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THE LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that "**The Linguistic Relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele"** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted in the study have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

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P.B. SKHOSANA

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I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following people who contributed to the completion of my thesis:

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my parents, my father, Aaron Ndlala, and my late mother, Linganiseni, my brothers and sisters as well as my wife, Khabonina Christine Masilela and my children, Queen and Lilian.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In order to gain some perspective of the linguistic situation among the Ndebele people of South Africa it is necessary that something first be briefly said about the historical background of these people.

The Ndebele people of South Africa comprise two main groups known as the Southern Ndebele and the Northern Ndebele. These two Ndebele speaking groups must not be confused with another ethnic group bearing the name Ndebele, viz. the Ndebele of Zimbabwe (sometimes referred to by non-Nguni speakers as the "Matabele"). The members of the latter group are the descendants of Mzilikazi and have a different history from that of the Ndebele people of South Africa. Many scholars such as Van Warmelo (1930 op. cit.:9), Coetzee (1980:297-298), Van Vuuren (1983:13) and De Beer (1986:32) claim that the Ndebele people of South Africa are genealogically related by being the descendants of the same ancestral chief, known as Msi (Van Warmelo, op. cit.:8); or Musi (Van Vuuren, op.cit.:13; Skhosana, 1996:6). As a result of a succession struggle among Musi's five sons that took place at the beginning of the 19th century the Ndebele people split into two main groups, which in turn split into a number of smaller groups. One of the main groups under the leadership of Musi's son, Nzundza, left their original settlement area at KwaMnyamana near Pretoria and fled eastwards before finally settling in an area called KwaSimkhulu in Mpumalanga, not far from where the town of Belfast is today (Skhosana, op. cit.:18).

The second main group under the leadership of another of Musi's sons, known as Mthombeni, also abandoned their traditional home at KwaMnyamana and, according to De Beer (op. cit.:32), first moved in the same direction as Ndzundza and his people

before they decided to turn northwards eventually settling in the vicinity of the present day Mokopane (Potgietersrust). De Beer (op. cit.:33) maintains that a further split took place at this point that resulted in a number of Mthombeni's followers leaving the main group and moving eastwards to where the town of Phalaborwa is today. It is not known how long they stayed in this area before they once again continued with their trek, this time northwards to Zimbabwe from where they eventually returned home via Venda to their present location in the Mokopane area (Wilkes, 2001:311). According to some informants, the town of Sibasa in Venda is named after a well-known Northern Ndebele chief Sibasa of the Lidwaba clan (Ziervogel, op.cit.:22), and serves as further proof of the erstwhile presence of the Northern Ndebele people in that part of the country (Wilkes, personal communication). According to van Warmelo's (op. cit.:13) informants, Sibasa was the name of one of Musi's five sons.

Not much is known about the history of Musi's remaining three sons except that his son Dhlomo apparently went back to Natal while another son Manala and his following decided to remain in the Pretoria area (Van Warmelo, op. cit.: 9) where most of their descendents are still found today, notably in the Hammanskraal area as well as in certain areas to the west of Pretoria. Today the Manala people (bakwaManala) consider themselves as part of the Southern Ndebele group and speak a language that is similar to that spoken by their Ndundza counterparts.

While scholars are more or less in agreement as far as the history of the Southern Ndebele people is concerned this is not so in the case of the history of the Northern Ndebele. Ziervogel (op. cit.:5) and Jackson (1969:i-iv) have different views on this matter. Jackson maintains that the Northern Ndebele people ((op. cit.:i) to whom he refers as the so-called 'Black Ndebele' do not derive their origin from Musi's tribe. They are the people of Langa who trace their origin from the erstwhile Zululand just like their Southern Ndebele counterparts do. They are, however, the descendants of a different ancestral chief, called Langalibalele (Jackson, op. cit.:i). Furthermore, Jackson maintains that the emigration of the Northern and Southern Ndebele people to the former Transvaal

did not take place at the same time, in other words, they moved to their new settlement areas in the Transvaal no only in separate groups but also at different times in history. According to his speculation, however, Jackson concludes that the Langa people left Zululand around 1650 (Jackson, op. cit.:4). Today, the Langa people reside mainly in the Polokwane area and use Northern Sotho as their mother tongue.

Ziervogel (op. cit.:5) holds an entirely different view on the origin of the Northern Ndebele people. He maintains that these Ndebele people originated from Rhodesia (i.e. Zimbabwe) and not from Zululand as most scholars have thus far assumed. Wilkes (op. cit.:311) disputes Ziervogel's view by saying that it is historically unfounded and that Ziervogel's informants in all probability mistook the return of Mthombeni's followers from Zimbabwe as the emigration of the entire Northern Ndebele tribe from that country. As a result of historical factors, today there are two distinct groups of Ndebele people, that is the Northern Ndebele, situated mainly in Mokopane (Potgietersrust), Mashashane and Zebediela areas, and the Southern Ndebele, found in Mpumalanga, and in areas such as the former KwaNdebele, in Gauteng, Limpopo and the North West (cf. Chapter 2 for a detailed historical background of the two Ndebele main groups).

1.2 Rationale

Southern Ndebele was documented for the first time by Fourie (1921), and later by Van Warmelo (1930) and Potgieter (1945), and Northern Ndebele was documented by Ziervogel (1959). In each of these taxonomic grammars, the author first gives an outline of the phonological features of the language that is followed by a description of the morphological features of the various word classes. In his grammar, Ziervogel also includes notes on the syntax of some of the word categories as well as on the use of some of the formatives.

The linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele has in the past always been an uncertain one in so far as linguists have differed in their opinion as to whether these two speech forms should be regarded as variant forms of the same

language as Doke (1954:23), for instance, argues or whether they should be recognized as two independent languages as Van Wyk (1966:36) and Ziervogel (1969:36) maintain.

This conflicting view on the linguistic status of these languages has hitherto never been extensively probed, mainly because linguists have been under the impression that the Northern Ndebele language had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. It was assumed that it is no longer spoken by the Northern Ndebele people who for some reason had rejected it in favour of Northern Sotho, the dominant language of the surrounding ethnic groups. This impression persisted among linguists in South Africa for many years until Wilkes (2001), in a fairly recent investigation among the Northern Ndebele people residing in and around the town of Mokopane in the Northern Province, discovered that this perception is entirely false and that the Northern Ndebele language is still widely spoken in the area. The extent to which Northern Ndebele differs from Southern Ndebele has hitherto not been the focus of the kind of in-depth investigation that this study has undertaken.

1.3 Problem Identification

The current dilemma that surrounds these two languages is that while they are regarded, in some linguistic circles, as separate languages, they are officially regarded as variants of the same language. Clear proof of how these languages are viewed officially is found in a booklet on the latest population census of South Africa published by Statistics South Africa (2004) in which no distinction is made between these two speech forms. Further proof of the non-recognition of Northern Ndebele is found in Section 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which refers to isiNdebele. This clearly indicates that both these Ndebele speech forms are officially regarded as a single language. The fact that the speakers of both these languages are known by the name Ndebele and their languages as isiNdebele (South) and siNdebele or siNrevele (North), respectively, has no doubt also contributed to the official view that these speech forms are variants of the same language. Mashiyane (2002:67), for instance, regarding the linguistic relationship of these two Ndebele languages states that

> '<u>The Ndebele have another variety referred to as Northern Ndebele</u>. It
> is sometimes referred to as abakwaMgombhane or Mokopane. <u>This is one
> dialect that differs so much from the Ndzundza and Manala</u> that it
> warrants a more detailed comparison.' (*own emphasis*)

The assumption that the Southern and Northern Ndebele people are the descendants of the same ancestral chief (Musi) could have been a mitigating factor prompting the authorities to regard these speech forms simply as variants.

However, the Northern Ndebele people themselves do not regard their language as being a variant form of Southern Ndebele. To them, Southern Ndebele is an entirely different language spoken by people with a distinct lineage to which many of them no longer regard themselves as being genealogically related (Wilkes, op. cit.:312). The fact that many language planners and decision-makers perceive these two Ndebele speech forms as variant forms of the same language may one day lead to a situation where these two languages are unwillingly forced upon each other, especially with regard to their further development. A good example of such a possibility occurred a few years ago when a high-ranking official from the Department of Arts and Culture requested the Southern Ndebele Dictionary Unit to include Northern Ndebele as part of their dictionary-making programme.

Another aspect that has thus far not yet been extensively researched is the question of how closely related these two Ndebele languages are, in other words, are they variants of the same language or are they two separate languages. Wilkes (op. cit.:310-322) thus far has been the only scholar to have investigated the linguistic relationship between these two Ndebele speech forms. His aim was to determine whether they are linguistically so closely related that they can be harmonized into a single unified language or whether they differ to such an extent that their harmonization is not feasible. He found that these languages differ so much that their harmonization cannot be regarded as an option.

Attempts to synthesize the two language forms will lead to the creation of an artificial speech form that the Ndebele people are bound to reject.

In his investigation of the compatibility of Southern and Northern Ndebele Wilkes compares only a limited number of features in these languages to show why their unification will not work. It was not his aim to make a comprehensive study of their linguistic affinity, thus underlining the rationale for the current research project.

1.4 Method of Research

The fact that this study aims to investigate the linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele as they are spoken today means that this investigation has mainly been executed on a synchronic basis. However, in instances where the differences between these two speech forms cannot be synchronically explained diachronic methods have as far as possible been employed in order to determine to what extent these differences can be accounted for in terms of possible typological developments as formulated by Poulos (1985:17-23) and Prinsloo (1988:144-150) or whether they are the result of the diachronic developments. In this regard, Meinhof's notion of Ur-Bantu could play an important role.

In this investigation, a comprehensive study is made of all the distinctive features that occur between Southern and Northern Ndebele. For this purpose, these two speech forms are compared with one another on all linguistic levels including their vocabulary. Where differences occur, an attempt has been made to determine whether these are the result of internal factors such as typological development, or whether they can be attributed to external factors such as foreign interferences. This method of investigation attempts to expose the exact linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele. Furthermore, the objective is to bring more clarity to the history of the Northern Ndebele people by indicating which of the different theories outlined above concerning the origin of these people is best substantiated by the linguistic facts. The results of this research have been interpreted by means of the guidelines proposed by scholars such as Antilla (1972), Trudgill (1983:127), Akmajian et al. (1987:287 and 352), Hock and Joseph

(1996:322), Heine and Nurse (2000:1) and Dalby (2002:128) so that the true linguistic status of these two Ndebele speech forms can be determined, that is, whether they qualify as dialectic variants of the same language or whether they must be regarded as two completely independent languages.

For the purpose of this study all published material on the two languages has been consulted as well as Professor Wilkes's field notes on Northern Ndebele that he recorded during his field trips to the Northern Ndebele speaking communities in and around Mokopane (Potgietersrust) during 1999 and 2000 and which he kindly agreed to put at this researcher's disposal. Where the information needs more clarity and confirmation personal interviews with the Northern Ndebele speakers have been conducted.

1.5 The significance of the study

The real significance of this study lies in the fact that this will have been the first time that an in-depth study has been made of the linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele and in this regard it differs from the other comparative studies of these two speech forms undertaken by scholars such as Skhosana (1998), Wilkes (2001) and Mashiyane (2002).

1.6 Literature Review

In-depth linguistic comparative works in African languages, particularly in Nguni languages, have tended to be limited in the sense that linguists have been interested in the so-called major African languages such as isiZulu, isiXhosa and, to a lesser extent siSwati. It comes as no surprise that isiNdebele has recently been accorded official recognition as an autonomous language (i.e., 1985). Consequently, few comparative studies relevant to isiNdebele (i.e., Southern Ndebele) or Northern Ndebele have been conducted.

Lanham (1960), in his work entitled 'The comparative Phonology of Nguni', compares the four Nguni languages phonologically, viz. isiZulu, isiXhosa, Zimbabwean Ndebele and siSwati. Neither Southern nor Northern Ndebele features in this comparative work.

In 1962, Mzamane followed with his work entitled 'A comparative Phonetic and Morphological Study of the dialects of Southern Nguni including the Lexical influences on the non-Bantu languages', which focuses on phonetics, phonology, morphology and lexical items of isiXhosa: Mpondo, Thembu, Mpondomise, Hlubi, Bhaca and Nhlangwini. In essence this study focuses principally on a comparative study of isiXhosa dialects.

In 1975, Posselt followed with his comparative study on Ur-Bantu phonemes with Nguni phonological system, as identified by Meinhof, entitled ''n vergelykende Studie van die Klanke van Oer-Bantoe met dié van Nguni'. Unlike his two predecessors Lanham and Mzamane, Posselt includes Southern and Northern Ndebele in his comparative work. In this Master's study, Posselt (1975:16-17) regards and treats Southern and Northern Ndebele as two distinct languages, (i.e., Southern Ndebele as Zunda Nguni and Northern Ndebele as Tekela Nguni languages).

Msimang's doctoral study that he completed in 1989 entitled 'Some Phonological Aspects of the Tekela Nguni dialects' compares six Tekela Nguni dialects, viz. Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlangwini, Phuthi and Northern Ndebele, which he calls Sumayela as the speakers prefer to call it. Although Msimang only includes Northern Ndebele in his study obviously as one of the Tekela Nguni languages he regards Southern and Northern Ndebele as a members of one and the same language family (Msimang, 1989:68).

In 1996, P. M. Lubisi compared isiZulu and siSwati on the phonological, grammatical and lexical aspects in his Master's dissertation entitled 'Some Major Phonological, Grammatical, Lexical and Orthographical Differences between isiZulu and siSwati'.

The reason why the Southern and/or Northern Ndebele language(s) does/(do) not feature fairly in the above comparative studies is, most likely, because Southern Ndebele has hitherto not been recognized as an autonomous language and because Northern Ndebele has not yet been recognized as a school, regional or official language in South Africa.

There are a few linguistic studies conducted in Southern Ndebele. Fourie, in his doctoral thesis entitled '*AmaNdebele van Fene Mahlangu en hun Religieus'-sociaal leven*', conducted his study on the social and religious beliefs of the Nzunza Ndebele sub-group in 1921. In 1930, Van Warmelo emerged with his ethnological publication entitled 'Transvaal Ndebele Texts' that basically focuses on the ethnological aspects of the Transvaal Ndebele with a special focus on the Manala sub-group. As an ethnologist, Van Warmelo (1930:24-32) pays cursory and brief attention to some linguistic aspects of Southern Ndebele as spoken by the Manala sub-group, viz. orthography, phonology and grammar.

A detailed Master's study of Southern Ndebele linguistics came in 1945 by Potgieter entitled '*Inleiding tot die klank-en vormleer van isiNdzundza: 'n Dialek van Suid-Transvaalse Ngoenie-Ndebele, soos'gepraat in die distrikte van Rayton en Pretoria*'. In this study, Potgieter focuses on the linguistic structure of the Ndzundza sub-group of Southern Ndebele speaking people.

In 1997 Wilkes, in an article entitled 'Language Contact and Language Change-the case of Southern Ndebele', investigated and discussed the influence of non-Nguni languages on Southern Ndebele. In the article, Wilkes concentrates on some salient lexical, phonological and grammatical changes that Southern Ndebele exhibits as a result of the influence of the Sotho languages (i.e., Sepedi and Tswana). In a second article (2001) entitled: 'Northern and Southern Ndebele – Why harmonization will not work?' Wilkes investigates and discusses some major linguistic differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele. In essence, this is a comparative article. Wilkes concludes that the two Ndebele languages differ to such an extent that they are two separate languages and, consequently, their harmonization is impracticable. Skhosana (1998) in Chapter 2 of his

Master's dissertation entitled 'Foreign Interferences in sound, grammatical and lexical system of Southern Ndebele', briefly highlights some prominent linguistic differences (viz. phonemic, morphological and the so-called "ndrondroza" phenomenon) between Southern and Northern Ndebele. However, the focus of that study is not on a comparison of the two Ndebele languages, but on foreign interferences in the sound, grammar and lexical system of Southern Ndebele.

Jiyane (1994) in his Master's dissertation entitled 'Aspects of isiNdebele grammar' deals with some grammatical aspects of Southern Ndebele, while Skosana (2002) in her Master's mini-dissertation entitled 'Aspects of the copulatives in Ndebele' focuses on the copulative aspects of Southern Ndebele. This study is concurrent with that of Mashiyane's Master's dissertation entitled 'Some sociolinguistic aspects of Southern Ndebele as spoken in South Africa', which maintains that Northern Ndebele is a dialect of Southern Ndebele (Mashiyane, 2002). Regarding the linguistic relationship between these two Ndebele languages, Mashiyane (op. cit.:67) states:

> 'The Ndebele have another variety referred to as Northern Ndebele.
>   Sometimes it is referred to as abakwaMgombane or Mokopane.
>   This is one dialect that differs so much from the Ndzundza and
>   Manala that it warrants a more detailed comparison.'

However, the study focuses on the sociolinguistic aspect of Southern Ndebele and not necessarily on a comparison of the two languages.

While a few linguistic studies begin to emerge in the Southern Ndebele language, almost none are available in Northern Ndebele, except Ziervogel's only authoritative and reliable source entitled *A Grammar of Northern Transvaal Ndebele*, published in 1959. Ziervogel concentrates mainly on Northern Ndebele grammatical structure; he commences with an overview survey of the historical background of the Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele and in subsequent chapters discusses the following Northern Ndebele linguistic aspects –

(i) the dialects and some distinguishable elements in the Northern Ndebele
    language, viz. Nguni, Sotho and unknown elements

(ii) the phonemic and phonological system

(iii) morphological aspects

(vi) syntactical structure, and

(v) some texts recorded from the informants.

From the above literature review, with the exception of two limited studies by Wilkes (2001), and an article of approximately twelve pages (Skhosana, 1998:15-28), it is evident that no in-depth comparative study has been undertaken to assess the linguistic affinity between the two Ndebele languages. Therefore, the question of 'To what extent are these two Ndebele languages linguistically related or unrelated?' still needed to be answered and that is what this investigation aims to respond to.

However, since this is a linguistic comparative study between the two main South African Ndebele languages (i.e., Southern and Northern Ndebele), it is important to begin by highlighting the distinction between a "language" and a "dialect" or "variant".

1.7 A Language vs Dialect

The term "language" always implies the term "dialect" and vice versa to indicate that the two terms are very close to each other and thus difficult to define precisely. From a non-linguistic specialist's point of view, it seems easy to define what a "language" is. It is 'the most significant tool that a human being uses to communicate his or her thoughts and views in discourse' (Potter, 1957:35). However, from a linguist's point of view, the definition of a "language" is so much more complex and problematic that even linguists have not reached consensus regarding its clear-cut definition. For instance, Potter (1957:36) defines "language" as

'… a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which human beings communicate with one another.'

Antilla (1972:12) concurs with Potter when he says:

'A language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which the members of a speech community (social group) cooperate and interact (communicate).'

Both definitions emphasize 'vocal symbol' and 'communication'. However, they are truly not watertight. Hudson (1980:23-24) cautions that

'If one thinks of "language" as a phenomenon including all the

languages of the world, the term variety of language (or just variety

for short) can be used to refer to different manifestations of it, in the

same way as one might take music as a general phenomenon and

then distinguish different varieties of music.'

According to Hudson, the term "language" cannot be adequately defined without reference to "variety or varieties". Hudson is supported by Petyt (1980:27) in arguing that "language" comprises "dialects" and, in turn, dialects comprise "varieties". This is appropriate in that both languages under investigation (i.e., Southern and Northern Ndebele) have dialects or varieties as is the case with any other living language such as English, Afrikaans, German, Spanish, and so on. However, the problem still remains as to whether one can determine a "language" on the basis of it having dialects or not. In answering this question, Heine and Nurse (2000:1) state that

'A language is often defined by some combination of: having national

status, being written, being the standard form of a range of varieties;

not being intelligible to the speakers of other "languages"; and having

a relatively large number of native speakers.'

New emphasis on 'status', 'be written', 'be standardized' and 'not intelligible to the speakers of other languages' is notable from Heine and Nurse's definition of a "language". However, the prerequisite of 'not being intelligible to the speakers of the other languages' poses a serious problem. For instance, Norwegian and Swedish are mutually quite intelligible, yet most people, including linguists, consider them as different languages (Hock & Joseph, 1996:325). In a South African linguistic context, the Nguni language group (i.e., isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele) is, to a large extent, intelligible to one another but these are regarded as different languages.

Hock and Joseph (1996:322) state that

> 'Language is prestigious, correct, standardized, and follows the rules
> of a grammar.'

Here, the term 'prestigious' is often used closely, if not confusedly, with 'status' and 'function' in language definition. To distinguish the exact meaning of the three concepts, Ulrich Ammon (1987:4) argues that

> 'Basically the essential difference between prestige, function and status is
> the difference between past present and future. The prestige of a language
> depends on its record, or what people think its record to have been. The
> function of a language is what people actually do with it. The status of a
> language depends on what people can do with it, its potential. Status,
> therefore, is the sum total of what you can do with a language – legally,
> culturally, economically, politically and, of course, demographically.'

If one considers language as having 'prestige, status and function', one still confronts a serious problem when, for instance, one considers classical Latin as having a multiplicity of functions but little prestige, or Irish Gaelic that has official status but few exclusive functions. In an African linguistic context, Kiswahili has a lot of functions but little

prestige (Ammon, 1987:4), in spite of Julius Nyerere's attempt to make it the official language of Tanzania.

According to Trudgill (1983:127), a language can be one of the important defining characteristics of an ethnic group membership and, consequently, in many communities there is a strong link between ethnicity and language. This suggests that a "language", in addition, identifies people as an ethnic group or nation and, in turn, a nation of people can be defined by the language that those people speak (Dalby, 2002:128). However, linguists, generally agree that a "language" has to have a standard form of "dialects or varieties" as Petyt (1980:27) notes. Hock and Joseph (1996:324) also emphasise the point that a language comprises dialects and, in turn, dialects comprise varieties.

In defining what a "dialect" is, Akmajian et al. (1987:287) state:

> 'A dialect is simply a distinct form of a language, possibly associated with a recognizable region, social, or ethnic group, differentiated from other forms of a language by specific linguistic features (for example, pronunciation, or vocabulary, or grammar or any combination of these.'

Hock and Joseph (1996:322) go further to say:

> '"Dialects" lack prestige, are incorrect, substandard, and fail to obey the rules of grammar. They are a depravation of what a language ought to be.'

From the above quotations, it becomes clear that what enables a language to be regarded or recognized as a language, (e.g., is standard, prestigious and functional, has status, is written, and is nationally recognized, etc.) is what a "dialect" lacks. Hock and Joseph (1996:322) concur with Akmajian et al. (1987:287) that a "dialect" is a form of a language that is regarded as substandard, incorrect, or corrupt and is without prestige.

Petyt (1980:13) further points out that, in particular, traditional dialectologists have applied the criterion of mutual intelligibility in testing whether a speech form is a dialect or language. They maintain that dialects of the same language are different but mutually intelligible forms of speech. However, the intelligibility criterion raises a problem in that some dialects of the same language may be mutually intelligible, while some not intelligible at all. For instance, Norwegian and Swedish have different standard dialects, but their speakers consider themselves different from each other which means, according Hock and Joseph (1996:324), that cultural, social and political considerations overrule the mutual intelligibility test. However, any two neighbouring local dialects are obviously perfectly intelligible to each other (Hock & Joseph, 1996:324).

To sum up Akmajian et al. (1987:352) argue that

> 'A group of languages is historically (or genetically) related if large groups of words can be found in each of the languages such that (a) they are made up of phonemes that can be shown to derive from the (hypothesized) phonemes of the parent language by the result of regular phonological rules that have applied at some point in the history of each of the languages, and (b) the words that are hypothesized to come from a common parent word are the same or are related in meaning.'

At the same time, Akmajian, et al. (1987:290) argue that

> 'Historical and political factors can also give rise to the opposite situation, namely, where two mutually intelligible forms are not considered dialects of the same language, but rather two distinct languages.'

This view is supported by Dalby (2002:128) when arguing that a group speaking the same language is known as a nation and a nation ought to constitute a state. The eleven official languages of the Republic of South Africa are based on and recognized by the historical and political status of the nations speaking these languages long before the

dawn of the new dispensation in 1994. Akmajian et al. (op. cit.:290) cite an example of Papago and Pima that are mutually intelligible and extremely close phonologically and grammatically but, for historical and political reasons, their speakers consider their languages as distinct languages rather than as a dialectic variation of the same language.

1.8 Chapter Outline

The structure of this study is as follows –

Chapter 1

This is an introductory chapter, providing the rationale for the study, identifying its thrust and articulating the methodology chosen. As this is a comparative study between two languages which do not share the same linguistic status, terms such as "language" and "dialect" or "variant" are defined in this chapter. The chapter also incorporates a literature review as part of the essential background to this research project.

Chapter 2

The historical background of the amaNdebele people of the Republic of South Africa (i.e., Southern and Northern Ndebele), the prevailing views concerning their origin and their distribution in South Africa are the focus of this chapter. In addition, the origin and meaning of the name "Ndebele", which refers to both the Southern and Northern Ndebele, is discussed.

Chapter 3

In this chapter the phonological system of Southern and Northern Ndebele is examined and all phonological differences between the two language groups are identified and discussed in order to determine the extent of their phonetic relationship. The nature and possible origin of these differences are also investigated.

Chapter 4

This chapter focuses on the morphophonological differences which these two Ndebele languages exhibit.

Chapter 5

Chapter Five focuses on the morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele. Where necessary the possible reasons for their occurrence and origin are also investigated and discussed.

Chapter 6

The morphological differences in the qualificatives between Southern and Northern Ndebele are continued in this chapter.

Chapter 7

In this chapter, the morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are analysed in terms of two further word categories, namely, copulatives and adverbs.

Chapter 8

The morphological differences in mood, tenses, verbs, auxiliary verbs, conjunctives and ideophones are the focus of this chapter.

Chapter 9

The focus of this chapter is the spelling rules of these two Ndebele languages.

Chapter 10

This is a concluding chapter. All the linguistic features distinguishing the two Ndebele languages are summarized according to the main findings of the study. This chapter attempts to show whether these two Ndebele speech forms have enough in common to be regarded as variant forms of the same language or whether the extent and the nature of

their differences are such that they should be judged as two completely separate languages.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE

NDEBELE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

There are divergent opinions regarding the history of the Ndebele speaking people. As this study is aimed at collating the linguistic structure of the two main Ndebele language groups that form so-called Transvaal Ndebele, namely, the Southern and Northern Ndebele, the historical background and the geographical distribution of these two Ndebele groups found within the borders of the Republic of South Africa are discussed in further detail in this chapter and are presented under the following headings:

  (i) The history of the Ndebele people of South Africa
 (ii) Their composition and geographical distribution
(iii) The origin and the meaning of the generic name "Ndebele"**.**

2.2 The history of the Ndebele people of South Africa

The name "Ndebele" is commonly used to refer to two genealogically distinct Ndebele groups, namely the so-called Zimbabwean Ndebele who were the followers of Mzilikazi and are found in Zimbabwe as their name indicates and the so-called Transvaal Ndebele who reside within the borders of the Republic of South Africa and who currently comprise two main groups known as the Southern and Northern Ndebele, respectively, and are mainly found in four of the provinces of South Africa, namely, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West and Gauteng. The two Ndebele speaking groups of the Republic of South Africa have been studied by various anthropologists, ethnologists as well as linguists such as Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930), Potgieter (1945), Ziervogel (1959), Bruwer (1963:17-18), Hammond-Tooke (1974:67), Van Vuuren (1983 and 1992), De Beer (1986) and others. There are numerous conflicting points of views regarding the origin and history of the Transvaal Ndebele, who are divided into Southern Ndebele and

Northern Ndebele. The initial point of view, as already mentioned, is the one propounded by scholars such as Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930) and others that the Southern and Northern Ndebele people of South Africa constitute a single ethnic group as both these groups are the descendants of the same ancestral chief, called Musi. The second point of view, noted in Chapter One, is the one made by Ziervogel (1959) that the Southern and Northern Ndebele are two distinct ethnic groups that do not claim the same genealogical line of descent, meaning that the Northern Ndebele group do not claim descent from chief Musi but rather from an ancestral chief called Nungu. In the paragraph that follows the historical background of the Transvaal Ndebele is discussed.

2.3 The origin of the Ndebele people of the former Transvaal

The historical background of the Transvaal Ndebele, particularly before their emigration from KwaZulu-Natal into what was formerly known as the Transvaal, is hazy and incoherently presented in most available sources. According to the earliest scholars such as Fourie (1921) and Van Warmelo (1930), who paid more attention to the history of the Southern Ndebele, the Transvaal Ndebele are one of the Nguni groups that trace their origins to KwaZulu-Natal where they formed part of the main Hlubi tribe.

The view that the Transvaal Ndebele are the direct descendants of the main Hlubi tribe, that constituted the largest tribe within the eMbo Nguni group, is supported by authors such as Massie (1905), Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930), Trümpelmann (1936), Jackson (1969), Peires (1981) and others. Van Warmelo (1930:7) goes further and mentions that some of the Transvaal Ndebele, if not all of them, emigrated from what was formerly called Natal and that their physique, language and customs are the best evidences that they are of Zulu stock. These people, who are currently divided into two main tribes and thereafter into several smaller tribes, migrated into the Transvaal and settled in the neighbourhood of Pretoria.

What is, however, unclear regarding the history of these people is their exact location whilst they were still in KwaZulu-Natal. There are four main basic claims that emerge regarding the exact place of origin of the Transvaal Ndebele in KwaZulu-Natal. The

earliest claim is the one by Massie (1905:33) followed by Trümpelmann (1936:38-41) both of whom claim that the Transvaal Ndebele are the descendants of a branch of the Hlubi tribe whose location was on the Natal Basutoland border. The second opinion is by Fourie (1921:31) who cites the Thugela River as the Transvaal Ndebele's place of origin. Van Warmelo (1930:9) presents Ondini (or Lundini) near the Drakensberg (Khahlamba) mountains as the exact place of origin of the Transvaal Ndebele whilst Myburgh and Prinsloo (1985:2) maintain that the first known home of the Transvaal Ndebele whilst they were still in KwaZulu-Natal was a place called uMndeni. Van Warmelo's view is supported by Msimang (1989:68) who maintains that the Transvaal Ndebele split from the Hlubi tribe who resided in Northern Zululand just below the Ondini (near the Drakensberg) mountain range. These opposing views regarding the place of origin of the Transvaal Ndebele people clearly indicate the uncertainty that exists regarding this part of the history of the Ndebele people.

2.4 The first settlement area of the Ndebele people in the former Transvaal

Just as is the case with the place of origin of the Transvaal Ndebele in KwaZulu-Natal, there are also two opposing views regarding their first settlement area in what was formerly known as the Transvaal after they separated from the rest of the Hlubi tribe in KwaZulu-Natal. The first view that the majority of sources agree on, is that the Transvaal Ndebele parted from the main Nguni body (i.e., as part of the Hlubi tribe) between the 16th and 17th century, if not earlier, and headed for the Transvaal where their first settlement area was KwaMnyamana, north of Pretoria, today known as Bon Accord (Fourie, 1921:33; Van Warmelo, 1930:12). Van Warmelo (1930:7) states the following in this regard:

> 'Some if not all of the Transvaal Ndebele emigrated from Natal at
> least two hundred years ago, and probably earlier… Today they are
> divided into several tribes, most of which seem to be offshoots from
> one original tribe that long ago migrated into the Transvaal and
> settled in the neighbourhood of the present Pretoria.'

The second opinion regarding the Transvaal Ndebele's first settlement area in the Transvaal is that of Van Vuuren (1983) who claims that it was at a place called eMhlangeni not very far from where the town of Randfontein is today (i.e., west of Johannesburg). In this area they settled under the chieftainship of Mafana who was later succeeded by his elder son Mhlanga. Van Vuuren (1983:12) states that

> 'Hierdie woonterrein was volgens informante in die omgewing van Randfontein aan die Wes Rand geleë. Die eerste twee bekende kapteins van die Transvaalse Ndebele was hier woonagtig. Die eerste was Mafana (Linghana). Sy seun Mhlanga (Lirudla) het hom opgevolg. Tydens die regeringstyd van Mhlanga het die stam na KwaMnyamana verhuis.'

According to Van Vuuren, the Transvaal Ndebele later on moved from eMhlangeni to KwaMnyamana, near Pretoria, where they settled under the chieftainship of Chief Musi (or Msi). According to Van Warmelo (1930:12-13), Musi had six sons, namely Manala, Nzunza, Mhwaduba, Dlomu, Sibasa and Mthombeni, whereas according to Fourie (1921:33) he had five sons, viz. Manala, Masombuka, Nzunza, Mthombeni and Dlomu.

After the death of Musi, a succession struggle between two of his sons ensued and resulted in the division of the Transvaal Ndebele people into two main groups, today known as the Northern Ndebele and the Southern Ndebele, respectively, as well as splintering into several smaller groups. Van Vuuren (1983:13) states that

> 'Daar het mettertyd 'n opvolgingstwis tussen Manala en Nzunza onstaan en die huis van Musi het verdeel.'

Potgieter (1945:9-10) also confirms this tribal split, stating:

> 'Musi, wat gevoel dat sy tyd naby is, het toe vir Ndzundza aangeraak en aan hom die koningskap gegee. Daarna het die koning gesterf… Dadelik

het daar 'n stryd tussen die broers losgebrand. Ndzundza het die wyk geneem en na die ooste weggevlug. En so het die huis van Musi uitmekaar gebreek.'

A very shallow and limited historical background of Musi's other sons, namely Dlomu, Sibasa and Mhwaduba, is provided by scholars such as Van Warmelo (1930:11; 1944:23) and Van Vuuren (1983:13; 1992:75), whereas Ziervogel (1959), Coetzee (1980), De Beer (1986), and others make no mention of these other sons. However, after the split between Musi 's sons, smaller groups took divergent paths. Dlomu presumably went back to Natal but later returned to join his brother, Nzunza, whereas Sibasa moved far north to Venda where he established himself as a new Venda tribe (Van Vuuren, 1983:13). Van Warmelo (1930:10) states that

'According to the geneological table… Musi had a sixth son M'Pafuli, who was the first chief of the Venda tribe of Mpafuli (Mphaphuli) Makwarela.'

The name 'M'Pafuli' is, most likely, another name of Sibasa who, according to Van Warmelo (1930:10), is one of Musi's sons who went further and settled in Vendaland. Van Vuuren (1983:13) also states that

'Indien Mphafuli en Sibasa op dieselfde skakeling dui, het hy Venda toe getrek waar daar vandag dan 'n splintergroep van die Ndebele woonagtig is wat verVenda het.'

Only Mhwaduba with his followers stayed behind around KwaMnyamana and later on joined and became assimilated into the Tswana people around Hammanskraal (i.e., Morete II) (Van Vuuren, 1983:13).

The common surname "Dhlomo" amongst the Zulu people, suggests Dhlomo's southward movement. Amongst the Nzunza people, however, the surname Dhlomo is today non-

existent. In the following paragraph, the historical background of the two main Southern Ndebele branches is outlined, that is, the group under the chieftainship of Makhosoke II and the group under the chieftainship of Mayitjha III. Thereafter, attention is given to the history of the Northern Ndebele people.

2.4.1 The Southern Ndebele

The followers of Manala, Nzunza and Mhwaduba constitute the Southern Ndebele group (Potgieter (1945), Skhosana (1996). De Beer (1986:31) states that

> Die vernaamste Suid Ndebele groepe is die Manala, Ndzundza en Hwaduba. Die eersgenoemde twee stamme is in KwaNdebele en laasgenoemde stam is in die Moreletedistrikt van Bophuthatswana woonagtig.'

Historically, very little is said about the last group (namely the Hwaduba), and in this work not much will be said about them either. According to Van Warmelo (1944:24), the Hwaduba Ndebele are the direct descendants of a chief called Musi. They are Nguni folk who first settled at Makgophane (Mooiplaats) east of Pretoria at the source of the Moretele or Pienaars River. During the lifetime of Musi they moved to the banks of the Tshwane (i.e., Apies River), which was named after Tshwane who was the successor of one of Musi's sons (Van Warmelo, 1944:24). Subsequently, they moved and settled at Wonderboompoort near Pretoria, where Tshwane died. Under the chieftainship of Pete, who was the eighth chief at Wonderboompoort, and who had had suffered severely at the hands of Mzilikazi, they eventually moved to their old home, Khwadubeng (Hwadubeng) which is their present location, it is not far from Hammanskraal (Van Warmelo, 1930:11; 1944:25). With regard to their language and culture, their Ndebele origin is all but effaced. Van Warmelo (1944:23) remarks that

> 'Although of Ndebele origin, these people long ago lost their original language, and now speak a Kgatla type of Tswana like their neighbours

the Ba Mosetlha. When the oldest informants were children say 1880-90,

some of the people were still using Ndebele.'

Ziervogel (1959:4) also confirms that the Hwaduba tribe are today completely Sothoized and linguistically belong to the Kgatla tribes.

Many scholars such as Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930), Landgraf (1974), Kuger (1978), Kuper (1978), Van Vuuren (1983), Kruger and Rainey (1988), Jonas (1989), De Beer (1986) and James (1990) have preferred to focus on the history of the two main Southern Ndebele branches, namely the Nzunza and the Manala groups, respectively.

Historical record has it that after the succession struggle, both the Nzunza and Manala groups abandoned their original settlement area at KwaMnyamana. Nzunza and his brother Mthombeni, together with their followers, moved eastwards before settling in an area called KwaSimkhulu not far from where the town of Belfast is situated today, whilst the Manala group occupied the land north east of Pretoria known as Wallmansthal (or KoMjekejeke in isiNdebele) (Van Vuuren, 1983:34). At KwaSimkhulu, Nzunza and his brother Mthombeni decided to part ways. Mthombeni and his followers subsequently moved northwards towards Zebediela where they eventually settled. Nzunza and his followers on the other hand, eventually settled in a place called KoNomtjherhelo not far from where the town of Roossenekal is today, where they established themselves as a strong Mabhoko Tribe with significant political and military power. According to Van Vuuren (1991:34-35), the two Southern Ndebele branches, that is Manala and Nzunza, lived far apart from each other until the late 1970s when, as a result of the so-called homeland system during the previous dispensation, the Manala and Nzunza groups were brought together as neighbours in the same geographically defined region, known as KwaNdebele. Van Vuuren (1991:35) remarks that

'It was not until 1977 that the Ndebele of Manala and the Nzunza

became neighbours in one and the same geographically defined region.

This was not, however, on their own terms, but within the apartheid

constitutional framework and homeland (Bantustan) system. One could
argue that they had no other option, since the one Manala section had to
buy their own tribal portion some eighty kilometres north of Pretoria,
and the Nzunza paramountcy were never allowed to reclaim their
fatherland near Roossenekal (Mapochgronden 500 JS).'

Today, these two Southern Ndebele branches (i.e., Manala and Nzunza) fall under the
reign of Mokhosoke II and Mayitjha III, respectively, and comprise the entire so-called
Southern Ndebele ethnic group.

2.4.2 The Northern Ndebele

2.4.2.1 The subgroups comprising the Northern Ndebele people.
According to Ziervogel (1959) who conducted an in-depth study of the history and
language of the Northern Ndebele, this Ndebele ethnic group is subdivided into three
main subgroups, namely the Moledlhana, the Langa and the Lidwaba. Ziervogel (1959:4)
states that each main subgroup is comprised of several smaller groups as follows –

> (i) Muledlhana subgroup comprises: BakwaSibidiela, BakwaGegana and
>   BakwaMugombhane
> (ii) Langa subgroup comprises: Mapela and Bakenberg sections and
> (iii) Lidwaba subgroup comprises: BakwaMashashane, bema-Une
>   (bemaWune), bakwaMaraba of Eland and bakwaMaraba of Ngidigidlana.

However, Ziervogel (1959:5) also mentions that the Gegana, Mugombhane and Lidwaba
(Maraba) tribes are not of Natal origin, instead, they are said to have come from the
north, that is, Zimbabwe.

De Beer (1986:31) recognizes four subgroups constituting the Northern Ndebele people
namely the Gegana (or Mthombeni), Langa, Seleka and Lidwaba while Potgieter

(1945:13) distinguishes five subgroups, namely the Moletlane (Muledlhana), the Mokopane (Mugombane), the Laka (or Langa), the Maune and the Seleka**.**

What is notable is the fact that many of the subgroups recognized by De Beer and Potgieter form part of the three main subgroups recognized by Ziervogel. This means that the Gegana, Langa, Lidwaba, Mugombane, Moledlhana and Maune are included in the three main subgroups mentioned by Ziervogel. The Seleka subgroup recognized by both De Beer and Potgieter is the only subgroup not mentioned in Ziervogel's groupings and it, however, forms part of the Gegana subgroup. In the paragraph that follows the different theories regarding the origin of the Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele are briefly discussed and evaluated.

2.4.2.2 Theories regarding the history and origin of the Northern Ndebele people
There are four main contrasting views regarding the origin of the Northern Ndebele people which can be regarded as:

     (i)   the popular view,
     (ii)   Ziervogel's view,
     (iii)   Jackson's view, and
     (iv)   Wilkes's view.

According to the popular view, the Northern Ndebele people are the offshoots of the Southern Ndebele. According to Ziervogel, in contrast, the Northern Ndebele people do not share any relationship with their Southern Ndebele counterparts, whilst Jackson maintains that the Northern Ndebele people are not related to the Southern Ndebele group. However, the latter considers that they also originate in Zululand. In the following paragraphs, the historical background of the Northern Ndebele people is discussed according to the theories mentioned.

2.4.2.2.1 Popular view

The most popular view regarding the origin of the Northern Ndebele people is the one propounded by Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930) and Van Vuuren (1983). According to these scholars, the Northern Ndebele people just like their southern counterparts (i.e., the so-called Southern (Transvaal) Ndebele), are the direct descendants of a common ancestral chief called Musi, as previously stated. According to this view, the Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele people are descendants of Gegana who was one of Musi's six sons and was originally known as Mthombeni.

As mentioned earlier (cf. par. 2.2), after the death of Musi, a succession struggle ensued between his six sons which resulted in the breaking up of the Ndebele people into two main groups (i.e., Southern and Northern Ndebele) as well as into a number of smaller groups. Fearing the wrath of their brother, Manala, the groups under the chieftainship of Nzunza and Mthombeni, respectively, abandon their ancestral home and together moved in an easterly direction towards where the town of Roossenekal is today. However, when they reached the Steelpoort River the two groups separated because, as history has it, one of Mthombeni's daughters had to undergo an initiation rite (*wathomba*) (De Beer, op. cit.:32). Coetzee (1980) concurs with De Beer on this point when he (Coetzee, 1980:297-298) says:

> 'Nadat die Ndzundza en die mense van Yakalala oor die Steelpoortrivier (iNdubazi) getrek het, het een van die dogters van die mense van Yakalala puberteit bereik (*wathomba*) sodat die groep nie verder kon trek nie.'

Thereafter, Mthombeni and his followers decided to change direction and took a new route in a northerly direction that eventually lead him to Muledlhana (i.e., Zebediela) near Potgietersrus where he established himself as the Gegana (or Kekana) Ndebele tribe (Van Warmelo, 1930:11). Van Vuuren (1983:13) concurs with Van Warmelo's view in this regard. Nzunza and his followers remained in the vicinity of Roossenekal and later became known as Ndebele of Mapoch (De Beer, 1986:33).

According to De Beer, Mthombeni's group, after breaking away from the Nzunza group at the Steelpoort River, split further into two smaller groups. He (De Beer, 1986:33) states that

> 'Na die verdeling tussen Nzunza and Mthombeni by die Steelpoortrevier **het 'n verdere groep van Mthombeni afgesplits** en hulle in die Phalaborwagebied gevestig. Hierna was hulle blykbaar ook 'n tydlank in Zimbabwe woonagtig. "Hierdie verband het hulle daarna blykbaar via Vendaland en sommige ook via Phalaborwa mettertyd in die huidige woongebied in Lebowa waarna reeds verwys is gevestig **waar hulle as die Letwaba stamme bekend geword het.**' (*own emphasis*)

Msimang (1989:68), too, acknowledges the ethnic relationship between the Southern and Northern Ndebele when he says:

> 'In fact at Potgietersrus we met an informant who vehemently disputed Ziervogel's version on Ndebele history. He is adamant that the different Ndebele groups are all descendants from the common ancestor Musi, son of Mhlanga. He accepts that they did venture into Zimbabwe but that was only after their departure from their common abode in Natal. He is aware of Nungu and his porcupine totem which was later abandoned by Malajana who adopted the elephant, a totem all the Sumayela Ndebele still embrace.'

2.4.2.2.2 Ziervogel 's view

The second view, regarding the origin of the Northern Ndebele people, is the one held by Ziervogel (1959) who maintains that the Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele proper do not claim their origin from their southern counterparts (i.e., the Southern Ndebele). He (Ziervogel, 1959:5) states that

'The Northern Ndebele proper, viz. the Gegana, Mugombhane and

Lidwaba (Maraba) tribes are not of Natal origin. Said to have come

from the north, i.e., Rhodesia (i.e., Zimbabwe), …not related to the

latter.'

This view is supported by his informants that they (i.e., Northern Ndebele) originally came from the East, the country of Malaji and their ancestral chief was Nungu (Ziervogel, 1959:181). According to the historical background of this view, Nungu had two sons, Malaji (the elder) and Malajana (the younger). The two sons argued about the sun: Malaji said it rose up between the two *muganu* (i.e., marula or wild plum) trees, whilst his younger brother, Malajana, said it rose from the sea. Their argument resulted in the sons parting. In fear of his brother, Malaji, Malajana went to Swaziland and on the way devised two strategies that were to render him untraceable. First, he changed his totem, which was the porcupine (*inungu*) to an elephant *'indlovu'* and, secondly, he discarded his mother tongue by requesting the Swazi king to give him twelve boys and girls to teach his tribe Swazi, because they were unintelligible to the Swazi people. By the time those children had become adults, the Kalanga language that Malajana's tribe was speaking, which they most probably acquired when they were in Zimbabwe, was completely effaced and Swazi became their new adopted language. Ziervogel's informants (Ziervogel, 1959:183) confirmed this state of affairs by saying:

'Malajana again called a meeting of his people. He said: "You see that I

have discarded my totem on the road. I have discarded my speech, there

no longer is a place where my brother could find me.'

Thereafter, the mother tongue of the Northern Ndebele was strongly influenced by Swazi (Ziervogel,1959:5). In essence, the Northern Ndebele group that Ziervogel refers to, is most probably the Lidwaba group which, according to De Beer, separated from Mthombeni and first went to Phalaborwa and thereafter moved up to Zimbabwe and later on came back to Phalaborwa, via Venda. It is, however, important to note that Ziervogel's account of the Northern Ndebele people and, more particularly, of the Lidwaba section of

this ethnic group, to a large extent correlates with the history written by Vercuil (1966) on the tribe (or tribes) that he studied around Phalaborwa. Although, Vercuil makes no mention of the name "Ndebele" in his historical account of the tribe(s) he studied, he does make mention of the name of Chief Malatši, who could have been the same person that Ziervogel refers to in his account of the history of the Northern Ndebele people. Vercuil (1966:1) states as follows in this regard:

'Volgens oorlewering het die Phalaborwa-stam vanuit die noorde gekom. Die presiese vertrekpunt en die trekroete is egter nie bekend nie. Op soek na beter verblyf-plek, het hulle na die suide getrek, onder die regering van hoofmanMmakao. Mmakao het sy broer Malatši aangestel as hoofman oor 'n gedeelte van die volk.'

2.4.2.2.3 Jackson's view

According to Jackson (1969), the Northern Ndebele people comprise the Langa section who are also known as the 'Black Ndebele' (or people of Mapela) in order to distinguish them from their Southern Ndebele counterparts. Even though Jackson recognizes the Langa subgroup as the major section representing the Northern Ndebele people, he does note that there are other tribes comprising the Northern Ndebele people. He (Jackson, 1969:i) states that

'The Ndebele of Langa are classified by anthropologists as Northern Ndebele. This category includes a number of chiefdoms other than the Langa.'

Jackson maintains that the Northern Ndebele people trace their origin from KwaZulu-Natal, just as their Southern Ndebele counterparts do, but they are not related to the latter because of the fact that the former trace their origins from the ancestral chief Langalibalele whilst the latter trace their origins from the so-called chief, Musi. Moreover their movement into the then named Transvaal was not of the same period. Jackson (1969:i) states as follows–

'The Transvaal Ndebele entered the Transvaal in atleast two different migratory streams, namely, the Ndebele of Langa, on the other hand, and those Ndebele who claim ties with an ancient chief called Musi…on the other. Some of the chiefdoms related to Musi, now form the Southern Transvaal Ndebele, whereas others are classified with the Langa as Northern Transvaal Ndebele.'

It is evident from the above quotation that Jackson, too, regards the Langa subsection to be the main representative of the Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele tribes. The other main tribes, namely, the Gegana and Lidwaba are, according to him, members of the Southern Ndebele group and do not form part of the Northern Ndebele people. Jackson (op.cit.:i) affirms this point of view when he says:

'The Ndebele of Langa are classified by anthropologists as Northern Transvaal Ndebele. This category includes a number of chiefdoms other than the Langa. The Northern Ndebele, again form part of a broader category known to anthropologists as the Transvaal Ndebele. This category comprises the Northern and Southern Transvaal Ndebele.'

This point is further supported by Ziervogel when he (Ziervogel, 1959:5) states that

'The Langa section, also called the Black Ndebele…are no relation of the other Ndebele tribes, and their language is said to have been more Nguni like than that of the Mugombhane and Maraba tribes. They are said to be of Zululand stock, who entered the country they now occupy from the North-East.'

The Mugombhane and Maraba tribes that Ziervogel (1959:5) make mention of, including other tribes, according to Jackson (1969) do not form part of the Northern Ndebele people. Instead, he regards them as related to their southern counterparts. Jackson

(1969:i) speaks of the **'Ndebele of Musi'** and the 'Ndebele of Langa' when referring to the Southern and Northern Transvaal Ndebele, respectively. The latter claims its origin from chief Langalibalele, and their tribal name 'Langa Ndebele' is also derived from this while the former regard themselves as the descendants of chief Musi (or Msi). The departure date of the Langa Ndebele from Hlubi territory was around 1650 whilst they were under the leadership of the chief Masebe I. Their route took them through Swaziland to a place called Maferafera near Leydsdorp in the former North Eastern Transvaal, which was also their first stop (Jackson, 1969:4). De Beer (1986:32) states that

'Vandaar (i.e Leydsdorp) het hulle na 'n kortstondige verblyf by Boyne, waar die Molepo nou woon, by Thaba Tshweu (Witkop), suidoos van Pietersburg, gevestig.'

Thaba Tshweu, according to Jackson, is the area in which the Langa tribe came into contact with the Gegana group. Jackson (1969:5) states as follows in this regard:

'… when the Langa arrived at Thaba Tshweu, they recognized in the Gegana senior kinsmen from the original home.'

2.4.2.2.4 Wilkes's view
The last and most recent view regarding the origin of the Northern Ndebele is the one propounded by Wilkes (2001:3-4). In essence, Wilkes does not differ from the popular view that the Northern Ndebele and their southern counterparts are the descendants of the same ancestral chief called Musi. After the first split of the Ndebele people into two main sections at KwaMnyamana near Pretoria, Mthombeni and his followers moved northwards and settled in the vicinity of Potgietersrust (Wilkes, 2001:3). Subsequently, the same group split further, resulting into a number of Mthombeni's followers moving away and leaving the original group behind. The group that left, first, took an easterly direction to where Phalaborwa is today and later on followed a northward route that led them to Zimbabwe before turning back home to their present abode in the area around Potgietersrust. On their way back home from Zimbabwe, they stayed for some time in

Vendaland. The Venda sound and grammatical features found in the Northern Ndebele language is, according to Wilkes (2001:9), clear evidence of their earlier contact with the Venda people.

2.4.2.3 The clarification of the name Mthombeni vs Gegana and Yangalala

One of the popular tribes of the Northern Ndebele people is the so-called Gegana tribe which, according to scholars of the popular view, is related to the Southern Ndebele group, because they claim their origin from the same ancestral chief called Musi (cf. par. 2.4.2.1).

According to the earliest historical records of the former Transvaal Ndebele people, when they were still residing in the Pretoria area, Mthombeni was the name of one of Musi's sons (Massie, 1905:33), Fourie (1921:33-34) and Van Warmelo (1930:12-13). Massie goes further to mention Yangalala or Kekana as alias names for Mthombeni. In this regard he (Massie, 1905:33) states:

> 'These sons of Musi, whose names were Nzunza, Manala, M'Hwaduba
> and Mthombeni, alias **Yangalala** or **Gegana**, quarrelled amongst
> themselves for the chieftainship….' (*own emphasis*)

Van Warmelo concurs with Massie with regard to the other two names of Mthombeni when he (Van Warmelo, 1930:11) says that

> 'Mthombeni, **Gegana** or **Yangalala** fought Manala for chieftainship of
> the tribe and was defeated, whereupon he withdrew to the North and
> settled at Moledlhane.' (*own emphasis*).

What is notable from the three alternative names of Mthombeni, is the fact that none of the scholars provides an account of the meaning and origin of the two names, except for Van Warmelo (1944:14) in his *Ethnological Publications No.18*, when he notes that the

Nzunza   people mocked them because of the *ukuthomba* 'attain puberty' incident (mentioned earlier) and called them the Mthombeni folk.

However, according to the above statement, Van Warmelo contradicts himself in that he implies the actual name of one of Musi's six sons was Yangalala or Gegana who at Steelpoort River, on his way to the north, inherited the third name "Mthombeni". In an earlier publication from 1930, he mentions Mthombeni as one of Musi's sons which obviously implies that the name Mthombeni was known before the six sons split and took divergent routes.

The second name, which is etymologically accounted for, is **"Gegana"**. According to De Beer (1986:34) this name is derived from the strategic movement of Mthombeni and his followers as compared to the geographical situation of the area that led him to Muledlhana. De Beer (1986:34) states that

> 'Die naam Gegana is afgelei van die Noord-Ndebelewoord, kugega, wat beteken om saam met of parallel met iets te beweeg en verwys na die feit dat Mathombeni en sy volgelinge in hulle noordwaartse migrasie al langs die Olifantsrivier op beweeg het. Daarom word daar ook na hulle verwys as Gegana nomlambo-dit wil sê die Gegana wat met die rivier (mulambo) opgetrek het.'

In contrast to the above statement, De Beer goes on to quote Van Warmelo (1944) and states that

> 'Hieroor is hulle deur Nzunza se groep, Mthombeni se mense (van ukuthomba) genoem, 'n naam wat hulle tot vandag toe dra.' (De Beer, 1986:32).

Obviously, from the above quotations, the point as to who the founder of the Northern Ndebele people is further confused. First, De Beer implies that the name Mthombeni

came about after the split along the Steelpoort River, and, thereafter, as the group moved along the river northwards, they inherited the third name "Gegana". If this is the point propounded by De Beer, the question is: What was the name of Musi's son during the chieftainship struggle at KwaMnyamana? Was it Mthombeni or Gegana or Yangalala? De Beer (1986:34) further states that

'Die Kekana naam is blykbaar ontleen aan Mthombeni se seun, Gegana.'

However, the etymological account of the name 'Yangalala' is not entertained by any of the above scholars, except Ziervogel (1959:8) who maintains that the name Yangalala, as Massie concluded, is an alternative name for Mthombeni. According to Ziervogel (ibid.), the name Yangalala was also applied to either Madidzi or Lidwaba II who were both recent Northern Ndebele chiefs. This clearly indicates that the exact history of the Northern Ndebele, particularly the Gegana section, which is an offshoot of the Southern Ndebele group, has been incoherently and haphazardly traced and recorded.

2.4.2.4 Theories regarding the origin and meaning of the name "Ndebele"

The origin and meaning of the generic name "Ndebele" which is commonly used to refer to those Nguni speaking people who migrated from KwaZulu-Natal into the former Transvaal in the early 15th century as well as the Zimbabwean Ndebele who left Zululand later on, during the 19th century, is discussed by a number of scholars, viz. Fourie (1921:21), Bryant (1929:425), Van Warmelo (1935:87), Potgieter (1945:7) Coetzee (1980:205-207), Van Vuuren (1992:71-73) and others. According to these scholars, two main views exist regarding the origin and meaning of the name "Ndebele".

2.4.2.4.1 Van Warmelo's Theory

The first view is that of Van Warmelo who maintains that the name "Ndebele" is basically a Sotho name that the Sotho people used to designate people from Nguni origin. The people generally known by the name "Ndebele" were fugitives from Natal fleeing Shaka's wars. When these people, under the leadership of chief Mzilikazi, set foot in what was previously known as the Transvaal and came into contact with the Sotho

people, the latter used to refer to them as "maTebele". This name was probably used to designate Nguni people who came to the Transvaal before Mzilakazi, namely, the Southern and Northern Transvaal Ndebele who were here long before Mzilikazi arrived. This name is also used by the Sotho speakers in Basotoland and in the Nqutu district in KwaZulu-Natal to refer to all the Nguni people from Natal living in Basotoland (Van Warmelo. 1935:87). However, Van Warmelo does not comment on the meaning of the name, but his view on the origin of the name "Ndebele" supports Bryant (1929:425) who states that

> 'Small fugitive bands, too, arrived from time to time from Zululand throughout the Shakan period…This motley and fearsome crowd now became christened by the suffering Sutus with a new and a distinguishing appellation. They dubbed them maTebele, which is said to signify "those who disappear or sink down out of sight (Sotho 'Teba') behind their (to the Sutus) immense Zulu war-shields of stout cow hide".'

According to Bryant (1929:425), the Nguni tradition of carrying war-shields and the artful skills of using them during war acted as the strong motivational reason for the designation of these Nguni speaking tribes with the name "Tebele". Bryant's explanation of the meaning of the name in question certainly tallies with Coetzee's (1980), who also maintains that the source language from which the name "Ndebele" originates is no doubt a Sotho language. Coetzee (1980:206) states that

> 'Die naam kon ook van die Suid-Sothowerkwoord *-ho tebela*, wat beteken om te verdryf, afgelei gewees het. Die Ngunie stamme, waaarmee die Sotho in aanraking gekom het, sou dus as "die verdrywers" bekendgestaan het.'

According to Matumo (1993) in his Setswana-English dictionary, the word "tebêla" means *'to strike or knock down with a fist,'* which is comparable to the Sepedi verb stem '-*tebela'* meaning *'strike in a sudden attack'*.

2.4.2.4.2 Fourie's Theory

The second view regarding the etymological explanation of the name "(ama)Ndebele" is the one propounded by Fourie (1921:26) who is one of the earliest scholars of the history of the Transvaal Ndebele, particularly the Nzunza group which forms part of the Southern Ndebele people. According to Van Vuuren (1992:72), Fourie's sources of information regarding the origin and meaning of the name "Ndebele" are the works of Shooter (1857), Fritsch (1872) and others. Some of these scholars were focussed on the Zimbabwean Ndebele (Van Vuuren, 1992:72). Fourie gives three possible etymological meanings of the name "(ama)Ndebele". The first is that the name means *'people that scatter sorghum'*. Fourie (1921:26) states that

> *'Ilibele* en het meervoudig *amabele* betekenen borst. Maar met een kleine verheffing van stem in die uitspraak van de laaste lettergreep, betekent hetzelfde woord: kafferkoren. Het werkwoord *-anda* beteken intransitief: toenemen; en transitief: vermenigvuldigen of verspreiden. De tweede a van het verbum kan in perfekt-vorm een e zijn. Zodat het mogelik is, dat de naam beteken: zij die de *amabele* verspreid hebben.'

His second explanation is that the name can mean *'people with long breasts'*, whereby *ama-* (is a class 6 noun prefix) plus *-(n)de* (an adjectival stem) and **-***bele* (the noun stem) meaning 'breast' (Van Vuuren, 1992:72).

Fourie's third explanation takes the common approach that is applied to some of the Nguni groups who named themselves after their first founder chiefs, such as Zulus who named themselves after an ancestral chief Zulu and Xhosas after Xhosa, respectively. In terms of this view, he opines that in the olden days there may have been a chief called Ndebele, after whom the amaNdebele people chose to name themselves.

However, Fourie's first and second etymological accounts of the name "(ama)Ndebele", that it means *'people that scatter sorghum'* or *'people with long breasts',* are doubtful and far-fetched conclusions. With regard to his second explanation, it is impossible that a paternally organized tribe such as the amaNdebele would ever use a physical feature of a woman as its tribal name (Mare, in Van Vuuren, 1992:72).

The fact that the same name is used to designate both Mzilikazi's people in Zimbabwe and the various Transvaal Ndebele tribes found in South Africa, has led people to suppose that there was some historical connection between them, especially as Mzilikazi's group initially lived in the former Transvaal for a while before moving to Zimbabwe. As already stated, the circumstances that caused these groups to have the same tribal name are not attributable to the genealogical or historical relationship between them (Van Warmelo.1944: 87). The provincial name "Transvaal" is used by most scholars such Van Warmelo (1944), Van Vuuren (1983 and 1992) and others, to distinguish the Ndebele tribes scattered around in the former Transvaal from those residing in Zimbabwe.

2.5 The numbers and distribution of the Transvaal Ndebele

2.5.1 The Southern Ndebele
As already stated, the Southern Ndebele who comprise the Manala and Nzunza sub-groups mainly reside in four of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa, namely Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Gauteng and the North West Province, respectively. (According to Statistics South Africa (2004:10), Ndebele people are found in all nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa.) In Mpumalanga, the Ndebele people are found in the former KwaNdebele homeland as well as in and around numerous towns in the Highveld region, such as Roossenekaal, Stoffberg, Lydenburg, Watervalboven, Belfast, Middelburg, Carolina, Hendrina, Ermelo, Bethal, Standerton, Leandra, Witbank, Groblersdal, Bronkhorstpruit, Delmas and Ogies. In Gauteng, they have settled in and around Pretoria in areas, such as Mamelodi, Soshanguve and Attridgeville, as well as in

certain East Rand townships. In the North West Province, they can be found in the Hammanskraal, Motla, Kromkuil, Stinkwater, Winterveld, Makapanstad, Moeka Mmakaunyana and Klipgat areas. Only a limited number of Southern Ndebele people reside in the Northern Province, particularly in certain southern border areas of this province, such as Saaiplaas, Monsterlus and Motetema.

According to *Statistics South Africa* (2004), the Southern Ndebele speaking population stands at 711821 in total (See Table 2.1 next page). This number, however, does not distinguish between Southern and Northern Ndebele speakers as one would expect. As a result, it is difficult to say what the exact number of speakers is that belong to each of the two main Ndebele groups.

In Table 2.1, the statistical presentation of the distribution of Southern Ndebele speakers (most probably both Southern and Northern) is given in percentages as they are found in the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa.

Table 2.1: **The statistics of the Southern Ndebele speaking people**

Province	Percentage %
Mpumalanga Province	12.1
Limpopo Province	1.5
Gauteng Province	1.9
North West Province	1.3
Western Cape	0.0
Northern Cape	0.1
Eastern Cape	0.1
Free State	0.4
KwaZulu-Natal	0.2
TOTAL	**17.6**

2.5.2 The Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele

The Northern (Transvaal) Ndebele people are concentrated mainly in two provinces of the Republic of South Africa, namely, Limpopo and in Gauteng. In the Limpopo province, they are found in the vicinity of Potgietersrus and surrounding areas such as Mashashane and Zebediela, whilst in the Gauteng Province, they are mainly found in Pretoria and its surrounding townships such as Mamelodi and Soshanguve. Their language is known as siNdebele and is classified as a Tekela Nguni language.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the historical background of the Ndebele people of the Republic of South Africa has been investigated and discussed. The focus has mainly fallen on their historical background, geographical distribution and the origin of the generic name 'Ndebele'. The different views of the various scholars regarding the origin of the Ndebele people of the of the Republic of South Africa and the name 'Ndebele' have been investigated and analysed. The discussions have revealed that scholars advance different opinions regarding the Ndebele history and the etymology of the name 'Ndebele' that are still arguable and lack convincing support. However, in the discussions and analysis of the information from the various sources it has been noted that more research on the exact place of the Ndebele origin in Natal and the exact Sotho tribe that tagged these two groups 'Ndebele' still need further research.

The discussions have further revealed that politically the two Ndebele groups are statistically not regarded as one and the same ethnic group by the South African government yet linguistically are assumed to speak the same language. In the next chapter the focus falls on the phonological comparison between the Southern and Northern Ndebele, showing how different the two languages are.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE

3.2 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele. As already articulated, the aim of this investigation is to analyse these languages as they are currently spoken, a synchronic approach (i.e., the way the phonemic inventories of the two languages are currently found) is adopted in the description of the phonemic differences displayed by these two languages. Where possible, the phonemic differences are diachronically explained in order to account for any historical changes that have occurred in the phonemes concerned.

As was stated in Chapter One, the two main sources that were consulted in the investigation of the phonemic inventory of Southern Ndebele are Skhosana's Master's dissertation entitled 'Foreign Interferences in the Sound, Grammatical and Lexical System of Southern Ndebele'(1998) and the latest official orthography and spelling rules of Southern Ndebele which appeared in 2008 under the title *Imithetho Yokutlola Nokupeleda IsiNdebele*.

With regard to Northern Ndebele, Ziervogel's work of 1959 entitled A *Grammar of Northern Ndebele* and the *Northern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules*, published in 2001, are the basic sources of information in the investigation of the sound system of this language. This, however, does not underestimate other pertinent scholastic works that have also touched upon the sound systems of these two languages. A work that needs to be mentioned in this regard is Msimang's doctoral thesis entitled 'Some Phonological Aspects of the Thekela Nguni Dialects', (1986). In addition to the sources referred to above, information has also been obtained through personal investigation of the sound system of these two languages.

The phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed in this chapter (i.e., Chapter Three). The content of this chapter is discussed under the following headings –

(i)   the sound system of Southern Ndebele

(ii) the sound system of Northern Ndebele

(iii) some remarks on the differences between the Southern and Northern Ndebele sound system revised in 2001 and that distinguished by Ziervogel (1959)

(iv) a tabular outline of the sound systems of Southern and Northern Ndebele, and finally,

(v)   phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele.

3.2 The sound system of Southern Ndebele

In April 1982, the first preliminary outline of the Southern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules was finalized by the then Southern Ndebele Language Board. It was published for the first time in a school circular magazine known as *Educamus* of July 1982 issued by the then Department of Education and Training. This guideline has since been revised and was reissued in 1995, 2000 and 2008. In the following paragraph, the latest sound system of Southern Ndebele is outlined.

3.2.1 The vowel system

Phonetically, Southern Ndebele recognizes seven vowel sounds which can be illustrated as follows in a vowel chart.

SOUTHERN NDEBELE VOWEL CHART

```
1                                                              8
  i[i]                    High vowels                      u[u]

  2                                        .........         7
  e[e]                  Mid-high vowels                    o[o]

    Front   vowels                              Back vowels

    3                                                        6
      e[ɛ]              Mid-low vowels    ..      .        o[ɔ]


                         Low vowel

    4                      a[a]              ......        5
```
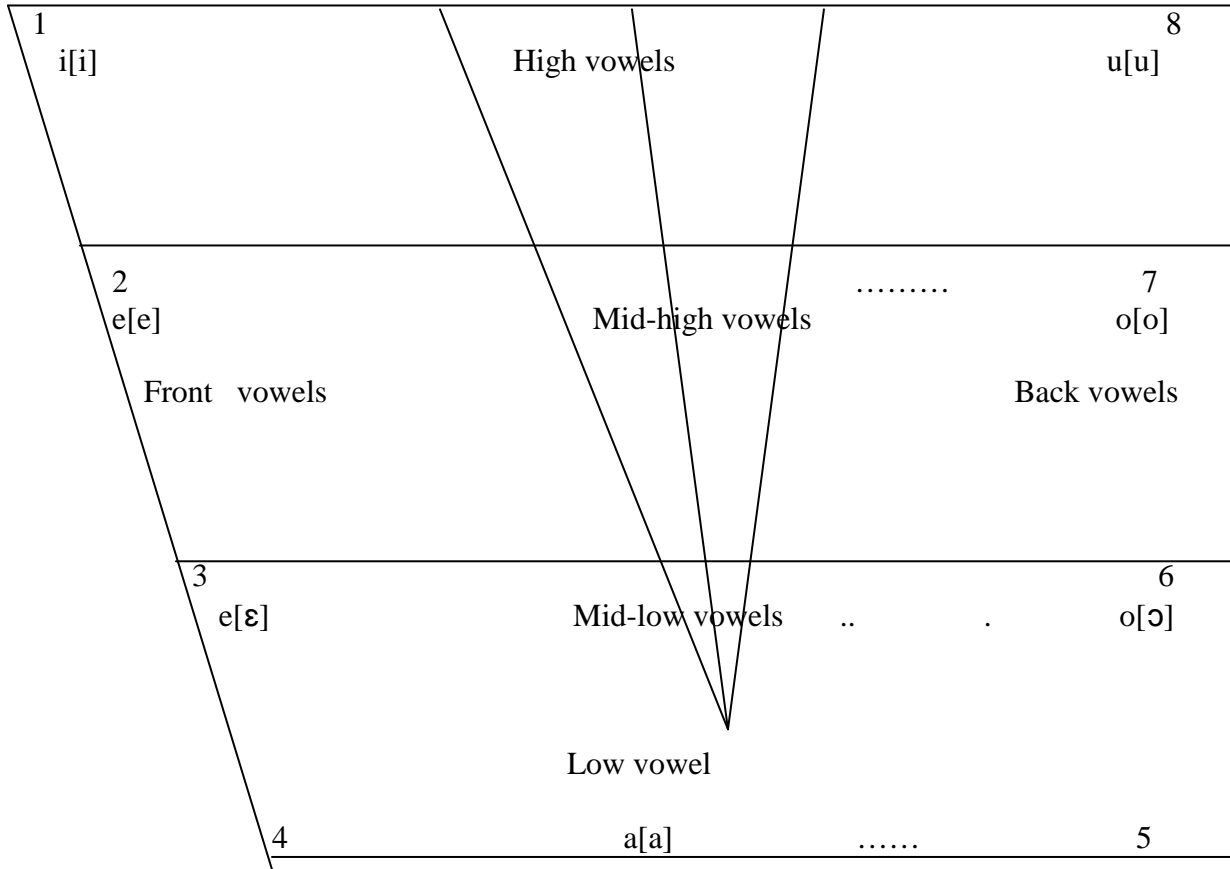
The Southern Ndebele vowels shown above are described as follows –

/a/ [a]: A neutral vowel that occurs between the cardinal point no. 4 and 5 of the
vowel chart, e.g.

(1)   -sala [sala] 'remain'   -gada [gaɗa] 'watch'

/i/ [i]: A high close front vowel that occurs slightly below the cardinal point no. 1
of the vowel chart, e.g.

(2)   isimbi [isimbi] 'iron'   ibisi [iʄisi] 'milk'

/u/ [u]: A high close back vowel that occurs slightly below cardinal point no. 8 of
the vowel chart, e.g.

(3)   ubusuku [uɓuʃu ǩu] 'night'   -khulu [khulu] 'big'

/e/ [ɛ]: A mid-low front vowel that occurs slightly below the cardinal point no. 2 of
the vowel chart, e.g.

(4)   -lele [lɛlɛ] 'asleep'   -neka [n ɛǩa] 'hang'

/e/ [e]: A mid-high front vowel that occurs slightly below the cardinal point no. 3 of
the vowel chart, e.g.

(5)   leli [leli] 'this'   benu [ɓenu] 'yours'

/o/ [ɔ]: A mid-low back vowel that occurs slightly below the cardinal point no. 6 of
the vowel chart, e.g.

(6)   izolo [izɔlɔ] 'yesterday'   lokho [lɔkhɔ] 'that'

/o/ [o]: A mid-high back vowel that occurs slightly below cardinal point no. 7 of the
vowel chart, e.g.

(7)   bonile [ɓonilɛ] 'have seen'   ngabomu [ŋgaɓomu] 'purposely'

3.2.2   The consonant system

The following consonants, including their phonemic variants, occur in Southern Ndebele.

3.2.2.1   Explosives

/p/ [p']: An ejective bilabial explosive, e.g.

(8)   ipumulo [ip'umulɔ]   'nose'

       ipendulo [ip'endulɔ]   'an answer'

/ph/ [ph]: An aspirated bilabial explosive, e.g.

(9)   -phapha [phapha]   'fly'

       -phuma [phuma]   'get out'

/b/ [b]:   A voiced bilabial explosive that occurs only as part of the nasal compound [**mb**], e.g.

(10)   -namba [namba]   'let us go'

         -lamba [lamba]   'get hungry'

/bh/ [b̥]: A devoiced bilabial explosive that occurs outside nasal compounds, e.g.

(11)   -bhema [b̥ɛma]   'smoke'

         umbhemi [um̄ b̥emi]   'heavy smoker'

/t/ [t']:   An ejective alveolar explosive that also occurs in nasal compounds, e.g.

(12)   isitolo [isit'ɔlɔ]   'shop'

         itiye [it'ijɛ]   'tea'

         iintethelelo [iint'ɛthɛlɛlɔ]   'blessings'

         iintuthuko [iint'uthu k̥ɔ]   'developments'

/th/ [th]: An aspirated alveolar explosive, e.g.

(13)   -thula [thula]   'keep quiet'

        -thela [th ɛla]   'pour'

/d/ [d̥]: A devoiced alveolar explosive that occurs outside nasal compounds, e.g.

(14)   idolo [id̥ɔlɔ]   'knee'

        isidalwa [isid̥alwa]   'a cripple'

/dr/ [d̥r]: A devoiced vibrant alveolar explosive which occurs:

     (a) as the equivalent of the voiceless explosive /**t**/ in the Ur-Bantu nasal
         compound **[nt]**, e.g.

(15)   intombi [ind̥rombi] (or [indombi])   'lady/girl'

        umkhonto [um̄ khɔnd̥rɔ] (or [um̄ khɔndɔ]) 'assegai/spear'

into [ind̥ rɔ] (or [indɔ])   'thing/something'

isonto [isɔnd̥ rɔ] (or [isɔndɔ])   'church/sermon/Sunday'

[Note: In the present Southern Ndebele orthography, the Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nt/** is written as **/nt/** despite the fact that it is pronounced by most Southern Ndebele speakers as **[(n)d̥ r]** or **[nd]]**

    (b) in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English in which it represents the voiced apico-alveolar affricate **[dr]** of Afrikaans and English, respectively, e.g.

(16)   idrada[id̥ rad̥ a]   'wire'   (< Afrikaans 'draad')

       idrayi[id̥ raji]   'corner/curve'   (< Afrikaans 'draai')

       idrama[id̥ rama]   'drama/play'   (< English/Afrikaans 'drama')

       idribhu[id̥ rib̥ u]   'drip'   (< English 'drip')

/dr/ [dr] A voiced alveolar vibrant explosive which in Southern Ndebele represents the voiced explosive /**d**/ in the Ur-Bantu nasal compound **[nd].** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(17)   indawo [indrawɔ]   'place'

        induna [indruna]   'headman/foreman'

        indoda [indrɔd̥ a]   'man'

[Note: Despite the fact that most Southern Ndebele speakers pronounce the nasal compound **/nd/** as **/ndr**/, in the present Southern Ndebele orthography the Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nd/** is written as **/nd/** instead of **[ndr].** See also the discussion of the equivalents of the Ur-Bantu nasal compounds **[nt]** and **[nd]** in par. 4.3.]

/**k**/ [**k'**]: An ejective velar explosive, e.g.

(18)   ikabi [ik'aɓi]   'an ox'

         -kokoda [k'ɔk'ɔd̥a]   'knock/hammer'

         kakarela [k'ak'arɛla]   'hold firm/ stick'

/**k**/ [**ḵ**] A partially voiced velar explosive, e.g.

(19)   akekho [a ḵɛkhɔ]   'he/she is not there'

         akakopi [a ḵak'op'i]   'he/she doesn't copy'

/**kh**/ [**kh**]: An aspirated velar explosive, e.g.

(20)   ikhehla [ikhɛɬa]   'an old man'

         -khetha [khɛtha]   'choose'

/**g**/ [**g**]: A voiced velar explosive sound that occurs in the nasal compound [ŋg]
        only, e.g.

(21)   ngimi [ŋgimi]   'it is me [I]'

        -ngena [ŋgɛna]   'get in'

/**g**/ [**g̊**]: A devoiced velar explosive that occurs outside nasal compounds, e.g.

(22)   -guga [g̊ug̊a]   'pick up/lift'

        -gida [g̊id̥a]   'dance'

3.2.2.2 The bilabial implosive b[ɓ], e.g.

(23)   -bala [ɓala]   'count'

       -baba [ɓaɓa]   'be bitter'

3.2.2.3 Fricatives

/**f**/ [**f**]: A voiceless dentilabial fricative, e.g.

(24)   -fafaza [fafaza]   'spray with water'

-fa [fa]   'die'

/v/ [v]: A voiced dentilabial fricative, e.g.

(25)   -vuma [vuma]   'sing/agree'

      -vuvuka [vuvu ka̠]   'swell'

/s/ [s]: A voiceless alveolar fricative, e.g.

(26)   -kusasa [k̠usasa]   'tomorrow'

      -sala [sala]   'remain/stay behind'

/z/ [z]: A voiced alveolar fricative, e.g.

(27)   -zaza [zaza]   'doubt'

       izulu [izulu]   'rain/heaven'

/dl/ [ɮ]: A voiced lateral alveolar fricative, e.g.

(28)   -dlula [ɮula]   'pass'

       -dla [ɮa]   'eat'

/dlh/ [ɮh]: A voiced lateral aspirated alveolar fricative, e.g.

(29)   isidlhadlha [isiɮhaɮha]   'a fool'

       idlhari [iɮhari]   'lightning'

/h/ [ɦ]:   A voiced glottal fricative, e.g.

(30)   iholo [iɦɔlɔ]   'hall'

       ihogo [iɦɔg̊ɔ]   'pigsty'

/hl/ [ɬ]: A voiceless lateral alveolar fricative, e.g.

(31)   hleba [ɬɛɓa]   'whisper/ gossip'

       ihloko [iɬɔ k̠ɔ]   'head'

/rh/ [x]: A voiceless velar fricative, e.g.

(32)   -rhola [xɔla]   'get paid/lead'

          -rhorha [xɔxa]   'pull'

3.2.2.4 Affricatives

 /ts/ [ts']: An ejective alveolar affricative, e.g.

(33)   itswayi [its'waji]   'salt'

          itsetse [its'ɛts'ɛ]   'tsetse fly'

/tsh/ [tsh]: An aspirated alveolar affricate, e.g.

(34)   -tshwenya [tshwɛɲa]   'annoy'

          ilitsha [ilitsha]   'lake'

/tl/ [tɬ']: A lateral ejective alveolar affricative, e.g.

(35)   -tlola [tɬ'ɔla]   'write'

          umtletle [um̄ tɬ'ɛtɬ'ɛ]   'line/strip'

/tlh/ [tɬh]: A lateral aspirated alveolar affricative, e.g.

