

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
MUSANDA LANGUAGE IN VENḂA: A DIGLOSSIA

by

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SUMMARY

The musanda language is spoken by the members of the royalty in Venda, who form part of the Venda nation as a whole, and hold the ruling power. Besides learning the musanda language, which is their first language, they also use the Venda language with the majority of the Venda nation. The use of both languages gives them an opportunity to be diglossic.

Diglossia, as expressed in this thesis, refers to the speaking of two languages by the members of the musanda community or anybody who may happen to know both languages. The chief, called vhamusanda, is the central figure in this discussion with special reference to the language used in and around his/her place of residence.

There is uniformity in the musanda language used in all the chief's residences called misanda. The hierarchical structure within the musanda premises affords all groups composing the musanda community to learn the musanda language. The older the members in the musanda community are the more knowledge they have of the language.

The musanda language is learnt informally by the musanda community who uses it on the upper level whereas both Venda and the musanda languages are used on the lower level, making it more diglossic than the upper level.

For many years the musanda community was reluctant to share their language with the majority of the Venda community, who, in this thesis are referred to as commoners. This ended up in depriving the musanda language of becoming the standard language in Venda. The fact that education among the Venda is musanda-centred has helped the Venda community in gaining musanda vocabulary.

The musanda language therefore is a language used for etiquette to show respect for the ruling community. The Venda nation honours their rulers by the use of the musanda language. Although some of the musanda terms have disappeared they nevertheless remain a resistance to borrowing words from other languages. The musanda language as a diglossia remains unique in all the misanda in Venda.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my beloved father ABEL RAVELE N̄EKHAVHAMBE MULAUDZI who died before he could witness the fruit of his encouragement to his only daughter when he said: "Pfunzo ye nda u n̄ea i u thuse vhutshiloni hau ho_λthe" (Let the education that I have given you help you throughout your life).

DECLARATION

I declare that The Significance of the Musanda Language in Venda: A Diglossia is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A. E. Khuba
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A.E. Khuba

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE
IN VENDA: A DIGLOSSIA

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Venda nation is found in the Republic of South Africa, in the northern Transvaal, to the south of the Limpopo River (see Map 1 page 141). There are also some Venda people living north of the Limpopo as verified by the interim report on the 1969 Population Census quoted by Wentzel which

showed that the Venda who then lived to the north of the Limpopo, made up at least 10% of the entire Venda population.

Wentzel (1983:1)

Historically, however, it has been postulated by Dzivhani (1958:14-16) that the Venda, under the first known Venda chief, Dimbanyika, moved southwards from Central Africa and settled in the northern Transvaal, although, as already has been mentioned, a few of them remained north of the Limpopo. Therefore, the majority of the Venda population is now found south of the Limpopo in a place which in 1979 became the Republic of Venda.

The more commonly term used for the language is Tshivenda but in this thesis the word Venda will be used to refer to the people, language, country and culture. The Venda have great respect for hierarchy amongst their nation. They are ruled by chiefs who, by status, are their leaders. These chiefs reside in a royal place called musanda. To show respect and honour for their chiefs, the Venda have a specific language used in and

around the musanda premises. This language, which is referred to as the musanda language, is used primarily by the musanda community members. It may also be used by any person who may through contact with the Venda hierarchy, or who may have learnt this variety somewhere, may then use this language when on the musanda premises. These latter groups will be referred to as commoners in this thesis. Should a commoner who does not know the musanda language at all visit the musanda premises this person will be able to use his/her own language without being reprimanded.

The musanda language is the central concern of this study. The focus will be on a discussion of its significance as a language when it is used by the musanda community in a diglossic manner together with standard Venda. The Venda language has already gained recognition as an existing spoken and written language. The musanda language, on the other hand, is only in its infancy as a written language.

The methodology for this thesis has been based on extrapolating information from the various situations in which the musanda language occurs and from which it can best be gleaned. The aim therefore is to collect as much as possible of the existing musanda vocabulary which can be preserved to serve as a future reference for further studies. The words are noted in an appendix at the end of the thesis. It is realised that it would be possible to include all linguistic aspects such as morphology, semantics, phonology and syntax of the musanda language which would occur in any other language. However, this work is only meant to encompass a preliminary descriptive discussion concerning the significance of the musanda language in Venda.

The methodology embarked upon in order to study the musanda language in its various situations and activities involved interviewing the chief, called Vhamusanda together with his community members in each musanda. Therefore, this study of the musanda language should be seen against a

background of the Venda nation, ruled by the chief, who together with his community, use the musanda language to show their status as distinct from that of the rest of the Venda people. The Venda chiefs are respected by the whole Venda nation and culturally the harmonious tribal life depends on co-operation between the chiefs and their followers.

While the Venda language is acknowledged as being homogeneous it has various dialects which are:

Tshiilafuri, which is Western Venda characterised by traces of influence from the Sotho language and which is spoken between Luonde and Lwamondo, including Sinthumule, Kutama and Nzhelele. The people are known as Vhailafuri.

Tshironga spoken by the Vharonga towards the southern part of Venda in the geographically level areas south of the mountains around Tshikonelo and Tshimbupfe.

Tshitavhatsindi also known as Tshilembethu in the north-eastern boundaries of Venda which is influenced by the neighbouring Karanga of Zimbabwe, and which is spoken in the areas of Thengwe (see Map 2 page 142).

Referring to this Lembethu dialect Wentzel states that

This dialect of which remnants are today still found on both sides of the Limpopo, belongs to one of the oldest Shona groups that arrived to the South of the Zambezi.

Wentzel (1983:40)

Tshimanda used in Central Venda and which is characterised by the elision of the liquid consonant [l] is spoken around Mphaphuli and Tshivhasa. The particular variety of Venda spoken in these areas became the standard

Venda dialect as promulgated by the missionaries ostensibly because it had not been influenced by other languages and hence was considered to be the purest variety.

Unlike Venda, the musanda language has no dialects and remains unique in all the misanda (class 4) plural of musanda (class 3) in Venda. Different chiefs speak different Venda dialects but their musanda language cuts across and remains unique in all the misanda.

At this juncture, however, it is necessary to define a number of terms before proceeding with the discussion itself. These terms are defined in this thesis for a better understanding of what they really mean as applied in this thesis. The terms to be defined are musanda, language and diglossia.

1.1 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.1.1 MUSANDA

Musanda is the chief's place of abode which is usually built on the highest point in that particular chief's area. Musanda is a defined permanent centre, the place for all politics and administration in which the chief is always supposed to be found because culturally

ngwena a i bvi tivhani, 'the crocodile
does not come out of the pool'
Van Warmelo (1971:357)

This is an idiomatic expression which means that the chief is always at musanda(3/4). Therefore, should any visitor arrive at musanda and would like to know where the chief is the answer would be given by the musanda member in the form of the above idiomatic expression.

The chief is kept away from the commoners who may only see him with his consent. He can remain invisible to the people at the musanda for long periods such as when he is ill. This also makes it possible to keep his death a secret. This secret can be kept until any possible infighting over the succession has been settled.

Musanda is an interesting place which comprises various levels of habitation and is by far the largest settlement in Venda and at the same time the royal residence and the political centre of the community.

The buildings at the musanda consist of the pfamo(9/10) which is the largest in the whole musanda, with its kitchen tshamudane(7/8), specifically built for the preparation of the chief's food. Together with the store house, mutaladzhadzi(3/4), these buildings lie on the upper level in the musanda area.

On the lower level are the wives' houses with their respective kitchens facing them. The meeting place is the two-doored council chamber. Around these building structures are high palisades surrounding the yards of individual huts with many little stairways and narrow winding streets stabilised by numerous terraces faced with stone. In and around these buildings is where the musanda language is spoken. All these aspects will be discussed in detail in this thesis.

1.1.2 LANGUAGE

Language is a person's most distinctive attribute by means of which the person's environment, culture and philosophy become meaningful. A child is born helpless in comparison to newly born animals which are able to stand on their own feet within a few minutes after birth, and can run behind their mothers within a few hours. The human infant on the other hand, although dependent on others, is blessed with the capacity to learn a language, the

study of which is our concern in this thesis.

Like other subjects the study of language is partly empirical and partly theoretical. The armchair approach to the study of language can be productive, whether it is based on facts collected in a systematic way as part of research or simply as one's own experience. It allows the beginnings of an analytical framework to be worked out, containing a body of knowledge and rules and actual utterances. On the other hand personal experience is a rich source of information on language in relation to society.

Language is a social form of behaviour both as a means of communication and as a way of identifying social groups. Studying language with reference to the society which uses it includes the possibility of finding social explanations for the linguistic structures that are used. Therefore in studying language from any point of view, the social context of its subject matter ought to be taken into account.

It is immaterial to a child, irrespective of colour, what language it learns for it learns the language presented to it by its respective community. The vocabulary of the particular language(s) used by that community in that environment is automatically assimilated by the child. In order to realise the capacity of the acquisition of the patterns of a language, the child ought to internalise that language. The active presence of an appropriate language environment is conducive to the proper learning and performance of the language per se.

According to Anne and Peter Doughty

Every child is born with the capacity
to learn language and to use the
language so acquired in order to
make sense of the world into which
it is born

Doughty & Doughty (1974:17)

The adult with an experience of the environment and community has a good knowledge of a wide range of contexts. From the adult's daily speech the child picks up the language in which it, in turn, tries to express itself in a meaningful way. Throughout this language learning situation, the child actually learns the sounds of a language. The meanings attached to the sounds of a language are of great importance and the meaning of the language activity in its entirety thereafter becomes accessible.

In this learning situation, the child then starts to make sense out of a whole series of related activities through imitation, repetition and demonstration. Therefore, language learning proves to be a complex social activity and it is amazing to realise the great success with which the child comes to terms with this complexity.

1.1.3 LANGUAGE LEARNING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE

Language, with specific reference to the musanda language, is the major theme in this thesis. This includes the learning of the language in context which is provided by the musanda community into which the child is born. Labov in this connection states that

Language is an instrument used by members of the community to communicate with one another.

Labov (1972:277)

This definition also applies to the musanda language which is used by the members of the musanda community as an instrument of communication amongst themselves. There is an enormous volume of information about the world, creatures, people and their actions and all other things, which is presented to the musanda child in its early years by the members of the musanda community. From this, the child learns to take what is needed to

build up the complex pattern of meaning in both the languages to which it is exposed.

Anne and Peter Doughty state that

Parallel with this process of making 'meanings' out of the information provided by his experience, and intimately bound up with it, the child has been using his capacity to learn language.

Doughty & Doughty (1974:23)

Language learning and experiences, therefore, occur situation by situation. At the musanda various situations bring about their particular vocabulary, as well as the demand for language learning to suit every situation to which the language is exposed. For the musanda child this involves contact with people in the musanda community and the language appropriate for that situation. The words in the musanda language, which are frequently used in any situation, survive the dynamic growth of this language, and the less frequently used words are apt to be forgotten.

To learn the use of language correctly the child is exposed to and participates in numerous social activities in the musanda community. It is not only the child who learns the language used in an existing situation, but also everybody in the musanda community. So, this process of learning knows no end, as long as situations keep on presenting themselves.

In this language learning situation at musanda, the adult has a formidable task of transmitting the language norms, culture and philosophy to the younger generation, using the musanda language as the instrument of socialisation, in which the child is turned into a fully competent member of the musanda community. The Doughtys state that

Language and experience are both necessary products of the individual's life as a member of a human community.

Doughty & Doughty (1974:25)

In line with this, Hudson says

A good deal of culture is transmitted verbally.

Hudson (1980:99)

In other words, the language that a child learns is closely related to the concepts learnt as part of the socialisation process. What then is the relationship of language to culture? Following the definition by Hudson that culture might be taken to be

socially acquired knowledge,
Hudson (1980:76)

language therefore has an influence upon the concepts which it reflects and vice versa. For a musanda adult to express and imprint on the younger generation, for example, the word pfamo (9/10), meaning the chief's house, would be one of the functions of language. In this thesis the international class prefix numbering is used and will be given after each noun. For the noun in the singular both singular and plural noun classes will be given. For the noun in the plural only the plural class will be given.

Hudson further identifies three kinds of knowledge:

- (i) Cultural knowledge which is learned from other people;
- (ii) shared non-cultural knowledge which is shared by people within the same community or the world over, but is not learned from each other; and
- (iii) non-shared non-cultural knowledge - which is unique to the individual.

Hudson (1980:77)

This cultural knowledge is transmitted through language, and the meaning of a linguistic item as a concept, together with its associated cultural knowledge, is its sense. This sense of the item can be identified with the concept that that particular item expresses.

For instance, the sense in the musanda word tsika (9/10) 'wirebeater' is the concept 'create' derived from the verb stem -sika 'create' or 'make'. The anthropologist Malinowski as quoted by the Doughtys remarked that

Language is the link in concerted
human activity
Doughty & Doughty (1974:32)

In this remark Malinowski requires focus of minds upon one aspect of community, that human beings' activities are socially possible because of language.

Seen in this light, the musanda language is viewed as a powerful and versatile medium of communication in the musanda community. All known human groups are blessed with the possession of a language, and the musanda community is no exception. The oral system in the musanda language can also refer to a variety of objects and concepts. This brings us to the understanding that its verbal interaction is a social process in which utterances are related in accordance with the socially recognised norms and expectations.

1.1.4 MUSANDA, A SPEECH COMMUNITY

The social function of the musanda language is not confined to the more apparent forms of activities like ploughing the chief's field dzunde (5/6), or participating in the initiation schools, but also embraces the collective action that expresses their shared feeling with each other, as in the worship ceremony of thevhula (9/10). For the musanda community to share its

belief during the thevhula function, the members should share a body of knowledge and common experience which they do not share with anyone else outside their community. Within this musanda community there is a sharing in activities through the use of the musanda language. Thus the musanda community constitutes a speech community.

A speech community as defined by Gumperz is

groups of any permanence, be they small bands bounded by face-to-face contact, modern nations divisible into smaller subregions, or even occupational associations or neighbourhood gangs,

Gumperz (1972:219)

provided they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study. He goes further to state that

the verbal behavior of such communities should always constitute a system. It must be based on finite sets of grammatical rules that underline the production of well formed sentences, or else messages will not be intelligible.

Ibid (1972:219)

In the light of the above quotation the musanda language is taught and transmitted to the younger generation by the older generation who linguistically continue to supervise the younger generation. As grammatical rules define the bounds of what is linguistically accepted, we are able for example to identify the difference in the following musanda and Venda sentences:

- Mus: Mutanuni u hwedza tshingwana tshinaruni.
 Tshingwana i tshi pembela a sika malinga.
- Ven: Mutanuni u vhea khali tshivhasoni.
- Eng: The mutanuni puts the clay pot on the fire.
 When the water boils she cooks food.

The linguistic phenomena in the musanda language, as exemplified by the above sentences, is analysed in this thesis both within the context of the language usage itself and within the context of the musanda social behaviour. This analysis is conducted by means of activities that happen at musanda and the appropriate musanda language employed. Therefore in this thesis the activities such as those associated with the social structures are discussed in Chapter 2, the building structures are discussed in Chapter 3 and finally those associated with marriage, initiation schools, death and burial are discussed in Chapter 4.

1.1.5 DIGLOSSIA

In this thesis diglossia will be used to refer to two or more varieties of Venda used by speakers under different spheres within the Venda speech community. The term 'diglossia' was first used by Charles Ferguson (1959) in order to describe the situation found in places like Greece, the Arabic-speaking world in general, German-speaking Switzerland and the island of Haiti.

In all these societies there are two distinct varieties, sufficiently different from one another to be classed as separate languages; one is used only on formal and public occasions while the other is used by everybody under normal circumstances. In Venda, an example which might be cited is the Venda language which is used by everybody and the musanda language which is only used by the Venda royalty i.e. the musanda community. The

musanda language is the variety used in and around the musanda premises, and it revolves around the chief. If the chief goes on any of his official visits, the musanda language variety will go with him i.e. be used in his presence.

The relationship between Venda and the musanda language exists in the use of related expressions as seen from the following analysis:

Ven: Muselwa / u ka / madi / tshisimani.
Mus: Mutanuni / u dzhia / madzivha / madzivhani, or
Mutanuni / u thepha / lushika / madzivhani, or
Mutanuni / u tswa / lushika / madzivhani.
Eng: The mutanuni/ fetches / water / from a well/spring.

The syntactic structure of the above sentence can therefore be set out as:

Subject	-	<u>Muselwa</u>
		<u>Mutanuni</u>
Predicate	-	<u>u ka</u> / <u>u dzhia</u> / <u>u thepha</u> / <u>u tswa</u>
Object	-	<u>madi</u>
		<u>Madzivha</u>
		<u>lushika</u>
Descriptive	-	<u>tshisimani</u>
		<u>madzivhani</u>

The above examples in Venda and the musanda language variety are sufficiently related and can be used in a diglossic situation. Morphologically they are the same but the lexical items in the sentences are different.

The musanda language variety is used only by the musanda community or outside the musanda premises in the presence of the chief, whereas Venda is used by everybody including the musanda community members. The

musanda language variety will be referred to as the musanda language in this thesis. This is a relatively stable variety and is only used in the musanda premises by the musanda community members. Its diglossic nature appears when used together with Venda depending upon the situation, the activity and the audience. The phonological rules governing the Venda language are also applied to the musanda language.

The term 'diglossia' in this thesis is modelled on the French word 'diglosie' which means the use of two or more language varieties in any single speech event. Other European languages may use the term bilingualism which in this special situation of Venda and the musanda language cannot possibly be accepted since bilingual means the knowledge of two languages which can be used on varied occasions. Therefore, the musanda community is rather diglossic than bilingual. To cite an example: A person who speaks Venda as opposed to the musanda language in the presence of the chief, shows ignorance of the situation at that particular time. However if the musanda language is used in an informal activity such as shopping it becomes irrelevant and inappropriate.

Fishman confined himself to the following definition for diglossia:

The term diglossia includes any society in which two or more varieties are used under distinct circumstances.

Fishman (1969:102)

In 1959 Ferguson published an article about "Diglossia" in which the concept is used to indicate the phenomenon of functional differentiation. He states that

in many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by speakers under different conditions and situations

(Ferguson 1959:325).

The present study seeks to examine the two varieties, Venda and the musanda language which exist and are used by the Venda nation. In Venda the two varieties, Venda and the musanda language are used in a diglossic way in various situations, each with a definite role to play which will be elaborated throughout this thesis.

Giglioli as quoted by Ferguson after a discussion on the characteristic feature of diglossia defines it thus:

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

Ferguson (1959:336)

Fishman (1968) can be considered the most important scholar who dealt with and analysed the concept diglossia. In a number of articles and other publications, correcting and elaborating the same topic, he gave a description of the relation of diglossia as opposed to bilingualism. On a more micro-sociological level, he gave an important contribution towards the analysis of the circumstances which play a determining role in the selection of the right variety.

Thus Fishman says:

We must seek a means of examining and relating the individual's momentary choices to relatively stable patterns of choice that exist in the multilingual speech community as a whole.

Fishman (1972:440)

The use of a specific variant in any speech community can be restricted to a number of spheres or situations which Fishman calls

domains, defined in terms of situational contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences.

(Op cit:144)

Fishman further states that these include

situations in which individuals interacting in appropriate relationships with each other, in the appropriate locales for these role relationships, and discussing topics appropriate to their role relationships.

(Ibid:144)

The cultural values of each social substructure have an influence on the language choice of either Venda or the musanda language depending on which is appropriate to which specific situation. Rubin, cited by Fishman realised the following variables. These variables which could give an explanation of language selection are:

The relationship between two or more persons involved in conversation. The attributes of either the speaker or the addressee, and the aspect of the situation,
Fishman (1968:514, 515)

These variables are very important in the diglossic situation of the musanda language. The musanda community selects the language to be used to suit the situation to which it is exposed. The speaker in the musanda community is always aware of who the people are who are being addressed in order to apply for his/her language selection.

What is maintained by Hawkins is that

many languages have diglossia in a mild form ... there is no sharp line dividing languages which are said to be diglossic from those which are not, but diglossia is marked by the degree of difference between the two varieties, which affects all linguistic levels simultaneously including orthography, phonology, morphological-inflection, vocabulary and syntax.

Hawkins (1979:170)

Following the above observation by Hawkins, Venda and the musanda language share similar linguistic levels including orthography and vocabulary. Their phonological, morphological and syntactic rules are also the same. Some words have been so totally assimilated into the Venda lexicon that we tend to discredit their origin as being pure musanda words. For instance the noun mufaro(3/4) which means 'basket' at musanda in the standard Venda is tshitundwana. Yet nowadays the noun mufaro is accepted as being totally Venda. Another example that can be given is the verb stem -tswa which in Venda literally means 'steal', and may be applied in the following sentences in both Venda and the musanda language:

- Ven : Vhaselwa vha do tswa madi matshelo.
 Mus : Vhatanuni vha ya u tswa madzivha.
 Eng : The young wives will fetch water (tomorrow).

In both Venda and the musanda language the above sentences have been used in their respective contexts. They therefore do not have exactly the same meaning. The Venda phrase applies to the first day the vhaselwa are allowed to go out, and this must be done very early in the morning; while at musanda it is done daily each time water is fetched. The two senses of the verb -tswa in the Venda and musanda language are applied morphologically and syntactically similarly but related semantically differently. This is because in the Venda example -tswa is used once to refer to the bridesmaids fetching water that specific one morning only, and at the musanda it is broadened to refer to each time water is fetched. This may be referred to as semantic broadening.

Ferguson (1959) in agreement with Gumperz (1964) and Fishman (1971) has pointed out that

diglossic situations may involve two or more languages in cases where, within the same speech community, each language has its own specialized set of functions.

Since Ferguson's article (1959: 325-340), the application of the term diglossia has gained widespread acceptance in describing language situations involving the use of several varieties or languages. Many scholars have since adapted the interpretation of diglossia to suit the language situation they are describing. Therefore the term diglossia is no longer used for speech communities using two varieties of the same language only, but is also used to refer to language situations in which functionally different varieties are employed. This has virtually resulted in the concept of diglossia losing a great deal of its descriptive value due to its multiple interpretability

or even contradictory interpretations.

Pauwels takes the view that

diglossia indicates a language situation in which a speech community recognizes the existence of, and makes use of, two language codes (varieties) ... which have each their own role to play in the speech community.

Pauwels (1986:15)

One of the codes or varieties is usually learnt later in life, but in the case in point the musanda language is learnt simultaneously with the Venda variety by the musanda community. When Pauwels maintains that one variety is learnt normally through instruction at school by the majority of the speech community, it is maintained that the musanda language variety is learnt through instruction at home by the musanda community. In her article, Pauwels could establish different subtypes on the basis of the following criteria:

Size and nature of the speech community displaying diglossic features, e.g. the speech community could comprise a region, a state, a race, an ethnic group, etc.

Pauwels (1986:15)

In Venda the musanda community comprises the chief and all those who stay with him on the musanda premises. Pauwels adds:

If almost the entire speech community learns the variety later in life, one could speak of general diglossia. If this variety is learnt as their first language, the situation could be labelled partial diglossia.

Ibid (1986:15)

The musanda language conforms with the second type, i.e. partial diglossia because the musanda language is learnt as the first language by the musanda community. Another criterion cited by Pauwels is that

If the two language varieties in their linguistic and sociolinguistic relationship are separate languages, we could speak of interlingual diglossia, but if they are varieties of the same language, the term intralingual diglossia could be used.

Op cit (1986:15)

The musanda language and Venda are varieties of the same language. However, the musanda language has been disadvantaged in the loss of some appropriate terms, which were less frequently used, resulting in its giving way to the predominance of Venda, which ended up as the standard language of the whole of Venda. Therefore for the musanda language we are inclined to speak of intralingual diglossia.

Pauwels also notes that

If in their functional relationship there is minimal functional overlapping between the two varieties the term rigid diglossia may be employed, while fluid diglossia would thus refer to a form of diglossia where several functions are less rigidly attached to a particular code.

