A DIALECT-GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL,

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN DIALECTS OF TSWANA


A Comparative Analysis


by


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Dinokana.

# ABBREVIATIONS

B.          stands for Ur-Bantu.

H.          stands for Hurutshe.

>           means "becomes".

<           means "derived from".

´           acute accent mark over a symbol indicates
            high toneme.

`           grave accent mark over a symbol indicates
            low toneme.

—           hyphen before or after the form indicates
            that the form is incomplete.

*           asterisk before the form indicates that it
            is hypothetical, but after the form it
            indicates footnote.

[ ]         square brackets enclose phonetic Tswana
            symbols or forms.

/ /         oblique brackets enclose phonemic symbols.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

## CLASSIFICATION, DISTRIBUTION, HISTORY, PURPOSE, AND METHOD OF APPROACH

### LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

1.01     Tswana is a member of the Sotho group of the South-eastern zone of Bantu languages.  This zone has been divided by Doke[1] more or less geographically into five groups as follows:

(1)     Nguni group, including Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi;

(2)     Sotho group, including Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana and Lozi (Kololo);

(3)     Venda;

(4)     Tsonga group, including Ronga, Tonga and Tswa;

(5)     Inhambane group, including Chopi (or Lenge) and Tonga.

1.02     The Tswana cluster of dialects has been sub-divided geographically by Cole into four divisions which he terms Central, Southern, Northern and Eastern.[2]

(a)     The Central division includes the dialects spoken by the Rolong, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse.

(b)     The Southern division includes the dialects spoken by the Tlhaping and Tlharo.

(c)     The Northern division includes Western Kwena (of Molepolole), Ngwato and Tawana.

(e)     The Eastern division includes Kgatla and Eastern Kwena.

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1.     Doke, Prof. C.M.: Bantu — Modern Grammatical Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860, p. 74.

2.     Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, pp. xvi-xvii.

1.03      In connection with the above classification
we are of the opinion that Western Kwena, being more
closely related to Ngwaketse than to Ngwato, should
be classified under the Central division; or alterna-
tively, that Ngwaketse should be classified under the
Northern division because, as Cole admits,[3] it is
more closely related to Western Kwena than to Hurutshe,
for example.  Similarly, Rolong, being more closely
related to Tlhaping than to Hurutshe, should be classi-
fied under the Southern division.  Our argument is
based on dialectal similarities and differences revealed
in chapter 3.

1.04      N.B.:  We use the terms "language zone",
"language group", "language cluster" and "dialect"
according to Doke's definitions of them.[4]  For our
purpose the term "dialect" will be used "for such
ultimate local vernaculars as are recognized by the
Native speakers under special names."[5]  For example,
Hurutshe, Rolong, Kwena, Kgatla, Ngwaketse, Tlhaping,
Tlharo and Ngwato are recognized by the Tswana as
different dialects having their own characteristics.

## DISTRIBUTION OF TSWANA TRIBES

### The Hurutshe

1.05      The Hurutshe are found in the Zeerust dis-
trict of the western Transvaal.  Their main settlements
are at Dinokana, Maanwane, Motswedi, Mošane, Suping,

3.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., p. xvi.
4.  Doke, Prof. C.M.: The Southern Bantu Languages, pp. 20-21.
5.  Doke, Prof. C.M.: Loc. cit., p. 21.

Lekubung, Mokgola and Borakalalo. Other small sections of the Hurutshe are found in the Rustenburg district at Koffykraal and in the Ngwato reserve in Botswana. The latter call themselves the Khurutshe.

## The Ngwaketse

1.06     The Ngwaketse are found in the Ngwaketse reserve in Botswana. Their main settlement is at Kanye.

## The Kwena

1.07     (a)  The Western Kwena are found in the Kwena reserve in Botswana. Their main Settlement is at Molepolole. Of their dialect Prof. Cole remarks as follows:

> "Like Ngwaketse of the Central division,
> to which it is similar in many respects,
> Western Kwena has traces of Kgalagadi in-
> fluence."[4]

Unfortunately, however, he does not give examples of such "traces."

1.08     (b)  The Eastern Kwena includes the Kwena of Mogopa, Phokeng (Bafokeng), Modimosana and Manamela in the Brits and Rustenburg districts of the Transvaal. Included linguistically under Eastern Kwena are several small groups such as, for example, the Tlhako, Phalane, Po, Phiring, Kubung, Kolobeng, Tloung and Tlhalerwa in the Rustenburg, Lichtenburg and Ventersdorp districts.*  Some of these communities are of Nguni  origin, for example the Tlhako and the Po.

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4.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., p. xvii.
*   Cf. Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Rustenburg and Pilansberg Districts, pp. 175 - 177.

## The Ngwato

1.09    The Ngwato live in the Ngwato reserve in
Botswana.  Their chief centre is Serowe.  Van Warmelo
says, "The Mangwato proper form a minority amongst the
various other tribes under their rule and in that neigh-
bourhood."[5]  Of these other tribes, some of which are
of non-Tswana origin, we may mention the Birwa, Tswapong,
Kaa, Phaleng, Talaota and the Khurutshe, a branch of
the Hurutshe of Maanwane in the Zeerust district.  The
Tlokwa dialect has considerably influenced Ngwato as
is evidenced by the substitution of alveolars for
laterals, for example tôu for tlôu.

## The Tawana

1.10    The Tawana live in the Tawana reserve in
Botswana.  They could be classified with the Ngwato
had their dialect not been considerably influenced by
the non-Tswana dialects of Ngamiland.  Their chief
centre is Maung.

## The Tlokwa

1.11    The Tlokwa are found at Gaberones in
Botswana, and also in the Pilansberg and Rustenburg
districts.  They are of non-Tswana origin.  Other
sections of the Tlokwa are found in the Northern
Transvaal.  These, however, seem to fall under Northern
Sotho.

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5.  Van Warmelo, N.J.: A Preliminary Survey of the
        Bantu Tribes of South Africa, p. 103.

## The Malete

1.12      The Malete are found in the  Malete  reserve
in Botswana.  Other sections of the Malete are found
near Molepolole and in the Zeerust district.

## The Kgatla

1.13      Referring to the Kgatla van Warmelo says:

> "Not least important among the Eastern
> Tswana is the imposing chain of Kgatla
> tribes stretching from Schildpadfontein,
> east of Warmbad to Mochudi in the Protec-
> torate."[6]

The Kgatla may be divided geographically into Western,
Central and Eastern divisions.

   (a)   The Western division has its principal
         settlement at Mochudi in Botswana.

   (b)   The Central division has its chief
         settlement at Moruleng in the Pilans-
         berg district.  This division together
         with the above one are called the
         Kgatla of Kgafela.

   (c)   The Eastern division includes the
         Kgatla of Mosetlha in the Hammanskraal
         district, the Kgatla of Mmakau in the
         Brits district, the Kgatla of Motšha
         at Skildpadfontein, and the Kgatla of
         Seabe in the Hammanskraal district.
         Among the Eastern Kgatla there are
         several small communities which are of

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6.  Van Warmelo, N.J.:  A Preliminary Survey of the
    Bantu Tribes of South Africa, p. 106.

Swazi or Nguni origin, for example, the
Hwaduba, the Ndebele and small groups of
Shangaans. Some of these non-Tswana tribes,
for example, the Hwaduba, have assimilated
Kgatla dialect and culture.

1.14     Another section of the Kgatla lives at Mošupa
in the Ngwaketse reserve in Botswana. They are called
the Kgatla of Mmanaana.

## The Rolong

1.15     Breutz gives the following political divisions
of the Rolong:[7]

> (i)     The Rolong of Ratlou of Seitshiro (Barôlông
>         bôô-Ratlôu bôô-Seitshirô) whose chief settle-
>         ments are at Khunwana in the Lichtenburg
>         district and at Kraaipan and Setlagole to
>         the south-west of Mafeking and at Thaba Nchu
>         in the Orange Free State.

> (ii)    The Rolong of Ratlou of Mariba (Barôlông
>         bôô-Ratlôu bôô-Mariba) who are also called
>         the Rolong of Ratau (Barôlông bôô-Ratau)
>         whose chief Settlements are at Ganyesa,
>         Morokwaneng, Bothithong, Gamorona, Mokgole,
>         Modiakgama, Tlakgameng, Konke, etc., in the
>         district of Vryburg, and at Tshidilamolomo
>         and Phitshane in the district of Mafeking,
>         extending into Botswana. The headquarters
>         of all these branches is Ganyesa in the
>         Vryburg district.

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7.  Breutz, P.L.: _The Tribes of Mafeking District,_
        pp. 78-86.

(iii)   The Rolong of Ratlou of Moamogwa (Barôlông bôô-Ratlôu bôô-Moamogwa) who live at Moro-kweng in the Vryburg district and at Khunwana in the Lichtenburg district. They are junior to those at Ganyesa politically

(iv)    The Rolong of Ratlou of Molale (Barôlông bôô-Ratlôu bôô-Molalê) who live at Tseoge and Kgokgole, west of Ganyesa, and Bethithong, in the Vryburg district. They are also junior to those at Ganyesa.
N.B. According to Breutz all the Rolong in the Vryburg district call themselves the Rolong of Moamogwa (Barôlông bôô-Moamogwa).

(v)     The Rolong of Ratshidi (Barôlông bôô-Ratshidi) whose chief settlements are in Mafeking town and district and also at Bodibe in the Lichtenburg district.

(vi)    The Rolong of Seleka (Barôlông bôô-Seleka) in the district of Mafeking.

(vii)   The Rolong of Tau of Rapulana (Barôlông bôô-Tau-Rapulana) at Bodibe, Polfontein.

1.16    Cole[8] gives the following four divisions of the Rolong:

(i)     The Rolong of Tshidi (Barôlông bôôrra Tshidi) whose settlements are mainly in the Mafeking town and district.

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8.  Cole, Prof. D.T.:  An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, p. xvi.

(ii) The Rolong of Rratlou (Barôlông bôôRratlôu)
whose chief settlements are at Khunwana,
Kraaipan and Setlagole to the south-west
of Mafeking.

(iii) The Rolong of Rrapulana (Barôlông bôô-
Rrapulana) whose main settlements are at
Lotlhakane and Polfontein to the south-east
of Mafeking.

(iv) The Rolong of Seleka (Barôlông bôôSeleka)
whose main settlement is at Thaba Nchu in
the Orange Free State.
N.B. Breutz calls them the Rolong of Ratlou
of Seitshiro (cf. par. 1.14(i) above).

1.17    Cole's classification leaves out the Rolong
sections in the Vryburg district. In a footnote, how-
ever, he says,

"The four sections are named after their
founders Tshidi, Rratlou, Rrapulana and
Seleka".[9]

Note that he writes rr, as in Rrapulana, where Breutz
writes r which is the common pronunciation among most
Tswana speaking tribes.

The Tlhaping

1.18    According to F.G. Language the first chief
of the Tlhaping was Tholo who separated from the Rolong
at Taung.[10] Breutz is of the opinion that he was,

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9.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., ibid.

10. Language, F.G.; Herkoms en Geskiedenis van die
    Tlhaping, (African Studies, 1942, p. 121).

perhaps, the father of Phuduhudu and Phuduhutšwana.
He admits, however, that it is not certain because
informants differ.[11]

1.19     Breutz gives the following political divisions
of the Tlhaping:

(i)     The Tlhaping of Phuduhndu who are regarded
        as a senior group.   Their main settlements
        are at Taung in the Cape Province and at
        Dithakong in the Vryburg district.

(ii)    The Tlhaping of Phuduhutšwana whose chief
        settlement is at Thakwaneng in the Vryburg
        district.

(iii)   The Tlhaping of Marumô who are at Bothithong
        in the Vryburg district.

(iv)    Another section of the Tlhaping lives at
        Klein Chwaing, west of Vryburg.

1.20     Breutz remarks that all the Tlhaping in the
Vryburg district speak Rolong-Tlhaping dialect of
Tswana.[12]   This is so because they live more or less
together with the Rolong.


The Tlharo

1.21     Breutz distinguishes the following three
political branches of the Tlharo:

(i)     The Tlharo of Phadima (Batlharo ba ga
        Phadima) also known as the Tlharo of
        Khidi, with head-quarters at Kuruman.

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11.   Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Vryburg District.

12.   Breutz, P.L.: Loc. cit.

(ii)   The Tlharo of Lotlhware (Batlharo ba

ga Lotlhware) whose chief settlement

is at Heuning Vlei in the district of

Vryburg.

(iii)  The Tlharo of Thokwane (Batlharo ba ga

Thokwane) at Disaneng in the districts

of Mafeking and Postmasburg.[13]

1.22   Cole does not give divisions of the Tlharo.
He says, however,

"The bulk of the Tlhware population is
settled in the Kuruman district of British
Bechuanaland."[14]

HISTORY OF TSWANA TRIBES

1.23   Since there is a fairly extensive literature
dealing _inter alia_ with the history of the various
Tswana speaking tribes it is not necessary for us to
repeat it here.  Our investigation in this study is
not concerned primarily with their origins and migra-
tions.  For full historical accounts of the various
Tswana speaking tribes the reader is referred to the
works given under Bibliography.

1.24   We may mention briefly, however, that
according to tradition and the available literature
which is, to a great extent, also based on tradition,
most Tswana tribes claim that they came originally

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13.   Breutz, P.L.: Loc. cit., p. 21.

14.   Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., p. xvii.

from the north, from a land of great rivers and plenty of rain, where the sun during a certain time of the year used to be on their southern side and during another time on their northern side. This statement suggests that they came originally from somewhere in central Africa.[15] Why and when they left that area is not known.

1.25     They also trace their descent, again according to tradition, from a mythological figure called Loê (or Lowê) who came out of a cave after his servant, Matsieng, had informed him that all was clear outside.[16] In some parts of Botswana there are human footprints on flat rocks. These footprints are believed to be those of Matsieng who is also regarded by some Tswana tribes to be their ancestor.

1.26     In their mythology the Tswana refer also to another mythological figure known as Bilê. They say for example, bogologolo jwa ga Bilê (in the olden times of Bilê). It is not certain whether or not this Bilê is the same figure as Loê mentioned in par. 1.24 above. Both figures occur in Tswana mythology. It is most likely that these names refer to one and the same figure.

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15. Stow, G.W.: The Native Races of South Africa, Chapter XXII;
     Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Mafeking District, p. 24;
               The Tribes of Marico District, p.45;
     Schapera, I.: Ditirafalo tsa Merafe ya Batswana; p. 3;
               The Tswana, p. 14.
     Wookey, A.J.: Dico tsa Secwana, pp. 4 and 24.

16. Wookey, A.J.: Dico tsa Secwana, pp. 38 and 43.
     Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Mafeking District, p. 76.

1.27      Most Tswana tribes claim traditionally that
they are offshoots of the Hurutshe who are accorded
precedence in ceremonial matters and who claim their
direct descent from one Malope, son of Masilo.[17]
According to tradition and the available literature it
is not certain whether or not the Rolong and the
Tlhaping are also offshoots of the Hurutshe.  However,
they also claim their descent from Malope mentioned
above.  This suggests that they must have branched off
from the main original Tswana body long before the
Hurutshe came to their present habitat, namely Zeerust
and Marico districts.  In this connection van Warmelo,
basing his argument on tradition and the available
literature, says,

>"We must of course, accept the tradition
>which explains how the Kwena, Mangwato and
>Ngwaketse are the offshoots  of what origi-
>nally was one tribe and how the Tawana are
>a branch of the Mangwato.  But whether a
>similar genealogical relationship exists
>between the Tlhaping, Tlharo, Rolong,
>Hurutshe and the other smaller tribes is
>not at all definitely established, and
>whatever traditions we have on this point
>appear to be of doubtful value."[18]

But the relationship between the Tlharo and the
Hurutshe, both traditionally and according to the
available literature, seems fairly well established.
The Tlharo are an offshoot of the Hurutshe.[19]

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17.   Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Mafeking District, p. 76.
      Wookey, A.J.: Dico tsa Secwana, p. 38

18.   Van Warmelo, N.J.: A Preliminary Survey of the
           Bantu Tribes of South Africa, p. 103.

19.   Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Vryburg District,
           pp. 118-119.
      Wookey, A.J.: Dico tsa Secwana, pp. 34-35.

1.28     That the Rolong and the Tlhaping are also related to the Hurutshe historically is proved by the fact that they too like other Tswana tribes, accord them precedence in ceremonial matters. Breutz says that in the Rolong mythology Lowê was a place where all the Tswana originated.[20] This shows that their traditions are more or less the same as those of the Hurutshe, although, according to them, Loê or Lowê was the name of a place.

## PURPOSE  AND  METHOD  OF  APPROACH

1.29     The purpose of this study is to compare Tswana dialects phonetically in order to determine which one is more representative of them all in its sound system, which, therefore, can be selected as the basis for the establishment of literary Tswana. In order to make this comparison one Tswana dialect has been chosen to serve as a basis, that is as a common denominator with which the others are compared. The sound system of this common denominator is first analysed by determining its derivation from Ur-Bantu as postulated by Meinhof.[21]

1.30     The Hurutshe dialect, as spoken mainly at Dinokana, Maanwane, Motswedi, Mošane, Suping and Lekubung in the Zeerust district of the western Transvaal, has been selected as a basis for this comparative survey of Tswana dialects as spoken today,

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20.  Breutz, P.L.:  The Tribes of Mafeking District, p. 76.

21.  Meinhof, C. and van Warmelo, N.J.:  Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages.

because, firstly, the Hurutshe are regarded tradi-
tionally, by most other Tswana tribes, as the nucleus
or parent-stock from which they branched off. Secondly,
because the Hurutshe still occupy, more or less, the
same geographical area (Lehurutshe) in which they are
believed to have lived for many years and from which
the other Tswana tribes are believed to have branched
off from them. Thirdly, because Hurutshe, being more
central and the least influenced by other Bantu languages,
can be expected to have retained more sound features and
characteristics of the original Tswana speech forms
than other Tswana dialects.

1.31     The above reasons for selecting Hurutshe as
a basic dialect do not, in any way, overlook or under-
estimate the fact that, apart from possible internal
changes which may have taken place in its sound system
over the years, it may have undergone some changes as
a result of the influence of other Bantu languages and
dialects as a result of modern economic conditions which
have, more or less, eliminated tribal boundaries as
Moloto points out.[22]   People leave their homes to
seek employment in the industrial centres where they
come into contact not only with other Tswana dialects
but also with those of other Bantu tribes, with the
result that when they go back home they carry with
them new speech forms which they have thus acquired.
Another factor which may have introduced new speech
forms into Hurutshe is the church which use religious

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22. Moloto, E.S.: _A Critical Investigation into the
    Standardization of written Tswana_, Par. 4.3,
    unpublished dissertation for the M.A. degree
    presented at the University of South Africa,
    Department of Bantu Languages, 1964.

books, such as the Bible, catechisms and hymn books,
written in Tlhaping. To this must be added the in-
fluence of school books written in other Tswana dia-
lects, especially among young people.

1.32    These "foreign" influences are noticeable
in Hurutshe as spoken today. For example, the typical
Hurutshe forms for "dog", "ostrich", "milk" and "new"
are [n̩tʃw'á], [n̩tʃhwɛ̰́], [màʃwì] and [-ʃwá] respectively;
but the forms [m̩ps'á/m̩pʃ'á] or [n̩tʃ'á], [n̩tʃhɛ̰́], [màʃì]
and [-ʃá] also occur in it. Both forms, Bahurutshe and
Bafurutshe, (the latter with a bilabial [Φ]), are used
in Hurutshe. Therefore what I regard as Hurutshe in
this study is what I consider to be typical Hurutshe
sounds or forms.

1.33    The derivation of Hurutshe speech sounds from
Ur-Bantu is dealt with in chapter 2. Chapter 3 is a
comparison of Ngwaketse, Kwena, Kgatla, Rolong,
Tlhaping and Tlharo with Hurutshe. The dialects of
northern Botswana, for example, Ngwato, are not included
in this comparison because they are considerably in-
fluenced by other Bantu dialects such as Tlokwa and
Kgalagadi. Similarly the Rolong dialect of Thaba Nchu
has been left out because it shows influence of
Southern Sotho.

1.34    In chapter 4 we comment critically on some
aspects of the current practical Tswana orthography.

## ORTHOGRAPHY

1.35　　In this study I retain Meinhof's orthography[23]
in original hypothetical forms only.  For Tswana forms
I employ the orthography recommended in The Principles
of the International Phonetic Association (I.P.A.).  In
chapter 4 I employ the current practical orthography
for Tswana, but I use phonetic symbols in brackets where
necessary.

1.36　　Names of Tswana tribes and dialects are
written in the practical Tswana orthography throughout,
for example, Tlhaping, Kwena, Rolong and Kgatla.

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23.  Meinhof, C. and van Warmelo, N.J.:  Introduction
　　　to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages.

# CHAPTER II

## DERIVATION OF HURUTSHE SPEECH SOUNDS

### FROM UR-BANTU

## UR-BANTU VOWELS

### Primary Vowels

2.01      B. a  >  H. [a], for example,

B. -kana  >  H. [-xánà] (refuse, deny);

B. -kama  >  H. [-xámà] (milk).


B. i  >  H. [e], for example,

B. -lima  >  H. [-lèmà] (plough, hoe);

B. -lila  >  H. [-lèlà] (cry, weep).


B. u  >  H. [o], for example,

B. -luma  >  H. [-lómà] (bite);

B. -tatu  >  H. [-rárò] (three).


### Composite Vowels

2.02      B. e  >  H. [ε], for example,

B.  -tema  >  H. [-rémà] (chop, cut);

B.  -pela  >  H. [-Фélà] (become finished).


B. o  >  [ɔ], for example,

B.  -lota  >  H. [-lórà] (dream);

B.  -koka  >  H. [-xóxà] (pull, drag).

Close Vowels

2.03      B. $\underline{i}$ > H. [i], for example,

B.  -yîna > H.  [-bínà] (dance),

B.  -yîla > H.  [-ìlà] (abstain from).


          B. $\underline{u}$ > H. [u], for example,

B.  -tûna > H.  [-rúnà] (kill lice);

B.  -pûlata > H.  [-Φúlàrà] (turn one's

                                    back, return)


Raising of Vowels

2.04      Raised vowels and conditions under which
vowels are raised in Tswana have been discussed ade-
quately by Cole.[1]  Since his conclusions apply equally
well to Hurutshe it is not necessary to repeat his
findings.


Summary

2.05      As the above comparison shows Hurutshe has
seven basic vowels or vowel phonemes, Cole[2]  and
Moloto[3] also recognise seven vowel phonemes for
Tswana although Moloto does not show their derivation
from Ur-Bantu.

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1.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Notes on the Phonological
        Relationships of Tswana Vowels, African Studies,
        Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept., 1949, pp.109-131; An
        Introduction to Tswana Grammar, parr. 1.12-1.29.

2.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: In the works cited.

3.  Moloto, E.S.: A Critical Investigation into the
        Standardization of written Tswana, par. 5.7,
        unpublished dissertation for the M.A. degree,
        presented at the University of South Africa,
        Department of Bantu Languages, 1964.

Hurutshe vowel phonemes /e/, /ɛ/, /o/ and /ɔ/ have raised variants [ẹ], [ɛ̣], [ọ] and [ɔ̣] respectively. The following table shows Ur-Bantu vowel symbols and the corresponding I.P.A.[4] ones which we use for Hurutshe, together with those employed by Cole[5]:

| B. H. | | | Cole | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| î | /i/ | with no variant | [i] | with no variant |
| i | /e/ | with variant [ẹ] | [I] | with variant [ɪ] |
| e | /ɛ/ | with variant [ɛ̣] | [ɛ] | with variant [e] |
| a | /a/ | with no variant | [a] | with no variant |
| o | /ɔ/ | with variant [ɔ̣] | [ɔ] | with variant [o] |
| u | /o/ | with variant [ọ] | [ʊ] | with variant [ω] |
| û | /u/ | with no variant | [u] | with no variant |

2.06    Each Hurutshe vowel phoneme may be high or low tonemically. These high and low tonemes are distinctive, for example:

[-tl'álà] (be full) and [tl'àlà] (hunger);

[p'élè] (first) and [p'èlè](in front);

[lèbɛ́lè] (breast) and [lèbɛ̀lɛ́] (plant or grain of corn);

[-Φítlhà] (conceal) and [-Φìtlhà] (arrive);

[xò rónà] (be unbecoming) and [xó rònà] (to us);

[-tlhólà] (spy) and [-tlhòlà] (create; portend ill-omen; spend the day);

[-búà] (talk) and [-bùà] (flay).

4.    The Principles of the International Phonetic
        Association.

5.    Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana
        Grammar.

## UR-BANTU CONSONANTS

### Primary Plosives before a

2.07        B. k > H. [x]:

B. -kama (squeeze) > H. [-xámà] (milk)

B. -kana (deny) > H. [-xánà] (refuse, deny);

possessive concord of classes 15, 16, 17 and 18,

[xá-].


B. t > H. [r]:

B. -tatu (three) > H. [-rárò] (three);

B. -tama (cheek) > H. [lèrámà] (cheek).


B. p > H. [Φ]:

B. -pala (scratch) > H. [-Φàlà] (scrape);

B. -tapa (take out) > H. [-ráΦà] (take out,

e.g. honey, clay);

B. -pa (give) > H. [-Φá] (give);

prefix of class 16, [Φa-].

Thus B. primary plosives k, t and p before a have
become Hurutshe [x], [r] and [Φ] respectively.


### Primary Fricatives before a

2.08        B. γ > H. [-], that is, it disappears
as an initial sound of the root, for example,

B. -γaka (build) > H. [-áxà] (build);

B. -γala (spread out) > H. [-àlà] (spread

out, for example, blanket).

> H. [j] inside a stem, in which case
it is sometimes also discarded, for example,

B. -laɣa (instruct) > H. [-làjà] or

[-làà] (instruct);

B. -taɣa (set a trap) > H. [-rájà] or

[-ráà] (set a trap, doctor land; tell).


B. l > H. [l]:

B. -lala (stretch oneself on the ground)

> H. [-lálà] (lie down, sleep, spend

the night);

B. -pala (scratch) > H. [-Φàlà] (scrape).


B. v > H. [b]:

B. -vaɣa (bitter) > H. [-bábà] (be bitter);

B. -ɣaɣa (devide) > H. [-àbà] (divide, share).

It occurs also in the prefix of class 2, [ba-], and its
concords.