(36)   -tlhama [tɬhama]   'start/begin'

          -tlhoga [tɬhɔ̥ga]   'need'

/tj/ [tʃ']: An ejective prepalatal affricative, e.g.

(37)   -tjela [tʃ'ɛla]   'tell'

          -tjatha [tʃ'atha]   'carry on the shoulder'

/tjh/ [tʃh]: A voiceless aspirated pre-palatal affricative, e.g.

(38)   -tjheja [tʃhɛd̥ʒa]   'take care/note'

          -tjhisa [tʃhisa]   'burn'

/kgh/ [kxh]: A voiceless aspirated velar affricative, e.g.

| (39) | ikghuru [ikxhuru] | 'tortoise' |
| | -kghama [kxhama] | 'strangle/squeeze' |

/j/ [d̥ʒ]: A devoiced prepalatal affricative, e.g.

| (40) | ijasi [id̥ʒasi] | 'coat' |
| | ijele [id̥ʒɛlɛ] | 'jail' |

/dz/ [dz]: A voiced alveolar affricative, e.g.

| (41) | idzinyani [idziɲani] | 'chicken' |
| | **-**dzubhula [dzub̥ula] | 'pick up/quote' |

/(m)f/ [ɱpf']: An ejective dentilabial affricative, e.g.

| (42) | iimfene [iiɱpf'ɛn ɛ] | 'baboons' |
| | iimfundo [iiɱpf'undɔ] | 'types of education' |

/(m)v/ [ɖv]: A voiced dentilabial affricative, e.g.

| (43) | imvelo [iɱɖvɛlɔ] | 'nature' |
| | iimvunulo [iiɱɖvunulɔ] | 'types of attire' |

3.2.2.5 The voiced lateral alveolar liquid /l/[l], e.g.

| (44) | -lola [lɔla] | 'sharpen' |
| | -lula [lula] | 'elongate' |

3.2.2. 6 The voiced alveolar vibrant /r/[r], e.g.

| (45) | -rera [rɛra] | 'plan secretly' |
| | -rara [rara] | 'surprise' |

3.2.2.7 Semi-vowels

/y/ [j]: A prepalatal semi-vowel, e.g.

(46) -yakha [jakha]   'build'

      uyaya [ujaja]   'he/she goes'

/w/ [w]: A velar semi-vowel, e.g.

 (47)   isiwewe [isiwɛwɛ]   'young male goat'

        wami [wami]   'mine'

3.2.2.8 Nasals

 /m/ [m]: A bilabial nasal, e.g.

 (48)   -mumatha [mumatha]   'keep in the mouth'

         -mema [mɛma]   'invite'

 /**m**/ [ɱ]: A dentilabial nasal that occurs in combination with [ɸf] and

        [ꞵv], e.g.

  (49)   iimfuyo [iiɱɸf'ujɔ]   'live stocks'

         iimfengwana [iiɱɸf'ɛŋgwana]   'whistles'

         imvu [iɱꞵvu]   'sheep'

         iimveke [iiɱꞵvɛk'ɛ]   'weeks'

 /n/ [n]: An alveolar nasal, e.g.

  (50)   isinini [isinini]   'relative'

         -nina [nina]   'avoid/keep away from'

  /**n**/ [ŋ]: A velar nasal that occurs in the nasal compounds [ŋk'] and [ŋg] only, e.g.

  (51)   iinkosi [iiŋk'osi]   'chiefs'

         iinkolo [iiŋk'ɔlɔ]   'schools'

         ingoma [iŋgɔma]   'song'

         -ngena [ŋgɛna]   'come/get in'

/ngh/ [ŋ]: A velar nasal that occurs outside nasal compounds only, e.g.

(52)	-nghala [ŋala]	'sulk'
	-nghangha [ŋaŋa] '	stand against/refuse'

/ny/ [ɲ]: A prepalatal nasal, e.g.

(53)	umnyanya [umɲaɲa]	'function'
	inyanga [iɲaŋga]	'moon/doctor'

3.2.2.9 The click sounds

Most of the click sounds found in the Nguni languages, such as isiZulu, are also found in Southern Ndebele. The following are those that form part of the Southern Ndebele sound system.

3.2.2.9.1 Dental clicks

/c/ [/]: A voiceless dental click, e.g.

(54)	icici [i/i/i]	'earring'
	-cima [/ima]	'extinguish/switch off'

/ch/ [/h]: An aspirated dental click, e.g.

(55)	-chisa [/hisa]	'prepare bed/table'
	-chaza [/haza]	'make happy'

/gc/ [/g]: A voiced dental click, e.g.

(56)	-gcugcuzela [/gu/guzɛla]	'encourage'
	-gcina [/gina]	'end/stop'

/nc/ [ŋ/]: A nasalised dental click, e.g.

(57)	-ncama [ŋ/ama]	'be determined'
	-ncenga [ŋ/ɛŋga]	'beg/pursue'

3.2.2.9.2 Palatal clicks

/**q**/ **[!]:** A voiceless palatal click, e.g.

(58)   iqanda [i!anda]   'an egg'

        iqaqa [i!a!a]   'polecat'

/**qh**/ **[!h]:** An aspirated palatal click, e.g.

(59)   -qhaka [!ha ka̱]   'be poor'

        -qhaqha [!ha!ha]   'loosen/dismantle'

/**gq**/ **[!g]:** A voiced palatal click, e.g.

(60)   -gqaba [!gaɓa]   'inject'

        amagqubu [ama!guɓu]   'begrudge'

/**ngq**/ **[ŋ!g]:** A voiced nasalised palatal click, e.g.

(61) ingqwangqwa [iŋ!gwaŋ!gwa]   'soft porridge'

      ingqondo [iŋ!gɔndɔ]   'brain/idea/mind'

3.2.2.9.3 Lateral clicks

Only the nasalised lateral click sound is found in Southern Ndebele and has a limited distribution in this language. It only occurs in onomatopoeic ideophones as well as in verbs derived from these ideophones, e.g.

(a) Ideophones

(62)   nx [ŋ//]   'interjective of annoyance'

        nxanxa [ŋ//aŋ//a]   'interjective of feeling sorry'

(b) De-ideophonic verbs

(63)   -nxafa [ŋ//afa]   'utter click of annoyance'

        -nxanxabeza [ŋ//aŋ//aɓɛza] 'utter click of feeling sorry/handling with care'

3.3 The sound system of Northern Ndebele

The Northern Ndebele sound system as published by the Pan South African Language Board under the title, *'Northern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules'* (2000) is as follows –

3.3.1 The vowel system

Northern Ndebele, just as is the case with its southern counterpart, also recognizes seven vowel phonemes which can be illustrated as follows in a vowel chart.

NORTHERN NDEBELE VOWEL CHART
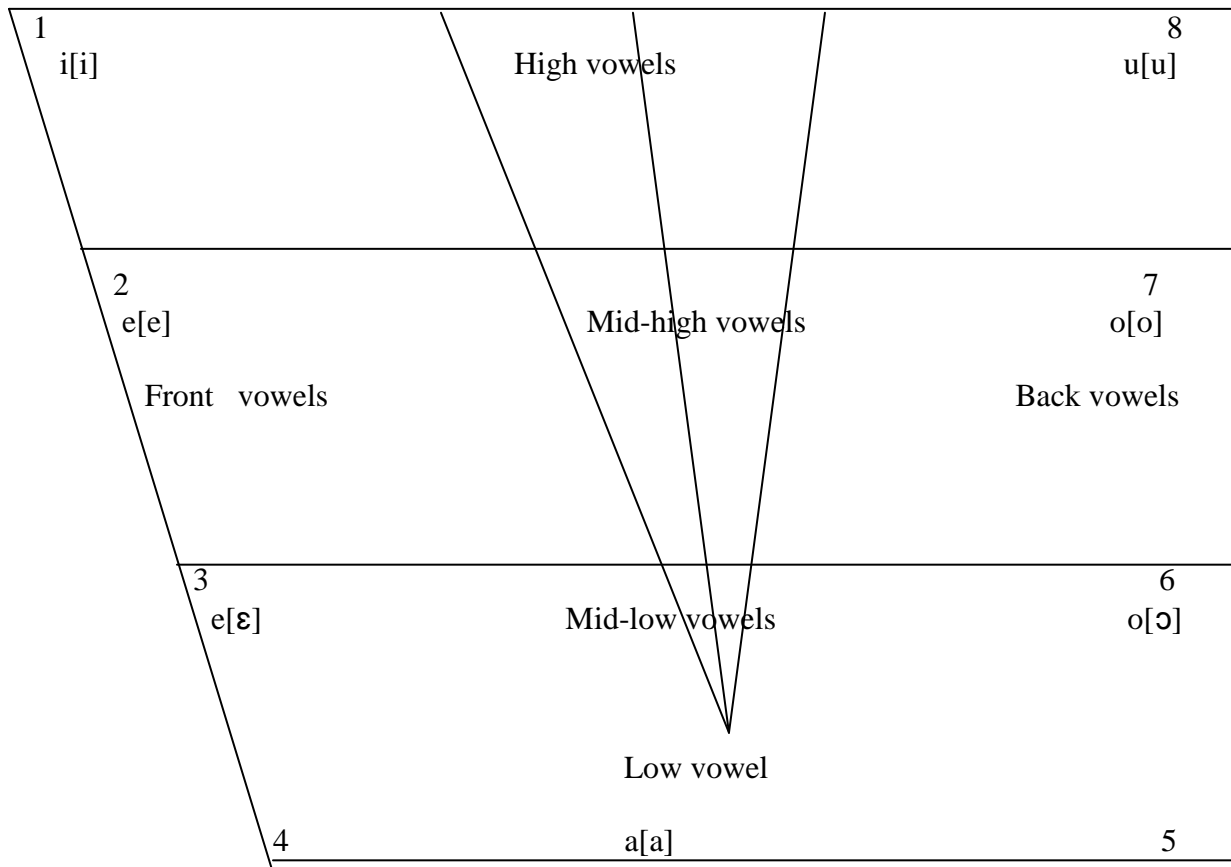
The above Northern Ndebele vowel phonemes can be described as follows–

/a/ [a]: A neutral vowel that occurs between the cardinal point no. 5 and 6 of the vowel chart, e.g.

(64)   yakha [jakha] 'build'   -lala [lala] 'sleep'

/e/ [e]: A mid-high front vowel that occurs below the cardinal point no. 2 of the   vowel chart, e.g.

(65)   -bhedile [b̥edilɛ] 'talked nonsense'   mphendule [mphendulɛ]   'answer me'

/e/ [ɛ]: A mid-low front vowel that occurs below the cardinal point no. 3 of the vowel chart, e.g.

(66)   -bheda [b̥ɛd̥a] 'talk nonsense'   -phethe [phɛthɛ] '(have) held'

/i/ [i]: A high front vowel that occurs below cardinal point no. 1 of the vowel   chart, e.g.

(67)   nsimbhi [nsimb̥i] 'iron'

/o/ [o]: A mid-high back vowel that occurs below the cardinal point no. 7 of the vowel chart, e.g.

(68)   bonile [βonilɛ] 'saw'

/o/ [ɔ]: A mid-low back vowel that occurs below the cardinal point no. 6 of the vowel chart, e.g.

(69)   bona [βɔna] 'see'

/u/ [u]: A high back vowel that occurs below cardinal point no.8 of the vowel chart, e.g.

(70)   muva [muva] 'back'

3.3.2 Ziervogel's observations regarding the Northern Ndebele vowel system

In his Northern Ndebele Grammar (1959), Ziervogel claims that Northern Ndebele has a 9 vowel system in that the vowels **/i/** and **/u/** both have a close variant **/î/** and **/û/,** respectively. Posselt (1975:23-24) also confirms Ziervogel's claim on the occurrence of these two close variants. These vowels mainly occur in the roots and stems of words (Ziervogel, op. cit.:18) and are phonetically similar to the close high vowels [e̥] and [o̥] found in Northern Sotho, respectively.

/i/ [î]   A close high front vowel **/i/** which is derived from the Ur-Bantu high close

vowel [î] and which is similar to Northern Sotho high front vowel e [e̥].

Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Northern Ndebele	**Northern Sotho**	
(71)	lima [lima]	[le̥ ma]	'plough'
	lina [lina]	[le̥ na]	'you'

/u/ [û] A semi-close high back vowel **/u/** which is derived from the Ur-Bantu high

back vowel [û] and it is similar to the Northern Sotho medial vowel **o[o̥],** as in

the following examples;

	Northern Ndebele:	**Northern Sotho**	
(72)	-thunga [thuŋga]	roka [ro̥ k'a]	'stitch'
	munru [munru]	motho [mo̥ tho̥]	' person'

According to Meinhof and Van Warmelo(1932:26), in most Bantu languages there is no longer any difference between the 'close' and 'open' vowels of Ur-Bantu, and even where a slight variation might be distinguished, it no longer exists in the mind of native speakers. Ziervogel (1959: 19) concurs with Meinhof when he says:

'We distinguish between *i* and *î*, *u* and *û* . . . for the sake of giving a clear picture of the vowels in Northern Ndebele. It is evident, however, that although in cautious speech one does hear a difference between *i* and *î*, *u* and *û* there is undoubtedly a tendency to use the respective pairs indiscriminately. We may, for practical purposes, regard Northern Ndebele as a language with five vowel phonemes, hence the use of *i* and *u* only in the body of this work.'

3.3.3 The Consonant System

3.3.3.1 Explosives

/k/ [k']: An ejective velar explosive, e.g.

  (73)   kukala [kuk'ala]   'to weigh'

/kh/ [kh] An aspirated velar explosive, e.g.

  (74)   khambha [khamb̥a]   'walk/go'

             nkhaya [ŋkhaja]   'at home

/t/ [ṱ']: A voiceless inter-dental ejective explosive, e.g.

  (75)   mmanti [maṉṱi]   'water'

/th/ [th]: A voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive, e.g.

  (76)   kuthetha [kuthɛtha]   'to discuss'

             -thutha [thutha]   'move'

/p/ [p']: A voiceless ejective bilabial explosive, e.g.

  (77)   -pana [p'ana]   'inspan an ox'

             -pura [p'ura]   'fly'

/ph/ [ph]: An aspirated bilabial explosive, e.g.

  (78)   -phuma [phuma]   'go out/exit'

-phila [phila]   'live'

/g/ [g̊]: A devoiced velar explosive, e.g.

(79)   gugu [g̊ug̊u]   'grandmother'

      -guga [g̊ug̊a]   'lift/carry'

This velar sound also occurs in nasal compounds, e.g.

(80)   ilanga [ilaŋg̊a]   'sun/day'

      -linga [liŋg̊a]   'try'

/k/ [k̬]: A radical velar explosive, e.g.

(81)   akufani [ak̬ufani]   'it's different/not the same'

      kibo [k̬iβɔ]   'to them'

/d/ [d̥]: A de-voiced alveolar explosive, e.g.

(82)   -duda [d̥ud̥a]   'swim'

This alveolar sound also occurs in nasal compounds, e.g.

(83)   ndoda [nd̥ɔd̥a]   'man'

/b/ [b]: A voiced bilabial explosive which only occurs in combination with the nasal

      [m] in a limited number of Class 9 and 10 nouns, e.g.

(84)   mbuti [mbut'i]   'duiker'

/bh/ [b̥]: A devoiced bilabial explosive which also occurs in combination with the

      nasal [m], e.g.

(85)   bhabha[b̥ab̥ a]   'father'

      mbhuti [mb̥ u t̬'i]   'goat'

3.3.3.2 Fricatives

/hl/ [ɬ]: A voiceless alveolar lateral fricative, e.g.

   (86) -hlala [ɬala]   'stay/sit down'

/b/ [β]: A bilabial voiced fricative, e.g.

   (87)   -baba [βaβa]   'be sour/ be bitter]

/hh/ [ɦ]: A voiced glottal fricative, e.g.

   (88)   lihhashi [liɦaʃi]   'horse'

/h/ [ɦ̵]: A radical prevelar fricative, e.g.

   (89)   lehumo [leɦ̵umɔ]   'wealth'

/dl/ [ɮ]: A voiced lateral alveolar fricative, e.g.

   (90)   -dla [ɮa]   'eat'

          ndlala [nɮala]   'hunger'

/s/ [s]: A voiceless alveolar fricative, e.g.

   (91) -sala [sala]   'remain/stay behind'

        lesa [lesa]   'that one'

/z/ [z]: A voiced alveolar fricative, e.g.

   (92)   -zama [zama]   'try'

        muzenda [muzɛnd̥a]   'ambassador'

/sh/ [ʃ]: A voiceless palatal fricative, e.g.

   (93)   eMashashane [ɛmaʃaʃanɛ]   'at Mashashane'

        -shili [ʃili]   'different/strange'

/x/ [x]: A voiceless velar fricative, e.g.

    (94)   -xuda [xuḓa]   'suffer from diarrhoea'

          marixa [marixa]   'winter'

/v/ [v]: A voiced dentilabial fricative, e.g.

    (95)   -vala [vala]   'close'

          -vula [vula]   'open'

/f/ [f]: A voiceless dentilabial fricative, e.g.

    (96) -fa [fa]   'die'

          -fuya[fuja]   'keep/rear something'

3.3.3.3 Affricatives

/tlh/ [tlh]: An aspirated lateral alveolar affricative, e.g.

    (97)   mutlhangana [mutlhaŋ̊gana]   'boy'

          -tlhala [tlhala]   'divorce'

/tl/ [tɬ']: An ejective alveolar lateral affricative, e.g.

    (98)   -tlinya [tl'iɲa]   'throttle'

          -tletla [tl'ɛtl'a]   'milk into the mouth'

/tjh/ [tʃh]: A voiceless aspirated palatal affricative, e.g.

    (99)   -tjha [tʃha]   'burn'

          -tjhuma [tʃhuma]   'work'

/tj/ [tʃ']: An ejective palatal affricative, e.g.

    (100)   mtjekelo [mtʃ'ɛkɛlɔ]   'a cloth'

          kutjetula [kutʃe ṱula]   'to cut a small piece'

/j/ [d̥ʒ]: A semi-voiced palatal affricative which becomes voiced in nasal

　　　compounds, e.g.

　(101)　-jama [d̥ʒama]　　　　　　　　　　'stand up'

　　　　nnja [ɲdʒa]　　　　　　　　　　　'dog'

/tsh/ [tsh] An aspirated voiceless alveolar affricative, e.g.

　(102)　　tshetlha [tshɛtlha]　　　　　　　'yellow'

　　　　　tshele [tshɛlɛ]　　　　　　　　　'grudge'

/dz/ [dz]: A voiced alveolar affricative, e.g.

　(103)　　mudzukxwa [mudzukx'wa]　　　　'manure'

　　　　　mudzingitane [mudziŋg̊i t̪anɛ]　　'species of grass'

/kxh/ [kxh]: An aspirated velar affricative, e.g.

　(104)　　nkxhokxhobha [ŋkxhɔkxhɔb̥a]　'aloe'

　　　　　nkxhokxhokxho [ŋkxhɔkxhɔkxhɔ]　'velum'

/kx/ [kx']: An ejective velar affricative, e.g.

　(105)　　nkxomo [ŋkx'ɔmɔ]　　　　　　'beast'

　　　　　nkxukxu [ŋkx'ukxu]　　　　　　'fowl'

　　　　　nkxabi [ŋkx'aβi]　　　　　　　'ox'

3.3.3.4 The voiced alveolar lateral sound /l/ [l], e.g.

　(106)　-lala [lala]　　　　　　　　　　'sleep'

　　　　leli [leli]　　　　　　　　　　　'this '

　　　　lelo [lɛlɔ]　　　　　　　　　　'that'

3.3.3.5 The voiced alveolar vibrant sound /r/ [r], e.g.

　(107)　bare [βarɛ]　　　　　　　　　　'they say'

| -rara [rara] | 'cause problem/wonder' |
| -ribha [rib̥a] | 'cut' |

This sound also occurs in combination with the alveolar nasal **[n],** e.g.

(108)	nro [nrɔ]	'thing'
	banru [βanru]	'people'
	nraba [nraβa]	'mountain'

3.3.3.6 Semi-vowels

/y/ [j]: A prepalatal semi-vowel, e.g.

(109)	kuya [kuja]	'to go'
	yakha [jakha]	'build'
	yena [jɛna]	'he/she'

/w/ [w]: A bilabial semi-vowel, e.g.

(110)	kuwa [kuwa]	'to fall'
	wami [wami]	'mine'
	wena [wɛna]	'you'

3.3.3.7 Nasals

/n/ [n]: An alveolar nasal, e.g.

(111)	-nona [nɔna]	'become fat'
	nani [nani]	'you too'
	-nina [nina]	'avoid'

/m/ [m]: A bilabial nasal, e.g.

(112)	mulomo [mulɔmɔ]	'mouth'
	-mila [mila]	'grow'
	-mema [mɛma]	'invite'

/n/ [ŋ]: A velar nasal which occurs in the nasal compound **ng [ŋg]** and **nk[ŋk]**, e.g.

(113) -linga [liŋ̊ga]   'try'

       ngubo [ŋ̊guɓɔ]   'blanket'

       nkxomo [ŋkx'ɔmɔ]   'beast'

       nkxukxu [ŋkx'ukxu]   'fowl'

    In the ordinary orthography, outside nasal compounds, this sound is written

    as -**ngh**-, e.g.

(114) -nghwaya [ŋwaja]   'scratch'

     -nghane   [ŋanɛ]   'small'

/ny/ [ɲ]: A palatal nasal, e.g.

(115) n̲nyoka [ɲɲɔg̊a]   'snake'

      n̲nyama [ɲɲama]   'meat'

      n̲nyoni [ɲɲoni]   'bird'

Note that the nasal /**ny/[ɲ]** is syllabic here.

/m/ [ɱ]: A dentilabial nasal, e.g.

(116) (m)fene [ɱɸf'ɛnɛ]   'baboon'

     (m)vu [ɱɓvu]   'sheep'

     (m)fe [ɱɸf'ɛ]   'sweet reed'

/n/ [n̪]: An inter-dental nasal that only occurs in combination with the inter-dental

    ejective plosive **[t̪]**, e.g.

(117) yenta [jɛn̪t̪'a]   'do'

     mmanti [m̄ an̪t̪i]   'water'

3.4 Some remarks on the phonetic differences between the Northern Ndebele sound system revised in 2001 and that distinguished by Ziervogel (1959)

Ziervogel distinguishes numerous speech sounds in Northern Ndebele that are not recognized in the recently revised sound system of this language. These sounds are as follows –

3.4.1 Explosives

/d/ [d̪]: A voiced inter-dental explosive, e.g.

(118)   dana [d̪ana]   'come'

Posselt (1975:24) supports Ziervogel regarding the existence of this sound in Northern Ndebele. However, Msimang (1989:124) regards this inter-dental explosive **[d̪]** as one of the idiolectical variants of the phoneme **/d/**. In the revised Northern Ndebele sound system this sound has been replaced by a devoiced alveolar explosive **d[d̥].**

/gy/ [g̊y]: A devoiced palatal velar explosive, e.g.

(119)   gyibo [g̊yiɓɔ]   'it is they'

         emiragyeni [emirag̊yeni]   'at the cattle post'

Posselt (1975:24) concurs with Ziervogel on the occurrence of this sound in Northern Ndebele but in the revised sound system of this language it has been replaced by the de-voiced velar explosive **g[g̊].** Compare the following examples in this regard.

 (120)   ngibo [ŋgiɓɔ]   'it is they'

         emirageni [emirag̊eni]   'at the cattle post'

3.4.2 Implosives

/k/ [ɠ]: A voiced velar implosive, e.g.

(121)   kuguga [ɠṳ̊ɠṳ̊a]   'to pick up/lift up'

None of the Nguni languages share this sound with Northern Ndebele. In Southern Ndebele it appears as a radical velar sound **k[k̥],** (e.g. [ukṳ̊ɠ ṳ̊ a] 'to pick/ lift up'), whilst in the revised Northern Ndebele sound system it is recognized as a radical velar plosive **k[k̥]** (cf. example 81 above).

  gy[gy]: A voiced velar implosive, e.g.
  (122)   gyibo [gyiɓɔ]   ' to them'

Both Ziervogel and Posselt (1975:34) confirm the existence of this sound in Northern Ndebele. In the revised Northern Ndebele sound system, this sound has, however, been replaced by the radical velar **k[k̠]** (cf. example 81 above).

3.4.3 Fricatives
/hy/ [hy]: A voiceless pre-velar fricative, e.g.
 (123)   lihyudu [lihyûdû]   'mortar'

According to the revised sound system of Northern Ndebele, this sound no longer forms part of its sound system.

/ɣ/ [ɣ]: A voiced velar fricative, e.g.
 (124)   muɣolo [muɣɔlɔ]   'throat'
          liɣedla [liɣɛɦa]   'shoulder'

In the current Northern Ndebele orthography this sound is represented by the voiceless velar fricative **x[x]**, for instance as in example (94) above.

3.4.4 Affricatives
/psh/ [pʃh]: An aspirated labio-palatal affricative.

Ziervogel lists this sound in his table of the Northern Ndebele sound system but does not give any example(s) where the sound occurs. It is possible that he may have been influenced by the Northern Sotho aspirated bilabial pre-palatal affricate **pšh [pʃh],** e.g.

(125) **Northern Sotho**:   pšhatla   'break/shatter'

3.5 A tabular outline of the sound systems of Southern and Northern Ndebele

The sound systems of the two Ndebele languages that have been discussed above are outlined in tabular form below. Table 3.1 outlines the Southern Ndebele sound system, while Table 3.2 gives the Northern Ndebele sound system.

Table 3.1: SOUTHERN NDEBELE SOUND SYSTEM

Place of articulation	CONTINUANTS – RESONANT				CONTINUANTS – FRICATIVE							IMPLLOSIVE	STOPS – AFFRICATE							STOPS – EXPLOSIVE						
(Manner)	Medial	Vibrant	Lateral	Nasal	Medial	—	Lateral	Lateral	—	Medial	—	—	Medial	—	Lateral	Lateral	Medial	—	—	Medial	—	Vibrant	Vibrant	Medial	—	—
(Glottis)	Voiced	Voiced	Voiced	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiced	Aspirated	Radical	Voiced	Voiceless	Semi-voiced	Voiceless	Aspirated	Ejective	Ejective	Aspirated	Voiced	Devoiced	Radical	Devoiced	Voiced	Aspirated	Voiced	Ejective
Bilabial	w			m								ɓ								b̥				ph	b	p'
Dentilabial				ɱ	f						v															
dental																										
Alveolar		r	l	n	s	ɬ	ɮ	ɮh			z			tsh	tlh	tl'			dz	d̥		d̥r	dr	th		t'
Palatal				ɲ		ʃ							d̥ʒ	tʃh			tʃ'									
Velar				ŋ	x												kx'	kxh		g̊	k			kh		k'
Glottal											ɦ															
Prepalatal	j																									

Note: The table is according to the revised Southern Ndebele Sound System (2008)

Table 3.2: NORTHERN NDEBELE SOUND SYSTEM

PLACE OF ARTICULATION		CONTINUANTS										STOPS											
		RESONANT				FRICATIVE						AFFRICATE							EXPLOSIVE				
MANNER OF AIR RELEASE		Medial	Vibrant	Lateral	Nasal	Medial		Lateral		Medial		Medial				Lateral	Medial		Medial				
STATE OF GLOTTIS		Voiced	Voiced	Voiced	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiced	Radical	Voiced	Semi-voiced	Voiceless	Aspirated	Ejective	Ejective	Aspirated	Voiced	Devoiced	Radical	Aspirated	Voiced	Ejective
	Bilabial	w			m						β								b̥		ph	b	p'
	Dentilabial				ɱ	f					v												
	Interdental				n̪̊																		t̪
	Alveolar		r	l	n	s		ɬ	ɦ		z		tsh	tlh	tl'			dz	d̥		th		
	Palatal				ɲ		ʃ					dʒ	tʃh			tʃ'							
	Velar				ŋ	x										kx'	kxh		g̊	k	kh		k'
	Prevelar									ɦ													
	Glottal										ɦ												
	Prepalatal	j																					

Note: The table is according to the first revised Northern Ndebele Sound System (2000)

3.6 Phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele

There are numerous differences as well as similarities between the sound system of Southern and Northern Ndebele. The phonological differences these languages display can, to a large extent, be attributed to their contact with other, mainly, non-Nguni languages. Ziervogel (1959:43), for instance, points out that Northern Ndebele has more phonemes than any other written Nguni language. Wilkes (1997:76) remarks in this regard that

> 'One of the effects of widespread borrowing is that it may introduce
> new phonemes into the borrowing language.'

In the following paragraphs, the various differences in the sound system of Southern and Northern Ndebele are analysed and discussed under the following sub-headings –

(i) Differences in the phonemic inventories of Southern and Northern Ndebele

(ii) Zunda vs Tekela features in Southern and Northern Ndebele

(iii) The "(uku)ndrondroza" nasal compounds in Southern and Northern Ndebele, and finally,

(iv) Some salient phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele.

3.6.1 Differences in the phonemic inventories of Southern and Northern Ndebele

Phonemically, Southern and Northern Ndebele differ substantially from each other in that each of these languages contains phonemes that do not occur in the other. Wilkes (2001:8) remarks that

> '… Southern Ndebele has no less than 14 phonemes that do not occur in
> Northern Ndebele while the latter has 12 phonemes that do not occur in
> Southern Ndebele.'

The phonemes that these two languages do not have in common are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

3.6.2 Phonemes that occur in Southern Ndebele but not in Northern Ndebele

3.6.2.1 Click sounds

3.6.2.1.1 Clicks in Northern Ndebele

Most of the clicks found in the Nguni languages, such as isiZulu, are also found in Southern Ndebele and they are a unique feature of the Nguni languages. Northern Ndebele, in contrast to other Nguni languages, is unique in that it has no click sounds in its sound system. Ziervogel (1959:33) claims that, in the past, click sounds used to occur in the speech of Northern Ndebele speakers. To support this observation, Ziervogel (op. cit.:33) gives three plant names in Northern Ndebele that in older times were known by names with clicks in them. Compare the following examples.

(126)   mugqogolo [mu!gɔ̊gɔlɔ]   'scholopia eckloni' (a red pear tree relished by

                                       birds and wild pigs)

      nqaxi [n!axi]   'Lycium' (a type of shrub with white flowers.)

      muqhanu [mu!hanu]   'Rhus amerina' (also known as Rhus lancea.)

According to this researcher's informants, these edible fruit trees are no longer known by the above names with click sounds, as Ziervogel claims. Instead they are popularly known as **mutlhunu** ' (< Northern Sotho: *muhlono*) 'scholopia eckloni' and **musotlho** (< Northern Sotho*: musohlo*) 'Rhus lancea', respectively.

Ziervogel (op. cit.: 33) believes that the erstwhile clicks in Northern Ndebele could have been replaced by other non-click sounds. He points out that

> '…there are examples pointing to **kx [kx']** as being the equivalent of a
> click sound of other Nguni languages.'

He cites the nasal clicks /**nc**/ and **/nq/** as well as the palato-alveolar click /**q**/ as examples of clicks that have been replaced by non-click sounds in Northern Ndebele. According to Ziervogel, the former two clicks (i.e., **/nc**/ and /**nq**/) have been replaced by the velar nasal **ngh [ŋ]** and latter (i.e., **/q/**) by the ejective velar affricative **kx [kx']** in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following isiZulu and Northern Ndebele examples in which the isiZulu click sounds **/nc/,/nq/** and **/q/** have been substituted by the sounds **kx[kx']** and **ngh[ŋ],** respectively, in Northern Ndebele.

	IsiZulu	Northern Ndebele	
Palato alveolar (nasal) click (n)q [ŋ!] =		**Ejective velar affricate kx[kx']**	
(127a)	**-**qala	-kxwala	'begin'
	-eqa	-enkxa	'jump'
	-qeda	-kxeja	'finish'
	iqanda	likxanda	'egg'
Alveolar nasal click nc [ŋ/] =		**The velar nasal ngh[ŋ]**	
(127b)	-ncane	nghane	'small'
	inciliba (isiXhosa)	nghiliba	'ostrich'

Msimang (1989:127) and Wilkes (2001) both concur with Ziervogel regarding the absence of click sounds in Northern Ndebele. Wilkes (op. cit.:10) states that

> 'Northern Ndebele … has no click sounds. How this came about is not clear, especially as the presence of clicks is a prominent distinctive feature of all the other Nguni languages. It is possible, however, that in some instances at least, strong influence from the neighbouring Northern Sotho language could have been responsible for their demise and subsequent replacement by Northern   Sotho sounds.'

3.6.2.1.2 Clicks in Southern Ndebele

When Southern Ndebele is compared with Northern Ndebele, a remarkable gap exists between these two languages in that almost all click sounds that occur in other Nguni languages, such as isiZulu, are also found in Southern Ndebele. The following click phonemes occur in Southern Ndebele –

(i)   Dental Clicks

/c/ [/]: A voiceless dental click, e.g.

(128)	-coca [/ɔ/a]	'talk, discuss'
	-cina [/ina]	'be strong'

/ch/ [/h]: An aspirated dental click, e.g.

(129)	-chisa [/hisa]	'make a bed/ lay a table'
	-chaza [/haza]	'make happy'

/gc/ [/g]: A voiced dental click, e.g.

(130)	-gcugcuzela [/gu/guzɛla]	'encourage'
	-gcina [/gina]	'end/stop'

/nc/ [ŋ/]: A nasalised dental click, e.g.

(131)	-ncama [ŋ/ama]	'be determined'
	-ncenga [ŋ/ɛŋga]	'beg/pursue'

(ii) Palato-alveolar Clicks

/q/ [!]: A voiceless palato-alveolar click, e.g.

(132)	iqanda [i!anda]	'an egg'
	iqaqa [i!a!a]	'polecat'

/qh/ [!h]: An aspirated palato-alveolar click, e.g

(133)	-qhaka [!ha∫a]	'be poor'
	-qhaqha [!ha!ha]	'loosen/dismantle'

/gq/ [!g]: A voiced palato-alveolar click, e.g.

(134)   -gqaba [!gaɓa]   'inject'

          amagqubu [ama!guɓu]   'begrudge'

/ngq/ [ŋ!g]: A voiced nasalised palato-alveolar click, e.g.

(135)   ingqwangqwa [iŋ!gwaŋ!gwa] 'soft porridge'

          ingqondo [iŋ!gɔndɔ]   'brain/idea/mind'

(iii) Lateral Clicks

None of the lateral clicks found in other Nguni languages such as isiZulu occur in Southern Ndebele except for the nasal click **nx [ŋ//],** which only occurs in onomatopoeic ideophones and verbs derived from these ideophones. Compare the following examples in this regard.

          Southern Ndebele

(136)   nx [ŋ//]   'interjective of annoyance'

        nxafa [ŋ//afa]   'utter click of annoyance'

        nxanxabeza [[ŋ//aŋ//aɓɛza]   'handle with care/cautiousness'

3.6.2.2 Southern Ndebele Implosives

/b/ [ɓ]:   A bilabial implosive sound, e.g.

(137)   -bala [ɓala]   'count'

        -baba [ɓaɓa]   'be bitter'

Northern Ndebele uses a devoiced bilabial explosive **bh[b̥]** for this sound. Compare the following example in this regard.

          Northern Ndebele

(138)   bhabha [b̥ab̥a]   'father'

3.6.2.3 Fricatives

/**dlh/** [ɬh]: A voiced lateral aspirated alveolar fricative, e.g.

(139)   isidlhadlha [siɬhaɬha]   'a fool'

          idlhari [liɬhari]   'lightning'

This sound does not occur in Northern Ndebele. In Southern Ndebele it is the equivalent of the Northern Sotho alveolar affricative [tɬ']. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(140)   isidlhadlha [isiɬhaɬha]   'a fool'   (< Northern Sotho: setlatla)

        idlhari [iɬhari]   'lightning' (< Northern Sotho: letladi)

        idlhamedlhu [iɬhameɬhu] 'bullfrog' (< Northern Sotho: letlametlu)

3.6.3 Phonemes that occur in Northern Ndebele but not in Southern Ndebele

As is the case with phonemes that occur in Southern Ndebele but not in Northern Ndebele, there are no fewer than eleven phonemes in Northern Ndebele that do not occur in Southern Ndebele. These sounds are listed in the paragraphs that follow.

[Note: The phonemes distinguished by Ziervogel in Northern Ndebele but which are not recognized in the current revised Northern Ndebele spelling rules are indicated by 'Ziervogel'.]

3.6.3.1 Inter-dental phonemes

Northern Ndebele is unique in that it is the only Nguni language that has inter-dental phonemes. Wilkes (2001:9) remarks in this regard that

   'Inter-dental sounds are a very rare phenomenon in the sound systems of
    Nguni languages. Northern Ndebele is, in fact, the only Nguni language

that has inter-dental sounds and has, no doubt, acquired them from Venda during the Northern Ndebele people's prolonged contact with Venda people during earlier times …' (cf. Chapter Two)

According to the above statement, the inter-dental sounds found in the Northern Ndebele phoneme system have their origin in the language of the Venda people. In contrast, Ziervogel (1959) maintains that the inter-dental sounds found in Northern Ndebele are derived from the neighbouring Sotho dialects with which Northern Ndebele is in perpetual contact. Ziervogel (1959:12) remarks as follows in this regard.

'However, note has to be taken of the fact that some of the Sotho dialects of those regions where the (Northern) Ndebele contacted the Sotho are of the type that do not employ laterals, but inter-dentals instead… One may assume that Ndebele's inter-dental **ṱ** and post alveolar **th** came from contact with these dialects.'

The following inter-dental sounds occur in Northern Ndebele:

/t/ [ṱ']: A voiceless ejective inter-dental explosive, e.g.

(141) m̱manti [ma:ṉṱ'i] 'water'

tisa [ṱ'isa] 'bring'

/d/ [ḓ]: A voiced inter-dental explosive (Ziervogel.1959), e.g.

(142) dana [ḓana] 'come'

[Note: Msimang (1989:124) regards the inter-dental **d[ḓ]** as not forming part of the Northern Ndebele sound system but an ideolectical variant of the flapped **[d].**]

/n/ [ṉ]: An inter-dental nasal that only occurs in combination with the inter-dental ejective plosive **[ṱ],** e.g.

(143)   yenta [jɛn̥t'a]   'do'

    <u>m</u>manti [m:an̥t̬i]   'water'

3.6.3.2 Explosives

The following non-inter-dental explosive phoneme occurs in Northern Ndebele:

/gy/ [g̊y]: A devoiced palatal velar explosive, e.g.

(144)   gyibo [g̊yiɓɔ]   'it is they'

    emiragyeni [emirag̊yeni]   'at the cattle post

Ziervogel (1959:36) implicitly regards the palato-velar explosive **gy[g̊ y]** and its implosive counterpart **gy[gy]** as palatal variants of the velar explosive [g̊] and the velar implosive [ɠ] as they only occur before the vowels **[i], [î]** and **[ɛ]** (cf. examples in (119) above). However, in the revised Northern Ndebele spelling rules these sounds have been replaced with the devoiced velar explosive **g[g̊]** and the radical velar plosive **k[k]** (cf. examples in (79) and (81) above.)

3.6.3.3 Fricatives

    /h/ [h̀]: A radical prevelar glottal fricative, e.g.

(145)   lehumo [leh̀umɔ]   'wealth'

In Southern Ndebele this sound appears as a voiced glottal sound **[ɦ]**, (cf. examples in (30) above).

    /**sh**/ [ʃ]: A voiceless palatal fricative, e.g.

(146)   sheba [ʃɛβa]   'eat porridge with something'

    lishumi [liʃumi]   'ten'

Southern Ndebele uses the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricative **[tʃh]** for this sound. Compare the following examples in this regard;

(147)   -tjheba [tʃhɛɓa]   'eat porridge with something'.

             itjhumi [itʃhumi]   'ten'

/b/ [β]:   A bilabial voiced fricative, e.g.

(148)   kubaba [kuβaβa]   'to be sour or bitter'

In Southern Ndebele this sound occurs as a bilabial implosive **b[ɓ]** (cf. examples in (23) above).

/hy/ [hy]: A voiceless prevelar fricative (Ziervogel), e.g.

(149)   lihyudu [lihyûdû]   'mortar'

In Southern Ndebele this sound is represented by **h[ɦ]** as for instance in **ihumo [iɦumɔ]** 'wealth'. (See also the examples in (30) above.)

3.6.3.4 Affricatives

       kx [kxʼ]: A voiceless ejective velar affricate, e.g.

(150)   nkxomo [ŋkxʼɔmɔ]   'beast'

         tikxukxu [t̯ʼikxʼukxʼu]   'fowls'

In Southern Ndebele this sound is represented by the ejective velar explosive **k[kʼ]** (cf. examples in (18)).

3.6.3.5 Implosives (Ziervogel:1959)

Ziervogel distinguishes the following implosive variants as they occur in Northern Ndebele.

     /k/ [ɠ]: A voiced velar implosive, e.g.

(151)   kuguga [ɠuɠuɠa]   'to pick up/lift up'

None of the Nguni languages shares this sound with Northern Ndebele. In   Southern Ndebele it appears as a radical velar sound k**[ǩ]**, e.g.

(152)   [uǩůgůg̊a]   'to pick/ lift up'

/gy/ [gy]: A voiced palatal-velar implosive, e.g.
(153)   gyibo [gyiɓɔ]   'to them'

This voiced palatal-velar implosive **gy [gy]** is, in fact, a variant form of the velar explosive **g[g̊]** that according to Ziervogel (1959:36), occurs before the front vowels **[i],** **[î]**and **[ɛ]**. (cf. examples in (122) above.) None of the other Nguni languages has this sound. In Southern Ndebele, it occurs as a radical velar sound **k[ǩ]** as in the following examples –

(154)   kibo [ǩiɓɔ]   'to them'
             ukufa [uǩufa]   'death/to die'

The phonemic sounds that occur in Southern Ndebele only but not in Northern Ndebele as well as those that occur in the latter and not in the former language are summarized in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Sounds that Southern and Northern Ndebele do not have in common.

	SOUTHERN NDEBELE		NORTHERN NDEBELE	
SOUND	Place /Manner of articulation	Ordinary & Phonetic representation	Place/Manner of articulation	Ordinary & Phonetic representation

Clicks `	Dental Palatal-alveolar Lateral	c[/], ch[/h], gc [/g], nc[ŋ/] q[!],qh[!h],gq [!g],ngq[ŋ!q] nx[ŋ//]	NO CLICK SOUNDS	
Implosives	Bilabial	b[ɓ]	Voiced velar Voiced palatal-velar	k[ɠ] gy[gy']
Fricatives	Lateral aspirated alveolar	dlh[ɧh]	Radical pre-velar glottal Voiceless palatal Bilabial voiced Voiceless pre-velar	h[ɦ] sh[ʃ] b[β] hy[hy]
Affricatives	Lateral ejective velar		Voiceless ejective velar	kx[kx']
Inter-dentals	NO INTER-DENTALS		Voiceless explosive Voiced Explosive Nasal	t[t̪] d[d̪] n[n̪]

Explosives	Voiced velar	g[g]	Devoiced	
	Devoiced velar	g[g̊]	palato-velar	gy[g̊y]

Despite the numerous phonemes that are unique in each language, there are also several phonemic sounds that occur in both languages but that are not written in the same way in these languages. These sounds are listed in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Sounds that occur in both languages but are written differently

SOUND	SOUTHERN NDEBELE	NORTHERN NDEBELE
Affricatives		
Voiceless velar	rh[x]	x[x]
Aspirated velar	kgh[kxh]	kx[kx]
Glottal		
Voiced	h[ɦ]	hh[ɦ]

3.6.4 Zunda versus Tekela phonemic features in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The classification of the Bantu languages of the so-called South Eastern Zone into Zunda and Thekela Nguni language groups is mainly based on the fact that where the languages in the Zunda language group, such as Southern Ndebele for instance, employ the voiced alveolar fricative phoneme **z[z],** languages belonging to the Thekela language group, such as Northern Ndebele for instance, employ the ejective inter-dental explosive phoneme **t [t̪]**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
Zunda	**Thekela**	
(155) le**zi** [lezi]	le**ti** [let̪i]	'these ones'
umu**zi** [umuzi]	mu**ti** [mut̪i]	'homestead'

umfa**z**i [umfazi]	mufa**t**i [mufa ṯ̦i]	'woman'
zikhona [zikhɔna]	**t**ikhona [ṯ̦ikhɔna]	'they are there'

In addition to the above phonemic differences, Southern Ndebele, as a Zunda Nguni language, practises the so-called *vowel coalescence* strategy whereby the combination of the low neutral vowel **a** plus the high vowel **i** or **u**, gives rise to a new vowel **/e/** or **/o/,** respectively. By contrast Northern Ndebele, as a Thekela language, practises the so-called '*substitution of e' rule* whereby the combinations of **a + a, a + i** , and **a + u** are always substituted by the vowel /**e**/. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(156) **Southern Ndebele**   **Northern Ndebele**

   w**a** + **u**muzi > w**o**muzi   w**a** + (u)muti   > w**e**muti 'of a home'

   ng**a** + **i**zinto > ng**e**zinto   g**a** + (i)tinro   > g**e**tinro 'by means of things'

   n**a** + **a**bafazi > n**a**bafazi   n**a** + (a)bafati > n**e**bafati 'with women'

3.7 Phonological differences in the nasal compounds of Southern and Northern Ndebele

There are numerous phonological differences that occur in the nasal compounds of Southern and Northern Ndebele. These differences will be discussed under the following sub-headings –

       (i)   the Ur-Bantu nasal compounds in the Nguni languages

       (ii) the ndrondroza nasal compounds in Southern and Northern Ndebele

       (iii) denasalization in the nasal compounds of Southern and Northern Ndebele.

3.7.1 The Ur-Bantu nasal compounds in the Nguni languages

Meinhof (1932:85) distinguishes two kinds of nasal compounds in the African languages namely the so-called

(i) original nasal compounds which are the nasal compounds that occur in word stems, and

(ii) the nasal compounds formed by means of the Ur-Bantu class prefix of class 9, (i.e., **/ni**/) and that of Class 1 and Class 3 (i.e., /**mu**-/).

In comparative Bantu linguistics it is customary to refer to the original nasal compounds as the primary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds or just primary nasal compounds and to the later compounds as the secondary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds or secondary nasal compounds.

In most Nguni languages the vowel of the Ur-Bantu Class prefix of Classes 1 and 3 (i.e., **/mu/**) normally drops out before polysyllabic stems causing the nasal to become syllabic as is shown in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

	Before polysyllabic stems (vowel /u/ dropped)		**Before monosyllabic stems (vowel /u/ retained)**	
(157) **Class 1**:	u**m**-sana	'boy'	(cf. u**mu**-ntu	'person')
	u**m**-ntwana	'a child'	(cf. u**mu**-Thwa	'Bushman')
	u**m**-khethwa	'initiate'	(cf. u**mu**-fi	'the deceased')
Class 3	u**m**-thunzi '	'shadow'	(cf. u**mu**-zi	'village')
	u**m**-thombo	'fountain'	(cf. u**mu**-t*hi	'tree')
	u**m**-khono	'arm'	(cf. u**mu**-no	'finger')

Northern Ndebele is the only Nguni language where vowel elision in the case of Classes 1 and 3 does not occur at all, which means that the vowel **/u/** of the basic prefix **/mu/** is retained before both polysyllabic and monosyllabic stems. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in (158a) and (158b) in this regard.

Before monosyllabic stems (vowel /u/ retained)

(158a)   **mu-**nru   'person'

              mu-no   'finger'

              mu-ti   'village'

Before polysyllabic stems

(158b)   **mu-**lomo   'mouth'

              mu-dlaluko   'game'

              mu-fati   'woman'

              mu-gegulu   'old woman'

Vowel elision also occurs in the case of the Ur-Bantu Class 9 prefix **/ni/**. This happens in all Nguni languages, resulting in the nasal of this prefix becoming juxtaposed to the following consonant. As a result of this juxtaposition various phonemic changes involving this nasal as well as the following consonant take place. Van Eeden (1956:35) refers to this process as '*nasalisasie*' (nasalisation). Consider, for instance, the following isiZulu examples in this regard where this prefixal juxtaposed nasal **/n/** has caused the following aspirated consonant to drop its aspiration and become ejective.

IsiZulu

(159)   /ni- + **kh**onza /   > in**k**onzo [iŋk'ɔnzɔ] 'sermon'

         /ni- + **ph**ila/   > im**p**ilo [imp'ilɔ]   'life'

         /ni- + **th**anda/   > in**t**ando [int'andɔ]   'will'

In Southern Ndebele this elision has gone a step further in so far as the nasal of this class prefix is concerned. This nasal drops off when followed by a voiceless consonant, but not before it had effected certain changes in the phonemic features of the following consonant. This process of (de)nasalisation can be illustrated as follows.

Stage 1 **B./ni/** + voiceless	→	Stage 2 nasalization	→	Stage 3 denasalization
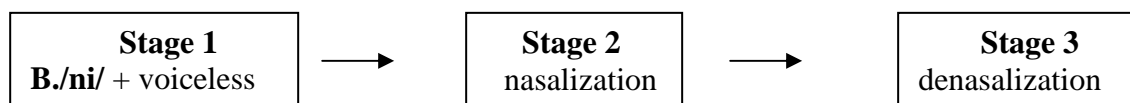
Compare in this regard the following examples where the prefixal nasal **/n/** had first changed the aspirated plosives **/kh/; /th/** and **/ph**/ to become ejective as in isiZulu after which it falls away as in Southern Ndebele.

	Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3	
	(Ur-Bantu)		**(IsiZulu)**		**(Southern Ndebele)**	
(160)	/ni + **kh**omo/	>	[iŋk'ɔmɔ]	>	[ik'ɔmɔ]	'beast'
	/ni + **ph**umula	>	[imp'umɛlɛlɔ]	>	[ip'umɛlɛlɔ]	'success'
	/ni + **ph**ila/	>	[imp'ilɔ]	>	[ip'ilɔ]	'life'
	/ni + **th**anda/	>	[int'andɔ]	>	[it'andɔ]	'free will'

Before voiced consonants, however, this nasal does not drop off, which means that the denasalization rule that applies before voiceless consonants as in the examples given in (160) above does not apply here. This nasal may, however, generate changes in the phonemic structure of the following voiced consonant as can be seen in some of the examples given in (161) below. Compare, in this regard, the following Southern Ndebele examples where the Class 9 nasal has been retained.

	Stage 1	Stage 2	
(161)	/ni + duna/	induna [induna]	'headman'
	/ni + goma/	ingoma [iŋgɔma]	'song'
	/ni + βu/	imvu [iɱɸvu]	'sheep'
	/ni + βulî/	imbuzi [imbuzi]	'goat'

3.7.2 (Uku)ndrondroza nasal compounds in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The word **ukundrondroza** (or **ndrondroza** for short) is the name used by many Nguni speakers to refer to the peculiar vibrant nasal compounds found in some of the Nguni languages, notably in the two Ndebele languages and in Mpondo, whereby the equivalents of the Ur-Bantu nasal compounds **/nd/** and **/nt/** are rendered with a vibrant phoneme **/r/,** i.e., as **[nr], [nd̥r]** and **[ndr]**, respectively**.** Loosely translated, the name **(uku)ndrondroza** signifies how to pronounce the nasal compound /**nd/** or **/nt/** as **/ndr/** Compare in this regard the following Southern Ndebele words containing the **ndrondroza** nasal compounds with their isiZulu counterparts.

	Southern Ndebele		isiZulu	
(162)	isonto	[isɔnd̥rɔ]	[isɔnt'ɔ]	'Sunday'
	isiphundu	[isiphundru]	[isiphundu]	'back of head'
	into	[ind̥rɔ]	[int'ɔ]	'thing'

3.7.2.1 Ndrondroza nasal compounds in Southern Ndebele

The so-called (**uku)ndrondroza** phenomenon affects four nasal compounds in Southern Ndebele. They are the Ur-Bantu primary nasal compounds **/nd/** and **/nt/** and the Ur-Bantu secondary nasal compounds **nt** (< B. **ni**-**t**) and **nd** (< B. **ni-l**). The primary and secondary nasal compound **/nt**/ has, apart from its **ndrondroza** form, a variant form **[nd]** in Southern Ndebele as shown in the following examples.

                          Southern Ndebele

(163)	umkho**nt**o[umkhɔndɔ] or [umkhɔnd̥rɔ]	'spear'
	iso**nt**o[isɔndɔ] or [isɔnd̥rɔ]	'Church/Sunday'
	aba**nt**u [aɓandu] or [aɓand̥ru])	'people'
	i**nt**ombi [indombi] or [ind̥rɔmbi]	'girl'
	i**nt**amo [indamɔ] or [ind̥ramɔ]	'neck'

i**nt**ando [indandɔ]   or [inḓrandrɔ]   'will'

The rule governing the dropping of the nasal /**N**/ (or denasalisation) before stems beginning on a voiceless consonants, such as the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive **t[t']**, does not apply to all Class 9 noun stems beginning on **[t']** in Southern Ndebele.

In the paragraphs that follow the focus falls on the '**ndrondrofication**' of these compounds in Southern Ndebele.

3.7.2.1.1 Ndrondrozafication of the primary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds B./nt/ and /nd/ in Southern Ndebele

The **ndrondroza** form of the primary nasal compounds **/nt**/ and **/nd/** in Southern Ndebele is **[nḓr] (< nt)** and **[ndr] (< nd/),** respectively. As stated earlier, these nasal compounds only occur in word stems. Compare the following examples in this regard;

Southern Ndebele

(164) **B./nt/**   umkho**nt**o [umkhɔnḓrɔ]   'assegai'

umu**nt**u   [umunḓru]   'person'

isikhu**nt**a [isikhunḓra]   'mould'

B. /nd/   -tha**nd**a [thandra]   'love'

-si**nd**a [sindra]   'be saved'

-la**nd**ela [landrɛla]   'follow'

3.7.2.1.2 Ndrondrozafication of secondary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds /nt/ and /nd/ in Southern Ndebele

Secondary nasal compounds, i.e., compounds formed by Ur-Bantu **/ni/,** do not only occur in Class 9 noun prefixes in Southern Ndebele but are also found in Classes 8 and 10

nouns in this language. Here, the focus falls on the secondary nasal compounds **/nt/** and **/nd/** that occur in Class 9 nouns, as outlined below.

(i) Secondary nasal compounds in Class 9

According to earlier scholars such as Van Warmelo (1930:26) and Potgieter (1945:28), both the primary and secondary voiceless Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nt**/ occur as a voiced nasal compound **[nd]** in Southern Ndebele while its voiced Ur-Bantu counterpart **[nd]** occurs as **[nd]** in this language. According to these scholars, the Southern Ndebele voiceless nasal compound **[nt]** has shifted from its original Ur-Bantu form **/nt/** to its voiced counterpart **[nd].** Consider the following examples of secondary nasal compounds as cited by Van Warmelo (op. cit.:26) in this regard.

<div align="center">

Southern Ndebele

</div>

(165) **B./nt/ > [nd]** e.g.   [indaɓa] (i)   'mountain'   (cf. isiZulu [int'aɓa]

                       [indambɔ]   'thong'   (cf. isiZulu: [int'ambɔ]

                       [indɔ]   'thing'   (cf. isiZulu: [int'ɔ]

   B./nd/ = [nd] e.g.   [indaɓa] (ii)   'matter/issue'

                       [induna]   'headman'

                       [indɔd̥a]   'man'

Although **intaba [indaɓa]** (i) 'mountain' and **indaba [indaɓa]** (ii) 'matter, issue' differ orthographically, but they are pronounced by many speakers in exactly the same way except for the difference in tone on the second syllable (i.e., **indába** 'mountain' and '**indaba** 'affair, issue').

In a recent investigation by Wilkes (1997) and one by Skhosana (1998), the above observation has been found to be only partially accurate in that both the primary (cf. examples in (165) above) and secondary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds **/nt/** and **/nd/** occur

not only as **[nd]** in this language but also as compounds with an intruding phoneme **/r/,** i.e., as **[n̩d̥ r]** and **[ndr],** respectively. In the case of B.**/nt/,** its Southern Ndebele equivalent has undergone a further change in that the voiced plosive phoneme **/d/** of this compound has become a devoiced **[d̥].** It was also found that it is mostly in the speech of speakers belonging to the Nzunza section of the Southern Ndebele language group that these vibrant nasal compounds normally occur. Consider the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(166) **B./nt/** > **[nd̥ r] or [nd]**

into	> [ind̥rɔ]	(or [indɔ])	'thing'
intaba	> [ind̥raɓa]	(or [indaɓa])	'mountain'
intombi	> [ind̥rombi]	(or [indombi])	'girl'

B. /nd/ = **[ndr] or [nd]**

indoda	> [indrɔd̥a]	(or [indɔd̥a])	'man'
induna	> [indruna]	(or [induna])	'headman'
indaba	> [indraɓa]	(or [indaɓa])	'affair'

The two **ndrondroza** variants **[nd̥r]** and **[ndr]** are much more common in the speech of Southern Ndebele speakers than their non-**ndrondroza** counterparts **[nt**] and **[nd].** The latter are preferred by the younger generation of the Nzunza speakers as well as by speakers belonging to the Manala sub-group and they are reflected in the practical orthography of Southern Ndebele. In other words, the Southern Ndebele equivalents of the Ur-Bantu nasal compounds /**nt/** and **/nd/,** as outlined above**,** are written in their **non-ndrondroza** form, i.e., as /**nt/** and /**nd/,** respectively. Compare the following examples in (167a) and (167b) below in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(167a) **int**aba   (*instead of* **indr**aba   or **ind**aba)   'mountain'

umkho**nt**o   (*instead of* umkho**ndr**o or umkho**nd**o)   'spear'

intando   (*instead of* **indr**andro   or **ind**and**o**)   'liking'

(167b) **ind**aba   (*instead of* **indr**aba)   'affair/issue'

indoda   (*instead of* **indr**oda)   'man'

umla**ndu**   (*instead of* umla**ndr**u)   'case'

(ii) Secondary nasal compounds in Classes 8 and 10

(a) Class 8

In most African languages, particularly the Nguni languages, the noun class prefix of Class 8 does not include a nasal. This is, however, not the situation in Southern Ndebele where the prefix of this class does include a nasal. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples with their counterparts in isiZulu.

	Southern Ndebele	**isiZulu**	
	Class 8	**Class 8**	
(168)	ii**n**khova	izikhova	'owls'
	ii**n**khathi	izikhathi	times''
	ii**n**thandwa	izithandwa	'lovers'
	ii**n**thombe	izithombe	'pictures'
	ii**m**phofu	iziphofu	'blind people'
	ii**m**phetho	iziphetho	'conclusions'

(b) Class 10

As in most of the Nguni languages, with the exception of Northern Ndebele, the nouns of Class 10 in Southern Ndebele include a nasal in their prefix. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples with their counterparts in isiZulu.

	Southern Ndebele		**isiZulu**
	Class 10		**Class 10**
(169)	ii**n**komo	'beasts'	izi**n**komo
	ii**n**goma	'songs'	izi**n**goma
	ii**m**pilo	'lives'	izi**m**pilo
	ii**n**dawo	'places.	izi**n**dawo

From Southern Ndebele examples in (168) and (169) above, it would appear as if the class prefix of Class 8 is morphologically identical to that of Class 10 as both these prefixes have the same (basic) form, i.e., **iin-**. In Chapter Four, an analysis of the morphological differences between Class 8 and Class 10 nouns in Southern Ndebele is given where it is shown that these two class prefixes are, in fact, not the same morphologically. A peculiar feature of the secondary nasal compounds in Class 8 and Class 10 in Southern Ndebele is that the secondary nasal compounds in Class 10 may be **ndrondrozafied** while those in Class 8 are not. Compare the examples in (170a) and (170b) in this regard.

	Class 8			**Class 10**
	B./nt/ = [nt']		=	**[nd] or [nd̥r]**
(170a)	[iint'ɛŋgwana]	'wire traps for wild doves'		[iindombi] or [iind̥rombi] 'girls'
	[iint'at'aɲiswa]	'guests'		[iindaɓa] or [iind̥raɓa]'mountains'
	[iint'ɛt'ɛ]	'muddy places'		[iindandɔ] or [iind̥randrɔ] 'likings'
	[iint'ut'u]	'full bodies of chicken'		[iinduthu] or [ind̥ruthu] 'smokes'

	B./nd̥/ = [nd̥]		=	**[nd] : or [ndr]**
(170b)	[iind̥unu]	'big buttocks		[iindawɔ] or [iindrawɔ] 'places'

[iind̥akwa] 'drunkards'   [iinduna] or [iindruna] 'chiefs'

[iind̥ ɛŋgɛ] 'stupids'   [iindima] or [iindrima] 'spaces'

[iind̥ud̥u]   'types of porridge'   [iinduli]   or [iindruli]   'types of

grass of making grass mat.'

[Note: As stated earlier, the **ndrondroza** nasal compounds are not reflected in the official Southern Ndebele orthography.]

3.7.2.1.3 Ndrondrozafication of nasal compounds in loanwords in Southern Ndebele

The **ndrondrozafication** of nasal compounds is not limited to traditional Southern Ndebele words only. This investigation has found that this phenomenon also occurs in most loanwords, notably in words adopted from Afrikaans and English, respectively. However, the **ndrondrozafication** in loanwords differs from that in traditional Southern Ndebele words in that it is restricted to *primary nasal compounds* only, that is, secondary nasal compounds occurring in loanwords that belong to Class 8 and Class 10 are normally not **ndrondrozafied** in Southern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in (171a), (171b) and (172) below in this regard.

B./nt/   =   Class 8 [nt']

(171a)   iintandi [ii**nt**'andri] 'stands'   (< English 'stands')

iintulo   [ii**nt**'ulɔ] 'chairs'   (< Afrikaans *'stoel'*)

iintofu   [ii**nt**'ofu] 'stoves'   (< Afrikaans *'stoof'*)

iintina   [ii**nt**'ina] 'bricks'   (< Afrikaans *'steen'*)

(171b)   **Class 10 [nt']**

iintanghi [ii**nt**'aŋi] 'pair of pliers'   (< Afrikaans *'tang'*)

iintiye   [ii**nt**'ijɛ] 'kinds of teas'   (< Afrikaans *'tee'*)

iintende [ii**nt**'ɛndrɛ] 'tents'   (< Afrikaans *'tent'*)

iintandadi[ii**nt**'andrad̥i] 'standards'   (< English 'standards')

iintamati [ii**nt**'amat'i] 'tomatoes'   (< Afrikaans *'tamatie'*)

B./nd/ = Class 10 [nd̥]

(172)   iindayi [iind̥aji]   'dyes'   (< English)

          iinderefude [iind̥ɛrefud̥ɛ]   'tripods' (< Afrikaans '*drievoet*')

          iindadamu [iind̥ad̥amu]   'dates'   (< Afrikaans '*datum*')

[Note: Southern Ndebele does not seem to have any Class 8 nouns borrowed from Afrikaans or English that contain the secondary nasal compound **/nd/** as no such nouns were found in this investigation.]

Unlike their secondary counterparts, **ndrondrozafied** primary nasal compounds occur in many Southern Ndebele words that have been borrowed from English and Afrikaans, including those that fall under Class 8. Compare the following examples in this regard.

      Words Borrowed from English

(173a)   isitandi   [isit'a**ndr**i]   or   [isit'andi]   'stand'

          itende   [it'ɛ**ndr**ɛ]   or   [it'ɛndɛ]   'tent'

          ipende   [ip'ɛ**ndr**ɛ]   or   [ip'ɛndɛ]   'paint'

          ikhalenda [ikhalɛ**ndr**a] or   [ikhalɛnda]   'calendar'

      Words Borrowed from Afrikaans

(173b)   iponde   [ip'ɔ**ndr**ɛ] or [ip'ɔndɛ]   (< Afrikaans: *pont)*   'pound'

          ibhande [ibḁ**ndr**ɛ] or [ibḁndɛ]   (< Afrikaans: *band*)   'belt'

While many loanwords in Southern Ndebele contain **ndrondrozafied** primary nasal compound there is also a substantial number of these words in this language that for some inexplicable reason do not permit their primary nasal compounds to be **ndrondrozafied**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(174)   usende[usɛ**ndɛ**]   'cent'   (not [usɛ**nd̥ɾɛ**])

  iranda [ira**nd**a]   'rand'   (not [ira**ndɾ**a])

  -rondo [rɔ**ndɔ**]   'round'   (not [rɔ**ndɾɔ**])   (<Afr:*rond*)

  -rhasondo [xasɔ**nɗ**]   'healthy'   (not [xasɔ**ndɾɔ**])   (<Afr:*gesond*)

The intrusion of the vibrant phoneme **/r**/ into the Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nt/** in Southern Ndebele is impermissible unless the voiceless explosive /**t**/ changes to the devoiced alveolar explosive /**d/[d̥]** through the influenced of the Ur-Bantu nasal /**ni**/ as can be illustrated in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: The influence of the Ur-Bantu nasal /ni/ in the Southern Ndebele nasal compound /nt/

1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage
+ aspiration: B. /ni/ + th	- aspiration: [nt']	intrusion of /r/: [nd̥r]
e.g. ni-**th**o ni-**th**enga ni-**th**anda ni-**th**omba	i**nt**o i**nt**engo i**nt**ando i**nt**ombi	[i**nd̥**rɔ]'thing' [i**nd̥**rɛŋgɔ] 'price' [i**nd**randrɔ] 'liking' [i**nd̥**rombi] 'girl'

The nasal compound **/nt/** in Class 9 nouns either drops its nasal **/N/** or renders it as **/nd/** to permit *ndrondrozafication* in Southern Ndebele. Phonologically, the nasal **/N/** first exerts its influence before the aspirated alveolar explosive **/th**/ and, thereafter, drops (i.e., /**n**/ + /**th**/   > (n)t > t[t']] or influences the aspirated alveolar explosive /**th**/ to become a devoiced alveolar explosive /**d**/ (i.e., **n + th** > **nt** > [**nd̥**]) in order to trigger the so-called *ndrondrozafication.* (cf examples in Table 3.5 above).

3.7.2.2 The Ndrondrozafication of nasal compounds in Northern Ndebele

The so-called **ndrondroza** phenomenon that Southern Ndebele exhibits also occurs in Northern Ndebele, albeit in a somewhat different form. In the following paragraphs, the **ndrondrozafication** of the various nasal compounds in Northern Ndebele is investigated and discussed.

3.7.2.2.1 Ndrondrozafication of the primary and secondary nasal compounds [nt] and [nd] in Northern Ndebele

According to Ziervogel (1959:29-30), the primary Ur-Bantu voiceless nasal compound **B./nt/** in Northern Ndebele occurs as either a retroflexive nasal compound **nr[nɽ],** or as a fully voiced retroflexive **ndr[ndɽ],** or as a post alveolar nasal compound **nd[nd]**. Its voiced Ur-Bantu counterpart **B./nd/** occurs as a devoiced retroflexive nasal compound **[nd̥ɽ]** or as a devoiced post alveolar nasal compound **[nd̥]** . Compare the following examples in (175a) and (175b) in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(175a) **B./nt/**   **[nɽ]**   or **[ndɽ]**   or **[nd]**

        [umun ɽu]   or [umundɽu]   or [mundu]   'person'

        [nɽaβa]   or [ndɽaβa]   or [ndaβa]   'mountain'

(175b) **B./nd/**   **[nd̥ɽ]**   or **[nd̥]**

        [nd̥ɽaβa]   or   [nd̥aβa]   'affair'

        [lind̥ɽa]   or   [lind̥a]   'wait'

        [muland̥ɽu]   or   [muland̥u]   'case'

Ziervogel's observation of the primary and secondary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds in Northern Ndebele can be summarised as follows –

Northern Ndebele

			Primary		**Secondary**
(176)	**B./nt/**	=	[nʈ] / [ndʈ] / [nd]	=	[nʈ]/ndʈ]/[nd]
	B. /nd/	=	[nḍ] / [nḍ ʈ]	=	[nḍ] / [ndʈ]

This shows that **B./nt/** and **B. /nd**/, according to Ziervogel, have the same reflection in Northern Ndebele irrespective of whether they occur as primary or secondary nasal compounds.

However, recent studies of the phonological structure of Northern Ndebele undertaken by Skhosana (1998) and Wilkes (2001:16) have shown that Ziervogel's earlier observation regarding the **ndrondrozafication** of the nasal compounds in Northern Ndebele no longer seems to apply in Northern Ndebele of today. Both these investigators have found that it is only the (secondary) Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nt/** that is currently still **ndrondrozafied** in Northern Ndebele. Consider the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(177) **[nr]**

[nr'ɛthɛ] 'locust' (cf. isiZulu [int'ɛthɛ])

[nraɓa] 'mountain' (cf. isiZulu [int'aɓa])

[nrɔ] 'something' (cf. isiZulu [int'ɔ])

According to the examples in (176) above, particularly in secondary nasal compounds, the only actively used variant form of the nasal compound **/nt/** in Northern Ndebele

speech communities is **[nr]** rather than **[ndr]** or **[nd]** as identified by Ziervogel (1959:29).

However, inconsistency does exist amongst speakers of Northern Ndebele in the case where the nasal compound **/nt/** occurs as a primary nasal compound. Speakers pronounce some words containing the nasal compound /**nt/** with **ndrondrozafication** whilst other words are pronounced without. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(178) sondarha [sɔndaxa]   (and not [sɔnraxa])   'Sunday' (cf. isiZulu:iso**nt**o)

      mukhondo [mukhɔndɔ] (and not [mukhɔnrɔ])   'spear' (cf. isiZulu:umkho**nt**o)

The **ndrondrozafication** of the Ur-Bantu nasal compound **/nd/** has for unknown reasons been abandoned as it no longer occurs in Northern Ndebele. This nasal compound /**nd/** is currently and consistently being pronounced in a non-**ndrondrozafied** form, i.e., as **[nd̥]**. Consider the following examples in this regard.

      Northern Ndebele

(179)   **B./nd/**

      [nd̥una]   'headman'   (cf. isiZulu: [induna])

      [nd̥ɔd̥a]   'man'   (cf. isiZulu: [indɔd̥a])

      [nd̥awɔ]   'place'   (cf. isiZulu: [indawɔ])

      [mand̥ɛɓɛlɛ]   'Ndebele people'   (cf. isiZulu: [amandɛɓɛlɛ])

      [lind̥a]   'wait'   (cf. isiZulu: [linda])

3.7.2.2.2 Ndrondrozafication in loanwords in Northern Ndebele

According to Northern Ndebele informants, the **ndrondrozafication** of the secondary and primary nasal compounds in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English does not

occur in Northern Ndebele. These nasal compounds remain **un-ndrodrozafied** as can be seen in the following Northern Ndebele examples in (180a) and (180b) below.

B./nt/ = [nt']

(180a)	ntamatisi[**nt**'amat'isi]	(not [nramat'isi])	'tomato'
	ntente [**nt**'ɛnt'ɛ]	(not [nrɛnrɛ])	'tent'
	ntiye [**nt**'ijɛ]	(not [nrijɛ])	'tea'

B./nd/ = [nd]

(180b)	mpende [mp'ɛndɛ]	(and not [mp'ɛnrɛ]	'paint'
	mpondo [mp'ɔndɔ]	(and not [mp'ɔnrɔ]	'pound
	lipande [lip'andɛ]	(and not [lip'anrɛ]	'band'

Where precisely these peculiar vibrant nasal compounds in Southern and Northern Ndebele have originated from, remains a mystery. What is clear is that, however, these compounds could not have originated from any of the neighbouring Sotho languages (namely Sepedi or Setswana) as none of these languages has nasal compounds that are even remotely reminiscent of the **ndrondroza** nasal compounds of these two Ndebele languages.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele have been analysed and discussed. Ziervogel's (1959) views regarding the Northern Ndebele sound system against the latest version has been given attention. It is evident that phonologically the two Ndebele languages differ substantially from each other. Southern Ndebele, for instance, has a certain number of sounds that do not occur in its northern counterpart (e.g. clicks sounds), whilst Northern Ndebele also certain sounds that do not exist in its southern counterpart (e.g., inter-dental sounds).

Phonologically the discussion has revealed that although both languages recognize the so-called denasalisation and **(uku)ndrondroza** phonological features, which is a non-existent feature in the other Nguni languages, they occur differently. This chapter has further shown that the two Ndebele languages do not fall under the same Nguni language sub-groups. Southern Ndebele, for instance, reveals that it contains Zunda-Nguni elements, whilst Northern Ndebele demonstrates that it has Tekela-Nguni elements. In the next chapter the morphophonological differences between the two Ndebele languages are discussed.

CHAPTER 4

MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, this research will focus on the morphophonological differences that distinguish Southern and Northern Ndebele from each other. Crystal (1997:250) defines morphophonology as

> 'A branch of linguistic referring to the analysis and classification of the phonological factors which affect the appearance of morphemes, or, correspondingly, the grammatical factors which affect the appearance of phonemes…'

To state it differently, morphophonology, which is sometimes referred to as morphonology or morphophonemics, is that part of the grammar of a language that deals solely with rules governing sound changes that occur when certain morphemes combine with one another. It deals with the phonological changes that sometimes come about when two morphemes combine with each other. Finch (2000:59) says it in a simpler manner that morphophonology is the study of phonology and the audiological (sound) structure of morphemes.

The morphophonological differences that exist between Southern and Northern Ndebele are further discussed under the following headings –

- (i)   consonant assimilation
- (ii) syllabification
- (iii) palatalization
- (iv) vowel elision
- (v)   labialization and

(vi) denasalization in the nasal compounds of Southern and Northern
Ndebele.

4.2 Differences in consonant assimilation

According to Meinhof (1932:13), when sounds immediately follow one another they exert an influence on one another in two different ways, these may be described as assimilation and dissimilation. Finch (2000:43) prefers the term "co-articulation" for this phonological process and propounds that in normal running speech it is usual to economise on the effort involved in articulation by relaxing the motor control of the speech organs, which results in segments running into each other.

These sound influences can either result in assimilation, which is the phonological process whereby one sound is modified in order to make it more similar to the other with regard to articulation, or in dissimilation. Dissimilation, as opposed to assimilation, is defined by Katamba (1992:94) as the phonological process which ensures that the differences between sounds are enhanced so that sounds become more auditorily distinct. Katamba (op. cit.:84) further comments that

> 'When discussing assimilation, it is useful to look at processes in terms
> of directionality, i.e. we can say whether a sound becomes more like
> either the sound that precedes it or the sound that follows it.'

Assimilation, or co-articulation, is a common phonological feature in the Nguni languages and may be either progressive or regressive. According to Ziervogel (1986:65-66), progressive assimilation is when the second sound is made similar to the first whilst in retrogressive assimilation the first sound is made similar to the second. This implies that in progressive assimilation, the second sound changes because of the influence of the preceding sound (e.g. **B.[ni] + B.[l] > B.[nd]**, meaning that the lateral sound **l** has changed to **d**, because of a nasal **n**), whilst in retrogressive assimilation the first sound changes because of the influence of the second sound (e.g. **B[ni] + [kh] > nk[ŋk']**, the alveolar nasal **n** has changed to a velar nasal **[ŋ].)**

Crystal (1997:25) distinguishes what he calls coalescent or reciprocal assimilation which entails the mutual (or fusion) influence of sounds upon one another. This phonological process can either be complete or incomplete. In the case of complete assimilation, the sounds juxtaposed to each other change and become identical to one another, whilst in incomplete assimilation the two sounds become similar to each other. Assimilation is an umbrella term that refers to the various morphophonological changes that come about as a result of either vowel or consonant assimilation.

There are several differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as consonant assimilation is concerned. These differences are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

4.2.1 Consonant assimilation in Southern Ndebele

In Southern Ndebele, consonant assimilation only involves the assimilation of the alveolar nasal **/n/** that occurs in the class prefix of Classes 9 and 10 nouns as well as the adjective concords of these classes. In these instances, the nasal **/n/** of the class prefix assimilates with the following consonant by taking up the same articulatory position as that of the following consonant. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(1) [n +ɓ] > [mb]   e.g. in-bonga > imbongi 'bard'
                            en-bi   > embi   'an ugly one

     [n + v] > [ɱʤv]   e.g. izin – vu > izimvu   'sheep'
                            ezin-bili > ezimbili 'two'

     [n + k'] > [ŋk'] e.g. iin - kabi > iinkabi 'oxen'

[Note: There are no adjectives in Southern Ndebele with an assimilated velar nasal as this nasal is normally omitted.] Compare the following example in this regard.

(2) en-khulu > ekulu 'a big one'

4.2.2 Consonant assimilation in Northern Ndebele

Whereas consonant assimilation only applies to a single (nasal) phoneme in Southern Ndebele, it applies to three different phonemes in Northern Ndebele. They are the alveolar nasal **/n/**, the bilabial fricative phoneme **[β]** and the lateral phoneme **/l/.** The assimilation of these phonemes occurs in the following environments –

4.2.2.1 Assimilation of the alveolar nasal /n/

4.2.2.1.1 Assimilation of the nasal /n/ in the class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns

The assimilation of this nasal occurs when it forms part of the class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns in Northern Ndebele as well as when it functions as the subject and object concord, respectively of the 1st person singular. Note that the adjective concords of Classes 9 and 10 do not contain a nasal in Northern Ndebele, (cf. Chapter Five, Table 5.1). Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

In Class 9

(3) [n + r]   > [nth]   e.g.   ni–rabhela   > nthabhelo   'prayer'

[n + bh] > [mbh]   e.g.   ni-biṯa   > mbhiṯo   'meeting'

[n + kh] > [Nkh]   e.g.   ni-khamba   > nkhambo   'journey'

4.2.2.1.2 Assimilation of the nasal /n/ as subject and object concord of the 1st person singular

The basic form of the subject and object concord of the 1st person singular in Northern Ndebele is **ndi**. This form is found in three environments, that is, before vowels, semi-vowels as well as before object concords. Compare the following examples of the subject and object concord in this regard.

Before vowels:

(4a) **Ndi**akha ndlu   'I build a house.'

Banru baMashashane ba**ndi**enta munrwana   'People of Mashashane make me a

child.'

Before semi-vowels:

(4b) **Ndi**wubonile muti kabhabha.   'I saw my father's home.'

Nkxomo le **ndi**yithengile.   'I bought this beast.'

Before object concords:

(4c)   Bulwele **ndi**bufumene eMgombhane.   'I got the sickness from Mgombhane.'

Tolo **ndi**muvile asumayela.   'I heard him speaking yesterday.'

In all other instances, the subject and object concord of the 1st person takes on the form of a nasal **/n/** that is assimilated to the following consonant. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(5)   [**n** + f] > **mf**: e.g. **M**fanele nkhambe.   'I'm supposed to go.'

Banru ba**m**funa bokxe.   'All people want me.'

[**n** + v] > **m**v: e.g. **M**vile ndaba leyo.   'I have heard that matter.'

Lokxe li**m**vile kuri nthini. 'You have all heard what I said.'

[**n** + b] > **m**m: e.g. **M**mone banru bekhethu.   'I have seen our people.'

Ba**m**monile kuri nkhona. 'They have seen that I'm present.'

[Note: The rule of **mu-b > mm** discussed in par. 4.2.3 below is applicable above.]

