

**SOME PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE
TEKELA NGUNI DIALECTS**

by

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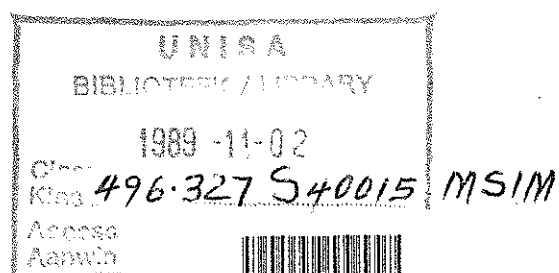
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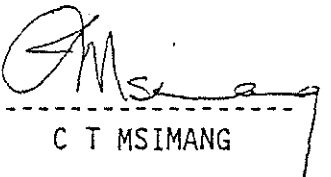


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DECLARATION

I declare that SOME PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE TEKELA NGUNI DIALECTS is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



C T MSIMANG

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SUMMARY

This is a phonological study of some aspects of Tekela Nguni dialects, found in Southern Africa. Six of such dialects have been identified, namely: Swati, which is found in Swaziland, KaNgwane and South-Eastern Transvaal; Bhaca, found in Mount Frere and Umzimkulu in the Transkei, and between Ixopo and Bulwer in Natal; the Lala who occupy a large part of Southern Natal from Umzinto to Ezingolweni, as well as around Durban and Kranskop; the Nhlanguwini, found north of Port Shepstone; Phuthi which is spoken at Quthing in Lesotho, Herschel in Transkei, and all the way from Mt Fletcher to Matatiele in South Africa; and finally Sumayela Ndebele found in the Northern Transvaal between Potgietersrus and Pietersburg.

Aspects which are compared are phonemes which are dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4, from a synchronic and diachronic angle, respectively. In the synchronic approach the focus is on Tekela phonemes currently in use as opposed to the diachronic approach where Tekela cognates are compared and the derivation of Tekela reflexes from Proto-Bantu traced.

Chapter five deals with phonological processes, and two types are distinguishable. Firstly there are processes which are common to Nguni in general. Secondly, there are those which are peculiar to Tekela Nguni. These include nasalisation of vowels; vowel replacement and labialisation. Chapter 6 is an elementary comparison of tone in these dialects. Tonal patterns of the noun and verb are identified and explained by means of tonal rules.

The linguistic evidence is corroborated by common origins and history of the Tekela peoples as postulated in chapter 2. The conclusions drawn are that the Tekela dialects are but members of one and the same Nguni sub-group, and that besides foreign influences, they still share a number, not only of phonological, but also lexical and morphological features, which are commented upon in chapter 2.

The study ends with a humble submission that it would be a most viable and pragmatic proposition if Nguni had only two written languages: one Tekela and the other Zunda Nguni.

CHAPTER 1

PRELIMINARIES

1. INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

1.1 AIM OF STUDY

As implied in the title, this is a comparative study of some phonological aspects of Nguni Tekela dialects, namely: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele. Several studies on the individual dialects have been undertaken but – to date – no single in–depth study from a comparative angle has yet been tackled.

Accordingly, three very important factors make a study of this kind desirable. Firstly, in the present era of rapid change, language change and reconstruction, to encapsulate some of the linguistic features of these dialects before they are thrown into oblivion is of special value to scholarship and posterity. Secondly, similarities between these dialects are an interesting feature in view of their geographical distribution across the length and breadth of Southern Africa. Finally, some conclusions drawn might prove or disprove a common history and some genetic relationships between these groups.

1.2 SCOPE OF STUDY

The study will cover seven chapters, titled as follows: Chapter 1: Preliminaries. This chapter deals with two main aspects of this work. Firstly, definitions of various speech varieties are given and an attempt is made at distinguishing between such varieties as language, dialect, sociolect, register, et cetera. Secondly, an overview of studies on these dialects is given and a brief evaluation of such studies is also attempted.

Chapter 2: Historical perspective and geographical distribution of the Tekela groups. Here the focus falls on Bantu origins with special reference to the Nguni group. This will set the scene for a cursory comparison of these dialects pointing out similarities and differences of a morphological, syntactic

and semantic nature. Influence on Tekela from other contiguous language groups will also be traced.

Chapter 3: Tekela phonemes: A synchronic study. In this chapter the Tekela phonemes are identified and described from a synchronic angle. Certain I.P.A. symbols are used to represent each phoneme.

Chapter 4: Tekela phonemes: A diachronic study. This is a continuation of chapter 3. However, in this chapter only those phonemes which can be traced from Ur-Bantu or Proto-Bantu are described. The main aim is to show that the Tekela dialects form a subgroup within the Bantu language family.

Chapter 5: Phonological processes. This chapter deals with all types of sound changes which may broadly be divided into assimilation and dissimilation processes.

Chapter 6: Suprasegmental phonology. As a matter of fact, the focus in this study is more on segmental rather than supra-segmental phonology. Here the focus falls on tone, and other suprasegmental features.

Chapter 7: Conclusion. This is the last chapter which is a recapitulation of the salient features of all the significant findings and observations in this investigation.

1.3 APPROACH

1.3.1 Order of Preference

In this study, Swati will be used as the point of departure. This does not imply that Swati is in any way superior to the other dialects, but is chosen solely for practical reasons since it is the best documented of all the Tekela Nguni dialects. The others will then be compared against Swati or be analysed individually in alphabetical order, commencing with Bhaca and ending with Sumayela Ndebele.

It must be noted here that the various dialects are referred to as: Lala, Bhaca, Nhlangwini, et cetera, to the exclusion of the relevant prefixes (i.e. IsiLala, SiSwati, IsiBhaca, et cetera). I am well aware of the latest fashion of

using the prefix with African/Bantu language terms. However, I feel that this is grammatically incorrect. To me a prefix is a mere grammatical formative which fixes a Bantu word concordially into the Bantu syntax. Since the medium used in this study is a non-Bantu syntax, my view is that Bantu grammatical trimmings are irrelevant in this context.

1.3.2 Mono-theoretical versus Multifaced Approach

It is often too difficult, if not impossible, to choose the most adequate approach to analyse linguistic data in all its aspects. In any case I am skeptical about the superiority of the mono-theoretical approach. I concur fully with Poulos' views in rejecting the mono-theoretical approach despite its philosophical justificationalism. He argues:

... Even though justificationalism may currently be the most respected logic of philosophy of science, it is not necessarily the only acceptable approach in theory evaluation; in other words a mono-theoretical approach is dependent on the strength of its justification despite the fact that it may not necessarily be the best account of relevant problematic phenomena. On the other hand, given a perspective of a discipline where the object of study is seen to be so complex as to warrant a multi-faceted approach, scientific research in this regard could well generate insight to the problematic phenomena concerned... Thus despite its weaknesses on philosophical grounds, a multi-theoretical approach may provide more insight than a mono-theoretical approach since the former approximates 'reality'.

(Poulos, 1982:xii-xiii)

In other words, in this study, use will be made of all relevant theories provided they generate insight into a problematic phenomenon at hand.

1.3.3 Diachronic versus Synchronic Analysis

This is chiefly a synchronic investigation since the aim is to analyse these dialects as they are currently spoken. However, owing to the desirability to put them in their historical perspective, a diachronic approach will also be adopted where necessary.

1.3.4 Mixing versus Non-mixing of Linguistic Levels

Again I shall depart from the view that linguistic disciplines should not be mixed. Here we must take cognisance of the fact that in Bantu languages

most changes which are phonologically conditioned operate within the context of the word. To this end, it is perhaps better to speak of morphonology than simply phonology in this context. In other words, although this study is based mainly on phonology, morphological and where necessary even syntactic features of these dialects will be commented on, with the view to shedding more light on the problematic phonological phenomena.

1.4 DEFINITION OF SOME TERMS

Since this is a study of dialects, the first term to be defined is quite obviously, dialect. However, once a definition of this term is attempted, a whole host of other terms inevitably comes in for definition. Firstly, a definition of the word dialect is not worthwhile unless it relates it to, and distinguishes it from language on the one hand and register on the other. Again such a definition is not good enough unless it also relates to the relevant speech community. Besides these, languages must also be related to language groups and families; and dialects in their turn, must also be related to dialect clusters, et cetera.

1.4.1 Language and Dialect Defined

Since any definition of dialect will make mention of language, it might be wise to start with a definition of both these varieties. Prima facie, this seems an easy task but on closer scrutiny, both these concepts are much more complex and problematic. In our case this is aggravated also by the fact that one of the 'dialects' to be studied is Swati, which is recognised as a 'language', while the rest are still labelled 'dialects'. The question is what features does Swati have which the other dialects lack? Secondly, if it has graduated as a language, is it still proper then to include it in a study of dialects? Before answering these two questions let us try to establish the difference between dialect and language.

To begin with, a language is a speech form or rather one of the varieties of speech forms. What characterises this particular variety? According to Potter (1957:36) a language is a

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

Khobo... the same notes are...
 Two main features may be noted in this definition, viz. (a) vocal symbols; (b) used for communication. To someone who wants to distinguish languages from dialect, this definition is not of much help; a dialect is also a system of vocal symbols used for communication. In fact, linguists have failed to give a clear-cut definition of language based on linguistic grounds which distinguishes it from dialect. Hudson (1980:31) considers this problem and cites Einar Haugen who argues that we are bound to have this problem because in many cultures there is no such distinction. He avers that even in England the distinction did not exist until the term dialect was borrowed, as a learned word from Greek in the Renaissance. This distinction developed in Greek because of the existence of a number of written varieties in use in classical Greece, each associated with a different area. He goes on to add that the Greek terms which were translated as 'language' and 'dialect' had different meanings from what these words have in English. He cites a similar instance in French, where the term dialecte refers to regional varieties which are written and have a literature, in contrast to regional varieties called patois, which are written down.

From the foregoing argument two deductions may be made. Firstly, in Zulu or Nguni, we also lack a term which is the equivalent of the English 'dialect'. Thus, in Nguni, the distinction between language and dialect is non-existent. Secondly, the feature 'reduced to writing' is held by lay-men as a distinguishing criterion between language and dialect. Thus it can be argued that Swati is no longer a dialect because it has been written down. However, linguistically speaking, a language does not become such simply because it has been reduced to writing. A written form is a mere record of a language which already existed as such in its spoken form.

How then do we distinguish between the two? Hudson (1980:31-33) posits two more criteria. The first one is size and the second one is prestige. He argues that a language is larger than a dialect, because it contains more lexical items. A language is a cluster of dialects and it contains a sum total of all the terms in all its dialects. He argues further that language has prestige which dialect lacks. However, this prestige attaches to a language once it has been elevated to the status of a standard language. Once that happens, it gains prestige by being used in formal discourse and in writing.

Consequently, it has become common practice to refer to unwritten languages as dialects and to written dialects as languages.

- ✓ However, it must be emphasised that standardisation is a result of direct and deliberate intervention by society. This intervention produces a standard language where before there were just dialects. This process of standardisation involves four aspects, namely: selection; codification; elaboration of function and acceptance.

SELECTION: A speech community will select one of its dialects and develop it into a standard language. This is usually the dialect used in political, economic and religious intercourse.

CODIFICATION: The linguistic features of such a dialect must be fixed in dictionaries and grammar books by an academy or similar language bureau. Once it has thus been codified, it will become necessary for the members of its community to learn and use it correctly.

ELABORATION OF FUNCTION: This dialect must now be used in all types of communication especially in government, courts of law, education, and also in various forms of literature.

ACCEPTANCE: This means that the community must recognise the dialect as its national language. It must recognise it as its symbol of independence, autonomy and sovereignty. (Hudson, 1980:33-37.)

On these extra-linguistic grounds, the Swati of Swaziland qualifies as a language. But then what about Swati spoken in the Eastern Transvaal? Is it a language or a dialect? Surely, that area known as KaNgwane is not a sovereign state. Where do we draw the line? Perhaps we are forced to concur with Hudson (1980:37) where he concludes that "there is no real distinction between 'language' and 'dialect'".

How then do we classify the speech varieties that form the subject of this study? Are they languages or dialects? Before we attempt an answer to this question, let us consider one little point. When we speak of dialects, we

normally have in mind dialects of a particular language. Can we then speak of Tekela dialects where there is no Tekela language? This seems to add another dimension to the concept language. It means that a language comprises a cluster of dialects.

When we speak of Xhosa as a language, we have in mind all the lexical items from the following dialects: Ndlambe, Ngqika, and Gcaleka. This is with regard to written Xhosa. Otherwise, Xhosa in general also includes lexemes from Thembu, Bomvana, Xesibe, and Mpondomise.

In the same vein, Swati consists of the following dialects: The Dlamini or Central dialect spoken around Mbabane and Ezulwini valley; the Northern dialect which is common in the Republic of South Africa, especially around Barberton and Nelspruit; the Eastern dialect which is encountered at Siteki and Lomahasha; and possibly the Southern dialect common around Hlathikhulu and Nhlangano, which evinces a strong Zulu influence.

It must be noted at this juncture that the same argument of dialect cluster can be raised with regard to Bhaca, Lala, Nhlangwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele. For instance, Van Dyk (1960) who undertook an in-depth study of Lala, isolated at least three dialects of this speech variety. These are the Bhengu dialect spoken around Kranskop; the Jali dialect encountered in the Harding district, and a third one around Inanda and Mngeni reserve. To this we may add also the Cele dialect of Ezingolweni and other districts; and the Ndzelu dialect encountered at Umzinto and High Flats.

Likewise, Sumayela Ndebele has its own cluster. In fact, Ziervogel (1959:4-5), who refers to it as a language, isolated the following dialects: the Muledlana who are sub-divided into three groups: bakaSibidiela; bakaGegana; and bakaMgombhane, the Langa who are sub-divided into the Mapela and the Bakensberg sections and finally, the Ledwaba who are sub-divided into the Mashashane and the MaUne.

The purpose of this observation has been to show that there are no linguistically justifiable grounds on which to draw a distinction between language and dialect and that Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlangwini, Phuthi and

Sumayela Ndebele qualify as either languages or dialects depending on the approach each researcher wants to adopt. In my approach in this study, they are all dialects.

The fact that Swati has been reduced to writing does not distinguish it from the rest linguistically. Languages and dialects became such long before the art of writing was even invented. Also the requirements of size and region are not very useful because they are relative concepts. The English of the U.S.A. and the Swati of Swaziland are both 'languages' despite the fact that the U.S.A. is more than a hundred times the size of Swaziland. Also the number of speakers in each country does not affect the status of their language.

However, I must still consider the anomaly of referring to Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele as Tekela dialects when there is no Tekela language. Perhaps the best way of looking at this 'anomaly' is to first note that it is by no means unique. In the Bantu context, for instance, we often speak of a Bantu language family, a Nguni group and even a Zunda sub-group although we do not currently have Bantu, Nguni or Zunda as specific languages. What we are actually postulating is a Proto-Bantu, Proto-Nguni and a Proto-Zunda language; and in the same vein a Proto-Tekela language. Accordingly, we can speak of the Tekela dialects as being dialects of the Proto-Tekela language.

The fact that dialects must be of a particular language adds yet another dimension to the quality of dialects — that they must be mutually intelligible. Subsequently, it will also be the aim of this investigation to establish whether or not the Tekela dialects are mutually intelligible. Hudson (1980:35) maintains that:

... if the speakers of two varieties can understand each other, then the varieties concerned are instances of the same language; otherwise they are not.

While he admits that this is a widely used criterion, he however cautions that its application has serious problems. Let us focus on two of the problems he has isolated. The one is that mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree

ranging from total intelligibility down to total unintelligibility. He wonders how high up the scale two varieties need to be in order to count as members of the same language. The second problem is that:

Mutual intelligibility is not really a relation between varieties but between people, since it is they, and not the varieties, that understand one another. This being so, the degree of mutual intelligibility depends not just on the amount of overlap between the items of the two varieties but on the qualities of the people concerned.

(Hudson, 1980:36)

To the requirement of quality, one may add also attitude and motivation. To a Swati, for instance, Zulu would be intelligible, depending on how the Swati is well motivated, disposed and exposed to acquire Zulu.

Fortunately, it transpired during research that the two problems underlined by Hudson might not apply to the Tekela dialects. Firstly, many people in four out of the six Tekela groups are family members. This assertion is in view of the fact that the most prominent tribe among the Swati is the Dlamini; and this happens to be the case also with the Bhaca, Nhlangwini, and Phuthi as it will be more fully demonstrated when the history of these groups is traced.

Secondly, practical experiences during research confirmed in my mind that certain Tekela speakers from various Tekela groups regard themselves as members of the same family. For instance, at Mzimkhulu where I had gone to consult some Bhaca informants, I was given a cold shoulder by a Bhaca young man who refused to be interviewed. In dismissing me he stated that if I need to know Bhaca so desperately why do I not go to Swaziland and interview the people there. I could sense that this man did not trust my credentials, suspecting me to be some police officer or detective — yet his response confirmed in my mind, once and for all, that as far as he was concerned Swati and Bhaca are one and the same speech variety.

Then again among the Phuthi, I met a certain Mr Mokhoantle who informed me that in his endeavour to reduce Phuthi to writing, he had visited Swaziland, with the purpose of studying Swati orthography. He continued to

add that when he got to Swaziland, he was beside himself with excitement on seeing a Tekela language in print. He simply could not refrain from buying a few copies to show to his fellow-men in Lesotho and Transkei. I have no doubt in my mind that he would not have bought the Swati books if this variety was not intelligible to him. Notwithstanding these experiences, however, we must still investigate the common vocabulary shared by all these dialects.

1.4.2 Register

Having concluded that language and dialect are speech varieties which overlap to a large degree, we should consider also whether they are not mere registers. The close relationship between register and dialect is highlighted by Hudson (1980:48-50) where he maintains that:

The term REGISTER is widely used in sociolinguistics to refer to 'varieties according to use' in contrast with dialects, defined as 'varieties according to user' ...

We can interpret register differences in terms of the model of acts of identity in much the same way as for dialect differences

...
We have so far presented the concept of 'register' in the way in which it is normally used, as the name of one kind of variety that is parallel to dialect.

Let us now analyse these statements. Firstly, Hudson maintains that a register is a variety according to use. What this amounts to is that a speaker, in conceiving an act of communication, also conceives the type of social group he wishes to communicate with, and adjusts his behaviour accordingly. For instance, if a young man is communicating with his mates, he will use slang, but with his seniors or those in authority, he will use formal speech. The two may then be termed an informal versus formal register. In the first instance, he wants to identify with the addressee, in the second instance, he wants to distance himself from the addressee. Accordingly we may define register as a speech variety that one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify his relationship vis-a-vis the person or group he is communicating with.

How then does this relate to dialect? Perhaps this question should be answered after diglossia has been dealt with. In the meantime one may state

that, prima facie a language is comparable to a formal register while a dialect is comparable to an informal register.

1.4.3 Diglossia

Diglossia is not a speech variety but a situation where there are two or more distinct varieties, and one of them is used in formal or public occasions while the other is used in everyday circumstances. Ferguson (cited by Hudson, 1980:54) defines diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language ... there is a very divergent highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Let us now try to relate the ideas on registers and diglossia to the Tekela dialects in question. Starting with registers, we note that five out of the six dialects have not been reduced to writing. The result is that in the areas where they are spoken there has to be another variety (Zulu or Xhosa in the case of Bhaca; Zulu only in the case of Lala and Sotho in the case of Sumayela Ndebele), which is used in formal and public circles. There seems to be no doubt therefore that a diglossic situation has arisen in these areas. Until very recently, the same applied also to Swati. At home the Swati spoke their mother tongue but in formal circles they used Zulu.

However, is it quite correct to maintain that a Tekela dialect is an informal register? Not when we subscribe to the fact that registers occur in a monolingual speech situation. In fact, one of my experiences during research is that when I interviewed a Bhaca chieftainess, Nomtsheketshe, I noticed that in her presence, her subjects used a formal variety of Bhaca, quite distinct from the informal one they used between themselves. This brought me to the conclusion that even a dialect has a scheme of multi-dimensional matrix from which individual speakers choose their register according to the demands of the act of communication. Hence, Hudson (supra) is correct in maintaining that dialect and register run parallel. Dialects may have a lot in

common with registers – as I have tried to show – but they are a distinct variety.

1.4.4 Sociolect

This is yet another speech variety which is related to dialect. It is consequently essential to define and distinguish it from dialect. Hudson (1980:43) regards dialect as a regional variety and sociolect as a social variety. This makes a sociolect to be some kind of register. A community is divided into social groups, distinguished by social class, sex, or age; and which are identified by their various speech forms. Such speech forms are called sociolects. Thus they differ from dialects which cover a whole region.

1.4.5 Isogloss

One can hardly speak of dialects without mentioning isoglosses. The term isogloss is a compound of two Greek words: 'iso' meaning 'same' and 'gloss' which means 'tongue'; and it refers to an imaginary line which forms a boundary of a region in which a particular dialect is spoken. It would be desirable to draw isoglosses to show the geographic distribution of the Tekela dialects but unfortunately such idea is not feasible, owing to the diglossic situation prevailing in the areas where these dialects are spoken. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Tekela peoples were uprooted from their original homelands during and after the **Mfecane**, and thrown together in southern Natal, in the area called no-man's-land. Here the Tekela found themselves rubbing shoulders with non-Tekela groups such as the Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Chunu. Although the Swati were spared this ordeal, the purity of their speech form was also affected by the **Mfecane** since many hordes of fleeing Nguni such as Zwangendaba, Zwide and their followers cut across Swaziland, staying there for a while before proceeding northwards, and some of the fugitives even made Swaziland their permanent home. For instance, Zwide's people were allocated an area in the Pigg's Peak district. The only people who were not affected were the Bhengu (or Ngcolosi) of Kranskop, which perhaps explains why that dialect has not undergone all the sound changes undergone by other Tekela dialects. For instance, in the Ngcolosi Lala palatalisation of labial sounds does not occur. The second reason for the diglossic situation is that schools have been

established throughout the Tekela world and here pupils are taught non-Tekela vernaculars. Men who also go outside their area to find employment are also exposed to non-Tekela vernaculars. Only a few women who have never been to school or outside their territory are monolingual Tekela speakers. The result is a great difficulty in drawing isoglosses. A situation such as this is simplified by Hudson into mathematical terms thus:

The family tree model enables a very important prediction to be made regarding isoglosses, namely that they should not intersect. This prediction follows from the strict hierarchy among varieties in the model: either one is an ancestor of the other, or the two are 'sisters'. Now imagine a hypothetical state of affairs where a large variety L contains two items x and y neither of which is used by all the people who speak L. We can distinguish within L between varieties with and without x (+x and -x), and those with and without y (+y, -y), but all four possible combinations of these varieties actually exist: there are people who have both (+x, +y), others who have neither (-x, -y), and others who have just one or the other (+x, -y, or -x, +y). What then are the relations between the varieties defined by x(+x, -y)?

(Hudson, 1980:39)

In actual fact, the early Bantu philologists and comparative linguists such as Johnstone and Doke (see Guthrie, 1948:20-27), attempted the plotting of isoglosses in their classification of Bantu languages. In plotting their isoglosses they used a number of 'differentia' including lexical, grammatical, tonal, and phonological differentia. After carefully reviewing the results of their endeavours, Guthrie is somewhat sceptical of the effectiveness of plotting isoglosses. He argues:

From the list of differentia just given it might be thought that if these were used for plotting isoglosses, the classification of the Bantu languages would be a simple matter. Unfortunately, this is far from what is found when the attempt is made ... The extreme case of its failure occurs when an isogloss provided by a given feature coincides with others in indicating a useful division between languages in or part of the field and then cuts right through the middle of a single language elsewhere.

(Guthrie, 1948:26)

1.4.6 Tekela

There are many scholars who have expressed themselves on the nature of Tekela. Some of them have simplified matters and described it as a

substitution of the Zunda /z/ by /t/ in a Nguni language. Others have given very complex definitions of this term, with the unfortunate result that there is no consensus of opinion regarding its nature. Thus it becomes necessary to give an overview of some of the most pertinent descriptions of Tekela.

The Rev. J.L. Döhne (1857:340) was probably the first scholar to define Tekela in his: Zulu-Kafir Dictionary as:

Uku-Tekeza ... to speak a peculiar dialect, different from the Zulu, and consisting mainly in the change of sounds to which several consonants are subject, viz.: to change the sharper sounds for flatter, as k for g: z for t, as izinkomo zami zonke (Zulu), and Tekeza tribes say: itomo or itiyomo tami tonke, — umnyaka (Zulu) umunaga (Tekeza) — umuntu (Zulu) — umunu (Tekeza), &c.: of compound consonants in Zulu, the Tekeza retains only the labial m, and the nasal n ...

Bleek (1862) also gave his attention to Tekela. He gives a lengthy description of this variety:

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

Bryant (1929:232-233) defines Tekela in similar terms. He starts by outlining the clans which inhabited the present day Natal, before the advent of Shaka. He maintains that they were the Tekela-speaking branch of the Nguni-Bantu family. He then describes Tekela in these words:

All the above-mentioned Nguni groups, eMbo and Thonga alike, belonged, as said, to the Tekela speaking branch of Nguni family (7), that is to say, their speech, though still 'radically' (word-root) identical with that of the pure Ntungwa-Ngunis (8) from whom they had sprung, had, owing to their contact with the descending stream of Suthu Bantu, assumed so many phonetic and structural changes (of which

the changing of z into a closed t was the most striking, and consequently gave rise to the term, tekela) as to have become virtually a new language.

Writing on Swati, Ziervogel and Mabuza (1976:1) comment briefly on Tekela:

The Dlamini, it is said, spoke a Tsonga-like language of which the main characteristic was tekela (using the t sound for the z, i.e. the Zunda sound).

From Mzamane's definition it would appear that the Cape Nguni approach this subject differently. Writing on Phuthi, Mzamane (1948:2) states:

Phuthi is a language whose nature lies somewhat midway between Nguni and Sotho although it tends much more towards Nguni than Sotho ... With regard to its relationship with Nguni, Phuthi follows the 'tshefula' and the 'teketa' dialects of Nguni ... in changing the z's into t's. The 'tshefula' found in Phuthi is almost identical with that found in Baca and Swazi. Similarly the 'teketa' is the same as that of isiQwabe and other coastal dialects.

It must be pointed out, however, that the two terms 'tshefula' and 'teketa' are used here, in the Cape Nguni sense where (i) the former involves a change of the explosive 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 prepalatal semi-vowel y, as in the change from ubonile into uboniye.

Kubeka (1979:41) cites a definition of Tekela by yet another Cape Nguni, J.H. Soga, who unfortunately does not support Mzamane's view:

Ukutekeza means to lisp like a child. Tekedza merely defines a peculiarity of enunciation, and this is not confined to one tribe of the Bantu race. Tekela differs according to clans and there are reasons:

1. Lala substitute t for z - this is the distinguishing dialectic feature.
2. The AmaBaca and the AmaWushe on the other hand introduce the sibilant after the letter t e.g. ukutsi for ukuthi. Besides this there is a transmutation of u and owe to wi e.g. kwitsi for kuthi or kowethu. This form of tekedza is called tshefula.

Kubeka (1979:42) then cites Louw who regards Lala as separate from Tekela.

Kubeka says:

Under Tekela he (Louw) has Swazi, Bhaca, Phuthi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele, and Nhangwini. Lala constitutes a

sub-group of its own probably because of agreeing with the theory that Lala are not Thonga-Nguni in origin ...

Finally let us consider also Doke's definition of Tekela. According to Kubeka (1979:4)

Doke recognises two dialect forms of Zulu. The first he calls ukuthefula, a term which he describes as signifying 'to be oily or slippery'. The second dialect he calls ukutekeza, a term signifying 'to quiver, to speak in a quivering voice'. Under the term ukutekeza he has listed isiBaca and isiLala dialects. Swazi which he regards as a separate language also falls under ukutekeza.

What then do we conclude from the foregoing definitions of Tekela? Firstly, according to Döhne or his informants Tekela is defined with reference to Lala. It is mainly in Lala that a prenasalised consonant is dropped as found in Zunda: umuntu but Lala umunu. Other features cited by Döhne, however, are common to all other Tekela dialects. Turning now to Bleek, we note that according to him, Tekela is not restricted to Nguni only. Together with Thefula, these phenomena are common to other Bantu peoples, including Tswana, Makua and Mpongwe. He also defines it broadly to cover also the replacement of l with ɾ and the elimination of ɽ in nasal compounds. The last-mentioned phenomenon occurs in Lala which is regarded as a Tekela dialect in this study. I shall comment further on this broad definition in chapter 7.

Secondly, Mzamane's definition is not acceptable for the purposes of this study. He might be right regarding how these terms are used by the Cape Nguni, but unfortunately his definition does not tally with the other cited definitions which I adopt. These other scholars are unanimous in maintaining that Tekela basically involves the change of the Zunda z to ɽ notwithstanding certain differences in their definitions. In conclusion, therefore, I concur fully in Kubeka's view where he states:

If tekela/tekeza means, among other things, to pronounce a /t/ sound in the place of the /z/, then the above are generally classifiable together despite their differences. It should be pointed out also that in spite of this collective classification the above named dialects do not agree in all their characteristics but chiefly agree in the /t/ quality. For example at the phonological level, the change of /l/ to /y/ is a phenomenon

peculiar to the Mthethwa-like dialects and the transmutation of nasal compounds is peculiar to Lala dialects.

(Kubeka, 1979:42)

1.4.7 Bantu .

The term Bantu was first used by Bleek in the first part of his, Comparative Grammar, in 1862. Guthrie (1948:9) avers that:

From the time this name became accepted for this remarkable family of languages spoken over much of central and southern Africa.

Although Guthrie maintains (ibid) that:

Fortunately, from the time this name was first introduced it has chiefly been applied to linguistic rather than to ethnological facts...

in South Africa the term has been politicised by being used in an ethnological sense to refer to South African blacks. Hence, such blacks take offense at the mere mentioning of this name. However, in linguistics, it has hitherto proved impossible to replace it. Khumalo proposed and uses the term 'Sintu' to replace Bantu (see inter alia Khumalo in Nkabinde, 1987:71 et seq). This term is to be preferred, not only because it avoids the offensive term Bantu, but also because it is linguistically correct. The si- in it is a class 7 prefix and refers to a language or culture, whereas the Ba- prefix falls under class 2 which is a persons class. Despite this however, it will not be ideal to replace Bantu with Sintu in this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it might not be desirable to use it with such compounds as Proto-Bantu or Ur-Bantu. Secondly, Sintu will not do where the people and not their language are intended. Thirdly, and most importantly, owing to the many quotations cited in this study, in which Bantu is used, it might be both clumsy and confusing to use also Sintu next to such quotations.

1.4.8 Nguni

Presently, this term is used linguistically to refer to Bantu languages in Guthries' group S.40, namely: Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and related dialects. When and how did this term come to be used in this sense is not easy to establish. Perhaps the first scholar to use the term was Bryant (1929). In the first chapter of this publication he writes:

The natives of South-Eastern Africa we distinguish as of three separate families, which we call respectively Nguni ...; Suthu ...; and Thonga ...

We have designated the first of the above types 'Nguni' because abaNguni was the name by which, in times gone by, these people generally distinguished themselves from the other two types around them

(Bryant, 1929:3-4)

Louw, however, convinces us that the matter is much more involved than would Bryant want us to believe. He states:

Much has been written about the origin of the word Nguni, but no one has been able to explain it. I also tried my best, but the only satisfactory elicitation I could get was that there was probably some vague legendary figure of that name, around whom centred the origin of the present Nguni. This may be the most satisfactory explanation. Otherwise Nguni refers to people who share certain common features in language and customs, i.e. who speak related dialects and follow a common code of social traditions.

(Louw, 1987:14)

Who could this legendary figure be that Louw is referring to? Probably Mnguni, father of Luzumane, father of Malandela, father of Qwabe and Zulu. Indeed the Qwabe, Gumedede, Gcabashe, Khuzwayo and other related clans use Mnguni as their clan-praise. But they are not the only group that uses this clan-praise as we shall see below.

At this point, let us remind you that what Bryant refers to as Nguni covers not only Guthrie's group S.40 languages, but also those classified as Sotho, for he states:

Of all the Bantu race probably no single tribal family has produced so many great and famous political stars – conquerors, statesmen, social organizers and wise, progressive high-minded rulers – as has this of the Ngunis. Dingiswayo and Shaka, founders of the Zulu nation; Khama and Moshesh (Mshweshwe), both of the baKoni origin, and founders, the first of Ngwatho, the second, of the Suthu nation ...

(Bryant, 1929:4)

Is this actually the sense in which the Nguni themselves use this term as Bryant avers? Probably not. Soga, for instance, defines this term in a narrower sense. Yet his classification is very confusing especially as far as the Lala are concerned. He argues thus:

Ngunis are Xhosas, not Ama-Lala or Aba-Mbo. There are some sections of Abe-Nguni, of the same stock as the Ama-Xosa, still in Natal, where they remained when the Xhosas moved to the South. These are Ama-Mbayi and Ama-Nzimela ... These sections retain the salutation, Mnguni, the name of their common ancestor.

(Soga, 1930:78)

Soga acknowledges the Ngoni of Malawi and Zambia also as Nguni (1930:81). The Lala he identifies with the Kalanga of Zimbabwe and includes in that group also the Hlubi, Zulu, Nhlanguwini, Ntungwa, Qwabe, and many other groups which to him are non-Nguni. The abamBo are also a distinct group.

What is common knowledge in Zululand however, is that before Shaka's time this territory was occupied by three peoples: The Ntungwa, Nguni, and Tekela. The Ntungwa were in northern Natal between the modern Vryheid and Babanango, and included such clans as Mabaso, Khumalo, Mbatha, Buthelezi, Chunu, and Zulu. The Nguni included mainly those tribes which had descended from Lebombo along the Natal east coast to settle between Mtubatuba and Mthunzini. These included the Mkhwanazi, Mthethwa, Mthiyane, Mbonambi, Dube and Mzimela. They used a Thefula dialect and especially the Mzimela used Mnguni as their clan-praise. Although Qwabe, brother of Zulu, was actually a Ntungwa, by trekking to the north coast of Natal, and picking up the Thefula dialect, his descendants have also come to be praised as Mnguni. Is it because their "ancestor" was Mnguni — the above mentioned legendary figure or is it because they adopted the Mzimela clan-praise? It must be borne in mind that adopting other people's clan-praises was quite common at the time — as we shall see in chapter 2 when the history of the Zizi or Phuthi is discussed. What is interesting about Qwabe however, is that although he was a Ntungwa, and therefore Zunda when he broke away from the up-country, his tribe around Ngoye mountains eventually became a Thefula group. It is quite possible therefore that the Qwabe might have adopted the Mzimela clan-praise as well as their speech variety. What is even more interesting is that nowadays it is very common to refer to this Thefula dialect as IsiQwabe. This must have been during the reign of Phakathwayo, the greatest of the Qwabe chiefs. He might have conquered the Thefula tribes with the result that they surrendered and owed allegiance to him. This has a parallel among the Tsonga, who once

they were conquered by Soshangane, adopted his name as the name of the group and their language became known as IsiShangane. So far about the speculation on the 'Nguni' in a narrow sense. The moral of the story of course is that since the Qwabe could become Nguni by adoption, there is nothing stopping the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, et cetera to become Nguni by the same token. However, in Shaka's time the three groups: Zunda, Thefula and Tekela were united into one, and spoke one language, Zulu, i.e. the Ntungwa dialect which was elevated to the status of the official language. In a way then, all these peoples became Zulus or Ngunis. That the Xhosa ancestors were also among these, is not denied. What is important is that linguistically speaking, Nguni embraces Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu with all their related dialects and this is the sense in which the term is used in this study.

1.5 AN OVERVIEW OF SOURCES

At this juncture, we find it necessary to give a brief survey of sources on Nguni in general and Tekela Nguni in particular. It is strongly felt that such a survey is necessary in order to ascertain what linguistic aspects of these dialects have been adequately dealt with, as well as what aspects still need to be researched. Comments will also be made, in passing, on the merits and demerits of each source. Let us start with some common features which characterise most of these studies.

The most prominent feature is that there seems to be more emphasis on the grammatical rather than phonological analysis of the Nguni languages. This may be ascribed to two reasons. Firstly, traditional linguistics concentrated more on grammar than phonology. This means that the approach adopted by Nguni grammarians was a common one. Secondly, it is only recently that structural and generative phonology have come to their own, and many linguists are still wary of applying them.

Another common characteristic is that most of these works do not use phonetic symbols in presenting the given speech sounds. This is ascribable to the fact that very few typewriters had the necessary I.P.A symbols at the time.

In the third place, we find that in most of these sources tone is not marked. In fact very few of them discuss tonology at all. However, let us now be more specific, and discuss each source in turn, starting with the general works before proceeding to studies on individual dialects. Needless to say, the focus will fall on the linguistic studies rather than historical and anthropological works.

1.5.1 General and Comparative Studies on Nguni

Hitherto, only three in-depth studies on Nguni in general have seen the light of day. The pioneering work is Lanham's: The Comparative Phonology of Nguni, a doctoral thesis which was completed in 1960. In this voluminous study of 12 chapters Lanham compares the phonology of four Nguni languages, namely: Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele (of Zimbabwe) and Swati. He focuses mainly on supra-segmental phonology since only the first four chapters are devoted to segmental phonology. Although this work is a major contribution as far as Zunda Nguni is concerned, it leaves quite a void regarding Tekela Nguni since only Swati has been included to represent this large sub-group. It may also be pointed out that the usefulness of this work is somewhat adversely affected by inadequate examples to illustrate Lanham's views, and this makes it difficult to follow all his arguments.

Hardly two years went by than Mzamane followed up with his: A Comparative Phonetic and Morphological Study of the Dialects of Southern Nguni Including the Lexical Influences on non-Bantu Languages, in 1962. Again this was a doctoral thesis. This voluminous study of 269 pages comprises three sections: a short chapter on the history of these groups; a section on phonetics and phonology; and a section on morphology including vocabulary. The Southern-Nguni dialects which form the subject of this study are Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Hlubi, Bhaca and Nhlangwini. The last two are Tekela Nguni.

The historical exposition given in this study is quite useful although also quite fragmentary and conflicting. Mzamane himself concedes this when he states:

This information, of course, seems to be in conflict with that given us by Theal.

(Mzamane, 1962:7)

One also gets the impression that the whole work was put together in haste. The section on phonology has not received the attention it deserves. For instance, phonological processes per se are dealt with in only four pages (i.e. from 51 to 55).

Another Tekela dialect in that area, namely Phuthi, is conspicuous by its absence. The reason for this is probably that Mzamane does not regard Phuthi as a Nguni dialect. To him it is a variety which stands between Sotho and Nguni (Mzamane, 1948:2).

The third study is a Masters dissertation by Edgar Posselt, titled: 'n Vergelykende Studie van die Klanke van Oer-Bantu met dié van Nguni, 1975. This study concentrates on only one aspect of Nguni phonology, namely: the identification of Nguni phonemes which are reflexes of Ur-Bantu phonemes as identified by Meinhof (1932). The work is very well illustrated with Ur-Bantu etymons and their Nguni cognates. The Nguni languages/dialects which are treated in this study are the Zunda: Zulu, Xhosa, Zimbabwe Ndebele, Southern Transvaal Ndebele, and Mpondo; as well as the Tekela: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele. The balance between Zunda and Tekela in this study is to be appreciated. Although only one phonological aspect has been treated, the work is a worthwhile contribution as Posselt himself avers:

Hierdie werk voldoen egter in bepaalde opsigte in 'n lank gevoelde behoefte veral op die gebied van dialeknavorsing waar die beskikbaarheid van materiaal van hierdie aard 'n noodsaaklikheid. Vervolgens behoort dit ook van nut te wees in toekomstige fonologiese ondersoeke wat ten opsigte van Nguni onderneem word.

(Posselt, 1975:ix)

Other sources worth mentioning are: Ziervogel et al: Handbook of the Speech Sounds and Sound Changes of the Bantu Languages of South Africa, 1967; Rycroft: Nguni Tonal Typology and Common Bantu (1980a); Rycroft:

Tone and Depression in Nguni (1972); Louw: Some Remarks on Nguni Tone (1979); and Tucker: Sotho-Nguni Orthography and Tone Markings (1949).

It must be noted however that all these sources use Zunda Nguni as a point of departure. If they discuss Tekela Nguni at all, then it is bound to be Swati. For instance Ziervogel et al (1967) devotes two chapters to Swati phonetics and segmental phonology. The book is not without discrepancies however. Some of them will be pointed out at relevant places. However we may not judge this book too harshly because the authors, by withdrawing it from circulation, did acknowledge that it has some defects.

1.5.2 Sources on Swati

It is worth noting that although Swati is the only Tekela dialect which has been reduced to writing, it did not attract the attention of Bantuists until quite recently. Furthermore only a handful of scholars have paid more than passing attention to it. Thus Ziervogel remains its greatest scholar and advocate for presenting it as a written medium. Starting way back in 1941 with his: Die Klank en Vormleer van die Sentrale Vorm van Swati, Ziervogel spent the best part of his life researching this speech variety. His magnum opus in Swati: A Grammar of the Swati Language, which was written in co-authorship with E.J. Mabuza, was published in 1976, a few months before his death early in 1977.

Ziervogel's first grammar work on Swati: Die Klank en Vormleer van die Sentrale Vorm van Swati is a Masters dissertation. In the first part of this work Ziervogel gives a useful sketch of the early Swati history. He then cites a few studies which predate his. Of these only P.J. Coertze's Masters dissertation on Swati phonology is worth mentioning. Even so it would appear that Ziervogel does not assess this work very highly for he states (1941:14) that:

"Sy werk is uiters beknop en onvolledig."

The second part of Ziervogel's dissertation deals with Swati phonology, from paragraph 28 to 64. A much larger portion of this work (i.e. from paragraph 65 to 112) deals with Swati grammar. The last part is an addendum in which

we find a map; dialectical classification as well as some Swati texts. A large part on the phonology section traces the derivation of Swati reflexes from Ur-Bantu; and phonological processes receive attention only from paragraphs 60 to 64. There is very little on suprasegmental phonology.

Nonetheless this work must have made such impact on scholarship that Doke was motivated to persuade Ziervogel to publish a Swati Grammar textbook. Indeed this was published in 1952 as: A Grammar of Swazi. To a large extent this work is an English version of Ziervogel's dissertation. Phonology receives even a smaller coverage in this work, it being treated in only the first 19 pages of this voluminous work of 224 pages. The chapter on Swati history has not been included and Swati ethnographical texts have been reduced to two extracts only. All in all then the work is strictly a grammatical text and grammarians¹⁾ assess it very highly in as far as its grammatical content and analysis are concerned. It is consequently not clear to me why Ziervogel deemed it necessary to revise this work and issue A Grammar of the Swati Language in 1976. This work deals with grammar only; phonology, Swati history and ethnographical texts have been left out. Critics¹⁾ are not too happy with the scientific way in which this work has been put together. Tone is marked only in the first part of the work. Reasons for abandoning it later are explained by Davey (1981:1-2):

... who was responsible for the tone marking:

... tone marking was carried out up to page 136, but it was not completely accurate as it was done from badly recorded cassettes and with a background of Xhosa tone so that many patterns were heard in Xhosa terms.

Another major work on Swati is Davey's thesis of 1981 titled: Aspects of the Tonology of SiSwati. However, this was not the first work on Swati tonology. A few treatises had already appeared from the pen of David Rycroft on Swati tone patterns, such as: Say it in SiSwati (1976); and his: Concise SiSwati Dictionary. Rycroft is, in fact, another scholar who has devoted much of his time to do research on Swati. His publications on Swati grammar include

X1) Personal discussion with Prof. J.A. Louw and Mr P.C. Taljaard.

also his SiSwati Language Manual (1973). This work is not strictly relevant to his study since it does not deal with phonology.

1.5.3 Sources on Bhaca

To date only two major linguistic studies have been undertaken on Bhaca. Incidentally both of them were completed in 1942. These are: D.P. Hallows: A Grammar of Baca and its Relation to Swazi, Zulu and Xhosa, (1942); and A.C. Jordan: Some Features of the Phonetic and Grammatical Structure of Baca, (1942). As is evidenced by the title, Hallows adopted a comparative approach to the study of Bhaca. He correctly concluded that Bhaca is closer to Swazi than to the Zunda Zulu and Xhosa. However, this work too is biased towards grammar in that phonetics and phonology are dealt with in only one out of twenty chapters. Besides the description of speech sounds, only the following processes are discussed: prenasalisation; palatalisation (only six lines); elision of vowels; coalescence; and then length, stress and tone.

With regard to Bhaca history it would appear that Jordan did not do his research properly, for he denies a common history between Swati and Bhaca. He argues:

As to any previous relationship between the Swazis and the Bacas I have no authority. I have consulted historical records in vain. But in the traditional history of the Bacas 'uDlamini' and 'kwaDlamini' figure a great deal, but this is no proof that the contact was in Dlamini's days.

(Jordan, 1942:vi)

In chapter 2 an attempt will be made at showing that the Swati and the Bhaca have a common origin.

Jordan's work is quite significant however from another point of view. This scholar actually lived among the Bhaca and was in that enviable position which enabled him to identify and describe Bhaca idiosyncrasies with some degree of accuracy. Yet this work too has a bias for grammar. Phonology is dealt with in only 15 pages. The highlights of this section are that in his description of Bhaca phones he comments also on nasalised vowels. He discusses such processes as prenasalisation, palatalisation, vowel harmony, vowel substitution and others. In the section on suprasegmental phonology he

comments on semantic tone; grammatical as well as emotional tone. Unfortunately the concepts are not defined. Comparison with Ur-Bantu, Zunda Nguni and with Sotho is haphazard and inconclusive.

1.5.4 Sources on Lala

To date, Van Dyk's thesis: 'n Studie van Lala (1960), is the only in-depth study on this dialect. Yet the dialect had attracted the attention of scholars as far back as 1857 when Döhne defined it as a Tekela speech form in his Zulu-Kafir Dictionary (see par. 1.4.6 *supra*). In 1929 Bryant gave a short inventory of Lala vocabulary in his monumental: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal; as well as in an earlier work: First Steps in Zulu, (1882) by J.W. Colenso. A similar approach was adopted by Kubeka (1979). Kubeka also analyses the morphology of this speech variety.

Now lets turn to Van Dyk's work which is the most significant contribution on Lala. Its highlights with regard to phonology are that: he distinguishes phones from phonemes, but unfortunately these concepts are not defined. He analyses the Lala syllable as well as a number of phonological processes. There is a short section on supra-segmental phonology where he discusses tone, accent and length. He adopts a synchronic as well as a diachronic approach, i.e. he also traces Lala phonemes to their Ur-Bantu starred forms.

It must be pointed out however that Van Dyk only dealt with one dialect of Lala, the Bhengu-Jali dialect spoken in Kranskop and Inanda which is also known as the Northern dialect. In this dialect the velar fricatives have not yet been replaced by lateral ones. We thus commend Wilkes (1981) for his short treatise which purports to compare the Northern with the Southern dialects of Lala especially the Cele dialect of Ezingolweni.

1.5.5 Sources on Nhlangwini

As far as scholarship is concerned this dialect was taken for dead until Mzamane (1962) and Zotwana (1981) came up studies on this variety. As a source on a Tekela dialect Zotwana's treatise leaves a lot to be desired since none of the Tekela idiosyncrasies are mentioned even though Zotwana admits that the Nhlangwini are an offshoot of the Swati. Presently Mrs P.J. Zungu

is analysing the Nhlanguwini for a Masters degree at the University of Natal and there is hope that her scholarship will benefit from her study since she is also a mother-tongue speaker of this variety, and she analyses it from the inside.

1.5.6 Sources on Phuthi

Mzamane's dissertation, titled: A Concise Treatise on Phuthi, (1948) is heretofore the only source on Phuthi. However, it compares favourably with similar studies of that time. Although it concentrates more on grammar it deals in a reasonably adequate manner with the Phuthi phonology. Mzamane adopts a diachronic approach where he traces Phuthi reflexes of Ur-Bantu. His description of Phuthi sounds is quite accurate although he does not use phonetic symbols. His work is very well illustrated with examples. Regarding phonological processes he discusses assimilation, elision and coalescence of vowels; vowel harmony; and palatalization. Of supra-segmental phonology only tone is discussed. He adopts a comparative approach and traces parallels between Sotho, Zunda Nguni and Phuthi.

1.5.7 Sources on Sumayela Ndebele

There is hitherto only one source on this dialect, namely, D. Ziervogel: A Grammar of Northern Transvaal Ndebele, (1959). The work is divided into five parts as follows: PART I: A Historical Survey. This part is somewhat fragmentary and not very well supported by other historical and traditional sources on the subject. PART II: Phonetics and phonology. This is a small section of 22 pages but most of the phonological aspects have been adequately described. There are a few points at issue where I differ with Ziervogel but they will be discussed in the relevant chapters. PARTS III and IV deal with morphology and syntax respectively; and PART V is a compilation of Ndebele ethnographical texts.

What is quite interesting about unwritten dialects is that every researcher (from Bryant in 1929) tells us that they are dying but they do not really die. Of the Lala, Van Dyk (1960) repeated Bryant's warning that the dialect was on the verge of extinction. I was also bound to say the same thing when I started with the present research in 1984.

However this is no reason why we should not preserve what we can of these dialects because even if they do not completely die they will undergo radical changes due to the levelling effects of education, radio and television, i.e. the process of standardisation.

1.6 RECAPITULATION

From the foregoing discussion, the following deductions may be made. Firstly, this is a phonological study of the Tekela Nguni dialects. Swati is regarded linguistically as a dialect even though on extra-linguistic grounds it is a language. It will also be argued that Lala is equally a Tekela dialect. To show that these Tekela varieties are indeed dialects of the same language, it will be necessary to prove that they are descendants of a common ancestor; have a common history; and are mutually intelligible. To accomplish this goal, firstly, a historical survey of the Tekela should be attempted and secondly, a multifaceted approach should be adopted in analysing the data from a diachronic as well as a synchronic point of view.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND GEOGRAPHICAL
DISTRIBUTION OF TEKELA

2.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

The significance of a historical perspective in tracing the genetic relationship of the Tekela dialects has already been emphasised. Accordingly, in this chapter the following approach is adopted. Firstly, a brief overview of Bantu origins is given. Secondly, an attempt is made at outlining the early migrations of the Nguni, concentrating on the Tekela sub-group before focusing on its present day geographical distribution. Finally, similarities and differences between the various dialects are illustrated and comments made on the influence of other contiguous language groups on Tekela.

In his introductory remarks to his study on diachronic phonology of Tsonga, Baumbach regrets the prevailing status quo which compels him to compare the present day Tsonga with Proto-Bantu owing to the lack of information on intervening stages (Baumbach, 1987:72). Baumbach's remarks are very valid, and apply with full force also to the Tekela dialects which form the subject of this study. It would be ideal – in tracing the common ancestor for these dialects – to be able to compare them against Pre-Nguni or Proto-Nguni. Because of the void in this respect, however, the best one can do under the circumstances, is to compare them with Zulu and Xhosa against the Proto-Bantu background. In a way, this links the history of these Tekela groups with that of the other Nguni groups in particular, and of the Bantu origins in general. Hence an overview of Bantu origins becomes desirable. Fortunately, there is enough material on this subject in the treatises of various Africanists such as Meinhof, Westermann, Guthrie, Greenberg, et cetera, that it will not be necessary to deal with it here.

However, a brief outline on the common homeland of the Bantu as well as their migratory route down south may help set the scene.

2.2 THE PROTO-BANTU HOMELAND

2.2.1 Guthrie's Postulation

Guthrie (1962) postulated that the Proto-Bantu homeland was in the Katanga woodlands in central Africa, south of the Equatorial forest. He arrived at this conclusion by first dividing all of the Bantu-speaking Africa into 15 zones. He numbered them alphabetically from A, B, C ... in north-western Africa to S in south-eastern Africa (omitting the letters: I, J, O and Q). The Nguni inhabit zone S in Southern Africa (see Guthrie, 1967:Vol. 1). In these zones, Guthrie isolated no less than 350 languages. He then decided to compile a corpus of 2300 common word roots from 200 of these languages (see Dalby, 1975:484 et seq). Although a large majority of Bantu languages are represented by individual vocabulary items within this corpus, for pragmatic and statistical considerations, Guthrie chose to work with only 28 Test Languages.

Guthrie (1962:13-18) then explains in minute detail how he collected, codified and interpreted his data. Firstly, he sought cognates from the test languages to attest his 2300 starred forms. The groups of cognates obtained led to a further division of the Bantu field into two parts comprising a western region (Zones: A, G, C, H, K, L, R) and an eastern region (Zones: D, E, F, G, M, N, P, S). The starred forms attested within the western region came to 20% while those within the eastern one came to 41%. Those that cover the whole (or greater part) of the Bantu area came to 23%. In considering the implications of the existence of these three distinct sets of roots, he postulated a common ancestor language which he named Proto-Bantu X, as the single progenitor of the Bantu family. Further that this progenitor language diffused, and spread to the west and east, and in the process, differentiated into two main dialects: Proto-Bantu A and Proto-Bantu B, respectively.

To determine where the progenitor language originated, he first took the number of general roots having a reflex in any given language and expressed it as a percentage of the sum total of the general roots. Each percentage was then referred to as the General Bantu Index for the language concerned. Next, he used the geographical distribution of these indices to gain some

information about the probable location of the progenitor. The most interesting factor which emerged was the orderliness of the pattern of the geographical distribution of the indices. He found that there was a central group or nucleus containing 43% or over, but away from this the percentages diminished steadily in every direction excepting the direction to the north-west where he noticed a very sharp drop. He then inferred that the location of the progenitor language was somewhere in the nucleus, namely, Katanga woodlands. From here, the Proto-Bantu B., of which the Nguni group is a member, spread to the east and the south.

2.2.2 Greenberg's Postulation

According to Greenberg (1972:189-216) the Bantu ancestral homeland is located in the approximate area of the Cameroons and Eastern Nigeria, which is

close to the north-western limits of the present Bantu range. Not only is this area where the greatest diversity exists among modern Bantu dialects, but also it is where a strong degree of similarity is found both in vocabulary and in grammatical form, between the Bantu dialects and the local non-Bantu languages.

(Phillipson, 1977a:110)

Thus Greenberg refutes Guthrie's premise that the linguistically most conservative area reveals the nucleus of the Bantu. On the other hand he posits that:

... it is rather the area of the greatest internal divergence, in this case the north-western area, which points to the earliest differentiation and hence the point of origin.

(Greenberg, 1972:216)

2.2.3 Apparent Conflict in the Theories of Guthrie and Greenberg

Prima facie, these two theories seem to be in conflict. However,

as has been noted by many, there are a number of points on which they are in agreement.

(Finlayson, 1987:51)

This finds further support in, among others, Oliver's view, who maintains that,

one does not have to think of Greenberg's conclusions and Guthrie's conclusions as contradictory. It is a perfectly sound interpretation to think of them as referring to successive stages in time.

(Oliver, 1966:367)

Better still, many scholars agree with Greenberg's more persuasive theory. This is borne out by Phillipson's assertion that:

Most students of the problem now support, at least in its basic outlines, the view of Joseph H Greenberg.

(Phillipson, 1977:110)

Moreover, Finlayson makes a very important observation that:

Guthrie does postulate a spread to the west of his nucleus and also, and even more importantly, an earlier pre-Bantu stage before the Bantu threshold which he felt could have been to the north-west of the Equatorial Forest, i.e. to link up with Greenberg's hypothesis of the nucleus of the Bantu speaking people ... through the linking of both linguistic and by bringing in archaeological evidence ... the nucleus of the Bantu speaking people was to the north of the Equatorial Forest.

(Finlayson, 1987:51)

In support of this conclusion, she cites De Maret (1982:1) who mentions that some small scale excavations carried out in the Cameroon, south of the Adamawa range, have revealed information on a microlithic Stone Age industry. I concur in Finlayson's conclusion and now turn to the next question, which is how did the Bantu spread from their ancestral homeland to the rest of the sub-continent.

2.2.4 Migration of the Proto-Bantu B Group

Reference has already been made (*supra*) to the two groups (or Proto-Bantu dialects), namely: Proto-Bantu A and Proto-Bantu B (which Heine (1973) prefers to call the Western Highland and the Eastern Highland group respectively.) Since it has also been mentioned (*supra*) that the Nguni belong to the Proto-Bantu B (PB-B for short), from now on the focus will only be on the Eastern Highland group.

The story of how the PB-B group migrated from the common homeland to the east and then south, is not as benighted by controversial theories as the

postulation of their origin. If there is any controversy at all, it concerns only the dates. In fact the story is so generally accepted that it may seem redundant to repeat it here. However, it is reproduced because of the conviction that it lies in the core of this study and may, if recounted, put the study in its proper perspective.

According to the linguistic postulations corroborated by archaeological evidence, the PB-B group spread steadily from their nucleus in an easterly direction. They moved along the eastern savannah belt, north of the equator, eventually settling in the vicinity of the north-west of Lake Victoria, at about 500 BC. By this time they were still a Stone Age people and did not practise any farming or metallurgy. It was only about 300 BC to AD 600, that a major change took place in the greater part of Africa between the equator and the Vaal river (Phillipson, 1977:104). This change was marked by the appearance of the characteristic type of pottery known as Urewe. Since this pottery was found in association with evidence for metallurgy, this period has been named the Early Iron Age. The Urewe ware sites are found all the way down from Lake Albert in the north to Lake Thanganyika in the south.

It is worth noting, however, that the PB-B group did not penetrate to the adjacent highlands of northern Tanzania and southern Kenya probably because that area had already been occupied by the more culturally advanced Kushitic people who had settled there as early as 1000 BC.

On the other hand, the area that the Bantu occupied had been inhabited by the indigenous population which lived on hunting and food gathering. Thus the Early Iron Age culture was alien to them as Phillipson observes that:

Evidently, the culture was introduced by means of a rapid and coherent movement of people who had brought with them a full-fledged culture that had undergone its formative processes elsewhere.

(Phillipson, 1977:106)

These people brought with them domestic animals which were hitherto unknown in the south, especially, cattle, sheep and goats. They also introduced agriculture, in particular, the planting of millet and sorghum. The

PB-B group kept on moving round the equatorial forest. It is postulated that in their eastward migration this group came into contact with speakers of Central Sudanic languages from whom they acquired cattle and sheep, for they already possessed goats. From the Sudanese they also learned the cultivation of cereals and the smelting of iron. Evidence in support of this is drawn from the Bantu terms of cattle (**gombe*), millet and sheep, which are of Sudanic origin (cf. Finlayson, 1987:52,56).

All the while the PB-B group kept on moving round the equatorial forest south and then westward to join up again with Guthrie's nucleus. However, there were many splinter groups which went in other directions, as Oliver maintains that:

We should think of the southward expansion of the Bantu as a cumulative process, in which the surplus population generated in the favourable conditions at the heart of the Bantu world was constantly pushed out towards the perimeter in an unending sequence of migration, conquest and absorption.

(Oliver, 1966:373)

For our purposes, there are two most important offshoots from this second nucleus. The first is the group that moved farther to the east. These are the Kwale ware potters who settled in south-eastern Kenya and along the coast of the Indian ocean, northwards into Somalia and southward to the neighbourhood of Dar Es Salaam (Phillipson, 1985:67), in about AD 200. From there they proceeded down the east coast to the present Mozambique, Swaziland, Natal and the Eastern Cape.

The second offshoot is a large group of people who left the second nucleus by AD 300-400, descending in almost a bee-line to the west of Lake Nyasa through the present day Zambia and Zimbabwe on their way to the Transvaal. Both these branches constitute Guthrie's Southern Bantu, comprising five language groups, namely: the Shona, Venda, Tswa-Ronga, Sotho and Nguni.

Members of the first offshoot, who descended along the east coast, are among others, the Proto-Nguni we are interested in, in this research. Accordingly, let us cross over from pre-history to history.

2.3 NGUNI HISTORY

2.3.1 Sources

Information concerning the history of the Nguni comes from two main sources: European records and oral traditions of the Nguni themselves. The European source is further divided into two phases, namely: the accounts of explorers, navigators and shipwrecked seamen who traversed the eastern coast of southern Africa especially in the 16th and 17th centuries; and the records of historians, particularly of Rev A T Bryant. Unfortunately, both sources leave a lot to be desired. The oral traditions are too fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. Even besides, they "generally extend only a short distance into the past" (Phillipson, 1977:106). The records of explorers and seamen are mere word-lists which only confirm that the south eastern coast was inhabited at the time of the arrival of such Europeans. Regarding the value of Bryant's historical account, Ownby's commentary is worth noting:

The historiography of Nguni speaking peoples is dominated by the work of A.T. Bryant, particularly for the period before the mid-nineteenth century. His work is invaluable for the data it provides, much of which can be found nowhere else. Yet at the same time, it is a kind of obstacle because of its lack of clarity and conciseness.

(Ownby, 1981:61)

To these defects, one may add a third and perhaps more significant one, that of the often unsubstantiated speculations and conjecture (see also Marks, 1967:127-128).

How then should one handle such a situation? Perhaps one's only resort is to use these sources but in as critical and objective a manner as possible.

One should also take cognizance of Ownby's suggestion that:

... to successfully deal with these contradistinctions, the historian needs a new base-line, that is, additional evidence which will critique existing interpretations and suggest new ones ... To some extent this will be provided by archaeology. In addition, however, linguists will undoubtedly help solve the problems of early Nguni history, perhaps even play a major role.

(Ownby, 1981:61)

It must be admitted that this assertion is very valid, and that scholarship is

indebted to her for her contribution (Ownby, 1981:61–81) towards realising this goal. It is also hoped that this research will shed some more light on the subject, or at least reinforce the foundation she has laid for further research into this problem.

2.3.2 Bryant's Account

According to Bryant (1929:5–7), the Nguni together with the Sotho and Thonga form a unit within the Bantu language family. However, in their march from north to south, they parted company, which is why their languages developed along widely different lines. Regarding the route followed by the Nguni he maintains:

We do not think, however, that in their coming they crossed the, to them, impassable Zambezi ... by any eastern or even central crossing. We prefer to believe that, moving with their cattle, large and small, totally unacquainted with canoes or water-life ... they elected then ... to 'get round' the obstacle rather than to get over it ... They crossed the river then, or rounded it about its sources – perhaps a 1000 years ago ... Thence they swung round into the central pasturelands between Lake Ngami and the Upper Zambezi, at that time swarming with herds of game, and found themselves in Bushman's Paradise.

Proceeding south-eastwards on their way, out of the reach of Bushmen cattle-thieves, away from the barren and waterless Kalahari that blocked progress on their right, the great Nguni trek came to an end at last somewhere about the head-waters of the Limpopo. Into this southern continent these were the very first of the Bantu. (1929:5)

Bryant informs us further that after settling for a while in the north-western region of the Transvaal, the Nguni then dispersed, continuing their roamings along divers paths. He distinguishes three groups. The first elected to remain where they were. These were the BaHurutse, BaKwena, BamaNgwatho, and the BaNgwaketsi clans which constitute the BaKone group known as Western-Nguni.

The second group known as Pure-Ngunis (so-called because their speech form was not tainted by Sotho or Thonga influence) proceeded to the south-eastern region of the modern Transvaal. By about AD 1500 they resumed their migration, others settling in the modern Natal, others

proceeding to the modern Transkei. These were the ancestors of the Ntungwa (from whom sprung the Zulus): and of the Thembu and the Xhosa.

The third group known as Tekela-Nguni migrated seawards. They then branched into two sub-groups. One sub-group wheeled south from about the Nkomati river and settled in the area bordered by the Lubombo range and the sea southward of the modern Delagoa Bay. This was the abaMbo branch (alternatively, Dlamini or Swazi Nguni). Some of the abaMbo penetrated the modern Swaziland and northern Natal crossing the Buffalo river in the west to settle below the Drakensberg range. The second branch pushed further seawards and more slightly to the north where:

... they struck the vanguard of the foreign Thonga-Bantu ... then streaming southwards along the east coast. After closely associating with these, and meanwhile picking up something of their blood, their manners and their speech, they struck camp once more and, wheeling about ... became the head of the Bantu procession, marching south-wards along the coast, first through the modern Zululand, later into the lower half of Natal.

(Bryant, 1929:7)

These Tekela-Nguni consequently became known as Thonga Nguni. Bryant further divides them into Mthethwa, Lala and Debe sub-groups (1929:7). This third group, i.e. the Tekela Nguni, of course forms the subject of the present study and the focus will accordingly be concentrated more and more on its history. But before delving into the history, it is fitting that a few comments be made on Bryant's assumptions.

2.3.3 Comments on Bryant's Account

Bryant's theory regarding the movement of the Nguni round rather than across the Zambezi is not satisfactorily substantiated. Even African historians find it unconvincing. Marks (1969:129) refutes it easily with these words:

It is not necessary to follow Bryant's Nguni farther afield than the head-waters of the Limpopo, through their meanderings along the Zambezi and from the Great Lakes of East Africa: this aspect of his work is so obviously the result of building on straws (or, as the case may be yams), that it is best ignored for the moment.

As linguists, however, we cannot agree with Shula Marks that this apparently fallacious assumption should go unchallenged. Bryant himself supported his assumptions with linguistic evidence. Yet no linguistic evidence has been adduced in support of this movement. On the contrary, the linguistic evidence there is goes to disprove Bryant's theory on this aspect. For instance, his assertion that the Nguni were totally unacquainted with canoes and waterlife cannot hold water when one considers such pertinent Nguni terms as *isihlenga* (raft) which is a reflex of *—CENGA in PB (see Guthrie, 1971:121), and —*loba*/—*doba* (fish, angle) in Zulu and Xhosa respectively, which are reflexes of PB *—DOB— (see Guthrie, 1971:125).

Moreover, it is contradictory to argue that the Nguni originated at the Great Lakes but are unacquainted with water life. In actual fact, Soga (1930:58) sees no difficulty in the crossing of the Zambezi river by the Nguni. He cites Walker's Historical Atlas in support of his argument. Unfortunately, very little use of Soga will be made in this study for the following two reasons. Firstly, his classification of the South Eastern Bantu is not acceptable to me. According to him, the Nguni are only the Xhosa, and certain of their Natal remnants (the Mbayi and the Mzimela clan), as well as the Zambia/Malawi Ngoni. He groups the Lala and the AbaMbo as two distinct groups, unassociated with Nguni and with one another. Secondly, his theory is based more on traditional and ethnographical material rather than on linguistics.

There is even a more serious contradiction in Bryant's theory. He argues from the premise that the Nguni, Thonga and Sotho form a single unit, but parted company in their march southwards. The Thonga then proceeded along the eastern coast and settled in the present-day Mozambique. Accordingly, this stream must have crossed the Zambezi near its mouth. How could one stream succeed to cross where another stream of the same unit had failed?

Louw (1977:127–149) expounds a theory which purports to link the Nguni with the Bantu of East Africa, particularly of Kenya. He then traces their movement along the East African Coast down to the modern Northern Natal. He adduces linguistic evidence in support of his assumptions which is in the form of prevailing terminology. This terminology is divisible into two

categories. In the first category one gets terms which link the Nguni with East African languages, particularly Swahili. These are such Nguni words as *isikhathi* (time). Louw (1977:147) is of the view that this word is a cognate of the Yao *makati* and the Swahili *wakati* and is probably borrowed from the Arabic */waqt/*. Another one is the Xhosa *ibhoma* (initiation lodge), which has cognates in Swahili and Acewa, and is a loan from the Arabic */bhm/*. It must be noted here that the Semitic people inhabited East Africa long before the advent of the Bantu.

In the second category, Louw presents tree names. The fact that such trees grow along the eastern coast line is proof that this must be the route followed by the Nguni southward. Consider the Nguni *isundu* (wild date palm) and *umsinsi* (*Erythrina caffra/Kaffirboom*) both of which are tropical trees found in damp coastal areas and the lowveld. Louw (1977:134) cites Palmer and Pitman who maintain that the *isundu* is found from the tropics to as far south as Bathurst in the Cape, along the east coast of Swaziland, Natal, and the Cape.

This linguistic evidence is corroborated by archaeological findings. Louw specifically refers to the Gokomere ceramic ware from AD 180–600, a time during which the Arabs were already trading with the East Coast. He refers to Huffman whose Southern Tradition of ceramic ware extrudes as far as Swaziland (Louw, 1977:147).

All this brings Louw to the conclusion that,

... since the erythrinias are found in the eastern parts of South Africa along the east coast belt, this tree, which is so closely associated with the Zulu and the Xhosa, gives us a good clue of the migration route of the Nguni who must have hugged the coastline reasonably closely or at least must have followed a route below the escarpment of the eastern mountain ranges. (1977:136).

A decade later, Louw (1987:142–143) adds:

Geographically, the Sotho are the people of the highlands of South Africa and the Nguni of the eastern coastal lowlands. A few Nguni tribes penetrated into the Transvaal Highveld but according to their traditions they very definitely claim to come from Natal or adjoining areas. The Ndzundza and Manala

probably the dialect of the Kgolokwe in the Eastern Free State and Northern Lesotho.

To a large extent, I agree with Ownby (1981:62) that the classification into Tekela and Pure-Nguni (rather Zunda Nguni) is more plausible. I am a little perturbed, however, by Bryant's Debe sub-group of his Thonga Nguni (see Bryant, 1929:7). 'Debe' is actually derived from the Nguni word: *ukudebeza* (to cut face with traditional incisions); and no group is named after this practice. Rather this is a custom carried out by all Lala and Bhaca people. These include the following clans or tribes: Cele, Jali, Bhengu, Madlala, Shange, Dlomo, Ndelu, Zelemu, Wushe, Zondi, Zuma, Njilo, Dunge, et cetera. Accordingly, the Debe are not a distinct Thonga Nguni group.

Notwithstanding these flaws in Bryant's postulations, one must concede that his account is definitely invaluable and without it, it would be almost impossible to put together Nguni history from the fragments of oral tradition. Accordingly, posterity is for ever grateful to him for his painstaking efforts.

2.4 HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TEKELA GROUPS

2.4.1 General

In this section, Bryant's view that the ancestral homeland of all the Tekela Nguni was north of the modern Natal, between Lebombo range and the sea, is accepted. It is also accepted that from there, they split into two groups: the Embo and the Thonga Nguni (Bryant, 1929:7).

I now want to trace their history and dispersion from this common homeland to their present domain in Southern Africa. This will be illustrated by maps and some statistics to indicate the numerical strength of these peoples. Unfortunately, the official statistics cannot tell the full story about the population figures of these groups since some of them are classified under dominant groups among which they live. (For instance, the Lala and Nhangwini are classified as Zulus; the Phuthi either as Xhosa or Sotho depending on whether they are in Transkei or Lesotho.) It would also be desirable to use isoglosses in this regard, but owing to the comments about

their unsatisfactory nature (see Chapter 1), these will not be drawn. However, let us deal with each Tekela group in turn.

2.4.2 The Swati

2.4.2.1 Swati History

Matsebula (1972:5) quotes Bryant who posits that the most ancestral name among the Embo–Nguni tribes and common still to most of them is that of Dlamini who led them through the wilderness of eastern Lubombo. Matsebula then adds (*ibid*) that in due course people increased in number and the family split once again into several sections, each of which eventually migrated southwards. He is of the opinion that the Hlubi and the Natal Dlamini were the first to move away from the Lubombo nucleus. The Emalangeni (alternatively, Swati remained behind for a few centuries. They seemed to be quite established around the Tembe river near the present-day Maputo. It is not surprising therefore that until today, they are often referred to as the Tembe people (*bakaTembe*). Bryant (1929:335) maintains that their stay was of such long duration that they intermarried with the Thonga and even picked up their language. It must have been due to this cohabitation that Matsebula (1988:8–9) maintains that Mswati I and Mthonga were actually blood brothers (see Table I – The Swati royal dynasty). Matsebula states as follows:

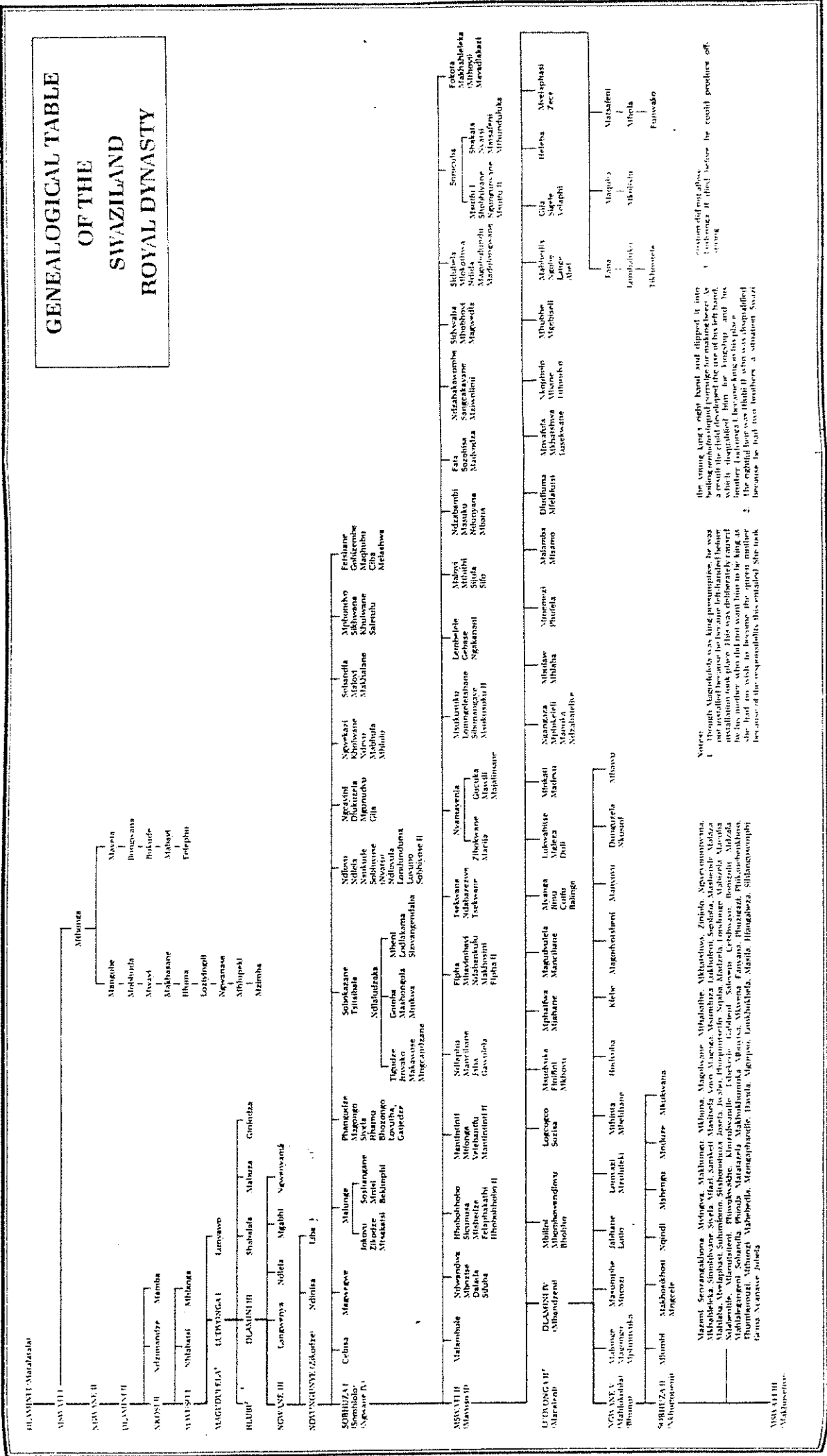
... Mswati I and Mthonga were ... sons of the same father Dlamini I. Both became leaders of identifiable groups as a result of individual characteristics or peculiarities ... Mswati has come to be considered as the 'father' of the present Swazi nation whereas Mthonga has come to be considered as the 'father' of the Thonga nation. The Thongas (also known as the Mabhuda–Tembe group) later expanded southwards. By the end of the seventeenth century they had occupied the coastal area stretching right down to St Lucia Bay ... (However), their close link was never severed. As pointed out above, one aspect of this link was the passing on to Mthonga of cattle raided from neighbouring groups by Mswati.
(Matsebula, 1988:9)

This tallies with Bryant's account which is also cited by Matsebula. Bryant states as follows:

... there are those who believe – and Mbandzeni, the Ngwane king was among them – that the Ngwane's were an offshoot of the Tembe Thongas. No less authority than Mbandzeni, the Swazi king and their own royal house is said to have declared

TABLE 1

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SWAZILAND ROYAL DYNASTY



the young king's eardrums were still soft and his...
 being...
 a result...
 which...
 brother...
 The...
 because...

that they were of pure Thonga extraction; were part and parcel of the disrupted Thonga tribes; and were indeed a branch of that tribe's royal family.

