

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE GRAMMAR OF ISIXHOSA
AS USED IN
THE REVISED UNION VERSION OF THE BIBLE
(1942/1975)**

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A Critical Analysis of the Grammar of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible (1942/1975)

Abstract

This study provides a description and critical analysis of the grammatical structure of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible, published in 1942 and republished in 1975. This translation records what was regarded as proper isiXhosa at the beginning of the 20th century, reflecting the consensus inter alia of prominent isiXhosa writers, such as W.B. Rubusana, J.H. Soga, C. Koti, Y. Mbali and D. D. T. Jabavu, who served on the committee that produced the revision.

In this study isiXhosa is described in its own right, without approaching it with preconceived ideas derived from other languages. That is to say this is a phenomenological analysis describing the grammatical structures of isiXhosa as they present themselves to the analyst. It is comprehensive, with no structure being overlooked or being described in such a manner that it complicates an understanding of other structures.

In the first chapter the context of the research and a brief outline of the historical growth in understanding the structure of isiXhosa are set out and the goals and the method followed in this study are described. In the following chapters the findings of this study are presented.

The initial focus is on isiXhosa phonology and the orthography used to put it to writing. Then isiXhosa morphology and syntax is set out. Initially the substantives, i.e. the nouns and pronouns in their distinctive classes and forms, and how they are qualified, receive attention. Then the predicates are explored, i.e. the verbs and copulatives, as linked to the substantives with concords, and reflecting various moods, tenses, actualities and aspects. Finally attention is given to ideophones and interjections and words that can be grouped together as adverbs, conjunctions, avoidance words and numerals.

In the concluding chapter consideration is given to the question of whether this study has in fact achieved the aim of setting out a description of the structure of isiXhosa based solely on the language itself, free of preconceived ideas, and attention is drawn to insights gained in respect of the true nature of the isiXhosa grammatical structures, such as, for example, the variable prefix qualificative nouns, traditionally referred to as adjectives. This study is therefore a revisionist study in the sense that it reinvents isiXhosa as a language in its own right, free from Western influenced perspectives.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for the purposes of a degree.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "J.C. Oosthuysen". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent loop at the end of the last name.

J.C. Oosthuysen

Cape Town

22 January 2013

A Critical Analysis of the Grammar of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible (1942/1975)

Preface

Acknowledgements and personal background

Efforts to unravel the intricacies of the structure of isiXhosa have received serious attention ever since the first Christian missionaries set foot among isiXhosa speaking people at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fruit of the grammatical labours of the more prominent of these, as well as of the academics that took over the baton from them, are listed in the bibliography at the end of this dissertation and briefly described in the first chapter.

It goes without saying that in conducting this research concerning the grammar of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the 1942 Bible, I am deeply indebted to those that have wiped away the cobwebs ahead of me. I am especially indebted to the insights I gained in the classes on the Bantu languages I had the privilege of attending at the University of Stellenbosch in the nineteen fifties and sixties. However, I believe that what follows will vindicate my conviction that the study of the grammar of isiXhosa is not yet complete. The morphology and syntax of isiXhosa has to be described with isiXhosa as the basis and not by way of searching for structures similar to those in other languages. Descriptions of the grammar of isiXhosa should also not be selective, being applicable only to selected structures, but should be comprehensive and applicable to all areas of the language.

The favourable position that I am in to attempt such a description is primarily due to factors beyond my control. I was born in 1933 in Western Pondoland, where my parents served as Christian missionaries. With the support of the Dutch Reformed Church they had some two years earlier established the Isilimela Mission Station with its church, primary school and small hospital in the remote Gomola Tribal Area near the coast some 40 kilometres South of Port Saint Johns. At home we spoke Afrikaans. English was the strange language my father spoke to the trader some distance away on the Mgazana River. Everywhere else isiXhosa was being spoken, sung and shouted from hilltop to hilltop.

All the wonderful playmates I had were isiXhosa speaking. It never occurred to me that any other language could be spoken as we swam in the river, made clay oxen and trained in the art of fighting with sticks. We attended school together, being taught to read and write isiXhosa by a mother tongue isiXhosa speaking teacher. Recently paging through James Stewart's Xhosa Readers, printed at Lovedale for use in primary schools, brought back fond memories of my youth. In retrospect I am extremely grateful to the amaMpondo playmates of my youth for imbibing me with the ability to speak isiXhosa with the pronunciation and intonation of a mother tongue speaker and of usually knowing how to conduct myself in an appropriate manner in the company of isiXhosa speaking people. *Ndinixabise kakhulu, babhem bam* {I appreciate you immensely, my friends}.

The ability to speak, read and write isiXhosa fluently has stood me in good stead all through my life as a pastor serving in isiXhosa speaking congregations and in striving to render non-dominating leadership in the church. I was involved with the translation of many documents and books for use in the church, often with the support of isiXhosa speaking colleagues. I wish to express my gratitude to these colleagues for expanding my knowledge of their language. Prominent in such ventures was the production of the hymnal *Hosana*. I played the leading role in producing translations of hymns that were not previously available in isiXhosa. Significant publications that I edited are Prof. Jaap Durand's *LisisiBane iZwi Lakho* {Your Word is a Lamp} and the selection of Prof. David Bosch's sermons entitled *Vuthelani iXilongo* {Blow the Trumpet}.

I am very grateful to have had the privilege, for the duration of the month of February every year, of teaching isiXhosa to the seconded staff of the Dutch Reformed Church that served in isiXhosa speaking congregations in the nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies. Sharing the valiant efforts of the advanced students to master the isiXhosa of the Revised Union Version of the Bible contributed greatly to expanding my understanding of the structure of the language. The notes I wrote to assist them have served to give direction also to this dissertation. To help those commencing their study I wrote a graded grammar "Leer Self Xhosa" which unfortunately is no longer in print.

Because isiXhosa is a tone language it is difficult to read, especially when read aloud. Not words, but phrases have to be comprehended at a glance so that the correct tone pattern can be applied to words. Because of my involvement with isiXhosa over the years I have acquired the ability to read isiXhosa more fluently than most. This has inter alia resulted in my being selected by "Talking Bible International" of Escondido, USA, to read the text of the 1996 New Testament for the "IsiXhosa Talking Bible." Antjie Krog, the renowned Afrikaans writer and poet, has also on several occasions, such as the "Woordfees" in Stellenbosch, asked me to read aloud the isiXhosa of poems she had translated into Afrikaans, while she then recited her translation.

I am grateful to the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Bible Society of South Africa for their dedication over the years to make the message of the Bible known also to isiXhosa speaking people and unintentionally also rendering an invaluable service to the development of isiXhosa as a written language. I am greatly indebted to the able orators and scholars that produced the 1942 Revised Union Version of the isiXhosa Bible.

I turned nine years old in 1942 and can remember the joy with which the Revised Union Version was received in isiXhosa speaking church circles. In my adult life I was the secretary of the Bible Society's committee that transcribed the Revised Union Version into the Revised Standard Orthography as published in 1975. I represented the Bible Society at the meetings of the Education Department's Xhosa Language Committee when this orthography was finally formulated. I really appreciate the way in which the members of this committee accepted the presence of *eli gwanqa* {this chestnut-coloured animal} in their midst. I was taught a great deal listening to discussions on isiXhosa literature and observing how the

committee grappled with the challenges presented by the need to invent designations for concepts strange to traditional isiXhosa.

I was seconded to the Bible Society of South Africa to render service as co-ordinator of the project that produced the 1996 translation of the Bible into isiXhosa. It was most enlightening to participate in sessions of struggling to find accurate functional equivalent ways of saying in isiXhosa what has been said in the languages of other cultures and in other times. Once again I had the privilege of having gifted isiXhosa speakers share their expressive language with me, for which I am very grateful. *Mawethu, ndiyabulela! Nindincedile!* {Fellow members of our group, I thank you! You helped me!} I gained so much by participating in this project that I had the courage after my retirement to undertake an isiXhosa translation, published in 2008 by the Bible Society of South Africa, of the internationally acclaimed “Lions Children’s Bible.”

Finally I have to mention a few people by name to whom I am greatly indebted.

A very special word of thanks is due to my supervisors Professor Russell Kaschula, the head of the School of Languages of the Rhodes University, and my co-supervisor Dr Pamela Maseko, as well as their colleagues Mrs Bulelwa Nosilela and Dr Dion Nkomo of the African Languages Studies Section in the School of Languages for their able assistance in facilitating the production of this study. Without their efficient guidance this manuscript would not have gone further than my computer. *Ningadinwa nangomso!* {Do not get tired tomorrow also, i.e. thank you very much!}

A sincere expression of gratitude is due to my friend and colleague Dr Eric Hermanson for reading an early draft of my manuscript and not only ironing out the worst blemishes in my English but also rendering very useful advice.

I also wish to thank the efficient and helpful staff of the Rhodes University Library, the Cory Library of the Rhodes University, the University of Cape Town Library, the Cape Town Campus of the National Library of South Africa and the Archives of the Bible Society of South Africa.

Finally a heartfelt word of gratitude to my wife Lucia. Her support, encouragement and advice were of more value than I have words to express.

J.C. (Koos) Oosthuysen
Cape Town
January 2013

List of Abbreviations of the Books of the Bible

The abbreviations used in this dissertation of the books of the Bible are set out below.

For a list of the abbreviations in alphabetical order consult the next page.

Genesis/ <i>iGenesis</i> : Gen	Nahum/ <i>uNahum</i> : Nah
Exodus/ <i>iExodus</i> : Eks	Habakkuk/ <i>uHabhakuki</i> : Habh
Leviticus/ <i>iLeviticus</i> : Lev	Zephaniah/ <i>uZefaniya</i> : Zef
Numbers/ <i>iNumeri</i> : Num	Haggai/ <i>uHagayi</i> : Hag
Deuteronomy/ <i>iDuteronomi</i> : Dut	Zechariah/ <i>uZekariya</i> : Zekar
Joshua/ <i>uYoshuwa</i> : Yosh	Malachi/ <i>uMalaki</i> : Mal
Judges/ <i>abaGwebi</i> : Gweb/Jdg	Matthew/ <i>uMateyu</i> : Mat
Ruth/ <i>uRute</i> : Rute	Mark/ <i>uMarko</i> : Marko
1 Samuel/ <i>1 kaSamuweli</i> : 1 Sam	Luke/ <i>uLuka</i> : Luka
2 Samuel/ <i>2 kaSamuweli</i> : 2 Sam	John/ <i>uYohane</i> : Yoh/Jn
1 Kings/ <i>1 yooKumkani</i> : 1 Kum/Kgs	Acts/ <i>iZenzo</i> : Zen/Acts
2 Kings/ <i>2 yooKumkani</i> : 2 Kum/Kgs	Romans/ <i>kwabaseRoma</i> : Roma
1 Chronicles/ <i>1 yeziKronike</i> : 1 Kron/Chr	1 Corinthians/ <i>1 kwabaseKorinte</i> : 1 Kor
2 Chronicles/ <i>2 yeziKronike</i> : 2 Kron/Chr	2 Corinthians/ <i>2 kwabaseKorinte</i> : 2 Kor
Ezra/ <i>uEzra</i> : Ezra	Galatians/ <i>kumaGalati</i> : Gal
Nehemiah/ <i>uNehemiya</i> : Neh	Ephesians/ <i>kwabase-Efese</i> : Ef
Esther/ <i>uEstere</i> : Est	Philippians/ <i>kwabaseFilipi</i> : Filipi
Job/ <i>uYobhi</i> : Yobhi/Job	Colossians/ <i>kwabaseKolose</i> : Kol
Psalms/ <i>iiNdumiso</i> : Ndum/Ps	1 Thessalonians/ <i>1 kwabaseTesalonika</i> : 1 Tes
Proverbs/ <i>imiZekeliso</i> : MiZek/Prov	2 Thessalonians/ <i>2 kwabaseTesalonika</i> : 2 Tes
Ecclesiastes/ <i>iNtshumayeli</i> : Ntshum/Ecc	1 Timothy/ <i>1 kuTmoti</i> : 1 Tim
Song of Solomon/ <i>iNgoma yazo iiNgoma</i> : Ngom/Song	2 Tim: 2 Timothy/ <i>2 kuTimoti</i>
Isaiah/ <i>uIsaya</i> : Is	Titus/ <i>kuTito</i> : Tito
Jeremiah/ <i>uJermiya</i> : Yer	Philemon/ <i>uFilemon</i> : Filemon
Lamentations/ <i>iziLilo</i> : ZiLil/Lam	Hebrews/ <i>kumaHebhere</i> : Hebh
Ezekiel/ <i>uHezekile</i> : Hez/Ezek	James/ <i>ekaYakobi</i> : Yak/Jas
Daniel/ <i>uDaniyeli</i> : Dan	1 Peter/ <i>1 kaPetros</i> : 1 Pet
Hosea/ <i>uHosiya</i> : Hos	2 Peter/ <i>2 kaPetros</i> : 2 Pet
Joel/ <i>uYoweli</i> : Yow	1 John/ <i>1 kaYohane</i> : 1 Yoh
Amos/ <i>uAmos</i> : Am	2 John/ <i>2 kaYohane</i> : 2 Yoh
Obadiah/ <i>uObhadiya</i> : Obhad	3 John/ <i>3 kaYohane</i> : 3 Yoh
Jonah/ <i>uYona</i> : Yona	Jude/ <i>ekaYuda</i> : Yuda/Jude
Micah/ <i>uMika</i> : Mika	Revelations/ <i>isiTyhilelo</i> : SiTyh/Rev

The Revised Union Version translation into isiXhosa of the Bible is referred to as the RUV.

The signs used are < for “is derived from”, > for “becomes” and + for “plus”.

Alphabetical List of Abbreviations

In alphabetical order the following abbreviations of the books of the Bible are used in this dissertation:

1 Kor: 1 Corinthians/1 <i>kwabaseKorinte</i>	Hos: Hosea/ <i>uHosiya</i>
1 Kron/Chr: 1 Chronicles/1 <i>yeziKronike</i>	Is: Isaiah/ <i>uIsaya</i>
1 Kum/Kgs: 1 Kings/1 <i>yooKumkani</i>	Kol: Colossians/ <i>kwabaseKolose</i>
1 Pet: 1 Peter/1 <i>kaPetros</i>	Lev: Leviticus/ <i>iLeviticus</i>
1 Sam: 1 Samuel/1 <i>kaSamuweli</i>	Luka Luke/ <i>uLuka</i>
1 Tes: 1 Thessalonians/1 <i>kwabaseTesalonika</i>	Mal: Malachi/ <i>uMalaki</i>
1 Tim: 1 Timothy/1 <i>kuTmoti</i>	Marko: Mark/ <i>uMarko</i>
1 Yoh: 1 John/1 <i>kaYohane</i>	Mat: Matthew/ <i>uMateyu</i>
2 Kor: 2 Corinthians/2 <i>kwabaseKorinte</i>	Mika: Micah/ <i>uMika</i>
2 Kron/Chr: 2 Chronicles/2 <i>yeziKronike</i>	MiZek/Prov: Proverbs/ <i>imiZekeliso</i>
2 Kum/Kgs: 2 Kings/2 <i>yooKumkani</i>	Nah: Nahum/ <i>uNahum</i>
2 Pet: 2 Peter/2 <i>kaPetros</i>	Ndum/Ps: Psalms/ <i>iiNdumiso</i>
2 Sam: 2 Samuel/2 <i>kaSamuweli</i>	Neh: Nehemiah/ <i>uNehemiya</i>
2 Tes: 2 Thessalonians/2 <i>kwabaseTesalonika</i>	Ngom/Song: Song of Solomon/ <i>iNgoma yazo iiNgoma</i>
2 Tim: 2 Timothy/2 <i>kuTimoti</i>	Ntshum/Ecc: Ecclesiastes/ <i>iNtshumayeli</i>
2 Yoh: 2 John/2 <i>kaYohane</i>	Num: Numbers/ <i>iNumeri</i>
3 Yoh: 3 John/3 <i>kaYohane</i>	Obhad: Obadiah/ <i>uObhadiya</i>
Am: Amos/ <i>uAmos</i>	Roma: Romans/ <i>kwabaseRoma</i>
Dan: Daniel/ <i>uDaniyeli</i>	Rute: Ruth/ <i>uRute</i>
Dut: Deuteronomy/ <i>iDuteronomi</i>	SiTyh/Rev: Revelations/ <i>isiTyhilelo</i>
Ef: Ephesians/ <i>kwabase-Efese</i>	Tito: Titus/ <i>kuTito</i>
Eks: Exodus/ <i>iExodus</i>	Yak/Jas: James/ <i>ekaYakobi</i>
Est: Esther/ <i>uEstere</i>	Yer: Jeremiah/ <i>uJermiya</i>
Ezra: Ezra/ <i>uEzra</i>	Yobhi/Job: Job/ <i>uYobhi</i>
Filemon: Philemon/ <i>uFilemon</i>	Yoh/Jn: John/ <i>uYohane</i>
Filipi: Philippians/ <i>kwabaseFilipi</i>	Yona: Jonah/ <i>uYona</i>
Gal: Galatians/ <i>kumaGalati</i>	Yosh: Joshua/ <i>uYoshuwa</i>
Gen: Genesis/ <i>iGenesis</i>	Yow: Joel/ <i>uYoweli</i>
Gweb/Jdg: Judges/ <i>abaGwebi</i>	Yuda/Jude: Jude/ <i>ekaYuda</i>
Habh: Habakkuk/ <i>uHabhakuki</i>	Zef: Zephaniah/ <i>uZefaniya</i>
Hag: Haggai/ <i>uHagayi</i>	Zekar: Zechariah/ <i>uZekariya</i>
Hebh: Hebrews/ <i>kumaHebhere</i>	Zen/Acts: Acts/ <i>iZenzo</i>
Hez/Ezek: Ezekiel/ <i>uHezekile</i>	ZiLil/Lam: Lamentations/ <i>iziLilo</i>
RUV: The Revised Union Version translation into isiXhosa of the Bible (1942/1975)	< : is derived from > : becomes + : plus

**A Critical Analysis of the Grammar of isiXhosa
as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible (1942/1975)**

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A Critical Analysis of the Grammar of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible (1942/1975)

Chapter 1

Context, Aim and Method

1.1 Introduction

A critical analysis of the grammatical structure of isiXhosa cannot be undertaken in a vacuum. To facilitate such an investigation cognisance has to be taken of the isiXhosa language as such. Where is it spoken and by whom? To what family of languages does it belong? Is it a virile language, or is it passing into obscurity? Does it possess a wealth of literature and in what spheres of life is it used? How much progress has been made to date in accurately describing the structure of isiXhosa? And ultimately, how can the fabric of the language be investigated further so as to enable the researcher to present a comprehensive, accurate and clear picture of the grammar of isiXhosa?

Questions, such as these, are addressed in this initial chapter. However, to be able to do this without misunderstanding it is expedient that a few issues in respect of the language and terminology used are clarified.

1.2 Language and terminology

Ideally this study should have been conducted through the medium of isiXhosa. However, for the sake of reaching a wider audience, I have decided against using isiXhosa or my native Afrikaans in favour of English. This raises the issue of appropriate terminology to be used.

At the time of the production of the Revised Union Version of the Bible in isiXhosa, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the general practice in English was to refer to the language of the African people of the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa as Xhosa, omitting any prefix. Personally I am inclined towards the practice, instinctively followed by myself and many of my friends, often to use isiXhosa words in speaking English or Afrikaans omitting the pre-prefix, but retaining the basic prefix, thus speaking of siXhosa. This usage is borne out by the description of the nature of the pre-prefix and basic prefix in pericope 3.2 of this dissertation. It is of note that also J.H. Soga in his “The ama-Xosa: Life and Customs” of 1931, using the orthography of his time that did not indicate aspiration with an ‘h’, indiscriminately uses both the terms *siXosa* (on pages 79 and 94) and *isiXosa* (on pages vi, 150 and 264).

However, of late it has become the general practice in English consistently to refer to the language that is the subject of this research as isiXhosa, retaining the full prefix. Consequently in this dissertation I adhere to the use of the term isiXhosa, and I refer with the awkward term siXhosised to loan words that have been phonologically recast to accommodate their articulation in isiXhosa. I tend to agree with Msimang when he says: “I am well aware

of the latest fashion of using the prefix with African/Bantu language terms. However, I feel that this is grammatically incorrect. To me a prefix is a mere grammatical formative which fixes a Bantu word concordially into the Bantu syntax. Since the medium used in this study is a non-Bantu syntax, my view is that Bantu grammatical trimmings are irrelevant in this context” (Msimang, 1989: 2-3). Nevertheless, I only swim against the stream when I regard it to be of fundamental importance, so, as said, I bow to the majority and in this study follow the fashion of using the appellation ‘isiXhosa’.

In the nineteenth century isiXhosa was usually referred to by the term Kafir language, spelt with one or two ‘f’s’ by different authors and sometimes with an initial ‘C’. This designation was uncritically accepted at the time, and used without any negative intent. Even the Rev. Tiyo Soga freely uses this term in 1866 in the dedication and English preface to *UHambo loMhambi*, his translation of John Bunyan’s “The Pilgrim’s Progress.” Presumably few took serious note of the fact that this appellation is derived from Arabic, indicating an infidel (Appleyard, 1850: 1). However, this word has since undergone a semantic shift. It no longer neutrally denotes amaXhosa people and their language but has become a very derogatory epithet with a wider scope. I have consequently avoided all further use of this word in this study by replacing it with the term ‘Xhosa^k’ even in quotations. Being at a loss as to what else to do, I have, however, retained the use of the term Kaffrarian when quoting a source in which this word is used – somehow it does not sound as offensive as the word from which it is derived.

The large group of Central and Southern African languages, to which isiXhosa belongs, are generally referred to as Bantu languages. This is because of the various close variants of the term ‘bantu’ used by the speakers of the languages of this family when referring ambiguously either to themselves or to people in general. However, they do not use the term ‘bantu’ or one of its variants when referring to their language and culture. To the latter is referred using a different prefix, such as in ‘SiNtu’ or some related variant. Furthermore, the use of the word Bantu, to refer to African people, is unfortunately experienced as derogatory by many in South Africa, because of its use in discriminatory legislation in the past. I would consequently have preferred to avoid the use of this word in this study, replacing it with a term such as siNtu. However, ever since the philologist W.H.I. Bleek (1862: 2) first used the term Bantu languages and it subsequently gained wide recognition as a result of the work of Carl Meinhof (Doke, 1943: 70-73), this term has become entrenched internationally and there is no way in which its use can arbitrarily be avoided. For these reasons Msimang concludes that “it will not be ideal to replace Bantu with Sintu” (Msimang, 1989: 17) and Lazarus Miti observes “the term ‘Bantu’ is now generally accepted by linguists the world over” (Miti, 2009: 37). Pahl bravely uses the term Sintu Languages in his introduction to “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa,” but he feels obliged to explain in a footnote that he uses it as a variant of the established term Bantu languages (Pahl, 1989: xxxv). In popular speech the term African languages can, and is, often used. However, in scientific use the term African languages refers to all the languages spoken on the whole continent of Africa, and not only to a large family of languages spoken on its southern half. I consequently reluctantly use the

appellation Bantu languages when writing or speaking formal English, as in this dissertation. However, in informal speech I use the term siNtu languages, and in isiXhosa I follow the general trend of using the terms *iilwimi zesiNtu* {the languages of the isiNtu culture} or *iilwimi zakwaNtu* {the languages of the domain of Ntu}, as for example S.C. Satyo and K.S. Bongela do (e.g. Satyo, 1998: 4, 7 and 9; Bongela, 2011: 1 et seq.).

Having clarified issues in respect of language and terminology, attention can be directed to the subject of this dissertation and the context within which this research is undertaken.

1.3 The scope of this research

Academic inquiries tend to be directed towards limited fields. This makes it possible for intensive research to be undertaken into every minute aspect of a research project. Also in the field of the study of the Bantu languages, and specifically isiXhosa, a number of research projects have been undertaken into limited areas of study, such as Du Plessis' research on the use of the situative mood in isiXhosa (Du Plessis, 1982) and Thipa's investigation into the difference between rural and urban varieties of isiXhosa (Thipa, 1989), to mention only two such studies.

The relevance of such academic pursuits is not disputed. However, it is equally important that a language as a whole, as a coherent system of communication, be considered. This avoids the possibility posed by a restricted study of describing aspects of the language in such a fashion that it complicates insight into other aspects of its structure, or of not discerning features that only become apparent when viewed in the broader context. This is especially relevant in the case of a language such as isiXhosa, the grammatical structure of which fits together logically, as this dissertation reveals, making it impossible to describe only one attribute without referring to the rest of the language. It is, consequently, very relevant that a study, such as this, be undertaken, investigating isiXhosa as a whole, enquiring into all the features of its morphology and syntax and the way it is bound together with concords.

To accommodate gaining a coherent and logical insight into all grammatical structures of isiXhosa the results of the present research are set out in more chapters than is usual for a dissertation. As the amaXhosa would say, *uhambo lulawulwa yindlela* {the journey is dictated by the road}. Consequently the chapters are structured according to the significant grammatical structures of the language, with a focus on all the branches of linguistics.

Having addressed the above issues, it is possible to proceed to the heart of the matter, initially by briefly taking stock of isiXhosa as a language.

1.4 The context within which the research is undertaken

IsiXhosa is one of the eleven official languages of the Republic of South Africa. It is the language spoken by the amaNgqika and amaGcaleka of the Eastern Cape Province. It is also spoken with a varying and diminishing degree of dialectical variations by the neighbouring abaThembu, amaBomvana, amaMpondo, amaMpondomise, amaMfengu, amaBhaca and others that are all regarded as isiXhosa speakers (Pahl, 1989: xxxix).

The 2011 South African census found the number of isiXhosa home language speakers to be 8,154,258, constituting 16% of the population. Only the closely related isiZulu, comprising 22,7% of the population, boasts of more mother tongue speakers. Batibo (2005: 143) confidently lists isiXhosa as a major regionally dominant language that is not on the list of languages in danger of becoming extinct, as so many other African languages are.

Together with isiZulu, siSwati and isiNdebele, isiXhosa is part of the for the most part mutually intelligible isiNguni group of languages. This subdivision of the Bantu languages spoken in Central and Southern Africa is presumably named after a legendary king, Mnguni (Feketa, 1980, quoted by Peters, 1993: xv) and comprises some 43,3% of the population of South Africa. The isiNguni languages are predominantly spoken in the South Eastern Corner of Africa, in Swaziland and in South Africa in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape Province, but are heard all over Southern Africa, notably also in the Western Cape and Gauteng Provinces. IsiXhosa as such is predominantly spoken in the Eastern Cape, but is also widely used in the Western Cape Province.

IsiXhosa, as spoken in the first decades of the nineteenth century by the descendents of the original amaXhosa tribe, is also referred to as isiTshiwo or Tshiwo Xhosa. King Tshiwo was a predecessor of King Phalo, the last prominent monarch under whom the amaXhosa were a united nation. They split into the amaGcaleka and the amaNgqika, the latter also called amaRharhabe after King Ngqika's grandfather. In the past centuries the amaGcaleka lived east of the Kei River and the amaRharhabe or amaNgqika west of this river. Associated with the amaRharhabe are also various minor tribal groups, such as the amaGwali, amaMbali, imiDange, amaNtinde and amaGqunukhwebe (Peires, 1981: 45-63). IsiXhosa was also spoken with minor dialectical variations by the immigrant amaMfengu, coming from the east {eMbo} (Kawa, 1929: 9-20), as well as by other easterly tribes such as the abaThembu, amaBomvana, amaMpondo and amaMpondomise (J.H. Soga, 1931: 4-14; Pahl, 1983: 257-263). The dialects spoken by the amaBhaca (Jordan, 1953), amaHlubi and others are also generally included when reference is made to isiXhosa, perhaps more because of being found in areas adjacent to where isiXhosa is spoken than to their close phonetic correspondence to isiXhosa (Pahl, 1983: 263-272).

The classification of the Bantu languages into regional language families, languages and dialects, poses challenges that have intrigued the minds of distinguished linguists such as M. Guthrie and C.M. Doke, and has led D. Fivaz to attempt reconciling their findings (Fivaz, 1973). On a smaller scale the variations in the isiNguni dialects (vide Msimang, 1989: 17-20) constitute a similarly complex scenario that it is not immediately apparent as to how it can be solved and reduced to languages and dialects. However, it is not the aim of this dissertation to attempt such a classification. The concern of this study is primarily with isiTshiwo isiXhosa as found in the Revised Union Version of the Bible (RUV). The prominence of this version of isiXhosa is due to the fact that it was the first to be put to writing.

Initially contact of isiXhosa speaking people with people of European extraction was of a cursory nature. This was with occasional survivors of shipwrecks along the coast (Crampton,

2004), various hunters and adventurers and the Dutch immigrants gradually moving eastwards, with whom the contact occasionally spilled over into conflict. The Christian missionary Dr Van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society made contact with isiXhosa speaking people but eventually directed his attention primarily to the Khoikhoi people living further to the west (Shepherd, 1955: 9-13). In 1816 the Rev. Joseph Williams of the London Missionary Society was the first to attempt settling permanently east of the Great Fish River among the amaRharhabe. Tragically he fell ill and died within two years of his arrival (Shepherd, 1955: 13-18). Contact with Van der Kemp and Williams did result in the production of the first Christian hymn in isiXhosa, composed by Ntsikana, the first isiXhosa speaking Christian known by name and still held in memory by isiXhosa speaking Christians today. His hymn, *UloThixo omkhulu* {The Great God}, was sung from memory and only recorded some years later (Hodgson, 1980; Peires, 1981: 72-74; Shepherd, 1955: 18-22; Satyo, 1983: 2-3).

The Rev. John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society arrived east of the Great Fish River in 1821 and eventually settled among the amaRharhabe at what was to become known as Lovedale. He immediately took an interest in isiXhosa and the possibility of putting it to writing. As K.K. Prah remarks: “For the Free Church Calvinists reading was the foundation of their faith” (Prah, 2009: 29). In 1823 Bennie was joined by the Rev. John Ross, who brought a printing press with him. Bennie availed himself of this press to produce reading sheets, the first hesitant steps in the production of written isiXhosa literature (Shepherd, 1955: 26-30; Pahl, 1989: xxxiii). In time this evolved into the well known Lovedale Press that played a significant role in the production of isiXhosa literature. The isiTshiwo isiXhosa of the amaRharhabe became established as the standard literary language used by most that followed in Bennie’s footsteps in producing Christian literature and educational reading material, and subsequently dictionaries, translations, poems, novels, newspapers and periodicals (Mahlasela, 1973). Consequently, J.H. Soga, referring to isiTshiwo, was of the opinion that “the Xosa language has a vitality all its own, and from the Fish River to the uMzimkulu is rapidly becoming adopted as the general medium of intercourse by all tribes within that area” (J.H. Soga, 1931: vi).

The Rev. Soga’s view proved to be only partially true. What did happen was that urbanisation and modern day mobility, as well as the influence of the modern media, has blurred the previous minor dialectical variations. IsiTshiwo itself has also been affected. By 1957 the Education Department issued a list of grammatical forms that were previously not accepted as standard isiXhosa but that were henceforth to be recognised. This was published by the Government Printer in Pretoria in a booklet entitled “Zulu - Xhosa Terminology and Spelling No. 1.” In *IsiXhosa*, his handbook for senior pupils, Pahl describes the newly acceptable variations as well as those that seem to be receding into obscurity (Pahl, 1983: 244-272). For example, under the influence of isiHlubi class 11/10 nouns, such as *ucango/iingcango* {door/s – the movable section, not the door opening} are often transferred into class 5/6 and found as *icango/amacango* (Pahl, 1983: 248; Satyo, 1998: 224). Words that originally were not isiTshiwo, but are now generally used, are included in “The Greater

Dictionary of isiXhosa” (Pahl, 1989: xxxix) and used indiscriminately. For example, even in traditional isiTshiwo territory west of the Kei River, most petrol salesmen use the isiMbo *ukugcwalisa* and not the isiTshiwo *ukuzalisa* {to fill} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:10). The use of verbs with stems commencing in a vowel, as found in the eastern dialects, has spread all over and very often, for example, the isiTshiwo verb *ukunyula* {to dip up / to select} (Luka 14:7) is heard as *ukonyula* with the noun *ulonyulo* {election} derived from it. In a textbook at present widely used in the instruction of pupils of Grade 10 in their mother tongue Mbokodi et al. (2008¹, *Isigaba 10*: 34, 98 and 101) freely use the isiMbo verb stems commencing in a vowel -*onela*, -*ohlula*, -*onzakala* and -*oluka* instead of the isiTshiwo stems -*anela* {be enough} (Dut 3:26), -*ahlula* {separate; divide} (Gen 1:4), -*enzakala* {be injured} (Eks 21:22) and -*aluka* {be circumcised} (Gen 34:14). In their grammar for Grade 8 (2008¹, *Isigaba 8*: 40) they list -*osula*, -*othula* and -*omba* instead of the isiTshiwo verb stems -*sula* {wipe clean} (2 Kum/Kgs 21:13), -*thula* {take of} (2 Kron/Chr 35:24) and -(i)*mba* {dig} (MiZek/Prov 16:27, which is also found as -*omba* in the RUV as in Dut 8:9).

Taking the above factors into consideration, it is clear that there is at present no need to totally ‘disinvent’ the language the first Christian missionaries identified as Xhosa^k and to reconstitute a correct language classification, as Makoni and Pennycook (2007: 1-41) suggest is required in the case of many other African languages. K.K. Prah remarks that: “Themba Msimang, looking at the South African experience, points out that in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, the Thembu and Gcaleka dialects were harmonised and elevated to form standard isiXhosa at the expense of isiBhaca, isiMpondo, isiNtlangwini, isiHlubi and others, all of which were reduced to an inferior position” (Prah, 2009: 14-15; Msimang, 1998: 166). Prah does not elaborate further on this statement, but surely he would not suggest the recognition of the traditional manifestations of these dialectical deviations from isiTshiwo isiXhosa as separate languages. In line with the main gist of his argument in the article containing this quote, he should applaud the lenient approach towards dialectical variations and the incorporation of prominent aspects of them in present day isiXhosa, as described in the paragraph above. The situation of the elevation of what are obviously dialects to languages, that Prah and others are concerned about, fortunately does not exist in respect of isiXhosa as generally used today.

Makoni takes an opposite view, implying that isiNguni should be a single language. He ascribes the fact that isiXhosa and isiZulu are regarded as separate languages as being due to the machinations of the missionaries. He states: “Today the Zulu and Xhosa are divided by a common language, in part because of the competing interests and rivalry of missionaries” (Makoni, 1998: 159). He does not elaborate on how the “competing interests and rivalry” did in fact give rise to the recognition of two languages. His view does seem to have merit in respect to Manyika, Zezeru and Karanga in Zimbabwe and it goes without dispute that the dividing line between languages and dialects is not clear cut (Msimang, 1998: 4-10).

Satyo contemplates the possibility of “soft harmonisation and cross-fertilization” resulting in what he calls ‘Middle Nguni,’ but is perplexed by words such as *ukugeza* (Satyo, 1998: 228). This word is defined by Doke and Vilakazi on page 245 of their “Zulu-English Dictionary” as

“1. wash, bathe; 2. purify (ceremoniously); 3. menstruate (euphemistic term),” while “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” on page 585 of volume 1 defines *ukugeza* as “1. act in a crazy fashion, behave badly as naughty children do; 2. be mentally deranged, mad, insane.”

Mariëtta Alberts propagates the harmonization of Nguni and Sotho terminology, especially in the field of technical language (Alberts, 1998: 232). Her opinion is “that in South Africa a spontaneous process of harmonisation is taking place in townships where various language groups merge” (Alberts, 1998: 234).

It falls outside the scope of this dissertation to speculate on whether it is, or was, possible to fuse or harmonise isiXhosa and isiZulu into one isiNguni language. An untested opinion is that in the urban settings of Gauteng and Durban all isiNguni becomes contemporary isiZulu and in East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town all isiNguni becomes contemporary isiXhosa. In spite of sharing the same television channel, isiZulu and isiXhosa do not give the impression of being harmonising into one isiNguni language. According to Msimang it does seem as if what can be described as ‘Pretoria Sotho’ is spontaneously emerging from a harmonisation of the three Sotho languages in Gauteng (Msimang, 1998: 171; Alberts, 1998: 234).

What present day linguists pay scant attention to is that the missionaries and early grammarians, lacking first hand insight into the languages of Africa, not only were in an unfavourable position to classify these languages correctly, but that they were also at a serious disadvantage in laying bare the structures of the languages they encountered. They inevitably approached these languages, in the case of this study isiXhosa, from the perspective of the structures of their own languages, inadvertently inventing unfounded conclusions. That disinvention and reconstruction is required does prove to be true as far as some aspects of the description of the grammar of isiXhosa is concerned, as will become evident in this dissertation. However, before giving attention specifically to the grammar of isiXhosa some general remarks about the language are in order.

IsiXhosa is the bearer of a rich oral tradition of folklore and praise poetry. Traditionally isiXhosa speaking children grow up with the sound of their grandmothers’ voices narrating folktales {*iintsomi*} in the evening (vide Bongela, 2011: 18-34, Ndibongo and Ntloko, 1986; Du Plessis and Malinga, 1979; Jordan, 1973: 3-14). These stories expound adventures in the company of such characters as the diminutive wily little man Hlanganyane, terrifying cannibals {*amazimu*} and colossal ogres {*amagongqongqo*}, not to mention the gigantic antelope {*inabulele*} of which it is said that its hide is large enough to supply twenty men with karosses. As isiXhosa speaking youths grow older they acquire oratory skills and perform without any semblance of stage fright, irrespective of whether it is the traditional resolving of a dispute in a gathering of stake holders or addressing the congregation in a religious meeting. This results in isiXhosa being “a dynamic, vibrant, virile language” (Pahl, 1989: xxxi) with great powers of expression and the ability to produce vivid descriptions of events, enhanced with sound effects supplied by ideophones. This rich tradition made it possible for the translators of the Revised Union Version of the Bible, in spite of their dedication to formal equivalence translation, to produce gems such as *ndiphuphe iphupha*;

ndibone kuqengqeleka isonka serhasi sisiza emkhosini wamaMidiyan, sifike ententeni, sibethe iwe, ithi bhukuqu intente, ithi bhuma {I dreamt a dream and saw a barley bread rolling towards the Midianite army, and arrive at a tent and strike it down that the tent goes ‘bhukuqu’ (topples over) and goes ‘bhuma’ (falls flat)} (RUV, 1942: Gweb/Jdg 7:13).

Poetry is held in even higher esteem than prose and especially praise poems {*izibongo*} are highly appreciated by isiXhosa speaking people (vide Opland 1998; Opland and Mtuze, 1983: v-viii; Jolobe, 1970; Satyo 1983; Bongela, 2011: 111-125; Jordan, 1973: 15-27). To quote A.C. Jordan: “To the Bantu-speaking Southern Africans, the praise-poem is their proudest artistic possession. It is in this genre that the greatest possibilities of a Bantu language as a medium of literacy expression are to be found” (Jordan, 1973: 21). Traditional praise poems are, supposedly spontaneously, recited from memory or improvised by gifted praise poets {*iimbongi*} on appropriate occasions, extolling the exceptional deeds or virtues of a tribe, a clan, a chief or a person of note, and on occasion making use of poetic licence to criticise. Even a favourite ox, horse or dog can elicit being poetically praised by its owner. The praise poem is declaimed in a loud rhythmic voice at a high speed. It sometimes seems as if the poet does not even take time to breathe.

IsiXhosa richly avails itself of the use of figures of speech. Metaphors, similes and proverbs abound (vide Siwisa, 1954; Mesatywa, 1954; J.H. Soga, 1931: 329-350; Jordan, 1973: 29-36; Bongela, 2011: 87-110). These can be striking, such as indicating the total failure of a venture with *ubuye nembande yesikhova* {he/she returned with the shinbone of an owl – implying that the only trophy a hunter returned with from the hunt was the shinbone of an owl}! Nicknames for persons and objects are also often very vivid, such as referring to minute urban houses that are reputed to be so small that your feet stick out when you lie down as *oovezimilenze* {leg exposers}.

The scope of isiXhosa oratory is enhanced by the extended vocabulary that the language boasts of. Nouns abound and rather than making use of qualifying words an extensive array of nouns are available, denoting various manifestations of objects of the same general category, such as humans not being referred to using qualifications of *umntu* {a person} but by making use of such words as *ihlwempu* {poor person}, *inzwakazi* {fine looking female person} and *ixhego* {old male person}. Cattle, for example, are described by means of nouns that represent the whole spectrum of colour patterns and horn types (vide J.H. Soga, 1931: 386-388). Colours range from *ebhadi* {one that is red or black with white spots on its back and down the sides, regarded as resembling a springbok (*ibhadi*)} to *ewaba* {one that is black with a white belly and/or a white patch on the flank}. Horn types vary from *empikwane* {one that has horns growing backward, resembling wings (*amaphiko*)} to *emanqindi* {one whose horns have had their tips sawn off because of a tendency to gore people, the horns consequently resembling fists (*amanqindi*)}). Similarly a great variety of verbs are found, being specific about related actions, such as ranging from *ukuhamba* {to walk} to *ukuthwethwa* {to walk stealthily} to *ukunyalasa* {to walk in an arrogant threatening way} to *ukukhokhoba* {to walk bent over} and many more.

From the outset the first missionaries experienced the need to record the words used in isiXhosa and their meaning, i.e. attention was given to the lexicography of the language. As early as 1826 John Bennie, mentioned above, published “A Systematic Vocabulary of the Xhosa^k Language” (J. Bennie, 1826; Doke, 1961: 33). Of special note is A. Kropf’s “Xhosa^k–English Dictionary” published in 1899, and revised by R. Godfrey in 1915. Various other dictionaries have been published (Pahl, 1989: xxxvi-xxxix) notably J. McLaren’s “A Concise Xhosa–English Dictionary” of 1914, revised and published in the so called New Orthography by W.G. Bennie in 1936, and transcribed into the Standard Orthography in 1963 by J.J.R. Jolobe. The lexicographical research culminated in the publication of the extensive “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa,” defining isiXhosa words in isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans. It was published by the University of Fort Hare in three volumes, volume 3 in 1989, volume 2 in 2003 and volume 1 in 2006 and covers some 3600 A4 size pages of 9 point Times Roman script in all – a far cry from John Bennie’s 50 A6 sized pages of his “Systematic Vocabulary” of 1826.

Over the years isiXhosa speaking people had gradually migrated south, pushed by occasional internal conflicts and pulled by the need to find new grazing fields for their herds of cattle. By the eighteenth century they had ventured as far as the Great Fish River (Pinnock, 1994). En route they met groups of Khoikhoi and San people, who were either driven back or defeated and incorporated into the isiXhosa speaking communities, exerting a cultural influence, most notably in introducing click sounds to isiXhosa (Peires, 1981: 19-24; Pinnock, 1994: 8-9). Pahl estimates that one third of isiXhosa words are derived from the Khoisan languages or were phonetically influenced by them (Pahl, 1983: 250). Thus, for example, the word *ukutyela* {to tell / to inform} acquired the synonym *ukuxela*. In other cases only the form containing a click is found. For example, in other Bantu languages the root of the word denoting the process of extinguishing a light or a fire, transcribed into isiXhosa orthography, is found as *-shim-* in Bemba, *-zim-* in Swahili, *-djim-* in Mfinu, *-dzim-* in Sukuma and *-tim-* in Sesotho (Guthrie, 1967: 16), while in isiXhosa it is *-cim-* with an alveolar click, as in *isibane sabangendawo siyacima* {the lamp of the wicked extinguishes} (MiZek/Prov 13:9). The names of many places and rivers retained their Khoisan names, the suffix *-rha*, for example, betraying such extraction, as in *iCicirha* {the Cicirha river} and *iQolorha* {the Qolorha river} (Pahl, 1983: 250-251).

The first contacts with people speaking European languages were very tentative, being with the survivors of shipwrecks, hunters and adventurers. At the Great Fish River the vanguard of the isiXhosa speaking people then met Dutch farmers who had gradually moved eastward after the colonisation in 1652 of the south-western tip of Africa by the Dutch, who were in need of a halfway station for ships en route to the East. These migrant farmers had by the eighteenth century identified with Africa to the extent of calling themselves Afrikaners. The contact with them exposed isiXhosa to a great number of previously unknown artefacts and their use, resulting in words borrowed from Afrikaans being siXhosised, expanding the vocabulary of isiXhosa. Nouns like *itafile* {table}, derived from the Afrikaans ‘tafel’, and *ityathanga* {chain}, derived from the Afrikaans ‘ketting’, now came into circulation, as well

as verbs, such as *ukunkinkisha* {to pour a hot beverage}, derived from the Afrikaans ‘skink’ (Pahl, 1983: 252).

Then came the annexation of the south-western tip of Africa by Great Britain in 1806. This opened the way for English speaking Christian missionaries, eager to disseminate the Christian message, to settle among isiXhosa speaking people. And in their wake came the British soldiers and the annexation of also the south-western tip of Africa by Great Britain. English now exerted an influence on isiXhosa and many words, such as *ititshala* {teacher} *ipensile* {pencil} and *ukugada* {to guard} came into use. In some cases also the superstructures of isiXhosa were Anglicised, as in *ukubamba intlanganiso* {to hold a meeting} (Pahl, 1983: 253-257).

At present isiXhosa is severely influenced by the dominance of English. This can be seen by observing the use, or lack of use, by mother tongue isiXhosa speakers of their language in education, commerce, politics and society at large. Apparently many view English as having a higher prestige value and, of course, it is of more economic use – you get further with: “I am looking for work,” than with the isiXhosa equivalent: “*Ndifuna umsebenzi*.” This does not detract from the fact that in everyday life isiXhosa is still the “dynamic, vibrant, virile language” that Pahl (1989: xxxi) called it.

However, English is not only held in high esteem, but many present day speakers often intersperse their speech with English words, where good isiXhosa words are available. Proof of this is readily at hand by listening to conversations in isiXhosa or tuning in to an isiXhosa broadcast of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. I have even overheard a teacher exhorting the youth to maintain their *ilifa* {heritage} with the words: “*Kufuneka siyigcine iheritage yethu*.” {We must preserve our heritage}. Discouraging this trend, Dudumashe-Luthango et al. (2010, *Isigaba 12*: 189) give an example of a sentence constructed with isiXhosa grammar but teeming with English vocabulary. It reads: “*Ndisuggesta ezi guidelines zilandelayo ukuze siachieve iigoals zethu*” {I suggest these following guidelines so that we can achieve our goals}. A new manifestation of isiXhosa is emerging, opening up a new field of study for the interested researcher, such as that conducted by H.M. Thipa in his dissertation on “The Difference between Rural and Urban Xhosa Varieties” (Thipa, 1989). However, the present study focuses on isiXhosa as used in literature in the first quarter of the previous century, attempting to lay bare the primary source on which present day isiXhosa is based, whether it is the modern literary language as, for example, used in the 1996 isiXhosa Bible or the Anglicised isiXhosa often overheard.

The Rev. John Bennie, who printed the first text in isiXhosa in 1823, continued his production of reading material and “became famous as the father of Xhosa literature” (Shepherd, 1955: 99-102). In the light of many isiXhosa speaking people’s love of language, and mastery in its use, it is not surprising that this was the spark that set alight the production of an ever expanding volume of literature. In this regard mention has to be made of the renowned writer, poet and translator S.E.K. Mqhayi (Shepherd, 1955: 111-115; Jordan, 1973: 103-116). One of his best known works is entitled *Ityala lamawe* {The Court Case of the Twin

Brothers}. Mqhayi was soon hailed as *iMbongi yeSizwe Jikelele* {The Poet Laureate of the Nation at Large}. His death on the 29th July 1945 touched people so deeply that eulogies and poems in his praise continued to be published in the newspaper *IMvo zabaNtsundu* {The Opinions of the Blacks} for the next five months (*IMvo zabaNtsundu*, 18 August to 22 December 1945). Apart from Mqhayi a whole cohort of others, such as W.B. Rubusana, D.D.T. Jabavu, J.J.R. Jolobe, A.C. Jordan, G.B. Sinxo, W.K. Tamsanqa and P.T. Mtuze, to mention only a few, produced a considerable number of novels, plays and collections of poems, as well as translations. Arguably the best literary production in isiXhosa is A.C. Jordan's *Ingqumbo yeminyanya* {The Wrath of the Ancestors} depicting the conflict arising from the contact of traditional culture with European ways of life. These literary works in isiXhosa have been the subject of extensive research (Satyo, 1983; Opland and Mtuze, 1983; Shepherd, 1955; Jordan, 1973: 37-102). Peters and Bothma, in their "Bibliography of the Xhosa Language to the Year 1990" (1992) record no less than 2299 manuscripts published in isiXhosa during this period.

Formal equivalence translations of the Bible played a very prominent role in the development of isiXhosa as a written language (Smit, 1970: 201-207). Initially various missionaries, such as H.H. Dugmore, W.J. Shrewbury and B. Ross, published portions of the Bible in the early nineteenth century. An important milestone was reached in 1859 when the Wesleyan missionary the Rev. John Appleyard and his associates, the most notable being the Rev. Albert Kropf of the Berlin Missionary Society, printed the first translation of the Bible in isiXhosa at Mount Coke in the Eastern Cape. This was the fourth translation of the Bible into an African language. In the early ages of the Christian era translations were made into the Egyptian Coptic language and the Ethiopian Amharic, and only two years earlier in 1857 Moffat had published his Setswana Bible in Kuruman. Appleyard's translation was reprinted in 1864 by the British and Foreign Bible Society and subsequently a further three times. It was especially treasured by the amaMfengu in connection with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. However, it met with criticism from groups such as the amaNgqika and missionaries in connection with them favouring the King's isiTshiwo.

As a result of the elements of dissatisfaction with the Appleyard Version, the British and Foreign Bible Society constituted a committee to revise it. This committee had such members as J.W. Appleyard, C. Brownlee, Tiyo Soga and A. Kropf. This resulted in the Revised Version of 1889, subsequently reprinted three times. This version also met with criticism. In 1893 a small group of enterprising abaThembu at Engcobo even went to the length of publishing their own version of the Gospel according to Matthew, which is described by J.T. Jabavu as "simply an idiomatic rendering of Appleyard's Version" (as quoted by Peters and Bothma, 1992: 11).

The Revised Version was followed by the Re-revised Version in 1906, reprinted in 1911. Then a fourth revision, named the Union Version, was produced in 1927, prepared by a committee consisting of M.H. Wilson, W.B. Rubusana, J.H. Soga, B.J. Ross, C. Koti, Y. Mbali, D.D.T. Jabavu, A.C. Cook and C.J. Wyche.

In 1937 the Cape Education Department accepted the so called New Orthography (vide pericope 2.2). The Union Version of 1927 was transcribed into this orthography by Dr. W.G. Bennie, who was born and bred at Lovedale and was the grandson of the pioneer missionary John Bennie. He was assisted in this task by Dr. R. Godfrey. This Revised Union Version was published in 1942 shortly after the death of W.B. Bennie. In 1975 the Revised Union Version was enhanced with the insertion of section headings and published in the Revised Standard Orthography that was finalised by the Education Department in 1972 and is the orthography of isiXhosa presently (2013) in use. A new functional equivalence translation of the Bible has since been completed in 1996 with the present author as project coordinator. Peters and Bothma, in their “Bibliography of the Xhosa Language to the Year 1990” (1992: 8-17) list the publication of no less than 148 editions of the Bible and Bible portions during this period.

The positive contribution of the missionaries in establishing isiXhosa as a written language with an expanding literature merits great appreciation, overshadowing the mistakes they made by far. The same cannot be said of the impact on the isiXhosa speaking people of being subjected to British rule. It did have many positive benefits, such as the establishment of hospitals and the building of roads, but the loss of independence and the disruption of traditional social patterns of life was disconcerting, not to mention its negative accompaniments, such as intoxicating liquor. Perhaps the crisis that colonialism brought is best summarised by S.E.K. Mqhayi, the Poet Laureate of the Nation, when he used the licence an *imbongi* {praise poet} has both to praise and to criticize, when he ‘praised’ the Prince of Wales, during his visit to South Africa in 1925. Concerning Great Britain he declaims:

*Hay’ kodw’ iBritan eNkulu –
Yeza nebhottle neBhayibhile;
Yeza nomfundis’ exhag’ ijoni.
Tarhu, Bawo, sive yiphi na?
(Mqhayi, 1942: 61)*

This can be translated as:

Ah, Britain! Great Britain!
She came with a bottle and a Bible;
She came with a missionary with a soldier in his wake.
Have mercy, Father, to which should we submit?

It is not the aim of this dissertation to dwell upon the positive and negative influences that colonization had on isiXhosa speaking people. Monica Hunter, in her book “Reaction to Conquest,” gives an excellent description of the impact the imposition of British rule had on the isiXhosa speaking amaMpondo (Wilson, 1936). Nor does the interest of this study lie with the general influence the work of missionaries had, or even with their involvement in the development of isiXhosa literature in general, including the production of educational material. What is focused on are the efforts of the missionaries, and those of the academics that followed in their footsteps, to master the isiXhosa language and specifically in

establishing what the grammatical structure of the language is. This can then serve as the background from which progress can be made in an effort to lay bare the grammatical structure of the isiXhosa used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible of 1942/1975, as aimed at in this dissertation. It is thus expedient briefly to take stock of what has already been achieved in unravelling the structure of isiXhosa. This is done in the next pericope.

1.5 An outline of the efforts to describe isiXhosa grammar

IsiXhosa speaking people themselves traditionally never concerned themselves with contemplating upon the grammar of their language. Why should they? They grew up speaking isiXhosa and made masterly use of it, but did not put it to writing and made no effort to unravel its structure. And even later, when isiXhosa had become an established written language, mother tongue speakers relished in its literature and directed academic pursuits towards gaining deeper insight into it, giving scant attention to making a study of its grammar.

It was only when Christian missionaries desired to communicate with isiXhosa speaking people, as from the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, that objective efforts were made to comprehend how the language functions. As is to be expected these efforts were severely hampered by the fact that those who strove to understand the structure of the language had no intimate knowledge of it, and approached it trying to find structures corresponding to those in their own languages, especially English and the classical languages, such as Latin and Greek. In a letter to Prof. D. Fivaz, prefaced to a reprint of an older publication, even the renowned Prof. C.M. Doke confesses that in a similar situation he initially thought that he had discovered Latin-like declensions in the Lamba language (Doke, 1943: iv).

However, the grammar of a language cannot be deduced by presupposing that it has to have similar features to those exhibited by another language. IsiXhosa has to be analysed from its own perspective and genius. The process has to proceed from language to grammar and not from grammar to language. Nevertheless, critical as the analyst has to be of the method that the early missionaries had no alternative but to follow, this does not mean that their work has to be written off as of no use. Blunt as the instrument was that they used, it did serve to uncover many aspects of the structure of isiXhosa and to clear away much that obscures an accurate description of how isiXhosa is structured. This makes it very relevant to take note of what has already been achieved by the early missionaries and the academics that continued the study of isiXhosa grammar.

Right from the outset the first missionaries, such as the Rev. John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society, attempted to fathom the structure of isiXhosa. The first significant recorded achievement is that of the Rev. William B. Boyce of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. In 1833 he was the first to produce a portion of the Bible in isiXhosa. This was *I-Gospel, ezindaba ezilungileyo; ebalwe gu-Luke* {The Gospel, that is news that is good; that was written by Luke} which was published in Grahamstown. In 1834 he published his “Grammar of the Xhosa^k Language,” the first ever attempt to produce a comprehensive

grammar of a South African Bantu language. Boyce noticed that in isiXhosa “nouns may be divided into twelve classes or declensions” (1834: 8). These classes or declensions are linked to predicates with “euphonic or alliteral concords” (1834: 7) related to the prefixes of the nouns. These concords he describes as the euphonic letters of nouns. Following Latin grammar he finds that “it will be convenient to assign six cases to the declinable words of the Xhosa^k language, namely the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative” (1834: 15). He then goes on to describe these “cases”, for example designating locative nouns as belonging to the ablative case. Adjectives and pronouns receive attention and then he goes on to verbs and what he calls the conjunctions in which they are found, being voices, moods, tenses, numbers and persons. This resulted in him *inter alia* describing verbs with their roots extended with the morpheme /-w-/ to give them a passive connotation as being of the passive voice, contrasted to all verbs that are in the active voice (1834: 52).

Boyce presumably had no knowledge of the fact that the Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries in Angola, such as Fr. H. Brusciotto de Vetralla, in spite of their Latin orientated approach, had already discovered the use of euphonic concords as the key to Bantu grammar. This is evidenced by Brusciotto’s Congo grammar of 1659, the first ever published grammar of a Bantu language (Doke, 1935: 15). However, Appleyard points out that Boyce was only aware of the work of the Roman Catholic Missionaries with regard to the Mbundu language of Angola, which “acknowledges the existence of extensive alliteration, produced by what we term the euphonic concord, though the principle itself, and rules for its application, had not been discovered” (Appleyard, 1850: 27).

As is to be expected Boyce’s grammar, compiled by someone who did not have isiXhosa as his mother tongue, commendable as it is, had many shortcomings. Even aspects of the phonology escaped Boyce’s attention, as can be seen by his rendering the identificative prefix *ngu-* {by} as *gu-* in the title of his translation of the gospel of Luke. But as Boyce remarks in the introduction to his grammar “the first grammar of a language has peculiar claims on the indulgence of future labourers in the same field of inquiry” (1834: v).

In 1844 Boyce’s grammar was re-published, as revised by W.J. Davis, who also brought out a third edition in 1863. In 1872 Davis published his own “Grammar of the Xhosa^k Language”, rectifying and expanding the earlier work (Doke, 1940: 35-40) and incorporating the significant insights gained by the Bible translator J.W. Appleyard, as set out in his “The Xhosa^k Language: comprising a sketch of its History; remarks upon its Nature and Grammar” of 1850. Appleyard classifies the nouns into what he calls species and is critical of the disjunctive writing used in Setswana, favouring conjunctive writing for isiXhosa, a trend that is still adhered to today.

The next noteworthy attempt at setting out the grammar of isiXhosa was that of J. Stewart. In 1901 he found no grammar in print and had his “Outlines of Xhosa^k Grammar” published by the Lovedale Mission Press. In this work he strives to systematically set out the insights gained by his predecessors. He states that “the method followed has been to give what is most essential for anyone desiring to acquire a knowledge of Xhosa^k” (Stewart, 1901:

Preface). The fact that he uncritically categorises isiXhosa grammatical structures from the presumption that they correspond to those of English is immediately evident, for example, by his statement that “the adjective for good is *lungile*” (Stewart, 1901: 10 and 39). Although *lungile* {has come right, i.e. is good} is in fact the stem of a verb in the perfect tense, he describes it as an adjective because of the fact that in English ‘good’ is an adjective. The various forms of nouns that he describes he calls cases, showing progress by stating that “the noun in Xhosa^k does not admit of a form of a Declension as in English or Latin” (Stewart, 1901: 35). He calls the forms of nouns cases and compound forms. As far as the moods of verbs is concerned he fails to identify the relative mood, ascribes a potential mood to verbs with a potential aspect and confuses verbs of the subjunctive mood and those of the imperative mood with an object concord.

Prominent in subsequent publications is J. McLaren’s “A Xhosa Grammar” of 1929 as revised by G.H. Welsh in 1936 and 1944, a useful but inadequate grammar. Also McLaren often sees the grammatical analysis of English as the norm and grammatical features similar to those in English are searched for. On page 72, for example, a chapter is devoted to “verbs used as adjectives” with the use of adjectives in English regarded as the yardstick, just as Stewart had done, but now admitting that in fact they are verbs. Significant structures of isiXhosa receive no or inadequate attention. In chapter 36 on page 49, for example, it is stated that relative constructions with verbs are formed with verbs of the indicative mood, whereas the second element of a relative construction is in fact a predicate in the relative mood, a mood the existence of which is overlooked by McLaren.

In the closely related isiZulu language C.M. Doke of the Witwatersrand University did sterling work both in respect of the field of grammatical analysis and lexicography. His “Text Book of Zulu Grammar” of 1927 is highly rated. It sets out his analysis of isiZulu systematically and can probably be regarded as the best available grammar in English of an isiNguni language to date. He had a wide influence, and produced numerous publications. He also represents the transition of the study of Bantu languages from a pursuit of missionaries to that of academics. He himself started as a missionary and ended as a prominent figure in the field of linguistic study.

Obviously Doke’s one size fits all effort in his “Outline Grammar of Bantu” of 1943 cannot decisively be criticised when only an exposition of isiXhosa is at hand. However, as far as isiXhosa is concerned it falls short, as does his article on “Language” (1946). For example, in line with his “Text Book of Zulu Grammar” (1927) he does not explicitly explain that qualificative words, such as the group usually called adjectives because they can be translated with English adjectives, are not used independently, as for example the English adjective “good” in a phrase such as “a good stone,” but are only found in qualificative copulative clauses, such as *ilitye elihle* in isiXhosa, that translates into the English “a stone that is good.” Not simply being adjectives, as in English, but being qualificative nouns used in copulative predicates, gives these qualificative clauses a wider scope than that of the frequently used positive indicative copulatives and relative constructions copulatives that Doke and the followers of his system describe as adjectives. Not only does this give rise to falling into the

trap of deducing the existence of so called adjectival concords, failing to notice that the qualificative nouns have regular subject concords but have variable prefixes with which the concords in some instances coalesce (vide pericope 5.23). They also often fail to adequately describe the less frequent use of these qualificative nouns in negative copulatives and totally disregard their use in copulatives of the situative mood. Applied to isiXhosa this restricts the analysis of the so called adjectives to an over simplified exposition in the more frequently used cases, but causes other uses to be very difficult to comprehend. They deduce what is thought to be an adjectival concord, in phrases such as the positive indicative mood copulatives *ilitye lihle* {the stone is good} and *imithi mininzi* {the trees are many} and the positive relative constructions *ilitye elihle* {a stone that is good} and *imithi emininzi* {trees that are many}. They fail to see that frequent use has brought about that the subject concord has coalesced with the prefix. Furthermore, often no adequate mention is made of the negative indicative copulative, as in the phrase *ilitye alihle* {the stone is not good} and the negative relative mood copulative, as in *andinakukhetha litye lingelihle* {I cannot select a stone that is not good}, and the negative relative construction in *ilitye elingelihle* {a stone that is not good}. In these less frequently used forms no coalescence takes place and both the subject concord and the prefix are in evidence. Ignored by all are the situative mood positive and negative copulatives, such as *lilihle* {being good} and *lingelihle* {being not good}, as in *ilitye lisetyenziswa lilihle, alisetyenziswa lingelihle* {a stone is used when it is good; it is not used when it is not good}, and *imininzi* {being many} and *ingemininzi* {being not many}, as in *imithi igawulwa imininzi, ayigawulwa ingemininzi* {trees are chopped down when they are many, they are not chopped down when they are not many}. In these examples of predicates in the situative mood both the subject concord and the nominal prefix are in evidence. [For a comprehensive description of the variable prefix qualificative nouns, usually called adjectives, vide pericope 5.23.]

Inadequacies are also often to be found in the description of predicates. The situative and relative moods as well as compound copulatives often deserve more attention. Verbs with a potential aspect are often described as being of a potential mood. The tenses of verbs are approached from the perspective of past, present and future tenses, while isiXhosa basically distinguishes between the perfect and imperfect tenses and makes use of constructions based on these to indicate events in the past and the future as well as those of a continuous nature.

Publications following the pattern set by Doke are a large number of books aimed at teaching isiXhosa to non-isiXhosa speaking people. They are textbooks such as F.S.M. Mncube's "Xhosa Manual" and J.A. Louw and J.B. Jubase's "Handboek van Xhosa". Mncube (no date) emulates Doke's exposition of adjectives, while Louw and Jubase (1963: 116), for example, fail to identify the relative mood, referring to it in paragraph 24.1 as the relative form of the participial mood. The revised edition of my "Leer Self Xhosa" (Oosthuysen, 1967) avoided similar pitfalls, but being written in Afrikaans and not being prescribed at universities, it did not receive wide recognition and went out of print.

More recently (1994) P.S. Pinnock produced a textbook with a commendable approach. Guidance on the structure of isiXhosa is given embedded in a description of the history and

culture of isiXhosa speaking people. The grammar is set out in an uncomplicated reader friendly manner, but it follows the route of those that have previously attempted a description of isiXhosa in line with Doke's views. As can be expected from a manual for beginners it is not comprehensive. However, in what it does present it leads learners up a few dead ends, such as for example failing to recognise that the so called adjectives are in fact variable prefix qualificative nouns, as briefly described above. It also provides a confusing exposition in respect of such matters as the times of verbs, verbal aspect and copulatives.

Various textbooks have been written aimed at equipping isiXhosa speaking pupils with insight in the grammar and literature of their mother tongue. In 1939 W.G. Bennie published "A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa Speaking", a useful book, despite being written in English. A number of textbooks followed, written in isiXhosa, mostly aimed at use in primary schools. Of special note is H.W. Pahl's comprehensive grammar for use in higher secondary education, published in 1967 with the title *IsiXhosa seBanga leMatriki* {IsiXhosa for the Standard of Matriculation} and re-published in 1983 titled *IsiXhosa*. It was accompanied in the same year by S.C. Satyo's series *Igrama noncwadi lwesiXhosa* {The Grammar and Literature of isiXhosa}, guiding pupils in the secondary classes both in respect of isiXhosa literature and grammar as required by the curriculum prescribed at the time.

The fact that Satyo's grammar is spread over a series of books and covers both grammar and literature divides it into fragments and makes it difficult to get a comprehensive view of the structure of isiXhosa. The book for Standard 8 (presently Grade 10) has an extensive table of contents and inter alia introduces pupils to most aspects of isiXhosa grammar. However, it is not without omissions and questionable statements, such as the exposition of the moods in which verbs are found, as set out on page 244 and subsequently expanded on in later lessons. For example, no mention is made of the relative mood, while verbs with a potential aspect are described as being of a potential mood.

Pahl's grammar had the advantage of being edited by the prominent educationists D.M. Ntusi and Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe with their exceptional grasp on spoken and written isiXhosa. It is the best grammar of isiXhosa published to date and it is a great pity that it is no longer available in print. It efficiently guides isiXhosa speaking pupils in the use of their mother tongue with a view to achieving the Senior Certificate. It sets out the structure of isiXhosa and accommodates the use of reputable non-isiTshiwo variants. Its drawback as a systematic grammar is its didactic approach. Occasionally it poses questions for consideration by pupils rather than describing isiXhosa, as in paragraph 6.25 on page 57. Its arrangement of the treatment of the various aspects of isiXhosa is directed at accommodating mother tongue pupils, rather than being systematic, for example resulting in the phonetics of isiXhosa only receiving attention in the last chapter. This fact, as well as the book's very compact table of contents, makes it difficult to gain an overview of what Pahl regards as the structure of isiXhosa as a whole. What is commendable is the index at the end of the book, also rendering English translations of the isiXhosa grammatical terms used.

In line with the latest requirements of the national curriculum for schools Nasou Via Afrika of Cape Town, the publishers of Satyo's *Igrama noncwadi lwesiXhosa* {The Grammar and Literature of isiXhosa} have published a series of textbooks under the same title, aimed at Grades 5 to 12. The books for the lower grades are compiled by S.M. Mbokodi, N.M. Ntusi and N.T. Conjwa-Qongqo, with those of the senior grades being done by N.P. Dudumashe-Luthango, N.P. Gwele, E. Maqashu and N.V. Tsheme. These textbooks have a wide scope, covering a number of life skills and consequently giving less attention to isiXhosa literature and grammar than the previous books did.

One aspect in connection with the setting out of the grammar of isiXhosa, that attention has not yet been focused on in this chapter, is the system of numbering the classes of isiXhosa nouns. Initially the numbering of the classes of nouns was haphazard, but eventually the system as set out on page xxi of Kropf's "Xhosa^k - English Dictionary" of 1913, with nouns grouped together in the singular and plural, was generally used. Essentially the grouping was as follows:

Class:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Singular:	um- and u-	ili-	in-	isi-	ulu-	um-	ubu-	uku-
Plural:	aba- and o-	ama-	izin-	izi-	izin-	imi-		

This numbering was adapted by McLaren and his contemporaries, as set out on page 26 of his "A Xhosa Grammar" of 1944, bringing the sequence in line with that suggested by Meinhof in respect of the Bantu languages (Meinhof, 1932: 39-40), but not numbering singular and plural nouns separately as Meinhof does, but grouping them in one class. In this McLaren aligns himself with the system used by Doke in isiZulu (Doke, 1927: 38), who in his "Outline Grammar of Bantu" of 1943 propagates the use of Meinhof's classification of nouns, but does not himself use it (Doke, 1927: 38). Essentially this numbering is as follows:

Class:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Singular:	um- and u-	um-	ili-	isi-	in-	ulu-	ubu-	uku-
Plural:	aba- and oo-	imi-	ama-	izi-	izin-	izin-		

Both systems had it in common that singular and plural nouns were grouped together in one class. However, not all nouns in the same class in the singular have their plurals in the same class. This inconsistency complicates descriptions using one number to indicate both the singular and plural of nouns. Consequently Pahl, Satyo, and their contemporaries turned to numbering singular and plural classes of nouns separately, following the guidelines indicated by Meinhof (1932: 39-40). Pahl uses this numbering in his textbook *IsiXhosa* of 1983, as on page 9, and so does Satyo in his textbook *Igrama noncwadi lwesiXhosa, Ibanga 8* {The Grammar and Literature of isiXhosa, Standard 8} (1983) as set out on pages 34 to 35. This numbering of the classes of nouns is used in "The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa" of 1989 - 2006 of which Pahl was the first editor. It is followed in the presently widely used series, also called *Igrama noncwadi lwesiXhosa* {The Grammar and Literature of isiXhosa} (Dudumashe-Luthango et al., 2010), and used in the instruction of mother tongue pupils in the use of their language. The Meinhof system of numbering the classes of nouns is at present

generally used and in line with this trend is also the numbering used in this dissertation, as set out in pericope 3.3.

Extensively evaluating the merits and demerits of the grammars mentioned above requires specific research directed towards each publication. In general it can be stated that to date isiXhosa nouns and their classification have received sound attention. However gaps and inaccuracies are to be found in the further description of the grammar of isiXhosa, especially with reference to the qualificative nouns traditionally referred to as adjectives, and various predicates. This would be apparent if a comparison is made between what grammarians have postulated in the past and what the phenomenological approach to the exposition of isiXhosa grammar in this dissertation brings to light. However, that would require extensive research into these publications, which is not the primary aim of this study. Nevertheless, to substantiate the claim that this study is critical and represent an advance in the insight into the structure of isiXhosa, reference has to be made to some of the shortcomings of what was assumed in the past, as briefly mentioned above and indicated in the concluding pericopes of the following chapters.

It is also of note that the aim of those attempting to set out the grammar of isiXhosa, as referred to above, was didactic, either to acquaint non-isiXhosa speakers with the language or to assist isiXhosa speakers to make better use of their mother tongue. This brought about that grammatical structures are often presented in a haphazard manner so that no comprehensive picture of the structure of isiXhosa is presented. The exception is Pahl's grammar, but it also is primarily didactic. It can thus be stated that no adequate, comprehensive, and coherent description of the isiXhosa language as such has yet seen the light of day.

This situation leaves a gap in the body of knowledge concerning isiXhosa that can only be filled by research into the structure of the language as a whole, aimed at a systematic presentation of all its features. That is what is attempted in this study, restricted to an exposition of the grammar of the isiXhosa used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible, following the guidelines suggested in the following pericopes.

1.6 The goal of this research

The goal of the research undertaken and set out in this dissertation is to make a study of the grammar of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible of 1942, seeking systematically to expose the structure of the language in its own right, without taking the structures of another language as norm.

Such an exposition has to be comprehensive and should not omit the description of any of the grammatical features of isiXhosa. At the same time the presentation of the results of the research has to be in such a format that a holistic view of the structure of isiXhosa is presented. No structure should be described in such a way that it complicates understanding other structures. Descriptions should rather complement each other, thereby making it possible for a coherent picture of the whole language to emerge. The ideal Appleyard already expressed in 1850 should always be kept in mind: "The Xhosa^k language must be allowed to stand upon its own merits, and be studied according to its own analogy." To which he adds:

“If this is done, it will be found superior to many in ingenuity of form and inferior to few in the expression of thought” (Appleyard, 1850: viii).

Ultimately such a study should be able to serve as the basis for a further undertaking to produce an isiXhosa Grammar, presenting the reader with a coherent and comprehensive description of the language.

Having now set out the goal to be achieved by this study, it is possible to proceed to consider the correct methods and procedures to reach this goal.

1.7 The methods and procedures followed in this investigation

To investigate the structure of isiXhosa a phenomenological approach is to be followed. The language as a whole is to be taken into consideration as it presents itself to the analyst without being prejudiced by the grammatical structures of other languages or preconceived grammatical theories.

The term ‘phenomenology’ has come into prominence as a result of the use made of it in the early twentieth century by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (Beyer, 2011: “Edmund Hussel”). He aimed at gaining insight into reality by being guided by experience uncontaminated by metaphysical theories or theories claiming to be scientific. Phenomena have to be taken into consideration in their own right as they present themselves to the unprejudiced philosopher.

The use of the phenomenological approach in this dissertation is much humbler than that of the philosopher Husserl. He aimed at gaining insight into all of reality, while this study restricts itself to aiming at gaining insight into the grammatical structure of the isiXhosa language. Following the phenomenological method of research this study aims at being guided by isiXhosa itself in searching for its grammatical structures. Grammatical presuppositions derived from other languages are to be set aside. The process has to be from language to grammar and not from presupposed theories regarding grammar to language. All the structures of isiXhosa are to be described as they fit together and no segment of the language should be ignored because it is less frequently used or does not fit in with the prejudiced view of the analyst. No easy short cuts should be taken, seemingly simplifying the description of one structure, where frequency of use has brought about condensation, but then making it incomprehensible to unravel related less frequently used structures that retain their full forms.

However, the whole field of the published literature and oral tradition of isiXhosa is much too wide a scope to be taken into consideration in one dissertation. Consequently this study is limited to the phenomenological investigation into the structure of isiXhosa by systematically setting out the grammar of isiXhosa used in the Revised Union Version of the isiXhosa Bible as first published in 1942 and subsequently republished in 1975 in the Revised Standard Orthography.

The Revised Union Version of the isiXhosa Bible, with its wide scope of prose and poetry, can be regarded as an adequate sample of what was regarded as proper isiTshiwo isiXhosa in the first half of the twentieth century. As a translation, based as it is on the principles of

formal equivalence, it leaves a lot to be desired in communicating the message of the original Bible text in easily understandable isiXhosa. However, the grammar of isiXhosa used in the Revised Union Version, having had the benefit of various previous revisions and the final attention of prominent mother tongue isiXhosa speakers of the time, gives an accurate insight into the structure of what was regarded as proper isiXhosa in the early twentieth century. It comprises a body of more than 1200 pages of grammatically immaculate isiXhosa text in 7 point print, containing both narrative and poetic sections. It reflects the consensus inter alia of prominent isiXhosa writers, such as W.B. Rubusana, J.H. Soga, C. Koti, Y. Mbali and D.D.T. Jabavu, who served on the committee that produced the revision.

Dr. W.B. Rubusana was a minister of the Congregational Church, editor of *Ilizwi laBantu* {The Voice of the People}, President of the South African Native Convention, member of the Cape Provincial Council and Vice-President of the African National Congress. He is the author of the classic *Zemk' iinkomo, magwalandini* {The cattle are going away, you cowards} (Satyo, 1983: 37-38; Potgieter, 1971: 620). The Rev. J.H. Soga, the second son of the renowned Rev. Tiyo Soga, contributed extensively to isiXhosa literature with the work he did as translator, such as completing the work his father started on the translation of Bunyan's "The Pilgrim's Progress." He is best known because of his very informative book "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" (Shepherd, 1955: 119-122). Prof. D.D.T. Jabavu, the son of J.T. Jabavu, the founding editor of the newspaper *IMvo zabaNtsundu* {The Opinions of the Blacks}, taught African Languages at the University College of Fort Hare. Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd says of him "perhaps no other has contributed more to the life and literature of his people." (Shepherd, 1955: 195-198). Their colleagues were all prominent speakers and writers of isiXhosa.

An advantage of using the Bible as source is the fact that it is divided into books, chapters and verses, making it possible to indicate exactly where relevant features of the grammar of isiXhosa are to be found.

In this study then an intensive examination of the text of the Revised Union Version isiXhosa Bible is undertaken and all the elements in the language used are identified and described. Obviously cognisance has to be taken of the work of other grammarians and the progress that has been made in describing the structure of isiXhosa in particular and Central and Southern African languages in general. This, however, has to be done critically and only that which an unbiased examination of the text of the Revised Union Version isiXhosa Bible substantiates is to be relied on.

To make this possible the text of the Revised Union Version has to be read carefully and all relevant features noted and indexed. Computerised searches can then be made so as to obtain sufficient examples of the relevant features. This makes it possible to compare various instances where specific structures are used, facilitating the drawing of conclusions. All statements made in respect of the structure of isiXhosa are then to be substantiated with adequate examples indicating the specific verse or verses of the Revised Union Version where they are to be found.

To facilitate referring to the text of this study its pericopes are numbered by chapter and pericope (e.g. 4.2). The term pericope is used to refer to a section of the text under a section heading, while subsections are alluded to with the term paragraph. References to the 1942/1975 Revised Union Version of the isiXhosa Bible are by way of the abbreviation of the name of the book with its chapter and verse number, all placed in parenthesis (e.g. Gen 1:1). In cases where the isiXhosa abbreviation of the name of a book is not immediately apparent in English an English abbreviation is added (e.g. Gweb/Jdg 7:3).

The following abbreviations of the books of the Bible are used: Gen, Eks, Lev, Num, Dut, Yosh, Gweb/Jdg, Rute, 1 Sam, 2 Sam, 1 Kum/Kgs, 2 Kum/Kgs, 1 Kron/Chr, 2 Kron/Chr, Ezra, Neh, Est, Yobhi/Job, Ndum/Ps, MiZek/Prov, Ntshum/Ecc, Ngom/Song, Is, Yer, ZiLil/Lam, Hez/Ezek, Dan, Hos, Yow, Am, Obhad, Yona, Mika, Nah, Habh, Zef, Hag, Zekar, Mal, Mat, Marko, Luka, Yoh/Jn, Zen/Acts, Roma, 1 Kor, 2 Kor, Gal, Ef, Filipi, Kol, 1 Tes, 2 Tes, 1 Tim, 2 Tim, Tito, Filemon, Hebh, Yak/Jas, 1 Pet, 2 Pet, 1 Yoh, 2 Yoh, 3 Yoh, Yuda/Jude, SiTyh/Rev. The Revised Union Version as such is referred to as the RUV. The signs used are < for “is derived from”, > for “becomes” and + for “plus”.

IsiXhosa is a tone language and the correct understanding of a text depends upon it being read with the correct intonation. It is not always practical to extend examples that are given sufficiently to place them in context, making it possible to know what the correct tone pattern is to use. Consequently I have, where it seemed expedient, added more tone signs than those used in the RUV. In this way a correct reading of examples is made possible.

In spite of being very extensive the RUV obviously does not cover every minute aspect of isiXhosa as in general use when it was produced. This has made it necessary in a few instances, for the sake of completeness, to give examples that are not found in the text of the RUV.

The semi-literal translations, usually not in idiomatic English, given in brackets after isiXhosa texts, are given to assist non-isiXhosa speaking readers. They are in no way to be regarded as reflecting an effort to render idiomatic English translations, nor are they to be seen as exhaustive renderings of all the shades of the meaning of words. For this purpose “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa,” published by the University of Fort Hare, should be consulted. The fact is that isiXhosa and English have very divergent views on how objects and events, and the relationships between them, are to be described, which often makes simple translations impossible. This fact is further exacerbated by the often rather literal rendering in isiXhosa of Hebrew superstructures as a result of the adherence of the RUV to the principle of formal resemblance translation. This implies that not only siXhosaisms but also Hebraicisms complicate the rendering of relevant translations, as for example in the case of *yiba ngumyeni kukumkani* {be/become a bridegroom with the king} (1 Sam 18:22) which is a Hebrew way of saying “get the king to be your father-in-law,” or even “marry one of the king’s daughters.” A further example is the question *banako yini na abegumbi lomtshakazi ukuzila ukudla, xa anabo umyeni?* {can those of the chamber of the bride refrain from food when/while the bridegroom is with them?} (Marko 2:19). The Hebrewised Greek which the RUV literally renders *abegumbi lomtshakazi* {those of the chamber/room of the bride} refers

to the group of people present at the marriage in support of the bridegroom, which implies that in idiomatic English a translation could be “how can the guests of the bridegroom fast while he is with them.” However, providing such an idiomatic English translation would not be adequate to assist a non-isiXhosa speaking reader to gain an insight into the isiXhosa rendering given by the RUV, which necessitates the use of a semi-literal translations, enhanced with relevant remarks, such as “can those of the chamber of the bride [i.e. the guests of the bridegroom] refrain from food when/while the bridegroom is with them?”

In cases of high frequency, such as when referring to possessions where the word order of English is the reverse of that of isiXhosa, e.g. *umsebenzi wakhe* {the work of him} (Gen 2:3), the regular English is usually given, e.g. “his work,” and so also in cases such as *abantu bonke* {people all} (Eks 32:3) which is usually rendered “all people.” Also the fact that the subject of a sentence is not placed at the beginning of a phrase in isiXhosa if the emphasis is on the process reflected by the predicate and not on the subject, makes literal translations awkward, and often the translations given follow English word order in these instances, e.g. *wathi uAdam* {and he said Adam} (Gen 2:23) is often rendered as “and Adam said.”

Another stumbling block is the tendency of isiXhosa style to extend phrases by introducing the predicate with the use of the verb *ukuthi*, used with its shade of meaning indicating “to do” or “to happen,” in such statements as *ukuba ùthe wamthuma*, which literally translates as “if you [singular] did and sent him” (Gen 43:4), which is often rendered in more natural English omitting reference to the *ukuthi* {to do} verb in the translation provided, i.e. rendering it as “if you [singular] sent him.”

Also awkward to convey is the form word *ke*, which isiXhosa utilises with a high frequency to facilitate the flow of the processes expressed by the predicates employed. Translating it with “and” or “then,” or even “and so,” “so,” “well” or “now,” as has sometimes been done in the English renderings, is somewhat of an over translation, while omitting all reference to it is an under translation which may leave a reader uncertain. No obvious solution is at hand, and the English translations provided vary, often omitting all reference to *ke*.

The above implies that to avoid giving tedious totally literal translations the translations given are, as said, only semi-literal. In relevant cases idiomatic renderings are appended to these semi-literal translation, e.g. as in the case of *wazenza mntu wumbi* {he made himself another person, i.e. he disguised himself} (1 Kum/Kgs 22:30).

1.8 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it can be noted that isiXhosa is a vibrant Bantu language, the mother tongue of some 16% of the citizens of South Africa. It possesses a dynamic oral and literary tradition. The text of the Revised Union Version of the Bible in isiXhosa, published in 1942 and representing the consensus of significant writers of isiXhosa can be taken as an extensive sample of what was regarded to be authentic isiXhosa at the beginning of the twentieth century. This body of text can be critically analysed, moving from the text to the grammar, and not from preconceived ideas regarding grammar to the text. Such a phenomenological approach makes it possible to comprehensively set out the grammar of the isiXhosa used, avoiding mistakes made in the past. This is done in the following chapters.

Chapter 2

isiXhosa phonology and the orthography used

2.1 Introduction

Language can be defined as “the expression of thoughts and feelings by means of vocal sounds, and combinations of such sounds, to which meaning is attributed” (Webster, 1957: 821). As from ancient times some people have striven to represent these vocal sounds with written signs or symbols, making it possible to write down and later repeat what has been said. However, isiXhosa speaking people, constantly on the move looking for better pastures for their herds of cattle, never undertook such a leisurely exercise, relying on a sound memory to transmit messages or to relate what was thought and said about what transpired in the past. It was only when Christian missionaries from Europe desired to acquire a knowledge of isiXhosa that they strove to distinguish the various vocal sounds used in speaking isiXhosa and to put these sounds and the words and sentences they constituted, to writing. What they had at their disposal was the alphabet they used in their own languages, inherited from the way vocal sounds were put to writing in Latin in Rome. And this is what they used in their initial efforts to find ways of writing isiXhosa, as described in this chapter.

2.2 The Orthography used to write isiXhosa

The first serious effort to put isiXhosa to writing was that of the Protestant Christian missionary the Rev. John Bennie of Lovedale. In 1823 he produced the first printed texts in isiXhosa, using the Roman alphabet (Pahl, 1989: xxxiii). This culminated in what is known as “the Old Orthography” used by the Rev. John Appleyard when he printed the first translation of the Bible in isiXhosa at Mount Coke in the Eastern Cape in 1859. It was also used by his colleague the Rev. Albert Kropf in his renowned “Xhosa^k – English Dictionary” of 1899. A prominent feature of this orthography was the use of a diacritic to indicate aspiration and to indicate the voiced explosive bilabial, as in *ukukótá* {to lick} and *ukubábá* {to flutter}.

The Old Orthography was superseded by the so called “New Orthography,” compiled in the 1930s by Dr. W.G. Bennie in consultation with Prof. C.M. Doke (W.G. Bennie, 1930) and propagated under the title “Notes on the New Orthography” (W.G. Bennie, 1937). This was a scientifically virtually perfect phonetic orthography, with aspiration indicated with an *h* and each basic sound represented with its own symbol. This required the Roman alphabet to be expanded with six symbols. In the upper and lower case respectively the voiced bilabial implosive was represented with the symbols ɓ and ɗ, the voiced alveolar fricative with ɹ and ʀ, and the voiceless prepalatal fricative with ɕ and ʑ, as in *ukubetha* {to hit}, *iramba* {pufadder} and *ubuɹuɹu* {heat}.

This proved to be a serious impediment for the publication of isiXhosa literature. Very few presses, restricted to linotype as they were at the time, had these extra symbols available. What is more, those using the typewriters available at that time had to revert to the numerals

6 and 5 to emulate the symbols 6 and 5 and the forward slash / in the case of the symbol ƒ. The symbol ɾ was represented by manually extending the Roman symbol r downwards, while the symbols Γ and Σ had to be inserted manually.

Mother tongue speakers of isiXhosa lacked enthusiasm for this orthography, both because of the unfamiliar symbols and the complicated rules governing word division and the doubling of vowels. The Cape African Teachers' Association requested the Cape Education Department to simplify it (Pahl, 1989: xxxiv). In *IMvo zabaNtsundu* {The Opinions of the Blacks} of the 17th January 1942 B.B. Qase of Cape Town protests that, when children use this new orthography to write letters on behalf of illiterate elders, their relatives working on the gold mines cannot decipher them. Referring to the symbol ƒ he derides the use of “*amagosogoswana ngathi bekuzanywa i-Short hand*” {little crookedness's as if attempting Short hand}. Objections continued up to the 1st November 1947. A number of correspondents complained about the new orthography with only one defending it. The paper itself did not use the new orthography, but turned to using an adaption of the old orthography. For example, the symbol *h* is used to indicate aspiration, as in *le mihlathi* {these columns}. Vowels are doubled in certain instances, but not in the name of the paper, and the symbol cluster *bh* is used to represent the voiced explosive bilabial consonant. This can be seen in a letter written by H.H. Tyamzashe and published in *IMvo zabaNtsundu* {The Opinions of the Blacks} on the 19th December 1942 under the heading “*Amantombhazana NeeSimnal*” {Girls and Seminaries}.

As a result of these factors the Education Department's Xhosa Language Committee, consisting predominantly of prominent mother tongue speakers such as J.J.R. Jolobe, G.I.M. Mzamane, S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, H. Nabe, D.M. Ntusi, P.T. Mtuze and others, ably chaired by Prof. H.W. Pahl, devised and revised a less perfect but more practical orthography, restricted to the use of the Roman alphabet. It is called the “Revised Standard Orthography,” published in Pretoria in 1972 by the Government Printer on behalf of the Department of Bantu Education of the Republic of South Africa, under the title “Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3.” This orthography is at present (2013) still used and prescribed by the Pan African Language Board in a booklet published in 2005 entitled “Spelling and Orthography Rules: IsiXhosa” and for obvious reasons also used in this study.

The Revised Union Version of the Bible in isiXhosa, the grammar of which is described in this dissertation, was published in 1942 using the “New Orthography”. The text was presented in paragraphs with no section headings distinguishing the various pericopes. In 1975 the Revised Union Version was re-published by the Bible Society of South Africa in Cape Town, using the “Revised Standard Orthography” and with the insertion of section headings. This orthography is described below as attention is given to the phonology of isiXhosa.

2.3 The Phonology of isiXhosa

The phonemes (sounds conveying meaning) of isiXhosa are distinguished as vowels and consonants. Clusters of phonemes form syllables which are generally characterised by

consisting of a consonant, or a combination of consonants, followed by a vowel and are grouped together to form a word, as in *makahlanganiselwe* {let them be assembled at} (Gen 1:9) which consists of the syllables *ma-ka-hla-nga-ni-se-lwe*.

Some words start with a vowel, in which case this initial vowel constitutes a syllable on its own, as in *amanzi* {water} (Gen 1:6) which consists of the syllables *a-ma-nzi*.

In a few siXhosised words syllables are found that end on a consonant, e.g. *ubhaptizo* {baptism} (Luka 3:3) which consists of the syllables *u-bhap-ti-zo*. In some instances, to avoid ambiguity in siXhosised words, a hyphen has to be inserted to indicate the glottal stop separating consonant clusters used to represent one phoneme, as in *uBhish-lam* {Bishlam} (Ezra 4:7), or to avoid regarding adjacent consonants as a cluster, as in *ngeKir-heres* {for Kir Hareseth} (Is 16:11).

2.4 Vowels

IsiXhosa uses five vowels:

- a* : a low central vowel pronounced with the lips in a neutral position, as in *abamandla amanzi* {the water became strong} (Gen 7:20);
- e* : a raised mid high front vowel pronounced with moderate spreading of the lips, as in *ewe* {yes} (Gen 45:26) and with a mid low front variant when it is followed by a syllable containing one of the two high vowels *i* and *u*, as in *eli* {this} (Gen 12:7) and *wethu* {of us / our} (Gen 1:26);
- i* : a high frontal vowel pronounced with spread lips, as in *imini* {day} (Gen 1:5);
- o* : a raised mid high back vowel pronounced with rounded lips, as in *olo* {that} (Gen 19:29) and with a raised mid high back variant when it is followed by a syllable containing one of the two high vowels *i* and *u*, as in *obu bomi* {this life} (Gen 27:46);
- u* : a high back vowel pronounced with rounded lips as in *ubusuku* {night} (Gen 1:16).

A comprehensive description of these vowels can be found on pages 6 to 10 of Bennie's "A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking" of 1953. He not only explains at length how the vowels are articulated, but he enhances this description with a vowel diagram as well as with two diagrams indicating the various positions of the tongue when vowels are pronounced.

2.5 Vowel length

The vowel of the penultimate syllable of an isiXhosa word is normally pronounced slightly longer, while the final vowel is normally short, as in *ubusuku* {night} (Gen 1:16) and *wamkhumbula* {he remembered him} (Gen 19:29).

When a vowel at the end of a word is followed by a word commencing in a vowel the vowel is normally very short and often barely audible in spoken language, e.g. what is in the mind of the speaker and written as *ubeminyaka imashumi asixhenxe anamihlanu ezelwe* {he was years that are tens that are seven and five having been borne, i.e. he was seventy five years old}

(Gen 12:4) is usually only pronounced as such in slow or deliberate speech, but is normally pronounced as *ubeminyak' imashum' asixhenx' anamihlan' ezelwe*.

A variant is often heard where the final vowel *u* is pronounced as the semi-vowel *w*, e.g. what is normally written as *izinto eziphilileyo* {things that are alive} (Gen 1:25) may be pronounced as *izint' eziphilileyo* but is more often heard as *izintw' eziphilileyo*, and may also be written in this fashion.

In rapid speech the final vowel also undergoes elision before a word commencing in one of the semi-vowels *y* and *w*, in which case elision of the semi-vowel also occurs. E.g. *inkosi yam* {the chief of me / my chief} (Gen 24:12) is sometimes heard as *inkos' am*; *unyana wam* {my son} (Eks 4:22) is also heard as *unyan' am* and *indlu yam* {my house} (Is 56:7) as *indlw' am*. In such cases the word *umntwana* {child} is sometimes contracted in the spoken language, so that for example *umntwana wakhe* {his/her child} (1 Tim 1:2) is heard as *umtan' akhe*.

As the examples above indicate, the elision of a final vowel is normally not indicated in written isiXhosa. However, when the writer deems it obligatory for poetic or dramatic effect, or where it is regarded to be required because elision often occurs, it is indicated with an apostrophe, as in *khawusuk' ume* < *khawusuke ume* {please arise and stand} (Ndum/Ps 74:22). In the case of consistent vowel elision, as in compound words, the apostrophe is not written, e.g. *ibinzima* < *ibe inzima* {it was heavy} (Gen 12:10).

When the vowel *i* is preceded by the consonant *m*, *n* or *s* in the final syllable of a word, it is often pronounced in a barely audible whisper, as in *ngabomi* {on purpose, deliberately} (Zen/Acts 17:30), *egameni leNkosi* {in the name of the Lord} (Mat 21:9) and *uNkosi kankosi* {King of the king} (Dut 10:17). In the case of the consonant *s* this whispered vowel *i* is also found in the middle of words, as in *esikhundleni* {in the lair/place} (Gen 30:2) and *isijwili* {lament} (Gen 50:10) when rapidly spoken. In siXhosised personal names the whispered vowel *i* is not written after the consonants *n* and *s*, as in *uSamson* {Samson} (Gweb/Jdg 14:1) and *uPetros* {Peter} (Mat 4:18) and before the consonant *k*, as in *uSkeva* {Sceva} (Zen/Acts 19:14). The same holds for the whispered vowel *a* or *u* after the bilabial consonant *m* in the final syllable of a siXhosised proper name, e.g. *uAbram* {Abram} (Gen 12:1).

In some cases where the vowels *u* and *i* follow the consonant *m* the vowel is not pronounced at all and the *m* remains as a syllable on its own (called a syllabic *m*), as in *umntu* (*u-m-ntu* < *umuntu*) {human being} (Gen 1:26) and *mna* < *mina* {I/me} (Gen 6:17).

Long vowels also occur in words where they are not in the penultimate syllable, as in the second *a* of the *a*-past tense relative mood verb *awabasikelela* {that he blessed them} (Dut 33:1) and the *o* of the *a*-past tense indicative verb *womelela* {he became strong} (2 Kron/Chr 1:1). This lengthening of the vowel is normally not indicated in the written language, except if the writer wants to draw attention to it to avoid ambiguity. In such cases it is indicated by using the circumflex /[^]/, as these longer vowels have a falling double tone, as in *nêenziwa* {you were made} (2 Kor 7:9).

To avoid ambiguity in some cases a long vowel is indicated by doubling the vowel, as in:

the contracted mediate demonstrative pronouns of classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9, e.g. *loo nyana* {that son} (Gen 21:3), *loo mnikelo* {that gift/sacrifice} (Gen 43:15), *loo mizi* {those homesteads} (Gen 19:25), *loo madoda* {those men} (Gen 20:8) and *loo ndawo* {that place} (Gen 18:24);

the final syllable of contracted remote demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *laa mfo* {that chap} (Gen 24:65) and *laa madoda* {those men} (Gen 44:4);

the prefix of nouns in class 2a, e.g. *oonyana* {sons} (Gen 5:4);

instances where *z* is dropped in the prefix *izin-*, *izim-*, in class 10 nouns with polysyllabic stems, also called multisyllabic stems, e.g. *iintaka* < *izintaka* {birds} (Gen 1:22) and *iimbiza* < *izimbiza* {pots} (2 Kron/Chr 4:11);

cases where *z* is dropped in the prefix *izin-*, *izim-*, in class 10 nouns with polysyllabic stems and where a morpheme is prefixed fusing with the vowel of the prefix, e.g. *ziintombi* < *zi+izintombi* {are daughters/girls} (Gen 31:43), *aziimfumba ngeemfumba* < *a[ba]+zi+izimfumba nga+izimfumba* {and they were heaps upon heaps} (Eks 8:14), *beentombi* < *ba+iintombi* {of daughters/girls} (Gen 19:14), *eenqwelo* < *a+iinqwelo* {of wagons} (2 Kron/Chr 1:14) and *ngeempondo zeendlovu* < *nga+iimpondo za+iindlovu* {with the horns [i.e. tusks] of elephants} (2 Kron/Chr 9:17).

Class 10 nouns with monosyllabic stems regularly retain the *z* in the prefix, as in *izinja* {dogs} (1 Kum/Kgs 21:19). However, some speakers optionally drop the *z* in the prefix when it is followed by a qualification, as in Genesis 7:14 where we find *neento zonke eziphilileyo* {and all things that are alive} and *iinto zonke eziphaphazelayo* {all things that fly} but with *nezinto zonke ezizitho ziné* {and all things that are four-legged} in between. In the case of *ngeenxa zonke* {on all sides} (as in Eks 7:24) the *z* is consistently dropped.

