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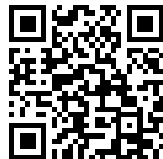
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Printed for the use of Delegates in connection with the Conference
to be held on 29th - 31st May, 1907.

ZULU ORTHOGRAPHY.

BEING

Some account of the Proceedings of the Zulu Orthography Conference held in Pietermaritzburg in 1906, especially in regard to Speeches delivered, Rules submitted, &c., to which is added the set of Rules recently passed (March, 1907) by the Zulu Orthography Committee.

EDITED BY

J. STUART,

CHAIRMAN, ZULU ORTHOGRAPHY CONFERENCE, 1906.

DURBAN : NATAL.

MARCH, 1907

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THE EDITOR gratefully acknowledges the assistance rendered, in connection with the preparation of this Pamphlet, by the Revs. BRYANT, WILCOX, and SUTER.

INTRODUCTION.

For the information of those who were not present at the Conference held in the Education Office, Pietermaritzburg, on March 20-23, 1906, a few words of explanation as to its origin and object will be in place.

The want of a uniform and consistent system of writing the Zulu language having been felt, chiefly by Missionaries—who have most to do with publishing works in the language—a resolution was, several years ago, passed by the Natal Missionary Conference, and a Committee appointed for the purpose of bringing the different Societies and publishers of Zulu literature to some agreement upon a uniform system. Two or three years elapsed with very little having been accomplished; indeed, the importance of the subject did not appear to be fully and generally appreciated. As, however, new books continued to be published year by year in the various modes of writing in vogue, and, notably, as the Zulu Bible was in course of revision, the necessity for having some standard system of orthography was seen by all directly concerned to be imperative. It was, therefore, decided to take other and more effective measures for bringing this about. The co-operation of all those interested in the matter was invited, and a general Conference was called to meet at Durban on September 6, 1905.

The invitations sent out met with a hearty response. In the meantime, the Government had been approached, and, recognising the importance of the undertaking—from the point of view of the Civil Service, and in the interests of education in general—deputed a representative to attend the Conference. With very few exceptions, all the Missionary Societies in Natal and Zululand sent representatives. Moreover, a number of delegates at large, from the Civil Service and elsewhere, were also invited, and took part in the deliberations. Three days were spent in discussing the subject, but it was found that, owing to difference of opinion and long-formed habits, and, generally, to the limited amount of study that had been devoted to the subject, it was impossible, in the time at the disposal of Conference, to complete the work in hand. It was thereupon resolved that a second Conference should be held in Pietermaritzburg the following year. To this Conference the Government sent a second delegate, in the person of Mr. S. O. Samuelson. The attendance was considerably larger than that at the Durban meeting. Four full days were spent in discussion. A number of able and helpful

papers were read by members. The whole subject of Zulu Orthography was carefully gone into from every point of view. By direction of Conference, a set of Rules was framed by a specially appointed Committee in the hope that agreement might be come to in regard to them before the conclusion of the session. A satisfactory decision, however, could not be arrived at. Under these circumstances, the preparation of a set of Rules being generally regarded as essential, another and stronger Committee (the Zulu Orthography Committee), composed of twelve members of Conference, was appointed to do the work, it being an instruction to them that such work was to be submitted for ratification at a further meeting of delegates to be held in 1907.

A word as to the contents of this pamphlet. The principal portion thereof is, of course, the Rules. These Rules, which will be found printed *in extenso*, and with examples, on pages 33 to 35, are those the Zulu Orthography Committee was directed by the last Conference to draw up on the basis of the work done at that Conference.

It is needless, in this connection, to remark that the main and constant objective, ever since the movement for the revision of Zulu Orthography was set on foot, has been to prepare a set of Rules, whereby the desire of bringing about some uniform system of writing the language might be realised.

In regard to the second, or phonological, portion of the Rules, it was felt there was no necessity to do more in each instance than set forth the Rule, without furnishing the special arguments urged for and against it; in so far, however, as the first, or philological, section is concerned—by far the more important—steps have, as will be seen, been taken to set before the reader, in proper order, abridged versions of all, or nearly all, the speeches delivered at the Pietermaritzburg Conference. In most cases, these speeches have been revised and condensed by the speakers themselves, from the shorthand notes taken at the time.

Is it too much to hope that, with the information and suggestions contained in this pamphlet, with the recollection of such other work as was done at the Conference—a full account of which, because of expense, could not be given—together with their own efforts, members will be in a position to advance the object in view a stage further, and, if possible, set at rest, once and for all, the various questions in Zulu Orthography at present disturbing all such as have occasion to write the language?

SPEECHES MADE BY DELEGATES

AT THE

PIETERMARITZBURG CONFERENCE, 1906,

ON THE QUESTION

AS TO WHETHER ZULU SHOULD BE WRITTEN IN A
'CONJUNCTIVE' OR 'DISJUNCTIVE' MANNER.

Rev. A. T. BRYANT:

The point of divergence seemed to be that one party regarded "ngi," "ya," "m," etc., as prefixes, while the other regarded them as separate words. The difficulty seemed to be: What is a prefix, and what is a word? He then read a paper in which he contended that the particles "ngi," "ya," "nga," and the like, found in Zulu speech preceding verbs, are really various forms (pronominal, adverbial, and otherwise) of verbal prefix, and, as such, should be united to the governing verb; that pronunciation is the chief and final guide as to what the Zulu mind regards as a word; and that whatever in the Zulu language is united in one vocal effort under one penultimate accent is that which in the Zulu mind forms one word or complete independent division of speech, and should, therefore, be written together as one united whole—thus: "ngiyatanda," "bengiyakumtanda."

Mr. Bryant then proposed the Motion to be found standing in his name on p. 31.

Mr. J. STUART:

In the attempt to establish a method of writing Zulu, the ideal should be one of practical utility rather than of abstract perfection. The end of the orthographer is to provide the most efficient instrument for the communication of thought. As writing has obviously been brought into existence to serve some purpose that falls beyond mere penmanship and mere typography, so an orthographer should ask himself the question: "What is that system which will best satisfy this truer object?" Hence every system must, in its essence, be utilitarian, and not simply perfect, for perfection's sake, like a work of art. Rules, of course, are necessary, but, where they come in conflict with the efficiency of the instrument, they should make way for others more in accordance with the object referred to. Man is the master, not the slave, of his speech.

Efficiency is secured: (a) When parts of speech are kept separate as much as possible, thereby tending to give them that individuality of form which a conjunctive method deprives them of; hence, as the needs of the eye are paramount in script, fixed or comparatively fixed forms are seen at sight, which brings about an enormous saving of time and trouble. Under the conjunctive system, forms are in a state of constant flux; the memory is, therefore, not given a fair chance of rendering its helpful co-operation; (b) when, where necessary, parts of speech are altered by simple inflection and modification, and not by the additions of particles, etc., at variance with their ordinary etymology.

Although Zulu has been classed as an agglutinative language, the principles of agglutination have, apparently, not been authoritatively analysed and defined; consequently, the mere assertion that Zulu is agglutinative is no proof whatever that the method of writing should be conjunctive throughout.

Zulu script, like that of all other languages, should be dominated by the principle of "meaning." Any member of speech that may be fairly said to have meaning ought to be accorded an independence of its own.

Colenso's system, which is the best known representative of the conjunctive method, is defective in so far as:—

(a) It has not, and never has had, a system of rules which determines what is, and is not, correct writing.

(b) The New Testament in Zulu (to name a work in which Colenso's practice may be best observed) contains numerous composite words which, chiefly on account of their great length, interrupt the reader, causing him to stop to discover their meaning, whereas, if the forms had been satisfactory, it should have been apprehended without delay.

Mr. Stuart then proposed the Motion to be found standing in his name on p. 31.

Rev. A. R. KEMPE:

He scouted the idea of a fundamental difference between our ways of thinking and those of the Zulus. Peculiarities in the expressions of their mind were not such as to necessitate a departure from our well-experienced way of writing. The classification of Zulu among agglutinative languages should not be taken to indicate that things are to be glued together in the way the conjunctivists propose. When they contend that all "wordlets" are prefixes, they take prefix in such an exceptionally wide and unusual sense as to make "king" in "kingdom" to be a prefix. He would say that a prefix, as well as a suffix, is a particle that cannot stand by itself, but needs the support of a word or a word-stem. There-

fore, "amabo" must certainly be written as one word, to give a meaning; "ama" and "bo," by themselves, mean nothing, neither can they be separated by another part of speech. This compares, however, in Zulu only with the substantive, not with the verb. In "umuntu" "(u)mu" is a prefix to "ntu," and both must be joined to give a meaning. But in "ngi ya emfuleni" we have three independent words, each with a distinct meaning. "Ngi" is just as little a prefix as "Je" in French. In "umuntu u ya hamba," "u" stands for "mu," and refers to "umuntu," and is, therefore, not a prefix, but a pronoun. If not, we would in "iso lami li buhlungu" get a word, "libuhlungu," with two distinct prefixes! Against the theory of the penultimate accent, his objections were, as seen in his pamphlet, chiefly the following:—This theory ignores the accent of the sentence, or mixes it up with that of the word: "wa ngi dhla" should no more be written unitedly than "he cheated me." It is insufficient, as a principle, "ergo," no principle at all; cf., "kwa ti ngo, juqu": in "leyo 'nkomo" we get two words, but in "leyo 'ndhlu" only one. It disregards the difference between the words as spoken for the ear and as written for the eye. It leads to ambiguity; "wabazisa" can mean "wa bazisa" or "wa ba zisa." He considered, therefore, that a single idea should be held to indicate a single word, and that every sign that expressed or pertained to such an idea should be written separately.