[**n** + th] > **n**th: e.g. **N**thanda bafati.   'I like women.'

Banru ba**n**thanda kxulu.   'People like me very much.'

[**n** + kh] > **n**kh. e.g. **N**khubele.   'I'm injured.'

Tolo ba**n**khubate nhloko le. 'Yesterday they struck my head.

4.2.3 Assimilation of the bilabial fricative b[β] in Northern Ndebele

Whenever the bilabial fricative consonant **b[β]** in Northern Ndebele is preceded by the syllable **mu**-, the consonant /**b**/ assimilates to the preceding nasal /**m**/ thus causing the sequence **mu - b** to become **mm.** This rule does not occur in Southern Ndebele**.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(6)   **mm**ala   'colour'   (< m(u) + bala)

        mmutise   'ask him'   (< m(u) + butise)

        mmophe   'arrest him'   (< m(u) + bophe)

        mmulale   'kill him'   (< m(u) + bulale)

        mmambhe   'catch him'   (< m(u) + bambhe)

This phonetic rule, which is unknown in all other Nguni languages in all probability originated from the neighbouring Northern Sotho language where a similar rule is found. According to Lombard, et al. (1993:37) and Doke (1954:127), this rule applies when the prefix **mo**- of Class 1 and 3, respectively, is followed by a stem commencing on the bilabial fricative **b[β]** causing the sequence **mo + b** to become **mm**. Compare the following Northern Sotho examples in this regard.

Northern Sotho

(7)   mo + **b**ala   > **mm**ala   'colour'

        mo + **b**ušô   **> mm**ušô   'government'

        mo + **b**êrêko > **mm**êrêko   'work'

        mo + **b**utla   > **mm**utla   'hare'

        mo + **b**ele   > **mm**ele   'body'

Like in the Northern Sotho, the rule has spread wider in Northern Ndebele in so far as it also occurs when the object concord –**mu** of Class 1 and 1a occurs before the bilabial consonant **b[β].** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(8)   m(u) + butise   > mmutise   'ask him'

        m(u) + bophe   > mmophe   'arrest him'

        m(u) + bulale   > mmulale   'kill him'

         m(u) + bambhe   > mmambhe   'catch him'

4.2.4 Assimilation of the alveolar consonant /l/

Besides the assimilation of the bilabial consonant **b[β]**, the alveolar consonant **l** in the perfect suffix –**ile** also has the tendency to assimilate with a preceding nasal **n** or **m** when these nasals appear in disyllabic stems in Northern Ndebele. According to Ziervogel (1959:34), this feature occurs mainly in the Muledlhane dialect of Northern Ndebele. In this instance, the consonant **l** in the perfect suffix –**ile** merges with the preceding nasal causing the consonant **l** to take on the same form as the preceding nasal **n** or **m,** (i.e., **n-l > nn** and **m-l > mm).** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(9)   **n-l > nn:**   uno**nn**e   (< non(a)ile)   'he is fat'

                         -bo**nn**e   (< -bon(a)ile)   'have seen'

       m-l >mm: -ja**mm**e   (< -jam(a)ile)   'standing'

                         -thu**mm**e   (< -thum(a)ile)   'have sent to'

4.3 Differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the syllabification of nasals

Syllabification is a phonological feature that occurs in all Nguni languages. It only concerns nasals and in most instances it results from vowel omission. In the following paragraphs, syllabification is discussed as it occurs in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

4.3.1 Syllabification of nasals in Southern Ndebele

In Southern Ndebele, as in all Nguni languages except Northern Ndebele, syllabification is confined to three grammatical environments, namely, (a) the 'real' class prefix of Class 1 and 3, i.e., **mu**-, (b) the adjectival concord of these classes, i.e., **omu**- and (c) the object concord of Classes 1 and 1(a), i.e., **mu.**

In all three of these instances, the nasal **–m**- is syllabified when the vowel **–u-** drops off and the syllabic features of the elided vowel are then transferred to the preceding nasal. This usually happens when these formatives appear before polysyllabic stems. Compare the following examples in this regard.

4.3.1.1 Syllabification of the nasal in the noun class prefixes of Classes 1 and 3

(10a) Cl. 1: umuntu 'a person' but umfundi [uɱɸf'undi] 'student/scholar'

umufi 'deceased' but umyeni [uɱjeni] 'visitor'

Cl. 3: umuzi 'house' but umzimba [uɱzimba] 'body'

umuthi 'tree' but umsebenzi [uɱsɛɓenzi] 'work'

4.3.1.2 Syllabification of the nasal in the adjective concord of Classes 1 and 3

(10b) Cl. 1 umuntu omude 'a tall person' but umuntu o**m**khulu [ɔɱkhulu]

'a big person'

umfazi omuhle 'beautiful woman' but umfazi o**m**ncani [ɔɱŋ/ani]

'a young woman'

Cl.3 umuzi omutjha 'new home' but umuzi o**m**dala [ɔɱd̥ala]

'old home'

umsebenzi omuhle 'good work' but umsebenzi o**m**nengi [ɔɱneŋgi]

'much work'

4.3.1.3 Syllabification of the nasal in the objective concord of Classes 1 and 1a

(10c)   Cl.1   siyamuzwa 'we hear him'   but   siya**m**thanda [sija**m**thanda]

'we love him'

bayamutjho 'they talk about him' but   baya**m**bona [ɓaja**m**bɔna]

'they see him'

Cl.1(a) wamupha 'you gave him'   but   wa**m**bulala [wa**m**bulala]

'you killed him'

samusa lapha 'we took him there' but   sa**m**buza [sa**m**buza]

'we asked him'

4.3.2 Syllabification of nasals in Northern Ndebele

There is a remarkable distinction between Southern and Northern Ndebele regarding syllabification of nasals. In Southern Ndebele, syllabification of nasals occurs only as a result of vowel elision. In Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, this phonological process is much more prolific in that it is also found in grammatical environments where syllabification would never occur in Southern Ndebele such as, for instance, in the subject and object concords of the 2nd person singular and in the prefix of Class 1a nouns. In the following paragraph, an outline is given of the various instances where the syllabification of nasals is found in Northern Ndebele.

4.3.2.1 Syllabification of the nasal /n/ in the prefix of certain Class 1(a) nouns

According to Ziervogel (1959:36), when nouns in Class 1a have an initial phonemic sequence of /**N** + **V**/ in their stems the nasal is doubled. In which case, the first nasal becomes a syllabic nasal **n**[1] and simultaneously acts as the class prefix of these nouns. Compare the following examples in this regard.

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[1] For the purpose of this discussion the syllabic nasal in Northern Ndebele is orthographically indicated by ***n*** or ***m.***

(11) Cl. 1(a)   nina   > **n**nina)   'his/her mother'

nyoko   > **n**nyoko)   'your mother'

nina wakaMalusi > **n**noMalusi)   'mother to Malusi'

nolidzwedzwe   > **n**nolidzwedzwe) 'a kind of a hawk'

[Note: In the plural form of these nouns the syllabic nasal **n** is replaced by the prefix of Class 2a, i.e., **bo**-.] Compare the following examples in this regard.

(12) Cl. 2a   **n**nina   > **bo**nina   'his mothers'

nnyoko   > **bo**nyoko   'your mothers'

nnoMalusi   > **bo**noMalusi   'Malusi's mothers'

nnolidzwedzwe > **bo**nolidzwedzwe 'kinds of hawk'.

4.3.2.2 Syllabification of the nasal /n/ in the prefix of certain Class 9 nouns

The same rule pertaining to the syllabification of the nasal in the prefixes of some Class 1 nouns applies to the nasal in the prefix of certain Class 9 nouns, that is, when a Class 9 noun has an initial phonemic sequence /N + V/ in its stem the nasal is doubled in which case the first nasal becomes syllabic and also acts as the class prefix of these nouns. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Class 9

(13)   nosi/nyosi   > **nn**osi   'bee'

nyathi   > **nn**yathi 'buffalo'

nyoka   > **nn**yoka 'snake'

nyoni   > **nn**yoni 'bird'

[Note: It is not Class 9 nouns such as those in (13) only that have a syllabic prefix in Northern Ndebele. All Class 9 nouns in this language with monosyllabic stems also have a syllabic **n** as their class prefix.] Compare the following examples in this regard.

(14) **n**ja   'dog'

      ngwe   'tiger'

      nkxo   'a small curved clay calabash (for African beer)'

According to Ziervogel (1959:37), the syllabic nasal **n** in certain class 9 nouns such as those given in (13) above may be the result of a discarded vowel **i-** which occurred in an older form of Northern Ndebele.

4.3.2.3 Syllabification of the nasal /m/ in the basic noun class prefixes of Classes
**   1 and 3**

In Northern Ndebele, the nasal /**m**/ in the basic noun class prefix **mu-** of Classes 1 and 3, respectively, becomes syllabic when this syllable precedes the bilabial fricative phoneme /**b/,** in which case the vowel /**u**/ of **mu**- falls away causing the phoneme /**b**/ to change to the nasal /**m**/ (according to the rule **mu-b >mm** elucidated in 4.2.3 above) and the nasal /**m**/ of **mu-** to become syllabic. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(15a) **Class 1 noun class prefix**

       mu-bati > **mb**ati > **mm**ati   'carpenter'

       mu-boni > **mb**oni > **mm**oni   'seer'

       mu-bali > **mb**ali   > **mm**ali   'counter (as in money)'

(15b) **Class 3 noun class prefix**

       mu-bono > **mb**ono > **mm**ono   'idea'

       mu-bala > **mb**ala   > **mm**ala   'colour'

       mu-boya > **mb**oya > **mm**oya   'wind'

According to examples cited by Ziervogel (1959:56), the nasal –**m** in the class prefix of Class 3 also becomes syllabic when it occurs before the aspirated bilabial explosive –**ph.** Compare the following two examples in this regard.

(16)   Cl 3.   mu-phini > **mph**ini [m̱phini]   'axe handle'

                    mu-phako> **mph**ako [m̱phakɔ]   'food for the journey'

One would have thought that the same rule would apply before other bilabial consonants as well. This is, however, not the case as can be seen in examples such as **mubhede** and **mubhalo** where the prefix **mu**- appears before the devoiced bilabial explosive phoneme **/bh/** but retains its vowel **/u/.**

4.3.2.4 Syllabification of the nasal /m/ in the objectival concord of Classes 1 and 1(a)

As is the case in Southern Ndebele, the nasal **m** in the object concord –**mu**- of Classes 1 and 1(a) is syllabified in Northern Ndebele when the vowel –**u**- drops off before polysyllabic stems. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(17) Cl.1   Ndiya**m**thanda (< ndi-ya-**m**(u)-thanda)   'I love him.'

                Siya**m**landa (< si-ya-**m**(u)-landa)   'We are fetching him.'

                Ba**m**sita (< ba -**m**(u)-si-ta) kxulu   'They help him too much.'

    Cl 1(a) Ba**m**nika (< ba-**m**(u)-ni-ka) bukhosi   'They give him chieftainship.'

                Ba**m**mita (<ba-**m**(u)-bita) nkxosi   'They call him a chief.'

                Titha tiyo**m**mulala (<ti-yo-**m**(u)-bulala) 'Enemies are going to kill him.'

[Note: In the last two examples of Cl.1a the rule **mu-b > mm** discussed in par. 4.2.3 above applies.]

4.3.2.5 Syllabification of the nasals /n/ and /m/ in the subject and objectival concord of the first person singular ndi-

The subject and object concords of the first person singular in Northern Ndebele both have three variants, namely, an alveolar nasal /**n**/**,** a bilabial nasal **/m/,** and a velar nasal

n[ŋ]**,** that occur before consonants. (The basic variant **ndi-** only appears before vowels, semi-vowels, subject and object concords (Ziervogel, 1959:133-134). (Also see par. 4.2.2.1.2 above.) According to Ziervogel (1959:134), the nasal variants are all syllabic and usually assimilate with the consonant phoneme that follows them.

Where exactly these three syllabic nasal variants of the concords of the 1st person singular originated from, is not clear. However, it is very unlikely that they could have been derived from the concord **ndi-** as there is no known phonological rule in Northern Ndebele in terms of which such a derivation can be explained. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Subjectival concord of the 1st person singular

(18a)   **n**tile [n̩t̪ɪlɛ]   (< ndi-tile)   'I have come.'

annayo[an̄najɔ]   (<andi-nayo)   'I don't have it.'

mphendula[m̲phend̥ula]   (<ndi-phendula) 'Answer me.'

Objectival concord of the 1st person singular

(18b)   Ba**n**thanda (<[banthanda]) kxulu bomalume. 'My uncles love me very much.'

Ni**n**thume (<[ninthumɛ]) edorobheni.   'You have send me to town.'

Munru lo uya**m**mona (<[ujammɔna]).   'This person sees me.'

4.4 Differences in palatalization between Southern and Northern Ndebele

Palatalization is the phonological process whereby consonants with few or no palatal phonetic features are changed to, or replaced by, palatal consonants. In explaining what palatalization entails in Zulu,Van Eeden (1956:48) says

'Dit is nie bestaanbaar met die fonologie van Zulu nie dat sekere
konsonante, veral bilabiale konsonante, onmiddellik gevolg word deur
die semivokaal **w**, wat ook die eienskap van bilabialieit het; m.a.w.
kombinasies soos **phw, bw**, ens. pas nie in die Zoeloe-klankstelsel nie.

So 'n moontlikheid word in sommige gevalle vermy deur die w eenvoudig weg te laat val, bv. in die possessiefkonkord **ba**- (i.p.v. bwa-) van klas 7. Meer kenmerkend is egter dat so 'n bilabiale konsonant deur 'n ander, en wel die ooreenstemmende (pre)palatale konsonant, vervang word. So 'n verandering word dan palatalisasie genoem en dit gebeur as gevolg van die behoefte om te dissimileer, dit is om klanke wat dieselfde of ooreenstemmende eienskappe besit, oneenders te maak en vind plaas in die vorming van verbale passiewe… lokatiewe adverbia … en diminutiewe vorms van nomina.'

Although palatalization occurs in both Southern and Northern Ndebele, there are important differences between these two Ndebele languages in which this phonological process occurs (as far as the grammatical environments are concerned). Whereas in Southern Ndebele palatalization occurs in the formation of passives, diminutives and locatives, in Northern Ndebele, notably in the Muledlhane dialect, it is only found in the formation of passives and diminutives and not in the formation of locatives (Ziervogel, 1959:62 and Wilkes (personal communication)).

4.4.1 Differences in palatalization between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the formation of passive verbs and diminutives

Palatalization in the formation of passive verbs and diminutive nouns follows the same pattern in Southern and Northern Ndebele except for the palatalization of bilabial fricative phoneme **[β]** in Northern Ndebele and its implosive bilabial equivalent **[ɓ]** in Southern Ndebele**.** In Northern Ndebele, this sound **[β]** becomes a pre-palatal semi-vowel **y[j]** while its bilabial implosive counterpart **b[ɓ]** in Southern Ndebele becomes the palatal ejective affricate **tj[tʃ']**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**	
([ɓ] > [tj'])		([β] > [j])	
(19) -go**b**a > -go**tj**wa		-go**b**a > -go**y**wa	'be bent'

-sa**b**a >	-sa**tj**wa	-sa**b**a > -sa**y**wa		'be feared'
ika**b**i >	ika**tj**ana	nkxa**b**i > nkxa**y**ana		'young ox'
ingu**b**o >	ingu**tj**ana	ngu**b**o > ngu**y**ana		'small blanket'
inta**b**a >	inta**tj**ana	nta**b**a > nta**y**ana		'small mountain/hill'

In other instances, palatalization occurs in the same way in these two languages. Compare the following examples in this regard.

          Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(20) **mb**>**nj**:-kha**mb**a > -kha**nj**wa   -kha**mbh**a > -kha**nj**wa 'be travelled'

   ph>**tjh**:-khu**ph**a > -khu**tjh**wa   -khu**ph**a > -khu**tjh**wa 'be taken out'

   m>**ny**:   umlo**m**o > umlo**ny**ana   mulo**m**o > mulo**ny**ana 'small mouth'

   bh>**j** :   isigu**bh**u > isigu**j**ana   sigu**bh**u > sigu**j**ana   'small drum'

   th>**tjh**: umra**th**a > umra**tjh**ana   mura**th**a > mura**tjh**ana 'small bowl of

                                                   porridge'

4.4.2 Differences in palatalization between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the formation of locatives

According to Ziervogel (1959:62), there are two ways of forming locative adverbs that contain bilabials etc in Northern Ndebele: one in which bilabial phonemes are palatalized and which occurs exclusively in the Mugombhane dialect, and one in which the bilabial phonemes are not palatalized, which is typical of the Lidwaba dialect of Northern Ndebele. The reason why locative adverbs are not palatalized in Lidwaba is because in this dialect locatives are formed by means of a locative suffix –**ni,** that is added to the final vowel of a noun. In most instances, this suffixation causes no irregular phonemic sequences making palatalization therefore unnecessary. Compare the following examples of the Lidwaba dialect in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Lidwaba**	

(21) esigu**j**ini   (<isigu**bh**u-ini)   esigu**bh**uni (<isigu**bh**u-**ni**)   'at the drum'

emlo**ny**eni (umlo**m**o –ini)   emlo**m**oni (<umlo**m**o-**ni**)   'at the mouth'

epha**tjh**ini (<ipha**ph**u-ini)   epha**ph**uni (<pha**ph**u-**ni**)   'at the lungs'

emla**nj**eni (<umla**mb**o-ini)   emla**mbh**oni (<mla**mbh**o-ini)   'at the river'

engu**tj**eni (< ingu**b**o –ini)   engu**b**oni (< ngu**b**o-ini)   'at the blanket'

There is virtually no difference between Southern Ndebele and the Mugombhane dialect of Northern Ndebele with regard to palatalization in the formation of locative adverbs. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Mugombane**	

(22)   **m**>**ny**:   umlo**m**o > emlo**ny**eni   mulo**m**o   > mulo**ny**eni   'at the mouth'

     bh>**j** :   isigu**bh**u > esigu**j**ini   sigu**bh**u   > sigu**j**ini   'at the drum'

     ph>**tjh**   ipha**ph**u > epha**tjh**ini   lipha**ph**u   > pha**tjh**ini   'at the lungs'

     mb>**nj**   umla**mb**o > emla**nj**eni   mula**mbh**o > mula**nj**eni   'at the river'

According to Ziervogel (1959:36), Northern Ndebele also has a unique palatalization feature whereby the velar explosives /**g**/ and /**g̥**/ are palatalized to a palato-velar implosive **gy**[ɠj] and **g**[ɠ] when they occur before the front vowels **[i], [î]** and **[ɛ],** respectively. Compare the following examples he gives in this regard.

(23)   -begyile [βeɠjîlɛ]   'has put down'

      gye [ɠjɛ]   'if'

      gyithi [ɠjithi]   'it is us'

[Note: According to the Northern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules (2001), the palato-velar implosive /**gy**/ is replaced by the devoiced velar explosive **g[g̊]** and the vowel **[î]** is no longer used by contemporary Northern Ndebele speakers (cf. par. 3.4.1).

4.5 Differences in vowel coalescence between Southern and Northern Ndebele

Vowel coalescence refers to the formation of a new vowel when the neutral vowel **a** is juxtaposed with the vowels /**i/, /u/** and /**a/** respectively**.** This coalescence results in the following phonological rules –

(24)   a + i   >   **e**

a + u   >   **o**

a + a   >   **a**

Vowel coalescence is a phonological rule that is mainly confined to the so-called Zunda Nguni languages such as isiZulu, isiXhosa and Southern Ndebele. This rule operates whenever a formative that ends on the vowel /**a**/ is juxtaposed with nouns. In such instances the /**a**/ of the formative combines with the pre-prefix of the following noun giving rise to the rules mentioned for the examples given in (24) above. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(25)   n**a** + **u**gogo > n**o**gogo   'with/and grandmother'

n**a** + **i**ndoda > n**e**ndoda   'with/and a man'

n**a** + **a**manzi > n**a**manzi   'with/and water'

In the so-called Thekela languages such as siSwati and Northern Ndebele, these vowel coalescence rules have been replaced by the so-called "substitution of e" rule or "vowel replacement" rule as Ziervogel (1986:221) prefers to call it. In terms of this rule, the vowel /**a**/ of all formatives that end on this vowel is replaced by a vowel e when such formatives are juxtaposed with the following noun. In Northern Ndebele and also in

siSwati, this rule operates in all noun classes where such formatives are combined with a following noun except when this noun is a noun of Class 1a without a pre-prefix. Compare the following examples of Northern Ndebele and siSwati in this regard.

Northern Ndebele	siSwati	

(26a) **na** + munru **>** n**e**munru   **na** + umuntfu > n**e**muntfu 'with/and a person.'
        y**a** + mufati > y**e**mufati   y**a** +umfati > y**e**mfati   'of a woman.'
        sa + nduna > s**e**nduna   sa + indvuna > s**e**ndvuna 'of a headman.'
        g**a** + ntro   > g**e**ntro   ng**a** + tintfo > ng**e**tintfo   'by something.'

BUT

(26b) Cl.1a: ntjhelede **ya**gugu   imali **ya**gogo   'my grandmother's money.'
            msebenti **wa**nkxulu   msebenti **wa**mkhulu 'my grandfather's work.'
            mavi **wa**malume   mavi **wa**malume   'my uncle's words.'
            muti **wa**bhabha   muti **wa**babe   'my father's home.'

The fact that the "substitution of e" rule applies to nouns in all noun classes except for a few nouns in Class 1a, shows that this rule must be triggered by the presence of an underlying pre-prefix in these nouns. The fact that this rule is not active in case of a number of nouns in Class 1a, indicates that these nouns do not in all probability have an underlying pre-prefix.

4.6 Differences in vowel elision between Southern and Northern Ndebele

Linguists usually make a distinction between two types of vowel elision strategies in African languages, namely, voluntary and obligatory vowel elision. Voluntary vowel elision normally occurs in every day (non-emphatic) speech acts. Because voluntary vowel elision has, on the one hand, no grammatical implications and may differ from person to person as well as from situation to situation, it is not discussed here any further. Obligatory vowel elision is, on the other hand, a grammatical feature that is determined

by language specific grammatical rules. It is a phonological feature typical of all Nguni languages. Van Eeden (1956:46) describes vowel elision in isiZulu as follows –

'Vokaalelisie, d.w.s. die weglaat van 'n vokaal, vind plas wanneer twee woorde (of woordgroepe) verenig of verbind en daarvan also 'n nuwe woordgroep gevorm word; en die oorsaak daarvan lê in die feit dat nagenoeg alle Zoeloe woorde (en ook formatiewe) op 'n vokaal uitgaan, en dat baie woorde, veral nomina, adjektiewe en relatiewe, ook met 'n vokaal aanvang. Ons vind dan dat dit in sommige gevalle die aanvangsvokaal van die tweede word is wat wegval, terwyl dit in ander die slotvokaal van die eerste word is.'

Compare the following isiZulu examples in terms of Van Eeden's emphasis.

(27) Lesi sitsha sinembobo.   (instead of 'lesi **i**sitsha')   'This dish has a hole.'

Ngiyalazi lelo qiniso.   (instead of 'lelo **i**qiniso')   'I know that truth.'

Nina zinsizwa niwobani? (instead of 'nina **i**zinsizwa') 'You young men, who are

you?'

Mfowethu woza la.   (instead of 'Umfowethu')   'My brother, come here.'

In the following paragraphs, some of the more salient differences in obligatory vowel elision that occurs between Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed and elucidated.

4.6.1 Obligatory vowel elision in Southern Ndebele

In Southern Ndebele, obligatory vowel elision occurs in all instances of vowel juxtaposition where coalescence, consonantization and glide insertion do not take place. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(28) s**o**sa (<s(i) + **o**sa) inyama.   'We roast meat.'

n**o**mkhulu (<n(a) + **o**mkhulu) unelungelo.   'Even the old one has a right.'

ng**e**ndlini (<ng(a) + **e**ndlini) kumakhaza.   'It is cold in the house.'

belitjhisa ilanga (l(i) +**o**+ke>) l**o**ke.   'It has been hot the whole day.'

lilanga (l(i) + **a** + mi>) l**a**mi lamabeletho namhlanje. 'it is my birthday today.'

4.6.2 Obligatory vowel elision in Northern Ndebele

Obligatory vowel elision in Northern Ndebele occurs basically in only two environments, that is, between two /**l**/ phonemes and in instances of vowel juxtaposition.

4.6.2.1 Obligatory vowel elision between two /l/ phonemes

When the vowels **i, e** or **u** appear between two /**l**/ phonemes, the vowel is elided giving rise to the double /**l**/ sequence. The first /**l**/, in this case, becomes syllabic. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(29) llanga (<lilanga)   'sun'

  mullo (<mulilo)   'fire'

  phuthulla (<phuthulula)   'wrap out'

  yembulla (yembulula)   'dig up'

4.6.2.2 Obligatory vowel elision in instances of vowel juxtaposition

Obligatory vowel elision as a result of vowel juxtaposition basically occurs in three grammatical environments in Northern Ndebele, that is, before adjectival and relative concords commencing with a vowel and when the instrumental formative **ga**- precedes locatives commencing with /**-e**/. In such instances, the final vowel /**a**/ of the formative or concord falls away. Compare the following examples in (30a) and (30b) in this regard.

Before adjectives

(30a) (n(a**)** + **o**mukxulu >) n**o**mukxulu   'and the big one'

  ndaba (y(a**)** + **e**mbhi >) y**e**mbhi   'bad news'

  nkhambha (n(a**)** + **e**nde >) n**e**nde ndoda   'I go with a tall man'

Before relatives

(30b) nthenge (n(a**)** + **e**bovu >) n**e**bovu nkxomo.   'I even bought a red beast.'

(n(a) + **o**lula >) n**o**lula msebenti abawenti.   'They don't even undertake easy

tasks/lighter work.'

babuya (k(u) + **o**munandi >) k**o**munandi munyanya. 'They come from a nice

function.'

4.6.2.3 The instrumental /ga-/ before locatives

(31)   tikxomo (tig(a) + **e**sibayeni >) tig**e**sibayeni.   'The cattle are in the kraal.'

bhabha (ug(a) + **e**ndluni >) ug**e**ndluni.   'My father is in the house.'

bahlala (g(a) + **e**Polokwane >) g**e**Polokwane.   'They stay around Polokwane.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:36), obligatory vowel elision in the instances mentioned in (30a) and (30b) above were a regular feature in Northern Ndebele in the past. However, in the speech of modern Northern Ndebele speakers, the retention of juxtaposed vowels in these instances appears to be the rule, or alternatively, a glide is inserted between juxtaposed vowels. Compare the following examples in (32) below in this regard.

Current usage		**Past usage**
(32) n**ao**mukxulu/na**w**omukxulu (<na + omukxulu >)		n**o**mukxulu
'and the big one.'		
k**uo**munandi/ku**w**omunandi (<ku + omunandi >)		k**o**munandi
'to a nice one.'		
n**ao**munye/na**w**omunye (<na + omunye >)		n**o**munye
'and another one.'		
iekxulu/i**y**ekxulu (<i + ekxulu >)		**y**ekxulu
'It is a big one.'		
iehle/i**y**ehle (< i + ehle >)		**y**ehle

'It is a beautiful one.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:99), the glides **/w/** and **/y/** in examples such as the above are not true semi-vowels as they are scarcely audible sounds.

4.6.2.4 Vowel elision in the Class 3 prefix /mu-/

According to Ziervogel (1959:36), it would seem that the Class 3 prefix **mu**- normally discards its vowel –**u** when appearing before stems commencing with the bilabial explosive **ph**. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(33)   m**u**phini   > mphini   'axe handle'

m**u**phako   > mphako   'food for the journey'

m**u**phimbo   > mphimbo   'throat'

Before other consonant phonemes, the –**u** in **mu**- is retained, as for instance in the following examples.

(34)   mubhalo   (not *mbhalo)   'writing/literature'

mulandu   (not *mlandu)   'case'

mulomo   (not *mlomo)   'mouth'

mufundisi   (not *mfundisi)   'priest/preacher'

No explanation could be found as to why the vowel **/u/** of the Class 3 prefix –**mu-** is deleted in instances such as those in (33) above but not in instances such as those in (34). The influence of the neighbouring Northern Sotho language also had to be ruled out as a possible source for this phenomenon. According to Lombard (1993:37), in Northern Sotho the class prefix **mo-** of Class 3 occurs before all nominal stems in this class except before roots of which the initial consonant can be reverted to phoneme **/b/, /f/,** and before the back vowels **/ô/** and **/u/** where the vowel **/o/** of the class prefix **mo-** is deleted. Compare the following Northern Sotho examples in this regard.

(35a)   **(a) Roots of which the initial consonant can be reverted to /b/**

      mmutla (< mo + butla)   'hare'

      mmele (< mo + bele)   'body'

      mmereko   (< mo + bereko)   'work'

(35b)   **(b) Roots of which the initial consonant can be reverted to /f/**

      mpholo (< mo + folo)   'poison'

      mphaka (< mo + faka)   'knife'

      moya   (Mo + oya)   'air/spirit'   (Lombard. 1993:37)

4.7 Differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in vowel juxtaposition

One of the most salient phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele concerns the juxtaposition of vowels. Whereas in Southern Ndebele such phonological sequences are not permissible it is not so in Northern Ndebele. In Southern Ndebele various strategies are used to prevent such sequences, for instance vowel coalescence (cf. par. 4.5), vowel elision (cf. par. 4.6) and glide insertion (cf. par.4.10). In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, vowel juxtaposition is a common phonological feature and occurs in most grammatical environments except those mentioned in par. 4.9 and 4.10. Compare the following examples in this regard.

    Northern Ndebele

(36) Ndimmone akhambha n**ai**yise   'I saw him going with his father.'

    Guiyise logulako   'It is his father who is ill.'

    Gubani l**oa**lima masimu na ?   'Who ploughs the fields?'

    Kuitolo babulele tinkxomo tami   'Yesterday they killed my cattle.'

4.8 Vowel verb stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Vowel verb stems, that is, verb stems that commence on a vowel, are a common feature in all the Nguni languages except in Northern Ndebele where only a few vowel verb stems occur. The vowel verb stems that commence on a vowel in the other Nguni

languages occur in Northern Ndebele with an initial semi-vowel /**y**-/ or /**w-/**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(37)	**a**kha	'build'	**y**akha
	azi	'know'	**y**ati
	enza	'do'	**y**enta
	eqela	'jump over'	**y**enkxela
	onga	'preserve'	**w**onga
	osa	'roast'	**w**osa

(Also cf. Chapter 8, par. 8.4.3)

4.9 Consonantization

Consonantization is a phonological process where a vowel loses its vowel quality and assumes the qualities of a consonant. In this process, the vowel /**i**/ becomes a semi-vowel /**y**/ and the vowel /**u**/ a semi-vowel /**w**/, respectively. In Southern Ndebele, consonantization occurs in all instances of vowel juxtaposition where vowel coalescence (cf. par. 4.5) or vowel elision (cf. par. 4.6.1) or glide insertion (cf. par 4.10) does not occur. In Northern Ndebele, consonantization is much more restricted than it is in Southern Ndebele because in many instances the phonological structure of this language is radically different from that of Southern Ndebele. In the following paragraphs, the focus falls on the similarities and differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as consonantization is concerned. .

4.9.1 Instances where consonantization occurs in both Southern and Northern Ndebele

4.9.1.1 In the construction of the possessive concords of Class 6 in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The vowels /**u-**/ and /**i**-/ that comprise the subject concords of Classes 1, 1a, 3, 9 change to a semi-vowel /**w**-/ and /**y**-/, respectively, when they combine with the vowel /**a**/ in the formation of possessive concords of these classes. This is a natural rule as the

pronunciation of the sequence **/u/** + **/a/** and **/i/** + **/a/** naturally gives rise to the sequence **/wa-/** and **/ya-/,** respectively. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   Northern Ndebele

(38)	Class. 1: **u** + a > **w**a:	Umfazi **w**ami	Mufati **w**ami	'my wife'
	Class. 1a: **u** + a > **w**a:	Ugogo **w**akhe	Gugu **w**akhe	'his grandmother'
	Class. 3: **u** + a > **w**a:	Umuzi **w**akhe	Muti **w**akhe	'his home'
	Class. 9:. **i** + a > **y**a:	Indlu **y**abo	Ndlu **y**abo	'their house'

A peculiar feature of the possessive concord of Class 6 in both these languages is that the formation of these concords do not follow the same phonological rule as the other Nguni languages whereby the combination of the subject concord **/a/** of Class 6 with the possessive formative **/a/** does not result in the consonantization of the subject concord, i.e. **a + a > a** as for instance in the following isiZulu examples.

IsiZulu

(39) Amanzi   (a + a > **a**) **a**khe aphelile   'His water is finished.'

Amazwi (a + a> **a**) **a**kho ayahlaba   'Your words are touching.'

Abo (a + a > **a**) amagama avela emaphepheni 'Their names appear in papers.'

In Southern and Northern Ndebele, however, the combination of the subject concord **/a/** of Class 6 with the possessive formative **/a/** for no overt reason results in the consonantization of the concord **/a/** to **/w/** in Southern Ndebele and to **/y**/ in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples of the possessive concord of Class 6 in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(40a) Amagama **w**akababa abonisa ukuphoqeka   'My father's words show

                                                      disappointment.'

         Wakhe amanzi angekhe uwasebenzise   'His water you will never use.'

         Amazondo **w**ethu angekhe aphele   'Our hatred will never end.'

     Northern Ndebele

(40b) Mavi **y**ami avakele kubatlhankana   'My words have been clear to the boys.'

         Malanga **y**ethu wokuta ekhaya la   'These are our days to come home.'

         Bari malanga **y**abhabha aphelile   'They say my father's days are finished.'

According to Wilkes (2001:320), the form of the possessive concord of Class 6 in Southern and Northern Ndebele suggests the underlying presence of the vowels **/u/** and **/i/** respectively in their construction (cf. Chapter 6, par. 6.7.3)

4.9.1.2 In the construction of diminutive nouns

In both Southern and Northern Ndebele, consonantization occurs when diminutives are formed from nouns ending on the vowels **/o/** and **/u/,** respectively**.** Both the vowel **/o/** and **/u/** change to a semi vowel **/w/** when coming into juxtaposition with vowel **/a/** of the diminutive suffix –**ana**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

         Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(41) ihlok**w**ana (< ihlok**o** + ana)   nhlok**w**ana (< nhlok**o** + ana) 'small head'

       nt**w**ana (< int**o** +ana)   nr**w**ana (< nr**o** + ana)   'small thing'

       umnt**w**ana (< umunt**u** + ana)   munr**w**ana (< munr**u** + ana) 'baby'

       indl**w**ana (< indl**u** + ana)   ndl**w**ana   (< ndl**u** + ana)   'small house'

4.9.1.3 In the construction of absolute pronouns

In the formation of absolute pronouns of the Classes 3, 4 and 9, the subject concord **u,** changes to a semivowel **/w/-** and **i** to **y-** before the pronominal **-o-**. Compare the following examples in which these pronouns are used emphatically.

	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele
(42) Class.3: **u**+o+na > **w**ona:	Ngibona **w**ona umuzi	Mmona **w**ona (muti).
		'I see the <u>kraal</u>.'
Class. 4: **i** + o + na > **y**ona:	Ngibona **y**ona imizi	Mmona **y**ona miti.
		'I see <u>the kraals</u>.'
Class.9: **i** + o + na >**y**ona:	Ikosi **y**ona ilele	Nkxosi **y**ona ithobele.
		'<u>The chief</u> is dead.'

4.10 Differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in glide insertion

Glide insertion means that a sound that is reminiscent of the semi-vowel **/y/** or **/w/** is inserted between two non-similar vowels. According to Van Eeden (1956:161), this sound is not a complete semi-vowel and he therefore refers to it as a '*oorgangsklank*' (bridging sound). Ziervogel (1959:99) concurs with Van Eeden when he regards these semi-vowels not as true semi-vowels but as scarcely audible glides between two vowels.

4.10.1 Glide insertion in Southern Ndebele

Glide insertion occurs, in Southern Ndebele, in all instances of vowel juxtaposition where vowel elision and consonantization do not occur. Compare the following examples in (43a)-(43c) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(43a)	ba-ibonile > bayibonile.	'They have seen it.'
	e.g. Abantu bayibonile lengozi.	'People have seen this accident.'

| (43b) | a-ukhambi > awukhambii | 'You are not going.' |

e.g. Wena awukhambi namhlanje. 'You are not going today.'

(43c) a-asebenzi > awasebenzi. 'They do not work.'
e.g. Lamadoda awasebenzi emakhaya. 'These men do not work at
home.'

The creation of a glide between dissimilar vowels as in examples such as (43a)-(43b) above seems to be a natural phenomenon as in these instances the glides seem to occur spontaneously in speech. The reason for the occurrence of the glide /**w**/ between similar vowels as in (43c) above is, however, uncertain as no phonological reason seems to be present that could trigger such a glide.

It is important to point out that, amongst Southern Ndebele speakers, instead of the insertion of a glide /**w**/ between similar vowels such as those given in example (43c) above (i.e., between Class 6 subject concords) they prefer to replace the glide with   -**k**-. Compare the following examples in (43d) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(43d) Cl.6: **a-a**sebenzi > a**k**asebenzi (instead of a**w**asebenzi) '(they) are not working'
e.g. Lamadoda a**k**asebenzi (instead of a**w**asebenzi). 'These men do not work.'

a-abili **>** a**k**abili (instead of a**w**abili) '(it) does not boil'
e.g. Amanzi a**k**abili (instead of a**w**abili). 'The water is not boiling.'

4.10.2 Glide insertion in Northern Ndebele
Glide insertion occurs on a very limited scale in Northern Ndebele mainly because of the fact that the juxtaposition of vowels is a regular phonological feature in this language. However, there are a few instances in Northern Ndebele where glide insertion is found, such as, in the formation of copulatives from adjectives and relatives where a semi-vowel is optionally inserted between the subject concord and the initial vowel of the following

adjective or relative concord. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(44) u(**w**)omukxulu> uwomukxulu/uomukxulu 'He is a big one.'
 i(**y**)ekxulu > iyekxulu/iekxulu 'It is a big one.'
 u(**w**)omunandi > uwomunandi/uomunandi 'It is a nice one.'

 i(**y**)etimunandi > iyetimunandi/ietimunandi 'They are the nice ones.'
 gu(**w**)uphi > guwuphi/guuphi 'Which one is it.'

4.11 Labialization

Labialization is a general phonological term that refers to the articulation of a sound that is not labial in a lip-rounding manner because of the influence of a back vowel **u** or **o** or their equivalent semi-vowel **w.** This phonological process is an unknown phenomenon in all Zunda Nguni languages such as Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Ndebele but not in Thekela Nguni languages such as siSwati. In siSwati, this phonological change results in **ts** > **tfh** and **dz** > **dv**, the nasal compounds **nts > ntf,** and **ndz > ndv,** respectively, before the back vowel **u** or **o** and their equivalent semi-vowel **w**. According to Ziervogel (1959:38), in Northern Ndebele labialization is encountered in voiceless sounds **s** and the aspirated **th** resulting in **sw** and **tfh,** respectively, when appearing before vowels **o, u** and **û** in this language. Compare the following siSwati and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

SiSwati   **Northern Ndebele (< Northern Ndebele)**

(45) tfola[tɸhɔla] 'get/find' n**sw**o[nswɔ] (<ns**o**) 'kidney'
 tfuka[tɸhu<u>k</u>a] 'be scared' **sw**uga[swuga] (<s**u**ga) 'leave'
 indvodza[indβɔdza] 'man' **tfh**uma[tɸhuma] (<th**u**ma) 'send'
 dvute[dβutɛ] 'near by' **tfh**utha [tɸhutha] (<th**u**tha) 'move'
 tfwala [tɸhwala] 'carry' **tfh**wala [tɸhwala] (<th**w**ala) 'carry'

However, according to the current orthographical rules, labialization is no longer a feature of Northern Ndebele. In other words, words such as **nswo**, -**swuga, -tfhuma, -tfhutha** and -**tfhwala** are today pronounced as n**s**o, -**s**uka, -**th**uma, -**th**utha and –**th**wala, and so on.

4.12 Denasalization in the nasal compounds of Southern and Northern Ndebele

Denasalization in Southern and Northern Ndebele basically implies the omission of the nasal consonant in nasal compounds. The nasal compounds that are mostly affected by denasalization in these languages are those that Meinhof (1932) refers to as primary and secondary nasal compounds, respectively. Primary nasal compounds are compounds that form part of word stems (such as –**the<u>ng</u>a** 'buy' -**kha<u>mb</u>a** 'walk' etc.) whilst secondary nasal compounds are compounds that are formed by means of the Ur-Bantu Class 9 class prefix B./**ni/.** The latter nasal compounds almost exclusively form part of the prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns. (It should be noted that according to Meinhof (1906:15) the prefix **izin**- of Class 10 nouns in the Nguni languages consists of a double class prefixes (i.e**., izi- + in-**, of which **izi-** is the class prefix of Class 8 and **in-** the class prefix of Class 9).

According to Meinhof (1932:33), denasalization occurs in many Bantu languages and is usually found in instances where the following sound is voiceless or for any reason becomes devoiced, in which case the nasal too loses its voicing and eventually falls away.

Although denasalization occurs in both Southern and Northern Ndebele, it does not occur in the same grammatical environments in these languages. In the following paragraphs the different grammatical environments in which denasalization occur in these languages are examined and discussed. They are

  (i)   the class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns
  (ii) adjectival concord of Classes 9 and 10
  (iii) inclusive quantitative pronouns, and

(iv) the formatives with the nasal compound –**ng.**

4.12.1 Denasalization in the prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns.

Denasalization in the prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns causes the nasal (in the secondary nasal compounds) in these prefixes to fall away. What is remarkable about the denasalization in these prefixes, is the fact that it affects these two languages in almost opposite ways. In Southern Ndebele, it is only the Class 9 noun prefix that is denasalised, while in Northern Ndebele this phonological process only occurs in the class prefix of Class 10 nouns. Class 9 nouns in Southern Ndebele drop the nasal in their class prefix before stems beginning on a voiceless consonant whilst retaining it before stems beginning on a voiced consonant. In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, all Class 9 nouns retain the nasal in their class prefix. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(a)   **Class 9 nouns**

     Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

     (Nasal dropped)   **(Nasal retained)**

(46)	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
	ikomo	nkxomo	'beast'
	ihlabathi	**n**hlabathi	'land/ground'
	isimbi	**n**simbhi	'iron'
	ipi	**n**dwa	'war'
	ife	**m**fe	'sweet cane'

In Southern Ndebele, the nasal resurfaces in all Class 10 noun prefixes, whilst in Northern Ndebele only Class 10 nouns with monosyllabic stems and stems beginning on a voiced or semi-voiced consonant retain their nasal. Compare the following examples in (47a) and (47b) in this regard.

(b)   **Class 10**

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
	(Nasal retained)	**(Nasal dropped)**	
(47a)	**iin**komo	tikxomo	'beats'
	iinhlabathi	tihlabathi	'types of soil'
	iinkukhu	tikxukxu	'fowls'
	iimfihlo	tifihlo	'secrets'
	iimpendulo	tiphendulo	'answers'
	iinkghuru	tikhudu	'tortoises'
		(Nasal retained)	
(47b)	ii**n**gwenya	ti**n**gwenya	'crocodiles'
	ii**n**daba	ti**n**daba	'affairs'
	izi**n**ja	ti**n**ja	'dogs'
	izi**m**vu	ti**m**vu	'sheep'

In observing the rule governing the omission of the nasal in Southern Ndebele's Class 9 noun prefixes, Wilkes (1997:77) points out that

> 'When one compares Class 9 nouns in (Southern) isiNdebele with their counterparts in Northern Sotho and Setswana one immediately observes that the same rule that governs the appearance of the nasal in the prefix of Class 9 nouns in Sotho also applies to Class 9 nouns in (Southern) isiNdebele. In other words, all Class 9 nouns in (Southern) isiNdebele with multisyllabic stems beginning on a voiceless consonant have, like their counterparts in Northern Sotho and Setswana, a denasalised class prefix, while those with monosyllabic stems retain the nasal in their class prefix just as their counterparts in the Sotho languages.'

Compare the following Sepedi and Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Sepedi   **Southern Ndebele**

(Nasal omitted before voiceless sounds)

(48a) kgomo   ikomo   'beast'

       kgogo   ikukhu   'fowl'

       tšhipi   isimbi   'iron'

(Nasal retained before monosyllabic stems)

(48b) **n**tlô   i**n**dlu   'house'

       mpša   i**n**ja   'dog'

       nku   i**m**vu   'sheep'

Whilst this observation holds true with regard to Southern Ndebele it is, nevertheless, somewhat baffling why it is this language and not Northern Ndebele that has denasalization rules that are similar to the ones that occur in Northern Sotho, especially as the Northern Ndebele people find themselves much closer to the Northern Sotho speaking communities and, in some instances, even within the boundaries of these communities. It is an undeniable fact that both Ndebele languages have been greatly influenced by Northern Sotho and to a lesser extent by Setswana.

4.12.2 Denasalization in other environments

Denasalization in these two Ndebele languages is not confined to the noun class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 only. It also occurs in similar phonological environments in other word categories. Wilkes (1997:77) rightly argues that

> 'It is generally acknowledged that changes have a tendency to spread
> from one linguistic environment to another.'

According to Wilkes (op. cit.:77), this is probably what has happened with the denasalization rule in the two Ndebele languages. It presumably started in a high profile

environment, such as the noun class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 and subsequently spread by analogy to another (phonologically identical) environment, notably to the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10, and to the inclusive quantitative pronouns as well as to certain formatives (in Northern Ndebele). The denasalization between these two Ndebele languages is analysed and discussed as it occurs in the

(i)   adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10

(ii)   inclusive quantitative pronouns, and

(iii)   formatives with the nasal compound **ng[ŋg]** in Northern Ndebele.

4.12.2.1 Denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Denasalization not only occurs in the class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele, but also in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 of these languages. There are, however, important differences between these two languages as far as denasalization in their Classes 9 and 10 adjective concords is concerned. These differences are addressed in the following paragraphs.

4.12.2.1.1 Denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 in Southern Ndebele

There are two rules that apply to denasalization in the adjective concords in Southern Ndebele. The first rule is that denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 is optional before adjective stems that begin on a voiced or semi-voiced consonant as, for instance, in the case of the adjective stems **-dala,** -**de** and –**bi**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(49)   Cl.9:   Sibone indoda edala (or endala) izolo. 'Yesterday we saw an old man.'
                 Leyo yindaba ede (or ende).   'That is a long story.'
                 Bekukubi (or bekukumbi) emtjhadweni. 'It was bad at the wedding.'

        Cl.10:   Iinkomo ezidala (or ezindala) zitjhiphile.   'Old beats are cheap.'

Iingoma zakhe zide(or zinde) khulu.   'His songs are too long.'

Iindaba ezibi (or ezimbi) ngezokufaka kwakhe. 'His death is bad

news.'

The second rule is that before adjectival stems that begin on voiceless consonants denasalization in the adjectival concord is obligatory, like for instance before the adjective stems –**hlanu,–hle, khulu,** and **-tjha**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

   Southern Ndebele

(50)   Cl. 9: Ikoloyi **etja** iyabiza   'A new car is very expensive.'

         Indawo **ehle** ngeyaKwaZulu-Natal   'A beautiful place is that of

                                                                 KwaZulu-Natal.'

         UMahlangu yindoda **ekulu** la   'Mahlangu is a big man here.'

      Cl.10: Bacoca iindaba **ezikulu** lababantu   'These people are discussing

                                                                  serious matters.'

         UBrenda wavuma iingoma **ezihlanu** kwaphela 'Brenda sang only five

                                                                       songs.'

         Iinkoloyi **ezitja** zidura komhlolo   'New cars are too expensive.'

This investigation has found that elderly people speaking the Nzunza dialect often use the nasal form of the adjectival stems, whilst its denasalised counterpart is preferred by the younger generation of speakers of this dialect. The latter form is, however, also commonly used by people speaking the Manala dialect of Southern Ndebele.

4.12.2.1.2 Denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 in

   Northern Ndebele

Unlike the case of Southern Ndebele, denasalization in Northern Ndebele is, with one exception, not optional but obligatory**.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(51)   Nkhuluma ndaba **ekxulu**   (never *e**n**kxulu)   'I'm talking about a big issue.'

Mfuna tiphendulo **tetitjha**   (never *teti**n**tjha)   'I want new answers.'

Sibone tifene **tetibovu**   (never *teti**m**bovu)   'We saw red baboons.'

It is only in the adjectival concord of the stem **-(n)hle** 'beautiful' where the nasal may or may not be discarded   (Ziervogel, 1959:70). Compare the following examples in this regard.

(52) Cl.9: Ndlu **ehle/e<u>n</u>hle**   'Beautiful house.'

Mmone nja engane **ehle/e<u>n</u>hle**.   'I saw a small beautiful dog.'

Cl.10: Tinja **tetihle/teti<u>n</u>hle** atilumi   'Beautiful dogs do not bite.'

Mmone nghweji **tetihle/teti<u>n</u>hle**   'I saw a beautiful bride.'

Furthermore, Northern Ndebele differs from its southern counterpart as far as its adjectival stems are concerned in that most of its adjectival stems have an initial nasal thus causing the nasal in its Class 9 and Class 10 adjectival concords to become redundant. Adjectival stems in Northern Ndebele which, according to Ziervogel (op. cit.:70), have a permanent initial nasal are amongst others: -**ndala** 'old', -**nde** 'long', -**ntima** 'black' and -**mbhi** 'bad'. Compare the following examples in this regard;

Northern Ndebele

(53) Class 9:   ndlu e**n**de   (<e(n)-nde)   'long houses'

mvu e**n**dala   (<e(n)-ndala)   'old sheep'

ndaba e**m**bhi   (<e(n)-mbhi)   'bad news

nkxuxu e**n**tima   (<e(n)-ntima)   'a black fowl'

Class 10:   tindlu   teti**n**de   (<teti(n)-nde)   'long houses'

timvu   teti**n**dala   (<teti(n)-ndala)   'old sheep'

tindaba teti**m**bhi   (<teti(n)-mbhi)   'bad news'

timmbhuti teti**n**tima　　　(<teti(n)-ntima)　　　'black goats'

The fact that the adjectives in Classes 9 and 10 do not occur with double nasals (such as –**nn**de, -**nn**dala, **mm**bhi) as shown in examples (52) above, indicates that denasalization must have taken place in Classes 9 and 10. Thus, one of the nasals, probably the nasal of the adjective prefix, has been discarded.

4.12.2.1.3 Denasalization in the inclusive quantitative pronouns

All Nguni languages, except Southern and Northern Ndebele, exhibit a nasal compound in the suffix of their inclusive quantitative pronoun -**nke** as, for instance, in the following Zulu examples.

IsiZulu

(54)　　　Cl. 1 : wo**n**ke　(< u　+ o + **n**ke)　　'all'

　　　　　　2 : bo**n**ke　(< ba　+ o + **n**ke)　　'all of them'

　　　　　　5 : lo**n**ke　(< l(i) + o + **n**ke)　　'all'

In both Southern and Northern Ndebele the inclusive quantitative stem -**nke** is always denasalised as can be seen in the following examples.

　　　　Southern Ndebele　　　**Northern Ndebele**

(55)　Cl. 2　Abantu bakhambe **boke**　Banru bakhambe **bokxe**　'All people have left.'

　　Cl. 4　Imizi itjhe **yoke**　　　Miti itjhe **yokxe**　　　'All homesteads have
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　burnt down.'

　　Cl. 8　**Zoke** izifo ziyafana　**Tokxe** tifo tiyafanana　'All deseases are the same.'

　　Cl.10　Iimbuzi zife **zoke**　　Timbuti tife **tokxe**　　'All the goats have died.'

4.12.2.1.4 Denasalization in formatives with the nasal compound –ng[ŋg] in Northern Ndebele

In addition to the environments discussed above, denasalization has also spread to almost all formatives in Northern Ndebele that in other Nguni languages contain the nasal compound –**ng[ŋg]**. These formatives include:

(a) **The potential formative** -**nga**-**,** as in the following examples –

(56a)	Si**g**akhuluma kxiniso	'We can speak the truth.'
	A**g**akhamba mutlhangana lo	'This boy may go.'

(b) **The instrumental formative** -**nga**-**,** as in the following examples;

(56b)	Uphila **ge**kusaba	'He leaves in fear.'
	Banthele **ge**manti	'They have poured water over me.'

(c) **The copulative prefix –ngu-/-ngi-** as in the following examples;

(56c)	**G**ithi abazako	'It is we who are coming.'
	Nkxosi **gu**Sibindi.	'The chief is Sibindi.'

(d) **The comparative prefix njenga**- as in the following examples.

(56d)	Nkhuluma nje**ga**ye	'I speak like him.'
	Libona nje**ga**mi	'You see as I do.'

(e) **The (non-indicative) negative formative** -**nga**- as in the following examples

(56e)	Bathi si**ga**khambi naye .	'They say we should not go with him.'
	Mfuna u**ga**boni mfihlo yami	'I do not want you to see my secret'.

In Southern Ndebele, however, the nasal is retained throughout in these formatives. Compare the following examples in (57a-57c) in this regard.

(f) **The potential formative** -**nga**- as in the following examples

(57a)   Si**ng**akhuluma iqiniso   'We can speak the truth.'

   A**ng**akhamba umsana lo   'This boy may go.'

(g) **The instrumental formative** -**nga**- as in the following examples

(57b)   Uphila **ng**okubawa ukudla   'You live by asking for food.'

   Sibabambe **ng**emikhono   'We held them by (their) arms.'

(h) **The copulative prefixes ngi**-**/ngu**- as in the following examples

(57c)   **Ng**iyo ikaphami yotjwala le   'This is my calabash for beer.'

   USibindi **ng**umzawami   'Sibindi is my cousin.'

Aitchison (1991:81) strongly argues that, once a change has gained a foothold in a few common words or group of words that are important to a particular subculture, it is likely to start moving through the vocabulary and this seems to be the case in Northern Ndebele. The denasalization process that occurs in both Southern and Northern Ndebele as discussed and illustrated above, appears to be in process of spreading further to other word categories in Northern Ndebele, notably to verbs (Wilkes. 2001:317). This is evident from a few Northern Ndebele verbs in which the primary nasal compound **ng**- is often pronounced by speakers without a nasal. Compare the following example in this regard.

                 Southern Ndebele   :   **Northern Ndebele**

(58) **Verbal stem: -ngena**   :   **-gena**   'enter'

         Ubaba u**ng**ena ngendlini   :   Bhabha u**ge**na gendluni

              'The father goes into the house.'

4.13 Conclusion

The various morphophonological differences between Southern and Northern isiNdebele have been discussed in this chapter. The investigation and discussions have revealed that Southern and Northern Ndebele differ in syllabification, consonant assimilation, palatalisation, vowel elision, labialization and denasalisation in the nasal compounds. The thrust of the next chapter is the morphological comparison between Southern and Northern Ndebele.

CHAPTER 5

MORPHOLOGICAL DEFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the focus falls on the morphological features that distinguish these two speech forms from one another. According to Crystal (1997:249), morphology is a branch of grammar, which studies the structure of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct. The morpheme is described by Lyons (1968:181) as a minimal unit of grammatical analysis – the unit of 'lowest' rank out of which words, the units of next 'highest' rank are composed.

Morphemes are normally analysed in terms of the two basic features that constitute a morpheme, that is, their form and their meaning. Many morphemes of a language may appear in different forms, depending on the context in which they appear. In such instances, it is convenient to select the variant with the most common occurrence as the norm or basic variant of the morpheme. Such a form is used to represent all the other variant forms of the morpheme and is also the one that is used when referring to such a morpheme. For instance, the subject concord of Class 1 and 1a in Southern Ndebele appears in several variants, i.e. **u-, w-, a-, ka-,** and so on. Instead of having to repeat all these variants when referring to this concord, only the basic or norm variant **u-** is used. (See Wilkes, 1971:13 for more details in this regard.)

Unlike their formal features, the semantic features of morphemes are more complicated in the sense that in many languages, notably the African languages, morphemes may exhibit two kinds of meanings – a lexical meaning or dictionary meaning and what some linguists regard as a grammatical meaning (Louwrens, 1994:114). A morpheme is considered to have a grammatical meaning when it does not exhibit any semantic features

but fulfils a certain grammatical function. In the African languages all verbal roots, for instance, have lexical meaning, while most verbal affixes, such as concordial morphemes, have grammatical meaning.

Linguists sometimes distinguish between "free" and "bound" morphemes (Langacker, 1967:75). Free morphemes are those that can stand alone as independent words and are always monomorphemic in structure. Examples of free morphemes in Southern Ndebele are words such as:

(1) godu   'again'   du   'of quietness'
     na   'if'   mbondo   'of speaking briefly'
     kanti 'in fact'   bhe   'of hotness'

Words such as the ones above are free morphemes in Southern Ndebele, because they are monomorphetic in structure and as a result cannot be broken up into smaller linguistic units, that is, into bound morphemes.

Bound morphemes, on the other hand, can never function on their own as they always form part of a larger entity, that is, a word. They can, in fact, be regarded as the building blocks of words as they are the units by means of which complex or polymorphematic words are constructed. Most words in the African languages are polymorphematic, that is, they are constructed by means of two or more bound morphemes as, for instance, in the case of Southern Ndebele verb: **bakhambile** which consists of a subject concord **ba**-, a verbal root -**khamb**-and a perfect ending –**ile**'.

In this and the following chapters where the morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are analysed and discussed, only the bound morphemes have been taken into account. Differences between these two languages with regard to free morphemes, or monomorphematic words, are not considered here as they form part of the lexical differences that occur between these languages. In this chapter, the morphological

differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed with reference to the following word categories in which these differences occur –

- nouns
- pronouns

However, before this is done, it is necessary to first qualify what is meant in this thesis by the term 'morphological differences'. For the purpose of this investigation morphological differences are regarded as either (a) a difference in the morphological structure of comparable words or constructions or (b) a difference in the phonological form of the same morpheme. An example of (a), for instance, is the difference in the formation of the direct relative. In Northern Ndebele, on the one hand, a Sotho-type of construction that consists of a demonstrative pronoun followed by verbal or non-verbal complement in the situative mood is used for this purpose. In Southern Ndebele, on the other hand, the direct relative is formed by means of a relative concord that is attached to a verbal or non-verbal complement. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
(2) Umuntu **o**khulumako nguwe.	Munru **lo a**sumayelako guwe.
'The person who speaks is you.'	
Izinja **ezi**lwako ngezakho	Tinja **leti ti**lwako ntakho
'The dogs that are fighting are yours.'	
Baphi abantu **aba**dala ?	Baphi banru **laba ba**dala ?
'Where are the old people?'	

An example of (b) is the difference in the form of the class prefix of Class 1a. In Southern Ndebele this prefix is **u-** throughout, whereas in Northern Ndebele it is

sometimes an **i-** or a syllabic nasal **n** or **m** (and sometimes a zero prefix). Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(3)	**u**yihlo	**i**yihlo	'your father'
	uyise	**i**yise	'his/her father'
	unina	**n**nina	'his/her mother'
	unyoko	**n**nyoko	'your mother'
	ubaba	bhabha	'father'
	umalume	malume	'uncle'

5.2 Morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the noun class system

Meinhof (1932:39-40) identifies 21 noun classes in Ur-Bantu. In most of the South-Eastern Bantu languages such as the Nguni and Sotho languages, some of the noun classes postulated by Meinhof do not occur while others have been reduced to a single noun class. Ur-Bantu noun classes that do not occur in the Nguni languages are Classes 12, 13, 19 and 20 while the content of Classes 16 and 18 in these languages have been channelled to Class 17. Poulos (1985:16) refers to the latter process as noun class reduction. Southern and Northern Ndebele both have experienced a further noun class reduction process with the disappearance of Class 11 in these languages. This has resulted in the transfer of the nouns that originally belonged to this class to Class 5 (Wilkes, 1997:78 and Skhosana, 1998:71-73). Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	**Zulu**	
	Class 5	**Class 5**	**Class 11**	
(4)	ilwandle	liwandle	ulwandle	'sea'
	iphondo	libondo	uphondo	'horn'

ikhuni	likhuni	ukhuni	'wood'
inwabu	liwobu	unwabu	'chameleon'

5.2.1 Morphological differences in the noun class prefixes of Southern and Northern Ndebele

In Southern Ndebele, as in most other Nguni languages such as isiZulu and isiXhosa, all noun class prefixes comprise two formatives. They are the so-called *pre-prefix,* that is, initial vowel of the class prefix and the *real or basic* class prefix that makes up the remainder of the class prefix and that follows on the pre-prefix. In Northern Ndebele, by contrast, the structure of the noun class prefix is the same as that of the noun class prefixes in the other Tekela languages such as siSwati. In other words, it only consists of the basic class prefix, which is the class prefix without a pre-prefix (initial vowel). Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele noun class prefixes in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(5) Cl. 1: **u-m(u)** > umntwana 'child' **mu**- > munrwana

Cl. 2: **a-ba** **>** abantu 'people' **ba-** > banru

Cl. 2a **a-bo** > abobamkhulu 'grandfathers' **bo-** > bonkhulu

> aboyihlo 'your fathers' > boyihlo

Cl. 3: **u-mu** > umuzi 'home/kraal' **mu-** > muti

Cl. 4: **i-mi** > imizi 'homes/kraals' **mi**- > miti

5.2.1.1 The noun Class prefix of Class 1a in Southern and Northern Ndebele

A remarkable difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the system of noun class prefixes is concerned is the form and occurrence of the class prefix of Class 1a. Apart from the fact that this prefix is not consistently used with nouns in Class 1a in Northern Ndebele, it is also unique in that it has two forms, both of which are different from the form that this prefix displays in all the other Nguni languages. These forms are the vowel **i** and a syllabic nasal **[N]** that assimilate to the following sound. Compare the following examples in Northern and Southern Ndebele in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(6)	**u**yihlo	**i**yihlo	'your father'
	uyise	**i**yise	'his father'
	unina	**n**nina	'his mother'
	unyoko	**n**nyoko	'your mother'
	umma	**m**ma	'mother'
	umkhulu	**n**khulu	'grandfather'

No evidence could be found as to what caused the traditional Nguni Class 1a pre-prefix **u**- to change to **i**- and **[N]** in Northern Ndebele. It is uncertain whether this change in form is the result of any outside influence or whether it is the result of some internal change. There is no evidence in either of the two neighbouring Sotho languages or in Tshivenda, for that matter, which could clarify the unique form of this prefix.

The difference in form is not the only difference between the Class 1a noun class prefix in Northern Ndebele and its counterpart in Southern Ndebele. There is also a difference in usage of this prefix in these two Ndebele languages. Where in Southern Ndebele this prefix occurs with all Class 1a nouns, it does not do so in Northern Ndebele. In this regard, Northern Ndebele follows the same pattern that is found in siSwati where only a limited number of nouns in this class have a class prefix. Compare the following examples of Class 1a nouns in Northern Ndebele with their counterparts in siSwati and Southern Ndebele in this regard.

(7a) **Class 1a with class prefix**

    Northern Ndebele   **siSwati**   **Southern Ndebele**

iyihlo	**u**yihlo	**u**yihlo	'your father'
iyise	**u**yise	**u**yise	'his father'
nnina	**u**nina	**u**nina	'his mother'

(7b)   **Class 1a without class prefix**

Northern Ndebele	siSwati	Southern Ndebele	
↓bhabha	↓babe	**u**baba	'father'
↓malume	↓malume	**u**malume	'uncle'
↓gugu	↓gogo	**u**gogo	'grandmother'

5.2.1.2 Variant forms of the noun class prefixes of Classes 1 and 3

The basic form of the class prefixes of Class 1 and 3 is **umu-** in Southern Ndebele and **mu-** in Northern Ndebele, respectively (cf. par. 5.2.1.2). In Southern Ndebele, the class prefix **umu-** occurs before monosyllabic stems and **um-** before polysyllabic nominal stems. The variant forms of the prefixes of Class 1 and 3 in Northern Ndebele are **mu-** in all instances and **m** before stems that begin on the bilabial fricative **b[ꞵ].** Compare the following examples in (8a) and (8b) in this regard.

		Southern Ndebele		Northern Ndebele
	Class 1	**umu-/m-**		**mu-/m**
(8a) (i)		**umu**ntu	'person'	**mu**nru
		umufi	'the deceased'	**mu**fi
		umsana	'boy'	**mu**tlhankana
		umfazi	'woman'	**mu**fati
(8a)(ii)		**um**boni	'seer'	**m**moni
		umbazi	'carpenter'	**m**mati
		umbani	'flash of lightning'	**m**mani

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umbali	'counter'	**m**mali

Class 3 **umu-/m-**   **mu-/<u>m</u>**

(8b) (i)	**umu**khwa	'knife'	**mu**khwa
	umsebenzi	'work'	**mu**sebenti
	umlandu	'case'	**mu**landu

(8b)(ii)	**um**bala	'colour'	**m**mala
	umbono	'idea'	**m**mono
	umoya	'wind'	**m**moya

[Note: The double **mm-** in the examples in (8a) (ii)) and (8b) (ii)) of Northern Ndebele is the result of the assimilation of the bilabial fricative **b[β]** with the preceding bilabial nasal **/m/**]

5.2.1.3 Variant forms of the noun class prefix of Class 5

The variant forms of the Southern Ndebele noun class prefix of Class 5 differ from the Northern Ndebele in that whilst Southern Ndebele has three variant forms for Class 5, i.e., **i(li)/il-**and **ilu**, Northern Ndebele has only two for this class, i.e., **li-/l**-. In Southern Ndebele, the noun class prefix of Class 5 before polysyllabic nominal stems is **i-**, before monosyllabic **ili** or **ilu** and before vowel verb stems **il**-, respectively, while in Northern Ndebele the form of this prefix is **li**- in all instances except before stems that commence on the consonant **l**- or on the vowels **i, e** or **u-** (cf. par**.** 5.2.1.3)**.** Compare the following examples in (9a-d) in this regard.

                     Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

Class 5:   **i(li)-/il-/ilu**   **li-/l-**

(9a)	**i**qanda	'egg'	**li**kxanda
	izinyo	'tooth'	**li**tinyo

	ivila	'lazy person'	**li**vila	

(9b)	**i**lembe	'hoe'	**l**lembhe	
	ilanga	'day'	**l**langa	
	ilahle	'coal'	**l**lahle	

(9c)	**ili**zwi	'voice/word'	**li**vi	
	ilitje	'stone'	**li**ye	
	ilihlo	'eye'	**li**so	

(9d)	**ilu**tjha	'youth'	**li**wandle	'sea'
	iluju	'honey'	**li**wati	'knowledge'
	ilusu	'type of meat eaten during lobola'	**li**sokana	'initiate

[Note: The double **ll** in examples (9b) in Northern Ndebele above is the result of the obligatory vowel elision that occurs in Northern Ndebele.] (Also cf. par. 4.6.2)

The form –**lu**- in the Southern Ndebele examples in (9d) is a relic attesting to the erstwhile existence of a Class 11 in Southern Ndebele. It is important to note that the Class 5 nouns like those given in examples (9d) above may be used with either the prefix **ilu**- or with the prefix **ili-** in Southern Ndebele**.** In other words, a speaker can, for instance, either say **iluju** or **iliju, ilutjha** or **ilitjha, ilusu** or **ilisu.** (See Skhosana, 1998:71-73.)

5.2.1.4 Variant forms of the noun class prefix of Class 6
Southern Ndebele noun class prefixes for Class 6 is **ama**- and **ame**-, respectively, while in Northern Ndebele this class only has **ma**-as the noun class prefix. Compare the following examples in this regard.

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	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
Class 6:	**ama-/ame-**	**ma-**	
(10a)	**ama**nzi	**ma**nti	'water'
	amazembe	**ma**hloka	'axes'
(10b)	**ame**zwi	**ma**vi	'voices/words'
	amehlo	**ma**hlo	'eyes'

5.2.1.5 Variant forms of the noun class prefix of Class 8

Southern Ndebele is the only Nguni language where the prefix of Class 8 nouns with polysyllabic stems is commonly used with a nasal in their class prefix. This feature does not occur in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
Before polysyllabic stems			
(11a)	**iin**dlhayela	**ti**dlayela	'fools'
	iintjhaba	**ti**tjhaba	'tribes, nations'
	iinthende	**ti**thende	'heels'
(11b)	**iim**phofu	**ti**phofu	'blind people'
	iimphande	**ti**phande	'ways
	iimfiso	**ti**fiso	'wishes'

Where the nasal in the prefix of some of the Class 8 nouns in Southern Ndebele originated from is unclear. Meinhof (1932:39-40), for instance, does not distinguish a Class 8 prefix in Ur-Bantu that contains a nasal. Van Eeden tries to shed some light on

this phenomenon when he explains the presence of a nasal in the adjective prefix of Class 8 nouns that often occurs in the speech of (some) isiZulu speakers. Van Eeden (1956:152) remarks as follows in this regard –

'Besondere aandag verdien die verskynsel dat die konkord van klas 4
plur, teen die algemene rêêl in, 'n nasaal insluit. Hierdie konkord is dus
ook net soos die van klas 5 plur, **ezin-,** ens., bv **izinkwa ezindala**
ezimbili (twee ou brode). Die nasal in hierdie konkord het
klaarblyklik bygekom na analogie van die vorm van klas 5 plur (i.e.,
Class 10), se konkord.' (*my own insertion*).

[Note: Van Eeden's Class 4 and Class 5 are, in terms of Meinhof's numbering, Class 8 and 10, respectively.]

Applied to the prefix of Class 8 in Southern Ndebele, Van Eeden's assumption implies that because of the near similarity in the basic form of the prefix of Classes 8 and 10 nouns, i.e., **izi-** as opposed to **izin-**, the prefix **izi-** has acquired a nasal in order to bring its form in accordance with that of its Class 10 counterpart. It is, however, very doubtful that this could have been the case, especially as it fails to explain why only the prefix of Class 8 nouns in Southern Ndebele with polysyllabic stems acquired a nasal (cf. examples 11(a) and 11(b)) but not the prefix of Class 8 nouns with monosyllabic stems. However, it is clear that most Southern Ndebele Class 8 polysyllabic noun stems (except polysyllabic noun stems beginning with vowels, nasals, semi-vowels and the voiceless velar fricative phoneme /**rh**/) have moved from Class 8 to Class 10.

The occurrence of a homorganic nasal in the class prefix of Class 8 nouns with polysyllabic stems in Southern Ndebele, such as those in the examples given in (11a) and (11b) above, is not a dialectic feature. Neither may this prefix be substituted with a Class 8 prefix without a nasal. The nasal in this prefix occurs in all instances except before monosyllabic stems and stems beginning with a nasal, a semi-vowel or the voiceless velar

fricative phoneme -**rh**. Compare the following examples of Class 8 nouns, where the nasal does not occur in the noun class prefix.

Southern Ndebele

Before monosyllabic stems

(12a)   **izi**fo   'diseases'

         izitha   'enemies'

         izidlo   'types of food'

Before stems beginning with a semi-vowel

(12b)   **ii**yalo   'water springs'

         iiyekethe   'small amounts of African beer in calabashes'

         iiwabandla   'talkative people'

         iiwewe   'young male goats'

Before stems beginning with the voiceless velar fricative rh[x]

(12c)   **ii**rhwerhwe   'frogs'

         iirhurhula   'floods'

         iirhunyezo   'abbreviations'

         iirhole   'cripples'

Before stems beginning with a nasal

(12d)   **ii**nanazelo   'clan praises'

         iinini   'relatives'

         iimanga   'surprises'

         iimemo   'invitations'

It is, of course, possible that the prefix of Class 8 nouns beginning with a nasal, such as the ones in (12c) above, may include a nasal, but that nasal has coalesced with the initial

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nasal of the stem. In other words, the morphological structure may manifest in nouns such as those in (12d) is **iiN + stem** and not **ii-+stem.**

It should also be noted that some Southern Ndebele speakers tend to render nouns such as those in (12c) above with a velar nasal **n[ŋ]** in their prefix, i.e**.** as *****iin̲rhwerhwe [iiŋxwɛxwɛ],** *****iin̲rhurhula [iiŋxuxula]** and *****iin̲rhole [iiŋxɔlɛ].** What is impotant to note is that this nasal is heterorganic as well as syllabic and, therefore, differs from the nasal that occurs in the other variant forms of this prefix as illustrated in the examples given in (11a and 11b) above. The true origin of this peculiar variant form is as yet unknown. However, it is clear that it could not have originated from the neighbouring Sotho languages as none of these languages has a Class 8 prefix that is reminiscent of this form. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(13)   *****iinghrhatjhi [iiŋrhatjhi]:   'media'   (cf. [iiŋgɔma]   'songs')

          *****iinghrhurhula[iiŋrhurhula] 'floods'   (cf. [iiŋguɓɔ]∫ 'blankets')

          *****iinghrhole [iiŋrhɔlɛ]:   'cripples'   (cf. [ŋganɛnɔ] 'on this side')

What is arguable is the fact that there is no combination of a velar nasal sound /**ngh**/ (that occurs outside nasal compounds) and the voiceless velar fricative /**rh/** in Southern Ndebele as is shown in examples (13) above.

The morphological differences in the noun class system between Southern and Northern Ndebele as discussed above can be summarized and illustrated in tabular form as follows –

Table 5.1:   Southern and Northern Ndebele noun class prefixes

Class	Class Southern Ndebele Prefix:		Class Northern Ndebele Prefix:
1	**u-m(u)** : umntwana	'child'	**mu-** : munrwana
1a	**u**- : ubamkhulu	'grandfather'	**ø-/i-/[N]** : ønkhulu
	: uyihlo	'your father'	: iyihlo
	: unyoko	'your mother'	: nnyoko
2	**aba-** : abantu	'people'	**ba-** : banru
2a	**abo-** : abobamkhulu	'grandfather'	**bo-** : bonkhulu
3	**um(u)** : umuzi	'home/kraal'	**mu-** : muti
4	**imi-** : imizi	'homes/kraals'	**mi**- : miti
5	**i(li)-/il-/ilu-** : ilitje	'stone'	**li-/l-** : liye
6	**ama-/ame**- : amazwi	'words'	**ma**- : mavi
7	**is(i)-** : isithende	'heel'	**s(i)-** : sithende
8	**iz(i)-/iiN-/ii**- : izono /iintofu	'sins/stoves'	**ti-** : tono/sitofu
9	**i([N])-** : ikosi	'chief	**[N]-** : nkxosi
10	**izi-/iiN-/ii-** : iinkomo	'beasts'	**tiN**-/**ti**- : tikxomo
14	**ub(u)-** : ubufazi	'womanhood'	**b(u)-** : bufati
15	**uk(u)-** : ukufa	'death'	**ku-** : kufa
16	**pha-/phe-** : phambili	'forward'	**pha-/phe**-: phambili

5.3 Morphological differences in the system of pronouns

There are four kinds of pronouns that are normally distinguished in the various Nguni languages. They are the so-called absolute pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, quantitative and qualificative pronouns (Doke, 1927:88). In the following paragraphs, the morphological differences that occur between these two languages in respect of each of these categories of pronouns are analysed and discussed.

5.3.1 Absolute pronouns

Of the names for the different kinds of pronoun found in the African languages and in the Nguni languages, in particular, the name "absolute pronoun" is the most non-transparent one as it is not entirely clear what exactly the word "absolute" implies in this instance.

Although the term "absolute pronoun" has a long history as a grammatical term in African linguistics in this country, one looks in vain in most grammar books of the locally spoken African languages to find a clear definition of this term. (During the earlier years other terms for the absolute pronouns were used by South African scholars, as for example, "Emphatic Pronouns" (Bryant, 1905), "Substantive Pronouns"(McLaren & Welsh, 1936), and "Independent Pronouns" (Bennie,1939). C.M. Doke (1927) was one of the first, if not the first South African scholar to use the term "absolute pronoun" consistently in his publications on the African languages. The fact that Doke's work had such a comprehensive impact on the African linguistics scene in this country, was no doubt the reason why all the other South African scholars of these languages eventually adopted the term "absolute pronoun" when referring to these words.

As far as could be ascertained, Van Eeden (1956) is the only scholar who gives some indication of what is meant by the word "absolute" in this instance when he refers to these words as 'absolute of alleenstande (**unattached**)… pronomina'(Van Eeden,1956:121). With this concept Van Eeden implies that the absolute pronoun is not a formative but a complete and autonomous word (*my insertion*)

Although scholars of the African languages and, in particular, those of the Nguni languages, are all in agreement as far as the word autonomy of the absolute pronouns is concerned they are, however, less so when it comes to how they view the morphological structure of these words and also what they consider to be the main function or syntactical feature of the absolute pronouns. In the following paragraphs the focus falls on the morphological structure of the absolute pronouns in the Nguni languages, with special reference to the formal features of these words in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

5.3.1.1 Different views concerning the morphological structure of the absolute pronouns

There are three views on the formation of the absolute pronouns that prevail in Nguni language circles. One is by Ziervogel (1985) who claims that the morphological structure

of the absolute pronouns consists of a root (derived from the corresponding class prefix combined with –**o**) and a suffixal –**na** (or –**ne**) (Ziervogel. 1959:47 and 1985:44). In terms of this view, except the absolue pronoun of the 2nd person singular **yena** of which the rule does not apply, the morphological structure of the absolute pronouns in (14) below must be analysed as follows –

(14) Class 2: ba-o-na > bo-**na**   'they'   (e.g. Baphi bona   'Where are <u>they</u>?')

    3: u – 0- na > wo-**na**   'it'   (e.g. Sifuna wona umsebenzi 'We want the very
                                                    same work.)'

    7: si-o-na > so-**na**, 'it'   (e.g. Lesi sona siyabulala isifo. 'This is a fatal
                                                    disease.)'

    8: zi-o-na > zo-na 'they'   (e.g. Lezo zona ngezakho. 'Those ones are
                                                    yours.'

The second view is that of Van Eeden (1956:124) who differs from Ziervogel in that he regards the final –**na** of the absolute pronoun as the stem (or root) of these words. In terms of this view, the morphological structure of the absolute pronouns in (15) below must therefore be analysed as follows (The stem is given in bold) –

(15) Class   1: ye-**na** (umsana)   'he (a boy)'

    2: bo-**na** (abesana)   'they (the boys)'

    5: lo-**na** (ilizwi)   'it (the voice)'

    8: zo-**na** (izitha)   'they (the enemies)

    9: yo-**na** (induna)   'he (the headman)'

The view that is currently supported by most South African scholars of the Nguni languages is that the morphological structure of all the absolute pronouns in these languages except the absolute pronoun for the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural as well as the one of Class 1 and 1a consists of "an agreement morpheme" (that resembles the form of the subject concord of the class concerned) followed by a "pronominal" –**o**

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and the "suffixal morpheme" –**na**, as for instance in the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples.

