le nto ndiyithele nqa*; *ezi zinto zithene mbende*.

In the next chapter we shall see how, with the help of certain verbal particles, from these "roots" have sprung plants, in the form of regular verbs, which in turn have given rise to other verbs and many nouns, to the great enrichment of the vocabulary. This fact gives to the ideophone a position of great importance in the language.

The Interjection.

The Xhosa-speaking tribes make free use of interjections, which vary with locality and tribe. Where a Ngqika will say *tyhu!* a Zizi will say *be!* in his surprise; but both will protest with *kwowu!* deprecate with *mawo!* and approve with *hee!* though the Ngqika might prefer *ngxatshi!* The Ngqika will greet one with *bota!* the Hlubi with *sakubona!* Or, if the greeting be directed to a chief, the one will say *aa!* and the other, *bayethe!*

Special interjections are the tribal *siduko* or *zibizo*, which members of the tribe will use as exclamations: e.g., *ma-Mbalu!* *Ndlambe!* *Ntaba!* *Gadebe!*

Being purely exclamatory, interjections have no effect upon grammatical construction.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FORMATION OF WORDS.

It is not proposed in this chapter to go deeply into matters of past derivation. In the absence of written specimens of early Xhosa, this could profitably be done only by a trained philologist, possessed of far more knowledge of other Bantu languages and the permutation of sounds than the present writer can claim to have. But it is of interest, and it may be helpful to the student, to summarize and to add to what has already been given, regarding the means and the methods by which words have been, and may be, built up in Xhosa.

It is hoped that the examples given will be sufficient for purposes of illustration; extended lists might have been given, but this would have carried the book beyond the limits within which it is desirable to keep it. Besides, it is more profitable to the student that he should frame his own lists.

The Noun.

It is characteristic of Xhosa nouns that they must have noun-prefixes, expressed or latent; and any word or expression may become a noun by having a noun-prefix added to it. We have such nouns as: *umna lo*; *ucwe wakho*; *lo mhlawumbi wakho bamlibele*; *waba ngundilele ngekaNgcayechibi*; *babuze imvela-phi*; *uNaantsi yimvela-ngqangi kayise*; *afile amafa-nankosi*; *ndimfumene undofa-naye*; *uya silibazisa ngala mafanele akho*. In *izibongo* one frequently finds a whole line converted into a noun, thus:

UGunguluzza sigugude ;
UNgqob' isenqineni.

Or it may run into two lines, as in :

UNkomo yabelek' iimpondo,
Kub' inamtheth' usentliziyweni.

It seems clear that in early Bantu each class-prefix had a definite force, or connoted a certain relation of the word to its stem ; and some prefixes have retained much of this in modern Xhosa. For example, *bu-* almost invariably denotes the abstract idea of the quality associated with the stem ; *um-* (plur. *aba-*) is primarily associated with persons ; rivers and trees are associated principally with *um-* (plur. *imi-*), and collections and languages with *isi-*. But it is now too late to dogmatize on original significations ; and even to formulate reliable hypotheses would require much and close comparative study of Bantu. It is possible, however, to note the more common uses of the prefixes at the present day.

From descriptive nouns, from adjectives, and even from adverbs, abstract nouns are formed by means of *bu-* of cl. 7., as we have seen ; thus : *Xhosa, ubuXhosa ; ntu, ubuntu ; isityebi, ubutyebi ; ihlwempu, ubuhlwempu ; ze, ubuzé ; kho, ubukho*. From the locative adverbs *phantsi, phezulu, phakathi*, we get *umphantsi, umphezulu,umphakathi*, using the prefix of cl. 2.

From the name of a people is formed the name of their language and of the body of their customs, by means of *isi-* of cl. 4, thus : *Ngesi, isiNgesi*.

Foreign nouns, with necessary phonetic adjustments, are usually incorporated in cl. 5, with the prefix *i-*, thus : " fork," *ifolokhwe* ; Du. " aard-appel," *itapile* ; " plate," *ipleyiti*. But if the word begins with *s-* followed by a consonant, since Xhosa prefers the consonants separated,

isi- of cl. 4 is used: "slate," *isileyiti*; but from Du. "zaag" is formed *isara*, of cl. 5.

Many nouns are formed from verbs, the varying relations of the person or thing to the action being shown by the various prefixes.

The name of the agent generally takes the prefix *um-* of cl. 1; e.g., *hamba*, *umhambi*. Sometimes *isi-* is used, as in *isityebi*, from *tyeba*; *isilulami*, from *lulama*. If the agent is specially expert, *in-* of cl. 5 is used; e.g., *khwela*, *inkweli*. It will be noted that in all these cases, final *-a* of the verb becomes *-i* in the noun. A few nouns that have gone into cl. 3, however, retain final *-a*, but with a raised tone; thus: *geza*, *igez¹a*; *ggwetha*, *igqweth¹a*.

The name of the person who undergoes the action may take *um-* of cl. 1, *ili-* of cl. 3, or *isi-* of cl. 4, thus: *banjwa*, *umbanjw¹a*; *thema*, *ithemw¹a*; *thanda*, *isithandw¹a*. Final *-a* has a raised tone. Occasionally the *w* is dropped, as in *int¹anda*.

The action in its performance is named with *uku-*: e.g., *ukubaleka* (*kuya dinisa*), but the abstract idea of action is named chiefly by means of *ulu-* of cl. 6, as in: *uluvo* from *va*, *ukhoho* from *khohwa*, *uthando* from *thanda*. Less abstract, and viewing the action more from the point of view of result, from the same verbs we have nouns of cl. 5 with *in-*: *inkolo*, *intando*. Still less abstract, and definitely denoting the result of action, are the nouns of cl. 2: *umdlalo* from *dlala*, and *umvuzo* from *vuzo*. It will be noted that final *-a* in all the above examples, except the infinitive, is replaced by *-o*; the idea suggests itself that a final *-i* carries with it the idea of action viewed from the point of view of agent; and final *-o*, action from the objective point of view. It is probable that this *-o* is related to *-w-* of the passive voice.