Ibid (1986:15)

The musanda language in this thesis is more of a rigid diglossia than a fluid diglossia because in their functional application there is overlapping between the two varieties. For instance, morphologically the agreement is the same e.g.:

- Ven : Muselwa u tanzwa khali.
 (the newly married bride washes the pot)
- Mus : Mutanuni u uzwa tshingwana.
 (the chief's wife washes the pot)

The subject concords i.e. u in both instances are in agreement with the subject and

- Ven : U a i tanzwa khali
 (she cleans it the pot)
- Mus : U a i uzwa tshingwana
 (she cleans it the pot)

demonstrate the use of the object concord, i.e. i, in both languages.

In conclusion, therefore, the word 'diglossia' as it stands in this thesis may be defined in line with what is stated in the New Encyclopedia Britannica that in diglossia

two sharply different varieties of the same language are in use under different but well-defined conditions. This special type of bidialectalism, which is quite different from the pervasive phenomenon of register, has been called diglossia. For such situations, it is possible to write a slightly expanded grammar in which the grammatically compatible forms will be correctly selected for the diglossia situation. (1973:270)

This definition describes appropriately the use of this term as it has been applied in this thesis.

1.2 RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND DATA COLLECTION

The data used in compiling this thesis has been collected over a number of years. This research has been conducted mainly during the weekends and school vacations. The researcher has visited most musanda in Venda, only after getting permission to do so from the chiefs themselves. The first informant to supply the researcher with information on the musanda language was an old woman, Vho-Kone Nengovhela, who is a vhomakhadzi(2) i.e. the chief's sister, of the Lwamondo musanda.

The first musanda visited was at Thengwe at Chief Nethengwe's place. A group of old women and men were organised by the chief's son Seth to give information to the researcher. The second musanda visited was Ngwenani where Chief Themeli himself supplied the researcher with the information. He proved to have a rich knowledge of the language.

At the place of Chief Tshikonelo, also known as Matzheka, the themamudi(9/10) or chief's principal wife, Vho-Matamela Siphilali and the chief's sister, vhomakhadzi(1/2), whose name is Vho-Tshinakaho, gave the researcher very valuable information on the musanda language. Chief Madzivhandila, known as 'Vhafuwi', of Tshakhuma summoned his vhomakhadzi(2) to give the researcher the information needed about the musanda language. The name Vhafuwi is bestowed upon the chief in respect of his impartial love for all people. The present chief's father originally demonstrated this so-called love by welcoming white missionaries and giving them a place to stay in his country.

Chief Makuya organised his themamudi(9/10) Nyambeni Rosina, his brother vhokhotsimunene(2), and his mother vhakoma(2) or vhatshiozwi(2) to assist the researcher with information needed on the musanda language. His mother became the chief informant and her age of approximately 90 years justified her selection.

The data collected at Tshimbupfe was from the two existing misanda. At the first musanda the researcher was fortunate enough to see the late chief's mother Vhavenda Vho-Tshisevhe, by this time she was titled vhavenda(2) because the ruling chief's mother gained the title vhakoma or vhatshiozwi. The late Chief Netshimbupfe was one of the first ministers in the Venda Government from 1969 to 1979 when he died. His mother Vho-Tshisevhe was accompanied by another woman and an old man, for the interviewing. The three informants when interviewed proved to have a good knowledge of the musanda language.

When Chief Sinthumule was visited, he organised two groups of informants, one group at his home Madombidzha and the other group at his council house khoro at Tshiozwi. This alleviated the burden on the researcher's side since the numbers would have proved to be too large should they have formed one group.

The three older misanda of Mphephu, Mphaphuli and Tshivhase were with reason the last to be visited. The researcher wanted to find out what changes had affected the musanda language in its transfer from the original misanda to the descended misanda.

At Sinthumule, a musanda situated next to Louis Trichardt, the musanda language has acquired some linguistic influence from the composition of their cosmopolitan society comprising Venda, Sotho, Tsonga and Zulu. The words in their musanda language appear to have shifted in meaning. For example, the Venda word tshitatari(7/8) known by other misanda as phedza(9/10), is known at the musanda at Sinthumule as lufhera(11/10).

The shifted meaning from phedza to lufhera at Sinthumule is attributed to their place for storing their mealies which is lufhera - a wall built between the thondwana (9/10) and tshitanga (7/8) to make extra room for mealies to be stored. As opposed to lufhera used by the Sinthumule, the Venda word lufhera refers to a small chamber formed between the wall of a hut

and the verandah poles if a wall is built joining these verandah poles. Similarly, the Sinthumule word tengulwa is used in Venda when the bottom side of a hut is painted in another colour. When the chief's head is shaved all the other misanda say thavha yo swa, but at Sinthumule they have adopted the phrase musanda vho tengulwa. The shift of the phrase thavha yo swa that is heard from the other misanda to the Sinthumule phrase musanda vho tengulwa gives an association of meaning that of 'clear' where it can be said the head is 'cleared' of the hair in the verb stem -swa and the hut is 'cleared' of the old layer of paint in the verb stem -tengulwa.

After all that has been done in this research, there is still the feeling that a large proportion of the vocabulary in the musanda language disappeared with most of the elderly people who died before it was recorded. This research therefore, was crucial in order to record the valuable information pertaining to the musanda language.

In all therefore, ten misanda were visited with some eighty-three informants contacted.

What has been observed is that in the younger misanda most of the musanda language usage has been neglected resulting in the loss of appropriate words. The researcher realised that the old women who are mothers to the chiefs always proved to be valuable sources of information on the musanda language. Older people are contacted because they know the language better than their younger counterparts.

1.2.1 ORIGIN OF MUSANDA LANGUAGE

At this stage it is difficult for researchers to establish the exact origin of the musanda language with which the Venda nation honour their chiefs. The researcher compiling this thesis is inclined to maintain that it was based on a linguistic etiquette system.

Geertz refers to etiquette as

a wall built around one's inner feelings, but is paradoxically always a wall someone else builds, at least in part. He and the other person are at least approximate status equals and not intimate friends.

Geertz (1968:289-290)

The chief is always addressed in the musanda language, by the title vhamusanda used for all chiefs and headmen irrespective of sex or age. In the musanda language it is not possible to say anything without an indication of the social relationship between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity.

The musanda language is used for etiquette sake even towards the youngest chief who might be ten years old. If someone, irrespective of gender, is installed with the chief to help him/her in the ruling, that person is also honoured by being addressed in the musanda language.

In Venda the chief can be a male or a female depending upon that particular musanda's ruling. The installation to the throne of chiefs, either female or male, is the same and the title used is the same i.e. vhamusanda (see the diagram on page 31 below).

1.3 METHOD OF RESEARCH

The method adopted in collecting the data on the musanda language for this thesis has been threefold:

1.3.1 The use of a questionnaire

A questionnaire divided into four parts was used to help the researcher to obtain as much information as possible. The four parts in which the information was gleaned were

1. The musanda language used for the musanda building structures and their contents.
2. The musanda language used for the activities at the musanda.
3. The musanda language pertaining to the chief as a political head and his belongings.
4. Procedure to be followed at the musanda in the musanda language.

Questions were posed to informants in a conversation and their answers were recorded on a cassette player as well as in written form.

1.3.2 The use of a cassette recorder

The researcher has made use of the Tronicsound 15 W M.P.O. cassette recorder throughout her research which helped retain the musanda language information at first hand for future reference while compiling the thesis. Informants were encouraged to converse amongst themselves while being recorded. During such conversation extra questions could be prepared as a way to encourage them to proceed with the conversation.

The informants contacted for this thesis all stayed within the musanda premises except the women Vho-Kone Nengovhela and the Vhomakhadzi to Vhafuwi Vho-Madzivhandila who were summoned from their respective marital homes. The above mentioned informants from Lwamondo and

Tshakhuma respectively, stayed in their marital homes where they were given places to rule by their fathers, Chief Nelwamondo and Chief Madzivhandila respectively. Culturally the chief marries girls from other misanda and that has made it possible for the musanda language to be transmitted in a uniform manner. The musanda language, although used in various misanda far from each other, is unique in all respects. Therefore, the diglossic situation exists, mostly within the premises of the musanda community.

1.4 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter on the musanda language as a diglossia has prepared us for what will follow in the chapters hereafter. The historical background shows the origin of the Venda as Central Africa. The majority who arrived South of the Limpopo settled in the fertile Northern Transvaal. Insignificant influence affected the Venda language not to mention the musanda language which resisted the influence at all costs. This chapter gives the definition of words within which knowledge we can understand the part played by the musanda language in Venda. Being a language for etiquette with which the Venda people show honour and respect to their chiefs the musanda language has not changed for many generations. Seen in this light it is interesting, after the research work done, to realise that the musanda language throughout the whole of Venda maintained the same vocabulary. As discussed in this introductory chapter the musanda language satisfies all the characteristics of a language morphologically, semantically and syntactically.

The second chapter will consider the musanda social structure considered in a hierarchical order according to status as well as the associated appropriate language used. Within this musanda social structure the musanda language is spoken in a diglossic manner together with Venda. To the musanda community the musanda language is their first language to

learn and use. Above all, this musanda language exists and revolves around the chief who is the ruling figure.

The third chapter considers the commonly used terms in the erection, naming and the purpose of various musanda building structures. These building structures are purposely planned. The chief's hut is on the highest level at the musanda premises. This makes it easier for the chief to see what happens below. The people living on this level where the chief's hut is are the selected individuals only. Their musanda language learning becomes the order of the day.

On the lower level are the building structures in which the rest of the musanda community lives. Their daily interaction with the commoners affords them an opportunity to be diglossic through the use of both the musanda and Venda languages.

The language used on recreational occasions is discussed in the fourth chapter after which there is a concluding chapter. The Venda have recreational activities for which they all come together, and the appropriate language used, as discussed in Chapter 3.

An alphabetical list of all the musanda words mentioned in this thesis has been included as an appendix at the end of this thesis. This list will help the reader to have a further reference for explanation of words appearing in this discussion. The words are compiled in two categories viz verbs and nouns in the musanda language, with English equivalents or explanations.

CHAPTER 2

THE MUSANDA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Having considered the musanda language in general, a more specific analysis with regard to the social structure of the musanda will be undertaken in this chapter. At musanda, the chief's dwelling place, the chief, vhamusanḁa, as the ruling head has people to help him, some of whom will be discussed in this thesis because they were the major informants who supplied the researcher with the recorded musanda language that is discussed in this and the following chapters.

2.1 Social structure

The social structure at the musanda revolves around certain persons who have status and who are well versed in the musanda language in each musanda community. These include the following:

vhakoma(2)/vhatshiozwi(2) the chief's mother or
vhakoma(2) the headman.

For the chief's mother the two appellations vhakoma and vhatshiozwi are synonymous. They can be used interchangeably under all circumstances e.g.

Vhakoma vha luvha vhu[^]tambo (the headman/chief's mother begs for snuff)
or

Vhatshiozwi vha luvha vhu[^]tambo (the chief's mother begs for snuff).

The chief's mother in all the musanda is recognised as vhakoma or vhatshiozwi. The title vhakoma is also given to the headman, meaning 'the owner of'. Therefore, the title vhakoma besides, being given to the chief's

mother is also given to someone given a place to rule but under the chief vhamusanda(2).

The chief's sister, vhomakhadzi, has the sole responsibility for choosing the next chief to be installed on the throne. She helps the chief's mother in the execution of the mother's duties. The chief's brother vhokhotsimunene has the power to rule in the absence of the chief and can, together with vhomakhadzi choose a successor. The terms used to name these personages mentioned above are the same in both the Venda and the musanda languages. During the chief's absence these are the people responsible for the smooth running of the affairs at the musanda. Since these are the people closest to the chief they know the musanda language the best.

Next in line in this structure is the chief's first wife, themamudi, who is also referred to as 'the principal wife', in this thesis. In Venda she is also known as a mutanuni like all other younger wives, in other words she is not differentiated from the others. If she happens to give birth to a prospective chief, only after his installation as chief can she change her title to that of vhakoma or vhatshiozwi. Once she has acquired these titles the principal wife is given a higher status than the other wives.

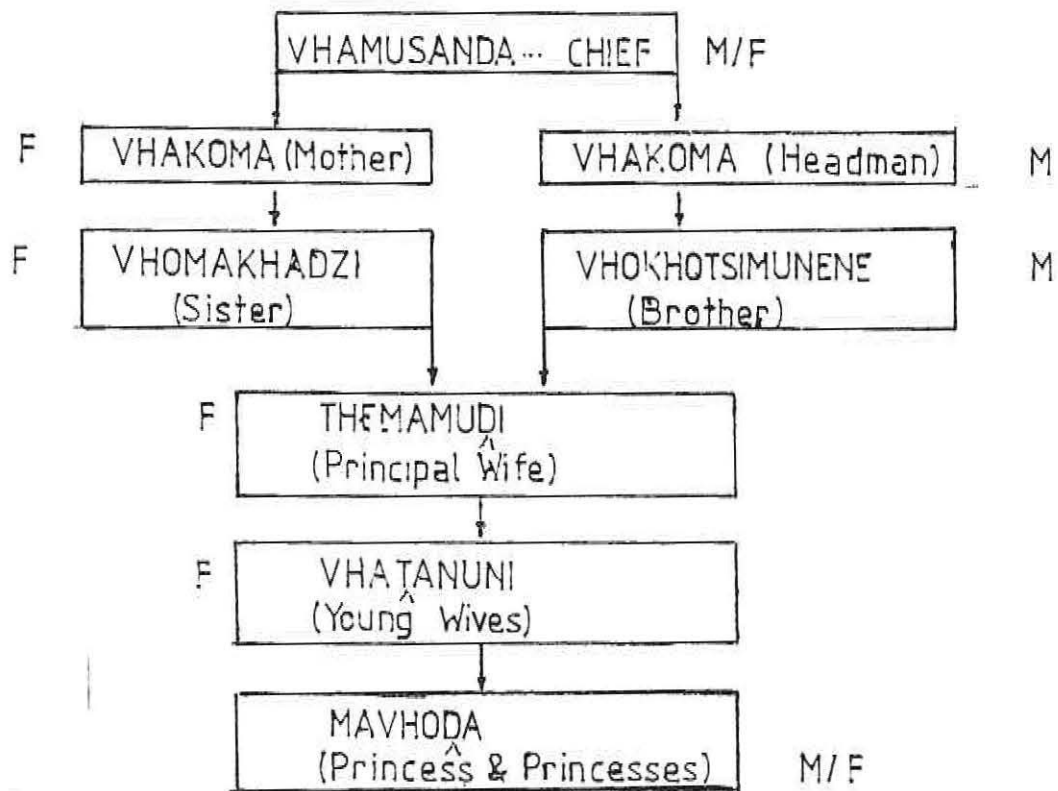
The chief's first wife has the principal task of teaching the younger wives the musanda language. At every musanda there is a hierarchy in the procedure from the first wife to the youngest wife. This encourages respect for each other and recognition for status. The younger wives await their turn to rise in this social structure.

The first wife instructs the younger wives as directed by the chief's mother and/or the chief's sister, who both work hand in hand with the first wife in all activities at the musanda. In the event that something needs to be reported to the chief, it is done by either his mother or sister who may, only

on agreement, allow the principal wife to go directly to the chief.

Besides these persons already mentioned, there are also the princes and princesses, collectively termed mavhoda in musanda and who are addressed as vhakololo in Venda. The princes and princesses of the musanda grow up under strict discipline and any one of the chief's wives could be considered their mother. It should be noted that the Venda have no half relationships. The chief's wife on arrival at the musanda is given a prince or princess to look after as her own child. The prince or princess in turn should take her as his/her real mother. This trains the chief's wives to accept all the princes and princesses as their own children and the children in turn to accept their adopted mothers.

The musanda social structure may be set out diagrammatically as follows according to status:



M = MALE
F = FEMALE

DIAGRAM 1

From the above musanda social structure it can be noted that a woman can also be installed into the chieftainship and she would retain the title vhamusanda(2) and would be entitled to marry her own wives. This type of chieftainship in which a woman is installed on the throne is practised at Tshaulu where the chief, Vhamusanda Vho-Bohwana is a woman. The language structure at other misanda(4) with men on the throne is the same as that in her musanda premises. At the late Chief Mphephu's musanda premises at Nzhelele, Vhamusanda Vho-Phophi, a woman, has been the paramount chief since the death of Chief Mphephu in 1988. In this thesis when discussions of a more general nature are pursued the masculine gender has been used to represent all chiefs i.e. whether they are male or female.

2.1.1 Contextual meaning

The importance of meaning in context in the musanda language needs to be stressed before proceeding with further discussion in this chapter. Quite a number of scholars have made significant contributions towards emphasising the analysis of the meaning of a word. To cite a few, Mokgokong in this connection of meaning in context states that

in actual speech words never occur in isolation; they are used in certain syntactic and semotactic constructions that give them their intended meanings.

Mokgokong (1975:153)

The reasons for this are manifold, but the most important one is the semantic value of context. Only those contexts that are used more often than others and are activated in the various situations will prevent the meaning of a word from vanishing. The specific meaning of a word is determined by the context in which it appears, and no analysis can be made to it without reference to the context. In line with this Nida states that

languages exhibit in use surprisingly little genuine ambiguity, despite the fact that they use somewhere between 25,000 and 50,000 lexical units to describe literally millions of different objects, experience and features of such objects and experience.

Nida (1969:4-5)

It is interesting to note that in the musanda language some words may appear in various contexts and have different meanings, such as the word vhutambo (14) in the following contexts:

musanda language

1. Vhathanuni vho luvhedzwa vhutambo
2. Vhakoma vho swa vhutambo musanda
3. Hu na vhutambo ha vhasidzana musanda
4. Vhutambo ha musanda vhu dzula ho luvhelwa

Venda equivalents:

1. Vhathanuni vho ambadzwa zwiala
2. Mme a khosi vho fhiwa fola nga vhamusanda
3. Hu khou imbelwa vhasidzana musanda
4. Vhulunqu ha vhamusanda vhu dzula ho ambarwa

English translations:

1. The chief's wives are given head gears.
2. The chief's mother is given snuff by the chief.
3. Commoner girls have a ceremony of initiation at musanda.
4. The chief's necklace is always around his neck.

In the four sentences above the word vhutambo(14) has been used in various contexts in the musanda language to mean either

1. head gear
2. snuff
3. ceremony
4. necklace.

However, other Venda equivalents are totally different, which are:

1. zwiala
2. fola
3. imbelwa
4. vhulungu

In the above four sentences in the musanda language the words vhutambo are homotonal because they have one structure and the same tone with different unrelated meanings according to the different contexts. In the musanda language it is common for the same word to have radically different meanings in different contexts. Therefore, it is important, when analysing the various words in this language, to state the context explicitly in order to define the area of meaning relevant in each particular case. The importance of context with reference to meaning is defined by Diamond who notes that

Words derive their meaning from the circumstances in which they are used and the use to which they are put.

Diamond (1959:165)

It is rare for a language to have two different expressions that mean exactly the same thing and there is a strong tendency to attribute different meanings to them. Linguists resort to syntactic constructions in which the meaning in context conforms appropriately to the meaning the speaker

wishes to transmit to the listener. In this instance of meaning in context another example to show how important context is, is the musanda word phedza. This word phedza may have a general meaning of 'riches' in either head of cattle or the grainpit, but when it refers to a mature princess, we are obliged to reconsider its application. Phedza(9/10) occurring with the various meanings in the musanda language are all homotonal. The following sentences may be constructed using the word phedza to verify the above statement:

Musanda

1. Phedza dza musanda dzi phedzani
2. Makumba a musanda a phedzani
3. Musanda hu luvhiwa nga phedza
4. Phedza yo dzhena dzivhani

Venda

1. Kholomo dza musanda dzi dangani
2. Mavhele a musanda a tshisikuni/duluni tshitatarini
3. Musanda ri luvha nga kholomo/mbudzi
4. Khomba i khou imbelwa

English

1. The chief's cattle are in the kraal.
2. The chief's harvest is stored in the granary/grainpit.
3. At musanda homage is paid with a goat/cattle.
4. The princess is in the initiation school.

From the above four sentences the musanda language shows economy with words in comparison with the Venda equivalents. At musanda only one word phedza(9/10) is used to express a number of items in Venda which are kholomo(9/10) (cattle), danga(5/6) (kraal), dulu(5/6) (granary), tshitatari(7/8) (temporary granary), and tshisiku(7/8) (grainpit).

2.2 THE VHOMAKHADZI'S ROLE IN THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE

In accordance with the musanda social structure, the next most important person after the Vhamusanda is Vhomakhadzi(2) who commands most undertakings in the musanda premises. In all the musanda the vhomakhadzi in collaboration with vhokhotsimunene(2), controls most affairs including the right to choose the chief to be installed on the throne. This is because she is familiar with the lineage in the particular musanda in which she lives. When the chief is installed the phrase used is:

u vhumba thavha (musanda)

u vhea vuhosi (Venda)

The verb stem -vhumba when used in Venda means 'mould' and that of -vhea literally means 'put'. In contrast, in the musanda language, the verb stem -vhumba (in this context) means 'install' while -vhea is used for 'bury'. The musanda members, therefore, should learn either 'install', 'mould', 'put' or 'bury' in both languages and use them appropriately depending upon the context and circumstances.

A further duty performed by vhomakhadzi(2) concerns the time that a princess reaches her puberty, for which the following expressions are used:

- (i) Voda lo dzhena vhañweni, or
- (ii) Phedza i dzhena dzivhani, or
- (iii) Voda li khou fhisa.

The Venda equivalents are:

- (i) Mukololo o hula, or
- (ii) Mukololo u a tamba, or
- (iii) Mukololo u khou imbelwa.

The English equivalents of the above are as follows:

- (i) The princess has reached her puberty
- (ii) The princess goes to the initiation school
- (iii) The princess is in the initiation school.

The above sentences (i) to (iii) are used for the different stages of the same occasion or activity. The first sentence refers to the princess's first menstruation cycle to qualify her as a mature girl. The second sentence is used for the stage when she is taken to the initiation school to receive appropriate lessons to prepare her for her future life. The third sentence refers to all the time she is in the initiation school receiving her lessons, most of which ought to be memorised. The morphological comparison of sentence (1) in both the musanda and Venda languages shows that the two subjects voda(5/6) and mukololo(1/2) belong to different classes i.e. voda(5/6) and mukololo(1/2). Phedza(9/10) and mukololo as subjects to sentence (i) in musanda and Venda respectively belong to different noun classes which are (9/10) and (1/2) respectively.

The following section will show how the first wife, themamuḁi(9/10), helps the vhomakhadzi(2) in the teaching of the musanda language to the other wives and how they in turn teach the mazhinda(5/6), i.e. the princes and princesses.

2.3 THE PRINCIPAL WIFE AND HER ROLE AS TUTOR IN THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE

In this hierarchical musanda social structure the themamuḁi is responsible for the transmission of the musanda language to the vhatanuni(2). This musanda language teaching is done under the supervision of vhakoma(2) or vhatshiozwi(2), i.e. the chief's mother. The themamuḁi accompanies the young mutanuni(1/2) each time her turn is due to go to the upper level of the musanda premises where she then stays with the chief. During the

mutanuni's stay with the chief only the musanda language is used. This affords her an opportunity to learn and to know more about the musanda language.

Lessons in learning the musanda language begin immediately the mutanuni(1/2) arrives at the upper yard on which the chief's house, pfamo(9/10), the chief's kitchen, tshamudane(7/8), and also the store house mutaladzhadzhi(3/4), if one is provided, are found. The yard surrounding these structures is the lutambwe(11/14) which is cleaned daily with a broom, the mutanzwo(3/4). This yard is cleaned occasionally with cow dung, vhuredzi(14). Some of the sentences that the mutanuni(1/2) will learn on this lutambwe(11/14) will include the following:

Musanda

- (i) Mutanuni u tanzwa lutambwe nga mutanzwo
- (ii) Mutanuni u tanzwa lutambwe nga vhuredzi.

English class prefix

- (i) The mutanuni(1/2) sweeps the yard with a broom.
- (ii) The mutanuni smears the yard with cow dung.