		Southern Ndebele			Northern Ndebele	
(16) Class 2:	b(a)-o-na	= bona	'they'	b(a)-o-na	=	bona
3:	u-o-na	= wona	'it'	u-o-na	=	wona
4:	i-o-na	= yona	'they'	i-o-na	=	yona
6:	a-o-na	= wona	'they'	a-o-na	=	yona
8:	zi-o-na	= zona	'they'	a-o-na	=	ona

As will be noticed in the examples given in (16) above when the agreement morpheme has a /**CV**/ structure, it discards its vowel before the pronominal –**o**-, but when it consists of a vowel only, the vowel becomes a semi-vowel before the pronominal –**o**; i.e., **u**- becomes **w**, **i**- becomes **y** and **a** becomes **w** in Southern Ndebele, but falls away in Northern Ndebele. The latter is no doubt the result of the influence of Northern Sotho and Setswana where the absolute pronoun for Class 6 has the form **ona.**

5.3.1.2 The function of the suffixal –na in the absolute pronoun

Although most scholars are in agreement as to how the absolute pronouns are constructed, they differ in their view on what the function of the suffixal –**na** in these pronouns entails.

Doke (1927:88) refers to this suffix as '*the ultimate* –**na'** without explaining what he means by this term. Van Eeden (1956) contradicts himself by first regarding this formative as an "uitgangselement" (ending) of the pronoun (Van Eeden, 1956:122) and then soon afterwards changing his mind by regarding it as the stem of the pronoun (Van Eeden, op. cit.: 124). Ziervogel (1959: 44) is another scholar who expresses an opinion on this suffix when he refers to it as '*the stabilizing* -**na**', without giving any indication what exactly this –**na** is supposed to stabilize.

It is clear that neither of the above scholars is convinced what exactly the function of this formative is. According to Wilkes (personal communication), the formative –**na** is not merely a stabilizer or "ultimate suffix" that acts as a sort of "word builder" (as some scholars assume) but is, in fact, a formative with a definite semantic function which he defines as that of '*emphasis*' and '*contrast*'. It is, he notes, on account of this suffix that the absolute pronouns act as an '*emphatic*' or as a '*contrastive*' determiner of nouns (Wilkes, 1976:76). He considers this function to be 'the one and only function' the absolute pronouns (at least in the Nguni languages) have. He is also the first linguist who has convincingly refuted the traditional and widely held view among Nguni language scholars that the absolute pronouns are words that can replace nouns in sentences just as the pronouns in languages such as English and Afrikaans normally do (Wilkes, op. cit.:76). His investigation shows that the basic function of these words is twofold, that is, to emphasize nouns (when they appear in a pre-nominal position) and to contrast nouns with one another (when they appear in a post nominal position) (Wilkes, op. cit.:76). Compare the following isiZulu examples in (17a) and (17b) in this regard.

   IsiZulu

(17a) **Emphasis**

   Yena ubaba uthanda ukuthethisa umama.

   'My father (and nobody else) likes to scold my mother.'

   Zona izingane azithandi ukuhlukunyezwa.

   'The children (in particular) don't like to be abused.'

   Sona isikole sabo asinamthetho**.**

   'Their very same school (and not any other) has no discipline.'

(17b) **Contrast**

   Umama uyasebenza kodwana ubaba **yena** uhlezi.

   'My mother is working, but my father (by contrast) is seated.'

Noma <u>mina</u> ngimthanda kodwana uNobuhle **yena** uyangizonda.

'Even if <u>I </u>love her, Nobuhle (by contrast) hates me.'

<u>Thina </u>sidle inyama, obaba **bona** bafuna ubisi.

'<u>We </u>ate meat, our fathers (by contrast) preferred milk.'

Wilkes (personal communication) asserts that had all the earlier scholars recognized the true function of the suffixal –**na** in absolute pronouns, they would probably not have called these words "absolute" pronouns and would not have compared them (subjectively) to the pronouns in English and other (European) languages. It was on account of the latter that scholars regarded these words as the African languages' equivalent of the pronouns in the European languages.

5.3.1.3 The morphology of the absolute pronouns of Class 1, 1a and of the 2nd person singular

In all Nguni languages as well as in other African languages spoken in the Republic of South Africa, the absolute pronouns of Class 1, 1a and that of the 2nd person singular have similar structural form, but one that differs from that of the absolute pronouns of the other noun classes. In the case of Class 1 and 1a, the form of this pronoun is **yena** while, in the case of the 2nd person singular, the form of this pronoun is **wena.**

The morphological structure of both these pronouns is uncertain except for the terminal –**na,** which is the same formative as the one that is found in the absolute pronouns of the other noun classes. This is confirmed by the fact that both these pronouns have the same emphatic/contrastive function that the other absolute pronouns have.

Van Eeden (1956:123) attempts to explain the form of these words (albeit unconvincingly) by saying that the –**e-** in these words is an alternative form of the pronominal –**o**-, that the **w**- in **wena** is derived from the subject concord **u-** of the 2nd person singular and that the **y** in **yena** is the same as the formative **y** found in the quantitative pronoun **yedwa** of Class 1 and 1a that occurs in all the Nguni languages

except in Northern Ndebele. According to Van Eeden (op. cit.:124 footnote 7), this **y** is the isiZulu equivalent of a Class 1 formative that occurs in the pronouns of many African (Bantu) languages.

5.3.1.4 The morphological differences between the absolute pronouns of the 1st person singular and 2nd person plural in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The morphological structure of the absolute pronouns of the other personal classes is equally non-transparent. In Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele, these pronouns occur as follows –

	Southern Ndebele			Northern Ndebele
(18)	1st Person singular:	mina	'I'	mina/nna
	1st person plural:	thina	'we'	thina
	2nd person plural:	nina	'you'	lina

The only thing that is certain about the morphological structure of these pronouns is that they all contain the emphatic/contrastive suffix –**na** that is also found in the absolute pronouns of all the other noun classes. The problem is to explain what the initial part of these pronouns consists of. Van Eeden (1956:124) claims that the initial **ni**- in the absolute pronoun of the 2nd person plural **nina** is in all probability copied from the 2nd person plural subject concord **ni-.** Van Eeden's view is confirmed by the fact that the initial syllable of the absolute pronoun of the 2nd person plural **lina** in Northern Ndebele has exactly the same form as the subject concord of the 2nd person plural in this language. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(19)	**Li**funa bani gendluni.	'Whom do you want inside the house?'
	Gibonile **li**khambe naye.	'I have seen you have left with him.'

Mfuna **li**na **li**khulume naye.   'I want you to talk to him.'

The agreement morpheme **li-** of the 2nd person plural also occurs in isiNala, a Manala dialect of Southern Ndebele (Skhosana, 1998:29) and is also found in Zimbabwean Ndebele. This explains why the form of the absolute pronoun of the 2nd person plural is **lina** in both these languages. Compare the following examples in this regard.

IsiNala	Northern Ndebele	Zimbabwean Ndebele	
(20) Ngifuna **li**na.	Mfuna **li**na.	Ngifuna **li**na.	'I want you.'
Lina **li**nemali.	**Li**na **li**nemali.	**Li**na **li**nemali.	'You have money.'
Lizakufa loke **li**na.	**Li**tafa lokxe **li**na.	**Li**zakufa lonke **li**na.	'You will all die.'

It is possible that both isiNala and Northern Ndebele have acquired the subject agreement morpheme **li-** from the neighbouring Sotho languages, i.e., Northern Sotho and Tswana, respectively, where this concord has the form **le [lẹ]**.

[Note:The Sotho **[ẹ]** usually corresponds to Nguni **[i].**] Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Sotho		Setswana	
(21) **Le**na **le** rata nama.	'You like meat.'	**Lo**na **lo** rata nama.	
Morago go latela **le**na.	'Thereafter, you follow.'	Morago go latela **lo**na.	
Bare **le**na **le** batla bana.	'They say you want children.'	Gatwe **lo**na **lo** batla bana.	
Le kae ?	'How are you?'	**Lo** kae?	

Zimbabwean Ndebele, too, has in all probablility acquired its 2nd person plural concord **li**- from these two Sotho languages. This must have happened during the sojourn of Mzilikazi and his followers in the former Transvaal where they came into contact with these two Sotho speaking ethnic groups. They were eventually compelled in 1838 by the

migrant Boers to cross the Limpopo River after which they moved to their present abode in Zimbabwe (Van Warmelo, 1930:7).

The 'alternative' absolute pronoun of the 1st person singular in Northern Ndebele, i.e., **nna,** has no doubt also been borrowed from Northern Sotho and Setswana as this is the only form this pronoun has in these two languages (See Poulos and Louwrens, 1994:75). Compare the following Northern Sotho and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Sotho	**Northern Ndebele**	
(22) **Nna** ke bala puku.	**Nna** ndibala mbhugu	'I read a book'
Ba re **nna** ke na le molato.	Bari **nna** ndinemulandu	'They say I'm guilty.'
Ba nyaka **nna.**	Bafuna **nna**	'They want me.'

Not much can be said about the initial elements **mi-** and **thi-** that occur in the absolute pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural in Southern and Northern Ndebele. According to Van Eeden (1956:124), these two forms may also have the subject concords **ngi-** (1st person singular) and **si-** (1st person plural), respectively, as their source of origin. He is, however, uncertain as to how this development could have taken place.

5.3.1.5 Absolute pronoun of Class 6

The absolute pronoun of Class 6 in both Southern and Northern Ndebele is **wona.** Ziervogel (1959:64), however, also recognizes a form **ona** for this pronoun in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(23) **Wona** amanzi ayabila	**Wona/ona** manti ayabila	'The very water, is boiling.'
Bakhuluma **wona** amanga	Bakhuluma **wona/ona** manga	'They talk absolute lies.'

Ngitlola **wona** amazwi.   Ngwala **wona/ona** mavi.   'I write <u>the very</u> words.'

The alternative form **ona** in Northern Ndebele, which according to this investigation has shown to be no longer popular with speakers, clearly demonstrates that it results from Northern Sotho influence. In the construction of the absolute pronouns in Northern Sotho for Class 6, the agreement morpheme **a** becomes **Ø** (i.e., falls away) (Poulos & Louwrens, 1994:75). Compare the following Northern Sotho and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

	Northern Sotho	**Northern Ndebele**

(24)   Ke rata **ona** mantsu o a bolelago.   Nthanda **ona** mavi owakhulumako

'I like <u>the very</u> words you speak.'

Ba nyaka **ona** meetse a belago.   Bafuna **ona** manti abilako

'They want <u>the very</u> boiling water.'

Ona makhura ga a jege.   **Ona** mafutha akadlheki

'The <u>very fats</u> are not edible.'

After having outlined the morphological differences between the absolute pronoun of Southern and Northern Ndebele, these pronouns can be now summarized as follows in a tabular form.

Table 5.2: The absolute pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Noun Class	Southern Ndebele		Northern Ndebele
1st p/s	mina	'me'	mina/nna
1st p/p	thina	'we'	thina
2nd p/s	wena	'you'	wena
2nd p/p	nina	'you'	lina

3rd p/s.Class.1	yena	'(s)he'	yena
2	bona	'they'	bona
3	wona	'it'	wona
4	yona	'they'	yona
5	lona	'it'	lona
6	wona	'they'	wona/ona
7	sona	'it'	sona
8	zona	'they'	tona
9	yona	'it'	yona
10	zona	'they'	tona
14	bona	'it'	bona
15	khona	'it'	khona
16	khona	'it'	khona
17	khona	'it'	khona

5.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives or demonstrative pronouns, as these words are traditionally known, have two basic functions, a deictic function and an anaphoric function. According to Poulos and Msimang (1998:115), the term "deictic" is derived from a Greek noun "deixis", which means 'pointing' or 'indicating'. In terms of their deictic function the demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate the actual position which some or other referent occupies in relation to the speaker. Consider the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(25) **Lesi**salukazi sinomona.   '**This** old woman is full of jealousy.'

Izolo amapholisa abophe umsana **loyo.**   'The police arrested **that** boy yesterday.'

Uthenge ikoloyi **leya** ungakasitjeli.   'You bought **that car** without having

informed us.'

In terms of their anaphoric function, demonstratives may be used to refer back to the same or other antecedents that have been mentioned earlier in the discourse as, for instance, in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

Southern Ndebele

(26a)   UMsongelwa wabethelwa into angakayenzi. **Lokho** kwamphatha kumbi uyise.
  'Msongelwa was punished for something he did not do. **That** really upset his
  Father.'

(26b) USuhla uthenge enye ikoloyi ekudlwana. Uthi **leyo** ingcono khulu ngombana
  ikhamba ngedizela.'
  'Suhla has bought another bigger car. He says **that one** is much better because
  it uses diesel.'

The demonstrative pronoun **lokho** 'that' in (26a) refers to Msongelwa having been punished for something he had not done, while the demonstrative pronoun **leyo** 'that' in (26b) refers to the other car that Suhla has bought. The initial sentence in both these examples acts as the antecedent of the demonstrative pronouns **lokho** and **leyo,** respectively. Demonstratives in the Nguni languages are normally classified into four different positions depending on the demonstrative suffix that is used. Each position indicates a different position that a person or object occupies in relation to the speaker. These positions can be roughly translated into English as follows –

Position 1: this/these (here)
Position 2: that (one) /those (there)
Position 3: that (one)/those (over there)

Position 4: is similar in significance to position 3 and refers to the referent beyond position 3.

The demonstrative pronouns may, however, also be used to refer to distance in time as opposed to physical distance, that is, distance from the speaker. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(27) **Loya** nyaka kwakunezulu.   'That year we had enough rain.'

Minengi imisebenzi **lo**nyaka.   'There is a lot of work **this** year.'

Iveke **le** ngiyakhamba**.**   '**This** week I'm leaving.'

5.3.2.1 Formation of the demonstrative pronouns in the Nguni languages

The demonstrative pronouns of the different noun classes do not all exhibit the same form and structure in the different Nguni languages. Furthermore, there are important differences of opinion, especially among isiZulu scholars, as to how some of these pronouns are supposedly constructed, particularly that of the 1st position demonstrative pronoun. In the following paragraphs, these views are briefly summarized, after which attention is paid to the construction of the pronouns of the other demonstrative positions. Finally, the differences in form and structure between the demonstrative pronouns of Southern and Northern Ndebele are elucidated.

5.3.2.1.1 Formation of the 1st position demonstratives

Although most Nguni grammarians are in agreement as far as the function of the demonstrative pronouns is concerned, they are less so when it comes to the formation of these pronouns. No fewer than three different views prevail, mainly among isiZulu grammarians, on how the 1st position demonstratives are supposedly constructed. These views are summarized in the following paragraphs.

(i) Views on the formation of the 1st position demonstratives in isiZulu

• Demonstrative formative plus an agreement morpheme

Van Eeden (1956:129-130) maintains that the first position demonstrative pronoun comprises the *demonstrative formative* **la** + *an agreement morpheme,* which resembles the subject concord and which (in the case of the nasal classes) coalesces with the /**a**/ of **la**. Consider the following examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(28) Cl. 1:   **lo**   (< la + u)

     2:    **laba**   (< la + ba)

     4:    **le**   (< la + i)

     5:    **leli**   (< la + li)

     6**:**   **la** or **lawa**   (< la + a)

• Demonstrative formative l- plus a relative concord

According to Doke (1997:92), the 1st position demonstrative pronoun is constructed by means of a **demonstrative formative l + a relative concord.** Consider the following examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(29) Cl. 1:   **lo**   (< l + o)

     2:    **laba**   (< l + aba)

     4:    **le**   (< l + e)

     5:    **leli**   (< l + eli)

• Demonstrative formative *la* plus a noun class prefix

IsiZulu scholars such as Nyembezi (1963:52) and Poulos and Msimang (1998:130) maintain that the 1st position demonstrative pronoun is formed by means of a demonstrative formative **la + a noun class prefix.** In the case of the nasal classes, the nasal with its succeeding vowel is discarded whilst the class prefix of the non-nasal classes remains unchanged. Consider the following examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(30) Cl. 1: la + umu   > lo(*mu)*   > **lo**

2: la + aba   > **laba**

4: la + imi-   > le(*mi)*   > **le**

5: la + ili   > **leli**

6: la + ama   > la(*ma)*   > **la**

(ii) Evaluation of the different views concerning the construction of the 1st position demonstratives in isiZulu.

Of the three views discussed above, Van Eeden's view seems to be the most convincing one in that it is able to account for all instances where agreement occurs in isiZulu and the other Nguni languages while the other two views cannot. The formation of the possessive concords, for instance, cannot be explained in terms of either Doke or Nyembezi's views, but it can in terms of Van Eeden's view.

In terms of Van Eeden's view, one can say that the possessive concord is formed by means of a concordial or agreement morpheme plus an element **–a,** which is commonly referred to as the possessive particle or possessive –**a**. A type of merging takes place between these two elements as can be seen in the following possessive concords.

IsiZulu

(31) Cl.1: u   +   a   >   **wa-**

4: i   +   a   >   **ya-**

5: li   +   a   >   **la-**

7: si   +   a   >   **sa-**

15: ku + a > **kwa-**

It is obvious that the formation of these concords cannot be explained in terms of either a relative concord (Doke) or a noun class prefix (Nyembezi) as the following examples clearly indicate.

	In terms of Doke's view		In terms of Nyembezi's view
(32) Cl.1:	u + a > owa*	Cl.1:	umu + a > ?
4:	e + a > eya *	4:	imi + a > ?
5:	eli + a > ela *	5:	ili + a > ?
7:	esi + a > esa*	7:	isi + a > ?
15:	oku + a > okwa*	15:	uku- + a > ?

While neither Doke (1984:115) nor Nyembezi (1963:52) overtly states how these concords are formed, it is clear from their discussion of the formation of the possessive concords that neither of them regards these formatives as being formed by means of a relative concord or a noun class prefix.

(iii) Alternative forms of the monosyllabic 1st position demonstratives

In isiZulu and siSwati all the monosyllabic 1st position demonstratives have two forms, a basic form consisting of a demonstrative **la + agreement morpheme** and an alternative form that is formed by suffixing a formative –**na** or –**yi** to the 1st position demonstrative of Classes 1, 1a, 3, 6 and 9. IsiZulu only uses the suffix –**na** while siSwati uses both forms except in the case of Class 6. Compare the following examples in this regard.

		IsiZulu	**SiSwati**
(33)	Cl. 1/3:	lona	lona/loyi
	6:	lana	lana
	4/9:	lena	lena/leyi

According to Van Eeden (1956:135), the demonstratives with these alternative forms occur mainly in the final position in a sentence and are usually unaccompanied by their antecedent noun as, for instance, in the following example.

IsiZulu

(34) Uyawathanda amantombazana (umfana) **lona**. ' **This** one (boy) likes girls.'
      Ngeyami (inkabi) **lena**.   **'This** one (an ox) is mine'.

Van Eeden (1959:130) also recognizes an alternative form **lawa** for Class 6 in isiZulu but does not explain what triggered the semi-vowel –**w**- in this word. (See examples in (28) above.) Whether or not the formatives **–yi** and –**na** fulfil a definite grammatical function is uncertain. Ziervogel (1985:47) considers them to be stabilizers but refrains from explaining why these demonstratives need to be stabilized while the polysyllabic ones do not. According to Wilkes (1992:29-30, Honours lecture notes) the 1st position demonstrative pronoun with the suffix **–na** has a more emphatic significance than demonstratives without this suffix. This, Wilkes (ibid.) explains, suggests that this suffix is probably the same suffix **–na** that is found in absolute pronouns where it also serves as an emphasizer. (See earlier discussions of the absolute pronouns in par 6.3.1 above.) This also confirms Van Eeden's view that this **–na** is the same **–na** that is found in the absolute pronouns (Van Eeden.op. cit.:131).

As far as the suffix –**yi** is concerned, it is uncertain what its true function is. Ziervogel's (1959: 47) view that it is a stabilizer is not convincing, as (i) it does not explain why it is only the demonstratives of the nasal classes that need to have a stabilizer and (ii) why there are two stabilizers (i.e., –**na** and –**yi**) that perform the same function. With the exception of Ziervogel, no other siSwati author has investigated what the true function of the demonstrative suffix **–yi** in this language is precisely. As the answer to this uncertainty falls outside the scope of this study, it has not been further investigated. Suffice it to say that a relic of this formative occurs in the 1st position demonstratives of Classes 1, 3, 4 and 9, and 2nd position of Classes 1 and 3 in siSwati.

(iv) 1ˢᵗ position demonstrative pronouns in isiXhosa

It is important to note that the 1ˢᵗ position demonstrative pronouns have the same form and structure in all the Nguni languages except in isiXhosa where the initial **l** of all the non-nasal classes of demonstrative pronouns is omitted. (It is also omitted in the 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ position demonstrative pronouns in this language.) Compare the following examples in this regard.

IsiXhosa

(35) **Oku** kutya kwakho akumandanga nakancinci.   '**This** food of yours is not

delicious at all.'

Ndibiza **abo** bantu abathetha nawe.   'I'm calling **those** people talking to you.'

Ezi zinja zingamluma ngenene umntu. '**These** dogs can seriously bite a person.'

Bathi **esa** sikolo asifundisi nyani.   'They say **that that** school does not

teach at all.'

5.3.2.1.2 The construction of the 2ⁿᵈ position demonstratives in the Nguni languages

(i) In isiZulu and siSwati

In all the Nguni languages, the 2ⁿᵈ position demonstratives are formed by adding the formative ending ∠**o** to the 1ˢᵗ position demonstratives. In the case of the monosyllabic forms, this –**o** is separated from the foregoing vowel by a semi-vowel –**w-** (i.e. in the case of Classes 1, 1a, 3 and 6) or –**y**- (i.e., in the case of Classes 4 and 9). In the case of the disyllabic forms, this –**o-** replaces the final vowel of the first position form. Consider the following examples in this regard.

IsiZulu   **SiSwati**

(36) Cl. 1   lo + o   > lo**wo**   'that'   lo + o   >   lo**yo**/lo**yi**

Cl. 2:	laba + o	> labo	'those'	laba + o	>	labo
Cl. 4:	le + o	> leyo	'that'	le + o	>	leyo/leyi
Cl. 5:	leli + o	> lelo	'that'	leli + o	>	lelo
Cl. 6:	la + o	> lawo	'that'	la + o	>	lawo
Cl. 8:	lezi + o	> lezo	'those'	leti + o	>	leto
Cl. 9:	le + o	> leyo	'that'	le + o	>	leyo/leyi

(ii) In isiXhosa

A unique and puzzling feature of the 2nd position demonstrative pronouns of the nasal classes (i.e. weak classes) in isiXhosa is that they have a full form, that normally occurs post nominally, and a contracted form. The latter normally occurs when the demonstrative pronoun comes before the noun (Bennie, 1939:79 and Du Plessis & Visser, 1992:287). Consider, for instance, the following examples taken from Einhorn and Siyengo (1990:26) in this regard.

IsiXhosa

(37) Cl. 1:	umlimi **lowo**	but	**loo** mlimi	'That farmer'.
Cl. 4:	imizi **leyo**	but	**loo** mzi	'Those homesteads'
Cl. 6:	amazwe **lawo**	but	**loo** mazwe	'Those countries'
Cl. 9	indlu **leyo**	but	**loo** ndlu	'That house'

It is unclear how the 'double **o**' in the contracted forms of the demonstratives of Classes 4, 6 and 9 came about. It obviously cannot be the result of the dropping of the semi-vowels **w** and **y** as there is no rule in any of the Nguni languages in terms of which **e + o** or **a + o > oo**. As far as could be ascertained, no isiXhosa grammarian has thus far offered any explanation of where this 'double **o**' originated from.

(iii) In Southern Ndebele

Southern Ndebele has an alternative 2nd position demonstrative form for its Classes 1, 1a, 3 and 6 demonstratives. These demonstratives are formed by means of the suffix ∠**yo** that is added to the 1st position demonstratives as for instance in the following examples.

	1st position	2nd position
(38) Cl. 1:	lo	lo**yo**
3:	lo	lo**yo**
6:	la	la**yo**

The reason why the form of this suffix is regarded as –**yo** instead of –**o** is because it cannot be explained in terms of the phonological rule discussed in (i) above.

(iv) In Northern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele is the only other Nguni language where the 2nd position demonstratives also have a contracted form albeit that this feature is only limited to the 2nd position demonstratives of Classes 1 and 3. In this instance, the 2nd position demonstrative **lowo** of these two classes has an alternative form **loo**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(39)   Cl. 1: munru **loo**   (< lowo)   'That person'
        Cl. 3: mulambo **loo** (<lowo)   'That river'

(v) Comments on the semi-vowels in the 2nd position demonstratives

The occurrence of the semi-vowel –**y**- in the demonstratives of Classes 4 and 9 in the examples given in (37) and (38) above is explicable in terms of the well known phonological rule in the Nguni languages whereby a semi-vowel –**y**- is triggered whenever the vowels –**e-** and –**o**- occur in juxtaposition as, for instance, in the following isiZulu examples.

(40)   Ukuthenga inkomo (**e-o**ndile >) e**y**ondile akubizi kakhulu.
        'To buy a lean beast is not expensive.'

Imbewu ayiqhumi enhlabathini (**e-o**mile >) e**y**omile

'A seed does not germinate in dry soil.'

Le ngane (**e-o**nakele) e**y**onakele ayisayi nasesikoleni.

'This spoiled child no longer even goes to school.'

There may also be a natural explanation for the occurrence of the semi-vowel –**y-** in this instance in that it is automatically produced whenever the vowels –**e**- and –**o-** (in this order) are pronounced in quick succession without a glottal stop between them.

The occurrence of the semi-vowel –**w**- in the 2nd position demonstratives of Classes 1, 1a and 3 is, however, more difficult to account for as there is no rule in these languages according to which a semi-vowel –**w**- is created when two **o'**s are juxtaposed in the same word as happens in the case of these demonstratives. None of the scholars referred to above has tried to explain the presence of this semi-vowel in these demonstratives, except to say that it is a bridging sound (Van Eeden. 1956: 133). This investigation has found no overt or covert phonological reason why a semi-vowel –**w**- needs to be inserted between two **o** vowels when occurring in juxtaposition. Moreover, there does not seem to be any natural explanation for the occurrence of this bridging sound between the two juxtaposed **o** vowels as is also the case with the semi-vowel –**y-** when the vowels **e** and **o** are juxtaposed. When two **o** vowels do occur in juxtaposition, one of them (usually the first one) is normally omitted as, for instance, happens in the following isiZulu example.

IsiZulu

(41) Nangu umama (**o-o**nga >) **o**nga imali eningi.

'Here is a woman that saves a lot of money.'

Umuntu (**o-o**pha >) **o**pha kakhulu ufakwa amanzi uma efika esibhedlela.

'A drip is administered to a person who bleeds excessively when (s)he is admitted tohospital'.

5.3.2.1.3 Construction of the 3rd position demonstrative pronouns in the Nguni languages

Of the different demonstrative pronouns, the construction of the 3rd position differs by far the most in the various Nguni languages. A comparison of these languages in this regard suggests that the form of these demonstratives in isiZulu most probably represents the full or basic form of these words while in all the other Nguni languages, derived or abbreviated forms of these pronouns are found. In the following paragraphs the focus falls on the way the 3rd position demonstrative pronoun is constructed in the different Nguni languages starting with the structure of these words in isiZulu.

(i) The formation of the 3rd position demonstrative pronouns in isiZulu

In isiZulu, the 3rd position demonstrative pronouns are formed by means of the formatives -**waya** and –**ya,** respectively, that are suffixed to the first position forms. The final vowel –**a** of both these suffixes carries a high tone and is pronounced with length (Van Eeden, 1956:133). For example, Cl.1: **lowaya** [lɔwajá:] 'that yonder', Cl.2: **labaya** [laɓajá:] 'those yonder' etc. The suffix –**ya** is added to the 1st position demonstratives of all the non-nasal classes and the suffix –**aya** is added to the 1st position demonstratives of all the nasal classes, with the exception of Classes 4, 6 and 9, which are formed by way of the addition of the suffix –**ya.** In the case of Class 6, this suffix is added to the alternative form of the 1st position demonstrative of this class, (Van Eeden. op. cit.: 133). Compare the following isiZulu examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

Nasal Classes	**Non-nasal Classes**
(42) Cl. 1: low**aya**	Cl. 2: laba**ya**

Cl. 4: ley**aya**	Cl.5: leli**ya**
Cl.6: lawa**ya**	Cl. 8: lezi**ya**
Cl.9: ley**aya**	Cl. 10: lezi**ya**

Van Eeden (op. cit.:133) believes that the true form of the suffix –**waya** is –**aya** and that the semi-vowel –**w**- is a sort of a bridging sound that occurs when this suffix combines with the 1st position demonstrative pronoun–**lo** (of Classes 1, 1a and 3), i.e. **lo-aya** > **lo*w*aya**. The occurrence of the semi-vowel–**w**- in **lo*w*aya** can be accounted for in terms of a well known phonological rule that occurs in nearly all the Nguni languages whereby a semi-vowel is triggered whenever the vowel –**o**- precedes the vowel –**a** in the same word as, for instance, happens when the relative concord –**o**- of Class 1 and 3 appears before vowel verb stems commencing on –**a,** like in **Nangu umuntu (o-alile >) o*w*alile** 'Here is a person who refused.'

(ii) The formation of the 3rd position demonstratives in the other Nguni languages

The reason for grouping the other Nguni languages together for this purpose is because they have two sets of 3rd position demonstratives. The composition of the one set is exactly the same as that of the 3rd position demonstrative in isiZulu, while that of the other set is different. In the case of the latter set, these demonstratives are formed by replacing the final vowel of the 2nd position demonstrative by an **a** vowel that is long in length and that carries a high tone. In Northern Ndebele, this is the only form that these demonstratives have. Compare the following examples of the 3rd position demonstratives as they occur, for instance, in siSwati, Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele.

[Note: In isiXhosa these demonstratives have the same form, except that the /**l**/ phoneme is omitted in the case of the demonstratives of all the non-nasal classes]. Compare the following examples. (Note that the isiXhosa forms are not given below.)

		2nd Position		**3rd Position**	
(43)	Cl. 1:	(loyo >)		loya:	(lowa in isiXhosa)
	2:	(labo >)		laba:	
	4:	(leyo >)		leya:	
	10:	(leto >)		leta:	(Northern Ndebele and siSwati)
	15	(lokho >)		lokha:	(Southern Ndebele)
				lokhwa	(Northern Ndebele)
		(loko)		lokhwa	(isiSwati)

5.3.2.1.4 Formation of the 4th position demonstrative pronouns in Nguni languages

Some Nguni scholars such as, for instance, Poulos and Msimang (1998:132), distinguish a 4th demonstrative position, which they call position 3(b) and which according to them is further away from the speaker than the position signified by the (basic) 3rd position demonstratives. These demonstratives have a different form from that of their basic 3rd position counterparts in that they include the additional suffix -**na** as for instance in the following isiZulu examples.

IsiZulu

3rd Position		**4th Position**
(44) labaya	>	labaya**na**
leliya	>	leliya**na**
lobuya	>	lobuya**na**

Van Eeden (1956:134) also recognizes this demonstrative form but unlike Poulos and Msimang, does not consider it to be semantically different from the basic 3rd position

demonstratives. He, therefore, regards it as an alternative 3rd position form and refers to it as position 3(b). The fact that these demonstratives have a different form and signify a different demonstrative position is, in this study, regarded as sufficient reason to regard these demonstratives as the 4th position demonstratives rather than alternative forms of position 3.

According to Ziervogel (1985:48), siSwati also has a demonstrative position 4. Ziervogel gives no indication whether this is a position that is further away from the speaker than position 3 or whether it is simply an alternative form of position 3. Position 4 has a basic form –**ana** and two phonologically definable variants -**wana** and –**yana**. The suffix –**ana** is added to all polysyllabic demonstratives of position 1, that is, all the position 1 demonstratives of the non-nasal classes, while the two variants are added to the position 1 demonstrative of all the nasal classes. Compare the following siSwati examples in this regard.

SiSwati

		1st **Position 1**	4th **Position**
(45)	Cl. 1:	lo	lo**yana**
	Cl. 2:	laba	lab**ana**
	Cl. 3:	lo	lo**wana**
	Cl. 4:	le	le**yana**
	Cl. 5:	leli	leli**yana**
	Cl. 6:	la	la**wana**
	Cl. 7:	lesi	les**ana**

An investigation of the 3rd position demonstrative in Southern Ndebele confirms Poulos and Msimang's view that there is an additional demonstrative position that is relatively further away from the speaker than the one indicated by the basic 3rd position demonstratives. These demonstratives are formed by means of the suffix –**ya** as can be seen in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

Southern Ndebele

		3ʳᵈ Position	**4ᵗʰ Position**
(46)	Cl. 1:	lo:ya/wa	lo:ya**ya**/wa**ya**
	Cl. 2:	la:ba	la:ba**ya**
	Cl. 4:	le:ya	le:ya**ya**
	Cl. 5:	le:la	le:la**ya**
	Cl. 6:	la:ya/wa	la:ya**ya**/wa**ya**

In the 4ᵗʰ position the vowel of the first syllable carries a high tone and is pronounced with length in Southern Ndebele, e.g., [lɔ:jaja], [la:baja], le:saja].

[Note: It is worth pointing out that no alternative form of the 3ʳᵈ position or of 4ᵗʰ position demonstrative pronouns exists in isiXhosa or in Northern Ndebele.]

5.3.2.1.5 Summary of the distinctive morphological features of the various demonstrative positions.

Based on the analysis given in the previous paragraphs of the structural features of the various demonstrative positions in the Nguni languages these features can now be summarized as follows –

(47)	Position 1	=	**ø (unmarked)**
	Position 2	=	**-(w)o/-(y)o**
	Position 3(a) (i)	=	**-(w)aya/-ya**
	(ii)	=	**-a**
	Position 4	=	**-(a)na/-ya/**

[Note:
- Position 1 can be regarded as the unmarked position as it contains no morpheme with a deictic significance.
- Position 1 and 2 are found in all the Nguni languages.

- Position 3(a)(i) occurs in all the Nguni languages, except in Northern Ndebele.

- Position 3(a)(ii) occurs in all the Nguni languages, except in isiZulu.

- Position 4 occurs in all Nguni languages except in isiXhosa and Northern Ndebele.]

5.3.2.1.6 Differences in the morphological structure of the demonstrative pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele

From the investigation of the demonstrative pronouns as outlined above the following morphological differences and similarities between the demonstrative pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele emerged.

- **Position 1**: They are morphologically the same, e.g.

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(48) Cl. 1:	lo	'this'	lo
2:	laba	'these'	laba
4:	le	'these'	le
5:	leli	'this'	leli
6:	la	'these'	la

- **Position 2**: They are morphologically the same except that there is an alternative demonstrative form in Classes 1, 1a, 3 and 6 in Southern Ndebele that is formed by means of the suffix **–yo** (See 5.3.2.1.2 (iii) above) that does not occur in Northern Ndebele. In Northern Ndebele, this position is derived from the 1st position demonstrative by means of the suffix **–wo.**

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(49) Cl. 1:	lo**yo**	'that'	lo**wo**

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| 3: | lo**yo** | 'that' | lo**wo** |
| 6: | la**yo** | 'those' | la**wo** |

- **Position 3**: Both these languages have the position 3(a) form as set out in paragraph 5.3.2.1.3 (ii) above, while Southern Ndebele has an additional position 4 that does not occur in Northern Ndebele, e.g.

		Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(50)	Cl. 1:	lo:ya	'that yonder'	lowa
	2:	la:ba	'those yonder'	laba
	4:	le:ya	'those yonder'	leya
	5:	le:la	'that yonder'	lela
	6:	la:ya/lawa	'those yonder'	lawa

- **Position 4:** This form occurs in Southern Ndebele and not in Northern Ndebele, e.g.

		Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(51)	Cl. 1:	lo:ya(ya)	'that yonder'	lowa
	2:	la:ba(ya)	'those yonder'	laba
	4:	le:ya(ya)	'those yonder'	leya
	5:	le:la(ya)	'that yonder'	lela
	6:	la:ya(ya)/lawa(ya)	'those yonder'	lawa

The differences and similarities between Southern and Northern Ndebele, as discussed above, can be illustrated as follows in tabular form.

Table 5.3: The demonstrative pronouns of Southern and Northern Ndebele

1st Position	2nd Position	3rd & 4th Position

Cl. 1: **S.Nde**:   lo 'this'   loyo/lowo 'that'   lo:ya(ya)   that yonder'
    N.Nde   lo   loo/lowo   lowa

2: **S.Nde**:   laba 'these'   labo   'those' la:ba(ya) 'those yonder'

N.Nde   laba   labo   laba

3: **S.Nde**:   lo   'this'   loyo/lowo 'that'   lo:ya(ya)   'that yonder'
    N.Nde: lo,   loo/lowo   lowa

4: **S.Nde**:   le   'these'   leyo   'those' le:ya(ya)   'those yonder'
    N.Nde: le   leyo   leya

5: **S.Nde**:   leli 'this'   lelo   'that'   le:la(ya)   'that yonder'
    N.Nde: leli   lelo   lela

6: **S.Nde**:   la 'these' layo/lawo 'those' la:ya(ya)/lawa(ya) 'those yonder'
    N.Nde   la   lawo   lawa

7: **S.Nde**:   lesi 'this'   leso   'that'   le:sa(ya) 'that yonder'
    N.Nde   lesi   leso   lesa

8: **S.Nde**:   lezi   'these'   lezo   'those'   le:za(ya) 'those yonder'

N.Nde: leti   leto   leta

9: **S.Nde**:   le   'this'   leya   'that'   le:ya(ya)   'that yonder'
    N.Nde: le   leyo   leya

10: **S.Nde**:   lezi 'these'   lezo   'those'   le:za(ya)   'those yonder'
    N.Nde: leti   leto   leta

14: **S.Nde**: lobu 'this'   lobo   'that'   lo:ba(ya) 'that yonder'
   N.Nde lobu   lobo   loba

15: **S.Nde:** lokhu 'this'   lokho   'that'   lo:kha/lokhuya 'that yonder'
   N.Nde lokhu   lokho   lokhwa

16: **S.Nde**: lapha 'here'   lapho   'there'   la:pha(ya)   'there yonder'
   N.Nde: lapha   lapho   lapha

17: **S.Nde**: lokhu 'this'   lokho   'that'   lo:kha(lokhuya) 'that yonder'
   N.Nde: lokhu   lokho   lokhwa

5.3.3 The quantitative pronouns

Quantitative pronouns are pronouns that denote number and quantity. There are two kinds of quantitative pronoun that occur in the Nguni languages. They are the so-called "inclusive" and "exclusive" quantitative pronouns. (See Poulos & Msimang, 1998:124.) In the following paragraphs these pronouns are analysed and discussed in terms of (a) their form and meaning and (b) their formal manifestation in the different Nguni languages.Attention is also paid to some of the more salient syntactic features of these words.

5.3.3.1 Form and meaning of the quantitative pronouns in the Nguni languages

5.3.3.1.1 The inclusive quantitative pronouns

(i) Significance
(a) The concept of 'all/the whole of/ entirely'

The inclusive quantitative pronouns signify 'all' when referring to a plural noun and 'the whole of', 'the entire', 'each' and 'every one' when referring to a singular noun. Compare the following isiZulu examples in (52a) and (52b) in this regard.

IsiZulu

(52a)   **The concept "All"**

Abafana bakwaMthembu baboshwe **bonke.**

'**All** the boys of Mthembu have been arrested.'

Zonke izingane zami zingena ezikoleni zabamhlophe.

'**All** my children attend schools for whites.'

Amazwi akhe **onke** ayezwakala

'**All** his words are factual.'

(52b)   **The concept "the whole of / the entire"**

Yonke inyama ehlatshwe izolo seyonakele.

'**All** the meat slaughtered yesterday is spoiled.'

Umuzi kaCele ushe **wonke** waba wumlotha

'**The entire** homestead of Mr Cele has burnt to ashes.'

Umzimba wakhe **wonke** ubuhlungu.

'His **entire** body is painful.'

(b) The concept "each/every one"

The inclusive quantitative pronoun suffix –**nke**, in addition, also signifies 'each/every one' when referring to both plural and singular nouns. Compare the following isiZulu examples in (52c) in this regard.

IsiZulu

(52)(c)   **Wonke** umuntu ufanele abe nomazisi

'**Each**/**Every** person should have an identity book.'

Simbona **zonke** izinsuku eya emsebenzini.

'We see him **each**/**every** day going to work.'

(ii) Formation

The quantitative pronouns are constructed by means of an agreement morpheme (that resembles the subject concord of the noun class concerned) plus the so-called pronominal root **–o**- (Van Eeden. 1956:140) plus a (basic) suffix **–nke** (which has a slightly different form in some of the Nguni languages). Compare the following examples of these pronouns as they occur in isiZulu.

isiZulu

s/c + o + nke

(53) Cl. 1: u   + o + nke > wonke

2: b(a) + o + nke > bonke

3: u + o + nke > wonke

4: i   + o + nke > yonke

5: l(i) + o + nke > lonke

6: (a)   + o + nke > onke

7: s(i) + o + nke > sonke

8: zi + o + nke > zonke

9: i   + o + nke > yonke

10: zi + o + nke > zonke

As can be noted in the examples above, consonantalization takes place when the agreement morpheme consists of a vowel only (i.e., Classes 1, 1a, 3, 4 and 9), while vowel omission occurs in the case of agreement morphemes that consist of a consonant and a vowel. In the case of Class 6, the agreement morpheme **a-** is omitted in all Nguni languages except in Southern Ndebele. In Southern Ndebele, the agreement morpheme **a-** of Class 6 is discarded and replaced by a semi-vowel **w**- in the construction of the

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inclusive quantitative pronouns. Compare the following Southern Ndebele example in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(54) Cl.6: (a) + o + -ke > **w**oke e.g.

  Ngibizele **woke** amadoda emhlanganweni.

  'I have called all the men to a meeting.'

The reason for the occurrence of the semi-vowel **w** in this pronoun is currently still inexplicable since Southern Ndebele does not have a phonological rule in terms of which the combination of **a + o** gives rise the semi-vowel **w.**

As far as the morphological status of –**nke** is concerned, it is of importance to note that some Nguni grammarians such as Doke (1927:93-94), Van Eeden (1956:140) and Poulos and Msimang (1998:124) consider –**nke** to be the stem or root of these pronouns. Wilkes. 1992:31), however, proposes that the quantitative pronouns have the same kind of morphological structure as their absolute counterparts, which implies that if the formative –**na** in absolute pronouns is a suffix and not a stem (as some isiZulu grammarians assume that it is) then the formative ∠**nke** must also be recognized as one. This is also the view that is supported in this study.

(iii) Form of the suffix -nke in the various Nguni languages
The inclusive quantitative pronoun suffix –**nke [ŋk'ɛ]** that occurs in isiZulu and isiXhosa manifests itself in different forms in some of the other Nguni languages. In siSwati, the ejective **[k']** in this suffix occurs as a semi-voiced **[g̊]**· When this sound occurs in combination with the nasal **n[ŋ],** it is written in siSwati as **–kh.** (See Ziervogel, 1985:60.) This is also the reason why this suffix is written as –**nkh** in the normal siSwati orthography. In Southern Ndebele, on the other hand, the inclusive quantitative pronoun suffix occurs as –**ke** while in Northern Ndebele it has two forms, namely –**kxe** (which is

the most frequently used form) and –**hle,** respectively (Ziervogel. 1959:74). Compare the following siSwati, Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(55) **SiSwati:**   Basebenti bo**nkhe** bafundziswa ngemtsetfo.

'All the workers are taught about legal matters.'

Mifula yo**nkhe** yomile kulo nyaka.

'All the rivers are dry this year.'

Southern Ndebele: Abasebenzi bo**ke** bafundiswa ngomthetho.

'All the workers are taught about legal matters.'

Imilambo yo**ke** yomile nonyaka.

'All the rivers are dry this year.'

Northern Ndebele: Basebenti bo**kxe**/bo**hle** babala gemulawu.

'All the workers are taught about legal matters.'

Milambho yo**kxe**/yo**hle** yomile munyaka lo.

'All the rivers are dry this year.'

In both Southern and Northern Ndebele the inclusive quantitative pronoun suffixes are without a nasal. The reason for the absence of the nasal **–n** in these suffixes is most probably the result of the influence of the neighboring Sepedi language. These two Ndebele languages have, for a long time, been in close contact with Sepedi. In Sepedi, the inclusive quantitative suffix is –**hlê**, which is also one of the forms that this suffix has in Northern Ndebele (Poulos & Louwrens, 1994:79). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Sepedi   **Northern Ndebele**

(56) Cl.2: bô**hlê**   bo**hle**

    4: yô**hlê**   yo**hle**

    6: ô**hlê**   o**hle**

    8: tšô**hlê**   to**hle**

The occurrence of the ejective affricate **kx [kx']** in the alternative suffix of the inclusive quantitative pronoun in Northern Ndebele is more difficult to account for. However, an investigation into the distribution of this sound in Northern Ndebele reveals that apart from its occurrence in the inclusive quantitative pronouns and the locative copulative demonstratives of Class 1, 3, 4 and 6, the only other environment in which this sound is normally found in Northern Ndebele is in the secondary nasal compound of **B./nk/** in Class 9 nouns. This compound which is derived from Ur-Bantu **/ni + k/** occurs in Northern Ndebele as the nasal compound **nkx [[ŋkx']** in Class 9 nouns, where the nasal represents the noun class prefix of this class. (It is important to note that the influence of the nasal in the nasal compound of **B. /ni/** is responsible for the phonetic change in the following consonant, (i.e., **B. /ni+k/ > [ŋk] > [ŋkx'], B./ni + t] > [nt] > [nt']).** In Class 10 nouns in this language, the nasal is dropped from the Class 10, prefix **li-ni** (after it has changed the phonetic character of the following consonant) thus causing the prefix of this class to be non-nasal. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

Class 9   **Class 10**

(57) **n**kxabi   'ox'   tikxabi   'oxen'

    nkxomo 'beast'   tikxomo   'beasts'

    nkxosi   'chief'   tikxosi   'chiefs'

Compare also the nasal compound in the following locative copulative demonstratives in this regard.

(58)   Cl. 1:   na**n**kxu   na**n**kxo   na**n**kxuya

       Cl. 3:   na**n**kxu   na**n**kxo   na**n**kxuya

       Cl. 6:   na**n**kxu   na**n**kxo   na**n**kxuwa

If the above assumption concerning the origin of the nasal compound **nkx** in Northern Ndebele is correct, then it implies that the nasal compound **nkx** that is found in the inclusive quantitative pronouns as well as in the locative copulative demonstrative of some of the nasal classes in this language must also have originated from the Ur-Bantu nasal compound with **ni**-. In the case of the inclusive quantitative pronouns, it means that the Ur-Bantu form of the inclusive quantitative pronouns of, for instance, Class 2 and Class 10 must have been something like the following –

(59)   Cl. 2: bokxe   (< B. [β-o –ni-k- ɛ])

           Cl. 10: tokxe   (<B.   [l-o-ni-k-ɛ])

(iv)The inclusive quantitative form 'gemuga' in Northern Ndebele

During this investigation, it was found that a gradual shift seems to be taking place among Northern Ndebele speakers whereby the alternative inclusive quantitative pronouns with the suffix –**kxe** and ∠**hle** are gradually being replaced by a third inclusive quantitative form **gemuga** that has the same semantic features and by and large also the same syntactic features that the inclusive quantitative pronouns have, that is, it has an inclusive quantitative meaning and, as with the quantitative pronouns, serves to quantify the noun it semantically relates to. Compare the following examples in this regard.

       Northern Ndebele

(60)   Banru **gemuga** basebenta eTshwane.

         Banru **bokxe/bohle** basebenta eTshwane

        '**All** people work in Tshwane.'

        Malume ukhubele mutimba **gemuga.**

Malume ukhubele mutimba **okxe/ohle**

'My uncle's **entire** body is injured'.

Tinkxomo taLidwaba tife **gemuga.**

Tinkxomo taLidwaba tife **tokxe/tohle**

'Lidwaba's beasts have **all** died.'

Titjhaba tabo **gemuga** taya eSwazini.

Titjhaba tabo **tokxe/tohle** taya eSwazini.

'**All** their tribes went to Swaziland.'

The only syntactic difference between this alternative inclusive quantitative pronoun and its pronominal counterparts with the suffixes **–kxe** and **–hle,** respectively, is that **gemuga** does not normally precede the noun it relates to as other inclusive quantitative pronouns sometimes do. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(61) Ufuna **tokxe/tohle** tikxomo leti tinonile. : * Ufuna **gemuga** tikxomo leti tinonile.

'He wants all these fat cattle.'

Bhesi ikhubete **bokxe/bohle** batlhankana. : *Bhesi ikhubete **gemuga** batlhankana.

'The bus has injured all the boys.'

Bafati basebenta **okxe/ohle** masimu.:   *Bafati basebenta **gemuga** masimu.

'Women work all the fields.'

It is worth pointing out that the form **gemuga** does not occur in any of the other Nguni languages and that it, in all probability, originated from Sepedi where the form **ka moka** performs the same function as **gemuga** does in Northern Ndebele. What is unique about this quantitative form **gemuga** (and by implication also its counterpart **ka moka** in

Sepedi), is that although it has the same semantic and (most of the) syntatctic features of the inclusive quantitative pronouns, it has no morphological relationship with these pronouns. (The same applies to **ka moka** in Sepedi.) In fact, it has the same morphological structure as many of the adverbial forms in Northern Ndebele have, that is, it consists of an adverbial formative **ga**- (= **ka**- in Sepedi) plus a Class 3 noun **muga** 'all' (= **moka** in Sepedi). In such instances, the 'substitution of **e** rule' normally applies in Northern Ndebele causing **ga + muga > gemuga**. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

       Northern Ndebele

(62) g**a** - mufati   >   g**e**mufati.   'by / with a woman'

       g**a** - mulomo   >   g**e**mulomo.   'by / with a mouth'

       g**a -** musebenti >   g**e**musebenti. 'by / with a work'

What the above discussion implies, is that the form **gemuga** (and **ka moka** in Sepedi) must be judged to be a classless inclusive quantitative 'pronoun' as it shows no grammatical agreement with the noun it qualifies and, as a result retains the same form regardless of the class to which the noun it qualifies belongs.

(v) Differences in the usage of the inclusive quantitative pronouns in

    Southern and Northern Ndebele

According to Ziervogel (1959:74), only nouns that are in the so-called plural classes have inclusive quantitative pronouns in Northern Ndebele. This is not the case in Southern Ndebele where the inclusive quantitative pronouns are found in all the noun classes. Compare the following examples in this regard.

          Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(63) 1st p.s.   mina **woke**   'The whole of me'

       1st p.p.   thina **soke**   'All of us'   thina **sokxe/sohle**

2nd p.s.	wena **woke**	'You as a whole'	
2nd p.p.	nina **noke**	'You all'	lina **lokxe/lohle**
Cl. 1:	umuntu **woke**	'The whole person'	
2.	abantu **boke**	'All the people'	banru **bokxe/bohle**
5:	ilizwe **loke**	'The whole country'	
6.	amagama **woke**	'All the words'	mavi **okxe/ohle**
7:	isandla **soke**	'The whole hand'	

Although Ziervogel (op. cit.:74) maintains that Northern Ndebele does not have inclusive quantitative pronouns expressing singular forms, Northern Ndebele informants consulted (during 1999-2000) in this regard maintain that the quantitative suffixes –**kxe** and –**hle** are also used in combination with singular nouns in this language**.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(64) 2nd p.s.   wena **wokxe/wohle**   'You as a whole'

      Cl.1:   munru **wokxe/wohle**   'The whole person'

      5:      live **lokxe/lohle**   'The whole country'

      7:      sandla **sokxe/sohle**   'The whole hand'

      9:      mbuti **yokxe/yohle**   'The whole goat'

(vi) Other differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele

A further difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the inclusive quantitative pronoun is concerned is the form of this pronoun in Class 6. In Southern Ndebele, the agreement morpheme of this class changes from **a- > w** while in Northern Ndebele, as is the case in other Nguni languages, this agreement morpheme is dropped. Compare the following examples in this regard.

           Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(65) Cl.6: Amazwakho azwakala **w**oke.   Mavi akho avakala **o**kxe/**o**hle.

             'Your words are **all** understandable.'

In the following table the formal differences between the inclusive quantitative pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele are summarised.

Table 5.4: Southern and Northern Ndebele inclusive quantitative pronouns

Inclusive quantitative pronouns		
	S. Ndebele	**N. Ndebele**
1st p./s.	woke	....
1st p/p	soke	sokxe/sohle
2nd p/s:	woke	…………
2nd p/p	noke	lokxe/lohle
Cl. 1:	woke	wokxe/wohle
Cl. 2	boke	bokxe/bohle
Cl. 3:	woke	wokxe/wohle
Cl. 4:	yoke	yokxe/yohle
Cl. 5:	loke	lokxe/lohle
Cl. 6:	woke	okxe/ohle
Cl. 7:	soke	sokxe/sohle
Cl. 8:	zoke	tokxe/tohle
Cl. 9:	yoke	yokxe/yohle
Cl. 10:	zoke	tokxe/tohle
Cl. 14:	boke	bokxe/bohle
Cl. 15:	koke	kokxe/kohle
Cl. 16:	koke	kokxe/kohle
Cl. 17:	koke	kokxe/kohle

5.3.3.1.2 The exclusive quantitative pronoun

(i) Significance

The significance of the exclusive quantitative pronoun suffix **–dwa** in Nguni languages is 'only/alone/only one'. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(66)   Bakhambe **bodwa** emtjhadweni kadadwethu
             'They went alone to my sister's wedding.'

             Bantazana **bodwa** abafuneka kilomsebenzi.
             'It is only girls (who) are needed for this job.'

             Ubabakhe nguye **yedwa** otjhayela lomtjhini.
             'His father is the only one who drives this machine.'

             Ngileli **lodwa** igwayi engilithenge izolo.
             'This tobacco is the only one I bought yesterday.'

The exclusive quantitative pronouns are found in all the Nguni languages except in Northern Ndebele (See par. (v) below.)

(ii) Formation
Basically these pronouns are formed in the same way as their inclusive counterparts. They consist of an agreement morpheme (that resembles the subject concord of the class concerned) plus a pronominal –**o**- that acts as the stem or base of the pronoun plus an exclusive quantitative suffix –**dwa** (which has a slightly different form –**dvwa** in siSwati). Consider the construction of the following exclusive quantitative pronouns in Southern Ndebele in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(67) Cl.2: **b(a) + o + -dwa > bodwa**

Abantwabakhe besana **bodwa**.

'His children are boys only.'

Cl.3: **u + o + -dwa > wodwa**

Wena uthanda umsebenzi wokwakha **wodwa**.

'You like building work only.'

Cl.4: **i + o + -dwa > yodwa**

Misebenzi emihle **yodwa** edingekako.

'It is only good works (that) are needed.'

(iii) The equivalents of the exclusive quantitative pronouns in Northern Ndebele

Ziervogel (1959:77), in a footnote remarks that Northern Ndebele does not have exclusive quantitative pronouns. Instead, it uses a noun **nedwa** **'**alone/only' for this purpose. (See (v) below.) The origin of the word –**nedwa** in Northern Ndebele is unknown. What is certain, however, is that it did not originate from Sepedi, otherwise Poulos and Louwrens and other Northern Sotho grammarians would have treated it in their grammars of Northern Sotho. (See, for instance, Poulos and Louwrens, 1994:79 in this regard.) Northern Sotho uses the word **feela** to express the concept 'only' as, for instance, in the following examples.

(68)   Ke nyaka mosomo **feela**.   'I'm **only** looking for a job.'

Mpho o ja nama **feela** ge a lwala.   'Mpho **only** eats meat when she is ill.'

Go bitswa basadi **feela**.   '**Only** women are called.'

(iv)Usage of the exclusive quantitative pronouns

The usage of the exclusive quantitative pronouns in Nguni languages is almost the same, except in Northern Ndebele. In Southern Ndebele, the exclusive quantitative pronouns can be used in (a) apposition to nouns (b) as adverbs and (c) as pronouns. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(69a) **In apposition**

Sihlala noNtuli **yedwa** kilendawo.   'We stay with Ntuli alone at this place.'

Utjhiye abantwana **bodwa** ngendlini.   'You left children alone in the house.'

Inyama **yodwa** imnandi nawurhamulako. 'Meat alone is delicious when you are

drinking.'

(69b) **As an adverb**

Abahlala kamnandi **bodwa** bobaba.   'Those seated alone nicely are our fathers.'

Lomfazi osebenza **yedwa** ngowami.   'This woman working alone is mine.'

Isithunzi esonakele **sodwa** ngesakhe. 'An image that has been tarnished alone is

his.'

(69c) **As pronoun**

Wodwa (amalahle) akavuthi.   'Alone (the coal), they do not burn.'

Bakhamba **bodwa** (abantu) namhlanje. 'They go a**lone** (the people) today.'

Izolo beyiduma **yodwa** (imitjhini).   'Yesterday, they were idling **alone**

(the machines).'

In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, the noun **nedwa** referred to above (See par. (iii).) can only be used as part of a copulative construction that occurs in the situative mood. Consider the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(70)   Sisebenta **si**nedwa nemunhla.   'We work alone today.'

Tami tidla **ti**nedwa tikxomo.   'My beasts eat alone.'

Mbabethe **ndi**nedwa/**n**nedwa.   'I beat them alone.'

Bukxosi abusebenti **bu**nedwa.   'Chieftainship alone does not work.'

Bakhambe **ba**nedwa.   'They left alone.'

(v) Problematic forms of the exclusive quantitative pronouns

In all the Nguni languages which have exclusive quantitative pronouns, an irregular strategy is followed in the formation of some of these pronouns, notably those of the 1st and 2nd person singular and Classes 1 and 1a. In these pronouns, the pronominal   **–o**- is replaced by an –**e**- (Van Eeden. 1956:142). Compare the following examples in isiZulu for instance.

IsiZulu

(71) 1st p.s: ng(i) + **e** +   dwa > ng**e**dwa. 'alone', e.g:

Cha ngizohamba **ngedwa** esikoleni.   'No I will go **alone** at school'.

2nd p.s: u   + **e** + dwa > w**e**dwa , e.g:

Sipho kungani ukhuluma w**edwa** ? 'Why do you speak **alone** Sipho?'

Cl.1:   u + **e** + dwa > y**e**dwa, e.g:

Ngumma **yedwa** ohlala edolobheni.   'It's the mother **alone** who stays

in town.'

Cl. 1a: u + **e** + dwa > y**e**dwa, e.g:

UNtombifuthi uy**edwa** la ekhaya.   'Ntombifuthi is **alone** here at home.'

IsiXhosa, too, differs with regard to the form of the exclusive quantitative pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person plural. In these two classes, the basic pronominal root –**o**- is replaced by –**e-,** which is a different strategy from that employed in the other Nguni languages**.** Compare the following isiXhosa examples as given by Pahl, et al. (1978:43) in this regard.

IsiXhosa

(72) 1st p.p: Sihleli s**e**dwa apha sicinga ngoMandla.

(cf. IsiZulu: Sihlezi s**o**dwa lapha sicabanga ngoMandla)

'We are seated **alone** here thinking about Mandla.'

2nd p.p: Ubawo uzonibetha n**e**dwa Sipho.

> (cf. IsiZulu: Ubaba uzonishaya n**o**dwa Sipho)

> 'The father is going to beat you **alone** Sipho.'

According to Pahl, et al.(1978:43), some isiXhosa speakers prefer to use the 'regular' Nguni forms s**o**dwa and n**o**dwa, instead of **sedwa** and **nedwa.**

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the morphological features that distinguish Southern and Northern Ndebele from each other have been discussed. The discussion has fallen on the noun and pronoun of the two Ndebele languages. In this chapter it has been shown that the two Ndebele languages differ in regard to noun structure and pronoun forms. While Southern Ndebele noun structure, for instance, comprises the noun class pre-prefix + basic prefix + noun stem, as is the case with the other Nguni languages, Northern Ndebele like other Tekela Nguni languages and Sotho languages does not have the noun class pre-prefix. This means that the Northern Ndebele noun class prefix comprises the basic prefix and noun stem.

The two Ndebele languages have further demonstrated that they differ in regard to pronouns. The differences between the two Ndebele languages regarding the pronouns are on the absolute pronouns of the 1st person singular and 2nd person plural, the absolute pronoun of Class 6, demonstrative and quantitative pronouns. The differences found have shown that they result from the influences from the other languages where the two Ndebele languages are used, especially Sepedi. In the next chapter, the morphological aspects that distinguish the two Ndebele languages continue.

CHAPTER 6

**MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND
NORTHERN NDEBELE (*continued*)**

6.1 Introduction

The morphological differences discussed in Chapter Six are not the only ones which distinguish Southern and Northern Ndebele. There are other morphological features besides the quantitatives discussed in Chapter Five that distinguish these two Ndebele speech forms and that have not yet been discussed. This chapter is, therefore, a continuation of Chapter Five and it focuses on the morphological differences in the qualificatives between Southern and Northern Ndebele.

The traditional and modern grammarians of the Bantu languages, especially of the Nguni languages, have always had different opinions in regard to the identification, classification and description of the grammatical term "qualificative". Some Nguni grammarians such as Ungerer (1975) and Ziervogel (1985), for instance, regard the term 'qualificative' as referring to three descriptive words namely "adjective", "relative" and "possessive". The term "qualificative" is, in fact, a broader term, which embraces the different types of qualifying, or descriptive words that can be sub-divided as follows –

   (i)   adjective
   (ii)   relative
   (iii)   enumerative
   (iv)   possessive

Scholars, such as Doke (1927) Van Eeden (1956), Ziervogel (1959) and Poulos and Msimang (1994), are in agreement that the term "qualificative" refers to those categories of words, the main function of which is to qualify a substantive as, for instance, in the following Southern Ndebele examples where the qualificatives **ekulu** and **egulako,** respectively, qualify the noun **indoda** in (a) **indoda** *ekulu* 'A "big" man' and (b) **indoda**

egulako 'A "sick" man'. In the Nguni languages in particular, the term "qualificative" (or "descriptive" as some scholars prefer to call it) refers to a grammatical category that comprises four sub-categories, that is, "adjective", "relative", "possessive" and "enumerative". In terms of Doke's grammar (1927:97), the category "qualificative" is regarded as a fundamental part of speech and its sub-categories as constituting "the real parts of speech". With minor differences (that will be alluded to as the discussion progresseses) most Nguni grammarians have adopted the same sub-divisions for the category "qualificative" as Doke has done. (See Van Eeden, 1956; Ziervogel, 1985; Poulos & Msimang, 1998.) The reason why it has become a tradition in the Nguni languages to subdivide the category 'qualificative' in this way does not accrue from any semantic considerations (the different sub-categories of the qualificative all perform the same semantic function) but on account of the morphological differences that distinguish these sub-categories from one another and which mainly pertain to the differences in the morphological structure of their respective concordial morphemes. Van Eeden (1956:148), for instance, remarks as follows in this regard –

'Betreffende die vorm van die … kwalifikatiwe, verskil hulle in hoofsaak van mekaar ten aansien van die bepaalde konkord wat kenmerkend van elkeen is, en waarmee hulle in die konkordiale ooreenstemming met die gekwalifiseerde substantief gebring word.'

In the paragraphs that follow, the various qualificatives in Southern Ndebele are compared with their counterparts in Northern Ndebele and all the differences that occur between these languages in this regard are analysed and discussed. The first category that is focused on is the category "adjective".

6.2 The adjective

Words that are recognized as adjectives in the grammar of the Nguni languages form part of a word class that consists of only a limited number of (adjective) stems. The word category "adjective" as it is constituted today was, according to Gauton (1990), first introduced in Nguni grammar in 1926 by C. M. Doke in his pioneering work, *The*

phonetics of the Zulu language. Doke was also the first grammarian to distinguish between "adjectives" and "relatives" in isiZulu – a distinction that was later also implemented in the grammar of all the other Nguni languages.

From Doke's definition of these two word classes, it is clear that this distinction is not based on any semantic or syntactic grounds but on the difference in the morphological structure of the agreement morphemes that the words of these two word categories employ. Where the adjectives agree with their antecedent noun by means of an adjective concord, the relatives do so by means of a relative concord. (See the discussion of these concords in par. 6.5 below.)

There is a very small difference between the various Nguni languages as far as the content of the class "adjective" is concerned. With the exception of a very small number of stems, all the Nguni languages use the same stems as adjective stems. The following is a list of the stems that constitute the category "adjective", in isiZulu.

(1)

-bi	'evil/bad'	-hle	'nice, good, beautiful'
-bili	'two'	-khulu	'big, great'
-dala	'old'	-ncane	'small'
-de	'long, tall'	-nci	'very small'
-fuphi	'short'	-ncinyane	'small'
-fushane	'short'	-ne	'four'
-hlanu	'five'	-ngaki	'how many'
-ningi	'much, many'	-sha	'new'
-nye	'other, some'	-thathu	'three'

The relationship that some isiZulu scholars, such as Van Eeden (1956), Ziervogel (1959) and Von Staden (1973), proclaim exists between the adjective and the verb in this language has never found much favour among many isiZulu grammarians. The view that the adjective in isiZulu is basically a noun, however, did receive some attention from certain isiZulu grammarians, notably from scholars such as Von Staden (1973) and

Taljaard and Bosch (1988), respectively. Von Staden (1973:20) subscribes to this relationship when he proclaims:

'Vormlik het die adjektief soos die naamwoord 'n klasprefiks voor die stam. it blyk daaruit dat die adjektiefstam telkens voorafgegaan word deur 'n morfeem wat identities is aan die 'eintlike' prefiks (d.w.s. klasprefiks sonder beginvokaal) van die antesedent.'

Compare the following example he gives in this regard.

(2)   U**mu**ntu **mu**bi. 'The person is ugly'
        I**si**kole **si**dala.   'The school is old.'

Taljaard and Bosch (1998) also recognize the nominal character of the adjectives in isiZulu by calling them adnominals (a term derived from the conjugation of adjective + nominal) with variable basic prefix (Taljaard & Bosch, op. cit.:98). Despite its different name, this category or construction, as Taljaard and Bosch (op. cit.:98) prefer to call it, consists of exactly the same adjectival stems as the ones that Doke has included in his category "adjective".

6.3 The morphological structure of the adjective concord

There is basically no difference amongst Nguni grammarians in regard to the morphological structure of the adjective concord. Most of them concur on what the morphology of the adjective concord in these languages entails. The most prominent views (that attention is paid to here) concerning the morphological structure of the adjective concord in isiZulu are those of Doke (1927), Van Eeden (1956) and Nyembezi (1963).

Doke (1927: 101) and Nyembezi (1963: 97) share the same opinion regarding the morphological construction of the adjective concord. According to these scholars, the adjectival concord is formed by means of a qualificative formative **a-** plus the full form

of the noun class prefix that result in vowel coalescence taking place between the "qualificative" *a* and the initial vowel of the noun class prefix (e.g., **a + a > a, a + i > e, a + u > o**).

Van Eeden (1956:149) holds a similar view to Doke and Nyembezi, except that he uses the term "relative" **'a'** for Doke and Nyembezi's "qualificative" **'a'** and that he regards the second formative in the adjective concord as a "concordial element" (that resembles the basic prefix of the noun class), while Doke and Nyembezi regard it to be the full form of the noun prefix**.** In terms of Doke and Nyembezi's view, the formative **'a'** coalesces with the initial vowel of the NCP (Noun Class Prefix) while, in terms of Van Eeden's view, this **'a'** assimilates to the vowel of the basic NCP according to the same phonological rules that apply in the case of Doke and Nyembezi's view. The views of these scholars can be summarized as follows.

(3)   Cl. 1**: *a* + (*u*)m(u) > om(u)-,** e.g.

      Um̲fana o**m**(u)ncane uboshelwe ukubhema insangu.
      'A small boy has been arrested for smoking dagga.'

    Cl.3:   U**mu**zi o**mu**bi yilowo ongenabazali.
      'A bad home is a one that lacks parents.'

    Cl. 5: *a* + (*i*)li > **eli-,** e.g.
      Yiqanda **eli**khulu ngelenciliba.
      'A big egg is that of an ostrich.'

    Cl. 7: *a* + (*i*)si > **esi**-, e.g.
      Yisenzo **esibi** sokubulala izingane zakho uma usezinkingeni
      'It's a bad action to kill your children when you are having problems.'

It should be noted that the adjective concord exhibits the same morphological structure in all the Nguni languages except in Northern Ndebele. (See par. 6.5.2 below) Van Eeden

(1956:151) postulates that this relative **'a'** originated from the 1st position demonstrative element **la** that (in the course of time) has dropped the consonant **l** before the adjectival concords. The fact that the relative formative is **la** in siSwati (See Taljaard & Bosch. 1998:108) clearly confirms Van Eeden's view. According to Van Eeden, the morphological structure of the adjective concord in these (Nguni) languages should have originally been comprised of the "1st position demonstrative pronoun" plus the "basic noun class prefix" plus the "adjective stem" (e.g., Cl.1: **lo + m(u) + -hle > (l)omuhle > omuhle etc**). Van Eeden (op. cit.:150) further claims that this (relative) **'a'** has approximately the same semantic function as the relative pronoun '*wat*' in Afrikaans. The literal meaning of examples such as **Umfana *omu*de, Abafana *aba*de** and **Amanzi *ama*hle** must, therefore, be something like *Seun **wat** hy (is) lank* 'A boy who (is) tall', *Seuns **wat** hulle (is) lank'* 'Boys who (are) tall' and *Water **wat** dit (is) mooi* 'Water that it (is) pretty', although these translations are not acceptable in Standard English.

With the outline given above of the most important views concerning the adjective in isiZulu (and by implication also the other main Nguni languages) as background, the main feature of this category as it occurs in Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele can now be analysed and discussed.

6.4 The adjective in Southern and Northern Ndebele

As is the case with the adjective in other Nguni languages, the morphological structure of the adjective in Southern and Northern Ndebele also consists of an adjective concord plus an adjective stem. There are four main differences that occur between the adjectives in Southern Ndebele and their counterparts in Northern Ndebele. They are:

(i)   concordial differences, that is, differences in the kind of concord that occur with these stems,

(ii)   differences in the form of these stems,

(iii)   stems that occur in one but not both of these languages, and finally,

(iv)   differences in the phonological structure of the adjective concord.

In the following paragraphs each of these four kinds of differences is investigated and described.

6.4.1 Concordial differences between the adjective stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

Concordial differences here mean differences in the kind of concord that occurs with some of these stems and that results in their classification in different grammatical categories. One of the main differences in the adjective stems between Southern and Northern Ndebele is the fact that in Northern Ndebele the stems of the numerals 2 to 5 as well as the stem –**ngai** 'how many' (-**ngaki** in Southern Ndebele) may be used as either adjective stems or as enumerative stems, that is, they may either be used with an adjective concord or with an enumerative concord (Ziervogel. 1959:71). Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples where these stems are used as adjectives in (4a) and as enumeratives in (4b).

(4a) **Used as adjectives**

Nthenge tihlahla telikhuwa ***teti*mbhili .**	'I bought two wild fig trees.'
Mmone bafati ***baba*thathu** benkxosi.	'I saw three wives of a chief.'
Usebenta busuku malanga ***ama*ne** evikini.	'He works at night for four days a week.'
***Teti*hlanu** timbhuti ntami.	'Five goats are mine.'
Likhambe malanga ***ama*ngai ?**	'How many days have you (been) gone?'

(4b) **Used as enumeratives**

Banru ***ba*mbhili** bafuna mutiro.	'Two people are looking for a job.'
Miti ***mi*thathu** gekaNgidlingidlana**.**	'Three homes belong to Ngidlingidlana.'
Ndisebenta malanga ***ma*ne** evikini.	'I work four days a week.'
Malume uthenge tikxomo ***ti*hlanu**.	'Uncle bought five beasts.'
Ukhambhe malanga ***ma*ngai**?	'How many days were you gone?'

In none of the other Nguni languages can the numerals 2 to 5 be used with an enumerative concord as they do in Northern Ndebele, (cf. examples in (4a) above). These numerals are always used in these (Nguni) languages as adjectives, that is, they employ a concord that is formed by means of a '"relative" **a**' plus "a class prefix" as explained earlier. The Southern Ndebele equivalents of the Northern Ndebele examples in (4a) are therefore as follows –

(5)   Abantu ***aba*bili** bafuna umsebenzi.   'Two people are looking for job.'

        Imizi ***emi*thathu** ngekaNgidlingidlana.   'Three homes are of

                                                                Ngidlingidlana.

        Malanga ***ama*ne** engiwasebenza evekeni.   'It is four days that I work in a

                                                                week.'

        Umlomo uthenge iinkomo ***ezi*hlanu**.   'Mlomo has bought five beasts.'

        Ukhambe amalanga ***ama*ngaki**?   'How many days were you gone?'

The reason for the dual grammatical character of the stem –**ngai** 'how many?' and the stems of the numerals 2 - 5 in Northern Ndebele is not clear. What is clear is that it could not have emerged as a result of the influence of the two Sotho languages, Sepedi and Setswana, respectively, as none of these stems function as an enumerative stem.

6.4.2 Differences in the form of the adjective stems between Southern and
      Northern Ndebele

Formal differences between the adjective stems of the Southern and Northern Ndebele imply here a difference in the form (or phonemes) of otherwise phonetically identical stems**.** Compare the following Southern and Northern examples in this regard.

        Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(6)   -ncani   'small'   -nghane

        -tjha   'new, young'   -sha

        -hle   'nice, beautiful'   -(n)hle

-nengi	'many, much'	-nyenti
-(m)bi	'bad, ugly'	-mbhi
-(n)dala	'old'	-ndala
-ngaki	'how many'	-ngai
-khulu	'big'	-kxulu
-(n)de	'long, tall'	-nde

As will be noticed in the examples given in (6) above, some adjective stems in Southern Ndebele may occur with or without a nasal while, according to Ziervogel (1959:70) it is only the stem **–(n)hle** in Northern Ndebele that can do so. Wilkes (personal communication), however, could not find any examples of –**nhle** in his research of Northern Ndebele). Compare the following examples in (7) in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
	(-nasal)	**(-nasal)**	
(7)	Cl.1: Umfazi omu**hle.**	Mufati omu**hle.**	'A beautiful woman'
	Cl.2: Abantu aba**hle.**	Banru baba**hle.**	'Good people'
	Cl.8: Izandla ezi**hle.**	Tandla teti**hle**.	'Beautiful hands'
	Cl.9: Inja e**hle.**	Nja e**hle**.	'A beautiful dog'

The adjective stems **–(n)dala** and **–(n)de** in Southern Ndebele may only be used with a nasal when their antecedent noun is a noun in Class 8 or 10. The adjective stem ∠**mbi,** may, in contrast, combine with nouns from any of the noun classes in this language. In Northern Ndebele, the adjective stems with nasals do not have this restriction and may combine with any noun irrespective of the noun class it belongs to. Compare the following examples with antecedent nouns from Classes 8, 10 and 14 in (8a) - (8c) in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	

-(n)de: (+ / - nasal)   **(+ nasal)**

(8a)	Cl. 8:	Izandla ezide/ezi**n**de.	Tandla teti**n**de.	'Big hands'
	Cl. 10:	Iinkulumo ezide/ezi**n**de.	Tisumayelo teti**n**de.	'Long speeches'

-(n)dala:(+/-nasal)   **(+nasal)**

(8b)	Cl. 8:	Izipho ezidala/ezi**n**dala.	Tipho teti**n**dala.	'Old gifts'
	Cl. 10:	Iimbuzi ezidala/ezi**n**dala.	Timbhuti teti**n**dala.	'Old goats'

-mbi: (+nasal)   **-mbhi:** (+nasal)

(8c)	Cl.7:	Isizwe esi**m**bi.	Sive sesi**m**bhi.	'A bad nation'
	Cl 8:	Iimfiso ezi**m**bi.	Tifiso teti**m**bhi.	'Bad wishes'
	Cl.14:	Ukuphikisana oku**m**bi.	Kukhanyeta koku**m**bhi.	'Bad argument'

With the exception of Classes 8 and 10, the adjective stems **–(n)dala** and **–(n)de** are never used with a nasal in Southern Ndebele, while in Northern Ndebele they are never used without a nasal. Compare the following examples in (9) below in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	

               (-nasal)   **(+nasal)**

(9)	Cl.1:	Umuntu om**dala.**	Munru omu**n**dala.	'An old person'
	Cl.2:	Abantu aba**dala.**	Banru baba**n**dala.	'Old people'
	Cl.4:	Imilambo emi**de.**	Milambho emi**n**de.	'Long rivers'
	Cl.5:	Ilanga eli**de.**	Llanga leli**n**de.	'A long day'

It is possible that the nasal **n** that occurs in some of the adjective stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele is a remnant of an erstwhile class prefix (of Class 9), thus confirming

the view of some scholars such as Van Eeden (1956:152-153), Ziervogel (1959:71) and Hagege (1974:128) that adjective stems are of nominal origin.

6.4.3 Adjective stems that occur in Northern Ndebele but not in Southern Ndebele.

The only difference that occurs between Southern and Northern Ndebele in this regard is that Northern Ndebele has two adjective stems that do not occur as adjective stems in Southern Ndebele but as relative stems. They are the Northern Ndebele colour stems – **bovu** 'red' (also –**bovu** in Southern Ndebele) and –**ntima** 'black' (–**nzima** in Southern Ndebele), respectively. Compare the differences in the concords of these stems in the following examples.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
	(As relative stems)	**(As adjective stems)**	
(10) Cl. 3:	Umlomo **o**bovu.	Mulomo **omu**bovu.	'Red mouth.'
Cl. 4:	Imibala **e**nzima.	Mibala **emi**ntima.	'Black colours.'
Cl. 6:	Amehlo **a**nzima.	Mahlo **ama**ntima.	'Black eyes.'

6.4.4 Differences in the form and formation of the adjective concords of Southern and Northern Ndebele

There is very little difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the formation of the adjective concords in these languages is concerned. In both languages these concords are formed by means of a "relative" *a* plus the "class prefix" of the noun concerned. (See the discussion in 6.3 on the formation of the adjective concord in the Nguni languages). There are, however, several important formal differences between the adjective concords of these languages. These differences are discussed in the following paragraphs.

6.4.4.1 Repetition of the consonant in the adjective concord of nouns belonging
to the non-nasal classes in Northern Ndebele

In the Lidwaba dialect of Northern Ndebele (which unofficially also represents the standard form of this language), the consonant in the adjective concord of nouns belonging to the non-nasal classes is repeated and occurs as an initial consonant in the concord. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(11)   Cl. 2: **b + aba- > baba-**

Banrwana **baba**nghane badlaluka gemulidini.
'Small children are playing in a hole.'

Cl. 5: **l + eli- > leli-**

Likxuni **leli**nde libesa mullo lofuthumeleko.
'A long piece of wood makes a warm fire.'

Cl. 7: **s + esi- > sesi-**

Mmuso wakhe sikolo **sesi**tjha eMuledlhane.
'The government has built a new school at Muledlhane.'

Cl.10: **t + eti- >teti-**

Nkxomo **teti**ndala atibiti ntjhelete kxulu.
'Old beasts are not very expensive.'

Cl. 14: **b + obu- > bobu-**

Buyalwa **bobu**ndala abudakani.
'An old beer does not make you drunk.'