In written isiXhosa the contracted vowel where the *z* has been dropped is always written with the doubling of the vowel. However, in spoken isiXhosa it is usually pronounced as a short vowel so that there is no phonetic distinction between nouns in classes 9 and 10, and for example usually not only *inkomo* {one head of cattle} (as in the phrase *xa inkomo ithe yahlaba indoda* {when a head of cattle gores a man} in Eks 21:28) but also *iinkomo* {cattle} (as in the phrase *iinkomo zakhe wazibiyela iintlanti* {his cattle he fenced in with cattle-kraals} in Gen 33:17) are both articulated with a short initial vowel.

The vowel is sometimes doubled in the *a*-past tense of the indicative mood as well as in the perfect tense of the subjunctive mood *-athi* of the verb *-thi* when it precedes an ideophone and the *th* is dropped and the vowels *a+i* coalesce to *ee*, e.g. *yee nqa* < *yathi nqa*, as in *indoda yee nqa* {the man wondered} (Gen 24:21), *bee bhuxe* {they stood firm} (Yosh 3:17) and *lee qoko* {it dried up} (Luka 8:44).

The adverb *le* {far away} has a variant *lee* that is pronounced with a long vowel and written with doubling of the vowel as in *ikude lee kum* {it is far away from me} (Marko 7:6).

Long vowels in ideophones and exclamations are indicated by doubling the vowel, e.g. *saa*, as in *wabathi saa* {he scattered them} (2 Kron/Chr 11:23) and *Yoo!* {Ah! / O!} (Gweb/Jdg

6:22). Extra long vowel length is indicated by the repetition of the vowel interspersed with hyphens, as in *vi-i-i-tyo* {emulating the sound of a whistle} but examples of this are not found in the RUV.

The glottal stop between two similar vowels is indicated with a hyphen, even if the second vowel is written with a capital letter, as in *ne-esile* {and an ass} (Eks 20:17), *e-Elim* {in Elim} (Eks 16:1), *ka-Abraham* {of Abraham} (Eks 3:6), *no-Ohadi* {and Ohad} (Eks 6:15) and *u-Uriya* {Uriah} (2 Sam 11:6). However, two dissimilar vowels are written without the hyphen, e.g. *uAbram* {Abram} (Gen 12:4) and *ngeinki* {with ink} (Yer 36:18).

2.6 Intonation

The vowels of isiXhosa are pronounced at variable tones. Usually there is no indication of the tone in written isiXhosa. Where deemed necessary, in cases of ambiguity, tone is indicated as follows:

A relatively high tone by the acute sign /´/, as in *úqalekisiwe* {it is cursed} (Gen 3:17) [to indicate the third person].

A relatively low tone by the grave sign /`/, as in *ùphi na?* {where are you [singular]?} (Gen 3:9) [to indicate the second person].

A double tone, commencing in a relatively high tone falling to a relatively low tone, by the circumflex /^/, as in *wênza* {he made} (Eks 20:11) [to indicate the *a*-past tense].

Where the vowel *u* has undergone elision, resulting in a syllabic *m*, its relative tone is transferred to the *m*, which if required may be indicated with a tone sign, as in *mwísele* {promulgate for him/her} in *uYoshuwa mwísele umthetho* {promulgate a law for Joshua} (Dut 3:28) [to indicate the object concord in the imperative mood] and *mkhulu* {that is big} as in *lo moya mkhulu uvuthuzayo* {this wind that is big that is blowing} (Yona 1:12) [to indicate the relative mood].

Giving a comprehensive description of the relative tone patterns of the various words and combinations of words in isiXhosa falls outside of the scope of this study. “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” indicates the normal tone patterns of most words. In his grammar *IsiXhosa* Pahl summarises the prominent tone patterns of isiXhosa (Pahl, 1983:29-30).

There are distinctions brought about by semantic tone, where words with the same group of sounds, but with a different intonation, can have different meanings. Where deemed necessary semantic tone is indicated with a tone sign to avoid ambiguity, as in *ndigángile* (Filipi 3:13) [{I have taken hold / caught / achieved} as contrasted to *ndigàngile* {I have exalted myself / regard myself as important}]. A prime example of intonation indicating semantic difference is *ithàngá* {thigh}, *ithàngà* {pumpkin} and *ithângà* {cattle outpost; colony}. Of these three only the first appears in the RUV (in Num 5:21 et seq.) where it is distinguished by displaying the distinctive acute tone sign on the last *a*.

There are distinctions brought about by grammatical tone, where the meaning of words with the same group of sounds can only be distinguished by their intonation, as is the case with the

positive imperfect subjunctive with potential aspect *ungáthi* {you [singular] may do} (1 Sam 20:14) and the negative imperfect subjunctive *ungàthi* {you [singular] will not do} (1 Sam 20:15). Attention will be given to the various cases of grammatical tone when the relevant grammatical structures are described.

2.7 Emphasis

The penultimate syllable of an isiXhosa word is usually not only longer but also pronounced with more emphasis, as in *wadala* {he created} (Gen 1:1). Secondary emphasis can be detected on every second vowel preceding the vowel that receives the main emphasis, as in *owandinikayo* {that you [singular] gave to me} (Gen 3:12).

In the case of words with monosyllabic stems the vowel of the stem receives the main emphasis, as in *ezine* {that are four} (Gen 2:10) [optionally indicated in the RUV with an acute sign, i.e. *eziné*].

In written isiXhosa no indication of emphasis is given. However, as emphasis is usually accompanied by a raised tone, the sign for a high tone is used to indicate emphasis where required to avoid ambiguity, as in *bazímela* {they hid} (Gen 3:8) the positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukuzímela* {to hide} [which is to be distinguished from *baziméla* {they stood on their own / were independent} the positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukuziméla*, the reflexive applicative verb derived from the verb *ukuma* {to stand}].

In the case of words with monosyllabic stems the emphasis on the vowel of the stem is often indicated using the acute sign, as in *eziné* {that are four} (Gen 2:10), mentioned above, and *baye bobabini behamba zé* {they both went naked} (Gen 2:25).

2.8 Consonants

The consonants are represented by either a single letter or a combination of letters where there are not enough symbols available in the Roman alphabet so that each consonant can have its own. They are set out below, indicated by the symbols of the Roman alphabet prescribed to represent them with according to the Revised Standard Orthography of 1972. For a list of the speech sounds and sound combinations of isiXhosa, indicated with their international phonetic characters, pages xlvii to lii of Volume 3 of “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” (1989) can be consulted. Bennie (1953: 10-17) gives a clear description of how the consonants are articulated, referring to them with the symbols used in the so called “New Orthography” that he was instrumental in formulating and that preceded the present Standard Orthography (vide pericope 2.2).

2.9 Plosives

p : a voiceless ejective bilabial explosive, occurring in* the nasal compound *mp*, as in *empumalanga* {in the east} (Mat 2:1) and *impilo* {health} (Eks 18:7), and in some siXhosised words, e.g. *nezipili* {and mirrors} (Eks 38:8). It is also found followed by the lingual continuant *l* in siXhosised words, as in *eziplangeni* {on planks} (Zen/Acts 27:44) and followed by the vibrant *r* in siXhosised words, such as *abaprofeti* {prophets} (Zen/Acts 3:18).

bh : a partially devoiced bilabial explosive, as in *ibhunga* {a council; a conspiracy} (Gweb/Jdg 20:38) and also following a syllabic *m*, which does not influence it phonetically, as in *umbhali* {writer} (2 Kum/Kgs 12:10). It is also found preceded by *r* in siXhosised words, such as *umbharbhari* {barbarian} (1 Kor 14:11).

The partially devoiced bilabial explosive is written with the symbol *b*, and not *bh*, when it is found in siXhosised words followed by the lingual liquid *l*, as in *uBlasto* {Blastus} (Zen/Acts 12:20) or followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *uAbram* {Abram} (Gen 11:26).

b in the nasal compound *mb* is a voiced bilabial explosive, as in *imbewu* {seed} (Gen 15:5).

b : a voiced bilabial implosive, as in *ubabalo* {grace} (Ezra 9:8). [It is to be noted that a *b* following a syllabic *m* is implosive, as in *umbilini* [*u-m-bi-li-ni*] {stomach, bowels} (Gen 9:2) and is to be distinguished from the pronunciation of the explosive *b* in the nasal compound *mb* as above in *imbewu* [*i-mbe-wu*] {seed} (Gen 15:5). The correct pronunciation is dependent upon the reader's knowledge within the context, as is the case with the imperfect indicative verb with an object concord *umbona* [*u-m-bo-na*] {he sees him} (Yoh/Jn 1:29), which has to be distinguished from the class 1a noun *umbona* [*u-mbo-na*] {maize}. Another example is *wambumba* [*wa-m-bu-mba*] {he formed him} (Gen 2:7) where the first *b* is implosive and the second explosive. Following a syllabic *m* the explosive bilabial is written *bh*, as in *umbhinqo* [*u-m-bhi-nqo*] {garment tied round the waist, belt} (Eks 28:40).]

t : a voiceless ejective alveolar explosive, as in *utolo* {arrow} (1 Sam 20:37) and *intente* {tent} (2 Sam 16:22). In some siXhosised words it is found followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *ezitratweni* {in the streets} (2 Sam 1:20).

th : a voiceless strongly aspirated alveolar explosive, as in *ukuthetha* {to talk} (Gen 17:22) and *umthetho* {law} (Gen 2:16).

d : a partially devoiced alveolar explosive, as in *amadoda* {men} (Gen 6:3), *iindudumo* {thunders} (1 Sam 12:17) and *umda* {boundary} (Gweb/Jdg 11:22). In some siXhosised words it is found followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *idrarhima* {drachma} (Luka 15:8).

d in the nasal compound *nd* is a voiced alveolar explosive, as in *indalo* {creation} (Marko 16:15). In some siXhosised words this prenasalised explosive is found followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *uAndreya* {Andrew} (Yoh/Jn 12:22).

k : a voiceless ejective velar explosive, as in *ukakayi* {skull} (Is 3:17). It is also found after the homorganic nasal *n*, as in *inkitha* {crowd} (Eks 11:38). In some siXhosised words it is found followed by the lingual continuant *l*, as in *uKleyopa* {Cleopas} (Luka 24:18), and also by the vibrant *r*, as in *uKristu* {Christ} (1 Yoh 2:22). [Note that in the case of original isiXhosa words the combined symbols *kr* indicate a voiceless ejective velar affricate, as in *amakrele* {swords} (Luka 22:38).]

kh : a strongly aspirated velar explosive, as in *ukukhukhumala* {to be inflated} (1 Sam 17:28) and *wamkhumbula* {he remembered him} (Gen 19:29).

g : a partially devoiced velar explosive, as in *igama* {name} (Gen 2:11) and *umgama* {distance} (Yoh/Jn 11:18). In some siXhosised words it is found followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *amaGrike* {Greeks} (1 Kor 1:22), and also followed by the lingual continuant *l*, as in *uEglon* {Eglon} (Gweb/Jdg 3:17). [Note that in the case of original isiXhosa words the combined symbols *gr* indicate a voiced velar fricative, as in *umgrayo* {ground meal} (Num 15:21).]

g preceded by the velar nasal *n* is a voiced velar explosive, as in *ingoma* {song; tune} (Gweb/Jdg 5:12).

2.10 Continuants: Nasals

m : a voiced bilabial nasal, as in *mabamemelele* {let them sing belligerently/victoriously} (Is 42:11). The symbol *m* is also used to indicate the denti-labial nasal which is found in combination with the denti-labial affricates *f* and *v*, as in *imfazwe* {war} (Ntshum/Ecc 9:11) and *izimvu* {sheep [plural]} (Ndum/Ps 78:71).

mh : a voiced aspirated bilabial nasal, as in the interjection *mholo!* {good day!} used as a greeting. However, no example of this consonant is to be found in the RUV.

n : a voiced alveolar nasal, as in *nina* {you [plural]} (Gen 9:7). The symbol *n* is also used to indicate the palatal *n* which is found in combination with the velar plosives and affricates, as in *ingubo* {blanket; garment} (Gen 9:23), *iinkani* {rebelliousnesses} (Dut 31:27), *inkrombonca* {nose with an indented bridge} (Lev 13:55) and *iinkcaso* {opposing acts/ideas} (1 Tim 6:20), as well as in combination with the palatal affricates, as in *injoli* {master of ceremonies} (Yoh/Jn 2:9) and *iintshaba* {enemies} (Eks 33:2).

nh : a voiced aspirated alveolar nasal, as in *izinhanha* {dignified persons} (Ndum/Ps 16:3).

ny : a voiced prepalatal nasal, as in *inyama* {meat, flesh} (SiTyh/Rev 19:18).

nyh : a voiced aspirated prepalatal nasal, as in *inyhukunyhuku* {a vile, dirty person} (SiTyh/Rev 22:11).

ng' : a voiced velar nasal, as in *ing'awukazi* {prostitute} (Dut 23:17).

2.11 Continuants: Alveolar laterals or liquids

l : a voiced liquid, as in *ukulala* {to lie down; to sleep} (Gweb/Jdg 19:10).

r : a rolled alveolar or vibrant, found in siXhosised words, such as *uSirayeli* {Israel} (Gen 45:28).

2.12 Continuants: Fricatives

f : a voiceless denti-labial fricative, as in *wafefa* {he sprinkled} (Lev 8:11) and *umfazi* {woman; wife} (Gen 2:22). The symbol *f* is also used for the denti-labial affricate in the nasal compound *mf*, as in *imfazwe* {war} (Gen 14:2). In some siXhosised words the denti-labial fricative *f* is found followed by the liquid *l*, as in *iflakisi* {flax} (Eks 9:31), and followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *uEfrayim* {Ephraim} (Gweb/Jdg 1:29).

- v* : a voiced denti-labial fricative, as in *ukuva* {to hear/feel/taste; understand} (2 Sam 14:17) and *umvuzo* {wage} (Gen 15:1). The symbol *v* is also used for the voiced denti-labial affricate in the nasal compound *mv*, as in *imvu* {sheep [singular]} (Gen 22:7).
- s* : a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in *kusasa* {in the morning} (Gen 24:54) and *umsi* {smoke} (Eks 19:18).
- z* : a voiced alveolar fricative, as in *ukuzuza* {to acquire; to earn} (MiZek/Prov 21:6). The symbol *z* is also used for the voiced alveolar affricate in the nasal compound *nz*, as in *amanzi* {water} (Yobhi/Job 41:32).
- sh* : a voiceless prepalatal fricative, as in *ubushushu* {heat} (Gen 27:44).
- hl* : a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative, as in *ihlahla* {branch} (Is 10:34).
- dl* : a voiced alveolar lateral fricative, as in *ukudlala* {to play} (Ndum/Ps 104:26).
- rh* : a voiceless velar fricative, as in *igorha* {brave man, hero} (MiZek/Prov 30:30).
- gr* : a voiced velar fricative, as in *umgrayo* {ground maize} (Num 15:21). [Note that in relevant siXhosised words the combined symbols *gr* indicate a partially devoiced velar explosive followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *amaGrike* {Greeks} (1 Kor 1:22).]
- h* : a voiceless glottal fricative, as in *ubuhilihili* {foolishness} (Yobhi/Job 24:12).
- h* : a voiced glottal fricative, as in *hayi* {no} (Yobhi/Job 33:14).

2.13 Continuants: Affricates

The affricates are consonants that are initiated as plosive and end as fricatives.

- ts* : a voiceless ejective alveolar affricate, as in *itsolo* {sharp point} (1 Sam 14:4) and *emzantsi* {on the under side; in the south} (Yobhi/Job 36:16).
- ths* : a voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate, as in *isithsaba* {crown} (2 Sam 1:10).
- dz* : a voiced prepalatal affricate, as in the proper name *uLidziya* {Lidziya}. No word with *dz* is to be found in the RUV. However the voiced prepalatal affricate occurs in the nasal compound *nz*, in which case it is written without the *d*, as in *inzuzo* {gain; profit; reward} (Eks 18:21).
- tsh* : a voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate, which can be recognised as such in the nasal compound *ntsh*, as in *iintshaba* {enemies} (SiTyh/Rev 11:12). In other occurrences, such as *isitshixo* {key} (SiTyh/Rev 3:7), prior knowledge is required to distinguish it from its aspirated lookalike, as in *ukutshabalala* {to perish, to be extinguished} (2 Pet 3:16).
- tsh* : a voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate, as in *utshaba* {enemy} (1 Sam 19:14) and *umtshato* {marriage} (Hebh 13:4). It has to be distinguished by prior knowledge from its ejective lookalike, as in *ukutshixiza* {to gnash [teeth]} (Luka 13:28).
- j* : a voiced prepalatal affricate, as in *amajikazi* {pendants} (Hez/Ezek 16:12) and *izinja* {dogs} (Yer 15:3).

ty : a voiceless ejective palatal affricate, as in *ukutyala* {to plant} (Ntshum/Ecc 3:2) and *intyantambo* {flower} (Yak/Jas 1:11).

tyh : a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate, as in *ukutyhala* {to push} (Ndum/Ps 132:10) and *umtyhido* {a cast} (1 Kum/Kgs 7:37).

dy : a voiced palatal affricate, as in *idyokhwe* {yoke} (1 Kum/Kgs 12:4) and *indyebo* {riches, affluence} (1 Tes 2:2).

kr : a voiceless ejective velar affricate, as in *amakrele athiwe kruthu* {the swords are held ready} (Is 21:15) and *isikrweqe* {armour} (2 Sam 2:21). [Note that in the case of siXhosised words the combined symbols *kr* indicate a voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the vibrant *r*, as in *ikrizolite* {chrysolite} (Eks 28:20).]

k : a voiceless ejective velar explosive, as in *ukakayi* {skull} (Is 3:17). It is also found after the homorganic nasal *n*, as in *inkitha* {crowd} (Eks 11:38). In some siXhosised words it is found followed by the lingual continuant *l*, as in *uKleyopa* {Cleopas} (Luka 24:18), and also by the vibrant *r*, as in *uKristu* {Christ} (1 Yoh 2:22). [Note that in the case of original isiXhosa words the combined symbols *kr* indicate a voiceless ejective velar affricate, as in *amakrele* {swords} (Luka 22:38).]

tl in the nasal compound *ntl*, is a voiceless ejective alveolar-lateral affricate, as in *intlolo* {head} (Zen/Acts 18:18).

dl in the nasal compound *ndl*, is a voiced alveolar lateral, as in *isandla* {hand} (Gen 3:22) and *endlwini* {in the house/room} (Gen 17:12).

2.14 Clicks

The clicks are articulated by sucking the tongue against the articulation point and then pulling it away with a click sound.

Click sounds are not a general feature of the Bantu languages. As the amaXhosa people gradually moved south and eventually west in the eastern corner of Southern Africa their isiXhosa language acquired these click sounds through association with, and often the assimilation of, the Khoisan people they met (Peires, 1981: 19-24; Pinnock, 1994: 8-9).

2.15 Alveolar clicks

c : an ejective alveolar click, as in *isicaka* {servant} (Gen 39:17), *umcimbi* {a matter} (1 Sam 21:8) and *amacwecwe* {tablets} (Hebh 9:4).

ch : an aspirated alveolar click, as in *isichotho* {storm} (SiTyh/Rev 8:7) and *umchasi* {opponent} (1 Yoh 2:18).

gc : a voiced alveolar affricate click, as in *ugcedevu* {potsherd} (Lev 10:1) and *umgcini* {caretaker} (2 Kum/Kgs 22:14).

nc : a nasalised alveolar click, as in *inceba* {mercy} (Filipi 2:27) and *incwadi* {book; letter} (2 Kron/Chr 21:12).

ngc : an aspirated voiced nasalised alveolar click, as in *ingca* {grass} (Yona 2:5) and *ingcwaba* {grave} (Nah 1:14). In the so called New Orthography, that preceded the Standard Orthography, this click was written *nch*, distinguishing it from the prenasalised voiced alveolar affricate *ngc* (vide the paragraph below) of which it is the lookalike in the Standard Orthography. As these clicks are very close to each other in pronunciation, and many speakers pronounce them virtually similarly, they are both written *ngc* in the Standard Orthography.

ngc : a prenasalised voiced alveolar affricate click, as in *iingcango* {doors} (2 Kron/Chr 28:24) and *ingcwele* {holy place} (Zef 3:4). (Vide the paragraph above.)

nkc : a prenasalised alveolar affricate click, as in *amakhonkco* {rings} (Eks 25:12) and *umkhenkce* {ice} (Yobhi/Job 37:10).

2.16 Palatal clicks

q : an ejective palatal plosive click, as in *ubuqaqawuli* {glory; brilliance} (Eks 33:18) and *umququ* {chaff} (Yobhi/Job 13:25).

qh : an aspirated palatal plosive click, as in *isiqhamo* {fruit [singular]} (Ndum/Ps 1:3) and *isaqhwithi* {gale} (Ndum/Ps 29:8).

gq : a voiced palatal plosive click, as in *igqabi* {leaf} (Yer 8:13) and *ubugqwetha* {guile} (Ndum/Ps 64:6).

nq : a nasalised palatal click, as in *inqaba* {fort} (Yer 51:53), *inqwelo* {wagon} (Yer 51:21) and *umnqophiso* {covenant} (Hez/Ezek 16:59).

ngq : an aspirated voiced nasalised palatal click, as in *ingqolowa* {wheat} (Hez/Ezek 36:29) and *ingqina* {witness} (MiZek/Prov 12:17). In the so called New Orthography, that preceded the Standard Orthography, this click was written *nqh*, distinguishing it from the prenasalised voiced palatal plosive *ngq* (vide the paragraph below) of which it is the lookalike in the Standard Orthography. As these clicks are very close to each other in pronunciation, and many speakers pronounce them virtually similarly, they are both written *ngq* in the Standard Orthography.

ngq : a prenasalised voiced palatal plosive click, as in *ingqiqo* {understanding} (MiZek/Prov 13:15) and *ingqungquthela* {conference} (Yow 1:14). (Vide the paragraph above.)

nkq : a prenasalised palatal plosive click, as in *nkqonkqozani!* {knock! [plural]} (Mat 7:7) and *inkqantosi* {desert} (Yobhi/Job 39:6).

2.17 Lateral clicks

x : an ejective alveolar lateral affricate click, as in *uxolo* {peace} (Mat 10:13) and *xoxani!* {discuss! [plural]} (1 Kron/Chr 16:9).

xh : an aspirated alveolar lateral affricate click, as in *ixhalanga* {vulture} (Yobhi/Job 39:27) and *izixhobo* {weapons} (Ndum/Ps 7:13).

nx : a nasalised alveolar lateral affricate click, as in *inxeba* {a wound} (Yer 10:19) and *ubugwenxa* {wickedness} (Ndum/Ps 25:11)

gx : a voiced alveolar lateral affricate click, as in *igxalaba* {shoulder} (Hez/Ezek 29:7) and *isigxina* {permanent post, duty} (Hez/Ezek 40:45).

ngx : an aspirated voiced nasalised lateral click, as in *ingxowa* {bag} (Yoh/Jn 12:6) and *ukungxama* {to make haste} (MiZek/Prov 21:5). In the so called New Orthography, that preceded the Standard Orthography, this click was written *nxh*, distinguishing it from the prenasalised voiced lateral affricate *ngx* (vide the paragraph below) of which it is the lookalike in the Standard Orthography. As these clicks are very close to each other in pronunciation, and many speakers pronounce them virtually similarly, they are both written *ngx* in the Standard Orthography.

ngx : a prenasalised voiced lateral affricate click, as in *ingxabano* {a quarrel} (MiZek/Prov 6:19) and *iingxilimbela* {giants} (Gen 6:4). (Vide the paragraph above.)

nkx : a prenasalised lateral affricate click, as in *amakhonkxwa* {captives} (Gen 39:20) and *inkxamleko* {hardship} (Eks 18:8).

2.18 Semi-vowels

w : a velar bilabial semi-vowel, as in *imbewu* {seed} (Gen 1:11) and *umwewe* {ruin} (Yosh 8:28).

y : a palatal semi-vowel, as in *amayeyeye* {shouts of triumph} (Yer 51:14) and *umyezo* {garden} (Gen 2:10).

2.19 Phonetic mutations

The various phonetic mutations, such as coalescence, contraction, elision, assimilation, palatalisation, and the formation of nasal compounds, are not set out here, but receive attention where the grammatical structures in which they occur are described.

2.20 Conclusion

In this chapter the symbols that represent the vocal sounds articulated by those speaking isiXhosa have been described. This opens the way to give attention to the morphemes, words and sentences that constitute isiXhosa. The various grammatical structures in which these are found are set out in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Morphology and syntax of isiXhosa nouns: Classification and derivation of nouns

3.1 Nouns and their prominence

The parts of speech of isiXhosa can predominantly be divided into substantives, referring to objects, e.g. *amazulu* {heavens} (Gen 1:1), and predicates, referring to processes, e.g. *wadala* {he created} (Gen 1:1).

The prominent substantives are nouns. As will become clear in this analysis of the structure of isiXhosa, nouns are not only prominent as substantives but constitute the dominant part of speech of isiXhosa. All isiXhosa grammar is tied together with concords echoing the prefixes of nouns. Not only predicates have concords linking them to their subjects and objects, but also all pronouns and qualificatives contain a concordial element aligning them to the nouns they refer to, as in *isitulo sethu esihle siso esi* {our chair that is good looking is this one} and *ilizwe lethu elihle lilo eli* {our country that is beautiful is this one}. Consequently there is no other point at which an analysis of the structure of isiXhosa can commence than with an investigation into nouns and their prefixes.

Semantically nouns can be distinguished as words indicating objects, both concrete and abstract, e.g. *izinto* {things} (Gen 1:24) and *uthando* {love} (MiZek/Prov 10:12). Other substantives are pronouns, i.e. words that represent nouns, e.g. *mna* {I/me} (Gen 6:17), cumulative pronouns, i.e. words that denote quantitative inclusiveness or exclusiveness, e.g. *sonke* {all of us} (Gen 42:11) and *sedwa* {we alone} (Ezra 4:3) and qualificative nouns, i.e. words that qualify substantives, e.g. *mnandi* {pleasant, nice} (Ndum/Ps 51:19).

In this chapter attention is given to the morphology of nouns, and their classification and derivation is brought into focus.

3.2 Morphology of nouns

The nouns of isiXhosa can be classified according to their morphological characteristics. In their fundamental form the nouns of isiXhosa consist of four distinct morphemes. They are the pre-prefix, the basic prefix, the root and the final vowel. The noun *imifuno* {edible plants found in the veld} (Gen 1:11), for example, consists of the pre-prefix /i-/; the basic prefix, /-mi-/; the root /-fun-/ and the final vowel /-o/. The root and the final vowel, e.g. /-funo/, constitute the stem of the noun. The pre-prefix plus the basic prefix, e.g. /imi-/; constitute the prefix, while the basic prefix plus the stem, e.g. /mifuno/, constitute the basic noun. Thus the morphemes and morpheme clusters of, for example the noun *imifuno* {edible plants}, can be set out as follows:

/i-/	pre-prefix	}		}					
		}	(full) prefix	}					
/-mi-/	basic prefix	}		}					
		}		}					
/-fun-/	root	}		}					
		}		}					
/-o/	final vowel	}		}					
		}	stem	}					
		}		}					
		}		}	basic noun	}			
		}		}		}	(full) noun		

The various classes of nouns, and the derivative forms of nouns by way of prefixing and/or suffixing morphemes, will be described lower down. However, the following remarks about the pre-prefix and the basic noun are appropriate at the outset.

The presence of a pre-prefix is not general in the Bantu languages, the extended language family, spread over Central and Southern Africa, to which isiXhosa belongs. Presumably in isiXhosa and closely related languages the pre-prefix has its origin in the assimilation of what was previously a prefixed enhancement giving prominence to a noun, perhaps something like the morpheme */rha-/* according to Meinhof (1932: 40). In time this enhancement morpheme became */nga-/* and was used when referring to a known object. Eventually the vowel of this morpheme was assimilated to that of the proper prefix and its consonant underwent assimilation and finally elision, giving rise to the vowel that is now the pre-prefix remaining. This would imply that, for example, *rha+mifuno* assimilating to *ngimifuno*, assimilating to *yimifuno*, and becoming *imifuno* {edible plants found in the veld} as a result of elision and *rha+muntu* assimilating to *ngumuntu* and eventually becoming *umuntu* {human being} as a result of elision.

This presumption is supported by the fact that in copulatives with nouns, where an explicit or implied subject concord is prefixed to a noun, the noun is found in what is called the identificative form in this dissertation, retaining the consonant cluster */-ng-/* or its assimilated consonant of the obsolete enhancement morpheme as transition, as in *ndingumuntu* {I am a human being} (Zekar 13:5) and *úyindoda* {he is a man} (Lev 27:7). [An exposition of the identificative form of nouns can be found in pericopes 4.6-7 and 9.2.] Not found in the isiTshiwo isiXhosa of the RUV, but to be detected in some of the neighbouring variants, are instances where the morpheme */-ng-/* has been retained also in classes where isiTshiwo assimilates it to the consonant of the prefix. For example, on page 2 of *IMvo zabaNtsundu* {The Opinions of Blacks} of the 12th February 1949 J.N. Zikiza of Cape Town objects to the use of English in *IMvo*, asking: “*Siyintoni kaloku ngoku isiNgesi iphepha ingelesiXhosa nje?*” {Now what is English the paper being an isiXhosa one?} Abandoning the regular concord *li-*, referring to *iphepha* {paper}, that would have led him to say *lilelesiXhosa* {it [class 5] is one of isiXhosa} he uses the concord *i-* of class 9 as general or universal concord and retains the identificative morpheme */-ng-/* in unassimilated form, saying *ingelesiXhosa* {it [class 9] is one of isiXhosa}.

Also giving support to the above mentioned presumption regarding the pre-prefix is the fact that the absence of the pre-prefix (i.e. the use of the basic form of the noun without the pre-prefix) indicates either that there already is a preceding indication that the noun refers to a known object, making a further indication that the speaker is familiar with it superfluous, or alternatively that the object referred to is unknown and indefinite. The first occurs when the noun is preceded by a pronoun referring to it, as in *lo mntu* {this person} (Mat 27:47) and *mna mntu uludwayi* {I person who is a wretch} (Roma 7:24), or if the noun indicates a person that is addressed, i.e. is a vocative noun, such as *mntu* {person} in the phrase *ùnoyolo, mntu owohlwaywa nguThixo* {you [singular] have happiness, person that is rebuked by God} (Yobhi/Job 5:17). The latter occurs when the noun, for example the basic noun *mntu*

{person}, indicates the accentuation of the indefiniteness of an object, as in *wazenza mntu wumbi* {he made himself another person, i.e. he disguised himself} (1 Kum/Kgs 22:30), and in the question *kukho mntu wabizwa engàlukanga na?* {is there a person that was called that was not circumcised?} (1 Kor 7:18) or is, as it is often found, used in an absolute negative statement, as in *akukho mntu ungoniyo* {there is no person that does not do wrong} (2 Kron/Chr 6:36).

Nouns in classes 10 and 11 that have full prefixes in which the consonant has undergone elision, when used in their basic form without the pre-prefix, usually retain the said consonant, e.g. the full noun *uzuko* < *u(lu)zuko* {glory} of class 11, as found in the phrase *lowo ufuna uzuko lowamthumayo* {that one that seeks the glory of the one that sent him/her} (Yoh/Jn 7:18), when used in its basic form in an absolute negative statement, is rendered as *luzuko* {glory} as in the phrase *andifuni luzuko lwam* {I do not want my glory} (Yoh/Jn 8:50). However, there is no binding rule that this should always be the case, and where the speaker feels that the balance of the phrase will be better served by omitting not only the pre-prefix but also the prefix, it is done, as for example sometimes when the noun has a morpheme prefixed to it, as is the case, for example, with *nadiliya* (and not *nazidiliya*) {and grapes} in the phrase *angadli zidiliya zimanzi nadiliya zomileyo* {and he/she not eat grapes that are wet and grapes that are dry} (Num 6:3).

3.3 Classification of nouns

Classified according to their prefixes professor Carl Meinhof of Hamburg in Germany, the renowned researcher of the Bantu languages, distinguished some 21 or possibly 23 classes of nouns in this family of languages (Meinhof, 1932: 39-40) spoken in Central and Southern Africa, the language group to which isiXhosa belongs (Bennie, 1953: 39-40). However, some of these classes of nouns are not to be found in isiXhosa, while only vestiges of others are found. The 13 distinct classes found, as the examples lower down in this text will illustrate, are classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11, which are singular nouns, and classes 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10, which are plural nouns, while as far as number is concerned classes 14 and 15 are neutral but in some instances with a tendency towards being singular. In some words denoting place or time traces of a further 3 classes may be discerned. These classes 16, 17 and 18 are referred to as locative classes. For convenience, where a singular/plural pairing occurs, it is normally referred to in the singular, e.g. class 1/2.

In their most prevalent forms the prefixes of the various classes of nouns can be set out as follows:

Class:	1/2	1a/2a	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>um[u]-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>um[u]-</i>	<i>i(li)-</i>	<i>isi-</i>	<i>i(N)[i]-</i>	<i>u(lu)-</i>
Plural:	<i>aba-</i>	<i>oo-</i>	<i>imi-</i>	<i>ama-</i>	<i>izi-</i>	<i>i(z)i(N)[i]-</i>	
Class:			14	15	16	17	18
Neutral:			<i>ubu-</i>	<i>uku-</i>	<i>pha-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>mu-</i>

Square brackets indicate portions of prefixes that have undergone elision. Round brackets indicate portions of prefixes that in some instances undergo elision. The capital letter *N* indicates that the nasal is found in various forms.

Most nouns in classes 1 to 10 are paired singular and plural as set out above. However, singular/plural pairings of classes 1 and 6 (*um-* / *ama-*), classes 9 and 6 (*in-* / *ama-*) and classes 11 and 10 (*ulu-* / *izin-*) are also found, as well as a few other exceptions, as described lower down.

No hard and fast semantic rules can be deduced why certain nouns are grouped together in one class. However, distinct tendencies can often be observed, e.g. most nouns in class 1/2 refer to human beings, while many nouns in class 9/10 are the names of animals. Attention to these tendencies will be given as the various classes of nouns are described in the following pericopes. Grammarians such as Bennie (1953: 55-65), Pahl (1983: 10-26) and Pinnock (1994: 109-114) give useful information in this regard.

3.4 Nouns in class 1/2 (*um-* / *aba-*)

Nouns in class 1/2 have the prefixes *um-* and *aba-*, respectively denoting the singular and the plural, as in *umntu* {person} (MiZek/Prov 12:23) / *abantu* {people} (MiZek/Prov 24:1).

The basic prefix *m-* of class 1, is derived from *mu-* and is a syllable on its own which does not constitute a nasal compound with the consonant following it, as in *umbali* [*u-m-ba-li*] {accountant} (Is 33:18) and *umbhali* [*u-m-bha-li*] {writer} (2 Kum/Kgs 12:10).

In the case of class 2 nouns derived from verbs with stems commencing in a vowel, the prefix is contracted to *ab-*, as in *aboni* {wrong doers, sinners} (1 Sam 15:18).

In the case of class 2 nouns derived from verbs with stems commencing in a latent *i*, the final vowel *a* of the prefix *aba-* is assimilated to *e* and the prefix becomes *abe-*, as in *abemi* {residents, citizens} (Gen 10:25).

Before stems with *u* as the vowel of the first syllable the final vowel of the class 2 prefix *aba-* is often assimilated to *e*, as in for example *abelusi* {shepherds} and *abefundi* {learners, students, scholars}. This assimilation is not to be found in the RUV, which consistently retains the prefix *aba-* as in *abalusi* {shepherds} (Luka 2:8) and *abafundi* {learners, students, scholars} (Mat 5:1). However, the Rev. J.H. Soga, a member of the committee that produced the RUV, in a publication of his own, uses such class 2 nouns as *abeNguni* {abeNguni people} and *abeLungu* {white people} (J.H. Soga, 1931: 6 and 177). Pahl (1983: 10-11) gives *abeSuthu* {abeSuthu people}, *abeLungu* {white people} and *abefundisi* {ministers of religion; teachers} as examples, but states that in most other cases assimilation usually does not take place.

Class 1/2 is pre-eminently the class in which nouns indicating human beings are found, e.g. *umntu* {human being} (MiZek/Prov 12:23) / *abantu* {people} (MiZek/Prov 24:1).

In class 1/2 nouns are found that denote agents derived from verbs with the final vowel *-a* of the verb stem replaced with *-i*, such as *umhambi* {traveller} (2 Sam 12:4) derived from the

verb *ukuHamba* {to walk; to travel}. However, in the case where the verb root is extended with the morpheme /-w-/ to give the verb a passive connotation, the terminating vowel -a is retained, as in *umthunywa* {delegate; missionary} (1 Sam 23:27) derived from the verb *ukuthunywa*, the palatalised passive extension of the verb *ukuthuma* {to send}.

3.5 Nouns in class 1/6 (*um-* / *ama-*)

Most nouns that indicate national or tribal designations have their singular in class 1 and their plural in class 6, such as *umYuda* {Jew} (Est 5:13) / *amaYuda* {Jews} (Est 8:5) and *umSirayeli* {Israelite} (Yoh/Jn 1:47) / *amaSirayeli* {Israelites} (Eks 14:30). However, this is not always the case, as in *umLevi* {Levite} (Eks 4:14) / *abaLevi* {Levites} (Num 1:47) which is a regular class 1/2 (*um-* / *aba-*) noun. [Obviously not found in the RUV are class 1/6 tribal designations such as *umXhosa* / *amaXhosa* {an umXhosa person / amaXhosa people} and *umBomvana* / *amaBomvana* {an umBomvana person / amaBomvana people}. Also not found in the RUV are less usual tribal designation in class 1/4 (*um-* / *imi-*), such as *umDushane* / *imiDushane* {an umDushane person / imiDushane people} and *umDange* / *imiDange* {an umDange person / imiDange people}, as well as ethnic appellations in class 5/6 (*i(li)-* / *ama-*), such as *iNgesi* / *amaNgesi* {an English person / English people} and *iMpondo* / *amaMpondo* {an iMpondo person / amaMpondo people}. The class 9/6 (*i(N)-* / *ama-*) designation *iMfengu* / *amaMfengu* {an iMfengu person / amaMfengu people} is exceptional. (Vide Pahl, 1983: 10 and 16.)]

3.6 Nouns in class 1a/2a (*u-* / *oo-*)

Class 1a/2a is a sub-class of nouns, belonging to class 1/2, but having distinct prefixes, namely *u-* and *oo-*, e.g. *uDavide* {David} (1 Kron/Chr 15:27) and *ooDavide* {the Davids, David and them, David and associates} (1 Kron/Chr 15:25). Presumably the class 2a prefix was originally *abo-* or perhaps *obo-*, which is witnessed to by the fact that as a vocative, where the basic noun is used without the pre-prefix, the basic prefix emerges as *bo-*, as in *bobawo* {fathers} (Zen/Acts 7:2). The fact that grammatically class 1a/2a nouns operate similarly to class 1/2 nouns indicates that they are a sub-class and not a separate class. For example class 1a/2a nouns use the concords of class 1/2 nouns, as in *unyana olumkileyo uyamvuyisa uyise* {a son that is wise causes his father to be joyful} (MiZek/Prov 10:1) and *ooYanes noYambres bâmchasa uMoses* {Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses} (2 Tim 3:8), as well as *uYehova uyababona bonke oonyana babantu* {The Lord sees all the sons of people} (Ndum/Ps 33:13).

Nouns in class 1a/2a are predominantly proper names, such as *uAdam* {Adam} (Gen 2:19), and nouns denoting kinship, such as *ubawo* {my/our father} (Gen 27:12), *unyana* {son} (Gen 27:17) and *umolokazana* {daughter-in-law} (Rute 1:22). [An exposition of the various nouns indicating kinship is given in “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa,” Volume 2, Addendum 28, pp 1105 to 1107.]

Information regarding the position held by a person is indicated with a noun standing in apposition to the proper name and is sometimes found after the proper name, e.g. *uIsaya umprofeti* {Isaiah the prophet} (Mat 3:3). This is also usually the case when kinship is

indicated, as in *uBhetuweli*, *unyana kaMilka*, *umkaNahore*, *umninawa ka-Abraham* {Bethuel, the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, the younger brother of Abraham} (Gen 24:15). More often the proper name is used after the noun indicating the position held, especially if this noun is in class 1a, e.g. *ukumkani uDavide* {king David} (2 Sam 5:3), but also sometimes when in class 1, as in *umprofeti uIsaya* {the prophet Isaiah} (2 Kum/Kgs 20:1). The modern tendency to drop the prefix of the proper name in such cases, as for example in *umnumzana Matyayisi* {Mr. Matyayisi} and *ugqirha Sirhali* {Dr. Sirhali} is not found in the RUV.

Nouns compounded with *no-* {mother of ...} and *so-* {father of ...}, such as *unogumbe* {a great flood} (Gen 6:17), *unomadudwane* {scorpion} (Luka 11:12), *oonomeva* {wasps} (Eks 23:28) and *uSozimfefe* {Father of mercies} (2 Kor 1:3) and other ‘personifications,’ e.g. *uxam* {leguaan} (Lev 11:29) and *undlebende* {long-ear, i.e. a donkey} (2 Sam 18:9) and the names of some digits, such as *ucikicane* {little finger} (1 Kum/Kgs 12:10) and *ubhontsi* {big toe} (Lev 8:23), also belong to this sub-class. So also do parts of speech used as nouns, e.g. *uwe nohayi* {yes and no} (Yak/Jas 5:12) as well as *uMnandi* {Fine/Pleasant/Delicious} and *uZintya* {Cords} (Zekar 11:7).

In praise poetry {*izibongo*} accolades are found using nouns in class 1a as personifications compounded by prefixing the class 1a prefix to a basic noun, e.g. *uliwa lam* {my cliff/rock} (Ndum/Ps 144:1) and *uzenzo zincamisileyo ngamandla* {you [singular] whose deeds astonish by power} (Yer 32:19), or by prefixing the class 1a prefix to a laudatory phrase and using the whole phrase as an accolade, as in *undizimela ngaye* {the one that I hide by means of him} (Ndum/Ps 144:2).

Collective nouns are formed by prefixing the prefix of class 2a to a basic noun, as in *oozintlango noozintaba noomiqolomba* {deserts, mountains and caves} (Hebh 11:38); *oozilawuli noomagunya* {rulers and authorities} (Ef 3:10) and *oozithupha noobhontsi* {thumbs and them and big toes} (Gweb/Jdg 1:6). Proper names in class 2a also indicate a person and his/her associates, e.g. *ooYonatan* {Jonathan and associates} (1 Sam 14:12).

3.7 Nouns in class 3/4 (*um-* / *imi-*)

Nouns in class 3/4 have the prefixes *um-* and *imi-*, e.g. *umthi* {tree} (Luka 6:44) / *imithi* {trees} (Gen 1:11).

The class 3 prefix *um-* is only superficially similar to the class 1 prefix *um-*. These prefixes are grammatically distinct, as can be seen, for example, from the fact that they have different forms when found as object concords. Compare the class 1 object concord *-m-*, as in *ndiyambona* {I see him} (Num 23:9), to the class 3 object concord *-wu-*, as in *bayawubona* {they see it} (Yobhi/Job 36:25).

In the case of stems commencing in a vowel the class 4 prefix is *im-*, as in *imendo* {roads} (Yobhi/Job 6:18) and *imandlalo* {beds} (found in the singular *umandlalo* {bed} in 1 Kron/Chr 5:1). At present the class 4 noun *imandlalo* {beds} is obsolete and the class 2a noun *oomandlalo* {beds} or the class 10 noun *iimandlalo* {beds} is used.

The noun *umoya* {wind} (Luka 8:24) drops an *m* in class 3, but retains it in class 4, as in *imimoya* {winds} (Ndum/Ps 104:4). However, the class 3 noun *umnyaka* {year} (Lev 19:24) consistently retains the *m* in its prefix in the RUV and no trace is found of the modern tendency to say and write it as *unyaka* {year}.

Predominantly living or moving objects, such as plants, trees, rivers and some parts of the body as well as natural phenomena, are found in class 3/4, e.g. e.g. *umkhiwane* {fig tree} (Gweb/Jdg 9:11), *umlambo* {river} (SiTyh/Rev 22:1), *umlenze* {leg} (Hez/Ezek 24:4) and *umlilo* {fire} (Gen 22:6).

Some nouns denoting the result of an action are formed by prefixing the prefix of class 3/4 to a verb stem and replacing the final vowel *-a* with *-o*, e.g. *umbuzo* {question} (Yobhi/Job 9:3), derived from the verb *ukubuza* {to ask}, and *ummangaliso* {amazing thing, miracle} (Yer 18:16), derived from the verb *ukumangalisa* {to astonish}. An exception is the final vowel *-i* found in the noun *umsebêenzi* {work, labour} (Gen 2:2) derived from the verb *ukusebenza* {to work}. [*Umsebêenzi* {work, labour} has to be distinguished from the class 1/2 noun *umsebêenzi* {worker, labourer} (as in class 2 in 2 Kron/Chr 34:13)].

Various other nouns are also found in class 3/4, such as *umnyango* {doorway} (Gen 6:16), *umngxuma* {hole} (Yobhi/Job 28:4), *umnyaka* {year} (Lev 19:24) and *umlwelwe* {disabled person, an invalid} (Yoh/Jn 5:7).

The class 9 noun *imini* {day} (Gen 1:14), with *-mi-* as the first syllable of its stem, superficially resembles a class 4 noun.

3.8 Nouns in class 5/6 (*i(li)-* / *ama-*)

Nouns in class 5/6 have the prefixes *i(li)-* and *ama-* respectively, e.g. *ilitye* {stone} (Gen 28:18) / *amatye* {stones} (Gen 31:46).

In the case of class 5 nouns with polysyllabic stems the prefix is contracted to *i-*, as in *igama* {name} (Gen 2:11), while most monosyllabic stems retain the full prefix, as in *ilifu* {cloud} (Eks 14:20). The noun *ilizwi* {word; voice} (Gen 15:1) is optionally contracted to *izwi* {word; voice} (Gen 3:17), especially when qualified. Similarly, when used in its full form, the noun *ilizwe* {country} (Gen 2:11) is occasionally contracted to *izwe* {country} (Hez/Ezek 23:15). However, it is usually contracted when indicated by a demonstrative pronoun, as in *elo zwe* {that country} (Gen 10:11).

The class 6 prefix *ama-* loses its final vowel when prefixed to a stem commencing in a vowel, as in *amendu* {speed} (Num 23:22). The singular class 5 noun *iliso* {eye} (Eks 21:24) has a latent *i* preceding its stem {*ili+(i)so* > *iliso*} and when found in the plural class 6 the final *-a* of the prefix *ama-* coalesces with the latent *i* to become *e* and the alveolar fricative *s* of the stem becomes the alveolar lateral fricative *hl*, rendering *amehlo* < *ama+(i)so* {eyes} (Gen 3:5). The predominant use of the plural class 6 *amehlo* {eyes} has given rise to some speakers and writers erroneously using the irregular singular class 5 noun *imehlo* {eye} instead of *iliso* {eye}. The variant *ilihlo* {eye} is also heard. However, no trace of this is to be found in the RUV. The class 6 noun *amazinyo* {teeth} (Ndum/Ps 35:16) is occasionally

found in the variant form *amenyo* {teeth} (Yobhi/Job 16:9) where the -z- of the stem has undergone elision and the final -a- of the prefix and the -i- of the stem coalesce to render the vowel -e-. The noun *ameva* < *ama*+(i)*va* {thorns} (Yer 12:13) is found in class 6 and has no corresponding singular form in the RUV. In this regard it can be classified together with the nouns referred to in the next paragraph but one below. However, in some more easterly regions the class 5 noun *iliva* {thorn} is used on occasion (Pahl, 1983: 16).

A variety of nouns are found in class 5/6, such as *ihlathi* {forest} (2 Sam 18:8), *ihashe* {horse} (Eks 15:1) and *ilanga* {sun} (Gen 15:12). Some denote people or objects of a distinguishable nature, such as *ixhego* {old man} (Gen 43:27), *isela* {thief} (Yoh/Jn 10:10) and *ihlwempu* {pauper} (Dut 15:7). A few of these words are derived from verbs by prefixing the class 5/6 prefix to a verb stem, e.g. *igeza* {mentally deranged person, lunatic}, derived from *ukugeza*, {to be mentally deranged} and *igqwetha* {attorney, advocate}, derived from *ukugqwetha* {to turn upside down, to distort, to act with guile}. However, the noun *igeza* {a lunatic} is not found in the RUV, only the verb *ukugeza* {to be mentally deranged, to be mad}, as in Ntshum/Ecc 7:25, and the abstract class 14 derivative *ubugeza* {mental derangement, madness} (as in Ntshum/Ecc 1:17 etc.). The noun *igqwetha* {distorter, attorney, advocate} is found only in the plural class 6 *amagqwetha* {distorters, attorneys, advocates} in Ezra 4:5 in the RUV, but the abstract class 14 derivative *ubugqwetha* {distortion} is often used, as in Dut 32:4 etc.

Some nouns, notably those referring to liquids, are found only in class 6 with no corresponding singular noun in class 5, e.g. *amanzi* {water} (Gen 1:6), *amaze* {fermented milk} (Eks 3:8), *Amanda* {strength} (Gen 4:12), *amampunge* {subterfuges, evasions} (Ndum/Ps 31:6) and *amendu* {speed} (Num 23:22). The noun *amafutha* {fat, oil} (Gen 49:20) also belongs to this group but is a special case, as the class 5 noun *ifutha* {ceremonial paste} (Mat 23:27) is used, but with its specialised meaning. The class 6 noun *amazimba* {sorghum} (Hez/Ezek 4:9) also belongs to this group when denoting sorghum grain, while the class 5/6 *izimba* / *amazimba* refers to a sorghum plant in class 5 and sorghum plants collectively growing in a field in class 6.

3.9 Nouns in class 7/8 (*isi-* / *izi-*)

Nouns in class 7/8 have the prefixes *isi-* and *izi-* respectively, e.g. *isiqhamo* {fruit [singular]} (Gen 30:2) / *iziqhamo* {fruit [plural]} (Gen 1:11).

In the case of stems commencing in a vowel the class 7/8 prefixes are *is-* and *iz-*, as in *isono* {wrong deed, sin} (Gen 4:7) / *izono* {wrong deeds, sins} (2 Kum/Kgs 10:29) and *isandla* {hand} (Ntshum/Ecc 7:18) / *izandla* {hands} (Gen 27:16).

In class 7/8 nouns are found indicating languages and customs, such as *isiGrike* {Greek language, Greek culture} (Zen/Acts 21:37); nouns referring to collections, often of plants, such as *isidiliya* {vineyard} (Gen 9:20) and *isihashe* {a troop of horses} (Est 8:10); ordinal numbers, e.g. *isibini* {a two, a pair} (Mat 25:17), and conspicuous individuals, e.g. *isidenge* {a fool} (Dut 32:15) and *isiqhwala* {cripple person} (Is 35:6), as well as various other nouns, e.g. *isonka* {bread} (Gen 21:14), *isikhova* {owl} (Lev 11:17) and *isithende* {heel} (Gen 3:15).

Many class 7/8 nouns referring to conspicuous persons are derived from verbs. The noun *isithulu* {deaf mute person} (Lev 19:14) is for example obviously related to the verb *ukuthula* {to keep quiet}, and *isiqhwalala* {a cripple/lame person} (Is 35:6) to *ukuqhwalala* {to be lame}. However, in most cases where such a noun is derived from a verb the final vowel *-a* of the verb is replaced by the vowel *-i*, as in *isithethi* {orator, spokes person} (Zen/Acts 14:12), derived from the verb *ukuthetha* {to talk}, and *isityebi* {rich person} (Eks 30:15), derived from the verb *ukutyeba* {to become fat/rich}. The noun *isilumko* {wise person} (Yobhi/Job 15:2), derived from the verb *ukulumka* {to become clever/wise}, is an exception, ending in the vowel *-o*. Other nouns of this class, derived by replacing the final vowel of the verb with *-o*, are impersonal and indicate the result of the action described by the verb, as in *isifo* {disease} (Eks 23:25), derived from the verb *ukufa* {to die, to be ill}; *isityalo* {a plant} (Is 61:3), derived from the verb *ukutyala* {to plant}, and *isidlo* {meal, feast} (1 Kor 11:20), derived from the verb *ukudla* {to eat}. In the case of *isidalwa* {creature} (Rom 1:25), derived from *ukudalwa* {to be created}, which is a verb with the root extended with the semivowel *-w-* giving it a passive connotation, the final vowel *-a* of the verb has been retained. However this is not the case with the noun *isakhiwo* {building} (Hez/Ezek 41:7), derived from the verb *ukwakhiwa* {to be built}, the passive derivation of *ukwakha* {to build}. The final vowel *-a* is also retained in the case of *isitya* {dish} (Eks 16:33), derived from the verb *ukutya* {to eat}, which indicates an instrument used in performing the action indicated by the verb and not its result.

In some instances the prefix of class 7/8 is found in the variant *isa-* / *iza-*, as in *isaqhwithi* {whirlwind, hurricane} (Yobhi/Job 27:20), compare its synonym *uqhwithela* {a hurricane}, the ideophone *qhwithi* as in *ukuthi qhwithi* {strike} (Hez/Ezek 39:3) and the verb *ukuqhwitha* {twirl; strike – as when twirling a stick in another to make a fire or striking a spark out of flint or striking a match – not found in the RUV}. Another possibility is derivation from an obsolete variant stem commencing in the vowel *a-*, such as possibly *-aqhwitha*. Other class 7/8 nouns, such as *isakhono* {dexterity} (compare *umkhono* {class 3/4 – foreleg; sleeve} and the less frequently heard *isikhono* {class 7/8 – arm} as in *unesikhono* {he/she is dextrous}) and *isanuse* {a traditional doctor who smells out wizards} (compare the verb *ukunuka* {to smell / smell out}) are not found in the RUV.

Words derived from non-isiXhosa words commencing in consonant clusters starting with “s”, such as “st” and “sk”, are also accommodated in class 7/8, e.g. *isitena* {brick} (Hez/Ezek 4:1) from the Afrikaans “steen”; *isitulo* {chair} (Ndum/Ps 110:1) from the Afrikaans “stoel” and *isikali* {a scale} (MiZek/Prov 11:1) from the Afrikaans “skaal”.

Nouns of other classes, with stems commencing in the syllable *si-*, superficially resemble class 7/8 nouns, e.g. the class 5/6 nouns *isikizi* {abominable thing} (Dut 7:26) / *amasikizi* {abominable things} (Eks 8:26) and *isiko* {a custom, habit} (Dut 15:2), as well as some siXhosised words in class 9/10, such as *isilivere* {silver} (Gen 23:16).

3.10 Nouns in class 9/10 (*i(N)-* / *i(z)i(N)-*)

The nouns in class 9/10 have the prefixes *i(N)-* / *i(z)i(N)-*, e.g. *intaba* {mountain} (Gen 10:30) / *iintaba* {mountains} (Gen 7:19). The *-z-* in the class 10 prefix is written here in parenthesis

because it appears only in nouns with monosyllabic stems, such as *izindlu* {houses} (Gen 6:14), *izinja* {dogs} (1 Kum/Kgs 21:19) and *izimvo* {opinions} (MiZek/Prov 11:22). However *iinto* {things}, especially when qualified, is sometimes found instead of the usual *izinto* {things}, as in Gen 7:14, and *ngeenxa* < *nga+iinx*a {by sides} is consistently used with the contracted prefix, as in the phrase *ngeenxa zonke* {on all sides} (Eks 7:24) in which it is usually found. The -z- in the class 10 prefix is dropped in nouns with polysyllabic stems, such as *iintaka* {birds} (Gen 1:22) and *iingubo* {blankets, garments} (Gen 3:21). The nasal -n- is written here as a capital letter to indicate that it coalesces with the initial consonant of the stem, undergoing phonetic change in some instances, and giving rise to a homorganic nasal compound, as will be seen below, in for example *impilo* < *in+phil+o* {health} (Eks 18:7). It is to be noted that morphologically, for example, the noun *izimvo* {opinions} (MiZek/Prov 11:22) consists of the morphemes /i/zim/v/o/, but phonologically it consists of the syllables *i-zi-mvo*.

The nasal -n- of the prefix is placed in brackets to indicate that it is sometimes dropped, as is the case with siXhosised words, e.g. *imali* {money} (1 Tim 6:10), from the Arabic “mal”; *ifestile* {window} (Gen 8:6), from the Afrikaans “venster”; *ibhokhwe* {goat} (Num 7:29), from the Afrikaans “bok”; and *itawuli* {towel} (Yoh/Jn 13:4), from the English “towel”. In a few cases, however, siXhosised words are found that do have a nasal in the prefix, e.g. *intente* {tent} (Gen 12:8), from the English and Afrikaans “tent”, *intolongo* {prison} (Yer 37:15), from the Afrikaans “tronk”, and *inkamela* {camel} (Mat 19:24), from the English “camel” or the Afrikaans “kameel”. Possibly *igusha* {sheep [singular]} (Is 66:3), *ityuwa* {salt} (Eks 30:35), *iqhiya* {head covering, handkerchief} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:38) and *icesina* {fever} (Hab 3:5), that all belong to class 9/10 and do not have a nasal in the prefix, are siXhosised from one or other of the Khoikhoi dialects.

The influence of the initial consonant of the stem of a noun in class 9/10 on the nasal -n- of the prefix is as follows:

The nasal assimilates and coalesces with the initial consonant if the consonant is the glottal *h* or the lateral *l*, as in *ihambo* {journey; conduct} (1 Pet 3:16) and *iilwandle* {oceans} (Neh 9:6).

The nasal assimilates and becomes the bilabial nasal *m* when prefixed to the bilabial consonants *p*, *b* and *bh* (written *mb* in this case) and the denti-labial consonants *f* and *v*, as in *impahla* {moveable property, furniture, stock, apparel} (Gen 4:22), *imbewu* {seed} (Gen 1:11), *imfuyo* {stock} (Gen 31:9), *invula* {rain} (Gen 7:4), *iimpondo* {horns} (Eks 27:2), *iimpukane* {flies} (Ntshum/Ecc 10:1), *iimbadada* {sandals} (Eks 3:5), *iimfama* {blind people} (2 Sam 5:6) and *iimvumi* {good singers} (1 Kron/Chr 9:33).

The nasal assimilates and becomes the velar nasal *n* when prefixed to one of the velar consonants *k* and *g*, as in *inkomo* {one head of cattle} (Eks 21:28) and *ingubo* {blanket} (Gen 9:23).

The nasal assimilates and becomes the palatal nasal *n* when prefixed to one of the palatal or pre-palatal consonants *ty*, *dy*, *y*, *tsh*, and *j*, as in *intyantyambo* {flower} (Yobhi/Job 15:33), *indyebo* {riches, wealth} (Kol 2:2), *inyama* {meat, flesh} (1 Kor 10:25), *intshuntshe* {long-bladed assegai} (1 Sam 18:10) and *inja* {dog} (1 Sam 24:14).

The nasal is found as the alveolar nasal *n* when prefixed to one of the alveolar consonants *t*, *d*, *tl*, and *dl*, as in *intonga* {stick} (Gen 49:10), *iinduli* {hills} (Ndum/Ps 65:12), *iintsomi* {folktales} (1 Tim 4:7), *inzuzo* {gain} (1 Tim 6:5), *intlolo* {head} (SiTyh/Rev 1:14) and *indlela* {road, path} (SiTyh/Rev 16:12).

The nasal assimilates and coalesces with the initial nasal of stems commencing in a nasal:

$N + n > n$, as in *inqaba* {fort} (Neh 12:38) – compare *ukunqaba* {to be scarce};

$N + ny > ny$, as in *inyaniso* {truth} (Gen 42:21) – compare *ukunyanisa* {to be truthful};

$N + nk/ng/ng' > nk/ng/ng'$, as in *iinkani* {obstinacies} (Dut 31:27), *ingangamsha* {a person in a high position} (Is 33:21) and *ing'awu* {male prostitute} (Yobhi/Job 36:14) – compare *ukunkaniza* {to be stubborn}, *ubungangamsha* {majesty} and *ukuthi ng'awu* {to act in a way exposing yourself indecently};

$N + m > m$, as in *iimeko* {attributes} (Hez/Ezek 43:11) – compare *ukuma* {to stand}.

The above implies that orthographically speaking the nasal of class 9/10 undergoes elision when preceding the consonants *h*, *l*, *n*, and *m*; is rendered *m* when preceding the consonants *p*, *b*, *bh* (written *mb* in this case), *f*, and *v*; and in all other combinations is rendered as *n*.

When the nasal of class 9/10 is prefixed to a stem commencing in a consonant it forms a nasal compound with the initial consonant of the stem and has a phonetic influence on it, as in the following instances:

In the nasal compound the aspirated plosive and affricate initial consonants of the stem lose their aspiration and become ejective:

$N + ph > mp$, as in *impilo* {health} (1 Yoh/Jn 3:17) – compare *ukuphila* {to be healthy/live};

$N + th > nt$, as in *intetho* {speech} (Gen 4:23) – compare *ukuthetha* {to speak};

$N + ntyh > nty$, as in *intyafo* {weakness} (not found in the RUV) – compare *ukutyhafa* {to become exhausted};

$N + kh > nk$, as in *inkululeko* {liberation} (Lev 25:10) – compare *ukukhululeka* {to become free};

$N + \text{the aspirated } tsh > \text{the ejective } ntsh$, as in *intshabalalo* {ruin, destruction} (Ndum/Ps 35:8) – compare *ukutshabalala* {to perish}.

In the nasal compound the implosive *b* initial consonant of the stem becomes explosive:

$N + b > mb$, as in *imbangi* {a cause} (1 Kum/Kgs 11:27) – compare *ukubanga* {to cause}.

In the case of a nasal compound with the partially devoiced bilabial explosive *bh* the latter retains its explosive character and is heard as a voiced bilabial explosive and the nasal compound is written *mb*, thus:

$N + bh > mb$, as in *imbubhiso* {destruction} (Hos 13:14) – compare *ukubhubhisa* {to cause to die}.

In the nasal compound a fricative initial consonant of the stem becomes an affricate and in relevant cases voicelessness becomes ejection:

$N + f > mf$, as in *imfuyo* {livestock} (Gen 31:9) – compare *ukufuya* {to keep livestock};

$N + s > nts$, as in *intsikelelo* {blessing} (Gen 33:11) – compare *ukusikelela* {to bless};

$N + sh > ntsh$, as in *intshumayelo* {sermon} (1 Yoh 3:11) – compare *ukushumayela* {to preach};

$N + rh > nkr$, as in *inkrombonca* {nose with an indented bridge} (Lev 13:55) – compare *inkrwebo* {trade} and *ukurhweba* {to trade};

$N + v > mv$, as in *imvelo* {origin, nature} (Yak/Jas 3:7) – compare *ukuvela* {to appear; to come out};

$N + z > nz$, as in *inzuzo* {gain} (Eks 18:21) – compare *ukuzuza* {to gain};

$N + hl > ntl$, as in *intlanguaniso* {meeting} (Eks 12:16) – compare *ukuhlanganisa* {to gather together};

$N + dl > ndl$, as in *indleko* {expense} (Eks 21:19) – compare *ukudleka* {to be consumed}.

In a nasal compound the voiceless ejective palatal affricate *ty* initial consonant of the stem usually is unchanged:

$N + ty > nty$, as in *intyantyambo* {flower} (Yobhi/Job 15:33) – compare *ukutyatyamba* {to flower}. (The RUV consistently uses the variant *intyantyambo* and not the usual *intyatyambo*.)

However, in a few exceptional instances it becomes voiced, as in the case of *indyebho* {riches, wealth} (Gen 41:30), (compare *ukutyeba* {to become rich/fat}), *indyikitya* {plague} (Lev 26:25) (compare *ukutyikitya* {to pull about, to slaughter}) and *iindywala* {beer drinking parties} (Gal 5:21) the exceptional plural class 10 of the class 14 noun *utywala* {sorghum beer}.

In nasal compounds the radical clicks of the initial consonant of a stem become nasalised voiced clicks:

$N + c > ngc$, as in *iingcango* {doors} (Gen 7:11) – compare *ucango* {door};

$N + q > ngq$, as in *ingqondo* {brains, intelligence} (Dut 28:28) – compare *ukuqonda* {to understand};

$N + x > ngx$, as in *ingxelo* {report} (Luka 16:2) – compare *ukuxela* {to tell}.

When the nasal is followed by an aspirated click, the click loses its aspiration. No further fusion takes place and the fact that the nasal and the click are chronologically distinct is orthographically indicated by the insertion of a *k*:

$N + ch > nkc$, as in *inkcitho* {waste; expenditure} (Mat 26:8) – compare *ukuchitha* {to spill; to spend};

$N + qh > nkq$, as in *inkqantosi* {hard dry ground} (Yobhi/Job 24:5) – compare *inkqubo* {progress} and *ukuqhuba* {to push on; to drive};

$N + xh > nkx$, as in *inkxaso* {support} (Is 3:1) – compare *ukuxhasa* {to support}.

To summarise: In nasal compounds aspirated consonants lose their aspiration, fricatives become affricates, implosives become explosives and radical clicks are voiced.

Nouns in class 9/10 are very prevalent in isiXhosa. They refer to things in general, e.g. *izinto* {things} (Gen 1:24), most notably animals, e.g. *inkomo* {one head of cattle} (Eks 21:28).

Nouns referring to exceptional people or animals are found in class 9/10 derived from verbs by prefixing the prefix to a verb stem and replacing the final vowel of the verb with -i, as in *ingqondi* {an intellectual} (Mat 7:24) (compare *ukuqonda* {to understand}) and *iimbaleki* {athletes; fast horses} (Mika 1:13) (compare *ukubaleka* {to run}). The noun *inkosi* {chief, master} (Luka 16:8) appears to have a remote relationship to *ukukhokela* {to lead}.

Nouns denoting the result of the action indicated by the verb are found in class 9/10 by prefixing the prefix to a verb stem and replacing the final vowel of the verb with -o, e.g. *ingqondo* {brains; understanding} (Dut 28:28) (compare *ukuqonda* {to understand}) and *intiyo* {hate} (2 Sam 13:15) (compare *ukuthiya* {to hate}). However, some are found terminating in -a, e.g. *inzala* {progeny} (Gen 6:9), compare *ukuzala* {to give birth}, and in -e, e.g. *imvume* {permission} (not found in the RUV), compare *ukuvuma* {to agree}.

The class 9 noun *impela* {the end}, derived from the verb *ukuphela* {to come to an end}, is used as an adverb indicating completeness, as in *ndiya kusicima impela isikhumbuzo sika-Amaleki* {I shall erase completely the memory of Amalek} (Eks 17:14). As an adverb it is usually used in its basic form, *mpela* {completely}, omitting the pre-prefix, as in *ndiwanikele mpela amaFilisti esandleni sakho* {I have delivered the Philistines completely into your hand} (2 Sam 5:19).

The majority of siXhosised nouns are found in class 9/10, but then usually without the nasal in the prefix, as set out above in the second paragraph of this pericope, where the morphological characteristics of these nouns are discussed and examples of them are given.

3.11 Nouns in class 9/6 (i(N)- / ama-)

A few nouns have their singular in class 9 and plural in class 6, e.g. *indoda* {man; husband} (Gen 1:27) / *amadoda* {men; husbands} (Gen 6:4), *intombazana* {girl} (2 Kum/Kgs 5:2) / *amantombazana* {girls} (Yobhi/Job 41:5), *inkwenkwe* {boy} (Gen 21:15) / *amakhwenkwe* {boys} (Gen 25:27) and *intsimi* {agricultural field} (Gen 23:11) / *amasimi* {agricultural fields} (Yosh 21:12).

3.12 Nouns in class 11/10 (u(lu)- / i(z)i(N)-)

Nouns in class 11/10 have their singular in class 11, with the prefix *u(lu)-* and their plural in class 10 as described above. Monosyllabic stems of class 11 retain the full form of the prefix, e.g. *ulutya* {thong} (Zekar 2:2) with its class 10 plural *izintya* {thongs} (Gweb/Jdg 15:14). Polysyllabic stems of class 11 have the contracted prefix *u-*, as in *udonga* {wall} (Eks 9:17) with its class 10 plural *iindonga* {walls} (2 Sam 22:30). Obviously the same phonetic

accommodation as other class 10 nouns is found, e.g. *uluhlu* {row} (1 Sam 17:21) / *izintlu* {rows} (1 Sam 17:21) and *ucango* {door} (Gen 19:9) / *iingcango* {doors} (Gen 7:11).

Prefixed to a stem commencing in the vowel *-o-* the class 11 prefix is contracted to *ul-*, as in *uloyiko* {fear} (1 Yoh 4:18) and *uloyiso* {victory} (Ndum/Ps 98:1). Prefixed to a stem commencing in the vowel *a-* it becomes *ulw-*, as in *ulwaluko* {circumcision} (Roma 2:25) and *ulwamvila* {sting} (1 Kor 15:55). In the case of *ulwandle* {sea, ocean} (Eks 14:21) it is to be noted that its prefix is the contracted class 11 prefix *u-* prefixed to the stem *-lwandle*. Its plural is the class 10 noun *iilwandle* {seas, oceans} (Neh 9:6). Similarly the class 11 noun *ulwimi* {tongue} (Yobhi/Job 15:5) has *-lwimi* as stem and *iilwimi* {tongues} (Is 3:8) in class 10 as plural.

Nouns in class 11/10 refer to a number of common objects, such as *ukhuko* {sleeping-mat} (Ndum/Ps 6:6) / *iinkuko* {sleeping-mats} (2 Sam 17:28) and *unyawo* {foot} (Gen 30:30) / *iinyawo* {feet} (Gen 18:4). Some are abstract nouns, found predominantly only in class 11, derived by prefixing the prefix of class 11 to a verb stem and replacing the verb stem's final vowel with *-o*, e.g. *uthando* {love} (MiZek/Prov 10:12), derived from *ukuthanda* {to love}, and *uvuyo* {joy} (2 Yoh 1:12), derived from *ukuvuya* {to be happy}. Also found only in class 11, with no matching plural in class 10, are comprehensive nouns, such as *uthuli* {dust} (Gen 3:14), *udaka* {mud} (Lev 14:42), *uthuthu* {ash} (Eks 9:8), *ubisi* {milk} (MiZek/Prov 30:33) and *uluntu* {humankind} (Yobhi/Job 20:4). In the RUV the class 11 noun *ukhohlo* {the left hand side} is found only in possessives, as in *isandla sakhe sokhohlo* {his hand of the left hand side} (Gweb/Jdg 3:21), and in locatives, as in *ekhohlo* {on the left hand side} (Gen 13:9) and *ngasekhohlo kwakhe* {in the vicinity of his/her left hand side} (Marko 15:27) where the locative is qualified using the possessive concord *kwa-* of class 17, and not *lwa-* of class 11. *Ukhohlo* {the left hand side} has no plural but has a class 5 variant *ikhohlo* {the left hand side} found in the *ku-*locative *kwikhohlo* {from the left hand side} (Yona 4:11). The class 11 noun *ukrozo* {procession/row; line – drawn by tears, blood etc.} (Eks 28:17) has no plural. However it has a class 3 variant *umkrozo* {row, line} (Lev 24:7) with the class 4 plural *imikrozo* {rows, lines} (Eks 28:17). The class 11 noun *usapho* {family} (Num 14:31) with its regular class 10 plural *iintsapho* {families} (Num 32:24), is also found with a variant singular of class 9 *intsapho* {children of a family} (Eks 10:24). The only diminutive found is the palatalised class 9 noun *intsatshana* {little ones of a family}, found in the RUV only in the plural class 10 noun *iintsatshana* {the little ones of families} (Dut 1:39). No trace is found in the RUV of the tendency of some speakers of related isiXhosa dialects to use a class 6 plural for nouns in class 11, e.g. *amakhuko* {sleeping-mats} as the plural of *ukhuko* {sleeping-mat}. Sometimes also the class 11 nouns are heard transferred to class 5, e.g. *ikhuko* {sleeping-mat}.

3.13 Nouns in class 14 (*ubu-*)

Nouns in class 14 have the prefix *ubu-*, e.g. *ubuso* {face} (Gen 4:5) and *ubusuku* {night} (Gen 1:16).

Prefixed to stems commencing in the vowel *o-* the prefix of class 14 loses its final *-u*, as in *ubomi* {life} (Gen 7:11) and *uboya* {wool} (Dut 22:11). In the case of the stem *-ala* the bilabial *b* of the prefix is palatalised to *ty* and the vowel *u* becomes the semivowel *w*, rendering the noun *utywala* {sorghum beer} (which is not found in the RUV). In the case of the stem *-ani* the consonant of the prefix is palatalised and the final vowel of the prefix has been dropped, rendering the noun *utyani* {grass} (Dut 11:15).

Nouns in class 14 have no plural. However in the case of *utywala* {beer} the related class 10 plural noun *iindywala* {beer drinking parties} (Gal 5:21) is found, where as a result of analogy with the more often used noun *utywala* the stem is regarded to be *-tywala*, or alternatively the vestiges have re-emerged of an obsolete initial consonant that is otherwise dropped. In the case of the class 14 noun *ubuhlanti* {cattle-kraal} (Is 13:20) the plural class 10 noun *iintlanti* {cattle-kraals} (Gen 33:17) is found. The noun *ubuso* {face} (Gen 4:5) is regularly found as a singular but sometimes also as a kind of collective noun close to a plural, as in the phrase *bawa ngobuso babo* {they fell with their face} (Mat 17:6). In the phrase *ibinobuso obuné* {it had a face that is four} (Hez/Ezek 1:6) it is indisputably used as a plural noun. The same sometimes holds for the noun *ubusuku* {night} (Gen 1:16) as in the phrase *iimini ezimashumi mane nobusuku obumashumi mane* {days that are tens four and night that is tens four, i.e. forty days and forty nights} (Gen 7:12). It can, however, be argued that this use of class 14 nouns as plurals is not idiomatic isiXhosa and was resorted to by the translators of the RUV in their quest for formal correspondence in their translation. The functionally equivalent 1996 translation avoids this by idiomatically rendering these phrases as *bawa phantsi ngobuso* {they fell down on the face}, and *sasinobuso obumacala mane* {it had a face that is four sided}, as well as *iintsuku ezimashumi mane nobusuku bazo* {days that are tens that are four and their night}.

With a number of exceptions, such as *ubuso* {face} (Gen 4:5), *ubuhlanti* {cattle-kraal} (Yoh/Jn 10:16), *ubusi* {honey} (Dut 32:13), *ubusika* {winter} (Ngom/Song 2:11), *ubulawu* {perfume} (Eks 25:6), *uboya* {wool} (Eks 35:26), *ubulwelwe* {disablement, weakness} (Dut 28:60), *ubuncwane* {prosperity, luxury} (Dut 28:56), *ubuqaqawuli* {brilliance, glory} (1 Kum/Kgs 8:11), *ubulali* {gentleness} (Ntshum/Ecc 10:4), *uburhalarhume* {violence} (Yosh 22:20), *ubumenemene* {untrustworthiness} (Yosh 7:1), *ubungangamsha* {dignity, majesty} (Dut 33:17), *ubutshinga* {meanness} (Yobhi/Job 11:11), *ubuthongo* {sleep} (Gen 2:21) and *ubuchopho* {the brain} (not found in the RUV), class 14 nouns consist of abstract and semi-abstract nouns derived from other parts of speech, as described below.

Abstract class 14 nouns are derived from nouns, absolute pronouns, verbs, adjective stems and relatives:

From nouns by replacing the prefix of the noun with the class 14 prefix, e.g. *ubudenge* {foolishness} (Gen 34:7), derived from the noun *isidenge* {fool}. With the exception of a few cases, such as *ubudoda* {manliness, masculinity} (Dut 23:1), derived from *indoda* {man}, and *ubukhosi* {chieftainship, kingdom} (1 Sam 9:17), derived from *inkosi* {chief, king}, nouns in class 9 referring to concrete objects

retain the nasal of the class 9 prefix as an integral part of the stem when abstract nouns in class 14 are derived from them, e.g. *ubumfama* {blindness} (ZiLil/Lam 3:65), derived from *imfama* {blind person}, and *ubuntombi* {girlhood, virginity} (Gweb/Jdg 11:37), derived from *intombi* {girl}.

From absolute pronouns by prefixing the class 14 prefix and dropping the pronominal final syllable *-na*, as in *ubukho* {presence} (Hebh 11:1), derived from *khona* {there}.

From verbs by prefixing the class 14 prefix to the verb stem, and replacing the final vowel with the vowel *-i* or *-o*, e.g. *ubutyebi* {affluence, richness} (Gen 31:16), derived from *ukutyeba* {to become fat/rich}, *ubuxoki* {falsehood, lying} (Lev 6:3), derived from *ukuxoka* {to tell a lie}, and *ubuqholo* {fragrant powder} (1 Kron/Chr 9:30), derived from *ukuqhola* {to anoint}. The noun *ubulawo* {massacre} (Est 3:1 heading), derived from *ukubulawa* {to be killed}, superficially resembles a class 14 noun, but is in class 11, and consists of the prefix *u-* and the stem *-bulawo*.

From adjective stems by prefixing the class 14 prefix to the adjective stem, e.g. *ubuhle* {beauty} (Est 1:11), derived from the stem *-hle* {good looking}.

From relatives by prefixing the class 14 prefix to the relative, e.g. *ubumnandi* {pleasure} (Ndum/Ps 45:2), derived from the relative *mnandi* {pleasant, nice, pleasurable}.

3.14 Nouns in class 15 (*uku-*)

Nouns in class 15 have the prefix *uku-* prefixed to a verb stem, e.g. *ukuhamba* {to walk, to go away} (Ndum/Ps 78:10). In the case of verb stems with the initial vowel *a-* or *e-* the class 15 prefix is assimilated to *ukw-*, as in *ukwakha* {to build} (Ntshum/Ecc 3:3) and *ukwenza* {to do} (Ntshum/Ecc 4:3). With verb stems with the initial vowel *o-* the final vowel of the class 15 prefix is dropped and it becomes *uk-*, as in *ukona* {to do wrong, to sin} (Hos 13:2).

Nouns in class 15 indicate processes (events) as objects, i.e. they are the infinitive mood of verbs, e.g. *ukusebenza* {to work} (Yoh/Jn 9:4). The noun *ukudla* and its variant *ukutya* is, depending on the context, either an infinitive indicating “to eat” (Eks 12:9), or a noun indicating “food” (Gen 25:29). It is found in both connotations in the phrase *ùya kudla ukudla* {you [singular] will eat food} (Gen 3:19).

3.15 Nouns in classes 16, 17 and 18 (*pha-*, *ku-* and *mu-*)

IsiXhosa has lost the regular use of the nouns of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 (*pha-*, *ku-* and *mu-*).

There still are seven words, now being used as locative adverbs, that are relics of class 16 nouns. They are *phambili* {in front} (Gen 33:2), *phesheya* {on the opposite side} (Num 21:13), *phezulu* {on top} (Gen 6:16), *phantsi* {under} (Gen 16:9), *phakathi* {inside, between} (Gen 1:4), *phandle* {outside} (Gen 19:17) and *phonoshono* {on this side} (Dut 4:41). Obviously *phezulu* is related to the class 5 noun *izulu* {heaven, sky} and *phandle* to the locative *endle* {in the veld, away from the homestead}.

The class 16 nouns are qualified by a locative possessive formed with the possessive concord *kwa-* of class 17, as in the phrases *phakathi kwam nawe* {between me and you [singular]} (Gen 13:8); *pshesheya kweYordan* {on the other side of the Jordan} (Gen 50:10) and *phantsi komthi* {under the tree} (Gen 18:4). When *phambili* and *phezulu* are qualified in this way they are abbreviated to *phambi* and *phezu*, as in the phrases *phambi kwam* {in front of me, before me} (Gen 6:13) and *phezu kwamanzi* {on the water, on top of the water} (Gen 1:2).

The class 16 locative nouns are often found in a locative of vicinity, where the morpheme */nga-/* is prefixed, as in the phrase *ngaphesheya kwedike* {on the opposite side of the deep pool in the river / the lake} (Luka 8:22). [The morpheme */nga-/* predominantly denotes an instrument, but prefixed to a locative it indicates vicinity.]

The class 16 noun *phezolo* {last evening} is used as an adverb indicating time, as in the phrase *uthethe nam phezolo* {he spoke to me yesterday evening} (Gen 31:29). It is visibly related to the class 5 noun *izolo* {yesterday}, which also usually functions as an adverb of time, as in the phrase *ùfike izolo* {you [singular] having arrived yesterday} (2 Sam 15:20).

The noun *ukunene* {the right hand side} (Yona 4:11) is a surviving class 17 noun. It is usually found in its locative form *ekunene* {to/on the right hand side} (as in Dut 2:27) which takes the locative prefix *e-* but omits the suffix *-ini*, and is qualified with a possessive, as in the phrase *ekunene kwakho* {on your [singular] right hand side} (Ndum/Ps 121:5). It is also found in a locative of vicinity, where the morpheme */nga-/* is prefixed, separated with the transitional *s* which is operative when a morpheme is prefixed to an *e-*locative, as in the phrase *hlala ngasekunene kwam!* {sit at my right hand side!} (Ndum/Ps 110:1).

The surviving class 17 noun *ukwindla* {autumn} is not found in its fundamental form in the RUV. It is usually found in its locative form *ekwindla* {in autumn} as in *imvula yasekwindla* {rain of in autumn, i.e. autumn rain} (MiZek/Prov 16:15) which takes the locative prefix *e-* but omits the suffix *-ini*. It is also found as a possessive, as in *ngemihla yam yokwindla* {in my days of autumn} (Yobhi/Job 29:4). [Pahl (1983: 25) points out that in the past *ukwindla* {autumn} was regularly used with a class 17 concord, as in *ukwindla kwalo mnyaka kuyabanda* {the winter of this year is cold}, but that the modern tendency is to use the concord of class 14, as in *ukwindla balo nyaka buyabanda* {the autumn of this year is cold}.]

Probably the locative prefix *ku-*, used regularly with pronouns and nouns in class 1a/2a and optionally with other nouns, is a relic of the prefix of class 17, as in *kuye* {to him} (Gen 2:19) and *kuDavide* {to David} (1 Sam 23:16), as well as in *kumlanjana* {from the rivulet} (Dut 3:8).

The noun *umva* {the back} is used as a class 3 fundamental noun, as in *ùwubone umva wam* {and you [singular] see my back} (Eks 33:23) and *bandinikele umva* {they have given me the back, i.e. they have turned their back on me} (2 Tim 1:15). However, it is usually found with an adverbial function modifying the verb *ukubuya* {to return} or its causative *ukubuyisa* {to cause to return}, as in *andinakubuya umva* {I cannot turn back} (Gweb/Jdg 11:35) and *andiyi kuyibuyisa umva le nto* {I shall not turn this matter back} (Am 1:3). Its locative form *emva* {behind} (SiTyh/Rev 20:3) is used without the locative suffix *-ini* and is qualified with the

possessive concord *kwa-* of class 17, as in *emva komzi* {behind the homestead/town} (Yosh 8:14) and *ngasemva komnquba* {behind the tabernacle} (Num 3:23), and also when *emva* {after} is used as an adverb indicating time, as in *emva kweminyaka emibini* {after two years} (2 Sam 13:23). As the class 17 possessive concord is used by nouns in classes 16, 17 and 18, this seems to indicate that originally *umva* {back} was a class 18 noun.

The nouns *umntla* {the top} and *umzantsi* {the bottom} are in class 3, as in *umntla nomzantsi wadalwa nguwe* {the top and the bottom were created by you [singular]} (Ndum/Ps 89:12). They are usually found as the locatives *entla* {above} and *ezantsi* {below}, used without the locative suffix *-ini*, and qualified with the locative possessive concord *kwa-* of class 17, as in the phrases *entla kwentaba* {above the mountain} (Yosh 24:30) and *emva kodonga* {behind the wall} (Neh 4:13), as well as in *ngasentla kweAyi* {above Ai} (Yosh 8:11) and *ngasezantsi kwesibingelelo* {below the altar} (Hez/Ezek 47:1). *Ngasentla* {above} is sometimes optionally contracted to *ngentla* {above}, as in *ngentla kwesango* {above the gate} (Neh 3:28). The fact that *umntla* {top} and *umzantsi* {bottom} utilise the class 17 possessive concord, as nouns in classes 16, 17 and 18 do, seems to indicate that originally they were class 18 nouns.

3.16 Derivation of nouns

The nouns of isiXhosa not only differ in respect of the various classes they belong to with reference to their prefixes, as described above, but they also differ in respect of their derivation. In many instances this derivation is obscure, and the nouns have undergone phonetic mutations with the passing of the centuries. However, in a considerable number of cases the derivation of nouns can be traced, as is done in the following pericopes.

3.17 Onomatopoeia

Various nouns are onomatopoeia, derived by prefixing a noun-prefix to a stem simulating a sound that is associated with the object indicated by the noun, e.g. *inkuku* {fowl} (Mat 26:74), *inja* {dog} (1 Sam 24:14) and *ingxangxasi* {waterfall} (Ndum/Ps 42 7)

3.18 Deverbatives

Deverbative nouns are derived by prefixing a noun-prefix to a verb stem, often with the final vowel *-a* of the verb stem being replaced by another vowel (as has been indicated in the description of the attributes of various classes of nouns above in this chapter).

Deverbative nouns that designate the agent performing the process indicated by the verb stem are characterised by the final vowel *-i*, and are usually found in classes 1/2 and 9/10, e.g. *umhambi* {traveller} (2 Sam 12:4) (c.f. *ukuhamba* {to walk/travel}) and *ingqondi* {clever person, intellectual} (Mat 7:24) (c.f. *ukuqonda* {to understand}). While deverbative agentative nouns in class 1/2 do not indicate any expertise in the attribute possessed by the agent, those in class 9/10 indicate an exceptional agent or expert, e.g. compare *umshumayeli* {preacher} (Zen/Acts 21:8) with *intshumayeli* {renowned preacher} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:2).

However, no hard and fast rules can be found governing deverbative agentative nouns. Some exceptional agents are found in class 7/8, e.g. *isityebi* {rich person} (Eks 30:15) (c.f. *ukutyeba* {to become fat/rich}), *isithulu* {a deaf-mute person} (Lev 19:14) (c.f. *ukuthula* {to keep

quiet}) and *isithunywa* {angel} (Gen 16:7) (c.f. *ukuthunywa* {to be sent}) and the alternative derivative *umthunywa* {a person that is sent, messenger, apostle, missionary} (1 Sam 23:27).

The latter is also an example of the fact that, as is the case elsewhere, verb stems given a passive connotation by having their root extended with the semivowel *-w-* usually do not end in the vowel *-i*, but retain the final vowel *-a*, as to be seen in the example *umthunywa* {messenger} (1 Sam 23:27) (c.f. *ukuthunywa* {to be sent}) and also in *ikholwa* {believer} (1 Tim 5:16) (c.f. *ukukholwa* {to be satisfied; to believe}).

Deverbative agentative nouns derived from verb stems indicating both a passive and a reciprocal connotation by having the root extended with the morphemes */-w-/* and */-an-/* retain the final vowel *-a*, e.g. *umzalwana* {near kinsman} (Gen 14:13) (c.f. *ukuzalwana* {to be related}). The final *-a* is often modified to *-e*, as in *ikholwane* {trusted friend} (Ndum/Ps 55:13) and *ummelwane* {neighbour} (Eks 2:13). Sometimes the deverbative noun ending in the vowel *-e* is not only variant in form from that ending in *-a* but also in meaning, as is apparent, for example, in a comparison of *umzalwana* / *abazalwana* {brother/s – class 1/2} (Gen 37:27) and *umzalwane* / *imizalwane* {relative/s, clansman/men – class 3/4} (Num 3:21).

The deverbative agentative nouns *umlingane* {companion} (Ndum/Ps 55:13) (c.f. *ukulingana* {to be the same size}) and *isithandane* {a loved one} (Hos 9:10) (c.f. *ukuthandana* {to love each other}), with the verb stem being given a reciprocal connotation by having its root extended with the morpheme */-an-/*, also have *-e* as the final vowel.

A few deverbative agentative nouns are found in class 5/6. They retain the final *-a*, as in *inxila* {drunkard} (Dut 21:20) (c.f. *ukunxila* {to become intoxicated}) and can indicate expertise, e.g. *izingela* {expert hunter} (Gen 25:27) (c.f. *ukuzingela* {to hunt}) and *igqwetha* {distorter; attorney, advocate} (found in the plural class 6 in Ezra 4:5) (c.f. *ukugqwetha* {to distort}).

Deverbative agentative nouns are also found where the noun is compounded and the pre-prefix of the object has undergone elision, as in *indlalifa* {heir} (Is 65:9) (c.f. *ukudla ilifa* {to inherit}), *idlakudla* {glutton} (Dut 21:20) (c.f. *ukudla ukudla* {to eat food}) and *umbethi-luhadi* {harpist} (2 Kum/Kgs 3:15) (c.f. *ukubetha uhadi* {to play the harp}). In some cases extreme elision has taken place, as in *imfama* {blind person} (Dut 27:18) (c.f. *ukufa amehlo* {to have eyes die}).

Impersonal deverbative nouns indicating the instrument used in executing a process, the result of a process, or the process as an abstract matter, usually have *-o* as their final vowel. They are found in classes 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10 and 11, e.g. *umthandazo* {prayer} (Yak/Jas 5:17) (c.f. *ukuthandaza* {to pray}), *idlelo* {pasture} (Hez/Ezek 34:14) (c.f. *ukudlela* the applicative derivation of *ukudla* {to eat}), *isityalo* {plant} (Is 61:3) (c.f. *ukutyala* {to plant}), *imfuno* {education} (Is 29:24) (c.f. *ukufunda* {to learn}) and *uthando* {love} (SiTyh/Rev 2:4) (c.f. *ukuthanda* {to love}).

A number of instrumental deverbative nouns are found with *-a*, *-e* and *-i* as final vowel and in rare cases *-u*, e.g. *imfumba* {heap} (Hez/Ezek 24:9) (c.f. *ukufumba* {to heap up}), *imvume*

{permission} (Zen/Acts 26:12) (c.f. *ukuvuma* {to agree}), *umsebêzi* {work} (Gen 2:2) (c.f. *ukusebenza* {to work}) and *isithungu* {a sheaf} (Dut 24:19) (c.f. *ukuthunga* {to stitch}).

When an instrumental noun is derived from a verb stem containing a cluster of consonants the last consonant being the semivowel *w*, this semivowel undergoes elision before the final vowel *-o* of the noun, as in *ubanjiso* {a catch – e.g. of fish} (Luka 5:9) (c.f. *ukubanjiswa* {to be caught}).

In the case of the infinitive mood (as described in pericopes 4.14 and 6.61-64) verb stems retain the final vowel *-a*, as in *ukuma* {to stand} (SiTyh/Rev 21:16).

3.19 Denominatives

Abstract and semi-abstract denominative nouns are derived from other nouns by replacing the prefix, as in the semi-abstract noun *amandla* {strength} (Gen 4:12) derived from *isandla* {hand} and the collective noun *isihashe* {troop of horses} (Est 8:10) derived from *ihashe* {horse}. Abstract and semi-abstract nouns are also derived from other nouns by replacing the prefix of the noun with the class 14 prefix, as described in pericope 3.13, e.g. *ubuntwana* {childhood; childishness} (1 Kor 13:11) derived from *umntwana* {child}.

As described in the last paragraph of pericope 3.6 collective nouns are derived from other nouns by prefixing the class 2a nominal prefix to the basic noun, e.g. {rulers, those in authority} *oozilawuli* (Ef 3:10).

From *ngomso* {tomorrow}, the instrumentative form of the noun *umso* {daybreak} used as an adverb of time, the class 5 noun *ingomso* {the next day} is derived by prefixing the class 5 prefix. It is found in such sentences as *musani ukuxhalela ingomso* {do not be anxious about the morrow} (Mat 6:34).

3.20 De-pronominals

As described in the last paragraph of pericope 3.13 an abstract noun is derived from the absolute pronoun *khona* {there} by prefixing the class 14 nominal prefix and dropping the pronominal final *-na*, i.e. *ubukho* {presence} (Hebh 11:1). From the *ku*-locative of the possessive pronoun *owethu* {our one}, referring to *umzi* {homestead}, the noun *ikowethu* {homeland} (Filipi 3:20) is derived.

3.21 De-adjectives

De-adjectival nouns are derived from adjective stems (vide pericope 5.23) by prefixing a noun prefix, e.g. *ikhulu* {hundred} (Lev 26:8), *izikhulu* {noblemen} (Gen 17:20), *inkulu* {elder brother} (Num 2:3) and *ubukhulu* {greatness} (Dut 3:24) all derived from the adjective stem *-khulu* {big}, and *isininzi* {majority} (Eks 23:2) derived from the adjective stem *-ninzi* {many}.

3.22 Derelatives

Several derelative nouns are found, derived from relatives (vide pericope 5.23) by prefixing a noun prefix, e.g. *ubumnandi* {pleasantness} (Ndum/Ps 45:2) derived from the relative *mnandi* {nice, pleasant}.

3.23 De-adverbatives

Several nouns are found derived by prefixing a noun prefix to another noun, either fundamental or in one of its forms, functioning as an adverb, e.g. *ingomso* {the next day} (Num 11:18) derived from *ngomso* {tomorrow} and *umphàkàthi* {chief's councillor} (2 Sam 33:12 – class 1/6) and *umphákàthi* {the inside – class 3} (1 Kum/Kgs 6:20), both derived from *phakathi* {on the inside}.

Of note are the derivatives of the adverb *kade* {at length; for long} (Eks 34:6), composed of the adverbial prefix *ka-* plus the adjective stem *-de* {long}. With the class 16 prefix it becomes *phakade*, which is not found in its fundamental form but only with a prefixed morpheme, such as a possessive concord, as in the vocative phrase *minyango yaphakade* {doors of eternity} (Ndum/Ps 24:7); or the inclusive *kwa-*, as in *kususela kwaphakade* {from all eternity} (Yosh 24:2); or the connective *na-*, as *naphakade* {everlasting; never} (Eks 14:13). From *phakade* a class 5 noun *iphakade* {age, dispensation} (Marko 10:30) is derived, which is often found in the locative *ephakadeni* as in *kuse ephakadeni* {until eternity} (Gen 13:15), and its possessive locative forms, such as *lasephakadeni* {of eternity} (Heb 1:8) as well as the *ku-*locative *kwiphakade* {in the age} (Gal 1:4). From the connective *naphakade* the class 1a noun *unaphakade* is derived, which is used in its *ku-*locative form, as in *kususela kunaphakade* {from eternity} (Dan 2:20), its instrumentative form *ngonaphakade* {eternally} (Gen 3:22) as an adverb of time, and its possessive form, as in *ngonaphakade kanaphakade* {in eternity of eternity, i.e. in all eternity} (Eks 15:18), but more often in its identificative form *ngunaphakade* found in copulatives such as the relative mode copulative *ingunaphakade* {that is eternal} (Ndum/Ps 136:1) and the relative construction *ongunaphakade* {that is eternal}, as in *umnqophiso ongunaphakade* {an eternal covenant} (Gen 9:16).

3.24 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed by combining two or more words, e.g. the word *umhlavuthwa* (Yona 4:10), a plant that matured in a day, is composed of *umhla* {day} and the verb stem *-vuthwa* {ripen}. Often elision occurs of parts of words, e.g. the noun and the possessive *umnini womzi* {owner of the homestead} becomes *umninimzi* {mister; homestead owner} (Lev 21:4), *intshona yelanga* {the setting of the sun} becomes *intshonalanga* {the west} (Zen/Acts 27:12) and *indla yamafa* {the consumer of the estate} becomes *indlamafa* {heir} (Gen 15:2). The noun and its qualifying adjective *ubawo omkhulu* {the father that is great} becomes *umawokhulu* {grandfather} (Hebh 7:4).

The class 1a/2a nouns *uso-* {father of ...} and *uno-* {mother of ...} are only found in compound nouns, and then often with a figurative connotation, e.g. *uSomandla* {the Almighty} (Gen 17:1) and *oonomeva* {wasps} (Eks 23:28).

3.25 Diminutives (-ana)

Diminutive nouns, that indicate being small, young, insignificant or a small amount, are derived from nouns by suffixing the morpheme */-ana/*, e.g. *indawana* {insignificant matter} (SiTyh/Rev 2:14), *imvana* {lamb} (Eks 29:39), *amadodana* {young men} (Gen 22:3) and

imalana {small sum of money} (Mark 12:41 heading). The suffix may be reduplicated and rendered as *-anana* if two of these qualifications are to be indicated simultaneously, e.g. being both young and small, as in *umntwanana* {a small child} (Luka 9:47), or small and of an insignificant value, as in *iimalanana* {small coins of little value} (Marko 12:42).