Thus B. primary fricative ɣ has either
disappeared or become palatal semi-vowel [j] in Hurutshe,
while B. l has remained [l] and B. v has become [b].


Voiceless Palatals before a

2.09        B. k > H. [tlh]:

B. -laka (cast away) > H. [-látlhà] (cast away);

B. -paka (cross) > H. [-Φátlhà] (blind),

[lèΦátlha] (twin);

B. -kamba (wash) > H. [-tlhàp'à] (wash

oneself).

B. t̲ > H. [tlh]:

B. -t̲anu (five) > H. [-tlhánò] (five);

B. -t̲aka (desire) > H. [-tlháxà] (active,
wild);

B. -t̲akuna (chew) > H. [-tlháhúnà] (chew).

Thus both B. voiceless palatals k̲ and t̲ before a̲ have
changed to aspirated lateral affricate [tlh] in
Hurutshe. One cannot always ascertain, therefore,
whether H. [tlh] is derived from B. k̲ or t̲, since they
have become identical, as Meinhof says.[6]

## Voiced Palatals before a̲

2.10     B. ɣ̲ > H. [tl']:

B. -ɣ̲a (come) > H. [-tl'à] (come);

B. - luɣa (leak) > H. [-ɬùtl'à] (leak).


B. l̲ ?


## Nasals before a̲

2.11     B. n̲ > H. [n]:

B. -kan̲a (deny) > H. [-xánà] (deny, refuse);

B. -v̲ona (see) > H. [-bónà] (see).


B. m̲ > H. [m]:

B. -kam̲a (squeeze) > H. [-xámà] (milk);

B. -lim̲a (hoe) > H. [-lèmà] (hoe, plough);

B. -lum̲a (bite) > H. [-lómà] (bite).

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6. Meinhof, C. and van Warmelo, N.J.: Introduction
to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, p. 31.

Thus B. nasals before a have remained unchanged in Hurutshe.

## VOWEL INFLUENCE ON PRECEDING CONSONANTS

(i) Consonants before i and u

2.12       B. ki > H. [se]:

B. -kila (tail) > H. [mòsélà] (tail);

B. -kimbila (go about > H. [-sépélà] (walk);

B. ki-lembe (axe) > H. [sèlép'è] (axe);

prefix and concord of class 7, [se-].       :

B. ti > H. [re]:

B. -ti (tree) > H. [mòré] (tree);

B. -kati (in the middle) > H. [xàré] (in the
                                              middle).

B. pi > H. [Φe]:

B. -pinda (pass, surpass) > H. [-Φèt'à] (pass,
                                              surpass);

B. -pima (measure) > H. [-Φòmà] (avoid blows).

B. yi > H. [e]:

B. -yi (egg) > H. [lèé] (egg);

B. -yiva (dove) > H. [lèèbà] (dove);

concord of class 9, [e-].

B. li > H. [le]:

B. -lila (weep) > H. [-lèlà] (weep, cry);

B. -lilo (fire) > H. [mòlèlò] (fire);

prefix and concord of class 5, [le-].

B. vi > H. [be]:

B. -vila (boil) > H. [-bèlà] (boil);

B. -vili (body) > H. [mòbèlè] or

[m̀mèlè] (body).

B. mi > H. [me]:

B. -mila (sprout) > H. [-mèlà] (sprout,

germinate);

B. -limi (tongue) > H. [lòlémè] (tongue);

prefix of class 4, [me-].

B. ni (see parr. 2.23 and 2.24).

B. ku > H. [xo]:

B. -kula (grow) > H. [-xólà] (grow);

B. -kulu (big) > H. [-xólò] (big);

prefix and concord of classes 15, 16, 17

and 18, [xo-].

B. tu > H. [ro]:

B. -tuma (send) > H. [-rómà] (send);

B. -tutuma (tremble) > H. [-ròròmà] (tremble).

B. pu > H. [Φo]:

B. -pupa (fly) > H. [-ΦòΦà] (fly);

B. -punga (blow) > H. [-Φòk'à] (blow)

B. yu > H. [o]:

B. -yuma (strike) > H. [-òmà] (threaten to

strike);

concord of classes 1 and 3 [o-], and of second

person, singular, [o-].

B. lu > H. [lo]:

B. -luma (bite) > H. [-lómà] (bite);

B. -luka (plait) > H. [-lòxà] (plait, weave);

prefix and concord of class 11, [lo-], and

concord of 2nd person, plural, [lo-] (you).


B. vu > H. [bo]:

B. -vumba (mould) > H. [-bóp'à] (mould);

B. -vuya (return) > H. [-bóà] (return);

prefix and concord of class 14, [bo-].


B. ki > H. [tshe] or [se]:

B. -paki (below) > H. [Φátshè] (on the ground)

H. [lèΦátshè] (country).

B. -yaki (down) > H. [tl'àsé] (down).


B. yi > H. [ts'e]:

B. -îyi (know) > H. [-its'e] (know).


B. ku > H. [tlho]:

B. -kuva (pluck off) > H. [-tlhòbà] (pluck

off, as feathers).


B. yu > H. [tl'o]:

B. -yula (leap) > H. [-tl'ólà] (leap, jump).


B. mu > H. [mo-]:

B. -lomu (mouth) > H. [mòlɔ̀mò] (mouth);

B. -lemuka (perceive) > H. [-lɛ́móxà] (perceive);

prefix and objectival concord of class 1, [mo-],

and prefix of class 3, [mo-].

        B. <u>nu</u> > H. [no]:

B. -<u>nungu</u> (porcupine) > H. [nòk'ó] (porcupine);

B. -<u>tanu</u> (five) > H. [-tlhánò] (five).

Thus B. consonants before <u>i</u> and <u>u</u> follow the same rules when they change into Hurutshe as when they occur before <u>a</u>, with the exception of <u>k</u>, <u>k</u> and <u>x</u> before <u>i</u>, where they become [s], [tsh] or [s] and [ts'] respectively.

    (ii)  Consonants before î and û

2.13      B. <u>kî</u> > H. [si]:

B. -<u>kîta</u> (hide) > H. [-sírà] (hide from view, shade);

B. -<u>kîlî</u> (soot) > H. [mòsílì] (soot).

      Cf. [mòsímàné] (boy).

      B. <u>tî</u> > H. [si]:

B. -<u>tîla</u> (grind) > H. [-sìlà] (grind);

B. -<u>tîku</u> (night) > H. [bòsíxò] (night).

          > H. [ri]:

B. <u>mpîtî</u> (hyena) > H. [phírì] (hyena);

B. -<u>tîka</u> (winter) > H. [màríxà] (winter).

      B. <u>pî</u> > H. [Φi]:

B. -<u>pîpî</u> (darkness) > H. [lèΦìΦì] (darkness);

B. -<u>pîka</u> (hide) > H. [-Φítlhà] (hide, conceal);

      but H. [-Φìtlhà] (arrive).

      B. <u>xî</u> > H. [i]:

B. -<u>xîla</u> (abstain from) > H. [-ìlà] (abstain from);

B. -yîko (hearth) > H. [lèísò] (hearth);
reflexive verbal prefix, for example,
H. [-ìp'ónà] (see oneself) < *-yi-vona.

B. lî > H. [li]:

B. -kîlî (soot) > H. [mòsílì] (soot);

B. -lînga (surround) > H. [-lík'à] (surround);
prefix and concord of class 10, [li(N)-]

B. vî > H. [bi]:

B. -vîna (dance) > H. [-bínà] (dance);

B. -vîmba (stuff) > H. [-bìp'à] (cover).

B. kû > H. [hu]:

B. -kûva (chest) > H. [sòhúbà] (chest);

B. -takûna (chew) > H. [-tlháhúnà] (chew).
      (Cf. par. 2.14).

B. tû > H. [ru]:

B. -tû (cloud) > H. [lèrù] (cloud);

B. -tûmo (spear) > H. [lèrúmò] (spear);

B. -tûnda (instruct) > H. [-rút'à] (teach,
                              instruct).

B. pû > H. [Φu]:

B. -pûlo (froth) > H. [lèΦúlò] (froth, foam);

B. -popû (blind) > H. [sèΦòΦù] (blind person).
      (Cf. par. 2.14).

B. χû > H. [u]:

B. -χoγû (elephant) > H. [tl'ǫ̀ù] elephant).

    Cf. H. [-ùp'à] (protect by medicine)

        < *-χûmba.

B. lû > H. [lu]:

B. -lûγa (leak) > H. [-lùtl'à] (leak);

B. -lelû (chin, beard) > H. [sèlè̞lù] (chin).

B. vû > H. [bu]:

B. -vula (open) > H. [-bùlà] (open);

B. ngûvû (hippopotamus) > H. [k'ùbú] (hippopotamus).

B. mî > H. [mi]:

B. -mîna (press nose) > H. [-mìnà] (blow the

                nose).

    Cf. H. [lòmíp'ì] (fatty membrane round the

              bowels).

B. nî > H. [ŋ]:

B. -konî (shame) > H. [lìtlhǫ́ŋ]

        (shame, used in the plural only).

    H. [tlhǫ́ŋ] (hedgehog) plural, [lìtlhǫ́ŋ];

B. -kunî (fire-wood) > H. [lòxǫ́ŋ] (fire wood).

It is also locative suffix, for example,

    H. [pèlǫ́ŋ] < *pelo-nî < [p'èló] (heart);

    H. [sèbéŋ] < *sebe-nî < [sèbé] (sin).

B. mû > H. [mu]:

Cf.  H.  [sèmúmù] (dumb person);

H.  [-xámùtḷ'à] (press round).


B.  nû  >  ?


Thus B. k̲ before ḭ and ṵ has become H. [s] and [h]
respectively;  B. t̲ has become H. [s] or [r] before ḭ
but [r] before ṵ;

B. l̲ has become H. [ḽ] before ḭ and ṵ, while B. n̲
has become H. [ŋ] before ḭ.  The other B. Consonants
follow the same rules as when they occur before a̲.


## The alternation of [Φu] and [hu] in Hurutshe

2.14      In certain Hurutshe forms [Φu] and [hu]
alternate, for example,

[-Φúlárà] and [-húlárà] (turn one's back, return);

[-Φúlúxà] and [-húlúxà] (remove from one's place

of residence).

Apparently such forms are derived from different Ur-
Bantu roots; that, for example, the above pairs may be
derived respectively from *-pûlata and *-kûlata on the
one hand, and *-pûlûka and *-kûlûka on the other.  In
some Bantu languages, for example, Swahili, Konde,
Kongo and Zulu, however, both Ur-Bantu k̲û and p̲û have
changed to [fu].  It is possible, therefore, that, in
some cases, Hurutshe [hu] may be derived from Ur-Bantu
p̲û by the process B. p̲û > [Φu] > [hu].  On the
other hand Hurutshe [Φu] may be replacing [hu] < B. k̲û

by the principle of analogy with forms derived from
Ur-Bantu forms containing pû. It is interesting to
note that the Hurutshe call themselves either Hurutshe
or Furutshe.

## The Influence of li- on succeeding Consonants

2.15      In Hurutshe we find that there are some
nouns of class 5, in which the original initial sound
of the root is replaced by two alternative sounds, one
showing the influence of i of the class prefix li-*,
and the other not. In such cases both forms are used
alternatively. The plurals also have two alternative forms
on  the  analogy with the singular forms. In some
cases, however, only the forms showing the influence
of li- occur. The following are examples of such
changes:

B. ku  >  H.  [so]:
B. li-kumi (ten)  >  H.  [lèsómè]  (ten).


B. kwa  >  H.  [kxhwa] or [tshwa]:
B.  li-kwapu (lung)  >  H.  [lèkxhwàΦó] or
[lètshwàΦó] (lung);
plural [màkxhwàΦó] or [màtshwàΦó].


B. ta  >  H.  [ra]  or  [sa]:
B. li-tama (cheek) > H. [lèrámà] or [lèsámà]
(cheek), plural, [màrámà] or [màsámà];
B. li-tambo (bone) > H. [lèráp'ɔ] or [lèsáp'ɔ]
(bone), plural [màráp'ɔ] or [màsáp'ɔ].

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* Cf. Meinhof, C.and van Warmelo, N.J.: Introduction
to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, pp. 67 and
180.

B. te̱ > H. [ʃɛ]:

B. li-te̱ɣa (soft part of bone) > H. [lèʃḕtlà]

        (edible part of head of a bone).


B. to̱ > [tsho̱] or [ro̱]:

B. li-tompí (blister) > [lètshó̩phì] or [lòró̩phì]

        (blister), plural [màtshó̩phì] or [màró̩phì].


B. tu̱ > H. [ro], [so] or [tsho]:

B. li-tu̱ʋa (opening) > H. [lèròbà], [lèsòbà]

        or [lètshòbà] (hole, as in a piece of cloth

        or skin), plural, [màròbà], [màsòbà] and

        [màtshòbà] respectively.

B. li-tumbi (old dwelling place) > H. [lèróp'è]

        or [lèsóp'è] (ruin, old dwelling place)

        plural [màróp'è] or [màsóp'è].

B. li-tuɣu (paw) > [leróò] or [lètshóò] (paw),

        plural, [màróò] or [màtshóò].

B. li-tulo (hunting party) > H. [lètshólò]

        (hunting party).


B. pa̱ > H. [tshwa]:

B. li-papu̱ (lung) > H. [lètshwàɸó] (lung).


B. la̱ > [ts'a]:

B. li-langi (sun) > H. [lèts'àts'í] (sun, day),

        plural, [màlàts'í] or [màts'àts'í].


B. li > [ts'e]:

B. li-lima̱ (a hoeing party) > H. [lèts'èmà]

        (people ploughing, or workparty).

B. l̃í > H. [ts'ḭ]:

B. li-liyoko (ford, drift) > H. [lèts'ḭbɔ̀xɔ̀]

N.B. The form [lèlìbɔ̀xɔ̀] exists in Hurutshe, for a drift, although less commonly used.

B. ye > [bɛ] or [ts'ɛ]:

B. li-yele (breast) > H. [lèbέlὲ] or [lèts'έlὲ] (breast), but H. [lèbὲlέ] or [lèts'ὲlέ] (plant or grain of corn).

B. yo > H. [bɔ] or [ts'ɔ]:

B. li-yoko (arm) > H. [lèbɔ́xɔ̀] or [lèts'ɔ́xɔ̀] (arm), plural, [màbɔ́xɔ̀] or [màts'ɔ́xɔ̀].

B. li-yongû > H. [lèts'ɔ̀kú] (red ochre).

B. yu > H. [ts'o]:

B. li-yumba (pot clay) > H.[lèts'óp'à] (pot clay).

The Influence of yi- on succeeding Consonants

2.16    The following are examples of the influence of B. i of the verbal prefix yi-* on the initial sound of the root in Hurutshe:

B. ka > H. [sa]:

B. -yikala (remain) > H. [-sálà] (remain behind);

B. ku > H. [kxho]:

B. -yikuta (become satisfied) > H. [-kxhórà] (become satisfied, of food);

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* Cf. (i) Meinhof, C. and van Warmelo, N.J.: Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, pp. 67-68 and 180.
(ii) Eiselen, Dr. W.: Die Veränderung der Konsonanten Durch ein Vorhergehendes i in den Bantusprachen: Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, Vol.XIV,p.81 sqq.

B. <u>ta</u> > H. [tsha] or [ʃa]:

B. -ɣita<u>ya</u> (flee) > H. [-tshábà] (flee, run

away, fear);

B. -ɣita<u>ɣa</u> (give a name) > H. [-ʃájà] or

[-ʃáà] (give a name);

B. -ɣita<u>ya</u> (mix) > H. [-ʃàbà] (eat, as porridge

with relish);

B. -ɣi<u>tamba</u> (beat) > H. [-ʃáp'à] (beat, as

with a cane).

B. <u>te</u> > H. [ʃɛ]:

B. -ɣite<u>ya</u> (look) > H. [-ʃɛ̀bà] (look);

B. -ɣite<u>ya</u> (cut) > H. [-ʃɛ̀tl'à] (cut off a

piece, e.g. of meat).

B. <u>ti</u> > H. [ʃɛ]:

B. -ɣi<u>tina</u> (grin) > H. [-ʃɛ́nà] (grin, as a dog

threatening to bite).

B. <u>tu</u> > H. [tsho]:

B. -ɣi<u>tuka</u> (be startled) > H. [-tshòxà] (be

frightened);

B. -ɣi<u>tula</u> (scoop out) > H. [-tshòlà] (dish

out food), but H. [-tshólà] (possess).

B. <u>kû</u> > H. [khu]:

B. -ɣi<u>kûta</u> (cover) > H. [-khúrúmèlà] (cover,

as pot with lid)

B. tû > H. [tshu]:

B. -yitûva (set alight) > H. [-tshùbà] (light

up, burn up, set alight), but

H. [-thùbà] (break).


B. pa > H. [tshwa]:

B. -yipata (seize) > H. [-tshwárà] (seize,

catch, arrest).


B. va > H. [tsw'a]:

B. -yiva (steal) > H. [-útsw'à] (steal);

B. -yivala (shut) > H. [-tsw'àlà] (close).


B. vu > H. [ts'o]:

B. -yivuka (wake up) > H. [-ts'óxá] (wake up);

B. -yiŵima (hunt) > H. [-ts'ómà] (hunt).


B. pîo > H. [tʃhɔ]:

B. -yipîoma (stutter) > H. [-tʃhómà] (speak a

foreign language).

Cf. H. [-tʃhótlhà] (chew) < *-yipîoka.


## The Influence of yî- on succeeding Consonants

2.17      Sound changes due to the influence of the
reflexive verbal prefix yî-, which is represented by
[i] in Hurutshe, are identical with those due to B.
ni-, cf. parr. 2.23 - 2.29, for example,

      [-ìkxhóxà]   <   [-xóxà]   (pull)   <   B. -koka;

      [-ìthát'à]   <   [-rát'à]   (love)   <   B. -tanda;

[-ìphítlhà]  <  [-Φítlhà]  (hide)  <  B. -pîka;

[-ìkáxà]  <  [-áxà]  (build) <  B. - aka;

[-ìtómà]  <  [-lómà]  (bite)  <  B. -luma;

[-ìp'ónà]  <  [-bónà]  (see)  <  B. -vona;

[-ìtlhàp'ìsà] <  [-tlhàp'à]  (wash)  <  B. -kamba;

[-ìtlhòlà]  <  [-tlhòlà]  (create) < B. -tola;

[-ìtl'àmèlà]  <  [-tl'àmèlà] (provide
for) < B. -xama.


Consonants before e and o

2.18        B. ke ?


        B. te  >  H. [rɛ]:

B. -tenga  (equalise)  >  H. [-rék'à](buy);

B. -tenda  (make)  >  H. [-rèt'à](praise);

B. -tema  (chop down)  >  H. [-rémà] (chop).


        B. pe  >  H. [Φɛ]:

B. -pela (end)  >  H. [-Φélà] (end, get finished);

B. -pepeta (winnow)  >  H. [-ΦéΦérà] (winnow).


        B. xe  >  H. [ɛ]:

B. -xela (measure)  >  H. [-élà] (measure),
        but H. [-èlà] (flow, as water);

B. xenda  (go) >  H. [-èt'à](visit, journey).


        B. le  >  H. [lɛ]:

B. -lelû (chin, beard)  >  H. [sèlèлù] (chin);

B. -lembe (axe)  >  H. [sélépè] (axe).

B. _ve_ > H. [bɛ]:

B. -_vele_ (breast) > H. [lèbélè] (breast),

but H. [lèbèlé] (grain or plant of corn);

B. -_veleka_ (carry on the back) > H. [-bèlèxà]

(carry on the back).

B. _ke_ > H. [tshɛ] or [sɛ]:

B. -_keka_ (laugh) > H. [-tshèxà] (laugh);

B. -_kela_ (pour) > H. [-tshèlà] (pour);

B. -_keva_ (backbite) > H. [-sébà] (whisper).

B. _te_ ?

B. _ve_ ?

B. _le_ ?

B. _ne_ > H. [nɛ]:

B. -_ne_ (four) > H. [-nè] (four)

Cf. H. [-nèpà] (aim well).

B. _me_ ?

B. _ko_ > H. [xo]:

B. -_koka_ (pull, drag) > H. [-xóxà] (pull, drag);

B. -_kokola_ (cough) > H. [-xótlhólà] (cough);

B. -_kopî_ (palm of the hand) > H. [lèxʃⲪì]

(palm of the hand).

B. _to_ > H. [rɔ]:

B. -_tota_ (sink) > H. [-ròrà] (roar).

Cf. [-ròbà] (break).

B. p̱o̱ > H. [Φɔ]:

B. -p̱o̱la (become cool) > H. ˌ[-Φɔ́là] (become

cool, recover);

B. -p̱o̱pû (blind) > H. [sèΦɔ̀Φù] (blind person).


B. y̱o̱ > H. [ɔ]:

B. -y̱o̱ta (warm oneself) > H. [-ɔ́ɾà] (warm

oneself);

B. -y̱o̱nda (become lean) > H. [-ɔ́tà] (become

lean).


B. lo̱ > H. [lɔ]:

B. -lo̱ta (dream) > H. [-lɔ́rà] (dream);

B. -lo̱mba (ask) > H. [-lɔ́p̓à] (ask, beseech);

B. -lo̱y̱a (bewitch) > H. [-lɔ̀à] (bewitch);

but H. [-lɔ́à] (become thick, as porridge).


B. v̱o̱ > H. [bɔ]:

B. -v̱o̱na (see) > H. [-bɔ́nà] (see);

B. -v̱o̱la (rot) > H. [-bɔ̀là] (rot).


B. ḵo̱ > H. [tlhɔ]:

B. -ḵo̱la (spy) > H. [-tlhɔ́là] (spy, peep);

B. -ḵo̱ma (insert) > H. [-tlhɔ̀mà] (insert).


B. to̱ > H. [tlhɔ]:

B. -to̱la (produce, give out) > H. [-tlhɔ̀là]

(create, portend evil omen,

spend the day).

B. x̱o > H. [tḻ'ɔ]:

B. -x̱ola (anoint) > H. [-tḻ'ɔ̀là] (anoint).


B. no > H. [nɔ]:

B. -nɔna (become fat) > H. [-nɔ̀nà] (become fat);

B. -yînɔ (tooth) > H. [lèínɔ̀] (tooth).


B. mo ?

The above examples show that B. consonants before e and o follow the same rules as when they precede a. Cf. parr. 2.07 - 2.11.


Consonants before Semi-vowels

(a) Before y and w

2.19     B. kya > H. [sa]:

B. -kya (dawn) > H. [-sá] (dawn, become clear); possessive concord of class 7, [sá-].


B. tya > H. [tsha]:

H. [sètlhàtshànà], diminutive of [sètlhàrè];

H. [nátshànà], diminutive of [nárè] (buffalo)

    < B. natyana < *nati, <*ny-ati (buffalo).


B. pya > H. [ʃwa]:

B. -pya (new, burn) > H. [-ʃwá] (new, burn).


B. x̱ya > H. [ja]:

B. -x̱ya (go) > H. [-jà] (go); possessive concord of classes 4 and 9, [ja-]

B. lya > H. [dʒa]:

B. -lya (eat) > H. [-dʒá] (eat);

H. [m̀mèdʒànà] diminutive of [m̀mèlè] (body);

H. [lèbèdʒánà] diminutive of [lèbèlé] (grain or

plant of corn).

The sound [dʒ], as Cole points out[7] varies in pronun-
ciation from [dʒ] to [dj], [ʒ] and [j]. It was probably
for this reason that in the older Tswana literature it
was represented by the semi-vowel y. For example, Brown
used y in his dictionary. He remarked, however, as
follows:

> "Y, which has a double sound in
> southern Secwana, seems never to
> carry with it the sound of 'y' in
> the English word 'year', but is in
> every case like unto 'j' in 'joke'
> in the north."[8]

B. vya > H. [dʒwa]:

B. -vyala (sow) > H. [-dʒwálà] (sow, plant);

H. [tsʼɛdʒwánà], diminutive of [tsʼɛbɛ́] (ear);

H. [bòxódʒwànà] diminutive of [bòxóbɛ̀] (porridge).

B. nya > H. [na]:

B. -nya (rain) > H. [-nà-] (rain).

B. mya ?

B. kwa > H. [xwa]:

[-róxwà], passive of [-róxà] (curse);

[-lòxwà], passive of [-lòxà] (weave, plait).

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7. Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana Grammar,
   par. 1. 71.

8. Brown, J.T.: Secwana-English Dictionary, p. iv.

Cf. [sèxwàxwà] (frog);

[sèxwàp'á] (biltong);

[-xwálálà] (become stiff).


B. kwe > H. [xwɛ]:

B. -kwe (marriage, bridegroom, father-in-law)

> H. [mòxwé] (son-in-law); [bòxwé] (man's-

in-law's place);

possessive pronominal stem, 3rd person, singular,

[-xwɛ].

Cf. [-xwètl'à] (bleat, as a goat).


B. twa > H. [rwa]:

[-ɸéɸérwà] passive of [-ɸéɸérà] (winnow);

[-ɸòrwà], passive of [-ɸòrà] (deceive);

[-rwálà] (carry) < B. -twala <*-tu-ala;

[lèrwá] (small red ants).


B. pwa > H. [ʃwa]:

[-lèʃwà] passive of [-lèɸà] (pay);

[-bóʃwà] passive of [-bóɸà] (bind);

[phéʃwànà] diminutive of [phéɸò] (wind).

> H. [tʃhwa]:

[-tʃhwá] (dry up, as water) < B. -pua.


B. pwe > H. [ʃwɛ]:

Cf. [lèʃwé] (dirt, filth);

[mòʃwé] (meercat);

[sèʃwèʃwè] (flower);

[lòʃwè] (type of creeping plant).

B.  ɣwa  >  H.  [wa]:

B.  -ɣwa  (fall)  >  H.  [-wà] (fall);

possessive concord of classes 1 and 3, [wa-].


B.  lwa  >  H.  [lwa]:

B.  -lwa  (fight)  >  H.  [-lwà] (fight);

B.  -lwala  (be ill)  >  H.  [-lwálà] (be ill);

H.  [-balwa], passive of [-bàlà] (count);

possessive concord of class 11, [lwa-].