Cl.15: **k + oku- > koku-**

Kudla **koku**nghane gekwabanrwana.
'Little food is for the kids.'

The reason for the repetition of the consonant in the adjective prefix of the non-nasal classes is unclear. (In the Gegana dialect of Northern Ndebele, which is predominantly spoken in and around the area of Zebediela, no repetition of the consonant in the adjective concords is found). Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Gegana	**Lidwaba**	
(12)	Cl.2 Banru **aba**dala.	Banru ***bab***adala	'Old people'
	Cl.5: Liye **eli**kxulu.	Liye ***leli***kxulu	'A big stone'
	Cl.7: Sisu **esi**nghane.	Sisu ***sesi***nghane	'Small stomach'
	Cl.8: Tikxabula **eti**ndala.	Tikxabula ***teti***ndala	'Old shoes'

It is possible that this repetition of the consonant in the adjective prefix in the Lidwaba dialect is the result of the influence of Northern Sotho. The adjective concord in this language is compound in nature in that the first part (known as an adjective particle) resembles the basic demonstrative pronoun of the 1st position that agrees with the noun to which it refers (cf. Poulos & Louwrens, 1994:91). Compare the following Northern Sotho examples with those given in (12) above in this regard.

Northern Sotho

(13)	Cl. 2: Bašemane **ba ba**nyane	'Small boys'
	Cl. 5: Legêtla **le le**golo	'A big shoulder'
	Cl. 7: Seatla **sê se**nyane	'A small hand'
	Cl. 14 Bjang **bo bo**têlêlê	'Tall grass'

The form of the "adjective concord"[2] in the case of the nasal classes is the same as that of these concords in the other Nguni languages with the exception of the adjective concord

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[2] This investigation also encountered the forms **beba**- and **ema**- in Northern Ndebele for adjective concord of Cl.2 and 6, respectively.

of Class 9, which does not include a nasal. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(14) Cl. 1: **a + mu > omu**-   e.g. Munru **omu**nde   'A tall person'

Cl. 4: **a + mi > emi-**   e.g. Miti **emi**hle   'Beautiful kraals'

Cl. 6**: a + ma-> ama**   e.g. Malembhe **ama**ndala   'Old hoes'

Cl. 9: **a + i   > e-**   e.g. Nkxomo **e**kxulu   'A big cow'

6.4.4.2 The use of the full adjective concord versus the use of the abbreviated concord

The adjective concord **omu-** of Classes 1, 1(a) and 3 in Northern Ndebele retains this form throughout whether the adjective stem is mono- or multi-syllabic. In Southern Ndebele this form only occurs with monosyllabic adjective stems while with multi-syllabic adjective stems it occurs in its abbreviated form. Compare the following examples in (15a) and (15b) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   Northern Ndebele

Before monosyllabic stems

(Full form)   (Full form)

(15a) Cl.1: Umntwana **omu**hle   Munrwana **omu**nhle 'A beautiful child'

Umbazi **omu**tjha   Mmeti **omu**tjha   'A new carpenter'

Cl.1(a) Umma **omu**hle.   Mma **omu**hle   'A beautiful mother'

Usorhulu **omu**tjha   Sorhulu **omu**tjha   'A younger father'

Before multi-syllabic stems

(Short form)   (Full form)

(15b) Cl.1: Umfazi **om**khulu   Mufati **omu**kxulu   'A senior wife'

Umuntu **om**ncani   Munru **omu**nghane   'A young person'

Cl.1(a) Ngumalume **om**ncani Gumalume **omu**nghane   'It is my young uncle.'

Ugogo **om**dala.   Gugu **omu**ndala   'Old grandmother'

6.4.5 Negation of the adjective in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The negation of an adjective in Southern and Northern Ndebele does not demonstrate remarkable morphological differences between the two languages, except that the Southern Ndebele adjective negative formative –**ngasi** is without a nasal (that is,
-**gasi)** in Northern Ndebele. In the two Ndebele languages, the negation of an adjective is formed by means of the "relative concord" plus the "negative formative" –**ngasi** (in Southern Ndebele) or –**gasi** (in Northern Ndebele) plus the "agreement morpheme" plus the "adjective stem". Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(16)   Cl.1:   Umuntu *o***ngasi***m*ncani.   Munru *o***gasi***mu*nghane.

'A person that is not young.'

Cl.2:   Abesana *aba***ngasi***ba*ncani.   Batlhangana *aba***gasi***ba*nghane.

'People who are not young'

Cl.4:   Imilambo *e***ngasi***mi*khulu.   Milambho *e***gasi***mi*kxulu.

'Rivers that are not big'

Cl.5:   Ikhuwa *eli***ngasi***li*de.   Likxuwa *eli***gasi***li*nde.

'A white person that is not tall'

Cl.6:   Amalanga *a***ngasi***ma*nengi.   Malanga *a***gasi***ma*nyenti.

'Days that are not many'

Ziervogel (1959:96) regards the Northern Ndebele **si**- (of **(n)gasi** that also occurs in Southern Ndebele) as a negative form of the verb**.** However, according to Posthumus (1988:62), the copulative verb stem **si** (of **a...si)** that also occurs in other Nguni languages such as isiZulu is a negative copulative verb stem that negates the postulated positive copulative verb stem ***li.** Posthumus in Taljard (1999:198), for instance, states that

> '**si** is dus onder alle omstandighede die ekwivalent van die positiewe kopulatiewe werkwoordstam ***li** wat slegs in negatiewe kopulatiewe optree om die betekenis van '**is (nie**)' teweeg te bring.'

The verb –**si** is diachonically speaking probably a negative verb. Synchronically, however, it can no longer be regarded as a verb but as a formative.

In the following table the adjective concords of Lidwaba (the main dialect) and Gegana (the lesser) of Northern Ndebele as according to Ziervogel (1959:70) are given.

Table 6.1: Adjective concords of Lidwaba and Gegana

	Lidwaba (Langa)	Gegana (Mugombhane)
Class 1:	omukxulu	omukxulu
2:	babakxulu	abakxulu
3:	omukxulu	omukxulu
4:	emikxulu	emikxulu
5:	lelikxulu	elikxulu
6:	amakxulu	amakxulu
7:	sesikxulu	esikxulu
8:	tetikxulu	etikxulu
9:	ekxulu	ekxulu
10:	tetikxulu	etikxulu
14:	bobukxulu	ebukxulu

15: kokukxulu	ekukxulu

The adjective stems and adjective concords of the two Ndebele languages as discussed above can be illustrated as in Table 6.2 and 6.3 below.

Table 6.2: Southern and Northern Ndebele adjective stems

A. Adjective stems that occur in both languages.		
Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
Dimension/Size		
-ncani	-nghane	'small'
-khulu	-kxulu	'big'
-(n)de	-nde	'big/tall/long'
-fitjhani	-fishani	'short'
Quantity		
-nengi	-nyenti	'many/much'
	-nye	'another'
Value		
-hle	-(n)hle	'beautiful/good'
(m)bi	-mbhi	'bad/ugly'
Age		
-(n)dala	-ndala	'old'
-tjha	-sha	'new'
Interrogative		
-ngaki	-ngai	'how many?'
(As enumerative)	**(As adjective stems)**	
		'two'
-bili	-mbhili	'three'
-thathu	-thathu	'four'

-ne	-ne	'five'
-hlanu	-hlanu	
B. Stems that occur as adjective stems in Northern Ndebele but as relative stems in Southern Ndebele		
	-bovu	'red'
	-ntima	'black'

Table 6.3: Southern and Northern Ndebele adjective concords

Class	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele
1.	om(u)-	omu-
2.	aba-	baba-
3.	om(u)-	omu-
4.	emi-	emi-
5.	eli-	leli-
6.	ama-	ama-
7.	esi-	sesi-
8	ezi-	teti-
9.	e-	e-
10.	ezi-	teti-
14.	obu-	bobu-
15.	oku-	koku-

6.5 The Relative

It has become customary in Nguni grammar to distinguish between adjectives and relatives even though these two word categories are syntactically and semantically closely related. Both these categories serve to describe nouns in terms of some quality or characteristic, much as the adjectives in languages such as English do. Consider, for instance, the following English and Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

	English	**Southern Ndebele**
(17)	An *interesting* book	Incwadi **emnandi.**
	An *old* village	Umuzi **omdala.**
	Heavy work	Umsebenzi **obudisi.**
	A *beautiful* child	Umntwana **omuhle.**

Both categories can also be used pre- or post-nominally. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Pre-nominally

(18a)	Cl. 1:	Uthethe **omncan**i *umfazi*.	'He married a young wife.'
	Cl. 2:	Sifuna **abatjha** *abafundisi*.	'We want new priests.'

Post-nominally

(18b)	Cl. 1:	Uthethe *umfazi* **omncan**i.	'He married a young wife.'
	Cl. 2:	Sifuna *abafundisi* **abatjha**.	'We want new priests.'

The reason for the distinction between adjectives and relatives in the Nguni languages and, in fact, in most of the other Bantu languages, is not attributable to any semantic or syntactic feature that distinguishes these word categories from one another. This distinction is based solely on the morphological differences in the formation of their respective concords, that is, the so-called adjective and relative concord, respectively.

According to Gauton (1990:15), Werner (1919:126) seems to be the first of the early grammarians to distinguish between adjectives and relatives in isiZulu, a distinction she bases entirely on the difference in the form or morphological structure of their respective concords. This difference in form is especially noticeable in the case of the adjective and

relative concords of the so-called nasal classes. Compare, for instance, the difference in the form of these concords in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

		Adjective	Relatives	
(19)	Cl. 1: Umuntu	**om**ncani	**o**tjhili	'A young/strange person.'
	Cl. 4: Imisebenzi	**emi**tjha	**e**budisi.	'New/difficult jobs.'
	Cl. 6: Amalanga	**ama**nengi	**a**mbalwa.	'Many/few days.'
	Cl. 9: Inyama	**e(n)**dala	**e**bovu	'Old/red meat.'

As the morphology of the adjective concord has already been dealt with in par. 6.3.4.2 (i) above, it will not be discussed any further here. In the following paragraphs, the focus therefore falls on the construction of the relative concord in the Nguni languages.

6.5.1 The morphology of the relative concord in the Nguni languages, with the exception of Northern Ndebele

Nguni linguists are not unanimous in their view of how the relative concord is constructed in these languages. There are two dominant views that prevail in this regard. The one is that of Doke (1927) and the other that of Van Eeden (1956). Of these two views, Van Eeden's view is supported by present day Nguni grammarians.

According to Doke (1927:107), the relative concord (in isiZulu) is derived from "the adjective concord" by eliding the nasal consonant and any vowel that follows it. In the case where the adjective concord is without a nasal, the relative concord remains the same. Nyembezi (1963:97) is one of the few Nguni grammarians that support Doke's view on this matter. Compare the following examples in this regard.

		Relative concord	<	Adjective concord
(20)	Cl. 1:	**o**(*mu*)**-**	<	omu-
	2:	**aba-**	<	aba-
	4:	**e**(*mi*)**-**	<	emi-

5:	**eli-**	<	eli-
6:	**a(*ma*)-**	<	ama-
7:	**esi-**	<	esi-
9:	**e(*n*)-**	<	en-

In the case of the relative concords of the 1st and 2nd person, Doke (op. cit.: 108) maintains that either

(a) the relative concords of Classes 1 and 2 may be used for this purpose, or that
(b) the relative concords for the 1st and 2nd persons can be used.

The latter concords are formed by prefixing the relative -**a** to the subject concords of these person classes in which case the relative -**a** either coalesces with the subject concord (2nd person singular) or assimilates to the vowel of the subject concord (1st person singular and plural, 2nd person plural) according to the phonological rule of **a + i > e**. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Relative concord in Southern Ndebele

(21) 1st p.s: a - ngi > **engi**- e.g: Mina **engi**thembekileko. 'I who am honest'.

or

a – u > **o-** e.g: Mina **o**thembekileko. 'I who am honest'

1st p.p: a – si > **esi**- e.g: Thina **esi**thembekileko. 'We who are honest.'

or

a - ba > **aba-** e.g: Thina **aba**thembekileko. 'We who are honest.'

2nd p.s: a – u > **o-** e.g. Wena **o**thembekileko. 'You who is honest.'

2nd p.p: a – ni > **eni-** e.g: Nina **eni**thembekileko. 'You who are honest.'

or

a - ba > **aba-** e.g. Nina **aba**thembekileko. 'You who are honest.'

Van Eeden's view of the formation of the relative concord differs from that of Doke and Nyembezi. According to him, the relative concord is constructed by means of a *"relative"* **a**- (in siSwati **la**-) plus the "agreement morpheme" (that refers to the noun class concerned). In the case of agreement morphemes that consist of a vowel only, vowel coalescence takes place between the relative **a-** and the subject concord, according to the phonological rules of: **a + a > a, a + i > e, a + u > o**. Where the subject concord consists of a consonant plus a vowel, the relative **a**- assimilates with the vowel of the subject concord according to the same phonological rules that apply in the case of vowel coalescence. Consider the formation of the relative concord of the following noun classes in Southern Ndebele.

Southern Ndebele

(i) Vowel coalescence

(22a)   Cl. 1**: a – u >   o-**

Ngibone umsana **o**bhunubhunu (< **a + u-**) adlala ngemanzini.

'I saw a naked boy playing in the water.'

Cl. 4: **a – i   >   e-**

Imisebenzi **e**mnandi (< **a + i-**) njengalo ayisekho.

'Nice jobs like this are no longer available.'

Cl. 6: **a – a   > a-**

Thina sisela amanzi **a**thamana (< **a + a**) wemthonjeni.

'We are drinking sweet water from a fountain.'

(ii) Vowel assimilation

(22b)   Cl. 5: **a** – li   **>   e**li-, e.g:

Kwezomnotho ilizwe **e**lingcono (< **a** + l**i-**) yiBotswana.

'Economically Botswana is a better country.'

Cl. 7: **a** – s**i** > **e**si-, e.g:

Ungakhohlwa bona isitjalo **e**sihlazutjani (< **a** + s**i**) sifuna ilanga.

'Do not forget that a green plant needs sunshine.'

Cl. 15: **a** – k**u** > **o**ku**-,** e.g:

Amanye amadoda asebenzela ukudla **o**kumnandi (< **a** +k**u**) kwaphela.

'Some men work for nice food only.'

In the following paragraphs the differences in the concordial system of the relatives in Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed.

6.5.2 Morphological differences in the relative concords between Southern and Northern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele differs from all the other Nguni languages in that it has two types of relative concords, namely, one that Ziervogel (1959:72) calls a Nguni type of relative concord and one that he calls a Sotho type of relative concord.

6.5.2.1 The Nguni type of relative concord

With a single exception (i.e., Class 1) this type of relative concord in Northern Ndebele is formed in exactly the same way as these concords are formed in the other Nguni languages, that is, by means of a "relative" **a**- (**la**-in siSwati) plus an "agreement morpheme" that has the same form as the subject concord and that coalesces or assimilates with the agreement morpheme just as it does in the other Nguni languages such as Southern Ndebele, for instance. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(i) Vowel coalescence

(23a) Cl.4:   **Southern Ndebele**:   Bazibophe imikhono (**a–i**>) **e**limeleko.

             NorthernNdebele: Batibophe mikhono (**a-i**>) **e**khubele.

'They have bandaged their injured arms.'

Cl.9:   **Southern Ndebele:**   Sibone ikghuru (**a-i**>) **e**fileko.

Northern Ndebele: Sibonile nkhudu (**a-i**>) **e**file.

'We saw a dead tortoise.'

(ii) Vowel assimilation

(23b) Cl. 5:   **Southern Ndebele**:   Ngifuna ikhabe (**a - li** >) **e**limnandi.

Northern Ndebele: Mfuna likhabe (**a-li**) **e**limunandi.

'I want a sweet watermelon.'

Cl.7:   **Southern Ndebele**:   Ngigeza isithende sami (**a-si** >) **e**silimeleko.

Northern Ndebele: Nhlambha sithende sami (**a-si**>) **e**sikhubele.

'I am washing my injured heel.'

6.5.2.2 The Sotho type of relative concord

The so-called Sotho type of the relative concord found in Northern Ndebele is, in fact, not a concord but a construction that comprises a "demonstrative pronoun" that precedes a "verb" or a "non-verbal predicate" in the situative mood (Wilkes, 2006:102). Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(24) Cl.1: Mfuna munru **lo a**khambha.   'I want a person who travels.'

Cl.2: Banru **laba ba**sebenta banentjhelede   'People who work have money.'

Cl.4: Mbambhe mingasa mimbhili **le e**khubele. 'I caught two hares that were
                                                                          injured.'

Cl. 5: Llanga **leli li**tjhisa liyathobalisa.   'A hot day makes one sleepy.'

Cl.6: Usumayela mavi **la a**vakala.   'He says sensible words.'

Ziervogel (1959:73) claims that the Sotho type of relative concord is slowly replacing the Nguni type in Northern Ndebele. (This is also confirmed by Wilkes in his research of

Northern Ndebele (personal communication).) According to Ziervogel (op. cit.:74), the so-called Sotho type of relative construction in Northern Ndebele is, in essence, similar to the relative construction in Western Sotho (i.e., Setswana) and not Northern Sotho (i.e., Pedi). Ziervogel bases his opinion on the fact that in Setswana the "demonstrative" plus the "subjectival concord" is used with all types of relative stems (as in Northern Ndebele), while in Northern Sotho, they are only used before verbal (relative) stems. Compare the following Setswana and Northern Sotho examples in (25a) and (25b) in this regard.

	Setswana	**Northern Sotho**	

Before verbal relative stems

(25a)	Cl.2: Batho **ba ba** lwalang.	Batho **ba ba**lwalago	'People who are sick.'
	Cl.4: Melelo (*y)e* **e** tukang.	Mello **ye e**tukago	'Fires which are burning.'
	Cl.7: Selêpê **se se** bogale.	Selepe **se se** bogale	'An axe which is sharp.'

Before non-verbal relative stems

(25b)	Cl.1:	Monna **yo o** matla.	Monna **yo** maatla.	'A man who is strong.'
	Cl.3:	Mmu **o o** metsi.	Mobu **wo** metse.	'A soil which is wet.'
	Cl.9:	Ntswa **e e** botlhale.	Mpsa **ye** bohlale.	'A dog which is clever.'

Cole (1975:172), with regard to the construction of the relative concord in Setswana, says:

> 'Although the initial element of the relative concord shows identity of form with the first demonstrative **in Setswana, it must be emphasized that in this type of construction it has completely lost its demonstrative force and its individuality as a separate word.**' (*own emphasis*).

What Cole emphasizes, is that the demonstrative element in the relative construction in Setswana can no longer be regarded as an independent word as it now forms part of a

construction in which its grammatical status as a word has been lowered to that of a morpheme. According to Ziervogel (1959:74) the demonstrative in the relative construction in Northern Ndebele has clearly not lost its identity as a demonstrative as it can be used to express any demonstrative position if necessary without the need for the first position demonstrative to be present as well. Compare, for instance, the following examples Ziervogel (op. cit.:74) gives.

(26)   Cl. 1:   Munru **loo** akhamba.   'That person who walks.'

Munru **lowa** akhamba.   'Yonder person that walks.'

(cf. Munru **lo a**khamba.   'A person who walks.')

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:103) point out that the morphological structure of a relative construction in Northern Sotho comprises an element that resembles the "basic demonstrative of the 1st position" plus "the relative verb", which consists of a *(relative) concord* and a *verb stem*, except in the non-verbal relative constructions that consist of a concordial element followed by a noun (cf. examples in (25a) and (25b) above).

6.5.2.3 Relative concord for the 1st and 2nd persons

There are two types of relative concords for the 1st and 2nd persons in Southern Ndebele. In the first type, the relative concords of Class 1 and Class 2 are used while in the case of the second type the relative concords of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural are used. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

First Person

(27a) 1st p.s: (Mina) *engi*khulumako.   'I who am speaking.'

or

(Mina) *o*khulumako.   'I who am speaking.'

1st p.p:	(Thina) *esi*khulumako.	'We who are speaking.'
	or	
	(Thina) *aba*khulumako.	'We who are speaking.'

Second Person

(27b)	2nd p.s: (Wena) *o*khulumako	'You who speaks.'
	2nd p.p: (Nina) *eni*khulumako	'You who speak.'
	or	
	(Nina) *aba*khulumako	'You who speak.'

Northern Ndebele, in contrast, only has a single (Sotho) relative form for its 1st and 2nd person singular and plural in that it uses the concords for Classes 1 and 2 (in addition to the demonstrative pronoun of these classes) for this purpose. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

First person

| (28) | 1st p.s: (Nna/Mina) **lo a**sumayela. | 'I who am speaking.' |
| | 1st p.p: (Thina) **laba ba**sumayela. | 'We who are speaking.' |

Second person

| | 2nd p.s: (Wena) **lo a**lwa. | 'You who fight.' |
| | 2nd p.p: (Lina) **laba ba**lwa. | 'You who fight.' |

6.5.3 Negation of the relative in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Unlike Southern Ndebele, Northern Ndebele has two forms of negating its relative constructions, namely, the so-called Nguni form and the Sotho form.

6.5.3.1 The negative of the Nguni relative form

There is no difference between the two Ndebele languages as far as the negation of the Nguni relative form is concerned. Both languages use the formative -**(n)ga-** (that is, -**nga-** in Southern Ndebele and **–ga–** in Northern Ndebele) before verbal stems and the formative -**(n)gasi-** before non-verbal complements (i.e., -**ngasi-** in Southern Ndebele and –**gasi-** in Northern Ndebele). Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in (29a) and (29b) in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

Before verbal relative stems

(29a) Cl. 1:   Umfazi *o***nga**senbenziko.   Mufati *lo a***ga**sebenti.
            'A woman that does not work.'

Cl. 2:   Abantu *aba***nga**vilaphiko.   Banru *aba***ga**vilaphi.
            'People that are not lazy.'

Cl. 4:   Imilambo *e***nga**tjhiko.   Milambho *e***ga**tjhi.
            'Rivers that do not run dry.'

Cl. 5: Ilizwi *eli***nga**zwakaliko.   Livi *eli***ga**vakali.
            'A voice that is not audible.'

Before non-verbal relative stems

(29b) Cl.1:   Umfazi *o***ngasi**ngcono   Mufati lo *a***gasi**gawune
            'A woman that is not better.'

Cl.2:   Abantu *aba***ngasi**tjhili.   Banru *aba***gasi**shidi
            'People that are not strange.'

Cl.4:   Imisebenzi *e***ngasi**mnandi.   Misebenti *e***gasi**munandi

'Jobs that are not nice.'

Cl.5: Ikhabe *eli***ngasi**mphako.   Likhabe *eli***gasi**muphako.

'A watermelon that is not food for the journey.'

Cl.6: Amadoda *a***ngasi**bhunubhunu.   Madoda *a***gasi**bhunubhunu.

'Men that are not naked.'

6.5.3.2 The negative of the Sotho relative form

The negation of the Sotho type of the relative form in Northern Ndebele can be divided into two sections:

(i)   the negation of the none copulative relative stems, and

(ii)   the negation of copulative relative stems.

According to Ziervogel (1959:72) there are additional kinds of words that can act as relative stems in Northern Ndebele, that is, nouns (e.g. -**buhlungu** 'painful'), locative pronouns (e.g. **lapha** 'here'), verbs (e.g. -**vilapha** 'be lazy') and secondary derivations such as locative nouns, adverbs and quantitative pronouns.

6.5.3.2.1 Negation of the non-copulative relative form in Northern Ndebele

The Sotho-type of relatives in Northern Ndebele with non-copulative relative stems are negated by means of the formative **gasi** that directly precedes the non-copulative relative stem. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(30)   Cl.1:   Mfuna munru **lo a***gasi*lapha.   'I want a person who *is not* here.'

(cf. Positive: Mfuna munru **lo a**lapha. 'I want a person who is here.')

Cl.2:   Mbita bafati **laba ba***gasi*nkhaya.   'I'm calling the women who *are*

not in the house.'

(cf. Positive: Mbita bafati **laba ba**nkhaya. 'I'm calling the women who

are in the house.')

Cl. 5:   Nkhuphe litinyo **leli li***gasi*buhlungu. 'I have removed a tooth that *is not*

painful.'

(cf. Positive: Nkhuphe litinyo **leli li**buhlungu. 'I have removed a tooth

that is painful.'

Cl. 6:   Mambhili matinyo **la a***gasi*buhlungu. 'There are two teeth that *are*

not painful.'

(cf. Positive: Mambhili matinyo **la a**buhlungu. 'There are two teeth

that are painful.')

Cl. 8:   Lokhu tidlo **leti ti***gasi*munandi.   'This is food that *is not* tasty.'

(cf. Positive: Lokhu tidlo **leti ti**munandi. 'This is food that is tasty.')

6.5.3.2.2 Negation of the Sotho relative type with a copulative noun as stem in
         Northern Ndebele

The negative form of this kind of relative construction in Northern Ndebele consists of a
"demonstrative pronoun" plus "a prefix" **i-** plus –**gasi**- plus the "copulative noun" *(that
always appears in the participial mood), (i.e., *dem. pron.* + **i** + **gasi** + *cop. noun*).
Compare the following examples in this regard.

(31)   Cl. 1a: Munru **lo** *i*gasikubhabha.   'A person who *is not* my father.'

Cl. 2a:	Banru **laba** *i*gasibobhabha.	'The people who *are not* my fathers.'
Cl. 6:	Thina **laba** *i*gasimavila.	'We who *are not* sluggards.'
Cl. 9:	Ndoda **le** *i*gasinkxosi.	'A man who *is not* a chief.'

Note that copulative nouns in Class 1a and 2a in Northern Ndebele take the copulative prefix **gu-** (in Class 1a) and **m**- (in Class 2a), respectively, in the positive, (Ziervogel.1959:96). Compare the following examples.

(32)
Cl 1a:	Maraba **gu**malume.	'Maraba is my uncle.'
Cl.2a:	BoMaraba **m**bomalume.	'The Marabas are my uncles.'
Cl.1a:	Lidwaba **gu**bhabha.	'Lidwaba is my father.'
Cl.2a:	BoLidwaba **m**bobhabha.	'The Lidwabas are my fathers.'

In the negative the copulative nouns in both classes are negated by the negative formative **asi-** while in the case of nouns in Class 1a the prefix **gu**- is substituted by the prefix **ku**- while in the case of nouns in Class 2a the prefix **m-** is discarded. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(33)
Cl 1a:	Maraba **asiku**malume.	'Maraba *is not* my uncle.'
Cl.2a:	BoMaraba **asi**bomalume.	'The Marabas *are not* my uncles.'
Cl.1a:	Lidwaba **asiku**bhabha.	'Lidwaba *is not* my father.'
Cl.2a:	BoLidwaba **asi**bobhabha.	'The Lidwabas *are not* my fathers.'
Cl. 1a:	Mabhangula **asiku**mma.	'Mabhangula *is not* my mother.'
Cl.2a:	BoMabhangula **asi**bomma.	'The Mabhangulas *are not* my mothers.'

Ziervogel (op. cit.: 96,134) refers to the prefix **i** as an "invariable" concord, apparently because its form never changes and the fact that it appears in a position normally occupied by a concordial morpheme as, for instance, can be seen in the examples given in (31) above.

The invariable concord **i** is a grammatical feature also found in Southern Ndebele although here its appearance is confined to the auxiliary verb stem -**be** when this stem appears with the so-called identificative copulative as complement. In such instances, it may be used as a substitute of the subject concord of the auxiliary verb stem -**be** (Skhosana, 1998:109-110). Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(34)   (a) Umnyanya kaMahlangu *ube/ibe* ngonezipho ezinengi khulu.
        'Mahlangu's ceremony has been the one with a lot of gifts.'

        (b) Ngibonile bona *abe/ibe* ngamakhaza amanzi ongiphe wona.
        'I have noticed that the water you gave me has been the cold one.'

        (c) Ukusebenza kwakhe ePitori *kube/ibe* ngokunepumelelo.
        'His working in Pretoria has been a successful one.'

        (d) Ubukhosi bakhe *bube/ibe* ngobunesithunzi.
        'His chieftainship has been a dignified one.'

Northern Ndebele differs from Southern Ndebele in this regard in so far as that when the auxiliary verb stem **be** is followed by a nominal compliment both the auxiliary and its compliment take the invariable concord **i**. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(35) (a) Ke atjhiswa lo Phatlhaphatlha munrwanakhe Maraba webumbhili **i**be
      isesemutlhangana.

'When Phatlhaphatlha was burnt his child, Maraba II, was still a boy.'

(Ziervogel. 1959:188).

(b) Banrwana laba gabathathu **i**be **i**banrwana bendoda kodwa bagatalwa mufati munye.

'These three children were of one man but they were not born of one woman.'

(Ziervogel, op. cit.:192).

(c) Kambhe Mukxaeji *ibe iwomuhle* nga ubunjwe gemudaka munrwanebanru.

'Mukxaeji was beautiful as if she were made of clay, the poor child.'

(Ziervogel, op. cit.:208).

Note that the invariable concord **i** is not a feature of any of the other Nguni languages and probably came about as a result of the influence of Northern Sotho. Referring to Northern Sotho, Louwrens (1991:73) remarks in this regard that

'The identifying copula is the only one of the copulas which belongs to the invariable type. This implies that the identifying copula always occurs as either an invariable copular particle or an invariable copulative verb.'

Ziervogel (1959:104) surmises that the invariable concord in Northern Ndebele might be reminiscent of Northern Sotho's formative **e le,** that in this instance occurs in the same syntactic environment as the invariable concord **i** in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following Northern Sotho and Northern Ndebele in this regard.

	Northern Sotho	**Northern Ndebele**	
(36)	Yô **e le**go kgôši	**Lo i**nkxosi	'He who is a chief'
	Ba **e le**go magôši	**Laba i**makhosi	'They who are chiefs'

(Ziervogel.op. cit.:216).

Ziervogel (op. cit.:104) further postulates that the invariable **i-** is possibly derived from Ur-Bantu **ɣi-** and that the Northern Ndebele negative formative **-gasi,** most probably originated from the Northern Sotho negative structure **ga se.** Compare the following Northern Sotho examples in this regard.

Northern Sotho

(37) **Neg**: Mogweraka **ga se** moruti. 'My friend is not a priest.'

(cf. *Pos*: Mogweraka **ke** moruti. '*My friend is a priest.*')

Neg: Bohlale **ga se** go rutega. 'Wisdom is not to be educated.'

(cf. *Pos*: Bohlale **ke** go rutega. 'Wisdom is to be educated.')

Neg: Bosogana **ga se** go šoma. 'To be a young man is not to work.

(cf. *Pos:* Bosogana **ke** go šoma. 'To be a young man is to work.')

6.5.4 The relative suffix -ko

The verbal relative construction in Southern Ndebele suffixes the relative enclitic -**ko** throughout while, according to Ziervogel (1959:73), in Northern Ndebele this relative suffix -**ko** is no longer heard except amongst the elderly speakers of the Langa and Muledlhane dialects. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
(38) Cl.2:	Abantu *aba*khamba**ko**.	Banru *laba ba*khamba.
		(cf. siMuledlhane: *aba*khamba**ko**)
		'People who walk.'
Cl.4:	Ngifuna imibala *e*phazima**ko**.	Mfuna mibala *le e*phatima.

(cf. siMuledlhane: *e*phatima**ko**)

'I want colours that are flashy.'

Cl.5: Sifuna iphini *eli*qinile**ko**.   Sifuna liphalukuto *leli li*kxinile.

(cf. siMuledlhane: *eli*kxinile**ko**)

'We want a strong ladle.'

6.5.5 Direct and indirect relative construction

In Nguni languages, direct and indirect relative constructions concern verbs.

6.5.5.1. Direct relative

In case of the direct relative, the relative concord refers to the antecedent noun, that is, the noun that is being qualified by the relative construction. In Northern Ndebele, this means that the demonstrative and the subject concord refer to the same noun. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(39)   **Southern Ndebele**:   Indoda **e**khamba endleleni.

Northern Ndebele: Ndoda **le i**khamba endleleni

'A man who walks on the road.'

Southern Ndebele: Iinkomo **ezi**dla entabeni.

Northern Ndebele: Tikxomo **leti ti**dla enrabeni.

'Beasts that graze on a mountain.'

In this case the antecedent noun is also the subject of the relative construction.

6.5.5.2 Indirect relative

In the case of the indirect relative in Northern Ndebele, the demonstrative and the subject concord in the relative construction do not refer to the same noun as, for instance, in the following examples –

(40)   (a) Nnja **le laba**iphe tidlo.   'The dog they gave food to.'

        (b) Banru **laba si**balindele.   'The people we were waiting for…'

In this instance, the antecedent noun is not the underlying subject of the sentence but the underlying object. In (a) **nja** is the object of –**phe** (**baphe nnja tidlo** 'They gave the dog food') and in (b) **banru** is the object of –**lindele** (**silindele banru** 'We are waiting for the people'). In other words, in the case of the indirect relative in Northern Ndebele, the demonstrative pronoun refers to the noun that is the underlying object of the relative construction, while the subject concord refers to the noun (or person) that is the underlying subject of the relative construction.

The antecedent noun can also stand in other (underlying) syntactic relationships to the relative construction as, for example, in an adverbial relationship:

(41)   Nraba le sikhwele **<u>kiyo</u>** igebuhlabalanga.   'The mountain we are climbing is
                                                              in the east'.

        Nakxa mafutha la ligapheka **<u>gawo</u>**.   'Here are fats you can cook with.'

The above discussion on the relative concords of Southern and Northern Ndebele can be summarized in a tabular form as in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4: The relative concords of Southern and Northern Ndebele.

Southern Ndebele		Northern Ndebele	
	Nguni form	**Nguni form**	**Sotho form**
1st p.s: o-/engi-		egi-	lo a-/ legi-
1st p.p: esi-/aba-		esi-/aba-	lesi si-
2nd p.s: o-		o-	lo a-
2nd p.p: eni-/aba-		eli- /aba-	leli li-/laba ba-

Cl .1:	o-	---	lo a-
Cl.2:	aba-	aba-	laba ba-
Cl. 3:	o-	---	lo o-
Cl.4:	e-	e-	le e-
Cl.5:	eli-	eli-	leli li-
Cl.6:	a-	a-	la a-
Cl.7:	esi-	esi-	lesi si-
Cl.8:	ezi-	eti-	leti ti-
Cl.9:	e-	e-	le e-
Cl.10:	ezi-	eti-	leti ti-
Cl.14:	obu-	obu-	lobu bu-
Cl.15:	oku-	oku-	loku ku-

[Note: The Sotho form of the relative concord in Northern Ndebele is a standard form. This means Northern Ndebele use the Northern Sotho form of the relative type of the relative concord than that of the Nguni type]

6.5.6 The relative stem

Although words from most of the word categories can act as relative stems, that is, that part that of the relative that is preceded by a relative concord, here only genuine relative stems are considered, that is, stems that are either primitive relative stems or relative stems that are not derived from other parts of speech (Poulos & Msimang. 1998:153) and stems that are derived from nouns through the elision of the noun class pre-prefix and to which Doke (1927:107) refers to as nominal relative stems.

The only reason why relative stems derived from nouns are singled out here and not also relative stems derived from other word categories, notably from verbs, copulatives and adverbs, is because they are the only words those of which form (in isiZulu and Southern Ndebele, for instance) and the meaning change when they are used as relative stems. Consider, for instance, the following change in the form and meaning of isiZulu nouns when they are used as relative stems.

IsiZulu

(42) amanzi   'water'   >   -manzi   'wet'

amakhaza   'coldness'   >   -makhaza   'cold'

ukhuni   'firewood'   >   -lukhuni   'hard, difficult'

According to Poulos and Msimang (1998:153), it is sometimes difficult to say for certain which came first: "the relative" or "the nominal system". Compare the following examples, for instance.

IsiZulu

(43) -buthuntu   'blunt'   <>   ubuthuntu   'bluntness'

-buhlungu   'painful'   < >   ubuhlungu   'pain'

-lukhuni   'difficult, hard'   < >   ukhuni   'firewood'

Relative stems that are derived from words other than nouns are dealt with under the word categories which they form part of.

6.5.6.1 Basic or primitive relative stems

These are relative stems of which the origin or derivation is not clear. In the Nguni languages, there are very few basic or primitive relative stems as compared to the derived relative stems. Doke (1927:105), for instance, regards the following as basic relative stems in isiZulu.

IsiZulu

(44) -banzi   'wide'   -duma   'tasteless'

-ngcono   'better'   -qatha   'strong'   -
qotho   'honest'

6.5.6.2 Nominal relative stems

As mentioned above, these are relative stems derived from nouns through the elision of the initial vowel, that is, the pre-prefix. It is important to note that not all nouns can be used as relative stems in this way. There are, however, a fairly large number of these nouns in the Nguni languages (except Northern Ndebele) that are regularly used as relative stems. Many of these stems denote colour. Consider for instance the following nominal relative stems in examples (45) that are found in isiZulu.

IsiZulu

(45)   -manzi 'wet'   (< amanzi (Cl.6) 'water')

-buhlungu 'painful   (< ubuhlungu (Cl.14) 'pain')

-luhlaza 'green, blue'   (< uluhlaza (Cl.11)   'green herb')

-bukhali 'sharp'   (< ubukhali (Cl.14)   'sharpness')

-lukhuni 'hard'   (< u(lu)khuni (Cl.11) 'firewood')

-buthuntu 'blunt'   (< ubuthuntu (Cl.14) 'bluntness')

-lula 'light'   (< ilula (Cl.5)   'light article')

-lunama 'sticky, tenacious'   (< u(lu)nama (Cl.11) 'tenacity')

-lunga 'speckled black and white'   (< ilunga (Cl.5)   'speckled beast')

-lusizi 'self sacrificing'   (< u(lu)sizi (Cl.11)   'sorrow')

-luthuthuva 'sandy'   (< u(lu)thuthuva (Cl.11) 'sandy coloured

                                          object, e.g: beast')

-makhaza 'cold'   (< amakhaza (Cl.6)   'cold')

-mdaka 'mauve'   (< umdaka (Cl.3)   'dark soil')

-nzima 'black'   (< inzima (Cl.9)   'black beast'

Against the background of the above comments, attention can now be paid to the manifestation in Southern and Northern Ndebele of the two kinds of relative stems (that is, basic and nominal stems) alluded to in these comments, with special reference to the differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in this regard.

6.5.7 Relative stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele

6.5.7.1 Basic or primitive relative stems

One of the most important differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele is the fact that Southern Ndebele, like the other Nguni languages, has "basic" or "primitive" relative stems while, according to Ziervogel (1959:72), Northern Ndebele has none, a finding that was also confirmed by this investigation. The following are examples of some of the basic relative stems found in Southern Ndebele.

Basic relative stems in Southern Ndebele

(46) -tjhili   'different, strange, foreign, unusual'

  -thamana   'sweet'

  -ngcono   'better'

  -duma   'tasteless'

  -lula   'light, easy'

  -thile   'certain'

The following are examples of usage of some of the basic relative stems in Southern Ndebele listed in (46) above.

(47) Ungamthembi umuntu **otjhili**.   'Do not trust a strange person.'

  Ngomele amanzi **athamana**.   'I'm thirsty for sweet water.'

  Ilanga **elingcono** lokubonana ngelanamhlanje. 'A better day to meet is today.'

  Nangidakweko ngisela itiye **eduma**.   'When I'm drunk I drink a tasteless tea.'

6.5.7.2 Nominal relative stems

When the nominal relative stems that occur in Southern and Northern Ndebele are compared with one another, a distinction can be made between nominal relative stems that are:

      (i)   phonologically related

      (ii) phonologically distinct

      (iii) phonologically related but semantically different.

(i) Examples of the relative stems that are phonologically related

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
(48)	-buhlungu (<ubuhlungu Cl.14)	-buhlungu (<buhlungu Cl.14) 'painful'
	-bomvu (<isibo(m)vu Cl.7)	-bovu (<sibovu Cl.7) 'red'
	-mhlophe (<ubumhlophe Cl.14)	-(m)hlophe/-tjhuwana (<bu(m)hlophe Cl.14) 'white'
	-makhaza (<amakhaza Cl.6)	-makhata (<makhata Cl.6) 'cold'
	-nzotho (<inzotho Cl.9)	-tsotho (<tsotho Cl 9) 'brown'
	-likhuni (<ikhuni Cl.5)	-bukhuni (<likxuni Cl.5) 'hard'
	-tshehla (<ubutshehla Cl.14)	-tshetlha (<butshetlha Cl 14) 'grey'
	-bulenda (<ubulenda Cl.14)	-bulenda (<bulenda Cl. 14) 'soft, jelly like'
	-budisi (<ubudisi Cl.14)	-budisi (<budisi Cl.14) 'heavy/difficult)
	-tjhelelezi (<ubutjhelelezi Cl.14)	-tjheleti (<butjheleti. Cl.14) 'smooth'
	-makghwaghwa (<amakghwa-kghwa Cl 6)	-makxwakxwa (<makxwakxwa Cl 6) 'rough'
	-mnandi (<ubumnandi Cl.14)	-munandi (<bumunandi Cl.14) 'nice,tasty'
	-nzima (<isinzima Cl. 9)	-ntima (<ntima) 'heavy, black'
	-njani	-njani 'how'

-njalo	-njalo 'like that'
-mafulufulu (<amafulufulu Cl.6)	-mafulofulo (<mafulofulo) 'energetic'

It is interesting to note that the Northern Ndebele relative stem for 'hard' is an Nguni form **-bukhuni** derived from the nominal stem **-kxhuni** 'wood'. It is, however, predictable that the nominal stem **-kxhuni** is derived from the Nguni form **-khuni**. The phonological rule **B/k/** that becomes **/kh/** in isiZulu and **/kxh/** in Northern Ndebele makes the sound difference between isiZulu **/-khuni**/ and Northern Ndebele **-kxhuni** a predicable one. The only unpredictable feature in **-kxhuni** is that it is a relative stem derived from a Class 14 noun while in languages, such as isiZulu and siSwati it is derived from a Class 11 noun, **u(lu)khuni**. The relative stem **-tjhuwana '**white', in contrast, which is only used amongst the younger generation, most probably originates from Setswana **-swaana** 'white'. The following are a few examples of usage of some of the nominal relative stems listed in (48) above.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
(49)	Umncamo *o*mhlophe muhle.	Buhlalu *lobu bu*(m)hlophe buhle 'A white bead is beautiful.'
	Sidle ikhabe *eli*makhaza kwaLidwaba.	Sidle likhabe *leli l*imakhata kaLidwaba. 'We ate a cold watermelon at Lidwaba's home.'
	Ubaba uthenge iinkomo *ezi*bomvu.	Bhabha uthenge tikxomo *leti ti*bovu 'My father bought red cattle.'
	Umaraba uthanda amanyathelo *a*nzotho.	Maraba uthanda tikxabula *leti titsotho* 'Maraba likes brown shoes.'

(ii) Examples of the relative stems that are phonologically distinct

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(50)	-hlazumkayi (< ihlaza + umkayi) 'green/blue'	-tala	(< tala)
	-tjheli (< isitjheli) 'yellow/orange'	-mudibha	(< dibha)
	-lula (< ubulula) 'light, easy'	-fefo	(< bufefo)
	-duma (< ubuduma) 'tasteless'	-ntatalala (< ntatalala)	
	-manzi (< amanzi) 'wet'	-thambhile (< -thambha)	
	-banzi (< ububanzi) 'wide'	-vulekile (<-vula)	
	-ze (< ilize) 'empty, nothing'	-genanro (< -ge+na+nro)	

The use of a number of the phonologically distinct relative stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele is illustrated in the following examples.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(51)   Abesana bathanda umsebenzi *o*lula.   Batlhangana bathanda musebenti *lo u*fefo.

                'The boys like an easy job.'

Indlela *e*banzi ngile eya ePolokwane.   Ndlela *le i*vulekile/*i*khamisile gile eya ePolokwane.

        'The wide road is the one that goes to Polokwane.'

Ngimbethe ipahla *e*manzi.   Mbhethe mpahla *le i*thambhileko.

                'I'm wearing wet clothes.'

Ngifuna imbiza *e*ze ukuze   Mfuna mbhita *le i*genanro kuri ngipheke inyama.   mpheke nnyama.

        'I want an empty pot so that I can cook the meat.'

Abafazi abadli umthubi *otjheli* weqanda.   Bafati abadli muthubi *lo u*mudibha

welikxanda**.**

'Women do not eat the yellow yolk of an egg.'

In the case of some of the relative stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele, this difference in form stems from a difference in their derivational source as in the case the final three examples listed in (50) above. The stems -**manzi** 'wet' and -**banzi** 'wide' in Southern Ndebele are nominally derived stems, whilst their counterparts in Northern Ndebele are verbally derived. The relative stem -**ze** (<**ilize**) is a nominally derived stem, whilst its Northern Ndebele counterpart is derived from a negative construction consisting of the negative morpheme -**ge** plus the associative formative **na**- plus the Class 9 nominal -**nro** 'thing'.

A further explanation for the phonological difference between some of the relative stems of Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele is that many of these stems in Northern Ndebele are of non-Nguni origin and, in particular, of Northern Sotho and Setswana origin as, for instance, is the case with the following stems.

	Northern Ndebele		**Northern Sotho**	
(52)	-tala	<	-tala	'green, blue'
	-mudibha	<	-modipa	'yellow, orange'
	-thambhile	<	-thapile	'wet'
	-fefo	<	-bofefo	'light, easy'
			Setswana	
	-tjhuwana	<	-suwana	'white'

A further noticeable difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as relative stems are concerned is that in Northern Ndebele some of of these stems can be used as adjective stems. Instead of taking a relative concord as these stems normally do, they take

an adjective concord. This is not the case in Southern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(53)   Nthanda mmala *omu***bomvu.**
       'I like the colour red.'
       (cf. **Southern Ndebele**: Ngithanda umbala *o*bomvu)
       Munru *omu***ntima** uthanda buyala.
       'A black person likes African beer.'
       (cf. **Southern Ndebele**: Umuntu *o*nzima uthanda utjwala.)

       Banrwana bathanda muthubi *womu***dibha** welikxanda.
       'Children like the yellow yolk of an egg.'
       (cf. **Southern Ndebele**: Abantwana bathanda umthubi *o*tjheli weqanda.)

6.5.7.3 Nominal relative stems in Southern Ndebele that are semantically distinct in Northern Ndebele

A few such stems were found during this investigation as, for instance, the stems for the colours 'yellow' and 'grey'. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(54)   **Southern Ndebele**: Ngimbethe amanyathelo **atshehla.**
       Northern Ndebele: Mbethe tikxabula **leti titshetlha.**
       'I'm wearing a pair of grey shoes.'

       Southern Ndebele: Imibala **etshehla** nemihlophe mihle.
       Northern Ndebele: Mibala **le itshetlha** ne(m)hlophe mihle.
       'The grey and white colours are beautiful.'

The relative stem -**tshehla** 'grey' that occurs in the two Ndebele languages has obviously originated from the Northern Sotho stem -**tshehla** (or **sêhla**). Some of the Northern Ndebele speakers use the terms -**tshehla** and -**mudibha** to mean '*yellow*' (Van Wyk, 1986:171) while others claim that the term -**tshehla** means '*grey*' and -**mudibha** '*yellow*'. According to Kriel (1965:299) –**tshehla (**and **-modipa**) means 'yellow' while Louwrens (1993:126) finds the term -**tshehla** (or -**sêhla)** unacceptable as meaning '*yellow*'. Hence, it can also be used to denote colours other than '*yellow*' such as *grey, fawny*, etc. in Northern Sotho.

6.6 The enumerative

Enumeratives are words that in the Nguni languages consist of a "prefix" and a "stem". In most instances, the prefix is identical in form to that of the 'real' class prefix of the noun that the enumerative qualifies. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(55)   Ngatjala **u*mu*thi *mu*nye** welamule engadinami.
          'I planted one orange tree in my garden.'

          Mahlangu ufuna **i*li*tje *li*phi** kila?
          'Mahlangu, which stone do you want from these ones?'

As can be seen below, there are salient differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the form and content of this word category are concerned. In the paragraph below, attention is first paid to the enumerative stems with particular reference to the differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in this regard. Thereafter, the focus shifts to the differences in the enumerative prefixes in these two Ndebele languages.

6.6.1 Enumeratives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Southern and Northern Ndebele differ quite radically from one another as far as the number and type of enumerative stems are concerned. Whereas Southern Ndebele has three enumerative stems, Northern Ndebele has seven of which five are the stems of the numerals from 1-5. The following are the enumerative stems found in these two Ndebele languages.

Enumerative stems

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(56)	-phi ?	-phi ?	'which ?'
	-ni?	---	'what kind'
	-nye	-nye	'one'
		-shidi/-shili	'strange, foreign'
	---	-mbhili	'two'
	---	thathu	'three'
	---	-ne	'four'
	---	-hlanu	'five'

Ziervogel (1959:71) refers to the stems of the numerals 1-5 and the stem -**ngai** 'how many' as "enumerative adjective stems" and the enumerative stems -**phi**? 'which?' and -**shidi/-shili** 'different' as "enumerative relative stems" (Ziervogel, op. cit.:72). The reason why Ziervogel regards the stem -**ngai** 'how many' and the stems of the numerals 1-5 as "enumerative adjective stems" in Northern Ndebele is because the form of the prefix of these enumeratives in Northern Ndebele is the same as that of the enumerative prefix in the other Nguni languages. In other words, it is equal to the "adjective prefix" minus its "initial vowel" (or its initial syllable in the case of some of the noun classes in Northern Ndebele). Compare in this regard the differences in the form of the "prefix of the numerals" 1-5 in Southern and Northern Ndebele as elucidated in the following examples in (57a).

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

	Adjectives	Enumeratives
(57a)	Cl. 2: Sikhamba nabantu *aba*bili.	Sikhambha nebanru *ba*mbhili.

'We walk with two people.'

Cl. 4: Ngineminyaka *emi*thathu.   Gineminyaka *mi*thathu.

'I'am four years old.'

Cl. 6: Ngithenge amaqanda *ama*ne.   Nthenge makxanda *ma*ne.

'I bought four eggs.'

Cl. 8: Babulala iiwebu *ezi*hlanu ngendlini. Babulala tixhogu *ti*hlanu gendluni.

'They killed five spiders in the house.'

Enumerative stem   **Enumerative stem**

-nye   **-nye**

(57b)   Ubaba wahlaba ikabi *yi*nye.   Bhabha wahlaba nkxabi *i*nye

'My father slaughtered one ox.'

[Note: The enumerative stem -**ngai?** 'how many' in Northern Ndebele has an adjective stem -**ngaki?** as a counterpart in Southern Ndebele.] Compare the following examples in this regard and note the difference in form in the prefix of this enumerative stem in these two languages.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

Adjective   **Enumerative**

(58)   Babantu *aba*ngaki abafuna umsebenzi?   Banru *ba*ngai bafuna musebenti?

'How many people are looking for a job?'

Kufuneka amadoda *ama*ngaki la?   Kufuneka madoda *ma*ngai la?

'How many men are needed here?'

The difference in the form of the prefix is no doubt also the reason why Ziervogel (1959:171-174) distinguishes between "enumerative adjective" and "enumerative relative stems" in Northern Ndebele. He regards the stems -**phi** and -**shidi/-shili** as enumerative relative stems in all probability on account of the fact that the prefix of these stems is different from that of the other enumerative (adjective) stems. Whereas the prefix of the enumerative adjective stems resembles the noun class prefix of the noun they qualify, the prefix of the enumerative relative stems resembles the form of the subject concord of the noun these enumeratives refer to. Consider the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(59)   Cl. 1: Bhabha ubita mutlhangana *u*phi?   'Which boy is the father calling?'
           Nsebenta nemunru *u*shidi/*u*shili.   'I work with a strange person.'

       Cl. 2: Sikhambha nebanru *ba*phi?   'With which people do we go?'
           Nsumayela nebanru *ba*shidi/*ba*shili.   'I speak with strange people.'

       Cl. 4: Lifuna misebenti *i*phi?   'Which jobs are you looking for?
           Ugafuni misebenti *i*shidi/*i*shili.   'You must not look for strange jobs.'

       Cl. 6: Wasumayela mavi *a*phi naye? 'Which words did you speak with him?
           Simbutise mavi *a*shidi/*a*shili.   'We have asked him strange words.'

       Cl. 9: Ndoda *i*phi eya eliwandle?   'Which man goes to the sea?
           Asifuni nkxosi *i*shidi/*i*shili la Muledlhane. 'We don't want a strange chief
                                                                   here at Muledlhane.'

In Southern Ndebele the stem -**phi** is a "genuine" enumerative stem and as such it takes a prefix that resembles the 'real' prefix of the noun to which it refers. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(60)   Cl. 1: Ubaba ubiza *mu*phi umsana?   'Which boy is the father calling?'

         Cl. 2: Sikhambha nabantu *ba*phi?   'With which people do we go?'

         Cl. 4: Nifuna imisebenzi *mi*phi?   'Which jobs you are looking for?

         Cl. 6: Ukhulume amazwi *ma*phi naye?   'Which words did you speak with

                                           him?'

         Cl. 9: Yindoda *yi*phi eya elwandle?   'Which man goes to the sea?

In the case of the so-called nasal classes the enumerative prefix of the stem -**phi**? in Southern Ndebele has an alternative form that consists of the "vowel of the class prefix of its antecedent noun" preceded by "a semi-vowel". Consider the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(61)   Cl.1: Bafuna umntwana <u>**wu**</u>**phi**?   'Which child are they looking

                                      for?'

         Cl.4: Wenza <u>**yi**</u>**phi** imisebenzi ubaba?   'Which jobs is father doing?'

         Cl.6: Usebenza <u>**wa**</u>**phi** amalanga ngeveke?   'Which days do you work in a

                                      week?'

         Cl. 9: Umntazana lo ufuna <u>**yi**</u>**phi** indoda?   'This girl is looking for which

                                      man?'

The enumerative concords of Southern and Northern Ndebele discussed above can be summarized as follows in tabular form.

Table 6.5: Enumerative prefixes in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Class	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele
1	mu-/wu-	mu-/u-
2	ba-	ba-
3	mu-/wu-	mu-/u-
4	mi-/yi-	mi-/i-
5	li-	li-
6	ma-/wa-	ma-/a-
7	si-	si-
8	zi-	ti-
9	yi-	n-/i-
10	zi-	ti-
14	bu-	bu-
15	ku-	ku-

6.7 The possessive

The basic morphological structure of possessives in African languages, and in the Nguni languages in particular, consists of two parts: a "possessive concord" which refers to the possession, plus a "stem", which refers to the possessor.

6.7.1 The possessive concord

The possessive concord is formed by means of a "concordial morpheme" (that has the same form as the subject concord of the different noun classes) and which for the purpose of this discussion will be referred to as the subject concord plus a so-called "possessive" - **a** which combines with the subject concord. In instances where the subject concord consists of the vowel **u**- (i.e., Classes 1.1a and 3) or i- (i.e., Classes 4 and 9)

consonantalization takes place which causes **u-> w** and **i> y**. In the case of the subject concord of Class 6, (i.e., **a-**), vowel coalescence with the possessive **a** takes place except in Southern Ndebele where this **a** is also consonantalized. The following are examples of the formation of the possessive concords in isiZulu.

IsiZulu

s.c.+-a- > possessive concord

(62a) Cl. 1: u + a > wa-, e.g: Umfazi wakhe uyasebenza.   'His wife works.'

Cl. 3: u + a > wa-, e.g: Umuzi wakho mncane.   'Your home is small.'

Cl. 4: i + a > ya-, e.g: Iminwe yakhe mikhulu.   'His fingers are big.'

Cl. 6: a + a > a-, e.g: Amehlo akhe mahle.   'His eyes are beautiful.'

Cl. 9: i + a > ya-, e.g: Indoda yami igugile.   'My husband is old.'

In noun classes where the subject concord consists of a consonant plus the vowel **i, u** or **a**, as is the case with the subject concord of the so-called non-nasal classes (i.e. Classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15), "vowel elision" takes place whereby the vowel of the subject concord is dropped before the possessive particle **a**. Consider the form of the possessive concord of the following noun classes in isiZulu.

IsiZulu

(62b) Cl. 2: **b**(a) + **a** > **ba**- e.g. Baphi abafana **ba**mi ?   'Where are my boys.'

Cl. 5: **l**(i) + **a** > **la**- e.g. Ngidla ifa **la**mi**.**   'I eat/use my wealth.'

Cl. 7**: s**(i) + **a** > **sa**- e.g. Letha isitsha **sa**mi.   'Bring my dish.'

Cl. 8: **z**(i) + **a** > **za**- e.g. Sithanda izingane **za**bo**.** 'We like their children.'

Cl.14: **b**(u) + **a** > **ba**- e.g. Abantu bathanda ubuhle **ba**khe. 'People like her

beauty.'

In the case of subject concords consisting of a consonant plus the vowel **u,** semi-vocalisation of the **u** occurs before the possessive **a.** Semi-vocalisation would also have

occurred in the case of the subject concord of Class 14, **bu**- if it was not for the fact that the combination '"bilabial" plus **w***' is an inadmissible phonological combination in the Nguni languages. Consider the formation of the following isiZulu possessive concords in this regard.

IsiZulu

(63) Cl. 11: Ngidinga usizo **l<u>w</u>akhe** (< l**u**-a-khe) ngoba ngiseyingane engazi lutho.
       'I need his help because I'm a child that knows nothing.'

    14: Ubuhle **bamantombazana**(<b**(u)-**a-amantombazana) bukhanga amadoda emizi.
     'The beauty of girls attracts married men.'

    15: Ukukhothama **k<u>w</u>enkosi** (<k**u**-a-inkosi) kuthinte isizwe.
     'The death of the King has touched the nation.'

When the possessive concord combines with words such as nouns or certain possessive pronominal stems that begin with a vowel, vowel coalescence takes place according to the normal phonological rules of: **a + u > o, a + i > e** and **a + a > a.** This occurs in all Nguni languages, except siSwati and to a lesser extent Northern Ndebele where the so-called "substitution of *e* rule" is observed. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(64)   Cl. 1: w**a-** + **u**- > **wo**-   e.g: Mfazi **w<u>o</u>muntu** (w**a**-**u**muntu) lo.
                                         'This is someone's wife.'

    Cl. 4: y**a**- + **i** > **ye**-   e.g: Imisebenzi **y<u>e</u>thu** (< y**a**-**i**thu) mihle.

'Our jobs are good.'

Cl. 5: l**a**- + **a** > **la**- e.g: Isaka **la**malahle (l**a**-**a**malahle) yi-R30.

'A bag of coal is R30.'

Apart from the possessive concords discussed in the above paragraph, all the Nguni languages, with the exception of siSwati and Northern Ndebele, employ a formative **ka**- as an independent possessive concord or as part of a possessive concord. This possessive concord normally occurs in all instances where the possessor is a noun in Class 1a and the possession a noun in a so-called nasal class, that is, classes with a nasal in their prefix. In instances where the possession noun is a noun in a non-nasal class, that is, a class without a nasal in its prefix, and the possessor a noun in Class 1a, the possessive concord takes the form of a "subject concord" plus **ka**-. Consider the following isiZulu examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(65a) **Possession as a noun in nasal class**

Cl. 1: Umfazi **kaMfaniseni** unguthisha. 'Mfaniseni's wife is a teacher.'

Cl.1a: Bamnqumela ugwayi **katiki** ngamahlawulo. 'They fined him on the

spot.'

Cl. 6: Bamfake amabhengele **kaSigonyela**. 'They have put him in Sigonyela's

bangles, i.e. They have arrested him.'

Cl. 9: Ingubo **k**a**mama** yinhle. 'My mother's dress is beautiful.'

(65b) **Possession is a noun in the non-nasal class**

Cl.2: Bangabantwana **baka**b**aba** uNtuli. 'They are the children of Mr Ntuli.'

Cl. 5: Ifa **likababa** lingelethu sonke. 'Our father's wealth is for us all.'

Cl. 7: Isikole **sikaNdlovu** esiphuke amafasitela. 'It is Mr Ndlovu's school

the windows of which are

broken.'

Cl.10: Qaphela! Izinja **zikaNdlovu** zinolaka.   'Watch out! Mr Ndlovu's dogs
are vicious.'

Cl. 15: Zonke izilwane zababaza ukuhlakanipha **kukaNogwaja**. 'All animals
praised the wisdom of Nogwaja.'

According to Meinhof (1932:39), the diachronic form of Class 10 noun prefix consists of the Class 8 noun prefix **izi-** (<**B.ʋi**) plus the Class 9 noun prefix **i[N]** (<**B.ini**) in the Nguni languages, as can be seen in **izinja (<iz(i)-in-ja**) 'dogs' where the nasal **n** of the Class 9 noun prefix has gradually developed to a homorganic nasal of the stem **-ja** (i.e., forms part of the noun stem -**ja**).

6.7.2 The possessive stems

Various word categories, such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, relatives and adverbs, can function as stems in possessive constructions. Consider the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(66)   (a) **Noun as a possessive stem**
Isandla *so*msana silimele.   'The boy's hand is injured.'
Ulahle isikhwama *see*ncwadi.   'He lost the bag of books.'

(b) **Pronoun as a possessive stem.**
Igama *la*mi nguMadugu.   'My name is Madugu.'
Umfowethu uthanda *za*mi izinja.   'My brother likes my dogs.'

(c) **Adjective as a possessive stem.**
Ama-RDP zizindlu *za*batjha.   'RDPs are houses of the young ones.'
Lezo ziinyawo *zo*mdala umuntu.   'Those are the feet of an old person.'

(d) **Relative as a possessive stem.**

Isikhathi *s*ofundisako sincani.   'The time for teaching is short.'

Ukulwela imali mkhuba *w*abanzima. 'To fight for money is a habit of

                                          black people.'

When a locative noun with an initial **e**- or **o**- (in the case of a few Classes 11 and 14 nouns in isiZulu) acts as possessive stem, a so-called '*intervocal* **s** is inserted between the possessive concord and the locative. This occurs in all Nguni languages except Southern Ndebele. Compare the following isiZulu examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(67)   UMpiyakhe yingane **ya_s_eSoweto**.
        'Mpiyakhe is a child of Soweto.'

        Namuhla ngenza umsebenzi **wa_s_endlini**.
        'Today I'm doing house work.'

        Izinyoni zakha izidleke zazo ezihlahleni **za_s_ogwini** lomfula.
        'The birds build their nests in the trees on the river bank.'

        Abantu **ba_s_eNkandla** abalunganga ngempela uma sebecasukile.
        'People of Nkandla are really not kind when they are angry.'

Against the background of the above discussion of the possessive, attention can now be shifted to the differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the morphology of the possessives in these two languages is concerned.

6.7.3 Differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele with regard to the possessive concord.

There is no difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the construction of the possessive concord is concerned. In both these languages, the possessive concord is formed by way of the same morphological rule as in the other Nguni languages, that is, by means of a "subject concord" plus the "possessive particle" **a.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(68)   Cl.1: **u + a > wa**-   **u + a > wa**-

Ngiyamazi umtwana *wo***mfazi** lo.   Ndiyamati munrwana *we***mufati** lo.

'I know the child of this woman.'

Cl.4: **i + a > ya**-   **i + a > ya**-

Imikhono *ya***khe** mide.   Mikhono *ya***khe** minde.

'His arms are long.'

Cl.5: **li + a > la**-   **li + a > la**-

Sadla ikhabe *la***bo** saliqeda.   Sadla likhabe *la***bo** salikxeda.

'We ate their watermelon and finished it.'

Cl. 6: **a + a > wa**-   **a + a > ya**-

Ngiqale amanzi *wo***mlambo**.   Mbheke manti *e***mulambho**.

'I'm looking at the river's water.'

Apart from the regular Class 6 possessive concord **a,** Wilkes (2001:310) (in his research of Northern Ndebele) has found a number of speakers in this language that use **ya**- as the possessive concord of Class 6 nouns instead of the usual **a**-. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(69)   Malembhe **_ya_bo** aphukile.   'Their hoes are broken.'

Mangai malanga **_ye_mbeke**?	'How many days are there in a week?'
Bawavile mavi **_ya_mi**.	'They have heard my words.'

Unfortunately, Wilkes does not say how widespread among Northern Ndebele speakers this alternative possessive concord of Class 6 is or whether it is used interchangeably with the regular possessive concord of this class (i.e., **a)**. According to Wilkes (op. cit.:312), the occurrence of the semi vowel **y** in the "alternative possessive" concord of Class 6 in Northern Ndebele and the semi vowel **w** in its counterpart in Southern Ndebele suggests the underlying presence of the vowels **i** and **u**, respectively in their construction, since **i –a** > **ya-** and **u-a >wa-**. If this assumption is correct, then it means that the derivational source of these possessive concords cannot be the class prefix of Class 6 (i.e. **(a)ma-**), because of the obvious lack of any formal agreement between these concords and their class prefixes.

If Wilkes had considered foreign interference as a possible explanation for the occurrence of this irregular possessive concord in Northern Ndebele, he probably did not look any further than Northern Sotho and Tswana where he obviously would not have found an answer since neither of these Sotho languages has such a possessive concord for Class 6 nouns. Had he looked further, he would have found an answer in Xitsonga where Class 6 nouns have a similar (irregular) possessive concord (cf. Baumbach, 1987:177). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Xitsonga

(70) **Marito ya** tata wa wena ya xiximeka.   'Your father's words are
                                                                      respectful.'

Mfumo wu hakerile **masiku ya** hina ya livi. 'The government has paid our
                                                                      leave days.'

Mavoko ya mina ya vava.   'My arms are painful.'

Malamula ya malume ya herile.   'My uncle's oranges are finished.'

Although the Xitsonga Class 6 possessive concord does not throw any light on the irregularity of the form of this concord in Northern Ndebele, it at least proves that this irregularity has not been caused by anything in the phonological system of Northern Ndebele itself, but that its presence in this language is probably the result of it having been 'borrowed' from Xitsonga.

The fact that Xitsonga and Northern Ndebele share the same Class 6 possessive concord **ya**-, comes as a bit of surprise since no historical record or evidence exists that confirms any earlier contact between these two population groups.

6.7.4 Possessive concords with the possessor noun in Class 1a and 2a in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Remarkable differences occur between these two Ndebele languages in instances where the possessive stem is a noun in Class 1a or 2a. These differences are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

6.7.4.1 The possessor is a noun in Class 1a and the possession is a noun in a nasal class

When in Southern Ndebele the possessor noun is a noun in Class 1a and the possession a noun from a nasal class, the possessive construction can consist of either:

- the *regular possessive concord* (of the noun referred to) plus *possessive formative* -**ka**- plus the *nominal stem,*

                                    or

- the *possessive formative* **ka**- plus the *nominal stem.*

In Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, the possessive concord with -**ka**- does not apply. The possessive consists of the "regular possessive concord" plus the "nominal stem". Compare the following examples in this regard.

(71)   **Southern Ndebele**:   Cl.1:   Uphi   umfazi   *waka*Madimeja/*ka*Madimeja?

          Northern Ndebele: Uphi mufati *wa*Madimeja?

                                     'Where is Madimeja's wife?'

          Southern Ndebele: Cl.4:   Abesana bathanda ukulandela imikghwa \

                                     yakababa/**ka**baba kuneyabafazi ekhaya.

          Northern Ndebele: Batlhangana bathanda kulandela mikxhwa

                                     yabhabha kuneyabafati ekhaya .

                                     'Boys like to follow the father's behaviour rather

                                     than (that) of women at home.'

          Southern Ndebele: Cl.6.   Amazinyo **waka**Sipho/**ka**Sipho mahle.   **Northern Ndebele**:   Matinyo **ya**Sipho mahle.

                                     'Sipho's teeth are beautiful.'

          Southern Ndebele: Cl.9:   Isimu **yakamma**/**kamma** yikulu.

          Northern Ndebele: Nsimu **yamma** ikxulu.

                                     'My mother's garden is big.'

6.7.4.2 The possessor and the possession are nouns in Class 1a

When both the possessor and the possession are nouns in Class 1a in Southern Ndebele the possessive concord may consist of one of the following –

- the *possessive particle* **ka**- plus the *nominal stem*,

                 or

- a *Class 5 subject concord* **li**- plus the *possessive formative* -**ka**-

                 or

- the regular *Class 5 possessive concord* **la**- plus *the possessive formative* -**ka**-**.**

In Northern Ndebele, only the "regular possessive concord" of Class 1/1a (i.e., **wa**- is used in this instance). Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(72) Cl.1a: **Southern Ndebele**: Ubaba **kamma / likamma / lakamma**

    Northern Ndebele: Bhabha **wamma**

      'My mother's father'

    Southern Ndebele: Unina **kaSuhla / likaSuhla / lakaSuhla**

    Northern Ndebele: Nnina **waSuhla**

      'Suhla's sister'

    Southern Ndebele: Ugogo **kaZanele / likaZanele / lakaZanele**

    Northern Ndebele: Gugu **waZanele**

      'Zanele's grandmother'

    Southern Ndebele: Umkhulu **kaMashashane/likaMashashane**/

      lakaMashashane

    Northern Ndebele: Nkhulu **waMashashane.**

      'Mashashane's grandfather.'

According to Skhosana (1998:105-107), the doubling of the possessive concord in the formation of Class 1a possessive concords in Southern Ndebele is the result of the influence that Setswana had had on Southern Ndebele. Cole (1975:161) points out that the construction of the possessive concord in typical Setswana dialect requires the insertion of the element -**ga**- between the "possessive concord" and the "stem". Compare the following Setswana examples in (73) with those of Southern Ndebele in (72) above in this regard.

   Setswana

(73)   Cl.1: Ngwana *wa* **ga** **Dikêlêdi** /*wa* **Dikêlêdi**   'Dikeledi's child'

        Cl.4: Meraka *ya* **ga** **Pulê**/*ya* **Pulê**   'Pule's cattle posts'

        Cl.5: Leina *la* **ga rrê**/ **la rrê**   'The name of my father'

        Cl.6: Manyena *a* **ga** **Dikêlêdi**   'Earrings of Dikêlêdi'

[Note: Whereas in Southern Ndebele vowel coalescence occurs between the vowel of the possessive concord and the initial vowel of all Class 1a nouns (e.g., **w*a*** + ***i*kosi** > **w*e*kosi** 'of a chief'), vowel coalescence only takes place in Northern Ndebele in the case of two Class 1a nominals, that is, **iyise** 'his father' and **iyihlo** 'your father' (Ziervogel, 1959:75).] Compare the following Northern Ndebele Class 1a examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(74)   Mbita munrwana **w*e*yise** (<**w*a*-*i*yise**)   'I call his father's child

        Bakha ndlu **y*e*yise** (<**y*a*-*i*yise**)   'They build his father's house'

        Uphi mutlhangana **w*e*yihlo** (<**w*a*-*i*yihlo**)?   'Where is your father's boy?'

        Muti **w*e*yihlo** (<**wa-iyhlo**) gewethu sokxe   'Your father's kraal is for us all'

The possessive concord of Southern and Northern Ndebele discussed above can be illustrated as follows in tabular form.

Table 6.6: The table of Southern and Northern Ndebele possessive concords

Class	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele
Cl.1	wa(ka)-	wa-
Cl.2	ba-	ba-
Cl.3	wa(ka)-	wa-
Cl.4	ya-	ya-
Cl.5	la-	la-
Cl.6	wa-	a-/ya-
Cl.7	sa-	sa-

Cl.8	za-	ta-
Cl.9	ya-	ya-
Cl.10	za-	ta-
Cl.14	ba-	ba-
Cl.15	kwa-	kwa-

6.7.5 The possessive stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

There are a few differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the possessive stem is concerned. All word categories that can function as possessive stems in Southern Ndebele can also do so in Northern Ndebele. The most salient differences between these two languages as far as the possessive stem is concerned is the difference in form of some of these stems and the use of the '"intervocalic" **s'** when the possessive concord combines with locative nouns with an initial **e**-. When the possessive stem is a locative noun with an initial **e**- an intervocal **s** is inserted between the possessive concord and this initial **e**- in Northern Ndebele, while this does not happen in Southern Ndebele where the vowel of the possessive concord is dropped. Compare the following examples in this regard.

> **Southern Ndebele**   **Northern Ndebele**

(75)   Abantwana **be**khaya bayasebenza.   Banrwana **ba̱s**ekhaya bayasebenta.
                    'Children of my home are working.'

Amatje **w**entabeni makhulu khulu.   Maye **ya̱s**enrabeni makxulu kxulu.
            'The mountain's stones are too big/Stones of the mountain are too big.'

Izindlu **z**edorobheni zikulu zoke.   Tindlu **ta̱s**endorojeni tikxulu tokhe.
            'Houses of the town are all big/Town houses are all big.'

Ufanzula wathi angabapha iplasi   Fanzula wari agabapha mbulasi
yeDriefontein.   **ya̱s**eDriefontein.

'Funzula said he can give them the farm of Driefontein.'

Babiza iimphala zakaMadlala,   Babita tikxolo taMadlala, *taᶻe*eMuleji.

*ᶻe*eMuleji.

'They called the bands of Madlala, of Muleji.'

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele have been investigated and discussed as a continuation of chapter six. The discussion has fallen on the adjectives, relative, enumerative and possessive. The investigation has revealed that the differences between the two Ndebele languages in the adjectives are on the concordial agreements and the phonological structure of the adjective concords. The relative concord construction also differs in Southern Ndebele compared with Northern Ndebele. Whereas Northern Ndebele, for instance, recognizes two types of relative constructions (i.e., Nguni and Sotho type), Southern Ndebele only recognizes the Nguni type. The enumerative and possessive concords and stems of the Northern and Southern Ndebele have been demonstrated as distinct in this chapter. In the next chapter the morphological aspects that make the two Ndebele languages differ from each other is continued.

CHAPTER 7

MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE *(continued)*

7.1. Introduction

The thrust of the two previous chapters (i.e., Chapters Five and Six) are continued in this chapter. The morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are analysed in terms of two further word categories, namely, copulatives and adverbs, in this chapter.

Different views prevail amongst Nguni grammarians with regard to the way they classify copulatives in isiZulu and the other Nguni languages. Though specialists are in agreement that the copulative is a part of speech that is constructed from non-verbal word categories, they differ in the way they classify copulatives. The most widely used classification of copulatives is the one based on the kind of information these words convey. Poulos and Msimang (1998:354), in isiZulu for instance, mention four main categories into which copulatives can be sub-divided, namely,

(i) identifying copulative
(ii) descriptive copulative
(iii) locational copulative
(iv) associative copulative.

Ziervogel (1959:95) defines an "identifying" or "true copulative" as a copulative which identifies itself with the subject, that is, subject and copulative are equal as, for instance, in the following Northern Ndebele examples.

(1)   Munru lo **gu**bhabha**.**   'This person is my father.'
        Mugegulu lo **mu**fati waMadimeja. 'This old woman is the wife of Madimeja.'

It is important to note that identificatory copulatives can also have an indefinite significance which happens in instances where the copulative predicate has an indefinite subject referred to in English by means of the indefinite pronoun "it". Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(2)   Akusilo ikhondlo lelo **ngu**maphelaphelana**.**
          'That is not a mouse, it is a bat.'

          Yindoda kaHlaleleni etjhiye ikoloyi le la.
          'It is Hlaleleni's husband who left this car here.

"Descriptive copulatives" (as the name indicates) are, according to Poulos and Msimang (1998:359), copulatives that describe the referent or subject in some way as, for instance, in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

(3)   Umratha esiwudlako lo **u**makhaza**.**
          'This porridge that we eat is cold.'

          Amanyathelo esiwathengisele uMandla izolo **ma**tjha**.**
          'The shoes that we sold to Mandla yesterday are new.'

"Associative copulatives" convey the concept of *'to have'* and are formed in all Nguni languages by means of the associative formative **na**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

          Southern Ndebele

(4)   Ngizwile bona unina kaSuhla **unomntwana (< u-na-umntwana)**.
          'I have heard that Suhla's mother has a baby.'

UMnguni **unemali (u-na-imali)** ngikho azithengele iplasi ekulu nje.

'Mnguni has money that is why he bought himself a big farm.'

Poulos and Msimang (op. cit.:385-389) are the only Nguni grammarians who give a name to copulatives formed from locative adverbs by referring to these copulatives as "locational copulatives". Consider, for instance, the following locative copulatives in Northern Ndebele formed from the locative adverb **esibayeni** 'in the cattle kraal'.

Northern Ndebele

(5)   Tokxe tikxomo **tise**sibayeni (< **ti-s-esibayeni**).

'All the cattle are in the kraal.'

Salala kamunandi kxulu lokhwa **sise**Mashashane (<**si-s-eMashashane**).

'We slept very pleasantly when we were at Mashashane.'

Van Eeden (1956:394-446), dealing with isiZulu, also distinguishes between different types of identificatory copulatives but unlike authors such as Poulos and Msimang (1998) does not base his distinction on semantic grounds. He classifies copulatives on the basis of whether they contain an agreement morpheme that refers to the subject noun or pronoun of the copulative predicate or not. On this basis, Van Eeden (1956:395) distinguishes between "personal" and "impersonal" copulatives. In terms of this approach the identificatory copulatives in the following Southern Ndebele examples are considered to be "personal" copulatives because of the agreement morpheme (bolded) that each of them contains.

Southern Ndebele

(6)   UNgwenya **u**mumuntu onesibindi.

'Ngwenya is a brave person.'

Iminyaka kaSbhono **ili**tjhumi neminyaka ebunane.

'Sbhono is eighteen years old.'

 Zinengi izinto engizicabangako.

'There are many things that I'm thinking.'

Copulative predicates with no agreement morpheme are regarded by Van Eeden (op. cit.:395) as "impersonal". The following Southern Ndebele examples fall into this category –

Southern Ndebele

(7)   Ukuze aqhwale ngalendlela **yingozi** yekoloyi.

         'The reason that he became crippled in this way is because of a car accident.'

         Ugogo lo **ngunosokana** kaFuduka.

         'This old woman is Fuduka's mother-in-law.'

Scholars, such as Poulos and Msimang (1998:359-360), dispute the view that copulative predicates with agreement morphemes are "personal" and those without agreement morphemes are "impersonal". They argue that the prefixation and non- prefixation of the agreement morpheme to the copulative predicate carries no semantic difference (i.e., their meaning is the same). Consider the following isiZulu examples they give in this regard.

IsiZulu

(8)   Cl. 1:   Umukhwe **yi**sotsha / **u**yisotsha.   'My father-in-law is a soldier.'

         Cl. 2:   Aboni **nga**magwala / **ba**ngamagwala. 'Sinners are cowards.'

         Cl.5:   Ibhubesi **yi**silwane / **li**yisilwane.   'A lion is a (wild) animal.'

         Cl. 15: Ukufa **wu**buthongo / **ku**wubuthongo.   'Death is sleeping.'(Lit.)

                              (Poulos and Msimang. op. cit.:359-360)

In the following paragraphs each of the four main kinds of copulatives mentioned at the onset are discussed as they are manifested in Southern and Northern Ndebele, respectively. At the end of this chapter, a summary is given of the most salient differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele with regard to these copulatives. The first category of copulatives to be analysed is the identificatory copulatives.

