

XOSA-KAFIR
GRAMMAR.

TORREND.

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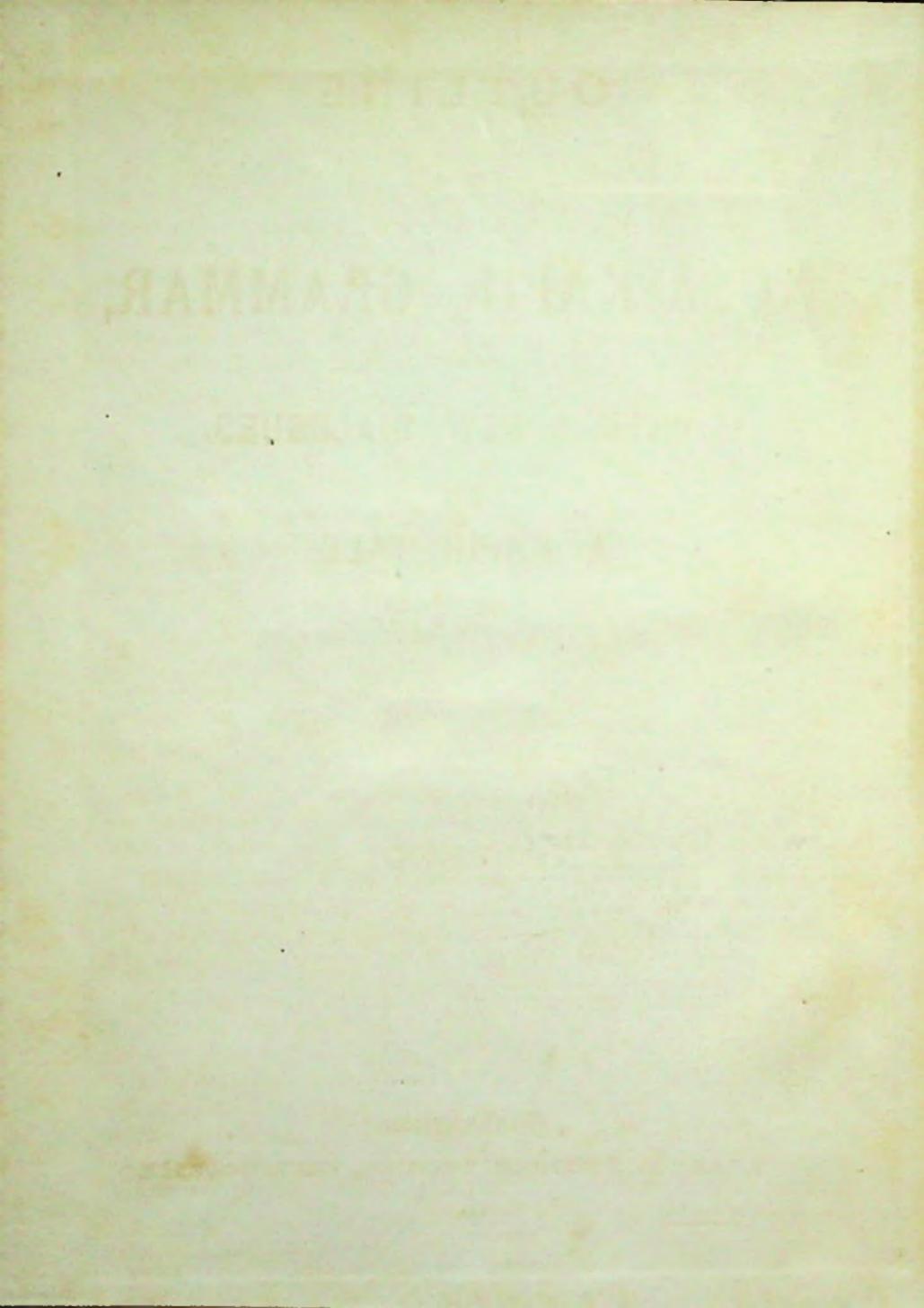
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OUTLINE

OF A

XOSA-KAFIR GRAMMAR,

WITH A FEW DIALOGUES

AND

A KAFIR TALE.

BY

J. TORREND, S.J.

Grahamstown :

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ERRATA.

The reader is kindly requested to correct the following errata :—

PAGE.	LINE.	DO NOT READ.	READ.
7	11	<i>i ndebe</i>	<i>i ndlebe</i>
15	7	<i>ndi-wa-n ande</i>	<i>ndi-wa-nqande</i>
28	23	<i>ndi-ozika</i>	<i>ndi-zoyika</i>
31	7	<i>nkulu</i>	<i>inkulu</i>
32	16	<i>temba</i>	<i>kangela</i>
37	5	<i>manzi</i>	<i>manzi</i>
53	17	as " follows	as follows
59	15	specifier	characteristic
61	7	<i>e, mkile</i>	<i>emkile</i>
61	36	of our	our
67	40	<i>e'b etile</i>	<i>e'b'etile</i>
73	24	hence or	hence " or "
86	7	<i>wawunqumla a u msila</i>	<i>wawanqumla a mangina, wa- yinqumla i ntloko, wawawu- nqumla u msila</i>
86	22	<i>i nyama pambi</i>	<i>i nyama, wayibeka pambi</i>

In page 53, under the line 12, add: *anga* for the perfect negative definite, v.g.: *a-ka-tetanga*.

In page 50, line 17, the words " seldom used " refer to *a-ka-tetile*, not to *a-ka-tetanga*.

PREFACE.

THE appearance of this little Book so soon after the publication of the Grammar of the Rev. M. McLAREN, and the fact that the two works coincide in some important principles not hitherto placed before the Public, may seem to demand some explanation from me.

The skeleton of this Grammar, in which the chief principles now brought forward were contained, was circulated amongst a few friends nearly two years ago, and a copy was placed in the hands of the Rev. F. W. KOLBE as long ago as June, 1885. What leisure my other pursuits have left me in the interval has been spent in filling in and perfecting the outline already sketched out. The whole work was just completed when I heard of the appearance of the Grammar of the Rev. M. McLAREN, and it was already in the printers' hands before I was able to see a copy of his Work.

If our views should prove to be correct, I think it will be a subject of congratulation to us both, that a Missionary beyond the Kei and a Student on the Sunday's River should have, independently of each other, arrived at conclusions touching the intimate structure of the Kafir dialects, not hitherto suggested by any writer on the languages of Africa.

In several points it will be seen that I have gone beyond the Rev. M. McLAREN, and this has led me to decide on not withholding my work from the Public, in the hope that it may yet prove of some service to the students of these still obscure languages.

The views which I have expressed on several points may perhaps appear strange to students who have given their attention only to the Xosa-Kafir. But it must be borne in mind that this dialect is only one shoot of a mighty tree, whose branches extend as far as the fourth parallel of North latitude; whence it follows that a real understanding of this particular idiom can scarcely be arrived at without a careful study of corresponding forms in others connected with it by close family relationship. For me, having been placed in circumstances which gave me facilities for the study of Tonga, a dialect which is spoken on the left bank of the Zambezi from above the Victoria Falls as far down as Zumbo, I carefully compared the forms of that idiom with those of Xosa-Kafir, and thus it was that quite new views opened out to me regarding the correct analysis of the latter dialect.

I should have preferred to develop this work more fully before giving it to the Public, in order to extend the comparison of the Xosa with different kindred dialects, and thus furnish more satisfactory evidence of the views I have adopted; but as some time may elapse before I have leisure to carry out my full plan, I have yielded to the importunities of friends who were anxious to possess it in its present form: trusting that even as it is it may help to open the way to the study not only of the Xosa-Kafir, but also of the Zulu and Fingo dialects, including the idiom spoken by the subjects of Lobengula.

Part of the work was already printed off when it was suggested to me that it would render it much more useful to native students if I were to introduce an explanation of a few ordinary grammatical terms, which would not have been needed for persons accustomed to the study of grammar. I trust that the pages I have added for that purpose will serve to bring the work within their reach.

In conclusion, I beg such readers as take an interest in the progress of these studies to favour me with their criticisms. I shall gratefully receive any observations which may lead to a more correct knowledge or wider grasp of this very interesting subject. I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I have already received from various quarters, and beg especially to thank both the Rev. F. W. KOLBE for the precious observations he kindly appended a year and a half ago to the first sketch of this work, and the Rev. J. A. CHALMERS for the improvements he suggested to me whilst the latter part of it was going through the press.

J. TORREND, S.J.

DUNBRODY,

December 24th, 1886

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PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, ETC.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK.

CF., for the Latin *confer*, compare.

I.E., for the Latin *id est*, that is.

LIT., for literally.

N.B., for the Latin *nota bene*, note well, or take notice.

V.G., for the Latin *verbi gratia*, for example.

VIZ., for the Latin *videlicet*, namely

§ means "paragraph" or "section."

EXPLANATION OF A FEW GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

ADJECTIVE, see NOUN.

ADVERB (from the Latin *ad*, near, *verbum*, verb), a word joined to a verb, adjective, or other adverb, to modify its meaning, as *bona bade kakulu*, they are *very* tall.

ARTICLE (from the Latin *articulus*, a small joint), a particle used before substantives to limit their extension to one individual or to a certain number of individuals among several of the same kind, as *u mutu*, a person.

ATTRIBUTION or ATTRIBUTE, that which is attributed or ascribed to a person or thing. An attribution is said to be *intrinsic* to its subject, when it is found in all things of the same kind (from the Latin *intrinsicus*, inwardly). Such is quantity in bodies. All other attributions are said to be *extrinsic* (from the Latin *extrinsecus*, outwardly). Such is colour in bodies, because a body can be colourless, i.e., black, without its ceasing to be a body (cf. § 18),

N.B.—Attributions are expressed by verbs, by adjectives, and by substantives used as predicates.

CHARACTERISTIC, that part of a word which distinguishes it from words of other classes, as *u mutu*, a person, *u luntu*, mankind.

CLAUSE, a part of a sentence, containing a subject and a predicate, as *a kufka* . . , when he arrived. . .

CONJUNCTION (from the Latin *conjungo*, I unite), a word used to join together sentences or clauses, as *wati xa aleleyo, ndemka*, while he was asleep, I went away.

DEMONSTRATIVE (from the Latin *demonstro*, I point out), a word which is used to point out objects with precision, as *lo mjo*, this man.

ENCLITIC (from the Greek *eg-clino*, I lean on), a particle which throws its accent on the preceding syllable, as *a baja-yo*, those who are sick.

EPITHET (from the Greek *epi-theton*, added to) an adjective joined immediately to its substantive, as *sukela aba bantu batatu*, run after these *three* people.

EXTRINSIC, see ATTRIBUTION.

GENDER (from the Latin *genus*, sort), a distinction made in words to note a difference of sex, or a difference of classification according to some property analogous to that of sex, as *he* goes (masculine gender), *she* goes (feminine gender), *it* goes (neuter gender). In Kafir, words are not classified on the same principle (cf. § 11, 2).

IMPERATIVE (from the Latin *impero*, I bid), a mood used to bid, as *tetani*, speak ye.

INTERJECTION, a word thrown into a sentence without any grammatical connection with others, and expressing by itself a complete thought, as *Awu! yi nina le nto? Oh! what is this?*

INTERROGATIVE (from the Latin *interrogo*, I ask), a word denoting a question as *Ute nina?* What has he said?

INTRANSITIVE, see VERB.

INTRINSIC, see ATTRIBUTION.

MODIFIER, a particle which modifies the meaning of an expression.

MOOD, the manner of representing the fact expressed by a verb.

- NOUN** (from the Latin *nomen*, a name), whatever names a thing. A noun is termed *substantive* (from the Latin *substantia*, substance), when by itself it distinguishes a thing from others, as *u mntu* a person. It is termed *adjective* (from the Latin *adicio*, I throw near) when it is joined to a substantive to define it according to some property appertaining to it, as *i newadi enkulu*, a large book. More strictly, the term *noun* is applied to *substantives* only. Then a *common noun* is the name of a sort, kind or class, as *mntu*, person, while a *proper noun* is a name appropriated to one individual, as *u Dyane*, John.
- NUMBER**, the difference in the form of a word according as it designates an object as one or more, as *u watu*, a person, *a bantu*, persons.
- NUMBERS**, words denoting how many things are spoken of, as *nye*, one.
- OBJECT**, see **SUBJECT**.
- PARTICLE**, (from the Latin *particula*, a little part), a word which cannot be used alone, as *i zulu*, the sky.
- POSSESSIVE**, a word denoting possession, as *i hashe lake*, his horse.
- PREDICATE**, see **SUBJECT**.
- PREFIX**, (from the Latin *prae*, I fix in front), a particle placed at the beginning of a word to make a new word with it, as *a ba-ntu*, persons.
- PREPOSITION**, (from the Latin *praepono*, I put before), a particle which is placed before substantives to denote their relation with other words, as *anditeti nga Neku*, I do not speak of Neku.
- PROCLITIC** (from the Greek *pro-clino*, I lean forward), a particle which having no accent by itself, makes one expression with the following word, as *i litye*, a stone.
- PRONOUN** (from the Latin *pro*, for, *nomen*, noun), a word which stands for a noun, adjective or substantive, as *mma*, I; *le nkabi*, this ox here.
- RELATIVE** (from the Latin *relativus*, referring to), a word which includes reference to another, as *nankuya u mfo o-lelyo*, there is a man who is asleep.
- SENTENCE**, the expression of a complete thought, as *ndiyeza mma*, I am coming, I.
- SUBJECT**, (from the Lat. *subjectum*, that which lies under). As opposed to *object*. (from the Lat. *objectum*, that which is thrown in the way of), the *subject* is the thing which is considered first in a fact, as *u Napi uyeza*, Napi is coming; while the *object* is that which is spoken of as related to the subject, as *ufunene i mali*, he has found money. As opposed to *predicate* (from the Lat. *praedictum*, that which is declared), the *subject* is the person or thing spoken of, while the *predicate* is that which is said about the subject. Thus in *u Neku u-ya-senzena*, Neku is working, *u Neku* is the subject and *yaschenza* is the predicate. *U* before *yaschenza* is termed a subjective pronoun, because it refers the predicate to its subject.
- SUBJUNCTIVE** (from the Lat. *subjungo*, I subjoin), a mood expressive of a fact as being connected in the mind with another, as *Cela uzuze*, ask that you may receive.
- SUBSTANTIVE**, see **NOUN**.
- TENSE** (from the Latin *tempus*, time), a form of verb considered as including the time of the fact expressed by it.
- TRANSITIVE**, see **VERB**.
- VERB**, a word by which a fact is expressed respecting some person or thing, as *ute ni?* What did he say? Verbs are said to be *transitive* (from the Lat. *transco*, I pass over), when they express an action passing from the subject to the object, as *ndimbonile*, I have seen him. They are said to be *intransitive* (non-transitive), when the fact which they express ends in their subject, as *ulde*, he is asleep.

O U T L I N E
O F A
X O S A - K A F I R G R A M M A R .

P R E L I M I N A R Y N O T I O N S .

§ 1. A L P H A B E T .

S I M P L E S O U N D S .

FORM.	NAME.	SOUND.	EXAMPLE.
A a	a	a in <i>father</i>	<i>i dada</i> , a duck
B b	i be	b in <i>bone</i>	<i>bala</i> , count
C c	i ci	dental click	<i>cinga</i> , think
D d	i de	d in <i>done</i>	<i>i ndebe</i> , an ear
E e	e	ei in <i>their</i> e in <i>they</i>	<i>beta</i> , beat
F f	i fe	f in <i>fall</i>	<i>bemka</i> , they went away
G g	i ge	g in <i>gone</i>	<i>u kufa</i> , to be dying
H h	i he	h in <i>hard</i>	<i>i gama</i> , a name
I i	i	i in <i>ravine</i>	<i>hamba</i> , go
K k	i ke	k in <i>kill</i>	<i>u sizi</i> , sorrow
L l	i le	l in <i>lamb</i>	<i>i nkosi</i> , a chief
M m	i m	m in <i>mine, embers</i>	<i>u mlambo</i> , a river
N n	i n	n in <i>nail, stand</i>	<i>u mlomo</i> , a mouth
O o	o	ou in <i>ought</i> o in <i>so</i>	<i>u mnenga</i> , a whale
P p	i pe	p in <i>pass</i>	<i>cola</i> , pick up
Q q	i qu	palatal click	<i>a meklo</i> , the eyes
R r	i r	r in <i>Mary</i>	<i>u kupa</i> , to give
			<i>u kugala</i> , to begin
			<i>u Marko</i> , Mark

FORM.	NAME.	SOUND.	EXAMPLE.
R̄ r̄	i ru	guttural sound of r	r̄aula, surround
S s	i s	s in see	s̄ela, drink
Shsh	i sh	sh in shall	i hashe, a horse
T t	i te	t in tin	i nto, a thing
U u	u	u in rule	kushushu, it is warm
V v	i ve	v in over	u kuva, to hear, to feel
W w	i we	w in wander	u kuwa, to fall
X x	i xi	lateral click	u kuzoxa, to converse
Y y	i ye	y in year	u kuya, to go
Z z	i z	z in zone	u kuza, to come

COMPOUND SOUNDS.

FORM.	NAME.	SOUND.	EXAMPLE.
J j	i je	j in juice	i nja, a dog
Tsh tsh		ch in church.	yi'tsho, good morning
Dy dy		no equivalent	uti dyudu, he is rash
Ty ty		no equivalent	i tyolo, a bush
Ny ny		gn in French bagne	u kunyuka, to go up
·Kl ·kl		no equivalent	u kuklala, to sit
·Gl ·gl		no equivalent	u kugleka, to be spent
Tl tl		tl in bottle (nearly)	i ntlulo, a sitting-place
Dl dl		dl in paddle (nearly)	i ndleko, expenses
Ts ts		ts in tsar (nearly)	i ntseki, a drinker
Dz dz		no equivalent	a mandzi, water
Gr gr		no equivalent	kugragra, it is bitter

N.B.—1. We call “clicks” certain sounds peculiar to a few African dialects, which, in common with others for which there is no exact equivalent in English, can only be learned by intercourse with the natives. To represent all such sounds, Greek characters or quite new signs have been proposed by Lepsius in his “Standard Alphabet” and used by a few authors. Their introduction had no doubt several advantages, but the custom has prevailed of using exclusively Latin characters.

2. Amongst the signs adopted by different writers to represent the above compound sounds, we must notice in Dohne's Zulu-Kafir dictionary the use of *tj* where we have *tsh* and of *hl* instead of both *kl* and *gl*, while in most recent works we find *hl* instead of *kl* and *dl* or *dhl* instead of *gl*. Were other than Latin characters to be used, the *chi* and the *gamma* of modern Greek would be preferred to *k* and *g* in the combinations *kl* and *gl*.

3. The dots near the letters ·R, ·Kl·Gl, etc. are generally omitted, there never being room for ambiguity. In all truly Kafir words, *r* has its guttural sound, which is nearly that of the Dutch *g*.

§ 2. CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS.

We may distinguish in Kafir ten different classes of words, viz. :

I. <i>Article</i> , which is of two kinds	{ simple 1	
	{ consonantal 2	
II. <i>Substantive proper</i> , which may consist of three parts	{ characteristic 3 (a)	
	{ body of the word 4	
	{ suffix 5	
III. <i>Pronoun</i>	Personal, two kinds {	Attributive 6 (a)
		Substantive, which may consist of 2 parts {
		body of the word 7
		suffix 8
	Demonstrative, which may consist of 3 parts {	demonstrative particle 9
		personal pronoun = 6 (b) or 7
		suffix 10
IV. <i>Relative particle</i> , a sort of article for Adjectives, etc.		11
V. <i>Adjective</i> , which may consist of three parts	{	characteristic = 3 (b)
		(or) pronoun = 6 (c)
		body of the word 12
		suffix 13
		negative adverb = 19 (b)
VI. <i>Verb</i> , which may consist of six parts	{	subjective pronoun = 6 (d)
		modifier 14
		objective pronoun = 6 (c)
		verb proper 15
		suffix 16
VII. <i>Preposition</i>		17
VIII. <i>Conjunction</i>		18
IX. <i>Adverb</i>		19 (a)
X. <i>Interjection</i>		20

EXAMPLES.

N.B.—In the following examples, the figures refer to the above table.

I. U luntu o luntsundu lusatanda u kulwa.

The Kafir race still likes to fight.

1 3(a) 4 11 6(c) 12 6(d) 14 15 1 3(a) 4

Lit. *U lu - ntu o lu - ntsundu lu - sa - tanda u ku - lwa*

A race human the one which [is] brown it still likes (the) to fight.

II. Kangela aba bantu babini bahamba paya.

Look at those two people who are walking there.

15 9 6(b) 10 3(a) 4 3(b) 12 6(d) 15 19(a)

Lit. *Kangela a - ba - a ba - ntu ba - bini ba - hamba paya.*

Look-at those people people two who walk there.

III. Andikababoni a bantu a babini abaya.

I do not see those two people.

19(b) 6(d) 14 6(e) 15 1 3(a) 4 11 3(b) 12 9 6(b) 10
 Lit. *A - ndi-ka - ba - boni a ba-ntu a ba - bini a - ba - ya.*
 Not I yet them see some people the people two those.

IV. Akafuni na u kusitenga i situlo sam esi ?

Does he not want to buy this chair of mine ?