We find names of tools and of means of action usually taking *isi-* of cl. 4 or *in-* of cl. 5, thus : *hlabu*, *isihlabo* ; *phatha*, *isiphatho* ; *xhola*, *isixhola* or *inkxola* ; note that *isi-* is associated with final *-o*, and *in-* with final *-a*.

The Adjective.

While Xhosa pays great attention to the formation of nouns and verbs, it does not appear to concern itself to any great extent with the formation of adjectives.

Adjectives like *msulwa*, *mxinwa*, *mbalwa*, would appear to be derived from nouns in *um-*, like *umbanjwa* ; and it is possible that others beginning with *m-*, like *mdaka*, *mhlophe*, *mfusa*, have a similar origin.

The prefix *bu-*, and the ending *-ya*, are definitely qualificative, and often occur in the same adjective, in the sense of "like," or "tending to be," as in *umthana obunqholowa*, *umphunga obumanziya*.

The Verb.

For the formation of verbs we find a broad and fairly consistent scheme, the best statement of which will be found in the Editor's Introduction to Kropf and Godfrey's *Xhosa Dictionary*. Any student who wishes to know how his language has been built up should study this with care ; he will derive from it glimpses into the very foundations of the language.

In addition to the endings *-ela* (directive), *-ana* (reciprocal), *-eka* and *-akala* (stative), *-isa* and *-isisa* (causative), and *-alala*, *-elela*, *-ulula* (intensive), which may be added to existing verbs, the Introduction gives a list of nine endings, all but one consisting of a consonant and *-a*, by means of which verb-stems have been formed ; sometimes from nouns or adjectives, but especially from ideophones or graphic radicals. So many verbs can be traced to these

radicals, that they must be looked upon as one of the most important sources of the language.

These endings, like those referred to in connection with the derivative forms of the verb, have each a certain fairly definite force, indicating various aspects from which action is viewed.

Four are strongly active, *-la*, *-ba*, *-pha* and *-tha*.

With *-la*, which in addition to being active is often transitive, we have, from *nqam*, *nqamla* ; *křazu*, *křazula* ; *xwi*, *xwila* ; and from nouns, *isilima*, *limala* ; *ijacu*, *jacula*.

With *-ba*, *ngqu* forms *ngquba* ; *di*, *diba* ; *tsi*, *tsiba*.

The use of *-pha* seems to be confined to formations from nouns and adjectives : e.g., from *ivila*, *vilapha* ; *uhloni*, *hlonipha* ; *mmandi*, *nandipha* ; *nci*, *ncipha*. *Fiphala* from *ufifi*, and *aluphala* from the same root as the Zulu *isalukazi*, seem to include two endings, *-pha* and *-la*.

With *-tha* we find, *bimbi*, *bimbitha* ; *phephe*, *phephetha* ; from a verb, *lamba*, *lambatha* ; from a noun, *ulaka*, *lakatha*.

Posture, or a state of prolonged activity, seems to be denoted by *-ma* ; we find from *buthuthu*, *buthuma* ; *bada*, *badama* ; *dudu*, *duduma* ; *xhu*, *xhuma*.

The ending *-zela* indicates repeated or continuous action : *gxada* gives *gxadazela* ; *xoko-xoko*, *xokozela* ; *benge-benge*, *bengezela*.

Like *-isa*, with which they are probably related, *-sa* and *-za* are causative endings : *gqobo* forms *gqoboza* ; *tyum*, *tyumza* ; *křwala*, *křwalasa* ; and obsolete stems give *vusa* and *godusa*.

Like *-eka*, *-ka* suggests the passive. We find many parallel verbs, one with an active ending, *-la*, *-sa* or *-za*, and the other with *-ka* : e.g., *křazu*, *křazula*, *křazuka* ; *tyum*, *tyumza*, *tyunka* ; *vusa*, *vuka* ; *godusa*, *goduka*.

Some Bantu languages make much use of a reverse prefix, usually *-ula*, which denotes action the reverse of that of the simple verb; e.g., in Sotho, *bofa* is to inspan, and *bofolla* to outspan; *tlama* is to bind, and *tlamolla* to loosen. Xhosa has few instances of its use; but we have *vala* and *vula*, *andlala* and *andlula*; (*ukuthi*) *nama* and *namulula*; *khuleka* and *khulula*; *thwala* and *thula*; *buka* and *bukula*; *ganda* and *gandula*; *ambatha* and *ambula*.

In the earlier days of mission work, an ending *-ifa* was much used in turning English or Dutch verbs into Xhosa; so from Du. "bidden" we got *hedefa*; from Eng. "read," *ridifa*; from "draw," *drowifa*. One is glad to know that most of these forms have been consigned to the oblivion they deserve.

The formation of **Adverbs** and **Conjunctions** has been sufficiently described in Chapters XVIII. and XIX., and need not be further discussed.

Reduplication.

We have seen that, in describing frequentative or repeated action, reduplicated forms are often used, such as *phutha-phutha*, *gxoba-gxoba*, *phala-phala*. Even nouns and adjectives make use of this, where the idea of frequency or repetition is associated with the object, thus, *ihili-hili* (one who rambles hither and thither), *mfum-mfum* (with the idea of its being fingered here and there), *ethe-ethe* (soft and wobbly), *ibenge-benge* (glittering in all directions), *izahluka-hlukano* (continued differences).

Reduplication is occasionally used also to make the noun all-embracing, as in (*zonke*) *izinto-yinto*, *amazwe-yizwe*, *iintlobo-ntlobo*; the diminutive of the last is *intlotya*, *ntlotyana*, the first part taking palatalization and the vowel of the suffix.

Meeting New Needs.

With the introduction and advance of civilization, bringing with it new objects, new ideas, new processes, the Xhosa-speaking people of South Africa, in common with their Bantu brethren, are always being called upon to enlarge their vocabulary. The methods by which this is done are varied and interesting.