B.  ɣwa  >  H.  [dʒwa]:

[k'òdʒwànà], diminutive of [k'òbò] (blanket);

[sèròdʒwànà], diminutive of [sèròbò] (beer in

the process of making);

[-ròdʒwà], passive of [-ròbà] (break);

[-sɛ́dʒwà], passive of [-sɛ́bà] (whisper);

N.B.  As possessive concord of class 14, Hurutshe
employs [dʒa-] more commonly than [dʒwa-].


B.  ɣwe  >  H.  [dʒwɛ]:

B.  -ɣwe (stone)  >  H.  [lèdʒwɛ̀] (stone).

Cf. H. [phók'ódʒwɛ̀] (jackal).


B.  kwa  >  H.  [tlhwa]:

B.  -kwa (white ants)  >  H.  [mòtlhwá] or

[bòtlhwá] (white ants);

[-látlhwà], passive of [-látlhà] (throw away);

[-Φítlhwà], passive of [-Φítlhà] (hide).

B. nwa ? Cf., however:

[-xánwà], passive of [-xánà] (refuse, deny);

[-bónwà] passive of [-bónà] (see);

[mònwànà] diminutive of [mònò] (finger).


B. mwa > H. [ŋwa]:

[ŋwànà] (child) < B. mwana < mu-yana;

[ŋwàxá] (year) < B. mwaka < mu-yaka;

[mòlòŋwànà], diminutive of [mòlòmò] (mouth);

[-róŋwà], passive of [-rómà] (send).

Cf. also [-ŋwàjà] (scratch).


B. nwe > H. [nɔ]:

B. mu-nwe (finger) > H. [mònò]* (finger).


B. mwe > H. [ŋwɛ]:

[ŋwɛ̀lí] (moon, moon-light) < B. mu-yelê (moon);

[ŋwɛ̀tsî] (daughter-in-law)

[-ŋwɛ̀xà] (abscond).


(b) Before ŷ and ŵ

2.20    B. kŷa > H. [sa], causative ending, for example:

[-isa] < -ekŷa;

[-osa] < -ukŷa;

[-usa] < -ûkŷa.

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* Prof. D.T. Cole (Notes on the Phonological Relation-ships of Tswana Vowels, African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept.,1949) calls this change of e to ɔ "vowel breaking". He says, "In this process, we find that the back vowels u, o, ɔ and ɔ, may inter-change with a type of diphthong consisting of w followed by one of the front vowels i, e, ɛ, ɛ or a. Thus u interchanges with wi, o with we, and ɔ or ɔ interchange with wɛ, wɛ or wa." (p. 123).

B. t&#375;a > H. [tsha]:

[mòrítshànà], diminutive of [mòrírì] (hair);

[phítshànà], diminutive of [phírì] (hyena).


B. p&#375;a > H. [tshwa]:

[lèΦìtshwànà], diminutive of [lèΦìΦì] (darkness).

[mòrátshwànà], diminutive of [mòráΦè] (tribe).


B. x&#375;a > ?


B. l&#375;a > H. [ts'a]:

[-látsà], causative of [-lálà] (lie down, sleep);

[-tl'átsà], causative of [-tl'álà] (be full);

[nálętsànà], diminutive of [nàlęlì] (star);

possessive concord of class 10, [tsà-].


B. v&#375;a > H. [ts'a]:

B. -v&#375;ala (bear young) > H. [-ts'álà] (bear

young).


B. n&#375;a > H. [ɲa]:

B. -n&#375;a (ease oneself) > H. [-ɲà] (exude);

   Cf. [-Φęɲà] (defeat);

      [-sęɲà] (spoil, waste);

      [nòɲánè] diminutive of [nòɖ]


B. m&#375;a ?


B. k&#373;a > H. [swa]:

B. -k&#373;a (die) > H. [-swá] (die).

   Cf. [bòswá] (inheritance);

      [-swàbà] (wither, be disappointed);

      [lèswálò] (medicine to ensure prosperity
                  or success).

B. t⌢wa  ?

B. p⌢wa  >  H.  [tshwa]:

B.  -p⌢wana  (resemble)  >  H.  [-tshwánà]  (resemble).

B. y⌢wa  ?

B. l⌢wa  >  H.  [tsw'a]:

B.  -lwa  (come out)  >  H.  [-tsw'à]  (come out).
　　Cf. [sèlętsw'ànà],diminutive of [sèlęlù]

(chin)

[-bútsw'à](ripen, be well-cooked).

B. v⌢wa  >  H.  [tsw'a]:

B.  -v⌢wala  (wear clothes)  >  H.  [-tsw'álà]

(wear clothes).

B. x⌢wa  >  H.  [tlw'a]:

B.  -yûx⌢wa  (hear)  >  H.  [-útlw'à]  (hear).

B. n⌢wa  ?

B. m⌢wa  >  H.  [ŋwa]:

Cf.[mòlàŋwánà] diminutive of [mòlàmú] (knobkerrie).

　　>  H.  [ɲwa]: cf.,

[-áɲwà], alternative of [-áɲà] (suck) < B.  -ɣamûa

　　>  H.  [nwa]: cf.,

[-nwá] (drink)  <  B.  -m⌢wa  <  -mûa.

## NASAL COMPOUNDS

### Original Nasal Compounds

2.21    B. nk > H. [(ŋ)kxh]:

B. -nunka (stink) > H. [-ŋkxhà] (smell).

B. nt > H. [th]:

B. -ntu (person) > H. [mòthò] (person)
Cf. [-bòthà] (repose, as cattle after grazing).

B. mp > H. [ph]: Cf.
[-ɸóphà] (strike, as with the hand).

B. ng > H. [k']:

B. -tenga (equalise) > H. [-rɛ́k'à] (buy);
B. -punga (blow) > H. [-ɸòk'à] (blow, as wind).

B. nd > H. [t']:

B. -landa (follow) > H. [-làt'à] (follow);
B. -linda (protect) > H. [-lèt'à] (wait, guard).

B. mb > H. [p']:

B. -vumba (mould) > H. [-bóp'à] (Mould);
B. -lomba (ask) > H. [-lóp'à] (request,
beseech);
B. -kimbila (walk) > H. [-sép'élà] (walk);
B. -kumbula (remember) > H. [-xóp'ólà]
(remember).

Thus B. original nasal compounds of primary plosives
and fricatives are represented in Hurutshe as follows:

B. nk > H. [kxh];

B. nt > H. [th];

B. mp > H. [ph];

B. ng > H. [k'];

B. nd > H. [t'];

B. mb > H. [p'].

There are examples where the nasal is re-
tained inside a polysyllabic stem, for example,

[-thíṅthà] (shake off);

[-xwáṅt'à] (walk briskly or arrogantly);

[-róṅ́kxhà] (hurt a sore).

As these examples show the n is retained in the penul-
timate syllable. Cf. Nasal compounds with ni- in
parr. 2.23 and 2.24.


## Nasal Compounds before Semi-vowels

2.22       B. mpya > H. [tshwa]:
   Cf., [tshétshwànà] diminutive of [tshéphè]
                                          (springbok).


        B. mbya > H. [tsw'a]:
[sèlɛ́tswànà] diminutive of [sèlɛ́p'è] (axe);
[mòtlhátswánà] diminutive of [mòtlhàp'é](herd
                                          of cattle).


        B. nkwa > H. [kxhwa]:
Cf., [sèkxhwà] (forest);
       [mòkxhwàphá] (type of aloe);
       [sèkxhwámà] (purse);
       [-róṅ́kxhwà] passive of [-róṅ́kxhà] (hurt a
                                          sore place)

B. ntwa > H. [thwa]:

Cf., [-ràthwà] passive of [-ràthà] (split up,

      e.g. wood; strike, as lightning).


B. mpwa > H. [tʃhwa]:

Cf., [-Φàtʃhwà] passive of [-Φàphà] (split

      up wood; keep out of the way);

[-kxhàtʃhwà] passive of [-kxhàphà] (wave aside;

      smear floor with cow-dung).


B. ngwa > H. [kw'a]:

[-rékwà] passive of [-rék'à] (buy);

[-rókwà] passive of [-rók'à] (sew).


B. ndwa > H. [tw'a]:

[-làtw'à] passive of [-làt'à] (follow);

[-rátw'à] passive of [-rát'à] (love, like).


B. mbwa > H. [tʃw'a]

[-bótʃw'à] passive of [-bóp'à] (mould);

[-lótʃw'à] passive of [-lóp'à] (request, beseech);

[mòxótʃwànà] diminutive of [mòxóp'ò] (wooden

      eating vessel).


B. mpŷa > H. [tshwa]:

[lèΦìtshwànà] diminutive of [lèΦìΦì] (darkness);

[phàtshwánà] diminutive of [phàphí] (splinter of

      wood).

B. ndŷa > H. [ts'a]:

Cf. [phòts'ánà] diminutive of [phòt'ì] (duiker);

[lòbàts'ánà] diminutive of [lòbàt'í] (plank, door).


B. mbŷa > H. [tsw'a]:

[tlhàtsw'ànà] diminutive of [tlhàp'ì] (fish).

Cf. also [-tlhàtsw'à] (wash) transitive of [-tlhàp'à]

(wash);

[-látsw'à] (lick) < B. -lamba (lick).


B. mbŵa > H. [tsw'a];

[lèxátswànà] diminutive of [lèxáp'ù] (water melon);

Cf. also [lèrátswànà] diminutive of [lèráp'ò] (bone);

[mòlàtsw'ànà] diminutive of [mòlàp'ò] (valley, river).


## Nasal Compounds with ni-

2.23        Nasal compounds with ni- are found with

(i)      nouns of class 9,

(ii)     nouns of class 10,

(iii)    adjectives qualifying nouns of classes

9 and 10,

(iv)     objectival concord, first person,

singular.


(i)  Nouns of class 9:

B. ni-k > H. [(ŋ)kxh]:

[kxhák'à] (guinea-fowel) < B. ni-kanga (guinea-fowl);

[kxhóɸà] (tick) < B. ni-kupa (tick)

[kxhánò] (denial, refusal) < [-xánà] (deny,

refuse) < B. -kana (deny).

> H. [tsh]:

[ǹtshí] (eye-brow, eye-lash) < B. ni-kîye
                                    eye-brow, eye-lash).

Cf. [tshímò] (cultivated land) < *ni-kîmu;

[tshímàné] collective form of [mòsímàné] (boy).

[tshíp'ì] (iron) < *ni-kîmbí.

[tshíp'à] (black and white civet cat);

[ǹtshú] (a fowl's crop).

> H. [kh] before B. î and û:

[khíbà] (apron) < *ni-kîya;

[khúlù] (tortoise) < B. ni-kûlû (tortoise)

[khúmò] (wealth) < [-húmà] (be rich);

[khúlúxò] (removing from one's place of residence)
                                    < [-húlúxà].

B. ni-t > H. [(n)th]:

Cf., [thàbà] (mountain);

[ǹthó] (wound);

[thát'ò] (wish) < [-rát'à] (love);

[thèlè] (udder);

[thèthè] (a grub found in kraal manure);

[thòlá] (a type of plant)

[thómò] (act of sending) < [-rómà] (send);

[thìp'á] (knife); < [-rip'a]

[thùkhú] or [thùkhwí] (civet cat) <
                                    B. ni-tûngû);

[thùp'à] (a thin stick);

[thúò] (possession) < [-rúà] (rear animals).

B. <u>ni-p</u> > H. [(m)ph]:

[phàlá] (rooibok) < B. <u>ni-pala</u> (antelope);

[phéɸɔ̀] (wind) < B. <u>ni-pipo</u> (wind);

[phɔ̀k'à] (dew) < [-ɸɔ̀kà] (blow, as wind);

[phírì] (hyena) < B. <u>ni-pîtî</u> (hyena);

[phúlùhúlù ] (red buck);

[m̀phɔ́] (gift) < [-ɸá] (give);

[phùlɔ̀] (pasture) < [-ɸùlà] (graze).


B. <u>ni-ɣ</u> > H. [(ŋ)k']:

[k'ɔ̀lɔ̀bè] (pig) < B. <u>ni-ɣuluve</u>;

[ŋ̀k'ú] (sheep) < B. <u>ni-ɣû</u>

[k'álímɔ̀] (act of lending) < [-álímà].

> H. [ts'i] before B. <u>î</u>:

[ǹts'ì] (fly) < B. <u>ni-ɣî</u>;

[ts'ìè] (locust) < B. <u>ni-ɣîɣe</u>

Cf. [k'ìlɔ̀] (abstinence) < [-ìlà] < B. <u>-ɣîla</u>.


B. <u>ni-l</u> > H. [(n)t']:

[ǹt'á] (louse);

[t'èlù] (beard) < B. <u>ni-lelû</u>;

[t'èɸɔ̀] (payment) < [-lèɸà] < B. <u>-lipa</u>


B. <u>ni-v</u> > H. [(m)p']:

[p'ólì] (goat) < B. <u>ni-vulî</u>;

[p'úlà] (rain) < B. <u>ni-v̂la</u>;

[m̀p'à] (belly);

[p'ónɔ̀] (scene) < [-bónà] < B. <u>-vona</u>


B. <u>ni-k</u> > H. [(ɲ)tlh]:

[ɲ̀tlhá] (point) < B. <u>ni-ka</u>;

[tlhɔ́ŋ̀] (hedgehog) < B. <u>ni-konî</u> (shame).

B. ni-ṭ > H. [tlh]:

Cf., [tlhásè] (spark).


B. ni-ɣ > H. [(n)tl']:

[tl'àlà] (hunger) < B. ni-ɣala;

[tl'à í] (lightning) < B. ni-ɣalí

[ǹtlò] (house) < B. ni-ɣu

> H. [ts']:

[ts·'èlà] (path, road) < B. ni-ɣila


B. ni-l > H. [ts']:

[ts'èbέ] (ear) < B. ni-leve


2.24    Before semi-vowels nasal compounds with ni-
are modified as follows:


B. ni-kwa > H. [kxhwa]:
[kxhwàlé] (partridge) < B. ni-kwali.


B. ni-kwe > H. [kxhwɛ]: Cf.
[kxhwèḷí] (moon, month).


B. ni-twa > H. [thwa]: Cf.
[thwánè] (lynx);

[thwáḷì] (one who excels).


B. ni-pwe > H. [(ɲ)tʃhwɛ]:
[ɲ̀tʃhwέ] (ostrich) < B. ni-pwe.

Cf. [ɲ̀tʃhwὲ] (sweet reed, sugar cane);

[sètʃhwέ] (stamina).

B. ni-ɣwe > H. [(ŋ)kw'ɛ]:

[ŋ̀kw'ɛ̀] (leopard) < B. ni-ɣwe;

[kwɛ̀nà] (crocodile) < B. ni-ɣwenya

B. ni-lwa > H. [(n)tw'a]:
[ǹtw'à] (war) < B. -lwa.

B. ni-ɣwa > H. [ɲtʃw'a]:
[ɲ̀tʃwá]* (dog) < B. -ɣwa.

B. ni-kwa > H. [(n)tlhwa]:
Cf. [ǹtlhwá] (larva of white ants);
[tlhwárè] (python).

As the above examples show, the nasal is retained before monosyllabic stems but it is dropped before polyllabic stems.

2.25    Before vowel noun stems B. ni- loses its vowel and becomes H. [n-], for example,

[nàmà] (meat);

[nárè] (buffalo);

[nɔ̀ŋ] (bird);

[nòk'á] (river).

(ii)  Nouns of Class 10

2.26    Nouns of class 10 are the plural forms of nouns of class 9, with the prefix [li(N)-]. As in the case of nouns of class 9, the nasal is retained before monosyllabic stems where it is syllabic, but is dropped before polysyllabic stems, for example,

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* With some speakers this form sounds more like [ɲ̀dʒwá].

[ɬìkxhák'à] (guinea-fowls) < [kxhák'à];

[ɬìǹthó] (wounds) < [ǹthó];

[ɬìɲtʃw'á] (dogs) < [ɲtʃw'á];

[ɬìtshímò] (cultivated fields) < [tshímò];

[ɬìp'óts'ò] (questions) < [p'ots'ò].


(iii) <u>Adjectives qualifying nouns of classes 9 and 10</u>:

2.27      Adjectives qualifying nouns of classes 9 and 10 undergo the same changes as the nouns, as a result of the influence of the concords used with them, for example,

[kxhólò] < [-xólò] (big) < B. <u>-kulu</u>;

[p'ȩ̀lí] < [-bȩ̀lí] (two) < B. <u>-vali</u> (-vili);

[m̀p'é] > [-bé] (bad) < B. <u>-vi</u>;

[thárò] < [-rárò] (three) < B. <u>-tatu</u>


2.28      In the above cases the nasal is dropped before polysyllabic stems as in the case of nouns (cf. parr. 2.23 and 2.24) but it is retained before monosyllabic stems, both in the singular and in the plural, for example,

[púlà ȩ́ m̀p'é] (bad rain);

[ɬìp'úlà ts'ȩ́ ɬìm̀p'é] (bad rains);

[tàú ȩ́ kxhólò] (big lion);

[ɬìt'àú tsȩ́ ɬìkxhólò] (big lions);

[ŋ̀k'ú ȩ́ ǹtshò] (black sheep);

[ɬìŋ̀k'ú tsȩ́ ɬìǹtshò] (black sheep).


Cf. also the examples in par. 2.21 in which the nasal is retained in the penultimate syllable.

(iv) Objectival concord, first person, singular:

2.29    B. ni-, objectival concord, first person, singular, loses the vowel in Hurutshe, but retains the nasal which is assimilated to the following consonant, becoming [ŋ], [ɲ] and [m] before velar, palatal and labial consonants respectively, for example,


B. ni-k  >  H.  [ŋkxh]:

[-ŋkxhánà] (deny, refuse me)  <  B. -kana;

[-ŋkxhóp'ólà] (remember me)  <  B. -kumbula.


B. ni-t  >  H.  [nth]:

[-n̩thát'à] (love me)  <  B. -tanda;

[-n̩thút'à] (teach me)  <  B. -tûnda.


B. ni-p  >  H.  [mph]:

[-m̩phá] (give me)  <  B. -pa;

[-m̩phét'à] (pass me)  <  B. -pinda


B. ni-ɣ  >  H.  [ŋk']:

[-ŋ̩ká límà] (lend me)  <  B. -ɣalima;

[-ŋ̩k'élà] (measure me)  <  B. -ɣela.


B. ni-l  >  H.  [nt']:

[-n̩t'átà] (follow me)  <  B. -landa;

[-n̩t'éɸà] (pay me)  <  B. -lipa.


B. ni-y  >  H.  [mp']:

[m̩p'álà] (count me)  <  B. -yala;

[m̩p'ónà] (see me)  <  B. -yona.

B. ni-<u>k</u> > H. [ntlh]:

[-ǹtlhàòlà] (separate me) < B. -<u>kaɣ-ula</u>;

[-ǹtlhólà] (spy me) < B. -<u>kola</u>.


B. ni-<u>t</u> > H. [ntlh]:

[ǹtlhòlà] (create me) < B. -<u>t̯ola</u>;

[ǹtlháhúnà] (chew me) < B. -<u>takû-na</u>


B. ni-<u>ɣ</u> > H. [ntl'].

[-ǹtɪólà] (jump over me) < B. -<u>ɣula</u>;

[-ǹtɪ'àmèlà] (provide for me) < B. -<u>ɣama</u>.


2.30    When [mo-] < B. <u>mu-</u>, prefix of classes
1 and 3, occurs before stems commencing with [b], the
[o] is elided, and.[b] is assimilated to [m], that is
[mob-] > [mm-] where the first [m] is syllabic. In
many such cases, however, both assimilated and non-assi-
milated forms occur in Hurutshe although the former are
more commonly used, for example,

[m̀mútl'à] (hare) < *<u>mobutl'a</u>;

[m̀mú] (soil) < [mòbú];

[m̀mèlè] (body) < *<u>mobele</u>;

[m̀mínì] (dancer) < [mobini] < [-bínà];

[m̀mópì] (one who moulds) < [mòbóp'ì] <
[-bóp'à].


2.31    When the prefix [mo-] occurs before stems
commencing with [Φ] < B. p, dissimilation occurs
where [Φ] becomes [ɦ], as Cole also points out[9],
for example,

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9.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: <u>An Introduction to Tswana
    Grammar</u>, par. 1.84.

[m̀ɦíkʼɛ̀là] < [mòɸíkʼɛ̀là] (running nose, cold);

[m̀ɦìkʼɔ̀] < [mòɸìkʼɔ̀] (gate);

[m̀ɦíɲànà] < [mòɸíɲànà] (handle);

[m̀ɦáxɔ̀] < [mòɸáxɔ̀] (food for a journey).


2.32     When the objectival concord of class 1, [mo-]
< B. mu-,  occurs before verb stems commencing with [b]
and [ɸ] assimilation and dissimilation respectively take
place as indicated in parr. 2.30  and 2.31, for example,

[-m̀mónà] (see him) <    *-mobónà;

[-m̀mólájà] (kill him) <    *-mobólájà.

[-m̀ɦísà] <    [-mòɸísà] (burn him/her);

[-m̀ɦìtlhɛ̀là] <    [-mòɸìtlhɛ̀là] (find him/her);

[-m̀ɦátlhà] <    [-mòɸátlhà]  (blind him/her).


Loan Forms

2.33     Hurutshe has adopted some forms from Afrikaans
and English, which, however, are not of interest to us
in this study.  Cole has given many examples of such
forms and a good description of how they are modified
phonetically so as to conform to the sound structure
of Tswana.[10]


Summary

2.34     The following is an etymological summary
of Hurutshe consonantal sounds from Ur-Bantu:

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10.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana
     Grammar, parr. 4.41 - 4.47.

### 1. Primary Consonants before a

2.35    Plosives: B. k > H. [x]

                             B. t > H. [r]

                             B. p > H. [Φ]

2.36    Fricatives: B. x > H. [ɤ] or [j]

                             B. l > H. [l]

                             B. v > H. [b]

2.37    Nasals: B. n > H. [n]

                         B. m > H. [m]

### 2. Palatals before a

2.38    Voiceless Palatals: B. k > H. [tlh]

                                  B. t > H. [tlh]

2.39    Voiced Palatals: B. x > H. [tl']

                              B. l > [ts'].

### 3. Semi-vowels:

2.40                B. y > H. [j]

                       B. w > H. [w]

### 4. Nasal Compounds of Primary Consonants
#### (a) Original nasal compounds

2.41    B. nk > H. [kxh], [ŋkxh]

           B. nt > H. [th], [nth]

           B. mp > H. [ph], [mph] .

B.  n͟g  >  H.  [k'],  [ŋk']

B.  n͟d  >  H.  [t'],  [nt']

B.  m͟b  >  H.  [p'],  [mp']


(b)  Nasal compounds of B. n͟i-

2.42    In many cases these are identical with those
in (a) above, but differences occur:

B.  n͟i͟-͟k  >  H.  [kxh]    [ŋkxh]

>  H.  [tsh],  [ntsh] or [kh], [ŋkh]

before i̭ and ṷ.


B.  n͟i͟-͟t  >  H.  [th], [nth]

B.  n͟i͟-͟p  >  H.  [ph], [mph]

B.  n͟i͟-͟ɣ  >  H.  [k'],  [ŋk']

>  H.  [ts'],  [nts'].

B.  n͟i͟-͟l  >  H.  [t']  [nt']

B.  n͟i͟-͟v  >  H.  [p'],  [mp']

B.  n͟i͟-͟k  >  H.  [tlh],  [ntlh]

B.  n͟i͟-͟t̮  >  H.  [tlh],  [ⁿtlh]

B.  n͟i͟-͟ɣ  >  H.  [tl'],  [ntl']

>  H.  [ts'],  [nts']

B.  n͟i͟-͟l  >  H.  [ts']


(c)    Before the semi-vowel w͟

2.43  B.  n͟i͟-͟k͟w  >  H.  [kxhw],  [ŋkxhw]

B.  n͟i͟-͟t͟w  >  H.  [thw],  [nthw]

B.  <u>ni-pw</u> > H.  [tʃhw], [ɲtʃhw]

B.  <u>ni-ɣw</u> > H.  [kw'], [ŋkw']

B.  <u>ni-lw</u> > H.  [t ], [ntw']

B.  <u>ni-ʋw</u> > H.  [tʃw'], [ɲtʃw']

Compounds of <u>mu-</u> with <u>p</u> and <u>ʋ</u>:

2.44 B.  <u>mu-p</u> > H.  [mɦ]

B.  <u>mu-ʋ</u> > H.  [mm]

5.  <u>Vowel Influence on Consonants</u>

    (a)  <u>On primary consonants</u>

2.45 B.  <u>k</u> > H.  [s], [h], [kxh], [kh]

B.  <u>t</u> > H.  [s], [tsh], [ʃ], [tʃh]

B.  <u>p</u> > H.  [tshw], [tʃh]

B.  <u>ɣ</u> > H.  [ts']

B.  <u>l</u> > H.  [ɫ], [ts']

B.  <u>ʋ</u> > H.  [b], [ts'], [tsw'].

    (b)  <u>On Palatals</u>

2.46 B.  <u>k</u> > H.  [tsh], [se]

B.  <u>ɣ</u> > H.  [ts']

    (c)  <u>On Nasals</u>

2.47 B.  <u>ń</u> > H.  [ŋ]

6. Influence of Semi-vowels on consonants

(a) On primary consonants

2.48   B.   k̲   >   H.   [s], [sw], [xw]

B.   t̲   >   H.   [tsh], [rw]

B.   p̲   >   H.   [ʃw], [tʃhw], [tshw]

B.   x̲   >   H.   [j]

B.   l̲   >   H.   [dʒ], [ts'], [tsw'], [lw]

B.   v̲   >   H.   [dʒw], [ts'], [tsw']

(b) On Nasals

2.49   B.   n̲   >   H.   [ɲ], [n]
B.   m̲   >   H.   [ŋw], [ɲw], [nw]

(c) On Palatals

2.50   B.   k̲   >   H.   [tlhw]

B.   x̲   >   H.   [tlw']

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# CHAPTER 3

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

### INTRODUCTION

3.01     In this chapter we shall attempt to compare
the speech sounds of Ngwaketse, Kwena, Kgatla, Rolong,
Tlhaping and Tlharo with those of Hurutshe.  This is
a synchronic study.  Reference should be made to
chapter 2 in which the derivation of Hurutshe speech
sounds from Ur-Bantu has been determined.  We are con-
cerned primarily, in this chapter, with phonetic phe-
nomena, that is with actual pronunciation, and not
with morphology and syntax.