The speaker then seconded Mr. Stuart's motion.

Rev. Fr. F. MAYR:

The Zulu alphabet should consist of the following letters and combinations of letters: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, hl, dhl, sh, ts, tsh, and xh (to represent the guttural click—*e.g.*, ixhwa). Vocalic combinations need no bridge between—therefore: aiko, gaula, imben. No double "nn," but only one, as inewadi. Apostrophe is required to indicate the elision of a vowel—*e.g.*, tin'abantu. The pronoun with auxiliary verb and principal verb to be written together, as wafika, was'eti. Capital letters to be used as in English; but this letter is the first of the root, and not of the prefix. Where a proper noun is the first word of a sentence, only one capital letter is to be written—*i.e.*, the first of the root; *e.g.*, u Tshaka no Dingane no Cetshwayo. Foreign words, as much as possible, to be avoided, and, where absolutely necessary, to be written as in the language from which they are taken—*e.g.*, Felix, Margaret, Martha, Patrick, Paul, Peter, etc. Hyphen to be used to connect words as: "ke," "pi," "ni," with the verb—*e.g.*, "hamba-ke," "uvela-pi," "bati-ni."

Rev. O. STAVEM:

The Zulu language must be written in a practical way, and that practical way was the disjunctive method. It would be very difficult for many Natives to read the conjunctive writing. He had been about 37 years in Zululand, and, therefore, could claim a little experience. He would be very sorry if the Conference were to adopt the conjunctive method, because there would be no unity. On account of the difficulty of reading, some of those interested in the education of the Natives would not be able to adopt it. There had been comparison with Latin; why not compare with Hebrew and Arabic? That would be more to the point. It had been said that "ngi" was a prefix. It certainly was not. It could not be put before some nouns and adjectives like a prefix.

Having referred to the wise King Solomon and the two women who both claimed to be the mother of a certain child, the speaker said that here were two parties, the conjunctivists and the disjunctivists, and that these parties could not agree with respect to a certain young child—"Zulu Orthography." As the dispute was going on, somebody turned up suggesting modification. The child should be divided. He admitted that the conjunctive system rested upon a principle, so also did the disjunctive. But this modification—modification of principles—what would that be like? In the meantime, he had agreed to some modification as long as they did not call a whole sentence one word—"Ngi ya tanda," for instance. He would not admit that a sentence consisting of pronoun and verb was only one word. There might be some modification, but he would not allow the child to be killed. Some friends on the opposite side had said that "ngi" was not a pronoun, but "mina" was. But nobody could say: "mina hamba." That was "kitchen-kafir." "Ngi" and "mina" represented two sides of the personal pronoun. "Ngi" was generally sufficient. But if one wished to emphasise the fact that something had been done by some person, the emphatic pronoun would be added. The Zulu language was not the only language that had two kinds of personal pronouns. There was something similar to this in Semitic languages. It had been very interesting to him to find that the old language of Egypt had, besides the simple personal pronouns, emphatic pronouns as well, just like the Zulu language.

Some of the speakers had told them that the disjunctive system led to bad reading; for instance: "Ngi! ya! hamba." That was only the case with beginners. Those who had learnt to read said "Ngi ya hamba" without any stopping or hesitation; nor did he think that beginners in schools where the conjunctive method was used read fluently at once. The orthography of the Zulu Bible ought not to be so difficult that Native Christians were unable to read it.

Rev. R. BLAKE:

[MS. of speech had not been returned at time of going to Press. Mr. Blake spoke in favour of the Colenso method, but wanted to see it modified in certain respects.—Ed.]

Mr. S. O. SAMUELSON:

He had always written the Zulu language as the Natives seemed to speak, and that was according to the conjunctive method; but if it could be shown that that system, which represented the natural outflow of the language from the lips of the Natives themselves, was wrong, then he would be convinced that the conjunctive method was wrong. However, before he could hope to do this, it would be first of all necessary to come to a general understanding as to what a "word" really is. He understood a word to be "an oral or written sign expressing thought." Everything, therefore, which expressed one single idea was to be considered a word, and, in writing, should stand by itself, save, of course, in regard to compound words. At the same time, he did not believe in running together a number of words, each of which was a sign of a definite idea or thought. He was in favour of a sort of compromise between the contending parties.

Rev. J. L. DUBE:

After listening to the speakers who had preceded him, he felt incompetent to speak, because he had not the knowledge of Zulu grammar. In fact, it was only recently that he had been making a study of Zulu grammar, since the Orthography Committee was formed. If he were to take the Bible and read a text, he had sometimes failed to understand it until he had referred to his English Bible. Occasionally, in his own paper, he took an article and read it, and did not understand it—that was, unless written by himself. They ought to get a sort of compromise between the two systems. Mr. Stuart believed in the disjunctive method; so did he to a certain degree; he did not believe in cutting it so fine as Mr. Stuart did in some cases, like "umuntu o lungileyo." He believed, after reading the two systems, that that in "Ilanga lase Natal" was a sort of compromise between the two. As a Native, he would say that they were more inclined to follow Colenso's conjunctive system. It was easier for them, but that did not mean that it was the best, because the white people had a great deal to do with the publication of Zulu literature, and they ought to be taken into consideration. What he did not like in the system of Colenso was that there was almost no limit to uniting words. He could write a long sentence and make it into one word, and

no one could prove that he was wrong so far as he was following Colenso's system, and the only thing the Natives did in that case was to go on in that way until they thought a word was long enough, and then stop. He thought the system in "Tlangalase Natal" was the kind the Natives liked; he meant that seen in his editorials. The people who contributed to the paper had their own way of writing. In regard to Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, he agreed with him in some respects. He abhorred the hyphens proposed. Neither did he like the apostrophes, as found in Colenso's works. They were a grave nuisance. They had the language and the words, and they ought simply to write the words as they were. He wrote the language simply from instinct, and not according to authority. His sympathies went more for a compromise between the two systems.

In reply to the Rev. Mr. Suter, the speaker said he had found the conjunctive system easier, and he knew, from their writing, that others had found it easier. The majority of his correspondents used the Colenso method. It was easier because he thought people were inclined to be lazy—that was all. It was easier to keep the pen going, and to stop it when they thought the word was long enough.

Mr. S. MSIMANG:

He knew the Native language, because he spoke it, and, as a Native, he considered the language to be a conjunctive one. One notices from a little child speaking that it never separates prefixes and suffixes from the root. He had seen that Europeans, learning to speak the language from a book, have a tendency to use the disjunctive method, and, in using this method, they very often throw the accent upon the wrong syllable.

He hoped the Conference would make no attempt to simplify the language for the sake of learners. They (the Natives) were jealous on account of their language, and hoped it would not be mutilated in any way merely for the sake of learners. It is rich in ornaments, and sounds much better combined than otherwise. Such a word as "umahambanendhlwane" cannot be separated without marring its beauty; another was "angimbonanga." Having examined Bishop Colenso's writings, he thought that his method was about the closest to the spoken language, although there might be a little excess in the joining of words. In that case, he would advocate that the Conference should improve Bishop Colenso's method by modifying the words as given by him, and write the language exactly as it is spoken.

Rev. F. SUTER:

They had heard mention of the “conjunctive” and “disjunctive” systems of writing Zulu, but these terms were misleading, for in reality they covered quite a host of mutually different styles of writing. If they wrote just as the Native spoke, they would have to use a combination conjunctive-disjunctive method, because while one Native had one style of enunciation, the other had another. No Native in Natal, he believed, was any authority on the subject of Zulu Orthography. He had himself always made use of Colenso’s New Testament, and considered the Zulu therein as excellent. But what they wanted was a method of writing that would not associate in one word the verb with its parts, or the pronoun with its various particles, but would show each and every part of speech standing separately. He was under the impression, however, that infinitives, even when in the compound form, should not be broken up into their constituent parts, but should be written together as one word.

In answer to a question as to how he would deal with “m” in “ngi ya m tanda,” he (the speaker) replied that “m” was a pronoun, and should, therefore, stand alone. Before monosyllabic verbs it became “mu.”

On being asked to parse “Ngi ya bona mina,” he (Mr. Suter) replied that “mina” was used in apposition to “ngi”; the “ya” was simply an auxiliary verb. As to “be ngi bonile,” he considered that the tense was simply made up of two verbs—the perfect tense of the verb “ba” *i.e.*, to be, and “bona,” which is the principal verb. The true form would be: “ngi be ngi bonile.”

