A PHONETICAL AND GRAMMATICAL STUDY
OF
LITERARY HEBRA

A. C. JORDAN

Vol. I.

(A Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D., University of Cape Town)
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Before attempting to write a treatise on literary Xhosa, I decided to collect some material on various cognate dialects, because I had realized that there were numerous features of the phonological, morphological and syntactical structure of literary Xhosa that could not be accounted for unless some attention was given to those dialectal forms that some grammarians summarily dismiss as "careless speech" or "bad Xhosa".

I therefore worked at a leisurely pace on this project collecting material on Flubi, Ipondo, Epomise, Etlangwini, sowxi, Themthu and Nsibe; and I also obtained information on specific points in Ithaca and Zulu. Most of this material was collected among the migrant labourers in Cape Town.

I was grateful to receive an ad hoc research grant from the National Council for Social Research in 1952. This grant enabled me to visit some of the home districts of my chief informants, and to hear the people speak in a natural way among themselves on topics that interested them. I visited Ferschol (Flubi), Flagstaff and Isilisi (Ipondo), St. Alyiff (Nsibe), Tsolo (Epomise), Umtata and Indy Xwere (Themthu). In Ferschol I had the wonderful privilege of meeting a centenarian, Jogswadile Isiuka, who claimed to have been born "at the end of Dingane" (about 1841), and who regarded such incidents as the Gun War (1880 - 1) as "things of yesterday only".

The material collected during and before the brief tour of 1952 has proved invaluable, especially in the section on phonology. But, as Bantuists know, the solving of a problem in phonology very often leads to a re-interpretation of a feature in morphology, or even syntax. And that is exactly what has happened in this case.

I wish to express my indebtedness to numerous people, some of whom will never know the value of the information they so kindly gave me; and also to all those who made my work easy and pleasant....
and pleasant over the years. Of my informants on dialect, I wish to make special mention of Messrs Douglas Lukhele, A. Idabana, I. Khwanazi, L. Ltcu, U. Zwane, L. Rata and D. Tshuveni, but, above all, of the centenarian.

I am indebted to Rev. & Lr. F.S. Mbete of Bensonvale for their hospitality, and to the teaching-staff of that institution for being so eager to help me, especially Lr. A.B.C. Lakasi, who put his horse at my disposal, and Rev. C. Chabani who accompanied me on my trips to the villages near Bensonvale; and also to the Sotho, especially the head of the family, through whose efforts I met the centenarian; to Chief S. Sigidi who gave a celebration in my honour, in order that I could meet Klubi people of all ages and talk to them; to Lr. & Lrs. T.J.J. Ktwasa, Lr. & Lrs. R.I. Tshathana, Lr. & Lrs. A. Ladala, Lr. & Lrs. S. Tsotsi and Lr. & Lrs. I.I. Sihlali, who made me very comfortable at their respective homes; and to the magistrates of Sterkspruit and Slagstaff, who kindly allowed me to sit and record whatever I wanted during their interviews with chiefs and headmen.

I also wish to thank members of the teaching-staff of the University of Cape Town, who have given me information on their respective subjects that has proved very useful. I make special mention of Liss D.I. Cavers, senior lecturer in the Department of English, Lr. J.C. Taylor, senior lecturer in the Department of Psychology, Lr. G. Fortune and Lr. D.R. Lunene, both of the Department of Bantu Languages, with whom I checked up on many points on Shona and Sotho respectively. Lr. S.I. Guma, of the Department of Bantu Languages, University College of Fort Hare, was also very helpful to me in regard to Sotho.

I am deeply indebted to my wife — my most intimate, most patient informant on all aspects of Xhosa culture and language in the last sixteen years of married life. During the last stages of this work, over and above her normal duties as a housewife and mother, she undertook to work day and night, typing this thesis.

My thanks are also due to Miss Jennifer Douat, a former student, who kindly offered to help type the final draft of Chapters 13 - 14 when my wife and I were pressed for time.

/lastly...
Lastly, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. C. F. Lestrade, under whom I have had the privilege of working these ten years. In a very pleasant atmosphere of mutual respect and co-operation, I have profited much by his academic experience, and his prodigious practical and scientific knowledge of languages. I thank him particularly for supervising my research, for his sympathetic guidance in the handling of the material collected, for constructive criticisms and suggestions, particularly as regards form and expression, at various stages as the subject unfolded itself and for reading and commenting critically on the major portion of the typescript.

If the present attempt to make a contribution to Sanu grammatical knowledge and, in a few instances, to linguistics in general, should prove successful, it is mainly due to the ten very pleasant and instructive years I have spent with Prof. Lestrade.
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Columbia Gram Record. = Columbia Special South African Recordings.
1. Literary Xhosa is the Bantu language used for literary purposes by Bantu-speaking people who originally belonged to various tribes and tribeslets speaking various dialects and sub-dialects of IsiXho, the parent language of Swazi, Xhosa and Zulu. The name Xhosa is that of the people whose speech became the basis of literary Xhosa. They are known as Maxhosa (singular, mxhosa), and claim to be the descendants of a chief named Xhosa, the supposed founder of their tribe. The Xhosa speakers constitute the largest linguistic group in the Union of South Africa. According to P.T. van Damelo, Government Ethnologist, there are over 2,380,000 Xhosa speakers, distributed as follows:

- Cape Province: 2,007,008
- Natal: 49,795
- Transvaal: 227,301
- Orange Free State: 70,251
- Basutoland: 26,000

(Language Map of South Africa, Ethnological Publications No.27, 1952.)

2. The basis of literary Xhosa is Xhosa as spoken by the Yeka section of the Xhosa at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, when this dialect was reduced to writing by John Rennie, one of the agents of the Glasgow Missionary Society who founded Lovedale in 1821. The story of this dawn of literacy, of the first printing press in 1823, the first books in the vernacular, translations of the Bible and other religious books, the encouragement of literary self-expression by means of periodicals, etc., is told by R.J.W. Shepherd in his book Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu (Lovedale Press, 1945), pp. 1 - 15.

3. By 1860, when the second periodical, Indaba (The News) appeared, the first truly literate generation of Xhosa speakers was in....

*The first, which appeared in 1841, was iMwazi (The Morning Star) (Shepherd, no. cit.p.11.)
was in a position to make contributions whose literary merit established once for all the status of this dialect as the literary medium not only of the original Xhosa but also of the babho (the so-called isibhashi or isingo people) who found sanctuary with the Xhosa about 1834, and of other sections of the Iguna to whom literacy was already spreading. The chief contributors to this periodical were the sons of the first converts. The leading figure amongst them was Tiyo Soga, a brilliant son of Ngoiika's chief councillor. Tiyo Soga was sent to Scotland with the sons of the missionaries Ross and Thompson, in 1846. He returned to South Africa in 1857 an ordained minister of religion. Together with a number of less educated companions, Tiyo Soga contributed essays, short stories and short biographies to Indaba. Tiyo Soga, by virtue of his superior education, lived in a much larger world of ideas than his compatriots. This is reflected in the range of subjects on which he was able to write. But his greatest contribution to Xhosa literature is Phanbo lo mharbi, an excellent translation of the first part of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. In 1866 he was elected to a Revision Board appointed to prepare a revised version of the Bible (Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 7 - 8). When he died in 1871, at the early age of forty, he was translating The Acts of the Apostles and was just completing the twenty-third chapter (In Memoriam contributed by John A. Chalmers to Isigidimi Sama-Xosa, September, 1871)

4. Among Tiyo Soga's younger contemporaries, the leading figure was William G. Gooba, a waggon-maker by trade. At one time he was editor of Isigidimi Sama-Xosa (The Xosa Messenger) a periodical which succeeded Indaba in 1870. (Shepherd, op. cit., p.12). Gooba collected a large number of Xhosa proverbial and idiomatic expressions, which he explained in excellent prose. He also wrote some history, confining himself to specific episodes e.g. the wars of the era of Shaka, and the Dunguawuse cattle-killing episode of 1856 - 7. He also wrote verse, mostly on religious themes. These include two didactic poems, Ingxoxo Inkulu Yom-Cinwa nom-Kristu (A Great Discussion between a Ragan and a.....
and a Christian), 850 lines, and Ingxoxo Inkulu Igandunjo (a Great Discussion on Education), 1150 lines. The "discussion" in these poems takes the form of arguments among representatives of the respective schools of thought. Some of his writings appeared in Isigidimi Sama-Teso. The rest appeared in an anthology of prose and poetry, Zemk'Inkomo Laywalandini! ("here go your battle, you cowards! i.e. "preserve your heritage"), collected and edited by J.B.Rubusana and published in 1906, eighteen years after Gqoba's death. He died at the age of forty-eight.

5. Two periodicals appeared almost simultaneously in 1897. These were Imvo Zabantaundu (The Opinions of the Blacks), edited by John Tengo Jabavu, and Izwi Labantu (The voice of the people), edited by Nathaniel Cyril Khala, who had been educated at Lovedale and in Canterbury. Rubusana's anthology includes modern prose and verse writings as well as anonymous, traditional i zibonango (praise poems). The publication of this anthology marks the end of the first fifty years of literary activity. It is a volume of 570 pages, including a glossary. But it does not fully reflect the literary achievements of the first fifty years. Strangely enough, it does not include any of the writings of Tiyo Soga, nor does it include some of the best prose writings originally contributed by Geoba to Isigidini. These appear in another anthology of prose and poetry which appeared as late as 1936. This is Imicenzo (Tit-bits), edited by N.C.Bennie, grandson of John Bennie.

6. Both Zemk'Inkomo Laywalandini and Imicenzo include prose and verse writings by S.E.K.Nehayi, a much younger writer who first attracted attention when Izwi Labantu began to flourish. Nehayi carried the literary tradition into the second literary phase. A poet, novelist, essayist, biographer, historian and translator, he dominated the Xhosa literary field until his death in 1945. The literary achievements of this man are evaluated in an In Memoriam contributed by A.C.Jordan to the...
7. Long before lchayi came to the scene Xhosa had ceased to be the preserve of the original Xhosa people. It is true that those of the ba'khho and other sections who were concentrated in their own areas retained some of the characteristic features of their dialects, and some of these have persisted up to the present day in their ordinary speech and occasionally reveal themselves in their writings. But those who lived cheek by jowl with the Xhosa were completely assimilated linguistically, and became some of its best exponents. Two of the editors of Isigidiimi during its eighteen years of life were men of ba'khho origin. These were M.Mbikwe and J.T.Jabavu. (Shepherd, op. cit. p. 19). The latter became editor of Isigidiimi in 1897.

Lchayi, who has done more than anybody else so far to reveal the beauty of Xhosa, and on whom all writers of Xhosa have modelled themselves since the publication of his Utyana lama-wa in 1914, is of Thembhu origin (See his biography, Uchayi wase-ntsabo-ntsabo, Chapters 1 - 11)

8. Since 1914, a fair amount of literature has been produced, mostly poetry and fiction, including short stories. But there is also a fair amount of history and biography, essays, books of travel and ethnology. Of the writers of fiction, five are women. One of them, Dinazana Dana, has also written some promising verse.

The most recent major contribution to our knowledge of literary Xhosa is Izaci marasha lo Xhosa (Xhosa Idioms and Proverbs), by S.W. Lesatya (Longmans, 1954). It contains 1120 idiomatic and proverbial expressions, with explanations and with illustrations of their uses. Most of the illustrations are quotations from the works of well-known writers. This is a scholarly piece of work.

9. Literary activity has not been confined to secular literature. It is significant that the very first known Xhosa convert, Nsikana, who could not read or write, composed a
hymn, "Ulo Thixo'mkhulu nezulu'lwini which is sung in churches of various denominations, including Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. The only hymn that perhaps has a greater appeal to Xhosa speakers than Itsikana's is Tiyo Soga's "Izalis'idima lakho (Fulfil Thy promise), composed when Soga landed on South African soil on his return from Scotland. This tradition has been kept up, and many hymns composed by Xhosa authors are included in the vernacular hymn-books of some of the leading churches. Of the 459 hymns in the Anglican Hymn-Book (S.T.C.K., London 1930) there are over 80 original hymns, by 17 different Xhosa authors, and over 140 translated from English by Xhosa translators. In the Methodist Hymn-Book (Methodist Book Depot and Publishing House, Cape Town, 1956), out of a total of 407, there are over 100, by 44 different authors. The Hymn Book used by the Bantu Presbyterian and related churches (Iovedale, 1929) includes over 70, by 19 different authors. Tiyo Soga's "Izalis'idima lakho is to be found in almost every Xhosa hymnal.

10. The above sketch gives some idea of the extent to which the one-time Igqika sub-dialect of Xhosa has developed. It is therefore no longer to be regarded as a tribal dialect, but as a medium of expression that pervades the whole life of a growing culture group.

**The Xhoisan Languages.**

11. Literary Xhosa shows more strongly than any other Ngumi language or dialect the influence of the Xhoisan languages.

(1) About ninety-nine per cent of the names of the rivers and rivulets in the area occupied by the Xhosa within the period of their recorded history are Xhoisan. (See 4.20 and 4.33.)

(See English translation by Prof. D.J. Barlow in Shophard, op. cit., p.99)

I regard the terms "Lottentot" (for jBoi-khoi) and "Nyanza" (for the San or Thwa) as being just as objectionable as "Paifir" (for the Xosa). I therefore use Xhoisan where a collective term has to be used.
The names of most of the chiefs within the period of Xhosa recorded/history would seem to be Nhoisan: Lealaka, Sharbabe, lintse, warilili, luvika. In fact, the name Nkosa itself appears to be non-Bantu. It would seem to be related to khois - the word for "woman" in some Nhoisan languages. (There is a babbo legend that the first ruler of the Xhosa was a woman, but Kaya, in Hali Durangweni, p. 94, gives her name as Nomagwayi, daughter of the iikhu (u-lubi) chief, Lesoko. According to him, Xhosa was the son of Nomagwayi).

Almost every Xhosa clan has at least two clan-names (i ziduko), one Bantu and the other containing one or more clicks or the sound k?

Gaba, Nkossini; Bamba, Bhrilih
Sithathu, Chizana; Anywabe, Chizana
Sukwini, Owama; Jikjiwa, Ciqwa.

The Xhosa word for kholi-khoi is malawu, singular.

Lawu. A Xhosa public speaker, when addressing a great gathering of people belonging to different clans, either not all known or too numerous to name, uses the collective term, malawundini; Nkhayi, who had never met me or heard of me until my first novel Ingumho yaminyanya, was published, addressed me as Lawu lam when he wrote to congratulate me on its merit. Lawu lam indicates respect for, and warmth towards, a stranger.

The word commonly used for the deity in Xhosa is Thixo, which is definitely known to be derived from Nhoisan. The other one, Gomata, which is generally favoured by poets, does not sound Bantu either.

This linguistic evidence does not support the assertion made by J.H. Soga (The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 93 et seq.) that the Xhosa despised the "Tottentots". On the contrary, it establishes that the Xhosa had profound respect for the Pho-khoi. People do not name their chiefs after the chiefs of despised groups, still less do they give up /their own...

Also implied inennie's incorrect interpretation of Lawu ndini. (A Grammar of Xhosa, p. 163)
vii.

their own gods in favour of the gods of despised strangers. Forms of address like mafumudini! establish that there was so much social inter-mingling that no distinction was made.

The use of mafumi to cover all groups would seem to indicate that though the Xhosa ultimately became the dominant group, there was a time when they were in the minority and regarded themselves as part of a larger whole. Then there is also the well-known historical fact that long before the Xhosa conquered the Khoisan peoples in the Ciskei some "Xhosa" clans were a mixture of Bantu and Khoikhoi, e.g. the Cownukwabe, the Chwama, the Ugosini and the Qowa clans.

12. As far as I know, linguistic research relating to the influence of the Khoisan languages on Xhosa has been almost wholly confined to phonology and etymology (e.g. Neuhof's Pottentottische Laute und Lehmnertc im Jafir). The reason for this is obviously because in spite of any outside influence, Xhosa remains Bantu in its grammatical structure. But there are traces of morphological influence too, and further research may reveal more of these, and possibly syntactical influences too. So far, I have been able to identify only a few live substantival suffixes e.g. -rha (phon. 7-2) as in burjenerha (somewhat of the nature of a baboon), and -sbe (phon. -s), as in lwimne (long-tongued one). Perhaps all the so-called primitive relative stems too are of Khoisan origin. (See 5.43. at sec. and 9.24.)

Xhosa Grammatical Study.

13. Those who aimed at giving literary form to Xhosa naturally found it their duty to make a scientific study of the language. The achievements of grammarians, phoneticians and lexicographers up to date have been assessed by Prof. C.M. Doka, and it will not be necessary to repeat that here. (See (1) Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century, Bantu Studies, Vol. XIV., 1940, p. 297 at sec.)
Aim and Scope of this Treatise.

14. The ultimate aim of the present study is a full treatment of the phonology, morphology and syntax of literary Zulu. These three are so interrelated that no one can claim to have treated any one of them fully until he has treated the others fully as well. In its present form, the treatise has gaps of which I am quite aware in all three aspects. (1) I have treated the sounds and sound changes as fully as I could, but of sound attributes, the important subject of tone, has still to be treated much more fully and systematically. (2) I have treated morphology to the very limits of my present knowledge. (3) I found it neither desirable nor possible to draw a line between morphology and syntax. I therefore attempted to include as much of the syntax as could be treated together with the morphology. Of what remained to be done in syntax, I felt obliged to do relative clause construction at least, because I consider that relative construction in general is a major contribution in this treatise. But in order to be treated properly, relative construction had to be preceded by the substantive. The aspects of syntax dealt with in the last chapter therefore cover only the substantive and relative clause construction. It is intended to produce a complete syntactical study of the language later on.

Approach to Bantu Grammar.

15. Since the publication of the first edition of Prof. Doke's Text-Book of Zulu Grammar in 1927, the approach to Bantu grammar has changed considerably, and all properly trained Bantuists have to a large extent modelled themselves on this.
on this textbook. As "C.S.I." says in a review of Sokol's
Southern Poems. "it is mainly along the trail blazed
by him (Sokol) that nature in the field not much if they do
not wish to go retray". I have kept to the centre of the trail
where I could. Not in one region I have visited not to the
right, to defend a point of view that most modern scientists have
abandoned (e.g. in defence of the article and the proposition),
or to the left to blace a trail of my own (except on the
adjective and the demonstrative and the ideophones). However I
have visited, I have defended my standpoint as well as I could.
by my interjections have naturally accentuated the use of
numbered trees that hitherto, as far as I know, have not been
used in the previous critical study.

I contend if this last has been used whenever necessary, either to
explain features that have hitherto not been explained at all,
or to justify by a point of this an feature for which I have
a different explanation.

Orthography.

16. In 1909, I tried to work out a suitable orthography
for these. The main motive was to find suitable substitutes
for the symbols $\alpha$, $\beta$, and $\gamma$, because of the difficulties
they cause. Firstly, well-known authors as well as requiring
writers complain that these symbols make it extremely difficult
and even impossible to get their literary efforts printed then
and there they wish. Writers who use typewriters complain that
they have to use all sorts of devices and even leave gaps in
order to the handwritten insertions after typing, because
the standard keyboard has no provision for these symbols.

Thus the need to have the these types inserted have
not only to do to saving expense but also to sacrifice six
vertical types in order to save room for these unusual types on
the keyboard.

___________________________

Modern Language Vol. 16 - No. 2 - 1955.
17. The proposed changes were heartily welcomed by the Cape African Teachers' Association at whose annual conference in Kimberley in June, 1949, I read a memorandum on the subject. But on working at this treatise, I began to question seriously the current system of word-division, and so I decided not to proceed with my recommendations until I had made a thorough grammatical analysis of the language.

18. In this treatise I have discarded all non-Roman symbols, substituting sh for f, tj for tj, tih for tih, rh for r, knh for kr, gkr for gr and b for 3. The last change necessitated the substitution of bh for b. I have also used ndz instead of nz in order to bring the writing of this combination into line with the writing of the corresponding voiceless combination, nts. I have also made provision for voiced aspirated nasals, for which the Bennie orthography makes no provision at all. These are nh for mnh as in mwheleka (carry on the back), nh for nth, as in sinhanha (man of standing) and nyrh for rnh, as in nyhwebo (happiness).

19. In regard to word-division I have as far as possible allowed myself to be guided by syntactical relationship. For instance, what others write as abantu abathethayo (the people who are speaking), I write a bantu a bathethayo (lit. "the people those they are speaking"), because the first a is an attenuated demonstrative which in present-day Xhosa functions as an article, and the a before bathethayo is a demonstrative qualitative pronoun in apposition to a bantu, functioning as a relative connective, and qualified by bathethayo. If bathethayo qualifies a, then, surely, the latter is a separate word. This principle is more likely to help Bantuists to arrive at the correct system of word-division than the criteria on which Prof. Doke and his disciples seem wholly to rely, namely, "immutability of position", "sense-group" and "stress". (See introduction to Bantu Linguistic Terminology).

(1) Immutability of position. This proves nothing. Prof. Doke makes the observation that "arguing from other..."
languages when discussing the field of Bantu is generally to be deprecated" (op.cit., p.19), but he himself uses the same method in a negative manner when he argues that because the position of "the Bantu equivalent to the English 'of'" is immutable, therefore it cannot be regarded as a word, if this is an infallible infallible criterion for determining "a word" in English, it does not follow that it is applicable to all languages. In passing, I may point out that, in fact, the English "of" in "unheard-of" and "it is not to be thought of" is not equivalent to the Bantu -a- to which Prof. Doke refers, because in Bantu idiom "of" would have a different equivalent in that particular context (e.g. nga in Nguni and ka in Sotho).

I fully agree that one language is not a translation of another (and have in this treatise pointed out how Prof. Doke has himself fallen into the trap of implicitly arguing from English e.g. on the adjective); but I do not see how we can possibly ignore other languages if we recognize the existence of a science of language.

(2) "Sense-group": This is a vague term, what is sense? Is it not a fact that the same collection of words may constitute two or more sense-groups in a certain context and one sense-group in another? In English, for instance, "the king of England" constitutes two sense-groups in answer to the question "which king?", but a single sense-group in "the king of England's son". Similarly, "the fellow I was talking about" constitutes two sense-groups in answer to "which fellow?" but a single sense-group in "the fellow I was talking about's mother". Ordinarily, people think in sense-groups and not in isolated words. It is highly probable that Prof. Doke tried the experiments described on page 15 of Bantu linguistic Terminology with some illiterate Anglo-Americans in the wild East, they would write helluvaguy instead of hell uv a gun and sonuvagun instead of son uv a gun.

In my lifetime, I have read hundreds of letters written by "illiterate" Kuni and Sotho speakers who learnt writing
under various conditions, e.g. at school up to about 13th B, or at adult schools in the labour centres. These include (1) private letters written to me by my own relatives and friends, (2) private letters written to illiterate relatives and friends who have asked me to read the letters for them, (3) business letters written to firms in Cape Town e.g. orders for patent medicines, orders for Bibles and hymn books in the vernacular, applications to previous employers for recommendations to enter the forbidden "white area" to seek work. Letters in Group (3) are very often sent to the Department of Setswana Languages, University of Cape Town, to be translated into English.

In my experience, the manner of word-division adopted by such semi-literates is quite unpredictable. You can expect anything from a separate "word" for each syllable to a "sense-grouping" that would shock the most ardent conjunctivist. Some pronounce each syllable separately, aloud or mentally, spell it, and then write it down as a separate "word".

_example_
ku lo nya ku nga pha ya kwa lu phe li le xo
Others follow some system of "sense-grouping"

_example_
kulonyaku ngaphaya kwaluphelileyo
or
kulonyakungaphaya kwaluphelileyo
for kulo nyak'ungaphaya kwal'uphelileyo (year before last)

As to the type "who must have sufficient education to be able to do a certain amount of self-analysis", we have only to examine some of the early editions of Tiyo Soga's Umambilo lo imhambi to see what "self-analysis" can do. I cite representative examples from the first five pages of the text:
p.17: Umambilo lo imhambi (The Pilgrim's Progress),
but lusapo lwombilini wam (children of my bowels)
p.18: ntoni na? (what?) , ngapina? (in what direction?) and again
ngani na? (about what?)
p.18: abasesi (the simply), but ubaesiti (he used to...)
and xa abe funda (as he read)
p.19: Uva libona na, but in very next line.
Uva libonana (Do you see it?)
p.18: ngu ishunayeli (it is evangelist), but ngumfo (it is a man)
on page 21.

There is no point in giving any more examples. These are sufficient to show that "self-analysis" can be as inconsistent as "sense-grouping". The Bantuist must therefore abandon both the "unsophisticated" and the "self-analytical" and rely on his own ability to analyse the language gramatically.

(3) Stress: The widely-accepted tenet that the main stress in a Bantu word is always on the penultimate syllable has been shown to be wrong in the body of this treatise, and need not detain us here. The implications are far-reaching as far as Prof. Doke's definition of "a word" and the theory of word-division are concerned.

Although I differ from Prof. Doke on some of these fundamental points, nevertheless my indebtedness to his works in general, and to those on Zulu in particular, is too obvious to enlarge upon.
Chapter 1.

SPEECH SOUNDS.

1.1. Xhosa speech sounds fall into three main divisions, namely, vowels, semi-vowels, and consonants. The consonants further fall into two sub-divisions, namely, plain consonants and click consonants.

The Vowels.

1.2. There are seven oral vowels, viz., i, e, æ, å, o, u.

The following diagram illustrates the position of these vowels in relation to the Cardinal Vowels.

Each sound when first mentioned, and each example, is given twice, first in the IFA transcription as here supplemented and second in the Xhosa orthography as here suggested.

1.3. i (i): the close front vowel. The tongue position is lower than that for Cardinal Vowel No.1. The lips are spread.

Examples.

\( \text{ni} \), ntini (otter)
\( \text{ntsi} \), ntsimi (cultivated field)
\( \text{phi} \), phini (oar)
\( \text{sisi} \), sisini (tooth-gap)

1.4. e (å): the close mid-front vowel. The tongue position is a little lower than that for Cardinal & Vowel No.2. The lips are spread but not to the same extent as for i.

Examples /........
Examples.

mpéleːsi , mpelesi (bride's attendant)
stileːvu , stilévu (chin)
mpceːydvu , mpceyu (white-faced)
blengesai , hlenesai (porpoise)

1.5. ɛ (e): the open mid-front vowel. Its tongue position is slightly lower than that for Cardinal Vowel No.3. The lips are less spread than for e.

Examples.

seːle , sele (frog)
néːne , nene (truth)
mfɛːnɛ , mfene (baboon)
mseːlɛ , melee (eye-lash)

1.6. a (a): the low vowel. Although the tongue position varies from speaker to speaker, it is in all cases nearer to, but decidedly further forward than, Cardinal Vowel No. 5. With the average speaker the position is as shown on the diagram. The lips are neutral.

Examples.

bɛːla , bhala (write)
hɛːmba , hamba (go)
mplɛːma , mplema (blind man)
dəːdə , dada (swim)

1.7. o (o): the open mid-back vowel. The tongue position is a little lower than that for Cardinal Vowel No.6. The lips are slightly rounded.

Examples.

fɔkʰːtʰn , fokotho (fountain)
mkhɔːntɔ , mkhonto (spear)
sɪbɔːlɔ , sibolo (friend)
sɔŋɡɔːlɔ , senglolo (millipede)

1.8. o (ɔ): the close mid-back vowel. The tongue position is slightly lower than that for Cardinal Vowel No.7. The lips are more closely rounded than for o.

/Examples......
3.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>činaŋoun</td>
<td>homvu (red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>góduku</td>
<td>goduka (go home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntiombi</td>
<td>ntombhi (maiden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngazi</td>
<td>ngomi (danger)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.9. u (u): the close back vowel. The tongue position is a little lower than that for Cardinal Vowel No. 8. The lips are closely rounded.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gú:bu</td>
<td>gubu (drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>npkú:ngu</td>
<td>nkungu (mist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̣u:ngu</td>
<td>buhlungu (pain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.10. Relation of e to ê, and of o to ə.

The mid-front vowels ê and e constitute a single phoneme. The mid-back vowels ə and o also constitute a single phoneme. There would seem to be numerous rules governing the incidence of each member in the respective phonemes. The most straightforward of these rules are the following:

(1) If a mid-vowel, occurring in a penultimate syllable, is succeeded by a syllable containing ê, ə, or o, the mid-vowel is open.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>th'epen</td>
<td>theng (buy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwe¿:la</td>
<td>khwala (mount)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siphe:lo</td>
<td>siphele (end)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e: ndhe</td>
<td>sandle (open veld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e: ntla</td>
<td>snle (top)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò:go</td>
<td>dobo (jungle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sifó:mba</td>
<td>sifombho (hunchback)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) If a mid-vowel, occurring in a syllable bearing prominent stress, is succeeded by a syllable containing an open vowel, the mid-vowel is open.

Examples ....
4.

Examples.

thêng'êla · thencela (buy for)
sebêndza · sebendza (work)
mpêsa:lê · mpisana (pity)
ntêne:la · ntumtre (rock-hare)
khôk'êla · khokela (lead)
gôdôla · godola (feel cold)
tôbôza · tyhobosa (break through barriers)
sisôngêlo · sisonelo (threat)
sôngôlo:lo · songololo (millipede)

(3) If mid-vowel occurring in any position is succeeded by a syllable containing i or u, or consisting of a syllabic m (see 2.111.), the mid-vowel is close.

Examples.

thêng'issa · thencisa (sell)
khwelissa · khwelise (cause to mount)
he:m · hem (crane)
gôdôk'ê · goduka (go home)
hôm · hom (life)

(4) If a mid-vowel, occurring in any position, is succeeded by a syllable containing a close mid-vowel, the mid-vowel is close.

Examples.

Compare the vowels in the first two syllables in each of the following pairs:

sebêndza · sebendza (work)
sebêndza:sa · sebendsisa (use)
phelek'ê · pheleka (accompany)
phelek'issa · phelekisa (cause to accompany)
gôdôla · godela (feel cold)
gôdôla:sa · godelisa (cause to feel cold)
khôk'êla · khokela (lead)
khôk'elisa · khokelisa (cause to lead)

/whispered vowels......
1.11. All Xhosa vowels are normally fully voiced, but in ordinary conversation, a vowel occurring immediately before a pause is normally whispered, especially if the syllable in which it occurs is of low intonation.

**Examples.**

\[ \text{yik'osik'wa:zi} \] for \[ \text{yik'osik'wa:zi} \] (mistress)

(Hence the South African English - “inkoskana”)

\[ \text{6'al'le:le} \] for \[ \text{6'al'le:le} \] (they are asleep)

\[ \text{umfa:nqa} \] for \[ \text{umfa:nqa} \] (youth)

(Hence the South African English - “umfana”)

\[ \text{umthandaza:zo} \] for \[ \text{umthandaza:zo} \] (prayer)

**Semi-Vowels.**

1.12. \( \text{j} \) (\( \chi \)): the voiced radical prelingual palatal semi-vowel. It is found before all vowels and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \).

**Examples.**

\[ \text{dz'ja} \] , \[ \text{jiva} \] (congeal)

\[ \text{mje:wii} \] , \[ \text{myveni} \] (bridegroom)

\[ \text{je:la} \] , \[ \text{yala} \] (admonish)

\[ \text{luzuyo} \] , \[ \text{luyuyo} \] (joy)

\[ \text{ji:jwa} \] , \[ \text{shi:ya} \] (be left behind)

1.13. \( \text{j} \) (\( \chi \)): the voiced aspirated prelingual palatal semi-vowel. It is found before vowels.

**Examples.**

\[ \text{hot'ho'} \] , \[ \text{yehal} \] (alas!)

\[ \text{ha'omba} \] , \[ \text{yahamba} \] (it went)

\[ \text{ho'} \] , \[ \text{yehal} \] (Oh!)

1.14. \( \text{w} \) (\( \text{w} \)): the voiced radical labio-velar semi-vowel. It is found before all vowels.

**Examples.**

\[ \text{wisa} \] , \[ \text{wisa} \] (cause to fall)

\[ \text{we:le} \] , \[ \text{wele} \] (twin)

\[ \text{vi:wa} \] , \[ \text{riwa} \] (be heard)

/ bawa .......
examples (cont.,)

Ba:wö , bawo (father)
Wú:tha , wutha (subside, ebb)

1.15. \( \{v\} \): the voiced aspirated labio-velar semi-vowel.

Examples.

Wó:wá , wawa! (there he falls!)
Wó:kšó , whosh! (what next!)
Wó:wí:wá , wenna! (look out!)

1.16. Radical and aspirated semi-vowels in concords.

Semi-vowels occurring in concords are radical when preceded by some other syllable, and aspirated when they occur initially.

Compare the following pairs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nýi:bá:mbilé} & \quad \text{nýi:bá:mbilé? (have you caught it?)} \\
\text{ýhá:mbá:n} & \quad \text{ýhá:mbá:n} \\
\text{ýhá:ná} & \quad \text{ýhá:ná} \\
\text{kú:je} & \quad \text{kú:je} \\
\text{we:lwí} & \quad \text{we:lwí} \\
\text{we:lwí} & \quad \text{we:lwí} \\
\text{kú:we} & \quad \text{kú:we} \\
\text{we:lwí} & \quad \text{we:lwí} \\
\text{kú:we} & \quad \text{kú:we} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\text{ýhá:mbá:n} (it did not go)
\text{ýhá:mbá:n} (and so it went)
\text{ýhá:ná} (he)
\text{ýhá:ná} (to him)
\text{we:lwí} (are you alone?)
\text{we:lwí} ('you, alone)
\text{kú:we} (you)
\text{kú:we} (to you)
### Chart of Plain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>(Voiced Radical)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Voiced Aspirated)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>(Voiced Radical Frictionless)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Voiced Aspirated Frictionless)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Voiceless Radical Fricative)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Voiced Radical Fricative)</td>
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<td>Rolled</td>
<td>(Voiced Radical)</td>
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<td>(Voiced Aspirated)</td>
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<td>Fricative</td>
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<td>Explosive</td>
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<td>(Fully Voiced Radical)</td>
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<td>Implosive</td>
<td>(Voiced Radical)</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>Lateral Affricate</td>
<td>(Voiceless Ejective)</td>
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<td>(Voiced Radical)</td>
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### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Denti-</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Pre-</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Post-</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glotal</th>
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I.18. **Explanation of Chart.**

(a) The symbols in the round brackets represent sounds or sound-combinations that are never heard outside of combinations or larger combinations as the case may be. For example, η, φ, δ, are never heard outside of the combinations ηφδ7 and ιονν. Therefore the chart gives (η), (φ), (δ), (ηφ), (ιονν), (ηφδ), and (ηφδ7). On the other hand, η and δ do occur outside any combination. Therefore these symbols are not enclosed in brackets.

(b) Radical consonants are voiceless or voiced consonants that are pronounced without any accompanying closure of the glottis, and without any aspiration. Thus ζ and η are radicals, but η7 and ηφ are non-radicals.

(c) A partially voiced explosive commences as a voiceless radical explosive and becomes voiced only after the articulation has commenced. Examples: η and δ.

(d) A fully voiced explosive commences as a voiced explosive and continues as such to the end. Special symbols have been created to distinguish these sounds from their partially-voiced counterparts. Examples: η and δ.

(e) As far as sound-combinations are concerned, only the fully homorganic ones are included in the chart. Partially organic and heterorganic combinations, though dealt with in the description, could not be fitted into the chart. These are: ph, br, kr, khr, kr, mbr, mbr, fr, and kr. See 1. 125 - 137

(f) Abbreviations:

Vd.=Voiced; Rad.=Radical; Asp.=Aspirated;

Vl.=Voiceless.
The Plain Consonants.

NASALS.

1.19. \( w \) (\( m \)): the radical voiced bilabial nasal. It is heard before all vowels in the combinations \( \text{mp}^2 \) and \( \text{mb} \), and syllabically where a succeeding vowel has been elided. This sound never precedes a semi-vowel in the same syllable. But when it occurs syllabically it may be followed by \( w \).

Examples:

\[ \text{mlini} \quad \text{mini} \quad \text{(daytime)} \]
\[ \text{mfimba} \quad \text{mema} \quad \text{(invite)} \]
\[ \text{simusumu} \quad \text{simumu} \quad \text{(dumb person)} \]
\[ \text{lwamilies} \quad \text{blwempu} \quad \text{(pauper)} \]
\[ \text{mbila} \quad \text{mbila} \quad \text{(rock-rabbit)} \]
\[ \text{mfila} \quad \text{mfula} \quad \text{(brook)} \]
\[ \text{mwe:thu} \quad \text{mwe:thu} \quad \text{(my countryman)} \]

1.20. \( \	ext{mh} \) (\( m \hbar \)): the aspirated voiced bilabial nasal. It is a comparatively rare sound heard after vowels.

Examples:

\[ \text{bhineya} \quad \text{ximbuya} \quad \text{(mouthpiece of tobacco-pipe)} \]
\[ \text{mheke:ka} \quad \text{mhembeka} \quad \text{(carry on the back)} \]
\[ \text{mhe:mba} \quad \text{mhmba} \quad \text{(onus)} \]
\[ \text{mha:ka} \quad \text{mhaka} \quad \text{(women's portion of meat)} \]
\[ \text{mhama} \quad \text{mhemba} \quad \text{(drink out of calabash or bottle)} \]

1.21. \( w^{'} \) : the voiced radical denti-labial nasal. It is found only in the combinations \( \text{mp}^2 \) and \( \text{mbh} \), orthographically \( mf \) and \( mw \) respectively. See 1.108 - 110.

Examples:

\[ \text{mpf:ension} \quad \text{mfene} \quad \text{(babooh)} \]
\[ \text{mbh:u:la} \quad \text{mbula} \quad \text{(rain)} \]
\[ \text{mmbha} \quad \text{mzimba} \quad \text{(opinions)} \]
1.22. ɳ (n): the voiced radical alveolar nasal. It is found before all vowels, before the semi-vowel ʮ, and in such combinations as nt', nta' etc. See 1.99 - 101 and 1.111 - 113.

Examples:

ɳː niː, nini? (when?)
ktːnə:ne kuni:ne (very much)
weː:na nyana (son)
jonwaː:ba vonwaba (be happy)
ntːma ntamo (neck)
ŋtːwaːmpa ntsumpa (wart)

1.23. ɲ (ɲ): the aspirated voiced alveolar nasal. This is an extremely rare sound.

Examples.

sinhaː:na, sinhanha (man of standing)
ɲbaː:na nhonha (darling)

1.24. ɲː the voiced radical prepalatal nasal. It is found only in the combinations ζnː and ζnː, orthographically nt and nj respectively. See 1.116 - 118.

Examples.

ɬnːtːli, nti:li (expert dancer)
ɬnːdzːːlo, njalo (so)

1.25. ɲ (ɲ): the voiced radical post-palatal nasal. It is found before vowels, before the semi-vowel ʮ, and in such combinations as ɲː and ɲː, orthographically nty and ndy respectively. See 1.101 - 104.

Examples.

ɲibːiː:ka, nyibilika (melt)
ɲáː:ma, nyana (mat)
ɲuː, nyoka (snake)
ɲuː, nyuka (go up)
ɲeːciaːmpo, ntya:ntyambho (flower)
ɲeːbɔ, ndyebo (riches)

1.26......
1.26. \( \mathfrak{v} \) (\( \text{nyh} \)): the aspirated voiced post-palatal nasal. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \).

**Examples.**

\( \mathfrak{v} \text{hibe:la} \), nyhibblela (anoint lavishly)

\( \mathfrak{v} \text{he'ke} \), nyheke (nare-lip)

\( \text{mnyh\'{a}dai} \), mnyhada (contest)

\( \text{nyha} \), nyhala (stuff, fill up)

\( \text{nyholoba} \), nyholoba (neck-joint)

\( \text{nyhuk\'{u}la} \), nyhukhula (poke roughly with elbow)

1.27. \( \mathfrak{y} \) (\( \text{ng} \)): the voiced radical velar nasal. It is found before all vowels and in the combinations such as \( \mathfrak{v} \text{k} \) and \( \mathfrak{y} \text{g} \) and \( \mathfrak{y} \text{b} \), orthographically \( \text{nk} \), \( \text{ng} \), and \( \text{nkx} \). See 1.105 - 107.

**Examples.**

\( \mathfrak{y} \text{ng'anga} \), ng'ang'ane (blue ibis)

\( \mathfrak{y} \text{ng'oz} \), ng'ong'oz (make faces)

\( \text{nk'owo} \), nk'owo (monkey)

\( \text{ngozi} \), ngozi (danger)

\( \text{nikaso} \), nikaso (support)

**LATERALS.**

1.28. \( \text{l} \) (\( \text{l} \)): the voiced frictionless radical lateral. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \).

**Examples.**

\( \text{lila} \), lila (weep)

\( \text{mlebe} \), mlebe (lip)

\( \text{lala} \), lala (sleep)

\( \text{lula} \), lula (light, easy)

\( \text{lwamvila} \), lwamvila (sting)

1.29. \( \text{l} \) (\( \text{l} \)): the aspirated voiced frictionless lateral.

This sound is found in demonstratives. Whenever a demonstrative commences in a frictionless lateral, the lateral is aspirated. But if the demonstrative is preceded by another formative, there is no aspiration.

/examples......
Examtiles,

Exams.

\[ \text{(this one)}, \quad \text{\(k\)ul} \text{'} (to this one), \quad \text{\(n\)ulu} \text{'} (it is this one) \\
\text{(this one)}, \quad \text{\(k\)ul} \text{'} (to this one), \quad \text{\(j\)uli} \text{'} (it is this one) \\
\]

In a practical orthography it is not necessary to provide separate symbols, as the two sounds belong to the same phoneme.

1.30.  (\(hl\)): the voiceless fricative radical alveolar lateral. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \(w\).

Examples.

\[ \text{\(k\)le}, \quad \text{blitihla} \text{ (rub)} \\
\text{\(le\)le}, \quad \text{blieba} \text{ (slander)} \\
\text{\(s\le\)la}, \quad \text{silibiha} \text{ (wrist)} \\
\text{\(s\le\)la}, \quad \text{blola} \text{ (inspect)} \\
\text{\(m\)le\(w\)a}, \quad \text{blhwa} \text{ (rust)} \\
\text{\(s\le\)we\(l\)a}, \quad \text{silibwale} \text{ (multitude)} \]

1.31.  (\(dl\)): the voiced fricative radical alveolar lateral. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \(w\).

Examples.

\[ \text{\(b\)le\(a\)}, \quad \text{dlisa} \text{ (administer poison)} \\
\text{\(s\le\)le\(l\)}, \quad \text{sidlele} \text{ (cheek)} \\
\text{\(b\)le\(a\)}, \quad \text{dlala} \text{ (play)} \\
\text{\(b\)le\(a\)}, \quad \text{dloba} \text{ (prance)} \\
\text{\(b\)le\(a\)}, \quad \text{dlula} \text{ (pass)} \\
\text{\(b\)le\(l\)\(g\)ula}, \quad \text{dlwengula} \text{ (rape)} \]

ROLLED.

1.32.  \(r\) (\(r\)): the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual. This sound is confined to a few onomatopoetic words, and to words imported from Dutch and English.

Examples.

\[ \text{\(mp\)\(r\)}, \quad \text{\(mp\)\(r\)} \text{ (of a small bird taking to flight)} \\
\text{\(ph\)\(r\)}, \quad \text{\(ph\)\(r\)} \text{ (of a horse snorting)} \\
\text{\(ore\)\(n\)\(di\)}, \quad \text{\(ore\)\(n\)\(di\)} \text{ (orange) < Eng.} \]

/ tram . . . . . . .
1.33. *Th* (θ): the voiced aspirated rolled alveolar.

**Examples.**

- *r̩háyáháyá* — ravi-ravi (riddle) Du. rasi
- *r̩húbá* — ruba (wander all over, philander)
- *r̩húbá* — ruga (throw stones at)

1.34. Importation of Rolled Sounds.

When Xhosa first came into contact with Dutch and English, the tendency in importing words containing θ was to substitute *b* for *θ*, and if the *θ* was preceded by a plosive, say *p* or *t* or *d*, in the same syllable, to interpose a vowel after that plosive, making an extra syllable. Thus, for instance, brandy became bulant’i, tronk became *tʰo:ingo*
mattress became matilda’si, draai became *dila:i*

This had been the practice in importing words from the Khoisan languages too, e.g. *n̩hálo:iwa* (maholowa) Korana and Nama
- horab (corn), *mala:ba* (malaba) < Nama *gara:b* (shoulder-blade), *qile* (nxela) //*vare* (left-handed person)

But as the speakers of Xhosa are becoming more and more familiar with the sound θ and the combinations in which it is to be found in the European languages, the tendency is to retain θ and to dispense with the inserted vowel. Thus, while there are some who still say matilda’isi for mattress, *buló:ya* for brug (bridge), and bulant’i for brandy, the tendency now is to say matlas’i, *bulo:ya* and *brant’i* respectively.

/1.35......
1.35. Rolled Consonants in Xesiibe.

The sound \( \mathfrak{r} \) is not altogether foreign to Nguni even outside of ideophones. In Xesiibe it is to be heard together with retroflex \( \mathfrak{t} \) and \( \mathfrak{d} \) in such combinations as \( \mathfrak{r}+\mathfrak{t} \) in \( \mathfrak{rt}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{a} \text{ma} \) (maid), \( \mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{w}\) (children) and \( \mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{r} \) in \( \mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{a} \) (man), \( \mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{u} \) (I. alone)

1.36. Rolled Consonants in Hlubi.

In Hlubi too the sound \( \mathfrak{r} \) is found in many words of Bantu origin. But this is due to the direct influence of Southern Sotho, as the words in which it occurs are obviously imported from the neighbouring Sotho. Here we find such words as \( \text{sirustu} \) (round basket) \( < \text{Sotho seroto} \), \( \text{korola} \) (sing war song), and \( \text{makirunwana} \) (devices), which is found in Zulu as \( \text{makirunwana} \), but seems to have come to Hlubi via some dialect of Sotho.

FRICATIVES.

1.37. \( \mathfrak{f} \) (f): the voiceless radical denti-labial fricative. It is found before all vowels, but never found before semi-vowels. It is also found in the combination \( \mathfrak{mf} \) (mf).

**Examples.**

\[ \text{fipha:la}, \text{fipala} \) (become din)
\[ \text{lufi:fe}, \text{lufefe} \) (grace)
\[ \text{fa:na}, \text{fana} \) (resemble)
\[ \text{mf} \text{f}_{\text{w}i:} \text{n} \text{d} \text{u} \) (mfundo) (learning)

1.38. \( \mathfrak{r} \) (r): the voiced radical denti-labial fricative. It is found before all vowels and in the combination \( \mathfrak{dr} \), but never before a semi-vowel.

**Examples.**

\[ \text{ve:lisa} \) (produce)
\[ \text{lue:vo} \) (opinion)
\[ \text{mvumyo} \) (permission)
1.39. ʂ (s): the voiceless radical alveolar fricative. It is found before all vowels, before the semi-vowel ɭ, and in the combinations ta', tab and nta', as described in 1.79-81 and 1.111.

**Examples:**

- ʂɪsɪle: -License (pit)
- ʂʊ'sea: 州区 (remove)
- łużwa:zi: łużwazi (switch)

1.40. ʐ (ʐ): the voiced radical alveolar fricative. It is found before all vowels, before the semi-vowel ɭ, and in the combinations dz and ndz, as described in 1.82, 1.115.

**Examples:**

- łużɪ:zi: łużisi (dim)
- ʂɑ:zɛ:la ʂasela (conscience)
- ʐɪ:la ʐole (be calm)
- łużɪ:zwɪ łużwi (voice)

1.41. ʃ (ʃ): the voiceless radical prepalatal fricative. It is found before vowels, before the semi-vowel ɭ, and in the combinations ʃʃ, ʃʃh, and ʃwʃ, as described in 1.84-86, 1.114.

**Examples:**

- ʃi:ya ʂhɪva (leave behind)
- ʃe:yi ʂhevi (fake)
- ʂu'maʃo:lo ʂumašolo (drone)
- ʂu:ʃu ʂushu (hot)
- łużɪ:swa łużsha (misfortune)

1.42. ʒ (ʒ): the voiced radical prepalatal fricative. In Xhosa this sound is found only in the combinations ʒ, and ʒdʒ as described in 1.88, 1.116.

**Examples:**

- ʒɪ:ka: ʂika (turn)
- ʒʊdʒa:lo ʂule (so)
In Xosa, Hlubi and Ixponto the sound \( \tilde{\gamma} \) occurs alone before semi-vowels and vowels. e.g. *Xaca-Ixponto:* \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \alpha \) (dusk)
\( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) (dark-brown); *Hlubi:* \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) (strike).

1.43. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (kh): the voiceless radical velar fricative. It is found before all vowels, before the semi-vowel \( \varepsilon \), and in such combinations as \( \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \), as described in 1.89–90.

**Examples.**
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *whinyela* (lassoo)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *lurhe* (rumour)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *rhuga* (drag)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *rhubaa* (trade)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *krushula* (tear)

1.44. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (gh): the voiced radical velar fricative. This is a comparatively rare sound heard before vowels.

**Examples.**
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *grha-gwana* (grow)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *grhumba* (dig with nails or claws)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *grhuza* (bruise)

1.45. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (h): the voiceless glottal fricative. This sound is very rare in Xhosa.

**Examples.**
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *hili* (sprite - tikoleshe)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *hiya* (of being absent-minded)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *huhuza* (huhuza (let in draught)

1.46. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (h): the voiced glottal fricative. It is found before vowels.

**Examples.**
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *hili-hili* (vagabond)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *sihelegu* (calamity)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *hambha* (go)
- \( \tilde{\gamma} \kappa \tilde{\gamma} \varepsilon \) - *hodi* (ant-bear)

/ explosives......
EXPLOSIVES.

1.47. \( \text{p} \) (\( \text{p} \)): the voiceless radical bilabial explosive. It is found only in such combinations as \( \text{b} \), \( \text{ph} \), and \( \text{mp}^2 \), as described in 1.48 and 1.94 - 5.

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi:tsi} & : \text{pitsi} \quad \text{(well)} \\
\text{phi:bha} & : \text{phpha} \quad \text{(fly)} \\
\text{mp^2} & : \text{mpuku} \quad \text{(mouse)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.48. \( \text{b}^2 \) (\( \text{b} \)): the ejective voiceless bilabial explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of \( \text{p} \) as described in 1.48 and the glottal stop \( \text{ʔ} \). It is found before all vowels, and in the combination \( \text{mp}^2 \), but it is never found before semi-vowels.

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi:tsi} & : \text{pitsi} \quad \text{(well)} \\
\text{pitiliza} & : \text{pitalza} \quad \text{(lisp)} \\
\text{zipa} & : \text{zipa} \quad \text{(so-and-so)} \\
\text{pahaha} & : \text{pahaha} \quad \text{(of making public)} \\
\text{poco} & : \text{poco} \quad \text{(of being outright)} \\
\text{mp^2} & : \text{mpu} \quad \text{(gun)} \\
\text{mp^2} & : \text{mpanda} \quad \text{(bald head)} \\
\text{mp^2} & : \text{mpongo} \quad \text{(he-goat)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.49. \( \text{ph} \) (\( \text{ph} \)): the voiceless aspirated bilabial explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of \( \text{p} \), as described in 1.47, and \( \text{h} \), as described in 1.45. It is found before vowels, but never before semi-vowels.

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phi:mbi} & : \text{phimpi} \quad \text{(ringhals)} \\
\text{phi:ka} & : \text{phi:ka} \quad \text{(cook)} \\
\text{phi:ka} & : \text{phi:ka} \quad \text{(be cool)} \\
\text{mp^2} & : \text{mphunga} \quad \text{(lung)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.50. \( \text{bh} \) (\( \text{bh} \)): the partially-voiced radical bilabial explosive. It is found only before vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

/examples........
19.

Examples.

\[\text{bibi}, \text{la} \quad \text{bbihidla} \text{ (blow through teeth as a baby does)}\]

\[\text{ba}, \text{la} \quad \text{bhal} \text{ (write)}\]

\[\text{boka}, \text{la} \quad \text{bho} \text{koda} \text{ (overstep bounds)}\]

\[\text{bu}, \text{nga} \quad \text{bhunga} \text{ (hold council)}\]

1.51. \(\text{b} (\text{bh})\): the fully-voiced radical bilabial explosive. It is found only in the combination \(\text{mbh} (\text{mbh})\) before all vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

\[\text{mbha} \quad \text{mbhila} \text{ (rock-rabbit)}\]

\[\text{mbh} \text{wu} \quad \text{mbh} \text{wu} \text{ (seed)}\]

\[\text{gum} \text{mbha} \quad \text{gumbha} \text{ (be wrathful)}\]

\[\text{mbi}, \text{la} \quad \text{mbhol} \text{la} \text{ (ochre)}\]

\[\text{sidum} \text{hbu} \quad \text{sidumbhu} \text{ (corpse)}\]

1.52. Aspirated Variants of \(\text{b} \) and \(\text{p}\).

\(\text{b}\) and \(\text{p}\) have the variants \(\text{bh}\) and \(\text{ph}\) respectively. Many Xhosa speakers aspirate these explosives, especially when they occur initially in stressed syllables.

Examples.

\[\text{bha}, \text{la} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{ba}, \text{la} \text{ (be)}\]

\[\text{bbi}, \text{la} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{bhi}, \text{la} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{bibi}, \text{la} \text{ (blow through teeth as a baby does)}\]

\[\text{mbhi}, \text{mbhi} \text{tu} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{mbhi}, \text{mbhi} \text{tu} \text{ for} \quad \text{mbhi}, \text{mbhi} \text{tu} \text{ (rock-rabbit)}\]

(2) Denti-Labial.

1.53. \(\text{t}\): the voiceless radical denti-labial explosive. It is found only in the four-sound combination \(\text{mf} (\text{mf})\), as described in 1.108 - 109. e.g. \(\text{g} \text{mf} (\text{mf})\), \text{mfene} (baboon)

1.54. \(\text{t}\): the voiced radical denti-labial explosive. It is found only in the three-sound combination \(\text{mv} (\text{mv})\), as described in 1.110. e.g. \(\text{g} \text{mv} (\text{mv})\), \text{(rain)}

(3) Alveolar.

1.55. \(\text{t}\): the voiceless radical alveolar explosive. It is found in the combination \(\text{t} \) and \(\text{th}\), as described in 1.56 - 57. e.g. \(\text{t} \text{kat} a (\text{father}), \text{th} \text{ita} \text{ha} (\text{speak})\)

/1.56......
1.56. $t'$ ($t$): the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of $t$, as described in 1.55, and the glottal stop $\theta$. It is found before vowels, before the semi-vowel $w$, and in such combinations as $nt'$ ($nt$), as described in 1.97 – 1.99.

**Examples.**

- tikiti (ticket)
- tefisa (pamper)
- tutu (border raider)
- utwala (louse)

1.57. $th$ ($th$): the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of $t$, as described in 1.55, and $b$, as described in 1.45. It is found before vowels, and before the semi-vowel $w$.

**Examples.**

- thimula (sneeze)
- thengisa (sell)
- thole (calf)
- mthwebeba (wax)

1.58. ($d$): the partially-voiced radical alveolar explosive (cf. 1.13.9). It is found before vowels, and before the semi-vowel $w$.

**Examples.**

- dinza (lack)
- dela (despise)
- dubula (shoot)
- wedwa (you alone)

1.59. $d$ ($d$): the fully voiced radical alveolar explosive. It is found in the combinations $nd$ and $nd\ddot{a}$ as described in 1.100, 1.113, and 1.121.

**Examples.**

- mndi (pleasant)
- ndebe (cup)
- mendu (speed)
- ndwebeba (be alert)
1.60. There are aspirated variants of k and kh.

E.g. dhāidha or dhaida for datxa,

nakōidha or nākōide for pākide (mn) 

In reciting the praise-song “Al SULUMAI” (Hail, Sulaiman!), N'guyi uses the aspirated variants for voiced explosives. It is clearest at the end of the song, where the bard repeats one phrase three times:

imyakaw̃o budhādha (iminyaka vo budoda) (the years of manhood)

(Columbia Gram. Record A661).

(4) Prepalatals

1.61. [h]: the voiceless radical prepalatal explosive. It is found in the combinations [h]̃ and [h]̄, as described in 1.84 - 86 and 1.114 -115.

Examples:

[ti]̃ga = tiisa (spit)

[nt]̄ggo = ntonggo (nicotine)

1.62. [j]: the voiced radical prepalatal explosive. It is found only in the combinations [j]̃ and [j]̄, as described in 1.86 and 1.110.

Examples:

[di]̃ka = jika (turn)

[j]̄do = jiala (so)

(5) Post-palatals

1.63. [q]: the voiceless radical post-palatal explosive. It is found only in the combinations [q]̃, [q]̄ and [q]̄ before all vowels and before the semi-vowel w, as described in 1.84 - 85 and 1.102 -103. E.g. [k]̃, [k]̄: tyebe (be fat), [k]̄: tybila (uncover) and [h]̄: utwila (dive).

1.64. [t]: the voiceless ejective post-palatal explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of [q], as described in 1.63, and the glottal stop [ʔ]. It is found before vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

/examples/....
1.65. ch (tyh): the voiceless aspirated post-palatal explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of c, as described in 1.63, and h, as described in 1.45.

Examples.

ch'li:za • tyhiliza (push)
ch'le:ba • tyheneba (laziness)
ch'la • tyhala (push)
ch'la: • tyhuta:ha (penetrate)
ch'me:k'ba: • tyhwakaza (thwack lightly)

1.66. j (dy): the partially-voiced radical post-palatal explosive. It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel u.

Examples.

j'hi:za • dyihiza (work slattishly)
j'ba:za • dyabha:za (splash about)
j'ha • dyobha (bespatter)

1.67. j (dy): the fully-voiced radical post-palatal explosive. It is found in the combination jow (ndy), before vowels, and before the semi-vowel u.

Examples.

jow'k' • ndvitiva (wholesale slaughter)
jaw' • ndyebo (wealth)
jowobane • ndyobhane (mutual incrimination)

1.68. Both j and j have aspirated variants.

Examples.

jowh:ia • jowh:ibane • jowh:ia or jowh:ibane
jawh:ia • jawh:ibane • jawh:ia or jawh:ibane

/velars ........
VELARS

1.69. k: the voiceless radical velar explosive. It is found in the combinations k', and kh and yk', before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

Examples.

k'ak'e:de, kakade (of course)
khi:la, khula (grow)
yk'ha:6i, nkabi (ox)

1.70. (k): the voiceless ejective velar explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of k' as described in 1.69, and the glottal stop, 2 . It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel w, and also in the combination yk' as described in 1.105.

Examples.

k'k'ak'e:la, kakela (slant)
k'k'k'no, koko (but)
k'wa:kh0, kwakho (at your house)
yk'k'k'ha:kh0, nkuku (domestic fowl)

1.71. kh (kh): the voiceless aspirated velar explosive. This is a two-sound combination consisting of k, as described in 1.69, and h, as described in 1.45. It is found before all vowels and before the semi-vowel w.

Examples.

kh'itha, khitha (drop asleep)
sik'he:wu, sikhawu (gap)
kho:ndz0, khondza (serve)
khu:za, khuza (exclaim)
khu:za:ya, khwaza (shout)

1.72. (g): the partially-voiced radical velar explosive. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

Examples.

gu:la, gila (bump)
gz'za, gera (be mad)
mgu:du, mgudu (effort)

/gwala...
examples (cont.)

`gwa:la` , gwa:la (coward)

1.73. `g` (g) : the fully-voiced radical velar explosive. It is found in the combination `ga` before all vowels and before the semi-vowel `w`.

Examples.

`mba:ngi` , mbbongi (bard)
`ng:ina` , ngena (enter)
`ng:wa:ma` , ngonyama (lion)
`ng:we:na` , ngwenya (crocodile)

1.74. Both `g` and `g` have aspirated variants

Examples.

`ghe:le:la` , galela (pour)
`ghe:wa:ma` , ngonyama (lion)

1.75. `?` is the glottal stop. It is heard before all vowels occurring initially or in isolation, after some radical explosives and after voiceless radical affricates as described in 1.77 et seq.

Examples.

`?i:wu` , iru! (stop thief!)
`?e:we` , awe (yes)
`?a:pha` , apha (here)
`t?e:k?e:ta` , taketa (lisp)
`t?e:la` , tsala (pull)

1.76. `b` is the voiced radical bilabial implosive. It is heard in the combination `b` (b), the voiced ejective bilabial implosive.

Examples.