1. A descriptive word may be used, sometimes imitative of the sound associated with the object; e.g., *isithuthu*; *oonyawo-ntle* (with reference to *Isaya*, lii. 7); *oonqaw' ayiphuzwa*; *amaQakamba* (referring to the appearance of the C.M.R. trooper in his little round cap). It was a happy thought to name the florin, when it first came into use, by the nationality of the trader who first foisted florins on his customers for half-crowns; in the Cape, *ijelmani*. (In Natal it was a Scot.) From its shape, a submarine takes the name of the harmless *inkwili*.

2. The meaning of an existing word is extended to cover new ideas, many of them abstract. A convert to Christianity was thought to have collapsed like a burst bladder, and was called, *igqoboka*; but the name and the verb are now used without stigma. *Ngcwele*, which denoted limpid water or oil, was extended to purity of life, holiness; and *isoono*, (a wrong inflicted upon another) was extended to cover the abstract idea of sin. The Department of Education is sometimes happily named *iZiko lemFundo*.

3. The foreign name may be transliterated, with such changes of sound as may be required to bring it into harmony with Xhosa speech. So we have, *ibokisi*, *isipeliti*, *imoto*, *utitshala*. Sometimes the result of adaptation is very different from the original: e.g., the Dutch

magistraat becomes *imantyi*; and a slave who was registered (Du. "ingeboekte") was called *ikhoboka*.

4. With much ingenuity, and often with a subtle sense of humour, the foreign word may be assimilated to a Xhosa expression of similar sound. For "paper" is used *iphepha*, the name of the thin bulb-leaf of *inyibibana*; "rinderpest" becomes *ulandipasi*, with no connection in meaning, and similarly "influenza" becomes *umfulawenja*. One can trace some association of "tennis" with *intentya*, the active hare of the rocks; but the humour becomes grim when "bubonic plague" becomes *ububani*!

It will be noticed that all these forms satisfy the sense of the Xhosa ear for euphony.

It is much to be desired that some Xhosa-speaking student would make a complete investigation into the means and methods by which the language has met, and is meeting, the new needs thrust upon it.

CHAPTER XXII.

NOTES ON CONSTRUCTION.

As in other languages, a good style of writing Xhosa is "better caught than taught"; the student will acquire an easy, clear and idiomatic style more surely by reading and studying the writings of Tiyo Soga, whose Xhosa in *UHambo lomHambi* is as fine as Bunyan's English in *The Pilgrim's Progress*; of W. W. Gqoba, of whose writings we have far too little; of S. E. K. Mqhayi, whom fortunately we still have with us: than by much instruction in many rules. But it seems desirable to call his attention to some of the usages of the language, particularly to such usages as present-day writers are inclined to neglect. This is the more necessary because of the influence of other South African languages upon Xhosa, consequent upon greatly increased inter-communication; and also because of the effect of concentrated effort upon so different a language as English. Students have doubtless often been warned of the evil of mixing unnecessary foreign words with their Xhosa; but it is a far worse evil to adulterate the language by means of foreign idioms and constructions.

The Article.

The force of the article in Xhosa is difficult to define. It is more definite than the English "a," but in general it is less definite than "the." The student will best acquire a "feeling" of its effect by comparing instances of its omission with parallel instances of its use, in the writings of accepted authorities.

It will be found that the article is omitted in all vocatives ; and if the vocative be a singular noun of cl. 6. or a plural noun of cl. 5. or 6., that ordinarily drops a consonant of its prefix, the dropped letter re-appears: e.g., *bawo ! Tyhali ! zinkosi ! lutshaba !*

It is also dropped after demonstratives, unless for the sake of effect the full form of the demonstrative is used before the noun : e.g., *le ndlu, eso sicaka, laa mansi* ; but, *lcyo into andingeyiphiki*.

A noun in apposition to a pronoun of the I. or II. person has no article, as in : *mna, mhlobo wenu ; nina, bantu benkosi*.

The article is dropped in a sentence that is a complete, all-embracing negative : e.g., *andiboni mtu* (" any person at all ") is quite different from *andimboni umntu* (some one in mind). And dependent nouns will in such a sentence drop their articles too, as in : *andifuni mali yamntu ; andihluthanga mtu mali yakhe*. Note the crisp, emphatic nature of such statements.

It is omitted also when something quite new and unexpected is introduced, to be explained later ; in such instances the adjective *thile* is often used : e.g., *sibone mntu uthile, uphethu umpu*. It is omitted if the noun is followed by the adjective (*wu-*) *mbi*, thus, *bantu bambi*. In general it is omitted when the noun is used in a wide, unrestricted sense ; and the construction can be made very effective for emphasis, or to arrest attention : e.g., *nibantu bant, ninje ukukhohlakula ? ung, ach, ukumisa nto apha, woyifumana into yakho !*

As already noted, if the noun has no article, adjectives and relative clauses qualifying it take the short adjective or relative concord, as in : *le ndoda ithethayo ; akukho mntu ufuleyo apha ; nina bantu bahle*. This is the general rule and should be observed by young writers ; but one does

occasionally find even good writers using the long concord after a noun having no article; e.g., *mfazi osithandanekezi*; *sihlobo esithandekayo* (*UHambo lomHambi*).

Words denoting the Obvious.

The Xhosa speaker is economical of effort. We have repeatedly seen that sounds are omitted and words contracted, in a desire to save effort. Similarly, when the thing to which a noun refers is obvious, the noun is frequently dropped, leaving only its concord to represent it: e.g., *waphendula ngelithi* (sc. *ilizwi*); *abantu bakowenu* (sc. *umzi*); *lifike lamkhohla* (sc. *iqhinga*); *babambene ngazo!* (sc. *iinkomo*). And the possessive pronoun is omitted when the identity of the owner cannot be mistaken: e.g., *umbeth'e entloko nasezimbanjeni*; *waphuke ingalo*; *ubizwe nguyise*; but, while one says, *ufelwe nguyise*, it is usual to say, *hafelwe nguyise wabo*.

Nouns of Respect.