The mutanuni from the above two sentences will learn the use of mutanzwo and vhuredzi in the two contexts. Although the verbs in the two sentences are the same i.e. -tanzwa, their meanings differ i.e. sweep and smear. The mutanuni will know the difference between 'sweep' and 'smear' which both use the same verb stem -tanzwa because her lessons are coupled with demonstrations. The above two sentences of

Mutanuni u tanzwa lutambwe nga mutanzwo and
Mutanuni u tanzwa lutambwe nga vhuredzi

are morphologically the same but semantically different as discussed above. Diglossically the mutanuni(1/2) will compare the above musanda knowledge with her Venda vocabulary learnt in and outside the lower level of the musanda premises. She will therefore use the musanda language as her first language and Venda in the presence of commoners.

The tshamudane(7/8) on this upper level of the musanda premises is the kitchen solely used in the preparation of the chief's food. Some of the expressions to be learnt by the mutanuni(1/2) in the tshamudane include the following:

(i) U shuma zwa musanda, to prepare the chief's food, the equivalent of which would be in Venda, u bika zwiliwa zwa vhamusanda.

The themamudi will probably demonstrate to the mutanuni how the chief's food is prepared. The verb stem -shuma in the musanda language in this upper level is used differently from the Venda verb stem -shuma which means 'work'. Diglossically the mutanuni learns to use the verb stem -shuma in both languages appropriately and in the correct context. -shuma at musanda besides meaning 'prepare', can also mean 'eat, punish, beat' or 'thrash'.

The next stage in this demonstration of teaching the musanda language to the mutanuni by the themamudi is:

(ii) U fhaladzela malinga phondeloni, to dish out the chief's food onto a wooden plate. In Venda this is u avhela vhuswa ndiloni.

A special way of dishing out this food onto the chief's wooden plate is also demonstrated to the mutanuni by the themamudi. The verb stem -fhaladza at musanda, besides referring to the act of dishing out, also refers to 'spread out'. For example

U fhaladza lubuvhi to spread out the maize meal

U fhaladza maalo to spread out a mat.

The literal Venda meaning for -fhaladza is 'spill' or 'overflow' in the case of a liquid or 'scatter' in what is done to the clouds by the wind or scattered beads. The Venda idiomatic phrase - fhaladza maanga lit. to spread or scatter the vulture, is used tactfully to tell people to disperse. This is a euphemistic expression which may be used when one wants people to leave a place.

The noun malinga(6) -sing. mulinga(3) in Venda means 'wheels' whereas in the musanda language it is the chief's porridge.

The musanda noun phondelo(9/10) is derived from the verb -ponda which means 'kill'. This derivation may be postulated in that the chief is seen as the figuratively largest animal and his eating of the food is figuratively the killing of it. The mutanuni(1/2) is expected to use the above-mentioned words in both the musanda language and Venda in their various contexts in a diglossic manner as they appear under (i) and (ii).

Following the preparing and dishing up of the chief's food, the mutanuni then learns the phrase

(iii) U fhelekedza/tshimbidza malinga pfamoni, to take the chief's food to the chief's hut. In Venda u isa vhuswa/zwiliwa pfamoni.

The verbs -fhelekedza/-tshimbidza can be used interchangeably in the above musanda context. The Venda -fhelekedza means 'accompany' and in Venda -tshimbidza means 'cause to go, lead or drive'. Both meanings in Venda differ from those applied in the musanda language example above. The nouns vhuswa(14) and zwiliwa(8) in Venda also are used interchangeably although vhuswa has a specific meaning of 'porridge' and zwiliwa has a

wider meaning including miscellaneous other foods grouped together. The musanda noun pfamo(9/10) which also occurs in the Venda example, is derived from the verb -fama, 'sleep', an act performed only by the chief. Pfamo is a place where the chief sleeps.

When the work in the yard is accomplished the themamudi(9/10) will then lead the mutanuni(1/2) either to the river or a well or spring to fetch water using the phrase

(iv) U tswa/tapa madzivha madzivhani nga murunzi.

In Venda u ka madi mulamboni/tshisimani nga tshikumbu/mvuvhelo.

English: To fetch water from a river/spring with a calabash/clay pot.

The verb -tswa in Venda is 'steal' but at musanda it is 'fetch' with reference to water. The Venda -tapa is 'lift up from a distance with a stick' especially a thing that is abhorred or dreaded, whereas the musanda -tapa either means 'fetch' as in the above context, or 'call' by means of an eyebrow sign. Therefore, the themamudi(9/10) will use the verb stem -tswa in both Venda and musanda language each time at the appropriate occasion in the respective language.

The musanda language like Venda has locatives that can be formed by attaching the locative ending -ni as in madzivhani(5/6), in Venda mulamboni(3/4)/tshisimani(7/8). The Venda madzivha with the singular form of dzivha(5/6) is 'lake' like dzivha Fundudzi 'Lake Fundudzi' a well-known location in Venda. The shift in meaning is from the lake to that of river or spring where water is fetched by the musanda community.

The musanda noun murunzi(3/4) means anything used for holding water or any liquid, including beverages. Beer in any container when taken to the chief for whatever purpose is also termed murunzi. The chief's hat or

anything that can be used on his head for protection from the sun or rain is also murunzi. The Venda murunzi means 'shade' which when compared with the chief's hat may imply a shift of meaning. It might also be postulated that there is a polysemous shift of meaning from the chief's hat to that of container which is also carried on the head when full of liquid. The connecting meaning of murunzi is the shade given to the head by the container like a hat.

From the expressions above numbered (i) to (iv), the verbs to be considered in the musanda language are -shuma, -fhaladza, -fhelekedza/-tshimbidza, -tswa/-tapa and -fama which correlate with the Venda -bika, -avha, -isa, -ka and -edela respectively.

The verb -shuma in the musanda language refers to the mutanuni(1/2) while preparing the chief's food. The same verb stem is used in the musanda language to refer to the chief eating his food or drinking his beer. The latter -shuma has a synonym -fara as in the following expressions:

- (v) Musanda vha khou shuma or Musanda vho fara which both mean the chief eats his food or drinks his beer.

In the above context the two verb stems -shuma and -fara in the musanda language cannot replace each other.

The themamudi(9/10) in this language teaching process has a formidable task to see that the mutanuni(1/2) memorises the musanda language and distinguishes it from Venda.

2.4 THE MUTANUNI'S UTILISATION OF THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE

The mutanuni(1/2) who is placed on the upper level to live with the chief will learn the musanda language in stages and will gradually master it. The procedure in this language learning process has already been mentioned above in paragraph 2.3. The musanda language in the paragraph below is set out with sentences numbered, followed by the Venda equivalents, then the English translation also with sentences numbered in the same manner, and discussion on the sentences will follow:

Musanda

1. Mutanuni a tshi fhelela musanda u newa themamudi/mme
2. A gonya nae thavhani u shuma zwa musanda
3. U swika tshamudane a vhea gona kha tshiluvhedzo
4. A honza phandu tshinaruni nga mafhali
5. A tivha nyana ngwena ya fhasi a tivhula ya nthu
6. U tadzia tshingwana a i hwedza tshinaruni
7. Tshingwana i tshi pembela a rola lubuvhi na matavha
8. A sika malinga nga tsika, a akha nga tshanda
9. Malinga a fhaladzelwa kha phondelo
10. Malinga a fhelekedzwa/tshimbizwa pfamoni o turelwa mufaroni
11. U luzwa tshingwana yo shumaho nga madzivha
12. A i hwedza kha matiko bvungwi ha tshamudane
13. A tanzwa tshamudane nga mutanzwo
14. A bvisa zwivhuvhi tshinaruni a tanzwa tshinaru nga vhuredzi
15. U takusa musanda uri vha swike u shuma
16. Vha tshi shuma u angara malinga
17. Mapfandau ndi a vhakoma, havenda, vhokhotsimunene kana mazhinda

Venda

1. Mutanuni a tshi khunyelela musanda u newa mme.
2. A gonya nae musanda u lugisa zwiliwa zwa vhamusanda.
3. U swika tshamudane a gwadama kha tshiukhuvha.
4. A vhasa mulilo tshivhasoni nga khuni.
5. A vala nyana vothi la fhasi a vula la ntha.
6. U tadzia khali a i vhea tshivhasoni.
7. Khali i tshi vhila a dzhia vhukhopfu na vhuso.
8. A fheta vhuswa nga lufheto, a timba/bvulela nga lufo.
9. Vhuswa vhu avhelwa kha phondelo.
10. Vhuswa vhu iswa pfamoni ho tibelwa mufaroni.
11. U tanzwa khali yo bikaho nga madi.
12. A i vhea kha matswia bvungwi ha tshamudane.
13. A swiela tshamudane nga luswielo.
14. A kumba milora tshivhasoni a shula tshivhaso nga vhutoko.
15. A vhidza Vhamusanda uri vha de u shuma.
16. Vha tshi shuma u nekedza zwiliwa.
17. Mapfandau ndi a vhakoma, vhavenda, vhokhotsimunene kana vhakololo.

English

1. Once a mutanuni is married to the chief she is given a mother
2. Who accompanies her to the upper level to be in service for the chief.
3. At the door-step of the chief's kitchen she shows respect by kneeling down before entering.
4. She makes a fire in the fireplace using firewood.
5. Keeping the bottom door ajar she opens the top door.
6. She fills the clay pot with water and puts it over the fire on top of the three hearth stones.

7. When the water boils she takes the maize meal flour and coarse maize meal.
8. She twirls the food with a wire beater and beats with a wooden spoon.
9. The food is dished out in style onto a wooden plate.
10. The food is covered in a basket and taken to the pfamo.
11. She cleans and pours clean water into the clay pot.
12. She puts it on the three hearth stones towards the inner side of the kitchen.
13. She sweeps the kitchen with a broom.
14. She removes the ashes from the fire place and smears it with cow dung. This ensures cleanliness in the chief's kitchen.
15. She invites the chief for his food.
16. When he eats she holds the food for him.
17. The food left over is given either to vhakoma(1/2), vhavenda(1/2) vhokhotsimunene(2) or mazhinda(5/6).

The comments on the above paragraphs are given below showing a diglossic application and taking into account the meaning in context of each sentence and/or word.

In sentence 1, the applied verb stems of -fhelela (musanda) from -fhela 'end', and -khunyelela (Venda), are both used with the semantic context of 'married to'. The Venda -fhelela has a literal meaning of 'come to an end', 'run out', 'almost used up' or 'worn out' e.g.

Ndivho yanga yo fhelela.

My knowledge has come to an end.

Madi o ri fhelela.

We are running out of water.

Khandela lo fhelela ho sala kutukutuku.

The candle is almost used up.

Gokoko lo sina la fhelela.

The tin is worn out.

Another semantic shift in the word -fhelela is that of 'all inside' or 'everything inside'. Semantically -fhelela in the musanda language and in Venda behave differently as in the above-mentioned contexts.

In sentence 2 the verb stem -gonya is used in both languages because the level on which the chief stays is always higher than the rest of the musanda premises. Therefore by getting there one has to ascend -gonya. In the same sentence thavhani is the place where the chief stays. When commoners go to the chief's place of abode they say 'ri gonya musanda', yet within the musanda premises, the level on which the chief's house is erected is termed thavhani. An important point is that the chief does not call his own place musanda(3/4) but thavhani. This is a locative form that is always used as thavhani.

The verbs -shuma and -lugisa (see sentence 2) may both be used in Venda to mean 'work' and 'put right/in order' or 'straighten'. The musanda -vhea gona in sentence 3 appear as -gwadama in Venda. It is noticed that in this context when a single word gwadama is used in Venda, a phrase vhea gona is often used in the musanda language. The Venda -vhea is 'put' which at musanda is 'kneel'. There might be coincidence in the semantic content of the verb stem -vhea in Venda and musanda language to mean 'put'. The noun tshiluvhedzo(7/8) at musanda and tshiukhuvha(7/8) in Venda both make use of the same class prefix tshi-(7) as evidenced in sentence 3. The same applies to tshinaru(7/8) and tshivhaso(7/8) in sentence 4. Other examples to show a word in Venda that is always substituted by a phrase in the musanda language are:

Venda : Vheula
 Musanda : U luvhulula vhuṭambo
 English : shave

Venda : Vhulaha
 Musanda : U milisa tshivhindi
 English : kill

The musanda u luvhulula vhuṭambo and u milisa tshivhindi have figurative meanings. The meanings are 'remove' and 'strangle' by means of strings respectively. The semantic implications are therefore possibly that one may be figuratively shaved when the razor is used and the wider meaning of kill can be associated with the narrower implication of strangling by means of string.

The verb stem -honza in the musanda language has an object phandu(9/10) in sentence 4 while the Venda vhasa in this context uses the noun object mulilo(3/4). Both verb stems -honza and -vhasa in the musanda language and Venda respectively mean 'kindle'.

Nouns in the musanda language and Venda expressing the same concept may appear in different classes like the nouns phandu (class 9) and mulilo (class 3) in both languages respectively. Diglossically one should learn the use of these words in both languages in their appropriate contexts as has been demonstrated in the examples given.

The nouns tshinaru(7/8) and tshivhaso(7/8) 'fire place' in the same sentence (4) in both languages coincidentally have the class prefix (7) tshi-. On the other hand mafhali(6) and khuni(10) meaning firewood in both languages are used in their plural form in these contexts, but belong to different classes viz 6 for mafhali and 10 for khuni.

The verb stem -tivha meaning 'close' in sentence 5 has its reversive form in -tivhula meaning 'open' in the musanda language. The verb stem -tivhula does not occur in Venda. The same applies to the verb stem -vala which has a reversive action in vula in Venda. Therefore the reversive verbal extension -ul- may be applied in both the musanda and Venda languages.

The nouns ngwena(9/10) and vothi(5/6) 'door' in both languages belong to different class prefixes, 9 for the musanda ngwena and 5 for the Venda vothi. In the singular form the class prefix li- for vothi is not apparent, but in the plural formation the class prefix ma- is used i.e. mahothi(6). The musanda ngwena uses the class prefix n- in the singular while its plural class prefix is not used since the same noun may indicate both the singular and plural.

The verb stem -tadzia meaning 'to pour water into a clay pot' in sentence 6 appears the same in both the musanda and Venda languages, but used with different nouns i.e. tshingwana(9/10) and khali(9/10) respectively. These nouns belong to the same noun prefix group and can both appear in either the singular or plural forms.

The diglossic nature of the musanda language has economy in its use of words, for instance, using the above tshingwana in comparison with the Venda khali. While the Venda khali 'clay pot' is a hyponym with its co-hyponymous nouns of:

<u>mvuvhelo</u>	9/10	(decorated clay pot)
<u>nkho</u>	9/10	(big/large pot for beer brewing)
<u>mukhambana</u>	3/4	(wide mouthed clay pot for soaking grains)
<u>tshidudu</u>	7/8	(small clay pot for cooking vegetables and meat)
<u>dzhomela</u>	5/6	(small decorated clay pot)

in musanda tshingwana refers to the cooking clay pot only. All the other clay pots mentioned as co-hyponyms for the Venda khali above, are termed mirunzi(4) (sing: murunzi(3)) at musanda. Where Venda maintains that all clay moulded utensils fall under khali as their superordinate, at musanda they all fall under murunzi, as discussed on page 42 above.

The musanda causative verb stem -hwedza is vhea in Venda (sentence 6). Hwedza is derived from the verb stem of -hwela which means 'climb' or 'lift on top of'. The use of the causative extension -is- brings about affricativisation of the liquid, hence -hwel- > -hwedz-. On the other hand, the verb stem -vhea in Venda is the basic verb which is not derivational nor has it been extended. Comparing the homotonal homonyms -hwedza in the musanda language and -hwedza in Venda, one could possibly state that there appears to be a shift to a more specialised meaning in the musanda language because the Venda -hwedza means 'lift on top of' while the musanda -hwedza means 'put on top of hearth stones' or 'take the beer up to the chief's place of abode in homage' or 'present the maroela drink to the chief to herald its use'. The difference is that the -hwedza in the tshamudane(7/8) only refers to the cooking pot when put on the hearth stones. However the Venda -hwedza also refers to 'placing roof onto a hut or load on the donkey's back or onto a wagon' all with the same sense of 'placing higher up'.

The musanda -pembela and the Venda -vhila in sentence 7 mean 'boil' in each case. The musanda -pembela semantically coincides with the Venda -pembela which means 'dance excitedly, in joy'. The connecting meaning can be ascertained when one considers the bubbles from boiling water bouncing up as though they show excitement.

Diglossically the mutanuni(1/2) has to learn the use of both verb stems -pembela and -vhila in their appropriate contexts in both languages. In the same sentence (7) the musanda nouns lubuvhi(11/14) and matavha(6) are

vhukhopfu(14) and vhuse(14) in Venda respectively. The musanda lubuvhi meaning 'maize meal', is 'spider web' in Venda. The association of ideas in this instance might be that both are white in colour i.e. the maize flour and the spider web although the relationship here is speculative. Using this word lubuvhi in a diglossic manner in both languages will demand the appropriate context for the correct meaning to be brought out. The musanda lubuvhi belongs to the class 11/14 while the Venda vhukhopfu belongs to the 14/6 class.

In sentence 7, the musanda matavha(6) and Venda vhuse(14) both express small particles of grains. Their meanings have the same characteristic of being granular and loose. While the musanda matavha refers to coarse maize meal, the Venda matavha refers to 'sand grit' (sing. mutavha(3)). Diglossically the mutanuni(1/2) must know the matavha as 'coarse maize meal' and be able to differentiate it from that of 'sand' and be able to use each in their relevant contexts. The musanda matavha falls under class 6 while the Venda vhuse under class 14/6. Matavha at musanda will mean 'salt' which is munno(3/4) in Venda.

The verb stems -sika meaning 'twirl' and -akha meaning 'cook' in the musanda language in sentence 8 appear with their appropriate nouns of tsika and tshanda respectively. The noun tsika is derived from the verb stem -sika.

musanda	<u>tsika</u>	9/10	wire beater
	<u>tshanda</u>	7/8	wooden spoon
Venda	<u>lufheto</u>	11/10	wire beater
	<u>lufo</u>	11/10	wooden spoon

Diglossically the mutanuni(1/2) will learn to use the appropriate noun together with the appropriate verb in context.

The musanda malinga(6) in sentences 8,9 and 10 appear as vhuswa(14) in Venda. The Venda malinga(6) for 'wheels' is grouped in the same class as the musanda malinga(6) above. The musanda malinga always appears in the plural form only. The musanda causative verb stems of -fhaladza and -fhelekedza in sentences 9 and 10 are -avha and -isa in Venda but all four in the respective sentences have been used in their passive forms with the passive verbal extension -w-. -fhaladzelwa in the musanda language in sentence 9 and -avhelwa in Venda, have both the applied verbal extension -el- and the passive verbal extension -w-.

The verb stem -luzwa in its specific meaning in sentence 11 is -tanzwa in Venda. At musanda -luzwa can be used when the chief's clothes are washed or when the chief bathes, and it is used in its reflexive form -diluzwa. Therefore, the direction of the meaning of the musanda -luzwa is dependent upon the context in which it appears. For clarity of meaning the mutanuni(1/2) will have to use each -luzwa in its context. The musanda madzivha 5/6 (Venda magi(5/6)) in the same sentence, is used for 'river/well/spring' or any other source of water for which different words are used in Venda like mulambo(3/4) (river) tshisima(7/8) (well or spring).

The musanda verb stem -hwedza in sentence 12, as already discussed under sentence 6, may be rendered by -vhea or -isa or -swikisa or suma in Venda as in the following contexts:

	<u>Musanda</u>		<u>Venda</u>
1.	<u>U hwedza tshingwana</u>	>	<u>-vhea</u> 'put'
2.	<u>U hwedza murunzi</u>	>	<u>-isa</u> 'take to'
3.	<u>U hwedza mulandu</u>	>	<u>-swikisa/-suma</u> 'report'

Matiko 'hearth stones' in the same sentence number in musanda is derived from the verb stem -tika 'support', 'prop' or 'hold up'. The same verb stem in Venda has no derivative form, instead is rather thikho (10). Coincidentally

matiko(6) in the musanda language and matswia of Venda are grouped under the same class (6).

The verb stem -tanzwa contextually appears with various meanings at musanda as can be seen from sentences 13 and 14. Tanzwa has its derivative mutanzwo at musanda which in Venda is represented by either -swiela or -shula 'sweep' or 'smear' as verbs or the noun luswielo(11) which means 'broom'. Diglossically the Venda -tanzwa means 'wash' and cannot be associated with 'sweep, broom, smear'.

The noun vhuredzi (14) at musanda means 'cow dung' and is derived from the verb stem -redza 'slip'. Diglossically the mutanuni(1/2) learns the use of vhuredzi at musanda as 'cow dung' and in Venda as 'slippery'.

Musanda	>	<u>U tanzwa lutambwe nga vhuredzi</u> (to smear with cow dung)
Venda	>	<u>Muta u a suvha nga vhuredzi</u> (the yard is slippery)

The musanda vhuredzi and the Venda vhutoko 'cow dung' are both grouped under class (14/6).

The verb stem -shuma in sentences 15 and 16 is different in meaning from that in sentence 2 because of the context in which each appears. The Venda rendering for the musanda -shuma in sentences 15 and 16 is 'eat', while that in sentence 2 is 'cook, prepare or work'. This shows that the musanda language is more economical with words than Venda in this instance because one musanda word is represented by more words in Venda.

The general meaning of the above passage is to show an abstract in a language teaching process at musanda. The significance of this passage is when the newly married mutanuni(1/2) learns the musanda language and uses it in a diglossic manner together with Venda.

In the next sub-section focus is on how this musanda language is acquired by the younger generation.

2.5 ACQUISITION OF THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE BY THE MAZHINDA

The musanda language is the linguistic possession of the mazhinda(5/6) 'princes and princesses' and all the members of the musanda community. This musanda language, which is specific to the musanda community, has the spoken forms which are the basis for the written musanda language. The importance of oral forms was also realised by Stork and Widdowson who state that

communication by means of language is the most characteristically human of all man's behaviour patterns.

Stork and Widdowson (1974:34)

The main concern in this section of the discussion is to determine how the mazhinda 'princes and princesses' known as the vhakololo(1/2) in Venda, acquire their first home language, which in this case is the musanda language.

In determining how the musanda language is used and developed by these children it is realised that as human beings they have the capability to learn the musanda language with ease in an informal situation. Any other child who might happen to be brought up in the musanda environment will end up speaking the musanda language irrespective of hereditary background or colour.

Two factors then arise that involve language acquisition which are:

1. An innate potential for the mazhinda(5/6) to acquire the musanda language and
2. the madzhinda's linguistic environment.

The acquisition of the musanda language by the mazhinda(5/6) will therefore depend on the interaction between these two factors. This interaction will happen if the musanda language centres on the environmental factors. Viewed from this point the musanda language is thus seen as a set of habits acquired by a process of conditioning. What is innate in the musanda language is merely the hereditary potential for such conditioning to take place.

Chomsky's theory cited by Mackey and Anderson is that a child has a

biologically founded innate capacity
for language.

Mackey and Anderson (1969:67)

which means that once the mazhinda are exposed to the musanda language they will observe, imitate and construct hypotheses about it. Later on they will manage to work out their own grammatical rules which will continue to be reconstructed and modified until it is the same as that of the adults at musanda. Lennberg in line with this innate capacity of children states that

it is indisputable that the outset of
speech and of certain linguistic
abilities such as babbling, speaking
isolated words, producing two-word
sentences etc., are determined by
maturational processes.

Lennberg (1967:127)

The maturational process and the innate capacity that cause the mazhinda(5/6) to start learning to speak without any form of instruction except by being exposed to the language, should also explain why this highly complicated learning process is completed so quickly. More or less within a period of two years there is a possibility that all the basic syntactic constructions of the musanda language are mastered by this younger generation. The mazhinda in this language acquisition process learn to talk without formal instruction, but solely by being exposed to the musanda language. The development of the mazhinda's receptive skills begins when they are exposed to various speech sounds. This is the point at which they start imitating the adults until their active participation in speech with the adults, in the musanda language, is fully accomplished.

The simple words in everyday use are learnt, such as thungu(9/10) 'breast', madzivha(6) 'water' and others depending upon the situation to which they are exposed. At this stage they learn to repeat a sound or word over and over again, and are capable of responding to simple words.

