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A CONCISE TREATISE ONP H U T H I
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WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS RELATIONSHIP

WITHNGUNI AND SOTHO

"Dissertation submitted in partial compliance with
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
of the University of South Africa in --
African Studies (Language)".

Submitted by :

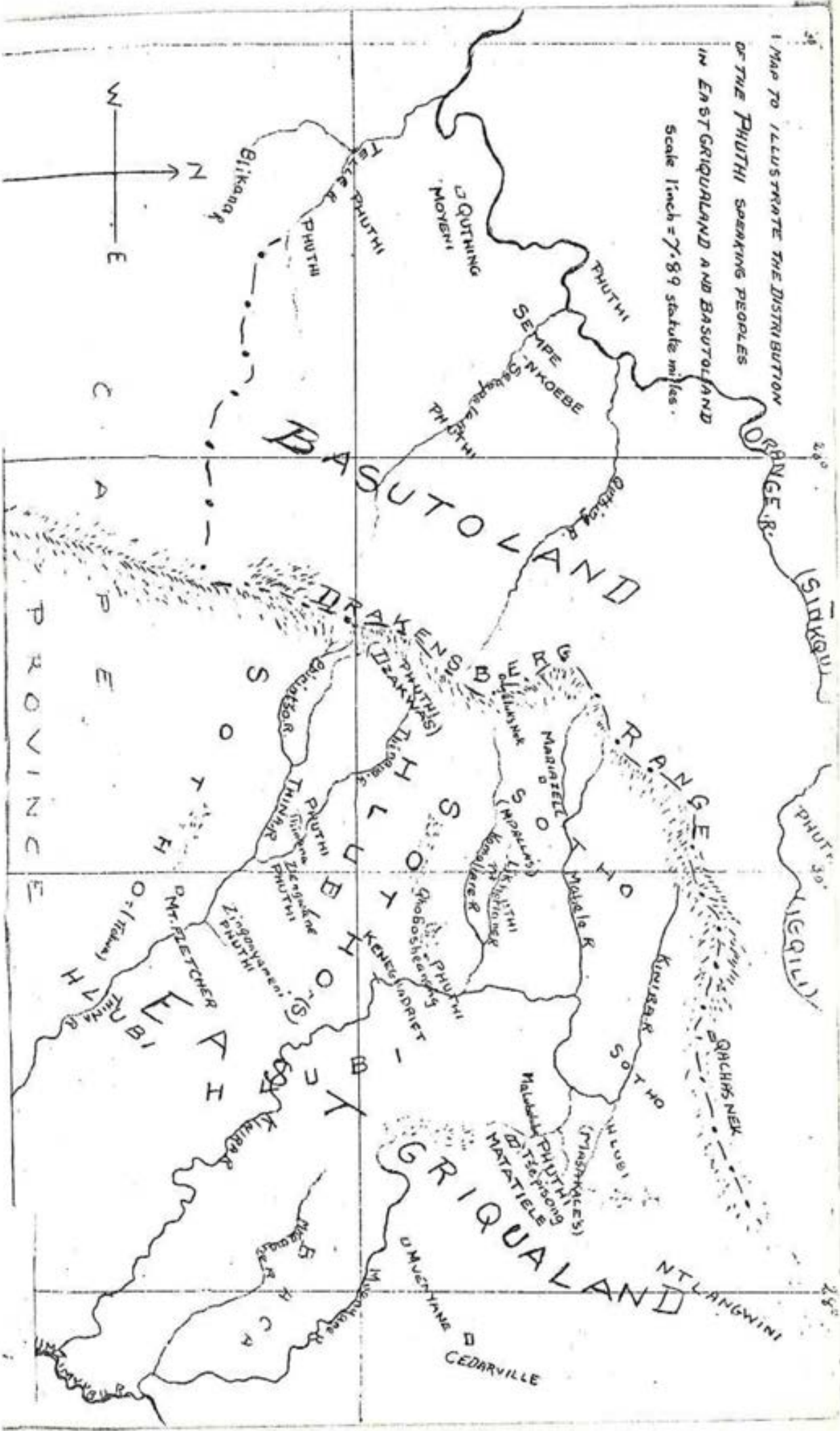
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P.O. FORT HARE,
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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PHUTHI SPEAKING PEOPLES IN EAST GRICUALAND AND BASUTOLAND

Scale 1 inch = 7.89 statute miles.



INTRODUCTION.

Phuthi, which forms the main part of this essay, has a mid-way nature between Nguni and Sotho. The language is spoken chiefly in some parts of the districts of qacha's Nek and Quthing in Basutoland and in the Cape Province at Masakale's in the Matatiele district; at Ngonyameni, Tinana, Dzakwa's and Likhetlane locations in the Mt. Fletcher district.

Phuthi speaking peoples comprise four main clans, viz:-

- (a) Dhlamini who claim themselves to be of Zizi stock, a Nguni tribe.
- (b) Bulani,
- (c) Nare,
- (d) Tshedza.

All the latter three are regarded as being of Sotho extraction, and whose language coming in contact with that of the Nguni Zizi gave rise to the Phuthi language.

Phuthi is the general language spoken by the whole group, although a very small section of them speak siBulani which is really a dialect of Phuthi.

The material for this essay was collected at Masakale's in Matatiele and occasionally from the Phuthi speaking locations in Mt. Fletcher, especially at Zingonyameni. Owing to tribal displacements and removals from place to place in the Mt. Fletcher district Masakale's group was selected for purposes of intensive investigation on account of its more stable character and the larger concentration of the tribe in the latter group. Among the many informants used, mention may be made of the following to whom one is most grateful.

Mr. John Mbenyane	Gqada of Tšepi song.
" Kush	Gqada do.
" Mammalo	Hloele do.
" Mabitle	Jas do.
" Lekhaola	Moosi do.
" Tanleno	Raknarabe do.
Headman Sidoyi	Pharela of Malubelube.
Mr. Sekese	Rankhahle do.
" Tiello	Moosi do.
Mrs. Molefe	Klass of Tšepi song.
" Mamatsana	Hloele do.
" Ntsoateng	Raknarabe do.
" Mamo-subetsi	Raknarabe do.
" Mafilipi	Pharela of Malubelube
" Mamojabeng	Doda Mphulla.

Some General Characteristics of Phuthi.

(a) As mentioned before, Phuthi is a language whose nature lies somewhat mid-way between Nguni and Sotho although it tends much more towards Nguni than Sotho.

Linguistic elements from either language are mixed in varying but appreciable proportions. With regard to its relationship with Nguni, Phuthi follows the "tshfula" and the "teketa" dialects of Nguni and also the "Zantsi" dialects in changing of the Z'a into ti'a.

The "tshfula" found in Phuthi is almost identical with that found in Baca and Swazi. Similarly the "teketa" is the same as that of siqwabe and other Natal Coast dialects.

It must be pointed out, however, that the two terms "tshfula" and "teketa" are used here, in the Cape Nguni sense where (i) the former involves a change of the explosive aspirated alveolar th into an affricate aspirated alveolar tsh, as in the change from uthi (he says) into utshi; and (ii) the latter i.e. "teketa" involves the change of the voiced lateral alveolar l into a pre-palatal semi-vowel y, as in the change from u6onile into u6oniye.

(b) Phuthi shares the characteristic of the disyllabic prefixal formative with Nguni on the one hand e.g. Phuthi: ama -ti (water); and Nguni: ama -nzi, and on the other hand the characteristic of the monosyllabic prefixal formative with Sotho e.g. Phuthi: si-phadze (tree); and Sotho: se -fate.

(c) The language has a marked preference for the mid-forward close vowel e to the mid-forward open vowel a (phon. ϵ) To some extent, the same is true with regard to the close o and the open o (phon. \circ), e.g.

hleka (laugh), tshlega (buy); yedza (get married)
6ona (see), 6akona (they are present); inyoka (snake)

(d) Although most of the syllable in this language end in a vowel, nevertheless there are exceptions in which the vowel drops; especially this is so where assimilation takes place as in mmuso (government) from ma6uso. mullo (fire) from mulilo.

(e) There are found peculiar sounds with more than one articulation in Phuthi. These result from a phonological influence of the back vowels u and o. On the preceding aspirated alveolar sound th and the voiced alveolar sound d. The labial qualities of u and o are imparted to the preceding consonant, with the result that the consonant takes a dentilabial sound immediately after it. Thus th under such influence becomes thf, and d becomes dv as in -

Phuthi	<u>cutafogo</u> (sleep)	in contrast to the Nguni	<u>uGuthongo</u>
do.	<u>muthfuti</u> (shade)	...	... .. <u>umthunzi</u> .
do.	<u>lidvolo</u> (knee)	...	... .. <u>idolo</u> .
do.	<u>dvuma</u> (tasteless)	...	... .. <u>duma</u> .

(f) Phuthi contains the same clicks as are found in Nguni viz. - c, q, x and their compounds. These clicks were acquired either indirectly or directly from the Khoisan people. Many informants spoke of some close kinship connections between some sections of the Phuthi with the Bushmen who were nicknamed, "Goqhadiqwe". Some of them went so far as to suggest that Moorosi the famous historic Phuthi chief was born of a Bushwoman.

Khoisan influence on the Phuthi is not only linguistic as the words like qwa6i (wild cat); sixaxa (frog) and isengqang (horse) show, but even physically Phuthi have high cheek bones, protruding posterior and a light brown colour, characteristics which we find in Bushmen and Hottentots. The historical background of the Phuthi which has a great bearing on the development of their language makes interesting recording to the field worker. Many informants confirm Ellenberger's historical account on the Phuthi, and maintain that they are an offspring of some original Sotho tribes mainly the Bulani, Nare and others who mixed and exchanged cultural traits with the Zizi of the Dhamini clan who came from the region of the Isadlalu6e mountain in Natal. After adopting the totem of one of the Sotho tribes the phutai (duiker) the whole heterogeneous group called themselves by that name and as they say: - "Ya6a e6athfa la6a bahlaganya mukhulumo lo wa6o

wesiGoni lalo wesiSutna, kodzi laSanyheti iyiwo amaZizi la
agemaDlhamini akaJhama kaSiJaudu".

Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations have been used to indicate
the languages and dialects referred to in this essay.

<u>Nguni</u>	is	indicated by	Ng.
Nguni Baka	do.	do	Ng.Ba.
" FluSi	do	do	Ng.Fl.
" Mpondo	do	do	Ng.Mp.
" Transvaal Ndebele	do	do	Ng.Nd.T.
" Ntlangwini	do	do	Ng.Ntl.
" Xhosa	do	do	Ng.X.
" Zulu	do	do	Ng.Z.
<u>Sotho</u>		do	So.
Northern Sotho		do	No.S.
Southern Sotho		do	So.S.
Tswana		do	Ts.
Tlokoa		do	So.Tl.

In order to make up for typographical limitations of the
machines used various phonetic symbols have been given certain
letters to represent their respective sounds, e.g.

	the soft d is represented by	d.
explosive	→ j	do jh
soft	→ j	do j.
symbol)	→ l	do hl.
	tā	do tl.
	dy	do dlh.
	z	do zh.
	ŋ	do ng.
	p	do ny.
	x	do r.
	ʔ	do gr.
	f	do sh.

Also as there is no plus sign on the machine used, the word
form has been used in order to overcome the difficulty.

For practical purposes and convenience comparative examples
with Phuthi have been drawn chiefly from Xhosa which has been
used to represent the Nguni group and from Southern Sotho which
has been used to represent the Sotho group.

Because of its dual nature, Phuthi, is easily intelligible
to both Nguni and Sotho speaking peoples. The possibilities of
this language as a basis of a lingua franca for Nguni and Sotho
will be discussed in another work on Phuthi traditional literature
which will be undertaken in the near future.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHONETICAL STRUCTURE OF PHUTHI.

SPEECH SOUNDS.

Phuthi speech sounds may be divided into three types, viz.

- (a) Vowels,
- (b) Plain consonants, and
- (c) Click sounds.

VOWELS.

The vowel system of Phuthi is simple and resembles the Nguni vowel system very closely except for two vowels, viz.

- (i) The high front close vowel which is represented by the symbol ɨ in this work.
- (ii) The high back close vowel represented by the symbol ɤ in this work.

These two vowels are also found in Sotho and their positions in the vowel chart approximate to cardinal vowels numbers 1 and 8 respectively.

As a chart of the Phuthi vowel system would be more or less the same as that found in Doke's "Text-book of Zulu Grammar" and Bennie's "Grammar of Xhosa", only vowels and illustrative examples will be given below.

The Phuthi system consists of nine vowels, viz.,

a, ɛ, e, i, ɨ, ɤ, o, u, ʉ.

-a (the low vowel), the tongue position is nearer to Cardinal vowel No. 5 than No. 4.

Examples:

Ingmani (calf), inyɔza (bundle);
maba (seize), sala (remain).

-e (the open mid-forward vowel, phon. ɛ) the tongue position slightly lower than that for Cardinal vowel No. 3.

Examples:

Ileba (axe), amaɔele (kaffir-corn);
Siphaɔza (tree), inygwa (case).

-e (the close mid-forward vowel) the tongue position slightly lower than that of Cardinal vowel No. 2.

Examples:

q̄dazwali (boys), emshemu (cranes-birds);
siyeda (shoe), nyh̄eti (many).

-i (the high forward vowel) the tongue position is a little lower than that for Cardinal vowel No. 1.

Examples:

emutini (at a village etc.), nini? (when);
isikiti (bug) tisini (toothless gums).

-I (the high forward vowel) the tongue position closely approximating to Cardinal vowel No. 1.

Examples:

Butima (weight), lidimu (cannibal);
lififi (darkness), liaka (sinew fibre).

-o (the open mid-back vowel phon. ɔ) the tongue position is slightly lower than that for Cardinal vowel No. 6.

Examples:

q̄hle (all of them), gakoloq̄o (on that account);
itolo (yesterday) iyomo (beast).

-ō (the close mid-back vowel) the tongue position is slightly lower than that for Cardinal vowel No. 7.

Examples:

iq̄oti (danger), inyoka (snake);
ikona (it is there), llodi (rush grass).

N. B.

The occurrence of the close mid-back vowel in words like inyoka, ikona and many others in Phuthi, is a peculiarity characteristic of this language alone in contrast to Nguni and Sotho where similar or allied words contain an open-mid-back vowel.

Compare these examples with Nguni:-

inyoka (phon. ip̄oka) (snake) - ikhona (phon. ikhona)
(it is there).

Also compare Sotho and Phuthi in the following words:-

Phuthi: nona (fat), tona (they),

Sotho : nona (phon. n na) (fat), tsona (phon-ts na) (they).

-u (the high back vowel) the tongue position is a little lower than that for Cardinal vowel No. 8, but with the lips rounded.

Examples:

tiphumulo (noses), kuvuga (to agree);

kunyuka (to cross, kunyuluka (to ascend).

-u (the high back vowel), the tongue position closely approximating to Cardinal vowel No. 8. The lips are closely and tensely rounded.

Examples:

muuwani (willow tree), muPhuthi (a Phuthi);

kuruda (to learn, teach, preach), kutuka (to burn)

PLAIN CONSONANTS.

The plain consonants in Phuthi may be classified as follows:-

(a) EXPLOSIVES.

-k (the radical velar explosive).

Examples:

ikepa (digging iron rod), kodzi (but),

kubuhlugu (it is painful).

-k' (the ejective velar explosive).

Example:

nk'a (phon.gka) (take) mank'etfwani (type of green frog).

N. B.

As the ejective form or sharp k, is always found after the homorganic velar nasal ŋ (phon. ŋ) this form of k is seldom found in Phuthi, because of the fact that as a rule a nasal consonant may not be succeeded immediately by another consonant in this language. Even where this occurs the possibility is that the words in which this combination is found, are borrowed from

Sotho or have been influenced by this language.

-kh (the aspirated velar explosive).

Examples:

šukh^hati (lobola), mukh^hupha (kind of bread),
mukh^hoti (relative in-law -- as used by parents)
ikh^hatsato (trouble).

-g (the voiced velar explosive).

Examples:

ka^gaka (as much or as big as this).
ku^gvaga (to agree) wa^gga (kiss)
mu^goni (a Nguni person).

-t (the radical alveolar explosive).

Examples:

ibi^ta (port), mu^tu^ti (gravy),
ibu^ti (goat), gi^tnywele (hair).

-t' (the ejective alveolar explosive).

Examples:

an^{t'}ace gikhabe (I never went), nt'^{t'}ate (father)
an^{t'}abe gimušone (I did not see him).

H. B.

In accordance with the Shuthi morphological pattern, that a nasal may not be followed immediately by another consonant, the occurrence of the ejective alveolar explosive t' is very rare in the language.

-th (the aspirated alveolar explosive).

Examples:

muthatha (wet porridge), ithithana (girls' fibre
loin apron),
kuthitha (to smooth tatcha with the special
instrument for this purpose).

-d (the voiced alveolar explosive).

Examples:

i^dawu (lion), q^dadadiyela (at Matatiele town).
si^dyeda (shoe), ku^da (to teach, learn.)

-p (the radical bilabial explosive).

Examples:

kupalama(to ride), ipitso(a gathering, convocation).
kupota(to go round),

N.B.

The incidence of this consonant i.e. p is very rare in Phuthi. The Phuthi speech pattern does not seem to favour the use of the consonant in its radical form. Many examples of such p's in Sotho are found as voiced consonants in Phuthi in the form of b's as in Nguni.

Examples:

Sotho pitsa (pot) is found as bita in Phuthi and mbiza in Nguni.

Sotho pokola (donkey) is found as bogala in Phuthi and mbongolo in Nguni.

Many words containing the radical p in Phuthi are of foreign origin, including Afrikaans.

Examples:

Sipikiri (nail)	from Afrikaans	spuiker.
sipelete (safety pin)	do.	spel.
siyiponi (looking glass)	from So.S.	seippone.
pitika (roll)	do.	pitika.

-p' (the ejective bilabial explosive).

This is always found after its homorganic nasal m which occurs syllabically.

Examples:

imp'a (merely, but) as in gimp'a giyeta jhe.
(I am merely doing for the sake of doing)

-ph (the aspirated bilabial explosive).

Examples:

phatsha(hold), pheka(cook), muPhuthi(a Phuthi person)
i phukujwe(fox),

-b (the voiced⁶ bilabial explosive).

Examples:

ibina (song), ibita (pot), muyiba (ascent)
itshabo (bone), rabela (pray).

(b) IMPLOSIVE.

-ɓ (the bilabial implosive).

Examples:

ɓukhati (lobola) ɓɔalɔyi (witches);
ɓaPedi (the Pedi people), ɓunolo (softness).

∅ -ɗ (the voiced semi-implosive alveolar i.e. soft ɗ).

Examples:

liɗɗi (light), ɓaɗiso (cannibals).
muɗaɗi (reader), muɗuwani (willow tree).

(c) NASALS.

-ŋ (the velar nasal phon. ŋ)

Examples:

liŋgolo (letter), liŋgana (wormwood);
iŋgweɗzi (newly married woman, bride)
liŋgobe (a donga).

-ny (the palatal nasal phon. ɲ)

Examples:

lihlanya (a mad person), munyago (doorway);
tinyawo (feet), kunyegisa (to annoy).

-nyh (the voiced palatal nasal phon. ɲh).

Examples:

nyhini (day-time), inyhɔri (one-eyed person).

-n (the alveolar nasal).

Examples:

unna (his or her mother) (compare with Nguni unina);
inala (good harvest), kunona (to be fat),
linaga (horn)

-m (the bilabial nasal).

Examples:

iyomo (beast), kumelqela (to be cold, to get cold)
malinqi (tongues), manana (to stick) .

∅ Although this consonant is written like the Chona alveolar implosive^ɗ it is not quite the same in Phuthi; but it is very much akin to it. In this essay it is represented a ɗ with a little cap thus ɗ.

(d) FRICATIVES.

-h (the radical glottal fricative).

Examples:

muhuma (hoe, plough), ihoki (pig);
lihapu (sweet water melon), lihafi (armpit),
lihemu (crane-"bird").

-hl (the radical lateral fricative phon. ɸ)

Examples:

emahlanya (mad people), hlala (sit).

-r (the radical velar fricative, phon. x)

Examples:

Burulu (greatness), irabi (ox),
murawu (pity, mercy, etc.)

-gr (the voiced velar fricative^{phony})

Examples:

sigrunu (blunt edged object),
igranyaza (unripe green mealies).

-sh (the prepalatal fricative, phon. ʃ)

Examples:

gemushiya (across), lishala (coal),
kushumayela (to preach).

-zh (the voiced prepalatal fricative, phon. ʒ).

Examples:

muzhaca (a stick), emazhaqaba (cramps).

-s (the radical alveolar fricative).

Examples:

siSogo (clan name), sidzaka (cattle kraal mud)
igimi (field), igikiti (bug).

-z (the voiced alveolar fricative).

Example:

Muzevuŝu (uMzimvuŝu River), izaca (sweet cane)
muzwali (boy), emazizi (the Zizi tribe)
lizele (sweet mealie stalk).

-f (the radical dentilabial fricative).

Examples:

ifene (monkey, baboon etc.), lififi (darkness)
mufudza (type, kind etc), kufuna (to seek).

-v (the voiced dentilabial fricative).

Examples:

iyula (rain), muyallo (obstruction pole for a
cattle kraal);
gemuvulo (on Monday), kuyuga (to agree);
kuva (hear).

-r (the voiced rolled alveolar).

Examples:

lirada (noise), murēna (chief),
murudi (teacher etc.), sirurubele (butterfly).

-l (the voiced alveolar lateral).

Examples:

liβito (name), livi (voice), mulawu (law);
mulabo (river).

(e) AFRICATE.

-kph (the aspirated velar affricate, phon. kx).

Examples:

likrhubo (rib), likrhuwa (European),
tikphaša (spoons), kukrhawula (to break,
snatch).

N. B.

Phuthi words containing this affricate have similar counterparts in Sotho. S. from which language they have probably been borrowed. This aspirated sound does not occur in Nguni at all.

-tʃ (the radical prepalatal affricate).

Examples:

mutʃofdi (wagtail Motacilla Capensis);
tʃoto (water melon).

N. B.

These words too seem to be of Sotho.S. origin.

-tʃh (the aspirated prepalatal affricate).

Examples:

litʃhoša (tail brush), mutʃhato (wedding);

kutʃhaya (to beat), kutʃhisa (to burn).

-jh (the voiced prepalatal affricate, phon. dz).

Examples:

jhalo (so, like that), jhani? (how);

lamhla, jhē (to-day), jama, jhōsa (they are of
Jama's lineage.)

-j (the soft dz, also voiced)

Examples:

jwala (beer), jwani (grass).

-ts (the radical alveola affricate).

Examples:

ematsetse (fleas), kuhwōletsa (to shout);

litsoku (red-ochre), litswayi (salt).

-tsh (the aspirated alveolar affricate).

Examples:

itshumo (fable, folk story).

litshadzo (love), kubatsha (to put on clothing);

kutshela (to pour).

-dz (the voiced alveolar affricate).

Examples:

šudze (height, length etc.) lišōdza (wall);

lidzakwa (drunkard), tidzēvu (beard).

N. B.

Except for Baca and other allied Nguni dialects this sound does not occur in Nguni except perhaps in such nasal combinations as are found in the following:-

inzala (offspring) (phon. indzala).

nzulu (deep) (phon. ndzulu).

(f) LATERAL AFFRICATES.

-tl (the radical lateral affricate, phon tɬ).

Examples:

eḡaTlokwa (Tlokwa tribe), sinotlolo (key),

kutlitliḡa (to complain, grouse etc.)

-dlh (the voiced lateral affricate, phon. dḡ).

Examples:

Budlha (food), dlhula (play);

idlheḡe (ear), idlhu (house).

H. B.

This sound is not found in the other two languages viz:- Nguni and Sotho. Nguni uses dl (phon. ḡ) in examples similar to those found in Phuthi. The difference is that in Phuthi it is an affricate whereas in Nguni it is a fricative.

(g) SEMI-VOWELS.

-w (the bilabial velar semi-vowel).

Examples:

idawa (lion), igwe (tiger, leopard);

igweḡa (crocodile), siweḡe (tap-root vegetable)

-y (the prepalatal semi-vowel).

Examples:

iyomo (beast), muyiba (as ascent);

uyakhaba (he goes), yami (of mine i.e. mine).

SOUNDS WITH MORE THAN ONE ARTICULATION.

OR

HETERORGANIC COMPOUNDS.

Many of these compounds occur chiefly in conjunction with succeeding back vowels especially u and o and sometimes with the semi-vowel w.

The compounds consist of unvoiced aspirated and voiced alveolar explosives preplaced before corresponding unvoiced and voiced dentilabials respectively.

-thf (the aspirated alveolar denti-labial compounds).

Examples:

(a) with the mid-back close vowel, o.

ithfobi (girl), ithfoga (stick).

(b) with mid-back open vowel o (phon. ɔ)

Buthfogo (sleep), ithfo (thing) mukhothfo (spear)

(c) with the high back u.

ɛBathfu (people), muthfugu (beer dregs)

muthfuti (shade), thfuma (send).

(d) with the semi-vowel w before the low vowel a.

ithfwaBe (hiccough), ithfwala (louse),

muthfwana (child).

(e) with the semi-vowel w before the high front vowel i.

lithfwili (cut throat lark-*Macronyx capensis*),

tithfwili (dust).

-dv (the explosive voiced alveolar denti-labial compound).

Examples:

(a) with the mid-back open vowel o.

lidvolo (knee), ɛmadvobo (reserved grazing grounds)

(b) with the high back vowel u.

dyuma (tasteless), ɛdyute (near), iphɛdyulo (an answer)

muladyu (case, debt, etc.)

(h) CLICK CONSONANTS.

Click consonants occur in Phuthi. These may have been borrowed directly or indirectly from the Khoisan peoples, i.e. Bushmen and Hottentots, but some of my informants maintained that some of the clicks were acquired directly from the Bushmen with which group of the Khoisan people, they had come into direct contact in historical times.

Some of them ventured to say that Moorosi, the great Phuthi chief of historical fame, had a Bushman mother. Even physically a good number of the Phuthi show traces of Bushmen influence especially in regard to the colour of the skin, high cheek bones and an element of steatopygia.

One of their names by which they call Bushmen is Qhadiqwe as one of the Phuthi woman informants said, "Tshina BaPhuthi siya talana laSoqhadiqwe". "(we Phuthi people are related to the Bushmen)."

It is quite possible that in some cases clicks got into the language through Nguni and Sotho.

The following click components occur in Phuthi.

Radical

dental-click c sometimes represented by the symbol ɕ and sometimes ʘ.

alveolar click q sometimes represented by the symbol ǀ and sometimes ǁ.

lateral click x sometimes represented by the symbol ǃ and sometimes ǂ.

Aspirated

dental click ch sometimes represented by the symbol ɕʰ and sometimes ǀʰ.

alveolar click qh sometimes represented by the symbol ǀʰ and sometimes ǁʰ.

lateral click xh sometimes represented by the symbol ǃʰ and sometimes ǂʰ.

Voiced

dental-click gc; alveolar click gq; lateral click gx.

-c (the radical dental click).

Examples:

qeqe (grand-mother, qeqa (persuade);
qoqobisa (move gently), liqwaŋi (cream);
liqwa (tobacco).

-ch (the aspirated dental click)

Examples:

qhaza (scarify, make incisions) qhutulla (peel);
qhuta (limp), qhota (hatch).

-go (the voiced dental click).

Examples:

gina (keep), tigengce (flowing saliva).

-q (the radical palato-alveolar click).

Examples:

iqoqotho (windpipe), liqithi-qithi (a sound of something falling),

qala (start, begin), qedaa (finish).

-qh (the aspirated palato-alveolar click).

Examples:

qhetula (break), liqhiga (plan, device),

qhatsha (cheat), qhuBa (drive, go on etc.).

-gq (the voiced palato-alveolar click).

Examples:

ligqira (doctor), yegqele (six), gquma (roar).

-x (the radical lateral click).

Examples:

sixxaxa (frog), xakatsha (to carry an object
clockwise on one's shoulder),

xathfula (to bruise, etc.), xola (to be pacific

-xh (the aspirated lateral click).

Examples:

lixhegwatana (an old lady), lixnaka (a beast
with horns growing downwards on the sides),

xhutula (pull suddenly or violently),

xhiphu (ideophonic word indicating sudden
swooping or snatching).

-gx (the voiced lateral click).

Examples:

ligxuya (bird - Cursorius Rufus),

ligxiba (a tall person), gxelesha (to look at
a person sideways in a serious mood).

gxuma (to jump up).

(1) NASAL CLICK COMPOUNDS.

Although nasal compounds are rare in Shuthi, there are few

instances in which these are found. The following are some of the click compounds commonly met with in Phuthi:-

-nc (the dental nasalised click).

Examples:

ncama (give up), ncuma (penis sheath),
ncweša (pinch, nip, etc.), ncweta (pick, break a
piece).

-nch (the voiced nasalised click).

Examples:

nchwi (ideophone used for swearing),
nchili (tape-worm), tigcenche (saliva flow).

-nq (the palato-alveolar nasalised click).

Examples:

lingayi (an uninitiated or uncircumcised lad),
ngaba (to be scarce), ngadza (to be cold).

-nqh (the voiced palato-alveolar nasalised click).

Examples:

inqhithi (customarily amputated finger),
nqhala (go straight).

-nx (the lateral nasalised click).

Examples:

genxa (on or at the side of),
linxusa (messenger, ambassador),
nxele (left hand).

-nxh (the voiced lateral nasalised click).

Examples:

nxhama (hurry), nxhukušala (protruding, shapeless)

Below will be given miscellaneous examples in sentences to show the incidence of the various clicks in Phuthi.

Muthfwana ukhella cece emati. (the child gets water for the grandmother.)

Mucece akhabe aye ekhwašo. (persuade him to go to his home.)

Akataphili mucoqošise. (he is not well yet move him gently.)

- Yegula ligwaSi eliSisini. (remove the cream from the milk.)
- Muchazele liSaga lakho. (explain your reason to him.)
- Chatulla iworejbi usiphe. (peel an orange and give it to us.)
- Ulimele elidvqlweni, uwaghuta. (he hurt his knee he is limping.)
- Irupu yami ichotiye. (my hen has its eggs hatched.)
- Limuggine muthwana lowo. (keep that child).
- Mma ginwetele mukhupha. (mother, break me a piece of bread.)
- Umuncamiye goku. (he has given him up now.)
- Wonewejuwe tidhebe gunna. (his mother pinched his ears.)
- Wayana watshi nchwi. (he swore by saying 'nchwi'.)
- Muriyana lo ukhokha tinchili. (this medicine drives out tape-worms.)
- Iqogotho yami isuhlugu. (my windpipe is painful.)
- Qedzella leyidzawo uknaBe. (finish that portion and go.)
- Giqhetulele ithwana lami. (break a little piece for me too.)
- Uphumelle gemaghiga. (he succeeded through plans.)
- UBayiye kaggiira itolo. (he had gone to a doctor yesterday.)
- Kutota eSafu laBayiyeggele. (there will come six men.)
- UBagguma gemahlugu. (he was groaning with pain.)
- Kuyangadza la geshayi. (it is cold outside here).
- GinqaSiye goku giyaseBeta. (I am scarce now, I am working.)
- Nqhala ebili utofika. (go straight forward you will get there.)
- Inghithi yithfo yesaThebu. (finger amputation is a Thembu thing. i.e. Thembu custom.)
- Sixaxa sogeniye, Bohle bayema. (a frog entered and they all stood up.)
- Sele uxqliye goku? (are you calmed down now?)
- Lixhegwatana liyeta. (an old lady is coming).
- Ihlitiyo yami iyaxhutula. (my heart is palpitating.)

Lixiya yinqnyana lehle. (Burchell's Courser is a fine bird.)

Gqhlaganiye lelixiba lefo. (I met a tall man.)

Wagxuma akava tidza²a leto. (he jumped up when he heard that news.)

Giya genxa laya. (I go to the other side.)

Gilixusa lemurena leli. (this is the chief's messenger.)

Khaba gelixelani. (go on the left side.)

Unxhamele kqkqekhe. (he is hurrying to his home.)

Ihang-hang yami yinxhuku²ela le²sisu sisi phara. (my horse is a snakeless thing with a flat stomach.)

All the clicks found in Phuthi, including the nasal compounds also occur in Nguni. The only point of difference is that Phuthi entirely lacks the sharp nasalised click compounds which exist in Nguni and particularly in Xosa.

These are the sounds found compounded with g in Nguni.

Examples:

(a) ngc : as in ingcombolo (affair), ingcambu (root), ingcukecna (a detailed description).

(b) ngq : as in ingqondo (mind, brain, sense), ingqele (cold), ingqeqhe (small dog).

(c) ngx : as in ingxa²abano (quarrel), ingxolo (noise), ingxoxo (discussion).

Phuthi forms for these would follow the voiced types used with h in Xhosa without the g such as, inona (grass), inqhayi (pot), and inxhama (hurry).

On the other hand Phuthi shares one click consonant and its compounds with Sotho. S. viz., the palato-alveolar click q, which is found in such words as, quthing, qhoba (push), leqai (an uncircumcised lad).

One other compound which Phuthi has in common with Xhosa and Sotho. S. and not with Zulu is the radical velar nasal click compound, nkq.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
sin g qaqana	senqaqana	(frog).
Si n qu	Senqu	(Orange River).

NOTE:

Sotho pronunciation does contain the compound ngq, although it is not represented as such in the current orthography.

Xhosa

inkqayi (baldness), inkqušo (progress).

ASSIMILATION.

In a Phuthi word, if a syllable beginning with a bilabial m is followed by another syllable beginning with a bilabial m or b, the latter bilabial consonant may be assimilated to the former with the result that the two consonants become identical. This process is accompanied by an elision of the intervening vowel.

Words containing assimilated forms are however, used as alternatives to those with full forms.

- (a) The change b into m.

For mušadi (reader) we have an alternative form mmadi.

The process is briefly as follows:-

The b is assimilated into the previous m and becomes identical with it, the intervening vowel u is elided so that mušadi > mumadi > mmadi. Similarly:-

mušala (colour)	becomes	msala.
mušetli (carpenter)	do.	mmetli.
mušitsa (caller)	do.	mmitsa.
mušuleđi (preacher)	do.	mmileđi.
mušuso (government)	do.	mmuso.

- (b) The process of m and m.

Where the initial consonant of the second syllable is the same as that of the first syllable, the only

change which takes place is the elision of the intervening vowel.

For mumago (ascent) we have an alternative form mmago. The change being the elision of the intervening u.

Similarly:

mumili (body) becomes mmili.
mimili (bodies) do. mmili.
mumila (road) do. mmila.
mimila (roads) do. mmila.
mumabe (catch him) do. mmabe.

This phonological and morphological phenomenon is found to be exactly the same in Sotho, and the process is identical with that found in Phuthi. Compare the Phuthi examples given above with the following Sotho examples.

Mobali commonly appears as 'mali, the full form being mmali (reader).

Mobala commonly appears as 'mala the full form being mmala (colour).

Mobitsa commonly appears as 'mitaa the full form being mmitsa (caller).

Moboleli commonly appears as 'moleli the full form being mmoleli (preacher).

Mobuso commonly appears as 'muso the full form being mmuso (government).

ELISION OF VOWELS.

Vowel elision is a common morphological phenomenon in Phuthi. There are three types of Vowel elision in this language:-

- (a) elision of initial vowel.
- (b) elision of the final vowel.
- (c) elision of an intersyllabic vowel.

Elision of the Initial Vowel.

The elision of the initial vowel takes place in the following cases:-

- (a) After a demonstrative qualificative.

Examples:

lo ufati becomes lo fati. (this woman).

lo ufo do. lo fo. (this man).

le^ya ijha do. le^ya jha (that dog).

le iyomo do. le yomo. (this beast).

(b) In vocative constructions.

Examples:

g̃sazwali (boys) becomes sazwali! (boys!)

ufati (a woman) do. fati! (O woman!)

gmati (water) do. mati! (O waters!)

igw̃na(crocodile) do. gw̃na!(O crocodile!)

(c) After a verb in the negative conjugation.

Examples:

agiṣ̃ṇi ufo becomes agiṣ̃ṇi fo -

(I do not see any man).

aṣ̃afuni iyomo becomes aṣ̃afuni yomo -

(they do not want a beast).

aṣ̃as̃eli gmati becomes aṣ̃as̃eli mati -

(they do not drink water).

as̃itshadzi iyula becomes as̃itshadzi yula -

(we do not want any rain).

Elision of the Final Vowel.

The vowel a of the possessive concord drops leaving only the consonantal form of the formative before the full form of a noun.

Examples:

liphasi la gmadimo becomes liphasi l̃madimo -

(the country of cannibals).

gumuthfu wa gmadlha becomes gumuthfu w̃madlha -

(he is a person of strength).

ufati wa gṣ̃athfu becomes ufati w̃ṣ̃athfu -

(poor woman).

muriyana wa gmadi becomes muriyana w̃madi.

(blood purifying medicine).

Sometimes, the final vowel is elided in certain cases of quick speech.

Examples:

giβona gβathfu sometimes becomes giβon'εθathfu -
(I see people).

βafuna emati' sometimes becomes βafun'emati -
(they want water).

gaβona ijha sometimes becomes gaβon'ijha -
(and I saw a dog).

Elision of the Intersyllabic Vowel.

If two syllables each beginning with either m, n or l follow each other in succession in the same word, the vowel between the two consonants beginning the syllables is generally elided in Phuthi. The first consonant remains syllabic in the word.

Examples:

(a) lila (cry) becomes lla.

mulilo (fire) becomes mullo.

muvalqlo (obstruction bar) becomes muvallo.

panulula (outspan) becomes panulla.

qtululula (straighten) becomes qtulla.

qhanulula (off saddle) do. qhanulla.

qedzεlqla (finish off) do. qedzεlla.

tlamεlqla (tie on to) do. tlamεlla.

tlamulula (untie) do. tlamulla.

(b) mumago (ascent) becomes mmago.

mumili (body) do. mmili.

mumila (road) do. mmila.

muma (stinge) do. mma.

(c) unina (his or her mother) becomes unna.

With respect to the elision of the initial and final vowels Phuthi follows the same construction as Nguni. But there are more cases of such elision in Nguni than in Phuthi. The similarity

in elision between the two languages is shown in the following comparative examples.

- (a) Ph. lo ufati becomes lo fati (this woman).
 Ng. lo umfazi do. lo mfazi (do.).
 Ph. le igwe do. le gwe (this tiger, leopard).
 Ng. le ingwe do. le ngwe (do.).
- (b) Ph. gbathfwana (children) becomes bathfwana! (children!).
 Ng. abantwana (do.) do. bantwana! (do.).
 Ph. igwena (crocodile) do. gwena (crocodile!)
 Ng. ingwenya (do.) do. ngwenya! (do.)
- (c) Ph. asavali gmahlo becomes asavali mahlo (they do not shut eyes)
 Ng. asavali umehlo do. asavali mehlo (do.).
 Ph. asithęgi iyomo do. asithęgi yomo (we do not buy a beast).
 Ng. asithengi inkomo do. asithengi nkomo (we do not buy a beast).
- (d) Ph. gişona ivu becomes gişon'ivu (I see a sheep).
 Ng. ndişona imvu do. ndişon'imvu(do.).
 Ph. şaphula ithfoga do. şaphul'ithfoga (they break a stick).
 Ng. şaphula intonga do. şaphul'intonga (do.).

On the other hand the elision of intersyllabic vowels in Phuthi is akin to Sotho S. with which language it has examples in common as shown the following:-

	<u>Phuthi</u>		<u>Sotho</u>
(a)	<u>mullo</u> (fire).		<u>mollo</u> (fire) from <u>molelo</u> .
	<u>valla</u> (shut in)		<u>koalla</u> (shut in) " <u>koalela</u> .
	<u>khella</u> (dish for)		<u>khella</u> (dish for)" <u>khelela</u> .
	<u>qedzella</u> (finish up)		<u>qetella</u> (finish up)" <u>qetelela</u> .
	<u>rabella</u> (pray for)		<u>rapella</u> (pray for) " <u>rapelela</u> .
(b)	<u>mmili</u> (body)	' <u>mele</u> (body)	" <u>mmele</u> .
	<u>mmila</u> (road)	' <u>mila</u> (road)	" <u>mumila</u> & <u>mmila</u> .

COALESCENCE OF VOWELS.

In Phuthi as in Nguni when the basic low vowel a is followed by any of the two primary vowels, i or u coalescence or fusion takes place giving rise to a new vowel which may differ from either of the two vowels coming together. When this coalescence takes place it generally results as follows:-

a plus i coalesce into e.

a " u " " o.

There seem to be no instances of a plus a coalescing into a in Phuthi because, no noun, except certain proper names of persons, begins with the vowel a. Coalescence in Phuthi is found to take place in:-

(a) Possessive construction.

Examples:

la plus iyomo (of a beast) becomes leyomo -

(a plus i > e).

ta plus iruti (of a bull) do. teruti -

(a plus i > e).

wa plus (i)sifuša (of the chest) do. wəsifuša -

(a plus i > e).

la plus ufo (of man) becomes lofo -

(a plus u > o).

wa plus ufati (of woman) do. wəfati -

(a plus u > o).

(b) Constructions with the conjunctive formative la (with, and etc.)

Examples:

la plus idawu (with a lion) becomes lədawu -

(a plus i > e).

la plus (i)ajjana (with little dish) do- ləsijana

(a plus i > e).

la plus (i)aliphadze (with tree) do- ləsiphadze

(a plus i > e).

la plus ufo (and man) do. lofo -

(a plus u > o).

la plus ufati (and woman) becomes lofati -
(a plus u - o).

N. B.

The initial vowels in brackets do not appear in the normal form of these nouns but their presence is deducible from their phonological influence on the vowel a of the preceding conjunctive formative as in the cases above.

(c) Conjunctions with the formatives ga (by means of by etc.)
jhega (as, like etc.)

Examples:

ga plus icimi (by means of a field) becomes gesimi -
(a plus i > e).

ga plus ithfoga (by means of a stick) do. gethfoga -
(a plus i > e).

ga plus ufati (through or from a woman) do. gofati -
(a plus u > o).

ga plus ufo (through or from a man) do. gofo -
(a plus u > o).

jhega plus ithfobi (like a girl) do. jhegethfobi -
(a plus i > e).

jhega plus ifene (like a monkey) do. jhegefene -
(a plus i > e).

jhega plus ufati (like a woman) do. jhegefati -
(a plus u > o).

jhega plus ufo (like a man) do. jhegefofo -
(a plus u > o).

There is so much preference for the vowel a in many words in Phuthi that the resulting o from a plus u is sometimes found used alternatively with g. So that lofo and lofati have alternative forms lefo and lefati - respectively.

Many Phuthi folk tales begin thus - "Yaše igufo lefati"; alternatively, "yaše igufo lofati". (It was a man and a woman.).

VOWEL HARMONY.

In Phuthi when the vowel of the succeeding syllable in the same word or word group is i or u, any mid-forward or mid-back, or low vowel a (sometimes), of the preceding syllable is replaced by a vowel closer than itself or one that is acoustically intermediate between the two vowels; this means that the open vowel is harmonised with the succeeding close vowel.

Vowel harmony occurs more frequently in Phuthi than in Nguni and perhaps Sotho also. It is found in the following cases.

(a) With the possessive formative "a"

Because of the absence of the initial vowel in many Phuthi nouns, there is sometimes no coalescence, of the a of the possessive concord with the initial vowel of the noun. But nevertheless this vowel is harmonised into e if the vowel of the succeeding syllable is u.

Examples:

<u>wa</u> plus <u>muthu</u> (of the person)	becomes	<u>wemuthu</u>
<u>la</u> plus <u>muti</u> (of a dwelling)	do.	<u>lemuti</u>
<u>sa</u> plus <u>šudha</u> (of food)	do.	<u>šesudha</u>
<u>ta</u> plus <u>kuhila</u> (of Iife)	do.	<u>tekuhila</u> .

Neither Nguni nor Sotho show such vowel harmony in a possessive construction. There are, however, traces of this type of vowel harmony in Hlušì a Nguni dialect as shown in the following Hlušì examples.

ašantu ša plus luThukela becomes ašantu šeluThukela.
(people of luThukela).

ašantu ša plus šunGuni becomes ašantu šesunGuni.
(people of Nguniland).

amadoda a plus luSuthu becomes amadoda elusuthu.
(men of Basutoland).

umntu wa plus Mukhemani becomes umntu wemukhemani.
(a person of Mkhemani).

(b) With the formative "la" (with, and, even etc.)

Examples:

- la plus muthfu (and a person) becomes lemuthfu.
la " musiti (and soot) do. lemusiti.
la " mutshamo(with a mouthful)do. lemutshamo.
la " sudlha (with food) do. lesudlha.
la " susuku (even at night) do. lesusuku.

Compare the last example with the Hluṣi neṣusuku (na plus susuku) in ukhamba neṣusuku, (he goes even at night).

(c) With the adverbial formative "ga" (with, like etc),

"jhega" (like), "gaga" (as big as).

Examples:

- ga plus muratha (with porridge) becomes gemuratha.
ga " munyago (by the door) do. gemunyago.
ga " kuluga (with goodwill) do. gekuluga.
jhega plus muthfwana (like a child becomes jhegemuthfwana.
jhega " mukhupha (like bread) becomes jhegemukhupha.
jhega " suthfogo (like sleep) do. jhegesuthfogo.
jhega " kuphila (like living) do. jhegekuphila.
gaga " mugobu (as big as a pumpkin)do. gaggemugobu
gaga " mureṇa (as big as chief) do. gaggemureṇa.
gaga " suhlali (as much as wisdom)do. gaggesuhlali.

Note also the following cases of vowel harmony:-

- wa plus siphadze (of a tree) becomes wesiphadze.
la " sijana (with a dish) do. lesijana.
ga " lilebe (with an axe) do. gelilebe or gellebe.
jhega " silima (like a fool) do. jhegesilima.
gaga " tibuti (as big as goats)do. gagetibuti.