19(b) 6(d) 15 20 1 3(a) 6(e) 4 13(a) 4 6(c) 17 7 6(b)
 Lit. *A - ka - funi na u ku-si-tenga i si-tulo s - a - m esi?*
 Not he wants tell-me (the) to it buy a chair which is-of me this ?

V. Awu! uzizuze pina i zitulo e zikle kangaka ?

Oh! where have you got such fine chairs?

20 6(d) 6(c) 15 19(a) 13(a) 4 11 3(b) 12 19(a)
 Lit. *Awu! u - zi - zuze pina i zi-tulo e zi-kle kangaka?*
 Oh! thou them hast-got where some chairs the chairs fine so-much ?

 § 3. SEPARATION OF WORDS.

As Kafirs generally join together in the spoken language nearly all the words of a sentence, the consequence is that the written language is very unsettled with regard to the separation of words. We should, it seems, start from the following principle :

A word ends where at least a momentary pause is allowed, whether the sense be suspended or not. Hence :

1. All the parts of a *verb* together appear to form a single word, v.g. *A-ndi-ba-boni*, "I do not see them;" because no Kafir will pause before the verb is completed, considering that the negative *a* affects directly *boni*.

2. A *noun* or *name* is one word, whether it be a substantive proper, a substantive pronoun, an adjective or a

participial expression, v.g. *wena*, thou (French *toi*, not *tu*); *m-ntu*, person; *lu-ntu*, human race; *m-nyama*, black; *e-tanda*, he loving. Hence a verb and a noun are two words, v.g. *U-b' u-tánda* (for *ú-be u-tanda*) you were loving.

N.B.—1. An adverb in Kafir is a sort of noun without an article. Hence it is also one word.

2. No copula is expressed before most predicates, as if they had then a verbal power. Hence if they are preceded by an attributive pronoun, this is prefixed to them, v.g. *u-m-nyama*, he (is) black, *ú-nga pe-zulu*, he is above.

3. Substantive pronouns which are not emphasised, generally throw their accent on the preceding syllable. They must then be considered as mere enclitics, v.g. *kú-ti*, to us.

3. Although the sense is suspended after prepositions and conjunctions, yet they form accented words by themselves, and, unless they combine phonetically with the following word, they must not be joined to it in writing, because they may affect a greater number of words, v.g. *Anditeti nga hashe li-ka Tom*, I do not speak of [any] horse of Tom (*Nga* affects the whole expression *hashe lika Tom*).

An exception must be made for the prepositions *pa* and *ka* before common names, because they act then as quasi-characteristics, and are consequently joined to them (see § 39, 2, 3).

4. The difficulty is greater with regard to articles: for we must admit that there is a true article in Kafir (see § 7.) On the one hand simple articles appear to be naturally mere proclitics, and therefore should be joined to the following word, but on the other hand, they seem in some cases to affect not only the noun which follows them immediately, but that noun taken in conjunction with all its complements, v.g., *I hashe lika Napi*, "a horse of Napi." If *i* truly affects the whole expression *hashe lika Napi* it must be separated from it, or the expression itself must be written as one word. It seems therefore more according to the genius of the language to separate the article.

N.B.—It appears even pretty evident that a momentary pause is allowed after the article in the words *u Nantsi*, *i nantsi*, the...What's his name, the...what's its name.

5. On the same principles relative particles are to be separated from the clause which they introduce, v.g. *u mfazi e ndimbonayo*, the woman whom I see, lit. a woman the one I her see.

N.B.—In this work the different parts of a word will sometimes, for the sake of clearness, be separated by hyphens.

§ 4. ACCENTUATION.

If words be separated according to the above principles, it may be said that:

1. As a rule, monosyllabic words are pronounced with a slight elevation of the voice, v.g. *Kangela ló mfó*, look at this man.

Except the simple article *u*, *i*, *a*, which generally takes no accent, v.g. *u má*, my mother, lit. the ma.

2. In dissyllabic words, the penultimate is both long and pronounced with a slight elevation of the voice, v.g. *hámba*, go.

This rule suffers a few exceptions. Thus *sáká*, “get away,” is often heard for *síka*. In words that contain the adjectives *pi?*, where? *mbi*, opposite, different; *le*, far; *ze*, naked, the accent is nearly always on these forms; v.g. *upi? ulé*. Where is he? he is far.

3. In words that have more than two syllables, different accents should be distinguished. This point must be studied by listening to natives. As a rule, the principal accent is on the penultimate. Verbs of the past tense have a well-marked accent on their modifier *a*, which is a sort of augment, v.g. *w-á-ndi-bóna*, he saw me.

4. When a word is followed by a pause, its accent is much stronger than in other cases. Some words, when thus followed by a pause, take suffixes which they would not otherwise take, and which slightly lengthen what would have been otherwise their last syllable, v.g. *unga pézu kwam*, he is above me; *unga pézúlu*, he is above.

5. In words where *u* or *i* have been dropped between *m* or *n* and a consonant (cf. § 5, 5), if such vowels would

have borne the accent, the remaining *m* or *n* become a sort of prolonged nasal sound, and consequently, when there is a vowel just before, this becomes long by position, v.g. *mtsha yena*, (for *mútsha yena*), he is tall, he; *así mntu* (for *ási muntu*), it is not a man.

§ 5. PHONETIC CHANGES.

TWO VOWELS MEETING ONE ANOTHER.

1. As a rule *a* final of prepositions and other accented particles combines with a following vowel, as follows:

a-e and *a-i* become *e*, v.g. *ne nto* (for *na-i nto*), with a thing.

a-o and *a-u* become *o*, v.g. *no mfo* (for *na-u mfo*), with a man.

a-a becomes *ā*, v.g. *nā manzi* (for *na-a manzi*), with water.

Practically *a* final not accented, v.g. *a* final of verbs, becomes altogether assimilated with a following vowel or is elided in speech, v.g. *útyu u busi* or *úty' u busi*, "he eats honey," for *utya u busi*. No account is taken of this phonetic change in the written language, except in poetry.

2. Before a vowel the pronoun *i* changes into *y* and the characteristic *ni* changes into *ny*. In other cases *i* before a vowel assimilates with it or is elided, unless its elision would interfere with clearness, v.g.

I ny-anga y-a-bonwa (for *i ni-anga i-a-bonwa*), the moon was seen.

I l-anga l-a-bonwa (for *i li-anga li-a-bonwa*), the sun was seen.

3. *U* before a vowel generally changes into *w*, but is commonly elided after *b* and before *u* or *o*, as also between *m* and *e*. The preposition *ku*, when followed by one of the articles *a*, *u*, causes it to be dropped, while it changes into *w* before the article *i*. Ex.

U m-endo w-a-ti kleke (for *u mu-endo u-a-ti kleke*), the way was open.

U bu-si b-e nyosi (for *u bu-si bu-a-i nyosi*), the honey of bees.

4. *E* and *o* are in most cases compound sounds. Yet *e* is elided in auxiliary verbs before a vowel, v.g. *ú' utéta* (for *u-be u-teta*), you were speaking, *áz' atéte* (for *a-ze a-téte*), he must speak. In some cases *o* combines with a following vowel as if it were *wa*, cf. § 10, 2.

N.B.—In the case of two vowel sounds coming together, there exists in general a strong tendency to assimilation. Thus we hear *u n'fundisu wati*, for *u n'fundisi wati*—"the master said." Even where it is said that two vowels coalesce, as is the case in *no n'fo* for *na-u n'fo*, it would be more accurate to say that *á* and *ú* from a tendency to assimilate become *ó* which is the sound heard in reality.

The principle of assimilation pervades in fact the whole language, and explains why we may hear *ndu-ku-fumene*, for *ndi-ku-fumene*, I have found thee; *u ku-ze ndi-tete* (§ 30, I note 3) for *u kuzu nditete*, etc.

DROPPING OF *U* AND *I* AFTER *M*, *N*, ETC.

5. After *m*, *u* is dropped when immediately followed by a consonant, v.g. *m-fo* for *mu-fo*, man. *I* is dropped in the pronoun *m* for *mi*, "I, me," in the characteristics *n*, *zin* for *ni*, *zini*, and sometimes at the end of a noun, v.g. *i nkos* for *i nkosi*, a chief.

CONSONANTS CHANGED OR ADDED.

6. *N* is changed into *m* before *b*, *p*, *v* and *f*.

7. After *n*, the sounds *l*, *s*, *z*, *kl*, *gl* are respectively changed into *d*, *ts*, *dz*, *tl*, *dl* (see some examples § 1). However *z* is commonly written for *dz*. By some *q* and *x* are also changed after *n* into *qq*, *gx*.

8. Certain suffixes such as *-ini*, *-ana* (§ 10) and *wa* (§ 25) cause generally the word to which they are added to undergo the following changes, when it contains *B*, *P* or *M* in another than its first syllable: *B* is changed into *ty*, *mb* into *nj*, *p* into *tsh*, *mp* into *ntsh* and *m* into *ny*.

N.B.—1. This explains probably the formation of the words *u nyana* a son, *u nyaka* or *u manyaka*, a year, *nye*, one, *u tyani*, grass, etc. In Tonga and several other dialects those words are *muana*, *muaka*, *mue*, *buani*, etc.

2. In most syllables where such changes occur, there might be found etymologically one of the sounds *bi*, *bu*; *pi*, *pu*; *mu*.

9. The verbal forms *enza*, *enze*, "make," are changed into *enje* before *nja* and *nje*.

10. The consonants *k* and *s*, and the semi-vowels *w* and *y*, are sometimes prefixed to a vowel, as euphonic letters, in order to prevent a contraction or elision which would interfere with clearness, v.g. :

Ndi-wa-n and *a ma-hashe na?* Shall I fetch (them) the horses? (*wa* is for *a*.)

ON SUBSTANTIVES AND ARTICLES.

§ 6. ON THE TWELVE CLASSES OF SUBSTANTIVES.

1. Substantives in Kafir consist of two parts, first, a prefix, which we shall call "the characteristic," and which is a sort of auxiliary noun; and secondly, the principal noun itself. Thus in *m-ti*, "tree," and *lu-ti*, "rod," *ti* is the principal noun, *m* and *lu* are characteristics.

2. These characteristics are twelve in number, viz. :

SINGULAR		PLURAL
(1) <i>m-</i> , for <i>mu-</i>	{ signifying persons signifying things	<i>ba-</i> , (<i>b-</i>) (8)
		<i>ma-</i> (9)
		<i>mi-</i> (10)
(2) <i>lu-</i> , (<i>b-</i> before vowels)		no plural.
(3) <i>ku-</i> , (<i>kw-</i> „ „)		no plural.
(4) <i>lu-</i> , (<i>lw-</i> „ „)		<i>zin-</i> , for <i>zi-ni-</i> (11)
(5) <i>li-</i> , (<i>l-</i> „ „)		<i>ma-</i> (<i>mal-</i>) (9)
(6) <i>n-</i> , for <i>ni-</i> (<i>ny-</i> before vowels, <i>m-</i> before <i>b, p, v, f</i>)		{ <i>ma-</i> (9)
		{ <i>zin-</i> (<i>ziny-</i>) (11)
(7) <i>si-</i> , (<i>s-</i> before vowels)		<i>zi-</i> (<i>z-</i>) (12)

3. The characteristics *lu*, *li*, and the part *zi* of the double characteristic *zini*, are nearly always understood, except as a rule, before nouns which are truly monosyllabic, or which begin with a vowel. Thus, *sizi*, sorrow; *zulu*, sky; and *n-komo*, cattle; are equivalent to (*lu-*)*zizi*, (*li-*)*zulu*, (*zi*)*n-komo*.

N.B.—*Lw* in the plurals *lw-imi*, tongues; *lw-andle*, seas, etc., must be considered as being equivalent to *zini*.

4. Proper names, personified names, names of relationship and substantives derived from European languages,

are generally referred to the characteristic *mu-*, pl. *ba-*, when they signify persons, and either to the characteristic *ni-*, pl. *zini-* or to the characteristic *li-*, pl. *ma-*, when they signify things. Thus *u tata*, "my father," is referred to *mu-*; *i peni*, "a penny," is referred to *ni-*; *i tama*, "a dam," is referred to *li-*.

N.B.—Foreign names of things which begin with *s* are considered as having the characteristic *si*, v.g. *i si-tulo*, a chair (from the Dutch *stoel*).

§ 7. ON ARTICLES.

1. In the Xosa dialect an article is used more or less where we too have one, definite or indefinite, i.e., when it is wanted to limit or determine the extension of the following noun.

The proper form of the Kafir article is a vowel, but in some cases a consonantal sound is prefixed to it. Hence we have (A) *Simple* or *Vowel-article*, (B) *Consonantal* article.

VOWEL ARTICLE.—WHEN USED.

2. The simple article is *u*, *i* or *a*, according as the vowel of the following characteristic expressed or understood is *u*, *i* or *a*, v.g. *u m-ntu*, a or the person, *u Tom*, Tom, *i n-to*, a thing, *a manzi* (for *a ma-anzi*), water.

3. To those forms may be added *o* and *e*, which, though being originally compound expressions (see § 20, 5, note), act now as the above articles.

O signifies properly "those of." It is used as a sort of plural article before nouns which are referred in the singular to the characteristic *mu* understood, v.g. *o dade*, lit. those (companions) of my eldest sister (*u dade*), hence "my eldest sister and her companions," or "my sisters," *o Tom*, Tom and his companions.

E signifies properly "a thing of," "what belongs to" (see § 20, 5 note). It is used as a sort of locative article, but never before nouns which are referred to the characteristics *mu* or *ba* understood. It may practically be rendered by "at, in, from, to, etc.," v.g. *Kuko e Rini a ma-simi*, there are

gardens in Grahamstown, lit. there is a thing of Grahams-town [which is] gardens.

4. The simple article is found only with substantives which are not used as predicates, i.e., which do not follow the verb "to be," v.g. :

Ndipe u luti, give me a rod.

I zulu lavuleka, the sky was open.

Kangela a mashe, look at the horses.

Ngo koyika (for *nga u ku-oyika*), through (some) fear.

CONSONANTAL ARTICLE.—WHEN USED.

5. The consonantal article varies as the characteristic of the following noun. Thus :

Characteristics	m bu ku lu li n si ba, ma mi zin, zi
Consonantal articles	ngu bu ku lu li yi si nga yi zi

Ngo and *se* are the consonantal forms of the articles *o* and *e*.

6. The consonantal forms of the articles are used before nouns which perform the part of predicates in the present tense, i.e., which follow the verb "to be"; and in fact this verb is not expressed otherwise in affirmative clauses when it is a mere *copula* joining the predicate to the subject, v.g. :

U-ngu mfo, he is a man.

Ngu mfo, (it) is a man.

U-se Rini, he is in Grahamstown.

N.B.—1. In such expressions the pronominal subject is very often understood (see § 13, 5)

2. As the *Kafir* copula supposes an article, it follows that no copula is expressed when the predicate is a noun which admits no article, or is a participial expression, or begins with a preposition.

3. When the verb "to be" is not in the present tense, the predicate is introduced as a participial expression of the present tense after some verbal form of another tense. Ex. *way' engu mfo*, he was a man, lit. he was (he) being a man (cf. § 29, A, 1).

4. In negative clauses, the copula is expressed by *si*, v.g., *a-si li hashe*, (it) is not a horse (cf. § 32, IV.)

7. Substantives preceded by a consonantal article are used after verbs which signify "to be" or "to become," to express what a person or thing is or becomes, and after

passive and intransitive verbs, to signify a cause or agent, as if such verbs acted then as equivalents for the copula, v.g.

Wa-ba ngumfo, he became a man, lit. he turned out (it) being a man.

Ndi-betwe ngu tata, I have been beaten by my father, lit. (it) being my father.

U-zele yi mibuzo, he is full of questions, lit. (it) being questions.

WHEN NO ARTICLE IS USED.

8. No article is used before :

A. A vocative, v.g. *Tata, ndi-ncede*, Father, help me.

B. A noun affected by a negative, v.g. *a-ku-ko hashe*, there is no horse.

N.B.—*A-si ngu mtu* and *a-si mtu* may both be used to render “it is not a person.” Properly speaking, in *a-si ngu mtu*, the negative must be considered as affecting the copula, not the predicate proper.

C. A noun which precedes one of the following adjectives: *nye*, when it means “just one, a single;” *mbi*, “opposite, different;” *ni*?, “what? what sort of?” and *pi*? when it means “which?”; unless such a noun be used as predicate, in which case it would admit the consonantal article. Ex. :

Zwi nye or *zwi li-nye*, just one word.

Ndi-teta nga hashe li-mbi, I speak of [a] different horse.

U-funa nto-ni? What thing do you want?

U-funa sihlalo si-pi-na? Which seat do you want?

D. A noun preceded by a relative particle or a demonstrative pronoun, because they are equivalent to a definite article, v.g. *lo mfo*, this man.

E. Substantives which make part of compound words, such as *li-fa* in *i n-dla-li-fa*, an heir, lit. “an eat-patrimony,” or which receive, as it were, a new characteristic, by becoming personified, such as *n-cuka* in *u Ncuka*, Mr. Wolf (*i n-cuka*=a hyena).

F. A noun which is used as adjective or as adverb, v.g. *u-ma-nzi*, he is wet (*a ma-nzi*=water).

§ 8. ON NUMBER.

1. It may be said that, as a rule :

Ba is the plural for *mu* in most names of persons.

Mi „ for *mu* in names of things.

Ma „ (A) for *li* expressed or understood.

(B) for *mu* in names of tribes and of dignities, v.g. *a ma-Xosa*, red Kafirs; *a ma-pakati*, councillors (sing. *u m-Xosa*, *u m-pakati*.)

(C) for *ni* in some names denoting males, v.g. *a ma-doda*, men (sing. *i n-doda*, a man, a male), and in a few others, v.g. *a ma-simi*, gardens (sing. *i n-tsimi*. cf. § 5, 7.)

Zin „ (A) for *ni* in other nouns, v.g. *i n-komo*, “cows” or “a cow,” cf. § 6, 3.

(B) for *lu*, v.g. *i zi-nti*, rods, cf. § 6, 3.
Zi „ for *si*, v.g. *i z-andla*, hands (sing. *i s-andla*.)

N.B.—The article *o* is used as a plural for *u* before nouns which in the singular are referred to the characteristic *mu* understood (cf. § 7, 3). The article *e* is indifferent with regard to number.

2. *Bu* and *ku* have no plural, because generally they convey the idea of things that cannot increase in number, v.g. *u bu-ntu*, human nature; *u bu-suku*, darkness of night; *u ku-tya*, food. Yet *bu* may be used to render a plural, v.g. *u busuku o butatu*, three nights, lit. triple darkness.

N.B.—*Bu* forms principally abstract nouns; *ku* forms principally infinitives of verbs.

3. A few other nouns are found only in the singular, as *u m-si*, smoke. Others occur only in the plural, as *a ma-si*, sour milk; *a m-anzi*, water; *a m-andla*, strength.

4. *A meklo*, the eyes; *a meva*, thorns; *a belungu*, white men, etc., are used where the singular would lead us to expect *a maklo*, *a mava*, *a balungu*, etc. (cf. “Initial changes in verbs” § 24, 9.)

§ 9. RECAPITULATION.—EXAMPLES.

Characteristic (expressed or understood.)	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.			Characteristic (expressed or understood.)
	WITH SIMPLR ARTICLE	WITH CONSON- ANTAL ARTICLE	WITH- OUT ARTICLE	WITH SIMPLE ARTICLE.	WITH CONSON- ANTAL ARTICLE	WITH- OUT ARTICLE	
(1) <i>mu</i> persons	u mntu u dade u Mzulu	ngu — ngu — ngu —	mntu dade Mzulu	a bantu o dade a Mazulu	nga — ngo — nga —	bantu dade Mazulu	<i>ba</i> (8) <i>ma</i> (9) <i>mi</i> (10)
(1) <i>mu</i> things	u mti	ngu —	mti	i miti	yi —	miti	
(2) <i>bu</i>	u buso	bu —	buso	—	—		
(3) <i>ku</i>	u kutya	ku —	kutya	—	—		
(4) <i>lu</i>	u luti u lwimi u klanga	lu — lu — lu —	luti lwimi klanga	i zinti i lwimi i ntlanga	zi — zi — zi —	zinti lwimi ntlanga	<i>zini</i> (11)
(5) <i>li</i>	i litye i langa i tole	li — li — li —	litye langa tole	a matye a malanga a matole	nga — nga — nga —	matye malanga matole	<i>ma</i> (9)
(6) <i>ni</i>	i ndoda i nja i nyanga i ntombi	yi — yi — yi — yi —	ndoda nja nyanga ntombi	a madoda i zinja i nyanga i ntombi	nga — zi — zi — zi —	madoda zinja nyanga ntombi	<i>zini</i> (11)
(7) <i>si</i>	i peni i silo	yi — si —	peni silo	i peni i zilo	zi — zi —	peni zilo	<i>zi</i> (12)

N.B.—A noun preceded by the article *e* or *se* is referred sometimes to the characteristic *ku* (cf. § 20, 4) sometimes to its own characteristic, v.g. *e caleni kwani* or *e caleni lam*, on my side.