ARCHDEACON JOHNSON:

He wished to speak briefly in support of the conjunctive system. He was a conjunctivist, first, by instinct, when he learned Zulu colloquially as a boy; and, later, by conviction, from Dr. Colenso. But still, he knew something of the disjunctive system, in that when he first commenced to study the language grammatically by book, it was under Dr. Callaway, who was a disjunctivist. He was conscious of two distinct instincts at work in his mind. His English instinct, trained under Dr. Callaway’s system, was disjunctive—that is, when he thought of Zulu in English; but directly he began to think in Zulu, as he learned it colloquially, he was a strong conjunctivist, and he thought that if they (the disjunctivists) analysed the reason for their advocating the disjunctive system, they would find they were led by their trained English instinct, not by their Zulu instinct. In English, and other languages of the same family, compound words—such as

“nevertheless” and “notwithstanding,” etc., were the exception, whereas Zulu was a language of compound words. The great teacher, Dr. Colenso, had proved this very clearly.

He said he could not lay claim to being an orthographical specialist in any way, although he had been engaged for many years in translating and in revision work; but he felt that it would be an immense help if this Conference could agree on a principle for writing Zulu, and that that principle would be the conjunctive system. They could not, he maintained, follow a better leader than Dr. Colenso. It was not his intention to follow the lines of the different arguments taken up by former speakers; a great deal had been said in support of both the conjunctive and disjunctive systems. He felt sure that the Conference had heard quite sufficient to enable them to come to a decision as to which system they should agree to use.

If the general principle were agreed to, it would then be advisable to form a committee to go into details, and put the matter in a concrete form, showing how the principle worked out in practice in writing the language, and bring it before the next meeting of the Conference.

He begged to support the motion of the Rev. Mr. Bryant, that the conjunctive system was the system they ought to agree upon.

In answer to a question by Mr. Wilcox, he said he would agree to some modification of Colenso's system.

ARCHDEACON ROACH:

He did not think it possible to find a half-way house in this matter; it must be either the conjunctive or disjunctive method. The particles which some wished to call words, and print separately, and which one speaker spoke of as conveying clear-cut ideas, were, to his mind, not words at all. Criticising the provisional findings of the Conference, and its printing “kw ande,” he asked what clear-cut idea there is conveyed by “kw”? He contended that “u” did not represent to any of our minds the same as “he,” or “ba” as “they”; they were not, in fact, of the same nature as our pronouns, but were more properly particles representing pronouns, and dependent on their connection with other particles and words, with which they should be joined, for their force. With regard to making the language easier of explanation to children, he asked how that would appear from “nabebandhla “lake,” and “kw abebandhla lake,” “oku lula,” and “okubi” (*vide* Conference report), and so “oku tetelela” and “yokutetelela”? He also asked how the accentuation would be indicated if, *e.g.*, “ngingayikunezwa” were printed as “ngi nga yi ku ne zwa”? He contended that the particles “nga.”

“u,” “ba,” “li,” etc., were of the same nature as Latin and Greek suffixes, and should, like them, be joined to the verb roots. Some contended that instinct demanded the adoption of the disjunctive method; his instinct demanded the conjunctive. He failed to see that the disjunctive method was of the greater utility. (All admitted the great difficulty of this language question, and yet, for purposes of grant, the Education Department did not recognise a school in which Zulu, however well studied, was the only language taught.) He had listened, hoping that some great authorities would be quoted against the celebrated philologists quoted by Mr. Bryant, but had not heard their names, and he did not feel justified in going against the conclusions of men who had devoted their lives to the study of philology. It is said that we are not working for Europeans, but for natives, and that seemed to him a strong reason against the disjunctive method; he said this after consulting some of the Native representatives present. We are accused of spoiling this country, and destroying some of their good old customs; let us not also be charged with mutilating their language.

Mr. W. ESTERHUYSEN:

He had noticed that the actual manner of Native speech was different to the language as depicted in the American Zulu Bible. In solving the question, we should consult the Native mind in its original state, as the educated Natives learn in school to write Zulu, not instinctively, but according to the English way of writing. It had been said that the conjunctive method necessitated unduly long words, such as “basebeminyanisela,” but there were long words in English also—*e.g.*, “antitrinitarianism” is a word of eight syllables. Without hesitation, he would go with the conjunctivists, but not to the extreme of Dr. Colenso’s style, especially as regards the apostrophes, of which he considered the latter made too frequent use. He did not think it would simplify the language if they broke it up.

Mr. A. W. BAKER:

Mr. Bryant told them that old forms of Aryan languages were conjunctive, but have gradually become disjunctive, and that, therefore, Aryans are incompetent to discuss the orthography of the Bantu languages. Presumably he is the exception that proves the rule. His estimate of the English language is “that it is only fit to be put under a glass case in a museum.” Thus, according to Mr. Bryant, all the philologists who have assisted in the evolution of that language are fools. To this it is surely a sufficient answer that the natural

modification of languages like the English, French, and German, by an utilitarian business world, in the course of centuries of stress and competition, is the surest test of their adaptability and utility; and all the philologists in the world cannot consign these living, pulsating languages to museums. In this progressive age the simplest forms of speech are being selected for use, and, so far from separating and preserving the peculiarities of various languages, an attempt is being made to approximate them to a common standard. When their opponents cite Latin as an illustration, it only strengthened their position. Latin is a dead language, and cannot now be modified. With Zulu they were dealing with a living language, which has to meet the requirements of a progressive age, or succumb. When their opponents asked him to believe that the untrained eye can take in at one glance a word of 100 letters as easily and readily as a word of five, they asked him to contradict the evidence of his senses. On all sides, it was urged that the Bantu languages should be utilised in the earlier stages of the Native's education; but even their opponents could not deny that English must be the medium of his education in the higher branches of mathematics, the classics, and science. The conjunctivists declare that their method is diametrically opposed to the construction of English; they, therefore, are contending for two opposing systems of education for Native lads. When the Zulu lad passes out of the third standard, he passes out of Zulu methods of construction into English methods, and must abandon the fundamental principle of conjunctivism. Imagine, he said, the perplexity of the pupil who says to his teacher: "You taught me that 'ngi,' and 'ya' and 'ku' were only pre-fixes, and must all be joined to the verb; and now you tell me that 'I' and 'am' and 'shall' are words, and must be dis-joined." To save your pupil from having a double-barrelled mind, train the Zulu mind to think in the English way from the start, so as to be ready easily to acquire the English language, and that can only be secured by a disjunctive method.

Rev. JAMES SCOTT:

He considered the conjunctive method of writing Zulu should be adopted, as that at once both right and easy. It might be true that an untaught person would read words written disjunctively more readily, but he would not read them so correctly as if written conjunctively. In reply to Mr. Stuart, who says "there is about it that lack of energy and precision which was so characteristic of the races of South Africa," he said they were here, not to give energy and precision to the Bantu races, but to put the Zulu language, as it

is, on paper—that is, to give what exists a correct orthography. Say or do what we will, the Bantu, the Zulu, will use the conjunctive system of writing. He ventured to say that 99 per cent. of the Zulus, as soon as they were emancipated from the teaching of the white man, would take to the conjunctive method; this he affirmed from experience. He, therefore, called on the Bantu present to give a unanimous vote in favour of the conjunctive method. If that Conference determined on the conjunctive system, a future Conference would certainly overturn such a decision. The disjunctive method may be tried, but the Bantu people will not accept it. In conclusion, he quoted the last clause of Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, and would read it with the slight change of "con" to "dis," viz.: "As I hold that the *disjunctive* method is radically defective, I trust the day is not far distant when Zulu words, not to refer to those of other Bantu dialects, will be granted full and reasonable emancipation and no longer be bound hand and foot like slaves through no fault of their own."

Rev. J. E. NORENIUS:

Their proper course in settling the question before the Conference was to look to other languages, and the way in which they were written. If they did so, they would find that they all pointed to a disjunctive method of writing as the most natural. He thought the Zulu should become no exception on account of its being a prefix-using language. The prefix was not a monster, devouring everything, as some had made it out to be. The various parts of speech—noun, pronoun, verb, etc., existed in Zulu just as well as in other languages, and should be written separately, as in them. There was no need of introducing in Zulu the novel method proposed by the conjunctivists, and founded on a confused idea as to what was a prefix and a word.

As to the particles "ngi," "u," "si," "ni," "ba," and the like, which the conjunctivists called pronominal prefixes, and wished to join with the head-word in the sentence, he contended that they were real words. The prefix was an essential part of the word to which it belonged. It could not be separated from it by having anything put between itself and the primitive, nor could it convey a definite idea. The case of the particles mentioned was quite different. They could stand by themselves, and be separated from the head-word by other parts of speech put between. They could convey a definite idea to his mind. They were words, and should be written as such, standing by themselves, and not joined to others.

He was aware that Natives themselves frequently used the conjunctive method, but so did also uneducated people in other

countries often when writing their language; and not one thought of making them judges of questions like these. We had also to remember that many were taught in the schools to use the conjunctive method.