`b?i:za` , biza (call)
`b?i:be:le` , bubele (affection)
`b?o:b?i:ni` , bobabini (both of them)
`b?o:pha` , borha (bind)
`b?o:la:` , bulala (kill)

/affricates......
AFFRICATES.

1.77. \( \text{p}^f \) : the voiceless radical denti-labial affricate. It is found only in the combination \( \text{ny} \text{p}^f \), as described in 1.108 - 109. e.g. \( \text{ny} \text{p}^f \text{i} \text{f} \text{f} \text{l} \text{a} \text{te} \) (secret).

1.78. \( \text{by} \) : the voiced radical denti-labial affricate. It is found only in the combination \( \text{ny} \text{by} \), (my) as described in 1.110. e.g. \( \text{ny} \text{by} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \) (hippopotamus), \( \text{ny} \text{by} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \).

1.79. \( \text{ta} \) : the voiceless radical alveolar affricate. It is found in the combinations \( \text{ta} \), \( \text{tsh} \), and \( \text{nta} \), as described in 1.80 - 81 and 1.111 - 112.

1.80. \( \text{ta} \) (\( \text{t} \)): the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate. It is found before all vowels, before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \), and in the combination \( \text{nta} \), as described in 1.112.

Examples.
\[
\text{tsa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a}, \quad \text{ta} \text{ba} \quad \text{(jump)} \\
\text{noma} \text{t} \text{t} \text{s} \text{a}, \quad \text{nomatse} \quad \text{(squirrel)} \\
\text{n} \text{tsasim} \text{i}, \quad \text{ntsomi} \quad \text{(fable)}
\]

1.81. \( \text{tsh} \) (\( \text{t} \)): the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate. This sound is very rare in Xhosa.

Examples.
\[
\text{tsi} \text{h} \text{h} \text{a}, \quad \text{sithaba} \quad \text{(brown)} \\
\text{t} \text{sh} \text{a} \quad \text{tshai} \quad \text{(catch him!)} \\
\text{t} \text{sh} \text{u} \quad \text{tshu} \quad \text{(of/darkness)}
\]

1.82. \( \text{dz} \) (\( \text{d} \)): the voiced radical alveolar affricate. This sound is extremely rare outside of the combination \( \text{ny} \text{dz} \), as described in 1.113.

Examples.
\[
\text{dz} \text{e} \text{dz} \text{e}, \quad \text{dzedze} \quad \text{(flea)} \\
\text{dzu} \quad \text{dzu} \quad \text{(keep steady in a straight course)}
\]

1.83. The sound-combinations \( \text{tsh} \) and \( \text{dz} \) are far more commonly met with in the Tekeza sub-groups (\( \text{u} \text{c} \text{a} \text{-} \text{N} \text{t} \text{l} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{w} \text{i} \text{n} \text{i} \text{-} \text{S} \text{w} \text{a} \text{x} \text{i} \)) sub-groups than either : Xhosa or Zulu. The reason for this is that in that sub-group Ur-Bantu \( \text{t} \) has become \( \text{tsh} \) (before a \( / \text{a} \) and the ......
and the front vowels), **th** (before **w** and the back vowels), while
1 becomes **dz** (before **a** and the front vowels) and **dv** (before **w**
and the back vowels).

The following pairs illustrate the position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa-Zulu</th>
<th>Bantu-Nyasa-Swati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>thi', -thi</strong></td>
<td><strong>tsihi</strong> (say)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dɛ', -de</strong></td>
<td><strong>dzɛ</strong> (long, tall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phə:tha, phatha</strong></td>
<td><strong>phə:tsaba</strong> (handle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>funa, funda</strong></td>
<td><strong>funda</strong> (learn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndə:da, ndede</strong></td>
<td><strong>ndvɔ:dzə</strong> (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>thə:thu, -thatu</strong></td>
<td><strong>tsaba'sthu</strong> (three)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pha:thwa, -phatha</strong></td>
<td><strong>pha:thiwa</strong> (be handled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mpa:tho, mpatho</strong></td>
<td><strong>mpə:tho</strong> (treatment)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So, while **tsh** and **dz** are extremely rare in Xhosa and
non-existent in Zulu, these affricates occur almost as commonly
in the Tshewa sub-group as **th** and **d** occur in Xhosa-Zulu.

1.84. **tʃh** : the voiceless radical prepatalal affricate. It is
found only in the combinations **tʃh**, **tʃh**, and **tʃh**, as
described in 1.85–86 and 1.114–115.

1.85. **tʃh** (**tj**): the voiceless ejective prepatalal affricate.
It is found before vowels and in the combination **tʃh**, **tʃh**, as
described in 1.115.

**Examples.**

- **tʃh' l̩h.**: **tjixa** (lock up)
- **tʃh' n̩a**: **tjeca** (cut at under)
- **tʃh' b̩l̩sa**: **tjabbisa** (revile)
- **tʃh' k̩limo**: **ntjukomo** (movement)

1.86. **tʃh** (**tsh**): the voiceless aspirated prepatalal affricate.
It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel **w**.

**Examples.**

- **tʃh' l̩sa**: **tjiisa** (set on fire)
- **mp̩bhe:tsiha**: **mtjhetiha** (scoury)
- **mp̩b̩h̩o**: **ntjibato** (marriage)
- **b̩ɔ:tsiwa**: **botjhiwa** (be bound)

/ 1.87......
1.87. In Zulu, the affricate \( \text{bsh} \) is only found as the emphasized form of the fricative \( \text{f} \); for instance, \( \text{bhaya} \) is more emphatic than \( \text{fa,ya} \) — for "strike", and would be used when the speaker is speaking with emotion. (Doke: Phonetics, p. 112)

In Xhosa, Xhosa and Xhosa, on the other hand, the sound \( \text{bsh} \) is used far more extensively than even in Xhosa. In these three dialects \( \text{bsh} \) corresponds to both \( \text{bch} \) and \( \text{f} \) as they occur in Xhosa.

Examples:

\[ \text{bshi:jaf} \] for Xhosa \( \text{fij:a} \)  
\[ \text{bshikena} \] " \( \text{fikena} \)  
\[ \text{shumi} \] (ten)

1.88. \( \text{dz} \) (\( \text{d} \)): the voiced radical prepalatal affricate. It is heard before vowels and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \), and also in the combination \( \text{ndz} \), nd.

Examples:

\[ \text{dzidza} \]  
\[ \text{dzik'a} \]  
\[ \text{dzina} \]  

1.89. \( \text{kx} \) the voiceless radical velar affricate. It is found only in the combinations \( \text{kx} \) and \( \text{nkx} \), as described in 1.90, and 1.117 - 118.

1.90. \( \text{kx} \) (\( \text{kfr} \)): the voiceless ejective velar affricate. It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \), and in the combination \( \text{nkx} \), as described in 1.118.

Examples:

\[ \text{kx'kx'za} \]  
\[ \text{kx'e:b'c} \]  
\[ \text{kx'k'a:kx'na} \]  
\[ \text{kx'la} \]  

/ krkuma ........
examples (cont.)

kr\'u\'\'na, krauna (sprain)
kr\'w\'it\'ha, krmit\'ha (throttle)

LATERAL AFFRICATE.

1.91. \( t\^d\) : the voiceless radical lateral affricate. It is found only in the combinations \( t\^d\) and \( n\^d\) , as described in 1.92.

1.92. \( t\^d?\) (tj): the voiceless ejective lateral affricate. It is hardly ever found outside the combination \( n\^d?\) , as described in 1.119 - 120. The only available example of \( t\^d?\) outside this combination is \( n\^d?\) , blatiokwane (bottle-nest weaver-bird).

1.93. \( d\^\{\}\) : the voiced radical lateral affricate. In Xhosa this affricate is found only in the combination \( nd\) , ndl, as described in 1.121. But in Hlubi \( d\^\{\}\) occurs alone before vowels in words imported from Southern Sotho, e.g.

\[ g\d'\{\}d\{\}  \quad \text{S.Sotho} \quad k\d'\{\}d\{\} \quad (\text{sing war-song}) \]

Nasal-Explosive Combinations.

(1) BILABIAL.

1.94. \( mp\) : the voiceless radical bilabial nasal-explosive combination. It is found only in the combination \( mp\) as described in 1.95.

1.95. \( mp\) (mp): the voiceless ejective bilabial nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

Examples.

\( mp\) , mpisi (hyena)
\( mp\) , mpethu (maggot)
\( mp\) , mpardla (bald head)
\( mp\) , mpofu (eland)
\( mp\) , mhwepu (pauper)

*Strictly speaking, only the second element is voiceless in such combinations.*
1.96. \( mh \) (mbh): the radical voiced bilabial nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

**Examples.**

\( mh\text{-}\text{ne} \), mmhise (pot)
\( ze\text{-}\text{ne} \), zembhe (axe)
\( ho\text{-}\text{ne} \), hambha (go)
\( n\text{-}\text{ne} \), ntambho (valley)
\( kw\text{-}\text{ne} \), owambhu (cream)

(2) **DENTI-LABIAL.**

1.97. \( mp \): the voiceless radical denti-labial nasal-explosive combination. It is heard only in the combination \( mpf \) as illustrated in 1.109.

(3) **ALVEOLAR.**

1.98. \( nt \): the voiceless radical alveolar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard only in the combination \( nt^1 \) and \( nt^2 \). 1.99. \( nt^1 \) (nt): the voiceless ejective alveolar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

**Examples.**

\( nt\text{-}\text{ne} \), ntini (otter)
\( nt\text{-}\text{nese} \), ntengiso (sale)
\( nt\text{-}\text{ne} \), ntethe (locust)
\( nt\text{-}\text{ne} \), ntaba (mountain)
\( mt\text{-}\text{ne} \), mwntu (person)
\( nt\text{w}-\text{ne} \), ntwana (small thing)

1.100. \( nd \) (nd): the voiced radical alveolar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \). It is heard also in the combinations \( nd \) and \( ndf \), as described in 1.113 and 1.121.

/examples.....
30.

**Examples.**

| /ntani/       | / nzandi/ (pleasant) |
| / nde:be/     | / ndebe/ (cup) |
| / nda:w/      | / ndawo/ (place) |
| / ndonj/      | / ndoncei/ (rectum) |
| / ndum/       | / ndenu/ (speed) |
| / -tha ndu/   | / -thandwa/ (be loved) |
| / ndzulu/     | / ndzulu/ (depth) |
| / ndlebe/     | / ndlebe/ (ear) |

(4) **PRE-PALATAL.**

1.101. / nd/: this is the voiceless radical prepalatal nasal-explosive combination. It is heard only in the combination /nd/, as described in 1.115.

(5) **POST-PALATAL.**

1.102. / nd/: the voiceless radical post-palatal nasal-explosive combination. It is heard only in the combination /nd/, as described in 1.103.

1.103. / nd/ (nty): the voiceless ejective post-palatal nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

**Examples.**

| / nd'la:za/   | / ntyiloza/ (chirp) |
| / nd'e:wu/    | / ntyewu/ (fellow) |
| / nd'e:nd/    | / ntyabontyi/ (wild melon) |
| / nd'ni:nda/  | / ntyuntya/ (be tedious in speaking) |
| / nd'wi:la/   | / ntywila/ (dive under water) |

1.104. / nd/: the voiced radical post-palatal nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

**Examples.**

| / ndyl/       | / ndylolo/ (brass-string ornament) |
| / ndye:bo/    | / ndyelo/ (wealth) |
| / ndyvuluka/  | / tvamvaleka/ (burst out crying) |
| / ndyvula/    | / zindywala/ (beer-parties) |

/ velar....
1.105. \( \eta k \): the voiceless radical velar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard in the combination \( \eta k^2 \), as described in 1.106.

1.106. \( \eta k^2 \) (nk): the voiceless ejective velar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\eta k'\text{ngc} & : \text{nkinge (kind of musical instrument)} \\
\eta k'\text{ntza} & : \text{nkentza (tinkle)} \\
\eta k'\text{b}^2 & : \text{nkabi (ox)} \\
\eta k'\text{s} & : \text{nkosi (chief)} \\
\eta k'\text{d} & : \text{nkundzi (male animal)} \\
\eta k'\text{w} & : \text{nkwantya (be terrificed)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.107. \( \eta \) (ng): the voiced radical velar nasal-explosive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mt} & : \text{mthengi (buyer)} \\
\text{ngal} & : \text{ngale (arm)} \\
\text{th} & : \text{thanga (buy)} \\
\text{bulung} & : \text{bulungu (pain)} \\
\text{chu} & : \text{Chungwa (name of Xhosa sub-chief)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Nasal - Affricate Combinations.**

1.108. \( \eta \text{pf} \): the voiceless radical danti-labial nasal-affricate combination. It is heard only in the combination \( \eta \text{pf}^2 \), as described in 1.109.

1.109. \( \eta \text{pf}^2 \) (mf): the voiceless ejective radical danti-labial nasal-affricate combination. It is heard before all vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

/examples...
Examples.

mbhielo (secret)
mbene (baboon)
mfana (blind man)
mfunako (necessity)

It is heard before all vowels, but never before a semi-vowel.

Exampl.

Iwamvila (sting)
Mveliso (produce)
Mwaba (milk-sack)
Mvubu (hippopotamus)

(2) Alveolar

nts: the voiceless radical alveolar nasal-affrate combination. It is heard only in the combination nts', as described in 1.112.

nts' (nts-): the voiceless ejective alveolar nasal-affrate combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

Example.

ntsikelelo (blessing)
ntsente (scales of reptile)
ntsalela (remnant)
ntsundu (dark brown)
ntswelelo (destitution)

nds (nds): the voiced radical alveolar nasal-affrate combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel w.

Example.

mandzi (water)
Ndzala (progeny)
Ndzondo (vindictiveness)
Ndzuzo
examples (cont.)

\[\text{ndzú:zo} \quad \text{ndzuze} \quad \text{(profit)}\]

\[\text{ndzwo'k'á:zi} \quad \text{ndzwakazi} \quad \text{(belle)}\]

(3) PREPALATAL

1.114. \[\text{pf} \quad \text{pf} \] : the voiceless radical prepalatal nasal-affractive combination. It is heard only in the combination \[\text{pf} \quad \text{pf} \], as described in 1.115.

1.115. \[\text{pt} \quad \text{pt} \] (ntl): the voiceless ejective prepalatal nasal-affractive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \[w\].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ntjílìi} & : \text{ntjílìi} \quad \text{(expert dancer)} \\
\text{ntjëbe} & : \text{ntjëbe} \quad \text{(beard)} \\
\text{ntjëngó} & : \text{ntjëngó} \quad \text{(nicotine)} \\
\text{ntjëlùbë} & : \text{ntjëlùbë} \quad \text{(tape worm)} \\
\text{ntjëwàcàlam} & : \text{ntjëwàcàlam} \quad \text{(random speech)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.116. \[\text{dz} \quad \text{dz} \] (nd): the voiced radical prepalatal nasal-affractive combination. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \[w\].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{njikà:låna} & : \text{njikà:låna} \quad \text{(afternoon)} \\
\text{nje} & : \text{nje} \quad \text{(like this)} \\
\text{nthònji} & : \text{nthònji} \quad \text{(at the fountain)} \\
\text{nìjë} & : \text{nìjë} \quad \text{(intention)} \\
\text{nìjëse} & : \text{nìjëse} \quad \text{(champion)} \\
\text{bùnù} & : \text{bùnù} \quad \text{(be moulded)}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) VELAR

1.117. \[\text{kr} \quad \text{kr} \] : the voiceless radical velar nasal-affractive combination. It is heard only in the combination \[\text{kr} \quad \text{kr} \], as described in 1.118.

1.118. \[\text{k} \quad \text{k} \] (nkhr): the voiceless ejective velar nasal-affractive combination. This sound is extremely rare in Xhosa.

/examples....
Examples.

\[ k\gamma^{2}:15 \] zinkhrole (carvings)
\[ k\gamma^{2}:16 \] zinkhwebo (modes of trade)

While extremely rare in Xhosa, the combination \( k\gamma^{2} \)
is very common in Umhondo and Xesibe. In these two dialects\( k\gamma^{2} \) occurs where Xhosa and Zulu use \( k\gamma' \) = Ur-Bantu \( k\gamma'' \).

\begin{align*}
\text{Umhondo-Xesibe} & & \text{Xhosa - Zulu} \\
\eta k\gamma'1.b'i & & \eta k\gamma'1.b'i \quad (ox) \\
\eta k\gamma'2:m'o & & \eta k\gamma'2:m'o \quad (head of cattle) \\
\eta k\gamma'3:ci & & \eta k\gamma'3:ci \quad (chief) \\
\eta k\gamma'4:n'i & & \eta k\gamma'4:n'i \quad (maleanimal) \\
\end{align*}

Nasal- Lateral - Affricate Combinations.

(This refers to Alveolar laterals)

1.119. \( nt\eta \) : the voiceless radical nasal-lateral-affricate combination. It is found only in the combination \( nt\eta^{2} \), as described in 1.120.

1.120. \( nt\eta^{2} \) (ntl): the voiceless ejective nasal-lateral-affricate combination. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

Examples.

\[ nt\eta^{2}11:c'o \] ntliziyo (heart)
\[ nt\eta^{2}e:k'11:s'o \] ntekise (laughing-stock)
\[ nt\eta^{2}o:k'o \] ntlaka (gum)
\[ nt\eta^{2}u11:tha \] ntlutha (plenty)
\[ nt\eta^{2}wa11:thi \] ntlwathi (python)

1.121. \( nd\eta \) (ndl): the voiced radical nasal-lateral-affricate combination. It is found before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

Examples.

\[ nd\eta^{2}11:b'i \] ndlobo (ear)
\[ k\nu11:n\eta11:i \] kwindla (autumn)
\[ nd\eta^{2}k'2:yo11:da \] ndlobongela (wild person)

/ndlunkulu ........
Examples (cont.)

\[\text{nailunkulu} \quad \text{ndlunkulu} \quad \text{(great house)}\]
\[\text{ndlwane} \quad \text{ndlwane} \quad \text{(nest)}\]

Explosive-Rolled-Combinations.

1.22. \(\text{br} (\text{br})\): a heterorganic combination consisting of the voiceless radical bilabial explosive, \(\check{b}\), and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, \(\check{r}\).

Examples.

\[\text{mpriste} \quad \text{mpriste} \quad \text{(priest)}\]
\[\text{baprotei} \quad \text{baprotei} \quad \text{(prophets)}\]

1.23. \(\text{br} (\text{br})\): a heterorganic combination consisting of the voiced radical bilabial explosive, \(\check{b}\), and the voiced radical alveolar lingual, \(\check{r}\).

Examples.

\[\text{brorho} \quad \text{brorho} \quad \text{(bridge)}\]
\[\text{brukhe} \quad \text{brukhe} \quad \text{(trousers)}\]

1.24. \(\text{tr} (\text{tr})\): a homorganic combination consisting of the voiceless radical alveolar explosive, \(\check{t}\), and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, \(\check{r}\).

Examples.

\[\text{tram} \quad \text{tram} \quad \text{(tram-car)}\]
\[\text{matras} \quad \text{matras} \quad \text{(mattress)}\]
\[\text{troll} \quad \text{troll} \quad \text{(trolly)}\]

1.25. \(\text{dr} (\text{dr})\): a homorganic combination consisting of the partially voiced radical alveolar explosive, \(\check{d}\), and the voiced rolled alveolar lingual, \(\check{r}\).

Examples.

\[\text{drwi} \quad \text{drwi} \quad \text{(back! - said to a draught-ox)}\]
\[\text{drwiska} \quad \text{drwiska} \quad \text{(force a draught-ox back)}\]

1.26. \(\text{dr} (\text{dr})\): a heterorganic combination consisting of the voiceless radical velar explosive, \(\check{f}\), and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, \(\check{r}\).

/Examples........
Examples.

kringle, kringle (crank)
krismesì, Kresiméni (Christmas)

1.127. gr (gr): a heterorganic combination consisting of the partially voiced radical velar explosive, g, and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, r.

waagri:k{' , maGrike (Greeks)

Nasal-Explosive-Rolled Combinations.

1.128. mpr (mpr): the voiceless radical bilabial nasal-explosive combination mp, combines with r to form a heterorganic combination.

Examples.

mpr , mpr-r (of a small bird taking to flight)

1.129. mb (mb): the voiced radical bilabial nasal-explosive combination mb, combines with r to make a heterorganic combination.

Examples.

sambreni , sambreni (umbrella)

or sambrè:i : , sambrè:i

1.130. ntr (ntr): a homorganic combination consisting of the voiceless radical alveolar nasal-explosive combination, nt, and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, r.

Examples.

ntr , ntr-r (of a piece of cloth tearing)

1.131. ndr (ndr): a homorganic combination consisting of the voiced radical alveolar nasal-explosive combination, nd, and the voiced radical rolled alveolar lingual, r.

Examples.

ned , ndr-r (of a small bird taking to flight)

/Fricative-Rolled.......

/
Fricative-Rolled - Combinations.

1.132. ɾr (ɾɾ): a heterorganic combination consisting of the voiceless radical denti-labial fricative, ɾ, and the voiced rolled alveolar lingual, r.

**Examples.**

ɾɾ ɾɾ, frerha (plait hair)
ɾɾ ɾɾ, frerha (wagon-load)

1.133. vr (vr): a heterorganic combination consisting of the voiced radical denti-labial fricative, v, and the voiced radical rolled alveolar, r.

**Example.**

vr vr, vr-r (of a motor-car starting up)

1.134. **CHART OF CLICK CONSONANTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral:</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Radical</td>
<td>ɾ, ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Ejective</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Aspirated</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Radical</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Radical</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Aspirated</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Velar-Nasal Clicks:**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Radical</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Ejective</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Radical</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
<td>ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ ɾɾ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

/ oral....
(1) Dental.

1.135. $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: the voiceless radical dental oral click. It is heard only in the combinations $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$ and $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$ as described in 1.136 - 137, 1.153 - 154.

1.136. $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$ (g): the voiceless ejective dental oral click. This is a combination of the radical $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$, as described in 1.135, and the glottal stop $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$.

**Examples.**

$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: cinga (think)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: cephe (spoon)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: coca (clean up)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: cwaka (of silence)

This sound is also heard in the combination $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: nkic, as described in 1.154.

1.137. $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$ (ch): the voiceless aspirated dental oral click. This is a combination of the radical dental click as described in 1.135, and the voiceless glottal fricative $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$.

**Examples.**

$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: chitha (spill)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: cheba (shear)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: buchopho (brain)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: chule (expert)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: chweba (estuary)

1.138. $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$ (gg): the voiced radical dental oral click. It is heard before all vowels, and before the semi-vowel $\frac{\partial}{\partial}$.

**Examples.**

$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: geina (keep)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: ngene (on the line)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: geoba (rejoice)
$\frac{\partial}{\partial}$: bugewabalala (small quantity)

/ this sound...
This sound is also heard in the combination \( \text{gh} \), as described in 1.155.

This sound has an aspirated variant \( \text{gh} \), e.g. \( \text{ghina} \) for \( \text{gina} \) (keep)

(2) Palato-Alveolar.

1.139. \( \text{C} \): the voiceless radical palato-alveolar oral click. It is heard only in the combination \( \text{C} \) (g), \( \text{gh} \) (gh), and \( \text{nk} \) (nk), as described in 1.140. - 141 and 1.157 respectively.

1.140. \( \text{C} \) (g): the voiceless ejective palato-alveolar oral click. This is a combination of the voiceless radical and the glottal stop, \( ? \). It is heard before all vowels and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

Examples:

- \( \text{gina} \) (understand)
- \( \text{gala} \) (begin)
- \( \text{unda} \) (understand)
- \( \text{gumbe} \) (berry)
- \( \text{gwarba} \) (zebra)

1.141. \( \text{gh} \) (gh): the voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar oral click. This is a combination of the voiceless radical \( \text{C} \), and the voiceless glottal fricative, \( \text{h} \). It is heard before vowels and before the semi-vowel \( w \).

Examples:

- \( \text{ghina} \) (china) (tie up)
- \( \text{ghesula} \) (chip off)
- \( \text{mghagi} \) (cock)
- \( \text{ghosha} \) (button)
- \( \text{ghuma} \) (smoke)
- \( \text{gishwala} \) (cripple)

1.142. \( \text{g} \) (g): the voiced radical palato-alveolar oral click. It is heard before all vowels and before the semi-vowel \( w \).
Examples.

\[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ha}} \], \text{gotha} \ (\text{pass})

\[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ha}} \], \text{sigqaba} \ (\text{executive council})

\[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ho} \text{:} \text{za}} \], \text{gothoza} \ (\text{piercer})

\[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ma}} \], \text{guma} \ (\text{cover})

\[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{xa}} \], \text{gowirha} \ (\text{socerer})

This sound has an aspirated variant \[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{h}} \], e.g. \[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{th}} \] for \[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ha}} \] (pass), \[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{hu} \text{ma}} \] for \[ \ddot{\text{Dj} \text{:} \text{ma}} \] (roar).

1.143. \[ \ddot{\text{b}} \]: the voiceless radical lateral oral click. It is heard in the combinations \[ \ddot{\text{b}} \], \[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h}} \] and \[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h} \text{b}} \], as described in 1.144 - 1.145 and 1.159 - 1.160.

1.144. \[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h}} \] (\[ \text{x} \]): the voiceless ejective lateral oral click. This is a combination of the voiceless radical/\[ \ddot{\text{b}} \] and the glottal stop \[ \ddot{\text{b}} \]. It is heard before all vowels and before the semi-vowel \[ \ddot{\text{w}} \].

Examples.

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h} \text{b} \text{i} \text{' } \text{n} \text{w} \text{a}} \], \text{mximwa} \ (\text{narrow})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{a} \text{'} \text{le} \text{' } \text{g} \text{u}} \], \text{xelegu} \ (\text{person of untidy habits})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{a} \text{'} \text{k} \text{a} \text{' } \text{k} \text{a}} \], \text{xakaka} \ (\text{be embarrassed})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{a} \text{'} \text{b} \text{u} \text{la}} \], \text{xobula} \ (\text{peel off})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{w} \text{a} \text{' } \text{ya}} \], \text{xwaya} \ (\text{sling across shoulder})

1.145. \[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h}} \] (\[ \text{x} \]): the voiceless aspirated lateral oral click. It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel \[ \ddot{\text{w}} \].

Examples.

\[ \ddot{\text{s} \text{b} \text{h} \text{b} \text{i} \text{' } \text{b} \text{a}} \], \text{sibhoba} \ (\text{grudge})

\[ \ddot{\text{m} \text{b} \text{h} \text{e} \text{' } \text{l} \text{a}} \], \text{mbhela} \ (\text{butcher})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h} \text{b} \text{a}} \], \text{xboba} \ (\text{take up arms})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{h} \text{e} \text{' } \text{ma}} \], \text{xhuma} \ (\text{jump})

\[ \ddot{\text{b} \text{w} \text{e} \text{'} \text{le}} \], \text{xhwele} \ (\text{herbalist})

1.146. \[ \ddot{\text{z}} \] (\[ \text{gx} \]): the voiced radical lateral oral click. It is found before all vowels and before the semi-vowel \[ \ddot{\text{w}} \]. It is heard also in the combination \[ \ddot{\text{z} \text{h} \text{a} \text{'}} \], as described in 1.161.
Examples:

ki'ya  •  gkivery (crowned lapwing)

k'aka  •  groe (reprove)
lun'ya  •  lugza (digging-rod)

lu'za  •  gkerma (poor)  

gwe:nu  •  gzwem (squint)

This sound has an nas aspirated variant, in, e.g. mno'tha
for mno'is.nha. (gnotha)(expel)

N A S A L

(1) Dental.

1.147. n—a (no): the voiced radical dental nasal click. It is
heard before all vowels and before the semi-vowel, w. It is also
heard in the combination no, as described in 1.148.

Examples:

nokola (chat)
noua (smile)
nwina (moan)

1.148. no (no): the voiced aspirated dental nasal click. It
is a combination of the voiced radical, n, and the voiced
nasal click.

Examples:

nchitha (dark-brown)
nche (grass)

ncholisa (defile)
nchuka (hyena)
nchwabha (bury)

(2) Palato-Alveolar.

1.149. n—a (no): the voiced radical palato-alveolar nasal click.
It is heard before/vowels and before the semi-vowel, w. It is
heard also in the combination no, as described in 1.150.

/examples....
Example.

\[ \text{pi:na} \], nqina (paw, hoof)
\[ \text{pi:nts'vu} \], nqents'vu (back of human head)
\[ \text{pi:na} \], nqena (be lazy)
\[ \text{mpadphi:so} \], moonphi:so (covenant)
\[ \text{nqulima} \], nquna (olive-wood)
\[ \text{nowula} \], nowala (bow)

1.150. \( \text{ph} \) (nq): the voiced aspirated palato-alveolar nasal click
This is a combination of the voiced radical \( \text{n} \) and the voiced glottal fricative, \( \text{f} \). It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \text{w} \).

Examples.

\[ \text{ph:ina} \], nqbina (witness)
\[ \text{ph:epha} \], nqehengha (recline)
\[ \text{ph:ai:j} \], nqehavi (clay-pot)
\[ \text{ph:lo:w} \], nqholo:w (clay-pot)
\[ \text{ph:ula} \], nqhubula (Adam's apple)
\[ \text{phwini:ha} \], nqhubwini:ha (elbow)

(3) Lateral.

1.151. \( \text{ph} \) \( \text{w} \) \( \text{w} \) \( \text{w} \): the voiced radical lateral nasal click. It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \text{w} \). It is also found in the combination \( \text{ph} \) \( \text{w} \), as described in 1.152.

Examples.

\[ \text{pi:bo} \], nxiba (put on clothes)
\[ \text{pi:le} \], nxele (left-handed person)
\[ \text{pi:a:w} \], nxanwa (be thirsty)
\[ \text{si:po:no} \], singonxo (dimple)
\[ \text{pi:ha} \], nxuba (be impatient with anxiety)
\[ \text{pi:twim} \], luxwene (bank, shore)

1.152. \( \text{ph} \) \( \text{w} \) \( \text{w} \): the voiced aspirated lateral nasal click. It is a combination of the voiced radical, \( \text{n} \), and the voiced glottal fricative, \( \text{f} \). It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \text{w} \).
1.153. \( \eta^{-} \): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \eta \), and the voiceless radical dental oral click, \( \eta \). It is heard in the combination \( \eta^{2} \), as described in 1.154.

1.154. \( \eta^{2} \) (nke): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal and the voiceless ejective dental oral click, \( \eta \). It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \omega \).

**Examples.**

- \( \eta^{2}\text{itho} \), nkitho (waste, expenditure)
- \( \eta^{2}\text{elhi} \), nkahhi (expert sheep-shearer)
- \( \eta^{2}\text{ezelo} \), nkassel (explanation)
- \( \eta^{2}\text{ku} \), zinkiku (petty quarrels)
- \( \eta^{2}\text{we} \), zinkwe (slaver)

1.155. \( \eta^{-} \) (ngc): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \eta \), and the voiced radical dental oral click, \( \eta \). It is found before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \omega \).

**Examples.**

- \( \eta^{-}\text{cibi} \), ngcibi (expert craftsman)
- \( \eta^{-}\text{mbu} \), ngambhu (root)
- \( \eta^{-}\text{ngolo} \), ngcongo (reed)
- \( \eta^{-}\text{sla} \), ngcula (flesh of lean animal)
- \( \eta^{-}\text{le} \), ngwela (holy, undefiled)

This combination has an aspirated variant, \( \eta^{2} \), e.g.

\( \eta^{2}\text{mbu} \) for \( \eta^{-}\text{mbu} \), \( \eta^{2}\text{we} \) for \( \eta^{-}\text{we} \)

/(2) involving ......
(2) Involving Palato-Alveolar Clicks.

1.156. \( \gamma \delta \) : a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal and the voiceless radical palato-alveolar oral click. \( \gamma \). It is heard in the combination \( \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \), as described in 1.157.

1.157. \( \gamma \delta ^{\prime} (\text{ng}) \): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \gamma \), and the voiceless ejective palato-alveolar oral click, \( \gamma ^{\prime} \). It is heard before vowels and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \).

Examples:

- \( \text{mhh}^{\prime} \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \) : mhhinkai (stiffness in the joints)
- \( \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \text{tha} \) : ngatho (cheating)
- \( \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \text{za} \) : nkoonkoza (knock)
- \( \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma ^{\prime} \text{thi:la} \) : zinkothela (duststorms)

1.158. \( \gamma \gamma \) (\text{ng}) : a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \gamma \), and the voiced radical palato-alveolar oral click, \( \gamma \). It is heard before vowels, and before the semi-vowel \( \text{w} \).

Examples:

- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{wa} \) : ncingwa (dense)
- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma \delta ^{\prime} \) : ngasee (small kind of dog)
- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{ka} \) : ngalaga (small pox)
- \( \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma ^{\prime} \text{la} \) : aemce (bowl a ball)
- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{za} \) : negenca (surround)
- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma ^{\prime} \text{sa} \) : ngonge (waterfall)
- \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma ^{\prime} \gamma ^{\prime} \) : ngwanga (Bakkakiri bush-strike)

This combination has an aspirated variant \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{h} \), e.g. \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{h} \) for \( \gamma \gamma ^{\prime} \text{e} \).

(3) Involving Lateral Clicks.

1.159. \( \eta \delta \) : a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \eta \), and the voiceless radical lateral oral click, \( \delta \). It is heard in the combination \( \eta \delta ^{\prime} \), as described in 1.160.

1.160. \( \eta \delta ^{\prime} (\text{nk}) \): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \eta \), and the voiceless ejective lateral oral click, \( \delta ^{\prime} \). It is heard before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \text{w} \).

Examples:
Examples.

ngikela (of tying fast)
ngxane (support)
ngxu (of dipping in water)
ngweleko (misery)
nokwe (species of small bird)

1.161. \( \text{ng} \) (ngx): a combination of the voiced radical velar nasal, \( \text{n} \), and the voiced radical lateral oral click, \( \text{x} \). It is heard before vowels and before the semi-vowel, \( \text{m} \).

Examples.

ngikela (something on a large scale)
ngxane (mixture of two or more liquids)
ngzwayiso (waterfall)
ngxoxo (discussion)
ngxelega (giant)

This combination has the aspirated variant, \( \text{ngx} \), e.g.

ngzikela for ngzikela.

1.162. All the Nguni sub-groups and the dialects studied by the present writer in the Cape Province have voiceless radical, voiceless aspirated and voiced radical oral clicks. But there is a great deal of variety as far as nasal clicks and nasal-click combinations are concerned. Bhasa, for instance, does not combine nasals with voiced radical clicks. Thus, whereas Xhosa and Zulu have ngc, ngq, and nqx, Bhasa has nch, nih, and nqh e.g. nchonde for ngonde (mind) and nqhabano for ngxhabano (quarrel).

On the other hand, Zulu has no aspirated clicks. In the area where Xhosa is used as the literary dialect (i.e. the Cape Province as a whole) there is an apparent confusion in the use of aspirated nasal clicks and nasal-click combinations. In speech and in writing, many people do not know whether to say, for instance, noxa or nch (grass), ngqima or nchima (witness), ngxowa or nquowa (bag). The latter form in each case is the correct literary Xhosa form.

/Bennie
Bennie regards those who use the non-literary forms as "careless speakers" - (Grammar of Xhosa, p. 21).

What has to be borne in mind is that while it is easy to distinguish between literary Xhosa and literary Zulu, and between one non-literary dialect and another (e.g. between Klubi and Upondl), it is in some instances very difficult to determine whether a given dialect is to be regarded as Xhosa or Zulu. Most non-literary dialects lean towards Xhosa in certain respects and towards Zulu in others. The explanation for the apparent confusion may thus well be that the so-called "careless speaker" is taking literary Zulu rather than literary Xhosa as his standard form. In this connection, the following differences between Xhosa and Zulu may be noted:

(a) When the point of articulation is the same but the manners of production different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Voiceless ejective Oral</td>
<td>Voiced radical Oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cika</td>
<td>gcika (stop leaking or overflowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sicaka</td>
<td>sigeaka (servant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabaza</td>
<td>gqabaza (fall like rain drops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugokole</td>
<td>buggokole (cunning)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ voiceless ejective ....}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) Voiceless elective Oral</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaca</td>
<td>chacha (be clear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sica na</td>
<td>sica na (servant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xephu ka</td>
<td>xephu ka (break off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma da</td>
<td>ma da (cross beam in hut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Voiceless elective oral</td>
<td>Voiced radical Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enge</td>
<td>enge (coax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa</td>
<td>*xa (when)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Voiceless aspirated Oral</td>
<td>Voiced radical oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhe na</td>
<td>xhe na (break seam or seal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xe esa</td>
<td>xe esa (support)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Voiced Radical Oral</td>
<td>Voicedless Radical Oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgxuka</td>
<td>mgxuka (young stock)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgub a</td>
<td>mgub a (manure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xothe</td>
<td>xothe (expel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngwe mge</td>
<td>*ngwe mge (be clear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwanga</td>
<td>'gwana (light brown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Nasal-Click Voiceless Combination</td>
<td>Nasal-Click Voiced Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkci thakalo</td>
<td>Onkci thakalo (desolation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqi</td>
<td>nqi (of being firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqonqo rase</td>
<td>nqonqo rase (knock at the door)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkquba</td>
<td>nkquba (procedure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Radical Nasal</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nce amathela</td>
<td>amathela (adhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguw ne a</td>
<td>nguw ne a (round hut)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*also in balikho

*also in Lipo ndu and Lipondomise

Oused by Gqoba, 19th Century Xhosa, Imibungo, p. 99
(8) Radical Nasal.
ncede
ngongqoza
ngothula

(9) Aspirated Nasal
ncba
nchuka

(10) Aspirated Nasal
ncbi
ncba
ncbola
ncchwaba
nxhe!

(b) When the points of articulation are different
but the manner of production the same.

Xhosa : Zulu

11. Palato-Alveolar : Dental
ncamel : camel (rest head)
ncoba : coba (exhaust)
ncambhuka : cambhuka (burst)
ncosha : cosha (button)
ncbinga : binga (gird up oneself)

(12) Lateral : Dental
nxilongo : xilongo (trumpet)
xinana : xinana (be crowded)
sicathulo : sicathula (footwear)
xhoma : xhoma (hang up)

*Variant of ngqonkqoza.  'Variant of nca. Also in $ymbho.
49.

When plain consonants in the one language correspond to click consonants in the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI. post-palatal explosives</td>
<td>Dental clicks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyikitwa</td>
<td>cikica (rub irritated spot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoba</td>
<td>coba (be fat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyaba</td>
<td>caba (of being well spread out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyala</td>
<td>'cala (law-suit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyhiliza</td>
<td>'ciliza (push)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) Radical dental nasal click: Radical prepalatal nasal plain consonant

| munca                   | 2munya (suck) |
| muncu                   | munya (sour) |

N.B. The Ipondo form is munqu.

(15) Radical prepalatal nasal plain consonant: Radical dental nasal click

| nyibilika               | ncibilika (melt) |

*also in Phaca; *also in Ipondomise; *also in Blubi.*
Chapter 2.

**SOUND-CHANGES.**

2.1. Sound-changes in *hosaa* fall into three groups, viz:

1. Changes involving vowels only.

2. Changes involving consonants only.

3. Changes involving vowels, semi-vowels and consonants.

1. Changes involving vowels only.

2.2. Coalescence.

This is a process by which the open vowel, *a*, coming before *i* or *u*, fuses with that vowel to form a mid-front or mid-back vowel. Coalescence comes about as the result of mutual attraction between *a* and either of the two close vowels. The open *a* attracts the close front *i*, but that *i* also attracts the *a*, the result being that the two meet halfway and become a mid-front vowel. By a similar process *a* and *u* become a mid-back vowel. Reference to the diagram in 1.2. makes this position clear.

\[ a : i > e \text{ or } \varepsilon \]

Examples:

- *na :i bashe* > *ne bashe* (with a horse)
- *nga : i bashe* > *nga bashe* (by means of a horse)
- *wa : i bashe* > *we bashe* (of a horse)

\[ a + u > o \text{ or } \varepsilon \]

Examples:

- *na + u mthi* > *no mthi* (with a tree)
- *nga + u mthi* > *nga mthi* (by means of a tree)
- *wa + u mthi* > *we mthi* (of a tree)

2.3. It must be noted that *a* does not always attract a succeeding *i* or *u*.

(i) The *a* of a noun-class prefix coalesces with the latent initial vowel of a deverbal noun stem. e.g.

- *bembhi* (diggers) < *ba + imbhi*
- *bemi* (inhabitants) < *ba + imi*
but does not coalesce with the *patent* initial vowel of a noun stem.

Thus the plural of mǐndiya (Indian) is ma-indiya (Indians), not mǐndiya. The plural of (i)ula (oribi antelope) is ma-ula, not mo-la. The plural of (i)iulu-ulù (inattentive fellow) is ma-ulù-ulù, not mo.lu-ulù.

(ii) The final a of a preposition coalesces with an article before a noun, but not with an initial vowel of a noun stem.

Cf.

Ndiza ne inkwini (I bring some ink) (≠ na + i inkwini)
Andizi na inkwini (I do not bring any ink), (not nenki)
Kukho u mkhondo we ula (There is the trail of an antelope)
(we ula < wa + i ula)
Aku kwana mkhondo wa ula (There is no trace of any antelope)
(not wola)

(iii) The final a of a preposition coalesces with an article before a noun, but not with an initial vowel of a denominative adverbial. Thus, for instance, it coalesces with the article i before the noun (i)iizo (a yesterday, i.e. a preceding day), but not with the initial i of the denominative adverbial izolo (yesterday)

Cf.

Ufikane izolo (He arrived the day before)
(nge izolo ≠ nge + i izolo)
Ufikene izolo (He arrived yesterday or so)
(not nge izolo)

u mhlalo we izolo (the game of the previous day)
(we izolo ≠ wa + i izolo)

u mhlalo we izolo (the game of yesterday)
(not we izolo)

/2.4. latency.....
2.4. Latency.

Some verb-stems have a latent initial vowel which reveals itself by coalescing or merging with a preceding a. It has been asserted that in all cases the latent vowel is i, but there seems to be support for the view that in some cases the latent vowel is e. The stems that have a latent initial vowel in Xhosa include -ma (stand), -mbha (dig), -za (come), -va (hear), -hla (descend), -ba (steal).

There is evidence elsewhere in Nguni that the stems in -va and -va are really -iza and -iva. In Transvaal Edebele, for instance, the infinitive forms of these verbs are u sviza and u rwizwa respectively. On the other hand, there is also evidence that -hla might be -ehla, not -ihla, and that -mbha might be -embha, not -imhha. In Upondo and Upsilonise the infinitives of these are u kwehla and u kwehla, and the imperatives are yehla and yembha. There are even such variants as u kohlika and yohlika, u kombha and yombha. In these same dialects and in Hlubi and Zulu we find the infinitive u kweha (to steal), and the stem -eha, and in Phuthi we find yeha as a verb-stem.

Since then it cannot be established that the latent vowel is i in all cases, the symbol I is being used in this treatise for the latent vowel, whether i or e. Such stems will be known as latent-I stems.

(a) The latent I with such stems reveals itself by coalescing with a preceding a in the following circumstances:

(i) in deverbative nouns, when a noun-class prefix with vowel a is prefixed.

\[ \text{e.g.} \text{ bomi (residents) } \leftarrow \text{ ba + Imi} \]
\[ \text{bembhi (diggers) } \leftarrow \text{ ba + Imbhi} \]

(ii) in predicatives, when a subject concord with vowel a comes immediately before a latent-I stem.

\[ \text{e.g. weza (he came) } \leftarrow \text{ wa + Iza} \]
\[ \text{akeva (he does not hear) } \leftarrow \text{ aka + Iva} \]

/ in predicatives...
(iii) in the predicatives, when there is an object-concord with vowel a.

- e.g. sawambha a matye (we did dig the stones)
  sawambha < sawa + Imbha
  ndabeva (I heard them) < ndaba + Iva

(iv) in predicatives, when the verbal formative ya- comes immediately before the stem.

- e.g. siyaza (we are coming) < siya + Iza
  bayambha (they are digging) < baya + Imbha

(v) in predicatives, when the verbal formative -nga of the potential mood comes immediately before the stem.

- e.g. ningewa (you can stand) < ninge + Ima
  bancehla (they can descend) < banca + Ibla

(vi) in predicatives, when an implicative formative i.e. -sa or -ka, comes immediately before the stem.

- e.g. basembha (they are still digging) < basa + Imbha
  abakesi (they are not coming yet) < abaka + Izi

(b) Latency also reveals itself in copulative construction when an implicative formative, i.e. -sa or -nga-, comes immediately before a copulative verb-stem, thus being subjected to the influence of the root vowel of the now disused li or si.

- e.g. ndisakho (I am still present) < ndisa(li)ikho
  ndingekho (I not being present) < ndinga(sl)ikho

2.5. Gradation or Ablaut.

Gradation or Ablaut is the change of stem-vowel with change of meaning or function.

Thus, for example, the final a of the verb-stem bona (see),

(a) remains a in the infinitive mood, positive conjugation: u kubona (to see)

(b) becomes i in the infinitive mood, negative conjugation: u kumctaboni (not to see)

(c) remains a in the imperative mood with no object concord: bona! (see thou!), bonari! (see ye!)
(d) becomes ə in the imperative mood with an object concord: mbone! (see him!), mboneni! (see ye him!)

(e) becomes ə in the present tense of the subjunctive mood, positive conjugation: abone (that he may see)

(f) becomes ə in the present tense of the subjunctive mood, negative conjugation: angaboni (that he may not see)

(g) becomes ə in an agentive noun-stem
umboni (a seer)

(h) becomes ə in an abstract noun-stem
umbono (sight, vision)

(II) Changes involving consonants only.

2.6. Consonants and consonant-combinations are classified according to place of formation and manner of production. The same approach will be made in classifying changes involving consonants.

The necessity for this will be clear if an illustration is given. Let us consider the change from k to ə when, for instance, goduk'a, goduka (go home) becomes godusa, godusa (send home)

In regard to place of formation, in order that k may become ə two changes take place, viz. (1) the back of the tongue drops from the velum (develarization) and (2) the blade of the tongue is raised to narrow the air passage between it and the alveolus (alveolarization). From the point of view of manner of production, three changes take place, viz (1) the glottal stop is eliminated (de-ejectivization), the momentary closure of the air passage that causes plosion when the air is released is eliminated (de-plosivization), and (3) there is audible friction (frictivization)

In all, then, the change from k to ə involves five different phonological processes, and all these must be taken into account.

/ 2.7. a consonant.....
2.7. A consonant-change may involve one or more changes of place of formation, and/or one or more changes of manner of production. It has therefore been found necessary to classify the changes as follows:

(1) Change of place of formation only
(2) Change of manner of production only
(3) Change of place of formation and manner of production.

These are further sub-divided into single changes, double changes, and triple changes, etc.

Definitions.

1) Place of Formation.

2.8. De-labialization: a process by which a labial consonant or consonant-combination ceases to be a labial.

Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m} & \rightarrow \text{ν} \quad \text{m} \rightarrow \text{νv} \\
\text{m} & \rightarrow \text{m/io'nu} \\
\text{u} & \rightarrow \text{e m/io'nu:ni}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{u mlopo (mouth)} > \text{e mlonyen1 (in the mouth)}

2.9. Alveolarization: a process by which a non-alveolar consonant or consonant-combination becomes alveolar.

Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mb} & \rightarrow \text{ndz} \quad \text{mth} \rightarrow \text{ndz} \\
\text{ba'mba} & \rightarrow \text{ndz i:ndz i}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{blambha (bathe)} > \text{ntlan dign (fish)}

2.10. De-alveolarization: a process by which an alveolar consonant or consonant-combination ceases to be alveolar.

Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n} & \rightarrow \text{yn} \quad \text{n} \rightarrow \text{ny} \\
\text{u mfa'na} & \rightarrow \text{u mfa'pa:na} \\
\text{u mfan} & \text{(young man)} > \text{u mfanynana (little young man)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.11. Palatalization: a process by which a non-palatal consonant or consonant-combination becomes palatal.

Examples....
2.12. **Devalarization**: a process by which a velar consonant or consonant-combination becomes non-velar.

Example:

\[ \text{\( g' \rightarrow g \rightarrow k \rightarrow g \)} \]

\[ \text{vuka (arise) \rightarrow vusa (crouse)} \]

(2) **Manner of Production.**

2.13. **Delateralization**: a process by which a lateral consonant or consonant-combination becomes non-lateral.

Example:

\[ \text{l \rightarrow ð \rightarrow l} \]

\[ \text{lima \rightarrow ndíma} \]

\[ \text{lima (cultivate) \rightarrow ndíma (cultivated patch of land)} \]

2.14. **Fricativization**: a process by which a non-fricative consonant or consonant-combination becomes fricative.

Example:

\[ \text{l \rightarrow ð \rightarrow l} \]

\[ \text{we'la \rightarrow wc'za} \]

\[ \text{wela (cross) \rightarrow waza (help cross)} \]

2.15. **Plosivization**: a process by which a non-plosive consonant is made plosive.

Example:

\[ \text{l \rightarrow ð \rightarrow l} \]

\[ \text{lima \rightarrow ndíma} \]

\[ \text{lima (cultivate) \rightarrow ndíma (cultivated patch of land)} \]

2.16. **Deplosivization**: a process by which a plosive consonant is made non-plosive.

Example:

\[ \text{k' \rightarrow g \rightarrow k \rightarrow g} \]

\[ \text{kho'ra (lead) \rightarrow nkosi (leader, chief)} \]

\[ \text{de-implosivization...} \]
2.17. De-implosivization: a process by which an implosive consonant becomes non-implosive.

Example:
\[ b' > b \]  
\[ nt'\z'a > nt'\z'a \]
\[ ntaba (mountain) \rightarrow ntatyana (little mountain) \]

2.18. Explosivization: a process by which a non-explosive consonant becomes explosive.

Example:
\[ f' > f \]  
\[ f'ini > ft'ini \]
\[ bini (two) \rightarrow sibini (two things) \]

2.19. Affricativization: a process by which a non-affricative consonant or consonant-combination becomes affricative.

Example:
\[ z > dz \]  
\[ zala > dzala \]
\[ zala (beget) \rightarrow ndzala (progeny) \]

2.20. Ejectivization: a process by which a non-ejective consonant becomes ejective.

Example:
\[ t\z > nt' \]  
\[ t\ztha > nt'\ztha \]
\[ theta (speak) \rightarrow ntetho (speech) \]

2.21. De-ejectivization: a process by which an ejective consonant or consonant-combination becomes non-ejective.

Example:
\[ d > dx \]  
\[ dxla > ndxla \]
\[ xala (make report) \rightarrow ndxalo (a report) \]

2.22. De-aspiration: a process by which an aspirated consonant or consonant-combination becomes non-aspirated.

/example.....
Example.

dh > dh', ph > ph
rhá:thu > mphá:thu

rhá:thu (handle) > mphá:thu (handling, treatment)

2.23. **Vocalization**: a process by which an unvoiced consonant or consonant-combination becomes voiced.

Example.

Ch > ch
Chá:Che > mphá:Che

tyá:Che (be rich) > ndyá:Che (riches)

2.24. **Syllabification**: a process by which a consonant becomes a complete syllable without the aid of any vowel.

Example.

mína > mna

Only the nasal m is ordinarily syllabified in Xhosa.

2.25. **Frenthesis**: a process by which a sound or syllable is inserted w in the body of a word, not originally containing it.

The sounds that may be regarded as epanthonic in Xhosa are the explosives that develop when nasals and fricatives are juxtaposed.

Examples.

\[ n + æ \rightarrow ndæ, n + ū \rightarrow ndū \]

za'me > ndá:me
da'me (make an effort) > ndá:me

\[ n + ū \rightarrow ndū, n + ū \rightarrow ndū \]

ba'la > ndba'la
dba'la (play) > ndba'la (play, trifling)

(1) **Change of Place of Formation.**

Single Changes: Bil

The nasal n is syllabified in the interjective, venna. This is the only case known.
Double Changes.

2.26. Delabialization + Palatalization

\[ m > \nu, \quad n > \nu \]

Examples:

- ntsímí (field) \( > \) ntsí'jvá:na
- ntsímí (field) \( > \) ntsínyá:na (small field)
- mlá:na \( > \) mlá'jvá:na
- mló:na (mouth) \( > \) mlónyá:na (small mouth)

2.27. De-alveolarization + Palatalization

\[ n > \nu, \quad n > \nu \]

Examples:

- mfp'lí:na \( > \) mfp'jvá:na
- mfné:na (baboon) \( > \) mfnýá:na (little baboon)
- mfná:na \( > \) mfnjvá:na
- mfná:na (youth) \( > \) mfnýá:na (small youth)

(2) Change of Manner of Production.

Single Changes.

2.28. Fricativization.

\[ l > \vhi, \quad l > \vhi \]

Examples:

- má:lé: \( > \) má:ha:na
- má:le (trench) \( > \) má:calá:na (little trench)
- c'í:la \( > \) c'í:ha:na
- zalá (troop) \( > \) zedlana (small troop)

2.29. Affricativization.

\[ nd > ndz, \quad nd > nd \]

An example of this process is fú:nda\nu:ná (spoon-feed) \(<\)

fú:nda\ fundá (swallow chewed-up food, swallow big mouthfuls)

Double Changes.

2.30. De-ejectivization + Vocalization.

(i) \[ \check{c} > \vhi, \quad \check{v} > \vhi \]

(ii) \[ \check{g} > \vhi, \quad \check{c} > \vhi \]

/ 2.31. (iii).......

+ Zulu, but not Xhosa
(iii) \( \frac{n}{\xi} > \eta, \quad a > \eta \)

(iv) \( \frac{\xi}{\eta} > \eta, \quad k > \eta \)

Examples.

\( tveba {\text{ (be rich)}} > n\text{devbo} {\text{ (riches)}} \)

\( \text{cinza} {\text{ (think)}} > n\text{gcienza} {\text{ (thought)}} \)

\( \text{condo} {\text{ (understand)}} > n\text{gccondo} {\text{ (understanding)}} \)

\( \text{tsh\text{el}o} > n\text{m\text{el}o} {\text{ (report)}} \)

2.31. De-aspiration + Ejectives.

(i) \( \text{th} > t' \quad \text{th} > t \)

(ii) \( \text{th} > t ' \quad \text{th} > n t i \)

(iii) \( \text{kh} > k' \quad \text{kh} > k \)

Examples.

\( \text{th\text{e}tho} > n\text{\text{e}tho} \)

\( \text{tsh\text{e}la} > n\text{th\text{e}la} \)

\( \text{kh\text{e}ndza} > n\text{kh\text{e}ndza} \)

2.32. Delateralization + Fricativization.

\( l > \xi, \quad l > \eta \)

Examples.

\( \text{w\text{e}la} > n\text{weza} \)

\( \text{b\text{u}la} \) (confess) > \( n\text{b\text{u}za} \) (elicit confession)
examples (cont)

lima (cultivate) > ndima (cultivated patch of land)
(sil)le:vu > nule:vu
(sil)levu (chin) > nulevu (beard)

2.34. Affricativization + Ejective Vowalization.
(i) f > pĥ , f > mf
(ii) s > tŝ , s > ts
(iii) ʃ > pĥ , ʃ > tĥ
(iv) h > tŝ , h > th

Examples:
fu:inde > ngpf:u:nado
funda (learn) > mfundo (learning)
siza > nt̂i:sza
siza (succour) > nt̂i:sza (succour)
shikusma > pĥukuswmo
shukuma (move) > nt̂ukumo (movement)
d̂a:lo > ntd̂a:lo
hla:le (live) > ntla:le (life)

Triple Changes.

2.35. Developativization + Deaspiration + Fricativization.

th > s , th > s

Example:
?amba:tsa > ?ambe:sa
-ambatha (clête oneself) > -ambasa (clthes someone)

2.36. De-implosivization + De-ejective Vowelization + Explosivization.

b̂ > b , b̂ > bh

Example.
b̂i:k'a > mb̂i:k'a
beba (respect) > mb̂eka (respect)

(3) Change of.....
(3) Change of Place of Formation

and

Change of Vowels of Production.

Double Changes: II.

Triple Changes:

2.37. Delabialization + Alveolarization + Affricativization.

\[ m^b \rightarrow nd \]

Example:

\[ da'mba \rightarrow nda'ndzi \]

hlambha (tatha) \rightarrow htlandsi (fish)

2.38. De-alveolarization + Palatalization + Affricativization.

\[ th \rightarrow b\text{sh} \]

Example:

\[ mthom'bo:thi \rightarrow mthom'botsha:iwe \]

mthombothi (scented wood) \rightarrow mthombotshane

Quadraple Changes:

2.39. Delabialization + Diphongization + Palatalization +

Affricativization.

(i) \[ mb \rightarrow p\text{b}']

(ii) \[ ph \rightarrow b\text{sh} \]

(iii) \[ b \rightarrow dz \]

(iv) \[ mb \rightarrow p\text{dz} \]

Examples:

\[ nts'um'ba \rightarrow nts'unkt'sana \]

nts'um'pa (wart) \rightarrow nts'um'tana

nts'inthela \rightarrow nts'inthana

nts'imha (sine) \rightarrow nts'imhane

nts'o'bo \rightarrow nts'dzana

nts'obho (sand) \rightarrow nts'ofana

nts'inhala \rightarrow nts'ipazana

nts'immbha (body) \rightarrow nts'injana

Q quintuple
Quintuple Changes.


\[ \text{i} \rightarrow \text{e} \cdot \text{b} \rightarrow \text{tw} \]

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?d} & \rightarrow \text{?e} \text{d} \text{e} \text{i} \text{n} \\
\text{i do} \text{bo (jungle)} & \rightarrow \text{e do} \text{t} \text{e} \text{v} \text{e} \text{n} (\text{in the jungle}) \\
\text{n} \text{b} \text{u} & \rightarrow \text{n} \text{gu} \text{d} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \\
\text{n} \text{g} \text{u} \text{bo (blanket)} & \rightarrow \text{n} \text{gu} \text{t} \text{y} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} (\text{small blanket})
\end{align*}
\]

2.41. Develarization + De-ejectivesivization + Explosivization + Alveolarization + Fricativization.

\[ \text{k} \rightarrow \text{s} \cdot \text{k} \rightarrow \text{s} \]

**Examples.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ph} \text{e} \text{l} & \text{e} \text{ke} \text{k} \text{a} & \rightarrow \text{mb} \text{e} \text{l} \text{e} \text{s} \text{i} \\
\text{ph} \text{e} \text{lo} \text{k} \text{a (accompany)} & \rightarrow \text{mp} \text{e} \text{le} \text{s} \text{a} \text{i} \text{(attendant)} \\
\text{vu} \text{i} \text{k} \text{a} & \rightarrow \text{vu} \text{i} \text{s} \text{a} \\
\text{v} \text{u} \text{ka (arise)} & \rightarrow \text{v} \text{u} \text{na (arouse)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.42. Develarization + Explosivization + Glottalization + Vocalization + Fricativization.

\[ \text{kh} \rightarrow \text{h} \cdot \text{kh} \rightarrow \text{h} \]

**Examples.**

\[
\text{kh} \text{a} \text{m} \text{b} \text{a} \rightarrow \text{h} \text{a} \text{m} \text{b} \text{a} \\
\text{kh} \text{a} \text{mb} \text{a} (\text{go}) \rightarrow \text{h} \text{a} \text{mb} \text{a}
\]

2.43. As far as Xhosa is concerned, the last change is historical. The form Xhamba is to be found in Phosa, Hlubi, Ndebele, Mlangwini and Swazi. Xhosa, Zulu and the majority of the dialects in the Transkei use the form \text{ha} \text{m} \text{b} \text{a} , though Zulu has a noun \text{y} \text{k} \text{a} \text{m} \text{b} \text{a} . (For the change from \text{kh} to \text{y} \text{k} \text{a} of 2.20 and 2.63.)

/Reasons of ..........
64.

Causes of Consonant-Changes.

The influence of close front vowels and close front semi vowels.

2.44. The close front vowel, i, and the hypothetical close front semi-vowel, ɨ, exert influence on certain consonant-sounds. The consonant sounds that are subject to this influence are n, l, b, th, k (and, historically, d).

2.45. (a) Influence of i.

This is found (a) in nouns of classes 9 and 10 commencing in a vowel, and (b) in the formation of the causative species of verbs and (c) in the formation of agentive nouns from verbs.

(a) Due to the influence of i, the n of prefixes n(i) and zin(i) of classes 9 and 10 becomes ny before a vowel.