The meaning of the above words is as follows :

u mntu, a person.	i litye, a stone.
u dade, a sister.	i langa, the sun.
u Mzulu, a Zulu.	i tole, a calf, a youngling.
u mti, a tree.	i ndoda, a man (male).
u buso, a face.	i nja, a dog.
u kutya, food.	i nyanga, the moon.
u luti, a rod.	i ntombi, a girl.
u lwimi, a tongue.	i peni, a penny.
u klanga, a stock.	i silo, a wild beast.

§ 10. SUFFIXES OF SUBSTANTIVES.

1. The principal suffixes for substantives are the following:

- ana* or *ane* (seldom *anyana* or simply *a*). This forms *diminutives*, v.g. *i njana*, a little dog (*inja*, a dog).
- kazi* (sometimes *azi*). This forms generally names of *females*. When the noun to which it is affixed has no distinction of sex, it denotes beauty or excellence. Ex. *i njakazi*, a bitch; *u mtikazi*, a fine tree.
- ndini*—a *vocative* suffix for nouns which are not particularised by themselves or by some other expression, v.g. *suka, njandini*, get away, you dog.
- ini*—a sort of *locative* suffix for nouns which have the quasi-article *e*, or which would take it if they were to have any, v.g. *Wa-teta e njeni*, he spoke to the dog, lit. he spoke what-was-for-the dog. *U Tixo a-ka-ko ndaweni nnye, u-se ndaweni zonke*, God is not in a single place, he is in all places.

N B.—Proper names of places, most names that have the characteristic *bu*, and a few others, do not usually take the suffix—*ini*, v.g. *E Qonce*, at King Williamstown; *e busuku*, at night, *e nlla* on the slope, *e ntloko*, on the head, at the beginning (*e ntlokweni* means “in the head”) *e mva* at the back (*e mveni* means “in the backside”).

-*ra*—something like, v.g. *i pupara*, a kind of dream, a waking dream (*i pupa*, a dream.)

2. Before *-ana*, *-azi* and *-ini*, a short vowel (*u, i, a*) is now often elided, v.g. *e ndlini*, in the house (from *indlu*) while *o* is sometimes elided, more commonly decomposed into *wa*, v.g. *u mfazi*, a woman (*u mfo*, a man) *u mfana*, a child; *e nqwelweni*, in the wagon (*i nqwelo*, a wagon) cf § 5.

3. *-ana* and *-ini* must be ranked among the suffixes which ordinarily cause the changes of letters described § 5, 8, v.g. *e ngutyeni*, or *e ngubeni* (from *i ngubo*), in the clothes; *e mklotsheni* or *emklopeni* (from *u mklope*), in the light; *i sikitshana* (from *i sikipi*, Dutch *schip*), a small boat.

4. See *nje* as a suffix § 41, II, 2.

§ 11. PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.

1. The article is generally considered as making one with the characteristic, and both together are termed "signs of nouns" by Livingstone, "incipients" by Grout, "nominal prefixes" or "classifiers" by the Rev. Kolbe, and simply "prefixes" by most of the others. Rev. Döhne and Dr. Bleek were the first, I believe, who perceived that the initial vowel of what Dr. Bleek himself terms "Derivative prefixes of nouns" must have been at one time "an article." The only mistake of the latter was to suppose that "it can hardly be said now to have this power." (Compar. gram. § 461, 464). No doubt, he would not have written this had he been informed of all the cases in which that vowel is not used, and of the influence of substantives without articles on the construction of both adjectives and relative clauses (see § 16 and 18.)

2. I believe that the characteristics can best be compared to our adjectives placed before substantives, as in "a good man," and that they are in reality nouns which are prefixed to others without any preposition like "of" to join them, as if we said "part-sheep" instead of "part of a sheep."

It may even be said that the characteristics have not altogether disappeared from the Xosa dialect as independent nouns. We find *ba* in *ngu bani*, "who?" and perhaps in *n-jani*? (for *m-bani*? cf § 18, 5, C note), how? lit. "of what turn?" We find *ni* in *nini*? when? (lit. on what conjuncture?) *si* in *sini*? "which part, yes or no?" etc. (see § 18, 5 C note.) *Ni* comes also in the word *u m-ni* or *u m-nimi*, a possessor, and *si* in the words *u m-si* smoke, *u bu-si*, honey, *a ma-si*, sour milk, etc.

3. Were we not used to attach to the word "gender" the notion of sex, we could say, I believe, that the characteristics and therefore all nouns are included under three genders, the gender in *i*, the gender in *u*, and the gender in *a*.

The gender in *i* seems to include principally *sharply defined* objects, or objects which come under none of the other genders (neuter nouns); the gender in *u*, things which are considered as being *over, in front of, round, or hidden* in a definite object; the gender in *a*, things which are *parallel, level, aside, on the ground, together*. Ex.:

I so or *i liso*, an eye; *i langa*, a pumpkin.

U bu-so, the face, i.e. that which turns round the eyes: *u tanga*, a pumpkin seed (*hidden in*).

A manzi, water; *a ma-so*, regular plural for "eyes," but used only to signify "large round beads."

A ma-tanga, pumpkins (which are naturally on the ground). Cf. "The vowels" of Rev. Kolbe (Juta, Capetown).

4. Perhaps the fundamental meaning conveyed by the consonants that come in the characteristics is as follows:

m, notion of something collective or well-constituted, v.g. *u m-ti*, a tree, *a manzi*, water.

l, notion of a detached or loose object, v.g. *u lu-ti*, a rod, *i li-tye*, a stone.

b, notion of turning, abstraction or opposition, v.g. *u bu-ti*, what is extracted from roots, i.e. medicine; *a ba-ntu*, persons, lit. those who naturally place themselves *face to face*.

- k*, notion of a fixed place or time, v.g. *u ku-fa*, to die, lit. when there dies some one.
s, notion of production or instrumentality, v.g. *i si-levu*, the chin, lit. "place producing beard."
n, notion of union, v.g. *i n-devu*, beard, as it consists of many hairs united together.
z, notion of distinction, v.g. *i zi-levu*, different chins.
z and *n* notion of distinction and union together, v.g. *i n-tanga* (for *i zi-n-tanga*), the seeds of a pumpkin. (Cf. § 38, 2)

5. It is more difficult to formulate an opinion about the consonantal articles. It is certain that in many dialects of the same family, the copula is *li* in affirmative clauses. This is not found in Xosa. Perhaps, then, it has been replaced before nouns by primitive verbs such as *nga*, to look like, *la*, to be loose, etc. (cf. § 38, 2), the final vowel of which is elided before a vowel, according to § 5, 1, and which in their meaning contain not only the equivocal notion of the copula, but also the notion of the act expressed by the following characteristic.

These consonantal articles are considered by most grammarians as mere euphonic letters, and nouns preceded by them are said to be in the causal case. Dr. Bleek (comp. gr. § 461, 536), sees in most of them "fuller forms of the article," and in cases where *ng* appears, as in *ngu*, *nga*, he considers it as a remnant of an old "preposition of identity and causality, *ngi*, it is, by."

6. The meaning of the suffixes, described § 10, appears to be as follows: *Ana*, child, son, lit. "who is with" (cf. *u nyana* for *u mu-ana*, child, son). *Kazi* or *azi*, wife, lit. "she who has the face against another, as one who comes" (cf. the verb *u ku-za*, to come). *Ndini* seems to be a relative clause of the kind without relative particle, and to signify "whom I join, whom I look at" (cf. the particle *na* in all its meanings). *Ini*, possessor (cf. *u mni* or *u mmini*, a possessor, a master).

ON PRONOUNS.

§ 12.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE PRONOUNS.

A pronoun is a word used for a noun substantive or adjective. What is the most noticeable in Kafir pronouns is that most of them contain the characteristic of the noun which they represent, or a weakened sound of the same.

We find in Kafir only two kinds of pronouns, viz., *Personal* and *Demonstrative* pronouns. But each of these classes has a great variety of subdivisions and of forms, as the following table will show:—

PRONOUNS.

PERSONAL. DEMONSTRATIVE.

PERSON.	Attributive.	Substantive.			Demonstrative Proper.			Emphatic								
		SIMPLE.	WITH CONSONANTAL ARTICLE.	EMPHATIC.	REFERRING TO	REFERRING TO	REFERRING TO									
					1ST PERSON.	2ND PERSON.	3RD PERSON.									
1st Sing. Pl.	ndi	m	ndim	mna	—	—	—	—								
	si	ti, itu	siti	tina	—	—	—	—								
2nd Sing. Pl.	u, ku	we, ko	nguwe	wena	—	—	—	—								
	ni	ni, inu	nini	nina	—	—	—	—								
3rd Singular.	CLASS															
	1) <i>mu</i> (persons)	u, e	ye, ke	nguye	yena	lo	lo, lowo	la, lowa	oyena							
		a, ka														
	1) <i>mu</i> (things)	m	wo	nguwo	wona	lo	lo, lowo	la, lowa	owena							
		u, wu														
	2) <i>bu</i>	bu	bo	bubo	bona	obu	obo	oba, etc.	obona							
	3) <i>ku</i>	ku	ko	kuko	kona	oku	oko	okwa, etc.	okona							
	4) <i>lu</i>	lu	lo	lulo	lona	olu	olo	olwa, etc.	olona							
	5) <i>li</i>	li	lo	lilo	lona	eli	elo	ela, etc.	elona							
	6) <i>ni</i>	i, yi	yo	yiyo	yona	le	lo, leyo	la, leya	e yona							
	7) <i>si</i>	si	so	siso	sona	esi	eso	esa, etc.	esona							
	8) <i>ba</i>	ba, be	bo	ngabo	bona	aba	abo	aba, etc.	abona							
3rd Plural.	9) <i>ma</i>	a, e wa, ka	wo	ngawo	wona	la	lo, lawo	la, lawa	awona							
	10) <i>mi</i>	i, yi								yo	yiyo	yona	le	lo, leyo	la, leya	eyona
	11) <i>zin</i>	zi								zo	zizo	zona	ezi	ezo	eza, etc.	ezona
	12) <i>zi</i>															
Reflective	zi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—								
Interrogative	—	ni?	yini?	nina?	—	—	—	—								

N.B.—The personal substantive pronoun *m* (1st pers.) is for *mi*. The attributive pronoun *m* (3rd pers., class 1) is for *mu*.

2. Before vowels, attributive pronouns undergo phonetic changes as described § 5. 1-4. Thus *nd, s, w, u, b, kw, lw, l*, etc. are used for *ndi, si, u, ni, bu, ku, lu, li*, etc.

3. Names of persons having the characteristic *ma*, are sometimes referred to by pronouns corresponding to the characteristic *ba*.

4. Our relative pronouns are rendered in Kafir by personal pronouns, with a few peculiarities which are described in § 16.

§ 13. ATTRIBUTIVE PRONOUNS.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ATTRIBUTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

1. Personal pronouns are divided into attributive and substantive pronouns. Attributive pronouns call for a word expressive of an attribute of some kind, such as a verb or an adjective, and they signify to which substantive it is referred. Substantive pronouns are used very much in the same way as substantives proper. Hence they answer to the French *moi, toi, lui, soi*, etc., while attributive pronouns rather correspond to the French *je, me, tu, te, il, le, se*, etc.

FUNDAMENTAL USE OF ATTRIBUTIVE PRONOUNS.

2. Attributive pronouns are prefixed :

A. To verbs and expressions equivalent to verbs, so as to indicate the *subject*, and this even when the verb or expression has a participial form, v.g.

Ndi-pilile, "I am well" or "(I) being well."

Inkosi i-mkile, "the chief (he) is gone away" or "(he) having gone away."

U Tom u-si siqwala, Tom is (a) lame (person) cf. § 7, 6.

B. To transitive verbs, so as to indicate the *object*, v.g.

Ndi-ni-bonile, I have seen *you*.

A-ndi-ku-tandi, I do not like *you*.

N.B.—If the object be expressed after the verb, the pronoun may be omitted before it, v.g. *ma si-m-ve u Tixo*, or *ma si-ve u Tixo*, let us hear God.

DIFFERENT USE OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS.

3. Where several forms for the same are given in the above table of attributive pronouns, the following ought to be observed:

A. The forms *ku* (2d pers. sing.), *wu* (class 1, things), *yi* (6 and 10) and *wa* (9) are used only in the body of a clause, as if for the sake of euphony, after a word to which they are intimately connected (see § 5, 10). *Wa* (9) may be replaced by *ka* after the negative *a*, v.g.

S-a-ku-bona, we saw *thee*.

W-a-wu-bamba u msilu, he held (*it*) the tail.

A-ka-ka-fiki (*a mahashe*), *they* do not yet come (the horses).

N.B.—*U mbona*, maize (mealies), is sometimes represented before a verb by *m* instead of *wu*, v.g. *wa-m-tya u mbona*, he ate (*it*) the mealies. Cf. Bleek's compar. gr. p. 159.

B. The forms *e* (1, persons), *be* (8), *e* (9), are used as subjects of participial expressions, and sometimes before the auxiliary *be* (see § 28, A 3), v.g.

Bati, be-puma..., *bajumana*, now, when (they) going out, they found...

C. Particular attention must be paid to the use of the other forms *u*, *a*, *ka*, *m*, corresponding to the characteristic *mu* in nouns denoting persons. Of these:

(a) *M* is used to refer to the object, v.g. *si-m-bonile*, we have seen him.

(b) *A* (*ka* in the body of a clause) is used after the negative *a*, and in what may be considered as the future tense of a verb (see § 22), v.g.

A-ka-boni, he does not see (lit. not he sees).

A-nga-sebenzi, he must not work.

(c) *U* is used in the other cases, v.g. *u-ya-fa*, he is sick.

KU, AND I AS INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

4. *Ku* (3), besides referring to nouns that have the characteristic *ku*, is also used as a sort of indefinite pronoun

where we have "there" before a verb. Our "it," when used in an indefinite sense, is rendered generally by *ku*, sometimes by *i* referring to *i-nto*, thing, v.g.

Ku-ya kuza u mntu, there will come a person.
I-b' i-yinina? What was it?

ATTRIBUTIVE PRONOUN UNDERSTOOD WHEN SUBJECT.

5. The pronominal subject is sometimes understood, v.g. before certain auxiliaries (see § 27, 2d, note), before the negative copula *si* and before consonantal articles, principally when that pronoun is the indefinite "it," and when it would not differ in form from the consonantal article, v.g.

A-si yi ndoda, ngu mfazi, [it] is not a man, [it] is a woman.

Fan' u kuba ba-ya-teta (for *ku-fana u kuba...*), it seems that they are speaking.

Lo mfo si siqwala } this man [he] is (a) lame (person).
 or *Lo mfo u-si siqwala* }

THE REFLECTIVE PRONOUN *zi*.

6. The reflective pronoun *zi* can represent any gender, number, and person, v.g.

U-ya-zi-gla, he is proud, lit. he devours himself.
Ndi-ozika, I fear myself.

N.B.—The fundamental constructions of verbs (§ 22) should be studied immediately after this.

§ 14. SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

1. Substantive pronouns in their simple form act as enclitics, and therefore make one with the preceding word. In other respects they are construed as substantives proper, except that they admit only that kind of article which is consonantal, v.g.

Hamba na-m, walk with me.
Ndi-m or *i-ndi-m*, it is I.
A-si-ye or *a-si ngu-ye*, it is he.

2. When substantive pronouns are used emphatically, they keep their accent, and suffix the particle *na*, "behold," hence "self" (?) v.g.

Mna, *ndi-yeza*, or *ndi-yeza mna*, I am coming, I (Fr. *je viens, moi*)
Ngu yena, *u moni o mkulu*, it is he, the great sinner.

3. *Ko*, *ke*, *itu*, *inu* are used in possessive expressions instead of *we*, *ye*, *ti*, *ni*, (cf. § 20, 1), v.g.
Inkomo zako, *i nkomo zenu*, thy cows, your cows.

4. The word *kona* (4), may often be rendered by "there" (cf. the use of *ku*, § 13), but even in such a case it is a real substantive pronoun, hence it may be preceded by a preposition, v.g.

Inkomo za kona, the cattle there, lit. of there.

5. The interrogative pronoun *ni?*, "what?" refers to things, v.g. *U-ti-ni?* or *U-ti nina?*, "What does he say?" To refer to persons, i.e. to signify "who?" the noun *u-bani* is used, in which *ni* is an adjective acting as suffix, (see § 18, 5, C note)

6. Kafirs appear to be fond of using substantive pronouns, as it were, to announce substantives proper, principally after prepositions, v.g.

E mantloko a-yo le nteto, at the head of (it) this article.

§ 15. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

DEMONSTRATIVES PROPER.

1. There are demonstrative pronouns corresponding to every class of noun, and every one of them has three forms, viz.

A. A form pointing out an object near the *person speaking*. This is obtained as it were by prefixing to such attributive pronouns as contain a consonant one of the vowels *o, e, a*, according as that pronoun contains *u, i, or a*, and by prefixing to the others *lo, le* or *la*, so as to combine *lo-u* into *lo*, *le-i* into *le*, *la-a* into *la*. Ex. :

Oku *kutya*, this food; ezi *gusha*, these sheep.

Lo *mfo*, this man; le *nkabi*, this ox.

B. A form pointing out an object near the *person spoken to*, or just considered by him. This form suffixes *o* to the first, v.g.

Oko *kutya*, that food (near you); ezo *gusha*, those sheep.

Lo *mfo* or *u mfo* lowo, that man; lo *nkabi* or *i nkabi* leyo, that ox (see below, n. 3).

C. A form pointing out an object far in every sense from both the person speaking and the person spoken to. This form suffixes *a* or *ya*, seldom *aya* to the first, v.g.

Okwa or okuya *kutya*, that food (far or spoken of long ago).

La *mfo* or *u mfo* lowa, that man (far or spoken of long ago).

2. Demonstrative pronouns may be preceded by consonantal articles, v.g.

Ngu *lo mfo*, it is this man.

Ndi betwe ngaba bantu (*ngaba* is for *nga aba*), I have been beaten by these persons.

3. Demonstrative pronouns may be used both as adjectives and as substantives. When used as adjectives, they may be placed before or after their nouns: more commonly they precede.

The longer forms, viz., *lowo, leyo, lawa*, etc., and such as take the suffix *ya*, as *okuya, eliya*, etc., are preferred when the demonstrative is used as a substantive or follows its noun; the shorter forms are preferred in the other cases.

EMPHATIC DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

4. When demonstrative pronouns are used not precisely to point out an object, but to lay emphasis on it, they adopt forms which are derived from personal pronouns of the substantive form. These are *oyona*, *owona*, *obona*, etc. (see above table of pronouns) v.g.

Eyona nto nkulu, that great thing.

5. *Idioms*. 1. "This year" is rendered commonly by "no nyaka-nje" (no for *lo*).

2. The expression *ngu-nc-no*, "on this side" is formed in the same manner (*ne* being for *le*).

§ 16. ON RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. If we consider the general disposition of a relative clause in Xosa, we find:

1st. That the verb generally comes first, having the parts of which it may consist always in the following order: Subjective pronoun—negative—modifier—objective pronoun—verb proper (cf. § 2, VI.).

2nd. That the verb takes the suffix *yo*, whenever it is not immediately followed by a word to which it is intimately connected.

3rd. That the complements of the verb come only after it, even if they have in English such forms as *to whom*, *in whom*, *to which*, etc. (see examples below).

If we consider the manner of introducing relative clauses, we must distinguish two kinds of them, the one *with* the other *without* a *relative particle*, just as there are substantives with and substantives without an article.

The relative particle is a word signifying "the one," or "they," v.g. in "the one who reads," or in "they who read." As the article, it has two sets of forms, the one *simple*, the other *consonantal*. Its *simple* forms are *o*, *e*, or *a*, according as the attributive pronoun which follows it contains *u*, *i*, or *a*. Its *consonantal* forms, which are found

only before attributive pronouns of the third person vary just as consonantal articles. Thus:

Conson. articles	ngu	bu	ku	lu	li	yi	si	nga	yi	zi
Conson. rel. part.	ngo	bo	ko	lo	le	ye	se	nga	ye	ze

It must be remarked that the relative particle combines into *o*, *e*, or *a*, with the following attributive pronoun when this is reduced to one of the simple vowels *u*, *i*, *a*.

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH A RELATIVE PARTICLE.

2. A relative clause takes a relative particle when it is used:

A. After a noun which has an article, simple or consonantal, v.g.:

Yiva i ntsimbi e zi-kala-yo, hear the bells which ring.

U mfo e ndi-m-bona-yo, the man whom I see, lit. a man the-one I him see.

U mtu o-kangela kuye, the person in whom you trust, lit. the-one you look at him (*o temba* for *o u-temba*).

Nguwe o-yi-fumene i mali, it is you who found the money.

Yi le nkabi e si-yi-funa-yo, it is this ox which we want.

N.B- The verbal modifier *ya* is not used in relative clauses (cf. § 22, 1, C).

B. As a sort of substantive which would take an article, v.g.:

O-sebenzayo (for *o u-sebenzayo*), the one who works.

Ngo-sebenzayo, it is the one who works.

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITHOUT A RELATIVE PARTICLE.

3. No relative particle is placed before a relative clause when it is used:

A. After a noun which has no article, v.g.

Zwindini li-lindwa-yo!, O word which is longed for!

Ndi-ya-zi-ra ezu ntsimbi zi-kala-yo, I hear those bells which ring.

A-si mtu ndi-kangela ku ye, he is not a man in whom I trust.