(Bryant, 1929:335)

Their Moses, who led the Swati across the Lubombo range was Ngwane III. He settled them on the northern bank of the Phongolo river, not far from the present-day Nhlanguano, in Southern Swaziland, in about 1750 (Booth, 1983:7–15). At that locality, Ngwane built his first capital, Lobamba, which is still celebrated as the birth-place of the nation, and the well-spring of the 'true Swazi'. Indeed it had to be so since Ngwane was a direct descendant of Dlamini I, founder of the Swati. As a matter of fact, it is from Ngwane that the land and the people got their names: KaNgwane and BakaNgwane respectively. In fact, Ngwane was such an illustrious ruler that not only the kingdom of Swaziland is named after him, but also the Swati homeland within the Republic of South Africa. Bryant even argues that the name Swazi is of a comparatively recent invention – probably after Shaka's time (Bryant, 1929:310).

Ngwane died in 1780 and was succeeded by his son, Zikode (later called Ndvungunye). He was apparently the only son of the king since,

Ngwane is said to have killed all his male children ... However, at his Hhohho centre, his wife LaMndzebele ... gave birth to a baby boy. On strong advice from the headman of the Nkambule clan, Ngwane spared the life of the boy whom he named Zikode.

(Matsebula. 1988:11–12)

Unfortunately Ndvungunye was not destined to rule. He was struck by lightning and died very young in about 1815. He was succeeded by his son, Sobhuza I, who died in 1839. Thus Sobhuza reigned during the time when the whole of Nguniland was passing through violent and dangerous era of the **Imfecane** (i.e. wars of extermination). The predominant force south of the Phongolo was the Ndwandwe tribe ruled by the ruthless Zwide. The Ndwandwe were another Embo Nguni offshoot but had lost the Tekela elements in their speech form. A quarrel arose between these two tribes over the fertile land in the Phongolo valley. Sobhuza was enough of a realist to decide to retreat farther north than face sure annihilation from a Ndwandwe

attack with numerically much stronger army. In his push northwards, he was joined not only by members of his own Dlamini tribe, but all those who had given allegiance to the monarchy at Sobhuza's capital, Eshiselweni. Among those Embo-Nguni clans are included the: Mhlanga, Hlophe, Fakudze, Simelane, Matsebula, and others. These became known as **Bemdzabuko** 'true Swazi' (Booth, 1983:8).

Sobhuza and all his followers then migrated to the north. Zwide followed in pursuit and attacked Sobhuza at Kaphungalegazi. Sobhuza pressed on northwards eventually settling at the foot of the Mdzimba mountains where he met a certain Lanqabane Mnisi who showed him the famous and almost impenetrable caves in the Mdzimba mountains. The place then became known as KaLanqabane, after this man. Here he built his second Lobamba in about 1820 (Matsebula, 1988:21).

Throughout his journey he was joined by many tribes who had settled there earlier.

Most of them were of Nguni and Sotho stock, particularly the Mbayi and the Pedi. The most prominent among them were the Maseko, Mnisi, Gama, Msimango, Motha, Gwebu, Mncina, Magagula, Makhubu, Mshweshwe, and Bhembe. These were incorporated into his group either by conquest or surrender, and they became known as **Emakhandzambili** 'those found ahead'. Commenting on Sobhuza's statesmanship, Booth writes:

Like all the great figures who prevailed during those troubled times, he did so by a successful mixing of force, political skill, diplomacy, guile and bluster.

(Booth, 1983:9)

One should probably comment on the view that the above clans were of Sotho extraction. The clans mentioned are still extant and none of them – according to my informants identify themselves as Sotho. The Msimang claim most definitely that they are Hlubi. The Magagula are among the most important Zunda Ndebele tribes, although some of them are Swati speaking, and the Mnisi, Maseko, Motha, Gwebu and Mncina claim to be either Swati or Zulu. Later in this chapter it will be pointed out that Bryant refers also to

the Zondi, Ndlovu and other Lala tribes as Sotho. In my discussion with Prince M.G. Buthelezi, the KwaZulu premier, I asked him why even the Buthelezi are referred to as Sotho. He most vehemently refuted that claim, but added that it had become common practice among the Nguni of old to refer to anyone from the north as a Sotho. Ziervogel who also cites these clans as of Sotho stock becomes rather sceptical of this fact when he traces the Sotho influence in vain. He concludes by saying: "Die bedrae van die Sotho bly nog 'n probleem" (Ziervogel, 1941:12).

Perhaps Sobhuza's greatest diplomatic feat was his marriage to Thandile, daughter of his sworn enemy, Zwide, the Ndwandwe chief. Matsebula (1988:24) reports that Zwide reluctantly gave his permission but added that this would not stop him from attacking Sobhuza if he wished to do so at any time in the future in order to get cattle. However, Thandile, who later became known as LaZidze, became a very influential figure in Swazi history (as will be shown later in this study). Also when Zwide was attacked by Shaka, his son Madangala, brother to LaZidze, sought refuge with Sobhuza. Sobhuza accepted him and gave him a place of refuge at Hhohho district. The settlement became known as **Ebulandzeni** 'at the place of the in-laws'. To this day, that place is still occupied by the Nxumalos and they speak a Thefuya dialect of Nguni, and are referred to by the Swati as the Nguni (see the narrow definition of Nguni in chapter 1; and also Ziervogel [1941:1] who states: "Let wel dat die regte Swazi's hulle—self nie Nguni noem nie."

2.4.2.2 Swati Territory and Numerical Strength

Swati territory may be divided into three regions. In the first place there is the Swaziland Kingdom, presently ruled by Makhosetive or King Mswati III. This is a small kingdom of about 6704 square miles in extent. Almost two thirds of all the Swati live within the kingdom. It is bordered by the Drakensberg range and the Eastern Transvaal in the west: Zululand in the south and south-east; and Mozambique in the north and north-east. Secondly, there is KaNgwane, the Swati homeland which stretches from Nelspruit to White River and Nkomati in the Eastern Transvaal. Thirdly, other Swati are found scattered in certain Transvaal districts including Ermelo, Barberton, Lydenburg, Pilgrimsrest, Rayton, Bethal, Schoonoord and Piet Retief. Regarding the Swati population figures we note what Booth

stated (*supra*) that about two-thirds of them live in the Republic of South Africa. According to 1980 census, these amount to 854 100.

2.4.3.1 Bhaca History

As mentioned above (see par. 2.4.2.1) offshoots of the Dlamini house left the Nguni nucleus on the eastern Lubombo in various phases. The Bhaca are probably the first stream to migrate southwards. Bryant (1929) has left us a good account of their migration and Hammond-Tooke (1962:1-13) has written a well-researched account of their history. What follows is a mere summary gleaned from these sources. It must be noted, of course, that the term Bhaca is of fairly new application. It was given to these Dlamini or Embo Nguni in about 1830 (this will be explained later).

After cutting across the Lubombo range, the Bhaca first settled in the upper reaches of the Phongolo river in about 1720. From there the two biggest Bhaca tribes, the Zelemu and Wushe, trekked farther south, cutting across the heart of the modern Zululand. They eventually took shelter in the Nkandla forest, north of the mid-Thukela.

The Wushe tribe subsequently split into three off-shoots. The first, under Mnqinambi inhabited the valley of the Kharkloof river; the second under Hlephu occupied the upper reaches of the Mngeni river; and the third stream, under Nondzaba, settled in the Lower Mngeni.

Unfortunately, their peaceful stay in these localities was soon to be disturbed by the advent of Shaka and his internecine wars. Apparently the Bhaca were on friendly terms with the Zulu but their problem was that they lay in the path of the fleeing hordes. The Bhaca made the mistake of opposing the advance of these tribes. A confederacy formed by the fleeing Nhlangwini, Bhele, Dunge and others overcame the Bhaca obstacle, destroyed the Wushe and terribly dismembered the Zelemu.

It was left to the able statesman, Madzikane, son of the great Zelemu chief, Kalimeshe, to gather the Bhaca remnants. At the time, nothing stood between the Bhaca and the warlike Zulus, but an uneasy peace still prevailed between them. Soon Shaka became suspicious of Madzikane's growing

influence. He feared that he might be aspiring for the Zulu throne. These suspicions were confirmed, when on the advice of his counsellors and a herbalist Shaka incited his dog to bite Madzikane, and the dog refused, thereby showing that the latter was fit to reign. The Zulu army was dispatched to attack the Bhaca soon after this. Madzikane and his subjects fled southwards across the Mkhomazi river and entered into an alliance with the Chunu refugees under Macingwane at Cekwane, in about 1821. This proved a fruitful combination from a military point of view, for they soon commenced a reign of terror in the area. Nondzaba and Madzikane crossed the Mzimkhulu river and conquered the Mpondomise at the modern Mount Ayliff but Nondzaba subsequently got killed near Tsolo, on the hill, near the village that still bears his name. Madzikane moved to Rode and Mgano mountains, in what is presently known as Mount Frere district.

In 1830, the Zulu, now under Dingane, made a final attack against the Bhaca. However, Madzikane, who was also a herbalist of repute, vowed to counter the Zulu armies single-handed, by means of his spell. Thereupon, his subjects withdrew to Mgano and Luyengweni for safety. Madzikane made a huge ritual fire. Its heavy smoke turned into clouds which brought sleet and snow. The advancing Zulu army searched for the Bhaca in vain. At night they were overtaken by the severe snowstorm and many perished. On the next morning, the decimated, retreating Zulu army saw the Bhaca and one warrior exclaimed: '**Kanti nibhace lapha!**' (So this is where you are hiding!). The Nhlangwini who heard the exclamation then labelled these people amaBhaca (those who hide themselves), and the name stuck.

2.4.3.2 The Bhaca Territory

According to Hammond-Tooke (1962:12), the Bhaca numbered about 55,000 persons in 1962. They occupied some 684 square miles of the district of Mount Frere. He adds:

Today the Bhaca of Mount Frere are divided into two autonomous tribes, and there are other independent sections at Umzimkulu and in the Exopo and Bulwer districts in the province of Natal.

(Hammond-Tooke, 1967:xv)

Besides these, a few more thousands occupy the present-day Mount Ayliff.

All in all, the Bhaca occupy the mountainous plateau country of East Griqualand, which stretches from the borders of Mpondoland some 45 miles from the sea to the Drakensberg mountains, some 6 000 feet above sea level. (See map in Appendix B.)

2.4.4 The Lala *tribe was incorporated into Zulu tribe by Shaka*

2.4.4.1 Lala History

Of all the Tekela speaking community, the Lala speech form has been most adversely affected by history, or perhaps they have suffered just as much as the Nhlanguwini (to be discussed infra). This, surprisingly enough, is not so much due to phenomenal migration as was the case with other groups. During the **Mfecane**, the Lala did not join the fleeing hordes to the south. They chose not to confront Shaka and perish, but to surrender to his rule and live peacefully as his vassals and subjects (see Bryant, 1929:310).

How then could that have adverse effects on their speech form? Very simply: Shaka decreed that in all communication with him, indeed in his presence, only Ntungwa should be used (Ntungwa is a Zunda dialect of Nguni which was spoken by northern Nguni, especially Khumalo, Mabaso, Zulu, Mbatha, et cetera, and has since been elevated to Standard Zulu). Thus, Lala men in his courts, assembly, and regiments lost their Tekela idiosyncrasies. These only survived in the tongues of Lala womenfolk albeit in ever diminishing volume (Bryant, 1929:311).

In fact, many Lala tribes became so absorbed and integrated into the Zulu nation that during research some of them completely denied – often vehemently – that they were Lala. Fortunately, I was not dismayed by their denial or their unwelcoming conduct for I was still mindful of what Bryant observed many years before my time:

The ignorance and confusion now universally existent in the minds of young Natives of Natal in regard to the true nationality of their own persons and to the great distinction in race and origin among the multitudinous of local clans, is much to be deplored. Practically all the youth of Natal is growing up in the delusion that they are Zulus and that, not solely by conquest, but by blood. As a matter of fact perhaps two thirds of them are of Lala or Sutoid extraction ...

(Bryant, 1964:64)

Who then, are these Lala and whence did they come? Bryant maintains that the Lala are those Nguni who on reaching their nucleus East of the Lubombo lived more with the Thonga farther north. They eventually wheeled around and descended southwards along the coast, occupying all the present-day Natal north of the Mngeni river, and along the Thukela from below its confluence with the Mzinyathi, and down to the Indian ocean (Bryant, 1929:313).

It must be mentioned here that the Lala did not make a complete break with the Thonga, but simply expanded more and more southwards. Because of the intermarrying that had taken place, some Thongas also advanced with them. This is evidenced by such place-names as Matigulu in northern Natal. Some of my informants at Ezimbokodweni (Umbongintwini) claim that there has always been a Tembe (i.e. Thonga) chiefdom in that area until they were forced to move when the fertilizer factory, Kirnoch, was erected. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Lala, especially the Cele, claim to be of Thonga stock. In fact that Thonga chiefdom bordered on Celeland as will be shown later.

Unfortunately there are too many Lala tribes and it is not within the ambit of this work to give even a bare outline of the history of every Lala tribe. In any case there is not much worth mentioning in their simple annals, for as Bryant has aptly observed:

Among the Kaffirs (sic) it is only the few large tribes that have any history to relate, and even they can seldom regale us with anything more inviting than the sordid or brutish fight and predatory raid. Of the smaller clans, too weak to wage war or embark on marauding expeditions, it was never the privilege to make history.

(Bryant, 1964:139)

Among the Lala, those few clans that might be said to have made some history, are the Mkhize, Cele and Ngcobo. Let us deal with the history of each tribe in turn.

(a) The Mkhize

Bryant (1964:51) refers to the Mkhize as the Embo-Nguni and aligns them

with the Swazi. Perhaps this relationship is evidenced by the presence of the Embo village in the Ezulwini district of Swaziland. Of special interest is the fact that the Mkhize are the only Nguni tribe that still refers to itself as AbaseMbo (i.e. the Embo people). On the other hand informants claimed that they are of Lala and not Swati extraction. The two claims, however, should not be viewed as contradictory but rather as complementary. They merely go to show the close relationship between the Dlamini, Thonga and Lala groups. The existence of the Embo village in Swaziland might be a pointer to the route followed by the Mkhize after departing from the Lubombo nucleus. They may not have descended along the coast like the Cele and other Lala groups but followed on the foot-steps of the Bhaca and the Nhlangwini. What we know for a fact is that after traversing the northern parts of the modern Zululand, they finally settled on the banks of the Manyane stream, north of the great Thukela river, between the Mzinyathi and Nsuze rivers. This was during the rule of chief Khabazela, son of Mavovo, son of Gubhela. In Shakan times the Mkhize, then under chief Zihlandlo, son of Gcwabe, son of Khabazele, entered into an alliance with the neighbouring Chube (or Shezi clan in the Nkandla district).

The Mkhize were not adversely affected by the **Mfecane**. When, on his first campaign into Natal, Shaka loomed down on the Chube and Mkhize, their chiefs prudently offered him their submission and allegiance. Whereupon Shaka enlisted Zihlandlo to subjugate the Khabela (i.e. Dlomo) and Makhaye just across the Thukela.

This agreeable task, Zihlandlo found huge delight in executing ... Zihlandlo henceforth proved himself to be one of Shaka's most active and capable satellites, and won his favour in a way that few others did.

(Bryant, 1964:52)

Shaka never tampered with Zihlandlo's autonomy and friendly referred to him as his brother.

Unfortunately, Dingane, Shaka's assassin and successor never trusted anyone who was favourably disposed to Shaka, in fear of a possible rebellion.

From the hour when Shaka fell by Dingane's hand, the fate of Zihlandlo too was sealed ... Ere long he (Dingane) dispatched a

friendly note to the Embo chief requesting that the manhood of his tribe be permitted to come up and build for him a nice new kraal. They were accordingly marshalled and sent off forthwith. But that was the last march of the Embo warriors — they were actually walking to their funerals. In one dark hour they and their chief at his Ekhwanini home were wiped off the face of the planet ... What was left of the tribe fled hastily over the Tugela river and stayed not their feet till they had got well out of sight, fully a hundred miles away, into the green and fertile wilderness between the Lovu and Mkhomazi river. There about their numerous offspring ... may still be found scattered in diverse sections.

(Bryant, 1964:53–54)

(b) **The Cele**

The Cele undoubtedly constituted the largest group of the Tekela–Nguni who descended along the coast. Their downward march (incorporating the Shange, Mdimma and Ndlazi) ended in the vicinity of the Nonoti stream in the present Natal. Their territory bordered on the Qwabe in the south and the Mthethwa in the north (Bryant, 1964:84). It then extended along the coast to the Thongathi river. In Shakan times, two sons of the Cele chief, Dibandlela, Magaye and Mande, vied for the succession while he himself was still alive (Bryant, *ibid*). Shaka appeared on the scene just at that moment and undertook to adjust their dispute. He did this by asking first Mande and then Magaye for prompt submission to him, and to present him with cattle so that his army might eat. Mande was stupid enough to refuse while Magaye entertained the royalty with sumptuous hospitality and readily responded to Shaka's demands. Then Shaka sent his impi to punish Mande who fled into the jungle between the Thongathi and Mdloti rivers. However, he was eventually slain and Magaye became the sole ruler of the Cele (Bryant, 1964:86).

Thus Magaye found favour in Shaka's sight and continued to do so till the despot's death. Indeed in course of time the latter came himself to make his home in Magaye's very kingdom, at Dukuza (now Stanger) in Celeland. The penalty of such marked favour was that the removal of Shaka ... to Magaye brought destruction. The policy of anti–Shakaites, with Dingane at their head, was too thorough, that while ridding the world of Shaka, it should permit his supporters to remain.

(Bryant, 1964:86)

Thus Magaye met with the same fate as that which befell Zihlandlo by the

treacherous hand of Dingane. The remnants of the Cele tribe drifted into the Zulu army, including Magaye's heir, Magidigidi, while others fled to Durban, and others farther south across the Mzimkhulu river to become Fynn's subjects (Bryant, 1964:87).

(c) **The Ngcobo**

This is by far the biggest of the Lala tribes. Its historical significance lies in the fact that it peopled the whole of Natal from Durban to Harding with Lala people, owing to their family feuds, vicissitudes and splinter groups even before the days of the **Mfecane**. This brief outline of the Ngcobo history is gleaned from Bryant (1929:477-498), and from Vilakazi (1965:4-14).

The founder of the Ngcobo was one Vumezitha and it derived its clan-name from his heir, Ngcobo. Their original homeland was north of the Thukela, between Mamba and Nsuze rivers.

Vumezitha had two sons, Ngcobo and Mkheshane, nicknamed Shangase, due to his many wanderings (*-shanga* is a Lala verb for 'travel') (Bryant, 1929:480). He was trying to escape from Ngcobo who was plotting to kill him. He eventually became the founder of the big Shangase clan whose territory stretched from Kranskop, through Greytown to the Mvoti river.

Ngcobo, in turn, had two sons as well, Dingila, his heir, and Gasela, his **isizinda** (i.e. the house that stays behind when other members of a polygamous family leave to establish new homes). With Gasela exactly the opposite happened for he is the one who broke away from the main family and established his Ngongoma residence, thus creating his Ngongoma clan. The founding of new clans continued also with Dingila's sons: Nyuswa of the principal house, Xonxo of the **isizinda** house, and Ngothoma of the Qadi house (i.e. the third house which is the understudy of the principal house and bears an heir for the principal house should the principal wife not be blessed with an heir).

Nyuswa founded the great Nyuswa tribe, and Ngothoma and his **Qadi** followers founded the AmaQadi or AbaseMaqadini (they of the Qadi clan). Incidentally, the Qadi turned out to be the most advanced and prosperous of

the Ngcobo clans. They were the first to be converted to Christianity and produced such enlightened leaders as Dr J.L. Dube.

A feud arose between Xonxo and Nyuswa who wanted to move the family to new sites. Xonxo, supported by Shangase refused. Although the womenfolk had removed the thatch from the huts (i.e. -fuza), in preparation for the 'great trek', they were ordered to re-thatch them (i.e. -fulcla). Thus was founded the Fuze clan of Xonxo with the clan-praise: **Mafuz'afulele njengenyamazane** (They who remove the thatch and put it back again, as do the antelopes) (Bryant, 1929:489).

According to Bryant, other splinter-groups from the great Ngcobo tribe are the Emalangeni clan (also known as Vilakazi or Hlabisa). Note that some people claim that the Vilakazi are Swati - another link between Lala and Swati. Bryant goes on to list Ngidi; Wosiyana; Blose (or Shinga); Thusi (or Mamfene); Mzobe; Goba; and Mgabi to be sub-clans of the great Ngcobo. The Mgabi clan is named after its founder, Mgabi, son of Mapholoba. After the death of Mapholoba, and of his infant heir, Miswayo, left the Nyuswa without an heir in the principal house. Soon Mapholoba's other sons, Mgabi and Sihayo contested the throne. Many related sub-clans favoured Sihayo of the Enkumbeni residence. But Mgabi was undeterred and he rigorously pushed his pretensions. This gave rise to a series of disputes which eventually reached Shaka's ears. He came to settle the dispute by making the rival parties stand in rows. He then led his dog along the rows so that it could sniff at the people. On arriving at Sihayo, however, the dog lay down and wagged its tail. Shaka subsequently concluded that Sihayo was the rightful heir. Mgabi did not give up. He started currying favour with Shaka, falsely accusing Sihayo of mixing dangerous charms in the tobacco which he used to present to Shaka. Shaka retorted by sending his army to snuff out, not only Sihayo, but Mgabi as well as all their subjects who were swept into the swelling torrent of the Thukela. The remnants were received by Zihlandlo of the Mkhize as fugitives. When Zihlandlo was later overthrown by Dingane, the Nyuswa fled to Natal and settled on the banks of the upper Mhlathuzana. The Mgabi remnants fled to Mlazi river near Durban. Later on, they moved to the Valley of a Thousand Hills, in the Camperdown district, where they settled under chief Ncume, son of Mgabi. This area later became the Nyuswa

reserve. Ncume was succeeded by his son, Mshiwa. The latter was later sent by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to rule over the tribes in the Harding area. He left with many followers and established yet another Nyuswa tribe in southern Natal, at Ezingolweni.

All the while the Qadi had remained at their homeland at the place called Eziqalabeni, in the Nkandla district, by the lower Nsuze river. They lived peacefully with Shaka, which was apparently their sin against Dingane. He decided to snuff them out in exactly the same way as he had done with the Mkhize of Zihlandlo. Since they lived in a wooded country, he ordered them to bring building poles to his royal residence.

The Qadi, anxious to be on the right side of their king, went out in full force. On the appointed day, they came into Dingane's kraal, and when they were all in the cattle kraal where the poles were to be heaped, Dingane cried: 'Babambeni!' ("Lay hold on them!"). The troops then poured out of their hiding places and attacked the unarmed Qadi, clubbing and spearing them to death ...

(Vilakazi, 1965:8)

The army then proceeded to Qadiland where they pursued the civilians into the Nongoxi forest and killed them including their chief, Dube, father of Mqhawe, father of Dr J.L. Dube. The survivors immediately escaped into Natal where they were settled at Inanda, under the regent, Madlukane. Later, when Mqhawe was big enough to assume chieftainship, the regent moved with his followers to the Nyuswa reserve where he was kindly received, and consequently two Qadi tribes came into being.

2.4.4.2 Lala Territory

Again we start with the Mkhize. Their original homeland at Manyane is now under Ntuli chiefs. However, many of Zihlandlo's people stayed behind when he fled from Dingane. They occupy the whole of Manyane to Jokweni, Sikhwane, Pholela and Hlwane in the Nkandla district. There is also a Mkhize chieftainship at Mbumbulu in Natal. Some of the Embo people are scattered in the Ezimbokodweni district south of Durban.

The Cele are presently as wide-spread as the Ngcobo. They occupy six different districts in southern Natal. The first group is just outside Mlazi

township in Durban (incidentally this township is said to be in the Cele territory) towards Ezimbokodweni and Nwabe. It is this group which bordered on the area occupied by the Tembe (*supra*). The second chiefdom is found at Mphambanyoni, north of Mzinto. Two other chieftainships are found in the Port Shepstone district, the one at KwaDweshula, and another at Nhlalwane, under the chief Phumowakhe. His territory stretches from Mzimkhulu in the south to the border of the Nhlangwini in the north. The fifth chiefdom is at Lusikisiki and the last one at Ezingolweni. This is regarded as the senior Cele clan, since its leader, Chief Khandalesizwe, is the direct descendant of Magaye.

We now turn to the Ngcobo territory, considering each sub-clan in turn. As was shown above, these became so wide-spread that it eventually reached the point where connubium between Ngcobo's descendants became possible (see Vilakazi, 1965:232). The Hlabisa occupy the territory just outside Nongoma in Zululand. As already mentioned, the Qadi inhabit Inanda and Nyuswa reserve. The Nyuswa reserve is also the home of the Nyuswa sub-clan. This reserve lies in the picturesque Valley of a Thousand Hills, some 35 miles from Durban and 20 miles from Pinetown. It is bounded in the north by the Mngeni river and in the south by Drummond-Botha's Hill - Hillcrest ridge, in the west by Esikhelekehleni river and in the east by Umshazi river. Another Nyuswa offshoot is to be found at Ezingolweni as already mentioned. They share this district with another Lala tribe, the Cele under Khandalesizwe. The Ngongoma occupy the Ndwedwe area stretching all the way to Thongathi. Some of the Ngongoma are the neighbours of the Shangase of Greytown, whose territory stretches from Kranskop to Mvoti river. It is said - by informants - that even the KwaMashu township in Durban was occupied by the Ngcobo.

Besides these three major Lala groups we also find smaller groups such as the Madlala, in Hibberdene and Pietermaritzburg, the Luthuli and Ndelu in Mzinto, the Jali in Inanda, the Zondi in Greytown (whom Bryant refers to as Sotho), the Bhengu (or Ngcolosi), Makhaye, and Khabela (or Dlomo) in Kranskop. This should be enough to show one that almost the whole of Southern Natal is Lalaland (see maps in Appendix B).

2.4.5 The Nhlangwini

2.4.5.1 Nhlangwini History

Nhlangwini history is not as well recorded as the other Tekela groups. Perhaps Bryant's (1929 and 1964) publications are the most authoritative sources on the subject. These are supplemented by dissertations by Nhlangwini scholars such as Zotwana (1981), Msomi (1988) and Zungu (1989). However, the latter sources hold different views from Bryant as far as the origin of the term Nhlangwini is concerned. Both Zotwana and Msomi claim that according to their informants the origin of the term Nhlangwini has two different sources. In one version it is claimed that it came about due to Fodo's habit of hunting down the *inhlangu* buck and presenting it to Dingane. Consequently, Fodo, the great Nhlangwini chief, and his followers were referred to as the people of the *inhlangu* (i.e. **AbaseNhlanguwini**). Another version claims that these Dlamini people are called Nhlangwini because they broke away (*-hlanguka*) from the Zulus (Msomi, 1988:5-6).

Both versions point to a rather recent origin of this term and appear to be less convincing in the face of Bryant's version which I am inclined to accept.

Bryant (1929:316) maintains that the Nhlangwini are the descendants of the Dlamini-Lusibalukhulu offshoot. It must be borne in mind that Bryant (*ibid*) divides the house of Dlamini into four sub-groups. The first section has the clan-praise Mlangeni. This is the royal clan in Swaziland. These are related to Nkosi-Dlaminis. The third sub-group is that of Malandela and the fourth one of Lusibalukhulu, the progenitors of the Nhlangwini.

He then states that the Dlamini-Lusibalukhulu sub-group left the Tekela nucleus very early in the history of the Tekela Nguni migration. He places their years of migration between 1680 and 1730 (Bryant, 1929:316). He is of the opinion that they did not follow the route taken by their cousins, the Hlubi, the Zizi and the Bhele; along northern Natal and across the Mzinyathi river towards the Drakensberg foothills. He maintains that:

The route they took led, roughly up the Mkhuze river, past the Ngome hills, and gradually round to the south through the unoccupied tracks of upper Zululand.

(Bryant, 1929:316)

They finally settled in the area of the modern Greytown, their territory adjoining that of their cousins below the Drakensberg range. Here they enjoyed relative peace, freedom and stability. Indeed this had to be because this was almost a century before the advent of Shaka. Bryant (*ibid*) observes that:

All the pastoral highlands from beyond the Mooi river to the Drakensberg, and constituting what are now the upper districts of Natal, were in Senzangakhona's days, but sparsely populated. Each of the tribes then in possession — the emaBheleni, the emaZizini and the Dlamini — had appropriated to itself a territory of unusually extensive range ... The Dlamini tribe in four different sections, had already ... distributed its kraal over all the territory intervening between the emaBheleni on the Biggarsberg and Mzinyathi river on the one hand and the emaZizini, halfway up the Bushman's river, and the Wushe about the upper Mooi river, on the other.

It is true that the house of Lusibalukhulu broke up into four sections in Natal and each was named according to its royal residence. One of these was Nhlangwini which together with the Khuze, proved to be most important historically. This was the case particularly during the **Mfecane**. The Nhlangwini were worst hit by the **Mfecane** pandemonium and their history consequently became most sanguinary.

The first signals of the approaching doom came from the north in 1818 when the land of the Bhele and Zizi was suddenly invaded by the fugitive Ngwane, under chief Matiwane. In 1820 the Thembu, led by chief Ngoza, hacked through Natal bringing panic and chaos in their wake. Again in 1821, the mighty Chunu, led by Macingwane decimated and scattered minor Lala clans in their southward flight from Shaka. Thus although the devastation in Natal was not wrought by Shaka, it was nonetheless a continuing wave of destruction set in motion by his cataclysmic political upheaval in Zululand (Bryant, 1964:37).

The Khuze and Ekunene Dlamini were the first to realise that they were in the line of fire, and they joined Ngoza's fugitives. The Nhlangwini remained, hoping that the storm would soon pass. However, they soon realised their vulnerability when they noticed that there was no longer any buffer-state

between them and the warlike Zulus, and also that the wasteland created by the departure of the Zizi, Ngwane, Chunu, and the like was teeming with packs of cannibals. The two Nhlungwini sections under Nombewu and Baleni combined with the Bhele and the Memela under Mdingi to form a confederacy as they marched southwards (Bryant, 1964:37).

Unfortunately, they could not cross the Lovu river because the redoubtable Madikane at the head of the Zelemu—Wushe combine (the Bhaca) formed an impassable barrier in alliance with Macingwane, the Chunu chief. The confederates were fiercely driven back. They eventually listed the support of Mbedu, chief of AbakwaBombo, a former neighbour of Madikane who was only too happy to settle old scores. The Nhlungwini combine was subsequently victorious. They then proceeded to the Mlazi river where they were blocked by the Njilo. Again they drove the Njilo back and forded the Mlazi and the Mzimkhulu rivers to occupy the fertile strip between the Mzimkhulu and the Mzimvubu rivers (Bryant, 1964:38).

This was the refuge also of the Zizi, Hlubi, and other Dlaminis. But even here, they could not enjoy any lasting peace. They were constantly harassed by the Xhosa under Hintsa and the Thembu under Ngubencuka, who regarded the mobs from the north as intruders. What was worse is that Madikane whom they thought to have crushed for good and all, once more showed his head and invited them to form an alliance with him. When they refused, he suddenly cleared for war which raged for nine years (c.1821—1830). The Bhele and the Memela were crushed and completely detribalised. Mdingi and Nombewu were killed and their subjects decimated. Fodo, Nombewu's heir led the remnants of his followers northwards to inhabit the beautiful valley above the Fafa river. Sidoyi, Baleni's heir, led his section of the Nhlungwini to their original homeland which they reoccupied with the permission of Dingane. Unfortunately for the illfated Nhlungwini, Sidoyi and his subjects were later removed by the Boers who claimed that the homeland was their territory and Fodo was exiled by the British for his "political sins". Both the Nhlungwini leaders retraced their steps across the Mzimkhulu, back to no-man's-land (Bryant, 1964:38).

2.4.3.2 Nhlangwini Territory

Presently, the Nhlangwini occupy a vast stretch of land south of Highflats in the Port Shepstone district. Their territory under Nkosi Langaletu Dlamini runs adjacent to that of the Cele under Phumowakhe. Their place is known as KwaNonqunqutha. Other Nhlangwini, however, are found across the Mzimkhulu and share their territory with the Bhaca. Their territory across the Mzimkhulu is described by Zotwana (1981:iii) starting with the Gugwini as follows:

Gugwini, a village about 15 kilometers from Harding, under chief Msdukeni Dlamini a direct descendant of Fodo who is regarded by the Ntlangwini people as the founder of the whole tribe. Chief Msdukeni Dlamini is the senior chief of all the Ntlangwini groups. Other Ntlangwini people under their own sub-chiefs crossed the Umzimkulu river later. Some settled in Matatiele district as a buffer against the Sotho's, others settled near Harding, others went further South as far as Kokstad and Mt. Ailiff ...

2.4.6 The Phuthi

2.4.6.1 Phuthi History

The Phuthi are another Dlamini offshoot known as the Zizi (AmaZizi or AbaseMazizini). There are several authorities on the history of this group and among others, Ellenberger and MacGregor (1912:24-30 and 159-164) have given quite a plausible exposition of the Phuthi wanderings and settlements. This account is corroborated by Bryant (1929:353-356) and also by my informants in their version of their own past.

There is a strong argument that the Zizi were not initially a Dlamini clan but they purchased this title (Bryant, 1929:353). At a wedding between a Zizi and a Nhlangwini (who are descended from Dlamini), the former were impressed by the aristocratic flavour of the clan-praise 'Dlamini' of the latter. The Zizi leader, Dweba, then approached his chief and persuaded him to part with an ox as the purchase price to buy the right to the title from the Nhlangwini chief. This deal was consequently sanctioned by Ngonyama, the paramount chief of the Dlamini tribe. (One might point out at this juncture that such practice of acquiring another's clan-name or clan-praise was not uncommon among the Nguni. This was done under different practices such as

ukuthela [surrender], **ukukhonza** [pay homage] and **inkulelwane** [he who is brought up in that family] some of which were tantamount to adoption.)

Notwithstanding whether the Zizi were originally Dlamini or Hlubi, they are a branch of the Embo Nguni, who according to Bryant (1929:7), passed onward, after entering the modern northern Natal, into the present day Vryheid and Utrecht. From there they wheeled round, still in a southward direction across the Mzinyathi (or Buffalo) river. They eventually settled on the eastern foothills of the Drakensberg range, between the Mnambithi (or Klip) river and the Thukela, all the way towards Sandlulube mountain.

After the purchase of the Dlamini praise-name, a feud arose between the Zizi/Dlamini and Nhlanguwini-Dlamini. The grandfather of Titi (i.e. Zizi in Zunda) had killed an eland. A Nhlanguwini-Dlamini chief demanded its carcass as a tribute. Titi's grandfather refused claiming that he was also a chief. This brought about ill-feeling and after his grandfather's death, Titi, who feared for his independence, decided to emigrate westward over the Drakensberg (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:24-25).

This was long before Shaka's advent. However, Titi found the Drakensberg plateau already inhabited by the Mphuthing, who were ruled by Tsuane on the banks of the Namahadi river. They accepted him well and the two sides lived side by side happily. The Maphuthing even gave Titi a Sotho surname, Thokothoko. To seal the relationship, Titi's son, Kobo, married a daughter of Lerane, a Maphuthing chief. Consequently, the Zizi adopted the Maphuthing way of life, including their customs and speech variety. They identified so much with the Maphuthing that they even changed their name, Zizi to Phuthi. They also adopted the Maphuthing emblem of the duiker (i.e. 'phuthi' or 'impunzi' in Zunda) (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:25). Once again there arose a cleavage in their ranks, and as fate would have it, this too was caused by a carcass of an eland. Khonyane, Kobo's grandson, claimed the eland which had been killed as his by right. Apparently, he had not inherited his father's (i.e. Tsele's) tact and discretion. Khoasa, the Maphuthing chief refused and once more the Phuthi found it prudent to migrate farther. They journeyed down the Caledon river to Qalo and later to Maoamafubelu river,

where they found deserted kraals of the Mapolane at Metsing. After some time they proceeded to Qiloane in about 1820 (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:25).

In this neighbourhood they came into contact with the Bafokeng of Leboecane and also struck friendship with the Bakoena. The Phuthi proved valuable neighbours, owing to their knowledge of metallurgy. All these tribes fraternised and intermarried, living together in peace and harmony. In fact, nothing of serious nature occurred until the birth of Moorosi, the greatest of the Phuthi chiefs, in 1795. Moorosi was born under the following circumstances: His father, Mokuoane, was born in about 1760 and had fled with his mother to Tsosane, chief of the Mapolane at Thaba Tsueu. Since Tsosane had often been treated by Mokhuebi (Mokuoane's uncle and guardian) in his ailments, he received Mokuoane well. In return for this hospitality, Mokuoane served Tsosane very well. He was a good hunter, and his mother a good tobacco and hemp farmer, which she used for bartering skins and ostrich feathers with the Khoisan people. With the wealth Mokuoane purchased cattle which he used to pay lobola for Tsosane's daughter, Maili. Soon Mokuoane, his mother, and his wife Maili, migrated with his father-in-law, Tsosane, to Kubake, near Mohale's hoek. Here the pregnant Maili gave birth to Moorosi in a cave called Phese. Thus in Moorosi's veins flowed the Phuthi and Polane blood. Moorosi was circumcised and married in 1821 in the time of Mfecane (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:26-28).

This was the time when old and established tribes, nations and even empires were broken and destroyed and new ones forged in their place. The Drakensberg plateau could not be saved from this devastation, and the Phuthi also became victims of the circumstances. Moorosi and his people took to roaming and plundering, wreaking havoc in their trail. First he went to Mpondomise people but soon returned to join his tribesmen – Lipholo, Motemekoane, his father Mokuoane and others – who were living among the San in the caves, between the Tele and Blekana rivers. They continued plundering even from the Cape Colony farmers, all the way to the modern Dordrecht and Lady Grey. They then trekked to Nkoa Khomo on the border of Lesotho and Barkly East (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:159).

Moorosi's first enemies had been the San whose poisoned arrows he had no means of repelling. After acquiring the art of using a big shield from his fellow Nguni, the Xhosa of the Cape Colony, he confronted the San so threateningly that it became very clear to them that those who had hitherto been considered servants had become masters.

Soon after this victory at the Lady Grey caves, Motleyoa of the Bamaiyane tribe which had also become victims of Moorosi's attacks, took to cannibalism. He gathered about him people from scattered tribes to form his gang of man-eaters. They ascended the Tele river and fought against the Phuthi at Nkoa Khomo (later Mabeleng). They took them by surprise, butchering cattle and people alike. Phuthi survivors fled to Kraai river and later moved on to Litapoleng. From there they rallied round Moorosi and Lipholo, and decided to entice the cannibals to an ambush. Their victory was so decisive that they even succeeded in capturing Motleyoa's wife. As for Motleyoa himself, he fled to king Moshoeshoe at Thaba Bosiu and reported that beyond the Caledon river there lived a people who possessed far more cattle than was fitting for them (Ellenberger, et al, 1912:163).

Ellenberger (*ibid*) continues to add that Moshoeshoe – himself not averse to extending his empire – sent his brother, Mohale, with a force to bring the Phuthi to book. Realising that they were no match to the numerically stronger Sotho, the Phuthi surrendered and became Moshoeshoe's vassals. However, the Phuthi informants definitely deny this assertion. They argue that Moshoeshoe and Moorosi were the best of friends and that the Sotho never clashed with the Phuthi. The Phuthi were always an independent and autonomous tribe in their territory which bordered on Lesotho. In fact Moshoeshoe could always count on them in the wars he waged against the Boers and the British.

After Lesotho had become a British protectorate, the British focused their attention on Moorosi with the intention to subjugate him. He loathed the idea of paying tribute to the British C.M.R. (i.e. the Cape Mounted Rifles) who were at the border as custodians of political peace. When the C.M.R. tried to coerce him to obedience, Moorosi returned with his people to the impregnable Qhoboshiane stronghold (Bryant, 1929:360).

For about nine months, he repelled and destroyed many a British campaign that tried to dislodge him. In the end, the British troops equipped with cannon, mortar and scaling ladders finally succeeded in conquering the Phuthi. Even this final bombardment, however, took no less than four days and four nights pouring upon the precipice of the stronghold a hail of missiles. This enabled them by means of scaling ladders to set foot on the hitherto unassailable mountain top. They found Moorosi in a cave and killed him. They even displayed his head on a pole in the colonial camp. This put paid to the not inglorious contribution of this Zizi tribe to the history of Southern Africa (Bryant, 1929:362–363).

The informants maintain that many of Moorosi's followers were then captured and imprisoned. They were so ill-treated that people started to disclaim the fact that they were Phuthi. The result is that their language and culture suffered a severe blow and were almost extinguished. Many a Phuthi registered himself either as a Xhosa or a Sotho. However, there is a very strong Phuthi re-awakening nowadays and something of their language and culture will definitely be salvaged. There are talks of installing Moorosi's descendant as a paramount chief of all the Phuthi.

Besides the Moorosi and the Dlamini which are royal clans, other historically significant Phuthi clans include the Mokhoante, Mmutsi, Ntekoa, Matshabisa and Thunkha clans.

2.4.6.2 Phuthi Territory

The Phuthi inhabit certain areas in Lesotho, Transkei and South Africa. In Lesotho they occupy the vast area called Qasha's Nek and Quthing. It is speculated that Quthing is the Khoisanisation of Phuthing. In Transkei they occupy Palmietfontein and other areas in Herschel. They then spread downward to Matatiele and Mount Fletcher in South Africa. From the historico-geographical circumstances just described, it is not surprising to find the Phuthi scattered all over the Drakensberg plateau (see map).

2.4.7 The Sumayela Ndebele

2.4.7.1 Ndebele History

There are many claims on the origin of the Ndebele. While many of them

seem to corroborate one another that of Ziervogel (1959) runs contrary to everything else that had been written before or even after him. Since he is the only authority, hitherto, on Sumayela Ndebele dialect (which he calls Northern Transvaal Ndebele) it is compelling that we consider his version first. The main issues involved, of course, are only two: whether the Zunda Ndebele (known as Southern Transvaal Ndebele) are a distinct group unrelated to the former; and secondly, whether the Sumayela Ndebele arrived at their present homeland via Natal or whether they descended from Zimbabwe and are consequently a Kalanga or Venda offshoot.

Ziervogel (1959:3-5) distinguishes four unrelated Ndebele sub-groups, namely: Southern Ndebele (the Ndzundza and Manala stock); Langa (a Nguni branch); Northern Ndebele proper (the Gegana/Mgombane/Ledwaba branch); and the Hwaduba (which have been completely Sotho-ised).

Unfortunately, Ziervogel's account is rather fragmentary, incoherent and difficult to follow. He argues with regard to the Southern Ndebele and the Hwaduba sub-groups, that:

... Van Warmelo and Potgieter treat of the first two (i.e. Manala and Ndzundza) of the Southern tribes mentioned. That their place of origin was Natal seems to have been established beyond doubt. According to Van Warmelo's account of 1944 the Hwaduba are also of Natal origin. His informants claim that the previous generation still spoke Ndebele, ... Whatever their origin, today they belong to the Kgatla.

(Ziervogel, 1959:4)

Ziervogel then turns to the other two groups:

According to my own information both the Kekana and Mugombhane sections belong to the same original tribe, of which the Mugombhane is said to be an offshoot ... From this it appears that the Gegana and Muledlana are not related to the Manala-Ndzundza ...

The Northern Ndebele proper, viz. the Gegana, Mugombhane and Lidwaba (Maraba) tribes are not of Natal origin. Said to have come from the North, i.e. Rhodesia, they were influenced by the Swazi and later by the Southern Ndebele, but are not related to the latter ... -

The Langa section ... are no relation of the other Ndebele tribes, and their language is said to have been more Nguni-like than that of the Mugombhane and Maraba tribes. They are

said to be of Zululand stock, who entered the country they now occupy from the north-east.

(Ziervogel, 1959:4-5)

Consequently, these so-called unrelated Ndebele sub-groups are classified by Ziervogel under three different clusters. His Ndebele-Sotho are classified under the Northern-Sotho sub-group (Ziervogel, 1955:186), a view also held by Doke (1954). The problem here is which Ndebele sub-group is now regarded as Ndebele-Sotho? Is it the Hwaduba offshoot? This cannot be since he maintains that linguistically the Hwaduba belong to Kgatla (*supra*); and the Kgatla are a Tswana sub-group. Most probably then he has the Lidwaba in mind for he argues:

The off-shoots of the Lidwaba section, viz. the Eland and Ngidigidlane tribes have virtually become Sothoized – the first has completely dispersed, and the second now speaks some form of Tlokwa.

(Ziervogel, 1959:9)

There does not appear to be any controversy regarding the Zunda Ndebele of Ndzundza and Manala however. These he places under Zunda Nguni. What we find rather surprising is the fact that he places the Northern Ndebele under Tekela Nguni. How can that be after he has most adamantly denied any relation between them and the Nguni? Here are his reasons:

Notwithstanding the diversity of elements which all played their part in the making of Ndebele of today, one cannot but regard Ndebele as basically Nguni, and as belonging to the Nguni group of languages. In a recent article by the present author (Ziervogel himself) certain criteria which may serve as a guide for the grouping of Nguni languages were put forward. Northern Ndebele undoubtedly fits into what he calls the Tekela sub-group of Nguni of which it is a cluster.

(Ziervogel, 1959:13)

Let us concentrate more on the sub-group which Ziervogel prefers to call Northern Ndebele proper. His account of their migration is based entirely on a legend which was recounted to him by certain informants. The crux of the story is that two sons of a certain chief, Nungu, named Malaji and Malajana, argued about the sun. Malaji argued that the sun rose up between two *múganu* trees and Malajana said it rose from the sea. It turned out that Malajana was right and the humiliated Malaji threatened to kill his brother.

Malajana then fled to Swaziland but found Swati unintelligible. Whereupon he requested the Swazi king to give him twelve boys and girls to teach his tribe Swazi and indeed by the time those children had become adults the Kalanga language had become extinct and Malajana's tribe was completely Swazi-speaking. They migrated farther and met the Southern Ndebele and also acquired their speech form. From this they also became known as Ndebele and Ziervogel consequently classifies their speech form as a Nguni Tekela dialect (1959:13).

Languages are not normally lost in as easy a manner and as short a period as that suggested in this historical sketch. That they can be acquired in a short space of time is not uncommon. Shaka ruled for only 12 years, but at the NB time of his death the whole of his empire was Zulu-speaking. However in Shaka's case people spoke not completely different languages such as Shona and Nguni, but mutually intelligible dialects. Secondly they had much more than just 12 boys and girls to learn it from. Losing a language is a different story altogether. Although Tekela people spoke a Zunda variety in Shaka's time, Tekela as a language did not die out and in fact has survived to the present day. Even the very Sumayela Ndebele have interacted with Sotho speaking people for generations but they still *sumayela*. Consequently we would expect Ziervogel to cite at least a few examples of Shona in Sumayela Ndebele.

Over and above, Ziervogel (1959:5) argues further and says:

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

It is very difficult to accept that there are so many Ndebele tribes who speak dialects of the same language and yet are not at all related. If the Langa off-shoot are of Zululand stock they should at least be related to the Zunda Ndebele who also hail from Natal. In fact at Potgietersrus we met an informant who vehemently disputed Ziervogel's version on Ndebele history. He is adamant that the different Ndebele groups are all descendant from the common ancestor Musi, son of Mhlanga. He accepts that they did venture

into Zimbabwe but that was only after their departure from their common abode in Natal. He is aware of Nungu and his porcupine totem which was later abandoned by Malajana who adopted the elephant, a totem all the Sumayela Ndebele still embrace. He informed us of his resolution to convene all the Ndebele tribes both Zunda and Sumayela (or Tekela) to inform them of their common history, but he unfortunately died before realising this intention.

Consequently, I find it difficult to adopt Ziervogel's account of Ndebele history. On the contrary, I want to argue that both the Sumayela and the Zunda Ndebele of the Transvaal are members of one and the same family. They are a branch of the Hlubi, the biggest and most powerful of the Tekela sub-groups. This claim is based on the findings during research corroborated as they are by historical accounts of Fourie (1922), Van Warmelo (1944), De Beer (1986) and other scholars who will be cited as we go along. However, I reject those views which claim that the Transvaal Ndebele are Mzilikazi's stock (cf. Kubeka, 1979), which he left behind when he ventured into the modern Zimbabwe. The Transvaal Ndebele occupied that province long before Chief Mzilikazi was born.

The weight of evidence I am relying on is to the effect that the Transvaal Ndebele broke away from the Hlubi in Northern Zululand below Ulundi (or Khahlamba or Drakensberg) range. That being the case, their history is bound up with the history of the Hlubi.

As mentioned above, the Hlubi formed the largest group of all the Embo Nguni. They left the Tekela nucleus east of Lubombo range after the Bhele-Zizi group which formed the vanguard of the whole Embo migration. Bryant (1929:147) estimates that this took place between AD 1550 and 1650.

The Bhele-Zizi vanguard pushed forward into upper Natal, while the Hlubi remained in upper Zululand. Their habitat originally stretched from the Ncome (or Blood) river to the sources of the Mzinyathi. At a later stage they spread westwards towards the territory of their other Embo cousins, the Bhele and the Zizi at the foothills of the Drakensberg.

The Hlubi are by far the most and the farthest travelled. Westwards they penetrated the Drakensberg plateau, cutting across the Orange Free State, eventually reaching the modern Ficksburg. Northwards they sojourned near the modern Standerton in Southern Transvaal, crossed the Vaal (or Ligwa) river at Nkulungwe, settled north of the modern Pretoria and proceeded through what is now Hammanskraal and Potgietersrus to Pietersburg while another branch trekked from Pretoria eastwards past the modern Middelburg. To the south and south-west they scaled the Drakensberg to to what is now Matatiele in the Transkei and to Ciskei, reaching as far west as the modern Port Elizabeth.

Their greatest chief was Bhungane who ruled them in about the middle of the 18th century. Bhungane descended from Nsele, son of Mashiyi, of Hadebe, of Mlotshwa, of Mashwabade, son of Busobengwe of Mthimkhulu of Musi, son of Mhlanga. It is from Mhlanga that the Transvaal Ndebele trace their genealogy.

Musi, Mhlanga's son is the one who broke away from the main tribe and trekked northwards into the Transvaal with his followers in about 1650. After crossing the Vaal, informants maintain that he settled in the vicinity of the modern Krugersdorp where he established his Mhlanga residence (Mohlakeng in Sotho). Later on he moved farther to the modern Pretoria-North and the Wonderboom in that area marks the site of his residence.

Musi (or Msi) had six sons, namely: Manala — his heir — Ndzundza Mthombeni, Hwaduba, Sibasa and Dlomo. The feud between Manala and Ndzundza as related by informants resembles very much the Biblical story of Esau and Jacob. Musi was then an old man and had lost his sight. He asked his heir, Manala, to kill him an eland, and prepare a meal for him so that he could eat and bless Manala before dying. Their mother overheard this and while Manala was gone hunting, she ordered Ndzundza to kill a sheep and prepare a meal for his father to eat and bless him. Ndzundza hesitated for Manala was a hairy man which enabled their father to distinguish him. He also feared that his father would recognise his (Ndzundza's) voice but his mother insisted. Ndzundza obeyed. He slaughtered the sheep, put its skin on

his arms and presented the meat to his father. After feeling his hairy arms his father blessed Ndzundza for he believed him to be Manala. When Manala later learnt of this deceit he vowed to kill Ndzundza who decided to flee.

In the ensuing split Hwaduba joined Manala and they migrated to Wallmannsthal, among the Kgatla. Mthombeni joined Ndzundza and they moved north-eastwards until they reached the Steelpoort river. Here they parted ways. Mthombeni and his followers proceeded to the east of the modern Potgietersrus and settled in Sebediela. This group became known as the Gegana (Kekana) after Mthombeni's son of that name. The Ndzundza group, under his son Mabhoko (Mapoch) settled at Roos Senekal and became known as the Mabhoko tribe (De Beer, 1986:31-33).

The Gegana once more split into three groups. The first one under Muledlane remained at their habitat. The second under Mugombhane (Makapan) proceeded towards Vaaltyn. The third group migrated to Phalaborwa. They even proceeded to Zimbabwe, where after a short sojourn, they wheeled round via Vendaland to their present habitat in Lebowa where they became known as the Lidwaba (De Beer, 1986:33).

Another group, the Langa, also broke away from the Hlubi in about 1650 or earlier under Masebe I from their Natal homeland, followed the route via Swaziland to Leydsdorp in northern Transvaal. They stayed for a short while at Boyne near Thaba Tshweu (Witkop) which is presently occupied by the Molepo (De Beer, 1986:32).

Thus the Transvaal Ndebele are divided into two: the Northern (Sumayela) and the Southern (Zunda) Ndebele. The Northern Ndebele comprise three sub-groups, viz. the Gegana who are further divided into the Muledlana (or Sibediela) and the Mugombhane (Mokopane in Sotho); the Langa who are further divided into the Mapela and the Bakenberg section; and the Lidwaba (Sotho: Letwaba) who are further divided into the Mashashane, the MaWune and the Maraba (cf. Ziervogel, 1959:4).

This oneness between the Sumayela and the Zunda Ndebele (alternatively the Northern and the Southern Transvaal Ndebele) was confirmed further in

1975 by the decision taken by the Sumayela Ndebele of Vaaltyn. This decision is recorded by De Beer as follows:

Op 18 Maart 1975 het die Vaaltynstamowerheid samesprekings met amptenare van die Dept. van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling gevoer oor wegbreking uit Lebowa. Volgens hulle het hulle in 1969 onderneem om tydelik by Lebowa in te skakel, maar hulle wil uiteindelik saam met die Suid-Ndebele van KwaNdebele, met wie hulle histories en kultureel noue verbintnisse het (vgl. punt 1), in een staat verbind word (Dept. S & O lêer F54/1545/8).

(De Beer, 1986:53)

In my opinion this display of unity and solidarity puts paid to Ziervogel's postulation of four separate Ndebele groups.

Besides the historical account, there is also ethnological evidence which links Transvaal Ndebele with Natal and Swaziland. For instance, in Natal we get many Nguni people of the Ndebele clan. Also one of the first Swati kings, Ndvungunye, was born of Lomvula LaMndebele, the principal wife of the great king Ngwane III. This must have been before 1770 because Ngwane died in that year leaving his son Ndvungunye a very small boy (Matsebula, 1988:12). Thus even as early as the eighteenth century we find Ndebele people in Swaziland. There must have been a Hlubi leader of the name, Ndebele, but unfortunately his identity has proved impossible to trace. The story does not end there of course. Today there are many clans, including Magagula, Sibanyoni, Mkhabela, and Mashinini, who are split in the middle — some members of these clans claim to be Swati while others claim to be Ndebele.

But now we are confronted by yet another problem. If all the Ndebele tribes have a common origin then how did it come about that some are Zunda while others are Tekela speaking? During research informants failed to answer this question. Yet it is by no means unique, especially with regard to Nguni. Zulu and Qwabe were sons of Malandela but there was a split between the two brothers due to a family feud. Today descendants of Zulu speak isiNtungwa (which became known as isiZulu) while those of Qwabe speak a Thefuya dialect of Nguni; which likewise became known as isiQwabe.

My assumption is that since the Ndebele are a Hlubi offshoot, they must have been initially Tekela speaking. That must have been the case also during the time of their "great trek" as well as when they settled in the Transvaal. This is borne out by the fact that one of Musi's sons had a Tekela name, Ndzundza (cf. with the Zulu, Nzunza) yet it is exactly his descendants who are Zunda speaking. This might have happened in this manner: After the dispute (supra) Ndzundza fled from the common home to settle east of Pretoria. Later his followers stretched from Pretoria to the Olifants river (known to the Ndebele as uBhalule). Later this tribe was invaded by Zulu hordes under the Khumalo chief, Mzilikazi. He subdued them and became their chief to such an extent that when he fled to Zimbabwe his followers were known no longer as Zulu or Khumalo Ntungwas but as Ndebele; and that title has stuck until the present. It is quite possible therefore that Mzilikazi might have adopted the precedent created by his former king, Shaka and ordered his Tekela subjects to abandon Tekela for Zunda. Linguistic evidence will be presented (*infra*) in support of this assumption.

2.4.7.2 Ndebele territory

Here we shall concentrate only on the Sumayela Ndebele. According to Ziervogel (1959:6) the various Ndebele tribes occupied the following trust farms in the Potgietersrus and Pietersburg districts of northern Transvaal:

Mugombhane: They live in Vaaltyn just outside Potgietersrus, bordering on the Langa.

Mashashane: They occupy Machichaan's Location 2404 and the farms Mars 189, Glen Roy 71, Waterplaats 808 and 793, Uitvlucht 815, Doornfontein 1652, Diana 1549 and 809, Waterplaats 794 and Doornspruit 816. Their neighbours are the Matlala to the West and the MaWune and Moletsi to the north.

The MaWune (Lidwaba) live on farms: Abrahamsfontein 1641, Bultfontein 1537, Commissiedrift 928, Eensgevonden 1541, Koppie Enkel 1539, Uitzicht 853, Vlaklaagte 1536, Bergzicht 814, Christina 1531, Cornelia 2012, Kalkspruit 812, Uithoek 1540, Utrecht 150, Waschbank 852, Zandfontein 2386, and Zomerfontein 2011.

Finally the Lidwaba (Eland branch) occupy the farms: Gladdespruit 493, Randjies 1635, Schuinsrand 494 and Droogte 1972; whereas the Lidwaba (Ngidigidlana branch) live on the farms: Weltevreden 709, Sterkwater 862 and Slaapkraal 605.

2.4.8 Some concluding remarks

The foregoing historical synopsis was not merely for history's sake. The main objective was to try and put these Tekela sub-groups in their proper perspective. It was to try and show how the Tekela dialects came into contact with, and were influenced by, almost every other speech variety in southern Africa; including San and Khoi languages; Xhosa and Zulu; Mbayi and Pedi; Southern Sotho and Northern Sotho; and even Thonga (or Tsonga in Tekela).

It is this historical perspective which portrays Imfecane as a big melting pot especially with regard to those dialects which were suddenly thrown together in the southern regions of Natal beyond the Mzimkhulu. It also makes some sense of this incredible geographical spread of the Tekela people. It is only against the historical background that we can explain how and why members of the same Tekela family are found scattered in no less than four different states to wit: South Africa, Lesotho, Transkei and Swaziland.

2.4.9 Similarities, Differences and Foreign Influence

2.4.9.1 General

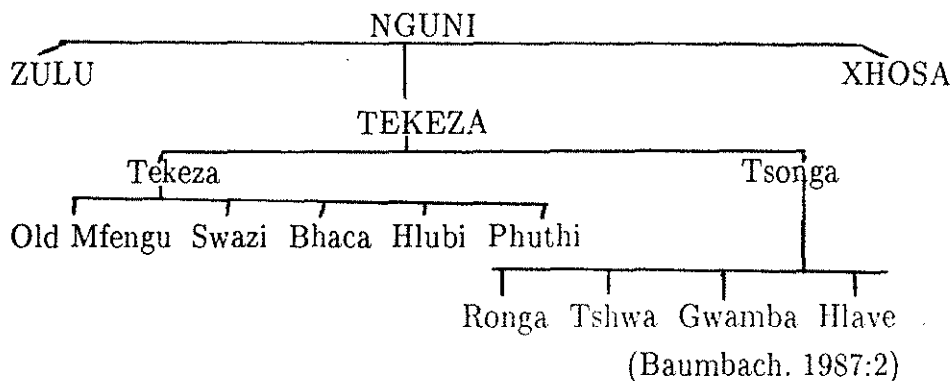
Quite a number of claims have been made in this chapter, and the most significant of which are the following:

- (a) All the Tekela sub-groups originated in Thongaland or the southern part of the modern Mozambique, east of the Lebombo range.
- (b) The Swati are an offshoot of the Thonga (or Tsonga in Tekela) and Matsebula (see par. 2.4.2.1 *supra*) goes even so far as to maintain that Mswati (founder of the Swati nation) and Mthonga (founder of the Thonga nation) were blood brothers.
- (c) The Lala are also a Tsonga offshoot, and this claim is made by an authority of no mean status, i.e. chief Khandalesizwe Cele, paramount chief of all the Cele.

- (d) Sumayela and Zunda Ndebele descend from the common ancestor and are an offshoot of the huge Tekela sub-group, the Hlubi, and finally that
- (e) The Phuthi (originally Zizi), the Bhaca and the Nhlangwini are but different branches of the great Dlamini house together with the Swati.

It is these historical claims which must now be supported and corroborated by linguistic evidence. Surely if the Tekela and the Tsonga share a common homeland and origin, there should be Tsonga tendencies in Tekela dialects. Unfortunately earlier Africanists failed to trace these tendencies and grouped Tsonga as a separate and independent language group among members of the south-eastern zone, i.e. Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Inhambane (cf. Doke, 1967). However, quite recently scholars such as Baumbach (1987) argue in favour of reclassification of Tsonga as a Nguni sub-group. He argues as follows:

But, in the light of all the synchronic similarities which the different Tsonga dialects have with the different Nguni and Tekela languages (itself being a Tekela language, and in the light of recent data which have shown that pre-Tsonga is most probably a reflex of Proto-Nguni, it might be necessary after a thorough investigation to classify Tsonga as follows under the Nguni groups, resp. tekeza cluster:



We note here that Zulu and Xhosa have not been grouped together as Zunda Nguni and that Lala, Nhlangwini and Sumayela Ndebele have been left out of consideration as Tekela dialects. However, these issues are not significant at this juncture. Of great importance is the fact that the scholar has traced

sufficient linguistic properties which link Tsonga with Tekela. Of these I want to single out two: the common vocabulary and the common *tekela* feature of changing the Zunda /z/ into /t/. In the following short word-list I have concentrated on the words which prove both a common vocabulary between Tsonga and Nguni as well as *tekela* idiosyncracies in Tsonga:

2.4.9.2 Tsonga Tendencies in Tekela

	<u>Tsonga</u>	<u>Tekela</u>	<u>Zunda</u>	<u>English</u>
1.	—èngètà	—engéta	—engéza	add to, increase
2.	—fafata	—fafáta	—fafáza	sprinkle; drizzle
3.	—endza	—endzá	—endá	travel
4.	tshémbá	—tsémba	—thémba	trust/hope
5.	—tsèmbísá	—tsembísa	—thembísa	promise
6.	—muyeni	—múyeni	—ísivakáshi	guest
7.	nomu	nômo (Lala)	úmlomo	mouth
8.	homú	íhhomó (Lala)	ínkomó	bovine
9.	hósí	íhhosi (Lala)	ínkôsi	chief
10.	tiva	sítiba	isíziba	pool
11.	tínyó	litínyo	ízinyo	tooth
12.	—fúndzá	—fúndza	—fúnda	take a mouthful
13.	gúlá	ingúla	ígúla	calabash
14.	munyamá	úmnyáma	úmnyáma	darkness
15.	munhu	múnu (Lala)	úmúntu	person
16.	tala	lítala	ízala	ash—heap
17.	—tálá	—tála	—zála (Xhosa)	be full
18.	muna	umúna	umúna	eruption of skin
19.	—elula	—elúla	—elúla	straighten
20.	lwánslé	lwánslé	úlwandle	sea
21.	mulaza	úmlazá	úmlazá	whey
22.	mánána	úmána(Bhaca)	úmáma	mother
23.	—fúkáméla	—fukaméla	fukamela	brood
24.	—fihlá	—fihla	—fihla	conceal
25.	—fánélá	—fanéla	—fanéla	be necessary

The list is unlimited, however, I feel that 25 examples are sufficient to support the point made by Baumbach (*supra*) that Tsonga is a Tekela Nguni language. It must be emphasised however that Tsonga has acquired thousands of non-Nguni lexemes with the result that it has drifted more and more away from Nguni with the result that it is no longer readily intelligible to Nguni-speakers. In fact one should distinguish between Southern Tsonga and Northern Tsonga which shows very little, if any, Nguni influence.

Now let us focus on the Tekela characteristic features, especially those that distinguish it from Zunda Nguni. In phonology there are three major processes which occur in Tekela Nguni but not in Zunda Nguni. These are Nasalization of vowels, Labialisation and Vowel Replacement. However, those will not be commented upon in this chapter since they form the subject of discussion in chapter 5. What will be discussed here albeit in passing are morphological and lexical features. Regarding morphological features attention will be given to the nominal class system and the various pronouns.

2.4.9.3 Morphological similarities, differences and influences

In the Bantu language family we distinguish two types of nominal class prefixes. In many languages including the Sotho language group, we get monosyllabic prefixes, usually consisting of a consonant-plus-vowel (CV). In others, such as the Zunda Nguni language group, we get disyllabic prefixes. The first syllable is known as the preprefix or prevowel. The second is termed the basic or real prefix.

Tekela dialects fall mid-way between these two extremes, i.e. they are partially mono- and partially disyllabic in their prefixal system. This is in fact one of the major differences between Tekela and Zunda. In a typical Tekela dialect only the nasal classes get disyllabic prefixes; the rest of the nouns have monosyllabic prefixes. There are exceptions to this rule, however, In Bhaca and Nhlanguwini, for instance, a prevowel has been adopted in all prefixes. This is obviously due to the Zunda influence. Bhaca leans more on Xhosa while Nhlanguwini leans on Zulu in this respect. For instance, Bhaca, like Xhosa, has long vowels as prefixes of classes 2a and 10, e.g. *ômalûme* (uncles); *înkômó* (cattle) respectively. Nhlanguwini, like Zulu, has the forms *ômalûme* and *itinkômó* respectively; and *ômalûme* relates with *ábomalûme*.

Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele on the other hand have fallen heavily under the Sotho influence. In both these dialects a prevowel in the prefixal system has almost been completely eliminated. In Sumayela Ndebele a prevowel is prefixed to class 1a only – even in this class the prevowel occurs very infrequently. In Phuthi too the prevowel in classes 1 and 2 occurs as an irregular alternant to monosyllabic prefixes. Only in class 6 does the prevowel normally appear. It is worth noting that in both these speech varieties class 11 nouns have become absorbed into class 5 and a few that still remain in class 11 are an exception to this new development. For instance in Phuthi we have: *lú-nagá*; *lú-síba* against *lí-nagá*; *lí-síba*.

In Northern Natal Lala a typically Tekela situation still prevails, i.e. prevowels are prefixed only to nasal classes. In the Southern Natal dialect however, Zulu influence has crept in and prevowels have been adopted for all classes. In Table B (*infra*) we try to illustrate this rather complex picture we have been painting.

The salient features which distinguish the Tekela from Zunda pronouns may be summarised as follows: Except for phonetic differences Tekela absolute pronouns are very similar to their Zunda counterparts. The Phuthi *miné* and *tshiné* and the Swati *miné*, *tshine* and *niné* are distinguished by the *-e* terminative. Regarding Swati, however, informants told me that *miná*, *tshiná* and *niná* are also used as variants of the former, respectively. The only other different pronoun is the Sumayela Ndebele *liná* instead of *niná*. This /l/ persists even in the inclusive quantifier *lóhle/lókle*. This is shared by Phuthi where *lóhle* is also used instead of *nónke*. The *-hle* in both examples is probably due to Sotho influence. *-dzi* features in Bhaca, Lala and Phuthi as the variant of the exclusive quantifier *-dwa/-dvwa*. In Bhaca however *-dzi* alternates with *-dwa/-dvwa*. From now on, it will become obvious that Lala and Phuthi often share common features. The stem *-kle* instead of *-nke* is peculiar to Ndebele. As far as the demonstrative pronouns are concerned, Lala, Nhangwini and Bhaca follow Zulu in adopting *-ya* in the third position while Phuthi, Ndebele and Swati lack the *-ya*. Swati is the only dialect which replaces the labial with a palatal glide for class 1 demonstratives.

Let us now consider the following tables to see how the so-called pronouns compare with and differ from one another in the Tekela dialects.

TABLE 2 (i) : ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS

ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDE.
miná	miné	mná/miná	miná	miná	miné	miná/nná
thiná	tshiné	tshiná	tshiná	thiná	tshiné	thiná
wená	wená	wená	wená	wená	wená	wená
niná	niné	niná	niná	niná	niná	liná
soná	soná	soná	soná	soná	soná	soná
zoná	toná	toná	toná	toná	toná	toná

TABLE 2 (ii) : QUANTITATIVE PRONOUNS

ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDE.
ngédwa	ngédvwa	ndédvwa/ndédzi	gédzi	ngédwa	gédzi	ndédwa
sónke	sónke	sónke	sókhe	sónke	sóhle	sókhe/sóhle
wédwa	wédvwa	wédvwa/wédzi	wédzi	wédwa	wédzi	wédwa
nónke	nónke	nónke	nónkhe	nónke	lóhle	lókhe/lóhle
bódwa	bódvwa	bódvwa/bódzi	bódzi	bódwa	bódzi	bódwa
zónke	tónke	tónke	tókhe	tónke	tóhle	tókhe/tóhle

TABLE 2 (iii) : DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDE.
ló/lówo	ló(yi)/lóyo	ló/lówo	ló/lówo	ló/lówo	ló/lówo	ló/lówo
lowayá:	loyá:	lowá:	lowayá:	lowá:	lowá:	lowá:
lézi/lézo	léti/léto	léti/léto	léti/léto	léti/léto	léti/léto	léti/léto
leziyá:	letá:	letiyá:	letiyá:	letiyá:	letá:	letá:
labayá:	labá:	labayá:	labayá:	labayá:	labá:	labá:

TABLE 3(i): TEKELA NOMINAL PREFIX SYSTEM

(U)

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA
1. person; woman builder; herdsman	<u>umú</u> -ntu; <u>úmí</u> -fâzi <u>úm</u> -âkhi; <u>um</u> -élusi	<u>úmú</u> -ntfu; <u>úmí</u> -fâti <u>úm</u> -âkhi; <u>um</u> -élusi	<u>úmú</u> -ntfu; <u>úmí</u> -fâti <u>úm</u> -âkhi; <u>um</u> -élusi
2. people; women builders; herdsman	<u>abá</u> -ntu; <u>ába</u> -fâzi <u>áb</u> -âkhi; <u>ab</u> -élusi	<u>bá</u> -ntfu / <u>ébá</u> -ntfu <u>b</u> -âkhi / <u>éb</u> -âkhi	<u>ábá</u> -ntfu; <u>ába</u> -fâti <u>áb</u> -âkhi; <u>áb</u> -élusi
1a. my/our father my/our uncle	<u>ú</u> -babá <u>ú</u> -malûme	(<u>ú</u>)-babé ø-malûme	<u>ú</u> -bawó <u>ú</u> -malûme
2a. our fathers our uncles	<u>ô</u> :babá / <u>abó</u> -babá <u>ô</u> :malûme/ <u>awó</u> -malûme	<u>bó</u> -babé <u>bó</u> -malûme	<u>ábó</u> -bawó/ <u>óòbawó</u> <u>ábó</u> -malûme/ <u>óòmalûme</u>
3. village; leg	<u>umú</u> -zi; <u>úmí</u> -lenze	<u>úmú</u> -ti; <u>úmí</u> -lente	<u>úmú</u> -ti; <u>úmí</u> -lente
4. fires; mouths	<u>imí</u> -lilo; <u>imí</u> -lomo	<u>imí</u> -lilo; <u>ímí</u> -lomo;	<u>imí</u> -lilo; <u>imí</u> -lomo
5. country; knee stone	<u>í</u> -zwe; <u>í</u> -dolo <u>í</u> -tje	<u>lí</u> -ve <u>lí</u> -dvolo <u>lí</u> -tje	<u>ílí</u> -ve; <u>í</u> -dolo <u>ílí</u> -tje

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA
6. men; power water	<u>amá</u> -doda; <u>amá</u> -ndla <u>ámâ</u> -nzi	<u>émá</u> -dvodza; <u>émá</u> -ndla <u>émâ</u> -nti	<u>ámá</u> -dvodza; <u>ámá</u> -ndla <u>ámâ</u> -nti
7. dish; hand	<u>ísí</u> -tja*; <u>ís</u> -ándla	<u>sí</u> -tja; <u>s</u> -ándla	<u>ísí</u> -tja; <u>ís</u> -ándla
8. travellers; fools	<u>ízi</u> -hámbi; <u>izi</u> -lîma	<u>ti</u> -hámbi; <u>ti</u> -lîma	<u>íti</u> -khámbi; <u>iti</u> -lîma
9. cow; dog baboon; bull	<u>ín</u> -komó; <u>ín</u> -já <u>ím</u> -fene; <u>ín</u> -kûnzi	<u>ín</u> -khomó; <u>ín</u> -já <u>ím</u> -fene; <u>ín</u> -kûnzi	<u>ín</u> -komó; <u>ín</u> -já <u>ím</u> -fene; <u>ín</u> -kûnti
10. cows; dogs baboons; bulls	<u>izin</u> -kômó; <u>izin</u> -já <u>izim</u> -fêne; <u>izin</u> -kûnzi	<u>tin</u> -khômó; <u>tín</u> -já <u>tim</u> -fêne; <u>tin</u> -kûnzi	<u>iin</u> -komó; <u>itin</u> -já <u>iim</u> -fene; <u>iin</u> -kûnti
11. horn; rib	<u>ú</u> -phondo; <u>ú</u> -bambo	<u>lú</u> -phondvo; <u>lú</u> -bhambo	<u>ú</u> -phondvo; <u>ú</u> -bhambo
14. grass; sleep	<u>ú</u> -tjâni*; <u>ubú</u> -thongo	tjâni*; <u>bú</u> -tfôngo	(<u>ín</u> -gcá - cl.9); <u>úbú</u> tfôngo
15. food; talk	<u>úku</u> -dlá; <u>úku</u> -khulúma	<u>kú</u> -dlá; <u>kú</u> -khulúma	<u>úku</u> -dlá; <u>úkú</u> -bhobha

* for orthography see p.93

TABLE 3(ii): TEKELA NOMINAL PREFIX SYSTEM

(V)

	LALA	NHANGWINI	PHUTHI	SUMAYELA NDEBELE
1.	<u>mú</u> -nhu; <u>ú</u> -fâti <u>m</u> -âkhi; <u>m</u> -elûsi	<u>úmú</u> -ntu; <u>úm</u> -fâti <u>úm</u> -âkhi; <u>um</u> -élusi	<u>mú</u> -tfu; <u>ú</u> -fâti <u>mu</u> -wâkhi; <u>m</u> -álusi	<u>mú</u> -nru; <u>mu</u> -fâti <u>mu</u> -yâkhi; <u>m</u> -alûsi
2.	<u>ábá</u> -nhu; <u>ábá</u> -fâti <u>b</u> -âkhi; <u>b</u> -elûsi	<u>ábantu</u> ; <u>ábá</u> -fâti <u>áb</u> -âkhi; <u>áb</u> -élusi	<u>ébá</u> -tfu; <u>éba</u> -fâti <u>éb</u> -âkhi; <u>eb</u> -élusi	<u>bá</u> -nru; ba-fâti <u>ba</u> -yâkhi; <u>b</u> -elûsi
1a.	<u>Ø</u> -babé malûme	úbawó úmalûme	<u>Ø</u> -ntaté <u>Ø</u> -malûme	<u>Ø</u> -bhabhá <u>Ø</u> -malûme
2a.	<u>bó</u> -babé <u>bó</u> -malûme	<u>ábó</u> -bawó <u>ábó</u> -malûme	<u>bó</u> -ntaté <u>bó</u> -malûme	<u>bó</u> -bhabhá <u>bó</u> -malûme
3.	<u>mú</u> -ti; <u>ú</u> -nêde	<u>úmú</u> -ti; <u>úm</u> -lente	<u>mú</u> -ti; <u>mú</u> -lente	<u>mú</u> -ti; <u>mu</u> -lênte
4.	<u>mí</u> -nîlo; <u>mí</u> -nômo	<u>ímí</u> -lilo; <u>ímí</u> -lomo	<u>mí</u> llo; <u>mí</u> -lomu	<u>mí</u> -llo; <u>mi</u> -lômo
5.	<u>lí</u> -ve; <u>lí</u> -dzôlo <u>lí</u> -bwe	<u>í</u> lí-ve; <u>í</u> -dolo <u>í</u> lí-tje	<u>lí</u> -phâsi; <u>lí</u> -dvôlo <u>lí</u> -jwe	<u>li</u> -phâsi; <u>lí</u> -dolo <u>lí</u> -ye

LALA	NHANGWINI	PHUTHI	SUMAYELA NDEBELE
6. <u>ámá</u> -dzôdzá; <u>má</u> -ngra* <u>mâ</u> -di	<u>ámá</u> -doda; <u>ámá</u> -ndla <u>ámâ</u> -nti	<u>émá</u> -dvodza; <u>émândla</u> <u>éma</u> -dí	<u>má</u> -doda; <u>má</u> -ndla <u>mâ</u> -nti
7. <u>sí</u> -tja <u>s</u> -ángra*	<u>ísí</u> -tja; <u>ís</u> -ándla	<u>sí</u> -tja <u>s</u> -ádla	<u>sí</u> -tja; <u>sá</u> -ndla
8. <u>ti</u> -khámbi; <u>ti</u> -líma	<u>íti</u> -khámbi; <u>íti</u> -líma	<u>ti</u> -khábhi; <u>ti</u> -líma	<u>ti</u> -khámbi; <u>ti</u> -dlayêla
9. <u>í</u> -yomó/ <u>í</u> -hhomó; <u>ím</u> -bwá <u>ím</u> -fêne; <u>í</u> -wûdi;	<u>ín</u> -komó; <u>ín</u> -já <u>ím</u> -fene; <u>ín</u> -kûnti	<u>í</u> -yomó; <u>í</u> -já <u>í</u> -fene; <u>í</u> -rhûdi	<u>n</u> -klomó; <u>n</u> -já <u>tim</u> -fêne; <u>ti</u> -nklûnti
10. <u>tí</u> -yomó/ <u>tí</u> -hhomó; <u>tî</u> -mbwá <u>tí</u> -fêne; <u>tí</u> wûdi	<u>itin</u> -kômó; <u>itin</u> -já <u>itim</u> -fêne; <u>itin</u> -kûnti	<u>tí</u> -yomó; <u>tî</u> -já <u>ti</u> -fêne; <u>ti</u> -rhûdi	<u>tin</u> -klômó; <u>tîn</u> -já <u>tim</u> -fêne; <u>tin</u> -klûnti
11. <u>lú</u> -phôndzo; <u>lú</u> -bâmbô	<u>ú</u> -phondo; <u>ú</u> -bhambo	<u>lú</u> -naga; líkrhubho*	<u>lu</u> -bôndo; <u>ti</u> -krhubho*
14. <u>b</u> -wâni; <u>bú</u> -thôngo	<u>ú</u> -tjâni; <u>úbú</u> -thôngo	<u>bú</u> -jwâni; <u>bú</u> -tfôngo	<u>bú</u> -yâni; <u>bu</u> -thôngo
15. <u>kú</u> -grá; <u>kú</u> -khulúma	<u>úku</u> -dlá; <u>úkú</u> -khulúma	<u>kú</u> -dlá; <u>kú</u> -khulúma	<u>kú</u> -dlá; <u>ku</u> -súmayela

* for orthography see p.93

2.4.9.4 Lexical similarities, differences and influences

As far as lexemes are concerned, it is necessary to deal with each language in turn. It will not be necessary to dwell too much on the similarities because a core vocabulary of 150 Zulu words with their Tekela equivalents has been provided in Appendix A of this thesis. Two speech varieties, however, can not be held to be different dialects unless they differ somewhat. Accordingly, it is on these differences that we shall now focus our attention.