3.02     It should be borne in mind that there is no
Tswana dialect, as spoken today, which can be said to
be "pure".  The forms given in this comparison, there-
fore, are those which we consider to be typical for
each dialect.

3.03     Unless otherwise specified the term Kwena
refers to the Kwena dialects of Molepolole, Rustenburg
and Brits districts, while the term Kgatla refers to
the Kgatla dialects of Mochudi, Moruleng in the
Pilansberg district and Mosetlha in the Hammanskraal
district.

### THE VOWELS

3.04     Although the Hurutshe vowel system, as shown
in parr. 2.01-2.05, applies to all the other Tswana
dialects, yet there are instances of variations in
the pronunciation of some of them in certain dialects.

Thus, for example, in Kwena of Molepolole, Ngwaketse, Tlharo, Tlhaping and Rolong the semi-close vowels [e] and [o] before the locative suffix [-ŋ] may be so raised that they become more or less identical with [i] and [u] respectively, for example,

[p'èɩúᶇ] instead of [p'èlóŋ] < [p'èló] (heart);

[m̀mèɩìᶇ] instead of [m̀mèḷèŋ] < [m̀mèlè] (body);

[n̂tl'ùᶇ] instead of [n̂tl'ǫᶇ] < [n̂tl'ò] (house).

In Hurutshe, Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts the vowels [e] and [o] are merely raised to [ẹ] and [ọ] respectively in such cases.   Another difference or variation is found in the pronunciation of the forms for "water" and "bag".  In some dialects, for example, Rolong, Ngwaketse and Kwena both forms [m̥ɛts'í] and [m̥ɛts'ę́], [kxhɛ̥ts'í] and [kxhɛ̥ts'ę́] respectively occur, while in others, for example, Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, only the forms [m̥ɛts'ę́] and [khɛ̥ts'ę́]* occur.  Otherwise Tswana vowels are fairly uniform.


## CONSONANTS

### The Stop Explosive Consonants

H. [k']

3.05      The sound corresponding to H. [k'] is [k'] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-rék'à] (buy),[k'ɛ̥lɛ̥ɪ̀] (tear),

[kík'à] (stamping block), [k'òlòbè̥] (pig),

[ŋk'ó] (nose) and [ŋk'ú]  (sheep).

In Ngwaketse, as Prof. Cole points out[1], [k'] before [i] is sometimes pronounced as [tʃ'], for example,

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* As pronounced in this dialect.

1.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: <u>An Introduction to Tswana Grammar</u>, par. 1.37,

[tʃ'ík'à] instead of [k'ík'à] (mortar), and

[xà tʃ'íts'è] instead of [xà k'é íts'è] (I do not

know).

H. [t']

3.06     In all other Tswana dialects the sound corre-
sponding to H. [t'] is [t'], for example,

[t'àú] (lion), [-t'ímèlà] (get lost, go astray),

[mòlàt'ó] (case), [mat'ut'ε] (juice),

[-xwàht'à] or [-hwàht'à] in Kgatla (walk briskly

or defiantly).

H. [p']

3.07     The corresponding sound to H. [p'] is [p']
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-làp'à] (be tired), [-p'élà] (rock-rabbit),

[p'ɔ́] (bull) and [p'úlà] (rain).


The Voiced Bilabial Explosive Consonant

H. [b]

3.08 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [b] is [b] in
         all other Tswana dialects, for example,
         [-bábà] (be bitter) and [-bónà] (see).

     (b) In Kgatla of Pilansberg and Hammanskraal
         districts as well as in Kwena of Rustenburg
         and Brits districts, however, both the
         bilabial explosive [b] and the bilabial
         fricative [β] occur, for example,

         [-bábà] and [-βáβà],
         [-bónà] and [-βónà].

In these dialects the bilabial fricative occurs especially in slow speech.

3.09    Both the bilabial explosive [b] and the bilabial fricative [β] may be replaced by [ts'] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla as in Hurutshe (cf. par. 2.15) and by [ts'] or [tʃ'] in Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo in certain nouns of classes 5 and 6, for example,

[lèbélè] or [lèβélè] is sometimes pronounced

[lèts'élè] (breast), plural, [màbélè], [màβélè]

or [màts'élè];

[lèbóxò] (arm) is sometimes pronounced [lètʃ'óxò]

in Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo.

The plural is [màbóxò], or [màtʃ'óxò].


## The Aspirated Explosive Consonants

H. [kh]

3.10    The corresponding sound to H. [kh] is [kh] in all other Tswana dialects.  It occurs normally before [i] and [u], for example,

[khíbà] (apron),  [mòkhínò] (toothless),

[sèkhí] (thorn bush), [khúlù] (tortoise) and

[-khúts'à] (rest).

In Ngwaketse and Kwena of Molepolole the form [sèkhí] is [sètʃhí].  In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district it occurs before all vowels.  In Ngwaketse, as Prof. Cole points out[2], [kh] before [i] is often pronounced as [tʃh], for example,

[tʃhíbà] instead of [khíbà] (apron).

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2.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., par. 1.40.

H. [th]

3.11      The sound corresponding to H. [th] is [th]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[thàrí] (a skin for carrying a child),

[màthé] (saliva),

[-thíbà] (stop, stop up, be overcast, as clouds),

[mòthò] (person),

[thùp'à] (stick).

H. [ph]

3.12      The corresponding sound to H. [ph] is [ph]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[phàlá] (rooibok), [phírì] (hyena),

[phòló] (ox), [-phújà] (pierce through, cut open).

The Fricative Consonants

H. [Φ]

3.13  (a) The sound corresponding to H. [Φ] is [Φ]
            in Ngwaketse, Kwena of Molepolole and
            Rolong (see N.B. below) for example,
            [-ΦòΦà] (fly) and [lèΦìΦì] (darkness).

      N.B. In Rolong, as spoken today, the sound [Φ]
            alternates with [h]; for example, the
            above examples are pronounced respectively
            as follows:

            [-ΦòΦà] or [-hòhà] and [lèΦìΦì] or [lèhìhì].

            Indeed the alternative sound [h] is far
            more commonly heard than [Φ] as one goes
            further west of Mafeking, and especially in
            the Vryburg district, for example, at

Kudunkgwane, Tlakgameng, Ganyesa and

Bothithong. This is due to the influence

of Tlhaping in which [Φ] does not occur

(see (b) below).

(b) The sound corresponding to H. [Φ] is [h] in

Tlhaping and Tlharo, for example,

[-hòhà] and [lèhìhì] for Hurutshe [-ΦòΦà]

and [lèΦìΦì] respectively. Strangely

enough one encounters [f] in a few cases in

Tlharo, for example, in [kà mòfó] or [ká m̀fó]

for Hurutshe [ká mòsó] (tomorrow). Prof.

Cole also remarks about this.[3] Perhaps

this is due to the influence of other languages.

(c) In Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits

districts both the bilabial fricative [Φ]

and the dentilabial [f] occur, for example,

[-ΦòΦà] and [-fòfà], [lèΦìΦì] and [lèfìfì].

In fact the latter, [f], is far more commonly

heard than the former, [Φ], in these dialects,

especially in Kgatla of Hammanskraal district.


H. [s]

3.14 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before [a]

[ε] and [e] is [s] in all other Tswana dia-

lects, for example,

[-sálà] (remain), [sèlò] (thing) and

[-sèlà] (look for food, as a fowl).

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3. Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., par. 1.47.

(b) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before

[i] is [s] in all other Tswana dialects,

except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district,

for example,

[mòsí] (smoke);

[-sírà] (hide from view);

[mòsìmá] (hole);

[bòsíxò] (night);

In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, however,

H. [s] before [i] is [ʃ]. For example, the

above forms are pronounced respectively as

follows in this dialect:

[mòʃí], [-ʃírà], [mòʃìmá] and [bòʃíhò].

(c) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before [ɔ],

[o] and [u] is [s] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and

Kgatla, for example,

[lèísò] (hearth);

[lèsómè] (ten);

[lèsúɸú] or [lèsùhú]; (upper leg of an

animal);

[-sùmà] (roar, as a river in flood)

[lèsòbà] (hole).

(d) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo H. [s]

before [ɔ], [o] and [u] is [ʃ]. For example,

the above forms are pronounced respectively

as follows in these dialects:

[lèíʃò], [lèʃómè], [lèʃùhú] [-ʃùmà] and

[lòʃòbà].

H. [ʃ]

3.15    The corresponding sound to H. [ʃ] is [ʃ] in
all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-ʃájà] also pronounced [-ʃáà] (give a name);

[-ʃàbè] (eat porridge with relish);

[-ʃáp'à] (cane or beat);

[-ʃètl'à] (cut or slice);

[lèʃètl'à] (edible part of the head of a bone);

[-ʃénà] (grin)  Cf. parr. 2.15 and 2.16.

H. [x]

3.16  (a)  The sound corresponding to H. [x] is [x] in
          all other Tswana dialects  (see (c) and (d)
          below) except Kgatla of Hammanskraal dis-
          trict, for example, [-xánà] (refuse),
          [-áxà] (build) and [-bóxólà] (bark).

      (b)  In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district the cor-
          responding sound to H. [x] is [h], for
          example, [-hánà], [-áhà] and [-bóhólà].
          It occurs before all vowels in this dialect.
          It is typical of this dialect that [x] does
          not occur in its sound system.  Strangely
          enough its two sister dialects, namely,
          Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilansberg district,
          employ it.

      (c)  In Ngwaketse and Kwena of Molepolole, how-
          ever, the sound [x] is replaced by [h] in
          the perfect forms of verb  stems ending in
          [-xa], for example,
          [-ts'óhìlè] < [-ts'óxà] (wake up);
          [-áhìlè] < [-áxà] (build);
          [-xòròhìlè] < [-xòròxà] (arrive).

This is exceptional because, although it is
in accordance with the rule that Tswana [x]
does not normally occur before [i], other
Tswana dialects do not usually substitute
[h] for [x] in such cases.

(d) In Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilansberg district
as well as in Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits
districts H. [x] is often replaced by [f]
or, less commonly, [Φ], for example,

[-ɬìràfàlà] alternative of H. [-ɬìràxàla]
(happen);
[phólɔ̀fólɔ̀] alternative of H. [phólɔ̀xólɔ̀]
(animal).

In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. [x]
is replaced by [h] in all cases as already
pointed out [see (b) above). Thus
[-ɬìràhàlà for H. [-ɬìràxàlà] and
[phólɔ̀hólɔ̀] for H. [phólɔ̀xólɔ̀].


H. [h]
3.17 (a) In all other Tswana dialects the sound corre-
sponding to H. [h] is [h], for example,
[sèhúbà] (chest, breast, slough);
[-húlúxà] (remove, trek);
[-hùlùà] (stir);
[-húmà] (be rich);
[-húbílà]. [-hwíbílà] or [-híbílà]
(become red).
It occurs normally before [i] and [u], as
well as in the forms [-hèmà] (breathe),
[há], an alternative of [Φá] (if, when),

and in the interjections [ḩé̥è̥lá!] or [ḩé̥è̥!]
(ho there!) [ḛhɛ̥!] (is that so!) [ahɛ̥!]
(that is right! correct!) and the
enclitic [-hɛ]. In Tlharo, Tlhaping and
to some extent in Rolong [h] has taken the
place of H. [Φ] (see par. 3.13), by the
process B. p > [Φ] > [Φh] > [h].

(b) In Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts
as well as in Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilans-
berg district H. [h] is usually replaced by
[x] in such forms as [è̥xé̥?] (really? is that
so?) [àxé̥!] (yes! that's right!) and the
enclitic [-xè̥].

(c) In Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts
as well as in Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilans-
burg district H. [h] alternates with [Φ]
or [f], for example, the forms
[sèhúbà] (chest), [phúꝉùhúꝉù] (rooibok)
[mòhúmàxàꝉì] (lady), [-húꝉúxà] (remove, trek),
[-hùꝉùà] (stir) and [mòhút'à] (type, kind)
are sometimes pronounced respectively as
follows in these dialects:
[sèΦúbà] or [sèfúbà], [phúꝉùΦúꝉù] or
[phúꝉùfúꝉù], [mòΦúmàxàꝉì] or [mòfúmàxàꝉì],
[-Φúꝉúxà] or [-fúꝉúxà] [-Φùꝉùà] or [-fùꝉùà]
and [mòΦút'à] or [mòfút'à].
Prof. Cole mentions this alternation of [h]
and [f] also, but he refers to Kgatla only.[4]

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4. Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., par. 1.49.

The Lateral Consonants

H. [tl']

3.18    The corresponding sound to H. [tl'] is [tl']
in all other Tswana dialects,* for example,

[-tl'à] (come, shall, will),

[-tl'álà] (be full), but [tl'àlà] (hunger),

[lèwátl'ɛ̀] (sea); [ǹtl'ò] (house).

H. [tlh]

3.19    In all other Tswana dialects the sound cor-
responding to H. [tlh] is [tlh], for example,

[-tlhàbà] (stab, stick, slaughter, rise, as

the sun);

[-tlhòlà] (create, portend ill-omen, spend the day);

[bòtlhá] (sour, bitter, acid).

H. [l]

3.20    The corresponding sound to H. [l] is [l] in
all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-lálà] (lie down, sleep, spend the night),

[-lèmà] (hoe, plough),

[-lómà] (bite).

This sound does not normally occur before [i] and [u]
in all Tswana dialects, except (i) when it follows
syllabic [l], for example,

[-llìsà] for H. [-lèlìsà] (cause to cry),

[mòllì] for H. [mòlèlì] (one who cries);

(ii) in the interjective [li-li-li-li-li-'] (used especially
by women when cheering) which is encountered in all
Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe.

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* "other" Tswana dialects of course include only those
    under discussion in this study. Ngwato employs [t']
    for [tl'] and [th] for [tlh]. (Cf. par. 1.08).

3.21     Vowel elision between two l's occurs in all Tswana dialects. But it is, however, a more common phenomenon in Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts than in other Tswana dialects. In such cases the first [l] is syllabic, for example,

    [-l̩là] for H. [-lèlà] (cry),

    [-bólèl̩là] for H. [-bólèlèlà] (tell),

    [-l̩ìròl̩là] for H. [-l̩ìròlòlà] (undo),

    [-phátl̩àl̩là] for H. [-phátl̩àlàlà] (disperse,

                               scatter)

## The Vibrant Consonants

### H. [r]

3.22  (a) The sound corresponding to H. [r] is [r] in all other Tswana dialects (see (b) below), for example,

    [-rát'à] (like, love), [màrínínì] (gums),

    [lèrù] (cloud), [-rè] (say) and [rè-] (we).

When followed by another [r] it is syllabic in all Tswana dialects, for example,

    [r̩rá] < [ràrá] (father).

 (b) In Tlharo and Tlhaping H. [r] is replaced by [h] or [tʃh] in certain cases, for example,

    [hè-] and [hà-] for H. [re-] and [ra-]

                       (we) respectively,

    [hàrá] for H. [ràrá] or [r̩rá] (father),

    [-l̩ìhà] for H. [-l̩ìrà] (do, work),

    [tʃhònà] for H. [rònà] (we, us).

Cole mentions [-l̩ìrhà] as an alternative pronunciation of [-l̩ìhà] in Tlharo.[5]

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5. Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., par. 1.53.

I was not able to detect it in the field,
however. But it does indicate the develop-
ment of [-lìhà] from [-lìrà]. In Tlharo,
however, the form [-llà] for H. [-lìrà]
in which [r] is dropped, also occurs in the
place of [-lìhà].

(c) [r] may be replaced by [s] or [tsh] in
Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla as in Hurutshe
(see par. 2.15) and by [ʃ] or [tʃh] in
Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo, in certain
nouns of class 5. Thus, for example, in
Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, including
Hurutshe, the following forms occur;
    [lèròbà], [lèsòbà] or [lètshòbà] (hole,
                              as in a piece of cloth);
    [lèróp'è] and [lèsóp'è] (ruin);
    [lèráp'ò] and [lèsáp'ò] (bone).
On the analogy of the forms for the singular
the plurals also have alternative forms.
For example, the plurals of the above forms
are:
    [màròbà], [màsòbà] and [màtshòbà];
    [màróp'è] and [màsóp'è];
    [màráp'ò] and [màsáp'ò]

(d) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the above
forms are pronounced respectively as follows:
    [lèròbà], [lèʃòbà] and [lètʃhòbà],
plural:
    [màròbà], [màʃòbà] and [màtʃhòbà];

[lèrópʼè] and [lèʃópʼè],

plural:

[màrópʼè] and [màʃópʼè];

[lèrápʼɔ] and [lèʃápʼɔ],

plural:

[màrápʼɔ] and [màʃáŋʼɔ]

But the forms [lèsápʼɔ] and [màsápʼɔ]

also occur in these dialects.

Indeed in these dialects [r], [s] and [ʃ]
alternate in some forms. Some speakers
show preference to the one or the other.
Thus, for example, in Rolong of Mafeking
and district [r] occurs mostly in the
plural forms while [sl, [ʃ] or [tʃh] occurs
in the singular forms mostly, for example,

[lèsápʼɔ] (bone), plural, [màrápʼɔ],

[lèʃámà] or [lèsámà] (cheek), plural [màrámà],

[lèʃópʼè] (ruin), plural [màrópʼè],

[lètʃhóɔ] (paw), plural [màróɔ].

In Rolong of Ganyesa, Tlakgameng and
Kudunkgwane in the Vryburg district, how-
ever, [r] is normally retained before [a]
in the singular as well as in the plural
forms, for example,

[lèrámà] (cheek), plural [màrámà],

[lèrápʼɔ] (bone), plural [màrápʼɔ].

H. [ɬ]

3.23    In all other Tswana dialects the sound cor-
responding to H. [ɬ] is [ɬ] which occurs before the
vowels [i] and [u] only, for example,

[-l̀ìrà] (do, work), [màlí] (blood),

[bòláɩù] (pus) and [khúɩù] (tortoise).

In Tlharo, Tlhaping and Rolong of Vryburg district [l]

is replaced by [r] in [tshítshírì] for H. [tshítshíɩì].

I could not get other examples of such replacement, how-

ever.


## The Nasal Consonants

H. [m]

3.24      (i)  The corresponding sound to H. [m] is [m]

in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[màlà] (bowels), [-mèlà] (germinate,

sprout).

(ii) When followed by another [m], when an

intervening vowel is elided, it is syllabic

in all Tswana dialects, for example, [m̀má]

(mother).  This occurs also when [mo-] is

prefixed to stems beginning with [b] in

which case [-o-] is elided and [b] assimi-

lated to [m], for example,

[m̀málà] < [mòbálà] (colour),

[m̀mètl'ì] < [mòbètl'ì] (carpenter)

< [-bètl'à] (work as a carpenter),

[-m̀mólàjà] < [-mòbólàja] (kill him)

< [-bólàjà] (kill).

Both the short and the long forms occur,

although the former are more commonly used.

(iii) When [mo-] is prefixed to stems be-

ginning with [Φ] or [f], except in Tlhaping

and Tlharo, dissimilation occurs in all
other Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe,
in which case [Φ] or [f] becomes [ɦ] for
example,

> [m̀ɦàmà] < [mòɸàmà] or [mòfàmà] (part),
> [m̀ɦáxɔ̀] < [mòɸáxɔ̀] or [mòfáxɔ̀] (food
> > for a journey),
> [-m̀ɦìtlhèlà] < [mòɸìtlhèlà] or [mòfìtlhèlà]
> > (find him)
> > < [-ɸìtlhèlà] or [-fìtlhèlà]
> > (find on arrival).

In Tlhaping and Tlharo where H. [Φ] is [h]
we cannot speak of dissimmilation. What
happens, however, in these dialects is that
[h] becomes voiced [ɦ] in such cases, for
example, [m̀ɦàmà] < [mòhàmà], i.e. where
[o] is elided.


H. [n]

3.25    The corresponding sound to H. [n] is [n] in
all other Tswana dialects, for example,

> [-nà] (rain);
> [nàmà] (meat);
> [-bónà] (see).

When followed by another [n] it is syllabic in all
Tswana dialects, for example,

> [mòn나] < [mònónà] (man),
> [-ńnà] (sit), [ǹná] (I, me),
> [ńnàk'é] (my younger brother or sister).

This occurs also in some applied forms of certain
verb stems ending in [-na], where, by assimilation,

the [l] of the suffix [-ɛla] becomes [n] and [ɛ] is
elided. This occurs in all Tswana dialects, for
example,

[-bɔ́ǹnà]  <  *-bonɛna  <  [-bónɛ̀là]  <  [-bónà]

(see),

[-xáǹnà]  <  *-xanɛna  <  [-xánɛ̀là]  <  [-xánà]

(refuse, deny).

H. [ɲ]

3.26    The sound corresponding to H. [ɲ] is [ɲ]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-ɲálà] (marry);  [-ɲàts'à] (despise);

[-bɔ̀ɲà]  (wink);  [lèɲórà] (thirst);

[nɔ̀ɲánè] (bird).

3.27    In all Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe,
syllabic [ɲ] occurs before non-syllabic [ɲ], for
example,

[-ɲ̩ɲáts'à]  (despise me);

[-ɲ̩ɲàné] (small).

H. [ŋ]

3.28    The sound corresponding to H. [ŋ] is [ŋ]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[ŋàk'à] (doctor);  [-ŋàp'à] (scratch);

[-ŋóŋórèxà] (complain, be discontented).

3.29    In all Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe,
syllabic [ŋ] occurs before non-syllabic [ŋ], and
before [k'], [kh] and [kxh] or [kh] in Kgatla of
Hammanskraal district, and when it is the final sound,
for example,

[-ŋŋáp'à] (scratch me);

[ŋ̀k'ú] (sheep);

[ŋ̀k'ó] (nose);

[-ŋ̀khúmìsà] (enrish me);

[ŋ̀kxhó] (clay-pot);

[-ŋ̀kxhámèlà] (milk for me).

The last two examples are pronounced [ŋ̀khó] and
[-ŋ̀khámèlà] respectively in Kgatla of Hammanskraal
district.

Examples of syllabic final [ŋ] are the following:

[lèn̥ɔ̀ŋ] (vulture);

[léŋ] (when?)

[thàbèŋ] < [thàbà] (mountain).


The Semi-vowels

H. [w]

3.30      The sound corresponding to H. [w] is [w]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-wà] (fall), [nàwá] (bean), [wèná] (you).

It occurs also in the following cases:

(i)  To represent labialization of conso-
nants for example,

[-lwálà] (be ill);

[-rékw'à] < [-rék'à] (buy).

(ii)  In the passive suffix [-íwà].

(iii) In the possessive concord of classes
1 and 3 [-wa],

H. [j]

3.31     The sound corresponding to H. [j] is [j]
in all other Tswana dialects.  It occurs mainly before
[a], [o], [ɔ] and sometimes [ɛ], for example,

[-jà] (go); [jòná] (it);

[jɔ́] (this),

[-jè] as in [ó jè] (you should go);

[ja-], possessive concord of casses 4 and 9.

As a medial sound it is sometimes omitted in speech
in all Tswana dialects, also in Hurutshe, for example,

[-ts'àmàjà] or [-ts'àmàà] (walk);

[-bólàjà] or [-bólàà] (kill).


The Affricative Consonants

H. [ts']

3.32  (a) The sound corresponding to H. [ts'] before [a],
           [e] and [ɛ] is [ts'] in all other Tswana
           dialects, for example,

               [-bóts'à] (ask), [ts'èlà] (path, road),

               [ts'èbɛ] (ear)

           It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns

           and adjectives ending in [-ɺi] and [-t'i]

           in all Tswana dialects, for example,

               [nálɛ́ts'ànà] < [nálɛ́ɺi] (star);

               [lòbàts'ánà] < [lòbàt'í] (door);

               [-t'ílòts'ànà] < [-t'ílòɺi] (black

                                        and white).


       (b) The sound corresponding to H. [ts'] before
           [o], [ɔ] and [u] is [ts'] in Ngwaketse,
           Kwena and Kgatla, for example,

[ts'ɔná] (they, them);

[p'óts'ɔ] (question);

[-ts'ómà] (hunt);

[-ts'ólà] (undress);

[-ts'ùbùtl'à] (shake violently);

[-ts'ùbàlàlà] (as a bird flying with

wings spread).

(c) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo H. [ts'] be-
fore [ɔ], [o] and [u] is [tʃ'], for example,
the forms given in (b) above are pronounced
respectively as follows in these dialects:
[tʃ'ɔná], [p'ótʃ'ɔ] [-tʃ'ómà], [-tʃ'ólà],
[-tʃ'ùbùtl'à] and [-tʃ'ùbàlàlà].

(d) H. [ts'] before [i] is [ts'] in all other
Tswana dialects with the exception of Kgatla
where it is [tʃ'], for example,
[tʃ'ílílì] for H. [ts'ílílì] (cold);
[lètʃ'ìbɔhɔ] for H. [lèts'ìbɔxɔ] (ford,

drift);

[ɲtʃ'ì] for H. [ɲts'ì] (fly);

[-tʃ'íbóhà] for H. [-ts'íbóxà] (be startled);

[tʃ'ìɛ̀] for H. [ts'ìɛ̀] (locust).

H.  [tʃ']

3.33     The corresponding sound to H. [tʃ'] is [tʃ']
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[bòtʃ'àràrà] (sourness, bitterness),

[phàtʃ'ánà]  <  [phàt'ɛ́] (skin mat).

H. [tsh]

3.34 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [tsh] before
[a], [ɛ] and [e] is [tsh] in all other Tswana
dialects, for example,

[-tshábà] (run away, fear);

[-tshèlà] (pour);

[tshę́tl'ò]* (honey bird);

[lètshá] (lake);

[-tshélà] (cross, live);

[mòtshè] (pestle);

It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns
ending in [-re] and [-ri] in all Tswana dia-
lects, for example,

[sètlhàtshànà] < [sètlhàrè] (tree,

medicine);

[mòrítshànà] < [mòrírì] (hair).