What has been realised in this research is that the mazhinda's phonological system is restricted in the early stages of their infancy. As their grammatical system and their vocabulary increase, they also need an increasing number of phonemic contrasts. Some of them fail to grasp for instance, the sound of the aspirated alveolar plosive [th] in thungu and end up by substituting it with the ejective alveolar plosive [t'] pronouncing it as tungu which is then meaningless.

When the mazhinda(5/6) grow older their language supports and accompanies their activities, to such an extent that this language becomes part of their activities. Stork and Widdowson express it as

... talking is a concrete part of doing
for the young infant.

Stork and Widdowson (1974:146)

Therefore this constant flow in their speech provides a kind of language laboratory practice for the development of their speech. With increasing refinement their speech becomes more useful in communication and in supporting their activities. The next sub-section is on the musanda language used for the chief himself or queen herself.

2.6 THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE IN RESPECT OF VHAMUSANDA HIMSELF/HERSELF

The Venda's pride lies in their chief for whom they are prepared to give full protection. As has already been mentioned, the musanda language is used to honour their chief. If the Venda language is used in connection with the chief or in his/her presence it shows lack of respect from the speaker. The naming of his/her various articles and the parts of his/her body are no exception. Here follows some terms used for the parts of his/her body with their Venda and English equivalents.

2.6.1 Parts of the chief's body

	<u>Musanda</u>		<u>Venda</u>		<u>English</u>
(i)	ndalama	9/10	ma _ɔ	5/6	eyes
(ii)	nitsha	9/10	na _ɔ	11/10	nails
(iii)	shimba	5/6	mulenzhe	3/4	leg
(iv)	thama	9/10	nde _ɔ vhe	9/10	ears
(v)	thavha	9/10	tho _ɔ ho	9/10	head
(vi)	tsetshela	9/10	ma _ɔ no	5/6	teeth
(vii)	vhut _ɔ ambo	14	mavhudzi	11/6	hair
(viii)	vhut _ɔ ambo	14	nde _ɔ vu	11/6	beard

From the above listed nouns the following is observed:

The musanda ndalama(9/10) (i) and the Venda mato(5/6) do not belong to the same noun classes but they express the same part of the body eyes. The Venda mato are grouped in the noun class(6) with the original meaning of 'one of a pair'.

As compared with the Venda mato(6) 'eyes' the musanda ndalama(9/10) 'eyes' refers to the chief's eyes which are compared to an expensive ornament used by women of high rank or beautiful eyes with clear white conjunctiva, or money in the form of riches. The associated meaning is to connect the chief's eyes with an expensive and delicate ornament.

The singular nitsha(9/10) (nail) in the musanda language and the singular lwala(9/10) (nail) in Venda belong to different noun classes viz. 9 and 11 respectively. Their plural formations are both grouped under noun class 10. The name used for the chief's leg is shimba(5/6) which, with a shifted meaning, also means 'shoe'. The plural forms for both legs and shoes at musanda is marimba(6). The phonological changes in Venda governing the changing of the voiceless prepalatal fricative consonant sh [] in the singular form to the rolled r [r] in the plural form in such nouns as

shanga	(5)	maranga	(6)	'calabash'
shevho	(5)	marevho	(6)	'kaross'
shubi	(5)	marubi	(6)	'ruins'

also apply in the musanda shimba(5) in the singular which becomes marimba(6) in the plural form. The musanda shimba belongs to the classes 5/6 while the Venda mulenzhe is grouped under classes 3/4.

The new inventions at musanda get their names from their shape or appearance or the function to which the new invention is put. For instance the following

lushika	class 11	appearance	(beer)	-	watery
mashika	class 6	appearance	(cool drink)	-	watery
rambo	class 6	shape	(bottle)	-	transparency
shimba	class 6	purpose	(car)	-	transport
shimba	class 6	purpose	(shoe)	-	walking/travel

The existing words for the above musanda terms have been used instead of borrowed words. Therefore neologisms are not preferred in the musanda language.

The nouns thama(9/10) 'ear' and thavha(9/10) 'head' in the musanda language together with their corresponding ndevhe(9/10) 'ears' and thoho(9/10) 'head' in Venda respectively, all belong to the same singular and plural noun formations of classes 9 and 10. It must be emphasised once again that there is a relationship between the musanda and Venda grammatical rules. The chief's head is termed thavha at musanda - this is a shift in meaning from the Venda equivalent thavha 'mountain' taking into account that, as the mountain refers to the highest point as compared to sea level, so is the head the highest point with reference to the body.

During bad times the mountain may be a hiding place of protection for the community around it. In the same sense the head can use its brain to protect the whole body. This figurative way of thinking, if discussed in connection with the musanda language, could form a thesis of its own. For the purpose of this thesis only the diglossic nature of the musanda language will be considered. It may be stated further that even when the chief himself uses the word thavha(9/10) he says

zwi do zwiwa ngeno thavhani 'it will be said by me' which literally is 'it will be said on the mountain'

A further reference to the word thavha is when it means the place of abode of the musanda community and is then referred to as thavhani. With reference to the chief as thavha the following phrases can be given as examples

thavha yo tseremuwa 'the chief has gone'

thavha yo tsiruwa 'the chief has left', and

thavha yo swa 'the chief's head is shaven'

In all these instances the noun thavha(9/10) points to the chief himself. The musanda verbs -zwa 'talk' or 'say', -tseremuwa 'walk', -tsiruwa 'go' or 'leave' and -swa in this context 'shave' or 'remove', are all used with the same noun thavha 'chief' as they appear in the above contexts. As a part of a chief's body the noun thavha refers to the chief's head with a shift of meaning to mean the chief himself in the above contexts.

Tsetshela 'teeth', another example (vi) of a term given as a body part, in musanda belongs to class 9/10, while its corresponding Venda mano(5/6) 'teeth' belongs to class 5/6. The musanda tsetshela may be taken to be a derivative noun from the verb -sea 'laugh' with the applied verb extension of -el-, with the shift of meaning in the noun tsetshela from 'laugh' to 'teeth'. The voiceless fricative [s] becomes the voiced affricative [ts]. The derivational rule governing the use of the extension -el- in juxtaposition with a vocal syllable -ea- transforms the -el- to -tsh- in -sea > -setshela/-vhea > -vhetshela. The same applies to the semi-vowel -w- which becomes -tsh- in -vuwa > -vutshela. Through the process of nasalisation the noun -tuwa > -tutshela/-tsetshela is derived from the verb stem -sea in which case the

s becomes ts. Other examples

<u>-sela</u>	>	<u>tsel</u>	(11/10)	>	winnowing basket
<u>-sumba</u>	>	<u>tsumbo</u>	(9/10)	>	example
<u>-senga</u>	>	<u>tsengo</u>	(9/10)	>	trial

The last noun vhutambo(14) (viii) on the above list either means 'hair' or 'beard' which in Venda is either mavhudzi(6) 'hair' or ndeavu 'beard'. The musanda vhutambo(14) is grouped in the noun class 14 without any singular formation, while the Venda mavhudzi(6) and ndeavu(10) belong to the class 11 in the singular formation. For the plural formation the noun mavhudzi makes use of class 6, whereas the noun ndeavu uses class 10. What is noticed in the musanda language is that the shaving of the hair from the chief's head uses the verb stem swa but the shaving of the beard from the chin is expressed as luv hulula. Therefore the following expressions apply in the musanda language

thavha yo swa 'the chief's head is shaven' and
u luv hulula vhambo 'to shave the chief's chin'

These are the two respective contextual expressions used with reference to either 'hair' or 'beard' and not vice versa. The one cannot replace the other. Venda uses the same verb stem vheula 'shave' in both contexts i.e.

U vheula mavhudzi 'to shave the hair' and
U vheula ndeavu 'to shave the beard'

2.6.2 The chief's bathing occasion

Terms connected with the chief's bathing are learnt during the bathing occasion which takes place once each day. The chief bathes in a special place by the river or stream. This place is called tshizwoni(7/8) in musanda and in Venda tshitamboni(7/8). The musanda noun tshizwoni is derived from the verb stem zwa by prefixing tshi- class 7 and suffixing the locative

ending -ni. When the chief bathes the expression used is u diluzwa. There is something interesting about the senses contained in the musanda -zwa when used in the following contexts

<u>u luzwa</u>	'to clean'
<u>u diluzwa</u>	'to bathe'
<u>u uzwa</u>	'to wash'
<u>mauzwo</u>	'water'

One senses a shift from the basic meaning 'wash', 'bathe' and 'water'. The derivational rules applied to nouns derived from verb stems also apply in the formation of mauzwo(6) from -uzwa; these are

- (i) The class 6 prefix ma- is affixed to the beginning of the verb stem.
- (ii) The nominal ending -o is suffixed substituting the verbal terminative -a at the end of the verb stem -uzwa. Diluzwa 'bathe' is a derivational reflexive verb derived from the verb stem -luzwa by prefixing the reflexive prefix di- 'oneself'. The same verb stem -uzwa is used for washing the chief's clothes and all his/her belongings. In context it will appear as

u uzwa dziphila dza musanda nga mauzwo 'to wash the chief's clothes with water'.

This mauzwo(6) at musanda can also mean 'soap'. In that sense this sentence will have a double connotation, with mauzwo meaning either 'water' or 'soap'.

At musanda verbs with reference to the chief when used in context can mean miscellaneous things. For instance the verb stem -luvha when used for the chief in various contexts will have the following meanings:

- (i) - the mutanuni while she sleeps with the chief
- (ii) - bringing presents to the chief
- (iii) - asking for something from the chief
- (iv) - respectful greeting for the chief
- (v) - receiving punishment from the chief

The above meanings can be illustrated in the following contexts:

- (i) Mutanuni u khou luvha musanda
'the mutanuni sleeps with the chief'
- (ii) Vhathu vha luvha musanda
'people give presents to the chief'
- (iii) Vhakoma vha luvha vhuṭambo musanda
'the chief's mother asks for snuff from the chief'
- (iv) Musanda vha tshi thukha ri a luvha
'when the chief is seated we give a respectful greeting'
- (v) U khou luvha musanda
'he is punished by the chief'

Furthermore the language used with reference to the chief will include his emotions and actions in the words such as

- (i) - alamula 'say in anger'
- (ii) - dzikuwa 'be angry'
- (iii) - ponda 'punish in anger' or 'kill'
- (iv) - shuma 'eat' or 'punish'
- (v) - vhulaha 'call'

The abovementioned words have their equivalent in Venda as:

- (i) - semana 'say in anger'
- (ii) - sinyuwa 'be angry'

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| (iii) | - <u>vhaisa</u> | 'punish in anger' |
| (iv) | - <u>la</u> or <u>vhaisa</u> | 'eat or punish' |
| (v) | - <u>vhidza</u> | 'call' |

which cannot be used when these actions are performed by the chief himself. This is the Venda's way of showing respect for their chief as the head of the Venda nation. The chief's anger is expressed as u dzikuwa (ii) but whatever is said in his/her anger is u alamula. Any punishment meted out in his/her anger is u shuma with a synonym u ponda. The word ponda in the musanda language is always connected with 'kill'. Since the chief is regarded as the great one known for bravery and strength, any punishment meted out by him/her, including the passing of a sentence at the khoro, is regarded as ponda 'killing'.

On the occasion of the chief's death it is said

Mativha o xa

and when he is buried the expression

u nengisa

is used.

The literal translation of the above phrase mativha o xa is 'the lakes are dry' and for u nengisa is 'to take away stealthily'. The literal translation for the musanda language would not make sense. The Venda equivalents of the above phrases are

Vhamusanda vho dzama or

Vhamusanda vho lovha or

Vhamusanda vho ri sia or

Vhamusanda vho xela.

The first phrase Vhamusanda vho dzama is also used by the musanda community to such an extent that some musanda use both contexts i.e.

musanda vho dzama and mativha o xa. This shows that there are instances in which the musanda and Venda languages have influenced one another in their diglossic role which is the main concern of this thesis.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The tutors in the musanda language are generally women who have the responsibility to teach and supervise the accuracy of the language taught. The mutanuni who enters the musanda premises is taught and guided by other women in this musanda language learning process.

The appellations given to those who live on the musanda premises are for status sake. There is promotion in some of their titles like themamudi(9/10) who after installation of her son to the throne she becomes vhatshiozwi(2) or vhakoma(2) and after the death of her son she becomes vhavenda(2). Hence the newly married wife to the chief gains the title mutanuni. If she happens to be the first wife she will be called themamudi after second and subsequent wives have been married to the chief. This means that at musanda only one wife will be privileged to be referred to as the themamudi. Her status is higher than that of a mutanuni in that she is trained and incorporated into the ruling proceedings. Her musanda language knowledge is greater as she is the tutor of the other vhatanuni. The themamudi and the chief's mother vhakoma or vhatshiozwi work hand in hand in this linguistic training of the other vhatanuni. The vhatanuni in turn should teach the mazhinda(6) the musanda language. The themamudi, who happens to give birth to a chief to be, then gains the title vhakoma only after the installation of the chief to the throne. The mother who had been vhakoma then gets the title vhavenda, together with that particular chief's sisters who are also given the same title vhavenda. The khotsimunene(1/2) who worked with the dead chief will also be called vhavenda. So, this vhavenda title is given to the dead chief's mother, sisters and brothers. The respect practised at musanda makes each one of the participants feel it is his/her responsibility

to accomplish his/her role in this language teaching and learning process. Each member of the musanda community values his or her role in this language teaching situation.

Status at musanda is the order of the day. Each one of the musanda members keeps his/her position in this hierarchical structure. This serves as protection to the chief because most of the trivial matters will be solved before being presented to the chief. The headship of the chief in the musanda premises is valued and everything reported to the chief is done in the musanda language by either the vhakoma(2) or vhokhotsimunene(2). This brings us back to the fact that the musanda members who have status happen to be those that are knowledgeable in the musanda language.

Grammatical rules that govern the structure of sentences in Venda also apply in the musanda language. The immediate constituents sequence in Venda is also applied to the musanda language sentences. Therefore the syntactic construction of the musanda sentences is the same as that in Venda. Thus the musanda and Venda languages can be studied diglossically in the musanda community.

Polysemous relationship of words in the musanda language with two or more shifts of meaning is a common phenomenon as demonstrated with such words as phedza(9/10), -tanzwa, and vhutambo(14). The sense relation of homonymy with words of the same form but different senses is revealed in such words as murunzi and fhaladza.

The vhomakhadzi at musanda is the most important figure because she has the right to choose the new chief. When the chief is installed there is a makhadzi(1/2) singular of vhomakhadzi used only before her marriage, to be installed with him to whom he should lodge his complaints or note anything to be discussed. The linguistic training of the musanda community is done by vhomakhadzi(2) who is assisted by the themamudi(9/10) with their

adviser vhakoma(2) or vhatshiozwi(2) who is constantly consulted for the difficult and forgotten words in the musanda language.

The themamudi(9/10) is the mother of the nation who, in some communities, is the 'first lady'. She has various roles to play at musanda such as, besides being the chief's first wife, becomes the succeeding chief's mother and is trained in the ruling tactics. In some musanda communities she is allowed to rule in the place of her son/daughter if that son/daughter is still a minor. She is also the chief educator in the musanda language and any other procedures to be followed at musanda by the musanda members, especially the women.

According to the Venda custom the chief is allowed to marry as many wives as he possibly can. This custom, besides being protective to the chief's behaviour, helps to enlarge the musanda community. All those who join the musanda community are admired by the rest of the Venda nation because they acquire a higher status and recognition. The vhatanuni(1/2) at musanda, besides learning the musanda language, in turn should teach this language to the mazhinda(5/6). In the vhatanuni's daily routine of housework, laundry and cooking, the musanda language is used and transmitted to the mazhinda(5/6) in informal situations.

The mazhinda, who form the basis for the future nation, learn the musanda language from birth simultaneously with the Venda language. This diglossic situation to which they become exposed from childhood, perpetuates throughout their lives, since their instruction is to marry into or from another royal family. This custom of marrying from or getting married into another musanda helps preserve the musanda language in its pure state and lessens the burden of teaching the musanda language to new members of the musanda community joining it for the first time.

The chief, vhamusanda(2), is the central pivot around which the musanda language rotates. His position as head of a nation demands a special language to honour him which is the concern of this thesis. Although it is difficult to determine the origin of the musanda language, the fact remains that it is a language like any existing language that we know of. There are many languages whose origins have not yet been fully determined and the musanda language is no exception. The only difference between the musanda language and other languages is that it is the language for the royal families used by the musanda communities within the Venda nation. Its uniformity in all the musanda shows its constant transmission from one generation to the next and from one musanda to another.

Following this chapter on linguistic training at musanda is a discussion of linguistic terms that are associated with the erection and building of the structures at musanda.

CHAPTER 3

TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MUSANDA BUILDING STRUCTURES

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Having dealt in Chapter 2 with the hierarchy in the musanda social structure and the appropriate language employed, the terms used for the musanda building structures can now be considered. Existing side by side with the term musanda is the term thavhani and both are used synonymously. The musanda or thavhani is the largest place of abode in each particular chief's domain. In the past it was customary for many subjects to live with their chief since the Venda believe in the protection of their ruling head.

As years have passed the musanda community have fewer members as only those who are next of kin have been allowed to stay with the chief. Stayt (1931) discovered more than 250 members belonging to any one musanda while Du Plessis (1945) in his research found fewer than 50 members in some of the musanda communities.

While this research was being undertaken the average smaller misanda had approximately 20 members and the larger misanda had an average of 100 members. In this respect the misanda visited can be grouped into three categories, viz:

- (a) Mashau, Masia, Hamutsha, Tshakhuma and Tsianda with an average of 20-40 members.
- (b) Makuya, Sinthumule, Ngwenani, Tshimbupfe, Tshikonelo, Lwamondo and Thengwe with an average of 50-70 members.
- (c) The largest misanda being Mphephu, Mphaphuli, Tshivhase and Rambuḁa with an average of 80-100 members.

The musanda members nowadays consist of the chief himself with his wives, children, brothers and sisters together with their families, his father's brothers and the rest of the people who depend upon the chief for their living. All these members have houses to live in. These structures are the main concern of this chapter.

The chief himself owns the largest house with its own kitchen, both structures of which are situated on the upper level of the musanda premises (see diagram 2 below on page 71). A third structure on this level is the store house. Around these three structures are walls built of stones or fences made of branches woven together or poles sharpened at their tips.

These building structures at musanda are

<u>pfamo</u>	(9/10)	>	chief's house
<u>tshamudane</u>	(7/8)	>	chief's kitchen
<u>mutaladzhadzi</u>	(3/4)	>	chief's store house

The walls are

<u>mirango</u>	(4)	>	stone walls
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The fences are either

<u>mafasho</u>	(6)	>	of woven branches or,
<u>mateswi</u>	(6)	>	poles sharpened at the tips

Some of the above-mentioned words are derivatives like pfamo derived from the verb stem -fama used for the chief for 'sleep', for instance musanda vho fama - 'the chief is asleep'. Mafasho is derived from the verb stem fasha - 'weave or hook'.

The mirango, mafasho and mateswi differ in the use of different materials otherwise the purpose served is the same i.e. of protecting the houses of the upper level to give privacy.

The tshamudane is solely meant for the preparation of the chief's food. In some misanda they call it tshiyamudane. The mutaladzhadzhi which is the chief's store house is also known as zwavhumbwa, both of these forms being synonymous. This mutaladzhadzhi house is built next to the chief's pfamo to serve as a store place, storing only the chief's belongings. This building together with the chief's pfamo and tshamudane are situated on the upper level of the musanda premises (see diagram 2 below).

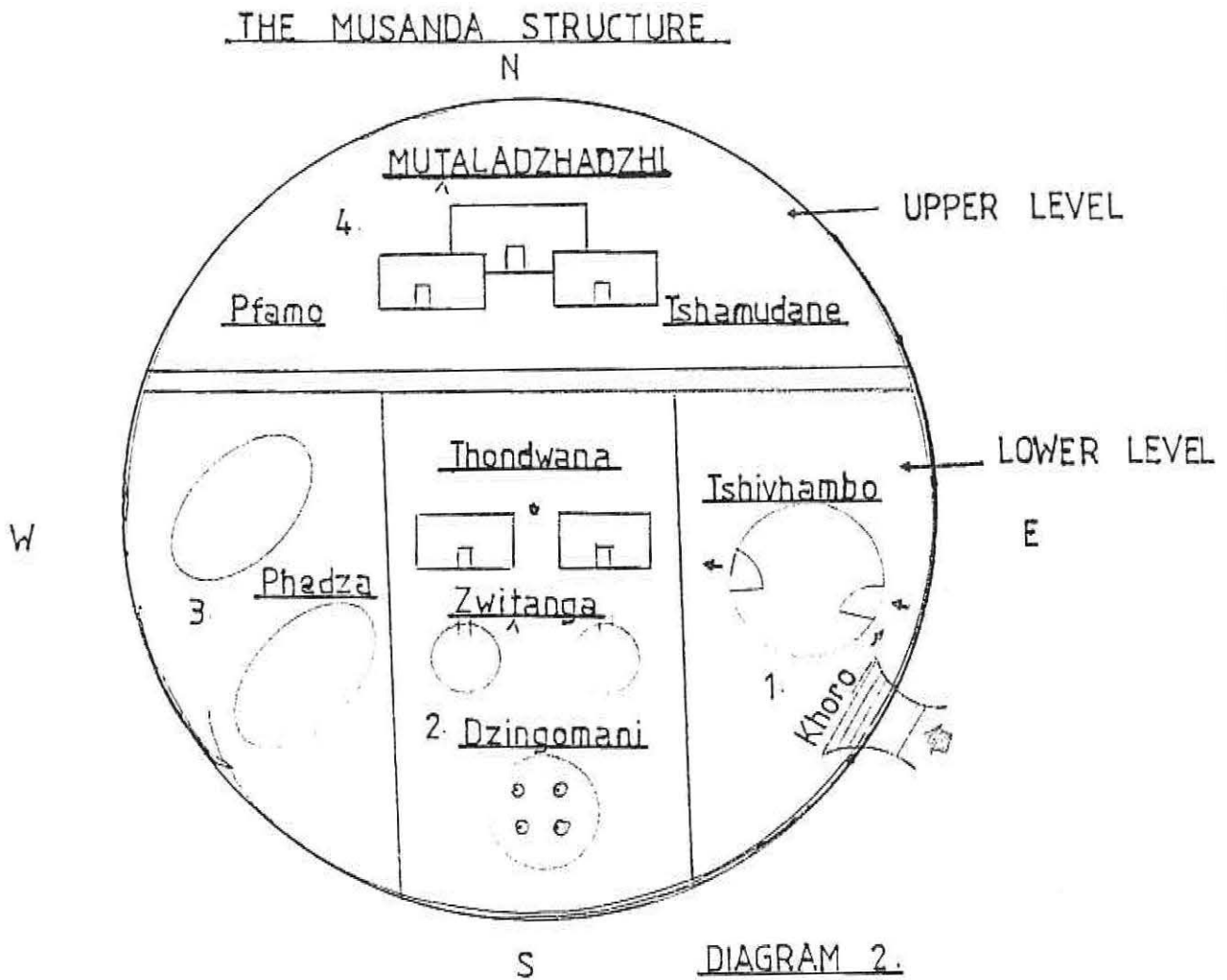
On the lower level the chief's wives and their children stay in their huts and have kitchens in which to cook their food. Both the house and the kitchen structures are situated on the lower level of the musanda premises (see diagram 2 below). Besides these houses and kitchens on the lower level a hut is specially built for the stamping blocks and stamping pins used to pound corn into corn flour. The names of these structures are:

<u>thondwana</u>	(9/10)	>	house
<u>tshitanga</u>	(7/8)	>	kitchen
<u>dzingomani</u>	(10)	>	stamping house

There is a figurative derivation with the nouns dzingomani 'stamping house' and tshiombo 'stamping pin' when compared with the noun ngoma 'drum' and tshiombo 'pin for beating the drum'. The noun tshiombo is derived from the verb omba which means 'beat'. The ngoma 'stamping block' and tshiombo 'stamping pin' are always in the dzingomani structure.

Close to the khoro, which is a yard or area close to the gateway into the musanda premises, is the two-door chamber for court cases, tshivhambo, also used for other gatherings and functions taking place in the musanda, such as the initiation of the commoner girls. Behind all the buildings already mentioned on the lower level are the store structures, phedza (see diagram 2 section 3), which in Venda are known as madulu, zwitatar and zwisiku, all for grain storage in various stages to be discussed later in this chapter.