2.4.9.4.1 Swati

Of the 150 words in Appendix A Zulu and Swati have 147 words in common; and this gives a clear picture of more similarities than differences. The words between these speech varieties differ only phonetically, mainly because of a Tekela /t/ which replaces a Zunda /z/. Even this substitution, however, has a limited application. Consider a number of Swati words with a /z/: *úrńzála* (cousin); *lízulu* (heaven); *úmuzwá* (feeling); *ínzúzo* (profit); *sízumbulú* (lump sum); *kuzimúka* (to become fat); *líhlazo* (shame); *úmuzí* (species of rush); *lízinyáne* (kid, lamb); and *kúzaca* (be thin). Also the change from Zunda /d/ to Tekela /dz/ is not always upheld. Consider the following examples: *indándatho* (ring); *lídada* (duck); *umthándazo* (prayer); and *úrńfúndisi* (priest) as against *úrńfundísi* (teacher). If the argument is that these have been loaned from Zulu, then the same argument could be used in support of the view that these two speech forms are drifting more and more towards, rather than away from, each other.

Moreover, Swati does not apply the Tekela features to loans from English and Afrikaans. A few examples are cited to illustrate this point: *libhakéde* (bucket); *lidázini* (dozen); *úrńdanso* (dance); *íngilázi* (glass); *lídáládi* (draad); and *lidolóbha* (dorp); *lídúku* (doek); *lídamú* (dam); *et cetera*.

Despite the above, there are hundreds of words which are typically Swati. These include: *íngcongá* (drizzle); *sidzándzane* (girl); *íngwadla* (prostitute); *likúlulu* (flea); *líhíya* (Swati cloak); *kubhekéta* (to fabricate a story), etc.

2.4.9.4.2 Bhaca

Zulu and Bhaca share 145 of the words in the core vocabulary. The only differences are phonetic; and to a very small degree morphological, e.g.

Bhaca replaces the Zulu **úbabá** with **úbawó** which it shares with Xhosa. Also the plural prefixes **oo-** and **ii-** for classes 2a and 10 respectively are shared with Xhosa than with Zulu. But one should bear in mind that although in official orthography Zulu has **o-** and **izin-** as prefixes for class 2a and 10, in spoken language it does not differ from Xhosa and Bhaca. The relevant prefixes are a long /o/ and a long /i/ for Zulu as well. A Xhosa connection is also reflected in such words as: **íntsômi** (folktale); **úcephe** (spoon); **ingcá** (grass); **úmudá** (boundary); **bhída** (confuse); **idíkazi** (concubine); **ímvelaphí** (origin); **úrnyatsi** (basket); **íhlwempú** (pauper); **ínkwenkwé** (uninitiated boy); and **châna** (hit the target). These are common to both Bhaca and Xhosa. Yet there are words which are peculiar to Bhaca only. These include: **úmziki** (marriageable girl); **íncwayí** (green liquid off sour milk); **-njece** (grey); **-ngcóngo** (eight); **-celú** (seven); **-sonyâne** (red and white); etc.

It is quite easy to explain the Xhosa influence on Bhaca. In the first place, much of Bhacaland has been incorporated into the Transkei. In the second place, within the Transkei the Bhaca use Xhosa as their official language. This makes Xhosa to be the medium in school, church and administration.

2.4.9.4.3 Lala

Again of the 150 words the core vocabulary, Zulu and Lala has 149 of them in common. There are, of course, minor phonetic and phonological differences. What is worth noting, however, is that regarding click sounds Lala behaves like Swati in substituting the Zulu /q/ with /c/, and vice versa, e.g.:

<u>Lala</u>	<u>Zulu</u>
-cála	-qála (begin)
-qéla	-cela (ask, beg)
-gqóba	-gcóba (smear/anoint)
lígumá	ígqumá (hill)

(Van Wyk, 1960:33)

Van Wyk then furnishes (on p. 149) another list of words which he claims to

be typically Lala, without an equivalent in Zulu. Unfortunately for him, I happen to know Zulu equivalents for each and everyone of those words:

<u>Lala</u>	<u>Zulu</u>
macínane	amacúbane (water)
líqúwané	íqhúgwané (hut)
íwédáné	ínkwézáne (mist and cold)
íngqikitsí	íngqikithí (subject, theme)
nóhhoha	unóhha (baboon)
qádzoló	úqádoló/úcádoló (black-jack weed)
umongótima	umongózima (nose-bleeding)

I must point out however that in Zulu, **amacúbane** is only used as a **hlonípha** substitute for **ámânzi** (water). If, indeed, it was borrowed from Lala, then it confirms the theory that in Hlonipha a term from another dialect may be adopted to replace the one to be avoided. *

Nevertheless, there are a few of Van Dyk's examples which I accept as typically Lala, without – to my knowledge – equivalents from continuous languages. These include **úmnngcata** (mealies); **úmnqwati** (blood); **limúkutso** (ten) and **mwásha** (drink).

2.4.9.4.4 Nhlangwini

Nhlangwini, like the rest, has been almost completely Zulu-ised. 147 Nhlanguwini equivalents for Zulu words in the core vocabulary confirm this. The only difference is a phonetic one of substituting a Zulu /z/ with /t/. Occupying as they do the border between Natal and the Transkei, it is not surprising that Xhosa has also left its stamp on Nhlanguwini. Words such as **úngxunguphâlo** (worry); **ínxáso** (support); **ísícaka** (servant); **-xáka** (confuse); etc. are common to both Nhlanguwini and Xhosa. However, words which are typically Nhlanguwini appear to have been influenced by Khoisan peoples since many of them have clicks. The same can be said also of Lala (supra). This is not surprising since the land now occupied by these language groups was initially inhabited by the Khoisan. Consider the words peculiar to Nhlanguwini such as: **úmmenqa** (remains after straining); **íxhayí** (door);

ísicamba (rush mat); **umqháthulo** (rough mealie meal); and others without clicks such as: **líp'háluko** (paddock); **úphétwáne** (indigenous corn); **úlúphephe** (wind); and **ísídiko** (dishing spoon).

2.4.9.4.5 Phuthi

Phuthi has drifted away from Zulu. Of 150 words in the core vocabulary only 120 are common to both speech varieties. The remaining 30 seem to have been influenced by Sotho and Xhosa. Viewed against their historical background this should come as no surprise. It must be remembered that when the Phuthi ventured to the Drakensberg plateau they found that it was already populated by the Sotho-speaking Maphuthing and also by the Khoisan peoples with whom they co-habited. Presently, their neighbours include also the Xhosa in the South. All these peoples have left their mark on Phuthi vocabulary. Of all the Tekela dialects, Phuthi seems to have the highest incidence of words with click sounds. They have also borrowed heavily from the Sotho, as is more apparent from the following examples:

<u>Phuthi</u>	<u>Southern Sotho</u>
mubetlí	mmetli (carpenter)
phiri	phíri (hyena)
phúthi	phuthi (duiker)
ídawu	taú (lion)
ítshumo	tshúmo (folktale)
muratha	moratha (porridge)
póta	póta (go round)
siyedá	seetá (shoe)

Let us also consider a few examples with click sounds as proof of Khoisan influence: **—xhuthúla** (pull suddenly); **cocóbisa** (move gently); **lígxiya** (species of bird); **—nqhála** (go straight); **—ncwetá** (pluck); **cécé** (grand-mother); **lígxiya** (a tall person); **—gxelésha** (look sideways); **chatúlla** (peel); **sinkgágana** (frog); etc. Some of the words with clicks are shared with Xhosa, e.g. **íCáwa** (Sunday); **licuba** (tobacco); **íngqe** (cold); **ínkqubo** (progress), et cetera.

2.4.9.4.6 Sumayela Ndebele

Our first task in this sub-section is to try and trace lexical similarities between Tekela and Zunda Ndebele. This is necessary to try and substantiate the claim that both these Ndebele groups are off-shoots of the great Hlubi branch and are actually members of the same family. In fact examples of the common vocabulary are too numerous to list here and accordingly, only a few examples will be cited:

	<u>Sumayela Ndebele</u>	<u>Zunda Ndebele</u>
1.	múneu	umúnru (person)
2.	lítinyo	ízinyo (name or tooth)
3.	múngasa	úmngasa (hare)
4.	mulámbo	úmlambo (river)
5.	lidzámbane	izámpane (potato)
6.	nkhúlu	úmkhúlu (grandfather)
7.	munrwatányana	umnrazanyâna (little girl)
8.	mùkhôno	úmkhônno (arm)
9.	múphîni	úmphîni (handle)
10.	murhwá	úmukhwá (custom)
11.	nrâba	ínrâba (mountain)
12.	lithókati	ithókazi (heifer)
13.	—thóbala	—thobála (sleep)
14.	—biphá	—biphá (be bad)
15.	—lúphala	—lúphala (become old)
16.	—hlánta	—hlánza (cleanse)
17.	—súsa	—súsa (take away)
18.	—yambátha	—embátba (wear clothes)
19.	—yembúlba	—embulúla (dig out)
20.	—bopúlla	—buphulúla (unfasten)

Besides the common vocabulary these two speech forms are also characterised by **ndrondroza**, i.e. to replace the Nguni /nd/ nt with /ndr/ ntr or /nr/. I need to point out however that my informants did not change /nd/ to /ndr/ — and the examples in this thesis are evidence of this. However **ndrondroza** is not peculiar to Ndebele. Mpondo, another Hlubi offshoot in the

Natal South Coast also shares this **ndrondróza** trait. This is yet another link between the Transvaal Ndebele and the Natal Nguni. Another feature which is common to Mpondo and Sumayela Ndebele is the ejective velar affricate /kl/ and /nkl/ e.g. **ínklomó** [iŋkxʔomə] (cow); **wómuklúlu** [womukxʔlu] (the big one).

In fact the Sumayela Ndebele are linguistically linked even with the Xhosa farther south. Consider the concord for the first person singular, i.e. **ndi-** in both speech varieties, e.g. **Ndiyakhámba nómuha** (I am going today) and **Ndi ndíye ndiyóbóna bóbbabhá** (I often go to see my father and company), in Sumayela Ndebele. Not only that, but Xhosa and Sumayela Ndebele have a few words in common, e.g. **-khuphá** (take out); **téka /X = zéka** (take a woman in marriage); **-khanyéta /X = khányéla** (deny, dispute); **-kúséla** (to drink); **-kuvá** (to perceive); **ngilíba /X = incíníba** (ostrich); et cetera.

Comparatively, Sumayela Ndebele has drifted quite a lot away from Zulu. In a core vocabulary of 150 words only 120 are common to both varieties. The 30 different words are chiefly loans from Sotho. These include, **mukrhálabe S = mukgálabe** (old man); **-khubála S = kgobála** (get hurt); **gaúne** (get better); **kunódlela s = go nótlela** (to lock); **-hlalípha S = tlhalípha** (be wise); and **-gúga S = kúka** (lift up).

Then there are terms I consider to be typically Sumayela Ndebele, e.g. **kubhatúka** (break to pieces); **kuwúbula** (throw down); **kúdudúka** (to be quiet); and **kuswáphela** (to close up).

2.5 RECAPITULATION

In this chapter an attempt was made at tracing the history of the Tekela Nguni from a common proto-Nguni homeland, against the broader background of Bantu origins. Despite the scattered geographical distribution, an attempt was made at showing that the Tekela sub-groups share a common history and a common proto-language. Also the Tekela were not presented as a mere block, an abstract entity without any tangible identity. On the contrary various individuals, clans and even tribes were isolated and identified.

A brief analysis of the morphological and lexical similarities, differences, and foreign influences was undertaken with the view to setting a scene against which the phonological phenomena are to be discussed. This is because of the fact that in Bantu languages phonology operates on a word and this makes necessary a good perspective of the relevant lexemes and morphemes. Syntax could be both interesting and challenging but it was considered to be outside the scope of this study.

CHAPTER 3

TEKELA PHONEMES: A SYNCHRONIC STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

3.1.1 General

This is the first of the three chapters dealing with Tekela phonemes. In the present chapter Tekela phonemes are identified and described from a synchronic point of view, i.e. as they are currently found in the Tekela dialects. In chapter 4, I shall list only those phonemes which are deemed to be reflexes of Guthrie's Proto-Bantu or Meinhof's Ur-Bantu source items. In chapter 5, I shall focus on the changes undergone by the Tekela phonemes in various environments. In a way, this phonemic analysis follows the parameters which are delineated by Lass as follows:

"Essentially it (a phonemic analysis) is an inventory together with realization rules for its members, and statements of distribution that characterizes exhaustively the substantial structure of its morphemes."

(Lass, 1984:21)

However, before the phonemic inventory is given, the phoneme must first be defined.

3.1.2 Phoneme Defined

Any definition of the phoneme must take cognisance of the views of at least three schools of thought on this subject. These are (a) the Prague school whose advocates are Jakobson, Trubetzkoy and others; (b) the American structural school with such phonologists as Hockett, Gleason, Pike and others; and (c) the mentalist school advocated by Badouin de Courtenay (see Hyman, 1975:59-72).

The Prague school emphasises the phonological reality of the phoneme. Trubetzkoy (cited by Hyman, 1975:67) defines the phoneme as:

"The sum of the phonologically relevant properties of a sound"

"The phoneme can be defined satisfactorily neither on the basis

of its psychological nature ... not on the basis of its relation to the phonetic variants, but purely and solely on the basis of its function in the system of language."

According to this view, a phoneme is a minimal unit that can function to distinguish meanings of words (Hyman, 1975:67).

In the United States structural school the phoneme is defined as a phonetic reality. Thus Daniel Jones of the English school closely aligned to the American school (cited by Hyman 1975:60) defines the phoneme as:

"A family of sounds in a given language, consisting of an important sound of the language together with related sounds, which take its place in particular sound-sequences."

Hyman (*ibid*) cites also Gleason's definition which is very similar to the one by Jones that a phoneme is

"... a class of sounds which: (1) are phonetically similar and (2) show certain characteristic patterns of distribution in the language or dialect under consideration".

The mentalist school defines the phoneme as a psychological reality. Hyman (1975:72) cites Badouin de Courtenay's definition of the phoneme as a mental reality; as the intention of the speaker or the impression of the hearer, or both, since each time a speaker pronounces the sound [g] it is acoustically never quite the same as the last [g], the speaker must have internalised an image or idealised a picture of the sound, a target which he tries to approximate.

De Courtenay's view will not be adopted in this study. I agree fully with the phonologists who reject this view on the ground of vagueness. Trubetzkoy summarises this rejection well where he argues that:

"The fact that the concept 'phoneme' is here (in Courtenay's writings) linked with such vague and nondescript notions as 'psyche', 'linguistic consciousness', or 'sensory perception' cannot be of help in clarifying the phoneme concept. If this definition were to be accepted, one would never know in an actual case what to consider a phoneme for it is impossible to penetrate the 'psyche of all members of a speech community'."
(Cited in Hyman, 1975:73)

The other two definitions will be adopted in this study. However the

definition of the phoneme as a phonological reality will become more relevant in chapter 5 when distinctive features and sound changes are discussed. For the moment the phoneme will be considered as a bundle of phonetic features, as well as a class comprising a number of phones; and the description will be according to articulatory phonetics.

3.1.3 A broad Phonetic Description

In describing speech sounds one may adopt a narrow or a broad description. In a narrow description every phonetic feature is identified and described. For instance, as will be shown in chapter 6, in the Tekela dialects a vowel becomes nasalised before a prenasalised sibilant. However, in this description nasalised vowels will not be considered. Again a vowel that follows a delayed breathy-voiced consonant also becomes breathy-voiced. That feature too will not be highlighted here, i.e. only clear vowels will be considered. The same procedure will also be adopted with regard to consonants. For instance, the Tekela /k/ is partially voiced. However, inter-vocalically this /k/ becomes fully voiced [g]. However in our broad description the /k/ will remain [k] even where it appears between vowels.

3.1.4 Symbols used

The same phonetic signs will be used for the phonemes as well as their phonetic realisations. The only difference being that the phonemes will be placed within slashes while the phones will be in square brackets.

As far as possible the IPA symbols will be used but owing to the fact that South African typewriters do not have all the necessary keys for the IPA signs use will be made of the relevant counterparts. This is more the case with regard to the click sounds.

3.1.5 Practical Orthography

Various scholars who have analysed the Tekela dialects use different orthographies. Mzamane (1948) and Jordan (1942) have for instance been strongly influenced by the Xhosa orthography in their study of Phuthi and Bhaca, respectively. Swati orthography is to a large extent tailored along that of Zulu with some minor differences (See Ziervogel *et al.*, 1976). In

Sumayela Ndebele, Ziervogel decided to use phonetic symbols for those sounds for which he could not find suitable orthographical representations. The resulting inconsistencies become obvious in the following examples:

- (a) [x] > r in Xhosa (Ziervogel et al, 1967:81)
> x in Sumayela Ndebele (Ziervogel, 1959:20)
> h in Zulu (Ziervogel et al, 1967:90)
- (b) [tʃʔ] > tsh in Zulu (Ziervogel et al, 1967:90)
> tj in Swazi (Ziervogel, 1967:Intro)
- (c) [ɣ] > gr in Xhosa (Ziervogel et al, 1967:81)
> y in Sumayela Ndebele (Ziervogel, 1959:20)
- (d) [kxʔ] > kr in Xhosa (Ziervogel et al, 1967:82)
> kx in Sumayela Ndebele (Ziervogel, 1959:27)

For the sake of uniformity, the following approach is adopted in this study:

- (a) Regarding [x] the Xhosa r is unacceptable. Since it might be confused with r (<[r]) which has been adopted as a Tekela phoneme by certain dialects. The Sumayela Ndebele x is also rejected for fear that it will be confused with the lateral click which appears in a number of other dialects. The same applies to the Zulu h which might be confused with its variant h (<[h]), which is a glottal fricative. In stead hr will be used to represent [x].
- (b) Regarding [ɣ] the Sumayela Ndebele y is rejected in favour of the Xhosa gr.
- (c) The same applies regarding [kxʔ]; the Sumayela Ndebele kx is rejected in favour of the Xhosa kr.
- (d) Finally, tj will be used throughout as the equivalent of [tʃʔ]; and tjh will represent [tʃʰ].
- (e) Then there is also a question of breathy voice. How should this property be represented in practical orthography? In Zulu this feature is represented only in [h] which is written as bh e.g. **ibhasi** (bus). Some many years ago it was also represented in [h] which was written as dhl-e.g. **Dhlahdla** (a surname). The h has since been dropped out in the current orthography.
- (f) [tsh] will be represented by tsh and ts will then represent [tsʔ].

When a number of Zulu consonants which are articulated with breathy voice is considered, the inconsistency of only representing it in one phoneme is to be regretted. In fact this inconsistency was deplored by Lanham almost thirty years ago when he argued:

Nguni orthography is inconsistent in having 'bh' but not "dh" or "gh". In 1959 it was officially decided to add an 'h' to the explosive 'b' to distinguish it from implosive [ɓ] for which plain 'b' would be used; but since 'd' and 'g' have no implosive contrasts they were left as they were. To add to the confusion, prenasalized 'bh' is written as 'mb', while the sequence: prefixal syllabic 'm' plus stem-initial implosive [ɓ] is also written as 'mb'.

(Lanham, 1960:48)

Ziervogel (1959) on Sumayela Ndebele avoids the latter confusion by insisting on /h/ even when /b/ is prenasalised, e.g. **mbhûti** (goat). In fact it would be proper to adopt the approach where every murmured sound is written with a /h/. However, since none of the Nguni languages does that, I am not going to amend their official orthographies in that respect. Breathly voice will be represented only in phonetics by means of a subscript; with the exception of /bh/.

3.2 DESCRIPTION OF TEKELA SPEECH SOUNDS

In describing the Tekela speech sounds Swati will once again be used as the point of departure. The remaining Tekela dialects will then be compared with Swati, illustrating the differences with suitable examples.

3.2.1 Swati Speech Sounds

3.2.1.1 Vowels

Swati has all the primary vowels as identified by Meinhof (1932:23-26) for Bantu languages, namely: a, i, u, as well as the composite vowels e, and o. Moreover these composite vowels have their mid-high variants. These vowels may be described as follows:

Phoneme	Phone	Description
/a/	[a]	This is a low central vowel which lies between Cardinal Vowels 4 and 5 but slightly closer to 4, e.g. -hlalá [-ɬala] (sit).

Phoneme	Phone	Description
/i/	[i]	This is a high front vowel which lies slightly lower than Cardinal Vowel number 1, e.g. <i>lítje</i> [litʃʔɛ] (stone).
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	This is basically a mid–low front vowel which lies slightly lower than Cardinal Vowel number 3, e.g. <i>libélé</i> [libɛlɛ] (sorghum).
	[e]	This is a variant of [ɛ]. It is a mid–high front vowel which lies between Cardinal Vowels 2 and 3 but slightly closer to 2, e.g. <i>éJózi</i> [eɟʒozi] (in Johannesburg).
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	This is basically a mid–low back rounded vowel which lies between Cardinal Vowels 5 and 6, but slightly closer to 6, e.g. <i>ínkomó</i> [iŋkhómɔ] (head of cattle).
	[o]	This is a raised variant of [ɔ]. It is a mid–high back rounded vowel which lies between 6 and 7 but slightly closer to 7 e.g. <i>úrnbóni</i> [uŋbóni] (seer).
/u/	[u]	This is a high back rounded vowel which lies slightly below Cardinal Vowel 8, e.g. <i>úrnfâti</i> [uŋfatʔi] (woman).

3.2.1.2 Labials

/p/	[pʔ]	This is an ejective bilabial plosive as in <i>kúpeta</i> [kʊpʔɛtʔa] (to dig with a spade).
/pʰ/	[pʰ]	This is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive as in <i>kúphá</i> [kʊpʰa] (to give).
	[p]	This is a radical bilabial plosive which occurs only in nasal compounds as in <i>ímphévu</i> [imphevu] (black/red ox with white on neck).
/b/	[b]	This is a bilabial plosive with delayed breathy voice as in <i>sibhakábhaka</i> [siɓakabɔkɔ] (sky). It must be noted however that in nasal compounds this phoneme becomes a
	[b]	fully breathy–voiced plosive as in <i>ímbûti</i> [imbutʔi] (goat).
/β/	[β]	This is a voiced bilabial implosive as in <i>babé</i> [βaβɛ] (my father).
/m/	[m]	This is a voiced bilabial nasal resonant as in <i>kuméma</i> [kumɛma] (to invite).

Phoneme	Phone	Description
	[m]	This is a breathy-voiced bilabial nasal resonant as in máke [maḵc] (my/our mother).
/w/	[w]	This is a labio-velar semi-vowel (or glide) as in wená [wɛna] (you).
	[w̥]	This is a breathy-voiced glide as in wódvwa [wɔdβwa] (it alone).
/f/	[f]	This is a voiceless labio-dental fricative as in ḵúfá [ḵúfá] (to die/death).
/v/	[v̥]	This is a breathy-voiced labio-dental fricative as in búvaká [buvaḵa] (cowardice).

3.2.1.3 Alveolars

/t/	[tʔ]	This is an ejective alveolar plosive as in sítéki [sitʔeki] (steak). This also appears in nasal compounds as in intónɔdvo [intʔɔndβɔ] (hatred).
/ts/	[tsʔ]	This is an ejective alveolar affricate as in lútswáyi [lutsʔwaji] (salt).
/tsh/	[tsh]	This is an aspirated alveolar affricate as in kútshátsha [ḵutshatsha] (to take).
/d/	[d̥]	This is a delayed breathy-voiced alveolar plosive as in líɖaɖa [liɖaɖa] (duck).
	[d]	This is a fully breathy-voiced alveolar plosive which occurs only in nasal compounds as in índíshi [ind̥ʃi] (dish).
/dʒ/	[d̥ʒ]	This is a delayed breathy-voiced alveolar affricate as in kúɖzídza [ḵud̥ziɖza] (to confuse).
	[d̥β]	This is a delayed breathy-voiced alveo-labial affricate as in émáɖvodza [ɛmaɖβɔɖza] (men).
	[dʒ]	This is a fully breathy-voiced alveolar affricate which occurs only in nasal compounds as in índzaba [ind̥zaβa] (affair).
	[dβ]	This is a fully breathy-voiced alveo-labial affricate which occurs only in nasal compounds as in índvodza [ind̥βɔɖza] (man).

Phoneme	Phone	Description
/ts/	[tʰ]	This is an aspirated alveo-labial affricate as in lítuna [lítʰuna] (grave).
/s/	[s]	This is a voiceless alveolar fricative as in kúsála [kusála] (to remain).
/z/	[z]	This is a breathy-voiced alveolar fricative as in úmzála [umzála] (cousin).
/ʈ/	[ʈ]	This is a voiceless lateral alveolar fricative as in úmhlába [umʰlaba] (earth).
/ɸ/	[ɸ]	This is a breathy-voiced lateral alveolar fricative as in sídladla [siɸɸɸɸ] (paw).
/n/	[n]	This is an alveolar nasal resonant as in kúnona [kunona] (to become fat).
	[ɲ]	This is a breathy-voiced nasal resonant as in nóma [noma] (even if).
/l/	[l]	This is a voiced lateral alveolar liquid as in kúlala [kulala] (to sleep).

3.2.1.4 Prepalatals

/ʃ/	[ʃ]	This is a voiceless prepalatal fricative as in kúshesha [kuʃʃa] (to hurry).
/tʃʔ/	[tʃʔ]	This is an ejective prepalatal affricative as in tjwalá [tʃʔwala] (indigenous beer).
/j/	[j]	This is a voiced prepalatal glide as in yená [jena] (he/she; him/her).
	[j̥]	This is a breathy-voiced prepalatal glide as in yébo [j̥ɛbo] (yes).
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	This is a voiced prepalatal nasal as in ínyama [inɲama] (meat).
/dʒ/	[dʒ]	This is a delayed breathy-voiced prepalatal affricate as in umjulúko [umɸɸɸɸ] (sweat).

3.2.1.5 Velars

/kʔ/	[kʔ]	This is an ejective velar plosive as in líkáti [likʔatʔi] (cat).
------	------	---

Phoneme	Phone	Description
	[k]	This is a partially voiced velar plosive as in kudlá [kud̥l̥a] (to eat/food). It must be noted that this phoneme becomes fully voiced intervocalically (but see para. 3.1.3 above regarding its phonetic transcription).
/kh/	[kʰ]	This is an aspirated velar plosive as in kúkhatshála [kukʰatshala] (to be/get tired).
/g/	[g̊]	This is a delayed breathy-voiced velar plosive as in lígbolondvó [lig̊bɔlɔndʒɔ] (shell).
	[g̥]	This is a fully breathy-voiced velar plosive which occurs only in nasal compounds as in íngubo [iŋg̥ubɔ] (garment/blanket). It must be noted that this phoneme occurs stem-initially only.
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	This is a velar nasal as in íngongóni [iŋoŋoni] (December).
/kʰʔ/	[kʰʔ]	This is an ejective lateral velar affricate as in kúkleta [kukʰtʰa] (to milk into the mouth).

3.2.1.6 Glottals

/h/	[h]	This is a voiceless glottal fricative as in kuháhalata [kukahalatʰa] (to gargle).
/ɦ/	[ɦ]	This is a breathy-voiced glottal fricative as in kúhhela [kuɦɛla] (to mow down).

3.2.1.7 Clicks

///	[ʘ]	This is a basic dental affricative click as in sícoco [si/ɔ/ɔ] (frog).
//h/	[h̥]	This is an aspirated dental affricative click as in lícháwe [li/hawɛ] (hero).
//g/	[g̊]	This is a breathy-voiced dental affricative click as in úrúgcóma [ur̥g̊ɔma] (drum).

3.2.1.8 Discussion

Of all the linguists who have analysed Swati phonology (Ziervogel, 1941 and 1952; Ziervogel and Mabuza, 1976; Ziervogel et al, 1967; and Rycroft, 1976,

1980 and 1981), only Davey (1981:2-9) has furnished us with a list of Swati phonemes. To some extent his inventory is similar to the one presented here. There are perhaps only three points of difference between us.

In the first place, I have attempted a more or less complete inventory of the Swati phonemes vis-a-vis Davey who decided to leave out those "consonants with a low functional load" (Davey, 1981:4). Unfortunately he does not explain the criteria used in distinguishing between the high and low functional load.

In the second place, he appears to have been influenced too strongly by the view that a phoneme is an abstract underlying or deep structure unit. Thus he posits /d/ as a class comprising [ɖ]; [ɖz]; [dz]; [ɖv]; and [dv] (*op. cit.* p. 5).

I also considered this approach but rejected it on the ground that it is too abstract to be verifiable. In my view, [ɖ] is an exotic sound in Swati, and appears in very few words, of Zulu/Xhosa origin such as *umthándazo* [umthandazo] (prayer) and *lidada* [liɖada] (duck); and from English/Afrikaans loans such as *lidázini* [liɖazini] from the English "dozen", and *lúdaláda* [luɖalada] from the Afrikaans "draad". To me this phoneme is accordingly distinct from the typically Swati /ɖz/ with its allophones.

Perhaps the reason for this difference is that although I accept the Bloomfield school's view as advocated by Jones and Gleason (see par. 3.1.2 supra), I however, complement it by the criteria or constraints introduced by the Prague school adherents, that for the sounds to be classified as allophones of a given phoneme, they must be (a) in complementary distribution or free variation and (b) phonetically similar (Lass, 1984:18-21). Now in the present case [ɖ] and [ɖz] are, if anything, in parallel distribution. On the other hand [ɖz] and [ɖβ] are in complementary distribution with [ɖz] appearing before front, unrounded vowels and [ɖβ] before back, round vowels and glides. Flowing from this fact, they are non-distinctive. Moreover, they are phonetically similar in that both are alveolar affricates; with delayed breathy-voice; and only differ in that [ɖβ] is marked for labialisation. In the same vein I maintain that [c]/[e]; [ɔ]/[o]; [b]/[b̥]; [d]/[d̥]; [g]/[g̥]; *et cetera*, are

respectively allophones of the phonemes: /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /b/ and /g/. Accordingly all the sounds which are distinctive, e.g. [pʔ] and [pʰ] are phonemes. However, I do not rule out the possibility of regarding /d/ as underlying [d̥]; [d̥z]; [d̥v]; and [dv] if viewed from a diachronic point of view, where /d/ might be postulated as a Proto-Nguni phoneme or source-item.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, I still have some difficulty with Davey's description of /d/ as "an alveolar-labial voiceless affricate ..." (Davey, 1981:5), as against his description (*ibid*) of /b/ and /g/ plosives which are voiceless up until the breaking of the closure. It is not clear to me why it is that /d/ does not share this feature with /b/ and /g/. Many Swati linguists, including Rycroft (1981:xii) view /b/, /d/, /g/ as members of a single natural class which share all the phonetic features except the place of articulation. All three then in the words of Rycroft (*ibid*) share the feature "post-breathy-voiced" which obviously is synonymous with Davey's "voiceless up until the breaking of the closure" both of which I interpret as maintaining that these sounds are not patently voiceless, but that the voice is delayed and is eventually realised on the following vowel. Thus in a narrow transcription a phoneme with delayed breathy-voice should be transcribed as for instance [d̥v] where v stands for a vowel. Rycroft explains this aptly where he states:

"... earlier consonantal voicing appears in some cases to have disappeared and been replaced by associated pitch cues, expressed on vowels adjoining such consonants ... it may well prove more satisfactory in the future to regard the whole syllable, rather than individual segments as the domain of the depression feature, the timing of breathy voice within the syllable being environmentally conditioned."

(Rycroft, 1980:3 and 17)

More on depressor consonants and breathy voice in Chapter 6.

Turning now to click sounds, it must be noted that only the velar-dental clicks have been cited. What about /!/ which is sometimes heard in the speech of certain Swati people? The view adopted here is that held by Rycroft (1981:xii & 85) that /!/ is an alternant of /// which is often substituted for /// in colloquial speech but not recognised in the official orthography. Another completely exotic phoneme included in our inventory

TEKELA NGUNI VOWEL CHART

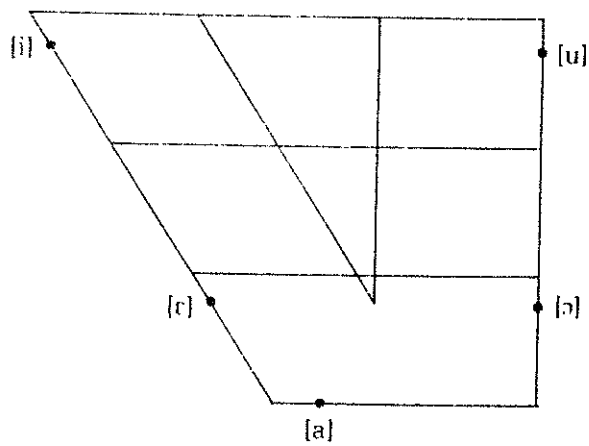
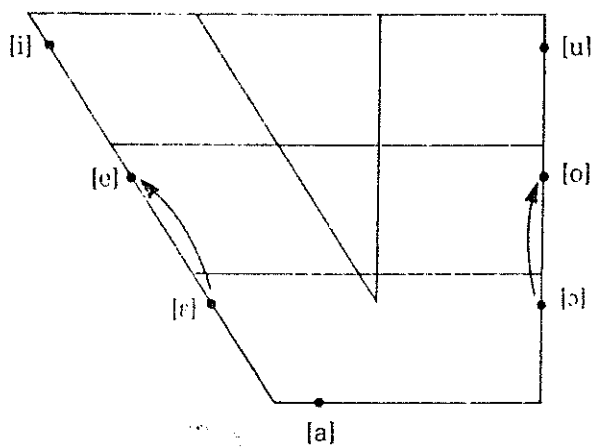


TABLE 1



(c) Place of Articulation

			(a) Manner of Release	(b) State of Glottis	(c) Place of Articulation											
					Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-labial	Pre-palatal	Velar	Pre-velar	Glottal			
EXPLOSIVE			medial	ejective	p [?]			t [?]				k [?]				
			medial	radical	p								k			
			medial	aspirated	ph				t ^h					k ^h		
			medial	del-breathy-v	b _o				ɔ					oɔ		
			medial	breathy-voiced	b _:				ɔ					oɔ		
			medial	partly-voiced										ɔ		
			medial	voiced	b											
			medial	ejective						ts [?]			tʃ [?]			
			medial	radical					ts	tɸ						
			lateral	ejective											kɸ [?]	
			medial	aspirated					tsh	tɸh						
			medial	del-breathy-v					d _o z	d _o β			d _o ʒ			
medial	breathy-voiced					d _: z	d _: β			d _: ʒ						
AFFRICATE			medial	radical			/									
			medial	aspirated			/ ^h									
			medial	del-breathy-voiced			/g _o									
			medial	breathy-voiced			/g _:									
			medial	radical				f		s		ʃ			h	
			medial	breathy-voiced				v		z					ɸ	
			lateral	radical						ɸ						
			lateral	breathy-voiced						ɸ						
			nasal	voiced			m			n		ɲ		ŋ		
			lateral	voiced						l						
			medial	voiced			w					j				

TABLE 2 : SWATI SPEECH SOUNDS

STOPS

Im-plosive

FRICATIVE

CLICK

FRICATIVE

FRICATIVE

CONTINUANTS

is [r] which occurs in very few loan-words. Even so, many an illiterate Swati substitutes [r] with [l] as in **ílorí** for **ílorí** (lorry). The third click [//] which is so common in Zunda Nguni does not feature in Swati.

3.2.2 Bhaca Speech Sounds

3.2.2.1 Vowels

Bhaca and Swati share the common vowels. As in Swati, the following vowels also occur in Bhaca: Basic vowels: [a]; [i] and [u]. Secondary vowels: [ɛ] and [ɔ]; and their raised variants [e] and [o]; as appear in the following examples:

- [a] in **—tsátfu** [tshatʰu] (three)
- [i] in **úmti** [umtʰi] (village)
- [u] in **ímbuti** [imbutʰi] (goat)
- [ɛ] in **—velá** [vɛla] (appear)
- [ɔ] in **—bóna** [ɓona] (see)
- [e] in **étulu** [etʰulu] (above/in the sky)
- [o] in **—bovú** [bovu] (red)

3.2.2.2 Labials

Again we notice that all the labials which appear in Swati are also shared by Bhaca. These are: [w]; [w̥]; [pʰ]; [pʰ]; [β]; [b]; [b̥]; [f]; and [ɣ]. These labials appear in the following words:

- [w] in **wená** [wɛna] (you)
- [w] in **wóta** [wɔtʰa] (come)
- [pʰ] in **ípéni** [ipʰeni] (pen)
- [pʰ] in **úcephé** [u/ɛpʰɛ] (spoon)
- [b̥] in **ukúbhobha** [ukʰuɓɓɓa] (to speak)
- [β] in **úkúbamba** [ukʰuβamɓa] (to seize)
- [b̥] in **úkúbamba** [ukʰuβamɓa] (to seize)

Perhaps the only difference is that where /p/ appears in nasal compounds, it does not remain radical as the Swati **ímphisi** but becomes ejective **ímpisi** [impʰisi] (hyena).

3.2.2.3 Alveolars

Again there is hardly any difference between the Swati and Bhaca alveolar

phonemes. Both dialects share the following sounds: [tʔ]; [tʰ]; [tsʔ]; [tsh]; [tʰh]; [d̥]; [d̥z]; [d̥β]; [d̥z]; [d̥β]; [n]; [s]; [z]; [ʦ]; [h̥]; and [l]; as [tʔ] in *úm̥ti* [uŋtʔi] (village) it is expected that all the Tekela dialects will share this sound because it is the prime phoneme in distinguishing between Tekela and Zunda Nguni. Its Zunda cognate is [z], as in *zoná* (they) in Zunda as against *toná* in Tekela *umúzi/úm̥zi* in Zunda as against *umúti/úm̥ti* (village) in Tekela. This applies also where /t/ or /z/ are prenasalised:

<u>Tekela</u>	<u>Zunda</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>ám̥anti/ém̥anti</i>	<i>ám̥ânzi</i>	(water)
<i>íntima</i>	<i>ínzima</i>	(black bull)

[tʰ]	in <i>—thétha</i> [tʰɛtʰa] (argue)
[tsh]	in <i>—tshándza</i> [—tshand̥z̥a] (love)
[tsʔ]	in <i>—tsitsá</i> [—tsʔitsʔa] (ooze)
[tʰh]	in <i>—tshátfu</i> [tshatʰhu] (three)
[d̥]	in <i>idolóbha</i> [id̥ɔlob̥a] (town) loan from Afrikaans
[d̥z]	in <i>ékúdz̥eni</i> [ekʔud̥z̥eni] (far away)
[d̥z]	in <i>íqandzá</i> [i!and̥z̥a] (egg)
[d̥β]	in <i>ídvolo</i> [id̥βɔlo] (knee)
[d̥β]	in <i>índvodza</i> [ind̥βɔdz̥a] (man)
[n]	in <i>unónkalá</i> [unɔŋkʔala] (crab)
[s]	in <i>isítiba</i> [isitʔiba] (pool)
[z]	in <i>chazá</i> [/haza] (explain)
[ʦ]	in <i>ám̥éhlo</i> [amɛʦɔ] (eyes)
[h̥]	in <i>úkwéd̥lula</i> [ukʔweh̥ɥula] (to go past)
[l]	in <i>úkúlála</i> [ukʔulala] (to sleep)

3.2.2.4 Prepalatals

Again there are no differences. Swati and Bhaca share all the following prepalatals: [ʃ]; [tʃʔ]; [d̥ʒ]; [j]; [j] and [ɲ] as:

[ʃ]	in <i>íhháshi</i> [iʃaʃi] (horse)
[tʃʔ]	in <i>ilítje</i> [ilitʃʔɛ] (stone)
[d̥ʒ]	in <i>íjikí</i> [id̥ʒikʔi] African beer)
[j]	in <i>yená</i> [jɛna] (he/she; him/her)
[ɲ]	in <i>ínyama</i> [injama] (meat)

We must point out, however, the Bhaca [ʃ] alternates with [tʃʰ]. This [tʃʰ] is very common in Xhosa and other Nguni dialects in the Natal South Coast, e.g. *úrntjhána* [ur̩ntʃʰana] (nephew/niece) where [tʃʰ] is an aspirated prepalatal affricate.

3.2.2.5 Velars

The only difference between Swati and Bhaca velar sounds is that in Bhaca we get the voiceless velar fricative [x] which is the counterpart of the Swati aspirated glottal fricative [h] as in *ámáhréwu* [amaxewu] (drink made from fermented porridge). Again [x] is a very common sound in Xhosa and other Nguni dialects in the Natal South Coast.

Secondly, it is worth mentioning that, perhaps owing to the Xhosa influence the partially voiced [k̤] is lacking in Bhaca. Finally, that the aspirated velar plosive [kʰ] becomes ejective in Bhaca whereas it becomes radical or even partially voiced in Swati; when prenasalised, as in *ínkhulúmo* [iŋkulumɔ] (speech/talk) in Swati. The same applies with the ejective [kʔ], as in *ínkomó* [iŋkʔomɔ] in Bhaca as against *ínkhomó* [iŋkʰomɔ] (head of cattle) in Swati.

Otherwise the following velar sounds are shared by both Swati and Bhaca: [kʔ]; [kʰ]; [g̊]; [g̊] and [ŋ]. Compare the Bhaca examples:

[kʔ]	in <i>íkáti</i> [ikʔatʔi] (cat)
[kʰ]	in <i>úkúkhetsha</i> [ukʔukʰɛtʃʰa] (to choose)
[g̊]	in <i>—gijíma</i> [g̊ijima] (run)
[g̊]	in <i>—ngéna</i> [ng̊ɛna] (enter)
[ŋ]	in <i>ísango</i> [isaŋɔ] (gate)

3.2.2.6 Glottals

As compared with the two Swati glottals [h] and [ɦ]; Bhaca has got only the latter fricative, as in

ihháshi [iɦʰaʃi] (horse)

3.2.2.7 Clicks

However, it is in the click-sounds that the two Tekela dialects differ

TABLE 3 : BHACA SPEECH SOUNDS

		(a) Manner of Release	(b) State of Glottis	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-labial	Pre-palatal	Velar	Pre-velar	Glottal
CONTINUANTS	EXPLOSIVE	medial	ejective	p [?]			t [?]			k [?]		
		medial	radical	p						k		
		medial	aspirated	p ^h			t ^h			k ^h		
		medial	del-breathy-v	b _o			ɖ			g _o		
		medial	partly-voiced							k		
		medial	breathy-voiced	b _:			ɖ			g _:		
		medial	voiced	b								
		medial	ejective				ts [?]		tʃ [?]			
		medial	aspirated				tsh	tɕ ^h	tʃ ^h			
		medial	del-breathy-v				ɖz	ɖʃ	ɖʒ			
	medial	breathy-voiced				ɖz	ɖʃ	ɖʒ				
	medial	radical				ts						
	lateral	ejective								kɛ [?]		
	lateral	radical				//						
	lateral	aspirated				// ^h						
	lateral	del-breathy-voiced				//g						
	lateral	breathy-voiced				//g _:						
	medial	radical			/				!			
	medial	aspirated			/ ^h				! ^h			
	medial	del-breathy-v			/g				!g			
medial	breathy-voiced			/g _:				!g _:				
medial	radical			f		s		ʃ	x			
medial	breathy-voiced			v _:		z _:			ɣ _:			
lateral	radical					ɬ						
lateral	breathy-voiced					ɬ _:						
nasal	voiced			m		n		ɲ	ŋ			
lateral	voiced					l						
medial	voiced			w				j				

markedly. Swati has only one, whereas Bhaca can boast of three clicks namely [ʎ]; [ʄ]; and [!]. [ʄ] is a basic lateral alveolar affricative click as in *íxésha* [iʎɛʃa] (time). [!] is a basic velar–alveolar click as in *íqandzá* [i!andzɑ] (egg). These also occur in clusters like [ʄg]; [ʄ]; [!g]; [!h] and [!ʎ]. Compare the following compounds:

[ʎ]	in <i>—chána</i> [ʎhana] (hit the mark) i.e. aspirated
[ʎ/]	in <i>—ncedzá</i> [—ʎ/ɛdza] (help) i.e. prenasalised
[ʎ/h]	in <i>ínchá</i> [iʎ/ha] (grass) i.e. nasalised and breathy voiced
[ʎ/g]	in <i>ígcoḱwe</i> [i/gɔkʷɛ] (chicken) i.e. with delayed breathy voice
[ʎh]	in <i>íxhalá</i> [iʎhala] (anxiety) i.e. aspirated
[ʎʎ]	in <i>ínxáno</i> [iʎʎano] (thirst) i.e. nasalised
[ʎʎh]	in <i>íngxiwa</i> [iʎʎʃiwa] (bag) i.e. nasalised and breathy voiced
[ʎg]	in <i>íligxa</i> [iliʎga] (forest) i.e. with delayed breathy voice
[!h]	in <i>íqhinga</i> [i!hɪŋga] (trick) i.e. aspirated
[!ʎ]	in <i>ínqáwe</i> [i!ʎawɛ] (pipe) i.e. nasalised
[!ʎh]	in <i>íngqina</i> [i!ʎʃina] (witness) i.e. nasalised and breathy voiced
[!g]	in <i>úmḱquba</i> [um!gɪʋba] (manure) i.e. with delayed breathy voice

3.2.3 Lala Speech Sounds

3.2.3.1 Vowels

The Lala vowel system is exactly the same as that for Swati and Bhaca. Here too we find Meinhof's primary vowels: [a]; [i]; and [u]; two composite vowels: [ɛ] and [ɔ] plus their raised variants [e] and [o] as in the following examples:

[a]	in <i>—tshándza</i> [—tʃhandzɑ] (love)
[i]	in <i>índzaba</i> [iŋdzɔba] (affair)
[u]	in <i>—tshúma</i> [—tʃhuma] (send)
[ɛ]	in <i>—tshénga</i> [—tʃɛŋga] (buy)
[ɔ]	in <i>kúbóna</i> [kɪʋɔna] (to see)
[e]	in <i>léli</i> [leli] (this one)
[o]	in <i>lólu</i> [lolu] (this one)

3.2.3.2 Labials

There is also a strong resemblance between Lala and Swati as well as Bhaca. The following labials are common to all the three dialects: [m]; [ɱ]; [w]; [w]; [β]; [b]; [b]; [pʔ]; [pʰ]; [f] and [v]. See the following examples:

[m]	in kúvûma [kuyuma] (to consent)
[m]	in ímhisi [imisi] (hyena)
[w]	in wená [wɛna] (you)
[w]	in íwudí [iwudi] (bull)
[β]	in —bolá [βɔla] (rot)
[b]	in kúbhala [kubala] (to write)
[b]	in ímbuti [imbʊtʰi] (goat)
[pʔ]	in ímpála [impʰala]
[pʰ]	in úphâkó [upʰakɔ] (food for the journey)
[f]	in úfatí [ufatʰi] (woman)
[v]	in lívilá [liyila] (sluggard)

It must be pointed out here that in Lala the incidence of /p/ is very low. Where /p/ is prenasalised, it subsequently gets deleted e.g.

ímpisi	>	ímhisi (hyena)
ímpahla	>	ímhâhlá (goods)

This is probably due to Tsonga influence (but more about this in the next chapter.)

3.2.3.3 Alveolars

Again there is a lot in common between Swati, Bhaca and Lala alveolar sounds. The three dialects share the following: [l]; [n]; [ɲ]; [s]; [z]; [d]; [dz]; [dz̥]; [tʔ]; [tʰ]; [tʰʰ]; [ʈ] and [ɬ]. It must be noted that [tʰʰ] occurs only in Northern Lala because in Southern Lala this is replaced by [tʰ]. Let us consider the following Lala examples:

[l]	in kúlála [kulala] (to sleep)
[n]	in niná [nina] (you)
[n]	in ínhâba [inʰaba] (mountain)
[s]	in síve [siyɛ] (nation)
[d]	in ámadí [amadʰi] (water)
[dz]	in amádzôdzá [amadzɔdzɔ] (men)
[dz̥]	in indzôdzá [indzɔdzɔ] (man)
[tʔ]	in étulu [etʰulu] (above/in the sky)

[tsh]	in -tshátshu [-tshatshu] (three)
[t̥]	in síhláhlá [ai̥t̥ḁt̥a] (tree)
[h]	in índlélá [ind̥h̥ɛ̥la] (path)

Despite the similarities, a few points of difference are noted, however. In the first place, the alveo-lateral fricatives [t̥] and [h] occur mainly in the Southern Natal dialects, especially the Ndzelu of Umzinto and the Cele of Ezingolweni et *cetera*. In the northern dialects one comes across [x] and [ɣ] as counterparts of [t̥] and [h] respectively (see Van Dyk, 1960:5-8).

[x] is a voiceless velar fricative as in [xala] (stay)

[ɣ] is a breathy-voiced velar fricative as in [ɣula] (pass).

Secondly, we note that [ɖ] is not an exotic sound in Lala. It has quite a high incidence as the counterpart of the Nguni [ndz] as against the Swati/Bhaca [ntʔ]. Compare the following:

<u>Zunda</u>	<u>Swati</u>	<u>Lala</u>
[amandzi]	[ɛmantʔi]	[amaɖi] (water)
[um̥ɛndzɛ]	[um̥ɛntʔɛ]	[uncɖɛ] (leg)

Thirdly, labialisation does not occur in Lala i.e. we do not find [tʰβ] and [ɖβ] as allophones of [tsh] and [ɖz] respectively.

Finally, we note that [z] does not occur in Lala. It was pointed out above that even in Swati these sounds have a very low functional load, occurring sporadically in certain Zulu/Xhosa loans e.g. **umthándazo** (prayer). In Lala such loans are substituted by other words e.g. **úkhúléko** for **umthándazo** (prayer).

3.2.3.4 Prepalatals

The Lala prepalatals are exactly the same as the Swati. Both dialects share: [ʃ]; [tʃʔ]; [j]; [ɲ] and [ɖʒ]. Compare the following examples:

[ʃ]	in -shá [ʃa] (burn)
[tʃʔ]	in sítja [sitʃʔa] (dish)
[j]	in yená [jɛna] (he/she; him/her)
[ɲ]	in ínyâma [injama] (meat)
[ɖʒ]	in líjiki [lidʒiki] (African beer)

The only feature worth noting here is that in Lala, the [tʃʔ] of such words as [utʃʔani] (grass) and [utʃʔwala] (beer) does not occur. In Lala these words are realised as [βwani] and [βwala] respectively. Also the [dʒ] of [indʒa] (dog) is realised as [imbw̩a] in Lala (but more about this when Proto-Bantu is discussed in Chapter 4 and Phonological processes in Chapter 5).

3.2.3.5 Velars

The velar sounds [kʔ]; [k̤]; [kʰ]; [g]; [ŋ] and [kʈ] are common to both Swati and Lala. This is borne out by the following Lala examples:

[kʔ]	in líkátí [likʔatʔi] (cat)
[k̤]	in kúkhám̩ba [k̤ukʰamb̩a] (to go)
[kʰ]	in kúkhám̩ba [kʰukʰamb̩a] (to go)
[g]	in mígôdzi [migôdzi] (holes)
[ŋ]	in lúdzôngá [ludzôŋa] (donga/gully)
[kʈ]	in -klwébha [-kʈwɛb̩a] (scratch)

The only marked difference is that in the Northern dialects, especially in the Ngcolosi dialect of Kranskop and the Jali dialect of Inanda, we get [x] and [χ] fricative velars (but these were discussed in par. 3.2.3.3 *supra*). Again Lala has a pre-velar voiceless fricative [h] as in úhónó [uhónɔ] (spear), which does not occur in Swati.

Regarding the partially voiced [k̤], Van Dyk (1960:6) is of the opinion that it is always realised as a fully voiced [g] in Lala. Although he might be right as far as the intervocalic /k/ is concerned, it is felt here that [k̤] is basically a partially voiced sound.

3.2.3.6 Glottals

Like Swati, Lala has got only two glottal sounds and both of them are fricatives namely: [h] and [ɦ]. Compare the following Lala examples:

[h]	in -holá [hɔla] (lead)
[ɦ]	in íhómó [ihómɔ] (head of cattle)

3.2.3.6 Clicks

As opposed to Swati with only one basic click, namely: [ǀ], in Lala we find

(c) Place of Articulation

(a) Manner of Release

(b) State of Glottis

				Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-labial	Pre-palatal	Velar	Pre-velar	Glottal			
TABLE 4 : LALA SPEECH SOUNDS	CONTINUANTS	STOPS	EXPLOSIVE	medial ejective	pʔ	>tʔ	tʔ			kʔ					
				medial aspirated	p ^h		t ^h			k ^h					
				medial del-breathy-v	b _o		o _o			o _o					
				medial partially-v											
				medial breathy-voiced	bː		ːd					ːg			
				lateral-implosive											
				medial voiced	B										
				medial ejective				tsʔ			tʃʔ				
				lateral ejective									kɬʔ		
				medial breathy-voiced				dʒ				dʒ			
	medial del-breathy-v				dːz				dːz						
	lateral radical				//										
	lateral aspirated				// ^h										
	lateral breathy-voiced				//g										
	lateral del-breathy-v				//ːg										
	medial radical				/				!						
	medial aspirated				/ ^h				! ^h						
	medial del-breathy-v				/g				! _g						
	medial breathy-voiced				/ːg				! _g ː						
	medial radical				f			s	ʃ	x		h			
medial breathy-voiced				v			z		ɣ		ɦ				
lateral radical							ʃ								
lateral breathy-voiced							hː								
medial aspirated										ɦ					
nasal voiced				m			n	ɲ	ŋ						
nasal breathy-voiced				mː			nː								
lateral voiced							l								
medial voiced				w				j							

three basic clicks, [ʘ]; [ǀ]; and [ǃ] just as in Zunda Nguni. Compare the following Lala examples:

[ʘ]	in kúcála [ku/ala] (to begin)
[ǀ]	in kúxébûla [kǀu/eβula] (to peel)
[ǃ]	in kúqéla [kǃu!ɛla] (to ask)

Compare also their compounds:

[ʘ/h]	in kuchásisa [kǀu/hasisa] (to explain)
[ǀ/]	in íncwéle [iǀŋ/wɛɛɛ] (wagon)
[ʘ/g]	in kúgcóba [kǀ/ɡɔβa] (to anoint)
[ǀ/h]	in líxhêgu [li/hɛɡu] (old man)
[ǀ/]	in línxêbá [liǀ/ɛβa] (wound)
[ǀ/g]	in kúgxûmá [kǀu/ɡɔma] (to jump)
[ǀ/h]	in kúqhûbá [kǀu!huβa] (to drive)
[ǀ!]	in ínqôndzó [iǀ!ɔndzɔ] (mind)
[ǀ/g]	in kúgqóba [kǀu!ɡɔβa] (to anoint/smear)

3.2.4 Nhangwini Speech Sounds

3.2.4.1 Vowels

Nhangwini vowels are very similar to their Swati counterparts. Here too we find the three primary vowels [a]; [i] and [u]; the two composite vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ]; with their raised variants [e] and [o], as it appears more fully in the following examples:

[a]	in ísicámba [isi/ambǀa] (rush mat)
[i]	in íqhisáne [i!hizǀanɛ] (tick)
[u]	in muyí [muji] (which one?)
[ɛ]	in íntelá [int?ɛla] (tax)
[ɔ]	in úkuntó [ukunt?ɔ] (toy/thing)
[e]	in elíveni [eliɣeni] (in the country)
[o]	in hhilókhu [h̥ilokhu] (it is this)

3.2.4.2 Labials

There is no difference at all between the Swati and Nhangwini labials. Both dialects have the following labials in common: [m]; [m̥]; [w]; [p?]; [pʰ]; [β]; [b]; [b̥]; [f] and [ɣ].

Of this inventory, however, two differences may be pointed out regarding the properties of certain phonemes. Firstly, Nhangwini lacks a radical /p/ and this is noticeable in prenasalisation. Secondly when /f/ and /v/ are prenasalised affrication takes place (but both these processes will be more fully discussed in Chapter 5). For the moment let us consider the following Nhangwini examples:

[m]	in -lúma [-luma] (bite)
[m]	in músa [musa] (don't)
[w]	in wená [wɛna] (you)
[pʔ]	in ísimpúnga [isimpʔuŋgá] (a grey-head)
[pʰ]	in -phúza [-pʰuza] (drink)
[β]	in -bubúla [βuβula] (moan/bellow)
[β]	in -bheka [βɛka] (look)
[b]	in imbéwu [imbɛwu] (seed)
[f]	in úmfána [umfana] (boy)
[v]	in -vivinya [vivinja] (test)

3.2.4.3 Alveolars

Nhangwini shares quite a number of alveolars with Swati. These include: [d]; [tʔ]; [tʰ]; [d̥]; [n]; [n̥]; [tsʔ]; [z]; [s]; [ʦ]; [ɬ] and [l]. The only differences between the two dialects is that the following alveolar affricates do not occur in Nhangwini: [tʃʰ]; [tʃʰ]; [dʒ]; [dʒ]; [dʃ] and [dʃ]. Let us now cite examples of the Nhangwini alveolars:

[d̥]	in -dudubála [d̥ud̥ubala] (ascend)
[d̥]	in -dudubála [d̥ud̥ubala] (ascend)
[tʔ]	in -thintá [-tʰintʔa] (touch)
[tʰ]	in -thintá [-tʰintʔa] (touch)
[n̥]	in únina [unina] (his/her mother)
[n̥]	in námi [n̥ami] (also/with me)
[tsʔ]	in itswâyi [itsʔwaji] (salt)
[z]	in ízulu [izulu] (weather)
[s]	in -sála [sala] (remain)
[ʦ]	in ísihlahla [isiʦaʦa] (tree)
[ɬ]	in úkudlá [ukudla] (food)
[l]	in -lúma [luma] (bite)

3.2.4.4 Prepalatals

Again there is a lot in common between the Swati and Nhlanguwini prepalatals, including: [p]; [j]; [ɟ]; [ʃ]; [tʃʔ] and [dʒ]. The only difference is that in Nhlanguwini we get one more prepalatal sound which has no counterpart in Swati. This is the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ] which is an allophone of [ʃ]. Again let us illustrate with examples:

[p]	in ínyangá [iɲaŋɡa] (moon)
[j]	in yená [jɛna] (he/she; him/her)
[ɟ]	in yini [jɿni] (what is it?)
[ʃ]	in —shayá [ʃaja] (beat)
[tʃʔ]	in ílitje [ilitʃʔɛ] (stone)
[tʃʰ]	in ígutjhá [igutʃʰa] (sheep)
[dʒ]	in —gijíma [gidʒima] (run)
[dʒ]	in ínjabúlo [iɲdʒaβulo] (happiness)

3.2.4.5 Velars

All the Swati velars [kʔ]; [k]; [kʰ]; [ŋ] and [g] also occur in Nhlanguwini. Moreover, Nhlanguwini has a voiceless velar fricative [x] which does not occur in Swati. Let us consider the following Nhlanguwini examples:

[kʔ]	in ínkomó [iŋkʔɔmo] (head of cattle)
[k]	in úkudlá [ukuhla] (food)
[kʰ]	in —klwébha [kʰweβa] (scratch)
[ŋ]	in kangifúni [kaŋifuni] (I don't want)
[g]	in úkúgoba [ukugoba] (to bend)
[g]	in ingonyáma [iŋɡɔɲama] (lion)
[x]	in úmrólo [umxolo] (salary)

3.2.4.6 Glottals

As against the two glottal fricatives in Swati, in Nhlanguwini we only get one. This is [h̥], a breathy-voiced glottal fricative, as in : **hhilé** [h̥ile] (it is this one). (With regard to the raised [e] in this example, see vowel raising in Chapter 5.)

Needless to say, the substitution of [h] with [x] is a common phenomenon in the Nguni dialects of the Natal South Coast all the way to the Xhosa territory.

3.2.4.7 Clicks

Again unlike Swati which has only one radical click, Nhlanguini makes use of all the three radical clicks found in Zunda Nguni, namely: [ʘ]; [ǀ]; [ǃ] and their compounds. Consider the following examples:

[ʘ]	in úkúcashá [uʘu/aʃa] (to hide)
[ʘh]	in íchibí [i/hibi] (dam)
[ʘg]	in ísígcino [isi/g̊ino] (the end)
[ʘg̊]	in íngcwâba [iŋ/ɸẘaba] (grave)
[ŋʘ]	in íncazo [iŋ/az̊o] (explanation)
[ʘ]	in ísíxáthuba [isi//athuba] (shoe/sandal)
[ʘh]	in —xhása [ʘhasa] (support)
[ʘg̊]	in ílígxá [ili/g̊a] (forest)
[ʘg̊]	in íngxáki [iŋ/g̊aki] (problem)
[ŋʘ]	in ínxeba [iŋ/ɸba] (wound)
[ǃ]	in úkúqaqámba [uʘu!a!amba] (throbbing pain)
[ǃh]	in íqhakúva [i!hakuya] (pimple)
[ǃg̊]	in ígqumá [i!g̊uma] (hill)
[ǃg̊]	in íngqondo [iŋ!g̊ando] (mind)
[ŋǃ]	in ínqûbo [iŋ!ubo] (procedure)

3.2.5 Phuthi Speech Sounds

3.2.5.1 Vowels

The Phuthi vowel system is a lot similar to the Swati one. Here too we get the the primary vowels: [a], [i] and [u]; the composite vowels: [ɛ] and [ɔ]; and the raised vowels [e] and [o]. This is more evident from the following examples:

[a]	in kútsadza [kutsʰaɖza] (to love)
[i]	in íbhûti [iɸutʰi] (goat)
[u]	in úrúzwali [uruzwali] (boy)
[ɛ]	in amábelé [amaɸelɛ] (sorghum)
[ɔ]	in íyomó [iyomo] (head of cattle)
[e]	in síyedá [sijeɖa] (shoe)
[o]	in ínyôka [ipoʎa] (snake)

While Mzamane (1948:1–2) is in accord with the idea that the Phuthi vowel system resembles more the Nguni than the Sotho, he points out the exception

(c) Place of Articulation

		(a) Manner of Release		(b) State of Glottis		(c) Place of Articulation													
						Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-labial	Pre-palatal	Velar	Pre-velar	Glottal					
TABLE 5 : NHLANGWINI SPEECH SOUNDS	CONTINUANTS	RESONANT	FRICATIVE	CLICK	AFFRICATE	EXPLOSIVE	medial	ejective	p?			t?							
							medial	radical	p										
							medial	aspirated	p ^h			t ^h							
							medial	del-breathy-v	b _o			o _o							
							medial	breathy-voiced	b _:			o _:							
							Implosive medial	voiced	ɓ										
							medial	ejective				ts?		tʃ?		t			
							medial	aspirated						tʃ ^h					
							medial	del-breathy-v						ɬ _o					
							medial	breathy-voiced						ɬ _:					
							lateral	ejective											kʈ?
							medial	radical				/							
							medial	aspirated				/ ^h							
							medial	del-breathy-v				/ _o							
							medial	breathy-voiced				/ _:							
							lateral	radical				//							
							lateral	aspirated				// ^h							
							lateral	del-breathy-v				// _o							
lateral	breathy-voiced				// _:														
medial	radical								!										
medial	aspirated								! ^h										
medial	del-breathy-v								! _o										
medial	breathy-voiced								! _:										
medial	radical					f	s	ʃ		x									
medial	breathy-voiced					v	z												
lateral	radical						ʈ												
lateral	breathy-voiced						ɬ												
nasal	voiced					m													
lateral	voiced						l												
medial	voiced					w													

that in Phuthi we get also the super high vowels ɨ and ɥ . Indeed I agree with him that for instance, the ɨ of **ɛ́bázwalí** is higher than the ɨ of **íbclé**. However since the high versus super high ɨ or ɥ , is no longer distinctive in Phuthi, I regard ɨ and ɨ as mere allophones of /i/; and u and ɥ as allophones of /u/.

Mzamane also refers to the raised vowels in Phuthi which do not seem to result from assimilation. He states:

"The occurrence of the close mid-back vowel in words like: **inyo̱ka**, **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."

(Mzamane, 1948:2)

(This issue will be raised once again when vowel-raising is discussed in Chapter 5.)

3.2.5.2 Labials

All the labials which occur in Swati, occur likewise in Phuthi. These are [m]; [w]; [f]; [ɣ]; [β]; [b]; [pʔ] and [pʰ]. Consider the following examples:

[m]	in múzwali [muzwǎli] (boy)
[w]	in dzadzewâbó [dzǎdzɛwaβɔ] (his/her sister)
[f]	in úfatí [ufatʔi] (woman)
[ɣ]	in émaví [ɛmayi] (voices/words)
[β]	in ebábâdi [ɛβaβǎdi] (readers)
[b]	in íbhuti [ibɥtʔi] (goat)
[pʰ]	in ípítso [ipʔitsʔɔ] (gathering)
[pʰ]	in kúpheka [kupʰɛka] (to cook)

It must be noted here that breathy-voiced /w/ and /m/ could not be identified. Further that the ejected /p/ is exotic to Phuthi. It is found in Sotho loans e.g. **kúpóta** (Sotho – **ho póta**), i.e. to go round, or in Afrikaans loans e.g. **sípíkiri** (Afrikaans: spyker) i.e. nail.

3.2.5.3 Alveolars

There are quite a few differences between Swati and Phuthi alveolar sounds. But first, let us consider those which are common to both dialects. These are:

[l]; [tʔ]; [tʰ]; [d]; [n]; [s]; [z]; [ʦ]; [h]; [tsʔ]; [dʒ]; [tsh]; [dβ]; [tΦ]. Let us illustrate with examples:

[l]	in llága [llaga] (sun)
[tʔ]	in íbitá [ibitʔa] (pot)
[tʰ]	in múratha [muratha] (porridge)
[d]	in ídawu [idawu] (lion)
[n]	in únna [unna] (his/her mother)
[s]	in síbogo [sibogo] (surname)
[z]	in múzaca [muza/a] (stick)
[ʦ]	in kúhlala [kuhala] (to sit/stay)
[h]	in ídlebé [idlebe] (ear)
[tsʔ]	in ématsétse [ematsʔetsʔe] (fleas)
[dʒ]	in lídzakwá [lidzakwa] (drunkard)
[tsh]	in lítsáǰzo [litsahdzɔ] (love)
[tΦh]	in ebatfu [ebatΦhu] (people)
[dβ]	in édvute [edvuteʔe] (near)

A few observations may be made with regard to the foregoing sounds. Firstly, Mzamane (1948:4) is of the opinion that the /t/ in /ibuti/ and /ibita/ is radical (i.e. not ejective). I was convinced during research, however, that this /t/ is articulated by means of a glottalic airstream mechanism which makes it definitely ejective.

Secondly we note that /l/ and /n/ can be used in Phuthi as syllables. This, however, is due to the process of assimilation and will be discussed fully in Chapter 5. It must be pointed out, though, that the syllabification of these phonemes is more common in Sotho than in Nguni, and its occurrence in Phuthi may be ascribed to the influence of the former.

Thirdly, /tʰ/ and /d/ are exotic phonemes in Phuthi. This seems to be the case with a number of Tekela dialects, as was pointed out with regard to Swati (supra). In Phuthi such phonemes appear chiefly in loans from Sotho e.g. **ídawu** (Sotho = **taú**, i.e. lion; **síyedá** (Sotho = **sietá**) i.e. shoe; and **kúrúda** (Sotho = **ho rúta**) i.e. to teach/learn; and **íthithana** (Sotho = **thithana**) i.e. loin-apron for girls; and **múratha** (Sotho = **moratha**) i.e. porridge; et cetera.

Finally, it is noted that /dz/ may occur before back vowels in Phuthi e.g. /litsadzo/ (love) and this puts Phuthi on par with Lala in this regard. In Phuthi however, labialisation occurs alongside the non-labialised allophones, and thus we get **lídvoló** (knee) and **kúdvúma** (it is tasteless). Again in Phuthi like in Sumayela Ndebele (see below) /d͡ʒ/ occurs as an affricate and not a fricative as in other Tekela dialects. Again this could be ascribed to Sotho influence where /tʃ/ is an affricate.

Let us now turn to those alveolars which are peculiar to Phuthi. These are /r/ which is a voiced alveolar trill; /d/ which is a voiced alveolar implosive; and /tʃ/ which is a voiceless alveo-lateral affricate. Regarding /r/, this sound is not altogether peculiar to Phuthi. It was noted above that in Swati it occurs in English loans such as **ílorí** (lorry); **írúla** (ruler); etc. Its incidence in Phuthi is, however, much higher since this sound occurs also in Sotho loans including **muratha** (porridge); **murená** (king/chief); **kúrúda** (to learn/read); et cetera.

The implosive /d/ has a very low incidence. It is found mainly in Sotho loans where /d/ is followed by a high vowel, /i/ or /u/ e.g. **lisedí** [lisedi] (light); **émadímu** [emadimu] (cannibals) and **múduwáni** [muɖuwani] (willow tree).

Again /tʃ/ has a very low incidence. We find it in a few loans from Sotho e.g. **senótloló** [sinotʃɔɓ] (key).

3.2.5.4 Prepalatals

A few differences are also noted where the Swati and Phuthi prepalatals are compared. In Swati we find [j]; [ʃ]; [ɲ]; [ɖʒ] and [tʃʔ], which are shared also by Phuthi. To distinguish the two dialects, however, we get in Phuthi the breathy-voiced [ɲ] and the aspirated [tʃʰ]. The former appears in such words as: **nyíni** [ɲini] (day/time) and **ínyorí** [iɲori] (one eyed person). The latter in **kútjhísa** [kutʃʰisa] (to burn) and **lítjhóba** [litʃʰɔba] (tail brush). The former is not altogether peculiar to Phuthi since in Swati we can identify at least three words where /ɲ/ occurs, namely: **nyénti** [ɲentʔi] (many) (incidentally this one occurs also in Bhaca); **nyáse** [ɲasɛ] (previous year); and **línyéva** [liɲɛvɔ] (thorn). The latter does not occur in Swati but as pointed out above

it is very common in the Natal South Coast Nguni dialects. Now let us cite examples of the common prepalatals:

[ʃ]	in líshúmi [liʃumi] (ten)
[tʃʔ]	in mutjódi [mutʃodi] (wagtail)
[j]	in —yadzá [jadza] (increase)
[dʒ]	in jwalá [dʒwala] (indigenous beer)
[ɲ]	in úrnnyágo [unɲaga] (doorway)

3.2.5.5 Velars

All the Swati velar sounds, namely: [kʔ]; [k]; [kʰ]; [g] and [ŋ] also occur in Phuthi. Moreover Phuthi also has the prevelar fricatives [x] and [ɣ]; as well as the pre-velar affricate [kxʰ]. Let us illustrate with examples:

[kʔ]	in kukumúka [kʔukʔumuɕa] (swell)
[k]	in —hleká [tɕka] (laugh)
[kʰ]	in —khótsa [kʰotsha] (lick)
[g]	in —godvúka [gɔdβuɕa] (go on a journey)
[ŋ]	in língólo [liŋɔɔ] (letter)
[x]	in íhrabí [ixabi] (ox)
[ɣ]	in igranyáza [iɣanaza] (soft green mealies)
[kxʰ]	in rakrádi [rakxʰadi] (aunt)

We note here that the lateral-velar affricate [kɬ] does not occur.

3.2.5.6 Glottals

Unlike Swati where we get two glottal fricatives, in Phuthi we get only one, namely [h]. This as we have shown above is very common in the Natal South Coast especially those dialects which have the prevelar [x]. Consider the following examples: **muhumá** [muhuma] (hoe) and **líhápu** [lihapʔu] (sweet watermelon).

3.2.5.7 Clicks

Unlike in Swati where we get only one basic click, [ʘ], in Phuthi we get all the three basic clicks, [ʘ]; [ǀ] and [ǁ] with their compounds. Let us illustrate once more with examples:

[ʘ]	lícwábi [li/wabi] (cream)
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(c) Place of Articulation

TABLE 6 : PHUTHI SPEECH SOUNDS

			(a) Manner of Release	(b) State of Glottis	(c) Place of Articulation											
					Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-labial	Pre-palatal	Velar	Pre-velar	Glottal			
CONTINUANTS	STOP	EXPLOSIVE	medial	ejective	p [?]			t [?]				k [?]				
			medial	aspirated	p ^h			t ^h					k ^h			
			medial	del-breathy-v	b _o									ɣ _o		
			medial	partly-voiced										ɣ		
			medial	voiced	b				d							
			medial	ejective					ts [?]				tʃ [?]			
			medial	aspirated					tsh	tɕh			tʃh			
			medial	del-breathy-v					dʒ	dβ			dʒ			
			lateral	radical					tɬ					kx		
			lateral	ejective										kɬ [?]		
			lateral	breathy-voiced					dh							
			lateral	radical					//							
			lateral	aspirated					// ^h							
			lateral	del-breathy-v					// _g							
			lateral	breathy-voiced					// _g							
medial	radical					/					!					
medial	aspirated					/ ^h					! ^h					
medial	del-breathy-v					/ _g					! _g					
medial	breathy-voiced					/ _g					! _g					
medial	radical						f		s		ʃ	x	h			
medial	breathy-voiced						v		z		ʒ	ɣ	ɦ			
lateral	radical								ɬ							
lateral	breathy-voiced															
nasal	voiced				m			n		ɲ	ŋ					
lateral	voiced							l								
medial	voiced				w			r		ɻ						

[/h]	—chazá [/'hazá] (clarify)
[/g]	—gciná [/'gina] (keep)
[j/]	—ncamá [j/ama] (give up)
[/g]	ingcakúcha [iŋ/gakú/ha] (detailed description)
[/]	síxaxa [si//a/a] (frog)
[/h]	líxhegu [li//hegu] (old man)
[/g]	kúgxuma [ku//guma] (to jump)
[ŋ/]	línxele [liŋ//εle] (left-handed person)
[/g]	íngxabáno [iŋ//gabano] (quarrel)
[!]	kúqédza [ku!edza] (to finish)
[!h]	émáqhiga [ema!higá] (strategies)
[!g]	úgqihra [u!gixá] (doctor)
[ŋ!]	línqayí [iŋ!aji] (uncircumcised boy)
[!g]	íngqele [iŋ!gεle] (cold)

3.2.6 Sumayela Ndebele Speech Sounds

3.2.6.1 Vowels

Sumayela Ndebele vowels are similar to the Swati vowel system. However, Ziervogel (1959:18) distinguishes between the semi-close [i] and [u] on the one hand and the close [î] and [û] on the other. Accordingly he identifies the following Sumayela Ndebele vowels: [a]; [ε]; [e]; [i]; [î]; [o]; [ô]; [u] and [û].