B. As a sort of substantive which would take no article, v.g.

Kangela lowo u-sebenzayo, look at that one who works.

EXCEPTION.

4. A relative clause having a relative particle is sometimes found after a noun which has no article, but then the connection between the two is not so intimate, v.g.

Bawo wetu o-se zulwini, Our Father, the one who is in Heaven.

Bawo wetu u-se zulwini signifies "You, our Father who art in Heaven."

5. When such clauses with a relative particle come after substantive pronouns of the first or second person which have no consonantal article, they receive as subject a pronoun of the 3d person, v.g.

Tin'a ba-lungile-yo, we who are good.

USE OF *A* FOR *U* AND OF *E KU* FOR *O KU* IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.

6. In relative clauses *o* and *u* of the 3d person singular (for persons) are replaced by *a* when the substantive which they represent makes part of the same clause, v.g.

Ipi la nkabi u Tom a-yi-tengileyo? Where is that ox which Tom has bought?

7. When the pronoun *ku* with the indefinite meaning described above (§13, 4) begins a relative clause, the relative particle used before it is *e* not *o*, v.g.

U-lima i ndawo e ku-nga-yi ku-puma nto kona, you cultivate a place where nothing will grow.

LESS APPARENT RELATIVE CLAUSES

8. Attention must be paid to the less apparent relative clauses without relative particles which are found after

words which render our "when," but are in Kafir true substantives or pronouns. In such clauses also the pronoun *a* is used for *u* of the third person singular (for persons).
Ex.

Xa u-ndi-funa-yo, at the time you want me (*i xa* or *i nxa*, time).

Mkla a fikayo, the day he arrives (*u mkla*, a day).

Mkla wa u-teta apa, the day you were speaking here.

Okuya wa-y'e-lima, that time (when) he was ploughing.

Noko a-sebenzayo, although he works, lit. even that (time when) he works.

N.B. *Okuya* and *oko* are demonstrative pronouns.

9. *Idioms*. 1. *U mfo o-gama li-ngu Napi*, a man whose name is Napi, lit. a man who (is) name which is Napi.

2. *Ezi nto zi-hamba a belungu*, these things which Europeans go by (i.e. the ships).

3. *Eza nkabi zi-lima aba bantu*, those oxen which those men there are ploughing with.

§ 17. PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.

1. Attributive pronouns are also termed variously "substitutes, concord-indicating prefixes, euphonic or paragogic letters, etc." They appear to be nothing else but the characteristics of nouns, which have dropped *m* or *n*, nearly wherever it occurred. Traces of these consonants must probably be seen in such forms as *uu*, *yi*, *wa* and *ka*.

2. The primitive form of the attributive pronoun of the first person is very likely found in the Chuana *ki* (Zulu *ngi*). In the Tonga dialect, that pronoun has now generally, as in Xosa, the form *ndi*, because the Tongas always soften the sounds *ki* and *ngi*, but it is sometimes reduced to the form *i*.

Ka or *a*, (perhaps *ke* or *e*) is probably the original attributive pronoun of the third person singular (for persons).

Ni of the second person plural has in Tonga the form *mu* (cf. § 5, 8; note).

Hence the more primitive attributive pronouns for persons appear to be the following:

1ST PERSON.	2D PERSON.	3D PERSON.	REFLECTIVE.
Singular <i>i</i> , <i>ki</i> , <i>ngi</i> (<i>ndyi</i> , <i>ndi</i>).	<i>u</i> , <i>ku</i> .	<i>a</i> , <i>ka</i> ; <i>e</i> , <i>ke</i> .	} <i>zi</i> .
Plural <i>si</i> .	<i>mu</i> (<i>ni</i>).	<i>ba</i> ; <i>be</i> .	

Are we perhaps to recognise here some analogy with the three probable Kafir genders? (cf. § 11, 2).

It may also be interesting for the reader to remember that, among the personal pronouns which precede the verb, we have:

In English ;	<i>I, thou, he</i> ;	reflective <i>se-</i> in <i>self</i>
In Dutch :	<i>Ik, du, hij</i> ;	reflective <i>zi-</i> in <i>zich</i> .
In German :	<i>Ich, du, er</i> ;	reflective <i>si-</i> in <i>sich</i> .
In Greek :	<i>Ego, su,</i>	reflective <i>he</i> (for <i>se</i>).
In Latin :	<i>Ego, tu,</i>	reflective <i>se</i> .

(Cf. Rev. Kolbe's introduction to his Herero dict. p. xxxix)

3. The relative particle *o, e, a*, "the one," may be considered as a sort of relative article composed of the relative element *a* which combines with the simple article *u, i, a*. In Zulu and Tonga we find *ka* as a fuller form of the relative element.

4. In Zulu, the demonstrative element in demonstrative pronouns is nearly always *la*. It may be then that, as *a* or *ka* is the relative form, so *la* is the true demonstrative form. This reminds us naturally of the Latin "ille" from which have come the definite articles of most Romance dialects, and also of the Greek demonstrative suffix *-de*. Likewise the relative form *a* or *ka* brings us back naturally to the Greek enclitic *ke*, as also to the Latin demonstrative suffix *-ce* in *hic, istic, illic, ecce*, etc., to the Latin enclitic *que* and to the Latin relative prefix *qu-, cu-*.

ON ADJECTIVES.

§ 18. ADJECTIVES PROPER.

DIVISION OF ADJECTIVES.

1. If we consider the construction of adjectives, we find them divided into two classes, viz.

1st class: Adjectives which prefix the characteristic of their noun, as a rule, without attributive pronoun. These are adjectives of *intrinsic attribution*, referring principally to quantity.

2nd class: Adjectives which do not prefix the characteristic of their noun, but only the attributive pronoun corresponding to it. These are adjectives of *extrinsic attribution*, referring to quality, place, relation, etc.

Adjectives being not numerous in Kafir, we may give here the list of all the most frequently used.

1ST CLASS. ADJECTIVES OF INTRINSIC ATTRIBUTION.

1. NATURE.	2. NUMBER.	3. DIMENSION.	4. AGE.
<i>Ni?</i> what?	<i>ngapi?</i> how many?	<i>kulu</i> , great	<i>tsha</i> , young
What amount of?	<i>nje</i> , so many	<i>ncinane</i> , small	<i>dala</i> , old
What sort of?	<i>ninzi</i> , many	<i>de</i> , long, tall	
Of what nature?		<i>fupi</i> (rare), short	
<i>Nene</i> , genuine		<i>futshane</i> , short, small	

5. PROPORTION OF PARTS.

kle, well-proportioned, beautiful
bi, disproportioned, ugly, lean

2ND CLASS. ADJECTIVES OF EXTRINSIC ATTRIBUTION.

1. COLOUR.	2. OTHER SENSIBLE QUALITIES.	3 PLACE, REACH, RELATION TO.
<i>bomevu</i> , red	<i>bukali</i> , sharp	<i>pi?</i> present where? which?
<i>cokocoko</i> , spotted	<i>manzi</i> , wet	<i>nyapi?</i> whereabouts?
<i>gwanja</i> , chestnut	<i>mandi</i> , pleasant, sweet	<i>kangakanani?</i> how great?
<i>mdaka</i> , dun coloured	<i>muncu</i> , sour	<i>le</i> , very far
<i>mklope</i> , white	<i>newele</i> , clean, pure	<i>mbi</i> , opposite, different
<i>mnyama</i> , black	<i>utlakanlaka</i> , coarse	<i>malunga</i> , } about, along
<i>mpemvu</i> , having white face & stripes in front	<i>nyobonyobo</i> , tender	<i>nga nga</i> , as great as
<i>mpofu</i> , cream coloured	<i>shushu</i> , hot	<i>ngaka</i> , so great
<i>utubi</i> , yellow	<i>ze</i> , naked, empty	<i>nje</i> , such, to such degree (cf. <i>nje</i> , so many, 1st class.)
<i>nco</i> , red and white		<i>nje nga</i> , such as
<i>ngwevu</i> , grey		<i>ko</i> , present there
<i>ntsundu</i> , dark brown		
	4. DISPOSITION	
	<i>banzi</i> , spread, wide	
	<i>mxinwa</i> , packed up, narrow	

N.B. —Most adjectives are nothing else than substantives used without article.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADJECTIVES, WHEN USED AS PREDICATES.

2. Adjectives are used as *predicates*, or as *epithets* (complements).

When they are used as *predicates* in the present tense, they simply prefix the regular characteristic of their substantive or the attributive pronoun corresponding to it, according as they express intrinsic or extrinsic attribution, v.g.

A. Adjectives of intrinsic attribution.

M-de yena, he is tall, he; *ma-futshane la madoda*, they are small, these men.

Mi-ninzi i milambo, many are the rivers.

N.B.—1. Express the attributive pronoun when it is of the 1st or 2nd person, but never the copula, because the Kafir copula contains an article (see § 7 G, note 2): Ex. *ndi-m-tsha mna*, I am young, I.

2. The attributive pronoun is also commonly expressed when it refers to the characteristic *ni*, v.g. *le nkomo i-ndala*, this cow is old.

B. Adjectives of extrinsic attribution.

U-bomevu yena, he is red, he.

I bala labo li-mnyama, mklope, utubi, etc., their colour is black, white, yellow, etc. (From the "Mvo zabantsundu.")

N.B.—The last example shows that the pronoun is not to be repeated before every adjective, but this cannot apply to the characteristic before adjectives of intrinsic attribution, v.g. *nde, mtsha*, he is tall, young.

3. When adjectives are used as predicates in any other than the present tense, they are construed as participial expressions in which the subjective pronoun is expressed when they follow the verbal form *a*, expressive of the past tense (§ 29, A, I.), or *a-ye* (§ 28 II.), but is understood when they follow a verb which signifies “to become,” such as *u ku-ba*, to turn out, v.g.:

Baye be-ba-futshane, they were small.

Baye be-bomvu, they were red.

Baya kuba manzi, they will turn out wet.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADJECTIVES WHEN USED AS EPITHETS.

When adjectives are used as *epithets*, they are treated as relative clauses. Hence, when their substantive has an article, not only do they prefix its regular characteristic or the attributive pronoun corresponding to it, but they admit besides the relative particle *o*, *e* or *a*, v.g.:

A. Adjectives of intrinsic attribution:

With a relative particle: *u mkla o mtsha*, a new day.

i zwi e lide, a long word.

Without relative particle: *nga lo mkla mtsha*, during this new day.

elo zwi lide, that long word.

B. Adjectives of extrinsic attribution:

With a relative particle: *u mti o-bomvu* (*o* for *o u*), a red tree.

i zwi e lishushu, a hot country.

Without a relative particle: *kangela lo mti ubomvu*, look at this red tree.

ela zwi lishushu, that hot country.

THE ADJECTIVES *NI?* *PI?* *MBI*.

5. There are some peculiarities concerning the construction of the determinative adjectives *ni?*, what? (1st class), *pi?* when it means “which?” (2d class) and *mbi*, opposite, different (2d class).

A. *Wupi* (class 1) *yipi* (6, 10) *wapi* (9) are generally used for *wpi*, *ipi*, *api*, and *wumbi*, *yimbi*, *wambi* for *umbi*, *imbi*, *ambi*.

B. These three adjectives, when used as epithets, generally follow their noun. In this case the noun takes no article, and the adjectives themselves no relative particle.

They may sometimes precede their noun, in which case it takes an article, while they themselves, more commonly, take no relative particle.

Pi and *mbi* may also be used as predicates, in which case they admit the consonantal form of the article, or of the relative particle. Ex.:

	<i>Ufuna msebenzi mnina?</i>	} What sort of work do you want?
Sometimes	<i>Ufuna mnina u msebenzi?</i>	
Seldom	<i>Ufuna o mnina u msebenzi?</i>	

	<i>Ufuna miti yipina?</i>	} Which trees do you want?
Sometimes	<i>Ufuna yipina i miti?</i>	
Or	<i>Ufuna e yipina i miti?</i>	

	<i>Yi yipina i miti oyifunayo?</i>	} Which are the trees you want?
Or	<i>Ye yipina i miti oyifunayo?</i>	
	<i>Nditeta nga mfo wumbi</i>	} I speak of a different man.
Sometimes	<i>Nditeta nga wumbi u mfo</i>	

	<i>Ngu wumbi u mfo e nditeta ngaye</i>	} It is of a dif- ferent man that I speak.
Or	<i>Ngo wumbi u mfo e nditeta ngaye</i>	

N.B. 1. *Nina?* *Pina?* appear to be used for *ni?* *pi?* principally before a pause, long or short (cf. § 4, 4).

2. When *pi?* means "where?" it takes the regular construction of adjectives of the second class, v.g. *Upi u Tom?* where is Tom?

C. When the characteristic of the substantive preceding *ni?* is *li* or *ni*, this characteristic is very often understood before *ni?* v.g.:

Ufuna mali nina? (for *mali mnina*), how much money
do you want?
Zwi nina? or *zwi linina?*, What word?

N.B. To a similar construction must be traced the derivation of the words *bani*? who? *njani*? how? lit. what turn? *sin*? which part, yes or no? *nini*? when? lit. in what conjuncture? Ex.:

Ngo banina a bazileyo? Who are they who have come?

Uleta nga banina? Of whom do you speak?

U bani wonke otandayo..., whoever likes...

Wajika ninina? When did he arrive?

Ulele sinina? Is he asleep or not?

ADJECTIVES USED AS SUBSTANTIVES.

6. Adjectives, like any other relative expressions, can be used as substantives referring to a word or to an idea which is understood. The relative particle *o*, *e*, *a* has then the value of an article, v.g.:

O ku-kle, that which is beautiful (cf. § 16, 2, B)

I ntlanganiso ibe ye mfutshane, the meeting has turned out a short one.

7. Adjectives are thus used as substantives when they are emphasised. Then, if the noun to which they refer be expressed after them, it acts as a substantive in apposition to another, and therefore takes an article, even when the adjective has no relative particle, v.g.:

A-ka-tandi ba-mnyama a bantu, u-tanda a ba-mklope, he does not like black people, he likes those who are white, lit. not he likes (those) who are black, the people, etc.

8. Adjectives, like any other nouns, can be changed into abstract substantives by means of the characteristic *bu*, though Kafirs prefer, when possible, to make use of the verb *u ku-ba*, "the appearing, the being" (see § 29), followed by the adjective used as a participial expression according to n. 3 of this §, v.g.:

U bu-kulu bako or *u kuba mkulu kwako*, your greatness.

IDIOMATIC CONSTRUCTION.

9. *Ndi-ni-nyaka ni-ninzi ndambulala-yo*, It is many years since I killed him, lit. I am many years I killed him (N.B. The whole expression *minyaka ninzi*... is construed as an adjective of the second class).

§ 19. EXPRESSIONS EQUIVALENT TO OUR ADJECTIVES.

COMPARATIVES—SUPERLATIVES.

HOW TO SUPPLY THE WANT OF ADJECTIVES PROPER.

1. The want of adjectives proper in Kafir is easily supplied :

A. By means of substantives used with their article, v.g. :

U-yi mfama, he is blind, lit. he is a blind person.

A mahashe etu a-zi mfama, our horses are blind, lit. are blind-animals.

U mfazi o-si siqwala, a lame woman, lit. a woman who is a lame person.

Sandindini si-yi mfiklakalo! O mysterious sound! lit. sound which art a mystery!

Le nto i-lu klaza o lugamileyo, this thing is of a pretty green, lit. this thing is verdure which is blooming.

B. By means of substantives preceded by prepositions, the whole expression being construed as an adjective of the second class, v.g. :

Ndi-no sizi, I am sorry (for *ndi-na u sizi*, lit. I am with sorrow).

C. By means of verbs, v.g.

U mfana o-lungileyo, a good child (*u ku-lunga*, to be good).

U mtu o-tile, such a person, a certain person (*u ku-ti*, to say, to do so as pointed out).

D. By means of participial expressions. This applies principally to the words *onke*, "all, every," and *edwa* or *odwa*, "alone," which are remnants of obsolete verbs.

Odwa is commonly preferred to *edwa*, except in the first and second person singular, v.g. :

Tina sonke, we all; *bonke a bantu* or *a-bantu bonke*, the whole people, every man.

Mna ndedwa, I alone; *bona bodwa*, they alone.

N.B. 1. *Yedwa* is used for *e-cdwa*, "he alone," v.g. *yena yedwa*, he alone

2. There are several verbs which, like *edwa* or *odwa*, begin indifferently with *e* or *o*, v.g. *engamela* or *ongamela*, preside over.

COMPARATIVES—SUPERLATIVES.

2. In Kafir there is nothing like our comparatives and superlatives.

With regard to *comparatives*, the want is supplied by making use either of the verb *u ku-ghula*, "to pass, to excel," or of a preposition, simple or compound, such as *ku*, "at," hence "in comparison with," *ku na*, "more than," lit. "in comparison with even..." *nga pezu kwa*, "above," etc., v.g. :

Boghlula na k'oku u kuba-ko ko Moya (Ulwimi, p. 3),
Better still was to be the presence of the spirit,
lit. it will pass even at this, the appearing there
of the spirit.

U mfana uno kusebenza ku no yise, the child can work
more than even his father, lit. the child is with
(power) to work in comparison with even his
father.

Bano msebenzi olunge nga pezu koko (Ulwimi, p. 4),
they have *better* work, lit. they are with a work
which is good above that.

3. With regard to *superlatives*, the want is supplied principally by means of the expressions *kakulu*, "greatly;" *kanye*, "altogether," or by constructions which give to the thought a particularly expressive turn, v.g. :

I mfundiso emangalisa ngo kukulu kakulu (Ulwimi, p. 3)
the *most* remarkable teaching, lit. a teaching
which amazes in that (manner) which is great
greatly.

Uli roti kanye, he is *very* brave, lit. he is a hero
altogether.

A-si-ku-ko no kuba si vuyile, we are *very* glad, lit. it
is not there adding to the fact of our rejoicing,
i.e., there is nothing beyond our joy.

§ 20. POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES AND EXPRESSIONS.

1. Our possessive adjectives, and, in general, all our possessive expressions are rendered in Kafir by clauses which are equivalent to adjectives of the second class. They have only this peculiarity that, being determinative of their nature, they admit no relative particle before them when they are immediately preceded by their noun.

The preposition "of" is generally rendered in possessive expressions by *a*, v.g. :

I hashe l-a-ke, his horse, lit. the horse which (is) of him.

U bisi lwe nkomo ne gusha (*lwe* is for *lu-a i*), the milk of cows and sheep.

N.B.—For the use of the pronouns *ko*, *ke*, *itu*, *nu* in possessive clauses, see § 14, 3.

2. As if to avoid ambiguity, the preposition *a* is replaced by *ka* (see § 39, 1, 3) before the *singular* of a noun in which the characteristic *mu* is understood (cf. § 6, 4), unless this be joined to another noun by the preposition *and*, v.g. :

I hashe li-ka Napi, the horse of Napi (*ka* causes the article *u* to be elided).

E gameni lo Yise no Nyana, in the name of the Father and of the Son.

N.B.—Before *ka* the attributive pronouns *u*, *i*, *a* are understood, v.g., *u mfana ka Tom*, the child of Tom.

3. When the possessive expression denotes place, we find :

A se or **a nga se**, before a noun which admits the article *e*, v.g. :

I zwe la se India, the country of India.

U mklaba wa nga se Rini, the country round about Grahamstown.

A kwa or **a nga kwa**, before proper names of persons,
v.g. :

A bantu ba kwa Kama, the people of Kama's place.

A bantu ba nga kwa Kama, the people round about
Kama's place.

A ku or **a nga ku**, before other words which do not
admit the article *e*, v.g.

A bantu ba ku lo mzi, the people of this town.

A bantu ba nga ku lo mzi, the people round about this
town.

4. The pronoun *ku* is used to represent in possessive
expressions words which have the quasi-characteristic *pa*
(cf. 39, I, 2) and very often such as have the article *e*. Then
kwa is used before proper nouns instead of *kuka* (see above,
n. 2), but their article *u* is frequently elided as above, v.g.:

Pambi kwa Neku, pambi kwake, pambi kwo mti, in front
of Neku,—of him,—of the tree.

E caleni kwam, by my side; *e caleni kwe tyolo*, on the
side of the bush.

POSSESSIVE EXPRESSIONS USED AS SUBSTANTIVES.

5. Possessive expressions, like any other relative
clauses, may be used as substantives referring to a noun
or idea understood (cf. § 18, 6) v.g.

E yam i miti yakula, e ka Tom yabuna, My trees grew,
those of Tom faded away.

A-si-lako i hashe, or *a-si-lilo e lako i hashe*, it is not
thy horse.

O wa se mzini, a stranger, (lit. one of an (other)
village); *Wa se mzini!* Stranger!

O wetu, one of ours; hence *a bantu ba k'o wetu*, people
of ours, lit. people of at one of ours.

Wetu, yiz' apa, friend, come here.

O kwake, lit. that which is of him; hence *ngo kwake*, by
himself, lit. by that which is of him.

Kwake, kwa Tom, his residence, Tom's residence, v.g.
ndi-vela kwa Napi, I come from Napi's place.

(N.B. *Kwa* is used after this manner only before nouns which do not admit the article *e*.)

A *wetu* (sometimes a *ma-wetu*), our people. In a *wetu*, the vowel *a* is for *a a*, the first *a* being a relative particle which refers to the vague notion of plurality expressed by the characteristic *ma*, the second *a* being the proposition “*of*.”