But the above examples cannot be said to be strictly cases of vowel harmony as the final a in each of the preceding formatives may be coalescing with the latent i, the extinct initial

vowel of each of the succeeding nouns, as they would be (i) sijana, (i) lilebe, (i) tibuti etc.

(d) When the noun in the locative ends in the locative suffixal formative "ni" (historically -ni). The i of the ni shows a phonological influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable and makes that vowel to harmonise with it.

(i) The open low vowel a and mid-forward open vowel e (phon. ε), are harmonised to mid-forward close vowel ɛ.

Examples:

lisaga (cattle kraal etc.)	becomes	ɛlisagɛni	-
		(at the cattle kraal).	
muhlaga (reeds)	-	ɛmuhlagɛni	-
		(at the reeds).	
mulq̄tsha (ash)	-	ɛmulq̄tshɛni	-
		(in the ash).	
liβele (kaffir-corn)	-	ɛliβɛlɛni	-
		(in kaffir-corn).	
llebe (axe)	-	ɛllebɛni	-
		(at the axe).	

N. B.

In the word ɛliβɛlɛni, the influence of the close vowel i not only changes the preceding mid-forward open vowel e of the syllable le into a close vowel ɛ, but it is also retrocessive in regard to the still preceding mid-open vowel e of the syllable βe.

(ii) The open mid-back vowel o (phon. ɔ) is harmonised to ɔ.

Examples:

idorobo (town)	becomes	ɛdɔrɔbɛni.
iyomo (beast)	do.	ɛyɔmɛni.
tirogo (praises)	do.	ɛtirɔgwɛni.

In all the examples given above the harmonising influence on the o is of a retrocessive nature.

Ordinarily in Nguni and Sotho vowel harmony is found in the following constructions:-

- (a) locative formation;
- (b) causative derivative formation of the verb;
- (c) perfect and immediate past tense verb formation;
- (d) negative conjugation of the verb;
- (e) reversive derivative formation of the verb.

Except for the construction in the locative formation, there is no changing of open vowels to close or semi-closed vowels for the purpose of harmonising in Phuthi, as vowels of the word stem to be harmonised are already close vowels in the language. To illustrate this fact clearly, comparative examples will be given below, from the three languages.

Examples in the Causative derivative formation of the verb.

(i) The mid-forward open vowel a (phon. ɛ) is harmonized into the mid-forward close vowel ɛ, (represented by e) in Nguni and Sotho.

Ph.	hlekha (laugh)	becomes	hlekisa (cause to laugh)
Ng.	hlecka (")	do.	hlekisa (do.)
So.S.	tšcha (" v)	do.	tšchisa (do.)
Ph.	tehega (buy)	do.	tehegisa (sell i.e. cause to buy.)
Ng.	theega (")	do.	thehisa (do.)
So.S.	reka (")	do.	rekisa (do.)

(ii) The mid-back open vowel a (phon. ɔ) is harmonized into the mid-back close vowel o, (represented by o) in Nguni and Sotho.

Ph.	otsha (to bake, warm)	becomes	otshisa (to cause to bake, warm).
Ng.	otsha (")	do.	otshisa (do.)
So.S.	ora (")	do.	orisa (do.)
Ph.	phola (to heal)	do.	pholisa (to cause to heal)
Ng.	phola (")	do.	pholisa (do.)
So.S.	fola (")	do.	folisa (do.)

Examples in the perfect state and immediate past tense of the verb.

(i) Ph.	mema (invite)	becomes	memile (have invited).
Ng.	mema (")	do.	memile (do.)
So.S.	mema (")	do.	memile (do.)

Ph.	šešeka (give birth)	becomes	šešekiye (have given birth)
Ng.	šešeka (")	do.	šešekile (do)
So.S.	šešaha (")	do.	šešehile (do.)
Ph.	ema (stand)	do.	emaye (have stood).
Ng.	ema (")	do.	emile (do.).
So.S.	ema (")	do.	eme or embe (do.).
(11) Ph.	šona (see)	do.	šoniye (have seen).
Ng.	šona (")	do.	šonile (do.).
So.S.	šona (")	do.	šone or šonne (do.).
Ph.	nəna (fat)	do.	nəniye (is fat).
Ng.	nəna (")	do.	nənile (do.).
So.S.	nəna (")	do.	nəne (do.).
Ph.	ətra (lean)	do.	ədziye (is lean).
Ng.Z.	onda (")	do.	ondile (do.).
So.S.	ota (")	do.	otile (do.).

(Note that in Nguni and Sotho the vowels of the ^{stems} *šona* and *ətra* are mid-back and forward open vowels (phon. [ɔ] and [ɔ̃])

Examples in the negative conjugation of the verb.

(1) Ph.	giya eša (I do)	becomes	əgiyəti (I do not do).
Ng.	ndiyenza (")	do.	əndənzi (do.).
So.S.	ke eša (")	do.	ha ke ešae (do.).

Note : The verb *eša* is one of the very few instances in which we find Sotho being the same as Phuthi with regard to the vowel quality of the verb stem.

Ph.	hšeka (laugh)	becomes	əgəhšeki (do not laugh)
Ng.	hleka (")	do.	əngəhšeki (do.).
So.S.	hšaha (")	do.	u se hšeha (do.).

Ph.	šaya nəša (they hit right)	becomes	əšənəbi (they do not hit right).
Ng.	šaya nəšə (")	do.	əšənəbi (do.).
So.S.	ba eša nəša (")	do.	ha ba nəšə (do.).

- (11) Ph. Baya thola (they find, pick up) becomes aBatholi (they do
 Ng.X. Baya chola (") do. aBacholi (^{not pick} do.)
 So.S. ba ea thola (") do. ha ba thole (do.)
- Ph. tiya khotsha (they are licking) do. atikhotshi (they do
 Ng.X. ziya khotsha (") do. azikhotshi (^{not lick} do.)
 So.S. li ea hora (") do. ha li hore (do.)

Examples in the Reversive and Extensive derivative formation of the

Verb.

- Ph. sotha (twist) becomes sothafulla (to untwist).
 Ng. sonta (") do. sontulula (do.).
 So.S. sotha (") do. sotholla (do.).
- Ph. khotsha (lick) do. khothfulla (to lick thoroughly).
 Ng. khotsha (") do. khothulula (do.).
 So.S. hora (") do. horella (do.).
- Ph. pota (go round) do. potuluka (to go round and round)
 So.S. pota (") do. potoloha (do.).

Certain words by virtue of their formation automatically conform to the rules of vowel harmony without fitting into or undergoing, any grammatical process. The range of such words in Phuthi covers nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs etc.

Compare the following examples:-

- Ph. sisedi (ant-worm) silomu (precipice) molomu (mouth).
 So.S. seseli (") selomo (") molomo (").
- Ph. mukhetshi (one who separates) muyedzi (one who gets married)
 Ng. umkhetshi (") mmendi (")
 So.S. mokhetshi (") moeti (a traveller)
- Ph. liphasi lodzi (the country alone) sijana sodzi (the dish
 So.S. lefatshé losi (") sejana sosi (^{alone} ")
- Ph. godvuka (go home) govu (red).
 Ng. goduka (") govu (").
 So.S. qrona (") letaoku (red ochre).

PALATALISATION.

Palatalisation is a phonological phenomenon which involves morphological changes as well, in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.

According to Tucker, it is caused by a close vowel like i (and occasionally u) exerting palatal assimilation over a neighbouring consonant.

Some authorities on Bantu languages say it is caused by the incompatibility of the combination of a bilabial consonant, dentilabial consonant etc. with an immediately succeeding semi-vowel y. These two view-points are not contradictory since even the y sound is implicit in the semi-vowel y. The nature of close vowels like i and u is in the form of a glide which is written ŷ by UrBantu students according to Tucker in "The Comparative Phonetics of the Sotho-Chuana Groups of Bantu Languages".

Palatalisation chiefly affects bilabial and dentilabial consonants, but it may also extend to alveolars and other such-like sounds.

In so far as it affects bilabial consonants, palatalisation in Phuthi takes place in the formation of :-

- (a) the passives of verbs;
- (b) locative forms and
- (c) the diminutives of nouns, adjectives etc.

The common changes brought about by palatalisation in these constructions in Phuthi are as follows:-

ph	becomes	tʃh.
ɸ	"	a soft j (phon. dʒ)
b	"	jh (phon. dʒ)
m	"	ny (phon. ɲ)

Palatalisation in the formation of the Passive of verbs.

In the present tense of the simple verb, the passive forming semi-vowel y immediately succeeds the palatalised consonant.

Examples:

- ɸɸpha (tie) becomes ɸtʃhwa (to be tied)
- hlɸpha (worry) do. hlutʃhwa (to be worried).
- khɸpha (take out)do. khutʃhwa (to be taken out).

hlaṣa (slaughter, pierce)	becomes	hlaḵwa (to be slaughtered).
khāṣa (kick)	do.	khajwa (to be kicked).
soṣa (fear)	do.	saḵwa (to be feared).
ṣuṣa (mould)	do.	ṣuḵwa (to be moulded).
maṣa (catch)	do.	majhwa (to be caught).
neṣa (to hit right)	do.	nejhwa (to be hit right).
gquṣa (cover)	do.	gqunywa (to be covered).
luṣa (bite).	do.	lunywa (to be bitten).
tafuma or thuma (send)	do.	thfunywa etc. (to be sent).

In the perfect and some verbal derivatives of the passive form, however, the y may not necessarily follow the palatalised consonant immediately, and so an appropriate vowel, usually y comes in between the palatalised consonant and the passive formative wa. This long form in the perfect may be used alternatively with the short form which latter form merely changes the final a into g of the simple present tense passive form. Nevertheless Phuthi prefers the long form.

Examples in the Perfect:-

ṣoṣha (tie) gives ṣotḵhuwe (is tied).

hlaṣa (slaughter) gives hlaḵuwe and alternatively hlaḵwe (is slaughtered).

luṣa (bite) gives lunyuwe and alternatively lunywe (is bitten)

Examples with the derivatives of a verb which contain a bilabial in its final syllable of its simple stem.

Khapha (accompany) gives khatḵhelwa (to be accompanied for).

khuphela (take out towards) gives khutḵhelwa (taken out towards)

naṣisa (cause to stretch legs) gives najiswa (to be made to stretch legs).

hlaṣisa (cause to slaughter etc) gives hlaḵiswa (to be slaughtered for).

hleṣṣela (to confide with) gives hleḵḵelwa (to be told a secret)

khaṣela (to kick in the direction of) khajelwa (to be kicked in the direction of).

maḵana (hold each other) majhanwa (to be held one another).

ne**g**ana (to hit each other right)ng**g**hanwa (to be hit right reciprocally).

lu**g**ula (to wean) give lu**g**nyulwa (to be weaned).

kh**g**umula (to extract - "as with a tooth")kh**g**unyulwa (to be extracted).

Palatalisation in the formation of Locative forms.

In Phuthi the locative form is formed by means of dropping the initial vowel (when there is one) of the noun, replacing it by a locative prefixal formative g. Except in a few cases, the final vowel of the noun is replaced by eni if the vowel is a, o or u, and by the suffix ini if the vowel is i or u. In most cases, if the last syllable of the noun contains a bilabial consonant followed by an o or u, the bilabial is palatalised.

Examples:

Buchop**h**o (brain) gives e**g**uchot**g**h**eni** (in the brain).

inco**g**ho (crest, mountain top) e**g**ncot**g**h**eni** (at the mountain top)

mulab**o** (river) e**g**mulab**g**h**eni** (at the river).

mo**g**ho (nose bridge) e**g**mo**g**h**eni** (at the nose-bridge)

mul**g**u (mouth) e**g**mul**g**ony**eni** (at the mouth).

ith**g**ubu(intestine) e**g**lith**g**f**u**h**ini**(in the intestine).

Palatalisation of the Phuthi locative forms has no parallel in Sotho, but Nguni follows a similar process of palatalisation as the comparison of the following Nguni examples with those of Phuthi given above will show.

Nguni - X.

u**g**uchop**h**o (brain)gives e**g**uchot**g**h**eni** (in the brain).

inco**g**ho (top etc) " e**g**ncot**g**h**eni** (at the top).

umlab**o** (river) " e**g**mlab**g**h**eni** (in the river).

uml**g**omo (mouth) " e**g**ml**g**ony**eni** (in the mouth).

Palatalisation in the formation of the Diminutives from nouns, relatives, etc.

One of the methods of forming diminutives from nouns, relatives and so on, ending with a syllable containing a bilabial consonant, involves the palatalisation of the bilabial consonant.

Examples from nouns.

itaha <u>ḡ</u> a (mountain)	gives	itaha <u>ḡ</u> ana (a hill).
liha <u>ḡ</u> a (pain)	"	liha <u>ḡ</u> ana (little pain).
mule <u>ḡ</u> e (lip)	"	mule <u>ḡ</u> ana (small lip).
mul <u>ḡ</u> o (river).	"	mul <u>ḡ</u> ana (rivulet).
mur <u>ḡ</u> a (type of drum)"	"	mur <u>ḡ</u> ana (small drum).
ḡu <u>ḡ</u> o (brain)	"	ḡu <u>ḡ</u> ana (little brain).
muk <u>ḡ</u> u (bread)	"	muk <u>ḡ</u> ana (little bread).
li <u>ḡ</u> i (tongue)	"	li <u>ḡ</u> ana (small tongue).
mut <u>ḡ</u> o (a mouthful)"	"	mut <u>ḡ</u> ana (a bit in the mouth)

Examples from relatives.

dv <u>ḡ</u> a (tasteless)	gives	dv <u>ḡ</u> ana (a little tasteless).
t <u>ḡ</u> u (white-faced beast)	t <u>ḡ</u> ana (female white faced beast).	

Palatalisation may extend to other types of consonants e.g. alveolars and alveolar affricates.

li <u>ḡ</u> o (starling)	gives	li <u>ḡ</u> ana (little starling).
mug <u>ḡ</u> i (hole, mine)	"	mug <u>ḡ</u> ana (a little hole).

Also in the passive voice formation Sotho has cases of complete palatalisation etc. as well as incomplete palatalisation in the cases of b and p but in ḡ there is only complete palatalisation.

In the case of complete palatalisation the b completely disappears as such and gives rise to a new palatal consonant. But in the case of incomplete palatalisation the b partly palatalises into a new palatal consonant and partly remains a bilabial.

Compare the two forms of palatalisation in the following Sotho S. examples.

ro <u>b</u> a (break)	gives	ro <u>ḡ</u> o (be broken)complete palatalisation.
ko <u>b</u> a (bend)	"	ro <u>ḡ</u> o (")incomplete "
		ko <u>ḡ</u> o (be bent) complete "
		ko <u>ḡ</u> o (")incomplete "
k <u>ḡ</u> o (ask)	"	k <u>ḡ</u> o (be asked)complete "
		k <u>ḡ</u> o (")incomplete "

T O N E.

Tone plays an important part in Phuthi. As in Nguni and Sotho Phuthi tones are divided into two types viz:-

- (a) level tones and
- (b) gliding tones.

Gliding tones are further divided into:-

- (i) rising tones i.e. low high, level high;
- (ii) falling tones i.e. high low, level low;
- (iii) rising falling tones i.e. low high low, low high level, level high low etc.

Tone marks will subsequently be marked by:-

- (a) a vertical line before and above the vowel of the syllable in the case of a high tone,
- (b) a vertical line before and below the vowel of the syllable, in the case of a low tone,
- (c) no mark in the case of a level tone, but in the case of high high or low low level tones, it is necessary to indicate these by tone marks e.g.

high-high: l'idi^hmu (cannibal) ni^hni (when) jwa^hni (grass).
 low-low : bu_hsega (coiled brass) mu_hre_hna (chief).

Gliding tones.

low-high: gu_hmi (it is I) we^hna (you) bo^hna (they).
 high-low: se^hka (put) su_hba (mould) su_hya (return).
 low-high-low: ali_hso^hni (you do not see).
 high-low-high: mu^hzwa_hli (boy) 'ith^hfo_hbi (girl).

As a rule voiced consonants tend to give rise to low tones while on the other hand unvoiced consonants tend to give rise to high tones. So in Phuthi, it is found that there is a relation between tone and phone. The following examples from the three languages illustrate this:-

Ph.	'at ^h i (knows)	t'ala (give birth)	buda (dream)	∅
Ng.	'azi (")	zala (")	buda (")	
So.(Ts.)	'itse (")	t'sala (")	(qota) (")	

∅ The voiced consonants b, d, and z are accompanied by low tone, while the voiceless consonants t, p, and the compound ts are accompanied by high tone.

Even when only Phuthi words are compared this difference of high and low tone in relation to unvoiced and voiced consonants stands out conspicuously. e.g. in dlhala (play) and hlala (stay) the tone of the syllable dlha (voiced) is lower than that of the syllable hla unvoiced. Similarly the ve (voiced) in vala (appear) has a lower tone than fe in fela (die for).

Tone is further used in Phuthi to mark the difference in the meaning of words which are otherwise the same in spelling.

Examples: in comparison with Sotho words.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
ti-phī rī	li phiri (hyenas)
tiphiri	liphiri (secrets)

Examples to indicate difference in grammatical significance.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>
<u>Nouns:</u>	liβele	ibele (kaffir-corn)
	liβele	iβele (breast)
	lifana	ilifana (small cloud)
	lifana	ilifana (small inheritance)
<u>Verbs</u>	βona	βona (see)
<u>Pronouns</u>	βona	βona (they)
<u>Moods:</u>		
<u>Indicative:</u>	gikhaba	ndikhamba(I go)
<u>Participial:</u>	gikhaβa	ndikhamba(I going)
<u>Persons:</u>		
2nd person:	uya fika	uya fika (you are arriving)
3rd "	'uya fika	'uya fika (he is arriving)

Examples to indicate the difference between a plain statement and a question.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>
βaya hlakula.	βaya hlakula (they are hoeing).
βaya hlakula?	βaya hlakula? (are they hoeing?)
βaya sila	βaya sila (they are grinding)
βaya sila?	βaya sila? (are they grinding?).

As indicated above, voiced sounds are generally of low tone and unvoiced sounds of high tone. Strictly speaking Sotho languages do not favour the use of voiced sounds. Voiced sounds are very few in the language. For instance, the voiced sounds dl, g, v, z, zh, are not found in Sotho. The absence of voiced sounds in this language, is one of the main reasons why Sotho is such a high toned language. Nguni abounds in voiced sounds, and as a result it is a low toned language, comparatively speaking.

Phuthi seems to have its elements midway between these two languages. The effects of combining the characteristics of high tone and low tone is that, Phuthi sounds a very musical language indeed. The musical element is still more pronounced as a result of the regular incidence of the mid-forward and mid-back close vowels e and o which former vowel seems to be preferred to others in many cases.

Notice the range of tone in the following illustrative sentences from the three languages.

Ph. Giya kuyēgēṭa (I give you more).
 Ng.X. Ngiya kwēngeza (do. I.
 So.S. Kea ho 'ekēṭsa (do.).

One of the outstanding instances constituting difference in tone between Phuthi and the other two languages is found in the copulative constructions impersonal forms. Nguni and Sotho use a high-low system of intonation in contrast with Phuthi - which uses a low-high system.

Compare the following examples:-

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
gumi	nd'im (X)	k'e nna (it is I)
	y'imī (Z)	(do)
	ngum (Mp)	(do)
guwē	nguwe (X.Z)	k'e wena (it is you) Ts.
	uwe (Z)	(do)
yiso	s'iso (X)	k'e sona (it is it, the dish etc)
	y'iso (Z)	(do)

CHAPTER 2

SOUND SHIFTING.

PHUTHI SOUNDS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO URBANTU
SOUNDS AND TO NGUNI AND SOTHO SOUNDS
IN PARTICULAR.

The UrBantu primary plosives k, t, p, have given rise Phuthi r, kh, k, tsh, ph; respectively. This process of sound shifting has given rise to the kh, th, ph, in Nguni and h, r, f, in Southern Sotho.

Examples - - Plosives.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
k e.g. <u>kama</u>	r e.g. <u>pama</u>	kh e.g. <u>khama</u>	h e.g. <u>hama</u> (milk-squeeze)
	kh " <u>knq̣tsha</u>	" " <u>knq̣tha</u>	" <u>hora</u> (lick)
	k " <u>nyika</u>	k " <u>nika</u>	h " <u>neha</u> (give)
t " <u>tapa</u>	tsh " <u>tshapha</u>	th " <u>thapa</u>	r " <u>rafa</u> (take out, get clay)
p " <u>pala</u>	ph " <u>phala</u>	ph " <u>phala</u>	f " <u>fala</u> (scratch, scrape)

UrBantu fricatives ɣ, l, y, become Phuthi y, w, l, and β. Nguni and Sotho equivalents will be shown in the comparative table below.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
ɣ e.g. <u>ɣaša</u>	y e.g. <u>yaša</u>	y e.g. <u>yaša</u>	<u>aba</u> (divide)
ɣ " <u>ɣanga</u>	w " <u>llwadhe</u>	w " <u>ulwandle</u>	oa e.g. <u>leoatle</u> (sea)
l " <u>landa</u>	l " <u>ladzela</u>	l " <u>landela</u>	l " <u>latela</u> (follow).
v " <u>vala</u>	β " <u>βala</u>	β " <u>βala</u>	b " <u>bala</u> (reckon).

The nasals m and n are the same in all these languages.

e.g.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
m e.g. <u>mela</u>	m e.g. <u>mila</u>	m e.g. <u>mila</u>	m e.g. <u>mela</u> (grow).
n " <u>nona</u>	n " <u>nona</u>	n " <u>nona</u>	n " <u>nona</u> (be fat).

UrBantu nasal compounds do not occur as such in Phuthi.

The latter language as a rule does not allow existence of nasal and a consonant coming immediately after it.

In many cases where such would take place, the nasal element drops in Phuthi and in many cases, it does so after imparting a phonological influence on the succeeding phone.

Examples with Nguni and Sotho.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
mb e.g. mamba	b e.g. maba	mb e.g. imamba	p e.g. maba (kind of snake)
mp " mpaka	ph " iphaka	mp " mpaka	ph " phaka (wild cat)
nd " yonda	dz " odza	nd " onda	t " ota (become lean)
ng " linga	g " gena	ng " ngena	k " kena (enter)
	lingana	lingana	lokana (be equal)
	igwena	ingwenya	koena (crocodile)
nk " nkwal	r " irwali	nk " inkwali	kx " kxwale (partiedge)
			kh " khoale (")
nt " tsh " itshabo	nt " intambo	nt " intambo	kh " thapo (rope, string)

But when the vowel following the nt is either o or u the Phuthi sound becomes thf, thus: -

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
nt e.g. muntu	thf e.g. muthfu	nt e.g. muntu	th e.g. motho (person)
	thfobi	ntombi	thope (maiden).

Also from the UrBantu sounds k and t Phuthi developed the sound hl (phon. &) e.g. from UrBantu takuna (chew), tane (five), we get Phuthi hlafun and hlanu and from UrBantu lipaka (twin) Phuthi has lifahla.

When the sound hl is preceded by a nasal as in the Nguni in-hloko (head), in-hliziyo (heart) in-hlama (dough) the nasal drops off in Phuthi without leaving any trace of phonological influence on the succeeding phone as it does in Nguni where it usually changes the lateral fricatives into lateral affricates as:-

inhloko into intloko; inhliziyo into intliziyo
and inhlama " intlama.

In Phuthi these words become ihloko, ihlitiyo and ihlama respectively.

The nasal before the voiced lateral l which gives rise to the sounds nd and ndl in Nguni is omitted in Phuthi leaving the sounds as dz and dhl (phon. dk) depending upon the nature of the sound used with the nasal, thus:-

Nguni - ndqvu from n plus lqvu becomes Phuthi - dzqvu (beard).
 " ndleše " n " leše " " dlheše (ear).

The phonological influence of the succeeding vowel sounds i and u on the preceding consonants from UrBantu forms leaves Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho affected as follows:-

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
ki e.g. <u>paki</u>	si e.g. <u>qhasi</u>	si e.g. <u>phasi</u>	se e.g. <u>fase</u> (below).
ti " <u>kat</u> i	tshi " <u>qkatshi</u>	thi " <u>phakathi</u>	re " <u>hare</u> (inside).
pi " <u>pinda</u>	phi " <u>phinda</u>	phi " <u>phinda</u>	f " <u>fetola</u> (turn, <u>feta</u> repeat).
ya " <u>yima</u>	yi " <u>yema</u>	yi " <u>yima</u>	e " <u>ema</u> (stand).
li " <u>lima</u>	li " <u>lima</u>	li " <u>lima</u>	le " <u>lema</u> (cultivate).
	<u>lim</u> a	<u>lim</u> i	<u>leme</u> (tongue).
vi " <u>vila</u>	si " <u>sila</u>	si " <u>sila</u>	be " <u>bela</u> (bail).
ku " <u>kuku</u>	ru " <u>iruru</u>	nku " <u>inkuku</u>	kho " <u>khoho</u> (fowl). kxo " <u>kxoxo</u> (").
<u>kula</u>	khfu " <u>khfula</u>	khu " <u>khula</u>	ho " <u>hola</u> (grow).
	khu " <u>khula</u>		
tu " <u>tuma</u>	thfu " <u>thfuma</u>	thu " <u>thuma</u>	ro " <u>roma</u> (send).
pu " <u>pumula</u>	phu " <u>phumula</u>	phu " <u>phumula</u>	pho " <u>phomola</u> (rest).
yu " <u>yuni</u>	ny " <u>nyonyana</u>	ny " <u>nyoni</u>	no " <u>nonyana</u> (bird).
lu " <u>luma</u>	lu " <u>malume</u>	lu " <u>malume</u>	lo " <u>malume</u> (male- maternal uncle)
vu " <u>vumba</u>	su " <u>suba</u>	su " <u>sumba</u>	bo " <u>bopa</u> (mould).
ki " <u>mukipa</u>	si " <u>musi pha</u>	si " <u>msi pha</u>	si " <u>mosifa</u> (sinew, muscle).
ti " <u>tila</u>	si " <u>sila</u>	si " <u>sila</u>	si " <u>sila</u> (grind..).
pi " <u>pika</u>	fi " <u>fika</u>	fi " <u>fika</u>	fi " <u>fiha</u> (arrive).
	<u>fi</u> hla	<u>fi</u> hla	<u>fi</u> hla(conceal).

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
yi e.g. <u>yiko</u>	ti e.g. <u>tiko</u>	zi e.g. <u>ziko</u>	-i e.g. <u>ifo</u> or <u>leifo</u> (heartn). iino (tooth).
	liyino	litinyo	izinyo
ii " <u>lima</u>	ti " <u>tima</u>	ci " <u>cima</u>	ti " <u>tima</u> (be extinguish ed)
	ci " <u>cima</u>		(")
	ti " <u>isuti</u>	zi " <u>imbuzi</u>	di " <u>podu</u> (goat).
vi " <u>vila</u>	vi " <u>vila</u>	vi " <u>vila</u>	(lazy).
	<u>tuyi</u>	<u>thfuyi</u>	<u>thuyi</u> be " <u>sebe</u> (excrement-a cake of dry dung)
kū " <u>likūpa</u>	fu " <u>lifuphi</u>	fu " <u>ifuphi</u>	fi " <u>lesufi</u> (bone of leg)
	<u>kūva</u>	<u>sāfuba</u>	<u>sifuba</u> <u>sefuba</u> (breast, breast & chest etc.)
tū " <u>tū</u>	fu " <u>emafu</u>	fu " <u>amafu</u>	ru e.g. <u>maru</u> (clouds).
pū " <u>pūlata</u>	fu " <u>fulatshele</u>	fu " <u>fulathela</u>	fu " <u>furalla</u> (turn on- es back round).
yū " <u>yūvu</u>	vu " <u>iyūvu</u>	vu " <u>iyūvu</u>	ku " <u>kubu</u> (a hippopota- mus).
lū " <u>lūma</u>	dvu " <u>dvuma</u>	du " <u>duma</u>	du " <u>duma</u> (roar, thunder)
vū " <u>vūla</u>	vu " <u>iyūla</u>	vu " <u>iyūla</u>	pu " <u>pula</u> (rain).
lū	vu " <u>sileyu</u>	vu " <u>isileyu</u>	du " <u>seledu</u> (chin).
vū	vu " <u>yuna</u>	vu " <u>yuna</u>	pa ----- (reap).

Examples with the composite vowels e and o.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
ke e.g. <u>keša</u>	se e.g. <u>seša</u>	hle e.g. <u>hleša</u>	se e.g. <u>seba</u> (slander)
	<u>keka</u>	hle " <u>hleka</u>	<u>hleka</u> tsh " <u>tshega</u> (laught).
te " <u>tenga</u>	tsh " <u>tshe</u>	the " <u>thenga</u>	re " <u>reka</u> (buy).
pe " <u>pela</u>	phe " <u>phela</u>	phe " <u>phela</u>	fe " <u>fela</u> (end).
te " <u>tela</u>	tsh " <u>tshele</u>	the " <u>theleza</u>	the " <u>thella</u> (slide, glide).
pe " <u>pepeta</u>	phe " <u>phapeta</u>	phe " <u>phapeta</u>	fe " <u>fefera</u> (blow, winnow).
ko " <u>koka</u>	kho " <u>khokha</u>	kho " <u>khoka</u>	go, xo " <u>goga</u> (draw on, or out).
	<u>kokola</u>	<u>khohlela</u>	<u>khohlela</u> <u>gotlholo</u> (cough)
ye " <u>yenda</u>	ye " <u>yedza</u>	e " <u>enda</u>	e " <u>eta</u> (travel, marry etc)
	<u>yeni</u>	<u>muyeni</u>	ye " <u>moyeni</u> (strange stranger, bridegroom)
le " <u>lembe</u>	le " <u>lebe</u>	le " <u>ilembe</u>	le " <u>selepe</u> (axe).
ve " <u>veyu</u>	be " <u>bewu</u>	be " <u>imbewu</u>	pe " <u>peo</u> (seed).
	<u>veleka</u>	se " <u>seleka</u>	be " <u>bolena</u> (give birth to carry child on back).

UrBantu	Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho
yo e.g. <u>y</u> ona	go e.g. <u>g</u> ona	go e.g. <u>ng</u> ona	ko e.g. <u>k</u> ona (initiates <i>drum, song</i>).
<u>y</u> ona	fo " <u>f</u> ona	fo " <u>f</u> ona	ho " <u>h</u> ona (snore).
lo " <u>l</u> omomo	lo " <u>l</u> omomo	lo " <u>l</u> omomo	lo " <u>l</u> omomo (mouth).
	<u>l</u> omomu		
vo " <u>v</u> ola	bo " <u>b</u> ola	bo " <u>b</u> ola	bo " <u>b</u> ola (rot).
<u>v</u> ona	<u>b</u> ona	<u>b</u> ona	<u>b</u> ona (see).

Sounds resulting from consonants preplaced to semivowels.

UrBantu	Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho
kwa	khwa e.g. lik <u>hw</u> apha	khwa e.g. ik <u>hw</u> apha	ku e.g. lin <u>h</u> afi (arm- pit;
twa	thwa " th <u>h</u> wala	thwa " th <u>h</u> wala	roa " ro <u>h</u> ala (carry)
pwa	t <u>h</u> wa " <u>h</u> ot <u>h</u> wa	t <u>h</u> wa " <u>h</u> ot <u>h</u> wa	fshoa " bofshoa (be tied).
kya	sa " <u>s</u> ad <u>h</u> na	sa " <u>s</u> ad <u>h</u> na	sea " <u>s</u> eatla (hand).
tya	t <u>h</u> na " mut <u>h</u> nakat <u>h</u> ana	fa " um <u>h</u> akaf <u>h</u> ana	tea " molot <u>h</u> sana (diminutive of wizard).
pya	t <u>h</u> na " t <u>h</u> na	t <u>h</u> na " t <u>h</u> na	cha e.g. <u>ch</u> a (ne-).
ywa	wa " <u>w</u> a	wa " <u>w</u> a	wa " <u>w</u> a (fall).
lwa	wa " ll <u>w</u> ad <u>h</u> e	lwa " ul <u>w</u> andle	lwa " lwatle (sea - boatle (& to be ill)).
vwa	jwa " <u>j</u> wala	t <u>h</u> wa " t <u>h</u> wala	jwa e.g. <u>j</u> wala (beer).
yya	ya " <u>y</u> a	ya " <u>y</u> a	ya " <u>y</u> a (go).
lyā	dlha " <u>d</u> l <u>h</u> a	dla " <u>d</u> l <u>h</u> a	ja " <u>j</u> a (eat).
vya	ja " <u>j</u> ala	t <u>h</u> fa " t <u>h</u> fala	ja " <u>j</u> ala (sow).
kwa	fa " <u>f</u> a	fa " <u>f</u> a	shwa " <u>s</u> hwa (die) <u>sh</u> oa. (small cloud)
twa	fa " lif <u>h</u> ana	fa " if <u>h</u> ana	
pwa	fa " f <u>h</u> ana	fa " f <u>h</u> ana	swa " <u>s</u> wana (resem- ble)

The UrBantu sounds kya gives rise to the Phuthi sound sa which is a causative suffixal formative as will be seen in the following examples.

UrBantu	Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho
kya	sa e.g. <u>s</u> asa	sa e.g. <u>s</u> asa	sa e.g. tlo <u>s</u> a (remove).
tya	sa " <u>s</u> ala	sa " <u>s</u> ala	sa " <u>s</u> ala (remain).
ywa	va " id <u>h</u> oy <u>h</u> ana	va " ind <u>h</u> oy <u>h</u> ana	ua " tlo <u>u</u> ana (small elephant)
vwa	va " <u>y</u> aga	va " <u>y</u> aga	tawa " taw <u>a</u> ka (mix) tsa " ts <u>a</u> ka

But the peculiarities of each language are shown clearly when homorganic nasals are prefixed to the sounds above and bring out phonological changes. The incidence of the homorganic nasals is very often observed in the noun classes 9 and 10.

The phonological influence of the homorganic nasals is different for each of the sounds kh, th, ph, in Phuthi and Nguni and h, r, f, in Sotho.

(a) The influence on kh, and h, etc. UrBantu K.

In Phuthi the process seems to be that the nasal consonant which normally does not occur in combination exercises a phonological influence on the succeeding homorganic phone and disappears. The effect of this influence is to change the aspirated velar kh, into an unaspirated velar fricative, r. In Nguni on the other hand the aspirated velar kh is deaspirated into k, but the homorganic nasal is retained and does not disappear as in Phuthi.

Sotho differs from both Phuthi and Nguni in this respect. The nasal consonant exercises a phonological influence on the succeeding phone and disappears as in Phuthi, except in nouns with monosyllabic stems like nku (sheep) nkoe (tiger, leopard). But the glottal fricative h and the velar fricative x in Sotho become aspirated into kh and kxh, a process which is the very opposite of that obtaining in Phuthi and Nguni. The following examples will show clearly the effects of the processes mentioned above. The nouns used all belong to classes 9 and 10 and therefore contain or should contain the nasal prefixal formative n.

<u>Phuthi</u>		<u>Nguni</u>		<u>Sotho</u>
<u>iruru</u>	corresponds to	<u>inkukhu</u>	and	<u>khoho</u> (<u>kxhoho</u>) (fowl).
<u>tiruru</u>	"	<u>izinkukhu</u>	"	<u>likhoho</u> etc. (fowls).
<u>tiruni</u>	"	<u>izinkuni</u>	"	<u>likhong</u> " (firewood).
<u>tirani</u>	"	<u>izinkani</u>	"	<u>likhang</u> " (disputes etc)

Among the exceptions to this rule in Phuthi is the word iyomo (beast) plural tiyomo which does not change its consonant

into a velar fricative under the nasal influence as the others do.

Compare also:-

<u>Phuthi</u>		<u>Nguni</u>
iruŋi	with	inkunzi (bull).
tirutu	"	izinkunzi (bulls).
irabi	"	inkaŋi (ox).

And also:-

<u>Nguni</u>		<u>Sotho</u>
inkawu	with	kgabo (Ts.) (ape).
inkwali	"	khoale (partridge).
inkomo	"	khomo (beast).

(b) The influence on th, and r. etc. UrBantu t.

In this case also the homorganic nasal in Phuthi, exercises a phonological influence and disappears leaving the sound aspirated. The aspirated sound may acquire a dentilabial consonant and thus assume a heterorganic compound form.

In Nguni as in the case of kh, the influence of the homorganic nasal is to deaspirate the kh into k without dropping the nasal.

Sotho follows the same process as Phuthi, the process here being towards aspiration. The nasal is dropped, but this takes place after it has imparted a phonological influence on the succeeding phone. The nasal is however retained in nouns having monosyllabic stems like nta (louse).

Compare the morphological and phonological influence of the homorganic nasals of the succeeding phones in the three languages.

Compare:-

<u>Phuthi</u>		<u>Nguni</u>		<u>Sotho</u>
ithfoŋi	with	intombi	and	thope (girl).
itshaŋa	"	intuŋa	"	thaba (mountain).
itanaga	"	intanga	"	thaka (equal, companion)
itshego	"	intengo	"	theko (value, cost etc.)
ithfwaŋe	"	intwaŋe	"	thabe (hiccough).

(c) The influence on ph, and etc. UrBantu p.

In this case too the process is the same as in (a) and (b). The nasal is again retained in Sotho words with a monosyllabic stem like mpa (stomach) mpahe (ostrich).

Compare the following examples:-

<u>Phuthi</u>		<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
<u>iphahlo</u>	corresponds to	<u>impahla</u>	and <u>phahlo</u> (goods etc.)
<u>iphedvulo</u>	"	<u>impendulo</u>	" <u>phetolo</u> (Ts) (answer)
<u>iphiri</u>	"	<u>impiisi</u>	" <u>phiri</u> (wolf, hyena).
<u>iphukujwe</u>	"	<u>impungutye</u>	" <u>phokojoe</u> (fox).
<u>iphumulo</u>	"	<u>impumlo</u>	" (nose).
<u>iphuthi</u>	"	<u>impunzi</u>	" <u>phuthi</u> (duiker).

The voiced forms of k, t, p, are g, d, b,. All the three sounds are found in Phuthi as well as in Nguni. In Sotho, however these change into k, t, p,. The voiced sound d is frequently found as dz in certain words.

The following word examples will show the process of sound-shifting in the three languages.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
(g)	(g)	(k)
<u>ligagu</u>	<u>igagu</u>	<u>lekako</u> (a vain person).
<u>ligogo</u>	<u>igogo</u>	<u>lekoko</u> (untanned skin, hide).
<u>sigwita</u>	<u>isigwinta</u>	<u>sekoeta</u> (highway man, murderer).
<u>gwinya</u>	<u>ginya</u> or <u>gwinya</u>	<u>koenya</u> (swallow).
.....		
(d)	(d)	(t)
<u>lidada</u>	<u>idada</u>	<u>letata</u> (duck).
<u>lidzakwa</u>	<u>idakwa</u> or <u>isidakwa</u>	<u>letahoa</u> (drunkard).
<u>idawu</u>	.....	<u>tau</u> (lion).
<u>idorobo</u>	<u>idplophu</u>	<u>toropo</u> (town).
.....		
(b)	(b)	(p)
<u>sibulo</u>	<u>isibulo</u>	<u>segolo</u> (flail).
<u>sibono</u>	<u>isibono</u>	<u>sepono</u> (prominent human navel)
<u>buda</u>	<u>buda</u>	<u>pota</u> (to dream).

As seen above in the word dorobo, from the Afrikaans word dorp, even loan words have to conform to the phonological pattern of Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho respectively.

As indicated before, the influence of homorganic nasals bring about many sound-changes which constitute important differences between the languages i.e. Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.

When homorganic nasals are preplaced or should according to phonological processes be preplaced to fricative consonants, the following changes are noticed on the respective languages.

(a) In Nguni the preplaced homorganic nasal is retained before the consonant, but it imparts a phonological influence on it changing it from a fricative into an affricate consonant. Thus radical fricative g becomes ejective affricate tg e.g. amagimi (plural) becomes intgimi (field) in the singular, when the g is preceded by n.

(b) In Sotho the homorganic nasal shows a phonological influence on the succeeding phone but in itself disappears except in the case of nouns with monosyllabic stems or where the nasal consonant functions as an object concord before verbs. The succeeding phone changes its phonetic value from being a radical fricative into a corresponding aspirated explosive, aspirated affricate etc. If the sound is derived from an UrBantu voiced fricative it changes into a corresponding radical plosive in Sotho, and the voiced lateral fricative which under the influence of a preplaced homorganic nasal becomes a voiced lateral affricate changes into an ejective lateral affricate in Sotho.

On the other hand, Phuthi adopts a form peculiar to itself alone and different from either of the two other languages. The hypothetical homorganic nasal drops (or does not occur at all), leaving no trace of any phonological influence on the succeeding phone in many cases, so that the original fricative consonant remains the same all the time uninfluenced, thus:-

<u>Radical fricative</u>		<u>Radical fricative</u>	
amagimi	from	igimi	(a field).

The latter word igimi is a noun of class 9 and as such it is of the (N) prefixal formative class.

But the lateral voiced fricative consonant of Nguni is found as a voiced lateral-affricative in Phuthi. This is very likely due to the influence of the n seeing that otherwise the sound should be fricative.

Examples:

Nguni	-	indlala	(hunger, starvation), gives
Phuthi	-	idlhala	(phon. d _g).

The following comparative examples with the other two languages Nguni and Sotho are given in order to show clearly the phonological and morphological differences existing in these and Phuthi, and also the incidence and influence of the homorganic nasals.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Radical fricative.	Ejective affricate.	Aspirated affricate.	
ifanelo	imfanelo	tšoanelo	(tš.phon.tsh)(right).
ifene	imfene	tšoene	(tš.phon.tsh)(monkey).
ifihlo	imfihlo	phihlo	(a secret, hiding, grave)
ihlitiyo	intliziyo	.....	(heart).
ihloko	intloko	tlhogo(Ts)	(head).
ihloni	intloni	litlhong	(shyness).

Voiced fricative.	Voiced affricate.	Radical plosive.	
iyula	imvula	pula	(rain).
iyana	imvana	koana	from konyana (lamb)
iyubu	imvubu	kubu	(hippopotamus).

Voiced lateral-affricate.	Voiced lateral-affricate.	Ejective lateral-affricate.	
idlhu	indlu	ntlō	(house).
idlhovu	indlovu	tlōv	(elephant)

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho S.</u>	
<u>Radical fricative.</u>	<u>Ejective affricate.</u>	<u>Aspirated affricate.</u>	
<u>igimi</u>	<u>intgimi</u>	<u>tšimo</u>	(tš. phon. tsh)(field).
<u>igila</u>	<u>intsila</u>	<u>tšila</u>	(tš. phon. tsh)(dirt).
<u>igalela</u>	<u>intsalela</u>	<u>tšallane</u>	(remainder).

Although the examples dealt with have been concerned mainly with the influence of the homorganic nasals on fricatives, the influence of the nasal on other consonants follows much the same process, as far as Phuthi is concerned. Except in few instances like itshumo (fable), ithfo (thing) etc. where its forms are akin to Sotho, Phuthi forms are deducible from the Nguni ones when:-

- (a) the nasal is elided in the examples from the latter,
 e.g. gušo from ngušo (blanket),
 guye " nguye (it is he).
- (b) the phonologically influenced consonants are restored to their original uninfluenced forms, e.g.
 ithwala from intfwala (louse),
 jhalo " njalo (so, likethat).

The elision of the homorganic nasals, in order to change Nguni words into Phuthi words, covers a great number of Nguni nasal compounds not only in nouns but verbs and others as well.

e.g. Nguni	ngena (enter)	becomes Phuthi	gena
	ngalo (by it)	" "	galo
	ngulo (it is this one)	" "	gulo
	imbila (rock-rabbit)	" "	ibila
	imbiza (pot)	" "	ibita
	imbawula (fire-tin)	" "	ibawula
	indawo (place)	" "	idzawo
	indaša (news)	" "	idzaša

As seen in the examples above only morphological changes take place in the combination with the voiced consonants g, d, b, but in the combination with some unvoiced consonants morphological as well phonological changes are noticeable. In these cases the phonological process undergone by Phuthi words are very much the same as those found in Sotho words., e-g.

Nguni intwala (louse) becomes Phuthi ithfwala,
intambo (rope) " " itshabo.

The disappearance of the nasal here, and the changing of the succeeding consonant into an aspirated sound is a phenomenon met with in Sotho,

The following sounds are tabulated in comparative columns in order to bring out clearly various instances of sound-shifting in the three languages.

Plain Consonants

<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	<u>Phuthi</u> from <u>UrBantu</u>
th	r	tsh t

Examples:

Ph.	tshina (we)	tshadza (love)	tshaga (buy)
Ng.	thina (")	thanda (")	thenga (")
So.S.	rona (")	rata (")	reka (")

Vowel influence on Consonants

<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	<u>Phuthi</u> from <u>UrBantu</u>
thi	re	tahi ti
thu, tho	ro, ru (phon)	thfu, thfo tu
za	tza	ta lya also vya
zi	tse	ti yi " li

Examples:

Ph.	mahlathsi (jaw)	ekhatshi (in)	yitshi (say).
Ng.	umhlathi (")	phakathi (")	yithi (").
So.	mohlare (")	hare (")	ere (").

Examples:

Ph. tshathfu (three) muthfugu (beer dregs) uthfogo (sleep)
 Ng. ntathu (") mrugu(Hl) (") uthongo (")
 So.S. rare (") moroko (") boroko (")

Ph. khatshata (worry) šuta (ask) khubuta (remind).
 Ng. khathaza (") šuza (") khumbuza (").
 So.S. khathatša (") boša (") hopoša (").

Ph. šušati (stinging nettle) muti (dwelling) ukuyati (to know).
 Ng. ušazi (" ") umuzi (") ukwuzi (").
 So. bošati (" ") moše (") go iše (").

N.B.

The UrBantu ŷ and š have a palatalising influence because of their close articulation.