Examples:

nyama (meat) < n(i) + ama, nyathi (buffalo) < n(i) + athi
cf. also shiva (wearing down of teeth) < (si)sini (gap between teeth)
phola (be cool) > pholisa and pholisa (make cool)
cf. also Xhosa -keli and Zulu -hlesi < kula (stay)
blambha (bathe) > blambhla (swimmer) & ntlandzi (fish)
khoka (lead) > nkoki > nkosi (leader, chief)

2.46. (b) Influence of ɨ.

This is seen in the causative verbal species when the causative suffix -ɨa immediately succeeds any of the sounds enumerated in 1.206.

phumla (rest) > phumîla > phumza (cause to rest)
blambha (wash) > blambhîla > blandza (cleanse)
-ambhatha (put on clothes) > ambhathîla > ambhaza (supply with clothes)
goduka (go home) > godukîla > godusa (send home)
funda (take big mouthfuls) > fundîla > fundza (spoon-food)
(Zulu)

cf. Zulu lamba (starve) becoming bulanzi (scarcity)

The change from -a to -e is explained in 2.95.
The influence of semi-vowels.

2.47. Under the influence of a succeeding semi-vowel, labial consonants and bilabial consonant-combinations undergo certain changes.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{m} & \to \text{\textit{p}}, \quad \text{m} \to \text{\textit{b}} \\
\text{ph} & \to \text{\textit{ph}}, \quad \text{ph} \to \text{\textit{th}} \\
\text{b} & \to \text{\textit{d}}, \quad \text{bn} \to \text{\textit{i}} \\
\text{mp} & \to \text{\textit{m}}, \quad \text{mb} \to \text{\textit{ni}} \\
\text{mb} & \to \text{\textit{nb}}, \quad \text{mb} \to \text{\textit{ni}} \\
\text{f} & \to \text{\textit{s}}, \quad \text{t} \to \text{\textit{tw}}
\end{align*} \]

For these changes, the blanket term palatalization has been used by some Bantu phonologists and grammarians. But, as has been shown in 2.6 et seq., the changes involved here are multiple, and palatalization is in some cases but one of five such changes.

2.48. These changes occur (a) in passive formation, (b) in locative formation and (c) in diminutive formation.

2.49. (a) In passive formation, when \( \text{w} \) is inserted before the final vowel of a verb stem whose final syllable contains a bilabial consonant or consonant-combination, the following changes take place:

\[ \begin{align*}
(\text{i}) \quad \text{m} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{yw}}, & \quad \text{m} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{byw}} \\
(\text{ii}) \quad \text{ph} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{phw}}, & \quad \text{ph} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{thw}} \\
(\text{iii}) \quad \text{b} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{dw}}, \quad \text{bn} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{iw}} \\
(\text{iv}) \quad \text{mp} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{mpw}}, \quad \text{mp} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{ntw}} \\
(\text{v}) \quad \text{mb} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{mbw}}, \quad \text{mb} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{biw}} \\
(\text{vi}) \quad \text{f} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{cw}}, \quad \text{b} + \text{w} \to \text{\textit{tw}}
\end{align*} \]

Examples.

\[ \begin{align*}
(\text{i}) \quad \text{thuma (send)} & \to \text{\textit{thuma}} \to \text{\textit{thunwa}} \quad \text{(be sent)} \\
(\text{ii}) \quad \text{bophu (bind)} & \to \text{\textit{bophu}} \to \text{\textit{botluwa}} \quad \text{(be bound)} \\
(\text{iii}) \quad \text{gobhu (muddle)} & \to \text{\textit{gobhu}} \to \text{\textit{gobhu}} \quad \text{(be muddled)} \\
(\text{iv}) \quad \text{krhvmu (scratch)} & \to \text{\textit{krhvmu}} \to \text{\textit{krhentuva}} \quad \text{(be scratched)} \\
(\text{v}) \quad \text{hambhu (seize)} & \to \text{\textit{hambhu}} \to \text{\textit{kaniwa}} \quad \text{(be seized)} \\
(\text{vi}) \quad \text{duba (disturb)} & \to \text{\textit{duba}} \to \text{\textit{dutywa}} \quad \text{(be disturbed)}
\end{align*} \]
In the section on vowel assimilation (2.94 - 95) it is shown that, under the influence of an i in a succeeding syllable, o may become e or w, and y may become i or wi.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\mathfrak{i} \text{ nyk'omo} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ nyk'omene} \\
\text{i nkono (ox)} & \rightarrow \text{ enkononi} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ li:so} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ liswe:ni} \\
\text{i li:so (eye)} & \rightarrow \text{ e liswendi} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ ndk'ui} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ ndk'uni} \\
\text{i ndlu (house)} & \rightarrow \text{ e ndlini} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ su:tu} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ waswini} \\
\text{i sisu (stomach)} & \rightarrow \text{ e simwini}
\end{align*}
\]

In the locative formation, under the influence of i of suffix -ni, o always becomes wo and y almost always becomes wi if the final syllable of the noun contains a non-labial consonant, e.g., e liswendi, and e simwini above. If the final syllable contains a bilabial or dento-labial consonant or consonant-combination, the w is not heard.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\mathfrak{u} \text{ su:fo} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ sifo:ni} \\
\text{i sifo (disease)} & \rightarrow \text{ e sifeni} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ lifu:ku} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ lifi:nu} \\
\text{i lifu (cloud)} & \rightarrow \text{ e lifini} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ ngu:hi:ku} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ ngubh:eni} \\
\text{i ngubo (blanket)} & \rightarrow \text{ e ngubeni} \\
\mathfrak{u} \text{ gubu:ku} & \rightarrow \mathfrak{e} \text{ gubh:uni} \\
\text{i gubu (drum)} & \rightarrow \text{ e gubini}
\end{align*}
\]

But in most cases atilabial consonant or consonant-combination before final o or u undergoes exactly the same changes as before the w in the passive formation. It is therefore inferred that although the w is not heard in the locative, the changes are nevertheless due to its influence.

/\{(i) \#( w)\}_
(i) 1 tōhe (mouth) > 1 lōhe

(ii) 1 barnī (tongue) > 1 barnī (tongue)

(iii) 1 kōtu (stomach) > 1 kōtu (stomach)

(iv) 1 bōra (eye) > 1 bōra (eye)

(v) 1 iša (stomach) > 1 iša (stomach)

(vi) 1 āro (jungle) > 1 āro (jungle)

In diminutive formation, when an adjective suffixed to a noun or adjective, suffix -ī before the noun or adjective.

Examples:

(i) 1 lōhe (mouth) > 1 lōhe

(ii) 1 barnī (tongue) > 1 barnī (tongue)

(iii) 1 kōtu (stomach) > 1 kōtu (stomach)

(iv) 1 bōra (eye) > 1 bōra (eye)

(v) 1 iša (stomach) > 1 iša (stomach)

(vi) 1 āro (jungle) > 1 āro (jungle)

Exercises:

A. Change the following words into their diminutive forms:

1. lōhe
2. barnī
3. kōtu
4. bōra
5. āro

B. Change the following words into their locutive forms:

1. lōhe
2. barnī
3. kōtu
4. bōra
5. āro

C. Change the following words into their ablaut forms:

1. lōhe
2. barnī
3. kōtu
4. bōra
5. āro
2.53. But in this formation bilabials undergo these changes irrespective of the quality of the final vowel of the word, i.e. even when there is no trace of a.

*Examples.*

(i) *i gama* (word) → *i ganyana*
(ii) *i cephe* (spoon) → *i ceHlhana*
(iii) *i gabha* (ear-ring) → *i gajana*
(iv) *i phempe* (grassfrut) → *i phentjana*
(v) *u mhlambhi* (flock) → *u mhlanjana*
(vi) *i nkabi* (ox) → *i nkayana*

Keinhof offers the explanation that final e and i, like final o and u, become semi-vowels before -ana, and that where the final vowel is a, as in *i gama* above, the bilabial undergoes the changes by analogy. *(Phonology, p.99)*

2.54. In this diminutive formation, final i is elided after non-labial consonants.

*Examples.*

*i mithi* (trees) → *i mithana*
*i zimvi* (grey hairs) → *i zimvana*

If we accept Keinhof's explanation as regards final i, then we should have to say that after bilabials this vowel is semi-consonantalized instead of being elided, and that the changes affecting the bilabials are due to the influence of the Y.

*Examples.*

(i) *i ntsimi* (field) → *i ntsimiana* → *i ntsinyana*
(ii) *u mcuphi* (detective) → *u mcuphiana* → *u mcuphyana* → *umcutjhana*
(iii) *u mhlambhi* (flock) → *u mhlambhiana* → *u mhlambhyana* → *u mhlandjana*
(iv) *i phimpi* (ringbals) → *i phimpiana* → *i phimryana* → *i phintjana*

2.55. In regard to final e, Keinhof's explanation is not easily acceptable. The change from i to y is a common process in Eguni. But nowhere do we find support for the view that e ever becomes y before a. A more likely explanation is that the suffix is *-vana* < *Urdu* < *Nyana* (child), and that the final */vowel of .....*
vowel of the noun-stem is elided before -vana. e.g. osebe (spoon)

> osebevane > osebevane > osebzhana
ntaimi (field) > ntaimivane > ntaimvane > ntaimvane
sama (word) > ranavane > ranvane > ranvane
ndlebe (car) > ndlebevane > ndlebevane > ndlebevane

The same explanation would hold for the changes before the suffix -sena, -azi being a form of kazi < *qžali (woman) and -scema being therefore < *qel + *zeem.
The Zulu diminutive ndojyana < ndoda (man), would seem to support the view that -ana is a form of yana; ndoda + yana = ndojyana; the y thus influences the g, and the latter becomes j, resulting in ndojyana. The final a of ndoda becomes a due to the influence of the succeeding y, but is not elided.

2.56. In Xhosa and most dialects in the Cape Province the changes considered here generally affect bilabials only. In Zulu some consonants and consonant-combinations other than bilabials may be affected in the diminutive formation.

u > ny e.g. i ndunc (captain) > i ndunyana
t > ti e.g. i kati (cut) > i katiana
th > th e.g. i sikathi (time) > i sikathana
g > ng e.g. u ngadi (holo) > u ngadene
ng > ng e.g. i gende (egg) > i gendana

2.57. The change from u to ny is not altogether unknown to Xhosa. It is found when the diminutive suffix -ana is reduplicated: -ana + -ana > -anyana e.g. u mfene (youth) > u mfanyana.

Such surnames as Libhonyana < ntshene (mice), Litunjana < ntshene (bat) and Lduyana < nduna (mole dog) are evidence that even in Xhosa this was a regular change once upon a time.

2.58. The diminutive forms ntsambhobhane (certain highly scented shrub) < ntshombbathi (a highly scented wood used as perfume) and ntsakotjhane (certain shrub with edible fruit) < shlakethi (tree with edible fruit) show that even in Xhosa th used to change to th (phon. ðh) in diminutive formation.

/ 70. The influence....
The influence of non-syllabic nasal.

2.59. Under the influence of non-syllabic nasal (for which the symbol N is used), certain consonants undergo changes. This is seen (i) in the formation of nouns of Class 9 from verb-stems (ii) in nouns of Class 10 whose corresponding singular forms are to be found in Class 11, (iii) in strong adjectives of Classes 9 and 10.

2.60. (1) Fricatives.

\[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + t \)}} \rightarrow \text{ng}^{\text{f}} \text{,} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{f} \)}} \rightarrow \text{mf} \]

e.g. (i) \text{\textbf{\textit{funda}}} (learn) \rightarrow \text{\textit{mfundo}} (learning)

(ii) \text{\textbf{\textit{fudo}}} (tortoise) \rightarrow \text{\textit{mudo}} (tortoises)

(iii) \text{\textbf{\textit{fuphi}}} (short) \rightarrow \text{\textit{mfuphi}} (one that is short)

\[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{v} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nby} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{v} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nv} \]

e.g. (i) \text{\textbf{\textit{velisa}}} (produce) \rightarrow \text{\textit{mvelisa}} (produce)

(ii) \text{\textbf{\textit{valo}}} (breastbone) \rightarrow \text{\textit{mvalo}} (breastbones)

(iii) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + s \)}} \rightarrow \text{nts} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + s \)}} \rightarrow \text{nsts} \]

e.g. (i) \text{\textbf{\textit{valo}}} (drink) \rightarrow \text{\textit{ntsalo}} (drinking)

(ii) \text{\textbf{\textit{suku}}} (day) \rightarrow \text{\textit{ntsuku}} (days)

(iii) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + s \)}} \rightarrow \text{ndz} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + s \)}} \rightarrow \text{nds} \]

e.g. (i) \text{\textbf{\textit{uma}}} (profit) \rightarrow \text{\textit{nsuzo}} (profit)

(ii) \text{\textbf{\textit{zipo}}} (claw) \rightarrow \text{\textit{ndzipo}} (claws)

(iii) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nt} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nlt} \]

e.g. (i) \text{\textbf{\textit{shukuma}}} (move) \rightarrow \text{\textit{ntshukumo}} (movement)

(ii) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nk} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nh} \]

e.g. (i) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nk} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nh} \]

(ii) \text{\textbf{\textit{knkalo}}} (carving) \rightarrow \text{\textit{nknhalo}} (carvings)

(iii) \[ \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nk} \quad \text{\textbf{\( \nu + \text{h} \)}} \rightarrow \text{nh} \]

/(2/) plosives....
71.

(2) Plosives.

2.61. (a) Voiceless ejective explosives.

\[ N + c' > n^\text{c'} \quad N + tv > ndv \]

For example:

(i) tyseba (be rich) \( > \) i ndyseba (riches)

(ii) u tselelo (visit) \( > \) ii ndyalela (visits)

(iii) ........

2.62. The Xhosa explosive c' (tv) has much in common with the click consonants. In many roots, Xhosa has this sound where Zulu and other dialects have \( ? \) (a).

Examples.

Xhosa: c'aila (tyala) ; Zulu: c'al a (cal a)

Within the Xhosa field itself, there are such alternatives as
tyuma ka and czu ka (dialectal) (be crushed); and tyhiliza and
chiliza (dialectal) (push). Of the voiceless explosives in Xhosa
c' is the only one that is voiced under nasal influence, and it
shares this phenomenon with the clicks. (See 2.71)

2.63. (b) Aspirated voiceless ejectives.

\[ N + ph > wp' \quad N + ph > wp \]

For example:

(i) phatha (treat) \( > \) wephtha (treatment)

(ii) u phondo (horn) \( > \) ii mepondo (horns)

(iii) ........

\[ N + th > nt' \quad N + th > nt \]

For example:

(i) petha (speak) \( > \) weta (speech)

(ii) u thango (fence) \( > \) ii nthongo (fences)

(iii) -thahu (three) \( > \) nthlhu (three)

\[ N + ch > na' \quad N + th > ntv \]

(i) tyhilalo (reveal) \( > \) nthilelo (revelation)

(ii) ........

(iii) ........

\[ N + kh > n^k^2 \quad N + kh > nk \]

(i) khondoza (service) \( > \) nkondoza (service)

(ii) u khozo (grain) \( > \) ii nkazo (grains)

(iii) -khulu (great) \( > \) nkulu (great son)

-khulu (big) \( > \) nkulu (one that is big)

/ In .......
In **p'æk'gu kûːlu** • nkankulu (prodigy) < --- + kakhuulu (greatly), nasal influence penetrates to the second syllable and influences *kh* (cf. 2.64)

2.64. (c) Voiced ejective bilabial implosive.

\[ H + \delta > \text{mb} \quad \text{and} \quad H + b > \text{mb} \]

e.g. (i) balisa (narrate) > *i mbhaliisa* (narration)
(ii) u bembho (rib) > *ii mbambho* (ribs)
(iii) -hi (bad) > o mbhi (one that is bad)

In a few instances nasal influence penetrates to **\( \delta \)** in the second syllable. e.g. *dibana* (assemble) > *ndimbang* (multitude)

2.65. Occasionally in Nguni **\( H + \delta \) > mp**. In Zulu (cf. 2.63) the Class 2 locative demonstrative copulative is **nampa** (here they are) < **na** + **ba**, and the Class 14 one is **nampu** (here it is) < **ná** + **bu**. The present-day Xhosa form for Class 2 is **naba** but the older form **nampa** is to be found in some nineteenth-century writings e.g. Zaze Soga: **Imibenqa**, p.3.

(3) Laterals.

2.66. (a) Voiced Radical Frictionless Lateral.

\[ H + l > \text{nd} \quad \text{and} \quad H + l > \text{nd} \]

This change is very rare, but the following instances establish its occurrence:

ef. (1) *lima* (cultivated) with *ndima* (cultivated patch)
(2) *(bu)lembhu* (silky filament) with *ndambhu* (mistletoe)
(3) *(si)levu* (chin) with *nasyu* (beard)

Note also Zulu *(lu)limi* (tongue) and its plural form *(si)ndimi*.

2.67. It is fairly certain that the **\( \delta \)** of the stem -de (long, tall) has come about as a result of the influence of the nasal of the Class 9 prefix on the **l** of the stem -le (**H + le > nde**).

In an old Nguni folktale, a song sung by a fabulous monster of enormous length begins: "Ndimplelelele ndinje, ndinje" (long, long as I am).
In the word *ndimlelelele*, the -lelelele is a reduplicated form of the monosyllabic stem -le (cf. Southern Sotho -lelele, which becomes -telele in Classes 9 and 10, and the Tswana form, which is -telele irrespective of the class of the noun qualified). When l is in the third second or third syllable, nasal influence sometimes penetrates to it (cf. 2.63, 2.64).

**Examples**

*blebelana* (tell one another secrets) > *nlblbendume* (slander)

*blele* (portend evil) > *ntlon* (evil deed, believed to bring misfortune)

The close relationship between l and ć is seen even in such forms as *langatye* and *dangatye* (flame).

2.66. (b) **Voiceless Radical Fricative Lateral**

\[ N + l > n \hat{t} \hat{l}, \quad N + ġ > n ġ \]

e.g. (i) *blelo* (live) > *ntlelo* (life)

(ii) *(lu)*biobo (sort) > *(zi)*ntobo (sorts)

(iii) *ble* (beautiful) > *ntle*

2.69. (c) **Voiceless Radical Fricative Lateral**

\[ N + l > ng \hat{b}, \quad N + ġ > ng \hat{g} \]

(i) *blelo* (play) > *nglo* (trifling)

(ii) *(lu)*ndolo (barren animal) > *(zi)*ndolo

(iii) ——— ———

2.70. (d) **Voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate**

\[ N + tib > nti^2, \quad N + tib > nti \]

e.g. (i) *tibhisa* (perso) > *ntibhisa* (persecution)

(ii) *(lu)*tibaba (enemy) > *(zi)*ntibaba

(iii) *tiba* (new) > *ntja*
2.71. (a) Voiceless ejective clicks.

\[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{h}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{g}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

(i) cinga (think) \( \rightarrow \) ngcicanga (thought)
(ii) u cango (door) \( \rightarrow \) ii nceanco (doors)
(iii) \[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{b}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{q}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

e.g.
(i) gonde (understand) \( \rightarrow \) ngononde (understanding)
(ii) u qolo (ridge) \( \rightarrow \) ii nceoko (ridges)
(iii) \[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{b}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{q}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

e.g.
(i) xabana (quarrel) \( \rightarrow \) ngxambano (quarrel)
(ii) u xande (rectangle) \( \rightarrow \) ii nceando (rectangles)
(iii) \[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{b}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{q}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

While in Xhosa these changes are strictly regular, in Zulu voiceless ejective oral clicks may in some cases be nasalized instead of being voiced under nasal influence, so that ucanzumaybecome izinceazuorizinceazu (Doke: Zv. dv.
Footnote 2, p.14).

In some Cape Province dialects, eg Ehaca, Ebbo and Eponderimise, nasalization + aspiration takes place in these circumstances. Thus in Ebbo and Eponderimise the plural of u canzumaybecome ii nceano (\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} \))} \) \( \text{\( \overline{\text{h}} \))})\( \text{\( \overline{\text{e}} \))}\( \text{\( \overline{\text{a}} \))}\)\( \text{\( \overline{\text{a}} \))}, and the noun derived from gonde is nbe and derived from giqonde is : nqondvo (\( \text{\( \overline{\text{g}} \))} \) \( \text{\( \overline{\text{h}} \))})\( \text{\( \overline{\text{e}} \))}\( \text{\( \overline{\text{a}} \))}\)\( \text{\( \overline{\text{a}} \))}\)\( \text{\( \overline{\text{d}} \))}\)\( \text{\( \overline{\text{v}} \))}). (cf. remarks in 1.162)

2.72. (b) Voiceless aspirated clicks.

\[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{b}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{h}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

(i) chitha (spend) \( \rightarrow \) nkweitho (expenditure)
(ii) u chuku (peevishness) \( \rightarrow \) ii nkceku (petty quarrels)
(iii) \[ \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{b}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{y}} \))} \]  \( \text{\( \text{\( \overline{\text{u}} + \text{\( \overline{\text{h}} \))} \))} > \text{\( \overline{\text{ng}} \))} \]

Gqoba uses nceithakalo (and mass ruination), that is, from the singular form nkceithakalo he forms the plural zinćeithakalo (Imijenge p.89).
But Lqbayi uses ngenkithakalo = nge+(zi)nkithakalo in Ukon Jada p.1.

\[ U + (\text{zi})h > y \quad \text{or} \quad U + \text{ch} > nka \]

\begin{itemize}
    \item[(i)] nqatho (cheating) > nkqatho (cheating)
    \item[(ii)] uqhole (free gifts to chief) > ii nkqole (free gifts to chief)
    \item[(iii)] ukho (support) > nkxho (support)
\end{itemize}

\[ U + \text{ch} > y \quad \text{or} \quad U + \text{ch} > nka \]

\begin{itemize}
    \item[(i)] nhase (support) > nkxaso (support)
    \item[(ii)]
    \item[(iii)]
\end{itemize}

III. Changes involving vowels, semi-vowels and consonants.

2.73. Elision: the effacement or dropping of a sound or sound-combination.

2.74. Elision may be fixed or loose.

Fixed Elision. In some instances elision has taken place over a long period in the development of the language, so that certain sounds or sound-combinations in certain positions have been permanently effaced or dropped. This is fixed elision.

The previous existence of such now elided elements is often revealed by the behaviour of adjacent sounds in certain circumstances. In certain cases it is only by reference to cognate languages and/or dialects that such sounds can be deduced.

Loose Elision. When a sound or sound-combination is dropped in certain circumstances but retained in others, according to definite rules, we speak of loose elision.

Elision of Vowels.

2.75. Fixed Elision of Vowels.

The following are instances where vowels have been permanently effaced:

(i) In the prefixes of Classes 1 and 3, the u has been dropped after m:

\[\text{e.g. } \text{mutu (person)} \rightarrow \text{mutu; mzi (homestead)} \rightarrow \text{mzi; mde (tall one)} \rightarrow \text{mute}\]

/Zulu....
Zulu still uses the full mu- before monosyllabic stems.

(ii) The final vowel of certain noun-stems containing m in the final syllable has been dropped.

e.g. hem (crowned crane) < hemu
zim (cannibal) < zimu
oxwen (squint eye) < oxwemu or oxwami

In the old editions of Kropf's dictionary these words appear in the older form.

The tendency to elide the final vowel after m of a noun-stem is very strong, but in some instances full and contracted forms exist simultaneously in one and the same dialect. Thus in Xhosa we find both bomi and bom (life), in Nlubi both masimi and masim (cultivated lands) and in Lpondoro both gami and gam (name or word)

(iii) In the absolute pronoun the first person singular the i has been dropped, and the pronoun has become mme (I) mina.

The full form is still used in Swazi and Zulu. It also appears in several Xhosa Church hymns. Lqhayi puts it into the mouth of the sage Khubile: "Ndazi nto ni na mina?" (What do I know?) (ITyana lama Veza p.22)

(iv) The vowel of the objective concord mu- of Class 1 is entirely lost, e.g. ndiyambona (I see him) < ndiyambona
siyamva (we hear him) < siyamva

but Zulu still uses the full form before monosyllabic stems.

e.g. siyamunwa (we hear him)

(v) In the penultimate syllable of some verb-stems the vowel u is elided after m.

e.g. nka (go away) < nuka
lumka (be wise) < lumuka
lumla (wean) < lumula
phumla (rest) < phumula

All these verb-stems are still to be found in the older form in Zulu.
2.76. **Loose Vowel Elision.**

While there seem to be no governing rules and no apparent reasons for fixed elision, except just a tendency to shorten words, loose elision follows definite rules. Loose elision may be optional or compulsory.

2.77. Optional Loose Elision of Vowels occurs commonly in connected speech. The main rules are as follows:

(i) Unless a speaker wants to be emphatic, he drops the final vowel of a word before another vowel.

*e.g.* Vul'\(\text{u cong'olul}\) for *Vula u cong'olul* (*Open the door, will you?*)

Ndibon'i zinj' e zininda' aph' izole, for Ndibone i zinja e zininda apha izole.

(I saw many dogs here yesterday)

Back vowels are elided before other back vowels. Before a front vowel or before the low vowel, a back vowel becomes *u*.

(see 2.86.iv)

**Examples.**

*In' o yendzayo*, for *into o yendzayo*

(the thing that you are doing)

*le nt' uvendzayo*, for *le nto uvendzayo*

(this thing that you are doing)

*u nt' o thethayo*, for *u mut' o thethayo*

(the person who is speaking)

*le mut' uthethayo*, for *le mutu uthethayo*

(this person who is speaking)

*le ntw' ilarha*, for *le nto ilarha*

(this thing that is here)

*i ntw' a bayaziyo*, for *into a bayaziyo*

(something that they know)

*i ndlw' ikho*, for *ndlu ikho* (there is a house)

*i ndlw' a nje*, for *ndlu a nje* (such a house)

*i ndlw' a bayaziyo*, for *ndlu a bayaziyo*

(the house that they know)

/ (ii) A close.....
(ii). A close vowel occurring in a short, unstressed syllable may be elided. This occurs commonly with the vowels of strong class prefixes and concords.

**Examples.**

- i s'khumbhuse, for i sikhumbhuse (remembrance)
- i s'bonda, for i sibonda (headman)
- uL'athathile, for uLithathile (did you take it?)
- ma s'hambhe, for ma sibambhe (let us go)
- u La-L'ithuli, for u La-Luthuli (woman born of Luthuli family)

Hence we find such names as Stofile < sitofile.

Sthole < sithole, Skhubane < sikhubane, Ldonza < ludonga. In fact, though the vowel of the first syllable appears in the spelling of such names as Sihlali, Sikhutshwa and Lugidi, in ordinary speech this vowel is elided -- S'hlali, S'khutshwa, L'didi.

2.78. Compulsory loaso vowel elision occurs in numerous situations when two vowels are juxtaposed. In almost all cases it is the first of the two vowels that is elided.

Vowels are elided in the following circumstances:

(1) The vowel of a strong class-prefix before a vowel-stem.

**Examples.**

- sendzo (dead) < si + endzo
- sazela (conscious) < si + azela
- balusi (herd-boys) < ba + alusi
- laviso (victory) < lu + oviso

(ii) The final vowel of a nominal or adjectival stem before a diminutive suffix.

**Examples.**

- m'ana (little homestead) < mui + ana
- ntakana (rather beautiful) < n'tle + azana
- ntakana (little bird) < ntaka + ana
- mfana (youth) < mfo + ana
- myana (lamb) < mu + ana

(iii) The u of...
(iii) The u of the locative formative ku before o.

Examples:

kooyihlo (to your fathers) < ku + ooyihlo
ko wam (to mine) < ku + o wam
kolu (to this one) < ku + olu

(iv) The u of a preposition before another vowel.

Examples:

neoyihlo (with your fathers) < na + ooyihlo
nse zam (by means of mine) < nse + o zam
(u yise) waba (the father of these) < wa + aba

(v) The vowel of a verbal formative before the initial vowel of a verb-stem.

Examples:

uyeva (he despises) < uya + eva
basala (they still refuse) < base + a la
ndinoja (I am still roasting) < ndiso + aje

(vi) The vowel of a subjectival concord before a vowel.

Examples:

wena. andza (they are making) < a + endza
sendza (we are making) < si + endza
makha (you are building) < ni + akha
ndoja (I am roasting) < ndi + oje
ze zam (they are mine) < zi + o zam

(vii) The vowel of an objectival concord or of the reflexive affix ni, before a vowel verb-stem.

Examples:

bayehya (they despise you) < baya + ni + eva
akmeasi (he does not know us) < aka + si + azi
ndiyabovika (I fear them) < ndiya + ba + ovika
abazazi (they do not know themselves) < aba + zi + azi

2.79. Concluding remarks on loose vowel-elision.

The illustrations above show that loose vowel-elision, whether optional or compulsory, is always terminal. That is, it is always the final vowel of a formative that is elided. The first illustration in (vi) would seem to break this rule. But / it must......
But it must be remembered that in fact the concords that are now represented by single vowels used to have consonants or semi-vowels before the vowels. (see Chapter 6)

In his *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, Chapter XIV and in his *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*, Chapter 1, Doke records what he regards as instances of "elision of the initial vowel" of the noun. That Doke regards as elision here is, however, not the elision of a mere initial vowel but the omission of a complete word, namely, an article, for syntactical and not for merely phonetic reasons.

Among other illustrations, Doke has the following:-

(1) wenabashi or wenalibashi (thou horse) < wena + ihashi
(2) lo muntu (this man) < lo + umuntu
(3) ku muntu (to the people) < ku + amuntu

In (1) there are two substantives, wena and ibashi or (ibashi) in apposition. In other words, since wena is second person, ibashi is virtually second person too. Doke claims that wenabashi is derived from wena ibashi. But the latter is impossible on grammatical grounds. Since ibashi (more correctly i ibashi) is exclusively third person, it cannot be in apposition to wena. Therefore the view that wenabashi (more correctly wena ibashi) is derived from wena ibashi is not acceptable. The i before ibashi is an article that never appears before a noun virtually in the first or second person. This is not a phonetic but a grammatical consideration.

In (2) it is claimed that lomuntu (which should be written lo muntu) is derived from lo umuntu (which should be written le u muntu); and the two are treated as if they were synonymous, both meaning "this man", whereas lo u muntu means "this particular man", and is quite different from lo muntu which means simply "this man". Again the absence of u in the expression lo muntu is not a case of vowel-elision, but of the

*Phonetics, Ch. XIV*. 3. The originals are in phonetic script but for the present purpose that is not necessary.
omission of a word for semantic reasons. (cf. 9.22.)

In (3) it is claimed that ku-santu is derived from ku+santu. But the latter is impossible because the a before bantu is an article, and a noun-class prefix is never prefixed to an article. (cf. 9.67.)

2.60. Eision of Semi-vowels.

Only cases of loose elision have been found.
w: The basic qualitative concord of Class 6 is wa-
e.g. waphi a madoda? (which men?)

(a) In quantitative qualifiers the w is elided when the quantitative is purely qualitative, but not elided when the quantitative functions as a copulative base.
cia. onke a madoda (all the men)

swonke a madoda (the men are all there i.e. their number is complete)

(b) With possessive qualifiers the w is elided unless the qualitative becomes the second element in a pronoun phrase after a demonstrative pronoun of emphasis.
cf. a rahase am (my horses)
a wam a rahase (my horses)

(c) The subject concord of Class 6 before vowel verb-
stems is w. But it is elided except after a relative connective.
cf. a madoda oyika nto ni? (what do the men fear?)
a madoda e woyikayo (the men who fear)

2.61. Eision of Consonants.

2.62. Fixed Elision of Consonants.

(a) The initial l of a strong-class demonstrative is elided, e.g. aba bantu (these people) < laba bantu
eli xhago (this old man) < leli xhago
classes

Modern Xhosa retains the l only in weak and in certain situations in the relics of the locative classes.
e.g. lo muntu (this person), le mulu (this house)

apha na laphe (here and there), kaloku (as you should know)
< ka+loku

(b) the ......
(b) The initial l of a demonstrative pronominal of emphasis which, inter alia, is used as a relative connective, is elided irrespective of class. (This holds for Zulu too).

E.g. a bantu a bahambhayo (the people who are going)
< a bantu le bahambhayo
i l nkomo e zifikayo (the cattle that are arriving)
< i l nkomo le zifikayo

Swazi still uses the full forms. E.g. tinkomo le tifikako (the cattle that are arriving) (see 2.46.)

There are also a few isolated cases:

(a) the noun lulwini (tongue) comes from lulimi. The l of the stem -limi was elided, and the result was lu+ -imi which became lwini, making the prefix lu part of the stem, and making it necessary to pre-prefix another lu (see 4.37.).

(b) the verb-stem bulala (kill) should have the passive -bulalwa but we find -bulawa.

(c) the verb-stem thwala (carry) has two derivative causative forms, thwalisa and thwasa. The latter comes about as the result of the elision of l from the former, making thwa+ ing which becomes thwasa by coalescence.

g: (a) In the so-called temporal mood e.g. ndakufika (when I arrive) there is a formative ga after the subject concord, as many of the dialects in the Cape Province show -naiskufika is more widespread than ndakufika. In Xhosa the a of this formative has been elided, and this has resulted in some cases in the elision and in others in the semi-consonantalization, of the vowel of the subject-concord. (see 13.53.)

(b) The negative formative si, of the participial copulative is still commonly used in certain dialects, e.g. in the Cape Province e.g. ingasi ndim (it not being myself). But in Xhosa the a has disappeared, and the a and the i coalesce to form e:

ingasi ndim > inga(e)i ndim > inga -i ndim > ingendim

* Mpondomise
ki (a) This plosive has disappeared in the feminine diminutive suffix -azana. This was originally -kazana < kazi+ana. Tiyo Soga uses inkazana (damel) inka + kazi+ana in ulambo, pp. 42 & 43. The suffix -kazana is still to be found e.g. mtikazana (young bride). But -azana exists side by side with it, and has a slightly different meaning. (see 5.30.) The form nkazana is not used any more as diminutive of nkazam. Some dialects use nkazanyana (nkatanyana in Bhaqa).

(b) The predicative negative formative a as e.g. in andithengi (I am not buying) may appear as ka in Zulu: kengithengi or angithengi. Evidence from neighbouring languages shows that ka is the older form. (cf. Southern Sotho: ha ka reke, and Tswana: ga ka reke.) The ka and ga of Sotho correspond to the ka of Nguni. This means that Xhosa used to have the form ka once upon a time.

(c) The participial subject concord e appears as ka in hlubi in certain circumstances.

cf. Xhosa: Ube ehambha (He was going)

Hlubi: Be kelkambha (He was going)

That this concord used to have a k in Xhosa too is evident from such related concords as ka, e.g. akahambhi (he is not going) and ma kahambhe (he had better go)

2.83. Loose Elision of Consonants.

1: This lateral is elided in the Class 16 demonstrative, lapha when it functions as a simple adverbial.

e.g. vinaapha (stand here)

But the 1 is not elided in the following circumstances:

(1) When lapha is preceded by the conjunctive na in a compound adverbial.

E.g. e mThatha na lapha (in Umtata and here)

E.g. the hlubi in Mt. Frere district.
(2) When lapha is preceded by a possessive preposition in a possessive qualitative phrase.

\[ \text{e.g., umfeka we lapha (the man of this place)} \]

(3) When lapha is a copulative base.

\[ \text{e.g., a bantu balelapha (the people are here)} \]

with \( a \) : In modern locatives/the locative article, \( (a) \), the \( a \) behaves exactly like the \( 1 \) of lapha.

**Examples.**

Viya e Ceuwa (Go to Butterworth)

umThatha nase Ceuwa (in Umtata and in Butterworth)

umfeka wase Ceuwa (a man from Butterworth)

a bantu nase Ceuwa (the people are in Butterworth)

\( k \) : In the subjunctive mood the \( k \) of the subjectival concord \( ka \) of Class-1 and \( a \) is elided unless preceded by the hortative verb \( ma \).

\[ \text{e.g., khona u kuse shabambhe (so that he may go)} \]

\[ \text{ma kahambhe (he had better go)} \]

\( b \) : (a) The noun-prefix of Class 2a is Boo-, but the \( b \) is elided except in the vocative form.

\[ \text{e.g., Cobawo abasekho (Our fathers are no more)} \]

Botani, boobaow! (Greetings, fathers!)

(b) The \( b \) of the copulative verb \( u kuba \) (to be) is often elided in the commentative mood.

\[ \text{e.g., Yaka nkulu le nkomo! (How big this ox is!)} \]

\[ \text{Yaba nkulu le nkomo.} \]

\[ \text{Waa no rindo (He became very angry)} \]

\[ \text{Waba no rindo.} \]

Th : The \( th \) of the verb-stem -thi is very often elided when this verb is used in the narrative g tense (commentative mood) to introduce an ideophone. Then the \( a \) and the \( 1 \) coalesce to form a long \( 2 \), which is written as.

\[ \text{e.g., ndathi cwaka (I remained silent) > ndee cwaka} \]

\[ \text{wathi thwasu (he rose smartly) > wea thwasu} \]

2.84. **Total or Partial Elision of Specific Formatives.**

1. **Prefixes:**

\[ (1) \text{The class prefix li of class 8 is no longer employed...} \]
employed at all before disyllabic and polysyllabic stems.

**Examples.**

lihase > lase (horse)

libalathi > blabathi (world)

Even before monosyllabic stems 11 may be elided occasionally:

e.g.

i zve lodhavo (the land of our fathers) = i lizo

i zvi le bantu (the voice of the people) < i lizwi

(i) The prefix sin- of Class 10 is ordinarily contracted to n- before disyllabic and polysyllabic stems.

**Examples.**

zindlebo > ndlebe (ears)

sinkoso > nkomo (cattle)

But there are circumstances - the locative - in which the prefix may not be contracted.

Even before monosyllabic stems si may be elided in some cases
e.g. in i to for i zinto.

(iii) The prefix lu- of Class 11 is ordinarily elided before disyllabic and polysyllabic stems.

**Examples.**

Lusana > sana (baby)

Ludonga > donce (wall)

Monosyllabic stems too drop the prefix occasionally:

e.g. u va lwakho for u luvo lwakho (his opinion)

(iv) (a) In copulative construction, if a class prefix is identical with the preceding copula, the prefix is often elided. If only part of the prefix sounds like the copula, only that part is elided.

**Examples.**

li lishwa > lii shwa (it is misfortune)

si sizimbo > sii lumve (it is a wise man)

bu budondo > bivu dange (it is folly)

zi zinja > ziinja (it is dogs)

/ in all ....

*See 4.16. and 4.34.*
In all such contractions, the vowel of the copula is lengthened, so that in a practical orthography, this should be indicated by doubling the vowel e.g. si1 junko, buu dace etc.

(b) The elision or contraction of class prefixes is to be found in both nouns and strong adjectives in many compound nouns, some of which are well-known proper names.

Examples:
(1) liwzi lide (carrying voice):
liwzi lide > Zwide (a proper name)
(2) liwze lidala (old country):
liwze lidala > Zwedala (a proper name)
(3) lulibo lude (luxuriant early-autumn leaves):
lulibo lude > Libode (name of a village)
(4) zintsuku zimbhini (two days):
zintsuku zimbhini > Ntukambhini (a proper name)
(5) zindlebe zinde (long ears):
zindlebe zinde > Ndlebende (nickname for donkey)

Compare also: kwcinni (you boy!) < nkwenkwe ndini

2. Noun Stems.
(a) The final syllable of the stems -zulu in phesulu and -mbhili in phambhili are elided when these words are qualified by possessives.

e.g. phesu ko mlambho (above the river)
phambhi kwe ndlu (in front of the house)

(b) The following nouns elide the final syllable of the stem before the feminine suffix -kazi.

mnini (proprietor) > mnikazi (proprietress)
nizwana (fine man) > nizvakazi (beautiful woman)
thole (calf) > thokazi (heifer)

The noun molokazana (daughter-in-law) provides a remarkable elision. The stem, mlobo, is derived from loba (fetch home). To this is prefixed m(u)- to make m(u)lobo, to which is suffixed -kazana to make m(u)lobokazana, still used in Nlubi. Then, bo is elided as in the nouns given above and /the result...
the result is m(u)lokazana. In Xhosa the u of mu is assimilated to the o in the succeeding syllable, and the result is molokazana. In Hlubi, both mblokazana and u lokazana are used. They are nouns of Class 1, with belokazana and helokazana respectively as corresponding plural forms. The Xhosa molokazana is not a noun of Class 1a, because no has become part of the noun-stem. The plural is comolokazana.


The formative -na of the absolute pronoun is almost always elided if another element is prefixed to the pronoun.

Examples
ku + wena > kuwe (to you)
ngu + wena > ngwe (it is he)

4. Possessive Prepositions.

Possessive prepositions are normally elided in possessive qualificatives indicating communal ownership.

Examples
u dade wabo bawo > u dade bo bawo (my father's sister)
u Mdange wabo Tjiwo > u Mdange bo Tjiwo (Mdange, brother of Tjiwo).

The word mnakwethu (my brother - woman speaking) involves propositional elision as well as the elision of certain sounds. The original form was mununa wa kwethu, meaning "male of our family." (For mununa cf. Tsonga mununa and Sotho monna < mona). In Xhosa the substantive mununa has been contracted to mna.

5. Verbal Formatives.

(a) Subjectival Concord: In compound predicatives the subjectival concord is often elided before the first verb (cf. 12.115. and 13.21.)

Examples
ndiba ndithetha > be ndithetha (I was speaking)
sibe sidlala > be sidlala (we were playing)
ndibe ndifike > de ndifike (until I arrive)
ndible ndatjho > hle ndatjho (I thought as much)
ufumane ethetha > fumane ethetha (he speaks in vain).

(b) Verbal Stem: In the compound remote past
tenses, the verb-stem -be of the first verb is ordinarily elided.

**Examples**

ndabe ndithetha > ndandithetha  (I was speaking)

ebabe sidlale > gisidlala  (we were playing)

2.85. Elision of sounds or groups of sounds in miscellaneous circumstances.

1. In tri-positional demonstratives before nouns.

(a) The second and third positional types in the weak classes ordinarily elide the stem vowel and the succeeding semi-vowel, and the final vowel is lengthened, a becoming oo and a becoming aa.

**Examples**

lowo > loo
leva > loo
lowa > laa
lawa > laa

(b) The third positional types in most of the strong classes ordinarily slide the vowel of the concord as well as the succeeding semi-vowel and lengthen the final a to aa.

**Examples**

abaya > abaa
aliya > olaa
esiya > esaa
obuya > obaa.  (see 9.65. et seq.)

2. In verbal predicatives.

In the future tense of the indicative mood, formatives are often elided, partially or wholly, the result being vowel-coalescence or assimilation.

**Examples**

(a) ndiya kuya (I shall go) > ndakuva.

The k of ku in ndakuva is in turn elided, making ndauya, which by coalescence becomes ndaya.

The final form is the conditional future (see 12.90. et seq.)

(b) endisavi kuba (I shall not again) > endisakube.

By assimilation endisa kuba > andisa kube. This may further
be contracted by eliding the subjectival concord:

\[
\text{andiso kube} \rightarrow \text{aso kube}.
\]

The last form may also be contracted (i) by eliding the negative formative \(a\) alone, making \(aso\ kube\). (ii) by eliding the \(ku\) of \(kube\) alone, making \(aso\ be\), (iii) by eliding both the negative formative \(a\) and the \(ku\) of \(kube\), making \(so\ be\).

By similar steps \(andisayi\ kube\) can be reduced to \(so\ ze\).

Thus we can say:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{andisayi kube ndiye} \\
\text{or andiso kube ndiye} \\
\text{or andiso kube ndiye} \\
\text{or aso kube ndiye} \\
\text{or so kube ndiye} \\
\text{or aso ze ndiye} \\
\text{or so ze ndiye (I shall never go there)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.86. **Semi-consonentalization**

This is a process by which a vowel or consonant is changed into a semi-vowel.

(1) **Semi-consonentalization of vowels**

When two vowels are juxtaposed, the first of the two may become a semi-vowel. The vowels that are subject to semi-consonentalization are \(i\), \(o\), and \(u\).
90.

i before a, a, or u becomes y
q before a becomes w
u before i, a, a, or o becomes w

Semi-consonantalization occurs in the following circumstances:

(i) In the diminutive formation, when the noun or adjective concerned ends in o or u

Examples:

matwana (child) < mutu+aana
siswana (little stomach) < sisu+aana
liswana (small eye) < liso+aana
goswana (rather crooked) < goso+aana

(ii) When i or u as subjectival concord comes immediately before a vowel verb-stem commencing in e, a, or o.

Examples:

(i nja) vendoza (the dog makes) < i+endoza
(i nja) vazi (the dog knows) < i+azi
(i nja) vovoika (the dog fears) < i+ovika
(u mfo) wendoza (the man makes) < u+endoza
(u mfo) wazi (the man knows) < u+azi
(u mfo) vovoika (the man fears) < u+ovika

It is to be noted that u is not semi-consonantalized unless it stands before o. If preceded by a consonant, u is elided before o. Such combinations as swo, lwo, kwo are not found in Xhosa.

Examples:

(u sana) loyika (the baby fears) < lu+ovika
(u kufa) koyikwa (death is feared) < ku+ovikwa

(iii) When u, as vowel of an objectival concord, occurs before a vowel verb-stem commencing in e or a.

Examples:

ndalwendoza (u thango) (I made a wall) < ndalu+endoza
ndalwendoza (u kutya) (I made some food) < ndaku+endoza
andalwazi (u sana) (I did not know the) < andalu+azi

baby)
(iv) In connected speech, when the final o or u of one word is semi-elided or contracted before an i, e, or a in an immediately succeeding word, in such instances o and u become w, written w'.

Examples

ntw' imbhi (bad thing) < ntc imbhi
akakhw' apha (he is not here) < akakho apha
ndlw' imbhi (ugly house) < ndlu imbhi
i ndlw' embhi (a house that is ugly) < i ndlu a mbhi
u mnts' apha (a person here) < u mntu apha.

(2) Semi-consonantalization of consonants

No instances of this process have been found in literary Xhosa, but a few instances are to be found in other dialects as indicated below.

\[ a > y \] : In Xhosa the a of the copulative negative formative asi has become y e.g. ayi ndim instead of asi ndim (it is not I)

\[ l > y \] : The y in the famous royal salute bayatheli < balethei (bring them!) is a case of semi-consonantalization. This royal salute is used by the Xhosa, Xhosa and the Zulu, and probably by others.

\[ mb > y \] : In Xhosa the mb of labhi? (where?) has become y, e.g. limthuti tilayi? (where are the goats?)

\[ b > w \] : In Xheli and Zulu the b of the noun-class prefix bom- of Class 2a may be replaced by w. Thus in Xheli we find either a bomama or a woomame, and in Zulu a woomame (our mothers)

2.87. Alternative

This is a process in which two or more sounds belonging to different phonemes are used as alternatives within one and the same word.

Vowel Alternation

(1) i, o and u :

Examples

nxhwa, nxowa and nxuwa (home-site)

The word nxhowa (bœg) has, according to Kroepf and Godfrey, an alternative, nxhwa. The Xhosa variant is nxhwa.
(2) a and o :

Examples
ntlakohla or ntlokohlaza (spring)
nlakotjhane and ntlokotjhane (certain shrub with edible fruit)

(3) i and e :

Examples
sinkwane or sankwane (cap)
sibonkolo or sabonkolo (tadpole)
sicuphe or sacuphe (suddenness)

(4) i and u :

mbhishi-mbishi or mbhushu-mbushu (corpulent man)

(5) a and e :

Alternation between a and e provides most instances, and these would seem to be classifiable to some extent.

(i) Some nouns may have either -wa or -we as final syllable.

Examples
mninawa or mninawe (younger brother)
mkhuluwa or mkhuluwe (elder brother)
eawe or eawe (church)
naewa or naewa (pipe)
nkanawa or nkanawe (ship)

(ii) Some nouns may have either -ana or -ane as final syllables.

Examples
mzalwana or mzalwane (blood relative)
mzukulwana or mzukulwane (grandchild)
sizukulwana or sizukulwane (generation)
nkonyana or nkonyane (young calf)

Sometimes the alternation of -ana and -ane has a
semantic significance, e.g. ndlwana (small hut) and ndlwane
(nest or cage) (see 5.20, et seq.)
(iii) Some deverbal nouns have /a or / as final vowel.

Examples.
malinga or malinge (efforts) < linga (try)
ntlenga or ntlenga (dregs) < hlenga (assort)

(iv) The stems of most implicative verbs end in /a or /e. Even primarily non-implicative verbs may end in /e when used implicatively.

Examples.
u kuda or u kude (to occur eventually)
u kusuka or u kusuke (to occur unexpectedly)
u kufumane or u kufumane (to occur in vain)

Of the alternatives in (4), those ending in /a are the older ones, as the old writings show. (cf. /13, 21)

(6) /a, / and /:

Many vowel verb-stems commencing in /a in literary Xhosa have dialectal variants commencing in /e or /o (see 2.95).

Examples.
alusa, elusa, olusa (look after livestock)
abhula, elhula, ohlula (separate)
aphula, epkula, ophula (remove food from fire)
andlula, endlula, ondlula (tidy up bedding on getting up)

The forms in /e and /o in (5) are not literary forms in Xhosa. Zulu seems to use all three forms interchangeably.

2.88. Alternation of Consonants.

N.B. An asterisk * indicates that the form is a dialectical variant that is not regarded as "good Xhosa" for literary purposes.

(1) /a and /l:

liiso and *lohlo (eye)
sutha and hlutha (be replete)

(2) /h and /h:

phapha and bhabha (fly)

/ (3) /h and /h ....
(3) th and gh:

thaphu or ngaphu (suddenly appearing)
thonstd or ngontsai (of a liquid falling in drops)

(4) d and i:

gidima or giyima (run)
sigcabololo or sigcabololo (conceited for)

(5) ty and e:

tyumka or umaka (be squashed)

(6) thy and en: tyhiliza and *chiliza (push)

(7) ny and en: *munywa and munca (suck)

(8) no and en: *munu and muncu (sour)

(9) m and ny: maxhuma and *maxhunye (hole)

ghuma and *ghunye (smoke)

2.88. Assimilation.

Assimilation is a process by which a sound, under
the influence of another sound which is adjacent to it, tends
to become identical with, or acquire some of the qualities of,
other sound.

2.89. In some cases assimilation has taken place in the
development of the language, so that a word that was formerly
pronounced in a certain way came to be pronounced permanently
in another way. This is fixed assimilation. The Nguni word
munuku (night) provides a good illustration of fixed
assimilation. In most other Bantu languages, the stem of this
noun is -siku, not suku. Thus we find vusiku (Tsonga),
usiku (Nyanja and Swahili), ubusiku (Konde), busi (Southern
Sotho). It is clear therefore that -siku is the original
stem. In Nguni the root vowel, i, has become u by
assimilation to the u in the succeeding syllable.

2.90. In other cases a word is normally pronounced in a
certain way when it stands alone, but comes to have a

different ...

\[ cf. \text{Westermann}\ &\text{Ward p.120.} \]
different pronunciation as a result of the influence of an adjacent sound or sound-combination. This is loose assimilation. For instance, the verb-stem -endza (do, make) still exists in this form in such words as yendza (make thou), yendzani (make yo). It is also found in this form before nye (merely, just), e.g. u kwenza nye (merely to do). But before nye (like this), -endza becomes -enye, e.g. yenje nye (do thou like this). But since -endza becomes -enye only in those circumstances, and remains -endza in all other circumstances, this is a case of loose, not fixed, assimilation.

2.91. In some cases the affected sound is merely drawn nearer to the influencing sound but does not become identical with it. This is incomplete assimilation. For instance, if a becomes o due to the influence of u in a succeeding syllable, then a is said to be incompletely assimilated to u.

(i) The Thembu variant -ondlula for -andlula (tidy up bedding on getting up) provides a case of incomplete assimilation. The initial a of -andlula is attracted to the u in the succeeding syllable, and becomes o, which is nearer to, though not identical with, u.

(ii) The tendency in young children to say blandle for sandla (hand) is another case of incomplete assimilation. The a of sandla is attracted to the dl in the succeeding syllable, and becomes nl, which is nearer to dl, though not identical with it.

2.92. In some cases of vowel assimilation, the affected sound glides through the semi-vowel w towards the influencing sound. In Ipondo and Xesibe, for instance, ku thi kwethi (to us). The u of ku is attracted to the i of thi, but instead of precipitately becoming i, as in Elubi and Zulu kithi, the u uses the semi-vowel w as a glide to the i-position. This is complete gliding assimilation.

*also before its derivatives njalo and njewa*
But sometimes the glide is incomplete. For instance, when *molol* (Good day!) becomes *molweni* (mural), the final ṭ of *molol* uses ṭ as a glide towards the ṭ of *ni*, but since the glide stops at ę, making we instead of wi, this is a case of incomplete gliding assimilation.

2.93. In some cases the affected sound succeeds the influencing sound. This is progressive assimilation. For example, the verb-stem *funo* (seal) gives the noun *mifuno* (wild vegetables) and also the variant *mifino*. The change from -funo to -fino is due to the influence of the ṭ of *mi* on the ṭ of *fu*.

But in most cases a sound is attracted to a sound in a succeeding syllable. This is retrogressive assimilation. The children's variant *blandle* for *sandla* (hand) and the corresponding plural *dlandle* for *sandla* are cases of retrogressive assimilation.

2.94. Progressive Assimilation of Vowels.

(1) *u > ī*;

The variant *mifino* for *mifuno* (wild vegetables) has already been cited as an example.

(2) *e > ī*;

The noun *ntsini* is derived from *lma* (cultivate) and should be *ntsimo* (cf. Tsonga: *ntsimo* and Sotho: *tšimo*). But in Xhosa the final ṭ was attracted to the ṭ in the preceding syllable, and became ī. The result is *ntsini*.

(3) *e > o*;

The reciprocal and the applicative species of *-tšho* (say so) are *-tšhono* and *-tšholo* respectively. The regular reciprocal and applicative derivative suffixes are *-ana* and *-ela* respectively. The endings *-no* and *-lo* are due to the influence of the ṭ of *-tšho*. The negative perfect *-tšhongo* is to be explained in the same way.

No instances of incomplete progressive assimilation have been found.

/ 2.95. retrogressive ....
2.95. Retrogressive assimilation of Vowels

(a) Complete retrogressive assimilation

(1) i > u :

(i) The assimilation of the root vowel i of busiku to the u of the succeeding syllable, to give busuku, has already been cited.

(ii) We should expect the reverse species of vimbhu (close up) to be vimbhulula. Actually it is vumbhulula (uncover). Here the root vowel is i is assimilated to the u's in the succeeding syllables.

(iii) The tendency of young children to say i susu for i sinu (stomach) is also an instance of retrogressive assimilation.

(2) a > i:

The noun ntliziyo (heart) is in all probability derived from the verb-stem hlazive (refresh), the root vowel a becoming i by assimilation to the i in the succeeding syllable. Hence ntliziyo instead of ntlaziyo.

(3) u > i:

In Elubi and Zulu, the u of ku- becomes i before the pronominal stems ní, thi and ni, giving kimi (to me), kiti (to us) and kini (to you). This is due to the influence of the i in the succeeding syllable in each case.

In Xhosa, u in some instances behaves in a similar manner under the influence of the i of the locative suffix -ni.

Examples:

i phaphu (the heart) > e phaphini

i gubu (the drum) > e gubini

Even i ndlu becomes e ndlini. The literary form e ndlini does not seem to exist in the spoken language.

(4) u > o:

(i) Frots and Godfrey give both sifombo and sifumblo (jumping) as deverbatives from fomba (pilo, keep up). The form sifombo is a case of assimilation. The stem vowel u is
(ii) It is possible that the noun mthondo (penis) is derived in a similar way from thunda (urinate) from which we also derive mthundo (urine).

(b) Incomplete retrogressive assimilation of vowels

(1) The low vowel, a, when attracted to a high vowel, i or u, in the succeeding syllable, is raised to a mid-vowel.

- a, attracted to i, becomes e:
- a, attracted to u, becomes o

(i) Under the influence of the i of the locative suffix -ni, the final a of a noun-stem becomes e.

Examples
u mzimba (the body) > e mzimbeni (in the body)
u mhlaba (the earth) > e mhlabeni (on the earth)

(ii) Under the influence of root vowel u of a noun-stem, the a of the noun-class prefix ba- becomes e in the following instances:

- basungi (Ugini people) instead of ba•sgungi
- balungu (White people) instead of balungu
- basuthu (Sotho people) instead of basuthu

We also find the variants befundisi for bafundisi (missionaries), and becuphi for fucuphi (detectives).

Due to the same influence, the plural form of mzukulwana (grandchild) in Xhosa is bezukulwana, as against bazukulwana which is found in Xhosa and other dialects.

(iii) Under the influence of i or u as root vowel of a verb-stem, the a of a preceding formative becomes e in certain cases. Thus we find wesiitha as an alternative to wesiitha (he went past), wediula as an alternative to wadiula (he went past), (he started) wesuka as an alternative to wasuka, ndiyenyuka as an alternative to ndiyenyuka (I am going up)

(iv) In some dialects the tendency is to raise a to o under the influence of u.
In the following sets the verbs sula (wipe), thula (take down) and nyula (elect) are used for purposes of illustration:

Xhosa : wasula (he wiped)
Thembhu : vosula
Lpondomise : vosula or yosula

Xhosa : wathula (he took down)
Thembhu : wothula
Lpondomise : wothula or wethula

Xhosa : sanyula (we elected)
Thembhu : sonyula
Lpondomise : sonyula or senvula

The attraction of a to y which results in a or o explains why in most Nguni dialects vowel verbs with y as root vowel maxim commence in a or o.

Examples

-aluca (Xhosa) (look after livestock) appears side by side
with -aluca (Hlubi, Lpondomise variant, Lpondo, Zulu)
and -aluca (Thembhu, Lpondomise variant)

-alula (Xhosa) (separate) appears side by side
with -alula (Hlubi, Lpondomise variant, Zulu variant)
and -ahlula (Thembhu, Lpondomise variant)

-andlula (Xhosa, Zulu variant) (tidy up bedding on getting up)
with -andlula (Lbhso, Hlubi, Lpondo, Lpondomise-Zulu variant)
and -amulula (Thembhu, Lpondomise variant)

-aphula (Xhosa, Zulu variant) (break) side by side
with -aphula (Lbhso, Hlubi, Lpondomise-Zulu variant)
and -aphula (Thembhu, Lpondomise variant)

It is noticeable in the above sets that of all these dialects it is in Xhosa that a is least susceptible to the influence of a root vowel y. In fact, this is one of the most distinctive features of Xhosa, as against the non-literary dialects in the area where Xhosa is used as the literary dialect. Most other Nguni dialects are so susceptible that many verb-stems
with u as root vowel, that originally commenced with consonants, have become vowel verbs, commencing in e or o. A clear instance of this is thula (take down), the reverse of thwala (carry). In almost all Nguni, barring Xhosa, thula has become either ethula or othula, with the infinitive forms u kwethula and u kothula, respectively. Then, by analogy, in Zulu, thwala has become ethwala. This is the explanation also for such Zulu alternatives as funda and efunda (learn), dlyula and edlyula (pass), fuza and efuza (resemble) etc. (See Doke, Zul. Cr. 326-7.)

Themba favours o in such circumstances. Hence, in that dialect we find, for instance, that sula (wipe away), nyula (select) and thula (take down) have become -osula, -onyla and -othula respectively, with the infinitives u kusula, u konyula and u kothula.

(2) The mid-front e, attracted to close back u, is replaced by its back counterpart, o.

In colloquial Xhosa se ufikile (you have arrived already) becomes go ufikile, ma siye kuzingela (let us go hunting) ma siyo kuzingela.

In Hlubi we find so kumyana for se kumyana (it is already dark), bo kukho a madoda for be kukho a madoda (there were some men), and pho.zu for phesu (above)

Here we also find the explanation for the Zulu use of o as alternative to e as locative article before nouns of Classes 11 and 14. The u of prefix lu or bu, whether patent or latent, exerts influence on the locative article (most likely in its original form, a ) and the result is e and o as alternative to each other.

u nyawo (foot) > e lunyaweni, o lunyaweni or o nyaweni
u luthi (stick) > e luthini, o luthini or o thini
u bomi (life) > e bomini, o bomini

(3) The mid-back o, attracted to the close front i, is replaced by its front counterpart e.

Thus, under the influence of the i of the locative suffix -ni, final o of the noun-stem in certain circumstances .......

* See 9. 27. et seq. /circumstances .......
circumstances becomes e.

Examples.

i nkomo (ox) > e nkomeni
i ngubu (blanket) > e ngubeni

2.96. Gliding Assimilation of Vowels.

(a) Complete gliding assimilation.