The diminutive suffix *-ana* replaces the final vowel of the noun in the following two instances:

In the case of most nouns that have *-a*, *-e* or *-i* as final vowel, e.g. *indoda* > *indodana* {young man} (Dut 32:25), *ilitye* {stone} > *ilityana* {small stone, pebble} (2 Sam 17:13) and *imithi* {trees} > *imithana* {small trees, shrubs} (Gen 3:18).

In the case of nouns that have one of the denti-labials *f* or *v*, or the semi-vowel *w*, as consonant of the final syllable, e.g. *umfo* {man} > *umfana* {young man} (Zen/Acts 20:12), *imvu* {sheep [singular]} > *imvana* {lamb} (Eks 29:39) and *indawo* {place/matter} > *indawana* {small matter} (SiTyh/Rev 2:14).

In the case of nouns of which the stem terminates in the vowel *-o* or *-u*, with the exception of those mentioned in the paragraph below, the vowel *-o* or *-u* semi-vowelises to *-w-* when the diminutive morpheme *-ana* is suffixed, e.g. *inqwelo* {wagon} > *inqwelwana* {small wagon} (1 Kum/Kgs 7:27), *into* {thing} > *intwana* {a little bit, a small one} (Gen 18:4) and *umntu* {human being} > *umntwana* {child} (Gen 21:8).

If the consonant or consonant cluster of the final syllable of the stem of a polysyllabic noun is bilabial, the combination of the bilabial consonant or consonant cluster preceding the diminutive suffix *-ana* is not pronounced as such, but the point at which articulation takes place is moved back in the mouth to the palate, i.e. it is palatalised, and:

b + w > *ty*, e.g. *igubu* {drum; flask} > *igutyana* {small drum/flask} (1 Sam 10:1) and *ichweba* {beach} > *ichwetyana* {small beach} (Zen/Acts 27:39);

bh + w > *j*, *umbhobho* {pipe} > *umbhojana* {small pipe} (not found in the RUV);

m + w > *ny*, e.g. *inkomo* {one head of cattle} > *inkonyana* {calf} (Lev 9:2);

mb + w > *nj*, e.g. *umlambo* {river} > *umlanjana* {rivulet} (Dut 2:13);

mp + w > *ntsh* (unaspirated), e.g. *ihlwempu* {pauper} > *ihlwentshana* {insignificant pauper} (not found in the RUV);

ph + w > *tsh* (aspirated), e.g. *iintsapho* {offspring, children} > *iintsatshana* {small children} (Num 16:27) and

iphepha {paper} > *iphetshana* {scrap of paper} (Luka 16:6).

Nouns of which the stem consist of only one syllable, i.e. monosyllabic nouns, that contain the bilabial consonants indicated above, do not undergo palatalisation in diminutives, e.g. *impi* {military unit} > *impana* {small military unit} (but no examples are found in the RUV).

Sometimes a variant is found where the voiced alveolar lateral (liquid) *l* becomes the voiced alveolar lateral fricative *dl* in diminutives, e.g. *isithole* {seedling, plant} > *isithodlana* {small seedling/plant} (Yobhi/Job 14:9).

The diminutive suffix *-ana* is sometimes found in the variant form *-ane*, in which case there often is a shift in connotation, e.g. *inkunzana* {small bull} can be distinguished from *inkunzane* {devil's thorn – that resembles the horns of a bull} (Gen 3:18 etc. – however rendered *inkuzana* in Hos 10:8). Similarly *indlwana* {small house} can be distinguished from *indlwane* {nest; cage} (Hez/Ezek 19:9 – c.f. Eks 28:4).

A few nouns, mostly indicating living creatures, end in *-ane*, but have no counterpart indicating that they are diminutives, e.g. *inkonjane* {swallow} (Ndum/Ps 84:3), *unomadudwane* {scorpion} (Luka 11:12), *ilulwane* {bat} (Lev 11:19) and *iimbovane* {ants} (MiZek/Prov 30:25). The noun *usikrobana* {hip-socket} (Gen 32:25) is unique. It appears to be a class 1a derivation of the class 7 noun *isikroba* {hole in a garment}.

Feminine diminutives are described in pericope 3.27 below.

3.26 Feminine nouns (*-kazi*¹) and other indications of gender

In some cases feminine nouns, i.e. nouns that indicate the feminine gender biologically, and not grammatically, are derived from other nouns by suffixing the morpheme */-kazi/*, e.g. *ukumkani* {king} > *ukumkanikazi* {queen} (1 Kum/Kgs 10:1). However, in other instances gender is indicated by unrelated words, e.g. *unyana* {son} (Gen 4:25) and *intombi* {daughter} (Gen 11:29).

Feminine nouns are also used in designating the national or tribal designation of female persons, e.g. *umSamariyakazi* {Samaritan woman} (Yoh/Jn 4:9). In the case of such a designation terminating not in a vowel but in a nasal, a vowel is inserted before the suffix, e.g. *umKanan* {Canaanite} (Gen 38:2) becomes *umKananekazi* {Canaanite woman} (Gen 46:10).

The feminine noun *umtshakazi* {bride} (SiTyh/Rev 21:9) is derived from the adjective stem *-tsha* {new}.

In the case of some feminine nouns that are used frequently, elision has taken place, e.g.:

umnini {owner} > *umninikazi* > *umnikazi* {female owner} (1 Kum/Kgs 17:17),
umfo {man; chap} > *umfokazi* > *umfazi* {woman} (Gen 3:2),
inzwana {fine looking man} > *inzwanakazi* > *inzwakazi* {beautiful woman} (1 Sam 25:3),
ithole {calf} > *itholekazi* > *ithokazi* {heifer} (Gen 15:9) and
inkomo {one head of cattle} > *inkomokazi* > *inkomazi* > *imazi* {cow} (Yobhi/Job 21:10).

Sometimes the derivation of feminine nouns is a matter of speculation. For instance could it be that *idikazi* {unmarried woman who has born a child or children} (not found in the RUV) is derived from *indoda* {man}? The feminine noun *intokazi* {mature female} (Dut 21:11) is presumably parallel to the shade of meaning of *into* denoting a son, as in *into kaYese* {the son of Jesse} (not found in the RUV).

In some instances the derivation of feminine nouns using the suffix *-kazi* is accompanied by a change in the class of the noun, e.g. *inkuku* {fowl} [class 9/10] > *isikhukukazi* {hen} [class 7/8] (Mat 23:37) and *inkosi* / *iinkosi* {chief/s, master/s} [class 9/10] > *inkosikazi* / *amakhosikazi* {lady/ladies; chieftainess/es} [class 9/6] (1 Kum/Kgs 11:3).

In the case of clan names, such as *uRhadebe* {Rhadebe} and *uCirha* (Cirha), a female clan name, showing respect to a married woman when spoken about by an adult, is derived by prefixing *Ma-* and in some cases *Mam-*, such as *uMaRhadebe* and *uMamCirha*. Clan names are predominantly used in the vocative, e.g. *MaRhadebe!* and *MamCirha!* As no cultural equivalent existed in the ancient Middle East obviously no examples are to be found in the RUV.

Gender in siXhosised words, adapted from Afrikaans and English, and also from *igusha* {sheep [singular]}, possibly incorporated from a Khoikhoi language, is not normally indicated by the feminine suffix *-kazi*, but is indicated by the use of *inkunzi* {bull} and *imazi* {cow} followed by a possessive, as in *inkunzi yegusha* {ram} (Gen 22:13) and *imazi ye-esile* {female donkey} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:24). However, from *ihagu* {pig}, which is presumably siXhosised from the English ‘hog’, the feminine noun *ihagukazi* {sow} (2 Pet 2:22) is derived.

Occasionally, when masculine gender has to be indicated when using a neuter word, such as *inkomo* {one head of cattle}, and specifically referring to *inkunzi* {bull} or *inkabi* {ox} is not appropriate, masculinity is indicated by the use of a relative construction copulative with the noun *iduna* {male animal}, as in *inkomo eliduna* {a head of cattle that is a male} (Lev 1:3).

Female humans are sometimes referred to as *abasethyini* {a word of obscure origin indicating a female person} and males as *abasebuhlanti* {those of the cattle-kraal – where traditionally only males are allowed to enter}, but these designations are not found in the RUV.

3.27 Feminine diminutives (-azana)

Some nouns, often those denoting biological female gender, such as *intombi* {girl}, have feminine diminutives derived from them by being extended with the suffixing *-azana* replacing the final vowel, e.g. *intombi* {older girl} > *intombazana* {girl} (2 Kum/Kgs 5:2) and *imvana* {sheep [singular]} > *imvanazana* {female lamb} (2 Sam 12:4). The same rules apply as those governing the diminutive suffix, e.g. nouns that have *-o* as final vowel replace it with the semivowel *-w-* in feminine diminutives, as in *ixhegwazana* {old woman} derived from *ixhego* {old man}. However, only the feminine noun *amaxhegokazi* (1 Tim 4:7) is found in the RUV.

In some instances the derivation of feminine diminutives using the suffix *-azana* is accompanied by a change in the class of the noun, e.g. *iintombi* {older girls} [class 10] > *amantombazana* {girls} [class 6] (Yobhi/Job 41:5). Presumably *inkazana* {female person} [class 9] (Gen 1:27) is derived from *umka-* {wife of ...} [class 1] In the RUV *inkazana* denotes a female, girl or woman. In present day isiXhosa it usually refers to a man’s mistress or a female living without a husband who bears children at her parents’ home.

3.28 Augmentatives (-kazi²)

In a few instances augmentative nouns with the suffix *-kazi* are found in the RUV, indicating excessive size, volume or status, e.g. *izwikazi* {loud voice} (Yer 12:6), *umlambokazi* {big river} (Hez/Ezek 47:9) and *umnathakazi* {huge net} (Habh 1:16). The noun *inyamakazi* {antelope} (Gen 25:28) seems to be derived from *inyama* {meat}, and *umhlelele* {esteemed

person} (Zen/Acts 25:21) obviously from the adjective stem *-hle* {fine looking}. Possibly *ijikazi* (Gen 24:22) is an augmentative referring to the size of the twisted earring or pendant this word denotes.

3.29 Nouns indicating relationship (-kazi³)

A third case is found where the suffix *-kazi* is used. In this instance it indicates relationship, as in *ubawokazi* {my/our paternal uncle} (Yer 32:8) derived from *ubawo* {my/our father}. Other derivations, such as *umakazi* {my/our maternal aunt}, derived from *uma* {my/our mother} and *indodakazi* {husband's sister}, derived from *indoda* {man; husband} are not found in the RUV.

3.30 Conclusion

In the above chapter attention has been given to the morphology of nouns and the morphemes that constitute nouns are described. This has brought greater clarity in respect of the pre-prefixes of nouns. For example, McLaren (1944: 26-27, 153-154), searching for structures similar to those of English, makes the mistake of categorising the pre-prefix as an article and then describing how its use differs in isiXhosa from that in English. Pahl (1983: 26-27) simply lists the instances where the pre-prefix is omitted, but gives no logical explanation of why this is done. The analysis given in this study reveals that the prefix is an enhancement morpheme prefixed to nouns indicating objects that have already been brought into focus, or are not thought of as being radically indefinite, and are not indicated with the use of a word such as a demonstrative pronoun. The instances where this occurs have been indicated where these forms are described.

In the main body of this chapter nouns have been described, classified according to their various prefixes and, where traceable, grouped according to their derivation. These distinctions have been noted ever since Boyce first drew attention to the prefixes of nouns and their linking to predicates with concords (Boyce, 1834) so that, aside from occasional observations with respect to certain nouns, and a description of the changes in the way classes of nouns are numbered, nothing new of profound significance has been brought to light by this exposition of the nouns of isiXhosa as used in the RUV.

Having now described the classification and derivation of nouns it is appropriate to give attention to the various forms in which nouns are found, either in their fundamental form or supplemented with prefixed and/or suffixed morphemes. This is done in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Morphology and syntax of isiXhosa nouns: Forms of nouns and derivation of nouns

4.1 Forms of nouns

Nouns are found in various forms, either in their fundamental form or supplemented with prefixed and/or suffixed morphemes to constitute such forms as vocatives, identificatives, locatives, possessives, connectives, instrumentatives and others. Most of these forms are used both in their full form, incorporating a pre-prefix, or in a basic form, omitting a pre-prefix. All these forms are described in this chapter.

4.2 Full and basic fundamental nouns

The nouns, such as *imifuno* {edible plants found in the veld} (Gen 1:11) described in pericope 3.2 above, are full nouns with the morphological characteristics as set out. They are also found as basic nouns, without the pre-prefix, e.g. *mifuno* {edible plants}. The full and basic form of nouns can also be designated their fundamental form, as they are the foundation on which other forms of nouns are structured, mainly by prefixing morphemes, but sometimes also with suffixing, as described below.

However, before a description is set out of these latter forms of nouns and their use, attention needs to be given to the use of nouns in their fundamental form. In other words the syntax of fundamental nouns has to be explained. It must, however, be emphasised that the use of English and isiXhosa is so different that it makes an exact formulation of the finer nuances of isiXhosa style very difficult to achieve, so that what is said about syntax in the following paragraphs should be regarded as a general indication and not as absolute rules.

4.3 Full fundamental nouns

The subject of a predicate is normally a full fundamental noun, e.g. *ilanga* {sun} in the sentence *ilanga liyaphuma* {the sun is coming out, i.e. rising} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:5) and *indlela* {road} in the sentence *indlela inzima* {the road is heavy, i.e. difficult} (MiZek/Prov 13:15).

IsiXhosa gives precedence in its word order to what is regarded as carrying more weight. When the subject precedes the predicate, as in *ilanga liyaphuma* {the sun is rising} and *indlela inzima* {the road is difficult}, the attention is directed more towards the subject, i.e. *ilanga* {sun} and *indlela* {road}. When the attention is directed more towards the process indicated by the predicate, e.g. *liyaphuma* {it rises} and *linzima* {it is heavy}, the predicate precedes the subject, as in the sentences *liyatshona ilanga lakhe kusesemini* {his/her sun sets while it is still day} (Yer 15:9) and *linzima ilitye* {the stone is heavy} (MiZek/Prov 27:3). In recounting successive events the initial predicate of a following statement is usually prominent and placed at the beginning of the sentence, as in: *Wathi uThixo kumfazi: “Yintoni na le nto uyenzileyo?”* *Wathi umfazi: “Inyoka indilukuhlile.”* {Said God to the woman: “What thing is this thing that you have done?” And the woman said: “The snake misled me.”} (Gen 3:13).

When the logical subject of a predicate with the subject concord of class 17 as general or universal concord is mentioned, the logical subject follows the predicate, e.g. *iimpungutye* {jackals} in the sentence *kuhamba iimpungutye phezu kwayo* {there go jackals on top of it} (ZiLil/Lam 5:18) and *oobani?* {who?} in the question *kuhamba oobani?* {it is going who, i.e. who is going?} (Eks 10:8).

The object of a verbal predicate is normally a full fundamental noun following the verbal predicate, e.g. *into* {thing} in the sentence *babona into* {they see a thing} (Hez/Ezek 13:6).

In a sentence where the verbal predicate does not contain an object concord linking the object to it, such as the above *babona into* {they see a thing}, the object is usually unspecified previously [and would normally be translated by the indefinite article in English, i.e. “they see a thing”].

In a sentence where the verbal predicate contains an object concord linking the object to it, such as *wazibona iinqwelo* {he saw the wagons} (Gen 45:27), the object is normally either known and specified previously, or is perceived as being known, [and would normally be translated by the definite article in English, i.e. “he saw the wagons”].

The usual position of the object of a predicate without an object concord is directly after the subject and predicate or predicate and subject, as in *uAbraham wenza isidlo* {Abraham made a feast} (Gen 21:8) and *wasolula uAbraham isandla sakhe* {Abraham stretched out his hand} (Gen 22:10). However, what is prominent in the mind of the speaker is given precedence, and if the object is paramount it is placed first in the sentence, and has its function as object indicated with an object concord, e.g. *amakhonkco azo* {their chains} as in *amakhonkco azo bawenza ngegolide* {their chains they made them with gold} (Eks 36:34) and *onke amaqula* {all the wells} as in *onke amaqula ... awavingca amaFilisti* {all the wells they closed them up the Philistines} (Gen 26:15).

Some verbs are intransitive and cannot take an object, e.g. *ukutshona* {sink; drown; go bankrupt, set [sun]} (Dut 16:6). Others, such as *ukunika* {to give, to supply with} (Gen 24:53) and *ukupha* {to give as a gift, present} (Gen 43:24) and those with their root extended with the morpheme */-el-/*, giving them an applicative connotation, as well as some with their root extended with the morpheme */-is-/*, giving them a causative connotation, can take both an indirect dative object and a direct accusative object, as in *ukumkanikazi wênzela abafazi isidlo* {the queen made for the women a feast} (Est 1:9); *úbonisa abantu ubutyebi* {he shows people wealth} (Est 1:4) and *wanika umnakwabo nonina izinto ezinconywayo* {he gave her brother and mother things that are praised} (Gen 24:53).

In the above examples no object concord is used and the word order is predicate, dative object, accusative object. However, when the dative object has previously been mentioned, or is perceived as known in the mind of the speaker, it is linked to the predicate with an object concord and has the accusative object placed before it, as in *bawanika imali amasoldati* {they gave them money the soldiers} (Mat 28:12); *indoda .. yawapha iindiza amaesile* {the man gave the donkeys corn stalks} (Gen 43:24) and *uThixo wabenzela iingubo zesintu uAdam nomkakhe* {God made them garments of skin Adam and his wife} (Gen 3:21).

In many instances the dative object is implied and only referred to by means of an object concord, as in *nindihluthe abantwana* {you [plural] have robbed me of children} (Gen 42:36) and *ndiya kubanika inyama* {I shall give them meat} (Num 11:21).

Should a dative object be prominent in the mind of the speaker, it may be linked with an object concord to the predicate and placed before the accusative object, as in *ndobafundisa abangendawo iindlela zakho* {I shall teach them the transgressors your ways} (Ndum/Ps 51:13). It is even more prominent at the beginning of the sentence, as in *iinkamela wazinika umququ* {the camels he gave them chaff} (Gen 24:32) and *intombi yakhe uLeya uLabhan wayinika uZilipa* {to his daughter Leah Laban gave Zilpah} (Gen 29:24). The primary position of what is prominent can also be seen in a comparison of the sentences *lonke ilizwe olibonayo ndiya kulinika wena nembewu yakho* {all the country that you [singular] see I shall give it to you and your seed} (Gen 13:15) and *imbewu yakho ndiya kuyinika eli lizwe* {your [singular] seed I shall give to it this land} (Gen 24:7). Sometimes ambiguous statements are found, where only the context makes the meaning clear, as in *uHagare wamzalela uAbram unyana* {Hagar gave birth for Abraham to a son} (Gen 16:15). This change in the more usual word order, as in *uHagare wamzalela unyana uAbram* {Hagar gave birth to a son for Abraham}, is because the speaker gives precedence to *uAbram* {Abram} over *unyana* {a son}.

The fundamental form of a noun is used when it is placed in apposition to another noun or pronoun, as in *uSawule ukumkani* {Saul the king} (1 Sam 15:10), *yena umkhuluwa* {he the elder brother} (1 Sam 20:29), *yiyo le incwadi* {this is it this one the book, i.e. this is the book} (Gen 5:1) and *ngayimbi indlela* {with another route/road} (Mat 2:12).

Nouns indicating time may be used with a descriptive function as adverbs, as *izolo* {yesterday} in *ufiké izolo* {you [singular] having arrived yesterday} (2 Sam 15:20); *iiveki* {weeks} in *woba yinqambi iiveki ezimbini* {she will be ritually impure weeks that are two} (Lev 12:5) and *ukufika* {to arrive} in *kwathi, ukufika kwakhe, wavuthela ngesigodlo* {it happened, the arrival of him, he blew the horn, i.e. when he arrived he blew the horn} (Gweb/Jdg 3:27).

Fundamental nouns are qualified with possessives and various relative constructions, e.g. *impahla yendoda* {the apparel/clothes of a man} (Dut 22:5) and *impahla eninzi* {moveable property/stock that is a lot} (2 Kron/Chr 32:29).

4.4 Basic fundamental nouns

The basic noun, or more properly the basic fundamental noun, consists of a basic noun prefix plus a noun stem, as described in pericope 3.2, e.g. *mifuno* {edible plants found in the veld} (Gen 1:11). In their most prevalent forms the basic prefixes of the various classes of nouns can be set out as follows:

Class:	1/2	1a/2a	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>m[u]-</i>	-	<i>m[u]-</i>	<i>(li)-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>(N)[i]-</i>	<i>(lu)-</i>
Plural:	<i>ba-</i>	<i>(bo)-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>(zi)(N)[i]-</i>	
Class:			14	15	16	17	18
Neutral:			<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>pha-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>mu-</i>

Square brackets indicate portions of basic prefixes that have undergone elision. Round brackets indicate portions of basic prefixes that in some instances undergo elision. The capital letter *N* indicates that the nasal is found in various forms.

It is only in the vocative form of class 2a nouns that a distinction between the singular class 1a and the plural class 2a is apparent, e.g. compare *nyana* {son} [class 1a] (Gen 22:7) to *bonyana* {sons} [class 2a] (Ndum/Ps 34:11). However, where it is qualified and the context makes it clear that a plural class 2a vocative is in the speakers mind, the archaic prefix *bo-* is usually dropped, as in *qukanani niphulaphule, nyana bakaYakobi* {get together and listen, sons of Jacob} (Gen 49:2) and *khanive, nina nyana bakaLevi* {take head, you sons of Levi} (Num 16:8). In other cases class 1a and 2a basic nouns can only be distinguished within the context, as for example the class 2a basic noun *nyana* {sons} in *kwaye kukho ke nyana bathile basixhenxe bakaSkeva* {there were certain sons of Sceva that are seven} (Zen/Acts 19:14).

Basic nouns in class 10 have the prefix *zin-* or *zi-*, as *zidiliya* {grapes} in the phrase *angadli zidiliya* {and he not eat grapes} (Num 6:3). In the case of nouns with polysyllabic stems, where the context makes it clear that the basic noun is in the plural class 10, and not the singular class 9, the syllable *zi-* in the prefix usually falls away, as is the case with *ngubo* {garments} in *ninxibe ngubo zimbi* {and you [plural] wear other garments} (Gen 35:2). This is also often the case with nouns with monosyllabic stems, e.g. *nto* {thing}, as in the phrase *ezo nto zisontiweyo* {those things that are woven} (Eks 35:25). The same applies to the class 11/10 noun *ulwimi* {tongue}, in for example the phrase *baqala ukuthetha ngalwimi zimbi* {they started to talk with other tongues} (Zen/Acts 2:4). Class 11 nouns that are often used, such as *uphondo* {horn} and *udonga* {wall}, usually drop their basic prefix *lu-* when preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, as in *olu phondo* {this horn} (Dan 7:8) and *olo donga* {that wall} (Neh 5:16) but retain it in the locative, as in *eludongeni* {on the wall} (Gen 49:22).

Basic fundamental nouns are used in two instances. They are used to accentuate that a noun has not been mentioned previously and is totally indefinite. Alternatively they are used when a noun is indicated by a pronoun preceding it and thus requires no indication that it is known. Examples are found in the following paragraphs.

The basic fundamental noun is used to indicate the indefinite object of a negative predicate, i.e. the object of an absolute negative statement is found in the basic fundamental form, e.g. as *zinto* {things} in the phrase *andifuni zinto zenu* {I do not want your things} (2 Kor 12:14); *kuthanda* (will) in *andifuni kuthanda kwam* {I do not want my will} (Yoh/Jn 5:30) and *bubi* {evil} in *akaboni bubu kuSirayeli* {he does not see evil in Israel} (Num 23:21). It is of note that as the object of an absolute negative predicate the class 9 basic noun *nto* {thing} has the class 11 basic noun *lutho* {thing} as variant, as in the phrase *abafileyo abazi lutho* {those that are dead do not know a thing} (Ntshum/Ecc 9:5).

When the logical subject is to be indicated of a negative predicate with a universal connotation, with the subject concord of class 17 as general concord, the logical subject follows the predicate and is in the basic form, as *tyani* {grass} in *akukho tyani bampahla imfutshane* {there is no grass for small stock} (Gen 47:4); *mntu* {person} in *akukho mntu*

ungoniyo {there is no person that does not do wrong} (1 Kum/Kgs 8:46); *ndoda* {man} in *bekungekho ndoda injengoAbhisalom* {there was no man like Absalom} (2 Sam 14:25) and *nto* {thing} in *ize ke kungàdliwa nto inegwele* {there must then not be eaten a thing with leaven} (Eks 13:3).

The basic fundamental noun is used to accentuate the indefiniteness of a subject or object, which is often qualified with the exceptional perfect tense verb *-thile* {a certain}, as *mntu* {person} in *bekukho mntu uthile apho* {there was a certain person there} (Yoh/Jn 5:5) and *mhlolokazi* {widow} in *kwafika mhlolokazi uthile ulihlwempu* {there arrived a certain widow that is a pauper} (Marko 12:42). The same is the case when a noun indicates the indefinite object of a predicate which is the complement of a verb with the deficient auxiliary stem *-kha* {do once}, as *nto* {thing} in the question *khe naswela nto na?* {did you [plural] ever lack a thing?} (Luka 22:35). It is similarly used to indicate an object or list objects that have not yet been mentioned, as *nto* {thing} in *xa kuthe kwafa nto izitho zine idliwayo nini* {when it happens that died a thing with four legs that is eaten by you [plural]} (Lev 11:39) and the nouns in *asindawo yambewu, namakhiwane, namidiliya, nazirharnate* {it is not a place of seed and figs and grapevines and pomegranates} (Num 20:5).

The basic fundamental form of nouns that indicate an indefinite time, function as adverbs of time (and being nouns are qualified with a predicate in the relative mood) and operate as conjunctions, e.g. *mhla* {day} in *lo mnqophiso ndabawisela umthetho ngawo ooyihlo mhla ndabakhuphayo ezweni laseYiputa* {this covenant that I decreed a law for for your fathers the day that I took them out of the land of Egypt} (Yer 11:4). Used as an adverb of time the basic noun *lixa* {time} drops its prefix and becomes the frequently used *xa* {when}, as in *xa athe wafika umelwe kukuhlala umzuzwana* {when he arrives he must stay a little while} (SiTyh/Rev 17:10).

Several basic nouns, especially those indicating time, are used with the function of adverbs, e.g. *kuqala* {first}, *tanci* {first}, *matanci* {first}, *kuphela* {only} and *mpela* {only}, as in *eli laphuma kuqala* {this one came out first} (Gen 38:28) and *babanika kuphela imizi yokuhlala* {they only gave them homesteads to live in} (Yosh 14:4).

The basic nouns *mayela* {near to, approximately; with respect to, concerning} and *malunga* {about, near to, in regard to} function as adverbs of relationship and are normally followed as descriptive by a connective substantive, as in *mayela nomkakhe* {concerning his wife} (Gen 25:21); *malunga nayo* {near to it} (Gen 21:16) and *malunga ke nokumvusa kwakhe kwabafileyo* {in regard to the raising of him from the dead} (Zen/Acts 13:34). Occasionally *mayela* is followed by an instrumentative substantive, as in *mayela ngeli xa ngomso* {approximately this time tomorrow} (1 Kum/Kgs 19:2) or by a *ku*-locative numeral, as in *amadoda amayela kumawaka amabini* {men that are approximately thousands that are two} (Yosh 7:3).

When a noun is defined by a subsequent indefinite pronoun it is found in its basic form, e.g. *mntu wumbi* {another person} (Dut 20:5); *msebenzi nawuphi* {work whichever} (Dut 24:5); *ilifa laqashiso linye, nasabelo sinye* {a heritage of one lot and of one portion} (Yosh 17:14);

mthetho mni na? {a law what one, i.e. what law?} (Marko 10:3) and *sono sini na?* {what sin?} (1 Kum/Kgs 18:9).

When a noun is defined by a preceding definite pronoun (demonstrative, absolute or emphatic) it is found in its basic form, e.g. *eli litye* {this stone} (Yosh 24:27), *thina maKrete* {we Cretans} (Zen/Acts 2:11) and *eyona ndlela* {the best road/way} (1 Kor 12:31).

A basic noun is qualified with a basic possessive or a predicate in the relative mood, such as *yamntu* {of a person} in *makungathambi ntliziyo yamntu* {let not go soft the heart of a person} (1 Sam 17:32) and *ungekhoyo* {that is not present} in *makungabikho mntu ungekhoyo* {let there not be a person that is not present} (2 Kum/Kgs 10:19)

4.5 Vocatives

The basic noun is also used as a vocative with an interjective function, e.g. *nkosi* {chief, master, sir} in *nkosi, sivulele* {chief/master/sir, open for us} (Mat 25:11) and *Thixo* {God}, *ngweletshetshe* {small shield} and *luphondo* {horn} in *Thixo oliliwa lam endizimela ngalo, ngweletshetshe yam, luphondo losindiso lwam* {God that is the cliff/rock by which I hide, my shield, horn of my salvation} (2 Sam 22:3).

A vocative is definite and is qualified with a full possessive or a relative construction, such as *losindiso* {of salvation} and *endizimela* {that I hide} in the preceding paragraph and *osemazulwini* {that is in the heavens} in the well known *Bawo wethu osemazulwini* {Our Father that is in the heavens} (Mat 6:9). However, as other basic nouns are qualified with a basic possessive or a relative mood predicate (and not a relative construction), speakers sometimes qualify vocatives in the same fashion, as for example *ulungileyo* {that is good} (instead of *olungileyo*) in *hee ke, mkhonzi ulungileyo* {well done, servant that is good} (Mat 25:21).

In the case of class 2a nouns the archaic basic prefix *bo-* emerges, as in the vocative *bobawo* {fathers} (Zen/Acts 22:1). However, when the context makes it clear that a plural vocative of class 2a is intended, and not a singular vocative in class 1a, this prefix is usually omitted, as in *hayi, nyana bam* {no, my sons} (1 Sam 2:24).

When the suffix *-ndini* is attached to a vocative it expresses an emotional attitude toward the person or thing addressed, more often than not a negative sentiment of reproach, contempt or disparagement, as in *bantundini banobudenge* {people that are foolish} (Dut 32:6); *nyanandini woMtyholi, lutshabandini lobulungisa* {son of the Devil, enemy of justice} (Zen/Acts 13:10) and *mfondini ulitshijolo* {chap that is a scoundrel} (2 Sam 16:7). Sometimes the sentiment is positive, indicating camaraderie or admiration, as in *gorhandini linobukroti* {hero that is brave} (Gweb/Jdg 6:12) and *nzwakazindini* {beautiful female} (Ngom/Song 1:8). The same vocative, such as *mfondini* {man, chap} and *mzindini* {homestead, town}, can convey either a positive or a negative sentiment, depending on the context, as in *mzindini udumileyo* {town that is famous} (Hez/Ezek 26:17) and *yeha, mzindini unamagazi* {woe unto you, city with blood-splatters} (Hez/Ezek 24:6). The vocative *nkwenkwendini* has contracted to *kwedini* {boy!} (which is not found in the RUV and is

usually only used disparagingly or directed to a boy that has not yet been initiated into manhood by way of circumcision).

4.6 Identificatives

The identificative form of a noun is a variant of its fundamental form where the process of assimilation and elision of the nominal pre-prefix (vide pericope 3.2) has been retained in an earlier stage, so that the identificative pre-prefix consists of a consonant, or consonant cluster, plus a vowel, e.g. *ngu-* as in *ngumntu* {[by] a person} (Gen 9:6). The vowel of the identificative prefix is the same as that of the pre-prefix of the full fundamental form. In classes 1, 2 and 6 the consonant cluster is *ng-*, as in *ngabantu* {[by] people} (Eks 17:1). In the other cases the consonant is assimilated to and identical to the consonant of the basic prefix, as in *lilizwi* {[by] the sound/voice} (Is 33:3), *sisichotho* {[by] the hail} (Eks 9:19), *zizinto* {[by] things} (Dut 6:11) and *ziintshaba* {[by] enemies} (Num 14:42), except in classes 4 and 9, where it is the semi-vowel *y*, as in *yimithetho* {[by] laws} (Ndum/Ps 119:66) and *yintliziyo* {[by] a heart} (Eks 25:2).

In their most prevalent forms the identificative prefixes of the various classes of nouns can be set out as follows:

Class:	1/2	1a/2a	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>ngum[u]-</i>	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>ngum[u]-</i>	<i>li(li)-</i>	<i>sis-</i>	<i>yi(N)[i]-</i>	<i>lu(lu)-</i>
Plural:	<i>ngaba-</i>	<i>ngoo-</i>	<i>yimi-</i>	<i>ngama-</i>	<i>zizi-</i>	<i>zi(z)i(N)[i]-</i>	
Class:			14	15	17		
Neutral:			<i>bubu-</i>	<i>kuku-</i>	<i>kuku-</i>		

Square brackets indicate portions of identificative prefixes that have undergone elision. Round brackets indicate portions of identificative prefixes that in some instances undergo elision. The capital letter *N* indicates that the nasal is found in various forms.

The most prevalent use of identificatives is in copulatives with definite or neutral nouns. Presumably the prefix is retained in an earlier stage because of the actual or implied presence of a prefixed morpheme in copulatives, as in *ndingumntu* {I am a person/human being} (Zekar 13:5). The use of identificatives in copulatives is described in detail lower down in chapter 9.

Identificatives are also used to identify the agent of a verb of which the connotation makes it possible to have an agent. Often a speaker's focus is not on the agent that executes a process, but on the recipient of the process. The agent is then replaced in the prime position as subject at the beginning of the sentence, usually with the use of a verb with a passive connotation, derived by extending the root of the verb with the extension morpheme */-w-/*, as described in pericope 7.17. The agent is then identified using the identificative form, as in *ushiyiwe ngabantu* {he has been left behind/abandoned by people} (Is 53:3). Thus the identificative is used to identify the agent that causes a process to take place if the agent is not the subject of the predicate that indicates the process, as in the following three cases:

The agent of a verb with a passive connotation, as in *sihlangulwe ngumYiputa* {we have been saved by an Egyptian} (Eks 2:19); *udliwe lirhamncwa* {he has been devoured by a carnivorous animal} (Gen 37:20) and *akayi kukha alahlekelwe ngumvuzo wakhe* {he/she will never lose his/her reward} (Mat 10:42).

The agent of a verb with a neutro-passive connotation, as in *babulaleke kukusebenza* {they are exhausted by work}. [In the RUV the only example is that of the identificative absolute pronoun *kuko*{by it}, as in *oko ningabulalekanga kuko* {that that you have not been exhausted by, i.e. that which you have not toiled for} (Yoh/Jn 4:38)]. It is also found as agent in the case of some old neutro-passive verbs, ending in *-uka*, as for example *ngoonyana* {by the sons} in *wakruquka uMowabhi ngoonyana bakaSirayeli* {Moab was disgusted with / made to be ill-humoured by the sons of Israel} (Num 22:3).

The agent of one of a few verbs that are not passive or neutro-passive but of which the connotation makes it possible to have an agent, e.g. *ukufa* {to die} and *ukuzala* {to become full} as the identificative *linsang* {by thirst} in *ndiya chufa linsang* {I shall die of thirst} (Gweb/Jdg 15:18) and the identificative *zizinto* {by things} in *izindlu sizzle zizinto* {houses being full of things} (Neh 9:25).

The above identificatives are not copulative predicates with an implied subject concord. They are substantives. Like other substantive they can be connected with the connective *na-*, which is used only with substantives and never with predicates, e.g. *mongooses* {and Moses} in *bakholwa nguYehova nanguMoses umkhonzi wakhe* {they were satisfied by / believed in the Lord and by/in Moses his servant} (Eks 14:31).

When the class 9 concord *i-* is used as general or universal concord in a negative indicative copulative with the noun *into* {thing} the morpheme *-s-* is inserted between the negative *a-* and the subject concord *i-* and a variant form *-yonto* of the identificative is used, as in *asiyonto* {it is not a thing} in the phrase *sonke isidalwa sihle; asiyonto yakulahlwa* {every creature is good; it is not something to be thrown away} (1 Tim 4:4). Probably *asiyonto* is a contraction of *asiyiyo into* {it is not it a thing}. Many speakers use similar variant identificatives in other negative copulatives, e.g. *asingokumkani* {it is not a king} and *akangokumkani* (he is not a king). Such grammarians as Riordan et al. in their self-instruction course (1969: 69-70) extensively advise the use of the variant form with the vowel *o*. That this is the present tendency is apparent from the fact that also the 1996 Xhosa Bible uses this form extensively, as, for example, *asingokumkani?* {is it not the king?} (1 Sam 21:11). In the RUV, with the exception of *asiyonto*, mentioned above, only such forms as *asingokumkani* {it is not the king} (2 Kron/Chr 18:32) and *asiyindawo* {it is not the place/matter} (MiZek/Prov 31:4) are found.

4.7 Basic identificatives

The basic identificative is composed of the identificative without the identificative prefix as described above. This implies that it corresponds with the basic fundamental form (vide pericope 4.4), e.g. *mntu* {a person} as in *makungabulawa mntu* {let there not be killed a person} (1 Sam 11:13).

The agent of an absolute negative verb with a passive connotation (vide pericope 7.17) is indicated with a basic identificative, as *mntu* {person} in *zivalekile zonke izindlu ukuba zingàngenwa mntu* {they are closed all the houses that they cannot be entered by a person} (Is 24:10) and in *isidiliya ... sidliwe mntu wumbi* {and the vinyard be eaten by another person} (Dut 20:6) as well as *ndoda* {man} in *uDavide akayi kunqunyukelwa ndoda yakuhlala etroneni yendlu kaSirayeli* {David will not be lacking a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel} (Yer 33:17).

When copulatives (vide chapter 9) are constructed with indefinite nouns, the noun is in the basic identificative form, as is *Thixo* {God} in *amaYiputa angabantu, àkaThixo* {Egyptians are people, they are not God} (Is 31:3) and *sihlobo* {friend} in *akusihlobo sikaKesare* {you [singular] are not a friend of Caesar} (Yoh 19:12).

The basic identificative is also found as the noun referring to the subject of a relative construction copulative formed with a qualificative subordinate clause where this noun referring to the subject of the subordinate clause is the possession of the antecedent as *mehlo* {eyes} and *nyawo* {feet} in *uNyana kaThixo, omehlo akhe anjengelangatyé lomlilo, onyawo zakhe zifana nobhedu olubengezelayo* {the Son of God, whose eyes are like coals of fire, whose feet resemble copper that shines} (SiTyh/Rev 2:18).

The use of the relative construction *onyawo* {that is feet, i.e. whose feet} (< the relative A + the relative mood copulative *u[zi]nyawo*) in the above example illustrates the fact that basic identificatives of class 10 nouns with polysyllabic stems usually drop the syllable *zi-* of the class 10 prefix when the context indicates that confusion with class 9 or class 11 is not probable [as is also the case with basic class 10 nouns with polysyllabic stems when indicated with a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ntaba* {mountains} as in *ezo ntaba* {those mountains} (Dut 11:30)].

4.8 Locatives

There are two main forms in which full fundamental nouns are found when they are used as adverbs of place, or adverbs of time if they have a temporal connotation. They are those with the prefix *e-* and the suffix *-ini*, e.g. *ehlabathini* {on the earth} (Gen 1:2) and *ehlotyeni* {in summer} (MiZek/Prov 6:8), and those with the prefix *ku-*, e.g. *kuAdam* {to Adam} (Gen 2:22). For convenience the first are usually simply called locatives, but more exactly *e/ini*-locatives, and the latter *ku*-locatives. Then there are also the few remnants of the old locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18, described in pericope 3.15, e.g. *phakathi* {inside, between} (Gen 1:4). All these locatives can also be found as locatives of vicinity when the morpheme */nga-/* is prefixed, e.g. *ngasemanzini* {near the water / at the waterside} (Yosh 16:1).

4.9 E/ini-locatives

The *e/ini*-locative form of nouns, usually simply referred to as the locative, consists of a prefixed locative morpheme */e-/*, plus a basic noun, plus the locative suffix *-ini*, e.g. *emthini*

{in/at the tree} (Gen 3:24) the locative of *umthi* {tree}. However, these locatives cannot be formed with full nouns in class 1a/2a.

The final vowel of the noun and the locative suffix *-ini* coalesce as follows:

- a + ini > eni*, e.g. *isandla* {hand} > *esandleni* {in the hand} (Gen 4:11);
- e + ini > eni*, e.g. *indlebe* {ear} > *endlebeni* {on/in the ear} (Dut 15:17);
- i + ini > ini*, e.g. *ihlathi* {forest} > *ehlathini* {in the forest} (Dut 19:5);
- o + ini > weni*, e.g. *amehlo* {eyes} > *emehlweni* {in the eyes} (Gen 3:6);
- u + ini > wini*, e.g. *indlu* {house} > *endlwini* {in the house} (Gen 12:15).

In the case of nouns that have one of the denti-labials *f* or *v* as consonant of the final syllable, the final vowel *-o* or *-u* of a noun is dropped in the locative and is not assimilated to the semi-vowel *w*, e.g. *isifo* {disease} > *esifeni* {in the disease} (Ndum/Ps 41:3), *amafu* {clouds} > *emafini* {in the clouds} (Yobhi/Job 20:6) and *amahlamvu* {branches} > *emahlamvini* {in the branches} (Hez/Ezek 17:4).

In the case of nouns that have the semi-vowel *w* as consonant of the final syllable and the final vowel *-o* or *-u*, semi-vowel merger takes place, e.g. *indawo* {place} > *endaweni* {to/at the place} (Gen 22:3) and *imbewu* {seed} > *embewini* {in the seed} (Lev 11:37).

In the case of nouns that have a bilabial consonant or cluster of consonants in the last syllable and have *-o* or *-u* as final vowel, the combination of the bilabial consonant or cluster of consonants and the semi-vowel *w* is not articulated, but the point of articulation is moved back in the mouth to the palate (i.e. palatalisation takes place), and:

- b + w > ty*, e.g. *ihlobo* {summer} > *ehlotyeni* {in summer} (MiZek/Prov 6:8);
- bh + w > j*, e.g. *umbhobho* {pipe} > *embhojeni* {in the pipe} (not found in the RUV);
- m + w > ny*, e.g. *umlomo* {mouth} > *emlonyeni* {in/on the mouth} (Gen 8:11);
- mb + w > nj*, e.g. *umlambo* {river} > *emlanjeni* {in/at the river} (Gen 15:18) and
ingcambu {root} > *engcanjini* {in the root} (Is 14:29);
- mp + w > ntsh* (unaspirated), e.g. *ubuhlwempu* {poverty} > *ebuhlwentshini* {in poverty}
(not found in the RUV);
- ph + w > tsh* (aspirated), e.g. *incopho* {peak} > *encotsheni* {on the peak} (Eks 17:10).

However, in the case of a few nouns palatalisation does not take place, e.g. *umgubo* {flour, ground maize} > *emgubeni* {in the flour} (Lev 2:2), *isidumbu* {corpse} > *esidumbini* {on the corpse} (Lev 11:40), *uhambo* {journey} > *eluhambeni* {on the journey} (Num 9:13), *inkomo* > *enkomeni* (Eks 9:25) and *impepho* > *empepheni* (Gen 3:8). The noun *imbombo* {corner} is usually found unpalatalised in the locative form, e.g. as in *ezimbombeni zezitrato* {on the corners of the streets} (Mat 6:5). However, it is also found palatalised, as in *ezimbonjeni zezitrato* {on the corners of the streets} (Nah 3:10).

Also in the case of *umngxuma* {hole} palatalisation takes place and its locative is *emngxunyeni* {in the hole} (Ndum/Ps 55:23).

Polysyllabic nouns in class 5 omit the basic prefix *li-* when the locative *e-* is prefixed, as in *ehlathini* {in the forest} (Dut 19:5). This is also optionally the case with monosyllabic class 5 nouns, that are extended to being bisyllabic as a result of the locative suffix, e.g. *ilifu* {cloud} > *efini* {in the cloud} (Gen 9:13), *ilitye* {stone} > *etyeni* {on the stone} (Yosh 15:5) and *ilizwe* {country} > *ezweni* {in the country} (Gen 4:16 & 12:10). However, the variant form that retains the basic prefix is also often used, as in *elifini* {in the cloud} (SiTyh/Rev 14:14), *elityeni* {on the stone} (Gweb/Jdg 6:21) and *elizweni* {in the country} (Gen 12:10). In the case of *iliso* {eye} the only *e/ini*-locative that is found in the RUV is *esweni* {in the eye} (Mat 7:4) and there is no trace of the locative *elihlwani* {in the eye} sometimes heard used.

Class 10 nouns retain the syllable *zi-* in the basic prefix in locatives, e.g. *iindlela* {road, path} > *ezindleleni* {in the road / on the path} (Dut 28:29), *iindawo* {places} > *ezindaweni* {at the places} (Gen 20:13) and *izindlu* {houses} > *ezindlwini* {in/at the houses} (Eks 8:13).

Class 11 locative nouns retain the basic prefix *lu-*, as in *eludongeni* {on the wall} (Lev 14:37) and *elulwimini* {on the tongue} (Yobhi/Job 6:30). However, the frequently used *elwandle* {at the seaside, in the sea} has not only dropped the basic prefix *lu-* but also omits the locative suffix *-ini*, as in *eLwandle oluBomvu* {at/in the Sea that is Red} (Eks 10:19), but is found once in the RUV as *elulwandle* {in/at the sea} (in *eluLwandle lweTyuwa* {in/at the Sea of Salt} in Gen 14:3).

The locative of the class 14 noun *utyani* {grass} (< *ubu* + *ani* – vide pericope 3.13) is *ebutyani* {on the grass} (Hez/Ezek 34:14).

Locatives derived from nouns that are exclusively the names of places omit the locative suffix *-ini*, e.g. *eYerusalem* {in Jerusalem} (Yosh 15:63) and *eGalili* {in Galilee} (Mat 28:10). In other cases the suffix is retained, as in *eMzini wamaSundu* {in the City of Palms} (Gweb/Jdg 1:16) and *eNtabeni yemiNquma* {on the Mountain of Olives} (Mat 24:3).

The locatives indicating the cardinal points, and some other frequently used locatives, omit the locative suffix *-ini*. They are *empumalanga* {in the east} (Gen 11:2), *entshonalanga* {in the west} (Gen 28:14), *entla* {above} (Gen 13:14) and *ezantsi* {below} (Gen 13:14) as well as for example *ekhohlo* {on the left hand side} (Gen 13:9), *ekunene* {on the right hand side} (Gen 13:9), *elwandle* {at the seaside; in the sea} (Num 34:7), *entlango* {in the desert} (Gen 16:7), *endle* {in the veld}/ (Gen 30:14), *emathânga* {at the cattle outposts} (Yer 31:24), *emnyango* {in the doorway} (Gen 18:1), *entungo* {in the thatch} (Marko 2:4), *elé* {beyond} (Eks 3:1), *emhlana* {on the back} (Dan 7 :6) and the temporal locatives *emini* {in the daytime} (Gen 31:39), *ebusuku* {at night} (Gen 14:15), *ebusika* {in winter} (MiZek/Prov 20:4) and *ekwindla* {in autumn} (MiZek/Prov 16:15). The same holds for *entlakohlaza* {in spring} that is not found in the RUV.

Various other locatives also omit the locative suffix *-ini* when unqualified, e.g. *ekhaya* {at home} (Gen 37:32), *eziko* {on the hearth} (Lev 6:9), *entloko* {on/against the head} (Lev 8:9) and *ebunzi* {on/against the forehead} (1 Sam 17:49). However, when qualified these locatives re-instate the suffix, as in *ekhayeni lakhe* {in his home} (Gen 31:55), *ezikweni lezonka* {in the oven of bread} (Lev 2:4), *entlokwani yam* {on my head} (Gen 40:17) and

ebunzini lakhe {on his forehead} (1 Sam 17:49). The locatives *ebhotwe* {in the palace} and *ebuhlanti* {in the cattle-kraal} also omit the locative suffix when unqualified, but are only found qualified in the RUV, as in *ebhotweni lokumkani* {in the palace of the king} (2 Kum/Kgs 20:18) and *ebuhlantini bezimvu* {in the fold of the sheep} (Yoh/Jn 10:1).

The locative *emva* {behind, after}, without the locative suffix, is also found in the variant form *emveni* {behind, after}, with the locative suffix. No hard and fast rule applies, but *emva* tends to be favoured for use when qualified with a locative possessive commencing in *kwa-*, as in *emva kwakho* {behind/after you [singular]} (Gen 17:7), while *emveni* tends to gravitate towards being used when qualified with a locative possessive commencing in *ko-*, as in *emveni kokuzala kwakhe uSete* {after the giving birth of her to Set} (Gen 5:4), while qualifying locative possessives in *kwe-* seem to be used indifferently, as in *emva kweentsuku ezisixhenxe* {after days that are seven} (Gen 7:10) and *emveni kwezo zinto* {after/behind those things} (Gen 15:1).

When another morpheme is prefixed to an *e/ini*-locative, as well as in copulatives, the initial locative prefix becomes *se-*, as in *nasemini nasebusuku* {also in the day and at night} (Ntshum/Ecc 8:16); *ùya kubuyela kwaseluthulini* {you [singular] will return also to dust} (Gen 3:19); *abemi baseAyi* {the inhabitants of Ai} (Yosh 8:24); *basebubini* {they are in difficulty} (Eks 5:19) and the compound copulative *ukuba semnyango* {to be in the doorway} (Ndum/Ps 84:10).

In the locative form a noun functions as an adverb of place or time. In a sentence it functions as a descriptive modifying the place where or time when a process takes place, as in *wabanyathelisa endleleni ethe tye* {he caused them to tread on a road that is straight} (Ndum/Ps 107:7) and *wavuka ukumkani ebusuku* {the king arose in the night} (2 Kum/Kgs 7:12).

The normal position of a descriptive in a simple sentence is after the predicate, and if the predicate is a verb with an object, this also precedes the descriptive, as in *wabona iqula ezweni* {he saw a well in the country} (Gen 29:2). If the focus of the speaker is more on the descriptive than on the object it is placed directly after the predicate, and the object is usually connected to the predicate with an object concord, and the sentence would read *walibona ezweni iqula* {he saw it in the country a well}. If the descriptive is paramount in the speaker's thought it is placed in the prime position first in the sentence, rendering *ezweni wabona iqula* {in the country he saw a well}.

Temporal descriptives, i.e. adverbs of time including locatives with a temporal connotation, are usually found at the beginning of a sentence if important to the speaker, or at the end if of lesser weight, as in *emini ndadliwa bubushushu, ebusuku yingqele* {in the daytime I was eaten by the heat, at night-time by the cold} (Gen 31:40) and *awusukanga umqulu welifu emini* {it did not depart the column of cloud in the daytime} (Eks 13:22).

Locatives, in common with other adverbs, can be used in copulatives (vide Chapter 9), as in *isendlwini* {it is in the house} (MiZek/Prov 3:33) and *waba sendlwini yenkosi yakhe* {he was in the house of his/her master} (Gen 39:2).

4.10 Basic locatives

The basic locative is identical to the *e/ini*-locative except that it is without the prefixed *e-*, e.g. *kufeni* {to death} as in the phrase *isono esingasingisi kufeni* {sin that does not lead to death} (1 Yoh 5:16) and *sandleni* {in/on a hand} and *lunyaweni* {in/on a foot} in *kwakho ndoda iyingxilimbela; ibineminwe emithandathu sandleni sinye, namazwane amathandathu lunyaweni lunye* {there was a man that is a giant; he had fingers that are six on a hand that is one, and toes that are six on a foot that is one} (2 Sam 21:20).

Basic locative nouns in class 1a/2a have no locative prefix but do take the locative suffix *-ini*, e.g. the class 2a basic locative *thixweni* {to a god} in the phrase *baya thixweni bambi* {they went to a god another one} (Dut 31:18).

As basic locative the noun is an adverb of indefinite place or time. As the examples in the paragraphs above illustrate it is found as the locative descriptive of an absolute negative predicate and as a locative indicated with an indefinite pronoun.

Derived from the basic nouns *xa* {time, when} and *mhla* {day} the temporal basic locatives *xeshikweni* {at the time, when}, and its variant *xenikweni* {at the time, when}, and *mhlenikweni* {on the day} are found. Being indefinite basic nouns they are qualified with predicates in the relative mood, as in *xeshikweni ùya endlwini kaThixo* {when you [singular] go to the house of God} (Ntshum/Ecc 5:1); *xenikweni uSamuweli alixhego* {when Samuel is an old man} (1 Sam 8:1) and *mhlenikweni uYehova wamhlanguláyo esandleni seentshaba zakhe zonke* {on the day that the Lord saved him from the hand of all his enemies} (Ndum/Ps 18:1).

Of note is the basic locative *ndaweni-nye* {one place, together}, which is usually found in its contracted variant *ndawonye* {one place, together}, as in *amanzi makahlanganiselwe ndaweni-nye* {let it be gathered the water at one place} (Gen 1:9) and *ababa nakuhlala ndawonye* {they could not stay at one place / together} (Gen 13:6).

4.11 Ku-locatives

The *ku*-locative consists of the locative prefix *ku-* plus a noun, e.g. *kuAdam* (Gen 2:22). The *u* of the locative prefix *ku-* replaces the nominal pre-prefix *a-*, coalesces to *u* with the prefix or pre-prefix *u-*, becomes the semi-vowel *w* before the pre-prefix *i-* and is dropped before the prefix *oo-*, i.e.:

- ku + a > ku*, e.g. *abantu* {people} > *kubantu* {to/at/from people} (Gen 23:7);
- ku + u > ku*, e.g. *uAdam* {Adam} > *kuAdam* {to/at/from Adam} (Gen 2:22);
- ku + i > kwi*, e.g. *indoda* {a man} > *kwindoda* {to/at/from a man} (Gen 43:13);
- ku + oo > koo*, e.g. *oonyana* {sons} > *koonyana* {to/at/from sons} (Gen 23:4).

Only *ku*-locatives can be formed with full nouns in class 1a/2a (and pronouns), e.g. *kubawo* {to/at/from my/our father} (Gen 31:16) and *kooyihlo* {to/at/from your fathers} (Gen 15:15). Other nouns have *ku*-locatives as variants, e.g. *endaweni* {in/to/at/from a place} (Gen 13:4) and *kwindawo* {in/to/at/from a place} (Gen 12:6).

Except in the case of full class 1a/2a nouns and pronouns that only have *ku*-locatives, no absolute rules dictate which one of the two locatives has to be used. In general to indicate place or time preference is given to *e/ini*-locatives. However, when the locative indicates the party towards which the process expressed by the predicate is directed, or the party that is the recipient of the result of the process, often being a human being, the *ku*-locative variant tends to be used, as in *wathi ... kwinyoka* {he said to the snake} (Gen 3:14); *wathabatha amabini kumadodana akhe* {he took two from his men} (Gen 22:3); *wamthenga kumaIshmayeli* {he bought him from the Ishmaelites} (Gen 39:1); *entloko kuEfrayim* {on Ephraim's head} (Gen 48:14) and *iBhetsere, entlango ezweni lehewu, kumaRubhen; iRamoti, kwelaseGiliyadi, kumaGadi; iGolan eBhashan, kumaManase* {Bezer in the desert of the plateau, to the Rubenites; Ramoth, in the [country] of Giliyad, to the Gadites; Golan in Bashan, to the Manassites} (Dut 4:43).

In the locative the class 5/6 noun *izibulo/amazibulo* {firstborn} is found only in the *ku*-locative, e.g. *kwizubulo* {from the firstborn} (Eks 13:15) and as in *ethabathe kumazibulo ezimvu* {having taken from the firstborn of the sheep} (Gen 4:4).

4.12 *Pha*-locatives

All nouns in class 16 are locatives and have the same syntax as the *e/ini*-locatives, i.e. as adverbs of place and in copulatives, as in *ùnyuké waya phezulu* {you [singular] ascended and went to the top} (Ndum/Ps 68:18) and *imbasa yoThixo wakhe iphezu kwentloko yakhe* {the head-ornament of his God is on his head} (Num 6:7) and *ilizwe lonke liphambi kwakho* {the whole country is before you} (Yer 40:4).

4.13 Locatives of vicinity (*ngase*- and *ngaku*-)

Locatives of vicinity consist of the prefix *nga*- plus an *e/ini*-locative, a *ku*-locative, or a noun of the locative class 16, e.g. *ngasesangweni* {in the vicinity of the gate} (Gen 4:7), *ngakukumkani* {near/next to the king} (Yer 36:21) and *ngaphakathi* {on the inside} (Gen 6:14). The locative of vicinity is an adverb describing the vicinity, area, environs, locality or proximity of the object the noun refers to and has the same syntax as other locatives. The prefix *nga*- of the locatives of vicinity is an additional use of the instrumentative prefix *nga*- (vide pericope 4.17 below) but because of its strong association with locatives it merits description here together with the locatives.

The locatives of vicinity *ngasezantsi* {below} and *ngasentla* {above} have the variants *ngezantsi* {below} (Num 13:22) and *ngentla* {above} (Neh 3:28). *Ngemva* {behind}, the variant of *ngasemva* {behind}, is also heard, but is not found in the RUV. The locative of vicinity *ngakwicala* {on the side} has the variant *ngecala* {on the side} (Eks 26:18) and *ngakwiinxaxa* {on the sides} is always contracted to *ngeenxa* {on the sides} as in *ngeenxa zonke* {on/from all sides} (Gen 23:17).

The locative of vicinity *nganeno* {on this side} is of note. It belongs with the locatives of vicinity constructed with locative nouns in classes 16, 17 and 18. Similar to them it is qualified with the class 17 locative possessive concord *kwa*-, as in *nganeno kweYordan* {on this side of the Jordan} (Num 32:32).

4.14 Possessives

A substantive may be qualified by indicating its possessor with a subsequent noun in the possessive form, such as *zamaYiputa* {of the Egyptians}, as in the phrase *izindlu zamaYiputa* {the houses of the Egyptians} (Eks 8:21). In its full form a possessive noun contains a prefixed possessive concord, linking it to the substantive indicating the possession. The possessive concord corresponds to the basic class prefix of the substantive stripped of the nasal (*m* or *n*) – and which thus is the same as its subject concord – plus the possessive morpheme */-a-/*. It is prefixed to the full fundamental noun referring to the possessor, rendering a noun in its possessive form. The example *zamaYiputa* {of the Egyptians} above consists of the concord *zi*, referring to *izindlu* {houses}, plus the possessive *a*, which replaces the vowel of the concord rendering the compound possessive concord *za-*, the final vowel of which coalesces with the pre-prefix of *amaYiputa* {Egyptians} to render the possessive noun *zamaYiputa* {of Egyptians}. A further example of a noun in the possessive form is *zabantu* {of people} as in the phrase *iintliziyo zabantu* < *zi* + *a* + *abantu* {the hearts of people} (Is 13:7). Note has to be taken of the fact that, as seen in the above examples, the possessive is used following upon the substantive referring to the possession.

The concord linking the possession to the possessor combines as follows with the possessive morpheme */-a-/*:

If the concord linking the possession to the possessor is *u*, it becomes the semi-vowel *w* preceding the possessive *a*, rendering the possessive concord *wa-*.

If it is *i*, it becomes the semi-vowel *y* before the possessive *a*, rendering the possessive concord *ya-*.

If it is *a*, it coalesces with the possessive *a*, rendering the possessive concord *a-*.

If it consists of a consonant and a vowel, the vowel is dropped before the possessive *a*, except in the case of the vowel *u*, which is dropped when preceded by the consonant *b*, but is retained as the semi-vowel *w* when preceded by *l* or *k*, rendering the possessive concords *ba-*, *la-*, *sa-*, *za-*, *lwa-* and *kwa-*.

Nouns of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 and certain other locatives are referred back to as possessions by means of the class 17 possessive concord *kwa-*.

The compounded possessive concordial links, called the possessive concords in short, can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18
Singular:	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>lwa-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>
Plural:	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>za-</i>				

The final vowel *a* of the possessive concord coalesces with the prefix of the noun indicating the possession according to the regular rules of vowel coalescence in isiXhosa, i.e.:

a + a > *a*, e.g. *iindlebe zabantu* < *za* + *abantu* {the ears of people} (Neh 8:3);

a + i > *e*, e.g. *iintaka zezulu* < *za* + *izulu* {the birds of heaven} (Gen 2:19);

a + ii > *ee*, e.g. *iincopho zeentaba* < *za* + *iintaba* {the tops of mountains} (Gen 8:5);

$a + u > o$, e.g. *iinqwelo zokulwa* < *za + ukulwa* {the chariots of fighting} (Eks 14:28);
 $a + oo > oo$, e.g. *iintliziyo zoonyana* < *za + oonyana* {the hearts of sons} (Num 32:7).

When the class 11 possessive concord *lwa-*, or the classes 15 and 16/17/18 possessive concord *kwa-*, is prefixed to a possessor indicated with a noun commencing in *u-* or *oo-*, the semi-vowel *w* is dropped, e.g. compare *uyolo lwendoda* < *lwa + indoda* {the happiness of a man} (Ndum/Ps 40:4) to *uyolo loonyana* < *lwa + oonyana* {the happiness of sons} (MiZek/Prov 20:7), as well as *ukufa kweNkosi* < *kwa + iNkosi* {the death of the Lord} (1 Kor 11:26) to *ukufa koNyana* < *kwa + uNyana* {the death of the Son} (Rom 5:10).

In the case of the noun *izolo* {yesterday} being used as an adverb of time, the semi-vowel *y* is optionally inserted as a transition when a possessive concordial link is prefixed, as in *izinto zayizolo zezayizolo* {the things of yesterday are those of yesterday, i.e. let bygones be bygones}. (However, this form is not found in the RUV. What is found is a connective where the connective *na-* is prefixed to *izolo* rendering *nayizolo* {and the previous day}, as in 1 Sam 20:27.)

When the noun indicating the possessor is in class 1a the variant form */-ka-/* of the possessive morpheme */-a-/* is usually used when the noun is not qualified, as in *izandla zikaMoses* {the hands of Moses} (Eks 17:12). As is apparent in this example, when the possessive */-ka-/* is prefixed the pre-prefix *u-* of class 1a nouns is dropped and no vowel-fusion takes place. Furthermore, when the possessive concord consists solely of a vowel, this vowel is omitted before the possessive */-ka-/*, as in *umthetho kaMoses* {the law of Moses} (Yoh/Jn 7:23). Thus the possessive concords used with possessors in class 1a can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18
Singular:	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>lika-</i>	<i>sika-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>luka-</i>	<i>buka-</i>	<i>kuka-</i>	<i>kuka-</i>
Plural:	<i>baka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>zika-</i>	<i>zika-</i>				

The *ka-*possessive concord is used in forming possessives with unqualified nouns in class 1a, as in *intloko kaDagon* {the head of Dagon} (1 Sam 5:4) and *isandla sikayise* {the hand of his father} (Gen 48:17). However, if the class 1a noun indicating the possessor is qualified, the normal possessive form is usually used, as in *isandla soThixo wethu* {the hand of our God} (Ezra 8:31). In some cases, where the qualification of the possessor is implied, the normal possessive form is also used, as in *egameni loYise, loNyana, loMoya oyiNgcwele* {in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit} (Mat 28:19).

Nouns in the old locative classes 16, 17 and 18, and various related nouns, are qualified with a possessive linked with the class 17 possessive concord *kwa-*, as in *phezu kwamanzi* {on top of the water} (SiTyh/Rev 11:6), *phantsi kwetafile* {under the table} (Marko 7:28), *emva komzi* {behind the homestead} (Yosh 8:4) and *nganeno kweYordan* {on this side of the Jordan} (Yosh 12:7). When these nouns are qualified with a noun in class 1a indicating a possessor it usually is found in a normal possessive form, as in *phambi koEli* {in front of Eli} (1 Sam 3:1). In exceptional cases a variant is found using a *ka-*possessive, as in *phambi kukaEli* {in front of Eli} (1 Sam 2:11). Of note is also the locative *ecaleni* {on the side} which is usually qualified with a normal possessive, as in *wema ngasecaleni lendlela* {he stood by the side of

the road} (2 Sam 15:2) but is occasionally found in a variant qualified with the class 17 possessive concord *kwa-*, as in *nanko uEli ehleli esihlalweni ecaleni kwendlela* {there is Eli, sitting on a chair by the side of the road} (1 Sam 4:13).

As possessive the noun is a qualificative with which a definite or neutral substantive is qualified by indicating its possessor, or the function it fulfils, or the species it belongs to, or the material it is made up of, or the category to which it belongs, or the ordinal number it represents, as in *ingubo kaYosefu* {the garment of Joseph} (Gen 37:31), *iingubo zelinen* {garments/blankets of linen} (Hez 44:17), *ingubo yokwaleka* {a garment to wear on top} (Eks 28:31), *iindlebe zabantu* {the ears of people} (Neh 8:3), *inkunzi yegusha* {a male of a sheep, i.e. a ram} (Gen 22:13), *inyama yehagu* {the meat of a pig} (Is 65:4), *iziphatho zezibane zegolide* {the handles of the lamps of gold} (2 Kron/Chr 4:7), *izindlu zodidi lwaphantsi* {houses of the category of the bottom} (Gen 6:16), *indlu yokuqala* {the house of beginning, i.e. the first house} (Ezra 3:12) and *intsika yesibini* {the pillar of number two, i.e. the second pillar} (2 Kum/Kgs 25:17).

The class 17 possessive concord *kwa-* is used when a homestead, place, town, region or country is designated using the name of a present or previous head of the household, chief or other prominent person, e.g. *kwaSirayeli* {at Israel's place / in the land of Israel} (1 Sam 4:21). If the person by whose name a place is referred to is not the head of the household the variant locative possessive link *kulo-* is used, as in *umzi wakuloAndreya* {the homestead of Andrew and them} (Yoh/Jn 1:44). The link *kulo-* is probably a contraction from *wakubo uAndreya* (or *ooAndreya*) {of at them Andrew, i.e. of Andrew and them}.

When a noun is qualified with the possessive of that very same noun a superlative status is indicated, e.g. *ingcwele kangcwele* {the holy of holies} (Lev 16:33), and *ingoma yazo iingoma* {the song of songs} (Ngom/Song 1:1), as well as in *izizwe ziya kubulela kuwe ngonaphakade kanaphakade* {the nations will give thanks to you [singular] for ever and ever} (Ndum/Ps 45:17).

When the class 1a/2a noun *udade* {sister} is qualified with a possessor in class 1a a possessive concord *bo-* is used, as in *udade boLabhan* {the sister of Laban} (Gen 25:20). This possessive link is probably a contraction from *udade wabo uLabhan* {the sister of them Laban} etc. as *udade* {sister} is always qualified with a plural possessive, as in *uRakeli wammonela udade wabo* {Rachel was jealous of their [i.e. her] sister} (Gen 30:1).

The compound noun *abantakwaboYosefu* {the brothers of Joseph} (Gen 43:1 heading) is probably a contraction of *abantwana bakowabo uYosefu* (or *ooYosefu*) {the children of their [homestead] Joseph (or Joseph and them)} where *bakowabo* {of their [homestead]} implies the possession *umzi* {homestead}.

4.15 Basic possessives

The basic possessive consists of a possessive concord plus a basic noun, e.g. *yamntu* {of a person} as in the phrase *makungathambi ntliziyo yamntu* {let it not go soft the heart of a person} (1 Sam 17:32); *yawayini* {of wine}, *yasiselo* {of drink} and *yazidiliya* {of grapes},

as in the phrase *angaseli viniga yawayini, naviniga yasiselo sinxiliso, angaseli nancindi yazidiliya* {and he not drink vinegar of wine, and vinegar of a drink that intoxicates, and he not drink juice of grapes} (Num 6:3) and *lathixo* {of a god}, as in *igama lathixo bambi uze ungalikhankanyi* {the name of other gods you must not mention} (Eks 23:13).

As the examples in the paragraph above illustrate, the basic possessive is used to qualify indefinite basic fundamental nouns as found in absolute negative statements and when nouns are otherwise indefinite, as when indicated with a following indefinite pronoun. This implies that a noun without a pre-prefix that is a possessor is normally qualified with a basic possessive, except when it is definite but is without a pre-prefix because it is a vocative or because it has been defined already with a preceding definite pronoun, as in *Thixo wenkosi yam* {God of my master} (Gen 24:12) and *ezi ziphatho zezibane* {these handles of lamps} (SiTyh/Rev 11:4).

4.16 Possessive locatives

Possessive locatives are formed by prefixing the possessive concord to a locative, with the initial *e-* of an *e/ini*-locative being extended to *se-*. Possessive locatives are often used and function as a qualification of a substantive by means of referring to the place or time with which it is associated, as in *imingculuba yasemlanjeni* {the willows of at a river} (Lev 23:40), *abemi baseAyi* {the inhabitants of at Ai} (Yosh 8:24), *umoya wasempumalanga* {the wind from at the east} (Eks 10:13), *ilitye lokusila langaphezulu* {the stone of to grind of at the top} (Gweb/Jdg 9:53) and *isidlo sasemini* {the meal of at daytime} (Luka 14:12).

Possessive *ku*-locatives are also used, such as *yakubakhonzi* {of at the servants} in *kwaye kuvalelwe khona indoda yakubakhonzi bakaSawule* {there was incarcerated there a man of from the servants of Saul} (1 Sam 21:7) and as in *umbingeleli wakwaMidiyan* {a priest of from at Midian's place} (Eks 18:1). In the case of the idiomatic expression *ukungabi nto yakonto* {not to be a thing from at thing, i.e. to be of no importance} the locative *ku-* has assimilated to *nto* and become *ko-*, as in *isilivere ibingento yakonto yona ngemihla kaSolomon* {silver was of no importance in the days of Solomon} (1 Kum/Kgs 10:21).

4.17 Instrumentatives (*nga-*)

Instrumentatives consist of the instrumentative morpheme /*nga-*/ plus a noun, with the vowel *a* of the instrumentative coalescing with the initial vowel of the noun according to the regular rules of isiXhosa governing coalescence, i.e. *a+a > a*; *a+i/ii > e/ee*; *a+u > o* and *a+oo > oo*, as in *ngamatye* {with stones} (Luka 20:6), *ngengubo* {with a blanket} (Luka 22:36), *ngeenkomo* {with cattle} (Yoh/Jn 2:14), *ngomnwe* {with a finger} (Yoh/Jn 8:6) and *ngooyihlo* {with your fathers} as in *waba nemihlali ngooyihlo* {he was delighted with your fathers} (Dut 30:9).

In the instrumentative form a noun is an adverb with a descriptive function with which a usually preceding predicate is modified by means of the instrument with which the process as indicated by the predicate takes place, as *ngamanzi* {with water} in *wayizalisa intsuba ngamanzi* {she filled the skin with water} (Gen 21:19); *ngomnwe* {with a finger} in *wabhala*

ngomnwe emhlabeni {he wrote with a finger on the ground} (Yoh/Jn 8:6) and *ngentonga* {with a stick} in *waqubuda esimelele ngentonga yakhe* {he bowed down leaning with his stick} (Hebh 11:21). Although the instrumentative is basically a descriptive indicating an instrument, as in the above examples, this “instrument” has to be understood as covering a wide variety of shades of meaning.

The instrumentative can indicate mode, as *ngomsindo* {with anger} in *ziyandisukela ngomsindo* {they pursue me with anger} (Ndum/Ps 55:3).

The instrumentative can indicate cause, as *ngenxa* {with a side, i.e. because of} in *elowo uya kufa ngenxa yobakhe ubugwenxa* {each one will die because of his own iniquity} (Yer 31:30) and *ngeento* {with/because of the things} in *akukho bani uzohlwayayo ngeento zakhe ezimbi* {there is not somebody/anyone that punishes himself/herself because of his/her things that are bad} (Yer 8:6).

The instrumentative can indicate reference, as *ngesabatha* {about/concerning the Sabbath} in *imfundiso kaYesu ngesabatha* {the teaching of Jesus concerning the Sabbath} (Marko 2:23 heading). This example also illustrates the fact that the shade of meaning of an instrumentative is dependent upon the context. Here *ngesabatha* indicates reference {concerning/about the Sabbath} while it usually indicates time, as in the next paragraph {on the Sabbath}.

The instrumentative can indicate time, as *ngokuhlwa* {in the evening} in *wafa ngokuhlwa* {he died in the evening} (1 Kum/Kgs 22:35) and *ngesabatha* {on the Sabbath} in *wayebafundisa ngesabatha* {he taught them on the Sabbath} (Luka 4:31). Instrumentatives that indicate time are often found at the beginning of a sentence, as in *ngomso uYehova uya kuyenza le nto* {tomorrow the Lord will do this thing} (Eks 9:5). In some cases instrumentative adverbs of time and locative adverbs of time are used as variants, as *ngobusuku* {at night} in *abafundi bakhe beza ngobusuku* {his disciples came at night} (Mat 28:13) and *ebusuku* {in the night} in *amasela eza ebusuku* {thieves come in the night} (Yer 49:9). In other cases, such as *ebusika* {in winter}, preference is given to the locative, while others, such as *ngomso* {at the becoming light, i.e. tomorrow}, favour the instrumentative. Still others are usually found in the one form but in the other in combination with certain words, e.g. the instrumentative *ngomhla* {on the day} which is generally used, but replaced with the *ku*-locative when qualifying certain verbs, often with an applicative connotation, as in *kususela kumhla wokuqala* {commencing from the first day} (Dan 10:12) and in *kwathabathela kumhla wokuqala kwezisa kumhla wokugqibela* {it commenced on the first day and took to the last day} (Neh 8:18).

The instrumentative adverb of time *ngengomso* {on the next day} (Eks 9:6) is noteworthy. It is the instrumentative of the noun *ingomso* {the next day}, which is derived from the instrumentative noun *ngomso* {tomorrow}, which is derived from the noun *umso* {the becoming light}, which is derived from the stem *-sa* of the verb *ukusa* {to become light / to dawn}. In a sense *ngengomso* {on the next day} could thus be called a double instrumentative.

The instrumentatives of numeral nouns indicate succession or a series consisting of the number mentioned, as *ngambini* {by two; a pair} in *kwizinto zonke eziphilileyo uze ungenise emkhombeni ngambini kuzo zonke* {from all the things that live you [singular] must put in in the ship a pair of them all} (Gen 6:19); *ngabanye* {by one; each} as in *andule ukubavuzabonke ngabanye* {and he subsequently rewards all by one, i.e. each one} (Mat 16:27) and *ngasinye* {by one; each} in *esizweni ngasinye* {in each nation} (Num 1:4).

When a noun is followed by the instrumentative of the same noun it may, depending on the context, indicate a repetitive progress of the modification of the predicate, as in *siphe namhla isonka sethu semihla ngemihla* {give us today our bread of days by days} (Mat 6:11); *ndizimisile esigxineni sam ubusuku ngobusuku* {I took up my post night by night} (Is 21:8) and *babazisa kuye bonke abafayo, bebanjwe zizifo ngezifo naziintuthumbo ngeentuthumbo* {they brought to him all that were ill, being held captive by ailments upon ailments and by pains upon pains} (Mat 4:24). However in another context it may indicate another shade of meaning, such as cause, as in *ukuba úthe wenzakala úze urhole umphefumlo ngomphefumlo* {if it happens that she suffers injury you must compensate a breath for a breath, i.e. a life for a life} (Eks 21:23) and *ningabuyekezi ububi ngobubi, nokutshabhisa ngokutshabhisa* {do not render evil for evil and abuse for abuse} (1 Pet 3:9).

When a verb is the complement of the verb *ukuya* {to go} used as a deficient verb, and is followed by the instrumentative of the infinitive of the same verb, it indicates the repetitive or continuing nature of the process expressed by the verb, as for example *yaya ikhula ngokukhula* {he went on growing by growing} in *yaba nkulu indoda leyo, yaya ikhula ngokukhula, yada yaba nkulu kunene* {that man became large, went on growing by growing, and became truly large} (Gen 26:13). Otherwise it is a regular instrumentative, as in *uIsake wagubha ngokugubha okukhulu* {Isaac trembled with trembling that is huge} (Gen 27:33) and *wakhala ngesikhalo esikhulu* {he cried out with a cry that is huge} (Gen 27:34).

Of note is the instrumentative *ngendlu* {with/in a/the house} which also has a locative instrumentative connotation as found in the phrase *isicaka sam silele ngendlu* {my servant lies in the house} (Mat 8:6).

Although rarely found copulatives may be formed with instrumentatives, as in *kungenxa yoko angezanga* {it is because of that that he has not come} (1 Sam 20:29) and *ubulungisa obungokukholwa* {righteousness that is by believing} (Roma 3:22) as well as *iziyalo ezingokuziphatha* {instructions that are about conducting yourself} (Gal 6:1 heading).

Morphologically it can be argued that the noun form that has been described above in pericope 4:12 as a locative of vicinity, e.g. *ngasesangweni* {in the vicinity of the gate} (Gen 4:7), should be classified together with the instrumentative nouns as an instrumentative locative. However the dominant locative semantic attributes of this form of noun make such a classification problematic and it seems expedient to use the term locatives of vicinity.

4.18 Basic instrumentatives

Basic instrumentatives consist of the instrumentative morpheme /nga-/ {with/by} plus a basic noun, e.g. *ngalulwimi* {with a tongue} (1 Kor 14:2).

Basic instrumentative nouns are indefinite and are used in the following instances:

Basic instrumentatives are found modifying an absolute negative predicate, as *ngantsonkotha* {with obscure/difficult language} as in *ndiya kuthetha naye umlomo kumlomo kungabi ngantsonkotha* {I shall talk to him mouth to mouth and it will not be by obscure language} (Num 12:8).

When a noun is indicated with a following indefinite pronoun it is indefinite and is used in its basic form, e.g. *ndlela* {path, road, way} as in *ndlela yimbi* (another path/road/way) (vide pericope 5:16). An instrumentative noun indicated by a following indefinite pronoun is also indefinite and used in its basic form, e.g. *ngandlela* {with/by a path/road/way}, as in *wahamba ngandlela yimbi* {he went with another road} (1 Kum/Kgs 13:10).

Basic instrumentative nouns may also be indefinite because of being qualified with the indefinite relative mood perfect tense verb with the stem *-thile* {a certain}, as in *ngamini ithile* {on a certain day} (Luka 5:17).

4.19 Possessive instrumentatives

Possessive instrumentatives are only found occasionally. They consist of a possessive concord prefixed to an instrumentative, usually with a temporal connotation, as *sangokuhlwa* {of at the evening} in *isidlo sangokuhlwa* {the meal of at the evening} (Yoh/Jn 13:2).

4.20 Comparatives (*nganga-*)

Comparatives consist of the comparative morpheme */nga-/* prefixed to an instrumentative, and are used as adverbs of comparison, most often found in the RUV as the comparative *ngangenani* {as many as the number}, as in *ngangenani lemihla yobomi bakhe* {as many as the number of the days of his life} (Ntshum/Ecc 6:12). Comparatives are mostly found in copulatives, as *belungangomthi* {it was the same size as a/the tree} in *uluthi lwentshuntshe yayo belungangomthi wabaluki* {the shaft of his spear was of the same size as the tree/rod of weavers} (1 Sam 17:7) and *babengangenani* {they were as large/many as the number} in *oothixo bakho babengangenani lemizi yakho* {your gods were as many as the number of your towns} (Yer 2:28).

4.21 Simulatives (*njenga-*)

Simulatives consist of the simulative morpheme */nje-/* prefixed to an instrumentative, e.g. *njengengonyama* {like a lion} (Gen 49:9) as well as *njengenkomo* {like a head of cattle} in *imvubu ... idla utyani njengenkomo* {a hippopotamus eats grass like a head of cattle} (Yobhi/Job 40:15). It is used as an adverb of similarity as for example *njengoms*i {like smoke} in *nango unyuka umsi welo zwe, njengoms*i *weziko lemfutho* {there is going up the smoke of that country, like the smoke of the furnace of bellows} (Gen 19:28), and in copulatives, as *akanjengabafazi* {they are not just like women} in *amaHebherekazi àkanjengabafazi bamaYiputa* {Hebrew women are not like the women of the Egyptians} (Eks 1:19).

Simulative locatives and simulative locatives of vicinity are found, as *njengasekuqaleni* {like as in the beginning} in *imbonakalo yawo yambi njengasekuqaleni* {their appearance was ugly like as in the beginning} (Gen 41:21) and *njengangaphambili* {like/just like as before} as in *waba phambi kwakhe njengangaphambili* {he was in front of him just like as before} (1 Sam 19:7).

Although the simulative morpheme /*nje-*/ is probably related to the adverb *nje* they are semantically distinct. For example *akuzanga kube nje ngaphambili* (1 Sam 4:7) translates as “it was never like this previously” while *akuzanga kube njengaphambili* would translate as “it never was like in front.”

It is of note that the RUV never uses the presently often heard ambiguous Anglicism, where a simulative is used as if it is the equivalent of the English “as” in a phrase like “he installed you as king,” which is at present often ambiguously rendered *wakumisa njengokumkani*. The RUV consistently uses the simulative only where it is the equivalent of the English “like,” as in *bendihlala njengokumkani phakathi komkhosi* {I lived like a king within the army} (Yobhi/Job 29:25) and would understand *wakumisa njengokumkani* to convey the meaning “he installed you like a king” or “he installed you similarly to the way a king is installed.” The RUV renders the other connotation of the English “as” with a compound subjunctive copulative, as in *uThixo ... wakumisa waba ngukumkani* {God made you [singular] stand that you became king, i.e. God appointed you as king} (1 Kum/Kgs 10:9) and *ndakumisa waba ngumprofeti weentlanga* {I appointed you [singular] as the prophet of the nations} (Yer 1:5).

4.22 Connectives (*na-*)

Connectives consist of the connective morpheme /*na-*/ plus a noun, with the vowel *a* of the connective coalescing with the initial vowel of the noun according to the regular isiXhosa rules governing coalescence, i.e. $a + a > a$; $a + i/i > e/ee$; $a + u > o$ and $a + oo > oo$, as in *namadoda* {and men} (Gen 24:54), *neendiza* {and corn stalks} (Gen 24:32) and *nomkhonzi* {and the servant} (Gen 24:59). However, the connective form of the noun *izolo* {yesterday}, often used as an adverb of time, is *nayizolo* {and/also yesterday} (1 Sam 20:27).

A noun in the connective form, following another substantive, is connected to that substantive and shares its function, as *uAbraham noSara* {Abraham and Sarah} in *uAbraham noSara babesebaluphele* {Abraham and Sarah were already old} (Gen 18:11). A connective noun on its own is an adverb with the function of a descriptive modifying a usually preceding predicate or another descriptive by means of a noun (or pronoun) indicating a party that is associated with it, as in *uEnoki wahamba noThixo* {Enoch walked with God} (Gen 5:24). Reciprocal verbs, derived by extending the root of the verb with the morpheme /*-an-*/ (vide pericope 7.20) are often found modified with a connective, as in *baphikisana noMoses* {they quarrelled with Moses} (Num 26:9).

A connective as descriptive of another descriptive is found mainly with *kunye* {together}, as in *ndiyisele iwayini yam kunye namasi am* {I have drunk my wine together with my fermented milk} (Ngom/Song 5:1). It is also used following *mayela* {with respect to} and *malunga* {in regard to} (vide pericope 4.4) as well as *ndawonye* {one place, together}, as in *ndawonye*

nedini {together with a sacrifice} (Num 28:10). On occasion *ndawonye* {together} appears to be followed not by a connective but by a *ku*-locative, as in *abizelwa ndawonye kukumkani* {they were called together to the king} (1 Kum/Kgs 8:2). However the locative *kukumkani* {to the king} modifies the predicate *abizelwa* {they were called} and is not primarily a descriptive of *ndawonye* {together}. The same holds in the rare occasions where *ndawonye* appears to be described by an instrumentative, as in *babizelana ndawonye ngoMoses nangoAron* {they called each other together because of Moses and because of Aaron} (Num 20:2).

When a connective is used on its own in the position of the subject or object of a sentence it indicates inclusiveness, as in *walinxiba noDavide ikrele lakhe* {also David put on his sword} (1 Sam 25:13) and *kanti noDavide yena ngokwakhe uthi encwadini yeeNdumiso ...* {but also David him himself says in the book of Psalms ...} (Luka 20:42).

Like other adverbs connectives are used in copulatives, in which case they indicate possession, as in *ndineenkomo* {I have cattle} (Gen 32:5) and *banamandla abantu* {the people have strength / are strong} (Num 13:28). When a part of the body is specified with a connective as a “possession” it often indicates indisposition, e.g. *ndinentloko* {I have a head, i.e. I have a headache} (however this use of the connective is not found in the RUV). When a negative copulative is formed with a noun, without the intention of expressing total denial, use is usually made of a connective absolute pronoun while the noun indicating the object is placed in apposition, as in *akanabo ubomi* {he/she does not have life} (1 Yoh 5:12) and *isilivere negolide andinayo* {silver and gold I do not have} (Zen/Acts 3:6). A positive copulative with the connective absolute pronoun *nako* of class 15, with an infinitive as complement, is used to express comprehensive possibility, as in *ngubani na onako ukuzibamba angathethi?* {who can hold himself/herself and not speak?} (Yobhi/Job 4:2). In the negative it indicates absolute inability, as in *bancamile; ... banesithukuthezi, abanako ukuzola* {they have given up, ... they feel lonely, they cannot become calm} (Yer 49:23). (Vide pericope 8.15.)

4.23 Basic connectives

Basic connectives consist of the connective morpheme /*na*-/ plus a basic noun, e.g. *nanto* {and/with a thing} (Yobhi/Job 5:24). As basic connective an indefinite noun modifies an absolute negative predicate, as in *bandintlitha àndaba nanto ndiyaziyo* {they smacked me and I did not have a thing that I knew} (MiZek/Prov 23:35); or it connects two basic nouns, as in *musa ukusela wayini nasiselo sinxilisayo* {do not drink wine and drink that is intoxicating} (Lev 10:9); or an absolute negative copulative is formed with it, as in *andinazintlani* {I have no shame [plural], i.e. I am not ashamed} (Rom 1:16).

4.24 Connective identificatives

Connective identificatives consist of the connective morpheme /*na*-/ plus an identificative, e.g. *nanguMoses* {and by Moses}, and is used to identify a connected or included party as agent of a verb with a passive connotation, derived by extending its root with the morpheme /-w-/, as in *bakholwa nguYehova nanguMoses umkhonzi wakhe* {they were satisfied by / believed in the Lord and in Moses his servant} (Eks 14:31).

4.25 Connective locatives (*nase-/naku-/nangase-/nangaku-*)

Connective locatives and connective locatives of vicinity are formed by prefixing the connective morpheme /*na-*/ to a locative or locative of vicinity. The connective locatives and connective locatives of vicinity modify a predicate by means of a noun that indicates the place or time where or when the process as indicated by the predicate takes place, as in *abantu bazimela emiqolombeni, nasezimfanteneni, nasezingxondorheni, nasemiweweni, nasemihadini* {the people hid in caves, and in crevices, and in rocks, and among loose stones of dykes, and in pits} (1 Sam 13:6); *uYonatan wazihluba ingubo yokwaleka abenayo, wayinika uDavide, neengubo zakhe zokulwa, kwesa nakwikrele lakhe, nakwisaphetha sakhe, nakumbhinqo wakhe* {Jonathan stripped himself of the covering garment that he had, and he gave it to David and his apparel to fight, up to his sword and his bow and his belt} (1 Sam 18:4); *asiyi kucanda masimini nasezidiliyeni* {we shall not pass through fields and vineyards} (Num 20:17) and *asuka amanzi aba ludonga ngasekunene nangasekhohlo* {and the water rose and was a wall on the right hand side and on the left hand side } (Eks 14:29).

4.26 Ku-locative connectives of comparison (*kuna-*)

Ku-locative connectives of comparison consist of the locative prefix *ku-* plus a connective noun (or pronoun) and denote comparison, as in *uThixo yena mkhulu kunomntu* {God he is great compared to a human being, i.e. God is greater than a human being} (Yobhi/Job 33:12) and *anamendu kunamaxhalanga amahashe awo* {they have speed compared to vultures their horses, i.e. their horses are faster than vultures} (Yer 4:13).

4.27 Connective instrumentatives (*nange-*)

Connective instrumentatives consist of the connective *na-* plus an instrumentative noun. They connect two instrumentatives or indicate inclusions, e.g. *ngaphakathi nangaphandle* {on the inside and on the outside} (Gen 6:14) and *nangomhla* {and/also on the day}, as in *nangomhla wesixhenxe kobakho intlanganiso* {also on the seventh day there will be a meeting} (Eks 12:16).

4.28 Inclusives (*kwa-*)

The inclusive consists of the inclusive morpheme /*kwa-*/ plus a noun, e.g. *kwaiintlanga* {also/even the nations} (Ndum/Ps 9:17) and *kwaubutyebi* {and also affluence} (1 Kum/Kgs 3:13) and indicates inclusion. Presumably it is of relatively recent origin and is derived from the positive subjunctive perfect with the class 17 subject concord as general subject concord of the verb *ukuba* {to be}, i.e. *kwaba* {and it was}, that is contracted to *kwâ* and then to *kwa*. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that inclusives are not only found formed with nouns and pronouns (substantives), e.g. *kwaimiphefumlo* {also the breaths, i.e. people} (Hez/Ezek 13:20) and the often used *kwaoko* {at once, immediately} (1 Sam 28:20) and *kwangoko* {just then, immediately} (Yoh/Jn 4:27) etc., but also with verbs and copulatives (predicates) of the situative mood with a persisting aspect, e.g. *kwaesaqala* {while/since he/she was still beginning} (1 Kum/Kgs 16:11) and *kwaesengumntwana* {while/since he/she was still a child; ever since childhood} (Marko 9:22). Inclusives are not found in vocatives,

possessives and comparatives. However, inclusive connectives abound and connective locatives and instrumentatives are also found, as in *kwanamadoda* {and also the men} (2 Sam 1:11); *babuyela kwaseYerusalem* {they returned again to Jerusalem} (2 Kron/Chr 19:8); *kwasekuqaleni* {from the beginning} (Is 41:26); *kwanasemanzini* {and also in the water} (Marko 9:22); *kwangaphambili* {beforehand} (Zen/Acts 8:9); *kwangemihla yakudala* {since in the days of old} (Zen/Acts 15:7); *kususela kwaphakade kude kuse ephakadeni* {from eternity to eternity} (1 Kron/Chr 16:36) and *kwanjengoMoses* {including just like Moses} (Heb 3:2).

Copulative predicates cannot be formed with inclusives. However the inclusive morpheme /-kwa-/ is used in the formation of predicates with an inclusive aspect, as described in pericope 8.16, as in *ndikwayindoda enkulu* {I am also a prominent man} (1 Pet 5:1) and *uMilka ukwazele naye* {Milka also gave birth she also} (Gen 22:20).

4.29 Modatives (*bu-* *-rha*)

Modatives are infrequently found adverbs of manner that are formed with nouns by prefixing the morpheme /*bu-*/ to the stem of the noun, e.g. *bucala* {aside} is derived from the class 5 noun *icala* {side} and is usually found in the expression *ukuthi gu bucala* {to deviate to the side} (as in MiZek/Prov 4:27) but occasionally also modifying other verbs such as *ukungenisa* {to cause to come in / to bring in} and *ukuthabathela* {to take from/to/in} as in *wamthabathela bucala* {he took him aside} (2 Sam 3:27). The fact that the modative prefix *bu-* is not prefixed to a basic noun, but replaces the nominal prefix, indicates that it is the basic prefix of class 14.

A modative formed with the stem of a noun, such as *uhlaza* {fresh green grass}, that is also used in its basic form as a fixed prefix qualificative noun, usually called a relative, such as *luhlaza* {green}, not only replaces the prefix but also has the suffix *-rha* appended to render a modative relative, e.g. *buhlazarha* {greenish} (Lev 13:49). Relatives are sometimes used with only the suffix *-rha*, e.g. *nzimarha* {heavyish}, but no examples are found in the RUV. Variant modatives, where the prefix is expanded to *sabu-*, e.g. as in *sabunkawu* {apelike}, are also used, but not found in the RUV.

4:30 Conclusion

In this chapter the forms of nouns have been described. Two features that have received scant attention in the past have emerged.

The first is the clear distinction, as drawn in this chapter, between the full and the basic forms of nouns and how these function. The extensive use of basic nouns justifies their distinct description in contrast with full nouns.

The second feature that has not received adequate attention in the past is the description of the identificative form and its use, as described here in pericope 4.6-7 and in respect of the use of identificatives in copulatives, as described in chapter 9. Confusion is avoided between the use of an identificative used as a noun indicating the agent executing a process, as *ngukumkani* {by a/the king} in *ndithunywe ngukumkani* {I have been sent by a/the king}, and the use of an

identificative in a copulative predicate, as in *ndingukumkani* {I am a/the king} and *uDavide ngukumkani* {David is a/the king}. This confusion is caused when it is not sufficiently realised that positive indicative copulatives usually drop their subject concord, so that a phrase such as *uDavide ungukumkani* {David is a/the king} is usually rendered *uDavide ngukumkani*. In this latter case *ngukumkani* {he is a/the king} is a predicate, being a positive indicative copulative consisting of an implied subject concord plus a noun in the identificative form. It is not a substantive, as is an identificative noun indicating the agent of a verb with a passive connotation, as in the case of *ndithunywe ngukumkani* {I have been sent by a/the king} above.

The fact that *ngukumkani* {he is a/the king} in the case of *uDavide ngukumkani* {David is a/the king} is a copulative predicate that has dropped its subject concord can readily be established by noting that the subject concord is in evidence, for example, when the subject is in the first or second person, as in *ndingukumkani* {I am a/the king}, and when the copulative includes an aspect morpheme, as in *uDavide usengukumkani* {David is still a/the king}. The fact that an identificative indicating the agent executing a process, as *ngukumkani* {by a/the king} in *ndithunywe ngukumkani* {I have been sent by a/the king}, is a substantive and not a predicate, can be seen from the fact that it can be used in a connective form, as in *ndithunywe ngukumkanikazi nangukumkani* {I have been sent by the queen and the king}, as only substantives, and never predicates, are found in a connective formed with the connective prefix *na-*. An example of this use is found in the RUV in Exodus 14:31, which reads *bakholwa nguYehova nanguMoses umkhonzi wakhe* {they were satisfied by / believed in the Lord and in Moses his servant}.

An example of attempting to simplify the description of a grammatical structure, and consequently complicating understanding how less frequently used related structures function, is to be found in Louw and Jubase's "Handboek van Xhosa" (1963: 106-108). They initially only mention the copulatives where the subject concord is implied, without mentioning the fact that copulatives do have subject concords, either explicit or implied. In a much later chapter (pages 190-193) less frequently used copulatives with subject concords are described.

Having in this chapter comprehensively focused on the morphology and syntax of nouns as used in the RUV, attention can now be turned to the pronouns used to refer to nouns or to represent or indicate them.

Chapter 5

The morphology and syntax of pronouns, cumulatives and qualificatives

5.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are words that represent or indicate nouns and other substantives of the corresponding class. In many instances the use of explicit pronouns is obviated in isiXhosa as the subject and object concords used (vide pericopes 6.6-9) give a clear indication of the party referred to, as in *baphuma baya emasimini, bavuna izidiliya zabo, bazixovula, benza iminikelo yendumiso, baya endlwini yothixo wabo, badla, basela, bamqalekisa uAbhimeleki* {they went out and went to the fields, and harvested their grapes, and trod them, and made sacrifices of praise, and went to the house of their god, and et, and drank, and cursed Abimelech} (Gweb/Jdg 9:27) where the class 2 subject concord *ba-* {they}, and its variant *be-*, is sufficient to refer back to *abemi bakwaShekem* {the inhabitants of Shekem} mentioned in the preceding verse. Also an object concord can fulfil a similar function, as the class 1 object concord *-m-* {him/her} does in *bamnika iisilivere ezimashumi asixhenxe* {they gave him silvers that are seventy} (Gweb/Jdg 9:4), where the object concord refers back to *uAbhimeleki* {Abimelech} in the preceding verse.

However, many other instances occur where explicit pronouns are required, as described below. These pronouns can either be definite or indefinite.

5.2 Definite pronouns

The definite pronouns are words that represent definite substantives, i.e. nouns or other pronouns, of the corresponding class.

There are two such definite pronouns in isiXhosa. They are:

- the absolute pronouns, e.g. *yena* {he/she} and *yona* {it}, and
- the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *lo* {this one}, as in *nguye lo* {it is he this one} (1 Sam 16:12).

Furthermore there are three definite pronominal constructions. They are:

- the emphatic pronominal construction, usually called the emphatic pronoun, e.g. *oyena* {the superlative one};
- and the relative pronominal construction,
 - found in what is usually called a relative construction, e.g.:
 - a verbal relative construction, such as *ohambayo* {one that walks},
 - or a copulative relative construction, such as *ongumfazi* {one that is a woman},
 - and in what is traditionally called a relative, e.g. *omanzi* {one that is wet},
 - and also in what is traditionally called an adjective, e.g. *omdala* {one that is old};
 - as well as the possessive pronominal construction, usually called a possessive pronoun, e.g. *owakhe* {his/her one}.

To these the marginal pronouns the cumulatives, e.g. *bonke* {all of them} have to be added.

