A COMPARATIVE

PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH LALA DIALECTS

OF TEKELA NGUNI

BY

ELPHAS MPHUNYUZWA ZUNGU

Ph. D. Dissertation

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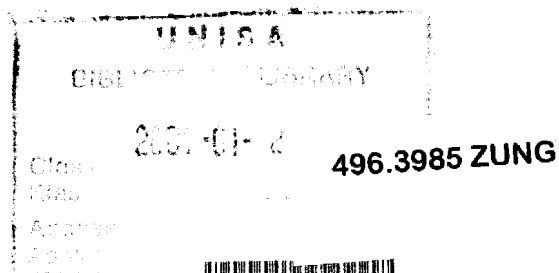
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DECLARATION

I, Elphas Mphunyuzwa Zungu, hereby declare that the dissertation *A Comparative Phonological and Morphological Analysis of the North and South Lala Dialects of Tekela Nguni* is my own work, and the sources utilized have been duly acknowledged by means of references in the body of the study.

An earlier draft of the work was submitted for examination in November 1998. The examiners recommended a number of corrections, as well as further research and re-writing of specific sections. This has now been done, hopefully to the examiners' satisfaction.

Signed ....

Date ..25....—.01.—.2.0.0.0.....................

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SUMMARY

This research work has several aims, demanded by a number of external and internal factors. First of all, it aims to identify Lala: whether it is simply a dialect of Tekela- Nguni, or perhaps the substratum Bantu language spoken in the eastern parts of Southern Africa since the fourth century of the first millennium A.D. on which every new migratory wave imposed its language (chapters one and two). The lexical-statistical method has been attempted (chapter three), but with mixed results. In fact, relexification is widely used in southern African societies, and this renders the identification of the core vocabulary a very difficult task. The result is that all that can be said is that Lala indeed shows the characteristics of a Tekela-Nguni language, but it is impossible to determine at this stage whether Lala is the mother or the daughter of Tekela.

Another important aim, dictated by an earlier research by Wilkes (1981), was to compare the two main branches of Lala, called North and South Lala, to prove whether the differences between the two dialects are so wide as to justify a division into two separate entities or not. Here the verdict is emphatically negative. In fact the various stages of the research abundantly re-affirm the view that Lala is one language, with only marginal differences caused by the different linguistic environments: Zulu in the north and IsiZansi in the south.

African societies in this part of the world have affirmed themselves in the realm of the written word only recently, i.e. during the last 150 years or so. The background culture of these societies is still vigorously oral, and this means that the spoken word is used for much more than simple communication of thought and feeling. Language is felt as the major binding element in a society that has seen constant political break-ups, upheavals, migrations, wars, attempted exterminations. This means that Lala, as a language or the dominant dialect of a group, is banded about as a cultural-historical flag around which people are proud to gather. This sense of unity is an emotion, a feeling, rather than a deep reality. The colours of the flag, or the distinguishing elements of the language, may be fading away, and only a core might be preserved. But this is quite enough to kindle emotions and to rally people. At least in areas where people are still proud of their cultural heritage.

Ethnicity and language should not be the same, but most of the people interviewed (cf chapter two) felt very strongly that they were Lalas because they spoke Lala; and that they spoke Lala because they are Lalas. Their either glorious or sad histories are recorded in chapter two,

to demonstrate how Shaka's wars, and the *Mfecane*, forced them to leave their homeland and to migrate. The trauma of this latest migration is still felt so strongly that it is often superimposed and confused with the great migrations from Central and Western Africa that took place in mythological times, or very long ago. But through their histories, they keep alive their memories and the certainty of the unity of the Lala nation, even though it is now spread from Kranskop to Harding and IZingolweni.

Chapter four examines the phonetics and phonology of the two Lala dialects in the context of Swati and Zulu. Lala is a Tekela dialect indeed, but with its own phonetic and phonological peculiarities. The same can be said with regard to the research exposed in chapter five, on the morphology of Lala compared to Swati and Zulu. The grammatical system among the three languages is extremely similar, and there is hardly any substantial difference between North and South Lala. This can also be said with regard to tonology (chapter six).

The last chapter reflects on what has been achieved. The ancient Lala language, about which James Stuart stated in the 1920's that it was nearly extinct, is proving very strong and resilient. Possibly the very dynamism experienced in its ability to adapt to the colonial languages and the new material culture by assimilating many foreign lexical items, and that South Lala has adopted many words from IsiZansi, is proof that Lala has got a life of its own that cannot be taken for granted, nor extinguished.

The more one is able to study the local languages, the more one dusts up some ancient treasure that needs to be admired and constantly re-valued. The functional word here is 'treasure': because all languages, as carriers of culture, are a treasure that together form the mosaic of our beautiful "Rainbow Nation".

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

1.0   Introduction

This chapter aims to contextualize the present research project meant to analyse Lala dialects in general and to compare the northern and southern varieties in the phonological, morphological and tonological fields. It begins with a general presentation of the Lala-speaking people and of the studies already carried out on the subject of both the people and their language. The main terms involved in the title are then explained in order to better identify the aim and scope of the work. The methodology employed for the research, which entails both library and field work, is then briefly outlined.

1.1   The Lala speaking people

African people identify themselves by the way they speak, by the clan or lineage to which they belong through allegiance to a king or chief, and by the peculiar customs and traditions they follow. One of the ancient groups currently identified as part of Tekela- Nguni are the **Lala** (*amaLala*), who are found in various parts of KwaZulu Natal (KZN), from Kranskop in the north to Harding and IZingolweni in the south. Legend has it that they received the name 'Lala' from King Shaka, who used to tease them because they did not raise their tongues when speaking; their tongues were therefore in a sleeping (*-lala*) position. Even this legendary tradition thus testifies to the close link betweeen the spoken language/dialect and the ethnic group, or *isiLala* and *amaLala* respectively.

Research regarding *isiLala* has already been conducted in various parts of KZN: Kranskop, Harding, INanda and UMngeni Reserve, Cele of IZingolweni and KwaNhlalwane, and Ndzelu of UMzinto. However, no previous research can be viewed as exhaustive. The present work intends to investigate where previous researchers have not laid their hands, with the special aim of deciding whether or not the Lala language/dialect should be divided into North Lala and South Lala, as some scholars have done. But even this research is far from exhaustive because language is dynamic, and new elements can be constantly discovered to add to our knowledge.

The present-day situation does not reflect the position of amaLala in pre-Shakan times, when they probably represented an uninterrupted settlement stretching from the Thukela river in the north to the UMzimkhulu and UMthavuna rivers in the south (cf Map No. 1). The present Lala territory does stretch from Kranskop in the north (the Ngcolosi lineage) to the Harding district in the south (the KwaJali) . UMzinto, which was divided into Vulamehlo and UMzumbe by the homeland system, is the home of the South Coast Lalas, which are considered in a special way in the present study. In the urban areas within this territory, *isiLala* is widely mixed with other speech forms in order to cope with the changing social and material situation.

Ethnic identity is not diminished by speech changes. The Ngcolosi of Kranskop share their *Izithakazelo* (clan praises) with the KwaJali of Harding:

> "*ONgcolosi, oShongololo elikhulu*
> *elithi lisongana libe lithombuluka.*"

This means that Ngcolosi and KwaJali belong to the same ethnic group. The Ngcolosi of Kranskop, although affected by westernization, preserve traditional ways of life and their customs to a great extent. This contrasts with the Lalas of INanda, whose customary life has been so disrupted by urbanisation that it is nearly impossible to obtain information from them about their Lala origins. The UMngeni Lalas are an extension of the Ngcolosi Lalas. This means that the Lalas form an ethnic unit, be they Ngcolosi, KwaJali, UMngeni or INanda.

This research deals in particular with the Lalas of the UMzumbe district (cf Map 2). This rural area is inhabited by different Lala clans who have not been ravaged by violence, due to strong traditional ties. The district is contained by the Indian Ocean in the east, the IFafa river in the west and the UMzimkhulu river in the sourth. The Lala lineages in this district are the Bhele, the Luthuli, the Chiliza, the Bombo, the Hlongwa, the Nyavwini, the Ndzelu, the Madlala and the Cele of Nhlalwane and EMawuleni with a small Hadebe section, i.e the.Hlubi.

Although this whole area is recognized as Lala territory, some lineages are not Lala, but are closely associated with the Lalas because of territorial proximity. A clear example is that of the Qwabes who bought a large farm from the Ndzelus between the Hlongwas, the Ndzelus and the Luthulis.

Partial confusion has resulted from the fact that some tribes have been amalgamated under the authority of one chief. For example, the Bombos of Manyonyo are under the chief of the Bheles, while the Ndonyelas are under the chief of the Chilizas. In the 1950's and '60's the

people residing in the area known as the UMzumbe Mission Station were incorporated with the Ndzelu lineage. The followers of Fynn and Ogle were incorporated with the Luthulis under Bhoshongweni and the Chilizas under Tshesi.

To add to the general confusion, some lineages are 'duplicated' within the same district. For example, the Hlongwas appear as Shozi of Mangangeni and Shozi of Gabhisa. Furthermore, within the same area some Shozis are Dlungeles. Similar confusing situations also attain with the Ngcobos of Nyavwini who are not Fuzes, but Ngcobos of Bhelesi, while within the same tribe are also found Ngcobos of Mangatini. The same can be said of the Celes of EMawuleni where one finds Ngwazis who are Celes. However, this study is going to concentrate on the Ngcobos of Bhelesi and not the Fuzes who are found at IZingolweni (KwaNyuswa).

One of my informants, O.S.Ngesi, asserts that:

> There are two divergent views about the origin of the name 'IZingolweni'. The first is that the name originated from the word *'izinqola'*, the ox-pulled wagons that delivered goods and mail from Harding to Port Shepstone (*ESayidi* = the Siding) and stopped overnight at this place. The whites' inability to pronounce the palatal click *q* resulted in the adaptation to *g*, hence 'IZingolweni', ` at the place of the wagons'. The second is that the word originated from the extinct dinosaur-like animals which were known as *'izingolo'*, that supposedly inhabited the area.

Both views are still held by the people of IZingolweni, to the point that two schools in the area are named 'IZinqoleni' and 'IZingolweni' respectively.

Knowledge of the history of the UMzumbe lineages and their relationship with the Ngcolosi of Kranskop is *a sine qua non* to demonstrate the unity of the Lalas and the genealogy of their ruling families, and also to reveal how they came to settle in their present territories. The history is a mammoth task because no comprehensively definite work has been done to date.

Bryant (1929 and 1964) is the main published source, which can be used as a point of departure in the study of the history of these lineages. His work must be appreciated, in spite of the considerable limitations highlighted by later scholars. The present research hopes to throw greater light on the subject with the historical data presented in Chapter 2.

1.2   Review of Existing Literature

There are a number of studies on the *amaLala* and also, more particularly, on *isiLala*. The problems attracting greater attention are:

(a)   The distinction between *isiLala* and *isiTekela*. Some authors tend to confuse the two; others affirm that *isiLala* is part of *isiTekela*, while others maintain the opposite.

(b)   Determining a possible date for the separation of proto-Lala from proto-Nguni.

(c)   The distinction between language and its speakers: whether a language must necessarily tally with its speakers. Does linguistic diversity also mean ethnic diversity?

(d)   Whether one can safely distinguish a South Lala and a North Lala dialect.

Some linguistic peculiarities were recorded already in 1857 in John Döhne's *Zulu Kafir Dictionary*, where *isiLala* was presented as

> "the **low language** , using none except low, broad and flat sounds, opposed to the **ukukhuluma** high language (Zulu, Thembu, Xhosa)." Döhne's *amaLala* included 'all other (= non-Zulu and non-Xhosa) tribes of Natal', the 'Frontier Fingoes', the 'Sutos', etc." (Döhne, 1857:xvi).

The terms 'high and low language' parallel the 'High and Low German' situation: 'high language' being considered 'proper language', while 'low language' was not.

> W.H.T. Bleek recognised Tekela as "the language of the ma-lala." Bleek says (1862:5):

> *Tekeza* (also called *tekela* or *teketa*) dialects are known only through short vocabularies ..... The Kaffir (Xhosa) *nk* is entirely dropped in *tekeza*, and also in the Inhambane, the spiritus lenis taking its place (cf. *inkomo-iyomo, inkosi-ihhosi /iyosi / iwosi*).
> In Northern *tekeza d* is only found before *i* as a semi-palatalised sound ..... whilst the *tekeza t* stands in the place of Kaffir *z* and Setswana *ts* (cf Kaffir *zona*, Setswana *tsona*, Swazi *tona*).
> Kaffir *nd* is not altered in *tekeza*, but of the Kaffir *nt* only the nasal remains in *tekeza* (cf. *intombi-inombi; intambo-inambo*). Kaffir *l* is perhaps in a greater number of kindred South African languages changed into *r*; in a few it is commuted into *n* (as in Makau and Mpongwe) or into *y* as in the thefula dialect of the Zulu language ....

Bryant (1929:17) explains that *tekeza* means to speak with a super abundance of dentalization: *Tekela + isa > tekeza* (speak with a lot of alveolar plossive /t/).

Also Doke and Vilakazi's *Zulu Dictionary* (1947) presents Lala as a manifestation of *tekela:*

> **Tekela:** Speak in Swazi, Lala or Bhaca fashion (cf *tekeza).*

And, under ***Tekeza***, it continues:

> *Tekeza* (3.2.9) v. (>perf. *tekezile*; pass. *tekezwa*; ap. *tekezela*; caus.

tekezisa): Speak in Swazi, Lala, or Bhaca fashion, in which for instance, *tsh* is substituted for *th*; *t'* or *dz* for *z*, e.g. *ŋgi:tshi* (for *ŋgi:thi*), *t'iŋk'ɔ:mɔ* (for *iziŋk'ɔ:mɔ*).

Recent researchers have dealt with particular aspects of the phonology, tonology, morphology and syntax of Lala, either in connection with Tekela or independently from it. A significant contribution is constituted by P.R. Van Dyk's 1960 D.Lit. thesis: *'n Studie van Lala: sy Tonologie, Morfologie en Sintaksis.* This in-depth study is confined to a small section of the Lala people, i.e. the Bhengu-Jali of Kranskop and Harding. The study does not present an outline of the history of the Lalas; it is thus a purely grammatical work. Van Dyk discusses both the Ngcolosi of Kranskop and the KwaJali of Harding as a linguistic unit, thus taking for granted the unity of North and South Lala.

In 1981 Wilkes (1981:93) opened a new perspective in the study of Lala:

It has always been assumed that Lala is a uniform language without discernible dialects. Investigation, however, has shown the opposite and that significant differences do exist, especially between the Lala speaking community of the Kranskop district and that of the IZingolweni area in Natal.

Wilkes' statement was made after a serious research in the IZingolweni district and after studiying the work of Van Dyk, which claimed that, in spite of substantial distances, Lala speakers in Kranskop, INanda and Harding districts use essentially the same language. The European disease of dividing and categorizing seems at play here, possibly in the spirit of the times when the *apartheid* policy encouraged the identification of all possible separating elements in order to 'divide and rule'. The present research proves the unity of the Lala language, but acknowledges dialectical variations caused by differing environmental factors.

The American Carolan Postma Ownby carried out an extensive research on the Nguni languages and dialects, which resulted in her 1981 paper, "Early Nguni History: Linguistic Suggestions." (*SAJAL*, 1981 Supplement), as well as in her 1985 Ph.D. dissertation: *Early Nguni History: The Linguistic Evidence and its Correlation with Archaeology and Oral Tradition* (UCLA). After examining the archaeological, oral, historical and linguistic written sources on Nguni, Ownby acknowledges that Bryant's 'historico-linguistic methodology' cannot solve the historical problems of Nguni migrations and settlements. She then proposes a fresh approach: the analysis of core vocabularies of all the Nguni dialects she could document on which to base lexico-statistical deductions which could lead to a better understanding of Nguni history. The

results are quite revolutionary. For example, Ownby argues that proto-Lala must have separated from proto-palatal-Nguni towards the end of the first millennium, which historians and archaeologists view as the end of the Early Iron Age in Nguni history. Ownby also rejects Bryant's view that ancient migrations took place *en masse*, as was the case at the time of the *Mfecane*, and maintains that there was a constant interchange between dialects over the centuries after the original black Africans' settlement in Southern Africa. The permeability of dialects makes the task of identifying rigidly separated dialects and dialect chains almost impossible. A serious study of Ownby would break down the traditional view of rigidly defined 'tribal groups' *à la Bryant*, to reveal languages and dialects as living and growing realities, according to modern linguistic theories. It is unfortunate, however, that Ownby was unable to gather more information on Lala, limiting herself to incomplete vocabulary lists of Cele and Thuli as collected by James Stuart in the 1920's. Furthermore, Ownby's rigid application of her methodology has produced results that fly in the face of established local scholarship, so as to intimate (Ownby, 1985:56) that the Xhosa dialect cluster is a 'daughter' of 'Tukela Zulu/Nguni', through the successive nodes of Khahlamba and Zantsi. No in-depth critique of Ownby's work has been carried out to date.

Kubeka's M.A. research, *A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand* (1979:89), presents a rather confusing picture of the dialects of Zulu:

> Zululand Zulu speakers recognise two dialects of Zulu without bothering to define what their characteristics are. They distinguish between Zululand Zulu spoken to the North of the Thukela and Natal Zulu spoken to the South of the Thukela in Natal (*esilungwini*).

Kubeka then divides Zulu areally/geographically into six dialects, stating that Lala is a 'Natal Coast Dialect' and a 'Lower Natal Coast Dialect,' and some form of Tekela is in 'The South West Natal Dialect'. Most probably this form of Tekela is Bhaca and Nhlangwini. Kubeka's classification of dialects does not hold water, and there are serious inaccuracies in his geographical locations. His whole work requires serious revision. He admits the shortcomings of his method where he says (1979:99):

> The boundaries from where we show on our map are not to be read as hard and fast boundaries, but rather as areas of transition between one dialect and the next.

C.T.Msimang's 1989 Ph.D. thesis, *Some Phonological Aspects of the Tekela Dialects,*

constitutes an outstanding contribution to the study of Lala in the overall context of Tekela. Msimang (1989:7) maintains that Lala forms part of the Tekela dialect cluster, or Proto-Tekela, which also includes Swati, Bhaca, Nhlangwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele. Msimang accepts, without any serious discussion, the traditional view that Lala is an offshoot of Thonga, from which it perpetuates a large number of elements. Following Van Dyk, Msimang further affirms that Lala is spoken by the Bhengus of Kranskop, the Jalis of Harding and the people in the INanda and UMngeni reserves, to which he adds the Celes of IZingolweni and other districts and the Ndzelus of UMzinto and the Celes of Highflats. He discusses in some detail the history of three main Lala-speaking groups, namely the Mkhizes, the Celes and the Ngcobos. Msimang proposes a conciliatory middle way in the historical controversy of whether Lala should be considered as part of Tekela or *viceversa*. Though accepting Kubeka's (1979:42) point that "Tekela is a more general term which identifies the dialect cluster that makes use of **t** in place of Zunda **z**", Msimang concedes that considerable and substantial differences are found within the cluster. On the question of whether there is any validity in using the term 'Nguni' for this group of languages, Msimang accepts the oral traditional division into three groups: Ntungwa, Nguni and Tekela. According to him (1989:19), although Mnguni is the ancestor of only some of the clans involved, all the people concerned now seem to accept to identify themselves as Nguni by adopting Mnguni as a common ancestor. Unfortunately, however, Msimang does not give much serious consideration to Ownby's seminal work.

The above authors' descriptions of Lala and Tekela are painfully incomplete. Tekela is a living language, with its idiomatic expressions, its language-based imagery, its sense of humour. I am reminded here of an old man called Futsha Tshinga who used to visit our home in the 1960's. To our amusement he used to say, *'Bafwana, baphi boyihlo? Balibele kubukana netinombi letinulutelayo letibukana namawatshi.'* (Boys, where are your fathers? They are just wasting their time looking at those unmarried fat girls who keep checking their watches.) The dimension put forward in this perspective is that Tekela should not be simply seen as the replacement of certain consonants, or in a number of variations from the more established sister languages (Xhosa and Zulu), but rather as a full-blooded living reality.

In 1995 Richard Bailey published two very interesting papers on sociohistorical perspectives in Southern Africa. The papers have a profound bearing on any discussion of Tekela and Lala. The first paper, "The Bantu languages of South Africa: towards a

sociohistorical perspective" compares the typological and the genetic methods of language classification in the context of South African black languages. The two methods, according to Bailey, cannot and must not be mixed, as has happened with Guthrie's and Doke's approach. Genetic classification cannot be proven by typological means. This means that only a rigorous application of the genetic comparative method, based on the various levels of lexical comparison, can result in a clear description of the history of a particular language. In this way historical linguistics can become a tremendous help for archaeology, in areas lacking written records.

In his second paper, "Sociolinguistic evidence of Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda origins", Bailey agrees that Bantu-speaking populations are recorded as present in KZN probably in the third or fourth century AD. The type of language spoken was probably a form of Tekela or of Lala, possibly related to the Tonga/Tsonga/Thonga of southern Mozambique. This language may have become the substratum for modern Nguni languages through a process of relexification, whereby the existing language(s) assimilated the vocabulary of the invading and dominant Proto-Nguni lineages from about the beginning of the second millennium, or from what historians call the end of the Early Iron Age.

Koopman (1994), in his "Lexical Adoptives in Zulu", has contributed to the present study by tracing some Zulu adoptives and demonstrating the constant fluidity of a growing language patrimony.

In 1995 T.T. Cele wrote a simple and clear Zulu Honours dissertation entitled : *Historical-Literary Survey of the Cele People in the Maphumulo District* (Natal University, Durban). His field work allowed him to collect a number of historical details on the great Magaye kaDubandlela, one of Shaka's favourite councillors, who was able to steer his lineage away from confrontation with the Zulus. The work also includes Cele oral texts, collected, translated and analyzed, as well as a clear exposition of the linguistic peculiarities of *isiCele*, which is taken as part of *isiLala*.

1.3   Aim and Scope of Research

This research aims to provide a comprehensive synchronic description of *isiLala*, as spoken by the various lineages that recognize themselves as *amaLala*, with special focus on the speech forms found in both the northern and southern areas of KZN. Taking into consideration the eventful history of the Lala lineages during the present millennium, the research is expected

to identify both unifying and differentiating factors in the sound systems and the grammatical patterns of the various areas, and these shall have to be carefully quantified. The resulting picture might be either one of basic linguistic unity in atomic diversity, as proposed by Van Dyk's 1960 study; or one of serious differences between at least North and South Lala so as to justify Wilkes' (1981) contention that one cannot speak of Lala as a homogeneous language, because environmental factors have created a deep divide between northern and southern dialects.

The route employed to arrive at possible conclusions consists of the elements that can be clarified as forming the inclusive scope of the work.

Chapter two presents the history of various Lala lineages as collected from oral sources during my field work, especially among the KZN South Coast Lalas. This will highlight both the unity and the historical diversity of the clans under consideration. **Chapter three** consists of two distinct lists of basic vocabulary: the first, which includes one hundred lexical items referring to intimate personal and family objects, clearly manifests the unity of *isiLala* and its level of differentiation with siSwati and isiZulu. The second, consisting of two hundred lexemes of wider application, shows a degree of divergence between North and South Lala, and the latter's gradual assimilation with isiZansi, the all-pervading language variety that dominates the South Coast areas of KZN. These lists will be widely utilized for the formulation of examples to prove the validity of various points in the following chapters. **Chapter four** discusses the phonetics and phonology of Lala; **Chapter five** deals with its morphology and syntax; **Chapter six** explains the tonology of the language. **Chapter seven** presents a number of conclusions and recommendations, which may provide adequate answers to the many questions that still occupy the scholarly research on Lala.

The aims and limitations of the research project should become clearer through the following discussion of the key terms contained in its title, such as Nguni, Lala, dialect and language, phonology and morphology.

1.4   Definition of important terms

Some terms have already been partly discussed in the previous pages, such as Tekela, Nguni, Lala. Further clarification is given here when necessary. The term that requires the greatest attention is 'dialect', which is defined in the context of language variations within an

African setting. The analytical terms 'morphology' and 'phonology' are also defined.

1.4.1 Nguni

Nguni are languages classified under Guthrie's Southeastern S40 Zone as:

S41   Xhosa
S42   Zulu
S43   Swati
S44   Ndebele.

This broad division does not do justice to the multiplicity of languages and dialects comprised in the Nguni cluster. One widely accepted subdivision is that of **Zunda** and **Tekela**, or high languages (Zunda: Xhosa, Zulu, Zimbabwe Ndebele, South Tvl Ndebele, Ngoni) and low languages (Tekela: Swati, Ndebele, Lala, Bhaca, Nhlangwini, Northern Tvl Ndebele, Old Mfengu). The judgemental element implied in 'high' and 'low' languages is rejected as unscientific and patronizing.

The 1995 South African Constitution accepts the following Nguni languages as official languages, making them consequently 'standard' languages: isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati, isiNdebele. According to the 1991 national census, more than 17 million South Africans (43,50% of the total population) speak one of the Nguni languages as their mother tongue.

It has been mentioned already that the term Nguni seems to have been forced on the people, and that it is not readily accepted, especially by Zulu and Swati speakers. Msimang (1989:19) states that before Shaka's times, there were three distinct groups in Zululand: Ntungwa, Nguni and Tekela. Ntungwa could be identifiable as *zunda*, or using of **z**, as opposed to *tekela*, or using of **t**. The Qwabes were originally Ntungwas, but adopted Mnguni as an ancestor in their *izithakazelo* and saw themselves as 'Nguni'. Other lineages seem to have followed the same route and to have accepted the general term 'Nguni' as their description. Msimang does therefore accept the term as a useful classificatory tool.

1.4.2 Lala

Also this term has been illustrated already. The groups that distinguish themselves as *amaLala* are going to be widely presented in chapter two, and the characteristics of *isiLala* are the object of discussion of this whole work. The division of the Lala speakers into North and South Lala has also been mentioned, and will be further discussed in the course of this

dissertation. Here it is enough to remember that North Lala refers to the language spoken by the Lalas of Kranskop, and of INanda and Mngeni reserves. South Lala, instead, is the language spoken by the Lalas of IZingolweni, the KwaJali of Harding, and the Lalas of the UMzumbe district.

The term *lala* is interpreted in three possible ways in the literature:

(a)   The low-lying position of the tongue when speaking;

(b)   The low-lying coastal areas of KZN traditionally occupied by the people that became known as *amaLala;*

(c)   Traditional iron-mongers or forgers, collectively identified as *ilala, amalala.*

1.4.3   Language and dialect

Rather than presenting several definitions of these terms, only two apt ones have been chosen with the aim of avoiding useless repetitions. Any system of communication can be called 'language'. Oral symbolic systems, where words stand for, or signify, objects in the real world, are 'languages'. In the present context, however, where 'language' is distinguished from the more restrictive term 'dialect' for the sake of descriptive clarity, the following definition (cf. Canonici, 1994:2) is deemed useful:

> Language is an abstract verbal reality, made up of dialects and dialect clusters.
> It is taken here as the prestigious, recognized and official medium of
> communication within a wide community. It does not matter whether it is written
> or oral. In this sense it is often identified as "standard language", which is either
> the speech form imposed by the dominant social group, or a compromise form
> drawing its elements from the most relevant dialects in the cluster. In this sense
> it is also the medium of instruction in schools, the medium used in the courts of
> law and employed by educated people.

The important elements in the above descriptive definition refer to the fact that language is an oral reality (although scholars like to distinguish oral and written language); that is widely spoken and thus recognized as a standard medium of communication in a wide community. In contrast, the concept of 'dialect' is more restrictive (cf Canonici:1994:3):

> Dialect is a particular variety of language spoken by a group, determined either
> by geography (regional dialect) or by social status (social dialect). Geographical
> lines between dialect features are called *isoglosses.* A dialect is characterized by
> peculiar forms in the phonology, the morphology or the lexicon.

Lala can be described as a non-standardized variety of language used by several lineages which identify themselves as *amaLala*. It shows features of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation that distinguish it from other varieties used by other groups. The vocabulary features are going to be presented in Chapter three, while the peculiarities that distinguish Lala from other Nguni speech forms in pronunciation, grammar and tone constitute the object of the other chapters.

In a European context, where one can find written sources that attest earlier stages of language development, dialect is generally perceived as a variation from the standard code. Such variations are explained as consequences of an earlier language variety (linguistic substratum), which preceded the imposition of standard forms by a new dominant group, while the accepted code was further changed by more recent lexical adoptions (adoptives, code mixing, code switching, jargon, etc.).

Similar linguistic reconstructions are often applied to the African situation, even in areas completely lacking written testimonies. For example, Ownby (1981:69) proposes the following chart of Nguni development, based on her lexico-statistical research:

c. 1 000 A.D.	**Proto-Nguni**			
	⇓			
c. 1 200 A.D	**Proto-Lala**	**Proto-Palatal Nguni**		
	⇓	⇓		
	‖			
	⇓	⇓	⇓	
c. 1 600 A.D.	**Lala**	**Proto-Northern Nguni**	**Proto-Xhosa**	
		⇓	⇓	
		⇓	⇓	⇓
		Swati	**Zulu**	**Xhosa**
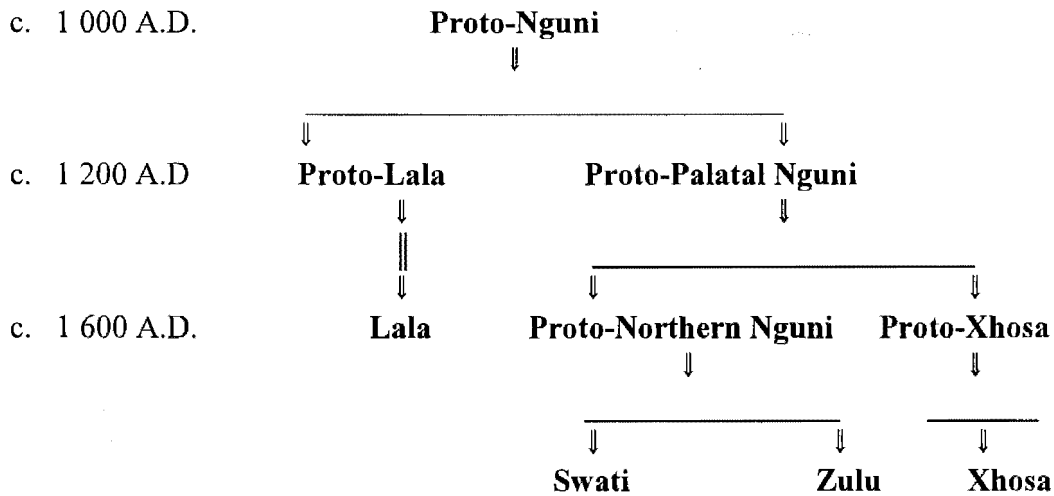
The chart would indicate that Lala is a Nguni language rather than a dialect. It acquired its differentiating characteristics at the end of the Early Iron Age of South African history (about or before A.D. 1 000). Ownby, however, does not explain the mutual influence of Lala and Tekela, involving the lexicon, but especially the phonology and the morphology. These two linguistic levels are generally recognized as the most resistant to change. Bailey's (1995) proposal that Lala underwent a thorough relexification after the Nguni conquest could better explain the situation, but might further indicate that Lala was not originally a Nguni language, and this could be very difficult to demonstrate.

Perhaps the question of language and dialect should be re-examined with fresh eyes in an African context. Bailey (1995:34) observes that *isiZulu* to him means "Zulu customs" or "Zulu fashion". Language is in fact part of the customs and traditions of a population group, the way/fashion people express themselves. Thus '*ukukhuluma isiLala*' would not necessarily denote to make use of the Lala vocabulary, but rather and more widely, speaking in the way, or according to the fashion, of the Lala people, that is, by adopting the lexicon according to the Lala phonological and morphological systems. This interpretation could justify the relexification patterns widely attested in African societies, a factor that renders the study of core vocabularies rather dubious. A further argument in favour of this approach is the fact that the English gloss "to speak" is translated by unrelated words in the various South African languages:

To speak   *ukukhuluma*   (Zulu)
                    ukuthetha   (Xhosa)
                    go bolela   (Sotho)
                    ku vulavula   (Tsonga).

This means that language is not an abstract reality, the sum total of lexical items, but rather a way of making use of oral and visual resources in order to communicate meaning. And each population group feels entitled to do it in its own fashion.

1.4.4 Phonological Analysis

To 'analyse' means to break up an object to examine even its smallest component parts. This study aims to break up Lala words in order to identify the sounds chosen by Lala speakers to form words and therefore to convey meaning. The sound inventory, or the list of the chosen sounds, is referred to as the phonetics of the language. Regular sound processes within a particular sound system, and those used to change and adapt sounds in particular environments, constitute the phonology of that language.

Katamba (1989:60) defines phonology as follows:

A branch of linguistics which investigates the ways in which speech sounds are used systematically to form words and utterances.

The Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1981:1700) takes it further by asserting that:

Phonology is the science of speech sounds including especially the history and the theory of sound changes in a single language or in two or more related languages considered together for comparative purposes. The given meaning of the term further includes: the phonemics, the segmental and the supra segmental

phonemics of a language at a particular time.

Webster's descriptive definition says it all about phonology:

a)   Since it is a science, it is expected to be a systematic co-ordination of different aspects.

b)   It may deal with the history and the theory of sound changes, in one or two languages for comparative purposes.

c)   It studies the phonemics, the segmental and suprasegmental elements (tonology) of a language at any given time.

The sound inventory of Lala and the phonological processes in it form the object of Chapter four.

1.4.5   Morphological Analysis

The *New Webster's Dictionary* (1975:975) states:

Morphology is the study of word formation; or how word forms are affected by inflection, derivation and composition.

A word is made up of meaningful sequences of sounds put together in a specific manner. The sequences of sounds or units of meaning are known as morphemes, which are the smallest units of form and meaning in a language. How Lala words are formed, through affixation processes peculiar to Bantu languages; the nature of such affixes; the formation of roots and stems in inflection and derivation, all these aspects are going to be discussed in Chapter five, which deals specifically with Lala morphology.

1.5   Research Methodology

My research has been carried out on two distinct but related fields: library research, to read and study all I could get hold of with regard to Nguni, Tekela and Lala, as demonstrated in 1.2 above;   field research, to investigate all aspects of Lala life, history and language, especially from the older generation who keep alive the language and the traditions and still regard themselves as privileged descendants of the glorious Lala populations.

I have lived with Lala speakers most of my life and have listened to, and used, their speech forms, although we were discouraged from using Lala at school. The teachers used to refer to Lala as: 'The language of illiterate and uneducated people'.   Most of the teachers and

church ministers in the lower areas of KZN came from the Transkei, and we were led to believe that the Transkei people were highly civilized as they spoke a pure form of language.

Apart from this intimate and personal knowledge of the language, I have endeavoured to investigate the history of the lineages as found both north and south of Durban. This research was carried out in a systematic way, by interviews with knowledgeable older people, chiefs and councillors, *izinduna* or areal heads, etc. Such interviews also brought to my attention linguistic forms with which I was not familiar, which I duly recorded in my notebooks for use in this study. Mine was also an attempt to revive the ailing Lala dialect the disappearance of which was predicted by Van Dyk (1960) and already observed by James Stuart in the 1920's.

In the years which I have spent with the UMzumbe Lalas I observed how the dialect is proudly appropriated by persons bearing certain surnames: *'Lulimi lwetsu tsina baNguni'* (It is our language, we, the Nguni). Unschooled people still regularly use Lala as a medium of communication. These baNguni are the Nongalos of Fohla of Bhimbitha. *'Saluncela komhanha betsu'* (We sucked it [the language] from our mothers).

They claim that they have inherited the dialect from their forefathers, the AbaNguni, the most ancient Nguni ancestors. They speak it with great pride and regard it as equivalent to other languages. That is also applicable to older men and women of Ndzelu tribe. They refer to themselves as, *'Tsina banu baNohhanya'* (We the people of Nohhanya). The Celes of EMawuleni regard Lala as the language of the elderly: *'Sengimdzala Ndosi ngatalwa ngonyaka wetiyumbi'* (I am old Ndosi; I was born in 1899).

Zungu (1989:6) affirms that a Lala speaking Cele clan at UMzumbe maintains that they were able to preserve in part their speech form because of Shaka's favourable disposition towards Chief Magaye, who had become a great friend of the King by submitting his lineage to him rather than going to war or running away. I have had the opportunity of personally witnessing the survival of Lala at school parents' meetings or governing body's meetings: the elderly members of the Cele clan use the dialect freely in their conversations. One cannot rule out, however, the danger of the dialect disappearing: the young generation shows a negative attitude towards it: *'Lokukhuluma kosibanibani'* (The speech forms of so and so). School education, where Zulu is taught as the standard language; migration to urban areas to seek employement; the onslaught of the national and regional media; the wholesale adoption of new language registers and codes for social need; etc., all seem intent on destroying a precious piece of cultural heritage which we

shall never be able to replace.

In my visits to each tribal area, I managed to have a number of informants organized, so as to be able to record information to be used for research. Much of the information had to be recorded correctly the first time, because some informants were quite old and might not have been there for a second interview. This confirms the sad fact that Lala is indeed disappearing.

1.6   Conclusion

Exploration in the life and development of a language means to come in contact with pages of unwritten history, where the past survives in some form or another in the present and the seeds sown centuries ago bear flowers and fruits now. This kind of search down memory lane becomes much more intriguing when the past is a page in the life of the researcher, because it touches his ancestors, or the people who have surrounded him in his infancy or youth. The memory bank thus grows very personal, echoing with the sounds and images of the past which are projected into the future.

This research is an attempt to venture into the untouched territory of the Lala lineages that occupy the UMzumbe area, with the aim of exploring their history and their language. Their recent history is a tale of migrations from Shaka's kingdom, through harrowing experiences of wars, famine, political positioning and manoeuvering. But a much wider history is hidden in the lexicon, the phonology and the morphology of the language and its dialects: words that express new economic achievements, such as the newly introduced cultivation of millet; terms that reveal the growing centrality of the cattle culture and are borrowed from Khoisan; expressions that hint at forms of social organization, or of religious practices, or of historical encounters. Language is certainly a hidden treasure, a patrimony to be explored in order to be fully enjoyed.

My research does not stop with the UMzumbe Lalas, but takes into consideration also other lineages that inhabit other areas of KZN and consider themselves Lalas. The social and natural environment often causes deep scars in a linguistic landscape over a number of centuries. Such linguistic variations, changes, developments, can all be identified in the present day language and its various dialects. It is a great enterprise to set out to interpret the symbols and signs partly living and partly fossilized in the Lala language.

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORY OF THE LALA PEOPLE

2.0   Introduction

This chapter aims to provide the historical background of the Lala people in order to understand who they are, how they got to their present territories, and possibly what kind of material culture characterizes their lives.

The first task is to briefly outline the pre-history of the people, which, according to generally accepted traditions, "came down from the north" in the distant past. Linguists and historians have identified the birthplace of the Bantu speaking populations in the Cameroon, north west of the Equator, from where the people started migrating southwards and eastwards more than five thousand years ago, until they eventually arrived to the southern regions of Africa. Archaeology is bringing to light a number of elements regarding their settlement in Southern Africa during the past two millennia, which debunk the myth of the black people only arriving here at the same time as Van Riebeeck in the seventeenth century. African people rely on their oral traditions to preserve their past. But in order to properly understand the oral traditions one must step out of them to look at the mythmaking process objectively. This analysis will bring out some startling interpretations with regard to both very ancient and more recent history, and will prevent the application of modern patterns, as exemplified in the *Mfecane*, to more distant historical eras. Bantu speaking populations' settlements in the south east of the continent during the last two thousand years are called the Early and the Later Iron Age (cf Maylam, 1986). The second major part of the chapter is dedicated to the history of Lala lineages, as gathered through field research. This only reflects events that have taken place during the last two centuries.

2.1   Lala Pre-History

It is generally accepted (cf historical linguists such as Greenberg (1974:216), Phillipson (1977:110), Finlayson (1987:51)) that the Bantu-speaking populations of Southern Africa, including the modern Lalas, originated north-west of the Equatorial forest and migrated to their present territories either in large or in small groups over several centuries . In their march they met with other populations and acquired elements of their material culture, as well as several

linguistic elements that helped to modify and shape their communication system and their cultural heritage.

Linguists maintain that the original core of Bantu-speaking people originally split into two groups: Proto-Bantu A and Proto-Bantu B. The Proto-Bantu A group moved southwards following a westerly direction, and is generally referred to as Western Bantu. The Proto-Bantu B, known as the Eastern Bantu, is assumed to have skirted the equatorial forest on the north while moving in the general direction of the Great Lakes region, then to have wheeled southwards towards the central Katanga region, from where new migratory waves began, some of which spread along the eastern side of the African continent. The Ngunis form part of Proto-Bantu B.

Msimang (1989:3) supports the idea that the Proto-Bantu B group reached the eastern end of the equatorial forest, and further moved southwards but did not enter through the highlands of northern Tanzania and southern Kenya, because the area had already been taken by some culturally more advanced Kushitic people who had settled there as early as 1000 B.C. However,a suggestion is made that perhaps the Bantu ultimately settled north-west of Lake Victoria approximately 500 B.C. This area is next to the land occupied by the Kushitic people.