(i) Under the influence of the vowel i, patent or latent in a noun prefix, the ū of the locative prefix ku may remain ū or become wi.

Examples.

mithetho (laws) > kumithethe or kwimithethe
liswe (country) > kuliswe or kwuliswe
ndlu (house) > kundlu or kwindlu

(ii) Under the influence of the i of the locative suffix -ni, the final ū of a noun stem in some cases becomes wi.

Examples.

umntu (person) > e umntwini
i sihlu (stomach) > e siswini
u lulhu (row) > e lulhlini

It is worth noting too that the plural interjective
terhuni! < terhuli (have mercy) has a dialectal variant
terhwin!; cf. also camagwini! (have mercy!) < camagwino.

It is also worth noting that in Bhaa, Mpondo and
Xesibe, ku becomes kwí before the pronominal stems of the
first and second persons plural.

Bhaa: ku + thaži > kwitshi
Mpondo & Xesibe: ku + thi > kwiti
ku + ni > kwíni

Even in Zulu this form was used at some time. In one of the
texts in the appendix to Grout's Zulu Grammar, kwiti is used
on pages 384 and 385.

/ (b) incomplete .......
(b) Incomplete gliding assimilation.

(i) Under the influence of i of the locative suffix -ni, final o of a noun-stem sometimes becomes we.

**Examples:**

- umlilo (fire) > e mlilweni
- i liso (eye) > e lisweni
- i dololo (knee) > e dolweni

As already noted, the plural form of moloi ("Good day") is molweni.

o may become we under the influence of e too. An example of this is khohlala (cough), which in Mpondomise and Zulu has the variant khwehlala.

(cf. also the Sotho alternatives mangole andre mangole (knees), phon. man:i:le and manw:i:le)

N.B. Gliding assimilation is always retrogressive.

2.97. Progressive Assimilation of Consonants.

No instances of this have been found in Xhosa. But one or two instances from non-literary dialects are worth noting, if only to illustrate the process.

(i) In Hlubi we find hluza, phon dui:ba, as against the more commonly used Nguni hluza (strain). In the Hlubi form z has been assimilated to the hl in the preceding syllable in that lateralization has taken place. But the voicing of the replaced dl is retained. This is incomplete progressive assimilation.

(ii) In Xesibe we find hlinda, phon d'nd:ba, for the more common hlinda (flay). The process here is exactly the same as in (i) above.

2.98. Retrogressive Assimilation of Consonants.

(a) Complete retrogressive assimilation.

The only instance of complete retrogressive assimilation that can be cited is the assimilation of -endza to nie, njalo and njevu, discussed and illustrated in 2.90.
It only remains to be said that this combination is so entrenched that many speakers use -enje and its derivatives regularly before njalo.

**Examples**

yenjani njalo (do so) for yendzani njalo
yenjise njalo (make it behave so) for yendzise njalo

The present writer has even heard a lipondonise preacher say repeatedly, "yenjenjaloni", instead of yenjani njalo or yendzani njalo, as if the verb-stem was -enjenjal. This, in fact, indicates that the preacher no longer recognises two separate words. (Cf. English don<do on, doff<do off, whose past tense forms are donned and doffed respectively)

(b) Incomplete retrogressive assimilation

This occurs with non-syllabic nasals. A non-syllabic nasal immediately preceding another consonant becomes homorganic to that consonant.

- .eclipse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n ) before ( p^1 ) or ( b ) becomes ( m ) :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mp^3uk), ( mpuku ) (mouse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mb)i(a), ( mb)ila ( ()assie)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mb)ini, ( mb)ini ( ()two)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n ) before ( g^2 ) of ( gw ) becomes ( m ) :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mw^3king), ( mw)ene ( ()baboon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mw^3v)u(la), ( mw)ula ( ()rain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n ) before ( t^1 ), ( 3 ), ( t)a, ( t)z, ( t)^(j) (, ( t)^(j) \ becomes ( n ) :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( nt)^(j)om(bi), ( nt)omb(bi) ( ()maiden)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n)^(j)ida(, ( ndoda ) ( ()man)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( nt)^(j)um(pa), ( nt)um(pa) ( ()wart)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n)^(j)us(za), ( nd)use ( ()profit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n)^(j)(a)l(o), ( nt)l(a)lo ( ()life)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n)^(j)o()la(, ( nd)la(be ) ( ()ear)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
N before \( \tilde{b}^i \), \( \tilde{d}^x \), becomes \( \tilde{m} \):

- e.g. \( \text{nti} \tilde{l} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{d}^x \), ntsha (beard)
- \( \text{nti} \tilde{d}^x \), ntia (now)
- \( \text{nti} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{d}^x \), njalo (so)
- \( \text{nti} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{d}^x \tilde{m} \), njuze (champion)

N before \( \tilde{a}^3 \), \( \tilde{a}^\tilde{x} \), becomes \( \tilde{u} \):

- e.g. \( \text{nph} \tilde{e} \tilde{a}^3 \tilde{m} \), ntlayambo (flower)
- \( \text{nph} \tilde{a}^3 \tilde{u} \), nevebo (riches)

N before \( \tilde{b}^k \), \( \tilde{z}^k \), becomes \( \tilde{v} \):

- e.g. \( \text{nk} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{z}^k \tilde{a}^3 \), nkabi (ox)
- \( \text{nk} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{z}^k \tilde{u} \), nkulu (big)
- \( \text{nk} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{z}^k \tilde{s} \), ngomu (soug)

N before a click consonant becomes \( \tilde{u} \). This is due to the fact that a click consonant is a compound the first of whose elements is a velar plosive.

- e.g. \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \), nkeani (good marksman)
- \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{u} \), nkaayi (bald head)
- \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{s} \), nkamo (support)
- \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{a} \), necima (thoughts)
- \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \), ngwaki (difficulty)
- \( \text{n} \tilde{z} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{n} \), necondo (mind)

2.99. Assimilation or Similitude?

Perhaps a better term for what has been described here as "incomplete retrogressive assimilation" in regard to the syllabic nasal would be similitude, a term used by Prof. Daniel Jones in his Outline of English Phonetics, and applied to African languages by Westermann and Ward (see Practical Phonetics, pp 125-7). They argue that to say, for instance, that \( \tilde{n} \) becomes \( \tilde{m} \) before \( \tilde{p} \) (e.g. \( \text{mp} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{m} \tilde{k} \)), \( \tilde{n} \) before \( \tilde{k} \) and \( \tilde{g} \) (e.g. \( \text{yk} \tilde{b}^i \tilde{d}^x \) and \( \text{ng} \tilde{z} \tilde{m} \)) is to assume that a sound-change has actually taken place - from \( \tilde{n} \) to \( \tilde{m} \) in one case, \( \tilde{n} \) to \( \tilde{g} \) in the second, whereas
According to this view, it would be incorrect to say that in such English words as *indiscreet*, *indistinct*, *impolite* and *impossible*, the negative prefix is *in-*, the *n* of which remains *n* before *d*, but becomes *g* before *g* because, even though it can be established that the essential form of the prefix is *in-* (by isolating and prefixing it to a vowel, e.g. *inaccurate*, *inevitable*, *inaudible*, *inordinate*), there is no evidence that *impolite* was ever pronounced *impolite*, or *impossible* ever pronounced *impossible*.

Similarly in Bantu, even though the Class 9 prefix can be proved to be essentially *n(i)*- by prefixing it to vowels, e.g. Sotho *nena* (nact), *nare* (buffalo), *noba* (snake), Igahi *nyama* (< *ni+yama*), *nyathi* (< *ni+yathi*), *nyoka* (< *ni+yoka*), there is no evidence that *nyma* (belly) was ever pronounced *nyma*, that *nygahi* *mpulu* was ever pronounced *mpulu*, and in fact, in regard to Igahi, no evidence that *nyama* (*jqa*yama*), *nyathi* (*jqa*ya*thi*) and *nyoka* (*jqa*ya*oka*) were ever pronounced *niama*, *niathii* and *niaskle* respectively.

This argument is even more convincing when we have to deal with words other than nouns, where there is no evidence of *n* at all, e.g. *mpaempa* *mpempona* (such out), *mpa* *mpala* (pound with stones), *mpa* *mpinta* *mpentevs* (tinkle), *mpa* *mpa* *mpa* (big), *mpa* *mpa*, *mpa* (so big).

2.100. **Absorption?**

In certain circumstances the vowel *a* disappears before an immediately succeeding *d*, *s* or *s*, and a non-syllabic nasal disappears before another nasal, nasal click, or *l*. It is difficult to decide whether the vowel or nasal consonant is elided or absorbed in such circumstances.
From a purely phonetic point of view, we can say that it is elided because there is no trace of it. But, as the illustrations will show, morphological considerations make it difficult for one to accept elision as the process involved here:

1. Vowels

(1) In possessive construction, (i) the a of a basic qualitative concord disappears before the possessive prepositional root a, or before an article a.

**Examples**

a wandila am a+m (my strength)

a makhwenkwa a mxhosa < a+a, mxhosa (Xhosa boys)

(ii) the vowel a of a possessive preposition disappears before (a) the prefix oo- of Class 2a and (b) the initial vowel of a demonstrative.

**Examples**

a masiko okhokho < a+a okhokho (the customs of our forefathers)

i sinchi soli < ea+eli (the mane of this one)

u mhala wolul < wa+olu (the colour of this one)

If the a+a is elided before okhokho, then there is no neither qualitative concord nor possessive preposition in the construction a masiko okhokho. Similarly, in an expression like a mashinga olu fude (the wiles of this tortoise), there is neither concord nor possessive preposition before olu, if the concord (m) and the preposition a are elided (see 17.9. et seq.).

(2) In verbal predicative construction, the vowel a of of a subjectival concord disappears before a, o, or ə .

**Examples**

a befazi bakha < ba+akha i ndlu (the women are building a hut)

a madoda endza < a+a endza nto ni? (what are the men doing?)

a madoda oja < a+oja u mbhona (the men are roasting mealies)
If the a is elided in these examples, then there is no subjectival concord.

2. Consonants

\[ H + \kappa + m, H + m + m \]
\[ H + \mu + n, H + u + \kappa \]
\[ H + \nu + n, H + n + \kappa \]
\[ L + \kappa + n, H + n + n + n \]
\[ H + l + l, H + l + l \]

This occurs in nouns of Class 10 whose singular forms are in Class 11, and in adjectives whose stems commence in \( m, n, n_c, \ldots \). The prefix-nasal disappears before any of these sounds as well as before \( l \) in nouns.

**Examples**

(1u)manyano (union) > (zi)manyano > (zi)manyano (unions)

\[ e^*A + n_e > e \text{ zine} \] (which are four)

\[ e^*A + n_y_e > e \text{ zinye} \] (which are one)

\[ e^*A + n_neinane > e^*C + n_cincana \] (which are small)

(1u)lum (-tongue) > (zi)n+lwimi (tongues)

(1u)lwandle (sea) > (zi)n+lwandle (seas)

If the \( H \) is elided in the above examples, then there is no class prefix.

### 2.101 Transposition or Metathesis

Transposition or metathesis is an interchange of position of sounds or sound-qualities in a word.

In Xhosa we find the following alternative forms:

**1. By interchange of sounds**

(a) Nouns:

- sikilišabe and sikilišabe (common lizard)
- gonggo and gonggo (hollow tin container)
- sukulubhode and sukulubhode (somersault)
- sikilibhode and sikilibhode (somersault)
- tywala and tywala (beer)

/ (b) Verbs .......
(b) Verbs:

- *laqaza* and *galaza* (look about restlessly)
- *letjheza* and *tibolaza* (run about the place)
- *xosa* and *geza* (be loosely fixed)

Cf. also Xhosa *jala* (admonish), *yaleza* (instruct), with Zulu *laya*, *layeza*.

(2) By interchange of quality.

In some instances transposition involves interchange of quality. This has happened in the variants *blanda* for *sandla* (tand), and *sindleka* for *blindzeza* (provide food for expected guest).

In *sandla* becoming *blanda*, *dl* (phon. $\ddot{d}$) transfers its lateral qualities to $g$, but the voicing is not transferred. The result is *hl* (phon. $\ddot{h}$). The $g$ in turn transfers its retractive (non-lateral) qualities to *ndl* (phon. $\ddot{n}d$, and the result is *ndz* (phon. $\ddot{n}dz$). Similar processes are involved in the interchange of qualities in *blindzeza* and *sindleka*.

2.102. A remarkable instance of transposition is found in the Xhosa stem *-dlezana* (Zulu *-dlezena*), on which are based the nouns *mdlezana* (nursing human mother) and *ndlezana* (nursing animal mother). The simple stem is *-zele*, the perfect stem of *zala* (beget, give birth). To *-zele* is suffixed *-ana* (Zulu variant *-ane*). Preativization takes place, and *-zele*-*ana* (variant *-ane*) becomes *-zedlana* (variant *-zedlane*). Transposition takes place, and *-zedlana* or *-zedlane* becomes *-dlezena* or *-dlezena*. Hence the nouns *mdlezana* or *mdlezane*, and *ndlezana* or *ndlezane*.

The derivation is clearer in Bhaca, where no transposition has taken place. The Bhaca form corresponding to *ndlezane* is *ntedlane*-*h-tele-*ane*, *-tele* being the perfect stem of *-tala*, corresponding to Xhosa-Zulu *-zala*. (Cf. Sotho *motosele* meaning "nursing mother". The stem *-toseke* is the perfect stem of *-tsala*, meaning "beget", "give birth").
2.103. Giving psychological reasons for transposition, Reinkef says that the speaker has several sounds in his mind simultaneously, and utters them in the wrong order (Phonology, p. 16). In regard to Xhosa, this explanation receives support when we study the fate of some words of foreign origin. To the Xhosa speaker who knows no English, the foreign sounds have naturally no meaning, and so he confuses them, as shown in the following illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shovel</td>
<td>fotjholo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motor-car</td>
<td>motakari or doomakari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lorry</td>
<td>lori or roli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half-crown</td>
<td>baiqoreni or tsoqalweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowry</td>
<td>laquri or Rawuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macleay</td>
<td>Maklera or Mekrele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Joesfu or Jufese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The illiterate section of the Mlabi in the Herschel district call Bonamevale Bhepsilweyi. Note the complete disappearance of the n in second syllable. Instead of being transferred to the final syllable, it is replaced by y.

2.104. Transposition in young people’s “secret” language

Amongst the youth of both sexes there is a deliberate “secret” language, used especially in the presence of young children who, it is assumed, do not understand this language. The principle underlying its simplest form is that the first syllable of the stem of every key-word in the sentence should be transferred to the final position.

Examples:

(i) mfondini (chum) > undinifo
   ndiblebale (confide in me) > ndiblebale

Hence, mfondini, kha undiblebale > ndinifo, kha undiblebale
   (Chum, please confide in me)

(ii) -gibane (met) > -benedi
   ntombi (girl) > nmbiato
   namhla-nje (to-day) > namnjelela
   -vumile (agreed) > - vilevu

/End...
The most vital word may be further disguised by substituting an altogether different syllable for the first syllable in its transferred position. For instance, in the last sentence the most vital word is indi\textit{v}umile. So the speaker, instead of saying \textit{indimile\textit{v}u} could say \textit{indimil\textit{d}e}.

2,105. But there are more complicated forms of this language. Sometimes whole stems are transferred from one word to another. Here are some examples:

In the simplest form of this language, -\textit{boni\textit{la}} (saw) would be -\textit{ndimboni\textit{la}}. and Nothembha (a girl's name) would be -\textit{nomboth\textit{h}a}. So that -\textit{ndimboni\textit{la}} u Nothembha (I saw Nothembha) would be -\textit{ndimboni\textit{la}} u -\textit{nomboth\textit{h}a}. In a more complicated form -\textit{boni\textit{la}} and -\textit{thembha} undergo no internal change. That is, -\textit{boni\textit{la}} does not become -\textit{ndimboni\textit{la}}. and -\textit{thembha} does not become -\textit{nomboth\textit{h}a}. Instead of this, -\textit{boni\textit{la}} and -\textit{thembha} change places, and -\textit{ndimboni\textit{la}} u -\textit{nomboth\textit{h}a} becomes -\textit{ndimboth\textit{h}a} u -\textit{nomboth\textit{h}a}, which in itself makes sense (I trust Nobona) and therefore puts the uninvited listener off the scent.

According to this principle of transfer of stems, -\textit{ubonisile} u Nothembha (Nothembha asked me to remember her to you) would be -\textit{ndithembh\textit{h}i\textit{la}} u Nobula (Nobula has made a promise).

2,106. An additional note on en\textit{th}em\textit{sis}

In Xhosa, \textit{en\textit{th}em\textit{sis}} occurs when a non-syllabic nasal is prefixed to a word occurring in a fricative consonant. In such circumstances an explosive develops between the nasal and the fricative, changing the latter into an affricate. These changes are fully treated in 2,86.
It is very doubtful if any of the other phenomena that have been regarded by some Bantuists as instances of epenthesis are really so. Some of these have been identified in this treatise as sounds retained in their original positions in certain circumstances and elided in other circumstances, e.g. "intervocalic w" and "prelocative g" and the initial 1 of *zapha* (see 2.60 and 2.63).

The only sounds that *we* claim our attention now in this respect are as follows:

(i) the *yi* - and *yi* - that are found in the imperative mood before monosyllabic and vowel stems respectively.

**Examples**
- *thi* (say) > *vithi* (say thou)
- *azi* (know) > *vazi* (know thou)

Comparative study shows that most, if not all, of the Nguni verb-stems commencing in a vowel originally commenced in a consonant. The word for "divide", for instance, is *-aba* in Xhosa, *ja'ba* in Konde, *kaba* in Kongo, and *gaza* in Swahili. According to Meinhof, the Ur-Bantu initial consonant was *γ*, so that Xhosa *-aba* comes from Ur-Bantu *γaba*. Now, Ur-Bantu *γ* becomes *y* and *k*, among other sound-shiftings in Nguni. If *γ* was the original sound before the initial *a* of *-aba*, the *y* of the imperative *vabal* (divide) is more likely to be a modified form of this Ur-Bantu *γ* than an epenthetic sound. Evidence of this is to be found in Thuthi where "most of the typical examples of this kind of verb begin with the semi-vowels" (Lizaman: *Thuthi*, p. 185) e.g. *wopa* (nurse), which is compared to Nguni *-once* and Sotho *-oka*, and *varola* (divide), which is compared
to Xhosa -ahlula and to Sotho -ehloa. The yi- before monosyllabic verb-stems is probably to be explained in a similar way.

(ii) the -gi- and -g-, which are found in verbal predicatives in present participials before monosyllabic and vowel verbs. These too would seem to be cases of retention and not cases of insertion or empleness. For a full discussion see 12.46.)

2.107. On a lower level, empleness is to be heard in a gibberish that is very popular among adolescents. The principle is to insert ri, re, ro, ru or ru after each syllable in connected speech, the vowel of the inserted syllable being always completely assimilated to the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Examples

\begin{align*}
\text{i ntsaini (laughter)} & \rightarrow \text{iri ntsiri-niri} \\
\text{i zambhe (axe)} & \rightarrow \text{iri zere-mbhere} \\
\text{u tata (my father)} & \rightarrow \text{uru tara-tara} \\
\text{a bantu (people)} & \rightarrow \text{ara bara-nturu} \\
\text{ma nihambhe (let us go)} & \rightarrow \text{mara siri-hara-mbhere} \\
\text{ndiyagoduka (I am going home)} & \rightarrow \text{ndiri-yara-zere-duru-kara}
\end{align*}

2.108. Sometimes ati, ata, ata, ato, er et al. are used instead of ri, re etc. Here too the vowel is assimilated.

Examples

\begin{align*}
\text{ndiza kubabiza (I am going to call them)} & \rightarrow \text{ndisti-zasta-kustu-basta-bisti-zasta} \\
\text{ma bagoduka (let them go home)} & \rightarrow \text{masta basta-gasta-dustu-keste}
\end{align*}

2.109. Syllabic \(\text{u}\) is followed by ru or atu, as the case may be.

Examples

\begin{align*}
\text{andimfuni (I don't want him)} & \rightarrow \text{arandiri-ru-furu-niri, or} \\
\text{u mfazi (woman)} & \rightarrow \text{uru mru-fara-ziri, or} \\
& \rightarrow \text{atu matu-fasta-zisti}
\end{align*}
2.110. Another principle involved in this "language" is tonal dissimilation. The epenthetic ri, re etc. are each on a relatively high tone in comparison with the preceding syllable. All tones are level, irrespective of the original tones. Thus low and high tones alternate all the time.

Examples

a'ra bapha-para-qiri < a bafazi (women)
a're maradoqoreeni < a madoqo (to the men)

With ati, etc etc. the epenthetic syllables are on a low tone, and the original ones on a relatively high tone. Here also the tones are level.

Examples

'asta basta-fasta-diti < a bafazi (women)
'asta nesta-dosta-dasta < a madoqa (men)

2.111. The Syllable

A syllable in Xhosa may consist of a vowel, of a consonant or consonant-combination and a vowel, or of a syllabic m e.g. oo / xa / m (monitor lizards),

a / nga / nga / si (he not knowing me), m / bi / se (call him).

The syllabification of m, as pointed out in 2.75., comes about as a result of vowel elision. It follows from the above that a syllable in Xhosa ordinarily ends in a vowel. In fact, the only other consonants that ever end a syllable in Xhosa are n in the interjective wene! (beware!) (we / n / ne), sh in the interjective shi (hush!), and p in such ideophones as mpr and ntre (of a birding taking to flight, and of a piece of cloth tearing respectively).

2.112. Length

Syllables may be short or long. Short syllables may be extra-short, and long syllables may be extra-long. In the illustrations in this section the following symbols are used to indicate length:

short : no symbol at all ; long : a colon after the last letter of the syllable ; extra-short : the symbol - over the vowel of the syllable ; extra-long : a double colon after the last letter of the syllable.
Where short and long syllables usually occur

(1) Short syllables are usually the following:

(i) Any syllable other than the penultimate in disyllabic or polysyllabic noun, pronoun, qualitative, verb (excluding the concord referred to in (3), (iii)), or adverb.

Examples

makhosazana (princesses)
thi:na (we)
mful:zhane (short)
sobabini (both of us)
baphumise (they have gone out)
sobenda:ni (work)
kani:ndzi (many times)

(ii) Any article (general or locative), relative connective, or preposition, provided that the word it precedes is not monosyllabic.

Examples

i siboina (heaven)
emfima (in the clouds)
a bakhosyo (those who are present)
nga maindla (with strength)
kulo nina (to his mother's people's)

(2) Extra-short syllables are usually found in ideophones indicating quick movement, especially trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic ones.

Examples

thú (of appearing suddenly)
thbó:ni (of disappearing quickly)
gówi: (of ducking smartly)
mhewili (of diving into water suddenly)
a:kili (of lying quickly on one's back)
gändá: (of galloping smartly on hard road)
thibótjili (of slipping or sliding away)
dvulukudzu (of suddenly bouncing in)
(3) **Long syllables** are usually the following: -

(i) any penultimate syllable in a disyllabic or polysyllabic noun, pronoun, qualificative, verb, or adverb. See examples in (i), (i).

(ii) any article (general or locative), relative monosyllabic connective or preposition preceding a monosyllabic word.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i: ndlu</td>
<td>(house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur: ma</td>
<td>(my mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er: ndle</td>
<td>(in the veld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er: ntia</td>
<td>(in the upper part)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er: nde</td>
<td>(one that is long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er: ntja</td>
<td>(one that is fresh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nge: nja</td>
<td>(concerning a dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwa: Edso</td>
<td>(at Edso's house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noi: ma</td>
<td>(together with my mother)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) the subjectival concord of the remote past indicative, non-specific aspect, in a non-penultimate position.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba:buya</td>
<td>(they returned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saim:xele:la</td>
<td>(we told him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za:fi:ka</td>
<td>(they arrived)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) **Extra-long syllables** are usually the following: -

(i) the subjectival concord of the remote past indicative, non-specific aspect, in a penultimate syllable, that is, before a monosyllabic verb-stem.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa:ifa</td>
<td>(he died)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:za</td>
<td>(they came)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda:lya</td>
<td>(I went)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) the copulative verb-stem -ba, with b elided, in the commentative mood before a monosyllabic complement.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nda:z Kho</td>
<td>(I was present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa: mbhi</td>
<td>(it was bad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaa: nde</td>
<td>(how long they are!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) in ideophones, especially monosyllabic ones indicating unbroken continuity.

**Examples**

nkxwe: (of an endless din)

sail: (of scattering in all directions)

tyui: (of moving along steadily in an unbroken column in an open place)

dzui: (of making a bee-line)

njöööösie: (of sliding along like a shooting star)

2.114. Shifting and change of length

The penultimate syllable of a sense-group is normally long. If the last word of the sense-group is disyllabic or polysyllabic, its penultimate syllable is normally long. (This does not apply to ideophones). If the last word is a monosyllable, the final syllable of the preceding word in the sense-group is long. If an extra syllable is added at the end, length shifts to the new penultimate syllable. (This does not apply to demonstratives)

**Examples**

a madoña (men) and a madoñana (young men)
saboña (we saw) and sabonaña (we saw each other)
i njia (a dog) and i njaina (a puppy)

kwa: Ndzo (at Ndzo's) and kwa Ndzolo (at Ndzolo's)

As will be shown in the section on stress, it is this shifting of length that has been mistaken for the shifting of stress by most Bantuists.

2.115. Ideophones follow entirely different rules. The length of the syllables in an ideophone is usually related to the meaning. Hence those indicating quick movement consist of extra-short syllables, e.g. tyibili (of slipping), kwhyhùhù (of rousing oneself quickly), while those indicating uninterrupted continuity consist of extra-long syllables, e.g. nkxwe: (of an endless din), irrespective of the position of the syllable.
2.116. Tri-positional demonstratives of the first and second positional types in the strong classes are
disyllabic, and the penultimate syllable is long.
e.g. aiba (these), aibo (those), orlu (this one)
The addition of an extra syllable to a first positional type,
to form a third positional type, does not alter the length
of the first syllable.

Examples
aiba (these) > aibaya (yonder ones)
orlu (this one) > oriluya (yonder one)

The contracted forms of the second and third positional types
in the weak classes are monosyllabic, and their final vowel
is long. If the noun qualified by the demonstrative is
monosyllabic, the vowel of the demonstrative is extra-long.

Examples
lot nkwe:nkwe (that boy)
isa mi:thi (yonder trees)
lot: nje (that dog)
isa: ndlu (yonder hut)

2.117. Length, Position and Meaning

In discussing length, words have so far been
considered either in isolation or in small sense-groups. It
must now be added that length also depends on the position
of the word in the sentence, and on the meaning of the whole
expression.

(1) The penultimate syllable is long before a pause
normal
in the middle of a statement, and extra-long at the end of the
statement.

Examples
U kuba bahambhi;le, bahambhe ndingekuwisi:ki
(If they have gone, they left before I woke up)
"U phlabo e phlaboeni; u thuthu e luthuthwini : u thuli
e luthulisi:ni".
(Earth to earth; ashes to ashes; dust to dust)
(ii) If there is an abnormal pause in the middle of a statement or question, due to hesitation or to deliberate suspense for rhetorical purposes, the final, and not the penultimate syllable, is long. For instance, we ordinarily say kanene (by the way), kaloku (as you should know). But if a speaker wants to ask a question, and is not quite sure how to formulate it, he says: kanene: .... kanene: (by the way .... by the way). Similarly, a speaker who wants to play for time in making a statement, says: kaloku: .... kaloku: (as you should know .... as you should know).

Lengthening of the final syllable in order to hold the audience in suspense is very noticeable in the introductions to the diving scenes in IGDIRA LUKULULISA and ILKUNDIA YE-SANUHE (Columbia Gram Record AR 56-7), in which Mkhayi plays the part of the diviner:

igule: .... kakhulu (it became ill .... very much so)
kuyiwe: ... kwa baziyiyo (to go to .... those who know)
luvola: .... phesheya kwa Shixini (coming from .... the other side of the Shixini River)
ufelwe: ...lili xhaka-xhaka e likhulu le nkab' e nkotino (he lost by death ............ a huge ox)

In the middle of one of these divining scenes the diviner, playing for time, quite noticeably says: bafondini: .... instead of bafondini.
(Cf. Tucker, Suto-Chuana, Chapter XIII, § 260)

2.116. **Exaggerated Length**

Sometimes length is exaggerated to indicate length of time or distance. In this way long syllables are made extra-long, or even extra-extra-long.

**Examples**

(F.B. A triple colon is used to indicate especially-long syllable)

kuda:ile (long ago) > kudai:la (very long ago)
kuiide (far away) > ku:ide (very far away)
nge:iphaya (beyond) > nge:iphaya (far beyond)
Note how greatly Mbhayi exaggerates the length of the at of o kudala in the praise-poem, A. NGANGCHILABA! (Columbia Gram Record A360):

ifuzis' o kudala:il' o kuka Thalo

(he takes after the old, old manner of Thalo)

With tri-positional demonstratives of the third positional type even the final syllable may have exaggerated length, to indicate distance from the speaker and the listener.

Examples

o:lu:ya (yonder one) > o:lu:ya: (that one yonder - far)
e:zi:ya (yonder ones) > e:zi:ya: (yonder ones - far away)
r:ha:ya (over there) > phavai: (over yonder - far away)

The association of vowel length with length of time and space explains the length of the vowel of the subjective concord in the indicative mood, non-specific aspect, remote past tense. In fact, long as it is already, speakers often exaggerate its length for effect:

e:lo siko la:ifa: (that custom died out, long ago)

A Xhosan folktale opens as follows:

ya:iti:th' i ntsomi or kwai:iti: ke kaloku nge nt:soni

(so went a folktale, or it so happened according to some folktale)

As many of the above examples show, exaggerated vowel length is possible even if the word in which the vowel occurs is not final in a sentence. In fact, in the last examples it occurs in the very first syllable of the first word in the sentence.

Stress

In ordinary conversation stress is not very marked. But in forceful speech it is easily noticeable because, in addition to exaggerating stress in his speech, the speaker often accompanies the prominently stressed syllable of the most important word with a gesture. The good teller of tales, the preacher (especially of the kind commonly seen in the streets in urban locations on Sundays), the public orator.
the tribal bard, the urban location virage - all these
types are useful to anyone who studies the nature of stress
in a Bantu language, because they use gestures very
liberally, and such gestures accompany the prominently
stressed syllables in the most important words. The street
preacher who stands erect and holds a stick parallel to his
body (one end of the stick clenched in his right hand, while
the other end rests on the ground) occasionally lifts the
stick from the ground and then brings it down and digs into
it into the ground simultaneously with the prominently stressed
syllable of the word he wants to emphasize. The artistic
speaker, with or without gestures, often repeats certain words
for effect, and in such repetition the syllable on which
the prominent stress falls is unmistakable. The tribal bard
occasionally points, counterfeits blows, stabbing the air with
his spear, accompanying the prominently stressed syllables of
particular words. The virage standing just outside her gate,
arms akimbo, and giving her neighbour a good telling off, wags
her head and sometimes even sways her whole body vigorously,
and each wag of the head, each of the body, accompanies the
prominently stressed syllable in a word that she wants to
drive home.

2.120. Most Bantuists hold the view that the main
stress in a Bantu word falls on the penultimate syllable, and
that if the addition of a suffixal formative results in the
addition of an extra syllable or syllables, the main stress
moves forward to the new penultimate syllable. But after
investigating the nature of stress in Xhosa under all the
conditions enumerated above, after checking up on these, and
after listening over and over again to Columbia Gramophone
Recordings of some of Qhaya's praise-poems, recited by
Qhaya himself, the present writer has come to the conclusion
that this widely-accepted view is mistaken. The main stress
is not necessarily on the penultimate syllable, nor does it
shift one way or another with the addition or curtailment of
diy syllable or syllables.

2.121. On this subject the findings of the present
writer are as follows:—

(1) In ordinary speech stress is seldom prominent. But
in emotional speech it becomes prominent occurring on
some syllable occurring in a substantival, qualificative,
verbal, ideophonic or interjective root, irrespective of the
position of the syllable in the word. Thus, if the root is
-khul- (great), the main stress is on khul in sikhulu and
ukulu (both of which may be nouns or adjectives), in the
diminutive sibilant ukulwana (adjective), in the augmentative
ukulukazi (adjective), in the verb-stems khula (grow big)
and kuulela (overwhelm), and in the adverb ukhulu (greatly).
If the root is ndl- of the ideophone ndi (of a low rumbling
sound), the main stress falls on ndi in the ideophone as well
as in the de-ideophonic noun sani (sound) and in the
de-ideophonic verb-stem ndile (rumble). If the root is -y-
on which the verb-stem -va (hear, feel) is based, the main
stress will fall on the syllable in which y occurs in the
infinitive u kuvu (to hear, feel), in the imperative mood,
viva and vivani, in the verbal derivatives kuyavakala (it is
understandable) and kuyavakalwa (he was moved), in the
derivative nouns lvu (feeling, opinion) and lvulwano
(sympathy), and in the predicative interjective goz'uvela
(you'll never hear of such a thing!)

(2) In vocal verbs, prominent stress falls on the
second syllable of the verb-stem.

Examples

wayené (he spoilt it)
sónakalwelwe (things have gone wrong with us)
wazonqamola (he dominated them)
wenzakalele (he is hurt)
ndothukile (I was startled)
(3) In monosyllabic verbs functioning as independent predicatives, stress is prominent on the root syllable, but in monosyllabic verbs subsidiary predicative function, i.e. tense-forming predication, stress is relatively less prominent.

**Examples**

*Ndívá vonka i mhlá* (I go there every day)

*Ndívá kutjho* (I shall say so)

*Andizi* (I am not coming)

*Af Andizi kumxélela* (I am not going to tell him)

(4) In ideophones, prominent stress is always on the first syllable.

**Examples**

*Thu* (of suddenly appearing)

*Rebu* (of chipping off, of stepping aside)

*Bháda* (of lying flat, face down)

*Biya* (of being in a trance)

*Sóle* (of being calm)

*Balulu* (of opening eyes weakly in a semi-conscious state)

*Mókenxé* (of being dejected)

*Cikili* (of turning a somersault)

*Bimphillili* (of swallowing)

*Belakacu* (of turning completely over)

(5) Since articles, demonstratives of emphasis and relative connectives can never be key-words, it follows that they do not ordinarily bear prominent stress. But if any of these parts of speech come immediately after a key-word whose root vowel is elided, so that the root consonant of the key-word and the article or demonstrative of emphasis or relative connective constitute a single syllable, the prominent stress falls on the article or demonstrative of emphasis or connective.

**Examples**

*Mdaz' u vhló* (I know your father) < *Mdazí u vhló*

*Yitvi' ó kwakhó* (Eat your own) < *Yitvó ó kwakhó*

*u kulwó' ó kubí* (bad fighting) < *u kulwá' ó kubí*
123.

Examples cont.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vily} & \ i \ \text{sidóda} \ (\text{fight like a man}) & \text{vily} & \ i \ \text{sidóda} \\
\text{iity} & \ o \ \text{kwakhó}, \ \text{ndity} & \ o \ \text{kwani} \ (\text{eat yours and I eat mine}) & \text{vily} & \ o \ \text{kwakhó}, \ \text{ndity} & \ o \ \text{kwani} \\
\text{i ntw} & \ \text{é nkúlu} \ (\text{a big thing}) & \text{i ntó} & \ \text{é nkúlu}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) But in tri-positional demonstratives, which include the general articles, the stress is on the first syllable, because the article is the root.

Examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aba}, \ \text{éi}, \ \text{dai}, \ \text{du}, \ \text{épha}, \\
\text{ézo}, \ \text{áiya}, \ \text{ókuva}, \ \text{óbhya}
\end{align*}
\]

(7) A preposition is never a key-word, therefore it does not bear stress. But by eliding its own vowel it is able to be part of a root syllable bearing prominent stress.

Examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngóiku}, \ \text{ngóko}, \ \text{ngókuva} & \text{ ngaoko} \ etc. \\
\text{nézi}, \ \text{nózo}, \ \text{néziya} & \text{ nga + ezi} \ etc. \\
\text{ngépha}, \ \text{ngépho}, \ \text{ngéphaya} & \text{ nga + asha} \ etc.
\end{align*}
\]

(8) Even in key-words prominent stress is relative.

Thus, for instance, in a phrase consisting of a demonstrative and a noun without an article, stress is more prominent on the root syllable of the noun than on the demonstrative, e.g. \text{là nkómo}.

But if the demonstrative stands alone, functioning substantivally, stress is prominent. e.g. \text{Ndifuna là} (I want this one), \text{wa Ndifuna là i nkómo}.

2.122. The following illustrations were carefully selected over a long period under the conditions described in 2.119, and a great deal of checking up has been done with speakers of the language. These were asked to read them over silently first. Then the appropriate atmosphere was created by describing to the reader the circumstances in which each utterance was made. (This was done by the present writer without reading the utterances himself). Then the readers were asked to imagine the gestures that would accompany the utterances and make them.
The readers did not all make a gesture on all the syllables as marked in the present copy. But they all stressed the same syllables, and any gesture that was made accompanied prominent stress on a syllable as marked hereunder:

\* made \* e manjé (the man being this number — indicated with the fingers)

Uthetha nge mecinezelo! (You talk of oppression!)

u netihékatho! (never!)

Namsikicicelo! (He pressed him down)

Siya kulazulwa ngalo mthákazana? (Are we to be ruled by this newly-wed of a woman?)

Ndiza kumlungise! (I am going to fix him up)

dabafundo na nabafundisakazi (male and female teachers)

nakhobazan' e bokakileyo! (Honourable princesses!)

bafazi bo kuthándaza! (woman of prayer)

"U bkholu lwo ntombi" ase nyanjeni

O lwaningaculwa 'e nkundeni kwa Sireyali"

( The light-brown son of the daughter of Judea who lay stretched out, stark naked in the courtyard of the house of Israel)

Batyholana, batyhólaná, batyholana, baphóbela ngo kumdzaneloza.

(They accused each other, and accused each other, and accused each other, and ended up by suing each other)

Lemhlondeza, lemhlondeza. (He humbled and hosed)

Bajijiana, bajijiana, bajijiana. (They wrestled, and wrestled and wrestled)

Našébaza, našébaza, našébaza. (They hispered and hispered and hispered)

Wandókelela, wawočélela, wawoqokolisa. (He collected them, and collected them, and collected them)

Wawalungacelenisa, wawalungacelenisa, wawalungacelenisa.

(He straightened them out and straightened them out and straightened them out).

*Christ, by a street preacher*
2.123. The following extracts come from the recordings of Nqhayi's praise-poems, as recited by himself:

"I British e nkulu e ngatifhonyela lango!

Iqonyamal ii lwandle yazongazela,

Yacwe'we' i milambilhayikhouthulula,

Yaphophethi i sizwana yanzizithulula!"

(Great Britain on whom the sun never sets!

She overpowered the seas and controlled them,

She scraped the rivers and licked them dry,

She blew off the little nations and wiped them out)

"I nkosi ya kwa Gcaleka yi ncabakazi e nkulu,

Iya'sana ne shantl lasese mlango."

(The chief of Gcalekaland is a great, great mystery,

He resembles the fabulous snake of the waters)

'Yiz' idubule mihla kulinawo.

(He will fire on the day of fighting)

Kwaathi niyi' e lonti mini wafika?'

(What happened in East London the day he arrived?)

'Edoo ntjoe, ntjobololo.

(I go sliding, sliding away)

'Hlaze bothuke, babuyela kwa se nya.'

(Lest they panic and reverse)

'A mandlambh! a matjhab! Huy! a mandlambh! a matjhab!'"

(The Edlambees reborn! Hail to the Edlambees reborn!

'Egu banin' o ngevange?

Egu banin' o ngevange! u kubizithwala izilwane kwa Edlambha?'

('Who has not heard?

Who has not heard that the Pleiades shine over Edlambhe's land?"

".... goluuka, Makinana, ufu! u vuhlila?

(You are dead, Makinana! Your father is dead)

"Waa tyuku u Ndluzodaka""

(In a long unbroken went Ndluzodaka)
"Hivé kwébélana na msSwázi na batjópi na náTjángana"
(Yo will share with the Swazi, the Chopi and the Liangana)
"Gizá kubambhána nge silímela ke thina mabándla ka Jhálo,
Yo na nkwenkwez' inkúlu,
Kubá vi nkwenkwezi yo kubála i minyáka,
Yo kubála i minyáka yo budoá,
Yo kubála i minyáka yo budoá,
I' minyáka ve budoá!
Ncincillílíli!

(We will share the Pleiades, then, we peoples of Tholo -
The greatest of the stars,
For it is the star for reckoning the years,
For reckoning the years of manhood,
For reckoning the years of manhood,
The years of manhood!
I glide away!)

It should be noted that in the last line but one, which
is really the last line of the poem, the poet lays prominent
stress not only on the root syllables of the key-words, but
also on an article, on a preposition, and on the final syllable
of the last word. This is some kind of licence that orators
occasionally give themselves. The present writer has heard a
Sotho orator, D. Loshoo, not only exaggerate the length of
the penultimate syllable but also stress the final syllable as
well as the penultimate in the word lenvalo (marriage):

Sothó o sèchába ke lenvaló (The foundation of a
nation is marriage)

Concluding remarks

2.124. The experiment described in 2.122. was carried out
for Southern Sotho with a Sotho speaker. He was asked to read
a passage in Pitso na Linonyana, and to make gestures just as
a speaker in a Sotho tribal court would do. This confirmed the
present writer’s findings on stress. In Sotho too prominent
stress fall on the root syllable.

2.125. The following are some of the reasons why many Bantuists

/ think .......
think that prominent stress is on the penultimate syllable are not difficult to find:

(1) The majority of basic stems in Bantu are disyllabic, and the penultimate syllable is the root syllable. (2) Penultimate syllables are made prominent by length, and this is often mistaken for or confused with prominent stress (e.g., all Doke's examples in Fut. Oke, 46). (3) Final syllables usually have a low tone, and their vowels are often whispered, so that the main stress is not perceived when it falls on the final syllable. (Doke: ut swamp.) (4) High tone is often mistaken for prominent stress, for instance, the high tone on the final /u/ of the third positional type of the demonstrative a. siyaha (yonder one), naphahaka (beyond), and that on the final /u/ of the short perfect stem of the verb, e.g., -INUEU, -bede

(5.22) In ideophones stress is relatively prominent even in ordinary speech, and Doke was able to discover that the main stress is on the first syllable, in comparison with other verbs and nouns, de-ideophonic verbs and nouns derived therefrom bring out the main stress clearly on the first syllable, e.g., nkolaka (break), nankolaka (swallow), cheka (of breaking) guncu (turn round), nerguuta (reform), kowu (of turning round)

Tone 127. The study of tone in Xhosa is an intricate subject requiring a full-blown treatise by itself, at this stage the present writer can only indicate some of the outstanding features of which he is aware, from reading what others have said and from his own observation.

TONES

2.128. There are three tones or families of tones in Xhosa:

(1) The high level tones, indicated by the mark — over the first syllable of each

such (get away), sala (remain), sala (drink), phuma (go out)

vuka (wake up), sala (begot), sala (marry), dunu (tasteless)

(2) The high-falling tones, indicated by the mark / over the first syllable of each word:
128.

E.g. *senga* (milk), *qolo* (ridge), *thetha* (speak), *xoka* (lie),
*zinge* (persistence), *gqolo* (miser), *dela* (despise), *gxotha* (expel)

(3) **The low level toneme.** This is indicated in the
illustrations in (1) and (2) by the mark _ below the second
syllable of each word.

**Phone and Tone.**

2.129. There is a close relation between phone and tone.

Syllables commencing in voiced consonants tend to have a lower
tone than those commencing in voiceless sounds. Thus in the
high level toneme, syllables commencing in voiced sounds
usually belong to a lower member of the family of tones than
those commencing in voiceless sounds. To illustrate this we
employ the words in 2.128. (1) and (2):

The *vu* of *vûka* commences lower than the *su* of *sûka*,
the *sa* of *sâla* than the *se* of *sâla*, the *se* of *sêka*
than the *se* of *sêla*, the *phu* of *phuma* than the *du* of *dûma*.
Similarly in the high-falling toneme the *zi* of *zinge* commences lower
than the *se* of *senge* etc., and in the low level toneme, the
*nga* of *zinge* is lower than the *tha* of *gxotha*. This is one of
several rules that determine the number of members in a toneme.
Beach recognises ten tones in Xhosa, five in the high level
toneme, two in the high-falling and three in the low level.
(op. cit. p.95)

**Tone Pattern.**

2.130. Every syllable in a word has tone. The succession
of tones in a word is the **tone pattern** of that word. Thus the
tone pattern of each of the words in 2.127. (1) is high-low, and
the tone pattern of each word in (2) is high falling-low.

/the influence of ......
The Influence of Suffixal Formatives on Tone.

2.131. Tone pattern may be influenced by the addition of a suffixal formative. This happens when -kazi is suffixed to nouns following certain patterns.

(1) Compare the following:

- besuthu (Sotho people)  besuthukazi (Sotho women)
- batemhhu (Thembu people)  batembhukazi (Thembu women)
- manene (gentlemen)  manenekazi (ladies)
- makhogi (men of royal blood)  makhosikazi (matrons)

The final syllable which is of low level tone without -kazi becomes high level when -kazi is suffixed, and the previous syllable changes from high falling to low level.

(2) But when preceded by two or more successive low level tones, -kazi has no effect.

Examples.

- maswazi (Swazi people)  maswazikazi (Swazi women)
- ndlovu (elephant)  ndlovukazi (cow elephant)
- bélungu (White people)  belungukazi (white women)
- madoda (men)  madodakazi (husband's sisters)
- milambho (rivers)  milambhokazi (great rivers)
- ngonyama (lion)  ngonyamakazi (lioness)

But see 2.133. below.

(3) The suffix -ni of the imperative plural is always of low level tone and immediately preceded by the tone pattern low-high. If this tone pattern is already low-high, it is not affected by the suffixing of -ni, but any other tone pattern undergoes readjustment, so that -ni is immediately preceded by the pattern low-high.

Examples.

- yuma (agree)  yumanini
- qhuba (drive)  qhubanini
- liila (cry)  liilani
- vula (open)  vulani

/ phuma ....
examples cont.

phuma (go out) phumani
sela (drink) selani
vuka (wake up) vukan
manda (to intervene) manda
seng (milk) sengani
thetha (speak) thethani
khula (grow) khulani
pema (stop) pemeni

(4) In the imperative mood, trisyllable verb-stems have the tone pattern low-high, e.g., khumbula (remember), thanda (pray), and quadrisyllabic ones have the tone pattern low-low-high-low e.g., hlangabega (go meet), khukhumala (be inflated). But under the influence of suffix -ni there is a succession of low level tones until we get to the final syllable which is raised to high level before -ni.

Examples.

| Khumbula (remember) | Khumbulani |
| Thanda (pray) | Thandani |
| Phuthuma (go fetch) | Phuthumani |
| Sondela (come near) | Sondani |
| Hlangabega (go meet) | Hlangabegani |
| Khukhumala (be inflated) | Khukhumalani |
| Buyakeza (compensate) | Buyakezani |

(5) The same phenomenon is noticeable in the derivation of verbs from ideophones by means of -ka which is suffixed to disyllables and substituted for the final syllable in quadrisyllables. Irrespective of the original tone pattern, disyllabic ideophonic verbs have the tone pattern low-high before -ka, and -ka itself has a low level tone.

Examples.

gabhu (bursting) gabhuka
cebu (chipping off) cebuka
cithi (scattering) cithi
gethu (of leaning back) gethuka

/quadrasyllabic/
Quadrasyllabic ideophones always have the tone pattern low-low-low-low. When -ka is substituted for the final syllable -ka is of low tone, but the syllable before it is high level.

Examples:
- sombhululu (unwinding)  
- tyibili (sliding)  
- gengqelele (rolling along)  

Tonal Influence of Monosyllabic Demonstratives.

Monosyllabic demonstratives (the general article and the first positional type of the tri-positional demonstrative) have tonal influence on nouns.

In some cases they effect dissimilation in tone between the prefix and the first syllable of the stem, and they themselves are assimilated to the first syllable in tone.

Examples.

(a) mntu (person)  
  bantu (people)  
  mzi (homestead)  
  mizi (homesteads)  
  lithe (stone)  
  mathe (stones)  
  sizwe (tribe)  

Pattern: low-high-low

(b) mf (deceased one)  
  bafi (ones)  
  mzi (burlush)  
  misi (burlushes)  
  liswi (voice)  
  maswi (voices)  
  sifo (disease)  

Pattern: high-low-high

(c) Mndlambe (follower of)  

Pattern: /maMndlambe/
Examples cont.

ma Ndiambe (followers of) a maNdiambe la maNdiambe
Ndiambe

m'ngqika (follower of ngqika) u m'ngqika lo m'ngqika
shlangu (shoe) i shlangu
zidalwa (creatures) i zidalwa

Pattern: low-high-low-high

(d) mfundisi (teacher) u mfundisi lo mfundisi
bafundisi (teachers) a bafundisi
mtjhayelo (broom) u mtjhayelo lo mtjhayelo
mitjhayelo (brooms) i mitjhayelo le mitjhayelo

Pattern: high-low-high-low-low

In the above illustrations, the demonstratives exert such influence that low and high tones alternate. In (d) there is an odd syllable which has a low tone because of its final position. The starting point is tonal dissimilation between demonstrative and prefix.

2.133. But if the noun consists of four or five syllables all on low level tones, there is no tonal dissimilation between the demonstrative and the prefix. Instead of that, a perfect symmetry of tones is formed: low-low-high-low-low. Before quadrisyllables the demonstrative participates in the symmetry, but before quinquasyllables it becomes an odd preceding the symmetry: (low)-low-high-low-low.

Examples.

madodana (young men) a madodana la madodana
silimela (pleiades) i silimela
makhoboka (slaves) a makhoboka la makhoboka
babingaleli (priests) a babingaleli
siphithi-phithi (brawl) i siphithi-phithi
mahlokondiha (throng) amahlokondiha la mahlokondiha

2.134. It was noted in 2.131 (2) that -kazi as a suffix exerts no tonal influence on two or more successive low level tones. Since these nouns have the tone pattern just described they conform to the rule in 2.133.

/maswazikazi
The locative article 8, when 'admissible, exerts the same influence on the other 'admissible demonstrative.

Examples:

raudon (to any one) a raudon (to the one)

buklobol (to anyavery) a buklobol (to theavery)

2.134. The locative prefix bu- exerts the same influence.

Examples:

raudon (young one) bu-raudon (to the young one)

buklobol (lame man) bu-buklobol (to the lame)

2.137. 'Admissible demonstratives of the first positional type and demonstratives of the second positional type, fall and connected forms, exert no such influence.

Examples:

debuklobol debu debuklobol

debuklobol debu debuklobol

2.150. One might be led to think that, whatever the rule is, it has something to do with the number of syllables in the element preceding the noun, but this suggestion proves sterile when tested with the propositions. A proposition by itself exerts no influence at all. It is only when an article merges with a proposition that influence is exerted. For purposes of illustration, we use the proposition pre(() by means of, about, concerning etc.). In the first example in each pair it is seen written alone before the noun, and in the second it has merged with the article:
The rule has nothing to do with the nature of the sounds of the preceding element either, because if we try the copula, nga, which is etymologically related to the article but phonetically related to the preposition nga, we find that it exerts the same influence as the article.

Examples.

nga maswangkazi (it is Swazi women)
nga madodane (it is young men)
nga belungukazi (it is white women)

But the associative preposition na (together with) and all the possessive prepositions, like the nga preposition nga, exert no influence by themselves.

Examples.

na maswangkazi (with any Swazi women)
za maswangkazi (with Swazi women) na < na+a any
(Zimbo) za belungukazi (of/white women)
(i zimbo) za belungukazi (of white women) za < za+a

Tonal Assimilation.

2.140. Tone is attracted by neighbouring tones. A low tone immediately succeeding a high tone may be attracted to it, just as a low vowel is attracted to a high vowel. The result is that the low tone is raised to a higher member of its own toneme. This higher member may, in fact, considered absolutely, be as high as a member of a high toneme. For example, the suffix kazi in belungukazi has two low level tones. But in a belungkazi, the tone of ka, though belonging to / the low level toneme, is much higher than that of ka in belungukazi, and it glides down to the gi level. This is due to the influence of the preceding high tone.

/ This is ....
This is particularly noticeable when a demonstrative of the third positional type, whose final syllable has a high tone, precedes any of the quadrisyllabic or quinquisyllabic nouns in 2.135. These demonstratives exert influence like the monosyllabic ones. But, due to the influence of the high tone of the final syllable, the low tones of the syllables immediately succeeding the demonstrative are much higher than the low tones at the other end. In absolute pitch they are in some cases as high as the high level tones. This happens where the syllable on which the high tone falls commences in a voiced consonant, e.g. ้ or зы. Thus, in lavawadodane, (those young men) absolute pitch on ้ is about the same as that on ้ though tone on ้ belongs to the low level toneme and the tone on ้ belongs to the high level toneme. In abaya balungukazi (those white women) the absolute pitch on ้ is about as high as that on ้ and higher than that on the following ้. If the toneme on the successive syllables of the phrase abaya balungukazi were marked without reference to toneme, the result would be something like this:–

Similarly, a high tone succeeding a low tone is slightly lowered. Thus the high tone on the ้ of abaya (those yonder) is lower than the tone on the ้ of phaya (over yonder), though they both belong to the high level toneme, because the tone on the ้ of abaya is influenced by the low level tone on the preceding ้.

2.141. As abaya balungukazi shows, tonal assimilation occurs between neighbouring tones not only within the same word but in adjacent words. A Xhosa speaker will easily recognise the difference in absolute pitch between Tjha's in Tjhawe in the following expressions:

BOTSA, Tjhawe! (Hail, Tjhawe!)
ANDAZI, Tjhawe! (I don't know, Tjhawe!)

/in the second ....
In the second expression the high level tone on Tjha is lower than the high level tone on the Tjha of the first expression due to the influence of the low tone on gi.

**Semantic Tone.**

2.142. Tone has semantic significance in Xhosa. Words alike in all other respects, but differing in tone, are different in meaning. (Weitmann & Ward, p. 124)

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa (second expression)</th>
<th>Xhosa (first expression)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ü msegendzi</td>
<td>ü msegendzi (work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i shlahle</td>
<td>i shlahle (wrist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bona</td>
<td>bona (see)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i nene</td>
<td>i nene (gentleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü kusinda</td>
<td>ü kusinda (to smear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i mizi</td>
<td>i mizi (bulrushes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntactical Tone.**

2.143. In numerous cases grammatical form and function are indicated by tone alone.

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa (second expression)</th>
<th>Xhosa (first expression)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngama</td>
<td>ngama (at some distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dala</td>
<td>dala (aside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunkawu</td>
<td>bunkawu (in monkey fashion)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

- Uthethe kakuhle (you spoke well)
- Uthethe kakuhle (may you speak well)
- Üvakona (he sees)
- Üvakona (you see)
- Įnkulu (it is big)
- Įnkulu (senior son)
- Nge madoda (it is men)
- Nge madoda (about men)

*NB.* Although I have used the Beach system of tone-marking in this section, I think Bennie's is more convenient for ordinary practical purposes. I have therefore used that system elsewhere in this treatise, whenever I found it necessary to refer to tone.
Chapter 3

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

3.1. A study of the grammatical structure of Xhosa involves a study of words, their interrelation and the forms they assume in such interrelation as media of thought-expression. The work done by any word in a sentence is known as its grammatical function. Words fall into different groups according to their grammatical function, and such groups are known as parts of speech.

Parts of Speech

3.2. In Xhosa there are seven classes of parts of speech, as follows:

(1) **Substantives**: indicating things, concrete or abstract.
(2) **Qualificatives**: describing the qualities of substantives.
(3) **Predicatives**: indicating actions, processes, states of being and conditions, performed or undergone by the things or concepts denoted by the substantives.
(4) **Descriptives**: describing the qualities of substantives, the qualities and circumstances of actions or states of being indicated by predicatives, or the qualities of other descriptives.
(5) **Propositionals**: defining the relation of a substantive to some other word or words.
(6) **Conjunctives**: joining words or phrases or clauses together.
(7) **Interjectives**: isolated words that have no grammatical bearing on the rest of the sentence and are able to make, express a complete thought by themselves.

3.3. Meaning, form and function are to a large extent bound together in Xhosa. It is therefore possible to sub-divide the classes of parts of speech in a manner that in general harmonizes with the considerations of meaning, form and function. This further sub-division results in fourteen radical parts of speech:

/ I. .......


I. Substantives:

1. Noun
2. Pronoun

II. Qualificatives:

3. Adjective:
   a) Strong
   b) Weak
4. Enumerative
5. Demonstrative:
   a) Article
   b) Demonstrative of Emphasis
   c) Tri-positional Demonstrative
6. Quantitative
7. Possessive

III. Predicatives:

8. Verb
9. Copula
10. Idéophone

IV. Descriptives:

11. Adverb

V. Prepositions:

12. Preposition
   a) Possessive
   b) Adverbial

VI. Conjunctives:

13. Conjunction

VII. Interjectives:

14. Interjection

Formatives:

3.4. A formative is any of the component parts that go to build up a word. The formatives found in Xhosa are roots, stems, prefixes, infixes, suffixes, concords, and enclitics.

5.5. Roots: The root of a word is the primitive element that cannot be reduced to smaller elements. E.g. -Jon- in mloko (mouth), -hl- in mhlé (beautiful one), -bon- in bonani (see ).

3.6. Stems: The term stem is a relative one. A stem may be primitive or derivative. If a word is shorn of all affixal elements, what remains is a primitive stem. It can therefore be said that a primitive stem is that portion of a word to which other elements may be affixed for purposes of inflection. E.g. -lomo in mloko, -hle in mhlé, -bona in bonani. Derivative stems are formed from primitive stems.
by means of suffixes (see 3.9), e.g. -lomokazi in mibrokazi (big mouth), -hlakazi in miblekazi (most beautiful one), -bonana in bonanani (see each other).

3.7. Prefixes: These are affixes preplaced to the majority of noun-stems to form nouns, and to strong adjectival stems to form strong adjectives. Nouns and strong adjectives fall into classes distinguished by these prefixes, e.g. m-ndu (person), li-zwe (country), m-khulu (great), li-khulu (great).

There are also affixes that are prefixed to some nouns, weak and strong adjectives and strong adjectival stems and demonstratives to form adverbs, e.g. ka-wwe (later), ka-chliphe (clearly), ka-khulu (greatly), ka-loku (now).

3.8. Infixed: These are found in verbal conjugation, e.g. the reflexive affix -zi- as in u kuzithanda (to love oneself), and -nga- as in ndingashambha (I can go).

3.9. Suffixes: These are found in nouns, adjectives and verbs, e.g. the noun-adjective suffixes -ana and -kazi, as in mfana (young man), mfo (man), mhlana (rather beautiful) < mble (beautiful), mfokazi (stranger) < mfo, mblekazi (most beautiful) < mble. (Cf. examples in 3.6.), and the verbal derivative suffixes, e.g. -ana and -ina in -bonana (see each other) and bonana (show).

3.10. Concorda: There are two main types of concord, the qualitative and the predicative concords, e.g. yi- in yinhi i nia? (which dog?), ndi- in ndifikile (I have arrived).

3.11. Enclitics: Enclitics are lean-on elements such as the relative -vo as in a bathandayo (those who like to). The absolute pronoun has an enclitic form, e.g. -m in nam (with me), -no in kuse (to them).
4.1. In general, the noun in Xhosa consists of two parts, viz., a prefix and a stem. For example, in *mntu* (person), *m* is the prefix and *-ntu* the stem. But there are groups of nouns e.g. proper names, which have no prefix at all, and there are others which have lost the prefix e.g. *sebe* (branch), originally *lisebe*, and *sango* (entrance), originally *lisango*.

4.2. Of the prefix and the stem, the former is more important than the latter from a grammatical point of view, for the following reasons:

(1) The nouns are divided into various classes distinguished by their prefixes, and by concords related thereto.

For instance, to the stem *-zwe* we can prefix *li-* to form *lizwe* (country), or *si-* to form *sizwe* (nation), or *bu-* to form *buzwe* (nationhood), or *ma-* to form *mazwe* (countries). The four nouns thus formed belong to four different classes, because, even though they have a stem in common, the prefixes are different; and any word related to any of the nouns *lizwe*, *sizwe*, *buzwe* and *mazwe* in a sentence is brought into relationship with that noun by means of a concord related to the prefix. Thus, we would say *eli lizwe likhulu* (this country is great), and *esi sizwe sikhulu* (this nation is great).