A noun is often used with a verb to indicate the part affected, the respect in which an action is performed, or even the result of the action. Examples are: *ndenzakele umlenze*; *iqaga aliziva kunuka*; *ubethwe iinduma*; *la masimi alinywe amazimba*.

Allied to this is the use of nouns to express time, as in: *sisibenz'e imini yonke*; *sisebenza yonke imini*.

The Possessive.

The possessive is used to denote ownership, as in, *iinkabi zikaMajeke*; the subject or object of action referred to by a noun, as in: *isigwebo semantyi*; *ulawulo luka-Kesare*; *umalusi wezimvu*; the material of which a thing is made, as in, *ingubo yoboya*; the whole, of which the governing noun is a part, as in, *isiqendu sencwadi*. These uses are common to most languages. In Xhosa the

possessive is further used to denote the purpose to which the thing indicated by the governing noun is devoted, thus: *iintambo zokutsala ; ilitye lokusila*.

The possessive usually comes next to the governing noun, other qualifying words following it : e.g. *abantu benkosi abathembekileyo ; unyana kaNgonyama oyinkulu*.

When the governing noun has several nouns dependent on it, and these are looked upon as a whole, only the first takes the possessive concord ; but if they are separate and distinct, the concord is used with each, those after the first taking the emphatic form : e.g., *abantu booSandile noMaqoma noNgeno*, but, *imithi yepesika neyeapile ; kuse iinkomo zikaFani nezikaMajeke*. *Uyise kaFani noMajeke* implies that they are brothers ; *uyise kaFani nokaMajeke* implies two fathers.

The Locative.

The use of the locative in its various forms has been sufficiently dealt with in the chapter on the Forms of the Noun. It may be added, however, that if two or more locatives come one after the other, each must take the prefix and ending appropriate to it ; and that if a locative, being used in the manner that would cause the noun in its ordinary form to omit the article, drops its initial *e-*, adjectives and relatives following it will take the short concords, as the noun without the article would do : e.g., *ndaweni ithile ; sifike mlanjeni uthile uzeleyo*.

The locative is much used in Xhosa. Places are often referred to by the locative where the possessive might have been expected ; we do not say, *abantu beFini, ichweba leCawa*, but, *abantu baseFini, ichweba laseCawa*.

The Infinitive.

We have seen that the infinitive is both noun and verb ; that it can do or undergo whatever either part of speech

can do or undergo ; and that its possessive may mark the purpose of an instrument.

Either in the locative or plain, it may also denote the time or reason of action : e.g., *ekufikeni kwethu*, or *ukufika kwethu*, *sibone igqiza labantu besebuhlanti* ; *ekubeni nibe nindibizile*, *nindibona ndilapha*. It also serves to denote purpose, with or without the article : e.g., *size kubona nina* ; *la madoda aze ukubika umphanga*.

An idiomatic means of emphasizing a verb is its repetition in the infinitive, with the preposition *na-* : e.g., *le nto andiyiva nckuyiva*. If the action is progressive, the preposition *nga-* is used : e.g., *saya isifo sisanda ngokwanda*.

In the section on the conjunction, we saw to what extent the infinitive of the verbs *ba*, *ya*, *za* is used to connect subordinate clauses with the main clause.

The Agreement of Subject and Predicate.

When a predicate has several subjects, it usually agrees with the nearest, thus : *iinkomo namahafe afkile* ; *aba-Thembu namaXhosa ahlukene*. If, however, the nouns all denote persons, the concord of cl. 1. plural may be used : e.g., *abafana namadoda beze ngonchwalazi*. If the nouns are names of things, *ezo zinto* may be used as a collective subject at the end of the string, giving the verb its concord, thus : *iinkabi*, *iimazi*, *amathole*, *namankonyana*, *zonke ezo zinto ma zingeniswe ebuhlanti*. Sometimes the impersonal construction is used, the verb coming first : e.g., *kufe iinkomo namahafe nezinja*, *kwada kwesa nasezikatini*.

The Impersonal Construction.

Verbs used impersonally usually take the concord of cl. 8 : e.g., *kulungile* ; *kwalunga* ; *kufike umfo waseBayi* ; *uthe akutfho*, *kwabetha sathi manga*. Action at large, without thought of the agents, is very commonly expressed by an

impersonal verb in the passive, thus : *kusehwa phi? kuthiwa ma sinke ; kuhunjwa ngayiphi indlela, xa kuyiwa eTini?* And of course natural phenomena take the impersonal construction, as in : *kuya na ; kwabanda kakhulu.*

The impersonal forms of *thi* and *za* are much used to introduce narratives of episodes : e.g., *kwathi ke kaloku ngantsomi ; kuthe akutsho, laduma ibandla ; kwaza ngoku kwabonakala ukuba konakele.*

The impersonal of *da* (with *ba*) is used to denote extent of time or repetition ; or (with *ba* or *ya*) to express extent of space. Examples are : *kwada kwaba lixefa lefumi ; betha kude kube kathathu ; umhlaba wethu ubetha kude kuye eQonce.*

The concord of cl. 5 sing. is also used impersonally, especially in enumerations ; e.g., *ayemathathu amadoda, inguFunani noMpayipheli noMenziswa ; ibe inguye otshiloyo.*

Introductory Verbs.

The correct selection and use of these verbs adds much to the smoothness, clearness and beauty of Xhosa speech or writing.