He could not understand how accent could be any guide as to what formed a word, though it might be as to what formed a sentence. He earnestly advocated the adoption of the disjunctive method, as exemplified, for instance, in Bishop Callaway's works. He considered that the method was the only consistent and scientific one, more and more used by all who had to study and write the Bantu languages. The other method was retrogressive, and built on fickleness and a mechanical conception of the Zulu language, chopping it up into unnatural pieces.

Rev. W. C. WILCOX:

That Conference had been called in accordance with a resolution passed at the Natal Missionary Conference, viz.: "That a united Conference be held in order to come to some agreement on moot points in Zulu Orthography." It had been further agreed that the members of the Natal Missionary Conference should "recommend to their respective Societies, and endeavour to secure their adoption in future publications, those points in Zulu Orthography which receive a two-thirds vote of the Orthography Conference."

There were only three ways in which this plan could possibly be carried out:—(1) An entirely new Orthography must be invented. (2) They must follow one of the systems now in vogue. (3) Or they must come to some sort of compromise or eclectic system, taking those parts of each which seemed to be most popular, or, in other words, the most practical.

As to the first, the difficulty and expense of obtaining special founts made it utterly impracticable. Grout tried something of the kind with the Lepsius alphabet, but had to abandon the project.

The second way was impossible. Nobody would agree to follow in detail the system of any other Society.

They were then driven to the third alternative, viz., compromise. This had already been done with regard to the great majority of letters and words. Each writer must give up something of his own ideal to accord with custom. What had been done with a portion of the letters could be done with all. But, as to division of words, it had been said there were radically different principles, and there could be no compromise between them.

He denied that the principles were so mutually exclusive that there could be no compromise. Colenso and Grout both had in view the same end, viz., to convey the idea of the writer

with the greatest clearness to the mind of the reader. They both agreed that there must be some separation of these ideas on the written page. In the great majority of words they made this separation in the same place. The only difference was where this separation should be made, and on what principle. Grout held that it should be made according to the distinct idea and parts of speech, whilst he allowed agglutination in some cases—where it was indicated by the accent, *e.g.*, “njengomuntu.” Colenso, on the other hand, maintained that the division should be indicated chiefly by the accent; at the same time, he does not ignore the separate idea and the parts of speech—*e.g.*, ‘namhlanje.’ According to Colenso’s theory of accent, this should be two words, but he wrote it as one, being an adverb—just as Grout wrote “njengaloku.” Their principles, carried out, do not result in such a great divergence as might be supposed, considering that the apostrophe which Colenso used serves the same end as Grout’s separation without the apostrophe. In the Lord’s Prayer there are 44 separate words according to Colenso, and 54 according to Grout, 23 words being precisely alike.

There was, then, not such a great difference in these principles that they might not borrow something from both, for the formation of rules. Mr. Bryant said he could accept every one of his (the speaker’s) rules, as they were in accordance with the conjunctive method throughout.

Mr. Kempe said that he would accept every one, with the exception of one or two minor particulars. He did not consider Rules 4 and 5 as a compromise, but a sequence of the chief rule.

Deciding by the popular voice was finding out what is the popular trend, and it was scientific to follow that. They could not do anything else. No rule they made, that is much opposed to the popular taste, would be followed.

While they could not force custom, they might, in a measure, lead and focus it in the right direction. Rules for the division of words ought to be short, plain, and easy of application. It seemed to him the seven that he proposed met these requirements. They also took the middle ground upon which the systems of Grout and Colenso are in practical agreement.

RULES FOR THE SEPARATION OF WORDS.

(As proposed by Mr. Wilcox.)

1. General Rule.—Separable parts of speech, which express distinct ideas, should be written as separate words—*e.g.*, “ngi ya ba tanda abantu.”

2. Where crasis occurs, making one syllable of two, though these may be distinct parts of speech, they are not separable—*e.g.*, “ngi ya *kwenza ukudhla*”; “ngi *yeza*”; “ngi ya *mazi*”; “*ihashi lomuntu*”; “*umuntu ngi mazi*”; “*njenge juba*.”

3. Words used as enclitics, as “ke, ze, ni, pi, yo, nje, mbi, yo,” etc., are united to the words they follow—*e.g.*, “*hambake, inyamanye, hambaze, olungileyo*.”

4. The prefixes are not to be separated from the nouns to which they belong. This applies to the infinitives, with all their contents—*e.g.*, “*ukutanda, ukungatandi, ekutandeni, eku-batandeni, ukwazi, ukudhla*.”

5. Short adjectival or adverbial phrases are to be written as one word—*e.g.*, “*namhlanje, olungileyo, esihle, esibi, ongalungile, ngapi, nani*,” etc.

6. The apostrophe is to be used wherever there is an omission of a letter between words, but not in the body of the word—*e.g.*, “*Ngi ya s'enza isitsha; ba ya b'ona abantu; ngi ya l'amkela iqiniso; ngi fun' amasi*.” But not in the body of the word—*e.g.*, “*em'va*”; “*nam'hla*.”

7. The negative suffix “nga” and the reflexive particle “zi” should be written as parts of the verb—*e.g.*, “*a ngi hambanga; ngi ya zitanda*.”

Rev. Fr. BALDWIN REINER:

First, he wished to state that he was decidedly in favour of the conjunctive method. The disjunctive system, he felt, was quite contrary to the character of the Zulu language, and, in many cases, in practice, refused to work. In some of yesterday's speeches the question was asked as to how the personal pronouns, when connected with vowel verbs, should be divided—*e.g.*, “*amatole omile, amanzi anda*”? Being a conjunctivist, he would say the so-called personal pronouns are, in the Zulu mind, not self-standing independent words, but rather in the nature of prefixes, which, when connected with vowel-verbs, are swallowed up in the initial vowel of the root-verb. It is an important question, explaining the whole *causa belli* as to whether these pronominal prefixes could or could not be disconnected from their verbs. The examples given show that they cannot be disconnected.

They had come there to examine the different systems in vogue, and to decide which of them, having the best and most scientific arguments in its favour, was the right one to adopt. A compromise in their case meant a half-way system between right and wrong, and surely could not be right. They had already too many ways of writing Zulu. Why coin a new one, and that a bad one, too? Desirable as it was that they should

all come to agree on a uniform method of writing, yet, rather than have a compromise—*i.e.*, a system of uniform mistakes, a uniformly wrong method of writing Zulu, which he would certainly oppose—he would say: “If we are unable to come to a decision re Orthography *now*, let us do as we have done in the past—leave it an open question.”

As to the suggestion to change the Zulu language so as to be a stepping-stone to and resemble English as much as possible, he would say that, apart from the sheer impossibility of changing the Zulu's mind and way of thinking, it was unnatural to forcibly thrust upon any language ideas alien to it, and the suggestion itself being beyond the scope of their present work, the Zulu Orthography Conference, he felt sure, would pay attention only to the peculiarities and requirements of the Zulu language as such.

Rev. S. C. PIXLEY:

He preferred what is called the “disjunctive” method, with certain modifications, and for the following reasons:—

1. The disjunctive appeared to him to be the form—more in accordance with other languages—with which he was acquainted.

2. The disjunctive, with slight modifications, can be more easily read and more quickly understood—by beginners and children—than the conjunctive.

3. In acquiring and analysing the language, foreigners find the disjunctive method of writing much more helpful and easy than the so-called conjunctive.

4. Most of the Zulu books already printed in Natal have been printed in the disjunctive method.

5. An experience of 50 years had only confirmed him in the opinion formed at an early date, under the influence of such teachers as Lewis Grout, David Rood, and Josiah Tyler, that, on the whole, the disjunctive method of writing Isizulu, with such minor changes and modifications as from time to time may be found necessary, is the best to be used, and they would be wise to continue with this method as the basis of future work.

Granted, if you will, that the Native people, in speaking, are inclined to use oftentimes the conjunctive method, making quite a long speech, with all the words joined together, it does not follow that, in writing out that speech, they should do the same thing. In all civilised languages, the writers break up what may have been spoken in one continued linking together, into “sentences,” “periods,” and “words,” to make the speech more intelligible. Words are the expression of thoughts—they are called symbols. The word that contains a complete idea or thought should have its distinctive separat?

symbol. Little words, terms modifying the concrete idea, enclitics (throwing forward the accent), may be joined to the main words in accordance with rules which the Committee will wisely formulate.