Nasal Consonants

<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	<u>Phuthi</u> from <u>UrBantu</u>
nd	t	dz n plus d
nt	th	thf ni " t tsh " " "
ns	tš(phon.tsh)	s " " s
mf(from nf)	tš	f " " f
nhl(Z) ntl(X)	hl(So.S) tlh(Ts.)	hl " " hl
nz(phon.ndz)	ts	z " " z
ndl	tl	dlh(phon.dš) " " ?
mv	p,k, or t	v " " v
mb from nb	p or k	b " " b

Examples:

Ph. lidza (wait) ladza (fetch) khadza (pound, press)
 Ng. linda (") lenda (") khanda (" ")
 So. leta (") lata (") hata (" ")

Examples:

Ph. ithfo (thing) ithfojane (initiated girl).

Ng. into (") intonjane (" ").

So. ntho (") thojane (" ").

Ph. itahgiso (sale) itahabo (thong) itcheleti (pland used
as a charm).

Ng. intengiso (") intamoc (") intelezi (" ").

So. taekiso (") thapo (") theleli (" ").

Ph. isibi (iron) tisini (gums) isila (dirt).

Ng. insimbi (") intsini (") intsila (" ").

So.S. tšepe (") lisene (") tšila (" ").

Ph. ifene (monkey)

Ng. imfene (")

So.S. tšene (")

Ph. ihloko (head) ihlama (dough) ihlušulo (scarcity of
bodily covering
i.e. clothing).

Ng. intloko (") intlama (") intlulušulo (" ").

So.S. hloho (") hlama (") tlhobolo (" ").

Ph. izala (offspring).

Ng. inzala (" ").

So.S. tsoala (" ").

Ph. idlhovu (elephant) idlhala (starvation, hunger).

Ng. indlovu (") indlala (" ").

So. tlou (") tlala (" ").

Ph. iyula (rain) iyugo (agreement) iyušu (hippopota-
mus)

Ng. imvula (") imvumo (") imyušu (" ")

So. pula (") tumelo (") kušu (" ")

Ph. išewu (seed) ibeleko (accouchement) ibita (pot).

Ng. imbewu (") imbeleko (") imbiza (" ").

So.S. pqo (") (peleho) (") pitsa (" ").

(pčlehi) (" ")

Nasal Compounds followed by semi-vowels

Examples:

Ph. ithfwala (louse) ithfwaše (hiccough) ithfwana (small
 Ng. intwala (") intwaše (") intwana (" ^{tain}
 So.S. ntwana ("

Ph. ladzwa (be fetched) tshadzwa (beloved).
 Ng. landwa (") thandwa (").
 So.S. latoa (") ratoa (").

The part played by the nasal in Phuthi is clearly shown in these examples. It does not appear at all, although in certain cases it may be said to show its influence especially where aspirated forms are met with in both Phuthi and Sotho. The aspiration in these is due to the nasal consonants and its historic succeeding i.

Compare the examples - itshobo, ithfojane, itshogiso in Phuthi with thapo, thojane, tnckiso in Sotho.

But the half way position of Phuthi is evinced when on the other hand it is compared with Nguni in contradistinction to Sotho. Except for the absence of the nasal consonant in Phuthi, the following examples in Nguni and Phuthi are very much the same.

Phuthi : iyula (rain) ibewu (seed) ladzwa (be fetched).
 Nguni : imvula(") imbewu(") landwa (").

There are some Nguni dialects in which the nasal is dropped in certain constructions. The chief dialect in which this occurs is the Transvaal Ndebele which has lost the nasal in certain forms. In nouns this only applies to class 9, but in class 10, the nasal reappears. In this respect Ndebele T. differs from Phuthi which drops the nasal in both classes of nouns.

The other difference between Ndebele and Phuthi nouns in class 9 is that the remaining k, from the UrBantu nk, in Ndebele remains as such whereas in Phuthi it changes into a voiceless fricative; The following examples are given to show comparison between the two -

Singular

Ph. iraʒi (phon.ixaʒi)(ox) iraʒi erulu (big ox) irʒi (chief).
Nd.T. ikaʒi (") ikaʒi ekulu (") ikʒi (").

Plural

Ph. tiraʒi (oxen) tiraʒi letirulu(big oxen) tirʒi (chiefs).
Nd.T. inkaʒi (") inkaʒi ezinkulu(") inkʒi (").

Also the p from the UrBantu mp which remains after the dropping of the nasal in Ndebele remains the same, but in Phuthi it occurs as an aspirate in many nouns of classes 9 and 10. In all probability the aspiration is due to nasal permutation. Compare the following examples:-

Singular

Ph. iphala (species of antelope) iphofu (eland).
Nd.T. ipala (") ipofu (").

Plural

Ph. tiphala (species of antelopes) tiphofu (elande).
Nd.T. impala (") impofu (").

What Dr. van Warmelo says for Ndebele, may equally be said of Phuthi that, "This loss of the nasal might be due to the influence of Sotho, where the nasal has also disappeared".

But his statement that the nasal drops off before voiceless consonants could not hold true in Phuthi, as there are cases where the nasal drops before voiced consonants as in ivula (rain) ivuʒu (hippopotamus) ivukelo (rising, rebellion). Otherwise the similarity is close between Phuthi and Ndebele T. as far as the voiceless consonants are concerned, as the following comparative examples in the singular forms show.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Ndebele. T.</u>	<u>Zulu Zululand</u>	
<u>isi</u> mi	<u>isi</u> mi	<u>intsi</u> mi	(field)
<u>isi</u> la	<u>isi</u> la	<u>intsi</u> la	(dirt)
<u>isi</u> bi	<u>isi</u> mbi	<u>intsi</u> mbi	(iron)

Phuthi

Ndebele T.

Zulu Zululand

phasi	phasi	phantsi	(below).
q̄tasi	q̄zasi	q̄zantsi	(lower down).
ifuyo	ifuyo	imfuyo	(possession in stock)
ifene	ifene	imfene	(baboon).
ihloko	ihlogo	intloko	(head).
ihlitiyo	ihliziyo	intliziyo	(heart).

oooooooooooooooooooo

CHAPTER 3.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

THE NOUN.

In Bantu languages nouns are classified according to the form of their prefixes and may further be divided into two main groups, viz.:-

- (a) those with monosyllabic prefix formatives,
- (b) those with disyllabic prefix formatives.

Except for isolated cases like Gisu and Thonga (Shangaan), the first syllable of the latter type, i.e. (b) consists of a vowel only. It is however probable that the forms of the disyllabic prefix formatives were originally merely reduplications of the monosyllabic forms such as are found in Thonga (Shangaan) in words like -

yayanuna plural of wanuna (man),
yayasati " " wansati(woman).

Compare also the examples given above with Gisu -

kiki-ndu (7) plural bibi-ndu (8) (things),
bubu-ndu (14) (human nature).

Among the South African languages representatives of both groups are found. For instance the Sotho languages belong to the monosyllabic prefix group, and apart from their class 9 singular nouns Nguni languages belong to the disyllabic prefix group. In the latter languages the first syllable consists of a vowel only, as indicated above.

Phuthi combines the characteristics of both groups. Certain nouns in this language have monosyllabic and others disyllabic forms of prefixes. In Phuthi as in Nguni and Sotho nouns of different classes may be formed with the same nominal stem.

e.g. mu-thfu class 1 (person),
esa-thfu " 2 (persons),
su-thfu " 14 (human nature, humaneness).

The following table shows comparison of UrBantu noun prefixes according to Meinhof with the representatives of each of these, where possible, as found in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.

Ur-Bantu	Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho. S.
Class 1. mu-	mu	umu	mo-
" 1a. ---	---	---	---
" 2. va-	ɛsa-	aɓa-	ba- (k')
" 2a. ---	ɓɔ-	qɔ-	bɔ- (plural of cl. 1)
" 3. mu-	mu-	umu-	mo-
" 4. mi-	mi-	imi-	me- (plural of cl. 3)
" 5. li-	li-	ili-	le-
" 6. ma-	ɛma-	ama-	ma (plural of class 5)
" 7. ki-	si-	isi-	se-
" 8. vl-	ti-	izi-	li (plural of cl. 7)
" 9. ni-	i(N)	i(N)	(N)
" 10. lini-	ti(N)-	izi(N)	li(N) (plural of cl. 9 & 11)
" 11. lu-	lu-	ulu-	---
" 12. tu-	---	---	---
" 13. ka-	---	---	---
" 14. vu-	ɓu-	uɓu-	bo-
" 15. ku-	ku-	uku-	ho-
" 16. pa-	ɛpha-	pha-	fɛ-
" 17. ku-	ɛku-	ku-	ho-
" 18. mu-	---	---	mo-
" 19. pi-	---	---	---
" 20. yu-	---	---	---
" 21. yi	---	---	---

Having in mind the remnant forms of class 16 and 17 the prefix formatives of classes 2, 6, and 9 are the only regular ones which contain the initial article in Phuthi. What is striking however is the use of the initial mid-forward close vowel ɛ in classes 2 and 6 in the language, in contrast to the a in Nguni. No reason can be given for the use of ɛ except

that it is preferred as is indicated by its frequent occurrence in this language. The close e's appearing in classes 16 and 17 however have a locative formative import and they may be assumed to be of the same form as those found in Nguni in such cases as ekhaya (at home), gduzani (near), emnyango (at the door).

Traces of the locative class nouns prefixes of classes 16 and 17 are very rare in Phuthi which seems to have only two examples viz: -

Class 16: epnnei (down); and class 17: ekudzeni (far).

In contrast to either Nguni and Sotho the prefixes are accompanied by the initial vowel, this being e.

Nouns in Classes 1 and 2 chiefly denote persons. As far as possible similar examples will be given in the other two languages, Nguni and Sotho.

Examples:

		<u>Where they occur.</u>			
		<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>	
Class	1	mušadi	umfundi	mobali	(reader)
"	2	qšasadi	ašafundi	babali	(readers)
"	1	muhlankona	umfana	mohlankona	(lad)
"	2	qšahlakana	ašafana	bahlankana	(lads)
"	1	mmuleqi	umfumayeli	mmoleqi	(evangelist)
"	2	qšasuleqi	ašafumayeli	baboleqi	(evangelists)
"	1	mutadi	umzali	motsoali	(parent)
"	2	qšatadi	ašazali	batsoali	(parents)
"	1	matshakatshi	umthakathi	molqi	(witch)
"	2	qšatshakatshi	ašathakathi	balqi	(witches)
"	1	muwakhi	umakhi	mohahi	(builder)
"	2	qšakhi	ašakhi	bahahi	(builders)

Phuthi examples in sentences.

muthu walakha utqfika nini? (when will the person of this place arrive)

mušulayi utqfa laye (the killer will also die)

<u>guhali</u> ufela ęntweni	(a warrior dies in battle)
<u>ębaruti</u> ęaphuma ękerękeni	(ministers come out of the church)
<u>ęsędedhi</u> ęayęta titulo	(carpenters make chairs)
<u>ębaroęi</u> ęayagililisa	(praisers make me cry)

A. B.

Class 1 has two nouns which are irregular in Phuthi, in that -

- (a) they have the initial article;
- (b) they have no prefix proper, i.e.e. mu. The nouns are ufati (woman) and ufo (man).

Classes 1a & 2a.

These two classes refer to:-

- (a) Proper names of persons, e.g.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 1a Mammalo	uMammalo	Mammalo	(Mr. Mammalo).
" 2a ę-Mammalo	ęMammalo	bęMammalo	(Messrs ").
" 1a Gqada	uGqada	Gqada	(Mr. Gqada).
" 2a ę-Gqada	ęGqada	bęGqada	(Messrs ").

- (b) Kinship terms, e.g.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 1a malume	umalume	malome	(maternal uncle).
" 2a ęmalume	ęmalume	bęmalome	(" uncles)
" 1a ntate	utata	ntate	(father).
" 2a ęntate	ętata	bęntate	(fathers).
" 1a rakrhadi	udadęawo	rakhali	(paternal aunt).
" 2a ę-rakrhadi	ędadęawo	bęrakhali	(" aunts).

- (c) Personified birds creatures, etc.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 1a mankhani	(ilulwani)	mankhane	(bat)
" 2a ę-mankhane	(amalulwani)	bo-mankhane	(bats)
" 1a nkętu	(isele)	nkętu	(type of frog)
" 2a ę-nkętu	(amasole)	ę-nkętu	(" " frogs)
" 1a mulipe	ujoęela	molepe	(finch viz Colio- passer proene)
" 2a ę-mulipe	ęjoęela	bę-molepe.	

Class 1a mulipe	ujoβela	molēpe (finch-Colio passer proene)
" 2a βq-mulipe	qojoβela	βq-molēpe

Nouns derived from personal interrogative pronouns.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 1a βani?	uβani?	mang?(so-and-so)	
" 2a βo-βani?	qoβani?	βq-mang(wuch-and-such)	

Phuthi examples in sentences.

Leβitsa gumorēna walakna (Leβitsa is the chief of this place)

Maβitla walusiye tiyōme (Maβitla is looking after cattle).

Coco usiyōtēla titshumo (grandmother is relating fables to us)

Muzala uginyika mukhfupha(my cousin is giving me bread).

Do-Temutemu gōβafati βemarena(Temutemu, and company are wives
of chiefs).

Ligateki βo-muzala βenu (do not get married to your cousins).

βq-mamulangwani βakāqna (Secretary birds are there - (Serpent-
arius secretarius).)

In some nouns of class 1 the prefix may not only be disguised as a result of phonological changes, but actually may even change its class.

The word mu plus ali(1) becomes ngwali (9) (girl initiate)

" " mu " edzi(1) " ngwēdzi(9) (daughter-in-law)

The plurals of these are ebali (2) and tin,wēdzi (10)

respectively.

The velar qualities of m show a phonological influence on the preceding bilabial m and change it into a velar sound ng (phon. g), and so velarisation takes place. There may also be a process of complete assimilation in certain instances as in -

moβaci becoming mβaci (reader)

muβusi " mβusi (ruler).

where the β of the succeeding syllable is assimilated into m.

These two latter phonological characteristics Phuthi shares with Sotho where the processes obtaining are exactly the same. Compare the Phuthi examples above with the following Sotho forms:-

Ngotsi (daughter in-law) from no plus etsi.

Ngole (girl initiate) " no " ale.

also:

maali (reader) from no plus hali.

musi (ruler) " no " busi.

Class 3 and 4.

Among other things these classes denote:

- (a) Things, both alive and lifeless.
- (b) Parts of the body.

Phuthi, like sotho in contrast with Nguni, has monosyllabic prefixal formatives in these classes.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>	
Class 3	<u>mukhupha</u>	<u>u.khupha</u>	<u>bohobe</u>	(bread)
" 4	<u>mikhupha</u>	<u>imikhupha</u>	<u>mahobe</u>	(types of bread)
" 3	<u>mullo</u>	<u>umlilo</u>	<u>mollo</u>	(fire)
" 4	<u>millo</u>	<u>imililo</u>	<u>mello</u>	(fires)
" 3	<u>muthfuti</u>	<u>umthunzi</u>	<u>moriti</u>	(shade)
" 4	<u>mithfuti</u>	<u>imithunzi</u>	<u>meriti</u>	(shades)
" 3	<u>muvallo</u>	<u>umtalo</u>	<u>mokoallo</u>	(cattle-kraal)
" 4	<u>mivallo</u>	<u>imivalo</u>	<u>mekoallo</u>	(obstruction pole)
" 3	<u>mulomu</u>	<u>umlomo</u>	<u>molomo</u>	(mouth)
" 4	<u>milomu</u>	<u>imilomo</u>	<u>melomo</u>	(mouths)
" 3	<u>mosobo</u>	<u>umšombo</u>	<u>mosopo</u>	(nose bridge)
" 4	<u>mosobo</u>	<u>imišombo</u>	<u>mosopo</u>	(nose bridges)
" 3	<u>musipha</u>	<u>umsipha</u>	<u>mosifa</u>	(muscle)
" 4	<u>misipha</u>	<u>imisipha</u>	<u>mosifa</u>	(muscles)

While cases of assimilation are met with in such examples as mosopo from mosšombo, nevertheless, the outstanding thing here is the elision of the trisyllabic vowel, bringing about similar morphological changes in Phuthi and Sotho, S.

The linguistic position of Phuthi, as being, somewhat between the other two languages, is clearly shown in the following

illustrative examples.

Phuthi muvallo is similar to Sotho mokoallo in respect to mu and mo and also llo. But the typical Nguni element val- in the word, shows the blending of the two languages, i.e. Nguni and Sotho in Phuthi.

Some Phuthi examples in Sentences.

- Mukhabo wakhe mu3i (his gait is bad).
So3zi gisele muhluti (let me drink some gravy).
Musila wedawu mudze (a lion's tail is long).
Mithfugo minyheti (there is a lot of sewing).
Miligo yemoya ayipheli (temptations of the soul have no end).
Giso3na miti yeHlagwini (I see dwellings of Ntlangwini).

Class 5 and 6.

Class 5 resembles Sotho in so far as its prefix is monosyllabic. But on the other hand the plural i.e. class 6 has two forms in respect to certain nouns. One form is like Sotho in that the prefix formative is monosyllabic; the other form is similar to Nguni in that the prefixal formative is dissyllabic. In the case of the dissyllabic prefix, the first syllable is no more than a vowel, which is invariably the mid-forward close vowel, e.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni.X</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Class 5	livi	ilizwi	lentsoe	(voice).
" 6	emavi	amazwi	mantsoe	(voices).
" 5	lihlo	iliso	leihlo	(eye).
" 6	emahlo	amehlo	mahlo	(eyes).
" 5	lidvolo	idolo	lengole	(knee).
" 6	emadvolo	amadolo	mangole	(knees).
" 5	likphuwa	(umlungu)(cl.1)	lekhooa	(European).
" 6	emakphuwa	(a3elungu)(cl.2)	makhooa	(Europeans).

Besides the regular nouns with singular and plural forms, Phuthi contains a few nouns which occur in class 6 only; and

as is the case in Nguni and Sotho, many of these nouns denote liquids.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Class 6	emadi	(igazi.5)	mali	(blood).
"	emadlha	amandla	matla	(strength).
"	emafi	amasi	mafi	(sour milk).
"	emafutsha	amafutha	mafura	(fat-"liquid")
"	emala	amanga	maka	(lies)
"	emakhata	amakhaza	(serame)	(cold).
"	emati	amanzi	metei	(water).
"	ematshe	amathe	mathe	(saliva).

Although the initial vowel e in the nouns of class 6 commonly occurs, it is nevertheless sometimes omitted and the short form without the vowel used. Either of the following sentences may be used for instance:

- Manxala adlha jwani (bucks are eating grass).
- or Emanxala adlha jwani (ditto.).
- Madimo ato dlha eBathfu (cannibals will eat people).
- or Emadimo ato dlha eBathfu (ditto.).

With regard to the two forms of plurals there are the following points to note.

- (a) The second kind of plural belongs to a different class, viz. class 10.
- (b) Although the singular may now be in class 5, this seems to be a later development. The origin of the nouns seems to be in class eleven, and because of structural similarity between class 5 prefix ili and class 11, ulu, the latter seems to have been absorbed into class 5. This phenomena is frequently met with in Sotho languages and dialects, e.g. Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Ngwato, Kgatla

and others. Certain Nguni dialects like Hluſi also show the same tendency of assimilating class 11 nouns over in class 5.

Compare the following Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>
Class 5	lirago	uthango (11)	lerako (wall).
"	6 emarago	-----	marako (walls).
"	10 tithago	izintango(10)	lithako (walls).
"	5 linaga	uphondo(11)	lenaka (horn).
"	6 emanaga	-----	manaka (horns).
"	10 tinaga	izimpondo(10)	linaka (horns).
"	5 linyawo	unyawo(11)	lenao(Ts.) (foot).
"	6 emanyawo	-----	manao(Ts.) (feet).
"	10 tinyawo	izinyawo(10)	dinao(Ts.) (feet).

Miscellaneous Phuthi examples in Sentences:

Likhwapha lami liſiliye. (my armpit is perspiring).

Lisoſi le llaga liſhanyisa kohle. (the light of the sun illuminates every where).

Œafo bayakha lirako letivu. (men are building a sheep enclosure).

Emahlewu aſiyeta siligulela. (mahlewu porridge gives me heart-burn).

Lahla amatshabo gashayi. (throw the bones outside).

Ematiko ale idlhu magakhi? (how many fire-places has this house got?)

Classes 7 and 8.

The prefixes of these classes are si and ti respectively.

As in Nguni and Sotho, they denote:

- (a) Names of things or objects,
- (b) persons with outstanding characters indicating popularity, unpopularity, talent or abnormality.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 7	scdlha	isandla	seatia (hand).
"	8 tadlha	izandla	liatla (hands).
"	7 siſugu	isungu	seboko (worm).
"	8 tiſugu	izisungu	liboko (worms).

Examples of nouns indicating popularity or talent.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Class 7	sišini	imvumi(cl.9)	sebini	(talented singer).
"	tišini	imvumi("10)	libini	(" singers).
"	sinuwe	isanusi	senohe	(diviner, prophet).
"	tinuwe	izanusi	linohe	(diviners).
"	sirōgi	imbongi(cl.9)	serōki	(as outstanding private poet).
"	tirōgi	imbongi("10)	lirōki	(" poets).
"	siswaswi	iqhula(cl.5)	sesoaso	(jester, jokemaker)
"	tiswaswi	amaqhula(cl.6)	lisoaso	(jester-a).

Examples of nouns indicating unpopularity, abnormality, etc.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Class 7	sibanxa	isibanxa	sethoto	(a fool).
"	tibanxa	izibanxa	lithoto	(fools).
"	silima	isilima	senole	(an inform person)
"	tilima	izilima	linole	(inform persons).
"	simumu	isimumu	semumu	(a dumb person).
"	timumu	izimumu	limumu	(dumb persons).

Miscellaneous Phuthi examples in Sentences.

<u>Sibogo</u> sami giliTshedza.	(my clan name is Tshedza).
Uphetshwa <u>visifuša</u> .	(he is suffering from chest trouble)
Udziniye <u>aidiya</u> seyomo.	(she is putting an ox-skin dress).
<u>Tidhadiha</u> titele iboni.	(baskets are full of mealies).
<u>Tisono</u> takho tito majhelwa.	(your sins will be forgiven).
Utshegiye <u>tiyeda</u> letincinanyane	(he has bought small shoes).

Class 9 and 10.

These classes denote the names of things. Many names of animals belong to these classes. One important peculiarity in these, is that although one is the plural of the other, one has only an initial vowel as its prefix while the other has no initial vowel at all in its prefixal formative.

In relation to Nguni and Sotho, class 9 in Phuthi resembles Nguni in having the initial vowel, while in class 10 it resembles Sotho in having none. The nasal implicit or latent in the characteristic prefix of this class is never retained in Phuthi not even when the word consists of a monosyllabic stem, like ijha (dog), iyu (sheep). Even though it may have dropped, its phonological influence on the succeeding phone is not as clear as it is in Sotho. In Nguni the nasal is retained in all circumstances, while in Sotho it is retained only in nouns with monosyllabic stems, e.g. ntja (dog) nku (sheep), otherwise it drops, but only after imparting a phonological influence on the succeeding phone which results in what is commonly called "nasal permutation" in that language.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
Class 9	ibiša	imbiša	peba (Ts.) (mouse).
" 10	tibiša	izimbiša	dipeba(") (mice).
" 9	igwena	ingwenya	kwena (") (crocodile).
" 10	tigwena	izingwenya	dikwena(") (crocodiles).
" 9	irani	inkani	kgang (") (argument).
" 10	tirani	izinkani	dikgang(") (arguments).
" 9	ieikiti	intsikizi	tsitsiri (bug).
" 10	tieikiti	izintsikizi	ditsitsiri (bugs).

Miscellaneous Phuthi examples in Sentences.

<u>Ihloko</u> itele igwethfu.	(the head is full of dandruff).
<u>Idawu</u> ifana le ikatsi.	(a lion looks like a cat).
<u>Iphufu</u> letanwewa itoyisulala ithwala	(the white powder will louse).
Sele ugiphe <u>izaca</u> leyo.	(please give me that sweet cane).
Bagimiye <u>tizaca</u> .	(they grudged me sweet canes).
Ebazwali balatikhatsato.	(boys have troubles).
<u>Tinyoka</u> tinyhethi lakha.	(there are many snakes here).

Class 11.

In Southern Sotho this class is extinct, all nouns having been absorbed in class 5. This influence seems to have spread

to Phuthi, as only a few nouns remain in class 11 in that language. In Nguni and Tswana, a Sotho language, this class occurs regularly.

In Phuthi as a rule it takes its plural in class 10, but owing to the close relation, as a result of structural similarity between class 5 and 11, the plural is sometimes taken in class 6, which is the regular plural of class 5. Investigation showed that some class 11 nouns were sometimes treated as nouns of class 5 by changing the first syllable lu into li. But there is no trace of changing class 5 nouns into class 11.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.Ts</u>	
Class 11	lulimi	ulwimi	leleme	(tongue).
"	11 lunaga	uphondo	lonaka	(horn).
"	11 luhlogwa	umcinga(cl.3)	lotlhokwa	(stalk of grass)
"	11 luvo	uluvo	mogopolo(cl.3)	(opinion).
"	11 luzwane	uzwane	monwana(cl.3)	(toe).

There may also be cases where these assume a class 5 form in addition to class 11, and the latter is found to take two plurals one in class 10 and the other in class 5.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>			
Class 5	linaga	plural	-	emanaga (horns).
"	11 lunaga	"	-	tinaga or emanaga (horns).
"	5 lihlogwa	"	-	emahlogwa (stalks of grass)
"	11 luhlogwa	"	-	tinlogwa or emahlogwa (stalks of grass)
"	5 lisiša	"	-	emasiša (feathers).
"	11 lusiša	"	-	tisiša or emasiša (feathers).

Miscellaneous Phuthi in Sentences.

Lulwimi lami lušuhlugu	(my tongue is painful).
Ikhokhe gəlunlogwa	(take it out with a stalk of grass)
Yilunaga leyomo leli	(this is a beast's horn).
Lami luvo yileli	(my opinion is this).

Class 14.

In this class are found many abstract nouns in Phuthi. As in Sotho the prefix formative contains no initial vowel. Nouns of this class as a rule do not take a plural in Phuthi.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
šoya	ušoya	boea	(hair, wool).
šušī	ušušī	bobe	(badness, evil).
šusuku	ušusuku	bosiu	(night).
šutewa	ušuvila	botsoa	(laziness).

In all the three languages, some nouns of this class omit the prefix proper i.e. šu, bo.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
jwala	utywala	joala	(beer).
jwani	utyani	joang	(grass).

N. B.

The tone pattern in Phuthi is high-low for the above words while Nguni and Sotho it is the very opposite of Phuthi in this respect, the pattern being low-high.

A striking peculiarity in Phuthi is the occurrence of noun šudlha (food) in this class. In the other two languages the word for food takes its prefix in class 15 but in Phuthi it takes its prefix in class 14. For instance in Nguni akidla is class 14, and in Sotho ho ja is in the same class.

Miscellaneous Phuthi Examples in Sentences.

šudlha, šakho šumanadzi lašonyewu (your food is nice mother of So-and-so).

šuhlali šakhe šumabisiye (his cleverness has caused him to be caught).

šutshakatsani šutšophela nini? (when will witchcraft stop?).

Class 15.

Nouns of this class are verb infinitives. The noun consists of the prefix ku, which is an infinitive formative, followed by

a verb stem in the present tense. Besides, nouns in this class have no plural.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Swani</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>	
kukhanya	ukakhanya	ho khanya	(light).
kuphela	ukuphela	ho fela	(end).
kuphila	ukuphila	ho phela	(life).
kutjhisa	ukutjhisa	ho chesa	(burning).

Miscellaneous Phuthi Examples in sentences.

- Gifuna kukhanya kwelisoane. (I want the light of the lamp).
Kuphela kwetsumo ke. (that is the end of the fable then).
Kuphila kwami yiloku. (this is my way of living).
Kutjhisa kwelaga kuyagihlula (the heat of the sun affects me).

Like many other South African languages, Phuthi has lost some of the original prefixes such as those of classes 12, 13, 18, 19, 20 and 21. As all of these prefixes except class 18 denote either diminutive or augmentative forms in UrBantu, Phuthi makes up for this deficiency by means of suffixes for instance ka and tu, which are prefixes indicating diminutive form as in Shona ka-*mbudzi* (small goat) tu-*mbudzi* (small goats) are substituted by suffixes ana, anana and anyana according to the suitability of the suffix required for the particular noun. Thus we get ibut-*ana* (small goat), tibut-*ana* (small goats) iv-*anana* (small sheep) tiv-*anana* (small sheep). The augmentative forms are also rendered by means of suffixes e.g. ivu-*kati* (a big sheep), mulabo-*kati* (a big river). The locative form for which class 18 prefix stands is rendered by means of a locative formative g and sometimes, with the help of the suffix ini or eni e.g. Nyanja mu-*chilindo* (in the watch tower) would be translated into Phuthi by g - silidz-*weni*.

Derivation of Noun Stems.

Besides primitive noun roots like - fo(men), -thfo(thing) there are many nouns derived from nominal stems, verbal stems,

adjectival stems as well as other parts of speech.

Nominal derivatives i.e. nouns derived from other nouns.

The process of forming nouns from nominal stems involves the use of suffixes which are used in the formation of:

- (a) the feminine,
- (b) the diminutive,
- (c) the augmentative.

The Feminine

In the formation of the feminine Phuthi uses the suffix -kati. Besides the suffix anyana is used in some nouns to indicate gender in relation to the young.

Applying the phonological laws of sound-shifting in the three languages, the counterparts of -kati are found to be kazi and hali in Nguni and Sotho.S., respectively.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
mufuma- <u>kati</u>	ukumkani- <u>kazi</u>	mofuma- <u>hali</u> (queen).
mutali- <u>kati</u>	umzali- <u>kazi</u>	motsali- <u>hali</u> (female parent).
inyuba- <u>kati</u>	inyumba- <u>kazi</u> }	nyopa- <u>hali</u> (barren female).
lidlholo- <u>kati</u>	tidlolo- <u>kazi</u> }	

Perhaps following the Law of Polarity in which the females are relegated to the category of the small, the suffix anyana in Phuthi is ^{sometimes} used to indicate sex. Thus from muthfwana (child) the diminutive of muthfu (person) we get muthfwanyana (girl), the diminutive of which is muthfwanyanyana (small girl).

The Diminutive

The diminutive formation is indicated by means of the suffix -ana, -anana, -nyana and -anyana in Phuthi. Nguni and Sotho use the same suffixes but not necessarily in the same examples. Compare the morphological differences in the three languages under consideration, in the following examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
ibuti (goat) gives	ibut- <u>ana</u> ;	imbu- <u>ana</u> ;	pots- <u>ane</u> (little goat, potsanyane (kid))
ivu (sheep) "	iv- <u>anana</u> ;	imv- <u>ana</u> ;	nku- <u>nyana</u> (small sheep)
ifene (monkey) "	ife- <u>nyana</u> ;	imfe- <u>nyana</u> ;	konyana (lamb; from nkunyana. tsoe- <u>nyana</u> (small monkey)
ijha (dog) "	ifene- <u>nyana</u> ijhanyana;	inj- <u>ana</u> ;	ntjanyana (small dog).
inonyana (bird) "	inja- <u>nyana</u> (Ng.Hl). inonyanyana;	inyon- <u>ana</u> ;	nonya- <u>nyana</u> (small bird)

Diminutive formation may be accompanied by voiced lateral affricativisation i.e. the change of a voiced lateral sound into a voiced lateral affricate sound. This is worthy of note because in Nguni voiced lateral fricativisation occurs. Partly due to some reason or another, and partly because of the voiced nature of the sounds in Phuthi and Nguni, a phenomenon not common in Sotho, both, voiced lateral affricativisation and fricativisation are not found in the latter language i.e. Sotho. Hence examples will be taken from Phuthi and Nguni only.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>
libele (kaffir-corn) gives	libed <u>lhana</u> ;	i <u>bedlana</u> ; (small kaffir-corn grain).
muzwali (boy) "	muzwad <u>lhana</u> ;	(inkwenkwana); (small boy).
imali (money) "	imad <u>lhana</u> ;	imod <u>lana</u> ; (small money).
	(imalana) ;	(imalana); i.e. little money.

Besides affricativisation, palatalisation is also found in the diminutive formation of nouns from other nouns. The resulting palatal sounds differ from language to language.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
isibi (iron) gives	isij <u>hana</u> ;	intsin <u>jana</u> ;	t <u>setgoana</u> ; (small piece of iron)
tidzaša (news) "	tidzaj <u>ana</u> ;	indat <u>yana</u> ;	litaj <u>ana</u> ; (little news)
mulomu (mouth) "	mulon <u>yana</u> ;	umlon <u>yana</u> ;	molon <u>goana</u> ; (small mouth)
isimi (field) "	isiny <u>ana</u> ;	intsiny <u>ana</u> ;	t <u>simonyana</u> ; (small field)

Sotho usually makes use of velarisation instead of palatalisation in nouns whose last syllable begins with the bilabial m as is seen in the word molongoana in the examples above. (ng is phon. ŋ).

Some nouns take two forms of diminutive formation depending upon the meaning it is desired to convey. Usually the suffix -nyana is used in a derogatory and contemptuous sense.

Examples:

Phutni

mulomu (mouth)	gives	mulonyana (little mouth).	
mulomo		mulomonyana (")	used derogatively
lifa (inheritance)	"	lifana (little inheritance).	
		lifanyana (")	do.
igušo (blanket)	"	igujana (little blanket).	
		igušonyana (")	do.
iraši (ox)	"	irajana (little ox).	
		irašinyana (")	do.
itahaša (mountain)	"	itshajana (little hill).	
		itshašanyana (")	do.

The two types of diminutives are found in Nguni and Sotho also, and they are used in the same sense too.

Examples:

Ng. ilifa (inheritance)	gives	ilifana (little inheritance).	
		ilifanyana (")	contemptuously.
So.S. lefa (")	"	lefa (")	
		lefanyana (")	do.
Ng. umlomo (mouth)	"	umlonyana (little mouth).	
		umlomonyana (")	do.
So.S. molomo (")	"	molongoana (")	
		molomonyana (")	do.

The Augmentative

The augmentative is formed by suffixing a formative identical with the suffix for the feminine viz. kati and the same rules used for changing this suffix into Xhosa and Sotho apply as for the formation of the feminine.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
ibila (dassie)	ibilakati;	ibilakazi	;pelahali (a large dassie).
idlhu (house)	idlhukati;	indlukazi	;ntlohalali (a large house).
ihlati (fish)	ihlatikati;	intlonzikazi	;tlhapineli (" fish).
mutiba (body)	mutibakati;	umzimakazi	; 'melehali (a huge body).

Nouns derived from Verb-stems - (Deverbative Nouns).

There are two ways of forming nouns from verbs:-

- (a) To indicate the agent of an action from a personal noun, an appropriate prefix is added to the verb stem and its final vowel is changed into i. Practically the same process is followed in Nguni and Sotho, the difference being that the appropriate prefix in Nguni consists of an initial vowel and the prefix proper.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
akha (build) gives	mu y akazi;	umakhi;	mo h ahali (builder).
šuba (mould) "	mu u subi	; umšumbi;	mo o bopi (potter, one who moulds)
lima (plough) "	mu l ilimi	; umlimi;	mo l elemi (one who ploughs).
seša (slander) "	mu s eseši	; umlešiši;	mo s esebi (slanderer).
teka (marry) "	mu t eteke	; umteke	; mo y yalali (one who marries).

- (b) By means of prefixing an appropriate class-indicating formative to the verb stem, and by changing the final vowel of the verb-stem into o, nouns indicating,
 - (i) instrument of action,
 - (ii) the result of an action,
 - (iii) the abstract idea conveyed by the verb, are formed from verbs.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
bula (thrash) gives	si b ulo	; si s ibulo	; se p olo (flail).
khuluma (speak) "	mu k hulumo	; inkulumo	; puo (language).

seketela (support) gives siseketelo;(i)si thebe;(go)thebe (mat used for meal).
 tshaba (trust) " itshaba sisi tshaba; tshaba (promise).
 vuga (agree) " ivugelo simvumo ; tumelo (agreement).

Nouns derived from Adjectives and relatives.

By means of the prefixal formative bu many abstract nouns can be formed from adjectival and relative stems. This takes place not only in Phuthi but in Nguni and Sotho as well. Taking the stems -si (bad), -hle (fine, good), rulu (big), dze (tall, long), dvuma (tasteless), šati (wide), we get the following comparisons.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
bu-si	ušu-si	bo-be	(ugliness, evil).
bu-hle	ušu-hle	bo-tle	(goodness, fineness).
bu-rulu	ušu-khulu	bo-holo	(size).
bu-dze	ušu-de	bo-lelele	(length).
bu-dvuma	ušu-duma	bo-sula	(tastelessness).
bu-šati	ušu-šanzi	bo-batsi	(width).

Nouns may also be derived from some other parts of speech.

Examples:

from the adverb bili (front) we get bubili (the front).
 " " " jhalo (like that) " bujhalo (state of being like that).
 " " pronoun mina (myself) " bumina (the self).
 " " " edzi (alone) " buyedzi (loneliness).

THE PRONOUN.

There are types of pronouns in Phuthi viz.:-

- (a) Absolute,
- (b) Quantitative,
- (c) Qualificative and
- (d) Demonstrative pronouns.

(a) The Absolute Pronoun.

This pronoun merely indicates the substantive to which it refers without qualifying or limiting it.

In the third person the absolute pronoun in common with Nguni and Sotho.S. consists of two parts:

- (i) the first part which bears a concordial relationship with the prefix of the substantive to which it refers;
- (ii) the second part consists of an invariable formative, na.

The tone pattern of the two syllables making up the pronoun is low-high in all the three languages i.e. Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho. But the vowel quality of the o, where it occurs in the classes, differs. In Phuthi it occurs as a mid-back close vowel o indicated as ϕ e.g. tona (they), whereas in Nguni and Sotho it occurs as a midback open vowel o (phon. ɔ) e.g. zona, tona.

The following is a comparative table of Phuthi with Nguni and Sotho.S. for the Absolute Pronoun.

	Phuthi	Nguni.Z.	Sotho.S.	
<u>1st. Pers. Sing.:</u>	mine mina	mina	nna	(I myself).
<u>Plur.:</u>	tshine tshina	thina	rona	(we etc.).
<u>2nd. Pers. Sing.:</u>	wena	wena	uena	(you).
<u>Plur.:</u>	line lina	nina	lona	(you).
<u>Class</u>	1. yena	yena	eena	(he).
	2. bona	bona	bona	(they).
	3. wona	wona	oana	(it).
	4. yona	yona	eona	(they).
	5. lona	lona	lona	(it).
	6. wona	wona	ona	(they).
	7. sona	sona	sona	(it).
	8. tona	zona	tsona	(they).
	9. yona	yona	eona	(it).
	10. tona	zona	tsona	(they).
	11. lona	lona	-----	(it).
	14. bona	bona	bona	(it).
	15. kona	kona	hona	(it).

The Quantitative or Enumerative Pronoun.

Phuthi has two chief simple quantitative pronouns and these are derived from stems signifying:

- (a) all, the whole of, etc., and
- (b) only, alone, etc.

Under (a) Phuthi in common with Sotho.S. uses the stem hle; and in Nguni the stem is nke. As in the case of the Absolute pronouns, the first part of the pronoun is concordial with the substantive referred to and the second part is invariable

In form the Phuthi quantitative pronoun is very similar to the Sotho pronoun; the pronoun stems are identical in the two languages.

The quality of the vowels o and e in the Phuthi pronouns presents a striking contrast to those of Sotho, in which language these are of a high quality, they being mid-back close and mid-forward close vowels, respectively. The quality of these vowels in Phuthi is the same as in Nguni, which language the vowels are open. This is a striking peculiarity in Phuthi which as a rule prefers close vowels.

Below are examples under (a) in the three languages.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
<u>1st Pers.Sing.:</u>	gohle	ndonke	ephle (whole self).
<u>Plur.:</u>	sohle	sonke	bophle (all of us etc.).
<u>2nd Pers.Sing.:</u>	wohle	wonke	ephle (whole of you).
<u>Plur.:</u>	lohle	nonke	bophle (all of you).
Class -	1. wohle	wonke	ephle (whole of him).
	2. bohle	bonke	bophle (whole of them).
	3. wohle	wonke	ophle (whole of it).
	4. yohle	yonke	ephle (all of them).
	5. lohle	lonke	lophle (all of it).
	6. wohle	wonke	ophle (whole of them).

7. sohle	sonke	sohle	(whole of it).
8. tohle	zonke	tsqhle	(whole of them).
9. yohle	yonke	eqhle	(whole of it).
10. tohle	zonke	tsqhle	(whole of them).
11. lohle	lonke	-----	(whole of it).
14. sonle	sonke	bqhle	(whole of it).
15. kohle	konke	hqhle	(whole of it).

Syntactically this pronoun may be used either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence in Phuthi and Nguni; but in both languages the sentence is more emphatic when the pronoun is used at the beginning of it thus:

Bohle Bayafuneka (all are wanted) - in Phuthi, and

Sonke Bayafuneka (all are wanted) - in Nguni, are more emphatic than:

Bayafuneka sohle; and Bayafuneka sonke, respectively.

Although there is no fast rule about it, in Sotho-S. the pronoun usually comes at the beginning of the sentence, e.g.

Bohle ba tşeng (they are present).

Some Phuthi examples in sentences.

Mine gito gena gohle. (I will go in wholly).

Sitfhiye sohle sipnadze. (The whole tree is burnt).

Likhaba lohle na? (Are you all going?).

Bohle ešafo šafunwa gumurena (All men are wanted by the chief

The second simple Quantitative Pronoun in Phuthi is equivalent to the English, only, alone, etc.

In view of the fact that Baca has alternative forms of quantitative pronouns which are morphologically as near the ordinary Nguni forms as possible; (Baca forms invariably ending

in dywa while ordinary Nguni forms end in dwa), and in view of the etymological relationship between Phutni on the one hand and alternative Baca forms and Tswana on the other, comparative examples will be taken from these three languages, i.e. Phutni, Baca and Tswana.

Examples:

	<u>Phutni</u>	<u>Nguni-Baca</u>	<u>So. Tswana</u>	
<u>1st Pers.Sing.:</u>	gędzi	ndędzi or ndedvwa	nqsi	(I alone).
<u>Plur.:</u>	sędzi	sędzi "	sedvwa	ręsi (we alone).
<u>2nd Pers.Sing.:</u>	wędzi	wędzi "	wedvwa	węsi (you alone).
<u>Plur.:</u>	lędzi	nędzi "	nedvwa	lęsi (do.).
<u>Class -</u>				
1.	yędzi	yędzi "	yedvwa	ęsi (he alone).
2.	šędzi	šędzi "	šodvwa	bęsi (they ").
3.	wędzi	wędzi "	wodvwa	węsi (it ").
4.	yędzi	yędzi "	yodvwa	yęsi (they ").
5.	lędzi	lędzi "	lodvwa	lęsi (it ").
6.	wędzi	wędzi "	wodvwa	ęsi (they ").
7.	sędzi	sędzi "	sodvwa	sęsi (it ").
8.	tędzi	tędzi "	todvwa	teęsi (they ").
9.	yędzi	yędzi "	yodvwa	yęsi (it ").
10.	tędzi	tędzi "	todvwa	teęsi (they ").
11.	lędzi	lędzi "	lodvwa	lęsi (it ").
14.	šędzi	šędzi "	šodvwa	jęsi (" ").
15.	kędzi	kędzi "	kodvwa	gęsi (" ").

In all the examples given above, except in the alternative forms of Baca, the vowel of the preceding syllable in each word is a close vowel because of the phonological influence of the succeeding close i on the vowel of the preceding syllable.

In this pronoun we encounter one of the most striking

 The forms given under Nguni-Baca are taken from Jordan's "Some Features of the Phonetic and Grammatical Structure of Baca" p. 32.

similarities between Phuthi and these other two languages in respect to the stem dzi, and si.

Some Phuthi examples in Sentences.

Utohlakula wedzi gemo. (you will hoe alone tomorrow).

Muruti ukhaba yedzi. (the teacher is going alone).

Miti isele yodzi q̄safo ašakho. (homes are left alone men are not there).

Sihlala q̄odzi lakha. (we stay alone here).

With regard to this pronoun, other Sotho languages and dialects do not show the same full development as Tswana. In Northern and Southern Sotho the only remnants of the pronoun are in the forms, nošē, nošī, notšī, inotšī, etc.

This pronoun as a rule follows a predicative in word order as the examples above show.

The Inclusive Quantitative Pronoun.

The Inclusive Quantitative Pronouns, which are found so well developed in Nguni and Tswana, are not found in Phuthi which uses constructions akin to Southern Sotho ^{forms} to express the idea of inclusiveness.

To express the idea denoted by "two of us", "three of us" etc.; Phuthi like Southern Sotho uses a method which involves a prefixal formative of class 14 which is followed by a numeral and a possessive stem respectively,

The morphological correspondence between Phuthi and Sotho. S. on the one hand, and Nguni and Tswana on the other hand may be observed in the comparative table which follow.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	<u>Nguni.X.</u>	<u>Tswana</u>
Eašini šeṭhfu	bobeli ba rona	sošušini	robabedi (two of us).
šutshathfu "	boraro " "	sošathathu	robararo (three ").
šane "	bone " "	sošane	robane (four ").
šuhlanu "	bohano " "	sošahlanu	robatlhano (five ").
šuyeqgele "	botšelele " "	sošathandathu	robarataro (six ").
šueuba "	bo supa " "	sošixheaxe	rošupa (seven ").

These examples are based on the numerical system which is almost the same for all the languages under consideration. Below will be given only a few examples of these numerals in each language.

Cardinal numbers.