As described in pericope 5.10 below, the definite pronominal constructions have as second element either a possessive or a predicate in the relative mood and are regularly used in subordinate clauses with a qualifying function, as in *umntu ohambayo* {a person who walks} and *umntu omdala* {a person who is old}. These possessives and predicates in the relative mood are only referred to here in passing and are described in detail where attention is focussed on them (vide pericopes 9.10-11 as well as pericopes 5.23-24). The cumulatives are described in pericope 5.21 below. What is initially described here in detail are absolute pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

5.3 Absolute pronouns

With the exception of the absolute pronouns of the first and second person and of the third person class 1, and the aspiration in class 17, the absolute pronoun consists of an element that links it to the class prefix by way of the basic prefix without any nasal (*m* or *n*) that it may contain – and corresponding to the subject concord (vide pericope 6.7) – plus the pronominal morpheme /-o-/, plus the pronominal suffix *-na*.

The absolute pronouns can be tabulated as follows:

Person

& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18
Singular:	<i>mna</i>	<i>wena</i>	<i>yena</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>lona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>lona</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>kona</i>	<i>khona</i>
Plural:	<i>thina</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>zona</i>	<i>zona</i>				

As described in pericope 5.1 above, known subjects and objects are normally referred to by means of their respective subject and object concords, as in *niyambona* {you [plural] see him} (1 Sam 10:24). However, an absolute pronoun is used to represent a noun or another pronoun of the corresponding person, number and class as subject or object of a predicate:

When for the purposes of emphasis the normally used subject and object concords are not deemed sufficient, as in *thina besingoobani na ukuba nisikrokrele?* {who were we that you [plural] should grumble against us} (Eks 16:7) and *anikrokreli thina, nikrokrela uYehova* {you [plural] do not grumble against us, you grumble against the Lord} (Eks 16:8);

When in the case of verbs that take both a direct and an indirect object and one object has already been referred to by means of an object concord, and the need arises, the other object is referred to with an absolute pronoun, as in *sesi sonka aninika sona uYehova* {it is this bread that the Lord gives to you [plural]} (Eks 16:15);

When a subject or object consisting of two connected parties must be specifically represented, as in *yiza ngoku senze umnqophiso mna nawe* {come now that we make a covenant me and you [singular]} (Gen 31:44).

All absolute pronouns, but especially those of the first and second person, can define a noun, in which case the absolute pronoun precedes the noun and the noun, now being defined by the absolute pronoun, needs no pre-prefix to indicate that it is definite, and is thus in its basic form, as in *thina maKrete* {we Cretans} (Zen/Acts 2:11).

An absolute pronoun emphasises a noun or pronoun to which it is placed in apposition, usually, but not always, by following it, as in *uThixo yena ... akahlali zitempileni zenziwe ngazandla* {God he does not stay in temples built by hands} (Zen/Acts 17:24) and *kona okwehlabathi ukuba buhlungu kusebenza ukufa* {it the being pained of the earth works death} (2 Kor 7:10).

The absolute pronouns of the second person are used as vocatives, as in *nina, izidumbu zenu ziya kuwa kule ntlango* {you [plural], your corpses will fall in this desert} (Num 14:32). As a vocative the singular *wena* {you}, when placed in apposition to a following personal noun, is sometimes contracted to *wa*, as in *wa, Timoti, loo nto uyiphathisiweyo yigcine!* {you [singular], Timothy, that thing that you have been entrusted with preserve it!} (1 Tim 6:20). Occasionally the second person singular absolute pronoun *wena* {you} is found in the vocative as a plural, with the plural suffix *-ni*, as in *wenani, nonke nina ninxaniweyo, yizani emanzini!* {you [a pluralised singular], all of you [plural] that are thirsty, come to the water!} (Is 55:1) and *wenani kaloku, zityebi, lilani nenze isijwili ngeenkxwaleko zenu ezizayo* {now you [a pluralised singular], rich people, cry and make a lament because of your misfortunes that are coming} (Yak/Jas 5:1).

As is the case with the nouns they represent pronouns are also found in various forms as identificatives, *ku*-locatives (but not *e/ini*-locatives), possessives, instrumentatives, connectives, etc. The same morphemes are prefixed to them as is the case with nouns and they are used similarly to the nouns they represent. However the pronominal suffix *-na* is usually dropped when a morpheme is prefixed to an absolute pronoun. Examples abound, as in *izinto ezenziwa ngabo* {the things that are done by them} (Ef 5:12); *ihleli kubo* {it stays with them} (1 Yoh 3:9); *imiphefumlo yabo* {their breaths, i.e. their lives} (1 Pet 4:19); *wabalahlekisa ngayo* {he misled them by it} (SiTyh/Rev 19:20); *baninzi abangakuthi ngaphezu kwabangakubo* {they are many those on our side above those on their side, i.e. there are more on our side than on their side} (2 Kum/Kgs 6:16); *umzi lowo awufuni langa kwanayo inyanga* {that city does not require sun nor moon} (SiTyh/Rev 21:23); *ukuba ke ndithe andimazi, ndoba ndilixoki njengani* {if then I said that I do not know him I would be a liar just like you [plural]} (Yoh/Jn 8:55); *nenze ngokungazi njengabo nabo abaphathi benu* {you [plural] acted with not knowing just as them also your rulers} (Zen/Acts 3:17) and *imihla ekungazanga kubekho ingangayo* {days that there never were ones as big as them} (Is 7:17).

The absolute pronoun of class 17, *khona* {there}, is used frequently, as described below.

Used in its fundamental form, *khona* {there} is a pronoun representing a noun indicating a place, often a locative, as in *bâfumana ithafa ezweni laseShinare, bahlala khona* {they found a plain in the land of Shinar and stayed there} (Gen 11:2) and *akazi apho aya khona* {he does not know where he is going there} (1 Yoh 2:11).

Used in a copulative *khona* {there} usually drops the suffix *-na* and indicates being present or existing, as in *umfundisi ukho* {the teacher is present} (Yoh/Jn 11:28) and *uYosefu akakho* {Joseph is not present/there} (Gen 37:29). It is frequently used in a copulative with the

subjectival concord of class 17 as general concord, as in *kukho ububi phambi kwenu* {there is evil in front/ahead of you} (Eks 10:10) and *akukho nto* {there is not a thing, i.e. there is nothing} (Num 20:19). In the case of a positive copulative with *khona* {there} representing a known place the suffix *-na* is usually retained, as in *uPetros ukhona* {Peter is there} (Zen/Acts 9:38) and *ebuyela eRama ngokuba yayikhona indlu yakhe* {returning to Rama because his house was there} (1 Sam 7:17).

Khona {there} always retains the suffix *-na* in a connective and a possessive, as in *wawalawula nakhona amaSirayeli* {he governed the Israelites there also} (1 Sam 7:17) and *abemi bakhona* {the residents of there} (Gweb/Jdg 5:23). The same holds for the inclusive *kwakhona* {also there; again} that can indicate the same place, as in *endaweni eya kuyo imilambo, ibuya iye kwakhona* {to the place that they go to it the rivers they also again go there} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:7), but more often operates as an adverb indicating repetition, as in *uYuda noSirayeli baya kumanywa kwakhona* {Judah and Israel will be united again} (Hez/Ezek 37:15 heading).

Of note is the sequence of the pronominal relative construction *okukhona* {that which is it} followed by the copulative *kokukhona* {it is that which is it} which denotes increasing intensity, as in *okukhona bandileyo, kokukhona bonileyo* {that which is it that they increased it is that which is it that they did wrong, i.e. the more they increased the more they did wrong} (Hos 4:7) and *okukhona ndinithandayo kakhulu, kokukhona ndithandwa kancinane* {the more that I love you greatly, it is the more that I am loved a little, i.e. less} (2 Kor 12:15). Sometimes the copulative used is a compound subjunctive, as *kwaba kukhona* {it was it} in *wabayala ukuba mabangaxeleli bani, kodwa okukhona wabayalayo kwaba kukhona bakuvakalisa ngakumbi* {he instructed them that they must not tell somebody, but the more he instructed them it was the more that they proclaimed it all the more} (Marko 7:36).

Khona {in its shade of meaning representing something general and unspecified} is also used as a conjunction, introducing a sentence adding on to what has been stated in the previous sentence, conveying the equivalent of the English “and what is more,” as in: *Ukuba ùthi wone, usebenza ntoni na ngakuye? Khona zakuba zininzi izikreko zakho, umenzé ntoni na?* {If you were to do wrong, what do you work in respect of him? And what is more, when your [singular] transgressions have become many, what have you [singular] done to him?} (Yobhi/Job 35:6)

A grey area exists where it is not always immediately apparent whether the class 15 absolute pronoun *kona* {it}, representing an infinitive, should be used, or the class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {it; there}, representing a locality or something in general. However, a perceived infinitive is normally referred to with the class 15 absolute pronoun *kona* {it} and a general statement with the class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {it; there}, as can be seen in phrases such as *konke endikubonisa kona* {all that I show you [singular] it} (Eks 25:9) and *endinako ndikunika khona* {what I have I give you [singular] it} (Zen/Acts 3:6).

5.4 Identificative absolute pronouns

The identificative of the absolute pronouns consists of the identificative prefix (vide pericope 4.6) plus an absolute pronoun, dropping the pronominal suffix *-na*.

The identificative absolute pronouns can be tabulated as follows:

Person												
& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18	
Singular:	<i>ndim</i>	<i>nguwe</i>	<i>nguye</i>	<i>nguwo</i>	<i>lilo</i>	<i>siso</i>	<i>yiyo</i>	<i>lulo</i>	<i>bubo</i>	<i>kuko</i>	<i>kukho</i>	
Plural:	<i>sithi</i>	<i>nini</i>	<i>ngabo</i>	<i>yiyo</i>	<i>ngawo</i>	<i>zizo</i>	<i>zizo</i>					

The identificative pronouns are used similarly to identificative nouns, e.g. to identify the agent of a predicate formed with a passive verb (i.e. a verb of which the root has been extended with the passive extension morpheme */-w-/*) as in *ndibabalwe nguwe* {I have been afforded grace by you [singular]} (Gen 18:3), and in copulatives, such as *ndinguye* {I am he} (Gen 27:24) and *ndikwanguye* {I am also he} (Is 41:4). Copulatives formed with identificative absolute pronouns are also used for emphasis, as can be seen by comparing *úngukumkani* {he is king} (1 Kum/Kgs 1:11) to *ùnguye uKumkani* {you [singular] are he the King} (Yoh/Jn 1:49).

In the case of praise poems (*izibongo*) identificative absolute pronouns are sometimes used retaining the suffix *-na*, as in *unguwena wena woyikekayo* {you [singular] are the one that inspires fear} (Ndum/Ps 76:7) and *nguwena mlawuli wekratshi lolwandle* {you [singular] are the controller of the arrogance of the sea} (Ndum/Ps 89:9). As can be seen a relative construction becomes a relative mood predicate in these cases, i.e. the prosaic *nguwe owoyikekayo* {you [singular] are the one that inspires fear} becomes the poetic *nguwena woyikekayo*, and the noun indicated by the poetic copulative *nguwena* is used in its basic form and *nguwe umlawuli* {you [singular] are the controller} becomes *nguwena mlawuli*.

5.5 Ku-locative absolute pronouns

Locative absolute pronouns, like all other locative pronouns except the qualificative interrogative pronouns, are only found as *ku*-locatives, and not as *e/ini*-locatives, as in *ibuyela kuye* {it returns to him} (MiZek/Prov 12:14); *yabiwa ikuye* {it was stolen while it was with him} (Eks 22:12); *uthando alusebenzi bubi kuye ummelwane* {love does not work evil to him/her the neighbour} (Rom 13:10); *ndineendawana ngakuwe* {I have small matters with you [singular]} (SiTyh/Rev 2:20) and *singakuwe, nyana kaYese* {we are on your side, son of Jesse} (1 Kron/Chr 12:18).

5.6 Possessive absolute pronouns

Possessive absolute pronouns consist of the possessive concord (vide pericope 4.14) plus the absolute pronoun without the suffix *-na*, e.g. *yam* {my} as in *inkosi yam* {my master/chief} (Gen 24:35). In the case of the second person singular and the third person class 1 the variant absolute pronouns *-kho* and *-khe* are used, as in *imbewu yakho* {your [singular] seed} (Gen 24:60) and *amehlo akhe* {his eyes} (Gen 24:63). In the case of the first and second person plural the variants *-(i)thu* and *-(i)nu* are used, which are preceded by a latent *i* which coalesces

with the possessive *a* to render *e*, as in *udade wethu* {our sister} (Gen 24:60) and *phambi kwenu* {in front of you [plural]} (Gen 34:10). Thus the absolute pronouns used in conjunction with the possessive concords can be tabulated as follows:

Person												
& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18	
Singular:	-m	-kho	-khe	-wo	-lo	-so	-yo	-lo	-bo	-ko	-kho	
Plural:	-(i)thu	-(i)nu	-bo	-yo	-wo	-zo	-zo					

Of note is the noun *umka-* {wife of ...} which is not found on its own but is always compounded with either an absolute pronoun as used in a possessive or is compounded with a basic noun, often a proper noun, as in *indoda yomshiya uyise nonina inamathele kumkayo* {a man will leave his father and mother and cling to his wife} (Gen 2:24); *uSarayi umkakho* {Sarai your wife} (Gen 17:15) and *uSarayi umka-Abram* {Sarai the wife of Abram} (Gen 16:1).

5.7 Instrumentative absolute pronouns

Instrumentative absolute pronouns, consisting of the instrumentative morpheme /*nga-*/ plus an absolute pronoun without the pronominal suffix *-na*, e.g. *ngayo* {with it}, are found in phrases such as *indlela yam endihamba ngayo* {my road by which I travel} (Gen 24:42); *yafika yonke loo miqondiso kwangayo loo mini* {all those signs came also on that day, i.e. on that same day} (1 Sam 10:9); *bayangena esangweni; bayaphuma kwangalo* {they enter at the gate; they also go out by means of it} (Mika 2:13); *imihla ekungazanga kubekho ingangayo* {days that there never were ones as big as them} (Is 7:17) and *ofayo njengathi* {one that dies like us} (Is 14:10).

5.8 Connective absolute pronouns

Connective absolute pronouns consist of the connective morpheme /*na-*/ plus an absolute pronoun without the pronominal suffix *-na*, e.g. *nawe* {and/with you [singular]} (Gen 16:5). Its use is similar to that of connective nouns to indicate association, as *mna nawe* {me and you [singular]} in *yiza ngoku senze umnqophiso, mna nawe, ube lingqina phakathi kwam nawe* {come now that we make a covenant, me and you [singular], that it is a witness between me and you [singular]} (Gen 31:44). It is used in phrases such as *bahamba naye* {and they went with him} (Gen 48:1); *musa ukoyika, kuba ndinawe* {do not fear, because I am with you} (Gen 26:24); *wababulala bonke abantwana abaseBhetelehem nakuyo yonke imida yayo* {he killed all the children that are in Bethlehem and in all its boundaries} (Mat 2:16) and *bekungekho namnye umkhulu kunaye* {there was not one that is big in comparison to him, i.e. no one was greater than him} (Hebh 6:13). Connective absolute pronouns used in copulatives can indicate being together in the same locality, as does *ndinayo* {I being with her} in *thina nale nkazana sihlala ndlwini-nye, ndazala ndinayo kuloo ndlu* {we and this women live in one house and I gave birth being with her in that house} (1 Kum/Kgs 3:17). More often, however, they indicate possession, as in *ndinazo nezinye izimvu* {I have other sheep also} (Yoh/Jn 10:16) and *isilivere negolide andinayo* {silver and gold I do not have} (Zen/Acts 3:6). As is the case with other absolute pronouns connective absolute pronouns are also used

in apposition to a noun for the sake of emphasis, as in *wakholwa ke kwanaye uSimon* {and also Simon believed} (Zen/Acts 8:13).

The connective absolute pronoun of class 15, *nako* {and/with it}, has similar functions to those described in the previous paragraph, as in *ndinako konke ukuthobeka kwentliziyo* {I have all humility of heart} (Zen/Acts 20:19). However, it has a high frequency of use in a copulative predicate to express ability or potential, as in *ninako ukuprofeta* {you [plural] can prophesy} (1 Kor 14:31); *uThixo unako ukuvusa nakwabafileyo* {God can raise also from the dead} (Hebh 11:19) and *banesithukuthezi; abanako ukuzola* {they have loneliness; they cannot be calm} (Yer 49:23).

The connective absolute pronoun of class 17 *nakhona* {and it} has the variant *nangona* {although} which is used as a conjunction similar in connotation to the English “although,” as in *wathi igama laloo ndawo yiBheteli, nangona beliyiLuzi igama laloo mzi ekuqaleni* {he said the name of that place is Bethel, although it was Luz the name of that town in the beginning} (Gen 28:19).

5.9 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns indicate three distances. These are close demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *lo* {this}, that indicate closeness to the speaker; the mediate demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *lowo* {that} and its contraction *loo* {that}, that indicate some separation from the speaker, but not necessarily from the one spoken to; and the remote demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *lowa* {that; that yonder} and its contraction *laa* {that, that yonder}, that indicate relative remoteness from the speaker and usually also from the one spoken to. These demonstratives are also referred to as being of the first, second or third distance. [The fact that isiXhosa demonstratives distinguish three distances poses a problem in attempting to render a semi-literal English translation. The word “yonder” can be used to indicate the third distance, but this word does not have a high frequency in normal English. Consequently both demonstratives of the second and third distance are usually translated in the same manner as “that” or “those” in contrast to those of the first distance that can be translated with “this” or “these.”]

Close demonstrative pronouns consist of the demonstrative morpheme /la-/, plus the original basic nominal class prefix stripped of any nasal (*m* or *n*) it may contain (corresponding to the subject concord). These elements coalesce according to the rule $a + a > a$; $a + i > e$; $a + u > o$; *a* before *a* remains as *a*; *a* before *i* > *e*; and *a* before *u* > *o*. Furthermore the initial consonant *l* is dropped in bisyllabic close demonstrative pronouns.

The close demonstrative pronouns can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16	17
Singular:	<i>lo</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>olu</i>	<i>obu</i>	<i>oku</i>	<i>(l)apha</i>	<i>oku</i>
Plural:	<i>aba</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ezi</i>	<i>ezi</i>					

Close demonstratives are used independently to represent an indicated close object, as *lo* {this, this one} in *lo asinguye na uDavide?* {this one is it not he David?} (1 Sam 29:5) and

nizelwe ndim lo {you [plural] have been born by me this one} (1 Kor 4:15). However, the demonstratives are mainly found indicating a basic noun which follows the demonstrative, e.g. *lo mzi* {this homestead} (2 Sam 12:28), *aba bantu* {these people} (1 Kum/Kgs 5:7), *eli bhotwe* {this palace} (1 Kron/Chr 29:19) and *olu lubabalo* {this grace} (2 Kor 8:7). These examples illustrate the fact that because the demonstrative has already implied that the object referred to by the noun is known it would be tautological to further indicate that it is known by prefixing a nominal pre-prefix. However the demonstrative may be used emphatically, in which case it follows the noun and is in apposition to it, and the noun retains its pre-prefix, as in *umzi lo unikelwe esandleni samaKaledi* {the homestead this one has been given into the hand of the Chaldeans} (Yer 32:25). On occasion the demonstrative is also found together with an absolute pronoun, indicating emphasis, as in *akaphili ngasonka sodwa umntu; umntu lo yena uphila ngento yonke ephuma emlonyeni kaYehova* {a human being does not live by bread alone; a human being this one he/she lives by everything that comes out of the mouth of the Lord} (Dut 8:3) and *umbono awubonayo yena lo, ngowemihla emininzi* {the vision that he sees, he this one, is one of days that are many} (Hez/Ezek 12:27).

Nouns in class 10 with polysyllabic stems also drop the syllable *zi-* in their prefix when indicated with a demonstrative, e.g. compare *ezi zinto* {these things} (2 Kor 13:10) to *ezi ntsikelelo* {these blessings} (Dut 28:2). Sometimes nouns with monosyllabic stems follow suit, e.g. *ezi nto* {these things} (MiZek/Prov 3:21). In these cases the demonstrative indicates that the noun is of the plural class 10.

Mediate demonstrative pronouns consist of the close demonstrative pronouns plus the mediate demonstrative suffix *-o* that replaces the final vowel of the bisyllabic demonstratives, e.g. *eli* {this, this one} > *elo* {that, that one}; and in the case of monosyllabic demonstratives with *o* or *a* as final vowel, becomes the suffix *-wo*, e.g. *lo* {this, this one} > *lowo* {that, that one}; and if the final vowel is *e*, becomes the suffix *-yo*, e.g. *le* {this, this one} > *leyo* {that, that one}. In these latter cases when a mediate demonstrative indicates a noun, use is usually made of a contraction where the final vowel of the demonstrative and the medial demonstrative suffix *-o* coalesce to *-oo*, rendering the medial demonstrative *loo* {that, that one} pronounced with a falling double tone.

The mediate demonstrative pronouns can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16	17
Singular:	<i>lowo/loo</i>	<i>lowo/loo</i>	<i>elo</i>	<i>eso</i>	<i>leyo/loo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>obo</i>	<i>oko</i>	<i>(l)apho</i>	<i>oko</i>
Plural:	<i>abo</i>	<i>leyo/loo</i>	<i>lawo/loo</i>	<i>ezo</i>	<i>ezo</i>					

Medial demonstrative pronouns are frequently used, as in *ndiya kumvelela loo mntu* {I shall visit that person} (Yer 23:34); *wangenise loo madoda endlwini* {let in those men into the house} (Gen 43:16); *wozitshisa ezo zinto ngomlilo* {you [singular] will burn those things with fire} (Eks 29:14); *waziva ukumkani uDavide zonke ezo nto* {king David heard all those things} (2 Sam 13:21); *wozitshalalisa ezo ntlanga* {you [singular] will annihilate those nations} (Dut 31:3); *umntu lo ufana nomphunga* {a human being this one is similar to a vapour} (Ndum/Ps 144:4); *baye bobabini behamba ze, umntu lowo nomkakhe* {they both

went naked, that human being and his wife} (Gen 2:25) and *nguwu lowo umqondiso womnqophiso* {that is the sign of the covenant} (Gen 9:17).

Remote demonstrative pronouns consist of the close demonstrative pronouns plus the remote demonstrative suffix *-ya*, except when the demonstrative pronoun of the close distance is *lo* or *la*, in which case the remote demonstrative suffix is the variant *-wa*. With the exception of class 16 all these demonstratives have a short variant where the vowels coalesce to *â* (with a falling double tone), written *aa* to avoid confusion with close demonstratives. For example compare *la madoda* {these men} (Gen 34:21) to *laa madoda* {those men} (Gen 44:4).

The remote demonstrative pronouns can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>lowa/laa</i>	<i>lowa/laa</i>	<i>eliya/elaa</i>	<i>esiya/esaa</i>	<i>leya/laa</i>	<i>oluya/olwaa</i>
Plural:	<i>abaya/abaa</i>	<i>leya/laa</i>	<i>lawa/laa</i>	<i>eziya/ezaa</i>	<i>eziya/ezaa</i>	
	14	15	16	17		
Neutral:	<i>obuya/obaa</i>	<i>okuya/okwaa</i>	<i>phaya</i>	<i>okuya/okwaa</i>		

When the remote demonstrative pronouns are used independently they are in the longer variant with the semi-vowel, as in *lowa wayikhululela kuAzazele inkunzi yebhokhwe* {that one loosened the he-goat to Azazel} (Lev 16:26); *ikoyi yentsimbi asiyiyo na leya iseRabha?* {the iron bedstead is it not that one that is in Rabbah?} (Dut 3:11); *babesithi ke abaya bawumise umnquba* {they then did those ones and erected the tent, i.e. those would then pitch the tent} (Num 10:21); and *le ithi: “Ngunyana wam lo uhleliyo,” leya ithi: “Hayi, unyana wakho ngulowa ufileyo.”* {this one says: “It is my son this one that lives,” that one says: “No, your son is that one that is dead.”} (1 Kum/Kgs 3:23). They are also in the full form when used in apposition to a substantive, as in *umkhululi lowa* {the redeemer that one} (Rute 4:1) and *enye ikerubhi ivele esiphelweni esiya* {another cherub appeared from that end} (Eks 37:8). When indicating a substantive the remote demonstrative is usually found in its short form. It precedes the substantive, which is in its basic form, as in *elaa litye* {that stone} (2 Kum/Kgs 23:17); *laa mntu ubeze kum laa mhla* {that person that came to me that day} (Gweb/Jdg 13:10) and *ezaa ntsimbi* {those ornaments made of small beads / head ornaments} (Gweb/Jdg 8:26).

Demonstrative pronouns are qualified with a possessive or a predicate in the relative mood, as in *oku kwenu* {this of yours [plural]} (Mal 1:7) and *imfihlelo yeendaba ezi zilungileyo* {the mystery of these news-items that are good} (Ef 6:19). However on occasion a demonstrative is found qualified with a relative construction, as in *oko enithe nakucela* {that which you [plural] did and asked, i.e. that which you happened to ask} (Yoh/Jn 15:16).

Demonstrative pronouns are found in identificatives, *ku*-locatives, instrumentatives, connectives, etc., as in *masanele zezo zinto* {let us be satisfied by those things} (1 Tim 6:8); *mna ndingulowo uphengulula izintso neentliziyo* {I am the one / I am he who examines kidneys and hearts} (SiTyh/Rev 2:23); *kuloo ndawo* {at that place} (Gen 13:3); *wahlala emizini yaloo mmandla* {he lived in the towns of that territory} (Gen 13:12); *ngalaa nto*

{with/about that thing} (2 Sam 19:20); *le mimiselo nala masiko* {these regulations and these traditions} (Dut 26:16); *musa ukuba sona, ukuze ungahlelwa yinto embi kunaleyo* {do not be sinning, so that you [singular] are not downed upon by a thing that is bad in comparison to that one, i.e. do not continue sinning so that you are not struck by something worse} (Yoh/Jn 5:14); *akuzanga kubekho mini injengaleyo* {there never was a day that is like that one} (Yosh 10:14) and *nanamhla sisahleli kwaeso sigqubuthelo* {also/even today it still remains also that veil, i.e. even today that selfsame veil remains} (2 Kor 3:14).

The final vowel of a morpheme prefixed to a demonstrative commencing in a vowel is dropped, e.g. *na + aba > naba* {and/also/with these} (Eks 18:18); *nga + elo > ngelo* {with that, with that one} (Eks 21:31) and *ya + oko > yoko* {of that one}, as in the frequently used *ngenxa yoko* {because of that} (Gen 19:8). However, the locative prefix *ku-* drops its vowel when prefixed to a demonstrative commencing in *o*, e.g. *ku + obu > kobu* {in this} (Ezra 9:2); and it becomes *kw-* when prefixed to a demonstrative commencing in *a* or *e*, e.g. *ku + eli > kweli* {in this} (Ndum/Ps 27:8) and *ku + abo > kwabo* {to/at those} (Ndum/Ps 42:10).

Comparative demonstratives are found, e.g. *ngangokuya* {like at that time} as in *yisebenzeni imisebenzi yenu, into yemini ngangemini yayo, ngangokuya naninomququ* {work your task, the thing of a day by a day, like at that time that you [plural] had chaff} (Eks 5:13).

There is also a special comparative demonstrative, indicating size: close *ngaka* {this size} with its variant *ngakanana* {this size}, mediate *ngako* {that size} and remote *ngakaya* {that size}. It is found in copulatives, such as in *usindiso olungaka* {a salvation that is this size} (Gweb/Jdg 15:18); *sesani na esi sandi sokuduma kungaka eminqubeni yamaHebhere?* {of what is this sound of triumphal shouting that is so big in the tents of the Hebrews?} (1 Sam 4:6); *uyibonile na yonke le ngxokolo ingakanana?* {have you [singular] seen all this rough crowd that is so great} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:13); *zenyuka iinkumbi ... zininzi kunene, ekungazanga phambi kwazo kubekho zinkumbi zingako* {the locust came up being truly many that never before them there were so many locusts} (Eks 10:14) and *wazinika ukumkani zingangoko zingako* {he gave them to the king being as many as they were many, i.e. as many as they were} (1 Sam 18:27). Adverbs of manner, formed by prefixing the adverbial prefix *ka-* to these demonstratives, are regularly used, as in *ndingathini na ke ukwenza obu bubi bukhulu kangaka* {how can I do it to do this evil that is so great?} (Gen 39:9); *ibiyini na ukuba nisondele kangaka kuloo mzi?* {why was it that you approached so near to that city?} (2 Sam 11:19) and *utheni na ukoma msinya kangakanana umkhiwane?* {what did the fig tree do to dry so fast?} (Mat 21:20).

Simulative demonstratives are found, e.g. *njengale* {like this, like this one} as in *bubulumko buni na obu abunikiweyo, le nto nemisebenzi yamandla enjengale yenzekayo ngezandla zakhe?* {what wisdom is this, this that he has been given, this thing that also works of strength happen by his hands?} (Marko 6:2) and *njengaye* {like him} as in *ndiyabulela kuwe, ukuba ... ndingenjengaye nalo mbuthi werhafu* {I give thanks to you [singular] that I am not like him also this collector of tax} (Luka 18:11).

There also is a special simulative demonstrative, indicating similarity: close *nje* {like this}, mediate *njalo* {like that} and remote *njeya* {like that yonder}. It is found as an adverb of manner, as in *uthini na wena ngaye, ewavulile nje amehlo akho?* {what do you [singular] say about him, he having opened like this your eyes?} (Yoh/Jn 9:17) and *njengoko ninjalo nina, woba njalo umphambukeli phambi koYehova* {just as you [plural] are, so will a foreigner be before the Lord} (Num 15:15). The mediate *njalo* {like that} is also found with the adverbial prefix *ka-* as *kanjalo* {what is like that / what is more / moreover} and functions as a conjunction, as in *musani ukukunika izinja okungcwele, kanjalo ningaziphosi iiperile zenu phambi kweehagu* {do not give to the dogs that which is holy, moreover do not cast your pearls before pigs} (Mat 7:6). The mediate *kanjalo* has a variant *kanjako* {moreover}, as in *andifumanaga ndabaleka, kanjako andifumanaga ndabulaleka* {I have not run in vain, moreover I have not toiled in vain} (Filipi 2:16). It is also found in the adverbial connective *kananjalo* {and moreover / and what is more} which functions as a conjunction, as in *ndiya kumsikelela, kananjalo ndikunike unyana ngaye* {I shall bless her, and what is more give you a son by her} (Gen 17:16).

When *nje* {like this} modifies an adverb of time it indicates that the time is present. In this case it is written conjunctively, as in *namhlanje* {today} (Gen 24:42) and *kalokunje* {immediately} (Yosh 9:25).

However, *nje* {like this} and *njalo* {like that} primarily denote similarity in manner of action and are written disjunctively, as in *yini na ukuba ube nje ukubhitya* {what is it that you [singular] are like this to be lean?} (2 Sam 13:4) and *kwaba njalo* {it was like that} (Gen 1:7).

When *nje* {like this} or *njalo* {like that} modifies the verb *ukwenza* {to do/make} assimilation takes place so that *ukwenza nje* and *ukwenza njalo* palatalise to the conjunctively written *ukwenjenje* {to do like this} and *ukwenjenjalo* {to do like that}, as in *yini na ukuba wenjenje?* {what is it that you [singular] do this / why do you do this?} (1 Kum/Kgs 1:6) and *ukuba anenjenjalo ndixeleleni* {if you [plural] do not do like that tell me} (Gen 24:49). However, a negative perfect copulative is written disjunctively, e.g. *[amaSirayeli] akenjanga njalo* {[the Israelites] did not do that} (Gweb/Jdg 2:17). When *ukwenza* {to do/make} is given a passive connotation by having its root extended with *-iw-* to render *ukwenziwa* {to be done/made} it retains the palatalisation when modified by *nje* {like this} or *njalo* {like that}, which are written disjunctively, as in *kwenjiwa nje kwindoda athanda ukuyibeka embekweni ukumkani* {it is done like this to man that the king wants to honour in a position of honour} (Est 6:9) and *njengoko wenze ngako kuya kwenjiwa njalo kuwe* {just as you [singular] have done so will it be done to you} (Obhad 1:15).

Care must be taken to distinguish between the disjunctively written simulative demonstrative *nje* {like this} followed by an instrumentative, e.g. *nje ngam* {in this way/thus concerning me}, and the conjunctively written simulative, e.g. *njengam* {like me}, as in *yini na ukuba nithi ndinguNahomi, uYehova engqinile nje ngam, uSomandla endenzele ububi nje?* {why do you [plural] say that I am Naomi, the Lord having witnessed thus concerning me, the Almighty having done me evil?} (Rute 1:21) and *umkhonzi wakho uyintoni na, ukuba*

uyibhekeinja efileyo, enjengam nje? {what is your servant that you should honour a dog that is dead that is like me?} (2 Sam 9:8).

The simulative demonstrative *nje* has a variety of shades of meaning. It can indicate an insufficiently motivated, aimless, and indiscriminate or even futile action, as for example in *akukho nkazana ezintombini zabazalwana bakho ... ukuba nje ude uye kuzeka umfazi kumaFilisti?* {is there not a female amongst the daughters of your relatives that you should go to the length to go and marry a wife from the Philistines?} (Gweb/Jdg 14:3). It can also indicate that something is apparent, as in *sinawo nje ngoko la madinga, zintanda, masizihlambulule* {we now then having these promises, beloved, let us purify ourselves} (2 Kor 7:1). It is used in this sense in the RUV to translate a Hebrew formula of taking an oath, as in *ehleli nje uYehova, uhleli nje umphefumlo wakho, andiyi kwahlukana nawe* {as the Lord lives, as your [singular] breath lives, I shall not part with you} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:30).

The demonstrative pronouns of class 16 are pronominal locatives: close *apha* {here}, medial *apho* {there} and remote *phaya* {there, yonder}, as in *hlalani nina apha ne-esile, mna nomfana lo soya phaya* {you [plural] stay here with the ass, I and this young man will go there} (Gen 22:5) and *akazi apho aya khona* {he/she does not know where he/she is going there} (1 Yoh 2:11). When a morpheme is prefixed to the demonstratives *apha* {here} and *apho* {there} they are found as *lapha* and *lapho*, as in *ndilapha* {I am here} (Gen 22:1); *bonazisa izinto zonke zalapha* {they will let you [plural] know all the things of here} (Kol 4:9) and *nalapho akuyi kuba nakuphumla* {there also you [singular] will not have rest} (Is 23:12). The remote *phaya* {there, yonder} is not affected by a prefixed morpheme, as in *apha naphaya* {here and there} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:40). Sometimes overheard, but not found in the RUV, is a contraction of *phaya* to *pha* as in *pha kuwe* {there with you [singular]}. As locatives of vicinity the demonstrative pronouns of class 16 are found as *ngapha* {on this side}, *ngapho* {on that side} and *ngaphaya* {on that/yonder side}, as in *ooAron noHure bazixhasa izandla zakhe, omnye engapha, nomnye engaphaya* {Aaron and Hur supported his hands, one being on this side and the other on that side} (Eks 17:12); *ebeza kudlula ngapho* {he was going to pass by in that vicinity} (Luka 19:4) and *ema ngapha nangapha kwetyeya* {they stood on this side and this side of the box, i.e. on both sides of the box} (Yosh 8:33).

The demonstrative pronouns of class 17, *oku* {this; at this time}, *oko* {that; then} and *okuya* {that, that yonder; at that time} and its variant *okwaa* {that, that yonder}, are used as general or universal demonstratives and as adverbs of time. Like all demonstrative pronouns they are qualified with predicates in the relative mood. As general demonstratives they are found for example as in *uba oku kusesikweni na?* {do you [singular] think that this is in custom, i.e. is according to custom?} (Yobhi/Job 35:1) and *uDavide wakwamkela esandleni sakhe oko akuzisileyo kuye* {David received in his hand that that she brought to him} (1 Sam 25:35). Examples of their use as adverbs of time are as in *oko bendingumntwana, bendithetha ngokomntwana* {when I was a child I spoke according to that of a child, i.e. as a child} (1 Kor 13:11) and *okuya uYoshuwa wabandululayo abantu, baya ... elowo elifeni lakhe* {at that time that Joshua sent away the people they went each to his/her heritage} (Gweb/Jdg 2:6).

When the demonstrative pronoun of class 17, *oku*, has the adverbial morpheme /ka-/ prefixed, it is found in its older form *loku*, rendering the adverb *kaloku* with its many shades of meaning, such as affirmation, appeal, reproach or frequently as a connective stop word, often accompanied by the other stop word *ke*, as in *ke kaloku, ngaphezu kweento zonke, bazalwana bam, musani ukufanga* {now then, above all things, my brothers, do not make an oath} (Yak/Jas 5:12). It can retain a temporal connotation, often enhanced with the suffixing of *-nje*, as in the phrase *kweli xesha lakalokunje* {at this time of now, i.e. at present} (Rom 11:5).

Ngoko, the identificative of *oko*, the medial demonstrative pronoun of class 17, is used with the subject concord *ku-* of class 17 as general or universal concord in a copulative of the indicative mood, *kungoko* {it is because of that, that is the reason that, that is why}, indicating that the previous statement is the reason for the statement introduced by *kungoko*, as in: *UThixo undibonisile ukuba ndingabizi mntu ngokuthi uyinqambi, ungongcolileyo. Kungoko ke ndizileyo ndingaphikanga ndakubizwa*. {God has shown me that I must not call a person by saying he/she is ritually impure, he/she is a dirty one. That is why I came and did not argue when I was called} (Zen/Acts 10:28-29). On rare occasions the identificative *ngoko* is used in the archaic form *loko* in these circumstances, as found as *kuloko* {that is why} in: *Naye ninjalo ke inxenywe yenu. Kuloko nahlanjululwayo*. {You [plural] were like that a part of you. That is why you were purified.} (1 Kor 6:11).

Noko {and that, yet}, the connective of the medial demonstrative pronoun of class 17, can be used to indicate that a process proceeds despite what is expected, as in *wabona ityholo lisitsha ngumlilo, noko lingade litshe liphele* {he saw the bush burning, yet not eventually burning and being finished} (Eks 3:2).

The instrumentatives of the demonstrative pronouns of class 17, close *ngoku* {with this; now}, medial *ngoko* {with that; then} and remote *ngokuya* {with that; at that time}, are used as general or universal demonstratives and also as adverbs of time, for example, respectively the simulative instrumentative demonstrative *njengoko* {like that} and the connective instrumentative demonstrative adverb of time *nangoku* {also now}, as in *njengoko ndakuyalayo ... ndenjenjalo ukukuyala nangoku* {like that that / as I instructed you I do like that to instruct you now also} (1 Tim 1:3). Especially the instrumentative demonstrative *ngoku* {with/at this, i.e. now} is used with a high frequency as an adverb of time, as in *ndayiwela le Yordan ndinentonga yam yodwa, kodwa ngoku ndimfuduka mbini* {I crossed this Jordan having only my stick, but now I am two treks} (Gen 32:10). When the connective instrumentative demonstrative *nangoku*, used as an adverb of time, is enhanced with the prefix *u-*, rendering *unangoku*, it denotes the time up to the present, as in *andimbonanga unangoku* {I have not seen him up to now} (Gen 44:28). The inclusive connectives *kwangoku* and *kwangoko* denote an immediate process, as in *ndiqala kwangoku ukunixelesa kungekehli* {I begin immediately to tell you [plural] it not yet having happened} (Yoh/Jn 13:19) and *kuthe kwangoko, esathetha, yalila inkuku* {it happened immediately, while he was still talking, that the fowl crowed} (Luka 22:60). *Kwangoko* is also found in the variant form *kwaoko* {immediately}, as in *usuke kwaoko waphila umntu* {he did immediately and became healthy the person} (Yoh/Jn 5:9). The phrase *ngoko nangoko* is also used, indicating

immediate action without delay, as in *ndakuyibona incwadi endiyifunayo ndiyithenge ngoko nangoko* {when I saw the book that I want I bought it immediately}. However no example of this use is found in the RUV.

5.10 Pronominal constructions

Various pronouns are found that are constructed by combining more than one element. The following general remarks in respect of pronominal constructions, as described lower down, are relevant.

The first element of a pronominal construction is the demonstrative morpheme */-la-/*, the use of which in demonstrative pronouns has been described above. In pronominal constructions this demonstrative element drops its initial *l* and in analysing pronominal constructions we represent it with the upper case *A*, because it is subject to phonetic accommodation, depending on the environment in which it is found. As can be seen in the examples in pericope 5.11 below, $A+a > a$; $A+i > e$; $A+u > o$; *A* before *a* remains *a*; *A* before *i* $> e$ and *A* before *u* $> o$.

The second element of a pronominal construction is a possessive substantive, an absolute pronoun, or a predicate in the relative mood, as described in pericopes 4.14; 5.3, 6.36-47 and 9.10-11.

The initial element of a pronominal construction being a demonstrative pronoun, which is a definite substantive, these constructions are also definite pronouns.

Like all substantives with the relevant morphemes prefixed also pronominal constructions are found as identificatives, *ku*-locatives, possessives, instrumentatives, etc., as can be seen in the examples given below. In this regard it is of note that the final vowel of a morpheme prefixed to a pronominal construction is dropped, except in the case of the locative *ku*-, which becomes *kw*- before pronominal constructions commencing in the vowels *a* and *e*, e.g. *ku + ezabo > kwezabo* {at/in/on/to their ... }, as in *kwezabo iindlela* {to/on their roads/ways} (Is 56:11).

5.11 Emphatic pronominal constructions or emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronominal constructions, called emphatic pronouns for convenience, consist of the demonstrative *A* plus an absolute pronoun. They can be tabulated as follows:

Class	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	16/17/18
Singular:	<i>oyena</i>	<i>owona</i>	<i>elona</i>	<i>esona</i>	<i>eyona</i>	<i>olona</i>	<i>obona</i>	<i>okona</i>	<i>okhona</i>
Plural:	<i>abona</i>	<i>eyona</i>	<i>awona</i>	<i>ezona</i>	<i>ezona</i>				

An emphatic pronoun represents a substantive of the corresponding class which in the judgement of the speaker is of a superlative quality, as in *nizishiyile ezona ndawo zinzima zomthetho* {you have left behind the most difficult matters of the law} (Mat 23:23); *waya kwezona zisezantsi iindawo zomhlaba* {he went to the lowest places of the earth} (Ef 4:9) and *ukuba singabathembele kuKristu kobu bomi bodwa, soba sizezona ntsizana kubantu bonke* {if we were to be those that place our trust in Christ in only this life we shall be the most pitiable ones of all people} (1 Kor 15:19). As can be seen from the examples *ezona ndawo zinzima*

{the most difficult matters} and *soba sizezona ntsizana* {we shall be the most pitiable ones} an emphatic pronoun precedes the substantive it indicates and the substantive is used in its basic form, because a pre-prefix would be tautological, as the substantive is already indicated as definite by the definite demonstrative element of the emphatic pronoun. For the same reason an emphatic pronoun is qualified with a predicate in the relative mood, and not a relative construction, e.g. *zisezantsi* {that are at the bottom} as in *kwezona zisezantsi iindawo* {at the emphasised ones that are at the bottom places, i.e. at the lowest places}.

As *kwezona* {at the superlative ones} above illustrates emphatic pronouns are found in *ku*-locatives. They are also found in other forms, such as identificatives, instrumentatives, connectives, etc., as in *aba bangabona bancinane* {these are the smallest} (Mat 10:42); *amaLubhi abengeyeyona impi ininzi* {the Lubians that were not the most numerous fighting unit [this is an ironic negative implying that they were a mighty army]} (2 Kron/Chr 16:8); *makamisele ngeyona nto intle yentsimi yakhe* {let him present with the best thing of his field} (Eks 22:5); *ukuze bazuzane nolona luvuko lululo* {so that they may acquire the best resurrection that is it, i.e. that they may acquire the best authentic resurrection} (Hebh 11:35) and *njengesona sitya siethe-ethe* {like the most fragile vessel} (1 Pet 3:7).

Occasionally identificative absolute pronouns are found where the identificative morpheme has been dropped, as in *sisona* instead of *sisesona* {it is the superlative one}, as in *uthando sisona siphiso sikhulu* {love is the greatest gift} (1 Kor 13:1 heading). However, *sisona* is not part of the original text of the RUV and is found in a section heading that was inserted in 1975, so that it has to be regarded as a later development.

5.12 Relative constructions

A relative construction consists of the relative *A* plus a predicate in the relative mood. As such it is ambivalent. The second element being a predicate it is in fact a subordinate clause, so that, unlike languages like English, where a phrase such as “a tall man” can be found, isiXhosa always uses a qualifying clause, such as *indoda ende* {a man that is tall}. The first element being a demonstrative pronoun a relative construction can be characterised as a pronoun with the function of qualifying a substantive which it indicates or stands in apposition to, or which it represents.

The demonstrative *A* in relative constructions is subject to the regular phonetic accommodation, i.e.:

$a + a > a$, as in *amisiweyo < a + amisiweyo* {that have been erected}, e.g. *amatye amisiweyo* {stones that have been erected} (Yer 43:13);

$a + i > e$, as in *entle < a + intle* {that is good/beautiful}, e.g. *into entle* {a thing that is good / that is good looking} (2 Kor 13:7);

$a + u > o$, as in *omanzi < a + umanzi* {that is wet}, e.g. *umthi omanzi* {a tree that is wet} (Hez/Ezek 17:24);

a before a remains a , as in *abaliwaka < a + baliwaka* {that are a thousand}, e.g. *abakhandi abaliwaka* {artisans that are a thousand} (2 Kum/Kgs 24:16);

a before *i* > *e*, as in *elingekhoyo* < *a* + *lingekhoyo* {that is not present}, e.g. *irhamncwa elingekhoyo* {a carnivorous animal that is not there} (SiTyh/Rev 17:8);

a before *u* > *o*, as in *olunam* < *a* + *lunam* {that is with me}, e.g. *ubabalo olunam* {grace that is with me} (1 Kor 15:10).

In the case of a relative construction representing, indicating or standing in apposition to a noun in class 6, where the second element of the construction is a possession of the noun, or the subject of a verb in the *a*-past tense, the relative *a* is separated from this vowel by the insertion of the semi-vowel *w*, e.g. *a* + *enu* > *awenu*, as in *awenu amadoda* {your [plural] men} (Ef 5:22); *aweenkomo [amadini]* {ones [sacrifices] of cattle} (Ndum/Ps 66:15); *amadoda awathi*: “*Simve ethetha*” {men that said: “We heard him speaking”} (Zen/Acts 6:11) and *amatutu aweza nama-Arabhi* {robbers that came with the Arabs} (2 Kron/Chr 22:1). This holds also in the imperfect tense in the case of a verb commencing in the vowel *o*-, as in *amadoda awoyika uThixo* {men that fear God} (Zen/Acts 2:5) and *owoyika uThixo uphumelela kuzo zonke* {he who fears God succeeds in all} (Ntshum/Ecc 7:18) as well as *owozela ngexa lokuvuna ngunyana odanisayo* {he who is sleepy at the time of reaping is a son that disappoints} (MiZek/Prov 10:5).

In the case of a relative construction representing, indicating or standing in apposition to a noun in class 9, where the second element of the construction is the possessor of the antecedent noun, regular relative constructions are usually found, as in *nantsi indawo eyeyabaLevi* {here is the place that is the Levites’ one, i.e. here is the place that belongs to the Levites} (Num 8:23) and *ibhokhwe eyeyabantu* {a/the goat that belongs to the people} (Lev 9:15). However, a variant is found where the relative *A* (present as *e* in this environment) is separated from the possessive by the insertion of the semi-vowel *y*, as in *indawo eyiyeyakhe yokungcwaba* {a place that is his to bury} (Gen 49:30); *into eyiyeyakho* {a thing that is yours [singular]} (Dut 15:3) and *imvelo eyiyeyabantu* {nature that is that of people, i.e. human nature} (Yak/Jas 3:7). This usage is probably by way of analogy to the regular constructions as in classes 5, 7, 8 and 10, as in *izono ezizezakhe* {wrong deeds/sins that are his} (Hebh 7:27).

The following is of note: Regular relative constructions are found where the subject concord *ku-* follows the relative *A*, and it is found as *o*, as in *samkela okufanele esakwenzayo* {we receive what is appropriate to what we have done} (Luka 23:41) and *kucikide into okuyiyo ukuthanda kukaThixo* {inspect the thing that it is the love of God, i.e. inspect what the love of God is} (Roma 12:2). However, an optional variant relative construction is also used where the relative *A* is found as *e* before the concord *ku-*, as in *incwadi ekuthiwa yiGenesis* {a book that it is said it is Genesis, i.e. a book called Genesis} (Gen 1:1); *imihla ekufanele ukusetyenzwa ngayo* {days that it is appropriate to work on them} (Luka 13:14) and *ukuba kukho into ekuthiwa*: “*Uyabona, le intsha!*” *ibiselikho kade* {if there is something that it is said: “Look, this one is new!” it has already been there a long time} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:10).

A relative construction is predominantly found indicating and qualifying a substantive that precedes it (the antecedent), as in *into egoso* {a thing that is crooked} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:15) and *izinto abazithethayo* {the thing that they are talking} (1 Tim 1:7). For the purposes of emphasis, however, it can precede a substantive, in which case it indicates and qualifies it by

standing in apposition to it, as in *nguwo lowo owokuqala nomkhulu umthetho* {that one is the first and the great law} (Mat 22:38).

Relative constructions, like all pronouns, are found in identificatives, *ku*-locatives, instrumentatives, connectives, etc., as in *ziya kuselwa zifincwe ngabangendawo* {they will be drunk and be drained by the wicked} (Ndum/Ps 75:8); *ndifunyenwe ngababengandifuni, ndaba nokubonakala kwababengandibuzi* {I was found by those that did not seek me and became visible to those that were not asking about me} (Roma 10:20); *sobadlisa oonyana baso ilifa kweyeyaso inzuzo* {we shall let the sons of it inherit from its own gain} (Hez/Ezek 46:18); *bazalise ilizwe ngababuleweyo* {they filled the country with those that were killed} (Hez/Ezek 30:11); *wothengisa yena kuwe ngokwenani leminyaka yongeniselo* {he will sell to you according to the number of the years of income} (Lev 25:15); *ubawo akenzi nenkulu into, nencinane into, angayityhileli indlebe yam* {my father does not do even a great thing or a small thing that he does not reveal to my ear} (1 Sam 20:2) and *abakhulu kwanjengabancinane* {the ones that are big just like the ones that are little} (2 Kron/Chr 31:15).

5.13 Poetic relative constructions

In the case of praise poems (*izibongo*) an exceptional relative construction of class 1 is found. It is used following a statement in which praise is expressed regarding the one acclaimed, in the RUV invariably the Supreme Being. In such a poetically exalting relative construction *lo* {this}, the demonstrative pronoun of class 1, is inserted after *u-*, the subject concord of class 1, in a verb in the relative mood, e.g. *ulobutha* {the one that gathers} and *ulobeka* {the one that places} as in *lênzeka ngelizwi likaYehova izulu, ... ulobutha njengemfumba amanzi olwandle, ulobeka koovimba amanzi enzonzobila* {heaven got made by the word of the Lord, the one that / who places like a heap the water of the sea, the one that / who places in treasures the water of the deep} (Ndum/Ps 33:6-7) and *ulonika* {the one that gives} as in *ke mna bendiya kusingisa kuThixo ... ulonika imvula phezu kobuso bomhlaba* {now I would direct my mind towards God, the one that / who gives rain on the face of the earth} (Yobhi/Job 5:8, 10). Poetic relative constructions are found as identificatives in copulatives, as in *yena ngulowenza ihlabathi ngamandla akhe* {he is the one that makes the earth with his strength} (Yer 10:12) and as *ku*-locatives, as in *bulelani kuNkosi kankosi, kuloMenzi wemisebenzi ebalulekileyo, ... kulowabulala amaYiputa kumazibulo awo* {give thanks to the King of the king, to the one that is the Maker of works that are important, to the one who killed the Egyptians in their first-borns} (Ndum/Ps 136: 3-4, 10).

On occasion the poet gets carried away by poetic fervour and constructions with *ulo-* are found in unexpected places, such as the enhancement of copulatives with a substantive in class 1 where the initial *ungu-* or *ongu-* is replaced with *ulo-*, as in the poetic indicative copulative *uloThixo* {He is the God} used instead of the prosaic *unguThixo* in such eulogies as: *Uqhayiya lam, ungoma yam, nguYehova; waba lusindiso kum. UloThixo wam endimzukisayo, uThixo kabawo endimphakamisayo.* {My pride, my song, is the Lord; he was salvation to me. He is my God that I exalt, the God of my father that I raise up} (Eks 15:2.) The same can happen where reference is made to the Creator in a relative construction where

the regular *ongu-* is rendered as *ulo-*, as in the poetic *uloMenzi* {he who is the Maker} instead of the prosaic *onguMenzi* {he who is the Maker}, as in: *Makabongwe uYehova ... uloMenzi wemisebenzi ebalulekileyo*. {Let the Lord be praised, he who is the Maker of important works} (Ndum/Ps 72:18.) Having a demonstrative element in the enhanced prefix obviates its presence in a qualificative, and a predicate in the relative mood, and not a relative construction, is used to qualify, as in the case of *undiphindezelayo* {that avenges me} in: *UYehova uhleli, ... uloThixo undiphindezelayo* {The Lord lives, the God who avenges me} (2 Sam 22:47-48.) Also vocative poetic relative constructions are found where the initial *ongu-* and *o-* are replaced with *ulo-*, as in: *UloMalusi kaSirayeli, beka indlebe! Uloqhuba uYosefu njengezimvu, ulohlala ezikerubhini, bengezela!* {Shepherd of Israel, give ear! Herder of Joseph like sheep, resider with the cherubs, shine!} (Ndum/Ps 80:1).

5.14 Possessive pronominal constructions or possessive pronouns

The possessive pronominal construction, sometimes called the possessive pronoun, consists of the demonstrative A plus a noun or pronoun in the possessive form. With the absolute pronoun of the first person singular as example of the possessor the various possessive pronominal constructions that represent possessions of the various classes can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>owam</i>	<i>owam</i>	<i>elam</i>	<i>esam</i>	<i>eyam</i>	<i>olwam</i>	<i>obam</i>	<i>okwam</i>	<i>okwam</i>
Plural:	<i>abam</i>	<i>eyam</i>	<i>awam</i>	<i>ezam</i>	<i>ezam</i>				

With the class 1a noun *uma* {my/our mother} as example of the possessor the various possessive pronominal constructions that represent possessions of the various classes can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>okama</i>	<i>okama</i>	<i>elikama</i>	<i>esikama</i>	<i>ekama</i>	<i>olukama</i>
Plural:	<i>abakama</i>	<i>ekama</i>	<i>akama</i>	<i>ezikama</i>	<i>ezikama</i>	
Class:		14	15	17		
Neutral:		<i>obukama</i>	<i>okukama</i>	<i>okukama</i>		

A possessive pronominal construction is used to represent a known noun indicating a possession of the corresponding class, as *ezabo* {theirs} in: *Oonyana bakaSirayeli bomisa elowo intente yakhe eminqubeni yakowabo. ... AbaLevi bona bozimisa ezabo ngeenxa zonke emnqubeni wesingqino* {The sons of Israel will erect each one his tent among the tents of their home group. The Levites will erect theirs on all sides of the tent of witness} (Num 1:52-53.) Other examples are *owamazibulo* {the one of first birth} and *owesibini* {the one of the second number}, as in *uDavide wazalelwa oonyana eHebron: owamazibulo waba nguAmnon ngoAhinowam waseYizereli, owesibini waba nguKiliyabhi ngoAbhigali* {to David sons were born in Hebron: the one of first birth was Amnon by Ahinowam of Jezreel, the one of the second number was Kileab by Abigail} (2 Sam 3:2-3). Sometimes the known possession is implicit, as for example *unyana* {son} is implied as possession in the possessive pronoun *okaYese* {the one of Jesse} as in *uDavide okaYese* {David [the son] of Jesse} (Zen/Acts 13:22).

For emphasis a possessive pronoun is often used followed by the noun denoting the possession standing in apposition to it, e.g. *eyam ihambo* {the one of mine the conduct} instead of *ihambo yam* {my conduct}, as in *nayiva eyam ihambo ... ukuba ndaye ndilitshutshisa ndilibhuqa ibandla likaThixo* {you [plural] heard about my conduct, that I persecuted the congregation of God overthrowing it} (Gal 1:13).

Possessive pronouns are also found in the identificative, *ku*-locative, possessive, instrumentative, connective, etc., as in *entabeni ekuthiwa yeyemiNquma* {on the mountain that it is said it is the one of olives} (Luka 19:29); *ùngowasemzini* {you [singular] are one of a homestead, i.e. you are a stranger/outsider/foreigner} (2 Sam 15:19); *nakwekaHoseya* {and also in the one of Hosea} (Roma 9:25); *úzenza iinyawo zam zibe njengezamaxhamakazi* {he makes my feet that they are like those of female red hartebeests} (Habh 3:19) and *waba ngonamandla ngaphezu kwezithunywa zezulu ngangoko azuze ilifa legama eligqithiseleyo kunelazo* {he was the one with strength more than the messengers of heaven [i.e. angels], so much so that he acquired the heritage of a name that is surpassing compared to theirs} (Hebh 1:4). Copulatives formed with possessive pronouns give rise to concordial repetition e.g. *bubobabo* {it is theirs} as in *ubukumkani bukaThixo bubobabo banjalo* {the kingdom of God belongs to those that are like that} (Marko 10:14).

Of note are the locative possessive pronouns *kowethu* {at our place}, *kowenu* {at your place} and *kowabo* {at their place}, that refer to the implied noun *umzi* {homestead} and are always in the plural, as in *sikowethu nje emzimbeni sikude kowethu eNkosini* {being then at our place in the body we are far away from our place with the Lord} (2 Kor 5:6); *woya ezweni lakowethu nakwelokuzalwa kwam* {you [singular] will go to our home country and the one of my birth} (Gen 24:4) and *wonqanyulwa angabikho ebantwini bakowabo* {he will be cut off and not be present among the people of their place} (Eks 30:33).

Also of note is the instrumentative of the class 17 possessive pronoun, e.g. *ngokwabo* {on their own}, used as general or universal pronoun to indicate an independent action, often modifying a verb with the reflexive link *-zi-*, as in *imore ezivuzelayo ngokwayo* {myrrh that leaks on its own} (Eks 30:23) and *mabaye ngokwabo bazibuthele umququ* {let them go on their own and collect chaff for themselves} (Eks 5:7).

Attention is also drawn to the central paragraph of pericope 5.12 where it focuses on the variant possessive pronouns of class 9, which have the semi-vowel *y* inserted. Regular forms, such as *eyeyabantu* {that are those that belong to people} (Lev 9:15) are found, but also the optional variants, such as *eyiyeyabantu* {that are those that belong to people} (Yak/Jas 3:7).

5.15 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are words that represent indefinite substantives, i.e. indefinite nouns or other pronouns, of the corresponding class. There are four such indefinite pronouns in isiXhosa. They are:

the absolute indefinite pronouns, e.g. *wumbi* {another};

the qualificative interrogative pronouns, e.g. *mni na?* {what kind of one?}

from which the interrogative noun *ubani na?* {who?} is derived;

the interrogative indefinite pronouns, e.g. *wuphi na?* {which one?} and
the enumerative indefinite pronouns, e.g. *mnye* {an indefinite one}.

5.16 Absolute indefinite pronouns

The absolute indefinite pronouns consist of the basic class-prefix plus the stem *-mbi*. In the case of classes 1 and 3 the vowel *u* of the basic prefix *mu-* is retained and the nasal *m* is partially assimilated to it to become the semi-vowel *w*, rendering the prefix *wu-*. In class 4 the nasal *m* of the basic prefix *mi-* is partially assimilated to the vowel *i* to become the semi-vowel *y*, rendering the prefix *yi-*. In class 6 the nasal *m* of the basic prefix *ma-* is partially assimilated to the vowel *a* to become the semi-vowel *w*, rendering the prefix *wa-*. In class 10 the nasal *n* of the basic prefix *zin-* is dropped, rendering the prefix *zi-*. The forms of the absolute indefinite pronouns of the various classes can thus be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>wumbi</i>	<i>wumbi</i>	<i>limbi</i>	<i>simbi</i>	<i>yimbi</i>	<i>lumbi</i>	<i>bumbi</i>	<i>kumbi</i>	<i>kumbi</i>
Plural:	<i>bambi</i>	<i>yimbi</i>	<i>wambi</i>	<i>zimbi</i>	<i>zimbi</i>				

An absolute indefinite pronoun represents an indefinite noun of the corresponding class, as in *akukho wumbi*, *nguye yedwa* {there is no other, it is him/her alone} (Dut 4:35) and as, for example, representing some indefinite other portion of the *mbewu* {seed} previously mentioned, as in *yimbi yawa kuwo wona umhlaba omhle* {other fell on it its soil that is good, i.e. other [seed] fell on good soil} (Marko 4:8).

An absolute indefinite pronoun is often used to indicate the indefinite nature of the “otherness” of a noun of the corresponding class, in which case it follows the noun, and the noun being absolutely indefinite is used in its basic form, i.e. without a pre-prefix, as in *kukho nto yimbi* {there is something else} (1 Tim 1:10); *akusayi kunqula thixo wumbi* {you [singular] will not worship another god} (Eks 34:14); *wazenza mntu wumbi* {he made himself another person, i.e. he disguised himself} (2 Kron/Chr 35:22); *uze ungabi nathixo bambi ngaphandle kwam* {you [singular] must not have other gods apart from me} (Dut 5:7); *bâyibiza ngamagama wambi imizi* {they called the towns with other names} (Num 32:38); *uye ndaweni yimbi* {and you go to another place} (Hez/Ezek 12:3) and *bâqhumisela thixweni bambi* {they burnt incense to other gods} (Yer 19:4).

As pronouns absolute indefinite pronouns are found as identificatives, *ku*-locatives, instrumentatives, etc, as in *wena uyatyapha ukubulela, kodwa onguwumbi akakheki* {you [singular] do good to give thanks, but one who is another one does not get built up} (1 Kor 14:17); *xa sukuba ke benitshutshisa kuloo mzi, sabelani kuwumbi* {when then it happens that they persecute you [plural] in that town, flee to another one} (Mat 10:23) and *uthetha ngalulwimi lumbi* {he/she speaks with a different tongue/language} (1 Kor 14:4).

For emphasis the absolute indefinite pronoun precedes the noun it indicates, which is now partially known, having been introduced by the indefinite pronoun, so that it retains its full form, i.e. with its pre-prefix, as in *asinibhaleli zimbi izinto* {we do not write you [plural] other things} (2 Kor 1:13); *lo uya kuyichitha le ndawo, awenze wambi amasiko awawanikela kuthi*

uMoses {this one will destroy this place and make the customs to be other ones that Moses presented to us} (Zen/Acts 6:14); *ibabize ngalimbi igama* {and he will call them by another name} (Is 65:15); *zemka ngayimbi indlela* {they left by another road} (Mat 2:12) and *imfihlelo kaKristu ababengathanga kuzimbi izizukulwana bayaziswe oonyana babantu* {the mystery of Christ that they did not in other generations have it made known to them the sons of humankind, i.e. the mystery of Christ that the sons of humankind did not have made known to them in other generations} (Ef 3:4-5).

Absolute indefinite pronouns are also found as identificatives in relative construction copulatives (which as relative constructions are definite pronouns) as in *yaba yeyimbi intliziyo kaFaro* {it became another one the heart of Pharaoh, i.e. Pharaoh had a change of heart} (Eks 14:5); *ongowumbi ongenayo endlwini makabulawe* {the one who is another one that enters into the house let him/her be killed} (2 Kron/Chr 23:7); *bambethelela khona emnqamlezweni, nabanye naye abangabambi bebabini* {they nailed him there to a cross, and others with him that are other ones being two, i.e. with another two} (Yoh/Jn 19:18) and *wamsindisa esandleni sikaSaneribhe ... nasesandleni sabangabambi* {he saved him from the hand of Sennacherib and from the hand of those that are others} (2 Kron/Chr 32:22).

The procrastinator's stock phrase *mhla wumbi* {another day} is contracted and written conjunctively as *mhlawumbi* {perhaps}, pronounced with the semi-vowel *w* barely audible. It is used as an adverb to indicate the uncertainty of an event materialising, as in *mhlawumbi ubawo wondiva* {perhaps father will recognise me} (Gen 27:12) and *makuthethe babini, mhlawumbi bathathu, bangeqithi* {let two speak, perhaps three, and not surpass} (1 Kor 14:27).

The instrumentative of the absolute indefinite pronoun of class 17, *ngakumbi* {with another, especially}, is used as an adverb to indicate a process that escalates or is special, as in *wabayala ukuba mabangaxeleli bani; kodwa okukhona wabayalayo, kwaba kukhona bakuvakalisa ngakumbi* {he instructed them that they must not tell anyone, but the more he instructed them it was it that they proclaimed it especially, i.e. all the more} (Marko 7:36); *uYehova wonandisa nina ngakumbi nangakumbi* {the Lord will increase you [plural] more and more} (Ndum/Ps 115:14); *sisuke sangakumbi isiphithiphithi* {it got up and became worse the uproar} (Mat 27:24) and *into eninzi yakholwa ngakumbi ngenxa yelizwi lakhe* {a thing that is many, i.e. many believed especially because of his word} (Yoh/Jn 4:41).

When the adverbial morpheme /*ka-*/ is prefixed to the indefinite pronominal stem *-mbi*, the final vowel *-i* becomes *-e*, rendering the adverb *kambe*, which basically indicates uncertainty, but has shades of meaning implying coming to mind, resignation, surprise or even ridicule, as in *khawubize kambe, ukuba ukho na owoakuphendula* {so call out, if there is one that will answer you [singular]} (Yobhi/Job 5:1); *noko kambe kukho izinto ezintle ezifumanekileyo kuwe* {but yet there are things that are good that have been found in you [singular]} (2 Kron/Chr 19:3) and *kambe, nini abantu; buya kufa nani ubulumko!* {well, you [plural] are the people; wisdom will die with you!} (Yobhi/Job 12:2).

5.17 Qualificative interrogative pronouns

The qualificative interrogative pronouns, or qualificative interrogatives for short, consist of the basic class-prefix, plus the stem *-ni*, plus the pronominal suffix *na*, which is now written disjunctively and, being an interrogative, is pronounced *ná* with a high tone. The qualificative interrogative of class 9 is *-ni na?* {which one?}. It is written conjunctively with its preceding noun or verb. The frequently used class 16 qualificative interrogative has contracted to *phi na?* {where?}.

The forms of the qualificative interrogative pronouns of the various classes can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>mni na?</i>	<i>mni na?</i>	<i>lini na?</i>	<i>sini na?</i>	<i>-ni na?</i>	<i>luni na?</i>
Plural:	<i>bani na?</i>	<i>mini na?</i>	<i>mani na?</i>	<i>zini na?</i>	<i>zini na?</i>	
Class:			14	15	16	
Neutral:			<i>buni na?</i>	<i>kuni na?</i>	<i>phi na?</i>	

The qualificative interrogative pronouns are used to enquire about the quality of a preceding indefinite basic noun of the corresponding class, as in *usibonisa mqondiso mni na?* {what sign do you [singular] show us?} (Yoh/Jn 2:18); *ninamvuzo mni na?* {what reward do you [plural] have?} (Mat 5:46); *wenzelwe mbekoni na nabukhulu buni na uMordekayi?* {what honour and what greatness has been made for Mordechai?} (Est 6:3) and *le nto nina niyenze ngamandla mani na nangagama lini na?* {with what strength and with what name have you [plural] done this thing?} (Zen/Acts 4:7).

When the interrogator does not know to what noun-class the substantive that is the answer to the question belongs, the qualificative interrogative of class 9, *-ni na?* {which one?}, is used with the class 9 basic noun *nto* {thing} as general or universal qualificative interrogative to represent all classes of substantives, as in *wenzé ntoni na?* {what thing have you [singular] done? i.e. what have you done?} (Gen 4:10); *isilumko sisigqitha ngantoni na isidenge?* {in what does a wise person surpass a fool?} (Ntshum/Ecc 6:8); *ndiya kusifanisa nantoni na esi sizukulwana?* {with what shall I compare this generation?} (Mat 11:16); *unantoni na endlwini?* {what do you [singular] have in the house?} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:2) and *zifakwe ntwenini na izikhondo zeentsika zalo?* {in what are the footings of its pillars placed?} (Yobhi/Job 38:6). It is often found in copulatives, as in *iyintoni na le nto uyenzayo ebantwini?* {what is this thing that you are doing to people?} (Eks 18:14); *uAron uyintoni na yena ukuba nimkrokrele?* {what is Aaron that you [singular] should grumble against him?} (Num 16:11); *yintoni na le niyenzileyo?* {what is this that you [plural] have done?} (Gweb/Jdg 2:2) and *ndisenantoni na?* {what do I still have?} (Gweb/Jdg 18:24).

In the case of questions with the verb *ukwenza* {to make, to do} the antecedent basic noun *nto* {thing} is often dropped in an interrogative phrase and both *wènzani na?* {what are you [singular] doing?} (Yona 1:6) and *wèntza ntoni na?* {what thing are you [singular] doing?} (Yobhi/Job 9:12) are found. In the case of the verb *ukuthi* {to say, to do, to think} and its

derivatives as well as its intransitive variant *ukutsho* {to say so}, the basic noun *nto* {thing} is always dropped, as in *ndiya kubathini na aba bantu?* {what shall I do with these people?} (Eks 17:4); *ndingáthini na ke ukwenza obu bubi?* {how can I do this evil?} (Gen 39:9); *ilungisa linokuthini na?* {what can a good person do?} (Ndum/Ps 11:3); *kuthekeni na?* {what has happened?} (2 Sam 1:4) and *nitsho ngani na ke ukuthi kum: “Ukhathazwa yini na?”* {how is it that you [plural] say to me: “What is bothering you?”} (Gweb/Jdg 18:24). The basic noun *nto* {thing} is also dropped after an ideophone, in which case the class 9 qualificative interrogative is written disjunctively, as in *nithele cwaka ni na?* {why do you [plural] remain silent?} (2 Sam 19:10).

The identificative of qualificative interrogative pronouns is formed by prefixing the identificative morpheme as with other substantives. Like all identificatives it is found as the agent of a passive verb and in copulatives, as in *umangaliswe yini na?* {you [singular] have been surprised by what?} (SiTyh/Rev 17:7); *iyini na kuthi loo nto?* {what is that thing to us? i.e. what do we have to do with that?} (Mat 27:4); *yini na ke ukuba nithethe into engento yakonto?* {why is it that you speak a thing that is nothing of something? i.e. why do you say something irrelevant?} (Yobhi/Job 27:12) and *ungumni na?* {what kind of human are you? i.e. to what clan/nation do you [singular] belong?} (1 Sam 30:13).

The positive indicative copulative with the qualificative interrogative of class 9, with the subject concord of class 9 implied, *yini na?* < *iyini na?* {what is it?}, is used at the beginning of a phrase to enquire about the reason why a process is executed, as in *yini na ukuba nibambane nam?* {why do you [plural] quarrel with me?} (Eks 17:2). It is used in apposition to a preceding statement, sometimes in the negative, to turn the statement into a question, as in *ndiswele izihiba yini na ukuba nizise lo abhudele phezu kwam?* {do I need madmen what is it, that you [plural] bring this one that he acts crazily on me, i.e. in front of me?} (1 Sam 21:15) and *àkuyiyo ndoda yini na?* {are you [singular] not a man, what is it?} (1 Sam 26:15). Often the *yini* is dropped, leaving only the pronominal suffix *na* (and the question mark) as indication of the interrogative nature of a statement, as in *iyadliwa na into ejavujavu ingenatyuwa?* {is something eaten that is tasteless it not having salt?} (Yobhi/Job 6:6) and: *Ndiwasukele na la matutu? Ndowafumana na?* {Shall I pursue these robbers? Will I get them?} (1 Sam 30:8).

When two contradictory statements are juxtaposed and the question is subsequently asked which one is the correct one, the class 17 subject concord *ku-* is used as general or universal link in a copulative with the qualificative interrogative of class 9, in the variant identificative form *sini na?* {which one?}, as in *unguye na kanye unyana wam uEsawu, akunguye, kusini na?* {are you really my son Esau, are you not him, which one is it?} (Gen 27:21). The subject concord *ku-* may optionally be dropped and only implied, as in *khawufanise, ukuba yingubo yonyana wakho, asiyiyo, sini na?* {please compare if this is the garment of your son, or is it not it, which one?} (Gen 37:32).

The positive indicative copulative with the qualificative interrogative of class 9, *yini na?* {what is it?}, is also found as the interrogative interjection *hina* {what!}. It is used to indicate a question elicited by surprise, as in *hina ke, ungukumkani na wena?* {what, are you

[singular] a king?} (Yoh/Jn 18:37) and also to draw the attention of somebody, as in *wathi kuye*: “*Hina, Simon, ndinendawo yokuthetha kuwe*” {he said to him: “Hay, Simon, I have a matter to discuss with you”} (Luka 7:40). It is also found in the variant *hi*? {what?}, used to pose a question, often as a counter argument, as in *hi, àkunjalo na?* {what, is it not so / like that?} (Am 2:11) and *ngubani na owaziyo, hi kanti ungene ebukumkanini ngenxa yexesha elinje?* {who knows, have you [singular] not perhaps come into royalty for the sake of a time like this?} (Est 4:14).

When the interrogative is more an exclamation or interjection than a question the interrogative suffix *na* is usually dropped, as in *nenzani?* {what are you [plural] doing?} (Gweb/Jdg 18:18); *wabheka uAron kuMiriyam; yini? uneqhenqa!* {and Aaron looked at Miriam; what? she has leprosy!} (Num 12:10) and: *Bathi omnye komnye: “Yintoni?” Kuba babengazi ukuba yintoni na* {They said one to another: “What is it?” For they did not know what it was.} (Eks 16:15).

The qualificative interrogative pronoun, unlike other pronouns, is found in an *e/ini* locative, as in *nanibhaptizelwe enini na phofu?* {now then, into what were you [plural] baptised?} (Zen/Acts 19:3) and *asenini na la mandla akhe angaka?* {in what is this strength of his that is so great?} (Gweb/Jdg 16:5). It is also found in the other forms of substantives, such as instrumentatives, possessives etc., as in *sivalelwa ngani na ukuba singasondezi umsondezo?* {why are we excluded that we cannot bring an offering?} (Num 9:7); *kungani na ukuba ubuso bakho bube nje ukuba bubi?* {why is it that your face is like this to be ugly?} (Neh 2:2); *kungenxa yani na ukuba ongendawo amgibe uThixo?* {why is it that a wicked person rejects God?} (Ndum/Ps 10:13) and *yeyani na le nkoloseko ukholose ngayo?* what is this belief/superstition that you trust in? (Is 36:4).

The qualificative interrogative pronoun of class 5, *lini na?* {which one?}, when qualifying the implied basic noun *lixa* {time}, as in *lixa lini na?* {what time/when?}, assimilates to become the frequently used *nini na?* {when?}, as in *wòbuya nini na?* {when will you [singular] return?} (Neh 2:6); *ndiya kuyisebenzela nini na mna eyam indlu?* {when shall I work for my own house?} (Gen 30:30); *kunini na ungavumi ukuzithoba phambi kwam?* {it is how long that you have not agreed to humble yourself before me?} (Eks 10:3) and *koda kube nini na unxila?* {until when will it be that you are being drunk? i.e. how long will you remain a drunkard?} (1 Sam 1:14). In non interrogative statements it usually drops the suffix *na*, as in *iintaba zanini* {mountains of when, i.e. ancient mountains} (Gen 49:26) and in the reduplication *kude kube nini-nini* {till it is when-when, i.e. for all time} (not found in the RUV). In the possessive form *nini na?* {when?} usually drops the suffix *na*, as in *yinto yanini?* {it is a thing of when? i.e. how long has this been going on?} (not found in the RUV) and. The connective *nanini* {at any time} and inclusive *kwanini* {since when} are used in non-interrogative statements usually dropping the suffix *na*, as in *zoba nokukhululwa ngentlawulelo nanini* {they will be able to be redeemed by payment at any time} (Lev 25:32); *oonyana babo bothi nabo bahlale etroneni yakho nanini* {their sons also will sit on your [singular] throne at any time} (Ndum/Ps 132:12) and *oku ùyakwazi kwanini* {you [singular] know this since whenever} (Yobhi 20:4). However, the suffix *na* is occasionally retained, as in *andindoda imazwi maninzi nanini na* {I am not a man of many words at any time} (Eks 4:10).

The simulative qualificative interrogative pronoun of class 9, *njengani na?* {like what?}, is contracted to *njani na?* {how?}, which is used independently as an adverb and in copulatives, as in *siya kuzihlamba njani na?* {how shall we wash ourselves?} (Gen 44:16); *yindlu enjani na eniya kuyakhela mna?* {it is a house that is how that you [plural] will build for me? i.e. what kind of house will you build me?} (Zen/Acts 7:49 and *wabuza uDavide ukuba unjani na uYowabhi, banjani na abantu, injani na imfazwe* {David asked how Joab was, how the people were, how the war was} (2 Sam 11:7).

The qualificative interrogative pronoun of class 16, the contracted *phi na?* {where?}, functions as an adverb of place. It is frequently used, as in *ùya phi na?* {where are you [singular] going?} (Gen 32:17); *ùvela phi na, ùsiya phi na?* {where do you [singular] come from, going where?} (Gen 16:8); *uThixo wambiza uAdam, wathi kuye: “Ùphi na?”* {God called Adam and said to him: “Where are you?”} (Gen 3:9); *kuphi na apho?* {where is that [place]?} (Yobhi/Job 4:7) and *ùngowaphi na?* {of where are you [singular]? i.e. where are you from?} (2 Sam 1:13). It is also found in the locative of vicinity *ngaphi na?* {in what vicinity}, as in *ùya ngaphi na?* {in what direction are you [singular] going?} (Gweb/Jdg 19:17) and *ibheke ngaphi na intanda yakho?* {where has your beloved gone?} (Ngom/Song 6:1). [The qualificative interrogative locative of vicinity of class 16, *ngaphi na?* {in what vicinity?}, is not to be confused with the interrogative adjectival stem *-ngaphi na?* {how many?}, as in *mingaphi na iminyaka yobudala bakho?* {how many are the years of your age? i.e. how old are you?} (Gen 47:8) and *kukangaphi bemphikisa entlango?* {how many times is it that they have contradicted him in the desert?} (Ndum/Ps 78:40), as described in pericope 5.23.]

The special qualificative interrogative pronoun *ngakanani na?* {as big as what / how big / what size?} [c.f. *ngaka* {this size} in pericope 5.9] is used to enquire about size, as in *ndibonè ukuba bungakanani na ububanzi bayo* {that I see how big / what size its width is} (Zekar 2:2) and *unatyala lingakanani na?* {how big is the debt that you [singular] have?} (Luka 16:5). Used with the adverbial prefix *ka-* it functions as the adverb *kangaphi na* (how often / how many times?), as in *kufuthi kangakanani na ndithande ukubabuthela ndawonye abantwana bakho!* {how often is it that I wanted to gather your children together!} (Mat 23:37).

In indirect speech, such as often introduced by the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} used as a conjunction [usually translatable as “that” or “if”], the qualificative interrogative pronouns may be present as indirect questions or statements, as in *andazi ukuba ayé ngaphi na amadoda lawo* {I do not know in what direction those men went} (Yosh 2:5) and *ùya kubona ukuba ilizwi lam liya kwenzeka, aliya kwenzeka, kusini na* {you [singular] will see if my word will happen, it will not happen, which one} (Num 11:23).

On rare occasions qualificative interrogative pronouns, usually stripped of the interrogative pronominal suffix *na*, are used as extremely indefinite pronouns in non-interrogative statements, such as *makungabikho mntu wazi ni yani ngale nto ndikuthumayo* {let there not be a person that knows what of what [i.e. anything] concerning this thing that I am sending you [singular]} (1 Sam 21:2); *ànithe ni nathi ekumakheleni uThixo wethu indlu; somakhela sedwa*

{you have nothing to do with our building a house for our God; we shall build it for him alone} (Ezra 4:3) and *ndiya kukugcina naphi apho uya khona* {I shall protect you [singular] wherever you go} (Gen 28:15).

The modern tendency often to drop the pronominal suffix *na* in interrogative phrases, such as *ùyishiye ndawoni incwadi yakho?* {where have you [singular] left your book?} is not found in the RUV.

5.18 The interrogative noun *ubani na?*

The class 1a/2a interrogative noun *ubani na* / *oobani na?* {any one; who/whom?} is derived from the class 2 qualificative interrogative pronoun *bani na?* {what kind/category of ones?}. It denotes a particular but indefinitely specified person, someone, somebody or even anybody. It is used more often than the interrogative pronouns *wuphi na?* {which one?} and *mni na?* {what kind?}.

The most prevalent use of *ubani na?* {who/whom?} is in interrogative indicative copulatives, as in *ngubani na igama lakho?* {who is your [singular] name? i.e. what is your name?} (Gen 32:27); *ngubani na oya kusinika inyama sidle?* {who will give us meat so that we eat?} (Num 11:4) and *ngoobani na aba banawe?* {who are these that are with you?} (Gen 33:5). It is also found as an interrogative used in various forms similar to those used by other nouns in class 1a/2a, as in *ùxelelwe ngubani na?* {you have been told by whom?} (Gen 3:11); *sosuka siye kubani na?* {to whom will we go?} (Yoh/Jn 6:68); *umprofeti lo uyithetha ngabani na le nto?* {this prophet about whom does he say this thing?} (Zen/Acts 8:34); *ùfana nabani na ngobukhulu bakho?* {whom do you resemble with your size?} (Hez/Ezek 31:2); *ùsenabani na apha?* {whom do you [singular] still have with you here?} (Gen 19:12); *ùyintombi kabani na wena?* {whose daughter are you [singular]?} (Gen 24:23); *zezikabani na ezi zinto?* {whose things are these?} (Gen 32:17) and *ngokabani na lo msesane?* {whose ring is this?} (Gen 38:25).

Ubani na? {who?} is found as indirect interrogative in indirect speech, as in *bendingazi ukuba yenziwe ngubani na le nto* {I did not know by whom this thing was done} (Gen 21:26). In explicit non-interrogative use it usually drops the suffix *na* and is occasionally found in its full form, as in *uMtyholi uhamba njengengonyama egqumayo efuna ubani angamginyayo* {the Devil walks like a lion that roars seeking whom it can swallow} (1 Pet 5:8). More often it is found in its basic form in non-interrogative absolute negatives as *akukho bani unathi* {there is not anyone that is with us} (Gen 31:50) and *wabayala ukuba mabangaxeleli bani* {he instructed them that they must not tell anybody} (Marko 7:36).

5.19 Interrogative indefinite pronouns

The interrogative indefinite pronouns, or interrogative pronouns for short, are also called the differentiative pronouns. They are identical to the absolute indefinite pronouns, except that their stem is the class 16 qualificative interrogative pronoun *phi na?* {where?}.

The forms of the interrogative indefinite pronouns of the various classes can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Sing.:	<i>wuphi na?</i>	<i>wuphi na?</i>	<i>liphi na?</i>	<i>siphi na?</i>	<i>yiphi na?</i>	<i>luphi na?</i>
Pl.:	<i>baphi na?</i>	<i>yiphi na?</i>	<i>waphi na?</i>	<i>ziphi na?</i>	<i>ziphi na?</i>	
Class:			14	15	17	
Neutral:			<i>buphi na?</i>	<i>kuphi na?</i>	<i>kuphi na?</i>	

An interrogative indefinite pronoun is used to enquire which previously not indicated object of the corresponding class is indicated, as in *nithanda kuphi na, kuko ukuza kuni ndinoswazi, kuko ukuza ndinothando?* {you like which one, it is to come to you I having a whip, it is to come I with love?} (1 Kor 4:21). It is found in various forms, as in *ookumkani behlabathi bamkela kubaphi na irhafu?* {the kings of the earth from whom do they receive tax?} (Mat 17:25); *okukhona kulula kukuphi na?* {that which is superlatively easy which is it? i.e. what is the easiest?} (Mat 9:5); *nguwuphi na koothixo bonke bala mazwe olihlanguleyo ilizwe lakhe esandleni sam?* {which one is it of all the gods of these countries that saved his country from my hand?} (2 Kum/Kgs 18:35); *nguwuphi na umntu kuni ongáthi, ukuba unyana wakhe uthe wacela isonka, amnike ilitye?* {which person among you may do, if his/her son asked bread, that he/she gives him a stone?} (Mat 7:9) and *ungowabaphi na abantu?* {of what people of where are you [singular]?} (Yona 1:8).

In indirect speech interrogative indefinite pronouns are found in indirect interrogative statements, as in *ize ningaxhaleli ukuba nothetha ngakuphi na* {you [plural] must not worry that you will speak by means of what, i.e. do not worry what you will say} (Mat 10:19). In the explicit non-interrogative or indirect use of an interrogative indefinite pronoun the suffix *na* is usually dropped, as in *ize ningadli gazi lanyama nokuba yiyiphi* {you [plural] must not eat the blood of meat even if it is which, i.e. irrespective of what kind it is} (Lev 17:14) and *xa kuthe kwakho ... ukuthandaza, nokutarhuzisa nokuba kukuphi, okuthe kwenziwa ngubani, ... yiva ke wena ... uxolele* {if there is praying and beseeching, even if it is which, that is done by whom [i.e. anyone], hear then and forgive} (1 Kum/Kgs 8:37-39).

5.20 Enumerative indefinite pronouns

The enumerative indefinite pronouns, or enumeratives for short, consist of the basic class-prefix plus one of the stems *-nye* {one}, *-bini* {two}, *-thathu* {three}, *-ne* {four}, *-hlanu* {five}, *-thandathu* {six} and *-ngaphi?* {how many?}. In the case of classes 9, 10 and 11 the same rules controlling nasal compounds operate as those applicable to nouns, as described in pericope 3.10, resulting, for example, in the class 9 enumeratives *-nye* {one}, *-mbini* {two}, *-ntathu* {three}, *-ne* {four}, *-ntlanu* {five}, *-ntandathu* {six} and *-ngaphi na?* {how many?}. Furthermore the syllable *zi-* of the class 10 prefix, and sometimes the syllable *li-* of the class 5 prefix are omitted. In these instances, as well as in the case of class 9, the enumerative *-nye* {one} is optionally written conjunctively with the antecedent basic noun it enumerates, or it is separated from it with a hyphen, as in *ntonye* or *nto-nye* {one thing}.

The enumerative, with for example the stem *-nye* {one}, can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>mnye</i>	<i>mnye</i>	<i>-(li)nye</i>	<i>sinye</i>	<i>-nye</i>	<i>lunye</i>	<i>bunye</i>	<i>kunye</i>	<i>kunye</i>
Plural:	<i>banye</i>	<i>minye</i>	<i>manye</i>	<i>zinye</i>	<i>-((zi))nye</i>				

The enumerative represents a substantive of the same class by referring to its numerical quantity. In its primary form it is never used independently but always defines a basic antecedent substantive, as in *libizele ndawonye ibandla* {call to one place [i.e. together] the community} (Num 20:8); *uLevi akanasabelo nalifa ndawonye nabazalwana bakhe* {Levi does not have an allotment and heritage at one place with his brothers, i.e. at the same place as his brothers} (Dut 10:9); *uNowa ebeminyaka imakhulu mahlanu ezelwe* {Noah was years that are hundreds that are five having been born, i.e. Noah was five hundred years old} (Gen 5:32); *indoda yomshiya uyise nonina, inamathele kumkayo, babe nyama-nye* {a man will leave his father and mother and cling to his wife and they become one flesh} (Gen 2:24); *iintsuku ezimashumi mathathu anantsuku ntathu* {days that are three tens plus three days, i.e. thirty three days} (Lev 12:4); *amanzi makahlanganiselwe ndaweni-nye* {the water must be gathered together at one place} (Gen 1:9) and *lonke ihlabathi libe lintetho-nye, limazwi manye* {all of the earth was one language, being one words, i.e. the whole earth had one language and the same words} (Gen 11:1).

When the syllable *li-* or the syllable *zi-* is omitted in enumeratives of classes 5 and 10 the antecedent noun also omits the syllable *li-* or the syllable *zi-* in its prefix, as in *baphendula bonke abantu ngazwi-nye* {all the people answered with one voice} (Eks 24:3); *ikrele elibukhali elintlangothi mbini* {a sword that is sharp that is sharp-edged two, i.e. a sharp double edged sword} (SiTyh/Rev 1:16); and *akukho mntu unako ukukhonza nkosi mbini* there is no person that can serve two masters} (Mat 6:24).

Enumeratives are found in various forms as instrumentatives, connectives, *ku-*locatives, etc., as in *kwangena ngambini ngambini kuNowa emkhombeni, inkunzi nemazi* {there entered two by two to Noah in the ship a bull and a cow} (Gen 7:9); *andiphathanga kakubi namnye wabo* {I did not treat badly even one of them} (Num 16:15); *abantwana abamashumi mane anababini* {children that are tens four and two, i.e. forty two} (2 Kum/Kgs 2:24); *iminyaka emakhulu asithoba anashumi-nye linamibini* {years that are hundreds that are nine with one ten with two, i.e. nine hundred and twelve years} (Gen 5:8) and *siphumla kunye eluthulini* {we rest together in the dust} (Yobhi/Job 17:16).

In copulatives enumeratives are used without the usual identificative prefix (vide pericope 4.6). Furthermore in the indicative and relative moods the subject concord is omitted and only implied, as in *iminyaka mibini* {the years are two} (Gen 45:6) and *indoda ekubhite zintlanu* {a man that is cubits that are five} (1 Kron/Chr 11:23). However, the concord is retained in copulatives in the situative mood, as *lulunye* {being one} in *zalishumi iishekele kukhamba lulunye* {the shekels were ten in an earthen pot being one, i.e. there were ten shekels in each earthen pot} (Num 7:86) and *sisinye* {being one} in *anqumla khona isebe linesihloko seediliya sisinye* {they cut off there a branch with a bunch of grapes being one} (Num 13:23). In compound copulatives the subject concord is also omitted, as in *kone umntu wamnye < waba emnye* {there did wrong a person being one} (Num 16:22) and *wathabatha*

lwalunye [< *lwaba lulunye*] *ezimbanjeni zakhe* {he took that it was one from the ribs of him} (Gen 2:21).

Enumeratives, being indefinite pronouns, are qualified with predicates in the relative mood, such as *usindayo* {that escaped} in *akwabakho namnye usindayo* {there was not even one that escaped} (Dut 3:3).

When a noun is placed in apposition to an enumerative it follows it and it is in the full form, as in *uze ungenzi namnye umsebenzi* {you [singular] must not do even one work} (Eks 20:10).

5.21 Cumulative pronouns

The cumulatives, also called quantitatives, e.g. *sonke* {all of us} (Gen 42:11), are words that are awkward to categorise. As will become clear when cognisance is taken of their use, as described lower down in this pericope, they are essentially pronouns, sometimes also used as adverbs, but they do not possess all the possibilities of use regular pronouns have. This justifies their description separately of, but adjacent to, the regular pronouns, as described in the previous pericopes.

The cumulative pronouns consist of a nominal linking morpheme that is the equivalent of the basic nominal prefix having dropped both its vowel and its nasal (*n* or *m*) (and thus is identical to the subject concord), plus the pronominal morpheme /-o-/, plus one of the cumulative stems -*dwa* {alone} and -*nke* {all}, or a plural enumerative, or numerical relative, or an identificative numerical noun, as in the examples below.

Cumulatives with the stem -*dwa*, e.g. *bodwa* {them alone} (Gen 43:32), denote quantitative exclusiveness. They are found in the first, second and third persons, both in the singular and plural. In the first person singular and the first and second persons plural an optional variant form is used where the pronominal *o* is replaced by *e*. The form *ndedwa* {me alone} (Num 11:14) is used predominantly in the RUV, while only *sodwa* {we alone} (1 Kum 3:18) and *nedwa* {you [plural] alone} (Dut 29:14) are found in the RUV, with *sedwa* and *nodwa* sometimes heard elsewhere used as variants. In the second person singular and the third person class 1 the only form found has the pronominal *o* replaced with *e*. In the case of class 1 the link vowel *u* has become the semi-vowel *y*.

Cumulatives with the stem -*dwa* {alone} are found in the following forms:

Person									
& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	
Singular:	<i>ndodwa/ndedwa</i>	<i>wedwa</i>	<i>yedwa</i>	<i>wodwa</i>	<i>lodwa</i>	<i>sodwa</i>	<i>yodwa</i>	<i>lodwa</i>	
Plural:	<i>sodwa/sedwa</i>	<i>nodwa/nedwa</i>	<i>bodwa</i>	<i>yodwa</i>	<i>odwa</i>	<i>zodwa</i>	<i>zodwa</i>		
Class:			14	15	17				
Neutral:			<i>bodwa</i>	<i>kodwa</i>	<i>kodwa</i>				

Cumulatives with the stem -*nke*, e.g. *sonke* {all of us} (Gen 42:11), denote quantitative inclusiveness. They are found in the first, second and third persons both in the singular and plural. The link vowel *u* becomes the semi-vowel *w*, and the link vowel *i* becomes the semi-vowel *y*, and the following forms with the cumulative stem -*nke* {all} are found:

Person

& class: I II III:1/2 3/4 5/6 7/8 9/10 11 14 15 17

Singular: *ndonke wonke wonke wonke lonke sonke yonke lonke bonke konke konke*

Plural: *sonke nonke bonke yonke onke zonke zonke*

Cumulatives with as stem a plural enumerative, or numerical relative, or an identificative numerical noun, denote the inclusive collective of all the objects indicated, and examples like the following, are found:

Person & class:	“both”	“all seven”	“all ten”
I	<i>sobabini</i>	<i>sosixhenxe</i>	<i>solishumi</i>
II	<i>nobabini</i>	<i>nosixhenxe</i>	<i>nolishumi</i>
III :			
2	<i>bobabini</i>	<i>bosixhenxe</i>	<i>bolishumi</i>
4	<i>yomibini</i>	<i>yosixhenxei</i>	<i>yolishumi</i>
6	<i>omabini</i>	<i>osixhenxe</i>	<i>olishumi</i>
8	<i>zozibini</i>	<i>zosixhenxe</i>	<i>zolishumi</i>
10	<i>zo(zi)mbini</i>	<i>zosixhenxe</i>	<i>zolishumi</i>

As is the case with enumeratives the syllable *zi-* of the class 10 prefix is usually dropped and, for example, not *zozintathu* but *zontathu* {all three} is found (as in Eks 21:11). Obviously no cumulative is formed with an enumerative with the stem *-nye* {one}.

Presumably these cumulatives with as stem a plural enumerative, or numerical relative, or an identificative numerical noun, such as *sobabini* {we both} (Gen 31:37), *zosixhenxe* {all seven} (Gen 41:7) and *bolishumi* {all ten} (not found in the RUV) are compound cumulatives, contracted from combinations such as *sonke esibabini* {all of us that are two}, *zonke ezisixhenxe* {all of them that are seven} and *bonke abalishumi* {all of them that are ten}.

Cumulatives are occasionally found as pronouns referring to substantives of the corresponding number and class, both as the subject or the object of a predicate, as in *sonke siphela singoonyana bamfo mnye* {all of us we ending [i.e. as a whole] are the sons of one man} (Gen 42:11); *bobabini ke basaba ngokukhawuleza* {both of them fled with haste} (2 Sam 17:18); *bahamba bobabini* {and they went both} (Gen 22:6) and *uYosefu wabathabatha bobabini* {Joseph took them both} (Gen 48:13). They are often found in apposition to a substantive, that usually precedes the cumulative, as in *ihlabathi lonke* {the whole earth} (Is 6:3); *abakhuluwa bakhe bobabini* {his elder brothers both} (Gen 9:22); *ezo zinto zontathu* {those things all three} (Eks 21:11); *thina sobabini, mna nawe* {we both, me and you [singular]} (2 Kum/Kgs 9:25); *yaba sisizwe sakwaYuda sodwa esasalayo* {it was the tribe of Judah alone that remained} (2 Kum/Kgs 17:18); *oneenkani ufuna ububi bodwa* {he/she who has obstinacy seeks evil only} (MiZek/Prov 17:11) and *lanikwa zona zodwa ilizwe* {the country was given to them alone} (Yobhi/Job 15:19).

For emphasis cumulatives with the stem *-onke* {all} are used preceding the substantives they refer to, as in *lonke ihlabathi* {all the earth; the whole earth} (Is 10:14) and *zonke izinto* {all the things} (2 Kum/Kgs 12:18). This is also the case with the compound cumulatives, as in *bafa kananjalo bobabini ooMalon noKiliyon* {they likewise died both Malon and Kilion}

(Rute 1:5). Cumulatives with the stem *-dwa* {alone} are not found in this position. On occasion cumulatives with the stem *-onke* {all} are found splitting compound predicates, as in *baye bobabini behamba zé, umntu lowo nomkakhe* {both went naked, that person and his wife} (Gen 2:25) and *baye bobabini bebodwa endle* {both were alone in the veld} (1 Kum/Kgs 11:29).