N.B. Here we have the probable origin of the articles *o* and *e*, v.g. *o Tom* is for *a a u Tom*, lit. “the ones of Tom,” hence “Tom and his companions.” *E Rini* is for *e a i Rini*, lit. “something of Grahamstown” or “the country of Grahamstown,” *e* referring to the notion *i nto*, “thing,” or *i ndawo*, place.

IDIOMS.

6. The substantive *u m-ni* or *u m-nini*, a possessor, a master, is generally joined immediately to the noun expressing the thing possessed, v. g.

U mn'u mzi the master of a village, hence “a head-man.”

U mn'u mzana, the master of a little village, hence “a gentleman,” pl. *a ban'u mzana*.

7. The following words contain in themselves the notion of the possessor:

<i>U tata</i> or <i>u bawo</i> , my, our father.		<i>u ma</i> , my, our mother.
<i>U yiklo</i> , thy, your father.		<i>u nyoko</i> , thy, your mother.
<i>U yise</i> , his, their father.		<i>u nina</i> , his, their mother.

Hence *Mta ka bawo*! O child of my father! (term of friendship).

N.B. *Tata* is applied only to the natural father, *bawo* is more extensive.

8. When the noun expressing the possessor has a noun denoting relationship before it, the former is very often put in the plural where we should use the singular, v.g.:

U dade wetu, my or our sister (lit. our sister).

§ 21. NUMBERS.

1. Most Kafirs still count on their fingers, beginning always with one of the little fingers, generally that of the right hand, then crossing over from thumb to thumb, and completing the ten with the other small finger. They accompany these signs with such words as *banje*, *manje*, *minje*, etc., "they are so many."

2. The spoken cardinal numbers are of three kinds, viz.

A. Adjectives of number.	B. Names of fingers	C. Substantives denoting tens.
<i>nye</i> , one.	<i>i sixenwe</i> , seven.	<i>i shumi</i> , ten, lit. a ten.
<i>bini</i> , two.	<i>i sibozo</i> , eight.	<i>i kulu</i> , a hundred.
<i>tatu</i> , three.	<i>i sitoba</i> , } nine	<i>i waka</i> , a thousand.
<i>ne</i> , four.	or <i>i litoba</i> }	<i>i gidi</i> , a million.
<i>klamu</i> , five.		N.B. The characteristic understood is <i>li</i> .
<i>tandatu</i> , six.		

CONSTRUCTION OF CARDINAL NUMBERS.

3. *Adjectives of number* are treated as true adjectives of intrinsic attribution (1st class), v.g.:

Mnye kupela u Tiwo, there is but one God, lit. he is one only God.

A bantu a batatu, three people, three persons; *u nyana o mnye*, one son.

Za zimbini i nkomo, the cows were two [in number].

N.B.—1. When such cardinal numbers are used without a relative particle, the characteristic *li* and the part *zi* of the compound characteristic *zini* are sometimes understood. The same may be said of the characteristic *ni* before *nye*. Ex. *Zwi linye qa* or *zwi nye qa*, a single word (cf. § 7, 8, c); *ndifuna i ponti zibe zintatu* or *zibe ntatu*, I want three pounds, lit. I want pounds so that they turn out three (cf. § 29, C)

2. *Nye* preceded by a relative particle is very often used to signify "one...another," v.g. *o mnye wafika*, *o mnye wemka*, one arrived, another went away.

3. *Na mnye*, *na linye*, etc. in answer to a question, signify "no one, not one, v.g.:

Ngu bani na o-nga-tshoyo...? Na mnye. Who is it who can say...? No one (cf. § 41, I, 1.)

4. The cardinal numbers which denote properly *fingers* are construed as adjectives of extrinsic attribution (2nd class), v.g. :

Inkomo e zisibozo, eight cows; *i mizi esixenxe*, seven towns.

Ezo nkabi zisitoba, those nine oxen.

5. The numbers signifying *tens* are still true substantives. Yet when used in the plural, they are sometimes construed as adjectives of extrinsic attribution (2nd class), v.g. :

*Ezo gusha zi-li shum*i, those ten sheep (*li* is the consonantal article), lit. those sheep which are a ten.

Imiti eli waka (for *e i-li waka*), a thousand trees.

6. "Eleven cows, twelve cows... seventeen cows... twenty cows, etc." are rendered by "cows which are a ten which is with single (cow), cows which are a ten which is with two (cows)... cows which are a ten which is with a seven, cows which are two tens, etc." v.g. :

*I zitya e zi-li shum*i e *li-na sinye* (*sitya* understood), eleven baskets.

*A bantu a bali shum*i e *lin'a batatu* (*a bantu* understood) thirteen persons.

*A bantu a banga mashum*i a *mabini* } twenty persons.
or *A bantu a bamashum*i *mabini* }

*I minyaka engu makulu ali shum*i e *line sibozo* } 1800
or *I minyaka eli waka e lin'a makulu asi bozo* } years.

SO BABINI, NO BABINI, ETC.

7. *So babini* or *so a babini*, *no babini*, or *no a babini*, etc., *so batatu* or *so a batatu*, etc. are used to signify "we both, ye both, etc., the three of us, etc." In such constructions *so*, *no*, *bo*, *yo*, etc., are supposed to be for *sonke*, *nonke*, *bonke*, etc. (cf. § 19, 1, D).

ORDINAL NUMBERS.

8. Ordinal numbers take the construction of possessive expressions, the numbers which have no characteristic of

their own being converted into names of fingers by giving them the characteristic *si*. *Ukuqala*, the beginning, is used to signify "first," v.g.:

A bantu bo kuqala, the first persons.

I nkabi ye sibini, the second ox.

I tole le shumini, the tenth calf.

REMARK ON THE SUFFIXES OF ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives being in reality nouns used without articles admit the same suffixes as substantives proper, such as *ana*, *kazi*, etc. The suffix *ra* is even found principally with adjectives: it then corresponds to our ending "ish," v.g. *bomvu*, red, *bomvura*, reddish.

ON VERBS.

§ 22. FUNDAMENTAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

PARTS OF THE VERB.

1. In a simple clause a verb may consist of six parts, viz. :

A. The *negative* "a, nga or nge," "not." *A* is used in ordinary indicative clauses, and precedes the attributive pronoun subject. *Nga* is used in relative, imperative, subjunctive, and participial clauses, and follows the verb-requiring pronoun subject. *Nga* changes into *nge* before the verb *tsho*, "to say so," the verbal form *ku*, and before whatever is not a verb proper, v.g. *e-nge-ko*, (he) being not there.

B. An *attributive pronoun* acting as *subject*. This varies as the person and the characteristic of the noun to which it refers, v.g. *a-ndi-boni*, I do not see; *a-si-boni*, we do not see, etc. In the whole of this chapter it will be sufficient to give examples in that form of the third person singular which corresponds to a name of person which has the characteristic *mu*. Examples will soon be given showing how to replace that pronoun in order to form the other persons.

C. A *modifier*, which is to a verb what a characteristic is to a substantive. There are five modifiers, viz., *a*, back; *ya*, going on; *nga*, possibly or lawfully; *ka* (used only in negative clauses), already, yet; *sa*, "still," and with the negative, "no longer, no more." These are verbal forms which have no influence on the changes of endings in the verb proper. The verbs to which they belong are also extensively used both as auxiliary verbs and as quite independent verbs. They will be studied apart § 27 and seq.

D. An *attributive pronoun* acting as *object*. This also varies as the person and the characteristic of the noun to which it refers (see chapter on pronouns).

E. The *verb proper*. This may take different endings as the following table will show.

F. A *suffix*, v.g. *yo* in relative clauses (cf. § 16,1).

3. HOW TO REPLACE THE PRONOUNS *U*, *A*, ETC.

	REPLACING <i>u</i> (pres. tense)	REPLACING <i>ka</i> (present and fut. tense)	REPLACING <i>wa</i> (past tense)	REPLACING <i>ka</i> (for <i>ka-a</i>) (past tense)	REPLACING <i>a</i> (fut. tense)	REPLACING <i>e</i> (participles)
1st pers.) sing. } pl.	ndi-teta si-teta	a-ndi-teti a-si-teti	nd-a-teta s-a-teta	a-nd-a — a-s-a —	ndi-tete si-tete	ndi-teta si-teta
2nd pers.) sing. } pl.	u-teta niteta	a-ku-teti a-ni-teti	w-a-teta n-a-teta	a-kw-a — a-n-a —	u-tete ni-tete	u-teta ni-teta
3d pers.) 1) persons } 2) things	u-teta lu-teta	a- <i>ka</i> -teti a-wu-teti	w-a-teta b-a-teta	a- <i>ka</i> -a — a-w-a — a-b-a —	a-tete u-tete bu-tete	e-teta u-teta bu-teta
3)	ku-teta	a-ku-teti	kw-a-teta	a-kw-a —	ku-tete	ku-teta
4)	lu-teta	a-lu-teti	lw-a-teta	a-lw-a —	lu-tete	lu-teta
5)	li-teta	a-li-teti	l-a-teta	a-l-a —	li-tete	li-teta
6)	i-teta	a-yi-teti	y-a-teta	a-y-a —	i-tete	i-teta
7)	si-teta	a-si-teti	s-a-teta	a-s-a —	si-tete	si-teta
pl 8)	ba-teta	a-ba-teti	b-a-teta	a-b-a —	ba-tete	be-teta
9)	a-teta	a-ka-teti	a-teta	a-k-a —	a-tete	e-teta
10)	i-teta	a-yi-teti	y-a-teta	a-y-a —	i-tete	i-teta
11)	zi-teta	a-zi-teti	z-a-teta	a-z-a —	zi-tete	zi-teta
12)						

N.B. 1. In *relative clauses* of the negative form or of the future affirmative tense, *u* of the third person singular (class 1, persons), does not change into *a* or *ka*, v.g. *lo mfo u-nga-teti-ya*, this man who does not speak (cf. a-ka-teti, he does not speak); *a-ku-ko mtu u-nga-sebenza-ya*, there is no man who can work (cf. a-nga-sebenza, he can work). Exception is made for the cases mentioned § 16, 6, 8.

2. In our paradigm of the verb *teta*, it is important to notice that in affirmative clauses the pronominal part of the verb is *u* in the present and past tense, and *a* in the future, while in negative clauses it is always *a* or *ka*. In participles it is *e*.

§ 23. USE OF THE DIFFERENT TENSES.

It is not an easy task to give definite rules for the use of the different tenses. The reader should study this point either by listening to Kafirs or from works written by them. Yet, as these people are very logical, he will find few exceptions to the following principles.

I. The *present* tense, *imperfect* stage, expresses what is *at present* preparing to take place, or actually taking place. Participles which belong to this tense denote a fact which is concomitant with another, v.g. :

Beta *inja le*, beat this dog.

Uya *ngani?* where are you going to?

Wayu *e-teta*, he went *talking* on the way.

II. The *present* tense, *perfect* stage, expresses what is considered as being *at present* in a state of rest or completion, hence also as having *recently* taken place. Participles which belong to this tense, denote a fact which has just preceded another, or is then in a state of completion, v.g. :

U Tom *ulele*, Tom is asleep (see § 24, 4).

U Tom *umkile*, Tom is just gone away.

Uyise *umke i zolo*, his father went away yesterday.

Wa-m-bulali, *kuba e-qumbile*, he killed him, because he was angry, lit. because (he) being angry.

III. The *past* tense expresses what actually took place at some *distant* time, or was consequent in the past to another fact. It is the proper *historical* tense.

W-a-ya w-a-tenga *i hashe*, he went [and] bought a horse.

IV. The *future* tense, which perhaps might be termed more properly "the expectation tense," expresses what, in the speaker's mind, is or was to be done or may be done in the future, or is considered as consequent upon something which is done or to be done, v.g. :

Cela *u-zuze*, ask that you may receive.

Senga, *u-ndi-pe a ma-si, ndi sele*, milk (the cows), and give me milk to drink.

N.B. Some expressions which we are accustomed to consider as belonging to the future tense, but which in reality express what is *at present* preparing to take place, such as "I shall speak, he will speak, etc.," are not rendered in Kafir by the kind of future just described, but by a sort of compound expression of the present tense, as will be seen § 28 and 30.

§ 24. VARIATIONS OF THE VERB PROPER IN THE ACTIVE VOICE.

CHANGES OF ENDINGS

1. A regular verb has in the active voice five different endings, viz. :

a for the imperfect affirmative past and present, etc.,
v.g. *teta*.

i for the negative, present imperfect and future, v.g.
a-nga-teli.

e for the perfect affirmative indefinite, v.g. *u-tete i zolo*,
and for the fut. imperat. and subjunct., v.g. *a-tete*.

ile for the perfect definite, v.g. *u-pilile*.

2. The verb *u ku-tsho*, "to say so (as precedes)," has all its endings in *o*, v.g. : *u-tsho*, he says so ; *a-ka-tsho*, he does not say so ; *a-tsho*, he must say so ; *u-tshilo*, he has said so ; *a-ka-tshongo*, he has not said so.

3. The verb *u ku-ti*, "to say, to do as "follows," and *u kwazi*, "to know," are used in their form in *i* instead of those in *a* and in *z*. But they have the regular negative perfect *azanga, tanga*. *U ku-ti* makes in the perfect indefinite *te*, and in the perfect definite *tile* ; but *tile* is used only to signify "such," "a certain," v.g. *u mtu otile*, such a person, lit. a person who has done so (as pointed out with the finger).

4. *Kleli, kluti, ni, miti*, are the definite perfects of *klala*, sit down ; *kluta*, get full ; *ma*, stand ; *mita*, to become pregnant. Likewise most of the verbs in *ala, ela, ana, ata*, have their definite perfect in *ele, ele, ene, ete*, v.g. *lele, vumele, klangene, pete*, from *lala*, lie down to sleep ; *vumela*, allow ; *klangana*, meet with ; *pata*, handle.

Such verbs have their regular indefinite perfect in *e* and *anga*, v.g. : *u-lale i zolo*, he lay down to sleep yesterday ; *a-ka-lalanga pe zolo*, he did not sleep last night.

5. Several verbs, when used as auxiliaries, will be found to have sometimes the ending *e* instead of *a*. This appears to be a mere weakening of the sound ; sometimes it is an effect of assimilation with the ending of the principal verb, see § 28, 29, etc.

6. The verb *u kuwa*, to feel, to hear (in Zulu, *zwa*), is usually used with the ending *a* instead of *i*, as if it were a passive verb in *wa* (cf. § 35), *andiva*, I do not hear.

INITIAL CHANGES IN VERBS.

7. In the present imperative, *y* is generally prefixed to verbs which begin with a vowel and *yi* to monosyllabic verbs such as *u ku-za*, to come; *u ku-ma*, to stand, etc., unless these be used as mere auxiliaries, v.g.:

Yenza, do; *yenzani*, do ye (*u kw-enza*, to do).

Yiv i, hear; *yivani*, hear ye (*uku-va*, to hear).

8. Likewise in participial expressions, when no objective pronoun is used, *si* is prefixed to monosyllabic verbs and *s* to such as begin with a vowel, v.g.:

Be-si-va, (they) hearing, but *be-ndi-va*, (they) hearing me.

Be-s-enza, (they), doing, but *be-kw-enza*, (they) doing it.

N.B. Except the verb *ba*, when it signifies "to think," v.g. *eba*, (he) thinking.

9. When the verbs *u ku-va*, *u ku-ma*, *u ku-kla*, *u ku-za*, and *u ku-bha*, to steal, *u ku-mka*, to go away; *u ku-mita*, to conceive; *u ku-suka*, to start, *u ku-nyuka*, to come down, and a few others, are immediately preceded by the vowel *a* they cause this letter to change into *e*, unless they be used as mere auxiliary verbs, v.g.:

Beza, they came, *weva*, he heard, *uyeva*, he hears; *uyeza*, he is coming.

§ 25. FORMATION OF THE PASSIVE VOICE.

1. In the formation of the passive voice, changes are made in the endings of the verb, as in the following examples:

ACTIVE: *tanda*, love.

tandi.

tande.

tandanga.

tandile.

PASSIVE: *tandwa*, be loved.

tandwa.

tandwe.

tandwanga.

tandiwe.

2. And if any syllable but the first contains one of the letters *b p* or *m*, changes generally take place, as described in § 5, 8. v.g. :

ACTIVE : <i>sebenzela</i> , work for.	PASSIVE : <i>setyenzelwa</i> or <i>sebenzelwa</i>
<i>kupa</i> , turn out.	<i>kutshwa</i> .
<i>bamba</i> , hold.	<i>banjwa</i> .
<i>lma</i> , plough.	<i>linywa</i> .
<i>tyumza</i> (for <i>tyumuza</i>), bruise.	<i>tyunyuzwa</i> .

3. Perfects, such as *zela*, *pete*, from *zala*, *pata* (see § 24, 4), change in the passive voice into *zelwe*, *petwe*. *Bulawa*, pft. *bulewe* is the passive of *bulala*, kill.

4. To monosyllabic verbs and to such dissyllabic verbs as begin with a vowel, *iwa*, *iwe* are generally suffixed instead of *wa*, *we*, in the passive voice, v.g. *piwa*, *enziwa*, etc., from *u-ku-pa*, to give ; *u kw-enza*, to do, etc.

Tshiwo is the passive of *tsho*, to say so. It has no changes of endings (cf. § 24, 2).

Tiwa (seldom *twa*) and *liwa* are the passive forms of *ti*, say, and *lwa*, fight.

§ 26. DERIVATIVE VERBS.

1. From nearly every verb, v.g. from *tanda*, "love," may be derived :

- A. An *objective* verb in *ela* (for), v.g. *tandela*, love for.
- B. A *subjective* verb in *eka* (to get), v.g. *tandeka*, be amiable, become loved.
- C. A *causative* verb in *isa* (to cause), v.g. *tandisa*, cause to love.
- D. A *reciprocal* verb in *ana* (mutually), v.g. *tandana*, love one another.

In that manner verbs may be formed even from derivative ones, v.g. *tandisana*, *tandekisa*, etc.

3. *Tsholo*, "speak so for," is the objective verb derived from *tsho*, "say so."

4. The substantive pronoun *ko*, "there," follows sometimes the analogy of objective verbs, and takes the suffix *lo*, v.g. :

Ba-kolo nto nina? What are they there for?

N.B.—That pronoun *ko* participates of the nature of verbs and is extensively used to signify "to be present" or "to exist," v.g. *u Tiro uko*, God is, God exists.

5. There also exist in Kafir *reduplicative* verbs, v.g. *tetaleta*, tattle.

§ 27. AUXILIARY VERBS.

Auxiliary verbal forms are of two kinds :

1st. The *modifiers*, which have been already described. These form *one* clause with the principal verb. Hence, when they are preceded by a negative, they do not prevent the principal verb from being affected by it, v.g. *ndi-sa-teta*, *a-ndi-sa-teti*. Besides no subjective pronoun intervenes between them and the principal verb.

2nd. The *auxiliaries proper*. Though these are used principally, as it seems, to modify or to bring out more clearly the meaning conveyed by the principal verb, yet they form clauses of their own. Hence, they have their own subjective pronoun expressed or understood, independent of that of the principal verb, and if a negative precedes them, they themselves not the principal, verb, are affected by it.

N.B.—The subjective pronoun of auxiliaries is never understood when they are monosyllabic and precede a vowel, because then the elision of their own vowel would cause them to lose their accent. In other cases it may often be understood, v.g. : *Bé ndi-téta* or *ndi-be ndi-téta*, I was speaking; *ú-b' u-téta* (for *ú-be u-téta*), you were speaking.

It is somewhat difficult to perceive the exact meaning conveyed by some auxiliaries. In most cases they are best rendered by our adverbs.

N.B.—Here let the reader call to mind the principles which have been laid down § 23, with regard to the use of the different tenses. In the numerous examples which are given for every auxiliary, the pronouns will be printed in heavier type, that it may be easy to notice what tense is to be used.

§ 28. THE AUXILIARY YA, TO GO.

I. As a modifier, *ya* means a thing in the process of being said or done, v.g. :

U-ya-teta, he is speaking.

II. As an auxiliary proper, *ya* in the present tense is descriptive of something which is in course of preparation, while in the past tense it is descriptive of something which was taking place *at a distant time*, or has been in course of preparation for a long time. Ex. :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>U-ya kuteta</i> , he will speak. | <i>a-ka-yi-kuteta</i> , he will not speak. |
| or <i>W-a kuteta</i> (for <i>u-ya kuteta</i>)
(seldom used.) | or <i>a-ka kuteta</i> (<i>yi</i> being dropped). |
| or <i>Wo-teta</i> (for <i>w-a-ku-teta</i>). | |
| 2. <i>W-a-y'e-teta</i> he was speaking (long ago). | <i>W-a-y'e-nga-teti</i> , he was not speaking (long ago). |
| <i>Nd-a-ye ndi-teta</i> , I was speaking, etc. | <i>Nd-a-ye ndi-nga-teti</i> , I was not speaking, etc. |

N.B. In the above and in the following examples *ye* or *y'* is a weakening of the sound *ya* (cf. § 24, 5). We shall find likewise *wabuye* for *wabuya*, etc.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. <i>W-a-y' e-tetile</i> , he had spoken. | <i>w-a-y' e-nga-tetanga</i> , he had not spoken. |
| <i>W-a-y' e-ya-kuteta</i> , he would speak: lit. he was long ago preparing to speak. | <i>w-a-y' e-nga-yi kuteta</i> , he would not speak (if ..). |

III. *Ya* is also used as a quite independent and regular verb, v.g. :

U-yile, yena, he is gone, he.