Mr. L. MOE:

They must follow the principles of science to a certain degree, or rather wholly; he believed, that if they did, science herself would evolve a system which would be in accordance with that suggested by Mr. Baker—the disjunctive method. What was an agglutinative language? It was one in which the word-elements are so united that they still retain their independence, their identity, and their significatory power. They did not become absorbed in the root-word. A word in the inflectional languages had added to it a word-element, but the word-element, instead of retaining its identity, loses it altogether, and becomes one with the word to which it is affixed. The result was, that in the inflectional language the word-element, which was added, became one, and the two were no longer connected. If that was so, if they wrote words of the inflectional language in one, not separated, why should they write agglutinative words, which consisted of word-elements distinct from one another, also as one. There being a distinct difference between the two, why should they be written together? Take the sentence “ngi ya m tanda.” “Ngi” and “ya” and “m” must be written separately—“m,” because it was a pronoun in the objective case. Take “ngi m'tanda kakulu.” The French equivalent would be “je l'aime beaucoup.” There they had the same construction. Who would argue, then, that those words should be written together, when in all civilised languages to-day those words were written separately? And it is significant that not only is the syntactical position the same, but there is the “m” and the “l”—there was the omission. One of the gentlemen who had spoken had referred to the word “ngi” as being dependent upon the root, or, that was to say, that it could not be used apart from it; “ngi,” for instance, could not be used apart from “tanda.” If one wanted to use the notion which was conveyed in “ngi” alone, they said he must use “mina.” Let him refer to French again. The French for “I,” when used with the verb, was “je.” That could never be used alone. If one wanted to use that idea separately from the verb, he must use “moi.” Therefore, did not the ground fall away that because “ngi” could not be used separately, “mina” must be used; therefore, it must be written together with “tanda,” seeing that in a modern language the same obtained? Let him refer to French once more in regard to another matter. They all knew

that there was the joining of words beginning with a vowel, so that, as a matter of fact, they would have three or four words, otherwise independent, joined together. If they were to pronounce those words separately, a Frenchman would not understand. And, although the words were joined in speech, they were disjoined in writing. Was not that a significant fact? Take the sentence "Nous avons été." If they were to say "nous, avons, été," the Frenchman would say that he did not understand. They must pronounce it *together*. This showed that in civilised languages there was a drawing over from one word to another, and still a separation was observed. He favoured compromise.

Rev. S. ERIKSEN:

He would speak and vote for the disjunctive method. His opinion was based on (1) authority, and (2) common sense:—

1. His authorities were the late Bishop Schröder (who wrote one of the first grammars in Zulu), Rev. Döhne, Grout, and, to a certain extent, Bishop Callaway.

2. His common sense told him not to combine what nature had separated, and there is a nature in language. It is not necessary that every word should convey an idea in itself—*e.g.*, "to" is one word, but it gives no idea. "To love" is two words, but one idea. The same in Zulu: "Uku" is one word, but no idea; "uku tanda," two words, but one idea. "Ngi ya m tanda" can never be one word, but is a sentence, with five words and three ideas. "Ngi" gives one an idea about oneself; "m" or "mu," about another person; and "tanda," the affection "to love"; but, as a sentence, it is one idea, *viz.*: "I love him." They could not combine in Zulu what they separated in European and other languages; but, for the sake of a compromise, he was willing to combine, and write "uku hamba," "ngokuhamba," "ngamandhla," and "nenhliziyo," although it was against his common sense.

The disjunctively-written language is, without comparison, easier to read.

Mr. C. KUNENE:

They must consider the Zulu language on its own merits, and not on conclusions drawn from other foreign, and sometimes radically dissimilar, languages. It is the duty of the Conference to formulate rules, if it can, which agree with the language as spoken. The illiterate Zulu man, who speaks his language correctly, is guided by principles and rules, even though he could not describe them. Those principles and rules must be discovered. It would appear that the conjunc-

tive method of writing Zulu was based on these rules and principles, and reproduced the words in a natural way, as spoken by the Natives themselves. Speech comes before writing, and sound has a great deal to do with the method of writing down that speech. Accentuation, also, is one of the greatest considerations in this matter, and should not be tampered with. It seems beyond doubt that disjunctive writing must necessarily affect accentuation, and destroy the musical essence of the language. In uttering the word "ngiyam-tanda" in the natural way, the accent falls on the penultimate. Whereas, in writing the same disjunctively—"ngi, ya, m, tanda, *i.e.*, "I am him loving"—the accent falls on both the first syllable "ngi" and on the letter "m," which, on being uttered, is altogether unintelligible.

Further, if "ngi" be taken for a pronoun, why change it to "nga" in the past tense, and "ngo" in the future?

"Nature will never be bettered by any art, till that art becomes nature." Why, then, adopt a way of writing Zulu which is repulsive, and force it on the natural flow of the language, so as somewhat to impede speech? Writing is only a transformation of speech, which is a product of idea; and idea comes to a man by influx [inspiration (?)]. We should therefore, be as natural as possible in reducing speech to writing. In Zulu this can be done only by adopting the conjunctive method. The Native language has not yet reached the inflectional stage. It is still agglutinative, and, as such, should be written conjunctively.

It has been urged that the conjunctive method makes it difficult to learn the language. One of the greatest authorities in classical languages says: "There is no royal road by which labour in the acquisition of a language can be avoided." Let Zulu students labour to acquire thorough knowledge of the language in its true construction and form.

Mr. C. G. JACKSON:

He heartily endorsed Mr. Samuelson's suggestion, as supported by Mr. Wilcox, for a compromise. There must be give and take in this matter. They all had their pet theories, but if any tangible result was to be attained they must be prepared to sacrifice something in order to secure uniformity. He was familiar with both methods. The conjunctive was the one he had first acquired in writing, but, for many years past, he had abandoned it in favour of a modified disjunctive method. The crux of the question depended upon the determination of what was a word and what was a prefix. He agreed with Father Bryant, that inseparable prefixes should not be regarded as separate words, and he disagreed with Mr. Stuart when he wrote, for instance, "bay -emba." In any

case, the hyphen should be avoided as far as possible, as should also the apostrophe, but the latter was a necessity. The definition of a "word" in the "Standard Dictionary" was: "A vocal sound, or combination of vocal sounds, used as a symbol to embody and signify an idea and thought, especially a notion or conception, and forming one of the elements of language; a single independent utterance, forming usually a constituent unit of a sentence; vocable." This definition, favoured the disjunctivists in the vexed phrase "ngi ya m tanda."

Mr. Jackson then proposed the Amendment to be found standing in his name on p. 31.

Rev. J. ASTRUP:

He considered the conjunctive way of writing Zulu no system at all, because he found no specific rules whereby they should go.

Should there really exist so great a difference between Zulu and other languages that it should be impossible to mould it on the basis of a civilised one? He held that the thought was very much the same in "I love him" and "Ngi ya m tanda."

The spoken word must be put into the clearest form, so as to convey the thought clearly from mind to mind, and he considered that to be the main point with all languages in regard to orthography.

The desire should be to write the language as plainly and as understandingly as possible, in order that the young Zulu could grasp the ideas and thoughts brought forth by our advanced learning.

Mr. Bryant's system was ingenious and interesting, but too intricate and very impractical.

Having referred to the fact that the American Mission—practically the oldest mission—the two Norwegian Missions, the Swedish Mission, and the Hermannsburg Mission all have made use of the disjunctive system, he closed his remarks by saying:—

They should try to meet one another on this basis, that every word which carries a separate idea or thought should, in Zulu, as in other languages, be written separately, for grammatical, lexicographical, and practical reasons. And when they were agreed about this fundamental principle they should meet one another, and find the various exceptions. But, then, they must have a civilised—he used the word advisedly—a civilised basis on which to operate.

Miss COLENZO: (See also page 38.)

The proper method of writing Zulu was that adopted by her father, the late Bishop Colenso, who had very carefully considered the whole subject. It had been urged that no rules were provided in her father's grammar for writing the language; this, however, was not the case, as the principles of Zulu Orthography would be found clearly set forth and illustrated in various parts of the book. What should be done was for members of the Conference to devote more time and study to works already published on Zulu in particular, and Bantu languages in general. Attention was drawn to a recently published Xosa grammar by Maclaren, to which, however, it was observed, no reference had been made by previous speakers; in this—the latest result of scholarship—it would be seen, the same method (conjunctive) had been followed as was used in her father's works. The speaker also quoted from Kolbe's work on the Bantu languages, to show that Bantu (and, therefore, Zulu) are agglutinative in structure, and so should be written conjunctively.

Adverting to the long words met with in the Colenso New Testament, she remarked that most of these were to be found in St. Paul's Epistles. The language in those Epistles was frequently of an abstract nature, and very difficult to render into Zulu; hence, it was primarily on that account that such long words had had to be used.

[MS. of speech had not been returned at time of going to Press. There has been no opportunity of submitting the foregoing version for the speaker's revision.—ED.]

Rev. H. J. S. ASTRUP:

He would like to say a few words about the matter before them, looking upon it from a general, so to say, natural and philosophical standpoint. God is the highest thinking Being. He thought in worlds, not only in continents. He scattered His beautiful worlds about. God's thoughts were ready-made, then He spoke them. Man was the greatest thinking being next to God. A word is a consolidation—the apparent sign of a thought, an idea. Ideas are first in the mind. *Universalia ante res.*—Plato. *Universalia in rebus.*—Aristotle.

Is not "I" an idea, a personality, an individual clothed for the brain and eye in a palpable dress? So is "Ngi"—*e.g.*, "Ngi ya m tanda." "Kingdom" is a new idea. Compromise is good in many relations. Russia and Japan made a compromise. So did Abraham and Lot. But compromise is usually not good in matters of conscience or principle, or in matters of nature. What is "natural"? He thought it was natural to write signs for separate ideas separately. If they sinned

against nature, nature would rise and punish them. The Natives must be *educated* to clear ideas. They must also discard prejudices.