In my view, however it is quite possible that like in the rest of Nguni, these two high vowels [i]/[î] and [u]/[û] have become fused to simply [i] and [u] respectively. I make this assertion by reason of the fact that the distinction made by Ziervogel was not observed during research. Accordingly, I conclude that the so-called close and semi-close [i] and [u] are but allophones of the phonemes /i/ and /u/. In fact, Ziervogel himself concedes as much when he argues that:

"It is evident, however, that although in cautious speech one does hear a difference between i and î, u and û there is undoubtedly a tendency to use the respective pairs indiscriminately (sic). We may for practical purposes, regard Nd as a language with five vowel phonemes, hence the use of i and u only in the body of this work."

(Ziervogel, 1959:19)

That being the case, the conclusion is that the Sumayela Ndebele vowel system does not differ much from that of the Swati and of the other Tekela dialects as was observed also in the case of Phuthi (see par. 3.2.5.1 above).

3.2.6.2 Labials

Again almost all the Swati labials are shared by Sumayela Ndebele, namely: [pʰ]; [p]; [b]; [mb]; [m]; [w]; [f] and [v]. The only distinct exception is that in Ndebele the implosive /ɓ/ does not occur, instead we find the voiced bilabial fricative [β]. Let us illustrate with examples:

[pʰ]	in púra [pʰura] (fly)
[pʰ]	in líphási [lipʰasi] (country/world)
[b]	in bhabhá [bʰabʰa] (my/our father)
[mb]	in mbúti [mbʊtʰi] (goat)
[m]	in kúvuma [kuvuma] (to agree)
[w]	in kúwa [kuwa] (to fall)
[f]	in kúfika [kufika] (to arrive)
[v]	in kúvela [kuvɛla] (to appear)
[β]	in kúbába [kubaba] (to be bitter)

3.2.6.3 Alveolars

It is in this natural class of alveolars that we notice quite a number of differences between Ndebele and Swati phonemes. This shows to what extent these two dialects have drifted apart. However, let us start with the alveolars they have in common, namely: [n]; [l]; [s]; [z]; [d]; [tʰ] and [tʰ]. Let us illustrate with examples:

[n]	in wená [wɛna] (you)
[l]	in kúbulála [kubulala] (to kill)
[s]	in -sála [sala] (remain)
[z]	in múzénda [muzɛnda] (messenger)
[d]	in kúduda [kududa] (to swim)
[tʰ]	in kúthútha [kuthutha] (to move)
[tʰ]	in mbúti [mbʊtʰi] (goat)

Instead of the fricative [tʰ] and [h] of Swati, Ndebele has the fricative [tʰ] and the affricate [dʰ]. We mentioned above (see par. 3.2.5.3) that this is shared

also by Phuthi and is probably of Sotho influence. Let us illustrate with examples:

- [t̥] in **hlála** [t̥ala] (stay/sit)
 [h] in **kûdlá** [kud̥h̥a] (food)

Another difference between Ndebele and Swati is that [t̥ʰ] and [d̥β] as allophones of [tʰ] and [dʒ] respectively, do not occur in Ndebele. It is also worth noting that the phoneme /d/ has a few idiolectal variants such as the flapped [d̥]; and the inter-dental [d̥]; we will also get the inter-dental [t̥ʰ] (see Ziervogel, 1959:19). Let us illustrate with examples:

- [d̥] in **mudímu** [mudimu] (God)
 [d̥] in **—dána** [d̥ana] (come)
 [t̥ʰ] in **—tísa** [t̥ʰisa] (bring)

In a few lexemes, borrowed from Sotho we get [r] i.e. a voiced alveolar trill which has a very low incidence in Swati. This /r/ becomes a retroflexive in prenasalised compounds. This process is known as **Ndrondroza** and is shared also by Zunda Ndebele and Mpondo in Nguni dialects. Again let us illustrate with examples:

- [r] in **kuri** [kuri] (to say)
 [nd̥r̥]/[nr̥] in **múndru** [mund̥ru] (person) **nnt̥ró** [nnt̥r̥o] (thing)
 [nr̥] in **múnru** [mun̥ru] (person)

The choice between /ntr/ and [nr] is idiolectal or optional.

Finally, in Ndebele we find two alveo-lateral affricates; the one ejective [t̥ʰʰ] and the other aspirated [t̥ʰh] which is of Sotho influence. Let us illustrate once more with examples:

- [t̥ʰʰ] in **—tletlá** [t̥ʰʰct̥ʰʰa] (milk into the mouth)
 [t̥ʰh] in **mutlhángana** [mut̥ʰhãŋgãna] (boy)

3.2.6.4 Prepalatals

There is not much difference between Swati and Ndebele prepalatal sounds. The following are common to both dialects: [j]; [dʒ]; [ɟ]; [ʃ] and [tʃʰ]. The only difference is in [tʃʰ], an aspirated prepalatal affricate. Of course, Ownby (1981:65) is of the opinion that in Nguni the /tʃʰ/ phoneme is the original

sound and that its counterpart /ʃ/ in Zulu and Swati is an innovation. Let us cite a few examples:

[j]	in yená [jɛna] (he/she)
[dʒ]	in jama [dʒama] (stand)
[ɲ]	in múnyimúti [mɯɲimutʰi] (kraal—head)
[ʃ]	in líshúmi [liʃumi] (ten)
[tʃʰ]	in mútjékelo [mutʃʰɛkʰɛlɔ] (bridal dress)
[tʃʰ]	in síhlutjhána [siʃʰutʃʰana] (small tuft of hair)

3.2.6.5 Velars

In this natural class it appears that Ndebele has quite a number of velar sounds which do not occur in Swati. The velar phonemes which these dialects have in common are only: [k]; [kʰ]; [g] and [ŋ]. Thus we notice that the ejective [kʰ] does not occur in Ndebele. On the other hand, Ndebele has a medial [kxʰ] which is an ejective velar affricate, as opposed to the Swati [kʰ] which is a lateral velar affricate. In Ndebele we also get a medial [kxʰ] which is an aspirated velar affricate. Then there are two velar fricatives [ɣ] and [x] which occur in Ndebele but not in Swati. Let us illustrate with examples:

[k]	in kúri [kuri] (to say)
[kʰ]	in kúkhamba [kukʰambʰa] (to go/walk)
[g]	in gélanga [gɛllaŋga] (on the day)
[ŋ]	in nkromó [ŋkxʰɔmɔ] (a head of cattle)
[kxʰ]	in tikromó [tʰikxʰɔmɔ] (cattle)
[kxʰ]	in kúkgetha [kukxʰɛtʰa] (to choose)
[ɣ]	in múgroló [muyɔlɔ] (throat)
[x]	in maríhra [marixa] (winter)

Ziervogel (1959:19) argues that besides the above-mentioned plosives Ndebele has velar implosives as well. Unfortunately, his exposition of this claim is quite confusing because he cites exactly the same examples for both plosive and implosive velars. For instance, in par. 1.6 he asserts:

"g, with nasal ŋg, is a devoiced or semi-voiced explosive:
 —gûga [...] (lift), ...
 gy is a devoiced palatal velar explosive ... gyibo [...] (it is they)
 ..."

Later on, in par. 1.7 he states that:

"g is a voiced velar implosive: **gugûga** [...] (to pick up); gy is a voiced palatal velar implosive: **gyibo** [...] (to them)."

Unfortunately, these two types of /gyibo/ were not established or distinguished during research. Further, Ziervogel's initial **gu-** in **gugûga** becomes **ku-** later on when he is discussing the infinitive (see Ziervogel, 1959:58 and 85). The conclusion is that his inventory concerning Ndebele velar phonemes is not quite satisfactory.

3.2.6.6 Glottals

As against the voiced and voiceless glottal fricatives in Swati, Ndebele has only the voiceless glottal fricative [h], e.g. **muháwu** [muhawu] (mercy).

3.2.6.7 Clicks

Click sounds simply do not occur in Sumayela Ndebele. In their place, the ejective velar affricate [kxʔ] is often used e.g. **líkrandá** instead of **líqandá/lícandá** (egg).

3.3 RECAPITULATION

In this brief comparative exposition of the Tekela phones and phonemes many facts have come to light, not only with regard to the relationship between Swati and the other dialects, but also between those dialects themselves.

It also became clear that there are more similarities than differences between these dialects; sufficient to qualify these as members of the same mother-language. Yet they could also be aligned in a much more closer relationship; e.g. Swati and Bhaca have a lot more in common than any other dialect. Phuthi and Lala seem to share quite a number of peculiar features, on the one hand, while on the other hand Phuthi may be grouped with Sumayela Ndebele with regard to the acquisition of certain Sotho lexical items and speech sounds.

CHAPTER 4

TEKELA PHONEMES; A DIACHRONIC STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

4.1.1 General

This is a second chapter on Tekela phonemes, and this time they are approached from a diachronic point of view. The aim is to try and trace the derivation of the current Tekela phonemes from the Proto-Bantu or Ur-Bantu source-items. Consequently, certain Tekela phonemes which are not deemed to derive from Proto/Ur-Bantu etymons will be left out of this discussion.

However, the drawing of a line between true Proto-Bantu reflexes and some exotic phonemes is not an easy task. The problem is aggravated by two factors. In the first place, neither Meinhof nor Guthrie considered the Tekela dialects in propounding rules for Bantu sound-shifts. Thus in determining Tekela sound-shifts one must have recourse to analogy, and see whether the rules earmarked for other languages do not apply with full force to Tekela. In the second place, there is quite a gap between Ur-/Proto-Bantu and the current Bantu languages. Surely there must have been intervening stages. To illustrate these two factors, let me cite two examples: (i) the Ur-Bantu etymon ***-dim** becomes **-cīma** (extinguish) in Tekela. Can this be regarded as a true reflex of the Ur-Bantu source-item? In view of the fact that clicks are of Khoisan origin is it not possible that there was an intervening stage where the true reflex of ***-dim** was influenced by Khoi or San languages to become **-cīma**, rather than to say **-cīma** derives directly from ***-dim**? (ii) Meinhof (1932) and Guthrie (1967) both conclude that there is a sound-shift rule which changes the Ur-/Proto-Bantu *L/D to /z/ in Zunda-Nguni e.g. **ígazí** < ***-yádj** (blood). Are we now justified in holding that, by analogy, *D > /t/ in Tekela-Nguni, with the effect that ***-yadi** > **íngatí**? If we do that, our claims will amount to unscientific conjecture. Baumbach is also concerned about this state of affairs when he remarks that:

The primary aim of diachronic phonology is to establish the relative chronology between different sound changes, i.e. the linguist has to plot out the intermediate stages between the

starting point (say Proto-Bantu) and the end point (say Tsonga).

This is possible because of the fact that the output of one change is very often the input of another, i.e. sounds develop in successive waves or stages.

But since we have no written records of the earlier stages of the Bantu languages, we have to deduct/reconstruct such intermediate stages by means of comparison of different synchronic changes. A method which was used to reconstruct Proto-Bantu.

Diachronical presentations thus far have skipped the intermediate stages because of non-existence of sistemised data delineating the historical developmental sequences/stages which sounds have undergone. To begin with a Proto-Bantu sound and give it a reflex in, say Tsonga, is in essence a very poor performance. What about all the intermediate stages? ...

The following probably stages for Tsonga can be identified:
(Proto-Bantu) – (Proto/South/east) – (Proto-Nguni) –
Pre-Tsonga – (Tsonga).

(Baumbach, 1987:73)

Thus it will be my contention in this study that Zunda and Tekela Nguni must have shared a common inventory of phonemes in the Nguni or Proto-Nguni stage, and that the phonemic peculiarities of Tekela derive rather from Proto-Nguni rather than directly from Proto-Bantu.

Accordingly, I have some difficulty in accepting some of the words listed by Davey (1981:220–224) such as **kucala** (to begin); **kucima** (to extinguish); **kucedza** (to get finished); **kugcwala** (to become full); **kucambalâla** (to lie and relax); and **umucu** (cord, strap) as true Bantu reflexes of the Common-Bantu source-items: ***-bad-**; ***-dim-**; ***-cid-**; ***-yijad**; ***-dambadad-**; and ***-bia**, respectively. Davey, of course, is aware of this unsatisfactory state of affairs for he qualifies these words as "possible" reflexes and also refers to "suspect forms" where he states:

In the appendix are listed possible Swati cognates of Guthrie's starred forms. Some suspect forms are included as it is considered better to include too many rather than too few forms.

(Davey, 1981:215)

In fact, Davey concedes further that "reflexes" with click phonemes are not

directly derived from Proto-Bantu for he cites Guthrie himself who leaves out the clicks:

Guthrie lists Xhosa and Zulu reflexes for this form (CS 98 *—bia "cord" umucu) but they don't have the dental click. It is presumed that the click replaced a palato-alveolar stop at some earlier stage.

(Davey, 1981:30)

4.1.2 Proto-Bantu or Ur-Bantu

Many scholars on Bantu languages including Posselt (1975) for Comparative Nguni; Ziervogel (1959) for Ndebele and (1952) for Swati; Mzamane (1948) for Phuthi, and Jordan (1942) for Bhaca use Ur-Bantu source-items in tracing the origin of the relevant reflexes. In this study, however, Guthrie's approach is adopted. There are two reasons for this decision. Firstly, Guthrie's approach is more elaborate, more detailed and more logical. This was enhanced by the availability of more Bantu studies and data at his time. Secondly, even though Guthrie in his Proto-Bantu and Meinhof in his Ur-Bantu pursued different methodologies they nevertheless arrived at similar, and often identical, conclusions. Thus where need be, Common-Bantu starred forms will be complemented or supplemented by Ur-Bantu etymons. CB examples will be marked for tone and be preceded by serial numbers.

However, since I have settled for Proto-Bantu, a brief exposition on Guthrie's methodology is not out of place at this point. Guthrie adopted what he called a two-stage method (Guthrie, 1967:15 *et seq.*). Stage 1 is the construction of Common-Bantu and Stage 2 is the construction of Proto-Bantu.

In Stage 1 Guthrie collates all the available data arranging it in word lists which he calls "simple comparisons". The languages from which the words are drawn are referred to by name and index number (e.g. Zulu S 42). The words are grouped together according to their shape and meaning. Meaning is taken as the connecting factor and this helps in comparing items of varying shapes and in analysing their differences.

More items from a group of languages are compared in this manner and "associated comparisons" are compiled. From these Guthrie deduces recurrent sets of patterns which will validate his comparative series. Altogether Guthrie arranged approximately 2300 of such common series and these constituted the corpus of his Common Bantu (or CB). The last step in Stage 1 was to construct what he calls "starred forms" to symbolise the regular correspondencies displayed by the various comparative series. He marked these with an asterisk (*), and wrote them in lower case.

He then moved on to Stage 2, which is the reconstruction of Proto-Bantu. He achieves this by means of what he calls "hypothetico-deductive" method (Guthrie, 1967:20). This method envisages a set of five postulates which he terms "theoretical construct". Their effect is that in prehistory there could have been found items (which he calls source-items) comparable with those established in CB. Consequently the items in the comparative series become reflexes of the source-items; and cognates of their counterparts in the various languages.

Thus Guthrie identifies his hypothetical source-vowels and source-consonants which he writes in upper case, marked by an asterisk (*). His source-vowels comprise *A *E * $\underset{5}{I}$ *I *O * $\underset{5}{U}$ and *U. His source-consonants comprise the primary voiceless plosives *P *T *K; the voiced plosives *B *D *G; the palatals *C (pronounced as /tʃ/); *J (pronounced as /dʒ/ and *Y (which amounts to a zero \emptyset consonant); and finally the nasals: *M *N * and * , as well as the nasal compounds.

4.1.3 Approach in this chapter

Once again Swati will be used as the point of departure and the other dialects will be compared against it in their alphabetical order. For the sake of brevity the names of the various dialects will be abbreviated as follows:

Swati = SWA; Bhaca = BHA; Lala = LA; Nhlanguwini = NHLA; Phuthi = PHU; and Sumayela Ndebele = SU.NDE.

All the Tekela phonemes which are shared with Zunda-Nguni (i.e. Zulu and Xhosa) will be assumed to have been derived as such from Proto-Bantu.

However those that differ from Zunda–Nguni, (e.g. /t/ instead of /z/), will be assumed to have been derived from Proto–Nguni; and the Proto–Nguni phonemes will be exactly the Zunda–Nguni phonemes which were ascertained by both Meinhof (1932) and Guthrie (1967 and 1971). Thus CB *–yadi > **ígazí > (SWA) íngatí (blood) (where ** = Proto–Nguni).

All the Proto–Bantu source–items will be written in upper case while the CB starred forms are in lower case.

Guthrie (1967:57) contends that it would be most useful – in tracing the derivation of modern reflexes from Proto–Bantu – to classify the source–patterns under eight subheadings as follows: (i) *Ca², (ii) *Ce, *Ci, *Co *Cu; (iii) *Cj and C_ɥ; (iv) *Cv_v, (v) *C with composite vowel, (vi) *C preceded by homorganic nasal, (vii) *y_jC and *C preceded by class 5 prefix *j; and (viii) *C in special sequences. (N.B. C = Consonant and V – Vowel.)

If such an approach were to be adopted in this study, this chapter would become too unwieldy and cumbersome. Accordingly, a combination of some of these subheadings becomes necessary. Guthrie himself considers – with regard to subheading I(ii) – that:

Under this heading there are a few special types of sound shift that may be noted, although they occur too sporadically to require topograms.:

(Guthrie, 1967:57)

It will thus be convenient to combine (i) and (ii) in this discussion. On the next page Guthrie observes – with regard to subheading (iv) – that the double vowel shift occurs mainly in Zones A and B. It is thus obvious that this phenomenon falls outside the ambit of this study for even where there are reflexes derived from such source–patterns they are not distinctive. Accordingly, in tracing sound–shifts from source–patterns to Tekela reflexes, the following classification will be adopted: (i) *Ca, *Ce, *Ci, *Co, *Cu; (ii) *Cj, *C_ɥ including *C followed by juxtaposed vowels; and (iii) *C preceded by a homorganic nasal.

4.2 CB STARRED FORMS AND TEKELA REFLEXES

4.2.1 Primary Voiceless Plosives: *Ca, *Ce, *Ci, *Co, *Cu

4.2.1.1 Proto-Bantu *P

*P > (SWA) /p^h/

e.g.	CB 1409	*-pád-	>	-phála (scrape)
	1518	*-pìkò-	>	líphiko (wing)

> (BHA) /p^h/

e.g.	CB 1404	*-pá'	>	-phá (give)
	1564	*-pód-	>	-phóla (become cool)
	1600a	*-púúmud	>	-phumúla (rest)

> (LA) /p^h/

e.g.		*-pàpù	>	líphaphú (lung)
	CB 1407	*-páçà	>	líphâhla (twin)

> (NIHLA) /p^h/

e.g.	CB 1499	*-pí?	>	phí (where)
	ps 418	*-pùŋgà	>	íphunga (smell)
	1521	*-pínì	>	úmphîni (handle)

> (PHU) /p^h/

e.g.	CB 1564	*-pód-	>	-phóla (heal/become cool)
	1088	*-kîpà	>	músîpha (sinew)
	1600a	*-púúmud	>	-phumúla (rest)

> (SU>NDE) /p^h/

e.g.	CB 1573	*-pòkù	>	-phóphala (be blind)
	1453	*-pát-	>	-phátsa (carry, seize)

Discussion

Guthrie (1967:70; Topogram 5) gives an inventory of the reflexes of *pa₁ throughout the Bantu-speaking Africa. These are listed in this order: pa; pha; øa, fa, βA, VA, WA, YA HA, GA, γa, xa, or a.

We note that on the said topogram, **pha** features, among others, in the language group -40 of Zone S. These are Nguni languages – particularly the Zunda dialects. From the foregoing examples, however, it becomes obvious that exactly the same sound-shift has taken place in all the Tekela Nguni dialects.

From the same topogram one notices that in the language group -30 of the same Zone S, *pa > fa. This is a group of Sotho languages. This fact is very significant when it is considered that the Phuthi and Su.Ndebele literally live among Sotho language-groups. From this it may be inferred that fa as an equivalent of Proto-Bantu *pa is foreign in Tekela.

The first reflex of *pa in Guthrie inventory, namely pa is also of some interest. Does this syllable not occur in Tekela? Probably not. For instance, Van Dyk (1960:6-7) observes the following regarding Lala:

'n Voorbeeld van waar [pʔ] in fonologiese opposisie met [ph] staan, is nie gevind nie. Wel is 'n geval gevind waar dié twee fone kontrasteer in analoë omstandighede, nl.: [sipʔigiliʔ] (spyker) : [siphiselɔ] (skerp yster). Dit blyk dat [pʔ] veral in woorde van vreemde oorsprong voorkom.

The similar observation regarding Phuthi is made by Mzamane (1948:5):

The incidence of this consonant i.e. p is very rare in Phuthi ... Many examples of such p's in Sotho are found as voiced consonants in Phuthi ...

Examples: Sotho pitsá (pot) is found as hitá in Phuthi and mbiza in Nguni ...

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

Examples: sípíkírí (nail) from Afrikaans spyker
sipelete (safety pin) from Afrikaans speld.

Without exhausting the Tekela dialects, one may generalise that pa is foreign to Tekela, especially in stem initial position which is emphasized by Guthrie. Even in Zunda the same condition applies. In Zulu, for instance, besides in loan words, /pʔ/ occurs only in ideophones or deideophonic constructions. e.g. petu (of turning inside out); -petúla (turn inside out).

4.2.1.2 Proto-Bantu *T

*T > ** /th/ > (SWA) /tsh/ and /tʰh/

e.g.	CB 1689	*-tátù	>	-tshátfu (three)
	ps 442	*-téngò	>	-tshénga (buy)
	1796	*-tòngò	>	bútfôngo (sleep)

*T	>	** /tʰ/	>	(BHA) /tʃ/ and /tʰ/
e.g.	CB ps 442	*-tɕŋgò	>	-tʃɕŋga (buy)
	1689	*-tátù	>	-tʃátʃu (three)
	1796	*-tɔŋgò	>	ubútʃɔŋgo (sleep)
	>	** /tʰ/	>	(LA) /tʃ/
e.g.	CB 1689	*-tátù	>	-tʃátʃu (three)
	1796	*-tɔŋgò	>	bútʃɔŋgo (sleep)
	>	(NHLA) /tʰ/		
e.g.	CB ps 442	*-tɕŋgò	>	-tʃɕŋga (buy)
	1689	*-tátù	>	-tʃátʃu (three)
	>	** /tʰ/	>	(PIIU) /tʃ/ and /tʰ/
e.g.	CB 1831	*-túm-	>	-tʃúma (send)
	ps 442	*-tɕŋgò	>	-tʃɕga (buy)
	1689	*-tátù	>	-tʃátʃu (three)
	>	(SU>NDE) /tʰ/		
e.g.	CB 1689	*-tátù	>	-tʃátʃu (three)
	1831	*-túm-	>	-tʃúma (send)
	1796	*-tɔŋgò	X	bútʃɔŋgo (sleep)

Discussion

Guthrie (1967: Vol. 72; Topogram 7) gives an inventory of the reflexes of *ta₁ throughout the Bantu-speaking world. He lists them in this order: *ta₁ > ta, tha, hra, tʃa, la, ra, da, sa, ha or a. Once again his /tʃa/ features, among others, in the language group -40 of Zone S – i.e. the Nguni group of languages. Indeed, this is the reflex in Zulu and Xhosa as well as in Nhlanguwini and Sumayela Ndebele among the Tekela dialects. What about the phonemes /tʃ/ and /tʰ/? Are they foreign to Nguni? This question cannot be answered in the affirmative. If these sounds were foreign to Tekela it would mean that they have been borrowed from contiguous language groups. This cannot be the case, however. In the first place Guthrie does not give /tʃ/ or /tʰ/ as one of the reflexes of /ta/. (Unfortunately, Guthrie's inventory is not exhaustive or exclusive. It is common knowledge that he selected mainly those languages whose grammars had been documented.) In the second place the contiguous language groups have the following reflexes: In S10 (i.e. Shona) and S60 (i.e. Thonga) the reflex is **ta**: in S10, S30 and

S50 i.e. Venda, Sotho and Tsonga language groups respectively, the reflex is *ra*.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is subsequently assumed that /tsh/ and /tʰ/ developed not directly from Proto-Bantu but from the Proto-Nguni /tʰ/.

Like /pʰ/, /tʰ/ also does not occur in Tekela except in loans and/or ideophones and deideophonic derivations.

The same applies to Zunda Nguni e.g. *utamátisi* (tomato) loan from Afrikaans ("tamaties") and *tobo* (of pressing) and *-tobóza* (press).

The conclusion may safely be drawn therefore that /ta/ as a reflex of PB *ta is foreign to Tekela, especially in stem initial position. What have we got to say then about the high incidence in /t/ in prefixes and other parts of Tekela words, including stem-initial position? As a matter of fact, that /t/ is the distinguishing feature between Tekela and Zunda Nguni. Cf.

Zunda	Tekela
ábazáli bámi	— bátáli bámi
úbabezála ufuyé ízimbûzi	— bábetalala ufuyé tímûzi
izinkómó zámi ziníngi	— tíyomó támi tínêngi

Since the Zunda /z/ is obviously not derived from *t, the same applies to Tekela /t/. However, this problem will be discussed further at the relevant place below.

The case of SU.NDE is quite interesting. In the first place we wonder why it has not undergone the same change as the other Tekela dialects regarding *t. In the second place we wonder why it sometimes replaces /tʰ/ with /r/. Regarding the first problem it must be stated that this is not peculiar to Sumayela Ndebele.

The sound system of a language usually changes much more rapidly in some respects than in others. A few sounds may remain unchanged for a very long period, during which the remainder of the sound system alters completely
(Meinhof and Van Warmelo, 1932:20-21).

Regarding the second problem it must be pointed out that this happens very infrequently. The only prominent word in which this happens is *ri* cf. *Tekela tshi* (say). It is clear that this is not a change of *-ri* < *-tshi* < *-thi*; rather it is a borrowing from Sotho *-re* (say). It is worth pointing out, however, that the Sotho /r/ is usually borrowed where it is followed by /i/ in *Sumayela Ndebele*. Compare the following:

Sotho	Suy. Ndebele
<i>-re</i>	<i>-ri</i> (say)
<i>-ripa</i>	<i>-ribha</i> (cut)
but: <i>-robála</i>	<i>-thobála</i> (sleep)
	(Ziervogel, 1959:29)

4.2.1.3 Proto-Bantu *K

*K > (SWA) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 1100a	*-kócid	>	-kohléla (cough)
1107	*-kód	>	-khóla/-khólwa (satisfy)
ps 294	*-kèt	>	-khctshá (choose)

> (BHA) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 995	*-kám	>	-kháma (squeeze)
1124	*-kók	>	-khókha (pull/draw)

> (LA) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 1190	*-kúd	>	-khúla (grow up)
971	*-ká	>	-khá (draw/gather fruit)

> (NHLA) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 979	*-kád	>	-khála (cry)
1160	*-kòtam	>	-kotháma (bind)

> (PHU) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 1903	*-yák-	>	-âkhá (build)
1190	*-kúd	>	-khúla (grow)

> (SU>NDE) /kʰ/

e.g. CB 995	*-kám	>	-kháma (squeeze)
1215a	*-kumbud	>	-khumbúla (remember)

Discussion

This is the last of PB voiceless plosives and it is worth noting that with regard to *P, *K, aspiration is the major sound-shift undergone by all

Tekela dialects and that regarding *T the Tekela reflexes became affricative with the exception of SU.NDE where aspiration once again occurred:

It must be noted further that although Guthrie emphasises that the changes affect the stem-initial syllable, this is by no means restricted to that position. Cf. ***-kok** > (BHA) **-khókha**. Of course, it may be argued that the aspiration in the second syllable is due to assimilation.

Guthrie (1967: Vol. 1, 74; Topogram 9) gives an inventory of possible reflexes of ***ka**, namely: **kha**, **xa**; **ha**; **ya**; **ga**; **ha**; and **a**. Perhaps /x/ warrants some commentary in this discussion. According to Guthrie's said Topogram, /x/ is prevalent in Sotho languages of Zone S. This /x/ occurs – although its incidence is low – in the Tekela dialects sharing the common area with Sotho language groups. Compare the following:

(SOTHO) [-xama]	(SU.NDE) [-xama] (milk)
(SOTHO) [-xoxo]	(PHU) [ixuxu] (fowl)

Is /xa/ subsequently a direct reflex of ***ka** or is it borrowed from Sotho? Since /x/ features mainly in those words where the Sotho counterparts have exactly the same sound structure I am inclined to assume that /x/ is foreign to Tekela, and is thus a borrowing from Sotho. Posselt (1975:70) cites two authorities who posit two conflicting opinions on this issue; but with regard to Southern Ndebele:

Van Warmelo 1930:p. 28 beskou die dorsaal-velére affrikaat [kxh], as 'n klank wat via Sotho (Pedi) sy ingang in Suid-Transvaalse Ndebele gevind het. Vergelyk in dié verband ook Van Loggerenberg 1961:p. 30 B. [-kama] = Pedi [-xama] "uitdruk". Potgieter 1950:p. 48 daarenteë maak nie melding van so 'n moontlikheid nie, waaruit afgelei kan word dat hy dit waarskynlik nie as 'n ontleende klank beskou nie.

He then adds (*ibid*):

Daar bestaan oënskynlik geen vaste sisteem ten opsigte van die distribusie tussen Phuthi [x] en [kh] nie. Vergelyk byvoorbeeld:

[buxulu] 'grootte' [bukhatʔi] 'lobola' ..."

I have already expressed my opinion on this issue.

4.2.2 Primary Voiceless Plosives: Cj; *Cɥ; et cetera

4.2.2.1 Proto-Bantu *P

*pɪ; pia > (SWA) /fi/; /sha/		
e.g.	CB 1561	*-pììpí > lífifí (darkness)
	1505	*-píà > -shá (new)
*pɥ; *pɥa > (SWA) /fu/; /fa/		
e.g.	CB 1610	*-pù > lúfu (stomach)
	1612	*-púán > -fána (alike)
*pɪ; pia > (BHA) /fi/; /tʃh/		
e.g.	CB 1546	*-píc > -fíhla (hide)
	1508	*-píà > -tjhá (burn)
*pɥ; *pua > (BHA) /fu/; /fa/		
e.g.	CB	*-pɥdat > -fulathéla (turn back)
	1612	*-púán > -fána (alike)
*pɪ; pia > (LA) /fi/ and /ʃa/		
e.g.	CB 1550	*-pík > -fiká (arrive)
	1505	*-píà > -shá (burn)
*pɥ; *pua > (LA) /fu/; /fa/		
e.g.		*-pɥdat > -fulatshéla (turn back)
	1612	*-púán > -fanána (resemble each other)
*pɪ; *pia > (NHLA) /fi/; /tʃha/		
e.g.	CB 1546	*-píc > -fíhla (hide)
	1508	*-píà > -tjhá (burn)
*pɥ; *pua > (NHLA) /fu/; /fa/		
e.g.	CB 1610	*-pù > ulúfu (stomach)
	1612	*-púán > fána (be fitting)
*pɪ; *pa > (PHU) /fi/; /ʃa/		
e.g.	CB 1561	*-pììpí > lífifí (darkness)
	1508	*-píà > -shá (burn)
*pɥ; *pua > (PHU) /fu/; /fa/		
		*-pɥdat > -fulatshéla (turn back)
	1612	*-púán > -fána (alike)
*pɪ; pia > (SU.NDE) /fi/; /tʃha/		
e.g.	CB 1561	*-pììpí > lífifí (darkness)
	1508	*-píà > -tjhá (burn)

*p̄y; p̄ya > (SUNDE) /fu/; /fa/		
	*-p̄ydat	> -fulathéla (turn back)
1612	*-p̄yánan	> -fanána (resemble each other)

Discussion

Due to the influence of super-high vowels *i* and *y* the bilabial stop /p/ has become a labio-dental fricative /f/. Where /i/ is followed by /a/ the derivative becomes /f/ or /tʃhʔ/ but if /a/ follows /y/ the fricative /f/ remains unchanged. This occurs consistently throughout the Tekela dialects.

Perhaps one should comment on the affricate /tʃhʔ/ as against the fricative /f/. In as far as this happens in Natal and Transkei, one can readily ascribe it to the influence of Zunda languages. It can thus be said that the Swati and Lala have followed Zulu which also has acquired the fricative while Bhaqa and Nhlanguwini have followed Xhosa which uses the affricate /tʃʔ/ where Zulu uses /f/. According to Ownby (1981:65), /tʃʔ/ is a Proto-Nguni sound and /f/ is a later sound-shift which developed among the Eastern as opposed to Southern Nguni who still use the proto affricate. But then what about Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele? Why has the former undergone fricativisation while the latter kept the affricate? A simple answer is not possible here. However, it is worth noting that the Phuthi live among Southern Sotho who are more inclined towards fricatives than affricates whereas the Sumayela Ndebele live among Northern Sotho who are more inclined towards affricates than fricatives in their speech (cf.

Secondly, it would appear that the Sumayela Ndebele are comparatively more conservative and consequently keep to Proto-Nguni as we saw with /tʰ/ (above) which has not become affricative /tʃh/.

There are a few exceptions, however, to this sound-shift rule in general. Consider the following:

- *p̄y > su e.g. *-p̄y > (SWA) sísu (stomach)
- *-picd > (LA) -shayéla (sweep)
- *-piom > (SWA) -sóma (woo, court)

From the above examples we note that *p > s under certain circumstances and that besides the juxtaposed vowels -ia-, -ua-, we also get -ie- and -io-.

4.2.2.2 Proto-Bantu *T

*tj; *tja > (SWA) /si/; /sa/

- e.g. CB 1848 ***-tj̄ka** > bú**s̄**ka (winter)
 1747 ***-tj̄gad** > -**s̄**ala (remain)

tɥ; tɥa > (SWA) /fu/; /fa/

- e.g. CB 1855 ***-tɥ̄** > lífu (cloud)
 1855 ***-tɥ̄ana** > lífana (small cloud)

*tj; tja > (BHA) /si/; /sa/

- e.g. CB 1750 ***-tj̄ku** > ú**s̄**ku (day)
 1747 ***-tj̄gad** > -**s̄**ala (remain)

*tɥ; tɥa > (BHA) /s?/, /fu/, /fa/

- e.g. CB 1855 ***-tɥ̄** > ilífu (cloud)
 1875 ***-tɥ̄m** > fúna (want)

*tj; tja > (LA) /si/; /sa/

- e.g. 1751 ***-tj̄ku** > -**bús̄**ku (night)
 1747 ***-tj̄gad** > -**s̄**ala (remain)

*tɥ; *tɥa > (LA) /fu/, /fa/

- e.g. CB 1855 ***-tɥ̄** > lífu (cloud)
 1855 ***-tɥ̄ana** > lífwana (small cloud)

*tj; tja > (NHLA) /si/, /sa/

- e.g. CB 1748 ***-tj̄ka** > ú**bús̄**ka (winter)
 1747 ***-tj̄gad** > -**s̄**ala (remain)

*tɥ; *tɥa > (NHLA) /fu/, /fa/.

- e.g. CB 1855 ***-tɥ̄** > ilífu (cloud)
 1855 ***-tɥ̄ana** > ilífana (small cloud)

*tj; tja > (PHU) /si/, /sa/

- e.g. CB 1750 ***-tj̄ku** > lús̄ku (day)
 1747 ***-tj̄gad** > -**s̄**ala (remain)

*tɥ; *tɥa > (PHU) /fu/, /fa/

- e.g. CB 1855 ***-tɥ̄** > lífu (cloud)
 1855 ***-tɥ̄ana** > lífana (small cloud)

*tj; *tja	> (SU.NDE) /si/, /sa/		
e.g. CB 1748	*-tj̀kà	>	búsfka (winter)
1747	*-tj̀gad	>	-sála (remain)
*tʷ; *tʷa	> (SU.NDE) /fu/, /fa/		
e.g. CB 1855	*-tʷ̀	>	lífu (cloud)
1855	*-tʷ̀ana	>	lífana (small cloud)

Discussion

The first thing to point out in this section is that the super high /ɥ/ in the sequence **-ɥa-** changes the preceding *t more radically than the ordinary high /u/ which changes *tua to /thwa/ in (SU.NDE) e.g. *-tuad > (SU.NDE) *-thwala (carry on head). Of course, in the rest of the Tekela dialects this becomes /tsh/: /tʰ/ e.g. (LA) -tshwalá and (SWA) úmtfwálo.

Secondly we note that the change brought about by the super high **j** differs from that caused by high **i** in the sequence **-ja-/-ia-**.

*tia	>	(SWA)/(LA)/(PHU) /ʃa/ e.g. -shá (burn)
		(BHA)/(NHLA)/(SU.NDE) /tʃh/ e.g. -tjhá (burn)

Finally, we note that the incidence of this particular sound-shift is low in Tekela. However, the change brought about is typically Nguni, shared as it is also by Zulu and Xhosa, and the reflexes are almost similar in all the dialects.

4.2.2.3 Proto/Bantu *K

*kj; *kja	> (SWA) /si/; /sa/		
e.g. CB 1053	*-kǐdà	>	úmsila (tail)
	*-kokjana	>	ínkhósána (heir)
*kʷ; *kʷa	> (SWA) /fu/; /fa/		
e.g. CB 1258	*-kǐbà	>	sífúba (chest)
1252	*-kǐá	>	kǐfá (death)
*ki; *kja	> (BHA) /si/; /sa/		
e.g. CB 1088	*-kǐpà	>	úmsipha (tendon)
	*-kokiana	>	ínkósána (heir)

*k _ɸ ; *k _ɸ a > (BHA) /fu/; /fa/			
e.g. CB 1278	*-k _ɸ tà	>	ámáfútsha (oil/fat.)
1252	*-k _ɸ à	>	-fa (die)
*k _j ; *k _j a > (LA) /si/; /sa/			
e.g.	*-k _j dj	>	ús ^h ti (soot)
	*-kokiana	>	íwosána (heir)
*k _ɸ ; *k _ɸ a > (LA) /fu/; /fa/			
e.g. CB 1270	*-k _ɸ nd	>	-fúndza (fill mouth:
1250	*-k _ɸ à	>	lúfa (crack)
*k _j ; k _j a > (NHLA) /si/; /sa/			
e.g. CB 1084	*-k _j nd	>	-sín ^h da (heavy)
	*-kokjana	>	ínkosána (heir)
*k _ɸ ; k _ɸ a > (NHLA) /fu/; /fa/			
e.g. CB 1267	*-k _ɸ mbat	>	-fumbátsha (hold in hand)
1252	*-k _ɸ à	>	úkufá (death)
*k _j ; k _j a > (PHU) /si/; /sa/			
e.g.	*-k _j di	>	músiti (soot)
	*-nyukjana	>	ínyosána (little bee)
*k _ɸ ; *k _ɸ a > (PHU) /fu/; /fa/			
e.g. CB 1258	*-k _ɸ bà	>	sífùba (chest)
1253	*-k _ɸ á	>	lifa (inheritance)
*k _j ; *k _j a > (SU.NDE) /si/; /sa/			
e.g.	*-k _j di	>	mu ^h siti (soot)
	*-k _j a	>	k ^h usa (morning)
*k _ɸ ; *k _ɸ a > (SU.NDE)			
e.g. CB 1258	*-k _ɸ bà	>	sífùba (chest)
1253	*-k _ɸ á	>	lífa (inheritance)

Discussion

Again the above sound-shifts are the last set in as far as Proto-Bantu voiceless stops are concerned, and a few general comments should be made. Firstly, it was noticed that reflexes resulting from the influence of super-high and juxtaposed vowels have a very low incidence in Tekela — examples were hard to come by. Secondly, it was realised that these sounds change the preceding consonant almost beyond recognition. Despite this, however, the

sound-shifts were quite regular and almost the same throughout and also in line with the concomitant changes in Zunda Nguni. Finally it was observed that the derived reflexes nullified the distinction between the sources. For instance, /si/ can be derived from either *kj or *tj. However, this is more clearly set out in tables 8, 9, 10 and 11 below.

Finally, reference must be made to irregular changes e.g. *-kjamb which becomes: (SWA) -hámba; (LA), (NHLA), (BHA) and (SU.NDE) -khámba and (PHU) -khábha (go).

4.2.3 Primary Voiceless Plosives: *C preceded by homorganic nasal

4.2.3.1 General

Whenever nasals are discussed, the reference is usually to /n/. For the purposes of this study, however, nasal /m/ will also be considered owing to its phonemic significance in Tekela. Secondly, the far-reaching changes are usually caused by prefixal nasal of class 9 but in this study even nasal compounds of C₂ of the stem will be considered.

The changes that are brought about by prenasalisation are divergent and irregular. Meinhof summarizes in particular those that are caused by prenasalised /n/:

"n is assimilated to the following consonant. Before labials it becomes the labial m, before velars the velar ŋ, before a cerebral it would of course remain cerebral n. When through any sound changes another articulation is produced, n is still assimilated, so that it becomes palatal ɲ before palatals and dental ɳ before dentals. If the following sound is voiceless, or for any reason becomes unvoiced, the nasal also begins to lose its voice. It is then still audible if immediately preceded by a vowel, but disappears if it is an initial ... We call the nasal latent in such a case, because it no longer appears in isolated words ... In many Bantu languages the nasal has dropped off before voiceless sounds, for instance in Swahili, Sotho and Duala ...

The nasal is most persistent before monosyllabic stems, where it is retained through the influence of the dynamic accent, which usually falls on the penultimate. It therefore survives in cases where it would otherwise have been lost."

(Meinhof, 1932:33)

I have quoted Meinhof at length here, because many of the changes he refers to also occur in Tekela. However, let us consider each dialect in turn.

4.2.3.2 Swazi: *P *T *K in Nasal Compounds

4.2.3.2.1 *P in Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) ímphahla (property) | (b) kúmpompa (inflate) |
| ímphilo (life) | ímphúmphútse (blind person) |
| ímphûndvu (gate—post) | kúmpópota (flow) |

Firstly, it was ascertained, during research and also through scanning of available Swati literature, that there are very few Swati lexemes which have /N/ + /p/ in the C₂ position. Examples in (b) above could be said to be a fair representation of this phenomenon but even they smack of assimilation. Secondly, we note that /N/ + /p/ > either /mph/ or /mp?/. There does not seem to be any rule which governs the derivation of /mph/ (see examples in (a)); or /mp?/ (see examples in (b)). It must be noted however, that there is a much higher incidence of /mph/ as against /mp?/.

TABLE 8: *P *T *K before Super-high Vowels

*PI	> (Tekela)	[fi]	e.g.	*-pǀǀpǀ	> lífǀǀ (darkness)
*TI	> (Tekela)	[si]	e.g.	*-tǀka	> búǀǀka (winter)
*KI	> (Tekela)	[si]	e.g.	*-kǀda	> úǀǀǀla (tail)
*PIA	> (Tekela)	[ǀa]	e.g.	*-pǀa	> -shá (burn)
*TIA	> (Tekela)	[sa]	e.g.	*-tǀad	> -sáǀa (remain)
*KIA	> (Tekela)	[sa]	e.g.	*-kǀa	> -sá (daybreak)
*PU	> (Tekela)	[fu]	e.g.	*-pǀu	> lífu (stomach)
*TU	> (Tekela)	[fu]	e.g.	*-tǀu	> lífu (cloud)
*KU	> (Tekela)	[fu]	e.g.	*-kǀu	> sífǀu
					(chest)
*PUA	> (Tekela)	[fa]	e.g.	*-pǀan	> -fána (be like)
*TUA	> (Tekela)	[fa]	e.g.	*-tǀan	> lífána (small cloud)
*KUA	> (Tekela)	[fa]	e.g.	*-kǀa	> -fá (die)

TABLE 9: *P Before Super-high vowels

*P	pa - u	pj	pja	pɥ	pɥa
SWA	[p ^h]	[fi]	[ʃa]	[fu]	[fa]
BHA	[p ^h]	[fi]	[tʃ ^ʔ ha]	[fu]	[fa]
LA	[p ^h]	[fi]	[ʃa]	[fu]	[fa]
NHLA	[p ^h]	[fi]	[tʃ ^ʔ ha]	[fu]	[fa]
PHU	[p ^h]	[fi]	[tʃ ^ʔ ha]	[fu]	[fa]
SU.NDE	[p ^h]	[fi]	[ʃa]	[fu]	[fa]

TABLE 10: *T Before Super-high Vowels

*T	ta - u	tj	tja	tɥ	tɥa
SWA	[tsh][tΦ]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
BHA	[tsh][tΦ]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
LA	[tsh][t ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
NHLA	[t ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
PHU	[tsh][tΦ]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
SU.NDE	[t ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]

TABLE 11: *K Before Super-high Vowels

*k	ka - u	kj	kja	kɥ	kɥa
SWA	[k ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
BHA	[k ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
LA	[k ^h][x] ^h	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
NHLA	[k ^h]	[si]	[sa]	[fi]	[fa]
PHU	[k ^h][x]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]
SU.NDE	[k ^h][x]	[si]	[sa]	[fu]	[fa]

4.2.3.2.2 *T in Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) kúkhuntsa (get stale) | (b) úmúntfu (person) |
| kúkhúntfúluta (bruise) | íntfo (thing) |
| | íntsaba (mountain) |
| | ntsámábama (afternoon) |
| | Mantfómbi (name) |

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (c) ntókánje (so-and-so) | (d) lítfúnti (shadow) |
| líntóngománc (peanut) | émânti (water) |
| kúntunta (rush about) | ínkônzo (service) |
| Ntóm̄bi (name) | ínkûnzi (bull) |

Firstly, it must be noted that we do find a few examples where /n+t/ occurs in the C₂ position (see (a) above). However as was the case with the /n/ + /p/ compound, /n/ + /t/ also has a very low incidence in the C₂ position.

It was shown above (par. 3.2.1.3) that the reflex of *T > (SWA) /tsh/ or /tΦ/, as borne out by examples in (b). However there are instances where the affricate is substituted by ejective /ntʔ/ (see (c) above) in nasal compounds. Again there seems to be no rule to govern this phenomenon. Be that as it may, the question regarding proper names is quite interesting.

Why do we get the ejective plosive in [ntʔombi] as against the affricate in [mantΦombi]? Is it ma- prefix which causes the difference? It does not seem so.

In my discussion with Miss Mamba (currently head of the African Languages Department at the University of Swaziland) it transpired that naming in Swati culture is poetry, and in poetry they Zunda – so she maintained. To support this assertion she cited her own first name which is Ntombi and not Ntfombi. Ntombi is also the name of the queen–mother, neé Tfwala, mother of the reigning Swati monarch, Makhosetive. Her husband, the late king, also had a Zunda name: Sobhuza. But then why did they give their son a Tekela name: Makhosetive instead of Makhosezizwe? Why did King Subhuza give his daughter who married the reigning Zulu monarch a Tekela name, princess Mantfombi? A rule which governs this phenomenon has not crystallised. What is more, in modern Swati poetry we only find Tekela.

Finally, let us comment on examples in (d). The /ntʔ/ we find here is not derived from /N/ + *T as we pointed out above (see par. 3.4.1). This /ntʔ/ is an equivalent of the Zunda /nz/. Sometimes the Swati retain the Zunda /nz/ as in [iŋkʔunzi].

4.2.3.2.3 *K in Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) ínkâwu (monkey) | (b) ínkhangâla (highveld) |
| ínkamba (sword) | ínkhokhólo (salary) |
| ínkínga (problem) | ínkhâbi (ox) |
| kúnkénkéta (throb) | ínkhomó (cow) |
| ínkûnzi (bull) | ínkhosána (heir) |
| | (c) kúnkénkéta (throb) |
| | úmnkenké (crack in sole of foot) |

The same set-up found in par. 3.4.4.2.1 and 3.4.2.2 above is found here as well. Here too, we note a low incidence of /n+k/ in C₂ position. Even where it occurs (see (c) above), this can be ascribed to assimilation. Again we notice the occurrence of the ejective /nkʔ/ alongside the plosive /nkh/. Again we fail to establish a rule which underlies this phenomenon.

In my discussion with Dr J.S.M. Matsebula, a prominent Swati historian, it transpired that a large majority of ceremonial songs are in Zunda. He ascribes this to LaZidze's influence. She was a daughter of the Ndwandwe king, Zwide and she married the Swati king, Sobhuza I. She was a born virtuoso and she taught the Swati many ceremonial songs — especially *íncwala* songs, which were, as would be expected, in Zunda.

This gives some weight to the argument that the ejective /mpʔ/ and /nkʔ/ are due to the Zunda influence. In actual fact all loans from English and Afrikaans which have been placed in class 9 are invariably ejective, e.g. [umpʔompiʔ] (pump); [iŋkʔomiʔi] (cup); and [intʔɔ̀bhãptʔi] (waist-coat).

It must be pointed out that the nasal compounds are found not only in nouns but in other word categories as well, especially qualificatives, e.g. [letintsatfu]; [lepkhulu]; [letimphuŋga].

Regarding Swati nasal compounds in general, the conclusion one draws is that the situation is not at all stable. However, if you consider the picture I have just painted, to be somewhat muddled, you must bear in mind that this

is by no means peculiar to Swati, as we will soon see when Lala, Phuthi or Sumayela Ndebele is discussed below.

4.2.3.2.3 Bhaca: *P *T *K in Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) ínkomo' (cow) | (b) umuntfu (person) |
| ínkôsi (king) | întfuli (dust) |
| unónkala (crab) | ítintsi' (sticks) |
| (c) ámânti (water) | (d) ímpátfo (treatment) |
| -enta' (do) | împawu (signs) |
| úmlente (leg) | împondvo (horns) |

Here we note that /n+p/ > /mpʔ/ (see examples in (d)); /n+t/ > /ntsh/ or /ntΦ/ (see examples in (b)); and /n+k/ > /ŋkʔ/ (see examples in (a)). The position in which they occur is C₁. As was the case with Swati we note here as well that there is a low incidence of nasal compounds in the C₂ position. Examples in (c) must not be mistaken for reflexes of (n+*T). The /nt/ in these examples is the counterpart of the Zunda /ndz/ e.g. **úmlenze** > **úmlente** (leg).

In Bhaca we notice a remarkable stability regarding prenasalisation. Here (n+*T) remains /ntsh/ or /ntΦ/ and both *P and *K become ejective in nasal compounds probably due to Zunda influence.

4.2.3.2.4 Lala *P *T *K in Nasal Compounds

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| (a) úphâko | – (ZUNDA) | úmphâko (provision) |
| útsakâtsi | – (ZUNDA) | umthákathi (wizard) |
| úkhono' | – (ZUNDA) | úmkhonto (spear) |
| (b) ímhisi | – (ZUNDA) | ímpisi (hyena) |
| ímhâhla | – (ZUNDA) | ímpahla (property) |
| ímhumbútshe | – (ZUNDA) | ímpumpútshe (blind man) |
| (c) ínhâba | – (ZUNDA) | íntaba (mountain) |
| ínhombí | – (ZUNDA) | íntombí (girl) |
| úmúnhu | – (ZUNDA) | umuntu (person) |

(d) <i>íyosí</i>	–	(ZUNDA)	<i>ínkôsi</i> (king)
<i>íyâbi</i>	–	(ZUNDA)	<i>ínkâbi</i> (ox)
<i>íyomó</i>	–	(ZUNDA)	<i>ínkomó</i> (cow)

Zunda equivalents for the Lala words have been provided for better perspective. Otherwise it would have been difficult to show that the Lala words are actually caused by prenasalisation since in most cases either the nasal (see (a)), or the voiceless plosive (see (b) and (c)); or both (see (d)) get deleted.

In reviewing the above examples one is struck by quite an amount of stability which has settled in the Lala nasal compounds. It can be argued that prenasalisation in this context is rule governed. With regard to examples in (a) the rule is that where /m/ of the basic prefix becomes syllabic, it gets deleted before a voiceless plosive i.e. *um + phatshi > úphátshi*. There are a few exceptions however especially where deverbatives are concerned. Thus in certain regions people use such forms as: *úmpheki* (cook); alongside *úphêki*, et cetera.

Turning now to the examples in (b) and (c) we note that in proper nasal compounds of class 9 /n+p/t/ results in the deletion of the voiceless plosive and only the nasal remains e.g. *ínhombatâne < íntombazâne*. The picture changes somewhat more radically if the voiceless plosive is *K. Here not only *K is deleted, but also the nasal and these are then replaced by a glide. The glide is usually *-y-* e.g. *íyosí* but it can also be *-w-* or even *-hh-* e.g. *íwomó; íwudí; íhhomó; íhhosí* respectively. These forms are very much reminiscent of the influence that Thonga/Tsonga exercised on Lala. In Tsonga too the Zunda lexemes: *ínkomó* and *ínkôsi* are respectively: *hómú* and *hósí*.

It appears here as well that ordinary nasal compounds in C₂ position have a low incidence. Even where they appear this may be ascribed to assimilation e.g. *ímhumhútshe < ímpumpúthe*; or to reduplication of the stem e.g. *iyaláyâlá < inkalánkala* (crab) which is the reflex of PB **-kada*.

Perhaps owing to the Thonga influence, Lala has undergone changes which are very much different from those undergone by Swati and Bhaca.

4.2.3.2.5 Nhlanguini: *P *T *K Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) ínkâbi (ox) | (b) úmúntu (person) |
| ínkôsi (king) | íntombatâne (girl) |
| (c) ámântí (water) | ítimpâwu (signs) |
| -entá (do) | ísímpunga (a grey-head) |
| úmlente (leg) | ímpatho (treatment) |

Prenasalisation of the primary voiceless plosives has been completely stabilised in Nhlanguini. The relevant rule is that primary plosives become ejective in nasal compounds, i.e. *K > /ŋkʔ/; *T > /ntrʔ/ or /nrʔ/; and *P > /mpʔ/. To a large extent this is very similar to prenasalisation in Bhaca and it evinces a very strong Zunda influence.

4.2.3.2.6 Phuthi: *P *T *K Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) [n + p > ph] | (b) [n + t > tsh/tʃ] |
| tiphiri (hyenas) | ítfôga (stick) |
| iphâka (wild-cat) | ítshábho (string) |
| iphumulo (nose) | mútfu (person) |
| iphûthi (duiker) | ítfobhú (girl) |
| (c) [n + k > j/x] | |
| íyomó (cow) | |
| íyâbi (ox) | |
| tíhrûni (fire-wood) | |
| íhrûhru (fowl) | |

It is quite evident from the foregoing examples that there is a lot in common between the sound-shifts undergone by Lala and Phuthi as a result of prenasalisation. In the first place we note that where /n/ is followed by the velar plosive *K, not only is the nasal deleted, but the plosive as well — which is exactly what happens in Lala. Further, these sounds are then

replaced by a glide /j/ just as in Lala. Thus the Zunda **inkomo** > (PHU) **iyomo**.

Secondly, just as was shown in 3.4.4.4(a) that where a nasal is juxtaposed to a voiceless plosive such nasal is then deleted, the same applies to Phuthi. The only difference is that in Phuthi this occurs with nasal compounds, not nasal juxtapositions of class 1 and 3 since in Phuthi we do not get syllabic nasals in these classes. Thus the Zunda **impúmuló** > (PHU) **iphúmuló**. There is a marked difference between Lala and Phuthi however when it comes to [n+t]. In Lala the nasal is retained and the plosive deleted but in Phuthi the nasal is deleted and the plosive changes to an affricate: /tsh/ or /tʃ/. Thus Zunda **íntombí** > (LA) **ínombí** > (PHU) **ítfobhí** (girl).

4.2.3.2.7 SU.NDE: *P *T *K Nasal Compounds

Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| | /mp/ | /nt/ | |
| (a) | *mp / mph/mb | | (b) nt > nt/nth/nr/ntr/ |
| | mphéndulo (reply) | | nthó (thing) |
| | tímbôndo (horns) | | ntrâba (mountain) |
| | mphîni (handle) | | nrâba (mountain) |
| | | | ntéko (marriage) |
| | (c) *nk > nkl | | |
| | nklomo (cow) | | |
| | nklo (vessel) | | |
| | nklunti (bull) | | |
| | nklâbi (ox) | | |

The first thing which is striking about (a) is that in Sumayela Ndebele /m+p/ compounds are very rare. We observe as well that where they occur the nasal may simply be juxtaposed to the aspirated /ph/ without affecting its features except imparting to it the quality of voice e.g. **phendúla** > **mphéndulo**. At times however, the aspiration is completely nullified and the voiceless bilabial becomes fully voiced e.g. **tímbôndo** (horns) < **líphôndo** (horn). There is no hard and fast rule why "horns" could not be "**tímphôndo**".

Regarding (b) examples, we note a variety of derivations. The conclusion is that there is still a lot of instability and flexibility in the development of these derivations. One informant pronounces "locust" as "nrêthe" another one as "ntrethe". One pronounces "thing" as "nthó" or "ntró" or "nró". Again there does not appear to be hard and fast rules governing this process.

The rule governing the derivations from /n+k/ seems to have crystallised, however, and this is invariably /n+k > nkl/. The case of -khúlu (big) is quite interesting however, since /kl/ is not influenced by a preceding nasal. Normally PB *K > (SU.NDE) kh (see par. 4.2.1.3). -khúlu is consequently an exception to this rule. Also worth noting is that in Sumayela Ndebele /kl/ persists even when the nasal has been dropped, e.g. nklâbi (ox) > tîklâbi (oxen).

4.2.3.2.8 Conclusion re: Tekela Nasal Compounds

At the beginning of this section I cited Meinhof's observations regarding the influence of prenasalisation in Bantu languages. Almost everything he points out has been observed also in the foregoing discussion.

It was observed that in Bhaca and Nhlanguwini prenasalisation has become stabilised and the derivations reflect a strong Zunda influence. Lala and Phuthi have developed along somewhat similar lines. In Sumayela Ndebele and Swati the instability which prevails makes it difficult to lay down hard and fast rules to govern prenasalisation. It will be interesting to see how prenasalisation, involving voiced plosives, has developed in Tekela.

4.2.4 Proto-Bantu Voiced Plosives: *C_a *C_e *C_i *C_o *C_u

4.2.4.1 General

It must be pointed out immediately that Guthrie's primary voiced plosives: *B *D *G are equivalents of Meinhof's Ur-Bantu primary voiced fricatives v, l, ɣ respectively. The question then arises as to how did two eminent scholars arrive at different postulations in this regard. Perhaps the answer is to be sought in the fact that although both pursued similar methods, Meinhof handled comparatively fewer languages than Guthrie, with the result that even when he asserts that, "that these sounds existed in Ur-Bantu has been

discovered by the same methods of comparison and deduction ..." (Meinhof, 1932:31); what was probably the majority of incidence in his sample of languages was not necessarily the case regarding the Bantu language family as a whole. It appears on the other hand, that Guthrie found in view of the data available to him that the voiced plosives were probably the more original sounds (Guthrie, 1967:62). In fact Meinhof had already conceded as much when he stated:

There are various reasons for believing that even originally these sounds had in them a certain tendency to become plosive

...

(Meinhof, 1932:31).

Thus it is common knowledge that Meinhof's and Guthrie's source-consonants γ , l , v and $*G$; $*D$ $*B$, respectively have generated exactly identical reflexes. Although in this section Guthrie's voiced plosives are adopted, use will also be made of Meinhof's reflexes.

4.2.4.2 Proto-Bantu $*B$

$*B > (SWA) /\beta/$

e.g.	CB 3	$*-\acute{b}\acute{a}b-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{a}b\acute{a}$ (be bitter)
	73	$*-\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{c}\acute{d}\acute{e}$	>	$lib\acute{e}\acute{c}$ (sorghum)
	97	$*-\acute{b}\acute{i}$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{i}$ (bad)
	171	$*-\acute{b}\acute{o}p-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{o}p\acute{h}\acute{a}$ (bind/tie)
	199	$*-\acute{b}\acute{u}mb/$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{u}mb\acute{a}$ (mould)

> (BHA) $/\beta/$

e.g.	CB 19	$*\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{d}\acute{a}$	>	$\acute{u}mb\acute{a}\acute{l}\acute{a}$ (colour)
	113	$*-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{d}\acute{i}$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ (two)
	164	$*-\acute{b}\acute{o}n-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{o}n\acute{a}$ (sec)
	184	$*-\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{d}-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{a}\acute{l}\acute{a}$ (kill)

> (LA) $/\beta/$

e.g.	CB 76	$*-\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{c}\acute{d}\acute{i}k-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{c}\acute{e}k\acute{a}$ (carry on back)
	113	$*-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{d}\acute{i}$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{i}$ (two)
	155	$*-\acute{b}\acute{o}\acute{d}-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{o}\acute{l}\acute{a}$ (rot)

> (NHLA) $/\beta/$

e.g.	CB 95	$*-\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{c}\acute{t}-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{h}\acute{a}$ (strike)
	104	$*-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{d}-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{a}$ (boil)
	62	$*-\acute{b}\acute{a}ng\acute{u}\acute{d}-$	>	$-\acute{b}\acute{a}ng\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{a}$ (prick out)

***B > (PHU) /β/**

e.g.	CB 164	*-bón-	>	-bóna (see)
	121	*-bík-	>	-bíka (report)
	88	*-bók-	>	-béka (put down)

> (SU.NDE) /β/

e.g.	CB 3	*-báb-	>	-bába (be bitter)
	213	*-búy-	>	-búya (come back)

Discussion

Almost all the Tekela dialects have undergone the same sound change /β/ < *B. This is the case irrespective of whether the following vowel is a, e, i, o or u. The only slight difference in Sumayela Ndebele where the reflex of *B > /β/ is i.e. a voiced bilabial fricative.

4.2.4.3 Proto-Bantu *D***D > (SWA) /l/**

e.g.	CB 454	*-daád-	>	-lála (sleep)
		*-deet	>	-létsha (bring)
	561	*-dìd-	>	-lilá (cry)
	652	*-dòmò	>	úmlomo (mouth)
	6866	*-dúdik	>	-luléka (counsel)

> (BHA) /l/

e.g.	CB 480	*-dàmud	>	-lamúla (settle dispute)
	495	*-dàndú	>	úmlandú (case)
		*-damu	>	úmlamú (brother-in-law)

> (LA) /l/

e.g.	CBps 151	*-dànd-	>	-landzá (relate)
	534	*-démad-	>	-limála (get hurt)
	566a	*-dìbad-	>	-libála (forget)

> (NHLE) /l/

e.g.	CB 493a	*-dàndud	>	-landéla (follow)
	519	*-dèdu	>	-ísilevu (beard)
	565	*-dìdò	>	-úmlilo (fire)

***D > (PHU) /l/**

e.g. CB 493a	*-dàndud-	>	-ladzéla (follow)
644	*-dòg-	>	-loyá (bewitch)
ps 151	*-dànd-	>	-ladzá (relate)
> (SU.NDE) /l/			
	*-dod	>	-lola' (whet)
565	*-dìdò	>	múlo > múllo (fire)
482	*-dàmb	>	-lamba' (be starved)

Discussion

Again there is very little to discuss except to point out once again that all the dialects have undergone exactly the same sound-shifting.

4.2.4.4 Proto-Bantu *G***G > (SWA) /g/; /ø/**

e.g. CB 754	*-gàb-	>	-abá (apportion)
835	*-gòob-	>	-gobá (bend)
> (BHA) /g/; /ø/			
e.g. CB 766	*-gadí	>	ígatí (blood)
	*-gabad-	>	-abéla (apportion to)
> (LA) /g/; /ø/			
e.g. CB 766	*-gadí	>	lígatí
754	*-gàb	>	-abá (apportion)
> (NHLA) /g/; /ø/			
e.g. CB 835	*-gòob	>	-gobá (bend)
	*-gend	>	-endá (marry)
> (PHU) /g/; /ø/			
835	*-gòob	>	-gobá (bend)
754	*-gàb	>	-abá (divide/apportion)
> (SU.NDE) /g/; /y/ or /w/			
e.g. CB 835	*-gòob/	>	-gobá (bend)
805	*-genì	>	-muyèni (stranger/visitor)

Discussion

In Tekela, as is the case with most Bantu languages, a vowel brings about

- (b) *BIA; *BIA > (NHILA) /tʃʔa/; **/za/ > /tʔa/
 e.g. CB 99 ***-biád** > **-tjála** (plant)
 136 ***-bíád** > **-tála** (bear)
- (c) *BUA > (NHILA) /tʃʔwa/
 ***-ccbua** > **-hlétjwa** (be slandered)
- (a) *BI; *BU > (PHU) /vi/; /vu/
 ***-bida** > **lívila** (sluggard)
 231 ***-bun** > **-vúna** (reap)
- (b) *BIA; *BIA > (PHU) /tʃʔa/; **//za/ > /tʔa/
 e.g. CB 99 ***-biád** > **-tjála** (plant)
 136 ***-bíád** > **-tála** (bear)
- (c) *BUA > (PHU) /jwa/
 ***-cabua** > **-hlajwa'** (be stabbed)
- (a) *BI; *BU > (SU.NDE) /vi/; /vu/
 e.g. ***-bida** > **lívila** (sluggard)
 231 ***-bún** > **-vúna** (harvest)
- (b) *BIA; *BIA > (SU.NDE) /tʃʔa/; **/za/ > /tʔa/
 e.g. CB 99 ***-biád** > **-tjála** (plant)
 136 ***-bíád** > **-tála** (bear)
- (c) *BUA > (SU.NDE) /ywa/
 e.g. ***-cabua** > **-hlaywa'** (be stabbed)

Discussion

It is quite interesting to observe that in almost all the Tekela dialects the *B undergoes the same changes before high or super-high vowels. There are a few exceptions, however. In the first place it must be noted that the change of *BIA > **za > /tʔa/ is not very regular in all the dialects. For instance ***-biada** > ****úmzála** does not change to (SWA) ***umtála**; but rather **úmzála**.

Secondly, it must be pointed out that in Lala bilabials do not become palatals when followed by /-ua/- as in the passive. Here ***-cabua** remains **-hlabwa'**. More about this under palatalisation.

Furthermore, in a few instances, the expected /vi/ < *BI does not occur in Tekela, e.g. *-bjn > (SWA) -sína (dance). Finally the /tʃʔ/ may be derived not only from *-bua but also from *-buc e.g. *-buc > (NHLA) ilitje (stone).

4.2.5.2 Proto-Bantu *D

- (a) *dj; *dʷ > **zi > (SWA) /tʃi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 622 *-dímbà > **úmzimba > (SWA) úmtimba (body)
 739 *-dùm- > (SWA) -vuma' (consent)
- (b) *dia; *dja > (SWA) /ɣa/; **/za/ > (SWA) /tʃa/
 e.g. *-dia > kúdlá (food)
 *-kumbudja > -khumbúta (remind)
- (a) *dj; *dʷ > **zi > (BHA) /tʃi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 766 *-gàdí > ígatí (blood)
 519 *-dèdù > sílevu (beard)
- (b) *dia; *dja > (BHA) /ɣa/; **/za/ > (BHA) /tʃa/
 e.g. *-dia > úkudlá (food)
 *-kumbudja > -khumbúta (remind)
- (a) *dj; *dʷ > **zi > (LA) /tʃi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 766 *-gàdí > lígatí (blood)
 519 *-dèdù > sílevu (beard)
- (b) *dia; *dja > (LA) /ɣa/ or /ʎa/; **/za/ > (LA) /tʃa/
 e.g. *-dia > kúgrá (food)
 *-kumbudja > -khumbúta (remind)
- (a) *dj; *dʷ > **zi > (NHLA) /tʃi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 622 *-dímbà > úmtimba (body)
 739 *-dùm- > -vumá (content)
- (b) *dia; *dja > (NHLA) /ɣa/; **/za/ > /tʃa/
 e.g. *-dia > úkudlá (food)
 *-kumbudja > -khumbúta (remind)

- (a) *dj; *dɥ > **zi > (PHU) /tʔi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 617 ***-díṃ** > **-tíma** (extinguish fire)
 739 ***-dùm-** > **-vuma'** (consent)
- (b) *dia; dja > (PHU) /dʰa/; **/za/ > /tʔa/
 e.g. ***-dia** > **kúḍla'** (food)
 ***-kumbudja** > **-khubhúta** (remind)
- (a) *dj; *dɥ > **zi > (SU.NDE) /tʔi/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 622 ***-dímbà** > **úmtjmba**
 ***-dɥn** > **-vúna** (harvest)
- (b) *dia; *dja > (SU.NDE) /dʰa/; **/za/ > /tʔa/
 e.g. ***-dia** > **kúḍla'** (food)
 ***-kumbidja** > **-khumbúta** (remind)

Discussion

From the above examples it has once again transpired that the *D undergoes similar changes in all the Tekela dialects before high and super-high vowels. The case of **-tíma** (extinguish) in Phuthi is quite an interesting one. It is shared by Tsonga and Sotho (from whom the Phuthi probably borrowed it). In Zunda and other Tekela dialects its counterpart is **-címa** [/ima]. This goes to show that the borrowings from the Khoisan were not always whole lexemes, but phonemes as well because here the /tʔ/ has been replaced by ///.

Another difference which is worth noting is the /ɣ/ of Lala as against the /h/ in other dialects. This /ɣ/ is found only in the northern Lala dialects, especially around Kranskop. As pointed out in the previous chapter this community lived in isolation for quite some time, their area not penetrated by other Ngunis and this probably slowed down change. In the Southern dialects particularly the Cele of Ezingolweni occurrence of /h/ is quite common. The presence of /ɣ/ strengthens Meinhof's argument (1932:17) also partly accepted by Guthrie (1967:62) that /ɣ/; the primary voiced fricative was an original Bantu sound.

4.2.5.3 Proto-Bantu *G

(a)	*GI > **zi > (SWA) /tʔi/		
	e.g.	*-gɪno	> lítɪnyo (tooth)
		818 *-gɪ	> umúti (village)
(b)	*GU > (SWA) /vu/		
	e.g.	CB 913 *-gũnd	> -vundá (become rotten)
		*-gũd	> -vulá (open)
	*GI; *GU > (BHA) /tʔi/; /vu/		
	e.g.	CB 322 *-gɪd	> tilá (abstain)
		908y *-gũbú	> ímvubú (hippopotamus)
	*GI; GU > **zi > (LA) /tʔi/; /vu/?		
	e.g.	*-gɪno	> lítɪnyo (tooth)
		*-gɪda	> mvûla (rain)
	*GI; GU > **zi > (NHLA)		
	e.g.	CB 822 *-gɪd	> -tilá (abstain)
		913 *-gũnd	> -vundá (become rotten)
	*GI; GU > **zi > (PHU)		
	e.g.	CB 822 *-gɪd	> -tilá (abstain)
		*-gũd	> -vulá (open)
	*GI; *GU > **zi > (SU.NDE)		
	e.g.	*-gɪno	> lítɪnyo (tooth)
		*-gũd	> -vulá (open)

Discussion

At the end of the discussion on voiced PB plosives it becomes necessary, once again to draw a few common deductions. In the first place, it is noted that the reflexes /vu/ and /tʔi/ nullify the distinction between *BU; *DU; *GU and *DI; *GI respectively. This will be illustrated further in the tables below. Secondly, the assumption is still maintained that the Tekela /tʔi/ is derived from PB *DI/GI via the Proto-Nguni **/zi/. Now let us consider these plosives in nasal compounds.

4.2.6 Primary Voiced Plosives: *C preceded by homorganic Nasal

4.2.6.1 General

Once again the observations made by Meinhof and quoted at length in par. 3.4.4.1 above still apply. Furthermore, nasal compounds will be considered in

all positions, i.e. C_1 or C_2 . Emphasis will be laid on nouns (of class 1, 3, and 9) but it must be borne in mind that prenasalisation occurs in qualificatives as well.

4.2.6.2 *B *D *G in Nasal Compounds

Let us consider the following examples:

- (a) /N/+*B > (SWA) /mb/; /N/+*D > (SWA) /ndz/; /ndβ/
 e.g. -bambá (catch) e.g. índzaba (affair)
 ímbêwu (seed) e.g. índvodza (man)
 ínsimba (genet) -endzá (marry)
- /N/+*G > (SWA) /ŋg/
 e.g. íngatí (blood)
 íngabísa (girl)
 -ngéna (enter)
- (b) /N/+*B > (BHA) /mb/; /N/+*D > (BHA) /ndz/; /ndβ/
 e.g. íntfombí (girl) e.g. uméndvo (marriage)
 ínsimbi (iron) e.g. ímpândze (root)
- /N/+*G > /ŋg/
 e.g. íngalo (arm)
 íngáne (child)
- (c) /N/+*B > (LA) /mb/; /N/+*D > (LA) /ndz/
 e.g. útimba (body) e.g. índzodza (man)
 síkhámbi (traveller) tíndzûku (sticks)
 -lambá (starve) -ondzá (be lean)
- /N/+*G > /ŋg/; /ŋ/
 e.g. lísângo (gate)
 tíngûbo (blankets)
 únyângo (doorway)
- (d) /N/+*B > (NHLA) /mb/; /N/+*D > (NHLA) /nd/
 e.g. úkhamba (clay-pot) e.g. índaba (affair)
 ímbazo (axe) e.g. índoda (man)
 ímbûti (goat) e.g. íntândo (will)

/N/+*G > /ŋg/
 e.g. **ngetjĥéya'** (across)
íngubo (blanket)
ingonyâma (lion)

(e) /N/+*B > (PHU) /b/; /N/+*D > (PHU) /dz/
 e.g. **íbhita'** (clay-pot) e.g. **-odza'** (become lean)
íbhéwu (seeds) **ídzáwo** (place)
íbhiba (rat) **ídzaba** (affair)

/N/+*G > (PHU) /g/
 e.g. **-tséga** (buy)
ígwena (crocodile)
bútfógo (sleep)

(f) /N/+*B>(SU.NDE) /mb/;/mb/; /N/+*D>(SU.NDE) /nd/
 e.g. **nsím̂bi** (iron) e.g. **ndúna** (headman)
mútĥimba (girl) **-thánda** (love)
mbídzo (gathering) **tíndaba** (affairs)

/N/+*G > /ŋ/; /ng/; /g/
 e.g. **tingûlube** (pigs) **-géna** (enter)
llânga (sun) **-gaphánde** (outside)

Discussion

On scanning the foregoing examples one is immediately struck by the diversified channels along which prenasalisation has developed in Tekela, as well as the fact that in a few dialects the process has not yet been stabilised. As usual let us consider each dialect in turn starting with the Swati.

In Swati prenasalisation has become stabilised and can be said to be rule-governed. Starting with /N/+*B it must be pointed out that the implosive /ɓ/ becomes a fully breathy-voiced explosive /b/ in nasal compounds, e.g. [imbazɔ] (axe) < [-batʔa] (carve). (N.B. **ímbazo** is not as commonly used as **ízembe** in Swati.) This /mb/ occurs in all positions (stem-initially and otherwise) e.g. **íntfombí** or **ímbita'** (girl or pot, respectively).

Breathiness persists again when *D is prenasalised. Here /N/+*D becomes

/ndz/ and changes to /ndʒ/ before o, u and w. This happens in all positions including C₁ and C₂. A marked difference is noticed with *G in nasal compounds. Here /ŋg/ occurs stem-initially only e.g. [-ŋgɛna] (enter); but not in C₂ positions. Here only the nasal [ŋ] occurs, e.g. [ʙutʰɔŋɔ] (sleep).

There is a very close resemblance between Swati and Bhaca as far as prenasalisation is concerned. Perhaps the only difference is that in Bhaca /ŋg/ is not restricted to the C₁ position only. In the C₂ position [ŋg] alternates with [ŋ]. This however involves also strengthening and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

To a large extent Nhlanguwini and Lala follow Bhaca with regard to prenasalisation. The only difference is that in Lala labialisation of /ndz/ does not occur; and in Nhlanguwini /N/+*D > /nd/ and not an affricate /ndz/.

Phuthi differs markedly from the other sister dialects in that /N/ is eliminated before plosives, as is evident from the given examples. The question of whether the preceding vowel is nasalised will be considered in the next chapter.

In Sumayela Ndebele, prenasalisation has not yet become stabilised. Commencing with /N/+*B we note that the / breathy-voiced /mb/ is more of a nasal juxtaposition than nasal compound. The case of /N/ + *G is even more interesting however. Superficially /ŋg/ seems to be the logical derivation. However, this process is true only where fully-fledged words are concerned. Where /ŋg/ functions as a formative only, the picture changes and /N/ is eliminated just as in Phuthi cf. the copulative formative: the (Zunda) **ngubâbá** > (SU.NDE) **gúbhabhá** (it is my father) the potential formative: (Zunda) **singávala** > (SU.NDE) **sigávala** (we can close); and the negative formative: (Zunda) **sibe síngahâmbi** > (SU.NDE) **sibe sígakhâmbi** (we were not going); *et cetera*. Finally with regard to /nd/ we observe that the tendency to render this phoneme as a retroflexive /ndr/ is not as strong as in the case of the voiceless /nt?/. There were certain informants however who preferred **índraba** to **índaba** (affair).