(b) H. [tsh] before [ɔ], [o] and [u] is [tsh] in
Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, for example,

[-tshòlà] (dish out food);

[lètshólò] (hunting party);

[-ìtshók'à] (persevere, restrain oneself);

[tshúk'úlù] (rhinoceros);

[-tshùbà] or [-tshùmà] (light, e.g.

candle, burn).

(c) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo H. [tsh]
before [ɔ], [o] and [u] is [tʃh]. For
example, the forms given in (b) above are
pronounced respectively as follows in these
dialects:

_____

* Pronounced [tshę̀tl'ó] in Kgatla.

[-ìtʃhók'à], [-tʃhòlà], [lètʃhólò],

[tʃhúk'úlù] and [-tʃhùbà] or [-tʃhùmà].

(d) H. [tsh] before [i] is [tsh] in all other

Tswana dialects with the exception of Kgatla

of Hammanskraal district where it is [tʃh],

for example,

[mòtʃhìtʃhí] for H. [mòtshìtshí] (swarm

of bees);

[tʃhímò] for H. [tshímò] (cultivated field);

[tʃhík'à] for H. [tshík'à] (artery, vein,

sinew);

[ɲtʃhí] for H. [ɲtshí] (eye-lash).

H. [tʃh]

3.35    The corresponding sound to H. [tʃh] is [tʃh]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[tʃhàk'á] (battle axe);

[sètʃhàbà] (tribe);

[-tʃhémòxà] (break loose) which in Kgatla of

Hammanskraal district is [-pehámòhà] or

[-pʃhámòhà];

[-tʃhótlhà] (chew);

[-tʃhómà] (speak a foreign language);

[mòtʃhòtʃhònònò] (comet, shooting star).

See par. 2.16.

H. [kxh]

3.36 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [kxh] is [kxh]

in all other Tswana dialects, except Kgatla

of Hammanskraal district, for example,

[kxhák'à] (guinea-fowl), [-ŋkxhà] (smell),

[kxhę̀ts'ę́] or [kxhę̀ts'í] (bag),

[-kxhólà] (pluck off),

[kxhɔ̀mó] (cow).

This sound does not normally occur before [i] and [u] except in the perfect forms of verb stems ending in [-kxha] in Hurutshe, Rolong, Tlhaping, Tlharo and Kgatla of Mochudi and Moruleng, for example,

[-rǫ́ŋkxhìlę̀] < [-rę́ŋkxhà] (hurt);

[-kxhílę̀] < [-kxhá] (pluck off).

(b) In Ngwaketse and Kwena of Molepolole, however, in the perfect forms of such verb stems it becomes [kh], for example,

[-rǫ́ŋkhìlę̀] < [-rǫ́ŋkxhà] (hurt);

[-khílę̀] < [-kxhá] (pluck off).

(c) In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district the corresponding sound to H. [kxh] is [kh], for example,

[khák'à] for H. [kxhák'à];

[-ŋkhà] for H. [-ŋkxhà];

[khę̀ts'è] for H. [kxhę̀ts'e];

[-khólà] for H. [-kxhólà];

[khɔ̀mó] for H. [kxhɔ̀mó].

It is typical of this dialect that [kxh] does not occur in its sound system. Cf. par. 3.16 (b).

3.37    In Kwena of Brits district one hears peculiar contracted forms such as, for example,

[kxhíts'è] and [kxhérìalɔ́] or [kxhéllàlɔ́]

for the normal forms [xà k'é íts'è] (I do not know)

and [xà k'é rìalɔ] (I do not say so) respectively.

H.  [dʒ]

3.38  (a) The corresponding sound to H. [dʒ]

(< B. l in lya) is [dʒ] in Ngwaketse,

Kwena of Molepolole, Rolong, Tlhaping

and Tlharo.  As in Hurutshe (cf. par.

2.19) it varies in pronunciation so that

it is sometimes heard as [ʒ], [dj] and,

less commonly, [j], for example,

[-dʒá], [-ʒá] or [-djá] (eat);

·  [lèbɛ̀dʒánà], [lèbɛ̀ʒánà] or [lèbɛ̀djánà]

diminutive of [lèbèlé] (corn plant or grain).

(b) In Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits

districts it tends to be replaced by [tʃ'],

for example,

[-tʃ'á] (eat); [lèbɛ̀tʃ'ánà].

(c) In Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts

H. [dʒ] is often replaced by [j] in certain

forms in which the [j] is sometimes dropped,

for example,

[jáànɔ́ŋ] or [áànɔ́ŋ] for H. [dʒáànɔ́ŋ]

(now);

[sèjànà] or [sèànà] for H. [sèdʒànà]

(utensil).

# LABIALIZED CONSONANTS

## Labialized Explosives

### H. [kw']

3.39    The sound corresponding to H. [kw'] is [kw']
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

  [kw'àlí] (mouth organ),

   [-kw'álà] (write) and

   [kw'á] (there, at).

N.B.   In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. [-kw'álà]
is [-ŋwálà].

### H. [tw']

3.40    The sound corresponding to H. [tw'] is [tw']
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

   [ǹtw'à] (fight, war);

   [-rátw'à]  <  [-rát'à] (love);

   [-làtw'à]  <  [-làt'à] (follow).

### H. [thw]

3.41    In all other Tswana dialects the corresponding
sound to H. [thw] is [thw], for example,

   [-thwálà] (find a lost property and take it

                          not knowing its owner);

   [thwánè] (lynx).

It occurs also in the passive forms of verb stems
ending in [-tha], for example,

   [-ràthwà]  <  [-ràthà] (chop, thunder, as

                          lightning).

## Labilized Laterals

H. [lw]

3.42     The sound corresponding to H. [lw] is [lw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[-lwà] (fight); [-lwálà] (be ill).

N.B.  H. [lwá-], possessive concord for class 11, is [lwá-] in all other Tswana dialects except Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts where it is [lá-].

H.  [tlw']

3.43     In all other Tswana dialects the sound corresponding to H. [tlw'] is [tlw'], for example,

[-útlw'à] (hear, feel);

[-tlw'áèlà] (get accustomed to, be tame).

It occurs also in:

(i)  passive forms of verb stems ending in [-tl'a] for example,

[-lètlw'à]  <  [-lètl'à] (allow, permit);

[-bàtlw'à]  <  [-bàtl'à] (seek, look for).

(ii) diminutive forms of nouns ending in [-tl'o] and [-tl'ɔ], for example,

[ǹtlw'ànà]  <  [ǹtl'ò] (house);

[sèkhùtlw'ànà]  <  [sèkhùtl'ɔ] (corner).

H. [tlhw]

3.44     The corresponding sound to H. [tlhw] is [tlhw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

[tlhwárè] (python),

[mòtlhwá] or [bòtlhwá] (small white ants found

in antheaps),

[ǹtlhwà] (larva of flying ants);

[-látlhwà] < [-látlhà] (throw away);

[-Φátlhwà] or [-hátlhwà] < [-Φátlhà] or [-hátlhà]

(to blind).

## Labialized Fricatives

H. [sw]

3.45   (a) The sound corresponding to H. [sw] is [sw]

in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, for example,

[-swá] (die);

[bòswá] (inheritance);

[-swàbà] (wither, be disappointed);

[lèswέ] (dirt);

[-swè̩ú] (white).

  (b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corre-

sponding sound to H. [sw] is [ʃw]. For

example, the above forms are pronounced

respectively as follows in these dialects:

[-ʃwá], [bòʃwá], [-ʃwàbà], [lèʃwέ] and

[-ʃwè̩ú].

That is H. [sw] before [a] and [ε] is

represented by [ʃw] in these dialects.

H. [ʃw]

3.46   (a) The corresponding sound to H. [ʃw] is [Φs],

also pronounced [Φsj] or [Φʃ], in Ngwaketse,

Kwena and Kgatla, for example,

[-Φsá], [-Φsjá] or [-Φʃá] for H. [-ʃwá]

(burn new),

[lèɸsɛ̀], [lèɸsjɛ̀] or [lèɸʃɛ] for

H. [lèʃwɛ̀] (type of creeping plant);

[sèɸsɛ̀ɸsɛ̀], [sèɸsjɛ̀ɸsjɛ̀] or [sèɸʃɛ̀ɸʃɛ̀]

for H. [sèʃwɛ̀ʃwɛ̀] (flower);

[màɸsì], [-màɸsjì] or [màɸʃì] for H.

[màʃwì] (milk);

[-bóɸsà], [-bóɸsjà] or [-bóɸʃà] for

H. [-bóʃwà] < [-bóɸà] (tie, fasten),

[-ráɸsà], [-ráɸsjà] or [-ráɸʃà] for

H. [-ráʃwà] < [-ráɸà] (take out, e.g.

honey or pot clay),

[-lèɸsà], [-lèɸsjà] or [-lèɸʃà] for

H. [-lèʃwà] < [-lèɸà] (pay).

N.B. The more palatal sound [-ɸʃ] occurs
mostly in Kgatla.

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corre-
sponding sound to H. [ʃw] is (i) [ʃ] in
some cases, and (ii) [ʃw] in passive forms
of verb stems ending in [-ha] for H. [-ɸa],
for example,

(i) [-ʃá] for H. [-ʃwá] (burn, new);
    [lèʃɛ̀] for H. [lèʃwɛ̀] (type of
                        creeper plant),
    [sèʃɛ̀ʃɛ̀] for H. [sèʃwɛ̀ʃwɛ̀] (flower),
    [màʃì] for H. [màʃwì] (milk);

(ii) [-bóʃwà] < [-bóhà] for H. [-bóʃwà]
         < [-bóɸà] (tie, fasten),
     [-ráʃwà] < [-ráhà] for H. [-ráʃwà]
         < [-ráɸà] (take out, e.g. honey)
     [-lèʃwà] < [-lèhà] for H. [-lèʃwà]
         < [-lèɸà] (pay).

H. [hw]

3.47    This sound occurs before [i] in (i) the adjec-
tival stem [-hwíbíɺù], an alternative of [-húbíɺù] and
[-híbíɺù] (red), and (ii) the verb stem [-hwíbílà], an
alternative of [-húbílà] and [-híbílà] (become red) in
all Tswana dialects, except Kgatla of Hammanskraal
district, in which only [-híbíɺù] and [-híbílà] occur.
Cf. par. 3.50.

H. [khw]

3.48    This sound occurs before [i] especially in
the adjectival stem [-khwíbíɺù], an alternative of
[-khúbíɺù] and [-khíbíɺù] (red) in all other Tswana
dialects, except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, in
which the latter only occurs.  The forms such as
[khúkhwànè] (beatle) and [-khwáɲà] (knock) occur in
all Tswana dialects including Hurutshe; but there is
a tendency to replace [khw] by [kxhw] in their pro-
nunciation except in Kgatla of Hammanskraal district.
Cf. par. 3.59.

Labialized Vibrants

H. [rw]

3.49    The corresponding sound to H. [rw] is [rw]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

    [-rwálà] (carry, put on hat, shoes, watch);

    [lèrwá] (small red ants);

    [bòrwá] (south).

It occurs also in passive forms of verb stems ending
in [-ra], for example,

    [-lɔ́rwà] < [-lɔ́rà] (dream).

H. [ɬw]

3.50     This sound occurs before [i] and is found
only in the form [mòɲáɬwì] < [-ɲáɬwà] (get married)
in all Tswana dialects, also in Hurutshe, as an
alternative of [mòɲáɬìwá] (bride).


Labialized Nasals

H. [nw]

3.51     The sound corresponding to H. [nw] is [nw]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

     [-nwá] (drink);

     [-bónwà]  <  [-bónà]  (see);

     [-xánwà]  <  [-xánà] (refuse, deny).

H. [ɲw]

3.52     The sound corresponding to H. [ɲw] is [ɲw]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example, [-áɲwà]
which in Hurutshe means "suck", but passive of [-áɲà]
(suck) in the other Tswana dialects.

H. [ŋw]

3.53     The corresponding sound to H. [ŋw] is [ŋw]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

     [ŋwàná]  (child);

     [ŋwèɬi] (moon, moonlight);

     [-ŋwàjà]  or  [-ŋwàà] (scratch);

     [-róŋwà] < [-rómà] (send);

     [-lèŋwà]  <  [-lèmà] (hoe, plough);

     [lèrúŋwànà] < [lèrúmò] (spear);

     [mòlɔ̀ŋwànà] < [mòlɔ̀mò] (mouth);

     [mòlàŋwánà] < [mòlàmú] (knob-kerrie).

H. [ŋŋw]

3.54      The sound corresponding to H. [ŋŋw] is [ŋŋw]
in all other Tswana dialects.  It occurs in the passive
forms of verb stems ending in [-ɲa].  Its alternative in
such cases is [ŋw] which, however, is less commonly used,
for example,

[-sé̀ŋŋwà] or, less commonly [-séŋwà] <  [-séɲà]

(spoil, waste),

[-lèk'à̀ŋŋwà] or, less commonly, [-lèk'àŋwà]

< [-lèk'àɲà] (make equal, measure).

In nearly all Tswana dialects, but especially in Kgatla,
the passive forms of such verb stems are sometimes
formed by [ɲw], for example,

[-séɲwà]  <  [-séɲà] and [-lèk'àɲwà] < [-lèk'àɲà].


Labialized Affricatives

H. [tsw']

3.55  (a) In Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla the corre-
          sponding sound to H. [tsw'] is [tsw'], for
          example,

             [-tsw'à]  (come out);

             [-bútsw'à] (ripen, be well-cooked),

             [-tsw'álà] (put on clothes),

             [-tsw'àlà] (close),

             [-útsw'à] (steal),

             [-látsw'à] (lick),

             [bòlɛ̀tsw'à] (bird-lime),

             [lè̀ŋtsw'é] (voice).

          It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns
          ending in -lu, for example,

[ɬìt'ɛ̰tsw'ànà] < [ɬìt'ɛ̰ɬ̀ù] (beard);

[bòlátsw'ànà] < [bòláɬù] (pus).

In diminutive forms of some nouns in which
the final consonant is [b] or [p'] it occurs
as an alternative of [bz], [bj] or [bʒ], and
[ps'], [psj] or [pʃ'] in these three dialects,
for example,

    [ts'ɛ̀bzánà], [ts'ɛ̀bjánà], [ts'ɛ̀bʒánà] or

       [ts'ɛ̀tsw'ánà] for H. [ts'ɛ̀dʒwánà]

      < [ts'ɛ̀bɛ̀] (ear);

    [sèléps'ànà], [sèlpsj'ànà], [sèlépʃ'ànà]

      or [sèlɛ̰tsw'ànà] for H. [sèlɛ̰tsw'ànà];

    [tlhàps'ànà], [tlhàpsj'ànà], [tlhàpʃ'àna]

      or [tlhàtsw'ànà] < [tlhàp'ì] (fish);

    [mòxóps'ànà], [mòxópsj'ànà], [mòxópʃ'ànà]

      or [mòxótsw'ànà] for H. [mòxótʃw'ànà]

      < [mòxóp'ò] (wooden eating vessel);

    [lèráps'ànà], [lèrápsj'ànà], [lèrápʃ'ànà]

      or [lèrátsw'ànà] < [lèráp'ò] (bone);

    [lèxáps'ànà], [lèxápsj'ànà], [lèxápʃ'ànà]

      or [lèxátsw'ànà] for H. [lèxátʃw'ànà]

      < [lèxáp'ù] (water melon).

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corre-
    sponding sound to H. [tsw'] is [tʃw'], for
example,

    [-tʃw'à] for H. [-tsw'à] (come out)

    [-bútʃw'à] for H. [-bútsw'à] (ripen, be

      well cooked);

    [-tʃw'álà] for H. [-tsw'álà] (put on

      clothes);

[-tʃw'àlà] for H. [-tsw'àlà] (close);

[-útʃw'à] for H. [-útsw'à] (steal);

[-látʃw'à] for H. [-látsw'à] (lick);

[bòlḙtʃw'à] for H. [bòlḙtsw'à] (bird-line);

[lèɲtʃw'é] for H. [lèɲtsw'é] (voice, word).

In these three dialects [tʃw'] occurs consis-
tently in all passive forms of verb stems
ending in [-ts'a] and [-p'a] as well as in
diminutive forms of nouns ending in [-lu],
[-p'e], [-p'ɛ], [-p'i], [-p'o], [-p'ɔ]
and [-p'u], for example,

[-bítʃw'à] for H. [-bítsw'à] < [-bíts'à]
(call);

[-bótʃw'à] for H. [-bótsw'à] < [-bots'a]
(ask);

[lìt'ḙtʃw'ànà] for H. [lìt'ḙtsw'àna] <
[lìt'ḙlù] (beard);

[mòtlhàtʃw'ànà] for H. [mòtlhàtsw'ánà]
< [mòtlhàp'é] (herd, flock);

[sèlɛ́tʃw'ànà] for H. [sèlɛ́tsw'ànà] <
[sèlɛ́p'ɛ̀] (axe);

[tlhàtʃw'ànà] for H. [tlhàtsw'ànà] <
[tlhap'i] (fish);

[mòxótʃw'ànà] for H. [mòxótʃw'ànà] <
[mòxóp'ò] (wooden eating vessel);

[mòlàtʃw'ànà] for H. [mòlàtsw'ànà] <
[mòlp̀'ò] (ravine).


H. [tshw]

3.56  (a) In Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla the corre-
sponding sound to H. [tshw] is [tshw], for

example,

[lètshwàɸó] or [lèkxhwàɸó] (lung),

[-tshwárà] (seize)

[-tshwánà] (resemble, be like),

[-khútshwàné] (short),

[-phàtshwà] (black and white),

[-tshwɛ̀ɲà] (worry, trouble).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of some
nouns in which the final consonant is [ɸ]
or [ph] in these dialects, for example,

[mòrátshwànà] < [mòráɸè] (tribe);

[lèɸìtshwànà] < [lèɸìɸì] (darkness);

[phétshwànà]* < [phéɸò] (wind)

[phótshwànà] < [phóɸù] (eland);

[lèɸàtshwánà] < [lèɸàphá] (section, part);

[tshétshwànà] < [tshéphè]

[lòphàtshwánà] < [lòphàphí] (splinter

of wood).

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corre-
sponding sound to H. [tshw] is [tʃhw], for
example,

[lètʃhwàhó] for H. [lètshwàɸó] (lung);

[-tʃhwárà] for H. [-tshwárà] (seize);

[-tʃhwánà] for H. [-tshwánà] (resemble);

[-khútʃhwàné] for H. [-khútshwàné] (short);

[-phàtʃhwà] for H. [-phàtshwà] (black and
white);

[-tʃhwɛ̀ɲà] for H. [-tshwɛ̀ɲà] (worry,
trouble).

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* The form [phéɸsànà] or [phéɸʃànà] also occurs in
Kgatla.

It occurs also in diminutive forms of
nouns in which the final consonant is [h]
or [ph] in these dialects, for example,

[mòrátʃhwànà] < [mòráhè] : H.
[mòráɸè] (tribe);

[lèhìtʃhwànà] < [lèhìhì] : H. [lèɸìɸì]
(darkness);

[phétʃhwànà] or [phéʃwànà] < [phéhɔ]:
H. [phéɸɔ] (wind);

[phótʃhwànà] or [phóʃwànà] < [phóhù]:
H. [phóɸù] (eland):

[lèhàtʃhwánà] < [lèhàphá] : H:
[lèɸàphà] (section);

[tshétʃhwànà] < [tshéphè] (springbok);

[lòphàtʃhwánà] < [lòphàphí] (splinter
of wood).

H. [tʃw']

3.57 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [tʃw'] is
[ps'] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla.
This sound, [ps'], varies in pronuncia-
tion to [psj'], [pʃ'], [psw'] or [pʃw']
in these three dialects, for example,

[m̀ps'á], [m̀psj'á] or [m̀pʃ'á]
for H. [ɲ̀tʃw'á] (dog);

It occurs also in passive forms of verb
stems ending in [-p'a], for example,

[-bóps'à], [-bópsj'à], [-bópʃ'à],
[-bópsw'à] or [-bópʃw'à] for H.
[-bótʃw'à] < [-bóp'à] (mould);

[-lóps'à], [-lópsj'à], [-lópʃ'à],

[-lópsw'à] or [-lópʃw'à] for H.

[-lótʃw'à] < [-lóp'à] (beg, beseech)

[-ɬùps'à], [-ɬùpsj'à], [-ɬùpʃ'à],

[-ɬùpsw'à] or [-ɬùpʃw'à] for H.

[-ɬùtʃw'à] < [-ɬùpà] (smell out).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of some
nouns in which the final consonant is [p'],
as an alternative of [tsw'] (cf. par 3.51(a)),
for example,

[sèlɛ́ps'ànà], [sèlɛ́psj'ànà] or [sèlɛ́pʃ'ànà]

alternatives of [sèlɛ́tsw'ànà] for

H. [sèlɛ́tsw'ànà] < [sèlép'ɛ̀] (axe);

[mòxóps'ànà], [mòxópsj'ànà] or [mòxópʃ'ànà]

alternatives of [mòxótsw'ànà] for

H. [mòxótʃw'ànà] < [mòxóp'ò]

(wooden eating vessel);

[lèxáps'ànà], [lèxápsj'ànà] or [lèxápʃ'ànà]

alternatives of [lèxátsw'ànà] for

H. [lèxátʃw'ànà] < [lèxáp'ù]

(water melon).

(b) The corresponding sounds to H. [tʃw'] are (i)
[tʃ'] and (ii) [tʃw'] in Rolong, Tlhaping and
Tlharo.

(i)     [tʃ'] occurs, for example, in

[ŋ̀tʃ'á] for H. [ŋ̀tʃw'á] (dog);

(ii)    [tʃw'] occurs, for example, in

[lèŋ̀tʃw'é] for H. [lèŋ̀tsw'é] (voice);

[lèŋ̀tʃw'ɛ̀] for H. [lèŋ̀tsw'ɛ̀] (stone,

mountain);

and in passive forms of verb stems ending
in [-p'a] and [-ts'a], for example,

[-bótʃw'à] for H. [-bótʃw'à] < [-bóp'à]
(mould);

[-lótʃw'à] for H. [-lótʃw'à] < [-lóp'à]
(beg, beseech);

[-bótʃw'à] for H. [-bótsw'à] < [-bóts'à]
(ask);

[-lètʃw'à] for H. [-lètsw'à] < [-lèts'à]
(cause to cry).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns
in which the final consonant is [ɬ] or [p']
in these three dialects, for example,

[lèxǫ̀tʃw'ànà] for H. [lèxǫ̀tsw'ànà] <
[lèxɔ̀ɬù] (thief);

[mòtlhàtʃw'ánà] for H. [mòtlhàtsw'ánà]
< [mòtlhàp'é] (herd, flock);

[sèlę́tʃw'ànà] for H. [sèlę́tsw'ànà] <
[sèlép'è̩] (axe);

[tshítʃw'ànà] for H. [tshítsw'ànà] <
[tshíp'ì] (iron);

[mòxótʃw'ànà] for H. [mòxótʃw'ànà] <
[mòxóp'ò] (wooden eating vessel);

[mòlàtʃw'ànà] for H. [mòlàtsw'ànà] <
[mòlàp'ɔ] (ravine);

[lèxátʃw'ànà] for H. [lèxátʃw'ànà] <
[lèxáp'ù] (water melon).

H. [tʃhw]

3.58 (a) In Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla the corre-
sponding sound to H. [tʃhw] is [psh] or
[psjh] or [pʃh], for example,

[-pshá] or [-pʃhá] for H. [-tʃhwá]

    (dry up, as water);

[-m̀pshá] or [-m̀pʃhá] for H. [-ɲ̀tʃhwá] (new);

[m̀pshɛ̰́] or [m̀pʃhɛ̰́] for H. [ɲ̀tʃhwɛ̰́] (ostrich);

[m̀pshɛ̀] or [m̀pʃhɛ̀] for H. [ɲ̀tʃhwɛ̀] (sweet

    reed);

[sèpshɛ̰́] or [sèpʃhɛ̰́] for H. [sètʃhwɛ̰́]

    (drought, stamina);

[-pshɛ̰̀tl'à] or [pʃhɛ̰̀tl'a]* for H. [-tʃhwɛ̰̀tl'à]

    (crush, break to pieces);

[-pshɛ̀xà] or [-pʃhɛ̀xà] for H. [-tʃhwɛ̀xà]

    (be purged).

In passive forms of verb stems ending in [-pha]
it is [psh] or [pshw] [pʃhw] in these dialects,
for example,

[-kxhàpshà], [-kxhàpshwà], [-kxhàpʃhà] or

    [-kxhàpʃhwà] for H. [-kxhàtʃhwà] <

    [-kxhàphà] (wave aside, or smear floor

    with cow dung);

[-Φópshà], [-Φópshwà], [-Φópʃhà] or [-Φópʃhwà]

    for H. [-Φótʃhwà] < [-Φóphà] (strike,
    as with the hand).

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corre-

    sponding sound to H. [tʃhw] is [tʃh], for

example,

[-tʃhá] for H. [-tʃhwá] (dry up as water);

[ɲ̀tʃhɛ̰́] for H. [ɲ̀tʃhwɛ̰́] (ostrich);

[ɲ̀tʃhɛ̀] for H. [ɲ̀tʃhwɛ̀] (sweet reed);

[sètʃhɛ̰́] or [sètʃhánè] for H. [sètʃhwɛ̰́]

    (stamina or drought);

[-tʃhɛ̰̀tl'à] for H. [-tʃhwɛ̰̀tl'à] (crush).

---

* Pronounced [-pshàtl'à] or [-pʃhàtl'à] in Kgatla.

But in passive forms of verb stems ending
in [-pha] it is represented by [tʃhw] in
these dialects, for example,

[-kxhàtʃhwà] for H. [-kxhàtʃhwà] <

[-kxhàphà] (wave aside, smear floor

with cow dung)

[-Φótʃhwà] for H. [-Φótʃhwà] < [-Φóphà]

(strike, as with the hand).

H. [kxhw]

3.59 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [kxhw] is
[kxhw] in all other Tswana dialects,
except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district,
for example,

[lèkxhwàlé] (partridge);

[sèkxhwámà] (purse);

[mòkxhwá] (manner, custom)

[kxhwèꜩí] (moon, month).