Strictly speaking, the introductory verb should take the concord of the principal verb, thus : *uthe, yakufika inkosi, wayamkela ngovuyo* ; but where the subject of the principal verb is not expressed, or where it comes after the subordinate clause, one finds even good writers allowing the concord of the introductory verb to be attracted to that of the verb in the subordinate clause : e.g., *ithe yakufika inkosi, wayamkela ngovuyo.*

But in any case, if an introductory verb is used, the fact must not be lost sight of later on in the sentence : the principal verb must take the subjunctive or participle appropriate to the introductory verb. Note the errors in the following : *uthe, akuyibona loo nto, ufike* (for *wafika*)

*walila ; saza, xa kuhlwayo, sigaleleke (for sagaleleka) mxini
uthile.; kothi, ukuba, ulime kakuhle, wovuna (for uwune)
kakhulu.*

Further, in no case is the introductory verb to be repeated. In a desire to be precise or elegant in their style, some young speakers and writers of the present day delight in beginning a sentence with *kwaye*, and repeating this or another auxiliary after an intervening clause or phrase, thus : *kwaye, ngezo mini, kwakukho . . .* ; or, still worse, *kwaye ngezo mini, inkosi yayihlonelwa*, instead of, *yaye, ngezo mini, ihlonelwa inkosi*, or still better, *ngezo mini, yaye ihlonelwa inkosi.*

Tenses.

In historical narrative, it is usual to begin the story with a verb in the past indicative, and especially with a suitable introductory verb, like *kwathi* ; and to use the past indicative again in resuming after a distinct break. But it is very common to begin individual sentences afterwards with a verb in the historic perfect, the verbs following taking the past subjunctive, thus : *kwathi ngexefa lika Davide, kwafika umntu eYerusalem . . . uthe ke, akuyibona loo nto, ukumkani wabiza amadoda akhe.*

If the first verb of a clause is in the present or the future tense, and a succession of verbs follows in the same clause, these verbs will be in the present subjunctive ; if the first verb is in a past tense or in the historic perfect, the verbs following will be in the past subjunctive : e.g., *yiya undithengele iswekile ; ndoya ndikufunele ukudla ; sibe silambile, sacela ukudla ; bafike basipha kakhulu.*

Quite different is the case of a subordinate clause ; and the student who has undergone painful drill in the sequence of tenses in his English or Latin must beware of carrying the practice, so painfully learned, into Xhosa.

In English we say, "I asked him if he was going," but in Xhosa, *ndibuze ukuba uya ya na* ; so also, "I saw a man who had a gun," is, *ndibone umntu onompu*, not *owaye-nompu* (which is clumsy as well as wrong).

In Xhosa, the tense in the subordinate clause depends upon the time of its action, as related to that of the action of the main clause ; if the action of the subordinate clause is contemporary with that of the main clause, the present is used ; if it precedes, the past is used ; and if it is to follow, the future is used. Examples are : *nd'ixelele, wandixelela*, or *uya kundixelela apho* : (a) *uya khona* ; (b) *ubuy'e khona* ; (c) *uya kuya khona*. In (a) you were going when the question was asked ; in (b) you had gone at some previous time ; in (c) you contemplated going. The tense of the subordinate clause is independent of the principal verb.

Xhosa is also more logical than English in the use of its tenses : if the action of a subordinate clause of condition or time must of necessity precede that of the main clauses Xhosa uses a perfect tense ; thus, while we say, "if he comes, give him food," we must say, *ukuba ufikile, mphe ukudla*.

Reported Speech.

Direct statements and direct questions are alike in form, except that the question may take the adverbial interrogative particle *na* ; the question, however, ends on a higher tone than the statement : compare, *uFani uya f'a* and *uFani 'uya f'a ?*

Neither statement nor question changes its form when it becomes indirect ; but the adverbial *na* should not be omitted in the indirect question. The tense remains the same, being independent of the tense of the principal verb : *ndibuzo, ndabuzo* and *ndobuzo* alike take, *ukuba uFani uya*

fa na ; to say *ukuba ubesifa na* would imply that the illness occurred at some time previous to the question.

The Order of Words.

We have seen that in the possessive construction, the name of the thing owned normally comes first, thus, *unyana kaLanga* ; but if it is desired to emphasize the name of the possessor, this may come first, with the emphatic possessive concord, as in : *okaLanga unyana* ; *ezikaVena iinkabi*.

We have seen that in the sentence, the normal order is : subject, predicate, object ; but the system of concords makes it possible to vary this rule considerably, for purposes of emphasis or other effect. It is common to find the predicate coming first ; and, if this occurs, the subject usually comes after the object, the tendency being to make the object follow closely after the verb ; and the subject becomes the least important of the three : e.g., compare : *utitshala umbethile uMenziwa*, and, *ur:bethile uMenziwa utitshala*.

In a relative clause where the pronoun representing the antecedent is the object, or follows a preposition or the copula, the verb always comes first, and the usual place for the subject noun is the end : e.g., *inkomo ayithengileyo umalume* ; *indoda elifike nayo elo hase* ; *umfo ebethwe nguye inkwenkwe*.

Where a verb takes two objects, one of a person or animal, and the other of a thing, it is usual for the former to come next after the verb, thus : *seza ihase lam iyenza* ; *khelela unyoko amanzi*. If one of the objects is to be emphasized, it is usual for the verb to take the object concord of the less important, and to be followed immediately by the emphatic object, the name of the less important coming last : e.g., *ndiyiseze iyenza inkomo yam* ;

mkhelele amanzi unyoko ; *wakhelele unyoko la manzi* ; or the less important may be put before the verb, thus : *inkomo yam ndiyiseze iyeza* ; *la manzi wakhelele unyoko*.

If a verb taking two objects is put into the passive, the object to be emphasized remains the object, and the less important becomes the subject : e.g., *ubarwo uphe udade iqhiya* becomes, *iqhiya iphiwe udade*, if the recipient is the more important ; but, *udade uphiwe iqhiya*, if the gift is to be emphasized.

Conditional Sentences.

The normal sentence of condition consists of two parts, the clause of condition, called the protasis, and the clause of consequence, called the apodosis ; the apodosis states what follows the fulfilment of the condition. In Xhosa the protasis is introduced by *ukuba*, and the verbs in both clauses are in the indicative : e.g., *ukuba umbethile loo mntwana, uya kubethwa nawe*. Note that the perfect is used here in the protasis, since the beating of the child must of necessity precede yours.