Msimang (1989:4) further clarifies the migration of the Proto-Bantu B group as follows:

> All the while the PB-B group kept on moving round the equatorial forest (from West to East) south and then westward to join up with Guthrie's nucleus.

Guthrie assumed that the nucleus of Bantu speaking people settled in the Katanga woodlands in Central Congo, south of the Equatorial forest. It is estimated that major cultural and life style changes among the early Bantu took place round about 300 B.C. to 600 A.D. These changes are noticed in the greater part of Africa between the Equator and the Vaal River. Msimang (1989:3) remarks that:

> This change was marked by the appearance of a characteristic type of pottery known as Urewe ware. Since this pottery was found in association with evidence for metallurgy, this period has been named the Early Iron Age.

Phillipson states that the Iron Age culture was brought to South Africa by a fast, well organized people, who were able to move rapidly from place to place, and who had probably acquired their well-developed culture elsewhere. Maylam (1986:9) affirms that large migrations, responsible for the numerous Early Iron Age sites in South Africa, probably moved all along the east African

coast in a relatively short time between the third and the seventh centuries A.D. The lowveld areas of the Eastern Transvaal, KwaZulu-Natal and even the Eastern Cape, were widely occupied by such groups, which were probably Bantu speakers. Also Ownby's research (1985) suggests the strong possibility that Bantu-speaking populations occupied low-lying areas to the east of the Drakensberg during the early centuries of the first millennium. For Proto-Nguni to be present in Southern Africa by the end of the first millennium, it must be assumed that they were already here for a number of centuries.

Finlayson (1987:52) asserts that Bantu-speaking populations continued to migrate in all directions from the place of Guthrie's Bantu nucleus, meeting peoples of different cultures, adopting, adapting and incorporating cultural and linguistic elements. Finlayson accepts Louw's proposal which links the Nguni lateral fricatives *hl* and *dl* with the Southern Kushitic speakers of Kenya and Tanzania. Louw argues that these consonants and certain Nguni words must have been acquired far north by the ancestors of the Nguni. He demonstrates the link between the Nguni and the Bantu of Kenya and Tanzania by showing a degree of linguistic similarity. The examples given are words adopted from Arabic into Swahili, Nguni and Yao. It is well known that Arabs were trading with the Bantu, as testified by the Eastern Bantu adoption of the words for time, money and pearl.

Bryant (1929:5) maintains that the Nguni moved from the north (= the Katanga woodlands?) in a south-westerly direction until they crossed the Zambezi river, where they met the San and the Khoi people from whom they acquired the clicks which are found today in the Nguni languages. Bryant's historical reconstructions are viewed with a high degree of scepticism, especially where he deals with various Nguni groups. Bryant's discarded theories are therefore ignored here.

Bryant affirms that one of his groups eventually became known as Thonga Nguni or Tekela Nguni. The Lalas are supposed to form part of this group, a theory that has been embraced by later scholars without any in-depth research. The history of the Lalas is an intricate one because of the changes they have undergone in their migrations from north to south. Consequently one will have to be mindful of Bryant's words (1964:64):

> The ignorance and confusion now universally existent in the minds of young natives of Natal in regard to the true nationality of their own persons and to the great distinction in race and origin among the multitudes of local clans is much to be deplored. Practically all the youth of Natal are growing up in the delusion that they are Zulus and that not solely by conquest, but by blood. As a matter of

fact perhaps two thirds of them are of Lala or Sutoid extraction .....

It is undeniable that oral traditions about ethnic origins are often confused and confusing. It is generally believed that oral history can be considered accurate only up to two hundred years. The language spoken by a group is a fairly good indication of the group's origins, but the wide-spread relexification process mentioned in the previous chapter casts some doubts even on the linguistic criterion.

Ownby (1985:120 ff.) introduces very strong arguments against the acceptance of the oral tradition of a recent northern origin at face value. The tradition could mean a form of justification for dynastic changes, or for the fission system whereby clans kept dividing when a strong son of the junior house wanted to give origin to his own lineage. According to Ownby, Bryant, Stuart and Soga accepted the *Mfecane* dispersal pattern as applicable to relatively more remote periods, rather than taking the traditions as mythological illustrations of some deeper process. The American researcher contends that there is truth in the idea of migrations from the north at about the beginning of the Christian era, but most of the changes that took place in Southern Africa during the last two millennia could be justified through internal or localized processes whereby people intermingled, dominant lineages appeared and imposed themselves and their social system (including language) on previously dominant groups and then disappeared, familiy and dynastic alliances were formed and broken, etc. In the meantime, the economic importance of cattle husbandry, in a prevalently agricultural society, grew to the point that clans with cattle became much more powerful than simple hunter-gatherer groups. This led to new patterns of physical settlements, and to a gradual acceptance of cattle as symbolic centre of the religious system, and therefore a link to the ancestors, as symbolized by the centrality of the cattle enclosure in the *umuzi*.

It is easy to prove that people's memories about their distant orgins are often hazy. For example, the IZingolweni Nzimakwes (under Nombuso) claim to have originated from the Sothos of Ntamonde, although there are no clear traces of Sotho in their speech. When I visited the EmaBheleni people, the Bheles of Ntulikazi denied that they were Lalas. But whilst we were conversing I picked up Lala idiosyncrasies in their language, i.e. *ukukhamba* instead of *ukuhamba* (to walk), *uyeva* instead of *uyezwa* (Do you hear?), etc. Are these only due to proximity?

A similar situation I found among the Nyavwinis who also denied that they were Lalas, in spite of many Lala idiosyncrasies in their language. In their clan praises I picked up these

words, *'mfa Hlunu lehlophe'* instead of *'umfoka Nhlunu emhlophe'* (The son of Mr White virgin). After a brief discussion with Mpehliwe, one of the Nyanvwini elders, about their use of Tekela, he explained that they picked it up from the Nhlangwini and Bombo people. That happened when they were courting Nhlangwini and Bombo girls, since they were married to the Dlaminis and Khomos. However, the explanation given was not convincing at all because they were not different from the UMzumbe Lalas I have met. Furthermore, their place is right in the centre of Lala territories. It was clear that my informant was unaware that the Nyavwinis were Lalas by origin, and was merely showing his lack of knowledge.

Such wide-spread ignorance begs a deeper question: Who are the Lalas really? Oral traditions tell us that it was Shaka who gave the Lala name to a large group of people, 'whose tongues were lying low in their mouths when they spoke'. This means that the distinctive group identification should be viewed as very recent. The people and their language, however, preceded by many centuries Shaka's legendary episode. Ownby (1985:101) presents anthropologist John Schofield's theories, elaborated in the 1930's, according to which the third period of the Early Nguni Iron Age (about 600 to 800 A.D.) should be identifiable as the 'Lala period'. The Lalas would have been skilled metal workers related to the Shona. Ownby takes up the discussion about Lalas in her chapter VI, where she discusses a novel interpretation of the oral traditions (Ownby, 1985: 132-140). Basing her demonstrations on the testimonies found in *The James Stuart Archives*, she uncovers at least four different explanations given by Stuart's informants:

(a)   *IsiLala* is a dialect with distinctive differences in sound ('flat tongue', that *lala* in the mouth) from accepted Nguni. *AmaLala* would therefore be people who speak such a dialect, as mentioned in Shaka's oral traditions and his relationship with Chief Magaye of the Celes.

(b)   AmaLala are considered by a number of scholars as the early inhabitants of KZN, especially keeping in mind that they occupied the low-lying (*lala*) areas.

(c)   Lala as a derisive term to refer to outsiders. The new conquerors of KZN would have distinguished themselves by calling the earlier inhabitants *amaLala*. A cultural characteristic is supposed to have been the Mpofanas' eating of fish, which was considered improper by late Nguni arrivals.

(d)   Ironmongers were traditionally seen as outsiders, and possibly people with mysterious and magic powers, as they were able to dominate fire. Hence the connection between amaLala and iron monger (*ilala*).

What has been said about the early history of the Lala people may lead to some confusion. The period covered here is a very long one, and the expectation that unschooled elderly people should know the history of their lineage is a wishful myth. To throw some light on Lala recent (about 200 years) history, maps are provided at the end of this chapter to show where the various Lala lineages are found. Several of these are not clear-cut realities. For example, visiting the Hlongwas means also acquiring some historical background on the Madlala, Luthuli and Ndzelu lineages; visiting at EmaBheleni means acquiring the historical background of the Nyavwinis, Bombos and Shabenis. This is how one is inspired to search for more information about the various groups.

Zungu (1989:16) maintains that the first Nguni speaking inhabitants of Natal were amaLala, abaThethwa, amaDebe, amaQwabe and abaMbo. My main focus here is on amaLala, both North Lalas and South Lalas. Bryant (1929:232) concurs that:

> AmaLala occupied the country now called Zululand and Natal before the arrival of other tribes and before the abaMbo.

The following research mainly deals with the movements of the Lala people from the times of the *Mfecane*, the whirlwind that engulfed Southern Africa from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th.

2.2   The Ngcolosi Lalas.

Many Lala lineages lack clear knowledge of their origins, as reflected in Bryant's (1964:34) sad and rather bewildering testimony:

> Their elders, however, avowed a Sutoid origin. As a matter of fact, they were what we have termed Sutoid or Swazi-Ngunis, from the northern district of Natal. They were of the same original stock as the Dlaminis, the emaZizini, the eMbos, the emaHlutjini, the Swazi tribes and the people of Sikwata, all of whom, for want of clearer knowledge, were commonly confused by the Zulus with the totally different Suto people beyond them, to whom they were related only in a remote degree, and between whom and the Zulus they represented an intermediate or transition type.

The Ngcolosis seem quite clear about their place of origin. My informant, Chief Vusumuzi Siphesihle Frederick Bhengu, affirms that they originated from the Dlamini royal family of Swaziland. One of the king's sons had incestuous intercourse with one of the king's daughters who fell pregnant. Since incest was a taboo, the son and his followers were expelled from the

royal family and they built a new kraal known as Ngcolosi, because the son had 'dirtied' the royal house. They 'Bhengued' (moved away from the royal kraal), hence their surname became Bhengu. It was uncomfortable to remain in Swaziland because of the stigma attached to their leader's action, therefore they moved to Zululand and settled at Ntunjambili, a place already occupied by the Shezis and the Goges.

A fierce battle ensued between Ngcolosis, Shezis and Goges. The Shezis and the Goges were defeated and the land came under the control of the Ngcolosis. All the elements of the migration myth are present in this story, to justify the Ngcolosi supremacy and the subservient position of the older inhabitants, who were the previous rulers. Ngwane, the Ngcolosi chief, decided to pay homage to the Zulu king Senzangakhona, who however soon passed away. Ngwane sensed the rivalry for kingship among Senzangakhona's sons. Ngwane resigned as a chief after considering his age and state of health. The leadership was assumed by his son Mepho, who became a great friend of Shaka. After Shaka's assassination, Mepho passed away through illness and old age.

Mepho was succeeded by Nkungu, who decided to continue his clan's allegiance to the Zulu royal house, now dominated by Dingane. Dingane was suspicious of Nkungu and had him brutally murdered with his escort when the Ngcolosi chief was coming to pay his respects. Nkungu's tomb is across the Thukela river. The suspicion was on three grounds: witchcraft, of which Nkungu was accused by his half sister who took Nkungu's medicinal herbs to Dingane as evidence against him. Dingane was also suspicious that since Nkungu was Shaka's friend he might turn against him. Nkungu's half sister wanted her brother from the minor house to become the leader of the Ngcolosi people.

Dingane instructed his army to kill all of Nkungu's followers. The Ngcolosis were tracked down and killed all the way from the royal village, Kwa Magwaza, to the Ngcolosi homestead. They were unprepared for the event and ran away, some stopping at UMvoti and others moving to UMngeni, where they joined another Ngcolosi clan, under Chief Bhekisisa Bhengu. What follows is the genealogy of the present Ngcolosi ruler.

Genealogy of the Ngcolosi Chief

Dlamini   Swaziland
⇓
Lusibalukhulu *Ishongololo elikhulu elisongana libuye lizithombulule.*
⇓

Ngwane
⇓
Mepho
⇓
Nkungu
⇓
Hlangabeza
⇓
Mathole
⇓
Mmemezi
⇓
Hluphizwe
⇓
Vusumuzi   (Present Chief)
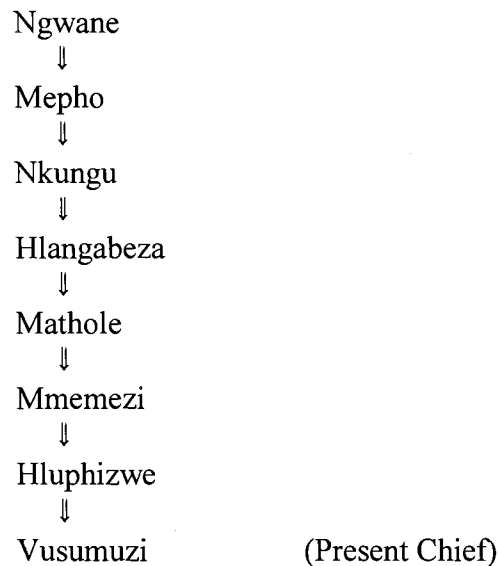
It is not possible to give the dates relative to each chief, but the Bhengus clearly claim to be Lalas from Swaziland. Whether they are really Lalas, or simply Tekela speakers, must be decided on the analysis of their speech forms.

The Ngcolosis' history is not fully told, as there is a related group, the AmaJali near Kokstad, who also declare themselves Ngcolosis. When the fugitives from Dingane's court settled at UMngeni, there was a dispute regarding the chiefship, as there was no leader in their settlement.

A woman from the *ikhohlwa* side of the house gave birth to a son. They chose this boy as their future leader. They further claimed that the people who had caused trouble and divisions had been disappointed (bajabhile), hence the boy was named Jali. On reaching manhood Jali was installed as leader of the AmaNgcolosi, but this went against the wishes of a number of people. Jali, however, seems to have reigned for a number of years in spite of this division . When he became old and could not settle the disputes, he gave the power to his son Mpukunkone, who decided to leave the area. He migrated south with a small group of people who favoured him. He died on the way, and his son Mgaqwa took over the chieftainship.

They settled at UMkhomazi, but still feared that the people they had left at UMngeni might pursue and crush them. Mgaqwa had a son who was named Hlomendlini, because they remembered that the Bhengus quarrelled among themselves. Hlomendlini did not rule for long but had a son called Myeki, who is remembered for being kind-hearted. He migrated further south and settled near Izotsha. Myeki had a son known as Lusungulo who migrated westwards.

They found the AMachi lineage who had settled in the area. The AMachi gave them land across the Iweza river below the Ingeli mountains. They liked the new land because it was fertile and uninhabited.

On settling in the new land they remembered their former leader Jali and called themselves AmaJali. Lusungulo realised that, for his people to progress, they should begin to follow the ways of the white people. He therefore sent his son Mphikwa to Kokstad to attend school. Since he was the son of a chief, he attended a coloured school. When Mphikwa became chief, he built a number of schools and imported teachers from the Eastern Cape. My informant, Rev. Jali, states that when he attended school there were no Zulu readers, but only Xhosa ones. Zulu was introduced in the 1920's when the government instituted regular school inspections.

2.3   History of the so-called South Lalas

Bryant (1964:37) states that the original home of the Lala people was the district running along the Thukela between the Mpaphala and Mfongosi. During the period of universal upheaval caused by Shaka's conquests, mighty tribes such as the Chunus of Macingwane and the Thembus of Ngoza had to flee southwards to the UMzimkhulu district.

As rage, fear and power struggles increased between Shaka and Zwide, also Matiwane of the Ngwanes organized his people and followed the trail of Macingwane and Ngoza to the Cape Colony. Here follow the stories of the UMzumbe Lala lineages and how each moved, fighting its way southwards, until it settled in its present territory.

2.3.1   The EmaBheleni Lineage

Bryant (1964:35) reveals that at the end of the 18th century EmaBheleni people inhabited the whole area bounded by the Biggarsberg Hills, the Klip river and the Thukela river. The area was divided into subsections under different chiefs: the Ntshangases were under the paramount chief of the Bhele, Qunta, probably in the Klip river district. The Shabanes were under Mahlaphahlapha, between the Lenge Hill and the Mzinyathi: and the others were under two chiefs, Mabiya and Jojo. All these gathered together to form the large EmaBheleni tribe.

The southward movement of the Chunus of Macingwane and the Thembus of Ngoza left the EmaBhelenis with no buffer between themselves and the Zulus. They became victims of the mad frustrated fugitives who were running away from Shaka.

When Matiwane of the Ngwanes moved southwards, he came to the unexpected, unprepared, weakened EmaBhelenis, who were indiscriminately and mercilessly burnt or butchered in order to open the southward path so as to avoid the formidable and invincible Hlubis.

However, EmaBheleni remnants under Mdingi of the Memela section judged it expedient to unite with Nombewu and Baleni of the neighbouring eNhlangwini: Bhoyiya and Nkani of the trans-Thukela, Mdunge of the Chilizas, Mkhaliphi of the Enyavwini, Mhawule of the Fuzes. These were later joined by Noqandambedu of the AmaGwanyane. Together they fought their way to the south, terrifying or destroying whatever they met on their way. Formidable as they were, they drove unscathed through the Wushe armies drawn up from Maritzburg to Karkloof to obstruct their devastating march.

Whilst the main EmaBheleni body moved southwards, some remnants under Mahlaphahlapha stayed hidden in the valleys and crannies of their old mountains. Extreme famine and fear drove them to cannibalistic practices. Mahlaphahlapha, head of the Ntuli people, eventually moved to the Mzinyathi river, where his people came in contact with Zulu clans under Shaka's orderly rule.

The Bheles' southward movement came to a halt in two different areas of the south coast, i.e. UMkhomazi and UMzumbe. My informant, Hlokoma Mbhele, affirms that when the Bheles arrived at UMzumbe, they were led by three men: Machi, Nzuzana Mkhize and Mabiya Mbhele. They had no land and begged Fodo of the Nhlangwini who granted them an area to settle.

White officials visited the EmaBheleni and enquired after the local chief. Machi and Nzuzana raised the name of Mabiya, their hero and protector, because of his ability to kill elephants and leopards in the Ntimbankulu forest. Thus Mabiya became the acknowledged chief of the EmaBheleni. He was eventually succeeded by his son, Nkondlwane, who was in turn succeeded by his son Sibewu. The lineage was kept alive by Bangizizwe, Mfimfitha and the present chief, Mandlakhe Mbhele. The EmaBheleni lineage is regarded as one of the strongest and friendliest at UMzumbe.

Genealogy of the UMzumbe EmaBheleni Chiefs

Ncwane
⇊
Mkhandi

⇓

Mbhele   (i)   Khuboni moved to Lesotho
                      (ii)   Ntuli remained in Zululand
                      (iii)   Lushaba, leader of Oshabeni, north of Port Shepstone-
                                   Present chief is Ziwengu Lushaba.
                      (iv)   Machi moved to Harding in the area known as KwaMachi.
                                   The present chief is Sigidi Machi.

Mhlanga

⇓

Vinjwa

⇓

Mabiya

⇓

Nkondlwane

⇓

Sibewu

⇓

Bangizizwe

⇓

Mfimfitha

⇓

Mandlakhe: (Present Chief)
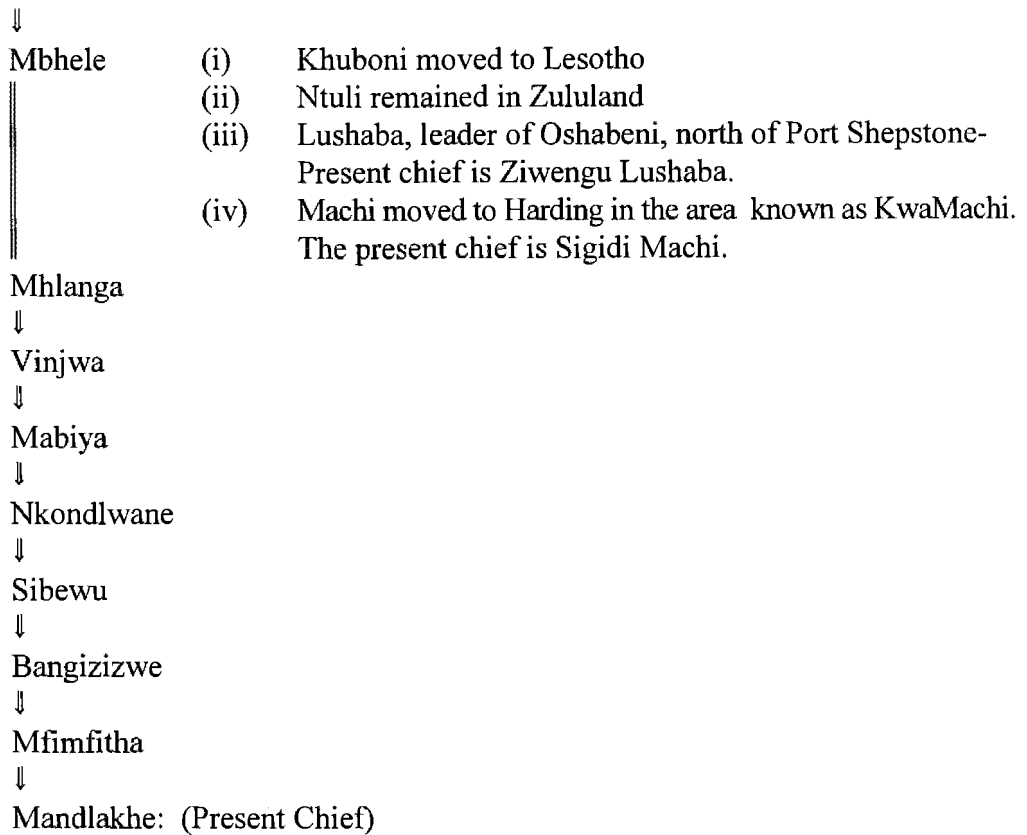
From the above account it can be seen that the rightful leaders of the EmaBheleni remained in KwaZulu. Mabiya was merely elected because he was brave. He incorporated the Bombos.

2.3.2 The Bombo Lineage

Tradition has it that the Bombos were one of the largest Lala lineages, comprising also the Tshingas. Its villages were scattered throughout the country, from near UMngeni to as far as UMvoti. The leader of this lineage was Mbhedu, who died before the tribe felt the effects of Shaka's wars.

Bryant (1964:80) states that the leadership of the tribe remained in the hands of Mbhedu's two sons, Manyonyo and Magwenyane. They divided the people between them. Magwenyana's followers became known for their bravery, as they even defeated Shaka's army. However, they did not take advantage of their victory because of their fear of Shaka, but packed up and set off towards the south until they reached the Mpondo country. They were not happy there and returned to Natal, where they settled at the UMkhuzane hill near the Lovu river under Nemi, son of Magwenyana.

Gobinkunzi Jali, former *induna* of Khulu, explains what happened to the other half of the

Bombos. They were at Dukuza under Manyonyo. During a celebration of the *imiklezo* (passing boyhood stage) ceremony, Shaka instructed his army to kill all the Bombos gathered there. Perhaps Shaka wanted to avenge his defeat by the army of Manyonyo's brother, Magwenyana. Or he was simply suspicious of these Lala people. The Bombos were mercilessly murdered.

The message was relayed to Manyonyo, who hurriedly told his people to pack their belongings and their cattle and trek southwards, where the land was still wide open and unoccupied. Manyonyo, however, was very old and could not walk. He ordered his people to burn him in his hut before leaving. Thus the people moved southwards and came to settle at UMsinsini. There they prospered and multiplied, and they had to move further south until they settled at Mpongwana north of Port Shepstone. Even here they increased, and had to ask Fodo for more land. Fodo gave them land at Isiphofu. This was around the year 1857, when the Bombos left Mpongwana and settled at Isiphofu under Khulu, son of Mkhumbeni.

Khulu suffered from a disease known as *isisende* (abnormal swelling of testicles). The white magistrate wanted Khulu to attend court meetings at UMzinto Magisterial Court, but this was impossible because Khulu could not ride on horse back there. The magistrate gave him a letter to go to hospital for treatment. The Bombos were upset and Khulu was unwilling to appoint somebody else to act on his behalf while attending hospital and also while being on trial for refusing to attend the meetings at court.

Khulu asked his friend Mabiya (Mfulathelwa) of the EmaBheleni to incorporate the Bombos with the EmaBheleni people while he was on trial. He then passed away. As a result the Bombos are still under the leadership of the EmaBheleni chief, although they are trying to re-acquire their independence.

The descendants of Khulu Shazi are still at Isiphofu, between Tophet and Blamey's Farm. This Mr D.M Blamey acted as interpreter during Khulu's trial, and his home was used as a court house. The magistrate, Mr Melen, was called Zombeyana because he wanted to re-introduce the custom that the hymen of all girls of marriageable age should be regularly checked. Blamey's descendants are still running the sugar cane farm, and at present the farm is under Mdabuli, the son of Masiphula of Mlamula Blamey.

Genealogy of the UMzumbe Bombo Chiefs

Shazi
⇓
Mbhedu

⇓

Manyonyo

⇓

Mkhumbeni

⇓

Khulu

A remark is often heard that the reason for Zombeyana to request the incorporation of the Bombos with the EmaBheleni was because the Bombos were troublesome and needed a group strong enough to control them. It is difficult to ascertain the validity of such a claim.

2.3.3   The ENyavwini Lineage

Bryant (1964:81) says that, immediately above the Bombos on the southern side of UMvoti, there live the Nyavwini people, near the Sikoto stream, under chief Mkhaliphi Ngcobo. Early in 1826 the eNyavwinis saw the emaChunu scurrying through their territory on their way to the south, fleeing from Shaka's army.

My informant, Mpehliwe Ngcobo, son of Ntetheni son of Mkhaliphi, explains that the ENyavwinis are not Fuzes but Bhelesis. INyavu was the name of Mkhaliphi's village at Camperdown and Mkhaliphi's people were named after it. During the *Mfecane*, they followed the emaChunwinis in their southward flight until they met Zihlandlo, chief of eMbo tribe. Mkhaliphi decided to make friends with the eMbo conqueror in order to ensure his people's security and survival. However, in 1832 Zihlandlo was put to death and the eMbos ran away from Dingane. The death of Zihlandlo also affected the eNyavwinis, and they had to move southwards again under their leader, Mkhaliphi. The eNyavwini people settled at UMzinto.

About 1871 the legitimacy of their land tenure was challenged by a white man who told them that they were occupying his farm. They set off again and proceeded to UMzumbe under the leadership of Mngomeni, son of Ndimndwane, son of Mkhaliphi, son of Nombuya. The eNyavwinis are now found at UMzumbe, under Prince or Mfaniselwa, son of Bhanoyi. My informant maintains that many amaNyavu can still be found at Camperdown.

Genealogy of the UMzumbe eNyavwini Chiefs.

Ngcobo

⇓

Mayiya

⇓

Bhelesi

⇓

Fiswa

⇓

Jama

⇓

Nombuya

⇓

Mkhaliphi

⇓

Ndimndwane

⇓

Mngomeni

⇓

Bhanoyi

⇓

Prince or Mfaniselwa (Present Chief)

The arrival of the eNyavwinis strengthened the South Lala territory of UMzumbe, since there is

clear evidence that the Nyavwinis are Lalas: they originated in the same area occupied by other

Lalas and moved southward to join other Lalas at UMzumbe.

2.3.4   History of the Hlongwa Lineage

Bryant (1964:79) has this to say about the Hlongwas and the Tshingas:

> The Tshingas occupied the flat country about the middle Mvoti below the
> emaNgangeni, under their chief, Mangcuku, son of Jele; while opposite
> the emaNgangeni on the southern banks of the river dwelt the Hlongwas,
> governed by their chief, Zwebu. A few years previous to the Shaka
> invasion, these Hlongwas had been joined by another branch of their
> family, hitherto resident under their chief,. Mjulelwa, near the Thukela,
> where the Mpisi stream enters it, whence they were expelled by Sihayo,
> the Nyuswa chief, over the Thukela river.

Bryant's information contained here is that the Hlongwas were originally at a tributary of the

UMvoti river. However, Dliwa Makhanya of the UMzumbe Hlongwas, maintains that the

Hlongwas originated from Central Africa and arrived in Zululand during Senzangakhona's reign.

The oral tradition about ancient origins is neatly confused with recent history: Senzangakhona's

reign (c. 1790-1816) is an event that took place a very long time ago in oral memory.

During Shaka's wars, this Lala group took part in Shaka's southwards expedition to the

Mpondos of Faku. Perhaps during this campaign the Hlongwa warriors noticed that there were vast unoccupied lands in the south. There is no mention anywhere in the history of the Hlongwas of any misunderstanding between them and Shaka, who readily appreciated courageous soldiers, such as the Hlongwas, who were conscious to be Lalas with a reputation for fierce fighting.

There is therefore some confusion in the oral testimonies about Hlongwa migrations during Shaka's reign. Their presence is reported at UMvoti, at the UMzimkhulu river and at other places. This is a sign that they did not migrate in full, but some of them moved southwards - to UMzumbe - while others stayed behind at their original place, where some of the emigrants eventually returned.

The Hlongwas returned to UMzumbe for the second time under the leadership of Ngawu, whose cousin was Manyoba. Manyoba was one of the Hlongwas' heroes. He fought a number of battles under Shaka. At UMzumbe the Hlongwas occupied a stretch of land between the UMzumbe and the Malukhakha rivers up to Isiphofu, Odeke, Egumbini. Ngawu decided to build his village at Isiphofu while the rest of the Hlongwas built on the upper part of the Malukhakha river. Ngawu's reasons to build at Isiphofu could be his pleasure in the sea view and fresh sea breeze, as well as the possibility of spotting any suspicious intruder.

Further stories are narrated about Hlongwa valour. For example, there is a story that, after settling at UMzumbe, the Hlongwas noticed that some of their heroes were not with them. Therefore they set out northwards, under Manyoba, in search of their missing heroes. The Hlongwa army met Shaka at Congella, and joined his army on the Bluff, to wait for the white army from the sea. Sojemula, a Hlongwa hero, collapsed and died.

After Sojemula's death the joint army retreated, as it was discovered that the white men had already landed. Shaka selected a few of his young warriors to work with the whites in order to learn their fighting skills. Thereafter the Hlongwa army moved to the UMkhomazi area, where they were eventually joined by their families.

The peace at UMkhomazi lasted until the arrival of a strong Cele group that valiantly fought and defeated the Hlongwas, forcing them to pack up again and leave. The area is still known as MaHlongwa. In their dejection they set out for their home near the UMzumbe river.

On the way to UMzumbe a child was born, Nkumbi, son of Ngawu. The child was noisy and the Hlongwas were afraid that the clans on the way might notice them and attack them. Manyoba suggested that the child should be made to swallow a clod of soil, but the old women objected and took it on themselves to protect the baby knowing that he belonged to the royal

house. That is why in the Hlongwa clan praises say: *'Tsina esawela ngomtungulu wasala wabola'* (We who crossed with *umzungulu* 'Dalbergid abovata' it remained rotting). This implies that there were difficult times when the chieftaincy of the Hlongwas could come to an end.

Once settled at UMzumbe, life was even more lively than anticipated. Nkumbi was taken to Mbotho for hiding as the chief's son. That is in line with the African custom that a chief's son must grow under the tutelage of another chief. The Hlongwas were always with the Madlalas and Ndzelus. The Ndzelus were the ones who used to squirt out the calabash concoction for the Hlongwas.

Thereafter, Fynn summoned a large meeting at his home with the aim of uniting the Hlongwas and his followers. During the meeting the Hlongwas started a war dance and hit Fynn's *insonyama* (brisket) that was hanging in the kraal. One of the Hlongwa men removed his *ibheshu* (traditional skin buttocks skirt) and, in a moment of utter disgust, sat on the *insonyama* that was to be eaten by Fynn. A fierce battle ensued, and Fynn and his followers ran away. Fynn opened a court case against the Hlongwas.

The trial took place in Pietermaritzburg. Nkumbi was afraid because his installation as Hlongwa chief had not been confirmed by the colonial government, although he had been enthroned in the traditional way. He was also afraid that he might be imprisoned for the misbehaviour of his people. However, the Hlongwas won the case, and were allowed to re-occupy the area across the Malukhakha river. Nkumbi's worries however did not disappear.

Fynn was still vying for both the land and the ruling of the Hlongwas. Mr Melen, the UMzinto Magistrate, decided to draw a boundary between the Hlongwas and Fynn's people. When the Hlongwas met the Fynns, a fierce fighting took place. The Fynns wanted to get into one of the Swalibane's kraals, but Ndzoyiya, a Hlongwa *induna*, flatly refused. In that skirmish one man of the Fynns', Shintshi, died, and the Fynns ran away.

On the following day Mr. Melen allocated all the land under Location three (3) to Fynn and Location four(4) to Tshinga. The Hlongwas were left with a strip of land between these two tribes. That was how Mr Melen 'castrated the bull', as he told the Hlongwas *(ukutsena iyudi)*. Today the Hlongwas still occupy that strip of land under chief Calalakubo Khawula (Bhova lomnqini).

Genealogy of the Hlongwa Chiefs

Nowa
⇓
Siphudini
⇓
Langa
⇓
Zwebu
⇓
Mlanjana
⇓
Mtumaseli
⇓
Gabhisa
⇓
Yawu
⇓
Hlolwa
⇓
Ngawu
⇓
Nkumbi
⇓
Mchithwa
⇓
Dingezweni
⇓
Calalakubo Khawula (Present Chief)

The Hlongwas are adamant about their Lala origins. They are among the lineages that suffered because of colonial interference in their life. Their colourful history shows them as strong, proud and determined, and this is why their oral traditions reveal a time depth often missing in the history of other lineages.

2.3.5 History of the Luthuli Lineage

Bryant (1964:90) gives as the original home of the Luthulis the Mpaphala Heights about the source of the Matigulu river. He maintains that the clan split over a quarrel for royal spoils. The conquering advance of the Zulus and the annexing tactics of the whites scattered the Luthulis to the point that they are now found along most of the Natal coast.

My focus here is on the UMzumbe Luthulis. My informant, Africa Luthuli, says that his

people initially lived across the Black Mfolozi river and later settled at Matigulu. From there they moved to the Bluff under Myebu. Myebu's successor was his son Nkolongo. The colonial government ordered Nkolongo to move from the Bluff because the area was going to be developed as a port. Nkolongo agreed to leave and was given a land at Zuba, which stretches from the UMgababa river to both the UMsimbazi and Ilovu rivers.

The Luthulis settled on the new land. When Nkolongo died, his son Fica was too young to ascend the Luthuli throne. Therefore, Mnini became regent on Fica's behalf. Fica ruled for twelve (12) years and passed away leaving a young son, Bhoshongweni, still too young to rule. Mnini again became regent. Young Bhoshongweni became affected by progressive blindness and was thus judged unfit to rule the Luthulis.

The men of the senior house resolved that Bhoshongweni should be secretly treated for his sickness and sent him to stay at UMthwalume with Dlewukani. He was eventually cured of his blindness. He resided under the rule of Fynn, a coloured. Fynn told Bhoshongweni that when a chief comes to the territory of another chief he must pay something. Consequently, a bull with a mixture of small red and white spots was given to Fynn.

Bhoshongweni thus bought back the chieftainship from Fynn on the thirteenth (13) year at UMthwalume. In fact, Africans gradually wanted their affairs to be handled by Bhoshongweni rather than Fynn, and the number of Bhoshongweni's followers increased at an alarming rate.

When Bhoshongweni passed away and his son Nkukhu succeeded him, the rivalry between the Fynns and the Luthulis increased. The Luthulis maintained, first of all, that the bull that was paid was meant to buy back the chiefship. Secondly, they argued that the Fynns were not of royal stock, since they were originally foreign hunters and traders. The matter of the chieftainship was taken to a court of law, which eventually decided that it be given to the Luthulis because the Fynns, Ogles and Canes, being coloured, were not members of any traditional royal family. With the introduction of the Group Areas Act, coloured people were settled in Wentworth and Ifafa Beach.

Nkukhu continued to rule the Luthulis and he was succeeded by his son Tilongo, who ruled the Luthulis for a short time. At his death, Sikhungo, Nkukhu's brother, ruled on behalf of Phuza who was still too young. When Phuza ascended the throne, he married the daughter of Mungwe of Gcinangempi, son of Mshweshwe, son of Magaye, son of Dubandlela. Mungwe's daughter gave birth to Bhekizizwe, the present chief of the Luthulis, *Ibhebhetshane lelimabalabala kadze belubalekela, Bhukudza kwesinengwenya ngwenya ingamentilutso;* (The

spotted butter-fly they have just ran away from. The one who swims in the pool where there is a crocodile, but the crocodile does not temper with him). Bhikizizwe is married to a daughter of Chief Sgidi Machi.

Genealogy of the UMzumbe Luthuli Chiefs

Myebu
⇓
Mkolongo
⇓
Fica
⇓
Bhoshongweni
⇓
Nkukhu
⇓
Phuza
⇓
Bhekizizwe (Present Chief)

The research shows that the UMzumbe Luthuli Lalas are related to the Luthulis of UMvoti and UMgababa. The UMzumbe Luthulis speak a Lala dialect influenced by IsiZansi, the manner of speaking widely spread throughout the South Coast of KZN. Other language variations are due to the wide intermarriage practices with the Machis and the Celes.

2.3.6 History of the Qwabe Lineages

The Qwabes are not generally regarded as Lalas, but those residing at UMzumbe, the Lufutsa Qwabe, are. Bryant(1964:77) has this to say about the Lalas:

> Adjoining the Maphumulo in their Eastern frontier dwelt three clans which, although all offshoots of the great Qwabe tribe (and therefore really aba-Nguni), had, by Shaka's time, through intermarriage and intimate social contact during many generations, become to all practical purposes amaLala. The largest and most important of these were the emaNgangeni. Originally resident on the Matigulu river in Zululand, they had migrated to the south and crossed the Thukela already while Lufutsa was the Qwabe king (perhaps about the middle of the 18th century). In Shaka's time they were the most advanced Qwabe outpost to the south, occupying all the country from the vicinity of the sources of the Nonoti (where they had the Celes, under Mande, as their neighbours) away

towards the northern bank of UMvoti, along which they had spread
themselves till somewhat beyond the point where the river is joined by
the Hlimbitshwa.

Bryant implies that intermarriage and intimate social contact between Qwabes and Lalas caused the former, originally Ntungwas, to assume a Lala identity. This was probably socially acceptable before Shaka's reign, when there was no stigma attached to being Lala. My informant, Nkeyi Lushozi, states that the UMzumbe Qwabes came from Dukuza, or, as Bryant says, "crossed the Thukela", after a family dispute over the chieftaincy. Meseni's section refused to be ruled by Khondlo because he was born by a Lala woman of Cele origin. They maintained that the chief of the Qwabes could not come from a *iyayakazi* (an *iLala* woman). There ensued a violent faction fight, and Muso's section was defeated and fled to Shonkweni, Celes' land.

They remained under Shonkweni Cele for two years, and thereafter trekked southwards to UMzumbe, where they met chief Ndzelu, Sonsukwana's father, who welcomed them after receiving a red-coloured ox with white in front of the hip. They remained at KwaNdzelu for a year and thereafter bought a farm at Shiyantombi, and Ndunge's brother Ntengo bought another farm at UMngeni in a place known as Sinothane. Thereafter the Qwabes reminded Ndzelu of the ox they had given him. After a long discussion, Ndzelu agreed that the Qwabes had bought the chieftainship from the Ndzelus. An agreement was reached that Ndunge would rule the people residing on the two farms, and that part of Kwa-Ndzelu should fall under the Qwabes, viz, from the Malukhakha river to ETsheni and back to Ndunge's farm.

The two chiefs, Sonsukwana of the Ndzelus and Ndunge of the Qwabes, were succeeded by Shiyane, son of Ndunge Qwabe, and Sicabha, son of Mzingelwa Ndzelu. These two chiefs ruled well and as friends, but, during a wedding at Ngcazo, one of the abaNguni kraals near Iqhuha river, a remarkable incident took place, which became a turning point in the history of the Ndunge Qwabes. The Ndzelus came to the wedding ceremony and threw dust at the Qwabes. The bride was coming from ETsheni. Consequently, fighting took place between the two friendly lineages. Two men died in the fighting incident, a Shozi man from KwaNdzelu and a Mkhize man from KwaQwabe.

After the incident it was ruled that all the Ndzelus residing in Qwabe places should move to Ndzelus and clear boundaries were created. The successor of Shiyane was Fortunatus, and of Sicabha was Mvuthuluka. These two chiefs ruled peacefully. However, Mvuthuluka committed suicide and was succeeded by his brother Mfanyana, who had to vacate his position in favour of

Bhekamadoda, the present direct and rightful heir. Fortunatus was succeeded by his son, Zithulele, the present chief of Qwabes.

Genealogy of the First UMzumbe Qwabe Chiefs

Lufutha
⇩
Muso
⇩
Ngxukuxa
⇩
Ndunge
⇩
Shiyane
⇩
Fortunatus
⇩
Zithulele (Present Chief)

2.3.7 History of the Second Qwabe Lineage at UMzumbe

A second group of Qwabes left Zululand on the same grounds as mentioned above. Nkeyi Lushozi states that when Jemus (James), son of Mavumengwane, arrived at UMzumbe, he asked Mabhojane Cele for a land to occupy. Mabhojane was his uncle, and advised him to contact Paramount Chief Fodo of the Nhlangwini about land concessions.