(b) In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. [kxhw]
is [khw] for example, the forms in (a) above
are pronounced respectively as follows in
this dialect:

[lèkhwàlé], [sèkhwámà],

[mòkhwá] and [khwèꜩí]

H. [dʒw]

3.60 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [dʒw] is
(i) [dʒw] and (ii) [dʒ] in Rolong, Tlhaping
and Tlharo.

(i)  In these three dialects [dʒw] occurs

in passive forms of verb stems ending

in [-ba], for example,

[-ròdʒwà] < [-ròbà] (break);

[-sédʒwà] < [-sébà] (whisper)

[-árádʒwà] < [-árábà] (answer).

(ii)  In these three dialects [dʒ] occurs

in other forms, for example,

[-dʒálà] for H. [-dʒwálà] (sow,

plant);

[bòdʒàŋ] for H. [bòdʒwàŋ] or

[bódʒàŋ]* (grass);

[bòdʒàlwá] for H. [bòdʒwàlá] or

[bòdʒàlwá]* (beer);

[dʒáànóŋ] for H. [dʒwàànóŋ] or

[dʒáànóŋ]* (now).

In diminutive forms of nouns, however, both

[dʒw] and [dʒ] are used alternatively in these

three dialects, for example,

 [ts'èdʒwánà] or [ts'èdʒánà] for H.

   [ts'èdʒwánà] diminutive of [ts'èbé]

   (ear);

 [k'òdʒwànà] or [k'òdʒànà] for H.

   [k'òdʒwànà] diminutive of [kòbò]

   (blanket);

 [phók'ódʒwè] or [phók'ódʒè] for H.

   [phok'odʒwɛ] (jackal);

 [lèdʒwè] or [lèdʒè] for H. [lèdʒwè]

   (stone).

---

* Both forms occur in Hurutshe.

(b) The corresponding sound to H. [dʒw] is [bz]
in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla. This sound
[bz], varies in pronunciation to [bj], [bʒ]
and less commonly [bzw] [bjw] or [bʒw] in
these three dialects, for example,

    [-ròbzà], [-ròbjà], [-ròbʒà], [-ròbzwà],
        [-ròbjwà] or [-ròbʒwà] for H.
        [-ròdʒwà] < [-ròbà] (break);

    [-sèbzà], [-sébjà], [-sèbʒà], [-sébzwà],
        [-sébjwà] or [-sébʒwà] for H.
        [-sédʒwà] < [-sébà] (whisper);

    [-árábzà], [-árábjà], [-árábʒà], [-árábzwà]
        [-árábjwà] or [-árábʒwà] for H.
        [-árádʒwà] < [-árábà] (answer);

    [-bzálà], [-bjálà] or [-bʒálà] for H.
        H. [-dʒwala] (sow, plant);

    [bzàŋ] or [bzàé], [bjàŋ] or [bjàé],
        [bʒàŋ] or [bʒàé] for H. [bòdʒwàŋ] or
        [bòdʒàŋ] (grass);

    [bzàlwá], [bjàlwá] or [bʒàlwá] for H.
        [bòdʒwàlá] or [bòdʒàlwá] (beer);

    [bzáànóŋ], [bjáànóŋ], [bʒáànóŋ] for H.
        [dʒwáànóŋ] or [dʒáànóŋ] (row);

    [ts'èbzánà], [ts'èbjánà] or [ts'èbʒánà]*
        for H. [t'èdʒwánà] diminutive of
        [ts'èbé] (ear);

    [k'òbzànà], [k'òbjànà] or [k'òbʒànà] for
        H. [k'òdʒwànà] diminutive of [k'òbò]
        (blanket);

---

* The form [ts'èts'wánà] also occurs in these three
  dialects.

[phok'obzɛ], [phók'objɛ̀] or [phók'óbʒɛ]

for H. [phók'ódʒwɛ̀] (jackal);

[lebzɛ̀], [lèbjɛ] or [lèbʒɛ̀] for H.

[lèdʒwɛ́] (stone);

N.B. In the above examples the forms with [bz] are the ones commonly heard in these three dialects.

## SUMMARY

3.61     In the following tables the symbol [ ] indicates variant pronunciation, and the symbol / indicates sounds occurring as substitutes before certain vowels.

Kwena A and Kwena B refer respectively to the Kwena dialects of Molepolole on the one hand, and of Rustenburg and Brits districts on the other.

Kgatla A and Kgatla B refer respectively to the Kgatla dialects of Mochudi and Pilansberg district on the one hand and Hammanskraal district on the other.

## TABLE 1

### NASAL CONSONANTS AND SEMI-VOWELS

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hurutshe | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw[1] | ŋw | ŋŋw[2] |
| Ngwaketse | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |
| Kwena | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |
| Kgatla | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |
| Rolong | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |
| Tlhaping | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |
| Tlharo | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | j | w | nw | ɲw | ŋw | ŋŋw |

## TABLE 2

### STOP AND ASPIRATED EXPLOSIVE CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hurutshe | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh[3] | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Ngwaketse | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Kwena A | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Kwena B | k' | t' | p' | b [β] | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Kgatla A | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Kgatla B | k' | t' | p' | b [β] | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Rolong | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Tlhaping | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |
| Tlharo | k' | t' | p' | b | | kh | th | ph | kw' | tw' |

---

1. Before [a].
2. Before [a] and [e].
3. Before [i] and [u].

## TABLE 3

### FRICATIVE CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hurutshe | Φ | s | sw | ʃ[3) | ʃw[4) | x | xw[5) | h[6) |
| Ngwaketse | Φ | s | sw | ʃ | Φs[Φsj, Φʃ] | x | xw | h |
| Kwena A | Φ | s | sw | ʃ | Φs[Φsj, Φʃ] | x | xw | h |
| Kwena B | Φ[f] | s | sw | ʃ | Φs[Φsj, Φʃ] | x | xw | h |
| Kgatla A | Φ[f] | s | sw | ʃ | Φs[Φsj, Φʃ] | x | xw | h |
| Kgalta B | Φ[f] | s/ʃ[1) | sw | ʃ | Φs[Φsj, Φʃ] | h | hw | h |
| Rolong | φ[h] | s/ʃ[2) | ʃw | ʃ | ʃ | x | xw | h |
| Tlhaping | h | s/ʃ[2) | ʃw | ʃ | ʃ | x | xw | h |
| Tlharo | h | s/ʃ[2) | ʃw | ʃ | ʃ | x | xw | h |

## TABLE 4

### LATERAL AND VIBRANT CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hurutshe | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ[7) | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw[8) | rw |
| Ngwaketse | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |
| Kwena | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |
| Kgatla | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |
| Rolong | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |
| Tlhaping | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |
| Tlharo | tl' | tlh | l | ɬ | r | tlw' | tlhw | lw | ɬw | rw |

1. Before [i].
2. Before [ɔ] [o] and [u].
3. Before [a].
4. Before [a].
5. Before [a].
6. Before [i] and [u].
7. Before [i] and [u].
8. Before [i].

# TABLE 5

## AFFRICATIVE CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hurutshe | ts' | tʃ' | tsh | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tsw' | tʃw' | dʒw | tshw | tʃhw | kxhw |
| Ngwaketse | ts' | tʃ' | tsh | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tsw' | ps'[psj',pʃ', psw', pʃw'] | bz[bj,bʒ,bzw, bjw, bʒw] | tshw | psh[pʃh,pshw, pʃhw] | kxhw |
| Kwena A | ts' | tʃ' | tsh | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tsw' | ps'[psj',pʃ', psw',pʃw'] | bz[bj,bʒ,bzw, bjw, bʒw] | tshw | psh[pʃh,pshw, pʃhw] | kxhw |
| Kwena B | ts' | tʃ' | tsh | tʃh | kxh | tʃ' | tsw' | ps'[psj',pʃ', psw',pʃw'] | bz[bj,bʒ,bzw, bjw,bʒw] | tshw | psh[pʃh,pshw, pʃhw] | kxhw |
| Kgatla A | ts'/tʃ'[1] | tʃ' | tsh/tʃh[1] | tʃh | kxh | tʃ' | tsw' | ps'[psj',pʃ', psw', pʃw] | bz[bj,bʒ,bzw, bjw, bʒw] | tshw | psh[pʃh,pshw, pʃhw] | kxhw |
| Kgatla B | ts'/tʃ'[1] | tʃ' | tsh/tʃh[1] | tʃh | kh | tʃ' | tsw' | ps'[psj', pʃ', psw',pʃw'] | bz[bj,bʒ,bzw, bjw,bʒw] | tshw | psh[pʃh,pshw, pʃhw] | khw |
| Rolong | ts'[2]/tʃ'[3] | tʃ' | tsh[2]/tʃh[3] | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tʃw' | tʃw'/tʃ' | dʒw[dʒ] | tʃhw | tʃh[tʃhw] | kxhw |
| Tlhaping | ts'[2]/tʃ'[3] | tʃ' | tsh[2]/tʃh[3] | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tʃw' | tʃw'/tʃ' | dʒw[dʒ] | tʃhw | tʃh[tʃhw] | kxhw |
| Tlharo | ts'[2]/tʃ'[3] | tʃ' | tsh[2]/tʃh[3] | tʃh | kxh | dʒ | tʃw' | tʃw'/tʃ' | dʒw[dʒ] | tʃhw | tʃh[tʃhw] | kxhw |

------------------------------------------

1. Before [i].
2. Before [a], [ɛ], [e] and [i].
3. Before [ɔ], [o] and [u].

CLASSIFICATION OF TSWANA DIALECTS

3.62     In the light of our findings in the foregoing paragraphs the Tswana dialects under discussion (see par. 1.32) may be classified phonologically into four divisions, namely, (1) Hurutshe, (2) Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla of Mochudi, (3) Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, and (4) Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo.

Main Characteristics

3.63     Hurutshe is characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i)      [s], [ts'] and [tsh] before [ɔ],
         [o] and [u] as in [sɔná] (it),
         [lòsó] (death), and [-sùp'à]
         (point);

(ii)     [sw], [tsw'] and [tshw] before [a],
         [ɛ] and [i] as in [-swá] (die),
         [-swèlà] (die for, at), [mòswí]
         (deceased), [-tswâ] (come out)
         and [-tshwánà] (resemble);

(iii)    [ʃw], [tʃw'], [tʃhw] and [dʒw] as
         in [-ʃwá] (new, burn), [-bóʃwà]
         (be fastened), [màʃwì] (milk);
         [ɲtʃw'á] (dog), [-bótʃw'à] (be
         moulded); [ɲtʃhwɛ́] (ostrich),
         [-kxhàtʃhwà] (be smeared, be
         waved aside); [-ròdʒwà] (be broken),
         [-dʒwálà] (sow, plant).

3.64　　　Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla are characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i)　　　[s], [ts'] and [tsh] before [ɔ], [o] and [u] as in Hurutshe [sɔná], [lòxó] and [-sup'a].

(ii)　　　[sw], [tsw'] and [tshw] before [a] [ɛ] and [i] as in Hurutshe.

(iii)　　　They differ from Hurutshe, however, in the employment of such compounds as, for example, [Φs/Φsj/Φʃ], [ps'/psj'/pʃ'/psw'/pʃw'], [psh/pʃh/ pshw/pʃhw], and [bz/bj/bʒ/bzw/bjw/ bʒw] as in [-Φsá/-Φsjá/-Φʃá] (new) burn); [-bɔ́Φsà/-bɔ́Φsjà/-bɔ́Φʃà/ -bɔ́Φswà/-bɔ́Φʃwà] (be fastened); [màΦsì/màΦʃì] (milk); [m̀ps'á/m̀psj'á/ m̀pʃ'á] (dog); [-bóps'à/-bópsj'à/ -bópʃ'à/-bópsw'à/-bópʃw'à] (be moulded); [mpshɛ/mpʃhɛ]; [-kxhàpshà/ -kxhàpʃhà/-kxhàpshwà/-kxhàpʃhwà] (be smeared, be waved aside); [-rɔ̀bzà/-rɔ̀bjà/-rɔ̀bʒà/-rɔ̀bzwà/ -rɔ̀bjwà/-rɔ̀bʒwà] (be broken).

3.65　　　Kgatla of Hammanskraal district is further characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i)  [ʃ], [tʃ'] and [tʃh] before [i]
where the other dialects employ
respectively [s], [ts'] and [tsh],
and

(ii)  [h], [kh] and [khw] where the other
dialects employ [x], [kxh] and
[kxhw] respectively.


3.66  Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo are characterised
by the employment of, for example,

(i)  [ʃ] before [ɔ] [o] and [u];

(ii)  [ʃw] before [a] and [e];

(iii)  [tʃ'] and [tʃh] before [ɔ], [o] and
[u];

(iv)  [h] in the place of Hurutshe [Φ];

(v)  like Hurutshe they employ [tʃw'],
[tʃh] and [dʒw].

REVIEW OF THE CURRENT PRACTICAL

TSWANA ORTHOGRAPHY

## INTRODUCTION

4.01    In this chapter we shall review critically

the current practical Tswana orthography with a view

to offering suggestions and recommendations for its

improvement on the basis of the evidence presented in

chapter 3. Although it is not within our scope to give

an historical account of the development of Tswana

orthography in this study, it is necessary to review

briefly some recommendations that have been made.

## THE 1937 ORTHOGRAPHY

4.02    The 1937 Tswana orthography[1], which was

agreed upon at a representative conference held in

Johannesburg in April, 1937, recommended, inter alia,

that in the interests of uniformity, certain dialectal

variants in pronunciation, such as, for example, ps,

pš, psh, pšh, bị, bу, fs and fš, should not be employed

in written Tswana. This was a good recommendation.

Unfortunately, however, this orthography was not con-

sistent because it  permitted the employment of other

alternative dialectal variants such as for example,

s and š, ts and tš, tsh and tšh. Therefore Moloto con-

cludes rightly as follows:

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1. Lestrade, G.P.: A Practical Orthography for Tswana,
   (reprinted from Bantu Studies, Vol. XI, No. 2,
   June, 1937).

"The great service of this conference
was largely negative, as seen on page
142 of the said pamphlet."[2]

In support of this fact, Sandilands says,

"The would-be universal and official
system hastily decided upon in 1937
obviously left many things in a highly
unsatisfactory state, and bore, within
its exaggerations and inconsistencies,
the seeds of its own decay."[3]

4.03     The 1937 orthography recommended the retention

of the disjunctive system of word-division hitherto

followed in Tswana.  It was thus conservative.  It

failed, however, to provide for symbolization of click

sounds, as Prof. Cole also points out,[4] which though

not a characteristic of Tswana, are encountered in it.

It must be admitted, however, that, with its short-

comings, this orthography was indeed an attempt to

create order out of the confusion which still exists.

4.04     Prof. Cole employs the 1937 Tswana orthogra-

phy in his work[5] with some modifications in the sym-

bolization of certain sounds, especially the semi-

close vowels.  He discourages the employment of dia-

lectal variants for the sake of standardization of

written Tswana (see par. 4.11) and makes provision for

the representation of click sounds which the 1937

2.   Moloto, E.S.:  A Critical Investigation into the
        Standardization of Written Tswana, par. 1.38
        (unpublished disertation for a Master's Degree,1964).

3.   Sandilands, A.: Introduction to Tswana, p. vii.

4.   Cole, D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana Grammar,
        par. 1.5.

5.   Cole, Prof. D.T.: ibid.

orthography had ignored. But, causing still more con-
fusion, he departs from this orthography in that he
employs the conjunctive system of word-division
according to Prof. Doke's theory that a word in Bantu
has one penultimate stressed syllable.[6] Prof. Cole's
approach is of course scientific; but we are concerned
here with practical orthography which must, however,
be realistic and consistent.

4.05     As far as standardization of literary Tswana
is concerned, since there are many dialectal variations
in pronunciation, Prof. Cole's point of view is that it
should be based on one or more closely related Tswana
dialects. In accordance with this sound principle he
bases his work on the dialects of Rolong, Hurutshe and
Ngwaketse which he groups together geographically as the
Central division of Tswana dialects[7] because they "show
the least evidence of influence by other Bantu languages,
and must therefore be regarded as the most typical."[8]
He therefore writes, for example,

> tsôna (they),  -tshhoga (be frightened),
>
> -botšwa (be moulded) lešomê (ten),
>
> ntša (dog) and  -ša (burn, new)

in preference to dialectal variants tsôna, -tshoga,
-bopsa or -bopša, lesomê, ntšwa or mpsa or mpša and
-šwa or -fsa or -fša respectively.

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6.  Doke, Prof. C.M.: Textbook of Zulu Grammar,
        par. 54.
7.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., p. xvi.
8.  Cole, Prof. D.T.: Loc. cit., p. xix.

4.06    Strangely enough, however, there are dif-
ferences in the pronunciation of the above forms even
in Rolong, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse.  Typically they are
pronounced respectively as follows:

Rolong:    tšôna, -tšhoga, -botšwa, lešomê, ntša

        and -ša;

Hurutshe:  tsôna, -tshoga, -botšwa, lesomê, ntšwa and

        -šwa;

Ngwaketse: tsôna, -tshoga, -bopsa, lesomê, mpsa and

        -fsa.

From this comparison it is obvious that Prof. Cole is
inclined more towards Rolong than either Hurutshe or
Ngwaketse.  In his latest publication he employs
Rolong.[9]  We agree with him, however, in choosing
one or more closely related dialects as a basis for
written standard Tswana, and in following the recom-
mendations of the 1937 Tswana orthography in dis-
couraging the employment of what he calls "heterorganic
compounds",[10] for example, fs, fš, bj, bv, ps, pš,
psh and pšh, although Moloto is not in favour of
basing written Tswana on any one particular dialect
(cf. par. 4.13).

OFFICIAL  ORTHOGRAPHY

4.07    The present official Tswana orthography is
that recommended by the Department of Bantu Education.[11]

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9.  Cole, Prof. D.T. and Mokaila, D.M.: A Course in
    Tswana.

10. Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana Grammar,
    par. 1.75.

11. Tswana Terminology and Orthography No. 2, (Depart-
    ment of Bantu Education, 1962.)

This orthography makes several important modifications
on the 1937 orthography. In the first place it
abolishes the use of the diacritic sign (^) over the
vowels ê and ô, except in those cases "where there is
likely to be confusion with different words having
identical spelling, or otherwise in the interests of
clarity" [12] in general literature; but that in
scientific works, such as grammars and dictionaries,
it should be used. In the second place it permits
the employment of dialectal variants in written Tswana
"in those cases where there are variations in pronun-
ciation."[13] In this respect it makes matters worse
as it does not cause confusion only but also encourages
each Tswana dialect to develop its own type of literary
medium, a thing which is undesirable and which, if allowed,
can cause chaos.

4.08    With reference to this orthography Moloto
remarks rightly as follows:

> "This orthography, however, lays down
> the broad principles of representation
> of sounds, and does so excellently.
> Within its framework though, there is
> in fact possibility for alternant forms
> to thrive. For instance, as to the
> alternants by/bi/jw (p.15) we are told
> that by is 'completely disregarded',
> but that 'In such cases either bi or jw
> may be used according to dialect, e.g.
> biang or jwang, robja or rojwa, tsebja
> or tsojwa? We take the cue from a
> point such as this, believing sincerely
> that 'according to dialect' was a sug-

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12. ibid., p. 13.
13. ibid., p. 15.

gestion to the Tswana people them-
selves to select their standard
form."[14])

Although it is stated specifically that "The examples
quoted herein are drawn almost exclusively from Northern
Sotho, as most of the changes agreed upon affect Northern
Sotho rather than Tswana,"[15]) they are misleading since
they appear in a terminology-list intended for Tswana.
This orthography, therefore, does not aim at standardi-
zation of literary Tswana, but it gives guidance only for
the spelling of Tswana speech forms as they are en-
countered in the various dialects. If it is intended
for general use by writers it can do more harm than
good.


## THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

4.09    The problem is not so much what symbols
should be employed to represent Tswana speech sounds
but which one of a given pair or group of alternative
dialectal forms should be accepted as standard for
literary Tswana and which ones should be eliminated.
This is the crux of the whole problem of standardiza-
tion of literary Tswana. For example, which one of
the alternative dialectal forms mpsa, mpša, mpya,
ntšwa and ntša should be recommended for purposes of
standardization of Tswana orthography, and on what
basis should such a choice be made? The 1937 Tswana
orthography had tried to answer this question, but it

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14. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.12.
15. Tswana Terminology and Orthography No. 2, p. 11.

failed because of its weakness (cf. par. 4.02), while
the recommendations of the Department of Bantu Educa-
tion ignored it (cf. par. 4.07). The result is that
a wrong impression has been created that one should
write according to one's own pronunciation, or that
one's particular dialect, as a medium of communication,
is as good as any other dialect, which fact is, of
course, correct, but which is quite a different thing
from a language as a literary medium of communication.

4.10    If choice is to be left to writers we shall
find, for example, that, from the alternative forms for
"dog", given in par. 4.09 above, Rolong, Tlhaping and
Tlharo will prefer ntša,  Hurutshe will prefer  ntšwa,
while Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla will prefer either
mpsa or mpša, which cannot not be permitted.

MOLOTO'S  APPROACH

4.11    Moloto's findings have led him to the conclu-
sion that there are two groups of Tswana writers.  The
one group represents those who employ alternative dia-
lectal forms indiscrimately.  Such writers he calls
"centralists, since they centralise all dialects."[16]
The other group comprises those writers who are in-
clined more or less to favour those speech forms
occurring in their particular dialects.  Such writers
he calls "Sectionalists, since they have been sectional
in their choice of speech patterns."[17]  He points out,
however, that "Sectionalists" are inconsistent with
themselves in that, while they are sectional they employ

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16.  Moloto, E.S.: A Critical Investigation into the
        Standardization of Written Tswana, par. 4.6
        (unpublished dissertation for a M.A.Degree,1964).

17.  Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.7.

also other forms which are characteristic of other
dialects so that they too tend to centralise. He
points out further that authors are not consistent
even in the spelling of the same form.[18] He concludes
rightly as follows: "That teachers accept and employ
(rightly, in the absence of a ruling) all sounds they
hear, all of which should be of interest for descriptive
linguistics, a selection only of which is of interest
for a practical orthography."[19] This means that the
position is indeed chaotic, and under such circumstances
there can be no standard written Tswana.

4.12    With reference to Tucker who adopted Rolong
as standard for Tswana because the Rolong are the most
important branch of the Tswana,[20] Moloto remarks as
follows:

> "We cannot see how historical eminence
> becomes synonymous with linguistic pre-
> cedence, unless we are carrying out a
> linguistic imperialism."[21]

From this statement it is clear that Moloto is totally
against basing literary standard Tswana on any parti-
cular dialect because, perhaps, this may not be
acceptable to speakers of other Tswana dialects. He
argues, "Since there is no political paramountcy and
no economic or industrial precedence among the Tswana,
there will be no dialect to treat preferentially."[22]

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18. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.10(b).
19. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.10(d).
20. Tucker, A.N.: The Comparative Phonetics of the
    Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, p. 10.
21. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.1.
22. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 1.64.

It is unfortunate that tribal affiliations should
transcend scientific linguistic considerations. We
see nothing wrong with Tucker or any proposal to base
literary Tswana on any particular dialect provided
that such a dialect is representative of the other
dialects and that it is fairly uniform in its sound
system. It makes standardization much easier in that
way.

4.13     Moloto rejects both centralism and sectionalism
(cf. par. 4.11), the former because it lacks consistency
and uniformity, and the latter, which includes, for
example, Tucker and Prof. Cole (cf. par. 4.12) because
it is tribalistic. In accordance with Gleason who says.

> "A second and ultimately more impor-
> tant effect is to produce a new lite-
> rary language which is not merely a
> reflection of any single dialect, but
> a composite of many,"[23]

he comes to the conclusion that standardization of
literary Tswana should be based on a "selectivist
orthography" which cuts across all dialectal conside-
rations, and which he defines as follows:

> "A Selectivist orthography is one
> in which a choice of speech patterns
> is made on other than dialectal
> grounds."[24]

By "a choice of speech patterns" he means that if,
for example, the form for "milk" occurs in the various
Tswana dialects as maf̌si, maf̌ši, maš̌wi and maš̌i, one

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23. Gleason, H.A.: An Introduction to Descriptive
        Linguistics, revised Edition, par. 26.5.
24. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.2.

only of these variant forms should be chosen as standard for written Tswana. To give yet another example: One only of the alternative forms mpshê, mpšhê, ntšhwê and ntšhe should be chosen.

4.14    As a basis according to which a choice of speech patterns should be made Moloto gives an excellent but arbitrary formula. He says that forms to be chosen should be those on the pattern palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel (pbv).[25] According to this formula, therefore, from the two series of forms for "milk" and "ostrich" given in par. 4.13 above, mašwi and ntšhwê respectively will be chosen. This is a sound principle; but we do not see the reason why Moloto should not be in favour of applying it to the formation of passive forms of verb stems and diminutive forms of nouns as well. In these cases he recommends the long forms with the suffixes -iwa and -ana or -nyana respectively, for example, -lefiwa and not -lešwa (be paid); kobônyana and not kojwana, both diminutive forms of kobô (blanket).[26] Both the forms -lešwa and kojwana are formed in accordance with his formular, from which he should not have departed.

4.15    Our point of view is that, in the case of passive and diminutive formations both the long and the contracted forms should be accepted in our orthography because they are both a characteristic of Tswana. If a contracted form is employed, however, it should be the one according to the formula referred to in par. 4.14

25.  Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.32.
26.  Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.32(b) and (c).

above. For example, from the series -bopsa, -bopswa, -bopša, -bopšwa, -botšwa and -bopiwa, all alternative passive forms of -bopa (mould), both -botšwa and -bopiwa should be allowed, and from the series kobjana, kobyana, kojwana and kobònyana, the last two should both be accepted. It is interesting, however, to note that Moloto is not totally opposed to the employment of contracted forms because he says, "If a contracted form must be used, let it be on either one, but one at a time, of the two patterns p+wa or b+p+v, thus:

abja or ajwa, alafša or alašwa
tlhopša or tlhotšhwa, gapša or gatšwa."[27)]

Unfortunately he allows alternative contracted forms here contrary to his point of view. We maintain that in this case those forms on the pattern p+wa (i.e. palatal sound plus -wa) only should be allowed in literary Tswana, for example, -ajwa, -alašwa, -tlhòtšhwa and -gatšwa. We wish to point out here that this choice agrees with Cole's recommendation that heterorganic compounds should not be employed in written Tswana (see par. 4.06).