TABLE 12: *B *D *G Before Super-high Vowels

*BI	> (Tekela)	vi	e.g. *-bɪda	> búvila (laziness)
*DI	> (Tekela)	ti	e.g. *-dɪmba	> úm ^h tɪmba (body)
*GI	> (Tekela)	ti	e.g. *-gɪna	> lí ^h tɪnyo (tooth)
*BIA	> (Tekela)	tja	e.g. *-biad	> -tjála (plant)
*BIA	> (Tekela)	ta	e.g. *-bɪad	> -tála (bear)
*DIA	> (Tekela)	ta	e.g. *-khumbudja	> -khumbuta (remind)
*DIA	> (Tekela)	dla	e.g. *-dia	> kú ^h dla' (food)
*BU	> (Tekela)	vu	e.g. *-bɪn	> kúvúna (to harvest)
*DU	> (Tekela)	vu	e.g. *-dɪm	> kúvuma (to consent)
*GU	> (Tekela)	vu	e.g. *-gɪd	> kúvula (to open)
*BUA	> (Tekela)	tjwa	e.g. *-cebua	> hlétjwa (be slandered)

TABLE 13: *B Before Super-high Vowels

*b	ba - u	bɪ	bia/bɪa	bɪ	bua
SWA	[β]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[ɣu]	[tʃʔwa]
BHA	[β]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[ɣu]	[tʃʔwa]
LA	[b]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[vu]	[tʃʔwa]
NHLA	[β]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[ɣu]	[tʃʔwa]
PHU	[β]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[vu]	[dʒwa]
SU.NDE	[β]	[vɪ]	[tʃʔa][tʔa]	[ɣu]	[jwa]

TABLE 14: *D Before Super-high Vowels

*D	da - u	dɪ	dɪa/dia	dɪ	dɪa
SWA	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa]	[ɣu]	
BHA	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa]	[vu]	
LA	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa][ɣa]	[vu]	
NHLA	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa]	[vu]	
PHU	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa]	[vu]	
SU.NDE	[l]	[tʔi]	[tʔa][hɪa]	[vu]	

TABLE 15: *G Before Super-high Vowels

*G	ga - e	gi	gia/gia	gɥ	gɥa
SWA	[ø][g]	[tʔi]		[vu]	
BHA	[ø][g]	[tʔi]		[vu]	
LA	[ø][g]	[tʔi]		[vu]	
NHLA	[ø][g]	[tʔi]		[vu]	
PHU	[ø][g]	[tʔi]		[vu]	
SU.NDE	[g][y]	[tʔi]		[vu]	

Let us consider, in the final analysis, the influence of nasal juxtaposition in the case of /m/+*B and /m/+*D. This phenomenon has marked influence only in Lala and to a lesser extent in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele. The changes normally affect nouns of class 1 and 3 or their object concords, when the prefixal or concordial /m/ has become syllabic owing to the deletion of the following /u/. In Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele this may be ascribed to assimilation e.g. *-BAD > **mubâla** > **mmâla** in both Sumayela Ndebele and Phuthi. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

As pointed out above, in Lala, the position becomes more involved. For instance in class 3 nouns /m/ before /l/ (<*D) is eliminated together with the /l/ and both are replaced with /m/ e.g. -*DOMO > (Zunda) **úmlomo** > (LA) **únômo** (mouth); *-DIDO > (Zunda) **úmlilo** > (LA) **úrilo** (fire); *-DAMU > (Zunda) **úmlamú** > (LA) **únâmu** (brother/sister-in-law). In the case of /m/+*B, /m/ is deleted and *B > /b/ e.g. **úbháli** < (Zunda) **úmbhâli**. Words like **únômo** evince Tsonga influence (see par. 4.2.3.2.4 supra).

4.2.6.3 *B *D *G in Cj; Cɥ Nasal Compounds

It has been shown (supra) that the Tekela cognates of *BI; *BU are /vi/ /vu/; of *DI, *DU are /ti/, /vu/; of *DIA, *DIA are /ɥa/, /tʔa/ and of *GI, *GU are /tʔi/, /vu/ respectively. The next question now is how do these derivations behave in nasal compounds. Let us consider the following examples:

- (a) *BIA BU > **/za/ > (Tekela) /tʔa/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 225 *-bɥda > (Tekela) **ímvûla** (rain)
 136 *-biado > ****ínzálo** > (Tekela) **íntáio** (potency)

- (b) *DI > **/xi/ > (Tekela) /tʰki/
 e.g. ps 173 ***-dja** > **ámânzi > (Tekela) **émântí** (water)
 *DIA > /hja/
 e.g. ***-diad** > (Tekela) **índlala** (hunger)
- (c) *GI; GU > **/zi/ > (Tekela) /tʰi/ or /h/; /vu/
 e.g. CB 908 ***-gùbú** > (Tekela) **ímvubú** (hippopotamus)
 246 ***-gú** > (Tekela) **tîmvú** (sheep)
 813¹/₂ ***-gìdà** > (Tekela) **índlela** or (PHU) **índlila** (path)

Discussion

Most Tekela dialects undergo the same changes in the prenasalisation of voiced plosives before super-high vowels. However, let us consider the differences. In as far as /ɱbʷ/ is concerned all the Tekela dialects undergo the same sound-shift with the exception of Phuthi, where a nasal is eliminated, e.g. **ívûla** (rain); **ívubú** (hippo). The elimination of the nasal persists in all compounds so that: **émântí** > (PHU) **emati** (water); **índlebé** > (PHU) **ídlebé** (ear). In Lala /ntʰ/ is replaced with /d/ so that: (Zunda) **enzânsi** > (SWA) **éntási** > (LA) **édási** (below); **émântí** > (LA) **mâdí** (water). In the Northern dialects of Lala /h/ > /x/ e.g. [sandh̥a] > [sax̥a] (hand).

4.2.7 Proto-Bantu Palatals: *Ca, *Ce, *Ci, *Co, *Cu

4.2.7.1 Proto-Bantu *C

- (a) *C > (SWA) /tʰ/
 e.g. CB 263 ***-çakud** > **-hlakúla** (weed)
 ps 80 ***-çéb** > **-hléba** (slander)
- (b) *C > (BHA) /tʰ/
 e.g. CB 276 ***-çáánù** > **-hlánu** (five)
 375 ***-çom-** > **-hlomá** (spoke in)
- (c) *C > (LA) /tʰ/ or /x/
 e.g. CB 312 ***-çck-** > **-hleká** or **rhéká** (laugh)
 345 ***-çíád-** > **-hlála** or **rhála** (sit)

- (d) *C > (NHILA) /t/
- e.g. CB 242 **-cààc-* > *-hlahlá* (chop up)
 ps 117 **-cód-* > *-hlóla* (inspect)
 398 **-cuùb-* > *-hlubá* (skin)
- (e) *C > (PHU) /t/
- e.g. CB 312 **-cèk-* > *-hleka* (laugh)
 442 **-cúngù* > *-buhlúgu* (pain)
- (f) *C > (SU.NDE) /t/
- e.g. CB 276 **-cáantu* > *-hlánu* (five)
 345 **-cǐád-* > *-hlála* (sit)

Discussion

There simply is nothing to discuss except to point out that all the Tekela dialects have undergone the same /t/ shift. Lala, especially in the Kranskop dialect, is the only exception in that the reflex of *C is /x/ in this dialect. In the Southern Lala dialects the /x/ is replaced by /t/.

4.2.7.2 Proto-Bantu *J

- (a) *J > **/z/ > (SWA) /t/
- e.g. CB 918 **-jàdà* > *lítala* (ash-heap)
 958 **-jùdò* > *ítolo* (yesterday)
- (b) *J > **/z/ > (BHA) /tʔ/
- e.g. CB 916 **-jàbuk* > *litúbûko* (ford)
 959 **-jùdú* > *kétulu* (above)
- (c) *J > **/z/ > (LA) /tʔ/
- e.g. CB 959 **-jùdú* > *-lítulu* (weather)
 958 **-jùdò* > *ítolo* (yesterday)
- (d) *J > **/z/ > (NHILA) > /tʔ/
- e.g. CB 959 **-jùdú* > *étulu* (above)
 936 **-jì* > *umúti* (village)
- (e) *J > **/z/ > (PHU) /tʔ/
- e.g. CB 936 **-jì* > *múti* (village)
 959 **-jùdú* > *étulu* (above)
- (f) *J > **/z/ > (SU.NDE) /tʔ/
- e.g. CB 959 **-jùdú* > *lítulu* (weather)

Discussion

There is not much to discuss in this section except to note that *J > /tʔ/ in all the Tekela dialects. Swati is once again peculiar in accommodating the Zulu cognate /z/ as well. Consider (SWA) *lítulu* (weather); and (SWA) *lízulu* (heaven). The Zunda /z/ is also a common feature in Nhlanguwini phonemics. These occurrences go to prove the assumption that in Proto-Nguni the reflex of *J is /z/ and the Tekela cognate is derived from **/z/.

4.2.7.3 Proto-Bantu *Y

- (a) *Y > (SWA) ∅
 e.g. CB 1905 **-yák* > *-âkha* (build)
 2012 **-yímit* > *-emítsha* (get pregnant)
- (b) *Y > (BHA) ∅
 e.g. CB 1890 **-yàd* > *alá* (spread out)
 1968 **-yécm* > *-(i)ma* (stand)
- (c) *Y > (*LA) ∅
 e.g. CB 2136 **-yót* > *-otshá* (bask)
 2161 **-yúim* > *-omá* (become dry/thirsty)
- (d) *Y > (NHLA) ∅
 e.g. CB 1988 **-yìb* > *-cbá* (steal)
 1955 **-yèd* > *-elá* (winnow)
- (e) *Y > (PHU) ∅
 e.b. CB 1968 **-yécm* > *-cmá* (stand)
 2136 **-yót* > *-otshá* (bask)
- (f) *Y > (SU.NDE) /y/
 e.g. CB 1903 **-yák* > *-yakhá* (build)
 **-yεŋg* > *-yentá* (make)

Discussion

In all the Proto-Bantu palatals *C *J *Y the Tekela reflexes are almost the same. This should not be surprising however since these reflexes: /tʔ/; /tʔ/ and ∅ are common not only to Tekela or Zunda Nguni but almost to all language groups in Zone S (or Southern Bantu) including Sotho and Tsonga.

It must be pointed out that these Proto-Bantu palatals are counterparts of Meinhof's Ur-Bantu palatals: $k̂$; $l̂$, and $ŷ$ respectively.

In as far as *Y is concerned one may superficially conclude that Sumayela Ndebele is peculiar in retaining this phoneme while it has become zero in other dialects. On closer scrutiny one discovers, however, that *Y has not been altogether eliminated. It is latent, and occasionally surfaces e.g. when commands are formed (cf. (SWA) **Yenta** (make); **-yákha** (build) and **-yendzá** (marry a husband). Consider also such reflexes as **yihló** < ***-yico** (your father). Despite this however, we may justifiably state that there are no vowel-commencing verb stems in Sumayela Ndebele. However, let us turn to what happens to these Proto-Bantu palatals before super-high vowels.

4.2.8 Proto-Bantu Palatals: < *Cj; *Cɥ

4.2.8.1 Proto-Bantu *C

- (a) *Cj; *Cɥ > (SWA) /si/; /su/
 e.g. ***-ĉjka** > **búšika** (winter)
 431 ***-ĉɥd** > **-sutá** (break wind)
- (b) *Cj; *Cɥ > (BHA) /si/; /su/
 e.g. CB 356 ***-ĉjmba** > **ínsimba** (genet)
 437 ***-ĉɥku** > **úsúku** (day)
- (c) *Cj; *Cɥ > (LA) /si/; /su/
 e.g. CB 350 ***-ĉjd** > **-silá** (grind)
 438 ***-ĉɥku** > **búsúku** (night)
- (d) *Cj; *Cɥ > (NHLA) /si/; /su/
 e.g. CB 356 ***-ĉjmba** > **ínsimba** (genet)
 359 ***-ĉjɣga** > **úsinga** (string)
- (e) *Cj; *Cɥ > (PHU) /si/; /su/
 e.g. CB 350 ***-ĉjd** > **-silá** (grind)
 438 ***-ĉɥku** > **búsúku** (night)
- (f) *Cj; *Cɥ > (SU.NDE) /si/; /su/
 e.g. CB 359 ***-ĉjɣga** > **lísinga** (string)
 438 ***-ĉɥku** > **búsúku** (night)

4.2.8.2 Proto-Bantu *J

Guthrie (1971:129) lists very few derivations of *J before super-high vowels.

Of these fewer still have cognates in Tekela. Even those few have not undergone different shifts from *J before other vowels i.e. the Tekela reflex of *Ji, *Ju remains /tʔ/ e.g. *-Ji > emanti just as *-Ji > émântí (water).

4.2.8.2 Proto-Bantu *Y

Again Guthrie (1972:142–143) lists very few reflexes of *Y before super-high vowels. Tekela cognates of such reflexes do not, in any case, differ from derivations of *Y before other vowels. For instance *-yim > imá and *-yim > imá (stand). There are a few odd derivations, however, e.g. *-yino > (LA) líñyo (tooth).

That super-high vowels do not bring about any changes of the reflexes of *J and *Y should come as no surprise when it is considered that i and y being close and super-high vowels approximate palatal phonemes and cannot therefore influence them any further.

Likewise, prenasalisation does not bring about any radical sound-shifts. There are however a few derivations which are rather odd e.g. when *J > /ɣ/ in Nguni. Compare *-jada > (SWA) índlala (famine); *-jogu > (SWA) índlovu (elephant). Finally, we observe that *Y is not eliminated when it follows a nasal e.g. *-yedj > (SWA) ínyêti (moonlight); *-yokj > ínyôsi (bee).

Because of the lack of regular sound-shifts in the prenasalised palatals *C *J *Y, these compounds will not be discussed any further.

4.2.9 Proto-Bantu Nasals

Meinhof (1932:32–33) identified three nasal phonemes in Ur-Bantu, viz. /n/; /m/ and /ŋ/. However, he could not obtain proof that /ŋ/ actually existed as such in Ur-Bantu. Guthrie (1967:51) on the other hand isolated four nasals: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ɲ/. All the four of them exist in Tekela, and the Tekela reflexes do not appear to have undergone any sound-shift from the Proto-Bantu source-patterns. Accordingly, a comparative discussion on the nasals is not called for in this section. However a few examples will be cited for the sake of completeness.

(a)	*m e.g.	*-min	> (SWA)	minyá (press)
		*-mene	> (BHA)	miná (I, me)
		*-dum	> (LA)	vumá (agree)
		*-maama	> (NHLA)	úmáma (mother)
		*-mene	> (PHU)	miná (I, me)
		*-med	> (SU.NDE)	-milá (grow)
(b)	*n e.g.	*na-	> (SWA)	na- (with, and)
		*nuŋgu	> (BHA)	ínûngu (porcupine)
		*-non	> (LA)	-noná (become fat)
		*-nue	> (NHLA)	úmúnwe (finger)
		*-ne	> (PHU)	-ne (four)
		*-nina	> (SU.NDE)	nina (his/her mother)
(c)	*ŋ e.g.	-nyama	> (SWA)	ínyama (meat)
		*-nyuki	< (BHA)	ínyôsi (bee)
		*-nyoni	> (LA)	ínyoni (bird)
		*-nyama	> (NHLA)	ínyama (meat)
		*-nyoŋgo	> (PHU)	ínyôŋgo (bile)
		*-yenyé	> (SU.NDE)	munyi (owner)
(d)	*ŋ e.g.	*-nyoŋga	> (SWA)	ínyônga (hip)
		*-yoŋgo	> (BHA)	úmôngo (bone marrow)
		*-yaŋga	> (LA)	ínyanga (medicine man)
		*-yaŋga	> (NHLA)	ínyanga (medicine man)
		*-yoŋgo	> (PHU)	ínyógo (bile)
		*-yíngi	> (SU.NDE)	-níngi (many)

Discussion

In Tekela /ŋ/ alternates with /ŋg/ but this will be dealt with more fully under strengthening in the next chapter. It must be noted that /ŋ/ does not occur in Phuthi.

4.3 RECAPITULATION

What became very clear from this analysis is that the Tekela cognates of Proto-Bantu starred forms are very similar. This is very significant with

regard to Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele which have borrowed many lexemes from Sotho languages. The analysis shows that such lexemes are indeed foreign in Tekela. Tsonga tendencies in Lala were also identified and they seem to corroborate a shared history of a comparatively longer duration between these two speech communities. Correspondencies between Phuthi and Lala are quite interesting if viewed against the fact that hitherto no attempt has ever been made in aligning these two together. However these correspondencies relate mainly to nasal classes.

CHAPTER 5

SOUND CHANGES

5.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

5.1.1 General

In this chapter the focus falls on the sound changes which take place on the morphophonemic level of the Tekela dialects. Of course, the expression "sound changes" belongs to structural linguistics. In generative phonology its equivalent is phonological processes. There are other linguists, however, who simply refer to these phenomena as natural processes (see Sloat *et al.*, 1978:112). Since I am not aligned to any single school of thought these expressions will be used synonymously and interchangeably in this chapter.

It has become common practice to name phonological processes according to the result of the specific sound change (cf. Baumbach, 1987:21 and Ziervogel *et al.*, 1967:62). The same approach will be adopted in this chapter. Thus processes will be referred to as palatalisation, affrication, *et cetera*. But it must be pointed out immediately that although such consistency is desirable, it cannot always be maintained. In the interests of practicability and simplicity the cause rather than the result of the change is emphasized and consequently used in naming a phonological process e.g. prenasalisation.

It must also be borne in mind that even where we concentrate on the result of the specific sound change, emphasis is not always laid on the same aspect of the result. Phonologists often focus on the place of articulation, e.g. velarisation, labialisation or alveolarisation if the point of stricture is respectively velum, lips or alveolus. Sometimes, the manner of articulation is taken as a point of departure. Thus we speak of plosivation, affrication, *et cetera*. One may generalise, however, and say that the manner of articulation is usually considered where the sound change does not involve a change of the place of formation. For instance where [s] > [tsʔ] e.g. in [amasimu] > [intsʔimu] (field) the relevant sounds remain alveolar with regard to the place of stricture and we are consequently compelled to refer to the change as affrication, i.e. according to the manner of release.

The majority of sound changes are actually various kinds of assimilation or dissimilation. However, grouping all of them under these two broad sub-headings may lead to unnecessary confusion. Accordingly in this chapter each sound change will be treated individually, and not as a sub-type of a particular type. A few examples will serve to illustrate the confusion that is being avoided. In the first place with regard to certain processes such as palatalisation linguists are not unanimous on whether this process is a form of assimilation or dissimilation. Khumalo (1987:71) cites Ziervogel *et al.*, and states: "In their analysis the authors ascribe palatalisation to two different processes, namely assimilation to the glide /y/, and dissimilation from the glide /w/. The problem, of course, is that their solution does not cover all instances of palatalisation." Khumalo concludes by saying: "In fairness to the authors, however, we would like to point out that this handbook has been withdrawn from circulation, and perhaps the authors no longer hold to view this view." He then proceeds to other linguists' controversial views on this process. *Inter alia*, he cites Stahlke, in his discussion of palatalisation in Tswana, who sums up his position as follows: "Certain palatals arise in ways which do not suggest natural assimilation rules ..." (Khumalo, in Nkabinde, 1987:72). Despite this Khumalo (*ibid*) concludes: "Our own position is much nearer Givon–Voeltz–Stahlke–Ohala, i.e. we will argue for an assimilation of place features triggered by a palatal glide." (More about this under palatalisation below.)

In the second place, the cause for a sound change is sometimes hard if not impossible to establish. Let us consider strengthening which is caused by prenasalisation for instance e.g. [t̥] > [t̥ʔ] in [umuntu omu+t̥] but [ing̊anc̥nt̥ʔɛ]. Yet this strengthening or affrication occurs in qualificatives of class 8 nouns where prenasalisation cannot be justified e.g. [iz̥it̥ʔa ez̥int̥ɛ]. In the former examples the sound change is referred to as assimilation but in the latter examples it is dubbed analogous assimilation.

It is not the aim of this study to analyse all the sound changes which occur in the Tekela dialects. I want to concentrate only on those changes which will prove similarities or differences between the dialects. Thus processes with a very low incidence such as: alveolarisation, metathesis, devocalisation *et*

cetera, will not be considered. Those that are considered will be captured in phonological rules.

5.1.2 Formalisation of Phonological Rules

In formalising phonological rules to capture the sound changes one must adopt one or the other of a variety of notational conventions. Of course, variety is something of a generalisation. Basically there are only two approaches (with some modifications) between which one has to choose. The one is the Jakobsonian approach, the other Chomsky's approach. Before making a choice between these two let me first summarise the tenets of each very briefly.

5.1.2.1 Jakobsonian Approach

Jakobson and his collaborators were probably the first phonologists to expound a fully-fledged system of distinctive features. Their efforts came to fruition in 1951 with the publication of their: Preliminaries to Speech Analysis. Prior to Jakobson's era a phoneme was analysable in terms of articulatory features, and he felt that these were both unnecessary and cumbersome. He completely denied the phonetic reality of the phoneme. His theory rests essentially on the view that the basis of phonology is a relatively small set of distinctive features necessary to construct oppositions in all languages (see Lass, 1984:75). He thus made it his task to reduce the potential inventory of phonemic features. Indeed he succeeded in accounting for all the possible phonological contrasts of languages by means of only thirteen features, namely: vocalic; consonantal; sharp; compact; diffuse; tense; voice; nasal; continuant; strident; checked; grave; and flat (see Hyman, 1975:42).

The Jakobsonian theory is based on two tenets. Firstly, that phonemic features are primarily acoustic rather than articulatory (as is evident from the foregoing inventory). This is due to the fact that he focused on the way the hearer decodes utterances which have been presented to him. Consequently the second tenet is that all the distinctive features are two-valued; which means that each feature is classified in terms of binary oppositions:

Any minimal distinction carried by the message confronts the listener with a two choice situation. That is, the speaker has to decide between two opposites, presence of a feature in the speech signal versus its absence. Thus, the binary principle is a way of conceptualising the task of the listener, who must decide what he hears.

(Hyman, 1975:57)

Jakobson's theory will not be adopted in this research for the following two reasons. In the first place, I have already stated above (see par. 3.2.1) that I accept the view that the phoneme has a phonetic reality. In the second place, I agree with the scholars who maintain that the view that all phonological features are binary is erroneous and also this theory is inadequate since it fails for instance to capture the four vowel heights found in a number of languages. Consider also the feature "voice" often cited as one of the clearest binary features. In the Tekela languages where breathy voice and partial voicing are so dominant, this binarity cannot hold. One is simply compelled here to adopt Ladefoged's view as cited by Hyman (1975:57):

He (Ladefoged) proposes a scale based on the states of the glottis, ranging from voiceless to glottal stop, including the intermediate states breathy voice, murmur, lax voice, voice, tense voice, creaky voice, creak.

5.1.2.2 Chomsky's Approach

In 1968, Chomsky and Halle in their publication: The Sound Pattern of English, put forth a significant reformulation of the distinctive features theory which was a considerable improvement over the Jakobsonian theory (see Sloat et al, 1978:83). Their inventory comprises 36 individual features which are chiefly articulatory. Their features have a phonetic and classificatory function. This means that:

On the one hand, the distinctive features are designed, like Jakobson's features, to capture the phonological contrasts of languages. On the other hand, they are designed to describe the phonetic content of segments derived by phonological rules, as well as underlying segments.

(Hyman, 1975:42)

Most of Chomsky and Halle's features besides the major class features are tongue body features (including High, Low, Back and Rounded) and manner features (including Delayed, Release and Strident). Turning to place of articulation features we notice that all places of articulation have been

subsumed under two features only, *viz.*: Coronal and Anterior. The feature [+coronal] includes interdental, dental, alveolar and palatal sounds but excludes labials, velars, uvulars and pharyngeals. The feature [+anterior] includes labial interdental, dental and alveolar sounds but excludes vowels, palatals, velars, uvulars and pharyngeals. That this arrangement is not very adequate is evident from Hyman's argument:

Although Chomsky and Halle (1968) solve the problem of relating palatals and palatalized consonants to high front vowels, their feature system fails to relate labials and labialized (rounded) segments. It fails first to relate labial consonants such as [p, b, m], which are [+ant, -cor] and [-round], to labialized consonants such as [t^w] and [k^w], which are [+round]. It fails also to show the relationship between labials and rounded vowels, since the former are [-round] and the latter [+round].

(Human, 1975:53)

That being the case Hyman then resorts to the traditional place of articulation feature, namely labial, to solve this problem. Consequently, in this study too, I propose to use Chomsky and Halle's notation as modified by – among others – Hyman (1975), i.e. I am opting for a multivalued approach as against the strictly binary approach. The desirability to include the traditional place of articulation features is well motivated by Louw, who maintains:

There has always been a debate about the inclusion of place of articulation among distinctive features of phonemes. Jakobson, as well as Chomsky and Halle, tried to limit the number of distinctive features. They were of the opinion that the number of places of articulation will make the great total of distinctive features too cumbersome. On the other hand the inclusion of place of articulation will make it possible for us to enumerate the distinctive features of consonantal phonemes in a more concise manner, *viz.* fewer features will have to be enumerated and greater elegance in the establishment of the features for a specific phoneme can be obtained.

(Ranamane and Louw, 1987:36)

5.2 THE SYLLABLE

Before a discussion of various sound changes is embarked upon it is necessary to express a few thoughts on the nature of the syllable. This is due to the fact that sound changes affect either a syllable or phoneme; and also because a phoneme and a syllable sometimes coincide as, for instance, in *úrífána* (boy)

where u is both a syllable and a phoneme. The concept syllable is however not readily definable. Sloat *et al* affirm this when they state that:

Evidence from a number of sources strongly suggests that the syllable is a psychologically real unit of language. Most speakers, including speakers of unwritten languages, can divide words into syllables quite effortlessly. It is difficult to determine exactly how speakers do this, however. A combination of factors is probably involved, including sonority, stress, length, pitch and certain phonetic features characteristic of the beginnings and endings of syllables. There has been a good deal of discussion in the linguistic literature about rules for syllable division and the place of the syllable in phonological descriptions.

(Sloat *et al*, 1978:65)

Sometimes emphasis is laid on the fact that a syllable has a single breath unit. This would fail, however, to solve the problem of syllabic consonants in Nguni. Let us have recourse to **úmfána** (boy) once more. Here um– (the prefix) is pronounced with a single puff, which implies a single syllable. Yet in actual fact we are dealing here with two syllables [u] and [m]. Ladefoged (1982:223) refers to this phenomenon as chest pulse and cites a number of problems inherent in this approach.

Sloat *et al* (1978:61–62) divide the syllable structure into three parts: the onset, the peak and the coda. The last two form the syllable core. They maintain that the onset consists of all the segments that precede the peak and are tautosyllabic with it; just as the coda consists of all the tautosyllabic segments which follow the peak. They state further that it is possible for a syllable to lack either an onset or coda. A syllable without a coda is called an open or unchecked syllable in contradistinction to a syllable with a coda, which is called a closed or checked syllable.

In Tekela, most syllables are open. For instance, in **úmfána** (boy) –fa– and –na– are open syllables with the vowels forming syllable peaks and the consonants forming onsets. u– and –m– on the other hand are syllable peaks with neither onset nor coda.

Syllabic consonants are very rare in Tekela. The syllabic [m] is probably the

most common. Sumayela Ndebele is consequently an exception to the rule since here we find quite a number of syllabic consonants. These include:

- (a) Where liquids or nasals are separated by an epenthetic vowel, such vowel is dropped and the first of the two nasals/liquids becomes a syllable e.g.

múllo	<	múlilo (fire)
llága	<	lílaga (sun)
llémbé	<	lilembé (axe)
mmá	<	mamé (my mother)
ńna	<	ńína (his/her mother)

- (b) Where class 9 prefix *ni- is prefixed to a monosyllabic stem the i- is dropped and n- becomes a syllable e.g.

ńgwe [ŋ:gwɛ]	(leopard) but [tʰiŋgwɛ]
ńjá [ɲ:dʒa]	(dog) but [tʰiɲdʒa]
mvú [m̩:vɔ]	(sheep) but [tʰim̩vɔ]

- (c) The subject concord ndi- of the first person singular is often shortened to the syllable m-/n- e.g.

amfúni [am̩funi]	(I do not want) < [andifuni]
mfúna [m̩funa]	< [ndifuna] (I want)
nthánda [nt̩handa]	(I love)

Sumayela Ndebele is not the only exception however. Exactly the same situation as explained in (a) above also obtains in Phuthi e.g.

llá	<	lilá (cry)
mmâgo	<	múmâgo (ascent)
múllo	<	múlilo (fire)
vallá	<	valéla (shut – <u>applied ext.</u>)

However situations (b) and (c) do not occur. Situation (b) is precluded by the fact that nasal compounds do not occur in Phuthi and consequently class 9 prefix *ni > i- e.g. **ígwe** (leopard).

Since both these dialect-groups live among the Sotho it may be argued that such syllabic consonants are due to Sotho influence. It is in Sotho where such examples as the following are predominant:

nná	(I/me)
mmé/mmá	(my mother)

rra (my father)
móllo (fire)
o á mpátla (he/she is looking for me)
ba á ntháta (they love me)

Since Tekela generally avoids nasal compounds, it may be argued that a nasal which is juxtaposed to a stop in class 9 nouns is also syllabic, e.g.

ínkhatsháto (trouble) < **-khatsháta**

Having described both the phoneme and the syllable let us now consider how these segments behave or change in various environments. The relevant sound changes will be discussed in alphabetical order thus: assimilation; consonantalisation; consonant insertion; labialisation; nasalisation of vowels; palatalisation; vowel coalescence; vowel elision; vowel raising and vowel replacement.

5.3 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

5.3.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is defined by Lass (1984:171) in the following terms:

Broadly, in assimilation one segment becomes more like (or identical to) another (or two become more like each other).

However, since assimilation (like dissimilation) is a catch-all term (see Lass, *ibid*) there are many processes which can count as assimilation. Most of these however, have each a specific term to label them. As pointed out above (par. 5.1.1) processes with specific names will be analysed under those names without necessarily qualifying them as assimilation. But for the moment, I am concerned solely with assimilation per se, without any name-tag to it.

Assimilation may be partial or complete. Assimilation may also be progressive or retrogressive (i.e. regressive). Assimilation is partial if only one or two properties of a phoneme – but not all of them – are assimilated, e.g. in + phatha > ímpátho (treatment in Nhlanguwini). Here /n/ has assimilated only the labial feature of /p/ to become /m/. However it did not assimilate to all the properties of /p/, i.e. it did not become an oral voiceless stop, for instance. It is said that /n/ is homorganic in that it will assimilate

to the place of articulation of the succeeding consonant, e.g. [ɛn+khulu] > [ɛŋkʰulu] (a big one); [ɛn+ɸa] > [ɛŋɸa] (a new one); and [in+dzala] > [indzala] (it is old). These facts may be captured in a rule which is aptly formalised by Hyman (1975:126) and which is adopted here as:

Rule 1 [+nasal] —> [αplace] / — [αpl_Cace]

On the other hand, a segment may become identical to another, and that is termed complete assimilation. In Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele **mubúso** (government) > **mmúso**; and **mubála** (colour) > **mmála**. In each case /b/ has become identical to /m/ (see Rule 8 *infra*).

In the case of progressive assimilation a second phoneme is made similar or identical to the first, whereas in regressive assimilation the first phoneme is made similar or identical to the second.

5.3.1.1 Assimilation in Swati

Complete assimilation is a rare phenomenon in Swati, and where it occurs it is bound to be vowel assimilation. Even this, however, has a very low incidence. Consider the following examples:

(i) Irregular verb stem -sho (say)

The formula for constructing the remote past tense in the negative form is as follows:

neg. prefix (k)a + SC + verb stem + neg suffix -nga

If we apply this formula to -sho (say), we should get ***kangishónge** (I did not say). However, this construction surfaces as: **kangishóngo**. The terminative /a/ has assimilated to the penultimate /o/ and has become identical to it. The process qualifies as complete progressive assimilation.

A more interesting case is where the /o/ which triggers assimilation is dropped in the surface structure yet its traces remain on the assimilating phoneme, e.g. in the imperative of -sho which eventually becomes **sháno**. The imperative suffix for monosyllabic verb stems is -na e.g. -dla > **dlána** (eat); -kha > **khána** (pick fruit); et cetera. However with -shó (say) the /a/ of -na becomes /o/ even though /o/ of -sho no longer surfaces, e.g.

Simple stem

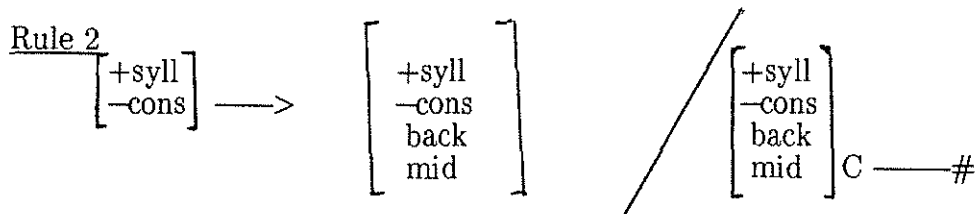
-sho

Imperative

sho + na > *shona > *shono > sháno

Note that in Zulu **shono** (do say) is quite acceptable and does not need to be changed further to **shano**.

Let us now formalise a simple local rule to capture this type of assimilation in Swati; namely the change from **-*shonga**; **-*shona** to **-shongo**; **-*shono**:

(ii) Certain Stative Constructions

In certain Swati verb stems the change from present to stative forms results in vowel dissimilation. This may superficially be ascribed to vowel harmony. The relevant verb stems are those which end in **-ana**; **-atsha**; **-asa**; **-ala**; and **-ama** and the concomitant passive constructions. Consider the following examples:

	Present		Perfect	>	Stative
-ana	-bonána	>	-bonané	>	-bonéne (seen recipr.)
-atsa	-tshátsha	>	-tshatshé	>	-tshétshe (taken)
-asa	-tfwása	>	-tfwasé	>	-tfwése (possessed by a spirit)
-ala	-lála	>	-lalé	>	-léle (asleep)
-ama	-phakáma	>	-phakamé	>	-phakéme (elevated)
(passive)	-bonánwa	>	-bonanwé	>	-bonénwe (seen one another "pass")

Ziervogel *et al* (1967:198) dealt with this process and concluded that the stative **-bonéne** (seen each other) is actually derived from **-bonánile** though assimilation of **-l-**. They argue (*ibid*) as follows:

Complete vowel assimilation occurs *inter alia* with ... perfect verbs stems on **-ana** where the **l** of perfect suffix **-ile** is assimilated to **n**, e.g. **-bonána** (see each other) **-bonané** (have seen each other), i.e. **na + ile** > ***-nile** > ***-nine** > ***-nne** > **-ne**.

I find this set of rules unduly cumbersome and unacceptable. One may argue that /l/ may become assimilated to /n/ since they are both sonorants, but in this case such a step is not warranted if elegance and simplicity is taken into account. To my mind **–bonéne** does not derive from **–bonánile** but directly from **–bonané** by a simple rule which changes the penultimate vowel to /e/. The perfect **–e** terminative is a suppletive alternant of **–ile**, and these perfect aspect morphemes are governed by a complementary distribution constraint which provides that **–e** should be used phrase/sentence medially while **–ile** is allowed phrase/sentence finally. The stative form however is free from this constraint and consequently it is quite possible to derive **–bonéne** from **–bonané** since the stative and the short form perfect can both function phrase/sentence medially, e.g.

emádvodza aléle kamnándzi lámúhla

(Men are having a sound sleep today)

as well as: **emádvodza áléle** (men are asleep)

Where I find Ziervogel *et al* even more unacceptable is when they return to this process again later on (*op cit.* pp. 208–209). This time they describe it as internal vowel change and ascribe it to vowel coalescence. Their claim amounts to the following: **–bonéne** derives from **–bonánile** according to the following steps:

–bonána	
–bonanile	by Perfect formative suffixing
–bonaile	by Nasal deletion
–bonaine	by /l/ assimilation
–bonéne	by Vowel coalescence (a + i > e)

It is not known which of the two explanations these authors prefer but I find both to be too cumbersome. Let me now formalise a local rule to capture the change from the short form of the perfect to the stative form. Unlike in the previous example this is a case of regressive assimilation.

Rule 3

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \text{central} \\ \text{low} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \text{front} \\ \text{mid} \end{array} \right] / \text{---C} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \text{front} \\ \text{mid} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{ant} \end{array} \right]$$

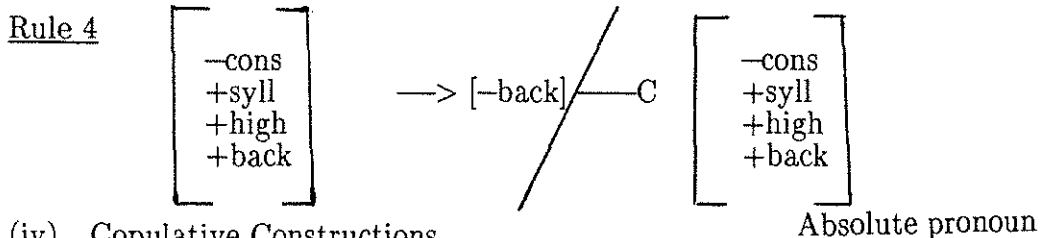
This rule states that /a/ will assimilate to the succeeding /e/ if the two are separated by an anterior consonant.

(iii) Constructions with the locative ku-

When pronominal locative constructions with ku- are formed, the u/ of ku/ becomes /i/ if the first syllable of the pronoun has /i/ as its peak. Consider the following examples:

	loc. formative	pronoun		locative construction
	<u>ku-</u>	tshiné	>	*kutshi > kítshi (to us)
	<u>ku-</u>	miné	>	kími (to me)
but	<u>ku-</u>	wená	>	kúwe (to you)

This is yet another example of regressive assimilation and it may be captured in the following formalisation:



(iv) Copulative Constructions

In Zunda Nguni we often have a variety of copulative prefixes. On the contrary, in Swati we only get ngu- prefixed to the pronouns. However the /u/ of ngu- changes in the process of assimilation to the vowel of the subject concord of the relevant noun. Consider the following examples:

Cop.

formative	Pronoun/Noun	Prefix	Copulative Construction
<u>ngu-</u>	yená (umfati)	u-	ngúye (it is he)
<u>ngu-</u>	yoná (inja)	i-	ngíyo (it is it)
<u>ngu-</u>	boná (buhle)	bu-	ngúbo (it is it)
<u>ngu-</u>	woná (emanti)	a-	ngáwo (it is it)
<u>ngu-</u>	boná (bafati)	ba-	ngábo (it is they)

This is quite an interesting type of complete vowel assimilation in that it is post-lexical, i.e. it is triggered by a phoneme in another word.

Let us now turn to partial assimilation. In Swati (or Nguni in general) this is found mainly in the nouns of class 9 and 10, where prefixal /N/ becomes

✕ homorganic to the stem-initial consonant, i.e. /N/ assimilates only to the place of formation of the relevant stem-initial consonant. There are four such places of formation, namely:

bilabial	thus	n+b > [m̩b] e.g. [im̩bʊtʰi] (goat)
		n+p > [mp] e.g. [im̩philɔ] (life)
labiodental	thus	n+f > [mf] e.g. [im̩fɛnɛ] (baboon)
		n+V > [m̩v] e.g. [im̩vɛɛɔ] (nature)
palatal	thus	n+j > [ndʒ] e.g. [tin̩dʒa] (dogs)
		n+sh > [nʃ] e.g. [in̩ʃumajɛɔ] (sermon)
velar	thus	n+g > [ŋg] e.g. [in̩gʌnɛ] (child)
		n+k > [ŋk] e.g. [in̩kɔmɔ] (bovine)

This type of assimilation also extends to the adjectives of Class 9/10 and even of class 8 by analogy, e.g.

[tin̩gʊbɔ] [letʰin̩ʃa] (new clothes)
 [in̩dʒʌʃa leŋkulu] (a big affair)

All these facts are captured in Rule 1 above.

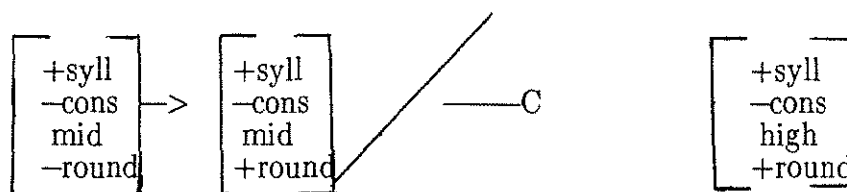
Besides the nasal which assimilates to the following consonant, we note also that such consonant is influenced by /N/. The effect of /N/ on the following consonant is known as prenasalisation. For instance, an implosive phoneme becomes explosive, e.g. [bitʰa] (call) > [im̩bitʰɔ] (gathering). A voiceless sound becomes voiced, e.g. [lu/ɔtʰɔ] (thong) > [tʰin̩/ʰɔtʰɔ] (thongs). An aspirated phoneme becomes partially voiced, e.g. [kʰuluma] (speak) > [in̩kʰulumɔ] (speech).

In Swati, we also get partial vowel assimilation. This occurs where auxiliaries such as: ~~-be-~~; ~~-se-~~; ~~-ta-/te-~~; become respectively: ~~-bo-~~; ~~-so-~~ and ~~-to-~~ before complements with /u/ as the peak of the first syllable. Let us illustrate with a few examples:

Auxiliary+Complement		Compound Predicate
(lu) be	lukhona (it was there)	belúkhona > bolúkhona
(u) se-	unjani (how are you)	séwúnjaní > sówúnjaní
ate-	kufika (he will come)	atékufika > atókufika
ngita-	kungena (I will enter)	ngitakungéna > ngitokungéna

The first two examples show a change which is common also in Xhosa. The last of the above examples differs from the first three in that it is an instance of vowel coalescence (to be discussed below). The first three examples have a common feature in that in all of them the /e/ of the auxiliary changes to /o/ in the compound predicate where /u/ features in the next syllable. Let us capture this generalisation in the following rule:

Rule 5



It must be noted here that this type of partial assimilation is optional since the unassimilated forms are permissible in Swati phonology.

5.3.1.2 Assimilation in Bhaca

Nearly all the types of assimilation which occur in Swati also appear in Bhaca. Let us take them in the same order as in Swati; commencing with complete vowel assimilation.

(i) Irregular Verb -tjho (say)

Rule 2 applies with full force here and the following assimilation takes place:

Simple stem	Imperative
- <u>tjho</u>	- <u>tjho</u> + <u>na</u> > *tjhona > *tjhóno
present (pos.)	past (neg.)
- <u>tjho</u>	- <u>tjho</u> + <u>nga</u> > *tjhonga > *tjhóngo

(ii) Certain Stative Constructions

Rule 3 which applies to Swati also applies to Bhaca. Thus verb stems which end in -ana; -atsha; -asa; -ala and -ama become respectively -ene; -etshe; -ese; -ele; and -eme in the stative, e.g.

-phakáma (rise/advance) > -phakamé > phakéme

(iii) Constructions with the Locative ku-

In Bhaca, just as in Swati, this type of assimilation occurs when ku- is

prefixed to pronouns. The u- of ku- becomes /i/-if the first syllable of the pronoun has /i/ as its peak. Consider the following:

loc. formative	pronoun	locative construction
<u>ku</u> -	mná	kúmi
<u>ku</u> -	tshiná	kwítshi
<u>ku</u> -	wená	kúwe
<u>ku</u> -	niná	kwíni

The situation here is not exactly the same as in Swati. In Swati ku- + **miné** > **kími** but here it becomes **kúmi**, i.e. no assimilation takes place. Secondly, in Swati ku- + **tsiná** > **kítsi** but in Bhaca it becomes **kwítshi**. How can we explain this consonantalisation in Bhaca? And why does assimilation not occur in **kúmi**? The latter question is easier to answer. The first person singular pronoun lacks /i/ in its first syllable. That is it is **mná** and not **miné** as in Swati. Consequently the vowel which triggers assimilation is lacking here and its place has been taken by the syllabic [m]. After ku- has been prefixed however, /m/ loses its syllabic property and /i/ surfaces and the locative construction becomes **kúmi**. Let us illustrate this process as follows:

mná	with latent interconsonantal /i/
ku mná	with no vowel to trigger assimilation
kúm	deletion of <u>-na</u>
kúmi	surfacing of latent /i/

In our rule ordering the prefixing of ku- must precede the surfacing of the latent /i/ in order to prevent assimilation.

Turning now to the first question of explaining the consonantalisation of -u- in **kwítshi** and **kwíni** I would like to argue that the latent /i/ of these pronouns surfaces before the prefixation of ku-. The latent /i/ in these pronouns, of course, is not peculiar to Bhaca. Consider the Zulu:

	isíhlobo sêthu (our relative)
	íngáne yênu (our child)
where	sêthu < sa+(i)thu
and	yênu < ya+(i)nu

In the same vein the following steps are realised in Bhaca:

ku- + (i)tshina > *kuitshina

ku- + (i)nina > *kuinina

Thus **kuitshina** by the surfacing of latent /i/

kuitshi by deletion of -na

kwítshi by consonantalisation.

The problem with the surfacing of latent /i/ rule is not general enough, i.e. it does not cover all cases of the locative pronominal constructions. Let us consider the full list:

	Sing.	Plural
1st Pers	kúmi (ndi)	kwítshi (si)
2nd Pers	kúwe (u)	kwíni (ni)
3rd Pers 1.	kúye (u)	2. kúbo (ba)
3.	kúwo (u)	4. kwíyo (i)
5.	kwílo (li)	6. kúwo (a)
7.	kwíso (si)	8. kwító (ti)
9.	kwíyo (i)	10. kwító (ti)
11.	kwílo (lu)	
	14. kúbo (bu)	
	15. kúko (ku)	

Our problem is that the /u/ consonantalisation persists even in the pronouns where we cannot postulate a latent /i/ e.g. in **yoná** and **loná** in classes 4 and 5 respectively. Perhaps a more general rule would be the one which asserts that assimilation is triggered by the /i/ of the relevant subject concord. If we accept this explanation we are then left with the problem of non-assimilation of **kúmi (ndi)** and the assimilation without the triggering /i/ in class 11 **kwílo (lu)**. Regarding **kúmi (ndi)** I postulate that assimilation is barred by what I propose to call Labial dissimilation rule which will not allow ***kwimi**. Note that in Swati where consonantalisation does not occur **kími** is acceptable. My rule ordering then is that in Bhaca /k/ first becomes labialised, thus:

kumi / kutshi / kulo	by <u>ku-</u> Prefixation
k^wumi / k^wutshi / k^wulo	by <u>k-</u> Labialisation
kwumi / kwutshi / kwulo	by <u>w</u> Consonantalisation
kwítshi/kwílo	by Assimilation to /i/ of the subject concord.

but kwumi	Assimilation barred by Labial Dissimilation
and kúmi	by /w/ Deletion.

Regarding kwílo (lu) we have analogous assimilation. It has been shown above (par. 2.5.6) that in Tekela, especially Ndebele and Phuthi, class 11 is becoming extinct and its nouns are absorbed by class 5. This is not peculiar to Tekela since even in Xhosa úbísi is sometimes replaced by íbísi. It is not surprising therefore that in the locative pronominal constructions kúlo (lu) of class 11 has been replaced by kwílo (li) of class 5 in Bhaca (cf. Jordan, 1942:28). It is worth noting once again that this is a case of assimilation across word boundaries.

(iv) Copulative Constructions

In Swati we noted (par. 5.3.1.1.[iv]) that in copulatives formed from pronouns the copula is ngu— but /u/ varies in the process of assimilation to the vowel of the subject concord of the relevant noun. Exactly the same process takes place in Bhaca with the only exception that the copula is hhu—. Consider the following examples:

Pronoun	Noun + Subj. Concord	Copulative Pronoun
tshiná	si—	hhítshi
boná	abántfu ba—	hhábo
yoná	imíti i—	hhíyo
boná	úbuso bu—	hhúbo
woná	ámânti a—	hháwo

It is worth noting that in Bhaca this rule extends also to copulative demonstratives, so that we get:

lówo	umúntfu u—	hhulówo
labayá	abántfu ba—	hhalábayá
le	ínkúnti i—	hhilé
lóku	úkufá ku—	hhulóku

Let us turn to partial assimilation. Like in Swati we also get in Bhaca vowel and consonant partial assimilation.

(i) Consonant assimilation – Class 9/0 Prefixes .

Where in- or iin/itin- are prefixed to noun stems or their qualificatives partial assimilation takes place whereby /N/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the stem initial consonant which is adjacent to /N/.

As is the case with Swati, four places of articulation are also assimilated in Bhaca, namely: bilabial, labiodental, palatal and velar, e.g.

<u>iin-</u>	+ phondvo	>	[i:mpʰɔndʒβɔ] (horns)
<u>in-</u>	+ fundvo	>	[iɸfundʒβɔ] (education)
<u>in-</u>	+ jabula	>	[iɸdʒaβulɔ] (joy)
<u>iin-</u>	+ khuni	>	[i:ɸkʰuni] (fire-wood)

Now let us focus our attention on the effects of prenasalisation in Bhaca. In the first place we note that aspirates lose their aspiration, and become ejective. [ukʰuni] > [i:ɸkʰuni]; [upʰɔndʒβɔ] > [i:mpʰɔndʒβɔ]. Secondly, delayed breathy voiced sounds become fully voiced sounds, e.g. [dʒaβula] > [iɸdʒaβulɔ]. Thirdly, implosive /ɸ/ becomes breathy voiced explosive, e.g. [uluβambɔ] > [i:mbambɔ]. However, fricatives do not change because in their case nasalisation of vowels occurs after which the nasal is often deleted (more about nasalisation of vowels below).

Thus we see here that prenasalisation in Bhaca has more far reaching effects when compared with Swati because here strengthening (i.e. change from aspirate to ejective) occurs but not in Swati, whereas in Swati aspirates become partially voiced.

(ii) Partial Vowel Assimilation

Instances of partial vowel assimilation which are noticeable in Swati do not occur – or were not ascertained during research – in Bhaca (cf. also Kubeka, 1979:210). It must be remembered that even in the case of Swati it was pointed out that partial vowel assimilation is optional and is not phonologically conditioned.

5.3.1.3 **Assimilation in Lala**

As is the case with Swati and Bhaca, in Lala too, complete assimilation is

limited to vowels. Here rules 1 and 2 apply, namely that if -sho (say) is rendered in the negative remote past or in the imperative, the terminative will assimilate to /o/ e.g. **kabáshóngo** (they did not say), **shóno** (do say). Secondly that in the stative of verbs ending in -ana; -atsha; -ala; -ama and -asa, the vowel of the penultimate syllable becomes /e/ in assimilation to the terminative vowel /e/, e.g. **-fumána** (obtain) ? **-fuméne**; **-bulála** (kill) > **-buléle**; **-phátsa** (carry) > **-phétse**; **-swakáma** (be damp) > **-swakéme**; and **-esása** (rejoice) > **-esése**.

Assimilation of pronominal locatives also applies in that when the locative ku- is prefixed to pronouns having /i/ in their first syllable, the /u/ of ku- assimilates to the /i/, e.g. ku- + **miná** > **kími** (to, at from me); ku- + **tshína** > **kítshi** (to us); etc. However, the vowel of the copulative formative does not assimilate to the vowel of the relevant subject concord when pronominal copulatives are formed, i.e. **yi** + **mína** > **yimína/yími** (it is I); and for **abántu** (people), **yi** + **boná** (**ba**) > **yibóna/yíbo** (it is they) and not ***yabona**. Thus we note here that Lala tends to behave more like Zulu (where yi- applies to all pronouns with the exception of **nguwêná** (it is you); and **ngúye/nguyêna** (it is him/her); than like other Tekela dialects.

Let us turn to partial assimilation. Starting with consonantal partial assimilation we observe that the position in Lala is somewhat similar to Swati and Bhaca, i.e. the /N/ is a homorganic phoneme which assimilates to the place of articulation, e.g. **in** + **bwa** > [imbwa] (dog), **in** + **gane** > [ingane] (child); etc. The poignant difference between Lala and other Tekela varieties, of course, is that in prenasalisation, the consonant adjacent to /N/ is often deleted, and if not, the nasal compound is replaced by a different phoneme. Consider the following examples:

Nasal Compound	Deletion of Adjacent consonant
in- + -thomba	[inomb̥i] (girl)
in + *phisi	[im̥isi] (hyena)
Nasal Compound	Replacement by another phoneme
in + -khosi	[ijosi] (chief)
in + -kunzi	[iwuḁi] (bull)
in + -khosikazi	[iwosik̥atʔi] (woman)

Where we have nasal juxtapositions instead of nasal compounds, however, it is the nasal which is deleted and the adjacent consonant is retained or replaced by a different phoneme. Consider the following examples:

Nasal Juxtaposition

um- + fati

um- + sila

um- + -fundza

um- + tshetsho

Nasal Deletion

[ufatʔi] (woman)

[usila] (tail)

[ufundʒi] (student)

[utshɛtshɔ] (law)

Nasal Juxtaposition

um- + lomo

um- + lente

um- + lilo

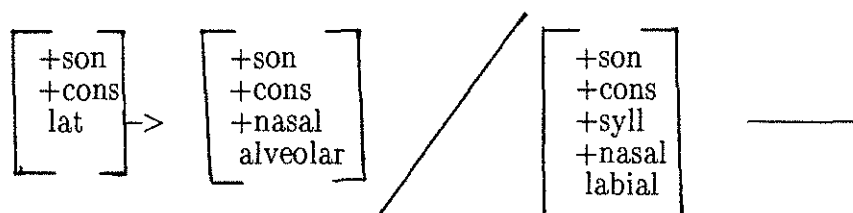
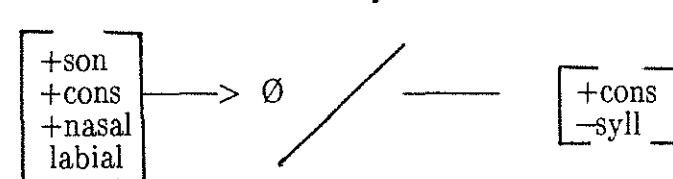
Phoneme Replacement

[unɔmɔ] (mouth)

[uncɔɛ] (leg)

[unilɔ] (fire)

The rule for phoneme replacement is quite easy in the above examples because /l/ is invariably replaced with /n/. The second rule will delete an /m/ before another consonantal segment. Here are the two rules:

Rule 6Rule 7

There are other instances – especially where /N/ is followed by a fricative – when /N/ is not eliminated but its nasal properties are transferred to a preceding vowel. These will be dealt with under nasalisation of vowels (infra). Finally, I wish to point out that the nasal compound replacement e.g. *íhhomó* and *íhhosí* or the replacement of /l/ with /n/ in nasal juxtapositions e.g. *úńomo* (< *umlomo*); as well as the deletion of an adjacent consonant in nasal compounds e.g. *ímhisi* (< *ímpisi*) have parallels in Tsonga (mouth) and [mhisi] (hyena). Needless to say, historical links between Lala and Tsonga have already been established (see par. 2.4.9.4 supra).

Regarding vowel assimilation the position in Lala resembles that in Swati. For instance the /a/ of ta- becomes /o/ before a syllable having /u/ as its peak, e.g. **ngitakukhám̄ba** > **ngitokukhám̄ba** (I shall go). Even constructions such as **sówúfikíle** < **séwúfikíle** (you have arrived) are possible.

5.3.1.4 Assimilation in Nhlanguwini

We shall focus on complete vowel assimilation before turning to partial assimilation. As is the case with Swati, Bhaca and Lala, Rule 2 applies with full force to Nhlanguwini. This is the rule whereby a vowel of the suffix to -tjho (say) assimilates completely to the /o/ of -tjho (say), e.g. **tjhóno** (do say); **kasítjhóngo** (we did not say).

Rule two also applies to Nhlanguwini bringing about complete vowel harmony to the verb stems ending in -atha e.g. **-embátha** (wear); -ama e.g. **-kotháma** (bow down); -ala e.g. **-dangála** (be disappointed); -ana e.g. **-tholána** (find each other); and -asa e.g. **-ethwása** (be initiated as a diviner); which respectively become **-embéthe**; **-kothéme**; **-dangéle**; **-tholéne**; and **-ethwése**.

Assimilation of locatives also applies although to a limited degree. This is the rule which changes the /u/ of ku- into /i/ when ku- is prefixed to pronouns where the first syllable has /i/ as its peak e.g. ku- + **miná** > **kíminá** (at/to me). I say that this type of assimilation applies to a limited degree because it does not extend to those nominal classes whose subject concords have /i/ as their syllabic peak as is the case with Bhaca. The two dialects compare as follows:

Noun	Subj. concord	Bhaca	Nhlanguwini
míti (villages)	<u>i-</u>	kwíyo	kúyo
ísídzíndzi (tuft of grass)	<u>si-</u>	kwíso	kúso
íjiki (beer)	<u>li-</u>	kwílo	kúlo

In the above examples Nhlanguwini is inclined towards Zulu and Swati. However, where reference is to one's family, country, village or community the pendulum swings once more from Zulu or Swati to Bhaca, e.g.

Zulu	Bhaca	Nhlangwini
ízintó zakíthi (our things)	tintfó takwítshi	tintó takwíthi
abántu bakíni (your people)	abántfu bakwíni	abántu bakwíni
izinkómó zakúbo (their cattle)	îinkomó takwíbo	itinkómó takwíbo

As is the case with Bhaca, Nhlangwini also uses hhu- in the construction of pronominal copulatives. While on the one hand the /u/ of the Bhaca hhu- assimilates to the vowel of the subject concord of the relevant noun, in Nhlangwini, on the other hand assimilation does not occur. Instead hhu- alternates with hhi- as follows:

Noun	Subj. concord	Bhaca	Nhlangwini
umúti (village)	u-	hhúwo	hhíwo
ámahhátjhe (horses)	a-	hháwo	hhíwo
úlutshí (twig)	lu-	hhúlo	hhúlo

Turning now to partial assimilation we observe that like in Swati and Bhaca we get both consonantal and vowel assimilation. Consonantal assimilation is likewise limited to class 9/10 nouns and their qualificatives while vowel assimilation is limited to a few instances where auxiliaries such as ta- are prefixed to infinitives. Let us illustrate with examples:

(i) Consonantal Assimilation – Class 9/10 prefixes

prefix/ concord	stem	noun/qualificative
iN-	–shukuma (move)	[iɲtʃʰʷuɔkumɔ] (movement)
iN-	–phatha (handle)	[impʰathɔ] (treatment)
letiN-	–khulu (big)	[letʰiɲkʰulu] (big ones)
iN-	–funda (learn)	[iɲfundɔ] (education)

We observe in the above examples that the /N/ of the class 9/10 prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the adjacent consonant.

We note also that this prenasalisation has certain consequences for the adjacent consonant. For instance, (a) implosive segments become explosive

(i.e. explosivation); (b) aspirates lose their aspiration and become ejective segments (i.e. strengthening); (c) fricatives become affricates (i.e. affrication), and (d) voiceless segments become breathy voiced (i.e. vocalisation), as is more evident from the following examples:

Phon. Process	Prefix + Stem	Derivative
(a) Explosivation	iN + bonga	> [imḃoŋgi] (praiser)
(b) Strengthening	iN + susa	> [intsʔusa] (cause)
(c) Affrication	iN + hlanguka	> [intʔaŋgʊkɔ] (desertion)
(d) Vocalisation	iN + cacisa	> [iŋ/ga/iso] (explanation)

(ii) Partial Vowel Assimilation

Regarding the above we note that in Nhangwini prenasalisation results in nasal compounds rather than nasal juxtaposition. This is another proof of Nhangwini's inclination to Zulu rather than to sister Tekela dialects.

Partial Vowel Assimilation

ngita + kukhamba > ngitokukhamba (I will go)

5.3.1.5 Assimilation in Phuthi

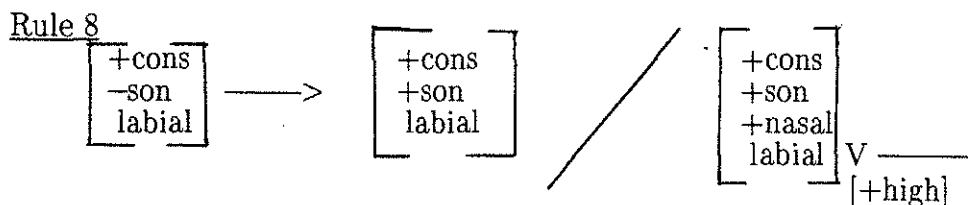
Unlike in Swati, Bhaca, Lala and Nhangwini, in Phuthi we get complete assimilation of both vowel and consonantal segments.

(i) Complete Consonantal Assimilation

There is only one consonantal segment which is susceptible to complete assimilation in Phuthi, namely /ḃ/. b > m when it follows a syllable with /m/ as its onset; e.g.

Prefix	Stem	Derivative
<u>mu</u> –	– busa	mubuso > *mumuso > mmúso (government)
<u>mu</u> –	– betla	mubetli > *mumetli > mmêli (carpenter)
<u>mi</u> –	– bala	mibala > *mimala > mmála (colours)

It must be noted here that once /ḃ/ has become identical to /m/ the interconsonantal vowel deletes. This will be dealt with further when vowel elision is discussed. For the present, let us capture this assimilation in the following rule:

(ii) Complete Vowel Assimilation

As in the case with Swati and the other dialects dealt with above, we also get complete vowel assimilation in Phuthi as far as **tjhó** (say) and the stative of verbs ending in -ama, -ana; -ala; -atsha and -asa are concerned. Let us illustrate with a few examples:

verb stem	remote past neg.
-tjhó	-tjhóngo

Thus Rule 2 applies.

Rule 3 also applies with full force:

verb stem		stative
-robála (sleep)	>	-robéle
-fukáma (brood)	>	-fukéme
-bonána (see each other)	>	-bonéne

However, vowel assimilation is not as extensive in Phuthi as in Bhaca, or Swati. For instance, we do not get the assimilation of /u/ of the locative ku- in this dialect. We also do not get the assimilation of the vowel of the pronominal copulative prefix. The reason is that the inclination in Phuthi with regard to these constructions is more towards Zulu as the following examples show:

Locative with <u>ku-</u>	Phuthi	Zulu	Bhaca
ku + mina	kími	kími	kúmi
ku + tshina	kítshi	kíthi	kwítshi
ku + nina	kíni	kíni	kwíni
ku + lona	kúlo	kúlo	kwílo
ku + sona	kúso	kúso	kwíso

Pronominal Cop. in	Phuthi	Zulu	Bhaca
Class 1 (u)mu/	gúye	ngúye	hhúye
2 (e)ba-	yíbo	yíbo	hhábo
3 (u)mu-	gúwo	yíwo	hhúwo
4 (i)si-	yíso	yíso	hhíso
5 (i)li-	yílo	yílo	hhílo
11 (u)lu-	yílo	yílo	hhúlo
14 (u)bu-	yíbo	yíbo	hhúbo
15 (u)ku-	yíko	yíkho	hhúko

(ii) Partial Assimilation

The assimilation of /N/ of the class 9/10 prefix to the adjacent consonant simply does not occur in Phuthi because this dialect has no nasal juxtapositions or compounds. Consider the following Phuthi equivalents of Swati nasal juxtapositions:

Swati	Phuthi
ínkomó	íyomó (bovine)
úmfâti	úfatí (boy)
ínkûnzi	írhûti (bull)
íngwenya	ígwená (crocodile)
íngwe	ígwe (leopard)
-ngéna	-géna (enter)
ímbûti	íbhûti (goat)
úmúntfu	mútfu (person)
úmhlanga	múhlaga (reed)
-tsénga	-tséga (buy)
íntfombí	ítfobhí (girl)

This elimination of the nasal is sometimes ascribed to the Sotho influence as is apparent from the following:

Phuthi	S. Sotho
íyomó	kgomó (bovine)
múlabo	mólapo (river)
ladzá	latá (fetch)
ígwená	koena (crocodile)
géna	kéna (enter)

However, Sotho does not go as far as Phuthi in the nasal elimination. For instance where a class 9/10 is monosyllabic, Sotho retains the nasal as is evident from the following:

S.Sotho	Phuthi	Zulu
ntlo	ídlu	índlu (house)
ntwa	ídwa'	ímpí (war)
nta	ítwála	íntwála (louse)
nku'	ívu'	ímvu' (sheep)
ntó'	ítfo'	íntó' (thing)
mantsoé	maví	ámazwí (words)

This elimination of the nasal in class 9/10 nouns as well as in the root segments is peculiar to Phuthi. The only few exceptions to the rule are loans from Sotho such as the following:

Phuthi	S.Sotho
íngwedzí	ngwetsí (daughter-in-law; bride)
ntaté	ntaté (father)
língólo	lengólo (letter)

The only other exception is where a nasal is used as a subject/object concord for the first person singular e.g.

ngatshéga	< gigatshéga (I can buy)
ngegéni	< gigégeni (I may not enter)

The question arises, especially where sibilants are concerned, whether the vowel – if any – preceding the eliminated nasal is perhaps nasalised. Mzamane (1948), the only authority on this dialect, is silent on this issue. From my own research I concluded that the vowel is not nasalised. Compared with Swati therefore, in Phuthi we get the following:

Swati	Phuthi
[ʃfɛnɛ]	[ifɛnɛ] (baboon)
[ʃsimu]	[isimi] (field)
[phási]	[kasi] (down)

Partial vowel assimilation is also not as extensive in Phuthi as in Swati. Here

we make mention of the /a/ of the auxiliary ta- where a > o before infinitives, e.g.

ngita + kukhabha > *ngitokukhabha > ngitokháb**ha** (I will go)

I may also mention the hortative auxiliary se- which becomes so- before /u/
e.g.

se likhúlume layé' (Please talk to him); but

so út**ise í**t**fo lé**y**o** (Please bring that thing)

5.3.1.6 Assimilation in Sumayela Ndebele

(i) Complete Assimilation

Like in the dialects discussed above, we also get in Su.Nde complete vowel assimilation in the conjugation of -tjho (say) and verb stems ending in -ana; -ama; -atha -asa; and -ala. Let us illustrate with examples:

verb stem	remote past neg.
-tjhó	-ngatjhóngo

(See Rule 2 above.)

present	stative
-thobáa (sleep)	-thóbe
-pháatha (carry)	-phéthe
-phakáama (rise)	-phakéme
-bhehráana (look at each other)	-bhehréne

(See Rule 3 above.)

Regarding locatives with ku- and pronominal copulatives, we lack regularity in vowel assimilation in Ndebele. The position is more or less the same as in Phuthi. Consider, for instance, where the subject concord is -a- (i.e. class 6). In Bhaca the pronominal locative is **hháwo**, as against **gíwo** in Su.Nde. Also where the concord is ba- Bhaca has **hhábo** as against **gíbo** (Su.Nde) and **yíbo** (in Phuthi). Let us compare also with Zulu:

Class + Subj. Concord	Su.Nde	Phuthi	Zulu	Bhaca
ndi/gi/ngi/ndi	kúmi	kími	kími	kúm
si—	kíthi	kítshi	kíthi	kwítshi
u—	kúwe	kúwe	kúwe	kúwe
li/ni—	kíli	kíni	kíni	kwíni
1. u—	kúye	kúye	kúye	kúye
2. ba—	kíbo	kúbo	kúbo	kúbo
3. u—	kúwo	kúwo	kúwo	kúwo
4. i—	kúyo	kúyo	kúyo	kwíyo
5. li—	kílo	kúlo	kúlo	kwílo
6. a—	kíwo	kúwo	kúwo	kúwo

Pronominal Copulatives

ndi/gi/ngi/ndi—	gúmi	gúmi	yími	hhúm
si/	gíthi	gítshi	yíthi	hhítshi
u—	gúwe	gúwe	ngúwe	hhúwe
li/ni—	gíli	gíni	yíni	hhíni
1. u—	gúye	gúye	ngúye	hhúye
2. ba—	gíbo	yíbo	yíbo	hhábo
3. u—	gúwo	gúwo	yíwo	hhúwo
4. i—	gíyo	yíyo	yíyo	hhíyo
5. li—	gílo	yílo	yílo	hhílo
6. a—	gíwo	gáwo	yíwo	hháwo

In Su.Nde we observe the same process as in Phuthi where /β/ assimilates completely to /m/ of the preceding syllable. Like in Phuthi, we are inclined to ascribe this to the Sotho influence as well:

Full form	Su.Nde	Phuthi
mubála	mmála	mmála (colour)
mubúso	mmúso	mmúso (government)
ntamubóna	ntammóna	ntammóna (I'll see him)

(ii) Partial Assimilation

In the first place we get partial assimilation in class 9/10 nouns where the prefixal /n/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the adjacent consonant. It must be pointed out here that the prevowel does not occur in Ndebele and

thus the nasal becomes syllabic in the singular, but not in the plural where it is preceded by a vowel.

prefix/concord	stem	noun/qualificative
iN-	-fihla (hide)	[mfɪtʰɔ] (secret)
tiN-	-gwenya	[tʰiŋgweŋpa] (crocodiles)
eN-	-klulu (big)	[ŋkxulu] (big one)
iN	-ja	[pɔz̥a] (dog)_

In the second place we get partial assimilation where the subject or object concord of the first person singular is replaced by a syllabic nasal:

Full form		By syllabification
[nd̥iβonilɛ] (I saw)	>	[mβonilɛ]
[nd̥ikʰamb̥iɪɛ] (I went)	>	[ŋkʰamb̥iɪɛ]
[nd̥iɲukilɛ] (I ascended)	>	[ɲukilɛ]
[und̥ifunilɛ] (He looked for me)		[un̥funilɛ]

We note that prenasalisation has certain effects in Ndebele as well. Among others, we make mention of nasalisation of vowels (which will be discussed more fully below). We also mention that devoiced phonemes become fully voiced, e.g. [ndɔɔa] < [maɔɔa] (men). The lateral liquid becomes a breathy voiced alveolar stop, e.g. [ndɔβɔɔ] (bride-price) < [lɔβɔɔ] (pay bride-price); [ndimɔ] (small field) < [lima] (plough).

Finally, we note a characteristic peculiar to Ndrondroza dialects where the alveolar aspirate becomes an alveolar trill e.g.

[ntrɛŋg̊] (price)	<	[tʰɛŋg̊] (buy)
[ntrand̥z̥] (will)	<	[tʰand̥z̥] (want)

However, changes are not as numerous as in Nhlangwini – which has been strongly influenced by Zulu – but as is the case with Swati, we note here that certain phonemes retain their features despite prenasalisation. For instance, sibilants retain their fricative property and aspirates retain their aspiration. The results for instance, are:

[mp̥hend̥ulɔ] (reply)	instead of the Nhlangwini	[impʰend̥ulɔ]
[nsimb̥i] (iron)	instead of the Zulu	[intsʰimb̥i].

Turning now to partial vowel assimilation, we note that this process is rather rare in Ndebele. Perhaps the change of the future tense formative ta- to to- before ku- is the only common instance:

ndita(ku) bona > nditobóna (I shall see)

We note here that like in Phuthi the infinitive morpheme ku- does not surface in Ndebele.

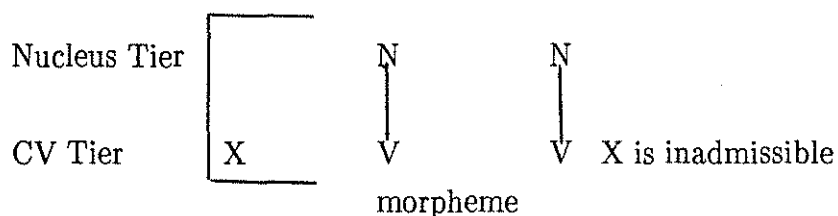
5.3.2 Consonantalisation

Consonantalisation is a phonological process whereby high vowels /i/ or /u/ become respectively /y/ and /w/. Because of the resultant change, this process has come to be known as glide formation in modern phonological descriptions (see Aoki, 1974). Khumalo (1987) refers to this process as Vowel/Glide Realisation. He advances the following motivation for his stand:

We have chosen the term Vowel/Glide Realisation to express the generalization that a [+hi; -cons] segment co-linked to a "C" node is realised as a glide, while any [-cons] segment co-linked to a "V" slot is realised as a vowel.

(Khumalo, 1987:136)

Consonantalisation is one of the various processes which are employed for the purpose of preventing vowel juxtaposition in a word in Nguni. Other processes include consonant insertion, vowel coalescence, vowel elision, and vowel replacement. Khumalo (1987:65 et seq) correctly ascribes the inadmissibility of juxtaposed vowels to the morphemic structure, which has a Vowel Sequence Constraint which he formalises as follows:



(where N = Nucleus; a term he prefers instead of syllable rhyme or peak).

He maintains that in Zulu the morphemes are entered in this manner in the lexicon. He explains further that:

Even across morpheme boundaries, this sequence is still unpermitted. Yet, in the course of a derivation, it does get created. In such an event, a syllabification rule — Syllable Delinking — will delink the left-most vowel from its syllable

node and link it into the syllable node of the vowel to the right.

(Khumalo, 1987:66)

Let us now consider the environment in which consonantalisation takes place. In the first place, we note that this process is triggered by the occurrence of high vowels /i/ and /u/ to the immediate left of the syllable vowel. In the second place we note that consonantalisation must take place whenever the high vowel is not preceded by a consonant. But where it follows a consonant glide-formation will be subject to certain constraints. Let us deal more fully with glide-formation environment and the related constraints.

In Tekela consonantalisation occurs where high vowel occurs either unpreceded by a consonant or where it follows a consonant, thus:

- (a) (i) **u + enta** > **wénta** (he does)
 (ii) **i + osa** > **yósa** (he roasts)
- (b) (i) **uyaku + ati** > **úyákwáti** (he knows you)
 (ii) **bayalu _ eba** > **báyálwéba** (they still it)
 (iii) **induku + ini** > **endukwîni** (at the stick)

In the examples in (a) above the high vowel surfaces as a glide unexceptionally. With examples in (b) however, certain constraints must apply in order to prevent the production of such constructions as:

- (c) (i) **sigubhu + ana** > ***sigubhwana** cf. **sígújana** (small calabash)
 (ii) **si + enta** > ***syenta** cf. **sénta** (he does)
 (iii) **ku + osa** > ***kwosa** cf. **kósa** (to roast)
 (iv) **imiti + ini** > ***emityini** cf. **émítini** (at the villages)

Aoki (1974:223–241) deals with glide formation in Xhosa (a Nguni variety) and posits the following rule (op cit. p. 238):

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \\ +\text{rnd} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[-\text{voc} \right] / \text{ — } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \end{array} \right] \text{ (Glide Formation)}$$

Quite obviously this rule is – for the purposes of this study – inadequate firstly because it is not general enough to cover all instances of glide formation in Nguni and secondly because it runs counter to my assertion regarding the circumstances in which glide formation occurs. It must be remembered that I stated that glide formation occurs when the first or left–most of the two juxtaposed vowels has [+high] as a distinctive feature, but Aoki states that the distinctive quality is [+rnd], which then excludes $i > y$.

Of course, Aoki should not be criticised for this shortcoming, because of the following reasons: Firstly he formalised this rule as one in a set of three rules which seek to explain vowel coalescence. Therefore he was not focusing on glide formation generally. Secondly the data (*op cit.* p. 232) he was analysing excluded word–initial glide formation, and concentrated only on glide formation of a vowel which is preceded by a consonant. I must grant that in that environment, only [+round] vowels consonantalise.

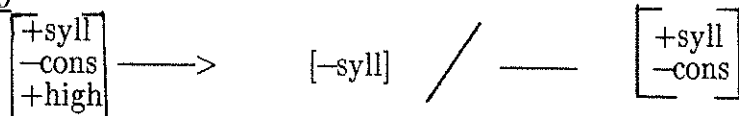
Despite this attempt to salvage Aoki, his rule remains inadequate for lack of constraints. As it stands this rule will allow the generation of ungrammatical constructions such as *sigubhwana and *kwosa in (c) above. In fact Davey (1978:24–35) was the first scholar to point out this discrepancy in Aoki. He highlighted the Nguni phonological principle which does not permit two labial non–syllabic segments or a labiovelar glide and a round vowel to be juxtaposed. He then formalised a rule, which replaces Aoki's glide formation rule, as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cns} \\ -\text{lab} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow [\text{rnd}] \quad / \quad \text{---} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cns} \\ +\text{rnd} \end{array} \right]$$

Davey maintains (1978:33) that his rule together with the other two of Aoki's "handle all cases of vowel contraction in the language". However, at this juncture we want to go outside the scope delineated by Aoki and consider – not just all cases of vowel contraction, but of glide formation. For this, we must have recourse to Khumalo (1987:136–145). Firstly he asserts that whenever a high vowel without a preceding consonant is to the left of

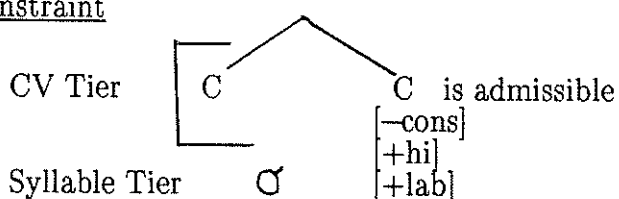
the syllable vowel, then the high vowel unexceptionally surfaces as a glide. Let me formalise this assertion into the following rule:

Rule 9



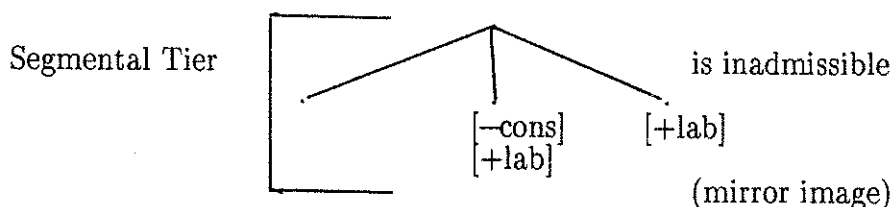
Further (op cit. p. 137) he argues that if the high vowel has a consonant to its left, then it is open to the application of two constraints. He schematises them as follows:

(a) C² Constraint



He explains that (ibid) this positive syllable structure condition admits only the glide /w/ in C² syllable position.