The sentence may be made more hypothetical by the use of the infix *-ng'a-* with one or both of the verbs, thus : *ukuba ungandinika elo thokazi, ndingakunika imazi yehafe ; ungandiwa ukuba ndithe ndakucebisa ?*

In the sentences dealt with above, the condition is still open ; they are simple hypotheses. If the matter is no longer open, and it is known that the condition has not been fulfilled, we get the sentence of " unfulfilled condition." In such a sentence, past tenses are used, the protasis again taking a tense of completion, if its action is antecedent : e.g., *ukuba ube umbethile umntwana, ube uya kubethwa nawe ; ukuba ubuthe wandinika elo thokazi, be ndiya kukunika ihafe*, or, *ndinge ndikunike ihafe*, according to the time when the giving of the horse was to take place ;

the latter form of apodosis very definitely throws the deal into the past of unfulfilment.

A crisp and idiomatic form of protasis is formed without a conjunction, by the use of the infix *-nga-* with the verb, both infix and verb taking a special intonation; e.g., *kung'aph'alala igazi, yazi ukuba kuse konakele*; compare, *kung'aph'alala* (may be spilt) and *kung'aph'al'alili* (be not spilt).

Figures of Speech.

Xhosa speech abounds in figurative language. *Izibongo* are largely made up of metaphorical expressions, and even common everyday speech makes much use of the simile, with *ngathi* or the verb (*wa*)*nga*.

Also, in polite language any gift is described by the recipient in hyperbole, so that a fowl killed for the visitor is spoken of by him as though it were a sheep of eight teeth, and a goat as though it were an ox. On the other hand, the giver belittles his gift, and the kid becomes, *le nkukwana ilusizana*.

A very favourite figure is irony, saying the reverse of what is meant. This figure underlies the application to your best friend of terms ordinarily used in a depreciatory sense, such as, *Lawu ndini*; and the use of *umNtwan'omHle* as the highest possible term of respect, a favourite epithet for Queen Victoria. It finds further illustration in common speech in such expressions as: *akanguye nomntu ukuba nenchwangu*; *akalilo nexhego ukuthanda icuba*; *asiyiyo nenkabi ukutsala*. Another form is seen in: *asikukho nokuba unenchwangu*; *asikukho nokuba ndilusizi*. Yet a third form is: *akamhle ngako*; *andiyithandi ngako imfe*; or a variant: *akamhle nje*; *andiyithandi nje*. One can imagine that the third form might have arisen from some such expression as, *akamhle ngako ndingakuxelayo*; this

would be similar to the expression, *yeka (ungakhe ulinge ukuxela) ukuba mhle kwakhe*. These figurative expressions furnish yet one more field of investigation for the Xhosa-speaking student, and a most interesting one.

INDEX.

- Active voice, The, 97; affirmative, 103; negative, 118.
- Adjective, The, 35, 87; augmentative forms, 90; classes 87; comparison, 91; concords, 46, 88; diminutive forms, 90; feminine forms, 90; formation, 148.
- Adverb, The 35, 138; comparison, 140; of degree, 140; of manner, 138; of number, 94; of place 139; of time, 139.
- Affirmative conjugation, The: active, 103; passive, 116.
- Affricates, The, 15.
- Agglutination, 37.
- Alliterative concord, The, 3.
- Alveolars, The: affricate, 15; explosive, 11; fricative, 13; lateral 14; nasal, 16.
- Alveolus, The, 11.
- andula*, aux., 127.
- Article, The, 42; the use of, 153.
- Aspiration, 12; of affricates, 15; of clicks, 20; of explosives, 12.
- Assimilation, 26.
- Augmentatives: of nouns, 71; of adjectives, 90.
- Auxiliary particles, 126; verbs, 127.
- Bantu Family of Languages, The, 2; its characteristics, 3; its noun-classes, 39; South African Groups of, 3.
- Bilabials, The: affricate, 15; explosive, 11; nasal, 16; semivowel, 17.
- ba*: auxiliary, 108, 127; elision of *b*-, 25, 82, 112; with non-verbal predicates, 136.
- bani*?, 65.
- betha*, aux., 128.
- bu*-, 37; with adjectives, 90, 148; with adverbs, 138.
- buya*, aux., 128.
- Cardinal numerals, The, 92.
- Causative form, The, 124.
- Classes of Nouns, The: Bantu, 39; Xhosa, 41. (See also under Noun-classes.)
- Clicks, The, 11, 19; table of, 21.
- Close mid-vowels, The, 8.
- Comparison: of adjectives, 91; of adverbs, 140.
- Concords, The, 3, 44; of adjectives, 46, 88; consonantal, 45; of the copula, 49; of emphasis, 50, 68; of the I. and II. persons, 51; formation of, in brief, 50; of the object, 48, 101; of the possessive, 45, 66; of the relative, 48, 100; of the subject, 47, 99; of several subjects, 157; of the verb, 47, 99.
- Conditional sentences, 162.
- Conjugation of the verb, 96, 103.

- Conjunction, The, 35, 140 ;
of concession, 142 ; of con-
dition, 141 ; of indirect
speech, 141 ; of purpose,
141 ; of reason, 141.
- Consonantal forms of the con-
cords, 45.
- Consonants, The, 10 ; assi-
milatation of, 27 ; dissimila-
tion of, 28 ; elision of 25 ;
plain, 11 ; table of plain,
18.
- Construction, Notes on, 153,
Copula, The, 49, 135.
- da*, aux, 128.
- Demonstratives, The, 78 ;
distributive, 82 ; predica-
tive, 80.
- Dental click, The, 20.
- Dentilabial fricatives, 13.
- Derivative forms of the verb,
123.
- Digraphs, 16.
- Diminutives : of nouns, 71 ;
of adjectives, 90.
- Directive form of the verb,
The, 124.
- Dissimilation, 28.
- Distinctive pronoun, The, 77.
- Distributive demonstrative,
The, 82.
- dla*, aux, 128.
- Double objectives : with the
directive, 124 ; order of,
161 ; in the passive, 162.
- Elision, 25.
- Emphasis, The concord of, 50.
- Explosive consonants, The :
alveolar, 11 ; bilabial, 11 ;
palatal, 12 ; velar 12.
- Falling tone, The, 32.
- Figures of speech, 163.
- fika*, aux., 129.
- Foreign ideas, The expres-
sion of, 151.
- Foreign words, The adapta-
tion of, 151.
- Formation of words, The,
145 ; of conjunctions, 141 ;
of nouns, 145 ; of adjectives,
148.
- Formative particles, 36.
- Forms of the noun, 66.
- Frequentative form of the
verb, The, 125.
- Fricatives, The : alveolar, 13 ;
dentilabial, 13 ; glottal, 14 ;
lateral, 14 ; prepalatal, 14 ;
velar, 14.
- Fricativization, 29.
- fudula*, aux., 129.
- fumana*, aux., 129.
- Fusion of vowels, The, 24.
- Future tense, The : indicative,
107 ; participle, 114.
- Gender, Grammatical, 3.
- Glottal fricative, The, 14.
- Hiatus, The avoidance of, 23.
- hla*, aux., 129.
- hlala*, aux., 130.
- ra* : with adjectives, 90, 148 ;
with adverbs, 139.