In regard to authorities, possibly Grout and Callaway were as good authorities as Bishop Colenso.

Their only object ought to be to learn and teach the Zulu idiom as purely as possible. They should study more the syntax of the language, and have a broad basis for their operations.

At the same time they ought to represent it in as simple and natural a form as possible. They knew how the German language was spoilt and made too artificial in the 17th and 18th centuries by too many abstract philosophical terms (*cf.* Mark Twain's travesty in "A Tramp Abroad"). Even if they *wrote* the words apart, they *spoke* them together. He thought the American Zulu Bible translation had been made on a sound, practical, and natural basis. He admired it in spite of its defects, especially in the Old Testament, which is really not good in many places—mostly, he supposed, owing to an imperfect knowledge of Hebrew. On the whole, he did not advocate any particular system, but a natural writing of the language. He supposed that, even if the Conference put this big tree into a little flower-pot, it would burst it by-and-bye. If, however, they went to an extreme, and adopted the conjunctive method, he did not know what he would do. He would try and conform to it as much as possible, as far as his linguistic conscience would allow, but he might perhaps strike, and, even if he were excommunicated, he at least hoped he would not be cast into prison.

Mr. NGAZANA LUTULI:

He realised that, as Natives, they could not understand this subject as fully as Europeans. When they came before such big words as had been used in the Conference, they found they were out of place. He would have both systems modified, so that a reasonable system might be the outcome. He liked the use of the apostrophe. He hoped that, since the question was about to be settled, it should be settled satisfactorily for all concerned. He trusted the Conference would not go and mutilate the language.

Rev. E. MINKNER:

He had been working for 20 years among the Natives, and knew only one system of writing the Native language, and that was the so-called "conjunctive" one.

The first rule now offered them was that "separate parts of speech, which express distinct ideas, should be written as

separate words." Well, he could not see that "ngi," "u," "si," "ni," or "ba" were distinct ideas. It was only when they took one of them with another word that they had an idea. Without another word it was not an idea, but only a prefix. If a Native said "ubani lapo?" one could not reply "ngi!" It would be necessary to say "mina." ["Imi!"—Ed.]

He did not see that the disjunctive way was so simple. He thought that it was much simpler to write one word than several.

The time would come when perhaps books, written by Natives, would show that the so-called "conjunctive" method was the right one.

On being questioned, he (Mr. Minkner) said he was not prepared to adopt Colenso's system in its entirety.

Rev. ABNER MTIMKULU:

He did not profess to know anything about the philology of the Zulu language, or of any other language, but he had spoken the language all his life, and, therefore, was in a position to say that Natives neither write nor speak it disjunctively.

The former speakers had admitted that the Bantu languages belong to the agglutinative class of languages, and, as such, they must naturally admit of no disjunction. He had been looking up the dictionary for the meaning of the words "conjunctive" and "agglutinative." The former means "serving to unite"; the latter, "having power to cause adhesion." It follows, therefore, that if the Zulu language is agglutinative, it must be conjunctive—the margin in the meaning of the terms being so fine that it cannot be readily detected, the one being a means towards an end, the other the end itself.

They were assembled there to prepare for the uneducated and the beginner. A Native would find the phrase "ngiyam-tanda" very unintelligible if the syllables are disconnected, thus: "ngi ya m tanda."

He was taught in school to write as he spoke, and since they were doing this for Native people, why should they not write the language as it is spoken by them?

Their Zulu newspapers to-day were printed in the conjunctive style, and Zulu letters from one Native to another would be found to belong to that style. They could not have too much care on this great and important question of the Zulu language. The Native was contented with the reading and the writing of the language. It was the European, who, as philologist and etymologist, called the Zulu Orthography Con-

ference. His language should not be shorn of its peculiarities to suit a privileged few.

The Zulu language is the language of a particular people, with its history, connections, and ties; its peculiar characteristics should be preserved untainted and uncontaminated. He would say that the conjunctive system is the one for writing and reading the Zulu language.

Rev. PROZESKY:

He contended that Zulu should be *written* conjunctively, as it was obviously *spoken* in a conjunctive style, and was of opinion that a Committee should be formed to draw up grammatical rules, before Zulu Orthography could be definitely decided upon.

Mr. T. A. JACKSON:

He regretted that he was under a disadvantage in not having heard the previous speakers, as he had been away at the front on active service, and was at present back only on "sick leave."

He was a supporter of the disjunctive method, mainly because of its simplicity. In building up a written language, as they were now engaged in doing, simplicity should be kept prominently before them. The advantage of the disjunctive method was demonstrated a short time ago in the cross-examination to which Mr. Mtimkulu was subjected; for though, in conversation, he might use the conjunctive style, when it came to examining the meaning of a sentence, he had to fall back on the disjunctive method. Letters by half-educated Natives were often written in the conjunctive style, but had those present ever tried to read them? If so, they would find that a word would begin at the beginning of a line and run right through to the end of the line without a break, and it was most puzzling to find out what was really intended, for it was possible to split the line up into several different kinds of words. There appeared to be no uniform method amongst the conjunctivists as to the division of words.

He could certainly claim to have an interest in the language, as he had studied it for many years, and was at present a member of the Board of Zulu Examiners.

It was possible to carry either method to extremes, and he would certainly support a compromise in order to secure unanimity. It would be noticed that even the Zulu-born speakers were equally divided in their opinions, showing what diversity existed among them. For the sake of clearness, and especially for the sake of unanimity, the best thing that could be done was to follow a *via media*.

Rev. J. SCHROEDER:

[MS. of speech had not been returned at time of going to Press. Mr. Schroeder spoke in favour of compromise.—ED.]

Rev. J. G. CHATER:

[MS. of speech had not been returned at time of going to Press. Mr. Chater expressed the view that, of the two, the disjunctive method would be of greater utility.—ED.]

Dr. L. HERTSLET:

They were divided into four parties—the “Conservatives,” the most conservative of whom was Mr. Bryant; the “Radicals,” the most radical being Mr. Baker; the “Moderates,” who seemed to form the majority; and the “Compromise” party; and some few who had withheld their views, and were sitting on the fence. He suggested that they should now take into consideration the pros and cons they had heard, and the suggestion for a compromise, vote on the motion, and get something done.

Rev. J. C. DORWARD:

It seemed to him that the conjunctive system aimed at making the printed language assume a colloquial form, whereas the printed was always different from the spoken language. Extemporaneous or colloquial speech was very different from the written language. The printed page was usually much more complete, much more exact, and much more formal than the spoken speech. He thought it was so in all languages. It was, he thought, much more dignified. Usually they did not write as they spoke, and he thought they must recognise that in Zulu literature they were going to have a written as well as a spoken language. His own sympathy was certainly on the side of those who wrote the Zulu language according to the disjunctive system. It seemed to him the only way it ought to be written. That was his opinion, after a long study of the question. He had been in this country and in mission work about 16 years, and a good part of that time he had to do with the preparation of books for the press. He had had the necessity for uniformity forced upon him. So keen was this need that he had been brought to the point of being willing to accept the Colenso system in its entirety if the majority of the Conference should so desire it, but he had not yet come to see that that way of printing Zulu was better. Still, he wanted to see unity in the matter. A good deal had been said about correct reading being attainable only by the joining of words. He failed to see that it was so in Zulu any more than it was in English or any other language. Correct reading was a matter of education. Halting in reading

was nothing in beginners, whether in the English or Zulu language. Fluency in reading or in speaking was a matter of progress. Before a beginner could read a sentence correctly where the words were joined, he must read the clause syllable by syllable, which was also the case where the words were separated. At the same time, it was easier for the eye to catch the sense in the separated form. At times he had been led to look on Colenso's as in some ways the superior system. Apostrophes showed clearly where letters were dropped, and he had regretted exceedingly that, in the Bible issued by his Mission, some system had not been adopted. He thought the American Bible would be a great deal clearer to-day if in every case the apostrophe had been put in where a letter was dropped. Those apostrophes in Colenso often stood for spaces between words, and yet there was sometimes a danger of not being able to understand exactly what was meant. He gave as an instance: "God is now here." Join those letters together, and it might read: "God is nowhere" or "God is now here."

Rev. A. T. BRYANT (in reply):

It had been contended by the disjunctivists that "ngi," "ya," "m," etc., were separate ideas or words. But it had not been proved that these same particles, even though we might suppose them to represent separate ideas, could not, as the conjunctivists contended, be joined together so as to form single compound words. Nor had it been proved that accentuation was not the guiding rule as to what in the Zulu mind is such a compound word. Nor had it been proved that accentuation did not require such expressions as "ngiyamtanda" to be joined together as one compound word. He had, therefore, not found much to reply to, and should not delay the Conference by saying anything more.

Mr. J. STUART (in reply):

He still maintained that the conjunctive method had come about simply by an inclination to join words together, rather than rigorously think out the way that ought to be followed. The disjunctivists were not "chopping up" words. They were acting according to reason, and had shown on what ground they based their action. Mr. Mtinkulu had drawn attention to the fact that he (Mr. Stuart) said that Zulu was agglutinative. He agreed that Zulu was agglutinative, but it was only agglutinative to a certain extent. Agglutination must not be allowed to run riot, as it did in the Colenso system.