Below is a diagram to show the four sections of the musanda premises:



As has been mentioned the khoro is the area around the entrance. The tshivhambo has two doors, one of which faces the khoro and the other directly opposite. This comprises section 1 of the musanda premises as it appears in diagram 2. The zwitanga are between the dzingomani and the thondwana buildings on section 2. Directly opposite them on a higher level are the thondwana buildings. Section 3 still on the lower level, has the store buildings phedza towards the western side of the musanda premises.

On the upper level which forms section 4 on the diagram are the tshamudane and the pfamo in the forefront with the mutaladzhadzhi in the background. The musanda language is used in and around all these buildings that appear in diagram 2. Other buildings which have further terms used in their construction appear in the following sub-section.

3.1 TERMS EMPLOYED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER MUSANDA STRUCTURES

The Venda chief vhamusanda is honoured by the community which performs all the duties of the musanda, hence the proverbs

khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu
'the chief is so because of the support he gets from the people'
Khuba (1983:13)

and

u luvha a hu na mapone
'paying homage to the chief causes no blisters or harm'
Khuba (1983:15)

What is really meant in the two proverbs above is that the chief can only be a chief if he has people over whom to rule. The pride of the Venda lies in paying homage to their chief.

In building the musanda structures, men of stature come together to discuss the issue of building the structures on the upper level (see diagram 2). The materials to collect for the pfamo 'chief's house' the tshamudane 'chief's kitchen' and the mutaladzhadzhi 'the store house on the upper level where the chief lives' structures are:

<u>Musanda</u>		<u>Venda</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>luswielo</u>	(11)	<u>hatsi</u>	grass
<u>mabara</u>	(6)	<u>basha</u>	poles
<u>mbabvu</u>	(10)	<u>mbalelo</u>	thin poles
<u>tsinga</u>	(10) or		
<u>zwituka</u>	(8)	<u>nnzi</u>	rope

The mabara are poles used for erecting the building structures and making the structure for the roof. The thin poles, mbabvu, binding the big poles, mabara, together are tied by the rope, zwituka or tsinga. The roof is then thatched with grass, luswielo. This roof at musanda is lwango, denga, shimba or luvhimba. In the musanda language the term lwango is used to indicate a roof not yet thatched; but in the process of being thatched it is referred to as the shimba, until the last tuft of grass is put on top, then it can be referred to as the luvhimba or the denga. Nonetheless some musanda maintain that all four nouns mentioned, i.e. lwango, denga, shimba and luvhimba refer to roof. The Venda on the contrary refer to the roof as thanga in all its stages.

The verbs used in relation to the roof or roofing in both musanda and Venda appear as follows:

- luvhedza for thatch at musanda which is fulela in Venda
- tanzwa for the last layer of grass at the top of the roof at musanda which is also tanzwa in Venda. Venda has an extra verb for the structure of the roof at the start of making it which is lula, when the longer poles are tied together in a cone shape and bound with strings and thinner poles

The verb luvhedza at musanda, besides being used for the roof, is also used for plastering the body of the house. For the last coating in the plastering, the verb used is tanzwa. The same applies to the floor inside the house when the ground is first pressed down firmly and this is termed u luvhedza

and the finishing work is u tanzwa.

Besides what has been mentioned above, the verb stem -tanzwa at musanda in context has miscellaneous other meanings such as:

Musanda

1. U tanzwa lutambwe nga mutanzwo
(to sweep the inner yard with a broom)
2. U tanzwa nga vhurrdzi
(to smear cow dung (in cleaning))
3. U tanzwa pfamo
(to plaster/smear the pfamo)
4. U tanzwa luvhimba/denga nga luswielo
(to thatch the roof with grass)

Venda

1. U swiela muta nga luswielo
2. U shula nga vhutoko
3. U hulunga pfamo/u shula pfamo
4. U fulela thanga nga hatsi

Another example of meaning in context is with the verb luvhedza when it conveys the following different meanings:

Musanda

1. U luvhedza lwango nga luswielo
(to thatch a roof with grass)
2. U luvhedza pfamo
(to plaster the pfamo)
3. U luvhedza pfamo
(to press firmly the floor of the pfamo)

4. U luvhedza khulungo
(to make a low wall around the pfamo)
5. U luvhedza vhatanuni vhutambo
(to put the headgear on the vhatanuni's heads)

Venda

1. U fulela thanga nga hatsi
2. U hulunga pfamo
3. U kupa pfamo
4. U kupa guvha
5. U ambadza vhatanuni zwiala

The musanda verb -luvhedza is used in a diglossic way with the words -fulela, -hulunga, -kupa and -ambadza in Venda. The above contexts will assist in showing the meanings intended. When the verb -luvhedza is used with the noun lwango it indicates the thatching action done on the roof. On the other hand, when it is used with the noun pfamo, it means either to plaster the body of the pfamo structure or to level the floor by pressing down firmly with a flat-headed club. The same verb is used in a ceremony at which the vhatanuni (young chief's wives) are given their honour in the form of headgears for the nation to recognise and respect them.

In the term -luvhedza the reversive action may also be accomplished by the addition of the verbal extension -ulul-, giving it the form of -luvhulula, which can be used in such instances as:

Musanda

1. U luvhulula vhutambo
(To shave the chief's beard.)
2. U luvhulula makumba
(To remove the outer pellicle of the mealies.)

Venda

1. U vheula ndebvu (referred to the chief)
2. U tohola mavhele

While structurally the verb -luv hulula may be said to be derived from -luv hedza, semantically it does not imply the reversive as expected. The verbs -luvha, -luv hedza and -luv hulula at musanda do not conform to a shift in meaning in the same way as the Venda verbal items might do, e.g. -pomba, -pombedza and -pombulula or -pombolola which make use of different verbal extensions with the same verb stem.

Compare the Venda.

<u>-pomba</u>	wind around
<u>-pombedza</u>	wind around repeatedly
<u>-pombulula</u>	rewind

Diglossically it is therefore necessary for the users of both languages to acquire the real meaning in the appropriate context.

In the building of the musanda structure there is division of work. The men are responsible for the erecting of the building and their work is accomplished when the door is finally fixed to the door frame. At musanda the door is ngwena and the door frame is tshifariso. The same nouns in Venda are vothi and muhangambwa respectively. Examples:

Tshifariso tsha ngwena 'door frame for the door' in the musanda language and muhangambwa wa vothi in Venda.

The noun ngwena at musanda can also refer to the chief's long handled calabash used for drinking beverages and water, or to the chief himself in his capacity of staying at home in the saying

'ngwenā a i bvi tivhani'

which means the chief is always in his palace.

Three verbs are used at musanda for the plastering, namely -munedza, -luvhedza and -tanzwa. Munedza is used for the application of the first layer in the plastering process. For the second coat, which is smoother than the first, the verb used is -luvhedza as has already been mentioned in this discussion. The last coat applied in coloured soil makes use of the verb -tanzwa.

In Venda the musanda verbs above appear as -nama for -munedza, -hulunga for -luvhedza (on a wall) or -kupa for -luvhedza (on the floor), and -tanzwa for the last stage which is also -tanzwa at musanda. Incidentally, the last processes applied to the roof, the wall and the floor at musanda use the same verb -tanzwa as appears in this discussion.

The verb -tanzwa in the musanda language has a number of associated polysemous meanings with the same morphological structure illustrated by the following sentences:

<u>U tanzwa lutambwe</u>	'to sweep the yard'
<u>U tanzwa tshamudane</u>	'to smear the kitchen with cow dung'
<u>U tanzwa murango</u>	'to plaster the wall (last coat)'
<u>U tanzwa denga</u>	'to thatch a roof'

All the four senses of sweep, smear, plaster and thatch in the verb -tanzwa, as exemplified in the above sentences, bear the basic meaning of 'clean'.

The same procedure, as discussed above, is followed in the building of the chief's kitchen, tshamudane, and the store hut, mutaladzhadzhi. Terraced ways, mikoto, are built meandering down the lower part of the area towards where the rest of the members of the musanda community stay. The upper

part of the musanda area is for the chief, vhamusanda, to stay with the elected mutanuni serving him at that time.

Entrance to the upper part of the musanda area is gained by permission, granted by either the vhamusanda himself or the vhakoma in consultation with vhomakhadzi. The musanda language on this upper level of the musanda area is used without compromise.

On the western side of the thondwana and zwitanga building structures, see diagram 2, towards the fence, are the phedza granaries which in Venda are either madulu, zwitatani, and zwisiku as already discussed. The dulu granary stores the shelled grains; the tshitatari granary stores the cobs before they are shelled and the tshisiku granary which is built underground, stores the maize grains as a future supply for use in time of hunger.

The musanda noun phedza is a homotonal homonym with different meanings such as:

- phedza - referring to head of cattle, (in Venda kholomo)
- the kraal in which the herd of cattle is kept, (Venda danga or tshitumba for goats)
- goat, (in Venda mbudzi)
- sheep, (in Venda nngu)
- plastered granary, (in Venda dulu)
- open granary, (in Venda tshitatari)
- underground granary, (tshisiku in Venda)
- wealth (thakha in Venda)
- a mature princess when attending the initiation school used in the context 'phedza yo dzhena dzivhani' i.e. the mature princess is receiving initiation lessons to prepare her for her future life

As seen from the above examples the musanda noun phedza has different lexical items in Venda.

The thondwana and zwitanga on the lower level of the musanda premises (cf. diagram 2) are built for the vhatanuni and mazhinda. In some modernised musanda like that of Chief Timeli, Chief Rammbuda, Chief Makuya, Chief Netshimbupfe and Chief Mphephu, the vhatanuni have houses as their thondwana and perhaps only the zwitanga are constructed as rondavels. The language used on this lower level is more of a diglossic nature since both Venda and the musanda language are spoken. However, it is only in the presence of commoners that Venda is used. The building of the structures on the lower level offers an opportunity for the commoners to lend a hand. This is the level which commoners frequent daily on various missions or errands. Diglossically both languages are used everyday on this level. In the section to follow there is a discussion of the tshitanga on the lower level with the associated language used.

3.2 THE TERMS CONNECTED WITH THE TSHITANGA

The tshitanga is one of the building structures situated on the lower level at musanda. As has already been mentioned in the foregoing sub-section, the musanda language in the tshitanga is used in a diglossic manner depending upon the situation.

The tshitanga is built for the purpose of cooking when the mutanuni is not staying on the upper level with vhamusanda, in his pfamo. Traditionally the tshitanga building is larger than the thondwana in diameter because, of necessity, it contains more utensils than the thondwana. Moreover its daily functions far exceed those of the thondwana. During their daily visits to the musanda, commoners can go only as far as the tshitanga and no further, unless invited for a specific purpose. It is during the presence of these commoners that the language Venda is used by both the musanda

community members and their commoner visitors.

In the middle of the tshitanga is a fireplace with three hearth stones for a clay pot to rest on while cooking. Beside the tshitanga there is a hut built for the milling of maize flour. The following musanda terms are used in comparison with the Venda terms:

<u>Musanda</u>	<u>Venda</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>dzingomani</u> (9/10)	<u>gohani</u>	milling hut
<u>lubuvhi</u> (11/4)	<u>vhukopfu</u>	flour
<u>matiko</u> (5/6)	<u>matswia</u>	hearth stones
<u>phandu</u> (9/10)	<u>mulilo</u>	fire
<u>tshinaru</u> (7/8)	<u>tshivhaso</u>	hearth or
<u>shimba</u> (5/6)	<u>tshivhaso</u>	fire place
<u>tshingwana</u> (9/10)	<u>khali</u>	clay pot
<u>tshiombo</u> (7/8)	<u>musi</u>	stamping pin

The above musanda nouns in comparison with the Venda nouns all belong to one or another of the existing noun classes in Venda. Some of the nouns in both languages belong to corresponding noun classes such as

<u>matiko</u> and <u>matswia</u>	(5/6)
<u>tshingwana</u> and <u>khali</u>	(9/10)
<u>tshinaru</u> and <u>tshivhaso</u>	(7/8)

The rest belong to different noun classes although expressing the same concept. These are

<u>dzingomani</u> (9/10)	and	<u>gohani</u> (5/6)
<u>lubuvhi</u> (11/14)	and	<u>vhukhopfu</u> (14/4)
<u>phandu</u> (9/10)	and	<u>mulilo</u> (3/4)
<u>shimba</u> (5/6)	and	<u>tshivhaso</u> (7/8)
<u>tshiombo</u> (7/8)	and	<u>musi</u> (3/4)

The linguistic terms applied to most of the utensils in the tshitanga remain the same in both the musanda and Venda languages. The following terms:

<u>khali</u> (9/10)	-	clay pot
<u>matswia</u> (5/6)	-	hearth stone
<u>mulilo</u> (3/4)	-	fire
<u>tshitanga</u> (7/8)	-	kitchen
<u>tshivhaso</u> (7/8)	-	fire place

are the same in both languages provided they are used on the lower level of the musanda premises. The following terms from the above sequence

<u>tshingwana</u> (9/10)	-	clay pot
<u>matiko</u> (5/6)	-	hearth stones
<u>phandu</u> (9/10)	-	fire
<u>tshamudane</u> (7/8)	-	kitchen
<u>tshinaru</u> (7/8) or <u>shimba</u> (5/6)	-	fire place

are used on the upper level where only the musanda terms are employed to show respect for the vhamusanda.

In the building of the tshitanga, members are organised into what is called dzunde i.e. work done for the chief for no remuneration. Commoners are also allowed to lend a hand. The following materials are then collected:

<u>basha</u>	(5/6)	-	building poles
<u>hatsi</u>	(11/4)	-	grass for thatching
<u>mbalelo</u>	(11/10)	-	thin sticks
<u>nnzi</u>	(11/10)	-	rope

These terms retain the same names in Venda and should also be compared with those used for the tshamudane in sub-section 3.4 for the same materials which are, in the above sequence

<u>mabara</u>	(5/6)	-	building poles
<u>luswielo</u>	(11/10)	-	grass for thatching
<u>mbabvu</u>	(11/10)	-	thin sticks
<u>zwituka</u>	(7/8)	-	rope

In the modern musanda, bricks are used instead of poles. The work party, dzunde affords the commoners an opportunity to learn the musanda language. Nearly all the contents and utensils in the tshitanga retain the same names in both languages. This could be attributed to the fact that commoners have access to this lower level at musanda.

The terms employed in the tshitanga differ from those used in the tshamudane since this is a kitchen meant solely for the preparation of the food for the vhamusanda. The following terms may be compared to serve as examples:

<u>tshitanga</u>		<u>tshamudane</u>		<u>kitchen</u>
<u>guda</u>	(5/6)	<u>lukumbi</u>	(11/10)	verandah
<u>guvha</u>	(5/6)	<u>khuluno</u>	(9/10)	low wall
<u>khono/khii</u>	(9/10)	<u>mano</u>	(5/6)	keys
<u>khuni</u>	(11/10)	<u>mafhali</u>	(5/6)	fire wood
<u>lufheto</u>	(11/10)	<u>tsika</u>	(9/10)	wire beater
<u>lufo</u>	(11/10)	<u>tshanda</u>	(7/8)	wooden spoon
<u>luvhondo</u>	(11/10)	<u>murango</u>	(3/4)	wall
<u>matswia</u>	(5/6)	<u>matiko</u>	(5/6)	hearth stones
<u>muhangambwa</u>	(3/4)	<u>tshifariso</u>	(7/8)	door frame
<u>muthambi</u>	(3/4)	<u>nekedzo</u>	(9/10)	hanger
<u>mvuvhelo</u>	(9/10)	<u>murunzi</u>	(3/4)	decorated clay pot
<u>tshikumbu</u>	(7/8)	<u>tshiangaro</u>	(7/8)	calabash
<u>tshiukhuvha</u>	(7/8)	<u>tshiluvhedzo</u>	(7/8)	door step
<u>tshivhaso</u>	(7/8)	<u>tshinaru</u>	(7/8)	hearth or fire place
<u>vhurala</u>	(14)	<u>shimba</u>	(5/6)	rack
<u>vothi</u>	(5/6)	<u>mafhaha</u>	(5/6)	rack
		<u>maalo</u>	(5/6)	rack
		<u>ngwena</u>	(9/10)	door

The nouns for the same articles in the tshitanga and the tshamudane do not necessarily belong to the same noun classes as it is clear from the above examples. In very few cases the nouns belong to the same noun class.

Mano for 'keys' at musanda exists in Venda as 'teeth'. Such words as mano do exist in both languages but differ in their semantic content. Extracted from the above examples such words are:

tshanda 'hand' in Venda; musanda 'wooden spoon'
murunzi 'shade' in Venda; musanda 'chief's beer pot' and
ngwena means 'crocodile' in Venda; musanda 'door'.

The above Venda list of nouns has fewer derivatives than the musanda derivatives. The Venda derivatives are lufheto derived from the verb stem -fheta with its corresponding musanda noun tsika derived from the verb stem -sika; and the Venda tshivhaso derived from the verb stem -vhasa. Further musanda derivatives from the above list of nouns are

matiko 'hearth stones' derived from the verb -tika 'support';
nekedzo 'hanger' from the verb -nekedza 'hand over';
tshifariso 'door frame' from the verb -farisa 'help' and
maalo 'mat/rack' from the verb stem -ala 'spread out'.

The musanda noun shimba may appear in Venda as a verb to mean the act of smearing a floor with cow dung for the purpose of cleaning, or a noun meaning the paw of a huge animal like an elephant or a lion. Examples,
Ŋwana u shimba tshivhaso - the child cleans the hearth
Ndau i na shimba lihulu - the lion has a big paw.

Both musanda and Venda languages do have nouns with the same gloss that belong to the same class prefixes such as

matswia and matiko (5/6)
tshikumbu and tshiangaro (7/8)
tshiukhuvha and tshiluvhedzo (7/8)
tshivhaso and tshinaru (7/8).

3.3 DIGLOSSIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE MUTANUNI'S THONDWANA

The structure of the thondwana which the mutanuni uses resembles that of the tshitanga discussed in 3.2, although it is built on a higher level than that of the tshitanga. The rule is that they must face each other. This is where the vhatanuni live.

The newly married mutanuni must first go up and stay with the chief before she earns a tshitanga of her own. After five months of pregnancy which is called u lunwa nga ngwena 'to become pregnant' she comes to the lower level to join the rest of the vhatanuni. Only then can a tshitanga be built for her.

For the delivery of her firstborn child she returns to her birth place and stays with her parents until the child is almost two years old. On her return to the musanda premises a thondwana hut is built for her.

This thondwana, as already mentioned in paragraph 3.2, is smaller than the tshitanga in size. Besides serving as a sleeping place, the thondwana is used for the storage of clothing and other equipment and furniture.

The building of the thondwana is the same as that of the tshitanga although the thondwana is more soundly built and has no fire place, tshivhaso. Unlike the tshitanga the thondwana does not have a raised platform called marululu. The roof of the thondwana and that of the tshitanga bear the name thanga unlike that of the pfamo whose roof is termed lwango/denga.

A special gathering is called for the building of the thondwana. This gathering, including the real working, is known as dzunde at musanda. If the same gathering can be organised for the building of a commoner's hut, the work party then acquires the name davha. This spirit of working

together amongst the Venda is coupled with the language used during that activity. The language used in the building of the thondwana on this lower level of the musanda premises is diglossic because both Venda and the musanda languages are used.

If this type of gathering is rewarded with food, besides beer, then it is qualified as davha la mufaelo lit. working party into which food is served in Venda, which at musanda remains as dzunde without any qualificative. The musanda dzunde and the Venda davha make use of the same verb stem to invite people i.e.

-ramba 'invite'.

The thondwana structure includes the following lexical items which have the same form in both Venda and the musanda languages:

<u>muthambi</u>	(3/4)	'hanger'
<u>tshifhande</u>	(7/8)	'peg'
<u>tshikwama</u>	(7/8)	'shelf'

The muthambi is a pole put across the roof on the inside of the hut to serve as a hanger for clothes and on which other articles may be hung.

The tshifhande a protruding peg from the wall is for articles that can be hitched against the wall and the tshikwama which is a pocket built on the wall is for smaller articles to be shelved in. The abovementioned three projections in the house at musanda do not exist in the tshitanga. On the other hand the commoner's tshitanga has the tshifhande with two pegs across which the lufheto (wire beater) and the lufo 'wooden spoon' are put when not in use.

Like that of the pfamo, the roof for the thondwana is plastered from the inside. The term used for the plastering of the thondwana roof is u munedza while for the pfamo's roof, i.e. denga, the verb used is u tanzwa.

Although the vhatanuni may each have a thondwana, it is only the themamudi's thondwana that is used for the initiation of the princesses, mazhinda, who have reached their puberty stage. The process when these princesses receive their lessons at musanda is expressed as

zhinda li khou f'isa,

which in Venda is

mukololo u khou imbelwa

The literal translation of musanda language is 'the princess is hot'. This English translation of the musanda phrase above is meaningless in this context but implies that she is in the initiation school. The verb -fhisa in this context means 'ill'-used as an excuse for people not to see her, whereas the verb stem -fhisa is compared to the high temperature of a patient.

During this initiation performance in the thondwana, no commoner is allowed any access. The commoners' initiation activity is staged in the tshivhambo 'the two door chamber', also situated on the musanda premises but at the khoro ground. The tshivhambo is the very first building to be reached when entering the musanda premises.

The language used in and around the thondwana is diglossic in that both Venda and the musanda languages are used. The commoners are allowed to lend a hand in the construction of the thondwana. While the two groups of musanda and commoners are working both languages are used without any formal switching over from one language to another. The language used in the tshitanga is the same as that used in the thondwana.

Example

Muṭanuni u dzhia makumba a yo sinda dzingomani nga tshiombo e kha ngoma.

The muṭanuni takes the mealies and goes to stamp in the stamping hut using the stamping pin and the stamping block.

In this codeswitching the musanda noun muṭanuni is then followed by the Venda verb stem -dzhia. The musanda noun makumba is followed by the Venda phrase a yo sinda in this sentence construction. The rest of the sentence is switched over to the musanda language i.e. dzingomani nga tshiombo e kha ngoma.

The following sub-section will discuss the language used in the chief's tshamudane to compare it with that used in the tshitanga.

3.4 THE LANGUAGE USED AT MUSANDA IN THE TSHAMUDANE

The tshamudane is built specifically for the preparation of the chief's food by the muṭanuni in service. The language used is mainly the musanda language taught to the new muṭanuni by the themamudi. Should the themamudi be the muṭanuni in service, she in turn is taught the musanda language by the chief's mother vhakoma.

The proper procedure is that the themamudi accompanies the muṭanuni up to the chief's yard on the upper level of the musanda premises where the pfamo and the tshamudane are. Once on that upper level, lessons on the musanda language start from the surrounding open space which is the lutambwe. While on the lutambwe the muṭanuni learns the following phrases explained by the themamudi:

1. U tanzwa lutambwe nga mutanzwo.
Venda: U swiela muta nga luswielo.
English: To sweep the yard with a broom.
(see also p.74)
2. U tanzwa lutambwe nga vhuredzi.
Venda: U shula muta nga vhutoko.
English: To clean the yard with cow dung.
(see also p.74)

In the first phrase the verb 'to clean' u tanzwa, has been adhered to in the process of sweeping and the derivative noun for broom mutanzwo in the musanda language. The same derivation takes place in Venda when the Venda verb stem -swiela has the derived noun of luswielo. However in the second phrase the verb stem -tanzwa has no influence upon the relevant noun vhuredzi. The same applies to the Venda phrase where the verb stem shula has no constructive influence on the noun vhutoko.

The verb stem -tanzwa in the musanda language is represented by two different verb stems in Venda which are -swiela and -shula depending upon the context in which it is used.

In both phrases 1 and 2 above and in both languages the phrases behave structurally the same with the same sequence of immediate constituents.

From the lutambwe the lessons will proceed to the tshamudane where the mutanuni is taught the following expressions given with demonstrations where necessary:

1. Ngwena ya tshamudane i a tivhulwa.
2. Khokhola ya vhewa kha tshiluvhedzo.
3. Phandu i honzwa shimbani/tshinaruni nga mafhali.
4. U tadzia tshingwana nga madzivha.