7.2 Differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the formation of identificative copulatives

Two kinds of identificatory copulatives are normally distinguished by Nguni scholars, namely, "copulatives formed from nouns" and "copulatives formed from pronouns" including relative pronouns. Whereas all nouns in Northern Ndebele, except those of Classes 1a and 2a, are made copulative in the same way, this is not so in Southern Ndebele where three different strategies are employed in the formation of copulative nouns, that is, one for nouns with monosyllabic stems and one for nouns with polysyllabic stems.

7.2.1 Identificatory copulatives formed from nouns in Southern Ndebele

7.2.1.1 Positive form

7.2.1.1.1 Copulatives formed from nouns with monosyllabic stems

The formation of identificatory copulatives from nouns with monosyllabic stems in Southern Ndebele is done by doubling the true prefix of the noun concerned and lowering the tone of the initial syllable except in the case of Class 9 nouns where a semi-vowel **y-** is added to prefix and the tone of the prefix is lowered. Consider the following examples below in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(9)   Cl.1:   Ubabakho **mùmú**ntù (<**úmúntù**) othulileko.

             'Your father is a quiet person.'

        Cl.5:   Ulwa ngoba **lìlí**fà (<**ílífà**) lakhe.

             'He is fighting because it is his inheritance.'

        Cl.6:   Liqiniso bona **màmá**zwè **(< ámázwè)** atlhagako anezipi zepolotiki.

             'It's true that it is poor countries that have political wars.'

        Cl.9:   Ukusebenzela abantwabakho **yì**ntò **(<íntò)** ehle.

             'To work for your children is a good thing.'

7.2.1.1.2 Copulatives formed from nouns with polysyllabic stems other than
      Class 1a

All nouns with polysyllabic stems *discard their initial vowel* or *preprefix* when they are made copulatives except in the case of Classes 5, 8, 10, 14 and 15 nouns where the consonant that is similar to the consonant contained in their true prefix is prefixed to the noun and, in the case of Class 9 nouns, where a semi-vowel **y** is added to the prefix. In all these instances, the tone of the prefix is lowered. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

        Southern Ndebele

 (10) Cl.1:   UNaMgidi **mfàzì (< úmfázì)** kaCitha.

          'NaMgidi is Citha's wife.'

Cl. 2a: Abantu enibabone esitopeni sebhesi izolo **bòbámkhúlù** (**ábóbámkhúlù**).

    'The people you saw at the bus stop yesterday are my grandfathers.'

Cl.5:   Bekangazi bona **lìqándà (<íqándà)** elibolileko engimthengisele lona.

    'He did not know that it was a rotten egg that I sold him.'

Cl.9:   **Yìndábà (< índábà**) eqakathekileko abayicocela ngekoloyini.

    'It is an important matter that they discussed in the car.'

Cl.10: Bebangazi bonyana **zììnkómò** (<**íínkómò**) ezetjiweko lezo.

    'They did not know that those were stolen beasts.'

Cl. 15: Amaqanda **kùkúdlà** (<**kúkúdlà)** okunepilo.

    'Eggs are healthy food.'

[Note: In the case of all identificatory copulatives a subject concord may be prefixed to the copulative noun in order to form "personal" identificatory copulatives.]   Consider the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard. (The subject concord is underlined).

Southern Ndebele

(11)   Cl. 1: UNaMgidi <u>u</u>sisebenzi (< **sisebenzi**) sakaCitha.
         'NaMgidi is Citha's servant.'

    Cl. 9: Ikomo le <u>i</u>yikabi (< **yikabi**) ngalokho ngiyayithengisa.

      'This cow is an ox therefore I'm selling it.'

    Cl.15: Lobu <u>bu</u>bubuso (< **bubuso**) befene kungakho abantwana basaba.

'This is a face of a baboon that is why children are afraid.'

7.2.1.1.3 Copulatives formed from Class 1a nouns

Copulatives are formed from Class 1a nouns in Southern Ndebele by means of the copulative formative **ngu-** while the tone of the initial vowel of the prefix is lowered. Consider the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(12)   Cl.1a USomagijima **ngùmkhúlù** (< **úmkhúlù)** kababa hayi wami.
                'Somagijima is my father's grandfather and not mine.'

        UMaliwa **ngùnóbhálà (<únóbhálà)** eposweni yaKwaMhlanga.

        'Maliwa is a clerk at KwaMhlanga post office.'

7.2.1.2 Negative form

Identificatory copulatives formed from nouns in Southern Ndebele are negated in the indicative mood by means of the indicative negative morpheme **a** and the negative copulative formative **si**- that is prefixed to the copulative noun minus its pre-prefix or prefix in the case of Class 1a nouns. In the case of personal identificatory copulatives, the negative morpheme **a** combines with the subject concord referring to the subject involved, while in the case of impersonal identificatory copulatives it combines with the so-called indefinite subject concord **ku-**. Consider the following examples in (13) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(13) Cl. 1: Ubabakhe **aka**simumuntu (< **mumuntu)** osela utjwala.

'His father is not a person who drinks beer.'

Cl. 2: Abesana bakaMasango **akusi_ba_**bantu **(< _ba_bantu**) /**akusi**bantu

(< **abantu**) ongabathemba.

'Masango's boys are not the people you can put your trust in.'

Cl. 5: Ibizo lakhe **ali_si_**sibongo (< **sibongo**) kodwana lisithakazelo.

'His name is not a surname but a praise name.'

Cl. 8: **Akusi_ziin_**thende **(<_ziin_thende**) / **akusi**inthende **(< iinthende**)

engizithenge izolo kodwana manyathelo amatjha.

'It is not the heels that I bought yesterday but new shoes.

In the situative mood negative the indicative negative morpheme **a-** is replaced by its non-indicative counterpart -**nga**- while an alternative negative form with the so-called "invariable concord" **i**- is also employed. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(14)   Cl.1: Unina ulila msinya nanyana ***a*ngasi**mntwana/***i*ngasi**mntwana

(< amntwana).

'His mother cries easily although she is not a child.'

Cl. 4: Sikhupha yoke imihlobo yemithi nanyana ***i*ngasi**yisangu

'We uproot all kinds of trees even if is not dagga.'

Cl. 6: Asiwadli woke navane **a**<u>ngasi</u>maqanda/**i**<u>ngasi</u>mamaqa (**< maqanda**)

aphekweko.

'We do not eat them all if they are not boiled eggs.'

[Note: The alternative negative form with the so-called "invariable concord" **i**- is mostly heard in the speech of elderly speakers of Southern Ndebele.]

7.2.2. Identificatory copulatives formed from nouns in Northern Ndebele

7.2.2.1 Positive forms

7.2.2.1.1 Copulatives formed from nouns in classes other than Classes 1a and 2a

In Northern Ndebele all nouns are made copulative in the same way, that is, by lowering the tone of the prefix without any morphological change except in the case of nouns belonging to Classes 1a and 2a (Ziervogel.1959:96). See the examples in (15) below.

Northern Ndebele

(15)   Cl.1: Bhabha waMapela **mùnrù (<múnrù)** lo akhulile.

'Mapela's father is an old person.'

Cl.2: Bokxe labo **bàfátì (< báfátì)** baBulongo.

'All those are the wives of Bulongo.'

Cl.5: **Lìyè (<líyè***)* elikhubate munrwana wami.

'It is a stone that has injured my child.'

Cl.9: Mapela **nkxòsì (< nkxósì)** yemaNdebele waGegana.

'Mapela is a chief of the Ndebele of Gegana.'

In the situative mood positive in Northern Ndebele, all copulative nouns take the invariable prefix **i**- which, as mentioned earlier in par. 7.2.1.2 above, also occurs in Southern Ndebele, especially amongst old people. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(16)   Ke **i**gumalumakho, mbite.   'If he is your uncle, call him.'

Ke **i**balimi batahuma.   'If they are farmers, they will get rich.'

Ke **i**ndodakati yakho ndiyayati.   'If it is your daughter, I know her.'

Ke **i**mufundisi urabhela Mudimu kwaphela. 'If he is a pastor, he only prays
to God.'

The invariable prefix **i-** that occurs in the positive of the identificatory copulatives of the situative mood as can be seen in the examples in (16) above is no doubt the same as the invariable concord that also occurs with the auxiliary verb stems **-ba** and **-be** in these two Ndebele languages, (cf. Chapter 6. par. 6.5.3.2.2).

7.2.2.1.2 Copulatives formed from nouns in Classes 1a and 2a

Copulative nouns in Class 1a in Northern Ndebele take the prefix **gu-** while copulative nouns in Class 2a in this language take the prefix **m-.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(17)   Cl.1a Mapela **gu**malume waMaraba.   'Mapela is Maraba's uncle.'

Gubani lo afuna sibigiri na?   'Who wants the sugar?'

Cl.2a: Banru labo **m**bobhabha.   'Those people are our fathers.'

Mbobani (banru) laba na?   'Who are these ones (people)?'

The copulative prefix **m**- that is prefixed to Class 2a nouns is in all probability derived from the copulative prefix **ni-** (cf. Ziervogel. op. cit.: 30) of which the vowel has been elided and the nasal assimilated to the bilabial consonant of the noun class prefix of Class 2a, (i.e., **ni-b** > **n-b** > **mb).**

7.2.2.2 Negative form

7.2.2.2.1 Negation of copulatives from noun classes other than Class 1a

In Northern Ndebele identificatory copulatives constructed from noun classes other than Class 1a are negated by means of the indicative negative morpheme **a-** and the negative copulative formative **si-** while the noun retains its non-copulative tone pattern, (cf. also 7.2.2.1 (a) above). Consider the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(18)   Cl. 1: Lo alele la **asi**múnrwánà (< **múnrwánà**) waSikxhobejane.

'The one who is sleeping here is not Sikxhobejane's child.'

Cl. 2: Bafati bamalume **asi**báyénì (<**báyénì)** baMaraba.

'My uncle's wives are not Maraba's visitors.'

Cl. 5: Sara **asi**lívílà (<**lívílà**).

'Sara is not a sluggard.'

Cl. 9: Bari, "Ayi lowo **asi**ńrò **(<ńrò)** siphofu.

'They said: "No that is nothing, he is blind'."

7.2.2.2.2 Negation of copulatives in Class 1a

Nouns in Class 1a are negated in the same way as nouns in all the other noun classes except that the copulative prefix **gu-** that these nouns in 1a exhibit in the positive changes to **ku-** in the negative. Consider the following Northern Ndebele Class 1a examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(19) Mapela **asi*ku***malume (*<****gu****malume*) waMaraba.

'Mapela is not the uncle of Maraba.'

Munru lo **asi*ku***sotala (*< **gu**sotala*) waLukhuleni.

'This person is not Lukhuleni's father-in-law.'

In the situative mood, copulative nouns are made negative by the non-indicative negative morpheme **ga-** plus the negative copulative formative **si**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(20) Cl.1: Sebothoma usumayela nemunru <u>**igasi**</u>mufati (< **mufati**) wakhe.

'Sebothoma speaks to a person who is not his wife.'

Cl. 2: Sihlala nabo nkhaya nalokhwa <u>**igasi**</u>banrwana (< **banrwana**) bethu.

'We stay with them in the house although they are not our children.'

Cl. 4: Bafumene kuri kulusa timbhuti nekukxura tikxomo **igasi**misebenti

(< **misebenti**) abayithandako.

'They found that herding goats and driving cattle were not the jobs

they preferred.'

7.2.3 The formation of identificatory copulatives from pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Three of the four kinds of pronouns found in Southern and Northern Ndebele and, in fact, in all other Nguni languages, can be copulativized. They are the "absolute", "demonstrative" and "possessive" pronouns, respectively, the exception being the quantitative pronouns. All three of these kinds of pronouns are copulativized in the same way, that is, by prefixing a copulative formative to the pronoun. This copulative prefix takes on different forms in Southern and Northern Ndebele, none of which can be phonologically explained. In the following paragraphs an outline is given of the most salient differences in the formation of copulatives of each of these three kinds of pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

7.2.3.1 Copulatives formed from absolute pronouns

7.2.3.1.1 Positive form

Absolute pronouns in Southern Ndebele are copulativized by means of a copulative prefix that has two forms in this language, namely **ngu**- and **ngi-,** respectively. In Northern Ndebele, these copulative prefixes occur in denasalized forms, that is, without the nasal, which is also the regular form of the velar Ur-Bantu nasal compound **[ʃg]** in this language. In both Ndebele languages, the absolute pronoun drops its final syllable – **na** when copulativized. In Southern Ndebele the copulative prefix **ngu-** is prefixed to the abbreviated absolute pronoun of all noun classes except those of the 1st person singular and of the 2nd person plural that take the prefix **ngi-.** In Northern Ndebele the copulative prefix **gi-** is prefixed to the abbreviated absolute pronouns of all noun classes that

contains the vowel **i** or **a** in their class prefix (i.e., Classes 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) including those of the 1st and 2nd person singular, while the prefix **gu**- is prefixed to the abbreviated absolute pronouns of all the remaining noun classes. Compare the following examples below in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(21) 1st p.s: **ngi**mi (<**mina**)	'it is I'		**gu**mi (< **mina**)
e.g: **Ngimi** odlako.	'It is I who eats.'		**Gumi** lo adlako
2nd p.s: **ngu**we (< **wena**)	'it is you'		**gu**we (< **wena**)
e.g: **Nguwe** olalako.	'It is you who steals.'		**Guwe** lo athobalako.
Cl. 1: **ngu**ye (< **yena**)	'it is (s)he'		**gu**ye (< **yena**)
e.g: **Nguye** owaziko.	'It is he who knows.'		**Guye** lo atiko.
Cl. 2: **ngi**bo (< **bona**)	'it is they'		**gi**bo (< **bona**)
e.g: **Ngibo** abaselako.	'It is they who drink.'		**Gibo** laba baselako.

7.2.3.1.2 Negative form

Copulativized demonstrative pronouns in both Southern and Northern Ndebele are negated in the indicative mood by means of the negative morpheme **a** and the copulative formative **si** that is prefixed to the copulativized demonstrative pronoun or abbreviated absolute pronoun**.** The main differences between these languages in this regard are that Southern Ndebele uses the indefinite concord **ku** while Northern Ndebele does not, and that in Northern Ndebele the positive form of the copulative prefixes, that is, **gu** and **gi,** changes to **ku** and **ki,** respectively. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in (22a) and Northern Ndebele in (22b) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(22a) 1st p.s**: Akusi**ngimi **/ akusi**mi (<**ngimi**) obizako.   'It is not me who calls.'

2nd p.s: **Akusi**nguwe / **akusu**we (<**nguwe**) owebako. 'It is not you who steals.'

Cl.1:   **Akusi**nguye **/ akusu**ye **(<nguye)** owaziko.   'It is not he who knows.'

Cl.5:   Namuhla **akusi**ngilo **/ akusi**lo (<**ngilo**) ilanga lokusebenza.'Today it is

not a working day.'

Northern Ndebele

(22b) 1st p.s: **Asiku**mi (<**gumi**) lo wabita mma waMakhuleni.

'It is not me who called Makhuleni's mother.'

2nd p.p: **Asiki**li (<**gili**) laba banetjhudu.

'It is not you (plural) who are lucky.'

Cl. 1: **Asiku**ye **(<guye)** lo aziko.

'It is not he who knows.'

Cl. 5: Lelo **asiki**lo (<**gilo**) likxanda lenkxukxu.

'That is not a fowl's egg.'

The reason for the phonological change of **gu- > gi-** and **ku-** > **ki-** in Northern Ndebele is not known since there is nothing overt in the phonological environment in which these prefixes occur that could have motivated this change.

7.2.3.2 Copulatives formed from the demonstrative pronouns

7.2.3.2.1 Positive form

The same copulative prefixes employed in the formation of copulativized absolute pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele are also employed in the formation of the copulativized demonstrative pronouns in these languages, that is, **ngi-** in Southern Ndebele which occurs before all demonstrative pronouns and **gi-** and **gu-** in Northern Ndebele, which occurs here in the same phonological environment as before the absolute pronouns. Compare the following examples in this regard;

<table>
<tr><td align="center">**Southern Ndebele**</td><td align="center">**Northern Ndebele**</td></tr>
</table>

(23) Cl.1: **Ngilo** okhulumako.   **Gulo** lo asumayelako

'It is this one who speaks.'

Cl.2: Ngizwe bathi abangibizako **ngilabo**.   Mve bari laba bambitako

gilabo.

'I heard (them saying) who are calling me are those ones.'

[I heard them saying that those are the ones who are calling me.]

7.2.3.2.2 Negative form

More or less the same rule applicable in the negation of the copulativized absolute pronouns is employed in the negation of the copulativised demonstrative pronouns in these two Ndebele languages. Copulativized demonstrative pronouns in both Southern and Northern Ndebele are negated in the indicative mood by means of the negative morpheme **a** and the copulative formative **si**. The main differences between these languages in this regard are that Southern Ndebele uses the indefinite concord **ku** while Northern Ndebele does not and that in Northern Ndebele the positive form of the copulative prefixes, i.e., **gu-** and **gi-,** changes to **ku** and **ki,** respectively. Consider the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(24) Cl.1:**Akusi**ngilo /**akusi**lo okhulumako.   **Asi**kulo lo asumayelako

'It is not this one who speaks.'

Cl.2: **Akusi**ngilabo / **akusi**labo abakhulumako.   **Asi**kilabo laba basumayelako.

'It is not those who speak.'

Cl.5: Ilembe lami **akusi**ngilelo / **akusi**lelo.   Llembhe lami **asi**kilelo**.**

'My hoe is not that one.'

7.2.3.3 Copulatives formed from possessive pronouns
7.2.3.3.1 Positive form

In Southern Ndebele, unlike in Northern Ndebele, the construction of copulatives from possessive pronouns comprises the copulative formative **nge**- that is prefixed to the possessive pronoun in all classes, while in Northern Ndebele

(a)   a syllabic nasal [**N**] is prefixed to possessive pronouns that commence with a consonant to which it also assimilates, and

(b)   the vowel **i-**is prefixed to possessive pronouns that commence with the semi-vowel **y-** while the vowel **u** is prefixed to possessives pronouns that begin with the semi-vowel **w.**

Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(25)   Cl. 1: Umntazanyana lo **nge**wami**.**   Munrwatanyana lo **u**wami**.**

'This little girl is mine.'

Cl.2: Abafazaba **nge**bakhe boke.   Bafati laba **m**bakhe bokxe.

'All these women are his.'

Cl. 4: Imizi le **nge**yami.   Miti le **i**yami.

'These homes are mine.'

Cl. 5:Mtjele bona ezembeli **nge**lakhe**.**   Mbute kuri lihloka leli **nl**akhe.

'Tell him that this axe is his.'

Ziervogel (1959:12) regards the origin of the syllabic nasal **n**- (i.e., that occurs before consonants) to be one of the unknown elements that Northern Ndebele exhibits. However, according to Wilkes (2001:319), this nasal **n**- is most probably an abbreviated form of the copulative prefix **ndi**- in Venda**.**

7.2.3.3.2 Negative form

Copulativized possessive pronouns are negated in the same way in Southern and Nothern Ndebele, that is, by prefixing the negative construction **asi**- to the possessive pronoun. In Southern Ndebele the "subject concord" is infixed between the negative vowel **a-** and the negative copulative formative -**si-** while the copulative prefix **nge-** in the positive may optionally be retained in the negative. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

| **Southern Ndebele** | **Northern Ndebele** |

(26) Cl.1: Umntwana lo **a***ka***singe**wami/**a***ka***si**wami.   Munrwana lo **asi**wami.

'This child is not mine.'

Cl.5: Ilembeli **a***li***singe**lakhe/**a***li***si**lakhe**.**   Llembhe leli **asi**lakhe.

'This hoe is not his.'

Cl.6: Amaqanda la **awasinge**wami/**awasi**wami.   Makxanda la **asi**wami.

'These eggs are not mine.'

Cl.7: Isigubheso **asisinge**sethu/**asisi**sethu.   Sikxugulu lesi **asi**sethu.

'That drum is not ours.'

In the second form, the invariable negative copulative construction **akusi-** is prefixed to the possessive copulative pronoun (as it is the case in the negation of the demonstrative copulative pronouns) in Southern Ndebele while the positive copulative prefix **nge**- may be dropped. Compare the following Southern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(27)   Cl. 1: Umntwana lo **akusinge**wami/**akusi**wami.   'This child is not mine.'
      Cl. 4: Imikhwa le **akusinge**yenu/**akusi**yenu.   'These knives are not yours.'
      Cl. 6: **Akusinge**wakho/**akusi**wakho amatje layo. 'Those yonder stones are not
                                               yours.'
      Cl. 9: Le (indaba) **akusinge**yami/**akusi**yami.   'This (matter) is not mine.'

7.3 The differences in the formation of descriptive copulatives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Basically, the distinction between the names descriptive and identificatory copulatives is a semantic one (Poulos & Msimang, 1998:373). As mentioned earlier descriptive copulatives describe the referent or subject while identificatory copulatives identify the referent or subject. In the Nguni languages, descriptive copulatives are formed from qualificatives or words that describe the subject such as adjectives, relatives and adverbs. In Southern Ndebele and most of the other Nguni languages, adjectives are made descriptive copulatives by eliding the initial vowel of the adjective (except in the case of Class 9) as, for instance, in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

(28)   abantu **abahle**   >   abantu **bahle**
        'beautiful people'   >   'People are beautiful.'

idondolo **elide**.	>	idondolo **lide**	
'a long walking stick'	>	'A walking stick is long.'	

isikhathi **esincani**.	>	isikhathi **sincani**	
'a short time'	>	'Time is short.'	

In the case of Class 9 the relative concord **e** is replaced by the subject concord **i** of Class 9 or **yi** as in the following Southern Ndebele examples.

(29)   ikomo **e**kulu. 'a big cow.' > ikomo (**y)i**kulu. 'the cow is big.'

As will be seen in the following discussion of the descriptive copulatives formed from adjectives in Southern and Northern Ndebele, there are important differences between these two languages in this regard. A crucial difference that needs to be pointed out at this stage is the fact that these copulatives have both a "descriptive" and "identificatory" significance in Northern Ndebele while in all the other Nguni languages they exclusively have a descriptive significance. Compare, for instance, the following examples in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
	(only descriptive)	**(descriptive and identificatory)**
(30)	Abesanaba **bakhulu**	Batlhangana laba **mbabakxulu.**
	'These boys are big.'	'These boys are big (the big ones).'
	Iinkomo zakhe **zihle.**	Tikxomo takhe **ntetinhle**.
	'His cattle are beautiful.'	'His cattle are beautiful (the beautiful ones).'

It is obviously on account of their identificatory significance that Ziervogel does not classify these copulatives in Northern Ndebele under descriptives as is done in all the

other Nguni languages but under identificatory copulatives (Ziervogel, 1959: 99). By doing so he implies that the identificatory significance of copulative adjectives in Northern Ndebele is more basic than their descriptive significance. However, if one considers that copulative adjectives have solely a descriptive significance in all the other Nguni languages then Ziervogel's view must be regarded as highly questionable. In this thesis, the descriptive significance of the copulative adjective in Northern Ndebele is also taken as the basic significance of these words and they are therefore treated here as descriptive copulatives so as to bring them more in line with their counterparts in other Nguni languages.

7.3.1 The formation of descriptive copulatives from adjectives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

7.3.1.1 Southern Ndebele

7.3.1.1.1 Positive form

With the exception of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural the adjectives in all the noun classes in Southern Ndebele are copulativized by *deleting the initial vowel of the adjective concord,* except in the case of the adjectives of Class 9 where (**y**)**i-** replaces the initial vowel of this concord. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(31a)   Cl.1: Soke siyazi bona uSibongile **muhle (<*o*muhle**).
                'We all know that Sibongile is beautiful.'

Cl.2: Nonyaka abafundi besiNdebele **bancani** (<*a*bancani**) kunanyakenye.
                'This year isiNdebele students are less than last year.'

Cl.14: Ukukhuphuka kwentengo yepetroli **kumbi (< *oku*mbi**)
                'The increase in the petrol prize is bad.'

In the case of the 1st and 2nd person adjectives the subject concord of these persons is prefixed to the copulativized adjective which has the same form as those of Classes 1 and 2, respectively. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(31b) 1st p.s: Angikathandi izolo uSuhla nakathi **ngi**mumbi **(<mumbhi).**
            'I did not like it yesterday when Suhla said I'm ugly.'

        p.p: Kufanele nisitjheje ngombana **si**badala (< **badala**).
            'You must take care of us because we are old.'

    2nd p.s: Liqiniso bona **u**muhle (< **muhle**) namhlanje.
            'It is true that you are beautiful today.'

        p.p: Awa, **ni**banengi (< **banengi**) angekhe niphelele ekoloyini le.
            'No, you are (too) many you cannot all get into this car.'

In the "situative mood" it is obligatory for the copulative adjective to take the subject concord (in its situative form) of the subject noun as, for instance, in the following examples.

Southern Ndebele

(32)   Cl. 1a: UNdlelehle gade **a**muhle (<**muhle**) nakatjhadako nyakenye.
            'Ndlelehle was beautiful when she got married last year.'

    Cl. 2:   Abafuni ukubanikela umsebenzi ngoba **ba**badala (< **badala**)
            'They don't want to give them the work because they are old.'

    Cl. 4:   Lemithi yamaperegisi ithela nanyana **i**sesemincani **(< mincani**).
            'These peach trees bear fruits although they are still young.'

7.3.1.1.2 Negative form

In the indicative mood the negation of copulativized adjectives of all noun classes, including those of the 1st and 2nd persons, are negated by means of the indicative negative morpheme **a-** and the negative copulative formative –**si-** (cf. par. 7.4.5). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(33)   1st p.s: Angikathandi izolo uSuhla nakathi **a**ngi**si**muhle **(< ngimuhle).**
       'I did not like it yesterday when Suhla said I'm not beautiful.'

    2nd p.p: Nizobehlula njani namhlanje ngombana **a**ni**si**banengi (< **nibanengi**)?
       'How are you going to defeat them today as you are not many?'

    Cl.1: Liqiniso bona umfowethu **a**ka**si**mdala **(<mdala**) kunoBongani.
     'It is true that my brother is not older than Bongani.'

    Cl.9: Indlu kaNtuli eMamelodi **a**yi**si**yikulu **(<yikulu)** angayithengisa lula.
     'The house of Mr Ntuli at Mamelodi is not big, he can sell it easily.'

In the situative mood the negation of copulative adjectives is done by means of the negative morpheme -**nga-** that is followed by the negative copulative formative –**si-.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

(34)   Cl. 1a: UNdlelehle gade a**ngasi**mncani (<*amncani*) nakatjhadako.
        'Ndlelehle was not young when she got married.'

     Cl. 2: Abantu baKwaMhlanga abafuni ukusebenza nanyana ba**ngasi**badala
        (< *ba*badala)
        'The people of KwaMhlanga do not want to work even if they are not

old.'

Cl. 4:   Nanyana sithole imizabo i**ngasi**mihle (**<*i*mihle**) ngaphakathi

kodwana ngaphandle mihle.

'Even though we found their homes not beautiful inside but outside they

are beautiful.'

7.3.1.2 Northern Ndebele

7.3.1.2.1 Positive form

In Northern Ndebele the full qualificative form of the adjectives is retained in the formation of copulativized adjectives. According to Ziervogel (1959: 99) the formation of copulatives from adjectives in the indicative mood in this language entails the prefixing of:

- the "copulative prefix" **u** plus the "glide" **w**- to adjectives beginning with the vowel **o**- and a "copulative prefix" **i** plus the "glide" **y**- to those adjectives that begin with the vowel **a**-or **e-**, and
- the variant syllabic nasal [**N**] before adjectives that commence on a consonant. This syllabic nasal which acts as a copulative prefix in this instance assimilates to the initial consonant of the adjective (i.e., **n** > /**m**/ before bilabial **b** [Ǝ], >[ʄ] before velar consonants and > /**n**/ before alveolar consonants. The adjectives of Class 5 are an exception as they take a copulative prefix **i,** instead of the syllabic nasal.

Ziervogel (1959:104) claims that the copulative vowel prefixes **u** and **i** (in **uw-** and **iy-** respectively) are assimilated forms of B.**γi** while the syllabic nasal /**n**/ (that orthographically becomes **m** before **b** and **n** before other consonants) probably stems from Ur-Bantu **ni-.** Meinhof (1906:13) is uncertain whether this **ni** is linked to the Ur-Bantu Class 9 prefix **ini-** or to the Ur-Bantu 1st person singular concord **ni.** The semi-vowels **w** and **y** (in **uw-** and **iy-,** respectively) are not true semi-vowels but are scarcely audible glides that occur between two vowels (Ziervogel. op. cit.: 99).

As was stated in 7.3.1 above, the copulativized adjectives in Northern Ndebele either have an identificatory or a descriptive significance. The type of significance they realize depends on the context in which they occur. Although no convincing evidence exists, a superficial examination of Northern Ndebele texts found in Ziervogel (1959) suggest that the descriptive significance of these copulatives is more frequent than their identificatory significance. Compare the following copulativized adjectives in Northern Ndebele. (Their identificatory formd are given in brackets.)

Northern Ndebele

(35)   Cl.1**:**   Munrwana wami **u**womukxulu **(< omukxulu)**
            'My child is old (the old one).'

Cl.2:   Bafati benkxosi Nungu **m**babande **(< babande)** bokxe.
            'Chief Nungu's wives are all tall (the tall ones).'

Cl.5**:**   Liye leli **i**lelinhle **(lelinhle).**
            'This stone is beautiful (a beautiful one).'

Cl.6: Matinyo wemunru lo **i**yamakxulu (< **amakxulu**).
            'The teeth of this person are big (the big ones).'

Cl.8: Tikxabula taNdlovu **n**tetindala **(< tetindala)**
            'Ndlovu's shoes are old (the old ones).'

Northern Ndebele respondents consulted during this investigation dispute Ziervogel's claim (Ziervogel, op. cit.:30) that the copulatives of the 1st and 2nd person plural adjectives are derived from Class 2 copulative adjectives through the addition of the subject concord of the person concerned, as can be seen in the following examples.

(36)   1st p.p: Si**m**babakxulu (< **mbabakxulu**)   'We are big.'

2nd p.p: Li**m**babande (< **mbabande**).   'You are tall.'

In the speech of these respondents, the copulative prefix **m** as well as the initial syllabic **ba** of the adjective prefix of Class 2 adjectives are substituted by a formative **ye** whose origin is unknown as for instance in the following examples in (37a).

(37a) 1st p.p: Si**ye**bande (cf. **simbabande)** kugalokho sidlaluka nkxwili yetandla.

'We are tall that is why we play netball.'

p.p: Likxiniso kuri thina si**ye**banyenti **(<simbabanyenti)**.

'It's true that there are many of us.'

2nd p.p: Andiri lina lokxe li**ye**bambhi (cf. **limbabambhi),** abanye bagawune.

'I don't say that you are all bad (the bad ones), some are better.'

Amfuni lifuke gekuri li**ye**banghane (<cf. **limbabanghane**).

'I don't want you to smoke because you are young.'

A further copulative form of the 1st and 2nd person plural adjective found in Northern Ndebele is one in which the formative **ye** is substituted by a **be**- of which the origin is also unknown. Compare the following examples in (37b) in this regard.

(37b)   1st p.p: Lifanele lisithiyeleje gekuri si**be**bandala (cf. **simbabandala**)

'You are supposed to listen to us because we are old.'

2nd p.p: Amfuni libulalane gekuri li**be**bantima lokxe. (cf. **limbabantima**)

'I don't want you to kill each other because you are all black.'

In the "situative mood: the copulative prefix of these adjectives as found in the indicative mood is replaced by an invariable copulative prefix **i**-. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(38) Cl.1: Mutlhangana waMulomo ubile nkxosi **i**womunghane (< **u**womunghane)
'Mulomo's child became a chief being young.'

Cl.2: Banru bakaLanga bafudukela Mokopane kufikela **i**mbabanyenti
(< **m**babanyenti).
'The people of Langa moved to Mokopane until they were many.'

7.3.1.2.2 Negative form

Northern Ndebele negates copulatives formed from adjectives by *discarding the copulative prefix* (plus the following glide where applicable) and replacing it with the *negative copulative construction* **asi**- that consists of the indicative negative morpheme **a**- plus the formative –**si-** except in the case of the 1st and 2nd person where it is deleted. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(39)　　Cl.1**:**　Munrwana wami **asi**womukxulu **(< *u*womukxulu)**
'My child is not old.'

Cl.5**:**　Liye leli **asi**leli(n)hle **(<*i*leli(n)hle)**
'This stone is not beautiful.'

Cl.9:　Ndawo yaMalaji **asi**yembhi (< *i*yembhi) nayaMantjiwo.
'The place of Malaji is not as bad as that of Mantjiwo.'

In the case of the 1st and 2nd person the descriptive copulative construction is negated by prefixing the negative morpheme **a**- to the positive form. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(40)   1st p.s: Abandihleki galokhwa **a**ndiwomunghane (<**ndiwomunghane**).
            'They don't laugh at me because I'm not young.'

        p.p: **A**sibabande / **A**siyebande **(<sibabande/ siyebande)**
            kugalokho sigadlaluki nkxwili yetandla.
            'We are not tall that is why we don't play netball.'

    2nd p.p: Bavile kuri lina lohle **a**libabambhi/**a**liyebambhi(**<libabambhi /**
            liyebambhi) lokxe.
            'They have heard that you are not all bad.'

 In the situative mood the copulative adjectives are negated by prefixing the construction **igasi** (that consists of the invariable copulative concord **i** plus the denasalized negative morpheme -**ga-** plus the negative copulative formative –**si-**) to the copulativized adjective**.** Consider the following examples in this regard.

(41)   Cl.1:   Mutlhangana waNungu utekile **igasi**womukxulu **(< _u_womukxulu)**
                'Nungu's boy married being not big.'

        Cl.4: Bathole misebenti yekuyakha tindlu **igasi**yeminyenti(< **iyeminyenti**)
                'They found the jobs of building houses being not many.'

7.3.2 Formation of descriptive copulatives from relatives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Unlike adjectives, relatives are words with two kinds of stems, namely (a) "derived stems", that is, stems derived from various other word categories and (b) "primitive relative stems", that is, stems that are not derived from any other word categories. With

the exception of Northern Ndebele, all the Nguni languages include a fair number of primitive relative stems (cf. Chapter 6. par. 6.5.71).

In the following section the formation of copulatives from only two kinds of relatives are analysed, namely relatives with primitive relative stems and relatives with nominal relative stems, or stems derived from nouns. The reason why these two kinds of relative stems have been singled out for the purpose of this discussion is because they are the only relative stems that can be regarded as "true" relative stems as they are the only relative stems that do not also function as stems in other word categories.

7.3.2.1 Southern Ndebele
7.3.2.1.1 Positive form

The formation of the descriptive copulatives from relatives with primitive and nominal relative stems in Southern Ndebele happens

> (a) in the case of the nasal classes by replacing the relative concord with the subject concord.
> (b) in the case of the non-nasal classes, by deleting the initial vowel of the relative concord.

Consider the following examples in (42a) and (42b) in this regard.

Nasal Classes

(42a)   Cl.1: Akusilo iqiniso bona umFundisi Makhubela **u**tjhili (< *o***tjhili**) la ePitori.
        'It is not true that Reverend Makhube is a stranger here in Pretoria.'

Cl.6: Akutjho bona abantwabakhe **ba**ngcono (< *a***bangcono**) kunathi.
        'It does not mean his children are better than we are.'

Cl.9: Itiye le **i**duma **(<** *e***duma**) angekhe ngiyisele.
        'This tea is tasteless, I cannot drink it.'

Non-nasal classes

(42b)   Cl.2: Boke abafazi bakhe **ba**nzima(< *a***banzima)** kodwana bahle.

'All his wives are dark (in complexion) but beautiful.'

Cl. 5: Irhembhe alimbethe namhlanje **li**hlaza (*e***lihlaza**) hayi elibovu.

'The shirt he wears today is green and not the red one.'

Cl. 14: Utjwala beRebel buhlala **bu**makhaza (< *o***bumakhaza**)

'The liquor of Rebel is always cold.'

In the situative mood the copulative relative is constructed in the same way as in the case of the indicative mood. (See the rules of the indicative mood in (par. 8.2.1) Consider the following examples in (43a) and (43b) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

Nasal classes

(43a)   Cl 1: Umntazana kaNtuli gade **a**mhlophe **(<*o*mhlophe)** nakendako.

'Ntuli's daughter was light (in complexion) when she got married.'

Cl. 4: UMasotja wayithwala nanyana **i**budisi (< *e***budisi**) imithwalo kayise.

'Masotja carried his father's problems even if they were heavy.'

Non-nasal classes

(43b)   Cl. 2: Ngamanye amalanga basebenza nanyana **ba**njalo (*<a***banjalo**)

'On some days they work even if they are like that.'

Cl. 7: Isigodwesi ngasithwala ngoba **si**lula (< *e***silula**).

'I carry this wood because it is light.'

7.3.2.1.2 Negative form

The same rule employed in the negation of copulatives formed from adjectives is applicable in the negation of copulatives constructed from relatives in Southern Ndebele. Consider the following examples in this regard.

(44)   Cl.1: Umfazakhe **a**ka**si**mhlophe. (< *u***mhlophe**)

　　　　'His wife is not light (in complexion).'

　　　Cl.2: Abantu abasebenza embusweni **a**ba**si**ngcono (< *ba***ngcono**)

　　　　kunalabo abasebenza emafemini.
　　　　'People who work for the government are not better than those who
　　　　work in factories.'

　　　Cl.9: Indaba kamfowenu **a**yi**si**budisi (<*i***budisi**) sizoyirarulula.
　　　　'Your brother's issue is not difficult; we are going to solve it.'

In the situative mood the negation of copulative relatives is by means of the construction –**ngasi-** referred to earlier. Consider the following examples in this regard.

(45)   Cl.1: Umntazana kaNtuli wenda a**ngasi**mhlophe (< **amhlophe**)

　　　　'Ntuli's daughter got married although she was not light (in
　　　　complexion).'

　　　Cl.1a: Ugogo samthola a**ngasi**ngcono (< **angcono**) ngomkhuhlani
　　　　'We found our grandmother not better (from the) fever.'

　　　Cl.5: Mbala bathole irhembe lakhe li**ngasi**bomvu (<**libomvu**) ngeengazi.
　　　　'Indeed, they found his shirt not red with blood.'

7.3.2.2 Northern Ndebele

7.3.2.2.1 Positive form

Northern Ndebele copulatives formed from relative stems have both a descriptive and identificatory form. The construction of descriptive copulative relatives in this language is by prefixing the subject concord to the relative stem. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(46)   Cl. 2: Malanga la batlhangana baMolomo **ba**gawune (< **gawune**).
        'These days Molomo's boys are better.'

        Cl. 3: Nemunhla mulente wankhulu **u**buhlungu **(< obuhlungu)**.
        'Today my grandfather's leg is painful.'

        Cl. 4: Misebenzi yekuyakha tindlu **i**budisi (< **budisi**).
        'The works of building houses are difficult.'

The same rule used in the indicative mood is applicable in the situative mood (i.e., by prefixing the subject concord of the situative mood to the relative stem). Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

(47)   Cl. 1: Mutlhangana waGegana **a**mafulofulo (< **mafulofulo**)
            uhlayela bayeni mbhuti.
            'Gegana's boy is energetic; he slaughters a goat for the visitors.'

        Cl. 2: Balimi bamalanga la **ba**jalo (< **jalo**) ke ubabuta gekuthengisa tikxomo.
            'The farmers of today are like that when you tell them about
             selling beasts.'

        Cl. 6: Mma uthanda kudla likhabe ke **li**makhata (< **makhata**).
            'My mother likes to eat watermelon if it is cold.'

7.3.2.2.2 Negative form

The negation of copulatives formed from relatives with a descriptive significance is by prefixing **a-** to the positive relative copulative in Northern Ndebele (Ziervogel. op. cit.: 104). Compare the following examples in this regard.

(48)   Cl. 1: Mufati waNungu **aantima** (< **untima)** kunewami mufati.
             'Nungu's wife is not as dark as my wife.'

        Cl.2:   Banrwana bakhe **abajalo (< bajalo)** ke baseTswhane.
             'His children are not like that when they are in Pretoria.'

        Cl.8: Tikxabula taMalajana **atibovu (< tibovu)** tijengetami.
             'Malajana's shoes are not red, they are like mine.'

In the situative mood the negation of the relative copulatives with a descriptive significance is by means of the construction -**gasi**- (Ziervogel. 1959:105). Compare the following examples in this regard.

(49)   Cl. 1: Itolo sikhambe munrwana lo a**gasi**nje (< **anje**) esibhedlela.
             'Yesterday we left this child not like this in hospital.'

        Cl. 4: Ufumene mikxhwa yaMary i**gasi**gawune (< **igawune**) kuri agamuteka.
             'He found Mary's manners not good so that he can marry her.'

        Cl. 5: Nemunhla iyise uthobele je galokhwa litinyo labe li**gasi**buhlungu
            (< **libuhlungu**).
             'Today his father slept bacause his tooth was not painful.'

        Cl.6:   Mazambana la siwadle nalokhwa a**gasi**munandi (< **amunandi**).
             'We ate these potatoes even though they were not delicious.'

7.4 Locational copulatives

Locational copulatives are copulatives that are formed from adverbs of "place", "time" and "manner". Poulos and Msimang (1998:385) refer to these copulatives as "locational copulatives", which express the idea of "place" or "locatio"' that the referent is in.

There is basically no difference beween Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the morphology of the copulatives formed from locative adverbs is concerned. In both these Ndebele languages, copulatives from adverbs are formed by simply prefixing the "subject concord" to the "locative adverb" as, for instance, in the following examples.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(50) Namhlanje umma **u**kwamalume**.**   Nemuhla mma **u**kamalume**.**

'Today my mother is at my uncle's place.'

Imalakhe **i**kuyise**.**   Ntjhelede yakhe **i**kuyise**.**

'His money is with his father.'

Iinkomo zami **zi**phasi kwentaba.   Tikxomo tami **ti**phasi kwenraba.

'My cattle are at the bottom of a mountain.'

Utjwala bakhe **bu**khona ekhaya.   Bayalwa bakhe **bu**khona ekhaya/ nkhaya

'His beer is there at home.'

In instances where the locative adverb is a locative noun with an initial locative prefix **e-** a so-called "intervocalic" or "pre-locative" –**s** is inserted between the subject concord and the vowel –**e** in both languages**.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

 (51)   Umntwanakhe u**s**ejele.   Munrwana wakhe u**s**entorongoni.

'His child is in jail.'

Ababelethi bakhe ba**se**Pitori.　　　Batali bakhe ba**se**Tshwane/ba**se**Pretoria.

'His parents are in Pretoria.'

Iinkomo zakababa zi**se**sibayeni.　　　Tikxomo tabhabha ti**se**sibayeni.

'My father's cattle are in the kraal.'

7.5 Associative copulatives

Associative copulatives are formed by means of the connective formative **na-** expressing the idea of "ownership", "possessing" or "association with" (Poulos & Msimang, 1998: 381).

As is the case of locational copulatives there is very little difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as associative copulatives are concerned. Both languages make use of the associative formative **na-** which combines with the following noun. The only difference between these two languages in this regard is a phonological one. Whereas in Southern Ndebele the well known vowel coalescence rule of: **a-u > o, a-i > e** and **a-a > a** applies when the associative **na-** combines with the following noun, the so-called "substitution of **e** rule" applies in Northern Ndebele in this regard. (See also Chapter 4, par. 4.5 for the discussion of these rules.) Compare for instance the following examples in this regard.

(52) **Southern Ndebele**:　Ikosi uNungu **u̲n̲a̲madodana** amabili.

　　Northern Ndebele:　Nkxosi Nungu **u̲n̲e̲madodana** mambhili.

　　　　　　　　'Chief Nungu *has* two sons.'

　　Southern Ndebele:　Namhlanje **si̲n̲ekosi** yamaNdebele emhlanganweni.

　　Northern Ndebele:　Nemuhla **si̲n̲enkxosi** yemaNdebele enkxundleni.

　　　　　　　　'Today we are (*together*) *with* the Ndebele chief at a

　　　　　　　　　meeting.'

Southern Ndebele: Umkakhe **un<u>o</u>mntwana** womsana.

Northern Ndebele: Mukakhe **un<u>e</u>munrwana** wemulisa.

'His wife has a baby boy.'

7.6 The adverbs

Most Nguni scholars divide the category "adverb" into three subcategories according to the meaning they convey. On this basis the three subcategories that are normally distinguished are "adverbs of place" or so-called "locative adverbs", "adverbs of time" and finally "adverbs of manner". When one compares each of these three categories as they occur in Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele, one finds that apart from differences in vocabulary they mainly differ in respect of the phonological features of their locative adverbs. In the following discussion, attention is therefore mainly focused on the differences between Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele concerning the formation of locative adverbs in these languages. In the case of the phonological differences only those phonological differences that (apparently) cannot be ascribed to the phonological environment in which they occur, or that have not been dealt with in Chapter Three where the phonological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele have been outlined, will be considered here.

7.6.1 Differences in the formation of locative adverbs in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

Locative adverbs are mainly formed from nouns and pronouns by means of derivational morphemes. In Southern Ndebele, the two main kinds of derivational morphemes used for this purpose are:

(a) a morpheme which Wilkes (1993:172) refers to as an interrupted locative morpheme that consists of a locative prefix and a locative suffix that are exclusively used to locativize nouns, and

(b) a number of locative prefixes that are used to locativize certain nouns as well as all pronouns, including qualificative pronouns.

Although Southern and Northern Ndebele use the same derivational morphemes to form locatives, in most instances, there are important phonological as well as a small number of morphological differences between them. In the following paragraphs these differences are highlighted.

7.6.1.1 Locativization of nouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele
7.6.1.1.1 By means of the so-called interrupted locative morpheme <u>e…ini</u>.

(i) Southern Ndebele
The most important strategy whereby nouns are locativized in Southern Ndebele is by means of a so-called interrupted morpheme **e…ini** of which the **e-** is prefixed to the noun in the place of the noun pre-prefix. The …**ini** is suffixed to the noun where it coalesces with the noun and also causes certain phonological changes commonly referred to as palatilisation (cf. Chapter 4, par. 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 for an outline of these rules). Compare the following examples in this regard.

    Southern Ndebele

(53)   umsan**a** + **ini** > **e**msan**eni**   'to a boy'
        isigubh**u** + **ini** > **e**siguj**ini**   'at/to a drum'
        ilemb**e** + **ini**   > **e**lemb**eni**   'to a hoe'

        amanz**i** + **ini** > **e**manz**ini**   'to the water'
        ikom**o** + **ini**   > **e**kom**eni**   'at/to a beast'

For some as yet unknown reason, a relatively small number of nouns when locativized do not employ the full interrupted locativisation form **e…ini** but only the initial **e-**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

    Southern Ndebele

(54) **u**mnyango > **e**mnyango   'at the door'

      ikhaya   > **e**khaya   'at home'

      ipumalanga > **e**pumalanga   'in the east'

      ubusika   **> e**busika   'during winter'

(ii) Northern Ndebele

The interrupted locative morpheme referred to above takes on different forms in Northern Ndebele depending on the dialect in which it occurs. In the Lidwaba dialect, this morpheme occurs in all nouns as **e…ni**, that is, without the initial vowel of the suffix …**ini**, except in the case of nouns, the ending vowel of which is an –**a.** In this case, this suffix remains   …**ini** and its initial **i-** coalesces with the ending vowel –**a** of the noun causing the latter to change to **e**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

      Northern Ndebele

(55) mutlhangan**a** + **ini**   > **e**mutlhangan**eni**   'to a boy'

      Banrwan**a** + **ini**   > banrwan**eni**   'to the children'

      But:

      sigubh**u** + **ni**   > **e**sigubhu**ni**   'at/to a drum'

      llembh**e** + **ni**   > **e**llembhe**ni**   'to a hoe'

      mbhut**i** + **ni**   > **e**mbhuti**ni**   'to/at a goat'

      tikxom**o** + **ni**   > **e**tikxomo**ni**   'to/at the beasts'

In the Mugombhane dialect of Northern Ndebele, however, the complete form of this interrupted morpheme occurs and consequently causes palatalisation changes which are, by and large, the same as those found in the other Nguni languages and in Southern Ndebele in particular. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(56) **Southern Ndebele: m > ny:** e.g. umlo**m**o > emlo**ny**eni

Mugombhane: **m > ny:**   e.g: mulo**m**o > emulo**ny**eni.   'to a mouth'

Southern Ndebele: mb > nj: e.g: itha**mb**o   > etha**nj**eni
Mugombhane: **mbh > nj:**   e.g: litha**mbh**o > elitha**nj**eni   'to a bone'

Southern Ndebele: b > tj: e.g: ingu**b**o   > engu**tj**eni.
Mugombhane: **b > y:**   e.g: ngu**b**o   > engu**y**eni   'in a blanket'

As is the case in Southern Ndebele, a relatively small number of nouns in Northern Ndebele are locativized by means of the locative prefix **e**… only. Consider the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(57)   munyago   >   **e**munyago   'at the door'
     likhaya   >   **e**khaya   'at home'
     buhlabalanga >   **e**buhlabalanga   'in the east'
     marixa   **>**   **e**marixa   'during winter'

7.6.1.1.2 By means of the locative prefix <u>ku-</u>

A second strategy whereby nouns are locativized in the Nguni languages is by means of the locative formative **ku**- which is prefixed to nouns. There are, however, important differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as this locativization strategy is concerned. Whereas in most Nguni languages this rule applies to all nouns in Classes 1, 1a, 2 and 2a, it only applies (with a few exceptions) to nouns in the sub-classes 1a and 2a in Southern and Northern Ndebele. Note that in Southern Ndebele **ki-** is used before nouns in Class 2a. Compare the following examples in this regard.

     Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(58)   Cl.1a: ugogo   > **ku**gogo   'to grandmother' gugu   > **ku**gugu

umalume   >   **ku**malume   'at/to Mandla'   malume   >   **ku**malume

Cl.2a: abobaba   >   **ki**bobaba   'to our fathers'   bobhabha > **ku**bobhabha

aboMandla > **ki**boMandla 'to the Mandlas'   boMandla > **ku**boMandla

In contradiction to the case in the other Nguni languages, Southern and Northern Ndebele apply both the interrupted locative morpheme **e…ini** and the locative prefix **ku-** in the locativization of their Classes 1 and 2 nouns. Compare the following examples in (59a) and (59b) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

e…ini   **'to/from…'**

(59a) Cl.1: umfazi   > **e**mfaz**ini**.   'to/from a woman'   mufati   > **e**mufat**ini**

umuntu   > **e**muntw**ini**   'to/from a person'   munru > **e**munrw**ini**

Cl 2: abantu   > **e**bantw**ini**   'to/from the people' banru > **e**banrw**ini**

 ku-   **'to/from….'**

(59b) Cl.1: umbazi   > **ku**mbazi 'to/from a carpenter'   mmati   > **ku**mmati

umngani > **ku**mngani 'to/from a friend'   mungani > **ku**mungani

Cl.2: abazenda > **ku**bazenda 'to/from a messenger'   badzenda> **ku**badzenda

7.6.1.2 Locativization of pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele
As in all the other Nguni languages, pronouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele are locativized by means of the locative formative **ku-** or **ki-.**

■ Before "absolute pronouns" both **ku**-and **ki-** are used in these languages. In Southern Ndebele, **ki**- is used before all abbreviated absolute pronouns except in the case of the absolute pronouns of the 2nd person singular and those of Classes 1 and 1a which take **ku-**. Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, prefixes **ki**- to all abbreviated   absolute pronouns except for the absolute pronouns of the 2nd person singular and   those of Classes 1, 3,

14 and 15 which prefix **ku**- (Ziervogel, op. cit.:114).   Compare the following examples in this regard.

		Southern Ndebele		Northern Ndebele
(60)	2nd p.s**:**	**ku**we	'to you'	**ku**we
	Cl.1**:**	**ku**ye	'to him'	**ku**ye
	Cl.4:	**ki**wo	'to it'	**ki**wo
	Cl.5:	**ki**lo	'to it'	**ki**lo
	Cl.7:	**ki**so	'to it'	**ku**kho
	Cl.15:	**ki**kho	'to it'	**ku**kho

■ Before all "demonstrative pronouns", **ki-** is used in Southern Ndebele and **ku**-in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

		Southern Ndebele		Northern Ndebele
(61)	Cl.1 :	**ki**loyo	'to that'	**ku**loo/**ku**lowo
	Cl.2:	**ki**laba(ya)	'to those yonder'	**ku**laba
	Cl.3:	**ki**lo	'to this'	**ku**lo

■ Before "possessive pronouns", **ku-** is used in both Ndebele languages. Since these words all begin on a vowel in Southern Ndebele **ku-** takes the variant form **k(w)**-. Compare the following examples in (62a) in this regard.

(62a) Cl.1: **Southern Ndebele:** Ngihlala **ko**wami (< **k(u)-o**wami) umntwana.

Northern Ndebele: Nhlala **ku**wami (**ku**-wami) munrwana

'I stay at my child ['s house].'

Cl.2: **Southern Ndebele:** Ufuna ukuya **kwa**bakhe/**ka**bakhe(<**k(u)-a**bakhe)

ababelethi.

Northern Ndebele: Ufuna kuya **ku**bakhe (< **ku**-bakhe) batali.

'He wants to go to his own parents.'

Cl. 9: **Southern Ndebele:** Bahlala **kwe**yami/**ke**yami (< **k(u)**-**e**yami) indlu.

Northern Ndebele: Bahlala **ku**yami nndlu. (< **ku**-yami)

'They stay at my house.'

However, according to Northern Ndebele respondents, the use of the locativized possessive pronoun pre-nominally is less common than their use post-nominally. This results in their antecedent noun being locativized and not the pronoun itself. Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(62b)	Nhlala **e**munrwan**eni** wami.	'I stay at my child's place.'
	Ufuna kuya **e**batal**ini** bakhe.	'He wants to go to his parents.'
	Bahlala **e**nndlu**ni** yami.	'They stay at my house.'

7.6.1.3 The locative prefix <u>kwa-/ka-</u> '(at/to/ from) the place of…'

The locative prefixes **kwa-** and **ka-** in these two Ndebele languages are used with all nouns in Classes 1 and 1a as well as with the demonstratives and absolute pronouns of all classes to express the concept of "(at / to / from) the place of …". Where Southern Ndebele only uses **kwa-** in all these instances Northern Ndebele uses both **ka-** and **kwa-.** Gauton (1995:185) confirms this and states.

'… "<u>the place of</u>" is indicated in Northern Ndebele by the possessive concord **ka-** in the Lidwaba dialect, whilst the concord **kwa-** is used in the Mugombhane dialect.' (own emphasis)

Compare the following examples in this regard.

(63) Cl.1: **Southern Ndebele:** Iveke le babuya **kwa**mkhwenyani kaMapela.

Northern Ndebele: Mbeke le babuya **ka/kwa**mukhwenyani waMapela.

'This week they are coming from Mapela's son-in-law.'

Southern Ndebele: Namhlanje siyokusebenza **kwa**mi.

Northern Ndebele: Nemunhla siyosebenta **ka/kwa**mi.

'Today we are going to work at my place.'

Cl.1a: **Southern Ndebele**: Ngesikhethu awuhlali **kwa**somntazana.

Northern Ndebele: Gesikhethu awuhlali **ka/kwa**sotala.

'In our custom you are not supposed to stay at your

father-in-law's.'

Southern Ndebele: Angifuni ukuhlala eduze **kwa**lendoda

Northern Ndebele: Amfuni kuhlala dute **ka/kwa**le ndoda.

'I don't want to sit next to this man.'

Although Ziervogel (1959:76) claims that both the locative prefixes **ka**- and **kwa-**occur in Northern Ndebele, speakers consulted disagree with him. According to them, the most preferred form to express "the place of…" is **ka**-. In fact, Ziervogel himself uses only **ka-** in his Northern Ndebele texts (Ziervogel, op. cit.:180-215). Compare the following Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(64) Asisabuswa **ka**Mashashane …   (Ziervogel, op. cit.:202)

'We are no longer governed at Mashashane's place.'

Mashashane wakhupha tikxomo tekulobola **ka**Madlala. (Ziervogel, op. cit.:203)

'Mashashane took out beasts to pay lobola at Madlala's place.'

Bare ke bagena **ka**Maxongwa kwasa.   (Zieorvogel, op. cit:212)

'When they arrive at Maxongwa it dawned.'

According to Ziervogel (op. cit.:76) the locative prefixes **ka-** and **kwa-** (which he calls the "possessive concords") are derived from Classes 24 and 17, respectively. These locative prefixes are, in essence, dialectical in that the **ka**- is a possessive concord of Class 24 of the Lidwaba dialect whilst **kwa**- is the possessive concord of Class 17 of the Mugombhane (Ziervogel, op. cit.:50).

7.6.1.4 Locative prefixes found in Northern Ndebele but not in Southern Ndebele

7.6.1.4.1 The locative prefix <u>nnga-</u>

Northern Ndebele has a locative possessive prefix **nnga-** that expresses the concept of "besides / next to" but which does not occur in Southern Ndebele. According to Ziervogel (op. cit.:76), the origin of the locative prefix **nnga** is unclear. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(65)   Bajame **nngami** (<**nnga-mina**).

'They stood beside me.'

Sibonne nkxukxu ifele **nngandlu (<nnga-(i)ndlu)**.

'We saw a chicken dead next to the house.'

Southern Ndebele uses a word as the equivalent of this morpheme, namely, **qadi** or **hlanu.** The fact that these words take the possessive concord **kwa-** shows that they must be regarded as nouns in the locative Class 17. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(66)   Bengijame **qadu/hlanu kwa**kaMasombuka.

'I was standing next to Masombuka.'

Usibonile sihlezi **qadu/hlanu ko**muthi woburelani.

'He saw us seated besides the apricot tree.'

Abafuni ukudlula **qadi/hlanu kwa**khe.

'They don't want to pass next to him.'

7.6.1.4.2 The locative prefix n-

Northern Ndebele has a further locative prefix **n-** that signifies locality and is   only found before the velar consonant -**k** in a very limited number of locative   nouns in this language. Its origin is according to Ziervogel (2959:113) unclear.   Compare the following examples in this regard.

(67)   Banrwana ba**n**khaya (<ba-**n**-(li)khaya).

'Children are in the house.'

Livuke njani **n**khenu (<**n**-(li)khenu)?

'How are you keeping in your place?'

Si**n**khabo (<si-**n**-(li)khabo).

'We are at his place.'

According to Gauton (1995:190), the above Northern Ndebele examples are the relics of the prefixes of Classes 25 and 24. Compare the following examples she (Gauton. op. cit.:190) gives –

	Cl. 25		Cl. 24					
(68)	(**n**	-	**kha**	-	ya	>)	**nkha**ya	'inside'
	(**n**	-	**kha**	-	inu	>)	**nkhe**nu	'in your place'
	(**n**	-	**kha**	-	bo	>)	**nkha**bo	'in their place'

This locative prefix is also found in a limited number of locative nouns in   Southern Ndebele where it also occurs before the velar consonant -**k**. Compare   the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

(69)   Ngenani **<u>n</u>khaya**.   (*instead of*: **nge**khaya)
        'Get inside the house.'

        Alikani **<u>n</u>khethu** izolo.   (*instead of*: **nge**khethu)
        'It did not rain at our place yesterday.'

        Udlala nabesana **ba<u>n</u>khabo**.   (*instead of*: ba**nge**khabo)
        'He plays with the boys from his place.'

According to Gauton (1995:224), this locative prefix is most probably derived   from the locative prefix **nga-** of Class 25. Gauton (1995:224) points out that

        'Although it is not clear to which class this prefix **nga-** might belong, there
        seems to be little doubt that it is a locative (class) prefix which can be
        affixed to nouns and pronouns in the B.70 Teke group of languages in
        order to derive locatives.'

Compare the following examples of the Teke languages given by Gauton in this regard.

    (70)   (a) **Affixation to nouns**

            nga nsa   'inside'

            nga yulu   'above, on high'

        (b) **Affixation to pronouns**

            nga nde   'on (to, at) him'

Gauton (op. cit.:225) further asserts that in the Nguni languages the formative **nga-** is a secondary locative morpheme which functions to convey a more indefinite locative meaning when combining with the locative or locativized nouns. It is, however, not a locative prefix that can form locative nouns or pronouns from their non-locative counterparts.

7.7. Conclusion

In this chapter the copulative construction between the Southern and Northern Ndebele has been investigated and discussed. The four different types of copulatives (i.e. identifying, descriptive, locative and associative) from nouns, pronouns, adjectives and relatives have been shown to be formed differently in the two Ndebele languages. The formation of the different types of adverbs (i.e. adverb of time, manner and place) in Southern and Northern Ndebele, as one of the most important morphological aspects in African languages, have also been illustrated and it has been it has been demonstrated that they are distinct. In the next chapter the morphological differences between these two Ndebele languages continue.

CHAPTER 8

**MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND
NORTHERN NDEBELE** *(Continued)*

8.1 Introduction

The morphological differences discussed in the three previous chapters are not the only differences which Southern and Northern Ndebele exhibit. In this chapter, the remaining types of morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed under the following sub-headings –

(i) mood	(ii) tenses
(iii) verbs	(iv) auxiliary verbs
(v) conjunctives	(vi) ideophones [sic]

8.2 Mood

Before discussing the modal features of Southern and Northern Ndebele, it is necessary to first briefly comment on the concept of "mood" and, in particular, how this concept has been and to a certain extent still is employed in the grammars of the Nguni languages. From the earliest years in the history of African languages studies in South Africa scholars of these languages have used this concept as a means of describing and explaining the different conjugational forms of verbs. The fact that these pioneers of Bantu grammars and, in particular, those of the grammars of the Nguni languages (that is to say, isiXhosa and isiZulu), used this approach is not surprising. Most of them were missionaries and theologians from Europe (Doke, 1961:27), who were well trained in the grammar of the classical languages and were, therefore, well acquainted with traditional grammatical concepts such as gender, case, time, mood, modality, preposition and others, which they assumed applied universally to all languages. This was clearly the most important reason why these scholars produced grammars in these languages in which they described and analysed these languages in terms of grammatical concepts (such as the ones referred to above) that are typical of the classical languages but foreign to the African languages with their vastly different grammatical structures. Examples of this

traditional approach are found in the grammars of several of the earlier grammarians of the Nguni languages (cf. for instance, the grammars produced by Boyce, 1834; Appleyard, 1850; and Davis, 1872 for isiXhosa and the ones written by Colenso, 1890 and Bryant, 1905 for isiZulu).

At the beginning of the 20th century scholars of the African languages began to realize the mistake of describing the African languages in terms of grammatical concepts that were primarily developed to analyse and describe the grammatical structure of the classical European languages but that were not wholly applicable to the grammatical structure of the African languages. In his lectures of the University of Vista during the 1980s Wilkes states that in a certain way this marked a turning point in African linguistics in this country, because for the first time an attempt had been made to analyse and describe the grammar of these languages in terms of their own unique structural properties. In the same notes, Wilkes also claims that the first clear sign of this new tendency was given by the Frenchman Jacottet (1927) who, in his Southern Sotho grammar, was the first Africanist in this country to come out strongly against the employment of European linguistic terminology for the purpose of analysing and describing the grammatical structure of the African languages. This ambition to describe the African languages more and more in terms of their own unique structural properties reached its climax in 1927 with the publication of C. M. Doke's *Text Book of Zulu Grammar* which was hailed at the time as the first African grammar for African languages (Wilkes, personal communication). In this work, Doke tried to make a clear break from the traditional grammatical approach by discarding old grammatical concepts such as "case", "preposition" and "degree of comparison". Doke (1927) did, however, retain the traditional concepts of "mood" and "time" in his work. These relics of the traditional grammatical approach eventually found their way into most of the grammatical works that were subsequently published on the African languages spoken in South Africa. This was especially the case in the Nguni languages, notably isiZulu and isiXhosa.

According to Louwrens (1994), the term "mood" is defined in different ways in various authoritative works of Northern Sotho that deal with this concept. What these definitions

have in common, however, is that they all associate the concept "mood" with the verb and more particularly with the different forms which a verb may assume depending on the form and meaning it has in sentences (Louwrens, op. cit.:111).

Although Louwrens is referring to the situation in Northern Sotho in this regard, his comment applies equally to the situation in the Nguni languages where this concept is used solely in the description of the conjugation of the verb in these languages. One looks in vain in most isiZulu grammars, for instance, to find a definition of this term. One of the very few isiZulu scholars who has endeavored to define this concept as it applies to the African languages is De Clerq (1961:6) who gives a tentative definition of "mood" as:

> '…'n reeks morfologiese (werkwoord) strukture met 'n gemeenskaplike betekenismoment na aanleiding waarvan so 'n reeks oor bepaalde addisionele valensie(s) beslik.'

According to Engelbrecht (1994:1), little consensus exists among Nguni scholars as to which verbal forms are to be regarded as moods. For instance, whereas Doke (1935) and Van Eeden (1956) regard the "situative" as a mood, Taljaard and Bosch (1998) treat it as "form"; what Doke (1935) regards as the "contingent mood", Van Eeden (1956) and others view as a "tense form", and what most traditional isiZulu grammarians consider to be the "potential mood" more modern isiZulu grammarians (such as Taljaard & Bosch, 1998; and Poulos & Msimang, 1998) regard as a "verb form".

It is not the intention of this investigation to examine and evaluate these different opinions regarding the grammatical status of the category 'mood'. Rather, the focus is on distinctive features of what has traditionally been regarded as "mood" in Southern and Northern Ndebele. The following are the mood categories that the traditional grammarians have distinguished in these two Ndebele languages:

(i)   indicative   (ii) infinitive
(iii) situative   (iv) subjunctive

(v) potential, and   (vi) imperative mood.

A comparison of these categories in Southern and Northern Ndebele reveals that there is very little difference between these two languages as far as the morphological features of mood are concerned and that it is mainly the phonological features of these that are different in the two languages. In the following paragraphs, attention is consequently more on the phonological differences than on the few morphological differences that distinguish "mood" in Southern Ndebele from those in Northern Ndebele. A comparison of the distinctive features of the indicative mood in these two languages follows.

8.2.1 Indicative mood

Verbs in this mood are negated by the so-called negative morpheme **a-** which is prefixed to the subject concord while the verbal ending –**a** changes to –**i** in the present tense. Consider the following examples in (1a) in this regard.

        Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(1a) Cl.2: Abantwabakhe **a**bahlal**i** ekhaya.   Banrwana bakhe **a**bahlal**i** ekhaya.
                'His children do not stay at home.'

    Cl.3: Umsebenzi wokwakha **a**wulimaz**i**.   Musebenti wekuyakha **a**wulimat**i**.
                'Building work does not injure.'

    Cl.5: **A**lizwakal**i** ilizwi lakhe.   **A**livakal**i** livi lakhe.
                'His voice is not audible.'

[Note: The form of the subject concord of Classes 1, 1a and 6 in the negative of the indicative mood is –**ka-** in Southern Ndebele while in Northern Ndebele it is either –**a** or –**ka**-.] Compare the following examples in this regard.

        Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(1b)   Cl.1: Umfazi kaMahlangu a**ka**sebenzi.   Mufati waMahlangu **a(k)a**sebenti.

'Mahlangu's wife does not work.'

Cl.1a: UMandla a**ka**lusi iinkomo zomlimi.   Mandla **a(k)a**lusi tikxomo

tamulimi.

'Mandla does not look after the farmer's cattle.'

Cl.6: Amadoda la a**ka**lwi nathi.   Madoda la **a(k)a**lwi nathi.

'These men do not fight with us.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:87) many Northern Ndebele speakers use the negative subject concord –**ka-** only before monosyllabic verbal stems and its negative counterpart –**a**- elsewhere. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(1c)   Cl.1:   Mufati a**ka**dli makxanda.   'A woman does not eat eggs.'
         Cl.6:   Madoda la ari a**ka**yi embijoni.   'These men say they are not going

to the meeting.'

8.2.2 Infinitive mood

This is the only mood where there is a morphological difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele. Whereas in Southern Ndebele the infinitive prefix includes a prefix **u**- as well as a 'real' class prefix –**ku** (i.e., **uku**-), in Northern Ndebele this prefix, like all the other noun class prefixes in this language, does not have a pre-prefix but only consists of a 'real' prefix (i.e**., ku**-). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(2a) **Uku**hlal**a** ekhaya kuhle.   **Ku**hlal**a** ekhaya kuhle.

'To stay at home is good.'

Kuhle **uku**thand**a** ababelethi bakho.   Kuhle **ku**thand**a** batali bakho.

'It is good to love your parents.'

The negation of this mood is by means of the negative morpheme **nga** in Southern Ndebele and its counterpart **ga** in Northern Ndebele while the verbal ending –**a** is substituted by the negative ending –**i**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(2b) Kumbi uku**nga**hlali ekhaya.   Kumbhi ku**ga**hlali ekhaya.

'It is bad not to stay at home.'

Kuhle uku**nga**thandi imali.   Kuhle ku**ga**thandi ntjhelede.

'It is good not to like money.'

8.2.3 Situative mood

There are no formal differences in the distinctive features of the situative mood positive in Southern and Northern Ndebele. Consider the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(3a) Cl.1: Simthole **a**dlala nenjakhe.   Simfumene **a**dlaluka nenja yakhe.

'We found him playing with his dog.'

Cl.2: Badla **ba**sela utjwala.   Badla **ba**sela buyalwa.

'They eat while drinking beer.'

The morpheme that is used to negate infinitive verbs (i.e., **(n)ga**), is also employed in the negation of the situative mood. The negative ending of verbs in this mood is the same as

those found in the indicative mood (See par. 8. 2. 1 (b) above). Compare the following examples in this regard.

(3b) Cl.1: **Southern Ndebele:** Simthole a**nga**dlal**i** nenjakhe.

      Northern Ndebele: Simfumene a**ga**daluk**i** nenja yakhe.

                'We found him while he was not playing with his dog.'

  Cl.2: **Southern Ndebele:** Ngombana ba**nga**hlal**i** kude ngizobathatha.

      Northern Ndebele: Je galokhwa ba**ga**hlal**i** kude ntobalanda.

                'Because they are not staying far I will fetch them.'

  Cl.6: **Southern Ndebele:** Amadoda la naka**nga**fun**i** ukusebenza singenza njani?

      Northern Ndebele: Ke/na madoda la a**ga**fun**i** kusebenta sigayenta njani?

                'If these men do not want to work what can we do?'

  Cl.9: **Southern Ndebele**: Ikomo le sayithenga i**nga**nakonyana.

      Northern Ndebele: Nkxomo le sayithenga i**ga**nalikxonyana.

                'We bought this cow without (having) a calf.'

  Cl.14: **Southern Ndebele**: Ubukhosi bakaMaxashula buhlala bu**nga**namali.

      Northern Ndebele: Bukhosi baMaxashula buhlala bu**ga**nantjhelede.

                'Maxashule's chieftainship always has no money.'

[Note: Non-verbal predicates in the situative mood are, in both Southern and Northern Ndebele, also negated by means of the negative formative **–(n)ga.** In all the other main Nguni languages these predicates are negated with the negative formative –**nge**.] Compare the following isiZulu examples in this regard.

   IsiZulu

(3c) Sigibele ibhasi si**nge**namali.   'We boarded the bus without any money.'

Bamthola e**nge**kho esikoleni. 'They found him not (being) at school.'

Kungoba e**nge**yona ingane. 'It is because he is not a child.'

8.2.4 Subjunctive mood

In the subjunctive mood positive the subject concord for Classes 1 and 1a is **a-** in both languages, while the verbal ending –**a** changes to –**e**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(4a) Cl.1: **Southern Ndebele:** Vane **a**dl**e** ngaphambi kokulala.

   Northern Ndebele: Nse **a**dl**e** gembhili kokuthobala.

   'He usually eats before going to sleep.'

  Cl.1a: **Southern Ndebele:** Unyoko ufuna ukupheka **a**khamb**e**

   Northern Ndebele: Nnyoko ufuna kupheka **a**khamb**e.**

   'Your mother wants to cook and go.'

While Southern Ndebele has two strategies of negating the subjunctive mood Northern Ndebele has one. The negation strategy common to both languages is by means of the negative formative –**nga-** in Southern Ndebele and –**ga-** in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(4b) Cl.1: **Southern Ndebele:** Uyangena kodwana a**nga**hlal**i** nathi sikhulume

   ngemalakhe.

   Northern Ndebele: Uyagena kodwa a**ga**hlal**i** nathi kuri sisumayele

   gentjhelede yakhe.

   '**He comes in but does not sit down with us so that we

   talk about his money.'

  Cl.2: **Southern Ndebele:** Ngitjele umnganami bona a**nge**zi (<**anga-izi**)

   kusasa.

   Northern Ndebele: Mmutise mungani wami kuri a**g**eti **(<aga-iti)** kusasa.

'I have told my friend not to come tomorrow.'

Southern Ndebele, unlike its northern counterpart, has a second negative form for its subjunctive mood in which the terminal vowel –**a** of the negative verb does not change to –**i**. Consider the following example in this regard.

(4c) Cl.1: Umma wathi ngingay**a** (cf. ngingay**i**) kwagogo iveke ephelileko.

'Last week my mother said I should not go to my grandmother's place.'

8.2.5 Potential mood

Some scholars such as Van Wyk (1957) do not recognize the existence of the potential mood in languages such as Northern Sotho and isiZulu, because it also appears as part of other mood categories. Compare the following Northern Sotho examples in this regard.

Northern Sotho

(5) O **ka** tloga bjale   'You can / may leave now.'

 Ba **ka** se re thuše   'They can / may not help us.'

 Naa le bôna ba **ka** tlô ya gae.   'They will also be permitted to go

 home.'(Van Wyk, 1957:163)

According to Van Wyk (op. cit.:175), the potential mood can best be regarded as an "implication".

This present discussion follows the views held by the traditional Nguni grammarians by treating the potential as a mood. In both Ndebele languages, the positive form of the potential mood is the same, that is, it is formed by means of the formative **–(n)ga-** (i.e.-**nga**- in Southern Ndebele and –**ga**- in Northern Ndebele). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(6a)   Nabafunako ba**nga**khamba.   Ke/na bafuna ba**ga**khambha.

'If they want they can go.'

Si**nga**wenza namhlanje umsebenzi lo.   Si**ga**wenta nemunhla musebenti lo.

'We can do this job today.'

In the negation of the potential mood, the two Ndebele languages differ. In Southern Ndebele the potential mood is negated by means of the negative auxiliary verb **(a)ngekhe** with the main verb ending –**a** changing to-**e**. In Northern Ndebele verbs in this mood are negated by means of the construction –**gasi**- with the main verb ending –**a** changing to –**e**. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(6b)   **Angekhe** ukhamb**e** namhlanje.   U**gasi**khambh**e** nemunhla.

'You cannot go today.'

Angekhe ngimthath**e** umfazi wesibili.   N**gasi**mutek**e** mufati webumbhili.

'I cannot marry a second wife.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:93), the origin of the negative construction –**gasi**- in Northern Ndebele is derived from the Northern Sotho potential negative construction form **ka se,** as can be see in the following examples –

Northern Sotho

(6c) **Nka se** sepele le wena.   'I cannot go with you.'

Ba **ka se** dule fase.   'They cannot sit down.'

Wilkes (2007:172) differs in this regard in that he claims that the Northern Ndebele negative form –**gasi**- could also be derived from the TshiVenda potential negative form **nga si.** According to Poulos (1990:275), the negative form of the TshiVenda potential mood has an additional prefix **si**- which normally occurs after the prefix **nga**-. Compare the following examples in this regard.

TshiVenda

(6d)   I **nga si** ne madekwana.   'It might not rain tonight.'
       A **nga si** gude vhege e daho.   'He might not study next week.'

8.2.6 Imperative mood
There is no difference to speak of between Southern and Northern Ndebele as far as the imperative mood positive and negative is concerned. Compare the following examples in (7a)-(7c) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(i) Monosyllabic verb stems

	Singular	**Plural**		**Singular**	**Plural**
(7a)	**Yi**dla! / **I**dla!	Yidla**ni**!	'Eat!'	**I**dla!	**I**dla**ni**!

(ii) Polysyllabic verb stems

(7b)	Vuka!	Vuka**ni**!	'Wake up!'	Vuka!	Vuka**ni**!

+ object concord

(7c)	**Li**d**l**e	**Li**dle**ni**!	'Eat it!'	**Li**d**l**e!	**Li**dle**ni**!

According to Van Eeden (1956:241), the terminative vowel –**e** of the imperative mood (cf. examples in (7c) above) is the same as that of the subjunctive mood (See par. 8.2.4 above).

The negation strategy of the imperative mood in both Ndebele languages is the same as that of the subjunctive mood (cf. par. 8.2.4 above), which is by means of **(n)ga,** (i.e., ∠**nga-**in Southern Ndebele and **–ga-**in Northern Ndebele). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(7d) U**nga**d**l**i	'Do not eat !'	U**ga**d**l**i!
Ni**nga**fi	'Do not die !'	Li**ga**fi!
U**nga**y**i**	'Do not go!'	U**ga**y**i**!

Southern Ndebele has a second negative strategy for its imperative verbs, that is, of the auxiliary verb **mus(a)** (in the singular) and **musani** (in the plural) which is followed by an infinitive verb. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele

	Singular		**Plural**	
(7e)	**Musa** ukudla/**mus**ukudla!	'Do not eat!'	**Musani** ukutlola!	'Do not write!'
	Musa ukuya/**mus**ukuya!	'Do not go!'	**Musani** ukulala!	'Do not sleep!'
	Musa ukulila/**mus**ukulila!	'Do not cry!'	**Musani** ukudlala!	'Do not play!'

8.3 Tenses

Morphologically, there are no remarkable differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the positive forms of the verbs in the present, perfect, future and past tenses of the indicative and other mood forms are concerned. The few differences that do

occur, here, between these two Ndebele languages mainly concern the negative form of these tenses. This is discussed in the following paragraphs.

8.3.1 Negative of the future tense in the indicative mood

The future tense in Southern Ndebele is negated by means of a negative vowel **a-** while the verb retains the positive terminative vowel –**a**. In Northern Ndebele this tense is negated by –**gasi-** or the negative vowel **a-.** Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
(8) **Neg**: **A**sizokudl**a** nje.	'We are not going to eat now'	Si**gasi**todl**a**/**A**sitodl**a**.
Pos: Sizokudla nje.	'We are going to eat now'	Sitodla njenje.
Neg: **A**bazokukhulum**a**.	'They are not going to talk.'	Ba**gasi**tosumayel**a**/
		abatosumayel**a**
Pos: Bazokukhuluma.	'They are going to talk.'	Batosumayela.
Neg: **A**lizokun**a** namhlanje.	'It is not going to rain today.'	Li**gasi**tonetha
		/**A**litoneth**a** nemunhla.
Pos: Lizokuna namhlanje.	'It is going to rain today.'	Litonetha nemunhla.