U-y'e Rini (for *u-ye e Rini*), he is gone to Grahamstown.

W-a-ya kusebenza, he went to work.

Hamba uye kusebenza, lit. walk now to go to work, i.e. go to work.

M.B.—*Wā kusebenza* is sometimes heard for *waya kusebenza*, and *hambo kusebenza* for *hamba uye kusebenza*. In such cases the *y* of *ya* is dropped, and the vowels thus brought into contact either coalesce or assimilate.

§ 29. THE AUXILIARIES A, BA, BUYA,
NOTION OF "TURNING," OR
"OF OPPOSITION."

It seems first that we must distinguish here a double verb, the one rather active, the other rather passive, viz :

- A. The simple verb *ba* and *a*, to turn to something, to act in opposition with something else.
- B. *Ba* (for *bwa*, cf. § 5, 3) and *buya*, to return, to act in opposition with oneself.

N.B.—1. The simple verb *ba* appears to be itself just as well as *wa*, to fall, a sort of passive for *ya*, i.e., they stand to one another in the same relation as the vowels *i* and *u* (cf. § 11, 3). *Ba* is very often rendered by the substantive verb, yet properly it expresses more, viz., it implies "change, contrast, or opposition of some kind," just as the adjective *mbi*, "opposite, different." Had we any verb corresponding to the Latin themes *re* and *rer* in all their meanings, this would perhaps best render the Kafir *ba*.

2. It is not certain that *a* and *ba* are one and the same verb. Yet there are strong grounds for thinking so, when we consider that in several dialects, for instance, in that of *Tete* on the Zambezi, the verb *a* is regularly used for the Xosa *ba*, v.g., *ku-a na muana*, to have a child (in Xosa *ku-ba na nyana*). And, as a matter of fact, they complete one another.

A. THE SIMPLE VERB BA AND THE VERBAL FORM A.

I. *A* when used as a modifier is principally expressive of the past, v.g. :

W-a-teta, he spoke : lit. he-back-speaks.

II. As an auxiliary proper, *a* signifies principally contrast, generally in the past tense, v.g. :

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. A <i>kuteta</i> or <i>wa kuteta</i> , when he spoke. (N.B. This is a participial expression. The other persons are <i>nda kuteta</i> , etc., viz. : <i>a</i> and <i>wa</i> are here replaced by the same forms as <i>wa</i> , § 22, 3). | |
| 2. W-a e-teta, he was speaking, v.g. when I came. | W-a e-nga-teti, he was not speaking. |
| 3. W-a e-tetile, he had spoken. | W-a e-nga tetanga, he had not spoken. |
| 4. W-a e-ya kuteta, he would speak. | W-a e-nga-yi kuteta, he would not speak. |

III. The perfect *be* refers to something recent, and the compound form *ya-kuba* or *oba* (cf. auxil. *ya*) to something future, both of them with some kind of contrast. They may often be rendered by "this time," "in this case," and better by the Cape-Dutch expression "zoo lang," v.g.:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Be ndi-teta</i> , I was speaking (lately). | <i>Be ndi-nga-teti</i> , I was not speaking. |
| <i>U-b' e-teta</i> , he was...etc. (hij het zoo lang gepraat) | <i>U-b' or e-b' e-nga-teti</i> , he was not speaking. |

N.B. When the perfect form *be* is thus used as an auxiliary proper:

1st. Its subjective pronoun is more commonly understood than expressed. if it contains a consonant. v.g. : *be nditeta*, for *ndibe nditeta*, cf. § 27. 2nd note.

2nd. The principle of assimilation allows the pronoun *u* personal and the pronoun *a* corresponding to the specifier *ma* to change into *e* before the sound *b'e*, v.g. : *e-b' e-teta* for *u-b' e-teta*.

3rd. The relative particle before *be* is sometimes *e* when it should be *a*, v.g. : *a bantu e be be-lima i-zolo*, the people who were ploughing yesterday.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. <i>E-b' e-tetile</i> , he has spoken this time (hij het al gepraat). | <i>E-b' e-nga-tetanga</i> , he has not spoken. |
| 3. <i>E-b' e-ya kuteta</i> , he would speak (if) ... | <i>E-b' e-nga-yi kuteta</i> , he would not speak. |
| 4. <i>U-b' a-nga-teta</i> , he could speak. | <i>U-b' a-nga-teti</i> , he could not speak. |
| 5. <i>W-oba e-teta</i> , he will speak this time (hij zal zoo lang praat). | |
| 6. <i>I-nga-ba woteta</i> , perhaps he will speak, lit. it may turn out (that) he will speak. | |

N.B. "Perhaps" may also be rendered by *nkla umbi* (cf. § 18, 5) lit. "in a different case." The use of *umbi* in this construction brings out clearly its relation to the verb *ba*.

7. *I-nga-bi woteta*, lest he should speak.

B. BA (PROBABLY FOR BWA) AND BUYA.

Used as auxiliaries, these verbs may be rendered sometimes by "more" or "the more," sometimes by "again," or "back." *Ba* and *buya* are commonly weakened into

be, buye (cf. § 25, 5). The fuller forms *buya, buye* should generally be preferred to *ba, be*. Ex. :

1. U-*be w-a-tete*, he has again spoken. | *a-ka-banga w-a-teta*, he has not spoken again,
or U-*buye w-a-teta*, (*be* or *buye* is here a perfect). | or *a-ka-buyanga w-a-teta*.

2. W-*a-be w-a-teta*, he spoke again.
or W-*a-buye w-a-teta*, (*buye* or *be* is here for *buya*).

N.B. U-*buye wamnika i gusha zake*, he gave him his sheep back.

3. A *kuba e-teta*, the more he spoke, (or) when he was speaking again.

4. W-*obuye a-tete*, he will speak again.

5. Ma *ka-buye a-tete*, he must speak again (with regard to *ma*, see § 35, 5). | Ma *ka-nga-buye a-tete*, he must not speak again (*buye* is here for *buyi*).

C. BA AND BUYA AS INDEPENDENT VERBS.

1. *Buya*, when used as a quite independent verb, signifies "to return," v.g. :

Wobuya nini na? When will he return?

2. *Ba*, when used as a quite independent verb, signifies :

I. To turn out, to become, to be such (with opposition to...), v.g. :

Waba ngu mfo, he became a man (cf. § 7, 7).

II. To take place repeatedly, v.g. :

Ziba ko i mvulana, there are little rains.

III. To reckon, to think (Latin *reor*), v.g. :

Uba urweewe nguwe, he thinks he has been touched by you.

Ningabi.... do not suppose....

N.B. 1. The nominal form *u-ku-ba*, lit. "the reckoning, the considering," is very much used as a substantive proper after words which imply "thought," principally where we make use of the conjunction "that," v.g. :

Ndiyazi u kuba uli sela, I know that he is a thief; *womelwa ku kuba amko*, he will be obliged to go away. lit. he will be expected by the consideration (that) he must go away; *nasi i sizatu so kuba emkile*, this is the reason why he has gone; lit. this is the reason of considering his having gone.

2. *U kuba* is also used to signify "if," lit. (in) the supposition "that" or "in case that," v.g.: *u kuba umkile*, if he is gone: *andi kusula, na kuba e, mkile* I shall not remain, though (lit. even if) he be gone.

3. *Kuba* or *ngo kuba*, followed generally by a participle, is used to render "because," v.g.: *kuba eteta* or *ngo kuba eteta*, because talking, because he talks or talked. In such expressions, *kuba* means lit. "it reminding that...;" *ngo kuba*, for the reason that....

§ 30. THE AUXILIARY ZA, "TO COME."

I. This verb is not used as a *modifier*. As an *auxiliary proper*, it describes a fact as coming *gradually*. When preceded by a negative it renders very often our "never." When forming an affirmative clause it may often be rendered by "until, then," or "in the end." In the future imperative it brings out more clearly than any other imperative the notion of *futurity*. Ex.:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. U-za kuteta, he is going to speak. | a-ka-zi kuteta, he is not going to speak. |
| 2. U-ze w-a-teta, he came and spoke. | a-ka-zange a-tete, he never spoke (<i>Zange</i> is for <i>zanga</i> , cf. § 24, 5). |
| 3. W-a-za w-a-teta, he spoke in the end. | |
| 4. A-z' a-tete, that he may speak, v.g.: to-morrow or "until he speak" or "so as to speak then." | a-z' a-nga-z' a-tete, that he may never speak, etc. (N.B. Both <i>z'</i> are for <i>ze</i> before a vowel). |

N.B.—1. In such constructions as *az' atete*, the subjective pronoun of *ze* is generally understood when it contains a consonant, v.g.: *Ze uditete na?* Must I speak (cf. *be* § 22. A. 3).

2. In constructions like *az' angaz' atete*, the second *ze* is for *zi*, the sound *i* being weakened according to § 24, 5.

3. Likewise *u ku-ze* is used for *u ku-za* as a substantive rendering of our "in order that," v.g.: *cela u-kuze u-zuze*, ask. that you may receive

II. The verb *za* is also used as a quite independent and regular verb, v.g.:

A bantu a ba-zileyo, the people who have come.

§ 31. THE AUXILIARY DA "TO DELAY."

This verb is used only as an auxiliary proper, v.g. :

1. U-*de wa-teta*, he has at length spoken.
2. W-*a-da wa-teta*, at length he spoke.
3. W-*o-de a-tete*, at length he will speak (*de* for *da*, cf. § 24, 5).

§ 32. THE AUXILIARIES SA, "TO CLEAR UP, TO REMAIN," AND SELA, TO REMAIN BEHIND.

I. *Sa*, when used as a modifier, renders our "still." v.g. :

U-*sa-teta*, he is still speaking.

U-*sa-ya kuteta*, he is still going to speak (*ya* may be understood).

A-*ka-sa-yi kuteta*, he is no longer going to speak (*yi* may be understood).

II. *Sa* is also used as an *auxiliary proper*. Under the form *sa* it signifies "to get ready," and is followed by *u kuba* (cf. § 29, c, note 1), with which it combines into *so kuba* or *s'u kuba*. Its subjective pronoun is then very often understood. The perfect *se (sel'* for *sele* before a vowel) renders our "already." Its subjective pronoun is generally understood.

Sele may also be used for *sela* (cf. § 24, 5), in conjunction with the auxiliary *ya*. Ex. :

1. Xa *s'u kuba be-teta* or *sa ku-s' u kuba be-teta*, when they are preparing to speak, lit. when it gets ready that they speak.
2. *Sel' e-teta*, he is already speaking (sometimes *se ye-teta*, *ye* being used for *e*).
Se be-teta, they are already speaking.
4. U-*ya kusel' e-teta* (or W-*o-sel' e-teta*), he will remain speaking.
Ba-*ya kusele be-teta* (or b-*o-sele be-teta*), they will remain speaking.

III. *Sa* is also used as a quite independent verb to signify—(a) “to clear up,” v.g. : *ku-sa-sa*, it still clearing up, when it is still clearing up, i.e., “in the morning,”—(b) “to convey,” in which sense it is, as it were, the causative for *za*, to come.

Sela, which is the objective verb corresponding to *sa* (§ 26), is seldom used as an independent verb, except in the expression *kusel' oko kutiwa* (sometimes *kusol' oko*....., through assimilation), “it is still often said.” The form used as a quite independent verb to signify “to remain behind,” is *sala*.

IV. *Si*, the negative form of *sa*, is used as copula in negative clauses before a word which has or can have a consonantal article, v.g. : *a-si ngu-mutu*, he is not a man.

N.B.—It is not certain that *si* is a verb in such expressions as the above ; it may be that it is a sort of indefinite pronoun.

§ 33. THE AUXILIARY KA, NOTION OF “AN ACTUAL FACT.”

I. As a *modifier*, *ka* has the same meaning as *se*, but it is used only in negative clauses. Hence, with the negative, it renders “not yet,” v.g. :

A-ndi-ka-teti, I do not yet speak.

II. As an *auxiliary proper*, *ka* renders sometimes “just” or “just now,” sometimes “once” or “ever,” sometimes “until,” v.g. :

1. *Ka u-tete*, just speak ; *ka-ni-tete*, just speak ye (2nd person only).
2. *Ke ndi-tete*, until I speak ; *a-ke a-tete*, until he speak.

N.B. Here again the subjective pronoun of *ke* is generally understood, when it contains a consonant.

3. U-ke w-a-teta na ? Did he happen to speak ?
4. U kuba u-ke w-a-teta, if he ever spoke.
5. W-a-ka w-a-teta, he spoke once.
6. Ma ka-nga-ke a-tete, he must never speak (*he* for *ki*, § 24, 5.)

III. As an *independent verb*, *ka* means "to dip, to pluck, etc." (cf. a dictionary).

§ 34. THE AUXILIARY NGA, NOTION OF "PROXIMITY" (TO BE ABOUT).

I. As a *modifier*, *nga*, means "may, can," v.g. :

A-nga-teta, he may speak, or he can speak.

a-nge-teti } he may not speak,

or a-ka-nge-teti } or he will not speak.

II. As an *auxiliary proper*, this verb is used in its perfect form *nge*, and renders sometimes "would," sometimes "should," or "ought." The pronominal subject of *nge* is understood, v.g. :

1. Nge-e-teta, he would	nge e-nga-teti, he would not
or should speak.	or should not speak.

Ex. U kuba eb' enganjeni, nge esebenza, if he was not lazy, he would work.

2. Nge e-tetile, he would	nge e-nga-tetanga, he would
have spoken.	not have spoken.

III. (a) As a quite independent verb, *nga* means "to wish," v.g. :

U-nga angateta, he wishes he may speak.

Eb' e-nga angateta, he was anxious he might speak.

W-a-nga anyateta, he wished he might speak.

(b) *Nga* is also used sometimes to signify "seems," v.g. :

U-nga u-ya-teta, he seems to be speaking.

§ 35. OTHER VERBS USED AS AUXILIARIES.

1. *Andula* or *anda*, lit. "to develop." *Andula* is used only as an auxiliary rendering of our "then it was that." *Anda*, which is also used as an independent verb, renders our "just" when used with the modifier *sa*, v.g.:

W-andula u kupendula (for *w-a-andula*), then it was that he answered.

U-s-and' u kufika (for *u-sa-anda*), he has just arrived.

2. *Fudula* or *fuda*, lit. "to remove," hence "to have been accustomed to." v.g.:

Eb' efudula eteta, he was accustomed to speak.

3. *Fumana*, lit. "to find," hence "to act in vain, to no purpose," v.g.:

Ufuman' eteta, he speaks to no purpose.

U mlungu angefumane (*fumane* for *fumani*, § 24, 5) *akupe i nto ungayitenganga*, a white man would not give you a thing for nothing without your buying it.

4. *Kla*, lit. "to come down," hence to do a thing immediately, v.g. : *ukle wafika*, he arrived immediately.

5. *Klala*, lit. "to sit, to remain," hence "to do often," v.g.:

Baklala begqita, they pass often.

6. *Ma*, lit. "to stand up" or "to stand still." This verb is extensively used before imperatives of the future tense of any person, to draw particular attention to that which is proposed, v.g.:

Ma katete, he must speak, lit. standing he must speak.

Ma kangateti, he must not speak.

N.B. *Ka* after *ma* must be replaced as if it were *a* of the future tense, v.g. : *ma utete*, you must speak.

7. *Mana*, lit. "to stand with," hence "to do a thing continually."

Uman' u kuteta, he speaks continually.

8. *Musa* or *msa*, lit. "send away," hence "avoid," v.g. :
ms'u kuteta, avoid to speak, do not speak.

9. *Suka*, lit. "to get away," hence "to do a thing
straightway after another," v.g. :

Basuka bamlandela, straightway they followed him
 (cf. § 34, 8).

§ 36. THE VERB U KUTI, TO SAY, TO DO SO.

I. This verb is used idiomatically to introduce an incidental clause, or its equivalent. Then it takes for its own subject a pronoun of the same person, as that of the incidental clause or the indefinite *ku*, v.g. :

Ndati nda kufika, wateta, When I arrived, he spoke.

Kwati e busuku, wafika, Then at night he arrived.

N.B. *E busuku*, "at night" is equivalent to the incidental clause "when it was night."

Woti a kundibiza, ndimlandele, When he calls me, I will follow him.

II. This verb is also used sometimes as an auxiliary proper, merely, as it seems, to lay emphasis on the fact expressed by the following verb, and thus to signify a contrast with another fact, v.g. :

Akatandwa yena, ndati ndatandwa mna, he was not loved he, but I was loved.

Ma sinxame, zingati zipela i nkomo, let us hasten, lest the cows should come to an end, lit. let us hasten, that the cows do not do so that they come to an end.

III. The verb *ti*, when preceded by the modifier *nga*, has generally its subjective pronoun understood, v.g. :

Wenza ngati uyakwela, he did *as if* he was climbing, lit. he did *you would say* he is climbing.

Ngati mna, le nyama asikuyiva, It seems to me that we shall not taste this meat, lit. I may say, I, that we shall not taste this meat.

IV. The verb *ti* is used to introduce a sort of imitative words which are very common in Kafir, and may be considered grammatically as exclamations, v.g. :

Wati ewe, he said yes.

U mbona ute sa, lit. the maize has done *sa*, i.e. has been scattered.

I hashe lati kátaka kátaka, lit. the horse did *kataka kataka*, i.e. ran away.

§ 37. THE VERB *UKU-TETA* IN THE ACTIVE VOICE.

(WITH SOME AUXILIARIES.)

AFFIRMATIVE.

NEGATIVE.

FORMS OR
MOODS.

NOMINAL FORM (INFINITIVE).

u kuteta, to speak.

| *u kungateti*, not to speak.

PRESENT TENSE.

IMPERFECT STAGE.

Imperative	{ <i>teta</i> , speak ; <i>tetani</i> , speak ye.	<i>ma kangateti</i> , he must not speak.
Indefinite	{ <i>ma ka'tete</i> , let him speak. <i>u'teta</i> , he speaks.	<i>aka'teti</i> , he does not speak.
Progressive	<i>uyateta</i> , he is speaking.	
Preparative	{ <i>uyakuteta</i> } he will { (or) <i>wakuteta</i> } speak.	<i>akayi kuteta</i> { he will not or speak.
	{ <i>woteta</i> } <i>u'za kuteta</i> , he is going to speak.	<i>akazi kuteta</i> , he is not going to speak.
Inceptive	<i>sel' e'teta</i> , he is already speaking.	<i>akakateti</i> , he does not yet speak.
Continuative	<i>usateta</i> , he is still speaking.	<i>akasateti</i> , he is no longer speaking.

PRESENT TENSE.

PERFECT STAGE.

Indefinite	<i>u'tete</i> , he spoke (lately).	<i>akadetanga</i> , he has not spoken.
Definite	{ <i>u'tetile</i> , he has spoken. <i>u'lele</i> , he is asleep.	<i>akaketile</i> , he has not spoken. <i>akalele</i> , he is not asleep.
	<i>usalele</i> , he is still asleep.	<i>akasalele</i> , he is no longer asleep.
Expressive of Contrast	{ <i>u-</i> or <i>eb'eteta</i> , he was speaking (lately). <i>u-</i> or <i>eb'etetile</i> , he has spoken (lately), or he had spoken.	<i>u-</i> or <i>eb'engateti</i> , he was not speaking <i>u-</i> or <i>eb'engatetanga</i> , he has not or had not spoken.
	{ <i>u</i> or <i>eb'eya kuteta</i> , he was going to speak, or he would speak.	<i>u-</i> or <i>eb'engayi kuteta</i> , he was not going to speak, or he would not speak.

PAST TENSE.

IMPERFECT STAGE.

Indefinite	<i>wateta</i> , he spoke.	<i>aka'eteta</i> , (<i>ka</i> for <i>ka-a</i>), he did not speak.
With Con- trast }	<i>wa eteta</i> , he was speaking.	<i>wa engateti</i> , he was not speaking.
Progressive	<i>way' eteta</i> , he went on speaking.	<i>way' engateti</i> , he was not speaking.
Preparative	{ <i>waza kuteta</i> } gradually or then he came	{ <i>aka:ange atete</i> , he never did speak.
	{ <i>waza wateta</i> } to speak.	
	{ <i>wada wateta</i> } at length he spoke, or has spoken.	
	{ <i>ude wateta</i> }	

PAST TENSE.

PERFECT STAGE.

With Con- trast }	<i>wa etetile</i> , he had spoken.	<i>wa engatetanga</i> , he had not spoken.
Progressive	<i>way' etetile</i> , he had spoken.	<i>way' engatetanga</i> , he had not spoken.

FUTURE TENSE.

Imperat. Subjunctive	{ Inde- finite }	... <i>atete</i> , so as to speak.	<i>angateti</i> , he must not speak, so as not to speak.
	Impera- tive	{ <i>a:' atete</i> , so as to speak then, in the end; until he speak; let him speak, v.g. to-morrow.	<i>a:' anguz' atete</i> , he must never speak.
		{ <i>ale atete</i> , so as at length to speak.	
Em- phatic }		<i>ati atete</i> , so as to speak.	<i>angati atete</i> , lest he should speak.
	Potential	{ <i>angateta</i> , he may or can speak.	<i>angateti</i> or <i>akangeteti</i> , he may not, or will not speak.
		{ <i>nge eteta</i> , he ought to or would speak.	<i>nge engateti</i> , he ought not to, should not, or would not speak.