In copulatives cumulatives are used unchanged similarly to adverbs, as in the relative constructions *obubodwa* {that is alone, that is exceptional} in the phrase *ububi obubodwa* {exceptional evil} (Hez/Ezek 7:5) and *ababebodwa* {those that were alone} in the phrase *uThixo nguhlalisa endlwini ababebodwa* {God is the one that causes to live in a house those that were alone} (Ndum/Ps 68:6). The same holds for the situative mood copulatives *bebonke* {they being alone/all} as in *bebonke oonyana bakaYuda bahlanu* {they being all [i.e. in all] the sons of Judah are five} (1 Kron/Chr 2:4) and *zizodwa* {they being alone} in *uthi akuqondela, azibone izisongelo zelinen abesongelwe kuzo zizodwa* {he does when he looks that he sees the wrappings of linen that he was wrapped up in they being alone, i.e. as he looked he saw the wrappings that he was wrapped up in lying alone} (Yoh/Jn 20:5) and also the compound subjunctive copulative *aba wodwa* {they became/were alone} as in *amadoda aseTobhi nawaseMahaka aba wodwa endle* {the men of Tob and those of Maacah were alone in the veld} (2 Sam 10:8).

Cumulatives are not found in such forms as an identificative, locative, possessive, instrumentative or connective. This is compensated for by using them in apposition to absolute pronouns in these forms, as for example in *bathinjwe zizo zonke iintshaba zabo* {they were taken captive by all their enemies} (2 Kum/Kgs 21:14); *waya kuyo yonke imizi* {he went to all the homesteads/towns} (Is 36:1); *ngenxa yawo onke amasikizi* {because of all the disgusting things} (Hez/Ezek 6:11); *kwaye kulo lonke eleentaba lakwaYuda kuxoxwa ngazo zonke ezi zinto* {in all of that of hills [i.e. the hill country] of Judah it was talked about all these things} (Luka 1:65) and *ulungile kunabo bobabini lowo ungekabikho* {he is good in comparison to them both the one that is not here yet} (Ntshum/Ecc 4:3). The inclusive *kwabodwa* {also alone; being alone} as in *bakubagqiba abemi bakwaSehire babulalana kwabodwa* {when they had finished the inhabitants of Seir, they killed each other on their own} (2 Kron/Chr 20:23) is exceptional and is a further indication that what has for convenience been called the inclusive form of substantives in this dissertation is in fact a contracted copulative. (Vide pericope 4.28.)

Cumulatives of *-dwa* {alone} are found with the function of adverbs modifying predicates, as in *wayibeka yodwa eyakhe imihlambi* {he placed alone his own flocks} (Gen 30:40); *usele yedwa* {he remained alone} (Gen 44:20) and *woba yinqambi kuphele, ahlale yedwa* {he will be ritually impure that it ends [i.e. completely] and live alone} (Lev 13:46).

The class 17 cumulative *kodwa* {but} is used independently with a high frequency as a conjunction juxtaposing contrasting statements, as in *woshumayela iindaba ezilungileyo ngenye imini, kodwa namhla akusayi kushumayela* {you [singular] will proclaim news-items

that are good {i.e. the good news] on another day, but today you will not preach} (2 Sam 18:20).

Of note is the use in the RUV of numerical cumulatives as synonyms of relative constructions, as in *walinganisa intsika yevaranda: iikubhite zontlanu ngapha, iikubhite zontlanu ngapha* {he measured the pillar of the veranda: all five cubits on that side, all five cubits on that side} (Hez/Ezek 40:48) and *amadoda angamakhulu omabini anamanci mahlanu* {men that are hundreds that are all two that are with five smalls [i.e. two hundred and fifty men]} (Num 26:10).

5.22 Qualificative nouns

To complete the description of the substantives of isiXhosa attention has to be given to the words used to describe qualities that may be attributed to other substantives. These words have prefixes like nouns and can be termed qualificative nouns. Two categories of such qualificative nouns can be distinguished, namely the variable prefix qualificative nouns, traditionally called adjectives, e.g. *mhle/bahle/mihle* etc. {beautiful, good looking, good}, and the fixed prefix qualificative nouns, traditionally called relatives, e.g. *mnandi* {pleasant, nice}, *manzi* {wet} and *luhlaza* {green}.

5.23 Variable prefix qualificative nouns or adjectives

The variable prefix qualificative nouns, traditionally called adjectives, consist of the basic nominal class-prefix plus one of the following stems, that we may call adjective stems for convenience:

- de {long}
- futshane/fuphi {short}
- hle {good looking / good}
- bi {ugly / bad}
- tsha (aspirated) {new / young}
- dala {old}
- nci/ncinana/ncinane/ncinanana {small}
- khulu {big / grown up}
- ninzi {many}
- nye {one}
- bini {two}
- thathu {three}
- ne {four}
- hlanu {five}
- thandathu {six}
- ngaphi na? {how many?}
- nje {so many, as indicated with the fingers from the little finger of the left hand (1) to the little finger of the right hand (10)}

Thus, for example, the following variable prefix qualificative nouns or adjectives are found with the stem *-de* {long}:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>mde</i>	<i>mde</i>	<i>lide</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>inde</i>	<i>lude</i>	<i>bude</i>	<i>kude</i>	<i>kude</i>
Plural:	<i>bade</i>	<i>mide</i>	<i>made</i>	<i>zide</i>	<i>zinde</i>				

In the case of classes 9, 10 and 11 the same rules controlling nasal compounds operate as those applicable to nouns as described in pericope 3.10, resulting, for example, in the class 9 adjectives *mfutshane* {short}, *ntle* {good looking, good}, *mbi* {ugly, bad}, *ntsha* {new, young}, *ncinane* {small}, *nkulu* {big, large, grown up}, *ninzi* {many}, *nye* {one}, *mbini* {two}, *ntathu* {three}, *ne* {four}, *ntlanu* {five}, *ngaphi na?* {how many} and *nje* {so many}. In the nasal compound the *b* of *mbi* {ugly, bad} and *mbini* {two} is explosive.

The adjective stem *-fuphi* is only found in the class 17 *kufuphi* {near, close} used as an adverb, as in *lo mzi ukufuphi* {this homestead is close} (Gen 19:20). Adjectives with the diminutive stem *-futshane* {short} are found in the various classes, as in *imihla yakhe mifutshane* {his days are short, i.e. few} (Yobhi/Job 14:1); *umandlalo mfutshane* {the bed is short} (Is 28:20); *impahla emfutshane* {stock that is short, i.e. small stock} (Gen 20:14); *ndinibhalele ngokufutshane* {I have written to you [plural] by means of what is short, i.e. in short} (Hebh 13:22) and *ngesithomo yayimfutshane* {in stature he was short} (Luka 19:3).

The adjective stem *-ncinana* {small, little} and its variant *-ncinane* {small, little} is obviously a diminutive (c.f. pericope 3.25). The stem *-ncinanana* {very little, very small} is its reduplication, indicating even greater diminution. The stems *-ncinane* {small, little} and *-futshane* {short} have the final vowel *-a* centralised to *-e*. Diminutives can also be formed with other adjectives with the use of the suffix *-ana*, e.g. *-nkulwana* {biggish} and its variant *-nkudlwana* {biggish}, but examples are not found in the RUV. What is found is the augmentative (c.f. pericope 3.28) *-khulukazi* {very big, great, enormous}, as in *amadinga amakhulukazi* {very big promises} (2 Pet 1:4) and *ndenze ngobudenge, ndalahleka ngokukhulukazi* {I acted with foolishness and got lost enormously} (1 Sam 26:21).

The variable prefix qualificative nouns or adjectives are used in qualificative copulative predicates. In the first and second persons, and in class 9, copulatives of the indicative mood positive are formed regularly with adjectives of the corresponding class by prefixing the subject concord to the adjective of the corresponding class, as in *nibancinane* {you [plural] are small} (1 Kron/Chr 16:19); *inde le nto* {this thing is long} (Yer 29:28) and *ùmhle wamhle ngaphezu koonyana babantu* {you [singular] are beautiful and are beautiful above [i.e. more than] the sons of people} (Ndum/Ps 45:2). In all other cases the subject concord coalesces with the prefix of the adjective and this prefix is pronounced with a high tone (which is usually not written, but which is indicated here for clarity), e.g. *ú+mhle* > *ímhle* {he is good looking} (Eks 2:1); *ba+baninzi* > *báninzi* {they are many} (Eks 1:9), *i+mithandathu* > *míthandathu* {they are six} (Luka 13:14); *zi+zingaphi na?* > *zingaphi na?* {how many are they?} (Yobhi/Job 13:23) and *lu+lukhulu* > *lúkhulu* {it is big}, as in *lukhulu ukholo lwakho* {your faith is big} (Mat 15:28).

The indicative positive copulatives with adjectives with the stem *-bi* can thus be set out as follows:

Person & class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>ndimbi</i>	<i>ùmbi</i>	<i>mbi</i>	<i>mbi</i>	<i>libi</i>	<i>sibi</i>	<i>imbi</i>	<i>lubi</i>	<i>bubi</i>	<i>kubi</i>	<i>kubi</i>
Plural:	<i>sibabi</i>	<i>nibabi</i>	<i>babi</i>	<i>mibi</i>	<i>mabi</i>	<i>zibi</i>	<i>zimb</i>				

It is of note that in classes 1 and 3 the nasal *m* is derived from *mu* and is syllabic, thus the syllables are *m-bi* {he/she/it is ugly}, resulting in *b* retaining its implosive nature. However, in the case of classes 9 and 10, where *in+bi* and *zin+bi* have given rise to nasal compounds and the syllables are *i-mbi* {it is ugly} and *zi-mbi* {they are ugly} respectively, the *b* has lost its implosive nature and become an explosive.

Copulatives in the indicative mood positive with adjectives are found in such phrases as *ezo zinto zintle* {those things are good} (Tito 3:8); *bumnandi ubuthongo bosebenezayo, nokuba incinane, nokuba ininzi into ayidlayo* {the sleep of one who works is pleasant, whether it is small, or whether it is many the thing that he eats} (Ntshum/Ecc 5:12); *kuthi thina mnye uThixo* {with us God is one} (1 Kor 8:5); *zimbini iintlanga esizalweni sakho* {the nations in your womb are two} (Gen 25:23); *iminyaka mibini indlala ikho* {it is two years that the drought has been present} (Gen 45:6) and *umandlalo mfutshane, akukho kunaba, nesigubungelo sincinane, ukuba azisongele kuso* {the bed is short, there is no stretching out, and the covering is small that he wraps himself in it} (Is 28:20).

Also in the case of copulatives in the relative mood positive with adjectives of the third person, with the exception of class 9, the subject concord coalesces with the prefix of the adjective. In this case the tone is low (which is usually not written, but which is indicated here for clarity). Examples are as in *kuze kungadli mpahla imfutshane nankomo* {so that there does not feed stock that is short [i.e. small stock] and cattle} (Eks 34:3); *yile minquma mibini nezi ziphatho zezibane zibini* {it is these two olive trees and these two lamp stands} (SiTyh/Rev 11:4) and *olu hlanga lukhulu ngabantu abalumkileyo* {this nation that is big are people that are wise} (Dut 4:6). However, in a rarely found case such as, for example, *akwasala noko amnye* {there did not remain even one} (Gweb/Jdg 4:16), the antecedent connective demonstrative pronoun *noko* {and that; even; yet} is not the subject of the relative mood *amnye* {that is one}, but an implied *umntu* {human being} is. In such a case, when the class 1 subject is not the antecedent of a predicate in the relative mood, the subject concord is *a-*, and not *u-*. This subject concord *a-* is neither dropped nor does it coalesce with the prefix *m-*, and *amnye* {that is one} is retained.

In the case of the less frequently used copulatives in the situative mood positive with adjectives both the subject concord and the prefix of the adjective are retained, as in *silibonile ilizwe: nâlo lilihle kunene* {we have seen the country: there it is being truly beautiful/good} (Gweb/Jdg 18:9); *bekungekho mfo phakathi koonyana bakaSirayeli umhle kunaye* {there was not a man among the sons of Israel that was good looking in comparison to him, i.e. that was better looking than him} (1 Sam 9:2); *unabo bebaninzi abasebenzi* {you [singular] have them

being many labourers} (1 Kron/Chr 22:15) and *akaphendula zwi noko lilinye* {he did not answer a word even being one} (Mat 27:14).

Relative construction positive copulatives with adjectives occur frequently. They consist of the relative A plus a relative mood positive copulative, as described above.

With as example the adjective stem *-hle* {good looking, good} the following relative constructions are found:

Person								
& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>endimhle</i>	<i>omhle</i>	<i>omhle</i>	<i>omhle</i>	<i>elihle</i>	<i>esihle</i>	<i>entle</i>	<i>oluhle</i>
Plural:	<i>esibahle</i>	<i>enibahle</i>	<i>abahle</i>	<i>emihle</i>	<i>amahle</i>	<i>ezihle</i>	<i>ezintle</i>	
Class:					14	15	17	
Neutral:					<i>obuhle</i>	<i>okuhle</i>	<i>okuhle</i>	

In the first and second person relative constructions with adjectives are only found qualifying an absolute pronoun, as in *mna endimdala* {I that am old} (not found in the RUV). In the third person relative mood copulatives abound in relative constructions with adjectives, as in *umfazi omhle* {a woman that is good looking} (Gen 12:11); *abahlolokazi abatsha* {widows that are young} (1 Tim 5:11); *indoda enkulu* {a man that is big/senior} (1 Tim 5:1); *imisedare emide* {cedars that are tall} (2 Kum/Kgs 19:23); *amawaka amabini* {thousands that are two} (Gweb/Jdg 20:45); *iinkunzi ezintathu ezintsha* {bulls that are three that are young} (1 Sam 1:24) and *uhambo olude* {a journey that is long} (MiZek/Prov 7:19).

Adjectives are only rarely found in negative copulatives, as in the indicative mood *àkamhle na umsakwabo kunaye?* {is she not beautiful her younger sister in comparison to her? i.e. is her younger sister not more beautiful than she is?} (Gweb/Jdg 15:2) and *lo mzi àwumncinane na?* {is this town not small?} (Gen 19:20) and the situative mood *ndiyikhangele ingekufuphi* {I looked at it, it not being near} (Num 24:17) and *nakuba ingekude kuthi sonke ngabanye* {although it is not far from us all by one [i.e. from each one of us]} (Zen/Acts 17:27). It is also found in negative relative constructions, as in *ixesha elingelincinane* {a time that is not small} (Zen/Acts 14:28). In the case of relative constructions of class 10 the syllable *zi-* of the prefix of the adjective is usually dropped in negative copulatives, as in the negative relative construction *ezingentle* {that are not good looking} in the phrase *iimazi ezingentle* {cows that are not good looking} (not found in the RUV).

Copulatives with relative constructions with adjectives are found, as well as compound copulatives with adjectives, as in *wasolula esokunene sakhe, wasibeka entloko kuEfrayim engomncinane* {he stretched out his one of the right hand side [i.e. right hand] and placed it on the head on Ephraim} (Gen 48:14); *isabelo sikaBhenjamin saba sikhulu* {the portion of Benjamin was big} (Gen 43:34); *úya kuba mkhulu* {he will become great} (Gen 48:19); *ukuba baninzi kwenu* {the being many of you [plural]} (Dut 10:22); *ukuze babe banye njengokuba thina sibanye* {that they may be one just as we are one} (Yoh/Jn 17:22); *umtshabalalisi obenze babaninzi ababuleweyo kuthi* {the exterminator that made them to be

many that were killed of us} (Gweb/Jdg 16:24) and *abafi awababulala ekufeni kwakhe baba baninzi kunabafi awababulala esaphilile* {the dead that he killed in his death were many in comparison to [i.e. were more than] the dead that he killed while he was still alive} (Gweb/Jdg 16:30).

Persisting aspect copulatives with adjectives are also found, such as the indicative mood *basebaninzi* {they are still many}, as in *abantu basebaninzi* {the people are still many} (Gweb/Jdg 7:4). The subject concord and the prefix coalesce in non-aspectual copulatives with adjectives in the indicative mood, rendering, for example, *baninzi* {they are many} as in the phrase *abantu baninzi* {the people are many}. However, the presence of the persisting aspect morpheme /-se-/ separates the subject concord and the prefix of the adjective so that coalescence cannot take place and both are retained, as in the example *basebaninzi* {they are still many}.

When the subject concord of a relative construction with the adjective stem *-nye* {one} has a low tone, e.g. *elinye* {that is one}, which tone becomes a falling double tone when the relative *A* coalesces with the subject concord, as in *omnye* {that is one}, it indicates one in number and it usually follows the substantive that it qualifies, as in *ishumi elinye* {a ten that is one} (Gen 18:32) and *umntu omnye* {a person that is one} (Rom 5:19). However, if a high tone is used, e.g. *elínye* {another} or *ómnye* {another}, it indicates “another” or “someone/something else.” In this case it functions as a pronominal relative construction adjective, preceding the noun to which it refers, which then stands in apposition to it, as in *elinye ihashe* {another horse} (SiTyh/Rev 6:4) and *omnye umqondiso* {another sign} (SiTyh/Rev 12:3). In the plural, e.g. *abánye* {some}, it indicates “some” or “some others,” and it is usually found on its own implying a substantive, such as *abantu* {people}, as in *uhlanganisela abanye ekuthinjweni* {he collects others into captivity} (SiTyh/Rev 13:10).

The difference between the relative constructions with the adjective stem *-nye* {one}, e.g. *omnye* {another one}, as described in the previous paragraph, and the absolute indefinite pronouns, such as *wumbi* {another one}, lies in the degree of indefiniteness in the mind of the speaker and there is no absolute dividing line. The absolute indefinite pronouns are more extremely indefinite and are used less than the relative construction with the adjective stem *-nye* {one}. For example *andifuni yimbi* {I do not want another one} would indicate that absolutely no other one is required, while *andifuni enye* {I do not want another one} would be a milder statement that no other one is needed. Should the object referred to by the relative construction be known, as when it stands in apposition to a demonstrative pronoun, as in *ndifuna enye leyo* {I want that other one}, or when the verb contains an object concord, as in *andiyifuni enye* {I do not want the other one}, this would indicate a known object, calling for a definite article in English, indicating that the other one is not sought after. In this regard compare *wazenza mntu wumbi* {he made himself another person, i.e. he disguised himself} (1 Sam 28:8) to *ndothi fehle, ndibe njengomnye umntu* {I shall walk feebly and be like another person} (Gweb/Jdg 16:7) as well as *mna wandibuyisela endaweni yam, omnye lowo wamxhoma* {me he returned to my place, that other one he hung} (Gen 41:13).

The adjectives in class 17 are used as adverbs of time, place and manner, such as *kudala* {long ago} (Dut 2:10), *kude* {far away} (Dut 28:49) and *kunye* {together} (Zen/Acts 21:18).

The adjective of class 11, *lukhulu* {greatly}, is found as an adverb in such phrases as *la mafutha ngekuthengiswe lukhulu ngawo* {this ointment could have been sold with greatly} (Mat 26:9).

Adverbs of manner are derived from adjective stems by prefixing the adverbial prefix *ka-*, e.g. *kakhulu* {much, greatly} (Mat 26:22), *kaninzi* {often} (Yak/Jas 3:2), *kanye* {once; exactly} (Gen 7:11), *kabini* {twice} (Gen 41:32) and *kangaphi na?* {how many times?} (Mat 18:21). However in the case of the stem *-bi* only *kakubi* {badly} (Luka 11:45) is found. The adverb *kahle* {carefully} is used as a polite way of restraining someone in the execution of an action, but in the RUV only *kakuhle* {in a good, clear or pleasing manner} (Gen 26:28) is found. The adjective stem *-nje*, without the adverbial prefix *ka-*, is used as the adverb of manner *nje* {merely, only, yet} (Gen 34:30).

Nouns derived from adjective stems have been referred to in pericope 3.21. Of note is the derived noun *unaphakade* {eternally} (Mika 7:18) which is used as an adverb of time.

5.24 Fixed prefix qualificative nouns or relatives

The fixed prefix qualificative nouns are traditionally called relatives. Many of them are obviously derived from nouns used without the pre-prefix, or sometimes any prefix at all, and indicate the quality associated with the noun, e.g. *msulwa* {blameless} (Nah 1:3), c.f. *umsulwa* {a blameless person}; *mdaka* {dirty; mud coloured} (Yak/Jas 2:2), c.f. *udaka* {mud}; *ze* {naked} (Yobhi/Job 24:7), c.f. *ilize* {bareness}; *manzi* {wet} (Ndum/Ps 6:6), c.f. *amanzi* {water}; *sixhenxe* {seven} (Is 4:1), c.f. *isixhenxe* {seven}; *ngwevu* {grey} (Zekar 1:8), c.f. *ingwevu* {a grey-headed man}; *lukhuni* {hard} (Mat 25:24), c.f. *ukhuni* {a log of wood} and *buhlungu* {painful} (Mat 26:38), c.f. *ubuhlungu* {pain}. In other cases the derivation of relatives is veiled in obscurity, e.g. *mnandi* {pleasant, nice} (Yak/Jas 3:11), *muncu* {sour} (Is 18:5), *krakra* {bitter} (Yak/Jas 3:11) and *lula* {light, easy} (Is 49:6) [compare the isiZulu *ilula* {pumice-stone}]. A number of relatives refer to colours, e.g. *mhlophe* {white} (Is 60:6), *mnyama* {black} (Yer 4:28), *rhwexu* {pale grey spotted/speckled} (Gen 30:32), *nala* {white spotted} (Gen 30:32), *ntsundu* {dark brown} (Yoh/Jn 20:1), *luhlaza* {green} (SiTyh/Rev 8:7), *lubhelu* {yellow} (Lev 13:30) and *bomvu* {red} (Yer 4:30).

On rare occasion diminutives and augmentative relatives are used, e.g. *mhlotshana* {whitish} and *buhlungukazi* {extremely painful}, but no examples are found in the RUV. What are occasionally found are feminine relatives which refer to nouns indicating females, as in *iimazi zeebhokwe ezinakazi nezirhwexukazi* {female goats that are grey speckled and white spotted} (Gen 30:35). Also found are modatives, such as *bugolide* {gold like} (Zek 4:12) and *buhlazarha* {greenish} (Lev 13:49).

In a few cases adverbs of manner are derived from relatives by prefixing the adverbial prefix *ka-*, e.g. *kamnandi* {nicely, pleasantly} (1 Sam 16:17). A number of relatives are used as

adverbs without the adverbial prefix, e.g. *nzima* {hard, difficult} (1 Kum/Kgs 12:4), *lula* {light, easy, easily} (1 Kum/Kgs 12:4) and *ze* {naked} (Yobhi/Job 24:10).

While adjectives have varying prefixes, often coalescing with the subject concord, relatives are used consistently with their fixed prefixes in qualificative copulatives, as in *iingubo ezibomvu* {garments that are red} (ZiLil/Lam 4:5); *imihla esixhenxe* {days that are seven} (Eks 29:30); *iibhulukhwe zelinen emhlophe* {trousers of linen that is white} (Eks 28:42); *utyani obuluhlaza* {grass that is green} (SiTyh/Rev 8:7); *ioli ebugolide* {oil that is gold like} (Zek 4:12); *iseluhlaza* {it is still green} (Yobhi/Job 8:12); *ndibantu bambalwa* {I am people that are few} (Gen 34:30); *kwakumnyama* {it was dark} (Gen 1:2); *musani ukuba buhlungu* {do not be pained} (Gen 45:5); *abenza bakrakra ubomi babo ngomsebenzi olukhuni* {they made their life bitter with work that is hard} (Eks 1:14); *nosondeza iinkunzi ezintsha zeenkomo zibe sibhozo* {you [plural] will sacrifice bulls that are young of cattle that they are eight} (Num 29:29); *baye bemhlophe ngaphezu kwamasi* {they were white more than fermented milk} (ZiLil/Lam 4:7) and *zonke ezingenala, nezingerhwexu phakathi kweebhokhwe, nezingemnyama phakathi kweegusha* {all that are not white spotted and are not grey speckled among the goats and those that are not black among the sheep} (Gen 30:33).

5.25 Conclusion

In this chapter a comprehensive exposition of the pronouns, cumulative pronouns and qualificative nouns of isiXhosa has been given. The distinction between definite and indefinite pronouns has been clearly set out, a distinction that grammarians in the past have failed to accentuate.

In the description of relative constructions the confusing inference has been avoided of implying that a formative called a relative concord has to be identified, such as *ezi-* in a phrase such as *izinja ezilumayo* {dogs that bite}, where the antecedent is also the subject of the relative clause constituting the relative construction. Once the idea of a relative concord is fixed in the mind it is found to be very confusing when the antecedent of a relative construction is not simultaneously its subject. In that case recourse has to be taken to elaborate descriptions of direct and indirect relative constructions, as, for example, Doke (1927: 318-333) does and he is emulated by many that he influenced.

In fact the antecedent can perform any function any other substantive can in the relative clause constituting the relative construction qualifying it, e.g. it may be the object, as in *izinja endizithandayo* {the dogs that I like}, or the 'instrument' as in *izinja endizingela ngazo* {the dogs that I hunt with}, etc. This results in an uncomplicated description very different from what is required if a conjecture about a fixed relative concord has been instilled in the mind. All that must be focused on is a construction consisting of the relative *A*, directed to the antecedent, plus the subject concord of whatever the subject of the relative mood predicate constituting the second element of the qualifying relative construction may be, as described in pericope 6.47.

In this chapter attention has also been drawn to poetic relative constructions (vide pericope 5.13), constructions that other grammarians overlook.

In the description of the qualificative nouns it is especially the information in respect of the so called adjectives that is enlightening. In the past grammarians have thought of adjectives as qualificative words, similar to those used in English, and failed to notice that the adjectives as such are qualificative nouns embedded in copulatives of the various moods. They concentrated on the frequently used indicative and relative construction copulatives with adjectives. For example, in the introduction to his dictionary McLaren thinks of the use of these qualificatives as being restricted to these two instances, calling them the use of adjectives as predicates and as attributes (McLaren, 1963: xiv). Other grammarians formulated intricate rules concerning what they regard to be adjectival concords and their use (e.g. Pinnock, 1994: 171-174). They failed to notice that the adjectives are in fact adjective stems, requiring the various basic prefixes of the various classes, and that these are then used in copulatives with regular concords. They were confused by the fact that the varying prefixes of adjectives brought about that subject concords of the same class prefixed to them caused the repetition of similar syllables, which as a result of frequent use in the positive indicative and relative moods gave rise to the subject concord and the prefix in some instances fusing, as described in pericope 5.23. They also failed to notice that adjectives are on occasion used in copulatives of the situative mood and in aspectual copulatives, where, because of infrequent use, no such fusion has taken place and both the subject concord and the nominal prefix are retained.

With this chapter the description of the substantives of isiXhosa has been completed and a description of the predicates of isiXhosa can now be pursued, as is done in the next chapters.

Chapter 6

Morphology and syntax of isiXhosa predicates:

Verbs

6.1 Predicates

In chapters 3 to 5 a description of the substantives of isiXhosa has been given. Attention can now be turned to the predicates, i.e. words indicating processes.

The predicates of isiXhosa can be distinguished as verbs, e.g. *bayahamba* {they walk/go} (Ndum/Ps 119:3) and copulatives, e.g. *singabazalwana* {we are brothers} (Gen 42:31). Verbs indicate processes that take place while copulatives existentially connect substantives to each other, as the above examples illustrate.

Initially in this study attention is given to verbs.

6.2 Verbs and their attributes

In describing isiXhosa verbs it is useful at the outset to give attention to the attributes of verbs. General, restricted and unique attributes have to be brought into focus. Then attention has to be given to the concords with which phrases are linked together, linking subjects and objects to verbs as found in various categories and moods.

6.3 General attributes of verbs

Semantically verbs can be distinguished as words referring to processes, e.g. *ndiyabona* {I see} (Yoh/Jn 4:19).

Morphologically verbs can be distinguished as words containing a verb stem. The minimum requirement for a verb stem is that it consists of a root, e.g. */-bon-/* and a terminal vowel, e.g. */-a/*. Verb stems can be classified according to their phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactical characteristics as described lower down.

Syntactically verbs are distinguished by the fact that it is possible to modify them with adverbs, as in *sibone kakuhle* {we saw well} (Gen 26:28); *wamfumana endleleni* {he found him on the road} (1 Kum/Kgs 11:29) and *ùfike izolo* {you [singular] having arrived yesterday} (2 Sam 15:20).

6.4 Restricted general attributes of verbs

All pure verbs, that is to say with the exclusion of ambivalent verbs, i.e. imperatives that are also interjections, e.g. *hamba!* {walk/go!} (1 Kum/Kgs 1:53), and infinitives that are also nouns, e.g. *ukuhamba* {to walk / to go} (1 Kum/Kgs 16:31), have the morphological attribute that they must have a subject concord, usually mentioned but on occasion only implied, and the syntactical attribute that they are the predicates of subjects, either mentioned or implied, as in *iziqhwala ziyahamba* {the lame walk} (Luka 7:22) and *bayahamba* {they walk} (Ndum/Ps 119:3) (vide pericope 6.7).

All transitive verbs have the morphological characteristic that they may have an object concord, in which case they have the syntactical characteristic of being the predicates of definite known objects, either mentioned or implied, or are general statements, as in *ndiyayithanda inkosi yam* {I like my master} (Eks 21:5); *ndiyabangqinela* {I witness for them} (Rom 10:2); *babambeni!* {catch them!} (1 Kum/Kgs 18:40); *ukulibona ilanga* {to see the sun} (Ntshum/Ecc 11:7) and *bayayichasa inyaniso* {they oppose the truth} (2 Tim 3:8) (vide pericope 6.8).

6.5 Unique attributes of verbs

The unique semantic, morphological and syntactic attributes of the various categories of verbs are described in the following pericopes, most notably in respect of the fact that verbs are linked to other elements of a phrase by way of concords.

6.6 Concordial links or concords

All predicates have an explicit or implied link to the substantive referring to the subject executing the process indicated by the predicate, as in *ilizwe liyatsha* {the country is burning} (Is 9:19) and *isitya sizele* {a dish being full} (Yoh/Jn 19:29). These examples illustrate the similarity in sound, or concordance, of the link with the prefix of the substantive referring to the subject, as a result of which the link is usually referred to as a subject concord. Also the object of a predicate is sometimes linked to it with a concord, called an object concord, e.g. *-si-*, as in *asibona* {they saw it} in *asibona amaSirayeli isandla esikhulu* {the Israelites saw the large hand} (Eks 14:31). These links or concords, and the ways in which they are used, are described below.

6.7 Subject concords

The subjectival concordial link, or subject concord for short, consists of the basic nominal class prefix in its original form (vide pericopes 3.3 and 4.4) stripped of the nasal (*n* or *m*). Nouns in classes 1a and 2a use the same concords as those of classes 1 and 2 respectively. For the first person the link *ndi-* {I} is used in the singular and *si-* {we} in the plural, while the second person avails itself of the link *ù-* {you [singular]} in the singular and *ni-* {you [plural]} in the plural.

The subject concords can be tabulated as follows:

Person & class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ù-</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>sí-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
Plural:	<i>sì-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>				

In the case of verbs in the subjunctive mood (with the exception of the positive perfect subjunctive) and also in a few other instances, as when used preceding the morpheme */-ngá-/* indicating a potential aspect, and in the case of verbs in the relative mood where the class 1 subject is not the antecedent, the subject concord of class 1 is *a-*, as in *ukuze abone* {so that he sees} (Gen 8:8); *wanga uIshmayeli angádla ubomi* {may he be Ishmael that he can eat life, i.e. may Ishmael live} (Gen 17:18) and *xa asondelayo* {when he approaches} (Eks 32:19). In

the case of the positive perfect subjunctive the concord and the perfect subjunctive morpheme /-a-/ coalesce to *wa-* as in the hortative subjunctive *wanga* {may he be} above.

In the case of verbs in the situative mood the subject concord of classes 1 and 6 is *e-* and that of class 2 is *be-*, as in *makabulaleke esebenza* {let him become exhausted working} (Ef 4:28) and *bafana nabantwana abahleli endaweni yembutho bekhwazana besithi*: “*Sanigwalela ...*” {they resemble children that sit in the place of meeting shouting to each other saying: “We played the harp for you ...”} (Luka 7:32). Presumably the concords were originally *a-* and *ba-* but coalesced to *e-* and *be-* with the vowel of a situative morpheme /-si-/ that has become obsolete and is only retained in the case of monosyllabic verbs, as in *besithi* {they saying} above, and as /-s-/ in the case of verbs commencing in a vowel, as in *esenza* {he making} in *nanko ukumkani elila, esenza isijwili* {there is the king weeping, making a lament} (2 Sam 19:1).

The subject concords of the first and the second person are pronounced with a relatively low tone and those of the third person in the various classes with a relatively high tone. In the written text of the RUV this is only indicated in instances where it avoids ambiguity, as in *úqalekisiwe umhlaba ngenxa yakho; ùya kudla kuwo ubulaleka, yonke imihla yobomi bakho. Ûya kukuntshulela imithana enameva neenkunzane, ùdle umfuno wasendle. Ûya kudla ukudla kokubila kobuso bakho* {the earth is cursed because of you [singular]; you will eat from it with hardship all the days of your life. It will grow you thorn bushes and devil’s thorns, and you will eat vegetables from the veld. You will eat the food of the sweat of your face} (Gen 3:17-19).

When a subject concord consisting of the vowels *u* or *i* is prefixed to another vowel it becomes the corresponding semivowel, i.e. *u* > *w* and *i* > *y*, as in *wakha* {he/she builds} (1 Kor 14:4) and *yenza* {it does/makes} (Is 24:7). When the subject concord consisting of the vowel *a* is prefixed to another vowel it coalesces with that vowel assimilating to it, i.e. *a* + *a/e/o* > *a/e/o*, as in *makeze kum, azi* [*a* + *azi*] *ukuba kukho umprofeti kwaSirayeli* {let him come to me and know that there is a prophet in Israel}; *enza* [*a* + *enza*] *ntoni na la maYuda?* {what are these Judeans doing?} (Neh 4:2) and *ndiya kuwabetha othuke* [*a* + *othuke*] *amahashe* {I shall hit the horses that they panic} (Zekar 12:4).

When a subject concord consisting of a consonant and a vowel is prefixed to a morpheme that commences in a vowel, the vowel of the concord is dropped, e.g. *ba* + *a* > *ba-*, as in *bâkhe isibingelelo* {they built an altar} (Yosh 22:11); *ba* + *o* > *bo-*, as in *bongeza* {they add} (Hos 13:2) and *zi* + *e* > *ze-*, as in *zenza* {they do/make} (ZiLil/Lam 1:4). However, the vowel *u* of the concords of classes 11, 14, 15 and 17 is not dropped but is assimilated to become the semi-vowel *w*, i.e. *lu* + *a/e* > *lwa/lwe-* and *ku* + *a/e* > *kwa/kwe-*, as in *lwanda* {it increased} (1 Tim 1:14) and *kwenza* {it makes/causes} (Ntshum/Ecc 5:1).

When the phoneme *a*, with the exception of the relative *A* (vide pericope 5.10), is prefixed to a subject concord, *a* + *i* > *ayi-*, *a* + *u* > *awu-*, and *a* + *a* > *aka-*, as in *inkohlakalo ayiphumi eluthulini* {evil does not emerge out of dust} (Yobhi/Job 5:6); *awunqandwa umvandedwa wam* {my melancholy feeling is not stopped} (Yobhi/Job 16:6) and *amehlo omntu*

akanakuhlutha {the eyes of a human being cannot be satisfied} (MiZek/Prov 27:20). It is of note that in the negative the subject concord of class 1 is not *u-* but *a-* and the negative *à + a > aka-*, as in *umfundisi wenu akayirholi na imali yetempile?* {does your teacher not fork out the money of the temple?} (Mat 17:24). In the case of the second person singular the subject concord used following the negative *a* is *ku* and *a + ku > aku-*, as in *akukhathali nangubani* {you [singular] do not care about anyone} (Mat 22:16). In other versions of isiXhosa this form is often heard as, for example, *awukhathali* and even *hawukhathali* {you [singular] do not care}. Negatives such as *awukoneli* {you [singular] do not yet have enough} and *awukeva* {you [singular] have not yet heard} are at present widely used, as in the school textbook for Form 12 of Dudumashe-Luthango et al. (2010, *Isigaba 12*: 169 and 245).

All pure verbs (vide pericope 6.2) contain a subject concord that corresponds in number and class with a specified or implied subject that is predicated by the verb, for example *li-* as in *ukuba iliso lakho lokunene liyakukhubekisa linyothule* {if your eye of the right hand side causes you to stumble pluck it out} (Mat 5:29) and in *liyafuneka* {it is required} referring to *ithole le-esile* {the fowl of an ass} in the sentence preceding it (Marko 11:3). However the class 17 concord *ku-* may, on the rare occasions when it is appropriate, be used as the general or universal concord of a predicate preceding the noun referring to the logical subject, as *kuhamba* {there walks} in *kwaphuma empini yamaFilisti indoda efuna undikho, egama linguGoliyati waseGati, ... kuhamba umphathi wekhaka phambi kwayo* {there came out from the army of the Philistines a man seeking an opponent, whose name was Goliath of Gath, there walking a bearer of a shield in front of him} (1 Sam: 17:4-7). The class 17 concord *ku-* is also used to refer to an unspecified general subject, as in *kuyasa* {it is becoming light, i.e. day is breaking} (Gen 32:26) and *kufuneka ukuba nibe nomonde* {it is required that you [plural] have perseverance, i.e. you must persevere} (Hebh 10:36). Also the class 9 subject concord *i-* is occasionally used as universal or general concord as in exhortations such as *ize ningebe* {you [plural] must not steal} (Lev 19:11) and *ize ningaxabani endleleni* {you [plural] must not quarrel on the road} (Gen 45:24).

In the case of deficient or auxiliary verbs the subject concord is sometimes omitted and only implied, as in *sukuba* from *ùsukuba* in the phrase *apho sukuba ùsiya khona* {wherever you [singular] happen to go} (Yosh 1:7) and *ze* from *baze* as in *bona bakholwa umzuzwana, ze bathi ngexa lokuhendwa balahle* {they believe for a short while, and do then, at the time of temptation, throw away} (Luka 8:13).

In the case of the verb *ukuza* {to come}, used in the second person as a hortative subjunctive auxiliary verb complemented with a verb in the subjunctive mood, the subject concord is retained in the singular and exhortations such as *uze ungabulali* {you [singular] must not kill} (Eks 20:13) and *umthi wokwazi okulungileyo nokubi uze ungawudli* {the tree of knowing that which is good and that which is bad you [singular] must not eat} (Gen 2:17) abound. In the second person plural the concord is occasionally dropped, as in *ze ningazichebi nizizungeleze iintlontlo zentloko yenu* {you [plural] must not shave your head and encircle it with hairless patches} (Lev 19:27) and *noko ke ze ningambaleli ekuthini ulutshaba* {however then you [plural] must not count him in saying he is an enemy} (2 Tes 3:15). More often the regular

second person plural concord is optionally used, as in *nize nimxelele ubawo* {you [plural] must tell father} (Gen 45:13); *nize ningayidli inyama yazo* {you [plural] must not eat the meat of them} (Lev 11:11) and *into enegwele nize ningayidli* {a thing with leaven you [plural] must not eat} (Eks 12:20). However, in the overwhelming majority of cases the class 9 subject concord *i-* is used as universal or general concord, and exhortations are found such as *inyama yezo nto ize ningayidli* {the meat of those things you [plural] must not eat} (Lev 11:8); *ize ningaxabani endleleni* {you [plural] must not quarrel on the road} (Gen 45:24) and *ize ningebi; ize ningakhanyeli into niyazi; ize ningaxokisani* {you [plural] must not steal; you must not deny something while you know it; you must not lie to each other} (Lev 19:11). Of note is the occasional use of a third person subjunctive with a passive verb as complement and the subject concord *ku-* of class 17 as universal or general concord, as in *ize ke kungàdliwa nto inegwele* {let there then not be eaten a thing that has leaven} (Eks 13:3). Although the majority of these exhortations are in the negative, they are also found in the positive, as in *ize nizilungiselele umhla wesithathu, ningasondeli ebafazini* {you [plural] must prepare for yourselves the third day and not come near to women} (Eks 19:15) and *abantu belizwe eli ize bamxulube ngamatye* {the people of this country must throw at him/her with stones} (Lev 20:2).

Sometimes, especially when the subject is a human being and referred to with a noun other than in class 1/2, and when the speaker's mind wanders somewhat, the concords used may divert to class 1/2, as in *ndisikwa yimfesane ngenxa yezihlewele, ngokuba sekuntsuku ntathu behleli nam bengenanto bangayidlayo* {I am cut by the umbilical cord because of the crowds [i.e. I am filled with compassion towards the crowds] because it is already three day they are staying with me not having a thing that they can eat} (Mat 15:32) and *bakuyiva le nto aba buhlungu amadoda* {when they heard this thing the men were saddened} (Gen 34:7), or the concord may switch from that of class 1 to that of class 2, as in *waphendula uLabhan noBhetuweli, bathi: "Le nto iphuma kuYehova"* {Laban he answered and Bethuel, and they said: "This thing comes out from the Lord"} (Gen 24:50).

When two or more related plural subjects are predicated and are referred to by nouns of the same class this poses no problem, as the concord of the class they belong to is used, as in *ziphephethekile iinkomo neentaka* {they have been blown away the cattle and the birds} (Yer 12:4). However, when this is not the case, deciding on the right concord is awkward and various devices are used, usually using the concord of the nearest noun referring to the subject, as will become apparent in the following paragraphs.

If two or more nouns of the same class referring to the subject are paramount in the mind of the speaker, and are consequently mentioned preceding the predicate, and if they are regarded as acting in unison, the concord of the corresponding plural class is used, as in *uMoses noAron bazenza ke ezi zimanga* {Moses and Aaron then did these miracles} (Eks 11:10). However, if they are regarded as acting individually, the corresponding singular concord is used, as in *inkomo, negusha, nebhokhwe, xa izalwayo, yoba mihla isixhenxe phantsi konina* {a head of cattle, and a sheep, and a goat, when it is born, it shall be seven days under its mother} (Lev 22:26-27).

If the predicate is prominent in the mind, and consequently precedes two nouns of the same class referring to the subject, the concord of the first may be used followed by the plural concord further, as in *wahamba uMoses noAron, bawahlanganisa onke amadoda amakhulu* {Moses he went with Aaron and they gathered all the senior men} (Eks 4:29).

Two or more nouns referring to the subject, the first being in class 1a, may be regarded as a collective, in which case the first is used in class 2a and the plural class 2 concord is used, as in *baphuma ke ooMoses noAron* {they went out then Moses and them and Aaron} (Eks 8:12) and *ooDavide nendlu yonke kaSirayeli babeyinyusa ke ityeya kaYehova, beduma, behlokomisa isigodlo* {David and them and the whole house of Israel were carrying up the box of the Lord, raising the sound of a horn trumpet} (2 Sam 6:15).

If people are involved, the concord of class 2 may be used, as in *uDavide nendlu yonke kaSirayeli baqamba phambi koYehova* {David and the whole house of Israel danced before the Lord} (2 Sam 6:5) and *ikampu namatutu bothuka nabo* {the camp and the robbers got a fright them also} (1 Sam 14:15). However, even if a class 1/2 noun is involved, if a number of nouns of another class intervene before the predicate, the plural concord of these nouns may be used, as in *umntu nempahla enkulu, iinkomo nempahla emfutshane, mazingevi nento, mazingadli, mazingaseli namanzi* {a person and large stock, cattle and small stock, they must not taste even a thing, they must not eat} (Yona 3:7).

If animals are involved the concord of class 10 may be used, as in *ithokazi lenkomo neemazi zezimvu zibe mbini* {a head of cattle heifer and ewes of sheep that they are two, i.e. a heifer and two ewes} (Is 7:21) and *ithole nemvana ezimnyaka mnye* {a calf and a lamb that are one year old} (Lev 9:3). However, if the use of another concord has intervened prominently the plural of that concord may be used, as in *iinkomo namaesile amatsha asebenza umhlaba aya kudla umtywakaniselo onetyuwa* {cattle and donkeys that are young that work the land they will eat mash that has salt} (Is 30:24).

If the predicate is prominent and precedes the two or more nouns referring to the subject, it may take the concord of the closest noun, as in *wasifumana isidumbu siqungquluzile endleleni, limi iesile nengonyama ecaleni lesidumbu* {he found the body lying exposed in the road, the ass standing and the lion at the side of the body} (1 Kum/Kgs 13:28).

The class 17 concord *ku-* may be used as general or universal concord of a predicate preceding the nouns referring to the logical subject, as *kuwe* {and there falls} in *ndiya kulinyikimisa izulu nehlabathi ... kuwe amahashe nabakhweli bawo* {I shall cause to shake the heaven and the earth, and there falls horses and those mounted on them} (Hag 2:21).

6.8 Object concords

The objectival concordial link, or object concord for short, is identical to the subject concord where the latter consists of a consonant plus a vowel. Where the subject concord consists of the vowel *i-*, the object concord is *-yi-*, and where it is *u-* or *a-* the object concord is *-wu-* or *-wa-* respectively, except in the case of the second person singular, where it is *-ku-*, and the third person class 1, where it is a syllabic *-m-*.

The object concords can be tabulated as follows:

Person & class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	-ndi-	-ku-	-m-	-wu-	-li-	-sí-	-yi-	-lu-	-bu-	-ku-	-ku-
Plural:	-sì-	-ni-	-ba-	-yi-	-wa-	-zi-	-zi-				

The object concord refers to a definite known object, or an object that is immediately indicated, and is always found directly preceding the verb stem, as in *bayibeka* {and they placed it} in *bathabatha ingubo*, *bayibeka emagxeni abo bobabini* {they took a garment and they placed it on the shoulders of them both} (Gen 9:23) and in *asikaziboni* {we have not yet seen them} in *asikaziboni zithotyelwe phantsi kwakhe zonke izinto* {we have not yet seen them lowered under him all things} (Hebh 2:8). A previously unknown indefinite object is not linked to the predicate with an object concord, as for example in *bathabatha elowo ugcedevu lwakhe, babeka umlilo kulo* {they took each his potsherd and placed fire on it} (Lev 10:1).

When an object concord is prefixed to a verb stem commencing in the vowel *o*, the vowel of the object concord is dropped, e.g. *ba + o > bo* as in *ndiyabohlwaya* {I discipline them}, as in *bonke endibathandayo ndiyabohlwaya* {all those that I love I discipline} (SiTyh/Rev 3:19). The same occurs in the case of verb stems commencing in the vowels *a* and *e*, except that the link *-ku-* of the second person singular and of classes 15 and 17 is found as *-kw-*, and the *-lu-* of class 11 as *-lw-*, as in *igama lakho liya kuba nguAbraham, ngokuba ndikwenze uyise wengxokolo yeentlanga* {your name shall be Abraham because I have made you the father of a rowdy crowd of nations } (Gen 17:5) and *siyalwakha udonga* {we are building the wall} (Neh 4:1).

The object concord is usually found in the long form of verbs, as in the long form of the indicative perfect, as in *niyibonile na le ndoda?* {have you [plural] seen this man?} (1 Sam 17:25) and in the long form of the indicative imperfect, as in *ndiyababona abantu* {I see the people} (Marko 8:24). [Possibly the morpheme */-ya-/* of the positive indicative imperfect mood was previously a morpheme indicating an imperfect aspect (vide pericope 8.17). Remnants of this imperfect aspect have, however, been retained and are also associated with the object concord. This can be seen in the case of statements that are not indicative of a specific time but are of a universal nature, such as *naboni bayabathanda abo babathandayo* {also wrongdoers love those that love them} (Luka 6:32).]

When two or more related objects are referred to by way of an object concord, similar devices are used as those described in the case of subject concords in pericope 6.7 above, often resulting in the object concord of the noun with the closest proximity being used, as in *balizisa iesile nethole* {they brought the ass and the calf} (Mat 21:7); *wayixhela inkomo nenkunzi yemvu* {he slaughtered the head of cattle and the sheep ram} (Lev 9:18); *ndiya kulinyikimisa izulu nehlabathi, ... ndizibhukuqe iinqwelo zokulwa nabakhweli bazo* {I shall cause to shake heaven and earth, and overthrow the chariots of war and the riders on them} (Hag 2:21) and *azisa ilizwi kubo, nakwibandla lonke, ababonisa neziqhamo zelizwe elo* {and they brought a word to them and to the whole congregation, and showed them also the fruit of

that land} (Num 13:26). Of interest is the shift from the singular to the plural in *uze unyuke wena ninoAron* {you [singular] must go up you [plural] together with Aaron} (Eks 19:24).

6.9 The reflexive link -zi-

The reflexive link -zi- operates like an object concord and indicates that the subject of the predicate is also the object of the predicate both executing and undergoing the process indicated by the predicate, as in *ookumkani beentlanga bayazigagamela* {the kings of the nations overrate themselves} (Luka 22:25); *wena uyazingqinela* {you [singular] witness for yourself} (Yoh/Jn 8:13) and *umntu, ukuba uba uyinto, engento, uyazikhohlisa* {a person, if he/she thinks he/she is something while being nothing, misleads himself/herself} (Gal 6:3). As can be seen from these examples the reflexive -zi- resembles an object concord in function, but is not a concord as it remains the same irrespective of the class of the noun indicating the subject of the predicate.

When prefixed to a verb with a stem commencing in a vowel, the vowel *i* of the reflexive -zi- is dropped, as in *kuzohlwaya* < *ku + zi + ohlwaya* {to discipline yourself}, in *andisayi kuzohlwaya*; *andiyi kubuya umva kuloo nto* {I shall not discipline myself; I shall not turn back in that matter} (Yer 4:28).

Having noted the attributes of verbs and their concords it is possible to turn attention to the various categories of verbs as reflected in the isiXhosa verb system.

6.10 Categories of verbs constituting the verb system of isiXhosa

The verb system of isiXhosa consists of four categories or groups of verbal structures displaying common semantic, morphological and syntactic characteristics. They are the primary categories of mood, tense and actuality, as well as the secondary category of aspect, as set out below.

6.11 Mood

A mood is a series of verbal structures with a common semantic interpretation, other than that indicated by the concordial links and the verb stem, and with a specific syntax. The verbal system of isiXhosa displays six such moods. They are:

The indicative mood, that indicates that a process is a statement of fact, e.g. *ndiyasebenza* {I work / am working} (Yoh/Jn 5:17).

The situative mood, that indicates that a process is the situation that simultaneously rules as another process takes place. That is to say a predicate in the situative mood modifies another predicate, as for example *esebenza* {while working} in the phrase *makabulaleke esebenza* {let him/her become exhausted while working} (Ef 4:28). Sometimes this mood is less accurately called the participial mood, because it is usually best translated in English with a participle.

The relative mood, that indicates that a process qualifies a matter (represented by a substantive), e.g. as *usebenzayo* {he that works} as in the phrase *lowo usebenzayo* {that one who works} (Ntshum/Ecc 3:9).

The subjunctive mood, that indicates that a process chronologically or causally follows upon another process, or that it is desired that a process should take place, e.g. as *asebenze* {that he works} in the phrase *uThixo wamndulula emyezweni we-Eden ukuba asebenze umhlaba* {God sent him away from the garden of Eden that he works the earth} (Gen 3:23).

The imperative mood, that indicates that a process is a command, e.g. *vuka* {stand up}, as in the sentence *wathi uYehova kuYoshuwa: “Vuka!”* {the Lord said to Joshua: “Get up!”} (Yosh 7:10).

The infinitive mood, that indicates that a process is simultaneously also a matter, e.g. *ukusebenza* {to work}, as in the phrase *ukuba akwazi ukusebenza yonke imisebenzi* {so that he knows to work all tasks} (Eks 36:1) [c.f. pericope 3.14].

6.12 Tense

The verb system of isiXhosa displays two basic tenses. They are the imperfect, indicating a process that is in progress, and the perfect, indicating a process that has been completed. Examples are respectively *úyababona* {he sees them}, as in *úyababona bonke oonyana babantu* {he sees all the sons of men} (Ndum/Ps 33:13) and *niyibonile* {you [plural] saw / have seen it}, as in *niyibonile into endiyenzileyo* {you [plural] saw / have seen the thing I did/made} (Eks 19:4).

It is important to note that while the imperfect tense denotes an active process and the perfect tense the state of affairs that exists as the result of a completed process, both may in certain instances reflect the present time [and be translated in the present tense in English], e.g. compare *iyalamba* {he becomes hungry / suffers hunger} as in *ingcibi yesinyithi ... iyalamba, ingabi namandla* {a craftsman of metal becomes hungry and does not have strength} (Is 44:12) to *lulambile* {he/she is hungry} as in *ukuba utshaba lwakho lulambile luphe ludle* {if your enemy is hungry give him/her that he/she eats} (Roma 12:20). The imperfect tense, as in the case of [*ingcibi*] *iyalamba* {[the artisan] he becomes hungry / suffers hunger}, denotes the process of becoming hungry, while the perfect tense, as in the case of [*utshaba*] *lulambile* {[the enemy] he/she is hungry}, reflects the situation of being hungry that exists when the process of becoming hungry is completed. However, both ‘to become hungry’ and ‘to be hungry’ are verbs in the present tense in English. For the sake of those that find it difficult to disassociate themselves from a mindset of thinking in terms of past, present and future, such a perfect tense, which reflects the present static process resultant from a completed process, can be called a stative perfect tense, as for example the verbs in the sentence *abantu balambile, batyhafile, banxaniwe entlango* {the people are hungry, they are exhausted, they are thirsty in the desert} (2 Sam 17:29).

In some instances both the imperfect tense and the perfect tense of verbs are used in a short or a long form. The choice of form depends upon what is in the forefront of the speakers mind and a feeling for the balance of the sentence. No absolute rules pertain, but general trends can be identified.

The long form of a verb is usually used:

when the verb is used unmodified on its own, as in *niyahiliza* {you [plural] are acting foolishly} (Eks 5:17); *nam ndiyasebenza* {I also am working} (Yoh/Jn 5:17) and *nantso, ifikile!* {there it is, it has arrived!} (Hez/Ezek 7:10);

when the verb contains an object concord, as in *unyana olumkileyo uyamvuyisa uyise* {a son that is wise gives joy to his father} (MiZek/Prov 10:1); *lo amthandayo uYehova uyamohlwaya* {this one that he loves the Lord disciplines} (MiZek/Prov 3:12) and *uqeqesho izimathane ziludelile* {training stupid people despise} (MiZek/Prov 1:7);

when the verb poses a general statement, as in *ilungisa liyahlangulwa embandezelweni* {a righteous person is saved from oppression} (MiZek/Prov 11:8) and

when the verb is accentuated as in *yena uvukile kwabafileyo* {he arose from the dead} (Mat 14:2).

The short form of a verb is usually used:

when the verb is followed by an object that is not linked to it with an object concord, as in *ndithanda inceba* {I like mercy} (Mat 9:13);

when the verb is not accentuated and is followed by an adverb or a subordinate predicate, as for example the verb *ihla* {it goes down} in the phrase *iwayini le ilungileyo ihla kamnandi* {the wine this that is good goes down nicely} (Ngom/Song 7:9) and the verb *ufike* {he arrived} in the phrase *ufike wema emzini ekuthiwa yiNazarete* {he arrived and settled in the town that is called Nazareth} (Mat 2:23);

and when a transitive verb takes two objects and one is mentioned and the other referred to by way of an object concord, as for example the verb *ndibamisela* {I set up for them} in the phrase *abaseleyo emhlabeni ndibamisela ingonyama* {for those that remain on the earth I set up a lion} (Is 15:9).

In the case of the indicative mood positive and the relative mood positive a further tense, apart from the imperfect and the perfect, is found. This tense indicates that a process took place in the past. Because of its distinguishing vowel *a*, articulated as a relatively long vowel, this tense can be called the *a*-past tense. It is found as for example *wâdala* in the phrase *ekuqalekeni uThixo wadala amazulu nehlabathi* {in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth (Gen 1:1)}. [Sometimes, when the perfect tense is incorrectly seen as a recent past tense, the *a*-past tense is inappropriately called the remote past tense.]

The *a*-past tense is not a primary tense and is only found in the positive indicative and relative moods and has no negative. It can more accurately be described as a past tense construction, as it is compounded with the short form of the perfect indicative or relative mood of the auxiliary verb *ukuya* {to go}, with as complement a positive perfect subjunctive verb, e.g. *uye wabona* > *wâbona* {he saw}, as in *wabona uThixo ukuba kulungile* {God saw that it is good} (Gen 1:10) and *aye waniwisela* > *wâniwisela* {that he proclaimed for you} as in *natyeka kamsinya endleleni leyo waniwisela umthetho ngayo uYehova* {you [plural] deviated soon/fast from that road that the Lord proclaimed a law for you about} (Dut 9:16).

In a narrative text it is usually impossible to distinguish between an *a*-past tense indicative and a positive perfect subjunctive, but this is of no consequence in comprehending the unfolding of what is being narrated. For example the verb *wabona* {he saw} in the above example could very well be read as either an *a*-past tense indicative or a positive perfect subjunctive without any relevant shift in the message relayed.

In the case of the indicative, situative and relative moods, both positive and negative, a future construction is found, indicating that an event is to take place in the future. It consists of the imperfect of the verb *ukuza* {to come} or of the verb *ukuya* {to go}, used as an auxiliary verb, with as complement a disjunctively written basic infinitive, e.g. *baza kusebenza* {they are going to work} and *ndiya kusebenza* {I am going to work}, as in *bonke abo baza kusebenza imisebenzi ngemisebenzi* {all those that are going to perform tasks upon tasks} (Num 4:47) and *ndiya kusebenza umsebenzi ngemihla yenu* {I shall perform a task in your days} (Hab 1:5). Often there is no sharp semantic distinction between the future constructions with *ukuza* {to come} and those with *ukuya* {to go}, however those with *ukuza* {to come} sometimes tend to be more definite and those with *ukuya* {to go} more tentative and hypothetical, e.g. compare *ndiza kufa; buyintoni na kum ubuzibulo?* {I am going to die; what is first birth status to me?} (Gen 25:32) and *uya kuhamba na nale ndoda?* {will you [singular] go with this man?} (Gen 24:58). The RUV favours future constructions using the verb *ukuya* {to go} and they are of a much higher frequency than those constructed with the verb *ukuza* {to come}.

It is noteworthy that as auxiliary verbs in future constructions the verbs *ukuza* {to come} and *ukuya* {to go} only indicate a process that is to take place in the future and have totally lost all vestiges of denoting the process of coming or going. This implies that there is no contradiction in using future constructions such as *uza kuya* {he will go} (Zen/Acts 25:4) and *ndiya kuza* {I shall come} (Rom 9:9). Furthermore, in future constructions the verb *ukuza* {to come} is deficient in that the latent *i* preceding its stem does not exert an influence, as is the case when it is an independent verb or used as a semi-auxiliary verb, as described in pericope 8.8.

Compound tenses are formed using the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} with predicates in the situative mood as complement, such as, for example, the imperfect in the perfect, e.g. *bendibona < ndibe ndibona* {I was seeing} (1 Sam 13:11). As these compound tenses group various tenses and moods together, these tenses are described further down (vide pericopes 6.65-70) following on the description of the various forms of the more basic tenses and moods.

6.13 Actuality

The category of actuality distinguishes between positive and negative verbs, e.g. the positive *uyathetha* {he speaks} (1 Pet 4:11) and the negative *akathethi* {he does not speak} (1 Kor 14:2).

Of note is the use of a grammatical negative to convey a predicate with an emphatic positive connotation. This ironic negative is found in phrases such as *asikuko nokuba iyoyikeka le ndawo* {it is not as if this place is terrifying, i.e. how terrible is this place!} (Gen 28:17); *azizintle ngako iintente zakho, Yakobi!* {they are not all that beautiful your tents, Jacob, i.e. how beautiful your tents are, Jacob!} (Num 24:5) and the strong wish expressed with a

negative subjunctive, as in *akwaba babelumkile; ngebekuqiqa oku* {it was not that they [plural] were wise; they could have understood this, i.e. if only they were wise, they could have understood this!} (Dut 32:29).

6.14 Aspect

The verbal category of aspect is a secondary category that came into being because the stems, or deficient modifications of the stems of auxiliary verbs, initially used complemented by other verbs, have not only undergone a semantic shift, but have also penetrated verbal structures. They take a position immediately after the subject concord and any negative morpheme preceding the verb stem, and through their presence add a further semantic aspect to the verb. This has not happened to all verbal structures, so that non-aspectual verbs, e.g. *ndibona* {I see} (Gen 7:1), have to be distinguished from aspectual verbs, e.g. *ndisabona* {I am still seeing} (Gen 16:13).

The aspectual verbs display the following aspects:

The persisting aspect, e.g. *ùsafuna* {you [singular] still want} (Est 9:12);

The exclusive aspect, e.g. *akakafiki* {he has not yet arrived} (SiTyh/Rev 17:10);

The potential aspect, e.g. *angáfa* {he may/can die} (Gen 44:22);

The inclusive aspect, e.g. *ukwazele* {she also gave birth} (Gen 22:20);

The imperfect aspect, e.g. *ndiyasebenza* {I am working} (Yoh/Jn 5:17), which has lost most of its semantic aspectual characteristics and primarily serves as a long form (vide pericope 6.12);

The derogative imperfect aspect and the derogative persisting imperfect aspect, e.g. *siyawaqala* {we are again irritatingly starting/beginning} (2 Kor 3:1) and *niyawaseniba* {you [plural] are again already irritatingly thinking} (2 Kor 12:19).

Because the derivation of the aspect morphemes can be deduced from the deficient auxiliary verbs, the description of the verbal category of aspect is not taken further here, but is postponed to be described later (vide pericopes 8.12-19).

The forms of verbs in the categories of mood, time and actuality are described in the following pericopes.

6.15 The indicative mood

Verbs in the indicative mood are found in various forms. They exhibit both long and short forms, can be positive or negative, and may reflect the imperfect or perfect tense.

6.16 The short form positive imperfect indicative

The short form positive imperfect of verbs in the indicative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the basic terminating vowel *-a*, e.g. *ùbona* {you see / are seeing [singular]} (Yobhi/Job 10:4).

6.17 The long form positive imperfect indicative

The long form positive imperfect of verbs in the indicative mood consists of a subject concord, plus the imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ (vide pericope 8.17), plus a verb root, plus the basic terminating vowel -a, e.g. *uyabona* {it [*umhlaba* – earth] sees / is seeing} (Ndum/Ps 97:4).

6.18 The negative imperfect indicative

The negative imperfect of verbs of the indicative mood consists of the negative morpheme /à-/ , plus a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the negative terminating vowel -i, e.g. *àndiboni* {I do not see / I am not seeing} (Is 21:3) and as in *àlihuthi iliso kukubona, ayizali indlebe kukuva* {the eye is not satisfied by seeing, the ear is not filled by hearing} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:8).

The negative morpheme /à-/ plus the subject concord coalesce as described in paragraph 8 of pericope 6.7, as in *ayizali* {it is not filled} in the previous paragraph and in *umlomo wam awuthethi bugqwetha* {my mouth does not speak distortion} (Yobhi/Job 27:4). In the negative imperfect indicative the subject concord of the second person singular is -ku-, as in *akuboni* {you [singular] do not see / are not seeing} (Yer 7:17) [vide the 8th paragraph of pericope 6.7]. In the case of classes 1 and 6 the subject concord -ka- is used in the negative imperfect indicative, as in *akaboni* {he/she does not see / is not seeing} (Hez/Ezek 9:9).

Verbs constructed with roots extended with the semi-vowel -w- to give them a passive connotation, do not use the negative terminating vowel -i, but retain -a as in the positive, as in *awunqandwa umvandedwa wam* {it is not stopped the depression of me} (Yobhi/Job 16:6).

The negative morpheme /à-/ is articulated with a relatively low tone, which distinguishes it from the frequently used demonstrative Á-, with its higher tone, as found in relative constructions. This distinction is important in the case of verbs with a passive connotation, because, as said above, they do not take the negative terminating vowel -i, but retain -a as in the positive, as can be seen by comparing the negative indicative to the positive relative in the phrases *abakhonzi bakho aba àbanikwa mququ* {your [singular] servants these ones are not given chaff} (Eks 5:16) and *abantu bam ábabizwa ngegama lam* {my people that are called by my name} (2 Kron/Chr 7:14). In the RUV tone signs are not deemed necessary in instances such as these and the context is regarded as sufficient to indicate the correct intonation.

6.19 The short form positive perfect indicative

The short form positive perfect of verbs in the indicative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the short form positive perfect terminating vowel -e, e.g. *ùbone* {you [singular] have seen} (Gen 20:10).

The positive perfect terminating vowel -e is articulated with a short falling double tone. Owing to the usual brief nature of this vowel the second half of the tone tends to evaporate into a whisper so that the initial relatively high tone is all that is heard. Consequently, if required, its tone is indicated as a relatively high tone, as in *abantu abo bahamba emnyameni*

baboné ukukhanya okukhulu {those people that walk in the dark have seen a great light} (Is 9:2). This distinguishes it from the positive imperative with an object concord and the positive imperfect subjunctive terminating vowel *-e*, that is articulated with a relatively low tone, as in *wavulè amehlo aba bantu babonè* {open the eyes of these people that they see} (2 Kum/Kgs 6:20).

6.20 The long form positive perfect indicative

The long form positive perfect of verbs in the indicative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the positive perfect terminating morpheme */-ile/*, e.g. *ùbonile* {you [singular] have seen} (Hez/Ezek 8:15).

The majority of verbs of which the stems terminate in *-ala*, *-ana* and *-atha*, such as *ukuthwala* {to carry}, *ukubulala* {to kill}, *ukufumana* {to get/find}, *ukuhlangana* {to get together / meet} and *ukuphatha* {to hold / control}, assimilate the terminating positive perfect terminating morpheme */-ile/* by fusing the initial *a* with the *i* of *-ile*, and assimilating the *l* of *-ile* with the consonant of the verb stem, and replacing the terminating *-a* with *-e*, rendering the assimilated long form of the positive perfect tense that terminates in *-ele*, *-ene* and *-ethe*, e.g. *-ala* > *-ele* as in *nibabulele abantu* {you [plural] have killed the people} (Num 16:41); *-ana* > *-ene*, as in *ufumene into ebidukile* {he/she found a thing that had been lost} (Lev 6:3) and *-atha* > *-ethe* as in *ubaphethe kakubi aba bantu* {he treated badly these people} (Eks 5:23). However a considerable number of verbs of which the stems terminate in *-ala*, *-ana* and *-atha* have regular positive perfect indicative forms and do not show this assimilation. Examples are *ukudala* {to create}, *ukudlala* {to play}, *ukuvala* {to close}, *ukubhala* {to write}, *ukubala* {to count}, *ukufana* {to be similar}, *ukudana* {to be discouraged}, *ukuthabatha* {to take} and *ukuqhatha* {to cheat}, as in *mna Yehova ndikudalile oko* {I the Lord I have created that} (Is 45:8); *zidanile izilumko, ziqhiphuke umbilini* {they are discouraged the wise people, they have split the intestines, i.e. they have taken fright} (Yer 8:9) and *nizithabathile izivatho zam* {you [plural] have taken my clothes} (Mika 2:9).

Most verbs with stems that terminate in *-ela* also exhibit the assimilated long form positive perfect tense, which terminates in *-ele* and then is identical to the short form. Examples are verbs that are given an applicative connotation by extending the root of the stem with the morpheme */-el-/*, e.g. *ukuxelela* {to tell}, as well as verbs that are only found terminating in *-ela*, such as *ukubulela* {to thank} and *ukusondela* {to approach, to go/be near} as in *isondele imihla yakho yokuba ufe* {your [singular] days that you die are near} (Dut 31:14). This assimilation also holds when these verbs have the root of their stems extended to add a further connotation, such as the passive with the extension *-w-*, as in *ùxelelwe* {you [singular] have been told} (Gen 3:11). However, in the case of some other verbs terminating in *-ela* this assimilation does not take place, e.g. *ukuphela* {to come to an end} and *ukuvela* {to appear}, as in *isonka siphelile* {the bread has come to an end, i.e. there is no more bread} (1 Sam 9:7) and *amehlo abo avelile kukutyeba* {their eyes are protruding because of being fat} (Ndum/Ps 73:7).

In the case of some verbs terminating in *-ula* an assimilated long form positive perfect tense is found, which is identical to the short form. Examples are *ukunyothula* {to pluck out} and *ukukhulula* {to loosen / to set free}, as in *imizi uyinyothule* {you have plucked out the homesteads/towns} (Ndum/Ps 9:6) and *úwukhulùle umphefumlo wam* {he has set free / redeemed my breath/life} (Yobhi/Job 33:28). However, also in the case of verbs terminating in *-ula* assimilation of the long form positive perfect tense does not always take place. An example is *ukuvula* {to open}, as in *ndiwuvulile umlomo wam* {I have opened my mouth} (Yobhi/Job 33:2).

The verbs *ukuhlala* {to sit/stay/live}, *ukuhlútha* {to become satiated, to be satisfied}, *ukumitha* {to become pregnant} and *ukuma* {to stand/stop} exhibit a stative positive perfect tense terminating irregularly in the vowel *-i* and without any distinction between a long and a short form, i.e. *-hleli* {be sitting/staying/alive}, *-hluthi* {be satiated / have enough}, *-mithi* {be pregnant} and *-mi* {be standing}, as in *uhleli etroneni* {he is sitting on a throne} (Ndum/Ps 9:4); *bahluthi yiwayini enencasa* {they are satiated by/with wine that has taste, i.e. sweet wine} (Zen/Acts 2:13); *úmithi; uya kuzala unyana* {she is pregnant, she is going to give birth to a son} (Gen 16:11) and *ndimi ngasemthonjeni wamanzi* {I am standing at a fountain of water} (Gen 24:13). In the case of *ukumitha* {to become pregnant} the regular use in the positive perfect is also found on rare occasions, as in *uElizabhete, ozalana nawe, naye umithe unyana* {Elizabeth, who is a relative of yours, she also has become pregnant a son} (Luka 1:36).

Verbs that are given a passive connotation by having the verb root extended with the morpheme */-w-/* have regular short forms of the imperfect tense, e.g. *zifakwe* {they have been put in / inserted} as in *zifakwe ntwenini na izikhondo zeentsika zalo?* {they have been inserted in what thing the footings of the pillars of it?} (Yobhi/Job 38:6). However in the long form assimilation takes place and they terminate in *-iwe*, e.g. *ubethiwe* {he has been struck/defeated} as in *ubethiwe uEfrayim* {Ephraim has been struck} (Hos 9:16).

6.21 The negative perfect indicative

The negative perfect of verbs in the indicative mood consist of the negative morpheme */à-/*, plus a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the basic verbal suffix *-a*, plus the terminal negative morpheme */-nga/*, e.g. *andibonanga* {I have not seen} (Gal 1:19). The same phonetic adaptations are found as those described above in pericope 6.18 in respect of the negative imperfect, as in *wena akakunikanga okunjalo* {you [singular] he has not given that which is like that} (Dut 18:14) and *amehlo ethu akabonanga* {our eyes have not seen} (Dut 21:7).

A variant of the negative perfect indicative is often used, consisting of the negative morpheme */à-/*, plus a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the positive perfect terminating morpheme */-ile/* in the long form and */-e/* in the short form, as in *ayilungile le nto uyenzayo* {it is not good this thing that you [singular] are doing} (Eks 18:17); *intombazana ayifile, ilele* {the girl is not dead, she is asleep} (Mat 9:24); *akuxoke kubantu, uxoke kuThixo* {you [singular] have not lied to people, you have lied to God} (Zen/Acts 5:4); *andikukhonze ngenxa kaRakeli na?* {have I not served you for the sake of Rachel?} (Gen 29:25) and *andiyilingene inceba yonke*

... *oyenzileyo kumkhonzi wakho* {I am not worthy of all the grace you have bestowed on your servant} (Gen 32:10).

The above variant has its origin in the confusion of positive perfect stative verbs with copulatives, so that for example *ifile* {she [i.e. *intombazana*] is dead} is confused with *intle* {she is good looking}, and in analogy with the negative *ayintle* {she is not good looking} *ifile* {she is dead} is thought to have *ayifile* {she is not dead} as negative, whereas it would normally be *ayifanga* {she is not dead}. For convenience these verbs are often referred to as stative verbs or statives.

6.22 The *a*-past tense indicative

The *a*-past tense of verbs in the indicative mood is only found in the positive. It consists of a subject concord, plus the past tense morpheme /-â-/ , plus a verb root, plus the terminating vowel -a, e.g. *ndabona* {I saw} (SiTyh/Rev 4:1).

The subject concord and the past tense morpheme /-â-/ coalesce as described in the seventh paragraph of pericope 6.7, e.g. *wabona* {he saw} (Gen 1:10); *kwabonakala* {it appeared} (SiTyh/Rev 12:1) and *bêenza* {they made/did} (Gen 21:32).

In measured speech the *a* of the *a*-past indicative is articulated with a falling double tone, which distinguishes it from the more frequently found positive perfect subjunctive, which is pronounced with a short *a*, as, for example, *kwâthi* {it happened} in *kwâthi ngemihla ka-Amrafele ... benza imfazwe noBhera* {it happened in the days of Amraphel that they made war with Berah} (Gen 14:1). However, in fluent speech the *a* is heard as a short vowel and the *a*-past indicative and positive perfect subjunctive can not be distinguished phonetically. However, this is not significant as both are predominantly used in narrative discourses with process following upon process, which can be seen as early as the first chapter of Genesis in the RUV.

6.23 The positive definite future construction indicative

The positive definite future construction of verbs in the indicative mood consists of the short form positive imperfect indicative of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, plus a disjunctively written basic positive infinitive, e.g. *ndiza kuza* {I am going to come} (2 Kor 12:1) and *úza kufa* {he is going to die} (Luka 10:30). This form is not often used in the RUV.

6.24 The negative definite future construction indicative

The negative definite future construction of verbs in the indicative mood consists of the negative indicative of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, plus a basic positive infinitive, e.g. *andizi kufa* {I am not going to die}. This form is not often used and is not found in the RUV.

6.25 The positive future construction indicative

The positive (and sometimes tentative) future construction of verbs in the indicative mood consists of the short form positive imperfect indicative of the auxiliary verb *ukuya* {to go}, plus a disjunctively written basic positive infinitive, e.g. *ndiya kuza* {I shall come} (Roma 9:9) and *ùya kuphila* {you [singular] will live / become healthy} (2 Kum/Kgs 8:14).

The positive future construction is also often found in a contracted form where the stem *-ya* of the auxiliary verb and the prefix *ku-* of the basic infinitive coalesce to *-o-*, and the prefixed subject concord then assimilates as described in paragraph 6 of pericope 6.7 above, e.g. *ndobona* < *ndi + ya + ku + bona* {I shall see} (Num 32:11) and *bosebenza* {they will work}, as in *abaLevi bosenbenza umsebenzi wentente yokuhlangana* {the Levites will perform the work of the tent of meeting} (Num 18:23) and *wòhamba na nam?* {will you [singular] go with me?} (1 Kum/Kgs 22:4).

6.26 The negative future construction indicative

The negative (and sometimes tentative negative) future construction of verbs in the indicative mood consists of the negative indicative of the auxiliary verb *ukuya* {to go}, plus a basic positive infinitive, e.g. *andiyi kufa* {I shall not die} (Ndum/Ps 118:17) and as in *uYakobi akayi kudana* {Jacob will not be disappointed} (Is 29:22) and *loo nto ayiyi kuma* {that thing will not stand} (Is 7:7).

In cases where the subject concord as used in the negative is *-yi-*, and consequently the same syllable is repeated as the verb root */-y-/* plus the negative *-i*, a variant contracted form of the negative future construction is found, where the similar syllables overlap by contracting to one *-yi* and *-yiyi* becomes *-yi*, as in *iBhabheli ... ayi kumiwa naphakade* {Babel will not be inhabited forever} (Is 13:19-20).

6.27 Syntax of the indicative mood

Predicates in the indicative mood are used to indicate that a process is regarded to be a fact, e.g. *ndiyabona* {I see / I am seeing} (Yoh/Jn 4:19). Factual statements are often made and consequently predicates in the indicative mood are extensively used, as can be seen in the examples in the following paragraphs.

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in the main clause of a factual statement, e.g. *bâfuna* {they sought} in a sentence such as *bonke ookumkani bomhlaba bâfuna ubuso bukaSolomon, ukuba beve ubulumko bakhe* {all the kings of the earth sought the face of Solomon that they hear his wisdom} (2 Kron/Chr 9:23) and *kophindezelwa* {it will be revenged / it will be reciprocated} in *bonke ababulala uKayin kophindezelwa kubo kasixhenxe* {all that kill Cain it will be revenged/reciprocated on/to them seven times} (Gen 4:15).

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in a phrase that indicates the process that is the precondition upon which a preceding factual statement or command is based, and which is introduced by the basic infinitive *kuba* {it being, i.e. because} or its instrumentative *ngokuba* {by it being, i.e. because}, as in *babengazi bona ukuba uYosefu uyeve, kuba kwakumi umkhumshi phakathi kwabo* {they did not know that Joseph heard/understood, because there stood an interpreter between them} (Gen 42:23); *yenzani oku niphile, kuba ndiyamoyika uThixo* {do [plural] this and live, because I fear God} (Gen 42:18) and *unyana wam akasayi kuhla nani, ngokuba ufile umkhuluwa wakhe* {my son will not go down with you, because his elder brother is dead} (Gen 42:38).

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in a statement of fact that runs parallel to the main clause, and that is usually introduced by an adverb that has the function of a conjunction, such as *kodwa* {it alone, i.e. but}, *koko* {it being that, i.e. but that, but}, *kanti* {thingly[?], i.e. and yet, whereas}, *kananjalo* {similarly, likewise, and also} and *okanye* {that that is exactly, i.e. or} as in:

bulunge ubulumko ngaphezu kobugorha, kodwa ubulumko beli hlwempu budelekile
{wisdom is better than bravery, but the wisdom of this pauper is despicable}
(Ntshum/Ecc 9:16);

izambatho ... angázilungisa, koko ziya kwambathwa lilungisa {he/she can prepare
apparel, but it will be worn by a righteous person} (Yobhi/Job 27:16-17);

yini na ukuba ube ... njengegorha elingenakusindisa, kanti uphakathi kwethu, Yehova?
{why is it that you [singular] are like a hero/brave man that cannot save, and yet
you are amongst us, Lord?} (Yer 14:9);

*thina asizuzanga zincwadi zithetha ngawe zivele kwelakwaYuda, kananjalo akufikanga
bani wakubazalwana owabika wathetha nto ikhohlakeleyo ngawe* {we have not
obtained letters that speak about you [singular] having come from the country of
Judah, and also there did not arrive someone that reported and spoke an evil thing
about you} (Zen/Acts 28:21) and

*akukho utha iwayini entsha ezintsubeni ezindala, okanye iwayini leyo intsha
yozigqabhuza iintsuba* {there is not one who pours wine that is new in leather bags
that are old, or that wine will burst the leather bags} (Marko 2:22).

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in a phrase that is a statement of fact that is being repeated, as in indirect speech, and that follows the verb *ukuthi* {in this instance indicating the process of saying or thinking}, or the verb *ukuba* {in this instance indicating the process of having a notion or thinking}, or that follows one of the infinitives *ukuba* {to be} or *ukuthi* {to say/do}, or possessives derived from them, such as *yokuba*, or the class 17 possessive pronoun *okokuba* used as universal or general pronoun {all approximating to the use of the word “that” in English}, as for example in sentences such as:

yini na ukuba uthi ndilungile? {why is it that you [singular] say I am good?} (Marko
10:18);

wayeba ke yena boqonda abazalwana bakhe ukuba uThixo ebeya kubasindisa {now he
thought that his brothers would understand that God was going to save them}
(Zen/Acts 7:25);

asinakuyenza le nto yokuba udade wethu simnike indoda engalukanga {we cannot do
this thing that we give our sister a husband who is not circumcised} (Gen 34:14)
and

khawukhumbule ... okokuba ndihambe phambi kwakho ngokunyaniseka {please
remember that I walked in front of you with faithfulness} (Is 38:3).

This implies that the only difference between direct and indirect speech is to be found in the concordial links and the pronouns used. For example the direct speech in *wathi*: “*Imbewu yakho ndiya kuyinika eli lizwe*” {he said: “To your [singular] seed I will give this country”}

(Gen 12:7) would in indirect speech be rendered *wathi imbewu yakhe uya kuyinika elo lizwe* {he said that to his seed he would give that country}.

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in a phrase that is a statement that could possibly be made as a statement of fact, and that is expressed with a positive imperfect indicative with a potential aspect of the verbs *ukuthi* and *ukuba* {in this case indicating what could or may be said or happen, or could or may be}, as in *kungáthi kuthe cwaka aba, kunkqangaze amatye la* {it may be that these remain silent, there would shout these stones, i.e. if these were to remain silent these stones would cry aloud} (Luka 19:40) and *uze ungàmcudisi umqeshwa ongába uswele* {you [singular] must not squeeze a hireling that may be that he/she wants} (Dut 24:14).

A predicate in the indicative mood is used in a phrase that indicates the process that is the precondition for a hypothetical process, also indicated in the indicative mood, that is introduced by the infinitive *ukuba* {to be, i.e. if}, or its connective *nokuba* {and to be, i.e. and if}, used as conjunctions to indicate a precondition or an inclusive precondition, as in:

ukuba ùthe wahamba nam, ndohamba; ukuba akuthanga uhambe nam, andiyi kuhamba
{if you [singular] do and go with me, I shall go; if you do not do and go with me,
I shall not go} (Gweb/Jdg 4:8) and
nokuba kuthe kwabakho kuni abagxothelwe ekupheleni kwezulu, ndobabutha nalapho
{and if it had happened that there was amongst you [plural] those that were
banished to the end of heaven, I shall gather them there also} (Neh 1:9).

6.28 The situative mood

Verbs in the situative mood can be positive or negative, and may reflect the imperfect or perfect tense, having both a long and a short form in the latter.

6.29 The positive imperfect situative

The positive imperfect of verbs in the situative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the terminating vowel *-a*, e.g. *ndibona* {me seeing} as in *ndiyile ke ndahlamba, ndabuya ndibona* {I went and bathed, and returned seeing} (Yoh/Jn 9:11).

In the situative mood the subject concord of classes 1 and 6 is *e-*, and that of class 2 *be-* as described in pericope 6.7 above, e.g. *esebenza* {him/her working} (Ef 4:28) and *bekhwazana* {while they were shouting to each other} (Luka 7:32).

In the case of verbs with monosyllabic stems the morpheme */-si-/*, and in the case of verbs with stems commencing in a vowel the morpheme */-s-/* is prefixed to the stem if no other morpheme except a subject concord is prefixed to it, e.g. *besiya* {them going} as in *baphuma nabo eUre yamaKaledi, besiya ezweni lakwaKanan* {they also went out from Ur of the Chaldeans, going to the land of Canaan} (Gen 11:31) and *esenza* {he doing} as in *uThixo ududuma ngezwi lakhe ngokubalulekileyo esenza izinto ezinkulu esingenakuzazi* {God thunders with his voice with that that is notable doing great things that we cannot know} (Yobhi/Job 37:5). When another morpheme, such as an object concord, intervenes between the subject concord and the monosyllabic or vowel stem, the situative *-si-* is omitted, e.g. as in *eyenza* {he making/doing it} in *uNyana akanakwenza nto ngokwakhe engathanga abone*

uYise eyenza {the Son cannot do a thing on his own without having done and seen his Father do it} (Yoh/Jn 5:19).

The subject concords of the situative mood are articulated with a short falling double tone, heard in deliberate speech. In normal speech the falling tone is reduced to a barely audible whisper, so that the relatively high tone is its distinguishing feature, as above in *ndabuya ndibona* {I returned seeing} in the first paragraph of this pericope.

6.30 The negative imperfect situative

The negative imperfect of verbs in the situative mood consists of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme */-ngà-/*, articulated with a relatively low tone, plus a verb root, plus the negative verbal terminating vowel *-i*, e.g. *engaboni* {they [i.e. *amadoda*] not seeing} as in *amadoda abehamba naye ema engenakuthetha, eliva okunene lona izwi, kodwa engaboni mntu* {the men that were travelling with him stood not being able to speak, in truth hearing the voice, but not seeing a person} (Zen/Acts 9:7).

6.31 The short form positive perfect situative

The short form positive perfect of verbs in the situative mood consists of a subject concord as used in the situative mood, plus a verb root, plus the short form positive perfect verbal final morpheme */-e/*, e.g. *ebone* {he having seen} as in *wathi, ebone mkhiwane uthile ngasendleleni, waya kuwo* {he did, having seen a certain fig tree next to the road, and went to it} (Mat 21:19).

6.32 The long form positive perfect situative

The long form positive perfect of verbs in the situative mood consists of a subject concord as used in the situative mood, plus a verb root, plus the long form positive perfect verbal final morpheme */-ile/*, e.g. *ebonile* {he having seen} as in *ebonile uAhitofele ukuba akwenziwanga ngelakhe icebo, wabopha iesile, wesuka, wagoduka* {Ahitophel, having seen that it had not been done according to his advice, harnessed an ass and went home} (2 Sam 17:23).

In appropriate cases the same assimilation of the positive perfect verbal final morpheme */-ile/* takes place as in the indicative (vide pericope 6.20), e.g. *belele* {they sleeping} as in *weza kubafundi bakhe, wabafumana belele* {he came to his disciples and found them sleeping} (Luka 22:45) and *emithi* {she being pregnant} as in *uthi emithi akhale enenimba* {she being pregnant cries having birth pains} (SiTyh/Rev 12:2).

6.33 The negative perfect situative

The negative perfect of verbs in the situative mood consist of a subject concord as used in the situative mood, plus the negative morpheme */-ngà-/*, articulated with a relatively low tone, plus a verb root, plus the final vowel *-a*, plus the negative perfect suffix *-nga*, e.g. *bengadlanga* {them not having eaten} in *ukuthi ke ndibandulule bengadlanga andikuthandi, hleze batyhafe endleleni* {that I send them away they not having eaten I do not like, lest they become exhausted on the road} (Mat 15:32).

As is the case in the indicative mood a variant of the negative perfect of verbs of the situative mood is found that uses the positive perfect terminating morpheme /-ile/ (vide pericope 6.21), e.g. *bengalukile* {them not being circumcised} as in *behle baya ezweni langaphantsi bengalukile* (Hez/Ezek 32:24). In appropriate cases it is also found in an assimilated form (vide pericope 6.20), as for example in *ndingamhlonele* in *nakuba ndingamoyiki uThixo, ndingamhlonele nomntu* (Luka 18:4).

6.34 The future construction situative

Future constructions with verbs in the situative mood are similar to those of verbs in the indicative, except that the indicative of the auxiliary verbs *ukuza* {to come} and *ukuya* {to go} is replaced with a situative and no contracted positive is found. Of note is the fact that as auxiliary verbs the verbs *ukuza* and *ukuya* are deficient and do not have the situative morpheme /-si-/ inserted as is optionally the case when they are independent verbs.

The following are examples of future constructions in the situative mood:

Positive Definite: e.g. *eza kuzala* {she going to give birth}, as in *ebemithi, eza kuzala* {she was pregnant, going to give birth} (1 Sam 4:19);

Negative Definite: e.g. *engazi kutya* {he/she not going to eat}, as in *ebehluthi, engazi kutya* {he/she was satiated, not going to eat} (not found in the RUV);

Positive (Tentative): e.g. *eya kunivelela* {he going to visit you}, as in *uThixo okunene eya kunivelela nje, nòwanyusa amathambo am, emke apha* {God in truth going to visit you thus, you will carry up my bones that they go away here} (Gen 50:25);

Negative (Tentative): e.g. *engayi kuthetha* {he not speaking} as in *uya kunikhokelela kuyo yonke inyaniso, kuba engayi kuthetha okuphuma kuye* {he will lead you into all the truth, because he is not going to speak that which comes forth from him} (Yoh/Jn 16:13).

6.35 Syntax of the situative mood

The situative mood indicates a process that reflects the situation that pertains when the process indicated by the main clause of the sentence transpires. This implies that the situative mood reflects a process that occurs simultaneously with that expressed by the main clause of the sentence, as in *wanduluka uAbram, ehamba encothula, esinga kwelasezantsi* {Abraham departed, travelling striking [his tents], going towards the south-country} (Gen 12:9).

It is to be noted that the time indicated by a predicate in the situative mood is governed by the time of the process indicated by the predicate that it modifies, so for example the imperfect situatives, as in the above sentence, indicate processes that were incomplete at the time indicated by the indicative verb in the *a*-past tense of the main clause, i.e. *wanduluka* {he departed}. Further examples of the use of the situative mood are found in the following paragraphs.

The situative mood is used as the predicate of a subordinate clause modifying another clause, such as *ibaleka* {he running} in *umlindi wabona enye indoda ibaleka* {the guard saw another man running} (2 Sam 18:26); *bengashiyanga* {them not having left} in *bâfa bengashiyanga bantwana* {they died not having left children} (Luka 20:31) and *eza kumanga* {he going to kiss him} in *wasondela kuYesu eza kumanga* {he approached Jesus going to kiss him} (Luka 22:47).

Predicates in the situative mood may be used in apposition to each other and may also be used with conjunctions indicating this relationship, as in *nanko uSawule, ehamba emva kweenkomo, evela ezindle* {there is Saul, walking behind the cattle, coming from the open country [plural]} (1 Sam 11:5) and *sakubona nini na ulambile okanye unxaniwe?* {when did we see you being hungry or being thirsty?} (Mat 25:44).

A predicate in the situative mood may also be used in a statement that gives the reason for a usually preceding exhortation or statement of fact, and that is introduced by a conjunctive use of a form of the infinitive of the verb *ukuba* {to be}, such as *kuba* {it being, i.e. because}, *ngokuba* {because}, *ngakuba* {because}, *ngokokuba* {because}, *ekubeni* {in it being, i.e. whereas, inasmuch}, *nakuba* {and to be, i.e. although}, *ngangokuba* {of the same extent as of being, i.e. in so far that} and *njengokuba* {like as of being, i.e. as}, as in the following sentences:

Watsho kuba besithi: “Unomoya ongcobileyo” {He said so because they were saying: “He has an evil spirit”} (Marko 3:30).

Phaphani ngoko, ngokuba ningayazi imini kwanalo ilixa {Be alert therefore, because not knowing the day and it the hour} (Mat 25:13).

Kwathi, ekubeni bebhaptiziwe abantu bonke, ebhaptiziwe naye uYesu, ethandaza nokuthandaza, lasuka lavuleka izulu {It happened, in so far as all the people had been baptised, also Jesus having been baptised, that heaven got opened} (Luka 3:21).

Wathi ngaphakathi kwakhe: “Nakuba ndingamoyiki uThixo, ndingamhlonele nomntu: noko, ngenxa yokuba lo mhlolokazi endibulala, ndomlungisa, ndimkhulule” {He said on the inside of him: “Although I do not fear God not respecting a person also: yet, because this widow kills me [i.e. overburdens me] I will set her right and free her} (Luka 18:4-5).

UYehova unonelele amadini anyukayo nemibingelelo, ngangokuba enonelele ukuphulaphulwa kwezwi likaYehova, yini na? {Does the Lord appreciate sacrifices that go up [i.e. burnt offerings] and offerings as much as he appreciates the word of the Lord being listened to, what is it?} (1 Sam 15:22).

Njengokuba kusihla imvula nekhephu ezulwini ... liya kuba njalo ilizwi lam {Just as there comes down rain and snow from heaven, so will my word be} (Is 55:10).

Njengokuba oothixo beentlanga zamazwe bengabahlangukanga abantu babo esandleni sam, ngokunjalo akayi kubahlangula noThixo kaHezekiya abantu bakhe esandleni sam {Just as the gods of the nations of the countries did not save their

people from my hand, in the same way also the God of Hezekiah will not save his people from my hand} (2 Kron/Chr 32:17).

The use of a few verbs in the positive imperfect situative mood with the class 17 subject concord *ku-* as general or universal concord is so common that these situatives may be classified as adverbs, which is not surprising as both adverbs and situatives modify predicates. These are words such as *kuqala* {it beginning, i.e. in the beginning, first} (Gen 38:28), *kuphela* {it getting finished, i.e. only} (Gen 47:18) and *kusasa* {while it still becomes light, i.e. in the morning} (Gen 49:27).

A number of auxiliary or deficient verbs take as their complement a predicate in the situative mood. This use of predicates in the situative mood is described lower down in pericopes 8.3-4.

6.36 The relative mood

Verbs in the relative mood are found in various forms. They exhibit both long and short forms, can be positive or negative, and may reflect the imperfect or perfect tense.

6.37 The short form positive imperfect relative mood

The short form of the positive imperfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the terminating vowel *-a*, e.g. *ufundisa* {he that teaches} as in *nanku lo mntu ufundisa bonke* {here is this person that teaches all} (Zen/Acts 21:28).

As noted in paragraph 3 of pericope 6.7 the subject concord of a subject in class 1 that is not the antecedent of a predicate in the relative mood is *a-*, e.g. *angcatshwa* {that he is betrayed} as in *uNyana woMntu okunene uyemka ... kodwa ke, yeha loo mntu angcatshwa nguye!* {the Son of Man is indeed going away, but woe unto that person by whom he is betrayed} (Luka 22:22) where the antecedent that is being qualified is *loo mntu* {that person}, but the subject of the relative mood verb is *uNyana woMntu* {the Son of Man}.

6.38 The long form positive imperfect relative mood

The long form of the positive imperfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the basic terminating vowel *-a*, plus the long form relative mood final morpheme */-yo/*, e.g. *usindayo* {he/she that escapes} as in *bekungayi kubakho mntu usindayo* {there would not be a person that escapes} (Marko 13:20) and *atshinizayo* {that she is unfaithful} as in *njengoko umfazi atshinizayo kuwabo* {just as a woman is unfaithful to her one [i.e. husband]} (Yer 3:20). The long form is usually used when an object concord is inserted, as in e.g. *uzinxibayo* {he/she that wears} in the phrase *akwabakho mntu uzinxibayo izivatho zakhe* {there was no person that wore his/her apparel} (Eks 33:4).

6.39 The short form negative imperfect relative mood

The short form of the negative imperfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme */-ngà-/*, plus a verb root, plus the verbal negative final vowel *-i*. In the RUV this form is only found embedded in relative constructions, as for example in *angazani*, where the relative *A* has fused with the subject concord *a-*, as in

amankazana angamakhulu amane aziintombi angazani nandoda ngokulala nayo {females that are four hundred that are virgins that do not know together with a man by sleeping with him} (Gweb/Jdg 21:12).

6.40 The long form negative imperfect relative mood

The long form of the negative imperfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme /-ngà-/, plus a verb root, plus the verbal negative final vowel -i, plus the long form relative mood final morpheme /-yo/, e.g. *ingazaliyo* {it that does not give birth} as in *akusayi kubakho nto ingazaliyo* {there will no longer be a thing that does not give birth} (Dut 7:14) and *ungoniyo* {he/she that does not sin/do wrong} as in *akukho mntu ungoniyo* {there is no person that does not sin/do wrong} (2 Kron/Chr 6:36).

6.41 The short form positive perfect relative mood

The short form positive perfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the short form positive perfect verbal final vowel -e, e.g. *uthe* {he/she that said} as in *ngubani na yena loo mntu uthe kuwe: “Thabatha ukhuko lwakho, uhambe?”* {who is that person that said to you: “Take your sleeping-mat and walk/go?”} (Yoh/Jn 5:12) and *unixebele* {he/she that told you [plural]} as in *nifuna ukubulala mna mntu unixebele inyaniso* {you [plural] want to kill me the person that told you the truth} (Yoh/Jn 8:40).

6.42 The long form positive perfect relative mood

The long form positive perfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the long form positive perfect verbal final morpheme /-ile/, plus the long form relative mood final morpheme /-yo/, e.g. *ufileyo* {he/she that is dead} as in *akubangakho ndlu ingenamntu ufileyo* {there was not a house that did not have a person that is dead} (Eks 12:30).

The same assimilations are found in verbs in the relative mood perfect as in the indicative (vide pericope 6.20 above), e.g. *uhleliyo* {he/she that lives/is alive} as in *akayi kuba namntu uhleliyo* {he will not have a person that is alive/lives} (Yer 29:32) and *uthunyiweyo* {he/she that is sent} as in *kwakho mntu uthunyiweyo* {there was a person that is sent} (Yoh/Jn 1:6).

Of note is the perfect relative of the verb *ukuthi* {to say, to do}, that is used to indicate a certain indefinite person or thing and that is never found with the relative mood final morpheme /-yo/, i.e. *uthile* etc {a certain one} as in *kwabonakala kukho phambi kwakhe mntu uthile unegalimoya* {there appeared being in front of him a certain person with dropsy} (Luka 14:2).

6.43 The negative perfect relative mood

The negative perfect of verbs in the relative mood consists of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme /-ngà-/, plus a verb root, plus the verbal final vowel -a, plus the negative perfect final morpheme /-nga/, e.g. *ingathumelanga* {that he has not sent to} as in *akukho luhlanga nabukumkani apho ingathumelanga khona inkosi yam, ikufuna* {there is not a nation and kingdom where my master has not sent to seeking you} (1 Kum/Kgs 18:10) and with an

object concord as in *ungayiwelanga* {that he/she had not crossed it} in the phrase *kwabe kungasekho namnye ungayiwelanga iYordan* {there was no longer even one that had not crossed the Jordan} (2 Sam 17:22). It is noteworthy that no long form terminating on -yo is found in verbs in the negative perfect relative mood.