Fodo gave Jemus a vast and unoccupied land along the UMzumbe river. The occupation was easy because Jemus arrived before the Madlalas and the Lushabas, who are now the Qwabes' neighbours. There Jemus ruled peacefully. He was succeeded by Ngqukuva, who was in turn succeeded by Paddock who ruled peacefully for a number of years. At present the chief of the Qwabe lineage is Joseph, who succeeded Paddock.

Genealogy of the Second Qwabe Lineage at UMzumbe

Phakathwayo
⇩
Khondlo
⇩
Mavumengwane
⇩
Jemus

⇓

Ngqukuva

⇓

Paddock

⇓

Joseph   (Present Chief)

This is the second Qwabe lineage to have adopted Lala language and customs.   This has happened   because they live among the Lalas of Cele, Madlala, Hlongwa and Ndzelu. Furthermore, since the lineages have now intermarried, the clans are related by blood ties and they tend to help one another in case of trouble.

2.3.8   History of the UMzumbe amaChiliza

Bryant (1964:75) states that the Dunges were at Eland'skop early during Shaka's reign. Their chief Boyiya attempted to unite the Dunge clans and to move them southwards in order to run away from the ravaging armies of Shaka.   Before they could move, however, Zihlandlo crossed the borders and scattered the helpless Dunges about 1819.

My informant, Nkeyi Lushozi, explains that there were 'white Dunges' *(amaDunge lahlophe)* in the place where Sibongile township now stands.   When the whites asked the Dunges about their origin, these revealed that they were Lalas. It was therefore natural that they should be offered land along the UMthwalume river, to be next to other Lala clans.

When the Dunges arrived at UMthwalume they were ruled by Fynn, who eventually abdicated in favour of Nkukhu of Luthuli. Tshesi, son of a Chiliza *induna,* was made chief of the Chiliza people after giving Fynn a beast. When Tshesi passed away, Ganyana, the crown prince, was still very young for the position and Khonikeni acted as a chief on his behalf. When he reached adulthood, Ganyana took over chieftainship from Khonikeni and ruled peacefully for many years. He was succeeded by his son, Thulisizwe, who passed away after a short reign. At present the lineage is without a chief.

The *amaDunge lahlophe* were always with the Ndonyelas (Mvubus), nd are still found with them at Mxhaxhazweni. My informant states that the Ndonyelas were the ones who used to squirt the calabash concoction for the Chiliza chiefs, which means they were the chiefs' doctors. During my youth I used to hear about a Mvubu herbalist who was known as Mahlokomani.

The fact that the Chilizas were asked to join other Lalas at UMthwalume is because whites judged that people who claimed to belong to the same ethnic group and spoke the same language should stay together. My informants state that the Chilizas are divided into black Chilizas and white Chilizas, the latter being the lineage at UMzumbe.

Genealogy of the UMzumbe amaChiliza

Donsela
⇓
Mpolase
⇓
Tshesi
⇓
Ganyana
⇓
Thulasizwe

2.4   Conclusion

The South Coast is Lala territory, particularly the UMzumbe district. Even those who claim not to be Lalas have adopted some dialectal characteristics, and probably have some Lala blood in their veins, as is the case with the Jemus' and Ndunge Qwabes. Chief Isaac Nzama of UMthwalume Mission was elected area chief by the church members of the American Board. The Nzamas are Lalas,

> 'Banu labawela ngelibadi lakwaPhalata maGcugcwa,
> luhlobo lwetingcwepheleti.
> Labatsi bewela fula babecosha tindzondzo'.
> (The people who crossed over the broad river crossing at Phalaza,
> the Gcugcwas, experts in handywork.
> Those who picked up izindondo (jingles) while crossing the river.)

The mention of Gcugcwa reveals another aspect of Lala legendary pre-history. According to it, the Lalas were ironmongers and made spears for Shaka's warriors. Legend has it that Gcugcwa, Nzama's ancestor, was contracted by Shaka to supply his armies with spears, but then the Zulu King refused to pay the stipulated price. Gcugcwa got fed up waiting, and decided to steal Shaka's prize cattle in self-compensation. This infuriated Shaka, who ordered that the thief be tied to the gateposts of the cattle byre to be trampled over by the oxen he had stolen. In a last burst of pride the famous thief is reported to have uttered a proverbial saying to Shaka:

"Amabonw' abonan'abonwa" ashiwo nguGcugcwa.
("We shall see each other again, in the same way!" thus predicting the violent death that Shaka was going to suffer.)

Gcugcwa's descendants maintain that Shaka breached the contract by failing to pay Gcugcwa after receiving the spears.

The research has revealed that the chieftainship can be bought by means of a beast, as it is reported in at least two cases. There is a generally accepted rule, however, that a chief's descendant should not be ruled by a person with no royal blood. According to my informants, to be acceptable as a chief, one should satisfy the following basic requirements.

(a)   The *lobolo* of his mother should have been paid by the lineage.
(b)   His mother should have danced holding a leopard skin on marriage day.
(c)   His mother should have been a virgin when married to the chief.

Such requirements are meant to maintain the dignity and continuity of the chieftainship. Appointment by the white government does not guarantee legitimacy or the loyalty of the people. There are chiefs by birth and chiefs appointed by whites because of certain favours.

In this brief survey some lineages, such as the Madlalas and the Lushabas, have not been considered. The Madlalas fall under the Hlongwa chief at present, and there is a problem with the leadership. Perhaps, when peace and order have been restored, one can get more reliable information from the Madlalas. The Oshabeni live so close to Port Shepstone that their area is full of temporary shacks, which make the identification of people in authority a daunting task. Besides, there is constant danger of physical violence. It is sufficient to know that Lushaba came to UMzumbe with Mabiya of the Bheles, and that Oshabeni people are Lalas.

Only one group of North Lala speakers - the Ngcolosis at Kranskop - have been examined, while the South Coast Lalas, about which little has been written so far, are amply represented in this research.. Msimang (1989) has also surveyed the Mkhizes, the Celes and the Ngcobos as eminent Lala groups. His research is taken in consideration here when I deal with the Lala language, but I felt that there was no need to repeat historical facts and ideas recently expressed by a researcher who dealt with a topic parallel to mine. T.T. Cele, in his 1995 Honours article, also dealt with aspects of Lala, but only as reflected in the history and language of his own clan at Maphumulo. Also his research will be touched upon when necessary.

Apart from recent history, based on oral records which only go back to the *Mfecane* period, this chapter has attempted to throw some light on the more distant past, about which ideas

are still hazy and tentative. According to archaeological, historical and linguistic data, the widely held myth of a migration from the north must be placed during the early centuries of the first millennium. Bantu speaking populations were present in at least the south eastern parts of South Africa by the third century A.D. Successive migratory waves, that deeply influenced the language, might have to be seen as regular local population movements caused by the fission system whereby a member of a junior house splits from the reigning family in order to form his own independent lineage; or as dynastic changes whereby a "foreign" group becomes dominant and imposes its own language; or successive combinations of the two systems. Whatever happened, it seems reasonably clear that the core of the people and of the languages has remained nearly constant during the last 17 or 18 centuries, but within the general framework of natural growth and substantial local variations.

Note: The Name UMZUMBE

This is the name of the river that crosses the Lala territory in the South Coast area of KZN. The name can be interpreted in more than one way:

(a)   *Umuzi mumbe > Umz'mumbe > Umz'umbe* (Just another house)

This derivation is possible, the more so since the Xhosa word for 'house' is regularly *umzi* rather than *umuzi* as in Zulu. The main difficulty with this interpretation is : Why should people refer to a river as 'house'? The problem is compounded when the names of a number of other rivers in KZN are examined:

UMzimkhulu 'the great house'
UMzinto 'the house of bad things'
UMzinyathi 'the buffalo house'
UMzimayi 'the house of cattle'; etc.

(b)   *UMz'umbe* ('Another water course')

Van Warmelo, in his 1976 paper "Who are the Basotho?", maintains that the /*mzi*/ element in river names be interpreted as deriving from *'ama-nzi'* (water), which would also have the archaic cognate form /*nji*/ as in *Inj-esuthi,* or rather, *UNjesuthi,* 'the full river', or 'the river with plenty of water'. This explanation makes more sense than the previous one, because one can identify the following:

The Class 3 prefix *u-m-*, which identifies growing and flowing realities, such as *umu-zi* (homestead); *umu-thi* (tree); *um-fula* (river); etc.

The *-mzi-/nji-* lexical element which identifies a reality linked with 'water'.

The main lexical stem linked to local physical features, such as:

UMzimkhulu : 'Raging waters' or 'Much water';

UMzinyathi : ''Buffalo river'

and   *UMzumbe* : 'Another river'

There are over twenty rivers making their way to the Indian Ocean between Durban and Port Edward. Hence the name could constitute a comment from weary travellers on the endless number of rivers to be crossed at any given time in the area.

No 18... IS TRIBAL NUMBER IN PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE BANTU TRIBES OF S.A. IN 1935
--- BOUNDARY OF TRIBAL AREA
⊕ CHIEF'S RESIDENCE

(Full-page map of Natal / Zululand showing Zulu-speaking tribal areas, with numerous district and tribal names.)

Major district labels include:
PAULPIETERSBURG, BUTHELEZI, NGOTSHE, GUMBI, ZULU, UBOMBO, UTRECHT, NEWCASTLE, VRYHEID, MOHLETSHE-NI, HLABISA, KHUMALO, DUNDEE, KHOLWA, NQUTU, BABANANGO, MAHLABATINI, LOWER UMFOLOZI, KLIP RIVER, HELPMAKAAR, NKANDLA, EHTONJANENI, MSINGA, KRANSKOP, ESHOWE, MTUNZINI, WEENEN, ESTCOURT, UMVOTI, LIONS RIVER, NEW HANOVER, LOWER TUGELA, IMPENDHLE, NXAMALALA, PIETERMARITZBURG, INANDA, UNDERBERG, POLELA, CAMPERDOWN, RICHMOND, PINETOWN, DURBAN, IXOPO, UMZINTO, NLANGWINI, PORT SHEPSTONE, ALFRED

MAPUMULO DISTRICT (Not drawn correctly)
233 KHABALENI.
361 NGCOLOSI.
461 MATIZE/EMBO.
58 MTHIYANE.

NDWEDWE DISTRICT
363 NGCOLOSI.
673 MAPHITHENI.
083 CIBANE.
008 CILI.
216 MLOFE.
658 NTOSIYANE.
551 NDLOVU.
296 KHOLWA.

ZITHEBANE 001

NEW HANOVER
663 Nyavu

P. M. Bg.
371 ZONTI - NADI
883 ZONTI - MPUMUZA
371 MAFUNZE
663 QANYINI

VERWYSING
☐ Naturelle Reserveate
☐ Grond aangekoop deur S...
☐ Grond oorgegaan na S A N...
☐ Private Naturelle grond
☐ Kroongrond
☐ Wild Reserveate
☐ Oopgestelde gebiede

Skaal 1 duim = 78...

Drawn by Dr. F-L BRE...
DEPARTEMENT VAN NATUR...
— KAART VAN NATA...

Map showing the distribution of Nguni groups
BEFORE SHAKA

(SUMMARY)
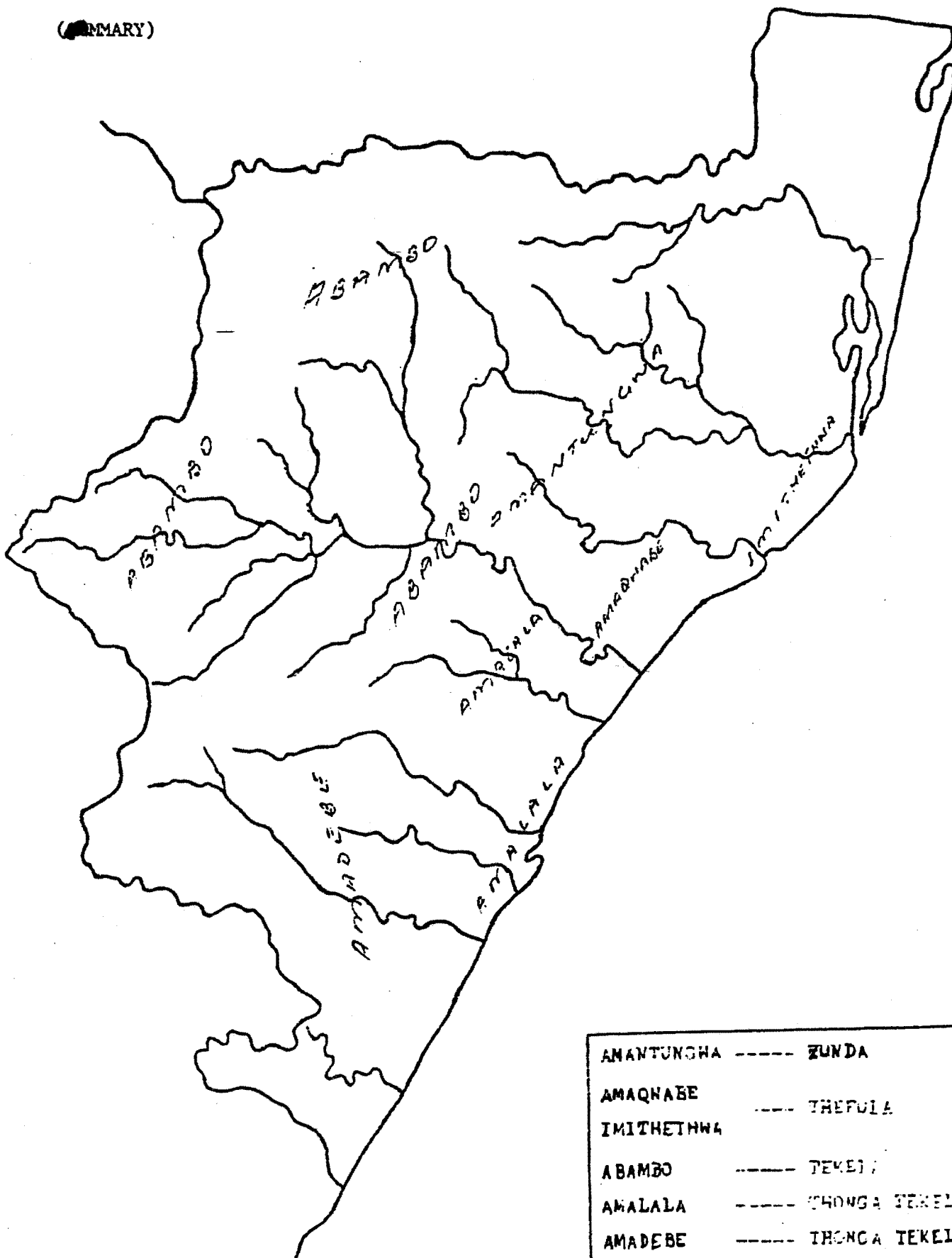
AMANTUNGHA	-----	ZUNDA
AMAQNABE		
IMITHETHWA	-----	THEFULA
ABAMBO	-----	TEKELA
AMALALA	-----	THONGA TEKELA
AMADEBE	-----	THONGA TEKELA

THE LOCATION OF UMZUMBE LALA TRIBES

(MAP 3)

CELE

ENHLANGWIHI

HIGH FLATS

ENYAVWINI

HADEBE

KWA-BOMBO

ISIPHOFU

KWA NDELU

UMSTAZI (CHILIZA)

EMADWELENI

NTIMBANKULU

KWA-Nomoyi (CHILIZA)

QOLOQOLO (UMTHWALUME MISSION)

EMAWULENI

KWA-HLONGWA

KWA-QWABE (Ndunge)

ROAD

OSHABENI

ROAD

KWA-QWABE (JEMUS)

FAIRVIEW MISSION

KWA-Madlala

EMATHULINI

HIBBERDE NE
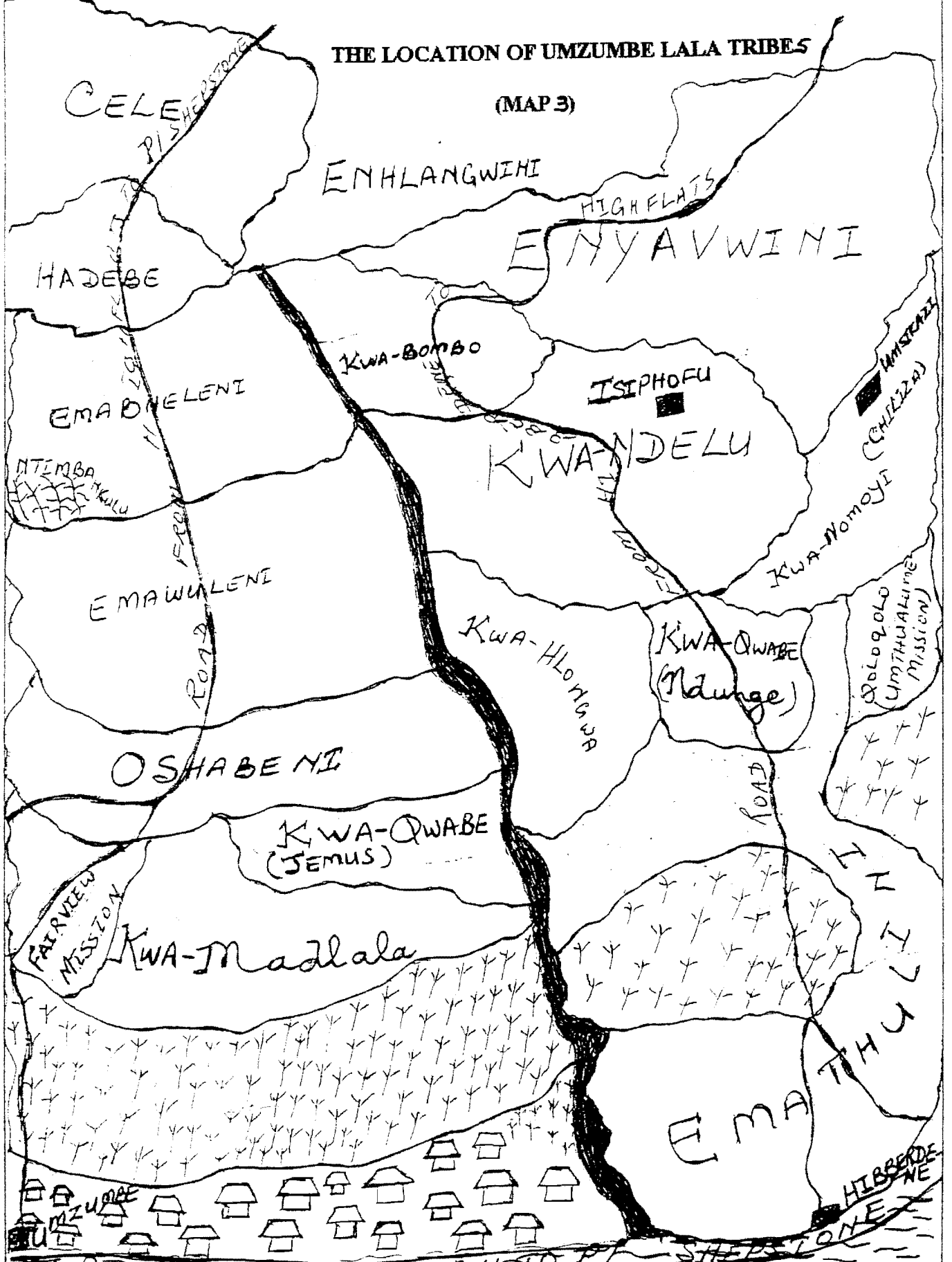
UMZUMBE

N2 ROAD FROM DBN TO PT SHEPSTONE

INDIAN OCEAN

▬	UMZUMBE RIVER.
∿	ROADS
⋎⋎⋎	SUGAR CANE FARMS.
⌂⌂⌂	UMZUMBE TOWN.

CHAPTER THREE
BASIC LEXICAL COMPARISONS

3.0 Introduction

Lala history points to the reality of Bantu speaking populations being present in modern KZN from at least the fourth century A.D. These populations may well be the ancestors of most of the black people in South Africa. They underwent a large number of changes that affected their social structures, their economic practices, their religion and certainly also the language(s) they spoke. It is possible to identify the process of relexification as the prevalent system, whereby any newly dominant group would impose, by direct or indirect means, its own dialect on the subservient groups, who would, however, often preserve their distinguishing phonological and morphological characteristics.

Relexification makes the strict application of lexico-statistical methods extremely difficult. Furthermore, the present research has been carried out in areas that are widely apart, and among people that have been separated for nearly two centuries and have thus assimilated the speech forms of their neighbours to some extent. Another element that plays an important part in lexico-statistical analysis is the levelling process of school literacy, which has been introduced in an uneven system during the last one and a half century. Zulu was the official means of education, but in most areas of the South Coast of KZN teachers were imported from Transkei and spoke Xhosa. This gradual scholarization process has minimized the influence of non-standard languages, such as Lala or Tekela; has forced the introduction of Zulu as the standard means of communication; Xhosa speaking teachers and church ministers have introduced many Xhosa terms, thus further complicating an already complex linguistic situation.

This chapter explores the Lala Basic Vocabulary - the 100 items widely recognized as mostly used within the family circle and which are most reticent to change - and compares it with Zulu and Swati, the two languages most closely associated with Lala. I then introduce a 200 word list with items which are also in everyday use, but within the community beyond the strict family circle. These items demonstrate the relexification process in South Lala, brought about by the proximity of *IsiZansi*, the dialect widely spoken in the South Coast region of KZN and which reflects a strong Xhosa influence. North Lala, instead, shows a more marked Zulu influence.

3.1 CORE VOCABULARY (List No. 1)

This lexical list has been drawn up according to the criteria identified by Swadesh, which have remained the basis for lexico-statistical work for several decades. The items are supposed to represent words used within the family circle, and that therefore tend to remain constant and to undergo minimum change over the centuries. The words involve parts of the body, family matters, the weather, the lower numerals, basic question words. The very close correspondence between Zulu, Swati (a Tekela language) and North and South Lala indicates that these languages/dialects are closely related in origin and time. But it can further manifest the constant process of relexification which a 'lower status language' undergoes in the presence of a 'higher status language', such as Zulu and Swati.

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
1	all	onke	onkhe	onke	onke
2	arm	i(li)galo	khono	khono	khono
3	ash	umlotha	umlotsa	notsa	notsa
4	bark	i(li)xolo	licolo	lixolo	ligxolo
5	beast/ox	inkomo	inkhomo	iyomo	iyomo
6	belly/stomach	isisu	sisu	sisu	sisu
7	big	khulu	khulu	khulu	khulu
8	bird	inyoni	inyoni	inyoni	inaka
9	bite	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma
10	black	mnyama	mnyama	mnyama	mdzaka
11	blood	i(li)gazi	ligati	ligati	ligati
12	bone	i(li)thambo	litsambo	litsambo	litsambo
13	breasts	amabele	emabele	mabele	mabele
14	burn	-sha	-sha	-sha	-tsha
15	chest	isifuba	sifuba	sifuba	sifuba
16	cloud	i(li)fu	lifu	lifu	lifu
17	cold	amakhaza	emakhata	makhata	makhata
18	come	-za	-ta	-ta	-ta
19	die	-fa	-fa	-fa	-fa
20	dog	inja	inja	imbwa	imbwa
21	drink	-phuza	-natsa	-phuta	-phuta
22	dry	-oma	-oma	-oma	-oma
23	ear	indlebe	indlebe	indlebe	indlebe

24	earth	umhlaba	umhlaba	hlaba	hlaba
25	eat	-dla	-dla	-dla	-dla
26	egg	i(li)qanda	licandza	liqanda	liqanda
27	eye	i(li)so/hlo	liso/lihlo	liso/lihlo	liso/lihlo
28	fat	amafutha	emafutsa	mafutsa	mafutsa
29	feather	u(lu)siba/phaphe	lusiba	luphaphe	luphaphe
30	fire	umlilo	umlilo	nilo	nilo
31	fish	inhlanzi	inhlanti	hladi	hladi
32	five	hlanu	hlanu	hlanu	hlanu
33	fly	impukane	imphukane	mungane	mungane
34	four	ne	ne	ne	ne
35	full	-gcwala	-gcwala	-gcwala	-tala
36	good/nice	hle	hle	hle	hle
37	green	luhlaza	luhlata	luhlata	luhlata
38	hair	izinwele	tinwele	tinwele	tinywele
39	hand	isandla	sandla	sandla	sandla
40	head	i(li)khanda/inhloko	inhloko	hloko	hloko
41	hear/understand	-zwa	-va	-va	-va
42	heart	inhliziyo	inhlitiyo	hlidiyo	hlidiyo
43	horn	u(lu)phondo	luphondzo	luphondzo	luphondzo
44	I/me	mina	mine	mina	mhina
45	illness	isifo	sifo	sifo	sifo
46	kill	-bulala	-bulala	-bulala	-bhubhisa/-bulala
47	knee	i(li)dolo	lidvolo	lidzolo	lidzolo
48	know	-azi	-ati	-ati	-ati
49	leaf	i(li)khasi	licembe	licembe/khasi	ligqabi
50	leg	umlenze	umlente	nede	nede
51	liver	isibindi	sibindzi	sibindzi	sibindzi
52	long	de	de/dze	dze	dze
53	lung	i(li)phaphu	liphaphu	liphaphu	liphaphu
54	man	indoda	indvodza	ndzodza	ndzodza
55	many	ningi	nengi	ningi	nyeti
56	meat	inyama	inyama	nyama	nyama
57	milk	u(lu)bisi	lubisi	intusi	intusi
58	moon	inyanga	inyanga	nyanga	nyanga
59	mountain	intaba	intsaba/intaba	naba	naba
60	mouth	umlomo	umlomo	nomo	nomo
61	nail	u(lu)zipho	likalo	lutipho	lutipho
62	name/noun	i(li)gama/bizo	libito	ligama/bito	ligama/bito

63	neck	intamo	intsamo	ntsamo	qala
64	new	sha	sha	sha	tsha
65	night	u(bu)suku	busuku	busuku	busuku
66	nose	i(li)khala	likhala	likhala	likhala
67	one	nye	nye	nye	nye
68	path	indlela	indlela	dlela	dlela
69	person	umuntu	umuntu	munu	munhu
70	rain	imvula	litulu	mvula	mvula
71	red	bomvu	bomvu	bovu	bovu
72	root	impande	imphandze	mandze	mandze
73	say	-thi	-tsi	-tsi	-tsi
74	see	-bona	-bona	-bona	-bona
75	seed	imbewu	inhlanyelo	mbewu/nhlanyelo	mbewu/nhlanyelo
76	sing	-cula	-hlabelela	-cula/hlabelela	-cula/hlabelela
77	sit	-hlala	-hlala	-hlala	-hlala
78	skin	isikhumba	sikhumba	sikhumba	sikhumba
79	sleep	-lala	-lala	-lala	-lala
80	small	ncane	ncane	ncane	ncane
81	smoke	intuthu	intfutfu	musi	musi
82	stand	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma
83	star	inkanyezi	inkanyeti	nkanyeti	nkanyeti
84	stone	i(li)tshe	litje	litshe	litshe
85	sun	i(li)langa	lilanga	lilanga	lilanga
86	swim	-hlamba	-hlamba	-bhukudza	-ngqumba
87	tail	umsila	umsila	sila	sila
88	three	thathu	tsatfu	tsatsu	tsatsu
89	tongue	u(lu)limi	lulwimi	lulwimi	lulwimi
90	tooth	i(li)zinyo	litinyo	litinyo	litinyo
91	tree	umuthi	umutsi	mutsi	mutsi
92	two	bili	bili	bili	bini
93	water	amanzi	emanti	madi	madi
94	we	thina	tsine	tsina	tsina
95	what?	-ni?	-ni?	-ni?	-ni?
96	who?	ubani?	bani?	bani?	bani?
97	wind	umoya	umoya	moya	moya
98	woman	umfazi	umfati	fati	fati
99	yellow	liphunzi	liphunti	liphunti	liphunti
100	you	wena/nina	wena/nine	wena/nina	wena/nina

Lexico-statistical summary:

Zulu			
92	**Swati**		
94	**93**	**N Lala**	
88	**86**	**92**	**S Lala**

The data indicate a greater distance between Swati and South Lala (14 words) than between Zulu and South Lala (12 words). This is quite surprising because Swati, like Lala, is a Tekela dialect, while Zulu is Ntungwa and Zunda. The relexification process may have favoured Zulu rather than Swati because of the influence of school education. It must be acknowledged, however, that the level of diversion is extremely small in all cases, and that a slightly different choice of lexical items could easily have produced considerably different results. Swadesh's list has proved valid in various parts of the world, but is not infallible when dealing with languages that have separated recently and are spoken in areas where the cultural background might be quite different from that of the area for which the original list was devised.

My statistical summary for Zulu and Swati (92% in common) conflicts with that presented by Ownby in her 1985 work (88% in common). The main reason is that Ownby, as she acknowledges, based her list on published dictionaries, and chose the first entry of any gloss for reasons of comparison, thinking that this would be the most frequent. I, however, have chosen commonly used items that show the same genetic origin, because I believe that it is extremely difficult to quantify the usage of any lexical item over an extended territory, since synonyms appear in use anywhere without any particular reason. My system eventually downplays lexical differences and emphasizes the importance of the relexification process in all the languages and dialects under discusssion, but in an overall respect for dialectical tendencies which are revealed in phonology, morphology and syntax. As I have explained above (1.4.3), the African attitude to language and dialect seems to reflect the reality of a common lexicon used in different ways by each group.

3.2 VOCABULARY LIST No. 2

This list includes a selection of very common words, used in social intercourse mostly outside the family circles, which reveal how South Lala is undergoing a relexification process that closely correlates it with IsiZansi, the dialect widely spoken throughout the southern regions of KZN and largely dependent on IsiXhosa, the language used for various decades by educators and church ministers imported from Transkei to teach in local schools and officiate in churches.

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	Zansi	N. Lala	S. Lala
1	abrasion	umhuzuko	umhutuko	umkhuthuka	mhutuko	mkhutsuka
2	ankle	i(li)qakala	licakala	iqakala	liqakala	liqakala
3	ant	intuthane	intfutshane	impovane	inutsane	impovane
4	anxiety, fear	uvalo	luvalo	ixhala	luvalo	lixhala
5	arm oneself	-hloma	-hloma	-xhoba	-hloma	-xhoba
6	armpit	i(li)khwapha	likhwapha	ikhwapha	likhwapha	likhwapha
7	ask	-buza	-buta	-buza	-buta	-buta
8	avoid	-phebeza	-phebeta	-phebeza	-phebeta	phebeta
9	back of head	isiphundu	siphundzu	ikhosi	siphundzu	likhosi
10	bald headed	impandla	impandla	inqayi	imandla	inqayi
11	barren woman	inyumba	inyumba	udlolo	nyumba	ludlolo
12	bat	ilulwane	lilulwane	isiquthamadlebe	lilulwane	siquthamadlebe
13	beast (hornless)	isithulu	sitfulu	ingqukuva	sithulu	ingqukuva
14	bee	inyosi	inyosi	inyosi	nyosi	nyosi
15	beer	utshwala	tjwala	ijiki	lijiki	lijiki
16	bend	-goba	-goba	-thoba	-goba	-tsoba
17	blinker	i(li)tomu	litomu	umkhala	litomu	mkhala
18	blister	i(li)jamuza	lijamuta	ijunguza	lijamuta	lijunguta
19	boy	umfana	umfana	inkwenkwe	fwana	fwana
20	bramble	amajikijolo	emajikijolo	amabhimbi	majikijolo	mabhimbi
21	bring together	-hlanganisa	-hlanganisa	-manyanisa -dibanisa	-hlanganisa	-manyanisa -dzibanisa
22	branch	i(li)gatsha	ligatja	igayi	ligatsha	ligatsha
23	bug	imbungulu	imbungulu	incukuthu	mbungulu	ncukutsu
24	builder	umakhi	umakhi	umakhi	makhi	makhi
25	bull (castrated)	inxahi	lincahi	ikhwangi	nxahi	likhwangi
26	burned food	ingoloyi	ingoloyi	intshela	ingoloyi	intshela
27	butcher bird	iqola	licola	inxanxadi	liqola	inxanxadzi
28	butterfly	uvemvane	luvemvane	ibhebheshane	luvemvane	bhebhetshane
29	buttocks	izinqe	tibunu	izibunu	tibunu	tibunu
30	carry	-phatha	-phatsa	-phatha	-phatsa	-phatsa
31	casualty	inkubela	inkubela	isiqhwala isixhwala	inkubela	siqhwala sixhwala
32	catch	-bamba	-bamba	-gola	-bamba	-gola
33	champion	umpetha	umpetsa	intshashela	mpetsa	mpetsa

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	Zansi	N. Lala	S. Lala
34	change	-nana	-shintsha	-shintsha	-nana	-shintsha
35	chicken	-i(li)tshwele	litjwele	intshontsho	litshwele	lintshontsho
36	choke	-hila	-hila	-haxa	-hila	-haxa
37	clay pot	ukhamba	imbita	iqengqe	lukhamba	lukhamba
38	clay pot (large)	imbiza	imbita	umphanda	imbita	imbita
39	clever/wise	-hlakanipha	-hlakanipha	-lumuka	-hlakanipha	-hlakanipha
40	cooked maize	izinkobe	tinkobe	izimpothulo	tobe	timothulo
41	conference	ingqungquthela	ingcuncguthela	inkomfa	ingqungqutsela	inkomfa
42	confuse	-phambanisa	-phambanisa	-didanisa	-phambanisa	-phambanisa
43	contusion	ithubulela	litsubulela	iphophosi	litsubulela	iphophosi
44	crawl	-khasa	-khasa	-gaqa	-khasa	-gaqa
45	crushed boiled corn	umcaba	umcaba	umphothulo	mcaba	mcaba
46	crush to powder	-gaya	-gaya	-guba	-gaya	-guba
47	cut	-nquma	-ncuma	-sika	-nquma	-nquma
48	cut worm	umswenya	umswenya	umbundani	mswenya	mbundzani
49	dew	amazolo/imibethe	ematolo	amavukazi	matolo	mavukati
50	dirty person	i(li)nuku/idlabha	linuku	ixelegu/ixwebe	linuku/lidlabha	lidlabha/lixwebe
51	disease (of fowls)	uphenyane	luphenyane	umphusha	luphenyane	mphutsha
52	dish up (food)	-phaka	-phaka	-dika	-phaka	-dika
53	door	isicabha	sicabha	isivalo	sicabha	sicabha
54	dried saliva	uhlakahla	luhlakahla	umkezo	luhlakahla	mketo
55	driver	umshayeli	umshayeli	umqhubi	mshayeli	mgqubi
56	eat raw	-geva	-gevula	-geva	-geva	-geva
57	elephant	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu/ingrovu	indlovu
58	father (my/our)	ubaba	babe	bawo	babe	bawo
59	(be) familiar	-jwayela	-etayela	-qhela	-jwayela	-qhela
60	goat	imbuzi	imbuti	ibhokwe	mbuti	libhokwe
61	flea	izenze	likululu	intwakumba	lizeze	inwakumba
62	fledgeling	i(li)phuphu	liphuphu	i(li)gobo	liphuphu	ligobo
63	fly	-ndiza	-ndiza	-ndiza	-ndita	-ndita
64	freshly cooked maize	i(li)futho	lifutso	ibhanqa	lifutso	lifutso
65	get/find	-thola/fumana	-tfola	-fumana	-tsola	-fumana
66	get sprained	-bhinyika	-bhinyika	-nkunceka/kucuka	-bhinyika	-kunceka/kuxuka
67	gidiness	isiyezi	siyeti	incilikithi	siyeti	siyeti
68	give	-nika/pha	-nika/pha	-pha	-pha	-pha
69	give evidence	-fakaza	-fakata	-ngqina	-fakata	-ngqina
70	give snuff to	-shiyela	-shiyela	-ncazela	-shiyela	-ncatela
71	grain	uhlamvu	luhlamvu	ukhozo	luhlamvu	lukhoto
72	grandfather	umkhulu	mkhulu	khulu	mkhulu	khulu
73	grandmother	ugogo	gogo	umakhulu	gogo	makhulu
74	greet	-bingelela	-bingelela	-bulisa	-bingelela	-bulisa
75	grey	impunga	mpunga	ingwevu	mpunga	ngwevu
76	grievance	isikhalo	sikhalo	isikhalazo	sikhalo	sikhalato
77	(be) happy	-jabula	-jabula	-vuya	-jabula	-vuya
78	hare	umvundla/unogwaja	umvundla	isibhudu	mvundla	sibhudzu
79	hat	isigqoko	sigcoko	umqwazi	sigqoko	mnqwati

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	Zansi	N.Lala	S. Lala
80	help	-siza	-sita	-nceda	-sita	-ncedza
81	hiccups	i(li)thwabi	litfwabi	ingwici	litfwabi	ingwici
82	hit	-shaya	-shaya	-betha	-shaya	-betsa
83	hole/space	isikhala	sikhala	isikhevu/isigebhu	sikhala	sikhewu/sigebhu
84	house	indlu	indlu	indlu	indlu	ingru
85	hunchback	isifumbu	sifumbu	isangqolo	sifumbu	sangqolo
86	in-law	umlingani	mlingani	umkhozi	mlingani	mkhoti
87	island	isiqhingi	sichingi	isiqhingi	siqhingi	siqhingi
88	jersey cow	inkomo eyijezi	inkhomo leyilijeti	imofu	iyomo leyilijeti	mofu
89	jump	-gxuma	-chuma/-engca	-ntinga	-gxuma	-ntinga
90	kaffir corn	amabele	emabele	amazimba	mabele	mabele
91	kindness	umusa	umusa	ufefe	musa	lufefe
92	knobkerrie	i(li)wisa	liwisa	iqakatha	liwisa	liqakatsa
93	knot	ifindo	lifindvo	iqhina	lifindzo	liqhinga
94	ladling spoon	isiphako	siphako	isixwembe	siphako	sixwembe
95	lamb	izinyane	litinyane	itakane	litinyane	litakane
96	last born	uthunjana	tfunjana	untondo	tsunjana	tsunjana
97	lawyer	ummeli	ummeli	igqwetha	mmeli	ligqwetsa
98	lazy	-nqena/vilapha	-ncina	-nqina	-nqena	-nqina
99	leader	umholi	umholi	inkokheli	mholi	nkokheli
100	learn	-funda	-fundza	-ncwada	-fundza	-ncwadza
101	lift up	-qukula	-cukula	-fukula	-qukula	-fukula
102	lightening	umbani	umbani	unyazi	mbani	lunyati
103	lip	u(lu)debe	ludzebe	inyeke	ludzebe	nyeke
104	lizard	isibankwa	sibankwa	sigcilikisha	sibankwa	sigcilikisha
105	look for left overs	-khothoza	-khotfota	-goqoza	-khotsota	-goqota
106	lunatic person	u(lu)hlanya	luhlanya	igeza	luhlanya	ligeta
107	maker	umenzi	umenti	umenzi	medi/menti	medi/menti
108	malt	imithombo	imitfombo	inkoduso	mitsombo	mitsombo
109	manure	umquba	umcuba	umgquba	mquba	mgquba
110	marry	-thatha	-tsatsa	-zeka	-tsatsa	-teka
111	maternal uncle	umalume	malume	malume	malume	malume
112	mielie bread	ujeqe	jece	umkhupha	jeqe	mkhupha
113	mielie meal	impuphu	imphuphu	umgubo	muphu	mgubo
114	meat (for sale)	ugingqi	(ugingci)	isimawuza	gingqi	simawuta
115	meat titbits	i(li)ntshontsho	lintjontjo	ihlinzelo	lintshontsho	lihlintelo
116	mock	-bhuqa	(-bhuca)	-gemunca	-bhuqa	-gemunca
117	mole	imvukuzane	imvukutane	intukuzi	imvukutane	intukuti
118	mongoose	i(li)chakide	lichakidze	ubhosho	lichakidze	bhosho
119	mosquito	umiyane	umiyane	umdwibi	miyane	mdwibi
120	mouse/rat	i(li)gundane	ligundvwane	impuku	ligundzane	imuku
121	moustache	amadevu	emadevu	amabhovu	madzevu	mabhovu
122	mother (my/our)	umama	mame	mama	mame	manha
123	negotiate (for wife)	-cela	-cela	-gana	-cela	-gana
124	noise	umsindo	umsindvo	umsindo/ingxoko	sindzo	sindzo
125	numbness	inkwantshu	inkwantju	inkansu/inkasi	inkwantshu	inkansu