5. U hwedza tshingwana kha matiko.

Venda

1. Vothi la tshamudane li a vulwa.
2. U gwadama kha tshiukhuvha.
3. Mulilo u vhaswa tshivhasoni nga khuni.
4. U shela madi khalini.
5. U vhea khali kha matswia.

English

1. The tshamudane door is opened.
2. Kneeling at the door way to show respect.
3. The fire is made in the hearth with fire wood.
4. Pour water into the clay pot.
5. Put the clay pot on the hearth stones.

From the above examples the noun tshamudane remains the same in both languages to show respect for the chief's property. The sentence construction in both the musanda and Venda languages from the above phrases make use of some passive verbs which are

-tivhulwa

-vhewa and

-honzwa

in the musanda language, and

-vulwa and

-vhaswa

in Venda.

The passive form is used in these contexts to demonstrate that the passive formation in the musanda language can be maintained in Venda. This makes it easier for both languages to be used as a diglossia.

The locative suffix -ni is applied in both languages to express the same location in sentence 3

shimbani < shimba + -ni or
tshinaruni < tshinaru + -ni

at musanda and tshivhasoni < tshivhaso + -ni in Venda. Another morphological similarity is that of the use of the class prefix tshi- for the musanda tshiluvhedzo and tshinaru respectively. The locative application is also derived with the use of kha as the locative prefix for tshiluvhedzo in kha tshiluvhedzo and matiko in kha matiko in the musanda language which in Venda is kha tshiukhuvha and kha matswia respectively. The semantic connotation of class (7) for tshiluvhedzo and tshinaru is that of diminution. It is therefore easy for the mutanuni, who comes from a commoner's family, to learn the musanda language whose sentence construction is more or less similar to that of Venda in most respects.

Furthermore the mutanuni is alerted of the cleanliness to be maintained in the tshamudane in the following sentences:

1. U bvisa zwivhuvhi tshinaruni/shimbani.
2. U tanzwa tshinaru/shimba nga vhuredzi.
3. U uzwa dzitshingwana nga madzivha.

Venda

1. U kumba miora tshivhasoni.
2. U shula tshivhaso nga vhutoko.
3. U tanzwa dzikhali nga madi.

English

1. To remove ashes from the hearth.
2. To clean the hearth with cow dung.
3. To clean the clay pots with water.

The verb stems -bvisa, -tanzwa and -uzwa in the musanda language have corresponding norms which are zwivhuvhi, tshinaru/shimba and dzitshingwana respectively. This shows how important it is that a word be used in its appropriate context which brings out its meaning clearly. Those musanda which hold the view that the noun shimba can be used with the verb -shimba will therefore express the cleaning of the hearth with cow dung as

u shimba shimba

in which case the first -shimba is a verb stem and the second shimba a noun. The plural formation with the class prefix dzi- (10) for both dzitshingwana in the musanda language and dzikhali in Venda can appear without the class prefix. Therefore tshingwana in the musanda language and khali in Venda can express both the singular and plural forms. Many other examples such as phedza, ngwena and tshanda discussed throughout this thesis are used to express both singular and plural.

While still with the process of cooking, the mutanuni will learn to use the wire beater and the wooden spoon which bear the names tsika and tshanda respectively and in Venda lufheto and lufo.

Tsika (9/10) is a derivative noun from the verb sika which means 'to create' while the Venda lufheto (11/10) is derived from the verb stem -fheta 'twirl'.

In context these terms will appear as

u sika malinga nga tsika 'to make food with a wire beater'

u akha malinga nga tshanda 'to cook food with a wooden spoon'

in the musanda language and

u fheta vhuswa nga lufheto

u timba vhuswa nga lufo

in Venda.

Each noun appears with its verb in the appropriate context and would be meaningless if exchanged.

In this language use, the themamudi goes on showing the mutanuni how to dish out the chief's food onto the wooden plate called phondelo by using the following sentences:

1. Malinga a fhaladzelwa kha phondelo.
Food is dished out onto the wooden dish.
2. Malinga na pfumi zwi turelwa mufaroni, zwa fhelekedzwa/tshimbizwa pfamoni.
Food and meat for the chief is covered in a basket and taken to the pfamo.
3. Madzivha a u uzwa mafamba a musanda a farwa nga mulungu.
Water to wash the chief's hands is poured into the dish.
4. Mutanuni u takusa musanda.
The mutanuni calls the chief.

Venda

1. Vhuswa vhu avhelwa kha phondelo.
2. Vhuswa na muroho zwi tibelwa mufaroni zwa iswa pfamoni.
3. Madi a u tamba zwanda zwa musanda a shelwa kha sambelo.
4. U vhidza vhamusanda.

From the above four sentences the musanda verb stem -fhaladza in the first sentence is -avha in Venda. The musanda verb stem is in the causative form with the causative verb ending -dza, whereas the Venda corresponding verb stem -avha is used in the basic form without any meaningful verbal extension. The verb stem -tura in the musanda language (second sentence) has the derivational nominal muturo. In Venda the derivative noun is mutibo derived from tiba 'cover'. In both Venda and the musanda language many of the word constructions are used as derivatives.

The above sentences make it clear that diglossically verbal extensions and derivatives are used in both Venda and the musanda language. For instance

Musanda

-fhaladza > -fhala-dz-/-el/-a > -fhala-/-dz-/-iw-/-a >
-fhaladz-/-el-/-iw-/-a > -fhaladzelwa

in which the following verbal extensions have been used

causative -dz-

applicative -el-

passive -iw-

-fhelekedza > -fheleke-/-dz-/-a > -fheleke- + -dz- + -iw- + -a >
-fhelekedzwa

with the

causative -dz- and the

passive -iw-.

The same applies to -tshimbidzwa which is in this context a synonym of -fhekekedzwa using the

causative -dz- in -tshimbi-/-dz- and

passive -iw- in -tshimbi-/-dz-/-iw-/-a > tshimbidzwa.

The verb stem tura > -tur-/el-/a >
-tur-/el-/iw- + a,

uses the applied extension -el- and the passive extension -iw-.

Corresponding verbal extensions in the Venda verbs are:

-avha-/el-/iw-/a > -avhelwa for the musanda -fhaladzelwa using the applied -el- and the passive -iw-. The Venda verb stem -fhelekedza > -fheleke-/dz-/a > fheleke- + dz- + iw- + a > fhelekedzwa differs from that in the musanda language in meaning. While the musanda meaning is 'take to' the Venda meaning is 'accompany', using the causative -dz- and the passive -iw-.

The Venda verb stem tshimbila 'walk'

-tshimbi-/dz-/a > -t-shimbi-/dz-/iw-/a > -tshimbidzwa 'cause or force to walk' using the causative -dz- and the passive -iw-.

The Venda meaning shifted from the musanda 'take to' to 'walk'.

The Venda verb stem tibelwa > -tiba-/el-/iw-/a > -tibelwa for the musanda -turelwa. Tibelwa like the musanda -turelwa also uses the applicative extension -el- and the passive extension -iw-.

The same comparison applies to both -farwa and -shelwa in sentence 3 in both musanda and Venda languages respectively which have both used the passive verbal extension -iw-. The above-mentioned sentences show the derivative verb stems by means of the causative -dz-, applicative -el-, passive -iw- and the causative -is- in both Venda and musanda language. This shows why the two languages can be used in a diglossic existence.

In the fourth sentence the verbal causative extension -is- is used in the musanda language in -taku- + is- + a > -takusa while the other verbal

causative extension -dz- is used in Venda in -vhi- + -dz- a. This type of correspondence strengthens the relationship of the musanda and Venda languages morphologically and diglossically.

Besides learning the language used in the tshamudane the mutanuni will proceed to learn the language used in the pfamo which is discussed in the following section.

3.5 THE TERMS USED IN AND AROUND THE CHIEF'S PFAMO

The chief, vhamusanda, has the largest and most beautiful house, pfamo, which is built with care by his subjects. Its roof and verandah are plastered from inside. The roof is supported by pillars which are surrounded by a low wall to add the finishing touch. This is the place where the musanda language is at its peak because it is the only form of language spoken on this level of the musanda premises. The mutanuni amongst other things learns the following new words added to those learnt in the tshamudane:

lukumbi > verandah built around the house for protection and as a finishing touch.

lwango > the roof already thatched and plastered.

The verb stem -tanzwa is used for the plastering of the roof. This gives the roof a nice finish from the inside. The same verb -tanzwa on the roof is used twice

firstly with the last tuft of grass put at the top of the roof and

secondly for the plastering of the inside of the roof.

In this musanda language learning process, the mutanuni amongst other things will also learn the following terms connected with the pfamo.

khuluno > low narrow platform which is a projection from the main house wall, built around the outside of the house, against the wall of the house itself.

thikho dza denga > pillars built around the house to support the roof and to allow a space for the verandah, lukumbi. From pillar to pillar a low wall is built joining the pillars all round. This wall is also called khuluno but it is higher than the wall against the house wall. If this khuluno joining the pillars is built, then the khuluno against the wall may be omitted or be built inside the house still against the house wall. What has been realised in this research is that at musanda all low walls and platforms inside and outside the building structures are called khuluno, whereas all high walls have the name mirango (sing. murango). The separate high walls built around the houses at the end of the inner yard, lutambwe are mirango as well.

Inside the pfamo is a sitting place solely for the chief which is mathukho, 'chief's sitting place or chair'. The noun mathukho is derived from the verb -thukha which means 'sit', only when this action is performed by the chief. This pfamo is a house in which the chief sleeps and receives his meals. The word used for the chief to sleep is -fama 'sleep'. The place on which he sleeps, be it a mat or a bed is called maalo. Therefore the expression will be

musanda vha fama kha maalo

'the chief sleeps on a mat or bed'

The noun maalo is derived from the verb stem -ala 'spread'. In the same manner the noun pfamo is derived from the verb -fama 'sleep'. The musanda language like the Venda has derivatives that conform to the grammatical rules of the standard Venda. The same examples are given throughout this thesis for more clarity and to emphasise the use of the two languages as a diglossia.

Further inside the pfamo the mutanuni will learn about a special pole put across the house which is called -nekedzo, on which to hang clothes. The chief's clothes that are hung on this -nekedzo are called dziphila (sing. lupila) which is a derived noun from the verb stem -pila 'protect or ward off'. When these dziphila are washed by the mutanuni the expression used is mutanuni u uzwa dziphila dza musanda 'the chief's wife washes his clothes'.

The verb uzwa may also form a derived noun mauzwo 'soap'. Comparatively speaking the muthambi and nekedzo are similar in structure and purpose served.

It has already been mentioned that the chief uses the pfamo to sleep in, so, the mutanuni who is in his service will on occasion share his bed. During that time the expression used is mutanuni u khou luvha musanda 'the chief's wife shares a bed with him'.

In this pfamo the chief stays with only one mutanuni to serve him, which is expressed as mutanuni u shuma zwa musanda 'the chief's wife prepares everything for him'.

Traditionally this mutanuni should stay with the chief until she is pregnant and the expression is mutanuni o lunwa nga ngwena which is a phrase lit. 'the chief's wife is bitten by a crocodile', the real meaning being 'the chief's wife is pregnant'. This is a figurative way to express this condition. A comparison could be drawn of the literal meaning of the biting of the crocodile to that of the wife becoming pregnant.

Still in the pfamo there is a small pot of beer called murunzi 'chief's beer'. The literal translation for murunzi is 'shade' which is meaningless in this context. Next to the pot of beer is a wooden dish called gungwa holding the chief's long handled calabash called ngwena. There is a special basket known as mufaro in which the chief's murunzi 'beer' is kept. The mufaro's lid muturo is turned inside out and placed on top of the mufaro to hold the gungwa 'wooden dish', which in turn holds the ngwena 'long handled calabash'. To cover all this, another muturo is used. The mutanuni is made aware of the statement that

mufaro u dzula wo turiwa nga muturo

'the basket is always covered with the lid'.

There is yet another basket mufaro, in the pfamo which holds the chief's food malinga. The chief's food is dished out onto a wooden plate phondelo already mentioned under 3.4. This phondelo is kept in its mufaro and it must always be kept clean when not in use. In the same mufaro is also kept the clay dish mbwanana to hold the chief's meat pfumi. Traditionally the chief is given only meat and not vegetables. The most important form of meat used by the chief is the liver called tshivhindi in Venda but pfumi at musanda. This noun, tshivhindi has an idiomatic expression at musanda that of

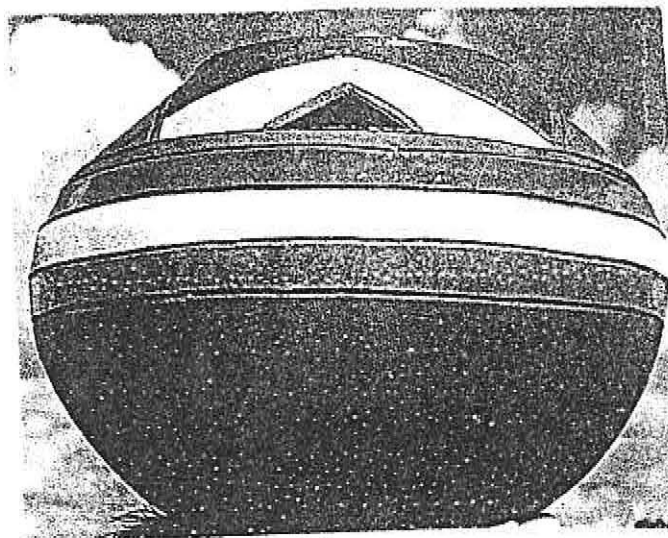
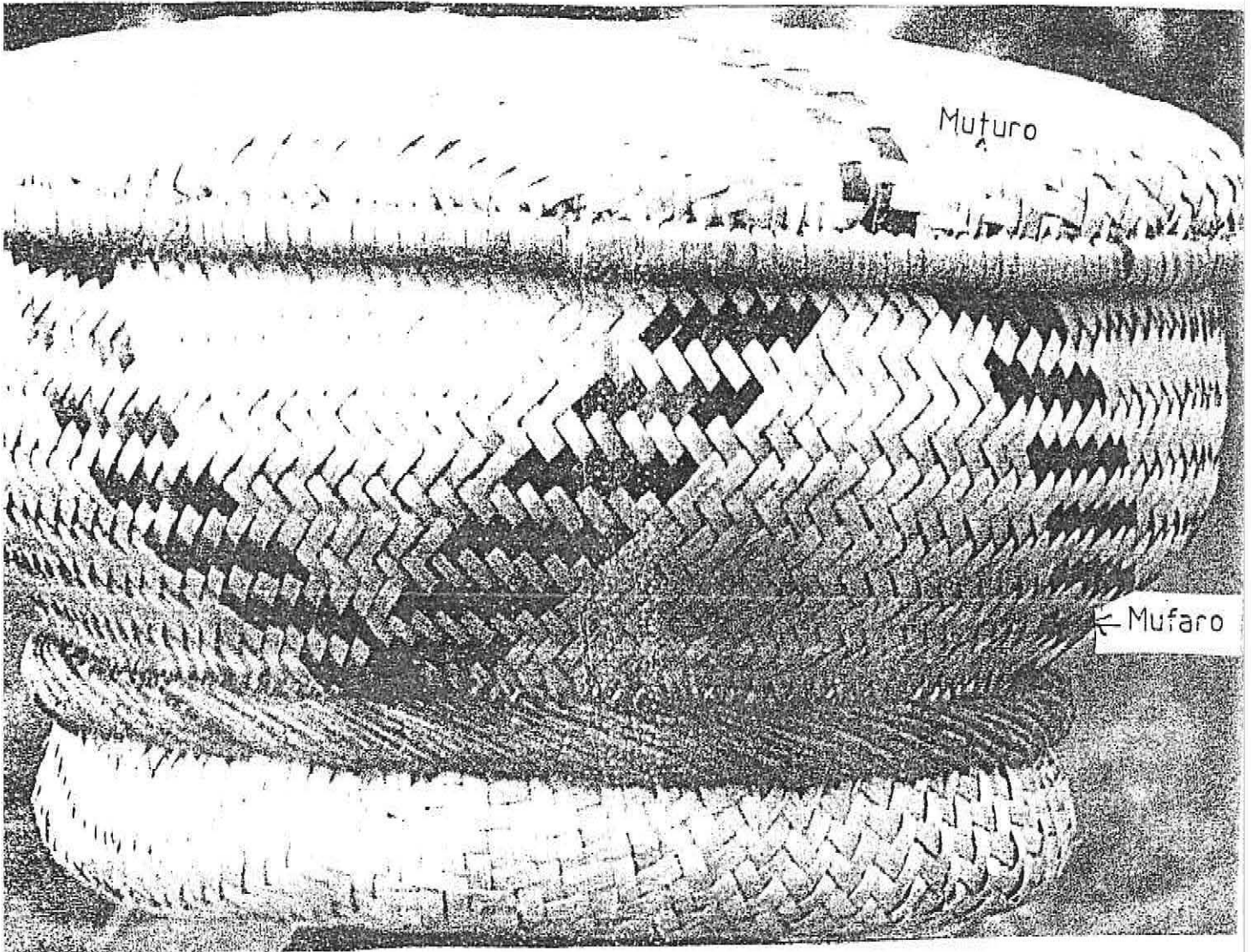
u milisa tshivhindi

'to kill by means of strangling'.

This idiomatic expression shows the special way in which the chief is killed - there must be no spilling of his blood.

Inside this big mufaro is a smaller lid, muturo, used to cover the mbwanana 'clay dish' which is placed in the bottom of the big mufaro (for food) . On top of that smaller muturo 'lid' comes the wooden plate, phondelo. Then the basket lid muturo is placed on top to cover everything inside the mufaro.

Both these mifaro in the chief's pfamo are shaped alike. See diagram 3 below.



murunzi

DIAGRAM 3.

In this research the researcher was made to believe that whatever article is used to cover anything such as clothes, blankets, sheets and tray cloths all use the derivative noun dziphila derived from pila which means 'cover or ward off' as already explained above.

3.6 Conclusion

The musanda language, used for the building of the musanda structures, revolves around the building materials and the collection thereof. There is mutual understanding in the whole community which feels proud to work for their chief for no remuneration. Appropriate terms are employed with each step taken for the building until it is accomplished.

The structures on the upper level are erected by the royalty who have status. The commoners are allowed to give a hand when work is done on the lower level. They are then privileged to learn and hear the musanda language. The situation on the lower level is conducive to the use of a diglossic language. There is more activity on the lower level of the musanda premises than on the upper level. The diglossic situation on the lower level occurs more often than on the upper level where only the chief and the mutanuni in service stay.

Strict procedure is followed as to the time the mutanuni gets her own kitchen and when she gets her own thondwana 'hut'. The ruling for the thondwana is stricter because for a mutanuni who fails to get a child she will stay with the other vhatanuni in their houses or end up with no house of her own. The general ruling that the musanda children belong to all members of the musanda community saves her all the embarrassment.

The children at musanda are always on the lower level and the language they learn is partly from their mothers and other members of the community. While playing with other children outside the musanda premises they get an

opportunity to learn Venda which is also used in the presence of commoners talking to other commoners. The musanda children become diglossic in their language in their early ages.

There are more musanda buildings when compared with those at the commoner's quarters. The following buildings do not occur in the commoners dwelling:

<u>mutaladzhadzhi</u>	(3/4)	the store house
<u>thondo</u>	(9/10)	house for the initiation of boys
<u>tshamudane</u>	(7/8)	the chief's kitchen
<u>tshivhambo</u>	(7/8)	the two-door chamber
<u>tshiimamuda</u>	(7/8)	house for boys
<u>tshivhangwana</u>	(7/8)	house for visitors
<u>tshiruxwe</u>	(7/8)	house for chief's burial

The tshitanga building structure at musanda is designed to serve a double purpose since it is built before the thondwana for the mutanuni. The linguistic terms used for the contents in the tshitanga appear the same in Venda. The mutanuni in the tshitanga uses both the musanda and Venda languages but once she is on the upper level of the musanda premises serving the chief, only the musanda language is used.

The diglossic nature of the musanda language is exhibited on the lower level of the musanda premises where it is used simultaneously with Venda. This helps the musanda community to integrate with the rest of the Venda nation, socially and linguistically. The musanda community acquires more musanda vocabulary on the upper level and more Venda vocabulary on the lower level and outside the musanda premises.

From the discussion in this chapter it is clear that every musanda member is conscious of the situation and circumstances in which they are. They automatically switch from one language to another without any formal direction. Among the musanda members are dziphele which are men from the commoners chosen by the chief to be his messengers. By virtue of their being at musanda more often and using the musanda language daily they are included in this diglossic sphere.

On the lower level at musanda very few linguistic terms exist that fail to get a name similar to that in Venda. On this lower level, the musanda language is inclined to be used in a diglossic manner more often, since Venda is also used for the sake of commoners. This helps the musanda community not to live in isolation from the rest of the nation they are ruling.

In general, the musanda language conforms to the morphological structure in the same way as the Venda as evidenced in 3.4. The morphemic structure of the Venda language is the same as in the musanda language. Some of the musanda linguistic items may be homonymous to those in Venda although semantically different; a case discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

The above statement can be further exemplified by the following homonymous examples:

		<u>Musanda</u>	<u>Venda</u>
<u>tshanda</u> _A	(7/8)	wooden spoon	hand
<u>murunzi</u>	(3/4)	calabash	shade
<u>-zwa</u>		talk	belch
<u>-swa</u>		given	burnt
<u>-vhulaha</u>		call	kill

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF VENDA AND THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE FORMS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Diglossic situations occur in the various social contexts which prevail at the musanda. These social activities do not differ drastically between the Venda and the musanda, but it is in this context that these social activities can be interpreted and evaluated. Some of these activities may be regarded as recreational and at the musanda the khoro is the common rendezvous for their performance. In these activities a progression can be observed that starts with birth, develops through the initiation ceremonies to maturity as portrayed in the marriage ceremony, then moves on to death, burial and post burial ceremonies.

Another social activity that plays an important role in the Venda society, both at the musanda and away from it, is displayed within the context of worship. The focus in this thesis is on the diglossic nature of the language used during these activities as undertaken and performed at the musanda.

4.1 LANGUAGE FORMS USED DURING RECREATION

As mentioned above (4.0) the khoro at musanda is the general place of recreation for the vhamusanda and his subordinates. This context has provided the research worker with a rich source of diglossic situations to be investigated and evaluated. Social entertainment at musanda may be staged at the khoro in the form of:

Tshikona which is the solemn playing of the flute by men of all age groups.
Tshikanganga which is another flute play by the younger men which has the other name of visa but which is not as solemn as tshikona.

Tshigombela which is a dance by young women and girls.

Matangwa which forms a special dance on solemn occasions by men.

The names of these recreational dances are the same in both Venda and the musanda language. During this entertainment the community comes together to the khoro and the language used is of a diglossic nature in that the chief will be addressed in the musanda language and the commoners will be addressed in Venda. The situation at the khoro during the presence of the chief shows a general respect from all members present. The commoners during these social activities form the majority. The general respect that is given to the chief by word of mouth is also given to his belongings. The following are some of the expressions used during these recreational occasions:

- (i) Murunzi wa musanda which means the chief's beer or the chief's hat.
- (ii) U hwedza lushika thavhani i.e. to give beer to the chief.
- (iii) U luvha vhuṭambo musanda meaning to ask for snuff from the chief.
- (iv) U swa vhuṭambo musanda i.e. means to be given snuff by the chief.

Each of these phrases has equivalents in Venda proving the point that the musanda language as a diglossia is situational. For instance, outside the musanda context the word murunzi in Venda means 'shade, shadow, spirit or soul'. The link with the chief's hat may be attributed to the function that the hat fulfils in providing shade to the chief's head. On the contrary, when it refers to beer it has nothing to do with either shade, shadow, spirit or soul. This emphasises the importance of context in the musanda language.