As is the case in the indicative and situative moods, the negative perfect relative mood is also sometimes used in a variant form where the final -anga is replaced with -ile or -ileyo (vide pericopes 6.21 and 6.33), as in *lo mFilisti ungalukileyo* {this Philistine that is not circumcised} (1 Sam 17:36).

6.44 The short form *a*-past tense relative mood

The short form *a*-past tense of verbs in the relative mood is identical to the *a*-past tense of the verbs in the indicative mood, as described in pericope 6.22, e.g. *wabizwa* {he that was called} as in *kukho mntu wabizwa engalukanga na?* {is there a person that was called he not being circumcised?} (1 Kor 7:18).

The *a*-past tense is only found in the positive and has no negative.

6.45 The long form *a*-past tense relative mood

The long form *a*-past tense of verbs in the relative mood is identical to the short form as described above, except that it terminates in the morpheme /-yo/, e.g. *wathethayo* {that he had spoken} as in *wahamba uAbram njengoko wathethayo uYehova kuye* {Abraham went just as the Lord had spoken to him} (Gen 12:4) and in *ithe yafa le ndoda iyiyimbi yamzekayo* {he did and died this other man that married her} (Dut 24:3) and with an object concord as in *wandithumayo* {that he sent/dispatched me} in the phrase *kwanjengamini wandithumayo uMoses* {just as on the day that Moses dispatched me} (Yosh 14:11).

When an *a*-past tense relative is used in a relative construction the relative *A* is regularly assimilated with the subject concord, as in *into eyafikayo kuYeremiya* {the thing that arrived at Jeremiah} (Yer 14:1); *umfazi owakuzalayo* {the woman that gave birth to you} (MiZek/Prov 23:25) and *umsebenzi wakhe awawenzayo* {his work that he did} (Gen 2:2).

6.46 Future constructions in the relative mood

The future constructions in the relative mood are identical to those in the indicative mood, as described in pericopes 6.23-26, except that the indicative mood of the deficient auxiliary verbs *ukuza* {to come} and *ukuya* {to go} are now used in the relative mood, as in the following examples.

Positive Definite: e.g. *baza kusebenza* {those that are going to work} as in *bonke abo baza kusebenza* {all those that are going to work} (Num 4:47);

Negative Definite: e.g. *bangazi kufika* {those that are not going to arrive/come} as in *abo bangazi kufika* {those that are not going to come} (not found in the RUV);

Positive (Tentative): e.g. *uya kuma* {he/she will stand} as in *akukho mntu uya kuma phambi kwenu* {there is not a person that will stand in front of you [plural]} (Dut 11:25);

Positive Contracted: e.g. as embedded in the relative construction *enozidla* {that you [plural] will eat} as in *zizo ezi izinto ezizitho zine enozidla* [*< A+ni+ya + kuzidla*] {these are the four-legged things that you [plural] will eat} (Dut 14:4);

Negative (Tentative): e.g. *ingayi kutyhilwa* {it that will not be exposed} as in *akukho nto igutyungelweyo ingayi kutyhilwa* {there is nothing covered up that will not be exposed} (Mat 10:26).

6.47 Syntax of the relative mood

A predicate in the relative mood is used to define a process that qualifies a substantive, i.e. a word referring to a concrete or abstract object, represented by a basic noun, a definite pronoun or an indefinite pronoun. That is to say it either qualifies an indefinite substantive or a substantive that has already been indicated with a defining pronoun, as in:

akukho nto ifana nayo {there is no thing that resembles it} (Yobhi/Job 41:33);

bambisana nabo bafazi bazama nam ezindabeni ezilungileyo {help those women that strove with me in the news-items that are good, i.e. the good news} (Filipi 4:3);

bonke abo bakuthembayo abayi kudana {all those that trust you [singular] will not be disappointed} (Ndum/Ps 25:3);

bamsindisa uAgagi neyona ilungileyo impahla emfutshane {they saved Agag and the best small stock} (1 Sam 15:9) and

kukho nto yimbi ichasene nemfundiso ephilileyo {there is another thing that opposes healthy teaching} (1 Tim 1:10).

A substantive that is indicated by a full noun (as when it is definite and contains a pre-prefix and is not already defined with a demonstrative pronoun) is qualified with a relative construction consisting of the demonstrative *A* plus a predicate in the relative mood, as in:

kukho into elungileyo {there is a good thing} (1 Kum/Kgs 14:13);

abafazi abaseleyo endlwini yokumkani {the wives that remained in the house of the king} (Yer 38:22);

bona abamthembayo uYehova baya kulidla ilifa ilizwe {they that trust the Lord will eat the inheritance the land, i.e. will inherit the land} (Ndum/Ps 37:9) and

kuya kusuka kume odelekileyo, ongayi kunikwa ndili yabukumkani {there will get up and stand one that is despicable that will not be given the dignity of kingship / honour of royalty} (Dan 11:21).

The predicate in the relative mood and the relative construction usually follow directly after the substantive that is qualified, and that is consequently called the antecedent, as in the examples above. When the subject of a predicate in the relative mood or a relative construction is mentioned, and it is not also the antecedent, it usually follows the predicate in the relative mood or the relative construction, as in:

yilaa nto wayithethayo uYehova {it is that thing that the Lord spoke} (Lev 10:3) and

into abayiqwebayo ooyihlo {the thing that your fathers accumulated} (Is 39:6).

However, if the subject of the relative mood verb is accentuated it is placed between the antecedent and the relative mood verb, as in *oko ooyihlo bandenza ndaba noburhalarhume* {at the time your fathers made me that I was with rage, i.e. at the time that your fathers enraged me} (Zek 8:14).

The antecedent is connected by way of a concordial link or pronoun with the predicate in the relative mood or relative construction that qualifies it, and is found, for example, as:

- the subject, as in *indoda egqibeleleyo* {a man that is complete/perfect} (Yak/Jas 3:2);
- the object, as in *into endiyiselayo* {the thing that I drink} (Ndum/Ps 102:9);
- the second object, as in *isingqino endiya kukunika sona* {the testimony that I will give to you [singular]} (Eks 25:16);
- the agent, as in *into anxunguphala yiyo ongendawo* {the thing that the wicked is terrified of} (MiZek/Prov 10:24);
- a locative, as in *loo ndawo uwe kuyo umthi* {that place at which the tree has fallen} (Ntshum/Ecc 11:3);
- an instrumentative, as in *indlela abâhamba ngayo [oobawo]* {the road that they travelled by [our fathers]} (Neh 9:19);
- a connective, as in *inkunzi yebhokhwe eliphume nayo iqashiso* {the he-goat that it came out with it the lot, i.e. that the lot fell on} (Lev 16:9);
- a simulative, as in *amarhoqorhoqo endingazanga ndibone anjalo* {scrawny beast that I had never seen ones that are like that, i.e. such} (Gen 41:19).

The antecedent may also be the possessor of the subject of a subordinate clause qualifying the antecedent as in *umntu omigudu yakhe inobulumko* {a person whose efforts have wisdom} (Ntshum/Ecc 2:21). In such qualifying subordinate clauses the possessive pronoun is usually only implied and not mentioned, as in:

- loo mntu usandla somileyo* {that person that is hand is dry, i.e. that person whose hand is shrivelled up} (Luka 6:8);
- umntu ogama linguSawule* {a person that is name is Saul} (Zen/Acts 9:11);
- uhlanga olulwimi ungayi kuluva* {a nation that is language you [singular] will not hear, i.e. understand} (Dut 28:49) and
- ezweni elimatye asinyithi, elintaba womba ubhedu kuzo* {in a country that is stones are metal, that is mountains you [singular] dig copper in them} (Dut 8:9).

[The explicit form would be *loo mntu usandla sakhe somileyo* {that person that is his hand is dry}; *umntu ogama lakhe linguSawule* {a person that is name of him is Saul}; *uhlanga olulwimi lwalo ungayi kuluva* {a nation that is language of it you will not hear} and *ezweni elimatye alo asinyithi, elintaba zalo womba ubhedu kuzo* {in a country that is stones of it are metal, that is mountains of it you [singular] dig copper in them}.]

Substantives that are used with the function of a conjunction are qualified with a predicate in the relative mood. This implies that in these cases the predicate of a subordinate qualifying clause is in the relative mood, as in *mhla ndabakhuphayo ezweni laseYiputa* {the day that I took them out of the land of Egypt} (Yer 11:4). In these cases the antecedent is never the

subject of the predicate in the relative mood and its relationship to the predicate is usually not explicit but implied, as in the above example that explicitly would be *mhla ndabakhupha ngawo ezweni laseYiputa* {the day that I took them out of the land of Egypt on it}.

The substantive used with the function of a conjunction can be a basic noun, as *mhla* {day} in the above example, or *xa* < *lixa* {when} and its locative *xenikweni* {when}, as in *xa afundisayo* {when he teaches me} (Mat 21:23). It can be *nangona* {although}, the variant connective absolute pronoun of class 17 used as universal or general pronoun, as in *nangona nikwazi oku kakade* {although you [plural] know this of course} (Yuda/Jude 1:5). It can be the demonstrative pronoun of class 17 *oko* {at the time}, used as general or universal pronoun, or its simulative *njengoko* {just as, like}, as in *oko ahlaba amaSirayeli le ngoma* {at the time that the Israelites sang this song} (Num 21:17) and *wenza ke uMoses njengoko uYehova wamwiselayo umthetho* {so Moses did just as the Lord decreed him the law} (Num 27:22).

In the easterly dialects of isiXhosa the above substantives used as conjunctions, such as *xa* {when} and its connective *noxa* {when} and *nangona* {although}, have had their conjunctive function become so prominent in the mind that their origin as substantives has faded into obscurity, giving rise to having the situation that pertains at the time indicated by these conjunctions being given prominence and being expressed in the situative mood, as, for example, in *xa befunda* {when they study} (instead of *xa bafundayo*) and *nangona ediniwe* {although he/she is tired} (instead of *nangona adiniweyo*). This use has become so widespread that it is recognised by the Education Department as acceptable (Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No 2, 1962: 23). Pinnock, referring to the situative mood as the participial mood, describes this use as regular, stating that “the participial is used after the conjunctions *xa*, *noxa* and *nangona*” (Pinnock, 1994: 193). However, no trace of this use of the situative mood is found in the RUV.

There are no predicates in the situative mood in the *a*-past tense. To compensate for this predicates in the *a*-past tense in the relative mood are used in appropriate cases, as in:

uthando lulapha, ingekukuba samthandayo uThixo thina, ikukuba wasithandayo yena, wamthuma uNyana wakhe {love is here [i.e. in this], not that we loved God, it is because He loved us and sent his Son} (1 Yoh 4:10);
ndakuxolela lonke elaa tyala ekubeni wandibongozayo {I pardoned you [singular] all that debt in as much as you beseeched me} (Mat 18:32);
babefudula besenjenjalo abafazi ... bewathobele awabo amadoda, njengokuba uSara wamlulamelayo uAbraham {women did like that in the past submitting to their own men, just as Sarah obeyed Abraham} (1 Pet 3:5-6) and
ukuba benindithanda ngenavuyayo {if you [plural] loved me you would have been glad} (Yoh/Jn 14:28).

6.48 The subjunctive mood

Verbs in the subjunctive mood can be positive or negative, and may reflect the imperfect or perfect tense.

6.49 The positive imperfect subjunctive

The positive imperfect of verbs in the subjunctive mood consists of a subject concord, plus a verb root, plus the subjunctive terminating vowel -è, e.g. *babonè* {that they see} (Is 66:24).

In the imperfect subjunctive the subject concord of class 1 is *a-*, as in *abonè* {that he sees} (Gen 8:8).

The positive imperfect subjunctive terminating -è has a relatively low tone, in contrast to the relative high tone of the terminating -é of the short form positive imperfect indicative. Compare *abantu abo bahleli ebumnyameni baboné ukukhanya okukhulu* {those people that live in darkness saw a great light} (Mat 4:16) to *bayawacima namehlo abo, hlezè babonè ngamehlo* {they even close their eyes lest they see with [their] eyes} (Mat 13:15).

6.50 The negative imperfect subjunctive

The negative imperfect in the subjunctive mood consists of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme /-ngà-/ , plus a verb root, plus the negative terminating vowel -i, e.g. *bangàboni* {that they do not see} (Ndum/Ps 69:23). In deficient or auxiliary verbs the negative final -i is sometimes softened to -e, as in *uze ungafumane ulibize igama likaYehova* {you [singular] must not vainly do and call the name of the Lord} (Eks 20:7).

The negative morpheme /-ngà-/ has a relatively low tone. This distinguishes it from the relatively neutral tone of the identificative morpheme /nga-/. Compare *makabe mnyama amehlo abo, bangàboni* {let their eyes be black that they do not see} (Ndum/Ps 69:23) to *umelwe kukuthi anikelwe ezandleni zabantu abangaboni* {he must be given over into the hands of people that are wrongdoers/sinners} (Luka 24:7).

In the case of irregular verbs, such as *ukuthi* {to say; to do}, that have -i as final vowel in the positive subjunctive and -a as final vowel in the negative, the low tone of the negative -ngà- distinguishes the negative imperfect subjunctive from the imperfect indicative when it contains the relatively high toned potential aspect morpheme /-ngá-/. Compare *wandibhinqisa uvuyo, ukuze uzuko lwam luvume ngawe, lungàthi cwaka* {you [singular] girded me with joy so that my glory will sing about you and not remain quiet} (Ndum/Ps 30:11-12) to *ngumkakho lo; ungáthini na ukuthi: “Ngudade wethu”?* {this is your wife; how can you do to say: “She is my sister”?} (Gen 26:9). The relatively low tone with which the negative morpheme /-ngà-/ is articulated in a negative subjunctive verb, with its root extended with the morpheme /-w-/ to give it a passive denotation and terminating on the vowel -a, distinguishes it from the imperfect indicative when it contains the relatively high toned potential aspect morpheme /-ngá-/. Compare *úya kuphaphazela emke njengephupha, angàfunyanwa* {he will flutter about and go away like a dream and not be found} (Yobhi/Job 20:8) to *la mafutha aqholiweyo angáthengiswa ngeedenariyo ezimakhulu mathathu* {this oil that is perfumed can be sold for three hundred denarii} (Yoh/Jn 12:5).

6.51 The positive perfect subjunctive

The positive perfect of verbs in the subjunctive mood consists of a subject concord, plus the perfect subjunctive morpheme /-a-/, plus a verb root, plus the final vowel -a, e.g. *yabona* < i+a+bon+a {and he [indoda] saw} (Gweb/Jdg 19:17).

In the perfect subjunctive the subject concord of class 1 is *u-* and it assimilates with the perfect subjunctive morpheme /-a-/ to render *wa-*, e.g. *wabona* {and he saw} as in *wawaphakamisa amehlo akhe, wabona isithunywa* {he raised his eyes and saw a messenger, i.e. an angel} (1 Kron/Chr 21:16). In the perfect subjunctive phonetic adaption takes place as described in paragraphs 5 and 6 of pericope 6.7, as in;

iziqithi zabona zoyika, iziphelo zehlabathi zagubha, zasondela, zeza {the islands saw and feared, the ends of the earth trembled and approached and came} (Is 41:5);

bathi bakukhangela, babona ukuba liqengqiwe lesuka ilitye {when they looked, they saw that the stone had been rolled that it went away} (Marko 16:4);

kwathi emva koko kwaliwa namaFilisti eGezere, wesuka uSibhekayi umHusha wambulala uSipayi, ... oyiswa ke {it happened after that that it was fought with the Philistines in Gezer, and Sibbecai the Hushatite killed Sippai and they were then defeated} (1 Kron/Chr 20:4) and

amadoda akwaSirayeli, akuyibona indoda leyo, asaba ebusweni bayo, oyika kunene {the men of the domain of Israel, when they saw that man, they fled before his face and feared truly} (1 Sam 17:24).

6.52 The negative perfect subjunctive

The negative perfect of verbs in the subjunctive mood consists of the negative morpheme /à-/, plus a subject concord, plus the perfect subjunctive morpheme /-a-/, plus a verb root, plus the final vowel -a, e.g. *àsabona* {and we did not see} as in *sahlutha ke sisonka, salunga, àsabona bubi* {and we were satiated by bread, and came right, and did not see evil, i.e. we had enough to eat, lived all right and experienced nothing bad} (Yer 44:17) and *àbabona* {and they did not see} as in *bakuphakamisa amehlo abo, àbabona mntu* {when they raised up their eyes they did not see a person} (Mat 17:8).

As is the case in the negative indicative the negative perfect subjunctive uses *-ku-* as the subject concord of the second person singular. The vowel *u* becomes the semi-vowel *w* when prefixed to the perfect subjunctive negative morpheme /-a-/ as in *akwadinwa* {and you did not get tired} in the sentence *ùthwele, unomonde; uthe ngenxa yegama lam wabulaleka, akwadinwa* {you [singular] carried [i.e. persevered] having perseverance; you did for the sake of my name endure hardship and did not become weary} (SiTyh/Rev 2:3). And in class 1 the subject concord in a negative perfect subjunctive verb is *-ka-*, as in *akabona* {and he did not see} in *ephakamile ke uYesu, akabona mntu kwakuphela ngumfazi lowo* {now Jesus having stood up he did not see a person it being the getting finished [i.e. except] that woman} (Yoh/Jn 8:10).

6.53 Syntax of the subjunctive mood

A process that chronologically or causally follows, or in the negative does not follow, upon another process is indicated by the subjunctive mood, as in:

ndiya kuzivelisela umbingeleli othembekileyo, ... ndimakhele indlu eqinileyo, ahambe phambi komthanjiswa wam yonke imihla {I shall cause to appear for me a priest that is trustworthy and build for him a house that is firm, that he walks in front of my anointed one all days} (1 Sam 2:35);

lowo weyisayo ndiya kumnika ukuba adle kuyo imana efihlakeleyo, ndimnike ilitye elimhlophe {the one that overcomes I shall give him/her that he/she eats from the manna that is hidden, and give him/her a white stone} (SiTyh/Rev 2:17) and

bakhupha uBharnabhas, ukuba ahambe, ade aye kufika kwa-Antiyokwe {they sent out Barnabas that he goes until he comes at the place of Antiochus} (Zen/Acts 11:22).

As can be seen in the examples in the previous paragraph, a predicate in the imperfect tense or a future construction is usually followed by a subjunctive verb in the imperfect tense, while a predicate in the perfect tense or *a*-past tense is usually followed by a subjunctive verb in the perfect tense. However, if a process gives rise to a situation that continues and is not yet completed in the present, the imperfect subjunctive may also be used following a predicate in the perfect tense. This is usually the case subsequent to negative verbs formed with deficient stems, as in *abadli ukuba abakhanga bazihlambe izandla* {they do not eat if they have not done once and washed themselves hands} (Marko 7:3) and *andizanga ndigqithe mthetho wakho, ukanti akuzanga undinike netakane eli* {I never overstepped a law of yours, and yet you never even gave me a lamb this one} (Luka 15:29). [Compare the use of the verb *ukuza* {to come} as independent verb with a latent *i* and followed in the perfect tense with a subjunctive in the perfect tense, as in *ukuba bendingezanga ndathetha kubo, ngebengabanga nasono* {if I had not come and [i.e. never] spoken to them they would not have had sin} (Yoh/Jn 15:22).]

A predicate in the imperative mood is followed by a predicate or predicates in the subjunctive mood, also when the subsequent predicates constitute commands following upon each other, as in *vuka, uhle uye empini!* {stand up and go down and go to the army!} (Gweb/Jdg 7:9); *mkhululeni, nimyeke ahambe!* {loosen him and leave him that he goes!} (Yoh/Jn 11:44) and *yomelelani, ningoyiki!* {be strong and do not fear!} (Is 35:4).

The subjunctive mood is also used to indicate a process which is desired to take place. As an independent predicate such a hortative subjunctive is mostly found in the negative as in *ningabuyekezi ububi ngobubi* {do not reciprocate evil with evil} (Rom 12:17). The hortative use of the deficient auxiliary use of the verb *ukuza* {to come} followed by a subjunctive predicate often occurs, as in *nize nizamele uxolo* {you [plural] must strive for peace} (Yer 29:7); *ze ningaseli wayini* {you [plural] must not drink wine} (Yer 35:7) and *ize ningawuxeleli bani umbono lo* {do not [plural] tell anybody this vision} (Mat 17:9). The deficient infinitive *ukuze* {so that} is widely used as a conjunction followed by a predicate in

the subjunctive, as in *kwaziswa kuye abantwana, ukuze abeke izandla phezu kwabo* {there were brought to him children so that he places hands on them} (Mat 19:13).

On occasion a perfect subjunctive is used as an interjection indicating a process that is imminent, e.g. *safa!* {we are dead!} In the negative it serves as a strong warning, e.g. *ungafi!* {do [singular] not die! i.e. watch out that you [singular] do not get hurt} However, no examples of this use are found in the RUV.

The positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukunga* {to wish} is used to express a strong wish and is followed by a predicate in the imperfect indicative with a potential aspect (vide pericope 8:15), as in *wanga uThixo wakho ... angákusindisa* {may your [singular] God save you} (Dan 6:16). On occasion it is even found with a negative potential aspect, as in *wangena endlwini, wanga àkungáziwa mntu, akaba nako ukufihlakala noko* {he entered the house and wished that it would not be known by a person, yet he was not able to be hidden} (Marko 7:24).

The positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukunga* {to wish} is also sometimes used followed by a predicate in the perfect subjunctive, as in *wanga uThixo wakusikelela* {may God bless you [singular]}. However this use is not found in the RUV.

Occasionally the positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukunga* {to wish}, followed by a predicate in the imperfect indicative with a potential aspect, expresses an intention, as in *wanga angamala ngasese* {he intended to refuse her out of sight} (Mat 1:19). However, the potential aspect is usually absent in these cases, as in *wanga uza kugqitha kubo* {he intended that he is going to pass them by} (Marko 6:48). More significantly, in these cases *wanga* is probably not derived from *ukunga* {to wish}, but is a contraction of the indicative with potential aspect *wangáthi* {he can say / he made as if}.

The ironic negative (vide pericope 6:13) perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukuba* {to be} expresses a strong positive wish [“if only”] followed by a compound predicate in the perfect or *a*-past tense, usually with the concord *ku-* of class 17 as universal or general concord, i.e. *akwaba* {and it was not; ironically: if only} as in:

akwaba ububanda, akwaba ubushushu {if only you [singular] were cold, if only you were warm} (SiTyh/Rev 3:15);

akwaba besife sisandla sikaYehova ezweni laseYiputa, xa sasihleli ngasezimbizeni zenyama {if only we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we were sitting next to the pots of flesh} (Eks 16:3) and

akwaba bonke abantu bakaYehova babengabaprofeti, waba uYehova ubeke uMoya wakhe kubo! {if only all the people of the Lord were prophets, and it was that the Lord had placed his Spirit on them} (Num 11:29).

On occasion an ironic negative perfect subjunctive is also found with other subject concords, as in *andaba bendimisiwe ndaba ngumgwebi ezweni apha, beze kum bonke abantu abanendawo ekubanjwene ngayo; ngendibalungisa!* {if only I had been appointed to be the

judge in the land here, and all the people come to me that have a matter that there is contention about it; I would put them right} (2 Sam 15:4).

A positive imperfect subjunctive is used in an interrogative sentence to enquire what process is desired, as in *ndikwenzelè ntoni na?* {what can I do for you [singular]?} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:2). An indicative, such as *ufuna* {you [singular] want that} or *uthanda* {you [singular] would like that}, is implied preceding this subjunctive.

As is the case with predicates in the indicative mood (vide pericope 6.27) subjunctive predicates may also be used parallel to each other using an appropriate conjunction, as in *buyela kuGedaliya, ... uhlale naye phakathi kwabantu, okanye uye apho kuthe tye emehlweni akho ukuya khona* {return to Gedaliah and stay with him among the people, or go there that it is right in your eyes to go there} (Yer 40:5).

The imperfect subjunctive is used as the predicate of a statement that indicates the purpose of a process, usually indicated by a preceding predicate, and that is introduced by an infinitive form of one of the verbs *ukuba* {to be}, *ukuza* {to come} and *ukuda* {to eventually do} used as a conjunction, such as *ukuba* {that}, *okokuba* {that}, *ukuze* {so that}, *ngokokuze* {so that}, *ngangokuba* {so much so that}, *ngangokude* {to the extent that}, *ngokokude* {to the extent that} and *kunokuba* {in comparison to}, as in:

ndinani ukuba ndinisindise {I am with you [plural] that I save you} (Yer 42:11);

siya kuya ezweni leYiputa, ukuze singabonani namfazwe {we shall go to the country of Egypt so that we do not face war} (Yer 42:14);

kwabakho uqhwithela olukhulu elwandle, ngokokude umkhombe ugutyungelwe ngamaza {there was a great hurricane at sea, to the extent that the boat was submerged by waves} (Mat 8:24) and

kulula ukuba inkamela iphumele entunjeni yenaliti, kunokuba isityebi singene ebukumkanini bukaThixo {it is easy that a camel emerges from the eye of a needle, in comparison to a rich person entering in the kingdom of God} (Mat 19:24).

Sometimes the conjunctions *ukuba* {that} or *okokuba* {that} are implied but not mentioned, as in *uThixo makamvulele uYafete, ahlale ezintendeni zikaShem* {God must open up for Japhet [that] he resides in the tents of Shem} (Gen 9:27) and *ndiya kuyenza lukhuni intliziyo yakhe, angabandululi abantu* {I shall make hard his heart [so that] he does not send away the people} (Eks 4:21).

In the case of the simulative infinitives *ngangokuba* {so much so that} and *ngangokude* {to the extent that}, as well as the instrumentative pronominal possessive infinitive *ngokokude* {to the extent that}, used as conjunctions, the conjunctive use of these imperfect infinitives may be so prominent in the mind of the speaker that their imperfect tense is ignored and a perfect subjunctive is used after them when they follow a predicate in the perfect tense or a-past tense, as in *wandithanda ngangokuba wandipha* [instead of *andiphe*] *ihashe* {he liked me to the extent that he gave me a horse}. However, the RUV does not display this thinking error and no example is to be found.

Various dependant or auxiliary deficient verbs take a predicate in the subjunctive mood as their complement as described lower down in pericopes 8.6-7.

6.54 The imperative mood

Verbs in the imperative mood are only found in the imperfect tense positive. It differentiates between exhortations in the singular and plural. Negative exhortations are achieved by means of a construction.

6.55 The (positive imperfect) imperative singular

The (positive imperfect) of verbs in the imperative mood singular consists of a verb root plus the terminating vowel *-a*, e.g. *vuka!* {arise, get up! [singular]} (Gen 19:15).

In the case of verb stems commencing in a vowel the semi-vowel *y* is prefixed in the imperative, e.g. *yakha!* {build! [singular]} (Ndum/Ps 51:18).

In the case of monosyllabic verb stems the extension *yi-* is prefixed in the imperative, e.g. *yima!* {stand, stop! [singular]} (Yer 7:2).

In spoken language, if a word commencing in a vowel follows upon an imperative, the final vowel of the imperative is elided in other than deliberate speech, e.g. *vuka uhambe* {stand up and go/walk [singular]} (Mat 9:5) is usually heard as *vuk' uhambe* {stand up and go/walk}. In the case of monosyllabic verb stems the prefixed morpheme */yi-/*, as in *yiza apha!* {come here! [singular]} (SiTyh/Rev 17:1), is often heard as *hi-*, so that exhortations such as both *yiz' apha* and *hiz' apha* are heard. The latter is usually never written.

6.56 The (positive imperfect) imperative plural

The (positive imperfect) of verbs in the imperative mood plural consists of the imperative singular, as described in the previous pericope, plus the imperative plural suffix *-ni*, e.g. *vukani!* {arise, get up! [plural]} (Gweb/Jdg 7:15); *yakhani!* {build! [plural]} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:12) and *yimani!* {stand, stop [plural]!} (Yer 6:16).

6.57 The imperative with an object concord

In appropriate cases, where reference is made to the known object of a transitive verb, an object concord is prefixed to the verb stem used in the imperative, and the final *-a* is replaced with the positive imperfect subjunctive terminating vowel *-e*, e.g. *yithenge!* {buy it [singular]!} (Yer 32:7); *zithandeni!* {love them [plural]!} (Luka 6:27); *ndenzele!* {make for me [singular]!} (Ndum/Ps 86:17) and *lime!* {inhabit [singular] it!} as in *lime ilizwe!* {inhabit the country!} (Ndum/Ps 37:3).

6.58 The negative imperative construction singular

Negative imperatives are constructed with the verb root *-mus-* {do not} , that is only found in the imperative mood. It is positive in form but negative in connotation, i.e. it commands that a process should not take place. (Vide the first paragraph of pericope 8.9.)

In the singular the negative imperative construction consists of the imperative singular *musa* {do not [singular]}, with an infinitive predicate as complement, e.g. *musa ukulila* {do not cry [singular]} (Luka 7:13). In the spoken language this is usually heard with the elision of the

final vowel of the imperative, e.g. *mus' ukulila* {do not cry [singular]}, and often contracted to, for example, *sukulila* {don't cry [singular]}. However, these contracted forms are not found in the RUV.

In appropriate cases, where reference is made to the known object of a transitive verb, an object concord is inserted before the stem of the infinitive in a negative imperative construction, as in *musa ukundigweba* {do not judge me [singular]} (Yobhi/Job 10:2).

6.59 The negative imperative construction plural

In the plural the negative imperative construction consist of the imperative plural *musani*{do not [plural]}, with an infinitive predicate as complement, e.g. *musani ukulila* {do not cry [plural]} (Luka 8:52). In the spoken language this is usually heard with the elision of the final vowel of the imperative, e.g. *musan' ukulila* {do not cry [plural]}, and often contracted to, for example, *sanukulila* {don't cry [plural]}. However, these contracted forms are not found in the RUV.

6.60 Syntax of the imperative mood

When a process is an immediate and primary command it is indicated by a predicate in the imperative mood singular, if directed to one person, and in the imperative mood plural if directed towards more than one person, as in *vuka, Debhora!* {arise, Deborah!} (Gweb/Jdg 5:12); *yihlani, maqongqolo!* {come down, survivors!} (Gweb/Jdg 5:13) and *ndithi kubaqhayisi: "Musani ukuqhayisa!"* {I say to the boasters: "Do not boast!"} (Ndum/Ps 75:4).

A primary command in the imperative mood is regularly followed by further commands in the subjunctive mood, as in *ke nina, zithandeni iintshaba zenu, nenze okulungileyo, niboleke ningathembe lutho* {now you [singular], love your enemies, do good and lend without trusting a thing} (Luka 6:35) and *musani ukuluphakamisela phezulu uphondo lwenu, ningathethi ngokusa, nolule intamo* {do not [plural] raise your horn on high, and do no talk with impudence, and stretch out you neck} (Ndum/Ps 75:5). However, for emphasis imperatives may follow one another, as in *zithandeni iintshaba zenu, basikeleleni abo baniqalekiso, benzeleni okulungileyo abo banithiyayo, nibathandazele abo banigxekayo banitshutshise* {love [plural] your enemies, bless those that curse you, do that which is good to those that hate you, and pray for those that criticise you and persecute you} (Mat 5:44).

Imperatives of an irregular nature are used as interjections, e.g. the interjection of surprise or remonstrance *ehla!* {but surely [singular]!} (Rom 10:18) and its plural *ehlani!* (Mat 16:8) and the interjection requesting a person to bring something or hand something over *ethe!* {hand me [singular]!} (Rute 3:15) and its plural *etheni!* The traditional greeting *bhota!* {hullo [singular]!} and its plural *bhotani!* as well as the greeting *molo!* {hullo [singular]!} and its plural *molweni!* (derived from the Afrikaans "Môre!") are not found in the RUV.

6.61 The infinitive mood

Verbs in the infinitive mood are only found in the imperfect tense, both positive and negative.

6.62 The positive (imperfect) infinitive

The positive (imperfect) of verbs in the infinitive mood consists of the class 15 nominal prefix *uku-*, plus a verb root, plus the basic verbal final vowel *-a*, e.g. *ukukhanya* {verb: to emit light; noun: light} (Gen 1:3) and *ukuba* {to be} (Gen 1:4).

In the case of verb stems that commence in the vowels *a* and *e* the infinitive prefix assimilates to *ukw-*, as in *ukwakha* {to build} (1 Sam 14:35) and *ukwenza* {to do/make} (Gen 18:25). In the case of verb stems that commence in the vowel *o* the vowel of the prefix is dropped, as in *ukonakala* {to become spoiled} (Lev 22:25).

Infinitive verbs that contain object concords are found, e.g. *ukuyikhangela* {to look at it} as in *musa ukuyikhangela iwayini* {do not [singular] look at wine} (MiZek/Prov 23:31).

6.63 The negative (imperfect) infinitive

The negative (imperfect) verbs in the infinitive mood consists of the class 15 nominal prefix *uku-*, plus the negative morpheme */-ngà-/*, plus a verb root, plus the negative verbal final vowel *-i*, e.g. *ukungafihlisi* {not to conceal} (Zen/Acts 4:13), *ukungazi* {not to know} (Ntshum/Ecc 5:1) and *ukungawuvuli* {not to open it} as in *wenjenjalo yena ukungawuvuli umlomo wakhe* {so he did not to open his mouth} (Zen/Acts 8:32). As is the case in other moods verb roots extended with *-w-* to give them a passive connotation retain the final vowel *-a* also in the negative, as in *ukungakholwa* {not to believe} (Marko 9:24).

6.64 Syntax of the infinitive mood

When a process is simultaneously also an object it is indicated with an infinitive. This implies that an infinitive is a verb in the form of a noun, as in *ukuvuya kukaTito* {the to be glad of Titus} (2 Kor 7:13); *ukungafihlisi kwethu* {the not to conceal of us} (Ef 3:12) and *ukuzithandela kwakhe* {the to like for himself of him} as in *umveleli umelwe kukuba ... angabi ngowenza ngokuzithandela kwakhe* {an overseer ought to be that he is not one that does according to his liking for himself, i.e. must not be overbearing} (Tito 1:7).

The use of infinitives and subjunctives overlaps, so that phrases such as *ndincedise ukuthenga ihashe* {help me to buy a horse} and *ndincedise ndithenge ihashe* {help me buy a horse} are close to each other in connotation. The subjunctive also often follows on the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} used as a conjunction {that}, rendering, for example, *ndincedise ukuba ndithenge ihashe* {help me that I buy a horse}. Consequently no absolute indication of their syntax in relation to each other can readily be discerned. However, prominent features of their respective use can be pointed out.

An infinitive is normally used instead of a subjunctive when the subject of an original process and the subject of a subsequent process is identical, especially if it expresses a desire or an intention as, for example, in *ndifuna ukusebenza* {I want to work} as compared to *ndifuna asebenze* {I want him/her to work}. For an example in the RUV compare the infinitive *ukuphuma* {to come out} to the subjunctive *aphume* {that he comes out} in the phrases *ukuba ùthe akwavuma ukuphuma* {if you do not agree to come out} (Yer 38:21), where all the verbs refer to a process executed by the same party, and *lowo uPawulos wathanda ukuba aphume*

naye {that one that Paul wanted that he goes out with him} (Zen/Acts 16:3) where the noun *uPawulos* {Paul} is the subject of *wathanda* {he wanted} and the demonstrative pronoun *lowo* {that one} is the subject of *aphume* {that he goes out}. This can also be seen in a comparison of the phrases *othanda ukwazi* {he/she who desires to know} (MiZek/Prov 12:1) and *ndithanda ukuba nikwazi* {I desire that you [plural] know} (Kol 2:1). However, the subjunctive may be used for emphasis, as in *ndithanda ukuba ndibone* {I desire that I see} in: “*Uthanda ukuba ndikwenzele ntoni na?*” *Yathi ke imfama kuye: “Rabhoni, ndithanda ukuba ndibone”* {“You [singular] desire that I do what for you?” And the blind man said: “Rabbi, I desire that I see” (Marko 10:51).

An infinitive may be used instead of a subjunctive when the object of an original process and the subject of a subsequent process is identical, as, for example, in *umama undifundise ukusebenza* {my mother taught me to work} compared to *umama undifundise ukuba bangandiqhathi* {my mother taught me so that they would not cheat me}. By way of an example in the RUV compare the phrase *ndifundise ukwenza ikholo lakho* {teach me to do that which satisfies you} (Ndum/Ps 143:10) to the phrase *ndiphumile ukuba ndikufundise uqonde* {I have come out so that I teach you and you understand} (Dan 9:22).

A phrase containing an infinitive may be used as an adverbial clause of time modifying a predicate, e.g. *ukufudumala kwelanga* {the to become hot of the sun} as in *ngomso ukufudumala kwelanga niya kukhululwa* {tomorrow, when the sun gets hot, you [plural] will be set free} (1 Sam 11:9) and *ukufika kwakhe* {the to come of him} in *kwathi, ukufika kwakhe, wavuthela ngesigodlo* {it happened, when he arrived, that he blew the horn trumpet} (Gweb/Jdg 3:27).

The infinitive of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} and the infinitive of various deficient verbs, such as *ukuza* {to come} and *ukuda* {to do at length}, often function as conjunctions, as described in pericopes 5.17 in the last paragraph, and in pericopes 6.27 and 6.53.

The use of verbs in the infinitive mood in future constructions has been described above in pericopes 6.23-26, 6.34 and 5.46.

Various deficient verbs take an infinitive as complement, as described lower down in pericopes 8.7-9.

6.65 Compound tenses of verbs

The compound tenses of verbs consist of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} with a verb in the situative mood as complement, e.g. *ndibe ndihamba* {I was I walking, i.e. I was walking} (Yobhi/Job 31:5).

The compound tenses indicate a progressive or continuous process at a certain point in time. Compare the perfect tense *babone umshologu* {they saw a ghost} (Luka 24:37) to the compound imperfect in the perfect tense *babebona imiqondiso yakhe* {they were seeing his signs} (Yoh/Jn 6:2).

The compound tenses of verbs are mainly found in the indicative mood and in the relative mood and constructions, and predominantly in the perfect tense and *a*-past tense. However,

on occasion they are found in the imperfect tense and in future constructions. To indicate perpetuation they are also on rare occasions found in the subjunctive mood. A description of the compound tenses follows below.

6.66 Compound tenses in the perfect tense

The compound tenses in the perfect tense indicative and relative moods are compounded by using the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} plus a predicate in the situative mood as complement, e.g. *ndibe ndifuna* {I was wanting} (Filipi 4:17); *zibe zityhafile* {they were exhausted} (Mat 9:36), and *uYonatan ... ube emthanda kunene uDavide* {Jonathan truly loved David} (1 Sam 19:1) and *ngenxa yeentshaba ezibe zimjikelezile* {because of the enemies that were surrounding him} (1 Kum/Kgs 5:3) as well as in *kwavela sizukulwana simbi ... esibe singamazi uYehova* {there appeared another generation that did not know the Lord} (Gweb/Jdg 2:10).

The compound tenses in the perfect tense are often contracted as described below.

When the subject concord consists of a consonant and a vowel, the subject concord may be dropped, with the auxiliary verb written conjunctively, e.g. *bendisoyika* < *ndibe ndisoyika* {I was fearing} (Gen 31:31).

When the subject concord consists of a lone vowel, the positive perfect final vowel *-e* of the auxiliary verb may be dropped, with the compound predicate being written conjunctively, e.g. *ibisoyika* < *ibe isoyika* {he [*indodana* – young man] was fearing} (Gweb/Jdg 8:20).

In the case of class 1 as subject the subject concord of the auxiliary verb may assimilate with that of the complement to become *e-*, so that in the indicative mood a compound verbal structure is found, such as *ebesoyika* < *ube esoyika* {she was fearing} (Gen 18:15). However, these compound verbs are often found contracted, but not assimilated, e.g. *úbebona* < *ube ebona* {she was seeing} (Gen 38:14). The same is usually the case in the relative mood and construction, as in *laa mntu ubeze kum* {that person that had come to me} (Gweb/Jdg 13:10) and *umntu obemi phakathi kwemimirtile* {the person that was standing between the myrtle trees} (Zekar 1:10). Contraction without assimilation is also found when the class 1 subject of a relative mood or construction is not the antecedent, in which case the subject concord is *a-*, as in *loo nto abelele kuyo* {that thing that he had been lying on} (Luka 5:25) and *into abeyenza* {the thing that he was doing} (Eks 18:14). However, assimilation is found on occasion in frequently used phrases, such as *njengoko ebetshilo* {just as he had said}, for example, in contrast to the less used *njengoko abekuthethile* {just as he had spoken}, as in *uYehova wamvelela uSara njengoko ebetshilo*; *uYehova wamenzela uSara njengoko abekuthethile* {the Lord visited Sarah just as he had said; the Lord did for Sarah just as he had spoken} (Gen 21:1). In the case of the basic noun *xa* {time} , used as a conjunction in a subordinate clause indicating time {i.e. when}, both the assimilated and the unassimilated contracted form are found, as in *xa ebewagqibile uYesu onke la mazwi* {when Jesus had finished all these words} (Mat 26:1) and *xa abegqibile ukulenza idini elinyukayo ... uYehu* {when Jehu had finished to make the offering that rises, i.e. the burnt offering} (2 Kum/Kgs 10:25).

In compound verbs in the perfect with a subject in class 2 contraction without assimilation is usually found, as in *abantu babesoyika isifungo* {the people were fearing the oath} (1 Sam 14:26). However assimilation is sometimes found, as in *abantu bebefingiwe* {the people were compressed / hard pressed} (1 Sam 13:6).

In the case of class 6 as subject the indicative, relative mood and relative construction are all found in a contracted form without assimilation, as in the relative construction and the indicative in *wona amadoda abephume umkhosi abezithimbele* {they the men that had gone out an army [i.e. that had gone to war] had taken plunder for themselves} (Num 31:53) and the relative mood in *loo madoda abemenyiwe* {those men that had been invited} (Luka 14:24). [The apparent assimilation in the relative mood in *loo madoda ebemncethezile uDanyeli* {those men that had informed against Daniel} (Dan 6:24) is a printing error. The original RUV as published in the previous orthography in 1942 reads *abemncethezile* {that had informed against him}.]

The contracted and sometimes assimilated form of the perfect indicative of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, plus the subject concord of its situative complement in compound predicates, can be tabulated as follows:

Person & class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>bendi-</i>	<i>ubu-</i>	<i>u/a/ebe-</i>	<i>ubu-</i>	<i>beli-</i>	<i>besi-</i>	<i>ibi-</i>	<i>belu-</i>	<i>bebu-</i>	<i>beku-</i>	<i>beku-</i>
Plural:	<i>besi-</i>	<i>beni-</i>	<i>ba/bebe-</i>	<i>ibi-</i>	<i>abe-</i>	<i>bezi-</i>	<i>bezi-</i>				

The following compound tenses are found in the perfect tense:

The compound imperfect in the perfect:

Positive indicative, e.g. *ndibe ndihamba* {I was walking} (Yobhi/Job 31:5) and *bendisoyika* {I was fearing} (Gen 31:31);

Negative indicative, e.g. *ube ungazi* {you [singular] were not knowing / did not know} (SiTyh/Rev 3:17) and *ebengazi* {he did not know} (Yosh 8:14);

Positive relative, as in *xa benisidla* {when you [plural] were eating} (Zekar 7:6) and *umntu ... xa ebefika* {when a person arrived} (Hag 2:16);

Negative relative, as in *kumkani wumbi ubengamazi uYosefu* {the other king did not know Joseph} (Zen/Acts 7:17).

The compound perfect in the perfect:

Positive indicative, e.g. *bendilambile* {I was hungry} (Ndum/Ps 50:12);

Negative indicative, e.g. *ndibe ndingaxelelwanga* {I had not been told} (2 Kron/Chr 9:6) and *ubengasondelanga* {he had not gone near} (Gen 20:4);

Positive relative, as in *laa mntu ubeze kum* {that person that had come to me} (Gweb/Jdg 13:10);

Negative relative, as embedded in the relative construction as in *ababengafuduselwanga eBhabheli* {those that had not been exiled to Babel} (Yer 40:7).

The compound future construction in the perfect:

Positive indicative, e.g. *bebeya kuhanahanisa* {they were going to act hypocritically} (Ndum/Ps 81:15);

Negative indicative, e.g. *ndibe ndingayi kukuxelela* {I was not going to tell you [singular]} (Ndum/Ps 50:12) and as in *umnqopiso ubungayi kufunelwa ndawo* {the covenant would not have searching done on its behalf for a place} (Hebh 8:7) and also as in *belingayi kunqunyulwa litshabalale igama labo* {their name was not going to be cut off and perish} (Is 48:19);

Positive relative, as in *ukholo olu lube luza kutyhilwa* {this belief was going to be revealed} (Gal 3:23);

Negative relative, as in *akukho mntu ubengayi kuyithanda loo nto* {there is no person that would not like that thing}. No example of this tense is found in the RUV.

The compound verbs in the relative mood perfect are mostly found as the second element of a relative construction (the first element being the relative A), e.g.:

obehamba {he that was going} as in *uLote obehamba noAbram* {Lot that was going together with Abraham} (Gen 13:5);

abeluthabathe {that he had taken} as in *uThixo walwakha ubambo abeluthabathe kuAdam, lwaba ngumfazi* {God built the rib that he had taken from Adam that it became a woman} (Gen 2:22);

ebezingasukeli {they that did not pursue} as in *iintlanga ebezingasukeli bulungisa* {the nations that did not pursue righteousness} (Roma 9:30) and

owayeza kuzala {she that was going to give birth} as in *umfazi owayeza kuzala* {the woman that was going to give birth} (SiTyh/Rev 12:4).

6.67 Compound tenses in the *a*-past tense

The compound tenses in the *a*-past tense indicative and relative moods are compounded with the use of the *a*-past tense of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} plus a predicate in the situative mood as complement. In these tenses the final vowel *-a* of the auxiliary has become the neutral vowel *-e*, as in *sabe sikubona* {we were seeing you [singular]} (Gen 42:21). Furthermore, the consonant *b* of the auxiliary verb is usually modified by being semi-vowelised to *y*, as in *waye ehambahamba* {he was walking around} (Yoh/Jn 10:23) and *kwaye kusifa* {there was one being sick} (Yoh/Jn 11:1). This form is often contracted by fusing the final vowel *-e* of the auxiliary with the vowel of the subject concord of the complement when it is also the vowel *e*, e.g. *waye esifa* > *wayesifa* {he was sick} (Yoh/Jn 11:2). In cases where the subject concord of the complement consists only of a vowel other than *e*, its corresponding semi-vowel is inserted before it as a transition, e.g. *yaye ivile* is contracted to *yayivile* {it [indimbane – crowd] had heard} (Yoh/Jn 12:18) and *waye ubhaliwe* to *wawubhaliwe* {it had been written} (Dan 5:24). When the subject concord of the complement consists of a consonant plus a vowel contraction is achieved by dropping the stem of the auxiliary, as in *babethanda* < *baye bethanda* {they loved} (Yoh/Jn 12:43).

Occasionally a split compound tense in the *a*-past is found, where the modified auxiliary and the complement have other words inserted between them, as in *yaye ke ibhaliwe* {it had been written on} (Hez/Ezek 2:10) and *yaye indimbane enkulu imlandela* {a large crowd was following him} (Marko 5:24). As can be seen in these examples the auxiliary verb is moved from immediately before its complement to a position preceding *ke*, the form word indicating continuation, or the subject of the compound verb, in this case *indimbane enkulu* {a large crowd}.

The contracted form of the *a*-past tense indicative of the auxiliary plus the subject concord of the situative mood predicate used as complement can be tabulated as follows:

Person

& class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>ndandi-</i>	<i>wawu-</i>	<i>waye-</i>	<i>wawu-</i>	<i>lali-</i>	<i>sasi-</i>	<i>yayi-</i>	<i>lwalu-</i>	<i>babu-</i>	<i>kwaku-</i>	<i>kwaku-</i>
Plural:	<i>sasi-</i>	<i>nani-</i>	<i>babe-</i>	<i>yayi-</i>	<i>aye-</i>	<i>zazi</i>	<i>zazi-</i>				

The contracted forms in the relative mood are identical to those of the indicative. In the case of a subject of class 1 the contraction is *waye-*, irrespective of whether the subject is also the antecedent or not, as in *abalivanga ilizwi lalowo wayethetha nam* {they did not hear the voice of that one that was talking with me} (Zen/Acts 22:9) and *xa wayethetha uAron* {when Aaron was talking} (Eks 16:10). However, when these contracted forms constitute the second element of a relative construction the respective subject concords *u-* and *a-* once more manifest their influence, as in *uLazaro owayefile* {Lazarus who had been dead} (Yoh/Jn 12:1) and *isibhambathiso sakhe awayesibhambathisile* {his vow that he had vowed, i.e. taken} (Gweb/Jdg 11:39).

The following compound tenses are found in the *a*-past tense:

The compound imperfect in the *a*-past tense:

Positive indicative, e.g. *wayethanda* < *waye/wabe ethanda* {he loved} (2 Kron/Chr 26:10);

Negative indicative, e.g. *wayengathandi* {he did not love, he did not want} (Marko 9:30);

Positive relative, as in *lowo wayethetha nam* {that one who spoke to me} (Zen/Acts 22:9) and *xa wayethetha* {when he was speaking} (Eks 16:10);

Negative relative, e.g. *babengamazi* {whom they did not know} as found embedded in the relative construction *ababengamazi* {whom they did not know} as in *uthixo ababengamazi ooyise* {a god whom their fathers did not know} (Dan 11:38).

The compound perfect in the *a*-past tense:

Positive indicative, e.g. *wayelele* {he was sleeping} (Zen/Acts 12:6);

Negative indicative, e.g. *wayengavathanga* {he was not dressed} (Luka 12:27);

Positive relative, e.g. *babengene* {that they had entered} as in *lowo mnye wodwa babengene kuwo* {that one only that they had entered into} (Yoh/Jn 6:22) and

wayebamisele {that he had caused to stand [i.e. ordained] for them} as in *benza ngoko wayebamisele ngako* {they did according to that which he had ordained for them by means of it} (Mat 21:6);

Negative relative, e.g. *babengagqitywanga* {that had not been finished}, as in *abo babengagqitywanga* {those that had not been finished} (2 Kron/Chr 8:8).

The compound future construction in the *a*-past tense:

Positive indicative, e.g. *babeya kuza* {they were going to come} (Luka 13:29);

Negative indicative, e.g. *babengayi kushiya* {they were not going to leave behind} (Obhad 1:5);

Positive relative, e.g. *wayeya kuza* {that was going to come} as in *lowo wayeya kuza* {the one that was going to come} (no example found in the RUV);

Negative relative, e.g. *wayengayi kuza* {he/she was not going to come} (no example found in the RUV).

The relative mood of the compound verbs in the *a*-past tense is usually found embedded in relative constructions as the second element, as in:

izinto ezazithethwa nguPawulos {the things that were spoken by Paul} (Zen/Acts 16:14);

uYosefu ... owayebulindle naye ubukumkani bukaThixo {Joseph who also expected the kingdom of God} (Marko 15:43);

iziganga awayezidilizile uHezekiya {the high places that Hezekiah had broken down} (2 Kum/Kgs 21:3);

ukumkani ... owayengamazi uYosefu {a king who did not know Joseph} (Eks 1:8) and *uElisha wayesifa sisifo awayeza kufa siso* {Elisha was suffering from the illness from which he was going to die} (2 Kum/Kgs 13:14).

6.68 Tenses compounded with future constructions

On rare occasions, as necessitated by the context, the various tenses of future constructions in the indicative and relative moods as well as relative constructions of the verb *ukuba* {to be} are found as the auxiliary of a compound tense, with its predicate a verb in the situative mood. These compound tenses indicate a process that will, or would in the future, be continuous.

Only five examples of such verbs with an uncontracted auxiliary are found in the RUV. They are:

The positive indicative stative perfect tense compound future constructions *uya kuba ehleli* {he will be sitting} and *aya kuba etyebile* {they will be prosperous}, as in *uNyana woMntu uya kuba ehleli ekunene kwamandla kaThixo* {the Son of Man will be sitting on the right hand side of the power of God} (Luka 22:69) and *aya kuhluma eselenezimvi; aya kuba etyebile, eluhlaza* (Ndum/Ps 92:14) {they will flourish when they already have opinions [i.e. are old]; they will be prosperous, being green}.

And *nibe niya kuba nilumkile* {you would have been wise}, the compound positive perfect indicative stative perfect tense compound future construction, as in *anaba benithe tu*

kanye; nibe niya kuba nilumkile {if only you [plural] had stayed quiet altogether; you would have been wise} (Yobhi/Job 13:5).

And further *bendingayi kuba ndiswele* {I would not be that I was in need}, the compound negative perfect indicative stative perfect tense compound future construction, as well as *bendiya kuba ndithetha* {I would be that I speak}, the compound positive indicative imperfect tense compound future construction, as in *xa bendingáthi ndithande ukuqhayisa, bendingayi kuba ndiswele ukuqonda, kuba bendiya kuba ndithetha inyaniso; kodwa ndiyayeka, ukuze kungabikho bani ucinga ngam ngaphezu koko abona ndikuko* {if I could say I liked to boast I would not be that I was in need of understanding, because I would be speaking the truth, but I let it be, so that there is not someone that thinks about me more than that he/she sees that I am} (2 Kor 12:6).

Future construction compound tenses are also found where the auxiliary has been contracted, e.g.:

ùya kuba is contracted to *woba*, as in *woba ukhululekile* {you [singular] will be freed} in *ukuba ke inkazana leyo ithe ayavuma ukukulandela, woba ukhululekile kwesi sifungo sam* {if that female does not agree to follow you [singular], you will be freed from this oath of mine} (Gen 24:8) and

niya kuba is contracted to *noba* {you [plural] will be} as in *ukuba anithanga nenjenjalo, yabonani, noba nonile kuYehova* {if you have not done and did that, look, you will be that you have sinned to the Lord} (Num 32:23).

6.69 Compound tenses in the imperfect tense

Verbs in the compound tenses in the imperfect are rarely found. They serve to accentuate the incomplete perpetuation of a process, e.g. the imperfect in the imperfect *ùba ùncedwa* {you [singular] are being helped} as in *iselingumnikelo kuThixo into onge uba uncedwa ngayo ndim* {it is already an offering to God the thing that you [singular] could be being helped by means of it by me} (Mat 15:5).

6.70 Compound tenses in the subjunctive mood

In a few instances, as for example following the compound conjunction *hleze* {lest}, compound tenses are found in the subjunctive, as with the irregular verb *ukuthi* {to say/do} in the compound imperfect in the imperfect subjunctive, as in the case of *nibe nithi* {you [singular] be saying} in *hleze nibe nithi: “Sibufumene ubulumko”* {lest you [plural] be saying: “We have found wisdom”} (Yobhi/Job 32:13).

An example of a perfect tense in the imperfect subjunctive is found in the case of *abe unihendile* {he is that he has tempted you [plural]} and the perfect in the perfect subjunctive in *saba sifumane* {and we were that we did in vain}, as in *ndathumela ukuba ndilwazi ukholo lwenu, hleze abe unihendile uMhendi, saba sifumane sabulaleka* {I sent so that I know your [plural] faith, lest the Tempter has tempted you and we worked to exhaustion in vain} (1 Tes 3:5).

6.71 Conclusion

In this chapter attention has been given to verbs. Their attributes are discussed and the form and use of subject and object concords is explained. The categories of mood, tense, actuality and aspect in which verbs are found are set out, and the forms in which verbs are found both simple and compound are described in detail. Attention is also given to the way in which verbs are used in isiXhosa.

Ever since Boyce (1834) first described concords as the key to the analysis of the structure of isiXhosa all grammarians have rightly followed in his footsteps. Concordial agreement is in fact the cement that welds isiXhosa together. Not only do verbs and copulatives display concords linking them with the prefixes of the nouns indicating those involved in the processes expressed by them, but also pronouns and qualificative nouns link up with the prefixes of the nouns they indicate or qualify, as the previous chapters have shown. Most grammarians have been able to grasp this and have attempted to structure their grammars accordingly.

As set out in the previous chapters, problems have presented themselves in the description of the concordial patterns related to substantives, especially when efforts to simplify in fact caused complications, as when adjectival concords and relative concords were postulated. In the case of verbs the treatment of concords has on the whole been relatively accurate. However, various degrees of confusion have been displayed in respect of the categories of mood, tense and aspect. The root cause of this has been that the approach has not been to examine isiXhosa comprehensively as it is spoken and written, but to move from such languages as English and Latin to isiXhosa, seeking similar structures to those in these languages. A few examples can serve as illustration of this claim.

Because verbs of the situative mood can usually best be translated in English with the use of participles Doke in his “Text-book of Zulu Grammar” (1927: 197) continues the practice of calling it the participial mood and is followed by many in isiXhosa, such as Pinnock (1994: 191). However, this does not cause serious problems in comprehending the structure of isiXhosa – the name is only partially enlightening, but if the form and syntax of what is called the participial mood is accurately set out not much is lost.

The same cannot be said about the failure to discern the presence of the relative mood, seriously complicating the understanding of the structure of the language. Again Doke (1927: 318) fails to set a correct example, expressing the opinion that “the relative predicate is always treated in the participial mood,” adding a footnote that in some instances an indicative may be used. Louw and Jubase (1963: 116), for example, follow him in this, stating in paragraph 24.1 of their isiXhosa textbook that relative constructions with verbs are formed with what they call the relative form of the participial mood.

The fact that the verbal category of time is approached from an English perspective of past, present and future has misled all those attempting to describe the structure of isiXhosa to date. Not one grammarian has noted the fact that isiXhosa primarily operates from a basis of distinguishing between verbs indicating processes that are being executed and those that have been completed, i.e. verbs of the imperfect and perfect tenses. To avoid repetition cognisance can again be taken of what has been said in pericopes 6.12 and 6.65 et seq.

Much confusion has been sown in the efforts of grammarians accurately to describe the category of verbal aspect. Verbal aspect is mostly overlooked as a category and, for example, verbs with a persisting aspect are described by Pinnock (1994: 127) as verbs displaying a progressive tense. Verbs with a potential aspect are often described as exhibiting a potential mood, as Satyo's (1983: 244) textbook for the eighth grade does, calling it *uhlobo lokungathisa* {the potential mood} and listing it together with other moods of verbs.

These examples illustrate the importance of a clear picture being gained concerning the verbal categories of mood, tense and aspect. Equally important is a sound understanding concerning the classification and derivation of verb stems, as described in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Classification and derivation of verb stems

7.1 Classification of verb stems

Having described the categories of mood, tense and aspect of verbs attention can now be turned to an examination of the stems of verbs.

Verb stems can be classified by means of their phonological-morphological characteristics, relating to the nature and number of syllables they consist of, and their morphological characteristics, depending on whether they are basic stems or stems derived by having their roots extended. They can also be classified according to their semologic-syntactical nature, depending on being transitive or intransitive as well as depending on being independent or functioning as the stems of auxiliary verbs. All these features are described below.

7.2 Phonological-morphological classification of verb stems

Classified according to their phonological-morphological characteristics verb stems can be differentiated as polysyllabic stems commencing in a consonant, and those commencing in a vowel, as well as monosyllabic verb stems.

7.3 Polysyllabic verb stems commencing in a consonant

The stems of isiXhosa verbs basically consist of a root plus a final vowel, e.g. *-bona* {see} (Gen 1:4) consisting of the morphemes */-bon-/* + */-a/*. The vast majority of verb stems commence in a consonant and are polysyllabic, mostly dissyllabic. Their primary final vowel is *-a*. Examples are *-bona* {see} (Gen 1:4) and *-baleka* {run} (Gen 16:6). The polysyllabic stems that commence in a consonant can be regarded as regular stems. The various structures in which verbs with these stems are found have already been described.

Verb stems commencing in a consonant that have a bilabial consonant or consonant cluster in a position other than as the initial consonant or consonant cluster are phonologically exceptional in so far as this bilabial is found in the variant palatal form when the verb root is extended with the bilabial passive morpheme */-w-/*, e.g. *-bamba* {catch, hold} (Gen 19:16) is palatalised to *-banjwa* < *bamb+w+a* {be caught, be held} (Eks 15:15) (vide pericope 7.17).

Also phonologically exceptional are certain verb stems that commence in *su-* and *nyu-*, as well as the stem *-mka* {go away} (Gen 4:16) that commences in a syllabic *m-*, derived from *mu-*. The vowel *u* of these stems sometimes influences the final vowel *-a-* of a prefixed morpheme by partially assimilating it to become *-e-*.

The stem *-mka* < *muka* {go away} always has the influence of partially assimilating a prefixed vowel *a-* to *e-*, as in *bemka ke abantu* {then the people went away} (2 Kron/Chr 10:5); *makanyebeleze emke ezintabeni* {let him sneak away and leave from the mountains} (Gweb/Jdg 7:3) and *andemka ngokungendawo kuThixo wam* {I did not go away [i.e. deviate] by wickedness from my God} (Ndum/Ps 18:21). [Stems commencing in the syllable *-mu-* that has not been contracted to a syllabic *-m-*, such as *-munca* {suck} (not found in the RUV)

and *-munya* {suck} (Dut 32:13) do not exhibit this influence, as in *iimpethu ziyabamunya* {worms suck them} (Yobhi/Job 24:20).]

The stem *-nyuka* {ascend, go up} usually has the influence of partially assimilating a prefixed vowel *a-* to *e-*, as in *benyuka ke, bemka emzini kaKora* {they then went up and left from the homestead of Korah} (Num 16:27); *zonke iintlanga ezingenyukiyo ziye kwenza umthendeleko* {all the nations that do not go up and go and make a feast} (Zekar 14:18); *makangenyuki aye eYerusalem* {let him not go up and go to Jerusalem} (Zen/Acts 21:4) and *xa wenyukayo* {when he ascended/went up} (1 Sam 1:7). However, *-nyuka* {go up, ascend} retains a prefixed vowel *a-* when it is strengthened by the relative *A*, as in *amadini anyukayo* {offerings that go up [i.e. burnt offerings]} (Yosh 8:31) and *abazalwana bam abanyukayo nam* {my brothers that are going up with me} (Yosh 14:8), and sometimes optionally in other cases, as in *nibe nisoyika umlilo, ananyuka niye entabeni* {you [plural] were fearing the fire and you did not go up and go to the mountain} (Dut 5:5); *ngubani na ... onganyukanga?* {who is it who has not ascended?} (Gweb/Jdg 21:5); *anyuka ke amadoda lawo, ayihlola iAyi* {so those men went up and spied on Ai} (Yosh 7:2) and *unina ubemenzela ingubo yokwaleka, anyuke nayo, ayise kuye* {his mother used to make him a garment to put on over, and go up with it, and take it to him} (1 Sam 2:19).

The stem *-suka* {get up, rise, go away} often has the influence of partially assimilating a prefixed vowel *a-* to *e-*, as in *uFesto ... wathi emva kwemihla emithathu, wenyuka waya eYerusalem, esuka eKesareya* {Festus did after three days and went up and went to Jerusalem, going away from Caesarea} (Zen/Acts 25:1) and *ze kungesuki kume ngqina linye ngomntu ngenxa yobugwenxa* {let there not get up and stand one witness about a person because of perversity} (Dut 19:15). In other cases it is found retaining the *a*, as in *uya kulala nooyihlo, basuke aba bantu bahenyuze ngokulandela thixo bambi* {he will sleep with his fathers, and these people will get up [i.e. irresponsibly do] and commit adultery by following other gods} (Dut 31:16); *kwathi, xa asukayo umFilisti* {it happened, when the Philistine got up} (1 Sam 17:48) and *makube ngokwelizwi lakho ... asuke amasele kuwe* {let it be according to your word and the frogs go away from you} (Eks 8:11).

The stem *-susa* {send away, take away, remove} is sometimes found with a prefixed vowel *-a-* partially assimilated to *-e-*, as in *uYoshuwa ... wesusa amadoda amabini aziintlola* {Joshua sent two men that were spies} (Yosh 2:1). In most cases it is found retaining the *-a-*, as in *uSawule wasusa abathunywa ukuba bamthabathe uDavide* {Saul sent emissaries that they take David} (1 Sam 19:14); *basuseni ke phakathi kwenu oothixo bolunye uhlanga* {remove then from among you the gods of another nation} (1 Sam 7:3); *babasusa ke ooBhahali nooAshtaroti* {so they removed the Baals and Ashtoreths} (1 Sam 7:4) and *kuya kufika mihla awothi asuswe kubo umyeni* {there will come days that the bridegroom is removed from them} (Mat 9:15).

The stem *-nyusa* {cause to go up, raise, lift up, send up, take up, convey up} is sometimes found with a prefixed vowel *-a-* partially assimilated to *-e-*, as in *benza ithole ngaloo mihla, benyusa amadini* {they made a calf in those days, and sent up sacrifices} (Zen/Acts 7:41) and

nguYehova owênza ooMoses noAron, owenyusa ooyihlo ezweni laseYiputa {it is the Lord that made Moses and Aaron that brought up your fathers from the land of Egypt} (1 Sam 12:6). In most cases it is found retaining the *-a-*, as in *imini eyanyuswa ngayo [iNkosi]* {the day on which [the Lord] was taken up} (Zen/Acts 1:22); *nowanyusa amathambo am, emke apha* {you [plural] will convey up my bones that the go away from here} (Gen 50:25); *ngubani na oya kuhla aye enzonzobileni, ukuba anyuse uKristu kwabafileyo?* {who will go down and go to the deep that he brings up Christ from the dead?} (Roma 10:7) and *andiwanyusanga na amaSirayeli ezweni laseYiputa?* {have I not brought up the Israelites from the land of Egypt?} (Am 9:7).

7.4 Polysyllabic verb stems commencing in a vowel

A number of polysyllabic verb stems commence in a vowel. These vowel-commencing verb stems can be subdivided into consistent vowel-commencing verb stems which always commence in the same vowel, such as *-enza* {do, make} (Gen 1:7), *-akha* {build} (Gen 2:22) and *-ona* {do wrong, sin} (Gen 40:1), and variable vowel-commencing verb stems, of which only *-oyisa* / *-eyisa* {defeat} (1 Kum/Kgs 16:22 and Gen 30:8) is found in the RUV. Others, such as *-othuka* {be startled} (Gen 15:12), are not found in the RUV in a variant form, such as *-ethuka*, but are found in a contemporary publication such as McLarren's "Xhosa - English Dictionary." Still a number of others, such as *-ombatba*, the variant of *-ambatha* {put on, get dressed} (Gen 28:20), and *-ehlula* the variant of *-ahlula* {separate, divide} (Gen 1:4), are also sometimes heard in a variant form but not used in the RUV.

The verb stem *-gqitha* {pass}, as in *wagqitha uYehoram, waya eTsahira* {Jehoram passed and went to Zair} (2 Kum/Kgs 8:21) is found in the variant *-egqitha* {pass}, as in *wegqitha uYoshuwa eLakishe* {Joshua passed Lachish} (Yosh 10:34). In the case of the consonant-commencing stem *-nyula* {choose, draw out} (2 Sam 19:38) the variant vowel-commencing stem *-onyula* is often heard, but not found in the RUV. [The variant vowel verb stems have their roots in the easterly dialects of isiXhosa (vide pericope 1.2 the 8th paragraph).]

The vowel of a vowel-commencing verb stem is not influenced by a prefixed vowel. Such a prefixed vowel is either dropped or retained as its corresponding semi-vowel, as already described with reference to the subject and object concords in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of pericope 5.7, e.g. *ndi+akha > ndakha* {I build} (Hez/Ezek 36:36); *wa+ênza > wenza* {he made/did} (Dan 1:9); *ù+enza > wenza* {you [singular] make/do} (Dan 4:35); *ba+ya+yi+oyika > bayayoyika* {they fear it} (Ndum/Ps 65:8); *[isithomo] si+ya+onakala > siyonakala* {[the image] suffers injury} (Ndum/Ps 49:14); *uku+akha > ukwakha* {to build} (Ntshum/Ecc 3:3) and *e+nga+oyiki > engoyiki* {he not fearing} (Ntshum/Ecc 8:13).

When the positive imperfect situative of a verb with a vowel-commencing stem does not contain an object concord or reflexive *-zi-*, it retains the situative morpheme */-si-/* (vide the fourth paragraph of pericope 6.7) but drops the vowel *i* preceding the vowel of the vowel-commencing verb stem, as in *besoyika < be+si+oyika* {them fearing} (Marko 10:32) and *babesakha* {they were building} (Neh 4:18). But with the object concord present the

situative morpheme /-si-/ is not in evidence, for example as in *wayemoyika* {he feared him} in *uObhadiya ke wayemoyika uYehova* {now Obadiah feared the Lord} (1 Kum/Kgs 18:3).

When the vowel-commencing stem *-ahlula* {separate, divide} is reduplicated to indicate a repetitious process, the final vowel of the first stem and the initial vowel *a* of the reduplication fuse to become a single vowel, as in *wawahlulahlula* {he divided them} (Gen 14:15).

In the case of vowel-commencing stems of verbs in the imperative mood the semi-vowel *y-* is prefixed to the stem, except if the imperative mood has an object concord or reflexive *-zi-* prefixed, e.g. *yenza* {make [singular]} (Hez/Ezek 19:1) and *yakhani* {build [plural]} (Yer 29:28), but *zakheni* {build [plural] them} (Yuda/Jude 1:20). However, the imperative of *-etha* is *ethe* {hand, give, bring} (Rute 3:15).

The root of a bisyllabic vowel-commencing stem is extended with the morpheme /-iw-/ to give it a passive connotation, e.g. *-akha* > *-akhiwa* {be built}, as in *yâkhiwa* {it was built} (1 Kum/Kgs 6:7) and *-enza* > *-enziwa* {be made}, as in *ukwenziwa* {to be made} (1 Kum/Kgs 7:28).

In the case of a contracted positive future construction in the indicative mood, with the auxiliary *ukuya* {to go}, the prefix *ku-* of the basic infinitive is retained as *kw-* before the vowels *a* and *e*, and as *k-* before the vowel *o*, as is the case with *sokwenza* < *si+ya+ku+enza* {we shall do/make} (Eks 19:8) and *bokonwaba* < *ba+ya+ku+onwaba* {they will be content} (not found in the RUV).

When the vowel-commencing stem *-enza* {do, make} is modified by one of the adverbs *nje* {like this} or *njalo* {like that} it is palatalised and written conjunctively with the adverb as in *ukwenjenje* {to do like this} and *ukwenjenjalo* {to do like that}, as described in the eighteenth paragraph of pericope 5.9.

7.5 Monosyllabic verb stems

A number of verb stems consist of only one syllable and are referred to as monosyllabic stems. These stems can be divided into pure monosyllabic stems, such as *-fa* {die} (Gen 21:16), *-ya* {go} (Eks 23:2), *-dla* {eat} (Gen 3:6), *-tya* {eat} (in the RUV found only in the derived noun *ukutya* {food}, as in Yobhi/Job 42:11), *-na* {rain} (SiTyh/Rev 11:6), *-pha* {give as a gift} (Zen/Acts 20:35) and the irregular *-thi* {say, do, think – transitive} with its final vowel *-i* (Mat 16:12) and *-tsho* {say so, do – intransitive} with the final vowel *-o* (Est 3:4), and monosyllabic stems with a latent *i*, such as *-(i)za* {come} (SiTyh/Rev 22:20), *-(i)ma* {stand} (SiTyh/Rev 21:16), *-(i)ba* {steal} (Eks 20:15), *-(i)va* {sense, feel, hear, understand, obey} (Marko 12:29), *-(i)hla* {come or go down, descend, dismount, befall, happen} (Mat 24:6), *-(i)mba* {dig, mine} (Luka 16:3), *-(i)tha* {pour, pour in, shed} (2 Tes 3:13) and *-(i)phà* {cut/pluck grass etc} (not found in the RUV). In the case of the monosyllabic stem *-mba* {dig, mine}, as in *umntu olitshijolo umba ububi* {a person that is a rogue digs up evil} (MiZek/Prov 16:27), the variant vowel-commencing stem *-omba* {dig, mine} is used on occasion, as in *[ilizwe] elintaba womba ubhedu kuzo* {[a country] that is mountains you [singular] dig copper in them, i.e. in the mountains of which you mine copper} (Dut 8:9).

The latent *i-* of the monosyllabic verb stems with a latent *i-* normally influences a preceding vowel *a* by coalescing with it to render the vowel *e*. For example *wa+(i)za* > *weza* {he came} (Mat 15:29); *si+ya+(i)va* > *siyeva* {we hear} (2 Tes 3:11); *a+ba+(i)hla* > *abehla* {those that go down} (Is 31:1) and *li+ya+(i)tha* > *liyetha* {it pours/sheds}, as in *liyetha amandla ihlabathi* {the earth sheds power} (Ndum/Ps 75:3). Occasionally the latent *i* is ignored, as in *nina bahla baye elwandle* {you [plural] that descend and go to the sea} (Is 42:10) and *bathá amandla bonke abemi belakwaKanan* {all the inhabitants of Canaan shed power} (Eks 15:15). Conversely normally pure monosyllabic stems are on occasion treated as if they have a latent *i-*, e.g. as in *ongèthi* {she who does not do} in *nguwuphi na umfazi eneedrarhima zilishumi, ongethi, ukuba ithe yalahleka enye idrarhima, ... afune enyamekile, ade ayifumane?* {which woman is it that has ten drachmas who does not, if it happened that one drachma got lost, seeks it diligently until she finds it} (Luka 15:8).

The latent *i-* also exerts its influence on nouns derived from these verb stems, e.g. the class 2 noun *abemi* {inhabitants, citizens} (Ndum/Ps 72:9) and the class 6 noun *ameva* {thorns} (Yer 12:13).

The latent *i-* normally has no influence when these monosyllabic verb stems are the stems of deficient auxiliary verbs with a complement, as in *waza wema umsebenzi* {and the work stopped} (Ezra 4:24), and in future constructions, as in *abo baza kusebenza* {those that are going to work} (Num 4:47).

When the positive imperfect situative with a monosyllabic stem does not contain an object concord or reflexive *-zi-*, it retains the situative morpheme */-si-/* (vide pericope 6.29) preceding the verb stem, as in *besiya* {they going} (Gweb/Jdg 20:14), *wayesithi* {he was saying} (Yoh/Jn 9:9) and *besisithi* {we were saying} (ZiLil/Lam 4:20). Of note is the fact that the verb *ukuba* {to be, to think}, used with the shade of meaning indicating the process of thinking, does not take the situative *-si-*, as in *wayeba ke yena boqonda* {now he thought they would understand/realise} (Zen/Acts 7:25). Also of note is the fact that the stem *-mka* {to go away}, which is bisyllabic as it consists of a syllabic *m* and the syllable *ka*, is found with a regular situative, as in *bemka* {they going away} (Marko 6:33), but is also sometimes perceived as being monosyllabic, which requires the inclusion of the situative *-si-*, as in *besimka* {them going away} (1 Sam 13:11).

The root of a monosyllabic verb stem is extended with the morpheme */-iw-/* to give the verb a passive connotation, e.g. *-pha* > *-phiwa* {be given} (Filipi 4:17) and *-dla* > *dliwa* {be eaten, fined} (Luka 15:16). Also the root of the stem *-mka* {go away}, which is bisyllabic but gives the impression of being monosyllabic, is extended with the morpheme */-iw-/* to give it a passive connotation, as in *kwemkiwa* {it was being going away – the subject concord *ku-*, used as universal concord, plus *-mkiwa*, the passive extension of the verb *-mka*} (Yer 9:10). If these stems with their roots extended to give them a passive connotation are used without an object concord or reflexive *-zi-*, the positive imperfect situative may optionally contain the situative morpheme */-si-/*, as in *weva kusithiwa* {he heard it being said} (Is 37:9), compared to the regular use, as in *kwakuthiwa cwaka* {it was being staying quiet} (Zen/Acts 212:40).

In the imperative mood, if no object concord is present, the morpheme /yi-/ is prefixed to monosyllabic verb stems, e.g. *yima!* {stand, stop [singular]!} (Hez/Ezek 2:1) and *yizani!* {come [plural]!} (Yer 51:10). (Vide pericope 6.54-57.)

The monosyllabic stem *-ma* {stand, stop, inhabit, reside}, which has a latent *i-*, has the irregular positive perfect indicative, situative and relative stem *-mi*, as in *ubulungisa bakhe bumi ngonaphakade* {his righteousness stands [i.e. endures] for ever} (Ndum/Ps 111:3); *babaqondisa abantu umyalelo, abantu bemi ezindaweni zabo* {they explained to the people the instruction, the people standing in their places} (Neh 8:7) and *umzi omi phezu kwentaba* {a town that stands [i.e. is situated] on top of a mountain} (Mat 5:14). The subjunctive is regular as far as the final vowel is concerned, as in *ndolinika bona beme kulo* {I shall give it to them that they reside in it} (Dut 1:39).

The monosyllabic stem *-va* {sense, feel, hear, understand, obey}, which has a latent *i-*, is irregular in that in the negative it retains the basic final vowel *-a* and does not substitute it with the regular negative final vowel *-i*, as in *uvula iindlebe, akeva noko* {he opens [his] ears, yet does not hear} (Is 42:20); *ababefudula bangeva* {those that in the past did not hear} (1 Pet 3:20); *abo bangevayo* {those that do not hear/listen/understand} (Hebh 11:31) and *uThixo ubanike ... amehlo okuba bangaboni, neendlebe zokuba bangeva* {God has given them eyes so that they do not see, and ears of being that they do not hear} (Rom 11:8). However, on a rare occasion, the negative final vowel *-i* is found, as in *oothixo ... abangaboniyo, abangeviyo, abangadliyo* {gods that do not see, that do not hear, that do not eat} (Dut 4:28).

The defective vowel-commencing stem *-azi* {know} (MiZek/Prov 15:14) and the defective monosyllabic stems *-thi* {say, do, think – transitive} (Mat 16:12) and *-tsho* {say so, do – intransitive} (Est 3:4), with their irregular final vowels, are described in the next pericopes.

7.6 Morphological classification of verb stems

Morphologically verb stems can be classified as either basic or derived and further differentiated according to the nature of their irregularities.

7.7 Basic verb stems and derived verb stems

Classified according to their morphemes verb stems can be divided into basic stems and derived stems. Basic verb stems consist of a root morpheme plus a final morpheme, e.g. */bon/a/* {see}, */akh/a/* {build} and */y/a/* {go} as described in the previous pericopes. Derived verb stems consist of a root morpheme, plus one or more root extension morphemes, plus a final morpheme, e.g. */bon/is/a/* {show}, */akh/el/an/a/* {build for each other} and */y/el/a/* {go for/on behalf of}, as described in the next chapter.

7.8 Classification of basic verb stems:

regular, defective, deficient and pseudo basic verb stems

Basic verb stems can be divided into:

Regular basic verb stems, that show no particular deviations, and that constitute the stems of the vast majority of verbs, e.g. *-bona* {see} (Gen 1:4), and as described above in chapter 5.

Defective basic verb stems, that are irregular in respect of their final morpheme, and are *-azi* {know} (MiZek/Prov 15:14), *-thi* {say} (Gen 1:3) and *-tsho* {say so} (Gen 9:8), as described in pericopes 7.9 and 7.10 below, as well as *-(i)va* {sense, feel, hear, understand, obey} (Is 42:20), as described in the penultimate paragraph of pericope 7.5 above.

Deficient basic verb stems, that can also be called auxiliary or dependent stems, that are found in verbs that have another predicate as complement, and that often undergo mutation or elision of morphemes, e.g. *ungafumane* {you must not vainly do} used instead of *ungafumani*, as in *uze ungafumane ulibize igama likaYehova* {do not vainly call the name of the Lord} (Eks 20:7). These stems are described below in pericopes 7.15 and 8.1-11.

Pseudo or unauthentic basic verb stems, that are not true verb stems, but are used as if they are verb stems, e.g. the class 17 absolute pronoun *kho(na)* {there}, as used in *okhoyo* {that is there/present} in *umlilo okhoyo phakathi kwenu* {the fire that is present among you} (1 Pet 4:12). These unauthentic verb stems are described in pericope 7.11 below.

7.9 The defective verb stems *-azi* and *-thi*

The verb stems *-azi* {know} and *-thi* {say, do, think} exhibit the deviant final vowel *-i* instead of the regular final vowel *-a* and the positive imperfect subjunctive final vowel *-è*, as in *ndiyazi* {I know} (Gen 12:11) in the indicative and *ayazi* {that he knows} in the subjunctive, as in *ukuze ayazi into eya kwenzeka* {so that he knows the thing that is going to happen} (Eks 2:4). However, in the negative perfect indicative, situative and relative, preceding the negative suffix *-ngà*, the regular final vowel *-a* is used, as in *abayazanga* {they did not know} in *nendlela yoxolo abayazanga* {and the way of peace they did not know} (Rom 3:17).

Verbs with the stem *-thi* {say, do, think} are always followed by what is said, done or thought, or by an ideophone, and are, with the exception of the instance described in the next paragraph, always in the short form, as in *wathi: “Ndingubani na?”* {he said; “Who am I?”} (1 Kron/Chr 17:16); *wathi mazisiswe iincwadi* {he said that the books must be brought} (Est 6:3); *indawo othe uya kulibeka kuyo igama lakho* {the place that you said you would place your name there} (2 Kron/Chr 6:20) and *ithi qoko* {it dries up} (Yobhi/Job 6:17).

In the relative mood and in relative constructions the stem *-thile* {is a certain one}, the long form positive perfect of *-thi* {say, do, think}, is found. In this instance it indicates a certain person (often of some importance) or a certain/some thing or things, usually not mentioned before and thus indefinite and consequently used in a basic form, as in *kwabonakala kukho mfundi uthile apho, ugama linguTimoti, unyana wentokazi ethile engumYudakazi* {it appeared there being a certain disciple there, whose name is Timothy, the son of a certain woman that is a Jewess} (Zen/Acts 16:1) and *safika ndaweni ithile kuthiwa ngamaChweba aMahle* {we arrived at a certain place it is said it is Beautiful Lagoons, i.e. called Good Harbours} (Zen/Acts 27:8). The class 1a noun *uthile* {a certain one/person} (Is 57:14) is derived from the verb stem *-thile* {is a certain one}.

7.10 The defective verb stem *-tsho*

With the exception of the instance mentioned in the last paragraph of this pericope, verbs with the stem *-tsho* {say so, do, think}, are intransitive and indicate a process of saying, thinking or doing. They have the irregular final vowel *-o* that replaces the final vowels *-a* and *-e* and the negative final vowel *-i*, and assimilates the vowels of verbal suffixes and extension morphemes to *o*. Examples of the forms verbs with the stem *-tsho* {say so, do, think} take are as follows:

Positive imperfect indicative:	<i>utsho</i> {he says so} (Zen/Acts 2:17);
Negative imperfect indicative:	<i>akatsho</i> {he does not say so} (1 Kor 9:10);
Positive perfect indicative:	<i>utshilo</i> {he has said so} (Yoh/Jn 18:22);
Negative perfect indicative:	<i>akatshongo</i> {he has not said so} (2 Kum/Kgs 14:27);
Positive imperfect situative:	<i>besitsho</i> {while they were saying} (Zen/Acts 14:18);
Negative imperfect situative:	<i>ndingàtsho</i> {me not saying} (Gen 42:22);
Positive perfect situative:	<i>etshilo</i> {he having said} (Hebh 13:5);
Negative perfect situative:	<i>engatshongo</i> {he not having said} (Yoh/Jn 21:23);
Positive imperfect relative mood:	[<i>njengoko</i>] <i>litshoyo</i> [<i>iqhalo</i>] {[just as] it says [the idiom]} (1 Sam 24:13);
Negative imperfect relative construction:	[<i>umlilo</i>] <i>ongàtshoyo</i> [<i>ukuthi:</i>] {[a fire] that does not say [that]} (MiZek/Prov 30:16);
Positive perfect relative mood:	[<i>njengoko</i>] <i>watshoyo</i> [<i>uMoses</i>] {[just as Moses] he said} (Lev 10:5);
Positive imperfect subjunctive:	[<i>ukuba</i>] <i>atsho</i> {[so that] he subsequently says/does} (1 Sam 20:33);
Negative imperfect subjunctive:	[<i>ukuze</i>] <i>bangàtsho</i> {[so that]} they do not say (Yosh 22:27);
Positive perfect subjunctive:	<i>watsho</i> {and he said} (Eks 19:25);
Negative perfect subjunctive:	<i>ungàtshongo</i> [<i>wena</i>] {you [singular] not having said} (Filemon 1:14);
Indicative with a potential aspect:	<i>angátsho</i> {he can say} (Yobhi/Job 34:31);
Indicative with a passive root extension:	<i>kutshiwo</i> {it is said} (not found in the RUV);
Relative with a passive root extension:	[<i>njengoko</i>] <i>kutshiwoyo</i> {as it is said} (Luka 2:24);
Subjunctive with a passive root extension:	<i>kutshiwo</i> {and be said} (Yona 3:7);
Indicative <i>a</i> -past tense	<i>bâtshono</i> {they said to each other}
with a reciprocal root extension:	(Luka 24:32);
Indicative imperfect	<i>batsholo</i> {as in <i>batsholoni</i> ? – why do they say
with an applicative root extension:	so?} (not found in the RUV).

Verbs with the stem *-tsho* {say, do, think} normally use the short form when used in the positive imperfect indicative, as in *sitsho isibhalo* {scripture says so} (I Tim 5:18). The long form, e.g. *bayatsho* {they say so}, where the connotation of the morpheme /-ya-/ as indication of a perpetual imperfect process is prominent, is not found in the RUV. In the positive perfect indicative there is no differentiation between a long and a short form, and only forms such as *utshilo* {he has said} (Luka 24:40) are found. In the relative mood and relative constructions the long form suffix *-yo* is used regularly, as in *xa sitshoyo* {when we say} (2 Kor 3:1); *njengoko watshoyo uIsaya* {just as Isaiah said} (Yoh/Jn 1:23) and *umlilo ongàtshoyo ukuthi: “Kwanele”* {a fire that does not say so to say: “It is enough”} (MiZek/Prov 30:16).

Verbs with the stem *-tsho*{say so, do, think} are often followed by the infinitive *ukuthi* {to say}, in the RUV predominantly introducing a direct statement, as in *utsho uFaro ukuthi: “Andiyi kuninika mququ!”* {Pharaoh says so to say: “I shall not give you [plural] chaff} (Eks 5:10). On occasion verbs with the stem *-tsho* {say so, do, think} are followed by the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} or its basic form *kuba*, used as conjunctions equivalent to the English ‘that’ and ‘because’, as in “*Ndizifungile, utsho uYehova, “... ukuba ndiya kukusikelela*” {“I have sworn by myself,” says the Lord, “that I will bless you [singular]”} (Gen 22:16-17) and *watsho kuba ebelisela* {he said so because he was a thief} (Yoh/Jn 12:6). When what is said is a request or a command it is found with a predicate in the subjunctive mood and usually with no conjunction used, as in *yitsho kumfana lo agqithele phambi kwethu* {tell this young man to pass before us} (1 Sam 9:27) and *yitsho la matye abe zizonka* {command these stones to become bread} (Mat 4:3). When what is said or done is subsequent to a previous action it may be introduced by a verb in the subjunctive mood with the stem *-tsho* (and say so) as in *irhuluneli ... yathi: “Ndokuva kakuhle xa bathe bafika nabamangaleli bakho;” yatsho yathi makagcinwe endlwini yerhuluneli* {the governor said: “I will hear you [i.e. your case] well when also your [singular] accusers have arrived and are present;” and he said he must be kept in the house of the governor} (Zen/Acts 23:34-35). A verb with the stem *-tsho* {say so, do, think} may also be used to emphatically conclude a statement, e.g. *itsho iNkosi uYehova* {so says the King the Lord} (Am 4:5).

Used with the shade of meaning indicating executing a process, i.e. doing something, verbs with the stem *-tsho* are found in such phrases as *uDavide ... warhola ilitye khona, wasawula, watsho kumFilisti ebunzi; latshona ilitye ebunzini lakhe* {David took out a stone there, swung [with his sling] and did on the Philistine [i.e. struck the Philistine] on the forehead, and the stone sank into his forehead} (1 Sam 17:49) and *uAbhinere wamtsho ngoluthi lwentshuntshe esiswini* {Abner did him [i.e. stabbed him] with the butt of the spear in the stomach} (2 Sam 2:23).

It is of note that the only instance in which a verb with the stem *-tsho* {say so, do, think} is transitive, is when it takes the noun *isililo* {a lament} as object, as in *basitsho isililo* {and they made a lament} (Gen 33:4). The noun *izihlandlo* {turns, times}, in a phrase such as *watsho izihlandlo zazithathu, wayeka* {he did so three times and stopped} (2 Kum/Kgs 13:18) poses the question whether it indicates an object or whether *izihlandlo* {times} in fact has an adverbial function modifying *watsho* {he did so}. The latter seems to be the case.

7.11 Unauthentic or pseudo verb stems

The following use of unauthentic or pseudo verb stems is found in the RUV:

The use of the class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {there}, stripped to *kho* by dropping the pronominal suffix *-na*, as a verb stem with the verbal relative suffix *-yo*, as in *wena ukhoyo, wawukho, uzayo* {you [singular] who are there, who were there, who are coming, i.e. you who exist, have existed and are coming} (SiTyh/Rev 11:17). In the negative situative and relative moods it retains the copulative negative morpheme */-nge-/*, nevertheless using the verbal suffix *-yo* in the relative mood, as in *lowo zingekhoyo kuye ezo zinto* {that one that they are not there with him those things, i.e. the one with whom those things are not} (2 Pet 1:9).

The use of the class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {there}, stripped to *kho* by dropping the pronominal suffix *-na*, as a verb stem defectively extended to terminate in *-olo*, rendering the defective pseudo applicative verb stem *-kholo* {present for}, as in *zikholo yona [iNkosi] zonke ezo zinto* {all those things are there for him [the Lord]} (Rom 11:36).

The use as a verb stem of the relative *mnandi* {pleasant, nice}, extended to terminate in *-sa*, to render the pseudo causative verb stem *-mnandisa* {make pleasant}, as in the phrase *xa athe walimnandisa ilizwi lakhe* {when he has done and made pleasant his voice} (MiZek/Prov 26:25).

The use of interjections as verbs in the positive plural imperative mood, e.g. *tarhu!* {have mercy!} found as *tarhuni!* {have mercy [plural]!} as in *tarhuni, zihlobo zam!* {have mercy, my friends!} (Yobhi/Job 19:21).

Other unauthentic or pseudo verb stems are heard but not found in the RUV, for example the class 16 close demonstrative pronoun (*l*)*apha* {here} extended to terminate in *-ele* and used as a verb stem with an applicative connotation as used in the positive perfect indicative, relative and situative moods, i.e. the unauthentic verb stem *-laphele* {be here for}, as in *nilaphele ntoni?* {what are you [plural] here for?}.

Yet other unauthentic verb stems are often heard, but not regarded as being proper isiXhosa, and obviously not found in the RUV. They are such pseudo verb stems as:

The class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {there}, stripped of its pronominal suffix *-na*, used as a monosyllabic verb stem with a latent *i*, as in *akekho*, instead of *akakho* {he/she is not present}.

The class 17 absolute pronoun *khona* {there}, stripped of its pronominal suffix *-na*, used in a defective verbal negative perfect relative mood with the defective negative suffix *-ngo*, as in *akukho ndoda ingekhongo*, instead of using *akukho ndoda ingekho* or *ingekhoyo* {there is no man that is not present}.

The common use of relatives, adjective stems and adverbs as verb stems in negative predicates in the perfect indicative, situative and relative moods, using the verbal

negative perfect suffix *-anga*, as in *inja yam ayimbanga* (instead of *ayimbi*) {my dog is not ugly} and *indoda engendanga* (instead of *engende*) {a man that is not tall}. In the situative and relative moods the copulative negative morpheme */-nge-/* is often replaced with the verbal negative *-nga-* in this usage, as in *ingubo engabomvanga* (instead of *engebomvu*) {a blanket that is not red} and *indawo engakudanga* (instead of *engekude*) {a place that is not far}.

The use of a positive copulative, e.g. *iyeyakhe* {that is his/hers}, as a verb stem in a negative unauthentic verb in the situative or relative moods, e.g. *ingayiyeyakhe* (instead of *ingeyeyakhe*) {it not being his/hers / that is not his/hers}.

7.12 Semologic-syntactical classification of verb stems

Classified according to their semological and syntactical characteristics verb stems can be divided into the stems of transitive and intransitive verbs, and can also be divided into the stems of independent and dependent or auxiliary and often deficient verbs.

7.13 Transitive and intransitive verb stems

Intransitive verb stems are those of which the semological characteristics are such that it is impossible for the verb to be the predicate of an object, e.g. *-za* {come} (Yobhi/Job 1:19), *-vuya* {be glad} (Neh 12:43) and *-vuka* {get up, arise} (Kol 1:18).

Transitive verb stems are those of which the semological characteristics are such that it is possible for the verb to be the predicate of an object. These verb stems can be divided into:

Regular transitive verb stems, that have the ability to be the predicate of a direct object, e.g. *-bona* {see}, as in *ukubona izinto* {to see things} (Luka 10:24).

Double transitive verb stems, that have the ability to be the predicate of both a direct and an indirect object, also called an accusative and a dative object, e.g. *-nika* {give}, as in *[uPilato] wamnika uYosefu umzimba* {Pilate gave Joseph the body} (Marko 15:45). As this example illustrates, only one object can be referred to by an object concord. If required, the second object can be represented by a pronoun, as in *koda kufike lowo kukokwakhe ukugweba, ndikunike yena* {eventually there will arrive that one whose it is to judge and I give him to you [singular]} (Hez/Ezek 21:27). (Vide pericope 4.3.)

Of note is the fact that stems that have been given a causative connotation, by extending their roots with the morpheme */-is-/*, or an applicative connotation, by extending their roots with the morpheme */-el-/*, are double transitive, as *-bonisa* {show} and *-thengela* {buy on behalf of / for} in:

ilizwi andibonise lona uYehova {the word that the Lord has shown me it} (Yer 38:21);
iNkosi ... yathuma isithunywa sayo sasemazulwini ukubabonisa abakhonzi bayo izinto ezimele ukubakho kamsinya {the Lord sent his messenger of heaven [i.e. angel] to show his servants the things that must be present soon} (SiTyh/Rev 22:6) and
uYosefu wawuthengela uFaro wonke umhlaba waseYiputa {Joseph bought for Pharaoh all the land of Egypt} (Gen 47:20).

Some verb stems are only contextually transitive. They are normally intransitive but exhibit a restricted ability to be transitive within a circumscribed context, e.g. *-lala* {lie down, sleep}, which is transitive only when used with *ubuthongo* {sleep} as object, as in *walala ubuthongo* {he slept a sleep} (Zen/Acts 13:36).

7.14 Independent verb stems

Independent verb stems are the stems of verbs that have the ability to express a complete independent predicate, e.g. *-bona* {see} as in *babona umlilo* {and they saw a fire} (Yoh/Jn 21:9).

7.15 Dependent or auxiliary verb stems

Dependent or auxiliary verb stems are also called deficient stems as they often drop characteristics of independent verb stems. These stems, that may or may not also operate as independent stems, need to be followed by another verb as complement so as to express a complete predicate, and often undergo mutations that leave these verbs deficient, e.g. *ungafumane* {and not the regular *ungafumani* – you [singular] must not vainly do}, as in *uze ungafumane ulibize igama likaYehova* {you [singular] must not vainly call the name of the Lord} (Eks 20:7). The stem *-buya* {return, do again} is an example of a stem that is found in both dependent and independent verbs, as in *emveni koku ndiya kubuya, ndize ndibuye ndiwakhe umnquba owileyo kaDavide* {after this I shall return and again build the tent of David that has fallen} (Zen/Acts 15:16). In the first instance the stem *-buya*, as in *ndiya kubuya* {I shall return}, is independent, expressing an independent process of returning, while its second use in *ndibuye* {and I do again} is dependent, indicating that the process described by its complement *ndiwakhe* {I build it} is to be a repetition of the process expressed by this complementary verb. These dependent, auxiliary or deficient stems, and the predicates in which they are found, are described lower down in pericopes 8.1-11.

Attention can now be turned to the derivation of verb stems.