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	Zansi	N. Lala	S. Lala
126	old beer	isilaza	silata	isitsholo	silata	silata/sitshodzo
127	old man	ikhehla	likhehla	ikhehla	likhehla	likhehla
128	orphan	intandane	intsandzane	inkedama	intandzane	inkedzama
129	outcome	umphumela	umphumela	isiphumo	mphumela	siphumo
130	overcome	-nqoba	-ncoba	-nqoba	-nqoba	-nqoba
131	palate	ulwanga	lulwanga	inkalakahla	lulwanga	lulwanga
132	pasture	i(li)dlelo	lidlelo	ikhaphelo	lidlelo	likhaphelo
133	pay	-hlawula/-bhadala	-hlawula/bhadala	-bhatala/bhadala	-hlawula	-bhatala
134	peep	-lunguza	-lunguta	-koba	-lunguta	-koba
135	pig	ingulube	ingulube	ihagu	gulube	gulube
136	pinch	-ncinza	-ncindza	-tsweba/ncweba	-ncindza	-tsweba/ncweba
137	pipe (smoking)	i(li)pipi	lipipi	inqawe	lipipi	inqawe
138	potato	izambane	litambane	itapile	litambane	litambane
139	presents (to bridegroom)(izibondlo)		timbondvo	maguburhu	timbondzo	timbondzo
140	prevent	-vimba	-vimba	-vingca	-vimba	-vingca
141	poke	-hlokohla	-hlokohla	-gcokogxa	-hlokohla	-gxokogxa
142	problem	inkinga	inkinga	ingxukaluxaba/ isambatheka	inkinga	ingxukaluxaba/ sambatheka
143	(be) proud	ukuziqenya	kutatisa	ukuzigqaja	kutatisa	kutigqaja
144	pull/drag	-donsa	-dvonsa	-nsala	-dzosa	-sala
145	pumpkin	i(li)thanga	litsanga	ithanga	litsanga	litsanga
146	puppy	umndwane	umndlwane	umbundlwane	mdlwane	mbundlwane
147	(it is) raining	liyana	liyana/liyanetsa	liyanetha	liyana	liyanetsa
148	rash (in shaving)	i(li)qwele	liqwele	isikhakha	liqwele	sikhakha
149	razor blade	insingo/impuco	insingo	incakuba	insingo	incakuba
150	reed	umhlanga	umhlanga	ingcingolo	mhlanga	ingcingolo
151	remove	-phucula	-phucula	-nqodula	-phucula	-nqodzula
152	rhino	ubhejane	ubhejane	umkhombe	bhejane	mkhombe
153	ride	-gibela/khwela	-khwela	gibela/khwela	-gibela	-gibela
154	river	umfula	umfula	umlambo	fula	fula
155	road	umgwaqo	umgwaco	umgwaqo	gwaqo	gwaqo
156	roast	-gazinga	-gatinga	-gcada	-gatinga	-gcadza
157	roasted maize	utshwele	lutjwele	lugcado	lutshwele	lugcadzo
158	roof	u(lu)phahla	luphahla	uphahla	luphahla	luphahla
159	rotten maize	izibozi	tiboti	izibhucu	tiboti	tibhucu
160	round object	ingungu	ingungu	ingungu	ingungu	ingungu
161	scabies	ukhwekhwe/utwayi	lukhwekhwe	impuza	lukhwekhwe	lutwayi
162	scratch a itch	-nwayiza	-nwayita	-rhawuzela	-nwayita	-rhawutela
163	seed	imbewu	imbewu/inhlwanyelo	inhlwanyelo	imbewu	imbewu
164	sew	-thunga	-tsunga	-thunga	-tsunga	-tsunga
165	shade	umthunzi	umtfunti	umthunzi	thudi	thudi
166	shake	-nyakazisa	-nyakatisa	-shukumisa	-nyakatisa	-tshukumisa
167	sheep	imvu	imvu	igusha	imvu	ligutsha
168	shield	i(li)hawu	lihawu	umngxongo	lihawu	lihawu
169	shiver/tremble	-qhaqhazela	-vevetela	-ngcangcazela	-vevetela	-ngcangcatela
170	shoe	isicathulo	sicatfulo	isihlangu	sicatsulo	sihlangu

No.	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	Zansi	N. Lala	S. Lala
171	shoulder	i(li)hlombe	lihlombe	igxalaba	lihlombe	ligxalaba
172	sick person/invalid	isiguli	siguli	sigogo	siguli	sigogo
173	sickly person	isithothobala	sitsotsobala	umlwelwe	sitsotsobala	mlwelwe
174	side	uhlangothi	luhlangotsi	umhlubulo	luhlangotsi	mhlubulo
175	sift	ukusila	kusila	ukukweca	kusila	kukweca
176	slander	-hleba	-hleba	-suma	-hleba	-suma
177	slip/slide	-shelela	-shelela	-shibilika	-shelela	-tshibilika
178	smile	-mamatheka	-mamatseka	-ncuma	-mamatseka	-ncuma
179	smoke	-bhema	-bhema	-shaya	-bhema	-tshaya
180	soldier	i(li)butho	libutso	ijoni	libutso	libutso
181	son	indodana	indvodzana	unyana	ndzodzana	nyana
182	sour	muncu	munyu	munyu	muncu	muncu
183	sour dough (for beer)	umncindo	umncindvo	idokwe	lidzokwe	lidzokwe
184	sour milk	amasi	emasi	umvubo	masi	masi
185	sour porridge	incwancwa	incwancwa	umdokwe	mdzokwe	mdzokwe
186	source of light	isibani	sibani	isibani/isiphebu	sibani	sibani
187	stranger	umfokazi	umfokati	imambane	fokati	imambane
188	surpass/overtake	-dlula	-dlula	-gqitha	-dlula	-gqitsa
189	sweetheart	isixebe	sicebe	idikazi	sicebe	lidikati
190	swell	-vuvuka	-vuvuka	-dumba	-vuvuka	-dzumba
191	tail	umsila	umsila	ishoba	sila	litshoba
192	surprise	-bhadama	-bhadzama	-bhaqa	-bhadzama	-bhaqa
193	truth	i(li)qiniso	liciniso	inyaniso	liqiniso	inyaniso
194	very old man	i(li)xhegu	lixhegu	iduna	lixhegu	lixhegu
195	wasp	umnyovu	umnyovu	unonyevu	mnyovu	nonyevu
196	waterfall	impophomo	imphophomo	ingxangxasi umxhaxhazo	impophomo	ingxangxasi mxhaxhato
197	wear	-gqoka	-gcoka	-vatha	-gqoka	-vatsa
198	weep/mourn	-khala/lila	-khala	-lila	-khala	-lila
199	work	-sebenza	-sebenta	-phangela	-sebenta	-sebeda/phangela
200	young female	i(li)tshitshi	litsitsi	igomazi	litshitshi	ligomati

Lexico-statistical summary:

Zulu

190	**Swati**			
37	38	**Zansi**		
190	190	42	**N.Lala**	
70	64	176	70	**S.Lala**

Observations:

The lexical items chosen for this list No. 2 show Zulu and Swati enjoying a very close lexical relationship (190/200), in spite of their being members of two separate large dialect clusters - the Ntungwa and the Tekela. North Lala is also shown as extremely close to Swati (190/200) and Zulu (190/200).

The other very close relationship demonstrated by the list is the one between IsiZansi and South Lala (176/200), which indicates a widespread process of relexification being undergone by SL in favour of IsiZansi, which is the predominant language in the southern region of KZN, strongly encouraged by both educational and ecclesiastical institutions, which have imported Xhosa speaking teachers and church ministers from the Transkei for several decades. The history of Southern Lala speaking lineages further demonstrates a strong anti-Zulu animosity, due to the fact that Shaka's wars drove them away from their original home territories and transformed them into vagabonds and homeless travellers, until they were able to settle - and sometimes not peacefully - in their present-day surrounds.

The list further lends itself to some surprising reading, such as a low (70/200) rate of commonality between NL and SL, which is identical with that between Zulu and SL, while Swati and SL only show a 64/200 rate of common words, in spite of the fact that both languages/dialects are Tekela. This demonstrates that the choice is skewed in order to demonstrate the influence of IsiZansi on SL.

3.3 Conclusion

Language comparison produces historical results if it is based on a scientific study of lexical items. This chapter has provided two completely different lexical lists for Lala. The first list mainly consists of 100 entries representing Swadesh's Basic Vocabulary in Zulu, Swati, North Lala and South Lala. Each number can be considered as a comparative cluster that demonstrates both similarities and differences within the Nguni linguistic reality. One may be able to use word pairs in the list for the identification of phonological or morphological phenomena.

The second list consists of 200 entries which cover social and cultural realities. While Zulu and Swati appear extremely close, the list demonstrates a gradual shift from Zulu to Xhosa, or rather to its Southern Natal representation, isiZansi, for very many cultural phenomena in South Lala. The fact that South Lala speakers moved away from their original territories in

Zululand only 180 years ago, and that, according to lexico-statistical principles this is a relatively short time to witness any serious change in the Basic Vocabulary, should not throw a researcher off balance, because I have already repeatedly stressed the fact that relexification seems to be accepted as a matter of course throughout Nguni history.

A close examination of the lexical items borrowed from IsiZansi into South Lala proves that people are ready to borrow a word stem and then use it according to their own phono-morphological system. For example, items No. 4 and 11, among others, demonstrate that South Lala has adopted the IsiZansi stems *ixhala* (anxiety) and *udlolo* (barren woman) but makes use of the SL noun prefixal system of no initial vowel and full CV prefix (i.e. no elision or contraction) for classes 5 and 11, so that the SL nouns are *lixhala* and *ludlolo*. Similar remarks could be made with regard to the Lala phonetic system as brought into action in the adaptation of most IsiZansi terms. Cf, among others, Nos. 1, 7, 8, 16, 19, etc.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARATIVE PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF NORTH AND SOUTH LALA

4.0   Introduction

Language is oral, and therefore is expressed by sounds employed to form words, which in turn symbolically represent reality. This chapter deals with the sound system of Lala, that is, with the sounds chosen by Lala-speaking people to form words and thus communicate meaning. Common concepts of linguistic analysis, such as phones, phonemes, allophones, etc., are briefly defined before embarking on a detailed description of Lala sounds and compare them with Tekela/Swati and with Zunda/Zulu. After a description of vowel and consonant phones and their corresponding Lala phonemes, the analysis is applied to the two Lala dialects (North Lala [NL] and South Lala [SL]) with the aim of showing similarities and differences between them. It should be clear from previous statements that by NL is meant the language used around Kranskop (Ngcolosi), UMngeni and INanda, while by SL is meant the language used in the UMzumbe and IZingolweni districts. Phonological processes found in the two dialects are also examined and compared.

4.1   Phones, Phonemes, Allophones.

A **phone** is any identifiable single speech sound. Phones can be either vowels or consonants and are written in square brackets [ ]. **Phoneme** is written between slashes (/ /) and is understood as :

> A set of phonetically similar but slightly different sounds in a language that are heard as the same sound by the native speakers and are represented in phonemic transcription by the same symbol. As in English, the phonetically differentiated sounds represented by **p** in pin, spin, and tip. (Webster's *Dictionary,* 1980:1070)

Variations in sound which do not convey a difference in meaning are called **allophones**, which, according to Webster's *Dictionary (ibidem),* are:

Any of the variant forms of a phoneme as conditioned by position or adjoining sounds [the relatively short [a] of *mat* and the relatively long [a] of *mad*].

All Nguni languages present five vowel phonemes, as well as allophones of the mid-vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/:   i.e [e] is a raised or mid-high front vowel pronounced with moderate lip-spreading, while [ɛ] is a mid-low front vowel pronounced with wider lip-spreading. The same can be said of [o], a raised or mid-high back vowel pronounced with moderate lip-rounding, and [ɔ] which is a mid-low back vowel pronounced with wider lip-rounding. The height of the mid vowels is conditioned by the environment, that is, by the height of the following vowel. Other vowel allophones are nasalized vowels identifiable in the Tekela dialects, where a vowel followed by a nasal consonant cluster is nasalized.

In linguistic analysis, **minimal word pairs,** that is pairs of words identical in everything except one sound, serve as bases for comparison. Here follow examples of minimal pairs where the change of a single element brings about a change in meaning and therefore identifies a different phoneme.

North Lala	Gloss	South Lala	Phonemes
tsetsa	(scold)	tsetsa/thetha	/e/
tsatsa	(take)	tsatsa/thatha	/a/
tsemba	(trust)	tsemba/themba	/e/
tsamba	(become soft)	tsamba/thamba	/a/
hlahla	(chop up)	hlahla	/hl/
hlala	(sit)	hlala	/l/

Phonemes /e/ and /a/, /hl/ and /l/, indicate a difference in meaning and are therefore different phonemes. An additional interesting element surfacing from the above examples is that in SL the affricate [ts] and the aspirated [th] constitute allophones of the same phoneme, since they do not change the word meaning. The following properties of allophones can give greater clarity on their nature:

(a)   They are predictable phonetic variants determined by the environment. E.g. The use of the mid-high vowels [e] or [o], or of the mid-low vowels [ɛ] or [ɔ] is conditioned by the height of the following vowel.

(b)   Allophones do not occur in the same sound environment. This means: [e] cannot be replaced by [ɛ] if the environment requires [e].

(c)   They share a number of phonetic features: e.g [o] and [ɔ] are both `vowels'; they are `mid-back', but they differ by the feature `high'.

(d)   Allophones are rule governed i.e. a high vowel raises a mid vowel preceding it, and gives rise to the use of allophones [o] and [e].

Speech sounds are referred to as phones on the concrete phonetic level, whereas their underlying representations on the abstract level are referred to as phonemes. Variations in the realisation of certain phonemes are allophones of those phonemes.

4.2   Vowels

The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1990:1376) defines a vowel as:

A speech sound made with vibration of the vocal cords but without audible friction, more open than a consonant and capable of forming a syllable.

Here I look at at the Lala oral vowels first and then at the nasalised vowels, which constitute a different reality in all Tekela languages/dialects.

Lala, like all the Nguni languages, has five basic or oral vowels: two front vowels, two back vowels and one low vowel. The vowels are described according to the relative height of the tongue (high, mid, low), the part of the tongue involved (front, back) and the degree of lip-spreading or lip- rounding.

4.2.1   Lala Oral Vowels

Lala vowels can be described as follows:

Phoneme   **Phone**

/a/   [a]   A low back vowel pronounced with lip-spreading

Example: NL   [tsatsa]   (take)   SL   [tsatsa]/[thatha]

/e/   [e]   A raised or mid-high front vowel pronounced with moderate lip-rounding.

Example: NL   [leli]   (this)   SL   [leli]

| /e/ | [ɛ] | A mid-low front vowel pronounced with moderate lip-spreading. |
| Example: | NL | [mbɛtsɛ] | (wear) | SL | [mbɛtsɛ]/[mbɛthɛ] |

| /i/ | [i] | A high front vowel pronounced with lip-spreading |
| Example: | NL | [mutsi] | (tree) | SL | [mutsi]/[muthi̱] |

| /o/ | [o] | A mid-high back vowel pronounced with moderate lip-rounding. |
| Example: | NL | [liloli] | (truck) | SL | [liloli] |

| /o/ | [ɔ] | A mid-low back vowel pronounced with moderate lip-rounding. |
| Example: | NL | [lɛlɔ] | (that) | SL | [lɛlɔ] |

| /u/ | [u] | A high-back vowel pronounced with lip-rounding |
| Example: | NL | [munu] | (person) | SL | [munhu] |

4.2.2 Lala Nasalised Vowels

Greenburg (1978) and Maddieson (1984), among others, have examined the phenomenon of nasalized vowels in Indo-European languages. Vowel nasalization involves the lowering of the soft palate to allow part of the airstream to escape through the nose while pronouncing a particular vowel. The phenomenon generally takes place when a vowel is followed by a nasal consonant , i.e. [n; m]. The nasal consonant is 'swallowed up' in the pronunciation and almost disappears. This is why some orthographies elide the nasal consonant and simply represent its peculiar presence through a diacritic *tilde* [~].

Nasalized vowels in the Niger-Congo language family have been studied by Stewart (1983, 1985), Bôle-Richard (1985) and Williamson (1985), among others, while Jean-Marie Hombert (1986) has analysed their existence and evolution specifically in Bantu.

All Tekela dialects have nasalized vowels, and these have been mentioned by several scholars. Zungu (1989) describes their presence in Nhlangwini, and states that they occur when a vowel phoneme precedes either an overt or a latent nasal consonant cluster, that is, where there is a nasal in the cognate or corresponding Zulu word. She examines the following examples: *insolo, imbuti, ezezeni, izeze, ebovu, izodo, phasi.*

Lala uses five nasalised vowels, occurring when the vowel precedes an either overt or

covert nasal consonant cluster. Such vowels are formed just like ordinary vowels, but, during their pronunciation, the nasal tract is not kept completely closed, and the velum lets a certain amount of pulmonic air escape through the nose. Examples:

Phoneme Phone

/an/   [ã]   Nasalised low back vowel pronounced with lip-spreading.

Examples: /kansi/ (down/below) NL   [kãsi]   SL   [kãsi]

/en/   [ẽ]   Nasalised raised or mid-high front vowel pronounced with lip-rounding.

Examples: /elitembeni/ (to the axe) NL [elitẽmbeni] SL   [elitẽmbeni]

            [ɛ̃]   Nasalised mid-low front vowel pronounced with lip-spreading.

Examples: /litembe/ (axe) NL   [litɛ̃mbɛ]   SL   [litɛ̃mbɛ]

/in/   [ĩ]   Nasalised high front vowel pronounced with lip- rounding.

Examples: /imbuti/ (goat) NL   [ĩmbuti]   SL   [ĩmbuti]

/on/   [õ] Nasalised raised or mid-high rounded vowel pronounced with lip-rounding.

Examples: /leɓomvu/ (red) NL   [leɓõvu]   SL   [leɓõvu]

            [ɔ̃]   Nasalised mid-low back vowel pronounced with lip-rounding.

Examples: /zondzo/ (hatred) NL [zɔ̃ndzɔ]   SL   [zɔ̃ndzɔ]

/un/   [ũ]   Nasalised high back rounded vowel pronounced with lip-rounding.

Examples: /libunti/ (mouse) NL [liɓũti]   SL   [liɓũti]

4.3   Lala Vowel Chart

This shows the place of pronunciation of Lala vowels on the imaginary triangle of the human tongue.

HIGH

FRONT [e]   [o]   **BACK**

LOW
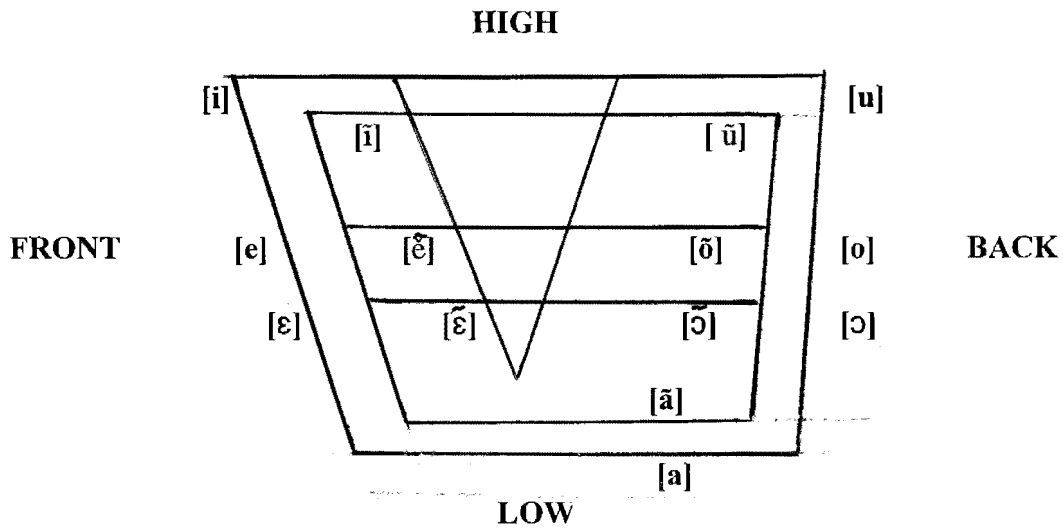
4.3   Consonants

Consonants are sounds produced by some degree of contact between the speech organs at the moment and place of articulation, or of air release. This causes a restriction of the vocal tract so that the air flow is either blocked or so restricted that a friction is produced.

Mine is a comparative description of Lala consonants. The synchronic description is effected by my comparison of NL and SL with Zunda-Nguni (as represented by Zulu) and Tekela-Nguni (as represented by Swati). The diachronic description consists in my effort to show the continuous evolution from Proto-Bantu to the modern languages, where PB examples could be found. Lala consonant phones, normally illustrated by phonetic script, are divided according to their place of articulation, i.e. Labials, Alveolars, Pre-palatals, Velars, Glottals and Clicks. Differences within each group are briefly indicated according to the manner of articulation, i.e. Plosives, Implosives, Fricatives, etc.. Examples are taken from the lexical lists in the previous chapter. Several changes take place in the environment of particular vowels.

4.3.1   Labials: [m, ɓ, b, p, pʰ, f, v].

Labials are caused by a restriction of air at the lips.
When lips are closed and then the air is released suddenly = plosives (b, p; pʰ).
When the air is sucked in = implosive (ɓ).
When the air is released gradually, producing a hissing sound = fricatives (f, v).
When the air is released through the nose = nasal (m).

Gloss	Proto Bantu	Zulu	Swati	North Lala	South Lala
bite	*-duma	-luma	-luma	[luma]	[luma]
I / me		mina	mine	[mina]	[mhina]
chest	*-kûva	isi-fuba	si-fuba	[sifuɓa]	[sifuɓa]
seed	*-begu	im-bewu	(in-hlanyelo)	[mbewu]	[mbewu]
goat	*-budi	im-buzi	im-buti	[mbuti]	[mbuti]
surprise		-bhadama	-bhadzama	[badzama]	(bhaqa)
root		im-pande	im-phandze	[mandze]	[mandze]
lung	*lipapu	i(li)-phaphu	li-phaphu	[lipʰapʰu]	[lipʰapʰu]
cloud	*tu	ili-fu	li-fu	[lifu]	[lifu]
rain	*bûda	im-vula	(li-tulu)	[mvula]	[mvula]
die	*-kua	-fa	-fa	[fa]	[fa]

1. /m/ [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal found in all the languages under consideration in unchanged form when used intervocalically. When used word-initially, however, it becomes /mh/ (breathy voiced) in SL.

2. PB [va] (labio-velar fricative) becomes [ɓa] (bilabial implosive).

3. PB [b] in [be] and [bu] becomes a bilabial plosive in nasal compounds.

4. Zulu /bh/ [ɓ] (voiced bilabial plosive with delayed breathy voice) does not change, while the example for 'root' shows that /ph/ becomes de-aspirated in Zulu when preceded by a nasal, but de-aspiration does not apply in Swati, NL and SL. This general rule also applies to the other PB radicals, i.e. */t/ and */k/, which normally become /th/ and /kh/ in Nguni, but are de-aspirated in Zulu and Xhosa when preceded by a nasal.

5. The voiceless denti-labial fricative /f/ occurs when PB /t/ is followed by the high vowel /u/. In the example for 'die', however, PB */k/ changes to /f/ when followed by /u/.

4.3.2 Alveolars: [l, t, tʰ, nts, s, ts, d, dz, nd, ɬ] .

The air restriction takes place between the tongue tip and the alveolar ridge.

Gloss	P B	Zulu	Swati	N Lala	S Lala
big	*-kulu	-khulu	-khulu	[kʰulu]	[k ʰulu]

person	*muntu	umu-ntu	umu-ntfu	[munu]	[munhu]
drop		[i(li)/ontsi]	[li/ontsi]	[li/ontsi]	[li/ontsi]
stomach	(*tumbo)	isi-su	si-su	[sisu]	[sisu]
sew	*-tunga	-thunga	-tsunga	[tsũnga]	[tsũnga]
water	*maiŋgi	ama-nzi	ema-nti	[madi]	[madi]
egg		i(li)-qanda	li-candza	[li!andza]	[li!andza]
knee		i(li)-dolo	li-dvolo	[lidzɔlɔ]	[lidzɔlɔ]
man		in-doda	in-dvodza	[ndzɔdza]	[ndzɔdza]
blood	*-gadi	i(li)-gazi	in-gati	[ligati]	[ligati]
earth		um-hlaba	um-hlaba	[ɬaɓa]	[ɬaɓa]
head	*-ntoko	in-hloko	in-hloko	[ɬɔkɔ]	[ɬɔkɔ]
ear	*-njebe	in-dlebe	in-dlebe	[ĩnɬɛɓɛ]	[ĩnɬɛɓɛ]

Phonetic symbols have been used mainly for NL and SL examples in order to render them clearer.

1. PB */l/ does not change. Guthrie often uses the symbol /d/ in place of Meinhof's /l/.

2. The PB nasal */n/ (homorganic /N-/) causes a number of complex reflexes in the Nguni consonants that follow it. Therefore the group */nt/ followed by a high rounded vowel remains unchanged in Zulu, but becomes /ntfu/ in Swati, /nu/ in NL and /nhu/ (breathy voiced alveolar nasal) in SL. The group /nd/ remains unchanged in Zulu, but becomes /ndz/ (voiced affricate) in Swati and Lala.

3. Zulu /do/ changes to /dvo/ (de-voiced alveo-labial affricate) in Sw, and [dzo] NL and SL.

4. Zulu /da/ changes to /dza/ in Swati, NL and SL.

5. As explained several times earlier, Zulu /z/ (voiced dentilabial fricative) changes to /t/ in Tekela languages.

4.3.3 Prepalatals : [ʃ, tʃ, j, ʤ, ɲ].

The air restriction takes place when the tongue touches the front part of the soft palate.

Gloss	P B	Zulu	Swati	N Lala	S Lala
new	*-pîa	-sha	-sha	[ʃa]	[tʃ'a]

burn	*-pûa	-sha	-sha	[ʃʰa]	[tʃʰa]
stone	*-bue	i(li)-tshe	li-tje	[litʃ'e]	[litʃ'e]
heart		in-hliziyo	in-hlitiyo	[ɬidijo]	[ɬidijo]
blister		i(li)-jamuza	li-jamuta	[lidʒamuta]	[lidʒunguta]
star		in-kanyezi	in-kanyeti	[nkaɲeti]	[nkaɲeti]

1. PB *pîa and *pûa become fricative /-sha/ [ʃa] in NL, but affricate /tsha/ [tʃ'a] in SL. The super-close /i/ and /u/ are responsible for the change.

2. Zulu glide /y/ [j] does not change in Sw, NL or SL, nor does the palatal nasal /ny/ [ɲ].

3. Zulu voiced affricate /j/ [dʒ] does not change either.

4.3.4   Velars: [k, kʰ, kɬ, g, ng] .

The velum is used for air restriction to pronounce velar consonants.

Gloss	P B	Zulu	Swati	N Lala	S Lala
night	*tuku	u(bu)-suku	bu-suku	[busuku]	[busuku]
arm	*kono	um-khono	khono	[kʰɔnɔ]	[kʰ ɔnɔ]
blood	*gadi	i(li)-gazi	in-gati	[ligati]	[ligati]
sew	*-tunga	-thunga	-tsunga	[tsunga]	[tsunga]
mark site		-klama	-klama	[kɬama]	[kxama]

1. PB */k/ [k] becomes a partially voiced velar stop when used intervocalically. It changes to the aspirated voiceless plosive /kh/ when it occurs stem-initially.

2. PB */g/ and */ng/ remain constant in Nguni. But in SL /ng/ becomes the pre-nasalized velar [ŋg]. This lso applies to Zulu.

3. Zulu /kl/ [kɬ] does not generally change in Sw and NL, but becomes [kx] (a non-lateral voiceless velar affricate) in SL.

4.3.5   Glottals

Like Swati, Lala makes use of two fricative glottal sounds:

[h] as in -hola [hɔla] 'lead'; and

[ɦ] in ihhomo [iɦɔmɔ] 'head of cattle'.

4.3.6 Clicks

Clicks are sounds produced through the ingessive velaric airstream. They are not very common as speech sounds, and it is generally accepted that they entered the Southern African Bantu languages, especially Nguni (Sotho has only few click words, probably adopted from Nguni), through a long relationship between Nguni and Khoisan speakers. Clicks are, however, a limited and recent linguistic innovation in Nguni. It would be improper to search for click words in Proto Bantu. Well known researchers that have investigated the origin of the clicks in South African Bantu languages are Argyle (1986;1987), Davey (1975), and Louw (1974). They all reached the conclusion that clicks are inherited from Khoisan.

In Lala, as in Zulu, there exist three basic clicks: the dental click /c/ [/]; the palatal /q/ [!] and the alveo-lateral /x/ [//]. These radical forms may appear transformed in more complex forms, as in an aspirated form, a nasal form, and a pre-nasalized breathy voice form.

Lexemes containing clicks may vary from language to language within Nguni. Zulu and Xhosa contain many more click words than Swati, and make use of all the click variations as markers of meaning. This proves a longer and closer relationship between Zulu and Xhosa speakers and Khoisan speaking people.

In Swati click variations do not mark a difference in meaning. A Swati speaker may unconsciously pronounce the Swati word 'chosha' as 'xhosha' or 'qhosha' without wanting to change its meaning. This is why Swati orthography only uses the letter **c** to write the various basic clicks, although individual pronunciation may demonstrate what in Zulu would be written as /c/, /q/ or /x/.

4.3.6.1   Dental clicks   / c, ch, nc, gc, ngc/   [/, /^{h}, ŋ/, /g, ŋ/g]

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
door	isi-cabha	si-cabha	[si/ab'a]	[si/ab'a]
small	-ncane	-ncane	[n/ane]	[n/ane]
mongoose	i(li)-chakide	li-chakidze	[li/hakidze]	-
fill	-gcwala	-gcwala	[/gwala]	-

The examples clearly show that all four languages make an identical use of the dental clicks.

4.3.6.2 Alveo-lateral clicks (x, xh, nx, gx, ngx) [//, //ʰ, ŋ//, //g, ŋ//g]

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
bark	i(li)xolo	li-colo	[li//ɔlɔ]	[li//gɔlɔ]
jump	-gxuma	-gcuma	[//guma]	
castrated bull	in-xahi	in-cahi	[in//ahi]	
old man	i(li)-xhegu	li-chegu	[li//hegu]	[li//hegu]

The examples show alveo-lateral clicks are used in the same way by the four languages, with the exception of the orthography in Swati, and /x/ becoming /gx/ in SL, as in the word for 'bark'.

4.3.6.3 Palatal ckicks (q, qh, gq, nq, ngq) [!, !h, !g, ŋ!, ŋ!g]

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
egg	i(li)-qanda	li-candza	[li!andza]	[li!andza]
ankle	i(li)-qakala	li-cakala	[li!akala]	[li!akala]
island	isi-qhingi	si-chingi	[si!hingi]	[si!hingi]
overcome	-nqoba	-ncoba	[n!oɓa]	[n!oɓa]
wear	-gqoka	-gcoka	[!goka]	

Palatal clicks are used in an identical way in the four languages. Swati shows, however, the difference in the official orthography, which reflects the non-conditioning of meaning in the usage of clicks.

4.3.6.4 General remarks on clicks

The main purpose of this study is to compare the clicks used in NL and SL in order to detect similarities and differences between the two dialects. Lala speakers follow the same general trend as other Tekela speakers, i.e., they employ the dental click interchangeably with the alveo-palatal and lateral clicks. E.g. Zulu -qala (begin) may be pronounced as -qala or -cala. However, this trend cannot be over-generalized, as not all the groups follow it. For example, among the South Lala group, the Celes appear the only group which uses /q/ [!] in place of Zulu /c/ [/].

I have also noticed that North Lalas tend to use /ngc/ in place of Zulu /ngx/, but South

Lalas use /ngx/. The influence of Tekela is therefore uneven. In fact Swati freely interchanges the clicks, e.g. *ingcabano* > *ingxabano*, `quarrel'.

The Ndzelus, Bombos and Chilizas (South Lalas) at times use /gx/ instead of /x/. I have heard them saying *gxamu* instead of *xamu*, `monitor lizard`. And yet they always use the the /x/ click in the word *kuxoxa*, `to talk`. North Lalas, however, are clear in the use of /x/ as a distinguishing phoneme, as in *xamu*, etc.

4.4   Phonetic differences

A number of Zunda/Zulu phonemes are different from the corresponding Tekela/Swati/Lala. The most general difference is that Zulu 'zunda' (=pronounce z) while Swati 'tekela' (= pronounce t). As a general rule, Lala makes use of phonemes found in Tekela, but sometimes in a way that is different from Swati. According to Msimang (1989), Tekela phonetic differences depend on Thonga/Tsonga, which is often considred as its mother language. Such differences can be summarized as follows:

(a)   **Devoiced alveolar affricate /dz/ [dz]**

When Zulu /d/ is followed by the mid-front vowel /e/ or the central back /a/, this changes to [dz]. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
egg	i(li)-qanda	li-candza	li-qandza	li-qandza
man	in-doda	in-dvodza	n-dzodza	n-dzodza
long	-de	-dze	-dze	-dze
lip	u(lu)-debe	lu-dzebe	lu-dzebe	

(b)   **Devoiced alveolar bilabial affricate [dß]/ [dz]**

When Zulu /d/ is followed by back vowels /o/ or /u/ or by back glide /w/ the /d/ changes to /dv/ [dβ] in Swati but [dz] in Lala. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
knee	i(li)-dolo	[lidßɔlɔ]	[lidzɔlɔ]	[lidzɔlɔ]
man	in-doda	[indßɔdza]	[ndzɔdza]	[ndzɔdza]
knot	i(li)-findo	[lifindßɔ]	[lifindzɔ]	

(c) **Zulu alveolar aspirated /th/ change to affricate alveolar /ts'/ in Lala.** Example:

Z. -thathu; Swati -tsatfu NL & SL: tsatsu [ts'ats'u]

Zulu /nt/ changes to Swati /ntf/ but to NL /n/ and SL /nh/. Example:

Z. umu-ntu; Swati: umu-ntfu; NL mu-nu; SL mu-nhu

(d) **Zulu de-aspiration after the homorganic nasal does not occur in Swati.**

In Lala de-aspiration occurs in some environments, while in others the Zulu consonant disappears giving rise to peculiar phenomena. Examples:

Process	Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
nk >nkh >nk	all	-o-nke	-o-nkhe	-o-nke	-o-nke
nk>nkh> y	beast/cow	in-komo	in-khomo	i-y-omo	i-y-omo
mp>mph>m	fly	im-pukane	im-phukane	m-u-n-gane	m-u-n-gane
mp>mph>m	root	im-pande	im-phandze	m-andze	m-andze

(e) **Zulu Class 3 prefix 'u-m(u)-' followed by the lateral /l/, in Lala changes to /n/ which substitutes also the /l/. Therefore the alveolar lateral /l/ causes the *labial* nasal to become an *alveolar nasal*, which replaces the lateral.** Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
ash	um-lotha	um-lotsa	notsa	notsa
fire	um-lilo	um-lilo	nilo	nilo
mouth	um-lomo	um-lomo	nomo	nomo
leg	um-lenze	um-lente	nede	nede

4.5   Morpho-phonological processes

When sounds come together in speech, they tend to influence one another thus producing sound changes (phonological changes) that show up as word formation rules (morphological changes). These changes are called here " morpho-phonological processes" to indicate sound changes due to morphological processes. Sloat et al. (1978:112) explain such changes as the result of natural processes. Zungu (1989:77) has identified two types of such sound changes in Nhlangwini: vowel replacement or substitution, and consonant substitution. These processes will be illustrated with parallel examples from Zulu, Swati and Lala.

4.5.1 Vowel replacement

In Zulu, when two vowels are realized contiguously, as is the case with inflection prefixes, there takes place either vowel coalescence or consonantalization. Vowel coalescence is understood by Aoki (1974) as either the raising of the low left-hand vowel, or as the lowering of the high right-hand vowel, since the phenomenon occurs in these sequences:

<div align="center">

a + **i** > **e**   Ex.   na + inkomo > nenkomo

a + **u** > **o**   Ex.   na + umama > nomama

a + **a** > **a**   Ex.   nga + amanzi > ngamanzi

</div>

Canonici (1995:67) expresses the view that in Swati vowel coalescence does not occur. In fact, when there is pre-prefixal inflection, the final vowel of the pre-prefix and the first vowel of the noun prefix (if any) are elided, and then substituted with the mid-front vowel /e/.

> na + inkhomo > n-e-nkhomo (with the beast)
>
> nga + lutsi > ng-e-lutsi (by means of a stick) (vowel insertion)
>
> na + emadvodza > n-e-madvodza (with the men)

Class 1a nouns which have the optional initial vowel /u-/, simply elide the /u-/.

> njenga + (u)make > njeng-a-make
>
> nga + (u)babe > ng-a-babe

Class 1a nouns with compulsory initial vowel /u/ follow the general substitution rule, that is, they replace /u-/ with /e-/.

> nga + uyise > ng-e-yise
>
> njenga + unina > njeng -e-nina

Khumalo (1987) clarifies Aoki's (1974) approach by explaining that if two syllables come together in such a way as to cause vowel juxtaposition, the leftmost vowel must first de-link from its syllable by applying the 'syllable and nucleus de-linking rule'. Then it can attach itself to the nucleus of the following syllable by the 'syllabification rule'. After that, a number of phonological rules must apply, depending on the value of the feature **[high]** of the leftmost vowel. If this vowel is [+ high], then glide formation takes place. If it is [- high], it spreads its [- high] feature to the vowel on its right ('vowel lowering rule').

The application of this rule to Zulu, Swati and Lala is exemplified in the following examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
with the dog	na + inja	na + inja	na + imbwa	na + imbwa
	nenja	nenja	nembwa	nembwa
with the beast	na + inkomo	na + inkhomo	na + iyomo	na + iyomo
	nenkomo	nenkhomo	neyomo	neyomo
with the person	na + umuntu	na + umuntfu	na + munu	na + munhu
	nomuntu	nemuntfu	nomunu	nomunhu
with the tooth	na + i(li)zinyo	na + litinyo	na + litinyo	na + litinyo
	nezinyo	nelitinyo	nelitinyo	nelitinyo
by the skin	nga+ isikhumba	nga+sikhumba	nga+sikhumba	nga+sikhumba
	ngesikhumba	ngesikhumba	ngesikhumba	ngesikhumba
by the name	nga + i(li)gama	nga + libito	nga + ligama	nga + libito
	ngegama	ngebito	ngegama	ngelibito

The examples show that Lala follows the same coalescence rules as Zulu. However, where the noun has no initial vowel, the /a/ is raised by the influence of the following high vowel to produce: **a + u > o;   a + i > e.**

This forms part of **vowel raising**, which is described by Msimang (1989:24) as:

> Vowel raising is a type of regressive assimilation whereby the mid-low vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] assimilate to the [+high] position of the high vowels [i] and [u] in the following syllable. This phenomenon is common to almost all Southern Bantu languages with the exception of Venda.

Vowel raising can be realized in pronunciation only, as when the [ɔ] in [hɔla] changes to [o] in the negative under the influence of the negative suffix [i] (cf [akaholi]). Or it can give rise to simple vowel coalescence, as when the locative suffix [-ini] follows a noun ending in [a] and causes this vowel to change to [e], as in [intaɓa + ini > entaɓeni], or, in Lala , [enaɓeni].

4.5.2   Vowel elision

(a)   In some constructions vowels can be simply elided.

In Tekela the vowel of a demonstrative can be elided (optionally) in front of a locatively inflected noun. The prefixal locative marker takes the place of the demonstrative vowel.

Examples:

    'Here in the ear': la/lapha endlebeni >   Zulu: lapha endlebeni

        Tekela: Vowel elision: *la + endlebeni* >   *l + e:ndlebeni*

    'Here in the liver": la/lapha esibindini >   Zulu: lapha esibindini

        Tekela: Vowel elision: *la + esibindzini* >   *l + e:sibindzini*

(b)   Vowel elision also occurs, compulsorily, in diminutive formation, when the diminutive formative *-ana* is suffixed to the noun, as in:

    'Small breasts': amabele + ana   >   Zulu & Swati: amabedlana

                                     N. & S. Lala: amabelana

(c)   In front of vowel commencing verb stems, the subject concordial vowel is normally elided: ba + o > bo (*ba + oma > boma)*

                       si + ala > sala (*si + ala > sala)*

4.5.3   Consonant substitution - consonantalisation

When one of the high vowels /i/ or /u/ are juxtaposed to another vowel and the process of vowel coalescence, or vowel raising, cannot take place, then the leftmost vowel, which is marked by the [+ high] feature, is transformed into a glide consonant which takes the place of the [+ high] vowel. Msimang refers to this process as 'consonantalisation'; Aoki (1974) as 'glide formation', and Khumalo (1987) as 'vowel/glide realisation'. Msimang's term is preferred here. Two instances of the process are going to be exemplified here: the locative inflection, when the suffix **-ini** causes consonantalisation of the preceding vowel; and the use of a vowel-ending concordial prefix in front of vowel commencing stems.

4.5.3.1   Consonantalisation in locative inflection

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
in the knee	e + idolo + ini	e+lidvolo + ini	e+lidolo + ini	e+lidolo+ini
	edolweni	elidvolweni	elidolweni	elidolweni
in the mouth	e+umlomo + ini	e+mlomo+ini	e+nomo+ini	e+nomo+ini
	emlonyeni	emlonyeni	enomweni	enomweni
in the cloud	e+ifu + ini	e+lifu+ini	e+lifu + ini	e+lifu + ini
	efwini	elifwini	elifwini	elifwini

in the bone	e+ithambo+ini	e+litsambo+ini	e+litsambo+ini	e+litsambo+ini
	ethanjeni	elitsanjeni	elitsambweni	elitsambweni

The examples show that vowels /o/ and /u/ lose syllabicity before non-rounded vowels, and change into the glide /w/. However, where the back vowel is preceded by a bilabial consonant, this becomes palatalized in Zulu and Swati, but not in Lala, where no palatalization occurs. Palatalization causes the deletion of the consonantalised /w/.