- Ideophone, The, 4, 35, 143.
 Imperative, The, 97, 103, 121.
 Impersonal construction, The,
 101, 136, 157.
 Implosive *b*, 13.
 Inclusive numerals, The, 94.
 Indicative, The, 98 104.
 Indirect speech, 160.
 Infinitive, The, 97, 103, 156.
 Initial vowel, The, 42; its
 uses, 153.
 Intensive form of the verb,
 The, 125.
 Interjection, The, 35, 144.
 Introductory verbs, 158.
i-verbs, The, 122.
- ka-*, prep., 53.
-ka-, aux., 126.
kka, aux., 130.
kholisa, aux., 130.
khova, aux., 130.
ku-, prep., 53, 71.
huba, Construction with, 141.
kwa-, prep., 54, 71.
- Language, The development
 of, 1.
 Larynx, The, 5.
 Laterals, The, 14; affricate,
 15; alveolar, 14; frica-
 tive, 14.
ko-, of *izibongo*, 79 (foot-note).
 Locative of nouns, The, 68;
 uses of, 156.
- na*, Syllabic, 16.
na, aux., 130.
mana, aux., 131.
- mb,i* (other), The concords of,
 89.
 Mediate demonstrative, The,
 78; predicative, 81.
 Monosyllabic verbs, 121.
 Mood, 97.
- na*, interrog. part., 140.
na-, prep., 52.
 Nasal consonants, The, 15.
 Nasalized clicks, 20.
 Negative, The: conjugation,
 118; of non-verbal predi-
 cates, 136.
 New ideas, The expression of,
 151.
- ng'a*, aux., 131.
ng'a-, prep., 53, 71, 95.
-ng'a-, infix of possibility, 126.
ni- and *zini-*, The influence
 of, 61.
ni? interr., 65.
 Non-verbal predicates, 135.
 Noun, The, 35; the forma-
 tion of, 145; the forms of,
 66; of respect, 155.
 Noun-classes, The: in Bantu,
 39; in Xhosa, 41, 55; their
 signification, 146; strong
 and weak, 42, 44.
 Numerals, The, 92.
- Object concords, The, 48, 101.
 Objects, Double: their order,
 161; in the passive, 162.
 Obvious possessives, The
 omission of, 155.
odwa, The concords of, 89.
onke, The concords of, 89.

- Open mid-vowels, 7.
 Order of words, The, 161.
 Ordinal numerals, The, 94.
- Palatals, The : click, 20 ;
 explosive, 12 ; semivowel,
 17.
- Palatalization, 28 ; in diminu-
 tives, 72 ; in the locative,
 70 ; in the passive, 116.
- Participles, The, 98, 113, 121.
- Parts of Speech, The, 35.
- Passive voice, The, 97, 116.
- Past tense, The : in the indi-
 cative, 105 ; in the sub-
 junctive, 112.
- Past compound tenses, The,
 108.
- Perfect tense, The : its use,
 105, 159 ; its forms : indi-
 cative, 106 ; negative 118 ;
 participle, 115 ; passive 116.
- phantsa*, aux., 132.
- phatha*, aux., 132.
- phi?* (which one ?), The con-
 cords of, 89.
- Plain consonants, The table
 of, 18.
- Possessive, The : its concords,
 45 ; emphatic forms, 68,
 76 ; of nouns, 66 ; of pro-
 nouns, 75 ; with the loca-
 tive, 71 ; the uses of, 155.
- Predicates without verbs, 135.
- Predicate demonstratives, 80,
 137.
- Prefixes of the noun : see
 Noun-classes.
- Prepalatals, The : affricate,
 15 ; fricative, 14 ; nasal, 16.
- Prepositional particles, 52.
- Preprefix, The, 42, 153.
- Present tense, The ; indica-
 tive, 99, 104 ; subjunctive,
 110 ; participle, 114 ; in the
 negative, 118.
- Prohibitions, 120.
- Pronoun, The, 74 ; the basic
 stem, 74 ; the distinctive,
 77 ; the emphatic, 77 ; the
 independent, 74 ; the pos-
 sessive, 75 ; with preposi-
 tions and the copula, 75.
- Proximate demonstrative,
 The, 78 ; predicative, 80.
- Reciprocal form of the verb,
 The, 123 ; in the passive,
 116.
- Reduplication ; of nouns and
 adjectives, 150 ; of verbs,
 125 ; in the passive, 116.
- Reflexive form of the verb,
 The, 123.
- Relative, The, 83 ; its con-
 cords, 48, 100 ; construc-
 tion of its clauses, 84.
- Remote demonstrative, The,
 79 ; predicative, 81.
- Reported speech, 160.
- Respect, Nouns of, 155.
- Reversive form of the verb,
 The, 150.
- Rising tone, The, 32.
- Rolled consonant, The, 15.
- sa-*, 126.
- sala*, aux., 132.
- Semivowels, The, 17.