7.16 Derivation of verb stems

An examination of the stems of isiXhosa verbs displays hints about their origin. Some seem to be onomatopoeia, derived by suffixing a verbal extension, indicating the nature of the process, to a stem simulating a sound that is associated with the process indicated by the verb. For example the extension *-tha* seems to indicate an intermittent repetitive or punctative process in such verb stems as *-thetha* {speak} (Gen 17:22), *-thintitha* {pat, beat lightly, stutter} (Is 28:11), *-betha* {hit, strike} (Ndum/Ps 77:6), *-netha* {rain, get rained upon} (Ntshum/Ecc 10:18), *-khonkotha* {bark} (Is 56:10) etc. Many verb stems terminate in *-la* and refer to non-repetitive effective processes, e.g., *-chola* {pick up, find} (Gen 37:32), *-nqumla* {cut off} (Gen 49:6), *-rhola* {take out} (Eks 2:10), *-tola* {shoot with a bow} (2 Sam 11:20), *-vela* {appear, come from} (2 Sam 11:1) and *-vala* {close} (1 Kum/Kgs 6:21). Inversive processes are found that are referred to with stems that terminate in *-ula*, e.g. *-vula* {open} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:35), *-ahlula* {divide} (Gen 1:4), *-aphula* {break} (Gen 17:14), *-khulula* {loosen, set free} (Yobhi/Job 5:20) etc. However, many of these hints are so obscure, and

embedded in the ongoing mutations of the linguistic process through the ages, that they cannot be traced with any accuracy on the evidence of present day usage, and it is not very enlightening to try and do so. Messers Kropf and Godfrey have made a valiant effort on pages ix to xx of their renowned “Xhosa^k - English Dictionary” of 1915 to unravel some of the secrets of the derivation of isiXhosa verb stems.

There are, nevertheless, many instances where the derivation of verb stems can be traced, such as from other verb stems through the use of extension morphemes and reduplication and this is undertaken in the next pericopes.

7.17 Deverbatives: Verb stems with a passive extension to their roots

Verb stems with a passive connotation are derived from other verb stems by extending the root with the passive morpheme /-w-/, e.g. *-bona* {see} > *-bonwa* {be seen} (Hebh 11:3). In the case of bisyllabic vowel stems and monosyllabic stems the variant passive extension morpheme /-iw-/ is used, e.g. *-aba* {distribute, divide, share} > *-abiwa* {be distributed, be divided, be shared} (Yobhi/Job 38:24) and *-pha* {give} > *-phiwa* {be given} (2 Sam 19:42). The passive of *-tsho* {say so} is *-tshiwo* {is said so} (Luka 2:24), that of *-lwa* {fight} is *-liwa* {being fought} (1 Kron/Chr 20:5) while that of *-bulala* {kill} is *-bulawa* {be killed} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:36) and the passive applicative stem of *-bulala* {kill} is *-bulawelwa* {be killed for} (2 Sam 18:7).

The long form positive perfect indicative, situative and relative moods of verbs with a passive extension use the suffix *-iwe*. For example compare *ndibhalile* {I have written} (Roma 15:15) to *kubhaliwe* {it is written} (Roma 15:9). In the case of the verb stem *-lwa* {fight} the perfect passive is *-liwe* {fought}, as in *kuliwe* {there has been fought} (not found in the RUV) and in the case of *-bulala* {kill} it is *-bulewe* {be killed}, as in *uya kuthi ebulewe abuye avuke* {he will do having been killed and again arise} (Marko 9:31).

Passive verbs do not take the negative suffix *-i*, but retain the basic final vowel *-a*, e.g. compare *kungànyuki* {there must not go up} to *kungàbonwa* {there must not be seen} as in *kuze kungànyuki mntu nawe, kuze kungàbonwa mntu kuyo yonke intaba* {there must not go up with you [singular] a person, there must not be seen a person on the whole mountain} (Eks 34:3). (Also see pericope 6.50.)

In the positive imperfect situative, monosyllabic stems that have been extended to bisyllabic stems with the passive extension morpheme /-iw-/ normally retain the *-si-* that is prefixed to monosyllabic stems, as in *kusiliwa naye imfazwe* {there being fought a war with him} (Is 30:32); *weva kusithiwa* {he heard it being said} (2 Kum/Kgs 19:9) and *bekusithiwa* {it was being said} (Dut 2:11). However, used in the compound tenses this *-si-* is often optionally dropped, as in *bekuthiwa* {it was being said} (Luka 1:36).

When a verb stem has a bilabial consonant or consonant cluster as one of its consonants other than in the initial position, this consonant or consonant cluster dissimilates with the bilabial passive extension morpheme /-w-/ and becomes the corresponding palatal consonant or consonant cluster, i.e. palatalisation takes place, and:

bh before *w* > *j*, e.g. *-dyobha* {smear with mud, defile} > *-dyojwa* {be smeared with mud, be defiled} (Hebh 13:4) and *-gxobha-gxobha* {stir up mud, disturb water} > *-gxojwa-gxojwa* {be stirred up, be disturbed} (Yoh/Jn 5:7);

b before *w* > *ty*, e.g. *-hlaba* {stab} > *-hlatywa* {be stabbed} (Amos 2:2) and *-thabatha* {take} > *-thatyathwa* {be taken} (Gen 3:19);

m before *w* > *ny*, e.g. *-thuma* {send} > *-thunywa* {be sent} (Hebh 1:7) and *-fumana* {find} *-funyanwa* {be found} (Gen 37:15);

mb before *w* > *nj*, e.g. *-hlamba* {wash} > *-hlanjwa* {be washed} (Lev 13:55) and *-bambezela* {delay} > *-banjezelwa* {be delayed} (Roma 15:22);

ph before *w* > *tsh* [aspirated] e.g. *-khupha* {take out} > *-khutshwa* {be taken out} (Hez/Ezek 11:7) and *-bophelela* {bind} > *-botshelwa* {be bound} (Is 28:22);

mp before *w* > *ntsh* [unaspirated], e.g. *-krwempa* {scratch} > *-krwentshwa* {be scratched} (not found in the RUV).

Preceding the passive extension morpheme */-w-/* palatalisation of the bilabial nasal consonant *m* also takes place in cases where the vowel *u* has been dropped and a consonant cluster consisting of a bilabial plus a non-bilabial results. In these cases the dropped *u* is re-instated, e.g. *-nqumla* {cut off} > *nqunyulwa* {be cut off} (Is 14:12); *-tyumza* {crush, bruise} > *-tyunyuzwa* {be crushed, be bruised} (2 Kron/Chr 22:7) and *-lumkisa* {warn} > *lunyukiswa* {be warned} (1 Kor 6:7).

Sometimes variant unpalatalised forms are used when the bilabial consonant or consonant cluster is not immediately followed by the passive extension morpheme */-w-/*, e.g. although *-gonyanyelwa* {be treated with violence} (Gweb/Jdg 9:24) is found, *-gonyamelwa* {be treated with violence} (Yer 51:35) is normally used, and both *-mbambazelelwa* {be beating one's breast for [for joy or sorrow]} (Zekar 12:10) and *-mbanjazelelwa* {be beating one's breast for} (Yer 16:4) are found. In the case of *-nyibilikiswa* {be caused to melt} (Hez/Ezek 22:22) and *-memelelwa* {be sung of a war or victory song} (MiZek/Prov 11:10) only the unpalatalised form is found. In the spoken language unpalatalised stems, such as *-tyhobozwa* {be burst through} and *-dephiselwa* {be obstructed} are sometimes heard instead of *-tyhotyhozwa* {be burst through} (the passive derivation of *-tyhoboza* {burst through} as in 2 Kron/Chr 21:17) and *-detshiselwa* {be obstructed} (Is 44:20).

When reduplication of passive verb stems occurs, the roots of both stems are normally extended with the passive extension morpheme */-w-/*, e.g. *-gxobha-gxobha* {stir up mud, disturb water} > *-gxojwa-gxojwa* {be stirred up, be disturbed} (Yoh/Jn 5:7), but not if the root of the reduplicated stem has already been extended with another extension morpheme, e.g. *-zamazamisa* {stir up} > *-zanyazanyiswa* {be stirred up} (Yoh/Jn 5:13). Archaic reduplicated verb stems, that are presently found only in the reduplicated form, do not reduplicate the passive extension morpheme, e.g. *-phulaphula* {listen, obey} > *-phulaphulwa* {be listened to, be obeyed} (1 Sam 15:22).

The stem *-nxana* {thirst} is obsolete. It is found with an applicative extension, as in *ukunxanela* {to thirst after} (Am 8:11) and in the derived class 5 noun *inxano* {thirst} (Ndum/Ps 104:11). However, its major use is with the passive extension, i.e. *-nxanwa* {get thirsty}, and in the positive perfect tense indicative, situative and relative moods *-nxaniwe* {be thirsty}, as in *wabavelisela namanzi engxondorheni ngenxa yokunxanwa kwabo* {he brought forth water from the rock because of their being thirsty} (Neh 9:15) and *batyhafile, banxaniwe entlango* {they are exhausted, they are thirsty in the desert} (2 Sam 17:29).

The stem *-khola* {satisfy, convince} is only heard in the idiom *indaba yetyelo ayikholi* {hearsay evidence does not convince} (not found in the RUV). It is extensively used in the RUV with a passive extension of its root, i.e. *-kholwa* {be satisfied with, believe in}, as in:

ndiyakholwa nguThixo ukuba kuya kuba njalo ngolo hlobo athethe ngalo kum {I believe God that it will be like that according to the manner that he spoke by it to me} (Zen/Acts 27:25);

ngubani na okholiweyo ludaba lwethu? {who believed our message?} (Is 53:1);

uAkishe wakholwa nguDavide {Achish trusted / believed in David} (1 Sam 27:12);

iilwimi ezi zikho ukuba zibe ngumqondiso kwabo bangakholwayo, kungekubo abakholwayo {these languages are there that they be a sign to those that do not believe, it not being to those that believe} (1 Kor 14:22) and

lowo ukholiweyo wabhaptizwa, wosindiswa; ke yena ongakholwanga, wogwetywa {that one that believes and is baptized will be saved; but he/she that does not believe will be judged} (Marko 16:16).

In the examples above the substantive denoting the person or thing that is satisfying or believed in is indicated with an identificative, as is the rule with the agent of passive verbs. However, a locative is often used in the RUV, [giving rise to the strong suspicion that it is an Anglicism, formally resembling “believe in”] as in *akagwetyelwa umntu ngokwasemisebenzini yomthetho, kuphela kungokukholwa kuYesu Kristu* {a person is not judged according to that of at the works of the law, it is only by believing in Jesus Christ} (Gal 2:15) and *lowo ukholwayo kum, akakholwa kum, ukholwa kulowo wandithumayo* {that one that believes in me does not believe in me, he/she believes in that one that sent me} (Yoh/Jn 12:44).

[The causative verb stem *-kholisa* {give satisfaction, satisfy, do well}, derived from the archaic stem *-khola* {satisfy, convince}, is also found, as in *ndifuna ukukholisa abantu na?* {do I want to satisfy people?} (Gal 1:10), and also the reciprocal *-kholana* {believe in each other, befriend, become in cahoots with}, as in *xa ubona isela ukholana nalo* {when you see a thief you become in cahoots with him/her} (Ndum/Ps 50:18).]

The archaic verb stem *-dina* {tire} is found only in the derived passive *-dinwa* {become tired} and the derived causative *-dinisa* {cause to be tired, tire}, as in *izandla zikaMoses zadinwa* {the hands of Moses became tired} (Eks 17:12) and *nimdinisile uYehova ngamazwi enu* {you [plural] have tired the Lord with your words} (Mal 2:17).

The verb stem *-miwa* {be stood}, the passive derivation from the stem *-ma* {stand}, is used regularly, as in *lixesha lemvula*, *akunakumiwa phandle* {it is the time of rain, it cannot be stood outside} (Ezra 10:13), but it also has an idiomatic use in phrases such as *ukumiwa ngumsi* {to be stood by smoke, i.e. to be choked by smoke} (not found in the RUV).

7.18 Verb stems with a causative extension to their roots

Verb stems with a causative connotation are derived from other verb stems by extending the root with the causative morpheme */-is-/*, e.g. *-bona* {see} > *-bonisa* {show} (Mat 16:21) and *-sebenza* {work} > *-sebenzisa* {use, cause to work} (2 Sam 12:31).

A limited number of verb stems that terminate in *-la*, *-eka*, *-ika*, *-oka* and *-mka* are found with an old or archaic causative, where the final consonant of the root, i.e. *k* or *l*, is replaced with *z*, e.g.:

<i>-dilika</i> {fall into ruin} (Zef 3:6)	> <i>-diliza</i> {demolish} (Ndum/Ps 52:5);
<i>-gqobhoka</i> {be pierced} (Is 35:6)	> <i>-gqobhoza</i> {pierce} (Yobhi/Job 30:14);
<i>-khathala</i> {care} (MiZek/Prov 1:24)	> <i>-khathaza</i> {trouble} (Zen/Acts 17:8);
<i>-khumbula</i> {remember} (Yoh/Jn 12:16)	> <i>-khumbuza</i> {remind} (Mal 3:16);
<i>-limala</i> {get hurt – not found in the RUV}	> <i>-limaza</i> {inflict hurt} (Lev 24:19);
<i>-omelela</i> {become strong} (Hebh 11:34)	> <i>-omeleza</i> {make strong} (2 Tim 4:17);
<i>-phalala</i> {overflow, spill} (Ndum/Ps 23:5)	> <i>-phalaza</i> {spill out} (Rom 3:15);
<i>-phumla</i> {rest} (Yer 6:16)	> <i>-phumza</i> {cause to rest} (2 Sam 7:11);
<i>-qhekeka</i> {break, crack – intransitive} (Zef 1:10)	> <i>-qhekeza</i> {break to pieces – transitive} (Hos 10:2);
<i>-sela</i> {drink} (1 Tim 5:23)	> <i>-seza</i> {give to drink} (1 Kor 3:2);
<i>-sondela</i> {come near} (Ndum/Ps 73:28)	> <i>-sondeza</i> {bring near} (Num 7:11);
<i>-tyhoboka</i> {get broken through} (not found in the RUV)	> <i>-tyhoboza</i> {break through} (2 Kron/Chr 21:17);
<i>-tyibilika</i> {slip} (Ndum/Ps 73:2)	> <i>-tyibiliza</i> {cause to slip} (not found in the RUV);
<i>-tyumka</i> {burst} (Luka 20:18)	> <i>-tyumza</i> {crush, bruise} (Marko 14:3).

Not all instances of the derivation of old causatives are clear cut. For example, the old causative *-veza* {cause to appear, show}, derived from the verb stem *-vela* {appear, come from}, is not found in the RUV. It denotes the causing to appear of something usually hidden, and has a more restricted use than the regular *-velisa* {bring out, produce} (Yak/Jas 3:12). Conversely, the regular causative *-welisa* {take across} is sometimes heard, but never used in the RUV, which consistently uses the old causative *-weza* {take across [a river]} (Gen 32:23). The verb stem *-finya* {draw together; blow the nose; trim a wick} (not found in the RUV) has a regular causative *-finyisa* {make blow the nose; attend to the wick of a lamp}, from which the noun *isifinyiso* {wick-trimmer; snuff-spoon} (Num 4:9) is derived. Used with the shade of meaning indicating drawing in arms and legs the verb stem *-finya* {draw together, blow the nose; trim the wick} is found in an old causative *-finyeza* {shrink, shorten}

(Zen/Acts 27:17 and Ndum/Ps 85:3) denoting the process of causing something to shrink or shortening it or figuratively drawing a process to a close.

In the case of *-shumayeza* {preach to} (1 Tes 3:6) and *-yaleza* {give an order, instruct} (2 Kor 3:1), derived from *-shumayela* {preach} (Ef 3:8) and *-yala* {instruct, admonish} (2 Kor 12:18) respectively, the semantic shift of the old causative has faded in favour of an applicative connotation, with the RUV favouring an indication of commending as the shade of meaning of the stem *-yaleza* {commend; give an order}. In the case of *-jikeleza* {go round} (Marko 6:6), the applicative old causative derivation of the stem *-jika* {turn round, change} (Marko 5:30), the extent and something of the nature of the process has been expanded. Other verb stems, such as *-khawuleza* {make haste} (Is 8:3) and *-ongeza* {add, expand} (Ntshum/Ecc 1:18), appear to be old causatives, but no verb stem from which they may be derived is presently known. Similarly, no stem is presently used from which *-krexeza* {commit adultery} (Lev 20:10) could be derived, but the class 5/6 noun *ikrexe* {paramour} (Hez/Ezek 23:20) is occasionally used.

The old causative stems *-limaza* {injure} and *-tyhoboza* {burst through} are also found with their roots further extended with the regular causative extension morpheme *-is-*, as *-limazisa* {hurt intentionally} (Zekar 12:3) and *-tyhobozisa* {cause to break through} (Ndum/Ps 71:6). In the case of the verb stem *-libala* {forget} (Yer 23:27) the old causative as such is obsolete and only found in the further causative root extension, i.e. as the stem *-libazisa* {delay} (Yer 23:27) with its specialised connotation of delaying.

The majority of verb stems that terminate in *-uka* exhibit an old causative in which the root's final consonant, *k*, has been replaced with *s*, e.g.:

- aluka* {be circumcised} (Rom 2:26) > *-alùsa* {circumcise} (Gen 17:23);
- fuduka* {migrate} (Hez/Ezek 12:3) > *-fudusa* {cause to migrate} (2 Kum/Kgs 15:29);
- goduka* {go home} (Luka 24:12) > *-godusa* {take/bring/send home} (1 Sam 6:3);
- othuka* {be startled, get a fright} > *-othusa* {startle, frighten} (Yobhi/Job 39:20)
(1 Sam 14:15);
- suka* {get up, go away, start doing} > *-susa* {send away, remove} (Hebh 10:11)
(Zen/Acts 16:12);
- thunuka* {get hurt} > *-thunusa* {hurt} (not found in the RUV)
(not found in the RUV);
- vuka* {get up, wake up} (Luka 11:7) > *-vusa* {awaken, cause to get up, re-erect}
(Hebh 11:19).

A few verb stems are found with irregular old causatives, e.g. *-fudumala* {get warm} (1 Sam 11:9) > *-fudumeza* {warm up, make warm} (Yobhi/Job 31:20), although *-fudumalisa* {warm up, make warm} is also heard on occasion, but not found in the RUV. Conversely, the verb stem *-khukhumala* {be expanded, be inflated/puffed up} (Dut 18:20) is sometimes heard taking the old causative stem *-khukhumeza* {expand, puff up}, while the RUV uses only the stem *-khukhumalisa* {expand, puff up} (1 Kor 4:6). The stem *-ambatha* {put on, get dressed}

(Gen 28:21) optionally > *-ambathisa* {clothe, dress another} or *-ambesa* {adorn, clothe officially} as in *wasithabatha isambatho eso ... wamambathisa uMordekayi* {he took that garment and dressed Mordecai} (Est 6:11) and *iingubo zokumambesa uMordekayi* {the apparel to dress Mordecai} (Est 4:4).

In the case of the verb stem *-thwala* {carry, wear} (Gen 46:5) the causative with its root extended to render *-thwalisa* {let carry; assist to carry} (Luka 11:46) is regularly used, while the irregular old causative *-thwesa* {cause to carry on the head, crown} (Ndum/Ps 21:3) has the specialised use of denoting causing to wear an object, such as a crown, on the head. The latter may, however, also be used figuratively, as in *ukubathwesa irhafu* {to let them carry a tax, i.e. to impose a tax on them} (Ezra 7:24).

The verb stem *-oyika* {fear} (Yobhi/Job 15:4) is regularly used with a causative root extension as *-oyikisa* {frighten} (2 Kron/Chr 32:18). The old causative *-oyisa* {defeat} (1 Sam 13:3), derived from *-oyika* {fear}, has the specialised connotation of defeating.

Causative verb stems regularly indicate that the subject of a predicate formed with such a stem causes the object to execute the process indicated by the stem from which the causative stem is derived, as in *ndonifundisa* {I shall teach you [plural]} (Ndum/Ps 34:11). Such causative stems are often found with a further indirect object, as in *uHezekiya wababonisa yonke indlu yakhe yengqwebo* {Hezekiah showed them his whole room of treasures} (2 Kum/Kgs 20:13). Causative stems can also, within context, indicate that the subject assists the object to execute the process indicated by the verb stem, e.g. *-ncedisa* {help} (Zen/Acts 13:5) and *-bambisa* {help}, as in *ababingeleli babembalwa, ababa nakuwahlinza onke amadini anyukayo, bababambisa ke abazalwana babo abaLevi* {the priests were few and were not able to slaughter all the offerings that go up [i.e. all the burnt offerings], so their brothers the Levites helped them} (2 Kron/Chr 29:34).

Verb stems with their roots extended with the reduplicated causative *-isis-* usually indicate an intensive or meticulously executed process, e.g. *-ngqinisisa* {cause intensively to testify} (Dut 30:19), *-qinisisa* {assure earnestly} (2 Sam 19:23) and *-qondisisa* {ascertain accurately}, as in *uHerode ... waqondisisa kakuhle kuzo ixesha lokubonakala kwenkwenkwezi leyo* {Herod ascertained accurately from them the time of the appearance of that star} (Mat 2:7). From the verb stem *-(i)va* {sense, hear, feel, taste, understand, obey} (2 Sam 19:35) the regular causative *-visa* {cause to hear/feel} (Is 48:6) is derived, and from it the intensive *-visisa* {hear/understand distinctly}, that is found in the noun *imvisiswano* {accordance, agreement} (MiZek/Prov 14:9), derived from the reciprocal passive intensive verb stem *-visiswana* {be in accord, agree}.

A few verb stems that terminate in *-isa* do not have a causative connotation, e.g. *-bulisa* {greet} (Mat 5:47), *-ngxolisa* {scold, reprimand} (1 Sam 3:13), *-xelisa* {emulate} (Ngom/Song 2:17) and *-xokisa* {lie to} (Zen/Acts 5:3).

7.19 Verb stems with an applicative extension to their root

Verb stems with an applicative connotation are derived from other verb stems by extending the root with the applicative morpheme */-el-/*, e.g. *-bona* {see} > *-bonela* {see for, supply, provide} (Gen 22:8).

A predicate formed with an applicative verb stem indicates a process that takes place as applied to an object or a place.

When the process is applied to an object it indicates that the process is executed on behalf of the object or directed towards the object, as in *uThixo wozibonela imvu yedini elinyukayo* {God will provide for himself a sheep of the offering that goes up, i.e. burnt offering} (Gen 22:8) and *musani ukusebenzela ukudla okutshabalalayo; sebenzelani ukudla okuhlala kuse ebomini obungunaphakade* {do not toil for food that perishes; work for food that remains and takes to life that is eternal} (Yoh/Jn 6:27).

When the process is applied to a place, indicated by an adverb of place, the process is executed towards or at the place, as in *ndibe ndihambe eBhetelehem yakwaYuda, ngoku ndihambela endlwini kaYehova* {I had travelled to Bethlehem of the land of Judah, now I am going to the house of the Lord} (Gweb/Jdg 19:18) and *wokhonza iintshaba zakho, ezo aya kuzithumela kuwe uYehova* {you [singular] will serve your enemies, those that the Lord will send to you} (Dut 28:48). Occasionally the place is insinuated but not immediately mentioned, as in *thumela amadoda, aye kuhlola ilizwe lakwaKanan* {send men that they go and spy out the land of Canaan} (Num 13:1).

Of note is the difference in the connotation, and consequently the different use, of the verbs *ukuya* {go, go to}, *ukuyela* {to go for}, *ukuhamba* {to walk, to go away}, *ukuhambela* {to visit, to go for/to}, *ukubuya* {to come back, to return; to repeat} and *ukubuyela* {to return to/for}.

Ukuya {to go, to go to} indicates the process of going to a place, as in *uMoses ... waya entabeni yeNebho* {Moses went to the mountain of Nebo} (Dut 34:1), while *ukuyela* {to go for} indicates a process of going to place with the view of achieving something at that place, as in *niyele ntoni edolophini?* {what did you go to town for?} (not found in the RUV).

Ukuhamba {to walk/go, to go away} indicates the process of walking, as in *bâhamba emhlabeni owomileyo* {they walked on ground that is dry} (Eks 14:29), or, where the context makes it clear, of leaving or going away, as in *baya kuhamba nam* {they will go with me} (SiTyh/Rev 3:4), while *ukuhambela* {to visit, to go for/to} indicates a process of going to or going for, or visiting, as in *xa ndihambela kwelaseSpani* {when I visit the land of Spain} (Rom 15:24).

Ukubuya {to come back, to repeat} indicates the process of coming back or as an auxiliary verb of repeating of a process, as in *ndiya kubuya, ndize ndibuye ndiwakhe umnquba owileyo kaDavide* {I shall return and again build the tent that has fallen of David}

(Zen/Acts 15:16) and *uKristu wafa, wabuya wavuka* {Christ died and arose again} (Rom 14:9), while *ukubuyela* {to return to/for} indicates the process of returning to or for, as in *uYohane wabuyela eYerusalem* {John returned to Jerusalem} (Zen/Acts 13:13) and *ndiyibuyele iYerusalem ngemfesane* {I have returned to Jerusalem with compassion} (Zekar 1:16).

A number of verb stems that terminate in *-ela* have no known verb stems from which they are derived, e.g. *-galela* {pour in} (Gen 24:20), *-gibisela* {throw} (Dut 21:21), *-khangela* {look} (1 Kum/Kgs 19:6) and *-mamela* {listen} (Is 64:4). Often these verb stems do not have an obvious applicative connotation, e.g., *-khanyela* {deny} (Yer 5:12), *-zingela* {hunt} (Yobhi/Job 10:16) and *-khokela* {lead} (Yer 50:8). However, *-khokela* {lead} does seem to have a similar origin as that of *inkosi* {chief}.

A few verb stems are applicative in form and derivation, but no longer have an obvious applicative connotation, e.g. *-bangela* {cause} (Dut 22:17), and *-gqibela* {do for the last time; finish for; see last} (1 Yoh 2:18).

Verb stems with their roots extended with a reduplication */-el-/* of the applicative extension morpheme usually indicate a complete or intensive applicative process, e.g. *-bophelela* {tie up, tie down, tie to} (Hez/Ezek 20:37), *-fikelela* {reach up to} (SiTyh/Rev 18:5), *-gqibelela* {be fully completed, be perfect} (Hebh 13:21) and *-phumelela* {succeed} (Hez/Ezek 16:13).

In the case of the obsolete verb stem *-binga* {sacrifice by slaughtering}, found in the RUV only in the derived reduplicated applicative *-bingelela* {bring a sacrifice} (Yona 2:9), the applicative connotation has faded, and a further applicative extension is inserted in the derived nouns *ababingeleleli* {priests} (Eks 19:22) and *ububingeleleli* {priesthood} (Hebh 7:24).

The stem *-kha* {pluck [fruit], draw [water]} (Gen 24:20) used with the shade of meaning indicating the process of drawing water, is found with a reduplicated applicative *-khelela* {draw water for} (Gen 24:20), denoting that the drawing of water is for an indicated person or animal. It is also heard used as the triple applicative *-khelelela* {pour water drawn for [someone/something] into [something]}, not found in the RUV, referring to the water drawn for someone or something being poured into a container.

The reduplicated applicative stems *-enzelela* {do instead of/for [another/something]} (Filipi 2:30) and *-ongezelela* {add, augment} (2 Pet 1:5) are, when required by the context, further extended to render the triple applicative stems *-enzelelela* {do completely instead of/for [another/something]} (Mat 17:27) and *-ongezelelela* {add further} (Zekar 1:15).

The verb stem *-sika* {cut} (Zen/Acts 7:28) has the reduplicated applicative *-sikelela* {bless} (Zen/Acts 3:26) with its specialised connotation of extending a blessing. The latter is also found with a further applicative passive connotation and root extension as the stem *-sikelelelwa* {be blessed} (Gal 3:8).

In some cases where the root of a verb stem is extended with the old causative extension */-ez-/* (vide the last paragraph of pericope 7.19) plus the regular applicative */-el-/*, i.e. it is extended with */-ezel-/*, it indicates that the process is executed extensively or repeatedly and has a

specialised connotation, e.g. *-bamba* {hold, catch} (Zen/Acts 3:11) > *-bambezela* {delay} (Gweb/Jdg 13:16) and *-phinda* {return, do again} (Gweb/Jdg 13:1) > *-phindezela* {take revenge} (Num 31:2). The stem *-nyamezela* {endure, persevere} (Zen/Acts 26:3) also belongs to this category, but the verb stem from which it was derived has become obsolete. The stems *-bhabha* {fly} and the derivative *-bhabhazela* {flutter, flap about} are not found in the RUV.

7.20 Verb stems with a reciprocal extension to their root

Verb stems with a reciprocal connotation are derived from other verb stems by extending the root with the reciprocal morpheme */-an-/*, e.g. *-bona* {see} > *-bonana* {see each other} (Gen 46:29).

Verb stems with a reciprocal root extension indicate reciprocal processes, as in *sifanele ukuthandana* {we ought to love each other} (1 Yoh 4:11); *xelelanani iziphoso, nithandazelane* {tell each other your [plural] wrongdoings and pray for each other} (Yak/Jas 5:16) and *bâncedisana noDavide* {they helped David} (1 Kron/Chr 12:21).

In some instances some verb stems lose their explicit reciprocal connotation, e.g. the shade of meaning of the stem *-phambana* {become insane} as in *basuka ke bona baphambana ngumsindo* {now they became insane with rage} (Luka 6:11).

A few verb stems with a reciprocal root extension are derived from verb stems that are not in use in present day isiXhosa, e.g. *-hlangana* {come together} (Luka 14:31) and *-fana* {be similar, look alike} (Ndum/Ps 144:4). However, the verb *ukuhlangana* {to meet, to come together} does seem to be related to the class 11 noun *uhlanga* {nation} (Gen 12:2).

7.21 Verb stems with a neutro-passive extension to their root

Verb stems with a neutro-passive connotation can be derived from other verb stems by extending the root with the neutro-passive morpheme */-ek-/*, e.g. *-vula* {open} > *-vuleka* {get open, be open able} (Yoh/Jn 9:10).

A number of verb stems use the variant neutro-passive root extension */-akal-/*, e.g. *-bonakala* {appear} (Dan 1:13), *-onakala* {break, go wrong} (Dan 2:44), *-vakala* {be audible, be able to be felt/tasted} (Mat 2:18) and *-fihlakala* {become hidden} (1 Tim 5:25). Of the latter the regular neutro-passive is found in the deverbative noun *imfihleko* {mystery} (Ef 5:12). In the case of the verb stem *-enza* {do/make} the derivative *-enzeka* {happen} (1 Pet 5:9) is regular, but the variant neutro-passive derivative *-enzakala* {get severely injured} (Eks 19:21) has the specialised connotation of suffering serious injury.

Verb stems with a neutro-passive root extension indicate a state of being and are intransitive, e.g.:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>-thanda</i> {love} | > <i>-thandeka</i> {be loveable} (1 Sam 2:26), |
| <i>-bamba</i> {catch, hold} | > <i>-bambeka</i> {get caught} (2 Sam 18:9) |
| <i>-funa</i> {seek, want, look for} | > <i>-funeka</i> {be required} (Mat 3:14) and |
| <i>-lahla</i> {throw away} | > <i>-lahleka</i> {get lost} (Luka 15:3). |

A few verb stems are derived from obsolete stems, e.g. *-qhekeka* {break, break into pieces} (Ntshum/Ecc 12:6) and *-sibeka* {turn upside down} (2 Kum/Kgs 21:13) with its reduplication *-sibekeka* {be cast down} (Yobhi/Job 9:13) and its more frequently used applicative derivation *-sibekela* {become overcast/overshadowed} (Num 9:15). However, a number of verb stems that are neutro-passive in form, and that are derived from stems that have become obsolete, do not have a neutro-passive connotation, but denote active processes, e.g. *-baneka* {flash} (Luka 17:24), *-khuleka* {tether} (Gen 49:11), *-lumeka* {light, kindle} (Luka 15:8), *-tyabeka* {plaster [a wall]} (Eks 2:3) and *-gxumeka* {pitch [a tent], plant [a pole]} (Gen 31:25). Neutro-passive stems can be derived from these stems by extending them with the insertion of the regular neutro-passive extension morpheme, e.g. *-gxumekeka* {get planted, be pitch able} (Zen/Acts 27:41).

7.22 Verb stems with an inersive extension to their root

Verb stems with an inersive connotation, indicating an opposite or reverse process, are found with their roots extended with the inersive morpheme */-ul-/* or its reduplication */-ulul-/*. However, the derivation of these stems is archaic and veiled in past linguistic mutations so that strict rules regarding form and specialised connotations do not apply, as the following list illustrates:

<i>-vala</i> {close} (Eks 36:33)	> <i>-vula</i> {open} (Num 16:32);
<i>-thwala</i> {carry} (Dut 31:9)	> <i>-thula</i> {take off} (Yosh 10:27);
<i>-luma</i> {bite} (MiZek/Prov 16:30)	> <i>-lumula</i> > <i>-lumla</i> {wean} (1 Sam 1:23);
<i>-phuma</i> {go out} (1 Sam 4:1)	> <i>-phumula</i> > <i>-phumla</i> {rest} (1 Kum/Kgs 8:55);
<i>-(i)tha</i> {pour in} (Marko 2:22)	> <i>-thulula</i> {pour out} (Yow 2:29);
<i>-hlamba</i> {wash} (Mat 27:24)	> <i>-hlambulula</i> {purify} (Marko 1:40).

In some instances verb stems are found that terminate in *-ula* or *-ulula*, and have an inersive connotation, but have no presently identifiable counterpart, e.g. *-ahlula* {separate} (1 Kron/Chr 23:6), *-khulula* {loosen} (Gen 24:32), *-olula* {stretch out} (Gen 8:9) and *-vumbulula* {unearth} (Is 57:20). The stem *-khumbula* {remember} (Gen 40:23) can be added to this list, or is it the irregular inersive of the stem *-khomba* {point out} (not found in the RUV)?

Inversive verb stems that consist of three or more syllables are occasionally used with a regular neutro-passive root extension, e.g. *-hlambululeka* {be purified, get purified}. However, they are more often found with an old neutro-passive terminating in *-uka* or *-uluka*, e.g.:

<i>-ahlula</i> {divide} (1 Kron/Chr 23:6)	> <i>-ahluka</i> {separate} (Gen 2:10);
<i>-aphula</i> {break – active} (Gen 27:40)	> <i>-aphuka</i> {break – neutro passive} (Gen 41:51)
<i>-combulula</i> {loosen, unwind} (Gweb/Jdg 14:14)	> <i>combuluka</i> {open out, get unravelled} (Gweb/Jdg 15:14)
<i>-guqula</i> {change, turn over} (Eks 10:19)	> <i>-guquka</i> {get changed; repent} (Ndum/Ps 32:4);

- <i>phendula</i> {answer} (Ndum/Ps 34:4)	> - <i>phenduka</i> {turn upside down; change direction} (Is 29:16);
- <i>hlambulula</i> {purify} (Num 19:19)	> - <i>hlambuluka</i> {get purified} (Num 19:19);
- <i>ndulula</i> {send away} (Is 58:6)	> - <i>nduluka</i> {go away} (Gen 13:11);
- <i>twabulula</i> {unfold} (Gen 12:8)	> - <i>twabuluka</i> {get unfolded} (Num 24:6);
- <i>vuthulula</i> {blow away} (Dut 24:20)	> - <i>vuthuluka</i> {get blown away} (Marko 13:25).

The verb stem -*danduluka* {shout out} (Gen 45:1) is inversive neutro-passive in form but the source of its derivation has become obsolete and its inversive neutro-passive connotation blunted.

7.23 Verb stems with a double or triple extension to their root

Where the syntax makes it possible, verb stems are derived from other verb stems that have themselves been derived by root extension from verb stems, and then usually in the order inversive, causative, applicative, passive or neutro-passive, and then reciprocal, as in -*thengiselwa* {sold to} (Gen 37:1 heading), -*setyenziswa* {used} (Eks 1:14), -*phakamisela* {raised for} (Gen 14:22), -*qiniseka* {become assured} (Gen 23:17) and -*fungelana* {make an oath to each other} (Gen 26:31). Stereotyped derivative stem of long standing, such as -*lahleka* {get lost} (Eks 23:4) and -*xolela* {forgive} (Gen 18:26), are used as if they are basic stems when used to derive other stems from them through root extension, as in -*lahlekelwa* {be lost for by; lose} (1 Sam 9:3), and -*xolelaniswa* {be reconciled} (Roma 5:10).

7.24 Reduplicated verb stems

To indicate that a process takes place continually or repeatedly the first two syllables consisting of a consonant or consonant cluster plus a vowel of a verb stem are duplicated, as in -*bheka-bheka* {look around} (Eks 2:12), -*chitha-chitha* {spill all over} (Gen 11:9), -*chola-chola* {pick up here and there} (Gweb/Jdg 20:45), -*hamba-hamba* {walk about} (Ndum/Ps 116:9), -*ahlula-hlula* {divide up repeatedly} (Gen 33:1), -*guqu-guqula* {repeatedly change} (Luka 2:19) and -*betha-bethana* {repeatedly hit each other} (Dan 5:6). The insertion of a hyphen in reduplicated verb stems is optional and they may be written without it, e.g. -*zulazula* {wander about} (Gen 8:7).

The verb stems -*phulaphula* {listen, obey} (Gen 16:2) and -*gocagoca* {intensively search the heart/mind} (Gweb/Jdg 5:16) are only found as reduplications and usually not written with a hyphen.

The causative extension of the verb stem -*qonda* {understand} (Num 16:30), when reduplicated, has undergone a mutation and become the stem -*qononondisa* {announce, give to understand} (Dut 1:5).

Most reduplicated verb stems operate as a unit in verbal structures and no phonemes are inserted at the end of the first section but only at the beginning and end of the whole reduplicated stem, as in *makangagocagoci* {let him/her not intensively search the heart} (Lev

27:33) and *ukuzanyazanyiswa* {to be repeatedly stirred around} (Yoh/Jn 5:3). However, verb stems with only a passive root extension are reduplicated with the retention of the extension, e.g. *-chithwa-chithwa* {being strewn around} (Zen/Acts 5:37).

7.25 Verb stems that are loan words

The few verb stems found that are loan words from Afrikaans or English are used in a siXhosised form, e.g. *-sarha* {saw – from Afrikaans “saag”} (1 Kum/Kgs 7:9) and *-bhaptiza* {baptise – from English} (Mat 3:11). Loan words extended with the suffix *-esha* or *-isha*, such as *-bhedesha* {pray – from Afrikaans “bid”}, *-layisha* {load – from Afrikaans “laai”}, *-veyisha* {weigh – from Afrikaans “weeg”} and *-khavarisha* {cover – from English} are not found in the RUV.

7.26 Desubstantive verb stems

In some instances verb stems give the impression that they are derived from substantives, although it is also possible that both the verb stems and the substantives are derived from the same archaic source shrouded in the mists of the past. In these verb stems the process indicated is derived from or related to a substantive extended with an extension morpheme plus the terminating vowel *-a*. Such apparent desubstantive verbs can be classified as:

Processive verb stems, with the root extension */-ph-/*, e.g.:

-hlonipha {show respect} (Is 44:5) [c.f. *iintlani* {shyness} (2 Kor 4:2)],
-khalipha {be brave} (2 Kron/Chr 13:18) [c.f. *bukhali* {sharp} (SiTyh/Rev 19:15)] and
-ncipha {diminish} (Roma 11:12) [c.f. *ncinane* {small} (Gen 1:16)];

Processive-effective verb stems, with both the root extension morphemes */-ph-/* and */-al-/*, e.g. *-aluphala* {grow old} (Gen 27:1) [c.f. *isalukazi* {old woman} (not found in the RUV)];

Neutro-passive verb stems, with the root extension morpheme */-k-/*, e.g.:

-nyawuka {draw back} (Ndum/Ps 119:150) [c.f. *unyawo* {foot} (Gen 30:30)];

Causative verb stems, with the root extension morpheme */-z-/*, or alternatively the old causative root extension morpheme */-iy-/* or its more contemporary counterpart */-is-/*, e.g.:

-hiliza {loaf} (Eks 5:8) [c.f. *ubuhilihili* {aimless roaming} (Yobhi/Job 24:12)],
-hlaziya {renew} (2 Kum/Kgs 12:12) [c.f. *uhlaza* {greenery} (Gen 1:11)] and
-futshanisa {shorten} (not found in the RUV) [c.f. *-futshane* {short; near} (Yobhi/Job 20:5)];

Operative verb stems, with the root extension morpheme */-b-/*, e.g.:

-xhalaba {be anxious} (MiZek/Prov 15:16) [c.f. *ixhala* {anxiety} (1 Pet 5:7)];

Applicative verb stems, with the root extension morpheme */-el-/*, e.g.:

-monela {be jealous of} (Zen/Acts 7:9) [c.f. *umona* {jealousy} (Marko 7:22)];

Punctative verb stems, with the root extension morpheme */-t-/*, e.g.:

-khweleta {be jealous} (Num 25:11) [c.f. *ikhwele* {jealousy} (Num 25:11)].

7.27 De-ideophonic verb stems

A large number of verb stems exhibit a similarity to related ideophones, many obsolete, from which they were initially derived by suffixing a root extension morpheme and the final vowel *-a*, e.g.:

Effective verb stems, that are transitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-l-/*, e.g. *cho* > *-chola* {pick up} (Gen 37:32) and *nqam* > *-nqamla* {cut off} (Lev 17:10);

Causative verb stems, that are transitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-z-/*, e.g. *dili* > *-diliza* {break down [a building]} (Yer 31:28) and *qheke*, as in *ukuthi qheke kubini* {break into two} (Yoh/Jn 10:19) > *-qhekeza* {break} (Yer 43:13);

Neutro-passive verb stems, that are intransitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-k-/*, e.g. *nqam* > *-nqamka* {get cut off} (Yosh 3:13), *dili* > *-dilika* {cave in} (Yer 4:26) and *qheke* (Yoh/Jn 10:19) > *-qhekeka* {break, get broken} (Zen/Acts 27:41);

Operative verb stems, that indicate movement, may be transitive or intransitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-b-/*, e.g. *tsi* > *-tsiba* {jump} (Ngom/Song 2:8) and *ngqu* > *-ngquba* {bump} (found in the further neutro passive extension *-ngqubeka* {get bumped} in Zen/Acts 27:41);

Durative verb stems, that indicate a continuous or fast process, are intransitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-m-/*, e.g. *nyiki* > *-nyikima* {shake} (Eks 19:18) and *xhu* > *-xhuma* {leap} (2 Sam 6:16);

Punctative verb stems, that indicate a process that is repeated with short pauses, are transitive, and contain the root extension morpheme */-th-/*, as in *-gangatha* {beat to become firm [of a floor]} (found in the further passive extension *-gangathwa* {be beaten firm} in Yer 51:33), *-khonkotha* {bark} (Is 56:10), *-phephetha* {be blown about} (Hag 1:9) and *-thintitha* {stutter} (Marko 7:32);

Punctative-applicative verb stems, that are intransitive, and contain both the root extension morphemes */-th-/* and */-el-/*, e.g. *nama*, as in *ukuthi nama* {to stick to} (Dut 28:60) > *-namathela* {stick to} (Marko 10:7);

Reciprocal stems, that contain the root extension morpheme */-an-/*, e.g. *gaga*, as in *ukuthi gaga* {to overpower} (Yobhi/Job 14:20) > *-gagana* {attack each other} (not found in the RUV);

Reduplicated stems, that indicate a repetitive process and are transitive, and in which the initial consonant or consonant cluster of the ideophone is used as root extension morpheme, e.g. *-hlikihla* {rub loose} (Luka 6:1) and *-hlukuhla* {shake} (Hez/Ezek 21:21).

7.28 De-interjective verb stems

A few verb stems are derived from interjections, e.g. *-camagusha* {propitiate} (Eks 25:17) from *camagu!* {be propitious / have mercy!} (Yona 4:2) and *-tarhuzisa* {supplicate / plead for mercy} (Dut 3:23) from *tarhu!* {be merciful} (Num 12:11).

7.29 Contracted verb stems

In some instances verb stems are contracted or abbreviated, especially in the case of deficient auxiliary verbs, e.g. the stem *-bonakala* {appear} is sometimes abbreviated to *-bon'*, as in *akubon' ukuba ubhubhile ke uHerode, sabonakala isithunywa seNkosi sibonakala ephupheni kuYosefu* {when it transpired that Herod had died, the messenger of the Lord [i.e. angel] appeared to Joseph in a dream} (Mat 2:19). Not found in the RUV are examples such as the stem *-fumana* {find} which is contracted to *-fana* or *-fan'*, as in *ufana athethe* {he/she speaks without thinking}. Cases are even heard where independent verb stems are abbreviated, e.g. *exela* {he/she resembling} > *xel'*, as in *ulila ngaso-nye xel' inkawu* {he/she cries with one eye like a monkey, i.e. he/she is sad and happy at the same time}.

7.30 Conclusion

In this chapter a description of verb stems has been presented, indicating how they may be classified and how many verb stems are derived. Ever since Messers Kropf and Godfrey indicated the derivation of many verb stems (1915: ix - xx) most grammarians undertaking the task of investigating the structure of isiXhosa have been able to emulate them.

However, under the influence of English, where differentiating between verbs of the active and passive voice receives prominence, the early grammarians, such as Boyce (1834: 52), have failed to identify the fact that extending the root of a verb with the morpheme */-w-/* to give the verb a passive connotation, is no different in character from changing the connotation of a verb by extending its root with one of various other extension morphemes, as described in this chapter. Later grammarians have also followed Boyce's line of thought, stating that voice has to be distinguished as a separate category in classifying isiXhosa verbs, displaying either an active or a passive voice. For example, McLaren (1944: 100-102) devotes a chapter in his grammar distinguishing between verbs in the active voice and those in the passive. Also in the introduction to his dictionary he allots a separate short paragraph to verbs in the passive voice (McLaren, 1963: xv).

In this chapter, and the one preceding it, independent verbs have been described. These are verbs that independently denote processes. However, isiXhosa also makes extensive use of auxiliary verbs that do not refer to processes on their own, but modify verbs that complement them. These auxiliary verbs are described in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Auxiliary verbs and verbal aspect

8.1 Auxiliary verbs

An auxiliary verb is a verb that is followed by a complementary predicate, and that has undergone semantic modification, so that it no longer indicates an independent process, but serves to modify the process as indicated by the predicate it complements. Such an auxiliary verb may also be called a deficient verb as it is often subjected to morphological adaption, such as dropping its subject concord and any prefixed negative morpheme, or by contracting the verb root, and/or by ignoring the influence of a latent *i*, as described below. Deficient auxiliary verbs may also drop the situative morpheme /-si-/ and exhibit variant forms in which the basic final vowel *-a* as well as the negative final vowel *-i* are centralised to *-e*, as described lower down.

8.2 Auxiliary verbs with an indicative as complement

The verb *ukuba* {to be}, used with the morpheme /-ngá-/ inserted to give it a potential aspect, functions as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the indicative mood as complement, to signify that a process may possibly take place or have taken place, as in:

mhlawumbi oonyana bam bangaba bonile {perhaps my sons may be that they have sinned} (Yobhi/Job 1:5);

nani ningaba nithanda ukuba ngabafundi bakhe na? {you [plural] also could you be that you desire to be disciples of him?} (Yoh/Jn 9:27);

ningaba nilahlekisiwe nani na? {could you [plural] be that you also have been led astray?} (Yoh/Jn 7:47) and

angaba uya kuzibulala na? {could he be that he is going to kill himself?} (Yoh/Jn 8:22).

As can be seen in these examples this auxiliary verb is often used in questions. Of further note is that the subject concord of this auxiliary verb is often dropped, especially in the spoken language, as in *uya kuba yintoni na nomqondiso, xa ngaba ezi zinto ziza kubakho?* {what thing will be the sign also when it may be that these things are going to happen? (Luka 21:7)}.

[The potential aspect of the verb *ukuba* {to be} is also used in aspectual compound copulatives, similar in form to the above auxiliary use of the verb *ukuba* {to be}, as described in pericope 9.12, e.g. as in *mhlawumbi ndingaba nako ukulwa nabo ndibagxothe* {perhaps I may be able to fight with them and chase them away} (Num 22:11).]

The potential aspect of the verb *ukuthi* {to say/do/think} is used as an auxiliary verb, with or without its subject concord, with a predicate in the indicative mood as its complement, to indicate that it seems, appears or pretends as if a process may take place or have taken place, as in *yini na ukuba nisijonge ngathi simenze wahamba ngawethu amandla?* {why do you look at us as if we made him that he walks with our own strength?} (Zen/Acts 3:12) and *kuhambe*

ilixa ngathi linye {there passed a period of time [i.e. an hour] can say it is one, i.e. approximately one hour passed} (Luka 22:59).

The verb *ukunga* {to look as if, appear/pretend to do} is used as an auxiliary verb, with or without its subject concord, with a predicate in the indicative mood as its complement, to indicate that a process appears to be similar to the process described by its complement, as in *wayiqwenga, wanga uqwenga itakane* {he tore it to pieces as if he is tearing to pieces a lamb} (Gweb/Jdg 14:6) and *wanga uza kugqitha kubo* {he looked as if he was going to pass them by} (Marko 6:48). In the negative it indicates the absence of pretence, as in *singàngi sikholisa abantu* {so that we do not appear to be pleasing people} (1 Tes 2:4).

The verb *ukunga* {to wish, to possibly do} is used as an auxiliary verb, with or without its subject concord, with a predicate in the indicative mood as its complement, to indicate that a process appears to be similar to the process described by its complement, as in:

singa singabona uYesu {we wish to see Jesus} (Yoh/Jn 12:21);

ukuba ke [abafazi] banga bangaqonda into, mabayibuze ekhaya kwawabo amadoda {if women desire to understand something they must enquire about it at home from their own men} (1 Kor 14:35);

abo banga bangaba zizityebi, beyela ekuhendweni {those that wish that they may be rich people fall into temptation} (1 Tim 6:9);

bâphosa iiankile zane esinqeni somkhombe, banga kungasa {they threw out four anchors at the waist of the ship and wished that it may become light, i.e. be morning} (Zen/Acts 27:29) and

wanga uIshmayeli angadla ubomi phambi kwakho! {may Ishmael eat life [i.e. live a long life] in front of you [singular]} (Gen 17:18).

As has been described in pericope 6.67 the *a*-past tense indicative and the subjunctive of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with a predicate in the situative mood as complement, is extensively used in compound verbs where the stem *-ba* has taken on the deficient form *-ye* as a result of the consonant being semi-vowelised and the vowel centralised, as in *waye ehleli ngasendleleni engqiba* {he was sitting next to the road begging} (Marko 10:46). However, occasions are found where the deficient auxiliary verb stem *-ye* is used with an indicative mood as complement to indicate a process that runs parallel to the process expressed in the primary clause, as in:

abantu baninzi, yaye ilixesha lemvula, akunakumiwa phandle {the people are many, and it is the time of the rain, it cannot be stood outside} (Ezra 10:13) and

wandenzela izinto ezinkulu uSomandla; lingcwele igama lakhe. Yaye inceba yakhe ikwizizukulwana ngezizukulwana kwabo bamoyikayo {The Almighty did great things for me; holy is his name. Furthermore his grace is with generations upon generations of those that fear him} (Luka 1:49-50).

When the primary clause is an imperative, as in for example *yiphani, naye niya kuphiwa nani* {give [plural] and to you shall also be given}, the stem *-ye* is habitually dropped, as in:

yiphani, naniya kuphiwa nani {give [plural] and to you shall also be given} (Luka 6:38);
quqelani kuYehova, naniya kuphila {strive towards the Lord and you [plural] will live}
 (Am 5:6) and as in
ukuba nina nithe nahlala elizwini lam, noba ningabafundi bam, inyaniso. Naniya kuyazi
inyaniso, yaye inyaniso iya kunikhulula {if you [plural] were to stay in my word
 you would be my disciples truly. And you would know the truth, and the truth will
 set you free} (Yoh/Jn 8:31-32).

8.3 Auxiliary verbs with a situative as complement

The most widely used auxiliary verb with a predicate in the situative mood as complement is *ukuba* {to be}. It is used in the composition of the compound tenses of verbs as described in pericopes 6.65 to 6.70. Further uses are described below.

When a verbal structure formed with the stem *-ba* {be} has as complement a positive imperfect situative with a potential aspect, having dropped its subject concord, it indicates a continuous but fruitless process, as in *besiba ngafuna asafumana nto* {we searched and searched but found nothing}. However, a phrase containing this structure is not used in the RUV.

The verb stem *-hlala* {sit, live, stay} is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the situative mood as its complement to indicate that a process persists or is continuous, as in *bahlala bemlalele* {they continually lay in waiting for him} (Luka 14:1) and *uhlala ethembekile* {he stays trustworthy} (2 Tim 2:13).

The verb stem *-sala* {remain, stay behind}, which is related to the stem *-hlala* {sit, live, stay}, is found as *-sele* in the perfect tense. As an auxiliary verb with a situative as complement the stem *-sele* {already is} indicates a process that is already in progress, as described below.

When the subject of an auxiliary verb in the perfect tense with the stem *-sele* {already is} is a substantive of class 1 or class 5, with the subject concord *-e* as used in the situative, the verb stem *-sele* drops the final *-e* and is written conjunctively with the complement, as in *uEliya uselefikile* {Elijah has already arrived} (Mat 17:12) and *indlu ekwakhiweni kwayo yakhiwa ngamatye aselegqityiwe ukulungiswa endaweni ambiwa kuyo* {the house in the building of it was built with stones that were already finished to prepare at the place where they are dug up} (1 Kum/Kgs 6:7).

In other cases the stem *-sele* {already is} drops its final syllable and becomes *-se-*, and is written conjunctively, as in *isiqingatha sesizwe sikaManase sisesilizuzile ilifa laso* {half of the tribe of Manasseh has already obtained its heritage} (Num 34:14).

When the above implies that *-se-* {already is} is prefixed to the subject concord *u-* or *i-*, the corresponding semivowel *-w-* or *-y-* is inserted respectively as a transition, as in *wawusewuzelwe oko* {you [singular] were already born then} (Yobhi/Job 38:21) and *kuza kuhlwa nemini iseyisangene* {it is going to get dark and the day is already on the decline} (Luka 24:29). However, sometimes the auxiliary is used in the variant form *-sel-* {already is}

when prefixed to a subject concord consisting of a vowel, as in *irhasi ibiselidubule neflakisi ibiselityatyambile* {the barley had already headed and the flax was already in bloom} (Eks 9:31).

What is further of note is that often the subject concord of the auxiliary verb is dropped, as in *selesondele ekuhleni kwayo iNtaba yemiNquma* {he is already near the slope of the Mount of Olives} (Luka 19:37); *sendizihlambile iinyawo zam* {I have already washed my feet} (Ngom/Song 5:3) and *umsitho okunene sewulungile* {the feast in truth is already prepared} (Mat 22:8).

The contracted future construction of this auxiliary verb is also noteworthy, as in *ndonile, wosewundizukisa phambi kwamadoda amakhulu* {I have done wrong, you will already glorify me in front of the senior men, i.e. so please extol my renown to the senior men} (1 Sam 15:30), as are compound tenses, also written conjunctively, as in *owaseHebron [umzi] wawusewakhiwe iminyaka esixhenxe* {the town of Hebron had already been built seven years ago} (Num 13:22) and often without the subject concords of the auxiliaries, as in *besendinixelele kade* {I have already told you long ago} (Gal 5:21).

The deficient stem *-sel-*, as described above, and the class 17 demonstrative pronoun *oko* {that} combine to render the deficient auxiliary verbal construction *soloko* {always, constantly} that indicates a process that continually or always happens, as in *ningabo basoloko behleli nam* {you [plural] are those that are constantly living/staying with me} (Luka 22:28).

The perfect tense, with the stem *-nge*, of the verb *ukunga* {to wish, to possibly do} is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the situative mood as complement to indicate a process that could possibly take place, usually following upon a conditional phrase, as in *ukuba bebemi elucweyweni lwam, bange bevakalise amazwi am kubantu bam* {if they had stood in [i.e. adhered to] my secret consultation they would have proclaimed my words to my people} (Yer 23:22) and *ange edlule phezu komphefumlo wethu amanzi akhukhumeleyo* {water that is risen could have passed over our breath [i.e. nostrils]} (Ndum/Ps 124:5). The auxiliary verb is often deficient, dropping its subject concord and being written conjunctively with its complement, as *ngebenyuswe* {they could have been lead up} in *ukuba bekungathelekiswanga nguwe, inene, ngebenyuswe bemka kwangokuyá kwakusasa abantu, elowo àkamsukela umzalwana wakhe* {if it had not been incited by you [singular], truly, the people could have been lead up going away already at that time while it was still getting light and each did not pursue his brother, i.e. if you [singular] had not incited them the people would have been led away from pursuing their brothers until morning} (2 Sam 2:27) and *ukuba beningàlimanga ngethokazi lam, ngeningàlifumananga iqhina lam* {if you [plural] had not ploughed with my heifer you would not have found [i.e. solved] my riddle} (Gweb/Jdg 14:18). When this implies that *nge-* is prefixed to a subject concord *u-* or *i-*, the corresponding semivowel *-w-* or *-y-* is inserted respectively as a transition, as in *ukuba bendithe ndasolula isandla sam, ndakubetha wena nabantu bakho ngendyikitya yokufa, ngewuthe shwaka akwabakho ehlabathini* {if I had done and extended my hand and struck you [singular] and your people with deadly pestilence, you would have disappeared and not been present on earth} (Eks

9:15). Of note is that substantives in class 1 are linked with the subject concord *a-* to the stem *-nge*, as in *ange ewusizile umphefumlo wakhe* {he could have saved his breath/life} (Hez/Ezek 33:5). Also noteworthy is that the *a*-past tense relative mood, substituting for the situative mood (vide the last paragraph of pericope 6.47), may be used as complement, as in *ukuba babengabethu, ngebahlalayo nathi* {if they were ours they would have stayed with us} (1 Yoh 2:19).

When the verb *ukuya* {to go} is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the situative mood as its complement it indicates progression or continuation of a process, as in *umFilisti wahamba, waya esondela kuDavide* {the Philistine walked continuing to get closer to David} (1 Sam 17:41).

The verb *ukufudula* {to usually do} is only found as an auxiliary verb. It is used with a predicate in the situative mood as its complement, and then also only in compound tenses in the perfect and *a*-past tense. It indicates that a habitual process used to occur, as in *kwakufudula kusithiwa* {it was usually being said} (2 Sam 20:18). It is often deficient, dropping all prefixed morphemes, e.g. *lalifudula* > *fudula*, as in *iziko malenziwe libe shushu ngokuphindwe kasixhenxe, kunoko fudula lisenziwa shushu ngako* {the furnace must be made that it is hot seven times in comparison to that that it usually was made hot by} (Dan 3:19).

The verbs *ukufanela* and *ukufanelana*, respectively the applicative and applicative reciprocal derivations from the verb *ukufana* {to be similar}, when used with a potential aspect, function as auxiliary verbs with a complement in the situative mood to indicate that a process is of no consequence and will not have any effect, [and can be translated with “even if” or “although”], as in *angafanelana uBhalaki endinika indlu yakhe izele yisilivere negolide, andinako ukuwugqitha umlomo kaYehova* {even though Balak were to give me his house filled with silver and gold, I cannot go past the mouth of the Lord, i.e. transgress the command of the Lord} (Num 24:13).

The stem of the verb *ukusuka* {to stand up, to move away} coalesces with a subsequent conjunctively used infinitive *ukuba* {to be, i.e. that} to render the deficient construction *-sukuba* {be whatever}, that functions as an auxiliary verb stem with a complement in the situative mood to indicate that a process is unspecified and may occur at any point in time. It is usually found in a relative construction, as in *uThixo unawe entweni yonke osukuba uyenza* {God is with you in whatever thing you [singular] should do} (Gen 21:22). It is often even more deficient, dropping prefixed morphemes such as the subject concord, as in *xa sukuba ethetha ubuxoki, uthetha okukokwakhe* {whenever he speaks lies he speaks that which belongs to him} (Yoh/Jn 8:44).

8.4 Auxiliary verbs with a situative or an infinitive as complement

The verb *ukumana*, the reciprocal extension of the verb *ukuma* (to stand), when used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in either the situative mood or in the infinitive mood as complement, indicates that a process occurs often, repeatedly, continually or habitually, as in *bamana behleli etempileni, bedumisa, bebonga uThixo* {they continually stayed in the temple

lauding and praising God} (Luka 24:53) and *ngeelwimi zabo bamana ukukhohlisa* {with their tongues they habitually deceive} (Rom 3:13).

8.5 Auxiliary verbs with a situative or a subjunctive as complement

The verb *ukufumana* {to find} when used as an auxiliary verb, has the deficient contracted stem *-fana* as variant. It is found with both predicates in the situative mood and in the subjunctive mood as complement.

With a predicate in the situative mood as complement the verb *ukufumana* {to do in vain} indicates a process that is executed in vain, as in *ukuba akayakhi uYehova indlu, bafumana besaphuka yiyo abakhi bayo; ukuba umzi akawugcini uYehova, ufumana ephaphama owugcinayo* {if the Lord does not build the house it is in vain that its builders get broken by it, [i.e. toil at it]; if the Lord does not protect the city the one that guards it is vigilant in vain} (Ndum/Ps 127:1).

With a subjunctive as complement the verb *ukufumana* {to arbitrarily/irresponsibly do} indicates a process that is executed in an irresponsible or arbitrary fashion, as in *uYobhi ufumana awuvule umlomo wakhe, akwandise ukuthetha engenakwazi* {Job arbitrarily opens his mouth and increases speech without him having knowledge} (Yobhi/Job 35:16). In the negative subjunctive the final vowel *-i* of the auxiliary *ukufumana* {to arbitrarily/irresponsibly do} is found in a deficient form with the final vowel centralising to *-e*, as in *uze ungafumane ulibize igama likaYehova* {do not irresponsibly call the name of the Lord} (Eks 20:7).

8.6 Auxiliary verbs with a subjunctive as complement

The verb *ukuthi* {to say/do/think} is extensively used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement to indicate that a process is executed. It is often found in composite sentences where the main clause is modified with a subordinate clause indicating the time at which the process takes or took place, or the preconditions that governed the possibility of the process taking place. It is used to ensure that the sentence is clear and to enhance style [and is often awkward to represents in a translation, being somewhat over translated with “to do” or “to happen”]. It is found in sentences such as:

kuya kufika mihla awothi asuswe kubo umyeni {days will come when the bridegroom will do and be removed from them} (Mat 9:15);

kumnceda ntoni na umntu, ukuba uthe wazuza ihlabathi liphela, waza wonakalelwa ke ngumphefumlo wakhe? {what does it help a person if he/she does and gains the whole earth and then subsequently is gone wrong for by his breath/life?} (Mat 16:26);

nyana wam, ukuba aboni bathe bakuhenda, uze ungavumi ke {my son, if wrongdoers do and tempt you, you must not agree} (MiZek/Prov 1:10) and

kwathi, sakufika endaweni yokulalisa, sazivula iingxowa zethu {it happened, when we arrived at the place to spend the night, we opened our bags} (Gen 43:21).

When the main clause and the subordinate clause do not have the same subject, the auxiliary verb *ukuthi* {to do} usually takes the class 17 subject concord *ku-* as general or universal subject concord, as in *xa kuthe kwenyuka ibhanile ezintabeni, khangelani; xa kuthe*

kwavuthelwa isigodlo, yivani {when it has happened that a banner goes up on the mountains, look [plural]; when it has happened that it is blown the horn-trumpet, hear} (Is 18:3).

The verb *ukuza* {to come} is extensively used with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement to indicate a consecutive or subsequent process, as in *yiyan, nilihambe ilizwe, nilibhale, nize nibuyele kum* {go [plural], and walk the land, and write it down, and then come back to me} (Yosh 18:8) and *waba nomsindo kunene, waza wathumela, wababulala bonke abantwana abaseBhetelehem* {he became truly angry and sent and killed all the children that are in Bethlehem} (Mat 2:16). As can be seen from the last example when the verb *ukuza* {to come} is used as an auxiliary verb, the latent *i-* of its stem *-(i)za* does not exert any influence.

The negative perfect of the verb *ukuza* {to come} used as an auxiliary verb, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, indicates that a process never took place, as in *le minyaka ingakanana ndiyakukhonza, andizanga ndigqithe mthetho wakho* {these years that are so many I serve you, I never overstepped your law} (Luka 15:29). In spoken isiXhosa this auxiliary is often heard having dropped the morphemes prefixed to its stem and with the final vowel centralised to *-e*, e.g. *zange ndigqithe umthetho* {I never broke the law}.

The negative future construction of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, with its final vowel centralised to *-e*, and with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, indicates that a process will not/never take place, as in *imini yonke nobusuku bonke abayi kuze bathi quthu* {the whole day and the whole night they will not/never remain silent} (Is 62:6). To emphasise that the process will never take place the auxiliary verb is used with a persisting aspect, as in *akasayi kuze avume*, which may be contracted to *akasoze avume* and often to *soze avume* {he/she will never agree} (not found in the RUV). Occasionally the verb *ukuba* {to be} is heard as an auxiliary in this context, as in *sobe avume* {he/she will never agree} (not found in the RUV).

The hortative imperfect subjunctive of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, indicates that a process is a command or a strong wish that should be executed, as in *nize ningalandeli thixo bambi* {you [plural] must not follow other gods} (Dut 6:14) and *uze undikhumbule* {you [singular] must remember me} (Gen 40:14). In spoken language, and often in writing, these forms are contracted in similar fashion to the compound tenses in the perfect tense (vide pericope 6.66) except that the auxiliary verb is written disjunctively with its complement when its subject concord is dropped. Forms like the following with the verb *ukuya* {to go} as complement, are found:

Person							
and class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10 11
Singular:	<i>ze ndiye</i>	<i>uzuye</i>	<i>azaye</i>	<i>uzuye</i>	<i>ze liye</i>	<i>ze siye</i>	<i>iziye ze luye</i>
Plural:	<i>ze siye</i>	<i>ze niye</i>	<i>ze baye</i>	<i>iziye</i>	<i>azaye</i>	<i>ze ziye</i>	<i>ze ziye</i>
Class:					14	15	17
Neutral:					<i>ze buye</i>	<i>ze kuye</i>	<i>ze kuye</i>

Examples in the RUV are *ze nenze amasiko am* {you [plural] must do my customs} (Lev 18:4) and *ze ningenzi bugqwetha ekugwebeni* {you [plural] must not do distortion in judging} (Lev 19:15).

The verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]} is used as auxiliary verb, often with its final vowel centralised to *-e*, and with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as its complement, to indicate that a process is limited in its execution and will only take place once or on a limited scale, as in *ndikhe ndanenza nabuhlungu* {I once caused you [plural] to be pained} (2 Kor 7:8) and *ndiya kukha ndihle* {I shall occasionally go down} (Gen 18:21). Sometimes it is used deficiently, dropping the subject concord of the auxiliary, e.g. *ndikhe > khe*, as in *khawundithumele omnye wakubafana, nenye yeemazi zamaesile, khe ndithi gxada, ndiye kumfo wakwaThixo, ndibuye ndibuye* {please send me one of the young men and one of the female donkeys, that I once go shortly and go to the man of at God and again return} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:22).

The negative perfect of the auxiliary verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]}, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, indicates that a process will never occur, not even once, as in *into oyihlwayelayo ayenziwa iphile, ukuba ayikhanga ife* {a thing that you [singular] have sown does not get made to live if it has not once [i.e. never] died} (1 Kor 15:36) and *anikhanga nikulese na oko wakwenzayo uDavide?* {have you [plural] not ever/once read that which David did?} (Luka 6:3). This auxiliary is often used deficiently with the morphemes prefixed to its stem dropped and with the final vowel centralised to *-e*, e.g. *khange nilese na?* {have you never read?} (not found in the RUV).

The negative imperfect indicative with a potential aspect of the verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]} is used as an auxiliary verb, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, to indicate that a process cannot occur even once or can never occur, as in *akangekhe axoke* {he/she will never lie}. It is of note that this auxiliary verb is deficient in respect of the final negative *-i* that is consistently centralised to *-e* and that the prefixed negative morpheme and the subject concord are often dropped, as in *ngekhe axoke* {he/she will never lie}. It is also used as the exclamation *ngekhe!* {never!} Sometimes it is heard in an even more deficient form, without its aspiration, as in *ngeke axoke* {he/she will never lie}. (These forms are not found in the RUV.)

The imperative of the verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]} is used as an auxiliary verb in a deficient form, without its initial *yi-* and the plural suffix *-ni*, and with an imperfect subjunctive predicate in the second person as complement, to express a polite command or wish, as in *khanisondele kum apha* {please come near to me here} (Gen 45:4). As indicated by this example this auxiliary is written conjunctively with its complement. Furthermore, when the second person singular subject concord *u-* is used, the semi-vowel *-w-* is inserted between the auxiliary and the complement, as in *khawundithumele* {please send to me} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:22). [A variant is sometimes heard where the auxiliary is pronounced *nga-*, as in *ngawubancede* {please help them}, and the plural is sometimes confused with an

imperative, requiring the suffix *-ni*, and heard as for example *khanibafundiseni* {please teach them}. No trace of these forms is found in the RUV.]

When the positive imperfect subjunctive of the second person plural of the deficient auxiliary verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]} is the complement of a hortative subjunctive of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, as in *nize nikhe nibancede* {please help [plural] them}, both verbs are often used deficiently, without their subject concords, as in *zekhe nibancede* {please help [plural] them}. (These forms are not found in the RUV.)

The imperative of the verb *ukuma* {to stand} is used as an auxiliary verb in a deficient form without its initial *yi-* and the plural suffix *-ni*, and with an imperfect subjunctive predicate as complement, to express an exhortation or polite command, as in *masiwele siye ngaphesheya* {let us cross over and go to the opposite side} (Marko 4:35). As indicated by this example this auxiliary is written conjunctively with its complement. Furthermore, when the subject concord *u-* of the second person singular and class 3 is used, the semi-vowel *-w-* is inserted between the auxiliary and the complement. When the subject concord *i-* of classes 4 and 9 is used the semi-vowel *-y-* is inserted between the auxiliary and the complement. In the case of classes 1 and 6 the subject concord is *-ka-* [although some speakers are heard to use *-wa-* in the case of class 6]. Forms like for example the following with the verb *ukuya* {to go} as complement, are found:

Person								
and class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11
Singular:	<i>mandiye</i>	<i>wawuye</i>	<i>makaye</i>	<i>mawuye</i>	<i>maliye</i>	<i>masiye</i>	<i>mayiye</i>	<i>maluye</i>
Plural:	<i>masiye</i>	<i>maniye</i>	<i>mabaye</i>	<i>mayiye</i>	<i>makaye</i>	<i>maziye</i>	<i>maziye</i>	
Class:					14	15	17	
Neutral					<i>mabuye</i>	<i>makuye</i>	<i>makuye</i>	

Examples are *mawundoyike uyamkele ingqeqesho* {you must fear me and accept discipline} (Zef 3:7); *mayithethe inkosi yam* {let my master speak} (Dan 10:19); *uDaniyeli makanyuswe emhadini* {Daniel must be brought up out of the hole} (Dan 6:23) and *amasango aseYerusalem makangavulwa* {the gates of Jerusalem must not be opened} (Neh 7:3). [The plural is sometimes confused with an imperative and heard as for example *masihambeni* {let us go}. Also not found in the RUV is what seems to be a modern tendency to use extraordinary relative constructions, prefixing the relative *A*, as in *umfazi omakasebenze emasimini* {a woman that must work in the fields}; *umsebenzi amakawenze umfazi* {the work that the woman must do} and *yintoni emandiyithenge?* {what is it that I must buy?}.]

The deficient auxiliary imperative *ma-* {stand} is also used with as complement the imperfect subjunctive of the deficient auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come} or the deficient auxiliary verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]}, that drop their subject concords to become the hortative deficient auxiliaries *maze* and *makhe*, that take a predicate in the imperfect subjunctive as complement, as in *maze siwakhumbule amahlwempu* {let us remember the poor} (Gal 2:10) and *makhe sibuye siye kuvelela abazalwana bethu* {let us again go and visit our brothers} (Zen/Acts 15:36).

The deficient auxiliary imperative *ma-* {stand} is also found with as complement the subjunctive of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with as complement a deficient auxiliary perfect tense verb with the stem *-se* {already be}, with as complement a predicate in the situative mood. This accumulation of verbal structures indicates a process that should already be in execution, as in *masibe sise siqala* {let us be that we already are beginning}, which is usually contracted to *masesiqala* {let us begin} (not found in the RUV).

The positive imperfect indicative with a potential aspect and with a dropped subject concord of the auxiliary verb *ukumana*, the reciprocal extension of *ukuma* {to stand}, is used with a perfect subjunctive predicate as complement to express a strong wish or desire, as in *uYabhetse wamnqula uThixo wakwaSirayeli, wathi: “Ngamana wandisikelela, wawandisa ummandla wam”* {Jabez prayed to the God of the domain of Israel and said: “May you [singular] bless me and enlarge my territory”} (1 Kron/Chr 4:10).

The verb *ukuda* {to eventually do} and its deficient variant *ukude* is only found as a deficient auxiliary verb, and then only with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as its complement. It indicates a process that is eventually executed, as in *hlalani, nisilinde apho, side sibuye, size kuni* {stay [plural] and wait there until we return and come to you} (Eks 24:14); *sihlaleleni na apha side sife?* {why are we staying here until we die?} (2 Kum/Kgs 7:3) and *naye woda atshabalale* {he also will eventually die} (Num 24:24). Some speakers drop the subject concord of the positive imperfect subjunctive of this auxiliary verb, as in *silinde apho de sibuye* {wait there for us till we return} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukusuka* {to stand up, to go away} is used as an auxiliary verb, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, to indicate a subsequent contradictory process, as in *lowo uzayo emva kwam, usuke waba phambi kwam, ngokuba waye etanci kum* {that one that is coming after me has become in front of me, because he was before me} (Yoh/Jn 1:15) and *bakuba ke bengenanto yokuhlawula, usuke wabaxolela bobabini* {when they had nothing to pay with he went and forgave them both} (Luka 7:42). In the spoken language this auxiliary is often articulated deficiently, without the vowel *-u-* of the stem, and centralising the final vowel to *-e*, as in *endaweni yokusebenza uske alale* {instead of working he sleeps} (not found in the RUV).

The subjunctive of the verb *ukusuka* {to stand up, to go away}, used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, can also be the complement of the auxiliary verb *ukuda* {to eventually do}, as in *musa ukumbetha ade asuke alile* {do not beat him/her until he/she cries}, which is often contracted to *sukumbetha deske alile* (not found in the RUV).

Of note is the deficient composite verb *ukusukuma* that is often heard as a fusion of the deficient verb *ukusuka* {to get up} with its complement the subjunctive of the verb *ukuma* {to stand}, so that *suka ume* {get up and stand, stand up} (1 Sam 16:12) is heard as *sukuma!* {stand up [singular]!} and *sukani nime* {get up and stand} (Luka 21:28) as *sukumani!* {stand up [plural]!} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukuhla* {to go/come down} is used as an auxiliary verb, sometimes with its final vowel centralised to -e, and with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, to indicate that a process will occur eventually or suddenly, as in *umvandedwa wam ... wohla ube ngumlambo okhohlisayo na kum?* {will my depression eventually be to me a river that misleads?} (Yer 15:18).

The negative imperfect subjunctive of the verb *ukuhla* {to go/come down} is used as an auxiliary verb, with as complement the subjunctive of the auxiliary verb *ukuza* {to come}, e.g. *kungahli kuze* {that it does not come down and come}, which is contracted to the deficient auxiliary construction *hleze* {so that not, lest}, used as a conjunction with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, to indicate preventing that a process occurs [translatable with “so that not” or “lest”], as in *yaleka, Yerusalema, hleze umphefumlo wam uziqhawule kuwe, hleze ndikwenze kube senkangala kuwe, ube lilizwe elingamiweyo* {be instruct able, Jerusalem, lest my breath/life breaks away from you and I make you to be that it is in a desolate place, and you become a country that is not inhabited} (Yer 6:8).

The potential aspect of the verb *ukuhla* {to go/come down} is used as an auxiliary verb, sometimes deficient without its subject concord, and always with its final vowel -a centralised to -e. It takes a predicate in the subjunctive mood as its complement and indicates that a process may possibly take place or have taken place, as in *ungáhle uvuthe umsindo wakhe* {his anger may flare up} (Ndum/Ps 2:12). In the spoken language, and sometimes in written form, the subject concord of the auxiliary is dropped, as in *ngáhle uvuthe umsindo wakhe* {his anger may flare up} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukubuya* {to return} is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as its complement, to indicate a process that occurs again, as in *selilixesha elifutshane, nize ningandiboni; kubuye kube lixesha elifutshane, nibuye nindibone* {it is already a short time and you [plural] will not see me, and again it will be a short time and you again see me} (Yoh/Jn 16:19) and *abakhululwa bakaYehova baya kubuya babuye, beze eZiyon bememelela, benovuyo* {the liberated ones of the Lord will again return and come to Zion singing having joy} (Is 51:11).

When the auxiliary verb *ukubuya* {to go} has the subjunctive of the verb *ukuhla* {to go/come down} as complement its stem is contracted to the deficient -be-, written conjunctively with its complement, which drops its subject concord, resulting in the composite auxiliary -behle {eventually happen}, indicating that a process will occur eventually or in due course, as in *impahla yendlu kaYehova iya kubehle ibuyiswe eBhabheli* {the articles of the house of the Lord will eventually be returned from Babel} (Yer 27:16).

The negative future construction with a persisting aspect of the verb *ukubuya* {to return}, used as an auxiliary verb indicating repetition, as in *abasayi kubuya babubone ubuso bakhe* {they will not again see his face} (Zen/Acts 20:38), is often contracted to *sobe*, as in *sobe babubone ubuso bakhe* {they will not again see his face} or *sobe babuye babubone ubuso bakhe* {they will not again see his face again} (not found in the RUV).

Both the imperative and the hortative subjunctive of the verb *ukunceda* {to help} are used as auxiliary verbs with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement to indicate that a process is a polite request, as in *nceda* [singular] *uze* {please come} and *ndincede* [singular] *uze* {please help me and come} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukubetha* {to hit/strike} is occasionally used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement to indicate that a process is caused or generated, as in *ukuphololoza kwakho kuya kubetha athi tu amadoda* {your [singular] idle talk will cause the men to remain silent} (Yobhi/Job 11:3).

The verb *ukuya* {to go} is sometimes used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as its complement, to indicate that a process continues to occur or occurs from time to time, as in *baya befuna ukumbamba* {they continued wanting to catch him} (Marko 12:12) and *ndiyawagoba amadolo am kuye uYise weNkosi yethu ... ukuze niye nizala ngako konke ukuzala kukaThixo* {I bend my knees to the Father of our Lord so that you [plural] will continue to get filled with all the fullness of God} (Ef 3:14-19).

The verb *ukufuneka* {to be necessary}, the neutro-passive derivation of the verb *ukufuna* {seek}, used with the concord *ku-* of class 17 as general or universal concord and with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement, functions as an auxiliary verb to indicate that a process is an imperative necessity, as in *kufuneka ndibhaptizwe* {it is necessary that I be baptized / I must be baptized} (Mat 3:14). It is also found with as complement the conjunctively used infinitive *ukuba* {that} with as its complement a predicate in the subjunctive mood, as in *ndithenge intsimi, kufuneka ukuba ndiphume ndiye kuyibona* {I have bought a field, I must go out and go and see it} (Luka 14:18). [Some present day speakers are heard to use a situative as complement to this auxiliary verb, as in *kufuneka bengayazanga le nto* instead of *kufuneka bangayazi le nto* {they must not know this matter}.]

8.7 Auxiliary verbs with either an infinitive or a subjunctive as complement

To indicate that a process is desired or wanted the verb *ukufuna* {to seek, to want} or the verb *ukuthanda* {to love, to desire, to want} is used as an auxiliary verb, with a predicate in the infinitive mood as complement, when the subject of both the auxiliary verb and the infinitive are the same, as in *ndifuna ukukwenza okuhle* {I want to do that which is good} (Roma 7:21); *nifuna ukulizisa phezu kwethu igazi lalo mntu* {you [plural] want to bring the blood of this man on top of us} (Zen/Acts 5:28) and *lowo wathanda ukumphakamisa, wamphakamisa; lowo wathanda ukumthoba, wamthoba* {that one that he liked to raise, he raised; that one that he liked to lower, he lowered} (Dan 5:19).

When the subject of the predicate indicating the desired process is not the same as that of the auxiliary verb the infinitive *ukuba* {to be}, with as complement a predicate in the subjunctive mood, is used, as in *ufuna ukuba ndenze ntoni na?* {you [singular] want that I do what?} (Zen/Acts 9:6) and *sithanda ukuba usenzele into esothi siyicele* {we want that you [singular] do for us the thing that we shall do and ask} (Marko 10:35). When it is required that the complement should contain an aspect morpheme the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} with as complement an aspectual subjunctive is used, as in *wayefuna ukuba angáthini na ukumnikela*

ngexesha elimlungeleyo {he was seeking what he can do to hand him over at a time that suited him} (Marko 14:11). Sometimes the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} is dropped, and only the subjunctive predicate retained as complement, as in *ufuna ndenze ntoni na?* {what do you want me to do?} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukuphinda* {to repeat, to do again} is used as an auxiliary verb, with as complement a predicate in the subjunctive mood or occasionally the infinitive mood, to indicate a process that is repeated or occurs again, as in *waphinda ke wakhanyela* {he again denied} (Marko 14:70) and [*uYoshuwa*] *wawuphinda ukuwubhala umyalelo kaMoses* {Joshua again wrote the instruction of Moses} (Yosh 8:32).

The verb *ukuphantsa* {to nearly do} is only used as an auxiliary verb. As complement it takes a predicate in the infinitive mood or occasionally the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} with as complement a predicate in the subjunctive mood. It indicates a process that nearly occurred, as in *ndaphantsa ukufa* {I nearly died} (Ndum/Ps 69:20); *okunene wayesifa, ephantse ukufa* (Filipi 2:27) {in fact he was ill, being nearly dead} and *zonke izinto ziphantse ukuba zihlanjululwe ngegazi* {nearly all things are purified with blood} (Hebh 9:22). Often heard, but not found in the RUV, is the use of a subjunctive as complement to this auxiliary, as in *ndiphantse ndawa* and *phantse ndawa* {I nearly fell}.

The verb *ukuqala* {to begin} is used as an auxiliary verb, with as complement a predicate in the infinitive mood, to indicate a process that is executed first or has to be executed first, as in *ndiqalile ukumnikela kuwe uSihon nelizwe lakhe; qala ukulihlutha, ulidle ilifa ilizwe lakhe* {I began to hand over Sihon and his country to you [singular]; begin to confiscate it and to eat it the inheritance [i.e. inherit] his land} (Dut 2:31). Often heard, but not found in the RUV, is the use of a subjunctive as complement to this auxiliary, as in *qala usebenze, wandule ukuphumla* {first work and then rest}.

The verb *ukwandula* {to subsequently do} is predominantly used as an auxiliary verb, with as complement a predicate in the infinitive mood, indicating that a process follows upon a previous process, as in .. *uhambe uye uxolelane nomzalwana wakho kuqala, wandule ukuza uwusondeze umnikelo wakho* {... and go and make peace with your brother first and then come and bring your offering} (Mat 5:23). Sometimes heard, but not found in the RUV, is the use of a subjunctive as complement to this auxiliary, as in *sebenza wandule uphumle* {work and then rest}.

The verb *ukwandula* {to subsequently do} is often found as an auxiliary verb with a persisting aspect, in which case it has a predicate in the infinitive mood as complement, and indicates that a process has recently occurred, as in *walangazeleleni, ngokweentsana ezisandula ukuzalwa, amasi angawelizwi, angenankohliso* {desire [plural] like babies recently born the fermented milk that belongs to the word that does not have deceit} (1 Pet 2:1). Used in this way with a persisting aspect most speakers abbreviate this auxiliary verb, as in *iintsana ezisand' ukuzalwa* {infants that have recently been born}.

When used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the subjunctive mood or an instrumentative infinitive as complement the verb *ukuphanga* {to use a commodity quickly}

indicates that a process has already occurred beforehand or been prepared beforehand, as in *yena ukwenzile abenako; uphange weza wawuthambisela ukungcwatywa umzimba wam* {she did what she could; she came beforehand and anointed my body for burial} (Marko 14:8) and *ndaphanga ngokubalekela eTarshish* {I forestalled by fleeing to Tarshish} (Yona 4:2).

8.8 Auxiliary verbs with a basic infinitive as complement

The most frequently occurring auxiliary verbs with a basic infinitive as complement are the verbs *ukuya* {to go} and *ukuza* {to come} as used in future constructions as described in the last two paragraphs of pericope 5.13.

Distinguishable from their use as independent verbs and their use as full auxiliary verbs in future constructions, the verbs *ukuya* {to go} and *ukuza* {to come} are also found with a semi-auxiliary use, with as complement a basic infinitive. In this case they indicate that a process is accompanied by a movement of coming or going, as in *andize kuligweba ihlabathi, ndize kulisindisa* {I have not come to judge the world, I came to save it} (Yoh/Jn 12:47); *ebusuku baya kuza kukubulala* {in the night they will come to kill you [singular]} (Neh 6:10) and *makungabikho mntu ententeni yokuhlangana, ekungeneni kwakhe ukuya kucamagusha engcweleni* {there must not be a person in the tent of meeting in his coming in to go and propitiate in the holy place} (Lev 16:17).

In future constructions the verb *ukuza* {to come} is deficient in the respect that the latent *i* it exhibits as independent verb does not exert an influence. However, in the case of its semi-auxiliary use, the influence of the latent *i* is present, as in *bonke abeza kuphuma umkhosi* {all those that are going to go out as an army} (Num 4:3) and *oonyana bakaSirayeli beza kuthenga ingqolowa phakathi kwabo bezayo* {the sons of Israel came to buy grain among those that came} (Gen 42:5). Similarly the situative retains the situative *-si-* found with monosyllabic verb stems when *ukuza* {to come} is used as a semi-auxiliary verb, as in *ngubani na laa mfo uhambayo entsimini, esiza kusikhawulela* {who is that man that walks in the field coming to meet us} (Gen 24:65). However, exceptions are to be found, as in *nanko yena ephuma eza kukukhawulela* {there he is coming out coming to meet you [singular]} (Eks 4:14).

The verb stem *-sa*, the deficient contraction of the stem of the verb *ukusala* {to remain, to be left behind}, is used in the relative mood, and sometimes in the indicative mood, with a basic infinitive as complement, to indicate a process that usually or habitually occurs. It is written conjunctively with its complement, as in:

zonke izinto ebesakuzenza, uYehova ubeziphumelelisa {all the things that he usually did the Lord caused to succeed} (Gen 39:23);

ubeyazi indawo leyo, kuba uYesu ubesakubutha futhi khona apho nabafundi bakhe {he knew that place where Jesus habitually met with his disciples} (Yoh/Jn 18:2) and

abo ke baselulwalweni ngabasakuthi, bakuliva, balamkele ngovuyo ilizwi {those then that are on the rocky place are those that usually do, when they hear, accept the word with joy} (Luka 8:13).

The situative of a deficient auxiliary verb with the stem *-sa*, and a basic infinitive as complement, indicates a moment in time that is the condition for a process to be executed. However, the unabbreviated form, e.g. *esakufika* {just as he arrived, when he arrived}, is not found in the RUV, which consistently uses an abridged form fusing the deficient auxiliary and its complement by omitting the consonant *-s-* of the deficient stem, so that with, for example, the infinitive *ukuwa* {to fall} as complement the following forms are found of a contracted structure that can be called the temporal construction:

Person									
and class:	I	II	III:1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	
Singular:	<i>ndakuwa</i>	<i>wakuwa</i>	<i>akuwa</i>	<i>wakuwa</i>	<i>lakuwa</i>	<i>sakuwa</i>	<i>yakuwa</i>	<i>lwakuwa</i>	
Plural:	<i>sakuwa</i>	<i>nakuwa</i>	<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>yakuwa</i>	<i>akuwa</i>	<i>zakuwa</i>	<i>zakuwa</i>		
Class:					14	15	17		
Neutral:					<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>kwakuwa</i>	<i>kwakuwa</i>		

Of note is the temporal construction of class 1 that takes *a-* as its subject concord, as in:

uthe ke omnye akuyivula ingxowa yakhe ... wayibona imali yakhe isemlonyeni wengxowa yakhe {now one of them when he opened his bag saw his money in the mouth of his bag} (Gen 42:27).

Further examples are as in:

sakufika endaweni yokulalisa, sazivula iingxowa zethu {when we came to the place to spend the night we opened our bags} (Gen 43:21) and
kwathi, bakuba begqibile ukuyidla ingqolowa ababeze nayo bevela eYiputa, wathi uyise kubo: "Buyani niye kusithengela intwana yokudla" {it happened, when they had finished to eat the grain that they came with coming from Egypt, that their father said to them: "Again go [plural] to buy us a little bit of food"} (Gen 43:2).

Direct negative temporal constructions, e.g. as in *akungàhleki kuthiwa uyagula* {when he/she does not laugh it is said that he/she is ill}, are not found in the RUV. Compound negative temporal constructions are used, consisting of the positive temporal construction of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} with as complement a negative perfect situative, e.g. *akuba engaboni* {when he did not see} as in *wabheka-bheka, wathi akuba engaboni mntu, wamthi qwaka umYiputa* {he looked around and when he did not see a person he struck down the Egyptian} (Eks 2:12).

Compound temporal constructions, with a perfect tense situative as complement, are used to achieve a temporal construction in the perfect tense, indicating a completed process that is the prerequisite for another process, as in *uthe akuba etshilo, waphuma umphefumlo* {when he had said so his breath went out, i.e. he died} (Luka 23:46) and *[amaYuda] akuba engabafumananga ke, amrholela uYason nabazalwana abathile kubaphathi bomzi* {the Jews not having found them they dragged Jason and certain brothers to the rulers of the town} (Zen/Acts 17:6).

As can be seen from the above examples, the temporal construction is often found following upon the auxiliary use of the verb *ukuthi* {used with its shade of meaning indicating “to do”}.

The prefix *-ku-* of the basic infinitive used as complement in a temporal construction is articulated with a relatively low tone. This contrasts it with the object concord *-ku-* of the second person singular and of classes 15 and 17 that is pronounced with a relatively higher tone. Compare *bathe bakùbonana, wawa entanyeni yakhe, walila umzuzu omkhulu* {when they saw each other, he fell on his neck, and cried for a long time} (Gen 46:29) to *ukuba aboni bathe bakúhenda uze ungavumi* {if wrongdoers tempt you [singular] you must not agree} (MiZek/Prov 1:10).

8.9 Auxiliary verbs with an infinitive as complement

The imperative of the verb *ukumkisa* {to cause to go away}, the causative derivation of the verb *ukumka* < *ukumuka* {to go away}, is contracted to the deficient auxiliary imperative *musa* (i.e. *mukisa* > *musa*). The imperative *musa* {do not do [singular]} is used with a predicate in the infinitive mood as complement to construct a negative command, e.g. *musa ukulila* {do not [singular] cry} (Luka 7:13), as described in pericopes 6.58-59.

A verb with the stem *-fanele* {ought to do, should do}, the stative perfect tense of the verb *ukufanela*, the applicative derivation from the verb *ukufana* {to be similar}, is used with a predicate in the infinitive mood as complement to indicate that it is obligatory or appropriate that a process should be executed, as in *iwayini entsha ifanele ukuthiwa ezintsubeni ezintsha* {new wine should be poured into new wineskins} (Luka 5:38) and *indoda okunene ayifanele ukuba nesigqubuthelo entloko* {a man truly ought not to be with a covering on [his] head} (1 Kor 11:7). However, on occasion a regular perfect and not a stative perfect is used, as in *andikulingene ukuba ungade ungene phantsi kophahla lwam; kungoko nam ndingakufanelanga ukuda ndize* {I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof; that is why I am not appropriate to eventually come} (Luka 7:6-7).

The verb *ukufana* {to be similar} is used as a deficient auxiliary verb, without its subject concord and the final vowel of the stem, so as to combine with its complement the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} to render *fan' ukuba* {must be}, which has a predicate in the indicative mood as complement, and which indicates that a process probably must take place or must have taken place, as in *fan' ukuba bagodukile* {it must be that they have gone home / they have probably gone home} (not found in the RUV).

The perfect tense of the verb *ukumelwa*, the passive applicative derivation from the verb *ukuma* {to stand}, is used with an identificative infinitive as complement to indicate that a process is an inevitability, or an obligation that ought to be executed, as in *bamelwe kukuhlala bethandaza* {they ought to stay praying} (Luka 18:1). It predominantly has the auxiliary *kukuthi* {to do} as complement, with as its complement a predicate in the subjunctive mood, as in *nimelwe kukuthi nizalwe ngokutsha* {you [plural] ought to be born again} (Yoh/Jn 3:7). The auxiliary verb *ukumelwa* is also found with an infinitive, and not an identificative infinitive as complement, as in *lowo uzayo kuThixo umelwe ukukholwa ukuba ukho* {the one that comes to God ought to believe that he exists} (Hebh 11:6). Sometimes this auxiliary verb

is even more deficient, dropping its passive extension, as in *izinto ezimele ukubakho kamsinya* {the things that ought to happen soon} (SiTyh/Rev 1:1) and *izithixo zingumthi ogawulwe ehlathini, ... zimele ukuthwalwa, ngokuba zingenakuhamba* {idols are wood chopped in a forest; they have to be carried because they cannot walk} (Yer 10:3 & 5).

The verb *ukugqibela* {to do for the last time}, the applicative derivation of *ukugqiba* {to complete, to finish}, is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the infinitive mood as complement to indicate that a process is executed for the last time, as in *phambi kokuvuna, akugqibela ukuphuma amathupha, ... uya kuwanqumla amasebe ngesitshetshe* {before reaping, when they shoot buds for the last time, he will cut off the branches with a knife} (Is 18:5). Not found in the RUV, but often used, are phrases such as *ndagqibela ukumbona izolo* {I last saw him/her yesterday} and *ndamgqibela izolo* {I last was with him/her yesterday}.

The verb *ukuphikela* {to do repeatedly}, the applicative derivation of *ukuphika* {to contradict}, is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the infinitive mood as its complement, to indicate that a usually undesirable process occurs repeatedly, as in *[uManase] waphikela ukwenza okubi emehlweni kaYehova, ukuba amqumbise* {Manasseh repeatedly did what is bad in the eyes of the Lord so that he made him angry} (2 Kum/Kgs 21:6). Not found in the RUV, but heard on occasion, is the use of an instrumentative infinitive as complement, as in *kuphikela ngokuna ngoMgqibelo* {it usually rains on Saturday}.

The verb *ukuhlalela* {to be imminent}, the applicative derivation of *ukuhlala* {to sit, to live}, is used as an auxiliary verb with a predicate in the infinitive mood as its complement, to indicate that a process is imminent and that everything is ready for it to occur, as in *ndihlalele ukuhamba* {I am ready to go} (not found in the RUV).

The verb *ukuphatha* {to hold}, when repeated in the subjunctive mood, is an auxiliary verb indicating that sometimes one process occurs and at other times another, as in *naphatha ukuthi nenziwe isibonelo ngeengcikivo kwaneembandezelo, naphatha ukuthi nibe ngamadlelana nabo bahamba ngokunjalo* {sometimes you [plural] were made a sight with insults and also with persecutions, at other times you were sympathisers with those that go in that way} (Hebh 10:33).

The causative verb *ukukholisa* {to satisfy, to consistently do} is used with a predicate in the infinitive mood to indicate that a process occurs usually or consistently, as in *uKalebhi ... wakholisa ukundilandela* {Caleb consistently/wholeheartedly followed me} (Num 14:24). Not found in the RUV, but heard on occasion, is the use of an instrumentative infinitive as complement, as in *bakholisa ngokusebenza emini* {they usually work in the daytime}.

The verb *ukudla* {to eat, to usually do}, used as an auxiliary verb with an instrumentative infinitive as complement, indicates that a process usually or regularly occurs, as in *invula idla ngokuna ehlotyeni* {the rain usually rains in summer} (not found in the RUV).

The hortative subjunctive of the verb *ukubuya* {to return, to do again}, used as an auxiliary verb with an infinitive as complement, expresses the exhortation that a process should regularly be executed, as in *nibuye ukuvala umnyango xa kubandayo* {you should close the

door when it is cold} (not found in the RUV). The phrase *nibuye uku-* is usually contracted to *niboku-*, as in *nibokulala ebusuku* {you should sleep at night} and *nibokwenjenje* {you should do like this}. When the verb constituting the complement is not a vowel-commencing stem, it is sometimes contracted even further, as for example in *nibovala* {you should close}.

A temporal construction with the verb *ukukhova* {to complete doing} is used with an infinitive as complement to indicate the point in time when a process has just been completed, as in *akukhova ukuthetha naye entabeni yaseSinayi, [uYehova] wamnika uMoses amacwecwe amabini esingqino* {when he had completed talking with him on the mountain of Sinai the Lord gave Moses the two tablets of testimony} (Eks 31:18). Sometimes the situative mood with a persisting aspect of the verb *ukukhova* {to complete doing} is used with an infinitive as complement to indicate the time just after a process occurred, as in *sifike zisakhova ukusengwa iinkomo* {we arrived when the cows had recently been milked} (not found in the RUV).