<u>Shuthi</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Tswana</u>	
-nye	-ngoe	-nye	-ngwe	(one).
-šili	-peli	-šini, šili	-beđi or peđi	(two).
-tshathfu	-tharo	-tathu	-raro or taro	(three).
-ne	-nne	-ne	-nne	(four).
-hlanu	-hlano	-hlanu	-tlhano	(five).
-yegqele (from -tšelela (from -tshandathu -rataro or egqela - to cross) tšela - to cross)		-sithupha(Z) thataro (six).		
-suba	-supa	-sixhenxe sikhqabisa(Z)	-supa	(seven).
-phuliye minwana lešišini	-robeli (robile mebeli)	-sibozo sishiyagalo- mbili(Z)	-hera mebeđi or robeđi	(eight).
phuliye munwana	-robong (robile o le mong)	-lithoša šsniyagalo-lunye(Z)	-hera nngwe	(nine).
-lošunye.				
-lišumi	-lešome	-lifumi	-lešome	(ten).

Comparative examples.

Ph.	lišumi lešimo munye	(eleven).
So.S.	lešome le motso o mong	(").
Ng.X.	ifumi elinomvo omnye	(").
Ts.	lešome le motso o mongwe	(").
Ph.	lišumi le liavo mišini	(twelve).
So.S.	lešome le metso e mebeli or 'aqli	(twelve).
Ng.X.	ifumi elinamivo emišini	(twelve).
Ts.	lešome le motso e mebeđi	(").
Ph.	emashumi la mašini	(twenty).
So.S.	mashome a mabeli	(").
Ng.X.	amafumi amašini	(").

Ph.	emashumi laphuliye munwe lo munye (ninety).
So.S.	mashome a robileng monwana o le mong(").
Ng.X.	amafumi alithoSa (").
Ts.	mašome a a herang mongwe (").
Ph.	likhulu or likhfulu (hundred).
So.S.	lekholo (").
Ng.X.	ikhulu (").
Ts.	lekgolo (").
Ph.	sigidi (thousand).
So.S.	sekete (").
Ng.X.	iwaka (").
Ts.	sekete (").
Ph.	tigidi letisigidi (million).
So.S.	likete tse sekete (").
Ng.X.	isigidi (").
Ts.	dikete tse di sekete (").

Some Phuthi examples.

ufati la or lomunye (one woman)	esakhabi lašasini (two travellers).
muyedi lomunye (" boundary)	miyedi lemitshathfu (three boundaries)
lijwe lelinye (" stone)	emajwe lamane (four stones).
sinuwe lešinye (" diviner)	tinuwe letinlanu (five diviners).
idawu lenye (" lion)	tidawu letiyegaele (six lions).
iguru lenye (" fowl)	tiguru letisakiye (seven fowls).
emavi laphuliye - (eight voices).	emavi laphuliye munwana
minwana lemišani	lomunye (nine voices.)
esahlakuli lašalishumi (ten inspectors).	
esahlakuli lašalikhfulu (hundred hoers).	
" lašasigidi (thousand ").	

Ordinal Numerals.

Except in the case of first where ku is used, as a prefixal formative to the numeral stem, Phuthi uses the prefixal formative bu of class 14 in the same way to indicate ordinal numerals at least as far as number 7. The same construction is found in Sotho.S., where the ku assumes the form ho, and bu the form bo. Nguni uses the formative ku for first and any appropriate formative usually si for the others. When the ordinals are used as qualificatives, they are connected with the words they qualify by means of possessive concords.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
muhlolo wēkuqala	umhlolo wōkuqala umhlola " (X)	mohlolo oa pele (first miracle). (first omen)
llaga lešušini	ilanga lešišini	letsatsi labobeli (2nd day).
ibuka yešutshathfu-	incwadi yešithathu-	buka ea boraro (3rd book)
mulabo wešune	umlambo wešine	molapo oa bone (4th river).
licayi lešuhlanu	iqanda lešihlanu	lehe la bohlanu (5th egg)
lihlwati lešushumi-	ucango lwešumi	lemati la leshome (tenth door).

The days of the week are counted as follows in Phuthi.

<u>Muvulo</u>	(Monday)	as in - ufi ^{or ufiya} ke geMuvulo (he arrived on Monday)
<u>Lešušini</u>	(Tuesday)	" - Gitōta geLešušini (I will come on Tues- day).
<u>Lešutshathfu</u>	(Wednesday)	" - Gelešutshathfu gitōya kōlōkwam (On Wednesday I will go to my home)
<u>Lešune</u>	(Thursday)	" - Bavula geLešune (they open on Thurs- day).
<u>Lešuhlanu</u>	(Friday)	" - Bašuyela geLešuhlanu (they go back on Friday).
<u>Mugqibelo</u>	(Saturday)	" - Baqedziye geMugqibelo (they finished on Saturday).
<u>iCawa</u>	(Sunday)	" - Ugasēšēti geCawa (do not work on Sun- day)

The Qualificative Pronoun.

A qualificative pronoun may be derived from any of the following qualificatives:-

Adjective, Demonstrative, Relative, Enumerative and Possessive

A qualificative becomes a qualificative pronoun when the substantive to which it refers is omitted. Thus in muthfu lo murulu (a big person) the words lo murulu form a qualificative; but in lo murulu ufikiye (the big one has arrived) lo murulu without the antecedent muthfu is a qualificative pronoun.

As further reference to qualificative Pronouns will be made when qualificatives are dealt with. Only one pronoun viz., the Demonstrative Pronoun will be taken at this stage.

The Demonstrative Pronoun.

Strictly speaking there are only two positions indicated by the demonstrative pronoun, and these refer to the positions;

(a) "near",

(b) "far".

These two positions are further subdivided according to precisions, thus:-

Near

Far

here, and right here,

there, and right there,

or this, and this here.

or that, and that there.

In Phuthi the position being the same as in Nguni and Sotho there are not enough precisions but the following represent a few examples which are still found in the language.

1st position ("near")

lo (this one), lona (this one here).

le (this thing), lena (this thing here).

2nd position ("far")

lowo (that one next to you) lowaa (that there yonder)

leyo (that thing next to you) leyaa (that thing there yonder).

The precision with the terminal formative na is rarely used in common speech. Except in cases where the rules of vowel harmony apply as in leli, lq̄su, lq̄ku, etc., the vowels found in the syllables of the demonstrative pronouns in Phuthi are open vowels. The same is true of Nguni. In Sotho.S. all the vowels

of the first syllable of the demonstrative pronouns in all positions except the alternative in the fourth position are mid-close vowels.

Examples in Phuthi.

<u>Near</u>		<u>Far</u>	
<u>(1st position)</u> <u>(-this)</u>	<u>(2nd position)</u> <u>(-this here)</u>	<u>(3rd position)</u> <u>(that)</u>	<u>(4th position)</u> <u>(that yonder.)</u>
Class 1. lo	lona	lowo	lɔwaa
2. laʒa	---	laʒo	laʒaa
3. lo	lona	lowo	lɔwaa
4. le	lena	leyo	lɛyaa
5. lɛli	---	lelo	lɛlaa
6. la	lena	lawo	lawaa
7. lɛsi	---	leso	lɛsaa
8. lɛti	---	leto	lɛtaa
9. le	lena	leyo	lɛyaa
10. lɛti	---	leto	lɛtaa
11. lɔlu	---	lolo	lɔlaa
14. lɔʒu	---	loʒo	lɔʒaa
15. lɔku	---	loko	lɔkwaa

The second precision forms appear in classes where the nasal appears or was there historically in the prefixal formative.

Below will be given a few examples to show morphological and phonetical differences and similarities between Phuthi and the other two languages Nguni and Sotho.

	<u>(1st Position)</u>	<u>(2nd Position)</u>	<u>(3rd Position)</u>	<u>(4th Position)</u>
Cl.1. Ph.	lo	lona	lowo	lɔwaa
Ng.	lo	lona	lowo	lɔwaa
So.S.	ɛo	ɛnoa	ɛno	ɛloa or eane
Cl.7. Ph.	lɛsi	---	leso	lɛsaa
Ng.	ɛsi	---	eso	ɛsaa or ɛsiya
So.S.	sɛ	sɛna	sɛno	sɛla or sane

	(1st Position)	(2nd Position)	(3rd Position)	(4th Position)
Cl.9. Ph.	le	lena	leyo	leyaa
Ng.	le	lena	leyo	leyaa
So.S.	ēē	ēna	ēna	ēla or eane
Cl.14. Ph.	lōu	---	loōo	loōoa
Ng.	qōu	---	oōo	qōuya
So.S.	bō	bōna	bōno	bōla or bane

In all the three languages the forms of the third and fourth positions are formed from those of the first by an addition formative elements as in:-

Ph.	le	becoming	le - <u>yo</u>	and	le- <u>yaa</u> .
Ng.	le	"	le - <u>yo</u>	"	le- <u>yaa</u> .
So.S.	ēē	"	ē - <u>no</u>	"	ē- <u>la</u> .

The demonstrative pronoun may be used at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a sentence in Phunti, the same applies to the other two languages as well.

Examples:

Ph.	<u>Lowo</u> uvela kēkhi?	(where does that one come from?)
Ng.	<u>Lowo</u> uvela phi?	(do.)
So.S.	<u>Ēo</u> o tsoa kae?	(do.)
Ph.	<u>Lowo</u> giyamuyati.	(I know that one.)
Ng.	<u>Lowo</u> ndiyamazi.	(do.)
So.S.	<u>Ēo</u> kea mo tseba.	(do.)
Ph.	Gibone <u>lowaa</u> kuphela	(I saw that one only.)
Ng.	Ndibone <u>lowaa</u> kuphela	(do.).
So.S.	Ke bōne <u>eane</u> feela	(do.)
Ph.	Uvela gēnxa le, <u>lowaa</u>	(that one comes from this side.)
Ng.	Uvela kwēli cala, <u>lowaa</u>	(do.)
So.S.	O tsoa ka 'nqēna <u>eane</u>	(do.)

Southern Sotho and Zulu sometimes add more suffixal formatives in the fourth position for the sake of emphasis. But Phuthi as a rule does not use these, where they are used, they may be assumed to be borrowings from the neighbouring Sotho languages and dialects.

In addition to lesiya, Zulu may have lesiyona; and Sotho in addition to sane may have sanene. Phuthi conveys the same idea of emphasis by means of lengthening the last vowel still further thus, lesaaa would be lesaaa: ; etc. (that one right over there yonder).

---oOo---

the class prefix of the substantive, without any other formative before it. There are few true adjectival qualificatives in Phuthi, and these occur chiefly in compound words. A few examples of such qualificatives from Phuthi in comparison with Nguni and Sotho forms will be given below.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
bolo- <u>bibi</u>	mbolo- <u>mbini</u>	----- (double-barrel gun).
dlheSe- <u>dze</u>	ndleSe- <u>nde</u>	taebe- <u>telele</u> (long eared).
dlhu- <u>rulu</u>	ndlu- <u>nkulu</u>	ntlo- <u>kholo</u> (chief house).
madi- <u>maSi</u>	gazi- <u>liSi</u>	mali- <u>mabe</u> (bad blood i.e. bad luck).
mavi- <u>manle</u>	mazwi- <u>mahle</u>	mantsoe- <u>matle</u> (good words - "wordsworth).
munna- <u>murulu</u>	-----	monna- <u>moholo</u> (old man).
muti- <u>mutfha</u>	mzi- <u>mtfha</u>	motse- <u>mocha</u> (new home).
muti- <u>murulu</u>	mzi- <u>mkhulu</u>	motse- <u>moholo</u> (big place).
thfoga- <u>bili</u>	nduku- <u>mbini</u>	molamu- <u>mellet</u> (two sticks).

Compound adjectival qualificatives consist of a relative, formed from a copulative which is formed from an adjectival stem. The relative itself is demonstrative in its nature, so that it could be called a demonstrative relative.

The following list of adjectival stems used in compound adjectival qualificative constructions in Phuthi is fairly comprehensive.

-Si (bad),	-hle(fine),	-rulu(big),	-futfhane (short),
-nci (small),	-dze(tall),	-tfha(new),	-nye(one, other etc.),
-bili(two),	-tshathfa(three),	-ne(four),	--nlanu(five).

These adjectival stems compare very closely with their Nguni and Sotho counterparts as the following examples show.

Ph.	<u>Si</u>	e.g. muthwana <u>lomuSi</u> ;	<u>hle</u>	e.g. ivu <u>lenle</u> .
Ng.	<u>Si</u>	" umntwana <u>omSi</u> ;	<u>hle</u>	" imvu <u>entle</u> .
So.S.	<u>be</u>	" ngoana <u>e mobe</u> ;	<u>tle</u>	" nku <u>e ntle</u> .
		(an ugly child);		(a fine sheep).

Ph. dze e.g. ufolomudze; hlanu e.g. migqdzi lemihlanu.
 Ng.X. de " umfo omde; hlanu " imigqdi emihlanu.
 So.S. elele " morna e molelele; hlano " mekoti e manlano.
 (a tall man); (five holes).

Some Phuthi examples:

Ithfo lebi yiyaso siqhole lesi. (the bad thing is this hail).
 Muthfu lomuhle gulo kudlhula lowaa (this is a finer person than that one).
 Utshegiye tithfo letinleke (you have bought very fine things then).
 Ithfo leyidzeyidze le uyinkiye kekhi? (Where did you get this very long thing?).
 Ešali Bankiye muruba lomunci (girl initiates are carrying a small drum).
 Liri lelitfha leli yilabani? (Whose is this new rod?).

(c) The Relative.

The relative qualificative is joined to the antecedent it qualifies by means of a relative concord. The nature of this relative concord is demonstrative. A relative qualificative may be derived from:-

- (i) a true relative stem.
- (ii) a copulative stem formed from a substantive.
- (iii) a verb used in a relative clause.
- (iv) a descriptive demonstrative stem.

Comparative Stems under (i).

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S</u>
-šati	-šanzi	-batsi (wide).
-dala	-luhlaza	-tala (grey).
-dyuma	-duma	----- (tasteless).
-phatchwa	-lunga	-phatsoa (black and white colour of a beast).
-putswa	-ngwevu	-putsoa (grey).
-te	-ze	--pono-pono (naked).
-tima	-nzisa	-ima (heavy).

Some Phuthi examples in sentences.

Idlhu lešati yiyami. (the broad house is mine).

- Pmagqabi ešiphadze adala. (the leaves of the trees are green).
 Gidha Budha lošudvuma. (I eat tasteless food).
 Gimabe itheše lephutshwa. (I am holding a black and white shield).
 Iyomo lepütawa idha enaheñi. (A grey beast grazes in the veld).
 Muthfu lote uvela kekhí? (where does this naked person come from?)
 Musešeti lotima agiwutshadzi (I do not like heavy work).
 Saduša ihlana letshewu. (they are kneading white dough).

Comparative Stems under (ii).

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
-Budila	-----	-bolila (soariness).
-Suhluga	-Suhlungu	-bohloko (pain).
-Sukhali	-Sukhali	-bohale (sharpness).
-Sutshati	-Sulula	-bobobo (lightness).
-lukhuni	-lukhuni	-botnata (hardness etc.).

In actual relative constructions with the above stems, Phuthi and Nguni use shortened forms because the copulative, formative, which is identical with the prefixal formative of the noun used, is dropped. The full forms should preplace the copulative formative thus:-

- Ph. ššudila, ššuhluga, ššukhali, etc.
 Ng. -----, ššuhlungu, ššukhali, ššukhuni etc.

The underlined formative in each of the cases mentioned above is a copulative and is translated by English "it is".

Taking the following examples in Phuthi and Nguni we notice the construction:

- (1) in its full form, and
- (2) in its short form.

- (1) Ph. ithfo leššuhlungu (lit. a thing which it is pain).
- Ng. into eššuhlungu (ditto.).
- (2) Ph. ithfo lešuhlungu (lit. a thing which pain i.e. a painful thing).

(2) Ng. into ešuhlungu (lit. a thing which pain i.e. a painful thing).

Some Phuthi examples in sentences.

šmahlewu lašudfi aqeliye. (sour "mahlewu" drink is finished).

Tithfo letišuhlugu atipnēli. (painful things do not stop).

Muhlaše gemukhothfo lošukhali. (stab him with a sharp spear).

Inyadza lešutfhati giyašani? (whose is the light bundle?).

Si phadze leşilukhfuni yisami. (the hard tree is mine).

Comparative Stems under (iii).

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>
-lugiye	-lugileyo	-lokileng (which is good).
-hlakaniphiye	-hlakaniphileyo	-hlalefileng (" " clever).
-khabako	-hambayo	-tsamaeang (" " going).
-tsnadwako	-thandwayo	-ratoang (" " beloved).

Baca and Swazi are perhaps the only well known Nguni dialects which use ko in the clause in the same way as Phuthi. In both these dialects such examples as: hlatahwako, šonwako etc. are found.

In Phuthi the negative forms of the relative clauses for the ordinary verbs, in the perfect and immediate past tense, active voice, end in i, and the negative formative ata is preplaced before the verb.

Examples:

muthfu lplugiye gives muthfu logata lugi.

(a good person) " (a bad person).

muzwale lqhlakaniphiye gives muzwale logata hlakaniphi.

(a clever boy) " (an unintelligent boy).

With the verbs in the passive voice, the negative formative is still used but the verb does not undergo any change with regard to the terminal vowel of its simple form in the present tense.

Examples:

- murena lotshadzwako becomes murena logata tshadzwa.
 (a beloved chief) " (a chief who is not beloved).
 ufati loqonwako " ufati logata qonwa.
 (a woman who is seen)" (a woman who is not seen).

In regard to the negative forms of the relative construction, Nuthi seems to stand quite apart from either Nguni or Sotho. Compare the constructions in the examples given below.

Positive

- Ph. Mutadi lo lugiyē. (a good parent).
 or Mutali lo lugiyē.
 Ng.X. Umzali olungileyo. (do.).
 So.S. Motsali ea lokilang. (do.).
 Ph. Murudi lo tshadzwako. (a beloved teacher).
 Ng.X. Umfundisi otnandwayo. (do.).
 So.S. Moruti ea ratoang. (do.).

Negative

- Ph. Mulawu logata lugi. (a law which is not good).
 Ng.X. Umthetho onalunganga (do.).
 So.S. Molao q sa lokang (do.).
 Ph. Bukhathi loqugata vugwa (lobola which is not accepted -
 i.e. unacceptable lobola.).
 Ng.X. Ikhazi qlingavunywayo (do.).
 So.S. Bohali bo sa lumeloeng (do.).

Comparative stems under (iv).

<u>Nuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
gaka	ngaka	kana	(as big as this).
gako	ngako	kalq	(" " " that).

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
gakaa	ngakaya	kaḷe	(as big as that yonder).
jhē	njē	tjāna	(like this).
jhalo	njalo	joalḷ	(" that).
jhēya	njēya	joana	(" that yonder).

Some Phuthi examples in sentences.

- Iyomo legaka agiyati. (I do not know this beast so big).
 Imali lerako ivela kēkhi? (where does so much money come from?).
 Ivula legaka ito yēka nini kuna?(when will this rain so much stop?)
 Tīruru letijhe yitašeni? (whose are these fowls like this?).
 Muti lojhalo gowešaloḷi. (a dwelling like that belongs to witches).

(d) The Enumerative.

There are few enumerative qualificatives in Phuthi, the most common being -nye (one, other), -ni? (what, what kind?), and -be (some other, different), -khi?(which?). The former two qualificatives viz.:- -nye and ni?, take strong enumerative concords, i.e. they take concords which are the same in form as the proper prefixal formative of the antecedent they qualify as in:-

muthfu lo munye (one person), muthfu muni? (what kind of person?).

On the other hand -be and -khi? take weak concords i.e., they do not take concords which are the same as those of the antecedent they qualify. They do this with respect to classes, 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9. e.g. muzwalelo ube. (a different boy).
mulimi ukhi? (which ploughman?).

Except -ni, all the other three enumerative qualificatives take a relative concord immediately before them. Compare the following Phuthi examples with their Nguni and Sotho counterparts.

Examples with strong concords.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni.X.</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
muthfu <u>lo</u> or <u>la</u> <u>munye</u> umntu <u>qnye</u>	motho <u>ea</u> <u>mong</u>		(one person).
ešathfu <u>la</u> <u>šanye</u>	ašantu <u>ašanye</u> batho <u>ba</u> <u>bang</u>		(one people).

muti <u>le</u> <u>manye</u>	umzi <u>omnye</u>	motse <u>o</u> <u>mong</u> (one dwelling).
miti <u>le</u> <u>manye</u>	imizwi <u>omnye</u>	metse <u>o</u> <u>meng</u> (one set of dwellings)
livi <u>le</u> <u>linye</u>	ilizwi <u>elinye</u>	lentsoe <u>le</u> <u>leng</u> (one voice).
emovi <u>la</u> <u>manye</u>	amazwi <u>amenye</u>	mantsoe <u>a</u> <u>mang</u> (other voices).
muthfu <u>muni</u> ?	matu <u>mni</u> ?	motho <u>mong</u> ? (what kind of person)
ebathfu <u>beni</u> ?	Bantu <u>beni</u> ?	batho <u>bang</u> ? (what kind of persons).
muvuso <u>muni</u> ?	muvuso <u>mni</u> ?	mofutsola <u>mong</u> ? (what kind of mixture?)
livi <u>lini</u> ?	lizwi <u>lini</u> ?	lentsoe <u>lcng</u> ? (what kind of voice?)
emovi <u>muni</u> ?	mazwi <u>mni</u> ?	mantsoe <u>mang</u> ? (what kind of voices?)

Examples with weak concord.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni.X.</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
mwakhi <u>wube</u>	makhi <u>wumbi</u>	mohani <u>o</u> sele (a different builder).
mulala <u>wube</u>	mqala <u>wumbi</u>	molala <u>o</u> sele (a different neck).
milala <u>yibe</u>	mqala <u>yimbi</u>	melala <u>a</u> sele (different necks).
emaBaca <u>abe</u>	maBaca <u>wabi</u>	maPuqoa <u>a</u> sele (different Bacas).
ijha <u>ibe</u>	nje <u>yimbi</u>	ntja <u>o</u> sele (a different dog).

(e) The Possessive.

The Possessive qualificative in Phuthi consists of two stems viz.,

- (1) Primitive possessive stems.
- (2) Stems derived from substantive and adverbs.

(1) Primitive stems.

The primitive stems found here are similar to those found in Nguni. The absolute pronoun forms used in Sotho especially in the third person are not found as such in Phuthi.

List of Primitive stems.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
1st Pers.S. - mi	-mi	-me	(of me).
P. -ithfu	-ithu	-rona	(of us).
2nd Pers.S. --kno	-kho	-heo	(of you).
P. -inu	-inu	-lona	(of you).

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>	
Cl. 1.	-khe	-khe	-hae	(of him).
2.	-bo	-bo	-bona	(" them).
3.	-wo	-wo	-'ona	(" it).
4.	-yo	-yo	-eona	(" them).
5.	-lo	-lo	-lona	(" It).
6.	-wo	-wo	--'ona	(" them).
7.	-so	-so	-sona	(" it).
8.	-to	-zo	-tsona	(" them).
9.	-yo	-yo	-yona	(" it).
10.	-to	-zo	-tsona	(" them).
11.	-lo	-lo	-----	-----
14.	-bo	-bo	bona	(of them).
15.	-ko	-ko	-hona	(" ").

All the primitive possessive stems are preceded by possessive concords which act as links between the former and the words qualified. In the actual construction the first half i.e. the possessive concord agrees with the thing possessed, and the second half agrees with the possessor. e.g. in emagqabi a - go si phadze, the possessive concord a agrees with emagqabi, which are the things possessed, and go, agrees with si phadze, which is the possessor.

Some other Nguni examples.

- qabafo qalo (lidima) (its men i.e. the cannibal).
- muti wago (qajaruti) (their home i.e. the teachers).
- liphasi la-go (situkulwana) (their country i.e. in generation)
- sisipa qato (tijana) (their soap i.e. dishes).
- busuku sawo (magidi) (its night i.e. in feast).
- bumunadzi qalo (livi) (its sweetness i.e. the voice).
- kuphila kwato (tidawu) (their living i.e. the lions).

As a rule the possessive concord follows the thing possessed in word order as seen in the examples above, but in the more emphatic construction the possessive qualificative usually precedes

the thing possessed. e.g. yami itheše imajhwa gumurena yedzi -
(my own shield is handled by the chief only).

(2) The Possessive with Nominal atoms etc.

(1) With Proper names.

When proper names of persons are used as possessors, the thing possessed, which in many cases comes first in the construction, is linked by means of a possessive concord to the possessor. This construction is the same as that found in Southern Sotho and different from that found either in Nguni or Tswana.

Compare the following examples.

Ph. Mueḽdzi waMammalo (Mammalo's visitor).

Ng. Umhambi kaMammalo (do.).

Ts. Moyeng wa ga Mammalo (do.).

So.S. Moeti oa Mammalo (do.).

Ph. Lihemu la Sidoyi (Sidoyi's crane).

Ng. Ihem lika-Sidoyi (do.).

Ts. Lehemu la ga Sidoyi (do.).

So.S. Lehemu la Sidoyi (do.).

Ph. Sibogo saMgeḽisa (Mgeḽisa's clan name).

Ng. Isibongo sikaMgeḽisa (do.).

Ts. Sereto sa ga Mokeḽisa (do.).

So.S. Seboko sa Mokeḽisa (do.).

Ph. Buthfogo ḽaBusuku (Busuku's sleep).

Ng. UButhongo ḽukaBusuku (do.).

Ts. Boroko ba ga Bosigo (do.).

So.S. Boroko ba ga Bosiu (do.).

Ph. Kuluga kwa Mapheḽle (kind-heartedness of Mapheḽle).

Ng. Ukulunga kuka-Mapheḽle (do.).

Ts. Go siama ga ga Mapheḽle (do.).

So.S. Ho loka ha Mapheḽle (do.).

Note that -

- (a) Phuthi and Southern Sotho use a monosyllabic connective which consists of the possessive concord alone.
- (b) Nguni uses a dissyllabic connective which consists of a subject concord followed immediately by an invariable possessive concord ka. But when the thing possessed contains a nasal in its prefix, only ka is used. e.g. inja kaMukiti (Mukiti's dog), amatye ka Jezile (Jezile's stones).
- (c) Tswana uses a dissyllabic connective which consists of a double possessive, the first of which is concordial, and the second an invariable ga.

(ii) With other nouns - examples.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
muti <u>wa</u> baloyi	umzi <u>wa</u> gathakathi	motse <u>oa</u> baloyi (witches' dwelling).
iputi <u>y</u> eyomo	inkunzi <u>y</u> enkomo	poho <u>ea</u> khomo (bull).
sisiwu <u>ga</u> bone	isilulu <u>ga</u> mbona	sesiu <u>ga</u> pōone (mealie grain basket).

(iii) With Adverbial stems.

A possessive concord may be prefixed to an adverbial stem and the combination can then be used as qualificative of the antecedent.

Examples.

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
ingwedzi <u>yak</u> ona	umolokazana <u>wak</u> hona	ngoetsi <u>ea</u> teng (the bride of that place).
murweši <u>wag</u> enxa leya	umrweši <u>wang</u> aphaya	mohobeši <u>oa</u> ka kōona (the trader of that side).
mujadi <u>wal</u> akha	umtyali <u>wal</u> apha	mojali <u>oa</u> mona (the sower of this place).

CHAPTER 5.

THE PREDICATIVE.

THE VERB.

The following main points should be borne in mind when considering the verb in Phuthi: (a) Varieties of the verb, (b) conjugation of the verb.

Varieties of the verb.

Verbs in Phuthi, as in Nguni and Sotho may be divided into the following categories.

- (a) Those with regular dissyllabic verb stems ending in a.
- (b) Those with monosyllabic verb stems.
- (c) Those with dissyllabic verb stems beginning with a vowel and ending regularly with the vowel a. i.e. vowel verbs.
- (d) Those derived from other parts of speech.

from (1) other verb stems i.e. derivative species.

(2) nominal or adjectival roots.

(3) ideophonic stems.

Most of the verbs under (d) are polysyllabic i.e. have more than one syllable.

Dissyllabic Verbs.

These consist of the root syllable of the verb followed by a verbalising suffix which may be ba, fa, ha, ma, pa, wa, za etc.

Examples in Phuthi and the other two languages.

<u>Phuthi.</u>	<u>Nguni.</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
šala	šala	bala (count)
šita	šiza	bitsa (call)
šola	šola	bola (to rot)
šuba	šumba	bopa (mould)
phala	phala	fala (scrape)
phaka	phaka	phcha (cook)
phidza	phinda	pheta (repeat etc)
thfala	thula	tnola (to keep quiet)
thfuma	thuma	roma (send)

Phuthi examples in sentences.

Batsha iguṣo kuyangadzala geshēyi (put on a blanket it is cold outside).

Euna inyaga goku. (Get a doctor now).

Lama kapulu. (Rite hard)

Jeta mawale akhabe. (Tell the boy to go).

Mleka Bunlanya lṣu. (He is laughing at this madness).

Monosyllabic Verbs.

These may be divided into two types.

(a) those which end regularly in a.

(b) those which are defective and do not end in a. There are two such verbs known in Phuthi viz. tshi (to say), tjho (to say).

Monosyllabic verbs occur regularly in Phuthi. As in many Bantu Languages, monosyllabic verbs^{here} occur in common and they denote "hearing", "dying" etc. as the following comparative illustrative examples will show.

Ph. dlha (eat) as in ṣadlha nama. (they eat meat).

Ng. dla (do) " " ṣadla inyama do

So.S. ja do " " ba ja nama. do.

Ph. fa (die) as in titofa tonle (they will all die).

Ng. fa do " " ziza kufa zonke do

So.S. shoa " " " li tla shoa tshle do

or kaofela.

Ph. kha (scoop) as in ṣakha jwala. (they get beer)

Ng. kha do " " ṣakha utyala. do

So.S. kha do " " ba kha joala. do.

Ph. na (to rain) as in ivula iyana (rain is falling)

Ng. na do " " ivula iyana. do

So.S. na do " " pula e ea na do.

Ph. ta (come) as in ntate uta laṣani ? (with whom is father coming ?)

Ng. za do " " utate uza naṣani ? do

So.S. tla do " " ntate o tla mang ? do

Ph. ya (hear) as in giyava, khuluma. (I hear, speak)

Eg.X. ya do " " ndiyeva, taana. do

* Z. ya do " " ngiyezwa, khuluma. do.

In Nguni the verb ya belongs to a group of monosyllabic verbs with a latent "i" at the beginning, and are thus in effect vowel verbs. But in Phuthi ya is a regular monosyllabic verb like fa, ta etc. and undergoes no phonological changes like coalescence etc. as in Nguni, where ngiya (i)zwa brings about ngiy(a-i)zwa and finally ngiyezwa.

In Sotho the verb utloa (hear) comes under a different category as it is, a vowel verb.

Examples continued.

Ph. wa (fall) as in uwa qatpanczeni (he falls from a tree)

Eg. wa do " " uwa qatani do

So.S. oa do " " O oa sefateng. do.

Ph. ya (go) as in liya qdqrqbeni. (you go to town).

Ng. ya do " " niya qdqlophini. do

So.S. ea do " " le ea tqrqpong. do.

In Phuthi, Sotho and Zulu monosyllabic verbs do not infix the formative si or any other formative between the subject concord and the verb in participial constructions, positive conjugations as in Xosa. Compare the following examples:-

Ph. ufikiye gidia. (he came whilst I was eating)

Eg.X. ufike ndi-si-dla do

Z. ufike ngidia do

So.S. O fiatile ke e-ja do.

As in Nguni and Sotho, the penultimate i known as the euphonic vowel e in Sotho which is found in imperative constructions of the monosyllabic verbs, occurs in Phuthi also. As the name above implies, the function of this i is to take the penultimate stress, a stress which is characteristic of many Bantu Languages. This penultimate vowel is preplaced to the monosyllabic verb stem, and assumes a form

varying from i to yi in Phuthi and Nguni, and e in Sotho.

Examples.

Ph. idina or yidina wena. (eat you)

Ng. ida or yida wena. do

So.S. e-ja uena do.

Ph. ita or yita lakna. (come here)

Ng. iza or yiza apha. do

So.S. e-tla koano or ti'q koano (come here)

The i, yi or e may however be omitted in order to indicate an emphatic or impatient command, and also quick speech.

e.g. Ph. dlha khona goku. (eat at once)

So.S. ja hona joale. do.

Ph. dlhani So, kusqnyini ("for goodness sake" eat: the day is going)

Ng. dlanini, So, kusqini do

So.S. jang bo, ke motšoare do

The double suffixal formative nini which is found in Zulu also occurs in Phuthi. e.g. dlhanini So. (eat please). But the long form, with the suffixal formative na in the singular which is found in Zulu, does not occur in Phuthi.

Compare: Phuthi: idha; yidha

Ng. Z. ida, yida, or dlana.

In the passive formation of the monosyllabic verbs in Phuthi a vowel, either i or u according to the nature of the verb, is infixed between the root consonant of the verb and the ending passive formative wa. The function of this vowel is also to take the penultimate stress. In Nguni the vowel occurs in the same construction, invariably as i while in Sotho.S. on the other end the vowel may be e, o, u according to the nature of the verb used. There seems to be a close relationship between Phuthi and Sotho penultimate vowels in this respect.

Examples...../

Examples.

- Ph. pha (give) becomes phawa as in g̃sathwana baphuwa budina.
 Ng. pna do " phawa " " abantwana baphiwa ukutya.
 So.S. fa do " fuwa " " bana be fuwa lijo.
 (children are given food).
 Ph. va (hear) " vawa as in utovwa khulama kancinanyan-
 Ng. va do " viwa " " uza kuviwa thetha kancinane.
 (you will be overheard speak in a low voice).
 Ph. wa (fall becomes wiwa or wawa as in kuyawiwa g̃batifu.
 Ng. wa do " wiwa as in kuyawiwa ngabantu.
 So.S. oa do " owa as in no oa owa ke batno.

Another peculiarity, with regard to monosyllabic verbs, which seems to be governed by no definite rule in Phuthi, is in connection with impersonal copulative forms of the passive voice continuous manner. In general the verbal auxiliaries wa and ya appear to be used interchangeably in the continuous manner of the impersonal copulatives in the language e.g. Kuya khajhwa is used alternatively to kuwa khajhwa. But in the case of monosyllabic verbs, for some reason unknown Phuthi uses wa and ya according to the nature of the adjunct used after the verb in the passive derivative species. Compare the following Phuthi sentences in respect of the use of the verbal auxiliaries wa and ya for the adjuncts lakha (here) and g̃sathfu (by the people) respectively.

- kuwa t̃huwa g̃sathfu (it is burnt by people i.e. people are burning).
kuya t̃huwa lakha (it is burnt here i.e. there is burning here).
kuwa khuwa g̃sathfu (it is scooped by the people i.e. people scoop)
kuya khuwa lakha (it is scooped here i.e. "water" is obtained from here).
kuwa fuwa g̃sathfu (lit. it is died by people i.e. people are dying).
kuya fuwa lakha (lit. it is died here. i.e. there is death here).

Defective Monosyllabic verbs.

Among the monosyllabic verbs there are two of them which are defective in that they do not end in g and do not form their immediate past tense in ile like the other regular.

monosyllabic verbs. These are tegi (to say); tfno (to say), and both have their counterparts in Nguni and Sotho which are also defective.

But both verbs in Phuthi show striking peculiarities in their morphology in contrast to the forms found in the other two languages. This is specially noticeable in the immediate past tense of the verbs.

Compare the following examples and mark the difference between Phuthi and the other two languages.

Ph. utfno (he says); utfnitivo (he said so)

Eg.X. utfno do utfnilo do

So.S. o cho do o chelo do.

The suffixal formative tiwo is peculiar to Phuthi alone.

Ph. utehi (he says) utshitiye (he said) kutsantiyeni ?
(What is the matter ?)

Eg. uthi (he says) uthe (he said) kutheni ? "

So.S. o re do o itse " ho itseng ? "

Again here as we observe in the examples above Phuthi infixes the formative ti before the immediate past ending, a phenomenon not found in the other two languages.

Vowel Verbs.

In contradistinction to Nguni and Sotho, Phuthi may be said to have semi-vowel verbs instead of vowel verbs because most of the typical examples of this ^{kind} type of verb begin with the semi-vowels either w or y.

The following comparative table gives some of the most commonly used vowel verbs in the three languages.

<u>Phuthi.</u>	<u>Nguni.</u>	<u>Sotho.</u>
wqdzá	onda	ota (to be lean)
wqga	onga	oka (nurse)
wqma	oma	oma (to dry)
wqtela	ozela	otsela (to be drowsy)
wqtsha	otha	ora (to bask in the sun, to warm oneself at a fire.)
yadza	anda	ota (to increase)
yakha	akha	aha (to build)

yarola...../

yarola	ahlula	ahlola (divide, separate judge)
yqma	oma	oma (to dry)

Thuthi Examples in sentences.

Muzwali uyewotela. (the boy is drowsy).

Kuyanqadza, Sawotsha mullo. (it is cold, they warm themselves at the fire).

Ugayyeli iguho leyo. (do not steal that blanket).

elane uyqozela elisutau (my maternal uncle is travelling to Sasutoland).

Yeyeta inlanyelo. (get or give some more seed).

Vowel verbs with the latent i do not seem to occur in Thuthi, the equivalents of the Nguni / i-va, i-ma, i-sa, are va (a pure monosyllabic verb), yema, yeša. Notice the difference in the morphology and phonology of these verbs in the following sentences.

Th. Ašavi ešatwana laša. (these children are naughty).

Ng. Aševa saba šantwana. do

Th. Kuyema kwakhe agitamušoni. (I did not see him when he stood up).

Ng. Ukuma kwakhe andimbonanga do

Th. Wayeša wamašjwa. (He stole and he was arrested).

Ng. Weša wašanjwa. do

In Thuthi the e in words like yema, yeša etc. seems to occur quite normally as no product of phonological influence, but in Nguni the e is a result of coalescence of vowels. e.g.

aševa comes from aša-iva where a plus i giving e.

šema " " ša-ima do

šeša " " ša-iša do

With regard to the verb va Thuthi and Sotho form their negative endings regularly in i and e respectively, but Nguni departs from the general rule and uses a form ending in a, which form seems to be quite irregular.

Examples. Th. ašavi. (they do not hear)

Ng. eševa. do

So.S. ha ba utlog do.

In the present participial mood constructions Phuthi shows no peculiarities like Nguni. It follows the same constructions as the monosyllabic verbs. In the imperative mood forms, Phuthi does not preplace any semi-vowel as this is already found in the stem of the verb. Nguni preplaces *y* to the vowel verb, while Sotho S. like Phuthi preplaces nothing. The following examples from these languages will show what is being explained above.

Ph. Yogani mutha uwaqala. (nurse the person who is ill).

Ng. Yogani uqato uyagala. do

So.S. Okang motho oa kula do

Ph. Yemani gilisohe (stand up, let me see you)

Ng. Yimani ndinisohe do

So.S. Emang ke le bone. do

Ph. Yadza utalise liphasi lohle (increase and fill the whole country).

Ng. Yanda uzalise lonke ilizwe. do

So.S. Ata u tlatsa lefatše lonle do.

In the passive formation, the penultimate *i*, and the euphonic vowel, play the same part as they do in the monosyllabic verbs. Only illustrative examples will be given here to show the differences and similarities in the three languages.

Ph. Kuyakhuwa indlu. (house is being built).

Ng. Kwakhiwa indlu. do

So.S. Ho nahuoa ntlo. do

Ph. Tivu tiyayejuwa (sacces are being stolen)

Ng. Izimvu ziyabjiwa do

So.S. Linku lia utsuoa do

Note palatalisation in the Phuthi verb yeja which is yejuwa instead of yejuwa.

There is one defective verb among these verbs viz.

ati (to know). Ati as is shown, does not end in a.

Similarly with azi (know) in Xosa and itse (know) in Tswana.

Southern Sotho uses a form which is regular viz. isebi.

Compare.

nuthi	Inyanga le iyayatiwa. (this-doctor is known).	
Nguni	Inyanga le iyasabiwa.	do
So. S.	Maka e ea tsejot.	do

Verbs derived from other parts of Sotho

Derivative Species.

In Phuthi, as in Nguni and Sotho, the verb undergoes derivation, which is effected by means of suffixial formatives.

Phuthi has the following derivative species.

(1) Passive. This implies the action by the verb is performed upon, and not by the grammatical subject. The characteristic suffixial formative is wa in the present tense positive conjugation.

e.g. sonwa (to be seen) from sona (to see).

vugwa (to be accepted) from vuga (to accept, agree etc).

(2) Neuter or quasi-passive.

This species indicates an intransitive state or condition or the ability to be. The suffixial formative is translatable into the English suffix -able, -ible etc. This species has three types of suffixial formative the last of which is a compound of the other two. These are:-

(i) -eka e.g. lanleka (to be in a state of being lost) from lahla (to lose)

bukaka (to be admirable) from buka (to admire)

(ii) -ala e.g. luphala (to be in a state of getting old).

This is probably derived from an extinct stem.

(iii) -akala from eka plus ala into eka-ala and finally into akala by assimilation of the preceding e into a.

e.g. wonakala (in a state of being spoilt) from wona (to spoil).

vakala (in a state of being heard) from va (to hear).

(3) Directive or Applied.

The applied species indicates that the action is done to, for, on behalf of, in the direction of, with regard to, etc. The characteristic suffixal formative used in Dnuta is ela. e.g. tshēgela (to buy for; khabeia (to go in the direction of, or on behalf of).

(4) Causative. This species indicates the action which causes an object to be, to become, or to do that which is expressed by the simple verb, or the grammatical subject of the derivative verb, causes some other agency to perform the action denoted by the stem verb. It denotes "to cause to," "to force to", "to make to", and sometimes "to help to."

The basic characteristic formative in all Bantu Languages is ya which comes from the urBantu form ya; and this when suffixed to the stem of the verb may give rise to short or long causative derivative species.

e.g. Short derivative

gena (enter) gives gen plus ya into gena (cause to enter)

lila (cry) gives lil plus ya into litga (cause to cry i.e. play a musical instrument).

Long derivative

gena (enter) gives gen-isa (drive in)

luma (bite) gives lum-isa (help somebody with a bite on your food).

hlakula (hoe) gives hlakul-isa (help to hoe)

lima (plough) gives liu-isa (help to plough).

(5) Intensive. This species has two types of suffixal formatives viz. short and long, the long form being a reduplication of the short form. It indicates that an action is done intensively, thoroughly and sometimes excessively. The characteristic formatives are according to Meinof and van Marole in Bantu Phonology is isa which comes from a verb ending plus isa (which is intransitive) plus -ya; into isa, which is the same in form as the long form of the causative species, isist.

- e.g. Short Form: Bekisa kakuhle (look well, thoroughly)
hlafunisa inyama le (chew this meat well)
Long Form: sidzisisa (smear thoroughly and intensively)
limisisa (blough)intensively)

(6) Extensive.

Two ideas are implied in this species viz. (a) that an action of the stem verb is performed extensively in respect to space or time and (b) that the action is performed repeatedly. This species is very rare among the South African Bantu languages being found chiefly in Sotho, from which language it was probably borrowed by Phuthi. The suffixal formative of this species is -aka.

e.g. from qota (to go round) we get qotaka (to keep on going round).

tlula (to jump) we get tlulaka (to jump about).

(7) Reciprocal.

This species indicates that an action is performed reciprocally or mutually by two agents and because there is always more than one agent, the subject of the verb is always in the plural. The suffixal formative as in most of the Bantu languages is -ana.

e.g. from tshadza (love) we get tshadzana (love one another)
beka (look) we get bekana (look at each other).

(8) Reversive.

The reversive species indicates that action done by the stem verb is undone or reversed and as in most Bantu languages the characteristic suffixal formative is ula which has a long form ulula.

e.g. thfula (take off something from above).

There are two types of reversive species viz.

- (a) the transitive which is divided into short and long forms.
- (b) the intransitive which is also divided into short and long forms.

(11) Repetitive - Diminutive.

According to other authorities this species is separated into two species. But here it is taken as one, as the reduplication of the verb stem in each case indicates that an action is not only done repetitively but also on a small scale at intermittent intervals.

It consists of the reduplication of the stem verb.

e.g. bēka-bēka (to look about a little but repeatedly)

nlēka-nlēka (to laugh a little but repeatedly at the time).

(12) Contactive.

The contactive derivative species of the verb signifies touching, as the word implies. This species has few examples, the characteristic suffixal formative being tsa in Phuthi, while Nguni and Sotho suffix -tha and ra respectively.

Examples: batsha (to put on clothing.)

fubatsha (clench in a fist).

hlahlatsa (to bite something soft lightly but frequently with tectn).

sigatsa (hold at the side of the body).

Almost all the Phuthi verb derivative species listed above have corresponding and similar examples in Nguni and Sotho.S. as the following comparative table shows.

<u>Species:</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.</u>
Passive:	<u>pnalwa</u>	<u>pnalwa</u>	<u>falca</u> (to be scraped as skin)
Neuter:	<u>sabēka</u>	<u>sabēka</u>	<u>tšabena</u> (to be fearful)
	<u>limala</u>	<u>limala</u>	<u>holofala</u> (to get into a state of infirmity)
	<u>sonakala</u>	<u>sonakala</u>	<u>bonanala</u> (to be visible)
Applied:	<u>thwatshele</u>	<u>thwalele</u>	<u>roalla, rwalele</u> (ra.) (to carry for)
Causative:	<u>litsa</u>	<u>ambesa</u> (clothe)	<u>litsa</u> (play instrument)
	<u>llisa</u>	<u>llisa</u>	<u>llisa</u> (cause to cry)
Intensive:	<u>fanisa</u>	<u>fanisa</u>	<u>batlisa</u> (look for carefully)
	<u>phēkisisa</u>	<u>phēkisisa</u>	<u>phēkisisa</u> (cook thoroughly)
Extensive:	<u>lucaka</u>	-	<u>lucaka</u> (to bite extensively)
Reciprocal:	<u>nyikana</u>	<u>nikana</u>	<u>nehana</u> (give one another)

The former has the suffixes -ula and ulula and the latter uka and uluka. But as a result of Southern Sotho influence the inter-syllabic vowel u of the long forms in the transitive forms usually drops off leaving the first l syllabic.