PARTICIPLES.

<i>seteta</i> , speaking, etc.	<i>engateti</i> , not speaking, etc.
<i>etetile</i> , having spoken, etc. (see § 22.)	<i>engatetile</i> , having not spoken, etc.
<i>a kuteta</i> or <i>wakuteta</i> , when he spoke.	
<i>a kuba etetile</i> , when he had spoken.	

§ 38. PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.

1. The ending *a* in verbs seems to denote *activity* or *distance*.

The ending *i* in verbs seems to denote *inactivity*.

The ending *e* in verbs seems to denote *rest* after or before activity.

The ending *e* may also be perhaps a neutral sound. The ending *le* may be intended to facilitate a pause on the penultimate of the perfect (cf. § 4. 4).

No attempt to give the original meaning of the monosyllabic Kafir verbs from which all others appear to be derived can be more than approximate. Yet the study of this point is of such importance that no one can expect to understand or write Kafir properly unless he feels, as it were, unconsciously, what notion every sound conveys to a Kafir mind. This will be a sufficient excuse for stating here the conclusions to which I have come on that subject.

The meanings which are given between brackets are problematic, the others are certain. It may be noticed that hard and soft consonants appear to be correlative, perhaps also *l* and *m*, *n* and *ny*, etc.

Ya (*ia*), go (any sort of motion).
Pa, give (turn off something, exchange).
Tsha, be burning (contract, twist).

Sa, a) bring, convey a thing.
 b) clear up, part with (separate).

Kla, come down (make things level, smooth, to rub).

Ka, pluck, dip (fix a thing, raise up).

Ta, pour (draw a thing).

Ma, stand (collect the members).
Na, unite, be with, rain (meet, see).
Fa (for *fua*), expire (be suffocated).

Qa in *qaqeka*, become ripped, or open (get a fresh look)

Xa and *ra* (?)

Wa (*ua, iwa*), fall (passive motion).
Ba, turn out, become (change, turn oneself, oppose).
Ja in *jija*, twist.

Za, a) come (go with the face towards...).
 b) become (become naked, cf. *ze*, naked, empty).

Gla, eat (make smooth the body).

Nya (tend to, reach, be about, be like), wish.

Da, delay, (draw oneself; *dada*, swim).

La in *lala*, lie down (isolate, loosen).
Nya, eject, void excrement.

Va (for *vua*), feel, taste, hear (be enlivened).

Ca in *cataza*, pour in fine drops (notion of something *fine* or parcelled up).

Cf. Dohne's Zulu-Kafir dictionary.

Cf. also § 11 of this grammar.

In derivative words I should think that the vowel *a* means "at, against"; *i*, "in" or "from within." *u*, "off, over." *e*, "for or from something, underneath, out," *o*, "in front, at the face or surface," v.g.:

- bala*, count, relate, lit. oppose to one another loose facts.
 (*bela*) in *i bele*, ulder, lit. what protrudes underneath being loose.
bila, ferment, boil, lit. to turn and get loose internally.
bola, rotten, lit. to turn and get loose in front.
bula, thrash out, lit. to turn and loosen off things.

ii. *pala*, scrape the surface of a thing, lit. make loose things which are against one another.

pela, come to an end, lit. to be reduced to nothing (contrary of *bela*).

pila, to recover (contrary of *bila*)

pola, to heal, v.g., of a wound (contrary of *bola*).

upula, to break off a thing.

Cf. "The vowels" of Rev. Kolbe, Juta's, Capetown.

It should be well kept in mind that, in giving the above conclusions, I do not pretend to dogmatise on the subject, but merely to call the attention of scholars on a point which may prove to be worth considering to such as are not satisfied with a superficial knowledge of the Kafir language, and on which I purpose to enlarge in a treatise on the derivation of words in that interesting specimen of the laws of association of ideas in the human mind.

PREPOSITIONS, ADVERBS, ETC.

§ 39. PREPOSITIONS.

I. Practically we may consider the following as being prepositions :

1. *A*. "of." Its construction has been explained in § 20.

2. *Pa*. This is used only in expressions which signify an actual relation of place or time. It acts as a *quasi*-characteristic prefix, admitting no article after itself (cf. § 6, 8, E), and leaving no accent to monosyllabic nouns so as to form a single word with them. The expressions it forms are *pakati*, within ; *pambi*, in front ; *pantsi*, beneath, nearly ; *pandle*, outside ; *pezu* or *pezulu*, above ; *pesheya*, across ; *pezolo*, last night.

N. B.—The presence of *pe* in the last expressions is probably something analogous to the use of *me* for *ma* in *a meklo*, *a meva*, etc. (cf. § 8, 4), viz. *pe* is here a combination of the preposition *pa* with the vowel *i* of *li*, the original characteristic of *i zolo*, *i zulu*, etc.

3. *Ka*. This forms two kinds of expressions :

Firstly,—it changes most adjectives and some other expressions into verbs, and then it acts also as a *quasi*-characteristic prefix, v.g. : *kade*, long ago ; *kakulu*, greatly, excessively ; *kanye*, once, altogether ; *kabini*, twice ; *kakukle*, beautifully (*o kukle*, that which is beautiful, cf. § 18, 6) ; *kaloku* (for *ka-oku*), at this stage, now ; *kanjako*, in like manner, again.

N. B.—*Ako* in *kanjako* and *aka* in the adjective *ngaka* "so great," are remnants of the demonstrative pronouns corresponding to the *quasi*-characteristic *ka*.

Secondly,—it replaces *a* in some cases (cf. § 20, 2). Then also it admits no article after itself, but it leaves their

accent to monosyllabic nouns, so as not to form one word with them, v.g. : *i ngubo ku ma*, the blanket of my mother.

N.B.—*Ka* and *pa* are true characteristics in many dialects.

4. *Ku*, “there being,” hence “in, at, from, to, among.” This is used principally before nouns and expressions which do not admit the article *e* (cf. § 7. 3). It causes the articles *a* and *u* to be phonetically dropped, but not the article *i*, while its own final vowel *u* is dropped before *o*; v.g. : *ku bantu* (for *ku a bantu*), in men, etc., (*kwa* in *kwa bantu* would be for the pronoun *ku* followed by the preposition *a*); *ku bawo* (for *ku u bawo*), to my father, in my father, etc.; *kwi miti*, among the trees; *k'o dade*, to the sisters.

N.B.—Practically a pronoun is nearly always inserted between *ku* and a substantive, v.g. : *kubo u bantu*, “in them, the men,” instead of *ku bantu* (cf §14, 6).

5. *Na* means (a) “being with,” hence “also, and, even,” v.g. : *wemka naye*, lit. he went away, he being with, i.e., “he went away, he also,” or “even he”; *i ndoda no mfazi* (for *na u mfazi*), a man and his wife.

(b) “having,” hence “with.” Before an infinitive it signifies “having to” or “being able to,” v.g. : *uno mfazi* (for *una u mfazi*), he has a wife, lit. he is with a wife; *uno kuteta* (for *una u kuteta*), he has to speak or he can speak.

6. *Nga* means (a) about, v.g. : *ngo kusa* (for *nga u kusa*), about sunrise.

(b) through, by means of, v.g. : *uyalima nge nkabi* (for *nga i nkabi*), he ploughs by means of oxen.

(c) according to, v.g. : *ngo mteto* (for *nga u mteto*) according to law.

(d) as, v.g. : *inga nge nkawu* (for *nga i nkawu*), it is as big as a monkey.

(e) by (with a distributive meaning), v.g. : *nge zinye, nga banye*, one by one.

II. Different combinations may be formed with the above prepositions, such as :

a ku, lit. of at, of in (cf. § 20, 2); *ku na*, in comparison with even... (cf. § 19, 2); *nga pa*,—*nga ku*, about at, round about, etc.; *na ku*, *na nga na pa*,—etc., and at, and about, etc.

III. The whole of an expression which begins with a preposition must be considered sometimes as an adjective, v.g. : *unga pambili*, he is in front, sometimes as an adverb, v.g. : *ukleli nga pambili*, he sits in front.

IV. English prepositions, which have no equivalent among those just mentioned, may be rendered by compound expressions, such as :

nge nxa ya...on account of...

e mva kwa, behind, lit. at the back of (for *kwa*, see § 20, 4).

pambi kwa, in front of; *pakati kwa*, in the middle of, amidst, etc.

kufupi, near, lit. it (being) near, v.g. : *ukleli kufupi e ndhwini*, he sits near the house, *kufupi nam*, near me.

N.B.—1. For further explanations on prepositions see a dictionary.

2. Theoretically, most prepositions, if not all, appear to be *verbal* forms.

§ 40. CONJUNCTIONS.

Properly speaking, there is no true conjunction in Xosa, unless we choose to consider as such the conjunctive preposition *na*, and, between two nouns. But the want is easily supplied by means of auxiliaries, substantives, pronouns, and compound expressions, many of which may practically be considered as conjunctions. Such are :

Kodwa, "only," hence "but," *kuloko, koko*, "but."

Mkla umbi, "another day," hence or "perhaps."

Xa or *nxa, mkla, oko, okuya*, etc., when (cf. § 16, 8).

U kuba, if (cf. § 29, C note).

Noko, no kuba, nu kuba after a negative, although.

N.B.—*Noko*, lit. "even when, or "with that"; *no kula* and *na kuba*, lit. "even if."

No kuba . . . *no kuba*, whether . . . , or whether, lit. and if...and if, v.g. : *no kuba siteta, no kuba siti tu*, whether we speak, or whether we are silent.

Kuba and *ngo kuba*, because (cf. § 29, C, note 3).
etc., etc.

N.B. 1. "And," between two verbs, is not expressed in Kafir, v.g. *waya watenga i hashe*, he went and bought a horse (cf. 23, iii. and iv., regarding "and" when it signifies consequence).

2. We find sometimes *zeshikwani* used to signify "when," and *e mveni kweni* used to signify "after." The origin of these expressions is doubtful.

§ 41. ADVERBS.

I. We may consider as adverbs, i.e., as particles modifying a verb or an expression which has a verbal power :

1. The negative *a*, *nga*, *nge*. This makes part of the verb (cf. § 22, 4). It is understood in the expressions *na mnye*, *na linye*, *na sinye*, etc., (not) even one; *na pakade*, lit. "(not) even ever," i.e., "never," when such expressions are used as answers to questions, v.g. : *Ngubanina ongatshoyo...? Na mnye*. Who is there who can say so? No one.
2. *Yo*, lit. "going." This acts as enclitic after verbs in relative clauses (cf. § 16, 1).
3. *Ke*, then (French *donc*). This acts as enclitic after imperatives, v.g. : *hambake*, go then.
4. *Futi*, repeatedly, assiduously, v.g. : *usebenza futi*, he works assiduously.
5. *Qa*, only. This is found only after numbers, v.g. : *Mntu mnye qa*, a single man only.
6. *Apa*, *apo*, *payu*, here, there, yonder. These are a sort of demonstrative pronoun corresponding to the quasi-characteristic *pa*. They are changed into adjectives of place by prefixing *l*, as a sort of consonantal article (cf. § 15, 2) v.g. : *ulapa*, he is here.
7. *Kwa*, even. This is used to emphasise an expression principally before the preposition *na* and before consonantal articles, v.g. :

Ngabo, ikwa ngabo, it is they; yea, they themselves.

A maxesha onke, kwa na bantu bonke, all times and all men as well.

Ndivela kwa kona, I come from that very place.

N.B. *Kwa* is found sometimes used as a modifier in the body of a verb. v.g. : *sikwapilile*, we are also in good health; *sikwahamba nani*, we also go with you.

II. To the above adverbs may be added the following, which are also used as adjectives :

1. *Le*, far, v.g. : *uya kukutuma le*, he will send you far.
2. *Nje*, so, in this manner (perhaps for *nja le* or *mbi le* cf. § 5, 8, lit. "this time, this turn"), *wateta nje*, he spoke so.

N.B.—*Nje* acts as a demonstrative enclitic in some expressions where it causes the noun to have no article, just as the adjective *mbi*, v.g.: *na mklanje*, just to day, lit. even (a) day of this turn; *kutshanje*, quite recently, (*o kutsha*, that which is recent).

3. *Pi?* or *Pina?* where? *Ngapi?* or *Ngapina?* where-about? v.g. : *uya pi?* Where are you going to? *uya ngapi?* Whereabout are you going?
4. *Ze*, naked. This is used principally after *hamba*, v.g. : *uhumba ze*, he goes naked.
5. *Mayela*, *malunga*, along, near, etc.

III. Most of our other adverbs are rendered :

(a) By modifiers and auxiliary verbs (cf. auxiliaries).

(b) By words containing the quasi-characteristics *ka*, *pa*, v.g. : *kanti* (derivation unknown), yet, notwithstanding, *kaloku* for *ka oku*, at this stage, now, then ; *kamnandi*, sweetly, etc. (cf. § 38, 3) ; *pandle*, outside, etc. (cf. § 38, 2).

(c) By means of expressions containing the attributive pronoun *ku*, v.g. *kutsha*, recently, lit. it being recent; *kuyala*, at first, lit. it beginning.

(d) By means of expressions beginning with prepositions, v.g. : *ngani?* or *nganina?* why? *Kunganina?* Why is it? *nga se le*, beyond. (N.B. The word *le*, "far," is used here as a substantive); *ngoko* for (*nga oko*), *nga ko*, therefore, *ngo mso*, to-morrow, *pantsi*, nearly (before an infinitive).

(e) By means of additional clauses, v.g. : *Kute nina uwutye u mpeklo?* Why have you eaten the butter? Lit. What does it mean, that you have eaten the butter?

§ 42. INTERJECTIONS.

I. The following are the principal interjections :

<i>Ah!</i> Hail!	<i>Madoda!</i> Men!
<i>Avu!</i> Oh! Awful!	<i>Mawo!</i> Dear me! (lit. my mother!)
<i>E!</i> So, or Thanks.	<i>Qa!</i> Woe!
<i>Ewe,</i> Yes.	<i>Ra!</i> Shocking! Tush!
	Fie!
<i>Hayi,</i> No.	<i>We!</i> Behold! Ho!
<i>Heke!</i> That's it!	<i>Wenna!</i> Still! Take heed!
<i>Gæbe!</i> Well now!	<i>Yeha!</i> Alas!
<i>Naxatshike!</i> Well done!	<i>Yo!</i> Expressive of surprise or fear.
<i>Poju!</i> Strange!	

II. Other interjections are mere imperatives of regular or defective verbs. Such are :

<i>Yitsho!</i> Good day!	plural <i>Yitshoni!</i> (imperative of <i>tsho</i> , say so.)
<i>Molo!</i> (for <i>morrow</i>) Good morning!	plural <i>Moloni!</i>
<i>Ronani!</i> Good bye! (perhaps from the Dutch <i>goejen avond</i>)	
<i>Ete!</i> Bring it here!	plural <i>Etani!</i>
<i>Ina!</i> Here!	„ <i>Inani!</i>

Ina belongs to the defective verb *na*, notion of “union.” It is used under the form *na* in the body or at the end of a clause, with an interrogative power, v.g. :

Ndisebenze na? Must I work?

N.B.—1. This interjection *na* acts as an enclitic after the interrogative words *ni?* what? and *pi?* where? (cf. § 18, 5. B. note).

2. To the same defective verb *na* belong the preposition *na*, “with, and,” the emphatic suffix *na* of substantive pronouns, etc.

III. A peculiar kind of demonstrative interjections is obtained by suffixing to the particle *na* what appears to be copulative forms of the attributive pronouns. They vary as demonstrative pronouns. The forms used to point out an object near the person speaking are (1) *nanku*, (2) *nabu*, (3) *naku*, (4) *nalu*, (5) *nali*, (6) *nantsi*, (7) *nasi*, (8) *naba*, (9)

nanga, (10) *nantsi*, (11) and (12) *nazi*. To these the forms pointing out an object near the second person suffix *o*, and those pointing out a remote object suffix *ya*, v.g. :

Nanku u m'fo, here he is, the man, lit. behold! (it) is he, the man.

Nanko, there he is (near you) lit. behold! (it) is he there.

Nankuya, there he is (yonder, far) lit. behold! (it) is he yonder.

N.B.—*Nanku ndilapa*, here I am, *nanku silapa*, here we are.

IV. We must also consider as interjections words used after *ti* after the manner described in § 36, 4, v.g. : *Yiti tu*, lit. do “tu,” i.e. keep silence!

DIALOGUES.

Ezi nkomo ze zako na ?

Ewe, ze zam.

Ute ni u kuzizuzza ?

Ndinikwe le nkomo ibomvu li bulu ngo msebenzi wam, leya innyama ndiyilotyolelwe yi ndoda ye ntombi yam.

Ziyasengwa na ? Ziyeklisa na ?

Ebomvu iyasengwa izalise i tunga i mikla † yonke. Innyama ayisengwa kuba imiti.

Unganditengela na le innyama ? Ndiya kukunika i ponti e zinne ngayo.

Yini ? Uno kuyifumana na le nkomo nge ponti e zinne ? Na nge ponti e

Are these cows yours ?

Yes, they are mine.

How did you get them ?

I received this red cow from a boor for my work : as to that black one I received it as a dowry from the husband of my daughter.*

Do you get much milk from them ?

The red one gives a full bucket every day. The black one does not give any milk, because she is going to have a calf.

Will you sell me this black cow ? I shall give you four pounds for it.

What ? Do you expect to get this cow for four pounds ? Even for six pounds you

* Among heathen Kafirs wives are still bought as in Homeric times by giving cattle, sheep, or something else, to the father of the bride, or to the head of the family.

† We beg to remind the reader that we represent by *kl* the compound sound which most recent writers prefer to represent by *hl*, and by *gl* that which in other works is written *dl* or *dhl* after any other sound than *n*. The reasons of our doing so will perhaps be more easily understood now, when our philological remarks on verbs (§ 38) have shown the importance of attending to the relation of hard and soft consonants. What we want is to preserve in writing the opposition of two sounds which are to one another not as *h* is to *d*, but as *k* is to *g* or as *t* is to *d*. To this may be added that the first element, v.g. : in *klala*, sit down, and *glala*, play, is a guttural not a dental sound, and that the English sounds which approach the nearest to the Kafir *kl* in *klala* and *gl* in *glala* are *cl* in *class* and *gl* in *glass*.

zintandatu akuna kuyifumana i nkomo enje nga le nkomo.

Yo? le nkomo uyifunange ponti e zintandatu! Ka ukangele i mpondo zayo: isel' imasu maklanu.

Hayi, imasu mane. Isaza kuzala i lisu lo kugqibela.

Ungayitengisa na nge ponti e zintlanu?

Ewe, ndingakunikangazo.

would not get a cow like this.

What! Six pounds for this cow! Look at these horns; she has had already five calves.

No, she has had only four. The last ring is for the calf she is going to have.

Will you give it for five pounds?

All right, I let you have her for that sum.

Dyane, ungandixelela na i ndlela eya e Rini?

Uyayibona na i ndlela le? Hambana ngayo: yokusa e ntabeni. Uz' uti, wa kufika e ntabeni, uhambe ugqite, uye kufika e mlanjeni. Uz' uti, wa kufika e mlanjeni, ujike nga se kunene: i ndlela yoti nqo esinga e Rini.

Silapa nje, likude kangakana nina i Rini?

U kuba i hashe lako lilungile, uya kufika lingekashoni i langa.

Molo ke!

Akundincazeli na?

Yiza kulitabata: nali i cuba.

E, nkosi.

Uya ngapina kaloku. Nantsi i ndlela.

John, can you show me the road to Grahamstown?

Do you see this road? Follow it: it will bring you to a mountain. You must pass the mountain, and then you will come to a river. Now, when you reach the river, turn to the right: the road goes straight to Grahamstown.

And how far is it from here to Grahamstown?

If your horse goes well, you will be there before sunset.

Well, good bye!

Do you not give me some tobacco?

Come and take it: here is some.

Thank you, sir.

Where are you going now? Here is the road.

Dyane, unganditwalela na
le ngxowa ?

Ndiyise pi ?

Landela mna.

Dyane, ndifuna i nkwe-
nkwe u kuba isebenze e ntsi-
mini yam i ntsukwana e ziti-
le. Uyawufuna na lo mse-
benzi ?

Uya kundinika mali nina ?

Ndiya kukunika i siki-
speni nge mini, no kutya
kwako.

Akuko Mxosa apa use-
benzela i sikispeni nge mini.
Ndiya kukusebenzela i nda-
liso nge mini, u kuba uya-
vuma.

Ndiya kukunika i sheleni
e nnye no kutya kwako.

Kulungile : undifuna ni-
nina ke ?

Uz' uze ngo mso kusasa.

Beka paya i ngxowa yam.
Ina, nantsi i tiki yako.

Yi nina u kuba ungandi-
niki i sikispeni ? Ingxowa
yako inzima kangaka ke,
kwaye kanjako kukude ka-
ngaka e sithesheni ku na lapa.

Lo mfo uklal 'ebiza i mali
enga pezulu. Nali i cuba
lako. Hambake ngoku.