(2) As *lizwe* (country) and *mazwe* (countries) show, to distinguish between singular and plural the prefix is changed, while the stem undergoes no inflexion at all. The general principle, in fact, is that a singular prefix has a corresponding plural prefix. In other words, shown in the singular has a plural form in a corresponding class. This means also that some classes contain nouns in the plural only, while others contain nouns in the singular only. Lastly, since concord is related to the class prefix, it follows that each class has its own set of concords.

/4.3. The ...
The following irregularities are to be noted in connection with the principles expounded in 4.2:

(1) Some singular prefixes have no corresponding plural prefixes, e.g. _bu_ - as in _bugo_ (ugliness), _ku_ - as in _kutso_ (food).

(2) Some nouns have no plural at all, even though the singular prefix they employ has a corresponding plural prefix. e.g. _khitso_ (cousliness), _lunyo_ (malice)

(3) Some nouns in the plural have no singular, e.g. _mandis_ (water), _mndle_ (strength)

(4) Some plural forms in pairs, one being the regular plural of a given singular, the other having a special meaning, e.g. (_du)_mwele (single hair or lock of hair), (_zi)_mwele (hairst - the regular plural), _munwele_ (hair "standing on end")

(5) Some nouns have plural forms in a class that does not regularly form the plural of the prefix they employ. e.g. _ndoda_ (man), _nadada_ (men)

(6) Although some nouns never employ prefixes, even nevertheless every noun is concord-governing, because those nouns that no longer employ prefixes still use the corresponding concords.

(7) Some nouns whose concords have fallen into disuse employ the concords of semantically related classes.

In the following table of noun-class prefixes only the full regular forms are given. The brackets signify that the vowels concerned are no longer apparent patent in modern Xhosa but still exert influence in certain circumstances. The symbol _ indicates that the prefix-nasal is variable according to the initial phone of the noun-stem (cf. 2.98).

The existing noun-class prefixes are arranged according to Leimkholo's numbering, side by side with the Ur-Kejtu noun-class prefixes.
### Table of Noun-Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ur-Bantu</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mu-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. va-</td>
<td>ba- (plural of Class 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. -</td>
<td>(b)oo- (plural of Class 1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mu-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mi-</td>
<td>mi- (plural of Class 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. li-</td>
<td>li-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ma-</td>
<td>ma- (plural of Class 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ki-</td>
<td>si-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. xir-</td>
<td>zi- (plural of Class 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ni-</td>
<td>N(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. lini-</td>
<td>zin(i) (plural of Class 9 &amp; 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. lu-</td>
<td>lu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tu-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ka-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. xu-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ku-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. pa-</td>
<td>pha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. ku-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. mu-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. pi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. yu-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. yi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. ya-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. yu-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5. Classes 1 and 2.

Instead of the full singular prefix, mu-, which is still to be found in Zulu and several non-literary dialects before monosyllabic stems, Xhosa uses syllabic m before all types of stems. e.g. muntu instead of muntu . The regular corresponding plural prefix is ba-.

Examples.

mfana (young man)           bafana (young men)
mfazi (married woman)       bafazi (married women)
muntu (person)              bantu (people)

4.6. The prefix ba-:

Before certain stems with u as stem vowel, the a of ba- becomes e by assimilation. (cf. 2.95.) The following nouns have ba- as prefix:

beLungu (white people), plural of mLungu
beNguni (Nguni people), " " mNguni
beSuthu (Sotho people), " " mSuthu

The noun mfundisi (teacher, minister of religion) has, besides the general plural form bafundisi, a dialectal variant befundisi, used exclusively for ministers of religion. Both bacuphi and bencuphi are used as plural forms of mouphi (detective). The plural form of mTjwana (Tswana man) is bTjwana because of the closeness of w to u.

4.7. Before a vowel stem the a of ba is elided.

Examples.

balusi (herd boys)          ba + alusi
bongikazi (nurses)          ba + engikazi

4.8. Before latent-vowel stems, the a of ba coalesces with I, resulting in e. (cf. 2.4.)

Examples.

bembhi (diggers)            ba + imbhi
bemi (inhabitants)         ba + imi

4.9. Classes 1 and 2 include nouns denoting the following:

/ (1) human beings....
(1) Human beings in general:

**Examples**
- xantu (person), bantu
- xatvama (child), bantu
- rfo (man), bafe

(2) Relatives by blood:
- uminawa (younger brother), boninawa
- nkbuluwa (older brother), backbuluwa
- nthamba (sister's child), botthame
- mauluwana (grandchild), basuluwana

(3) Members of tribal, racial or national groups:
- likhsanhu (Thembhu person), bokhshhhu
- ======= (Tlokwa person), bokhshhhu
- mnhuthi (Phuthi person), bokhuthi

But many nouns indicating members of tribal or racial groups are in Class 1 in the singular and in Class 6 in the plural:
- mitho (Zhoza person), mitho
- mudebolo (Matabolo person), mudebole

There are also some that belong to Class 4 in the plural:
- mibanga, mihungane, mihuduna (see 4.14, (7))

(4) Agents or doers of actions:
- nifundi (learner), bafundi
- nsebenzi (worker), bassebenzi
- nsenhchizi (seller), basenhchizi
- ncoloni (peacemaker), bascoloni
- nmal (parent), basol

4.10. **Classes 1b and 2a**

The singular form, Class 1b, has no prefix at all. The plural form, Class 2a, has a prefix *bo*- . The full form of this prefix is *bho*-, but in Zhoa the *h* is elided except in the vocative form. (See 3.93, (1)):
4.11. The significance and usage of the prefix **co-**

This prefix is used in various ways, viz.:

1. As the regular plural of *Cloo* to signify more than one person or thing of the particular name, whether personal or generic:
   - **coNkaphayi** (individuals by the name of *Nkaphayi*)
   - **coPhile** (your fathers)
   - **coTrum** (tram-corn)

2. To denote a person named and those in his company:
   - **coNkhe** (my father and those in his company)
   - **coSipho** (Sipho and his company)

With this meaning it is used even with compounds used as titles rather than as personal names:
   - **coNkheNkaphane** (Themba's father and those in his company)
   - **coSiphoNkaphane** (Sipho's father and those in his company)

Cf. **coNkhe Thembane** (Themba's mother and those in her company)

3. To indicate persons or things of the same nature or calibre as the one indicated by the noun:
   - **coTshaka** (son of Tobaka's calibre)
   - **coNkaphane** ("prophet" of the *Ngoncasuwe* type)

Nouns of most classes can pre-prefix **co-** to form new nouns with this significance:
   - **coKapa** (Cape Town and cities like that)
   - **coNtuli** (duststorms and phenomena like that)
   - **coNkaphane** (elephants and animals of that sort)
   - **coKumala** (drunkenness and similar vices)

For the derivation and formation of such nouns see 5.9.
4.15. Glosses 1a and 2a include nouns denoting the following:

(1) Proper names of people and animals:

- Hinton (name of a chief), oohintona
- Honour (name of a woman), oohnoma
- Hululuha (name of an ox), ooHululuha

(2) Relationship terms:

- bavo (my father), oohavo
- ma (my mother), ooma
- nyante (son), oonyante
- dada (sister), oooda
- maluma (mother's brother), oomaluma
- polokwana (daughter-in-law), oopolokwana
- khoko (great-grandparent), oo khoko

(3) Nouns meaning "So and so" and "What do you call him?":

- beni, oobeni
- mantei, oomantei
- thilo, oothilo
- sibonibeni, oosibonibeni
- mpona, oompona

(4) Many names of animals, things and articles, some of which are nononomified because of certain human attributes:

- monkala (crab), oomonkala
  (The crab carries its young in a shell-like pouch)
- xen (monitor-lizard), ooxen
  (The monitor-lizard handles objects with its fore-limb, frequents cattlefolds and is believed to "steal" cow-calf away and carry it in its armpits to cover it under the water)
- lolivo (railway train), ooolivo
  (The railway train carries people, whistle, "smokes" and "drinks")
- bhojena (small barrel), oobhojena
- curro (large barrel), oocurro
- mshona (mosaic), oomshona
(5) Many name of peaks, mountains, mountain-forests and deep pools in rivers. Some of these are named after persons:

- Sulumandoda (mountain-forest in Tsembaland)
- Hohe (mountain-forest in the Cirokei, named a Lanz queen, Hoho)
- Ndodsoho (mountain-peak in the Tolo district, named after a Dhen general who was slain there by Lendoniso warriors)
- Rabalaladebo (deep pool in the Teita River)
- Langoyi (deep pool in the Tyinirha River)
- Chichohe (deep pool in the Dish River, named after a Phosini chief who was drowned there together with his followers)
- Belelebo (deep pool in the Untata River, named after Billy Shaw, a white vaggoner who was drowned there)

(6) Last of the Ibo names of the months of the year:

- Utalana (January), Bultiro (July), Nweabakani (August)

(7) Many names of love-charms:

- Unbo-tusi or Nabo-tzi ("sottle down and relax completely" - in your wife's company)
- Thotison ("make him gentle" - and stop his wife-beating)
- Yela-bhlohe ("appear and they smile" - at you)
- Vuna ("agree" - to be my love)
- Yekotumne ("in a dance", infatuation)

4.13. **Cleanse 3 and 4**

Instead of the full singular prefix mu- which is still employed in Rhodesian Mbozo, Swazi and Lulu before monosyllabic stems, Xhosa employs syllabic m before all types of stems, e.g. mzi (homestead) instead of muzi. The corresponding plural prefix is mi-, but becomes m- before vowels.

**Examples**

- mthi (tree), mthi
mlenze (loc), mlenze
mthetho (law), mthetho
mendo (road), mendo

The initial m of moya (wind or spirit) seems to be the result of a merging together of the m of the prefix and the initial m of the stem. The corresponding word in Zulu is umoya. The regular plural form is umoya.

4.14. Classes 3 and 4 include nouns indicating the following

(1) names of certain parts of the body:

mhlana (back), mhlana
mlomo (mouth), mlomo
mmwe (finger), mmwe
mcalo (throat), mcalo
mcalo (spinal column), mcalo
mmala (tail), mmala

The noun mzimbha (body) also belongs to this class.

(2) many names of trees:

mubu (bush willow), mubu
mhlontlo (euphorbia), mhlontlo
mhiwana (fig-tree), mhiwana
mnoma (olive-wood), mnoma

The generic name mthi (tree) also belongs to this class.

(3) river-names of Bantu origin:

Mzimsha (Mzimsha River)
Lgwali (Lgwali River)
Lithatha (Lithatha River)
Mzimvubu (Mzimvubu or St. John’s River)

The generic names mfula (brook) and mlambho (river) also belong to this class.

* Cf. Introduction, § Il (1)
(4) names of certain human and animal ailments:

- mhafa (asthma)
- malonyana (hysteria)
- malutha (East Coast Fever)
- manda (rabies)
- mule (allergic rash)
- mtihotibo (eczema)
- mwananda (distemper in dogs)

(5) names of certain natural phenomena:

- movu (air, wind, spirit)
- minowna
- ribho (lightning)
- milone
- mforkenyu (haze)
- mihaka (ice)
- mihakahka
- milo (fire)
- miliko
- minuywa (rainbow)
- minuyoa
- muryolo (Lilky eye)
- mali (crocodile)

(6) names of supposed supernatural beings:

- milonde (ancestral spirit)
- milondo
- minyuona
- minuywa
- mpholonya
- mpholonyana
- mikhuvu
- mikhaza

(7) names of certain tribes or sections of tribes:

- mifana (people of Ilande's section of Mose)
- mifuchano
- militsha (people of Ixombe's section of Londe)
- miguelva
- milentlo (people of Ithombwe's section of Londe)
- milinku (old appellation of the Illipa)

For derivation, see 5.4.
150.

(See 5.4. for derivation and formation.)

Certain names of social institutions, pastimes and entertainments:

e.g. mbuso (government) mibuso
  mithetho (law) mithetho
  miduto (formal dance at wedding feast) miduto
  mgqebha (celebration) mgqebha
  mitho (festival) mitho
  ngquyo (war-dance) ngquyo

These are non-personal deverbalative nouns. (see 5.54.)

4.15. Classes 5 and 6.

The singular prefix, li-, is employed before a monosyllabic stem only. Disyllabic and polysyllabic stems employ no prefix at all in the singular form. The plural prefix ma-, is used before all types of stems.

Examples:

liizwe (country) maizwe
liizwi (voice) maizwi
liwa (cliff) mawa
liviti (knee-cap) mave
bhabdhi (springbok) mabhadi
xhalaba (shoulder) makhala
ngumasholo (drone) ngaqumasholo

Often

4.16. But there are some monosyllabic stems that are used without the prefix if there is a qualifying that brings out the concord.

Examples:

iizwe loo bawo (the land of our fathers)
ngqwe zwi e limnda (in a sweet voice)

In regard to the stem -zwi (voice. statement, or comment) the tendency is to make a distinction by employing the prefix when "voice" is meant, and not employing it when "statement" or

"comment" .......
"comment" is meant. Thus many good Xhosan speakers would say:

- *bangana i liwil* (raise your voice! Speak out!)
- *nkondanga wi* (he did not make any comment)
- *na kubeka i wi* (let there be a statement)

The noun *liso* does not employ the prefix in certain idiomatic expressions:

- *u kwaat i se* (to pay regard to)
- *u kuphosa i se* (to cast an eye)

4.17. The plural word for *liso* is *meble*. Strictly speaking, *meble* is the plural of *lible*, which is used in some dialects e.g. Xhosa and Kpomwine. The corresponding word in Sotho is *lebile*, and *lebile* is the stem while *lecho* retains the initial *l* in the singular and drops it in the plural to make *meble*; in lengu this *l* reveals its presence only in the plural, when it coalesces with the *g* of the prefix *me-*. *meble* < *me-* *ible*.

4.18. The stem *mendu* (speed) is probably derived from the old verb-stem *menda* (go). If this supposition is correct, the prefix in this word is *ma-*, the *g* having been elided before the initial vowel of the stem. One occasionally hears a *ma-mendu* instead of *mendu*. This is in all probability a case of pre-prefixing. (Cf. 4.41.)

4.19. The noun *sinwe* (tooth) *kine*, has a plural form *nwepe* as well as the regular plural form *kusawe*. This is due to the elision of *g* followed by coalescence. In fact, *kilo* could be explained in a similar way. (Cf. Fortune, *Xhosa Grammar*, p. 75 & 142.)

4.20. Classes 5 and 6 include nouns indicating the following:

- (1) persons belonging to certain age-groups:

  - *gtrane* (adolescent girl), *ngcivog*
  - *krirala* (newly initiated man), *nakrivela*
  - *gipa* (middle-aged man), *ngalima*
  - *ncoce* (old man), *madhoga*

  / (2)........
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. (a) Foreign element to foreign national.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) Foreigner (Bolshevik); Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Russian (Bolshevik), Bolshevik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Bolshevik (Bolshevik)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. (a) Russian (Bolshevik)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) Bolshevik (Bolshevik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Bolshevism (Communist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Communist (Bolshevik)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. (a) Anti-social sector of character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) parasocial role in social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) social role</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. (a) Anti-social sector of character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) parasocial role in social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) social role</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In the Russian translation of the original story of the American Indian, the translation of the word "Robber" is "Bolshevik." This is a common misunderstanding and the terms are often used interchangeably. However, it is important to note that "Bolshevik" specifically refers to a member of the Bolshevik Party, whereas "Robber" is a more general term. The use of "Bolshevik" in this context is meant to highlight the anti-social sector of character and the parasocial role in social order. The Bolshevik movement, which was led by Vladimir Lenin, was a key player in the Russian Revolution of 1917, and its impact on Russian society and politics remains significant today.
India and the white settler, not used mndi\(y\)a for "Indian". But when the white settler calls the Indian "you Indian dog", the translation is nia ndini yeindiya, the noun being (li)Indiya and no longer mndiya. (Longmans Xhosa Reader, Standard II, p. 32)

It must be mentioned, however, that many names of Ngoni tribal groups belong to the li-ma class, and are used without any derogatory connotations:

Dhaca, mahlhaca : Dhole, mahlhole;
Hlubi, mahlubi : Londo, mahlondo;
Wunha, mahlwunha : Zisi, mahlzisi.

It must be mentioned too that there are a few names of foreign nationals that belong to the person class, e.g. mndiya (Indian) and mDrontji (Frenchman).

The majority of names denoting people of tribal, racial or national groups, though found in Class 1 or Class 5 or even Class 9 in the singular, are to be found in Class 6 in the plural:

mnhosa, (singular, mnhosa, Class 1)
mncaloka (" mncaloka, Class 1)
nDrontji (" mDrontji, Class 1)
mnhaca (" Dhaca, Class 5)
mnTolo (" Tolo, Class 5)
mnfomca (" Ifomca, Class 9)

The noun mnculu (Zulu people) has no singular form. To indicate a single Zulu, the noun nDculu is used. This has its own singular form (si)nDculu, indicating a number of Zulu people, as against mnculu which indicates the Zulu people as a nation.

(5) A large number of river-names of Dhoisan origin:
Cicirha, Georeorkha, Chalerha, Hanarkha, Chorha, Lichoncholorha
All these are names of rivers in the Transkei.

To these may be added the following, which have English or Anglicised names:

Oumra\(\text{\textregistered}\) (Komgha : River)
**Conce** (Buffalo River)

**Kesi** (Meakama River)

(c) **Many names of birds:**

bhaku (widow bird), mabhaku
elu (pipit), macelu
dada (duck), madada
fubesi (horned owl), mafubesi
griya (lapwing), marriya
hlunulu (ring-necked raven), mahlungulu
hobe (Cape turtle-dove), mahohe
loxe (wild goose), malowe
namnaxadi-

namnaxadi (butcher-bird), manmanxadi
somi (red-winged starling), masomi
vukuthu (griffon vulture), mavukuthu
examples cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phimpi (spitting cobra)</td>
<td>maphimpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhambha (puff-adder, generic)</td>
<td>murambha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sele (frog, generic)</td>
<td>masele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roxo (leopard toad)</td>
<td>maroxo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zilenzi (olive-brown)</td>
<td>masilenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water snake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) things of a kind considered collectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bandla (assembly)</td>
<td>mabandla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathu (limited number)</td>
<td>mabathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bubu (swarm)</td>
<td>mabubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bholo (file of men in war)</td>
<td>mabholo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blokondiba (troop)</td>
<td>mahlelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qisa (company, troop)</td>
<td>magqisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qela (group)</td>
<td>maeela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qumrhu (committee)</td>
<td>maqumrhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) many parts of the human body existing in pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shiva (eye-brow)</td>
<td>maskiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liso (eye)</td>
<td>mahllo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxalaba (shoulder)</td>
<td>magxalaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bele (female breast)</td>
<td>mabele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sende (testis)</td>
<td>masende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanga (thigh)</td>
<td>mathanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolo (knee)</td>
<td>madole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livi (knee-cap)</td>
<td>mavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gathla (ankle)</td>
<td>magathla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwanha (arm-pit)</td>
<td>makhwana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are also worth noting:

(i) hlonlilo (receding, hairless part of the head above the temples), which has the plural forms mahlontilo and (zi)-nilentle.

(ii) the stem -dlebe from which we have the noun dlebe, Class 5, meaning "prominent ear" or "ear of vessel" e.g. bucket. Its plural form is madlebe. Then there is also adlebe, Class 9, meaning "ear", and its plural form is (zi)ndlebe.

(iii) the stem ......
(iii) the stem -phumlo, which gives the Class 6 noun
maphumlo (large nostril), and the Classes 9 and 10 nouns
mputlo (nose) and (si)mphumlo respectively.

(ii) names of liquids and other substances handled
handled in bulk, which are not individualized and therefore
have no singular\(^1\) (Vorster: Nantu Languages, p. 52):
- mampungo (vanity)
- mandla (strength)
- manja (lies)
- manzai (water)
- maqo (fermented milk)
- mava (experience)

A few nouns of this kind have singular forms, whose
meaning, however, is quite different from that of the plural:
(i) izutha (fat) has a singular form atha, Class 5 (a kind
of clay used by initiates).
(ii) nufo (spittle) has a singular form lifo (slight nausea).

The noun nufo (thorns) has a singular form livo (thorn).

But there are old Xhosa speakers who never use the singular
form even when a single thorn is referred to.

\[\text{Class 6 and 7} \]

The normal singular prefix of Class 7 is gi-
and the corresponding plural prefix in Class 8 is gi-

\[\text{Examples}\]
- sibano (light), sibene
- pikana (servant), pikana
- sidebo (chest), sidebo
- siduli (anthropophagus), siduli
- sitwa (basin), sitwa
- siva (scar), siva

Before a vocal stem, the \(i\) of gi- or gi- is elided if the
prominent stress is not on the initial syllable of the stem.
This happens in all deverbalative nouns, because the initial
vowel of a verb-stem does not bear prominent stress:
- sialithiso (index), sialithiso
- sambila (bané), sambila
- sambulala (forerunner), sambulala

\(^1\) i.e., those derived from vocal verb-stems
4.22. But where the prominent stress is on the initial vowel of the stem, the i is retained:

- niAfrica (African fashion)
- nishnock (stupid fellow)
- nijlom (raupor) < Afroicano arm
- nijhuno (Northern Sotho)
- nijndiya (Indian fashion)
- nijenaji (orange grove)

4.23. Many stems, most of which are of verbal or idiophonic origin, employ go- and no- instead of ni- and ni-:

- sadunno (distended stomach), sadunno < duuna (muddle)
- geomu (distended stomach), geomu < umu (of being replete)
- nacumen (disturbance), nacumen < qumne (disturb)
- nacuba (painting), nacuba < coba (paint)
- nicindi (sound), nicindi < ndi (of rushing)
- nacunoo (diviner), nacunoo < muta (small out)

4.24. Some stems are proceeded by ni- or no-, ni- or no-:

- sinonkolo, sinonkolo
- netenkolo, netenkolo
- nifobo, nifobo
- safobo, safobo
- niqueba, niqueba
- mbtwebo, mbtwebo
- nihhono, nihhono
- nahlhono, nahlhono
- nithuthamo, nithuthamo
- nathuthamo, nathuthamo

/ nithuthamo ..........
examples cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sikhwatjha</th>
<th>sikhwatjha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Cape redwing)</td>
<td>(Cape redwing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sakhwathja</th>
<th>sakhwathja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>francolin</td>
<td>francolin</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zimbhuku</th>
<th>zimbhuku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(mass, bulk)</td>
<td>(mass, bulk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sambhuku</th>
<th>sambhuku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>sindlwane</th>
<th>zindlwane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(many, lies)</td>
<td>(many, lies)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sandlwane</th>
<th>zandlwane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sinkwane</th>
<th>zinkwane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(worsted cap)</td>
<td>(worsted cap)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sankwane</th>
<th>zankwane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>siphetha</th>
<th>zipetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(bow for)</td>
<td>(bow for)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>saphetha</th>
<th>zaphetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(shooting arrows)</td>
<td>(shooting arrows)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>siquphe</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(small portion)</td>
<td>(small portion)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>saquphe</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(of time)</td>
<td>(of time)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ziphontjane</th>
<th>ziphontjane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whirlwind)</td>
<td>(whirlwind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zaphontjane</th>
<th>zaphontjane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4.25. Classes 7 and 8 include nouns indicating the following:

1) persons with distinguished social qualities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aaqi</th>
<th>aaqi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(knowledgeable man)</td>
<td>(knowledgeable man)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>silumko</th>
<th>zilumko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wise man)</td>
<td>(wise man)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sigidimi</th>
<th>sigidimi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(runner)</td>
<td>(runner)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sithethi</th>
<th>zithethi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(great speaker)</td>
<td>(great speaker)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) persons with physical, mental or moral defects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zibhaxa</th>
<th>zibhaxa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(fool)</td>
<td>(fool)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zidenge</th>
<th>zidenge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(imbecile)</td>
<td>(imbecile)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zidodo</th>
<th>zidodo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(child retarded in)</td>
<td>(child retarded in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(physical development)</td>
<td>(physical development)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zifabe</th>
<th>zifabe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(lewd person)</td>
<td>(lewd person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zifombho</th>
<th>zifombho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(hunch-back)</td>
<td>(hunch-back)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zirwego</th>
<th>zirwego</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(bandy-legged person)</td>
<td>(bandy-legged person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zilima</th>
<th>zilima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(deformed person)</td>
<td>(deformed person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zimumu</th>
<th>zimumu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(dumb person)</td>
<td>(dumb person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ziphoko</th>
<th>ziphoko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(reckless person)</td>
<td>(reckless person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zikhwala</th>
<th>zikhwala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(cripple)</td>
<td>(cripple)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sirhalarhuma</th>
<th>sirhalarhuma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(fierce, wrath-)</td>
<td>(fierce, wrath-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ful person)</td>
<td>(ful person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zithulu</th>
<th>zithulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(deaf person)</td>
<td>(deaf person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) abnormalities......
(3) **abnormalities, deformities, defects and ailments of various kinds:**

(a) in respect of the mind and body of man or animal:

- **sangeta** (stoop round shoulders)  
- **sibundzi** (abnormally big forehead)  
- **sifo** (disease)  
- **sigxala** (itchy bump)  
- **sihilwitsa** (abnormally long hair)  
- **silonda** (ulcer)  
- **sisende** (abnormally big testes)  
- **sisisini** (tooth-gap)  
- **siva** (scar)  
- **sizote-zothe** (nausea)  
- **sizungusane** (giddiness)

(b) in respect of human society:

- **sankxwe** (tumult)  
- **zaquunge** (disturbance)  
- **zibetho** (plague)  
- **ziganeko** (outstanding event)  
- **zihelegu** (calamity)  
- **ziwili-wili** (pandemonium)  
- **ziyalu-valu** (huge concourse)  

(c) in respect of the physical world:

- **sachwithi** (hurricane)  
- **sichotho** (hailstorm)  
- **zikhewu** (gap)  
- **zikhlava** (white blight)  
- **zihumbha** (form of mould on cereals)  
- **ziphengo** (hailstorm)  
- **zitibi** (cloudburst)  
- **zitjhingithhane** (hurricane)
(d) **derivatives, which probably originally belonged to**

**Class 19 (cf. 4.70).** These may be subdivided as follows:

(a) *nouns of portions or small quantities of things:*

- **sogula** (last drop from cow in milking), **sogula**
- **sahluko** (chapter), **zahuku**
- **savenga** (fraction), **savenga**
- **sicholu** (small quantity of liquid), **sicholu**
- **sicicenclo** (very last drops of liquid), **sicicenclo**
- **sicincroto** (portion, half), **sicincroto**
- **sicivenga** (portion or part torn off), **sicivenga**
- **sikhube** (worn-out hoe), **sikhube** cf. **khunu** (hoe)
- **sikhuli** (partially burnt-out piece of firewood), **sikhuni**
- **sikhubuza** (tree-trunk), **sikhubuza**

(b) *small things, related in appearance, nature or function to bigger things signified by nouns of the same root or stem:*

- **sandikwano** (many plici), **sandikwano** cf. **ndikwano** (root)
- **sandivyano** (spotted hyena), **sandivyano** cf. **ndivyano** (lion)
- **nicici** (white ring on tail of beast), **nicici**
  cf. **cici** (earring)
- **sicityvono** (small quantity of water), **sicityvono**
  cf. **chiti** (pond)
- **siduli** (ant-heap), **siduli** cf. **nduli** (hill)
- **sikloko** (cluster of grapes), **sikloko** cf. **ntloko** (head)
- **sikhabaku** (navel of animal), **sikhabaku**
  cf. **nhako** (human navel)
- **sikhanda** (thick end of weapon), **sikhanda**
  cf. **khande** (head), which is still used in Zulu, and also found in a Xhosa folklore: **makhanda-mahlamu** (five-headed fabulous monster). Laphoyi uses **lokhangana lethathu** for "Trinity", *Inzwa*, p. 17.
- **sikhumbha** (skin), **sikhumbha**
  cf. **khumbha**, the blonipho word for "hut"*
nālikōle (situation on ground or even) cf. nālikōle (when a person has been sitting)

of. nālikōle (clear, well-trodden place where councillors sit)

nālonu (turning-place), nālonu cf. nālonu (sun)

nālawana (medicating-cloth), nālawana cf. nālawana (hand-cloth)

nālā'i (tail of bird), nālā'i cf. nālā'i (tail of an animal)

nālimo (young plant), nālimo cf. nālimo (young or an animal)

nālīna (small cliff), nālīna cf. nāli (cliff)

nālī, nālī (any other god or entity), nālī, nālī
cf. nālī (believe, the god of Indra, the Christian God)

nālī (impression on ground where a person has been sitting)

cf. nālī (heaven)

(5) things of a kind considered collectively:

nālī (tobacco-patch), nālī cf. nūa (tobacco)

nālīlī (wine-yeard), nālīlī cf. nālīlī (wine-yeard)

nālīna (group of young men), nālīna cf. nālīna (young men)

nālī (fruit-wood field), nālī cf. nālī (fruit-wood)

nālī (orchard of strawberries), nālī cf. nālī (orchard)

nālīlī (carob-wood grove), nālīlī cf. nālīlī (carob-wood)

nālīlī (yellow-wood grove), nālīlī cf. nālīlī (yellow-wood)

nālī (strawberry grove), nālī cf. nālī (strawberry grove)

(6) Inanimate, custom and situation. These have no plural forms:

nālīhā (tongue; saucer, station)

cf. nālīhā (tongue)

nālīlī (woman-fashion) cf. nālīlī (woman)

nālīlī (woman-fashion) cf. nālīlī (woman)

nālīlīhā (royalty) < nālīhā?

(7) parts of the human body:

nālīhā (nose; bone of ear), nālīhāhā
nālīhā (nose; bone), nālīhāhā
nālīhā (nose), nālīhāhā
nālīhā (nose; nālīhā)

nālīhā (nose; nālīhā)
sikhanti (neck-joint)  
sihlala (wrist)  
sandla (hand)  
sifuba (chest)  
sisu (stomach)  
sinane (mons pubis)  
singe (waist)  
sigula (calf of leg)  
siguluba (calf of leg)  
sithende (heel)

(8) tools and articles of daily use:
- sando (hammer)  
- ziciko (lid)  
- sibuko (mirror)  
- sithebe (tray)  
- zitya (basin)  
- zitjiko (key)  
- zihholo (chisel)

There are also many deverbal nouns, personal and non-personal in this class. (see 5.51. et seq.)


The prefixes of Classes 9 and 10 are n(i)- and sin(i)- respectively. As described in 2.98 - 99, the prefix nasal is homorganic to the initial consonant of the stem, and, because of the latent i, becomes ny- before vowels, and /x/ is absorbed by or elided before another nasal or i or h.

Examples of Class 9 nouns:
- mbhabala (bush-buck)  
- mphiwe (war)  
- ntaba (mountain)  
- ntlicko (head)  

Examples of Class 10 nouns:
- mpumulo (nose)  
- mvula (rain)  
- ndaba (affair)  
- ndlebe (ear)  

/ntjhebe ........
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- (flowing beard)
- (flower)
- (cible animal)
- (buffalo)
- (anytime)
- (grass)
- (bag)
- (less)

6.27. Most nouns of foreign origin do not employ the prefix .

- (cost) (in)
- (cost)<Du. bok
- (sink)<in. tank
- (town)<Du. down
- (fork)<in. tool
- (bus)<in. bus
- (peony)<in.oney

- (shilling)

6.28. But there are some that have developed a prefix-nasal, by analogy with the indigenous nouns:

- (1/3); Du. (color); (c-nasal)<Du. in.

- (company);
- (canteen)
- (cannon);
- (conference);
- (bean)<in.

6.29. Class 10 is the plural of Classes 9 and 11. Ordinarily the prefix (i-) is employed in its full form before monosyllabic stems:

- (dog), plural of
- (things), plural of
- (sticks), plural of
- (food), plural of

But sometimes the (i-) is elided when the noun is preceded or followed by the class concord:
Examples
\[ \text{i}i \text{nja zam} \text{ for i} \text{zinja zam (my dogs)} \\
\text{ezi nto} \text{ for ezi zinto (these things)} \\
\text{ii nto zimbhi} \text{ for i} \text{zinto zimbhi (things look bad)} \]

4.31. Disyllabic and \[ \text{zi} \] polysyllabic stems ordinarily elide the \[ \text{zi} \] -.

Examples
\[ \text{zi} \text{nkomo (cattle), plural of nkomo} \]
\[ \text{zi} \text{ndlebe (cars), plural of ndlebe} \]
\[ \text{zi} \text{ndzipho (claws), plural of (lu)zipho} \]
\[ \text{zi} \text{ntsapho (families), plural of (lu)sapho} \]

But in the vocative and the locative formation the prefix is used in its full form (see 4.59.)

4.32. Some nouns of Class 9 have their corresponding plural forms in Class 6 instead of Class 10. With many such nouns the true stems reveal themselves in the plural form when nasal influence is eliminated with the change of prefix.

Examples
\[ \text{madoda (men), plural of ndoda} \]
\[ \text{makhwenkwe (boys), plural of nkwenkwe} \]
\[ \text{makhosikazi (married women of rank), plural of nkosikazi} \]
\[ \text{makhosazana (unmarried women of rank), plural of nkosazana} \]
\[ \text{masimi (cultivated lands), plural of ntsimi} \]

But in some cases the prefix nasal has become so bound up with the initial phone of the stem that the Class 6 prefix is prefixed to it.

Examples
\[ \text{mantombhazana (young girls), plural of ntombhazana} \]
\[ \text{mankonyana (young calves), plural of nkonyana} \]

4.33. Class 9 is the class of animals and things in general. It includes nouns indicating the following: / (1)
(1) most names of animals:

mbhabala (bushbuck),
ndlovu (elephant),
ngwe (leopard),
ngonyama (lion),
nkawu (monkey),
ndabu (Hyena),
mfene (baboon),
nja (dog),
mpofu (eland),
nkomo (ox)

(2) many names of birds:

ncchunetru (honesucker),
neiniba (ostrich),
ndwe (blue crane),
nguanga (jackal buzzard),
nkuku (fowl),
mpangale (guinea-fowl),
nkungano (dikkop),
ntsikizi (ground hornbill)

(3) many river-names of Khoisan origin:

Ncemerha (Yellow-wood River),
Ncwene (Kat River),
Nchonchorha (river in the Transkei),
Nciba (Kei River),
Nchabanta (river in the Transkei),
Nkhuza (river in the Transkei),
Npulana (Fisher River),
Nku (river in the Transkei)


There are also many personal and non-personal nouns in this class (see 5.52. and 5.54.)

4.34. Class 11

The prefix of Class 11, in its regular form, is lu-. In this form it is used only before monosyllabic stems.

Examples

lugwe (digging rod),
luhlu (row or rank)
lunya (malice),
lusu (stomach, paunch of animal)
ludwe (procession),
luvo (opinion, idea)

If there is an accompanying qualitative, the prefix is elided in some cases even before monosyllabic stems, e.g.

u vo lwakho for u luvo lwakho (your opinion)

*According to my Nama informant, Isaak Booyen, /nib and //nub are generic names for meaning "river".
4.35. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic consonant stems do not employ the prefix except in the vocative and locative formations.

Examples

(lu)bombo (rib), (lu)bombo (ridge)
(lu)cango (door), (lu)fudo (turtle)
(lu)phando (horn), (lu)aama (baby)
(lu)zirho (nail, claw), (lu)zenko (glory)

4.36. Vowel stems employ a modified form of the prefix. Before a or o the prefix is lu-, and before e it becomes le-.

Examples

lwaluke (circumcision), lwavila (sting)
luami (knowledge), luwendo (marriage, of woman)
leviko (fear), levise (victory)

4.37. In a few cases the prefix has become confused with the stem before vowel stems : (i) (lu)lwini (tongue) : There is evidence that the stem of this noun was originally -limi. It is still so in Xesibo and Zulu. (cf. Sotho and Shona -lana, Shona -limi and Tsonga -limi). In Shona the l of the prefix lu- became confused with the l of the stem, and eventually, of the two l's, the wrong one was elided : lwimi > luimi > lwiri. In this way lu-< lu- ; originally the prefix, became part of the stem. Consequently lu- and silu(1)- are pre-prefixed to lu- in the formations that require the prefix :

lwini (tongue), silwini (tonguoli)
luwini (on the tongue), silwini (on the tongue)

(ii) In lwandle (see) the prefix lu- is also disguised in a way. In the formation of the plural it is treated as if it was part of the stem, and silu(1)- is pre-prefixed to it to form the plural, silwandle.

4.38. Class II includes the following :

(1) Collective nouns :

(lu)hiamo (race), luntu (mass)
examples cont.

(lu)dodana (youth -male) (lu)dazane (newly-wedded
(womanhood)
(lu)dulli (bridal party) (lu)janeapo (family)
(lu)ndizi (considerable) (lu)didi (class; rank),
(number
of
lutila (youth -both sexes) lublu (row)
lundj (mountain range) ludwe (procession)
(2) non-personal deverbal nouns:
luvo (opinion 'feeling)
(lu)blobo (kind, sort)
(lu)manyano (union)
(lu)thando (love)
(lu)xelo (peace)

4.39. **Class 14.**

The regular prefix of this Class is **bu**-. It is used only before consonant stems.

Examples.

bubela (kindness) bubhi (ugliness)
budala (age) buda (length)
budoda (manhood) buhle (beauty)

Before vowel stems the **u** of **bu**- is elided.

Examples.

bomi (life)

boya (hair; wool -- on human body or animal)

4.40. In some cases the prefix of Class 14 is disguised:

(i) tyani (pasture; grass). The stem is -ani. Because **bu** becomes **bu**- before **a**, **b** becomes **ty** and **u** is elided,

bu-ani > tywani > ty(an)  > tyani.

(ii) tywala (beer). The stem is -ala.

As in (i) **bu**- becomes **bu**-, and **b** becomes **ty**.

bu-ala > tywala > tywala

But **tywala** has a variant, tyalwa. If this variant is the

/primitive form ....
primitive form, then transposition has also taken place in tyvalwa. According to Meinhold, the Ur-Bantu stem is -tyvalwa, with the prefix, the Nguni form would then be byalwa. Then b becomes ty due to the influence of y. 

\[ b(u) \rightarrow tyvalwa \rightarrow byalwa \rightarrow byalwa \rightarrow tyvalwa. \]

Then by transposition tyvalwa becomes tyvalwa.

4.41. Owing to the disguised prefixes in tyani and tyvalwa, the tendency among present people is to pre-prefix bu-, so that one often hears butyani and butyvalwa. The same explanation can be given for the tendency in young children to say buboya for bova, in which -oya is the stem. The reverse process is involved in the complete disappearance of bu of bubovu (pus) in some dialects. In East Griqualand bovu is more commonly used than bubovu.

4.42. Class 14 is essentially the class of abstractions, hence the absence of a corresponding plural prefix. But some nouns of this class are used quite naturally with a plural meaning without undergoing any inflexion.

**Examples.**

- u beso o byunindzi (many faces)
- u busuku o butathu (three nights)

There are some nouns of this v class that have their plural forms in class 10.

**Examples.**

- (zi)ntlanti (cattle- or sheepfolds), plural of buhlanti
- (zi)ndyvalwa (beer-parties), plural of tyvalwa
- (zi)ndvalwa

It has to be noted that in (zi)ndyvalwa or (zi)ndvalwa, (zi)n(i)- is not substituted for the prefix but preplaced to it. (For the change from ty to dy after N cf. 2.51.)

4.43. There is a close relationship between the prefixes bu- and ma-. There are some nouns in which the distinction in between these two prefixes is so fine that most speakers use the two interchangeably.

* e.g. Sigila: Ndalikhenkatha, p.19. obu butyvala. p.23

\( \text{byutvani} \)
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**Examples.**

bucimi-cimi and macimi-cimi (touch-and-go)
buphuthu-phuthu and maphuthu-phuthu (hastiness)

In the following there is definitely a difference in meaning, but many speakers no longer feel it:

bundum-ndum (dull sounds, mutterings, murmurings that have no meaning to the listener)
mandum-ndum (mutterings, murmurings that have a certain significance to the listener)
bunkente-nkente (vague rumours)
mankente-nkente (definite rumours)
bumene-mene (cunning, falsehood)
ramene-mene (definite instances of cunning or falsehood)

It has also to be noted that in Sotho ma- id the plural prefix corresponding to both le of Class 5 and bo of class 14.
e.g. lefatše (country), mafatše (countries)
bosi (night), masiu (nights)
The close relationship between bu- and ma- in Xhosa is therefore understandable.

4.44. Class 14 includes nouns signifying abstractions of various kinds:

**Examples.**
bubi (ugliness, evil)
buble (beauty, goodness)
buthongo (sleep)
bulunguni (land of the Nguni people, lit. "Nguniness")
buso (face, place of the eyes, = "eyeness" (cf. lisq (eye))
bubele (affection, motherliness) cf. bele (female breast)

4.45. Class 15.

The regular prefix of Class 15 is ku-. It is used before consonant stems. The u of ku- becomes w before a, and o and drops out before o.

**Examples.**
kufa (death, to die, dying), kulewa (fight, to fight; fighting) /kwazi ......
examples cont.
kwazi (knowing, to know) ; kwendze (doing, to do)
kaia (roasting, to roast) ; kona (sinning, to sin)

This is the class of verbal nouns or infinitives, and has no corresponding plural.

4.46. The Locative Classes.

The locative classes, with Ur-Bantu prefixes pa-, ku- and mu-, which remain a marked feature of the Bantu languages in other zones, have fallen into partial disuse in Nguni and other language-groups of the South-Eastern Zone. In the languages that still use these classes extensively, e.g. Lambe, a locative-class prefix is pre-prefixed to a prefix of some other class in order to give the noun in question a locative import, without changing its function as a noun. For example, musi (village), which is a noun of class 3 with mu- as prefix and -si as stem, prefixes pa- to make pamusi (at the village), ku- to make kumusi (to, from the village), and mu- to make mumusi (in the village). But in spite of the locative import, pamusi, kumusi and mumusi are nouns capable of governing concords like the mu- of Class 3.

Examples.

u musi weyu (our village)
pamusi wewe (at our village)
kumusi wewe (to, from our village)
mumusi wewe (in our village)

4.47. Of the three Ur-Bantu locative prefixes, only ku- may be prefixed to the Xhosa word mzi (village), to form kumzi, which may mean "at, to, from or in the village", the precise meaning of kumzi being determined by the context. Nor is the ku- concord-governing in this instance. To express the idea "at, to, from or in our village", the concord corresponding to mzi is used. Thus we have:

\[ / u mzi wethu \ldots \]

*see Chapter on Language by Doke in The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa, ed. I. Schapera.*
171.

*umzi wethu* (our village)

*kmzi wethu* (at, to, from, in our village)

4.46. In fact, even the *ku-* can be dispensed with in this instance and an entirely different construction employed to convey the same meaning: *e mzini wethu.* It is this modern form that has to a large extent replaced the locative classes and, in fact, rendered the prefixes *pha* and *mu-* unnecessary. As will be shown later, *ku-* is still used a great deal in the formation of locatives from nouns and other parts of speech. But *pha-* is found as a mere relic in a few fixed words, while *mu-* has got mixed up with *n-* of Class 3.

4.49. In comparing and contrasting Lamba with Nguni and Sotho, Doke states that "the function of the locative in South Eastern Bantu is solely adverbial", and that "the lack of locative concord in South Eastern Bantu is at once apparent". While it can be readily admitted that locatives function more often adverbially than otherwise in Nguni, it will be shown in this treatise that many locatives not only function substantivally but also govern concord. This applies not only to practically all those stereotyped ones with prefix *pha-* and those formed by prefixing *ku-*, but also to many which originally belonged to the Class 18 *mu-* Class and even to many of the modern locatives of the construction that has replaced the locative-noun classes.

The Prefix *pha-* of Class 16.

4.50. The prefix *pha-* of class 16 is found in seven nouns which may be grouped as follows: -

(1) *Nouns that have an independent existence without pha-* and outside of any locative construction. These are *(li)zolo* (previous day) and *(li)zulu* (sky), which become *phезolo* (last night) and *phезulu* (above, e.g., "sky-side") respectively.

*pha*(1)*zolo* >*pha+*zolo > phезolo

*pha*(1)*zulu* >*pha+*zulu > phезulu

/from izulu ....
From \textit{lulu} a modern locative \textit{gulu} is formed. It means "to, from or in the sky."

(2) Nouns that no longer have an independent existence outside of locative constructions:

- \textit{mbili} (cf. \textit{mbili} \textit{mbila} - front)
- \textit{ndle} (cf. \textit{dle} - outside)

The corresponding locatives formed with \textit{mba} are:

- \textit{phambili} (front side, front)
- \textit{phandle} (outside)
- \textit{phandle} (down, i.e. ground-side)

From \textit{lulu} we also form the modern locative \textit{gndle} (tes, from, in the open country)

(3) Nouns of a lost class with prefix \textit{ka-}

These are \textit{kathi} and \textit{kade}, which become \textit{phkathi} (inside) and \textit{phkade} (infinite space of time) respectively. Torrend, who postulates \textit{kathi} and \textit{kade} for \textit{lulu}, thinks that these nouns belonged to Class 15 (\textit{Zu. Ge.}, footnote. p. 243).

Torrend, who gives no less than eight languages that have the noun \textit{ka-li} (the middle, the centre) also regards it as a noun of the Ka-Tu class" (\textit{Sa. Hantu} : 508)

4.51. The tendency to replace the locative prefixes by the locative article \textit{g} is even more noticeable in more comparative study of \textit{kamni}, \textit{bmama} and \textit{ktangwini}, there are instances of the replacement of \textit{g} than in \textit{bmama} and \textit{lulu}.

Thus we find the following:

- \textit{g tuly} instead of \textit{phetuly}
- \textit{g mbili} = \textit{phambili}
- \textit{g klatshi} = \textit{phkatshi}

4.52. The prefix \textit{ku-} of Class 17

The prefix \textit{ku-} of Class 17 is the most virile of the locative noun-class prefixes. It is employed by nouns of all extant classes except Class 15. As will be seen later, it is also employed to form locatives from pronouns and

\textit{qualificatives}...
qualificatives, and its concords are employed by modern as well as by old locatives.

4.53. Rules for the formation of locatives by prefixing ku- to the noun.

Examples.

bawo (my father)  >  kubawo
dade (sister)  >  kudade
Maduna (name of man)  >  kumaduna
Teolo (name of village)  >  kuteolo

(2) Nouns of Class 2a pre-prefix ku- to the noun-class prefix but the u of ku is elided.

Examples.

oobawo  >  koobawo
oode (sisters)  >  koode
okaduna (Maduna & Co)  >  ko Kaduna

(3) Nouns whose prefix-vowel is a or u, and nouns whose prefix is syllabic m, pre-prefix ku- without any change.

Examples.

untu (person)  >  kuntu
bantu (people)  >  kubantu
mzi (village)  >  kumzi
mazwe (countries)  >  kumazwe
luvo (opinion)  >  kulovo
buthongo (slumber)  >  kubuthongo

(4) Nouns whose prefix-vowel is i pre-prefix ku- or kwi-, the latter form being a case of gliding assimilation. (cf. 2.98.)

Examples.

mizi (villages)  >  kumi or kwimi
liiwe (country)  >  kuliiwe or kwiliwe
aliwe (tribe)  >  kusiwe or kwisiwe
aiiwe (tribes)  >  kuziwe or kwiziwe
ndlu (house)  >  kunidi or kwini
dindlu (houses)  >  kuzindlu or kwisindlu

/the form kwi- .......

* From kuN(i)dlu.
The form kwi- is the more commonly used among Xhosa-speakers of the younger generation. Indeed, many of them think that it is the only "correct" form.

4.54. The locative possessive preposition kwa is prefixed to nouns of Class Ia to form locative phrases signifying "the house or domain of".

Examples:

- Maduna > kwa Maduna (Maduna's house)
- Mhlonllo (name of chief) > kwa Mhlonllo (Mhlonllo's domain)
- Kulu (name of chief) > kwa Zulu (Zulu's domain i.e. Zululand)

4.55. The locative possessive preposition kule in which ku- is prefixed to a lo that has not yet been identified, is prefixed to nouns of Class Ia to signify "the house of the parents of".

Examples:

- Sinpho (name of boy) > kule Sinpho (Sinpho's people's house)

It was once upon a time a custom among the Xhosa to use the name of the chief's favourite ox to describe a chief's home, instead of the name of his son. Thus Hintsa's house was known as kule Hall after his favourite ox, Hall, Sarhili's as kule Thiso after his favourite ox, Thiso, and Ngqika's as kule Mbhombo, after his favourite ox, Mbhombo. (See Zemke, pp. 230 and 245).

4.56. The locative preposition ko, which is discussed in 9.37., is a favourite form in praise-poems. It is prefixed like kule to form locative substantival phrases signifying "the house of the mother of" e.g. ko Nibe (Nibe's mother's house).

"a msawazi! a ko Nibe" (the light-brown ox of Nibe's mother's house)

This is an epithet for the British forces who helped Ngqika against the rest of the Xhosa chiefs. The official name of Ngqika's mother was Xonibe, meaning "mother of Nibe".

/Sandile's followers .......

The Xhosa form is kule, and the Xhondamiise one is kuleo. In Xhosa itself there is a variant kolo e.g. "zakolo-Notembu" (of Notembu's people's house). Zemke, p.240.
Sandle's fellows are known as mbandla ko Suthu, after his mother Nosuthu.

The same ko is to be found in such locative phrases as ko kwetu (my mother's house), ko kwenu (your mother's house), ko kwabo (his, their mother's house). (See also §11.35.)

In Rhodesian Ndebele ko signifies "motion to" e.g. wa-wa ko Bulawayo (He went to Bulawayo) and it also signifies "the house of", like the kwa in Xhosa and Zulu e.g. ko Sambo (Gambo's house).

4.57. The prefix mu- of Class 16.

This prefix is no longer distinguishable from m of Class 3. But some nouns which are now in Class 3 show by their meaning and behaviour that they originally belonged to this Class. The best examples are mva (back) which employs the locative possessive preposition kwu of class 17. e.g. a mva kwu ndlu (the back of the hut), and mgama (distance) which in Tiyo Soza's time also employed kwu as a possessive preposition in possessive construction. e.g. mganyana kwesango elo (a little distance from the door). U Rambo, p.46) (See §6.46, below for locative concords).

These two are now treated as nouns of Class 3 otherwise, with the regular plural forms miva and mgama of Class 4.


The locative noun-classes have largely replaced by locative expressions characterized by mnj which is suffixed to nouns, and the invariable locative article (a) which replaces the variable general article. The article as such is treated fully in a subsequent chapter, but in order to make the exposition here as clear as possible, both the general and the locative article will be employed in describing the rules for

O'Neill, §42. 59, et seq.
the formation of modern locative expressions with nouns. The
dative article $e$ is used in its full form only in copulative
constructions and after prepositions. In all other formations
only $e$ is employed.

4.59. Rules for the formation of modern locative expressions a
nouns.

(1) The general rule is to substitute the invariable locative
article $e$ for the general article, irrespective of the form of
the latter, and to suffix -ni to the noun-stem.

**Examples.**

- $i$ lizwa (country) > $e$ li$\text{izw}$eni
- $i$ lityo (stone) > $e$ lit$\text{y}$eni
- $u$ mthi (tree) > $e$ m$\text{th}$ini
- a mandsi (water) > $e$ m$\text{and}$sini

(2) Final $a$ of a noun-stem becomes $e$ before -ni. (Cf. 2.95. (b) (1)).

**Examples.**

- $i$ langa (sun) > $e$ langeni
- $u$ mzimba (body) > $e$ mzim$\text{b}$theni
- a mandla (strength) > $e$ m$\text{and}$leni

(3) Final $o$, if preceded by a denti-labial consonant, or by $w$, becomes $e$ before -ni. (Cf. 2.95. (b) (3))

**Examples.**

- $i$ sifo (disease) > $e$ si$\text{f}$eni
- $i$ simbvo (opinions) > $e$ sim$\text{b}$veni
- i ndawo (place) > $e$ nd$\text{d}$weni

(4) Final $o$, if preceded by a non-labial consonant, becomes we before -ni. (Cf. 2.96. (b) (1)).

**Examples.**

- $i$ liso (eye) > $e$ li$\text{sw}$eni
- $i$ dollo (knee) > $e$ dol$\text{w}$eni
- $i$ sengo (gate) > $e$ sang$\text{w}$eni

(5) Final $u$, if preceded by a non-labial consonant, becomes $w$ before -ni. (Cf. 2.96. (a)).
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**Examples.**

{i sinu} (stomach) > {e siswini}
{u muvu} (person) > {e matwini}
{i nkungu} (mist) > {e nkungwini}

It is to be noted that the form {e ndlwini} < *inclu* (hut, house), though used so commonly in literature, is not used in present-day speech. Nor does it seem to exist in any living Nguni language or dialect. As far as the present writer has been able to investigate, the universal form is {e ndlini}.

(Cf. Doke : Zulu Footnote 3 p. 233)

(6) Final {u}, if preceded by a denti-labial consonant or consonant-combination, or by {w}, becomes {i} before -ni. (Cf. 2.95.
(a) (3)).

**Examples.**

{i lifu} (cloud) > {e lifini}
{i ndlovu} (elephant) > {e ndlovini}
{a mahlamvu} (ferns) > {e mahlamwini}
{i lillewu} (seed) > {e mbhewuini}
{i sikhewu} (gap) > {e sikhewini}

(7) A final syllabic {m} becomes {mi} before -ni.

**Examples.**

{i nomu} (tip) > {e nomini}
{i bhem} (blue crane) > {e bhemini}
{i xam} (cannibal) > {e ximini}
{i xham} (hartebeest) > {e xhamini}
{u bhem} (life) > {e bominini}

(8) Final {g}, if preceded by a bilabial consonant or consonant-combination, becomes {a} before -ni; and in many cases the preceding bilabial undergoes phonological changes as described earlier. (see 2.51.)

**Examples.**

{m > ny e.g. u mlomo} (mouth) > {a mlonwini}
{ph > tin e.g. i ncorho} (pinnacle) > {a ncotheni}
{bh > j e.g. i pxrobho} (marsh) > {a pxojeni}

/ mp ntf .........
examples cont.  
mbh > nj  e.g. u mlambho > e mlanjeni  
mp > nti e.g. u buhlwempu (poverty) > e buhlwentjini  
b > ty e.g. i dobo (jungle) > e dotyeni

(9) Final u, if preceded by a bilabial consonant or 
consonant-combination, becomes i before -ni, and in some 
cases the preceding bilabial undergoes the phonological 
changes described in (8) above.

Examples
a baThembhu (Thembhu people) > e baThenjini  
i ngcambhu (root) > e ngcanjini  
a mathumbhu (entrails) > e mathunjini  
i sidubu (clump of ndubu trees) > e sidutyini

(10) Nouns of Class 10 that employ contracted prefixes in 
other circumstances employ their full prefixes, and nouns of 
Class 11 that employ no prefixes in other circumstances 
normally employ them in this formation.

Examples
ii nkomo (cattle) > e zinkomeni  
ii nyawo (feet) > e zinyaweni  
ii ndzipho (claws) > e zindzijheni  
u nyawo (foot) > e lunyaweni  
u zipho (claw) > e luzitjheni  
u sapho (family) > e luaatjheni

But in some cases the prefix of Class 11 may be excluded even in 
this formation. Thus u nxweme (bank, brink, shore, coast) 
may become e lunxwemeni or e nxwemeni, especially if the 
locative is followed by a wqualificative that brings out the 
appropriate concord e.g. e nxwemeni lo mlambho (on the bank 
of the river).

(11) In general, proper names of places do not suffix -ni.

Examples
u Suthu (Basutoland) > e luSuthu  
i Dutywa (Idutywa) > e Dutywa  
i Gcuwa (Butterworth) > e Gcuwa

*But see 4.63.
examples cont.

\[ i \text{ Nciba (Kei River)} \rightarrow e \text{ Nciba} \]

\[ i \text{ Monti (East London)} \rightarrow e \text{ Monti} \]

The form \( e \text{ Montini} \) occurs very frequently in the praise-poems Zemke e.g. p. 249. Evidently the dropping of the suffix is a recent thing.

(12) But there are many settlements that derive their names from some physical feature of the place where they are established. The name is primarily the generic name of the physical feature, and its use to signify the settlement is merely secondary. Place names of this kind generally employ the suffix.

Examples

\[ i \text{ Dike (Alice)} \rightarrow e \text{ Dikeni} \]

from \( i \text{ dike (vlei)} \)

\[ i \text{ Rhawuti (Johannesburg)} \rightarrow e \text{ Rhawutini} \]

from \( i \text{ rhawuti (gold)} \)

\[ i \text{ Theku (Durban)} \rightarrow e \text{ Thekwini} \]

from \( i \text{ theku (bay)} \)

(13) In some cases the original derivation loses its significance and the noun retains -ni even in its non-locative use. Thus \( e \text{ sidutyini} \), which is derived from \( i \text{ siduku (clump of mdubu trees)} \) has the form \( i \text{ sidutyini} \) and not \( i \text{ sidubu} \) in the non-locative form use. Similarly, \( e \text{ Tyeni} \), the name of a village in the district of Tsolo in the Transkei, from \( i \text{ litve (stone)} \), has the non-locative form \( i \text{ Tyeni} \).

(14) There are some nouns that do not ordinarily take the suffix -ni. The list given below, which is practically exhaustive, shows that these nouns indicate definite points of place or time. They group themselves as follows:

(a) In respect of the human body:

\[ i \text{ bundzi (forehead)} \rightarrow e \text{ bundzi} \]

\[ i \text{ sibunu (posterior)} \rightarrow e \text{ sibunu} \]

\[ f \text{ u mhlans ...} \]

\[ \text{**On the other hand } i \text{ Goli, < Eng. gold, which is used in East Griqualand and Pondoland for "Johannesburg", becomes } e \text{ Goli, and not } e \text{ Golini.} \]
examples cont.

(u nhlana (back) > e nhlana
 i khosi (back of head) > e khosi
 i nentau (" " " ) > e nentau
 u moqolo (spinal column) > e moqolo or e qolo
 i ntloko (head) > e ntloko

(b) In respect of the home:

u nhlanti (cattlefold) > e nhlanti
 i khaya (homestead) > e khaya
 i ntungo (upper part of roof as seen from inside) > e ntungo
 u nnyango (doorway) > e nnyango
 i thale (lost for storing provisions) > e thale
 i ziko (hearth) > e ziko

(c) In respect of social institutions and activities:

i bhotwe (chief's crest) > e bhotwe
 i bhandla (court assembly) > e bhandla
 i phulo (hunting expedition) > e phulo
c tion on very large scale
 i phhima (hunting expedition) > e phhima
tion on a lesser scale,
 i thanga (reserve pasture) > e thanga

(d) In respect of points, directions or localities:

u kebole (left-hand side) > e kebole
 u kumene (right-hand side) > e kumene
 u mvu (back, behind) > e mvu
 a mantla (upper regions) > e mantla
 a ntloko (head, waters) > e ntloko
 a mazantli (lower regions) > e mazantli
 u lwandle (sea) > e lwandle
 i nkangala (wilderness) > e nkangala
 i ntlanga (wilderness/ desert) > e ntlanga

/ i mmumalanga .......
examples cont.

i empalanga (east) > e empalanga
i ntjoni-langa (west) > e ntjoni-langa

(d) Times of the day and seasons of the year:

i mini (day-time) > e mini
i niikela-langa (afternoon) > e niikela-langa
u busuku (night-time) > e busuku
i ntlakohlaza (spring) > e ntlakohlaza
i ntwasakhlobo (early) > e ntwasakhlobo
u kwindla (autumn) > e kwindla
u busika (winter) > e busika

Exception: i hlobo (summer) > *hlotyeni

But even some of these locatives may employ the suffix when followed by a qualitative.

Examples:
e bundzini le mntwana (on the forehead of the child)
e khenye lasho (at his home)
e zikhweni la mfuve (at the centre of learning)

lit. "at the heart of learning".

wabasklu e zndernini lasho (he addressed himself to) (his court assembly)

e zmndeni o lundzulu (in a deep sea)

4.60. The following locative expressions have become stereotyped, and the nouns involved in them have lost their independent existence:

e le and e sa (out of sight), e ndle (open veld),
e ndla (upper side, north), e xantsi (lower side, (south)
e lubala (used figuratively with the meaning "in full view" "unconcealed".