Examples - Transitive.

Short Form: from thfwala (put on) we get thfula (take off)

" batana (put on blanket) we get bala (take off blanket).

" vula (shut, close) we get vula (open)

Long Form: " tlama (to tie) we get tlamula (to untie)

" tabela (to pour) we get tsnulla (to spill)

Intransitive:

Short Form: from sitsha (to obstruct vision etc) we get sudvuka (to give way)

" sala (remain) we get suka (go off)

Long form: " sotaha (twist) we get sotnfuluka (to untwist)

(9) Persistive or Perfective.

This species indicates that action denoted by the stem verb is done to the full, to completion etc. Its suffixal formative is lla, which is the short form of lela. This characteristic, Phuthi shares with Southern Sotho; and in Nguni the suffix appears in its full form as elela.

Examples. from qedza (to finish) we get qedzella (to finish off)

" phika (to deny, persist) we get phikella (to persist on).

(10) Stative in -na.

This species indicates posture assumed by the agent denoted by the verb stem. The suffixal formative is na.

Examples: sigana (to lean on the side etc) (This example is derived from an extinct word).

butana (to lie flat on the belly) from buta (to lie down)

	<u>Bonanwa</u>	<u>Bonanwa</u>	bonanwa (be seen mutually)
	<u>Bonwana</u>	<u>Bonwana</u>	bonwana do
<u>Reversive:</u>	<u>thfula</u>	<u>thula</u>	<u>rola</u> (to take off from head etc..)
	<u>thfuk.kla</u> (untie)	<u>thulala</u> (pour out)	<u>tlamolla</u> (untie)
	<u>phedvaka</u>	<u>phedvaka</u>	<u>fetona</u> (turn round)
	<u>tlamuluka</u> (get untied,	<u>qabuluka</u> (unloosen,	<u>tlamooha</u> (unloosen, loosen out).
<u>Persistent:</u>	<u>qedzella</u>	<u>qelilele</u>	<u>getalla</u> (finish off completely)
<u>Stative in ma bacama</u> (to lie flat, to lie low)	<u>khobama</u>	<u>paqana</u>	(to lie flat)
<u>Repetitive/</u> <u>Diminutive)</u>	<u>suka-suka</u>	<u>suka-suka</u>	<u>tloha-tloha</u> (to get up and move about frequently)
<u>Contactive:</u>	<u>fubatha</u>	<u>fumbatha</u>	<u>fupara</u> (to hold object in clenched fist).
	<u>sigatha</u>	<u>singatha</u>	<u>sikara</u> (to hold object on ones side)

Phuthi examples in sentences.

Ligogo liphakwa qofo. (the skin is scraped by men.)

Liya funeka qumene. (you are wanted at the chief's place.)

Muthfu lo utqala. (this person will get hurt.)

Muti uwaqakala. (the village is visible.)

Sajhamela muthwanyana. (they stare at the girl.)

Litsa muruba lowo. (beat that drum.)

Uilisa tithfo muratha. (she helps the girls to grind meal for porridge.)

Rudisa kakuhle utqiyati siphuthi. (learn well, you will know phuthi i.e. teach yourself phuthi)

Visisa kutshi utshini. (understand well what he says.)

Busuku base gipptaka muti. (the night dawned with me going round the village.)

Batshadzana litshadzo lemuhlo. (they love each other with wonderful love.)

Vula lakho qumnyago. (open the door there.)

Thfukulle sikhopho. (untie the grass-bundle.)

Sudvuka se gibone. (give way let me see.)

Ito wetluluka. (it will stretch out.)

Kushuhlu nga kozi uyamella. (it is painful but he is forbearing.)

Umanama gelidza. (he is standing flat against the wall)

Tijalo gititshela-tshela gqeti. (I repeatedly pour
water, a little on the plants)

Giya hika-hlaka. (I hoe a little.)

As in Nguni and Sotho the passive verb derivative species is sometimes accompanied by phonological and morphological changes in some part of the verb stem, especially in respect to bilabial consonants which may turn into palatal or velar sounds.

Here again Nuthi is found to assume a position between the two languages in that it resembles both languages in respect to palatalisation, and resembles Sotho only in respect to velarisation which does not occur in Nguni.

Compare the following examples.

Palatalisation in Nuthi, Nguni and Sotho.S.

Ph. From maba (to catch) we get majhwa (be caught)

Ng. " basba " " " banjwa "

Ph. suba (to point) " " sujhwa (be pointed)

Ng. khomba " " " khonjwa "

So.S. supa " " " supjoa "

Velarisation in Nuthi and Sotho S. and Palatalisation in Nguni.

Ph. from hloma (to plant) we get hlongwa (to be planted)

Ng. " hloma do " " hlonjwa "

So.S. " hloma do " " hlongoa "

Palatalisation in Nuthi and Nguni and Velarisation in Sotho.S.

Ph. from luma (bite) we get lunywa (to be bitten)

Ng. " luma do " " lhnywa do

So.S. " loma do " " longoa do.

Verbs derived from nominal or adjectival roots.

To form verbs nominal and adjectival roots, Nuthi suffixes the formatives pha, fa and fala to the roots.

Nguni on the other hand uses only two of these to form verbs from nominal and adjectival roots viz., pha and phala.

Sotho following the laws of sound shifting uses the forms in f

viz., fa fala, except in the word hlonepha which is probably borrowed from Nguni. It seems therefore that Phuthi combines Nguni and Sotho forms.

Examples. From nominal roots.

From the noun tinloni (shyness modesty) we get:

Ph. hlonipha (to respect)

Ng. hlonipha do

So.S. hlonepha do.

From the Phuthi and Sotho.S. šutswa and botšoa (laziness) respectively, and Nguni ušuvila (laziness) we get:

Ph. tawafa, Ng. vilapna, So.S. tsaafa. (to be lazy).

Examples. From Adjectival roots.

From the adjective root nci (small) in Phuthi and Nguni and nye in Sotho.S. we get:

Ph. kuncipna, Ng. ukuncipna, So.S. ho nyenyefala (to get small)

From an extinct adjective root probably lupae (white) we get: Ph. luphala, Ng. luphala, So.S. taofala. (to get old).

Verbs derived from ideophones.

By means of verbalising suffixal formatives verbs may be formed from ideophonic stems in Phuthi. Here again we find the language having examples in common with both Nguni and Sotho.

Examples.

Ph. kukumuka (to swell up) from kuku or kukumu (indicative of swelling.)

Ng. vuvuka do " yuvu do

So.S. kokomoha do " koko or kokomo "

Ph. dvudvuma (to thunder) from dvudya (sound of thunder).

Ng. duduma do " dudu do

So.S. luma do " lu do

Ph. thenya (to shoot) " thu (sound of gun shot)

Ng. dušula do " dušu do

So.S. thunya do " thu do

Th.	<u>chifiza</u> (to crush something soft)		<u>chifi</u> (sound of crushing with stone or sail)	
Ng.	<u>chimfiza</u>	do	<u>chiami</u>	do
Co.C.	<u>tlapunya</u>	do	<u>tlapu</u>	do
Th.	<u>ðaneka</u> (to flash as lightning)		<u>ðane</u> (as of lightflash)	
Ng.	<u>ðaneka</u>	do	<u>ðane</u>	do
Co.C.	<u>bonye</u>	do	<u>benye</u>	do

Conjugation of the verb.

With the exception of the Infinitive Mood and certain forms of the Imperative Mood all verbal forms in Shuthi consist of at least two parts viz. the subject concord and the stem e.g. in tiðona (they see) ti is the subject concord and ðona the verb stem. The verb stem is subject to inflections as in the formation of

(a) the perfect.

e.g. ðaðona (they see) gives ðaðoniye. (they have seen)
sihlala (we sit) " sihleti. (we are seated).

(b) The negative constructions.

e.g. givuga (I agree) gives agivugi. (I do not agree).
ðuyamqela (they feel cold) gives abamqicili. (they do not feel cold).

(c) certain relative constructions.

from the simple verb khaba (go) we can get lo khabako (who goes) as in ufati lo khabako (the woman who goes) similarly eðafu la Salimako (men who plough).

(d) certain verb moods.

The simple verb forms may undergo a change and end in g in the present tense of the Subjunctive Mood.

e.g. kaba umjete ahlakule (go and tell him to see)
asikhaba (let us go).

(e) derivative species.

e.g. vumigisa (reap thoroughly) from vuma (to reap)
lumana (bite each other) " luma (bite).

As Nguni and Sotho forms are the same as Phuthi in the case mentioned above, no comparisons will be made with regard to the verb in the three languages at this stage.

There are two distinct conjugations of the verb in Phuthi viz., the positive and the negative conjugation and in this respect Phuthi conforms to the general pattern of the verb in Nguni, and Sotho respectively. But mechanisms for forming the negative conjugation vary with each language, although they are similar in some cases.

In the three languages the simple forms of the regular verbs in the present tense end in a in the positive conjugation and i in Phuthi and Nguni, and e in Sotho in the negative conjugation. Phuthi and Nguni preplace the negative formative a to the verb in the negative, and Sotho S. replaces ha for the same purpose.

Examples.

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho. S.</u>	
Positive:	gik <u>ha</u>	ndik <u>ha</u>	ke k <u>ha</u>	(I scoop, get out etc.)
Negative:	agik <u>hi</u>	andik <u>hi</u>	ha ke k <u>he</u>	(I do not scoop).
Positive :	giluk <u>a</u>	ndiluk <u>a</u> or ndaluk <u>a</u>	ke loh <u>a</u>	(I weave).
Negative:	agiluk <u>i</u>	andiluk <u>i</u>	nake loh <u>e</u>	(I do not weave).

There is however no general rule for deriving the negative conjugation from the positive conjugation as the verbs in the following sentences will show.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
(a) giyanlakula (I am hoeing)	agihlakuli (I am not hoeing).
(b) giše gihlakula (I was hoeing)	giše gigahlakuli (I was not Hoeing)

In the formation of the negative (a) preplaces the negative formative a to the subject concord and changes the final vowel of the verb into i while (b) does not use the negative formative a but has a negative formative ga which is infixed between the subject concord and the verb stem.

By analogy with the present tense forms one would expect the (b) form to be something like the following.

agiše gihlakuli

Another point worthy of note, in comparing different constructions in the negative conjugation from language to language, is the use of the formatives which sometimes differ not only in form, but also in their relative positions with regard to the verb. In the negative conjugation of the perfect forms Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.S. each uses two negative formatives. The first one is a in Phuthi and Nguni, and ba in Sotho.S. The second is ta or taše according to construction in Phuthi, and it comes after the subject concord which follows the first negative formative. In Nguni the second one is nga, and it is suffixed to the verb. But some Nguni dialects sometimes omit this suffixal negative formative and use the perfect ending formative ile as an alternative to nga. e.g. akadumile in addition to akamanga (he is not famous). In Sotho the second negative formative is a, and it also comes after the subject concord which follows the first negative formative.

Compare and contrast the following examples from the three languages with respect to the positive and negative conjugations. The examples cover a wide range of tenses and implications of the verb.

	<u>Positive.</u>		<u>Negative.</u>
Ph.	girobele (I have slept)		<u>Agita robali</u> (I have not slept)
		or	<u>agitaše girobala</u> do
Ng.X.	ndilele do		<u>andilalanga</u> do
So.S.	ke robešše do		<u>ha</u> kea robala do
Ph.	šahlēti (they are awake)		<u>ašatašē šahlala</u> (they are not awake).
Ng.X.	šahlēli do		<u>ašahlalanga</u> do
So.S.	ba lutše do		<u>ha</u> ba ea lula do
Ph.	šāšē šahlakula (they were hoeing)		šāšē šagahlakuli (they were not hoeing)
Ng.X.	šāšē niakula do		šāšē ngahlakuli do
So.S.	ba ne ba hlahole do		ba ne ba <u>ša</u> hlahole do.

Ph. ̂ââê ̂âahlakuliye	̂ââê.̂âagatâ ĥlakuli.
Ng. ̂ââê ĥlakulile	̂ââê <u>ng</u> ahlakulanga.
So.S. ba nê ba ĥlaotse (they had hoed).	ba nê ba <u>sa</u> ĥlaola. (they had not hoed).
Ph. gîê gîsa funa	gîê gîgasafuni.
Ng.X. ndîê ndîsafuna	ndîê ndîngasafuni.
So.S. ke nê ke sa batla (I was still wanting).	ke nê ke sê ke <u>sa</u> batle. (I was no longer wanting).
Ph. gâakhuluma	<u>ga</u> itâê gîkulumu.
Ng.Z. ngakhuluma	angizange ngikhulume.
So.S. ke nê ke bue or ka na ka bua. (I spoke).	ke nê <u>se</u> ke kê bua or ke nê ke <u>se</u> bue. (I did not speak).
Ph. gîê gîga khutsha	gîê gîgeke gîkhatshe.
Ng. ndîê ndîga gôôa	ndîê ndîngeke ndigcôê.
So.S. ke nê nka t̂lotsa (I could smear).	ke nê nke <u>ke</u> ka t̂lotsa. (I could not smear).
Ph. gâê gîrôele	gâê gîgatâê gîrôala.
Ng.X. ndayê ndilele or ndâê ndilele	ndayê ndîngalalanga or ndâê ndîngalalanga.
So.S. ka bê ke rôetse (I was asleep).	ka bê ke sa robala. (I was not asleep).
Ph. gîtô ta	<u>gi</u> na kuta.
Ng.X. ndîza kuza	<u>andi</u> zukuza.
Ng.Z. ngizpkuza	angi <u>na</u> kuza.
So.S. ke t̂la t̂la (I will come).	<u>ha</u> ke <u>na</u> ho t̂la. (I will not come).
Ph. ̂ââôâ ̂âasila	̂ââôâ ̂â <u>ng</u> asili.
Ng. ̂âaza kûa ̂âasila	̂âaza kûa ̂âng <u>ng</u> asili.
So.S. ba t̂la bê bâasila (they will be grinding).	ba t̂la bê ba <u>sa</u> sile. (they will not be grinding).

Ph. seŋe giŋona	<u>agisaŋoni.</u>
Ng. se or (seŋe) ndiŋona	<u>andiŋoni.</u>
So.S. ke se ke bona (I now see).	<u>ha</u> ke sa bona. (I no longer see).
Ph. seŋe gikhabiyē	<u>agita khabi.</u>
Ng. seŋe ndihambile	<u>andikahambi.</u>
So.S. ke se ke tsamailē. (I have already gone).	<u>ha</u> ke <u>g-gō</u> tsamue. (I have not gone yet).
Ph. gitōša seŋe givuga	gitōša seŋe <u>ngataŋe</u> givuga.
Ng.X. ndiya kuša seŋe ndivuma	ndiya kuša ndi <u>ngasē</u> seŋe ndivuma, or ndiya kuša ndi <u>ngavumi.</u>
So.S. ke tla be ke se ke lumela (I will be already be agreeing)	ke tla be ke sa <u>ngole</u> ke lumela. (I will no longer be agreeing).
Ph. gitōša gisa diga	gitōša gi <u>ngasa</u> digi.
Ng. ndiya kuša ndisa dinga	ndiya kuša ndi <u>ngasadingi.</u>
So.S. ke tla be ke sa hloka (I will still be short of what I need).	ke tla be ke sa hloke. (I will no longer be short of what I need).

Like Nguni and the Sotho verbs, the Phuthi verb may be treated according to implication. There are three implications viz.,

- (a) The Simple Implication - which is not specified e.g.
Balima (they plough), Saalima (they ploughed).
- (b) The Progressive Implication - this indicates that an action which has been going on before, or a state entered into before, is or was still in progress; or proceeds or was proceeding at the time. This implication is formed with the help of the formative sa (still) e.g. uunaruda (he is still learning).
giŋe gingatshadza (I was still loving).
gugingaqōeta (I was still working).

- (c) The Exclusive Implication - This indicates that an action which has not been going on before, or a state not entered into before the time specified proceeds from that time.

The implication is formed with the help of the formative se, full form sele which seem to be the perfect forms of sa, e.g.

<u>sele</u> gihletl	(I am already awake).
giSe <u>selesipnla</u>	(I was already becoming well).
gaSe <u>sele</u> giSim	(I was already ploughing).

As was mentioned above, the same implications are found in Nguni and Sotho. Both Nguni and Sotho use the same formative sa without change for the progressive implication, but as far as the exclusive implication is concerned Sotho.S. uses sa and very seldom the long form which is setse in this language.

In common speech Nguni uses the short form se, but the longer form sele is sometimes used. Phuthi on the other hand seems to prefer the long form sele to the short form se.

The following examples in sentences will illustrate how the three languages compare with in regard to the implication of the verb.

Simple Implication

Ph. <u>giva</u> lirada	(I hear noise).
Ng.X. <u>ndiva</u> ingxolo	(do.).
Ng.Z. <u>ngizwa</u> umsindo	(do.).
So.S. ke <u>utloa</u> lerata	

Progressive Implication

In this implication the characteristic formative sa is always infixed between the subject concord and the verb stem.

Examples:

Ph. <u>sa</u> ga hlata	(they are still washing).
Ng.X. <u>sa</u> ga hlamba	(do.).
Ng.Z. <u>sa</u> ga geza	(do.).
So.S. ba <u>sa</u> hlatsoa	(do.).

If an object concord is used in the sentence, the sa is replaced to the object concord which in itself always comes between the subject concord and the verb stem.

Examples:

- Ph. Sasa tikhatsa (they are still sneering them).
- Ng.Ba. Sasatikhatsa (do.).
- Ng.X. Sasazitambisa (do.).
- Ng.Z. Sasazigcoša (do.).
- So.S. ba sa li tloša. (do.).

Exclusive Implication

The characteristic formative se or sele can either stand alone or be preceded by a subject concord but whichever be the case, its position is commonly towards the beginning of the sentence and it never comes at the end of it. Where the se (or sele) is used alone the subject concord is always understood. So, in a fully constructed sentence there is always a repetition of the subject concord, e.g.

gisęle giyemi (I am already standing).

Examples:

- Ph. gisęle gitęka or (I am now getting married).
- sele gitęka
- Ng. ndisęle ndizęka or (do.).
- se ndizęka
- So.S. ke se ke nyala or (do.).
- se ke nyala.

The forms of the subject concords before or after se may vary according to tense, e.g. in the remote past we have,

- Ph. gasęle gikhaba (I was already going).
- Ng.X. ndasę ndihamba (do.).

Sotho however, presents no change of form e.g. ke ne ke se ke tsamaga.

Even in the other alternate construction which is found in Southern Sotho only in the remote past tense is no change e.g.

ka na be ke se ke tsamaea.

The Phuthi verb may also be treated further according to aspects or manner like the Nguni and Sotho verbs. There are three aspects or manners found, viz.:-

- (a) The Indefinite manner which signifies something unspecified, e.g. gidha (I eat).
- (b) The continuous manner. This signifies that the action proceeds, or state entered into continues over a period of time. The characteristic formative of this aspect is the verbal auxiliary ya which is infixed between the subject concord and the verb stem, except when there is an object concord, in which case, it is preplaced to the object concord.
- e.g. Bayatshega (they are buying).
Bayatitshaga (they are buying them).
- (c) The Perfect manner. The perfect manner is used with stative verbs. It indicates that at the time specified the action or the state entered into has been completed. e.g.
- gisutshi (I am full-up - with food).
gimelele (I am filling cold).

Examples:

- (a) Indefinite manner.
- | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------------|
| Ph. | Saladvula | (they denied). |
| Ng. | Salandula | (do.). |
| So.S. | ba latola | (do.). |
- (b) Continuous manner.
- | | | |
|-------|------------|--------------------|
| Ph. | siya gena | (we are entering). |
| Ng. | siya ngena | (do.). |
| So.S. | re ea kena | (do.). |

With the object concord.

Ph. tiyayiqedza (they are finishing it).

Ng.X. ziyayigqiba (they are finishing it).
 Ng.Z. ziyayiqeda (do).
 So.S. li ea e qeta (do.).

(c) Perfect Manner.

Ph. lirosele (you are asleep).
 Ng. nilele (do.).
 So.S. le robetse (do.).

Ph. tinleti (they are awake, alive etc.)
 Ng. zihleli (do.)
 So.S. li lutse (do.)

Tenses

The Bantu verb has five tenses, viz.:-

- (i) Present,
- (ii) Immediate Past,
- (iii) Remote Past,
- (iv) Immediate Future, and
- (v) Remote Future.

The Phuthi verb fits in well into this tense pattern, except that it shows no morphological changes with regard to the Immediate and Remote Future tenses. Phuthi shares this characteristic with Sotho in contrast with Nguni which makes a distinction between the two tenses by means of formatives.

Examples:

(Present Tense)

Positive

Negative

Ph. Baphidza ekhaya	aBaphidzi ekhaya.
Ng. Baphinda ekhaya	aBaphindi ekhaya.
So.S. ba khutlela haq	ha ba khutlele haq.
(they return home).	(they do not return home).

(Immediate Past Tense)

Phuthi uses the suffixal formative lye for this tense.

Ph. <u>ḡaphidziye</u>	aḡata <u>phidzi</u> .
Ng. <u>ḡaphindile</u>	aḡaphindanga.
So.S. ba <u>khutlile</u> (they have returned)	ha ba ea <u>khutla</u> . (they have not returned).
Ph. <u>ḡakhabiye</u>	aḡata <u>khabi</u> .
Ng. <u>ḡakhambile</u>	aḡakhambanga.
So.S. ba <u>tsamabile</u> (they have gone).	ha ba ea <u>tsamaca</u> . (they have not gone).

(Remote Past Tense)

Phuthi raises the tone of the subject concord and lengthens it, in order to indicate the remote past tense. To represent a somewhat prolonged length for this tense, the vowel of the subject concord is doubled in this work.

Ph. <u>ḡaaphidza</u>	aḡatabe <u>ḡaphidze</u> .
Ng. <u>ḡaphinda</u>	aḡazange <u>ḡaphinde</u> .
So.S. ba ne ba <u>khutle</u> or ba na ba <u>khutla</u> . (they returned).	ba ne se ke ba <u>khutla</u> . (they never returned).

(Immediate Future tense)

This is formed with the help of the auxiliary verb formative to from ta ku. By coalescence a plus u become o after the k has dropped.

Ph. <u>ḡato gena</u>	aḡanakugena.
Ng. <u>ḡaza kugena</u>	aḡazukugena.
So.S. ba <u>tla kena</u> (they will enter).	ha ba <u>tlo kena</u> . (they will not enter).

In Nguni the infinitive formative ku is found in full in the positive conjugation whereas in Sotho there are no traces of it at all. But all the three languages have it in full or show traces of it in the negative conjugation.

(Remote Future Tense)

There is no difference at all in form between the Immediate and Remote Future tenses in Phuthi and Sotho as will be seen below.

Ph.	Sato g ^e na	a ^h anakugena
Ng.	Saya kungena	a ^h ayikungena
So,S.	ba tla kena	ha ba tlo kena.
	(they will enter).	(they will not enter).

(The Immediate Past tense).

In some respects this tense is worthy of attention as it shows certain characteristics which are peculiar to Phuthi and are not found in common with either Nguni or Sotho. In the first place the characteristic suffixal formative for this tense in Phuthi shows influence of ukuteketa i.e. the l's become y's.

In the second place the short form of the immediate past whereby the final vowel of the verb is simply replaced by a to mark the tense is very rarely found in Phuthi.

The following are examples of the verb in the Immediate Past tense treated according to manner or aspect in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
<u>Indefinite:</u>	lithol ^y e;	nithol ^l e;	le thot ^s e (you have found).
<u>Continuous:</u>	li ^s e li thola;ni ^s enithola;	le ne le thot ^s e(do.).	
<u>Perfect:</u>	li ^s e lithol ^y e;ni ^s enithol ^l e;	le ne le thot ^s e(do.).	

Negative

<u>Indefinite:</u>	alita ^s e lithola;anitholangasha	le ea thola (you have not found).
<u>Continuous:</u>	li ^s e, liga-tholi; ^s eningath ^l li;	le ne le sa thole (you were not finding).
<u>Perfect:</u>	li ^s e ligata th ^l li; ^s eningekath ^l li;	le ne le e-so thole (you had not found yet).

As stated before, it will be noticed from the examples given above that there is no regular way of forming negative forms from positive forms. In the present tense of all the three languages, the regular method is that of prefixing the negative formative a in Phuthi/

in Phuthi and Nguni and the variant of this, the ha in Sotho. The final vowel a of the verb is replaced by the vowel i in each case. This method however varies with the different implications, aspects and tenses.

Taking the negative form of the Immediate Past tense as an example, it is found that each of the three languages shows its own construction in this regard. In Phuthi the negative form of giboniye, is agitaḡoni. The formative ta is peculiar to Phuthi alone. In Xosa and Zulu the negative forms are andiḡonanga, nga being the negative ending of the immediate past tense.

In Sotho á the form is ha, e.g. ha ke sa bona. So on comparison it is found that functionally.

The Phuthi a corresponds to the Nguni a and Sotho ha
" " ta " " " nga "

With regard to the Remote Past tense too, another construction is worthy of note in Phuthi. Besides the regular form, in which the subject concord with a high tone and a somewhat extra long vowel is preplaced to the verb, e.g. gakhaba (I did go or I went), Phuthi uses another construction of the verb to indicate remote past tense. This consists of putting the verb in the Immediate Past Tense and substituting o for the vowel of the subject concord. The verb following this construction is usually in the Temporal Mood.

Compare the following examples.

Ph. Bqlimiye kwafika siqholo. (They ploughed and a hailstorm came).

Ng. Balima kwafika isichotho. do.

So.S. Ba ne ba leme ha fihla sefako. do.

Ph. Gqkhabiyē, kanye ayivēla itreḡni. (I went away just when the train appeared).

Ng. Ndahamba kanye xa itreḡyini ivelayo. ḡo

So.S. Ke ne ke tsamae ha terēne e nlahā do

Ph. Lokhulumiyē/

Ph. Lokhulumiye kaBa kanye lixhegu, sayaraBele.

Ng. Lathethu kwa kanye ixhegu, saphendula.

So.S. Le ne le bua ha ngoe leqheku ra araba.

(the old man spoke once and we responded).

Ph. Sokhabiye aliphuma lilega. (we went at sunrise).

Ng. Sahamba ukuphuma kwelanga. (do.).

So.S. So ne re tassae ha letsatsi le caaba(do.).

The Perfect Stem.

The perfect stem which is used chiefly in the formation of the immediate Past Tenses is formed by means of suffixing the formative iyē to the verb stem after dropping its final vowel. This might be called the long form; and the short form which consists in substituting the mid-forward open vowel a for the final e is very rarely used in Phuthi as will be seen in the following examples from Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.

Ph. Batheliye ithifo etulu kophodzi.

Ng. Bathole into phezulu kophodi.

So.S. ba thotse ntho holima mokoti.

(they have picked up a thing on top of the hole.)

Ph. gišoniye bathfu lašamelelako.

Ng.X. ndišone abantu abagodolayo.

So.S. ke bone batho ba hatselang.

(I saw people who are catching cold).

Ph. Sapanulliyē tifaši. (they have outspanned the oxen).

Ng. šaknulule iinkuši. (do.).

So.S. ba panolotse lipholo. (do.).

Ph. Bathfukulliyē mafido. (they have untied the knots).

Ng.X. šakhulule amaqhina. (do.).

Ng.Z. šakhulule amafindo. (do.).

So.S. ba tiamolotse mafito. (do.).

Most of the stative verbs form their perfect stems by substituting the mid-forward open vowel e for the final vowel of the verb. This is accompanied by vowel harmony in that the vowel of the penultimate syllable becomes harmonised into the mid-forward open vowel e. This rule applies to Ngoni as well, but in Sotho there is no vowel harmony and the end vowel is replaced by close forward vowel.

Examples:

Ph. bonakala (visible) gives bonakele as in inyanya ibonakele.
Ng.Z. bonakala (do.) " do. " inyani ibonakele.
So.S. bonahala (do.) " bonahetse " npanyana e bonahetse.
(the bird has been seen).

Ph. luphala (get old) gives luphele as in cece aluphele.
Ng. luphala (do.) " luphele " umakhulu waluphele.
So.S. tsofala (do.) " tsofetse " ukhono o tsofetse.
(my grand mother is old).

Ph. robala (to sleep) gives robele as in uro~~se~~ele Suthfogo lo~~su~~dze.
Ng. lala (do.) " lele " ulele u~~bu~~thongo o~~bu~~de.
So.S. robala (do.) " robetse " o~~ro~~betse bo~~ro~~ko bo bo~~le~~le.
(he is having a long sleep)

Ph. hlonama (to be morose) gives hlaneme as in unleti ahluneme.
Ng.
So.S. hlonama (to be morose) gives hloname as in o lutse a hloname.
(he is sitting down morose)

Ph. bacama (to be on belly) gives baceme as in u~~ba~~ceme.
Ng.X. cambalala (do.) " cambalele " u~~ca~~mbalele.
So.S. paqama (do.) " paqame " a paqame.
(he is lying on his belly).

Ph. fukama (to brood) gives fukeme as in ifuru ifukeme.
Ng. fukama (do.) " do. or " inkukhu ifukeme.
So.S. fohama (do.) " fohame or " knoho o fohame, etc.
fahama~~ne~~
(the fowl is brooding).

There are/

There are however exceptions to these such as :-

Ph.	nama (to sit with legs outstretched)	which gives	<u>namaye</u> .
Ng.	naša (do. )	) " "	<u>našile</u> .
So.S.	nama (do. )	) " "	<u>nambe</u> .
Ph.	manama (to stick)	which gives	<u>manamiye</u> (has stuck).
Ng.	ncamathela(do.)	" "	<u>ncamathele</u> (do.).
So.S.	manama (do.)	" "	<u>maname</u> or (do.). <u>manambe</u> .

The following verbs are irregular and use neither the long form in ie nor the short forms in a, in Phuthi. Notice how these compare with the forms in Nguni and Sotho.S.

Ph.	ema (to stand)	gives	<u>emi</u> .
Ng.	ema (do.)	"	<u>emi</u> or <u>mile</u> .
So.S.	ema (do.)	"	<u>eme</u> or <u>emne</u> .
Ph.	hlala (to sit)	"	<u>hleti</u> .
Ng.X.	hlala (do.)	"	<u>hleti</u> .
Ng.Z.	hlala (do.)	"	<u>hlezi</u> .
So.S.	lula (do.)	"	<u>lutse</u> .
Ph.	mitsha (to be pregnant)	gives	<u>mitshi</u> .
Ng.	mitha (do.)	"	<u>mithi</u> .
So.S.	emara (do.)	"	<u>emere</u> .
Ph.	sutsha (to be satisfied)	"	<u>sutshi</u> .
Ng.X.	hlutha (do.)	"	<u>hluthi</u> .
Ng.Z.	sutha (do.)	"	<u>suthi</u> .
So.S.	khora (do.)	"	<u>khotse</u> .

M O O D S.

The verb in Phuthi can be further treated according to mood. The precise number of moods in various Bantu Languages varies,

depending upon the /

depending upon the treatment by different authorities. But all the same, the following moods are found in practically all the Bantu languages, viz.:-,

- (a) Indicative,
- (b) Imperative,
- (c) Infinitive,
- (d) Subjunctive, or
- (e) Dependent moods.

To cover all the ground for our purposes in Shuthi, the following moods may be added, the Participial, Temporal, Intentional, Habitual, Relative and Potential moods.

Depending upon the the treatment of the subject by the individual, Shuthi may share these moods with Nguni and Sotho.

(a) Indicative Mood.

This mood states a simple statement and signifies what is, was, or will be. All the tenses, implications and manners or aspects of the verb in the positive and negative conjugation are represented in this mood. As Shuthi has nothing new to offer with regard to this mood only comparative examples with the other two languages will be give.

	<u>Shuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
<u>Pret. Tense</u>	:šayarabeła	šayathandaza	ba ea rapela(they pray).
<u>Imm. Past "</u>	:šarabele	šathandazile	ba rapetse (" prayed).
<u>Remote Past"</u>	:šaarabeła	šathandaza	ba ne ba rapele(do.).
<u>Imm. Future "</u>	:šatorabeła	šaza kuthandaza	ba tla rapela(they will pray
<u>Remote " "</u>	:šatorabeła	šaya kuthandaza	ba tla rapela(do.) ba ea rapela.

(b) Imperative Mood.

The imperative mood expresses a command. In its nature the mood is interjectional but nevertheless retains the verbal character. There are two forms of the Imperative mood;

- (i) The singular which consists of the plain stem of the

verb without/

verb without the subject concord or any other formative and,

- (ii) The plural which consists of the plain stem of the verb followed by the plural forming suffixal ending ni. The form ni of the plural is the same as that found in Nguni.

Corresponding to this in Sotho is the formative ng (from UrBantu).

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	
<u>Sing.</u> :	hlakula	hlakula	hlahola	(hoe).
<u>Plur.</u> :	hlakulani	hlakulani	hlaholang	(you hoe).
<u>Sing.</u> :	hlata	hlamba	hlatsoa	(wash).
<u>Plur.</u> :	hlatani	hlambani	hlatsoang	(you wash).
<u>Sing.</u> :	sila	sila	sila	(ground).
<u>Plur.</u> :	silani	silani	silang	(you grind).

In all the three languages, the negative form of the Imperative Mood can be divided into two types:-

- (1) The ordinary imperative which involves the use of the negative formatives ga and nga in Phuthi and Nguni respectively and se or se ka in Sotho which are placed before the verb stem and after the subject concord.

Examples:

	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	
<u>Sing.</u> :	ugaphatshi	ungaphathi	u <u>se ka</u> tšoara	(do not touch).
<u>Plur.</u> :	ligaphatshi	ninngaphathi	le <u>se ke</u> la tšoara	(do.).
<u>Sing.</u> :	uganqni	unganqni(Z) ungatyepi(X)	u <u>se ke</u> ua nona	(do not get fat).
<u>Plur.</u> :	liganqni	ninnganqni(Z) ninngatyepi(X)	le <u>se none</u> (do.) le <u>se ke</u> la nona (do.)	}.

- (2) The other type uses a negative formative preplaced to a verb in the infinitive mood. This formative always takes precedence in the word order of the sentence. Different

forms of it are found in the three languages; these being, lisa, musa and lesa in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho respectively. But the latter i.e. Sotho prefers to use the negative formatives under (1) i.e. se and se ka.

Examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>	
Sing.: <u>lisa</u> kušuta	<u>musa</u> ukušuzza	<u>se ka</u> bōtsa	(don't ask).
Plur.: <u>lisani</u> kušuta	<u>musani</u> ukušuzza	<u>se kang</u> la bōtsa	(do.).
Sing.: <u>lisa</u> kulala	<u>musa</u> ukulala	<u>se ka</u> robala	(don't sleep).
Plur.: <u>lisani</u> kulala	<u>musani</u> ukulala	<u>se kang</u> la robala	(do.).

If a sentence contains an objectival concord the latter is preplaced to the verb stem which then changes its mood into a subjunctive.

Examples:

	<u>(Singular)</u>	
<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
Pos.: <u>sihlata</u> (sijana)	<u>sihlambe</u>	<u>se hlatsōe</u> (wash it).
Neg.: <u>ugasihlati</u> or <u>lesa</u> kusihlata	<u>ungasihlambi</u> or <u>musa</u> ukusihlamba	<u>se ke</u> oa <u>se hlatsōa</u> or <u>lesa</u> ho <u>se hlatsōa</u> . (don't wash it).
Pos.: <u>timabe</u> (tiyomo)	<u>zišambe</u>	<u>li tšōare</u> (catch them).
Neg.: <u>ugatiimabi</u> or <u>li sa kutimaba</u>	<u>ungazišambi</u> or <u>musa</u> ukuzišamba	<u>u se ke</u> ua <u>li tšōara</u> or <u>lesa</u> ho <u>li tšōara</u> . (don't catch them).

(Plural)

Pos.: <u>sihlateni</u>	<u>sihlambeni</u>	<u>se hlatsōeng</u> (wash it)
Neg.: <u>ligasihlati</u> or <u>lisani kusihlata</u>	<u>musani ukusihlamba</u> or <u>ningasihlambi</u>	<u>lesang</u> ho <u>se hlatsōa</u> or <u>se ke</u> la <u>se hlatsōa</u> or <u>le se ke</u> la <u>se hlatsōa</u> (don't wash it).
Pos.: <u>timabeni</u>	<u>zišambeni</u>	<u>li tšōareng</u> (catch them).
Neg.: <u>ligatiimabi</u> or <u>lisani kutimaba</u>	<u>ningazišambi</u> or <u>musani ukuzišamba</u>	<u>le se ke</u> la <u>li tšōara</u> or <u>se ke</u> la <u>li tšōara</u> . (don't catch them).

(Monosyllabic verbs)

The long forms of the monosyllabic verbs in na which are found in the Zulu singular forms as in dlana (eat you) from dia

(to eat)/

(to eat), zwana (hear you) from zwa (to hear) are not found at all in Phuthi. But the duplicate plural suffixal formative nini as in the words zanini (come you) from za (to come), phanini (give you), from pha (to give) is found in Phuthi as well as in some Nguni languages and dialects but it is absent in Sotho.S.

Moreover, unlike the other group of verbs, monosyllabic verbs prefix the formative yi to the verb stem in forming the imperative Phuthi. In Nguni the yi is also prefixed, but Sotho.S. prefixes the euphonic vowel, e.

The monosyllabic verbs having no penultimate syllable, make up for this anomaly by prefixing the formatives mentioned above in order that they carry the penultimate stress.

Examples:

		(Singular)	
		Positive	Negative
Ph.	<u>yina</u> (vula)(rain)		<u>ugani</u> or <u>liana</u> ukuna (do not fall, rain).
Ng.	<u>yina</u> " (do.)		<u>ungani</u> " <u>musa</u> ukuna (do.).
So.S.	<u>a-na</u> " (do.)		u <u>se ke</u> ua na (do.).
Ph.	<u>yiva</u> (hear)		<u>ugavi</u> or <u>liana</u> ukuva (do not hear - listen)
Ng.X.	<u>yiva</u> (do)		<u>ungevi</u> " <u>musa</u> ukuva (do.).
Ng.Z.	vana		
So.S.	<u>utloa</u> (do.)		u <u>se ke</u> ua u-tloa (do.).

		(Plural)	
Ph.	<u>yivani</u> or (hear)		<u>liani</u> kuva (do not hear - don't listen)
	<u>vanini</u>		
Ng.Z.	<u>yizwani</u> or (do.)		<u>musani</u> ukuzwa(do.)
	<u>zwanini</u>		
So.S.	<u>utloang</u> (do.)		se <u>keng</u> la utloa(do.)
	<u>e-fang</u> or (give)		se <u>keng</u> la fa (do not give).
	<u>fang</u>		

(c) Infinitive Mood.

In Phuthi, and similarly in Nguni and Sotho the verb in the infinitive mood is nounal in form and partly so in function. The mood is formed by prefixing the infinitive formative ku

to the stem. This is ku in Nguni and ho, go or xo according to the particular language in Sotho.

Examples:

	<u>(Positive)</u>		<u>(Negative)</u>
Ph.	<u>ku</u> roβala (to sleep)		<u>kugaroβali</u> (not to sleep)
Ng.	<u>ukulala</u> (do.)		<u>ukungalali</u> (do.)
So.S.	<u>ho</u> robala (do.)		<u>ho</u> se robale(do.)
Ph.	<u>ku</u> ruda (to learn, teach etc)	<u>ku</u> arudi (not to teach)	
Ng.	<u>ukufunda</u> (do.)	<u>ukungafundi</u> (do.)	
So.S.	<u>ho</u> ithuta (do.)	<u>ho</u> se ithute(do.)	

When the verb takes an object concord, the latter is placed between the verb stem and the infinitive formative, and in the negative forms it is placed between the verb stem and the negative formative.

Examples:

	<u>(Positive)</u>		<u>(Negative)</u>
Ph.	<u>kutiβona</u> (to see them)	<u>kugatiβoni</u> (not to see them)	
Ng.	<u>ukuziβona</u> (do.)	<u>ukungaziβoni</u> (do.)	
So.S.	<u>ho li bona</u> (do.)	<u>ho se li bone</u> (do.)	
Ph.	<u>kumuvuga</u> (to accept him)	<u>kugamuvugi</u> (not to accept him)	
Ng.	<u>ukuavuma</u> (do.)	<u>kungamvumi</u> (do.)	
So.S.	<u>ho mo lumela</u> (do.)	<u>ho se mo lumele</u> (do.)	

Sometimes the Infinitive forms may be preceded by some possessive construction. Many possessive concords take the mid-forward close vowel e, for which no reason can be given except perhaps to say that Phuthi has a remarkable preference for this vowel to others.

Examples:

Ph.	ivu <u>yē</u> kuhlajwa	(a sheep for slaughter).
Ng.X.	imvu <u>yo</u> kuxhelwa	(do.)
Ng.Z.	imvu <u>yo</u> ekuhlatahwa	(do.)
So.S.	nku <u>ga</u> ho hlaJoa	(do.)

Ph. iyomo/

- Ph. iyomo ykulima (a beast for ploughing).
- Ng.X. inkomo ykulima (do.).
- So.S. khomo gi ho lema (do.).

(d) Subjunctive Mood.

This mood has no implications and manners or aspects are recognised only in some tenses. There are only two tenses of the Subjunctive Mood viz., the Present and the Past.

In Ntuthi as in Nguni and Sotho, the present tense of the subjunctive mood is found in the following instances.

- (1) After the conjunctions, kutsi (that), kute (so that) to indicate desire, intention and so on.

Examples:

- Ph. mutafume kutshi akhe emazi (send him to get water).
- Ng. mathume ukuthi akhe amanzi (do.).
- So.S. mo rome hore a khe metsi. (do.).

- Ph. useqeta kute a fumane maputso (he works so as to get wages).
- Ng. useenza ukuze a fumane mavuzo (do.).
- So.S. o sebetse hore a fumane maputso (do.).

The verb in the negative form ends in i except in Sotho -

Examples:

- Ph. mujete kutshi aqakni emazi (tell him not to get water).
- Ng.X. mxelele ukuthi aqakni amanzi (do.).
- So.S. mo joetse hore a se ke a kha metsi (do.).

- Ph. uyadla kute angalabi (he eats so that he should not get hungry).
- Ng. uyadla ukuze angalabi (do.).
- So.S. oa ja hore a se ke a langa (do.).

- (2) When an action follows another action as in certain consecutive constructions of the verb.

Examples:

- Ph. khaba umujete kutshi aye, a lime, ahlwayele, ihlangayo.
- Ng.X. hamba umxelele ukuthi aye, a lime, ahlwayele imboku.
- So.S. tsamasa o mojoetse, hore a se a lona a jale ppo.

(go and tell him to go and plough and sow seed).

The negative form may affect only the verb after tani which is the only one which changes its final vowel into i except in Sotho.

Examples

- Ph. khaba umajęte kutshi agayi alime ahlwayele ihlonyelo.
- Ng.X. hamba ukxelele ukuthi angayi alime, ahlwayele imbqwu.
- Z. hamba untshela ukuthi angayi alime atsnale imbqwu.
- So.S. taamasa o mo joętsę hore a se ke a ea, aiena, a jala qo.

(3) In certain polite commands.

In giving commands of a polite nature the verb is put in the subjunctive mood and with a verbal auxiliary preplaced to it. In such construction there is found what is known as the "polite imperative."

The verbal auxiliaries most commonly used in the second person in Phuthi are so (singular) meaning "let" "allow" etc. and se (plural) with the same meaning. Corresponding to these in Nguni are kha in Xhosa, and ake in Zulu and in Sotho.S. a ku (singular) and a ke (plural).

Examples :-

- Ph. So utise ithfo leyo (bring that thing or please will you)
- Ng.X. kha uzise loo nto. (do.)
- Z. ake ulethe leyonto. (do.)
- So.S. ak'u u tlise ntho qo. do.

- Ph. Se likhulume laye. (please talk to him, you people, will you).
- Ng.X. Kha nikhe nithethe naye do.
- Z. ake nikhulume naye. do.
- So.S. A ke le bue le eena. do.

In the third person the formatives are a in Phuthi, ma in Xhosa, a in Zulu, ha in Sotho.S. and mma in Tswana.

Examples.

- Ph. a ka fike sitq va. (let him come so that we may hear)
- Ng.X. ma ka fike sizokuva. do.
- Z. a ka fike sizokuzwa. do.
- So.S. ha a fihle re tlo utloa. do.
- T. mma a fitlho re tlo utlwa. do.

Ph. a ba fike...../

- Ph. a ba fike sitq khaba (let them come so that we may go
Ng.X. ma ba fike sizqkhaba do.
Z. ma ba fike sizqhaba. do
So.S. ha ba fihle re tlo tsamaea. do.
T. ama ba fithe re tlo tsamaya. do.

In the negative forms the negative formative ga is used in Phuthi, and the verb changes its final vowel into i.

Nguni follows the same construction except in the case of the verb va. Sotho uses the same construction and an alternative one with the ending a in the verb.

Examples.

- Ph. a ka gafiki site sigavi. (let him ^{not} come so that we may not hear).
Ng. ma ka ngafiki size singeva. do.
So.S. ha a se fihle re tle re se utloe. do.
or ha a se fihle re tlo re se ke ra utloa.

N.B. It will be noticed that although vowel coalescence has taken place in the word singeva, thus sing - a plus i - va, a plus i coalesces into e, the Phuthi form remains singavi, showing that there is no latent i, to bring about coalescence in it. (Note the strain of the basic vowel a on the articulating organs as a result of the absence of coalescence in the following sentence ugantfwana kašani la gavi kašaka ?
(whose child are you so naughty ?).