4.16     Apart from the inconsistency referred to in the foregoing paragraph, Moloto must be congratulated in applying his selectivist principle successfully. His selectivist orthography is based on phonemic principles according to which non-distinctive varia- tions occurring in the spoken language should not be reflected in the written language, and that, therefore, one symbol or a group of symbols only should be em- ployed to represent them. Thus ts and tš are non- distinctive in, for example, tsôna and tšôna. Therefore in such cases tsôna should be accepted in written Tswana. But š as in -šaba (eat with a relish) is
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27. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.21(b)

distinctive since the form -saba does not, to my know-
ledge, exist in Tswana.[28]   In this way he is able to
make a selection of those sounds or forms which he
recommends for standardization of literary Tswana.

4.17    A selectivist orthography raises a serious
question:  On what basis should one form be preferred
to another?  On what basis, for example, should -šwa
(new) be preferred to either -fsa or -ša?  To say
that -šwa is preferred because it is on the pattern
p+b+v (i.e. palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel)
is arbitrary and not convincing.  On what basis should
the form ntšhwê (ostrich) be selected rather than mpshê
or mpšhê or ntšhê?  It is for this reason that we are
not in favour of a selectivist orthography because it
is arbitrary.

## HURUTSHE   AS BASIC DIALECT FOR STANDARDIZATION OF TSWANA ORTHOGRAPHY

4.18    We maintain that standardization of literary
Tswana should be based on one dialect which can be
found to be not only uniform in its sound system but
also fairly well representative of, at least, the
majority of the other Tswana dialects.

4.19    Our analysis of the derivation of Hurutshe
speech sounds from Ur-Bantu in chapter 2 and our com-
parative analysis in chapter 3 leave no doubt but that
the typical sound system of Hurutshe is not only conside-
rably uniform but also fairly well representative of
most other Tswana dialects.  Its sounds are on the
whole limited to a minimum, adequate to express Tswana.
It has no redundant alternative sounds as we find, for
example, in Kgatla.  This is not surprising.  It is so

28.   Moloto,E.S.: Loc.cit., parr.4.30,4.32 and 5.19-5.20.

because it is geographically more central than other
Tswana dialects, and therefore, it is the least in-
fluenced by other Bantu languages. We, therefore,
recommend that standardization of literary Tswana be
based on Hurutshe. This does not mean that, by so doing,
we shall be "carrying out a linguistic imperialism", as
Moloto may accuse us (cf. par. 4.12). We are concerned
not with tribal political supremacy or paramountcy
among the Tswana but with linguistic considerations
which, in a scientific study such as this, must tran-
scend the boundaries of tribal or political affiliations.
It makes standardization much easier when a represen-
tative dialect is chosen as the basis.

4.20     Fortunately, as we have seen in parr. 1.26
and 1.29, the Hurutshe are regarded traditionally by
most other Tswana tribes as their senior tribe. This
fact, though of secondary importance here, should
mitigate any feelings of estrangement among speakers
of other Tswana dialects if Hurutshe is chosen as basic
dialect for literary Tswana. What is of primary im-
portance to us, however, is that the problem of
standardization of literary Tswana should be approached
objectively. It is in this spirit that we recommend
Hurutshe, convinced that it offers the best solution.

4.21     We may remark here that Moloto's recommen-
dations, though based on selectivism, are in fact
typical Hurutshe forms as revealed in chapter 2.
Indeed as one examines them one cannot help concluding
that they are based on typical Hurutshe although he
does not admit it. He is in fact supporting our

standpoint that standardization of Tswana orthography should be based on Hurutshe. This will become clear when we come to evaluate his recommendations in the following paragraphs.

## THE VOWELS

4.22    Moloto recognises 7 vowel phonemes in Tswana, namely, /a/, /ɛ/, /e/, /i/, /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/; and that each of the phonemes /ɛ/, /e/, /ɔ/ and /o/ has a variant [ɛ̣], [ẹ], [ɔ̣] and [ọ] respectively, thus making a total of 11 vowel phones. [29]    These are the same as we have noted for Hurutshe (cf. par. 2.05). But for the practical Tswana orthography he accepts 5 vowel symbols, namely a, e, i, o and u since, we presume, they have been officially recommended (see par. 4.07). While we agree with him we must point out that this is unfortunate because e and o, as recommended, each represents two contrasting vowel phonemes, as in, for example,

-tshela    [-tshélà] (cross) and

-tshela    [-tshèlà] (pour).

noka    [nòká] (river) and

noka    [nòkà̰] (hip.

This is a good example of an orthography being a matter of convention. It is argued that in such cases as the above the context will show which phoneme is used.

4.23    We accept Moloto's recommendations as to which vowel symbols should be used in such forms where

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29.  Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.7.

there are dialectal variations in pronunciation,[30] for example, podi and not pudi (goat) (< B. -mbuli), metsi (phon.: mètsi) and not metse (water (< * ma-yingî), ntlong and not ntlung (at the house). Although he does not give hypothetical original forms his recommendations in this respect are logical.

## SEMI-VOWELS

4.24    We agree with Moloto that the semi-vowel w should be used only where it is significant, or distinctly heard in the spoken language as, for example, in

   -wa (fall)  (< B. -yua)

   -lwa (fight)  (< B. -lua)

   -lwala (be ill) (< B. -lu-ala),

   -nwa (drink)  (< B. -mua ),

   mowa  (air)  (< *-mu-yua) and

   wêna (you);

and that it should not be used where it is not generally heard as, for example, in -boa (return)  (< B. -vuya), even though in this latter case, in comparison with the above forms, its use would be justified because B. u + a > Tswana -wa.

4.25    With reference to the semi-vowel y it is unfortunate that Moloto should make a sweeping statement that, "This symbol need in fact never be used in rendering the Absolute Pronoun, and the Demonstrative."[31] This statement must be qualified.  The semi-vowel y is distinctly heard in the spoken language, in the demon-

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30. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., parr. 4.15 - 4.19.
31. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.16.

strative for the 1st person, singular, y$\hat{o}$, as in
m$o$tho y$\hat{o}$, and in the Absolute Pronoun for class 9,
for example, nku y$\hat{o}$na. We recommend that it be used
in these cases. He is correct, however, in recommend-
ing that it should not be used with the Absolute
Pronoun, 3rd person, singular, $\hat{e}$na (he), and the
Demonstratives $\hat{e}$ (this one) and $\hat{e}$o (that one) [32]
because it is not normally pronounced in the spoken
language in these cases. He says, further, "Intervo-
callically it should not be used, even when clearly
articulated,"[33] as in, for example, losea or lesea
(baby) and -l$\hat{o}$a (bewitch). Here we agree with him
because it is not normally distinctly pronounced. We
may qualify his statement as follows: That the semi-
vowel y, should not be used between the vowels e and a,
i and a and o or $\hat{o}$ and a, as in, for example, lesea,
-dia (delay) and -l$\hat{o}$a. It is not normally heard in
these cases.

4.26 Moloto raises an interesting but logical
point in recommending that such forms as -tsamaya
(walk), -baya (place) and -tsaya take) should be written
without the semi-vowel, as -tsamaa, -baa and -tsaa
respectively,[34] because it falls away in their derived
forms such as, for example -tsamail$\hat{e}$, -tsama$\hat{e}$la and
-tsamaisa, -b$\hat{e}$il$\hat{e}$ and -ts$\hat{e}$re or -ts$\hat{e}$il$\hat{e}$. While it is
true that the forms such as -tsamaya, -baya and -tsaya
are sometimes heard without the semi-vowel, even in
Hurutshe, we feel that it should be retained because,

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32. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., ibid.
33. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., ibid.
34. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., ibid.

firstly, it is normally, clearly heard in nearly all
Tswana dialects, and, secondly, an orthography being
a matter of convention, it is used by most, if not all,
Tswana writers so that it has become accepted as the
norm. For these reasons we feel that we have to be
conservative in some cases. We may point out further
that the form for "go" is -ya (< B.-yia) in Tswana;
but some of its derived forms are -ilê, -isa and -êla
in which the semi-vowel has fallen away. Could we,
therefore, say that -ya should be written without the
semi-vowel as -a because the semi-vowel is dropped in
its derived forms? That would not be acceptable. We,
therefore, recommend that, for practical purposes, the
following forms, for example, be regarded as standard:

-ya (go), but its derivatives as -êla, -isa
and -ilê

-bolaya (kill), but -bolaana, -bolaêla, -bolaisa
and -bolailê;

-tsamaya (walk), but -tsamaêla, -tsamaisa and
-tsamailê;

-baya (place), but -baana, -bêêla, -bêisa and
-bêilê;

-tsaya (take), but -tsaana, -tsêêla, -tsêisa
and -tsêre or -tsêilê;

-laya (instruct), but -laana, -laêla and -lailê.

Prof. Cole remarks as follows:

"Although so closely resembling vowels
in their quality and manner of produc-
tion, the semi-vowels function solely
as consonants in the sound structure
of Tswana."[35]

35. Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana
Grammar, par. 1.62.

Hence our recommendation that the semi-vowel be retained
in such cases.

<u>DIALECTAL VARIANTS</u>

4.27     In the case of certain dialectal variant forms,
such as, for example, -<u>fsa</u>, -<u>fša</u>, -<u>fya</u>, -<u>ša</u> and -<u>šwa</u>
(new, burn) Moloto recommends -šwa because it is formed
in accordance with his formula <u>pbv</u>, that is, <u>palatal</u> +
<u>bilabial</u> + <u>terminative vowel</u> (see par. 4.14 ).  This
method is unsatisfactory because it is arbitrary.  We
recommend -<u>šwa</u> because it is a typical Hurutshe form,
since we take Hurutshe as the basic dialect for standar-
dization of literary Tswana.

4.28     In Chapter 2 we saw that

    B.   -<u>pya</u> (burn)  >  Hurutshe -<u>šwa</u> (burn);

    B.   -<u>pya</u> (new)  >  Hurutshe  -<u>šwa</u> (new);

    B.   -<u>pwa</u> (dry up)  >  Hurutshe  -<u>tšhwa</u> (dry up);

    B.   <u>li-pwe</u> (dirt)  >  Hurutshe  <u>lešwè</u>  (dirt);

        *<u>ki-pwepwe</u> (flower) > Hurutshe <u>sešwêšwê</u> (flower);

    B.   <u>mbwa</u> (dog)  >  Hurutshe  <u>ntšwa</u>  (dog);

        *<u>mpungumbwe</u> (jackal) > Hurutshe <u>phokojwê</u> (jackal);

    B.   <u>mbwe</u> (stone)  >  Hurutshe  <u>lejwê</u>   or  <u>lentswê</u>

                                    (stone, mountain);

    B.   <u>mpwe</u> (ostrich)  >  Hurutshe  <u>ntšhwê</u> (ostrich);

According to these derivations, therefore,

    (i)   from the series -<u>fsa</u>, -<u>fša</u>, -<u>fya</u>, -<u>ša</u> and

          -<u>šwa</u> (burn, new) we take the Hurutshe form

          -<u>šwa</u> (< B. -<u>pya</u>);

(ii)    from the series -psha, -pšha, -pya, -tšha

        and -tšhwa (dry up) we take the Hurutshe

        form -tšhwa (< B. -pwa);

(iii)   from the series leswê and lešwê (dirt)

        we take the Hurutshe form lešwê (< *li-pwe);

(iv)    from the series sefsêfsê, sefšefšê, sefvêfvê,

        sešešê and sešwêšwê (flower) we take the

        Hurutshe form sešwêšwê (< *ki-pwepwe);

(v)     from the series mpsa, mpša, mpya, ntša and

        ntšwa (dog) we take the Hurutshe form

        ntšwa (< B. -mbwa);

(vi)    from the series phokobjê, phokobyê, phokojê

        and phokojwê (jackal) we take the Hurutshe

        form phokojwê;

(vii)   from the series lebjê, lebyê, lejê, lentswê,

        lentšwê and lejwê (stone) we take both the

        Hurutshe forms lentšwê (hill, mountain) and

        lejwê (stone) (B. li-mbwe);

(viii) from the series mpshê, mpshe, mpyhê, ntšhê

        and ntšhwê (ostrich) we take the Hurutshe

        form ntšhwê (phon. ntʃhwɛ) (< B. mpwe);

(ix)    from the series mpshê, mpšhê, mpyhê, ntšhê

        and ntšhwê (sweet reed ) we take the Hurutshe

        form ntšhwê (phon. ntʃhwɛ) (< B. mpwe);

(x)     from the series sepshê, sepšhê, sepyhê, setšhê

        and setshwê (stamina) we take the Hurutshe

        form setšhwê (phon. setʃhwɛ) (< *ki-mpwe);

(xi)    from the series -pshatla, -p̌shatla, pyhatla
        and -t̆shwètla (crush) we take the Hurutshe
        form -t̆shwêtla (phon. -tʃhwêtl'a).

4.29    In the same way as we have done in paragraph
above we shall give a few more examples:

B.    -ywala (sow)  >  Hurutshe  -jwala (sow, plant);

B.    -vû-ala (dress)  >  Hurutshe  -tswala (dress,
      especially round the loins);

B.    -pû-ana (resemble)  >  Hurutshe  -tshwana
      (resemble).

B.    -pû-ata or  -yipata (seize)  >  Hurutshe -tshwara
      (seize);

B.    li-papu or li-kwapu (lung)  >  Hurutshe
      letshwafo or lekgwafo.

Therefore,

(i)     from the series -bjala, -byala, -jala and
        -jwala (sow, plant) we take the Hurutshe
        form -jwala (< B. -ywala);

(ii)    from the series -t̆swala and -tswala (dress)
        we take the Hurutshe form -tswala
        (< B. -ẙwala);

(iii)   from -t̆shwana and -tshwana (resemble)
        we take the Hurutshe form -tshwana
        (< B. -pŵana);

(iv)    from -t̆shwara and -tshwara (seize) we
        take the Hurutshe form -tshwara (< B.-pŵana);

(v)    from <u>letšhwafo</u>, <u>letshwafo</u> and <u>lekgwafo</u>
        (lung) we take both the Hurutshe forms
        <u>letshwafo</u> (< B. <u>li-papu</u>) and <u>lekgwafo</u>
        (< *<u>li-kwapu</u>).

(vi)   from the series <u>bjalwa</u>, <u>bvalwa</u>, <u>jwala</u> and
        <u>bojalwa</u> (beer) (< B. <u>vu-yalwa</u>) we take
        <u>bojalwa</u>.  Moloto recommends <u>jwala</u>; but
        although both forms <u>jwala</u> and <u>bojalwa</u>
        occur in Hurutshe we recommend the form
        <u>bojalwa</u> (because it retains the final
        syllable -<u>lwa</u> of the B. root -<u>yalwa</u>.

4.30        In the formation of passive forms of certain
verb stems we have noticed in Chapter 2 that

B.    -<u>tovwa</u> (< -<u>toya</u>)  >  Hurutshe  -<u>rôjwa</u> (< -<u>rôba</u>)
            (be broken);

B.    -<u>yumbwa</u> (< -<u>yumba</u>)  >  Hurutshe -<u>botšwa</u>
            (< -<u>bopa</u> (be moulded);

B.    -<u>yikampwa</u> (< -<u>yikampa</u>) > Hurutshe -<u>kgatšhwa</u>
            (< -<u>kgapha</u>) (be smeared with cow
            dung, be waved aside);

B.    -<u>pampwa</u> (< -<u>pampa</u>) > Hurutshe -<u>fatšhwa</u>
            (< -<u>fapha</u>) (be cut lengthwise, e.g.
            wood).

In such cases we take typical Hurutshe forms, for
example, -<u>rôjwa</u>, and not -<u>rôbjwa</u>, -<u>rôbja</u>, -<u>robywa</u> or
-<u>rôbya</u>; -<u>botšwa</u>, and not -<u>bopsa</u>, -<u>bopša</u>, -<u>bopswa</u> and
-<u>bopšwa</u>.  As we have already pointed out (see par.4.15)
the long passive form of the verb stem with the suffix
-<u>iwa</u>, for example, -<u>rôbiwa</u> and -<u>bopiwa</u> should be re-
tained also.  In fact Hurutshe prefers this long form

in many cases, for example,

> -bêsiwa (be put on fire) < -bêsa,
>
> -fisiwa (be burnt) < -fisa,
>
> -lesiwa (be let loose) < -lesa.

Moloto also recommends it to avoid contracted forms which result in variant dialectal forms. (See par. 4.15).

4.31    In the formation of diminutive forms of certain nouns we have noticed in Chapter 2 that

> B.  -nguvwana (< -nguyo) > Hurutshe kojwana
>
>     (small blanket) < kobô;
>
> B.  -ki-lembŷana (< -ki-lembe) > Hurutshe
>
>     selêtswana (small axe) < selêpê;
>
> B.  mu-tapŷana (< mu-tape) > Hurutshe moratshwana
>
>     (small tribe) < morafe;
>
> B.  mu-kumbwana (< mu-kumbu) > Hurutshe
>
>     mogotšwana (small wooden eating vesel)
>
>     < mogopo.

In such cases we take typical Hurutshe forms, for example,

> kojwana, and not kobjana, kobyana or kojana;
>
> selêtswana, and not selêpsana, selêpšana or
>
> selêtšwana;
>
> mogotšwana, and not mogopsana, mogopšana,
>
> mogopswana, mogopšwana or mogotswana.

4.32    The Hurutshe forms given in paragraphs above are the same as those recommended by Moloto. It is not necessary, therefore, to resort to selectivism or any other formula in deciding which forms should be

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accepted for literary Tswana as he does. Typical
Hurutshe offers the best solution which can make
standardization of Tswana orthography very easy.

4.33     We wish to comment briefly on the sound
represented by j [dʒ]. Moloto recommends that when
it is preceded by a nasal sound, for example, the
objectival concord, 1st person, singular, n-, it should
be written tš because it is now voiceless as a result
of this nasal sound,[36) for example, -ntša (eat me)
and -ntšêla (eat for me), instead of -nja [-ndʒa] and
-njêla [-ndʒɛla] respectively. According to my findings
in Hurutshe and Ngwaketse, however, the sound j remains
unchanged normally even in this case. It is true, as
we have already pointed out (see par.3.38) that the
pronunciation of this sound, [dʒ], varies in different
dialects. In fact in some dialects, for example, Kgatla
of Hammanskraal district, it does not exist even without
the nasal, its place being taken by tš [tʃ'], for example,
    lebêtšana [lèbètʃ'ánà] instead of
    lebêjana [lèbèdʒánà] (< B. li-yelyana)
    < lebêlê (plant or grain of corn)
                    (< B. li-yele).
Variations in pronunciation occur even in one and the
same dialect, for example, the form ntšwa (dog) is
sometimes heard pronounced as njwa [ndʒwá] (< B. mbwa)
among some Hurutshe speakers, which, of course, is how
it should be pronounced if it was not because of the
nasal, as for example,
    -rôjwa [-ròdʒwà] < -rôba (break) (< B. -toywa
                    < -toya).

––––––––––––––––––––––
36.  Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.30 (iii).

Therefore, since the sound j in -ja [-dʒá] (eat)
(< B. -lia) remains unchanged in -nja [-ñdʒá] and
-njêla [-ñdʒélà] in Hurutshe· which
we take as our basic dialect, we feel that it should
be retained in standard written Tswana even when it is
preceded by a nasal sound. We say so because it is
heard among some speakers of Tswana. It is for this
reason, we presume, that Cole employs it even when
preceded by a nasal sound. Another reason is that
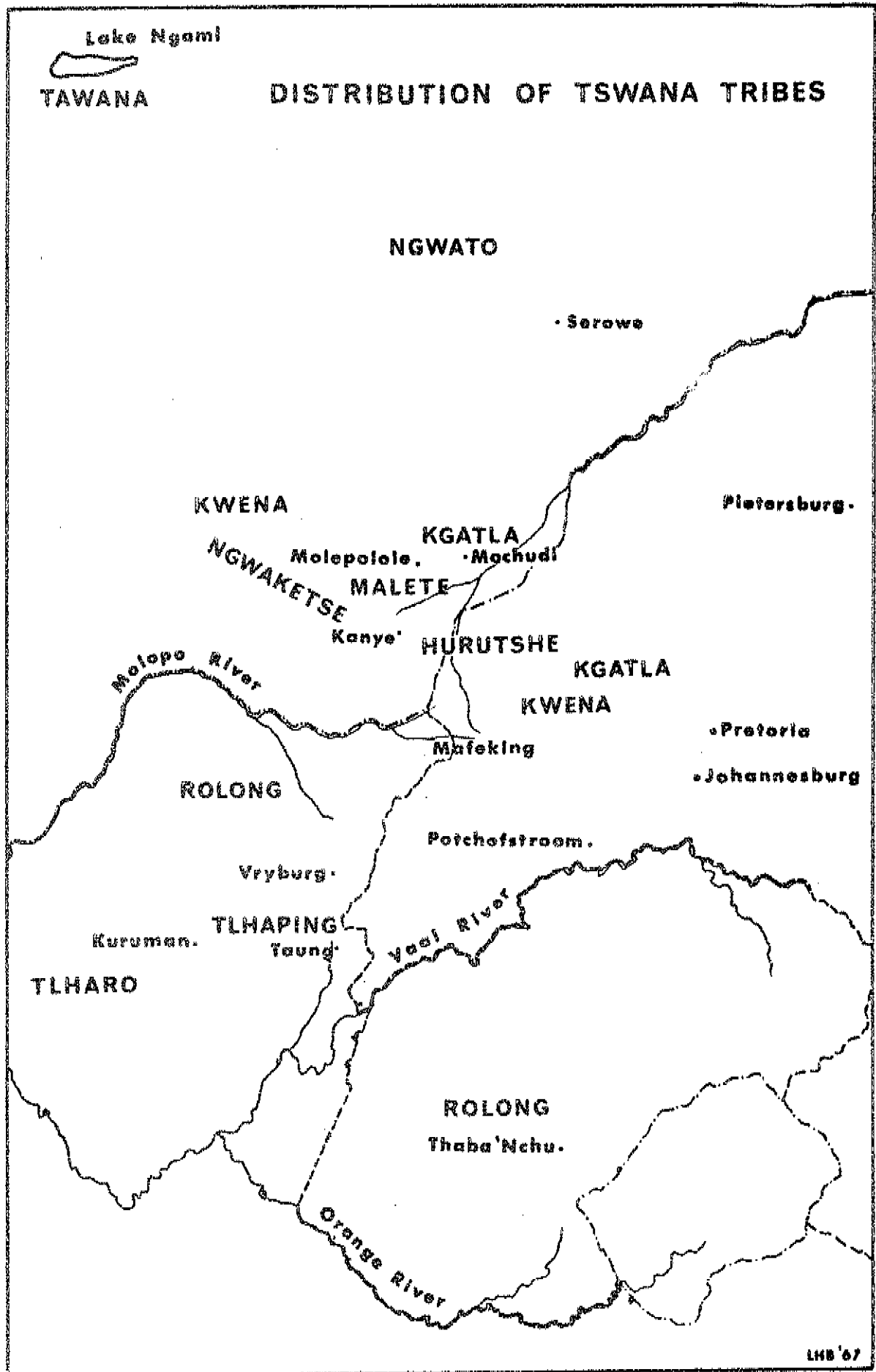writers have come to accept it as standard.

4.34      We accept the form jô [dʒó] demonstrative
for class 14, and not bô [bó], because jô is the
Hurutshe form. Similarly we accept jwa- [dʒwa-]
(< B. -ywa), possessive concord for class 14, and not
ba- or ja-; and lwa- possessive concord for class 11
and not la-.

4.35      Regarding the problem of word-division we
accept the disjunctive system, as Moloto does, simply
because it has long been followed in Tswana. We admit
that this is conservatism.      But an orthography is
a matter of convention. What is important is that the
disjunctive system must be applied consistently.

4.36      In conclusion we wish to record our appre-
ciation of Moloto's well-considered suggestions and
recommendations. Although we differ from his approach,
we admit that his work is not only thought-provoking
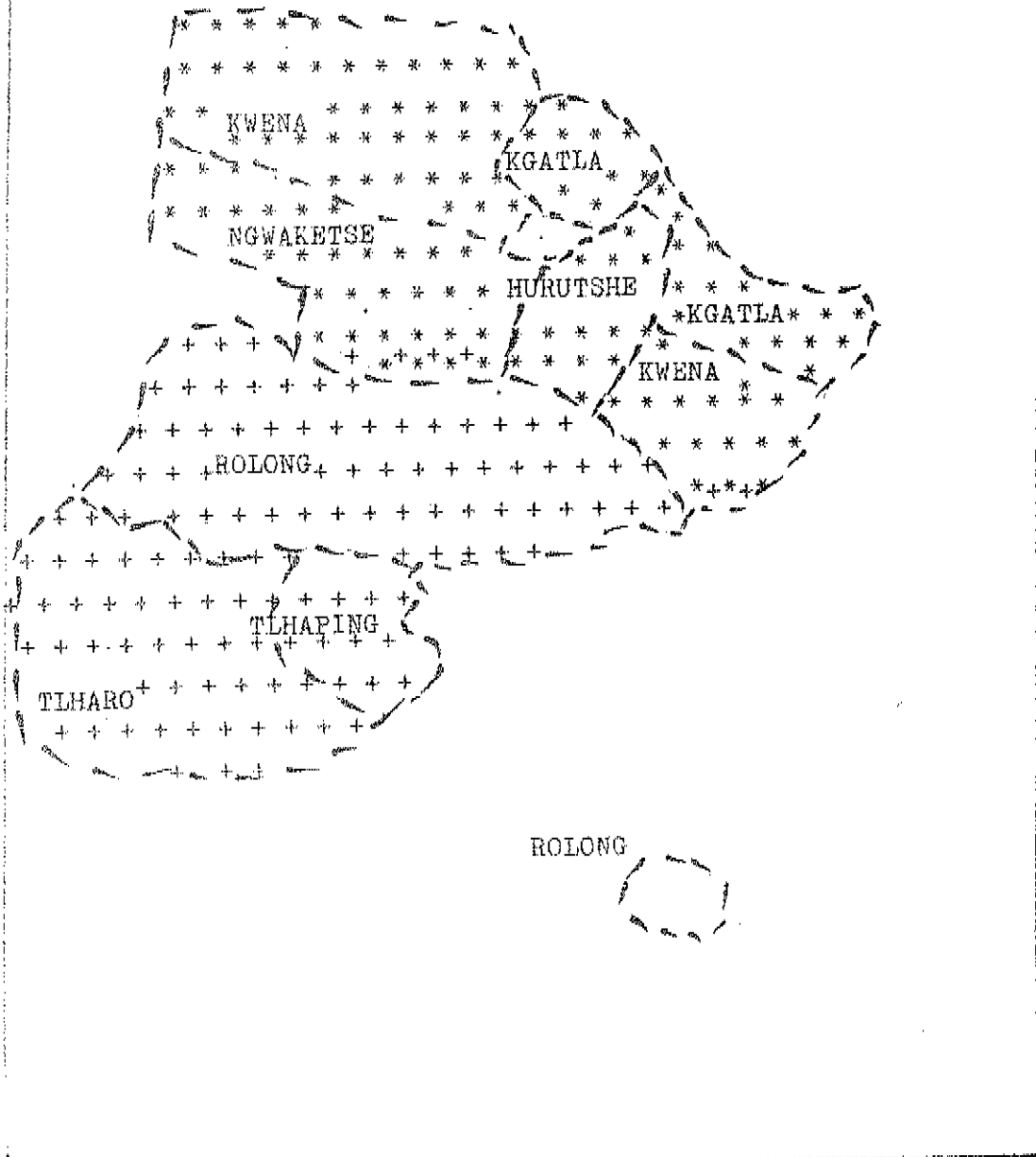but it is also commendable.