4.5.3.2 Concordial consonantalisation

When a class concord consisting of only a vowel is prefixed to a vowel commencing stem, consonantalisation of the concordial vowel takes place.

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
all (cl 3)	u + o+ nke	u + o + nkhe	u + o + nke	u + o + nke
	wonke	wonkhe	wonke	wonke
she knows (cl9)	i + azi	i + ati	i + ati	i + ati
	yazi	yati	yati	yati
it dries (cl 9)	i + oma	i + oma	i + oma	i + oma
	yoma	yoma	yoma	yoma

Where the concordial element is composed of CV, the V is generally elided, except for some cases in Cl 11 where /lu-/ > /lw-/.

4.5.4 Consonant insertion

Nguni languages are agglutinative: prefixes and suffixes are joined with the core stem to form morphologically complex words. In order to keep the identity of a component word, or even a morpheme, clear, consonants may be inserted at particular places. An application of this rule can be found with the linking /s/ in Zulu and Swati, and /k/ in some Lala words, when a locatively inflected noun is preceded by a pre-nominal inflectional element. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
on the earth	ba + emhlabeni	ba+ emhlabeni	ba+ehlabeni	ba+ehlabeni
	basemhlabeni	basemhlabeni	bakehlabeni	bakehlabeni
in the hair	zi+ezinweleni	ti+etinweleni	ti+etinweleni	ti+etinyweleni
	zisezinweleni	tisetinweleni	tisetinweleni	tisetinyweleni

Another form of consonant insertion takes place when a vowel-only concord is used to indicate the object (= object concord): the corresponding glide is inserted in front of the concordial vowel. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
I do not ask it	angi+i+ buzi	angi+i+buti	angi+i+buti	angi+i+buti
	angiyibuzi	angiyibuti	angiyibuti	angiyibuti
I do not drink it	angi+u+phuzi	angi+u+natsi	angi+u+phuti	angi+u+phuti
	angiwuphuzi	angiwunatsi	angiwuphuti	angiwuphuti

4.5.5 Vowel assimilation

There are instances in language where a sound becomes predominant to the point of regulating weaker sounds in the environment. Here I consider two instances: the perfect tense, or stative verbal conjugation, and the locative prefix assimilation.

4.5.5.1 Perfect tense assimilation

When the perfect tense inflectional suffix occurs in the environment of aCa (a + Consonant + a) as in -phatha + ile, the resulting form becomes eCe (e + Consonant + e), as in -phethe This phenomenon is generally found in Nguni, as in the following examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
carry	-phatha	-phatsa	-phatsa	-phatsa
	-phethe	-phetse	-phetse	-phetse
be diligent	-khuthala	-khutsala	-khutsala	-khutsala
	-khuthele	-khutsele	-khutsele	-khutsele

4.5.5.2   **Locative prefix assimilation**

In Zulu and Swati the vowel /-u-/ of locative prefix /ku-/ assimilates to the high front vowel /-i-/ found in the absolute personal pronouns. This process does not occur in Lala.

Examples: Ku + mina   > **kimi**   Lala: kumina

    Ku + thina   > **kithi**   kuthina

    Ku + nina   > **kini**   kunina

4.5.5.3   **Homorganic nasal**

Prefixal nasals constitute a very unstable environment in most Bantu languages. In Zulu, for example, the nasal prefix causes de-aspiration in classes 9 and 10/9. In the Sotho languages also the nasal in the classes 1 and 3 prefixes causes changes in the stem-initial syllable of the noun. 'Homorganic nasal' means that the nasal in the prefix of class 9 and 10/9 gets assimilated to the place of articulation of the following consonant. Therefore bilabial /m/ is used when the following consonant is a bilabial, as in the following example for 'dog':

'dog';   Zu. inja   Sw. inja   N & S. L. **imb**wa

Msimang (1989:107-112) rightly points out that the way Lala deals with PB radicals *P, *T, *K in the environment of a nasal consonant is what distinguishes Lala from its sister dialects and goes well beyond the simple rule of the homorganic nasal. Cf 4.4 (d) and (e) above for explanation.

Consider the following examples from Lexical list No. 1 in chapter 3:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
1. king	inkosi	inkhosi	iyosi/iwosi/	ihhosi
2. beast	inkomo	inkhomo	iyomo	iyomo
3. earth	umhlaba	umhlaba	hlaba	hlaba
4. fire	umlilo	umlilo	nilo	nilo
5. fish	inhlanzi	inhlanti	hladi	hladi
6. fly	impukane	imphukane	mungane	mhungane
7. heart	inhliziyo	inhlitiyo	hlidiyo	hlidiyo
8. leg	umlenze	umlente	nede	nede

9. meat	inyama	inyama	nyama	nyama
10 mountain	intaba	intsaba	naba	naba
11. mouth	umlomo	umlomo	nomo	nomo
12. person	umuntu	umuntfu	munu	munhu
13. red	-bomvu	-bomvu	-bovu	-bovu
14. root	impande	imphandze	mandze	mhandze
15. water	amanzi	emanti	madi	madi

The following general trends, rather than water-tight rules, can be identified, in order to describe Lala peculiarities in the very unstable environment of nasal consonants:

(a)   Voiceless bilabial [p] has a very low incidence in Lala. Where in sister languages it is preceded by a nasal, in Lala it is deleted, and in SL is substituted by murmuring.

Ex: 'fly':   Zu. impukane; Sw. imphukane;   NL mungane;   SL. mhungane

'root': Zu. impande;   Sw. imphandze;   NL. mandze; SL. mhandze

(b)   Voiceless alveolar [t] gives rise to two phenomena:

In stem-initial position, where it follows the homorganic prefixal nasal [n], it is deleted.

Ex.   'mountain':   Zu. *intaba* > Lala *n - aba.*

'girl':   Zu. *intombazane*   > Lala *n - ombatane*

In stem-medial position, the Tekela nasal-alveolar cluster [nt], resulting from Zunda [nz], is deleted and [t] changes to the voiced alveolar [d].

Ex.   'fish' Zu. *inhlanzi* > Sw. *inhlanti*   > Lala *hladi*

'water' Zu. *amanzi* > Sw. *emanti*   > Lala *madi*

(c)   In noun classes 1 and 3 the nasal of the basic prefix becomes syllabic in the environment of a plurisyllabic noun stem. In Lala such nasal can give rise to two phenomena, which have nothing to do with homorganic nasals, strictly speaking:

i.   The nasal is deleted before a voiceless aspirated plosive, as in the following:

'holder'   Zu. *um - phathi* > Sw. *um - phatsi* > Lala *u - phatsi*
'food for journey'   Zu & Sw. *um - phako* > Lala *u - phako*
'witch'   Zu. *um - thakathi* > Sw. *um - tsakatsi* > Lala *u - tsakatsi*
'spear'   Zu. *um - khonto* > Lala *u - khono*

ii.   In the environment of liquid [l], class 3 prefix bilabial [m] changes to alveolar [n]

and liquid [l] is elided, as in the following examples:

'ash'   Zu. *um-lotha*   > Sw. *um-lotsa*   > Lala *n - otsa*
'leg'   Zu. *um-lenze*   > Sw. *um-lente*   > Lala *n - ede*
'fire'   Zu. *um-lilo*   > Sw. *um-lilo*   > Lala *n - ilo*
'mouth' Zu. *um-lomo*   > Sw *um-lomo*   > Lala *n - omo*

(d)   Voiceless velar **[k]** is the most unstable of the three PB radicals, as it can give rise to

three different reflexes, often for the same stem.

Ex.   'chief' Zu. *in-kosi*   > Sw. *in-khosi* > Lala *i - yosi / i - hhosi / i - wosi*
         'beast' Zu. *in-komo*   > Sw. *in-khomo* > Lala *i - yomo / i - hhomo / i - womo*

4.6   Murmuring

Some nasal constructions in SL become murmured, possibly through the influence of

IsiZansi which seems to make wide usage of this pronunciation device. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
I, me	mina	mine	mina	mhina
person	umu-ntu	umu-ntfu	mu-nu	mu-nhu

4.7   Conclusion

As a Nguni language, Lala shares the five vowel system common to Nguni, as well as a

wide number of basic features. As a Tekela dialect, it shares the use of **t** where Zunda uses **z**. It

further shares sounds characteristic of Tekela, such as **dv, dz, tf**, etc., although one must be aware

that correspondences are not always perfect. For example, while Swati makes wide use of

labialized sounds, Lala does not, as labialisation does not occur in Lala. Therefore sounds such

as [tɸʰ] and [dʙ] as allophones of [tsʰ] and [dz] are not found. Furthermore, Lala does not

employ the palatalization process common to most Nguni languages, a fact that has convinced

Ownby (1985) that Lala separated from Proto Nguni before the wide introduction of

palatalization.   Lala prepalatals are the same as in Swati. However, Swati [tʃ'] (as in [utʃ'ani]

'grass' and [utʃ'wala] 'beer') do not occur, being realized without palatalisation as [ɓwani] and

[ɓwala] respectively.

A phonetic feature that distinguishes Lala from its sister dialects is the way it deals with

nasalization of the three PB radicals *P, *T, *K. According to Msimang (1989:107-112):

(a)   Labial /p/ has very low incidence in Lala. Where /p/ is preceded by a nasal, it gets

deleted and then substituted by murmuring (especially in SL), as in:

Zu. *impisi* > La. *imhisi* (hyena); Zu. *impahla* > La. *imhahla* (goods).

(b)   In the same way, Cl 9 homorganic nasal prefix /N/ also causes the deletion of /t/, as in

Zu. *in + taba* > La. *n + aba*

(c)   Where the nasal of the basic prefix becomes syllabic (in classes 1 and 3), it is deleted

before a voiceless plosive. Examples:

Zu. *um + phathi* > Sw. *um + phatsi* > La. *u + phatshi*.
Zu. *um + phako* > La. *u + phako*
Zu. *um + thakathi* > La. *u + tsakatsi*
Zu. *um + khonto* > La. *u + khono*
Zu. *umu + ntu* > La. *mu-nu* (and, in SL., *mu - nhu)*

Local exceptions are however found, especially with deverbative nouns.

(c)   Nasal + K produces glide -y- as in   *in + kosi > i + yosi*
or glide -w-, as in   *in + komo > i + w + omo*
or even -hh- , as in   *in + kosi > i + hh + osi*
          in + komo > i + hh + omo.

The phonetic system of NL and SL is extremely close, as one would expect from two branches
of the same language which, according to the African tradition, rely on language to show that
they are related.   IsiZansi seems to have had a considerable impact on SL, both through the
spoken environment, and through the school educational system which was based on Xhosa for
several decades. The main differences between SL and NL are to be found in the use of alveolars
and velars.

Alveolars: NL [tsh] becomes [tʰ] in SL.
NL [x] and [ɣ] become SL [ɬ] and [h].
Zu [ndz], Sw [nt'] becomes [d] in La.
Ex.: Zu [amandzi] > Sw [ɛmant'i] > La [amadi].

Velars: These are in common between Swati and Lala. As mentioned above, however,
NL makes use of fricative velars [x] and [ɣ]. Lala further uses the pre-velar
voiceless fricative [ɦ], as in *[uɦɔnɔ]* 'spear', which does not occur in Swati.

This chapter has also dealt with a number of Lala phonological problems. The overall
impression left with the researcher is that Lala certainly forms part of the Tekela dialect cluster,
but extensive re-lexification has taken place in SL under the influence of Xhosa and IsiZansi.

CHAPTER FIVE

A COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
OF NORTH AND SOUTH LALA

5.0   Introduction

A language becomes articulated in words, whose meaning may be conveyed by either a single root element ('monomorphemic word'), or by a cluster of meaningful elements, called morphemes ('polymorphemic words'). The agglutinative system of word formation employed by Bantu languages makes it imperative to study the sets of meaningful elements that make up a Bantu word. The morphology of a particular language explains the systems of word formation employed by that language in order to communicate meaning.

From the dawn of serious study of South African Bantu languages, scholars have engaged in the study of their morphology, or grammatical structures, from Bleek, to Colenso, to Doke, to more recent scholars such as Van Eeden (1956), Van Dyk (1960), Mzamane (1962), etc. However, no comparative morphological study of North and South Lala has ever been conducted.

The present chapter intends to initially explain some basic concepts of morphological discourse, then to apply them to the analysis of Nguni and Lala in a comparative fashion, with special attention to possible similarities and differences between North and South Lala. The independent nominals will be considered first, since they constitute the centre around which the whole sentence revolves. Then the formation of some of the dependent nominals (pre-nominal delimitators and post-nominal qualfiers) will be examined, and finally the reflection of the nominal categories of gender, number and person on the predicative section of the sentence will be briefly presented. Other parts of speech will also be briefly exemplified.

5.1   Morphology, morphemes, morphs, allomorphs

As mentioned above, **morphology** is the study of the word formation systems found in a particular language. The internal structure of a **word** can be identified as being either a self-standing **lexical item**, conveying the basic meaning as found in the lexicon, or a cluster of elements comprising, beside the lexical item or **stem**, one or more **affixes**, that is, particules

added **before** (= **prefix**), or **after** (= **suffix**), or **within** (= **infix**) the stem to convey additional grammatical meaning(s). For example, the Zulu stem *{-hamb-}* (go) can be inflected in a wide variety of ways, one of which is *sengihambile*, 'I have now/already gone', which can be subdivided for analytical purposes into the following **morphemes**:

se- 'now, already' (inceptive inclusive aspectual implication used prefixally)

-ngi- 'I' (subject element, first person singular, used prefixally)

-hamb- 'go' (verbal root, lexical item)

-ile 'past/perfect' (completed action aspect verbal suffix)

The word *'sengihambile'* is therefore composed of a number of units of meaning, bound together and called **morphemes**. It is therefore a **polymorphemic** word, containing a verbal stem grammatically inflected to show that the agent doing the action is a first person, that the action being described is 'to go', that the action has already been initiated (*'se-'*), and that it is now completed (*'-ile'*). It follows that **morpheme** can be defined (cf Canonici, 1996:7) as:

The minimal - or smallest - unit of sound and meaning used for grammatical analysis.

Morphemes are abstract units realised in speech by discrete units called **morphs**. Morphs are the concrete realisation of morphemes. When a morpheme can be realised by a number of morphs, these variations are called **allomorphs**. For example, the Zulu progressive aspectual implication *-sa-* 'still', is realized by its allomorph *-se-* in nominal predicates, as in the following contrasting examples:

ngisahamba (I am still going)

ngisekhona (I am still here).

The morphological representation of this phenomenon is the following:

{-sa-} : / -sa- ∞ *-se-/* 'still'

where ∞ indicates that the variation occurs for grammatical (rather than phonological, ~) reasons. One may notice that the morpheme is written between brace brackets, while its morphs are between slashes.

5.2   The noun

The Nguni noun is made up of an independent prefix and a vowel-ending stem. The final

vowel may undergo variations (such as elision or raising) in the environment of nominal inflectional processes, such as the locative formation; or of derivational processes, such as the formation of diminutives.

5.2.1 The noun prefix (NPr)

The most important analytical element in the noun is its prefix, through which one is able to classify nouns by identifying the nominal categories of gender, number, person. The prefix further serves as the basis for the concordial agreement that links the noun with all dependent nominals within the Noun Phrase (NP) and with the predicate in the Verbal Phrase (VP).

According to Meinhof (1932), the normal shape of the Bantu NPr is CV (Consonant - Vowel). This basic form has, however, undergone changes in several languages. For example, Zulu NPr is V-CV (Vowel - Consonant - Vowel), while Swati NPr is a mixture of the two systems, with weak (or nasal) classes adopting the V-CV and the strong (or non-nasal) classes using the CV pattern.

Lala adopts the CV pattern of NPr, which thus consists of only the classifier or basic prefix, sometimes known as the real prefix. The CV structure is interrupted for class 1a where there is a zero (Ø) prefix. Class 3 presents a mixture of CV (*mu-*), C only (*m-* or *n-*), and Ø (zero prefix). Class 9 prefix consists of vowel (*i-*) only or of only the homorganic nasal.. The list of noun prefixes is as follows:

5.2.2 Chart of Noun prefixes

Class No.	Gram. No.	Zulu	Swati	Lala	Content
1	singular	u-mu-	u-mu-	m(u)-	person
2	plural	a-ba-	(e)-ba-	ba-	persons
1a	sing	u-	Ø ∞u-	Ø	names, family
2a	pl. of 1a & 3a	o ∞ a-wo-	bo-	bo-	names/ kinship
3a	sing	u-	Ø	Ø	adoptives
3	sing	u-mu-	u-mu-	m(u)- / n-/Ø	flowing things

4	pl of 3	i-mi-	i-mi-	mi-	as in 3
5	sing	i-(li)-	li-	li-	miscell.
6	pl of 5	a-ma-	(e)-ma	ma-	as in 5
7	sing	i-si-	si-	si-	languages, tools
10	pl of 7	i-zi-	ti-	ti-	as in 7
9	sing	i-N-	i-N-	i- / N-	animals, etc
10/9	pl of 9 & 11	i-zi-N-	tiN-	ti-	as in 9 & 11
11	sing	u-lu-	lu-	lu-	trad. things
14		u-bu-	bu-	bu-	abstract
15		u-ku-	ku-	ku-	verbal nouns

Observations

1. Each noun belongs to a class, or grouping, often referred to as *grammatical gender*, according to :

    the shape of the noun prefix;
    the singular-plural correspondence,
    its syntactic behaviour or agreement pattern;
    the semantic content (which conditions the syntactic behaviour).

2. Due to the closeness of singular-plural correspondence, scholars such as Doke and Cope prefer to identify only eight classes, each (except 14 and 15) consisting of singular and plural. International scholarship, however, prefers to identify 15 or more classes, because one finds a wide variety of singular/plural correspondence systems across languages.

3. **Class 1 prefix** appears as **u-mu-** or **u-m-** in Zulu and Swati, the second allomorph conditioned by polysyllabic stems. Thus in Zulu *u-mu-ntu* (person), but *u-m-fundi* (learner). Also in Lala the **mu-** shows the possible allomorph **m-**, as in *m-fundzi* (learner); *m-lungu* (white person); *m-edi/m-enti* (doer); *m-akhi* (builder); etc. The last two examples evidently refer to vowel-commencing deverbative stems.

4. Zulu **Class 2 prefix a-ba-** shows the allomorphs **a-b-** and **a-be-**. In Swati the initial vowel **e-** is often deleted, and the allomorphs **be-** and **b-** also appear. Lala **ba-** only presents the allomorph **b-** in front of vowel commencing stems.

5. **Class 1a prefix** is **u-** in Zulu. In Swati it is generally Ø, except for a limited number of

kinship terms in which the **u-** is used. In Lala it is always Ø, as in *malume* 'maternal uncle'; *mana / mame / mhana* 'my/our mother'; *babekati/bawokati* 'paternal aunt'.

6.   **Class 3 prefix** follows the same rule as the Class 1 prefix as far as monosyllabic and disyllabic stems: Lala **mu-** presents the allomorph **m-** in front of polysyllabic noun stems, such as *m-gwaqo* (road); *m-hlanga* (reed); *m-shanelo* (broom). Class 3 polysyllabic nouns can further be found with a Ø prefix, such as *fula* (river); *lata* (old beer). Prefixes to polysyllabic stems present two further phenomena:

   (a)   If the stem-initial sound in sister languages is the lateral **[l]**, this changes to the alveolar nasal **[n]** and either the entire prefix is deleted or the **[m]** becomes assimilated to the **[n]**.   Ex. *um-lenze > nede; um-lotha > notha; um-lomo > nomo.*

   (b)   Where the stem commences with an aspirated voiceless sound, the **[m]** of the basic prefix is elided. Ex. *u-hlubulo; u-khono; u-fula; u-thunti.*

7.   **Class 3a** follows the morphology of class 1a (= Ø prefix in Lala), but is distinguished by the fact that class 3a nouns are not personal (semantic difference) and, consequently, behave differently in syntax (e.g *fowabo yena* [class 1a] vs. *watela wona* [class 3a]). A number of class 3a nouns are traditional (e.g. *nogwaja* 'hare'; *jeqe* 'home made bread'; *celemba* 'bush knife') while the majority are borrowed nouns, denoting mass, liquids, foodstuff, etc. (e.g. *bhontshisi* 'beans'; *gamthilini* 'gumtree'; *shiti* 'cheese'). In syntax class 3a nouns mostly adopt the concordial agreement system of class 3. The plural of this class (in class 2a) is very seldom utilized, and only to mean 'various kinds of'.

8.   As in classes 1 and 3, **classes 4** and **6** use no initial vowel in Lala, but only the Basic Prefix (**mi-** and **ma-**).

9.   Strong, or non-nasal, classes 5, 7, 10, 11, 14 and 15, make use of only the BPr in Swati, and, of course, in Lala. So while Zulu often elides the **-li-** , **-lu-** and **-bu-** BPr, Swati and Lala do not.

10.   According to a clear explanation found in Canonici (1996:16), the plural of class 7 is class 10 and not, as most books maintain, class 8 (which, according to Canonici, does not exist in Nguni). The argument is that PB Class 8 prefix *ßî/vî, which would appear in Nguni as **(i)vi-** (as in PB *ßîmba > Zu *-vimba* 'prevent'), does not exist in Nguni. The Zulu prefix **i-zi-**; Swati and Lala **ti-**, are reflexes of PB cl 10 **-lî/dî** (as it appears in the

pairs PB *galî/gadî > Zu. *igazi;* PB *kadî, > Zu. *umfazi;* etc.). As a consequence, the plural of class 7 is in class 10 (*i-zi- / ti-*), while the plural of classes 9 and 11 is in class 10/9, whose prefix contains the class 10 prefix **i-zi-/ti-** plus the class 9 homorganic nasal prefix **-N- (i-zi-N/ ti-N-)**. The homorganic nasal prefix adapts itself to the place of articulation of the following consonant, becoming a labial [m] before a bilabial consonant; a dentilabial [ɱ] before a dentilabial consonant; an alveolar [n] before an alveolar consonant; a palatal [ɲ] before a palatal consonant; and a velar [ŋ] before a velar consonant.

11. Lala does not employ palatalisation, therefore the Zulu 'irregular' prefixal formation of *utshwala* (beer) and *utshani* (grass) does not appear.

12. **Class 15 prefix u-ku- (Zulu) has the allomorphs of u-k- ~ u-kw-**, as the second vowel in the basic prefix is conditioned by a vowel beginning stem. The same conditioning appears in Swati and Lala, which, however, do not employ the initial vowel of the prefix; therefore **ku- / k- / kw-**.

13. No difference has been observed in the noun prefixal system of North and South Lala, although some younger members of the Ngcolosi community are now using the V-CV-prefixal system because they have learned Zulu at school.

5.2.3 Exemplification of Lala nouns

After presenting the Lala noun in a theoretical fashion in 5.2.2 above, it seems useful to give a number of examples of the class content of North and South Lala separately.

North Lala

The North Lala noun is formed by the class prefix plus the stem.

Examples:

Cl. 1.	munu	(person)
2.	banu	(people)
1a.	babe	(father)
2a.	bobabe	(fathers)
3.	muti	(homestead)
4.	miti	(homesteads)
3a.	jeqe	(home made bread)
5.	lisele	(frog)
6.	masele	(frogs)

7.	sitsha	(utensil)
10.	titsha	(utensils)
9.	iyabi	(ox)
10/9.	tiyabi	(oxen)
11.	ludzonga	(wall)
14.	butila	(laziness)
15.	kudla	(food)

South Lala

The South Lala noun is also formed by the noun class prefix plus the stem.

Examples:

Cl. 1.	mufi	(deceased person)
2.	bafi	(deceased persons)
1a.	malume	(uncle)
2a.	bomalume	(uncles)
3.	mutsi	(tree)
4.	mitsi	(trees)
3a.	bhontshisi	(beans)
5.	libutso	(soldier)
6.	mabutso	(soldiers)
7.	sifuba	(chest)
10.	tifuba	(chests)
9.	indzawo	(places)
10/9.	tindzawo	(places)
11.	lukhuni	(wood)
14.	bulima	(foolishness)
15.	kukhula	(to grow)

The use of the noun prefix by the young Lala generation is sometimes morphologically conditioned, following the Zulu system: the full prefix is preferred where the stem is monosyllabic, while a contracted form may be used where the stem is polysyllabic.

Examples:

u-mu-nu	(person)	(Class 1)
u-nwana	(child)	(Class 1)
u-mu-ti	(homestead)	(Class 3)
u-mu-tsi	(tree)	(Class 3)
u-timba	(body)	(Class 3)
u-mgodzi	(hole)	(Class 3)
u-mcebo	(wealth)	(Class 3)
i-ndzodza	(man)	(Class 9)
i-hhosana/i-yosana/i-hwosana	(chief's/king's son)	(Class 9)
i-nombatana	(young girl)	(Class 9)

Some Class 3 polysyllabic stems adopt the **u-m-** prefix, as in the following examples:

u-m-waka NL/u-m-naka SL (year)   (Class 3)
u-m-notsa NL/SL   (ash)   (Class 3)

5.2.4   Noun prefix as gender marker

Canonici (1996:27-32) stresses the idea, initially presented by Guthrie, Cope and other scholars, that the class prefix is a gender marker in Bantu languages. According to him, there is often confusion with regard to 'gender' because Romance languages, and to same extent also Saxon languages, identify grammatical gender with sex gender. Therefore 'gender' expresses 'masculine, feminine and neuter', criteria that are not reflected in the morphology of Bantu languages.

Canonici (1996:28) states that the Bantu class system reflects a 'natural gender system' whereby nouns are classified according to broad natural concepts, such as person (Classes 1 and 2; 1a and 2a), flowing and growing objects (Classes 3 and 4), animals (Classes 9 and 10/9), etc. The real marker of this classificatory system is the NPr, which then becomes the centre of the grammatical concordial system, called by early grammarians 'alliterative system' and by others 'grammatical gender system', whereby the class prefix of the noun is reflected in the prefixes of all the elements dependent on it and agreeing with it, as well as in the predicative concord, which serves as a bridge between the nominal nucleus and the predicative nucleus in the sentence.

The 'class concord' (or 'class gender marker') is derived from the BPr according to the rule that strong classes (= non-nasal classes) adopt the BPr as the concord, while weak classes (= nasal classes) only adopt the vowel in the BPr. Nominal sub-classes generally adopt the concord of the mother classes. Since this phenomenon permeates every aspect of Bantu grammar, it is to be expected that the general rule will have many different adaptations and practical variations, such as consonantalisation in front of vowels, elision, etc.

The most important regular system of concordial allomorphs refers to word initial and word medial position. In the latter one expects most phenomena to appear, as V-only concords need to be re-inforced by glides when they are between other syllables; or the vowel of CV concord is either elided or undergoes consonantalization. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
bark	i(li)xolo li-	licolo li-	lixolo li-	ligxolo li-

beast	inkomo i-	inkhomo i-	iyomo i-	iyomo i-
stomach	isisu **si-**	sisu **si-**	sisu **si-**	sisu **si-**
breasts	amabele **a-**	emabele **a-**	mabele **a-**	mabele **a-**
earth	umhlaba **u-**	umhlaba **u-**	hlaba **u-**	hlaba **u-**
feather	u(lu)phaphe **lu-**	lusiba **lu-**	luphaphe **lu-**	luphaphe **lu-**
hair	izinwele **zi-**	tinwele **ti-**	tinwele **ti-**	tinywele **ti-**
leg	umlenze **u-**	umlente **u-**	nede **u-**	nede **u-**
person	umuntu **u-**	umuntfu **u-**	munu **u-**	munhu **u-**

5.2.5 Adoptives in Lala

Lala has adopted many terms from other languages, especially English, Xhosa, Bhaca and Afrikaans. Even a superficial study of such nouns reveals, however, that Lala has adopted such nouns 'second hand', that is, after they had been adopted in Zulu, Xhosa, Bhaca. Notice that, especially in SL, sometimes a typical Nguni term is utilized in place of the more widely used adoptive.

Examples

Class 7 adoptives (nouns beginning in **s + Consonant** in the lending languages)

Zulu		**North & South Lala**
isi-peletu	(Afrik.speld) safety pin	si-peletu/ sidabuleni
isi-pikili	(Afrik.spyker) nail	si-pikili/ sikhonkwane
isi-pilingi	(Eng. spring)	si-pilingi
isi-tilobho	(Afrik.strop) strap	si-tilobho
isi-taladi	(Afrik. straat) street	si-taladi / mgwaqo
isi-tambu	(Afrik. stamp)	si-tambu
isi-timela	(Eng. steamer/train)	si-timela
isi-tofu	(Eng. stove)	si-tofu
isi-kele	(Afrik. skeermes)	si-kele
but: in-sipho	(Afrik. seep)	si-pho

English and Afrikaans initials in source words beginning with /sp/, /st/ or /sk/ are re-morphologised into Lala as two morphemes, with the /s/ of the cluster becoming the initial consonant of the class prefix.

Class 3a adoptives (foodstuff and mass nouns)

Zulu		North & South Lala
u-tamatisi	(tomato/es)	tamatisi
u-bhontshisi	(Afrik. boontjies) beans	bhontshisi
u-gilebhisi	(grapes)	gilebhisi
u-watela	(Eng. wattle)	watela
u-gamthilini	(Eng. gumtree)	gamthilini

Koopman (1994:223) considers the first three adoptive nouns as examples of suffixal interference, i.e. where Lala adopts the English and Afrikaans plural suffix, considering it non-morphemic.

There are a number of adoptives referring to churches, congregations and their practices; persons, language and status; miscellaneous derivations and fruits. Examples:

North Lala		South Lala
Krestu	(Christ)	Krestu (Class 1a)
buKrestu	(Christian way of life, Christianity)	buKrestu (Class 14)
liKrestu	(a Christian)	liKrestu (Class 5)
muKrestu	(a saintly person, a real Christian)	muKrestu (Class 1)
li-Weseli	The Methodist Church	li-Weseli (Class 5)
bu-Weseli	Customs and practices of the Methodist Church	bu-Weseli (Class 14)
mu- Weseli	Member of the Methodist Church	mu-Weseli (Class 1)
li-Tiyoni	The Zionist Church	li-Tiyoni (Class 5)
bu-Tiyoni	Customs and practices.	bu-Tiyoni (Class 14)
mu-Tiyoni	Member of the Zionist Church	mu-Tiyoni (Class 1)
li-Bhunu	Dutchman, Afrikaner	i-Bhunu (Class 5)
si-Bhunu	Dutch language, Afrikaans	si-Bhunu (Class 7)
bu-Bhunu	Dutch customs and habits	bu-Bhunu (Class 14)
li-Ngisi	English person.	li-Ngisi (Class 5)
si-Ngisi	English language	si-Ngisi (Class 7)
bu-Ngisi	English customs and habits	bu-Ngisi (Class 14)
gwava	(guava tree and fruit)	gwava
sigwava	(guava plantation)	sigwava
bhanana	(banana tree and fruit)	bhanana
si-bhanana	(banana plantation)	si-bhanana

It is quite clear that the morphology of the Lala noun closely follows that of other Nguni languages, but it has adapted to the peculiarities of the Lala dialect. To conclude this section one may quote Cole (1990:345) in Koopman (1994:260), who says this of adoptives:

> In the process of adoption they are adapted to their linguistic home and environment, phonologically, morphologically and often also semantically, just

as an adopted child adapts to the way of life and behaviour patterns and attitudes
of its new family.

The source nouns have adapted from the morphological systems of Afrikaans and English to
fit into the morphological system of Lala. The European system of plural suffixes has adapted
to the Bantu system of singular and plural noun class prefixes. The adaptations are such that Lala
speakers are no longer conscious that these words are not originally Lala words.

The above examples demonstrate that there are no substantial morphological differences
between North Lala and South Lala adoptives.

5.2.6 Derivation: Nouns derived from other parts of speech

The derivational system adopted by Lala to form new lexical items from its lexical bank
is similar to the system used by other Nguni languages. The system itself needs no real
explanation in this context, but it is felt useful to supply an extensive exemplification.

5.2.6.1 Nouns derived from verbs

A verb stem is nominalised (or de-verbalized) by placing a noun prefix in front of it and
by changing the final vowel from -a to either -i (personal noun) or -o (non-personal noun). This
system transforms the lexical item into a noun.

Examples: (These are common to both Lala dialects)

Personal nouns:

-busa	(govern)	mbusi	(governor)
-fundza	(learn)	mfundzi	(learner)
-khamba	(travel)	sikhambi	(traveller)
-alusa	(to herd)	malusi	(one who herds cattle)
-aluka	(to weave)	maluki	(one who weaves)

Non personal nouns:

-ona	(do wrong)	sono	(sin)
-ceba/qeba	(make a plan)	licebo/liqebo	(plan)
-tala	(give birth to)	ntalo	(progeny/offspring)
-sita	(give help)	sito	(help)

5.2.6.2 Nouns formed from adnominal stems

As in the other Nguni languages, Lala speakers prefix the class 14 bu- prefix to transform

an adnominal stem into its corresponding abstract noun.

Examples (Adjective stems):

North Lala		South Lala
bukhulu	(largeness)	bukhulu
buhle	(beauty)	buhle
budze	(wideness, length)	budze/bude
bubi	(ugliness)	bumbi
bunye	(oneness)	bunye
buningi	(multitude)	buningi/bunyenti
budzala	(age)	budzala/budala
bufushane	(smallness)	bufushane/bufutshane

Relative stems:

North Lala		South Lala
buhlophe	(whiteness)	buhlophe
bubadi	(width)	bubadi/bubanti
bungwevu	(greyness)	bungwevu/bungqoqa/bugqalashu
bumdzaka	(darkness)	bumdzaka/bumdaka/bumfipha
bumnandzi	(taste)	bumnandzi/bumnandi

5.2.6.3 Nouns formed by prefixing locative morphemes ka-, ke- and nge-.

Lala nouns are also formed by prefixing the locative formatives **ka- ke-** and **nge-**. This corresponds with Meinhof's locative class 17.

Examples:

North Lala		South Lala
kandle	(outside)	kandle
kasi	(underneath)	kasi
kesheya	(other side/across)	ngesheya
ketula	(on top)	ngetulu

5.2.6.4 Nouns formed by compounding

Some nouns, especially those referring to family relationships, can be formed by compounding the personal forms of the possessive with the nouns **-fo-** and **-dzadze.**

Examples:

North Lala		South Lala
fowetsu	(my/our brother)	fowetsu/fowethu
dzadzewetsu	(my/our sister)	dzadzewetsu/dadewethu

fowenu	(your brother)	fowenu
dzadzewenu	(your sister)	dzadzewenu
fowabo	(his/her brother)	fowabo
dzadzewabo	(his/her sister)	dzadzewabo

There is also a variation of -fo- used by South Lalas: **'mfabawo'** (instead of **'fowethu/fowetsu'** (my/our brother). A similar system applies to **nane/nana** (child) (originally 'nwana') and **khwena/khwema** (brother-in-law).

Examples:

North Lala   South Lala

nanewetsu/nanawetsu (our child)   nanewetsu/nanawetsu
                                        nanewethu/nanawethu
nanewenu/nanawenu (your child)   nanewenu/nanawenu
nanewabo/nanawabo (their child)   nanewabo/nanawabo
khwemawetsu (our brother-in-law)   khwemawetsu/khwemawethu
khwemawenu (your brother-in-law)   khwemawenu
khwemawabo (their brother-in-law)   khwemawabo

South Lalas sometimes use 'khwena' in place of 'kwema'.

Some family relationship nouns are formed by prefixing **mka-** (singular) and **bomka -** (plural) to possessive forms:

Examples:

North Lala   South Lala

mkami	(my wife)	mkami/ fatiwami
mkakho	(your wife)	mkakho/fatiwakho
bomkakhe	(his wife)	bomkakhe/bafatibakhe
bomkabo	(their wives)	bomkabo/bafatibabo

5.2.6.5 Compounding noun formation

Lala further uses the system of compounding two parts of speech, i.e. noun + noun, possessive + noun, verb + noun, etc., to form new lexical items.

North Lala		South Lala
nanebabe	(father's child = brother/sister)	nanebabe/ nanebawo
nanehhosi	(chief's/king's child)	nanewhosi/ naneyosi
ninimuti	(the owner of the homestead)	ninilikhaya/ ninikhaya
ninisibaya	(the owner of the cattle kraal)	ninisibaya
ndlalifa	(heir)	ndlalifa

5.2.7 Diminutive derivation

Lala, like Zulu and the other Nguni dialects, makes use of suffixes like **-ana** to form general diminutives; **-atane** to form feminine diminutives; while **-ati** and **-kati** are used as personal feminine suffixes, and **-kati** for non personal augmentatives.

Examples:

North Lala   South Lala

sikhatsana	(short time)	sikhatsana/sikhatshana
sikhotsana	(long grass)	sikhotsana/sikhotshana
ncwadzana/ncwadana	(small thin book)	ncwadzana/ncwadana
		nqwadzana/nqwadana
libhodzana/libhodana	(small board)	libhodzana/libhodana
nombatane	(thin young girl)	nombatane
yomati	(cow)	yomati/hwomati
mbwakati	(bitch)	mbwakati
fatikati	(fat tall married woman)	fatikati

The word *'fatikati'* is at times used in a derogatory sense, not meaning a fat tall married woman but a woman who deserves no respect at all. The original South Lala word for a married woman is *'fati'*, a term now used only to refer to a woman married according to traditional polygamous marriage. The chief's wife is *'yosikati'*. This term is now used as a sign of respect for a married woman, roughly corresponding to the English 'madam'. The term *'nokati'* is used by the Lalas to express appreciation of a well grown young woman. Nouns ending in **-e** and **-i** substitute the final vowel with **-ana** to form diminutives.

Examples :

North Lala   South Lala

livana	(small country)	livana
litshana	(small stone)	litshana
mavana	(few words)	mavana
masana	(small quantity of sour milk)	masana
yabana	(thin/small ox)	yabana

Where the final vowel is either **-u** or **-o**, the glide **-w-** is introduced before the introduction of the diminutive suffix **-ana**. **Examples:**

North Lala   South Lala

muphwana	(small quantity of mealie meal)	muphwana
lilumbwana	(small practise of witchcraft)	lilumbwana

nambwana	(a piece of string/cord)	nambwana
liphuphwana	(thin fledgeling)	liphuphwana
mukwana	(thin mouse)	mukwana

5.2.8 Nouns formed by stem reduplication

Lala, like Zulu, may form nouns by reduplicating the stems. In most cases reduplication of the stem reflects plurality.

Examples:

North Lala   South Lala

masokasoka (young men who are popular among girls)   masokasoka
mifulafula (many rivers)   mifulafula
minomonomo (many mouths)   minomonomo
mehloyihlo (many eyes)   mehloyihlo
mitimiti (many homesteads)   mitimiti
mitsimitsi (many different types of trees)   mitsimitsi
matsheyitshe (many different types of stones)   matsheyitshe

At times the copulative formative -yi- is infixed between two reduplicated monosyllabic stems, as in *mehloyihlo* and *matsheyitshe.*

5.2.9 Prefixal formatives ma-, so- and no-

Such prefixal formatives are used in Lala, as in Zulu. Nouns formed in this way are normally in Class 1a (singular) and 2a (plural).   **Examples**;

North Lala   South Lala

mangobe	(female cat with kittens)	mangobe
MaMyeni	(daughter of Myeni)	MaMyeni
Somandla	(the Almighty)	Somandla
somuti	(owner of the home)	somuti
nondlini	(good milking cow)	nondlini
nomoba	(one who likes to eat sugar cane)	nomoba

5.2.10 The lexical formatives sa-, nga- and singa-

The formative prefixes **sa-**, **nga-** and **singa-** add particular meanings to the noun stem.

Examples:

North Lala   South Lala

samunu (it looks like a person)   samunu
safula (it looks like a river)   safula

ngalutsi (it looks like a stick)   ngalutsi
ngabwani (it looks like grass)   ngabwani
singayosi/singahwosi (he/she is like a chief/king)   singahhosi/singayosi
      (i.e. he/she performs the duties of the chief in his/her absence).
singamoya   (it is like wind)   singamoya

5.2.11 Derivation by suffixation of the proper name formative -se

Some Lala names are formed by suffixing the name formative **-se.**

Examples:

North Lala		South Lala
Monase	(a greedy woman)	Monase
Nyawose	(man with large feet)	Nyawose
Khalase	(a peevish person)	Khalase
Khambase	(a person who is always moving around)	Khambase

5.2.12 Morphological similarities and differences between the two dialects

This is a brief summary of the points raised in connection with nominal formation.

(a)   The structure of the Lala noun prefix is CV, which is monomorphemic. One notices, however, that the younger generation of South Lala speakers are slowly changing to VCV, possibly through the influence of Zulu (taught in schools) and of Xhosa and Zansi.