8.3.2 Negative of the perfect tense in the indicative mood

The perfect tense of the indicative mood in Southern Ndebele is negated by means of either

    (i) the negative indicative formative **a-** plus the perfect negative morpheme –**ka**
       (which is prefixed to the verbal stem) or
    (ii) by means of the (negative) auxiliary verb (**a**)**zange** or (**a**)**khange.**

In case of the former strategy the vowel ending **–a** changes to **–i** while in the case of the latter it changes to **–e**. In Northern Ndebele, however, this tense form is negated by means of the first strategy only (i.e. the negative indicative formative **a-** plus the perfect negative morpheme **–ka** which is prefixed to the verbal stem). Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(9a) Abafazi bakhe **ab**a**ka**fik**i**.   Bafati bakhe **ab**a**ka**fik**i**.

'His wives have not arrived.'

Asi**ka**babon**i** ukuthi bakuphi.   **A**si**ka**babon**i** kuri bakuphi.

'We have not seen them where they are.'

Izolo **(a)zange/(a)khange** line (izulu)   Itolo **a**li**ka**n**i** (litulu)

'Yesterday it did not rain (the rain).'

Namhlanje **(a)zange/(a)khange** siye emsebenzini. Nemunhla **a**si**ka**y**i** muberengoni.

'Today we did not go to work.'

The perfect negative morpheme **–ka-** referred to above is unknown in isiZulu but occurs in siSwati (Taljaard et al., 1991:55) where its use is obligatory in the negation of the perfect tense. Compare the following examples in this regard.

   IsiSwati

(9b)   Sipho aka**ka**lali (< ulele) namuhla.   'Sipho did not sleep today.'

Asi**ka**hambi (<sihambe) nebantfwana bakhe. 'We did not go with his children.'

Aba**ka**gibeli (< bagibele) emahhashi.   'They did not ride the horses.'

8.3.3 Negative of the past tense in the indicative mood

While Southern Ndebele negates the past tense of the indicative mood by means of **(a)zange** which precedes the verb (cf. also the perfect tense in par. 8.3.2 above), this tense is negated by a negative construction **agabe khe** in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele

(10) **Azange** baya esikolweni.   **Agabe khe** baya sikoloni
                'They never went to school.'

       Abomma **azange** basitjela.   Bomma **agabe khe** basibuta.
                'Our mothers never told us.'

       UGegana **azange** abusa uLidwaba.   Gegana **agabe khe** abuse Lidwaba.
                'Gegana did not rule Lidwaba.'

8.4 Verbs

The differences in the verbal stems between Southern and Northern Ndebele are analysed and discussed under the following four sub-headings –

(i) verbal stems that have the same meaning but completely or slightly different form
(ii) verbal stems that have the same form but with different meanings
(iii) vowel verb stems
(iv) verb stems expressing diminutivized actions in Southern and Northern Ndebele.

8.4.1 Verbal stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele that have the same meaning but with a completely or slightly different form

Wilkes (1997:161) points out that

'The non-existence of dictionaries and or of any other written material for that matter in Northern Ndebele… makes it difficult to get a clear idea of what the content of the lexicon of this Nguni language really looks like.'

An analysis of Ziervogel's Northern Ndebele texts (Ziervogel, 1959:179-215) shows that Northern Ndebele has a fairly large number of verbal stems that have the same meaning as in Southern Ndebele but with either a "completely" or "slightly" different form. Compare the following examples in (11a) and (11b) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	

Stems which are completely different in form

(11a)	-zombeleza	-songela	'surround /circle'
	-tjela	-buta	'tell/inform'
	-vuma	-bina	'sing'
	-thatha	-teka	'take/marry'
	-bawa	-khombela	'request/ask'
	-emba	-gaja	'dig'
	-dala	-hlola	'create'
	-beletha	-tala	'give birth'
	-raga	-khapha/-kxura	'drive (cattle)'
	-busisa	-shixufaja	'bless'
	-qala	-bheka	'look'
	-tlola	-gwala	'write'
	-nqopha/-qonda	-bheka	'(move) towards'
	-hlukana	-kghawuka	'separate'
	-limala	-khubala	'getinjured/be hurt'
	-tjho	-ri	'say'

Stems which are slightly different in form

(11b)	-**kh**etha	-**kgh**etha	'choose'
	-kham**b**a	-kham**bh**a	'go'
	-phakulu**l**a	-phakulu**t**a	'dish out (food)'
	-gi**j**ima	-gi**d**ima	'run'
	-pha**ph**ama	-pha**kxh**ama	'wake up'
	-**q**ina	-**kx**ina	'be firm/be strong'
	-**th**i	-**r**i	'say'
	-**s**ahlela	-**f**ahlela	'attack'
	-bi**z**a	-bi**t**a	'call'

8.4.2 Verbal stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele that have the same form but different meanings

There are a number of verbal stems in Southern and Northern Ndebele that are similar in form but different in meanings. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Table 8.1: Similar Southern and Northern Ndebele verbal forms with different meanings

Verbal stem	Southern Ndebele (meaning)	Northern Ndebele (meaning)
-singatha	hold (someone) in arms	carry (something) under the arm
-(a)lama	come next in (the order of) birth	the brood
-yatha	faint / be unconscious	carry (something) on a shoulder
-rhuga	tease (someone)/provoke	propose love
-phumelela	be successful	be sufficient
-thusa	frighten /scare	swear at
-phetha	stitch up the end /bottom of a pair of trousers or any material	decide
-gwala	paint the Ndebele traditional patterns	write
-khapha	avoid someone purposely	drive cattle

8.4.3 Vowel verb stems

As alluded to in Chapter 4, par. 4.8, contrary to the case in the other Nguni languages including Southern Ndebele, there are very few vowel verb stems in Northern Ndebele (Ziervogel, 1959:79). The few Northern Ndebele vowel verb stems occur with a semi-vowel **y** or **w,** while in Southern Ndebele these stems are all without a semi-vowel. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
	Vowel verb stems		**Semi-vowel verb stems**
(12a)	-**a**kha	'build'	-**y**akha
	-**e**nza	'do/make'	-**y**enta
	-ongeza	'add to'	**-w**ongeta
	-osa	'roast'	**-w**osa

Compare the examples of their usage in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(12b) Baphume **beqela** kimi ekoloyini.   Baphume **bayenkxela** kimi enkoloyini.

'They came out and jumped over to me in the car.'

Sibathole badla inyama **yokosiwa**.   Sibafumene bagoma nnyama **yekuwosiwa**.

'We found them eating roasted meat.'

8.4.4 Verbal stems expressing diminutive actions in Southern and Northern Ndebele

In Southern and Northern Ndebele verbal stems expressing diminutive action are formed in two ways. In the case of monosyllabic verbal stems a -**yi-** is inserted between such stems in Southern Ndebele while in Northern Ndebele these stems are formed by adding

the suffix –**nyana** to the stem (Ziervogel. 1959:84). Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(13) **-**dla >	-dla**yi**dla	-dla**nyana**	'eat a little bit'
-na >	-na**yi**na	-na**nyana**	'rain a little bit'
-lwa >	-lwa**yi**lwa	-lwa**nyana**.	'fight a little bit'
-pha >	-pha**yi**pha	-pha**nyana**	'give a little bit'

In the expression of diminutive actions by multisyllabic stems, the differences occur between Southern and Northern Ndebele in that while both languages repeat the first two syllables of the verbal stem, according to Ziervogel (op. cit.: 84) Northern Ndebele may also suffix –**nyana** as an alternative strategy. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(14)	-hlalahlala	-hlalahlala or –hlala**nyana**	'stay a little bit'
	-khambakhamba	-khambhakhambha or khambha**nyana**	'walk a little bit.'

<div align="right">(Ziervogel, op. cit.: 84)</div>

8.4.5 Latent vowel verb stems

Contrary to the case in the other Nguni languages (such as isiZulu) which have a number of latent vowel verb stems, Southern Ndebele has only two such verb stems (i.e., -**(i)za** and –**(i)zwa)** and Northern Ndebele has none. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(15) **Southern Ndebele**: Nabafuna ukukubulala **ab̲e̲ze** (<**ab̲a-i̲za**) bakubulale sikhona.

Northern Ndebele: Ke bafuna kukubulala **abate** (<**aba-ta**) bakubulale

sikhona.

     'If they want to kill you let them come and kill you in

      our presence.'

Southern Ndebele: UMashashane w<u>e</u>zwa (< w<u>a</u>-<u>i</u>zwa) bona uSikxhobhejana

               uzile…

Northern Ndebele: Mashashane **wava** (< **wa-va**) kuri Sikxhobhejana utile…

             'Mashashane heard that Sikxhobhejana had come…'

The latent vowel verb stem **–(i)mba** 'dig' that occurs in other Nguni languages (such as isiZulu) occurs as –**emba** in Southern Ndebele and –**gaja** in Northern Ndebele.

8.5 The auxiliary verbs

Ritchards and Schmidt (2002:44) define an auxiliary verb (or auxiliary) as

    'a verb which is used with another verb in a sentence and which shows

     grammatical functions such as aspect, voice, mood, tense, and person.'

Nguni linguists such as Ziervogel (1985), Taljaard (1991), Poulos and Msimang (1998), and others, classify (or group) auxiliary verbs according to the form of their complements and derivation. According to Taljaard (1991:154), for instance, the complementary verb, as it cannot stand on its own in a sentence, is usually in a specific mood or form which is determined by the meaning, mood or form of the auxiliary verb, notably the participial, the consecutive and the infinitive. In regard to the derivation of the auxiliary verbs, a distinction between derived and non-derived auxiliary verbs is made. Derived auxiliary verbs are the auxiliary verbs formed by substituting the positive terminative vowel –**a** of the verbal stem by –**e** (e.g., -**hlala** 'sit, stay' > -**hlale** 'always, continuously') while non-derived auxiliary verbs are auxiliary verbs that are not derived from another word category.

In the following paragraphs the distinction between the two Ndebele languages in as far as their auxiliary verbs are concerned is discussed under the following sub-headings –

(i) The derived and non-derived auxiliary verb stems with the same meaning in Southern and Northern Ndebele

(ii) Auxiliary verb stems that occur in Northern Ndebele but with no equivalents in Southern Ndebele.

8.5.1 The derived and non-derived auxiliary verb stems with the same meaning in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The two Ndebele languages demonstrate no differences in as far as the morphological forms of their auxiliary verbs are concerned except a few that are phonologically completely or partially different. Compare the following list of the derived and non-derived auxiliary verbs in (16a) and (17a), respectively, in this regard.

8.5.1.1 Derived auxiliary verbs

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(16a) -sale   'rather, henceforth, thereafter, then'   -sale   (< -**sala** 'remain')

-phele   'just, sometimes, simply'   -phele   (< -**phela** 'finish, end')

-buya   'again'   -buya   (< -**buya** 'come back, return')

-funeke   'must'   -funeke (< -**funa** 'want')

-fike   'thereafter'   -fike   (< -**fika** 'arrive')

-ze   'eventually, in order, so that, until'   -te   (< -**za**/-**ta** 'come')

-suke   'after'   -suke   (< -**suka** 'leave, go away')

-thuke   'suddenly'   -thuke   (< -**thuka** 'take fright')

-vele   'of course, just'   …..   (<-**vela** 'appear,

emerge')

Compare their usage below in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(16b) Kwasala yena ayedwa **basale** bambulala.   Kwasala yena anedwa **basale** bammulala.

'He remained alone and they then killed him.

Siphele sidlule siye ePolokwane.   **Sinophele** sidlule siye ePolokwane.

'We sometimes pass along to Polokwane.'

Sibuye sayikhuluma lendaba ekosini.   **Sibuye** saisumayela le ndaba enkxosini.

'We again discussed this matter at the chief's place.'

[Note: No equivalent for the Southern Ndebele auxiliary verb stem **'vele'** could be found in Northern Ndebele.]

8.5.1.2 Non-derived auxiliary verbs

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	

(17a) vane, hle   hlwe   'no more, usually, commonly (habitual action).'

gade   kade   'once, have been'

sele   sele, biyo   'already, yet'

je   jwa   'meanwhile, so long'

vama/vame   swe, se   'usually, commonly'

pheze	phase, phoswe, phoso	'almost, nearly'
khe	khe	'ever, once, sometimes'
-be	-be	'be'
-se	-se	'still'
nonde	phele, nojwa	'keep on, sometimes'
mele, fuze	fanele	'must, has to, suppose to, out to'
nele	ri	'just as'
(nga)mane	swe	'rather … '
sanda	sanda	'just have'
akhe	nkhe	'please' (with hortative function)

Compare their usage below in this regard.

Southern Ndebele   **Northern Ndebele**

(17b) Ziphi iinyoni **abavane/abahle** bazibulala?   Tiphi tinyonywana **leti bahlwe**
                                                       batibulala?
        'Where are the birds which they usually kill.'

   Bathola **sele** kujame amanzi koke.   Bafumana **kusele/kubiyo** kujame
                                               manti kohle.
        'They found water already standing everywhere.'

   Ije usebenza la ngiyabuya.   **Ujwe** uberenga la ntabuya
        'Meanwhile work here, I shall come back.'

8.5.2 Auxiliary verbs that occur in Northern Ndebele but with no equivalents in Southern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele has a small number of non-derived auxiliary verb stems that are unique in that they do not have equivalents in Southern Ndebele. Compare the following list in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**	
(18a)	….	swa	'what else'
	….	tjhwe/tjhe	'hurry'
	….	nja	'continually'
	…..	nambha	'furthermore, besides'
	.....	hleti	'keep on, continue'

Also compare their usage in this regard.

(18b)   **Ntjhwe/Ntjhe** ndakxeja kusumayela ndakhambha.
'I quickly finished talking and left.'

Bahlala emiragyeni **banonja** bayiselwa timbuphu.
'They lived at the cattle posts and were continually brought meal.'

Kwaswa kwayentwa njani?
'What else was done.'

According to Ziervogel (1959: 151), the Northern Ndebele auxiliary verb stem **nambha** is derived from Northern Sotho **'napa'**.

8.6 The conjunctives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The main function of conjunctives is to join or introduce sentences. In the Nguni languages, a distinction is made between primitive and derived conjunctives. According to linguists such as Doke (1927:271) and Van Eeden (1956:495), primitive conjunctives are conjunctives that are not derived from any other word category (cf. the isiZulu conjunctive **futhi** 'again' and **kanti** 'after all/whereas') while derived conjunctives are those that have been derived from other word categories (cf. the Southern Ndebele conjunctive **kodwa(na)** 'but' (< the exclusive quantitative pronoun **kodwa** 'alone') and **bona** 'that / so that' (< the verbal stem **bona** 'see'). Most conjunctives in Southern Ndebele have counterparts in Northern Ndebele that are different in form but identical in meaning. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele conjunctives in (19a) in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
(19a) bona/bonyana/bana/ukuthi	kuri	'that/so that/whether'
ngomba(na)/ngoban(ya)na	gekuri/je galokhwa	'because'
ngalokho	je/ke	'therefore/consequently'
na/lokha	ke/na/lokhwa	'when/while/if/as'
kodwa(na)	kodwa	'but'
kanti	xanti	'whereas/after all'
ukuze	kuba	'in order to/(so) that'
(be)kuze/be(kube)	kufikela	'until'
nanya(na)/namkha(na)/	nanya/nalokhwa	'although/or/even if'
namtjhana/nalokha(na)/namgadi		
nobana		
noma(na)/nofa(na)/namkha(na)	kuba	'or'
noba(na)		
nokho/(be)godu	nalokhwa	'however/again/moreover /nevertheless"

Compare the usage of some of the above conjunctives in this regard.

| **Southern Ndebele** | **Northern Ndebele** |

(19b) Uyakwazi ukusebenza **kodwa(na)** livila.   Uyawati kuberenga **kodwa** ilivila.

'He can work but he is a sluggard.'

Bafuna **bona** sibuye kusasa.   Bafuna **kuri** sibuye kusasa.

'They want that we must come back tomorrow.'

Bazokuhlala **(be)kuze/ kube** kuphele iveke. Batohlala **kufikela** kuphele mbege.

'They are going to stay with you until the end of the week.'

Ikabi le inonile **nanyana** iyindala.   Nkxabi le inonne **nalokhwa** iyendala.

'This ox is fat although [it] is old.'

Na/lokha bafuna iinkomo bangazithenga.   **Ke/na/lokhwa** bafuna tikxomo

bagatithenga.

'When they want the cattle they can buy them.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:166), the Northern Ndebele conjunctive **ke** is derived from the Northern Sotho conjunctive **gê** 'if/when'. Compare the following Northern Sotho and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

| **Northern Sotho** | **Northern Ndebele** |

(20)   Ke tla mmotša **gê** ke boa.   Ntammutisa **ke** mbuya.

'I will tell him when I come back.'

The Southern Ndebele conjunctive **na** 'when/if' (cf. **na/lokha** above), which also occurs in siSwati (Lubisi, 1996:94), always precedes the predicate and is written jointly with the predicate it precedes. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Conjunctive: na

(21) Ungokubuya ekupheleni kwenyanga **nawusebenza** (< **na-usebenza**) kude
 nekhaya.
 'You should come at the end of the month when you work far from home.'

Nanilapho (< **na-nilapho**) angekhe nisabuya.
 'If/when you are there you will not come back.'

The conjunctive **lokha** **'when'**, by contrast, is:
 (a) written disjunctively with the word it precedes, and
 (b) commonly used together with the conjunctive **na** in discourse.

Compare the following examples in (22a) and (22b) in this regard.

(22a) Liqiniso bona **lokha umuntu** angafuni ukukhuluma nawe ngcono uthule.
 'It is true that when a person does not want to talk to you [you had] better keep
 quite.'

Ngimbone **lokha** sihlezi nawe sidla.
 'I saw him when we were seated with you eating.'

(22b) **Lokha nabasela** utjwala abafuni ukuphazanyiswa.
 '*When when* they drink beer they do not want to be disturbed.'
 '*When* they drink beer they do not want to be disturbed.'

Sikhambe **lokha na**wujame lapha.
 'We came *when when* you were standing there.'

'We came when you were standing there.'

Note that syntactically when the conjunctive **lokha** has been used together with the conjunctive **na** in a sentence, it always precedes the latter (cf. examples in (22b) above).

8.7 The ideophones in Southern and Northern Ndebele

An *ideophone* is a part of speech that is typical of the Bantu languages but has no equivalent in English except for onomatopoeic words like 'splash', 'his' (Ziervogel et al., 1985:116), Taljaard et al., (1991:158) and Poulos and Msimang (1998:413)). Poulos and Msimang (op. cit.:414) point out that

'Ideophones are highly expressive words- they are 'colourful' expressions …in that they are associated with some form of emotion when they are uttered- and it is these additional characteristics of the ideophone which makes it rather difficult to directly translate them into other languages.'

Linguists of the African languages give different definitions of ideophones. Many of these definitions are based on the semantic and morphological features of these words. Semantically, Doke (1927:255), for instance, defines an 'ideophone' as a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate in respect of manner, colour, sound or action. Poulos and Msimang (1998:413) argue that although the onomatopoeic nature of an ideophone is undeniable, there are ideophones that have nothing to do with imitative sound in languages. According to these scholars, ideophones represent an idea that stretches beyond the sense of hearing (i.e., sound). Compare the following isiZulu examples in this regard.

IsiZulu

(23) Amanzi abomvu **klubhu**.   'The water is as red as blood.'

Kunephunga elide lithi **khafu** ngakithi.   'There is a terrible smell which is

frequently blown in our direction.'

(Poulos & Msimang, 1998:413)

The ideophones **klubhu** and **khafu** in the examples in (23) above have nothing to do with the sound but with *redness* and *badness of smell,* respectively. Weakley (1977:66) propounds that ideophones are morphologically simple, that is, they are monomorphematic words which, unlike other word categories, cannot be divided into smaller units or morphemes. In support of Weakley, Wilkes (1992:53) emphasizes that ideophones present a marked contrast with the rest of the grammar in that there is a complete absence of inflection for tense, etc., and morphologically they are not as complex as other words in the language. The only morphological features that ideophones in the African languages have are, according to Weakley (1977:13), the sub-morphemic (in the current sense) units, namely syllables and recurring partials.

Nguni linguists such as Doke (1935:86), Van Eeden (1956:86) and Jordan (1965), however, maintain that the ideophones in the Southern Bantu languages may be used as interjectional descriptives, while other scholars, such as Weakly (1977) for instance, emphasize the predicative nature of ideophones in discourse. Weakly (op. cit.: 37) states that

> 'Probably the most convincing evidence of the verbal nature of the
> ideophone is where an ideophone has actually replaced the verb.'

Compare the following isiXhosa examples where the ideophone **shwaqa** and **dyulukumpu** represent the verbs **waphuka '**it broke' and **wangena** 'he entered', respectively.

IsiXhosa

(24)   UDumisani uthe eme njalo **shwaqa** umlenze wakhe.
       'As Dumisani stood like that his leg snapped and broke.'

Sithe siyabona, **dyulukumpu** inkwenkwe emanzini.

'When we looked the boy was plunging into the water.'   (Weakley, 1977:37)

In the Nguni languages, ideophones often follow the verb **ukuthi** which in these circumstances according to Doke (1927:255), seems to mean 'to express', 'to act', 'to demonstrate', to manifest', rather than 'to say' 'to consider' as can be seen in the following examples.

Southern Ndebele

(25) (**To act**):   Uthanda ukuthi **nya** nakonakeleko.
'He likes to disappear when things are bad.'

   (**To express**):   Sithanda ukuthi **khwintikhwinti** ngesiNgisi.
'We like to speak English.'

   (**To manifest**):   Lembewu seyithanda ukuthi **siphu**.
'This seed begins to germinate.'

In the following paragraphs the differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele as regards the category 'ideophone' are discussed under the ideophones that are

   (i) the same in form but with different meaning.
   (ii) different in form but with the same meaning, and
   (iii) ideophones that occur in the one language but not in the other.

8.7.1 Ideophones that are the same in form but with different meaning

There are a fair number of ideophones in Southern and Northern Ndebele that are identical in form but different in meaning. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(26) **(n)tsi '**stillness in motion' **tsi** 'tightness of a knot'

e.g. Iinkoloyi zajama **(n)tsi** endleleni. Mbophe lifindo **tsi**.

'Cars stopped still on the road.' 'We have tied a knot firm.'

bhidli 'falling down of a wall/ **bhidli** 'melting (e.g. of fat)

ripening of fruits/meat'

e.g. Sidle inyama evuthwe **bhidli.** Mafutha ahleti ellangeni ari **bhidli.**

'We ate meat that is well cooked.' 'The fats have lain in the sun and melted.'

tjhelele 'to quickly go somewhere **tjhelele** 'slip (e.g. on the banana)'

with an aim of coming back.'

e.g. Sisathi **tjhelele** lapha siyabuya. Watjhelela wari **tjhelele** edakeni.

'We are quickly going there, we 'He slipped in the mud.'

will come back.'

tlerr 'tearing off of cloth' **tlerr** 'redness (e.g. of blood)'

e.g. Inja yambamba ngebhaji yathi **tlerr**. Tingati tembhuti le tibovu **tlerr.**

'The dog caught him by the jacket 'The blood of this goat is (blood) red.'

and tore it off.'

wubu 'take suddenly/snatch' **wubu** 'throw down something'

e.g. Basithe **wubu** isikhwama sakhe. Uwuthe **wubu** mugodla wawuphosa

phasi.

'They snatched his bag.' 'He threw the bag down on the ground.'

nke 'brightness of a moon/clearness **nke** 'clanging of metal'

of the sky after rain'

e.g. Ngemva kokuna lithe **nke** Mve nsimbhi iri **nke nke.**

'After it rained the sky became clear.' 'I heard the bell ringing.'

8.7.2 Ideophones that are different in form but with the same meaning

Most Southern and Northern Ndebele ideophones differ in form but have the same meaning. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele **Northern Ndebele**

(27) **twa** 'whitness in colour' **pya**

e.g. Bambethe amarogo amhlophe **twa.** Bambethe marogo ahlophe **pya.**

'They are wearing pure white dresses.'

petle 'scatter' **sa**

e.g. Iimbuzi zakhe zithe **petle** entabeni. Timbhuti takhe tire **sa** enrabeni.

'His goats are scattered all over the mountain.'

meke 'lightning/flickering of light' **phati**

e.g. Sabona **meke** lasele lifikile izulu. Sabona **phati** yasele ifikile mvula.

'We just saw the lightning and it was suddenly raining.'

rabhalala 'lying down on your belly' **jabha**

e.g. Bambetha wathi **rabhalala** phasi. Bamubetha wari **jabha** phasi.

'They hit him and he lay down on his stomach.'

rwe 'stand up right' **dzidalala**

e.g. Amadoda ajama athi **rwe** phambi Madoda ajama ari **dzidalala** embhili

kwakamulakazana. ketingweji.

'Men stood up right in front of the bridegroom.'

vumbu	'appear /emerge suddenly'	**thushalala**

e.g. Bathe nabathi **vumbu** ngesango   Bathe ke bari **thushalala** gelisango

abafazi bagida.   bafati badlala.

'When they suddenly appeared at the courtyard women started dancing.'

8.7.3 Ideophones that occur in the one language but not in the other.

Southern Ndebele seems to have many more ideophones than its northern counterpart. One of the differences observed between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as their ideophones are concerned is that Southern Ndebele has a number of ideophones that do not have equivalents in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples of ideophones in (28a) that occur in Southern Ndebele but that do not have equivalents in Northern Ndebele.

Southern Ndebele

(28a)   **saka** 'ideophone of signifying good health'

e.g. Besivakatjhele ugogo samthola aphile **saka.**

'We had visited our grandmother and found her very healthy.'

do 'ideophone signifying emptiness/nothingness'

e.g. Abafundi bezile esikolweni kodwana bafumana **do** abotitjhere.

'The learners did come to school but no teachers.'

phara 'ideophone of dropping/falling down (e.g. snake).'

e.g. **Phara** inyoka phambi kwethu sabaleka.

'The snake fell in front of us and we ran away.'

rhamu 'ideophone of taking a sip/bit of tea/beer.'

e.g. Akhe sithi **rhamu** itiye msinya sikhambeni.

'Let us quickly have a bit/sip of tea and go.'

It is of interest that Northern Ndebele also has a small number of ideophones that do not have equivalents in Southern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in (28b) in this regard.

Northern Ndebele

(28b)   **hha '**ideophone of an open mouth'
    e.g. Ukhamisile mulomo uri **hha!**   'His mouth is wide open.'

        bhidli 'melting (of fat)
    e.g. Mafutha ahleti ellangeni ari **bhidli.** 'The fats have lain in the sun and
                                    melted.'

        matha 'stick fast onto something.'
    e.g. Mbampiri yanamthela yari **matha** esigodoni.
        'The paper stuck fast on a pole.'

        tonono 'galloping/running (e.g. horse)'
    e.g.   Le mpere igidima iri **tonono.**
        'This horse gallops.'

        wabalala 'jump out'
     e.g. Waphuma endluni wari **wabalala.**
        'He suddenly jumped out of the house.'

8.8 Conclusion

The morphological structure of moods, tenses, verbs, auxiliary verbs, conjunctives and ideophones have been the focus in this chapter. The investigation and discussions on moods in Southern and Northern Ndebele have revealed that there is little difference between these two languages as far as the morphological features of mood are concerned. In the indicative mood it is only the phonological feature that shows the difference

between the two Ndebele languages while the morphological differences only occur in the infinitive mood. Morphological no differences occur in regard to the positive forms of the different tenses (i.e. present, perfect, future and past) of verbs. The only differences shown in verbal tenses are in the negative form of these tenses. Under verbal stems the two Ndebele languages have been shown to have verbal stems that have the same meaning, but are completely different in form and there are verbs with the same form but different meanings. The vowel verb stems and the expression of diminutivized actions in Southern and Northern Ndebele have also shown some distinctiveness. There are also few differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele languages with regard to the derived and non-derived auxiliary verbs. Northern Ndebele has further shown to have adverbs that do not occur in its southern counterpart. Most conjunctives examined in the two languages have been shown to be different in form, but identical in meaning. Ideophones that occur in the two Ndebele languages have also been demonstrated to be different in form but with the same meaning, whereas some have the same form but different meanings. The investigation has further illustrated that the two Ndebele languages have ideophones that they do not share. In the next chapter the Spelling rules of Southern and Northern Ndebele are compared and discussed.

CHAPTER 9

THE DIFFERENCES IN THE SPELLING RULES BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NDEBELE

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the comparison between the Spelling Rules of Southern and Northern Ndebele is the main focus. As alluded to in Chapter Three, the latest revised Southern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules was published in 2008 by the Pan South African Language Board whilst the Northern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling rules was published for the first time in 2001 as a special project of the Pan South African Language Board in its Occasional Paper No. 5. The discussion here of the differences in the spelling rules between these two Ndebele languages excludes the orthographical differences that these two Ndebele languages exhibit because these are dealt with in Chapter Three. In the case of Northern Ndebele, where necessary, references to how Ziervogel encripted this language in his work entitled *A Grammar of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele* (1959) are made. These differences in the spelling rules between Southern and Northern Ndebele is presented and discussed under the following main headings –

(i)   Southern Ndebele spelling rules
(ii) Northern Ndebele spelling rules
(iii) Differences in the orthography and or spelling rules between Southern and Northern Ndebele.

9.2 The Southern Ndebele Spelling Rules

The latest revised Southern Ndebele Orthography and Spelling Rules entitled *Imithetho yokuTlolwa NokuPeleda isiNdebele* (2008) is monolingual, i.e., it is written in isiNdebele. In the following paragraphs they are, however, presented in English and isiNdebele according to the following subheadings –

(i) Pronouns   (ii) Conjunctives

(iii) Duplication of stems   (iv) Capitalization

(v)   Compound moods and tenses (vi) Vocatives

(vii) Enclitics   (viii) Translations and foreign (cluster) sounds

(ix) Abbreviations and acronyms (x) Counting

 (xi) Punctuation marks

9.2.1 Pronouns

The basic sentence position of the demonstrative and possessive pronoun in Southern Ndebele is post nominal. The rules and sub-rules that govern the writing of a noun with its demonstrative and possessive pronoun in Southern Ndebele are as follows –

Rule 1: Demonstrative pronoun

The writing of the demonstrative pronoun in Southern Ndebele is governed by seven sub-rules, namely,

Sub-rule 1.1: When the demonstrative pronoun of the first position precedes the noun it is written conjunctively with its coreferent noun, e.g., / *Isabizwana sokukhomba, sendawo yokuthoma, nangabe silandelwa libizo sitlolwa ngokuhlangana, Isib:*

(1)   Uyamazi **lo**muntu na?   'Do you know this person ?'

        NgeyeSayensi **lencwadi**.   'This is a Science book.'

Sub-rule 1.2: The demonstrative pronoun of the 2nd and 3rd positions is written disjunctively with the noun it precedes, e.g., / I*sabizwana sokukhomba indawo yesi-2 neyesi-3 zitlolwa ngokuhlukana nebizo eziliphambako, Isib:*

(2)   **Labo** bantu angibazi.   'Those people I do not know.'

        Akafuni **lezo** zitja.   'She does not want those dishes.'

Ngiqale **laba(ya)** abantu.   'I'm looking at those people yonder/
                                                        over there.'

Uthanda **leya(ya)** intombi.   'He likes that girl yonder/over there.'

Sub-rule 1.3: When the 2nd and 3rd position demonstrative pronouns preceed Classes 8 and 10 nouns, the vowels **-ii-** of the noun class prefixes are not doubled, e.g., */ Nangabe isabizwana sokukhomba, sendawo yesibilli neyesithathu sivela silandelwe mabizo wesigaba sobu-8 nese-10, abokamisa ababili besithomo abo-ii ababuyelelwa, Isib:*

(3) Cl.8: Lez**o**nkolo (< lezo + iinkolo) 'Those schools'   (and not * **lez**oo**nkolo**)

    Cl.10: Lez**a**nkomo (leza + iinkomo) 'Those yonder beasts'(and not * l**ezaankomo**)

Sub-rule 1.4: When the demonstrative pronoun precedes the copulative noun it is written disjunctively, e.g.,/*Nangabe isabizwana sokukhomba siphamba isibanjalo sitlolwa ngokuhlukana, Isib*:

(4)   1st position: **Lesi** <u>sisipho</u> sami.   'This is my gift'
              2nd position: **Labo** <u>bantwana</u> bethu.   'Those are our children.'
              3rd position: **Leza(ya)** <u>ziimbuzi</u>.   'Those yonder are goats.'

Sub-rule 1.5: When the demonstrative pronoun is preceded by its coreferent noun from the non-nasal class, the noun and the demonstrative pronoun are written conjunctively, e.g., / *Nangabe isabizwana sokukhomba siphanjwa libizo lesigaba esinganaye umakghadlana, ibizo nesabizwana sokukhomba zitlolwa ngokuhlangana, Isib*:

 (5a)   Biza **abafundis<u>abo</u>** (< abafundisi labo)   'Call those pastors.'
              Isithombe<u>si</u> (< isithombe lesi) ngesami.   'This photo is mine.'

Note: In the case of the nasal classes, the demonstrative pronoun and its coreferent noun are written disjunctively. Consider the examples that follow.

Yelela: Eengabeni ezinomakghadlana isabizwana sokukhomba nebizo zitlolwa
ngokuhlukana. Isib:

(5b) Umntwana **lo** uyagula.   'This child is sick.'

Imizi **leya(ya)** ngeyabongqongqotjhe.   'Those yonder houses are of the
                                                 ministers.'

Indoda **leyo** yikosi yaKwaMrimitjhi.   'That man is a chief of KwaMrimitjhi.'

Sub-rule 1.6: When the demonstrative pronoun of Class 16 is preceded by the locative of the same class 16 they are written conjunctively, e.g.; / *Nangabe isabizwana sokukhomba sesigaba se-16 silandela undaweni wesigaba se-16 sitlolwa   ngokuhlangana. Isib:*

(6)   Lenyoni yakhele **phezulwa** (<phezulu la).   'This bird has built its nest up here.'

Ufunani **phambilapho (<**phambili lapho**)**.   'What do you want in front there?'

Sub-rule 1.7: When the demonstrative pronoun of the non-nasal class is preceded by the possessive pronoun of the non-nasal class they are written conjunctively,e.g., / *Nangabe isabizwana sokukhomba sesigaba sesithomo esinganaye umakghadlana siphanjwa sisabizwana sobumnini sesigaba esinganaye umakghadlana zitlolwa ngokuhlangana, Isib:*

(7a)   Isiboniboni **samesi** (< sami lesi) siphukile.   'This mirror of mine is broken.'

Ngiboleka isikhiya **sakhweso (<** sakho leso**)**. 'Lend me that key of yours.'

[Note**:** When this rule is reversed (i.e., the demonstrative pronoun precedes the possessive pronoun) the demonstrative and possessive pronouns are written disjunctively. Consider the example that follows. */ **Yelela:** Nangabe lomthetho uyahlanakelwa (okutjho bona isabizwana sokukhomba siphamba sobumnini) isabizwana sokukhomba nesobumnini zitlolwa ngokuhlukana. Qala iimbonelo ezilandelako:]*

(7b)   **Lesi sami** isiboniboni siphukile.   'This one of mine the mirror is broken.'

Ngiboleka **leso sakho** isikhiya.   'Lend me that one of yours the key.'

Rule 2: Possessive pronoun

There are only two sub-rules governing the writing of the possessive pronouns in Southern Ndebele.

Sub-rule 2.1: When the possessive pronoun is preceded by a noun from the nasal class they are written conjunctively, e.g., / *Nangabe isabizwana sobumnini siphanjwa libizo lesigaba sesithomo esinomakghadlana zitlolwa ngokuhlangana, Isib:*

(8a)   **Umnganami** (< umngani wami) nguSipho.   'My friend is Sipho.'
       Ngiyiphi **imizenu** (< imizi yenu) la.   'Which are your homes here.'
       Amazwakhe (< amazwi wakhe) ayezwakala.   'His words are clear.'

[Note**:** In the case of non-nasal classes the possessive pronoun and the preceding coreferent noun are written disjunctively.] Consider that example that follows/ ***Yelela**:Eengabeni zeenthomo ezinganaye umakghadlana isabizwana sobumnini nebizo eliphamba isabizwana zitlolwa ngokuhlukana, Qala iimbonelo ezilandelako:*

(8b)   Ngikhuluma **nabantwana bami**.   **'I speak to my children.'**
       Phakamisa **ilizwi lakho**.   'Raise your voice.'

Sub-rule 2.2: When the possessive pronoun precedes its coreferent noun they are written disjunctively, e.g., / *Nangabe isabizwana sobumnini siphamba ibizo sitlolwa ngokuhlukana, Isib:*

(9)   **Zethu** izindlu zakhiwe entabeni.   'Our houses are built on a mountain.'
      Labo ilanga lokugwetjwa liseza**.**   'Their day of judgment is still coming.**'**

Rule 3: Absolute and demonstrative pronouns

When the absolute pronoun of the non-nasal class precedes the demonstrative pronoun they coalesce and are written as one word, e.g., / *Nangabe isabizwana samambala sesigaba sesithomo esinganamakghadlana siphamba isabizwana sokukhomba ziyahlangana bese zitlolwa ngokuhlangana*, *Isib*:

(10a) Ngifuna **bonaba (<** bona laba**)** abantu. 'I want the very same people.'

 Bathanda **zonezi (<** zona lezi) iingoma. 'They like the very same songs.**'**

Note**:** When this rule is reversed, i.e., the demonstrative pronoun precedes the absolute pronoun, they are written disjunctively. Consider the example that follows / *Lomthetho nangabe uyahlanakelwa okutjho bona isabizwana sokukhomba siphamba samambala zitlolwa ngokuhlukana. Qala iimbonelo ezilandelako:*

(10b) Ngifuna **laba bona** (abantu). 'I want these ones (the people).'

 Lezi zona (iingoma) ngiyazithanda. 'These ones (the songs) I like.'

Rule 4: The inclusive quantitative pronouns

The inclusive quantitative pronouns are written disjunctively e.g., / *Izabizwana ezibuthelelako zitlolwa ngokuhlukana, Isib:*

 (11) Sikhulume nabo **boke** emhlanganweni. 'We spoke to them all at the meeting.'

 Umlayezo wafika kithi **soke**. 'The message came to us all.'

9.2.2 Conjunctives

Rule 5: The conjunctive na 'when/if'

The conjunctive **na** is written conjunctively with the predicate it precedes, e.g., / *Isihlanganiso u-**na** sitlolwa ngokuhlangana nesilandiso esisiphambako, Isib:*

(12)   **Nasilalako** benikuphi ?   'When we slept where were you?'

Kungcono **nanimakholwa.**   'It is better if you are Christians.'

9.2.3 Duplication of stems

Rule 6: Duplication of word stems

Words that are used with the purpose of emphasis are duplicated, e.g., / *Amagama asetjenziselwa ukugandelela ayabuyelelwa, Isib:*

(13)   KwaNdebele kumakhaza **khulukhulu** ebusika.

'At KwaNdebele [it] is cold especially in winter.'

Basebenze **kancanikancani** baqeda.

'They worked bit by bit and got finished.'

9.2.4 Capitalization

Rule 7: Capitalization of nouns, headings, titles and place names

The rule governing the capitalization of letters of nouns, headings, titles and place names in Southern Ndebele has six sub-rules which are as follows –

Sub-rule 7.1: The first letter at the beginning of a sentence is capitalized, e.g., / *Iledere lokuthoma elisekuthomeni komutjho litlolwa ngegabhadlhela, Isib*:

(14)   **I**zolo beligabhoga. **A**bantwana akhange baye esikolweni.

'Yesterday it was snowing. Children did not go to school.'

Sub-rule 7.2: The first letter of each word in the heading or sub-heading of a text or title of a book is capitalized, e.g., / *Iledere lokuthoma legama elinye nelinye lesihloko nanyana isihlokwana nanyana ithayitlela yencwadi litlolwa ngegabhadlhela, Isib*:

(15)   **M**umuntu-ke **L**oyo.   'That is typical of a person.'

          Ngifanele **U**kuzenzela**.**   **'**I'm supposed to do things for myself.'

Sub-rule 7.3: The first letter of a vocative word or title of a person should be capitalized, e.g.,/*Iledere   lokuthoma   legama   elisikgharameji   nanyana   ithayitlela   yomuntu kufanele itlolwe ngegabhadlhela*, *Isib*:

(16)   **M**fundisi!   'Pastor!'

          Phrofesa Mahlathini   'Professor Mahlathini'

Sub-rule 7.4: The first letter after the initial vowel of a proper noun of a title is capitalized, e.g., / *Iledere lokuthoma ngemva kwakakamisa-sithomo webizo- mbala lethayitlela litlolwa ngegabhadlhela*, *Isib*:

(17)   u**M**fundisi Mathibela.   'Pastor Mathibela.'

          u**N**omzana Mabhena.   'Mr Mabhena.'

Sub-rule 7.5: In Southern Ndebele official place names beginning with **kwa-** the letter **k** of **kwa-** and the first letter of its stem are capitalized, e.g., / *Amabizo wesiNdebele   wangokomthetho   weendawo   athoma   ngo-**kwa**   iledere   u-**k**   ka-**kwa** kanye neledere lokuthoma lesiqu kutlolwa ngamagabhadlhela* , *Isib*:

(18)   **K**wa**N**debele   'at the place of amaNdebele'

          Kwa**Z**ulu   'at the place of the Zulus'

          Kwa**M**rimitjhi   'at the place of Mrimitjhi.'

          Kwa**M**abhoko**.**   **'**at Mabhoko's place'

Sub-rule 7.6: An official Ndebele place name is written with one capital letter which is the first letter immediately after the initial vowel, e.g., / *Ibizo lesiNdebele langokomthetho lendawo litlolwa ngegabhadlhela elilodwa elilandela ukamisa-sithomo*, *Isib:*

(19a)	iSiyabuswa	'Siyabuswa'
	eMathulastand.	'at Mathula stand'
	eKangala.	'at Kangala'

Note: In place names beginning with a vowel, the initial vowel and the vowel stem are separated by a hyphen. Consider the example that follows /*Yelela:Emabizweni weendawo athoma ngokamisa, ukamisa-sithomo nokamisa wesiqu sebizo bahlukaniswa yi-hayifeni, Isib:*

| (19b) | i-Ermelo | 'Ermelo' | e-Ogies | 'At Ogies' |
| | i-America | 'America' | e-Indonesia | 'in Indonesia' |

9.2.5 Compound moods and tenses
There are certain specific rules that govern the writing of (compound) moods and tenses comprising various formatives in Southern Ndebele.

Rule 8: The writing of various formatives.
This rule contains eight sub-rules which are as follows –

Sub-rule 8.1: When the auxiliary verb -**be** with the subject concord precedes a verb, it is written jointly with the verb it precedes, e.g., / *Nangabe isiza-senzo u-be silanywa (silandelwa ngemuva) sisenzo esinesivumelwano sehloko sitlolwa ngokuhlangana nesenzo esilandelako*, *Isib*:

| (20) | U**be** alele | > | bekalele | 'He was asleep.' |
| | Si**be** sikhamba | > | besikhamba | 'We were going.' |

Sub-rule 8.2: When the auxiliary verb –**be** or -**se** is used with the subject concord of the remote past tense, the auxiliary verb is written disjunctively with the main verb, e.g., /

*Nangabe isiza-senzo u-**be** nanyana u-**se** zisebenze nesivumelwano sesikhathi esadlula kade isiza-senzo sitlolwa ngokuhlukana nesenzo esilamako, Isib:*

(21)   **La<u>be</u>** ligula (ikonyana)   'It was sick (the calf).'

             Sa<u>be</u> sidla   'We were eating.'

             La<u>se</u> lifikile (izulu)   'It had arrived (the rain).'

             Za<u>se</u> zithengisiwe (iinkomo).   'They were already sold (the cattle).'

Sub-rule 8.3: If the auxiliary verb stem –**be** is not used, then the subject concord is written jointly with the verb it precedes,e.g., / *Nangabe isiqu sesiza-senzo u-**be** asisetjenziswa, isivumelwano sehloko sitlolwa ngokuhlangana nesenzo(esilandelako), Isib:*

(22)   Lababantu **ba(be) balahlekile >** Lababantu **<u>babalahlekile</u>**

                             'These people were lost.'

         Ilanga **la(be) litjhisa**   > Ilanga **<u>lalitjhisa</u>.**

                             'The sun was hot.'

Sub-rule 8.4: The copulative stem –**ba/-be** is written disjunctively with the word it precedes, e.g.,/ *Isiqu sesibanjalo u-**ba/-be** sitlolwa ngokuhlukana negama esiliphambako, Isib*:

(23)   **Kwa<u>ba</u> mnandi** emnyanyeni kaThoko. 'It was nice at Thoko's ceremony.'

        Si<u>be</u> babili abaphumelelako.   'We were two who succeeded.'

Sub-rule 8.5: When the subject concord does not appear with the auxiliary verb –**be** or –**se** these auxiliary verb stems are written conjunctively with the following verb, e.g., / *Nangabe isivumelwano sehloko asiveli ngaphambi kwaka-**be** nanyana u-**se**, leziinsiza-senzo zitlolwa ngokuhlangana nesenzo esilandelako, Isib:*

(24) Nina **benihlala (< nibe nihlala)** esigoga. 'You were staying in the location.'

Iinkomo **bezidla (<zibe zidla)** emasimini. 'The beasts were grazing in the field.'

Sesidiniwe (<sise sidiniwe) kusebenza ebusuku. 'We are tired of working at
night.'

UMavela **sekasiqedile (< use asiqedile)** isikolo. 'Mavela has finish schooling.'

Sub-rule 8.6: The narratives **–sele** and **–bese(le)** are written disjunctively with the following word, e.g., / *Isinqophisi u-sele no-bese(le) zitlolwa ngokuhlukaniswa negama elilandelako, Isib:*

(25) Ufike **sele** ngikhambile. 'He came after I had already gone.'

UNozipho **sele** aneminyaka emine. 'Nozipho is already four years old.'

Bese(le) ngilahle iinkhiya zami. 'I had already lost my keys.'

Soke **bese(le)** sizigqaja ngaye. 'All of us we were already proud of him.'

Sub-rule 8.7: The hortative **(a)khe** is written conjunctively with the following word, e.g., / *Isikateleli u-akhe nanyana u-khe-zitlolwa ngokuhlangana negama elilandelako, Isib:*

(26) **Akhenilwe/Khenilwe** nizangibona. 'You dare fight you will see me.'

Akhengibheme/Khengibheme nami lapho. 'Let me smoke there also.'

Akhesiguqe/Khesiguqe sithandaze. 'Let us kneel down and pray.'

Sub-rule 8.8: The hortative **(a)khese** is written disjunctively with the word it follows, e.g., / *Isikateleli u-(a)khese sitlolwa ngokuhlukana negama elilandelako, Isib:*

(27) Batjele **(a)khese** bathule balalele. 'Tell them to keep quite and listen.'

(A)khese sikhambeni. 'Let us go.'

9.2.6 Vocatives

Rule 9: The vocative: ye

The vocative **ye** is written disjunctively with the word it precedes, e.g., / *Isikgharameji u-ye sitlolwa ngokuhlukana negama esiliphambako, Isib:*

(28) **Ye** msana! Woza la.   'You boy! Come here.'

      Ye madoda! Kumakhaza namhlanje.   'Men! It is cold today.'

9.2.7 Enclitics

Rule 10: The enclitic: ke

The enclitic **ke** is separated by a hyphen from the word that it succeeds, e.g., / *Iselulo u-ke sitlolwa sihlukaniswe ngehayifeni negama elisilandelako, Isib:*

(29) Sesisebenzile-**ke.**   'We have then worked.'

      Buyani ekhaya-**ke.**   'Come back home then.'

Rule 11: The formative: ndina

The formative **ndina** is written disjunctively with the preceding word, e.g., / *Isakhi undina sittlolwa sihlukane negama esililandelako, Isib*:

(30) Uzakufa msana **ndina.**   **'**You will die you damn boy.'

      Khamba vila **ndina.**   'Go you damn sluggard.'

9.2.8 Translations and foreign (cluster) sounds

Rule 12: Translation of foreign words/phrases into Southern Ndebele

The above rule comprises five sub-rules which are as follows –

Sub-rule 12.1: A foreign word/phrase that cannot be translated into Southern Ndebele for whatever reason is written as it is with a different font or underlined, e.g., / *Igama nanyana ibinzana elingatjhugululekiko ngesizathu esithileko litlolwa ngenye indlela ehlukileko nanyana lithalelwe ngaphasi, Isib:*

(31)   Sikhulume nge-**mutatis mutandis** yodwa.
              'We spoke of mutatis mutandis only.'

              Sikhulume nge-<u>mutatis mutandis</u> yodwa.
              'We spoke of mutatis mutandis only.'

              Sikhulume nge-*mutatis mutandis* yodwa.
              'We spoke of mutatis mutandis only.'

Sub-rule 12.2: The subject concord of a foreign word which cannot be translated into Southern Ndebele is separated by means of a hyphen from that word, e.g., / *Isivumelwana sehloko egameni elingakghoni ukutjhugululelwa esiNdebeleni sihlukaniswa ngehayifeni nalelo gama, Isib:*

(32)   **Yi-***mutatis mutandis* esikhuluma ngayo.
          'It is mutatis mutandis that we talk about.'

           Umhlangano **we-***Common Wealth Organization* ukhambe kuhle.
          'The meeting of the Common Wealth Organization went well.'

Sub-rule 12.3: When a text is translated from a foreign language into Southern Ndebele, the capitalization rules of Southern Ndebele are upheld (i.e., not those of the source language), e.g., / *Nakutjhugululwa umtlolo ususwa kwelinye ilimi elitjhili usiwa esiNdebeleni imithetho elandelwako yokutlolwa kwamagabhadlhela kuba ngeyesiNdebele hayi yelimi elimsuka, Isib:*

(33)   **Si**sebenza em**N**yangweni wezee**N**dlela noku**T**hutha.
            '**We** work in the **D**epartment of **R**oads and **T**ransport.'

            U**N**gqongqotjhe wezama**P**hilo ne**H**lalakuhle
            'The **M**inister of **H**ealth and **W**elfare'

Sub-rule 12.4: Where the names of organizations, titles of books and official programmes, translated into Southern Ndebele appear for the first time, they should be written as they are and be bracketed, e.g., / *Amabizo weenhlangano, amathayitlela weencwadi, amahlelo wangokomthetho atjhugululelwa   esiNdebeleni la avela khona kokuthoma kufanele atlolwe njengombana anjalo   afakwe kibokaki, Isib:*

(34)   IsiTatimende seKharikhyulamu yeliZweloke esiBuyekeziweko **(The Revised National Curriculum Statement)** sinikela indlela etja yokufunda
        nokufundisa.
        'The Revised National Curriculum Statement gives a new approach to learning
        and teaching.'

Sub-rule 12.5: Where an abbreviation in the source language has been given, it is written as it appears in the source language, e.g., / *Lapha kunikelwe khona iinrhunyezo zelimi elimsuka, zitlolwa njengombana sinjalo elimini elimsuka, Isib:*

(35) IsiTatimende seKharikhyulamu yeliZweloke esiBuyekeziweko **(RNCS)** sinikela
       indlela etja yokufunda.
      'The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) gives a new approach to
       learning and teaching.'

Note: If the text needs an isiNdebele abbreviation, the abbreviation is formed according to the isiNdebele capitalization rules. Consider the examples that follow / *Tjheja-ke: Nangabe umtlolo ufuna isirhunyezo sesiNdebele, leso sirhunyezo sizakubunjwa*

ngokulandela imithetho yesiNdebele yokutlolwa kwamagabhadlhela. Qaka iimbonelo ezilandelako:

 (36) UNgqongqotjhe wezeFundo umemezele ukusetjenziswa kwesi**T**atimende se**K**harikhyulamu yeli**Z**weloke esi**B**uyekeziweko (**TKZB**).

'The Minister of Education has announced the use of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS).'

Rule 13: The writing of borrowed (cluster) sounds

Sub-rule 13.1: (Some) Afrikaans (cluster) sounds will be written as follows in Southern Ndebele, e.g., / *Eminye yemidumo evela ku-Afrikaans izakutlolwa ngalendlela esiNdebeleni, Isib*:

Afrikaans	Southern Ndebele

(37) /**dr**/ as in *draad*   > /**dr**/ e.g. i**dr**ada 'wire'   i**dr**omu   'drum'
      /**tr**/ as in *straat*   > /**tr**/ e.g. isi**tr**ada 'street'   i**tr**anka   'trunk'
      /**kr**/ as in *kran*   > /**kr**/ e.g. i**kr**ani 'tap'   i**kr**igi 'cricket (insect)'
      /**vr**/,/**fr**/ as in *vloer, fraai* > /**fr**/ e.g. i**fl**uru 'floor'   -**fr**aya   'toast'
      /**bl**/ as in *blaar*   > /**bhl**/ e.g. i**bhl**ari '**l**eaf'   i**bhl**ege   'tin'
      /**br**/ as in *broek*   > /**bhr**/ e.g. i**bhr**ugu 'trousers' i**bhr**orho 'bridge'
      /**pl**/ as in *ploeg*   > /**pl**/ e.g. i**pl**urhu 'plough' i**pl**ani   'plan'
      /**pr**/ as in *prys*   >   /**pr**/ e.g. i**pr**eyisi 'price'   i**pr**obho   'cork'

Sub-rule 13.2: (Some) English (cluster) sounds are written as follows in Southern Ndebele, e.g., / *Eminye yemidumo evela esiNgisini ezakutlolwa ngalendlela esiNdebeleni, Isib:*

	English				**Southern Ndebele**		
(38)	/**gr**/	e.g	'graph'	>	/**gr**/	e.g.	i**gr**afu
	/**cr**/	e.g	'crotchet'	>	/**khr**/	e.g.	i**khr**otjhedi
	/**c**/	e.g.	'curry'	>	/**kh**/	e.g.	i**kh**eri
	/**p**/	e.g.	'pipe'	>	/**ph**/	e.g.	i**ph**ayiphu
	/**pr**/	e.g.	'principal'	>	/**phr**/	e.g.	u**phr**insipali

Note**:** The Afrikaans and English sound /**p**/ is not pronounced the same in Southern Ndebele. The Afrikaans /**p**/ is pronounced as an ejective **p[p']** while English /**p**/ as an aspirated **ph[ph],** respectively in Southern Ndebele (See the second to last examples in (37) and (38) above.

9.2.9 Abbreviations and acronyms

Rule 14: Abbreviations

Sub-rule 14.1: Relationship and occupational terms are abbreviated as follows / *Amathemu wobuhlobo naweenkhundla arhunyezwa bunje:*

(39)	Mm.	<	umma	'mother'
	Nom.	<	uNomzana	'Mr'
	Gq.	<	uGqwetha	'Lawyer / Attorney'
	Phrof.	<	uPhrofesa	'Professor'

Sub-rule 14.2: Linguistic terms are abbreviated as follows / *Amathemu wehlathululo yelimi arhunyezwa bunje:*

(40)	**sz**	< isenzo	'verb'
	bz	< ibizo	'noun'
	bb	< isibabazo	'vocative'
	sk	< isenzukuthi	'ideophone'

nn	< inani	'numeral'
sn	< isinabiso	'adverb'
sph	< isiphawulo	'adjective'
sbl	< isibaluli	'relative'
sbb	< isabizwana sokubala	'quantitative pronoun'
sbk	< isabizwana sokukhomba	'demonstrative pronoun'
njll	< njalonjalo	'et cetera'
isib	< isibonelo	'example'
bsz	< ibizo-senzo	'deverbative noun'
hll	< ihlelo	'grammar'
shl	< isahluko	'chapter'
hl	< isihlanganiso	'conjunctive'
sbmm	< isabizwana songumnini	'possessive pronoun'
sbmb	< isabizwana samambala.	'absolute pronoun'

Sub-rule 14.3: Southern Ndebele original and adopted calendar month names of the year are abbreviated as follows / *Amabizo wesiNdebele nawokubolekwa weenyanga zomnyaka arhunyezwa bunje:*

	Native (original) names		Adopted names		
(41)	uTjhirhweni	> **Tjhi.**	uJanabari	> **Jan.**	'January'
	uMhlolanja	> **Mhl.**	uFebherbari	> **Febh.**	'February'
	uNtaka	> **Nt.**	uMatjhi	> **Mtjh.**	'March'
	uSihlabantakana	> **Sihlab**.	u-Apreli	> **Apr.**	'April'
	uMrhayili	> **Mrh.**	uMeyi	> **Mey**.	'May'
	uMgwengweni	> **Mgw.**	uJuni	> **Jun.**	'June'
	uVelabahlinze	> **Vhl.**	uJulayi	> **Jul.**	'July'
	uRhoboyi	> **Rhob.**	u-Arhostesi	> **Arh.**	'August'
	uKhukhulamungu	> **Khukh**.	uSeptemba	> **Sept.**	'September'
	uSewula	> **Sew.**	u-Oktoba	> **Okt.**	'October'
	uSinyikhaba	> **Skhb.**	uNovemba	> **Nov.**	'November'

uNobayeni   > **Nob.**   uDisemba   > **Dis.**   'December'

Sub-rule 14.4: Days of the week are abbreviated as follows / *Amalanga weveke arhunyezwa bunje:*

(42)   uMvulo   > **Mvl.**   'Monday'

          uLesibili   > **Lsb.**   **'**Tuesday'

          uLesithathu   > **Lst.**   **'**Wednesday'

          uLesine   > **Lsn.**   'Thursday'

          uLesihlanu   > **Lsh.**   'Friday'

          uMgqibelo   > **Mgq.**   **'**Saturday'

          uSondo   > **Snd**.   **'**Sunday'

Sub-rule 14.5: The measurement of mass is abbreviated as follows / *Iinlinganiso zobudisi zirhunyezwa bunje:*

(43)   imiligremu   > **mg.**   'milligram'

          isentigremu   > **sg.**   'centigram'

          idesigremu   > **dg.**   'decigram'

          igremu   > **g.**   'gram'

          idekhagremu   > **deg.**   'decagram'

          ihekthogremu   > **hg**.   'hectogram'

          ikhilogremu   > **kg.**   'kilogram'

Sub-rule 14.6: The measurement of volume is abbreviated as follows / *Iinlinganiso zomthamo zirhunyezwa bunje:*

(44)   imililitha   > **ml.**   'millilitre'

          isentilitha   > **sl.**   'centilitre'

          idesilitha   > **dl.**   'decilitre'

          ilitha   > **l.**   'Litre'

idekhalitha	> **del.**	'decalitre'
ihektholitha	> **hl.**	'hectolitre'
ikhilolitha	> **kl.**	'kilolitre'

Sub-rule 14.7: The measurement of distance is abbreviated as follows / *Iinlinganiso zamabanga zirhunyezwa bunje:*

(45)
imilimitha	> **mm.**	'millimetre'
isentimitha	> **sm.**	'centimetre'
idesimitha	> **dm.**	'decimetre'
imitha	> **m.**	'metre'
idekhamitha	> **dem.**	'decametre'
ihekthomitha	> **hm.**	'hectometre'
ikhilomitha	> **km.**	'kilometre'

Sub-rule 14.8: An acronym coined from a foreign language(s) is written as it appears in the source language, e.g., / *I-akhronimi evela kwelinye ilimi itlolwa njengombana injalo esiNdebeleni, Isib*:

(46) iSADTU, iNaptosa njll.

9.2.10 Counting

Rule 15: Numerical numbers

Southern Ndebele numerals from 1-10 are written as follows in words / *Iinomboro kusukela kokuku-1 ukuya e-10 ngesiNdebele zitlolwa bunje:*

(47)
1. = -nye	e.g. Unegama **linye** uSipho.	'Sipho has one name.'
2. = -bili	e.g. Ngithenge abokatsu **ababili.**	'I bought two cats.'
3. = -thathu	e.g. Nginezinja **ezintathu**.	'I have three dogs.'
4. = -ne	e.g. Sihlezi amalanga **amane**.	'We stayed four days.'

5. = -hlanu   e.g. Ngimuphe imigodla **emihlanu**. 'I gave him five bags.'

6. = -thandathu /-ntandathu e.g. Izimvu zami **zithandathu**.   'I have six sheep.'

7. = -khomba   e.g. Sifunda isahluko **sekhomba**.   'We read chapter seven.'

8. = -nane   e.g. **Sibunane** ekhaya.   'We are eight at home.'

9. = -thoba   e.g. Li-iri **lethoba**   'It is 9 o'clock.

10. = -tjhumi/-sumi e.g. Bathengise **itjhumi** leembuzi. 'They sold ten goats.'

9.2.11 Punctuation marks

Rule 16: The hyphen

There are six sub-rules governing the use of a hyphen in Southern Ndebele which are as follows –

A hyphen is used to - / *Ihayifeni isebenza uku-*

Sub-rule 16.1: separate juxtaposed vowels, e.g., / *-hlukanisa abokamisa abahlaleleneko, Isib:*

(48)   u-Abraham   'Abraham'

    i-oli   'oil'

    kwa-A.A.Ndala   'at A.A.Ndala's place'

Note**:** The rule does not apply to double vowels that occur in Classes 8 and 10. Consider the example that follows, e.g./ *Yelela**: Lomthetho awusebenzi kibokamisa abalakanyana esigabeni sobu-8 nese-10 samabizo*.Qala iimbonelo ezilandelako.

(49) Cl.8: iimphongo 'foreheads'   Cl.10: eendaweni 'at places'

Sub-rule 16.2: separate compound words /terms with linguistic meaning, e.g., / *-hlukanisa amabizo-mvango / amathemu wehlathululo yelimi, Isib:*

(50)   ibizo-senzo, 'deverbative noun'   isiza-senzo 'an auxiliary verb'

ikondlo-sililo 'an elegy'   umtlolo-phenyo 'an assignment'

Note: Compound words without such linguistic meaning do not use a hyphen.] Consider the example that follows / *Yelela: Amabizo-mvango anganahlathululo yelimi akayisebenzisi ihayifeni. Qala iimbonelo ezilandelako:*

uVelabahlinze 'July'   intabamlilo 'volcano'

Sub-rule 16.3: separate the subject concord from a number, e.g., / *-hlukanisa isivumelwano sehloko nenomboro, Isib:*

(51a)   Isigaba **se**-10.   'Section 10'   Indlu **yes**i-5 'The 5th house'
         Abantu **abama**-20.   '20 people'   Isahluko **se-**7 'Chapter 7'

  It is important to note that in the case of: / *Yelela bona*
  (a) a numeral written in words, the hyphen is not applicable, e.g.,
   / *nangabe inomboro itlolwe ngamagama, ihayifeni ayisebenzi, Isib:*

(51b)   Isigaba setjhumi.   'Section ten.'
          Indlu yesihlanu.   'The fifth house'

  (b) a numeral that is used without a concord, it is written without a hyphen, e.g.,
       / *nangabe inomboro isetjenziswa ngaphandle kwesivumelwano, itlolwa
       ngaphandle kwehayifeni*, Isib:

(51c)   Umbuzo 2, 'Question 2'   Isifundo 9 'Lesson 9'.

Sub-rule 16.4: separate the enclitic **ke** from the preceding word, e.g., /*-hlukanisa iselulo u-**ke** negama elisiphambako*, Isib:

(52)   Yidla-ke. 'So eat (then).'   Sikimani-ke. 'So stand up (then).'

            Selani-ke. 'So drink (then).'   Khuluma-ke. 'So speak (then).'

Sub-rule 16.5: separate the concord from an acronym formed from other foreign language, e.g., / *-hlukanisa isivumelwano ne-akhronimi ebunjwe elimini elitjhili, Isib*:

(53)   i-SABC, i-Sita, ama-LO, ngokwe-RNCS

Sub-rule 16.6: separate a concord from a foreign word that cannot be translated into Southern Ndebele, e.g., / *-hlukanisa isivumelwano negama lelinye ilimi elitjhili elingakatjhugulukeli esiNdebeleni, Isib*:

(54)   UNom. Mathibela ulilunga eliyi-*ex officio* kilekomidi yelimi.
            'Mr Mathibela is an ex-officio member in this language committee.'

Rule 17: An apostrophe '
An apostrophe is used to indicate vowel elision, e.g., / *Uzitjhana usetjenziselwa ukutjengisa ukamisa oweqiweko, Isib*:

(55)   Ose ngayikunz' erhutjhwe ngomlotha. 'He who is like a bull smeared with
                                                    ash'

        Uthin' ugogo?   'What says the grandmother?'

Rule 18: Full stop .
A full stop is used at the end of a sentence and abbreviations, e.g., / *Ungci uvela ekugcineni komutjho neenrhubyezweni, Isib*:

(56)   Sisebenza edorobheni.   'We working in town.'
            Ngihlala kilendlu encani.   'I stay in this small house.'

Rule 19: Comma ,

A comma is used in the middle of a sentence. The reader takes a breath at a comma, e.g., / *Ikhoma isetjenziswa phakathi komutjho, umfundi udosa ummoya nakafika kiyo*, *Isib*:

(57)   Ukube angikarhabi kangaka mzala, bengizokuphekelela.
         'If I was not in such a hurry my dear cousin, I would accompany you.'

Rule 20: Semi-colon ;

A semi-colon is used to divide different parts of a sentence or lists of items, e.g., / *Isemikholoni isebenza ukuhlukanisa iingcenye ezahlukeneko zomutjho anyana amarherho*, *Isib*:

(58)   Umfundi nomtloli banekghono loku;
          -sebenzisa ilimi ngefanelo
          -tlola ilimi ngokwemithetho evumelekileko.

         'The reader and author have the skill to
          -use correct language;
          -write the language according to the approved spelling rules.'

Rule 21: Colon :

A colon comes after a word which tells what are you going to name or enumerate, e.g., / *Ikoloni ilandela igama elitjho bona yini ozoyitjho nanyana ukuyibala ngamagama*, *Isib*:

(59)   Uthanda ukudla**:** imirorho, inyama yeenyamazana namaqanda weenkukhu.
         'He likes eating: vegetables, meat of animals and chicken eggs.'

Rule 22: Exclamation mark !

An exclamation mark appears after a word which is an exclamation, e.g., / *Isibabazo sivela ngemva kwegama elisibabazo, Isib*:

(60)   Mbulaleni! 'Kill him!'
        Maye!   'Wow'

Rule 23: Quotation marks "   "

Quotation marks are used to indicate direct speech or text quoted as is, e.g., / *Abodzubhula/abonokhuluma bavela ekulumeni enqophileko nanyana   emtlolweni odzujulwe njengombana unjalo encwadini, Isib:*

(61)   Ubaba wathi, "Bantwabami hloniphanani nanifuna ipilo emnandi."
        Our father said: "My dear children respect each other if you want an
        enjoyable life."

Rule 24: **Single quotation marks ' '**

Single quotation marks are used to indicate direct speech or a quotation within the main quotation, e.g., / *Abodzubhulana basetjenziswa ukufaka ikulumo enqophileko engaphakathi kwabodzubhula, Isib:*

(62)   Wathi, "Lingisani uJeso nakathi, 'Kuphelile' emhlabeni."
        He said; "Emulate Jesus when He said 'It is over' on earth."

Rule 25: Brackets (   )

Brackets are used to enclose words or phrases that give more or additional information about what is said, e.g., / *Abokaki / abosibayana basebenza ukufaka amagama ahlathulula banzana ngalokho okukhulunywako nanyana amagama angatjhiywa nanyana asetjenziswe emutjhweni, Isib:*

(63) Lamalanga abantu (abanzima khulukhulu) baseenkhundleni eziphezulu

embusweni.

These days people (especially blacks) are in high positions in government.

Rule 26: Square Brackets [   ] Commonly square brackets are used in a statement introducing a scene in a play, e.g., / *Aboragelela ngevama bavela emtlolweni owethula isiqephu emdlalweni, Isib:*

(64)   [*Kusemini. UMgidi uhlezi nomkakhe ngaphasi komuthi*

    [It's during the day; Mgidi is seated under the tree with his wife.]

9.3   Northern Ndebele spelling rules

In the following paragraphs the Northern Ndebele spelling rules are presented under the following select subheadings –

(i) Pronouns	(ii) Conjunctives
(iii) Capitalization	(iv) Compound moods and tenses
(v) Enclitics	(vi) Punctuation marks

Thereafter a comparative discussion of three important sets of rules for Northern Ndebele and Southern Ndebele follows (see 9.4 ff.):

(i) Orthographical Rules	(ii) Syllabic nasal sounds
(iii) Vowel sequences	

9.3.1 Pronouns

Rule 1: Demonstrative pronoun

The basic sentence position of demonstrative pronouns in Northern Ndebele is post nominal. However, there are three sub-rules governing the writing of a demonstrative pronoun in Northern Ndebele which are as follows;

Sub-rule 1.1: The first position demonstrative pronoun is written conjunctively with the noun it precedes, e.g., / *Sabitwana sekukhombha edute sihlanganiswa nelibito elilandelako, Isib*:

(65)   **Lomunru** andimuwati.   'This person I do not know.'

      Mbitele **lomtlhangana.**   'Call me this boy.'

Note: Ziervogel writes the first position demonstrative pronoun disjunctively with the noun it precedes. Consider the example that follows.

      Le nkxhadi-ke inesiti sayo asiphetheko. 'This aunt has a present she holds.'

                                                    (Ziervogel, op. cit.:206)

Sub-rule 1.2:   The second and third position demonstrative pronouns are written disjunctively with the nouns they preced, e.g., / *Sabitwana sekukhombha kude nakudekude sahlukaniswa elibitweni elilandelako, Isib:*

(66)   **2nd position: Loo** mufati gewaNungu.   'That woman is of Nungu.'

            Labo banru asibati.   'Those people we do not know.'

      3rd position: Leta tikxomo tifile.   'Those yonder beasts are dead.'

            Laba banrwana mbakho.   'Those yonder children are yours.'

Sub-rule 1.3: The demonstrative pronoun that appears post nominally is written disjunctively, e.g., / *Tabitwana   tekukhombha   tigwalwa   gekwahlukaniswa nativela emuva kwelibito, Isib*:

(67)   Mmati **lo** gumalume.   'This carpenter is my uncle.'

     Bayeni **labo** babuya ePolokwana.   'Those visitors are from Polokwane.'

     Bulala sixhogu **lesa.**   'Kill that yonder spider.'

9.3.2 Conjunctives

Rule 2: The conjunctive na and ke 'when/if'

The conjunctive **na** and **ke** are written disjunctively, e.g., / *Tihlanganiso **na** na **ke** tigwalwa gekwahlukaniswa, Isib:*

(68)   **Na/ke** afuna musebenti akete la.   'If he wants a job let him come here.'

Gesikhethu **na/ke** usumayela jama.   'In our tradition if you speak, stand up.'

9.3.3 Capitalization

Rule 3: Capitalization of nouns, headings, titles and place names

Sub-rule 3.1: The first letter of a stem of a noun denoting nationality will be capitalized, e.g., / *Nhlanga yemakxwalo yesikxu selibito elikhombha mihlobo yebanru iba nhlangakxulu, Isib:*

(69)   li**N**debele   li**B**hunu

ma**S**wati   ma**T**songa

Sub-rule 3.2: The first letter of a stem of a noun denoting languages will be capitalized, e.g., / *Nhlanga yemakxwalo yesikxu selibito elikhombha lilimi iba nhlangakxulu, Isib:*

(70a)   si**N**debele 'Ndebele language'   si**Z**ulu   'Zulu language'

si**Y**isimani 'English'   si**B**hunu 'Afrikaans language'

However, Ziervogel (1959:182) writes the first letter of a stem of a noun denoting languages in a small letter, e.g.,

(70b) Wabaphilisa njalo wayenta kuri bakxejise sikhalanga kusunyayelwe siswazi.

'He treated them in that way and made them stop speaking the Sikhalanga

 language and start speaking Swazi.'

Sub-rule 3.3: In the case of all other nouns the first letter of the noun is a capital, e.g.,
/*Okxe manye mabito akhuliswa gekukhulisa nhlanga yemakxwalo yelibito, Isib:*

(71)   **S**omandla   'God'   **M**usumbhuluko 'Monday'
         Liwandle eli**B**ovu   'Red Sea'   **M**andla   '(personal name)'
         Nhlangano ye**M**aphasi.   'United Nations'   **M**bhibili   'Bible.'

Sub-rule 3.4: The first letter after the (possessive, adjective, relative) concord will be
captalized, .e.g., / *Nhlanga yemakxwalo emuva kwesivumelwano (sebumnikati, sesiphawuli, sesitataniso) itaba nhlangakxulu, Isib*:

(72)   **M**ukhosi we**M**bhasiga   'Easter / Passover Festival'
         Nhlangano ye**M**aphasi .   'United Nations.'
         Moya o**M**ukxhethwa.   'Holy Spirit.'

Sub-rule 3.5: When a locative noun forms part of a qualificative the first letter of the
stem of the locative is capitalized, e.g., / *Lapha libito endaweni liba nkxeto yesihlathululi nhlanga yemakxwalo salo iyakhuliswa, Isib:*

(73)   Si**N**debele sase**N**yakatho.   'Northern Ndebele.'
         Banrwana base**L**impopo.   'Children of Limpopo.'

Sub-rule 3.6: The first letter of every word in the title of books and the heading of
essays will be a capital letter, e.g., / *Nhlanga yemakxwalo yelitinyo galinye etihlokweni tetibuka nasetihlokweni tetindaba iba nhlangakxulu, Isib:*

(74)   **M**ashada **N**emithetho **Y**ekugwala **K**wesi**N**debele **S**ase**N**yakatho.
          'The Sounds and Spelling Rules of the Northern Ndebele.'

Sub-rule 3.7: Absolute and possessive pronouns referring to the Deity are written in small letters, e.g., / *Sabitwana semambhala nesabitwana sebumnikati esikhombha bukxulukxulu sigwalwa genhlanga enghane, Isib:*

(75)   Banru bekhethu abasalotjhi badimu.
          'Our people no longer respect the ancestors.'

Sub-rule 3.8: For place names beginning with the locative prefix **Ka**- the first letter of the word together with the first letter of the stem is capitalised, e.g., / *Mabito yetindawo akxwala gesikxwalo **Ka**-sasendaweni nhlanga yekukxwala yelibito kanye nenhlanga yekukxwala yesikxu iba nhlangakxulu, Isib:*

(76)   **KaZ**ulu   'Zululand'   **KaN**debele   'Ndebele land'
        KaMugombhane 'Potgietersrust'   **KaM**adlala   'Settlement in the Limpopo
                                                                      Province.'

Ziervogel (1959:180) writes the letter **k** of the locative prefix **ka**- with a small letter, e.g., MaNdebele aphuma ebuhlabalanga **k**aMalaji.
     'Ndebele's are from the east at Malaji's place.'

Sub-rule 3.9: In the case of all other place names, the first letter after the initial vowel will be capitalized, e.g., / *Okxe amanye mabito yetindawo nhlanga yekukxwala elandela nkhamisa yekukxwala iba nhlangakxulu, Isib:*

(77)   e**G**iyane   'at Giyane'   e**M**ashashane   'at Mashashane'
        e**P**olokwane   'at Polokwane'   e**T**shwane   'at Pretoria'

9.3.4 Compound moods and tenses

Rule 4: The auxiliary verb **–be** is never dropped and is written conjunctively to the following word. The following sub-rules apply here: / *Nsitasiyento –**be** igekhe isukelwe kodwana igwalwa gekuhlanganiswa nalokhu okuyilandelako. Mithetho elandelako isebenta lapha*:

Sub-rule 4.1: when the subject concord of **–be** consists of a vowel only the subject concord is omitted while a semi-vowel is inserted between **–be** and the subject concord that follows it, e.g., / *Nasivumelwano senhloko sa-**be** siphethe nkhamisa kaphela sivumelwano lesi sisukelwe kuri sigankhamisa ifakwa ekhathi kwa-**be** nesivumelwano senhloko esilandelako, Isib:*

(78)   Nkxosi (**i**be isaphila >) be**y**isaphila   'The chief was still alive.'
          (**U**be usekhona >) Be**w**usekhona.   'You were still there.'

Ziervogel (1959:186) writes the auxiliary verb stem **–be** (whose subject concord consists of a vowel) disjunctively with the word it precedes, e.g.,

   Mugwalo ubuswa guMungali lo **ibe** inkxosi kaSibindi.
   'Mugwalo is governed by Mungali who is the chief at Sibindi's (place).'

Sub-rule 4.2: In the case of subject nouns belonging to Class 1 or 1a the vowel of
–be is replaced by the subject concord **a** that follows it, e.g;, / *Lapha nhloko ilibito elisesitlhopheni sa-**1** gambho 1a nkhamisa ya-**be** isukelwa kuri sivumelwano senhloko **a** esiyilandelako siteka indawo yayo, Isib*:

(79a)   Mufati lo (ub**e** asathagela >) ub**a**sathagela.   'This woman was still dancing.'
          Nkhulu (ub**e** asumayela >) ub**a**sumayela.   'My grandfather was talking.'

In the situative mood, Ziervogel (op. cit.:186) uses the auxiliary verb **–be** disjunctively with the verb it precedes, i.e., the subject concord **a-** of the noun belonging to Class 1 or 1a does not (for him) replace the vowel **–e** of the auxiliary verb stem **be,** e.g.,

(79b)   Mathetha **ube a**teka iyise agatjho afe…
         'Mathetha was married before his father died…'

Sub-rule 4.3: In instances where the subject concord of **–be** consists of more than a vowel the subject concord is omitted and **–be** is joined to the following word, e.g., / *Lapha sivumelwano senhloko sa-**be** siphethe nkhamisa nenkhambhisani sivumelwano senhloko siyasukelwa kuri –**be** ahlanganiswe nelivi elilandelako, Isib:*

(80a)   **li**be linetha   > **be**linetha   'It was raining.'
           sibe sithandana > **be**sithandana.   'We were fond of each other.'

According to Ziervogel (1959:189) the subject concord of **–be** which consists of more than a vowel is not discarded and **–be** is disjunctively written with the word it precedes, e.g.,

         Llanga **libe** libalele nkxosi yalayela butimbha.
         'The weather was clear and the chief called a hunt.'

Sub-rule 4.4: The copulative verb stem –ba
The copulative verb stem **–ba** is written conjunctively, e.g., / *Sikxu lesi sigwalwa gekuhlanganiswa nalokhu okusilandelako, Isib:*

(80b)   Sivile kuri u**ba**gawune.   'We heard that he is getting better.'
           Lita**ba**madoda.   'You will be men.'

Ziervogel (op. cit.:193) writes the copulative verb stem **–ba** disjunctively with the word that follows, e.g.,

(80c)   **Ntaba** nkxosi enjani nalokhwa ngaphola.
          'What sort of chief will I be when I get well.'

Rule 5:   The negative formative –gasi-

The negative formative **–gasi-** is written conjunctively with a word it precedes, e.g., / *Siyakhi sekulandula **–gasi**-sigwalwa gekuhlukaniswa nelivi elilandelako, Isib:*

(81a)   Abathandi tidlo **etigasimunandi**.   'They don't like food that is not nice.'
          Sifuna laba **bagasilapho** bete la.   'We want those who are not there to
                                                   come here.'