The phrase u hwedza lushika thavhani (see (ii) above) may be expressed as u hwedza murunzi thavhani in which case the speaker will be aware of the situation because the first expression is used when giving the chief beer in his long handled calabash called ngwena. The second expression refers to a situation when beer in a beer pot is brought to where the chief is. The verb used for giving the chief his hat is -swikisa which in context will be u swikisa murunzi wa musanda 'to give the chief his hat'. It is during these recreational forms at the khoro that the abovementioned expressions are often heard. U luvha unlike lushika is not confined to the musanda language alone. In Venda it means 'render homage, subject oneself to, pay tribute' whereas in the musanda language it means 'beg for, ask humbly for'.

Compare:

Venda: Ni luvha-fhi? Where do you send your tribute? Where do you render homage? Under which chief are you?

Musanda: U luvha vhutambo musanda. 'To beg/ask for snuff from the chief. (cf. The Venda equivalent: u humbela fola ha vhamusanda.)

In the musanda language u luvha has yet another meaning of 'to sleep with the chief', i.e. the mutanuni in service. In context it is mutanuni u khou luvha i.e. u luvha musanda would be to sleep with the chief.

The chair used by the chief at the khoro on recreational occasions is mathukho, the noun derived from the verb stem -thukha 'sit'. Each time the chief takes his seat it is said musanda hu khou thukhiwa, 'the chief sits down'. All his subordinates must show respect when he is seated according to their sex i.e. the women folk lie down on their sides, which at musanda is expressed as vha wa nga khwili. The word khwili refers to 'stomach'. This is the way women should humble themselves before an honourable person or someone important such as the chief.

On the other hand the men both musanda and commoners will be heard pronouncing supplicative words in praise epithets coined from various verbs such as vhafuwi 'breeder of people', lwenzhe-lwa-shango 'lamp of earth', marunga -dzi- nndevhelaho 'piercer of the wrongdoers'; mulila-vhathu 'compassionate towards people'.

Some praise epithets used during these recreational occasions are coined from animals such as

kholomo muhali 'bovine'
ndau-ya-nduna 'male lion' and
ndoulume 'bull elephant'.

In these animal praise epithets the greatness, bravery and strength of animals is compared with the powers exercised by the chief.

It is during these recreational activities that further praise epithets are heard which are titles in praise of the chief such as,

Mune-wa-shango 'owner of the country'
nemavu 'owner of earth'
Mambo wa Galanga 'King of the Karanga'.

The latter is an epithet which shows the Venda's origin from the north which is Galanga.

While these recreational activities are in progress the commoners are afforded an opportunity to learn the musanda language which will be used whenever reference is made to the chief.

An example of an instance is when the chief speaks it is referred to as u zwa lit. 'to belch' which in Venda would be u amba when referred to a commoner. Syntactically it can be set out as musanda vha khou zwa 'the chief speaks'. The verb stem -zwa has a derivational noun mazwiwa 'news' derived in the same manner as the Venda maambiwa from -amba 'speak'.

The noun maambiwa in Venda also means 'minutes' such as those of a meeting. The language learning at the khoro is coupled with the switching over in a diglossic manner to suit the individual addressed. For instance to vhamusanda the musanda language is used.

Such social gatherings at the khoro occur and offer situations in which sentences such as the following, to cite a few, are learnt (the numbering is done for the sake of future reference):

Musanda

1. Mu_xtanuni u nekedza lushika musanda.
2. Mu_xtanuni u haka deu a nekedza lushika musanda nga ngwena.
3. Ngwena a i bvi tivhani.

Venda

1. Mu_xtanuni u fha vhamusanda halwa.
2. Mu_xtanuni u angara a fha halwa vhamusanda nga khavho.
3. Vhamusanda a vha bvi hayani.

English

1. The mu_xtanuni serves beer to the chief.
2. The mu_xtanuni gives beer to the chief in a long handled calabash.
3. The chief does not come out of his home.

The above mentioned sentences are some of the sentences commonly used during the recreational occasions in the khoro. These sentences can be analysed thus:

The term -nekedza in sentences 1 and 2 in the musanda language expresses the act of holding a tray on which is the chief's long handled calabash, out of which the chief drinks. The Venda word used as an equivalent of the musanda -nekedza is synonymous with -fha in Venda because in

Venda -nekedza means 'hand over to, hold out to or offer to' the senses which might be included in the musanda verb -nekedza. Diglossically the two verbs -nekedza and -fha can be used in Venda in appropriate circumstances while at musanda it refers to holding something out to be given to the chief. At musanda it is in a more polite and respectful form.

The musanda word lushika in sentences 1 and 2 above, appears as halwa 'beer' in Venda. The noun stem -shika in Venda is used with the prefix ma- (class 6) or dzi- (class 10) as mashika or dzitshikha respectively, both meaning 'dirt'. The prefix lu- class 11 is used before the stem -shika in the musanda language, and never used in Venda with the stem -shika.

Further in this analysis the expression u haka deu in the musanda language in sentence 2 may appear in Venda at the domba initiation school when the initiates get ready for the python dance i.e. holding each other's arm from behind while dancing gracefully. Diglossically this phrase u haka deu in both Venda and the musanda language will elicit different meanings, and are used on different occasions. In the musanda language, as appears in sentence 2 above, this expression u haka deu is used when the mutanuni holds out the beer ready for the chief to drink.

The musanda word ngwena which means the long-handled calabash out of which the chief drinks occurs in the same sentence 2. Diglossically the use of the word ngwena in both Venda and the musanda language will differ semantically. For instance, while ngwena at musanda semantically includes the following: long-handled calabash, door or even the chief himself as seen in sentence 3 above, in Venda it refers to a crocodile. Figuratively in Venda it may refer to a champion. The musanda ngwena in sentence 3 which means the chief himself is also found in the context mutanuni o lun'wa nga ngwena which means the chief's wife is pregnant. This is said when the chief has made her pregnant.

The initiation schools comprise another category which provide further social entertainment which is also staged at musanda. The following initiation schools are found amongst the Venda:

- musevhetho > for younger girls
- murundu > for the younger boys
- vhusha > for the mature girls
- vhutuka > for mature boys
- tshikanda > an initial performance to prepare the initiates for the domba initiation school attended by both young women and young men who have gone through the vhusha and vhutuka initiation schools respectively
- domba > the last initiation school for both males and females.

The language used at these initiation schools will include inter alia their beginning and ending in which case this can be shown in a table thus, in the sequence of their importance from infant to adulthood:

SCHOOL	FIRST DAY	LAST DAY	LITERAL MEANING
Musevhetho	tibuwa	tiba	uncover/cover
Murundu	tshoṭa	swa	escape/burn
Vhusha	ramba	fhela	invite/finish
Vhutuka	dzhena	fhela	invite/finish
Tshikanda	lalela	pembela	sleep in/dance
Domba	ima	swa	stand/burn

Diglossically various verbs are used in each case as observed from the above table to express the beginning and end of each of the initiation schools. In these recreational activities mainly meant for the commoners both Venda and the musanda language are used.

As already stated in the introduction to this chapter, marriage with its stages, through which the bride and bridegroom must go, forms one of the periods during which the girl changes her place of abode to go and stay with her in-laws. This affects her linguistic role if she is married into the musanda community and vice versa.

The language used in this recreational activity includes the following phrases used in both Venda and the musanda language:

<u>thodela</u> -ngeno	money from the in-laws to the bride's parents to inform them where their daughter is.
<u>khumbela</u> -tshiashi	money to ask for the bride's hand in marriage.
<u>khand</u> -muta	money to allow the bridegroom to use shoes at the bride's house.
<u>thomola</u> -musi	money to allow the girl to leave working for her parents to go and work for the in-laws.

The above-mentioned derivatives have the initial aspirated consonants which are [th] aspirated voiceless alveolar and [kh] aspirated voiceless velar.

Traditionally money was scarce and cattle and goats were used for the above specifications. In the modern times money is used, the amount of which varies from place to place.

All words mentioned above are derivatives derived from verbs and nouns, which are

<u>to</u> dela	'look for'	+	<u>ng</u> eno	'this way'	V + N
<u>hu</u> mbela	'ask for'	+	<u>ts</u> hiashi	'calabash'	V + N
<u>ka</u> nda	'tramp'	+	<u>mu</u> ta	'yard'	V + N
<u>to</u> mola	'take out'	+	<u>mu</u> si	'stamping pin'	V + N

The listed verbs above when used with their particular nouns show a phenomenon of sound changes when the ejective alveolar [t'] becomes an aspirated alveolar [th], the voiceless glottal [h] becomes the aspirated velar [kh] and the ejective velar [k'] becomes the aspirated velar [kh] in the above-mentioned nouns due to the influence of the nasal of class (9) prefix.

These compounds have the following original meanings:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| <u>thodela-ng-no</u> | - | look this way for your daughter, she is with us |
| <u>khumbela-tshiashi</u> | - | request to be allowed to get married to a bride |
| <u>khanda-muta</u> | - | request from the son-in-law to enter the in-law's house with shoes on |
| <u>thomola-musi</u> | - | request to be allowed to take the bride to the bridegroom's home to stay there. |

Some more linguistic terms are learnt diglossically during social recreational activity associated with death of the chief

Mathivha o xa lit. 'the lakes are dry'; meaning the chief is dead.

At musanda people are not told of the chief's death until the infighting of the chieftainship is over as already mentioned in Chapter 1. When the chief's corpse is buried the term used is -vhea which in Venda is -vhulunga. The men responsible for the digging of the grave are called dziphele and must do so by night. This performance is conducted in a solemn manner and the phrase used is tshikuni tsho dzima i.e. 'the glowing fire is extinguished'. During this recreational activity until the burial day no cooking is done in that particular yard. These activities are not the same at musanda and in the commoner's house. At musanda the corpse is buried in a hut in the musanda premises. The commoners are buried outside in a

graveyard.

The commoner's death is announced and the day of the burial set. The chief's death will be known months or even years after his burial because it must be kept a secret until the new chief is installed.

The term -vhea which means 'bury' in the musanda language means 'put' in Venda while the Venda word for 'bury' is -vhulunga, which may also mean 'save' in Venda. The following sentences in Venda will illustrate the use of -vhulunga

U vhulunga mufu 'to bury the corpse'

U vhulunga tshelede 'to save money'.

Having had a discussion on the recreational activities including the initiation schools we can further investigate a case of linguistic training of the youth preparing them for future life.

4.2 THE LANGUAGE USED FOR THE TRAINING OF THE YOUNG GENERATION FOR THE FUTURE

This section is devoted to the study of the musanda language and its evaluation within the social context of the musanda community as a unique speech community. The main concern is the language used by the younger generation, communicating with each other in their daily life. Referring to the learning of a language Carroll once hinted that

learning a language is a process of acquiring conscious control of the phonological grammatical and lexical patterns as a body of knowledge.

Carroll (1968:24)

In this educational situation the learner should have a proper degree of control over the structures of that language, which in this case is the musanda language. Thereafter the facility will develop automatically with the frequent use of this musanda language in its meaningful situations. Bearing in mind that the younger generation at musanda becomes diglossic in the early stages of childhood we are faced with a child who learns the musanda and the Venda language simultaneously, however, with the musanda language as the first language. Coupled with this learning situation of the musanda and Venda languages are social variables to be investigated to which the acquisition and proficiency of both languages relate.

In the musanda community, the specific occasion in which this language is acquired, is important. Chosen girls are taken from the commoners' homes to grow up in the musanda environment in order to eliminate the problem of linguistic training for a number of them who might happen to join the musanda community,. The age at which the linguistic training at musanda starts has a considerable part to play in the degree of proficiency in the musanda language as well as with the attitudes which the younger generation have towards the language learnt.

The younger generation in the musanda community is linguistically trained to be conscious of the situation in which they may find themselves. This is where they get practice in an informal codeswitching. When at play with the commoner comrades who are Venda-speaking, the musanda younger generation switches to the use of Venda. This affords them an opportunity to learn the Venda language.

Example:

The Venda: Khadani kholomo dza musanda will be used instead of the musanda Pingani phedza dza thavhani. The meaning of both Venda and musanda sentences is 'drive the chief's cattle'.

The younger generation that learn the musanda language and become proficient in it, are those that frequent the upper level of the musanda structure. On this level the Venda language is never used. Their acquisition of both musanda and the Venda language takes place on the lower level of the musanda structure where simultaneous exposure takes place. They acquire the Venda language from their commoner peer groups out in the veld herding the phedza 'cattle, goats and sheep'.

Informal exposure is the means of transmission of the musanda language to the younger generation. The informal tutors of the musanda language include all with whom the younger people come into contact, other people who often visit the musanda premises including friends, and the members of the musanda community who automatically prove to be informants for the initial learning. The diglossic ability of this younger generation is acquired in early childhood through this informal training because it is realised that their opportunity to learn the musanda language is greatest during their childhood and adolescence.

4.3 HOW ADULTS LEARN THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE

In the musanda community, linguistic training is part of the daily proceedings. Every symbol is associated with a specific meaning, and in turn, every meaning ultimately constitutes an entire message. Messages are transmitted within the linguistic training of the adult. Adults are made aware of the various meanings attached to the messages given, without forgetting their situational attributes. A few examples may be cited here:

The term vhutambo in the musanda language contains the following meanings within the musanda community:

'snuff' which is fola in Venda,

'beard' in Venda ndeavu,

'head gear' for the vhatanuni in Venda remains vhutambo.

It should be borne in mind however that the smallest message in the musanda language is the sentence. Using the abovementioned linguistic term vhutambo the following sentences can be constructed:

1. Kha vha nduvhele vhutambo musanda.

On my behalf do ask for snuff from the chief - in Venda is

Kha vha nkhumbelele fola kha vhamusanda.

2. Vhakoma vha khou luvhulula vhutambo ha musanda

the chief's mother shaves the chief's beard - in Venda

Vhakoma vha khou vheula ndeavu dza vhamusanda.

In the latter sentence the word vhakoma may refer to a headman and still serve the meaningful purpose because both the mother and headman can perform this duty at musanda.

3. Vhatanuni vha luvhedzwa vhutambo

the vhatanuni get their head gear - in Venda

Vhatanuni vha ambadzwa vhutambo.

Since the vhatanuni do not touch the vhutambo threads themselves, and the threads are put around their heads by someone else, the causative verb stem - luvhedza is used instead of the applied verb stem -luvhela, which is never used in this context.

The sentences above with their various meanings have their internal structures which consist of an arrangement of the meaningful elements. Therefore every sentence consists of a set of meaningful elements, in a meaningful arrangement. The sentences

hu na vhuṭambo musanda and

musanda hu na vhuṭambo both contain the same set of elements, which constitute the same message or different messages, depending upon the situation, because these elements occur in different syntactic arrangements - cf.

hu na vhuṭambo musanda

may mean the chief's snuff or a party or feast taking place. The same sentence with reference to women may mean the vhuṭambo for mature girls or for young women getting their head gear, which in Venda is tshiala.

The adult in the musanda community will occasionally use a single symbol and the association of its meaning constitutes an entire message in that particular situation. For example the single symbol of vhuṭambo in the sentence:

hu na vhuṭambo musanda

constitutes an entire message meaning either

vhuṭambo for vhatanuni

or

vhuṭambo for mature girls

or

vhuṭambo meaning tobacco or snuff.

The musanda language in the linguistic training of adults reveals its use of the structural principle in the formation of messages. Sentences are formed consisting of verbs in meaningful relationship with the nouns. The musanda language has phrases such as

U luvha vhuṭambo to ask for snuff;

U swa vhuṭambo to be given snuff;

U luvhedza vhuṭambo to put on head gear;

U luvhulula vhuṭambo to shave the beard.

The arrangement of lexical items in these sentences in their respective contexts reveals various semantic shades of meaning. The sentences contain different verbs in relationship to one noun vhutambo.

In the musanda language, on the other hand, sentences can be formed consisting of one verb in relationship to many different nouns. Such sentences as

<u>U luvha musanda</u>	paying homage to the chief;
<u>U luvha musanda</u>	to sleep with the chief;
<u>U luvha ha zhinda</u>	princess in initiation school;
<u>U luvha khoroni</u>	a humble greeting;
<u>U luvha khoroni</u>	being punished by the chief.

In all instances the verb luvha retains the same tone. To these sentences further types of meaningful elements may be added to express either

<u>time</u>	in	<u>vhalanda vha luvha misi yothe musanda</u> - the subordinates always pay homage to the chief; or
<u>place</u>	in	<u>vhakoma vha khou luvha vhumambo tshivhamboni</u> - the chief's mother asks for snuff in the two-door chamber; or
<u>manner</u>	in	<u>vhatanuni vha tshi luvha musanda vha a fa</u> - when the <u>vhatanuni</u> humbly greet the chief they "lie down on their sides".

Therefore -luvha may be used to mean pay homage, ask and a humble greeting.

The number of sentences learnt by the adult in the musanda language are linguistically so large that it is not possible for this research to compile these statistics. However each of these sentences remains quite simple in structure.

With the belief that the musanda language like any other language is not static but dynamic, two design features can now be considered which can account for sentences of a more complicated grammatical structure. At the same time this will give an explanation of how it is possible for the musanda community to use a limited number of grammatical rules to produce an unlimited number of meaningful sentences in their language.

A process that can account for an unlimited number of sentences in the musanda language is recursion. This process permits a system of repeating itself over and over again. An example might be a sentence like

Vhutambo ha u luvhedza vhatanuni vutambo ha u luvhedza vhatanuni
vutambo ha u luvhedza vhatanuni and so on and on - the head gear for the
vhatanuni the head gear for the vhatanuni the head gear for the vhatanuni.

This above phrase may give the following sentences:

Vhutambo ha u luvhedza vhatanuni.

U luvhedza vhatanuni vutambo.

Luvhedza vhatanuni vutambo.

U luvhedza vhatanuni.

Ha u luvhedza vhatanuni vutambo.

Vhatanuni vutambo ha u luvhedza.

Ha u luvhedza vhatanuni.

Vhutambo ha u luvhedza.

The principle of recursion takes two forms which are co-ordination and subordination. When two or more clauses or sentences are joined together by means of co-ordination, i.e. when they are grouped together by means of co-ordinating conjunctions, we cannot say that one of them is embedded inside the other. They are simply co-ordinated or joined together and still constitute comparable parts of the whole. For example the following two sentences

vhutambo ha u luvhedza vhatanuni

and vhutambo ha u tanzwa vhasidzana meaning the ceremony for the vhatanuni and the ceremony for mature girls.

The second recursive principle is subordination when a clause or sentence is embedded within another clause or sentence, and is subordinate to it. In the musanda language the following sentence may serve as an example:

hoyu ndi mutanuni ane a luvhedzwa vhutambo, a shuma zwa musanda, a luvha mu- anda u swika a tshi lunwa nga ngwena - this is the mutanuni who is given a head gear, that goes to prepare food and everything for the chief until she becomes pregnant. Analysis of the above clauses can be set out thus:

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <u>Hoyu ndi mutanuni</u> | > | this is the chief's wife, |
| <u>ane a luvhedzwa vhutambo</u> | > | who is honoured with the headgear to differentiate her from the rest of other <u>vhatanuni</u> , |
| <u>a shuma zwa musanda</u> | > | she then qualifies to go and prepare things for the chief, in other words, she can then stay with the chief performing all duties to be performed on the upper level of the musanda premises, |
| <u>a luvha musanda</u> | > | who should share the same bed or sleep with the chief. This is the <u>mutanuni</u> in-service. |
| <u>U swika a tshi lunwa nga ngwena</u> | > | until she becomes pregnant. |

In the learning of the musanda language the adult learns the structure which comprises lexical items. In this instance let us consider the following simple sentences:

1. Vhamusanda vha khou vhulaha vhakoma -
the chief calls the headman.
2. Vhamusanda vho vhulaha vhakoma -
the chiefs called the headman.
3. Vhakoma vho vhulahwa nga vhamusanda -
the headman had been called by the chief.

The above sentences show that the musanda language is economical with words. The word vhamusanda in the first and second sentences appears in the singular and plural forms respectively but can still be vice versa. The verb vhulaha in the first and second sentences is either in the present or past tense. Vhakoma in the second and third sentences is either singular or plural and semantically the meaning is not affected. This phenomenon also appears in the English language when the linguistic term such as 'sheep' which is phedza in the musanda language, represents both singular and plural features. The musanda phedza also behaves in the same manner as the English 'sheep'.

The linguistic training of adults in the musanda community is through repetition and corrective measures. This linguistic training which takes place throughout the musanda community brings us to the point where we should consider the social importance of the musanda language when used during various organisational activities.

4.4 THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MUSANDA LANGUAGE WITH VARIOUS ORGANISATIONS

The musanda community members have achieved a diglossic competence, switching easily from the musanda language to Venda in the process of a single discourse, and according to various social factors. This switching from the musanda language to Venda and vice versa is situational.

The significance of the musanda language provides a strong and constant motivation for the musanda community towards the acquisition of a diglossic proficiency. The relationship of the organisations at musanda reveals itself in their use of the musanda language. In this instance we can agree with Capell that

within any advanced society
linguistic distinctions will be
found.

Capell (1966:98)

Human beings are betrayed by the speech used in the same manner as the musanda community is betrayed by its language. In this respect the musanda language may be likened to clothes which mark the wearer's social position. This language is used by groups or individuals showing respect, sharing in an activity or a ceremonial undertaking, or sharing a position in their community or their specific society. During the princes' and princesses' activities i.e. vhutambo, the musanda language is used to mark their social class which may be termed "upper", differentiating it from the commoner's class which may be given the term "lower". In this way the whole musanda community diglossic as it is, may be divided into two overlapping circles which together make up the musanda linguistic community, which is only divided because of special goals and interests, viz

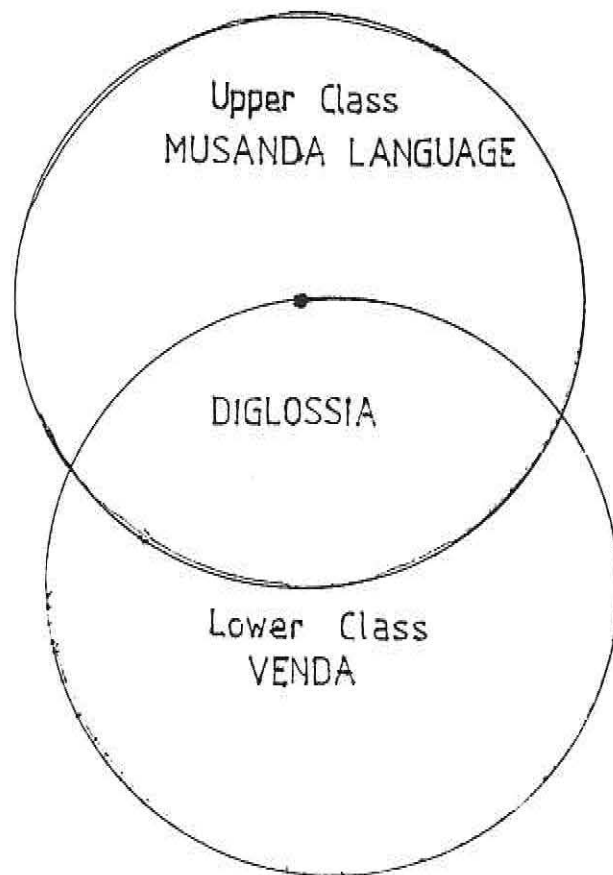


DIAGRAM 4.

Every occasion at musanda has its own linguistic terms to be used, depending upon who the speaker is and who is addressed.

Examples of occasions are:

Example 1

At the khoro anyone may direct a request to vhakoma asking for snuff from the chief in the words:

Vhakoma, kha vha nduvhele zwavho vhu[^]tambo afho musanda.

Chief's mother, may you ask for snuff on my behalf from the chief.

In turn the vhakoma will direct the request to the chief in the words:

Asivho vha[^]venda vhe ndi a swa-vho vhu[^]tambo musa[^]nda.

There is the vhavenda asking you to give him the snuff.

On such an occasion the prescribed procedure is observed with the appropriate language used. Relationships of social intimacy or social class may be signalled by the terms used. The vhavenda show respect for protocol by asking for the snuff from the chief through the vhakoma.

Example 2

When the mutanuni, in service for the chief, is preparing his food it is said: mutanuni u lugisa malinga a musanda, the mutanuni prepares the chief's food,

but this said by the mutanuni herself is

ndi shuma swishumiswa zwa musanda, I prepare the chief's implements.