The question was: Were they to accept a compromise, or refer what they had done to an executive or standing com-

mittee, in order to go more fully into the whole matter? He must say he was not in favour of a compromise, because it seemed to him a dangerous thing. He could not agree to do a thing simply from the wish to compromise. He felt he ought to be convinced.

To call "ngi" a prefix, as Mr. Bryant did, in "ngi hamba ngendhlela," was, to his mind, altogether impossible. "Ngi" was a pronoun, and "hamba" a verb; the two carry different significations, and, if one joins, they will retain their individuality, though both have been put, as it were, into one "bed." Were two persons who got into one bed entitled to be treated conjunctively or disjunctively? Were they then one? Was the individuality of the one merged in that of the other for the time being? Of course not. They might think the two together, or do what they liked, but the words remained, and no conjunctivist could bind them together. He asked members to look at the word "ningenjengabangahlakanipile." Its meaning was easy and elementary. Miss Colenso tried to turn their minds off this grotesque product of the Colenso system, and said it was so long because St. Paul was speaking in an extraordinarily difficult style. He was surprised at Miss Colenso having used an argument which did not meet, but evaded, the strongest instance of conjunction found by him in the Colenso New Testament.

Mr. C. G. JACKSON (in reply):

He thought a modified method, founded on both systems, was the only practicable one. Nearly every speaker on both sides had admitted that there must be some modification. Most of those present did not hold extreme views. The object of calling the Conference was to secure a uniform method of writing and speaking Zulu, and he asked all members to try and attain that object. Although favouring the disjunctive method, if the conjunctive method were decided on he would loyally adopt it, and he trusted that all members would come forward in the same spirit. There must be give and take in order that uniformity might be secured.

MOTIONS AND AMENDMENT

RESULTS OF VOTING.

The two following Motions with Amendment were now put to the meeting and voted on, the Amendment, of course being taken first :—

MOTION I.

Proposer, Rev. A. T. Bryant; seconder, Mr. S. O. Samuelson.

“That the conjunctive or agglutinating method of writing the Zulu language is, in the opinion of this Conference, the most correct, as also in closest accordance with the actual manner of Native speech; that it is the most simple and consistent in its rules; and that it is the only one in conformity with the universal teaching and practice of Bantu philologists; and ought, therefore, to be generally adopted.”

For, 23; against, 20.

MOTION II.

Proposer, Mr. J. Stuart; seconder, Rev. A. R. Kempe.

“That that method, which, for purposes of argument, has been called disjunctive, is the right one to be adopted in writing Zulu, inasmuch as it is less complicated and more grammatical in form than the conjunctive, and, without violating the agglutinative characteristics of the language, more adapted to the needs of the eye than the one referred to.”

For, 17; against, 26.

AMENDMENT.

Proposer, Mr. C. G. Jackson; seconder, Rev. W. C. Wilcox.

“That in view of the wide disagreement between the extreme advocates of the conjunctive and disjunctive methods, and having regard to the fact that on neither side are there well-defined and recognised rules upon which uniformity can be secured, this Conference is of opinion that a modification of the two systems be adopted under rules to be subsequently decided upon.”

For, 27; against, 19.

For Mr. C. G. Jackson's (Amendment) Motion, the voting was: For, 25; against, 20.

RULES PREPARED BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

The following are the Rules which, as stated in the Introduction, were drawn up by a Special Committee during the sitting of last Conference. The members of this Committee were:—Messrs. Wilcox (convener), Stuart, Roach, Blake, Plant, Suter, Minkner, Fraser, Moe, Kempe, and Nyongwana:—

1. Noun prefixes are not to be separated from their roots.
2. Where crasis occurs, the two parts are to be written as one word.
3. The euphonic or epenthetic letters: s, ng, w, and y, are to be joined to the words they precede.
4. Enclitics are to be joined to the words which they follow.
5. Adjectival and adverbial phrases are to be written as single words, as: “olungileyo, ongalungile, namhlanje.”
6. The verb in the infinitive mood is to be written as one word.
7. The apostrophe is only to be used when the construction of the language demands the elision of a vowel, as in the case of nouns preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, *e.g.*, “lel’ ihashi.”
8. The verb shall be written separately from the other parts of speech which are essential in the making up of full tenses, moods, and negative forms of the verb. These different particles or elements are to be written separate from each other.

W. C. WILCOX, Convener.

MINORITY REPORT.*

8. That the particles used in the formation of any tense in any mood or voice, either negative or positive, together with adverbial particles and pronominal prefixes, shall be written together with the verb-root as one word.

F. ROACH,
(on behalf of the Minority).

NOTE.—The voting for the adoption of these Rules was:—Rule 1, carried unanimously; Rule 2, carried unanimously; Rule 3, carried; Rule 4, carried, 29 to 3; Rule 5, carried, 30 to 2; Rule 6, carried, 30 to 1; Rule 7, carried, 30 to 2. As regards Rule 8, an amendment was proposed to the effect that the recommendations of *both* the Majority and Minority of the Committee be adopted; carried, 28 to 12.

* This report was only in regard to Rule 8.—ED.

RULES

FOR

WRITING THE ZULU LANGUAGE. *

(As drawn up by the Zulu Orthography Committee, by direction of Conference, 1906.)

I.—AS TO WORDS.

1. The different Parts of Speech shall be written separately, except as modified by these Rules.

E.g. :—*Ilanga li ya kanya ; isinkwa ngi ya si tanda ; umuti u baba kakulu ; abantu ba mpofu ; ba kona abantu ; izwe li ka Mpande.*

2. Whenever a coalescence of the final vowel of one word with the initial vowel of the following word occurs, as in the case of Possessive Particles, Prepositions, and Relative Pronouns, the two words shall be written together.

E.g. :—*Inja yomfana ; u ngi tshaye ngenduku ; ukozi olupezulu.*

3. Adjectival, Adverbial, Conjunctival, and Prepositional phrases shall be written as single words.

E.g. :—*Olungileyo ; ngokufanele ; njengokuba ; ngapesheya, okwapezulu.*

4. The Infinitive, with all the Particles which may be included between the prefix and the root, shall be written together as one word.

E.g. :—*Ukutanda : ukumtanda : ukungamtandi : ukungazinaki.*

5. Particles, acting as Enclitics, shall be affixed to the words they follow.

E.g. :—*Nakoke : hambani : umfula muni ? u funani ? ba kulelapi ?*

* NOTE.—Delegates will call to mind that the Zulu Orthography Committee, of which the Rev. W. C. Wilcox, is Chairman, was appointed by the last Conference for the purpose of considering further the subject of Zulu Orthography, and preparing a set of Rules in connection therewith for submission to the Conference of 1907. (See Introduction).

As this Committee will, in due course, present its report, and members of Conference be afforded an opportunity of reviewing its work, no further comment appears necessary at this stage. The object of printing and circulating the Rules is, of course, to enable Delegates to familiarise themselves therewith before Conference meets.

We may venture to say the Committee does not claim to have provided for all cases where doubt has been felt, or guidance required by the student, at the same time, the Rules here given will, it is believed, be found to be comprehensive. No doubt Delegates will be able to discover and propose others at the Conference in May next.

6. The prefix shall not be separated from its Noun.

E.g. :—Umuntu ; indhlela ; amabele.

7. The Reflexive Particle “zi” shall be united to the Verb which it precedes.

E.g. :—Wa zisika ; sa zifaka ecaleni.

8. The Prepositions “na,” “nga,” “ku,” etc., shall be written separately from the emphatic forms of the Pronouns, but shall be joined to the monosyllable forms.

E.g. :—Ku yena ; ku bona ; kuye ; ngaye ; naye ; kubo ; ngabo.

9. The Euphonic or Epenthetic letters, s, ng, w, and y, shall be joined to the words they precede. W shall always be prefixed to the pronouns “a” and “u,” and “y” to “i,” when in the Accusative case.

E.g. :—U semfuleni ; ngumuntu ; ku yinkomo ; amanzi u wa puzile ; u wu bonile umuhlwa ; ka wu tandi lo muti ; u yi tshayile inyani.

10. The Apostrophe shall be used to indicate the elision of a final vowel only.

E.g. :—Namp' abantu ; ngi fun' ukudhla ; ezami n' ezako ; but,—le nkomo ; leyo nkomo ; ku muntu ; a ngi na nto ; a ku ko sinkwa ; umfana ka Mpande.

The elision of the final vowel of the Pronoun or Auxiliary Verb, coming before a Verb beginning with a vowel, shall be indicated by an Apostrophe and the two words joined.

E.g. :—Ngi y'aka ; w'enza ; u s'eza.

11. The Pronoun, Third Person Singular, Objective Case, referring to persons, shall be written separately, without an Apostrophe.

E.g. :—Ngi ya m tanda.

II.—AS TO LETTERS.

12. The use of Capitals.—(1) The first letter of any word beginning a sentence.

E.g. :—Izulu l'omisile. Ilanga li balele.