(4) When compound tenses are formed with the help of certain deficient verbs which are preplaced to the main verbs.

Examples.

- Ph. akambe akhabe (let him rather go) (the underlined a being syllabic).
Ng. ma ka fane anambe. do.
So.S. ha a mpq a tsamae. do.

(5) After certain conjunctions.

Examples

- Ph. utqya ayadvule ašuye (he will go there and that return).
Ng. uza kuya andule ašuye. do
or andule ukušuya. do
So.S. o tla ea a tsaq a knutla. do.

- Ph. agišaleke muhlalqmanyē gima^hhwe (le me run lest I be caught)
 Ng. ma ndišaleke hleze ndišanjwe. (do.)
 So.S. ha ke balehe mohlomong nka tšoaroa (do.)

The Subjunctive mood also takes the past tense and in this case it usually indicates an action which follows upon another action, which meaning is conveyed with the help of the auxiliary formative ta or ša. But in ordinary speech, these formatives are usually understood.

Examples:

- (Immediate Past Tense) (Positive)
- Ph. ufikye wagithfuma or (he arrived and then sent men).
 ufikiye wata wagithfuma.
 Ng. ufikile wandithuma or (do.)
 ufikele waza wandithuma
 So.S. O fihlile a nthoma or (do.)
 o fihlile ea-ba oa nthoma.

- (Remote Past Tense)
- Ph. waafika wagithfuma or (he arrived and sent me).
 waafika waza wagithfuma.
 Ng.X. Wafika wandithuma or (do.)
 wafika waza wandithuma
 So.S. O ne a fihle a nthoma or (do.)
 o ne a fihle eaba oa nthoma.

Examples:

- (Negative)
- (Immediate Past Tense)
- Ph. ufikiye akatagithfuma (he arrived and he did not send me)
 Ng. ufikole akandithuma (do.)
 So.S. o fihlile a se ke a nthoma (do.)

- (Remote Past Tense)
- Ph. waafika akatase agithfuma (he arrived and he did not send me)
 Ng. wafika akandithuma (do.)
 So.S. O ne a fihle a se ke a nthoma (do.)

(1) The Participial Mood.

The Participial mood in Phuthi is distinguished from other moods in one or more different ways -

(a) By tone which is usually high-low-low, e.g.

u^hkiye giyemi.

(b) By concord.

In the third person class 1, the participial mood in Phuthi takes a different subject concord from the indicative mood. The concord is a and not u as in the indicative mood. Phuthi and Sotho have the same subject concords for classes 1 and 2, and they differ from Nguni which uses the concords e and be for classes 1 and 2 respectively.

In all the three languages the participial mood is found in all the tenses of the Verb.

Examples:

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho.S.</u>
<u>Present</u> ..	:Usuka <u>ahlala</u>	usuka <u>ehlala</u>	o tloha <u>a lula</u> .
<u>Imm.Past</u> .	:Usukiye <u>ahlala</u>	usuke <u>ehlala</u>	o tlonile <u>a lula</u> .
<u>Rem.Past</u> .	:Waasuka <u>ahlala</u>	wasuka <u>ehlala</u>	o ne a tlohe <u>a lula</u> .
<u>Imm.Future</u>	:Uto suka <u>ahlala</u>	uza kusuka <u>ehlala</u>	a tla tloha <u>a lula</u> .
<u>Rem.Future</u>	:Uto suka <u>ahlala</u>	uya kusuka <u>ehlala</u>	o tla tloha <u>a lula</u> .

(The translations being of the type - "he goes about and sits down" - literally, "he goes away sitting down etc., etc.)

The Participial mood is also found occurring in the following cases in Phuthi.

(a) After certain conjunctions like a (when), and kuša (because)

Examples:

Ph.	Uto umušite ate <u>a-kařika</u>	(call him to come when he arrives.
Ng.X.	Uze umbize eze <u>xa efika</u> .	(do.)
So.S.	U tlo mitse a tle <u>ha a fiħla</u>	(do.)
Ph.	Gitšeęa <u>kuša ğilaba</u>	(I buy because I am starving).
Ng.X.	Ndi thenęa <u>kuša ndilamba</u>	(do.)
So.S.	Ke reka <u>ħobane ke lapa</u>	(do.)

The tonal pattern of these Phuthi verbs in the participial mood is high-low-low.

Examples:

Phuthi - akafika gilaba . Compare with -

Nguni - xa efika ndilumba, and

Sotho.S. - ha a finla ke lapa. (If he finds me starving -).

(b) After the deficient verbs like se and sele, in the formation of certain tenses of the Indicative Mood, the present situative tenses are used.

Examples:

Phuthi Nguni Sotho.S.

Pos. : giše gišona ; ndiše ndišona ; ke ne ke bona(I was seeing).

Neg. : giše gigašoni; ndiše ndingašoni; ne ke sa bone(I was not seeing)

Pos. : gaše gašona ; ndaše ndišona ; ka be ke bona(I was seeing)

Neg. : gaše gigašoni; ndaše ndingašoni; ka be ke sa bone(" not seeing)

Pos. : giše gilele ; ndiše ndilele ; ke ne ke robetše(I was sleeping)

Neg. : giše gigata lali; ndiše ndingalalanga; ke ne ke sa robala(I was not sleeping).

Pos. : giše gisašona ; ndiše ndisa šona; ke ne ke sa bona(I was still seeing).

Neg. : giše gisašoni; ndiše ndingasa šoni; ke ne ke se ke sa bone (I was no longer seeing)

Pos. : giše sele gihleti; ndiše se ndihleli; ke ne ke se ke lutše(I was already sitting).

Neg. : giše gihakahlali; ndiše ndingakahlali; ke ne ke e-so no lule

Examples with Monosyllabic verbs.

(Present Tense: Positive)

Phuthi Nguni/Z Sotho/S

ukhuluma giva ukhuluma ngizwa o bua ke utloa.

(He spoke whilst I was listening, lit. with me listening)

The negative in this, may be formed in one of the two ways -

(a) Either the verb in indicative mood is put in the negative, by putting the appropriate negative formative between the subject

concord and the verb stem, or

(b) The verb in the participial mood is put in the negative in the same way. In most cases the final vowel of the verb is replaced by i, in Phuthi. Compare the following:-

(Present Tense-negative)

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotno.S.

akukhulumi giva ; akukhulumi ngizwa(Z) ; ha a bua ke utloa.
akathetani ndisiva(X)

(He does not speak while I am listening - Lit. He does not speak, me listening.)

or ukhuluma givavi ; ukhuluma nginkezwa ; o bua ke sa utloa.

(He speaks while I am not listening or without listening - Lit. He speaks, I not listening.)

(Immediate Past Tense)

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotno.S.

Post.: ukhulumiye giva ; ukhulume ngizwa(Z) ; o buile ke utloa.
uthetne ndisiva(X)

(Lit. He spoke with me listening).

Neg.: akata khulumi giva ; akakhulumanga ngizwa ; ha a bua ke utloa.
akathethanga ndisiva(X) ;

or ukhulumiye givatavi ; ukhulume nginkezwanga(Z) ; o buile ke sa
u thetne ndinkezwanga (X) utloa.

(Remote Past Tense)

Pos.: baafika bava ; bafika besiva(X) ; ba ne ba fihle ba e-oa.

(Lit. They arrived falling about. i.e. they arrived in a state of falling - "usually referred to weakness from hunger".)

Neg.: bafika bavavi ; bafika bengavi ; ba ne ba fihle ba sa oa.

or abatase bafike bava ; abazange bafike besiva ; ha ba q-sq fihle ba e-oa.

(Remote Past - Perfect Form)

Pos.: baafika baviye ; bafika bewile ; ba ne ba fihle ba ocle.

(Lit. They arrived in a fallen state. Lit. they arrived having fallen).

Neg.: baafika bagatavi ; bafika bengavanga ; ba ne ba fihle ba sa oa

(Immediate Future Tenses)../

(Immediate Future Tenses)

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotho.S

Pos.: Batofika giwotshai; Saza kufika ndisotha; ba tla fihla ke ora.

(they will find me warming myself at the fire. - lit. they will arrive, I warming myself).

Neg.: Batofika gikawotshi; Saza kufika ndingothi; ba tla fihla ke sa ore.

(Remote Future Tenses)

Pos. Ph. same as Imm.Future; Saya kufika ndisotha; So.S same as Imm. Future.

Neg.: do. Saya kufika ndingothi; do.

(Future - Perfect Form)

Pos.: Batofika giwotshiye; Saza kufika ndothile; ba tla fihla ke orle.

Neg.: " gikawotshi; " " ndingothanga; " " ke sa ora.

(they will find me in a state of having warmed myself - lit. they will arrive, I having warmed myself).

(ii) The Potential Mood.

The potential mood which indicates power to do a thing, ability to act, is found to be functionally the same in Phuthi as in Nguni and Sotho. In Phuthi, as in the other two languages there is no indication of aspect or manner, and there is no future form of the tenses except where it expresses possibility or probability. The chief characteristic of this mood is the formative ga in Phuthi, nga in Nguni, and ka in Sotho. The formative signifies "can" or "ability to do".

It is in this mood that we meet with an instance of a combination of the nasal consonant with another consonant, which is a phenomena not only rare, but also not in keeping with the phonological laws of Phuthi.

In the first person singular Phuthi and Sotho use the subject concords gi and ke respectively and these in many instances are replaced by the velar nasal. phon. g)

In the/

In the potential mood these subject concords are preplaced to the formative ga or ka which comes immediately before the verb stem. Nguni preplaces the ordinary subject concords ndi in Xhosa, and ngi in Zulu and these do not undergo any phonological change.

When the velar nasal in this construction in Phuthi and Sotho occurs, it occurs syllabically.

Examples:

(Present Tense)

Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho.S.
Pos.: <u>gigatshega</u> or <u>ngatshega</u>	ndingathenga	(ke) <u>ka</u> reka (I can buy) <u>nka</u> reka.
Neg.: <u>gigetshēgi</u> or <u>ngetshegi</u>	ndingethengi ndingeke nitshenge	(ke) <u>kē</u> se <u>reke</u> (I cannot buy); <u>nke</u> se <u>reke</u> or <u>nke</u> <u>kē</u> <u>ka</u> reka (do.)
Pos.: <u>ugatshega</u>	ungathenga	u <u>ka</u> re ka (you can buy).
Neg.: <u>ugetshegē</u> or <u>ugeke utshege</u>	ungathengi ungeke utshenge	u <u>kē</u> se <u>reke</u> (you cannot buy); u <u>kē</u> <u>kē</u> <u>ua</u> reka (do.)
Pos.: <u>agatshega</u>	ungathenga	u <u>ka</u> reka (he can buy).
Neg.: <u>agetshēgi</u> or <u>ageke utshega</u>	ungathengi ungeke athenge	a <u>kē</u> se <u>reke</u> (he cannot buy); a <u>kē</u> <u>kē</u> <u>a</u> reka (do.)

In common speech however the second forms of the negative with reke, nreke, ke ke are the ones often used.

(Immediate Past Tense)

Phuthi	Nguni	Sotho
Pos.: <u>sišē sigatshega</u>	<u>sišē</u> singathenga	<u>re nē</u> re <u>ka</u> reka (we could buy)
Neg.: <u>sišē sigeke satshega</u>	<u>sišē</u> singeke sitshenge	<u>re nē</u> re <u>ke</u> <u>kē</u> ra reka (we could not buy)
Pos.: <u>lišē ligatshega</u>	<u>lišē</u> ningathenga	<u>le nē</u> le <u>ka</u> reka (you could buy)
Neg.: <u>lišē ligeke latshēga</u>	<u>lišē</u> ningeke nitshenge	<u>le nē</u> le <u>ke</u> <u>kē</u> la reka (you could not buy)

Note that the g of the verb tshega in Phuthi is a close mid-forward vowel and therefore higher in quality than the open mid-forward g' found in Nguni and Sotho.

Another point/

Another point worthy of note is that in the negative forms the verb in the Potential mood in Znuthi and Sotho in this construction ends in a and in e in Nguni.

Some Nguni languages including Xhosa have alternative forms which use ngeze instead of ngeke, and this form may be followed by the verb with the ending in a or with the ending in e.

Examples:

siḡe singeze sithenga (we could not buy).
 or siḡe singeze sathenga (do.).

This influence may be noticed in the passive forms too.

Examples:

liḡe lingeze lithengwa (it could not be bought).
 or liḡe lingeze lathengwa (do.).

(Remote Past Tense)

Znuthi

Nguni

Sotho.S.

Pos.: gaḡe ngatenga ndaḡe ndingathenga keḡe nka reka
 (I could buy).
 Neg.: gaḡe ngeke ngathenga ndaḡe ndigeke nthengengeke neḡe nke ke ka reka.
 (I could not buy).

Post.: baḡe bagahlala baḡe bagahlala; ba neḡe ba ka lula (they could stay).
 Neg.: baḡe bageke bahlala baḡe bengeke bahlale; ba neḡe ba ke ke ba lula
 (they could not stay).

Futurity is implied in the potential mood when the construction signified an action which is possible or probable. The idea implied is not only of the immediate action but of something that will happen in the remote future. But in order to convey the idea of the future, the time of the incident must be more or less specified.

Examples:

ivule igana lamuhla (rain may fall to-day).

(iii) The Intentional Mood.

This mood signifies an unfulfilled or unaccomplished action

or a hypothetical condition relating to a past, and for that reason the mood is found in the past; verbal auxiliary formatives play an important role.

Very often the formative ge which is a past auxiliary is found to be complementary to the ga which is a future auxiliary. The result is that these auxiliaries give the construction a sort of past-future function. This mood covers the range of the immediate and remote past tenses in all the implications and the conjugations of the verb.

In the first person singular, Phuthi employs any of the two subject concords viz., gi or the velar nasal form which is homorganic to the initial consonant of the succeeding phone. The concords are employed immediately after the verbal auxiliary ge.

Examples:

ge gi khaba (I would go).

It must be noted however that the ge itself is preceded by a subject concord, in this construction, so that the full form is gige gi khaba (I would have gone).

When the velar nasal consonant is used, it occurs syllabically and, this is indicated by an underline in this work. The verbal auxiliary formative used in Phuthi and Phuni is ge but Southern Sotho uses ne while the Tlokoa dialect of it uses be.

Examples:

(Immediate Past Tense-Simple Implication)

Phuthi

Phuni

Sotho.S.

Pos.: ge gi nyuka
or ge ni nyuka

ge ni ndiza kuwela

ke ne ke tla tšela or
ke be ke tla tšela

(I would cross).

Neg.: ge gi ngato nyuka
or ge ni ngato nyuka

ge ni ndingazukuwela ke ne ke sa tlo tšela

(I would not cross).

(Progressive Implication)

(Progressive Implication)

Past

Present

Simple

Pos.: Ngagisatq nyuka ;Se ndibaya kuwela ;ke ne ke sa tla tšela.
(I was still going to cross).

Neg.: Ngngasatq nyuka ;Se ndingasezukuwela;ke ne ke sa tlo hlola
ke tšela.
(I was no longer going to cross).

(Exclusive Implication)

Pos.: Ngagelo gitq nyuka; Se se ndiza kuwela ;ke ne ke se ke tla tšela
(I was just about to cross).

Neg.: Ngesele ngato nyuka; Se se ndingazukuwela;ke ne ke se ke sa tlo tšela
(I was no longer going to cross).

(Remote Past Tense - Simple Implication)

Pos.: nga-ge gitq nyuka ;ndaye ndiza kuwela;ke ne ke tla tšela
or ndandizakuwela.
(I would have crossed).

Neg.: nga-ge ngato nyuka ;ndaye ndingazukuwela;ke ne ke sa tlo tšela
or ga-ge gigato nyuka;ndandingazukuwela
(I was no longer going to cross).

(Progressive Implication)

Pos.: ga-ge gisayakunyuka;ndaye ndisayekuwela;ke ne ke sa tla tšela
(I was still going to cross).

Neg.: ga-ge ngasato nyuka;ndaye ndingasayikuwela;ke ne ke sa tlo hlola
or ga-ge gigasato nyuka;ndandingasayikuwela
ke tšela.
(I was no longer going to cross).

(Exclusive Implication)

Pos.: ga-ge sele ntq nyuka;ndaye ndisele ndiza kuwela;ke ne ke se ke
or ga-ge sele gitq nyuka;ndandise ndiza kuwela
tla tšela.
(I was just about to cross).

Neg.: ga-ge sele ngato nyuka;ndaye ndisele ndingazukuwela;ke ne ke se
or ga-ge sele gigato nyuka;ndandise ndingazukuwela
ke sa tlo tšela
(I was not going to cross - I was no longer going to cross).

(iv) Habitual Mood.

This mood indicates that an action is habitually done or that a state is habitually entered into. Such an action may occur in the present, in the past or it may have to occur in the future. The mood takes all the three implications of the verb.

The characteristic formative of this mood in Phuthi is the deficient verbal formative nne, which signifies "always", "usually", "habitually", etc. In Southern Sotho the same formative nne is found to fulfil the same function, but the language uses the deficient verb ee in addition. According to Kgwane the present tense of the habitual mood in Tswana is always preceded by the deficient verb "tla" which is in itself in the habitual mood.

Examples:

ke tle ke reke (I habitually buy)

The present continuous form of this mood in Tswana is formed by placing the continuous formative a between the subject concord and the verb stem.

Example:

lo a tlo lo tle le yêna (you usually bring him along).

As pointed out above, the deficient verbs used in forming the habitual mood in Sotho.S. are nne and ee.

Examples:

ke nne ke tle (I usually come).

or ke ee ke tle. (do.).

Although these two deficient verbs seem to be used interchangeably nevertheless the nne form, which the language shares with Phuthi, appears to be more emphatic than the ee form. Nguni uses the formative ye, for the same construction and sometimes where ye does not fit properly the words solo and mana are used, sometimes interchangeably.

In Phuthi and Sotho the quality of the sound e in these formatives i.e. ee and nne, is a mid-forward close vowel, and the main verb ends in a close i in Phuthi and e in Sotho, while

the Nguni sound varies from ye to ye, depending upon the speaker or dialect; and the verb ends in a mid-forward open vowel sound e. Thus frequently one hears ndiye ndiphume (I usually go out), and sometimes, ndiye (phon. ndijf) ndiphume (I usually go out).

Nguni has also an alternative form yaye which is sometimes used interchangeably with ye.

Examples:

(Present Tense)

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotho

Pos.: ginne giyi

ndiye ndiye

ke ee ke ee or ke nngka ee

(I usually go sometimes).

Neg.: ginne gigayi

ndiye ndingayi
andize ndiye

or ke ee ke ee or ke nne
se se, or na nke be ke ee.

(I usually do not go sometimes).

(Immediate Past Tense)

Pos.: Bayiye Banna
Barabela

Baye Bagoloko
Bethandaza

ba ile ba nna ba rapela.

(they habitually prayed).

Neg.: abatabe Banna
barabela

abakange abagoloko ha ba ka ba ba nna ba
bethandaza rapela

(they did not habitually pray).

Sotho.S. differs from both in having ba nne as immediate past tense form of nna as in ba nne ba tla (they habitually came)

(Remote Past Tense)

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotho

Pos.: abaye Banne
Barabele

Baye yaye bathandaze

ba ne nne ba rapele

(they were in the habit of praying).

Neg.: abaye Banne
Barabele

Baye yaye bangatha-
ndazi

ba ne nne ba se rapele

(they were in the habit of not praying).

(Immediate Future)

(Immediate Future)

Phuthi

Nguni

Gotso

Pos.: batq nne barabele

baza kumana de-
thandaza, or
baza kupoloko de-
thandaza.

ba tla nne ba rapele
(they will habitually
pray).

Neg.: batq nne bagarabeli

baza kupoloko de-
ngatnandazi.

ba tla nne ba se
rapele.

(they will habitually not pray).

(Remote Future)

Pos.: (same as

baya kumana dethandaza (same as
or kupoloko

Neg.: immediate Future)

baya kumana dengatnandazi, immediate
or kupoloko

Future).

Compare also the following future tenses:

Pos.: batqba banne barobele

baza kuba deyaye
dethandaze

Neg.: batqba banne bagarabeli

baza kuba deyaye
desangathandazi.

So In. S.

Pos.: ba tla be ba se ba rapele

(They will be in the habit
of always praying).

or ba tla be banne ba rapele.

Neg.: ba tla be ba se ba se rapele

(They will be in the habit
of not always praying).

or ba tla be banne ba se rapele

(Remote Future Tense)

Nguni

Pos.: baya kuba deyaye dethandaze. (They will be in the habit of
always praying).

Neg.: baya kuba deyaye desangathandazi (They will be in the habit of
not always praying).

The subject concord with the vowel o, which is sometimes used to form remote past tenses in Phuthi, is commonly found in certain habitual mood construction.

Examples:

Gonne ganna gabona (I habitually saw).

Gonne ganna gaga~~boni~~ (I habitually did not see).

Ihang-hang yoyiya yanna yatufuka (The horse continually became shy)

do. do. yagathfuki (the horse continually did not become shy).

This construction is peculiar to Phuthi alone and has no parallel in either Nguni or Sotho.

The negative formatives present an interesting study from a comparative point of view in the following sentences.

Ph. avitsa inne iyeme (It did not habitually stand).

Ng. ayikanga iḡsoloko isima(do.).

So. ha e kaba ea nna ea oma (do.).

taḡe, kange and kaba, preceded by the other negative formatives a, a and ha respectively convey the meaning of "did not" but the idea of "never" is translated by a different set of formatives somewhat akin to the ones found above. Compare the following.

Ph. agitasa ginne giye (I never used to go).

Ng.X. andizange ndiḡe soloko ndisiya(do.).

So.S. ha ke e-so ka ke nna ke ea (do.).

Some Phuthi Examples in Sentences.

Jhama uye anne atise liphepha letidzaba lakha.

(Jama usually brings a newspaper here).

Tiyē tinne tiyeme esagani tiyu.

(Sheep usually stand in the enclosure).

Yaḡe inne iyeme kuleyo idzawo.

(It used to stand in that place).

Baḡa nne bayeḡe tiperakisi.

(They usually stole peaches).

Gaḡe ginne giye.

(I used to go).

Gonne ganna gahlaka

(I habitually laughed).

Soyiye sanna sawa sidhadha

(The basket habitually fell).

CHAPTER 6.

THE PREDICATIVE CONTINUED.

COPULATIVE CONSTRUCTION.

The copulative construction in Phuthi may be divided into two types, viz.,

- (a) One that involves the use of copulatives;
- (b) The other involving the use of copulative verbs.

Copulatives

A copulative may be defined as a word which does the work of a predicative, and which is formed directly from some other part of speech by preplacing to it an appropriate copulative formative.

Although copulatives are predicatives, they are formed from stems which are not verbal. Another point to remember is that the use of the copulatives is restricted to present tenses of the Indicative Mood whereas copulative verbs cover the full range of tenses and Moods.

Copulatives from Nouns

Copulatives may be formed from nouns by prefixing an appropriate copulative formative to the noun. There are three formatives used in this construction in Phuthi viz., ge, gu and yi and the use of these depends upon the nature and the class of the noun. Gu (singular) and ge (plural) are used with personal nouns, and on the other hand yi is used with impersonal nouns.

Comparing Phuthi with Nguni, we find the two having similar construction according to the phonological pattern constituting the difference between the two languages, the Phuthi gu becomes Nguni ngu. Also Phuthi ge becomes Nguni nga.

Another point of difference is that whereas there are only three formatives for all classes in Phuthi, Nguni formatives are mostly concordial. Sotho has one invariable formative for all impersonal copulatives viz. ka.

Notice the/

Notice the morphological difference in the following copulatives constructions for the three languages.

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	s.Gufo (it is a man)	asigufo	(it is not a man).
	p.Geḡafo (" " men)	asigeḡafo	(" " " men) .
Ng.	s.Yindoda (" " a man)	asiyondoda	(" " " a man) .
	p.ngamadoda (" " men)	asingawomadoda	(" " men) .
So.S.s.	Ke monna (" " a man)	ha se monna	(" " " a man) .
	p.ke banna (" " men)	ha se banna	(" " " men) .
Ph.	s.Gumureḡa (it is a chief)	asigumureḡa	(it is not a chief).
	p.Gemareḡa (" " chiefs)	asigemareḡa	(" " " chiefs).
Ng.	s.yinkḡsi (" " a chief)	asiyḡnkḡsi	(" " " a chief).
	p.ziinkḡsi (" " chiefs)	asizḡnkḡsi	(" " " chiefs).
Eh.S.s.	ke mareḡa (" " a chief)	ha se moreḡa	(" " " a chief).
	p.ke mareḡa (" " chiefs)	ha se mareḡa	(" " " chiefs).
Ph.	s.Gumuduḡani (it is willow tree)	asigumuduḡani	(it not willow tree)
	p.yimiḡuḡani (" " " trees)	asiyimiḡuḡani	(" is not " trees)
Ng.X.s.	ngumḡchunuḡe (" " " tree)	asingomḡchunuḡe	(" " " " tree)
	p.yiminḡchunuḡe (" " " trees)	asiyominḡchunuḡe	(" " " " trees)
So.S.s.	ke moluoḡane (" " " tree)	la se moluoḡane	(" " " " tree)
	p.ke moluoḡane (" " " trees)	ha se moluoḡane	(" " " " trees)
Ph.	s.yisiḡḡza (it is a sore)	asiyisiḡḡza	(it is not a sorḡ)
	p.yitiḡḡza (" " sores)	asiyitiḡḡza	(" " " sores)
Ng.X.s.	sisiḡlonda (" " a sore)	asisisiḡlonda	(" " " a sore)
	p.ziziḡlonda (" " sores)	asizozilonda	(" " " sores)
So.S.s.	ke seḡebe (" " a sore)	ha se se ḡebe	(" " " a sore)
	p.ke liḡebe (" " sores)	ha se liḡebe	(" " " sores)
Ph.	yijwani (it is grass)	asiyijwani	(it is not grass)
Ng.X.	ḡutyani (do.)	asiḡḡtyani	(do.)
So.S.	ke joḡang (do.)	ha se joḡang	(do.)

In Phuthi the copulative formative sometimes appears again in the negative form, while in Nguni only the consonantal or

semi-vowel form of the copulative appears. In Sotho on the other hand, the copulative drops altogether in the negative form, otherwise the ke would be reappearing e.g. 1st example would be; ha se ke joang.

Phuthi examples in sentences.

Yiŋo bani bata lakhaa? (Who are those coming over there?)

Yilidzakwa muthfu lu ubhulwa gomabele. (This person is a drunkard
he is easily overpowered by corn beer)

Note/:

Yilidzakwa is sometimes shortened into lidzakwa.

Gomabele la leliwabulako. (It is kaffir-corn, this you are thrashing).
ing).

Yitibuti aq̄itivu. (It is goats, it is not sheep).

Yiyomo asiyihanghang. (It is a beast, it is not a horse).

Personal Copulatives may be formed from nouns by preplacing the subject concord of the 1st and 2nd persons and classes 1 & 11, to the appropriate copulative formatives.

Examples:

Gigumuthfu agisiyifene. (I am a person, I am not a monkey).

Sigc̄obathfu asisitinyamatana. (We are people, we are not animals).

Barec̄obathfu aq̄asitisaq̄oya. (They are people, they are not high-way
men).

Gumurudi lo jhani? (He is what kind of minister i.e. what kind of a
minister is he?)

Copulatives from Pronouns

(Absolute Pronouns)

The same copulative formatives used in forming copulatives from nouns are similarly used in forming copulatives from pronouns. In Phuthi only the first half of the pronoun is used with the copulative formative. In the case of absolute pronouns, the invariable terminal na is dropped.

In Nguni, Xhosa, follows Phuthi in dropping the terminal na, but Zulu retains it sometimes, so that two forms are found in Zulu, the long form e.g. Yimina, uyena, nguyena as alternatives to yimi, uye, nguye.

Examples...../

Examples:

<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>	
Ph.	Guye (it is he)	asiguye	(it is not he)
Ng.X.	Nguye (do.)	asinguye	(do.)
So.S.	Ke eena (do.).	ha se eena	(do.)
Ph.	Yiso (sijana)(it is it - the dish)	asiyiso	(it is not it.)
Ng.X.	Siso (do.)	asisiso	(do.)
So.S.	Ke sona (do.)	ha se sona	(do.)
Ph.	Guwo (muti)(it is it - the tree)	asiguwo	(it is not it)
Ng.X.	Nguwo (do.)	asinguwo	(do.)
So.S.	Ke 'ona (do.)	ha se 'ona	(do.)

Note the difference in tone between Phuthi on the one hand and Nguni and Sotho on the other hand. The Phuthi tone for the examples given is low-high, e.g.

Guye, while in Nguni and Sotho the tone is high-low e.g. Nguye, k'e eena respectively.

Many dialectical variations occur even within one language group. *o* Baca for instance uses the copulative formative with an invariable voiced *h* preplaced to an appropriate vowel¹. The following table is given to show some of the variations occurring even within the Nguni group; these are given alongside Phuthi and Sotho - Tswana form for the sake of comparison.

In the negative forms Xhosa, having the same negative formative *asi* as Phuthi, will be left out. *o* Further, the other Nguni examples may be compared with their Zulu counterparts.²

Positive Forms...../

o 1. See "Some Features of the Phonetic and Grammatical Structure of Baca", A.C. Jordan p. 68.

o 2. See secs. 511 & 512 Text Book of Zulu Grammar, 2nd Edit^o

Positive Forms.

<u>Ph.</u>	<u>N.C.A.</u>	<u>Ng.Mp.</u>	<u>Ng.Ba.</u>	<u>So.Ts.</u>
1st.P.gumi	nim	ngum	hum	ke nna (It is I).
yitshi	sithi	sithi	hitshi	ke rona(" " we).
2nd.P.guwe	nguwe	nguwe	hutwe	" wēna(" " you).
yini	nini	nini	hini	" lona(" " ").
Cl. 1.guye	nguye	nguye	huye	" yōnē(" " he).
2.yifo	ngaso	ngaso	haso	" bōnē(" " they).
3.gawo	ngowo	ngowo	howo	" ōnē (" " it).
4.yiyo	yiyo	yiyo	hiyo	" yōnē(" " they).
5.yilo	lilo	lilo	hilo	" lōnē(" " it).
6.gawo	ngawo	ngawo	hawo	" ōnē (" " they).
7.yiso	ciso	ciso	hiso	" sōnē(" " it).
8.yito	zizo	zizo	hito	" tōnē(" " they).
9.yiyo	yiyo	yiyo	hiyo	" yōnē (" " it).
10.yito	zizo	zizo	hito	" tōnē(" " they).
11.yilo	lulo	lulo	hulo	" lōnē (" " it).
14.yibo	šušo	šušo	hušo	" bōnē (" " it).
15.yiko	kuko	kuko	huko	" gōnē (" " it).

The Madiša clan in the Bizena district of Eastern Pondoland use a subject concord consisting of nd compounded with ri into ndri. This compound is used alternatively to ngu. So that ngum alternates with ndrim in first person singular.

In the negative conjugation, Mpondo and Baca use an invariable formative ku before the copulative proper, and this is used after the negative formatives ave. In addition to this form Mpondo uses a short form without the ku. In Sotho the invariable copulative formative ka drops off in the negative conjugation.

Phuthi uses the negative formative asi before an appropriate copulative, which is gu for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and class 1, and ga for class 6.

Negative FORMS

Negative Forms

<u>1st.</u>	<u>2nd.</u>	<u>3rd.</u>	<u>4th.</u>
1st. P. asigumi	ave kungum or ave ngum	ave kuhum	ga se nna.
asiyitchi	" kusithi or ave sithi	ave kusitchi	" " ronna.
2nd. P. asiguwe	" kunguwe or ave nguwe	" kuhuwe	" " wena.
asiyini	" kunini or ave nini	" kuhini	" " lona.
Class 1. asiguye	" kunguye or ave nguye	" kuhuye	" " êrê.
2." yišo	" kungušo or ave ngušo	" kuhušo	" " bônê.
3." guwo	" kunguwo or ave nguwo	" kuhuwo	" " ônê.
4." yiyo	" kuyiyo or ave yiyo	" kuhiyo	" " yônê.
5." yilo	" kulilo or ave lilo	" kuhilo	" " lônê.
6." gawo	" kungawo or ave ngawo	" kuhawo	" " ônê.
7." yiso	" kusiso or ave siso	" kuhiso	" " šônê.
8." yito	" kuzizo or ave zizo	" kuhito	" " tšônê.
9." yiyo	" kuyiyo or ave yiyo	" kuhiyo	" " yônê.
10." yito	" kuzizo or ave zizo	" kuhito	" " tšônê.
11." yilo	" kululo or ave lulo	" kuhulo	" " lônê.
12." yišo	" kušušo or ave šušo	" kuhušo	" " bônê.
13." yiko	" kukuko or ave kuko	" kuhuko	" " gônê.

Personal forms of the copulatives are found in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural and in classes 1 and 2 and 4.

These are formed by preplacing appropriate subject concords of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural and in classes 1 and 2 to the impersonal copulatives.

Examples:

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Gi-gumi (I am myself)	agisigumi (I am not myself)
gi-guwe (" you)	agisiguwe (" you)
gi-guye (" he)	agisiguye (" he)
si-yitchi (we are ourself)	asisiyitchi (we are not ourself)
si-yini (" you)	asisiyini (" you)
si-yišo (" they)	asisiyišo (" they)

The negative/

The negative formative agisi seems to be peculiar to Phuthi alone. Perhaps the nearest similar examples are found in Zulu, compare the following examples from the three languages.

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	gigumi (I am myself)		agisigumi (I am not myself)
Ng.X.	ndindim (do.)		andindim (do.)
Ng.Z.	ngiyimi (do.)		angisiyimi (do.)
So.S.	ke nna (do.)		ha ke nna (do.)

Other examples in Phuthi, Nguni, and Sotho.S.

Here we should note the morphology of both the positive and the negative forms from language to language. The tone system of the copulative in Phuthi is low-high e.g. Guye while in Nguni and Sotho it is high-low nguye ke nna.

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	Giguye (I am he)		agisiguye (I am not he)
Ng.	ndinguye (I am he)		andinguye (do.)
So.S.	ke eena (do.)		ha ke eena (do.)
Ph.	uguye (you are he)		awusiguye (you are not he)
Ng.	unguye (do.)		awusinguye (do.)
So.S.	u eena (do.)		ha u eena (do.)
Ph.	siyišo (we are they)		asigiyišo (we are not they)
Ng.	singašo (do.)		asingašo (do.)
So.S.	re bona (do.)		ha re bona (do.)
Ph.	liyišo (you are they)		alisiyišo (you are not they)
Ng.	ningašo (do.)		aningašo (do.)
So.S.	le bona (do.)		ha le bona (do.)
Ph.	uguye (he is he)		akisiguye (he is not he)
Ng.	unguye (do.)		akanguye (do.)
So.S.	ke eena (do.)		ha ke eena (do.)
Ph.	šagašo (they are they)		ašasigašo (they are not they)
Ng.	šangašo (do.)		ašangašo (do.)
So.S.	ke bona (do.)		ha se bona (do.)
	(ba) bona		ha ba bona

copulatives/

Copulatives from Demonstrative Pronouns

These are formed in much the same way as in the case of absolute pronoun forms, by preplacing an appropriate copulative to the demonstrative pronoun. As the second position in the precession is rarely ever used only three positions will be given below.

<u>1st Position</u>	<u>2nd Position</u>	<u>4th Position</u>	<u>Person</u>
is this, are these.	is that, are those.	is that yonder, are those yonder.	
(muthfu)gulo	gulowo	gulowaa (referring to a person)	
(q̄bathfu)yilaša	yilašo	yilašaa (do. persons)	
(sijana) yileši	yilešo	yilešaa (do. a dish)	
(tijana) yileti	yileto	yiletaa (do. dishes)	
(šuphilo)yilošu	yilošo	yilošaa (do. life)	

Compare some of the examples in Phuthi above with:-

Ng.X. ngulo	ngulowo	ngulowaa
So.N. ke yq̄	ke yq̄q̄	ke yq̄la
Ng.X. seši	seso	sešiya
So.N. ke se	ke seq̄	ke seła
Ng.X. šošu	šošo	šošuya
So.N. ke byq̄	ke byq̄q̄	ke byq̄la.

In Phuthi there is no difference in construction between copulatives formed from demonstrative pronouns, translated by "it is this" etc., and locative demonstrative copulatives translated by "here it is" etc. Sotho.S. and Sotho.Ts. too make no difference between the two constructions, but Sotho.N. shows the differences.

To translate "here it is", "there is", "yonder is", in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho.N. we have the following as examples:-

here is...../

(Here is) - (Here are)	(There is) - (There are)	(Yonder is) - (Yonder are)
Ph. yilaša (persons)	yilašo	yilašaya
Ng.X. naaša (do.)	naašo	naašaya
So.N. še- ba (do.)	še-bao	še- bale
Ph. yileši (dish)	yilešo	yilešaa
Ng.X. naasi (do.)	naašo	naasiya
So.N. se-se (do.)	se-seo	se-seła
Ph. yileti (dishes)	yileto	yiletaa
Ng.X. naazi (do.)	naazo	naaziya
So.N. še-di (do.)	še-dio	še-dile
Ph. yilošu (life)	yilošo	yilošaa
Ng.X. naašu (do.)	naašo	naašuya
So.N. še-bq (do.)	še-bqo	še-bqle

Copulatives from Enumerative Pronouns/-/

The formation of the part of speech referred to above i.e. Copulatives from Enumerative Pronouns, consists of the absolute pronoun forms of the copulative preplaced to enumerative pronouns. These enumerative pronouns are concordial with the first formative of the copulative except in the 2nd person singular where the concord is with the last formative, of the antecedent.

As the enumerative pronouns in Sotho are developed fully only in Tswana, the comparative examples for illustration will be given from that language.

Examples:

Positive

Negative

Ph. gumi gędzi (it is I alone)	asigumi gędzi (It is not I alone)
Ng.X. ndim ndodwa or ndedwa(do.)	asindim ndodwa or ndedwa(do.)
So.Ts.ke nna nęsi(do.)	ga se nna nęsi(do.)
Ph. guwe wędzi (It is you alone)	asiguwe wędzi(It is not you alone)
Ng.X. nguwe wedwa (do.)	asinguwe wedwa(do.)
So.Ts.ke wena węsi(do.)	ga se wena węsi(do.)

Ph. yini/

- Ph. yini lōdzi(it is you alone) asiyini lōdzi (it is not you alone)
 Ng.X. nini nodwa or nedwa(do.) asinini nodwa (do.)
 So.Ts.ke lona lōsi(do.) ga se lona lōsi(do.)
- Ph. yitshi sohle(it is we all i.e. all us) asiyitshi sohle(it is not us all alone)
 Ng.X. sithi sonke (do.) asithi sonke (do.)
 So.Ts.ke rona rōtlhe(do.) ga se rona rōtlhe(do.)
- Ph. yito tohle (it is they all) asiyito tohle(it is not they all)
 Ng.X. zizo zonke (do.) asizizo zonke(do.)
 So.Ts. ke tsone tsōtlhe(do.) ga se tsone tsōtlhe(do.)

Copulatives from Qualificative pronouns

Phuthi like Nguni and Sotho uses a relative concord to link the copulative formative with the qualificative pronoun.

Examples:

(Impersonal Forms)

Positive

Negative

- Ph. gulō'muhle(it is the fine one) asigulō'muhle(it is not the fine one)
 Ng.X. ngōmhle (do.) asingōmhle (do.)
 So.S. ke ē motle(do.) ha se ē motle(do.)
- Ph. yilo'bumunadzi(it is this nice one) asiyilo'bumunadzi(it is not this nice one)
 Ng.X. bōsumnandi (do.) asibōsumnandi (do.)
 So.S. ke bō monate (do.) ha se bō monate (do.)
- Ph. yila šabini(it is the two) asiyila šabini(it is not the two)
 Ng.X. ngašabini (do.) asingašabini (do.)
 So.S. ke ba babeli(do.) ha se ba babeli(do.)
- Ph. yilēyami or yami(it is mine)asiyile yami or(it is not mine)
 asiyami
 Ng.X. yeyam (do.)asiyoyam (do.)
 So.S. ke ea ka (do.)ha se ea ka (do.)

(Personal Forms)

(Personal Forms)

To form these the subject concords of the 1st and 2nd persons and class 1 and 2, are preplaced to the impersonal forms in Phuthi and Nguni, but in Sotho the impersonal copulative formative "ke" drops off leaving the subject concord before the predicative. In Phuthi the Negative formative si is placed between the subject concord and the impersonal copulative form.

Examples:

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	gigulo'muhle(I am the fine one)	the	agigulo'muhle(I am not the fine one)
Ng.X.	ndingomhle (do.)	and	ndingomhle (do.)
So.S.	ke e motle (do.)	ha	ke e motle(do.)
Ph.	siyila bamnyama(we are the dark ones)	asiyila	bamnyama(we are not the dark ones)
Ng.X.	singabamnyama (do.)	asinga	bamnyama (do.)
So.S.	re ba batšo (do.)	ha re	ba batšo (do.)

Copulatives from - Adjectives, Relatives, . . . / and Possessive Qualificatives

(a) In the case of adjectives, relatives, and numerals, the construction consists of preplacing the subject concord to the adjectival and relative stems respectively. In the negative forms, the negative formative awu is prefixed to the positive forms.

Examples:-(using Muti (dwelling) as the noun qualified).

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	muši (it is ugly)	awu	muši (it is not ugly)
Ng.X.	mši (do.)	awu	mši (do.)
Ng.Z.	muši (do.)	awu	muši (do.)
So.S.	o mobe(do.)	ha	o mobe (do.)
Ph.	ušati (it is wide)	awu	ušati (it is not wide)
Ng.	ušanzi(do.)	awu	ušanzi (do.)
So.S.	o batsi(do.)	ha	o batsi(do.)

Ph. munye /

Ph.	munye	(it is one)	awumunye	(it is not one)
Ng.X.	mnye	(do.)	awumnye	(do.)
Ng.Z.	munye	(do.)	awumunye	(do.)

The formative ku (it is) may be prefixed to any of the stems above to form copulatives.

Examples:

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Ph.	kuhle (it is fine)	aku kuhle (it is not fine)
Ng.	kuhle (do.)	akukuhle (do.)
So.S.	ho hotle(do.)	ha ho hotle (do.)
Ph.	kušati (it is wide)	akušati (it is not wide)
Ng.X.	kušanzi (do.)	akušanzi (do.)
So.	ho batsi(do.)	ha ho batsi (do.)

(b) The possessive qualificative preplaces an appropriate impersonal copulative to the possessive stem.

Examples: (using sidhadha (basket) as the noun qualified)

Ph.	yisami (it is mine)	asiyisami (it is not mine)
Ng.	şesami (do.)	asisesami (do.)
So.S.	ke sa ka(do.)	ha se sa ka (do.)

Copulatives from adverbs

In Phuthi, as in Nguni, impersonal copulatives are formed by means of prefixing the formative ku (it is) to adverbial stems. Sotho.S. uses the formative k_e invariably except in the case of the adverbs derived from the locative class noun stems hole(far), haufi (near), where ho may be used as an alternative to ke.

In such words as tjena (thus), joalo(so) , the formative ho is used.

Examples:

Ph.	kukadze	(it is long ago)
Ng.	kudala	(do.)
So.S.	ke khale	(do.)

Ph. kukekudzeni/

Ph. kuḡḡkudzəni (it is far away)
 Ng.X. kukude (do.)
 Ng.Z. kuḡḡkudəni (do.)
 So.S. ke hole (do.)

Ph. kuḡḡkhi? (it is where? i.e. where is the place?)
 Ng.X. kuphi? (do.)
 Ng.Z. kulaphi? (do.)
 So.S. ke ho kuc (do.)

Ph. kuḡḡnyhini (it is daytime)
 Ng. kuḡḡmini (do.)
 So.S. ke motḡeare(do.)

Ph. kuḡḡdvute (it is near)
 Ng.X. kukufuphi (do.)
 Ng.Z. kuḡḡduze (do.)
 So.S. ke haufi or ho haufi(do.)

Ph. kuḡḡtudu (it is above)
 Ng.X. kungaphḡzulu(do.)
 Ng.Ntl.kungḡzulu (do.)
 So.S. ke ka holimo or ho ka holimo(it is above).

Personal copulative may be formed by preplacing appropriate subject concords of the 1st and 2nd persons and classes 1 and 2.

Examples:

Ph. giḡḡkudzəni(I am far) Ph. sijhale (we are like that)
 Ng.Z. ngiḡḡkudəni(do.) Ng. sinjalo (do.)
 So.S. ke hole (do.) So. re joalo (do.)

Ph. ḡaḡḡdvute (they are near) Ph. sijhḡ (we are like this)
 Ng.Ntl.ḡaḡḡduze (do.) Ng. sinjalo(do.)
 So.S. ba haufi (do.) So.S.re tḡḡ(do.)

The consonants underlined are used epenthetically to prevent hiatus.

Phuthi examples in Sentences:

- Kukadze bakhabiyе (It is long time they went away).
- Agiruni kuya kuk-ekudzeni(I don't want to go it is far).
- Kukekhi kamalume? (Where is my maternal uncle's place?)
- Mine gikekudzeni (I am far away).
- Likojute lina (you are near).
- Kantshi lijhalo na? (But are you like that?)
- Sijho ke tshina (We, are like this).

Copulatives from Conjunctions/

In Phuthi copulatives are formed from conjunctions by means of preplacing the formative yi to the conjunctive stem. In Zulu yi is used for the same purpose; and while the same language uses the formative ku in some cases, Xhosa and Sotho. S. invariably use ku and ka, respectively. Illustrative examples will be given in sentences.

- Ph. Yikuba bakona (It is because they are present).
- Ng.X. kunguba bakhona (do.).
- Ng.Z. yinguba bakhona (do.).
- So.S. ke hobane ba teng (do.).