APPENDIX

Maps showing the Distribution of Tswana
Tribes and Dialects.

DISTRIBUTION OF TSWANA TRIBES

Lake Ngami

TAWANA

NGWATO

·Serowe

KWENA

NGWAKETSE

KGATLA

Molepolole,     ·Mochudi

MALETE

Pietersburg.

Kanye·     HURUTSHE

KGATLA

KWENA

Molopo River

Mafeking

·Pretoria

·Johannesburg

ROLONG

Potchefstroom.

Vryburg·

TLHAPING

Vaal River

Kuruman.     Taung·

TLHARO

ROLONG

Thaba'Nchu.

Orange River

LHB'67

Map No. 1

TAWANA

NGWATO

KWENA

KGATLA

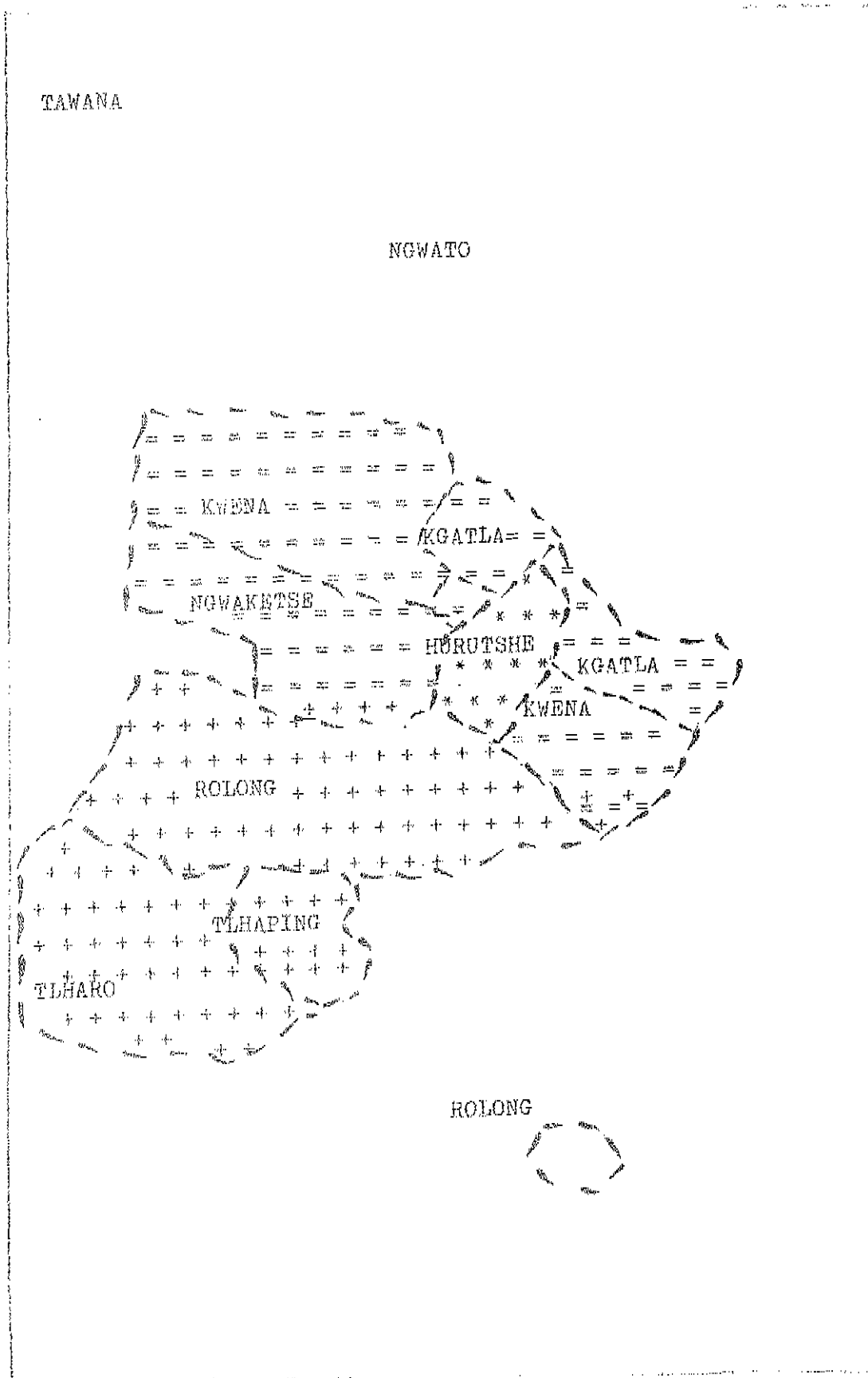NGWAKETSE

HURUTSHE

KGATLA

KWENA

ROLONG

TLHAPING

TLHARO

ROLONG

Map 2 showing the distribution of [s]/[ʃ], [ts']/[tʃ'], [tsh]/[tʃh] before [ɔ], [o], [u] and [w] respectively, as in [sɔná]/[ʃɔná] (it), [lòsó]/[lòʃó] (death), [bòsùlá]/[bòʃùlá] (bad), [-swá]/[-ʃwá] (die), [tsʼɔná]/[tʃʼɔná] (they), [-tsʼómà]/[-tʃʼómà] (hunt), [-tsʼùbùtlʼà]/[-tʃʼùbùtlʼà] (shake violently), [-tswʼà]/[-tʃwʼà] (come out), [pʼóntshɔ̀]/[pʼóɲtʃhɔ̀] (show), [-tshòxà]/[-tʃhòxà] (be frightened), [tshúkʼúlù]/[tʃhúkʼúlù] (rhinoceros), [-tshwárà]/[-tʃhwárà] (seize).

\* \* \* : [s], [ts'], [tsh]

+ + + : [ʃ], [tʃ'], [tʃh]

TAWANA

NGWATO



KWENA

KGATLA

NGWAKETSE

HURUTSHE

KGATLA

KWENA

ROLONG

TLHAPING

TLHARO

ROLONG

Map 3 showing the distribution of [tʃhw]/[psh/pʃh]/[tʃh]
as in [n̩tʃhwé]/[m̩pshé/m̩pʃhé]/[n̩tʃhé] (ostrich), [n̩tʃhwè]/
[m̩pshè/m̩pʃhè]/[n̩tʃhè] (sweet-reed), [sètʃhwé]/[sèpshé/sepʃhé]/
[sètʃhé] (stamina).

\* \* \* : [tʃhw]

= = = : [psh/pʃh]

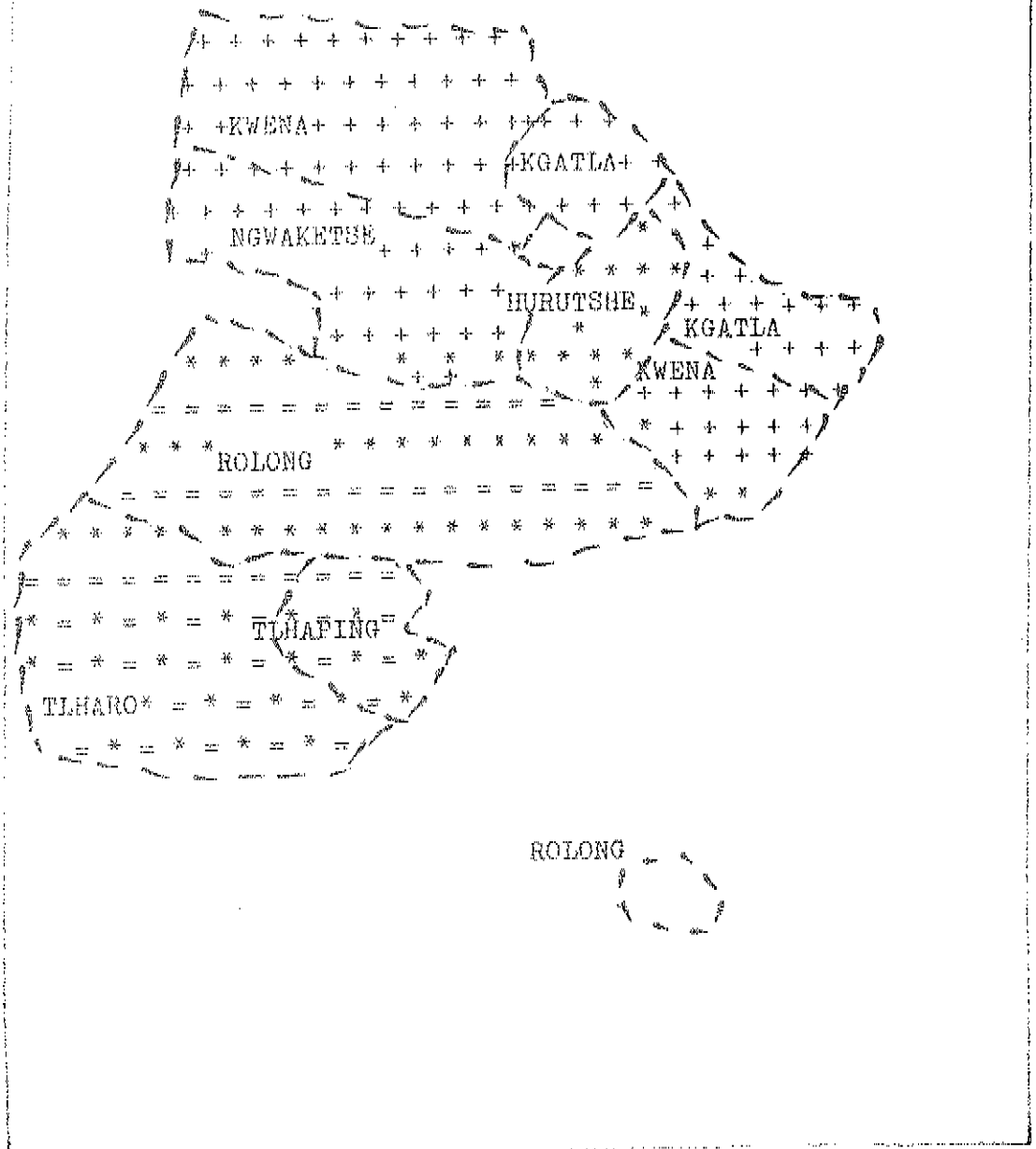+ + + : [tʃ]

TAWANA

NGWATO



Map 4 showing the distribution of [dʒ]/[tʃ'] as in
[-dʒá]/[-tʃ'á](oat), [m̀mèdʒànà]/[m̀mètʃ'ànà] diminutive of
[m̀mèlè] (body).

* * * : [dʒ]
+ + + : [tʃ']

Map 5 showing the distribution of [dʒw]/[dʒ]/[bz] as in
[-dʒwálà]/[-dʒálà]/[-bzálà] (sow), [k'òdʒwànà]/[k'òdʒànà]/
[k'òbzànà] diminutive of [k'òbò] (blanket), [-ròdʒwà]/
[-ròbzà] passive of [-ròbà] (break).
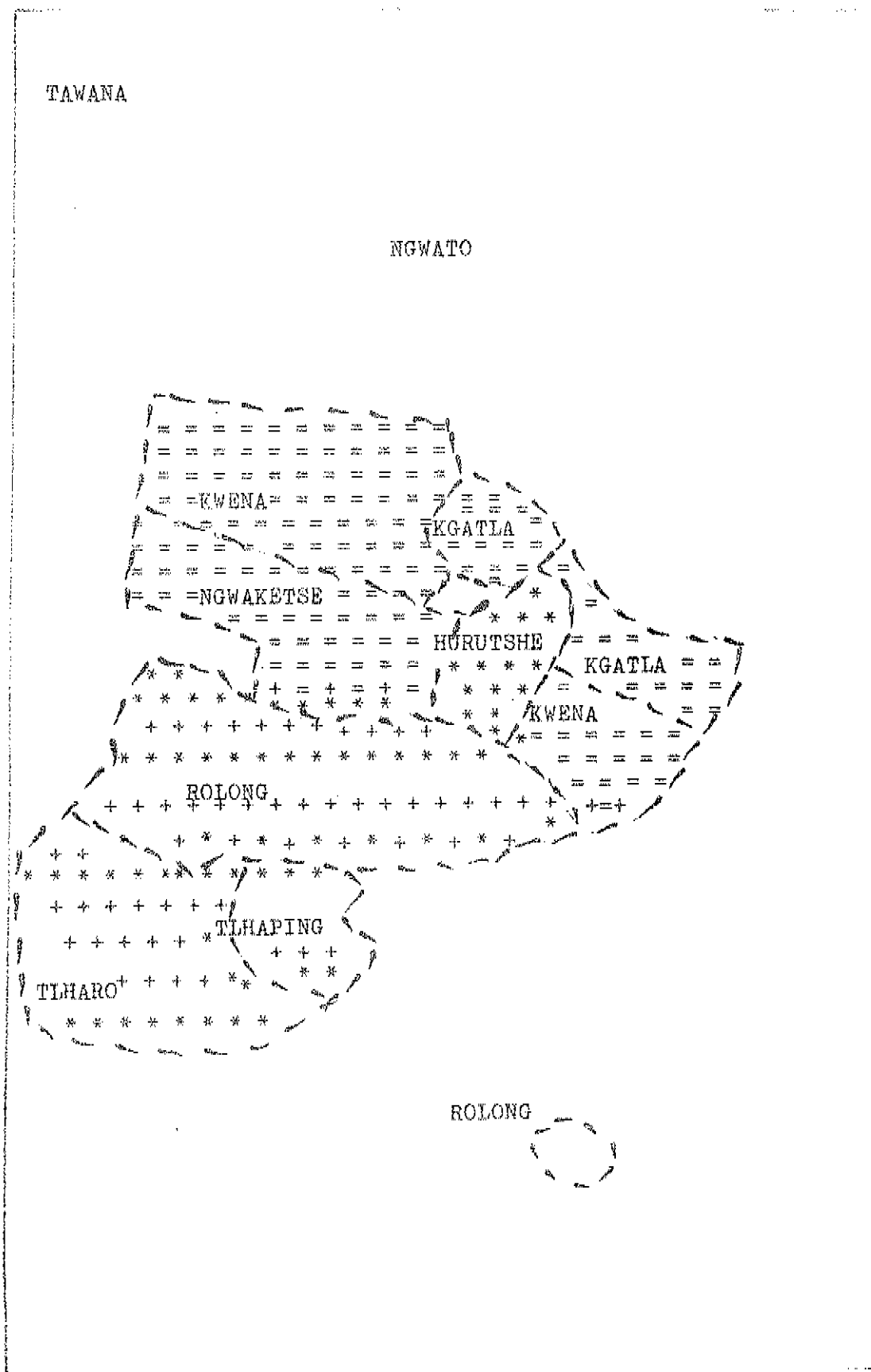
\* \* \* : [dʒw]

= = = : [dʒ]

+ + + : [bz]

Map 6 showing the distribution of [ʃw]/[ʃ]/[Φs/Φʃ] as in
[-ʃwá]/[-ʃá]/[-Φsá/-Φʃá] (burn, new).

\* \* \* : [ʃw]

+ + + : [ʃ]

= = = : [Φs/Φʃ]

TAWANA

NGWATO



Map 7 showing the distribution of [tʃw'ʲ]/[tʃ'ʲ]/[ps'/pʃ'],
[tʃhw]/[tʃh]/[psh/pʃh] as in [ɲtʃw'á]/[ɲtʃ'á]/[m̥ps'á/m̥pʃ'á]
(dog), [-bótʃw'à]/[-bóps'à/-bópʃ'à] passive of [-bóp'à]
(mould), [-tʃhwá]/[-tʃhá]/[-pshá/-pʃhá] (dry up, as water).

\* \* \* : [tʃw'ʲ], [tʃhw]

+ + + : [tʃ'ʲ], [tʃh]
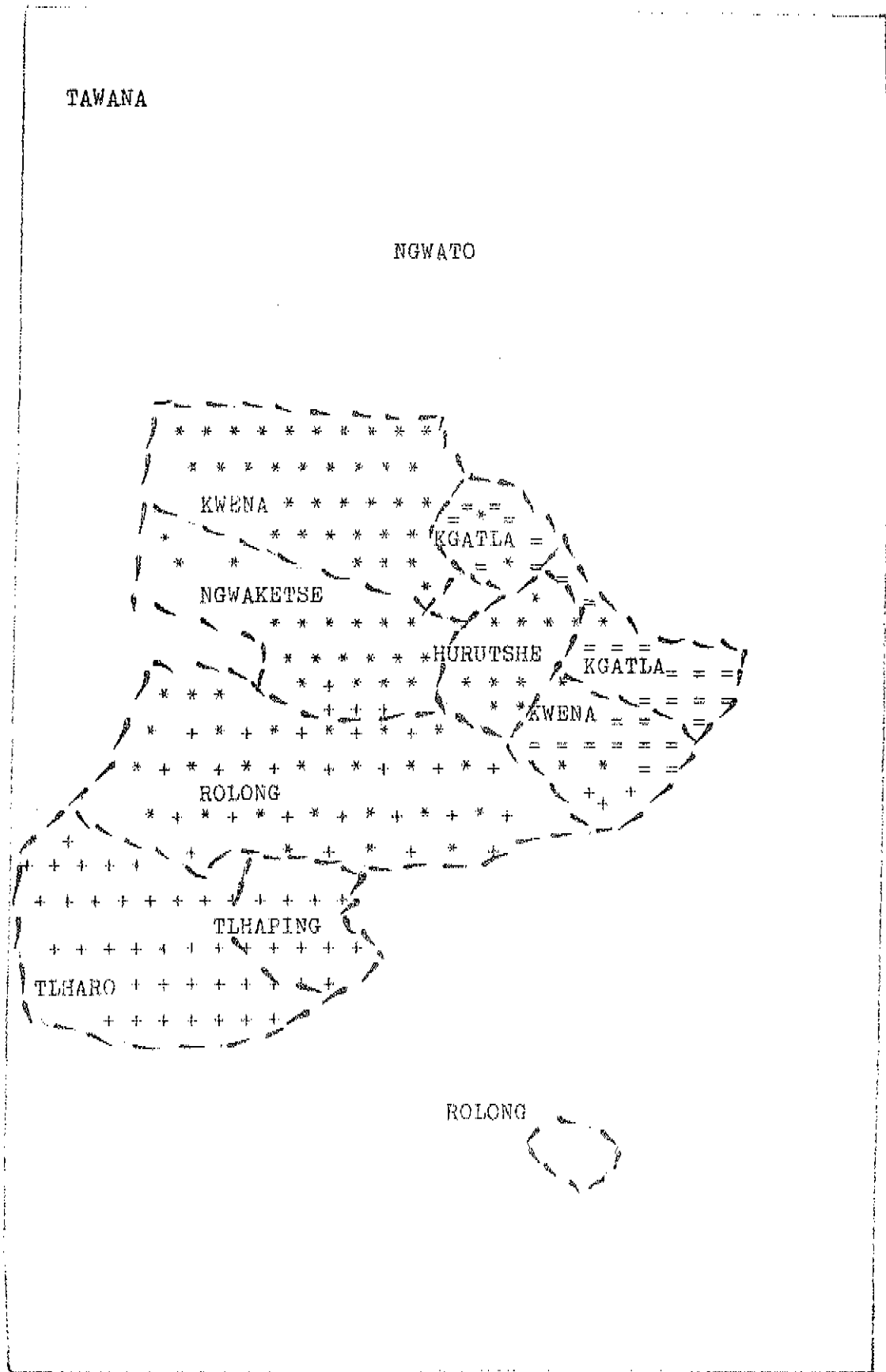
= = = : [ps'/pʃ'], [psh/pʃh]

TAWANA

ŇGWATU



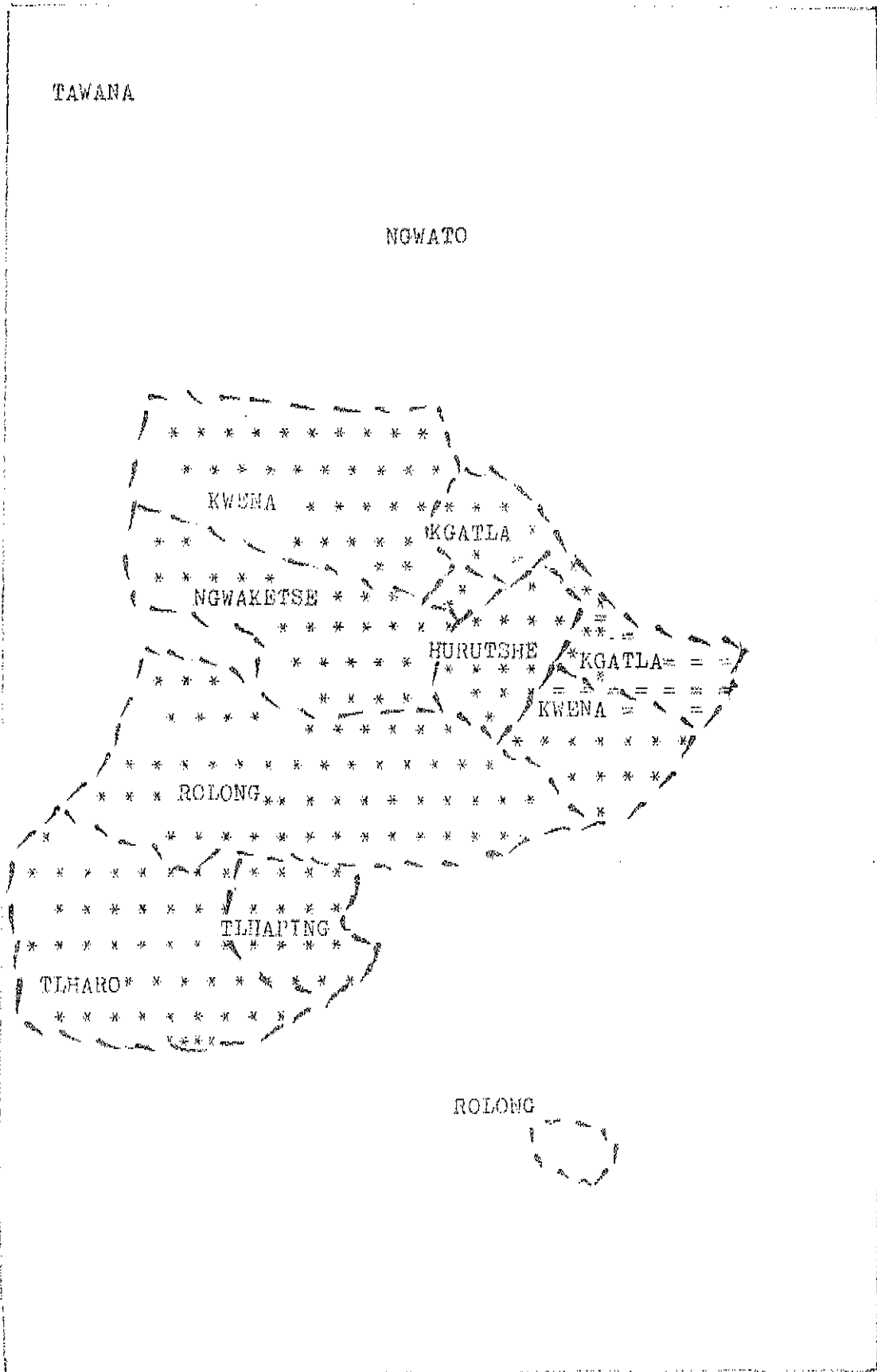Map 8 showing the distribution of [x]/[h], [xw]/[hw],
[kxh]/[kh], [kxhw]/[khw] as in [-xóxà]/[-hóhà] (pull),
[-xwàht'à]/[-hwàht'à] (walk briskly), [kxhǫmó]/[khǫmó]
(cow), [sèkxhwámà]/[sèkhwámà] (purse).

* * * : [x], [xw], [kxh], [kxhw]

= = = : [h], [hw], [kh], [khw]

Map 9 showing the distribution of [Φ]/[f]/[h] as in
[lèΦìΦì]/[lèfìfì]/[lèhìhì] (darkness).

* * * : [Φ]

= = = : [f]

+ + + : [h]

TAWANA

NGWATO



Map 10 showing the distribution of [s]/[ʃ], [ts']/[tʃ'],
[tsh]/[tʃh] before [i], as in [mòsí]/[mòʃí] (smoke),
[ts'lὲ]/[tʃ'lὲ] (locust), [mòtshltshí]/[mòtʃhltʃhí] (swarm
of bees).

\* \* \* : [s], [ts'], [tsh]

= = = : [ʃ], [tʃ'], [tʃh]

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