John, will you carry this
bag for me ?

Where shall I take it ?

Just follow me.

John, I want a boy to
work in my garden for a
few days. Would you like
to work ?

How much will you give me ?

I shall give you sixpence
a day and your food.

There is no Kafir here
who works for sixpence a
day. I shall work for one
and sixpence, if you like.

I shall give you one shil-
ling and your food.

All right : when do you
want me ?

Come to-morrow morning.

Put my bag there. Here
are threepence for you.

You should give me six-
pence. Your bag is so
heavy, and it is so far to
come from the station.

That man always wants
more and more money.
Here is some tobacco for
you. Go away now.

Uvela ngapina, wena ?
Ndivela e Qonce.

Ka uti i ncwadi yako.
Nantsi.

Where do you come from ?
I come from King Wil-
liam's Town.

Show me your pass.
Here it is.

Inewadi yako indala. Ye
yo nyaka o gqitileyo.

O! ndiposisile. Nantsi e
nnye, kuba zimbini e ndi-
nazo.

Ilungile le. Ufuna nto
nina?

Ndifuna u msebenzi.

Msebenzimni uwufunayo?

Ndifuna u msebenzi wo
kwalusa i gusha.

Ndinayo i ndoda yo kwa-
lusa i gusha. Ndingakunika
kodwa u msebenzi wo
kwonza i zitena*

Andikwazi u kwenza i
zitena.

Ndiya kukubonisa u klobo
lo kwenziwa kwazo.

Ndinika i sheleni e zili
shumi e lina ntlanu no kutya
kwabo nge nyanga kubo
bonke a bantu bam. Uya
kwanela na yi lo mali?

Wondivumela na u kuba
ndake i ndlu apa?

Ufuna u kuyakela nto
nina i ndlu? Akuna kuklala
na kwa banye a bantu?

Ndifunela u mfazi wam no
sapo lam i ndlu.

Ungayaka ke, u kuba
ubatala i ponti i minyaka
yonke.

Ndiya kuya kumtabata ke
u mfazi, ndibuye ngo mso.

That pass is an old one.
It is of last year.

Oh! I am making a mis-
take. Here is another: I
have two.

This is all right. What
do you want?

I want work.

What sort of work do you
want?

I want to herd sheep.

I have already a shep-
herd, but I can give you
bricks to make.

I cannot make bricks.

I shall show you how to
make them.

I give fifteen shillings a
month with their food to all
my boys. Will you be satis-
fied with that?

Will you let me build a
hut here?

What do you want to
build a hut for? Can you
not live with the other boys?

I want a hut for my wife
and my children.

You may build it, but you
will have to pay one pound
a year.

Then I go to fetch my
wife; I shall be back to-
morrow.

* From the Dutch "steen."

Una ndawo'nina, wena ?

Ndiyafa kakulu.

Uyiva pina i ndawo eno buklongu ?

Yi ntloko yam.

Uqale ninina u kuyiva ?

Ndiqale i zolo.

Ndiyayibona le nto kunjje: utye kakulu i zolo.

Hayi, nditye i ntwana e ncinane yo kutya.

Mkla umbi utye i tyefu.

Andazi, ndicinga njalo.

Ndinalo i yeza lo kukupilisa. Ginya ibe nnye kwezi pili.

Hu! igragra le nto. Uya-ndibulala. Yi tyefu.

Ungaba uyayigcina i pili e mlonjeni, ungayiginyi kanye.

Asi yiyo i tyefu na ?

Ucinga na u kuba ndingakunika i tyefu? U kuba ufuna u kuyazi eyona nto iyi tyefu, yi brandi, i pili zona nga mayeza. Kodwa ma uziginye ngo kulungileyo. Buya utabate e nnye kwezi pili, uyiginye kwa kamsinya, wopila kwa oko.

What is the matter with you ?

I am very sick.

Where do you feel pain ?

In my head.

When did you begin to feel it ?

Yesterday.

I see how it has come: you took too much food yesterday.

No, I scarcely touched food at all.

Perhaps you ate poison.

I do not know, I think so.

I have a medicine which can cure you. Swallow one of these pills.

Oh! that is bitter. You are killing me. That is poison.

Perhaps you keep the pill in the mouth instead of swallowing it at once.

Is it not poison ?

Do you think that I would give you poison? If you want to know what poison is, brandy is poison, but pills are medicines. Only you must take them properly. Take another of these pills and swallow it at once, and you will soon find yourself cured.

A KAFIR TALE.

I NTSOMI NGO SIKOLUPATI NE MFENE. A FABLE ON THE TORTOISE AND THE BABOONS.

Ngo nnye u mkla wati u sikolupati* kwi mfene: "Qabane, ma siye kufuna i ngwenye e klatini." Yati ke i mfene ewe. Baya ke e klatini. Wazifumana u sikolupati i ngwenye, wafika wazicola e zipantsi. Wati ke, a kuzigqiba, waqala u kumbiza u mfene, wati: "Ndizifumene i ngwenye, yiza nganeno." Yeza ke i mfene, yafika yakwela. U sikolupati wakwela naye, watyibilika. Wati ke enge-na kukwela, wacela e mfene-ni, wati: "Ndipe i ngwenye." Yependula i mfene yati: "Nguwe ob' uzifumene kuqala i ngwenye: kute nina u kuba uzicele kum i ngwenye?" Yati ke i mfene yatya kakulu i ngwenye, bawuyeka ke lo mti u sikolupati no mfene, bagoduka.

Once upon a time a tortoise said to a baboon: "Friend, let us go to look for Kafir plums in the forest." The baboon said yes. So they went to the forest. The tortoise found some plums, he came and picked up those which were on the ground. When he had finished them, he began to call the baboon, saying: "I have found plums, come this way." So the baboon came, and when he arrived, he climbed up the tree. The tortoise tried to climb also, but he slipped. So being unable to climb, he asked the baboon to give him some plums. The baboon answered: "It is you who first found the plums: how is it you ask me to give you some?" So the baboon ate heartily of the plums, then both the tortoise and the

* The word *u sikolupati*, a tortoise, is an accommodation to the Kafir mouth of the Dutch *schilpad*. As there exist several truly Kafir words signifying "tortoise," the use of a Dutch word in this fable tends to show that at least some of its details may be of recent origin. This is the reason why we keep the word in this narrative, but in general foreign words should be carefully avoided in writing Kafir.

U sikolupati ke wafika ngo kuklwa e kaya, wafuna i sibonda so mtati, wasicanda pakati xa i mfene ileleyo. Wenza ke i mviko, wazifaka e habelsakeni † yake, walala ke, za kugqitywa i mviko. Wati ke a kuvuka kusasa u sikolupati, waya ku mfene wati: "Qabane, ma sibuye siye kutya i ngwenye." Yapendula i mfene yati: "Ewe, quabane." Wati u sikolupati: "Namklanjendiya kuzifaka e habelsakeni yam." Bahamba ke xa i nkomozitya i ntlazane.

Bati ba kufika engwenyeni, yakwela kuqala i mfene. U sikolupati eb' elunkile wenza ngati uyakwela nga se mfeneni. I mfene yati ku sikolupati: "Kwela kaloku." Wapendula u sikolupati wati: "Ndiyakwela, qabane, kuloko ndisuke ndiwe." I mfene yakleka pezulu. U sikolupati ke waqala ngoku wazirola i mviko zake, wajikela e sikondweni so mgwenye, wazitiya i mviko zake kuso sonke i sikondo so mgwenye. Waklala kude no

baboon left the tree and went home.

The tortoise came home about sunset: he then fetched a pole of sneeze-wood, and split it in the middle whilst the baboon was asleep. So he made some sharp pieces, which he put in his knapsack, and when they were finished, he lay down to sleep. So next morning when the tortoise got up, he went to the baboon and said: "My friend, let us go to eat plums again." The baboon answered, saying: "Yes, my friend." The tortoise said: "To-day I shall put them in my knapsack." So they went about breakfast time.

When they came to the plum-tree, the baboon climbed up first. The tortoise, who was cunning, did as if he was trying to climb up to the baboon. The latter said to the tortoise: "Climb up now." The tortoise answered, saying: "I try to climb up, my friend, but so far I have only succeeded in getting up to fall down again." The baboon laughed up in the tree. The tortoise then began to take out his sharp pieces of wood, went round the tree and set

† *I habelsake*, a knapsack, is a corruption of the French *havre sac*. This word must have come to the Kafirs either through the French Huguenots or through the Dutch soldiers.

mgwenye, warola ke i nqawa yake, wafaka i cuba kuyo, waqala u kuncokola ne mfene. I mfene yakleka, u sikolupati ke eb' etshaya nge nqawa yake e nkulu eb' inga nge tunga.

Yati ke i mfene yakleka kakulu pezulu paya, xa itya i ngwenye. U sikolupati, eyiklekisa nje i mfene, uyazi u kuba uyitiyele nge mviko, wayilibazisa ke nge ndaba ezayiklekisa, ayaba na kuzinceda.

Wati u sikolupati nxa ayiklekisa i mfene kangaka, ikluti. Yati ke i mfene ya kukluta, wati u sikolupati: "O! qabane, ma silhambe ngoku sigoduke." Yependula i mfene yati: "Ewe, qabane, ma sigoduke ngoku, ndi-kluti zi ngwenye." U sikolupati wayiklekisa ngoku kakulu, manxa iklayo: yakleka yakleka, yati ya kuba pakati kwe sikondo so mgwenye, ib' isanqena u kukla. Ib' ipaya e sikondweni, yatsiba ke imfene, yatsibela e zimvikweni zika sikolupati. Yaklatywa ke zi mviko. U sikolupati ke wafika wati: "Ee! nda nditshilo i gama lam ngu sikolupati." Wayibulala ke, yafa i mfene.

them traitorously all round it. He then sat down at a distance from the plum-tree, took out his pipe, put tobacco into it and began to chat with the baboon. The baboon laughed, while the tortoise was smoking his big pipe, which was as large as a basin.

So the baboon laughed very much up there, while eating plums. The tortoise, while making the baboon laugh thus, knew that he had set weapons against him: so he distracted his attention with such amusing news that the baboon could not contain himself.

While the tortoise was making the baboon laugh so much, the latter stuffed himself. So when he was just satiated, the tortoise said: "Well! my friend, let us go home now." The baboon answered, saying: "Yes, my friend, let us go home now; I am filled with plums." Then the tortoise did all he could to make the baboon laugh very much, as he was coming down. The latter laughed and laughed. When he was going to reach the middle of the trunk, he got tired of coming down in that way. So, as he was at this height on that trunk, he took a jump, and fell on the weapons of the tortoise. He was pierced

Wayiklinza ke i mfene u sikolupati, wawunqumla a u msila, wawakupa a matumbu ne sibindi. Watwala i siqu so mzimba, wagoduka naso. Wati a kufika, wasipeka, waya kubiza e zinnye i mfene, wati: "Namklanje ndibulele i nyamazana, hambani siye kuyitya." I mfene ke zahamba zati: "O! ma siye kutya i nyamakazi ayibulele u sikolupatinamklanje." Zahamba ke, zati za kufika e mzini ka sikolupati, wayopula i nyama pambi kwazo. Wati ke: "O! ndiyeza, madoda." Watata i sikuni so mlilo, wafaka i cuba e ngaweni yake, wasibeka i sikuni kuyo, watshaya. Watike: "Madoda, ndiyeza: ze nibe nisitya, ngo kuba mna, madoda, ndisakutshwe li ngweme." Wahamba ke etshaya.

Be kuko apo ke i ntaba: u sikolupati waya kuyo. Wati

by them. The tortoise then came, and said: "I said my name was Tortoise." So he struck the baboon till he died.

Then the tortoise skinned the baboon, he cut off the hands, the head, and the tail: he also took out the intestines and the liver. He then loaded himself with the rest of the body, and went home with it. When he arrived, he put it on the fire, and went to call other baboons, saying: "To-day I have killed some game, come, let us go and eat it." So the baboons went, saying: "Oh! let us go to eat the buck which the tortoise has killed to-day." So they went, and when they arrived at the house of the tortoise, the latter took the meat from the fire, and put it before them. He then said: "Oh! I am just coming, gentlemen." He then took a bit of wood out of the fire, put tobacco in his pipe, held the coal over it and began to smoke. He then said: "Gentlemen, I shall be back in a minute: meanwhile go on eating, because for me, gentlemen, I have not yet digested the intestines." He then went away smoking.

There was a hill there, to which the tortoise went.

a kufika ku lo ntaba, wenyukela pezulu kuyo, waqala wakwaza wati: "Zitya e mnye i mfene, ziba yi nyamakazi." Zependula e zimnye i mfene: "U sikolupati uti nina?" Zati e zimnye: "U sikolupati ute ma simbekele i nyama." U sikolupati wapi nda wakwaza kanjako: "Zitya e mnye i mfene, ziba yi nyamakazi." Zeva i mfene, zaqala u kunsukela u sikolupati.

Wabaleka ke u sikolupati, wafika e ngxungxwini, wati: "Ndincede, i mfene e zimnzi ziyandibulala." Yapendula i ngxungxu yati: "Klala apa, mta ka bawo sikolupati." Zavela i mfene, yaqala yapendula yati: "Awu, zimnzi kangaka! Hayi, sikolupati, gqita."

Wahamba ke u sikolupati, wabaleka wabeleka, wabaleka wabaleka, wafumana i nkunzi ye mbabala, wati: "Ndincede, i mfene e zimnzi ziyandibulala." Yapendula i mbabala yati: "Klala apa, mta ka bawo, sikolupati." Wاكلالا ke u sikolupati. Zavela i mfene e zimnzi, yati i mbabala: "Awu, sikolupati, i mfene zingaka! Gqitela pambili."

When he reached it, he went to the very top of it, and then began to scream, saying: "Baboons are eating a baboon, thinking it is a buck." Some baboons replied: "What does the tortoise say?" Others said: "The tortoise says we must leave some meat for him." The tortoise screamed again in the same manner: "Baboons are eating a baboon, thinking it is a buck." This time the baboons heard, and began to chase the tortoise.

So the tortoise ran away. He met with a grey-buck, and said: "Help me, a lot of baboons want to kill me." The grey-buck answered: "Sit here, tortoise, child of my father." The baboons soon came in view, then the grey-buck added: "Dear me, they are so numerous! No, tortoise, pass on."

So the tortoise went on; he ran and ran, ran and ran, met with a bush-buck ram and said: "Help me, a lot of baboons want to kill me." The bush-buck answered: "Sit here, tortoise, child of my father." So the tortoise sat there. A lot of baboons soon came in view, then the bush-buck said: "Dear me, tortoise, there is such a lot of baboons! Pass on."

Wahambela pambili u sikolupati, wahamba wafumana i nkunzi ye ngwe, wati: "Ndincede, i mfene e zinninzi ziyandibulala." Ingweyati: "Klala apa, mta ka bawo, sikolupati." Waklala ke u sikolupati. Zavela imfene, yati i ngwe: "Awu, zingaka! Hayi, sikolupati, gqitela pambili."

Wabaleka ke u sikolupati, wafumana ingonyama, wati: "Ndincede, mta ka bawo, i mfene e zinninzi ziyandibulala." Yati i ngonyama: "Klala apa, mta ka bawo." Waklala ke u sikolupati pantsi kwe ngonyama. Wati a kuklala kona, wabogla i pika, yotuka i ngonyama. Waklala ke u sikolupati. Zavela ke i mfene, yati i ngonyama: "Awu, sikolupati, zingaka! Gqitela pambili. Be ndingazazi u kuba zinninzi i mfene kangaka."

U sikolupati ke wabaleka wabaleka, wafumana i nkunzi ye nyati wati: "Mta ka bawo, ndincede, i mfene e zinninzi * ziyandibulala." Yati i nyati: "Klala apa, sikolupati." Waklala ke u sikolupati. Wabogla ke u

The tortoise went on further, he went, and went; he met with a tiger and said: "Help me, a lot of baboons want to kill me." The tiger said: "Sit here, tortoise, child of my father." So the tortoise sat down. When the baboons came in view, the tiger said: "Dear me, what a lot of them! No, tortoise, pass on."

So the tortoise ran, he met with a lion and said: "Help me, child of my father, a lot of baboons want to kill me." The lion said: "Sithere, child of my father." So the tortoise sat down under the lion. While he was there, he heaved a great sigh, at which the lion was a little startled. The tortoise remained there, but when the baboons came in view, the lion said: "Dear me, tortoise, what a lot of them! Pass on. I did not know they were so many."

So the tortoise ran and ran; he met with a buffalo-bull and said: "Child of my father, help me, an enormous lot of baboons want to kill me." The buffalo said: "Sit here, tortoise." So the tortoise sat down. He sighed

* Here the second *i* of *zinninzi* is pronounced very long, thus giving to that word the force of a superlative. It is still more lengthened below, when the tortoise entreats the elephant. The *a* in the interjection, *awu!* is also very long.

sikolupati kanjako. Zavela i mfene, yati i nyati: "Awu, sikolupati, zinninzi kangaka! Gqitela pambili."

Wabaleka ke u sikolupati, Way' ebilile kakulu, i mfene za zimsukela. Wafumana i nkunzi ye ndlovu, wati: "Mta ka bawo, ndincede, i mfene e zinninzi ziyandibulala." Yependula i ndlovu, yati: "Klala apa, sikolupati, i mfene yi nto ni, youa?" U sikolupati ke waklala pantsi kwe ndlovu. Yade yakangela i ndlovu, zavela i mfene, yati tu yona i ndlovu. Zafika i mfene, zabuza: "Uk' wambona na u sikolupati?" Yependula ke i ndlovu yati: "Ewe, ndimbonile eya kutshonela paya." Zegqita ke i mfene, zabonakala zibuya, zabuza kanjako zati: "Ute upina u sikolupati?" Yependula kanjako i ndlovu yati: "O! ngela xesha be nisiya kutshonela paya, ndimbonile u sikolupati eya kutshonela nganeno."

I mfene zajika zeza kutshonela nazo apa, kodwa azipelanga u kugqita apa nga se ndlovini: zite e zipambili se zitshonele, zati e zipakati nxa zi gqitayo, wavela u sikolupati pantsi kwe ndlovu, wati: "Mawo!

again. When the baboons came in view, the buffalo said: "Dear me, tortoise, such a lot of them! Pass on."

So the tortoise ran. He was perspiring very much, being thus chased by the baboons. He fell in with a bull elephant, and said: "Child of my father, defend me, an enormous lot of baboons want to kill me." The elephant answered: "Sit here, tortoise, what is a baboon?" So the tortoise sat under the elephant. After a time the elephant looked, the baboons came in view, he remained silent. When the baboons came, they said: "Have you not by chance seen Mr. Tortoise?" The elephant answered: "Yes, I have seen him just going out of sight there." So the baboons passed on; soon they came back, and asked again: "Where do you say the tortoise is? The elephant replied: "Oh! just when you were going out of sight there, I saw him on the point of disappearing on this side."

The baboons then turned round towards the same direction, but they had no time to finish passing along the elephant: for, when the first of them had already disappeared, just at the moment those of the middle were

Zitya e nnye i mfene ziba yi nyamakazi!"

Zaqala ke e zipakati zati: "Nanku u sikolupati." Zajika ke i mfene, zabuya, zazamela u kumrola u sikolupati. I ndlovu yabamba e nnye i mfene yabeta ngayo e zinnye. Zazama ke i mfene, za zingena kumfumana u sikolupati. Za zidiniwe kakulu apa, u sikolupati wa esonwabile. I mfene zalinga kakulu, zingena kumfumana u sikolupati.

Lide la li xesha e lide. Zade zayirazula e nnye i ndlebe ye ndlovu. I ndlovu yazivutulula i mfene noko, zingena kumfumana u sikolupati.

Zafakakulu i mfene. Zade zamfumana u sikolupati, i ndlovu ya se yidiniwe kakulu. Be zifuna u kumbulala, zamtabata u sikolupati, zampakamisa, zamgibisela e matyeni. U sikolupati ke, kwa ku se caleni ko mlambo, zati zakumlakla e matyeni, wawa e manzini. Wapumela u sikolupati nga pesheya ko mlambo, wati:

passing, the tortoise came out from under the elephant, and said: "Shame! To eat another baboon, thinking it is a buck!"

So at once the baboons in the middle said: "Here is the tortoise." The baboons then turned round, came back and struggled to draw out the tortoise. The elephant caught one baboon, and with it he struck the others. So the baboons struggled, without being able to get hold of the tortoise. There they were greatly tired while the tortoise was at rest. The baboons renewed their efforts, but without being able to get hold of the tortoise.

The struggle lasted a long time. At length they tore one ear of the elephant. But he shook off the baboons without their being able to get hold of the tortoise.

A great many baboons were killed. At length others got hold of the tortoise, when the elephant was exceedingly tired. In their wish to kill him, they seized him, lifted him up and threw him against stones. The tortoise, as that was done on the bank of a river, when thus thrown against the stones, fell into the water.

“Eē! na ndinceda, i gama lam ngu Sikolupati.” Imfene zatabata a matye, zamgibisela, washenxa apa nga se mlanjeni. Imfene za ziugakwazi ukumgibisela a matye aye kufika.

He got out on the other side of the river and said: “He! he! You have only helped me: my name is Tortoise.” The baboons took stones and threw them at him, but he mounted up the side of the river, and the baboons could not reach him any more with their stones.

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