- Ph. Yigako ke gikona jhe(That is why I am present).
- Ng.X. Kungako ke ndikhona nje(do.).
- Ng.Z. yingako ke ngikhona nje(do.).
- So.S. ke ka hona he ke le teng tje(do.).

The ideas of "it is as if" i.e. "it seems", "would that", are rendered by preplacing copulative formatives before the verb tshi (say). In each case the formative ga, nga, ka in the three languages, respectively come between the copulative formative and the verb "to say" thus:-

- Ph. Igathi giyakwati (It seems as if I know you)
- Ng.X. Kungathi ndiyakwazi (do.)
- Ng.Z. Ingathi or sengathi ngiyakwazi(do.)
- So.S. Ekare ke ea u tseba (do.)

Ph. Yagatshi...../

- Ph. Yagathi kugaBa kona wena (would that you could be there).
 Ng.X. Kwangathi kungakho wena (do.).
 So.S. Ba ka (re) ho ka ba teng uena(do.).

Copulatives from Interrogatives

Here the prefixal copulative formatives preplaced to the interrogative stem are gu and yimi. As the stem itself is preceded by the subject concord u in Phuthi the two u's bring out a process of consonantalisation into the semi-vowel w to avoid hiatus.

Also in the interrogative stem khi, Phuthi shows a peculiar type of sound-shifting because the Nguni and Sotho.S. have followed the process respectively from the UrBantu pi.

Examples of Copulatives from interrogatives in Sentences.

- Ph. Guwukhi muti wekhenu? (which is your home?)
 Ng.X. Nguwukhi umzi wakuni? (do.)
 Ng.Z. yimukhi umuzi wakwenu? (do.)
 So.S. ke ofe motse oa heno? (do.)
 Ph. Yibakhi qoathfu laBa? (which people are these).
 Ng.X. Ngabaphi anBa Santu? (do.).
 So.S. ke bafu batho ba? (do.).
 Ph. Giwakekhi muthfwanyana lo? (where does this girl belong?)
 Ng.X. Yeyaphi le ntombazana? (do.)
 So.S. ke oa ho kae ngoanana eo? (do.)

The interrogative stem jhani? (how) takes the formative ku before it, e. g.

- Ph. kujhani? (how is it).
 Ng. kunjani? (do.).
 So. ho joang? (do.).

Some Phuthi examples in Sentences.

Yilikhi livi leli? legigaliyati? (what is this voice I don't know)

Yitikhi/

- Yitikhi tibuti? (which are the goats).
- Yikushi kuphila? (which life is it?)
- Yigukhi Sudlha? (which food is it?)
- Yini le oyidlhako? (what is it you are eating?)

As personal forms of the interrogative are formed in the same way as for the parts of speech, only illustrative examples of these forms will be given here.

- Ph. Uwkekhi wena? (you are of where you i.e. where do you belong?)
- Ng. Ungowaphi wena? (do.)
- So.S. U oa ho kae uena? (do.)
- Ph. Liba bani lina? (you are of who you i. e. whose person are you?)
- Ng. Mingaba kaBani nina? (do.)
- So.S. Le ba mang lona? (do.)

These copulatives from interrogatives can be used at the end of a sentence, e. g.

- Yilikhi livi leli? - can also be rendered, -
- Livi leli yilikhi? Similarly with others like -
- Wena uwkekhi?, and Kuphila yikhupi?

COPULATIVE VERBS

Phuthi copulative verbs are derived from UrBantu hypothetical types. They are used in expressing the same idea as the English "to be". Unlike the copulative, copulative verbs cover the whole range of tenses. The comparative table below will show which of the UrBantu forms still survive in Phuthi and the other two languages which are being discussed along with it.

<u>UrBantu</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Nguni</u>	<u>Sotho</u>
va	-sa	-sa	-ba
-na	---	---	-na
-li	li	(li)	-le

The sa may/

The ba may be used in all the tenses of the Indicative mood in Phuthi as in the following:-

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Phuthi</u>
<u>Prog.</u> : U <u>ba</u> kona a akukhulunya (he is always there during the speeches).	
<u>Imm. Past</u> : U <u>biye</u> " " (he was there etc.)	
<u>Rem. "</u> : W <u>aba</u> " " (do.)	
<u>Imm. Future</u> : U <u>toba</u> " " (he will be etc.)	
<u>Rem. " "</u> : " " " (do.)	

This copulative verb may cover all the moods in both the positive and the negative conjugation, e.g.

(Imperative Mood)

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Ph. Yi <u>ba</u> kona (be present)	Lisa ku <u>ba</u> kona (do not be present)
Ng.X. Yi <u>ba</u> khona (do.)	Mu <u>ba</u> uku <u>ba</u> khona(do.)
So.S. E <u>ba</u> teng (do.)	Se ke oa <u>ba</u> teng(do.)
Ts. E <u>ba</u> gona (do.)	le sa ho <u>ba</u> gona(do.)
Ph. Yi <u>ani</u> kona (be ye present)	Lisani ku <u>ba</u> dona(do.)
Ng.X. Yi <u>ani</u> khona(do.)	Musani uku <u>ba</u> khona(do.)
So.S. E <u>bang</u> teng (do.)	Lesang ho <u>ba</u> teng (do.)

Note that the negative forms in all the three languages take the infinitive formative before the copulative verb. But in addition to this form Sotho.S. uses a sort of plural verb bang.

(Polite Imperative Mood)

This mood implies persuasion and entreaty and is formed by means of a deficient verb which varies from language to language. The Phuthi form ake is also found in Zulu as well as in the Hlubi dialect of Nguni. Xhosa uses kha. Sotho S. has the same form as the Phuthi a ke.

The real deficient verb is a, as the full form a-ke is in each case of the type a li ke, a le ke found in Phuthi and Sotho, respectively.

Examples:

Examples:

- Ph. Ake ude gumuthfu (just be a person please i.e. be humane).
 Ng.X. Kha ude ngumntu (do.).
 So.S. A ke u be motho or(do.).
a ku be motho

These constructions for persuasion and entreating usually suffix the formative hle at the end of the sentence as in:-

- Ph. Ake liqe gebathfu hle(just be people please i.e. be humane).
 Ng.X. Kha niqe ngaabantu hle(do.).
 So.S. A ke le be batho hle (do.).

In the negative conjugation in this mood, the ba becomes bi as in:-

- Ph. Ake liga_{bi} gebathfu hle (Please, just try and not be persons will you).
 Ng.X. Kha ninga_{bi} ngaabantu hle(do.).
 So.S. A le ke le se be batho hle(do.).

(Infinitive Mood)

Positive

Negative

- Ph. Ku_{ba} lakha ku_{bi} kuga_{bi} lakha ku_{bi}.
 Ng.X. Uku_{ba} lapha ku_{bi} Ukunga_{bi}kho apha ku_{bi}.
 So.S. Ho ba m_{ona} ho hobe. Ho se be m_{ona} ho hobe.
 (to be here is bad) (not to be here is bad).

(Subjunctive Mood)

Positive

Negative

- Ph. Mujete a_{be} gumuruti Mujete aga_{bi} gumuruti.
 Ng.X. Mxelele a_{be} ngumfundisi Mxelele anga_{bi} ngumfundisi.
 So.S. Mo bolelle e be moruti Mo bolelle a se be moruti.
 (tell him to be a minister) (tell him not to be a minister)
- Ph. Bafika ba_{ba} gemarena. Bafika ba_{ga}bi gemarena.
 Ng.X. Bafika ba_{ba} ziinkosi. Bafika ba_{ga}bi ziinkosi.
 So.S. Ba ne ba fihle ea e-ba marena. Bane ba fihle ba se be marena.
 marena

(Potential Mood)...../

(Potential Mood)

Positive

Negative

Ph. Agaga muhle

Akageka aje muhle.

Ng.X. Angeda mhle

Angeke ase mhle.

So.S. A ka ba motle

A ke ke a ba motle.

(He can be fine)

(He cannot be fine)

Note the difference in the negative forms of the copulatives between Phuthi and Nguni on one hand and Sotho on the other hand.

(Habitual Mood)

Positive

Negative

Ph. Unne aje muhle

Unne agaai muhle.

Ng.X. Uyaye ase mhle

Uyaye angaai mhle.

So.S. O nne a ba motle or
O e e a ba motle

Ha a ke ba a ba motle or
O e e a se ba motle.

(He is usually fine) .

(He is usually not fine).

(Participial Mood)

Positive

Negative

Ph. Uona gisa kona

Uona gigaai kona.

Ng.X. Uona nliakho

Uona ndingaai koho.

So.S. O bona ke e-ba teng

O bona ke sa ba teng.

(Lit. He sees me usually present i.e. He is wont to find me present).

(Lit. He sees me usually absent i.e. He is wont to find me absent.)

The copulative verb na which is found Sotho.S. as in - e ne e le teng (it was there) is entirely lacking in Phuthi and Nguni. The other copulative verb which is found in Phuthi is li. This copulative occurs quite commonly in Sotho.S., and not so common in Phuthi, and sometimes, it can only be deduced from phonological influence it shows on the neighbouring phones. In Nguni too this copulative verb can only be deduced in the same way as described above.

In all the/

In all the three languages the copulative verb li is defective since it undergoes no change in forming moods and tenses. Tense formation, if needed is expressed by means of deficient verbs. In the negative conjugation, the le of Sotho is replaced by se, e.g.

Positive: O fihlile ke le tēng (he found me present).

Negative: O fihlile ke se tēng (he found me absent) .

Comparing this example with its counterparts in Phuthi and Nguni we find the following examples in the latter languages.

Positive

Negative

Ph. Ufikiye gikona

Ufikiye ggekho.

Ng. Ufike ndikhona

Ufike ndingekho.

Judging from the g which appears to be a result of coalescence in the negative, the original forms of the examples above appear to have been,

Ph. Ufikiye glikona Ufikiye gliglikho.

Ng. Ufike ndikhona Ufike ndinglikho.

Allowing for the disuse of li which finally disappears altogether in both cases, on the positive side, the coming together of the two li can only result in an i, but in both languages this i is long especially in Nguni. On the negative side the dropping of the li would leave g and i together, the result of which is g a coalescence of these two into g, the process being:-

Gliglikho into giga-ikho into ggekho.

Ndinglikho " ndinga-ikho " ndingekho.

Similarly -

Ph. Gise khona is deduceable from gisa-li-khona.

Ng. Ngise khona do. ngisa-li-khona.

The negative formative se found in Sotho is also found in Phuthi where it occurs as si. Compare the following examples:

Ph. Ufikiye gsi khona (he found me absent).

So.S. O fihlile ke se tēng(do.).

The le is/

The le as mentioned before occurs regularly in Sotho, e.g. ke ne ke le sieo (I was not present), but the relationship between the le in the positive and se in the negative is perhaps shown clearly in Tswana, where we have such examples as:-

Ø "Ke ne ke leo" (I was there)".
"Ke ne ke seo" (I was not there)".

"Ke ne ke nntse ke leo" (I have been existing)".

"Ke ne ke nntse ke seo" (I have not been)".

In certain cases li occurs ordinarily undisguised in Phuthi.

Phuthi examples in Sentences.

Layisa kulijhalo giyaya (even if it is so, I am going).
Ube alikona ekhwašo (he was there at his home).
Gisalikona gigava vena (I am still present, I may hear about you - I am well, how are you?)

DEFICIENT VERBS

Deficient verbs as the name implies, are defective in that they do not complete the predicative by themselves. They require some other verb to complete the predication and so they are found in what might be called Compound predicates. Phuthi has a few such deficient verbs and many of these are akin to Nguni forms, while a few have affinities with Sotho.

Deficient verbs in Phuthi, may be divided into two groups viz:

- (a) Those that are used exclusively as deficient verbs, may be called primary deficient verbs,
- (b) Those that which in addition to their use as deficient verbs may also be used as finite verbs. Many of the deficient verbs are

verbs are/

verbs are used at the beginning of the sentence. A deficient verb always comes just before the finite verb.

Primary Deficient Verbs

Mba with a syllabic m, is generally used to indicate desire, persuasive commands, and as such, it is generally followed by the subjunctive mood. Literally it means "just"; "please just"; "just does it in vain".

Deficient verbs, even those which mean the same thing, differ from language to language and from dialect to dialect as the examples under the comparative columns will show. As Phuthi lies somewhere between Nguni and Sotho, it has some examples in common with either language.

Examples:

- Ph. mba (please just etc.)
- Ng.X. fane (do.)
- So.S. mpa (do.)

Examples in sentences.

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotho.S.

Sing.: mba ukhabe; fane uhambe; mpo u tsamae (please just go).

Plur.: mbani likhabe; fanani nihambe; mpeng le tsamae (do.).
or mpo le tsamae.

The mood of the finite verb in each case is in the subjunctive but the mood may be participial as in the following instances.

Phuthi

Nguni

Sotho.S.

Umba alla; ufane elila; o mpa a lla (he is just weeping in vain).

Hla. According to the context in which it is used, hla may express a command, or prompt advice. It indicates "to do just"; "to do early", "to act promptly"; "to act merely". It is usually ^{followed} by the Subjunctive Mood.

Examples:

- Ph. Wahla waphethcha wayala. (he just merely refused flatly)
- Ng.X. Wahla wabebetha wala. (do.)
- So.S. A hla a qhala a hana. (do.)

Ph. Utohle/

- Ph. Utohle afike genaga. (he will just merely promptly
arrives.)
Ng.X. Uza kuhle afike ngexeja (do)
So.S. O tla hle a fihle ka nako.(do).

As mentioned above, it may be used to express a prompt command, and in quick speech coalescence of vowels may be brought about as when a plus u become o in hla plus u into hle. In such commands, the finite verb takes the subjunctive mood.

Examples:

- Ph. Hle unke cithunya uye. (just take a gun at once and go).
Ng.X. Yihla uthathe isiban uye. (do).
So.S. Hle nke sethunya u ee. (do).

Hlola. This deficient verb indicates an action which is habitually done, and it also imparts to the finite verb the notion of "ever", "for a long time". When it is used in the negative it may convey the meaning of "never again".

In Nguni the deficient verb is hlala, not hlola as in Phuthi and Sotho.S. In Sotho this deficient verb belongs to the second group where it may function as a finite verb especially in Tswana.

Examples:

- Ph. Bahhlola bakhuluma gaye. (they often speak about him).
Ng.Z. Ba hlala bakhuluma ngaye. (do).
So.S. Ba hlola ba bua ka eena. (do).
Ts. Ba tlhola ba bua ka yena. (do).
Ph. Agihhloli gitshega. (I do not habitually buy.)
Ng.X. Andihhlali ndithenga. (do)
So.S. Hake hlole ke reka. (do).
Ph. Basahhlola bagilimela. (they often plough for me).
Ng.X. Basahhlala benjilimela. (do).
So.S. Ba ne ba hlola ba ntemela.(do).

The Nguni deficient verb hlala may have been derived from the finite verb hlala (sit), which in itself is derived from sala (remain), which comes from UrBantu ikala (remain), and that being so, then this deficient verb in Nguni belongs to second group. In Sotho it may definitely function as a fin verb with the connotation of "spending the day".

Examples:

So.Ts. Ke tla tlhola mōno. (I shall spend the day h
So.S. Ke hlotse matsatsi mane tēng. (I spent four days here.

Nna. This deficient verb also imparts to the finite ver notion of something habitually or frequently done. It is us followed by the Subjunctive or Participial Moods. The nna forms are found in Phuthi and Sotho only. In Nguni, Xhosa uses the forms, ye, mana, or soloko instead, and Zulu uses damene. In Tswana nna may be used as a finite verb also with the meaning "to be", e. g. ke nna mo (I: stay here).

Examples:

Ph. Unna ašaleke. (he habitually or frequently runs).
Ng.X. Uye ašaleke. (do).
So.S. O nne a balehe. (do).

Ph. Jhalo-jhalo ginna giye. (always, I often go.)
Ng.X. Njalo-njalo ndimane ndisiya. (do).
So.S. Joalo-joalo ke nne ke ee. (do).

In all the cases given above the mood of the verb is sub-junctive in Phuthi, but it may be participial as in :-

Ph. Ba šanna šahleka. (they were always laughing).
Ng.X. Bašamana šehleka or (do).
Baše soloko šehlekar
So.S. Ba ne ntse ba tšeha. (do).

Yadvula. This expresses an action accomplished "just now", or "recently". The Phuthi deficient verb is etymologically related to the Nguni one, while Sotho uses a deficient verb which is functionally the same, but entirely different ety-mologically.

Nguni uses/

Nguni uses "andula" and Sotho uses satsoa. It is generally followed by the Infinitive Mood.

Ph.	Basayadvula kumušona	(they have recently seen him).
Ng.X.	Basandula ukumšona	(do.).
So.S.	Ba <u>satsoa</u> 'mona	(do.).

This deficient verb may be used to express the idea of "thereupon" to denote an action following the completion of another action. In this sense Sotho.S. used the word eaba, which is followed by the Subjunctive Mood.

Examples:

Ph.	Sahluza utywala sayadvula kuphuma.
Ng.X.	Sahluza utywala sandula ukuphuma.
So.S.	Re ne re tlhotle joala <u>eaba</u> re ea tsoa.

(We strained beer and thereupon we went out).

Phuthi examples in Sentences.

Muthwana uyadvula kotalwa	(the child has just been born).
Siše siyadvula kulima	(we had recently ploughed).
Gaše giyadvula kufika	(I had recently arrived).

Secondary Deficient Verbs

Buya. As a regular verb buya means "to return", e.g.

Ph.	Uto <u>buya</u> nini?	(when will you return)?.
Ng.X.	Uza ku <u>buya</u> nini?	(do.).
So.S.	U tla <u>boea</u> neng?	(do.).

When used as a deficient verb buya signifies "again", "do next". In all the three languages it may be followed by:-

(a) The Indicative Mood.

Ph.	Gi <u>buyiye</u> gikona	(I am again present).
Ng.X.	Ndi <u>buyile</u> ndikho	(do.).
So.S.	Ke <u>boetse</u> ke tēng.	(do.).

(b) Participial Mood./

(b) The Participial Mood.

- Ph. Gibuya gibona afika (I again see him arrive).
Ng.X. Ndibuya ndibona efika (do.).
SoS. Ke boea ke bona a fihla (do.).

Sotho may use the perfect form of this deficient verb e.g.
Ke boetse ke bona a fihla.

- Ph. Eato buya babina (they will be singing again).
Ng.X. Eaza kubuye bacule (do.).
So.S. Ba tla boea ba bina (do.).

Note that in the future tense Nguni uses a construction which takes the Subjunctive instead of the Participial Mood.

The prefixal formative ku- found in kubuye in the Xhosa sentence is assimilated into to in Phuthi in the following manner. The full form in Phuthi would be - bata-ku-buya, which becomes bata-u, after the k has dropped. The a and u coalesce into o, and the final form becomes bato. This form is also found in Eastern Nguni as in the word bazo.

Khaba. As a finite Verb, "khaba" means "to go", e.g. Khaba usuke lakha. (go and get away from here).

As a deficient verb, it indicates "to do continually"; "to do all the time"; "all the way long".

It is usually followed by the Situative Mood. In Nguni the verb occurs as hamba, and khamba according to dialect, the latter which is used by the Hlusi resembles the Phuthi form with the initial syllable kh.

Southern Sotho uses the verb tsamaea (to go) with the same connotation as in Phuthi and Nguni. But in Tswana as a deficient verb tsamaya signifies "until", e.g.

- Ke tla mo leta go tsamaya a tla. (I shall wait until he comes)
Ba na ba nna rrabo go tsamaya a swa. (they lived with their
father until he died).

Examples:

Examples:

- Ph. Wakhaba alla (he went along crying).
 Ng.X. Wahamba elila (do.).
 So.S. O ne a tsame alla (do.).
- Ph. Utohaba tsamjwa (he will go about continually being arrested);
 Ng. Uza kuhamba eSanjwa(do.);
 So.S. O tla tsamoa a tšoroa(do.);

Lisa. When used as a finite verb this deficient verb means "leave", "do not", "let alone", e.g.

Lisa, ugaša sakhuluma (Leave, do not speak any more).

As a deficient verb, it is used imperatively for the purpose of preventing someone from doing something. It is followed by the Infinitive Mood.

Southern Sotho uses practically the same word, which is pronounced the same but spelt lesa. In Southern Sotho also, the word appears regularly as lesela (leave alone). To express the same idea Southern Sotho sometimes uses the negative formative se (do not) or its variant se ka.

Nguni uses a different deficient verb which is similar to the Phuthi one, with respect to its final syllable only, i.e. sa. This is musa. In all the three languages these deficient verbs take their plurals in ni for Phuthi and Nguni, and ng for Sotho.

Examples:

- Ph. Lisa kuyeta jhale, yigoti (don't do that it is dangerous).
 Ng.X. Musa ukwenza njalo yingozi(do.).
 So.S. Lesa ho etsa joalo ke kotsi(do.).

In Southern Sotho when se is used the finite verb takes the Subjunctive Mood, e.g. "Se etsa joalo ke kotsi".

Ph. Lisani kubleka...../

Ph.	<u>Lisani</u> kuhleka gikhuluma nnti. (do not laugh I speak the truth).		
Ng.X.	<u>Musani</u> ukuhleka nithetha inyaniso(do)		
" 2.	<u>Musani</u> ukuhleka ngikhuluma iqiniso(do)		
So.S.	<u>Lesang</u> ho tšeha ke/ bua 'nete or ()		
	<u>se kang</u> la tšeha ke bua 'nete or (do)		
	<u>se tšeheng</u> ke bua 'nete. ()		

Note the latter two constructions in Sotho are peculiar to Sotho.S. alone and are not found in either Phuthi or Nguni.

Phidza. This deficient verb may be used as a finite verb. It means "to return", "to repeat", e.g. Bayaphidza (they are returning "home").

The deficient verb phidza in Phuthi is etymologically related to the Nguni phinda. Although Southern Sotho sometimes uses the word pheta for the same purpose, this cannot be regarded as a purely Sotho.S. word. The word boela (go back), is used in the language to express the same meaning as pheta. The deficient verb is usually followed by the Subjunctive Mood.

Examples:

Ph.	Uto <u>phidza</u> umusone gesuso (you'll see him again tomorrow).		
Ng.X.	Uza <u>kuphinda</u> umsonc ngoaso (do)		
So.S.	U tla <u>boela</u> u 'mona ka moso (do)		
	or U tla <u>pheta</u> u 'mona ka moso ()		
Ph.	Bato <u>phidza</u> bafike (they will come again).		
Ng.X.	Baza <u>kuphinda</u> bafike (do)		
So.S.	Ba tla <u>boela</u> ba fihla. (do)		

In the examples given above the deficient verb phidza takes an infinitive formative before it in Phuthi and Nguni, this is the case even where the ku has been absorbed into sa of Phuthi and za of Zulu which originally were sa ta ku, and sa za ku, respectively. Sotho.S. does not show any influence of the infinitive formative.

Sala. With the perfect form sala as a regular verb means

"to remain", e.g.//

"to remain", e.g. Usala ekhaya (he remains at home).

In its use as a deficient verb sala indicates "afterwards", "already", "during the absence". It may be followed by the infinitive or Participial Mood depending upon the constructions.

Examples:

(a) With the Infinitive Mood.

Ph. Kwasala kufika morena (lit. the chief afterwards arrived during the absence.)

Ng.X. Kwasala kufika inkosi (do).

So.S. Ha sala ho fihla morena(do).

Ph. Alikhaba kwasa kufa tibuti.

Ng.X. Xa nihambile kwasa kusifa ibokhwe.

So.S. Ha le tsamaea ha sala ho e-shoa lipoli.
(when you went away goats died in your absence).

(b) With the Participial Mood.

Ph. Sito sala sirošala (we shall remain to sleep in your absence)

Ng.X. Siza kusala silala (do)

So.S. Re tla sala re robala(do).

Ph. Asigakhaba ligasala liyetani?

Ng.X. Xa singahamba ningasala nisenzani?

So.S. Ha re ka tsamaea le ka sala le etsang?
(if we go what would you remain doing?)

Ph. Ešathwana šasaliye šalla aligekho.

Ng.X. Abantwana šasale šelila xa ningekho.

So.S. Bana ba šetse ba lla ha le le sieo.
(children remained crying in your absence.)

Phuthi uses the deficient verb so to denote "let", "please" "just" etc. This seems to be derived from the form sala plus u which becomes so by coalescence after the dropping of the la. This deficient verb performs the same function as kha in Nguni, and a k'u from a ka u in Sotho. It is always followed by the Subjunctive Mood.

Ph. So ugiyetele...../

- Ph. So ugiyetēle titshumo (please relate to me fables).
Ng.X. Kha ungethele iintšomi (do).
So.S. A k'u nkqetsethe litšomo (do).
- Ph. So utshi gišone (just let me see).
Ng.X. Kha uthi ndidone (do).
So.S. A k'u re ke bone. (do).

Yadzisa. When used as a finite verb this deficient verb is a causative derivative verb species meaning "to cause to increase" i.e. to enlarge, etc. The species is derived from the simple verb form yadza (to increase). Although yadza is intransitive, yadzisa is transitive, e.g.

Yadzisa lisaga, tiyomo tinyheti (increase the cattle kraal there are many cattle).

As a deficient verb yadzisa signifies "often", "many times", "to be wont to", etc. Nguni and Sotho use the words andisa and atisa respectively which are of the same origin as the Phuthi form. On the other hand Zulu uses yama to express the same meaning. This deficient verb is followed by the Infinitive Mood.

Examples:

- Ph. Bayadzisa kudhlula lakha (they often go past here).
Ng.X. Bandasa ukudlula apha. (do).
Ng.Z. Bayama ukudlula lapha. (do).
So.S. Ba atisa ho feta mona. (do).

The same mood is used even in impersonal constructions.

Examples:

- Ph. Kuyadzisa kutshēgiswa titabule lakha (potatoes are usually sold here).
Ng.X. Kwanlisa ukuthēngiswa itapile apha. (do).
So.S. Ho atisa ho rēkisoa litapole mona. (do).
(lit. it is wont to sell potatoes here).

Yanēla. This may be used as a regular verb in which case it means "to be enough"

it means "to be enough", "to be enough for", the ela giving a somewhat directive derivative species meaning as in, libisi liyanela eazwali. (The milk is enough for the boys).

As a deficient verb it indicates "as soon as", "to work without result". It is followed by the Infinitive Mood.

Examples:

- Ph. Uyanela kusebetsa jhe muputso aukho.
- Ng. Wanela ukusebenza nje, aukho mvuzo.
- So.S. O anela ho sebetisa tje ha ho moputso.
(he merely works there is no wages).

When the deficient verb indicates "as soon as", the formative jhe is suffixed to the finite verb and sometimes to the deficient verb according to the idiom obtaining in each case. The Mood may be either Subjunctive or Infinitive depending upon the construction used.

- Ph. Giyanela gisele jhe girobale(as soon as I finish drinking
I sleep)
- Ng.X. Ndanela ukusela nje ndilale. (do.)
- So.S. Ke anela ho noa feela ke robale.(do.)
- Ng.Z. Nginela ngiphuze nje ngilale. (do.)

- Ph. Ginela jhe kukhuluma agithfuke(as soon as I speak he swears
at me)
- Ng.X. Ndanela nje ukuthetha andithuke(do.)
- So.S. Ke anela feela ho bua a nthoake(do.)
or Ke anela ho bua feela a nthoake

Besides deficient verbs, there are few auxiliary verbs, which are used mainly in forming certain implications and aspects of the verb. The most important of these are sa, ta, ya in Phuthi whose counterparts are sa, za, ya and sa, tla, sa in Nguni and Sotho.S. respectively. Only illustrative examples will be given here.

Ph. Gisakhaba/

Ph. Gisokhaba (I am still walking).
Ng.X. Ndisa hamba (do.).
So.S. Ke sa tsamaa (do.).

Ph. Utoteka (from uta plus kuteka)(he will marry).
Ng.X. Uza kuzeka (do.).
Ng.Z. Uzoze (do.).
So.S. O ila nyala (do.).

Ph. Giya legula (I am examining, visiting, inspecting e.g. lands etc.)
Ng.X. Ndiya hlola (do.)
So.S. Kea lekola (do.)

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CHAPTER 7

THE DESCRIPTIVE.

THE ADVERB

An adverb is a word which describes a qualificative, a predicative or another adverb in respect to manner, place or time.

In Phuthi adverbs may be divided into two groups, viz:-

- (a) Primary adverbs; and (b) Derived or Secondary adverbs.

Adverbs of Manner.

Primary adverbs of Manner.

Phuthi has a small number of primary adverbs of manner, the most common being:-

jhe (thus, just); jhalo (so); jheya (that way, etc.);

jhani? (how?); gani? (what with?).

The counterparts of these in Nguni and Sotho are very similar to them, except for some morphological and phonological variations according to the rules obtaining in each language.

For instance in Nguni these adverbs all begin with a nasal consonant n, and the quality of the j as in Phuthi is explosive i.e. strong j whereas in Sotho the nasal element is not there and the quality of the j is soft.

Adverbs in all three languages follow the predicative in word order.

Examples of Primary Adverbs of manner in Sentences.

Ph. Ukhaba jhe akanangušo.(he goes bare; he has no blankets).

Ng.X. Uhamba nie akanangušo.(do.)

So.S. O tsamaea tje ha a na kobo.(do.)

Ph. Inyama le uyiphekiye jhani? (how have you cooked this meat?)

Ng.X. Le nyama uyipheke njani? (do.)

So.S. Nama e u e phehile joang? (do.)

Ph. Agišoni jhalo mine(I do not view that way i.e. I do not think so.

Ng.X. Andišoni njalo mna(do.)

So.S. Ha ke bone joalo nna(do.)

Ph. Wakhaba jheya gigata mušoni(he went that way before I had seen him

Ng.X. Wahamba njeya ndingamšonanga(do.)

So.S. O ne a tsamae joana ke sa 'mona(do.)

Secondary/

Secondary Adverbs of Manner.

With the help of the formative ka (by, in etc.) which is preplaced before the word, Phuthi forms adverbs of manner from nouns, qualificatives adverbs etc., ag.

From the Noun.

Eutima (heavy) we get ka-Eutima (heavily).
Munadzi (nice taste etc.) we get ka-munadzi (nicely).
Buhlugu (pain) we get ka-Buhlugu (painfully).

From the Adjective.

Bi (bad) we get ka-ku-Bi (badly).
Hle (fine) do. ka-ku-hle (nicely).
Ncinanyana (small) do. ka-ncinanyana (a little).
Nyheti (many) do. ka-nyheti (many times).
Fulu (big) do. ka-fulu (very much).

From Demonstrative Relatives.

Gaka (so big "this") we get ka-gaka (as big as this).
Gako (so big "that") do. ka-gako (as big as that).
Gakaa (so big "that yonder") we get ka-gakaa (as big as that yonder)

From Adverbs.

Jhalo (that way) we get ka-jhalo (in that way or manner).
Jhani (how?) do. ka-jhani (in that way?).

The formative ga (by means of), may also be preplaced to nouns to form adverbs of manner, e.g.

From the extinct noun liBomu we get ga-ma-Bomu (deliberately); and from Bukhali (sharpness) - ga-Bukhali (sharply).

Examples in Sentences.

Ph. Muhuma ugena kaButima (the plough breaks the soil with difficulty).
Ng.X. Ikhu3a lingena nzima or kanzima (do.)
So.S. Mohoma o kena ka boima (do.)
Ph. Takhuluma ka-gaka gethfo le (they speak so much about this thing).
Ng.X. Bathetha ka-gaka ngale nto (do.)
So.S. Ba bua ka kana ka ntho ena (do.)

- Ph. EBathfwana babina kamunadzi (children sing nicely).
 Ng.X. Abantwana bacula kamnandi. (do.).
 So.S. Bana ba bina hamonate. (do.).

With adverbs of manner formed from certain relative stems the ha is not used.

- Ph. Bakhaba te or bushu-bushu (they go about naked).
 Ng.X. Bahamba ze or bufu or ncuni (do.).
 So.S. Ba tsemaea pono-pono (do.).
- Ph. Giyiyeta gemašomu (I do it deliberately).
 Ng.X. Ndiyenza ngašomu (do.).
 So.S. Ke e tsa ka boomo (do.).

Adverbs of Place.

Primary adverbs of Place.

Phuthi has the following adverbs of place.

- lakha (here); lakho (there); lakhaa (yonder there);
 le (far away); kekhi? (where?); kona (there).

The structural relationship of these adverbs is distinctly akin to Nguni and shows no connection with Sotho S. forms. In the aspirated Phuthi forms, the substitution of the p for k would give Nguni forms thus:-

lakha is Nguni lapha; lakho is Nguni lapho.

Sotho forms for these are mona and mono respectively.

Examples in Sentences.

- Ph. Ubuyiye kekhi itolo? (where did you go to yesterday?)
 N.X. Ubuye phi izolo? (do.)
 So.S. U ne u ile kae maobane?(m do)

- Ph. Murena ušusa lakha. (the chief rules here).
 Ng.X. Inkosi iphethe apha. (do.).
 Ng.Z. Inkosi išusa lapha. (do.).
 So.S. Morena o busa mona. (do.).

Ph./

- Ph. Liveḷa kona na? (do you come from there?)
 Ng.X. Niveḷa khona na? (do)
 So.S. Le tsoa teng na? (do).

Secondary adverbs of Place.

Many of these adverbs are formed, from extinct noun roots with a locative character, by means of preplacing the formatives ge (by, at, in etc.) and a (at, to, in etc.) to the noun roots.

These extinct nouns belonged to the locative classes 16 and 17.

- ge - mushiya (at the other side i.e. across).
ge - tada (" " top " above).
ge - bili (" " front " in front).
ge - shayi (" " outside " outside).
ge - tasi (" " down " down).
ge - muva (" " hind " behind).

Examples of the Secondary adverbs of Place in sentences.

- Ph. Tiḷaleka gabili. (they run in front).
 Ng.X. Ziḷaleka ngaphambili. (do).
 So.S. Li matha ka pele. (do).
- Ph. Aṭonyukela gemushiya lowaa. (they will cross to the other side).
 Ng.X. Azakuwelela ngaphesheya phaya(do)
 So.S. Ba tla tšelela ka mose oane(do).
- Ph. Kutshitiwo agaveḷi gemuva. (It was said he must not get round the back).
 Ng.X. Kuthiwe angaveḷi ngemva. (do).
 So.S. Ho itsoe a se ke a hlaha kamora(do)
- Ph. Sigena getasi kweliphasi. (we go below the ground.)
 Ng.X. Singena ngaphantsi komhlaḷa(do)
 So.S. Re kena ka tlas' a lefatše (do).
- Ph. Anyulukela getufu kwetshasa(they ascend to the mountain top)
 Ng.X. Anyukela ngaphozu kwentaḷa (do)
 So.S. Ba nyolohela ka holimo ho thaba. (do)
- Ph. Lahla emati la gesheyi. (throw this water outside).
 Ng.X. Lahla la manzi ngaphandle. (do).

So.S. Lahla metsi ana kante. (throw this water outside).

Examples (ctd).

Ph. Yigenise ekhatshi or gekhatshi (put it inside).

Ng.X. Yingenise ngaphakathi (do.).

So.S. E kenye ka hara. (do.).

Ph. EBazwali balusela edlha. (boys herd in the veld).

Ng.X. Amakhwenk've alusela endle. (do.).

So.S. Bashemane ba lisetsa ntle or
" " lisetsa (nshong) (do.).

Ph. Bauva lakhaa lishiye bani? (whom have you left behind there).

Ng.X. Bava phaya ni f iye bani? (do.).

So.S. Kamorao mola le sille mang?(do.).

Ph. Muti wakhe ukedvute (his dwelling is near).

Ng.Z. Umuzi wakhe ukeduze (do.).

So.S. Motce oa hae o haufi (do.).

The Ntlangwini dialect of Nguni has locative forms very similar to those of Phuthi, thus:-

Phuthi etasi (down) corresponds to Ntlangwini edasi.

" getudu(above) " " " ngezulu.

Also Phuthi gemushiya (across) corresponds to Ntlangwini
" gekhatshi(inside) " " " nqesheya
ngekhatshi.

Adverbs of Time.

Primary adverbs of Time.

There are very few primary adverbs of time in Phuthi like: goku(now); kudze(long ago); nini?(when?). The Nguni primary adverbs of time are similar to the Phuthi and both differ considerably from Sotho.

Examples of Primary adverbs of Time in Sentences.

Ph. Alisuka goku litofika nini? (if you start now when will you arrive)

Ng.X. Xa nisuka ngoku niza kufika nini?(do.)

So.S. Ha le tloha joale le tla fihla neng?(do.)

Secondary adverbs...../

Secondary adverbs of Time.

Many of these adverbs are formed from nouns by:-

(a) prefixing the locative prefixal formative e, e.g. :-

- from Susuku (night) there is eSusuku (at night).
- " inyhini(day) " " enyhini (" daytime).
- " kwidlha(autumn) " " ekwidlha (in autumn).
- " mantsiBuya(afternoon)" emantsiBuya(in the afternoon).

The word kusa (dawn) takes the suffix ini e.g. ekuseni(at dawn).

(b) prefixing the formative ge (by), e.g.:-

- from isilimo(year) there is gesilimo (during or at such and such a year).
- " muso (morrow) " " gemuso (to-morrow).
- " Muvulo(Monday) " " geMuvulo (on Monday).
- " inago (time) " " genago (in time).

One adverb of time is formed from muhla (day) by replacing a conjunctive formative la e. g. lamuhla (today). This adverb is usually accompanied by a suffixal formative jhe, as in lamuhla jhe (to-day).

Besides these there is one noun itolo(yesterday), which is used unchanged as an adverb of time, e.g.

Gifikiye itolo (I arrived yesterday).

Examples of the Secondary adverbs of Time in Sentences.

Examples will be given for the three languages which are dealt with in this essay.

Ph. Uya kexhi eSusuku lakha? (where are you going in this night?)

Ng.X. Uya ngaphi eSusuku apha? (do.)

So.S. U ea kae bosiu moq? (do.)

Ph. Sitq dlha iboni ekwidla (we shall eat mealies in autumn).

Ng.X. Siza kudla umbona ekwindla(do.).

So.S. Re tla ja ppone hoetla (do.).

Ph. Bafikiye enyhini (they arrived at day-time).

Ng.X. Bafike gini (do.).

So.S. Ba fihlile motheare (do.).

Ph. Litq reda gemuVulo? (are you going to teach on Monday?)

Ng.X. Niza kufundise ngomVulo(do.)

So.S. Le tla ruta kaMantaha? (do.)

Ph.

- Ph. Bajete safike gonago. (tell them to arrive in time).
Ng.X. Faxelele safike ngaxafa. (do).
Ng.E. Latshela safike ngesikhathi. (do).
So.S. Ba bolelele ba fihle ka nako. (do).
- Ph. Litq tshoga ngauso. (you will buy to-morrow).
Ng.X. Miza khuthengo ngosoo. (do).
So.S. Ne tla reka ka moso. (do).
- Ph. Bamuboniye lanuhlabhe. (they saw him to-day).
Ng.X. Bambonile nabha nje. (do).
So.S. Ba mo bone ka jeno. (do).
- Ph. Silori uSalakiyo itolo. (Silori ran away yesterday).
Ng.X. USilori uSalakile izolo. (do).
So.S. Selori o balahile maobana (do).

THE IDEOPHONE.

An ideophone may be defined as an interjectional decriptive, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, or is used alone, in respect to manner, state, intensity, colour, sound or smell.

The following points in connection with the ideophone are worthy of note.

(a) It differs functionally from an adverb, in that it does not describe function in relation to time and place as the adverb does.

(b) The ideophone is essentially interjective semantically whereas the adverb is not.

(c) Morphologically the ideophone differs from an adverb in that it has not got the formative elements which are found in many adverbs.

(d) The ideophone has a distinct descriptive nature which differentiates it from an interjection.

In Thuthi as in Kguni and Sotho the ideophone usually follows the verb 'to say'.

Examples:-/

Examples:-

- Ph. Lōdumiye latshi du (it thundered "du")
Ng. Laduma lathi du (" " ")
So.S. Le ne le lume la re lu (" " ").
Sometimes the verb "to say" is understood.

Examples.

- Ph. Ukhali be akafuni le kuva.
Ng.X. Ukhali be akafuni nokuva.
So.S. O bohale pe ha a batle le ho utloa.
 (he is frightfully angry he does not even want to listen).

- Ph. Wahubathisa bu gēgušo (he recovered him with a blanket)
Ng.X. Wamambathisa bu ngēgušo (do)
So.S. A mo apesa pu ka košo. (do)

In all the three languages, when an ideophone is used at the beginning of the sentence, the verb "to say" is not only understood but it is entirely unnecessary.

Examples.

- Ph. Tu, wathfula muthwana (the child stopped crying).
Ng. Tu, wathula umntwana. (" " " ").
So.S. Tu, ngoana a thola. (" " " ").

Note the syntactical difference between Sotho and the other two languages with regard to the sequence of the substantive and the predicative in relation to the ideophone in the above construction.

In addition, ideophones in Phuthi employ their own phonetic laws. For instance under normal circumstances the combination of the sound ph with a succeeding w would not be tolerated in Phuthi, Nguni and Sotho. In each language palatalisation of the ph's would result, the most probable resultant sound being tʃh. But in ideophonic use, peculiar combinations like the one mentioned above are sometimes met with. Thus Phuthi has :-
Gamutshi phwa gēsallha. (I clapped him with the hand).

Also...../

Also the combination of a nasal and succeeding consonant is not compatible with the phonological pattern of Phuthi and so it occurs very rarely. But ideophonic constructions however, the rule is sometimes overlooked in Phuthi.

Examples in Phuthi.

Gašatshi nxa, yala kukhaba ihang-ihang.
(I tried to say "nxa" the horse refused to go).

Kutshitiye minxi musi lakho.
(the smoke has covered up here)

Moreover ideophones may employ

(a) their special length, this may be extra short or extra long.

Examples in Phuthi.

extra short.

Bašaleka kitikiti (they ran swiftly)

Baqaqa šasukela (they chased after)

extra long.

Likhwaša latshi grwa:: grwa:: (the crow cried "grwaa::" etc.)

(b) their special stress which may be extra weak or extra strong. Ordinarily, in grammatical forms the main stress in a word falls on the penultimate in Phuthi but in ideophones the stress may fall on the initial syllable.

Examples.

Wašonya šosololo akava aroriswa (he smiled when he heard he was being praised.)

Balakaxa yawa iyomo. (the beast fell).

(c) their special tones which may be extra low or extra high.

Examples.

extra low:

Tivu lamuladzela tatshi bu gəmuva kwakhe. (the sheep followed him....behind him).

Extra high: Bašaleka ti gəlišilo (they ran at full speed.)

Basis of Classification.

The basis of classification of Phuthi ideophones could be made to depend upon (a) the number of syllables in a word, these may be monosyllabic, dissyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic etc., and (b) according to phonetic phenomena such as tone etc. The tone system may be high-low, low-high, high-high, low-low. etc.

But as tone is such a complicated thing the approach to this

subject in the subsequent pages, is on the basis of the number of syllables in an ideophone.

As most of the foregoing remarks apply to Nguni and Sotho as well only illustrative examples with the particular ideophone will be given in the following comparative sentences. Some of the ideophones are found in common, but may differ from language to language.

(Monosyllabic Ideophones.)

Examples.

- Ph. Gamutshi bu gęgušo ęhłokwęni (I covered him with a blanket on the head.)
- Ng.X. Ndamthi bu ngęngušo entloko. (do)
- Ng.Z. Ngamuthi bu ngęngušo ękhanda.(do)
- So.S. Ka mo re pu ka kobo hłohong. (do)

- Ph. Tidheše titshitiye swi ęuhlanya.(his ears are blocked up with madness, naughtness)
 - Ng.X. Iindleše zithe swi ęuęugeza. (do)
 - So.S. Litsheše li itse soi ke bohlanya.(do)
- (his ears are blocked up with madness, naughtness, ie he is very naughty etc.)

- Ph. Linxiša litshi nkeę nkeę kuwoba. (the wound is aching).
- Ng.X. Inxeša lithi nke nke kukufutha. (do).
- So.S. Leqeba le re fu fu ke ho opa. (do).

- Ph. Siphadze siwomiyę nko. (the tree is dried up completely)
- Ng. Umthi wome nko or nke. (do)
- So.S. Sefate se omme (kere) (do)
- " " Seliba se chele ngq (the well is dried up completely).

- Ph. Thfula ti. (keep absolutely silent).
- Ng. Thula tu. (do).
- So.S. Thola tu. (do).

- Ph. Ihlitiyo yakhe itshwęwu twa. (his heart is pure white as snow)
- Ng. Intliziyo yakhe imhlophe qua. (do)
- So.S. Pelo ea hae e tsoęu bja. (do)
- " " Lehloa le le soęu twa. (the snow is pure white.)

- Ph. Iyomo lentshu tshu. (a pitch black beast).
 Ng. Inkomo emnyama tshu. (" " " ").
 So.S. Khomo e ntšo tšo. (" " " ").
- Ph. Tivu titshitiye sa ethfudaneni. (sheep are scattered in
 the little veld.)
 Ng. Izimvu zithe sa ethafazaneni. (do)
 So.S. Linku li itse sa thotaneng. (do)
- Ph. Nya asitase sive gaye. (absolutely, we never heard of
 him).
 Ng. Nya asizange sive ngaye. (do)
 So.S. (Nyele) re ne se ke re utloa (letho) ka eena.(do).
- Ph. Lavela latsi tha kamunadzi llaga.(and the sun rose on
 shone nicely.)
 Ng. Lavela lathi tha kamnandi ilanga. (do)
 So.S. La hlaha la re cha hamonate letsatsi.(do).
- Ph. Chwa laphuka kušini litshabo (the bone broke into two).
 Ng. Chwa or (qhwa) laphuka kušini ithambo (do).
 So.S. Choa or (bjoara) la poseha habeli lesapo(do).

(Disyllabic Ilongophones.)