(b)   North Lala uses the locative morphemes **ka-** and **ke-** to form nouns (old class 17), whereas South Lala uses **ka-** and **nge-.**

(c)   Lala nouns are also formed by compounding the possessive stems 1st Person Plural, 2nd Person Plural and class 2 respectively to nouns for *dzadze, nane, khwema, khwena* etc. In this, however, South Lala displays the considerable influence of Zansi

(d)   However, these differences between North and South Lala are very slim and marginal. This confirms the idea that Lala is a single dialect which is influenced by specific environmental factors, i.e. Zulu in the North and Zansi in the South.

5.3 Morphology of the dependent nominals

Dependent nominals are those roots and stems used as parts of the Noun Phrase which grammatically, syntactically and semantically depend on the noun nucleus. Grammatical dependence is expressed through the gender agreement system. In fact such stems do not have own independent prefixes, as the noun has, but make use of the prefix of the noun to which they

are linked. Therefore, while 'independent nominals' (= nouns) possess a short list of prefixes, 'dependent nominals' possess a long list, that is, all the class prefixes.

Traditionally, dependent nominals have been called 'pronouns', or 'adjectives' or 'relatives'. The Dokean school accepts the idea that such terms can 'substitute the noun', and can therefore be called 'pronouns'. Therefore, in traditional terminology, one speaks of *Absolute pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Quantitative pronoun* for elements that structurally precede and delimit the noun; and of *Adjectives* and *Relatives* for post-nominal qualifiers. In his 1957 paper , however, A.T. Cope suggested the term 'dependent nominals', which seems to better describe their morphological nature and syntactic function. A. Wilkes proved, in a 1976 paper, that Doke's 'substitutional approach' to the identification of 'pronouns' is wrong, because these nominals are mostly used 'together with' the noun rather than 'in place of' the noun, and that they normally have either an emphatic or an appositional function, which persists even when the noun is elided and they 'take the place of' the noun. Their pronominal function is therefore 'incidental' and not essential.

The morphological structure of dependent nominals presents some variety. It can be stated, however, that all such terms have a concordial element, a characteristic marker, and a stem. For example, the absolute for Class 2, **bona** (they, personal) can be analysed as:

b-   concordial element from *ba-*

-o-   morphological marker of pre-nominal elements

-na   'floating' absolute stem or emphatic stabilizer.

Dependent nominals can be divided into:

Pre-nominal delimitatives:	Absolute (-na ?)
("pronouns")	Quantitative: Inclusive (-nke)
	Exclusive (-dzi/jwa)
	Numeral inclusive
	Demonstrative **la-**
Post-nominal qualifiers:	Possessive
("adjectives and relatives")	Relativized qualificative stems. ('Adnouns')

As it will appear in the following explanation, Lala demonstratives are formed in the same way as post-nominal relativized stems. According to a large number of scholars, this demonstrates that the 'pointing' (or 'deictic') function should be considered as forming part of the wider process of relativization, which in turn could be interpreted as a system for identifying particular

terms. In this study - in spite of the similarity of formation - 'demonstrative' refers to the **la +
Concord** (in its various positions) that is used with nouns, while 'relativization element' refers
to **la + Concord** prefixed to a predicate to transform it into a qualifier.

5.3.1 Pre-nominal delimitators ("Pronouns")

As mentioned above, these are stems characterized by either the **-o- of reference**
(absolute and quantitative 'pronouns') or the demonstrative elements marked by the deictic **la-**.
The favourite position of most of these is 'before the noun', although they may be used also post-
nominally for special reasons, and 'delimit' the semantic field of the accompanying noun to
aspects such as 'the very one', 'all', 'only', etc.

In this study I have divided Lala pre-nominal elements (or 'pronouns') into two broad
categories: i.e. the absolute and quantitative, which share the morphological marker **-o-**; and the
demonstrative.

5.3.1.1 The absolute 'pronoun'

The absolute of classes 2 to 15 is formed by three formative elements, i.e.:

      (i)   the class concord;

      (ii)   the referential formative **-o-** ;

      (iii)   the stabiliser element **-na**.

There is a long-standing discussion among grammarians with regard to the nature of **-na**.
According to most, it cannot be considered a stem since it is elided in inflection. The absolute
should therefore be considered as 'stemless', or an element that must be either used in the
inflection of the quantitative, or used emphatically with the 'floating stabilizer' **-na**.

Another important aspect of the absolute is its personal forms for first and second persons
singular and plural, followed by all the dependent and long list inflection for third persons. These
strictly personal forms (1st, 2nd and 3rd 'persons') show interesting allomorphs of the -o- of
reference, which can be identified as : **{-o-}** : /**-o-** ∞ **-i-** ∞ **-e-**/.

The class concord undergoes the glide formation rule in weak classes and the vowel
elision rule in strong classes in front of the **-o- of reference**. Therefore we have:

Strong classes: **Concord + o + na. Examples:**

Class 2   b(a) + o + na   >   bona
Class 7   s(i) + o + na   >   sona

Class 11   l(u) + o + na   >   lona

Weak classes: {i - u} > {y - w} /   ___   / o- of reference.   **Examples:**
Class 9   i + o + na   >   yona.
Class 3   u + o + na   >   wona

A complete **table of the absolute 'pronoun'** follows:

Class No.	Gloss	**Zulu**	**Swati**	**N. Lala**	**S. Lala**
1st ps sing	I / me	mina	mine	mina	mhina
1st ps pl	we	thina	tsine	tsina	tsina/tshina
2nd ps sing	you	wena	wena	wena	wena
2nd ps pl	you	nina	nina	nina	nina
1	he/she	yena	yena	yena	yena
2	they	bona	bona	bona	bona
3	it	wona	wona	wona	wona
4	they	yona	yona	yona	yona
5	it	lona	lona	lona	lona
6	they	wona	wona	wona	wona
7	it	sona	sona	sona	sona
10 & 10/9	they	zona	tona	tona	tona
9	it	yona	yona	yona	yona
11	it	lona	lona	lona	lona
14	it	bona	bona	bona	bona
15	it	k(h)ona	khona	khona	khona

Baumbach (1987:159) explains the formation of the absolute in the 2nd person singular and plural and in class 1 in Tsonga. His ideas are summarised here. He explains that such forms consist of the following parts:

(a)   Subject concord,

(b)   Predicative element **-e/i**, plus

(c)   Stabiliser element **-na**

Examples from Tsonga:

2nd ps sing: *wena* < *uena, i.e. Subj. conc. **u-**; predic. **-e-**; stabiliser element **-na**

2nd ps pl: *n'wina* < *mwina <*muina, i.e. Subj.conc. **mu-**, pred. - **i-**, stabiliser **na**

Class 1: *yena* < *iena, i.e. subj. conc. **i-**, pred **-e-**, stabiliser **na**.

Although Baumbach's attempt might make sense for Tsonga, where dialectical variations are many and the difficulty lies in establishing the norm rather than the exception, I do not see how it could apply to Lala in a credible way. For example, the Subj. Conc. **mu-** (2nd ps pl) and **i-** (Class 1) seem very far from the Nguni heritage. This in spite of Baumbach's statement (in Zungu, 1989:129) that the subject concord **i-** (class 1) is still used in some Tsonga dialects and is derived from the pre-Tsonga era. Later **i-** was replaced by **u-** in most south Eastern Bantu languages under the influence of the second person singular. This latter statement seems rather improbable to a student of comparative Bantu languages.

The above table shows that there are no morphological differences between North and South Lala absolute, but only slight phonological variations. Wilkes (1987) however warns to be careful not to confuse the 'unabridged absolute' with the 'abbreviated' one which occurs when extra-nominal inflectional markers are prefixed. In such abbreviated forms a greater difference may be detected. My research, however, has failed to discover any substantial difference.

5.3.1.2 Morphology of the quantitative inclusive and exclusive 'pronoun'

Quantitative stems identify the noun in terms of quantity. They are:

'all' (inclusive)   **-nke** (Zulu and Lala);   **-nkhe** (Swati)

'only' (exclusive)   **-dwa** (Zulu) **-dvwa** (Swati); **-dzi** (N.Lala); **-jwa** (S. Lala)

Common adjective stems from two to five can also be used with an inclusive meaning ('the two of us', 'all four of them', etc.) and in this case they follow the morphology of the other quantitatives, that is:

Concord + -o- of reference + Basic Prefix + stem.

The allomorph **-e-** is used in place of the **-o- of reference** in some forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd 'persons' of the inclusive and exclusive 'pronoun', as in NL *ngedwa* (but SL *ngodzi*); Zu and Lala *wedwa*, as opposed to *nodwa, sodwa, bodwa; yena yedwa* in Zu and NL, vs. *yena wodzi* in SL. Consider the following examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
I only	ng-e-dwa	ng-e-dvwa	ng-o-dzi	ng-e-jwa
you all	n-o-nke	n-o-nkhe	n-o-nke	n-o-nke
both of us	s-o-ba-bili	s-o-ba-bile	s-o-ba-bile	s-o-ba-bini
all three of them	b-o-ba-thathu	b-o-ba-tsatfu	b-o-ba-tsatsu	b-o-ba-tsatsu
all four of them	z-o-zi-ne	t-o-ti-ne	t-o-ti-ne	t-o-ti-ne

Doke (1927:93) views quantitative as a pronoun because of the close resemblance of the quantitative concordial formative to those of the absolute, thus mixing morphological with purely syntactical criteria. However, Ziervogel (1952:63 and 1959:74) and Nkabinde (1975:35) point out that the quantitative concord differs in tone from that of the absolute. Furthermore, the distribution of the quantitative stem in the word does not correspond with that of the stem of the absolute. With Canonici (1996:45) I re-iterate the idea that the inclusive and exclusive quantitative should not be defined a 'pronoun' because its preferred usage is 'with the noun' and not 'in place of the noun'. Here follow some examples of the stem **-nke** in NL and SL.

North Lala   **South Lala**

tsina sonke   (all of us)   tsina / thina sonke
nina nodzi   (you alone)   nina nojwa
banu bodzi   (people alone) banhu bojwa
munu wonke   (every person) banhu bonke
yomo yonke   (the whole beast) yomo yonke

From the above exposition, the conclusion can be drawn that the differences between NL and SL with regard to the the quantitative consist in the stems **-dzi** and **-jwa**. Otherwise there are no other differences.

5.3.1.3 The 'demonstrative pronoun'

Doke(1990:90) describes the demonstrative in Zulu as follows:

In Zulu there are three positional types of demonstrative. The first demonstrative signifies 'this', 'these', indicating proximity to the speaker. The second demonstrative signifies 'that', 'those', indicating relative distance from the speaker. Third demonstrative signifies 'yonder', 'those 'yonder', indicating distance from the speaker and the one spoken to, but also indicating that the

object is within sight and pointed to.

From Doke's description it is clear that he highlights the deictic, or 'pointing' function of the demonstrative. One may be able to 'point to' at least three positions within seeing distance: here, there, over there. Also in Lala the three positions, manifested by morphological markers, are found. Endemann (1971:66-68) mentions another function of the demonstrative, i.e. that of 'relative position in time' (to refer to something that has been mentioned earlier), and therefore not only in space. He says:

> The demonstrative is a word indicating the position of the noun to which the demonstrative refers, relative to the speaker or narrator. This relative position is expressed in terms of either distance or time.

Ziervogel (1956:46), speaking of both Zulu and Swati, states that the suffix -na may be added to the demonstrative to indicate something vague and distant, as in *loyana*. In Swati the speaker may suffix more than one */-ya/* or */-yana/*, thus creating a 'forth position', in order to indicate the remoteness of an action or thing. In Lala, however, there is no suffixing of *-yana*, but *-wo* is suffixed to the monosyllabic demonstrative, while *-waya* is suffixed to the third position monosyllabic forms. Certain Lala speakers, when articulating **la-**, emphasise it by using the breathy voiced **lha-**, e.g. *lhana, lhona* etc.

Morphology of the demonstrative

As in all Nguni languages, the Lala demonstrative marker is the formative **la-**. As it is to be expected in a dependent nominal, this marker combines with the class concord to give rise to the basic form of the demonstrative, which is what we call "first position demonstrative."

A characteristic of Lala (both NL and SL) is the introduction of breathy voice on the lateral **[l]**, which thus can be perceived as **[lh]** in all the forms. The -a- in la- is raised by the retroactive influence of the vowel in the class concord. Where the concord is just the vowel (as in **u-, a-, i- = weak classes**), the resulting demonstrative is monosyllabic (i.e. **lo-, la-. le- = L + V2**). Where the concord is CV (= **strong classes**), the demonstrative appears as L + V2 + CONCORD.

Examples:

munu: la + u + munu   > lo munu   (this man)

live:	la + li + live	> leli (li)ve	(this country)
muti:	la + u + muti	> lo muti	(this homestead)
kudla	la + ku + kudla	> lok(h)u kudla	(this food)

In a number of Tekela dialects (e.g. Swati) the demonstrative can be found in four positions (as opposed to only three positions in Zulu).

The second position is formed by suffixing **-wo** and **-yo** to first position monosyllabic forms and changing **-i-** to **-o-** in polysyllabic forms. The third position is formed by suffixing **-wa** or **-ya** to the first position. The fourth position invariably ends in **-ya**. A comparative study of the tables of the demonstrative in NL and SL shows that there is no difference between the two dialects, except that in Class 15 North Lala aspirates the concordial element **[k]**, which thus appears as **[kh]** (e.g. *lokhu/ lhokhu; lokho/ lhokho; lokhuya / lhokuhuya*), while South Lala does not make use of the aspiration (e.g. *loku/lhoku; loko/lhoko; lokuya/lhokuya*).

Here follows the complete table of the demonstrative 'pronoun' for both dialects.

North Lala and South Lala Demonstratives

Class	Position 1	Position 2	Position 3	Position 4
1.	lo/lho	lowo/lhowo	lowa/lhowa	lowaya/lhowaya
2.	laba/lhaba	laba/lhaba	labaya/ lhabaya	labaya/ lhabaya
3.	lo/lho	lowo/lhowa	lowa/ lhowaya	lowaya/ lhowaya
4.	le/lhe	leyo/lheyo	leya/lheya	leya / lheya
5.	leli/lheli	lelo/lhelo	leliya/ lheliya	leliya / lheliya
6.	la/lha/ lawa/lhawa	lawo/lhawo	lawaya/lhawaya	lawaya/lhawaya
7.	lesi/lhesi	leso/lheso	lesiya / lhesiya	lesiya / lhesiya
10. & 10/9	leti/lheti	leto/lheto	letiya/ lhetiya	letiya / lhetiya
9.	le/lhe	leyo/lheyo	leya / lheya	leya / lheya
11.	lolu/lholhu	lolo/lholho	loluya / lholhuya	loluya / lholhuya
14.	lobu/lhobu	lobo/lhobo	lobuya/ lhobuya	lobuya/lhobuya
15.	lokhu/lhokhu	lokho/lhokho	lokhuya/lhokhuya	lokhuya/lhokhuya
SL	loku/lhoku	loko/lhoko	lokuya/lhokuya	lokuya/lhokuya

5.3.2 The post-nominal qualifiers (Adnominal)

The group of dependent nominals that normally follows the Noun in the Noun Phrase is made up of relatively inflected predicates (Doke's 'adjectives and relatives', nominal predicates, verbal predicates, etc.). Apart from the so-called 'adjective and relative stems', also referred to as 'adnominals' by Unisa scholars, the qualificative function is fulfilled by other parts of speech

whose predicative function is 'relativized'. Another element identified as 'possessive pronoun' by Doke, which also post-nominally qualifies the Noun, is in reality a simple possessive nominal inflection. I am now going to present the Lala manifestations of what Doke calls 'adjectives' and 'relatives'.

5.3.2.1 'Adjectives'

Most grammarians of Nguni languages agree that there are two groups of stems which fulfil the post-nominal qualificative function in the sentence. There is considerable confusion, however, as to whether the qualificative function is their primary or their secondary one from the morphological point of view. African scholarship in South Africa is still dominated by the colossal figure of C.M. Doke, and most universities, as well as school syllabi, follow the tenets of the Dokean school, with marginal modifications. One scholar who dared making a radical departure from Doke's system is A.T. Cope, whose method is followed by N.N. Canonici in his books on Zulu, on Comparative Kintu, and on the Nguni languages.

Canonici (1996:41-54) agrees that Zulu has two groups of stems that often act as qualifiers, but he insists that they can only 'qualify the noun' when their basic predicative function is transformed by means of the 'relative transformation.'

The 'predicative function' is characterized by the use of the Subject Concord, or the Class Concord identifying the subject of the action or status. The relitivizing element, which for Zulu and Xhosa is called 'the relative vowel', but for Tekela is constituted by the L/N + V2 , is prefixed to the predicative form, which is thus 'relativized' (SL may use NA in place of LA).

Doke's 'Adjectives' (called 'Common Adjectives' by Cope and his followers) have the added characteristic of taking the Basic Prefix (BP), which leads to the constitution of a kind of 'dependent stem', formed by the BP and the root, to which the Class concord is prefixed. The 'Concord deletion rule' states that the Subjectival Concord is not used in present tense positive uninflected forms of classes 1 to 15. Doke's 'Relatives' (called 'Noun Adjectives' by Cope's school) prefix the Subjectival Concord to their stems, which may or may not contain 'fossilized nominal prefixes' (e.g. *buhlungu* 'painful' contains the fossilized class prefix *bu-*).

The relativization process is applicable to most predicates, be they verbal or non-verbal.

Examples of North Lala 'Adjectives':

Predicate: Mina ngi-mu-dze .   Qualificative: Mina le-ngi-mu-dze ngiyawa.
              (I am tall.   I, who am tall, am falling down)
              Munu m-khulu.   Munu lomkhulu uyagula   (Class 1)
              (The person is big.   The big person is sick)
              Gogo muhle.   Gogo lomuhle uyalila   (Class 1a)
              (Granny is lovely   The lovely granny is weeping)
              Mutsi mudze.   Mutsi lomudze uwile (Class 3)
              (The tree is tall   The tall tree has fallen)
              Litshe libi.   Litshe lelibi liyasika   (Class 5)
              (The stone is bad   The bad stone is cutting)
              Munu musha.   Munu lomusha uyafunda (Class 1)
              (The person is young.   The young person is reading)
              Tomo tiningi   Tomo letiningi tiyadla (class 10/9)
              (The cattle are many   Many cattle are grazing)
              Munu mdzala   Munu lomdzala uyahleka   (Class 1)
              (The person is old.   The old person is laughing)
              Fwana mfishane.   Fwana lomfishane uyagula (class 1)
              (The boy is short   The short boy is sick)

Examples from South Lala 'Adjectives'

              Munhu mkhulu   Munhu nomkhulu/lomkhulu uyagula   (Class 1)
              (The person is big.   The big person is sick)
              Gogo muhle   Gogo nomuhle/lomuhle uyamamatseka   (Class 1a)
              (Granny is beautiful.   The beautiful granny is smiling)
              Mutsi mudze.   Mutsi nomudze/lomudze uwile (Class 3)
              (The tree is tall.   The tall tree has fallen down)
              Litshe limbi.   Litshe nelimbi/lelibi liyasika   (Class 5)
              (The stone is bad.   The bad stone is cutting)
              Munhu musha.   Munhu nomusha/nomutsha/lomutsha/lomusha uyafundza (Cl 1)
              (The person is young.   The young person is reading)
              Tomo tinyedi.   Tomo netinyedi/netiningi/letinyedi/letiningi tiyadla   (Cl 10/9)
              (The cattle are many.   Many cattle are grazing)

Morphological differences between North and South Lala 'Adjectives'

The main difference between the two dialects is that SL makes use of both **la-** and **na-** as relative/demonstrative markers, while NL only uses **la-**. A number of scholars have argued that the relativizing element was originally the same as the demonstrative. Nkabinde (1975:45) for example rationalises along such lines when he states:

> The demonstrative **obu-** has lost the initial -**l**- and merged with the EC **bu-** in such a manner that one of the **bu-**'s is lost and the concord is reduced from a trisyllabic to a disyllabic formative.

Also Ziervogel (1961:192) is in agreement with Nkabinde on this. Canonici (1996:44) also mentions the possibility in his discussion of the relative marker in Zulu, Xhosa and Swati.

5.3.2.2 **Relative**

As mentioned above, the Lala (and Swati) relativization process is brought about by the use of the 'demonstrative **la-**' whose **-a-** is raised according to the retroactive influence of the concord vowel. In weak (or nasal) classes the nasal has already been elided to form the concord, and the relative marker is monosyllabic (**la-, lo-, le-**). In strong (or non-nasal) classes the relative marker is disyllabic.

Weak classes:	**La + V2 >**	**la-, lo-, le-**
Strong classes:	**La + V₂ + Conc. >**	**laba, leli, lesi, leti, lolu, lobu,** etc.

Examples:

la + mu > lo
la + li > leli

The demonstrative element is prefixed to a Predicative Phrase, which may be either a verbal or a nominal predicate, to transform it into a qualificative cluster. Doke's so called 'relative stems' are only part of the bases used by Bantu languages for relativization. Other bases are verbs, nouns inflected by extra-nominal elements, some pre-nominal delimitators, 'adjectives', etc. In the following examples the so-called 'relative bases' are used.

Examples: North Lala

Pred.	Wena ubovu	Qual.	Wena lobovu
	(You are red.		You, the red one)
	Mina ngimnandzi		Mina lengimnandzi
	(I am nice		I who am a nice person)
	Munu uqotso		Munu loqotso uyalalela (Class 1)
	(A person is honest		An honest person listens)
	Gogo uhlophe		Gogo lohlophe uyagula (Class 1a)
	(Granny is white.		The white granny is sick)
	Gogo ungwevu.		Gogo longwevu uyahloniphwa (Class 1a)
	(Granny is grey.		The grey granny is respected)
	Fwana umdzaka		Fwana lomdzaka uyakhala (Class 1)
	(The boy is black.		The black boy is crying)

Munu umnandzi.	Munu lomnandzi muhle (Class 1)
(The person is nice.	The nice person is good)

South Lala

Munhu uqotso.	Munhu noqotso/noqotho uyalalela (Class 1)
(The person is honest.	The honest person listens)
Gogo uhlophe.	Gogo nohlophe uyagula (Class 1a)
(Granny is white.	The white granny is sick)
Gogo ungwevu.	Gogo nongwevu uyahloniphwa (Class 1a)
(Granny is grey.	The grey granny is respected)
Fwana umdzaka.	Fwana nomdzaka uyakhala (Class 1)
(The boy is black.	The black boy is crying)
Munhu umnandzi.	Munhu nomnandzi/nomnandi muhle (Class 1)
(The person is nice.	The nice person is good)

The above examples clearly demonstrate the approach adopted in the present study with regard to the relativization process. To make the discussion more complete one would need to go into several other aspects, such as the different tenses of the predicate, relativization of vowel commencing verbal stems, etc. I feel that what has been explained here is sufficient to justify the general framework of my approach, which is largely based on Canonici's 1996 *Zulu Grammatical Structure,* because this work contains the most recent scholarship on the subject and integrates it with Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar.

5.3.2.3 The enumerative, or Irregular adjectives

What Doke calls 'Enumeratives' are referred to by Cope as 'Irregular Common Adjectives'. In Lala, as is the case in Swati and Zulu, the stems falling into this category are:

-phi?	(Which? Which one?)
-ni?	(What kind?)
-mbe	(Another)
-nye	(One, only one)

Doke (1990):112) defines the enumerative as:

> A word which qualifies the substantive, and is brought into concordial agreement with the substantive by the enumerative concord.

Doke is quick in identifying an 'enumerative concord', which would set these stems apart from other 'adjectives'. Cope, however, argues that these stems have no special concord, as they make use of the dependent Basic Prefix in their inflection, and are therefore similar to the 'common

adjectives', with minor exceptions. This is clear in the following Lala examples:

North Lala	**South Lala**
munu munye	munhu munye
(only one person)	(only one person)
munu muphi?	munhu muphi?
(which person?)	(which person?)
banu baphi?	banhu baphi?
(which people?)	(which people?)
live liphi?	live liphi?
(which country?)	(which country?)
kudla kuni?	kudla kuni?
(which food?)	(which food?)
munu mumbe	munhu mumbe
(a different person)	(a different person)

The examples show that there are no morphological differences between North and South Lala enumeratives.

5.4   Extra - nominal inflectional processes

Extra-nominal prefixal elements are affixed to nominals to change their case or syntactic function. These prefixes are affixed to full words, not just to stems or roots. They are therefore described as 'secondary inflectional markers', which produce 'Prepositional Phrases' . The morpho-phonological consequences of such processes have been illustrated above, in section 4.5, **Phono-morphological processes**. Only processes not dealt with there will be treated here.

The extra-nominal prefixal processes are the following:

Associative inflection with **na-** (with)

Instrumentive inflection with **nga-** (with, by means of)

Comparative inflection with **njenga-** (like, as), **nganga-** (as big as), **kuna-** (more than).

Agentive inflection with **y(i)-, ng(u)-** (it is)

Locative inflection with **ku-, e- . . . ini**

Possessive inflection with the Class concord + **-a- of possession.**

The first three processes (associative, instrumentive, comparative) involve vowel replacement or vowel coalescence and have been dealt with sufficiently in 4.5 above. Here I am going to give only few examples not covered in the previous chapter, and then concentrate on the last three processes, beginning with the last one, the possessive inflection.

The comparative morpheme **kuna-** is prefixed to the nominals to form manner adverbials.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
kunendzodza	kunendzodza
(in comparison with a man)	(in comparison with a man)
kunofwana	kunofwana
(in comparison with a boy)	(in comparison with a boy)
kunami	kunami
(compared to me)	(compared to me)
kunatsi	kunatsi
(compared to us)	(compared to us)

The adverbial inflectional morpheme **nga-** is prefixed to nominals to mean 'by means of, with, by the use of, as regards to' etc (relation and instrumental), as in the following examples:

North Lala	South Lala
ngelitshe/ngetshe	ngelitshe
(with a stone/ by using a stone)	
ngotsi/ngolutsi	ngotsi/ngolutsi
(with a stick/with use of a stick)	
ngabo	ngabo
(with them/with the use of them, in relation to them)	
ngatsi	ngatsi
(with us/with reference to us)	

The adverbial inflectional morpheme **njenga-** is prefixed to nouns to mean 'like'.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
njengabanu	njengabanhu
(just like people)	
njengefene	njengefene
(just like a baboon)	
njengeyawu	njengeyawu
(just like a monkey)	

Nganga- is prefixed to nouns to mean 'as big as'.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
ngangeyomo/hhomo	ngangeyomo/hhomo
(as big as a bovine)	

ngangeyabi	ngangeyabi
(as big as an ox)	
ngangemamba	ngangemamba
(as big as a mamba)	

The adverbial formative morpheme **ka-** is prefixed to 'adjective' or 'relative' stems to transform them into adverbs of manner.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
kabi	kambi
(badly)	
kahle	kahle
(well)	
kancane	kancane
(a little)	

ka- can also be prefixed to a number noun to form an ordinal number.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
kanwe	kanye
(once)	
kabili	kabili
(twice)	
katsatsu	katsatsu
(three times)	

Primary adverbs are formed in diverse ways in Nguni. Few examples will be given to demonstrate such ways in Lala.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
kuqala	kuqala/kucala
(first, initially)	
kuphela	kuphela
(only)	
kodzi	kojwa/kodwa
(only)	

South Lala at times prefer to use 'kojwa' instead of 'kuphela'.

5.4.1 The possessive inflection

The possessive inflection brings together as a unit two elements in the sentence, the possessee and the possessor, linking them by means of the **-(k)a- of possession**. The **-k-** is used in Zulu for Class 1a possessor nouns, but Swati makes use of the vowel substitution rule for the same purpose, and Lala only uses vowel coalescence rules. Syntactically the possessive inflection means that a part of speech enters into the post-nominal qualificative slot, but in a way that is different from the relative.

5.4.1.1 The possessive concord

The **possessive concord** consists of the **Class concord of the possessee plus the -a- of possession**. It is logical to expect two processes to take place: either the elision or the consonantalization of the class concord vowel (= glide formation); the coalescence (= vowel raising) of the -a- of possession with the initial vowel of the following noun or nominal. In Lala, vowel coalescence takes place in classes 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 10/9, and 11; consonantalization takes place in classes 1, 3, 4, 9, 14 and 15.

Examples

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S.Lala
beauty of man	ubuhle bendoda	buhle bendvodza	buhle bendzodza	buhle bendzodza
Sipho's hair	izinwele zikaSipho	tinwele taSipho	tinwele taSipho	tinywele taSipho
Boy's medicine	umuthi womfana	mutsi wemfana	mutsi wofwana	mutsi wofwana
man's home	umuzi wendoda	muti wendvodza	muti wendzodza	muti wendzodza
my boy	umfana wami	umfana wami	fwana wami	fwana wami
my dog / the dog is mine	inja yami / (ng)eyami inja	inja yami / inja yami	imbwa yami / imbwa yami	imbwa yami / imbwa yami

In the copulative use of the last example, Zulu makes use of the relative vowel, while Tekela does not.

5.4.1.2 Pronominal Possessive stems

Doke speaks of "pronominal possessive stems", which are, in fact, the absolute used in possessive constructions. Some personal forms of the absolute are exceptional in the possessive environment, namely (Zulu):

thina	>	*i-thu*	*a + ithu*	>	*ethu*
wena	>	*-kho*	*a + kho*	>	*akho*
nina	>	*-inu*	*a + inu*	>	*enu*
yena	>	*-khe*	*a + khe*	>	*akhe*

Lala examples

	North Lala	**South Lala**
1st Person	a + mi > ami	a + mi > ami
	a + itsu > etsu	a + ithu/a + itsu > ethu/etsu
2nd Person	a + kho > akho	a + kho > akho
	a + inu > enu	a + inu > enu
3rd Person		
Class 1	a + khe > akhe	a + khe > akhe
Class 2	a + bo > abo	a + bo > abo
3.	a + wo > awo	a + wo>awo
4.	a + yo > ayo	a + yo > ayo
5.	a + lo > alo	a + lo > alo
6.	a + wo > awo	a + wo > awo
7.	a + so > aso	a + so > aso
10. & 10/9	a + to > ato	a + to > ato
9.	a + yo > ayo	a + yo > ayo
11.	a + lo > alo	a + lo > alo
14.	a + bo > abo	a + bo > abo
15.	a + ko > ako	a + kho > akho

It is clear that Doke's 'pronominal possessive stems' are forms of the absolute. The marginal variations of the personal forms can easily be considered as allomorphs of the absolute. One could further remark that S L makes use of *'akho'* instead of *'ako'*.

The possessive inflection can be used with most nominal parts of speech, either directly or through the mediation of the absolute. I am here supplying examples of the possessive inflection of the quantitative, which makes use of the absolute mediation, and of the demonstrative, which makes use of a direct form of inflection, that is, of the simple possessive concord.

5.4.1.3 Possessive of the quantitative

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
House of all the boys	indlu yabo bonke abafana	indlu yabo bonkhe bafana	indlu yabo bonke bafwana	indlu yabo bonke bafwana
Father of the four boys	uyise wabo bobane abafana	yise wabo bobane bafana	yise wabo bobane bafwana	yise wabo bobane bafwana

5.4.1.4 Possessive of the demonstrative

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
People of this place	abantu bale ndawo	bantfu bale ndzawo	banu bale ndzawo	banhu bale ndzawo
The head of that child	ikhanda laleya ngane	inhloko yaleya ngane	hloko yaleya ngane	hloko yaleya ngane

The possessive inflection shows a remarkable regularity throughout the languages under observation. No real differences can be detected between the two Lala dialects in this respect.

5.4.2 Identificative/ agentive inflection

A nominal is identified for various reasons, e.g. for saying that it performs an action, or that it is the very one being spoken about. It is therefore clear that the identificative inflection serves as the basis for the agentive inflection, which specifically identifies the 'agent' of an action. In the Nguni present tense uninflected forms it is enough to inflect a nominal indicatively in order to identify it as the agent. In inflected forms as well as in non-present tenses, the class concord may need to be added to achieve the same results.

The most common way of agentively inflecting a noun is to lower the tone of its initial syllable. Other techniques are however also found, as demonstrated by the following table.

Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
y- (+i) y-indoda	y-ìndvodza	yindzodza	yindzodza
w- (+u) w-umuntu	mùntfu	wu-/ngu-munu	wu-/hhu-munhu

ng- (+u, o, a) ng-ubaba	ngùbabe	ngubabe	ngubawo
l- (Cl 5 & 11) l-itshe, yitshe	litje	litshe, yilitshe	litshe, yilitshe, hhilitshe
l-u-phondo	lùphondvo	lùphondzo	lùphondzo

The above examples make it clear that there is a wide correspondence in the identificative / agentive inflection system among the three languages. SL makes prevalent usage of **hh-** as an agentive prefix in front of both **u-** and **i-**. This feature is also marginally found in Zulu and Swati.

The **absolute 'pronoun'** is agentively inflected by the use of **yi-** (except for **ngu-** for *wena* and *yena*) in Zulu and in Swati. North Lala follows the same general rule, but further allows the use **ngu-** and **wu-** for *sona, tona, bona*. South Lala prefixes **hhu-, hwu-** or **hhi-** to *yena, bona, wona, lona, sona, tona*.

The **demonstrative** is inflected agentively as follows:

> Zulu prefixes **yi-** to all forms (*yilo; yilaba; yilabaya*), but **wu-** is possible in front of class 1 forms (*wulo muntu; wulowo makhi; wulowaya mfazi*).
> Swati prefixes **ngu-** to all forms (*ngulo; nguloyi; ngulabayana*).
> North Lala prefixes **yi-** to all classes (*yilo; yilowo; yilowa; yilowaya*).
> South Lala prefixes either **hhi-** or **yi-** to all classes:
>> (*hhilo / yilo;   hhilowo / yilowo;   yilowaya / hhilowaya*)

5.4.3   Locative inflection

This is used to indicate place or time. A nominal is transformed into a complement of place or time by means of the locative inflection, that is: 'to, from, at, in, on, by'.

A variety of markers are used to indicate the locative inflection, some partly resembling the dead locative classes 16, 17 and 18. The two main ones are:

> **ku-** followed by nouns of specific classes (1 and 2), or by the absolute, the demonstrative or a qualificative;
>
> **e- .... -ini** used with nouns of classes 3 to 15.

Both forms have a number of allomorphs, as demonstrated by the following tables.

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
to me	kimi	kimi	kimi	kumina
to us	kithi	kitsi	litsi	kitsi
to them (Cl 2)	kubo	kubo	kubo	kubo
to it (Cl 7)	kuso	kuso	kuso	kuso
to those ones	kulabo	kulabo	kulabo	kulabo
to the boy	kumfana	kumfana	kufwana	kufwana
to father	kubaba	kubabe	kubabe	kubawo
to mother	kumama	kumake	kumame	kumanha

Nouns from classes 3 to 15 use the locative markers e- . . . -ini (the suffix may have allomorphs caused by the last vowel of the noun to be inflected). North Lala, however, makes use of the locative marker ke- . . . -ini.

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
at the mountain	entabeni	entsabeni	kenabeni	enabeni
at the ash	emlotheni	emlotseni	kenotseni	enotseni
in the chest	esifubeni	esifubeni	kesifubeni	esifubeni

Locative inflection causes palatalization of bilabial sounds in Zulu and Swati before the addition of the -ini suffix. Since palatalization does not occur in Lala, the problem is not dealt with or discussed here. Cf the following examples for comparative purposes:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
in the mouth	emlonyeni	emlonyeni	enomweni	enomweni
in the bone	ethanjeni	etsanjeni	etsambweni	etsambweni
in the lung	ephashini	eliphashini	eliphaphwini	eliphaphwini

One finds instances of nouns which are normally inflected with the first pattern, that is, by the

prefixation of **ku-**, being rarely also inflected with the second pattern. Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
to the person	emuntwini	emuntfwini	(k)emunwini	emunhwini
to the woman	emfazini	emfatini	(k)efatini	efatini
to the builder	emakhini	emakhini	(k)emakhini	emakhini

As is the case in Zulu and Swati, also in Lala one finds nouns that only take the **e-** locative prefix but do not take the **-ini** suffix. Examples:

Glass	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
at home	ekhaya	ekhaya	ekhaya	ekhaya
on the head	ekhanda	ekhandza	ekhanda	ekhanda
at back of head	esiphundu	esiphundzu	esiphundzu	esiphundzu

One may briefly mention that even relativized elements can be inflected locatively by the prefixation of the **k- ~ kw-** marker. Examples:

k-omkhulu
kw-enhle.

5.5 The verbal predicate

The second section of any sentence - after that of the Noun Phrase - is the Predicate Phrase. In the present study of Lala, the exposition of this particular section shall have two main sectors, namely the verbal root, with its morpho-phonetic characteristics, and the inflectional markers of the predicate, which signify categories such as mood, tense, aspect, actuality, etc. The idiomatic use of auxiliary verbs often distinguishes dialects of the same cluster. For this reason some attention has been given to Lala auxiliary verbs.

5.5.1 The verbal root

While the nominal root is characterized by the fact that it ends in a vowel, the verbal root is distinguished by the fact that it ends in consonant. The final vowel of the verb is, in fact, an identifiable morpheme which reveals either actuality (i.e. positive / negative), or tense. Verb roots can be divided according to the number of syllables that compose them. They can be either monosyllabic or polysyllabic roots, as shown in the following example:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
die	-f-	-f-	-f-	-f-
dry	-om-	-om-	-om-	-om-
bite	-lum-	-lum-	-lum-	-lum-
fear	-esab-	-esab-	-esab-	-esab-
kill	-bulal-	-bulal-	-bulal-	-bulal-

Here follow some further examples of verbal roots in North and South Lala.

      North Lala   **South Lala**

(i)   Monosyllabic roots (final vowel included for easy reference)

      -dla (eat)   -dla
      -ya (go)   -ya
      -va (hear)   -va

(ii)   Disyllabic roots

      -tsandza (love)   -tsandza/ -thanda (Celes/Luthulis)
      -khamba (go)   -khamba/ -yamba

(iii)   Polysyllabic roots

      -sebeda (work)   -sebeda (Bombos/Chiliza) -sebenta
      -khuluma (speak)   -khuluma

(iv)   **Stem reduplication**
      Reduplication of verb stems expresses the meaning of actions done 'a little'.
      North Lala   **South Lala**
      -dlayidla (eat a little)   -dlayidla
      -yayiya (go a little)   -yayiya
      -vayiva (hear a little)   -vayiva

These monosyllabic verb stems infix **-yi-.** However, disyllabic stems are different because there is no infixation of any formative.

North Lala   **South Lala**

-tsandzatsandza (love a little)   -tsandzatsandza
-khambakhamba (walk a little)   -khambakhamba/ -yambayamba
-lumaluma (bite a little)   -lumaluma

In polysyllabic stems 'a little' is expressed by reduplication of the first two syllables.

North Lala	South Lala
-sebesebeda (work a little)	-sebesebeda
-khulukhuluma (speak a little)	-khulukhuluma
-tsulutsulula (take out a little)	-tsulutsulula

It can be seen from the above examples that there are no morphological differences between North and South Lala as far as verb stems are concerned.

5.5.2 Auxiliary verbs

These constitute a very substantial part of the grammar of any Nguni language, because they help identify actuality, aspectual elements, possibility, tense, and a host of other elements that render the speech both colourful and genial, with very interesting turns of the sentence that captivate the listener and challenge the speaker. Auxiliary verbs are dealt with here very briefly. In fact, they are so numerous that it would be very difficult even to list them.

An auxiliary verb helps other verbs to form verb phrases. Stubb (1986:10) succinctly states that the auxiliary verb is:

> A 'word' that has no complete meaning in itself. A main feature .... is that it is unable to stand on its own. It must always be followed by a main verb which is either in the subjunctive, or participial or infinitive mood.

The 'main verb' that follows the 'auxiliary' is also called 'complementary verb', because it is helped, or 'completed' by the auxiliary in its conjugation.

Nkabinde (1986:25) classifies auxiliary verbs in three classes:

Class 'A': the stems of the auxiliary are structurally identical with those of ordinary verb stems. Such auxiliary verbs appear to be 'achievement' verbs.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
-tama	-tama
-qala	-qala/cala
-linga	-linga
-qondza	-qondza
-phuta	-phuta
-cabanga	-cabanga
-funa	-funa

-tshetsha   -tshetsha/shesha
-tsandza   -tsandza

Class 'B' auxiliaries are also similar to ordinary verbs, but their final vowel is different. In brackets are given corresponding ordinary verb in each case.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
-buye (-buya)	-buye
-ye (-ya)	-ye
-vele (-vela)	-vele
-khambe (-khamba)	-khambe
-suke (-suka)	-suke
-qedze (-qedza)	-qedze
-citsho (-citshe/cishe)	-citsho
-mane (-mana)	-mane
-phose (-phosa)	-phose
-melwe / mele (mela)	-melwe/mele
-sale (-sala)	-sale
-te (-ta)	-te
-hlale (-hlala)	-hlale
-fwane (-fwana)	-fwane

Nkabinde further identifies a **Class C** of auxiliary. According to him, the difference between auxiliary verbs in classes A and B, and those in this class C, is that these latter ones do not look like ordinary verb stems.