- Sex, The distinction of:
 nouns, 72; adjectives, 90.
 -*si*- with participles, 114.
 Speech, The production of, 5.
 Speech sounds of Xhosa, The,
 5; their modification, 22.
 Stative forms of the verb,
 The, 124.
 Stress, 29.
 Strong noun-prefixes, 42, 44.
 Subject concords, The, 47, 99,
 135; for several subjects,
 157.
 Subjunctive, The, 98; its
 forms, 110; its uses, 110,
 158;
suka, aux., 132.
 Syllabic *m*, 16.
 Syllables in Bantu languages,
 4.

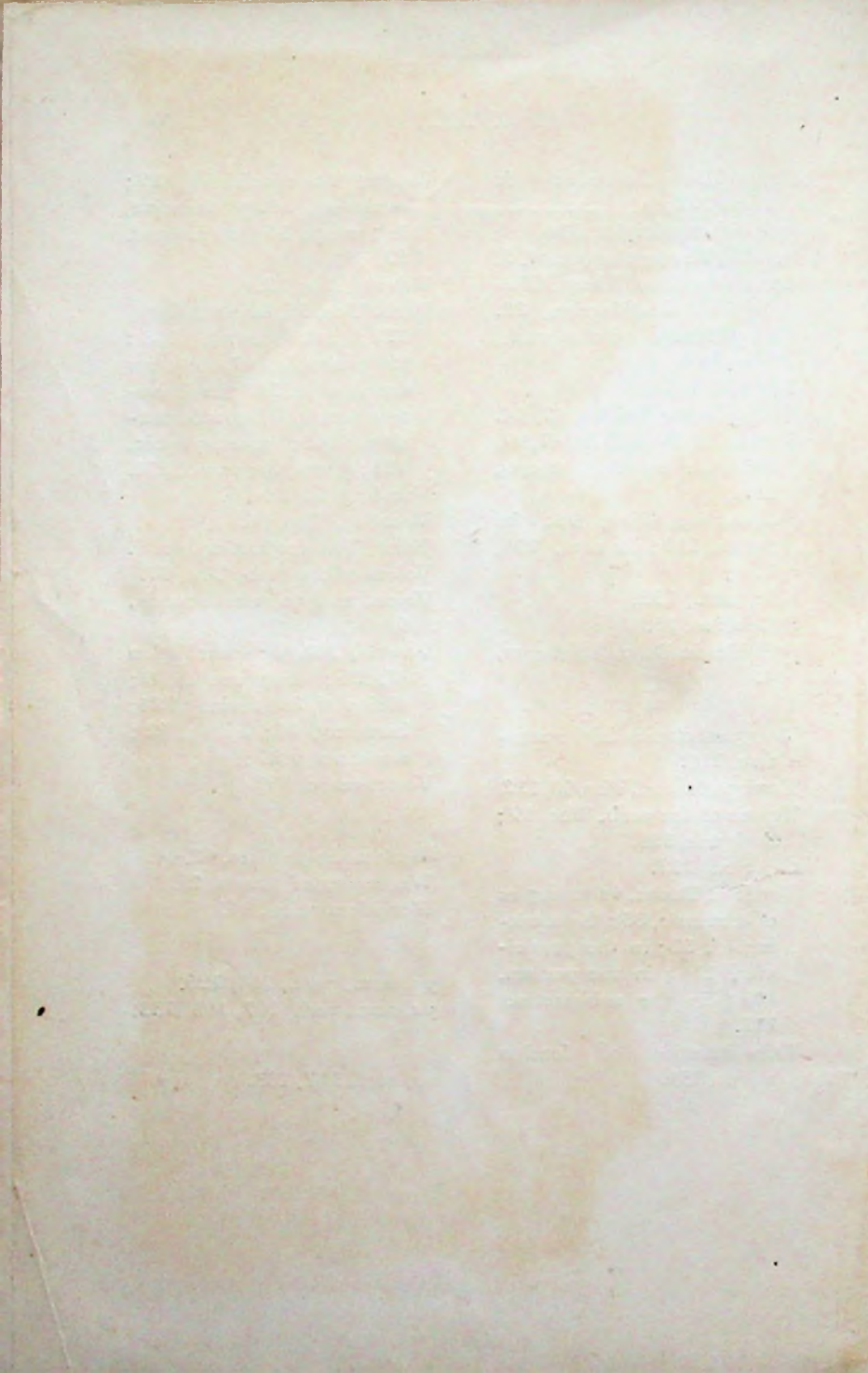
 Temporal clauses in the nega-
 tive, 119.
 Temporal mood, The, 98, 112.
 Tenses of the verb, The, 99;
 their use, 159.
thi, aux., 132.
 Tone: in Bantu, 4; examples
 of semantic, 33; the mark-
 ing of, 32; in the partici-
 ples, 114; in the perfect,
 106; in the subjunctive,
 112.
 Transliteration of foreign
 words, 151.

 Velars, The: affricate, 15;
 explosive, 12; fricative,
 14; nasal, 16; semivowel,
 17.
 Velum, The, 12.
 Verb, The, 35, 96; auxiliary,
 127; introductory, 158;
 its concords, 47, 99; its
 conjugation, 103; its deriva-
 tive forms, 123; its forma-
 tion, 148; monosyllabic,
 121; stems, 96; vowel, 122.
 Vocal cords, The, 6.
 Vocative, The, 66.
 Voice, The production of, 5.
 Voices of the verb, The, 97.
 Voiced and voiceless sounds,
 6.
 Vowels, The, 6; assimilation
 of, 26; diagrams of, 9;
 elision of, 25; fusion of 24;
 harmony, 26; length, 22;
 weakening, 26;
 Vowel verbs, 122.

 Weak noun-prefixes, 42, 44.
 Weakening of vowels, 26.
 Word formation, 145.

ya, aux., part., 104, 126.
ya, aux., verb, 107, 108, 133.

za, aux., 107, 133.







8 NOV 1944