4.61. The principle underlying the use or dropping of the suffix -ni may be stated as follows:

With nouns indicating things in general, the suffix is employed, e.g. e mlani > u mlambho (river),

/e dololphini

*In Zulu, Hlubi, Rhodesian Ndebele and the Swazi sub-groups, the form is e hlobo.
But with nouns indicating things that are fixed and of necessity occur singly in the particular context, the suffix is not used. Ordinarily there is only one place that an individual regards as "home", hence e khaya. In a hut there is only one doorway, one hearth and one roof top, and the positions of these are fixed, hence e mvango, e ziko and e ntungo. In the home there is only one cattlefold, and its position is fixed, hence e bophanta. Similarly, the day consists of day-time and night-time, and the year consists of the seasons. Ordinarily we think and talk of "the sea" as something fixed, and the human head, forehead, spinal column as fixed things in fixed positions, and so on.

It is only in certain circumstances that a speaker finds it necessary to recognise the fact that there are other homes, hearths, cattlefolds, heads etc. The use of the qualitative implies such recognition. "Home" is no longer one fixed spot in his mind, and therefore the noun indicating "home" is treated like any other noun. Similarly, the sea is regarded as "the sea" so long as everything about it seems uniform. But it becomes necessary to think in terms of different seas when there is something unusual about "the sea" e.g. unusual depth, excessive heat etc. In that context there is no longer a fixed place known as "the sea". There is a hot sea, a deep sea etc. "Sea" indicates one of several ordinary things of that kind, and is treated as such. This explains why nouns indicating proper names of places do not generally use the suffix.

The principle stated above holds for Sotho as well. Ordinarily, the nouns khotla (court) and leifo (hearth) for instance, do not employ the locative suffix -ng to give these nouns a locative import. But before qualificatives the suffix is employed e.g. khotleng la Masopha (at Masopha's court), leifong lena (on this hearth). (see Jacottet, Sesuto Language, § 64).
4.62. There are some nouns that form the locative exclusively by means of the prefix ku-. These are as follows:

(1) Nouns of Classes 1 and 2 signifying kinship:

Examples.

- mkhuluwa (elder brother) -> kumkhuluwa
- bakhuwa (elder brothers) -> kubakhuwa
- czukulwana (grand-child) -> kumzukulwana
- bazukulwana (grand-children) -> kubazukulwana
- mkhazi (child's in-law) -> kumkhozi
- bakhozi (child's in-laws) -> kubakhozi

(2) Nouns of Classes 1 and 2 signifying agents or doers:

Examples.

- mbhali (writer) -> kumbhali
- babhali (writers) -> kubabhali
- mfundi (reader, student) -> kumfundii
- bafundi (a, an, s) -> kubafundi
- mlimi (farmer) -> kulmi
- balimi (farmers) -> kulalimi

(3) Nouns of Classes 1a and 2a:

Examples.

- bawo (my father) -> kubawo
- oobawo (my fathers) -> koobawo
- malsume (my mother's brother) -> kumalsume
- oomalsume (my mother's brothers) -> koomalsume
- xam (monitor lizard) -> kuxam
- ooxam (monitor lizards) -> kooomam

But occasionally one hears e Thixoweni < u Thixo (God)

(4) Compound nouns, excluding those formed by reduplicating the stem. (see 5.16., 5.6, et seq.)

Examples.

- mathwala-ndwe (distinguished) -> kumathwala-ndwe
  (warriors)
- sinkiba-mxhaka (distinguished) -> kusinxiba-mxhaka
  (councillors)
- veza-ndlebe (man with no proper) -> kwiveza-ndlebe
  (status in household)
ntaka-milio (red bulfinch) kwintaka-milio
ndula-mthi (giraffe) kwindula-mthi

But the noun *maphepha-ndaba* (newspapers) may become *kumaphepha-
ndaba* or *emaphemzi-ndaba*.

4.63. The phonological changes in modern locative construction

In regard to the phonological changes described
under Rules (8) and (9) in 4.59, when the present writer set
out to investigate them, he was under the impression that the
nouns in which they occur are comparatively few. The
intention was to record as many of these nouns as could be
found, and, if possible, to arrive at some rule or rules why
the changes do not occur.

The result of the investigation reveals the following
facts:

(1) The nouns in which the changes do not occur are,
in fact, about as many as, if not more than, those in which
the changes do occur.

(2) If there are any rules, they are very elusive
indeed, and it would be very difficult to discover them for
the following reasons:

(a) Informants are never certain, and sometimes
their evidence is conflicting.

(b) The alternative *ku-* is very convenient for both
speakers and writers whenever they are uncertain.

In regard to (a), even recorded things have
been disputed. McLaren records *ebuhlwentjini* as the locative
form of *ubuhlwemphu* (poverty) (§ 23). It was interesting to
find that most Xhosa speakers use *e buhlwemphu*, and that
the few informants who use *ebuhlwentjini* are literate people
who have in all probability been influenced by the teaching of
grammar at school.

/to give another.....
To give another instance, T.B. Soga, who is generally accepted as an authority on Xhosa, uses nasezingutyeni instead of nasezingubeni (even on the blankets). (Intalo, p.145). The present writer has not heard or seen this form anywhere. Is it possible that Soga too was influenced by a knowledge of grammar?

It is left to future research workers to investigate, whether there are rules or not to determine the changes.

Are locatives substantival or adverbial?

4.64. It must now be decided whether locatives from nouns are to be regarded as substantival or adverbial in function. McLaren regards them as "nouns in the "locative case" or "locative form". (§ 31). Bennie regards them as "nouns in the locative form". (p.68). Of Zulu locatives, Doke says: "Locatives are adverbs formed by the inflexion of substantives". (§ 577). In Bantu Linguistic Terminology he says: "In Bantu the locative is not a case, but generally locative adverbs are formed from substantives e.g. Xhosa: amahaji aza kungena emasimini (the horses are about to enter the garden)." Then he goes on to say: "In Central Bantu languages there are locative noun classes with prefixes pa-, ku- and mu-, in which the locative may be subject or object of the sentence." (pp.140 - 141). He then gives an illustration from Lamba.

4.65. It is an indisputable fact that all locatives can be used adverbially, and it is no less true that some locatives function exclusively as adverbials in Nguni. But below are copious examples to establish that locatives do function substantivaly. They can be subject or object, and they govern concord.

N.B. Under each heading, the first sentence includes a non-locative substantive about which there can be no dispute. This is done to illustrate the similarity in function between and the locative expressions in the succeeding sentences.

185.
(1) As subject:
Umzi we nkosisi uyabonakala (The chief's homestead is in sight)
Phambili kuyabonakala (The front-side is in sight)
KuQumbhu kuyabonakala (The Qumbhu-place is in sight)
Kwa Mhlontlo kuyabonakala (Mhlontlo's domain is in sight)
Kulo Nozici kuyabonakala (Nozici's people's place is in sight)
Ko kwethu kuyabonakala (My mother's house is in sight)
E Sulenkama kuyabonakala (The Sulenkama-place is in sight)
E khaya kuyabonakala (Home is in sight)
E zantsi kuyabonakala (The bottom is in sight).
(2) As object:
Ndibonise a bazali bakho (Show me your parents)
Ndibonise kuQumbhu (Show me the Qumbhu-place)
Ndibonise kwa Mhlontlo (Show me Mhlontlo's domain)
Ndibonise kulo Nozici (Show me Nozici's people's place)
Ndibonise ko kwethu (Show me your mother's house)
Ndibonise e Sulenkama (Show me the Sulenkama-place)
Ndibonise e khaya (Show me our home)
Ndibonise e zantsi (Show me the bottom)
(3) As object, with an object concord referring to it:
Uyamazi u Mhlontlo? (Do you know Mhlontlo?)
Uyakwazi kuQumbhu? (Do you know the Qumbhu-place?)
Uyakwazi kwa Mhlontlo? (Do you know Mhlontlo's domain?)
Uyakwazi kulo Nozici? (Do you know Nozici's people's place)
Uyakwazi ko kwethu? (Do you know my mother's house?)
Uyakwazi e Sulenkama? (Do you know the Sulenkama-place?)
Uyakwazi e khaya? (Do you know our home?)
Uyakwona e zantsi? (Do you see the bottom?)
(4) As pronouns (subject as well as object):
U Mhlontlo yena uyabonakala (As for Mhlontlo, he is in sight)
Kwa Mhlontlo khona kuyabonakala (As for Mhlontlo's domain, it is in sight)
Apho khona kuyabonakala (As for that place, it is in sight)
Kwa Mhlontlo khona ndiyakwazi (As for Mhlontlo's domain, I know it)
Kulo Nozici khona ndiyakwazi (As for Nozici's people's place, I know it)
examples (cont.)
Ko kwenu khona ndiyakwazi (As for your mother's house, I know it)
Uyakwazi apha? (Do you know this place?)
cf. Uyamazi lo? (Do you know this one?)
(5) As Subject or Object, with qualificatives:
Lonke elo lizwe liyabonakala (That whole country is in sight)
Ndiyalazi lonke elo lizwe (I know that whole country)
Konke kwa Nhlonlo kuyabonakala (The whole of Nhlonlo's domain is in sight)
Ndiyakwazi konke kwa Nhlonlo (I know the whole of Nhlonlo's domain)
Konke apha kuyabonakala (The whole of that place is in sight)
Konke e Sulenkama kuyabonakala (The whole of the Sulenkama-place is in sight)
Ndiyakwazi konke e Sulenkama (I know the whole of the Sulenkama-place)
Andikuthandi e ndlin' apha (I do not like the interior of this house)
cf. apha e ndlini (here in the house), in which both apha and e ndlini are adverbials.

4.66. There can be no doubt that the function of the locatives in the above illustrations is substantival, and that the locatives govern concords. It is important to note, however, that they all employ the concords of Class 17.

4.67. Locatives that may function substantivaly
4.67. It must again be stressed that while all locatives may function adverbially, not all may function substantivaly. Only locatives indicating "place" may have a substantival function, and of these only those that fall within certain groups. The groups are as follows: -
(1) All the Class 16 nouns that have no temporal meaning e.g. phakathi (interior).
(2) All locative demonstratives related to Class 16. e.g. apha.
(3) All locatives indicating proper names of places, e.g. kucumbhu, e Sulenkama, e Thekwini (Durban).
(4) All locatives formed by preceding kw, kule or ke to substantives e.g. kwe chibombo (chibombo's domain), kwan (my house), kule kosini (kosini's mother's house), ke kwani (your mother's house).

(5) All locatives that have -est-they are formed from nouns that have lost their independent existence e.g. e zontoi (see 4.66).

(6) All locatives in 4.56 (11) (b) and (d), e.g. e bhaya, e ntunga, e luandle, e mpumalanga, and also e bhetwe and e theuma in (c).

It is at once apparent that locatives formed by suffixing -mi are mainly adverbial. This is a general guiding rule. But there are some locatives of this kind that may be used substantively in the context described in 4.61.

Examples

(i) a lundini < u lundi (horizon, mountain-range) may function substantively when it means "The Mountain-Range", i.e. where u lundi has become more of a proper name than a descriptive term.

ii) a lundini okubonakali nec ne ye phunya (The Mountain-Range is not visible on account of the fog)

Mlibonise a lundini (show me the Mountain-Range)
Mlikwakumboni a lundini (I see the Mountain-Range)

(ii) a ndini < a ndlu (house) may function as a substantive when it bears the meaning "inside the house" in contrast to phandle (outside) or e bhlanti (the cattlefold) i.e. in a context in which the house as a whole constitutes a complete "universe" in which each and every institution has its proper name, vis. i ndlu, u bhlanti etc.

4.68. We can now sum up the above as follows:

Any locative that signifies the name of a place can be used substantively. Now, within a particular context or "universe of thought", any substantive signifying the name of a place may assume the status of a proper name. Any locative formed from such a substantive may function as a substantive.
Thus for instance, within the "universe of thought" indicated below, the following may assume the status of proper names of places and, if they are already in a locative form, they can function substantively:

1. **With the interior of the hut as a "universe"**:
   - umnyango (the doorway), i ziko (the hearth)
   - i ntungo (the rooftop)

2. **With the homestead as a "universe"**
   - i ndlu (the house proper), phandle (outside)
   - u buhlenti (the cattlefold)

3. **With the village as a "universe"**
   - i khaya (my home), kwa sibonda (the headman's house)
   - kule Sipho (Sipho's people's house), i sikolo (school)
   - ko kwenu (your baba's house), e ndle (the open veld)
   - u mthombho (the spring)

4. **With the landscape as a "universe"**
   - phonoshono (this side), pheshaya (the farther side)
   - u lundi (the horizon), i mpumalanga (the east)
   - i lwandle (the sea)

5. **With the tribal territory as a "universe"**
   - ko mkulu (the great place),
   - a mathaanga (the reserve pastures)

4.69. **The lost noun-classes.**

As mentioned earlier, the prefix mu- of Class 18 has disappeared and this class has merged completely with Class 3, whose prefix i is also m(u)-

Classes 12 and 13, whose prefixes are tu- and ka- respectively, have a diminutive significance, tu- being the plural form corresponding to ka-, which is singular. These classes are still to be found outside the South Eastern Bantu zone. In Lamba, for instance, the word for "dog" is imbuya. / a puppy is......
A "puppy" is utubwa and "puppies" are utubwa, in Illo we find
mashimbi (girl), kashimbi (young girl), tsashimbi (young girls)
(Cf., with: Handbook of the Illo language, p. 23)

In Illoa these prefixes have been replaced by diminutive
suffixes, e.g. niya (dog), niyana (puppy). The dropping of
the prefixes resulted naturally in the entire disappearance
of these two classes. (For diminutives see 5.12, et pass.)

The prefix pi- of Ur-Bantu Class 19 is also a diminutive
prefix. It has disappeared in Illoa, according to Reinhol,
p has, by a process of sound-shifting, gradually developed
between the p and the i, owing to the closeness of the
latter, and finally the p has disappeared entirely in Illoa,
leaving pi. (Phonology, p. 26, 8p>rei>pi). It would
seem that in Illoa this pi- has become identical with the
pi- of Class 7 (< Ur-Bantu pi-). This would explain the
diminutive significance of this prefix in certain cases:

niyana (burning-glass) as against niyana (sun)
siyana (small cliff) as against siya (cliff)
(Cf. 4.26, (4)).

In a few instances ni- is compounded with nia to form
sinya, e.g. singa (man) < singa-entu
(See 5.10.)

The prefixes of Classes 20 to 23 have an
augmentative significance. In Sanda, Classes 20 and 21 may
have also a depreciatory connotation (Cf., with: hantu languages,
p. 66-7). In Illoa, augmentation is expressed by means of
of a suffix, and this has replaced the prefixes of these
classes, and the prefixes have therefore disappeared. The
Illoa augmentative suffix -kasi, which has replaced the
augmentative prefixes, conveys a notion of depreciation
too in certain instances, e.g. fso (man), ekokasi (stranger)
(See 5.22.).
Present-day tendencies in regard to the noun-class prefixes

together

4.70. The tendency to merge as many noun-classes as possible has been going on all the time and is still going on. Evidence of this is to be found in the treatment of single words as well as in the treatment of whole classes of nouns. The main factors in this process are definitely similarity of meaning and similarity of sound.

4.71. A single instance of similarity of meaning transferring a noun from one class to another is that of the noun nyana (son). As other Bantu languages show, e.g. Lemba, Konga, Sanda, Nyunja and Bemba, this noun was once upon a time wana, a noun of Class 1. The word became ny (cf. 2.47.), and wana became nyana. Since ny was no longer felt to be the prefix, the whole of wana came to be treated as the stem, and as most nouns of kinship belong to Classes 1a and 2a, wana was transferred to these classes, nyana being the plural form. By a similar phonological process, wana became nyana in botho, but nyana remains a noun of Class 1 with the plural form bana.

4.72. A word that can be said to be in mid-stream, as it were, between one class and another is the noun nyana (year). Its original stem is waka (< Ur-Bantu -aka). As a noun of Class 3 it became waka. Here too the ny became ny and consequently the stem was nyaka. Since the noun still belonged to Class 3, the speakers of the language prefixed another ny-, making wnyaka, with the logical plural nyaka. But at the present time ny is disappearing and waka is becoming a noun of Class 1a, with the logical plural nyaka.

4.73. In Shilu the prefix ny- of Class 1a has disappeared and nouns of that class have gone to Class 15. This tendency is very strong in the Shilu-speaking areas of the Transkei too, especially in the locative formation. Thus one / often ...
often hears a kubanti for a bukanti (cattlegarden),
 a buwani for a buwani (face), a kusuku for a bukus (night),
 a kusika for a bukika (winter).
The explanation here is the similarity of sound between bu-
and ku- and the fact that in general these two classes are to
classes of abstract nouns.

4.74. Owing to the li- in the prefixes li- and lu- there
is a strong tendency to substitute li- for lu-
(my opinion)
I live in lu hindo. This is most noticeable in the
Khoi regions of Pottemworth, Umgumabhe and Tseko (so-called
Ringoland), although the people there claim to speak Xhosa.
In the Khoi dialect lu- has disappeared, and all the nouns
of Class li have gone to Class 5, and they employ the Class 6
prefix to form the plural. Thus we find all donwa for
olul donwa (this clay), all kusika for olul kusika (this mat),
la mahluko for all nkuke (these mats), all pwo lem for
(my foot)
y pwo lem, a kusike wule for ll pwo lem (his feet).

4.75. Children, and sometimes grown-ups too, often make
an amusing confusion of the concords of Classes 1 and 3.
Because the prefixes are similar, the tendency is to
"personify" non-personal things of Class 3.

Examples

(1) Andimfumi la mbuli for Andimfumi la mblu
(I don't want this gravy)
(2) Nkiska wambo! y mabul, for Nkiska wambo! y mabul?
(have you ever seen a hare?)

4.76. While the majority of grown-ups do not make this
general confusion of class prefixes and concords, they often
do so in regard to specific words, for instance, abhona (maize)

At the age of seven, Zweledin, son of the present writer,
went so far as to use a bwundle as the plural of u bwundle
(hare),
is a noun of Class 1a, and its plural is omphona. But many
grown-ups say umphona instead of omphona. This is quite
understandable. To begin with, there is the initial e, which
suggests the u of Class 3, and then there is the meaning of
the word - Class 3 is the class of trees and other plants.
4.77. Sometimes confusion arises because one form or
another is irregular. The noun lise (eye) of Class 5 has the
irregular plural template - irregular in prefix and stem. As a
result of this, there are people who treat template as the
stem, and one hears the astounding form b template for
b lise lem (my eye). There is, of course, an alternative
explanation to this, people more generally talk about a noble
than a lise or a litle. It is only when something has happened
to the eye, for example, when it is sore, that it becomes
necessary to talk of "one eye". Then the unusual singular form
does not immediately come to the fore. The derivation of a
singular form from a plural one is not unknown in language.
It is a regular feature of the Semitic family of languages.
(See Turner, Language Families of Africa, pp 88-9)
4.78. Mention may also be made of the nouns buna (right-
hand house) and kwindle (autumn) and their concords. In Bhamo,
buna and bunsu are used interchangeably. In Bano, only
buna is used, e.g. ubumsu bu buna (baka's right-hand
house) (Note Addasa : Hula laa Bano). In regard
to kwindle there are differences of opinion. There are as
many good Bhamo-speakers who say u kwindle bala mwa ife as there
are those who say u kwindle bala mwa ife (the autumn of this
year). Then there are also those who say u bkwindle.
4.79. Taking what we consider to have happened in the past,
together with the supporting evidence of present-day
tendencies, we are in a position to answer the question: How
do noun-class prefixes disappear? The evidence we have points
out clearly that one of the major factors is false analogy -
analogy of sound and analogy of meaning.

/analogy
Analogies of Sound: Prefixes with similar sounds tend to merge together, most probably by first of all confusing their concords:

- Classes 1 and 3: \( m^- \)
- Classes 3 and 18: \( m^- \)
- Classes 5 and 11: \( l^- \)
- Classes 7 and 19: \( s^- \)
- Classes 14 and 15: \( b^- \)
- Classes 15 and 17: \( k^- \)

Analogies of meaning: Prefixes that have similar meanings tend to merge together, or to share concords:

- Persons Classes: 1, 1a, 2 and 2a.
- Abstract Classes: 14 and 15.
- Locative Classes: 16, 17 and 18.

The other major factor has been the replacing of prefixes by suffixal formatives, \( \text{viz:} \)

1. The locative suffix \(-\text{mi} \) which has partially replaced the locative prefixes.
2. The diminutive suffixes that have replaced the diminutive prefixes.
3. The augmentative suffix that has replaced the augmentative prefixes.
5.1. Nouns are derived from other nouns as well as from all other parts of speech in Xhosa.

5.2. Nouns are derived from other nouns by means of prefixes or suffixes.

5.3. Nouns of Class 1, signifying names of tribes or class, are derived from nouns of Class 1a, signifying names of progenitors, actual or supposed, by prefixing the Class 1 prefix.

**Examples.**

- **Nguni** > mNguni (person of Nguni tribe)
- **Thembhu** > mThembhu (person of Thembhu tribe)
- **Xhosa** > mXhosa (person of Xhosa tribe)

5.4. But if the personal name commences with a syllabic m, this m is by analogy treated as if it were the prefix m of Class 3, so that the succeeding consonant becomes the initial phone of the stem of the plural noun signifying the people of the tribe or clan, and the prefix before it is **mi-**

**Examples.**

- **Mdange** > miMdange > miMdange (people of Mdange)
- **Mditjhwa** > mMdijthwa > miMdijthwa (Mditjhwa's section of the Mpondomise)
- **Mdushane** > mMdushane > miMdushane (Mdushane's section of the Xhosa)
- **Mgudlwa** > mGudlwa > miGudlwa (Mgudlwa's section of the Thembhu)
- **Mhlontlo** > mMhlontlo > miMhlontlo (Mhlontlo's section of the Mpondomise)
- **Mthethwa** > mMthethwa > miMthethwa (Mthethwa's section of the Zulu)
- **Mlungwana** > mMlungwana > miMlungwana (name of Mpondomise clan)

*In Zulu these people are known as a ba kwa Mthethwa (those of Mthethwa's house)*
5.5. **Nouns of Class Ia, signifying title-names, are derived from other nouns of Class Ia, signifying clan and/or personal names, in the following ways:**

(a) Those signifying "daughter of" or "mother originating from the clan of" by prefixing *-oxo* to the clan or personal name.

**Examples**

- **Dosi lox (clan name) > Dosi oxo (Daughter of the Dosi lox)**
- **Udleyu (""") > Udleyu (""") > Udleyu (""")
- **Ton u (clan) > Ton u (""") > Tone u (""")
- **Sarhili (personal name) > Sarhili (""")**

Prefixing *-oxo* directly to the personal name of the progenitor or father is the more general form amongst the Zunji as a whole. But the Xhosa proper have a tendency to prefix *-oxo* to the name of the clan, as derived in 5.3.

**Examples**

- **Cwerha > mCwerha > lanCwerha**
- **Sukwini > mSukwini > lanSukwini**
- **Tihawe > mTihawe > lanTihawe**

But this form is occasionally found in some of the non-Xhosa proper dialectal groups too:

- **Thombo > mThombo > lanThombo**
- **Tolo > mTolo > lanTolo**

(b) Those signifying "mother of" by prefixing *no-* (< *nina wabo*) to the personal name of the son or daughter.

**Examples**

- **Simangole > Simangole (Mother of Simangole)**
- **iSimhulu > isiSimhulu (""")**

Among the Nguni, especially, matrons are as proud to be addressed this way as Cornelia was to be known as "Mother of the Gracchi".

(c) Those signifying "father of" by prefixing *go-* (< *vigo wabo*), to the personal name of the son or daughter.
Examples

Ilanga > Soloansa (Father of Ilanga)
Dma > SoDama (Father of Dma)
Thambha > SoThambha (Father of Thambha)
(d) Those signifying "life of" by prefixing plan- to the personal name of the husband.

Examples

Ilanga > Eldilanga (Wife of Ilanga)
Thambha > ElaThambha (Wife of Thambha)

5.6. Nouns of Class 1a are also derived from nouns of other classes by prefixing no- and no- to signify "father of", and "mother of" respectively. Both no- and no- may also signify "possessor of".

Examples

Bantu > Nobantu and Sbantu
Matipa > Nomadipa and Pomadipa
Siwe > Nociwe and Soinwe

5.7. Nouns of Class 1a signifying personal names of people are derived from nouns of all classes by taking the original prefix part of the stem and changing the class of the noun.

Examples

Nfana (young man) > Lfana, oolifano
Nawa (experience) > Lava, oolina
Sirho (gift) > Olirho, oosirho
As names of persons, names derived from Class 11 nouns usually assume their original prefix, lu-, even if their stems are not monosyllabic.

Examples

( lu)didi (rank) > Ludidi, ooludidi
(lu)cinwa (thread) > Lucinwa, oolucinwa
(lu)thulil (dust) > Luthulil, ooluthulil
(lu)sho (meal, clay) > Lusho, oosho

5.8. Nouns of Class 2a are derived directly from nouns of other classes in the following ways:

(c) ...........
(a) If a common personal noun of any class signifies a specific individual for whom it is habitually used so if it were a personal name, it forms a plural indicating "that person and those in his company" by prefixing oo-.

**Examples**

- nfunzini (teacher) > oo-nfunzini (the teacher and those in his company)
- abanda (headmen) > oo-abanda (the headmen and those in his company)

(b) By pro-prefixing oo- to plural prefixes of other classes, nouns of Class 2a signifying "the person or things named and their kind" are formed.

**Examples**

- bhekobo (traders) > oobhekobo (traders and that sort of people)
- bethu (other people) > oobethu (other people and people like that)
- riudo (dancers) > oorriudo (dance and other entertainments of that kind)
- raha (heroes) > ooraha (heroes and animals like that)
- niccola (cripples) > ooniccola (cripples and others similarly afflicted)

(c) To the singular prefixes bu- and bu- the prefix oo- is pro- prefixed to give abstract nouns the same significance as the nouns in (a) above.

**Examples**

- bululwana (poverty) > oobululwana (poverty and other such forms of misery)
- buluwana (sickness) > oobuluwana (sickness and similar affections)
- bunzana (drunkenness) > oobunzana (drunkenness and similar vices)
- bulima (ploughing) > oobulima (ploughing and similar occupations)
- buluva (stock-brooding) > oobuluva (stock-brooding and occupations)
- lubukutha (sorcery) > oolubukutha (sorcery and similar practices)

This formation is employed in regard to places-names to express the idea "such-and-such a place and places like it".
This is done by pro-prefixing go- to the logical plural of the noun signifying the place named, even though the plural form is not normally used.

Examples

_entho (Dashoo River) > _entmpho (the Dashoo and rivers of that kind)

(Cape Town) > _ent metapho (Cape Town and cities like that)

(t. Lark's) > _ent mutvin (st. Lark's and similar places)

Habartha (Habartha River) _ent Habarthe (the Habartha and rivers of that kind)

5.9. From some locative nouns of Class 18 and from the attested _nolo, _ntlo and _ntandi, nouns of Clauses 3, 5 and 6 are formed. The nouns thus formed still have a locative meaning and, in most cases, they hardly differ in meaning from the nouns from which they are derived.

Clauses 3

_phonulu (sky-side) > _phonulu (top, upper part)
_phantai (ground-side) > _phantai (bottom, lower part)
_phakathi (inside) > _phonkathi (interior, inner part)
_phandle (outside) > _phonandle (exterior, outer part)
_phambili (front-side) > _phonambili (front, forport)
_ntlo (top, higher end) > _ntlo (upper portion)
_santai (bottom, lower end) _ntandi (lower portion)

Clauses 5 and 6

_pheneolo (last night) > _pheneolo (previous night),
_rapheneolo
_phakade (infinite spaces of time) > _phakade (same meaning),
_phandle (outside) > _phandle (open country),
_phakathi (inside) > _phakathi (inner council),
_raphakathi (members of inner council)

Note, A single councillor is called _phonkathi, Class 1.

_ntlo (open vold) > _linelo (surrounding for excreta)
From three of the locative nouns above we form nouns of Class 6 that have no corresponding singular forms. These are:

- *phambhili* (euphemism for human male genital organs, lit. "front regions") < *phambhili* (front-side)
- *manto* (higher or upper regions) < *manto* (top, upper end)
- *manantai* (lower regions) < *manantai* (bottom, lower end).

**8.10.** The compound prefixal formative *singa-*. 

Earlier in this treatise it was illustrated that the prefix *ni-* (or *na-*) of Class 7 sometimes has a diminutive significance. *ni-* is compounded with *pna-* to form *singa-* which is pre-prefixed to a noun of any class to form a noun of Class 11 with a depreciatory connotation. The noun thus formed has its regular plural in Class 23.

**Examples**

- *muntu* (person) > *singamuntu* (mannikin), *sosingamuntu*
- *nkoro* (ox) > *singanrkoro* (puny ox), *sosingankoro*
- *mbhize* (meeting) > *simgambhize* (sham meeting), *sosingambhize*

The formative *pna-* by itself means "like". It is used with this significance in praise-poems.

**Examples**

"Zcshodi lephum' usandoni"  
(Like an ant-bear that slipped out of the hand)  
Lobayi AmiGama, p. 139.

"Untem' incacilicho liratho' olinyo"  
(No whose neck resembles one lizard chasing another)  
Anon: Zamb, p. 196

In all probability this is the same *pna-* as we find in *mcathi* or *imathi* (it is as if).

**Derivation by means of suffixes**

**8.11.** Nouns are derived from other nouns by means of suffixes to signify distinction in respect of size, quantity, age, sex, blood relationship and substance.
Diminutive Suffixes.

5.12. -ana: The formative -ana is suffixed to nouns to signify diminution in respect of size, quantity or age.

Examples.
- sandla (hand) > sandlanana (little hand)
- mandle (strength) > mandle (little strength)
- nja (dog) > njanana (little dog)

5.13. Rules for the formation of diminutives with suffix -ana.

(1) Final -a, -o or -i, if preceded by a non-labial consonant or consonant-combination, is elided before -ana.

Examples.
- mhibiza (pot) > mhibizana (little pot)
- litye (stone) > lityana (little stone)
- mbndizi (water) > mbndizana (little water)

(2) Final -o or -u, if preceded by w or by a dento-labial consonant or consonant-combination, is elided before -ana.

Examples.
- lunywko (foot) > lunywana (small foot)
- befo (men) > befana (young men)
- mavyo (tales) > mavana (little tales)
- zimwpo (ideas) > zimwana (few ideas)
- sikhewu (gap) > sikhewana (small gap)
- lifu (cloud) > lifana (small cloud)
- demphu (species of) > demphana (smaller species of same)
- dlavu (rag) > dlavana (small rag)
- hlamcyvu (herb) > hlamcyana (small herb)

(3) Final -o or -u, if preceded by a non-labial consonant or consonant-combination, becomes w before -ana.

Examples.
- buwo (face) > buwana (small face)
- mpfundo (learning) > mpfundwana (little learning)
- mpumlo (nose) > mpumlwana (small nose)
- mpuku (mouse) > mpukwana (young mouse)
- mntu (person) > mntwana (child)
(4) A bilabial consonant or consonant-combination occurring in the final syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic stem undergoes the phonological changes described in 2.48, and the vowel succeeding it is elided before -ana, irrespective of the quality of the vowel.

$m > ny$ ; $ph > tih$ ; $bh > j$ ; $mp > ntj$ ; $mhh > nij$ ; $b > ty$.

**Examples:**

- *mlomo* (mouth) \( \rightarrow \) *mlonyana* (small mouth)
- *lusapho* (family) \( \rightarrow \) *lusatjhana* (small family)
- *sephe* (spoon) \( \rightarrow \) *setjhana* (little spoon)
- *gxobbo* (swamp) \( \rightarrow \) *gxojana* (little swamp)
- *ntsuna* (wart) \( \rightarrow \) *ntsuntjana* (little wart)
- *mhlanjana* (small flock)
- *coba* (splinter) \( \rightarrow \) *cetjana* (small splinter)
- *chibi* (pond) \( \rightarrow \) *chityana* (little pond)

5.14. The diminutive form of *nyama* (meat) is *nyamana*, and the diminutive of *mnyama* is *mnyamana*. These are perhaps cases of dissimilation. The forms *nyanyana* and *mnyanyana* being likely to obscure the meanings of the words completely, the speakers of the language must have avoided them instinctively.

5.15. Less easy to explain is the use of *nkamana* instead of the more usual *nkonyana < nkomo* (beast) by Ngqhayi, in *Ityala*, p.37. Possibly this is just a peculiarity of the artist. The diminutive suffix in this instance is not used with any of the significations enumerated at the beginning of this section, but with a derogatory connotation as described later (5.38.). Ngqhayi's artistic sense possibly told him that *nkonyana* would not be the best form.

5.16. The changes described in (4) of 5.11. do not affect bilabial consonants in monosyllabic stems. The final vowel of a monosyllabic stem, whatever the quality of the vowel, is elided, but the bilabial is not affected.

/examples
This, in fact, is the general rule with those phonological changes in all the circumstances in which they occur - locative formation, diminutive formation and passive formation.

(Cf. Dolo: En. Gr., p. 204. But note that in Zulu in the monosyllabic stem -thi of uthi (stick) and -the of uthe (thing), th may become sh, as shown in § 205 op. cit.)

6.17. In the double diminutive suffix -manyama < -ana - ana, sh undergoes the same changes as m.

Examples

uqana (young man) > phanyama (small young man)
matuona (child) > matwanana (small child)

(Ex. matwanana is also possible)

5.10. The sound l occurring in the final syllable of a noun-stem may become al before -ana (cf. 2.29.)

Examples

raelo (trench) > racelana, madelana (little trench)
caelo (troop) > acelana, acelana (small troop)
ndelana (path) > ndelama, ndelana (little path)
mathole (calves) > mathelana, matdelana (little calves)
mdelo (knees) > mdelana, madelana (small knees)

5.19. -ana: This diminutive suffix is a modified form of -ana, but the two cannot be used interchangeably, because they are not synonymous. The significance of -ana is strictly diminutive; -ana on the other hand signifies distinction not only in size or quantity but also in essential nature. Thus, from ndlu (but) we have ndlwana (small but) and ndlwana (nec or cage); from phumelana (bull) we have phumelana (bullock) and phumelana (dubbeljies - prickly seeds with "horns" resembling /those...
and from pyre (gall) we have pyrepha (small quantity of gall) and pyrephane (medicinal plant used as a cure for gall sickness).

5,20. From the examples given above, it is clear that -ane has at least three significations, none of which is synonymous with -ane. These significations may be classified as follows:

(1) To signify resemblance in nature or function to the object indicated by the simple form of the noun, and/or comparative smallness in size.

   Examples
   thlabothi (wild currant) > thlabothane (dwarf shrub bearing small berries like those of thlabothi)
   akhana (red tick) > akhane (very small species of red tick)
   nhlonhlonhla (highly scented kind of tree) > nhlonhlonhane (highly scented shrub)
   khona (edible mushroom) > khonane (poisonous mushrooms)
   thunbha (soil) > thunbhe (stye on eyelid)

(2) To signify resemblance in appearance and form to the object indicated by the simple form of the noun, but without making any reference to nature or function.

   Examples
   walla (tail) > wallane (kind of scacia resembling a tail)
   masbha (wings) > masbhalane (horns shaped like the wings of a bird in flight)
   ntshimba (beads) of ntshimhane (trill or worm, resembling string of beads)
   nhundzi (wall) > nhundane (dubheltjies)

Note also masane, as derived from mas (fermented milk), in the compound noun phaza-masane (a species of euphorbia that yields a milk-like juice) < phana (squeese, yield) - masane ("milk"). The form masane means "milk-like substance", while masane means "a small quantity of milk".

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*(Used by bridegrooms and by girls in initiation. For derivation of nhlonhlonhla see 5,71.)

/(3) ********
(5) To signify association with the object indicated by the simple form of the noun, but without making any reference to class or form.

**Examples**

roundu (earthworm) > ntimundwano (lump of earth pushed up by earthworm)

nyomo (call) > nyangwano (curo for cicicicisco)

From the noun-stem -ny on which we build ninyu (stomach in general) and lumu (big stomach of animal) we derive ntonano (small quantity of food in stomach) and nyurano (undigested contents of animal stomach).

5.31. (a) It is noteworthy that the tendency is to associate -no with Class 0, irrespective of the class of the simple noun to which -no is suffixed. Of the examples available here, maidlano and nyurano are the only departures from this general rule. (b) The noun ŋoxelolo (knocks) has the derivative (si)ndolukwano (elbows), often heard in the expression our ŋoxelolo noo ndolukwano (on our knock and elbows - in prayer). We should expect (si)ndolukwano, but somehow the lo was reduplicated.

5.32. It is also noteworthy that ŋol, which is ordinarily not affected by phonological changes in ŋoxoo, undergoes such changes here, e.g. ntumbhethane < thuthhythhi, while mbh, which ordinarily undergoes such changes, is not affected here. e.g. ntumbhane < thumbhe, and ntsembhane < ntsibhi.

5.33. -hane: The formative -hane is suffixed to nouns (a) to form augmentatives, (b) to indicate service, and (c) to indicate blood relationship, e.g. phuthane (river) > phuthbolani (very big river), nhloni (chief) > nhlonholani (chief's cousin), bemo (my father) > benzokani (my father's brother).

5.24. On the surface, these three significations would seem to have nothing in common. But it is possible that reference to Peirce's Law of Polarity might throw some light

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on the general significance of -kazi. The following discussion offers a possible explanation:

As against the normal, which is indicated by the generic name, e.g. nkosi (chief), mlambho (river) and bawo (my father), the form with the suffix -kazi indicates that which, though of the same nature, yet belongs to a different category, on account of certain peculiar features. If the word nkosi is normally accepted as the noun indicating a man who occupies the position of a chief, then nkosi indicates the "normal". A woman occupying the same position is therefore indicated by a word signifying the "non-normal", hence nkosikazi.

Similarly, if the noun mlambho indicates a river of normal size, then a very big river, which is out-of-the-ordinary for size, is indicated by the "non-normal", mlambhekazi; and if bawo indicates "my father", then "my father's brother", who is my father in an out-of-the-ordinary manner in that he is "my father only by virtue of being my father's brother", is a non-normal father, and must therefore be placed in the category of the "non-normal", hence bawokazi.

5,25. To illustrate this point further, reference may be made to the uses of -kazi with kinship terms in Xhosa and Zulu. The Xhosa noun, bawokazi means "my father's brother", but the corresponding Zulu word, babekazi means "my father's sister". If the feminine significance of -kazi is uppermost in the mind, one may be led to think that Xhosa is illogical in this instance. But once it is realized that the paternal aunt is as "extra-ordinary" a father, being a female, as the paternal uncle, who is my father and yet not my father, then the use of -kazi with two seemingly opposed significations is not so puzzling. We can explain the position by saying that the Zulu-speaker is impressed by the femininity of the aunt who is a father, while the Xhosa-speaker is impressed by the extra-ordinary nature of the "fatherness" of the uncle.

/ the use .......
The use of ndodakazi for "husband's sister" in Xhosa and for "daughter" in Zulu is less puzzling because at least in this instance in both languages -kazi indicates a female.

5.26. Another good illustration is the noun mfokazi and its diminutive form, mfokazana. The noun mfokazi is derived from mfo (man). But mfokazi does not mean "woman" or "big man" or "kinsman". It signifies a man of extraordinary appearance or bearing in behaviour, or a stranger, or one whose conduct is of such a nature as to estrange him from other people. Unless -kazi had this broader general significance, the meaning of the diminutive form, mfokazana (mere nobody), would be difficult to explain, for mfokazana would of necessity have one of the following as its meaning:

(1) "a small woman" (feminine signification), (2) "a small big woman" (augmentative signification), (3) "a small kinsman" (relationship signification).

But mfokazana means none of these. Indeed, far from expressing an augmentative, -kazi in this case would seem to help emphasize the obscurity of the man referred to. The implication is that "a mere nobody" cannot be accorded the status of mfo (man), because "nobody knows him". So he is indicated by mfokazi. But even as "an unknown" he is so insignificant that he is indicated by the diminutive of an unknown, -kazana, < -kazi + ana.

5.27. Another word that throws light on the meaning of -kazi is mfasikazi. In Zulu, this word means "a great bulk of a woman". (Doke: Zu. Gr., § 199)

The meaning in Xhosa is clearly brought out by Kropf and Godfrey:

"Lit. a great big woman; used in a good sense it means who commands respect from her appearance, years, conduct, wisdom; in a bad sense it means an imperious woman, who arrogates (to herself) the place and assumes the authority of a man". (Dictionary, p. 99)

"/the last ........."
The last three words in this quotation are very significant. The word normally accepted as indicating the "category" of woman is *mfazi*. But if, by her conduct, a woman reveals qualities or assumes authority that is normally associated with "the other category", then the suffix indicating "the other category" is added, and she becomes *mfazikazi*. So in this particular the significance of -*kazi* is masculine rather than feminine.

5.28. It may also be added in this connection that the word *nkomokazi*, which is not to be found either in Xhosa or in Zulu, is used in Rhodesian Ndebele for "cow" (O'Neil: Ndebele, § 53), and this understandable. But the same word is used in Mpondomise for "a shield made out of ox-hide". The Mpondomise use is significant, for it shows that the shield is "an ox in an extra-ordinary form functioning: extra-ordinarily".

5.29. In the light of the foregoing discussion, -*kazi* can therefore be described as signifying extra-ordinary features in specific circumstances in respect of (a) sex, (b) quantity or size, (c) blood relationship, (d) function.

5.30. In respect of sex:

**Examples.**

| *miungu* (white man) | > *miungukazi* (white woman) |
| *ndlovu* (elephant) | > *ndlovukazi* (cow-elephant) |
| *xhogo* (old man) | > *xhogokazi* (old woman) |

(i) In a few cases the final syllable of the noun stem is elided before -*kazi*.

**Examples.**

| *mnini* (proprietor) | > *mnikazi* (proprietress) |
| *ndzwana* (handsome man) | > *ndzwakazi* (handsome woman) |
| *thole* (young of animal) | > *thokazi* (young female of animal) |
| white | |
| *nala* (ox with spots) | > *nakazi* (cow with same colour-markings) |

(ii) The feminine form of *nkuku* (fowl) is *sikhukuzi* (hen)

/ (iii) the noun .......

*For the kh cf. 4.32.*
(iii) The noun *waba* (black male beast with white abdomen) has the curious feminine form *wasakazi*, instead of *wabakazi*. These words are of Khoisan origin. Both in form and in meaning the *waba* and the *was* of *waba* and *wasaa* respectively show relationship to the characteristic endings -*ab* (masculine) and -*as* (feminine) of Nama nouns, e.g. *goab* (large knife), which is masculine, and *goas* (small knife), which is feminine. In the Khoisan languages in general, -*ab* and -*as* indicate the masculine and feminine respectively, e.g. *khobl* (man), *khols* (woman). See Werner: The Language Families of Africa, p. 92.

In *wasakazi* we therefore have a double-feminine ending, namely, the Nama _ and the Khoes _kazi._

(iv) In some cases the meaning of the feminine form does not correspond exactly to the simple form from which it is derived.

**Examples.**

- *mkhwe* (wife's brother) > *mkhwakazi* (wife's mother)
- *mtjha* (lover) > *mtjhekazi* (bride)

(v) There are a few nouns in the feminine form whose derivation is unknown. e.g. (1) *dikazi*, which means, _inter alia_, an 'unmarried woman who has born a child or children', (2) *salukazi* (old woman), whose stem seems to be the same as the simple stem to which -*phala* is suffixed in the verb-stem -*alphala* (grow old).

5.31. In respect of size and quantity.

**Examples.**

- *mlambho* (river) > *mlambhokazi* (very big river)
- *loyiko* (fear) > *loyikokazi* (very great fear)
- *sitjh* (cloudburst) > *sitjhikazi* (fierce cloudburst)

5.32. In respect of blood relationship.

N.B. This is, confined to the words indicating "father" and "mother". These are as follows:

* *bawo.....*

* For other meanings of this word see Kropf & Godfrey, p. 76.*
examples:

bawo (my father) > bawokazi (my father's brother)
yihio (your father) > yihlokazi (your father's brother)
hye (his father) > visakazi (his father's brother)
m (my mother) > makazi (my mother's sister)
nyoko (your mother) > nyokokazi (your mother's sister)
nins (his mother) > ninakazi (his mother's sister)

N.B. The more affectionate tata (daddy) and mama (mummy) do not employ this suffix.

5.33. -azi: There seems to be no reason to doubt the suggestion made by various writers that the suffixal formative -azi, is a contracted form of -kazi. (Van Warmelo: Transvaal and Ndebele Texts, p. 30; Doke/ Vilakazi: Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 489). Whether this view is correct or not, there is no doubt that in the few instances of its use in Nguni, -azi, unlike -kazi, has an exclusively feminine significance.

5.34. This suffix is found in the Nguni noun mfazi (married woman) < mfo (man), and in the Zulu nouns nkomazi (cow) < nkomo (beast), and mkhomazi (cow-whale) < mkhomo (whale). It is probably the same -azi that is found in the noun mazi (female animal). But the noun from which mazi is derived is difficult to determine. When men talk affectionately of their favourite oxen or horses, they often use the expression i m' a ko wethu (the animal of our family). The second and third person forms, ko wenu and ko wabo are used too. Possibly i m' is a contraction of i mo or i mu, whose feminine form would then be i mazi. On the other hand it is possible that the m' is a contraction of nkomo, in which case the mazi could be regarded as a contracted form of nkomazi, as suggested by Doke/Vilakazi (op. cit.), and that the use of mazi for female animals other than cattle is merely an extension of meaning in the same way as nkonyana < nkomo is used not only for young cattle but also for young colts and sometimes even for /people .......

* The Transvaal Ndebele form is -gazi
people, e.g. a phonem in rho (Adlo's offering).

3.11. -agn- is more extensively used than -ani in its diminutive form, -agana, ( < -ani - ana). This suffix is used as follows:

(a) with generic names, to give them a forming significance

Example
hebo (dove) > hotzicama (female dove)
indo (tortoise) > Hudzicama (female tortoise)
munutu (duiker) > mundzicama (female duiker)

(b) with nouns indicating color, to give them a forming
diminutive significance

Example
photo (chief) > phozacama (prince)
plungu (white woman) > plunguza (little white woman)
plỌr (old man) > phozacama (little old man)

(c) with nouns indicating form, to give them a diminutive
significance

Example
phozacama (carried woman) > pmazacama (small carried woman)
ntombi (maiden) > nthombacama (young maiden)

The suffixing of -agana involves the phonological changes
observed in 5.1. - 5.12, e.g. hebo > hotzicama.

5.39. The noun phozacama - originally a respectful word meaning
woman, but now mostly used to signify "concubine", "prostitute"
and "mistress", as in probably derived from a noun with stem -m, and has
a new obsolete diminutive form, phozacama (young maiden), used
by Siva Gona, West, p. 42. This suggests that phozacama is a
contracted form of phozacama, which in turn supports the view
that -agana is a contracted form of -agana < jan < -ana.
This would mean that -ani is a contracted form of -ana.
For the postulated noun-stem -mu compare pha- (wife of) as
described in 5.5, (d), and also Illa nzintu (woman)

* Cf. 5.49
Combination of suffixal formatives

The suffixes -ana, -kazi and -azi can be combined, as some of the foregoing examples have shown. But they can only do so in a certain order:

(a) -azi precedes -kazi

*e.g.*
mfazikazi (extraordinarily powerful woman)
razikazi (extraordinarily big female animal)

(b) -kazi precedes -ana

*e.g.*
mfokazana (obscure fellow), njakazana (young bitch)

(c) -azi can take -ana before and after it

*e.g.*
ntwanazana (little girl) < nto + ana + azi + ana

(d) -azi can be followed by the double diminutive -anana or -anyana.

*e.g.*
ntombhazanana (very young girl), nkazanyana (same meaning)

Derogatory and affectionate use of noun suffixes

Besides their purely diminutive significance, the suffixes -ana and -azana can have a derogatory significance.

-ana: A speaker, feeling that gwala (coward) is not derogatory enough, may use gwalana, which literally means "little coward". Similarly, xokana may be used instead of xoki (liar), and gibhanxana instead of sibhanza (fool).

In this connection, tradition has it that Shaka never descended to use the proper name of the Lpondo chief, Faku, but always referred to him as lo Pakwana lo (this little Faku this).

Even the present-day Zulu does not hesitate to say lo mSushwana lo (this little Sotho here), when he feels that the Sotho man is "forgetting himself" (mSushwana < mSuthu).

The writer has heard this word only among the non-Shaka people in Mount Furee district. The Shaka-speaking themselves use the form njhatanyana.
5.39. For the affectionate use of -ana we can do no better than quote a passage from Lqhayi's UDOn Jadu, p. 21, in which the hero describes his tender feelings on meeting a boy of girls that he comes upon after all sorts of hair-raising experiences:

"Nditha we ndisiza umxhelo usasindekile kulea makhwenkwe, ndeva kukho indawo etha daçu ; ncayithanda le njolwana iuwula komandi ; ndazithanda ezi nyawana zilolwayo ; ndazithanda ezi nqacaana zithiwe chu kwezi nwelana zikha zebambathwa ; zada ndawathanda nala mazo nezi zamalo xa zisemicaleni ; xa zimbi zehla nesizifuthana ezi, Nghalinye ndida kewsinye isimo kule ntlanyana".

(Although still charged with emotion after leaving those boys, I now experienced a certain amount of relief. I fell in love with the soft and sweet little joyful song. I fell in love with the little feet that were being bathed. I fell in love with the little shells daintily attached to the little tresses so neatly combed and smoothed. I fell in love with these beads and these necklaces, some of which even hung down the little breasts. In a word, I was in an entirely different mood in this little vale).

5.40. -azana: This suffix may have a derogatory significance, especially when applied to grown-ups. Thus from xhago (old man) we derive xhagokazi (old woman), and xhagwazana, which means "crone". From mlungu (white man) we derive mlungukazi (white woman) and mlungwazana, which may be applied to an impertinent white woman or/to a non-white woman who is inclined to ape some of the despised habits and mannerisms of the white woman.

5.41. But as applied to young girls, -azana usually has an affectionate significance. In young girls' names, the feminine prefix no- is usually replaced by the suffix -azana within the immediate circle of friends and relatives.

/Examples .........
5.42. As one of the forms in the foregoing sections have shown, the suffixing of -azana involves phonological changes affecting bilabials before -ana.

Examples.

Nomakhosi > Makhosazana
Honyuku > Mnikwazana
Nqumela > Mqulezana
Nongcasi > Ngedazana
Nontsomi > Ntsonyazana

5.43. -sa and -she: The suffixes -sa and -she are employed in the formation of nouns of Class 1a from other nouns. There is no phonological change involved.

(i) -sa: This suffix is exclusively feminine, and is suffixed to nouns of classes other than 1a to form nouns of Class 1a signifying girls' names.

Examples.

mdla (sport) > Mdlaase
khanda (head) > Khandase
masane (names) > Macamase
siko (custom) > Sikase
ntombi (maiden) > Ntombokise
nvwalo (baggage) > Nthwalase

(ii) -she by itself may be masculine or feminine. But it is sometimes accompanied by the prefix go- to indicate a male, and by no- to indicate a female.
5.44. Both -se and -she are of Hoiisan origin. It has already been mentioned that -s is a characteristic feminine ending in the Hoiisan languages (5.28). The ending -she is found in such proper names of places as Gibosha (see 4.12), kwa Ggudu she (Ggudu she's, in the Victoria East district), Gqirha she (name of of a Hoiisan chief - see Imbenge, p. 36), Gqumahasha (a rivulet in the Victoria East district). It is also found in such common nouns as sile she (lizard), bashe (horse), mainise (stumpy-tailed species of puff-adder), shingqo she (hammerhead), and qwaraha (zebra), which has a shorter form, qwarha. In certain instances Hoiosa sh corresponds to Nama g.

Examples.

Hoiosa | Nama
---|---
gusha | gus (sheep)
hashe | has (horse)
suili | su (exclamation of pain)

(see Meinhof: Hottentotische Laute und Lehreinworte im Kafir, p. 61)

But it is possible that within the Hoiisan field itself sh is a dialectical variant of s in certain words.

Mr. F.M. Meissenheimer of Kharkhames, Gariep, Namakalmadi, whom the writer met in 1950, gave suj as the word for "ewe" in the dialect or sub-dialect that he can speak. It seems more likely that the sh found in Hoiosa words of Hoiisan origin came as sh rather than as a modification of Nama g. (Cf. Bourquin: African and Studies, vol. 10 No. 2, 1951, p. 60. / Meinhof: op. cit. p. 54)

Whatever its significance in Hoiisan languages, -she as a living suffix in Hoiosa indicates "the one characterized by ..." /thus ......

Thus: (zi)nkani (obstinancy) > Nkanishe (obstinate one)
(lu)lwimi (tongue) > lwimishe (one with a "long (tongue")
(m)ncini (stumpy-tail) > Nqinishe (stumpy-tailed one)

5.45. -rha: This is also a suffix of Khoisan origin. In the Khoisan languages it is suffixed to nouns to form other nouns or adjectives.

Examples:
(1) 19ë1 (magic) - approximately 2e1 - becomes 19ë1va
     magician) - approximately 2ë1va. From these two words we derived the Xhosa noun-stem -gqi of bugqi (magic) and ggirha (doctor) respectively.
(2) 19â6 (grass) - approximately yâ6 - becomes 19â6va
     (grassy) - approximately yâ6va. From 19â6 we derive Xhosa ncha (grass), which employs the suffix -yâ6 in buncharha (rather like grass). In all probability the words bugqi and ggirha were loaned independently of each other, and hardly any Xhosa speakers see any relationship between the two. But -rha still functions as a living suffix in Xhosa, more extensively as a suffix to form adjectives than as used in nouns. The relationship in derivation and meaning is obvious between buthongo (sleep) and thongorha (heavy sleeper). (For the formation of adjectives with -rha see 9.43).

5.46. -sholo: This is a non-living suffix probably related to the Nama verb-stem sora (despise / underestimate), from which we derived Xhosa sola (blame / find fault with). (See Meinhof: op. cit., p.69). It probably came through a dialect using ʃ instead of s. The suffix -sholo is found in the following Xhosa words, all of which have a derogatory connotation.

dladlasholo (bird with feathers in disorder)
mdondosholo* (very big sluggish animal)
ngamsholo (worthless thing)
(li)gumasholo (dron bee)
(li)khokosholo (useless, slovenly person)

*cf. Zulu mdondo (slow movement)
Examples cont.

(11)khakhasholo (conceited fellow)
(11)khamsholo (empty, worthless fellow)
ng'ang'asholo (clumsy, coarse, disgusting thing)
ngamsholo (worthless thing)
ngxamsholo (clumsy giant)
(11)cicisholo (clumsy fellow who cannot be taught to do anything)
(11)tataaholo (one who is clumsy in working)

The -tsholo in nkibitsholo (nickname for a monkey) is probably a dialectal variant of -sholo.
Nouns derived from pronouns.

5.47. From the pronoun thina (we) we derive the noun bonthina of Class 2a. It is formed by pre-prefixing (b)co- to m- of Class 1 which in turn is prefixed to thina. The noun thus formed means "people like us", "the likes of us".

E.g. bonthina bathi bagqonyana (folloes like we think that (they have sons).

But it is more often used in the form bonthina in opposition to thina.

E.g. "Sekhingchani na thina bonthina ukuba zinsangada ukuphahle weBritani".
(And who are we, people like us, to help the king of Britain?)

(Mqhayi: Tmle, p.94)

5.48. Occasionally wena (you) and yena (he) are treated as nouns of Class 1a, meaning "the person that you are, he is"

Examples:
Kwesani kho wene ucinza u kuba yena akhathazela yile ntc.
(Let no one think that the person that he is, is not affected (by this)

"Ndivo ukuba wena ubale ingwadi" (I learnt that the person that (you are has written a book. )
(Mqhayi, in a letter to the present writer in April, 1949).

Nouns derived from possessive qualificatives.

5.49. Personal nouns of Class 1a are derived from the possessive qualificatives wethu, wenu and wabo. The nouns thus formed have plurals in Class 6.

wethu (our) > mwethu (my countryman), mawethu
wenu (your) > mwenu (your countryman), mawenu
wabo (his/their) > mwabo (his/their " "), mawabo

The plural forms may also mean "those of my clan, your clan, his/their clan".

5.50. Personal nouns of Classes 1a and 2a are also formed from wethu, wenu and wabo. These mean "my comrades or companion(s)" etc.

Examples......
5.51. Noun derived from verb-stem are known as derivational noun. Derivational noun are mostly formed by prefixing a noun-class prefix to a verb-stem and, in most cases, changing the final vowel of the verb-stem. The noun-class prefix is in general determined by the meaning of the noun so formed. Derivational noun fall into two groups, personal and non-

personal. The personal derivational noun can end in -a, and fall into Classes 1, 3, 7, 9 and their corresponding plural forms. The majority of non-personal come end in -g and fall into Classes 5, 6, 7, 9, 11 and their corresponding plural forms. There are no non-personal noun in Class 0, 2, 4 and so. The verbal 1 of Classes 0 and 10 assert influence on certain succeeding consonants as described in 2.69. - 2.70.

5.52. Personal derivational noun from non-reciprocal stem, active or passive, are formed as follows:

(1) Noun of Classes 1 and 2 indicating agent or doing are formed by prefixing e- and be- to active stem and changing the final vowel of the verb-stem into -a.

Example:
- e bath (build) e- Paid (builder), bath
- e- phone (learn) e-payn (learner), phone
- e- mail (beget) e-maill (parent), mail

(2) Noun of Classes 1 and 2 indicating people acted upon are formed by prefixing e- and be- to passive stem.

Example:
- e- phone (be caught) e- phone (captive), phone
- e- phone (be concealed) e- phone (concealer)

(3) Personal noun of Classes 5 and 9, indicating people who are characterized by actions or states of mind, are formed as follows ......
follows:

(a) by prefixing (li-) and re- to the active or passive stem. These are in the majority.

**EXAMPLES**

naoba (bo read) ➔ (li)naobis (suspicous person), (suspicious)

olurian (do good) ➔ (li)olurions (righteous man), salurions

xulna (be drunk) ➔ (li)xulna (drunkard), manxila.

volina (make jolly) ➔ (li)volina (humorist), mvolina

-banina (be caught) ➔ (li)banina (prisoner), pabanina

khbina (believe) ➔ (li)khbina (believer), mkhbina

(b) by prefixing (li) and re- and changing the final -a of the verb-stem into -i.

**EXAMPLES**

ndzeobis (bo video camera) ➔ (li)ndzeobis (suspicous person),

ndzeobis

noobis (tell lies) ➔ (li)noobis (liar), mnoobis

(c) by prefixing (li-) and re- and suffixing -tha.

Only two examples of this formation are available, and in both of them final -a of the verb-stem is assimilated to the root sansc vowel before -tha:

naobas (bo lazy) ➔ (li)naobas (lazy person), ranoborbas

thenbas (dream) ➔ (li)thenbas (heavy sleeper), mthenbas

(d) Personal nouns of Classes 7 and 8, indicating people who are distinguished by certain actions or states or qualities are formed by prefixing ni- and ni- to active stems and changing final -a to -i.

**EXAMPLES**

-ani (know) ➔ -anis (knowledgeable person), -anis

sidina (run) ➔ sidinia (great runner, mesomorph), sidinia

labhina (be hungry) ➔ nilabhis (eater), nilabhis

ruina (be sick) ➔ niruhi (invalid), niruhi

stibhala (be energetic) ➔ nilibhali (energetic person), nilibhali

sththen (speak) ➔ siththen (great speaker), siththen

/ In ............
In a few instances final -a does not change into -i.

Example

pints (mender) > aircinta (mender), aircinta
natha (be stupid) > aircatha (stupid person), aircntha

There is one case known in which final -a becomes -o. This is silunko (vice person) > lucko (be vice).

(5) Personal nouns of Classes 7 and 8, indicating people who are acted upon, are formed by prefixing ni- and ni- to passive stems.

Example

dalva (be created) > nidalva (creature), nidalva
thandaa (be loved) > aithandaa (beloved one), aithandaa
thano (be commissioned) > aithunyona (messenger), aithunyona

(6) Personal nouns of Classes 9 and 10, indicating people who are expert in particular arts, are formed by prefixing fi- and (si)- to active stems and changing final -a of the verb-stem into -i.

Example

hicka (swin) > nhicka (great swimmer), (si)ntihicka
khokha (lead) > chokha (social leader), (si)nkohkha
bomza (praise) > chomza (bard), simhombza
khotaa (dance) > nkhotaa (great dancer), (si)nkhotaa
conda (understand) > ncondaa (intellectual), (si)nconda

5.53. Personal nouns of various classes, in which the class is determined by the meaning, are formed from active and passive reciprocal stems by changing the final -a of the verb-stem into -g.