Examples

North Lala	South Lala
sengatsi	sengatsi
kodzi	kojwa
selokhu	selokhu
maqedze	maqedze
kadze	kadze
noma	noma
nanxa	nanxa
kanti	kanti
kepha	kepha
kambe	kambe

I am supplying a few examples hereunder to illustrate the important function that auxiliary verbs fulfil in Lala speech.

The past tense with **-dze** is considred a continuous past tense. It is also considered a 'compound tense' because it is constructed with the auxiliary (or deficient) verb **-dze** plus a 'complementary verb' which carries the main lexical meaning. The auxiliary **-dze** denotes that the action or state expressed by the main or complementary verb was continuing in the past.

The full form of the conjugation shows that **-dze** has its own concord, and is followed by the main verb with its own concord. Both concords refer to the same subject, although the main verb is in the participial mood.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
Ngidze ngibona	Ngidze ngibona
(I was seeing)	(I was seeing)
Ngidze ngikhala	Ngidze ngikhala
(I was crying)	(I was crying)
Ngidze ngishaya	Ngidze ngishaya
(I was beating)	(I was beating)

The negative form shows even more clearly how the auxiliary verb conditions the use of the participial form in the main verb. The examples are from North and South Lala:

Ngidze ngingaboni	Ngidze ngingaboni
(I was not seeing)	(I was not seeing)
Ngidze ngingakhali	Ngidze ngingakhali
(I was not crying)	(I was not crying)
Ngidze ngingashayi	Ngidze ngingashayi
(I was not beating)	(I was not beating)

The predicative exclusive aspect is indicated by means of auxiliary verb **-se** in Zulu, Swati and Lala. The full compound predicate consists of **-se** with its subject concord plus the main verb in the participial mood with its subject concord. The initial concord is often elided in speech.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
Bese ngikhamba	Bese ngikhamba
(I was already going)	(I was already going)
Bese ngilwa	Bese ngilwa
(I was already fighting)	(I was already fighting)
Bese ngishaya	Bese ngishaya
(I was already beating)	(I was already beating)

The auxiliary -se indicates that the action has just been started or was carried out at a certain time. Van Dyk (1960) gives a long list of Lala auxiliary verbs. One may notice, however, that some of them do not seem used in both dialects, as demonstrated by the following:

Aba*bonange* bafundze NL
Aba*bonate* bafundze NL
(They did not learn) NL
U*tonce* aye lekhaya NL
(He/She will soon go home)

Aba- is constituted by the negative formative **a-** and by the negative Subject Concord **-ba-** prefixed to the auxiliary verb, which appears as *bonange/bonate*. **U-** is also a subject concord prefixed to the future marker **-to-** used with *-nce*, which is an auxiliary form. The equivalent of *ababonange/ababonate* in South Lala is *abatange* which is common in both North and South Lala, as well as in Swati (and in Zulu as *-zange*).

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
Abatange bafundze	Abatange bafundze
(They did not learn)	(They did not learn)
Abatange bakhambe	Abatange bakhambe
(They did not go)	(They did not go)

Wilkes (1981) remarks that the auxiliary verb stem **-ve** originated from Bhaca. This auxiliary introduces the participial negative in the complementary verb. It is used in both Lala dialects.

Examples

North Lala	**South Lala**
Angive ngingakhambi	Angive ngingakhambi/angiyambi
(I do not go at all)	(I do not go at all)
(I never travel)	(I never travel)

5.5.3 Verbal conjugation

It would be a very laborious and tedious task to go through all aspects of the verbal conjugation in North and South Lala, especially since it shows little or no difference from the well documented verbal conjugation in Zulu and Swati. The treatment of some aspects will therefore be rather sketchy and schematic, while other aspects, where it is felt that Lala has

something different to offer, will be discussed at greater length.

The initial division will be between non-finite and finite moods.

5.5.3.1   Non-finite moods: Infinitive and Imperative

These moods are called 'non-finite' because they lack the finishing touch or ability to express person, tense or aspect in any full manner. While the imperative does express second person, it cannot be clearly marked for tense or aspect. The infinitive, on the other hand, cannot express person at all, but can make use - at least in Zulu - of the implications of 'future intention' -yo- and -zo-, and is sometimes found with the progressive implication -sa-.

5.5.3.1.1   The infinitive

Zulu: u-ku- (nga) - Root - a ∞ -i ∞-e

Tekela: ku - (nga) - Root - a ∞ -i ∞ -e

This formula means that while the prefix (which is the one for nominal class 15) is **u-ku-** in Zulu, in Tekela there is no initial vowel, therefore **ku-**. Further, that the negative marker is -nga-, and that this conditions the ending vowel to become -i (in place of positive -a or deficient verb -e, or irregular -i or -o). The vowel -u- in the Basic Prefix undergoes the usual changes (consonantilization or elision) when it comes in contact with other vowels. Thus /ku-/ : / ku- ~ kw- ~ k-/.

Examples:

Gloss	Zulu	Swati	N. Lala	S. Lala
to die	u-ku-f-a	ku-f-a	ku-f-a	ku-f-a
to drink	u-ku-phuz-a	ku-nats-a	ku-phut-a	ku-phut-a
to dry	u-k-om-a	k-om-a	k-om-a	k-om-a
to know	u-kw-azi	kw-ati	kw-ati	kw-ati
not to die	u-ku-nga-f-i	ku-nga-f-i	ku-nga-f-i	ku-nga-f-i
not to drink	u-ku-nga-phuz-i	ku-nga-nats-i	ku-nga-phut-i	ku-nga-phut-i
not to dry	u-ku-ng-om-i	ku-ng-om-i	ku-ng-om-i	ku-ng-om-i
not to know	u-ku-ng-azi	ku-ng-ati	ku-ng-ati	ku-ng-ati

5.5.3.1.2   **The imperative**

The positive imperative is constituted by the verbal root plus the final vowel. The plural is expressed by the addition of the suffix **-ni**. Monosyllabic stems either prefix the empty element **yi-**, or suffix the element **-na**. Thus:

dl-a!   yi-dl-a!   dl-a-na!   ti-dl-a-ni!   dl-a-ni-ni!

This pattern is valid for all three languages under discussion.

The negative is slightly more differentiated, especially because of the wide usage of the negative present subjunctive, which has practically supplanted other forms. Zulu however, maintains the form that makes use of the auxiliary *musa / musani!* ('don't!'), parallel with the negative present subjunctive.

Examples:

Zulu: *Mus'ukudla!   Musan'ukudla!   Ungadli!   Ningadli!* (Do not eat!)

Swati: *Ungadli!   Ningadli!*

N & S Lala: *Ungadli!   Ningadli!*

South Lala, however, also makes use of the auxiliary *musa / musani!*

5.5.3.2   **The finite moods**

One could describe the finite moods as the 'real predicates'. In fact, they really 'predicate', that is, indicate all aspects of an action or a status: who does the action, when, what type of action (instantaneous, continuous, repetitive), whether the action is complete or not, whether it actually takes place or not, and a number of other 'aspects'.

5.5.3.2.1   **The indicative mood**

The easiest and most complete way, or 'mood', that describes the action or status is the 'indicative', because it 'indicates fully' the reality we are talking about. It is the 'mood of reality', according to Lyons (1968:307).

The indicative is also the mood able to describe when the action takes place, without any relationship to any other action, except the 'narrative present', or the moment that the narration of the event is imagined to take place. The element of 'time' is expressed mainly by the 'tenses', which are references to the "now of narration". Thus actions can take place before (= past), or during (= present) the narrative, or can be envisaged to take place after (= future) the narrative.

Since most descriptions refer to events that have already taken place, and try to revive their memories in a vivid way, it is natural that tenses referring to the past should be more fully developed. We thus have a 'recent past', a 'remote past'; a number of 'continuous past' tenses and of 'perfect' past tenses. For the future, instead, we have the expression of what is going to happen quite soon and about which there is a definite certainty ('near future'), and the expression of what one hopes will happen in the more 'remote future'.

All these descriptive elements are linked in a special way with that reality that seems to assume numberless shapes and forms, although it remains the same at heart, that is, the **class concord, or subject concord**. Its allomorphs indicate the various facets of reality.

The following table presents the positive subject concords of the Lala indicative mood. The first column contains the concord of the present tense, the perfect tense, the future; the second column has the concords of the recent past continuous, the thrid colum the concords of the remote past, and the fourth column those of the remote past continuous.

Positive subject concords of the indicative mood:

Class/person	present, perfect, future	recent past continuous	remote past	remote past continuous
1st ps sing	ngi-	bengi-	nga-	ngangi-
2nd ps sing	u-	ubu-/ bewu-	wa-	wawu-
1st ps pl	si-	besi-	sa-	sasi-
2nd ps pl	ni-	beni-	na-	nani-
Cl 1	u-	ube-	wa-	waye-
2	ba-	bebe-	ba-	babe-
3	u-	ubu-/ bewu-	wa-	wawu-
4	i-	ibi- / beyi-	ya-	yayi-
5	li-	beli-	la-	lali
6	a-	abe-	wa-	waye-
7	si-	besi-	sa-	sasi-
10 & 10/9	ti-	beti-	ta-	tati-
9	i-	ibi- / beyi-	ya-	yayi-

11	lu-	belu-	lwa-	lwalu-
14	bu-	bebu-	ba-	babu-
15	ku-	beku-	kwa-	kwaku-

Observations:

1. Present, perfect and future tenses, having the same Subject Concord (SC), must have other markers to indicate tense. These are:

   Present tense: the final/emphatic marker **-ya-**;

   Perfect tense: suffix **-ile** (contracted to **-e** in non-final position);

   Future tense: post concordial prefix **ta-ku > to-** for immediate future, and

   ya-ku > yo- for remote future.

2. Recent past continuous is a compound tense, composed of the auxiliary verb **-be-** followed by the participial mood. In Lala the most popular formative for this tense, however, is the auxiliary verb **-dze** The full form is :

   SC + DZE/BE + SCe + R + A;

   The shorter and more common form is : DZE/BE + SCe + R + A

   where SCe indicates the SC of the participial mood.

   Lala examples:　　ngidze ngitsatsa > dze ngitsatsa　(I was taking)

   　　　　　　　　ngidze ngiphatsa > dze ngiphatse (I was carrying)

   　　　　　　　　ngidze ngiphuta > dze ngiphuta (I was drinking)

3. Remote past tense is characterized by a long and high tone /-a-/ added to the SC. Vowels in the SC adapt to this remote past tense **-a-**, by either elision or consonantalization, according to the usual rules.

4. The remote past tense continuous is characterized by the remote past concord in-a- which precedes the auxiliary **-be/dze-** when the full form is utilized. The **-be/dze-** auxiliary must be followed by the participial form of the SC. In the abbreviated form the **-be/dze-** is elided, but its influence is still felt because the participial form must be used.

Negative forms of the indicative mood

The SC can be inflected to express 'negative actuality', or simply to say that the action is not, did not, or will not take place. I have mentioned already that negativity is revealed by

suffixal changes: **-a > -i / anga.** But we must expect negativity to be fully expressed also by the SC or by another prefixal form. These forms can be given in summary as follows:

Present tense:		**a + SCn + R + i**
Perfect tense:		**a + SCn + R + anga**
Future tense:		**a + SCn + tu/yu + R + a**
Recent past continuous:	a):	**SC + be/dze + SCe + nga + R + i**
	b)	**be/dze + SCe + nga + R + i**
Remote past :		**a + SCn + R + anga**
Remote past continuous:	a)	**SCa + be/dze + SCe + nga + R + i**
	b)	**SCa + SCe + nga + R + i**

Observations:

1. **SCn** stands for the variations required in the SC when it is used within the boundaries of a word, or interverbally. This requires that V-only concords undergo consonantalization:

    u > wu;   i > yi; a > wa

    while CV concords adjust to the following initial vowel when necessary.

    Class 1 concord u- becomes **-ka-**

2. Perfect and remote past tenses have identical negative forms, consisting of the pattern shown above. One must notice the ending in **-anga.**

3. Future tenses: the negative element is twofold: the negative concord (SCn), and the future marker **to- > tuku / tu -** and **yo- . yoku/ yu- .** The ending vowel does not change.

4. Lala past continuous tenses seem to prefer the use of the auxiliary **-dze-** rather than **-be-.** The negative is formed in the second part, which is the complementary verb in the participial mood. This negative is characterized by the prefix **nga-** and the ending in -i.

5.5.3.2   Subjunctive, Potential and Participial moods

I have mentioned above that I am not going to spend much time analysing aspects of the verbal conjugation that are similar to the Zulu and Swati published grammars. For example, the three moods, subjunctive, potential and participial, follow the Zulu/Swati morphological rules and are therefore not examined in this context.

Furthermore, there is no real difference between North and South Lala regarding the verbal conjugation.

5.6   Adverbs and adverbials

I have previously discussed the nominal inflection through which nominals are given oblique cases and are transformed into adverbials. This means that nouns, absolute, quantitative, qualificative, do not become 'adverbs' per se, but that they simply fulfil an adverbial function in the sentence, although they remain core nominals.

There are a number of words, in Lala, Swati and Zulu, considered primary adverbs, i.e. words whose stem is an adverb and whose function is adverbial (= descriptive of the verb). I deal with a limited number here.

5.6.1   Adverbs of time

Time is indicated in Lala by means of time adverbials, which means, nouns that have a reference to time and are inflected by the extra-nominal prefix **nga-** to clarify the verb or the verbal phrase. The formative **nga-** always causes vowel coalescence between **-a-** and the latent vowel of the noun prefix.

Examples:	North Lala	South Lala
nga + i > nge	ngeliSonto (on Sunday)	ngeliSonto (on Sunday)
nga + u > ngo	ngoLwesitsatsu (on Wednesday)	ngoLwesitsatsu (on Wednesday)
nga + u > ngo	ngoso (tomorrow)	ngoso (tomorrow)

Time is also indicated in Lala by the use of proper time adverbs, that is, of words whose main function is that of indicating time and of specifying it in the verbal phrase.

Examples:	North Lala	South Lala
yesterday	tolo	tolo
today	nokhanje	nohlanje
last year	nwakenwe	nyakenye
winter before last	mandzulo	mandzulo
day before yesterday	tsangi/kutsangi	tsangi/kutsangi
in the evening	kusihlwa	kusihlwa

5.7   Lala conjunctives

Doke(1990:271) defines a conjunctive as "a word which introduces or links up sentences." Conjunctive therefore belong to the realm of syntax rather than morphology and will

be only listed here, rather than having their function discussed in detail. Following Van Dyk (1960), I describe Lala conjunctives according to the part of speech they are derived from. It should be kept in mind that many conjunctives originated as deficient verbs.

5.7.1   **Conjunctives derived from various sources**

Conjunctives are derived from verbal nouns of class 15, as shown by its prefix.

Examples

North Lala		South Lala
kuba	that, so that	kuba
kutsi	that	kutsi
msuku	when	lusuku (class 11) (day)
msukwane	that day	masuku/ msukwane

The two conjunctives **'masuku'** and **'msukwane'** are used interchangeably in South Lala.

Some conjunctives that appear derived from the Absolute 'pronoun' of Class 15.

Examples

North Lala		South Lala
ngakho(na)	therefore	ngakho(na)
nokho(na)	yet, nevertheless, however	nokho(na)

Some conjunctives are also derived from qualificatives or quantitative stems.

Examples

North Lala		South Lala
kadze	already	kadze
kodzi	but, only	kojwa

There are other conjuctives derived from verbs or verbal elements.

Examples

North Lala		South Lala
anduba / andukuba	before	phambi kokuba
cedze/qedze	as fast as	maqedzana / masitshane

Cedze is from the deficient verb stem: *dze* (so that)
Nce is also a deficient verb (after that, afterwards).
-tsi (say)   kwatsi   kwatsi (when,as, while)

There are also few conjunctives which are derived from adverbs.

lakha/lakho/la
na + uma/ na+ uba >noma   noma/noba   (whether,or)
na + ungabe
ngoba /ngokuba   ngoba/ngokuba (because)

Ngoba and **ngokuba** are pure Zulu conjunctions. Some conjunctives are derived from enclitics.

	North Lala	**South Lala**
-nje	konje	konje (well then/by the way)
nje-nje	konje-nje	konje-nje (well then)

Some conjunctives are referred to as 'diverse conjunctives' because of their diverse origin.

	North Lala	**South Lala**
again	futsi	futsi
whereas, after all	kanti	kanti
but	kepha	kepha
when	mtukwana	mtukwana
when	nxa	nxa
if, when	uma	uma

5.7.2   Differences and similarities between North and South Lala conjunctives

(a)   Whilst there are conjunctives which are derived from verbs or with verbal elements there is one conjunctive which is not found in South Lala i.e. <u>nce</u> and is formed by a deficient verb stem.

(b)   There are conjunctives which are not found in North Lala i.e. *noba* and *nongabe*. These are shared with Nhlangwini.

(c)   The formation of conjunctives is similar in both Lala dialects, either through prefixation or suffixation.

5.8   The interjective

Doke (1990:279) defines an interjective as:

> An emotional word, often ejaculatory, which conveys a complete concept without the implication of any subject.

For the purpose of this study I shall simply classify interjectives according to two criteria: their

general meaning, and the number of syllables they contain.

5.8.1 Assent and Negation

North Lala **South Lala**

(i) Monosyllabic construction

qha   no   nca

(ii) Disyllabic construction

	no	chana
yebo	yes	yebo
	yes	ewe
mamo	alas, unfortunately	mamo
ehhe	yes	ehhe
hhayi	no	hhayi
hhawu	of great surprise	hhawu

(iii) Polysyllabic construction

	yes	ewene
ehhene	yes	ehhene

5.8.2 Exclamation of wonder

(i) Monosyllabic construction

we	hey!	we
nx	damn it!	nx

(ii) Bisyllabic construction

	damn it!	hharha

(iii) Polysyllabic construction

suka lapha	go away!	suka lapha
	gosh!	hhiya suka

These exclamations of annoyance are also found among the Nhlangwini.

5.8.3 Exclamations of fear and sorrow

(i)   Disyllabic construction

| shwele | good heavens! | shwele |
| nxese | sorry! | nxese |

Also these interjectives are found among the Nhlangwini people.

5.8.4 Differences and similarities between North and South Lala interjectives

(a)   The morphology of North and South Lala interjectives is similar, but one finds interjectives that are only used by one section of the population. For example, in S.L. I found the following: **cha, chana,nca, ewe, ewene**, which are not found in N.L.

(b)   Many Lala interjectives are shared with the Nhlangwini and the Zulu (e.g. **qha,yebo,nx,shwele**, among others). I am not aware of interjectives that are purely Lala.

5.9   Ideophones

Ideophones, as the word indicates, are ideas, emotions, colours, etc. expressed through sounds. They could be called "picture sounds" or "picture words'. They are one of the most colourful characteristics of Bantu languages. Evidently such ideas in dramatic sounds are bound to be quite local, but then one knows well that anything that is beautiful and remarkable travels fast. Hence one should not be surprised to find a large number of ideophones spread among several population groups, nor should one be upset if the idea is expressed in slightly different ways or sounds.

It is difficult to decide which of the many ideophones used among the Lala people are originally Lala. But I don't think that this matters at all: ideophones are there, they are widely used and enjoyed, and this is what counts. I have heard South Lala people use the ideophone **dzu** (of quiet,stillness). This evidently corresponds with the Zulu **du**, which expresses the same 'picture sound'. The Nhlangwini use **tu** for the same purpose, and this has now spread also among the South Lala.

I should mention here that some ideophones give rise to nouns and to verbs.

So far no generally satisfactory criterion has been devised to catalogue Lala ideophones. I therefore group them according to the number of syllables in their construction.

North Lala   **South Lala**

(i)   **Monosyllabic ideophones**

	swi
	(full)
dzi	dzi

(of doing nothing/of acting with indifference)

ne	ne

(of sticking tight)

vo	vo

(of one/only one)

shwi	shwi

(of one/only one)

qhwa	qhwa

(of whiteness, paleness)

(ii)   **Disyllabic ideophones**

bhamu	bhamu

(of bursting as of bubble)

gqamu	gqamu

(a sudden flaring up of flame)

qwaba	qwaba

(of one,only one)

phoqo	phoqo

(breaking into two of a brittle object)

gumbu	gumbu

(of turning inside out)

(iii)   **Polysyllabic ideophones**

bhabhalala	bhabhalala

(fall flat on the stomach)

This ideophone is related to the verb *bhabhabala*, i.e. to do a thing recklessly without considering that other people might see you. The verb is derived by substituting the ideophonic suffix **-lala** with the verbal suffix **-bala.**

gumbuqu	gumbuqu

(of turning inside out)

This ideophone is derived from *gumbu* by suffixing the ideophonic formative **-qu** to complete the picture of what is happening.

patalala   patalala
(of collapsing/caving in)

There is a commonly used verb -*pata* transformed here into an ideophone by suffixing the ideophonic formative -**lala**. It is always difficult to decide whether the verb was coined first or was derived from the ideophone.

tsatsatsa   tsatsatsa
(of acting nervously and hurriedly)

This ideophone reveals the noise made by the hand when somebody is being clapped. There has been a reduplication of the ideophone -**tsa**.

cikitsi   cikitsi
mikitsi
(too full)

The following are ideophones whose derivations can not be traced.

bhalakaxa   bhalakaxa
dalakaxa   dalakaxa
(fall flat in the mud)
sunuluti   sunuluti
(finishing off, killing)

There are no morphological differences between North and South Lala ideophones. However, there are a few ideophones that are found in North Lala only, such as *mikitsi* and *swi*.

5.10   General conclusion

This has been a long and laborious chapter to handle. I hope to have done justice to the aims set out at the beginning of the chapter, namely to identify the systems of word formation prevalent in Lala, and to point out possible differences existing between North and South Lala dialects. A large number of indications have already been exposed at the end of each section, where I tried to point out the morphological differences between North and South Lala.

The chapter has dealt with the most important grammatical aspects of Lala, from the noun formation rules, both morphological and lexical, to the identification of the pre-nominal dependent nominals through both their morphological structure and their syntactic function. The post-nominal qualifiers were rather more difficult to deal with because of the lack of comprehensive lexical lists of both 'adjectives' and 'relatives'. Recent scholarship regarding the

large section dealing with dependent nominals was briefly presented and utilized, as I felt that it helps to group a number of linguistic phenomena in a logical and un-repetitive way.

I tried to summarize my ideas on both the nominal pre-prefixal inflection and the predicative conjugation. Both sections could have become very long, heavy and ultimately unmanageable, instead they have been contained into reasonable boundaries.

Following Canonici for some of the latest scholarly research linked to the Transformational Generative Grammar school, and Doke for some of the more basic and stable ideas, I feel that a balance has been reached, whereby concepts such as 'adjective', 'relative', 'pronoun', were illustrated and discussed, but at the same time elements that are typical of African languages, such as auxiliary verbs, interjections, ideophones, etc., were also researched and briefly presented.

Lala appears to be extremely close to the Nguni main stream as far as its morphology is concerned. Most of its rule-governed aspects find a counterpart either in Zulu or in Swati, or in both. Furthermore, in a field as constant as that of morphology, South and North Lala show hardly any divergence. A fact that reassures any researcher that, in spite of a separation of 150 to 200 years, the two main groups of the Lala people have kept their loyalty to their origins and their history by preserving almost intact the heritage of their language.

The next chapter will deal with Lala tonology and supra-segmental grammar.

CHAPTER SIX
LALA TONOLOGY

6.0   Introductory remarks

Although this comparative study of North and South Lala has dealt especially with segmental phonology and morphology, the present chapter will attempt an elementary study of tonology. The tonology of a language could constitute a full independent study, as was Davey's (1981) for Swati or Khumalo's (1987) for Zulu. The present study, however, will only be a cursory one on the tonological rules used by Davey (1981), Khumalo (1987) and Msimang (1989) as they are applicable to Lala. The rules to be discussed and applied are:

Leftward Shift,

Leftward Spread,

Leftward Branch Delink,

High Dissimilation,

Phrase Final Lowering,

Phrase Medial Lowering.

The purpose of the present exercise is to identify the tonological similarities and differences between North and South Lala in order to fully compare the two dialects. Davey, Khumalo and Msimang have explained the tonology of Zulu and Swati. The present study will only deal with Lala, but will refer to Zulu and Swati for comparative purposes.

The tonological rules will be briefly discussed and illustrated with examples drawn from both North and South Lala. The conclusions to be drawn at the end should clarify any tonological differences and similarities between North and South Lala.

Msimang (1989) has remarked as follows with regard to the tonal study of the Tekela dialects:

> At this juncture it is felt that the objectives of highlighting the tonal similarities and dissimilarities between the Tekela dialects has been achieved. However, it will still be necessary to undertake a tonal study of each dialect for better insights. (Msimang 1989:281).

This chapter can be partly seen as a response to Msimang's idea of a tonal study for each dialect, with special reference to a comparison between North and South Lala. Msimang further made the following concluding remarks about the Lala and IsiZansi dialects:

> I may digress a little to point out a few other phonemic and morphological features which are peculiar to **IsiZansi**, viz the stem *-mbi* (bad) instead of *-bi*. Hence they say: *umuntfu lomumbi* (a bad person) instead of *umuntfu lomubi*. They use the affricate /tʃ h/ instead of the affricative /ʃ / used in North Lala, Zulu and Swati. They also use the velar fricative /x/ instead of the glottal fricative /h/ used in Northern Lala, Zulu and Swati. (Msimang, 1989:283).

IsiZansi appears as a mixture of several dialects, which is, after all, what most languages are. My previous chapters have dealt with the phonemical and morphological differences and similarities between North Lala, which is heavily influenced by Zulu, and South Lala, influenced from Zulu and Xhosa as well as the Nhlangwini and Bhaca dialects.

6.1 Existing studies on Nguni tonology.

Tone in Nguni has been widely studied for quite some time. For example, Doke exposed some very important ideas on Zulu tonology already in 1926. He was followed by Tucker (1949), Cope (1960 and 1966 UN theses), Van Dyk (1960) and Lanham (1960).

There are also a number of papers on tonological studies worth mentioning: (a) Rycroft (1972 and 1980), who linked tonology and music in Swati; (b) Louw (1968 and 1979) compared Xhosa and Tsonga intonation, which can be helpful for the study of Lala tonology. In fact, in chapter two above I have remarked that the Celes claim to descend from the Tsonga/Thonga people. Msimang (1989) has pointed out a number of words common between Tsonga and Lala. With the wide system of relexification noticed for all the Nguni languages, it is difficult to prove origin and descent purely on linguistic grounds. But one can study the peculiarities of the various sister languages with the aim of identifying similarities, differences and possible genetic relationships. (c) Ziervogel et al (1985) pointed out that the tone of a specific syllable can determine the meaning of a word. These ideas are expressed for Zulu, that they can also apply to Lala.

Examples:

Gloss	North Lala	South Lala
thigh HLH	lítsàngá	lítsàngá
pumpkin HLL	lìtsángá	lìtsángá

witchcraft	LL	nyàngà	nyàngà
moon	LH	nyàngá	nyàngá / nyétì (HL)

The two works on which this study is based are Khumalo (1987) and Msimang (1989). Khumalo's is the latest and most comprehensive study on the tonology of a Nguni language, viz. Zulu. It applies the generative phonology approach, and this renders it the most up to date work also because Khumalo adopts its latest modifications of auto segmental and lexical phonology. Furthermore, Khumalo has paid attention to the tonology of the Natal South Coast dialects of Zulu, including Lala. Msimang's work on Tekela Nguni dialects presents a number of phonological and tonological aspects of Tekela, including North and South Lala, although these dialects have been dealt with rather cursorily.

6.2   The theoretical basis

Lexical phonology within the autosegmental framework is to be adopted in this discussion. In lexical phonology there exist two sets of phonological rules which are based on two levels, viz. the lexicon and syntax respectively. Lexical rules such as Leftward Shift and Leftward Spread apply to the lexicon, whereas post-lexical rules such as Leftward Branch Delink, High Dissimilation and Phrase Final Lowering, apply to the syntax. However, where necessary, phonetic rules will be applied.

Khumalo (1987:186-187) is of the opinion that the autosegmental framework facilitates the incorporation of lexical rules which are fully explanatory. Three tiers are used for the description of tone, i.e. tonal tier, segment tier and tone bearing tier unit whose members are V's of the CV tier.

Khumalo further gives a slightly different view from the traditional one on Nguni tonemic system, as reviewed by Van Der Spuy (1990). That in Proto-Southern Bantu there are two underlying tones i.e. H and L. Khumalo clearly states that there is only one underlying tone, viz. the high tone (H). The high tone is prelinked to the designated vowels, and the low tones are supplied by a Low Tone Default Rule (cf. Pulleyplank, 1986:104). However, since one is used to the traditional view of H and L tones, one will have to apply both views employing one where the other is not applicable.

6.3 Approach

In this study only verbs and nouns will be considered. Most of the examples will be monosyllabic and disyllabic stems, but where necessary polysyllabic stems will be used. Since the majority of the tone rules apply in the same manner to both nouns and verbs, the discussion will be based on both verbal and nominal stems. However, verbal stems will be presented either with an infinitive prefix or with a concord. In such cases, disyllabic and trisyllabic vowel commencing stems will be considered as mono and disyllabic stems respectively. This is ascribed to segmental phonological conditioning whereby the initial vowel is linked to the prefixal syllable and consequently carries the tone of such syllable.

Examples

Gloss		North Lala	South Lala
to sin / spoil	ku + ona >	kôna	kóna
to know	ku + ati >	kwáti	kwáti

Van Dyk (1960:17) states that in Lala three tonemes are used: High (H), Low (L) and High Low (HL). Khumalo, whose work is the latest on tonology, maintains however that HH stems for Zulu are realised as FL in setting construction on the surface structure.

However, Msimang (1989:254) has this to say on tone:

> Bearing in mind the fact that the domain for tone is the V of the CV tiers, the structure of verbal radicals and stems calls for closer scrutiny. A verbal stem comprises a radical plus a terminative vowel; i.e. a suffix which denotes tense and positive or negative conjugation. The result is that radical itself does not end in a vowel. To satisfy the requirements of the open syllable structure in Nguni, however, linguists usually use a dash or hyphen to indicate that the underlyingly radical should end in a vowel, e.g. -*fun*- (want).

Perhaps, in conclusion one can echo the view of Khumalo (1987:190) that in Zulu all the syllables of the morpheme must conform to the structure of its core syllables, viz. CV and V. The final syllable of every morpheme must incorporate a vowel, and the terminating vowel of a verbal radical as claimed to be unspecified for place of articulation features, and it acquires these by a spread rule termed suffixation. What happens in Zulu syllables is also in line with Lala syllables.

Khumalo (1987) prefers to use the letter 'V' to represent this terminative vowel. The same approach in this analysis will be used when demonstrations of certain rules are made.

6.4   Tonal patterns and rules

Lala has many low toned stems, identifiable through low toned syllables, as demonstrated by the following examples.

		North Lala	**South Lala**
1.	(a)	mbíta (large clay pot)	mbíta (HL for Doke)
	(b)	múnu (person)	múnhu
	(c)	kúfa (death)	kúfa
	(d)	kúvimba (to prevent)	kúvingca
	(e)	kwéda (to do work)	kwéda (HL for Doke)
	(f)	kuhlábelela (to sing)	kuhlábelela (LHHHL for Doke)

Rycroft (1979:13) explains that the high tone on the vowel of the root syllable in (f) is the result of a shift of the high tone from the basic class prefix to the vowel of the root syllable. The idea is convincing because the vowel of the basic prefix is a high vowel.

In chapter five it has been stated that Lala noun class prefix consists of a classifier, or basic prefix, at times referred to as ' real prefix'. However, the lack of a pre-prefix or initial vowel in Lala presents a problem for the location of {+High } tone, since it is located on the pre-prefix in Zulu. (cf. Khumalo 1987:190).

Rycroft (1963) in Msimang (1989:255) claims that Swati had disyllabic prefixes with the form V-CV. Where the pre-prefixal vowel was dropped, the {+H } prelinked to it was delinked and associated with the vowel of the class prefix.

If the explanation regarding {+H} is valid for Swati, then it must be also applicable to Lala, as demonstrated by this lexical rule used by Msimang for Swati but also suitable for Lala.

T-Rule 1: The Pre-vowel High-Delink Rule (T=Tone)
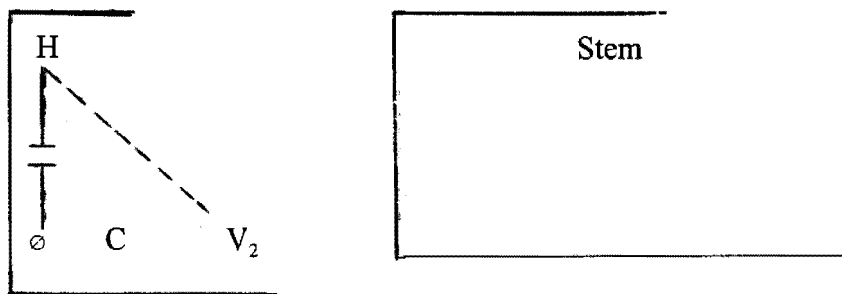
The condition is that this tonal rule applies to all Lala non-nasal classes. Van Dyk (1960:18) has

used the nasal class noun prefix /u-mu-/. However, there is a lack of consistency in the use of the nasal class prefix in North Lala, probably because of Zulu influence. Otherwise North Lala does not normally use the nasal noun pre-prefix. Lala noun prefixes are in fact monosyllabic, as even Bryant (1929) in Kubeka (1979:55) clearly emphasized.

The above Lala examples show that there is no problem with the location of the high tone, which always falls on the vowel of the basic prefix. This idea is also stressed in Khumalo (1987:191). However, in (a) and (e) above, the high tone is located on the V of the root syllable, as it has been already explained.

Msimang (1989:257-258) repeats the demonstration that the high tone is associated with the initial vowel of a V-CV class prefix, but, under certain circumstances, it shifts to the V of the root syllable (e.g., where there is no pre-prefix even in the underlying structure, or where stems are inflected). The outcome is that the unassociated vowels remain toneless. The following are a few selected examples from Swati for demonstration purposes, to be followed by Lala examples.

2. akúkho mbita   (there is no large clay pot)
    akúkho muntfu   (there is nobody)
    angifúni kwendza   (I do not want to marry)
    angifúni kuhlabelela   (I do not want to sing)

Lala examples:

North Lala   **South Lala**

3. akúkho mbita   (there is no large clay pot)   akúkho mbita
    akúkho munu   (there is nobody)   akúkho munhu
    angitsándzi kweda / kwendza   (I don't want to do)   angitsándzi kweda
    angitsándzi kuhlabelela   (I don't want to sing)   angitsándzi kuhlabelela

The examples demonstrate a remarkable tone shift in both dialects as compared to the examples given in 1. above.

6.5   Tone shift

This can be demonstrated by extending some of the words given above (in 2 and 3) by means of derivational affixes.

Swati

imbitána   (small clay pot)
úmúntfwana   (baby)
kwéndzela   (to marry at)
kuhlabélelela   (to sing on behalf of / to sing for)

North Lala		South Lala
mbitána	(small clay pot)	mbitána
múnwana	(small person)	múnhwana
kwédela	(to do something for)	kwédela
kuhlabélelela	(to sing on behalf of)	kuhlabélelela

The general rule deducted from the above examples is that where there are depressor consonants from the inflected stems the high tone shifts to the penultimate or to the antepenultimate syllable.

Khumalo (ibid) however, where a situation of this nature exists, resorts to the notion `extratonality' with the purpose of avoiding to add an extra rule and to explain a high tone to the antepenult syllable. He argues that the verbal radicals undergoing extratonality marking in Zulu are disyllabic consonant-commencing forms and all other longer radicals. If this rule can be applied to Lala stems in (3) above, then the following can be an outcome.

4.   **Extratonality marking**

North Lala	**South Lala**
mbíta(na)	mbíta(na)
múnwa(na)	múnwa(na)
kwéde(la)	kwéde(la)
kwédela(na)	kwédela(na)
kúhlabelela(na)	kúhlabelela(na)

Pulleyblank (1986:172) in Msimang has this to say about extratonality:

> As in stress systems where certain peripheral constituents can be marked `extrametrical' - and can therefore be excluded from consideration by stress rules - in tone systems, certain peripheral constituents can be marked `extratonal' - and therefore can be excluded from consideration by the tone rules.

It is noted from the Lala examples in 3 and 4 that an associated high tone shifts rightward to the unassociated vowel on condition that that vowel is also unassociated. Khumalo (1987:193) captures this in a lexical rule which is adopted here to demonstrate Rightward Shift as:

T-Rule 2:   **Rightward Shift**
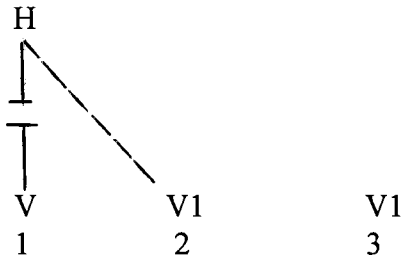
Iterative if no other H occurs to the right (V^1 = unassociated vowel)

Perhaps one can explain the above shift by making few representations.

5. (a)

kuedelana	Suffixation
kwedelana	Glide Realisation
kwédela(na)	Extratonality Marking
kwedéla(na)	Rightward Shift
kwedélana	Removal of Extratonality

(b)

kuhlabelelana	Suffixation
kúhlabelela(na)	Extratonality marking
kuhlábelela(na)	Rightward shift
kuhlabélela(na)	Rightward shift
Kuhlabelélana	Removal of extratonality

Although in the above examples there are no cases of high tone shifting to the penultimate

syllable, Msimang (1989:260) concludes that a depressor consonant displaces a high tone and shifts it to the next syllable, provided that such a syllable is neither a final syllable in the stem nor does it contain a depressor consonant. Khumalo (1987:237-239) takes it further in Zulu by ascribing the Rightward Shift to two rules, i.e. Depressor Assimilation and Depressor Shift. Depressor Assimilation is a phonetic rule which states that the low tone which is associated with

Depressor Shift or displacement is also another phonetic rule which states that the Right tone which shifts to an unstressed depressor syllable will be displaced to the next syllable if that syllable is not word final.

These two rules are reproduced as follows:

6.　　**T- Rule 3: Depressor Assimilation.**

Tonal Tier	L	T
CV　Tier	C	
Laryngeal Tier		
Feature Tier	[+dep]	
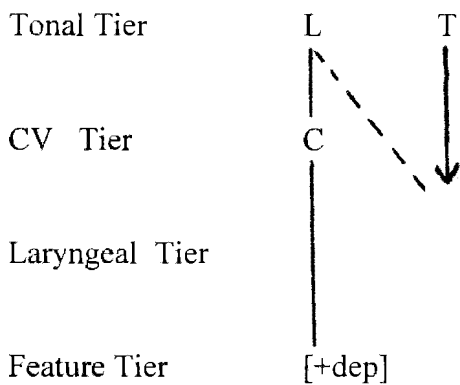
Rule 3 is a phonetic rule which states that the low tone associated with the depressor consonant is co-articulated with the tone associated with the tautosyllabic vowel (Msimang, 1989:261).

7.　　**T-Rule 4: Depressor Displacement**

Tonal Tier	L	H
CV Tier	C	V C X C_1 V X

[-stress]　　　　　　　　stem
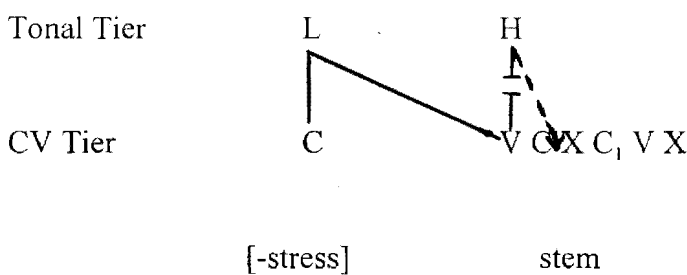
Rule 4 is also a phonetic rule which states that the high tone which shifts to an unstressed depressor syllable will be displaced to the next syllable if that syllable is not word final.The rules of Depressor Assimilation and Displacement also apply to Lala. But one can say that a depressor consonant displaces a high tone and shifts to the next syllable provided that such a syllable is neither a final syllable in the stem nor contains a depressor consonant, e.g. *kuvímbela, kuvaléla*. The high tone in *kuvímbela* remains in ˋ**ví-'** because the penult also has a depressor consonant, whereas in *kuvaléla* the high tone shifts to **'-lé-'** because the antepenultimate is a depressor (Msimang, 1989:261).

So far we have noticed no differences in low toned stems in North and South Lala. If a minor difference is to be pointed out, this has nothing to do with tone, but simply with tempo. In fact the researcher has gained the impression that North Lala speakers are slower in their utterances than their South Lala counterparts. Whether this was done to accommodate the researcher, who came from another area and was therefore 'a stranger', or whether it is customary for North Lala speakers to show determination in their speech is difficult to say.

8. Delinking in depressor and ordinary consonants

Msimang (1989:265) has noted that disyllabic Lala stems have RH in depressor consonants and FH in ordinary consonants. Such characteristics are found in both North and South Lala. Some slight differences have however been noticed, as in the following examples.

	North Lala		**South Lala**
(a)	ńdzŏdzá	(man)	ńdzŏdzá
	lúvâló	(fear, anxiety)	lúvâló / líxhâlá
	kúlîlá	(to weep)	kúlîlá
	kúphâká	(to dish up food)	kúphâká

Perhaps the above sounds can be demonstrated as follow.