Ziervogel writes the negative construction **–gasi** disjunctively with the word it precedes, e.g.,

(81b)   Babe **bagasi** gawune.   'They were not better'
          Titabe **tigasi** lapha.   'They will not be here.'   (Ziervogel.1959:155).

Rule 6:   The negative formative asi-

The negative formative **asi-** in negative copulatives is written   conjunctively, e.g., / *Siyakhi sekulandula **asi**-sigwalwa sihlanganiswa nalokhu okusilandelako, Isib:*

(82a)   Munru lo **asi**kubhabha.   'This person is not my father.'
          Timbuti leti **asi**tokxe la.   'These goats are not all here.'

Ziervogel writes the negative formative **asi** disjunctively with the word that follows as can be seen in the following examples –

(82b)   Nteko **asi** nro ya jeje.   'It is not a ladle.'   (Ziervogel, op. cit.:214)

          Asi mugegulu.   'It is not an old woman.' (Ziervogel, op. cit.:96)

Rule7:   The progressive copulative –sese-

The progressive copulative –**sese**- is written conjunctively, e.g., / *Siyakhi lesisisaya selibanjalo sigwalwa sihlanganiswa nalokhu okusilandelako, Isib:*

(83a)   Labo ba**sese**batlhangana.   'Those are still boys.'

          Sikxabula lesi si**sese**nsami.   'This shoe is still mine.'

Ziervogel writes the progressive copulative **sese** disjunctively, e.g.**,**

(83b)   Nrimbha wafumana miti le ibe ibuswa guMungali **isese** nebanru laba basele…

         'Nrimbha found that the kraals which were ruled by Mungali still have

          people who remained…'

         Kure **isese** nkusasa likxhuwa leli lateka sithunya latheukela gemuNgeti…

         'During the morning the European took his gun and went down to the San

          River…' (Ziervogel.1959:189)

9.3.5 Enclitics

As noted earlier, acccording to Ziervogel (1959:173), enclitics are not suffixes in Northern Ndebele but separate words that are spoken as part of the word to which they are attached.

Rule 8: The enclitic –**ke** is separated from the preceding word with a hyphen, e.g., / *Siwongeto –ke sigwalwa sihlukaniswe gehayifeni nelivi elisilandelako, Isib*:

(84)   Sumayela-**ke** sive.   'Speak then let us hear.'

          Khamba-**ke.**   'Go then.'

Rule 9: The enclitic **ni** is written conjunctively, e.g., / *Siwongeto **ni** sigwalwa gekuhlanganiswa nelivi elisilandelako, Isib:*

(85a)   Ufuna**ni** ?   'What do you want ?

              Sina**ni** ?   'What do we have?'

Ziervogel is inconsistent with regard to the writing of the enclitic **ni** in his work. In certain instances, he inserts the hyphen between the enclitic **ni** and the word that comes before the enclitic while in other cases he writes it conjunctively, e.g.,

(85b)   Bari: 'Na ubina-**ni**?

           'They said: 'What is your totem?'

           Sifanele **kuyentani** gekuba nenje siya eSwazini.

           'What are we supposed to do because we are now going to Swaziland.'

                                                        (Ziervogel, op. cit.:182).

Rule 10: The enclitic **phi** is written conjunctively, e.g., / *Siwongeto **phi** sigwalwa gekuhlanganiswa, Isib:*

(86)   Liya**phi**?   'Where are you going?'

              Ba**phi**?   'Where are they?

Rule 11: The enclitic **ndina** is written conjunctively, e.g., / *Siwongeto **ndina** sigwalwa gekuhlanganiswa, Isib:*

(87a)   Mutlhangana**ndina**   'You (damn) boy!'

              Nnja**ndina** !   'You (damn) dog!'

Ziervogel inserts a hyphen between the preceding word and the enclitic **ndina,** e.g.,

(87b)   Mufati-**ndina**!   'You (damn) woman!'

9.3.6   Punctuation marks

Rule 12: The hyphen

The hyphen is used in the following instances: / *Nhayifeni isebentiswa nje:*

Sub-rule 12.1: When a numeral is preceded by any formative, e.g., / *Lapha linani likhanjelwa embhili gesinye siyakhi, Isib:*

(88)   Sithenge tikxomo eti-6.   'We bought 6 cows.'
            Sifuna banru aba-18.   'We want 8 people.'

Sub-rule 12.2: For practical reasons in lengthy compound words, e.g., / *Emabitoni amande, Isib:*

(89)   Sidudla-mafehlefehle.   'a stout woman.'

Rule 13:   The apostrophe

The apostrophe is used to indicate elision which mainly occurs in poetry and dialogue, e.g., / *Lititjhana lisebentiswa kukhombha kusukelwa okuvame kuvela etibongweni nasekusabetisaneni, Isib*:

(90)   Munru' kxomo.   'A person who is a beast'
            Ndaba' kxulu.   'A big matter/issue.'

9.4 Differences in the orthographical and spelling rules between Southern and Northern Ndebele

The two Ndebele languages differ in many respect in as far as their spelling rules are concerned, i.e., there are rules that

(a) have been developed for one and not both Ndebele languages, and
(b) rules that are applied differently in the two Ndebele languages.

In the following paragraphs the differences in the orthographical and spelling rules of the two Ndebele languages are discussed under the following subheadings –

The spelling rules that

(i) have been developed for the Southern Ndebele but not for the Northern Ndebele, and
(ii) those that are applied differently in the two Ndebele languages.

9.4.1 The Spelling rules that have been developed for Southern Ndebele but not for Northern Ndebele

There are numerous language aspects that have been developed for Southern Ndebele but not for Northern Ndebele. The following are the Southern Ndebele language aspects for which spelling rules related to their writing and formation have been developed while in Northern Ndebele such rules have not been developed and documented (yet):

(i) Translations and foreign (cluster) sounds
(ii) Abbreviations and acronyms of the following;
 (a) Relationship and occupational terms
 (b) Linguistic terms
 (c) Months of the year
 (d) Days of the week
 (e) Measurement of: -mass

-volume, and

-distance

(iii) Duplication of stems

(iv) Numerals

(vii) Punctuation marks

9.4.2 The spelling rules that are applied differently in Southern and Northern Ndebele

There are differences in the use or application of the orthographical and spelling rules in Southern and Northern Ndebele. There is a difference in the use of the hyphen and word division rules regarding the conjunctive, formative **ndina**, the copulative verb stem **–ba,** demonstratives and possessives. There are also differences regarding capitalization rules and rules governing vowel juxtaposition.

9.4.2.1 The hyphen: /-/

Southern Ndebele has six sub-rules governing the use of the hyphen, while Northern Ndebele has three. The common rule governing the use of a hyphen in compound words in both languages differs. In Southern Ndebele, according to **Sub-rule 2,** the hyphen is only used in compound words or terms with a 'linguistic meaning', while in Northern Ndebele it is, for practical reasons, only used in "lengthy compound words" (cf. Sub-rule 12.2 in Northern Ndebele). Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
	Linguistic terms (only)	**Practically long compounds (only)**

(91)	Ibizo-senzo	'deverbative noun'	Sidudla-mafehlefehle 'fat woman'
	Ibizo-nto	'common noun'	

9.4.2.2 Conjunctive: na / ke

The Southern Ndebele conjunctive **na** 'if/when' is written conjunctively with the word it precedes, while in Northern Ndebele the conjunctives **na** and **ke** 'if / when' are written disjunctively from the following word. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(92)　　Bewungekho **nasifikako.**　　　　Bewugekho **na / ke** sifika.

　　　　　　'You were not there when we arrived.'

　　　　Nakangafuni ukuza mbize.　　　**Na /ke** agafuni kuta mbite.

　　　　　　'If he does not want to come call him.'

9.4.2.3 The enclitic: ndina

The enclitic **ndina** occurs in both Ndebele languages, but is written disjunctively with the preceding word in Southern Ndebele and conjunctively in Northern Ndebele. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(93)　　Khamba vila **ndina!**　　　　　Khambha **livilandina!**

　　　　　　'Go you damn sluggard!'

　　　　Ufunani mfazi **ndina**!　　　　　Ufunani **mufatindina**!

　　　　　　'What do you want you damn woman!'

9.4.2.4 The copulative verb stem –ba

The copulative verb stem –**ba** is written disjunctively with the word it precedes in Southern Ndebele, while in Northern Ndebele this formative is written conjunctively with the following word. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(94) Umntwanakhe **wa<u>ba</u>** ngcono.   Munrwana wakhe **wabagaxune**.

'His child became better.'

Baza<u>ba</u> khona emnyanyeni.   **Batabakhona** emunyanyeni.

'They will be present at the ceremony.'

9.4.2.5 The non-nasal noun classes and their demonstrative pronouns

When a demonstrative pronoun appears post nominally with a noun from a non-nasal
noun class in Southern Ndebele, the demonstrative coalesces with the preceding noun
(while in the case of nasal noun classes it does not). In Northern Ndebele, when the
demonstrative appears post nominally it is written disjunctively in all classes. Compare
the following examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(95)   Bulalani **isiwebeso** (< isiwebu + leso).   Bulalani **sixugulu leso.**

'Kill that spider.'

Ngilinyazwe **lilitjeli** (< lilitje + leli).   Nkhubatwe **liye leli.**

'I'm injured by this stone.'

The rule governing the coalescence of nouns from non-nasal noun classes with
demonstrative pronouns in Southern Ndebele, is that all nouns ending on the vowel **-a, -e**
or **-i** drop the final vowel when precedes a demonstrative pronoun whilst the
demonstrative pronoun loses its initial consonant (Skhosana,1998:89). Compare the
following examples in this regard.

(96)   Abafaz(i) + (l)aba   > abafazaba   'These women'

            Ilahl(e)   + (l)elo   > ilahlelo   'That coal'

Isibh(a)   +   (l)esa(ya)   >   isibhesa   'That soap yonder'

9.4.2.6 The nasal noun classes and their possessive pronouns

Southern Ndebele nouns in the nasal classes coalesce with their possessive pronouns, while in Northern Ndebele this is not the case. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele

(97)   Indaw(o) + (y)ethu   >   indawethu   Ndawo + yethu > ndawo yethu.

'Our place.'

Amanz(i) + (w)akhe > amanzakhe   Manŧi + wakhe > manŧi wakhe

'His water.'

Umuz(i) + (w)akho > umzakho   Muŧi + wakhe > muŧi wakhe.

'His home.'

9.4.2.7 The demonstrative pronoun of Class 16 and a locative noun

In Southern Ndebele when the demonstrative pronoun of Class 16 is preceded by a locative noun the demonstrative and the locative are written conjunctively, whereas in Northern Ndebele these two word categories are written disjunctively. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele

(98)   Jama **phambilapho** (<phambili + lapho).   Jama **embhili lapho**.

'Stand there in the front.'

Hlala **phezulwapho** (< phezulu + lapho).   Hlala **phezulu lapho.**

'Stay up there.'

9.4.2.8 Capitalization

Northern Ndebele **Sub-rule 3.4** which governs the capitalization of the qualificatives states that

 'The first letter after the (possessive, adjective, relative) concord will be
  capitalized.'

The Southern Ndebele rule equivalent to the above is catered by the **Sub-rule 7.4** that states

 'The first letter after the initial vowel of a proper noun of a title is
  capitalized.'

Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**
(99)	um**N**yango weze**F**undo	Nkxundla ye**M**fundo
	'Department of Education.'	
	um**N**yango wezemi**S**ebenzi.	Nkxundla yete**M**isebenti.
	'Department of Works.'	

From the above examples, it can be deduced that the rule requires the first letter(s) of a stem to be capitalized in Southern Ndebele while in Northern Ndebele it requires the first letter after the *(*possessive, adjective or relative*)* concord to be capitalized (see examples (99) above)*.*

9.4.2.9 Vowel juxtaposition

In Southern Ndebele vowel juxtaposition is impermissible except in the noun class prefixes of Classes 8 and Class 10 where the vowels **i** and **e** are doubled. To avoid vowel juxtaposition, like all other Nguni languages, Southern Ndebele applies various phonological rules such as vowel elision, vowel coalescence, consonantalization and glide insertion. In Northern Ndebele, in contradistinction, vowel juxtaposition is a permissible phonological feature. Compare the following Southern and Northern Ndebele examples in this regard.

Southern Ndebele	**Northern Ndebele**

(100) Udlala n**o**yise (< n**a u**yise).   Udlaluka n**ai**yise (< n**a i**yise).

'He plays with his father.'

Abantu baya**y**isaba (< bay**a i**saba) ipi.   Banru bay**ai**saba (bay**a i**saba) nndwa.

'People are afraid of war.'

Sibuya k**o**munye (<k**u o**munye) umuzi.   Sibuya k**uo**munye (<k**u o**munye)

muti.

'We are coming from another homestead.'

Regarding the origin of this phonological feature in Northern Ndebele, Wilkes (2007:168) points out that

'A remarkable feature that Northern Ndebele phonology has acquired from Northern Sotho is that it allows the juxtaposition of vowels with a glottal stop between them to occur within the boundaries of the same word. This is typical of the Sotho languages but atypical of the Nguni languages…'.

9.5. Conclusion

In this chapter the differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele spelling have been discussed. The discussion has revealed that very little has been done with regard to

the development of the Northern Ndebele spelling rules. There are spelling rules that are only applicable in Southern Ndebele but not in Northern Ndebele as well as those that occur in both languages but with different meanings. The detailed general conclusion of the study is dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 10

**AN OVERVIEW OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DISTINCTIONS IN THE
LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTHERN AND
NORTHERN NDEBELE**

10.1 Introduction

As stated from the outset the main aim of this study has been to investigate the linguistic affinity between Southern and Northern Ndebele. This relationship or (lack thereof) will be summarized here in the concluding chapter of this study. Wilkes (2001:312) points out that the linguistic relationship between Northern and Southern Ndebele has in the past always been a problematic one in so far as linguists differed in their opinion as to whether these two speech forms should be regarded as variant forms of the same language as Doke, for example, argued in 1954, or whether they should be recognized as two separate languages as Van Wyk (1966) and Ziervogel (1969) maintained. This study has revealed how distinct the two Ndebele languages are from each other. In the following paragraphs, only the salient differences between these two Ndebele languages are highlighted and summarized according to the

(i)   existing perspectives on the origins and history of the Southern and Northern
       Ndebele people of the Republic of South Africa
(ii) sound systems of Southern and Northern Ndebele
(iii) phonological features of Southern and Northern and
(iv) morphophonological feature of Southern and Northern Ndebele
(v)   morphological structures of the Southern and Northern Ndebele
(vi) spelling rules of Southern and Northern Ndebele.

This discussion is then followed by a number of concluding remarks.

10.2 An evaluation of the existing perspective(s) on the origins and history of the Southern and Northern Ndebele speaking people of the Republic of South Africa

It is clear that the existing perspectives on the origins and history of the two Ndebele languages spoken within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa are fragmented, largely incoherent and inconclusively handled in most sources.

Three main conclusions can be drawn in this regard. They are that

(a) the historical background regarding the exact place of origin of the Ndebele people in KwaZulu-Natal and that of the Northern Ndebele section, in particular, is still a debatable issue that needs further research.

(b) the name "Ndebele" simply bears no significance in regard to the origin of the so-called Ndebele people found within as well as outside the Republic of South Africa (known as the Zimbabwean Ndebele).

(c) though the Southern (viz. Nzunza and Manala subgroups) and the Northern Ndebele people (viz. Gegana or Kekana group) are historically related to each other through direct descent from chief Musi, as stated earlier, they no longer constitute a single ethnic group. The main split referred to earlier has led to the formation of two separate Ndebele groups that differ linguistically as well as culturally from each other.

10.3 The phonological dissimilarities between Southern and Northern Ndebele

One of the basic criteria applicable in comparative linguistics is the determining correspondence of the compared languages in regard to their phonemic inventories. Phonologically there are several salient differences that have been found that make these two Ndebele languages less close to one another. These distinctions pertain to

(i)   their sound system

(ii)   Zunda Nguni vs Tekela Nguni phonological features, and

(iii)   the ndrondroza phonological feature.

10.3.1 The Sound System

In as far as the sound systems of these two Ndebele languages are concerned there are several salient differences that differentiate these languages. There are numerous phonemic sounds that occur in Southern Ndebele that do not occur in Northern Ndebele, while Northern Ndebele also has a number of sounds that do not occur in Southern Ndebele. In Northern Ndebele, for instance, there are no click sounds as is the case of Southern Ndebele, where all click sounds occur except the lateral click sound /**x**/. In addition, Northern Ndebele also has inter-dental sounds that do not occur in Southern Ndebele.

Despite the phonemes that only occur in one language and not in the other (such as the click sounds) there are several phonemic sounds that occur in both languages, but that are orthographically not written in the same way, for instance, the voiceless affricative velar sound which in Southern Ndebele is orthographically written as /**rh**/ and the aspirated counterpart as /**kgh**/ in Northern Ndebele are written as /**x**/ and /**kxh**/, respectively. In addition to these velar sounds, the glottal voiced in Southern Ndebele is written as /**h**/ while in its northern counterpart the equivalent sound is written as /**hh**/.

10.3.2 Zunda Nguni vs Tekela Nguni phonological features

Phonologically there are two major features that distinguish Southern Ndebele as a Zunda Nguni language from Northern Ndebele as a Tekela Nguni language.

10.3.2.1 The phoneme /z/ versus /t/

As in all other Tekela Nguni languages such as siSwati, for instance, Northern Ndebele employs the ejective inter-dental explosive phoneme **t** [t] (e.g., **manti]** 'water', **mufat i**] 'woman' etc.) in all phonological environments where Southern Ndebele employs the voiced lateral alveolar fricative phoneme **z**[z] (e.g., **aman<u>z</u>i** 'water', **umfa<u>z</u>i** 'woman') .

10.3.2.2 Vowel coalescence v/s Vowel substitution

In addition to the above phonemic difference, Southern Ndebele practises the so-called vowel coalescence strategy like all other Zunda Nguni languages whereby the

combination of the vowel /**a**/ plus the high vowel /**i**/ or /**u**/ gives rise to the new vowel /**e**/ or /**o**/ respectively (e.g., **wa̱-i̱ndoda > we̱ndoda** 'of a man', **na̱ - u̱muntu > no̱muntu** 'with a person'), while Northern Ndebele, as a Tekela language, practises the so-called "substitution of *e*" rule whereby the combinations of **a + a, a + i** , and **a + u** are always substituted by the vowel /**e**/, e.g., **na̱ + (u̱)munru > ne̱munru** 'with a person.',   **wa̱ + (a̱)bafati > we̱bafati** 'of a woman.'

10.3.3 The ndrondroza phonological feature

Ndrondrozafication is a phonological feature that occurs in both Ndebele languages but not in the same phonological environment. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, the so-called **ndrondroza** phenomenon occurs in both the primary and secondary Ur-Bantu nasal compounds /**nd**/ and /**nt**/ (e.g., **into > [indr]]** something', **indawo [indraw]]** 'place'), while in Northern Ndebele it is only the Ur-Bantu nasal compound /**nt**/ that is **ndrondrozafied** (e.g., **nto > [nr]]** 'something' but , **ndoda > [nd]d̯a]** 'man').

The **ndrondrozafication** of the Ur-Bantu nasal compound /**nd**/ has for unknown reasons been abandoned as it no longer occurs in modern Northern Ndebele. This nasal compound /**nd**/ is currently pronounced in a non-**ndrondrozafied** form, that is, as **[nd]**. In addition to the above phonological feature, while in Northern Ndebele **drondrozafication** does not occur in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English, in Southern Ndebele it does, (e.g., **uSondro** 'Sunday')

10.4 Morphophonological features of the Southern and Northern Ndebele

In Chapter 4 the differences in the morphophonological features of Southern and Northern Ndebele are discussed at some length and a number of morphophonological features occurring in Southern Ndebele have been shown to be dissimilar to those occurring in Northern Ndebele in respect of the following aspects –

(i)	consonant assimilation	(ii)	syllabification
(iii)	palatalization	(iv)	vowel elision
(v)	consonantization	(vi)	labialization, and

(vii) denasalization.

10.4.1 Consonant Assimilation

In Southern Ndebele, consonant assimilation only involves the assimilation of the alveolar nasal /**n**/ that occurs in the class prefix of Classes 9 and 10 nouns as well as the adjective concords of these classes, whereas in Northern Ndebele the so-called consonant assimilation feature applies to the

(i)   alveolar nasal /**n**/,

(ii)   bilabial fricative phoneme **b[ɜ]** and

(iii)   the lateral phoneme /**l**/.

10.4.1.1 The alveolar nasal /n/

The assimilation of the alveolar nasal /**n**/ in Northern Ndebele occurs when it forms part of the class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns as well as when it functions as the subject and object concord, respectively, of the 1st person singular. (Note that the adjective concords of Classes 9 and 10 do not contain a nasal in Northern Ndebele).

10.4.1.2 Bilabial fricative phoneme b[ɜ]

In as far as the bilabial fricative consonant **b[ɜ]** is concerned, whenever this bilabial consonant is preceded by the syllable **mu**-, the consonant /**b**/ assimilates to the preceding nasal /**m**/ thus causing the sequence **mu - b** to become **mm** in Northern Ndebele (e.g., **mu-b̲ala** > **mm̲ala** 'colour', **mu-b̲ulale > mm̲ulale** 'kill him', etc.), whereas this rule does not occur in Southern Ndebele**.**

10.4.1.3 The lateral phoneme /l/.

Besides the assimilation of the nasal /**m**/ and the bilabial consonant **b[ɜ]** in Northern Ndebele, the alveolar consonant /**l**/ in the perfect suffix -**ile** also has the tendency to assimilate to the preceding nasal /**n**/ or /**m**/ when these nasals appear in disyllabic stems, meaning that the consonant **l** in the perfect suffix -**ile** merges with the preceding nasal,

causing the consonant **l** to take on the same form as the preceding nasal **n** or **m, (** i.e., **n-l > nn** and **m-l > mm)** as can be seen in **n-l > nn:** uno**nn**e 'he is fat', **-bo**nn**e** 'have seen'.

10.4.2 Syllabification

Unlike Northern Ndebele, Southern Ndebele syllabification occurs in three grammatical environments, as in all other Nguni languages, namely,

(a) the 'real' class prefix of Class 1 and 3, (i.e., **-mu-** e.g., **u**m**sana** 'boy', **u**m**lambo** 'river' etc.),

(b) the adjectival concord of these classes, (that is, **omu-**, e.g., Cl. 1: **o**m**dala** 'an old one', Cl 3: **o**m**khulu** 'a big one'), and

(c) the object concord of Classes 1 and 1(a), (i.e.**-mu**, e.g., **Cl. 1: Ngi**m**tjelile (umfazi)** 'I told her (a woman)'**, U**m**sizile (ugogo)** 'You have helped her (the grandmother').

In all three instances the nasal **-m-** is syllabified when the vowel **-u-** drops off and the syllabic features of the elided vowel are then transferred to the preceding nasal. This usually happens when these formatives appear before polysyllabic stems.

In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, this phonological process is much more prolific in that it is also found in grammatical environments where syllabification never occurs in Southern Ndebele such as, for instance, in the subject and object concords of the 2nd person singular and in the prefix of Class 1a nouns. When nouns in Class 1a have an initial phonemic sequence of /N + V/ in their stems in Northern Ndebele, the nasal is doubled in which case the first nasal becomes a syllabic nasal **n** and simultaneously acts as the class prefix of these nouns (e.g., Cl. 1(a) **nina > nnina** 'his/her mother', **nyoko > nnyoko '**your mother' and so on). The same rule applicable to the syllabification of the nasal in the prefixes of some Class 1a nouns is also applied to the nasal in the prefix of certain Class 9 nouns, meaning that when a Class 9 noun has an initial phonemic sequence /N + V/ in its stem, the nasal is doubled and the first nasal becomes syllabic and also acts as the class prefix of these nouns (e.g., Cl 9**: nosi/nyosi > nnosi** 'bee', **nyoni > nnyoni** 'bird').

In addition to the syllabification of the nasal /**n**/ in Northern Ndebele, the nasal /**m**/ in the basic noun class prefix **mu-** of Classes 1 and 3, respectively becomes syllabic when this syllable precedes the bilabial fricative phoneme /**b/,** in which case the vowel /**u**/ of **mu-** falls away causing the phoneme /**b**/ to change to the nasal /**m**/ (according to the rule **mu-b >mm** alluded to under consonant assimilation earlier) and the nasal /**m**/ of **mu-** to become syllabic (e.g., Cl 1: **mu-bati > mbati > mm**ati 'carpenter', **mu-boya** > **mboya** > **mmoya** 'wind'). (Also cf. 10.4.1(ii) above.)

Syllabification of the nasals /**n**/ and /**m**/ in the subject and objectival concord of the first person singular **ndi-** is another peculiar feature which Northern Ndebele demonstrates that it differs from its Southern Ndebele. The subject and object concords of the first person singular has three variants in Northern Ndebele, namely, an alveolar nasal /**n**/, a bilabial nasal /**m**/ and a velar nasal **n[ʃ]** that occur before consonants. (The basic variant **ndi-** only appears before vowels, semi-vowels, subject and object concords). Most importantly the nasal variants mentioned above are all syllabic and usually assimilate to the consonant phoneme that follows them.

10.4.3 Palatalization

Even though both Ndebele languages recognize palatalization as one of their phonological features, there are important differences between these two Ndebele languages in as far as the grammatical environments where this phonological process occurs is concerned. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, palatalization occurs in the formation of the passive, the diminutive and locatives, while in Northern Ndebele this phonological feature occurs in the formation of passives and diminutives but not in the formation of locatives.

In the formation of passive verbs and diminutive nouns, palatalization follows the same pattern in these two Ndebele languages except for the bilabial fricative phoneme **[Ǝ]** in Northern Ndebele and its implosive bilabial equivalent **[[]** in Southern Ndebele**.** In Northern Ndebele, the bilabial fricative sound **[Ǝ]** becomes a pre-palatal semi-vowel **y[j]**

(e.g., **-go_b_a> -goywa** 'be bent', **ngu_b_o > nguyana** 'small blanket'), while its bilabial implosive counterpart **b[[]** in Southern Ndebele becomes the palatal ejective affricate **tj[t□']** (e.g. **ika_b_i > ikatjana** 'young ox', **-sa_b_a > -satjwa** 'be feared').

In as far as the formation of the locatives in these languages is concerned Northern Ndebele has two strategies for forming locative adverbs, while Southern Ndebele recognizes only one. One strategy in Northern Ndebele (especially the Mugombhane variant) triggers so-called palatalization (i.e., bilabial phonemes are palatalized) and the other (the Lidwaba variant) not (i.e., bilabial phonemes do not become palatalized). There is virtually no difference between Southern Ndebele and the Mugombhane variant form of Northern Ndebele with regard to the palatalization of locative adverbs.

10.4.4 Vowel elision

Two types of vowel elision strategies are distinguished by linguists, namely, voluntary and obligatory vowel elision. The salient differences in as far as the vowel elision between Southern and Northern Ndebele is concerned are that in Southern Ndebele obligatory vowel elision occurs in all instances of vowel juxtaposition where coalescence, consonantisation and glide insertion do not take place (e.g., **-s_o_sa (<s(i) + osa) inyama** 'we roast meat', **n_o_mkhulu (<n(a) + omkhulu) unelungelo** 'even the old one has a right'), while in Northern Ndebele obligatory vowel elision occurs basically in two environments, that is, between two /l/ phonemes (e.g., **llanga < lilanga**) 'sun', **mullo (<mulilo)** 'fire') and in instances of vowel juxtaposition. In the case of obligatory vowel elision as a result of vowel juxtaposition, this basically occurs in three grammatical environments. In such instances, the final vowel /**a**/ of the formative or concord falls away (e.g., **n(a) + omukxulu > nomukxulu** 'and the big one', **ndaba (y(a) + embhi > yembhi** 'bad news' etc.). However, according to contemporary Northern Ndebele speakers the retention of juxtaposed vowels in these instances appears to be the rule, or, alternatively, a glide is inserted between juxtaposed vowels (e.g., **na + omukxulu > naomukxulu** or **nawomukxulu** or **nomukxulu** 'and the big one').

In addition to the above, the Northern Ndebele Class 3 prefix **mu**-, in contrast to Southern Ndebele, normally discards its vowel **-u** when appearing before stems commencing with the bilabial explosive **ph**, while before other consonant phonemes the -**u** is retained, e.g., **mphini** 'axe handle' **mphako** 'food for the journey' but **mubhalo** (and not *mbhalo) 'writing/literature', **mulandu** (and not *mlandu) 'case' and so on.

10.4.5 Consonantization

The two Ndebele languages demonstrate further dissimilarities in as far as consonantization is concerned. Unlike the other Nguni languages where the combination of the subject concord /a/ of Class 6 with the possessive formative /a/ does not result in the consonantization of the subject concord, in Southern Ndebele the combination of the subject concord /a/ of Class 6 with the possessive formative /a/ results in the subject concord /a/ consonantizing to /w/ (e.g., **amagama (a + a + mi >) wami** 'my words', etc.). In Northern Ndebele, however, the subject concord **a** consonantizes to /y/ (e.g. **mavi (a + a + mi>) yami** 'my words', etc.).

10.4.6 Labialization

Labialization is not a Zunda Nguni (including Southern Ndebele) phonological feature but occurs in Tekela Nguni languages such as siSwati. In Northern Ndebele, labialization is encountered in the voiceless sound **s** and the aspirated **th** resulting into **sw** and **tfh,** respectively, when appearing before vowels **o, u** and **û** (e.g., **nso > nswo[nsw]] 'kidney', thuma > tfhuma [tкhuma]** 'send'. However, according to the current Northern Ndebele orthographical and spelling rules, labialization is no longer a feature, so that words such as **nswo**, **-swuga, -tfhuma** are today pronounced as **nso, -suka, -thuma.**

10.4.7 Denasalization

Although denasalization occurs in both Ndebele languages, it does not occur in the same grammatical environments.

10.4.7.1 Denasalization in the prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns

Denasalization in the noun class prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 nouns in Southern and Northern Ndebele occurs in opposite ways. In Southern Ndebele, it is only the Class 9 noun prefix that is denasalized (e.g., **ikosi** 'chief', **ipandla** 'forehead' etc.), while in Northern Ndebele this phonological process occurs in the class prefix of Class 10 nouns only (e.g., **tikxomo** 'beasts', **tikxukxu** 'fowls' etc.). In Southern Ndebele, on the other hand, Class 9 nouns drop the nasal in their class prefix before stems beginning on a voiceless consonant whilst retaining it before stems beginning on a voiced consonant. In Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, all Class 9 nouns retain the nasal in their class prefixes.

10.4.7.2 Denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 in
      Southern Ndebele

There are two rules that apply to denasalization in the adjective concords in Southern Ndebele, whilst in Northern Ndebele, with the exception of the stem **-(n)hle** 'beautiful' where the nasal may or may not be discarded, it is obligatory (e.g., **Tikxomo tetibovu** (and never ***tetimbovu**) 'Red beasts').

In Southern Ndebele, the first rule is that denasalization in the adjectival concords of Classes 9 and 10 is optional before adjective stems that begin on voiced or semi-voiced consonant (e.g., Cl.9: **Bekukubi/bekukumbi emtjhadweni** 'It was bad at the wedding', Cl.10: **Iinkomo ezidala / ezindala** zitjhiphile 'Old beasts are cheap').
The second rule is that before adjectival stems that begin on a voiceless consonant, denasalization in the adjectival concord is obligatory (e.g., Cl. 9: **Ikoloyi <u>etja</u> iyabiza** 'A new car is expensive', **Indawo <u>ehle</u> ngeyaKwaZulu-Natal** 'A beautiful place is that of KwaZulu Natal.'

10.4.7.3 Denasalization in the formatives with the nasal compound –ng[ʃ g] in
      Southern and Northern Ndebele.

In contrast to other Nguni languages including Southern Ndebele, in addition to the denasalization environments discussed above, this phonological feature in Northern

Ndebele has spread to almost all formatives that contain the nasal compound **-ng[ʃ g]**. In Northern Ndebele, for instance, the potential formative **-nga-**, instrumental formative -**nga-**, copulative prefix **-ngu-/-ngi-**, comparative prefix **njenga-,** (non-indicative) negative formative n-**nga-**, all occur denasalized in this language, while in Southern Ndebele, the nasal is retained throughout in the above formatives.

10.5 The morphological features of Southern and Northern Ndebele

The investigation of the morphological differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele has been the focus of four chapters, i.e., Chapters Five to Eight. In Chapter Five the nouns and pronouns of the two Ndebele languages were discussed, while Chapter Six focused on the qualificatives. Chapter Seven continued with morphological differences in the copulatives and adverbs between these two Ndebele languages while moods, tenses, verbs, auxiliary verbs, conjunctives and ideophones are the focus of Chapter Eight. These four chapters discuss the morphological differences between these two Ndebele languages, under the following sub-headings –

(i)	nouns	(ii)	pronouns
(iii)	qualificatives	(iv)	copulatives
(v)	adverbs	(vi)	moods
(vii)	tenses	(viii)	verbs
(ix)	auxiliary verbs	(x)	conjunctives, and
(xi)	ideophones		

10.5.1 The morphological features of the nouns

Two salient differences have been noted in this study in as far as the morphological structure of Southern and Northern Ndebele nouns are concerned

First, the most striking difference concerning the morphological structure of the nouns of the two Ndebele languages is that Southern Ndebele noun class prefixes, as in all other Zunda Nguni languages, comprise an initial vowel (or pre-prefix) plus a basic prefix plus a stem (e.g., **umuntu** 'person', **ilitje** 'stone,'), while in Northern Ndebele the class prefix occurs minus the initial vowel, so that here, the morphological structure of a noun in

Northern Ndebele is like those of the other Tekela Nguni (as well as Sotho) languages (e.g., (⊥)**munru** 'person', (⊥)**liye** 'stone' etc.).

Secondly, despite the differences observed in the noun class prefixes between the two Ndebele languages, the noun class prefix of Southern Ndebele Class 8 contains a noun class prefix with a homorganic nasal /**N**/ before all polysyllabic nouns stems (e.g., **iimphondo** 'one eyed persons', **iinkhova** 'owls' etc.) except in the case of stems beginning on the vowels, semi-vowels and the monosyllabic stems, (e.g., **izakhi** 'formatives', **iiwebu** 'spiders', **izifo** 'diseases' etc.). The Northern Ndebele Class 8 noun class prefix, as is the case in all other Nguni and Sotho languages, does not contain a nasal (e.g., **tidlayela** 'fools', **tihlahla** 'trees' etc.).

10.5.2 The morphological features of pronouns

The two Ndebele languages differ in the formation of the three types of pronouns, that is, the absolute, demonstrative and quantitative pronouns, is concerned.

10.5.2.1 The absolute pronouns

There are only two major differences that the two Ndebele languages exhibit in the morphological form of their absolute pronouns. The form of the absolute pronoun of the second person plural, for instance, is **nina** in Southern Ndebele whilst in Northern Ndebele is **lina**. Consequently, the agreement morpheme of the 2nd person plural in Southern Ndebele is **ni-** (e.g., **Nifunani?** 'What do you want?), while in Northern Ndebele, as in isiNala - one of the Southern Ndebele variant forms, and Zimbabwean Ndebele, it is **li-** (e.g., **Lifunani?** 'What do you want?').

In addition to the above, the Southern Ndebele absolute pronoun of Class 6 is **wona** while Northern Ndebele recognizes second alternative form **ona.** This investigation, however, has found that **ona** is no longer popular among speakers of this language.

10.5.2.2 The demonstrative pronouns

The morphological forms of the demonstrative pronouns of the two Ndebele languages are similar except in the 2nd position and position 4. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, despite the first strategy of suffixing **-wo** to the 1st demonstrative position, there is an alternative 2nd position demonstrative form for Classes 1, 1a, 3 and 6 where the suffix **-yo** is added to the 1st position demonstratives (e.g., **umuntu loyo** or **lowo**) 'That person'. In Northern Ndebele, this position is derived from the 1st position by means of the suffix **-wo** only (e.g., **munru lowo**) 'That person'. The 4th demonstrative position only occurs in Southern Ndebele (e.g., Cl. 5: **le:la(ya)** 'that yonder') and not in Northern Ndebele.

10.5.2.3 The quantitative pronouns
10.5.2.3.1 The inclusive quantitative pronouns

Although the inclusive quantitative pronouns of the two Ndebele languages are without a nasal, their major difference is that the Southern Ndebele inclusive quantitative pronoun suffix occurs as **-ke** (e.g., **Abantu boke** 'All the people', while Northern Ndebele has two quantitative suffixes, namely, **-kxe** (which is the most frequently used form) and **-hle,** respectively, (e.g., **Banru bokxe/bohle** 'All the people'). However, this investigation has further observed that Northern Ndebele speakers also have a popular third inclusive quantitative form **gemuga** that has the same semantic and syntactic features that the other inclusive quantitative pronouns have, except that **gemuga** does not normally precede the noun it relates to as other inclusive quantitative pronouns sometimes do.

In as far as the usage of these so-called inclusive quantitative pronoun stems is concerned, only nouns that are in the plural classes make use of inclusive quantitative pronouns in Northern Ndebele which is not the case in Southern Ndebele.

Moreover, the formation of the Class 6 pronoun in these two Ndebele languages also differs. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, the agreement morpheme of Class 6 changes from **a- > w**, (e.g., **amalanga (< a + o + ke) woke**, 'every day'), whereas in Northern Ndebele, as in other Nguni languages, this agreement morpheme is dropped, (e.g., **malanga ((a) + o + kxe / hle) okxe /ohle.** 'every day').

10.5.2.3.2 The exclusive quantitative pronoun

In Southern Ndebele, as in all Nguni languages except Northern Ndebele, the exclusive quantitative pronoun is formed by means of an agreement morpheme (that resembles the subject concord of the class concerned) plus a pronominal **-o-** plus an exclusive quantitative suffix **-dwa,** while in Northern Ndebele this exclusive quantitative suffix does not exist. Instead, a noun **nedwa** 'alone/only' is used for this purpose and only used as part of a copulative construction that occurs in the situative mood (e.g., **Sisebenta sinedwa nemunhla '**We work alone today').

10.5.3 The adjectives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Adjectives in Southern and Northern Ndebele differ in regard to the adjective stems and the concord system.

10.5.3.1 The adjectival stems

One of the main differences in the adjective stems between Southern and Northern Ndebele is the fact that in Northern Ndebele the stems of the numerals 2 to 5 as well as the stem **-ngai** 'how many' (**-ngaki** in Southern Ndebele) may be used as either adjective stems or as enumerative stems, that is, they may either be used with an adjective concord or with an enumerative concord. In Southern Ndebele, and other Nguni languages, these numerals are always used as adjectives, meaning that they employ a concord that is formed by means of a 'relative **a**' plus a class prefix.

Phonologically in Southern Ndebele some adjective stems may occur with or without a nasal, while in Northern Ndebele it is only the stem **-(n)hle** that can do so. Northern Ndebele also has two adjective stems (i.e., **bovu** 'red' and **-ntima** 'black') that are not used as adjective stems but as relative stems.

10.5.3.2 The adjective concords

The major difference between the two Ndebele languages in as far as their adjective concords is concerned is that, unlike as is the case with Southern Ndebele, in Northern Ndebele (particularly in the Lidwaba dialect of Northern Ndebele which also represents

the standard form of this language) the consonant in the adjective concord of nouns belonging to the non-nasal classes is repeated (e.g., Cl.5: **Likxuni lelinde. '**A long piece of wood'). This is not the case in Southern Ndebele (cf. **Ikhuni elide** 'A long piece of wood').

In Northern Ndebele, the full adjective concord **omu-** of Classes 1, 1(a) and 3 is retained throughout (e.g., **omunde** 'a tall one', **omunghane** 'a small one'), while in Southern Ndebele the full form of this concord only occurs with monosyllabic adjective stems (e.g., **omude** 'a tall one') and, with multi-syllabic adjective stems, it occurs in its abbreviated form (e.g., **omncani '**a small one').

10.5.4 The relatives in Southern and Northern Ndebele
The major morphological feature that distinguishes Southern Ndebele from its northern counterpart regarding relatives is that Northern Ndebele has two types of relative concords (i.e., the so-called Nguni type, e.g., **Likxhedla elikhubeleko** 'An injured shoulder' and Sotho type, e.g., **Likxhedla leli likhubeleko** 'An injured shoulder'), while Southern Ndebele recognizes only one type, (i.e., the Nguni type, e.g., **Ihlombe elilimeleko** 'An injured shoulder').

In Southern Ndebele, there are two types of relative concords for the 1st and 2nd persons, that is, the first type where the relative concords of Class 1 and Class 2 are used while in the case of the second type the relative concords of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural are used (e.g., **Mina engikhulumako / okhulumanko** 'I, who am speaking'). In Northern Ndebele, only a single (Sotho) relative form for its 1st and 2nd person singular and plural is used by way of the concords for Classes 1 and 2 (in addition to the demonstrative pronoun of these classes) (e.g., **Nna/Mina lo asumayela**, '[It is] I, who is speaking').

In addition to the above, as in the other Nguni languages, Southern Ndebele has basic (or primitive relative) stems, while Northern Ndebele, according to the findings of this investigation, has none.

10.5.5 Enumeratives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

Southern and Northern Ndebele differ substantially from one another as far as the number and type of enumerative stems are concerned. While Southern Ndebele has three enumerative stems (i.e., **-ni, -nye,** and **-phi)**, Northern Ndebele has seven, of which five are the stems of the numerals from 1-5.

10.5.6 Possessives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

When the possessor noun is a noun in Class 1a and the possession a noun from a nasal class, the possessive construction consists of the regular possessive concord (of the noun referred to) plus possessive formative **-ka-** plus the nominal stem, or the possessive formative **ka-** plus the nominal stem in Southern Ndebele. In Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, the possessive concord with **-ka-** does not apply, thus, the possessive consists of the regular possessive concord plus the nominal stem.

However, when both the possessor and the possession are nouns in Class 1a in Southern Ndebele, the possessive concord may consist of either the possessive particle **ka-** plus the nominal stem, or a Class 5 subject concord **li-** plus the possessive formative **-ka-**, or the regular Class 5 possessive concord **la-** plus the possessive formative **-ka-** in Southern Ndebele, whereas in Northern Ndebele the regular possessive concord of Class 1/1a (i.e., **wa-**) is used in this instance.

The other salient difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the possessives are concerned, is that in Northern Ndebele when the possessive stem is a locative noun with an initial **e-**, an intervocalic **s** is inserted between the possessive concord and this initial **e-** (e.g., **Sipho (sa-ekhaya) sasekhaya**,' A gift of home'), while in Southern Ndebele, this is not the case, instead, the vowel of the possessive concord is dropped (e.g., **Isipho (s(a)-ekhaya >) sekhaya** 'A gift of home').

10.5.7 Copulatives in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The two Ndebele languages also differ substantially in regard to their copulative formations. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, the formation of identificative copulatives from nouns with monosyllabic stems occurs by doubling the true prefix of the noun and lowering the tone of the initial syllable, except for Class 9 nouns where a semi-vowel **y-** is added to the prefix and the tone of the prefix lowered (e.g., Cl.1: **Ubabakho mùmúntù (<úmúntù) othulileko**, 'Your father is a quiet person'). In the case of polysyllabic stems, except for Class 1a, the initial vowel of the noun class prefix is discarded when it becomes a copulative, except for Classes 5, 8, 10, 14 and 15 nouns, where the consonant that is similar to the consonant contained in the true prefix is prefixed to the noun and, in the case of Class 9 nouns, where a semi-vowel **y** is added to the prefix.

By contrast, in Northern Ndebele all nouns are made copulative without any morphological change, that is, by lowering the tone of the (basic) prefix only, except in the case of nouns belonging to Classes 1a and 2a (e.g., Cl.2: **Bokxe labo bàfátì (< báfátì) baBulongo**, 'All those are the wives of Bulongo'). In the case of Class 1a, the copulative formative **gu-** is prefixed to the noun while copulative nouns in Class 2a in this language take the prefix **m-** (e.g., Cl.1a **Mapela gumalume waMaraba**. 'Mapela is Maraba's uncle,' and Cl.2a: **Banru labo mbobhabha.** 'Those people are our fathers'.)

In regard to the negation of the copulatives formed from nouns in Northern Ndebele, identificative copulatives constructed from noun classes other than Class 1a are negated by means of the indicative negative morpheme **a-** and the negative copulative formative **si-**, while the noun retains its non-copulative tone pattern (e.g., **Banru labo asimbobaba** 'Those people are not our fathers'. In Southern Ndebele, the negative formative **akusi** or **a…si** is prefixed to the copulative noun (e.g., **Uyihlo akusimumuntu / akasimumuntu** 'Your father is not a person').

While there is no substantial difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele in the formation of the positive and negative copulative from pronouns, the main differences between these languages are that Southern Ndebele uses the indefinite concord **ku (**e.g.,

1st p.s**: Akusi**ngimi / **akusi**mi (<**ngimi**) **obizako,** 'It is not me who calls.'), while Northern Ndebele does not, and that in Northern Ndebele, the positive form of the copulative prefixes **gu** and **gi-** changes to **ku** and **ki**, respectively, (e.g., **Asiku**ye (<**guye)** **lo aziko,** 'It is not he who knows.' and **Asi**k**ili (<**gili) laba banetjhudu**, 'It is not you (plural) who are lucky').

The construction of copulatives from possessive pronouns in Southern Ndebele, unlike in Northern Ndebele, comprises the copulative formative **nge-** that is prefixed to the possessive pronoun in all classes (e.g., **Imizi le ngeyami,** 'These homes are mine.'), while in Northern Ndebele:

(a) a syllabic nasal [**N**] is prefixed to possessive pronouns that commence with a consonant to which it also assimilates, (e.g. **Mbute kuri lihloka leli** n**lakhe,** 'Tell him that this axe is his.'), and

(b) the vowel **i-** is prefixed to possessive pronouns that commence with the semi-vowel **y-,** while the vowel **u** is prefixed to possessives pronouns that begin with the semi-vowel **w.** (e.g., **Munrwatanyana lo u**wami.** 'This little girl is mine.').

Southern and Northern Ndebele further differ in regard to the semantic significance of their descriptive copulatives. A crucial difference that needs to be pointed out is that Northern Ndebele descriptive copulatives have both "descriptive" and "identificative" significance while, in all the other Nguni languages including Southern Ndebele, they exclusively have a "descriptive" significance.

With the exception of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural, the adjectives in all the noun classes in Southern Ndebele are copulativized by deleting the initial vowel of the adjective concord, except in the case of the adjectives of Class 9 where (**y)i-** replaces the initial vowel of this concord (e.g., Cl.1: **USibongile muhle (<***o*muhle),** 'Sibongile is beautiful.'). In the case of the 1st and 2nd person adjectives, the subject concord of these

persons is prefixed to the copulativized adjective which has the same form as those of Classes 1 and 2, respectively. In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, the formation of copulatives from adjectives entails the prefixation of:

- the copulative prefix **u** plus the glide **w-** to adjectives beginning with the vowel **o-** and a copulative prefix **i** plus the glide **y-** to those adjectives that begin with the vowel **a-**or **e-** (e.g., **Munrwana wami uwomukxulu (< omukxulu)** 'My child is old /is the old one.').
- the variant syllabic nasal **[N]** before adjectives that commence on consonant. This syllabic nasal, which acts as a copulative prefix in this instance, assimilates to the initial consonant of the adjective (i.e., **n** > /**m**/ before bilabial **b [ɜ], > [ɟ]** before velar consonants and **> /n/** before alveolar consonants), (e.g., **Bafati laba mbabande (<babande) bokxe.** 'These women are all tall (the tall ones).').
- The adjectives of Class 5 are the exception, as they take a copulative prefix **i** instead of the syllabic nasal.

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With regard to the descriptive copulatives formed from relative stems, the differences between these two Ndebele languages is that the formation of the descriptive copulatives from relatives with primitive and nominal relative stems in Southern Ndebele is by replacing the relative concord with the subject concord in the case of the nasal classes and by deleting the initial vowel of the relative concord in the case of the non-nasal classes, while in Northern Ndebele, the copulatives formed from relative stems have both a descriptive and identificative form and they are constructed by prefixing the subject concord to the relative stem.

In the formation of negation, the same rule employed in the negation of copulatives formed from adjectives is applicable in Southern Ndebele (i.e., by means of the negative **a-** plus the subject concord plus **-si-** e.g., **Umfazakhe akasimhlophe** (< *u*mhlophe). 'His wife is not light'). In Northern Ndebele, on the other hand, the negation of the copulatives formed from relatives with a descriptive significance is by prefixing **a-** to the positive

relative copulative (e.g., **Banrwana bakhe <u>abajalo</u> (< bajalo) ke baseTshwane.** 'His children are not like that when they are in Pretoria').

10.5.8 The adverbs

Although Southern and Northern Ndebele in most instances use the same derivational morphemes to form locatives there are, however, important morphological differences between these two languages. The most salient difference between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the formation of the locative adverbs is concerned, (despite the numerous locative formatives **e...ini**, **e…,** **ka**-/ **kwa**-, **ku**-/ **ki**- which occur in both languages), is the fact that Northern Ndebele has a locative prefix **nnga**- that expresses the concept of 'besides/ next to' (e.g., **Bajame nngami** (**<nnga-mina**). 'They stood beside me.'), that does not occur in Southern Ndebele.

The locative prefixes **kwa**- and **ka**- in these two Ndebele languages are also used differently. Southern Ndebele, for instance, uses the locative prefix **kwa**- (e.g., **Sibuya kwamfundisi**. 'We are coming from the pastor's place') before Classes 1 and 1a as well as with the demonstratives and absolute pronouns of all classes, while Northern Ndebele prefixes both **ka**- and **kwa**- (e.g., **Sibuya <u>ka-</u> / <u>kwamufundisi.</u> '**We are coming from the pastor's place').

10.5.9. Mood

No significant morphological distinction could be found between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the different moods are concerned. The few differences that could be observed pertain to the Southern Ndebele subject concord of Classes 1, 1a and 6 of the indicative mood, which is negated by means of **-ka-** (e.g., Cl.1: **umsana lo a<u>ka</u>sebenzi nami** 'This boy is not working with me' / Cl.6: **amanzi la a<u>ka</u>bili** 'This water is not boiling.'), while in Northern Ndebele it is negated by either **-a** or **-ka-** (e.g., **mufati wakhe a<u>ka</u>sebenti/a<u>a</u>sebenti** 'His wife does not work.').

In regard to the subjunctive mood, unlike Northern Ndebele, Southern Ndebele applies a second negation strategy in which the terminal vowel **–a** of the negative verb does not

change to **-i** (e.g., Cl.1: **Umma wathi ngingaya** (cf**. ngingayi**) **kwagogo iveke ephelileko.** 'My mother said I must not go to my grandmother's place last week.').

In the negation of the potential mood, Southern Ndebele negates by means of the negative auxiliary verb **(a)ngekhe** (e.g., **Umuntu lo (a)ngekhe ahlale nawe**. 'This person cannot stay with you.'), while in Northern Ndebele this mood is negated by means of the construction **-gasi-** (e.g., **Munru lo agasi hlali nawe**. 'This person cannot stay with you.').

10.5.10 Tenses

Morphologically, no remarkable differences exist between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the positive forms of the verbs in the present, perfect, future and past tenses are concerned, except in the negation of the future tense of the indicative mood. In Southern Ndebele the future tense of the indicative mood is negated by means of a negative vowel **a-** while in Northern Ndebele this tense is negated by ∠**gasi-** or the negative vowel **a-**.

Then, the perfect tense of the indicative mood is negated by means of either the negative indicative formative **a-** plus the perfect negative morpheme **-ka** or the (negative) auxiliary verb **(a)zange or (a)khange** in Southern Ndebele, while in Northern Ndebele, this tense form is negated by means of the negative vowel **a-** plus the perfect negative morpheme **-ka** which is prefixed to the verbal stem. In addition, while the past tense of the indicative mood in Southern Ndebele is negated by means of **(a)zange**, in Northern Ndebele it is negated by a negative construction **agabe khe**.

10.5.11 Verbs

The differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as their verbal stems are concerned are that there are:

> (a) verbal stems that have the same meaning but that are completely or
>   slightly

different in form,

(b) verbal stems that have the same form but with different meanings, and (c) vowel verb stems that are not the same.

Morphologically, Southern Ndebele also differs from Northern Ndebele in expressing diminutivized actions through verbs. While Southern Ndebele duplicates the monosyllabic verbal stems and repeats the first two syllables of the polysyllabic verbal stems to express the diminutive actions of verbs (e.g., **khambakhamba** 'go a little bit') Northern Ndebele prefixes the diminutive formative **-anyana** (e.g., **khambanyana** 'go a little bit').

10.5.11.1 Latent vowel verb stems

The most important difference between Southern Ndebele in as far as the latent vowel verb stems are concerned is that while Southern Ndebele has two vowel verb stems (i.e., -**(i)za** and –**(i)zwa**) Northern Ndebele has none.

10.5.11.2 Auxiliary verbs

No difference exists between Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele in as far as their auxiliary verb stems are concerned except a few auxiliary verb stems that are phonologically completely or partially different and a few that occur in Northern Ndebele with no equivalents in Southern Ndebele (and vice versa).

10.5.12 Ideophones in Southern and Northern Ndebele

The differences between Southern and Northern Ndebele in as far as the ideophones are concerned are that the two Ndebele languages have ideophones that are:

(a) the same in form but with different meaning,

(b) different in form but with the same meaning, and

(c) ideophones that occur in Northern Ndebele but not Southern Ndebele, and vice versa.

10.6 Spelling rules of Southern and Northern Ndebele

The two Ndebele languages differ radically in as far as their spelling rules are concerned. There are numerous language aspects that have spelling rules that govern their writing in Southern Ndebele which have not yet been developed for Northern Ndebele.

10.6.1 Language aspects that have spelling rules in Southern Ndebele but not yet in Northern Ndebele

The following Southern Ndebele language aspects have spelling rules related to their writing, while comparable Northern Ndebele spelling rules have not yet been developed:

     (i)   Translations and foreign (cluster) sounds

     (ii)   Abbreviations and acronyms of the following;

          a) Relationship and professional terms

          b) Months of the year

          c) Days of the week

          d) Parts of speech

          e) Mass

          f) Volume

          g) Distance

     (iii)   Duplication of word stems

     (iv)   Counting.

10.6.2. Spelling rules that occur in Southern and Northern Ndebele but with different applications

There are numerous spelling rules that Southern and Northern Ndebele share but with different interpretations and applications. While Southern Ndebele has sixteen sub-rules under punctuation marks, Northern Ndebele only has two, they are, an apostrophe and a hyphen. The rule governing the apostrophe demonstrates no difference in application in the two Ndebele languages, but there is a difference in the application of a hyphen, conjunctive, enclitic **ndina** and the demonstratives.

10.6.2.1 A hyphen: (-)

Southern Ndebele has six sub-rules governing the use of a hyphen, whereas Northern Ndebele has three. In all other rules governing the use of a hyphen, no distinction exists except for the rule governing the use of a hyphen in compound words which differs. In Southern Ndebele, according to **Sub-rule 18.2,** a hyphen is used only in compound words (or terms) with "linguistic meaning" (e.g., **ibizo-mbala** 'proper noun') while in Northern Ndebele, for practical reasons, it is used in "lengthy compound words" (e.g., **sidudla-mafehlefehle** 'a stout woman', (cf. **Sub-rule** 9.2.5 in Northern Ndebele)).

10.6.2.2 Conjunctive: na / ke

The conjunction **na** 'if/when' in Southern Ndebele is written conjunctively with the word it precedes (e.g., **Ngiyamthanda <u>na</u>kadlala umakhakhulwararhwe**. 'I like him when he plays rugby'), while in Northern Ndebele the conjunctive **na** and **ke** 'if / when' are written disjunctively (e.g., **Na /Ke afika mbute kuri ete la**. 'When he arrives tell him that he must come here').

10.6.2.3 The enclitic: ndina

The enclitic **ndina** is written disjunctively with the preceding word in Southern Ndebele (e.g., **Msana ndina uyaphi**? 'You damn boy where are going to.' while in Northern Ndebele this enclitic is written conjunctively (e.g., **Mufatindina**. 'You damn woman.').

10.6.3 Non-nasal noun classes and their demonstrative pronouns

When a demonstrative pronoun appears post nominally with nouns in non-nasal classes in Southern Ndebele it coalesces with the preceding noun (e.g., **isibheso** 'that soap') while in nasal classes it does not (e.g., **Amarubhi la:wa(ya)** 'Those yonder ruins'). In Northern Ndebele, in contrast, when the demonstrative appears post nominally it is written disjunctively in all classes (e.g., **Maye lawo** 'Those stones.').

10.6.4 Nasal noun classes and their possessive pronouns

Southern Ndebele nouns from the nasal classes coalesce with their possessive pronouns (e.g. **Umsebenzami** 'My work') while nouns from all non-nasal classes do not (e.g., **Isikhwama sakhe** 'His bag'). In Northern Ndebele this is not the case (e.g., **Mufati wakhe** 'His wife', **Sikxabula sami** 'My shoe.').

10.6.5 The demonstrative pronoun of Class 16 and its locative class noun

When the demonstrative pronoun of Class 16 is preceded by its locative, the demonstrative and the locative are written jointly in Southern Ndebele, whereas in Northern Ndebele these two word categories are written disjunctively.

10.6.6 Capitalization

Northern Ndebele **Sub-rule 3.4** which governs the capitalization of the qualificatives states that

> '**T**he first letter after the (possessive, adjective, relative) concord will be capitalized.'

The rule equivalent to the above is catered for by the examples of **Sub-rule 14.4** in Southern Ndebele.

As can be seen from these examples, the rule requires "the first letter of a stem" to be capitalized in Southern Ndebele while in Northern Ndebele it requires "the first letter after the *(*possessive*,* adjective or relative) concord"to be capitalized.

10.6.7 Vowel juxtaposition

In Southern Ndebele, vowel juxtaposition is impermissible except in the noun class prefixes of Classes 8 and 10 where the vowels **i** and **e** are doubled. To avoid vowel juxtaposition, as in all other Nguni languages, Southern Ndebele applies various phonological rules such as vowel elision, vowel coalescence, consonantization and glide insertion. In Northern Ndebele, vowel juxtaposition is always a permissible phonological feature.

10.6.8 Vocabulary of Southern vs Northern Ndebele

While both Ndebele languages have some of its vocabulary drawn from the Northern Sotho (e.g., Southern Ndebele: **umukghwa,** Northern Ndebele **mukxwa** < Northern Sotho**: mokgwa** 'manner'), a study of Northern Ndebele vocabulary reveals that the language has adopted more vocabulary than its southern counterpart from Northern Sotho. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Northern Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Southern Ndebele	
Nominal stems			
sithunya	sethunya	isigidi	'gun'
marixa	marega	ubusika	'winter'
lixedla	legêtla	ihlombe	'shoulder'
mugegulu	mokgêkolo	isilukazi	'old woman'
mukgalabi	mogalabje	iqhegu	'old man'
ndwa	ntwa	ipi	'war/fight'
liphuthi	lephôtse	umgade/ithanga	'pumpkin'
liwobu	leôbu	inwabu	'chameleon'
ngweji	ngwêtši	umakoti/umlobokazi	'bride'
Verbal stems			
-sinya	-senya	-ona	'destroy/damage'
-xana	-gana	-ala	'refuse'
-bina	-bina	-vuma	'sing'
-ri	-re	-thi	'say'
-thobala	-rôbala	-lala	'sleep'
-khuja	-khutša	-phumula	'rest'
-khunama	-khunama	-guqa	'kneel down'
-ribha	-ripa	-qunta	'cut'
-thuntjha	-thuntšha	-dubula	'shoot'
-duma	-duma	-funa	'want/wish'

| -khombela | -kgopêla | -bawa | 'ask' |

10.7 Conclusion and recommendations

This extensive investigation has shown that although the Southern and Northern Ndebele people genealogically share the same historical background and origin, their linguistic status is that they are two different languages and not variant forms of the same language as Doke (1954: 24) and Mashiyane (2002: 67) maintain and as some government authorities assume. This study has conclusively demonstrated that the linguistic dissimilarities that these two Ndebele languages exhibit run through all linguistic aspects such as the phonology, morphophonology, morphology as well as throughout their vocabulary (as given in Annexure A - C). These differences are more than sufficient to warrant the two Ndebele languages being regarded as two autonomous languages that need to be independently developed. Reviewing the differences in the vocabulary and the grammatical structure of Southern and Northern Ndebele, the conclusion must be drawn that there is insubstantial intelligibility between them. Despite the influence of Afrikaans and English that both these languages demonstrate, Northern Ndebele has revealed itself to be more influenced by Northern Sotho than Southern Ndebele and, in addition, it also manifests some elements of siSwati, TshiVenda and Xitsonga.

To reiterate, the overall findings of this research reveal that Southern and Northern Ndebele are two distinct languages that deserve autonomous development and should be regarded as two independent languages that trace their origin from the same historical source. The mutual unintelligibility between the two Ndebele languages also reduces the possibility of harmonizing the two languages.

The findings of this research project show that further investigation, particularly into etymological aspects of both Southern and Ndebele, may be warranted to reveal such aspects as borrowing, derivation and transliteration, aspects not covered in any detail in this present study.

ADDENDUM A: Southern and Northern Ndebele Nouns

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
umsana	mutlhangana/ mukxhomane	'boy'
ipumalanga	buhlabalanga	'east'
ipi	ndwa	'war/fight'
isitja	sihlambhelo	'washing dish'
umkhuba	mukhuba/muhuda	'miracle'
ubudlabha	buwandla/bushaedi	'carelessness'
iveke	mbege	'week'
isipho	siti/mpho	'gift'
umakoti/umlobokazi	ngweji	'bride'
ikawu	nkxawo	'ape'
imiseme	makhukho	'grass mats'
umendo	nteko	'marriage'
idwende	muthimba	'bridal companion'
isiqhema	nkxundla / xoro	club/team
isigubhu	sikxugulu	'drum'
idlanga	nju/linyoni	'eagle'
inyathelo	sikxabula	'shoe'
izembe	lihloka	'axe'
umnini	munyi	'owner'
umsili	ntjhilo	'grinder'
ipumulo	mbumbulo	'nose'
umgade/ithanga	liphuthi	'pumpkin'
inwabu	liwobu	'chameleon'
utjwala	buyalwa	'beer'
isiwebu	sixogu	'spider'
umuthi	sihlahla	'tree'
ihlanya	sixaphi	'madman'

amathumbu	sisu	'stomach'
ilitje	liye	'stone'
iphini	liphalukuto	'ladle'
ihlombe	lixedla	'shoulder'
ibizo	litinyo	'name'
umgwatjha	mungasa	'hare'
amakhehla/amaqhegu	bakxhalabe	'old men'
umaphelaphelana	nkxhanxha	'bat'
amaqatha	mashukhu	'chunk (of meat)'
abazali/ababelethi	batali	'parents'
isiqwebu	sibungwana	'maize basket'
umratha	sidudu	'porridge'
umthetho	mulawu	'law'
intanga	mophato	'age group'
phezulu	etulu	'up'
isigede	sigege	'something
iinhlobo/iinini	mitalo	'relatives'
inyanga	nyeti	'moon'
umhlangano/imbizo	mbhijo	'meeting'
umntazana	munrwatana/muthimbana	'girl'
amabutho	titha	'armies'
ipimpi / isikhukhuthi	sikhukhuni	'informer'
ukhokho	nkhulukhukhu	'great grandfather'
uZimu	mudimu	'God'
umdali	muhloli	'creator'
isifuba	sikxubhu	'chest'
iimbambo	mbhambho/tithabha	'ribs'
isincele	khohlwa	'left'
siqalisisa	sibhekelela	'inspect/check'
umtlhala	mutila	'trail'
isikhumba/edlhalo	lidlhalo	'skin'

iinhloli	batumi	'spies'
umnakwenu	munakenu	'younger brother'
umfowethu omkhulu	muxulwami	'my elder brother'
isivalo	sidlowu/sisibekelo	'lid'
igwayi	mujiji	'tobacco'
iluju	linambu	'honey'

[**Northern Ndebele nouns were extracted from Ziervogel (1959)**]

ADDENDUM B: Southern and Northern Ndebele verbal stems

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
-aba	-yaba	'divide/distribute'
-anda	-yanda	'increase'/multiply'
-embatha	-yambatha	'wear/put on clothes'
-emba	-gaja	'dig'
-eba	-yeba	'steal'
-engeza	-wongeta	'add (to)'
-osa	-simela	'roast/toast (meat)'
-onga	-hlenga	'be economic'
-ona	-sinya	'destroy/damage/spoil'
-ala	-xana	'refuse'
-enda	-teka	'marry/get married'
-ehla	-thewuka	'get down/descend'
-tjhefa	-photjha	'shave/cut bears'
-tjheja/thogomela	-folonda/-tlhogomela	'look after/take care of'
-beletha	-tala	'give birth'
-soma	-rhuga/-firiya	'propose love'
-phikisa	-khanyeta	'argue'
-phekelela	-fegeleta	'accompany'
-vuma	-bina	'sing'
-thi	-ri	'say'
-letha	-tisa	'bring'
-tjela	-buta	'tell/inform'
-qala	-bheka	'look'
-khamba	-nambha/-khambha	'go'
-raga	-kxhura /-khapha	'drive (cattle)'
-gida	-thagela	'dance'
-lalela	-lalela/thiyelela	'listen'
-lala	-thobala	'sleep'
-khuluma	-sumayela	'talk/speak'

-hlakanipha	-tlhalipha	'be clever/be wise'
-mangala	-tiyeta	'be surprised'
-thoma	-kxwala	'start/begin'
-qeda	-kxeja	'(get) finish'
-qotjha/qotha	-kxotha	'dismiss'
-phumula	-khuja	'rest'
-funa	-duma	'want /wish'
-bhada	-singatha	'carry under your shoulder'
-guqa	-khunama	'kneel down'
-bhambalala	-bhadlama	'lie on (one's) belly'
-qunta	-ribha	'cut'
-qunta	-phetha	'decide'
-hlathulula	-tlhakofela	'explain'
-gcina	-phela	'come to an end'
-dubula	-thuntjha	'shoot'
-coca	-thetha	'discuss'

[Northern Ndebele verb stems extracted from Ziervogel 1959]

ADDENDUM C: Southern and Northern Ndebele ideophones.

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
bhu	bhu	'dust (something)'
du	du	'quietness/swimming'
dusu	wubu	'throw down (something heavy (e.g. sack/bag)'
nka	nka	'effective swift drinking (of something).
nke	nti	'brightness of the moon'
pha	pha	'openness of the truth'
pho	pho	'hit by throwing/breaking off wood'
phu	phu	'severity of stench'
swi	psi	'a container full (of a liquid) to the brim'
twa	pya	'brightness of the white colour'
petle	sa	'scatter about (e.g. by animals) maize grain'
tho	tho	'dripping of water drops'
(n)tli	tsi	'stiffness of a tied knot'
be	tlerr	'redness (e.g.of blood)'
tjerr	pyer	'ideophone signifying diarhoea'
bha	wo	'brightness/shining (e.g. moon/sun)'
nya/ntse	nnya	'disappearance/quietness'
ngqi	nnga	'closing (of a door/bottle etc'
kgho	nka	'ideophone signifying digging sods'
ve	thushalala	'sudden / quick appearance'
saka	phadla	'scatter on the ground (e.g. maize grain)'
tjhe/wu	mudu	'Oh no! O dear me!'
pitji	bhikxi	'crushing something soft (e.g.worm)'
phehle	pha	'ideophone of breaking wood/plate'
bhidli/bhuru/giri	bhu	'ideophone of falling down (e.g. building)'
gidi/gudu	gidi/gugudu	'ideophone of something rolling (e.g. stone)'
meke	phati	'shining of lightning'
senu/siphu	nnga/thusu	'coming out of seed from the soil (e.g. maize)'

genu	thenu	'ideophone of falling over'
tepu/qhi	matha/tobololo	'ideophone of wetness/being drenched'
ruthu	tshwamu	'ideophone of pulling something out'
tjirr	tjhelele	'slip (over mud)
tinini	gidi	'ideophone of running fast.'
rabhalala	jabha	'ideophone of laying flat on your stomach'
kikiliki…gi	kwikwi	'crowing (e.g. of a cock)'
ge…ge…gege…ge	nkwenkwekwekwe	'crackle (e.g. hen)
qwatjhaqwatjha	kanta	'ideophone of walking confidently'
moqomoqo	kxofu	'walking in mud'
phakghaphakgha	phasha	'walking aimlessly and lazily'
tshwahla	swatlha	'sneak (e.g. in the grass/bush)'
nqe nqe	nke	'clanging of metal'

Southern Ndebele ideophones that do not have equivalents in Northern Ndebele

Southern Ndebele		**Northern Ndebele**
ngho	….	'very hard'
dlhi	….	'piercing / stabbing of something'
bhi	….	'hold firm / catch right handed'
virr	….	'throw something away (e.g. stone)'
fu	….	'feeling of pain (e.g. headache)'
mncwi	….	'ideophone of swearing '
(n)tsi	….	'ideophone of motionless/stillness'
vumbu	….	'ideophone of sudden/quick appearance'
qethu	….	'sleep on your back with knees up'
nti	….	'fullness after eating'
tsiyo	….	'sound of a bird / chicken'
ngwe	….	'an ideophone signifying emptiness (e.g. house)'
gudlu	….	'opening/closing of a door'
tswe	….	'alright / correct / fine'

mpo	….	'coldness of something (e.g. water)'
bhe/layi	….	'hotness of something (e.g. fire / tea)'
tlabha	….	'ideophone of greenness (e.g. grass)'
tshu	….	'ideophone of a blackness/darkness (e.g. night)'
khihli	….	'redness of fire (wood)'
poro	….	'exactly/upright'
cime	….	'disappearance of something

Northern Ndebele ideophones that do not have equivalents in Southern Ndebele

…..	wabalala	'jump out'
…..	tonono	'galloping/running (e.g. of a horse)
…..	matha	'sticking fast on something'
…..	bhidli	'melt (e.g. of fat)'
…..	hha	'ideophone of an open mouth'
…..	hhe	'ideophone signifying out of breath'

[NB: Northern Ndebele ideophones have been extracted from Ziervogel (1959:163-165).

SUMMARY

This study investigates the linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele. The focus is on the historical background of the two main South African Ndebele groups, covering various linguistic aspects, such as phonology, morphology, lexicography and spelling rules.

The research reveals that, despite the fact that Southern and Northern Ndebele share a common name and historical background, the death of the Ndebele ancestral chief, Musi, at KwaMnyamana, which caused this nation to split into Southern and Northern Ndebele, resulted in the two Ndebele languages. As this study shows, these differ substantially from each other.

The two Ndebele languages are examined, phonologically, in Chapters Three and Four revealing demonstrable phonological differences. Southern Ndebele, for instance, has several sounds (e.g., click sounds) that do not occur in its northern counterpart, while Northern Ndebele contains a number of non-Nguni sounds (e.g., interdentals) that do not occur in Southern Ndebele. Phonologically, Southern Ndebele, like other Zunda Nguni languages, employs the voiced lateral alveolar fricative phoneme /z/ [z] (e.g., i**z**ifo 'diseases'), whereas Northern Ndebele, like other Tekela Nguni languages, uses the ejective interdental explosive /t/ [t'] (e.g., **t**ifo 'diseases'). Morphophonologicallly, the so-called denasalition feature that both languages manifest in their primary and secondary nasal compounds (i.e., Classes 9 and 10 noun class prefixes) occurs in almost opposing ways. In Southern Ndebele, the nasal /**n**/ resurfaces in all noun class prefixes of Class 10 nouns, while in Northern Ndebele, it occurs only in the noun class prefixes with monosyllabic stems or stems beginning with a voiced or semi-voiced consonant. This morphophonological feature (denasalisation) has spread to other grammatical environments, such as adjectival concords, inclusive quantitative pronouns and all formatives with the nasal compound **ng [ʄg**], in Northern Ndebele. The two languages also reveal that there are differences in assimilation, syllabification, palatalization, vowel elision, vowel substitution, consonantalization, glide insertion and labialization.

Chapters Five to Eight focus on morphological differences. Here, the two Ndebele languages show differences in the various word categories: nouns, pronouns, qualificatives, copulatives, adverbs, moods, tenses, verbs, auxiliary verbs, conjunctives and ideophones. For instance, whereas Southern Ndebele noun class prefixes, like other Nguni languages – such as isiZulu and isiXhosa – comprises the *pre-prefix + basic prefix + stem* (e.g., **u-mu-ntu** 'person' **a-ba-ntu** 'people'), in Northern Ndebele, this word category comprises the *basic prefix + stem* like Sotho languages (e.g., **mu-nru** 'person' **ba-nru** 'people'). In addition, while the noun class prefix of Class 8 in Southern Ndebele contains a nasal before polysyllabic noun stems (e.g., **iinkhova** 'owls'), in Northern Ndebele, Class 8 noun class prefixes contain no nasal (e.g., **tikxabula** 'shoe').

Lexically, the most salient differences are that, although the two Ndebele languages share similar Nguni vocabulary, they have been unequally influenced by the neighbouring Sotho languages. Most importantly, despite the fact that both Ndebele languages have borrowed words from Northern Sotho and Setswana, Northern Ndebele has borrowed many more terms than Southern Ndebele.

Lastly, in line with the Southern Ndebele (2008) and Northern Ndebele (2001*)* Spelling Rules, this investigation observes that the two Ndebele languages differ radically. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, there are numerous language aspects that have spelling rules governing their encryption, but in Northern Ndebele no rules exist as yet for such aspects.

The findings reveal that Southern and Northern can be regarded as two distinct languages that deserve autonomous development even though they trace their origin from the same historical source.

Key Words
Morphology
Morphophonology

Syntax

Southern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele

Ndrondroza

Assimilation

Denasalisation

Dialect / variant form

Phonology

Morphology

Morphophonology

Nasalization

Vowel coalescence

Vowel assimilation

Vowel substitution

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die linguistiese verhouding tussen Suid- en Noord-Ndebele. Daar word gefokus op die historiese agtergrond van die twee Suid-Afrikaanse Ndebele groepe asook op verskeie linguistiese aspekte soos die fonologie, morfologie, leksikologie en spelreëls.

Die studie toon dat ten spyte van die feit dat Suid- en Noord-Ndebele dieselfde naam deel en dieselfde historiese oorsprong het, die dood van die Ndebele hoofman, Musi, by KwaMnyamana daartoe gelei het dat die nasie in die Suid- en Noord-Ndebeles uitmekaargespat het. Die twee Ndebele tale was die gevolg. Soos hierdie studie aantoon, verskil die twee tale aansienlik van mekaar.

In hoofstukke 3 en 4 word die twee tale fonologies ondersoek en opmerklike fonologiese verskille word aangetoon. Suid-Ndebele, byvoorbeeld, besit verskeie klanke (byvoorbeeld klapklanke) wat nie in die Noordelike eweknie voorkom nie. Aan die ander kant bevat Noord-Ndebele 'n sekere hoeveelheid nie-Nguni-klanke (byvoorbeeld interdentale klanke) wat nie in Suid-Ndebele voorkom nie. Suid-Ndebele, soos ander Zunda Ngunitale, gebruik die stemhebbende alveolêre frikatief /**z**/ **[z]** (byvoorbeeld i**z**ifo 'siektes') terwyl Noord-Ndebele, soos ander Tekela Ngunitale die ejektiewe interdentale eksplosief /**t**/ **[t']** (byvoorbeeld **t**ifo 'siektes') gebruik. Op morfofonologiese vlak vind die sogenaamde denasalisering wat albei tale in die primêre en sekondêre nasale samestellings (d.i. die Klas 9 en 10-naamwoordklasprefikse) ondergaan, op byna teenoorgestelde wyse by die twee tale plaas. In Suid-Ndebele kom die nasale /**n**/ in alle naamwoordklasprefikse van Klas 10-naamwoorde voor, maar in Noorde-Ndebele kom die nasale /**n**/ slegs voor by naamwoordklasprefikse met monosillabiese stamme en stamme wat met 'n stemhebbende of halfstemhebbende konsonant begin. Hierdie morfofonologiese aspek (denasalisering) het ook uitgebrei na adjektiefprefikse, kwantitatiewe voornaamwoorde asook alle formatiewe met die nasale samestelling **ng** [**ʃ g**] in Noord-Ndebele. Die twee tale toon ook verskille ten opsigte van assimilasie, sillabifikasie, palatalisasie, vokaalelisie, vokaalvervanging, konsonantalisasie, glyklankinvoeging en labalisasie.

Hoofstukke 5 tot 8 konsentreer op die morfologiese verskille tussen Suid- en Noord-Ndebele. Die twee Ndebele tale vertoon verskille in die onderskeie woordsoortkategorieë soos naamwoorde, voornaamwoorde, kwalifikatiewe, kopulatiewe, bywoorde, modi, werkwoorde, hulpwerkwoorde, voegwoorde en ideofone. Byvoorbeeld, waar Suid-Ndebelenaamwoorde, soos in ander Ngunitale –soos isiZulu en isiXhosa – uit die *pre-prefiks + basiese prefiks + stam* bestaan (byvoorbeeld **u-mu-ntu** 'persoon' **a-ba-ntu** 'mense'), bestaan hierdie woordsoortkategorie in Noord-Ndebele uit die *basiese prefiks + stam* soos in die Sothotale, byvoorbeeld **munru** 'persoon' **banru** 'mense'. Aan die ander kant bevat die Klas 8-naamwoordklasprefiks in Suid-Ndebele 'n nasale klank voor polisillabiese naamwoordstamme (byvoorbeeld **iinkhova** 'uile') maar Noord-Ndebele se Klas 8-naamwoordklasprefik bevat geen nasale klank nie (byvoorbeeld **tikxabula** 'skoen').

Op leksikale vlak is die vernaamste verskille die feit dat die twee Ndebele tale wel ooreenkomstige Nguniwoordeskat deel maar op ongelyke wyse deur die naburige Sothotale beïnvloed is. Trouens, hoewel albei Ndebeletale woorde uit Sepedi (Noord-Sotho) en Setswana ontleen het, het veel meer ontlening uit hierdie tale in Noord-Ndebele plaasgevind.

Laastens verskil die Spelreëls van Suid-Ndebele (2008) en Noord-Ndebele (2001) radikaal. In Suid-Ndebele, byvoorbeeld, is daar verskeie taalaspekte wat deur spelreëls gerig word terwyl Noord-Ndebele nog geen reëls vir hierdie taalaspekte het nie.

Die oorkoepelende bevindinge toon dat Suid-Ndebele en Noord-Ndebele twee afsonderlike tale is wat outonome ontwikkeling verdien selfs al het hulle dieselfde historiese oorsprong gehad.

Sleutelterme
Morphology
Morphophonology

Syntax

Southern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele

Ndrondroza

Assimilasie

Denasalisering

Dialek/taalvariant

Fonologie

Morfologie

Morfofonologie

Nasalisering

Vookalsamesmelting

Vokaalassimilasie

Vokaalvervanging

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