A temporal construction with the verb *ukubonakala* {to appear}, the variant neutro-passive of the verb *ukubona* {to see}, is used as an auxiliary verb. Its stem is contracted to *-bon'*, and it is used with the infinitive *ukuba* {to be} used as a conjunction {that}, with a predicate in the subjunctive mood as complement. It indicates the time when a process occurred or will occur, as in *kwathi, akubon' ukuba unina uMariya useleganelwe uYosefu, bengekahlangani, wafunyanwa emithi ngoMoya oyiNgcwele* {it happened, when the mother Mary was already betrothed to Joseph, they not yet having got together, she was found to be pregnant by the Holy Spirit} (Mat 1:18). It is of note that this deficient auxiliary is found predominantly in a subordinate clause of time that has another subject than that of the main clause, as in *kwathi, akubon' ukuba ugqibile uIsake ukumsikelela uYakobi, ... wangena uEsawu* {it happened, when Isaac had finished blessing Jacob, that Esau entered} (Gen 27:30) and *kuthe ke, akubon' ukuba uYesu uzalwe eBhetelehem yelakwaYuda, ... kwabonakala kufika eYerusalem izazi zivela empumalanga* {it happened, when Jesus had been born in Bethlehem in the land of Judah, that there appeared arriving in Jerusalem wise men coming from the east} (Mat 2:1).

8.10 Verbs with monosyllabic stems used as deficient auxiliary verbs

It is to be noted that verbs with monosyllabic stems, when used as auxiliary verbs, are usually deficient. If they have a latent *i* it does not exert any influence, as in the future construction e.g. in *oonyana abaza kuzalwa* {sons that are going to be born} (Ndum/Ps 78:6). In the imperative mood they do not take the imperative prefix *yi-* nor the plural suffix *-ni*, as for example *ma* in *mabadane* {let them be disappointed} (Ndum/Ps 83:17). In the situative mood they are used without the prefix *-si-* regularly found with monosyllabic verb stems, as *beza* in the future construction *beza kungena* {them going to enter} in *yathi, yakubona uPetros noYohane beza kungena etempileni, yacela ukuba bayilize* {when he saw Peter and John going to enter into the temple he requested that they make him a contribution} (Zen/Acts 3:3). Also as complement of an auxiliary verb variant forms are found that do not exhibit the situative morpheme */-si-/* in the positive imperfect tense situative mood used as the second element of a compound verb, as *ethi* in the compound imperfect in the perfect relative mood

ebethi {as he did} (Zen/Acts 2:45). However the regular *esithi* is also found, as in imperfect in the perfect indicative mood *ebesithi* {she was saying/thinking} (Gen 29:32).

8.11 Variant final vowels exhibited by some deficient auxiliary verbs

As indicated above in respect of several auxiliary verbs, deficient auxiliary verbs are frequently found, especially in the spoken language, with variant forms where the final vowel has been centralised to *-e*. This occurs in respect of the final vowel *-a* used as basic final vowel and as final vowel of the negative perfect tense of the indicative, situative and relative moods, as in *waye* < *waba* in *waye ehleli ngasendleleni engqiba* {he was sitting next to the road begging} (Marko 10:46). It also occurs in respect of the negative final vowel *-i*, as in *ungafumane* {you [singular] must not vainly do} in the injunction *uze ungafumane ulibize igama likaYehova* {you must not vainly call the name of the Lord} (Eks 20:7).

8.12 Verbal aspect

In a few instances deficient auxiliary verbs have lost their characteristics as verbs and their stems are inserted as aspect morphemes following directly after the subject concord and any prefixed negative morpheme in verbs of certain tenses and moods, where they serve to indicate the specific nature or aspect of the process expressed by the verb.

8.13 Persisting aspect

A verb with a persisting aspect indicates that the process expressed by the verb continues or persists. Verbs with a persisting aspect are found in the indicative, situative and relative moods. They are formed by the insertion of the persisting aspect morpheme */-sa-/* following directly after the subject concord and any prefixed negative morpheme. They may be either positive {translating as “still”} or negative {translating as “not still,” i.e. “no longer” or “never”}, as in:

usafuna ntoni na? {what do you [singular] still want?} (Est 9:12);

esathetha nabo, wafika uRakeli {while he was still talking to them Rachel arrived} (Gen 29:9);

inja esaphilileyo ilunge ngaphezu kwengonyama efileyo {a dog that is still alive is good above [i.e. is better than] a lion that is dead (Ntshum/Ecc 9:4);

abasaphenduli; baphelelwe kukuthetha {they are no longer answering; they have become finished for by to speak} (Yobhi/Job 32:15);

abafileyo ... balityelwe, abasakhunjulwa nganto {those that are dead are forgotten, they are no longer remembered in connection with a thing} (Ntshum/Ecc 9:5);

amanzi kaNowa akasayi kuba sahamba phezu kwehlabathi {the water of Noah will no longer be still going on top of the earth} (Is 54:9) and

yinyama yodwa enomphefumlo wayo, enegazi layo, eningasayi kuyidla {it is only meat with its breath in it, that has its blood, that you [plural] will no longer eat} (Gen 9:4).

Presumably the persisting aspect morpheme */-sa-/* has its origin in the deficient auxiliary use of the verb *ukusala* {to stay, to remain} (vide pericope 8.3).

8.14 Exclusive aspect

An exclusive aspect, indicating that a process has “not yet” commenced, is given to negative verbs in the imperfect tense indicative, situative and relative moods, by inserting the exclusive aspect morpheme /-ka-/ following directly after the subject concord and prefixed negative morpheme, as in the indicative mood in:

alikasondeli ixesha lokwakha izindlu {the time of building houses has not yet come near} (Hez/Ezek 11:3);

sinomsakwethu omncinane; akakabi namabele {we have a sister that is small; she does not yet have breasts} (Ngom/Song 8:8).

bakubon' ukuba abakakholwa ngenxa yovuyo ... wathi kubo: “... {when they did not yet believe because of joy, he said to them: “...} (Luka 24:41)

In the situative and relative moods the negative morpheme /-nga-/ is found in the variant form /-nge-/ preceding the exclusive aspect morpheme /-ka-/ as in *ndingekakubumbi esizalweni bendikwazi* {when I had not yet formed you [singular] in the womb I knew you} (Yer 1:5) and *zaya engqoloweni yamaFilisti engekavunwa* {they went to the grain [i.e. the fields of grain] of the Philistines that had not yet been harvested} (Gweb/Jdg 15:5).

Presumably the morpheme /-ka-/ as used in these negative verbs to give them an exclusive aspect, has its origin in the deficient auxiliary use of the verb *ukukha* {to pluck [fruit], to draw [water]} (vide pericope 8.6).

8.15 Potential aspect

A verb with a potential aspect indicates that a process has the objective possibility of being executed, i.e. “can,” “may” or “could” be executed. It is characterised by the use of the potential aspect morpheme /-ngá-/ articulated with a relatively high tone, which follows the subject concord of verbs in the indicative, situative and relative moods, as in *imithi yomyezo ùngáyidla* {the trees of the garden you [singular] may eat} (Gen 2:16); *bahamba apho bangáhamba khona* {they went where they could go} (1 Sam 23:13) and *ùnelizwi ongálenzelwayo na kukumkani?* {do you [singular] have a word that you can be made for with the king?} (2 Kum/Kgs 4:13). The relatively high tone of the potential aspect morpheme /-ngá-/ distinguishes it from the negative morpheme /-ngà-/ articulated in a relatively low tone.

Of note is the fact that in the case of positive verbs in the indicative mood the subject concord of substantives in class 1 is *a-* when linked to a verb containing the potential aspect morpheme /-nga-/ as in *uyise angafa* {his father can die / would die} (Gen 44:22).

In negative verbs the potential aspect morpheme is found in the variant form /-ngê-/ with a falling double tone, as in *ngubani na owaziyo ukuba akangebuyi kanti azohlwaye uThixo, abuye ekuvutheni komsindo wakhe?* {who knows that God cannot again nevertheless rebuke himself [i.e. change his mind] and return from the raging of his anger} (Yona 3:9) and *akangekhe umprofeti atshabalalele ngaphandle kweYerusalem* {a prophet could not do once and perish [i.e. could never perish] except in Jerusalem} (Luka 13:33).

Appropriate compound verbs in the situative mood with a potential aspect are used with a long form terminating in the suffix *-yo*, as in *la mafutha bekungathengiswayo ngawo ngenani elingaphezu kweedenariyo ezimakhulu mathathu* {this oil could have been sold for an amount above three hundred denarii} (Marko 14:5) and *bekungandilungelayo kanye ukuba ndife, kunokuba ubani alilambathise iqhayiya lam* {it would certainly be good [i.e. be better] for me to die than that someone makes destitute my boast, i.e. deprives me of my reason to boast} (1 Kor 9:15).

Verbs with a potential aspect are found in a number of auxiliary verbal structures as described above in pericopes 8.2-9.

A verb with a potential aspect indicates an objective or external possibility, as in *uDavide namadoda akhe ... baphuma eKehila, bahamba apho bangahamba khona* {David and his men went out from Keilah and went where they could go} (1 Sam 23:13). A subjective or internal possibility is indicated by using the verb *ukwazi* {to know} with an infinitive as complement, as in *uAron ... uyakwazi ukuthetha* {Aaron knows how to speak / can speak} (Eks 4:14). Comprehensive possibility is expressed by using a copulative with the class 15 connective absolute pronoun *nako* {with it} with an infinitive as complement, as in *ngubani na onako ukuma phambi koYehova?* {who is with it [i.e. can] to stand in front of the Lord?} (1 Sam 6:20). It is predominantly used in the negative, as in *andinako ukuwugqitha umlomo kaYehova* {I cannot go past the mouth of the Lord, i.e. I cannot disobey the Lord} (Num 22:18). A desire to objectively acquire comprehensive ability is expressed by using the class 15 connective absolute pronoun in a compound copulative with a potential aspect, such as *ndingaba nako* {I may be with it, i.e. I may be able / I possibly can} as in *kuphume abantu eYiputa, babugubungela ubuso belizwe; yiza ke undiqalekisele bona, mhlawumbi ndingaba nako ukulwa nabo, ndibagxothe* {people came out of Egypt and covered the face of the earth; come now and curse them for me; perhaps I may be able to fight with them and chase them away} (Num 22:11). There are no boundaries cast in concrete separating these structures, and in some situations they approach being synonyms.

8.16 Inclusive aspect

An inclusive aspect, indicating that a process “also” occurred, can be included in a verb in either the imperfect or the perfect tense of verbs in the indicative, situative or relative moods, by inserting the inclusive aspect morpheme */-kwa-/* after the subject concord and any prefixed negative morpheme, as in *uMilka ukwazele naye* {Milcah has also given birth she also} (Gen 22:20). (Vide pericope 4:28.) Its use in negative verbs is rare and is not found in the RUV. [However, it is found in negative copulative predicates, e.g. *kungekwakukuthi* {it not also being to say} as in *oko ke kuthi, wenyuka, kuyintoni na, kungekwakukuthi, wehla nokuhla kuqala?* {that then saying he ascended, what is it, if it is not also to say he even went down first?} (Ef 4 :9).]

8.17 Imperfect aspect

An imperfect aspect, indicating that a process is in progress, is under certain circumstances used to enhance verbs in the positive imperfect tense of the indicative mood by inserting the

imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ after the subject concord, as in *ndiyabona* {I see / I am seeing} (Yoh/Jn 4:19). Presumably the imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ has its origin in the deficient auxiliary use of the verb *ukuya* {to go}. Verbal structures containing the imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ are usually referred to as the long form of the positive imperfect indicative, as described in pericopes 6.15 and 6.17.

8.18 The derogative imperfect aspect and the persisting derogative imperfect aspect

Verbs with a derogative imperfect aspect, indicating that a process is disturbingly or repeatedly being executed, occur infrequently. These verbs are formed by inserting the imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ followed by the derogative aspect morpheme /-wa-/ after the subject concord of a positive verb in the imperfect indicative, situative or relative moods, as in *xa sitshoyo, singaba siyawaqala siziyaleze na?* {when we say so can it be that we are again irritatingly beginning to commend ourselves?} (2 Kor 3:1). Presumably the derogative aspect morpheme /-wa-/ has its origin in the deficient auxiliary use of the verb *ukuwa* {to fall}.

Verbs with a persisting derogative imperfect aspect are the result of condensing a verbal structure consisting of the derogative imperfect aspect of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with the deficient auxiliary stative perfect situative *-se-* {already be} as its complement, and a further verb or verbal structure indicating the undesirable process as its complement. For example *niyawaba nise niba siyaziphedulela* > *niyawaseniba siyaziphendulela* {you are disturbingly again thinking that we are answering for ourselves, i.e. excusing ourselves} (2 Kor 12:19).

8.19 Compound aspect verbs

To indicate aspect in other times and modes than those described above the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with an aspectual verb in the situative mood as complement, is used, as in:

oko umntwana ebesahleli {at the time that the child was still alive} (2 Sam 12:18);

uThixo ebengekanisi mvula emhlabeni {God had not yet caused rain to rain on the earth} (Gen 2:5);

angabuya abe esathetha ntoni na ke uDavide kuwe? {what can David again be still talking to you [singular], i.e. what more can David say to you?} (2 Sam 7:20);

uya kuba engasafuni ukwenjenjalo {he/she will no longer be wanting to do that} (not found in the RUV).

Subsequent to a negative auxiliary verb the subject concord of the aspectual situative complement is usually dropped, as in *ndiwumise umnqophiso wam nani, ukuba ingabi sanqunyulwa yonke inyama ngamanzi onogumbe, kungabi sabakho nogumbe wokulonakalisa ihlabathi* {I erected my covenant with you [plural] so that all flesh will no longer be cut off by the water of a flood, and there no longer still be a flood to destroy the earth} (Gen 9:11).

A negative perfect subjunctive of an auxiliary verb with a situative with a persisting aspect as complement is regularly found with the final vowel *-a*, as in *ababa sathetha ngokunyuka*

{they no longer spoke about ascending} (Yosh 22:33) and [amaSirayeli] *akaba saba nakuma phambi kweentshaba zawo* {the Israelites were no longer able to stand before their enemies} (Gweb/Jdg 2:14). Not found in the RUV, but predominantly heard since the late twentieth century, is the irregular use in the perfect tense subjunctive of a final vowel *-i*, as in *akabi saba nakuma* {he/she could no longer stand}.

The duplication of the persisting aspect morpheme with the use of a second auxiliary verb that is occasionally used in the negative subjunctive and infinitive for the purpose of accentuation, is noteworthy, as for example in *iya kwenjiwa nje ke ukugadlelwa kwayo iBhabheli, umzi omkhulu, ingabi saba safunyanwa* {it will be done like this then the throwing out of Babel, the great city, and it no longer still be found} (SiTyh/Rev 18:21) and *musa ukuba saba sathetha* {do not speak any more}, which is often contracted to *sukuba sathetha* {don't speak any more} (not found in the RUV).

8.20 Conclusion

In this chapter the extensive use in isiXhosa of auxiliary verbs has been described. These verbs serve to modify the process as described by the verb complementing the auxiliary verb and are often deficient in form.

Of note is the predominantly overlooked use of the verbs *ukuya* {to go} and *ukuza* {to come} as semi-auxiliary verbs, described in the first paragraphs of pericope 8.8.

The description of what for convenience are termed temporal constructions in the final paragraphs of pericope 8.8 refutes the conjecture held by some grammarians that isiXhosa verbs display a temporal mood, as, for example, McLaren (1944: 97-99 and 1963: xiv) does in his grammar and in the introduction to his dictionary and Riordan et al. (1969: 287-289) do in their self-instruction course.

Insight into the use of the auxiliary verbs constitutes the key to understanding the secondary verbal category of aspect, where auxiliary verbs are found to have penetrated the structure of certain verbs, bestowing a further aspect to their connotation, as described in pericopes 8.12-19.

Most grammarians have in the past failed to accurately describe the verbal category of aspect. For example, Pinnock (1994: 127) describes verbs with a persisting aspect as reflecting a progressive tense. Verbs with a potential aspect are widely described as reflecting what is regarded to be a potential mood, as does Satyo (1983: 244) and also Riordan et al. (1969: 289-292).

In chapters 6 to 8 above the morphology and syntax of the verbs of isiXhosa has been expounded. To complete the description of the predicates of isiXhosa the focus has to be directed towards copulatives and their use. This is done in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Morphology and syntax of isiXhosa copulatives

9.1 Copulatives and their attributes

Having now completed the description of verbal predicates attention can be given to copulative predicates, initially by investigating their attributes and then by describing the forms in which they are found and how they are used in isiXhosa.

9.2 General attributes of copulatives

Semantically copulatives can be distinguished as predicates that mutually couple two substantives, i.e. a copulative links a noun or pronoun existentially to another explicit or implied noun or pronoun, e.g. *angamagorha* {that are heroes} in the phrase *amadoda angamagorha* {men that are heroes} (Yosh 8:3) and *ndiligorha* {I am a hero} (Yow 3:11).

Morphologically copulatives can be distinguished as words containing an identificative substantive. As described in pericopes 4.6-7 the identificative component of a copulative may commence in an identificative prefix, as is the case with definite and neutral nouns and the majority of pronouns, as for example *lithambo* {a bone} and *yinyama* {flesh} in the sentence *ùlithambo lam, ùyinyama yam* {you [singular] are my bone, you are my flesh} (Gen 29:14); *ngamadoda* {men} in *nina bangamadoda* {you [plural] that are men} (Eks 10:11) and *nguye* {he} in *uYesu unguye uKristu* {Jesus is he the Christ} (Yoh/Jn 20:31). Alternatively the identificative may be an indefinite substantive, used in its basic form, or an adverb, adjective, relative, cumulative or one of several pronouns, e.g. the basic noun *mntu* {human being} in *uThixo akamntu* {God is not a human being} (Num 23:19); the adverb *kude* {far} in *ikude* {it is far} in *loo ndawo ikude* {that place is far} (Gen 22:4) and the adjective *lihle* {beautiful, good} in *iqhayiya lenu alilihle* {your [plural] boasting is not good} (1 Kor 5:6).

Syntactically copulatives are distinguished by the fact that it is possible to modify them with adverbs, as for example is the case with the copulative relative construction with the adjective *lihle* {beautiful, good} that is qualified with *kakhulu* {greatly, very much} in the phrase *lilizwe elihle kakhulu* {it is a country that is very beautiful} (Num 14:7).

9.3 Restricted general attributes of copulatives

Morphologically copulatives can be categorised as simple copulatives and compound copulatives.

Simple copulatives are only found in the indicative, situative and relative moods and only in the imperfect tense positive and negative. Simple copulatives have the morphological characteristic that they have a subject concord, which may be explicit or implied. Examples of the subject concord component of copulatives can be found in the references in the second paragraph of the previous pericope, as in *ùlithambo* {you [singular] are a bone}, *ùyinyama* {you [singular] are flesh}, *bangamadoda* {they are men}, *unguye* {you [singular] are he}, *akamntu* {he is not a human being}, *ikude* {it is far} and *alilihle* {it is not good}. In cases of

frequent use, as in the third person indicative mood positive and relative mood positive, the subject concord and a similar indicative prefix coalesce, as in *eli ... lithambo* (< *lilithambo*) *lasemathanjeni am* {this is a bone from my bones} (Gen 2:23), or is only implied as in *ubambo lwaba ngumfazi* (< *lungumfazi*) {it became a woman} (Gen 2:22). That is to say in these cases the subject concords are dropped because of their frequent use and similarity to the identificative prefixes.

Compound copulatives are constituted using the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be} with a copulative in the situative mood as complement. The subject concord of this situative complement is usually omitted, because it is regarded as superfluous because of its correspondence with the subject concord of the auxiliary. For example compare the simple copulative *ùngukumkani* {you [singular] are a king} in the phrase *wena ungukumkani* {you [singular] are a king} (Ndum/Ps 44:4) to the compound copulative *ùya kuba ngukumkani* {you will be/become a king} (Gen 37:8).

Semologically simple copulatives are characterised by the fact that they are purely existential, indicating only existence, as for example the copulative *ùnguSawule* {you [singular] are Saul} (1 Sam 28:12). Compound copulatives, on the other hand, are processively existential, indicating either or both a process and existence, as *ukuba ngukumkani* {to be a king / to become a king} as in *wakuthambisa uYehova ukuba ngukumkani kumaSirayeli* {the Lord anointed you [singular] to be a king to the Israelites} (1 Sam 15:17) and *uYosiya ubeminyaka isibhozo ezelwe ukuba ngukumkani kwakhe* {Josiah was eight years old when he became king} (2 Kron/Chr 34:1).

9.4 Unique attributes of copulatives

Copulatives are found in the same categories as verbs, displaying similar unique semological and syntactical characteristics as those already described. The unique morphological and other characteristics of copulatives are described below.

When comparing the unique characteristics of verbs and simple copulatives the following observations are of note:

Copulatives never take morphemes as suffixes and never change their final vowel. For example compare the positive copulative *lihle* {that is good/beautiful} (Dut 9:6) and the negative copulative *alilihle* {it is not good/beautiful} (1 Kor 5:6) to the positive verb *ndiyahamba* {I am walking} (Num 24:14) and the negative verb *andihambi* {I am not walking} (Ndum/Ps 26:4).

The negative morpheme */-nga-/*, as found in verbs, is found in the variant form */-nge-/* in copulatives. For example, compare the negative verb *bengasebenzi* {them not working} (Mat 20:3) to the negative copulative *bengenangubo* {them not having a blanket} (Yobhi 24:7). [Possibly this variant negative morpheme */-nge-/* has its origin in the contraction of an obsolete negative auxiliary verb *ukungasi*, as used in the sometimes heard *ingasikuko* {it not being}, used instead of *ingekuko* {it not being}, and not found in the RUV.]

Aspectual copulatives are only found with a persisting or an inclusive aspect, and the aspect morpheme /-sa-/, as used in verbs, is found as /-se-/ in copulatives. For example compare the verb *sisahleli* {it [*isigqubuthelo* – veil] is still staying} (2 Kor 3:14) to the copulative *sisengaboni* {we are still sinners} (Rom 5:8). An inclusive aspect is found in copulatives such as *ndikwangumbanjwa* {I am also a captive} (Filemon 1:9).

In contrast with verbs, copulatives are never found with the imperfect aspect morpheme /-ya-/ and never take morphemes as suffixes. While verbs are found in long and short forms, no such distinction is found in copulatives. Compare the verb *ndiyabulela* {I give thanks} (Ndum/Ps 139:14) to the copulative *ndimncinane* {I am small} (Ndum/Ps 119:141).

On occasion verbs and copulatives are confused. This has given rise to the existence of unauthentic verbs, where copulatives are thought to be verbs, as described in pericope 7.11. Conversely, a variant verbal structure is found in the case of stative negative verbs in the perfect tense, where verbs are confused with copulatives, as described in pericope 6.21.

9.5 Simple copulatives

Simple copulatives are only found in the imperfect tense. They may be positive or negative. The only moods in which simple copulatives are found are the indicative, situative and relative. Simple copulatives are found reflecting no aspect, or with either a persisting or an inclusive aspect.

9.6 Positive (imperfect) indicative copulatives

The positive (imperfect) indicative copulatives consist of a subject concord plus an identificative substantive, e.g. *singabazalwana* {we are brothers} (Gen 42:31); *ndinguye* {I am he} (Gen 27:24); *ungulowo* {you [singular] are that one} (Mat 11:3); *ndingoyena mncinanana* {I am the superlatively small one} (1 Kor 15:9); *ningabasabileyo* {you [plural] are those that have fled} (Gweb/Jdg 12:4); *kukokwakho* {it is yours} (2 Sam 16:4); *[zi]ziziphi* {they are whichever} (Zef 2:14); *ungumni na?* {of which clan/nation are you [singular]?} (1 Sam 30:13); *bubomvu* {it is red} (Yobhi/Job 16:16); *inde* {it is long} (Yer 29:28); *zizodwa* {they being separate/alone} (Neh 7:67); *úsekhaya* {he is at home} (Marko 2:1); *ndineentloni* {I have shames, i.e. I am ashamed} (Luka 16:3); *úkhona* {he is there} (Zen/Acts 9:38) and *uphi na?* {where are you [singular]?} (Gen 3:9).

When in the case of positive copulatives of the indicative mood formed with nouns and pronouns, the subject concord *ku-* of class 15 or *i-* of class 9 is used as universal or general concord, or when the subject of such a copulative is in the third person and is mentioned or established in the mind, the subject concord is usually only implied, except when it is retained with a view to accentuation. This implies that in form the positive indicative copulative is similar to the identificative, as is the case for example with *ngumntu* < *ingumntu* {it is a human being} (Eks 19:13); *ndim* < *indim* {it is I} (Num 11:12); *ngumprofeti* < *ungumprofeti* {he is a prophet} (1 Sam 3:20) and *zezizayo* < *zizezizayo* {they are ones that are coming} (Is 41:22); and as found in such phrases as *evarandeni ekuthiwa yekaSolomon* < *iyekaSolomon* {on the veranda that is called it is Solomon's one} (Zen/Acts 3:11) and *cebo lini na?* < *cebo lilini na?* {what plan?} (1 Kum/Kgs 12:6).

A description of the use of adjectives, i.e. variable prefix qualificative nouns, in copulatives of the positive indicative mood, is given in pericope 5.23.

9.7 Negative (imperfect) indicative copulatives

Negative indicative copulatives consist of the negative morpheme /a-/, plus a subject concord, plus an identificative substantive, as in:

akanguye na umkhuluwa wakho uAron? {is Aaron not your [singular] elder brother?} (Eks 4:14);

iqhayiya lenu alilihle! {your [plural] boasting is not good} (1 Kor 5:6);

ukwaluka oku akunto, nokungaluki oku akunto; okuyinto kukubamba imithetho kaThixo {circumcision is nothing, and not circumcising is nothing, that which is something is to uphold the laws of God} (1 Kor 7:19) and

andililo iesile lakho na? {am I not it your donkey?} (Num 22:30).

When the class 9 concord *i-* is used as general or universal concord in a negative indicative copulative the morpheme /-s-/ is inserted between the negative *a-* and the subject concord *i-*, as in:

asindim {it is not I} (Eks 4:12);

asiyiyo indlela le, asingulowo umzi lo {this is not the road, that is not the town} (2 Kum/Kgs 6:19);

asingumntu owabakhoyo ngenxa yesabatha {it is not a human being that was there for the sake of the Sabbath} (Marko 2:27);

lo mntu asingowakwaThixo {this person is not one belonging to God's household} (Yoh/Jn 9:16) and

asikabi lixesha {it is not yet the time} (Hag 1:2).

However, when the copulative contains the persisting aspect morpheme /-se-/, this rule does not apply, as in *ayisendim* {it is no longer I} (Roma 7:17). [Sometimes speakers disregard the use of the transitional morpheme /-s-/ and use copulatives such as *ayindim* {it is not I} and *ayikabi lixesha* {it is not yet the time}, but these forms are not found in the RUV.] The variant form of the identificative sometimes used is described in the last paragraph of pericope 4.6.

9.8 Positive (imperfect) situative copulatives

The positive (imperfect) situative copulatives consist of a subject concord plus an identificative substantive, as *lilihle* {it being beautiful/good} in *silibonile ilizwe; nalo lilihle kunene* {we have seen the country; there it is being truly beautiful/good} (Gweb/Jdg 18:9). As is the case with verbs in the situative mood, copulatives of the situative mood also use *e-* as subject concord to link with substantives in classes 1 and 5, and *be-* in the case of class 2, as in:

uSamuweli waye engumlawuli kumaSirayeli {Samuel was a ruler to the Israelites} (1 Sam 7:15) and

bavalelwa ke yada yaba yimini yokufa kwabo, behleli bengabahlolokazi {they were closed up until it was the day of their death, living/remaining being widows} (2 Sam 20:3).

Of note is the positive situative copulative with the basic identificative of the demonstrative pronouns of the second distance singular, e.g. the class 1 *elowo* {he/she being that one [person – class 1], i.e. each [person – class 1]} and the class 9 *ileyo* {it being that one [thing etc. – class 9], i.e. each [thing etc. – class 9]} that are used with the function of distributive pronouns, as in;

yiyan ielowo ezintenti zenu, maSirayeli {go [plural] each one to your tents, Israelites} (2 Sam 20:1) and

wawandulula onke amadoda akwaSirayeli, ukuba ileyo iye ententi yayo {he sent away all the men of Israel so that each one goes to his tent} (Gweb/Jdg 7:8).

This gives rise to the following forms being found:

Class:	1	3	5	7	9	11	14	15/17
Singular:	<i>elowo</i>	<i>ulowo</i>	<i>lielo</i>	<i>sieso</i>	<i>ileyo</i>	<i>luolo</i>	<i>kuobo</i>	<i>kuoko</i>

The above “distributive pronouns” are sometimes accentuated by modifying them with a basic connective demonstrative pronoun of the second distance, as in *elowo nalowo makaqiniseke kweyakhe ingqiqo* {that one and that one [i.e. everyone] must be sure/convinced in his/her understanding} (Roma 14:5). On occasion a variant is found in class 1, expressing distribution by using the class 1a noun *ulowo* {each one}, derived by prefixing the prefix of class 1a to the demonstrative pronoun of class 1 of the second distance and used in conjunction with a connective demonstrative, as in *ndiyazicikida izintso, ukuze ndinike ulowo nalowo ngokwendlela yakhe* {I inspect the kidneys so that I give each one and each one according to his/her way} (Yer 17:10) and *ndobanika abathetheli abangabantwana, nabafekethi babalawule; bakhandanisane abantu ulowo nalowo, ulowo nalowa* {I shall give them commanders that are children, and triflers that govern them; and the people will crowd on each other each one and each one, each one and that one} (Is 3:4-5). It is also found on its own, without a connective demonstrative, or possibly with a connective implied, as in *bayazibhijabhija njengozalayo, bakhwankqiswe ulowo nguwabo* {they twist themselves like someone giving birth, and are amazed each by his/her family member} (Is 13:8). Expressing locative distribution is achieved by using the *ku*-locative demonstrative pronoun of the second distance in conjunction with a connective demonstrative, as in *wawisa umthetho uYosefu wokuba zizaliswe iingxowa zabo ngengqolowa, imali yabo ibuyiselwe kulowo nalowo engxoweni yakhe* {Joseph proclaimed a law that their bags be filled and their money returned to each one and each one in his bag} (Gen 42:25)

A distributive pronominal connotation is also achieved by the positive situative copulative with either a singular or a plural identificative of the demonstrative pronoun of the second distance, using the class 9 concord *i-* as general or universal concord, e.g. *ingulowo* {it being that one – of class 1, i.e. each one – of class 1}, rendering the following copulatives with a distributive pronominal connotation:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15/17
Singular:	<i>ingulowo</i>	<i>ingulowo</i>	<i>ilelo</i>	<i>iseso</i>	<i>iyileyo</i>	<i>ilolo</i>	<i>ibobo</i>	<i>ikoko</i>
Plural:	<i>ingabo</i>	<i>iyileyo</i>	<i>ingawo</i>	<i>izezo</i>	<i>izezo</i>			

Examples are:

ingulowo {each one} in *nize nilabe ilizwe ngamaqashiso ngokwemizalwane yenu. Omninzi nolenza lininzi ilifa lawo, omncinane nilenze lincinane ilifa lawo; ingulowo ube sendaweni elothi liwe kuyo iqashiso lawo* {you [plural] must distribute the land with casting the lot according to your families. The one that is many you will make many their inheritance, and one that is small you will make small their inheritance, that each one is in the place that their lot fell on} (Num 33:54) and

iyileyo {each one} as in *ngabo abo babalwáyo, ... iyileyo indoda ibalelwa indlu kayise* {those are the ones that were counted, each man being counted for the house of his father} (Num 1:44).

When distribution is thought of as the result of a distributive process a processive copulative is used, where the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be, to become} is used with its shade of meaning denoting a process of becoming, as in *yaba ngulowo wabulala umntu; asaba ke ama-Aram* {it was/became each one killed a person; so the Amorites fled} (1 Kum/Kgs 20:20). These copulatives are often contracted by dropping the verb stem *-ba*, as in *yangulowo* [*< yaba ngulowo*] *wasabela ententeni yakhe* {each one fled to his tent} (2 Kum/Kgs 14:12) and *walowo umhlambi wawodwa* {each herd was separate} (Gen 32:16).

9.9 Negative (imperfect) situative copulatives

The negative situative copulatives consist of a subject concord, plus the negative morpheme */-nge-/*, plus an identificative substantive, e.g.:

engengumalusi {he not being a shepherd} as in *ongumqeshwa, engengumalusi* {one that is a hireling, not being a shepherd} (Yoh/Jn 10:12);

engeluncedo {he not being a help} as in *uOnesimo ... obefudula engeluncedo lwanto kuwe* {Onesimus who previously was not a help of a thing to you [singular]} (Filemon 1:11);

ingenguye {it not being him} as in *ngubani na onguThixo, ingenguye uYehova?* {who is God, it not being the Lord?} (2 Sam 22:32);

lingelilo {it not being it} as in *akukho gunya lingelilo elivela kuThixo* {there is no authority not being it that comes from God} (Roma 13:1);

kungekho {it not being there} as in *ilizwe belizolile, kungekho mfazwe* {the country was calm, there not being war} (2 Kron/Chr 14:6) and

bengenamhlanguli {them being without a saviour} as in *batyunyuzwa esangweni bengenamhlanguli* {they are crushed at the gate, them not having a saviour} (Yobhi/Job 5:4).

In the case of negative copulatives with possessives the negative copulative is found with the relevant absolute pronoun with the possessive placed in apposition, as in *umqeshwa ... ezingezizo ezakhe izimvu* {a hired hand that the sheep are not his} (Yoh/Jn 10:12) and *imizi ekude kakhulu kuwe, engeyiyo yona imizi yezi ntlanga* {towns that are very far from you

[singular], them not being the towns of these nations} (Dut 20:15). In spoken language structures like these are often condensed to for example *ezingezozakhe* {that are not his} and *engenyumizi* {that are not the towns}.

9.10 Positive (imperfect) relative mood copulatives and relative constructions

The positive relative mood copulative consists of a subject concord plus an identificative substantive, e.g.:

ilihlwempu {that is a pauper} as in *le ndoda ilihlwempu* {this man that is a pauper} (Ntshum/Ecc 9:15);

ungukumkani {that is king} as in *angabi nanyana ungukumkani etroneni yakhe* {and he not be with [i.e. have] a son that is king on his throne} (Yer 33:21) and

iyiyimbi {that is another one} as in *le ndoda iyiyimbi* {this man that is another one} (Dut 24:3).

When an antecedent qualified by a copulative in the relative mood is also the class 1 subject of the said copulative, its subject concord is *u-*, as in *unako* {that is with it, i.e. has it / is able / can} in *akukho mntu unako ukukhonza nkosi mbini* {there is no person that can serve two masters} (Mat 6:24). When an antecedent qualified by a copulative in the relative mood is not also the subject of the said copulative, the class 1 subject concord is *a-*, as in *anabo* {that he is with them} in *banako yini na abegumbi lomtshakazi ukuzila ukudla, xa anabo umyeni?* {can those of the chamber of the bride [Hebrew idiom for the bridegroom's friends] refrain from food when/while the bridegroom is with them} (Marko 2:19).

When a positive copulative of the relative mood qualifies a basic substantive that is the subject of a qualificative subordinate clause as well as the possession of the antecedent, its subject concord is often only implied in spoken language, as in *uSimon ogama limbi nguPetros* {Simon whose other name is Peter}. However, the RUV persists with the full form, as in *uSimon ogama limbi linguPetros* {Simon whose other name is Peter} (Zen/Acts 10:5).

Positive copulative relative constructions are composed with the demonstrative *A* plus a positive copulative in the relative mood, as *ongumYuda* < *A+ungumYuda* {that is a Jew} as in *mna ndingumntu ongumYuda waseTarso* {I am a person that is a Jew from Tarsus} (Zen/Acts 21:39). The syntax of relative constructions with copulatives corresponds to that of relative constructions with verbs, as described in pericope 5.12 and 6.47, as in *umlanjana oyiArnon* {a rivulet that is the Arnon} (Dut 2:24); *izinto ezininzi* {things that are many} (Zen/Acts 26:9); *ezweni elihle* {in a beautiful country} (Dut 4:21); *apho akhoyo* {there where he is} (Gen 49:24); *into eyiyo* {a thing that is it, i.e. a genuine thing} (Num 22:38) and *zonke izinto ezizezokumkani* {all the things that belong to the king} (2 Kum/Kgs 24:7).

Relative constructions constructed with adjectives have been described in pericope 5.23.

9.11 Negative (imperfect) relative mood copulatives and relative constructions

The negative relative mood copulatives consist of a subject concord plus the negative morpheme */-nge-*, plus an identificative substantive, e.g.:

ungenguwo {that is not it} as in *isizukulwana esingendawo ... asiyi kunikwa mqondiso ungenguwo umqondiso kaYona* {the wicked generation will not be given a sign that is not the sign of Jonah, i.e. no other sign will be given to the wicked generation than that of Jonah} (Mat 12:39);
singendawo {that is no matter, i.e. that is wicked/worthless} as in *esi sizukulwana singendawo* {this generation that is wicked/worthless} (Mat 12:45) and
ingenamntu {that does not have a person} as in *akubangakho ndlu ingenamntu ufileyo* {there was not a house that does not have a person that is dead/has died} (Eks 12:30).

Negative copulative relative constructions are composed by the demonstrative *A* plus a negative copulative in the relative mood, as in *ixesha elingelincinane* {a time that is not small} (Zen/Acts 14:28) and *into engeyiyo inyaniso* {a thing that is not it the truth} (1 Kum/Kgs 22:16). Constructions, like for example *engeyiyo inyaniso* {that is not it the truth}, are often contracted in the spoken language, for example rendering *engeyonyaniso* {that is not the truth}.

9.12 Aspectual simple copulatives

A simple copulative is given a persisting aspect when the aspect morpheme */-se-/,* is inserted after the subject concord and any negative morpheme that is prefixed, as in:

kusekho unyana kaYonatan {there still is the son of Jonathan} (2 Sam 9:3);
ebesengumfana {he was still a young man} (1 Sam 17:42);
inkakazana eseyintombi {a girl that has reached the age of puberty that is still a girl/virgin} (1 Kum/Kgs 1:2);
akasekho nothe tye phakathi koluntu {there is no longer also one that is straight among mankind} (Mika 7:2) and
ayisendim {it is no longer me} (Roma 7:17).

Preceding the persisting aspect morpheme */-se-/,* the negative morpheme reverts to the form *-nga-* it exhibits in verbs, [consistently with the verbal origin of the aspect morpheme */-se-/,*

as in *ingasekho* in the sentence *emveni kokuba ulusu lwam ludlavulwe lwanje, ingasekho inyama yam, ndiya kumbona uThixo* {after my skin has been spoilt that it became like this, and my flesh no longer being there, I shall see God} (Yobhi/Job 19:26) and in
abangasekhoyo abo abasayi kuba savuka {those that are no longer here [i.e. the dead] will no longer be that they are still going to arise} (Is 26:14).

Not found in the RUV, but sometimes used, is the ironic negative *akasemhle* {he/she is no longer beautiful}, with its strong positive connotation, as in *akasemhle lo mntwana!* {how beautiful this child is!}.

A simple copulative is given an inclusive aspect by the insertion, after the subject concord and any prefixed negative morpheme, of the inclusive aspect morpheme */-kwa-/,* as in *njengoIsakare ukwanjalo uBharaki* {just like Issachar so also is Barak} (Gweb/Jdg 5:15) and

ngabakhokeli beemfama abakwaziimfama {they are leaders of the blind that are also blind} (Mat 15:14).

9.13 Demonstrative copulatives

Demonstrative copulatives are an exceptional group of copulatives of the positive imperfect indicative mood that are found in the third person. These copulatives indicate presence in one of three places, i.e. they may be close, mediate or remote demonstrative copulatives, indicating being present close by, or further off, or relatively distant.

Close demonstrative copulatives, i.e. those of the first distance, consist of the variant demonstrative copulative morpheme /*nâ-*/, articulated with a long vowel *-a* with a falling double tone, except in the case of classes 1, 4 and 9, where a high tone is found, plus a concordial element that is unique to the demonstrative copulatives, as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>nánku</i>	<i>nângu</i>	<i>nâli</i>	<i>nâsi</i>	<i>nántsi</i>	<i>nâlu</i>	<i>nâbu</i>	<i>nâku</i>	<i>nânku</i>
Plural:	<i>nâba</i>	<i>nántsi</i>	<i>nânga</i>	<i>nâzi/nânzi</i>	<i>nânzi/nazi</i>				

Examples of the use of the demonstrative copulatives of the first distance are found in the phrases:

nantsi indawo ababembeke kuyo {here is the place that they have placed him at it} (Marko 16:6);

omkhulu kunoSolomon nanku apha {one that is greater than Solomon is here} (Luka 11:31);

naku ukukhala koonyana bakaSirayeli {here is the cry of the sons of Israel} (Eks 3:9) and *kwathi, ngexesha lokuzala kwakhe, nanku ingamawele esizalweni sakhe* {it happened, at the time of her giving birth, here is it being twins in her womb} (Gen 38:27).

In the case of classes 8 and 10 the forms to be expected are *nazi* {here they are} and *nanzi* {here they are} respectively. However these two forms have become confused in the mind of speakers. Older conservative speakers tend to use *nanzi* {here they are} for both classes and younger speakers *nazi* {here they are} (The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa, vol. 2: 438). The RUV consistently uses *nanzi* {here they are}, as in the class 10 *nanzi iinkomo* {here are the cattle} (2 Sam 24:22) and *nanzi iintolo* {here are the arrows} (1 Sam 20:21). The class 8 rendering *nazi neziqhamo* {here is also the fruit [plural]} (Num 13:27) is a transcription error. The 1942 publication of the RUV, doubling the initial vowel of the demonstrative copulative as was prescribed by the orthography used at the time, reads *naanzi neziqhamo* {here is also the fruit [plural]}.

The mediate demonstrative copulatives, i.e. those of the second distance, consist of those of the close or first distance with the final vowel replaced with the vowel *-o*. They can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11	14	15	17
Singular:	<i>nánko</i>	<i>nângo</i>	<i>nâlo</i>	<i>nâso</i>	<i>nántso</i>	<i>nâlo</i>	<i>nâbo</i>	<i>nâko</i>	<i>nânko</i>
Plural:	<i>nâbo</i>	<i>nántso</i>	<i>nângo</i>	<i>nâzo/nanzo</i>	<i>nânzo/nazo</i>				

Examples of the use of the demonstrative copulatives of the second distance are found in the phrases:

nantso intonga ka-Aron ... idubule yaphuma amathupha {there is the stick of Aaron having sprouted and brought forth buds} (Num 17:8) and
nanko uEsawu esiza {there is Esau coming} (Gen 33:1).

In the case of classes 8 and 10 the forms to be expected are *nazo* {there they are} and *nanzo* {there they are} respectively. However these two forms have become confused in the mind of speakers. Older speakers tend to use *nanzo* {there they are} for both classes and younger speakers *nazo* {there they are}. The RUV consistently uses *nanzo* {there they are} in both classes 8 and 10, as in class 8 in *nanzo izithunywa* {there are the messengers, i.e. angels} (Gen 28:12) and *nanzo izikhwebu* {there are the heads of grain} (Gen 41:6) and in class 10 in *nanzo iintolo zingaphaya kwakho* {there are the arrows other side of you [singular]} (1 Sam 20:22) and *nanzo iinkamela zisiza* {there are the camels coming} (Gen 24:63).

The remote demonstrative copulatives, also referred to as those of the third distance, consist of those of the close or first distance with the final vowel replaced with the morpheme /-yâ/, usually articulated as a long vowel with a falling double tone. They can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10
Singular:	<i>nánkuyâ</i>	<i>nânguyâ</i>	<i>nâliyâ</i>	<i>nâsiyâ</i>	<i>nântsiyâ</i>
Plural:	<i>nâbayâ</i>	<i>nântsiyâ</i>	<i>nângayâ</i>	<i>nâziyâ/nânziyâ</i>	<i>nânziyâ/nâziyâ</i>
Neutral:			11	14	15
			<i>nâluyâ</i>	<i>nâbuyâ</i>	<i>nâkuyâ</i>
					<i>nânkuya</i>

Examples of the use of the demonstrative copulatives of the third distance are found in such phrases as:

[ubukumkani bukaThixo] akuyi kuthiwa: “Nabu apha! Nabuya phaya!” {the kingdom of God it will not be said: “Here it is here! There it is there!”} (Luka 17:21) and
nantsiya inkazana eneshologu e-Endore {there is a female that has a medium in Endor} (1 Sam 28:7).

In the case of classes 8 and 10 the forms to be expected are *nâziyâ* {there they are} and *nânziyâ* {there they are} respectively. However these two forms have become confused in the mind of speakers. Older speakers tend to use *nanziya* {there they are} for both classes and younger speakers *naziya* {there they are}. However, neither of these forms are to be found in the RUV.

The subject of a demonstrative copulative is normally found following the demonstrative copulative, as in *nanzo iintolo* {there are the arrows} etc. in the examples above. However, when the speaker focuses upon the subject of a demonstrative copulative the subject is given precedence in the word order, as in *ezinye izinto zikaZekariya, nanzo zibhaliwe encwadini yemicimbi yemihla yookumkani bakwaSirayeli* {the other things of Zechariah there they are written in the book of the annals of the days of the kings of Israel} (2 Kum/Kgs 15:11).

The close demonstrative copulative of class 9, *nantsi* {here it is}, is used as a pronoun to indicate a person whose name does not readily come to mind, as in the vocative *wa, nantsi!* {you [singular] there, whatsisname!} (Rute 4:1). Not found in the RUV, but often heard, is the noun *inantsika* {a whatsisname}, used to refer to an object of which the name escapes the memory. It is constructed with the close demonstrative copulative of class 9, *nantsi* {here it is}, with as prefix the prefix *i-* used with new words of class 9, and as suffix the possessive morpheme */-ka/*.

9.14 Compound copulatives

Use is made of compound copulatives in cases other than those found in the imperfect tense positive or negative in the indicative, situative and relative moods as described above.

9.15 Compound copulatives in the perfect tense and *a*-past tense in the indicative mood and relative mood and in relative constructions

To achieve copulatives of the perfect tense and the *a*-past tense of the indicative mood and relative mood with the related relative constructions, use is made of a compound copulative consisting of the positive indicative or relative mood in the perfect tense or *a*-past tense of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with a copulative in the imperfect tense of the situative mood as complement. These compound tenses are identical to those found in verbs, as described in pericopes 6.65-70, except that the complement is a situative copulative and not a situative verb. For example, with nouns in class 1 as the subject, the following compound copulatives are found:

The compound positive perfect indicative copulative,

e.g. *ebengumntu* {he was a person} (2 Sam 19:32);

The compound negative perfect indicative copulative,

e.g. *ebengenguye* {he was not he} as in *ebengenguye umenzi wobubi* {he was not he the perpetrator of evil} (Yoh/Jn 18:30)

and with a variant form with an unassimilated subject concord, as for example, *ubengenakuya* {he could not go} (1 Kron/Chr 21:30);

The compound positive perfect relative mood copulative,

e.g. *ubenobuganga* {that had the daring/courage} as in *akwaba sabakho mntu ubenobuganga bakumbuza nto* {there no longer was a person that had the courage to ask him a thing} (Marko 12:34);

The compound negative perfect relative mood copulative,

e.g. as in *lowo ubengenanzondo* {that one that did not have hatred} (Eks 21:13);

The compound positive *a*-past tense indicative copulative,

e.g. *wayengumntu* {he was a person} (Yak/Jas 5:17);

The compound negative *a*-past tense indicative copulative,

e.g. *wayengekho* {he was not present} (Num 27:3) and the variant as for example *babengengabonyana < babengengabo oonyana* {they were not them the sons} as in *abaseGibheyon babengengabonyana bakaSirayeli* {those of at Gibeon were not sons of Israel} (2 Sam 21:2);

The compound positive *a*-past tense relative mood copulative,

e.g. *wayelukhuni* {that he was hard} as in *xa uFaro wayelukhuni* {time that, i.e. when Pharaoh was hard} (Eks 13:15);

The compound negative *a*-past tense relative mood copulative,

e.g. *babengekho* {that were not there} in the relative construction *ababengekho* {they that were not there} as in *amaKaledi ngabantu ababengekho* {the Chaldeans are people that were not there} (Is 23:13).

Compound copulatives of the relative mood are predominantly found as the second element in relative constructions, as for example:

obe eyimfama {that was a blind person}, as in *wabona umntu obe eyimfama kwasekuzalweni kwakhe* {he saw a person that had been a blind person already from / since his birth} (Yoh/Jn 9:1);

owayengumfazi {that was the wife}, as in *umhlolokazi ... owayengumfazi wandoda-nye* {a widow that was the wife of one man} (1 Tim 5:9) and

awayengukumkani {that he was king}, as in *imihla awayengukumkani ngayo uYarobheham* {the days that Jeroboam was king} (1 Kum/Kgs 14:20).

Compound copulatives with a persisting or an inclusive aspect are constructed with the use of a copulative of the situative mood with a persisting or an inclusive aspect as complement, as in:

wayesekuloo ndawo {he was still at that place} (Yoh/Jn 11:30);

uAbhinere ebengasekhona kuDavide eHebron {Abner was no longer there in Hebron with David} (2 Sam 3:22) and

baye emveni kweentsuku ezisibhozo bekwangaphakathi abafundi bakhe {after eight days his disciples were again inside} (Yoh/Jn 20:26).

9.16 Compound copulatives in the subjunctive, imperative and infinitive moods

To achieve copulatives in the subjunctive, imperative and infinitive moods, use is made of compound copulatives with the subjunctive, imperative or infinitive mood of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, as originally in, for example, the compound subjunctive *zibe zilishumi* {that they are ten}. However using the same subject concord in both the auxiliary verb and its complement is repetitious and the subject concord of the complement is consistently dropped, the disjunctive presentation of the auxiliary and its complement being retained, as for example in *zibe lishumi*, as in *zithabathele iziqwenga zibe lishumi* {take for yourself pieces so that they are ten} (1 Kum/Kgs 11:31). This practice is carried over to the infinitive compound copulatives and the imperative compound copulatives where the complement also drops its subject concord, e.g. as in *ukuba lilungisa* {to be a righteous person} in *angathini na umntu lo ukuba lilungisa?* {what can a person do to be a righteous person / how can a person be a righteous person?} (Yobhi/Job 9:2) and as in *yiba liliwa* {be a precipice/rock} in *yiba liliwa elilikhaya kum* {be a rock/precipice that is a home to me} (Ndum/Ps 71:3). However, when the subject concords of the auxiliary and the complement of a compound copulative are not

identical, both subject concords are retained, as in *ingabi useluhambeni* {it not being that you are on a journey} (1 Kum/Kgs 18:27).

When a morpheme is prefixed to an *e/ini*-locative, the consonant -s- is inserted as a transition, as for example when a subject concord is prefixed in a simple copulative such as the positive situative, e.g. *esekuhleni* {that is in the open}. When such a situative copulative is used as complement in a compound copulative where the subject concord is dropped, the transitional -s- is retained, as in *efuna ukuba sekuhleni* {he wanting to be in the open} (Yoh/Jn 7:4).

As examples the following compound copulatives can be tabulated:

The compound positive imperfect subjunctive copulative,

e.g. *abe ngumfazi* {that she becomes a wife } as in *ndamthabatha ukuba abe ngumfazi wam* {I took her to be my wife} (Gen 12:19);

The compound negative imperfect subjunctive copulative,

e.g. *angabi ngukumkani* {that he is not king} as in *uFaro-neko wamkhonkxa eRibhela ... ezweni laseHamati, ukuze angabi ngukumkani eYerusalem* {Pharaoh Neco put him in chains in Riblah in the land of Hamath so that he is not king in Jerusalem} (2 Kum/Kgs 23:33);

The compound positive perfect subjunctive copulative,

e.g. *waba ngumphefumlo* {he became a living breath} as in *uThixo wambumba umntu ngothuli lwasemhlabeni, waphefumlela emathatheni akhe impefumlo yobomi; umntu ke waba ngumphefumlo ophilileyo* {God formed a human being with the dust of the earth and breathed in his nostrils the breath of life; and the human being became a living breath} (Gen 2:7);

The compound negative perfect subjunctive copulative,

e.g. *akaba nakungena* {and he was not able to enter} as in *uMoses akaba nakungena ententeni yokuhlangana, ngokuba ilifu lahlala phezu kwayo* {and Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting because the cloud settled on it} (Eks 40:35);

The compound (positive imperfect) imperative copulative,

e.g. *yiba ngukumkani wethu* {be [singular] our king} (Gweb/Jdg 9:8) and *yibani ngamadoda* {be [plural] men} (1 Sam 4:9);

The compound positive (imperfect) infinitive copulative,

e.g. *ukuba ngukumkani* {to be a king} as in *wakuthambisa uYehova ukuba ngukumkani kumaSirayeli* {the Lord anointed you [singular] to be a king to the Israelites} (1 Sam 15:17);

The negative (imperfect) infinitive copulative,

e.g. *ukungabi namsebenzi* {not to have work / to be useless} (Hez/Ezek 15:5).

Connective compound positive infinitive copulatives are used to indicate the possibility of an alternative, as in

asinakuthetha nto kuwe, nokuba yembi nokuba yelungileyo {we cannot speak a thing to you [singular], neither a bad one nor a good one} (Gen 24:50);

ndixeleleni, ukuze ndibheke ekunene, nokuba kusekhohlo {tell me so that I can go to the right hand side or it is to the left hand side} (Gen 24:49) and
[indoda] .. ayiyi kulubeka ucamagusho, nokuba luluphi na {a man will not respect a propitiary offering, irrespective of which one it is} (MiZek/Prov 6:35).

Compound copulatives of the subjunctive, imperative and infinitive moods are not only existential but may also be processive, i.e. they not only denote a state of being but also have the possibility of indicating a process of becoming, as is the case with the compound imperative copulative *yiba ngumyeni kukumkani* {be/become a bridegroom with [i.e. son-in-law of] the king} (1 Sam 18:22). Especially compound copulatives of the perfect tense subjunctive often exhibit this shade of meaning, as in *unyana wakhe waba ngukumkani esikhundleni sakhe* {and his son became king in his stead} (Is 37:38) and *ndakumisa waba ngumprofeti weentlanga* {I appointed you [singular] and you became a prophet of the nations} (Yer 1:5). Such a compound copulative may optionally be contracted by dropping the stem *-ba* of the auxiliary verb, its only vestige being the lengthening of the remaining vowel *-a-*, as in *wanguMthetheli* {and he was Commander and Saviour} in *uThixo wamphakamisa ngesandla sakhe sokunene, wanguMthetheli noMsindisi* {God raised him with his hand of the right hand side and he was Commander and Saviour} (Zen/Acts 5:31) and *yanye* {that he is one} in *wawabiza ke uYoshuwa amadoda alishumi elinamabini, ... indoda yanye, indoda yanye esizweni* {Joshua then called twelve men, a man that it is one, a man that it is one from a tribe, i.e. one man from each tribe} (Yosh 4:4).

The compound positive perfect subjunctive copulative with a demonstrative pronoun of the mediate or second distance, e.g. *yaba ngulowo* {it was that one}, and its optional contraction *yangulowo* {it was that one}, may be used with the function of a distributive pronoun in sentences where the predicate of the main clause is in the perfect tense or the *a*-past tense, as in *emizini yakwaYuda yaba ngulowo wahlala elifeni lakhe* {in the homesteads of Judah it was that one [i.e. each one] stayed in his inheritance} (Neh 11:3) and *aqondiswa ke amaYuda ngamaSirayeli, yangulowo wasabela ententeni yakhe* {the Judeans were routed by the Israelites and it was that one [i.e. each one] fled to his tent} (2 Kum/Kgs 14:12).

In the above examples the subject concord of class 9 has been used as general or universal concord. However, more often the appropriate class concord is employed, in which case the basic identificative of the demonstrative pronoun is used, e.g. *walowo* {it was that one / each} as in *besuka bema bonke abantu, walowo wema emnyango wentente yakhe* {and all the people stood, each one standing in the door of his tent} (Eks 33:8). These forms can be tabulated as follows:

Class:	1/2	3/4
Singular:	<i>walowo / yaba ngulowo / yangulowo</i>	<i>walowo / yaba ngulowo / yangulowo</i>
Plural:	<i>yaba ngabo / yangabo</i>	<i>yaba yileyo / yayileyo</i>
	5/6	7/8
	<i>laelo / laba lelo / lalelo / yaba lelo / yalelo</i>	<i>saeso / saba seso / saseso / yaba ngawo / yangawo</i>
		<i>zaezo / zaba zezo / zazeso /</i>

9.17 Compound copulatives in the future construction

Compound future construction copulatives in the indicative, situative and relative moods consist of the appropriate mood positive or negative of the auxiliary verbs *ukuya* {to go} or *ukuza* {to come} with as complement a compound positive infinitive copulative. Also these copulatives may be both existential and processive. They are found, for example, as:

The compound future construction positive indicative copulative,

e.g. *uya kuba yindlamafa yam* {he will be my heir} (Gen 15:3);

The compound future construction negative indicative copulative,

e.g. *akayi kuba yindlamafa yakho* {he will not be your heir} (Gen 15:4);

The compound future construction positive situative copulative,

e.g. *eya kuba nonyana* {she going to have a son} (Roma 9:9);

The compound future construction negative situative copulative,

e.g. *ndinqayi kuba natarhu* {I not going to have mercy} (Yer 16:13);

The compound future construction positive relative mood copulative,

e.g. *buya kuba bobahlukeneyo* {that will be a divided one} embedded in the relative construction *obuya kuba bobahlukeneyo* {one that will be a divided one} (Dan 2:41);

The compound future construction negative relative mood copulative,

e.g. *ungayi kuba nako* {that will not be able} embedded in the relative construction *ongayi kuba nako* {one that will not be able} (Dut 28:27).

Compound situative future constructions are also found in dual compound tenses, e.g. the compound future construction copulative in the perfect tense and that in the *a*-past tense, as for example the positive indicative future construction in the perfect tense as in *bekuzakubakho ipasika* {there was going to be a Passover} (Marko 14:1).

9.18 Processive compound copulatives

As described above in pericope 9.16, compound copulatives with the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, which have a predicate in the situative mood as complement, with the subject concord omitted, may be processive, i.e. they may indicate a process of becoming, as in *wakuthambisa uYehova ukuba ngukumkani kumaSirayeli* {God anointed you [singular] to become king to the Israelites} (1 Sam 15:17).

Processive copulatives are also found in the imperfect tense, perfect tense (predominantly in the negative) and *a*-past tense of the indicative, situative and relative moods. These processive copulatives consist of the corresponding tense and mood of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {used in its shade of meaning indicating a process of becoming}, with a copulative of the situative mood, with its subject concord dropped, as complement, for example the positive imperfect indicative *uba lihlwempu* {he/she becomes a pauper}, as in *uba lihlwempu osebenza ngesandla esidangeleyo* {he/she that works with a hand that is listless becomes a pauper} (MiZek/Prov 10:4) and the negative perfect indicative *akabanga namvuzo* {he has not acquired a reward} as in *onke amagxalaba atyabukile, ukanti akabanga namvuzo* {all his shoulders are chafed yet he has not acquired a reward} (Hez/Ezek 29:18) and *azibanga nako* {they were not able} as in *izilumko ... azibanga nako ukundixelela ukutyhilwa kwale nto* {the wise persons were not able to tell me the revelation of this thing} (Dan 5:15).

With the utilisation of processive compound copulatives of the situative mood, e.g. the negative *engabanga nanyana* {he/she not having acquired a son} (Num 27:3), double compounded processive copulatives may be formed in the perfect tense and *a*-past tense, e.g. such as *ebengabanga nanyana* {he/she did not have/get a son} and *wayengabanga nanyana* {he/she did not have/get a son}. (However, these are not found in the RUV.)

Occasionally processive compound copulatives of the imperfect tense can be used to indicate a state of being, e.g. *iba nabayila* {it is with those that design} as in *inceba nenyanyiso iba nabayila okulungileyo* {grace and truth is with those that design that which is good} (MiZek/Prov 14:22).

9.19 Aspectual compound copulatives

As indicated above aspectual simple copulatives are only found with a persisting or an inclusive aspect, and then only in the imperfect tense of the indicative, situative and relative moods. In all other tenses and moods aspect is expressed by the aspectual use of the auxiliary verb *ukuba* {to be}, with as complement a situative mood copulative with its subject concord dropped. These copulatives are both existential and processive, as in:

akakabi namabele {she does not yet have breasts} (Ngom/Song 8:8);

ingába ndim yini na? {could it be me?} (Mat 26:25);

abantu bayithabatha intlama yabo ingekabi nagwele {the people took their dough it not yet having leaven, i.e. before it had leaven} (Eks 12:34) and

ngubani na ongába nokuma? {who is it that could stand?} (Ndum/Ps 130:3).

Positive processive compound copulatives, such as *usaba neendevu* {he is still acquiring a beard}, are heard but not found in the RUV. Negative copulatives with a persisting aspect occur more frequently. They are achieved by means of a double compound copulative commencing in a negative auxiliary, as in

yaphela imana, ... ababa saba namana oonyana bakaSirayeli {the manna came to an end and they no longer still had manna the sons of Israel} (Yosh 5:12);

akaba saba nako ukumphendula {they were no longer able still to answer him} (2 Sam 3:11) and

yalusani ke inyama yentliziyo yenu, ningàbi saba ngabantamo ilukhuni {circumcise then the flesh of your [plural] heart and no longer still be those that are stiff necked} (Dut 10:16).

On occasion compound aspectual copulatives are contracted, e.g. *angába mhle* {he/she may be/become beautiful} is heard as *angámhle* {he/she may be/become beautiful}. However, no example is found in the RUV, except in the case of compound aspectual verbs, e.g. *niyawaba seniba siyaziphendulela* {you are disturbingly again thinking that we are answering for ourselves, i.e. excusing ourselves} that is contracted to *niyawaseniba siyaziphendulela* {you are disturbingly again thinking that we are answering for ourselves, i.e. excusing ourselves} (2 Kor 12:19).

9.20 Compound copulatives with *-kho*

Compound copulatives with the class 17 absolute pronoun *-kho* {present}, used without the pronominal suffix *-na*, are always written conjunctively. This is because of their close association in the mind with verbs. [Which gives rise to the use of *-kho* {present} as an unauthentic or pseudo verb stem, as described in pericope 7.11.] Examples are *makubekho* {let there be [present]} (Gen 1:3); *kwabakho* {and there was [present]} (Gen 1:4) and *ukungabikho* {not to be there} (1 Kor 16:17) and as in:

kwaye kungekho mntu {and there was no human being} (Gen 2:5);

ndiya kumcima umntu endimdalileyo, angabikho ehlabathini {I shall wipe out the human being that I have created and he/she shall not be on earth} (Gen 6:7);

zabhujiwa azabakho ehlabathini {they were killed and were not on earth} (Gen 7:23);

kuya kubakho ixesha abangayi kuyinyamezela imfundiso ephilileyo {there will be a time that they will not put up with healthy teaching} (2 Tim 4:3);

kususela kuloo mini akubanga sabakho mntu waba nabuganga bakumbuza nto {starting from that day there no longer still was a person that had the courage of asking him a thing} (Mat 22:46) and

ndiwumise umnqophiso wam nani, ukuba ... kungabi sabakho nogumbe wokulonakalisa ihlabathi {I have erected my covenant with you [plural] that there will not still be a flood of to destroy the earth} (Gen 9:11).

9.21 Conclusion

In this chapter the extensive use that isiXhosa makes of copulative predicates, both simple and compound, has been set out systematically. Attention has been drawn to the use of copulatives in representing the equivalent of distributive pronouns and the functioning of demonstrative copulatives has been set out. Copulatives that are not only existential but also processive have been described. This has concluded the exposition of the predicates of isiXhosa, opening the way to the rounding off of this study with the description of ideophones and interjections and some word groups worthy of note.

Chapter 10

Morphology and syntax of isiXhosa ideophones, interjections and word groups

10.1 Ideophones

Having set out the parts of speech of isiXhosa in the categories of substantives and predicates all that remains is to describe ideophones and interjections.

An ideophone is a stereotyped audible representation or image of an idea, e.g. *bhukuqu* {topple over} and *bhuma* {fall flat}, as in *ndiphuphé iphupha; ndiboné kuqengqeleka isonka serhasi sisiza emkhosini wamaMidiyan, sifike ententeni, sibethe iwe, ithi bhukuqu intende, ithi bhuma* {I dreamt a dream and saw a barley bread rolling towards the Midianite army, and arrive at a tent and strike it down that the tent goes ‘bhukuqu’ (topples over) and goes ‘bhuma’ (falls flat)} (Gweb/Jdg 7:13).

Many nouns and qualificative nouns are onomatopoeia, probably derived from ideophones, e.g. *inkuku* {fowl} (Mat 26:34); *ivukuthu* {rock pigeon} (Ngom/Song 6:9); *muncu* {sour} (Is 18:5) and *krakra* {bitter} (Is 22:4) (vide pericope 3:17).

Many verbs are derived from ideophones, as described in pericope 7.27, e.g. *ukukhonkotha* {to bark} (Is 56:10).

Ideophones are used with a descriptive function modifying predicates, predominantly formed with the verb *ukuthi* {used in its shade of meaning denoting executing an action}, so that while the predicate indicates actuality, tense, mood and aspect, the ideophone, and not the predicate, is semantically the dominant feature of the phrase, e.g.:

tu {silent} as in *yithi tu* {be silent} (Luka 4:35);

wambu {wear} as in *wayelandelwa yindodana ethile, ithe wambu ilinen entle emzimbeni* {he was followed by a young man wearing fine looking linen on his body} (Marko 14:51);

ngqo {straight} as in *sindulukile ngoko ngomkhombe eTrowa, sathi ngqo ukuya eSamotraki* {we departed then with a ship from Troas and went straight going to Samothrace} (Zen/Acts 16:11);

qatha {pop up} as in *izinto ezingabonwanga liso, nezingaviwanga ndlebe, nezingathanga qatha entliziweni yomntu* {things that have not been seen by an eye, and have not been heard by an ear, and have not been conceived in the heart of a human being} (1 Kor 2:9);

mbende {pursue keenly} as in *amaFilisti athana mbende noSawule noonyana bakhe, amaFilisti ambulala uYonatan* {the Philistines pursued Saul and his sons keenly and the Philistines killed Jonathan} (1 Sam 31:2) and

qhiphu {break} as in *kusathi qhiphu ukusa, kuvuka isihange* {when dawn is still breaking the robber gets up} (Yobhi/Job 24:14).

The *a*-past tense indicative and the positive perfect subjunctive of the verb *ukuthi* {to do} is sometimes contracted by dropping the consonant *-th-* and fusing the vowel *-a-* and the final vowel *-i* to render the long vowel *-ée*, as *wee* in *wee guququ*, *wabheka komnye obemi ngakuye* {he turned around and looked at one that stood near to him} (1 Sam 17:30). On rare occasions the positive imperfect subjunctive of *ukuthi* {to do}, modified by an ideophone, is contracted by dropping the consonant and contracting the vowels to *-ii*, as in *ilanga lisuka lii chapha kwiincopho zeentaba* {the sun touches the summits of the mountains} (not found in the RUV). On other occasions the *ukuthi* {to say/do} verb is dropped and only implied, as in:

kwathi, ingekagqibi ukuthetha, gqi uRebheka {it happened, he [presumably referring to an implied *indoda* {man}] not having completed to talk, suddenly appeared Rebecca} (Gen 24:15);

asindawo yambewu, namakhiwane, namidiliya, nazirharnate, tu namanzi okusela! {it is not a place of grain and figs and grapevines and pomegranates, and there is no water to drink} (Num 20:5).

The use of ideophones is often accompanied by gestures. On rare occasion the ideophone is dropped and only the gesture retained, as in *indlela ithi* {the road goes} accompanied by a gesture indicating a direction, and *iimpondo zenkabi zithe* {the horns of the ox are like} accompanied by a double armed gesture indicating the stance of the horns (not found in the RUV).

Some ideophones are only found as the descriptive modifying a specific predicate, e.g. *ukufana nqwa* {to be exactly similar}, which is always followed by a connective or inclusive connective indicating the similar object, as in *le nkwenkwe ifana nqwa noyise* {this boy looks exactly like his father}. However, in the RUV the ideophone *nqwa* {exactly} is only found with the *ukufana* {to be like} predicate implied, as in *olahla ingubo yokwaleka ngemini yangqele, nqwa kwaneviniga egalelwe kwisoda* {he who discards the cloak to wrap up with on the day of cold is similar to vinegar that has had soda poured on it} (MiZek/Prov 25:20).

A few ideophones are used to modify copulatives with relatives, e.g. *ukuba mhlophe qhwa* {to be dazzlingly white}; *ukuba bomvu krwe* {to be brilliant red} and *ukuba luhlaza yaka* {to be gloriously green}. The ideophone *qha* {only} is usually found as descriptive of copulatives with a numeral substantive, as in *iighusha zam zimbini qha* {my sheep are two only}. (None of these ideophones are found in the RUV.)

10.2 Interjections

An interjection is a word that gives expression to emotions and that often has no grammatical binding with the rest of the sentence, e.g. *yoo!* {O!} as in *wathi: “Yoo! Aba bantu bonile”* {he said: “O! These people have sinned.”} (Eks 32:31) and *ewe* {yes} as in *mna, ewe mna, ndikuchasile* {I, yes I, I oppose you} (Hez/Ezek 5:8). Other examples of interjections are *yeha!* {alas!} (Num 21:29), *ngxatsho ke!* {well done!} (Marko 12:32), *athi ke mna!* {woe is me!} (Yobhi/Job 10:15) and *yini le!* {what!} (Num 12:10).

The derivation of interjections can often be traced to other figures of speech. For example, *hayi* {no} resembles the negative predicate *ayikho* {it is not there} – as in *wakhanyela uSara, esithi: “Andihlekanga;” kuba ebesoyika. Wathi yena: “Hayi, uhlekile”* {Sarah denied saying: “I have not laughed;” because she was afraid. He said: “No, you [singular] have laughed”} (Gen 18:15). The interjection *azi!* {dear me! / how can it be!} is derived from the verb *ukwazi* {to know} – as in *azi, uSara, intokazi eminyaka imashumi asithoba, angazala na?* {how can it be; can Sarah, a woman of eighty years give birth?} (Gen 17:17), while *yabona* {look} is derived from *uyabona* {you [singular] see}, the long form positive imperfect indicative of the verb *ukubona* {to see}, as in *yabona, undigxothile namhla phezu komhlaba* {look, you have driven me away today on the land} (Gen 4:14). The interrogative interjection *hi?* {well done! / what? / what! / really!} is an abbreviation of *yini na?* {what is it?} the positive indicative copulative with the qualificative interrogative pronoun *-ni na?* {which one?} of class 9, as in *hi ke, kwafunyanwa khona ishumi elinye?* {what then, if ten were found there?} (Gen 18:32). The derivation of some other interjections is shrouded in obscurity, e.g. *ewe* {yes}, as in *uYosefu usahleli; ewe, ungumphathi welizwe lonke laseYiputa* {Joseph is still alive; yes, he is the ruler of the whole land of Egypt} (Gen 45:26).

Interjections are sometimes treated as if they are imperatives, taking the plural suffix *-ni* when addressed to more than one person, e.g. *yabonani* {look [plural]}, as in *yabonani, ndivile ukuba kukho ingqolowa eYiputa* {look, I have heard that there is grain in Egypt} (Gen 42:2).

Imperatives are ambivalent and sometimes their interjective nature is dominant, e.g. *hamba!* {be gone [singular]!}, as in *hamba umke apha!* {be gone [singular] and get away here!} (1 Kum/Kgs 17:3). The interjective nature of a plural imperative is sometimes accentuated by the use of the suffix *bo*, that is written disjunctively with the imperative, e.g. *yizani bo!* {come [plural]!} (not found in the RUV). It is derived from the vocative plural prefix *bo-* which is also found accentuating the interjection *hayi*, as in *hayi bo!* {no!} (Yobhi/Job 22:2).

Vocatives are ambivalent, being both interjections and other parts of speech, such as nouns. Sometimes the interjective nature of nouns used as interjections is accentuated with the use of the suffix *-ndini*, written conjunctively, e.g. *mfondini!* {man!} (2 Sam 16:7) (vide pericope 4.33).

10.3 Word groups

Having described all the parts of speech of isiXhosa all that remains is to draw attention to certain groups of words that belong together logically but do not constitute separate parts of speech, such as other parts of speech functioning as adverbs, conjunctions, respectful avoidance words and numerals.

10.4 Adverbs

In isiXhosa adverbs are not a separate part of speech, but are a variety of the forms in which substantives are used as adverbs. Pericopes 3.15, 4.8-13 and 4.17-29 are of special relevance in this regard, as are references to adverbs elsewhere in chapter 4 and the final paragraphs of

pericopes 5.22, 5.23 and 5.24. For clarity adverbs as a group of words with similar functions are briefly described here.

Semologically adverbs can be categorised as adverbs of place, e.g. *phandle* {outside} (1 Kum/Kgs 21:10), adverbs of time, e.g. *phezolo* {last evening} (Gen 31:29), adverbs of manner, e.g. *kakhulu* {greatly} (Gen 33:13), adverbs of comparison, e.g. *njengothuli* {like dust} (Gen 13:16) and *okwentaka* {that of a bird, i.e. like a bird} (Dut 4:17) as well as instrumentative adverbs, e.g. *ngesandla* {with a hand} (Dut 5:15) and identificative or agentive adverbs, e.g. *ngumkhonzi* {by a servant} (1 Sam 28:2).

Morphologically adverbs can be categorised as follows:

Substantives in class 16, e.g. *phesheya* [on the opposite side} (Num 21:13) and *phaya* {there} (Num 22:33);

A few extraordinary nouns, e.g. *izolo* {yesterday} (2 Sam 15:20) and *matanci* {first} (Dan 8:1);

Pronouns of class 17, e.g. *khona* {there} (Dan 9:7) and *kude* {far away} (Yow 3:6);

E/ini-locative substantives, e.g. *emzini* {in/at the homestead} (Zen/Acts 9:6) and *enini na?* {in what?} (Zen/Acts 19:3);

Ku-locative substantives, e.g. *kumzi* {in/at the homestead} (Gweb/Jdg 19:12) and *kuyo* {in it} (Gweb/Jdg 19:2);

Locatives of vicinity, e.g. *ngaphesheya* {on the opposite side} (Dan 12:5), *ngasesangweni* {next to the gate} (Gen 4:7) and *ngakuye* {on his side, near him} (Gen 18:2);

Instrumentative substantives, e.g. *ngentonga* {with a stick} (Eks 7:17) and *ngayo* {with it} (Eks 17:5);

Comparative substantives, e.g. *ngangenani* {like the number} (Lev 6:5);

Simulative substantives, e.g. *njengesinyithi* {like metal} (Lev 26:19);

Connective substantives, e.g. *nabakhonzi* {with the servants} (2 Kum/Kgs 6:3) and *naye* {with him} (1 Yoh 2:6);

Connective instrumentatives, e.g. *nangengalo* {and with an arm} (Dut 26:8);

Connective *e/ini*-locatives, e.g. *nasemilenzeni* {also on the legs} (Dut 28:35);

Ku-locative connectives, e.g. *kunolwandle* {than the sea} (Yobhi/Job 11:9) and *kunaye* {than him} (Yobhi/Job 32:4);

Inclusives, e.g. *kwaneenyamakazi* {and also antelopes} (Ndum/Ps 8:7), *kwayona* {and also it} (Ef 6:8) and *kwangoko* {immediately} (Luka 4:39);

Modatives, e.g. *bucala* {aside} (2 Sam 3:27) and *buhlazarha* {greenish} (Lev 13:49);

Adverbative qualificatives, e.g. *kamnandi* {nicely, pleasantly} (Zen/Acts 26:2) and *kakhulu* {greatly} (Roma 8:25);

Other adverbatives, e.g. *kangaka* {as large as this} (Gal 1:6), *kanjalo* {like that} (Gal 1:1) and *kananjalo* {likewise} (Gal 2:9);

Cumulatives, e.g. *ndedwa* {I alone} (2 Tim 4:8) and *ndonke* {all of me} (Yobhi/Job 10:8).

Syntactically all adverbs are characterised by the fact that they can be descriptives modifying predicates, e.g. *ngendelo* {with contempt} in *uphalazela amanene ngendelo* {he pours on the nobles contempt} (Yobhi/Job 12:21) and *kakhulu* {greatly, very much} in *ukuba ithe yaba mininzi kakhulu* {if they [*iminyaka* {years} already mentioned] become very many} (Ndum/Ps 90:10).

Syntactically adverbs can be divided into those that can be used in copulatives and those that cannot. The *ku*-locatives connectives, inclusives and with a few exceptions the adverbatives (or *ka*-adverbs), are not found in copulatives (however, copulatives with an inclusive aspect are found, as described in pericope 9.19). All other adverbs are found in copulatives, e.g. *abaphesheya* {that are on the opposite side} as in *ookumkani bonke abaphesheya koMlambo* {all the kings that are across the River} (1 Kum/Kgs 4:24). Instrumentatives are seldom found in copulatives, but do figure in such copulatives as *kungenxa yoko* {it is because of that} (1 Kum/Kgs 9:9).

A few exceptional adverbs are found that cannot readily be traced as being derived from substantives, but that are used with a descriptive function and may sometimes be partially conjunctive in nature and may introduce a sentence. They are *ke* {now, but, well, then, and, and so}, *phofu* {and yet, in that case, why} and *futhi* {frequently, often, again}.

Ke {now, but, well, then, and, and so} is found in such sentences as *uSolomon wayakha ke iGezere* {Solomon then built Gezer / so Solomon built Gezer} (1 Kum/Kgs 9:17); *ke mna ndiya kunibetha ngeekatsi* {now I shall beat you [plural] with whips} (2 Kron/Chr 10:11) and *ke kaloku ke, kufuneka kuwo amagosa, ukuba ulowo kuwo afumaneke ethembekile* {well now then it is required of stewards that each one of them should be found to be trustworthy} (1 Kor 4:2).

Phofu {and yet, in that case, why} is found in such sentences as *ngubani na lo phofu uzingele inyamakzi, wayizisa kum, ndadla entweni yonke, ungekafiki wena, ndamsikelela?* {in that case who is this that hunted an antelope and brought it to me, and I ate of the whole thing while you [singular] had not yet arrived, and I blessed him} (Gen 27:33) and *bahlala befunda, bangaze phofu babe nako ukufika ekuyazini inyaniso* {they are continuously learning, but yet do not become able to arrive at knowing the truth} (2 Tim 3:7).

Futhi {frequently, often, again} is found in such sentences as *umhlaba lo uyiselayo imvula eza futhi phezu kwawo, uvelise imifuno* {this ground that has drunk the rain that often came on it has brought forth wild vegetables} (Hebh 6:7) and *yakhawuleza, yawugalela umphanda wayo emkhombeni wokuseza, yagidima yaya kukha futhi equleni, yazikhelela zonke iinkamela zakhe* {she made haste and poured out her pitcher in the drinking trough, and she ran and went to draw [water] again in the well and poured for all his camels} (Gen 24:20).

10.5 Conjunctions

In isiXhosa conjunctions are not a separate part of speech. Various parts of speech are used as conjunctions, for instance with various pronouns used initially with an adverbial function but also functioning as conjunctions, such as *kodwa* {but} and *oko* {then}; the infinitive of various deficient auxiliary verbs, such as *ukuba* {that} and *ukuze* {so that}, and certain nouns, such as *xa* {when}.

Words used as conjunctives, as indicated in the previous paragraph, are used to introduce various dependant clauses containing predicates in various moods, as described in pericopes 4.4, 5.3, 5.8, 5.9, 5.17, 5.24, 6.27, 6.53-55, 6.70, 7.11, 8.5 and 8.9.

10.6 Respectful avoidance words

In line with the *ukuhlonipha* {to show respect} customs of isiXhosa speaking people certain persons are required to respectfully avoid using certain words, especially those showing correspondence with the personal names of persons that are held in high esteem. These *ukuhlonipha* {to show respect} or avoidance customs are specifically applicable to married women in respect of the names of their chiefs and their in-laws, notably their fathers-in-law. In fact a woman is expected not even to pronounce words that are similar to these names. This proves to be quite an impediment as isiXhosa personal names are usually derived from commonly used nouns and verbs, for instance *Nkuku*, derived from *inkuku* {fowl} and *Themba*, derived from *ukuthemba* {to trust}. Consequently women speak *isifazi* {woman-talk}, using either synonyms or words that can be understood to be synonyms, e.g. if *ukwaphuka* {to be broken} has to be avoided *ukuqhekeka* {to break to pieces} may be used, and instead of the regular isiXhosa *ubisi* {milk} the variant *intusi* used by related isiXhosa speakers is utilised. They may also use a word taken over from other languages, e.g. for *ukuchaza* {to comb} they may use *ukukama* {from the Afrikaans “kam”}. Negative opposites, such as *ukungadibani* {not to meet together} may be used instead of *ukwahlula* {to separate}. Words that refer to a prominent characteristic of an object are also found, e.g. *iphala* {a galloper} may be used for *ihashe* {horse}. Words that are presumably relics of the past are also used, e.g. *invoto* for *amanzi* {water}. A list of *hlonipha*-words is to be found on pages 510 to 514 of the 1915 second edition of Kropf and Godfrey’s “Xhosa^k - English Dictionary”. “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” has registered *hlonipha*-words that are in use, indicating them with the abbreviation “*hlon f*” representing *isihlonipho sabafazi* {an avoidance word used by women}. In the introduction to the third volume of “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” Pahl also describes *hlonipha* vocabulary on page xlii, as does also J.H. Soga (1931: 208 to 213).

The *abakhwetha* {male youths undergoing initiation into manhood} have their own avoidance words, known as *isikhwetha* {male initiate language} e.g. *isigqwadi* is used instead of *umfazi* {woman/wife}. “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” registers these words with the abbreviation “*hlon khweth*” representing *isihlonipho sabakhwetha* {an avoidance word used by male initiates}. J.H. Soga (1931: 258 to 259) also describes *isikhwetha* {male initiate language}.

Obviously isiXhosa avoidance words are not reflected in a text such as the RUV, as the conventions of the amaXhosa differ from those of the ancient Middle East. However, the practice of the respectful avoidance of words is also found in the Bible. In Hebrew culture mention of the name of the Supreme Being is avoided by using predicates in the passive voice and by referring to, for instance, *ubukumkani bamazulu* {the kingdom of the heavens} (Mat 3:2), avoiding having to say *ubukumkani bukaThixo* {the kingdom of God}.

The closest the text of the RUV comes to reflecting isiXhosa *hlonipha* {respectful avoidance} practices is in the case of the interjection *thwize*, followed by the injunction to avoid mentioning the Divine Name, as in *umntu wophakanyiswa nguyisekazi, umngcwabi wakhe, ukuba awakhuphe amathambo akhe endlwini, athi kosentla endlwini: “Kusekho na okuwe?” athi lowo: “Akusekho nto;” wothi yena: “Thwize;” ngokuba alingekhankanywa igama likaYehova* {a person will be raised by his paternal uncle, his burier, that he should bring out his bones from the house, and he says to the one above in the house: “Is there still one that is with you?” and that one says: “There is nothing still there,” then he will say: “*Thwize*,” because the name of the Lord may not be mentioned} (Am 6:10). At the first glance the word *thwize* seems to be a word used avoiding the use of the word *Thixo* {God} used as an interjection. However, the word in the Hebrew source text which transcribes as “has” in the Roman alphabet and is translated as *thwize* in the RUV, in no way resembles or alludes to any Hebrew Divine Name. It can thus not be an interjection used to avoid the use of a Divine Name. According to B. Davidson’s “Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon” the Hebrew word “has” is an imperative and translates as the exhortation “hush” or “be silent.” In the RUV the interjection *thwize* is found only in Amos 6:10 and 8:3. It is not heard in everyday isiXhosa and is not recorded in “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa,” nor in Pahl’s extensive exposition of interjections (Pahl, 1983: 207-208). This gives rise to the presumption that it is obsolete. Kropf renders *thwize* as “hold your tongue,” reflecting the text of the Authorised Version of 1611 of the English Bible (Kropf, 1913: 439). McLaren follows in the steps of Kropf in recording *thwize*. He defines it as an interjection which translates as “hold” or “steady” (McLaren, 1963: 171). In all it is clear that, as is to be expected, no trace of the isiXhosa *hlonipha* {respectful avoidance} practise is to be found in the RUV.

This leaves only that attention be directed towards words used in isiXhosa to refer to numbers before this exposition of the grammatical features of isiXhosa can be regarded as complete.

10.7 Numerals

IsiXhosa has a very diverse approach towards numerals, so that numerals are a group of words reflecting virtually the whole spectrum of isiXhosa grammar. This complicated diversity is the reason why the use of English terms has so readily been incorporated into present day isiXhosa, as reflected inter alia in “The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa” (Pahl, 1989: xxxii), as in *ndinehashe eliyiwan* {I have one horse}; *thenga izonka eziyitwelufu* {buy twelve loaves of bread} and *ndofika ngoten kusasa* {I shall arrive at ten o’clock in the morning}. As is to be expected, the RUV uses only traditional isiXhosa numerals, as described below.

The numeral stems *-nye* {one}, *-bini* {two}, *-thathu* {three}, *-ne* {four}, *-hlanu* {five}, *-thandathu* {six} and *-ninzi* {many} are enumerative indefinite pronoun stems and adjective stems and are used in enumerative pronouns and adjectives, as described in pericopes 4.75 and 4.77, as for example in *baye bonke bemxhelo mnye ndaweni-nye* {all of them were one of aorta (i.e. heart) at the same place} (Zen/Acts 2:1); *amasebe amathathu* {three branches} (Gen 40:12) and *amashumi amahlanu amalungisa* {fifty righteous people} (Gen 18:24). As the last two examples show, the numeral is either used as a qualificative copulative, usually following the substantive that is qualified, or the numeral is indicated as a numeral noun or cardinal number, as described below, qualified with a possessive substantive indicating the object or objects of which the number is being stated. While the first is the usual in the case of the numeral adjectives, the latter is used optionally, and a rendering such as *amashumi amahlanu amalungisa* {fifty righteous people} (Gen 18:26) is as readily used as would be *amalungisa angamashumi amahlanu* {righteous people that are fifty}.

The cardinal numbers *isixhenxe* {seven} and *isibhozo* {eight}, as well as the seldom used variant *isithoba* {nine}, are nouns in class 7 from which the relatives *sixhenxe* {seven}, *sibhozo* {eight} and *sithoba* {nine} are derived. These are used in copulatives, as in *zoba ziipanga ezisibhozo* {they will be planks that are eight} (Eks 26:25). However, sometimes, but not in the RUV, these numerals are used as nouns in copulatives, and not as relatives, as in *ezisibhozo* {that are eight}. The class 7/8 noun *isigidi* {million}, however, is only found used as a noun in copulatives, as in *amaSirayeli onke aba sisigidi esinye* {all the Israelites were one million} (1 Kron/Chr 21:5) and *laye inani lemikhosi yamahashe lizizigidi zezigidi eziphindeke kabini* {the number of the armies of horses was millions of millions repeated twice} (SiTyh/Rev 9:16).

The cardinal numbers *ithoba* {nine}, *ishumi* {ten}, *ikhulu* {hundred} and *iwaka* {thousand} are nouns in class 5/6 and are used as such in copulatives, as in *uAbram wayehleli iminyaka elishumi ezweni lakwaKanan* {Abram had been living for ten years in the country of Canaan} (Gen 16:3) and *ndiwenzela inceba amawaka abandithandayo* {I bestow grace upon thousands of those that love me} (Eks 20:6).

The above numeral nouns as well as the class 7 nouns *isinye* {one}, *isibini* {two}, *isithathu* {three}, *isine* {four}, *isihlanu* {five} and *isithandathu* {six}, that are derived from adjective stems, are used to indicate a number that denotes a unit. They may be qualified by means of a possessive, as in *ishumi lamadoda* {a ten of men} (Gweb/Jdg 20:10) and *isibini samahobe* {a pair of pigeons} (Luka 2:24).

To indicate the cardinal numbers from eleven to sixteen, twenty one to twenty six, etc., use is usually made of connective enumerative indefinite pronouns of class 9 as general or universal class, as in *iinkunzi ezintsha ezilishumi elinambini* {young bulls that are twelve} (Num 7:87) and *iintsika ezingamashumi amane anantlanu* {pillars that are forty five} (1 Kum/Kgs 7:3). However, in the RUV, especially when reference is made to human beings, the connective enumerative indefinite pronoun of the appropriate class, usually class 2, is used, as in *abafundi bakhe abalishumi elinababini* {his disciples that are ten and two, i.e. twelve} (Mat 10:1).

To indicate the cardinal numbers from seventeen to nineteen, twenty seven to twenty nine, etc., use is made of connective numeral nouns, as in *ubenabafazi abalishumi elinesibhozo* {he had eighteen wives} (2 Kron/Chr 11:21) and *abongameli ... abangamawaka amathathu anamakhulu mathandathu* {overseers [i.e. foremen] that are three thousand and three hundred} (2 Kron/Chr 2:2). Also the cardinal numbers eleven etc. are sometimes indicated by the use of a connective noun formed with one of the de-adjective nouns *isinye* {one} etc., as in *iishekele ezilishumi elinesihlanu* {shekels that are fifteen} (Lev 27:7).

When qualifying the numeral noun *ikhulu* {hundred} use is sometimes made of the class 5/6 noun *inci* {a small, i.e. ten} as a variant to *ishumi* {ten}, as in *ngobo busuku kwaphuma isithunywa sikaYehova, saxabela emkhosini wama-Asiriya ikhulu elinamanci asibhozo anesihlanu lamawaka* {in that night there went out the messenger [i.e. angel] of the Lord and struck down in the army of the Assyrians a hundred and eighty five thousand} (2 Kum/Kgs 19:35).

When objects have amounted to a certain number, or should amount to a certain number, use is often made of a copulative numeral in the subjunctive mood to indicate the said number, as in:

ndikubekela izinto ezintathu; zinyulele ibe nye kuzo {I place for you [singular] three things; pick out for yourself that it is one, i.e. pick one} (1 Kron/Chr 21:10);
wahlala ke uMariya naye iinyanga ngathi zaba ntathu {and Mary stayed with her for months that can say/be they were three, i.e. for about three months} (Luka 1:56);
wêenza phambi kwendlu iintsika zambini {in front of the house he made pillars that they are two, i.e. he erected two pillars in front of the house} (2 Kron/Chr 3:15) and
zisesixhenxe iintsuku, ndize ndinise imvula ehlabathini iimini zibe mashumi mane {it is still seven days and I cause to rain rain on the earth for days that they are tens that are four, i.e. it is still seven days and then I shall let it rain on the earth for forty days} (Gen 7:4).

Ordinal numbers, indicating numerical rank, are indicated by the use of a possessive numeral noun, as in *ngenyanga yesithathu ... bafika entlango yaseSinayi* {in the month of three [i.e. in the third month] they arrived in the desert of Sinai} (Eks 19:1) and *eyesibini into ephilileyo ifana nethole* {the second living thing resembles a calf} (SiTyh/Rev 4:7). First and last are indicated with possessives of the infinitives *ukuqala* {to begin} and *ukugqibela* {to finish, to do last}, as in:

ngeyokuqala inyanga, ngosuku lweshumi elinesine enyangeni leyo, ngokuhlwa, nodla izonka ezingenagwele {in the first month, in the fourteenth day of that month, in the evening, you [plural] will eat bread that does not have leaven} (Eks 12:18) and
ezinye izinto zikaSolomon, ezokuqala nezokugqibela, azibhalwanga na emicimbini kaNatan umprofeti? {the other things of Solomon, the first and the last, are they not written in the annals of Nathan the prophet?} (2 Kron/Chr 9:29).

Numerals are also found in cumulative pronouns, as described in pericope 5.21, as in *baye bobabini behamba ze, umntu lowo nomkakhe* {they both went naked, that human being and

his wife} (Gen 2:25). Often favoured in the RUV is the optional use of cumulative numerals to qualify the plural numeral nouns *amashumi* {tens}, *amakhulu* {hundreds} and *amawaka* {thousands}, as in:

bube ngamakhulu omathathu eekubhite ubude bomkhombe {it was all three hundred of cubits the length of the boat, i.e. the boat was three hundred cubits long} (Gen 6:14) and

umkhosi wakhe, abo babalwayo kubo, ngamashumi osixhenxe anesine amawaka, anamakhulu mathandathu {his army, those that fought among them, are all three tens and four of thousands that are with hundreds three, i.e. are fourteen thousand and three hundred} (Num 2:4).

Numeral adverbs, that indicate how many times a process takes place, are composed of the adverbial prefix of manner *ka-* prefixed to a numeral adjective stem, a numeral relative, or an identificative numeral noun, e.g. *kabini* {twice} (Gen 41:32), *kasixhenxe* {seven times} (Lev 26:18) and *kaliwaka* {a thousand times} (Dut 1:11). These adverbs are found in sentences such as *uLameki uya kuphindezelwa kamashumi osixhenxe anesixhenxe* {Lamech will be revenged seventy-seven times} (Gen 4:24).

10.8 Conclusion

Having in this chapter explained the use of ideophones and interjections in isiXhosa, and drawn attention to groups of words covering various grammatical structures, the description of the features of isiXhosa has been concluded. All that remains is the question of whether the aim of this dissertation, as set out in pericope 1.4, has been achieved. An attempt to answer this question is presented in the final chapter.

Chapter 11

Findings, recommendations and general conclusion

11.1 General conclusion

In this final chapter it is appropriate that a short resume of what this dissertation has accomplished is set out. Consideration has to be given to the question of whether this study has in fact achieved the aim of setting out a comprehensive description of the structure of isiXhosa, based solely on the language itself, free of preconceived ideas and artificial complications, as envisaged in the first chapter. Have the inadvertently unfounded invented conclusions made in the past been discerned and corrected?

This question has to be answered in the positive. This can be established by taking any chapter of the Revised Union Version of the isiXhosa Bible at random and analysing it word by word. No structure will be found that has not been described in chapters 2 to 10 of this dissertation. And, what is more, the descriptions in this dissertation of how isiXhosa fits together have been done from the perspective of the language itself and no effort is made to force an approach derived from other languages onto it. No structure is described in an over simplified manner, complicating the description of other structures. Frequently used structures that have undergone condensation are described in such a way that their condensation is apparent and they consequently do not pose an obstruction in gaining insight into related less frequently used structures that have not been condensed. This has been pointed out in the concluding remarks at the end of each chapter.

To facilitate the presenting of a logical overview of the structures of isiXhosa the table of contents has been set out in such a manner that it gives a clear picture of the various facets of the grammar of isiXhosa and how they fit together logically, as described in chapters 2 to 10.

To recapitulate, attention can be drawn to the description of some of the prominent characteristics of isiXhosa that have often been overlooked or been inadequately described in the past, such as:

The nature of the pre-prefix (pericopes 3.2);

The clear distinction between full and basic nouns (pericopes 4.2-4.5);

The recognition of the identificative form of nouns (pericopes 4.6-7);

The clear distinction between definite and indefinite pronouns (chapter 5);

The comprehensive exposition of the pronominal constructions, notably the relative constructions (pericopes 5.10-14);

The description of poetic relative constructions (pericope 4.69);

The recognition of the enumerative indefinite pronouns (pericope 5.20);

The comprehensive description of the use of the variable prefix qualificative nouns, also referred to as adjectives (pericope 5.23);

The comprehensive description of the morphology and syntax of verbs and copulatives (pericope 6.10 et seq.) with special reference to:

The accurate exposition of verbal tense indicating the primary position of the imperfect and perfect tenses (pericope 6.12);

The accurate description of the distinction between the perfect tense and the *a*-past tense that are sometimes incorrectly described as the close past tense and the remote past tense, while in fact the *a*-past tense is a construction, compounded with the short form of the perfect indicative or relative mood of the auxiliary verb *ukuya* {to go}, with as complement a positive perfect subjunctive verb (pericope 6.12);

The appropriate naming of the situative mood, which has in the past often less accurately been called the participial mood (pericope 6.28);

The clear identification and description of the relative mood (pericopes 6.36-47);

The clear description of the semantic change brought about in verbs by extending their roots with certain extension morphemes, inter alia avoiding the error of referring to a passive mood (pericope 7.17);

Focusing attention on the use of the verbs *ukuya* {to go} and *ukuza* {go come} as semi-auxiliary verbs (pericope 8.8);

The description of temporal constructions, refuting the conjecture that isiXhosa verbs display a temporal mood (pericope 8.8);

The identifying of the secondary category of aspect and avoiding, for example, in error referring to a potential mood (pericope 6.14 and pericopes 8.12-19);

The clear description of the functioning of copulatives (chapter 9).

The above features, as well as numerous other minor observations that have been noted, substantiate the claim that this dissertation has succeeded in the aim of setting out a comprehensive unprejudiced phenomenological description of isiXhosa as used in the Revised Union Version of the Bible of 1942/1975. However, scientific research can never be regarded as final and future research may reveal aspects of the structure of isiXhosa that have inadvertently been overlooked in this dissertation. May those that in the future contemplate on isiXhosa grammar achieve success and build on this study.

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