(a)   R   H

F   H
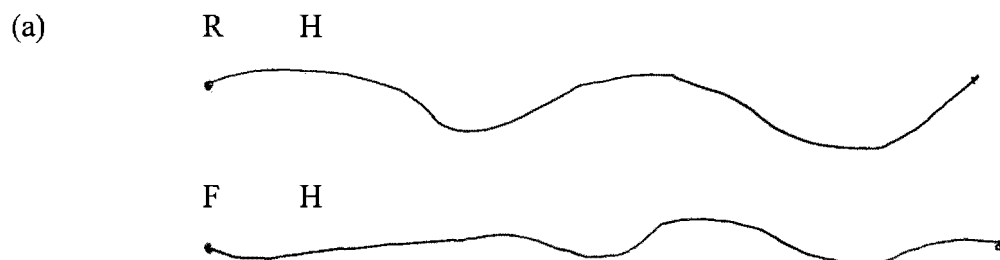
9. If monosyllabic and disyllabic stems are so inflected that the penult and the final syllables are both low, Lala replaces LL with FH. Where affixes are grammatical, LL occurs in

Lala just as it occurs with nouns in the vocative case.

Examples

North Lala		**South Lala**
(a)	lĭfwana	(small cloud)	lĭfwana
(b)	ndzŏdza!	(man !)	ndzŏdza!
(c)	phăná	(give)	phăná
(d)	síhlâló	(chair)	síhlâló
(e)	kúlîlá	(to cry)	kúlîlá

The above examples can be demonstrated as follows.

In a nutshell Lala avoids LL stems as has been demonstrated that instead of LL stems FH or RH stems are adopted.

6.5.1 High toned stems

Rycroft (1980a:47-48) states that in Swati HL tone words are reflexes of Guthrie's Common Bantu forms of the type of CVVCV. Lala as a Tekela Nguni dialect shows some resemblance to Swati. The difference is that in Proto Bantu these stems have a long vowel whereas the HH stems are derived from starred radicals with a short vowel.

Msimang observes that in Nguni HH stems are realised as having a FL tonal pattern. However, it is necessary to distinguish this falling tone from that which results from a derivation involving a tonal cluster of High + Low as in the long vowel of the remote past or in the penultimate syllable of a phrase final word. These are Lala examples.

9.	**North Lala**	**Gloss**	**South Lala**
(a)	ńyôsi	(bee)	ńyósi
(b)	ýûdi	(bull)	ýúdi
(c)	mbûti	(goat)	mbúti
(d)	lúbûmba	(clay)	lúbúmba
(e)	kûdla	(food)	kúdla
(f)	ímbwa	(dog)	ímbwa
(g)	kútsûnga	(to sew)	kútsúnga
(h)	kúbûta	(to ask)	kúbúta

HHLL, etc.

One may recognize a considerable influence of Zulu on North Lala, especially in connection with the adoption of HL tone pattern. This contrasts with South Lala where HH prevails. North and South Lala tone patterns can be illustrated as follows:
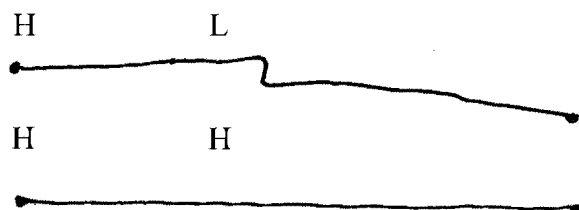
The HH and HL tone patterns are characteristic of Zulu. Khumalo (1987:200) has observed a similar phenomenon, which he ascribes to the fact that the two radicals are co-linked to the same high node. In order to dissolve the high tone on the right, he postulates a Right Branch Delink (ibid). This rule should equally apply to Zulu, Swati and Lala. Therefore it is reproduced here although its condition is slightly modified from its original.

10. T-Rule 5 : Right Branch Delink
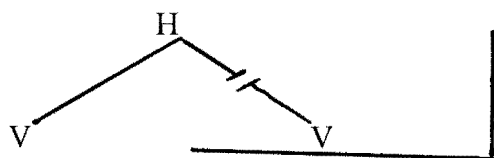
Verb radical

Condition: This rule applies in all environments excepting the participial.

However few derivations can be considered, e.g. *kutsunga/kutsunga*

10 (a)
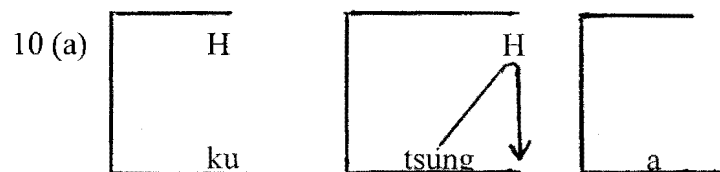
Lexical Component

| kútsúngá | Suffixation |
| kútsúnga | Right Branch Delink |

(b)
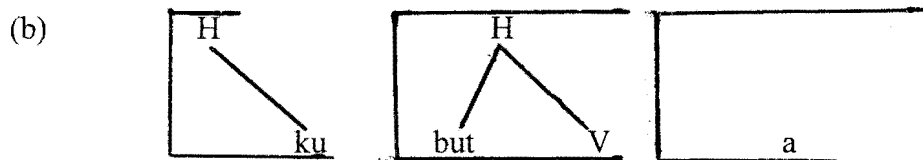
Lexical Component	
kúbútá	Suffixation
kúbúta	Right Branch Delink

Msimang (1989:269) suggests that, like participial forms, nominal stems are not affected by the above rule, and accordingly in the lexical component no further rules are required. But in the post lexical, a few rules may be necessary especially where the stem or word is phrase final. However, there are examples like *kudla; kudla* and *imbwa,* etc, which can be used in accordance with Rycroft's claim that a prefix has a high tone.

Van Dyk attempted to differentiate between North and South Lala on the grounds of the tone patterns of the above words. I think that similaties are much stronger than differences, which, if they exist, are only minor. This is demonstrated by the following illustration:

11. (a) ímbwá   (b) kúdlá
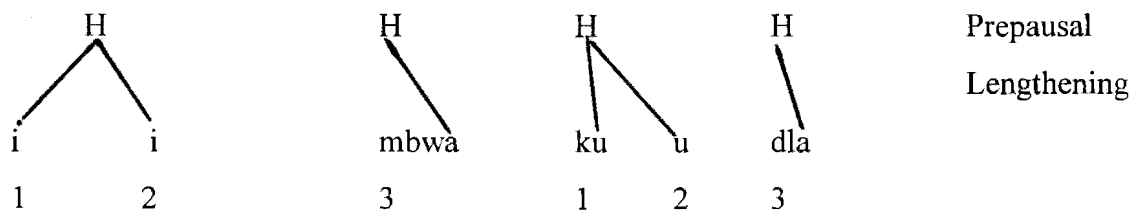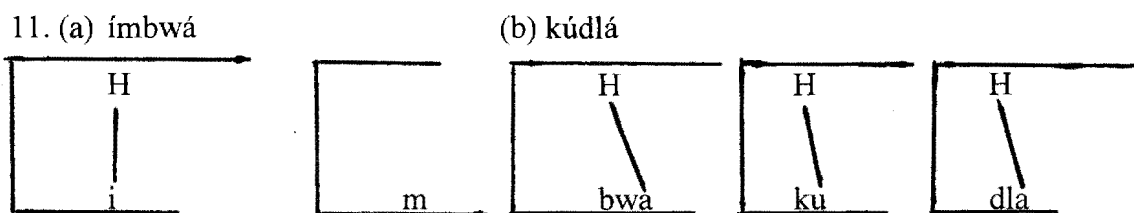
Khumalo (1987:201) resolves this problem in Zulu tonology by using what he calls the High Dissimilation Rule:

11 (b) T Rule 6: High Dissimilation
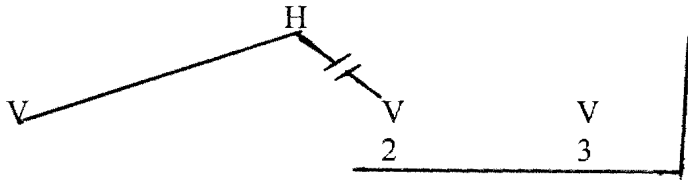
Condition: Vowel 3 must also be associated with a high tone.

This rule is called High Dissimilation, because in a phrase- final sequence of three high tones, the one in the middle dissimilates from the other by delinking from the high tone node. Khumalo (1987:201) further demonstrates his assertion by picking up few derivations. Consider the following derivation:

12.   (a)   (b)

Prepausal
Lengthening

High
Dissimilation

(i)́   (i)mbŵa   kú   udlá   High
                                               Dissimilation

(i)́   (i)mbŵa   kú   ùdlá   Low
                                               Tone default

       (í:)mbŵa (dog) NL   kû:dlá - (food) NL

The above- mentioned steps by Khumalo give a real explanation of the occurrence of the rising

tone in *kûdla* (food). The same steps can be followed in South Lala.

In Nguni the final vowel should share the same high tone with the vowels of the penultimate syllable if linked to the same node. If it occurs phrase finally, the final high tone is normally lowered. Khumalo (1987:202) captures this in this rule:

12   (b)   **T-Rule 7:** Phrase Final Lowering
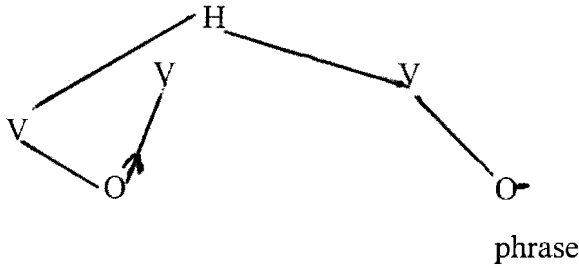
phrase

This rule delinks the right branch of a high tone co-linked to a vowel of the penultimate syllable, on condition that the root in which they occur is in phrase final position. This can be illustrated with the words *imbuti, lubumba*, NL/SL.

13. (a) lubumba

lubúúmba

lubúúmba

lúbúumbà

lúbúùmbà
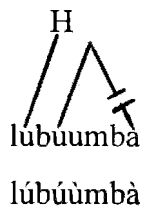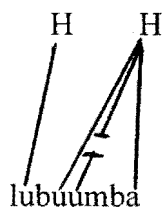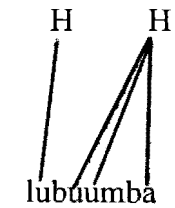
lúbúmba (clay)

(b) imbuti

i   mbuúti

i   mbuúti

i mbúuti

í mbúùtí
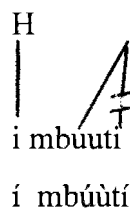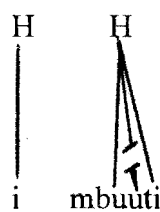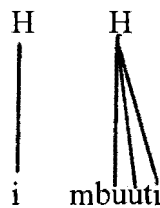
(i)mbúti (goat)

Prepausal
Lengthening

High
Dissimilation

Phrase Final
Lowering

Low Tone Default

Infact we can get the word final lowering in all the examples in par. 9 above.

Khumalo (1987:205) brings in the idea of syllable prominence which he claims is manifested through stress, tone (i.e. high tone) and penultimate syllable position. He sees features that induce prominence as playing a pivotal role in the changing of tones. For instance a high tone in a final syllable would be acceptable phrase finally. But if prominence is on an unstressed syllable of the word, then we get phrase medially, and that would create an imbalance because of short penultimate syllable and less prominence. It is then necessary to delink the high tone from the final syllable by the Phrase Medial Lowering rule in order to create the balance.

Khumalo (1987:205) formalises this rule and states that it will apply if a word-final high tone on an unstressed syllable of a word in phrase medial position delinks from the vowel to which it is associated. He captures it in this rule.

14   T-Rule 8: Phrases Medial Lowering


```
                    H
                    │
    X     V     ↓
          _____
              word
            [-stress]
```
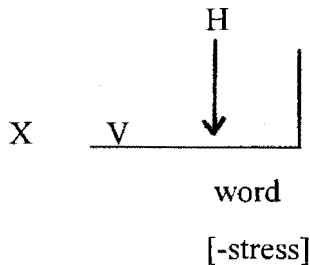

This can be illustrated with derivations from examples in (9) above:

14.(a)   (î) : mbwa #   #   (b)   kû : dla # #   phrase finally

           (í) : mbwa #   (b)   kúdla #   phrase medially

Since phrase final derivations have been done, the focus is now on the phrase medial derivations:

```
      H           H              H           H
      │            \              \            \
      │             \              \            \
      i  m  b  w  a              k  u  d  l  a
```

H   H   H   H   Phrase medial

Lowering

i m b w a   k u d l a

ímbwà   kú dlà   Low Toned Default
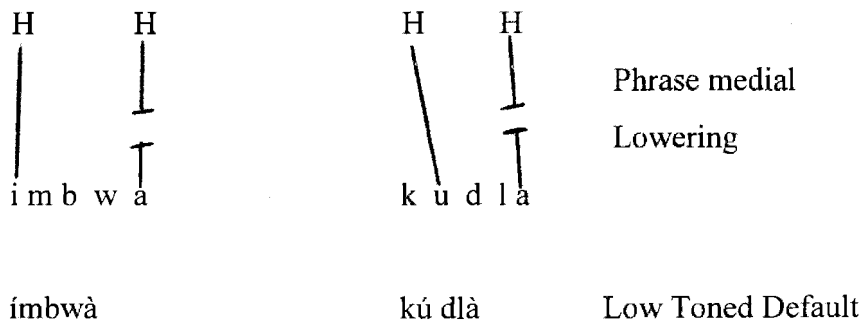
Khumalo (1987:204) has observed the C V C V- dialectical variations between KwaZulu dialects and Natal South Coast dialects. Msimang (1989:272) concurs with Khumalo and concludes that even if there are such variations, one can safely say that all the Tekela dialects behave in a similar manner in as far as high toned stems are concerned.

6.5.2   Low toned stems in the indicative

6.5.2.1   Positive indicative

The Lala sentence in the positive present indicative can have two forms, i.e. The Long and the short. The long occurs phrase finally - or in emphatic statements -and the short phrase medially. The verb stem is not affected by this and the change in tone can only occur if the prefix or aspectual morpheme used has an underlying [+H] tone. In this discussion the aspectual morpheme -ya and first or second person subject concord, both of which are unassociated with tone, and the progressive aspectual -sa- and the third person subject/object concord, which have an underlying [+H] tone have been used.

15.   Examples

	North Lala	Gloss	South Lala
(a)	Ngiyála:la ##	(I am sleeping)	Ngiyála:la ##
(b)	Ngilâla ngôdzi ##	(I sleep alone)	Ngilála ngéjwa ##
(c)	Bayá:fa ##	(They are dying)	Bayá:fa ##
(d)	Báfa bó:dzi ##	(They die alone)	Báfa bó:jwa ##
(e)	Sisavímbe:la ##	(We are still preventing)	Sisavímbe:la ##
(f)	Sisavimbéla toná ##	(We are still preventing them)	Sisavimbéla to:ná ##
(g)	Ngiyayí:lwa ##	(I am fighting it)	Ngiyayí:lwa ##
(h)	Ngisahlábele:la ##	(I am still singing)	Ngisahlábele::la ##

(i)   Sisáhlabéle:la ##   (We are still singing) Sisáhlabéle:lâ ##

In (a) (b) only toneless prefixes have been used and accordingly no realisation rules are necessary, since the surface forms are not different from the underlying forms. However, one can argue that there is a tonal shift from the **ngi-** concord to -ya- because **ngi-** is a high toned concord. This implies the shifting of the high tone to the right like in (e) to (i). But from (c) - (i) prefixes which are underlying associated with high tone have been used and in (c), (e),(f),(g) (h) and (i) it has been a shift of the high tone from the inherently high toned prefix to the right. Msimang (1989:277) emphasises that what is required to explain tone shifting in the above examples are Rightward Shift and Extratonality Marking.

Khumalo (1987:195-196) argues that where there is a shift in tone it is due to two rules, i.e., Extratonality Marking and Rightward Shift. He further argues that the advantage of the incorporation of extratonality to the analysis is that it generalizes the application of Rightward Shift and rules out the necessity for an extra tonal rule.

6.5.2.2   **Low toned stems in negative indicative.**

Msimang (1989:277) has noted that in Swati negative suffix has an underlying [+H] tone. The same can be said of Lala, where toneless verb radicals suddenly acquire tone once the negative morpheme has been affixed.

Examples

16.	**North Lala**		**South Lala**
(a)	Angî:fi ##	(I am not dying)	Angí:fi ##
(b)	Abávimbé:li ##	(They do not prevent)	Abávimbé:li ##
(c)	Abáhlabéleli njá:lo ##	(They do not always sing)	Abáhlabéleli njá:lo ##
(d)	Abásilalé:li ##	(They do not listen to us)	Abásilalé:li ##

The above examples indicate that the negative suffix has an underlying tone which spreads leftwards to the penultimate syllable as in 16 (a), or it shifts leftwards, as in 16 (b)-(d).

Khumalo (1987:225) captures the tonal changes in two rules, i.e. Leftward spread and Leftward shift. The difference is that in the former the high tone is repeated on the penultimate without delinking from the final syllable, whereas in the latter the high tone does delink from the

final syllable. This can be represented in these tonal rules:

17   (a)   **T-Rule 9: Leftward Spread**
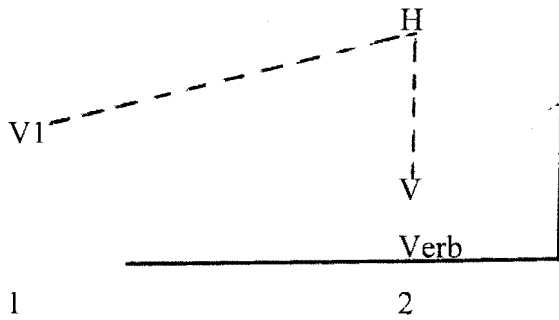
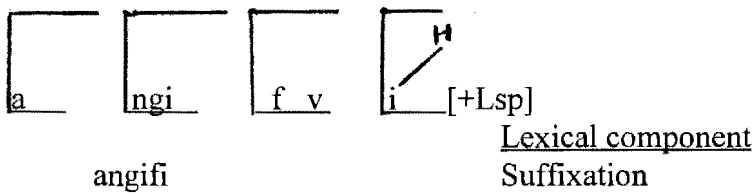Condition: If 1 = SP/OP vowel, then 2 = monosyllabic verb vowel

If 1 = Polysyllabic verb-vowel, then 2 = [+Lsp] suffix.

(b)   **T-Rule 10: Leftward Shift**
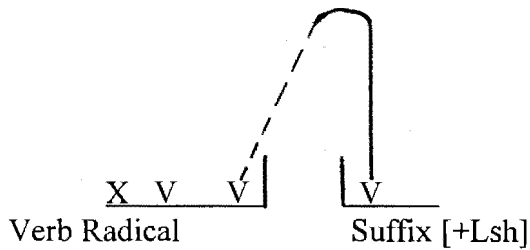
The derivations can be the following:

18   (a)
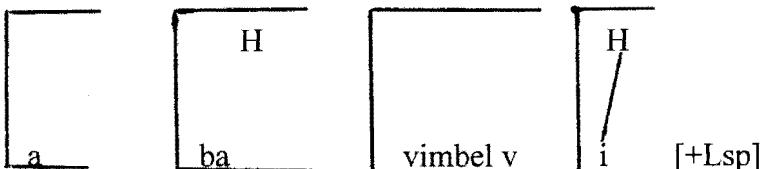

angifi

Lexical component
Suffixation

Leftward spread

Post Lexical Component

H

angii fi   Prepausal Lengthening

H
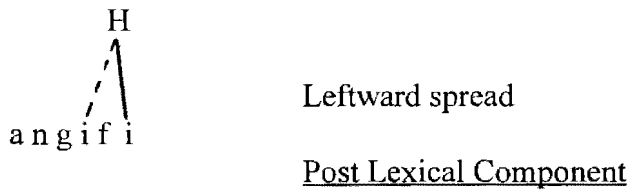
angii f i   High dissimilation
Phonetic Component

àngíí f i   Low Tone Default
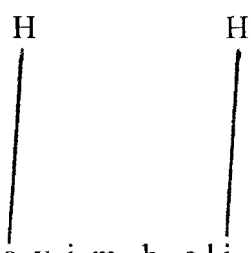
ángî f í   NL (I don't die)
àngí f i   SL (I don't die)

(a)

H   H

a   ba   vimbel v   i   [+Lsp]

Lexical Component

H   H
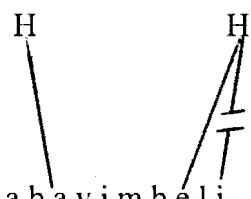
abavimbeli   Suffixation

H   H

abavimbeli   Leftward Shift

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{H} & \text{H} \\
\end{array}
$$

a b a v i m b e e l i

<div style="text-align:right">
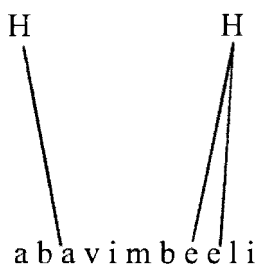
Post Lexical Component

Suffixation

Prepausal Lengthening

</div>

à b á v i m b é é l ì   Low Tone Default

ábâvimbélì   (they do not prevent)

àbávimbélì   (they do not prevent)

6.5.2.3   Negative of Low/High toned Lala stems - indicative

In the indicative negative conjugation two rules can be used for High/Low toned stems. The first one is called Monosyllabic High Stem Lowering (Davey,1981:62 and Khumalo 1987:258), which is triggered by an object/subject concord. The rule operates to a limited scale on monosyllabic stems with a high tone. It delinks the syllable tone node. Khumalo (ibid) formalises the rules as follows:
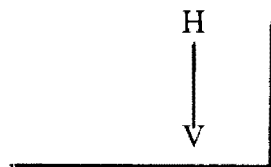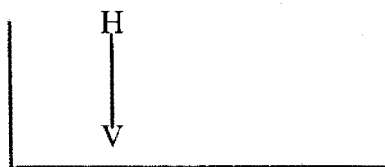
Prefix   Verb root, Indicative Principal,
                                      Subjunctive.

Condition: The rule applies when the prefix is the object concord used in with a subjunctive

                verb.

If a monosyllabic verb is immediately preceded by a high toned SP/OP, the high toned monosyllabic verb in the indicative or subjunctive mood is lowered. The following derivations can be considered.

a   ngi   f V   0   i   [+Lsp]

<div style="text-align:right">

Lexical Component

</div>

H

 àngífi   Suffixation

H

angifi   Leftward Spread

H

angifi   Monosyllabic Lowering

<u>Post-Lexical Component</u>

H

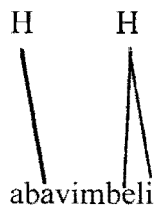angii fi   Prepausal Lengthening

<u>Phonetic Component</u>

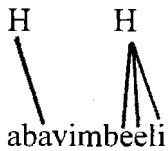àngí: fì   Low Tone Default

The second rule is called the Phrase Final Lowering, which delinks the final syllable from the high node if it is co-linked to the vowel of the penultimate at the phrase final position. The following are the derivations:

H   H

abavimbeli

Lexical Component

Suffixation

Phrase

H   H

abavimbeeli

Post-Lexical Component

Prepausal Lengthening

H   H

abavimbeeli

Phrase Final Lowering

H   H
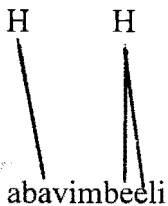
abavimbeeli

SP- Lowering

àbàvímbéélì

àbàvimbélì

Phonetic Component

Low Tone Default

6.6   Chapter conclusion

This chapter has briefly dealt with some aspects of tonology as applicable to the Nguni languages and in particular to Lala. This brief outline on tone was felt necessary or even essential in order to highlight the tonal patterns in Lala, as well as the resemblances and differences between North and South Lala. My analysis has shown that the two Lala dialects are extremely similar under most aspects.

One can enumerate a few reasons for these similarities, such as the following: the Lalas are believed to have originated from the same stock and at the same place, although historical circumstances forced them to separate at the beginning of the XIXth century. Pride in their

identity helped them to preserve the peculiarities of their language, which enclosed the soul of their history, culture and religion.

Although there are evident signs of IsiZansi, Xhosa, Bhaca and Nhlangwini influence in South Lala, the main language that surrounds even the South Coast immigrants is Zulu, which is also the medium of instruction and the means of much official communication. In spite of the traditional antagonism that exists between Zulu and Lala, it is impossible to fence oneself off from all kinds of influence, especially since Zulu was also the most important language that surrounded the Lala when they lived together in the northern and coastal areas of KwaZulu.

Another major influence is exercised by the Tekela dialects. This is why this study makes frequent reference to Swati. But also Nhlangwini and Xhosa have played a considerable role in the shaping of the cultural heritage of the UMzumbe Lala.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.0   Introduction

Now that I have come to the end of this comparative study between North and South Lala, it is important to look back and reflect on the findings that have been made.

These findings can be grouped into three categories, broadly corresponding to the aims of the research project, which was intended to clarify the history of the Lala people and to ascertain aspects of the Lala language. Some remarks, which are an extension of and a reflection on what has been said in chapters one and two, will be made here with regard to Lala history.The purpose will be to identify the possible binding forces that hold Lalas together as a people. This will prove once again that Lalas are one, and there are no real North and South Lalas.

Secondly, peculiar aspects of the language will be outlined, for two main purposes: firstly to identify what distinguishes Lala from the other Nguni languages; and secondly, to investigate the effects that nearly 200 years of separation have had on the language used by Lalas in the North and those in the South. Evidently there are phonological and morphological similarities and differences existing between the two trunks of the language, but it is difficult to say whether these are so extensive as to justify the view that the Lalas are now divided by their language, or so marginal that one can still truly affirm the unity of the Lala language.

Finally, some brief conclusions will be drawn on the observations made regarding Lala tone. Tone is, in fact, an extremely important aspect of African languages that goes well beyond the realm of 'accent' and dialect. In tonal languages tone is a suprasegmental reality that conditions lexicon and meaning.

7.1   Historical observations

The present study has stressed the ideas expressed by lineage bards, old men and women, knowledgeable people, about the history and pre-history of the Lalas. It has been remarked that community memory does not go back very far when it is simply based on the oral traditions. My research has demonstrated that Lala collective memories are only able to push back to around Shaka's times, that is, about two hundred years ago. In fact even these memories are often heaped together, confused and contradictory. According to these oral sources, the Lalas were

a group of Tekela Nguni speakers that migrated seawards branching into two groups, viz. the group of Aba-Mbo who migrated to modern Swaziland and Northern Natal, and another group that first settled in modern Zululand and later dispersed into the lower part of Natal. According to some sources, that rely on marginal similarities with the Tsonga/Thonga language, the Lalas, and perhaps all the Tekela speakers, formed part of the great Thonga kingdom in Southern Mozambique and Eastern Transvaal.

Mythology and legend speak of a 'northern descent' in the remote past, which would reflect the so-called Bantu migrations from West Africa north of the Equator during the past five thousand years. When I asked a Lala chief, Vusumuzi Bhengu of the Ngcolosi, about this 'northern origin', he said to me:

> They always say that we originated in Northern Africa, but what I know is that we are from the Swazi royal family. (My own translation)

However, Chief Calalakubo Khawula (Hlongwa), popularly known as `Bhova Lomnqini,' when giving the history of the Hlongwa lineage, said the following:

> *Kutsiwa sadzabuka etulu neve lase Afrika lakukhona lamachibi lamakhulu. Sehla neve sate safika eHlimbitswa.*
> (They say we originated in Northern Africa, in the great lakes region. We moved southwards until we came to the tributary of the UMvoti river.)

Chief Calalakubo Khawula is not a leader of mean stature. He is the Vice Chairman of UMzumbe Regional Authority and the Chairman of the twenty eight (28) chiefs from UMkhomazi River to UMthavuna River. His word must therefore be taken quite seriously.

The idea that the Ngcolosis originated from the Swazi royal house gains some support from the general knowledge that there were Tekela-Nguni speakers who settled in modern Swaziland. Furthermore, one can argue that when they wheeled southwards they might have met the Thongas in the modern INgwavuma district and acquired some of their manners and speech idiosyncrasies. The idea of Thonga influence on the Lalas within the borders of South Africa is not really plausible, however, since the South African Thongas are a small lineage, living in an arid area that would not allow another largish group to settle there for quite some time, since the acquisition of language and customs takes several generations. The Ngcolosis are, however, Lalas like the other Lalas.

When Mkhulekelwa Cele son of Pulezi kaSgubho, the *induna* of the Celes of Chief

Manzolwandle Cele of eMawuleni, asked if the Celes of eMawuleni are Tsongas, he said:

> *Angati kwabadzala, kojwa ngangike ngive betsho. Kuthi*
> *kuliqiniso kangakanani, nami angati.*
> (I do not know from our elders. But I used to hear them saying so. How
> true it is, however, I do not know.)

The *induna*'s words are in line with what was said by an uncle of the Late Paramount Chief Khandalesizwe Cele, a Lala lineage at IZingolweni in Natal, (cf Msimang, 1989:293), that they were originally Tsongas who lived in the days of Shaka in the coastal area of Zululand North of the Thukela river. This would imply the presence of Tsonga groups in Zululand, a fact that is not generally accepted, unless one understood the idea as saying that the Celes are of Tsonga origin and still consider themselves Tsongas. Or that Tekela speakers generally agree that they are of Tsonga origin, part of the great and varied Tsonga/Thonga kingdom that dominated Southern Mozambique and most of the Eastern Transvaal for a number of centuries. . Msimang has made a convincing demonstration in Chapter 2 of his study.

However, the Celes of eMawuleni and those of IZingolweni belong to the same Cele stock. Both lineages were once under Magidzigidzi, who decided to leave eMawuleni and settle at IZingolweni. EMawuleni was left under Mabhojane Cele. Without any doubt the Celes state that some of them are Tsongas, or they met and intermingled with Tsongas during their southward march. The Celes split under Mandze at Mandzeni moving southwards. Some moved to KwaNdosi at UMlazi, while another group moved to MaHlongwa where Kwa Cele is, and the rest moved further south to Emfeni, i.e. Highflats. Other groups are supposed to have moved along the coast where eMawuleni is. A similar tale of migrations can be told of the Ngcolosis and Qwabes. The Lalas are therefore one people: there are no North Lalas and South Lalas.

Historians of KwaZulu-Natal (e.g. Bailey, 1995; Maylam, 1986; Ownby, 1985) have discovered a large number of facts that throw some light on the remote history of the Nguni populations, that history that oral historians cannot recall. Although the idea of a migration from the north is generally accepted, this has to be pushed back to the first centuries of the Christian era rather than during the last four or five hundred years. In fact a large number of archaeological sites have been uncovered in Southern Africa which testify to the presence of Negroid, and possibly Bantu speaking, people in this country from about the fourth century A.D.

The mythology of foreign populations arriving suddenly and in great numbers and taking over whatever pre-existed has been explained by historians and anthropologists with the custom

of lineage fissure common in royal houses in Southern Africa, but without denying the possibility of occasional foreign occupation. According to this theory, the 'foreign invaders' are to be probably identified with heads of junior houses that did not accept to be excluded from the chiefship and organized a take over of their brothers' kingdoms. In order to distinguish his loyal followers from the common folk, the new chief may have imposed some form of new dialect. Relexification seems to be the general rule employed among the Nguni, which guarantees both continuity and innovation. Even in quite modern times researchers have witnessed the creation of family myths to justify some dynastic take over. The theory is appealing and has possibilities.

7.2 Lexical Correspondences

The linguistic study of Lala has been done on three distinct levels.

Chapter three has introduced a study of Lala lexicon, first with one hundred 'Basic Vocabulary' words, then with an extended two hundred common words. This first basic vocabulary lexical study revealed a very close relationship between Zulu, Swati and Lala, and a nearly perfect correspondence between North and South Lala dialects. The second list, however, revealed a growing fissure between North Lala and South Lala, since the latter is heavily influenced by IsiZansi and Xhosa. This means that while North and South Lala people use the same terms to speak about intimate family matters, body functions, religion, the weather, etc., because this inherited vocabulary changes very slowly, in their social functions their language is becoming increasingly differentiated.

Lala is a Tekela-Nguni dialect, which distinguishes itself from other Tekela dialects by its sound system, by peculiarities in its inflectional grammar, by its tonal system.

7.2.1 Phonetic peculiarities

Lala is a Tekela-Nguni language . Like other Nguni languages it adopts a number of phonetic features that are common among the Eastern Bantu languages, such as the 5-vowel phonemes, 7- vowel phone system, regular reflexes of Proto Bantu radicals *p, *t, *k, etc. As for the vowel system, it employs the normal vowels as well as Tekela nasalized vowel system.

Being a Tekela dialect, it employs /t/ where Zunda dialects normally employ /z/. Some plosive consonants in Zulu become affricates in Lala, according to a system similar to Swati, but with a limited number of differences. Also following the Tekela pattern, Lala makes use of

vowel substitution rather than vowel coalescence in some instances of nominal pre-prefixal inflection. Inflectional patterns are, however, quite permeable, and a number of exceptions to the Tekela systems have been highlighted in chapter four of this study.

Phonetic and phonological differences between North and South Lala are minimal, often simply manifested in sounds and words borrowed from the surrounding main languages. For example, in Lala labialisation and palatalisation do not occur. Where such phonological processes do occur, they can be ascribed to the influence of the surrounding dialects.

7.2.2 Morphological peculiarities

Chapter five has dealt with Lala morphology in great detail. What characterizes Lala word formation systems is the fact that noun class prefixes are monosyllabic and follow the CV structure pattern. The noun classes are the same as those found in Nguni, but, of course, the prefixal Zunda /-z-/ becomes the Tekela /-t-/.

Another peculiarity of Lala, which it shares with Swati, is the fact that both the demonstrative pre-nominal determiner and the post-nominal relative qualifier are formed by the prefixation of the demonstrative/relative marker **la-**. This gives rise to the speculation that there is the possibility that **la-** was common to both demonstratives and relatives in the other Eastern Bantu languages, but the **l-** was gradually elided in the relativization process.

Lala does not make use of the possessive allomorph **ka-** for Class 1a possessor nouns. A small number of other differences have been pointed out in the nominal inflection and derivation, especially where North and South Lala dialects are concerned.

The overall emerging picture is that Lala is very close to Tekela, and North Lala is very similar to South Lala in most morphological aspects.

However, the following can be noted as minor differences between North and South Lala.

(a)   North Lala prefixes the morpheme **no-** to adjective and relative stems to form adjectives and relatives. Whereas, South Lala prefixes both **no-** and **lo-** morphemes to adjectives and relatives, as for the example:

North Lala   **South Lala**

Nomkhulu ufikile   Lomkhulu ufikile (The big one has arrived)

(b)   Zulu influences North Lala speakers to use the demonstrative morphemes **la-** or **lo-** rather

than the South Lala forms **lha-** or **lho-**. The difference is only marginal, as it boils down to emphatic pronunciation on the part of SL speakers. In fact, the use of **h** in this manner is known as murmuring.

The Zulu influence on NL is further noticeable in the choice of the identificative or agentive prefix: NL uses **ngu-** or **wu-**, whereas SL uses **hh-** or **hw-** for the same purpose.

Examples:

North Lala	**South Lala**
Ngufwana lokhalako\ lokhalayo	Hhufwana lokhalako\ lokhalayo
Wufwana lokhalako\ lokhalayo	Hwufwana lokhalako\ lokhalayo

(It is the boy who is crying)

The identificative inflectional prefixes **hh-** and **hw-** are also used in Bhaca and Nhlangwini. South Lala has evidently adopted the use from its neighbours.

c.   The last batch of examples show that Lala makes use of the verbal relative ending **-ko**, as Swati does. Lala, however, but not Swati, also uses **-yo** for the same scope..

7.3   Tonal correspondences

The study has revealed that there are no important differences in tone between NL and SL. This is not really remarkable, because, although the dialect exists in two different environments, with NL being generally influenced by Zulu and SL by Xhosa, IsiZansi, Bhaca, Nhlangwini, tone reflects the common origin. The [+ High] tonal feature remains constant in the two branches of Lala, although in some environments NL adopts the Zulu falling tone, while SL keeps the high tone.

7.4   Lala, IsiZansi and other 'dialects'

In the body of this work I have made frequent reference to IsiZansi, and it is fitting to devote a few lines to this dialect whose influence on SL seems quite prominent.

Mzamane (1962:75) makes the following statement about IsiZansi, which he considers a conglomeration of dialects:

> It comprises [the dialects of] Nhlangwini, Lala and Zotsha. In some way they are all akin to Zulu and situated very near it, but they nevertheless do not conform wholly to its pattern. There are outstanding differences here and there, the chief amongst these being Tekela.

Mzamane's statement does not shed much light on the dialect. It declares that IsiZansi is a mixture of dialects, but does not say whether these dialects are alive and strong within the IsiZansi framework or are quite independent from it. It does not indicate any percentage in its relationship with Zulu, nor whether the similarities refer to phonetics, morphology or lexicon. It then ends with the sweeping statement that the major difference between Zulu and IsiZansi is due to Tekela.

I have lived and worked in the KZN South Coast for eighteen years. I have always enjoyed getting to know the language and traditions of the various groups. Furthermore, in my many trips as an inspector of schools, I have had the opportunity of gathering and then double checking information with both school educated, and traditionally or orally educated people. I have also had many discussions with well informed people, such as Mr B.V. Nhlumayo, who researched the characteristics and the spread of IsiZansi for an M.A. thesis which was accepted by the University of Durban-Westville at the beginning of 1999.

Zulu is certainly a major role player in the South Coast. It is used in dealings with government employees; it is the medium of education in schools; it is utilized by all the churches in their preaching and in their literature. It has also superseded the influence that Xhosa enjoyed during the first half of this century through Xhosa imported school teachers and church ministers.

Tekela is also an important factor in the linguistic mosaic of IsiZansi, but only with the language groups that are traditionally Tekela speakers rather than Zunda. Tekela was, however, introduced in schools only during the last thirty years or so, and only in areas surrounding Swaziland. It has therefore lost out in the battle for the hearts and minds, or at least for the culture, of the South Coast people, who however continue to use Tekela forms in their home and closed social environments. Zotsha, mentioned by Mzamane, is a collective name for the Lalas of KwaJali.

It is evident from the above quotation that Mzamane had not done his homework with regard to IsiZansi. I asked B.V. Nhlumayo, one of the scholars of IsiZansi, for some clearer points about the dialect. From him I was able to gather the following information:

(a)   IsiZansi is a dialect spoken from UMkhomazi to the IZingolweni and Harding areas.

(b)   Lexically it shows a Zunda influence, with a high percentage of Zulu basic vocabulary, but with a considerable amount of Xhosa terms, probably due to the influence of Xhosa speaking school teachers and church ministers. A large number of IsiZansi words are

derived from ancient pre-Zulu Nguni substratum dialects, such as Bhaca, Nhlangwini, Tekela and Lala.

(c)   The Lala influence can be gauged by the use of archaic Zulu/Lala words, such as *umusi*, for *intuthu* (smoke). There are also Bhaca, Xhosa and Nhlangwini words.

(d)   Some peculiarities in the way words are pronounced, or spelt, are due to the wide influence of Lala speaking groups in the South Coast.   For example, Zulu *imoto* is pronounced as *imoti*; Zulu *umkhulu* becomes IsiZansi *ukhulu;* Zulu *umlingane* is *umkhozi* in IsiZansi. 'Pronunciation' is taken here in the wider sense, not simply of phonetic peculiarities, but also of morphological differences.

Perhaps, one should conclude by revisiting Crystal's definition of 'dialect': " a regional or socially distinctive variety of language identifiable by a particular set of **words** and **grammatical structures"**. The present study has demonstrated that Lala is indeed a dialect of Tekela-Nguni, but should not be too hastily divided into North and South Lala, because the acknowledged differences are very minor in both phonology and morphology. The considerable differences noticed in the social lexicon register are due to innovations in the social culture, brought about during the last two hundred years of colonization, school education, westernization, and influence from world religions.

One should, however, avoid the derogatory implications of the term 'dialect', as used by arrogant westerners who think that only their speech forms enjoy the privilege of being called 'languages', while African or other languages are simple 'dialects', not worthy of the attention of 'educated' people.

In our African context, 'dialect' has come to mean a speech form of a group of people which has not gained the recognition of writing, of being used as a medium of education in schools or in government acts. There is nothing derogtory about it. It leaves the door open for further study and investigation. It kindles the prospect and the enticement of fresh discoveries.

Lala is one such exciting reality. It is hoped that the present research will stimulate further studies, and generate great enthusiasm for our dialects, because they contain our past history in a way that we have not been able yet to decipher. In our history there are also the seeds of our national greatness that must be allowed to be revealed, to prosper and to grow.

Knowledge is power, and the knowledge of our languages and dialects empowers us to

be more genuinely ourselves, and thus an element of wealth to our people.

Knowledge is also a double-edged sword with regard to freedom: on one hand it frees us to fulfil all our potentials; on the other it charges us with the heavy load of responsibility: the more we know the more we are bound to do and to give.

Let our people accept the challenge of knowledge, to be able to be fully human.

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