(b) Labial Glide Constraint

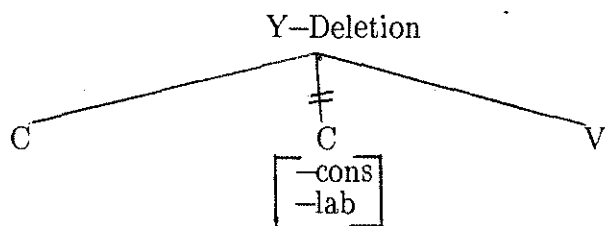


He explains:

This negative syllable structure condition functions as a filter to the C² Constraint by barring the co-occurrence of the labial glide with a labial consonant or with a labial vowel if C¹ is occupied. The preservation of admissible syllable structure is the motivation of some phonological rules in Zulu. Two such rules are Y-Deletion and Labial Dissimilation.

(Khumalo, 1987:138)

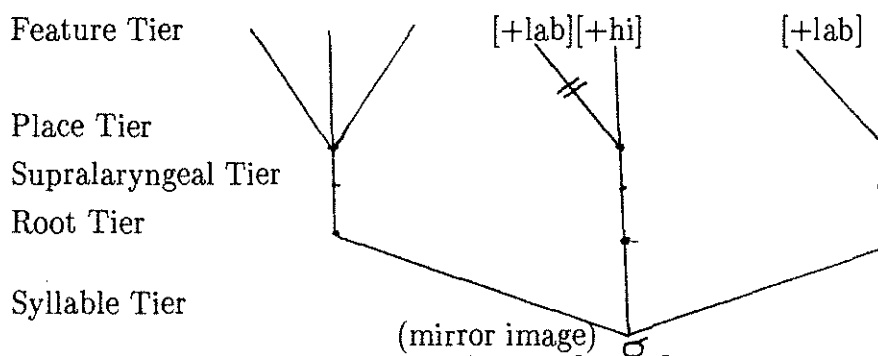
The two rules – which I adopt in this study as Rules 9/10 respectively – are formalised by Khumalo thus:

Rule 10

This rule deleted glide /y/ occurring in the disallowed C² syllable position.

Rule 11

Labial Dissimilation



This rule states that if either C¹ and C² or C³ and V are both filled by labial segments, then the segment in C² position dissimilates by delinking from its [+lab] feature.

Let us consider once more examples (a), (b) and (c) above and see how the application of the foregoing rules and constraints generate well formed constructions:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) | (i) | u + enta | |
| | | uenta | Affixation |
| | | <u>uenta</u> | Syllabification |
| | | wénta | Vowel/Glide Realisation |
| | | (ii) i + osa | |
| | | iosa | Affixation |
| | | <u>iosa</u> | Syllabification |
| | | yósa | Vowel/Glide Realisation |
| (b) | (i) | uyaku + ati | |
| | | uyakuati | Affixation |
| | | <u>uyakuati</u> | Syllabification |
| | | úyákwáti | Vowel/Glide Realisation |

(ii)	bayalu + eba	
	bayalueba	Affixation
	bayal<u>ue</u>ba	Syllabification
	báyá<u>l</u>wéba	Vowel/Glide Realisation
(iii)	indvuku + ini	
	endvukuini	Affixation
	endvuku<u>i</u>ni	Syllabification
	endvuk<u>w</u>îni	Vowel/Glide Realisation
(c)	(i) si + enta	
	sienta	Affixation
	s<u>i</u>enta	Syllabification
	syenta	Vowel/Glide Realisation
	s<u>e</u>nta	Y-Deletion
	(ii) ku + osa	
	kuosa	Affixation
	ku<u>o</u>sa	Syllabification
	kwosa	Vowel/Glide Realisation
	kyosa	Labial Dissimilation
	k<u>o</u>sa	Y-Deletion
	(iii) imiti + ini	
	emitiini	Affixation
	emiti<u>i</u>ni	Syllabification
	emityini	Vowel/Glide Realisation
	émítini	Y-Deletion

Although I have adopted Khumalo in these derivations I must point out that I find his Vowel/Glide Realisation rule to be cumbersome in those instances where a glide is inserted only to be deleted in the next stage. Perhaps what we need here is a constraint which will block Y-glide formation after a consonant, as is the case in examples (c)(i), (ii) and (iii) above.

There are only two problems left. They involve such constructions as **sígú**u**bhu** > **sígú**u**jana** (small calabash); and **lí**u**volo** > **elidvolwêni** (at the knee). Then derivation of words like **sígú**u**jana** will be discussed below under palatalisation. Regarding the second example, the problem is: if our point of departure is

that only high vowels consonantalise how are we going to solve the problem of the consonantalisation of ɔ ; a [-high] segment? Khumalo (1987:145) claims that the "Labial Glide Formation converts left-most /o/ to /u/, which by Vowel/Glide Realisation is converted to /w/". For the purposes of this study, this claim is adopted without any further ado:

lidvolo + ini	
elidvoloini	Affixation
elidvolɔini	Syllabification
elidvoloeni	Vowel Lowering (to be discussed below)
elidvolueni	Labial Glide Formation
elidvolweni	Vowel/Glide Realisation
elidvolwēni (on/at the knee)	

5.3.2.1 Consonantalisation in Swati

In Swati consonantalisation occurs in the derivation of the morphological constructions such as the following:

- (a) Subject ConCORDS prefixed to vowel verb stems
umfana u + elusa **tinkhomo** > **úmfána** welúsa **tinkhômó** (the boy herds cattle)
indvodza i + akha **indlu** > **índvodza** yákha **índlu** (the man builds a house)
- (b) Class prefixes (11/15) before vowel commencing stems
lu + ati > **lwâti** (knowledge)
ku + eba > **kwêba** (stealing)
- (c) Locatives where nouns end in [+round] vowels
libhuku + ini > **élibhukwíni** (in the book)
sihlalo + ini > **esihlálweni** (on the chair)
libito + ini > **élibitwéni** (in the name)
- (d) Diminutives where nouns end in [+round] vowels
lítinyo > **lítinywána** (a small tooth)
búhlûngu > **búhlungwána** (a little pain)

- (e) Object Concords of Classes 11/15 before vowel stems
batolu + akha lutsango > bátolwákha lútsango (they will build the fence)
ningaku + ebi kudla > níngakwêbi kúdlá (You must not steal the food)
- (f) Possessive Concords of Classes 1/2/4 and 5
umuti u + ami > úmúti wámi (my homestead)
intfombi i + ami > íntfombi yámi (my girl friend)
- (g) Narrative and past tense concord of Classes 1/3/4 and 9
ingane i + a + ngena > íngane yângêna (the child entered)
imiti i + a + sha > ímíti yâshá (the villages burned)
umuntfu u + a + fika > úmúntfu wáfiká (the person arrived)

5.3.2.2 Consonantalisation in Bhaca, Lala and Nhlanguwini

I have chosen to combine these dialects because they undergo consonantalisation in more or less the same manner. Let us consider the following examples:

- (a) Subject Concords prefixed to vowel commencing stems
 BHA – u + esaba inyoka > wésába ínŷoka (he fears a snake)
 i + enta ijiki > yénta íjiki (she brews beer)
 LA – u + eda lijiki > wéda líjiki (she brews beer)
 i + eba inyama > yéba ínŷama (he steals meat)
 NHLA – u + osa inyama > wósa ínŷama (he roasts meat)
 u + akha isibaya > yákha ísíbaya (he builds a byre)
- (b) Prefix of Classes 11/15 followed by vowel stem
 BHA – uku + aba > ukwába (to distribute)
 ulu + ati > úlwâti (knowledge)
 LA – uku + eda > úkwéda (to do)
 lu + ati > lwâtí (knowledge)
 NHLA – uku + enta > úkwénta (to do)
 ulu + enda > úlwéndo (track)

- (c) Locatives where nouns end in [+round] vowels
 BHA – itulu + ini > etulwîni (in heaven)
 LA – lisango + ini > elisángweni (at the gate)
 NHLA – idolo + ini > edolwêni (in the knee)
- (d) Diminutives where nouns end in [+round] vowels
 BHA – umqolo + ana > úmqolwána (small back)
 uxongo + ana > uxóngwana (slender leg)
 LA – libito + ana > líbitwána (a worthless name)
 umuno + ana > umúnwana (a small finger)
 NHLA – usuku + ana > úsukwána (a short day)
 into + ana > íntwana (a small thing)
- (e) Object ConCORDS of Classes 11/15 before Vowel Stems
 BHA – ndiyalu + enda > ndiyalwénta (I make it)
 LA – ngiyalu + eda > ngiyalwéda (I make it)
 NHLA – bayaku + akha > báyakwákha (they build it)
- (f) Possessive ConCORDS of Classes 1/3/4/9/11 and 15
 BHA – lu + a + mini > lwámi (mine)
 i + a + umuntfu > yomuntfu (of the person)
 LA – i + a + bona > yábo (theirs)
 u + a + iyosi > wéyosi (of the chief)
 NHLA – u + a + sona > wáso (its/his/her)
 ku + a + bona > kwábo (theirs)
- (g) Narrative and Past tense concord of Classes 1/3/4/9/11 and 15
 BHA – i + a + fika > yâfika (she arrived)
 LA – lu + a + ngena > lwángéna (he entered)
 NHLA – u + a + khamba > wâkhâmba (he left)
- (h) Differences between dialects
 Nhlanguwini and Bhaca differ from Swati and Lala in that here consonantalisation also occurs where ku– is prefixed to pronouns to form locatives. Consider the following examples:

<u>Loc. with ku-</u>	<u>Lala/Swat</u>	<u>Bhaca/Nhlangwini</u>
<u>ku + nina</u>	<u>kíni</u>	<u>kwíni</u> (at your place)
<u>ku + sona</u>	<u>kúso</u>	<u>kwíso</u> (at it)
<u>ku + yona</u>	<u>kúyo</u>	<u>kwíyo</u> (in it)

5.3.2.3 Consonantalisation in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele

Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele are grouped together here because they behave in the same manner with regard to consonantalisation. The main reason thereof is that both have semi-vowel commencing instead of vowel commencing verb stems. Consider the following examples:

Swati/Bhaca or Lala	Su.Ndebele/Phuthi
-akha	yakhá (build)
-oma	womá (be thirsty)
-andza	yandá/yadzá (increase)
-otela	wotéla (be drowsy)

The result is that in prefixation vowel juxtaposition does not occur in Phuthi and Su.Nde. Consider the following examples:

Prefixation	Phuthi/Su.Ndebele
ku + yakha	kúyakha (to build)
ku + wotela	kuwótela (to be drowsy)
PHU - Muzwali u + wotsa mullo > Múzwali uwótsa múllo.	
	(A boy is basking in the fire.)
SU.NDE - Nna u + wongeta tikluni > Nna uwóngeta tiklúni.	
	(His mother is adding more fire-wood.)
PHU - Tiyaku + yakha > Tiyákuyákha. (They build it.)	

The only instances where prefixation results in consonantalisation are in the formation of classes 1/3/4/9/11 and 15 possessives and narrative and past tense subject concords. Consider the following examples:

PHU - Itfo i + a + mina > Îtfó yámi (My thing)
PHU/SU.NDE - Mufati u + a + malune > Mufáti wámalúme (My uncle's wife)
u + a + dla > wâdla (he ate)
i + a + dla > yâdla (she ate)

However, with suffixation consonantalisation occurs in Phuthi and Ndebele just as it does in other Tekela dialects, i.e. in the formation of diminutives and locatives. Consider the following:

- PHU - **itfo + ana > ífwána** (a small thing)
buhlugu + ana > búhlugwána (a little pain)
ihloko + ini > éhlókweni (in the head)
itfo + ini > étfwéni (at the thing)
- SU.NDE - **nro + ana > nrwána** (a small thing)
munru + ana > munrwána (a child)
lidolo + ini > elidolwéni (at the knee)
sikhethu + ini > éikhethwíni (according to our tradition)

Perhaps it should be pointed out that with certain Ndebele dialects the locative suffix is **-ni** instead of **-ini**. As a result consonantalisation does not occur since the **i-** which triggers it is lacking:

- tiklomo + -ni > etiklómóni** (at the cattle)
litinyo + ni > élitinyóni (in the tooth)
nro + ni > énróni (at the thing)

5.3.3 Consonant insertion

In this process a consonant is inserted between two adjacent vowels in order to prevent the juxtapositioning of vowels in a Nguni lexeme. As we saw in consonantalisation, in this process too the consonant which is usually inserted is a glide /y/ or /w/ e.g. **ngiya + i + bona > ngiyayibóna** (I see it). This has led other scholars to name this process "glide insertion". However, this name is not general enough since, for instance, it excludes the /s/ insertion e.g.

- ba + ekhaya > básékhâya** (there are at home)

and many others which are inserted before a locative construction in Tekela.

What is somewhat puzzling about this phenomenon is that it occurs in the circumstances where other processes (such as coalescence – to be discussed below) should occur. For instance in the derivation **baya + udla >**

báyawúdlá (they are eating it), one may ask: Why do we not employ vowel coalescence a + u > o so that the derivation becomes **bayodla**? Unfortunately, of all the sources on Tekela, none attempts an answer to this question. My own feeling is that there are certain morphemes in a grammar of a Nguni speech form whose identity should always be retained. Thus where **báyawúdlá** is replaced by **báyôdlá**, the object concord -u- would lose its identity. Khumalo (1987:167) makes a similar assumption with regard to non-palatalisation of root-initial bilabial consonants. (Khumalo's argument will be considered when palatalisation is discussed below.)

Turning now to the environments in which consonant insertion occurs, we identify only three in Tekela, namely (a) in predicates before the object concord of class 1/3/4/6 and 9 nouns; (b) in predicates before the subject concord of class 1/3/4/6 and 9 nouns in the present tense of the indicative negative conjugation; and (c) in the predicates before a locative complement or imperfect past situative as will become evident in the examples below.

5.3.3.1 Consonant Insertion in Swati

(a) Consonant Insertion before object concords

- (i) **siya + u + tshandza ummbila > siyawutshándza úmmbîla**
(we like mealies)
- (ii) **baya + i + bita intfombi > báyayibíta íntfombí**
(they are calling a girl)

(b) Consonant Insertion before subject concords

- (i) **indvodza a + i + boni kahle > índvodza ayibóni kahlé**
(the man does not see properly)
- (ii) **emahhashi ka + a + bu + dli tjani > émáhháshi kawábúdli tjani.** (The horses do not eat the grass.)
- (iii) **imiti yakitsi ka + i + kho lapha > ímíti yakítshi kayíkho lápha.** (Our villages are not here.)

(c) Consonant insertion before locative complements

- (i) **ku + etulu > kúsetulu** (it is on top)
- (ii) **ba + ekhaya > básékhâya** (they are at home)

- (iii) **tinkhomo + tinga + emfuleni > tinkhomó t́ngasemfúleni**
(the cattle are by the river)

5.3.3.2 Consonant insertion in Bhaca and Nhlanguwini

I am combining these dialects here because they are the only ones which use the auxiliary **-ve-** in forming the negative of the predicate. This affects consonant insertion somewhat.

(a) Consonant insertion before object concords

- (i) **Uya + i + tjhisa imiti > Úyayitjhísa imítí.** (He is burning the villages.)
(ii) **Ngiya + u + funa umsebenti > Ngiyawufúna úmsebêntí.** (I am looking for a job.)

(b) Consonant insertion before subject concords

- (i) **a + uve ulambile > awúve úlambíle.** (You are not hungry)
(ii) **wa + elambile > wáyélambíle.** (He was hungry.)
(iii) **ya + i + ngeve ilambile > yáyíngewe ílambíle.** (She was not hungry.)

(c) Consonant insertion before locative complements

Once again these two dialects differ from Swati in that /k/ replaces /s/ as a consonant to separate juxtaposed vowels:

- (i) **itinkomo ti + esibayeni > itinkómó tikésibayéni.** (Cattle are in the byre.) [NHLA]
(ii) **beku + ekhaya > bekúkékhâya** (it was at home) [BHA]

Let us point out here that according to Jordan (1942:46) the negative with **-ve-** is an innovation in Bhaca. He maintains that the old form did not make use of an auxiliary. Thus **áve ndilámbíle** was rendered as **andilámbílé** (I am not hungry). I also observed the latter form in my research among the Nhlanguwini but I ascribed it to Zulu influence.

5.3.3.3 Consonant insertion in Lala and Phuthi

Again these two dialects are grouped together because of certain common characteristics in this context. For instance, in both dialects /k/ is inserted,

as is the case with Nhangwini and Bhaca, in preventing vowel juxtaposition in copulative predicates with a locative complement. Yet these dialects behave differently from Nhangwini and Bhaca as far as the negative conjugation is concerned. They do not employ -ve- Let us consider the examples:

(a) Consonant insertion before object concord

LA - Ng^hya + u + basa unilo > Ng^hyawubása ún^hlo

PHU - Giya + u + basa mullo > Giyawubása múllo (I kindle a fire.)

LA - Angi + i + boni ingrovu > Angiyíbóni íngrovu

PHU - Agi + i + + boni idlovu > Agiyíbóni ídlovu. (I do not see an elephant.)

(b) Consonant insertion before subject concords

LA - Be + ungekho itolo > Bewúngékho ítolo. (You were not there yesterday.)

PHU - A + i + si + boni iphiri > Ayísibóni íphiri. (The hyena does not see us.)

(c) Consonant insertion before locative complements

LA/PHU-

(i) Ku + etule > Kúkétulu (it is on top)

(ii) ba + ekudzeni > bákekúdzeni (they are far)

5.3.3.4 Consonant insertion in Sumayela Ndebele

Thus far we have seen that with regard to glide insertion all the Tekela dialects behave exactly the same. Sumayela Ndebele is no exception. When it comes to insertion before a locative complement, the dialects can be divided into two: those which employ /k/ and those which employ /s/ as an intervening consonant. Bhaca, Lala, Nhangwini fall into the first-mentioned category, whereas Sumayela Ndebele like Swati makes use of /s/ as is evident from the examples below:

(a) Consonant insertion before object concords

(i) Ndiya + i + thanda leklomo > Ndiyayithánda léklomó (I like this cow)

- (ii) **Ndiya + a + thenga maklanda > .Ndiyawathénga máklanda'**
(I buy the eggs)

(b) Consonant insertion before subject concord

- (i) **a + i + fikanga nklosi > ayífikánga nklôsi** (the king did not arrive)
(ii) **a + u + bi gawone > awúbi gawóne** (you do not become better)

(c) Consonant insertion before locative complement

- (i) **bafati ba + emutini > bafâti basemútiini** (women are at the village)
(ii) **tiklomo ta + emushade > tiklomó tasémusháde** (cattle belonging to the royal village)

Sometimes however **g-** is prefixed to locatives and we get variants which prevent vowel juxtaposition e.g.

- gendluni** (in the house) – **bafâti bágéndluni** (women are in the house)
gemushade (at the royal village) – **bóbhabhá bágémusháde** (father and company are at the royal village)

In the use of **ge-** Sumayela Ndebele resembles Southern Ndebele with the exception that in Southern Ndebele **ge-** is prenasalised e.g.

- Lotjháni ngekhâya** (Greetings to you at home)

At the end of the discussion on consonant insertion I digress a little to point out another common feature between Sumayela Ndebele and Swati as against the other dialects. We noticed that with regard to locatives both still have a few words marked by **pha-** of class 16 whereas in the other dialects **pha-** has been deleted and/or replaced by other morphemes. Compared to Swati Phuthi is on the other extreme in that it does not use **pha-** at all. By having words with **pha-** Swati and Ndebele appear to be closer to Zunda Nguni than the other dialects. Let us illustrate with a few examples:

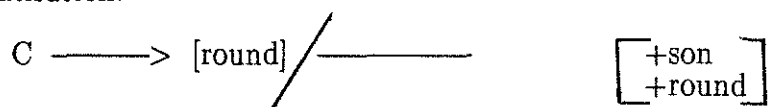
Zulu	Swati	Lala	Phuthi
phé̌zulu	étulu	étulu	étulu (above/on top)
phá̌ndle	phá̌ndle	phá̌ngre	geshé̌yí (across)
phâ̌nsí	phâ̌nsí	kâ̌sí	gétási (down/below)
phákathí	ékhatshí	ékhatshí	ékhatshí (inside)
phésheyá	ngeshé̌yá	ngeshé̌yá	gemúshiyá (across)
phá̌mbili	é̌mbili	é̌mbili	é̌bhili (ahead)
kuphí	kuphí	laphí	kukhí (where)
lá̌pha	lá̌pha	lá̌na/lá̌rha	lá̌kha (here)
ngâ̌phá	ngá̌lá	ngá̌lá	gá̌lá (this side)

5.3.4 Labialisation

Labialisation is a type of regressive assimilation under which a consonantal segment takes on the labial or [+round] quality of the following vocalic segment. Ponelis (1974:48) states that labialisation is attested in a wide variety of Bantu languages. He cites Kunene (on p. 41) who describes in some detail what happens in this process:

The element w when occurring immediately after a consonant or consonant combination, is anticipated in the articulation of this sequence, imparting labial characteristics in the form of lip-rounding, to this consonant or consonant combination, and itself persisting after the articulation of such consonant or consonant combination, and being released by the movement of the lips towards the position of the following vowel.

Ponelis then summarises all these details (op cit. p. 39) into the following schematisation:

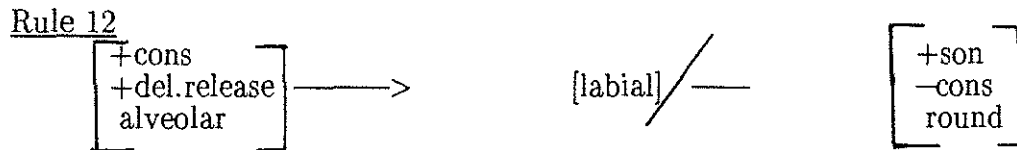


He argues further (op cit. p. 39) that the various steps in labialisation are not instantiated. The rules which he postulates for the various stages of labialisation are ordered in this hierarchy:

1. Labialisation
2. Glide absorption
3. Segmentation
4. Glide narrowing

5. Fricativisation
- 5a. Fricative adjustment
6. Closure
7. Subordination of inner closure
8. Elimination of inner closure

It is not necessary for the purposes of this discussion to try and explain these rules because in Tekela we have a specific type of labialisation. In Tekela the only stops which are susceptible to labialisation are alveolar affricates which change to alveo-labial affricates. This occurs when such affricates are followed by a round vowel or glide. This may be formalised in the following rule thus:



I concur with Ponelis that labialisation occurs in stages and I assume the following hierarchy of rules for labialisation in Tekela:

tsu > **tfu** in **tsátfu** (three)

tsu

ts^wu

tswu

tfwu

tfu

1. Labialisation
2. Syllabification
3. Alveolar/Labial Replacement
4. Glide Deletion.

5.3.4.1 Labialisation in Swati

In Swati labialisation occurs when /o/, /u/ and /w/ are preceded by /ts/ and /dz/ or their nasal compounds /nts/ and /ndz/. Consider the following examples:

/ts^h/ > /t^h/

- (i) **tfúla** (keep quiet) < ***tshula**
- (ii) **lítfole** (bid calf) < ***litshole**
- (iii) **-tshátfwa** (be taken) < ***tshatshwa**
- (iv) **íntfombí** (big girl) < ***intsombi**
- (v) **úmúntfu** (person) < ***umuntsu**
- (vi) **-tshintfwá** (be touched) < ***tshintshwa**

- /dz/ > /dβ/
- (vii) –bhudvwa' (be dreamed) < *–bhudzwa
 - (viii) émádvodza (men) < *emadzodza
 - (ix) –dvuma' (roar) < *–dzuma
 - (x) –landvwa' (be fetched) < *–landzwa
 - (xi) índvodza (man) < *indzodza
 - (xii) índvúna (headman) < *indzuna

5.3.4.2 Labialisation in the other dialects

Besides Swati labialisation is attested only in Phuthi and Bhaca. Consider the following:

/tsh/ > /tʃh/

- BHA – (i) –tshátfu (three) < *tshatshu
- (ii) –tshétfwa (be spoken) < *tshetshwa
- (iii) –tfóla (find) < *–tsola
- PHU – (iv) –khótfwa (be licked) < *–khotshwa
- (v) –tfúla (be quiet) < *–tshula
- (vi) ítfohbí (big girl) < *itshobhi

/nts/ > /ntʃ/

- BHA – (vii) íntfombí (big girl) < *intshombi
- (viii) úmúntfu (person) < *umuntshu
- (ix) íntfwála (louse) < *intshwala

/dz/ > /dβ/

- BHA – (x) ídvolo (knee) < *idzolo
- (xi) godvúka (go home) < *godzuka
- (xii) kódvwa (but) < *kodzwa
- PHU– (xiii) émádvolo (knee) < *emadzolo
- (xiv) íphédvulo (reply) < *iphedzulo
- (xv) –tshádvwa (be loved) < *–tshadzwa

/ndz/ > /ndβ/

- BHA – (xvi) ímfúndvo (education) < *imfundzo
- (xvii) –phendvúka (turn) < *–phendzuka
- (xviii) índvúna (headman) < *indzuna

It is obvious from the above examples that prenasalisation does not occur in Phuthi.

In Lala, Nhangwini and Sumayela Ndebele, labialisation does not occur. Regarding Nhangwini and Sumayela Ndebele this is not surprising since there are no alveolar affricates to trigger labialisation. Instead of affricates there are plosives in these dialects. However, it is difficult to explain why labialisation does not occur in Lala because alveolar affricates which should trigger it are present. Perhaps the only explanation I could give, is that Lala is not always susceptible to phonological processes. Let us illustrate with a few examples:

Lala	Su.Nde	Nhangwini	Swati
índzǒdza	ndoda	índoda	índvodza (man)
—thútha	—thútha	—thútha	—tfútsha (transport)
índzúna	ndúna	índúna	índvúna (headman)
kódzi	kódwa	kódwa	kódvwa (but)

5.3.5 Nasalisation of Vowels

In this process a nasal transfers its nasal qualities onto the preceding vowel. This happens, when such nasal is prenasalised to voiceless affricatives: /f/; /s/; /t/; and /tʃ/. This may be formalised as follows:

Rule 13

$$[V] \longrightarrow [\tilde{V}] \quad / \quad \text{--- N} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont} \\ +\text{strid} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix}$$

This phenomenon is very common in Tekela Nguni and is one of the distinguishing factors between Tekela and Zunda Nguni. Despite this, however, this phenomenon is only a phonetic process which is not phonemically relevant.

5.3.5.1 Nasalisation of vowels in Swati

The following are examples of this phenomenon in Swati:

- [ɪnʔitʰijɔ] (heart)
- [phá(n)si] (below/down)
- [ɪmfɛnɛ] (baboon)
- [ɪnʃumajɛɔ] (sermon)

Once the nasal quality has been transferred to the preceding vowel it often

feels as if the nasal itself has been discarded. This tempts people to write words like [p^hṽ(n)sa] (throw) and [p^hṽ(n)si] (down), as respectively —**phosa** and **phasi** in the current Swati orthography. However this is incorrect, and the right spelling is —**phonsá** and **phânsí** respectively.

5.3.5.2 Nasalisation of vowels in the other dialects

This phenomenon occurs in almost all the Tekela dialects with the exception of Phuthi. As pointed out above, prenasalisation is not attested in Phuthi and this means that the nasal which triggers this process is lacking. One may want to argue whether the missing nasal has actually been eliminated by nasalisation. The answer to this question must be in the negative because the nasalisation of vowels does not take place when the prenasalised sounds are stops yet even these stops lack nasals in Phuthi, e.g. [igwɛna] (crocodile); which becomes [iŋgwɛpa] in the other dialects. In this example there simply is no domain for nasalisation of vowels.

Let us cite a few examples of nasalised vowels from Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguwini and Sumayela Ndebele:

- BHA — **ímfe** [imfɛ] (sweet cane)
 LA — **ínsimu** [insimu] (field)
 NHLA — **ínhlanti** [in^hant^hi] (fish)
 SU.NDE— **phânsí** [phansi] (down)

5.3.6 Palatalisation

According to Khumalo (1987:158) Doke was the first linguist to use the term "palatalisation" to characterise a phonological change in Southern Bantu languages from [+labial] to [+palatal]. Describing this phenomenon with reference to Zulu, Doke stated:

In Zulu, bi-labial consonants may not be followed by the semi-vowel w. In some cases where this should synthetically take place, w is dropped e.g. in the possessive concord for class 7, where ba- occurs instead of bwa-. But in other cases, notably in the formation of noun diminutives, locative adverbs and passives, the bi-labial consonant gives place to a corresponding prepalatal sound. This is termed palatalization. Palatalization is not entirely confined to bi-labials, for in diminutive formation alveolar explosives may be palatalized.

(Doke, 1927:21)

This definition is relevant for our purposes because in Tekela Nguni too labial palatalisation is confined to passive and locative formation, and labial and alveolar palatalisation to diminutives. Let us illustrate with a few examples:

-luma + (i)wa	>	-lu ^h nywa (bite - "passive")
-gubha + (i)wa	>	-gujwá (dig out - "passive")
intsambo + (y)ana	>	intsánjana (string - "dimin.")
incwadzi + (y)ana	>	íncwajána (letter - "dimin.")
umlomo + ini	>	emlónyeni (mouth - "loc.")
sigubhu + ini	>	ésígújini (calabash - "loc.")

A very important exception to this rule is that palatalisation never applies to a root-initial consonant (in this context root-initial covers also the first consonant of vowel-commencing stems). Consider the following:

-mba	>	-mbiwa' (not *-njiwa) (dig - "pass.")
-eba	>	ebíwa (not *-etshiwa) (steal - "pass.")
-phaphamisa	>	-phashanyíswa (not *-shashanyiswa) (wake up - "caus. + pass.")

The next step is to establish the condition which triggers palatalisation in Tekela. Doke's claim that this process is triggered by the presence of the labial glide /w/ immediately after a bilabial consonant does not hold water in the face of examples such as *indzatjâna* (affair - "dimin.") < *índzaba + (y)ana*, where there is no trace of /w/.

Khumalo (1987:158-183) reviews a number of sources on the subject, and his findings and conclusions will be adopted in this discussion. He refers firstly to Ziervogel, *et al* (1967:188) where palatalisation is described as both assimilation to the palatal glide /y/, and dissimilation from the labial glide /w/. He rejects his claim (*op cit* p. 159) on two grounds. Firstly, he argues that this solution does not cover all instances, and he cites the example of /*intaba* > *íntátshana*/ "mountain (dim.)". Secondly, he asserts that to claim that /e/ consonantalises to /y/ runs counter to everything else in Zulu phonology.

In agreement with Givon - Voeltz - Stahlke - Ohala, he argues that the

assimilation of a place of articulation in palatalisation is triggered by a palatal glide /y/ (Khumalo, 1987:160).

Palatalisation of Passive Constructions

On this subject Khumalo argues from the premise that *-iw-* is the underlying passive suffix in Zulu and that it surfaces as such in monosyllabic verb roots, e.g. *-mba* > *-mbiwa* (eat – "pass."). However, in polysyllabic roots it surfaces as *-w-* only e.g. *-bona* > *-bonwa* (see – "pass."). The second step in Khumalo's (*op cit* p. 163) argument is that the /iw/ is converted by an allomorphy rule to /yw/ before polysyllabic roots. He finally concludes that it is this palatal glide which triggers palatalisation before it is subsequently deleted by a Y-Deletion rule. The allomorphy rule which converts /iw/ to /yw/ he terms Passive Glide Formation. Let us illustrate with a few derivations:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) | <i>-khuluma</i> (speak) | |
| | <i>-khulum + iw + a</i> | Passivisation |
| | <i>-khulum + yw + a</i> | Passive Glide Formation |
| | <i>-khulun + yw + a</i> | Labial Palatalisation |
| | <i>-khulúnywa</i> (be spoken) | |
| (ii) | <i>-gubha</i> (dig out) | |
| | <i>-gubh + iw + a</i> | Passivisation |
| | <i>-gubh + yw + a</i> | Passive Glide Formation |
| | <i>-guj + yw + a</i> | Labial Palatalisation |
| | <i>guj + w + a</i> | Y-Deletion |
| | <i>-gujwá</i> (be dug out) | |

Palatalisation in Locative Construction

It is common knowledge that in Nguni palatalisation applies to locative constructions only if the root ends in a labial consonant followed by a round vowel, e.g. *sígúbhu* > *ésigújini* (calabash – "loc.") but *íntsaba* > *entsábeni* (not **entsatjeni*) (mountain – "loc."). Quite obviously, therefore, palatalisation in this instance is a process of dissimilation of a labial-consonant from a labial-glide. Khumalo (1987:175–177) goes further and seeks to explain why the labial must become a palatal. Once again he

posits a palatal glide to trigger palatalisation. Let us cite one of his derivations on p. 177 op cit:

esi-gubhu-ini	
esigubhuini	Syllabification
esigubhwini	Vowel/Glide Realization
esigubhyini	Labial Dissimilation
esigujyini	Labial Palatalisation
esigujini	Y-Deletion
ésigújini	"calabash (loc.)"

It will be remembered that when we dealt with glide formation (see Rule 8 in par. 5.3.2 supra) we claimed that only the high vowels are susceptible to this rule. How then are we to explain glide formation in examples such as **emlonyeni**? Khumalo (1987:144) deals with this problem and postulates a Labial Glide Formation rule which I reproduce here as:

Rule 14

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{hi} \\ +\text{bk} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \quad \text{V} \longrightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{hi} \\ +\text{bk} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \quad \text{V}$$

This rule states that a non-high vowel becomes high if it occurs left-most of any two vowels. Consequently the derivation of **emlonyeni** takes this form:

e + mlomo + ini	Affixation
emlomoini	Syllabification
emlomoeni	Vowel lowering (to be discussed)
emlomueni	Labial Glide Formation
emlomweni	Vowel/Glide Realisation
emlonyeni	Labial Dissimilation
emlonyeni	Y-Deletion
emlónyeni	(mouth – "loc.")

Palatalisation in Diminutive Construction

On p. 178 Khumalo (1987) argues that the trigger for palatalisation in the diminutive is located not in the final vowel of the nominal base, but in the diminutive suffix. He bases his argument on the fact that palatalisation occurs even when the base noun ends in /e/ or /a/; i.e. vowels which can

never lead to the derivation of a palatal glide. He subsequently concludes that the trigger is in the diminutive suffix and this is underlyingly -yana and not -ana. The claim that -yana is the diminutive suffix in Nguni finds support in Louw (1976:242 *et seq*) among others. Regarding Tekela Nguni this fact should be beyond dispute because the diminutive suffix actually surfaces as -nyana in a number of dialects (cf. Mzamane, 1948:67 and Ziervogel, 1959:60) for Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele respectively. Consequently it is this palatal glide /y/ which triggers palatalisation; and the derivation proceeds along similar lines for both labial and alveolar palatalisation:

(i)	intsaba	—	Labial Palatalisation
	intsaba + yana		Affixation
	intsabayana		Diminutive Delink
	intsabyana		Vowel Deletion
	intsatjyana		Labial Palatalisation
	intsatjana		Y-Deletion
	intsátjana (mountain — "dimin.")		
(ii)	sikhatsi	—	Alveolar Palatalisation
	sikhatsi + yana		Affixation
	sikhatsiyana		Diminutive Delink
	sikhatsyyana		Vowel/Glide Realisation
	sikhashyyana		Alveolar Palatalisation
	sikhashyana		Y-Deletion
	sikhashana		Y-Deletion
	síkháshána (time — "dimin.")		

Khumalo (1987:180) deems it necessary to postulate a Diminutive Delink rule before applying the rest of the Diminutive Palatalisation rules. This rule states that a final vowel of the base noun is delinked from its syllable nucleus when the diminutive formative is suffixed.

Morphologically conditioned palatalisation

It would appear that there is no phonological base for palatalisation of alveolar phonemes. Thus this process is said to be morphologically conditioned. The same applies to what is called "palatalisation at a

distance". This is palatalisation – in passives – of a bilabial stop or nasal which is not contiguous to *-w-*, e.g. *-shunyayélwa* (be preached) < *-shumayéla* (preach). Even in this case however palatalisation does not extend to the root-initial bilabial, e.g. *-phashanyíswa* (be woken up) and not *-shashanyiswa* from *-phaphamísa* (cause to wake up).

5.3.6.1 Palatalisation in Swati

In Swati, palatalisation occurs in all the circumstances described above. Before citing examples, let us supply a table of all the palatal counterparts of the alternating bilabial and alveolar nasals and stops:

Bilabial	Alveolar
bh > j	dz/dv > j
ph > sh	tsh/ty > sh
p > tj	t > tj
b > tj	ndz/ndv > nj
m > ny	nts/ntf > ntj
mb > nj	n > ny
mp > ntj	

Examples:

(i) <i>-hlupha</i> (worry)	> <i>hlushwá</i> (be worried)
<i>-bamba</i> (catch)	> <i>-banjwá</i> (be caught)
(ii) <i>intsamo</i> (neck)	> <i>-intsányana</i> (small neck)
<i>liphaphu</i> (lung)	> <i>-lípháshána</i> (small lung)
(iii) <i>ingubo</i> (blanket)	> <i>-engutjêni</i> (on the blanket)
<i>sigubhu</i> (calabash)	> <i>-ésígújini</i> (in the blanket)
(iv) <i>sitsendze</i> (heel)	> <i>sítsenjána</i> (small heel)
<i>silwane</i> (animal)	> <i>sílwányana</i> (small animal)

2.3.6.2 Palatalisation in the other dialects

Louw (1976:241) observes that all South African Bantu languages employ either velarisation (e.g. Venda, GiTonga and Shona, and to a lesser extent Sotho and Tsonga) while others especially Nguni, Sotho and Tsonga employ palatalisation to prevent the juxtapositioning of a bilabial consonant and a labial glide. He states that the only exception is Lala.

Indeed this is also what we found during research that all the Tekela Nguni dialects except Lala make use of palatalisation. Even in the south coast Lala dialects which are more susceptible to change in comparison with the Kranskop Lala, we find that there is no palatalisation.

Let us now consider Bhaca and Nhlanguini. Here the palatal counterparts of the alternating bilabial and alveolar segments are the same as for Swati. The only exception is $-p_h$ which becomes an affricate /tjh/ instead of the fricative /f/. Let us cite a few examples:

- (i) BHA — $-b\acute{o}pha$ (tie) > $-b\acute{o}tj\acute{h}wa$ (be tied)
 $-t\acute{f}\acute{u}ma$ (send) > $-t\acute{f}\acute{u}nywa$ (be sent)
- (ii) NHLA — $-mn\acute{a}ndi$ (nice) > $-mn\acute{a}nj\acute{a}na$ (somewhat nice)
 $\acute{u}l\acute{u}p\acute{h}eph\acute{e}$ (wind) > $\acute{u}l\acute{u}p\acute{h}etj\acute{h}\acute{a}na$ (a little
wind)
- (iii) BHA — $\acute{u}mlambo$ (river) > $keml\acute{a}nj\acute{e}ni$ (at the river)
 $\acute{i}dvobo$ (jungle) > $edv\acute{o}tj\acute{e}ni$ (in the jungle)

Turning now to Phuthi, there are two things to bear in mind. Firstly, that this dialect does not have nasal compounds and secondly that the bilabial /b/ > /j/. Otherwise the changes resemble those of Swati:

- (iv) PHU — $t\acute{i}dzaba$ (news) > $t\acute{i}dz\acute{a}yana$ (little news)
 $m\acute{u}lom\acute{u}$ (mouth) > $m\acute{u}l\acute{o}nyana$ (small mouth)
 $\acute{i}sibhi$ (iron) > $\acute{i}sij\acute{a}na$ (small iron)
- (v) PHU — $\acute{e}m\acute{a}t\acute{f}ubhu$ (intestine) > $\acute{e}m\acute{a}t\acute{f}\acute{u}j\acute{i}ni$ (in the
intestines)
 $\acute{i}ncopho$ (pinnacle) > $\acute{e}nc\acute{o}tj\acute{h}eni$ (in the
pinnacle)
- (vi) PHU — $-yeb\acute{a}$ (steal) > $yej\acute{u}wa$ (be stolen)
 $-t\acute{f}\acute{u}ma$ > $t\acute{f}\acute{u}nywa$ (be sent)

Finally, we note a similar process also in Sumayela Ndebele. Here too /b/ > /j/ and /p^h/ > /tjh/. Otherwise the changes resemble those of Swati:

- (vii) SU.NDE— $lith\acute{a}mbo$ (bone) > $elith\acute{a}nj\acute{e}ni$ (in the bone)
 $sihl\acute{u}thu$ (hair) > $esihl\acute{u}tj\acute{h}\acute{i}ni$ (in the hair)
- (ix) SU.NDE— $-rib\acute{h}\acute{a}$ (cut) > $rijw\acute{a}$ (be cut)
 $-gob\acute{e}la$ (bend for) > $-goy\acute{e}l\acute{w}a$ (be bent for)
 $-khup\acute{h}\acute{a}$ (take out) > $-khutj\acute{h}\acute{w}\acute{a}$ (be taken out)

5.3.6.3 Some Concluding remarks on palatalisation

Although the changes undergone by the various bilabials are very similar in most Tekela dialects the process has its irregularities. For instance in Sumayela Ndebele, Ziervogel (1959:113–114) cites a few examples from a Langa dialect to show that here the locative suffix is *-ni*, not *-ini*. The result is that the condition for palatalisation does not arise when suffixation takes place. Accordingly we get here examples such as:

- (i) SU>NDE—*mulámbo* (river) > *emlámboni* (in the river)
sigúbhu (calabash) > *ésigúbhuni* (in the calabash)
nklomó' (bovine) > *énklomóni* (in the bovine)

In the other dialects one finds that with the exception of the passive — in locatives and diminutives palatalised forms exist alongside their non-palatalised counterparts. Consider the following examples: in Bhaca where non-palatalised locatives are preferred:

- (ii) BHA — *íntsambo* (string) > *entsámbeni* (on the string)
ígubu (water-pot) > *engúbini* (in the water-pot)
úmlomo (mouth) > *emlómeni* (in the mouth)
útipho (fingernail) > *elutípheni* (in the nail)

Consider also Phuthi where the condition for palatalisation is neutralised by the surfacing of *-nyana* instead of *-ana* as a diminutive suffix especially where a derogative sense is intended (Mzamane, 1948:68).

- (iii) PHU — *múlomo* (mouth) > *mulomónyana* (small mouth)
ígubo (blanket) > *igubónyana* (small blanket)
íhrâbi (ox) > *íhrabínyana* (small ox)

5.3.7 Vowel Coalescence

Once again we owe the definition of this concept to Doke who described it in the following terms:

Zulu, like other Bantu languages, has three basic vowels, /a/, /i/ and /u/. The mid-forward vowels, /e/ and /ɛ/, are secondary in value, and are often the result of coalescence of

/a/ and /i/; similarly, the mid-back vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, are secondary in value, often being the result of the coalescence of /a/ and /u/

(Doke, 1927:23)

According to this definition what happens in coalescence is that whenever two vowels in a lexeme are realised contiguously, they merge and result in a new vowel provided that they are in the following sequence: $a + i > e$; $a + u > o$. Likewise $a + a > a$.

However, Aoki (1974) cast some doubt on whether the two vowels actually merge. Instead, he claimed that vowel coalescence (which he calls "vowel contraction") could in Xhosa be accounted for in two operations. He posits a Vowel Lowering Rule which will lower the right-most vowel, in the first operation; and a Deletion Rule which will delete the left-most vowel in the second operation as is more evident from the following schematisation:

<u>a + i</u> ;	<u>a + u</u> ;	<u>a + a</u>	
<u>a + e</u> ;	<u>a + o</u>	-	Vowel Lowering
<u>a + e</u>	<u>a + o</u>	<u>a + a</u>	Vowel Deletion
/e/	/o/	/a/	

It would appear that Aoki's argument (1974:233–241) which refutes the traditional view that vowel coalescence is a single phonological process of merging is quite convincing since a number of Nguni phonologists including Davey (1978); Zotwana (1981), and Khumalo (1987); adopt it albeit with certain modifications and improvements. It will be argued in this section that Aoki's claim applies with full force also to Tekela Nguni. However in linguistics there is always a possibility for "either or" and consequently it may still be argued that in fact in coalescence we have a single operation where the two vowels merge and result in a new vowel thus:

$a + a > a$; $a + i > e$; and $a + u > o$.

Aoki's set of rules seeks to explain three different phonological processes: consonantalisation (which has been dealt with above), vowel coalescence and vowel elision (which he terms vowel deletion). For the moment, I will focus only on how he explains vowel coalescence and turn to elision in the next

subsection. In both instances use will be made of Khumalo's postulation (1987:141–157) which throws a lot of light on Aoki's set of rules.

Khumalo's thesis centres on the structure of the syllable in Zulu (or generally in Nguni). If two syllables come together in such a way that vowel juxtaposition occurs, he argues that the left-most vowel must first delink from its syllable by Syllable Delinking and Nucleus Delink rule. This syllable now attaches to the nucleus of the following syllable by Syllabification. After that a number of phonological rules must apply depending on the value of the feature [+high] of the left-most vowel. If this vowel is [+high] glide formation takes place as we saw in consonantalisation above. If on the other hand it is [–high] it will first spread its [–high] feature to the vowel on the right by the Vowel Lowering rule. Khumalo (1987:141) claims that the motivation for this rule is to be found in a Tongue Height Constraint which stipulates that of any two adjacent [–cons] segments within a syllable, the left-most must either be of the same tongue height or higher than the vowel to the right. Thereafter the left-most vowel gets deleted. Let me cite the whole set of Aoki's vowel contraction rules as modified by Davey.

Rule 1	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow$	$[-\text{high}] / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \\ -\text{high} \end{array} \right]$	— {Vowel Lowering}
Rule 2	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cns} \\ -\text{lab} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow$	$[\text{rnd}] / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \\ +\text{rnd} \end{array} \right]$	{Glide Formation}
Rule 3	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow$	$\emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cns} \end{array} \right]$	{Vowel Deletion} (Davey, 1978:33)

5.3.7.1 Vowel Coalescence in Swati

The application of vowel coalescence is limited in Swati (and the other Tekela dialects) in comparison with Zunda Nguni. The reason is that in certain constructions with the necessary environment, coalescence is superseded by vowel replacement. However the following are instances where vowel coalescence occurs:

- (a) where locative -ini follows on a- e.g.
 entsábeni < íntsaba (mountain) i.e. < intsaba + ini
 éndvunéni < índvúna (headman) i.e. < indvuna + ini
- (b) in the formation of a demonstrative from la- plus demonstrative root, e.g.
 ló < *lau – class 1 -umu-
 lé < *lai – class 9 -in-
 lába < *laba – class 2 -aba-
- (c) in the various forms of the future tense contractions. e.g.
 bátofika < *bataufika < batakufika (they will arrive)
- (d) when a occurs before a verb stem with an initial latent i-, e.g.
 siyéva < *siyaiva (we hear/understand)
 ngiyeta < *ngiyaita (I am coming)
- (e) in the formation of adjective/relative concords, e.g.
 lo in lómkhulu < *la + umkhulu (a big one)
 le in lénsa < *la + insha (a new one)
 lo in lógulako < *la + ugulako (a sick one)

Let us conclude this section by citing a full derivation of **entsabeni** (on the mountain):

intsaba + ini	
entsabaini	Affixation
entsabaini	Syllabification
entsabaeni	Vowel Lowering
entsábeni	Vowel Deletion

5.3.7.2 Coalescence in the other dialects

This phenomenon occurs in the other Tekela dialects in the same manner as in Swati. Only a few examples need be cited:

- (a) where locative suffix -ini follows on -a-:
- BHA – úmfula > emfúleni (at the river)
 LA – tînâba > etinábeni (on the mountains)
 NHLA – úmhlâba > émhlábéni (on earth)
 PHU – émáfútsha > émáfútshéni (in the fat)
 SU.NDE – mádoda > emadódeni (among men)

- (b) in the formation of a demonstrative from la- plus demonstrative root e.g.

BHA	-	la + ulu	>	lólu
LA	-	la + isi	>	lési
NHLA	-	la + aba	>	lába

- (c) in the various forms of the future tense contractions, e.g.

LA	-	ngitokhámba	<	*ngitaukhamba < ngitakukhamba (I will go)
NHLA	-	sitofika	<	*sitaufiga (we shall arrive)
PHU	-	begítokhábha	<	*begitaukhabha (I would go)
SU.NDE	-	nsátokhámba	<	*nsataukhamba (I shall still go)

- (d) when a occurs before a verb stem with a latent initial i— e.g.

BHA	-	bayéta	<	*bayaita (they are coming)
LA	-	báyêva	<	*bayaiva (they hear)
NHLA	-	bémba	<	*baimba (they dig)

- (e) in the formation of adjective/relative concords, e.g.

BHA	-	omu-	<	*aumu - class 1 e.g. ómkhûlu (a big one)
LA	-	nolu-	<	*nauulu - class 11 e.g. nólúde (along one)
NHLA	-	leti-	<	*laiti - class 10 e.g. létikhámbakó (which are going)

5.3.7.3 Exceptions and Differences

In concluding this subsection let us note a few exceptions. Regarding (b) above it must be borne in mind that Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele lack prevowels in their nominal class system. Accordingly one may speak more strictly of partial assimilation than vowel coalescence in the formation of demonstratives in these dialects e.g. **la + mutfu** > **lomútfu** (this person) in Phuthi. The same applies with regard to (e).

In (c) above, Bhaca examples were not given because in this dialect the tendency is not to contract future tense constructions. Thus forms such as: **báta bhobha** (they will speak) remain uncontracted. Perhaps this is also due

to Xhosa influence where contraction does not occur. Regarding (d) it was observed during research that verb stems with a latent *i-* do not occur in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele (see also Ziervogel, 1959 and Mzamane 1948).

Finally in Nhlangwini and Bhaca we get coalescence also with possessive concords and adverbial constructions which prefix *na-*; *nga-*; *njenga-*. Consider the following examples:

- BHA – *na + umtsengisi > nómtshengísi* (with the seller)
 NHLA – *ngomalume < nga + úmalúme* (by uncle)
 BHA – *njenga + ubawo > njéngobâwo* (like father)

In typical Tekela coalescence in these instances would be superseded by vowel replacement. It would appear therefore that these dialects are inclining more towards Zunda Nguni. Note for instance that Bhaca no longer employs *la-* in adjectival constructions. One gets *ómdzála* instead of *lómdzála* (an old one). In Nhlangwini one gets both forms, e.g. *lómdála/ómdála*, but the latter form tends to dominate. An interesting case has developed in Lala where *na-* replaces *la-* e.g. *nókhámbakó* instead of *lókhámbakó* (he who is going). *la-* also exists but many Lala people reject it on grounds that it is more Swati than Lala. These however are morphological features and I mention them only in passing.

5.3.8 Vowel Elision

This process has often been commented upon in the discussion of consonantalisation and vowel coalescence above. Accordingly most of its features have been dealt with including the applicable rules. It now remains of me to cite instances where vowel elision (or vowel deletion) occurs. Before I do that, let us consider various types of vowel elision. Basically, there are three types of elision: Compulsory syntactic elision (which will be commented upon only in passing); optional syntactic elision; and morphonological elision.

Compulsory syntactic elision

This type of elision falls outside the ambit of this study since it is not phonologically conditioned. It is governed by grammatical rules of a language

and affects vowel as well as consonantal segments. For instance in Tekela, a prevowel is deleted if it follows a demonstrative e.g. **lena ndvodza** < *lena **índvodza** (this man) and **lóna muntfu** < **lóna úmúntfu** (this person). Sometimes a whole syllable is deleted e.g. **kúbo** < **kúboná** (at their place). There are many other instances of this type of elision which we will not go into. Suffice it to note that this phenomenon occurs in Zunda Nguni as well.

Optional syntactic elision

In his analysis of Zulu phonology, Khumalo (1987:153) refers to this phenomenon as post-lexical elision. This descriptive expression focuses on the domain for optional syntactic elision. It refers to elision of vowel segments across word boundaries. What is worth noting is that certain rules which apply across morpheme boundaries within a lexical component do not apply post-lexically. Khumalo illustrates post-lexical elision by citing (p. 155 op cit) an example with be which he regards as an underlying verbal root. He shows that vowel lowering does not apply post-lexically:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (i) | ibe + isebenta | (he was working) |
| | ibeisebenta | Compounding |
| | ibeisebenta | Syllabification |
| | *ibeesebenta | *Vowel Lowering |
| | *ibesebenta | *Vowel Deletion |
| (ii) | ibe + isebenta | (he was working) |
| | ibeisebenta | Compounding |
| | ibeisebenta | Syllabification |
| | ibisebénta | Vowel Deletion |

This elision is said to be optional because the construction would be phonologically acceptable without it. However in quick speech the terminative of the first word becomes so adjacent to the prevowel of the second word so as to create the unpermitted vowel juxtaposition and vowel elision applies in order to resolve the unacceptable situation.

Morphonological elision

This occurs when two morphemes come together so as to create vowel juxtaposition. We are indebted to Aoki (1974) for formalising the Deletion

Rule which applies in this case (see Consonantalisation and Vowel Coalescence above). Bear in mind that it is always the left-most vowel which is deleted if it is followed by a non-high vowel.

Classification according to place

Lass (1984:186–187) discusses elision (which he calls deletion) but approaches it somewhat differently from the foregoing classification. He also distinguishes three types but according to the place where deletion occurs within a lexeme. Thus he isolates: (a) aphaeresis, which is initial deletion; (b) syncope, which is formative–internal deletion (which is sometimes extended to consonantal deletion); and (c) apocope, which is a loss of a final element. These three types will be illustrated below.

5.3.8.1 Vowel Elision in Swati

All the foregoing types of vowel elision occur in Swati. Aphaeresis and apocope occur in optional vowel elision. Aphaeresis occurs in single words but apocope occurs in quick speech where two lexical items are so juxtaposed as to form a single word–group. Consider the following examples:

(i) Single words –

úmáke > **máke** (my/our mother)

úmalúme > **malúme** (my/our uncle)

Note that with **únyoko** (your mother); **úyihló** (your father); et cetera, aphaeresis does not occur. Aphaeresis occurs with all nouns, of course, where it is morphologically conditioned, as in vocatives for instance, but that is compulsory.

(ii) word groups –

(a) auxiliary + verb

ube ekhala > **ubekhâla** (he was crying)

(b) descriptive + descriptive

lapha ekhaya > **lâphékhayá** (here at home)

(c) predicate + object

babonainja > **babón'inja** (they see a dog)

(d) inclusive quantifier + complement

yonke imiti > **yónkimítí** (all the villages)

Note that in practical orthography an optionally deleted final element is indicated by an apostrophe (') e.g. *laph' ekhaya; yonk' imiti; et.cetera.*

In Swati, syncope (or formative—internal deletion) occurs in morphologically conditioned, compulsory elision i.e. where morphemes are juxtaposed in such a way that the unpermitted [C^NVVC] sequence is created. This process applies where consonantalisation is blocked (see par. 5.3.2 above and the deletion rule formalised there). Consider the following examples:

- (i) subject concord + vowel commencing verb stem
bósa (they roast) < *baosa
sákha (we build) < *siakha
- (ii) object concord + vowel commencing verb stem
úyáténta (he does/makes them) < *uyatienta
ngiyabelekélela (I assist them) < *ngiyabaelekelela
- (iii) in the formation of pronominal possessive concords
lámí (mine) < *liamina or li + a + mina
tábo (theirs) < *ti + a + bona
- (iv) aspectual formatives + vowel commencing verb stems
usélusa (he is still herding) < *usaelusa
niyéba (you are stealing) < *niyaeba
ningôná (you can sin) < *ningaona
- (iv) descriptive formative na- nga- njenga- + vowel commencing stem
ngensímbi (with iron) < *ngainsimbi
nenkhûkhu (also a fowl) < *nainkhukhu
- (N.B. In the above examples vowel lowering must first apply before the /a/ deletion – see par. 5.3.7.)
- (v) negative formative –nga– + vowel commencing verb stem
úngêbi (you must not steal) < *ungaebi

It was mentioned above that syncope may include consonant deletion. In Swati, this is optional:

<i>sita kuhámba</i> (we will go)	
<i>sitauhamba</i>	Optional /k/ deletion
<i>sitaohamba</i>	Vowel Lowering
<i>sitohámba</i>	Vowel Elision

(vi) in the formation of anaphoric words with the root /o/

soná (it) < *siona

bónkhe (all of them) < *baonkhe

lódvwa (by itself) < *liodvwa

(vii) locative –ini suffixed to nouns

líbéleni (on the breast) < *libeleini

entsábeni (on the mountain) < *entsabaini

(viii) diminutive –ana + suffixed to nouns/qualificatives

lébována (the reddish one) < *lebovuana

líbalána (a little spot) < *libalayna

(For a full derivation of (vii) and (viii) see paragraph 5.3.7.1. above.)

5.3.8.2 Vowel Elision in Bhaca, Lala and Nhangwini

The above dialects are combined because of a similar manner in which vowel elision applies to all three of them. Consider the following examples:

(i) optional elision

BHA/LA/NHLA – béviŋví (they heard a voice) < béva ílíví

BHA/NHLA – sâbonitinkô mó (we saw cattle) < sâbona itinkô mó

BHA – bónkabántfwana (all the children) < bónke abántfwana

It must be noted here that this type of elision has more scope in Bhaca and Nhangwini where all nouns have a preprefix as compared to Swati and Lala where preprefixes occur only in nasal classes. Consider the following examples:

Bhaca	Swati
bónk' abántfu < bónke abántfu	*bonk' bantfu (all the people)
sâbon' íhátjhi < sâbona íhátjhi	*sabon' lihhashi (we saw a horse)

In the same vein in Bhaca (and to a lesser extent also in Nhangwini) we get optional elision in the sequence: noun + qualificative (i.e. relative or adjective):

ínkom' éboví (a red beast) < ínkomo éboví

índvodz' éndzála (an old man) < índvodza éndzála

In Swati and Lala the environment for this type of elision is barred by the /l/ element in Swati (/n/ in Lala) which prevents vowel juxtaposition:

LA	–	íyomo néboví
SWA	–	ínkhomo léboví
LA	–	índzodza néndzála
SWA	–	índvodza léndzála

However, if the word order is reversed elision will occur in all these dialects in the same manner:

LA	–	něbov' íyomó	<	nebovu iyomo
BHA	–	ébov' inkômó	<	ebovu inkomo
SWA	–	lébov' inkhômó	<	lebovu inkhomo
NHLA	–	(l)éndál' índoda	<	(l)endala indoda
SWA	–	léndzá' índvodza	<	lenzala indvodza
LA	–	néndzá' índzódzá	<	nenzala indvodza
BHA	–	éndzá' índvodza	<	enzala indvodza

(Note that the /l/ element is optional in Nhlanguwini.)

(ii) Compulsory elision

Likewise compulsory morphonological vowel elision occurs in these dialects in a manner similar to Swati:

BHA/LA/NHLA–	bába	<	*baaba	(they divide/distribute)
BHA/NHLA	–	bénta	<	*baenta (they do/make)
LA	–	béda	<	*baeda (they make/do)
BHA/LA/NHLA–	sámi	<	*siamina	(mine)
BHA/LA/NHLA–	niyatákha	<	*niyatiakha	(you build them)
BHA/LA/NHLA–	sisótela	<	*sisaotela	(we are still drowsy)
BHA/LA/NHLA–	(k)élibéleni	<	*(k)elibeeleni	(on the breast)
BHA/LA/NHLA–	ílibélana	<	*ilibeleana	(a small breast)
BHA/NHLA	–	ngénkûlu	<	*ngaenkulu (by a big one)
BHA/NHLA	–	njéngogúlakó	<	*njengaogulako (like a sick one)
BHA/NHLA	–	néngáne	<	*naingane (also the child)

Regarding constructions with na-, nga- and njenga- (also nganga-) we note

once again that these have a broader scope of application or elision in Bhaca and Nhangwini than in Swati and Lala because of the intervocalic /l/ or /n/ in the latter dialects:

Bhaca	Swati
njéngenkûlu	njéngalénkhûlu (like a big one)
ngángelídžala	ngángaléidžála (as big as the old one)
nésídze	nalésídze (also the long one)

One might reiterate here that regarding relatives and adjectives Bhaca is inclined more to Zunda than typical Tekela Nguni.

5.3.8.3 Vowel Elision in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele

These two are grouped together owing to a strong Sotho influence evinced in certain instances of optional elision. Consider the following examples:

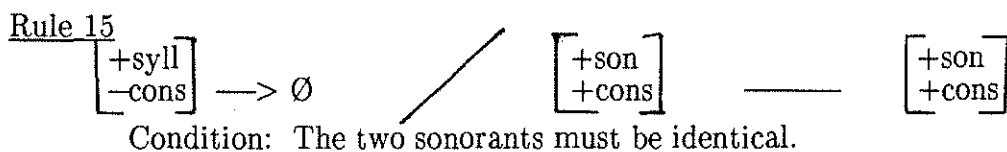
(i) Optional vowel elision in single words

- PHU/SU.NDE – mmála < *munala < mumala (colour) cf. Sotho mmala
 múllo < mulilo (fire) cf. Tswana múllo or múlilo
 mma < mama (my/our mother) cf. Tswana mmá
 múvallo < muvalelo (obstruction pole) cf. Sotho mókoallo
 únna < únína (her/his mother)

It must be pointed out here that the two sonorants must be identical before vowel elision occurs. Thus in the derivation of mmala the rules must be ordered in such a way that complete assimilation precedes vowel elision thus:

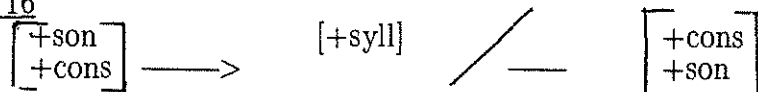
mu + bala	
mumala	Nasal assimilation
mmála	Epenthetic Vowel Elision

Elision in these instances may be captured in the following formal rule:



The consequence of this elision is that the first of the two sonorants subsequently becomes a syllable i.e.

Rule 16



Condition: The two sonorants must be identical.

Consider the following Phuthi examples:

[mʊmɔbʰɔ] < *mumobho < mubó**ʰ**ho (nose bridge)

[mʊmagɔ] < mumágo (ascent)

[la] < lila' (cry for)

My view is that in such sonorant juxtapositioning only the left-most sonorant becomes syllabic i.e. when the epenthetic vowel is deleted, its suprasegmental properties (such as length, syllabicity and often tone) are transferred to the preceding sonorant (cf. Kotze, 1987:48). However another argument, on the contrary, may be advanced with the effect that the two sonorants merge after the elision and together form a syllable. I do not subscribe to this view and I feel that the first view is clearly demonstrated in instances where the two sonorants belong to two different morphemes. Let us illustrate with examples where the left-most sonorant is a prefix and the right-most is a stem morpheme and then contrast the singular with the plural of such examples.

PHU – líga < lílaga (sun) – malága (suns)

SU.NDE– líembé < lílembé (axe) – malêmbé (axes)

From these examples it is clear that only the left-most /l/ has been substituted in the plural which shows that the two /l/'s did not merge.

In Swati (as well as in Nhangwini and Bhaca) we also get similar phenomena of vowel elision. Here, however, it is restricted to the /u/ of the basic prefixes of classes 1/3 and 4 and of the class 1 object concord. Conditions applicable to Rule 14 above as well as nasal assimilation are not relevant here. The only condition is that the stem must be polysyllabic. Consider the following examples and contrast them with instances where /m/ forms part of the next syllable:

[umfundzi] < *umufundzi (student) – [imfundβo] (learning)
 [umβoni] < *umuboni (seer) – [imbββo] (hole)
 [ɲijamtsandza] < *ngiyamutshandza (I love her)

In Lala this does not occur because the /m/ is deleted e.g. **úkhonó** instead of **úmkhōno** (arm). In exceptional cases however where /m/ is retained the same phenomenon occurs e.g. **úmfúndzi** (learner) < *umufundzi.

The Sotho influence is also evinced in the deletion of the /i/ of class 9 noun prefix and the first person subject/object concord in Sumayela Ndebele. In both cases /N/ becomes syllabic and homorganic with the next consonant. Consider the following:

[p:gwɛ] < *nigwe (leopard)
 [p:dʒa] < *nidza (dog)
 [m:vu] < *nivu (sheep) and
 [wamfuna] (he wants me)

Ziervogel (1959:37) observes that the syllabification of /N/ occurs only with monosyllabic stems. He notes further (*ibid*) that in older forms the prevowel is retained e.g. [iɲgwɛ] (leopard).

Elision in word-groups occurs in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele just as in Swati and the other dialects. Consider the following examples:

PHU – Gâbon^hîjá < Gâbona^hîjá (I saw a dog)
 SU.NDE– Létígasí mavila < Létí ígasí mavila (The ones who are not lazy)

However in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele this process is restricted by the lack of preprefixes in nouns and the occurrence of the la- morpheme with relatives and objectives.

(ii) Compulsory Morphological Vowel Elision

Again this occurs in Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele just like in Swati and the other dialects:

PHU – wema^hdla < *wa-emadla (of strength)

SU.NDE— *ngéndlini* < *nga + endlini (by the house)
bókle < *ba + o + kle (all of them)
nódwa < *ni + o + dwa (by yourselves)

5.3.9 Vowel Raising

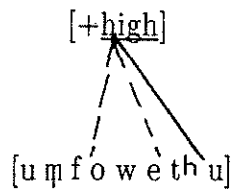
Vowel raising is a type of regressive assimilation whereby the mid–low vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] assimilate to the [+high] position of the high vowels [i] and [u] in the following syllable. This phenomenon is common to almost all Southern Bantu Languages with the exception of Venda. However, an indepth study on it is yet to be undertaken. Its environment is much broader than what I have just cited. For instance, Louw (in Ranamane and Louw, 1987:39 & 40) cites also the syllabic /m/ as another trigger of vowel raising. He maintains that in Nguni the syllabic /m/ is actually a contraction of *mu* or *mi*. Accordingly, the trigger of vowel raising is still the underlying [i] or [u]. Louw (*ibid*) then investigates the cause of the raising of [ɛ] and [ɔ] in monosyllabic demonstratives [lo] and [le] (this) in Xhosa. He compares Xhosa with Swati where the equivalent full forms of the Xhosa demonstratives are respectively *loyi* and *leyi*. He subsequently concludes that the Xhosa demonstratives must also have *-yi* in their underlying structure. He then captures all these generalisations in the following formal rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{mid low} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{mid high} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \text{ ——— C } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{[high]} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{*[high]} \end{array} \right\}$$

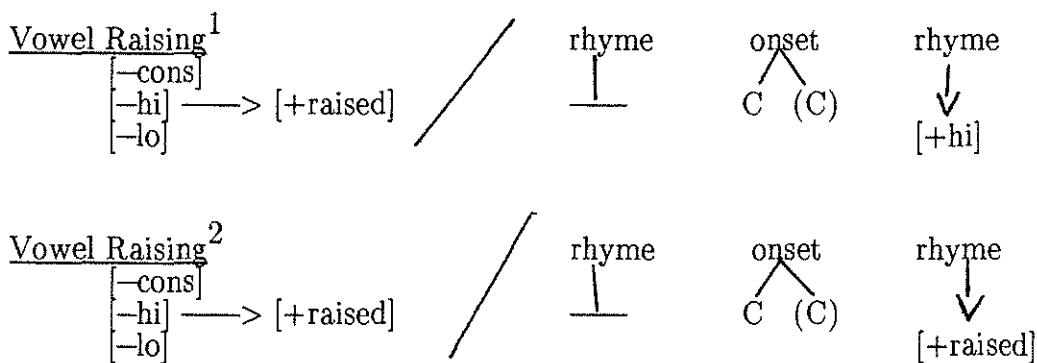
This rule states that a mid–low vowel will be raised when it is followed by a syllable with a high or underlyingly high vowel. Consider the following:

[ɛɱtʰabeni] (on earth) [uɱβoni] (seer)
 [letfu] (ours) in Bhaca

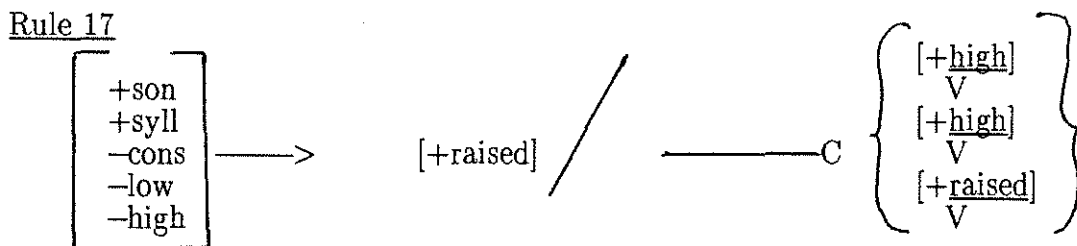
In *émhlabéni* [ɛ] has been raised to assimilate to [ɱ] and [i]. In *úmbóni*, [ɔ] has been raised to assimilate to [i] and in *létfu* [ɛ] to assimilate to [u]. But there is also a question of raised [ɔ] in [uɱfowethu] in Nhangwini. This [ɔ] is not immediately followed by [u] because there is an intervening syllable with [e]. Louw (*op cit* pp. 41–44) considers this for Sotho and states that raised mid–vowels may raise other mid–low vowels. He points out that to auto–segmentalists this would be captured in a rule such as the following:



This rule demonstrates how the [+high] feature of [u] is spread to all the preceding mid–low vowels. Khumalo (1987:74) holds the same view that besides the high vowels [i] and [u], raised vowels can also raise other mid–low vowels. He captures all these generalisations in the two rules reproduced below:



To capture the generalisations made by Louw and Khumalo, let me collapse their rules into the following:



However, this is not the end of the story. For instance, Khumalo (1987:75) observes that a word like **akasebénzi** (he does not work) or **akáthekelezi** (he does not tie up) may be realised phonetically as [akasɛbɛndzi] / [akasebɛndzi] or [akathɛkɛlezi] / [akathekelezi]. He claims (*ibid*) that the preference to raise all mid–low vowels is greater when they are flanked by [+high] vowels e.g. [isisebɛndzi] (worker). To my mind, the effect of these observations is that in vowel raising we have a scale of [+high] degrees where one raised segment may be a degree higher or lower than other raised segments. For

instance, in my Zulu dialect, the /o/ in the first phrase is higher than the /o/ in the second one in [lo muntʰu] / [umuntʰu lo] (this person).

Khumalo (1987:76) considers the effect of depressor consonants immediately before mid–low vowels which should be raised. He asserts (correctly in my view) that such depressors block vowel raising. He cites: [ŋgɔ̣kɔ̣ɬa] (by eating) and [ŋgɔ̣liqabani] (whose is it) in support of his assertions. Is this the only constraint? Perhaps not. If depressors have effect on vowel raising, what about high or low tones? Will the depressors be as effective if the mid–low vowel was phonetically long? Consider **ôobawó** (father and company) in Bhaca. According to my informants this long /o/ will be raised despite the depressor and what is more interesting is that it is not followed by a syllable with a high vowel: [ŋgo:ɓawo]. Khumalo (*ibid*) states that long vowels are optionally raised, and cites: [ô:ɓani] or [ɔ̣ɓani] (who – "plural") and [ɛlâmi] or [ê:lâmi] (mine). I want to add that the locative prefix e– and the relative concord e–/o– are also raised in Zulu/Nhlangwini and Bhaca. Consider the following: [ekhaja] (at home); [endala/endzala] (the old one); [o!ɔ̣tɔ̣] (the honest one). It is not within the ambit of this study to investigate what triggers vowel raising in these instances. Further research with the aid of instruments is definitely warranted.

5.3.9.1 Vowel Raising in Swati

Throughout the above discussion I avoided Swati examples because I very much doubt whether this phenomenon is as prevalent in Swati as in other Nguni speech forms. Perhaps my ear is not very well trained but in constructions such as: **Wena wénkhôsi** or **Wena wéKunêne** or **Wena welúhlanga** (Your highness), I could not hear any vowel raising from my informants. However authorities on this dialect (cf. Ziervogel *et al*, 1967:220–221) maintain that there is vowel raising in such instances, i.e. where a mid–low vowel is followed by high vowels without an intervening /a/. Accordingly I will not dispute this fact but only concede that the little raising that I heard was in the locative prefix e–; relative concord le– and class 1/3/4 and 9 first position demonstratives **ló** and **lé**.

5.3.9.2 Vowel Raising in the other dialects

In Bhaca, Lala, Nhlangwini and Sumayela Ndebele vowel raising occurs in the manner described in par. 5.3.9 above. Let us illustrate with examples:

- (i) with locative -ini
 - BHA – [etʰiŋkomeni] (at the cattle).
- (ii) with the causative -isa
 - LA – [bonisa] (show)
- (iii) with the perfect -ile
 - NHLA – [pʰolilɛ] (cool)
- (iv) with the negative -i
 - SU.NDE– [aʔaweli] (they do not cross)
- (v) with -u as a terminative or anywhere after /ɛ/ or /ɔ/
 - LA – [sileyu] (beard)

5.3.9.3 Vowel Raising in Phuthi

Phuthi differs from all the Tekela dialects with regard to vowel system in that it has seven phonemes [a], [i], [u], [e], [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ]. From informants I observed that the mid-high vowels are more prevalent than their mid-low counterparts. From the collected data I could postulate the rule that mid-high /e/ and /o/ are used word-internally and mid-low /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ word-finally but I could not get absolute consistency in this respect. Mzamane (1948:2) in his treatise of Phuthi also came upon this phenomenon but failed to discover the phonological rule which governs it. He ended up by stating (*ibid*):

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.

No doubt the subject warrants further research.

5.3.1.0 Vowel Replacement

In this process the /a/ in possessive concords; descriptive formatives nga-; na- and njenga- is invariably replaced by /e/. This often occurs where one would expect partial assimilation or vowel coalescence. The first person to

identify this phenomenon, Prof. Ziervogel, admits that "the causes of vowel replacement are unknown" (Ziervogel *et al.*, 1967:221). No doubt the subject warrants further research.

5.3.10.1 Vowel Replacement

In Swati, this process occurs in all the above-mentioned environments. Consider the following examples:

- (i) with possessive concord + nominal base

íncwadzi yémfúndisi (priest's letter) < *ya + umfúndisi

íncwadzi yénkhôsi (king's letter) < *ya + ínkhôsi

íncwadzi yélibándla (congregation's letter) < *ya + libándla

- (ii) with connective na-

němfula < *na + umfula (and the river)

nelûtshí < *na + lutshi (and a stick)

- (iii) with the instrumental nga-

ngelítje < *nga + litje (by means of a stone)

ngemûkhwa < *nga + umukhwa (by a knife)

- (iv) with comparative njenga-

njéngémlumbi < *njenga + umlumbi (like a White)

njéngébáfâti < *njenga + bafati (like women)

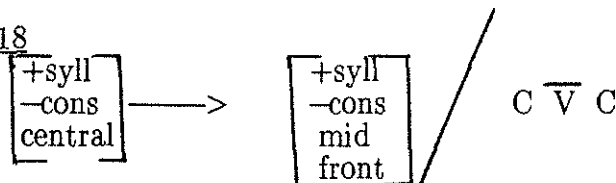
- (v) with the comparative nganga-

ngángéndlovu < *nganga + indlovu (as big as an elephant)

ngángelûtshí < *nganga + lutsi (as thin as a twig)

These generalisations may be captured in the following formalisation:

Rule 18



Condition: In possessive, descriptive instrumental/comparative/connective prefixes.