The verb stems -lugisa and -shuma in the above context bear the same semantic meaning and refer to the same action performed. The same applies to the nouns malinga and zwishumiswa which semantically bear the same meaning save their morphological structure.

Each organisation or institution taking place at musanda has its own vocabulary. Socially the musanda language can demarcate the musanda belongings from those of the rest of the Venda nation. While the present-day languages have undergone considerable change in their vocabulary and have developed, and are published as literary languages, the musanda language has remained consistent. Extensive research done over 20 years has shown this.

This may be proved by the musanda terms for a modern invention such as:

<u>Musanda</u>	<u>Venda</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>rambo</u>	<u>bodelo</u>	bottle
<u>mathukho</u>	<u>tshidulo</u>	chair
<u>mashika</u>	<u>nyamunaithi</u>	cool drink
<u>mulungu</u>	<u>ndishi</u>	dish
<u>lufhiso</u>	<u>thirei</u>	tray

From the above examples where the Venda language has used borrowed or loan words, at musanda an appropriate linguistic term is used since they have an aversion to neologisms. The Venda neologistic word bodelo is coined from the English word 'bottle' in this manner:

the English bo- remains bo- in Venda,
the English -tt- becomes -de- in Venda,
the English -le- becomes -lo in Venda.

Note should be taken that the Venda syllables, unlike the English syllables, should end in a vowel, hence the above noun bodelo could be divided into the syllables bo-/-de-/-lo which now conforms with the Venda grammatical rules.

The noun tshidzulo in Venda is a noun derivative from the verb stem -dzula 'sit' and an article used to sit on in which case the class prefix tshi-(7) is prefixed to the verb stem -dzula to give the word tshidzulo. The verbal ending -a becomes the nominal ending -o.

In the Venda noun ndishji, coined from the English 'dish', the n- for class (9) singular is added in the formation of the above-mentioned Venda noun. In the plural it takes the plural prefix dzi- (class 10).

The English 'tray' becomes the Venda thirei when the ejective [t] becomes the aspirated [th] in Venda, the [r] remains the same in Venda and the semi-vowel [y] becomes the vowel [i] in Venda.

The Venda nyamunaithi is coined from the English 'lemonade' by associating the English sound in the pronunciation.

What has been realised in this research is that an article gains its musanda name from its purpose and/or shape. For instance a tray cloth in the musanda language is termed lupila pertaining to the material used for covering, taken from the original musanda term lupila with its plural dziphila which are the chief's clothes. The verb stem -pila means to cover, ward off, protect or shield, thereby its derivation.

4.5 CONCLUSION

From what has so far been outlined in this chapter it is clear that the people in a musanda community tend to be diglossic from an early age. In such a community, language acquisition depends to a large degree upon the social structure in the community and the position of the particular speaker within that community.

As a general rule, the lower the status of the individual in the social hierarchy of the musanda community, the more likely it is that the individual will know less vocabulary of the musanda language. The higher the social status of the individual, the more likely it is that the individual will acquire more vocabulary of the musanda language.

In all the musanda where research was conducted it became evident that either the chief's mother vhakoma, sister vhomakhadzi, or the first wife themamudi, is fully conversant with the musanda language, and these are some of the people who have a higher social status at musanda.

Within the musanda context, the individuals naturally acquire both the musanda and Venda languages depending on factors such as the nature and extent of the interaction between their social classes, and the motivations that are generated within the musanda community to use the musanda language in its various functional roles.

The musanda language tends to function as a medium of communication within the musanda community itself and in the presence of the chief outside the musanda premises. This language within the musanda premises and the Venda nation as a whole, serves as an indicator of social distance. It is used in the social education which is conducted in the form of initiation schools and other ceremonies.

The development of proficiency in the musanda language is not likely to be equally distributed between the social class extremes. In most musanda the more commonly used words are more widely diffused across the entire musanda community, such as pfamo, tshamudane and phondelo to cite a few, while the less commonly used terms tend to remain the preserve of the upper social class, and those who may attain such status depending on their relationship with the chief himself. Examples of less commonly used words include mutapo for broom, vhutambo for salt and mpakulelwe for the cattle

kraal.

The recreational activities create opportunities into which both Venda and the musanda communities come together. Respect for the chief and his entourage becomes the order of the day and the language thus used is more of a diglossia. The two languages Venda and the musanda language are used by members of both communities who will be present during these social activities. The members are at will to switch from one to the other according to their surrounding circumstances and companions to converse with.

The musanda language learning has no graded stages to ascertain how much vocabulary is assimilated by an individual member. The most important criterion used to judge who knows the language better is to contact members of the upper level in the musanda premises or those members who have the right to frequent the upper level more often than others.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 CONCLUSION

5.1 This study on the musanda language as observed from the researcher's point of view has come to the conclusion that the musanda language retains some archaic words as correlated by van Warmelo (1971) in his study of courts and court speech. The problems associated with the influence of Venda on the musanda language have played a role in the disappearance of some musanda words. This might be attributed to the fact that the Venda-speaking members are more than the musanda language-speaking members. There are relatively few researchers who have made the study of language influence their primary concern and it can hardly be said that the basic laws of interlingual influence, in this instance, are clear. The musanda language is still dependent upon the Venda language syntactically. The grammatical rules applied for sentence construction which are observed in the sentence formation in Venda are also applied in the musanda language. Therefore, the musanda language and Venda share the same orthography.

So far investigators such as Van Warmelo (1971) and Stayt (1931) who have done research in the musanda and Venda languages, and have explained some of the results of diglossia, have not always checked their theories against studies of the behaviour of the diglossic speakers, i.e. the members of the musanda community. They therefore have ended up with lists of a few lexical items and expressions accompanied by their meanings. Without refuting their efforts it is however expected that investigators have an understanding of the process operating in the musanda language that might have operated in the past and that process operating in the present.

The musanda language which originated as a language of honour for the ruling community has remained a confidential language for many years. The musanda community members were reluctant to share this language with other people, who, in this thesis, have been referred to as commoners. For the researcher to collect valid information, for this thesis, permission was granted from the chiefs, many of whom, by this time had become ministers in the government of the Republic of Venda.

- 5.2 The musanda language viewed from the past as well as the present in this research shows the same grammatical pattern. The musanda visited in this research stretched from north to south and from east to west of Venda but their grammar proved to be similar. Although the musanda are situated far apart from each other, throughout Venda, the musanda language used is the same. Venda is a good example for this diglossic study because the musanda communities who make use of the musanda and Venda languages offer diglossic situations. The same diglossic situations are observed daily within the musanda premises. The Vendas who wish to communicate with the musanda members should have some knowledge of the musanda language which will enable them to converse in the presence of the chief himself/herself. Members of the musanda community are, from childhood, predestined to be diglossic, yet the studies in their language have for many years been neglected.

Therefore, the study on the musanda language by the researcher's predecessors has resulted in a collection of some terms which truly and scientifically could not be registered as diglossia because of lack of more explanatory information on these terms collected. The researchers could however, realise that there is a musanda language in existence but failed to get ways and means of recording the language. After realising that the musanda language is a variety of

its own there was a strong feeling that this is a fully fledged language. Efforts to collect the whole vocabulary for this musanda language were then not fruitful. This might be attributed to the fact that the musanda community members themselves proved to be reluctant to give information on their language.

The researcher's intention in this thesis, therefore, has been to clarify the studies already made in this field and to check the lists compiled on the musanda language against the research undertaken for this thesis. Furthermore, it has been necessary to try to generalise the results in the form of statements that may help to predict, to some degree, the behaviour of the diglossic speakers at musanda. In this thesis the researcher shares the point of view of van Warmelo (1971) who discovered that the musanda have an important linguistic aspect employed for respect and etiquette.

- 5.3 The musanda language like all the other existing languages has proved to be an instrument used by the musanda members to communicate amongst themselves. The orthography used in the musanda language is the same as that of Venda. The semantic content in the musanda language glossary resembles that of Venda. The derivational and grammatical rules applied in both languages are similar. The meaning in the immediate constituents in both musanda and Venda languages depends much upon their lexical arrangement syntactically. The general behaviour of morphemes and their meanings in the formation of words and sentences, shows that both Venda and the musanda language, can share the same diglossic situations, as discussed throughout this thesis.

The musanda language as a diglossia remains a stable language deprived of much written literature but which survives within the musanda premises. This language is learnt in an informal situation

and used for informal speaking purposes in ordinary conversations and report giving at the khoro to the chief. The musanda language, as a diglossia when compared to Venda, is marked by the degree of similarity which affects both these languages on their linguistic levels. This similarity includes their phonological, morphological and syntactical rules coupled with their orthography and vocabulary.

- 5.4 The musanda social structure discussed at length in this thesis shows the musanda community as a respectful community throughout the whole of Venda. The respect that is afforded the musanda community by their subordinates shows love for their rulers. These rulers, in turn, have respect for the power behind their actions. This aspect of power sharing was also discovered by Stayt (1931:195). Vhamusanda, therefore, as the ruling figure, is bound to consider and respect authority from his advisers. Thus the Venda chiefs are not absolute monarchs. The linguistic training within the status structure at musanda culminates in linguistic and social respect for each other within the musanda social structure. The language used within the musanda social structure shows how important meaning in context is. The same word may be analysed into various meanings while used in different contexts in the sentence formation. The various contexts in which the musanda words may appear are discussed throughout this thesis to show their difference in meaning.
- 5.5 Every member in the musanda community has a role to play in the language transmission, and this role is based on status and experience. The teaching of the musanda language, informal as it is, takes place within appropriate circumstances. The vhakoma, who is the chief's mother, teaches the musanda language to the themamudi, who is the first wife married to the chief. The themamudi will, on the other hand, teach the musanda language to the other wives married after her, and they, in turn, will teach the musanda language to the

younger generation i.e. the mazhinda who are princes and princesses. The mutanuni who is in-service uses the musanda language in her daily routine especially on the upper level, where only the musanda language should be used. Her responsibility of teaching the language to the younger generation ends up in teaching the musanda language to the chiefs to be.

The mazhinda i.e. princes and princesses, who compose the majority of the younger generation, learn the musanda language as their first language from birth. From their early childhood they become diglossic because Venda is their second language which is used by their commoner/peer groups whom they meet in their daily lives and over whom they are going to rule. In the musanda language, the musanda community have words which are specifically related to the chief himself/herself as a ruling head.

- 5.6 The musanda community is housed in various building structures which outnumber those in a commoner's abode. Each building structure has a specific purpose for which it is erected. In and around these structures is where diglossic situations are witnessed throughout the day. This musanda community boasts of many members because the more members a musanda community has the more respect it gains. In such a large musanda community more musanda words survive and are preserved. The building structures which house the members on the upper level are used by the few chosen people, who are expected to use only the musanda language. On the lower level the naming of some of the structures uses the Venda equivalent names. Therefore on the lower level a more diglossic atmosphere is experienced than on the upper level since both Venda and the musanda languages are used more often.

Within the musanda physical structure provision is made for building structures that can accommodate commoners. These structures are such as the two-door chamber which is well situated at the entrance court. In this two-door chamber during the various activities that are staged at musanda, both languages (musanda and Venda) are diglossically used depending upon the situation. In the presence of the ruling figure the musanda language is used. In this two-door chamber the commoners' initiation schools take place. In their initiative formulae both Venda and musanda languages are used. There is more activity on the lower level of the musanda premises, accompanied by the language used. The diglossic nature of the musanda language is more emphatic on this lower level than on the upper level. The building structures on the upper level are meant solely for the chief to use together with the wife in-service. The musanda language which revolves around the chief is the only language used on the upper level. In the erection of the building structures on the lower level commoners are allowed to assist, but the structures on the upper level are built by members of the royalty only.

- 5.7 The musanda language is used for the material collected for the erection of the musanda buildings. The building of these building structures is done in stages. Everything that is contained in the different musanda building structures is given the musanda appellation. The Venda terms for similar contents are learnt on the lower level of the musanda premises, giving the musanda community an opportunity to be diglossic. In and around the pfamo, which is the largest and most beautiful building structure at musanda, the musanda language is the order of the day. The formal lessons that the mutanuni in service receives from the themamudi are physically demonstrated. The mutanuni is always under the supervision of the themamudi until such time that the themamudi is satisfied with the

mutanuni's progress in the musanda language. Like any other language the musanda language is learnt through repetition until it is fully known by the individual. The themamudi who is the first mutanuni, learns the language from the chief's mother vhakoma.

- 5.8 The vhavenda social activities are musanda centred. Should there be the occasion that the venues for these social activities are outside the musanda premises, permission is first granted from the ruling power before they are staged, such as the musevhetho, small girls' initiation school, and the murundu, small boys' initiation school. At the culmination of most of these social activities entertainment is organised into which both language groups gain entrance. The languages used during these activities and social entertainment are both Venda and the musanda language with the informal code switching from one language to another. The chief as the ruling head is usually present in and during the performance of these social activities. The division exercised between the royal and commoners' social activities does not deprive the chief of the right to present himself at both social undertakings. Therefore, during his presence the diglossic situation will prevail.

This difference in the proficiency of the speakers of the musanda language might be attributed to the numerical superiority of the lower social class, and the fact that the transmission direction of the musanda language is from the upper social class to the lower social class. The result is that the lower social class individuals depend linguistically upon the higher social class individuals for their vocabulary in the musanda language. Throughout this research, individuals in the lower social class proved to be lacking in their proficiency of the musanda language and sought help from the upper social class individuals, who were more proficient in the language.

The musanda members gain entrance into all commoners' social activities and this affords the commoners an opportunity to learn the musanda language picked up when members of the musanda community converse amongst themselves. The musanda members as the ruling community learn both musanda and Venda languages from childhood. The musanda language used out of respect for the chief is expressed in these social gatherings. In Venda the initiation schools also end up in social gatherings in which the whole Venda community come together to witness the end of these initiation schools.

- 5.9 In conclusion, therefore, in the whole of Venda two sharply different varieties of the Venda language are in use under different, but well-defined conditions, the musanda language being a language of the musanda community, while Venda is a language of the commoners. This special type of bidialectalism in Venda which is quite different from the pervasive phenomenon of register, has been called diglossia in this thesis. For these situations of Venda and musanda language, it is possible, therefore, to write a slightly expanded grammar in which the grammatically compatible lexical items can be correctly selected for the diglossic situation.

The social value attached to the musanda language deprives it of the possibility of being a standard language. Its role as a preserver of the indigenous culture and folk tradition is strengthened by the fact that most activities are musanda-centred. This lays emphasis on the fact that the musanda language-speaking community will not move, even under present-day conditions to a position of completely abandoning their valued language.

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

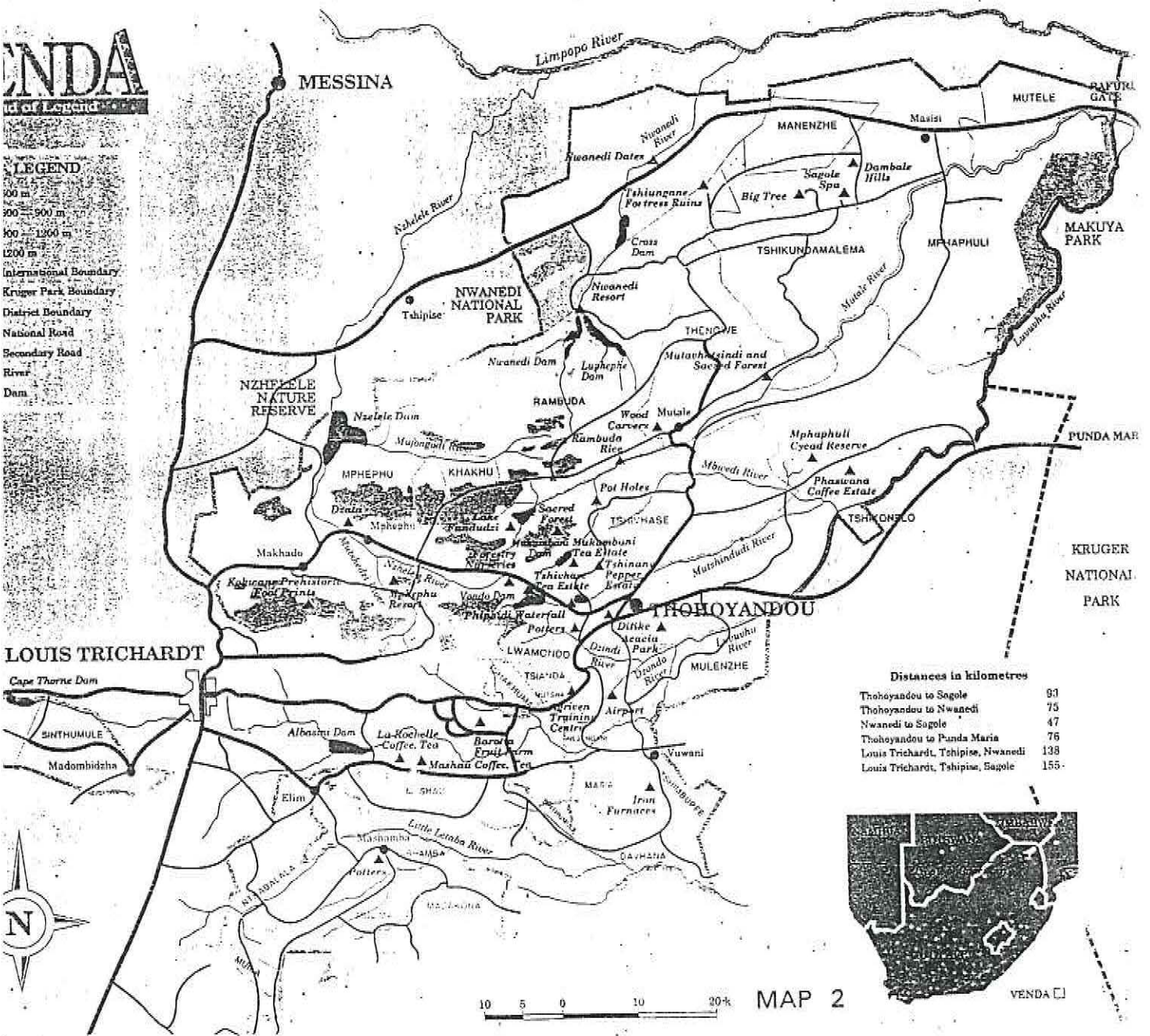


MAP 1

VENDA

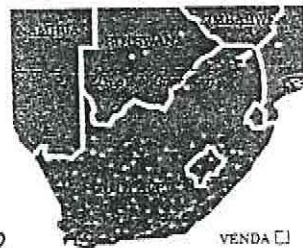
Map of Legend

- LEGEND**
- 0 - 100 m
 - 100 - 500 m
 - 500 - 900 m
 - 900 - 1200 m
 - 1200 m
 - International Boundary
 - Kruger Park Boundary
 - District Boundary
 - National Road
 - Secondary Road
 - River
 - Dam



Distances in kilometres

Thohoyandou to Sagole	93
Thohoyandou to Nwanedi	75
Nwanedi to Sagole	47
Thohoyandou to Punda Maria	76
Louis Trichardt, Tshipise, Nwanedi	138
Louis Trichardt, Tshipise, Sagole	155



MAP 2

APPENDIX - Musanda Vocabulary

For a better understanding of the musanda language used an appendix is compiled of the musanda linguistic terms which are used in this thesis with their English equivalents. The appendix is divided into two parts, namely verbs and nouns.

Verbs

- alamula	-	reprimand
- angara	-	hold up
- dzhia	-	fetch water
- dzikuwa	-	angry
- fhaladza	-	dish out, spread out
- fhelekedza	-	take to
- fhisa	-	get initiation lessons
- haka deu	-	hold for chief
- honza	-	make fire
- hwedza	-	put on top of, take to the chief
- luvhedza	-	put on head gear
- luzwa	-	bathe
- munedza	-	plaster
- nengisa	-	take away in secret
- pembela	-	boil
- ponda	-	kill

- sika	-	cook
- shuma	-	eat, punish
- swa	-	given
- tadia	-	pour water into clay pot for cooking
- tanzwa	-	sweep, smear, to clean, put on last tuft of grass, work last layer on plastering walls, plaster roof
- tapa	-	beckon with finger or eyes, fetch water
- thepha	-	fetch water
- thukha	-	sit
- tivha	-	close door
- tivhula	-	open door
- tseremuwa	-	go
- tshimbidza	-	take to
- tsiruwa	-	go
- tswa	-	fetch water
- tura	-	cover
- uzwa	-	clean with water
- vhea	-	bury
- vhulaha	-	call
- vhumba	-	install
- zwa	-	talk, say

Nouns

denga	9/10	-	roof
dzingoma	9/10	-	stamping block
dzingomani	9/10	-	stamping block house
dzunde	5/6	-	chief's field
khanda-muṭa	9/10	-	money for permission to use shoes
khoro	9/10	-	entrance yard
khuluṅo	9/10	-	low wall
khumbela-tshiashi	9/10	-	money for bride's hand in marriage
lubuvhi	11/14	-	flour, maize flour
lufhiso	11	-	tray
lukumbi	11/10	-	verandah
lupila	11/14	-	clothes, cloth
lushika	11	-	water, cool drink
luswielo	11	-	grass
lutambwe	11	-	yard
luvhimba	11/10	-	roof
lwango	11	-	roof frame-work
maalo	5/6	-	rack
mabara	5/6	-	poles for building
madzivha	5/6	-	water
madzivhani	5/6	-	river, lake, spring, well, brook
mafasho	5/6	-	fence
mafaha	5/6	-	rack
mafhali	5/6	-	wood
malinga	5/6	-	food
maṅo	5/6	-	key
mapfandau	5/6	-	food left over by chief

matavha	5/6	-	coarse maize meal, salt
mateswi	5/6	-	fence
mathukho	5/6	-	seat, chair
matiko	5/6	-	hearth stones
mauzwo	5/6	-	water, soap
mazwiwa	5/6	-	news
mbabvu	9/10	-	thin sticks
mulungu	3/4	-	dish
murango	3/4	-	wall
murunzi	3/4	-	calabash, clay pot, beer taken to chief, hat
musanda	3/4	-	chief's residence
mutaladzhadzi	3/4	-	store house
mutanuni	1/2	-	chief's wife
mutanzwo	3/4	-	broom
muturo	3/4	-	lid
ndalama	9/10	-	eyes
nekedzo	9/10	-	hanger
ngwena	9/10	-	chief's long handled calabash, door, the chief
nitsha	9/10	-	nails
pfamo	9/10	-	chief's house
pfumi	9/10	-	meat/vegetables
phandu	9/10	-	fire
phedza	9/10	-	cattle, goats, sheep, kraal, princess, granary, grain pit
phondelo	9/10	-	chief's wooden dish
rambo	5/6	-	bottle

shimba	5/6	-	fire place, hearth, leg, roof
thama	5/6	-	ear
thavha	5/6	-	head
themamudi	1/2	-	chief's first wife
thevhula	9/10	-	sacrificial rites
thikho	9/10	-	pillar
thodela-ngeno	9/10	-	money to report that your daughter is with us
thomola-musi	9/10	-	money to be allowed to take the bride to the in-laws
thondwana	9/10	-	wife's house
thungu	9/10	-	breast, feeding bottle
tsetshela	9/10	-	teeth
tshamudane	7/8	-	chief's kitchen
tshanda	7/8	-	wooden spoon
tshiangaro	7/8	-	calabash
tshifariso	7/8	-	door frame
tshiluvhedzo	7/8	-	step
tshinaru	7/8	-	fire place, hearth
tshingwana	9/10	-	clay pot
tshiombo	9/10	-	stamping pin
tshitanga	9/10	-	wife's kitchen
tshivhambo	9/10	-	two-door chamber
tsika	9/10	-	wire beater, whisk
tsinga	9/10	-	rope
vhakoma	1/2	-	chief's mother, headman
vhokhotsimunene	1/2	-	chief's brother
vhomakhadzi	1/2	-	chief's sister
vhuredzi	11	-	cow dung

vhutambo ^	11	-	snuff, head gear, party, function, feast, chief's necklace, hair, beard
voda ^	5/6	-	prince, princess
zhinda	5/6	-	prince, princess
zwituka	7/8	-	rope
zwivhuvhi	7/8	-	ashes