Example

-lirano (be equal) > anirano (chum), balirano
-ochono (paint each other) > (si)nahbang (intimate friend), nahbang

*i.e. so intimate that they paint each other's body with clay or ochro, so intimate do in a circumcision "school".

/ochano....
-seluwe (be related to each other) \> selema (relative),

seluwe

-sithendane (love each other) \> sithendane (dear one),
sithendane

-seluwe (be settled near each other) \> seluwe (neighbor),

seluwe

-sibholyo (believe in each other) \> (li)shibholyo (friend),

shibholyo

-seluwe (be related to each other) \> seluwe (brother),

shibholyo

5.56. Non-personal nouns of all classes from 3 to 14 are formed by changing the final -a of the verb-stem into -a. Res't nouns thus formed are abstract, and therefore have no plural forms. This is particularly the case with Classes 9 and 14.

Examples

Classes 3 and 4:

-buna (act) \> ribbon (question), ribuno

dalno (play) \> ralalo (wino), ralalo

duda (dance) \> ndulo (dance), ndulo

thotna (speak) \> nhotho (lcf), nithotha

Classes 5 and 6:

goba (plan) \> (li)goba (plan), ngoba

bhloba (confide) \> (li)blobo (secret), ndblobo

Classes 7 and 8:

-selhico (be built) \> selhico (building), selhico

dondo (do) \> ndondo (do), sundo

funda (learn) \> nfundo (lesson), nfundo

hlale (cry, complaint), gilhale (cry, complaint),

shilalo

klalo (sit) \> shilalo (sent), shilalo

sikahilo (curse) \> sikahilo (curse), sikahilo

tyla (plant) \> natyla (plant), nityla

/ Classes 6...
Classes 9 and 10:

- **lahleka (be lost)** > **lahleko (lose)**
- **funda (learn)** > **mfundo (learning, education)**
- **hlala (live)** > **ntlala (way of life)**
- **thanda (like; wish)** > **ntando (liking, will)**
- **velisa (produce)** > **mvelisa (produce)**
- **sontelo (weave, plait)** > **ntsontelo (rope), pl. (zi)ntsontelo**
- **bhujiswa (be destroyed)** > **mbhujiso (destruction)**

Class 11:

- **hambha (go)** > *(lu)*hambha (journey), pl. *(zi)*hambho
- **khanya (shine)** > *(lu)*khanye (light)
- **kwawa (boycott)** > *(lu)*kwawo (boycott)
- **mawaba (be happy)** > *lu*mawabo (happiness)
- **nyula (elect)** > *(lu)*nyulo (election)
- **thanda (love)** > *(lu)*thando (love)
- **va (feel)** > *(lu)*vo (feeling, opinion), pl. *zi*vo

- **-viva (be examined)** > *(lu)*vivo (examination)
- **nxanwa (be thirsty)** > *(lu)*nxano (thirst)

Class 14:

- **lumka (be wise)** > **bulumko (wisdom)**
- **nxhema (be impatient)** > **bunxhamo (impatience)**
- **rheletyo (conduct, lascivious)** > **burheletyo (lasciviousness, debauchery)**
- **thonge (dream, be in)** > **buthongo (drowsiness, a trance)**

5.55. Non-personal deverbal nouns are formed from reciprocal stems. The reciprocal stems fall into two groups, viz.: (a) those that signify active reciprocity. e.g. **xabana (quarrel with each other)**

babhama (hold each other)

/(b) those ......
(b) those that signify passive reciprocity.

* e.g. -velwana (be sympathized with, each by the other)
- *bhalwelwana (be written to, each by the other)

The (b) group is by far the larger one. From both groups nouns are formed by changing the final -a into -e.

5.56. (a) Active reciprocity:

Class 9:

- *bambhana (seize each other) > mbambhano (strife)
- *dibanana (assemble) > ndibanana (assembly)
- *hlangana (meet, come) > ntlangano (confluence)
- *xabana (quarrel) > nxabano (quarrel)

Class 11:

- *manyana (unite) > (lu)manyano (union)

(b) Passive reciprocity:

Class 9:

- *bhalwelwana (be written to) > mbhalelwano (mutual correspondence)
- *bukwana (be admired by) > mbukwano (mutual admiration)
- *phikiswana (be contradicted) > mpikiswano (dispute)
- *hlonelwana (be respected by) > ntlonelwano (mutual respect)

Note that while we should expect mbvunyelwana from -vunyelwana, we find mbvumelwano < vunelwana, which latter does not exist. Similarly in ntlebendwane (slander) which is derived from the passive stem kilelwana (tell one another secrets) the b is not affected. But ntlebendwane shows another irregularity. Its final vowel does not change into e. This is perhaps by analogy with the personal nouns in 5.53. e.g. kholewana khole.

Class 11.
Class 11:

-ncethezwana (be betrayed) ⇒ (lu)ncethezwano (mutual (by each other) (betrayal)

-thelelwana (be aided by each) ⇒ (lu)thelelwano (mutual (other) (aid)

-velwana (be sympathized with) ⇒ (lu)velwano (mutual (by each other) (sympathy)

-yuviswana (be congratulated by) ⇒ (lu)yuviswano (mutual (each other) (congratulation)

5.57. Non-personal abstract nouns of Class 9 are formed from active non-reciprocal stems by prefixing N- to the verb-stem.

Examples.

balela (scorch) ⇒ mbalela (drought), pl. (si)mbalela

-fa (die) ⇒ nfafa (disaster)

fusa (resemble) ⇒ mfusa (resemblance)

(like)

hlekisa (cause to laugh) ⇒ ntlekisa (laughing stock)

hlutha (be replete) ⇒ ntlutha (satisfaction, plenty)

susa (cause to move) ⇒ ntsusa (fount and origin)

5.58. A few non-personal nouns of Classes 3, 5, and 9 are formed by changing final -a into -o and prefixing according to class.

Class 3:

Example.

xuba (mix) ⇒ mxube (mixture), mixube

Class 5:

Example.

linga (try) ⇒ (li)linge (attempt), malinge

Class 9:

Examples.

khetha (choose) ⇒ nketha (partially)

bhuga (destroy) ⇒ mbhuga (destruction)

wuma (consent) ⇒ mwuma (consent)

zama (make an effort) ⇒ nzame (effort)

xuba (mix) ⇒ nxube (hotch-potch)

Note ........
Note the reduplication of the final syllable in *mbhudele* (senseless talk) < *bhude* (talk nonsense).

If the stem is reduplicated both elements change the final vowel into *e*, and both have the prefix.

**Examples.**

jiika-jiika (turn this way) > *jiika-njiika* (endless change)

yuza-yuza (ooze and ooze) > *myuza-myuza* (great affection)

5.59. Non-personal nouns of various classes are formed by suffixing *-ne* to active verb-stems and prefixing according to class. The majority of the nouns so formed are abstract and have no plural. The suffix *-ne* has a durative and intensive significance.

**Examples.**

**Class 3:**

- *baba* (itch) > *mbabane* (endless itch)
- *biza* (call) > *mbizane* (fascination)
- *tsala* (pull) > *mtsalane* (attraction)

**Class 4:**

- *nambhuzza* (crawl) > *zinambhuzane* (insect), pl. *zinambhuzane*
- *bhida* (confuse) > *mbhidane* (confusion)
- *bhuzza* (buzz) > *mbhuzane* (gust), pl. *(zi)*mbhuzane
- *feka* (destroy) > *mpfesane* ('warfare in which even crop and stalk')
- *ncgicikiva* (rebuke) > *ngcikivane* (endless rebuke)
- *cina* (think) > *ncingane* (endless thinking)
- *ndibana* (assemble) > *ndimabhane* (multitude)
- *guba* (grind /crush) > *ngubane* (war to the death)
- *ngqatsaa* (expose to) > *ngqatsane* (in incessant heat)
- *shwaga* (talk at random) > *ntjwagane* (random talk)

/ there are ....
There are also a few personal nouns formed in this way.

**Examples.**

(1) *swewane* (wayward person), *kawwe-wane = swewe* (stem perverted)

*maswane* (importunate person), *zina* (urge, press)

5.60. Some of Classes 1a and 2a, indicating personal names of people, are formed from non-reciprocal present and perfect verb-stems, simple or derived.

(1) Women's names are generally based on the present active and passive stems, and on the perfect passive stem, which undergoes no further inflexion except the appropriate prefixing in Class 2a.

**Examples.**

*Linda* = ooliinda = *linda* (wait)

*Thinda* = oophinda = *phinda* (repeat)

*Kandisa* = oonandisa = *vandisa* (make pleasant)

*Thembhise* = oothembhise = *thembhise* (make a promise)

*Volisa* = oovolisa = *volisa* (make pleasant)

*Funeka* = oofuneka = *funeka* (be desirable)

*Thembhekale* = oothembhekale = *thembhekale* (be trustworthy)

*Buyiwa* = oobuyiwa = *buyiwa* (be restored)

*Thululwa* = oothululwa = *thululwa* (be set free)

*Vuyiwa* = oovuyiwa = *vuyiwa* (be caused to rejoice)

*Fesiwe* = oofesiwe = *fesiwa* (be made perfect)

*Menyiwe* = oomenyiwa = *menyiwa* (be invited)

*Meadwe* = oomeadwe = *meadwe* (be helped)

(b) Men's names may be formed as follows:

(a) They may be based on present and perfect active stems, which undergo no inflexion other than the appropriate prefixing in Class 2a.

**Examples.**

*Nama* = oonama = *dana* (be disappointed)

*Thuthumwe* = oothuthumwe = *phuthumwe* (overflow)

*Kaba* = ookaba = *kaba* (lie across the entrance)

*Xabanisa* = ooxabanisa = *xabanisa* (cause to quarrel)

/ Danie ....
Danile, ooDanile < dana (be disappointed)
Fezile, ooFezile < feea (make perfect)
Kholisile, ooKholisile < kholisa (please, satisfy)
Thembakile, ooThembakile < thembasha (be trustworthy)

But some present passive stems may be the basis of men's names too.

e.g. Gxakwa, ooGxekwa < -gxekwa (be reviled)
Ncanywa, ooNcanywa < -ncanywa (be given up)

(b) by prefixing ma- to present active stems.

Examples.
Mabona, ooMabona < bone (see)
Madiba, ooMadiba < diba (fill in with earth)
Mahambha, ooMahambha < hambha (go)
Makhaphela, ooMakhaphela < kaphela (accompany a)
Mathimbha, ooMathimbha < thimba (capture, distance to)

(c) by prefixing m- to the present passive stem.

Examples.
Maliwa, ooMaliwa < -aliwa (be rejected)
Mbulawa, ooMbulawa < -bulawa (be killed)
Mendziwa, ooMendziwa < -endziwa (be made)
Mhletywa, ooMhletywa < -hletywa (be maligned)
Mshiywa, ooMshiywa < -shiywa (be left behind, be deserted)

(d) by prefixing no- to present active and passive stems.

Examples.
Nobhadula, ooNobhadula < bhadula (wander in all directions)
Nobhula, ooNobhula < bhule (thresh)
Nocanda, ooNocanda < canda (split \ cleave)
Nothintwa, ooNothintwa < thintwa (be hindered)
Novukela, ooNovukela < vulela (rise against, rebel)

/Nouns derived ......
Houns derived from ideophones

5.61. Houns, mostly non-personal, of classes from 5 to 14, are formed from ideophones, the class being determined by the meaning. If the ideophone is normally used in a reduplicated form, it is reduplicated in the formation of the noun.

Examples

Classes 3 and 4:

-goba (of piercing) \*\*gobodo (opening), \*\*gobodo
-toi (of jumping) \*\*toit (jump), \*\*toit

Classes 5 and 6:

-\*\*bathu (of taking small portion) \*\*bathu (small portion)
-\*\*bathu
-bhada (of lying flat, face down) \*\*bhada (robber)
-\*\*bhada
-pa\*\*aku (of catching quickly) \*\*pa\*\*aku (salient point),
-\*\*pa\*\*aku
-t\*\*la (of flitting past) \*\*t\*\*la (a flitting past)
-githi (of falling with a thud) \*\*githi (a falling of things one after much another)

Classes 7 and 8:

-bh\*\*dhu (of piercing) \*\*b\*\*dhu (anything perforated with hole), \*\*b\*\*dhu
-n\*\*anga (of wondering) \*\*n\*\*anga (wonder), \*\*n\*\*anga
-\*\*ndi (of rumbling) \*\*ndi (rumbling, sound), \*\*ndi
\*\*nde (of making a din) \*\*nde (din), \*\*nde
\*\*n\*\*u (of running bothther and thither) \*\*\*n\*\*u (flutter),
\*\*\*n\*\*u
-thu-thu (of throbbing) \*\*thu-thu (motor bicycle),
-thu-thu
-lena-lena (of looking about restlessy) \*\*lena-lena (restless person),
-lena-lena

Most of the nouns above have forms in the singular as well as in the plural. Most of the following ones in classes from 9 to 14 have forms in the singular only.

/Classes ......
Classes 9 and 10:

*temu* (of glancing over one's shoulder) > *njemru* (a glance over one's shoulder)
*quen* (of turning about quickly) > *naman* (a right-about turn)
*thuku* (of pushing about over) > *ntuku* (mole), *(ni)*ntubu *(e.g.* of an animal under, the earth)
*nkolikithi* (of being dizzy) > *nkolikithi* (dizziness)

Classes 11:

due (of standing or moving in a line) > *judwe* (procession)
*rhotso* (of darkness gathering) > *(lu)*rhotya (evening)
*rho* (of hearing by rumour) > *lurho* (rumour)

Class 14:

di-di-di (of staggering) > *budididi* (staggering, clumsy movement, indecision)
*tvobo-tvobo* (of breaking) > *butyobo-tvobo* (mass of ruins)
*neum-neum* (of muttering) > *punyum-punyum* (indistinct muttering)
*yoko-yoko* (of being luxurious) > *buyoko-yoko* (choicest of things)

Nouns derived from adverbials

5.62. Personal and non-personal nouns of a limited number of classes are derived from adverbials.

(a) Nouns of Classes 1a and 2a are formed from locative adverbials derived from nouns.

*Examples*

(a) *bafasini* (amongst the women) > *bafasini* (nickname for)

(bafasini (company of women)
   *a man this who prefers the
   { company of women to
   (that of other men)

(b) *nkhunyeni* (in a hole) > *nkhunyeni* (man's name),
   *nkhunyeni*

(c) *ndotyeni* (in the jungle) > *ndotyeni* (man's name),
   *ndotyeni*

(d) *nceni* (in the grass) > *nceni* (man's name),
   *nceni*

(e) *ncundoni* (in the courtyard) > *ncundoni* (man's name)
   *ncundoni*
The Class 7 noun, zibilini (viscera) is derived in a similar way from sibili (girth, trunk) from which the locative adverbial, (o) sibilini, is derived. The literal meaning of zibilini is "the in-the-girths". The related nouns mbilini (inside, as a cavity) and mbilini (inner feelings) are derived in a similar manner.

(b) Nouns of Classes 5 and 6 are formed from locative and other adverbials.

**Examples:**

kamva (later) > (li)kamva (the hereafter), makamva
kakade (as of old) > (li)kakade (habitual state)
kakulu (much, greatly) > (li)kakulu (majority of instances)

Nouns derived from interjections.

5.63. Nouns derived from interjections are also known as de-interjective nouns. These are extremely few in Xhosa. They are formed by prefixing a noun-class prefix to a primitive interjection.

**Examples:**

tarhu! (mercy) > (li)tarhu (mercy, clemency)
hayi-hayi! (no! no!) > mahayi-hayi (excited protests or intervention)
camagu! (be pacified) > (li)camagu (one who officiates in a propitiatory ceremony)
hucamagu (divination)

Reduplicated noun-stems.

5.64. Reduplicated noun-stems fall into two groups, as follows:

(a) Those whose stems are incapable of functioning as noun-stems except in the reduplicated form. They may have a singular as well as plural form. Most of these are personal nouns with a derogatory significance.

/examples...
(1) Personal:

(1) atha-atha (clumsy person), ma-atha-atha
(1) diaka-dika (ragged person), madlaka-dlaka
(1) caku-caku (affected showy person)

lipizaga (a "wont work" poor), magwaga (white)
si-aha-aha (helplessly stupid person)
sankwankwa (decrepit person)
sibhadu-bhadu (vagrant, vagabond), zibhadubhadu
sibhovu-bhovu (mischievous, impetuous, uncontrollable person)
sinyolu-nyolu (greedy, selfish person), zinyolu-nyolu

mbhishi-mbhishi (corpulent person), (zi)mbhishi-mbhishi
nkene-nkene (cry-baby), (zi)nkene-nkene
nyhuku-nyhuku (dirty untidy person), (zi)nyhuku-nyhuku

(ii) Non-personal:

mkhele-ka-khele (that which is falling to pieces)

vuku-vuku (shaggy animal), svuku-vuku
sandanda (upper part of pelvis), sendanda
sibhaka-bhaka (sky), zibhaka-bhaka
sicaphu-caphu (nausea), zicaphu-caphu
sizithe-zotha (nausea)

mbhonde-mbhonde (several elements) (stirred and mixed)

mbhulu-mbhulu (substance, wound, globe-like)

mpula-mpula (slippery thing), (zi)mpula-mpula

nyhoba-nyhoba (golden syrup)

(b) Those whose stems, capable of functioning as single stems, may be reduplicated in plural nouns to signify multiplicity and or variety.

/examples ....
Examples.

makulu (hundreds) > makhulu-khulu (hundreds and hundreds)
masiko (custom) > masiko-siko (customs of different sorts)
simanga (wonders) > simanga-manga (wonders of all kinds)
(z)i ndidi (ranks) > (z)i ndidi-ндди (various ranks)
(z)i ntjaba (enemies) > (z)i ntjaba-ntjaba (all sorts of enemies)

If the single stem is monosyllabic, epenthetic yi- is inserted before the second element.

Examples.

zihlo (happenings) > zihlo-yihlo (all kinds of happenings)
zifo (diseases) > zifo-yifo (all manner of diseases)
simbho (fashions) > simbho-yimbho (all sorts of fashions)
(z)into (things) > zinto-yinto (all sorts of things)

If the stem commences in a vowel, the initial vowel is omitted in the second element:

zafobe (figures of speech) > zafabe-fobe (all sorts of figures of speech)
zakhiwo (buildings) > zakhiwo-khiwo (buildings of various kinds)
zambhalo (ornaments) > zambhalo-nbhalo (all manner of ornaments)

The following rules apply to nouns in both groups, (a) and (b):

(1) In the diminutive formation, only the second element suffixes -ana.

Examples.

dlaka-dlaka > dlaka-dlakana
caku-caku > caku-cakwana
sibhudu-bhudu > sibhudu-bhawana
nkene-nkene > nkene-nkenana
simanga-zimanga > simanga-mangana
masiko-siko > masikosikwana

But in some cases only -na is elided in the first syllable:

/ examples........
Examples.

micimbi-cimbhi > micinja-cinjana
micimbi (affairs)

(z)i)nyawo-nyawa > (z)i)nyawa-nyawana (all sorts of little feet)

(ii) It will be noted that the prefix nasal of classes
9 and 10 is not dropped in the second element in this formation.

Compound Nouns.

5.65. Two or more words may be compounded to form a noun.
A noun consisting of such distinct elements is known as a compound noun. The title-names treated in 5.5. might be regarded as compound nouns, as Doke does (Zu. Gr. § 280). But perhaps it is better to confine the term "compound" to elements that are still recognisable as living words that still function independently of such combination. The same applies to: singa- in 5.10.

5.66. Classification of compound nouns.

Compound nouns may be classified as follows:

1) Noun + Noun:

mlungu-mabele (knotwood) < (li)lungu (knot) + mabele (female breast)
ndoda-mfazi (hermaphrodite) < ndoda (man) + mfazi (woman)
gusha-bhokhwe (Cape fat-tailed) < gusha (sheep) + bhokhwe (goat)

2) Noun + Adjectival Qualificative.

Mehlomakhu (man's name) < mehlo (eyes) + makhulu (big)
nyanga-ntathu (quarter of) < nyanga (month) + (z)i)ntathu (three)
nyawontle (bringer of good) < nyawo (feet) + (z)i)ntle (beauti-
tidings (ful)
ndlela-mnyama (black market) < ndlela (way) + mnyama (black)
ntlale-mbhi (bad living) < ntlale (way of) + mbhi (bad)

/ ndlela-ntle .....
ndlela-ntlo (valediction) < ndlela (journey) + ntlo (good)
ndlu-skulu (headquarters) < ndlu (house) + skulu (big)

(3) Noun+Quantitative Qualitative:

Handlenke (man's name) < handla (strength) + enke (small)
Zwelonke (a) < (li)zwe (country) + lonke (whole)
Lintuvedeza (a) < matu (person) + vedza (alone)
Mtombhithedza (girl's name) < mtobhi (girl) + zedza (only)

(4) Noun+Possessive Qualitative:

Butelo-bontsana (Chief Bharabe's praise-name)
< butelo (hard) + bontsana (of the stick)
Ndabakavise (man's name)
< ndabo (affair) + ke vise (of his father)
Ndunzakaka (man's name)
< (zi)ndlu (buta) + eno daka (of mud)
Zweladinga (man's name)
< (li)zwe (land) + le dinga (of promise)

There are some in which the possessive proposition is elided.

Examples

Phopha-ndaba (nephepapha)
< (li)phopha (nepa) + (100) ndaba (new)

Zulu-mthi (woodmouse)
< zulu (mouse) + (ye) mthi

Ntaka-nlilo (bulfinch)
< ntaka (bird) + (ye) nlilo (fire)

Ntini-rweno (insincere laughter)
< ntini (laugh) + (ye) rweno (tooth)

(5) Noun Subject+Verbal Predicative:

Nkopiyebelaba (man's name)
< nkoma (am) + Eyebelaba (it gorges)

This is a favourite nickname for a bad-tempered taskmaster.

In praise-poem epithets are often made of compounds consisting of noun + verbal predicative + verbal predicative.

/ examples ......
Examples.
"u Mhambho-zemka-zabuyela" (Ribs-go-away-and-return)
i.e. "He of the expanding-and-contracting ribs"
"u Zulu-liyasa-livasibekela" (Sky-clears-and-overcasts)
i.e. "He of the clear-and-frowning heavens"

(5) Noun + Adverbal:

**ndaba-mlonyeni** (by-word)
lit. "news-in-the-mouth"

(7) Verbal Predicative → Noun (object):

These fall into three groups as follows:

(a) those in which the final vowel of the verb-stem does not alter, and in which the article is included in the noun-object.

Examples.
Delibandla (man’s name) < dela (defy) + i bandla (ocourt assembly)
Linda'inkosi ("") < linda (guard) + i nkosi (chief)
Thand'abantu ("") < thanda (love) + a bantu (people)

(b) those in which the final vowel of the verb-stem does not alter, and in which the article is excluded from the noun-object.

Examples.
mdla-mbhila (rabbit-snake) < dla (eat) + mbhila (rock rabbit)
nyavula-kufa (dar®-devils) < nyuvela (welcome) + kufa (death
singola-mthi (woodpecker) < ngola (peak) + mthi (wood)
ndlule-mthi (giraffe) < ndlule (surpass) + mthi (tree)

(c) those in which the verb becomes a complete noun by changing the final vowel of the verb-stem into -i or -o and in which the noun-object excludes the article.

Examples.
msuki-sikhumbha (tanner) < suka (tan) + zikhumbha (hides)
stetheli-khulu (centurion) < stethela (command) + khulu (hundred)
sisweli-kuconda (fool) < swela (lack) + kuconda (understanding)

/intseli-tywala ......
ntsoli-tywalo (heavy drinker) < sola (drink) + tywalo (beer)

maphukiwa-mhlelo (omnipotence) < maphukiwa (annoy) + mhlelo (spirit)

ntsoli-tywalo (beer-brewing) < sila (brew) + tywalo (beer)

(9) Verbal Predicative + Pronoun or Ironomial:

Vuruzonke (You-man) < vuma (accept) + sonke (all)

Va-mma (name of a love potion) < -va (hood) + mma (mo)

Gain'abaka (man's name) < naina (look after) + a bakhe (his own)

(10) Verbal Predicative + Verbal Predicative:

maphole-mdikhule (thriving at another's expense)

< maphole (be stunted) + mdikhule (that I may grow)

Vola-bahlako (name of a love charm)

< vola (appear) + bahlako (and they smile - at you)

lambha-lidlile (greyhound)

< lambha (be hungry) + lidlile (though having eaten)

mase-sakhalana-l{blessing-in-disguise}-sha-{help}

Verbal Predicative + Adverbial:

nthula-ntabani (beast offered to bridal party to slaughter)

< nthula (bring down) + ntabani (from the mountain)

nafola-mdawonya (overt brothers-in-arms)

< nafola (die on) + mdawonya (one and the same spot)

mvula-phi (place of origin)

< nafola (come from) + phi? (where?)

nasa-nkosi (chief's bodyguard)

< na (die) + nkosi (with the chief)

mase-mva-hwam (generations that will come after us) : 

< na (come) + mva-hwam (after us)

ocile-ngacuunzo (lit. "those who brew with their shin-bones")

< faila (brew) = nqaa-utunca (with the shin-bones)

This is a nickname for those people who are always to be seen at other people's beer parties but never give parties at their own homes.
Nouns derived from predicatives.

Nouns of Classes 1a and 2a, signifying certain types of people, are formed from complete predicatives, verbal and non-verbal.

Examples:

- ndiyalwa (pugnacious person), condiyalwa < ndiyalwa (I am fighting)
- mayitjhe (pugnacious person), omayitjhe < ma yitjhe! (To battle) lit. "let it burn"
- ndilele (non-belligerent), condilele < ndilele (I am asleep)
- siyazi (diviner), oosiyazi < siyazi (we know)
- ndikho (one ready to accept), condikho < ndikho (here I am)
- sebekho (intruder), osebekho < se bekho (they are already) (there)

On the basis of the formation described in 5.67, various kinds of elliptical derivative nouns are formed. Here we can only give a few examples of such nouns.

(1) Young married women who are skeptical about the supposed evil results of disregarding certain social taboos (the hloniph @ custom), when called upon to observe such taboos usually ask: Koba kho nto ni? (What will happen? - I.e., if I don't observe them?) Such women are known as /conokhontoni...
oonokhontoni. The no- is the feminine prefix in 5.6.

(2) People who seem to have no aim in life are usually described as a bangekho ntweni, lit. "those who are not in anything", and from this expression is formed the noun oongantweni.

(3) A precious article cannot be left in the house of a stranger avuna kushiywe emzini. From this expression is formed the Class 1a noun mangashiyw'emsini (an invaluable article) (see 5.60. (2) (b) for the prefix ma-)

5.69. In praise-poems whole sentences involving various parts of speech and even subordinate clauses are made into single nouns and used as epithets:

(1) Nditjhwa, a Lpondomise chief who was harrassed by the Bhaca, the Lpondo and the Thembhu, is referred to by his official bard as

"u Sikotakazi esaitshiwa singatschi" (Zemke, p. 348)

(He, ripe-long-grass-set-on-fire-but-not-burning)

(2) Nhlootla, the Lpondomise chief who used to thrash those Christian subjects of his who disregarded his authority is known as

"u dada ngesabokwe kumakumeka" (Zemke, p. 347)

(He, wader-with-the-whip-among-the-cunning)

(3) Ncaphayi, the Bhaca warrior-chief who was famed for his skill in jungle warfare is known as

"u Lusiba gojela kanti ludl' amadoda pantse kwentada ve Ngadu (AmaHlubi nanaBhaca, p. 33)

(He, light-feather-suddenly-vanishing-only-to-eat-up-men-under-the-Nqadu-mountain).

(4) A living descendant of one of the renowned Xhosa chiefs of the nineteenth century, who is forever vacillating between the pagan and the Christian, is referred to by Nqhayi as follows:—
"U Masekia-'i-ngoek'-abuy'-ayiphuthume 
U Maphuthum-'i-ngoek'-abuy'-ayisckise"
(He, Loather-of-ochre-only-to-embrace-it-again,
(He, Embracer-of-ochre-only-to-loathe-it-again )
(Columbia Gram. Record p. A 60)

Derivation by Insertion.

Werner has noted that in Herero compound nouns are
formed by inserting an element between the prefix and the stem
of a noun. (Bantu Languages, p. 213 - 216). Thus *kadhe (female)
or 'rume (male) may be inserted between the prefix omu- and the
stem -ndu of omundu (person) to form new nouns.

- omu-kadhe-ndu (woman)
- omu-rume-ndu (man)

In Xhosa this phenomenon has not been investigated
fully. But it is found in the generic names of certain trees.
These are formed by inserting an element (presumably descriptive)
between the prefix m- and the stem -thi of mthi (tree/wood).

Examples.

m-hlako-thi (wild currant)
m-hlandlo-thi (flat-crown acacia)
m-hlungu-thi (species of soft-wooded tree)
m-khobo-thi (a thorny tree)
m-khovo-thi
m-nyama-thi (dog plum)
m-simbhi-thi (wood used for making walking sticks
and crutches.)
m-thombho-thi (sandalwood)
m-thombo-thi (kind of wild cherry)

5.71. It will be observed that in most cases the inserted
element ends in -o. This immediately suggests derivation from
verb stems. It would seem then that most of these trees are
named after what they are used for. One case at least is

/certain....

*cf. -kasi. cf. lume in malume, which literally means
"male mother".
certain, and that is mthombhothi (sandalwood), highly perfumed wood that is used by girls during the ceremony of u kuthombha (seclusion for purposes of initiation, usually after first menses).

The -hlungu of mhlunguthi is probably the stem found in buhlungu (pain, poison). The mhlunguthi is often used as a kraal hedge, probably because it is used as a cure for snake-poison.

The -simbhi of msimbhithi is probably the same stem as we find in ntsimbhi (iron). The word ntsilathi (skin from ox-tail used for mending a stick), though belonging to Class 9, is formed in a similar way. \( \text{ntsila} \) (tail) + -thi (wood).

(See also Wagner: Scientific Zulu, p.171 et seq. on "determinatives").

**Imported Nouns.**

5.72. Nouns imported from foreign languages are fitted into the class system of Xhosa by means of the noun-class prefixes, which in most cases are placed before a Bantuised form of the foreign noun. This means that the foreign noun becomes a stem and, as a Xhosa noun, it is incomplete without the prefix.

There are definite principles involved in the fitting of such nouns into various classes. In the main, they are fitted according to meaning, personal nouns going into persons classes and non-personal nouns into things classes. Analogy and association play a very important rôle. To a lesser extent, phonological considerations also come into play.

In this treatise we can only indicate broadly the principles involved.

(1) Nouns indicating people belonging to racial groups fall into Classes 1, 5 and 6 (cf. 4.9.)

**Examples.**

- m\text{French} (Frenchman) \quad \text{ma French}
- m\text{Hebrew} (Hebrew) \quad \text{ma Hebrew}

/ m\text{Indiya} .......

examples cont.

mIndiya (Indian), mIndiya \( \sim \) E. Indian
mRome (Roman), mRoma \( \sim \) Roma
(m)Hu (Dutchman), mHu \( \sim \) D. Boer
(m)Tallyane (Italian), mTallyane \( \sim \) D. Italian

(2) Nouns indicating people belonging to classes or sects or guilds fall into Classes 1, 5 and 6. (cf. 4.20.)

Examples.

mfama (farmer), mafama \( \sim \) E. farmer
mWesile (Wesleyan), mWesile \( \sim \) E. Wesley
mTemple (templer), mTemple \( \sim \) E. templar
(m)soldathi (soldier), msoldathi \( \sim \) D. soldat
(m)lephere (leper), mlephere \( \sim \) E. leper
(m)bhantinti (prisoner), mbhantinti \( \sim \) D. bandist
(m)polise (policeman), mpolise \( \sim \) E. police
(m)dindala ( ), madindala \( \sim \) D. diender

(3) Nouns indicating kinship relationship fall into Classes 1a and 2a.

Examples.

anti (father's / ), co-anti \( \sim \) E. auntie (mother's sister)

compi (mother's brother), co-compi \( \sim \) D. compie (or aunt's husband)

bhuti (elder brother), sobhuti \( \sim \) D. hostie
sisi (elder sister), osisi \( \sim \) D. sussie

(4) Nouns indicating names of the months of the year fall into Class 1a by analogy with abho names. (cf. 4.12.)

Examples.

(u) Janwari (January)
(u) Julayi (July)
(u) Disembha (December)

(5) Nouns indicating names of trees fall into Classes 3 and 4. (cf. 4.14.)

\*examples....
Examples.

appel (apple) → mi-appel

D. druwe (grape wine) → midiliya

D. vy (fig tree) → mifiya

E. oak (oak tree) → mi-okhwe

(6) Nouns indicating names of languages, diseases, and persons with certain defects fall into Classes 7 and 8.

(cf. 4.26.)

Examples.

French language → siFrentji

German → siGermani

Italian → siTaliyane

leprosy → silephere

E. arm → si-alum

E. dom → sidom

(7) Nouns indicating names of things in general, e.g. animals and articles of furniture, fall into Classes 9 and 10. In most cases the imported nouns do not employ the prefixes, and it is only the concords that show that the nouns fall into classes. But the tendency to introduce the prefix before plosives is apparent in some of the examples below.

Examples.

baadjie (jacket) → (si)bhayi

jas (cat) → (si)dyasi

bok (goat) → (si)bhokhwe

photo (photograph) → (si)feto

motor(car) → (si)motokari

train → (si)trevini

kamesel (camel) → (si)nkamela

office → (si)ofisi

kantoor (office) → (si)nkantolo

/ in some ....
244.

In some cases the prefix nasal may be included or excluded according to the taste of the speaker. Thus we can use nkampu or kampu for "camp", and ntolongo or tolongo for "prison" < D. tronk.

(8) Abstract nouns fall into Class 14.

Examples.

bu -alam (poverty) < D. arm
budom (stupidity) < D. dom
bukelâm (roguey) < D. skelm
bulerhe (unreliability) < D. sleg

(9) Verbal nouns fall into class 15.

Examples.

ku -ayina (ironing) < E. iron
kudanîsa (dancing) < E. dance
kutjîhova (pushing) < E. shove

(10) Imported nouns whose initial phone is a followed by a consonant fall into Class 7 and from their plurals regularly in Class 8. The original a becomes the singular prefix consonant, followed by i to form si-, and the succeeding consonant becomes the initial phone of the stem.

Examples.

sikelem (rogue), zikelem < D. skelm
silerhe (unreliable), zilerhe < D. sleg (person)

sitâli (stable), zitali < D. stal
sipili (mirror), zipili < D. spieel
sipeliti (pin), zipeliti < D. speid
sitrayikhi (strike), zitrâyikhi, E. strike

As some of the examples above show, sometimes there is a happy coincidence, both meaning and initial a fitting the noun naturally into Classes 7 and 8. The nouns sikelem, silerhe and sitrayikhi are examples of such coincidence.
Chapter 6.

Grammatical Concord.

6.1. The so-called alliterative concord that characterizes the Bantu language family is to be explained in terms of the Ur-Bantu "Artikel", ya. It would seem that ya was pre-placed not only to nouns, as described in Chapter 9, but also to all words grammatically related to the noun in a sentence, in order to maintain grammatical concord.

The hypothetical forms would be something like the following:

\[ \text{ya-muntu ya-vona} \] (the person sees ...)
\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-vona} \] (the people see ...)
\[ \text{ya-muntu ya-mukulu} \] (the person is big)
\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-va-kulu} \] (the people are big)

With the complete assimilation of the vowel of ya to the vowel of the noun-class prefix, the forms would be as follows:

\[ \text{ya-muntu ya-vona} \]
\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-vona} \]
\[ \text{ya-muntu ya-mukulu} \]
\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-va-kulu} \]

6.2. Even though the "Artikel" was wholly lost in some languages and modified in others, grammatical concord was never lost. Indeed, the a of concord ya in many instances remained a even after the assimilation of the a of the "Artikel" ya. In some cases the ya of the concord was completely assimilated to the consonant of the noun-class prefix. This happened in Nguni in all the strong classes (i.e. where the prefix contains any consonant other than a nasal)

\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-vona} \rightarrow \text{a-xantu ya-vona} \]
\[ \text{ya-xantu ya-va-kulu} \rightarrow \text{a-xantu ya-va-kulu} \]

Then, with the "shifting" of ya to b and k to kh, the above forms changed into the following:

\[ /a \text{ bantu ba bona}.... \]
a bantu ba-bhâne ..... (the people see .....)

a bantu ba-bakhulu ..... (the people are big)

(For the copulative use of adjectives see 14.27. et seq.)

6.3. But in the weak classes (i.e. where the noun-class prefix contains no consonant other than a nasal) \( b \) either (i) was dropped or (ii) was completely assimilated to the nasal of the noun-class prefix or (iii) underwent "shifting" and assumed various forms:—

\( m \) as in ndiyamboni (I see him) — complete assimilation

\( y \) as in yem (he) — sound-shifting

\( w \) as in wambhi (some other one) —

It was dropped entirely in such forms as uwapo (he is here)

6.4. Because of the assimilation of \( y \), and the consequent resemblance between some concords and the noun-class prefixes, some Dantists have been led to think that the concords are derived from the noun-class prefixes. Thus Werner says: "They (the concords) are not really as much alike as the word "alliterative" might imply, but they are all recognisable as derived from the prefix? (Bantu Languages, p. 20, Footnote).

But surely, \( w \) and \( wu \) are not at all recognisable as derived from \( m \) (or \( wu \)). Neither is \( m \) recognisable as derived from \( m \) or (\( e-r-a \)) in a construction such as wambhi a mabase (some other horses).

Bennie says: "They are evidently derived from the noun prefixes — usually the plain prefix (i.e. the prefix proper). It is noticeable that all of them, except the adjectival concords (used with certain primitive adjectives), drop the nasal letters of the prefixes". (Gh. of Sh., p. 44)

To begin with, it is incorrect to say that "they all drop the nasal letters of the prefixes? In the second column of Bennie's own table of concords on p. 49, we find \( m \) as an object concord.
For practical purposes, Bennie's rule works for determining the subjectival concords of both strong and weak classes only in the present tense of the indicative mood, positive conjugation, with verbal predicatives.

E.g.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>concord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m(u)ntu</td>
<td>m(u)-</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bantu</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(u)thi</td>
<td>m(u)-</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mithi</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But it does not explain the i's, w's, e's, b's, and k's, etc. that characterize the concords of the weak classes, nor does it explain the a that characterizes the concords of Class 1. Since the prefix of Class 1 is mu-, the vowel of any concord of this class would be u, if the concord was derived from the prefix. But, in fact, u as a Class 1 concord vowel is the exception rather than the rule. How are we to explain the a in the subjectival concords of Class 1 in athetha (he spoke), athetha (in order that he may speak), ma kathetha (he had better speak), akathetha (he does not speak), angathetha (he can speak), za athethayo (when he speaks)? If we refer to ṡx₂, we are able to explain not only the a of these concords but also the w's, i's, e's, and k's, for it is only from some such primitive sound as ṡx₂ that these sounds could have been derived.

6.5. In the Gisu language we find irrefutable evidence that concord is derived not from the noun-class prefix but from the "pronominal copula". In this language ṡx₂ has become k in Classes 3, 4 and 6, and the a of ṡx₂ is completely assimilated to the vowel of the noun-class prefix. The "Artikel" would seem to have merged with the prefix. Thus we find the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Concord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kumu-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pumi-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kama-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See Werner: Bantu Languages, p. 90).
6.6. In any sentence, pronouns, qualificatives and predicatives are grammatically related to some noun or other, expressed or implied. It therefore follows that concords fall into three main groups, namely, pronominal, qualificative and predicative. Each of these may have its own subdivisions, which will be dealt with under the main headings in their respective chapters.
Chapter 7.

THE PRONOUN.

7.1. A pronoun is a word that indicates a substantive without being its name. A pronoun in Xhosa may be absolute or qualitative.

7.2. An absolute pronoun is a word that indicates a substantive without being its name, and without qualifying it or limiting it in any way. e.g. \( \text{uma} \) (I), \( \text{thina} \) (we).

7.3. A qualitative pronoun is a word whose primary function is to qualify or limit a substantive in one way or another, employed in a particular context to indicate a substantive without being its name. e.g. \( \text{la} \) (this one), \( \text{rimbi} \) (some other one), \( \text{yomke} \) (the whole of it).

The Absolute Pronoun.

7.4. The absolute pronoun is disyllabic. The first syllable varies according to person, number and class. There are therefore personal and class forms of the absolute pronoun. In the third person the variable element shows concordial relationship to the substantive indicated. The vowel in this element in all the third personal forms, except Classes 1 and 6, is \( \text{a} \). The second syllable is an invariable -\( \text{ma} \).

7.5. Personal and Class forms of the Absolute Pronoun.

| 1st Person | (Sing. | \( \text{uma} \) |
|            | (Flur. | \( \text{thina} \) |
| 2nd Person | (Sing. | \( \text{wena} \) |
|            | (Flur. | \( \text{nina} \) |
| 3rd Pers. Classes 1 & 2a. | \( \text{yena} \) |
| " 2 & 2a. | \( \text{bona} \) |
| " 3. | \( \text{wona} \) |
| " 4. | \( \text{yona} \) |
| " 5. | \( \text{lona} \) |

/ Class 6 ....
3rd Person Class 6.

wona
" 7. acna
" 8. zona
" 9. yona
" 10. zona
" 11. lona
" 12. bona
" 13. kona
" 16. ______
" 17. khona

Uses of the Absolute Pronoun.

7.6. The absolute pronoun is used as subject or object for purposes of contrast or emphasis. It may stand alone or be in apposition to another substantive.

Examples.

(i) Standing alone:

Wena uyaconda : woma andicondi.
(You understand ; I do not understand)

Yena akaszi i sikhosa : thina sivasasi.
(He does not know Khosa ; we know it)

Le mfo akafuni wona : ufuna u vihlo.
(This man does not want you ; he wants your father)

(ii) In apposition to another substantive.

a umfana aza kuthatha : a kafasi bona abasi kuthatha.
(The man are going to speak ; the women, as for them, they are not going to speak)

a kafasi baza mbebendzini : ovise bona baza makhaya.
(The youth are at work ; their fathers, as for them, they are at their homes)

Lo matwana neo wam : lo yena neo wo nkhuwwo wam.
(This child is mine ; this one, as for him, he is my elder brother's).

apa khona ....
Pho khona ndiyakwazi.
(This place, as for it, I know it)

It susha ndiyazitona : ii nkona zona endiziboni.
(I see the sheep: the cattle, as for them, I don't see them)

E Naka khona siluchelile
(As for Cape Town, we are used to it)

Anunbyzunge yena u Thembha.
(As for Thembha, I did not ask him)

7.7. The absolute pronoun may precede or follow another substantive in opposition to it.

Examples.

u Thembha yena sel' efikile) as for Thembha, he has already arrived.
Yena u Thembha sel' efikile
or
Yena lo siyaca si kumhona) as for this one, it is the first time we have seen him.
Le yena siyaca si kumhona

The Contracted or Enlitic Form of the Absolute Pronoun.

7.8. When preceded by certain elements, the absolute pronoun drops the final -na and the variable part leans on to the preceding element. This happens in the following circumstances:

(1) When locatives, which may be substantival or adverbial, in function, are formed by prefixing ku-

Examples.

ku mu(ma) > kum (to, from etc ma)
ku thi(ma) > kuthi (to, from etc ma)
ku ve(ma) > kuwe (" " " you)
ku ni(ma) > kuni (" " " / your home)
ku ve(ma) > kuye (" " " him)
ku ba(ma) > kubo (" " " them)

/ (2) when ....
(2) The word na, as a conjunctive meaning "and" or as a preposition meaning "together with" (see 17.36.), and when the preposition na (by means of, about) is preplaced to the absolute pronoun.

Examples

\[ na + m(na) > nam \] (I too ; together with me)
\[ na + thi(na) > nathi \] (we too ; together with us)
\[ na + we(na) > nawa \] (you too ; together with you)
\[ na + mi(na) > nani \] (you too ; together with you)
\[ na + ye(na) > naye \] (he too ; together with him)
\[ na + bo(na) > nabo \] (they too ; together with them)

Similarly \[ nga + m(na) > ngam \] (by means of/about me) etc.

(3) When a possessive preposition is preplaced to the pronoun, e.g. \[ wam < wa + m(na) \] (belonging to me) (see 9.97.)

(4) In copulative formation:

\[ ndim \] (it is I) < \[ ndi + m(na) \]
\[ nga(\text{it is you}) < nga + we(na) \] (see 14.7.)

7.9. It must be emphasised that the forms \[ nami, nathi \] etc do function as substantives and are therefore not necessarily adverbial.

Examples

Hathi singa bontwana ballo.
(a too are your children)
Habo bayafuna u hukwambha.
(They too do want to go)
Lna nawa siyaxalana.
(You and I are related by birth)

Cf. Siyaxalana nawe (I am related to you), in which nawe is adverbial.

Is mio ufuna mna nawa.
(This man wants you and me)
Bandibizila nami?
(Did they call me too?)
Qualificative Pronouns

7.10. There are five types of qualificative pronouns in Xhosa, namely adjectival, demonstrative, enumerative, quantitative and possessive. There are no morphological changes in the pronominal use of a qualificative.

Adjectival Qualificative Pronouns

7.11. Of the adjectives in Xhosa, only the numeral ones may be used as pronouns. A numeral adjective may be used as logical subject after an impersonal predicative construction, or as grammatical object, or as logical object after a verbal predicative in the passive voice.

Examples

Kuwa bantu be abalindelo kusike babini kwa phola.
(Of the people we expected only two have turned up)

Lukey babini rathethu (a rathweniwe).
(There are two or three) (boys)

Khoze ntwon nithonc saphi nino?
(Of those cattle how many did you buy?)

Lac nithonc amni, u abulwana em nathwona ntlanu.
(I bought two, and my older brother bought five)

Kula ratholosi uphakalulo saphi sonke yhiba?
(Of those bovines how many were ear-marked for you by your father?)

Kula ratholosi ndikhalulo saphi sonke yhiba.
(Of those bovines four were ear-marked for me by my father)

Enumerative Qualificative Pronouns

7.12. An enumerative qualificative becomes an enumerative qualificative pronoun when the substantive that it indicates is not expressed.

Examples
Examples.

Ubiza wuphi?  (Which one are you calling?)

cf.  Ubiza wuphi u mfana? (Which young men are you calling?)

Wumbhi angathandabuza (Another may doubt)

cf.  Wumbhi u matu angathandabuza (Another person may doubt)

Ndifuna limbhi (I want a different one)

cf.  Ndifuna hashe limbhi (I want a different horse)

Demonstrative Qualificative Pronoun.

7.13. The demonstrative of emphasis and the tri-positional demonstrative are used as pronouns.

The Demonstrative of Emphasis.

7.14. The demonstrative of emphasis is used more commonly as a pronoun than as a qualificative. Indeed, the only use of this demonstrative that may perhaps be regarded as qualificative is in its combination with the absolute pronoun in the formation of absolute qualificative phrases, as described in 9.44. (a) e.g. o yena nnomcedi (the real helper). Otherwise, this demonstrative is used as a pronoun in all uses described in 9.42 - 9.45.  

(1) Before a possessive qualificative, with or without a noun in apposition to it.

Examples.

 o wam u nentwana  (my child)
 o wam  (my one)
 e za ko-wethi:  ii nkumo (the cattle of our family)
 e za ko wethi (our ones) - those of our family.

(2) As a relative connective in apposition to the substantive qualified, which may be expressed or implied.

Examples.

 a bantu a bafuna u kuhambha (the people who want to go)
 a bafuna u kuhambha (those who want to go)
 ii nkabi e ziza kubotjwya (the oxen that are going to be yoked)

 / i hashe .......
255.

examples cont.

e ziza kubotjihwa (those that are going to be yoked)
i hashe e likhulu (a horse that is big)
e likhulu (one that is big)
ii nkomo e zibomvu (cattle that are red)
e zibomvu (those that are red)

7.15. It must be emphasized that in the above expressions the demonstrative is qualified by the qualitative that follows it, whether that qualitative is a single word or phrase or clause. In o wam u mntwana (my child), o wam is an emphatic possessive qualitative phrase, qualifying u mntwana. But o is a pronoun in apposition to u mntwana, qualified by wam. When o wam stands alone, it becomes a possessive pronominal phrase. Similarly e za kuthi followed by ii nkomo is a possessive qualitative phrase, qualifying ii nkomo, e being in apposition to ii nkomo. The literal meaning of e za kuthi ii nkomo is "those belonging to our family - the cattle". When e za kuthi stands alone, it becomes a possessive qualitative pronominal phrase. But within that phrase, e is a pronoun and za kuthi is a possessive qualitative phrase, qualifying e. In a bantu a bafuna u kubambha, the a after abantu is a pronoun in apposition to a bantu. The whole of a bafuna u kubambha is a qualitative clause, qualifying a bantu. But the a before bafuna is a pronoun qualified by bafuna u kubambha. When a bafuna u kubambha stands alone, it ceases to be a qualitative clause and becomes a qualitative pronominal clause. Similarly e likhulu standing alone and e zibomvu standing alone are qualitative pronominal clauses. But the a in each case is a pronoun qualified by the word that follows it.

The Tri-positional Demonstrative.

7.16. The tri-positional demonstrative in its full form in any of its positions may function as a pronoun. It functions as a pronoun when the substantive it indicates is not expressed.

/ Examples.......

Examples.

Aba basa kuhambha kwa ngoku.
(These will go right now)

Aba bantu basa kuhambha kwa ngoku.
(these people will go right now)

Ezi ze za kwa Maduna.
(These belong to Maduna's house)

Ezi nkomo ze azza kwa Maduna.
(These cattle belong to Maduna's house)

Ndifuna u kuthenga leyo.
(I want to buy one near you)

Ndifuna u kuthenga leyo nkomo.
(I want to buy that ox near you)

Eziya zithengwe kwa Maduna.
(Those yonder were bought from Maduna's)

Eziya ii nkomo zithengwe kwa Maduna.
(Those particular cattle were bought from Maduna's)

The Quantitative Qualificative Pronoun.

7.17. A quantitative qualificative becomes a quantitative qualificative pronoun when the substantive it indicates is not expressed. Only those quantitatives based on -nke and on numeral adjectives can function as pronouns. Exclusive quantitatives based on -dwa never function as pronouns.
(Cf. 9.85 - 9.87.)

Examples.

Bonke bafuna u kuhambha.
(All of them want to go)

Bonke a bantu bafuna u kuhambha.
(All the people want to go)

Ndifuna u kubona konke.
(I want to see the whole)

Ndifuna u kubona konke aphe.
(I want to see this whole place)
examples cont.

Bobabini balapha.
(Both of them are here)

cf. Bobabini onyana bakhe balapha
(Both of his sons are here)

Uthenge zontathu?
(Did you buy all three?)

cf. Uthenge ii nkabi zontathu?
(Did you buy all these oxen?)

Possessive Qualificative Pronoun.

7.18. A possessive qualificative becomes a possessive
qualificative pronoun when the substantive it qualifies,
whether pronominal or nominal, is not expressed. Ordinarily
a possessive qualificative is preceded by a demonstrative of
emphasis when the noun qualified is not expressed, and a
possessive qualificative pronominal phrase is formed by the
demonstrative and qualificative together, as described in 7.15-
7.16. But after a negative predicator, the qualificative
stands alone if the emphasis is on it as shown in 9.46, (3).

e.g. 
Ndifuna e zam ii nkowo ; andifuni sakho.
(I want my cattle : I do not want yours)

Yonke is mali ye yan : akukho vakho.
(All this money is mine : there is none belonging to
you.)
Chapter 8

THE ADJECTIVE

Introduction

2.1. In the two expressions u mfazi o thethayo (the woman who is speaking) and u mfazi o mble (the beautiful woman), o thethayo and o mble are both qualificatives. The difference between them is that the former involves a verbal predicative, while the latter involves a copulative based on predicative on an adjective. The o standing alone in each case is a demonstrative of emphasis, functioning as a relative connective. To a large extent it was failure on the part of Lgumists to to recognise the similarities as well as the differences noted above that no Lgumia grammar has treated either the adjective or relative construction satisfactorily. Because the idiomatic English equivalent of u mfazi o mble is "a/the beautiful woman", Lgumists have regarded o mble (which they write omble) as a single word. But then we can have o mbe mble (who is not beautiful), o wara omble (who was beautiful), o wara enge mble (who was not beautiful), o wara enge kuba mble (who was going to be beautiful), o wara enge kuba mble (who was not going to be beautiful). These expressions show quite clearly that the o and the m in o mble are two distinct elements which can be separated by even as many as three other elements.

2.2. A distinction has to be made between (1) the demonstrative of emphasis, which may also function as a relative connective, (2) the subjectival concord of the verb or copulative in the relative clause, i.e., the relative subjectival concord, and (3) the class prefix, which is found in adjectives. To give examples:

In the expressions i thole e lingabalele (the calf that is not running), i thole e linge mble (the calf that is not beautiful), and i thole e linge bozvu (the calf that is not red), the o standing alone in each case is a relative /connective....
connective, the li after the relative connective in each case is the relative subjectival concord, and the li before the bie in the second expression is a class prefix.

8.3. These three elements have been confused by every Nguniist. According to Dake and Nemle, the g and li in *libaleke* (which they write *libalekay*) constitute a single element, *gil*, a “relative concord”. But a mere change of tense or mood, e.g. *elibleleka* (which was running), *a melihaleke* (which had better run) causes the interposition of other elements between g and li, and shows that these are two distinct elements.

8.4. In Xhosa even a change of emphasis sometimes necessitates a separation of the two. Consider the following:

(1) *U mutu e sayikhanyelayo loc nte na nambla-nie new biko*.

(The person who still denies that up to this day is biko)

In this sentence the relative connective g comes immediately before the relative predicate, whose subjectival concord, *y*, is elided for purely phonological reasons (see 12.55 et seq.). It is possible to alter the word-order and place *nambla-nie* immediately after g:

*U mutu e na nambla-nie usayikhanyelayo loc nte new biko*.

(The person who up to this day still denies that is biko)

(Note the re-emergence of the subjectival concord *y* of 12.57)

(2) *U mutu g na kaloku-nie wayesahlala abo nuu langa*.

(The person who even at this time was still living there was langa)

Here too we could shift the emphasis and therefore alter the word-order as follows:

*U mutu e wayesahlala abo na kaloku-nie new langa*.

(The person who was still living there even at this time was langa)

(3) *a bantu e ndingakabeni kuda kuda noku*.

(The people whom I have not yet seen up to now)

Here the relative connective g comes immediately before the relative subjectival concord *ndi-*, but the whole clause...
kude kude ngoku can be placed between them as follows:

a bantu e kude kude ngoku ndiyakababou

(the people whom up to now I have not yet see).

These illustrations should suffice to establish that the relative connective is a separate element and a separate word that ought to be written separately.

§5. The error made by Werner, Doke and Bennie in regard to the adjective flows directly from the fundamental error of failing to recognize the article as an element quite distinct from the noun-class prefix. According to them, the expression umfazi o mbole would be umfazi ombole, um being the prefix of the noun and om that same prefix with a preplaced to it.

(Bantu Languages, p. 126; Zu. Gr. §§269-270; Gr. of Xh., p. 47 respectively). Then both Doke and Bennie go further and distinguish between what they call the "adjectival concord" and the "relative concord" respectively. They claim that the latter is derived from the former by eliding the nasal where it exists. Thus "om" would be the "adjectival concord" of Class 1, and "o" the "relative concord" of that same class, derived from "om-" by eliding the "m" (Zu. Gr. §§279; Gr. of Xh., p. 82 respectively). This leads to the conclusion that the so-called adjectival and relative concords differ only in those classes in which the noun qualified has a nasal in its prefix. This implies that in "ithola elible" and "ithola elibomvu" the first "el" is an adjectival concord and the second one a relative concord because, although they do not differ in appearance, the first is the concord of an adjective, and would be "om" in Class 1 (as in "ombole") while the latter is the concord of a relative (or "adjective of the second set", according to Bennie) and would be "o" in Class 1 (as in "obomvu" (see also Werner: op. cit., p. 82)

§6. McLaren comes nearer the truth in so far as he at least recognizes two distinct elements. But his rule for the formation of the "relative particle" (i.e. the relative connective ....
connective) breaks down in certain moods and tenses. According to him, the "relative particle" is formed by prefixing a to the first word of the clause. "This particle, in combination with pronominal particles (i.e. relative subjectival concords),...follows with weak forms the usual rule of vowel contraction, i.e. a+a becomes a, a+j becomes o, and a+u becomes o; and with strong forms is similarly influenced by the vowel of the pronominal particle, a before ba remaining ba, a before ndi, si, ni, li, zi becoming o, and a before la, bu, and ku becoming o" (Xh. Gr. §36)

Here now are a few examples to show that, even though McLaren is able to distinguish between the relative connective and the relative subjectival concord, his rule still does not work: (1) If a before ba remains a, then a before we should remain a. But we can have a vapha a wayethetha (the men who were speaking) as well as u entu a wayethetha (the person who was speaking). (2) In ikhono a yandzakaloye (the cow that has been hurt) the relative connective is o although there is no i in the succeeding concord. In fact, McLaren gets rather confused and on occasion resorts to some curious explanations. For instance, he says that in u mzi owakhwe ndim (which should be written u mzi o wakhwe ndim) the w immediately before the relative connective o "is inserted in weak classes after the relative particle to prevent hiatus" (op. cit. §36). But obviously the w in question is the consonantal form of the relative subjectival concord, referring to u mzi. In fact, even if the predicate was non-relative, the subjectival concord would be w, e.g. u mzi wakhwe ndim (the house was built by me).

J. L. Jeanjaquet, like McLaren, distinguishes between the relative connective (which, however, he calls a "concord") and the subjectival concord. He formulates a rule that "in the case of weak persons and classes of the short future and remote past tenses, the particle a is assimilated to the following semivowel, becoming o before w, and o before y"
But the expression a wayethetha in a madoda a wayethetha above shows that Jeanjaquet is wrong.

8.8. Ziervogel, seeing the similarities between Swazi and Tsonga and Tedi, goes so far as to suggest (correctly though rather diffidently) that the Swazi "concord" is derived from a demonstrative. But he confuses the relative connective with the class prefix on the one hand, and with the relative subjectival concord on the other.

(Swazi §23, 51, 55)

8.9. The derivation of the relative connective is described in this treatise in 9.42. et seq. But it was felt necessary to isolate the relative connective at this stage, in order to pave the way for a proper understanding of the nature of the adjective.

Characteristics of the Adjective

8.10. The close relation — and probable common origin of the noun and the adjective has been remarked by several philologists. Gray says: "The intimate relationship and even the ultimate identity, of the noun and the adjective are clearly shown in such abstractions or collectives as the beautiful, the true, the false, the good, which are practically synonymous with beauty, truth, falsehood, goodness. We may go further. Taking such words as English serpent and reptile, which we term nouns, their Latin originals serpens and reptile show that they were, rather, what would popularly be called adjectives, both meaning "creeping, crawling".

"Originally there were neither nouns nor adjectives, but only descriptive words. Grammatically, nouns and adjectives are identical; their fundamental differentiation, whereby nouns become names of things or beings, and adjectives, words modifying nouns, was a later development, even though it happened before the dawn of history. Instead of the adjective being derived from the noun, the noun would seem to be derived........
derived from the adjective if we are to rely, as it would seem that we must, on the term descriptive as a characteristic common to them both". (Foundations of Language, p. 169) Vendryes too has remarked this close relation, and he too thinks the two have a common origin. (Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History, p. 117)

Jespersen offers a philosophical explanation for this phenomenon: "The names of many substances are so patently derived from some one quality that the two ideas cannot possibly be separated: the blacks, satables, desert, a plain must be called substantives and are in every respect treated as such in the language. And no doubt a great many other substantives the origin of which is now forgotten were at first names of one quality singled out among others by the speakers. So, linguistically the distinction between 'substance' and 'quality' cannot have any great value. And from a philosophical point of view it may be said that we know substances only through their qualities that we are able to perceive (or conceive) as in some way connected". (Philosophy, pp. 74-75).

8.11. In Nguni, once the article and the relative connective have been recognized as such, and kept separate from the elements with which they have been confused by Bantuists, the close relation between the noun and the adjective is most striking. Indeed, when it comes to comparing nouns with weak adjectives (8.23. et seq.), it is extremely difficult not only to say which is derived from the other, but also where to draw the line between the two.