(2) The first consonant of every Proper Noun.

E.g. :—Umteto ka Nkulunkulu ; u hambile uMalambule.

(3) Where a Proper Noun begins a sentence, both its initial vowel and the first consonant shall be capitals.

E.g. :—UTshaka noDingane.

13. "H" shall be the sign to represent the guttural sound in all its variations.

E.g.:—Hamba ; hola ; habula ; huba ; haha.

14. The Aspiration of consonants shall be indicated by an "h" (following them) only where ambiguity is likely to occur.

E.g. : Bheka ; bhala.

15. "Hx" shall represent the harsh sound known as the "guttural click."

E.g. :—Hxebula ; ihxoba.

16. Instead of "ty," "tsh" shall be used to represent the sound of "ch" in "church," "chance," etc.

"Sh," and not "ty," shall be used to represent the sound of "sh" in "shall," "should," etc.

E.g. —Shiya ; shuka.

17. One "n" only shall be used in words like "inja," "inewadi," "inyoni," instead of two, as found in Colenso's grammar and other works.

18. Foreign names, except where they have become Zuluised, shall retain their original spelling:—

(a) In the case of persons—with the ordinary prefix "u."

E.g. : UMaria.

(b) In the case of places—with the appropriate prefixes and vowel endings.

E.g. :—ILondon ; iWashington.

19. "Hl" and "s" after "n," as in the words "inhliziyo," "insimbi," shall not be substituted by "tl" and "ts."

E.g. :—Intliziyo ; intsimbi.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

(showing attendance at both Conferences).

Name of Delegate.	Church or Society represented.
§ ALLISON, T. J. ..	.. Delegate at large
*†ASTRUP, REV. H. J. S. ..	.. Church of Norway.
§†ASTRUP, REV. J. " "
§†BAKER, A. W. ..	.. S.A. Compounds and Interior Mission.
§†BLAKE, REV. R. ..	.. Dutch Reformed Church (Transvaal)
* BRODHEAD, J. P. ..	.. Free Methodist Mission.
†BRUCE, REV. JOHN ..	.. Natal Missionary Conference.
*†BRYANT, REV. A. T. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§†CHATER, REV. J. G. ..	.. Church of Province of S.A. (Natal).
*†CLARK, STAFF-CAPT. ..	.. Salvation Army.
†COLENZO, MISS H. E. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§ CROSS, J. W. " "
*†DEWAR, REV. JAMES ..	.. Natal Missionary Conference.
*†DORWARD, REV. J. C. ..	.. American Zulu Mission.
§†EMANUELSON, REV. ..	.. Swedish Zulu Mission.
*†ERIKSEN, REV. S. ..	.. Norwegian Mission Society.
§†ESTERHUYSEN, REV. W. J. ..	.. Dutch Reformed Church (Transvaal).
* EYLES, A. ..	.. Brethren Missionary Society.
§†FRASER, REV. D. TOLMIE ..	.. Natal Missionary Conference.
§†HACKER, REV. W. J. " " "
§ HARRINGTON, A. E. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§†HARRISON, S. " "
§†HERTSLET, DR. L. ..	.. South Africa General Mission.
* HILLS, J. P. ..	.. Hephzibah Faith Mission.
*†HOFMEYR, REV. A. M. ..	.. Dutch Reformed Church (Natal).
§†JACKSON, C. G. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§†JACKSON, T. A. " "
* JOHANNSEN, — ..	.. Swedish Holiness Mission.
§†JOHNSON, ARCHDN. C. ..	.. Church of Province of S.A. (Zululand).
*†KEMPE, REV. A. R. ..	.. Church of Sweden.
§ KIRKMAN, S. E. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§ KNIGHT, J. L. " "
§†MARWICK, R. A. " "
†MAYR, REV. FR. F. ..	.. Roman Catholic Church.
*†MINKNER, REV. E. ..	.. Berlin Mission.
§†MOE, L. H. ..	.. Delegate at large.
§†MOODIE, REV. W. R. ..	.. United Free Church of Scotland.
* NILSSON, REV. H. ..	.. Swedish Holiness Mission.
§†NORENIUS, REV. J. E. ..	.. Church of Sweden.
*†PIXLEY, REV. S. C. ..	.. American Zulu Mission.
§†PLANT, R. ..	.. Delegate at large
*†PROZESKY, REV. C. ..	.. Berlin Mission.

§† REIBELING, REV. L.	..	Hanoverian Mission.
§† REINER, REV. FR. BALDWIN	..	Roman Catholic Church.
§† ROACH, ARCHDN. F.	..	Church of Province of S.A. (Natal).
§† SAMUELSON, R. C. ..	..	Delegate at large.
† SAMUELSON, S. O. ..	..	Government Delegate.
§† SAMUELSON, MISS ..	..	Church of Province of S.A. (Natal).
§ SAUNDERS, SIR C. R.	..	Delegate at large.
§† SCHROEDER, REV. J.	..	Free Hanoverian Church.
§† SCOTT, REV. JAMES	..	United Free Church of Scotland.
§ SHEPSTONE, HON. J. W.	..	Delegate at large.
* SMITH, MAJOR J. A.	..	Salvation Army.
§† STAVEM, REV. O. ..	..	Norwegian Mission Society.
* STREIT, REV. R. ..	..	Berlin Mission.
*† STUART, J. ..	..	Government Delegate.
*† SUTER, REV. F. ..	..	South Africa General Mission.
*† WILCOX, REV. W. C.	..	Natal Missionary Conference.
§ WINDHAM, W. ..	..	Delegate at large.

DINUZULU Delegate at large.

§† DUBE, REV. J. L. ..	..	" "
§† KUNENE, CLEOPAS	..	" "
*† LUTULI, NGAZANA..	..	" "
§ MATIWANE, H. C. C.	..	" "
§† MDOLOMBA, REV. E.	..	" "
§† MSIMANG, ENOCH ..	..	" "
§† MSIMANG, SEBASTIAN	..	Wesleyan Church.
§† MTIMKULU, REV. ABNER	..	" "
§† MZAMO, REV. DANIEL	..	Delegate at large.
*† NYONGWANA, S. ..	..	" "
*† SHIBE, S. B. ..	..	" "

Total Delegates at Conference, 1905 24

" " " 1906 54

* Present at 1905 Conference.

† Present at 1906 Conference.

§ Not invited to 1905 Conference.



[This speech was received too late to go on p. 24—its proper place.—Ed.]

MISS COLENSO:

Her father's conclusions regarding the Zulu language appeared in "First Steps in Zulu-Kafir," and in his Dictionary. He did not formulate rules on some points discussed by the Conference, but neither did the very latest grammar of a sister-tongue—McLaren's Grammar of the Kafir language. This book supported her father's idea, i.e., it joined the auxiliary to the root of the verb, as well as the "pronominal prefix" or 'initial particle'; and certainly would not write "wa m tanda." Even in English, she said, they had words built up of prefixes, suffixes, and roots, as, for instance, "stand" and "under," then "understand," then "understanding," and finally "misunderstanding"—only one word! Many a word represented several ideas. Take the phrase "it is he." "He" implied a person, a male person, a breathing, speaking person. In Latin the person of a verb was indicated in its termination, though there were also forms of pronouns standing separate, as did "mina" and "wena" in Zulu. She suggested a study of Dr. McLaren's book before the Conference met again. She sympathised with the remark that they should not be overawed by the opinions of experts—she had her father for example there—but they must make sure of their ground, and should respectfully consider the opinions of these learned people before insisting that they were wrong.

A very early student of the philology of what he called the Bantu languages, was Dr. Bleek. She preferred to say the languages of the "abantu," for why should they be spoken of in the vocative? Miss Colenso then referred to Dr. Bleek's theory ("Comparative Grammar," pp. 74, 150, 151)

that the "pronominal prefixes" were worn down remains of old pronouns, and that those were originally as good nouns as those which followed them. Another most interesting work, as regards the "origin of pronouns," was "A Language Study, based on Bantu," by the Rev. F. W. Kolbe.

But the business of the Conference was with the Zulu language as it is. They were not to form a new language, not to trim or train the Zulu speech into the shape they thought best. The language did not belong to any of them to deal with as they would. It belonged to their Creator, and would follow the laws that He had given it. The Conference was assembled reverently to examine it, and to consider how best it could be represented. Absolute accuracy they could not have; writing in any form was a species of shorthand. Some ambiguity there would be, too, in representing sounds. Take the "th" in English; we wrote "this," "that," "thick," "thin," "through," "thought," and "though," and did not hesitate over the varied sound.

It appeared to her that the difficulties noticed at the Conference were difficulties of the foreigner—the European. It was the difficulty of getting into the Zulu's mind, and into his language which expressed that mind. It was extremely difficult for Europeans coming full-grown to the matter, with all their prejudices in favour of their own methods, to get themselves into the Zulu's way of approaching and expressing thoughts; and the difficulty was at least as great on his side. It was at the root of many woeful misunderstandings, and she was truly thankful for any sign that this was beginning to be recognised.

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