As was done previously examples, which belong to a different group with regard to the number of syllables contained therein or different in form, will be enclosed in brackets.

- Ph. Latsi Bani kabakanye. (it flashed once, i. e. lightning)
 Ng. Lathi Bane kwaa kanye. (do)
 So.S. La re (tseke) ha ngoe. (do)
- Ph. Latsi lenye litshi qhacha kudvuma (it flashed and then it
 rattled in thunder.)
 Ng. Lathi lenye laza lathi qhachwa ukuduma. do)
 So.S. La re nyeli ea ba le re cha-cha ho luma.(do)
- Ph. Sinkhwa sašihlika Bihli gēbiteni.(the cake of bread
 crumbled in the pot.)
 Ng.Z. Isinkwa sašihlika Bihli embizeni. (do)
 So.S. Senkhwa sa oa behle ka pitseng. (do)
- Ph. Wawa baxa gēsisu. (he fell flat on his belly.)
 Ng. Wawa baxa ngēsisu. (do)
 So.S. A oa (petle) ka mpa(do)

- Ph. Idlhu yabodlhoka bodlho kōdzi yagawī.
Ng. Indlu yabodloka bodlo kodwa yangawī.
So.S. Ntlo ea phunyeha phohlo, empa ea se ke ea oa.
(the house wall or-roof-' was broken open but it did not fall).
Ph. Wayitshi chifi gēlinala yafa. (he crushed it with a fing-
er nail and it died.)
Ng.X. Wayithi chifi ngōzipho yafa. (do)
So.S. A e re (tlanya) ka lenala ea e-shoa.(do)
- Ph. Utshitiyē foco kancinanyana eṃmōjheṃi. ℥
Ng.X. Uthe fongo kancinane eṃbōnjenī.
So.S. O itšē (fine) hanyane 'mōpōng.
(he has a little depression on the nose-bridge.)
- Ph. Ubutswa, utshitiyē phara eṃhasi
Ng.X. Uivila, uthe (baxa) phantsi.
So.S. O botsoa, o itšē phara fatše.
(he is lazy, he is sitting flat on the ground.)
- Ph. Ugudziyē ihloko phucu. (he has completely shared his head)
Ng.X. Ucheša intloko khucu. (do)
So.S. O kutilē hloho (koro or phogo)(do)
- Ph. Eṃadi ašovu tlere. (blood is bright red.)
Ng. Igazi lišōmvu (gweje)(do)
So.S. Mali a mafubēlu tlere.(do)
- Ph. Igušo wayitlērula šašini tleru. (he tore the blanket into
two)
Ng. Ingušo wayikrazula kušini (raphu).(do)
So.S. Kobo a e tabola ka lehare (raphu).(do)
- Ph. Thfusu kwavēla muthfu eṃvute (suddenly, there appeared a
person near-by)
Ng.X. (qhaphu) kwavela umntu kušuphi.(do)
" Z. (Memfu) kwavela umuntu eṃduze. (do)
So.S. Pito ha hlaha motho haufi. (do)
- Ph. Phogo aṃhuka eṃahlaga. (crush-the grain stalks broke).
Ng.X. Phogo zaṃhuka indiza. (do)
So.S. (Phukhe) a robeha mahlaka.(do)

Ph. /

- Ph. Ifene yagena rotfho geliweni.
Ng.X. Imfene yangena khotfho eliweni.
So.S. Tšoene ea kena (tjoli or like) ka le haheng.
(the monkey suddenly entered into a caver)

Some dissyllabic forms may be reduplicated for purposes of emphasis.

Examples of reduplicated ideophones.

- Ph. Tidlhebe tayo tidze titshi baku-baku.
Ng.X. Indleše hayo zinde zithi baku-baku.
So.S. Litsebe tsa eona li telele li re phau-phau.
(its ears are long and they flap).

Ph. Sidzaka sitshi šiki-šiki. (watery mud is shaking).
Ng.Ml. Udaka: luthi šiki-šiki. (do) .
So.S. Seretse se re bere-bere. (do) .

Ph. Mukhfupha utshabiye utshi šoso-šoso jhe.
Ng.X. Umkhupha uthambile uthi šoso-šoso nje.
So.S. Bohobe bo bonolo bo re šoso-šoso tje.
(bread is soft it just touches "soft").

Ph. Gava idawu rwatfha-rwatfha ejwanini.
Ng.X. Ndeva ingonyama rwatfha-rwatfha encheni.
So.S. Ka utloa tau khoacha-khoncha joanng.
(I heard a lion making a sound in the grass)

Ph. Ešrafo baphala ligogo rwayi-rwayi. (men awscraping the hide)
Ng. Amadoda aphala isikhumba rwayi-rwayi. (do)
So.S. Banna bafala lekoko khoai-khoai. (do)

(Trisyllabic Ideophones.)

There are few ideophones under this heading in Phuthi. In contrast to the general rule the stress in this ideophone is on the first syllable, and generally the syllables are short.

Examples.

- Ph. Šinama sihleli manama egujeni.
Ng.X. Isinama sihleli (namathe) engušenj.
So.S. Šenama se lutse manama kobong.
(sticking weed i.e. "Psumma-trophe androsacea" is sticking on the blanket)

Ph. Igwe ayiveḽa ngwememe ḽayema eḽatsumi.

Ng.X. Ingwe isakuvela (xhwenene) ḽema aḽazingeli.

So.S. Nkoe ha e hlaḽa (thethenthe) ba ema batsumi.
(when the tiger appeared the hunters stopped)

Ph. Phethfuthfu waphika goḽu agimuḽuta.

Ng.X. Guququ wakhanyela ngoḽu niḽa kumuza.

So.S. Phethotho a pheha joale ha ke mmotsa.
(suddenly, he denied now when I asked him....)

Ph. Usatshi puḽuḽu lakha eḽloḽweni.

Ng.Hl. Sele sithi pururu apha entloko.

So.S. O sa re puḽuḽu moḽa hloḽong.
(he is already completely grey in the head).

Ph. Tihang-hang tidlha iḽoni ququdu.

Ng.X. Amahafi adla umbona ququdu.

So.S. Lipere li ja poḽone (kukuru).
(horses are feeding on mealies-"crush").

Ph. Siqholo sawatḽhaya eḽaḽele ruthfuthfu.

Ng.X. Isichotho sawaḽetha amaḽimba (bululu).

So.S. Sefako sa a oḽa mebele ruthuthu.
(hail-storm hit the kaffir-corn crop).

Ph. Watshi yekethe buḽfogo warwaḽala.

Ng.X. Wathi yekethe ḽuḽuthongo walala.

So.S. A re (phe or phume) ke boroko a robala.
(he dozed and fell asleep.)

(Quadrisyllabic Ideophones.)

Here too the first syllable usually bears the main stress and this in many cases is accompanied by full-length. But the length in each case depends upon what the speaker wants to emphasise and how he intends to emphasise it.

For instance ba-la-ka xa (sound indicating a falling) may be used to indicate slow movement, while balakaxa may be used to denote quick movement.

Examples.

Ph. Mugeḽa weyomo babalala waḽutshisa.

Ng.X. Uḽityo lwenkomo babalala lwaḽuthisa.

So.S. Moketa ea khomo (buralla) ea bothisa.
(A lean cow fell down helpless).

- Ph. Inyoka yawa balakaxa qtuđu kwakhe. (a snake fell on him.)
Ng. Inyoka yawa balakaxa phezu kwakhe. (do).
So.S. Noha ea oa parabasa holim'a hae. (do).
- Ph. Akava arqriswa waqonya qosololo.
Ng. Esakuva qnconywa wancuma qosololo.
So.S. Ha a utloa a rorisoa a banya (bosoboso).
(he smiled when he heard he was being praised).
- Ph. Wawa lenyadza antsayi tawetshe folokohlo.
Ng. Wawa nenyanda esoloko qyithwele folokohlo.
So.S. A oa le ngata a ntse a e roetse (soalakahla).
(she fell with a bunile on head.)
- Ph. Tivu tawela qeliweni holokohlo.
Ng.X. Iigufa zeyela qeliweni holokohlo.
So.S. Linku tsa oela selqmong holokohlo.
(the sheep fell headlong over the precipice).
- Ph. Liqaca laya qotshi khalakatsha qmugqdzini.
Ng.X. Iqaca laya kuthi (gontfi) or khalakatha qmxbunyeni.
So.S. Nakeli ea ea ea re (like) or halakahla kaw mokoting.
(the pole cat disappeared into the hole.)
- Ph. Ilqri yawa qmthqwini pholekethu.
Ng.X. Ilqri yawa qthambqkeni pholekethu.
So.S. Lqri ea oa mothqong (hlanqathu) or hlanqakathu.
(the lorry overturned on the slope).
- Ph. Mmabe fwalakatsha qetinywele. (catch him with the hair).
Ng.X. Mmabe fwalakatha ngqenwele. (do).
So.S. Mo tsoare shoalakahla ka moriri. (do).
- Ph. Tlekelele wayema akava kuthfunywa.
Ng.X. Xhimilili wema akuva kudutyulwa.
So.S. Tlekelele a ema ha a utloa ho thungoa.
(suddenly he stopped when he heard a gun shoot.)

Some few ideophones are derived from their corresponding verb stems so that structurally they bear a close resemblance to them, but the stress as in many ideophones is on the initial syllable and the tone generally low-high. Phuthi shares some of these deverbative ideophones with Nguni and others with Sotho.S.

Examples. /

Examples:

From -

pota (to go round)	we get the ideophone <u>pote</u> in Ph. and So.S.
tjhona(disappear)	do. <u>tjhoni</u> " " Ng.
likela(So.S)(do.)	do. <u>lika</u> in So.S.
benya (glitter)	do. <u>benye</u> in Ph.; <u>benye</u> in Ng. and <u>benye</u> in So.S.
gena (enter)	do. <u>geni</u> in Ph.; <u>nzeni</u> in Ng. and <u>kene</u> in So.S.

Phuthi examples in Sentences.

Lašenya benye. (it flashed)

Gamušona agena geni gedlhini. (I saw him enter ... the house).

Bemutjhaya wašaleka wapotelela pote galakha kwelisaga. (they thrashed him and he ran away and went round ... the otherside of the cattle kraal).

Sixaxa satjhona tjhoni gematini. (the frog entered ...into the water).

.....oOo.....

CHAPTER 8

THE INTERJECTIVE.

The interjective may be defined as an isolated word of an exclamatory nature, having no grammatical or concordial bearing upon the rest of the sentence, which is used to express various emotions, to convey assent or negation, a call or command.

There are two types of interjectives in Phuthi viz:-

(a) Primitive interjectives which are interjectives proper.

e.g. ha! (Ah! what!)

(b) Other parts of speech used as interjectives.

e.g. from nouns, - šathfu! (people!)

muręna! (Oh lord!)

Interjectives differ a great deal even within the same language group; and so a great number of words meaning the same thing differ in form according to each language in the languages Phuthi and Nguni and Sotho. But nevertheless certain words are the same for two and sometimes for all three languages.

Examples of Primitive Interjections.

(a) Expressing assent and negation.

Ph.	ęya!	(yes)	as in	ęya'. guye	(yes, it is he).
Ng.X.	ewe!	(")	do.	ewe! nguye	(do.).
Ng.Z.	yešo	(")	do.	yešo! 'uye	(do.).
"	ehhe!	(")	do.	ehhe! "	(do.).
"	ehene!	(")	do.	ehene! "	(do.).
So.	ę:!	(")	do.	ę:! ke eena	(do.).

Ph.	e-e!	tjhe!	(no)	e.g. e-e (or) tjhe!	ugati lakha.
Ng.X.	hayi!	(")	"	hayi!	ungezi apha.
Ng.Z.	cha!	or qha!	(")	" qha!	ungezi lapha.
So.S.	e-e!	che!	(")	" e-e!	u se kę ua tla męna.
" N.	aowa'.	(")	"	aowa!	se tle mę.
" Ts.	nya!	(")	"	nya!	se tle kwano. (no! do not come here).

An element of entreating and persuasion is imparted to these words when the adjunct šo and hle are suffixed to them. This applies to all the three languages.

Examples...../

<u>Examples.</u>	Ph.	e-e šo!	(no! don't please etc.)
		e-e hle!	(do)
	Ng.	hayi šo!	(do)
		" hle	(do)
	So.S.	e-e bō!	(do)
		e-e hle!	(do).

(b) Expressing wonder, fear, annoyance, contempt, pity etc.

Examples.

Ph.	awu!	(what! is it so? etc.)	as in <u>awu!</u> kutshitiyeni?
Ng.X.	awu!	(do)	" " <u>awu!</u> kutheni?
Z.	hhawu!	(do)	" " <u>hhawu!</u> kwenzę njani?
So.S.	ao!	(do)	" " <u>ao!</u> ho ęntse joang? (oh, what is the matter).

Ph.	hele!	(ah! what! etc.)	as in <u>hele</u> kujhe?
Ng.X.	tyhini!	(do)	" " <u>tyhini!</u> kuņje?
Z.	hhaše!	(do)	" " <u>hhaše!</u> "
"	mane!	(do)	" " <u>mane!</u> "
So.S.	khęle!	(do)	" " <u>khęle!</u> ho tje?
	or khili!	(do)	" " <u>khili</u> or <u>khilili</u> etc. (ah! is it like this?)

Ph.	ha!	(what a miracle!)	as in <u>ha!</u> gulo muhlolo.
Ng.Z.	hha!	(do)	" " <u>hha!</u> nangumhlolo.
So.S.	hele!	(do)	" " <u>hele!</u> mohlolo ke ęna. (ah, here is a miracle).

Ph.	mawo!	(poor you, pity you etc.)	as in <u>mawo</u> giyakusitęle
Ng.X.	mhawo	(" " " " ")	" " <u>mhawo!</u> niyaku- sizela).
So.S.	joę!	or joę nna!	(" " " ") " " <u>joę nna!</u> kea u qenęhela. (alas poor you! I pity you).

Ph.	ye!	(here!)	as in <u>ye!</u> giya tithfo lamuhlajhe.
Ng.X.	he!	(do)	" " <u>he!</u> ndiv'izinto namhla nje.
So.S.	he!	(do)	" " <u>he!</u> ke utloa liaba kajeno. (here! I am hearing wonders to-day).

Note in Phuthi and Nguni the copulative demonstrative precedes the substantive qualified but in Sotho.S. it follows the substantive.

- Ph. Yela! (hey you! I say!) as in Yela! yita lakha.
 Ng.X. heyi! (do) " " heyi! yiz'apha.
 So.S. hela! (do) " " hela! tlo konno.
 (I say! come here).

Expressing sympathy etc.

Awu! meaning (poor thing) is generally found with the noun ebathfu. This is one of the few instances in Phuthi where the noun ebathfu is found without its initial vowel e. Thus awu ebathfu becomes awu bathfu!

Examples.

- Ph. awu bathfu! (poor thing, pity, shame) as in awu bathfu
 ufati webathfu.
 Ng. awu bantu! (" " " ") " in awu bantu!
 usfazi wabantu.
 So.S. awu batho! (" " " ") " in aw batho!
 mosali oa batho.

 Ph. phephi! (sorry! cheer-up!) as in phephi! begigakuboni.
 Ng.X. nxhe! or nxhesi! (do) " " nxhe! or nxhesi! be ndinga-
 kuboni.
 So.S. phephi! (do) " " phephi! ke ne ke sa u
 bone.
 (sorry I did not see you) .

Expressing pleasure, pain etc.

- Ph. she! (hail, good news etc.) as in she! siya dumedisa.
 Ng. eh! (" " " ") " " eh! siya bulisa.
 X. bota! (" " " ") " " bota! " "
 So.S. she! (" " " ") " " she! or hela! rea
 lumelisa.
 (hail! we greet you).

 Ph. halala! (hurrah! etc.) as in halala! uvugiye. (hurra)
 Ng.X. nxhat/ho! (do) " " nxhat/ho! uvumile.
 So.S. halala! (do) " " halala! o lumetse.
 (hurrah! he has agreed).

 Ph. maye! (oh! alas! - a cry of pain or sorrow) as in maye!
 gitq yeta jhani?
 Ng. mhaye! (" " " " " " " ") as in mhaye!
 ndiza kwenza njani
 or ndiza kuthini?
 So.S. jo oe! (" " " " " " " ") as in jo oe!
 ke tla etca joang?
 " joanna-na-oe! (" " " " " " " ") I(do)

Ph. itfhu! or fu!(cry of pain)as in Itfhu! or fu! kušuhlugu.

Ng. fu (do.) " " itfhu! or fu! kušuhlungu

So.S. ichu (do,) " " ichu! ho bohloko.

(Oh! it is painful).

Ph. tʃhotʃho! (it serves you right)as in tʃhotʃho! atʃhe, akavi.

Ng. tʃhotʃho! (do.) " " tʃhotʃho! atʃhe, akeva.
or akezwa.
(it serves him right, let him burn, he is
naughty).

Other parts of speech with or without change of form may be used interjectionally. Vocatives from nouns may be used as interjections, by means of raising the tone of the first syllable as well as of the word as whole.

In nouns with the initial vowel, the latter is elided and the tone raised as described above.

Examples:

Cl. 1. ufo (man) becomes fo! (O man!)

ufati(woman) " fati!(O woman!)

Cl. 2. ešafo (men) " šafo!(men!)

ešafati(women)" šafati!(Women!)

ešabadi(readers)" šabadi!(readers!)

ešaktshakatshi(witches) becomes šaktshakatshi!(witches!)

ešaruti (teachers) " šaruti! (teachers!)

Cl. 4. ešabito(names) becomes šabito!(names).

ešahlanya(mad people) " šahlanya!(mad people!)

ešasela(thieves) " šasela (thieves!)

Cl. 9. idholokati(a barren person)" dholokati! (barren person!)

iphiri (hyena) " phiri! (hyena!)

inugu (porcupine) " nugu! (porcupine!)

In nouns without the initial vowel in the noun prefix, the vocative is expressed without the change of form, but the interjectional nature of the noun is signified by raising the voice.

Examples:

Examples:

Cl. 5. lišpdza (wall)	becomes lišpdza! (wall!)
lidimu (cannibal)	" lidimu! (cannibal!)
Cl. 7. sadlha (hand)	" sadlha! (hand!)
siyeda (shoe)	" siyeda! (shoe!)
Cl. 8. tinago (times)	" tinago! (times!)
tithfwili(dust)	" tithfwili! (dust!)

A more emphatic form of the vocative which is sometimes used in sarcastic and contemptuous expressions is formed by means of the suffixal formative dzwe. The equivalent of this formative is tooe in Sotho S., and the plurals of dzwe and tooe are dzini and ting in Phuthi and Sotho S., respectively. The formative appears as ndini in Nguni and there is no singular form.

Another important factor in connection with these suffixes in Phuthi is that their tonal pattern is low-high, e.g. dzawé dzini, whereas in Nguni and Sotho S., the tone is high-low e.g. ndini, toog, ting, respectively.

Examples in sentences will be given below to show the use of these suffixes in the three languages under consideration. The interjections can either be at the beginning or at the end of a sentence.

Examples:

Ph. Fati <u>dzwe</u> !	gito kuma Gudlha (you women! I will grudge you	
		food)
Ng.X. Mfazi <u>ndini</u> !	ndiza kukuvimba ukudla. (	do.)
So.S. Mosali tooe!	ke tla u tima lijo (	do.)

Ph. Litq majhwa <u>tidzakwa dzini</u> !	(you will be arrested you wretched drunkards!)
Ng. Niza kušanjwa <u>zidakwa ndini</u> !	(do.)
So.S. Le tla tšoaroa <u>metahon ting</u> !	(do.)

Proper names of persons can also be used in interjectional constructions by raising the tone, e.g.

Sidoyi!/

Sidoyi! Bulani! as in - Sidoyi! Bakexhi q̣athfu?(Sidoyi! where
are the people?)
Bulani! uvela ḳexhi?(Bulani! where do you
come from?)

Similarly nouns of Class 1a may be used as interjections without any morphological change. The tone however is raised,

e. g. ntaṭ (father) becomes ntaṭ! (father!)
ḅontaṭ (fathers) " ḅontaṭ! (fathers!)
malume (maternal uncle) " malume! (.....uncle!)

The formative q̣! is usually preplaced to an appropriate interjectional usually a clan name or its equivalent, i.e. isithakazelo, or a term of respect to express an honorific and polite appellation.

Xhosa uses the formative A! for the same purpose.

Examples:

Ph. q̣! Mthimukḥfulu! (hail! you of the Mthimkhulu royal lineage)

Ng. q̣! Mthimkhulu! (do.)

Ng.X. A! Mthimkhulu! (do.)

So.S. q̣! Mothemokholo! (do.)

Ph. q̣! Bulani! (hail!you of the Bulani clan).

Ng. q̣! Bulani! (do.).

Ng.X. A! Bulani! (do.).

So.S. q̣! Pulane! (do.).

THE CONJUNCTIVES or CONJUNCTIONS.

As the word signifies, a conjunction joins sentences. In addition to this, a conjunction may also introduce a sentence. So some grammarians have defined a conjunction as, "a word which introduces or links up sentences". In Phuthi, conjunctions may be divided into two groups, viz:-

- (a) Primary conjunctions e.g. kantshi (and yet), kodzi (but) noko (anyway), etc.
- (b) Secondary conjunctions which are either verbal, adverbial or nominal in origin. e.g. kuša (because); itshitiye (when, it happened); goku (now, and, then); kanene (by the way); kutshi (that); muhlalomunye (perhaps).

The same two types of conjunctions found in Phuthi are also found in Nguni and Sotho. S. These conjunctions may be followed by various moods such as Imperative, Infinitive, Subjunctive and the Situative.

In order to show clearly the relationship of Phuthi conjunctions to Nguni and Sotho conjunctions illustrative examples will be given below. Phuthi has a good number of conjunctions in common with Nguni. In some cases we get identical forms. Sotho has only some examples in common with Phuthi.

Primary conjunctions.

Ph. Uyeta ithfo lebi kantshi umurulu kagaka.

Ng. Wenza into embi kanti umdala kangaka.

So.S. U etsa ntho e mpe athe u moholo ha ka na.

(you do a bad thing and yet you are so old).

Ph. Uwagula noko tithfo atisafani.

Ng.X. Uya gula noko izinto azisafani.

So.S. Oa kula empa lintho ha li sa tsoana.

(he is ill but things are no longer the same i.e the condition is no longer the same.)

Secondary conjunctions.Examples of Conjunctions of Verbal Origin.

(kutshi,/

(Kutshi, hore (to say)).

Examples:

- Ph. Mujete kutshi giyata (lit. tell him to say I am coming
i. e. tell him that I am coming)
Ng.X. Mxelele ukuthi ndiyeza (do)
Z. Mtshela ukuthi ngiyeza (do)
So.S. Mo joqetse hore kea tla (do)

Advula "thereafter".

- Ph. Uqaliye eLisuthu wavadvula wata lakha.
Ng.X. Uqale eLusuthu vandula ukuza apha.
So.S. O qalile Lesotho a ntane a e-tla mona.
(he began in Basutoland and then came here).

Examples of Conjunctions of Adverbial origin.

Examples: (Goku (now))

- Ph. Goku ke, awusele uyemi jhe batshini?
Ng.X. Ngoku ke, xa sele umile nje bathini?
So.S. Joale he, ha u se u eme tje ba teng?
(now, since you are standing what do they say?)

Lakho - (where)

- Ph. Agimuyati lakho ahlala kona.
Ng.Z. Angimazi lakho ahlala khona.
So.S. Ha ke mo tsebe mop a lulang teng.
(I do not know where he stays)

Examples of Conjunctions of Nominal origin.

Muhla (day)

- Ph. Uba khaba yedzi muhla abuya emusebetini.
Ng.X. Wayehamba yedwa mhla abuya emsebenzini.
So.S. O ne a tsamaea a le nqosi mohla a khullang mosobetsing.
(he was going alone on the day he was returning from work).

Kukona (lit. it is present, i.e. still, just, etc.)

- Ph. Akagingqilli yikona gitq mubuta.
Ng.X. Akandibaleli kukhona ndiza kumbuzo.
So.S. Ha a ngolle, ke hona ke tla 'motsa.
(he does not write me and so I am just now going to ask him).

Conjunctions from other parts of speech modified by omission or addition or change of formative elements.

Examples of Conjunctions of Verbal origin.

Layisa (lit. even to be i.e. even if).

Ph. Layisa iyana satofika lamuhla jhe.

Ng.X. Noja iyana kufika namhla nje.

So.S. La h'eba ea na ba tla fihla kajeno.

(lit. even to be it rains they will arrive today i.e. even if it rains they will arrive today).

Buya (return, again etc.)

Ph. Kwaaba kuBi kwaBuyela kwaBa munadzi.

Ng. Kwaaba kuBi kwaBuyela kwaBa mnandi.

So.S. Ho no ho be hobe ha boela ha e-ba monate .

(It was bad but afterwards it became nice).

Examples of Conjunctions from noun derivatives.

Muhla lomunye (another day, i.e. sometimes, perhaps).

Ph. Muniyike muriyana muhlalomunye utq phila.

Ng.X. Mnike iyeza mhlawambi uza kuphila.

So.S. Mo nehe moriana mohlomong o tla phela.

" Tl. Mo nehe moriana mohlaope o tla phela.

The relationship between muhlalomunye on the one hand with mhlawambi and mohlomong on the other hand shows clearly how Phuthi comes in somewhat midway between Nguni and Sotho. Breaking the word in each of the sentences above into its component parts, we have the following:-

Ph. muhla (day)-lo (which);-munye (one)

Ng.Z. umhla (") wambi (another one)

So.S. mohla (")-o (which); mong (one)

" Tl. mohla (") ope (another one).

The words lo and munye in the Phuthi conjunctions are Nguni in form, but they are transliterable from the Sotho, o and mong respectively.

Examples of conjunctions.

GokuBa (by the being, i.e. because).

Ph. Gitq tidlha gokuša yita malume.

Ng.X. Mdiza kuzilla ngokuša zezikamalume.

So.S. Ke tla li ja hobane ke tsa malome.

(I will eat them because they are my maternal uncle's)

Lekuša (with the being i.e. even if).

Ph. Akuthfusi lithfo lekuša uyatitcheğisa.

Ng.X. Akuncedi nto nokuša uyazithengisa.

So.S. Ia ho thuse letho le haeba oa li rekisa.

(It is no use even if he sells them).

Examples of Conjunctions from pronoun derivatives.

Kodzi (from ku and odzi) (to alone, only - i.e. but).

Ph. Uwatshetsha kdzi agita mukkatshalli.

Ng.X. Uya ngxola kodwa andimkhathalelanga.

Z. Uya thetha kodwa angimnakanga.

So.S. Oa omana empa ha kea mo tsotella.

(He is scolding (me) but I do not care for him).

Galoko (ga "by" loko "that" i.e. therefore).

Ph. Idlhu le iletielheko galoko khuphani itfhelete.

Ng. Indlu le-nale inqendleko ngoko khuphani imali.

So.S. ntlo ena e na le litšenyehelo ka hoo ntšang chelete.

(This house is expensive so pay out money).

Examples of Conjunctions from copulatives.

Kujhalo jhe (it is so, then i. e. moreover).

Ph. Ufikiye kujhalo jhe uwakuyati.

Ng.X. Ufikile kunjalo nje uyakwazi.

So.S. O fihlile ebile oa u tseba.

(He has arrived and moreover he knows you).

Kugejhalo (it is not being so i.e. otherwise, or else).

Ph. Mophe lišisi kugejhalo munyike muratha.

Ng. Mphe ušisi kungenjalo mnike inqodi (or) isidudu.

So.S. Mo fe lebase ho seng joalo mo nehe motoho.

(Give him milk, if not serve him liquid porridge).

Some conjunctions as stated before are used to introduce sentences the most common conjunctions being -itshitiye (lit. "it said".)

Examples:

Ph. Itshitiye agiduta batshi abamuyati.

Ng.X. Kuthe xa ndiSuza bathi abamazi.

So.S. Eitse ha ke botsa ba re ha ba mo tsebe.

(when I asked they said they did not know him.)

Ayisali (since).

Ph. Ayisali gaafika anntase giyiSone inyoka.

Ng.X. Soloko ndafika andizange ndiyiSone inyoka.

So.S. Ha esale k-ę ne ke fihle ha ke ę-sọ e bone noha.

(ever since I came I have never seen a snake.)

Notice the similarity between Phuthi ayisali and Sotho.S.

ha esale.

The formation of the word itshitiye is very puzzling from the point of view of both Nguni and Sotho. The ishi part is equivalent to the Nguni thi. The Nguni ile is equivalent to the Phuthi iye. So that kuthile (occurring as kuthe in Nguni) should be kutshiye. But Phuthi inserts an extra ti between ishi and ye. The vowel beginning, as in itshi - is akin to Sotho where we have eitse. The nearest corresponding morphological form to Phuthi is found in the Tswana erile. Changing this to the Phuthi form, it would be itshiye. But the extra ti is still unaccounted for even by Tswana.

THE LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION.

The Locative construction signifies, location in, place where, place whereto, place where from. Most of the locatives are formed from nouns. The noun may undergo a morphological change as when the initial vowel is replaced by the locative formative, close-vowel e. This construction may or may not be accompanied by a modification of the vowel of the noun and the suffixing of the formatives eni, ini, or ni according to the nature of the word.

Besides, this process of changing the noun from its ordinary form into a locative form, may be accompanied by phonetical changes; bilabial consonants occurring in the last syllable of the noun may become palatalised, e.g. *mula bo* into *mulajheni*;

itshaša " *etshajeni*.

In relation to Nguni, Phuthi follows the same process of forming the locative as Nguni. The prefixal locative formative mid-forward close e, and the suffixal formatives eni, ini and ni are found in both languages.

Compare the following constructions.

Ph. *itiko* (fire place) gives *etiko* (at the fire place).

Ng. *iziko* (do) " *eziko* (do).

Ph. *lisaga* (enclosure, kraal etc.) gives *elisageni* (at the kraal)

Ng. *isišaya* (do) " *esišayeni* (do)

Sotho.S. on the other hand does not prefix any locative formative, it does however, suffix the ni which has undergone a phonological change into ng in the language, except in some dialects in the Transvaal, like the Tlokwa which uses thabene instead of thabeng (at the mountain), nakene instead of nakeng (at the horn).

To indicate direction the formative ku (to) may be pre-placed to the substantive, subject to phonological and morphological modifications which take place when two words or sounds come together.

gether. Sometimes there is no change at all as in:-

"U^usetiyē kumalume" (he had come to his maternal uncle).

But in:-

"Giya kwivu l^qgudzuwe(I am going to the sheep which has been
shorn),

the coming together of the vowels u and i bring the semi-vowel w, so that instead of ku plus ivu the word becomes kwivu.

When direction refers to proper names of persons or tribes, the construction should consist of ku (to) and a (of) into kwa as is the case in Nguni, but in Phuthi the u drops out leaving the formative as ka.

In Sotho S. too the construction should take the same forms ho(to) and a (of) into hoa; but here too the o is dropped leaving ha. This shows another example of the halfway nature of Phuthi between Nguni and Sotho. The k of the Nguni kwa remains as such in Phuthi; it is not subject to sound-shifting into h, but the u element of the vowel part is dropped as in Sotho. Compare the following examples from the three languages.

Ph.	Giya <u>kw</u> Muzogwana	(I am going to Mzongwana's).
NgZ.	Ngiya <u>kw</u> Mizogwana	(do.)
So.S.	Ke ea <u>ha</u> Mosokoana	(do.)
Ts.	Ke ya <u>ga</u> Mosokwana	(do.)

The following examples will be given on a comparative basis to show relationship in the three languages with reference to the locative construction.

Examples involving the use of the initial vowel only in Phuthi.

Ph.	Munyago (doorway) gives <u>g</u> munyago	(at the doorway).
Ng.	Umanyango (do.) "	<u>g</u> manyango (do.)
So.S.	Monyako (do.) "	monyako (do.)
Ph.	Musamo(upper end of house) gives <u>g</u> musamo	(at the upper end of of the house)
Ng.	umsamo(do.) "	<u>g</u> msamo (do.)
So.S.	motšeo(do.) "	motšeo (do.)

Ph. litiko (fire place)...

Ph. litiko (fire place) gives gtiko (at the fire place).
Eg. iziko (do) " gziko (do).
So.S. leifo (do) " ifo (do).

Ph. llwadhle (sea) " gllwadhle (at the sea).
Ng. ulwandle (do) " glwanile (do).
So.S. leoatle (do) " leoatle (do).

Phuthi examples in sentences.

Utakalatsa gmunyago (he stands at the doorway with feet astride).
Uganna hlale gusamo lakha (you may stay like that at the upper
end of the house).
Uphakiyeni gtiko? (what have you cooked at the fire place?)
Sayiye enntweni gllwadhle (they have gone away to sea).

Examples involving change of the initial vowel as well as the
modification of the end of the word by means of a suffix.

Ph. liwa (cave, precipice etc.) gives eliweni (at the cave etc.).
Ng. illiwa (do) " eliveni (do).
So.S. lehaha (do) " lehahengi (do).

Ph. mulala (neck) gives emulaleni (at the neck) .
Ng. uqala (") " eqaleni (do).
So.S. molala (") " molaleng (do).

Ph. inyaga (doctor) " enyageni (at the doctor).
Ng. inyanga (do) " enyangeni (do).
So.S. ngaka (do) " ngakeng (do).

Ph. mafutsha (fat) " emafutsheni (in the fat).
Ng. amafutha (") " emafutheni (do).
So.S. mafura (") " mafureng (do).

Ph. tinywele (hair) " etinweleni (in the hair).
Ng. inwele (") " ezinweleni (do).
So.S. moriri (") " moriring (do).

But Phuthi/

But Phuthi ihloko (head) gives chlokweni (at the head) and Sotho.S. hloho gives hlohong whereas Nguni intloko (head) gives entloko (at the head) and not entlokweni.

Phuthi examples in Sentences.

- Ibuti iwele qiwani (a goat has fallen down a precipice).
- Mutshakatshi wagizaba gaulaloni (a witch caught me in the neck).
- Uphetshwe yihloko uye emvakweni (he is suffering from headache, he has gone to the doctor).
- Yini le egeqe gomafutshani? (what is this that has got into the fat)
- Wamutshela gejwala etinyveleni (he poured beer on his hair).

Certain locative constructions involve palatalisation. The following changes are noticeable.

b	becomes	j	e.g.	lihloko	(type or kind)-	elihloj ^{eni}	(in the type).	
b	"	jh	"	mutshabo	(blood vessel)-	emutshaj ^h eni	(in the blood vessel).	
m	"	ny	"	mulomo	or mulomu	(mouth)-	emulony ^{ny} eni	(in the mouth).
ph	"	tjh	"	incopho	(pinnacle)-	encot ^{tj} h ^{eni}	(at the pinnacle).	

Just how the three languages are similar or different will be shown in the following examples in sentences.

Ph. Ukh^hetshiye alibhloj^{eni} le li^{si} letiyomo.

Ng.Z. Ukhethe emhlotsheni q^ushi w^{ez}inkomo.

So.S. U kh^hethile mofuteng o mobe oa likh^homo.
(you have chosen from a bad type of cattle).

Ph. Ku^{sh}uhlugu emathfujhini.

Ng. Ku^{sh}uhlungu emathunjini.

So.S. Ho bohloko ka^h maleng.
(it is painful in the intestines i.e. suffering from stomachache).

Ph. Kuya^{sh}aba emulonyeni. (it is bitter in the mouth).

Ng.Z. kuya^{sh}aba emlonveni. (do)

" X. Kuya krakra emlonveni. (do)

So.S. Hoa baba molomong. (do)

Ph. Murena ušayemi encotfheni yetshaša.

Ng.X. Inkosi išime or išimi encotfheni yentaba.

So.S. Morena o ne ašame tlhorong ea thaba.

(the chief was standing on the mountain top).

Examples with the prefixal locative formative ku.

This formative is a prefixal remnant of class 17 in which class it signifies "to" "motion to" or "motion from".

It is used in the same sense in Phuthi. Its equivalents in Nguni and Sotho are ku and ho, or go, or xo, the go and xo being Tswana and Northern Sotho forms respectively.

As there are no important differences in connection with this formative in the three languages only Phuthi examples will be given here.

Baša šayiyę kuDawu (they had gone to Dawu).

Ute udlhule kudzadze awušuya (call on my sister on your way back).

Giya kumuti lo getasi (I am going to the dwelling which is below).

The locative of the words indicating possession of the village of the smaller community in Phuthi consists of the locative prefixal formative e and the possessive form e.g. ekhethfu (at our village etc), ekhenu (at your village), ekhwašo (at his village), etc. But the locative of the words indicating possession of the family consists of the prefixal formative ko before the possessive form. The ko itself consists of ku plus the formative lo the etymology of which is still difficult to find. So the probable original form was kulo which subsequently became ko as a result of the assimilation of the preceding u into o. So the locatives indicating the possession of the family or self are, kolokwami (at my house); kolokwethfu (at my family home); kolokwenu (at your family); kolokwašo (at his family).

Note the following comparisons with Nguni and Sotho.

Indicating possession...../

Indicating possession of the village or community or country.

Ph.	Ēkhetfu (at our village);	ēkhetu (at your village);	ekwašo (at his village)
Ng.Hl.	Ēkhetu (do.);	ēkhetu (do.);	ekhašo (at his village)
Ng.X.	kowethu (do.);	kowenu (do.);	kowašo (at his village)
	kuthi (do.);	kuni (do.);	kušo (at his village)
So.S.	hašo (do.);	hašo (do.);	hahašo (at his village)

In Xhosa and Sotho the elements of ku and ho are noticed in the ko and ha respectively.

Indicating possession of the family etc.

Ph.	Kōlōkwami (at my house);	kōlōkwenu (at your family);	kōlōkwašo (at his family)
Ng.X.	Kwami (do.);	kōkwenu (do.);	kōkwašo (at his family)
So.S.	haka (do.);	heno (do.);	habo (at his family)

With proper names of persons, certain names of places and terms of relationship, Phuthi uses the locative possessive formative ka, ku and a (literally, "at of").

In Phuthi and Sotho the u and o drop leaving ka and ha as pointed out before.

Examples:

Ph.	Uyakhiye <u>ka</u> Dzakwa	(He dwells at Dzakwa's).
Ng.	Wakhe <u>kwa</u> Dzakwa	(do.).
So.S.	O ahile <u>ha</u> Dzakwa	(do.).
Ph.	Bangolla <u>ka</u> Ramatshidiso	(They are writing to Ramatshidiso's).
Ng.X.	Babalala <u>kwa</u> Somatshidiso	(do.).
So.S.	Bangolla <u>ha</u> Ramatshidiso	(do.).
Ph.	Lituka ušatekiye Temtem <u>ka</u> Baca	(Lituka married Temtem in Baca land).
Ng.	Ulituka wayezoka uTemtem <u>kwa</u> Baca	(do.).
So.S.	Letuka o ne a nyetse Temtem <u>ha</u> Paqoa	(do.).

- Ph. Itshitiye aliqedziye kulima kacce la,etani?
Ng.X. Kuthe nisa kugqisa ukulima kwanakhulu, nenzani?
So.S. Bitse ha le qeta ho lema ha nkhono, la etsang?
(when you had finished ploughing at grandmother's, what did you do?)

Proper names of places not connected with persons use the formative g only.

Examples:

- Ph. Tshine baPhuthi sivele glisuthu (we Phuthi come from Basuto-land).
Ng. Thina baPhuthi sivele glusuthu (do).
So.S. Bona ba Phuthu re tsoa glesotho (do).
- Ph. BmaFegu aBasuka gluThukela (Fingoes originate from Thukela).
Ng.X. Amaifengu ayesuka gluThukela (do).
So.S. MaFeku a ne g tsoa Thokela (do).
- Ph. Utoya kohlala gquthing? (are you going to stay at Quthing?).
Ng. Uza kuya kuhlala gquthing? (do).
So.S. U tla ea lula Quthing? (do).
- Ph. Banyukiye gSinkqa (they crossed the Orange River).
Ng. Bawele gGqili (do).
So.S. Ba tsetse Senqu (do).

Sometimes the formative ge (by, at etc.) is preplaced to the noun to indicate the locative form. Nguni does not have this formative or its variant. But Sotho uses ka (at).

Examples:

- Ph. Malume useqeta geqacha (my maternal uncle works in Qacha's Nek).
Ng. Umalume usebenza gqacha (do).
So.S. Malome o sebetse kaqacha (do).
- Ph. Bayakhiye geVenyane (they dwell inIVENYANE).
Ng. Bakhe glvenyane (do).
So.S. Ba ahile ka Fenyane (do).
- Ph. Uvela geMzinto (he comes from Mzinto).
Ng. Uvela gMzinto (do).
So.S. O tsoa ka Mzinto (do).

PHUTHI TEXTS.

Kufika Kalituka Kuleliphasi.

- (a) DmaSetedi akaAdam Kok adavela ePhillipolis. Ata jhalo aBa atothewuka eOngeluk's Nek. Lapha afika kutiqalaba Sa todzi, kutidawu kutiphofu letinyamatana tohle, emarallaneni ise itibila itihlolo.

Wathewuka ke Adam Kok laLituka mura 'Moporosi, abafika lakha, bathewuka iVenyane Bata abafika kuNomkholoketho itshaBa lekeKatshi kwVenyane lezivubu. Itshtiyi abafika lakha kuNomkholotho yaBa uwasuka Adam Kok ubeka ebili wayema la kutshuwa kukeKokstad lamhlajhe. Lituka yena yaBa uwasuya lakha kuleyo tshaBa, wata asa nyulusa Venyane. Wayakha kusukaVenyane, kuta lakhe'Matukeni. Muti waLituka uo kuheyidzawo goku emiye liplasi laJack genxa leya kwedoropo yeMadadiyela, kubeka le'Sitrivela ise guye.

Lituka wateka Temtem udadza'Makhawula. Ufati lo watekwa gelikhfulu letiyomo; likhfulu letibuti, likhfulu letivu lelikhfulu letihanghang.

Temtem lo watala mzwadhana lemuthfwanyana. Mzwadhana lo kwatshuwa guDigezweni. Digezweni lowo wanyikwa liphasi ekhwasonna. Wayakha lakho kufikela lalamhlajhe ke. Bathwana Sakhe Basa mebe Surona lakho lalamhlajhe mukhmani lakho agumurena kona esisageni selit. Frere.

Uana dzadzewaBo Digezweni lowo; dzadzewaBo usagu-Nomatshafa; yena watekwa matolweni gemushiya lowa kwemukhmani. Buyeni jhalo Surona Salowo murena Digezweni, Susaqiniye Surona Sakhe. GemaZizi akaJhama bathfu laBo. Yena Moporosi yise kalituka gakwakhe giliZizi lakaJhama kaSijhadu.

By Ekese Rankhahle.
The English Translation.../

The Phuthi texts appearing in these pages are only two of the many that were recorded word for word from informants, as they themselves dictated them to me.

The English Translation.

The Arrival of Lituka in this country.

The Griquas of Adam Kok came from Phillipolis. They travelled along, until they came down Ongeluk's Nek. Here they found "sigalaba i.e. Protea foupelliae" bushes only; there were lions, elands and all the animals, on the hills there were dassies and rabbits.

Adam Kok then, came down with Lituka the son of Moorosi. When they arrived here, they went along down the Venyane River until they came to Nomkholokotho, a mountain between Mvenyane and the Umzivubu Rivers. When they came to Nomkholokotho, Adam Kok moved forward and settled where Kokstad is to-day. Lituka, returned from that mountain and came up the Mvenyane River. He settled between Mvenyane and maTukeni. Lituka's place was at the locality where Mr. Jazk's farm is now situated, on the other side of the town of Matatiele. The region towards Cedarville was his (i.e. belonging to him.).

Lituka married Tentem, Makawula's sister. The lobola for this woman was one hundred head of cattle, one hundred goats, one hundred sheep and one hundred horses.

Tentem begot a boy and a girl. The boy was called Digezweni. Digezweni was given some land at his mother's home. He settled there and has remained there up to this day. His children still hold the chieftainship in the district of Mt. Frere, where he is chief even to this day.

This Digezweni had a sister. The sister was Nomatshafa. She was married at MaTolweni on the other side of the Mukhemani River. So stands the chieftainship of chief Digezweni, his chieftainship still waxes strong. Those people are Zizis of Jhama; Moorosi himself the father of Lituka, is a Zizi of Jhama son of Sijsaŋu.

Tirogo tathiba-There Mura walituka wedlhu yešušini.

Phadima emakhata arošele ematini,
Gemulajhēni qPhuthiyatsana,
Abakrhwula ešathfu minwana letadiha.
Phadima ligogo leputi mura 'Moorosi,
Lešiyala kuphalwa;
Liphalwa yišekhwašo lašetitjhaša;
Linntšē liyadzisa kukuzuka.

Girabēlēni gisahlēti ephasi,
Aselešiyemi agisarabēlēki;
Kuša gimaba itheše lekphwaša lephatshwa.
Gihlome tikrhohlo letitshwewu,
Ginke kwakwa lemukhothfo.

Wami muthfu umajhwe getadiha,
Kušagisitukulwana semuhali mura 'Moorosi.
Gidlhēni šafo šekhethfu!
Siya kudlha sigemadinu!

By - John Mbenyane Gqada.

English Translation.

Praise Poems of Thiba-There Lituka's descendant of the Second -
House.

Phadima frost lies in water,
At the river Phuthiyatsana,
It breaks peoples' fingers and hands.
Phadima, the hide of a skin, the son of Moorosi,
Which refuses to be scraped (brayed);
It is scraped by his kin and by foreigners;
It is wont to swell. (in the process).

Entreat with me while I am still sitting,
Once I am up, I am no longer persuaded;
Because I hold a black-white spotted shield and a white and black one.
And I put on white anklets,
And carry an adze and a spear;
My person (victim) is held with hands, (at close quarters).
Because I am the descendant of a warrior the son of Moorosi,
Consume me my fellowmen!

...

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