The only exceptions are the possessive concords of Class 1a and 2a nouns, where possessive morpheme /a/ is kept unchanged:

ínkhomó yabâbe (my father's head of cattle)

tímóva tabóbabé (father and company's cars)
 sítja sámáke (my mother's dish)
 íngubo yámalûme (my uncle's blanket)

5.3.10.2 Vowel Replacement in the other dialects

Vowel replacement is one of the typical Tekela processes and as such occurs in all the Tekela dialects. Moreover, it occurs in the other dialects exactly as it does in Swati. In Bhaca, Phuthi and Nhlangwini it alternates with vowel coalescence but coalescence is indubitably due to Zunda Nguni influence:

- (i) with a possessive concord + nominal base
 PHU – léfâti < *la + ufati (of the woman)
 BHA – temúti < *ta + umuti (of the village)
- (ii) with the connective na-
 NHLA – nemáhhátjhi (and the horses) < *na + amahhatjhi
 BHA – némntfwana (and the baby) < *na + umntfwana
- (iii) with the instrumental nga-
 SU.NDE– gétinró < *ga + tinro (by things)
 PHU – géfóga < *ga + itfoga (by a stick)
- (vi) with the comparative nganga-
 LA – ngángewâní (as much as grass) < *nganga + bwani
 NHLA – ngángémfâti (as big as a woman) < *nganga + umfati
- (v) with the comparative njenga-
 BHA – njéngémfána < *njenga + umfana (like a boy)
 SU.NDE– njéngébúyaní < *njenga + buyani (like grass)

5.4 RECAPITULATION

In this chapter a limited number of those phonological processes which are common to most Tekela dialects was discussed. Despite this selective approach however, a few deductions may be made.

In the first place the discussion revealed some glaring discrepancies in the

study of phonological processes in Nguni in general and Tekela Nguni in particular. The result was that in certain instances applicable rules could not be formalised to capture all the relevant generalisations. The discrepancies were most pronounced in vowel raising and vowel replacement.

In the second place, the discussion appears to have been worthwhile since it attempted to fill a gap which we notice in various studies which analyse the Tekela dialects (either separately or comparatively). It was realised that most of the processes discussed in this chapter have not received more than a cursory treatment (often in the form of a few lines or a short paragraph) from Tekela linguists.

In the third place, it is hoped that this discussion succeeded in showing that almost all the Tekela dialects undergo phonological processes in a similar manner. Exceptions were identified here and there but most of these could be ascribed to the influence of contiguous non-Tekela languages. As such the discussion provided more evidence in an effort to prove that these dialects are but members of the same family, i.e. they are sister dialects.

CHAPTER 6

SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

6.1.1 General

It will be recalled that in the first chapter it was pointed out that the focus of this comparative study is on segmental phonology. Indeed the foregoing chapters confirm to this. Accordingly the study of suprasegmental phonology will be very elementary, and the main reason is that it is so broad that it constitutes a study on its own. In fact, owing to its broad scope, it was contemplated even to leave it out altogether were it not for a very important remark made by Khumalo (1987:287–288) on the significance of tone in a comparative study of dialects:

The only study of Zulu dialects we know of is Kubeka (1979). That, however, is an incomplete study since it omits the area of the greatest significance in the dialects viz. the tonology. We know for instance, that one of the most striking differences between the KwaZulu and Natal Coast dialects is in what we explain through the notion of Extratonicity.

Accordingly, the study of tone in the Tekela dialects will help us to know not only what tonal patterns and rules apply but also to ascertain tonological similarities and differences between these dialects. In order to achieve this goal we do not necessarily need to exhaust all the tone patterns and rules. Accordingly only the verb and the noun will be considered in this discussion. Regarding the verb, only the infinitive and the present tense of the indicative mood in the positive and negative conjugation will be dealt with.

6.1.2 Existing Studies on Nguni Tonology

Two works are considered to be absolutely relevant to this chapter, viz. Davey (1981) and Khumalo (1987). Davey's work is significant from the point of view that it is to date, the only detailed study of tone in Swati, the dialect I have chosen as my point of departure in this thesis. Khumalo's work is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, it is the latest work on the tonology of a Nguni language, to wit, Zulu. Accordingly it is the most up to date work more especially because he has applied in it the generative phonology

does not realise that the apparent difference is in the orthography only. Phonetically in Zulu and Xhosa these phonemes are the same [tʃ]. Her assertion that the Xhosa /tjh/ which is proto-Nguni has been replaced by the innovation /sh/ in Zulu is only true as far as written Zulu is concerned. In spoken Zulu /tjh/ is quite common especially in isiZansi i.e. Southern Natal. This goes to show that these two languages cannot be put into watertight compartments.

Be that as it may, the point has been made that the Nguni could do with only one written language. Unfortunately, throughout the world, linguistic considerations are often superseded by political ideologies in the standardisation of dialects, and South Africa is no exception.

To those who uphold the provisions of the "noble" document, the bill of human rights; there is some justice for the multiplicity of standardised dialects because no ethnic group must be linguistically subservient to another. But is such a policy practicable? Just how far can one take it? Would it be a feasible proposition for instance, to set up six more independent homelands in South Africa to accommodate the Tekela dialects? If carried to its logical conclusion such policy might lead to a situation where members of the same family cannot communicate through a common medium and must perforce use a lingua franca. Such a policy is in fact more exclusive than inclusive; in fact it is too divisive. Its problem is that it places too much emphasis on ethnic groups whereas the bill of rights is aimed at protecting individuals. Viewed in that light a single written language for the entire Nguni community of Southern Africa, be they Mpondo, Ndebele or Lala, would be most ideal. It would protect the interests of all Nguni individuals irrespective of their ethnicity.

However, these issues belong more to applied linguistics and will not be pursued any further in this study. Be that as it may it should be clearly understood that I am not advocating for the suppression or destroying of any language. For instance, I would not argue that because Su.Nde or Phuthi find themselves a minority among the Sotho, then their speech variety should be suppressed in favour of Sotho. All I am saying is that all related dialects

should have one – and only one – written medium. Accordingly I feel compelled to reiterate Ngcongwane's words which are most appropriate in this regard:

For its size, South Africa speaks rather too many languages. We can count up to ten fully-fledged and written tongues: Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Tswana, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Venda, Tsonga, and the two European languages, Afrikaans and English. I understand very soon we may also add Ndebele to the long list, as there is already some talk of another tiny zimele geqe (i.e. complete independence) in that area. The United States is composed of 50 states, some of which are as big as South Africa; but the whole country speaks one language. By comparison, we in South Africa literary swim in a flood of languages.

(Ngcongwane, 1983:63–64)

Ngcongwane made this observation in 1983. Today (1989) Southern Ndebele has already been introduced as a school subject and a standard language in KaNdebele homeland.

It might appear that this divisive language policy is rife in South Africa but in actual fact this country is not exceptional. The same phenomena seem to obtain throughout the African continent. Knappert deplores this situation in the following terms:

Africa is a very large continent. It is three times larger than Europe: 30,000,000 km²; but it has only about one half of the number of inhabitants Europe has: now over 550,000,000. Yet the peoples of Africa speak more than a thousand languages between them, as against 60 languages for the Europeans. This gives an average of 8 1/3 million speakers per language in Europe, as against 250,000 speakers average for an African language. This number is further reduced by the fact that over 62 million people in Africa, or a quarter of its population, speak Arabic, so that in reality, the average African language has less than 200,000 speakers. This fact is relevant for the problem of nation-wide communication languages as well as for education.

(Knappert, 1988:1)

The truth contained in these words needs no comment.

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ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
1. person	umuntu	úmúntfu	úmúntfu	úmúnhu
2. parent	úmzáli	úmtáli	úmtáli	útáli
3. builder	úmâkhi	úmâkhi	úmâkhi	mâkhi
4. woman	úmfâzi	úmfâti	úmfâti	úfâti
5. boy	úmfâna	úmfâna	úmfâna	úfwâna
6. maker	umenzi	uménti	uménti	médi
7. white person	úmlungu/úmlumbi	úmlumbi	úmlungu	úmlûngu
8. father (my/our)	úbabá	babé	úbawó	babé
9. mother (my/our)	úmâma	mâke	úmâná	mamé
10. uncle (maternal)	úmalûme	malûme	úmalûme	malûme
11. fathers (our)	ôbabá/abóbabá	bôbabé	óòbawó	bóbabé
12. student	úmfúndi	úmfúndzi	úmfúndzi	úfúndzi/úmfúndzi
13. sister (my/our)	údadewêthú	dzadzewétfú	údzadzéwétfu	dzadzewêthú
14. man	índoda	índvodza	índvodza	índzôdzá
15. goat	ímbûzi	ímbûti	ímbûti	ímbûti
16. axe	ímbazo/ízembe	lízembe	ízembe	Íizembé
17. house	índlu	índlu	índlu	índlu/íngru
18. elephant	índlovu	índlovu	índlovu	índlovu/íngrovu
19. hippopotamus	ímvubú	ímvubú	ímvubú	ímvubú
20. famine	índlala	índlala	índlala	índlâla

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
21. path	indlela	indlela	indlela	índlêla
22. health	impilo	imphilo	impilo	ímîlo
23. bride/daughter-in-law	umákotí	umákotí	umákhotí	úmákhotí
24. river	úmfula	úmfula	úmlambo	úfûla
25. wind	úmôya	úmôya	úmôya	úmôya
26. shade	únthûnzi	úntfûnti	úntfûnti	úthûntí
27. fire	úmlilo	úmlilo	úmlilo	únîlo
28. obstruction pole	úmvalo	úmvalo	úmvalo	úvâlo
29. mouth	úmlomo	úmlomo	úmlomo	únômo
30. tail	úmsîla	úmsîla	úmsîla	úsîlá
31. law	únthêtho	úntshêtfo	úntshêtfo	útshêtsho
32. maize	úmbîla	úmbîla	úmbóna	úmbîla
33. work	úmsebênzi	úmsebénti	úmsebénti	úmsebénti
34. door-way	úminyango	úminyango	úminyango	únyângo
35. villages	imizí	ímítí	ímítí	ímítí
36. tree	úmuthí	úmutshí	úmutshí	ûtshí
37. colour	úmbâla	úmbâla	úmbâla	múbâla
38. stone	ítje	lítje	ílitje	libwe
39. voice/word	ízwí	líví	íliví	líví
40. blood	ígazí	íngatí	ígatí	ligatí
41. ear	índlebé	índlebé	índlebé	índlebé/ingrebé

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
42. tooth	izinyo	litinyo	ilitinyo	litinyo
43. grand-mother	ugogo	ugogo	umakhulu	ugogo
44. baby	umntwana	umntfwana	umntfwana	unhana
45. country/land	izwe	ilive	ilive	live
46. lion	ibhubesi	ingwenyama/libhubesi.	ingonyama	libhubesi
47. horse	ihhashi	lihhashi	ihhashi	lihhashi
48. crocodile	ingwenya	ingwenya	ingwenya	ingwenya
49. leopard	ingwe	ingwe	ingwe	ingwe
50. leaf	icembé/iqabunga	licembé	liggabi	likhasi
51. body	umzimba	umtimba	umtimba	utimba
52. cannibal	izimu	litimu/lijabhane	itimu	litimu
53. water	amanzi	emanti	amanti	amadi
54. sun	ilanga	lilanga	ilanga	lilanga
55. fat/oil	amafutha	emafutsha	amafutsha	amafutsha
56. initiated girls	amatjiti	ematjiti	amatjiti	amagomazi
57. head	ikhanda/inhloko	inhloko	inhloko	inhloko
58. nose	ikhala/impumulo	impumulo	impumulo	imhumulo
59. lungs	amaphaphu	emaphaphu	amaphaphu	amaphaphu
60. eggs	amaqanda	emacandza	amaqandza	amaqandza
61. brother	umfowethu	umnakethu	umfowethu	ufowethu
62. knee	idolo	lidvolo	idvolo	lidzolo

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
63. today	námuhla	lámuhla	námuhla	námúhla
64. eye	ísó/ihló	lísó	ílísó	lísó
65. to sleep	úkulála	kúlála	úkulála	kúlála
66. time	ísikhathí	síkhâtshi	íxésa	síkhathí
67. power/strength	amándla	émándla	ámándla	ámángra
68. lies	amánga	émánga	úbúxôki	ámánga
69. saliva	ámathé	émâtshe	ámatshé	ámatshé
70. clouds	amáfu	émáfu	ámáfu	ámáfu
71. hand	ísándla	sándla	ísándla	sángra
72. fool	ísithuthá	siphukúphuku	ísibhanxa	siphukuphúku
73. dumb person	ísimúngulú	símúmu	ísímúmu	símúmu
74. blind person	ímpumpúthe	ímphúmpútshe	ímpúmpútshe	ímhúmhútshe
75. shoe	isicáthulo	sicátfulo	ísíhlangu	sicáthûba
76. stomach	ísísu	sísu	ísísu	sísu
77. chest	ísifûba	sífûba	ísifûba	sífûba
78. breast	íbéle	libéle	íbéle	libéle
79. vessels/dishes	izítsha	títja	ítítja	títja
80. old woman	ísalukázi	sálúkáti	ísálúkáti	sálúkáti
81. mouse	imbiba	imbiba	ímpûku	imbîbá
82. foot	únyawo	lúnyawo	únyawo	lúnyâwo
83. field	ínsîmu	ínsîmi	ínsîmu	ínsîmu
84. sorghum	amábelé	émábelé	ámábelé	ámábelé

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
85. dog	ínjá	ínjá	ínjá	ímwá
86. marriagable girl	íntombí	íntfombí	íntfombí	ínombí
87. clay	úbumba	lúbumba	úbumba	lúbumba
88. mountain	íntaba	íntsaba	íntsaba	ínâba
89. grass	útjâni	tjâni	útjâni	bwâni
90. obstinacy	ínkâni	ínkâni	ínkâni	íyâni
91. bovine	ínkomó	ínkhomó	ínkomó	íyomó
92. bull	ínkûnzi	ínkhûnzi	ínkûnti	íwûdi
93. ox	ínkâbi	ínkhâbi	ínkâbi	íyabí
94. baboons	izimféne	timféne	ímfene	tímféne
95. birds	izinyôni	tinyôni	íntsâka	ínyôni
96. sheep	ímvú	ímvú	ímvú	ímvú
97. hearts	ízinhlizíyo	ínhlitíyo	ínhlitíyo	ínhlitíyo
98. song	íngoma/ículo	íngoma	íngoma	lígâma
99. feather	úphaphé/úsîba	lúphaphé	úphaphé/úsîba	lúsîba
100. stick	índuku/íntônga	índvuku	índvuku/íntfônga	índzûku
101. nail	úzipho	lúgalo	útipho	lúnîpho
102. twig/stick	ûthí	lûtshí	úlutshí	lûtshí
103. horn	úphondo	lúphondvo	úphondvo	lúphôndo
104. rib	úbambo	lúbhambo	úbhambo	lúbâmbo

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
105. madman	úhlanya	lúhlanya	úhlanya	lúhlányá
106. milk	úbîsi	lúbîsi	íntúsi	íntúsi
107. love	úthândo	lútshândvo	útshândvo	lútshândo
108. to grind	ukúgaya/ukúsila	kúsila	úkúsila	kúsîla
109. to see	úkubóna	kúbóna	úkúbóna	kúbóna
110. to sit	ukúhlala	kúhlala	úkúhlala	kúrhâla
111. speech	ínkulúmo	ínkhulúmo	íntétho	kúkhulúma
112. to drink	úkuphúza	kúnatsha	úkúnyatsha	kuseîa
113. laziness	ubúvila	búvila	úbúvila	bútîla
114. night	úbusûku	búsûku	úbúsûku	búsûku
115. hair	ízinwéle	tínwéle	ítínwéle	tínwéle
116. pain	úbuhlûngu	búhlûngu	úbúhlûngu	búhlûngu
117. king	ínkôsi	ínkhôsi	ínkôsi	íyôsi
118. kingship	úbukhôsi	búkhôsi	úbúkhôsi	búhhôsi
119. sleep	úbuthôngo	bútfôngo	úbútfongo	búthôngo
120. to marry	úkuthátha/ukúganwa ..	kwéndza/kutéka	úkwéndza/úkutéka	kwéndza/kutéka
121. to speak	ukúkhulúma	kúkhulúma	úkúbhobha	kúkhulúma
122. to open	ukúvuîa	kúvuîa	ukúvuîa	kúvûlá
123. to walk	úkuhámba	kúhámba	úkúkhámba	kúkhámba
124. to roast	ukósa	kósa	úkója	kósa
125. to steal	ukúntjontja/úkwêba ..	kwêba	úkwêba	kúntjontja

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
126. to call	úkubíza	kúbíta	úkúbíta	kúbíta
127. to ask	úkubúza	kúbúta	úkúbúta	kúbúta
128. to be quiet	úkuthúla	kútfula	úkútfúla	kúthúla
129. to send	úkuthúma	kútfúma	úkútfúma	kúthúma
130. to be drowsy	ukózela	kótela	úkwétela	kótêla
131. clay pot	úkhamba	lúdzíwo	íngcáza	lúkhâmba
132. to be lean	ukúzaca/úkōnda	kōndza	úkújaca	kúzâcá
133. to point	úkukhómba	kúkhómba	úkúkhómba	kúkhómba
134. to rest	ukúphumúla	kúphumúla	úkúphumúla	kúphumúla
135. to laugh	ukúhleka	kúhleka	úkúhleka	kúhleka
136. food	úkudlá	kúdlá	úkudlá	kúdlá
137. to cook	ukúpheka	kúpheka	úkúpheka	kúpheka
148. big	khúlu	khúlu	khúlu	khúlu/húlu
139. small	ncáne	ncáne	ncáne	ncáne
140. long	de	dze	dze	dze
141. short	fisháne	fisháne	futjháne	fusháne
142. black	mnyáma	mnyáma	mnyáma	mnyáma
143. white	mhlóphe	mhlóphe	mhlóphe	hlóphe
144. pretty/nice	hlé	hlé	hlé	hlé
145. bad/ugly	bí	bí	mbí	mbí
146. red	bomvú	bovú	bovú	bōvú

ENGLISH	ZULU	SWATI	BHACA	LALA
147. green	luhláza	luhláta	luhláta	luhláta
148. heavy	nzima	ntima	ntima	síndza
149. wide	banzí	bantí	bantí	bantí
150. many	níngi	néngi	néngi	néngi

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
1. person	umuntu	úmuntu	mútfu	múnru/múntru
2. parent	úmzáli	úmítáli	mútádi	mutáli
3. builder	úmâkhi	úmâkhi	muwákhi	muyákhi
4. woman	úmfâzi	úmfâti	úfatí	múfâti
5. boy	úmfána	úmfána	línqayí/múzwali	mutlhángâna
6. maker	umenzi	úmenti	múyêti	muyênti
7. white person	úmlungu/úmlumbi	úmlungu	likrhúwa	likrhúwa
8. father (my/our)	úbabá	úbawó	ntaté	bhabhá
9. mother (my/our)	úmâma	úmâna	mamá	mmá
10. uncle (maternal)	umalúme	umalúme	malúme	malúme
11. fathers (our)	óbabá/abóbabá	óbawó	bóntaté	bóbhabhá
12. student	úmfúndi	úmfúndi	mubadi	mubadi/mmadi
13. sister (my/our)	údadewêthú	údadéwêthu	dzadzéwétfu	mulâmu
14. man	índoda	índoda	ûfó	ndoda
15. goat	ímbûzi	ímbûti	mbûti	mbûti
16. axe	ímbazo/ízembe	ímbazo	llêbhé	llêmbhé/lihlóka
17. house	índlu	índlu	ídlu	ndlu
18. elephant	índlovu	índlovu	ídlovu	ndlovu
19. hippopotamus	ímvubú	ímvubú	ívubú	ngubú
20. famine	índlala	índlala	ídlala	ndlala

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
21. path	indlela	indlela	idlela	ndlela
22. health	impilo	impilo	búphilo	buphílo
23. bride/daughter-in-law	umákotí	umákhótí	ngwedzí	ńngwéji
24. river	úmfula	úmfula	múlábho	mulámbo
25. wind	úmôya	úlúphêphe	môya	ńmôya
26. shade	úmfhûnti	úmfhûnti	mútfûti	múthunti
27. fire	úmlilo	úmlilo	múllo	múllo
28. obstruction pole	úmvalo	úmvalo	múvallo	múvallo
29. mouth	úmlomo	úmlomo	múlomo	mulômo
30. tail	úmsîla	úmsîla	músîla	musîla
31. law	úmfhêtho	úmfhêtho	múlawu	muláwo
32. maize	úmfbîla	úmfbîla	íbhóni	síphila
33. work	úmfsebênti	úmfsebênti	úsebêti	mméréngo
34. door-way	úmfnyango	úmfnyango	únyago	munyāngo
35. villages	imîzi	imîti	mîti	mîti
36. tree	úmuthí	úmuthí	síphâdze	siphânde
37. colour	úmbâla	úmbâla	mmâla	mmâla
38. stone	ítje	ílitje	líjwe	líye
39. voice/word	ízwí	íliví	líví	líví
40. blood	ígazí	ígâtí	mâdí	tíngatí
41. ear	índlebé	índlebé	ídlebé	ndlebé

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
42. tooth	izinyo	itinyo	litinyo	litinyo
43. grand-mother	ugogo	ugogo	cecé	gongo
44. baby	umtwana	umtwana	utfwana	mutlhángana
45. country/land	izwe	ilive	liphási	liphási
46. lion	ibhubêsi/ingonyâma ..	ingonyama	ngwenyâma	ngwenyâma
47. horse	ihhâshi	ihhâshi	iháng-háng	mpére
48. crocodile	ingwenya	ingwenya	igwenya	ngwenya
49. leopard	ingwe	ingwe	igwe	ngwe
50. leaf	iqabúnga/icembé	iggabi	ligqabi	liklári
51. body	umzimba	umtima	utimba	mutimba
52. cannibal	izimu	itimu	lidimu	lidimu
53. water	amânzi	amânti	emâti	mantí
54. sun	ilanga	ilanga	llâga	llânga
55. fat/oil	amafûtha	úkalakaténi/amáfûtha	emáfûtsha	mafûtha
56. initiated girls	amatjítji	amajóngosi	titfójane	tikrháribé
57. head	ikhânda/inhlóko	inhlóko	ihlóko	nhlóko
58. nose	ikhala/impúmulo	impúmulo	iphúmulo	mphúmulo
59. lungs	amâphaphú	amâphaphú	emâphâphú	mâphâphú
60. eggs	amâqandá	amâqânda	emácayi	mâklânda
61. brother	umfówethú	umfówethú	ufówetfú	múnakêthu
62. knee	idolo	idolo	lidvolo	lidolo

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
63. today	námuhla	námuhla	lámuhla	némuhla
64. eye	îsó/îhló	îlîhló	lîhló	lîhló
65. time	isikhathí	isikhathí	nágo	nángo
66. to sleep	úkúlála	úkúlála	kuróbala	kuthóbala
67. power/strength	amándla	ámándla	emádla	mándla
68. lies	amánga	ámánga	émalá	mála
69. saliva	ámathé	ámâthé	ématshé	mâthí
70. clouds	amáfu	ámáfu	emáfu	máfu
71. hand	isándla	ísándla	sádla	sándla
72. fool	isílimá	ísidenge	síbhanxa/sílimá	sídláyela
73. dumb person	ísimúngulú	ísimúngulú	símúmu	símúmu
74. blind person	împumpúthe	împúmpúthe	síphôphu	siphófu
75. shoe	isicáthulo	isixáthuba	síyedá	siklábula
76. stomach	ísísu	ísísu	sísu	sísu
77. chest	ísifûba	ísifûba	sífûba	síhûba
78. breast	îbéle	îbéle	libéle	libéle
79. vessels/dishes	izítja	ítítja	tíjana	tiyana
80. old woman	ísalukázi	ísalukáti	lixhegwátana	sígegúlu
81. mouse	îmbiba	îmbiba	bheba	bheba
82. foot	únyawo	únyawo	línyawo	línyawo
83. field	însîmu	însîmu	ísîmi	nsîmu

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
84. sorghum	amábêlé	ámábelé	émábelé	mábelé
85. dog	înjá	înjá	îjá	njá
86. marriagable girl	întombí	întombí	ítfobhí	mthímbara
87. clay	úbûmba	úbûmba	lúbûbha	libûmba
88. mountain	întaba	întaba	ítshaba	ntrába/nrába
89. grass	útjâni	utjâni	byâni	buyâni
90. obstinacy	înkâni	înkâni	îrhâni	nklâni
91. bovine	înkómó	înkómó	íyomó	nklomó
92. bull	înkûnzi	înkûnti	îrhûti	nklûnti
92. ox	înkâbi	înkâbi	îrhâbi	nklâbi
94. baboons	izimféne	itimféne	tifêne	timféne
95. birds	izinyôni	itinyôni	tinyónyana	tinyónywane
96. sheep	îmvu	îmvú/ígutsha	îvú	mvú
97. hearts	îzinhliziyo	ítinhlitíyo	tíhlitíyo	tihlitíyo
98. song	îngoma/ícúlo	îngoma	ígoma	ngoma
99. feather	úphaphé/úsíba	úlúphaphé	lísíba	lísíba
100. stick	înduku/întônga	întônga	ítfôga	ntrônga/nrônga
101. nails	izínzipho	itíntipho	émanála	mitípho
102. twig/stick	ûthí	úlûthí	lútshí	luthí
103. horn	úphondo	úphondo	línagá	lúbôndo
104. rib	úbambo	úbhambo	líkrhubho	klubho

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
105. madman	úhlanya	úhlanya	líhlanya	sirháphi
106. milk	úbîsi	íntúsi	líbîsi	libîsi
107. love	úthândo	úthândo	lítshâdzo	lithândo
108. to grind	ukúgaya/ukúsila	úkúsila	kúsila	kúsila
109. to see	úkubóna	úkubóna	kúbóna	kúbóna
110. to sit	ukúhlala	úkúhlala	kúhlala	kúhlala
111. to drink	úkuphúza	úkúséla	kúselá	kúséla
112. speech	ínkulúmo	ínkulúmo	múkhulúmo	musúmayelo
113. laziness	ubúvila	úbúvila	bútswa	tjwáfa
114. night	úbusûku	úbúsûku	búsûku	búsûku
115. hair	ízinwéle	ítínwéle	tínywéle	muhlûthu
116. pain	úbuhlûngu	úbúhlûngu	búhlûngu	búhlûngu
117. king	ínkôsi	ínkôsi	múrena/írhôsi	nklôsi
118. kingship	úbukhôsi	ubúkhôsi	búrhôsi	búklôsi
119. sleep	úbuthôngo	ubútfôngo	bútfôgo	búthôngo
120. to marry a girl	ukúganwa/úkuthátha ..	úkutéka	kutéka	kutéka
121. to speak	ukúkhulúma	úkúkhulúma	kúkhulúma	kusumáyela
122. to open	ukúvuła	úkúvuła	kúvuła	kúvulá
123. to walk	úkuhámba	úkúkhámba	kúkhábha	kukhámba
124. to roast	ukósa	úkósa	kúwósa	kúbésa
125. to steal	ukúntjontja/úkwêba ..	úkúntjontja	kúyéba	búhodú

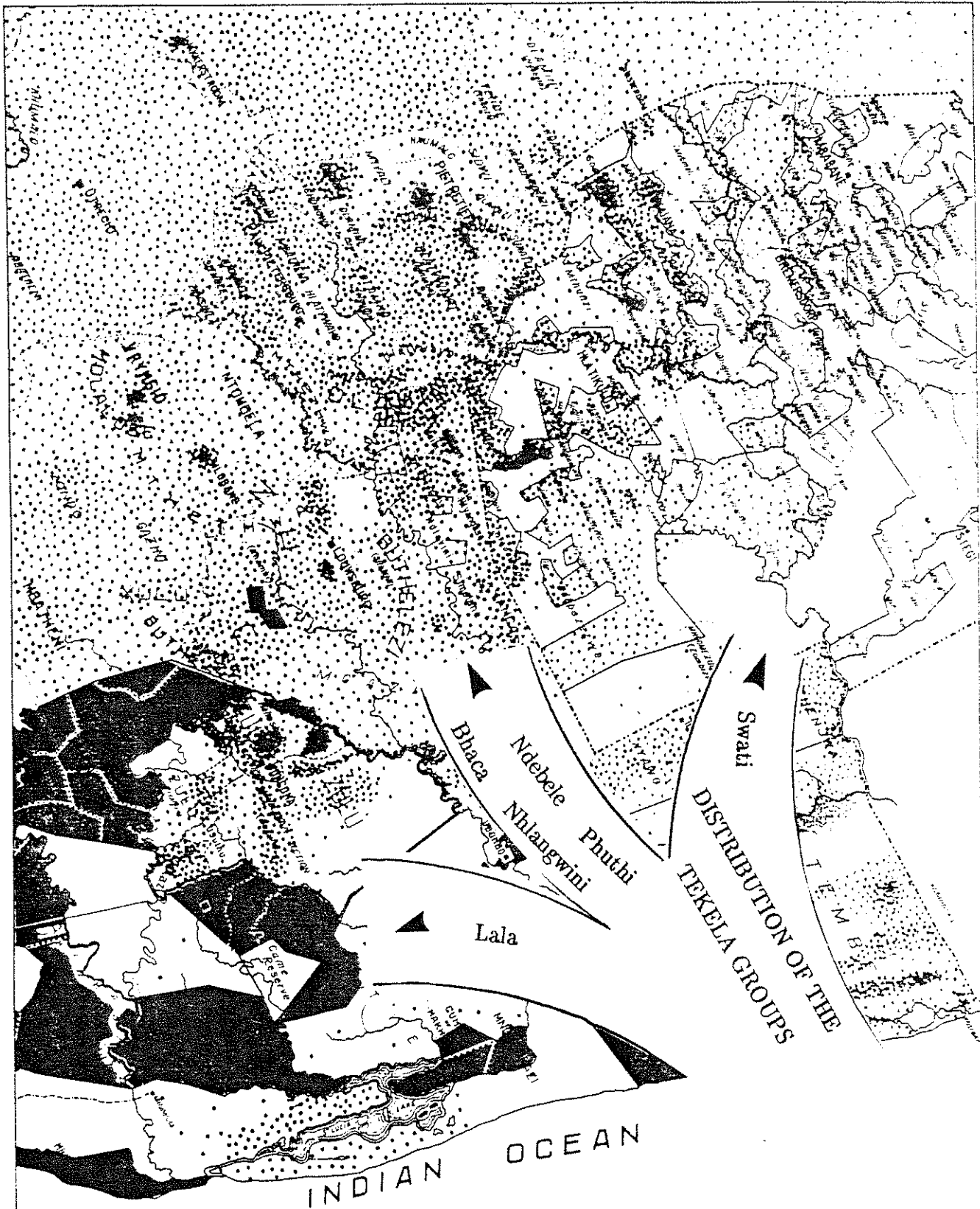
ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
126. to call	úkubíza	úkúkhwata/úkúbíta ...	kúbíta	kubíta
127. to ask	úkubúza	úkúbúta	kúbúta	kúbútisa
128. to be quiet	úkuthúla	úkúthúla	kútfúla	kúdudúka
129. to rest	ukúphumúla	úkúphúmúla	kúphumúla	kúphumúla
130. to send	úkuthúma	úkúthúma	kútfúma	kúthúma
131. to be drowsy	ukózela	úkwétele	kuwótele	kuwótele
132. clay pot	úkhamba	údiyo	nkló	nkló
133. to be lean	ukúzaca/úkōnda	úkújaca	kuwódza	kúwōnda
134. to point	úkukhómba	úkúkhómba	kúsubha	kúshupha
135. to laugh	ukúhleka	úkúhleka	kútshega	kúhleka
136. food	úkudlá	úkúdlá	búdlá	kúdlá
137. to cook	ukúpheka	úkúpheka	kúpheka	kúpheka
138. big	khúlu	khúlu	rhúlu	klúlu
139. small	ncáne	ncáne	nc̣	kóku
140. long	de	de	dze	nde
141. short	fisháne	futjháne	futjháne	klúmbane
142. black	mnyáma	mnyáma	tshu	tshwana
143. white	mhlóphe	mhlóphe	tshwewú	mhlóphe
144. pretty/nice	hlé	hlé	hlé	hlé
145. bad/ugly	bí	mbí	bí	bí/mbí
146. red	bomvú	bovú	bovú	bôvú

ENGLISH	ZULU	NHLANGWINI	PHUTHI	SU. NDEBELE
147. green	luhláza	luhláta	dalá	ntima
148. heavy	nzima	ntima	tima	dési
149. wide	banzí	bantí	batí	bantí
150. many	níngi	níngi	nyénti	nyénti

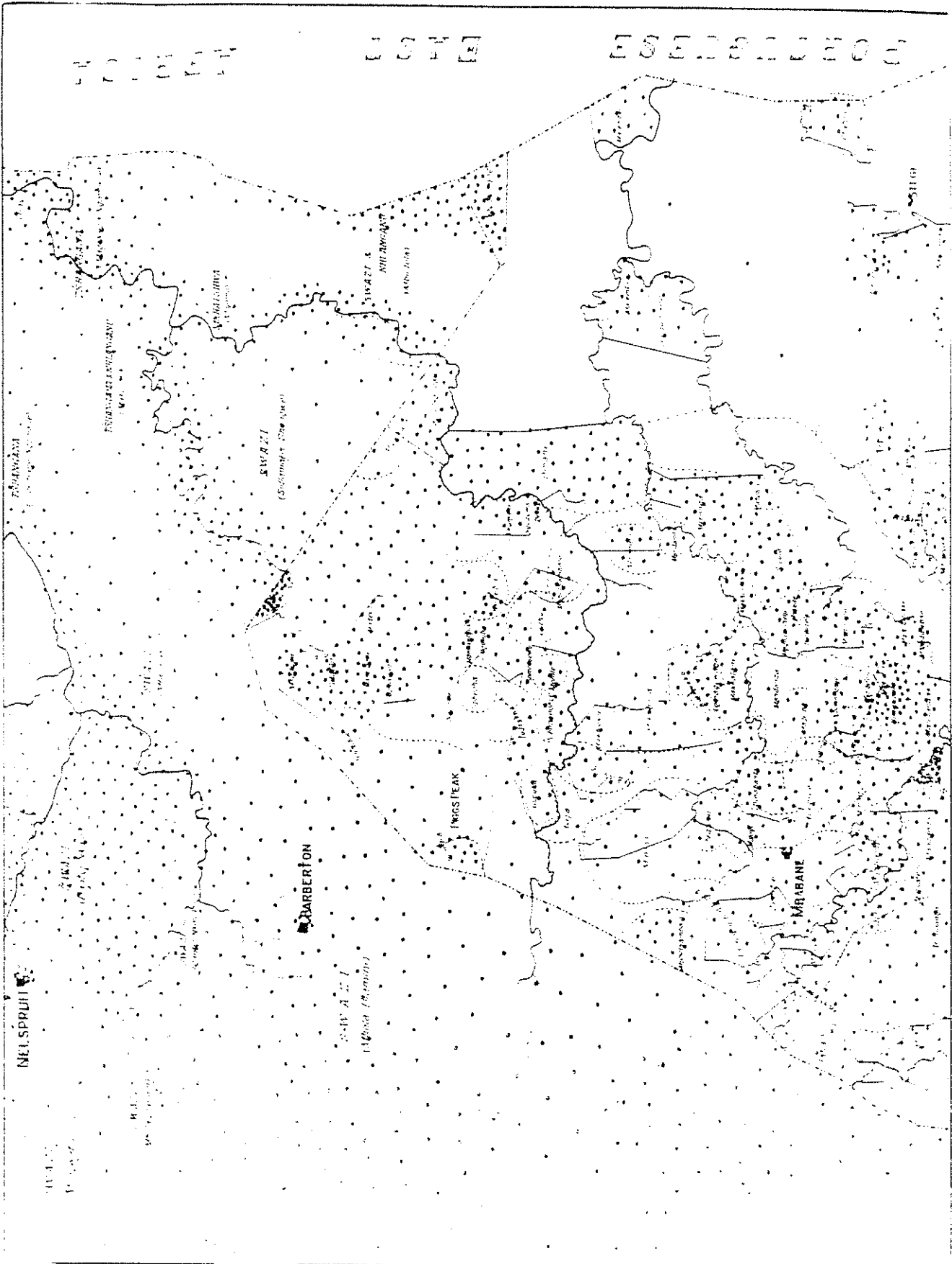
In this inventory, the Tekela dialects and Zulu share the common vocabulary as follows:-

- (a) Swati = 147 Nhlanguwini = 147
 - (b) Bhaca = 145 Phuthi = 120
 - (c) LaLa = 149 Su. Ndebele = 121
- Out of 150 Zulu words.

MAPS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TEKELA NGUNI PEOPLES

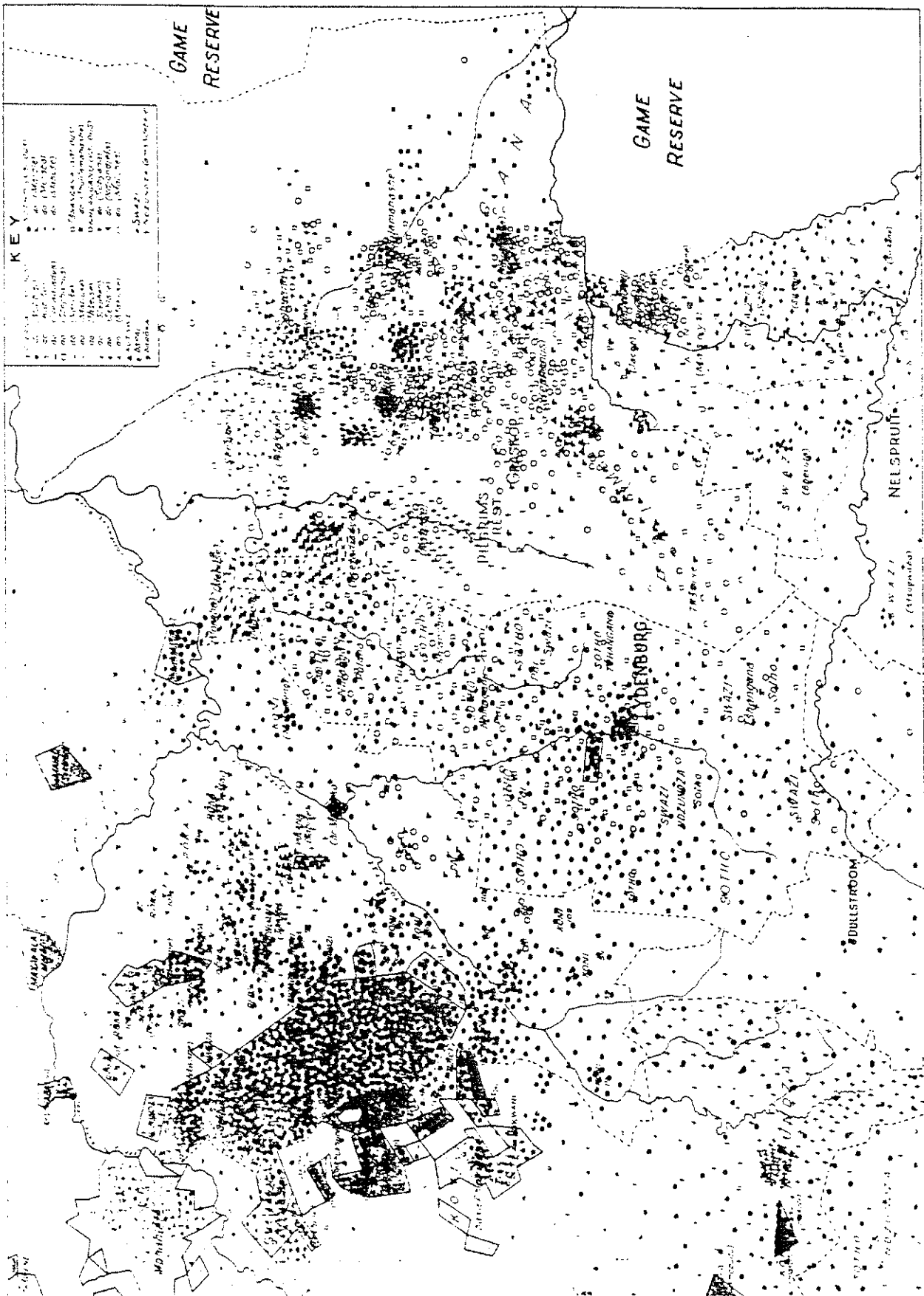


Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)
Showing part of Swaziland.



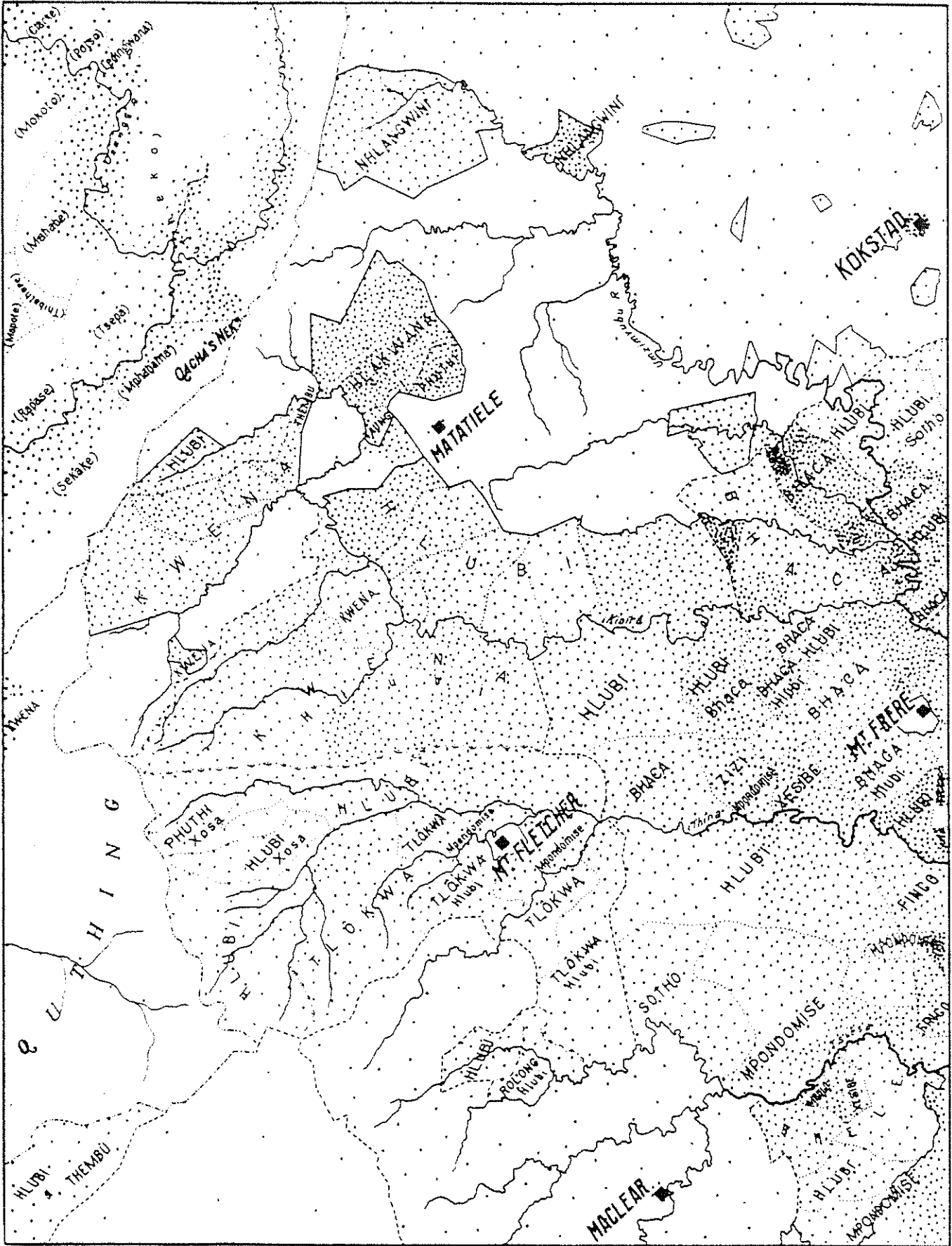
Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing certain regions where the Swati are found in South Africa from Barberton to Nelspruit.

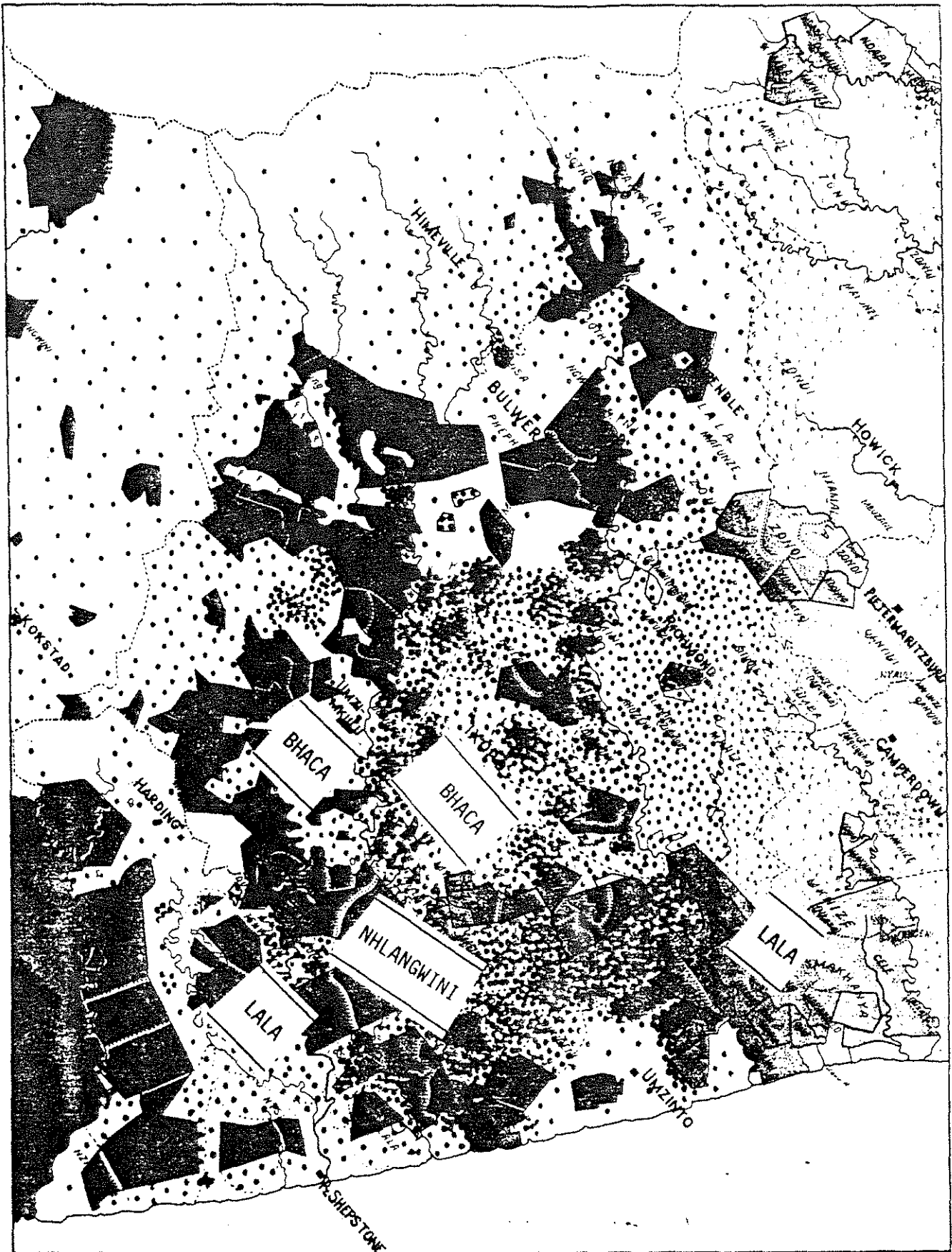


Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing certain regions where the Swati are found in South Africa between Nelspruit and Lydenburg.

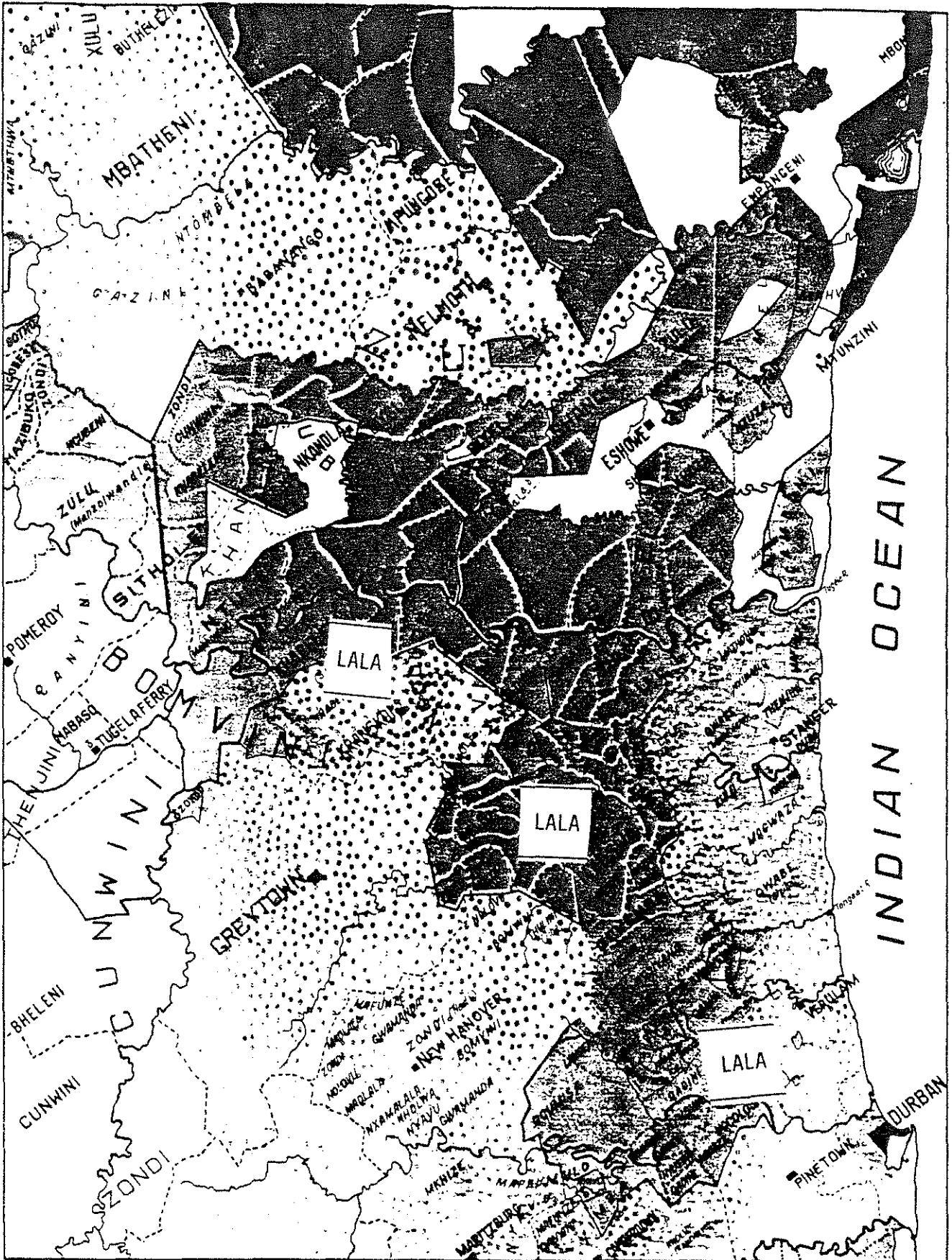


Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)
 Showing Bhaca territories in Mt Frere and Phuthi and Nhangwini in Matatiele.



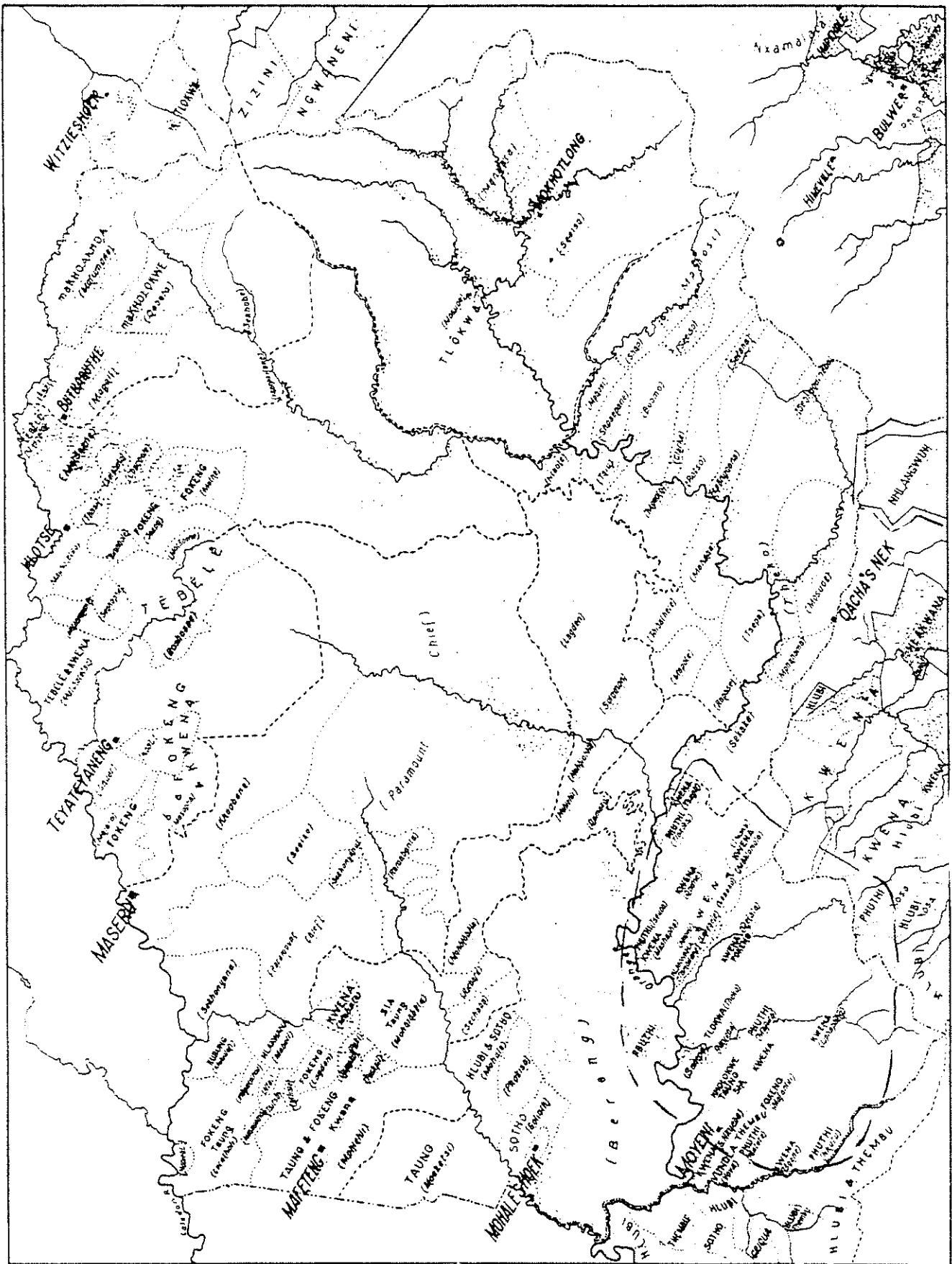
Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing Lala territories occupied by Lala tribes including the Cele, Nyuswa, Ndelu, Madlala, Mkhize etc., as well as the Nhangwini and Bhaca.



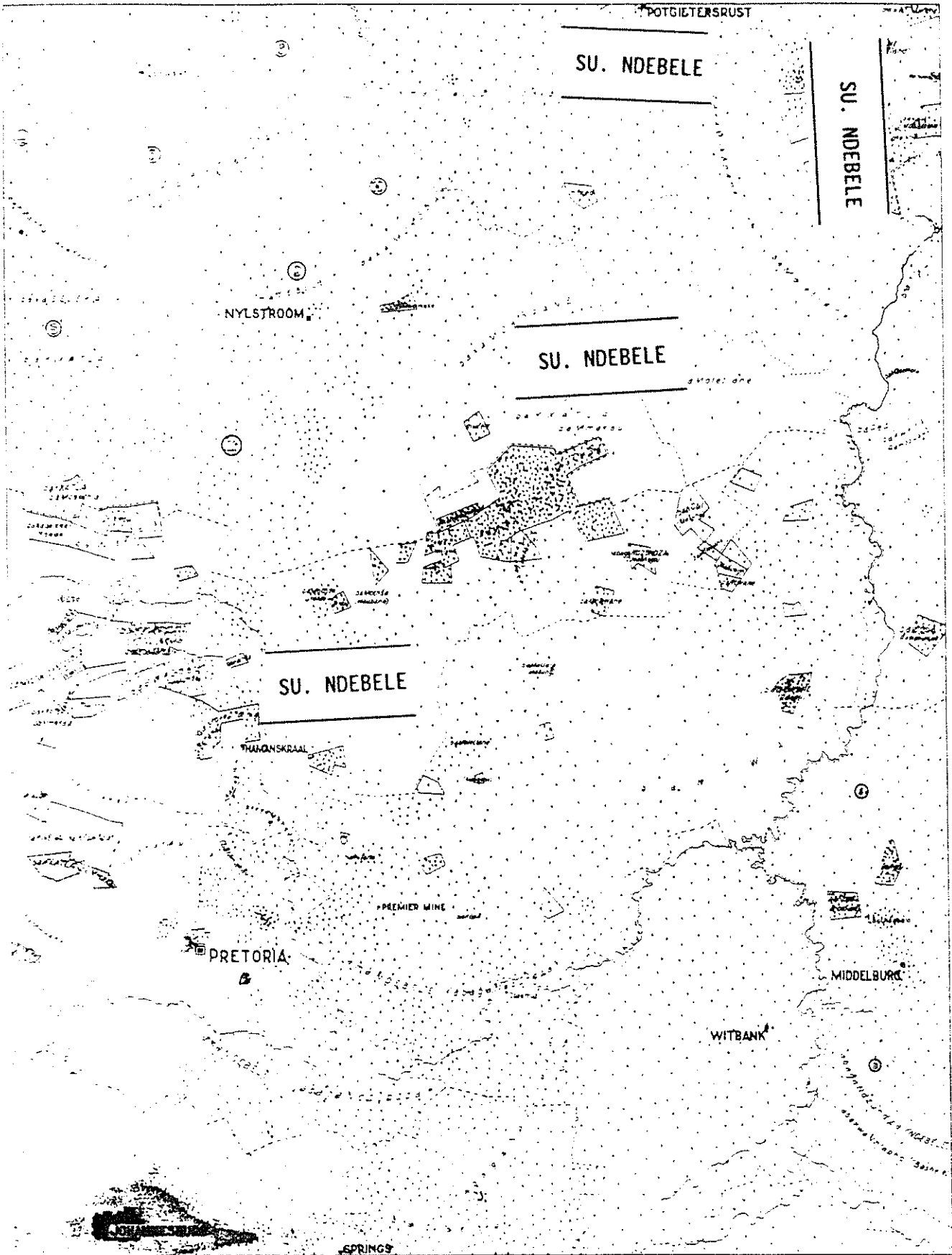
Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing Lala territories occupied by the Bhengu (or Ngcolosi) around Durban and Kranskop. Other Lala tribes include the Nyuswa, Qadi, Khabela and



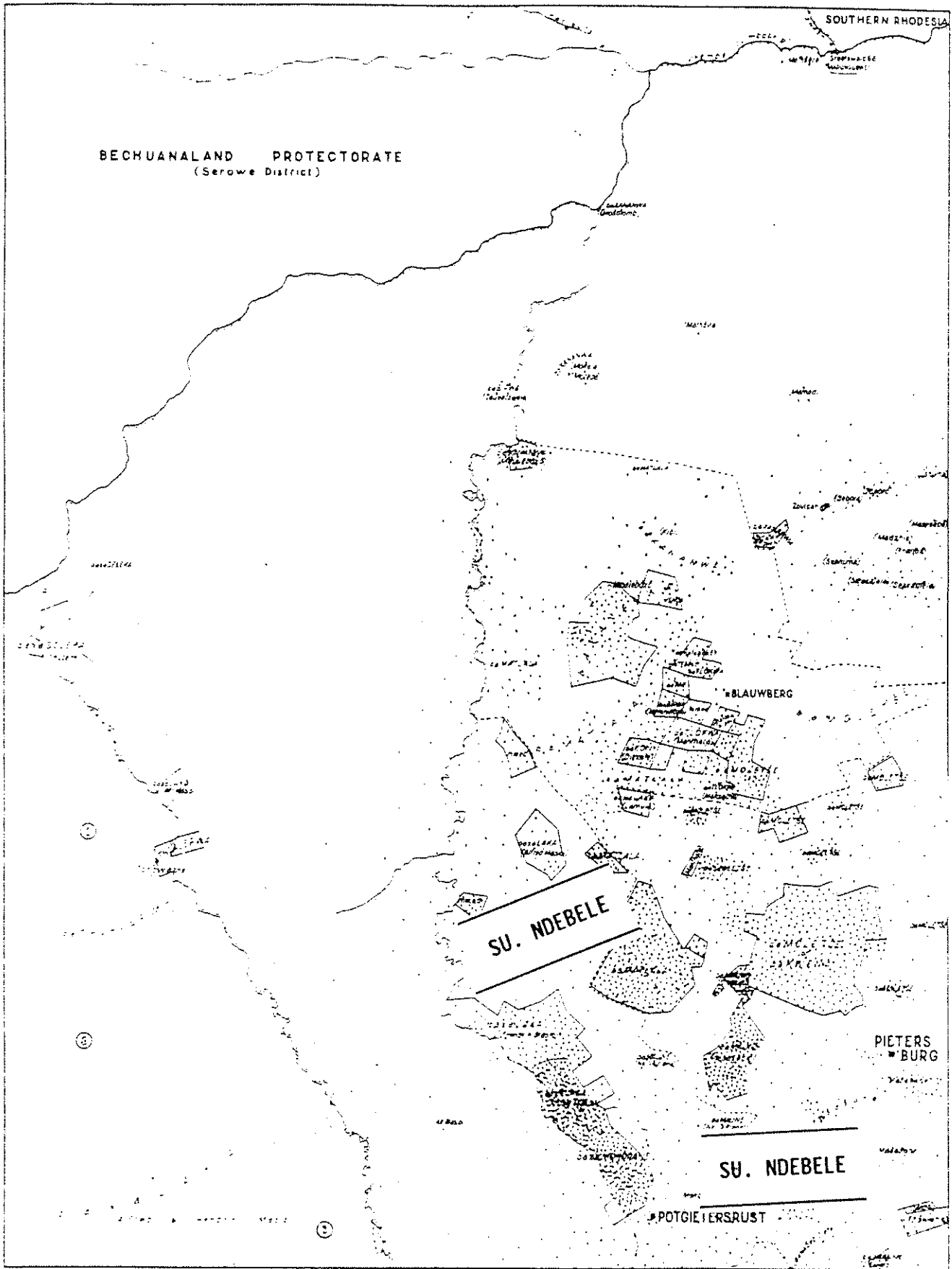
Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing Phuthi territory in Quthing and Qacha's Nek. Included is also the Nhangwini territory east of Qacha's Nek.



Map adopted from Van Warmelo (1935)

Showing Su.Ndebele territory from Nylstroom to Potgietersrust.



Map adopted from Van Warmelo (2935)
Showing Su.Ndebele territory around Potgietersrust and Pietersburg.

approach in its latest modification of autosegmental and lexical phonology. Secondly, Khumalo pays attention to the tonology of the Natal South Coast dialects of Zulu, and that is exactly the area where Nhlanguwini, Lala and Bhaca are also found.

There are other tonological studies also worth considering although they are just short articles. I must make mention of (a) Rycroft (1980) firstly because of his insights into the effect of depressor consonants on Nguni tonology and secondly because he too has taken Swati in this article as the point of departure; and (b) Louw (1968 and 1979). The first-cited publication is important from the point of view that it compares intonation between Xhosa (a Nguni language) and Tsonga. It will be recalled that in Chapter 2 an attempt was made at showing that Lala and Tsonga shared a common history of quite a long duration. It would be quite interesting to see whether Tsonga tonology left any traces on Lala.

I am not unmindful of the pioneering tonological studies on Nguni such as Tucker (1949), Doke (1926), Cope (1960 and 1966) and Lanham (1960). It is just that I do not consider them to be strictly relevant to this study since the theories applied in them have – to an extent – been either superseded by the emergence of generative phonology or adopted in the above-mentioned relevant studies.

6.2 THEORETICAL BASIS

The theoretical approach to be adopted in this discussion is that of lexical phonology within the autosegmental framework. Lexical phonology posits two sets of phonological rules which are based on two levels: the lexicon and syntax respectively. The rules which apply to the former level are lexical rules while those which apply to the latter are post-lexical rules. In the third place phonetic rules may be employed.

Of great significance is the fact that lexical rules interact with morphological rules as Booij and Rubach (1984:1) observe:

The theory of Lexical Phonology proposed in Kiparsky (1982a) is a major step forward in generative phonology with respect to the problem of the interaction of phonology and morphology.

Its basic claim is that morphological rules and wordlevel phonological rules are interspersed. A rule of word phonology (i.e. a lexical phonological rule, which exclusively applies to words) may apply as soon as the required environment for its application has been created by some morphological rule. That is: 'morphology and phonology go hand in hand'.

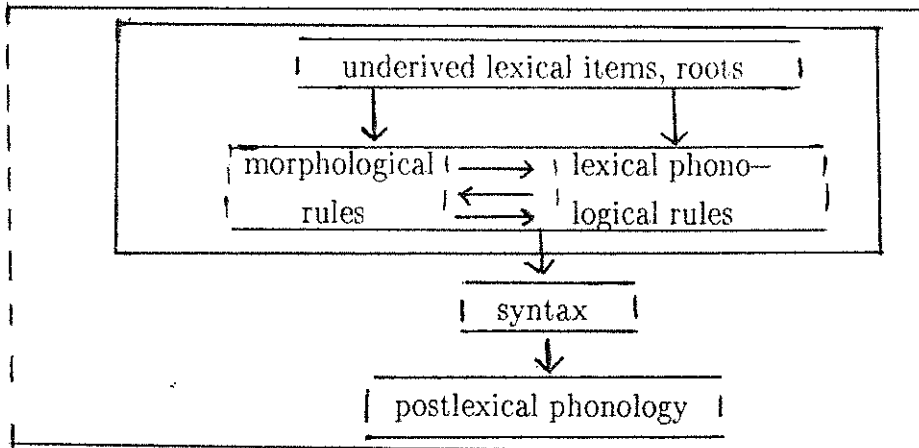
Khumalo (1987:186–187) believes that it is the autosegmental framework which facilitates the incorporation of lexical rules. The autosegmental framework employs three tiers for the description of tone: the tonal tier; the segmental tier; and the tone-bearing unit tier the members of which are the V's of the CV tier.

The next important aspect of the tier phonology is association, i.e. a mapping procedure which maps a sequence of tones to a sequence of syllables. Pulleyblank (1986:9) emphasizes the significance of association conventions where he argues that:

Even though such tiers exhibit considerable independence ... one can nevertheless only obtain a well-formed phonological representation once the various tiers are connected up.

In a number of Nguni tonal analyses the tradition has been to claim that the Nguni tonemic system comprises two phonological tones, viz. high and low (cf. Khumalo 1987:187 and the sources cited there). While this tradition is not disputed it must be pointed out that the latest trend in autosegmental phonology is to posit only one underlying tone, viz. the high tone (see Khumalo, *ibid*). It is this high tone which is prelinked to the designated vowels. The low tones are supplied by a Low Tone Default Rule (cf. Pulleyblank, 1986:104). This principle will be adopted in this discussion, but in distinguishing tonal patterns recourse will be had to the traditional dichotomy of high and low tones. The following diagram, adopted from Booij *et al* (1984:1) clearly demonstrates the interaction between the linguistic levels, viz. morphology, phonology and syntax.

Model of Lexical Phonology



6.3 APPROACH

As pointed out above, only the verb and noun will be considered here. For convenience verbal and nominal stems will be combined in the discussion, because the majority of tone rules apply in the same manner to both nouns and verbs. However, a distinction will be made between low and high toned stems. An attempt will be made at relating synchronic tone patterns to their Common-Bantu counterparts.

Low tone Swati verbal stems include the following patterns: L, LL, LLL and LLLL (Davey, 1981:23). However, for nominal stems one may add also LH stems. Regarding high toned stems Davey (1981:26–29) identifies the following patterns: H, HL and HLL. It would appear that he excludes the HH stems. Khumalo (1987:198 *et seq.*) acknowledges HH stems for Zulu but explains that these are realised as FL in certain constructions in the surface structure. Khumalo's claim in this regard will be adopted in this discussion.

Verbal stems will be presented either with an infinitive prefix or a concord. In such a set-up, disyllabic and trisyllabic vowel commencing stems will be considered as mono- and disyllabic stems respectively. This will be due to segmental phonological conditioning whereby the initial vowel is linked to the prefixal syllable and consequently carries the tone of such syllable, e.g.

- uku + ona > úkôna (to sin/spoil)
 uku + embatsha > ukwé mbatsha (to dress)
 (N.B. The underlining marks the syllables of the stem.)

Again for convenience, most examples will include mono- and disyllabic stems. Trisyllabic stems may be used where necessary otherwise the shorter stems will be extended by means of inflectional suffixes.

Bearing in mind the fact that the domain for tone is the V of the CV tier, the structure of verbal radicals and stems calls for closer scrutiny. A verbal stem comprises a radical plus a terminative vowel; i.e. a suffix which denotes tense and positive or negative conjugation. The result is that the radical itself does not end in a vowel. To satisfy the requirements of the open syllable structure in Nguni, however, linguists usually use a dash or hyphen to indicate that underlyingly the radical should end in a vowel, e.g. *-fûn-* (want). This is in line with the claim made by Clements and Keyser (cited by Khumalo, 1987:189) that morphemes are fully syllabified in the underlying representation. Khumalo accordingly concludes that:

In the case of Zulu, this means that all the syllables of the morpheme must conform to the structure of its core syllables, viz. CV and V. The final syllable of every morpheme, therefore, and that includes verbal radicals, must incorporate a vowel in the case of Zulu. The terminating vowel of a verbal radical, we claim is unspecified for place of articulation features, and it acquires these (when the verbal radical and a verbal suffix come together) by a spread rule we term suffixation.

(Khumalo, 1987:190)

Khumalo then uses the letter "V" to represent this terminating vowel. The same approach will be adopted in this analysis.

6.4 TONAL PATTERNS AND RULES

6.4.1 Low Tones Stems

6.4.1.1 Low toned stems in Swati

Let us consider the following examples:

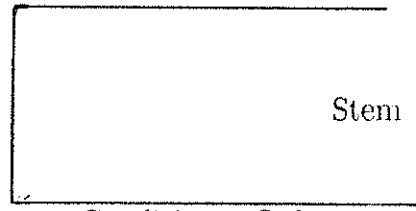
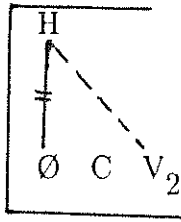
- | | | | |
|----|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. | (a) | <i>íngatí</i> (blood) | < CS 766 * <i>-gàdí</i> (blood) |
| | (b) | <i>ímbiba</i> (kind of
mouse) | < CS 65 * <i>-bèbà</i> (kind of rat) |
| | (c) | <i>úmúntfu</i> | < CS 1768 * <i>-ntù</i> (person) |
| | (d) | <i>kúlwa</i> (to fight) | < CS 675 * <i>-dù</i> (fight) |
| | (e) | <i>kúvala</i> (to shut) | < CS 736a * <i>-dùgad</i> (shut) |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (f) | kúvimba (to block) | < CS 143 *—b̃mb (thatch) |
| (g) | kwénda (to marry) | < CS 807 *—gènd (travel) |
| (h) | kúhlákula (to weed) | < CS 263 *—càkud (weed) |

With the examples (a), (b) and (d)–(g) in (1) above, we do not seem to have any problem with the location of high tone. It is always located on the V of the prefix. In (c) however, the [+H] is not on the pre-vowel but the V of the basic prefix and in (h) it is located on the V of the root syllable. The question is: with which of the three different vowels should [+H] be associated. It was Rycroft (1963) who was the first to postulate that in Zulu nouns the [+H] is underlyingly associated with the pre-vowel of the prefix. Later (1979) he elaborated on this view and extended it to cover Nguni languages in general. This view also finds support in Khumalo (1987:191). With regard to Tekela, however, a few questions must be answered before Rycroft's claim is fully accepted. The first question is with what segment is this [+H] associated in the Tekela prefixes which lack a pre-vowel. It has been demonstrated in Chapter 2 and Appendix A that in Phuthi and Su.Nde for instance, pre-vowels have been virtually eliminated. Even in Swati we get them only in nasal classes. Rycroft (1979:13) answers this question where he states:

Compared with other Nguni languages, siSwati of course provides the interesting case of having actually dropped the initial vowel permanently from all noun prefixes except those containing a nasal consonant; yet the High tone attributable to the missing initial vowel has still been retained, in substantival usage. While in Zulu, the substantival form **abantu** ('people') contrasts with the vocative form, **bantu** ('O people') by reason both of the initial vowel and the presence or absence of its displaced High tone, in Swati the substantival morpheme (if we may call it that) now employs the displaced High tone, as its sole exponent, when distinguishing between **bantfu** ('people'), and **bantfu** ('O people').

In essence, Rycroft is claiming that from a diachronic point of view Swati had disyllabic prefixes with the form VCV. In the course of derivation the pre-vowel was dropped. The [+H] prelinked to it was then delinked and associated with the V of the class prefix. This is captured in the following lexical rule.

T-Rule 1: The Pre-vowel High-Delink Rule (T = Tone)

Condition: Only in non-nasal classes of Swati and Lala.

It must be borne in mind that this rule does not apply to Bhaca and Nhlanguini since these dialects still retain the pre-vowel. Further, the condition of this rule does not apply to Phuthi because this dialect has no nasal prefixes to be distinguished from non-nasal ones. Finally, the condition does not apply to Su.Nde as well because owing to Sotho influence the pre-vowel has been dropped also in the nasal classes. Consequently, the rule applies fully only to Swati and Lala (particularly Northern Lala).

Rycroft's claim has far-reaching consequences for Tekela. In fact, it draws Tekela closer to Zunda Nguni. It implies that historically (i.e. in Proto-Nguni) Tekela and Zunda shared a common prefixal system. It will be recalled that in Chapter 2 it was postulated that Bhaca and Nhlanguini borrowed the pre-vowel from Zunda Nguni. Rycroft's claim is to the contrary for he in fact argues that Tekela initially had the pre-vowel but only dropped it in the course of its evolution. No doubt this assumption will prove valuable in reconstructing Proto-Nguni.

But this leads to yet another question: what is the position regarding Sotho languages which also lack a pre-vowel in their prefixal system. Did they also initially have it and then drop it? Again we must have recourse to Rycroft for an answer:

The Sotho-Tswana languages lack both the initial vowel, and its associated High tone and appear never to have employed them.

(Rycroft: 1979:13)

To prove that the high tone which spreads or shifts to the class prefix or stem in such examples as 1(c) or (h) is actually associated with the pre-vowel, the test which is often used is to cite examples without a

preprefix (even in the underlying structure). The result is that the unassociated vowels remain toneless as is evident from the following examples:

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2. | (a) | akúkho ngati | (there is no blood) |
| | (b) | akúkho mbiba | (there is no mouse) |
| | (c) | akúkho muntfu | (there is nobody) |
| | (d) | angifúni kulwa | (I don't want any fighting) |
| | (e) | angifúni kuvala | (I don't want any closing) |
| | (f) | angifúni kuvimba | (I don't want any preventing) |
| | (g) | angifúni kwendza | (I don't want to marry) |
| | (h) | angifúni kuhlakula | (I don't want to weed) |

The problem then is to explain how the tone shifts or spreads in such examples as 1(c) and (h). But before that, let me extend some of the examples in (1) above, with toneless inflectional suffixes:

- | | | | |
|----|-----|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 3. | (a) | íngatána | (little blood) |
| | (b) | imbibána | (a small mouse) |
| | (c) | úmntfwana | (a baby) |
| | (d) | kúlwela | (to fight for) |
| | (e) | kulwélana | (to fight for one another) |
| | (f) | kuvaléla | (to shut for) |
| | (g) | kuvalélana | (to shut for one another) |
| | (h) | kuvímbela | (to prevent from) |
| | (i) | kuvimbelána | (to prevent one another) |
| | (j) | kwéndzela | (to marry at) |
| | (k) | kuhlakúlela | (to weed for) |
| | (l) | kuhiakulélana | (to weed for one another) |

What transpires from the above inflected stems that is the high tone shifts to the antepenultimate syllable with the exception of (a) where it does not shift at all; and (b), (f) and (i) where it shifts to the penultimate syllable. We note that (b), (f) and (i) have a feature in common in that in each case the antepenultimate syllable has a depressor consonant. It may be argued that in (h) we get a depressor consonant in the antepenult as well. The difference here, however, is that the penult also has a depressor consonant.

Before formalising the relevant tone shift rule let me adopt the approach in Khumalo (1987:194–195) and appeal to the notion of extratonicity. This is what Pulleyblank (1986:172) has to say about extratonicity:

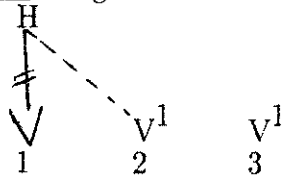
As in stress systems where certain peripheral constituents can be marked 'extrametrical' – and can therefore be excluded from consideration by the stress rules – in tone systems, certain peripheral constituents can be marked 'extratonic' – and can therefore be excluded from consideration by the tone rules.

Khumalo (*ibid*) employs this rule in order to avoid forming an extra rule to explain a high tone on the ante-penult. He argues that in Zulu the radicals which undergo extratonicity marking are disyllabic consonant-commencing and all polysyllabic stems. Applying this rule to the Swati stems in (3) above we get the following underlying representations:

4. (a) *íngata(na)
- (b) *úmntfwa(na)
- (c) *ímbita(na)
- (d) *kúlwe(la)
- (e) *kúlwela(na)
- (f) *kúvale(la)
- (g) *kúvalela(na)
- (h) *kúvimbe(la)
- (i) *kúvimbela(na)
- (j) *kwéndze(la)
- (k) *kúhlakule(la)
- (l) *kúhlakulela(na)

From the examples in 3 and 4 we note that an associated high tone shifts rightward to the unassociated vowel on condition that, that vowel is also unassociated. Khumalo (1987:193) captures this in a lexical rule which is adopted here as:

T-Rule 2: Rightward Shift



Iterative if no other H occurs to the right.
 (V¹ = unassociated vowel.)

This rule states that the High tone delinks from the prefix vowel and shifts to the unassociated vowel on its right if the next syllable also has an unassociated vowel.

This rule enables us to explain the shift to the antepenult in the examples in (3) above. Let us consider a few derivations:

5. (a)

H	ana
kulwel V	

H	
kulwelana	Suffixation
kúlwela(na)	Extratinality Marking
kulwéla(na)	Rightward shift
kulwélaana	Removal of Extratinality

(b)

H	ela
ku hlakul V	

H	
kuhlakulela	Suffixation
kúhlakule(la)	Extratinality Marking
kuhlákule(la)	Rightward Shift
kuhlakúle(la)	Rightward Shift
kuhlakúlela	Removal of Extratinality

Note that example (b) shows that the rule applies iteratively. We note further that in (3)(a) *íngatí*, the Rightward Shift rule cannot apply because

on the right of nga- is the associated -ti. The problem we need to solve is the failure of the delinking of the high tone from the pre-vowel in (3)(c). The fact that the high tone spreads from the pre-vowel to the class prefix without delinking from the pre-vowel in those Swati prefixes which are disyllabic is one of the distinguishing features between the Zululand Zulu and Swati. There are idiolectal differences however:

Zululand Zulu	Swati
amádoda (men)	émádvodza/emádvodza
umúntu (person)	úmúntfu/umúntfu
umúzi (village)	úmúti/umúti

However, this is not peculiar to Swati. Rycroft (1979:8) noted the same phenomenon regarding Ndebele, and Khumalo (1987:198) with regard to Southern Natal Zulu.

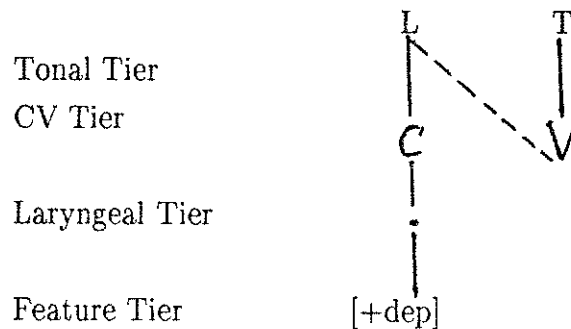
The last problem which we need to address is why does the high tone shift to the penultimate syllable in (3)(b) imbibá(na); (3)(f) kuvalé́(la); and (3)(i) kuvimbelá(na). In these cases the final syllables are invisible to tone rules and therefore the condition that the high tone shifts to the right tone if there is an unassociated tone to its right has not been satisfied. The solution to this problem has to be sought in the notion of depression in Nguni.

Rycroft (1975 and 1980) has written a very insightful description of the depression feature in Nguni, taking Swati as his point of departure. Traill *et al* (1987) give a survey of phonologists who have expressed themselves on this feature and they conclude that these phonologists although showing a surprising lack of agreement on the precise nature of the depression are however unanimous in that depressor consonants are inherently associated with low tone and that they have a lowering effect on the tautosyllabic vowel. However, the conclusion which is relevant to the displacement of tone in certain examples in (3) above, is that a depressor consonant displaces a high tone and shifts it to the next syllable provided that such a syllable is neither a final syllable in the stem nor contains a depressor consonant. Khumalo (1987:238) maintains that the reason why a high tone will not shift from one depressed syllable to the next is that since the next is marked for low tone, such shift would contravene a very important constraint that

association lines should not cross. This then explains why in (3)(a) we get *imbibâna* because the implosive /ɓ/ of *ba-* is not a depressor and can consequently tolerate the high tone displaced by the antepenultimate *mbi* which has a depressor consonant. However in (3)(h) *kuvimbela* the syllable *-vi-* with a depressor had to tolerate the high tone since it could not displace it to *-mbe-* another syllable with a depressor consonant.

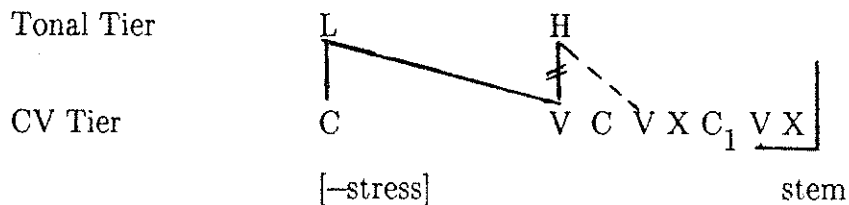
Khumalo (1987:237–239) deals with the depression feature in Zulu and summarises its relevant facts in two rules: Depressor Assimilation and Depressor Shift. Since these rules apply with full force also to Swati they are reproduced here as:

T–Rule 3: Depressor Assimilation



This is a phonetic rule which states that the low tone which is associated with the depressor consonant is co-articulated with the tone associated with the tautosyllabic vowel.

T–Rule 4: Depressor Displacement

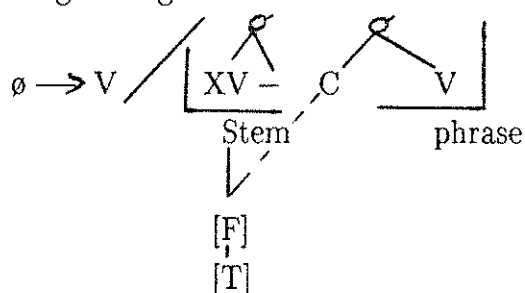


This is another phonetic rule which states that the high tone which shifts to an unstressed depressor syllable will be displaced to the next syllable if that syllable is not word-final.

It was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that in lexical phonology we deal with three sets of rules: lexical, post-lexical and phonetic rules. So

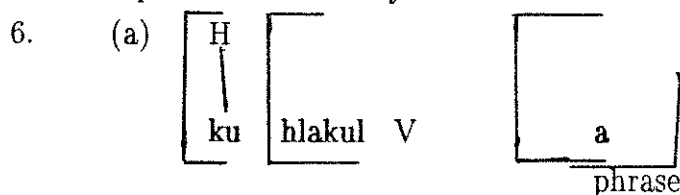
far only lexical and phonetic rules have been dealt with. Now it is the time to turn to post-lexical rules. We will refer once again to the examples in (1) above and point out that there is a difference in their phonetic realisation depending on whether they occur phrase medially or phrase finally. Should they appear phrase finally they will be a lengthening or doubling of the penultimate syllable. Khumalo (1987:196) captures the details of such lengthening in the following post-lexical rule:

T-Rule 5: Prepausal Lengthening



Condition: All syllables are [-stress]

This rule states that a vowel is epenthesised to the penultimate phrase-final syllable, and such vowel gets linked to all segmental [F] and tonal [T] features of the tautosyllabic vowel to its left, provided that the word does not incorporate a stressed syllable. Let us consider a few derivations:



Lexical Component

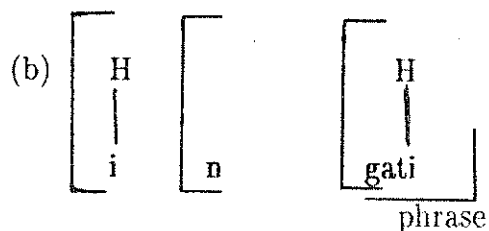
kú hlakula	Suffixation
kú hlakul(a)	Extratonicity Marking
ku h lákul(a)	Rightward Shift
ku h lákula	Removal of Extratonicity

Post-Lexical Component

ku h lák <u>u</u> ula	Prepausal Lengthening
------------------------------	-----------------------

Phonetic Component

kù h lákùùlà	Low Tone Default
---------------------	------------------



Lexical Component

ínga(tí)

Extratonicity Marking

íngatí

Removal of Extratonicity

Post-Lexical Component

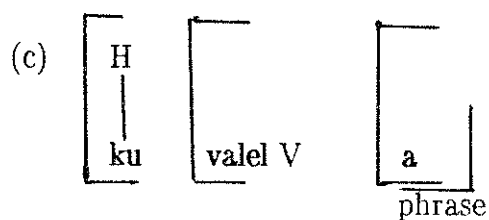
íngaatí

Prepausal Lengthening

Phonetic component

íngàatí

Low Tone Default



Lexical Component

kúvale(la)

Extratonicity Marking

kuvale(la)

Depressor Displacement

kuvalela

Removal of Extratonicity

Post-Lexical Component

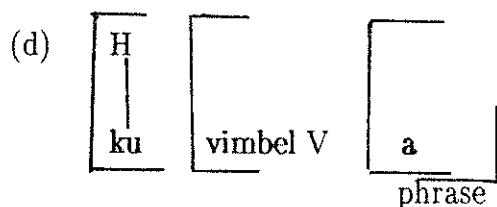
kuvaleéla

Prepausal Lengthening

Phonetic Component

kùvalééla

Low Tone Default



Lexical Component

kúvimbe(la)

Extratonicity Marking

kuvimbe(la)

Rightward Shift

kuvimbela

Removal of Extratonicity

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------------|
| (d) | engwaneni (at the leopard) | (PHU) | egwaneni |
| (e) | endzabeni (in the affair) | (SU.NDE) | endabeni |

An interesting case is that of Lala counterparts of Swati disyllabic LL stems. Lala appears to reject LL and replace it with RH in depressor consonants and FH in ordinary consonants. Let us consider the following examples:

	Swati	Lala
9. (a)	índzaba (affair)	índzǎbá
(b)	índvodza (man)	índzǒdzá
(c)	síhlahla (tree)	síhlâhla
(d)	lúvalo (fright)	lúvâlo
(e)	kúlima (to plough)	kúlima
(f)	kúpheka (to cook)	kúphêka

If a monosyllabic stem is so inflected that the penult and the final syllables are both low Lala will again replace LL with FH. However if the affixes are grammatical, LL occurs in Lala just as it occurs with nouns in the vocative case. Consider the following examples:

	Swati	Lala
10. (a)	íngwana (small leopard)	íngwǎná
(b)	siyalwa (we are fighting)	siyalwa
(c)	madvodza! (O men!)	madzodza!

In a way Phuthi also comes closer to Lala in this tendency of avoiding LL stems. It would be interesting to compare Lala tone with that of Tsonga. Unfortunately that is outside the scope of this study. Louw (1968) compares Tsonga tonology with that of Xhosa. Some of the Tsonga tonal patterns he cites have parallels in Lala. Tsonga too has a tendency for high tone repetition. Consider for instance the Swati word for river, **umfula**, which has HHLL tonal pattern if the prefix is also taken into account. In the Tsonga and Lala equivalents however this stem does not have low tones. In Tsonga we get **mpfúlá** (Louw, 1968:98), and in Lala: **úmfúlá**. Regarding HLL stems generally, Louw makes the following observation:

HLL cannot occur, because at least a single repetition of a high tone will have then to occur to make the sequence, HHL. In other words there cannot be more

than one low tone after a high tone in the last syllable of the noun.

(Louw, 1968:103)

Is this perhaps the reason why of the two Swati constructions: **siyawa** (we fall) and **ingwana** (a little leopard) Lala will accept the former and not the latter? Is it because like Tsonga too it also rejects HLL? Consider also the Lala counterparts of these Swati constructions:

	Swati	Lala
11. (a)	siyacolisa (we grind finely)	siyacolisa
(b)	kucólisa (to grind finely)	kucólisa'

As pointed out above, more insights into Lala tonology could be gained by comparing it with that of Tsonga.

Already with the low toned stems only one can already appreciate the division of the Nguni speech community into two groups, or two tonal dialects. What is interesting is that this division transcends the Tekela/Zunda classification. I say this because in Swati just like in Zulu the depressor consonants have the same effect of displacing high tone to the next syllable on the right provided it is not word final. On the other hand we notice that in the Tekela dialects in the South and also in Xhosa, depressors do not have this effect. That Phuthi also behaves in the like manner is no surprise since it was shown in Chapter 2 that Phuthi history is bound up with that of the Natal South Coast Tekela dialects as well as Xhosa. What is a bit peculiar is that Su.Nde which is in the north aligns itself with the South rather than Zulu or Swati, since we also do not find the High tone displacement in this dialect. Let me cite a few examples to show the application and non-application of the tone displacement in Zulu and Xhosa:

Zulu	Xhosa
amadodakâzi (daughters)	amadodákazi (daughters-in-law)
izihlâhla (trees)	izíhlahla (bushes)

Besides displacing high tone the depressors also lower the high tone to mid-high and the low-tone to extra-low. In Nguni we also get depression even without depressor consonants. However, I will not go into that here since I fully agree with Louw (1979:47) that:

The action of depressors on tone is more of a speech habit which can be utilised in different ways in certain languages.

6.4.2 High Toned Stems

6.4.2.1 High Toned Stems in Swati

Again a few examples of the type HL and HH will be cited. According to Rycroft (1980a:47–48) the HL are reflexes of Guthrie's Common-Bantu forms of the type *CVVC or CVVCV. They differ from the HH stems in that they have a long vowel in Proto-Bantu. The HH stems on the other hand derive from starred radicals with a short vowel. In Nguni, these are realised as having a FL tonal pattern. Khumalo (1987:200) observes that in KwaZulu Zulu the FL occurs only in the infinitive and the indicative participial submood. Elsewhere the two classes collapse into one. Even in the infinitive, however, there are certain Zulu dialects in KwaZulu which replace the falling tone with a high one. However, this falling tone must be distinguished from that which results from a derivation involving a tonal cluster of High + Low as in the long vowel of the remote past or in the penultimate syllable of a phrase final word.

	Swati		Common-Bantu
12.	(a) (uma)ngitfûnga (If I sew)	< CS 1847	*-túŋg
	(b) (uma)ngibûmba (If I mould)	< CS 199	*-búmb
	(c) (uma)behlôla (If they spy)	< ps 118	*-coó
	(d) kúbúta (to ask)	< CS 196	*-búúđì-
	(e) kúlála (to sleep)	< CS 454	*-dáád
	(f) úmúfwálo (load)	< CS 1806	*-túád-
	(g) ímbíla (rockrabbit)	< CS 109	*-bídá
	(h) ímvúla (rain)	< ps 40	*-búdá
	(i) ínkhôsi (chief/king)	< CS 1101	*-kócì
	(j) ímbúti (goat)	< CS 186	*-búđì
	(k) lúbûmba (clay)	< CS 200	*-búmbà
	(l) kúdlá (food)	< CS 554	*-díó
	(m) ínjá (dog)	< CS 174	*-búà

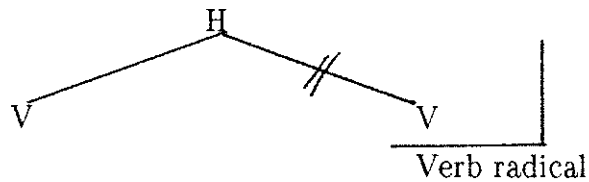
Again I have cited as examples only disyllabic stems. However, in this category the following patterns are distinguishable: H, HL, HLL, HH, HHL,

HLL, etc. Consider, for instance, **kúphélékétela** (to accompany). Longer stems will be cited when and where necessary.

I mentioned above that Davey (1981) does not list any HH verbal stems or their FL derivatives. It could well be that in the speech of his informants the HH has collapsed into the HL pattern in verbs although one still gets FL nominal stems as cited by Davey (1981:33). In the speech form of my informants too the FL pattern could not be clearly perceived except in the participial (cf. Davey, 1981:101 *et seq.*).

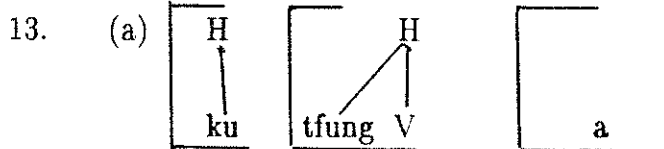
Since I am inclined to conclude that in Swati the two high toned verbal patterns have actually merged, I need a rule which will collapse HH to HL. According to Khumalo (1987:200) a similar phenomenon is taking place in Zulu. He ascribes it to the fact that the two radical vowels are co-linked to the same High node. To dissolve the high tone on the right he postulates a Right Branch Delink rule (*ibid.*). This rule is also applicable to Swati and I reproduce it here although its condition is slightly modified.

T-Rule 6: Right Branch Delink



Condition: This rule applies in all environments excepting the participial.

Let us consider a few derivations:



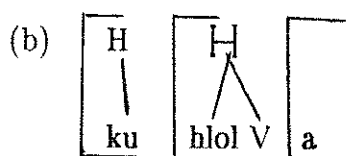
Lexical Component

kútfúngá

kútfúnga

Suffixation

Right Branch Delink



Lexical Component

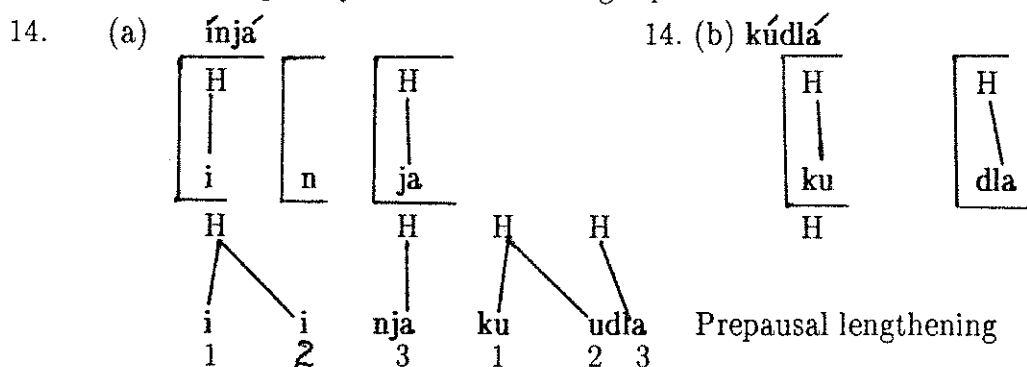
kúhlóla'

Suffixation

kúhlóla

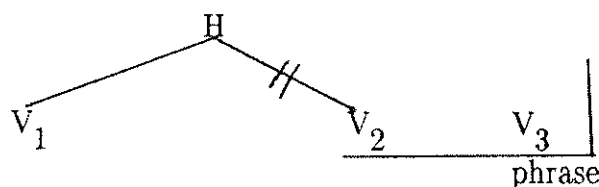
Right Branch Delink

Nominal stems, like the participial, are unaffected by this rule and accordingly in the lexical component no further rules are required. However, in the post-lexical component, a few rules may be necessary especially where the stem or word is phrase final. Let us consider examples 12(l) and (m). It will be borne in mind that Rycroft's claim has been adopted, that the prefix has a high tone. It becomes necessary therefore to explain the falling tone in the prefix of (12)(l) kúdlá' and (123)(m) ínjá'. In the underlying structure these words consequently have the following representations:



Khumalo (1987:201–202) deals with this problem in Zulu tonology and posits what he calls the High Dissimilation Rule:

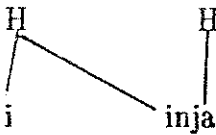
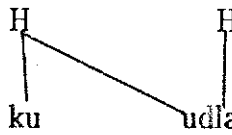
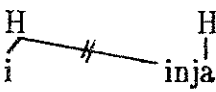
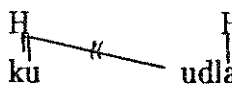
T-Rule 7: High Dissimilation



Condition: Vowel 3 must also be associated with a high tone.

This rule states that should a sequence of three high tones occur in a word, phrase finally, the middle syllable will dissimilate from the other two by

delinking from the high tone node (Khumalo, 1987:201). Consider the following derivations:

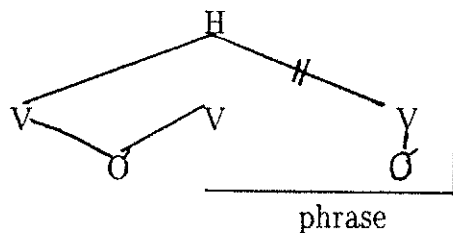
15.	(a)		(b)		
					Prepausal
					Lengthening
					High
					Dissimilation
		i' inja'		ku' udla'	High
					Dissimilation
		i' ɛnja'		ku' ɛdla'	Low Tone
					Default
		i:nja' (dog)		kɛ:dla' (food)	

I feel that this rule is quite descriptive in comparison with Davey's claim (1981:46) where he explains the occurrence of the rising tone in **kɛdla** in simple terms stating that:

The falling tone in the above (example) is a realization of the penult [+H] before a phrase final [+H].

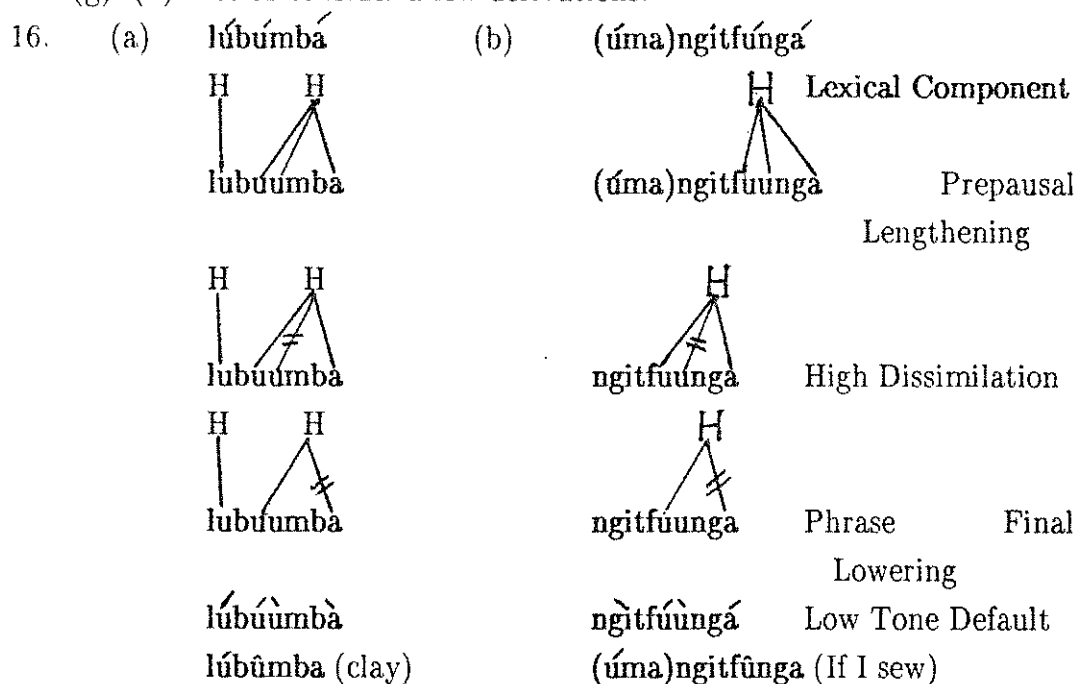
However, the final high tone is normally lowered if it occurs phrase finally. This is due to the requirement that in Nguni the final vowel should share the same high tone with the vowels of the penultimate syllable if linked to the same node (cf. Khumalo. 1987:202). It becomes necessary therefore to posit a Phrase Final Lowering rule (see Davey, 1981:165 and Khumalo (*ibid*)). However, because of the approach in this study, Khumalo's rule is adopted:

T-Rule 8: Phrase Final Lowering



This rule delinks the right branch of a high tone colinked to a vowel of the penultimate syllable and that of a final syllable in phrase final position. From

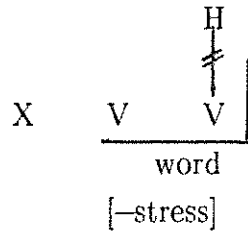
my list, the words which are susceptible to this rule are examples (12)(a)–(c) and (g)–(k). Let us consider a few derivations:



However, even with 12(1)–(m) examples we still get the word final lowering especially where they occur phrase medially. Consider the following examples: *ngidla ínyama* (I eat meat) and *ínja yámi* (my dog).

Khumalo (1987) ascribes this to the notion of syllable prominence which he discusses in another work (1981:59–61). He claims that the feature [+prominence] is manifested through stress, high tone, duration and penultimate syllable position. Further, he maintains that there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of the features that induce prominence. For instance a high tone on a final syllable would be acceptable phrase finally, e.g. *Ngifúna ínja* (I am looking for a dog), but phrase medially it would create an imbalance because the penultimate syllable is short here and consequently less prominent. Hence the high tone must be delinked from the final syllable by the Phrase Medial Lowering rule. Khumalo (1987:205) formalises this rule and states that it will apply if the final syllable is not stressed.

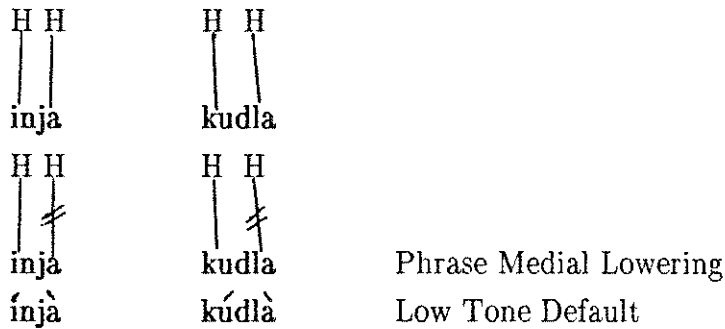
T-Rule 9: Phrase Medial Lowering



Let us consider the following derivations from examples in (12) above:

17. (a) $\hat{i}:nja \#\#$ (b) $k\acute{u}:dla \#\#$ phrase finally
 $\acute{i}nja \#$ $k\acute{u}dla \#$ phrase medially

Note that the phrase final derivations have been done and the focus is now on the phrase medial derivations:



6.4.2.2 High toned Stems in the other Dialects

Khumalo (1987:204) observes the tonal differences between the KwaZulu and the Natal Coast dialects of Zulu with regard to the verbal stems which are underlyingly HH. He cites (*ibid*) the following examples:

KwaZulu Dialects	Natal Coast Dialects	Gloss
$\acute{u}kub\acute{o}:na$	$\acute{u}kub\acute{o}:na$	"to see"
$\acute{u}kuf\acute{u}:na$	$\acute{u}kuf\acute{u}:na$	"to want"
$\acute{u}kuth\acute{a}:nda$	$\acute{u}kuth\acute{a}:nda$	"to like"

What Khumalo says of the Zulu dialects in the Natal South Coast is also true of the Tekela dialects in that area, viz. Bhaca, Lala and Nhangwini. Incidentally this is also true of Phuthi and Su.Nde. Thus one can safely conclude that all the Tekela dialects under discussion behave in a similar manner in as far as the high toned stems are concerned. Further they are also

susceptible to the same tonal rules. A few examples are cited to illustrate this fact.

18. (a) FL stems in the other Tekela dialects:
- | | | |
|----------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (BHA) | ímpûku (mouse) | < CS 1597 *—púkù |
| | úmsíla (tail) | < CS 1053 *—k ídà |
| (LA) | úthûntí (shade) | < CS 1842 *—túndì |
| | úsítí (soot) | < CS 1077 *—k ídì |
| (NHLA) | úmsítí (soot) | < CS 1077 *—k ídì |
| | úmhlâne (back) | < CS 273 *—cána |
| (PHU) | búsíka (winter) | < CS 1748 *—tíkà |
| | ívûla (rain) | < CS 225 *—búdà |
| (SU.NDE) | lídímu (cannibal) | < CS 619 *—dímu |
| | nsímhí (iron) | < CS 339 *—címbí |
- (b) H & HL stems in the other Tekela dialects:
- | | | |
|----------|------------------------|------------------|
| (BHA) | ílifá (inheritence) | < CS 1253 *—kúá' |
| | —tsátfu (three) | < CS 1689 *—tátù |
| (LA) | —hlanu (five) | < CS 276 *—cáanu |
| | libéle (breast) | < CS 571 *—béédè |
| (NHLA) | úmusá (forebearance) | < CS 238 *—cá |
| | úmuthí (tree) | < CS 1730 *—tí |
| (PHU) | ívú (sheep) | < ps 246 *—gú |
| | íhlóko (head) | < ps 119 *—cóókò |
| (SU.NDE) | liví (voice) | < CS 9054 *—jú |
| | kútfúla (to be silent) | < CS 1819 *—túúd |

Let us illustrate the sensitivity of a few of these examples to the phonological rules which we applied to Swati. The first of such rules is T-Rule 6, i.e. the rule which deletes the final [+H] tone in the underlyingly HH verbal radicals. This rule has been dealt with in the preceding paragraph. The conclusion is that we do not find verbal stems with the FL pattern in these Tekela dialects. I therefore align myself fully with Khumalo's observation that:

The Natal Coast dialects tend to dissolve high-low clusters wherever possible ...

(Khumalo, 1987:209)

Lala is probably an exception here and in the participial FH instead of FL as in Zulu is easily perceived. Consider the following examples:

ufúná (you want)

utfúlá (you are quiet) (and the examples in 18(a))

The next rule is T–Rule 7, i.e. the High Dissimilation which changes the Swati: íŋjá to í:nja. This rule works with the same effect in the other dialects as is evident from (18)(b) examples such as (PHU) í:vu (sheep) and (SU.NDE) lí:vi.

Next in line is T–Rule 8, the Phrase Final Lowering rule which changes such underlying structures as:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \quad \text{H} \\ | \quad \quad / \\ \text{lubumba} \end{array}$$
 to lúbumba (clay) in Swati.

That it applies with the same force also to the other dialects is evident from examples such as: impûku (mouse) in Bhaca; lidîmu (cannibal) in SU.NDE et cetera. More examples are in (18)(a).

Finally, we employed T–Rule 9, the Phrase Medial Lowering Rule which delinks a word–final syllable from a [+H] node if it occurs phrase medially. This is a post–lexical rule which applies to the other Tekela dialects exactly as in Swati, so that in Phuthi for instance: ívu yami > ívu yami (my sheep).

6.4.3 Low Toned Stems in the Indicative

6.4.3.1 Low Toned Stems in Swati – Indicative Positive

The Swati sentence in the present indicative can have two forms: the long and the short. The former occurs phrase finally and the latter in phrase medial position. The verb stem is not affected by this and the change in tone can only occur if the prefix or aspectual morpheme used has an underlying [+H] tone. For the purposes of this discussion the following morphemes will be used viz. aspectual –ya– and the first or second person subject concord both of which are unassociated with tone, and the aspectual –sa– and the third person subject/object concord – all of which have an underlying [+H] tone. For convenience, I shall use the examples listed in (1) above.

19. (a) Ngiyava:la ## (I am shutting)
 (b) Ngivala úmnyâ:ngo ## (I shut the door)
 (c) Bayá:lwa ## (They are fighting)
 (d) Bálwa bó:dvwa ## (They fight by themselves)
 (e) Sisavímbe:la ## (We are still preventing)
 (f) Sisavimbéla to:ná ## (We still prevent them)
 (g) Ngiyayí:lwa ## (I am fighting it)
 (h) Ngiyayivímbe:la ## (I am preventing it)
 (i) Ngisahláku:la ## (I am still weeding)
 (j) Sisábahlakúle:la ## (We still weed for them)

In (19)(a), (b) only toneless prefixes have been used and accordingly no realisation rules are necessary, since the surface forms are not different from the underlying forms. But from (19)(c)–(j) prefixes which are underlyingly associated with high tone have been used and in (c), (e), (f), (g), (h) and (i) we notice a shift of the high tone from the inherently high toned prefix to the right. Davey (1981:38) described the manner in which the shift takes place, and says that:

The [+H] shifts to the antepenult before a phrase boundary
 and to the penult when merely before a word boundary.

He then posits two rules (op cit pp 40–41) to capture this phenomenon. Khumalo (1987:199) on the other hand employs only one rule, viz. the Rightward Shift (see T–Rule 2 above) plus Extratonality Marking. He then claims:

The advantage of the incorporation of extratonality to the
 analysis is that it generalises the application of the Rightward
 Shift and rules out the necessity for an extra tonal rule.
 (Khumalo, 1987:195)

However, in the indicative sentences we seem to be experiencing some problems with the Extratonality Notion. Let us take *sisavimbéla...* for instance. By Extratonality Marking the (la) in *sisavimbé(la)* is not visible to rule application, and the Rightward Shift states that the [+H] can shift to *–mbe–* only if there is yet another unassociated syllable to its right. Consequently [+H] should not shift to *–mbe–* as it has in example (f).

Khumalo (1987) also experiences problems with the application of extratonicity. For instance on p. 217 (op cit) he cites the phrase /ukubahle:ka/ and argues:

In this example, it would seem that the high tone associated with the object prefix /ba/ has shifted onto the verbal radical, which has triggered Rightward Shift. Extratonicity marking applies rendering the final syllable /ka/ 'invisible', thus not providing the correct environment for the application of Rightward Shift ...

This is not the only area where tonally unassociated CVCV verbal radicals behave exceptionally. In the negative of the infinitive, for example, these radicals behave exceptionally in blocking the application of Leftward Spread ...

(Khumalo, 1987:217–218)

Khumalo (op cit p. 220) finally solves this problem by an ad hoc condition modifying the provisions of Extratonicity:

This statement has now to be modified as follows: 'Mark the final syllable of a multi-syllabic stem (excepting a tonally unassociated CVCV stem immediately preceded by SP or OP) as extratonic'.

Again he experiences other problems with the application of the Rightward Shift (op cit p. 281) which necessitates the inclusion of yet another condition:

The rule does not apply in a verbal complex incorporating a [+LSp] or [+LSh] suffix.

Such shortcomings militate against the adequacy of the lexical approach but they are to be expected in an exploratory work that Khumalo embarked upon.

In actual fact, it would appear that even he himself is not quite satisfied with the applicability of the Rightward Shift and Extratonicity, for he concludes:

We could not explain why the high tone should be located on this, (i.e. antepenult) of all syllables. Not until Pulleyblank (1983) suggested that extrametricality has its tonal counterpart in extratonicity, i.e. that the syllable on the periphery of certain roots is 'invisible' to specified tonal rules ... But there are a number of artificial situations that arise which further research may clarify.

(Khumalo, 1987:291)

To get back to our subject then, to explain the tone shifting in examples in (19) above, we only need the Rightward Shift and Extratonicity Marking (as amended).

Let us now compare the situation in Swati with that which obtains in the other Tekela dialects.

6.4.3.2 Low Toned Stems in the other Dialects – Positive Indicative

As we observed with the infinitive, there are virtually no differences between Swati and the other Tekela dialects with the indicative as well. Where the indicative sentence employs toneless prefixes no tonal changes take place. Accordingly, we get sentences like:

(BHA) *Ndiyavimbe:la ##* (I prevent)

(PHU) *Giyavale:la ##* (I shut in)

Also with regard to 'toned' prefixes we get similar tone shift. The only difference there is, is consequent to the fact that these other dialects are not susceptible to the depressor tone displacement. Thus we get sentences like the following:

(SWA) *Ngiyativalé:la ##* (I shut them in)

but (NHLA) *Ngiyativalé:la ##* (I shut them in)

6.4.3.3 Low Toned Stems in Swati – Negative Indicative

What is worth bearing in mind is that the negative suffix has an underlying [+H] tone. This becomes evident in toneless verb radicals which suddenly acquire tone once the negative morpheme has been suffixed. Consider the following examples:

20. (a) *Angí:lwi ##* (I am not fighting)
 (b) *Abávalé:li ##* (They do not shut in)
 (c) *Abáhlakúli njá:lo ##* (They don't always weed)
 (d) *Abásihlakulé:li ##* (They do not weed for us)
 (e) *Anízívimbéli ka:hlé ##* (You don't block them well)

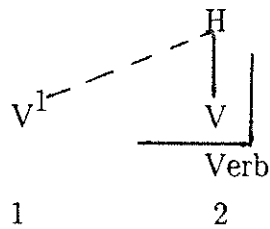
What we observe from these example is that the negative suffix has an underlying high tone and that this high tone spreads leftward to the penult, as in (20)(a) or it shifts leftward as in (20)(b)–(e). The pattern is that in

monosyllabic radicals the high tone is located on the penult-final but in polysyllabics it is on the penult only (see Davey, 1981:52).

The leftward shifting of tone has posed serious problems for phonologists who are inclined to the rules which operate from left to right. This is why they eventually account for it by means of replacement rules (cf. Davey, *ibid*). Khumalo's approach (1987:221 *et seq*) to account for leftward spread by leftward rules is quite logical and should be welcomed as a breakthrough.

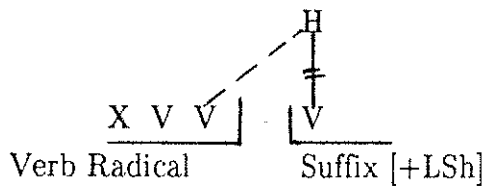
To capture the tonal changes in the examples in (20) we need two rules which Khumalo terms: Leftward Spread and Leftward Shift (1987:225 and 280). The difference between the two rules is that in the former the high tone is repeated on the penult without delinking from the final syllable whereas in the latter the high tone does delink from the final syllable. Let us reproduce the rules:

T-Rule 11: Leftward Spread



Condition: If 1 = SP/OP vowel then 2 = monosyllabic verb vowel.
 If 1 = polysyllabic verb vowel then 2 = [+LSp] suffix.

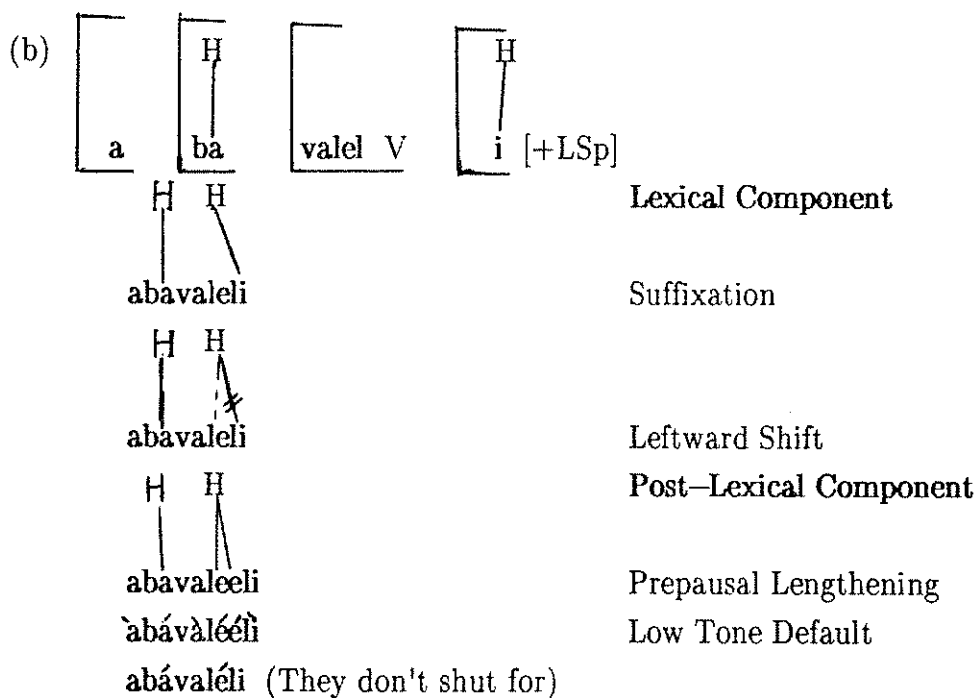
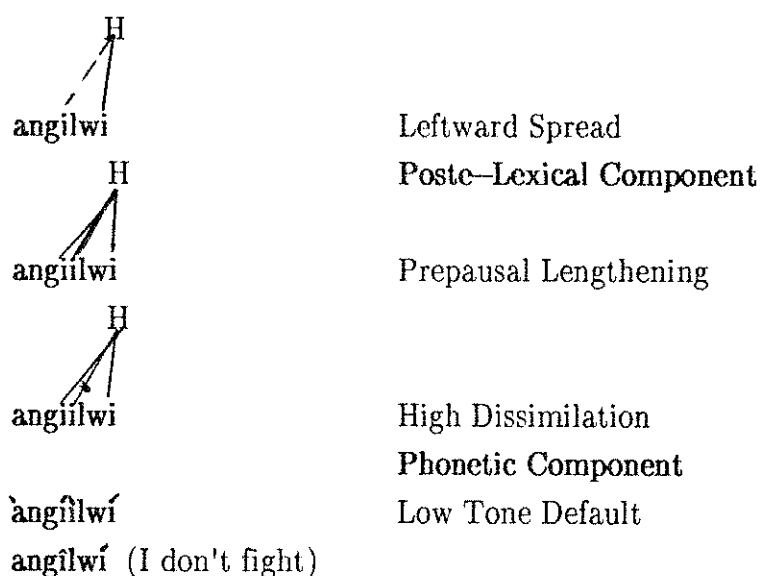
T-Rule 12: Leftward Shift



Let us apply these rules to a few derivations:

(a)

a	ngi	lw V	H i [+LSp]
	H		
angilwi			Lexical Component Suffixation



6.4.3.4 Negative of high toned Swati stems – Indicative

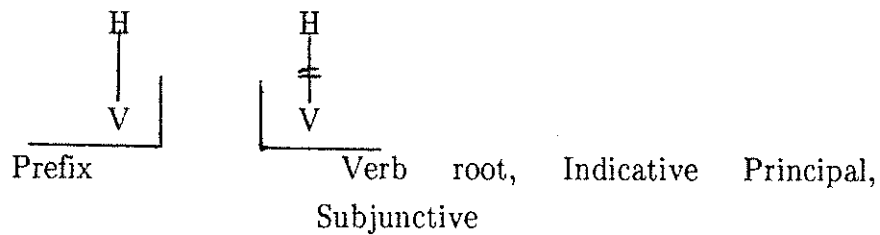
The high toned stems require just as few rules as the low toned ones in the indicative negative conjugation. It might be ideal therefore to deal with them here before turning to the other Tekela dialects. First, let us cite a few examples from the list in (12) above:

- (21) (a) asídli (We do not eat)
 (b) abáváli (They do not shut)

- (c) **angiláli** (I do not sleep)
 (d) **abatfúngi** (They do not sew)

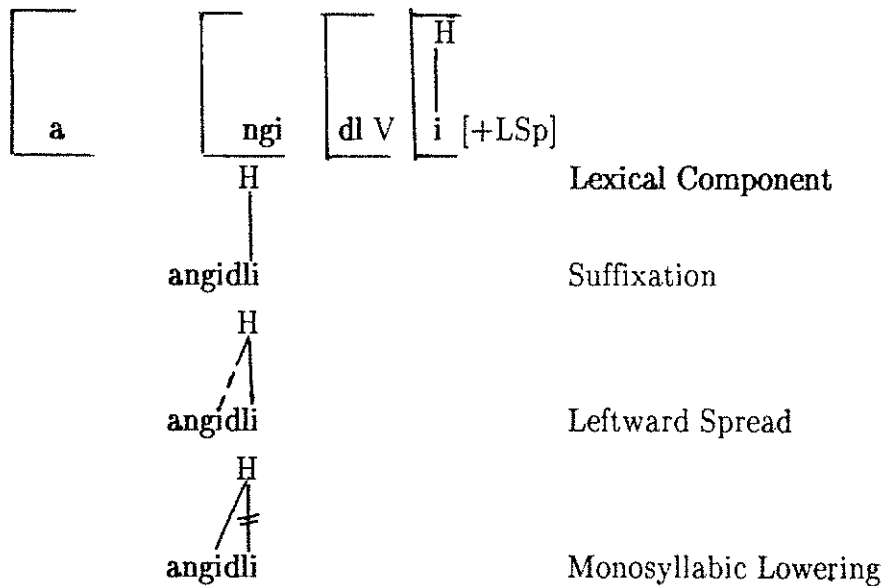
Here we notice that the underlying high tone of the negative suffix *-i* does not surface. There are two rules which are at work here. The first one operates on monosyllabic stems with a high tone. It delinks the syllable from the high tone node. The rule is accordingly called: Monosyllabic High Stem Lowering (see Davey, 1981:62 and Khumalo 1987:258). Khumalo (*ibid*) states that this rule has a very limited application and it is triggered by an object/subject concord. He formalises it as follows (*ibid*):

T-Rule 13: Monosyllabic Lowering



Condition: The rule does not apply when the prefix is the object prefix in the subjunctive.

This rule lowers a high toned monosyllabic verb in the indicative or subjunctive mood if the latter is immediately preceded by a high toned SP/OP. Consider the following derivation:





àngí:dlì

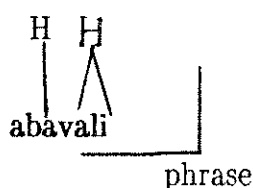
Post-Lexical Component

Prepausal Lengthening

Phonetic Component

Low Tone Default

The second rule is the Phrase Final Lowering (i.e. T-Rule 8 above), which delinks the final syllable from the high node if it is co-linked to the vowel of the penultimate at the phrase final position. Consider the following derivation:



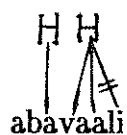
Lexical Component

Suffixation



Post-Lexical Component

Prepausal lengthening



Phrase Final Lowering



SP-Lowering

Phonetic Component

Low Tone Default

àbàvááì

abaváì

6.4.3.5 Negative of the High/Low Toned Stems in the other Dialects

The position in (BHA), (LA), (NHLA), (PHU) and (SU.NDE) is the same as that described above and it would amount to undue repetition to cite examples here.

At this juncture it is felt that the objective of highlighting the tonal similarities and dissimilarities between the Tekela dialects has been achieved. However, it will still be necessary to undertake a tonal study of each dialect for better insights.

6.5 RECAPITULATION

In this discussion, as pointed out in the introduction I adopted the approach in Davey (1981) and Khumalo (1987) on grounds of relevance. However, in the course of the discussion I found myself leaning more and more heavily on Khumalo than Davey. The reasons for this were firstly because I adopted the same lexical approach as Khumalo, and secondly because I found Khumalo's phonological rules to be more descriptive than the segmental rules used by Davey. By this observation, however, I am not claiming that the lexical phonology approach was being compared with the segmental approach or that the former is a better theory. I am merely saying that I found it more adequate in solving the problems at hand. It is somewhat regrettable that owing to the limited scope of this study I could not go deeply into the tenets of this theory.

Another limiting factor is that in my research and interpretation of tonal patterns I relied solely on aural impressions since no instruments excepting the cassette recorder were used. This is why I could not go deeply into the question of depressor consonants and their effect on tone. When one considers the array of instruments used by phonologists in trying to describe the depression feature in Nguni one would realise that it would be unwise to describe it without the aid of instruments. Some of these instruments are listed by Traill *et al* (1987:256) and include a finely attuned apparatus used by Beach, calibrated kymographic tracings used by Doke, produced against a 100 Hz tuning fork, an electronic pitch meter used by Louw, a mingograph and spectograph used by Davey, and a laryngograph used by Rycroft.

Despite these shortcomings it is hoped that the discussion in this chapter succeeded in revealing that there are common tonal patterns in the Tekela Nguni dialects and that they are susceptible to the same tonal rules.

The discussion showed that, as was pointed out in Chapter two that due to historical circumstances the Natal South Coast became a melting pot for a number of Nguni dialects, a speech community has evolved with its own tonal idiosyncracies. Some of these transcend Zunda/Tekela divisions to produce a peculiar community referred to as **Isizansi** (the South) (see

Mzamane, 1962:75). Reference was often made to Khumalo (1987) who shows how their tonal patterns differ from Zululand Zulu e.g. by spreading the high tone from the pre-vowel to the basic prefix without delinking it from the pre-vowel which I also established for the Tekela dialects in that area. I established too that these dialects are not susceptible to the Depressor Tone Displacement, a feature shared with the Zunda groups in that region as well.

I may digress a little to point out a few other phonemic and morphological features which are peculiar to **Isizansi**, viz. the stem **-mbi** (bad) instead of **-bi**. Hence they say: **úmúntfu lómumbí** (a bad person) instead of **úmúntfu lómubí**.

They use the affricate /tʃh/ instead of the fricative /ʃ/ used in Northern Lala, Zulu and Swati. They also use the velar fricative /x/ instead of the glottal fricative /h/ used in Northern Lala, Zulu and Swati.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

Now that I have come to the end of this comparative study, it becomes necessary to look back and take stock of the observations and findings which have been made. For convenience, these may be grouped into three categories. In the first place, certain characteristics were observed which characterise each dialect as a member of the Nguni group of dialects. Secondly, each dialect was found to have certain features which are peculiar to Tekela. Finally each dialect had its own peculiar idiosyncracies. Such observations and findings make it desirable to review various classifications of these dialects by a number of scholars. However, before such review is embarked upon, let us have a closer look at the above-mentioned observations and findings.

7.2 TEKELA DIALECTS WITHIN THE NGUNI GROUP

Although this study was basically a phonological one, certain phonetic, lexical and morphological features were commented upon with the purpose of putting these dialects in their proper perspective. Such an approach is relevant also for drawing our conclusions.

7.2.1 Lexical Correspondencies

From Appendix A it became clear that there are many Zunda Nguni words which are shared also by Tekela Nguni. In fact, all Tekela dialects had 80% or more lexical items which appear also in Zulu. Interesting cases were where only a synonym of Zulu word appears in Tekela, e.g. *íhlóko* is the only word for hare in Phuti whereas in Zulu we have both *ínhlóko* and *ikhânda*. However, only the latter has been cited in the Appendix. Also of great interest is the fact that the Tekela word is adopted as a Hlonipha term in Zulu. Consider *íntúsi* for instance, which is an everyday word for milk in Bhaca, Lala and Nhangwini but used as a Hlonipha equivalent of *ûbisi* in Zulu.

7.2.2 Phonetic correspondencies

It is mainly in phonetics where we notice striking differences between Zunda and Tekela. Despite this, however, a number of phonetic resemblances were observed between the two sub-groups of Nguni. Firstly, although [z] is strictly a Zunda sound a number of Tekela dialects share this phone although to a limited extent. Examples were cited in Chapters 2 and 3 but a few of them are repeated here for easy reference:

SWA	=	ú mzá la (cousin)
BHA	=	- chazá (explain)
NHLA	=	í zulu (heaven)
PHU	=	ú mzwali (boy-initiate)
SU.NDE	=	mú zenda (messenger)

Another common speech sound is a click. Click sounds which were borrowed from the Khoisan are predominantly a Nguni phonetic feature. Southern Sotho also adopted clicks but to a very limited extent. Again a few examples in Tekela are cited to show the correspondencies between the two sub-groups:

SWA	=	sí coco (frog)
BHA	=	- ncedzá (help)
NHLA	=	í ngcá (grass)
LA	=	k uchásisa (to explain)
PHU	=	lí cwábi (cream)

The only exception is Sumayela Ndebele where clicks are replaced by the velar affricate [kxʔ] which itself is a loan from Khoisan as well. Compare the following:

BHA = í**qandzá**; SWA = lí**candzá**; Su.Nde = lí**klandá** (egg)

Finally, another phonemic feature which is characteristic of Nguni is a breathy voiced prenasalised plosive. It must be borne in mind that this is very significant with Su.Ndebele which is in the heart of a Sotho-speaking community in which voiced plosives do not occur in nasal compounds. Only a few examples are cited to illustrate this point:

SWA	=	í mbitá (pot)
BHA	=	ngé na (enter)

LA	=	kúkhámba (to go)
NHLA	=	isícambá (rush mat)
SU.NDE	=	índoda (man)

Phuthi is the only exception in that in this dialect, prenasalisation does not occur.

7.2.3 Morphological features

Here we refer only to nominal prefixes. Of the Southern Bantu languages Nguni is the only one where we get disyllabic noun prefixes. This occurs consistently in Zunda Nguni but we also find it in Tekela although to a limited extent. In Nhlanguwini and Bhaca we get disyllabic noun prefixes in all classes. In Swati and Lala, we get them only in nasal classes. In Phuthi we get them in class 2 e.g. *ebátfu* (people) and class 5 e.g. *émadf* (water). In class 9 we do get a pre-vowel but we may not call this a disyllabic prefix since the basic prefix /n/ is eliminated in Phuthi e.g. *íyomó* as against *ínkhomo* (cow) in Swati. It is only in Sumayela Ndebele where we do not get disyllabic prefixes owing to Sotho influence.

7.2.4 Phonological correspondencies

In dealing with various phonological processes it came to light that a number of them occur in Zunda just as in Tekela Nguni. These include vowel raising, vowel elision, complete and partial assimilation, and vowel coalescence.

7.2.5 Concluding Remarks

All the foregoing observations go to show that there are more correspondencies between Zunda and Tekela than there are differences.

7.3 TEKELA IDIOSYNCRACIES

Besides the characteristics which are common to Nguni in general, we observed in this study certain features which are peculiar to Tekela. These observations will now be summarised also according to various linguistic levels.

7.3.1 Phonetic correspondencies

In our definitions section in Chapter 1 (par. 1.4.6) it was observed that many scholars use the replacement of the Zunda /z/ with the Tekela /t/ to be the characteristic distinction between the two Nguni sub-groups. However /t/ is not the only distinguishing feature. Others include the substitution of the alveolar plosive /th/ with the alveolar affricate /tsh/ or /tʃ/ e.g.

Zunda:	–thátha	>	Tekela:	–tshátsha (take)
	–thóla	>		tfóla (find)

Likewise the breathy-voiced alveolar plosive /ɖ/ is substituted by the breathy voiced alveolar affricate /ɖʒ/ or /ɖʃ/ e.g.

Zunda:	amádoda	>	Tekela:	emádvodza
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However this substitution of plosives with affricates is common not to all Tekela dialects. For instance we do not find this in Sumayela Ndebele and Nhlangwini.

Finally, we observed that relative constructions from verbal stems end in –ko instead of the Zunda –yo e.g. lókhámbakó as against the Zunda óhámbyáyó (he who is travelling).

7.3.2 Lexical correspondencies

A common Tekela vocabulary was observed throughout this discussion. For instance in all the Tekela dialects the term for woman is either úmfāti (as in Swa, Su.Nde, Bha, and Nhla) or úfatí as in Lala and Phuthi. Again in all these dialects the term for village is either úmúti or simply múti. A number of examples of common vocabulary are to be gleaned from Appendix A.

7.3.3 Morphological correspondencies

In this section I shall isolate only three features which transpired from this discussion. The first is the use of la– as a relative prefix e.g. lómkhúlu (the big one); lógulako (the sick one). Secondly it was observed that the Tekela noun prefixes are normally monosyllabic especially in non-nasal classes. Thirdly the Zunda locative prefix kwa– is substituted by ka– in Tekela, e.g. KaNgwane, KaBhaca and KaNdebele.

7.3.4 Phonological correspondencies

In Chapter 5 we observed that there are a number of processes which are peculiar only to Tekela. These include nasalisation of vowels, vowel replacement, consonant insertion (which occur in all the Tekela dialects) and labialisation which occurs only in Swati, Bhaca and Phuthi.

7.3.5 Concluding remarks

Again it transpired from the foregoing that there are enough correspondencies between the Tekela dialects for one to draw the conclusion that the Tekela dialects can be regarded as members of a common sub-group. However if they are different dialects there must be certain features peculiar to each dialect to distinguish it from others; as we shall see.

7.4 PECULIAR FEATURES OF EACH DIALECT

7.4.1 Peculiar features of Swati

Swati has all the characteristics which are typical of Tekela. However, besides those elements which are adopted from Zulu there are no idiosyncracies which are peculiar to Swati.

7.4.2 Peculiar features of Bhaca

Bhaca shares all the typically Tekela phenomena just like Swati. Perhaps the only glaring difference is in the disyllabic nominal prefixes which resemble Xhosa especially in the long vowel in the plural of class 9 e.g. *înkomo'* (cattle). However there are two features which are peculiar to Bhaca and Nhlanguwini only. Firstly, there is the /h/ formative which is a copulative prefix e.g. *hhúye* (it's him); *hhubâwo* (it is my father). Secondly, it is the negative auxiliary *ave*, e.g. *áve ndilámfile* (I am not hungry).

7.4.3 Peculiar features of Lala

To a large extent Lala resembles Swati especially with regard to nominal prefixes. It is also very close to Zulu. For instance, even the South Coast dialects of Lala have /j/ like Swati and Zulu as against /tjh/ which is a dominant feature of the South Coast dialects.

But Lala is peculiar in eliminating the nasal in class 9 nouns, e.g.

íyomó/ihhomó (bovine) íyabi (ox); íhhosí (king). I tried to demonstrate that this is due to Thonga (or Tsonga in Tekela) influence.

Over and above these however, Lala has two idiosyncracies. In the first place, Lala is the only Southern Bantu language which tolerates a juxtaposition of labials. The result is that palatalisation in this dialect simply does not occur. However in discussing Lala, one should be careful not to generalise. There are quite a number of phonemic differences between Northern Lala, found especially in the Kranskop district and Southern Lala found especially among the Cele of Ezingolweni. In Chapter 2 referrece was made to an article by Wilkes (1981) which deals with these differences on the phonological, morphological and semantic level. Let me cite a few examples of the phonemic differences:

Northern Lala	Southern Lala
kh/	> /h/ or /j/
e.g. líkhâya [lik ^h aja] (home)	> lihâya [li ^h aja]
nókhâmbakó [nok ^h ambakó]	> lóyâmbakó
	[lojambakó]
(the one who is going)	
/x/	> /t̥/
e.g. -rhânu [xanu] (five)	> B-hlánu [t̥anu]
/ɣ/	/ /h̥/
e.g. -grúla [ɣula] (pass)	> -dlúla [h̥ula]
íngrelá [iŋɣɛla] (path)	> índléla [indh̥ɛla]
/tsh/	/tʰ/
e.g. -tshátshu [tshatshu] (they) > -tháthu [tʰathu]	
	(cf. Wilkes, 1981:92-102)

From the foregoing examples it is very clear that Northern Lala is very conservative in comparison with Southern Lala. As a matter of fact, in Southern Lala even palatalisation is being adopted even though very gradually. For instance from my informants I detected ínjá (dog) instead of ímbwa. Some of them avoid words with palatal sounds, e.g. they say líjiki (indigenous beer) instead of bwalwá.

7.4.4 Peculiar features of Nhlangwini

It was shown in this discussion that Nhlangwini has strongly been influenced by Zulu and Xhosa. On the other hand it still resembles Swati especially by replacing the Zunda /z/ with /t/. In par. 7.4.2 two of its peculiarities which it shares with Bhaca were cited, namely the copulative prefix hh- and the negative auxiliary ave.

7.4.5 Peculiar features of Phuthi

It transpired from this investigation that to a large extent, Phuthi comes much closer to Lala. However, it too is distinguished from other Tekela dialects by two peculiar features. In the first place prenasalisation simply does not occur in this dialect. Prima facie this could be ascribed to Sotho influence for in this language group too prenasalisation is not a common feature. Consider the following examples:

Sotho		Tekela
kgomó	(SWA)	ínkhomó (bovine)
théko	(SWA)	íntêngo (price)
taba	(SWA)	índaba (affair)
kolobe	(SWA)	ingulûbe (pig)

However, Phuthi goes much further than Sotho in eliminating prenasalisation everywhere whereas Sotho retains it in monosyllabic stems, e.g.

ntjá (dog); **ntá** (louse); **ntwa** (war); **mpá** (stomach); **ntlo** (house)
etc.

Another peculiarity of Phuthi is the prevalence of mid-high vowels [e] and [o] even in instances where its trigger cannot be ascertained. In par. 5 we referred specifically to words such as **ínyôka** (snake), **koná** (present); et cetera.

7.4.6 Peculiar features of Sumayela Ndebele

Despite many resemblances, Su.Nde differs from other Tekela dialects also in two idiosyncracies. Firstly, the preprefix has been eliminated from all nominal prefixes. This may well be ascribed to Sotho influence because languages of this group have a totally monosyllabic prefixal system.

Secondly, Su.Nde is the only Tekela dialect with the phoneme /kx/ to represent click sounds and the velar /nk/ e.g. líklandá (egg) and nklulúmo (talk) instead of líqandzá and ínkhulúmo respectively.

7.4.7 Concluding Remarks

Having highlighted certain Nguni, Tekela and peculiar features in these dialects it becomes imperative to consider how they have been classified by various scholars.

7.5 SCHOLARS' VIEWS ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF TEKELA

In this section the focus will be on Ziervogel's (1959) classification. However, other relevant classifications will also receive attention.

7.5.1 Ziervogel's classification

Ziervogel (1959:13) divides Nguni into two subgroups: Zunda and Tekela. Under Tekela he lists Swati, Bhaca, Phuthi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele and Lala. From our list, only Nhlanguini has been omitted. I assume that this is an inadvertent omission which is therefore not very serious since he has not listed Nhlanguini elsewhere, like for instance under Zunda Nguni.

What is rather confusing however is that the stand he has taken regarding Northern Transvaal Ndebele (i.e. Su.Nde) is in direct conflict with his views on their history (see par. 2.4.7.1) where he refutes any connection between such Ndebele and the Nguni. His classification is also a contradiction to the one made earlier (1955) where he divided Nguni into three sub-groups: (a) Zunda, (b) Tekela, and (c) Lala. In the 1955 classification he cited three Lala dialects. viz. Northern, Southern and Wotshe; but in the latter (i.e. 1959) Wotshe has been left out. I will attempt to find reasons for this change.

The following assertion might probably be the main reason which motivated him to regard Su.Nde as a Nguni speech variety:

Notwithstanding the diversity of elements which all played their part in the making of Ndebele of today, one cannot but regard Ndebele as basically Nguni, and as belonging to the Nguni group of languages. In a recent article by the present author (i.e. Ziervogel himself) certain criteria which may serve

as a guide for the grouping of the Nguni languages were put forward. Northern Ndebele undoubtedly fits into what he calls the Tekela sub-group of Nguni of which it is a cluster. (my emphasis).

(Ziervogel, 1959:13)

These words are most welcome, but coming from Ziervogel they are somewhat strange for all along he has been arguing that:

The Northern Ndebele proper ... are not of Natal origin. Said to have come from the north, i.e. Rhodesia, they were influenced by the Swazi and later by the Southern Ndebele, but are not related to the latter;

... However, their contact with the south is not to be denied. Apart from Sotho influence some linguistic peculiarities are their own, and have, in the light of the above account, to be attributed to their origin in the north.

(Ziervogel, 1959:5)

What are these linguistic peculiarities that Ziervogel is referring to? On p. 12 he singles out five: the loss of nasal in voiceless compounds of class 10; the first person singular concord n- in both subjectival and objectival positions, the copulative prefix, the locative prefix n, and nn-, and an assimilated type of concord for the adjective.

To anyone who understands Sotho these features can never be said to be peculiar. Even Ziervogel himself concedes as much when he adds:

One might, of course, attribute some of these to analogy or some other 'psychological' influence of Sotho.

(Ziervogel, 1959:12)

In this study it was shown that Su.Nde resembles Phuthi in eliminating nasals in compounds and also in the syllabification of nasals. The conclusion is that Su.Nde is not that peculiar to other Tekela Nguni dialects and therefore I agree with Ziervogel that it should be classified as a Tekela Nguni dialect.

The next question relates to Lala. Why do linguists sometimes want to categorise it on its own, distinct from Zunda or Tekela Nguni? Compare also the views expressed by Kubeka (1979:42) in this regard. Surely there must be certain idiosyncracies peculiar to Lala which are responsible for this view. In

7.4.3 only two such idiosyncracies were isolated. The question is: are they essential enough to warrant the exclusion of Lala from Nguni?

The first peculiarity is that Northern Lala lacks lateral fricatives replacing them with pre-velar fricatives. Thus [sɪhlalo > sɪhralo] (chair). It was pointed out however that the Southern Lala, especially the Cele of Ezingolweni have outgrown this phenomenon and they now employ [ʃ] and [h] in their speech form. After all even in other Nguni dialects these fricatives are of recent origin, they are not typical Bantu phonemes.

The second peculiarity is that palatalisation does not occur in Lala. But again this process is not essential in characterising a speech variety as Tekela. Even in the rest of Nguni its occurrence is somewhat sporadic. Normally it should occur in the formation of the passive, diminutive and locative constructions where the final syllable of the word is a bilabial. Moreover, in the diminutive construction alveolar plosives may also be palatalised. There is no single language however where palatalisation occurs regularly and uniformly. For instance in Chapter 5. it was pointed out that in Bhaca, non-palatalisation is more prevalent with the alveolar diminutives than otherwise. Louw (1975:244/5) observes:

70% of the nouns in Xhosa have no palatalisation in the locative but only in the diminutive ... In about 16% of the words where one would expect to find palatalisation in the locative and/or diminutive, none occurs.

In dealing with the history of the Lala a close bond between them and the Tsonga was pointed out (see Chapter 2). This finds support also in what Louw established much earlier, that:

According to information obtained from an uncle of the Paramount Chief of the Cele, a Lala tribe at eZingolweni in Natal, they were originally Tsonga who lived in the days of Shaka in the coastal area of Zululand north of the uThukela River.

(Louw, 1975:241)

On p. 247 of the same publication, Louw observes:

Tsonga shares many grammatical features with Nguni. In some respects it has retained older forms which are used in rather contracted or fossilized forms in Nguni.

In the light of this information it becomes necessary to ascertain the extent to which Lala differs from Tsonga regarding palatalisation. Quite obviously, there is a difference because palatalisation does occur in Tsonga albeit limited to diminutives and locatives only (see Louw, 1975:241). But even so, the process is not as complete as it is in Zulu. Consider, for instance, how this process is defined by Baumbach (1987:36) for Tsonga:

Palatalisation is the process whereby a non-palatal consonant is replaced by its (partially) palatalised counterpart.

In actual fact what happens in Tsonga is that a labial consonant remains intact and only a labial glide or round vowel which follows changes to a palatal glide, e.g.

*xinguvuana > xingubyana (small blanket)

whereas in Nguni the labial consonant and vowel would disappear altogether, e.g. the Zulu-Swati:

*inguboana > ingutjâna (small blanket)

Notwithstanding the foregoing, Lala is exceptional in that it is the only Southern Bantu speech variety that would tolerate the juxtapositioning of a bilabial consonant and a labial glide. As pointed out above, however, palatalisation is not an essential feature of Tekela, and the conclusion I arrive at is that Lala has sufficient Tekela and Nguni features to qualify as a Tekela Nguni dialect. By this conclusion I am concurring in the views expressed by Van Dyk (1960:148) in his insightful analysis of Lala, where he also concedes as follows:

Ter opsomming kan dus gestel word dat Lala fonologies tot Zulu ooreenstem. Van die verskille met Zulu deel Lala 'n aantal met Swazi en die ander Tekela-vorms van Nguni en kan dit dus ook tot die Tekela-tale aan die Nguni-groep gereken word.

This view is confirmed also by Ownby, who, using the information supplied by Bryant, argues that Lala is a Nguni dialect:

Bryant, however, described the Lala language as ... 'Zulu strongly Tongaized, with perhaps 2/3 of its pronunciation, its vocabulary and its grammar identical with that of Zulu and a remainder composed of totally foreign sounds, roots and constructions ...' This suggests two important points. First, if

Lala were that similar to Zulu then it must be regarded as an Nguni language ...

(Ownby, 1981:)

7.5.2 Mzamane's classification

Mzamane's views have a bearing on the classification of Phuthi, Bhaca and Nhlanguwini. He maintains:

Phuthi has a midway nature between Nguni and Sotho.
(Mzamane, 1948:1)

Unfortunately, in this statement, Mzamane does not tell us the language group to which Phuthi belongs. Nevertheless, his statement implies that Phuthi is neither Nguni nor Sotho. Taking into account the Southern Bantu languages in Guthrie's Zone S, linguists are unanimous in isolating only the following language groups: Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga, Shona and Venda; and Phuthi must belong to one of them. An attempt was made in this study to adduce enough linguistic evidence to the effect that Phuthi is basically a Tekela Nguni dialect despite the Sotho influence.

Turning now to Bhaca and Nhlanguwini these he has classified as Tekela. But he often sounds unsure of his classification, especially when he starts arguing as follows:

Except for the use of nd- which it shares with Xhosa, Bhaca does not have much in common with the former. For purposes of classification, the relation between these two is somewhat remote, this is so, despite the fact that they are both Nguni dialects and that they are both in the Southern part of Nguniland.

Bhaca belongs to a set of dialects known as isiZantsi (the South dialects). These comprise Nhlanguwini, Lala and Zotsho. In some way they are all akin to Zulu and situated very near it, but they nevertheless do not conform wholly to its pattern. There are outstanding differences here and there, the chief amongst these being Tekela.

(Mzamane, 1962:75)

On Nhlanguwini, he makes a similar statement, and says:

Except for the first person subject and object root syllable ng- in Nhlanguwini and nd- in Bhaca and also for the fact that Bhaca uses thsi/tsi forms where Nhlanguwini uses thi- there is very little difference between the two. In contrast to Xhosa

they stand together on a major difference in that they are both tekeza/tekela. In addition they both belong to isiZantsi form of dialects. On a strict division they would be grouped with the Natal and other Northern Nguni dialects than with the Southern Nguni.

... Nhlanguwini, as we have stated before, is a tekeza/tekela form to which belong also Bhaca, Swati and Transvaal Ndebele.

(Mzamane, 1962:116)

The first problem that Mzamane has in trying to classify Phuthi, stems from the narrow conception he has of Nguni. He probably adopts Soga's definition of Nguni as referring to Xhosa and a few tribes in Natal as well as the Ngoni of Malawi and Tanzania. Viewed from this angle then Phuthi will of necessity be distinguishable from Nguni. It will be recalled that Soga excludes also the Zulu and Lala (see 1.4.6 above) from his definition of Nguni. However, in his later work, Mzamane (1962) appears to have adopted a broader view of Nguni, even distinguishing between the Eastern (which he calls Northern) and the Southern Nguni.

It is also interesting to note that in the 1962 study his view of Tekela has changed. It will be recalled that in the 1948 study he had defined Tekela as the substituting of /l/ with /y/ e.g. —**thúla** > —**thúya** (be quiet) which we regard as Thefuya; and what we regard as Tekela, (i.e. the use of /t/ where Zunda uses /z/ he described as Thefuya (see 1.4.6). In the latter work he describes Bhaca and Nhlanguwini as Tekela just as we do in this analysis.

It must be pointed out, in passing, that Phuthi in fact has both Thefuya and Tekela features. However, their Thefuya tendency is limited only to the perfect formative —ile which changes to —iye in Phuthi e.g.

báboníye (they have seen)

úkhahíye (he has left)

Despite these inconsistencies in Mzamane's classification it may be concluded that his views are in agreement with the views held here that Bhaca, Nhlanguwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele are all Tekela.

7.5.3 Some Concluding Remarks

I have come to the end of the phonological analysis of these dialects, and I would like to think that from this analysis, it can safely be concluded that these six dialects namely: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguwini, Phuthi and Sumayela Ndebele are indeed all Tekela Nguni dialects.

This conclusion should be based on the Nguni and Tekela characteristic features which are laid down in 7.2 and 7.3 respectively. In essence these requirements are my definition of Tekela. As such my conception of Tekela differs perhaps radically from views held by some of the scholars whose definitions of Tekela were cited in 1.4.6 above. We saw there that Bleek for instance defines Tekela broadly to cover such languages as Tswana where *tsoná* (they; cl. 10) is the equivalent of Zunda Nguni *zoná*, for instance. To me this view is unacceptable. To me *tsoná* of Tswana or Sotho languages in general is an independent natural development deriving from Proto-Bantu. This /ts/ does not replace /z/ because these languages do not have /z/. To my mind, Tekela must be narrowly defined as a phenomenon typical of Nguni.

The question then arises whether Tsonga should not also be classified as Tekela. In as much as it shares certain Nguni features (cf. Louw, 1975:247 and Baumbach 1987:1) I would align myself with that view provided the requirements set out in 7.2 and 7.3 above, are satisfied.

However, it should be borne in mind that a dialect may, due to certain circumstances, shake off its Tekela idiosyncracies as Ziervogel (1959:4) observes with regard to the Hwaduba. A Su.Nde off-shoot, who have become Sotho speaking. In Natal this happened to the Hlubi. Old Hlubi is normally classified as Tekela (cf. Baumbach, 1987:1) but today those in Natal (i.e. the house of Langalibalele) are Zulu speaking while those in the Eastern Cape and the Transkei have adopted Xhosa. In fact the position at present is such that the Tekela dialects which formed the subject of this study are probably the only existing Tekela sub-groups among Southern Bantu.

7.6 CLASSIFICATION OF NGUNI REVISITED

Having argued that the dialects which form the subject of this study are all Tekela and are all Nguni, and having attempted also to prove a common origin between them, one wonders if it would not be most ideal if Nguni was divided into only two standard or written languages: one Tekela and one Zunda. Indeed, this would also be most pragmatic and viable if we consider communication and development of literature as the main purposes of a written language.

As a matter of fact, many linguists share the view that Nguni should have only two or possibly one written language. Regarding the distinction between Zulu and Xhosa for instance, Louw (1977:127) has this to say:

It is only because of a number of historical co-incidencies that Zulu and Xhosa obtained separate written media. There are greater divergencies between the different Northern Sotho dialects which have one written language than between Zulu and Xhosa.

Finlayson (1987:54) re-affirms this when she states:

To return to the linguistic postulations on the basis of the semantic clusters, i.e. the meanings of the direct cognates grouped and found to be in common and therefore part of the original source, we link ... the Zulu and Xhosa so high as to be considered dialects – but they have been recognised as separate languages for reasons other than linguistic.

Ownby (1981:63–66) goes further than these two linguists. The effect of her argument is that not only are Zulu and Xhosa dialects of the same language but also that Swazi is a dialect of Zulu. To her the differences between Swazi and Zulu are more apparent than real. She deplores the fact that Ziervogel sees Swazi as a different language from Zulu. It might benefit the reader to quote her arguments at length:

The apparent differences of Swati were deemed to be significant enough by D. Ziervogel to propose another classification of Nguni. His work in 1955, reminiscent of Döhne's, divides Nguni into two parts: Zunda, composed of Zulu and Xhosa, and Tekela, represented by Swati. His primary consideration is phonological, that is, it is based on the fact that Swati speakers consistently use a /t/ where Zulu or Xhosa speakers use a /z/. The binary distinction has

remained commonly accepted ... Yet its base seems relatively frail, supported as it is largely by a single phonological rule. For history, such a classification is important because of what it suggests about speakers of proto-languages (1981:63–64).

She then formalises the 6 rules which distinguish Swazi from Zulu:

1. $/*z/ > /t/$
2. $*Nasal > \emptyset$ / _____ [+continuant]
3. $/*t/ > /ts/$ / _____ [-round]
4. $/*d/ > /dz/$ / _____ [-round]
5. $/*t/ > /tf/$ / _____ [+round]
6. $/*d/ > /d\beta/$ / _____ [+round]

The last four she collapses into a single rule, and we end up with only three rules:

$$3(a) \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{strident} \\ -\text{continuant} \\ +\text{alveolar} \end{array} \right] > [+strident]$$

She then draws her conclusion:

It can be suggested, therefore, that Swati has experienced a small burst of recent sound changes which do not necessarily justify its separate classification (1981:64)

Louw (1987:148) supports Ownby and points out that even the rule: $/*z/ > /t/$ is not consistently applied. He avers:

Swati is a most difficult proposition. But again what is Swazi: The name of their king is given a Zunda form, cf. Sobhuza. One of their most prestigious clans is Mabuza. The praises of their chiefs are done in Zunda. A lexico-statistical comparison on the basis of Heine will show but little difference between them and Xhosa and Zulu (my underlining).

Ownby ends up by giving us ratios of cognation between Xhosa and Zulu, and Zulu and Swazi. However, her ratio between Xhosa and Zulu would be higher were it not for incorrect deductions. For instance she argues that in Zulu the sound /hl/ does not change before a nasal but in Xhosa it changes to /tl/, cf. Zulu /hl/ in *inhlabathi*; *inhliziyo*; *inhloko* as against Xhosa: /tl/ *intlabathi*; *intliziyo*; and *intloko* (Ownby, 1981:65). Unfortunately Ownby