Kinds of Adjectives

8.12. There are two kinds of adjectives, strong adjectives and weak adjectives. The difference is only in form. The function is exactly the same.
Strong Adjectives

8.13. Just as the noun in Xhosa consists of a class prefix and a stem, so does a strong adjective consist of a class prefix and a stem. The prefix of the adjective is identical with the prefix of the noun, and varies according to the class of the noun qualified.

8.14. To illustrate the nature of the strong adjective, we use the strong adjectival stem -ni? (of what sort?) to form adjectives qualifying nouns of the various classes:

Class 1.
1. m-ntu m-ni? (what sort of person?)
2. ba-ntu ba-ni? (what sort of people?)
3. m-xi m-ni? (what sort of homestead?)
4. ni-xi ni-ni? (what sort of homesteads?)
5. zi-xwe li-ni? (what sort of country?)
6. mi-xwe xa-ni? (what sort of countries?)
7. xi-lo si-ni? (what sort of animal?)
8. si-lo xi-ni? (what sort of animals?)
9. n-to n-ni? (what sort of thing?) n - ni - ni
10. sin-to sin-ni? (what sort of things?) sin ni; zini
11. lu-su lu-ni? (what sort of skin?)
12. bu-so bu-ni? (what sort of face?)
13. ku-tva ku-ni? (what sort of food?)

Examples

Uzelo ntwana mni? (What sort of child did she bear? i.e. boy or girl?)
Uza kuthengxhu mcome ni? (What sort of beast are you going to buy? i.e. male or female?)
Ufuna heshe lini? (What sort of horse do you want?)
Ufuna nta ni ispha? (What sort of thing do you want here?)
Udispha kutva kuni? (What sort of food may I give him?)

8.15. All adjectives that are formed by means of class prefixes so as to vary according to the class of the noun qualified, as shown above, will here be known as strong adjectives, and all stems from which such adjectives are formed will here be known as strong adjectival stems.
List of Strong Adjectival Stems.

8.16. The following is an exhaustive list of the strong adjectival stems found in Xhosa:

- ni? (what sort?)
- bi (bad, evil, ugly)
- hle (good, beautiful)
- de (long, tall)
- no? (many)
- ncinci (little, small)
- ncinane
- ncikane
- tleha (fresh, new, young)
- dala (old)
- fuphi (short)
- futhane
- khulu (big, great)

8.17. Notes on some of the Strong Adjectival Stems.

(i) - ni?*

This is the prefix of class 9 functioning as an interrogative adjectival root. It also functions as an interrogative noun e.g. Ubona ni? (What do you see?). Cf. the locative prefix pha of class 16 which, by changing the final vowel into i becomes the interrogative phi? (where?).

(ii) - no?, - ncinci, - ncinane, - ncikane.

The first of these four is the single stem, but it is extremely rarely used.

- ncinci is a reduplicated form of - no?, and is more commonly used than - no?.

* The class 1a noun bani? (who?), with plural cobani? was in all probability a regular noun of class 2, with the singular form mini?, which has assumed the specialized meaning "person" or "of what clan, tribe or race?" with plural mani? by analogy.
-ncinane is a diminutive form corresponding to the Zulu -ncinyane. The form -ncinane is the most commonly used in literature. 

-ncikane is about as commonly used in speech as -ncinane. It is also a diminutive form, in which the diminutive suffix -kane is more easily recognizable than the -nyane of -ncinyane as coming from Ur-Bantu -ye (postulated in 2.55).

(iii) -fuphi and -futjane

These are the simple and the diminutive forms respectively of one and the same stem, -fuphi. They are now used interchangeably, but -futjane is more commonly used.

(iv) -nca and -ngaphi?

-nca is used for an unnamed number like x in algebra: a bantwana banga (the children are x in number)

-ngaphi is a compound of -nca and the interrogative enumerative stem -phi?

(v) -nje

This stem is employed when the number is indicated by means of the fingers. Thus iinkabi e zinje, if accompanied by raising only five fingers of the left hand, would mean "five oxen", but if the right-hand thumb is added, then e zinje indicates "six".

(vi) -nye

-nye may mean "one" (the numeral) or "one and the same" or, with a change of intonation and word-order, "one ... others" or "same ... others".

Examples

u mzi o wyve, (one homestead) or (one and the same homestead)
le mzi wyve (this homestead is the only one) or (this is one and the same homestead)
o wyve u mzi mkhulu, o wyve xcinane
(one homestead is big, the other is small)
a bantu a banye (people who are one and the same)
a banye a bantu (some people)
i sizwe o banye (one tribe / one and the same tribe)
i banye i sizwe silapha, o banye nasesa e Nkho.
(One tribe is here, the others remained in Embholand)

(viii) -thathu and -thandathu

The latter would seem to be a contracted compound of the
former. The full form was probably thathu + na + thathu
(three and three) which became th(a(thu)+n(a)+thathu
i.e. thanthathu. Then by vocalization n+th became nd.

The Morphological Differences
between
Strong and Weak Adjectives

8.18. The term "weak adjectives" is used in this
treatise for those adjectives that Doke calls "relatives"
LoLaren-Jelsh calls them "relative adjectives", and Bennie
calls them "adjectives of the second set"

8.19. The difference between strong and weak adjectives
lies not in 'function but in form. Now all Ngunists have
stated that the difference in form is to be found only in
those classes whose prefix contains a nasal - in which
classes the weak adjectives are said to "drop the nasal"
To show that this approach is mistaken, we give here
examples of the use of three different adjectives as
predicative complements.

(1) -hle (beautiful, good)

1. Lo mntwana uza kuba mble (This child is going to be
    beautiful)

2. Aba bontwana baza kuba bahle (These children are
    going to be beautiful)

3. Lo msi uza kuba mhle (This homestead etc.)

4. Le msi izi le kuba mible (These homesteads etc.)

5. Eli thole liwa kuba lihle (This calf etc.)

6. Le mafhole aza kuba mible (These calves etc.)
Cl. 7. Ezi sitya ziza kuba zihle (This basin etc.)
6. Ezi zitya ziza kuba zihle (These basins etc.)
9. Le ndlu isa kuba ntle (This house etc.)
10. Ezi zindlu ziza kuba ntle (These houses etc.)
11. Olu sana luza kuba lubhe (This baby etc.)
14. Obu buso buza kuba lubhe (This face etc.)
15. Oku kutyana kuba kuhle (This food etc.)
16. Thakathi kusa kuba kuhle (The inside etc.)
17. Ke kwethu kusa kuba kuhle (My mother's house etc.)

(2) shushu (hot)

Cl. 1. Le muntwana uza kuba shushu (This child is going to be hot)
2. Aba bantwana baza kuba shushu (These children are going to be hot)
3. Le mzi uza kuba shushu (This homestead etc.)
4. Le mizi iza kuba shushu (These homesteads etc.)
5. Le thole liza kuba shushu (This calf etc.)
6. Le muthole uza kuba shushu (These calves etc.)
7. Ezi sitya ziza kuba shushu (This basin etc.)
8. Ezi zitya ziza kuba shushu (These basins etc.)
9. Le ndlu isa kuba shushu (This house etc.)
10. Ezi zindlu ziza kuba shushu (These houses etc.)
11. Olu sana luza kuba shushu (This baby etc.)
14. Obu buso buza kuba shushu (This face etc.)
15. Oku kutyana kuba kuhle (This food etc.)
16. Thakathi kusa kuba kuhle (The inside etc.)
17. Ke kwethu kusa kuba kuhle (My mother's house etc.)

(3) lubhelu (yellow)

Cl. 1. Le muntwana uza kuba lubhelu (This child is going to be yellow)
2. Aba bantwana baza kuba lubhelu (These children are going to be yellow)
3. Le mzi uza kuba lubhelu (This homestead etc.)
4. Le mizi iza kuba lubhelu (These homesteads etc.)
5. Le thole liza kuba lubhelu (This calf etc.)
6. Le muthole uza kuba lubhelu (These calves etc.)
Cl. 7. Esi sitya siz a kuba lubhely (This basin etc.)
8. Esi sitya siz a kuba lubhely (These basins etc.)
9. Is ndlu iz a kuba lubhely (This house etc.)
10. Esi zindlu siz a kuba lubhely (These houses etc.)
11. Olu sama lusa kuba lubhely (This baby etc.)
14. Obu buso buza kuba lubhely (This face etc.)
15. Oku kutya kusa kuba lubhely (This food etc.)
16. Thakathi kusa kuba lubhely (The inside etc.)
17. Ke kwathu kusa kuba lubhely (By mother's house etc.)

8.20. Table (1) shows that -ble employs class prefixes varying according to the class of the noun to which the adjective is grammatically related. -ble is therefore a strong adjectival stem. Table (2) shows that shushu employs no class prefix and undergoes no change whatsoever. In fact, shushu is not only a stem but constitutes a complete word without the aid of any additional formative. Table (3) shows that lubhely is-a-noun-as-noun behaves exactly like shushu. We know that lubhely is a noun as well as an adjective, meaning "yellowness", "yellow thing" or "yellow". The lu- is the prefix of Class II. As a noun meaning "yellow thing" it has a plural form, zimbhelyu (yellow things). But when used as an adjective, lubhelyu does not vary its prefix according to class. Even when it qualifies a noun of Class 10 it remains lubhelyu:

Esi zindlu siz a kuba lubhelyu.
(These houses are going to be yellow)

It is clear that in the adjectival use of lubhelyu the prefix lu- has no class prefixal significance at all. We term shushu and lubhelyu and all other adjectives that behave in this manner weak adjectives.
8.21. Even in the so-called "attributive" and "predicative" use of adjectives, it is misleading to refer to the nasal prefix classes for distinction, because the negative forms of the so-called "attributes" and "predicates" - which have been neglected with disastrous results by linguistic - bring out these differences as clearly as does the construction in 8.19. in the strong as well as in the weak classes.

Examples.

(a) "attributive"

Cl. 1. u mntwana o nge mhlle (the child who is not beautiful)
     u mntwana o nge shushu (the child who is not hot)
     u mntwana o nge lubhelu ("""""" yellow)

Cl. 2. a bantwana a bange bahle (children who are not beautiful)
     a bantwana a bange shushu ("""" hot)
     a bantwana a bange lubhelu ("""" yellow)

Cl. 5. i thele e linge lilibhe (the calf that is not beautiful)
     i thele e linge shushu ("""" hot)
     i thele e linge lubhelu ("""" yellow)

Cl. 6. a mathole a nge mahle (the calves that are not beautiful)
     a mathole a nge shushu (the """" hot)
     a mathole a nge lubhelu ("""" yellow)

(b) "predicative"

Cl. 1. u mntwana akamhle (the child is not beautiful)
     u mntwana akashushu ("""" hot)
     u mntwana alalubhelu ("""" yellow)

Cl. 2. a bantwana ababahle (the children are not beautiful)
     a bantwana abashushu ("""" hot)
     a bantwana abalubhelu ("""" yellow)

Cl. 5. i thele alilibile (the calf is not beautiful)
     i thele alishushu ("""" hot)
     i thele alilubhelu ("""" yellow)

/ Cl. 6........

Note: This term is based on the misconception criticised in 8.1. Both these are predicatives, one relative and the other non-relative.
Cl. 6. a nathole akamahle (the calves are not beautiful)  
   a nathole akashushu (" " " " hot)  
   a nathole akalubhelu (" " " " yellow)  

Classes 2 and 5 are not nasal-prefix classes, and yet -ble behaves as differently from shushu and lubhelu in these classes as it does in Classes 1 and 6.

8.22. The difference between a strong and a weak adjective may be stated as follows:

A strong adjective is based on a stem which, in order to form a complete word, employs a class prefix in agreement with the class of the noun it qualifies. A weak adjective requires no additional formative in order to be a complete word, and employs no class prefix to show its relation to the noun it qualifies. It may be a simple stem which can never be employed as a substantive, or it may consist of a specific class prefix and a stem, constituting a word that may be employed as a substantive as well as an adjective.

Classification of Weak Adjectives

8.23. The weak adjectives found in Xhosa may be classified according to their formation and form and derivation.

8.24. Weak adjectives that consist of stems only, and are not traceable to a common origin with any noun or qualifying or verb.

As far as the present writer has been able to investigate, there are only nine of these, and most of them are probably of Khoisan origin. They may be subdivided as follows:

(a) Those that, in phonetic make-up and meaning suggest relationship to, and probable derivation from, Khoisan words:

(1) krhakrha (bitter), phon. kr'ak'ra, probably related to and derived from Forana kr'au (bitter), of which it seems to be a reduplicated form minus the u.

/krhakrha .....
(2) Krhwala (not quite ripe), phon. *kw'w'ala*, probably related to, and derived from, Korana *kw'ora* (raw)
(3) Shuhu (hot), probably related to, and derived from, Nama *sul* (how hot it is!), of which it seems to be a reduplicated form. According to Reinhold, Nama *shul* (exclamation of pain) comes from Nama *sul* (cf. 5.44.)

(b) Those that on the ground of their phonetic make-up are probably of Khoisan origin too, although no actual Khoisan parallel can be cited:
(1) Krhwada (raw), phon. *kw'w'ala* (cf. krhwala)
(2) Rhabaxa (rough)
(3) Qatha, (hard, strong)

(c) Those to which there is no clue
(1) Bandsi (broad)
(2) Diki-diki (lukewarm)
(3) Duma (tasteless)

The paucity of these suggests that this class of adjective is a recent importation into Xhosa.

8.25. Those that in form are identical with living nouns bearing similar descriptive meanings.

This is by far the largest class. Some are in the singular and others are in the plural form. As adjectives, those in the singular have no plural forms and those in the plural have no singular forms. (cf. *lubhlelu* and *simbalelu* in 8.26.)

There are simple as well as reduplicated stems. Some of the latter are derived from ideophones, like the nouns to which they correspond.

8.26. Weak adjectives of this kind correspond to nouns of Classes 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, and 15. They may therefore be classified like the nouns. In order that the meanings of the nouns may be quite clear, the prefixes are given in full even in cases where these are not normally used in present-day Xhosa.

*See Bourouin: African Studies, Vol. 10 No. 2 June 1951*
8.27.

mbuna (tame)  
mbhoxo (oval)  
mliliba (dim, blurred)  
mtusa (dark-red)  
mlophe (white, clear)

Claas 2

cf. mbuna (tame animal)  
cf. mbhoxo (oval-shaped object)  
cf. mlihla (dimness, blur)  
cf. mtusa (dark-red object)  
cf. mlhla (whiteness, white object, clearness, daylight)

mnandi (sweet, pleasant)  
mncini (stumpy-tailed)  
mnyama (black, dark)  
msebe (purple)  
mthubi (yellow)

cf. mnandi (sweetness, pleasantness)  
cf. mncini (stumpy-tailed animal)  
cf. mnyama (blackness, darkness)  
cf. msebe (wild berry with purple fruit)  
cf. mthubi (yolk of an egg, milk of an animal during first few days after calving - yellowish in colour)

8.28.

dlaka-dlaka (ragged)  
gadalala (hard, harsh)  
gwengga (light-brown)  
gwenxa (perverse)  
ze (naked, empty)  
zube (blue)

cf. ldlaka-dlaka (ragged person)  
cf. gadalala (hard, crind-up thing e.g. skin)  
cf. gwengga (light-brown person, rufous-naped lark)  
cf. gwenxa (perverse person)  
cf. zewe (emptiness, nothing)  
cf. zube (olive pigeon)

Clasa 5

cf. ldlaka-dlaka (ragged person)  
cf. gadalala (hard, crind-up thing e.g. skin)  
cf. gwengga (light-brown person, rufous-naped lark)  
cf. gwenxa (perverse person)  
cf. zewe (emptiness, nothing)  
cf. zube (olive pigeon)

8.29. In this class are to be found most of the terms describing the colour-markings and the shapes of the horns of cattle. In most cases the adjectives describe exclusively cattle with such markings or shapes of horns, and the corresponding nouns indicate exclusively cattle with such marking s or shapes of horns.

Examples

lunza (black-and-white)  
xale (left-handed)  
phase (with horns pointing)  
xhaka (with curving horns)

cf. luluza (black-and-white ox)  
cf. xale (left-handed person, ox with high left horn)  
cf. phase (ox with such horns)  
cf. xhaka (ox with such pointing towards muzzle)
waba (with black body and white belly)

(l1) saba (ox with such markings)

bhadi (light-brown with white spots on flanks)

cf. (l1) bhadi (springbok, ox of this colour)

phela-ndle (dark-red with light-brown ears and muzzle)

cf. (l1) phela-ndle (wild cockroach, ox with such markings)

8.30. Class 6

mabela-bala (multicoloured) cf. mabela-bala (various colours)

mandla (vital, strong) cf. mandla (strength)

mandzi (watery, wet) cf. sandzi (water)

manyunyazi (abominable) cf. manyunyazi (abomination)

manyuku-nyuku (ticklish) cf. manyuku-nyuku (ticklish sensation)

machinga (cunning, wily) cf. machinga (cunning, wiles)

masikizi (vile) cf. masikizi (vile thing)

meva (thorny) cf. meva (thorns)

8.31. Class 7

sibhoso (eight) cf. sibhoso (the number eight)

sidibi (shallow) cf. sidibi (shoal)

singindi (stumpy) cf. singindi (stumpy thing)

sicingai (well-built, medium-sized)

cf. also ideophone cingai (of standing firm) and verb

cingai (stand firm)

sithoko-thoko (very dark) cf. sithoko-thoko (great darkness)

sixhinga (short and thick-necked)

cf. sixhinga (short, thick-necked man)

sixwexwe (broad and flat) cf. sixwexwe (broad flat thing)

sizika-zika (overcast with blackness)

cf. sizika-zika (mass, blackness)

sizungu (causing disturbance of mind)

cf. sizungu (loneliness, disturbance of mind)
Class 8

sigalo (brawny-armed) cf. sigalo (brawny arms)

ziphika (with well-developed breast muscles)

cf. ziphika (breast muscles)

ziqula (thick-calved) cf. ziqula (calves of log)

ziquluba (same as ziqula) cf. ziquluba (same as ziqula)

Class 9

mpemvu (white-faced) cf. mpemvu (white-faced animal)

mpofu (tawny) cf. mpofu (eland)

mpunene-mpunene (slippery) cf. mpunene-mpunene (slippery thing)

cf. also the ideophone phunene (of slipping out of hand)

nchathu (temperate) cf. nchathu (temperate person)

ngwamvu (grey) cf. ngwamvu (grey-headed man, grey animal)

ndzima (heavy, difficult) cf. ndzima (burden, difficulty)

ndzulu (deep) cf. ndzulu (deep place, hollow)

ntsundu (dark-brown) cf. ntsundu (dark-brown person or thing)

nyulu (chaste, pure) cf. nyulu (chaste or pure person)

Class 11

lubbelu (yellow) cf. lubbelu (yellow thing, yellowness)

luhlaaza (green, blue) cf. (lu)hlaaza (greenness, verdure)

lukhuni (hard) cf. (lu)khuni (dry piece of wood)

lushica (tough) cf. (lu)shica (tough thing)

luthuthu (ashy pale) cf. (lu)luthuthu (ash)

It will be noted that while the Class 11 nouns drop the prefix in accordance with the rule governing disyllabic and polysyllabic stems (4.34. et seq.), the corresponding adjective do not drop it. The only word of this class that is known to have dropped the prefix both as noun and as adjective is buhuyu (red soil or red). But the locative form of the noun, e lubhowini (the red-soil place) retains it.

The Class 5 adjectives, as we have seen, drop the prefix. Even the monosyllabic se drops it even though the corresponding noun retains it (see 8.36.)

8.35. .........
Class 14.

buhlungu (painful, sore) cf. buhlungu (pain, poison)
bukhali (sharp, sharp-edged) cf. bukhali (sharp edge, sharpness)
buthuntu (blunt, blunt-edged) cf. buthuntu (bluntness)

Class 15.

Many nouns of this class are used as adjectival bases to describe people or things characterized by the actions or states indicated by the verbal nouns.

Examples:

i ntombhi e kumila (a girl with a fine figure)
<kumila (to have a fine figure)
u mfo o kunyoluka (a greedy man)
<kunyoluka (to be greedy)
i ndoda e kuxakaka (a man who has a tendency to look busier than he really is)
<kuxakaka (to be busy)
u mfazi o kuzola (a calm woman)
<kuzola (to be calm)

Class 16.

Those of demonstrative origin.

The demonstratives which are used as weak adjectives belong to classes that cannot be traced with certainty. These are as follows:

niej (of this nature, like this)
ngaka (as big, as much as this)
nislo (of that nature, like that)
ngako (as big, as much as that)
njeya (of that nature, like yonder)
ngakaya (as big, as much as yonder)

Class 17.

Those of verbal origin.

Weak adjectives of verbal origin are very few. They fall into two groups as follows:

(a) Passive present stems with syllabic as prefix, most probably of class 3.

*Not to be confused with the strong adjectival stem, -niej, of the same origin.
These are:

mbalwa (few) <- balwa (be counted)
msulwa (innocent) <- sulwa (be wiped clean)
mxinwa (narrow) <- xinwa (be pressed into narrow space)
mxingwa (narrow) <- xinga (get stuck)

(b) The adjective mpuluswa (straight, smooth, sleek) has a non-syllabic mw, which is probably the class 9 prefix. The stem is causative-passive, derived from phuluka (slip out easily), which becomes phulusa (causative) and -phuluswa (passive).

(c) Perfect stems with class prefixes. One of these is ngwele (holy, pure) which corresponds to the noun ngwele (a wholesome thing or person / a saint). They are both derived from gwele, the perfect stem of gowala (be full/wholesome). The other is mlele (neutral), derived from -lale, perfect stem of lala (sleep).

(d) The perfect stem -thile <- thi (say), which employs no prefix. It means "certain", e.g. u mfe o thile (a certain man)

Derivation by means of Affixes.

8.39. Both strong and weak adjectives employ the suffixes -ana, -kazi, -azana and -rha which were treated in Chapter 5 in connection with nouns. The significance is the same as with nouns, and the sound changes observed in connection with nouns are to be found here too.

8.40. - ana:

Examples:

-dle (tall /long) > -dana (tallish /longish)
-hle (beautiful) > -hlna (rather beautiful)
-mhlophe (white) > mhlotlhana (whitish)
ombvu (red) > bombvana (reddish)

If the noun qualified has a non-diminutive meaning, -ana has the same significance as English -ish, as in tallish. But if the noun qualified has a diminutive meaning, -ana expresses /diminution in ....

*Except that -kazi does not indicate blood relationship here.
diminution in size or quantity as well as, in some cases, signifying -ish.

Examples.

u mfo o mndana (a tallish man)
i ngubo e mhlotjhana (a whitish blanket)
i nkwenkwana e ndana (a tall(ish) boy)
i nkawana e ngwavana (a greyish) young ox

It has already been pointed out that the diminutives -ncinane, -ncikane, -nci (small) and -ntunjane, -ntuhi (short) are used interchangeably with the simple forms from which they are derived. (8.17). In other words, they have lost their diminutive force. To form diminutives they therefore have to add the suffix -ana.

-ncinane (small) > -ncinanana (fairly small)
-ncikane (" ") > -ncikanana (" " " )
-futjhane (short) > -futjihanana (" short)

These may also mean "very small" and "very short".

8.41. -kazi:

Examples.

-de (tall, long) > -dekazi (very tall, tall-female)
-hle (beautiful) > -hlekazi (very beautiful, (beautiful-female))
-bomku (red) > -bomrukazi (red-female)
-mhlopho (white) > mhlophakezi (white-female)

If the noun qualified denotes a male or an inanimate object, -kazi has an augmentative significance.

Examples.

u mfo o mdekazi (a very tall man)
i ndlu e mhtlekazi (a very beautiful house)
cf. mhlekazi (most excellent one) either

If the noun qualified denotes a female, -kazi may have a feminine or augmentative significance, or both. Thus, u mfaziz o mdekazi may mean "a tall woman" or "a very tall woman". But with adjectives signifying colour, -kazi has an exclusively feminine significance.

/examples ....
Examples.
- i hashe e libombukazi (a red mare)
- i mazi e mholphakazi (a white cow)
- i thokazi e lingwevukazi (a grey heifer)

8.42. -azana:

Examples.
- de (tall) > -dazana (tall-female-young)
- ble (beautiful) > -blazana (beautiful-female-young)
- bomqvu (red) > bomqavazana (red-female-young)
- mhlobhe (white) > mhlotjhazana (white-female-young)

As the translations show, these have a feminine-diminutive significance.

Examples.
- ntombazana e ndazana (a tall young girl)
- thokazana e limhlotjhazana (a white young heifer)

This suffix may also have an affective significance.

e.g. intwasana e ntlazana ("a sweet young thing")

8.43. -rha:

Examples.
- bomqvu (red) > bomqurha (reddish)
- ndzulu (deep) > ndzulurha (deepish)
- mnqini (stumpy-tailed) > mnqinirha (somewhat stumpy-tailed)

The suffix -rha is essentially substantival. Hence it is not used with strong adjectives, which are less substantival than the weak ones. Strictly speaking, bomqurha means "somewhat like red soil", and ndzulurha means "somewhat of depth or hollow", and mnqinirha means "somewhat of stumpy-tailed animal"

8.44. bu....-rha:

The suffix -rha is often associated with prefix bu- in the formation of weak adjectives from nouns, noun-stems, weak adjectives and verb-stems. The bu- signifies "of the nature of"

/examples....
Examples

sandle (hand) > busandelarha (somewhat like a hand)
usilo (fire) > bunrilorha (somewhat of the nature of a fire)
mfene (baboon) > bumfenerha (somewhat of the nature of a baboon)
mwewu (grey) > bunwevurha (somewhat of a greyish colour)
bonda (be cold) > bubandarha (somewhat cold)

8.45. The suffix -rha, which is of Khoisan origin (see 5.45.) has the same significance as prefixal bu-, which it has largely superseded. In present-day Xhosa, five different formations are possible, with no difference in meaning:

(1) the suffix -rha and no prefix at all, as shown in 8.45.
(2) the prefix bu- and the suffix -rha, as shown in 8.44.
(3) the prefix bu- and no suffix:

i silo e sibumphene (an animal that is somewhat of the nature of a baboon)
i hashe e libungwewu (a horse that is greyish)
i ndawo e busitha (a spot that is warmish)

(4) sabu- and no suffix:

i silo e sisabumphene (same meaning as in (3))
i hashe e lisabungwewu (2°

i ndawo e sabusitha

(5) prefixal sabu- and suffixal -rha:

i silo e sisabumphenerha (same meaning as in (3) and (4))
i hashe e lisabungwevurha

i ndawo e sabusitharha

Compound Adjectives

8.46. Compound adjectives are to be found in Xhosa. These are all weak. They may be classified as follows:

(1) Weak Adjective + Weak Adjective:

gwewu-mdaka (grey-dun) < gwewu (grey) + mdaka (dun)
e.g. i hashe e lingwewu-mdaka (a grey-dun horse)
luhleza-ka-wanasa (green + light-brown)

(2) Toum + Strong Adjective:

ludu-luhle (well-disposed) < ludu (skin) + luhle (beautiiful)

(3) Toum + Possessive Qualificativo:

nhlambo-va-ntaka (innumerable)

(4) Possessive Proposition:

li ndimi nobo bimbi shiibambo-va-ntaka

(The burdens of this life are innumerable)

matumbha-va-ntaka (overcast with clouds)

matumbha (contrails) + va-ntaka (of a bird)

(5) Noun + Relative Qualificativo:

madol'-andzima (diffident, of low moral)

< radolo (kneel) + andzima (that are heavy)

luh' u huranda sa madol'-andzima (do not make him diffident)
Evolution of the adjective

It is hoped that the intimate morphological and semantic relationship between the noun and the adjective has been brought out clearly in the foregoing pages. Without going further afield than the neighbouring Sotho in comparative Bantu, we can find not only further evidence of the common origin of the noun and the adjective, but also clues as to the manner in which the adjective developed out of the noun which, in the primitive stage of language, was necessarily descriptive, concrete and "earthy".

If we compare Nguni and Sotho, we find words common to both language-groups, functioning both nominally and adjectivally in one group and exclusively nominally or adjectivally in the other; and in some cases within one and the same group we find a word that may function both nominally and adjectivally in one cluster, and exclusively nominally or adjectivally in another.

1 Nguni mmandi is in Xhosa normally used as an adjective meaning "sweet, pleasant" e.g. into e mmandi (a sweet thing). In Zulu it is both a noun meaning "sweetness, pleasantness" and an adjective meaning "sweet, pleasant", e.g. u kuzwa u mmandi (to experience pleasantness) into e mmandi (a sweet thing).

The corresponding Sotho monate is both a noun meaning "sweetness, pleasantness" and an adjective meaning "sweet, pleasant", e.g. monate ka ema (the sweetness of it), ntho e monate (a sweet thing).

2 Nguni m(u)sa is exclusively a noun meaning "kindness", e.g. Zulu: u musa wakha (his kindness).

The corresponding Sotho mosa is both a noun meaning "kindness" and an adjective meaning "kind", e.g. mosa ka baga (his kindness), motha ka mosa (a kind person).

* Mohayi uses it nominally in poetry. See Inzuko, p. 63.
(3) Nguni mliyo is exclusively a noun meaning "fire"

\[\text{e.g. Sibona u mliyo (We see a fire)}\]

The corresponding S. Sotho molo is exclusively a noun with the same meaning.

\[\text{e.g. Re bona molo (We see a fire)}\]

But the corresponding Tswana molelo is both a noun meaning "fire" and an adjective meaning "hot".

\[\text{e.g. Re bona molelo (We see a fire)}\]

\[\text{metsi a a molelo (hot water)}\]

(4) Nguni nyanda is exclusively a noun meaning "bundle"

\[\text{e.g. i nyanda yee nkuni (a bundle of firewood)}\]

The corresponding Sotho ngata is both a noun meaning "bundle" and an adjective meaning "many".

\[\text{e.g. S. Sotho : ngata ea petai (a bundle of firewood)}\]

\[\text{batho ba bangata (many people)}\]

(5) Nguni maikazi (phon. \texttt{nts'ka:zi}) is in Zulu exclusively a noun meaning "female animal"

\[\text{e.g. it'sikazi e zimbili (two female animals)}\]

The corresponding S. Sotho tshakali is exclusively an adjective meaning "female"

\[\text{e.g. poli e tshakali (a female goat)}\]

(6) In Xhosa, nouns of six different classes are formed with the stem dunu, depending on the class of the noun denoting the generic name of the male in question.

Thus we have (i) Classes 1 and 2 \texttt{mduna} in the expression: \texttt{u mdun' oakhulu} (the great fellow) and its plural \texttt{a badun' a bakhulu}.

(ii) Classes 5 and 6 (\textit{ii})duna and \texttt{mduna} to indicate \texttt{liithole} and \texttt{methole} (calves) respectively.

(iii) Classes 9 and 10 \texttt{nduna} and (\textit{zi})\texttt{nduna} to indicate \texttt{nja} (dog) and \texttt{zinja} (dogs) respectively.

From the morphological point of view this variation of the class prefix is interesting, because it is characteristic not of the noun but of the adjective (strong),

/syntactically.....
Syntactically too the behaviour of -duna is particularly noteworthy. If the generic name is obvious, it is omitted and -duna employs the prefix of the class to which the generic name belongs and stands alone as a noun; if the generic name is mentioned, -duna employs the prefix #a and becomes a noun descriptively appositional to, or appositionally descriptive of, the generic name.

Examples

(a) i duna (a male calf)
(aa) i tholi' i duna (a calf a male)
(b) a maduna (male calves)
(bb) a matholi' a maduna (the calves the males)
(c) i nduna (a male dog)
(cc) i ni' i nduna (a dog a male)
(d) ii nduna (the male dogs)
(dd) i sinji' ii nduna (the dogs the males)

While grammatical convention compels us to regard i duna, a maduna, i nduna and ii nduna in (aa), (bb), (cc) and (dd) respectively as nouns in apposition to the nouns preceding them, there is no doubt that semantically these words are adjectival. The juxtaposition, accompanied by the variation of the prefix, is a step towards a complete "de-substantivization" of the noun, which gives it the power and freedom to assume any class prefix, as is the case with the modern Xhosa strong adjectives listed in 8.16.

In the neighbouring Sotho, the corresponding stem, tona, has gone much further than duna in Xhosa. It is both a nominal stem meaning "big thing" and an adjectival stem meaning "male". As a noun, it is employed as a possessive/base, and its prefix varying with class of the noun qualified:

motho ea motona (a big man - man of the big human variety)
linku tsa litona (big sheep - sheep of the big animal variety)

In the Swazi expression inhlonipho valomdvuna (taboons observed by the male), mdvuna is in fact an a strong adjective and not a noun. See title of first Swazi text, Appendix II, page 211 of Ziarvogel's Swazi.
It is therefore possible to have motona, batona, motona, matona, letona, matona, matona, litona etc. all functioning as nouns meaning "big thing". But it is also possible to have them functioning as adjectives meaning "male". (That is - would not normally be used in S. Sotho with a disyllabic stem - in this case -tona - is not important for our present purpose).

E.g.

- motha e motona (male person)
- lerole le letona (male calf)
- marole a matona (male calves)
- nkua e tona (male sheep)
- linku tsa tona (male sheep) < linku tsa litona

So therefore see that unlike the Xhosa duna, Sotho tona is firmly planted in the category of adjective, while at the same time remaining a nominal stem with a slightly different meaning. But we need not be perturbed by the seeming difference in meaning, because it is merely superficial. The close connection between "male", "big" and "strong" - e.g. letsoho le letona (right hand) as against letsoho le letshahli (left hand) - is obvious. (cf. Leinhef: African Languages, Chapter VII and Werner: Language-Families of Africa, pp. 110-113)

6.50. Man knows things by certain prominent qualities that they possess, and he names them by these qualities, whether perceived or conceived. We have first-hand evidence of that in the names of things of comparatively recent importation, invention or discovery. According to American romantic novelists (e.g. Mary Johnston), American Indians call the white man's liquor "fire-water" and his gum "sticks-that-speak". In Xhosa a 'railway engine' is jujuju and a motor-bicycle is called sithuthuthu. These are named after the characteristic sound they make. In Sotho an aeroplane is called safoane < fofo (fly). In English we find such words as hippopotamus, binoculars (which in Afrikaans...
are called verkyker (lit. far-looker), gramophone, telescope, negro. Now there is even "the abominable snowman".

In the rudimentary stages of language such descriptive words (epithetologues" or "epithet-words" according to Gray, op. cit.) had the function of what have become known as nouns and adjectives in languages as we find them. Traces of this phenomenon are to be found in Xhosa in such descriptive nouns as (li)lwempu (pauper), simumu (dumb), sithulu (deaf), mfana (blind).

But since the prominent qualities of a particular object or concept might be possessed (perhaps less prominently) by various other objects or concepts too, the qualities were abstracted with the development of language and applied to all objects or concepts that possessed them, not as names, but as qualifying words. Thus an ox (nkabi) that shared the quality "red" with red clay (lubonyu) was described as "the ox that is red-clay" - i nkabi e bonyu; a flower (nyatymhbo) that shared the quality "yellow" with the yolk of an egg (mthubi) was described as "a flower that is yolk-of-an-egg" - i nyatymhbo e mthubi; a calf (thole) of the male sex (duna) was described as "a calf a male" - i thole i duna.

The behaviour of duna in Xhosa, and tonn in Sotho, as described in 8.48, would seem to be a bridge between the noun and the adjective. We can therefore reconstruct the development, more or less, in the light of this evidence, with the abstraction of the qualities and their application to various things came the juxtaposition of the generic epithetologue and the epithetologue indicating the abstracted quality. Of these two only the former would be fully substantival or nominal, the latter being a qualifying substantival or substantival qualifying.

But both the nominals indicating the generic names and the substantival qualificatives or qualifying substantivals belong to definite classes distinguished by prefixes. By constant juxtaposition, a few of the qualifying
Substantival nouns began to vary their prefixes in sympathy with the prefixes of the nominals indicating the generic names:

- u matu u mduna (a person a male)
- a bantu a baduna (people males)
- i lithole i liduma (a calf a male)
- a mathele a maduna (calves males)
- i nja i nduna (a dog a male)
- i zinja i zinduna (dogs males)

As we have already seen, duna did this with only a limited number of classes. This is understandable, because names of animals are not to be found in every class of nouns.

8.55. Qualificative substantivals of the type of -ble went much further and adjusted their class prefixes to nominals of all classes:

- u matu u mibile (a person a beautiful one)
- a bantu a babile (people beautiful ones)
- u msi u mibile (a homestead a beautiful one)
- i miza i mibile (homesteads beautiful ones)
- i lithole i libile (a calf a beautiful one)
- a mathele a mahile (calves beautiful ones)
- i silo i mibile (an animal a beautiful one)
- u lusana u libile (a baby a beautiful one) etc.

There is definite evidence of this stage in the development of the Bantu adjective in existing languages e.g. Lamba (see Doke: Lamba, p. 145 § 261). For languages that have no "initial vowel" in their nouns see Ashton: Swahili, p. 46 and Fortune: Shona, p. 154 § 303). This may be called the juxtapositional stage. Having acquired the power to adjust themselves to all classes, substantivals of the type of -ble were ultimately "desubstantivized" and used far more extensively as adjectives than as nominals.

8.56. But by far the largest number of epithetologues developed into nouns on the one hand and into qualificative substantivals and finally into adjectives on the other,
without ever acquiring the power to adjust their prefixes in agreement with the nouns they qualified. They remained fixed, morphologically, in their original classes. These are adjectives of the type of mtshubi (yellow), munadi (pleasant), mandzi (watery, wet) and lubhelu (yellow) which constitute our main group of weak adjectives, as against those of the type of -ble (beautiful), -de (tall, long) and -gala (old) (cf 8.19, (a) and (c))

2.57. The final resolution into these two classes was neither accidental nor arbitrary. If we compare the qualities indicated by the two classes, we find that in general those indicated by the strong adjectives are more abstract, and therefore capable of being applied to an infinitely greater variety of objects and concepts, than those indicated by the weak adjectives. To illustrate this; The relationship is obvious when the quality bonvu (red) is abstracted and applied equally to "a red rose" and "a red cricket ball". But the relationship is not so obvious when the quality -ble (beautiful) is abstracted and applied equally to "a beautiful rose" and "a beautiful square-cut" or "a beautiful cover-drive". Similarly, the relationship is obvious when mvuna (black) is applied to "a black cassock" and to "a black preacher", but it is not so obvious when -de (long) is applied to "a long cassock" and "a long sermon".

The quality -kulu (big, great, important) can be applied to "a big man", "a great man", "a great son" (i.e. his heir), "a great danger", "a great Occasion", "great news", "a big voice" etc etc, although the concepts concerned in the various cases are in fact different. The quality -bi can be applied to anything distasteful, e.g. a man's features, a man's conduct, a custom, a song etc etc. We could go on taking the strong adjectives one after another to illustrate this point. As for the numerals, the position is obvious with them.
Because the qualities could be applied to so many concepts, the substantivals indicating them were used far more frequently than their "earthly" cousins, and with the frequent juxtaposition to nouns of all classes they acquired the flexibility and power to adjust themselves morphologically by varying their prefixes with the nouns. But it must be emphasized that functionally there is no difference between the two kinds.

**Nouns related to the strong adjectives.**

2.58. We now propose to deal with so-called "nouns derived from adjectives", particularly with those that Doke regards as "sundry other nouns derived from adjectival roots" (2u. Or. 9 219), because they are far more revealing than the Class 15 ones of which Doke gives examples.

2.59. It has been shown that *noma* acquired the flexibility that characterizes the present-day strong adjectives, but never went so far as to be "desubstantivized" in Xhosa. On the other hand, Sotho *tone*, meaning "male", was "desubstantivized", while *tone*, meaning "big one", remained a substantive. The Iguni nouns which are incorrectly regarded as derivatives from "adjectival roots" are in the same position as Sotho *tone* meaning "big one". In other words they are not derived from adjectives or adjectival roots, but the present-day strong adjectives evolved from epithetologies based on these stems. As far as origin is concerned, they do not differ from the nouns from which the weak adjectives are derived. The difference is in the flexibility of the stem, and in the consequent ability to build nouns (and adjectives) of various classes on it. Every one of our strong adjectival stems has at least one noun related to it, and one at least has seven nouns of different classes built on it; and it will be found that in almost every case the class prefix has a definite significance as described under the various noun-classes.
8.60. The following list includes all those that could be discovered in Xhosa.

(1) -ni?
Classes 1 & 6: mni? (man of what nationality?), pl. mani?
cf. mxhosa (man of Xhosa nationality), pl mxhosa
Classes 1a & 2a: bani? (who?), pl. oobani?
cf. Footnote 8.17.
Class 7: sinl? (what style or manner?)
cf. j- sidoba (manly style), sixhosa (Xhosa style)
Class 9: ni? (what thing?)
cf. nto (thing). (See also Footnote 8.17.)
Class 14: buni? (what nature?)
cf. buntu (human nature)

(2) -hi:
Classes 7 & 8: sibi (mote, rubbish, refuse), pl. zibi.
cf. Nouns indicating abnormalities e.g. sifambho (hunch-backed)
sihlava (blight)
Class 14: bubhi (ugliness, evil)
cf. bubele (kindness)

(3) -hle:
Class 1: mhlé (excellent one), mhlekazi (most excellent one)
2: bahle ("ones), bahlekazi (most excellent ones)
cf. mfasiz; mfasikazi; bafaz; baisikazi.
(see 5.25. for meaning)
Class 7: sihlé (goodwill, good intention)
Class 11: lhule (beautiful young children or young stock or flower of an army)
Class 14: buhle (beauty)
cf. bubele (kindness)
Class 17: *xuhlé (clear space)

/ (4) -se......

*This is now used mainly as an adverbial in its primitive form as well as in the modern locative form a kuhlel.\}
(4) -de:
Class 14: buda (tallness, height)
cf. mbale (kindness)
Class 17: kude (long distance away)

(5) -noi:
Classes 5 & 6: linci (ten), pl. manci
cf. lihanti (figures, number), mananti (figures, numbers)
Classes 7 & 8: sinci (man of low position), pl. zinci
cf. sininawa (junior brother's house), pl. sininawa
Class 10: (zi)ncinana (little ones, babies)
cf. (zi)ntwanana (little things)
Class 14: buncinana (smallness)

(6) -tjha:
Classes 1 & 2: mtjha (lover), pl. batjha
cf. mkhwe (brother-in-law), bakhwe
mtjakazi (bride), batbakazi
cf. mkhwakazi (mother-in-law), pl. bakhwakazi
Class 11: lutjha (youth, young people)
cf. (lu)dodana (young men), (lu)fazana (young married women)
Class 14: butjha (state of being young, freshness)

(7) -dala:
Classes 1 & 2: mdala (elder), pl. badala
cf. wuntu (person), pl. bantu
Class 7: sidala (enduring manner, a long period of time)
cf. sidoda (manner of a man)
Class 14: budala (age, old age)
Class 17: kudala (long age) - now used exclusively as an adverbial.

(8) -fuphi:
Class 14: bufuphi (shortness)
Class 17: kufuphi (near) - now used mainly as an adverbial

This is now used mainly as an adverbial in its primitive form as
well as in the modern locative form e kudeni.

Mqhayi uses the expression iincinana zabo (their babies) some-
where.
(9) -khulu:
Classes 5 & 6: (li)khulu (hundred), pl. makhulu
   cf. (li)nanzi, pl. manani (see (5))
Classes 7 & 8: sikhulu (man of high rank), pl. zikhulu
   cf. sitethi (great speaker), pl. zithethi
Classes 9 & 10: *nkulu (great son, heir), pl. zinkulu
   cf. nkosi (chief), pl. zinkosi.
Class 11: lukhulu (something great)
   cf. luthe (something)
Class 14: bukhulu (greatness)

(10) -nindzi:
Class 7: sinindzi (great number)
   cf. such collective nouns as sifana (group of young men)
   singa (mimosa grove)
   giswe (group of people who constitute a tribe or nation)
Class 11: (lu)nindzi (considerable number)
   cf. lusapho (family), (lu)fazana (young married women) - as constituting an age-group.
Class 14: bunindzi (greatness in number)

(11). There are nouns of Class 7, consistent with sixbenxe (seven), sibhoza (eight) and sithoba (nine), and based on the numeral stems on our list of strong adjectival stems. These are as follows:

   singa (numeral, "X")
   singaphi? (what number or figure?)
   singye (the number, one, dialectal)
   sibini (the "two; couple"
   sithathu ("three, trio"
   sise ("four, quartet"
   sitlanu ("five, quintet"
   sithandathu ("six, sextet"
   /cf. sifana .....

*Cf. also Zulu Nkulunkulu (Deity)*
cf. sifana, singa, sizwe in (10) above.

The stem -nye also forms bunye (unity), and the stem -bini also forms mbhini (couple) and the diminutive mbhinana (small minority)

Both these are singular nouns of Class 9.

8.61. From many of the nouns related to strong adjectives, constituting nouns of classes 1a and 2a, people's personal names, are derived. There are also many that are derived from nouns of this kind that no longer exist as independent nouns.

Examples of the latter are marked with an asterisk (*) on the following list.

These nouns are formed in the following ways:

(1). By making no further change than prefixing the class prefix where it exists.

Examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Word</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mdala (elder)</td>
<td>Mdala (man's name), pl. ooMdale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nde (tall one)</td>
<td>Mde (♀ &quot; &quot; ), ooMde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*babhi (two)</td>
<td>Babini ( &quot; &quot; ), pl. ooBabini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mdala (old ones)</td>
<td>Madela ( &quot; &quot; ), ooMdalana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manci (tens)</td>
<td>Marci ( &quot; &quot; ), ooManci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zibi (motes etc)</td>
<td>Zibi ( &quot; &quot; ), ooZibi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*zihle (beautiful ones)</td>
<td>Zihle ( &quot; &quot; ), ooZihle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ncinci (little)</td>
<td>Ncinci (girl's &quot; &quot; ), ooNcinci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mintjana (fairly big)</td>
<td>Mintjana (man's &quot; &quot; ), ooMintjana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mbhini (couple)</td>
<td>Mbhini ( &quot; &quot; ), ooMbhini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ntathu (three, trio)</td>
<td>Ntathu ( &quot; &quot; ), ooNtathu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2). By prefixing no- to indicate female and so- to indicate males respectively. In some cases suffixal -se is employed with females instead of, or in addition to, prefixal no-

Examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Word</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mdala (old one)</td>
<td>Mnmdala, pl. ooMndala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndala (old one)</td>
<td>MnMdalana, ooMdalana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>while (pretty one)</td>
<td>Mnwhile, ooMwhile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahle ( &quot; ones)</td>
<td>SoSbahle, ooSbahle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ mdala (old one)
examples cont.

ndala (old one) > Nondala, pl. onNondala
| Nondalase, pl. onNondalase

mbhi (ugly one) > Nombhi, pl. onNombhi

mbhini (couple) > Nombhini, pl. onNombhini

ntandathu (six) > Nontandathu, pl. onNontandathu

8.62. By and large, Bantuists have readily recognised the common origin of weak adjectives and nouns, and drawn the conclusion that the former are derived from the latter. But that there are many nouns that have a common origin with the strong adjectives as well, has escaped the notice of most of them. Of the Nguniists, Wanger would seem to be the only one who has recognised this. (See Scientific Zulu §756 et seq.). It was failure to recognise this that led to the calling of the strong adjectives by so many different names, e.g. "the only adjectives properly so called" (Mclaren), "the genuine adjectival roots" (Werner), "adjective proper" (Ziervogel), or just "adjectives" — as against "relatives" (Doke).

8.63. The claim for a common origin for the weak adjectives and certain nouns is rightly based, by all Bantuists who have recognised this, on the morphological and semantic relationship between such adjectives and corresponding nouns. It is precisely on these same premises that the present writer bases the claim for a recognition of the common origin of the strong adjectives and the nouns to which they are related in form and meaning.

In the expressions: esi sibi (this piece of refuse) and esi sendzo sibi (this evil deed), the word sibi is a noun in the first expression and an adjective in the second. But the noun sibi is not derived from the adjective sibi, or vice versa. It is one and the same word. The difference is in function only.

Similarly, luble is one and the same word in the expression u luble (the flower of an army), in which it is a noun, and in the expression u dodana o luble (a fine band of young men), in which it is an adjective.

/ it is a ....}
It is a fact too that, in proportion, the number of nouns related in form and meaning to strong adjectives is much greater than the number related to weak ones. For instance, with the stem -hle, which is generally regarded as adjectival, we can form no less than six different nouns belonging to six different classes as shown in 8.60. This we cannot do with any weak adjective. The most we can do with the latter, if at all, is to form an abstract noun of Class 7, e.g. humandii (pleasantness) < umandi (pleasant)

The Adjective in Present-day Xhosa.

8.64. To understand the development from the juxtapositional stage to the form in which we find the Xhosa adjective to-day, a comparison has to be made with the Takeza sub-group of Nguni. In Swazi and Xhosa, the juxtapositional forms postulated in 8.54 - 8.56 have been succeeded respectively by the following:

Swazi. | Xhosa.
---|---
ununtfu lo mhlle | umuntu o mhlle
a bantu la bahle | a bantu a bahle
umuti lo mhlle | umzi o mhlle
imitie mhlle | imizile mhlle
litholile e xihle | elehole e xihle
e matholile le mahlle | amathole le mahlle

8.65. The article that preceded the qualifying substantival at the juxtapositional stage has been made into a more positive demonstrative by preplacing la in the case of Swazi and 1a minus the l in the case of Xhosa. (1)a + u > (1)a ; (1)a + i > (1)a. This stage seems to have been reached by preplacing la to both the "noun-article" and the "adjective-article" to begin with, and then reverting to the ordinary "noun-article" when it was not necessary to qualify the noun with a more positive demonstrative. But there was no such reversion as far as the "adjective-article" was concerned.

Again we ....
Again we use Swazi to illustrate this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo muntfu lo muble</td>
<td>u muntfu lo muble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la bantfu la bahle</td>
<td>a bantfu la bahle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo muti lo muble</td>
<td>u muti lo muble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le miti le mihle</td>
<td>i miti le mihle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms under I are still possible in Swazi, and they mean "this beautiful person" etc. The forms under II mean "the / a beautiful person" etc. The Xhosa forms corresponding to the latter have already been given in 8.64.

8.66. The demonstrative before the adjective shall be termed generally the **demonstrative of emphasis**. It is found in various qualitative constructions in which it assumes the function of a **demonstrative pronominal**. These will be discussed in some of the succeeding chapters.

**Uses of the Adjective.**

8.67. It was shown earlier that the adjective may be a secondary element in a compound noun, e.g. mzi-mkhulu (big homestead), zwe-dala (old country), ndlela-lula (easy way).

As a separate word, the adjective is found almost exclusively in copulative constructions, including relative copulative predicatives, either as a personal copulative base e.g. umhle (you are beautiful), uluhelu (you are yellow), u mntu o mhlle (a person who is beautiful), u mntu o lubhelu (a person who is yellow), or as a complement to a copulative verb, e.g. uza kuba mhlle (you are going to be beautiful), uza kuba lubhelu (you are going to be yellow).

The only adjectives that function as adjectives outside predicative constructions and without the aid of a demonstrative of emphasis are those based on the stem -ni? (of what kind?) (see 8.14.)
The adjective will therefore come up again in the chapters on the copulative and the relative constructions respectively, not as "the adjective" nor as a "relative" or "relative stem", but as one of several parts of speech that are employed as bases and as complements in copulative construction.
Chapter 9.

Enumerative, Demonstrative, Quantitative, and
Possessive Qualifications.

Qualitative Concords.

9.1. The four types of qualificatives named above have a set of qualitative concords in common. The difference between one type of qualitative and another lies in the concords but in the nature and meaning of the root or stem to which the concord is affixed.

9.2. A qualitative concord is affixed to some other element - a root or a stem - and the two together constitute a complete word which may be a qualitative, or a preposition. A preposition so formed merges with a succeeding element in some instances and precedes a succeeding element as a separate word in others. In the formation of qualificatives there are phonological processes involved e.g. elision and coalescence. It is mainly the sound modifications that make the qualitative concords so unrecognisable in certain instances that some grammarians have been led to think that they differ according to the type of qualitative stem.

9.3. The following are the class forms of the general qualitative concords. The consonantal forms are employed in certain instances before vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Consonantal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>wu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>li-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(w)a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>si-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>si-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Class 9 yi-.....
9.4. An enumerative qualitative is formed by prefixing the full form of the general qualitative concord to an enumerative stem. There are only two enumerative stems in Xhosa. These are -phi? (which?) and -mbhi (some other/different). It is to be noted that it is only before enumerative stems that the qualitative concords undergo no modification at all.

9.5. The following are the class forms of the enumerative qualificatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 &amp; 1a</th>
<th>wuphi?</th>
<th>wumbhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>buphi?</td>
<td>bumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wuphi?</td>
<td>wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>viphi?</td>
<td>vimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>liphi?</td>
<td>limbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wuphi?</td>
<td>wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>siphi?</td>
<td>zimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>siphi?</td>
<td>zimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>viphi?</td>
<td>vimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>siphi?</td>
<td>zimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>luphi?</td>
<td>lumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>luphi?</td>
<td>lumber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The brackets indicate that the sound in question is elided before the vowel ə (cf. 2.86.,(1) [iii]).

The Enumerative Qualitative.
An enumerative may precede or follow the substantive it qualifies, depending on the presence or absence of emphasis on the enumerative. If the enumerative is emphasized, it precedes the noun it qualifies, and the latter is preceded by the general article (see 9.10. et seq.).

**Examples**

- wuphi u mfname? (which young man?)
- waphi a mathole? (which calves?)
- yiphi i nja? (which dog?)
- juphi u sana? (which baby?)
- wumbhi u mfname (some other young man)
- wambhi a mathole (some other calves)
- yimphi i nja (some other dog)
- lumbhi u sana (some other baby)

If there is more emphasis on the noun than on the enumerative, the enumerative follows the noun, and the latter has no article.

**Examples**

- Thembha wuphi? (which Thembha?)
- madoda waphi? (which men?)
- sizathu simphi (some other reason)

9.7. An enumerative based on the stem -mbhi may qualify a noun functioning as grammatical or as logical subject or as object or as logical complement of a copulative.

**Examples**

- Wumbhi u mntu ansabuza (Some other person may ask)
- Le kuthethe sithehi simphi (Let some other speaker speak)
- Reke sizathu simphi (Give some other reason)
- "Yoba yimphi andinayo" (Other refuge have I none"

An enumerative based on -phi? may qualify a logical subject or object, but never a grammatical subject.

**e.g.** Kuza kuthethe yiphi i ndoda? (Which man is going to speak?)
301.

examples cont.

Uxela Thembha wumpi? (which Thembha do you mean?)
Uza kuthenga yiphile inkabi? (which ox are you going to buy?)

The Demonstrative Qualificative.

9.8. There are three types of demonstrative qualificatives, namely, the article, the demonstrative of emphasis, and the tripositional demonstrative. The article and the demonstrative of emphasis employ no concords. The tri-positional demonstrative employs the qualitative concords. But these are elided in some instances and inflected in others. The demonstrative of emphasis and the tri-positional demonstrative are based on the article.

(1) The Article.

9.9. It will have been noticed that the so-called "initial vowel of the noun-prefix" and the so-called "locative" are written disjunctively in this treatise e.g. umntu, emntwini. The reason for this is that they are regarded as separate words, articles, by the present writer.

The General Article.

9.10. The general article is the vowel found before a noun-class prefix in the non-locative form of the noun. This vowel has been regarded as an article by some Bantuists (e.g. Bleek, Torrend, McLaren, Bennie and Bourquin), and as "the initial vowel of the noun-prefix" by others (e.g. Wanger, Doke and Ziervogel). This vowel may be i, a or u, depending on the vowel of the noun-class prefix, to which it is completely assimilated.

Examples.

umntu (a /the person), abantu (people /the people)
i
jina
(a /the dog), izinja (dogs / the dogs)

amandzi (water / the water), ubuso (a /the face)

/9.11/, according .....
9.11. According to Weinhold (Grundzüge, Chapter 11 and Phonology, pp. 40 - 41), the Ur-Bantu noun-class prefix was preceded by a kind of demonstrative, which was most probably Ḿa.

Examples.

Class 1. Ḿa _ mu-

2. Ḿa _ va-

3. Ḿa _ mu-

5. Ḿa _ li-

7. Ḿa _ ki-

8. Ḿa _ vi-

At a later stage, the vowel of Ḿa was assimilated to the vowel of the noun-class prefix, incompletely in some languages and completely in others. The results of this development would be as follows:

Class 1. Ḿa _ mu- > Ḿo _ mu- or Ḿu _ mu-

2. Ḿa _ va- remains Ḿa _ va-

4. Ḿa _ mi- > Ḿe _ mi- = Ḿi _ mi-

9.12. From this point, there was a great divergence in the development of the various languages. In some, e.g. Nyaka, Swahili and Sotho, the "סוףיקיה" disappeared before the noun. Thus, for instance, we have Nyaka muntu, Swahili mtu and Sotho motho, meaning "a person", "the person" or "person".

9.13. In Shona, the Ḿ disappeared completely, but the vowel, which is completely assimilated, remains latent, revealing its previous presence by coalescing with a preceding Ḿ.

Examples.

neman (with the dog) < Ḿa + (i) mba

notauro (with Haro) < Ḿa + (u) Ḿuro

9.14. In Ganda, the Ḿ disappeared, but the vowel, which is incompletely assimilated, remains patent.

Examples.

Ȯ a _ mu- Ḿa _ mi- > Ḿo _ mu- > Ḿo _ mi- = Ḿo muntu

9.15. in Gisu...
9.15. In Gisu, in Classes 2 and 14 the whole "Artikel" is completely assimilated to the noun-class prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g a va} & \rightarrow \text{va va} \rightarrow \text{ba ba} \quad \text{e.g. babandu (people)} \\
\text{g a vu} & \rightarrow \text{vu vu} \rightarrow \text{bu bu} \quad \text{bubandu (human nature)}
\end{align*}
\]

In Classes 3, 4, and 5 the vowel is completely assimilated, but \( \gamma \) has become \( k \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g a mu} & \rightarrow \text{mu mu} \rightarrow \text{ku ku} \quad \text{e.g. kumube (sugar cane)} \\
\text{g a m} & \rightarrow \text{mi mi} \rightarrow \text{ki ki} \quad \text{kimube (sugar cases)} \\
\text{g a ma} & \rightarrow \text{ma ma} \quad \text{e.g. kangangi (teeth)}
\end{align*}
\]

In Class 1 the \( \gamma \) has disappeared, but the vowel which is completely assimilated remains patent.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g a mu} & \rightarrow \text{mu mu} \rightarrow \text{mu} \quad \text{e.g. umandu (person)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the rest of the classes the "Artikel" has disappeared completely.

9.16. In Tonga the \( \gamma \) has disappeared, but the vowel remains patent, as \( a \) in Ronga and Tswa and as \( a \) in Central Tonga, for all classes.

9.17. In Ugusi the \( \gamma \) has disappeared before the noun as noun, but the vowel is assimilated and remains patent in all the fully extant classes in Xhosa and Zulu.

Class 1.

1. \( \gamma \text{a mu} \rightarrow \gamma \text{u mu} \rightarrow \text{u mu} \quad \text{e.g. u mbulantu (person)} \\
2. \( \gamma \text{a va} \rightarrow \gamma \text{a ba} \rightarrow \text{a ba} \quad \text{e.g. a bantu (people)} \\
3. \( \gamma \text{a mu} \rightarrow \gamma \text{u mu} \rightarrow \text{u mu} \quad \text{u m(luthi) (tree)} \\
4. \( \gamma \text{a mi} \rightarrow \text{mi mi} \rightarrow \text{mi mi} \quad \text{a mithi (trees)} \\
5. \( \gamma \text{a li} \rightarrow \gamma \text{li li} \rightarrow \text{li li} \quad \text{a lizwi (voice)} \\
6. \( \gamma \text{a ma} \rightarrow \gamma \text{a ba} \rightarrow \text{a ba} \quad \text{a mazwi (voices)} \\
7. \( \gamma \text{a ki} \rightarrow \gamma \text{ki ki} \rightarrow \text{ki ki} \quad \text{i sifo (disease)} \\
8. \( \gamma \text{a vi} \rightarrow \gamma \text{vi vi} \rightarrow \text{vi vi} \quad \text{i sifo (diseases)} \\
9. \( \gamma \text{a ni} \rightarrow \gamma \text{ni ni} \rightarrow \text{ni ni} \quad \text{i nis (dog)} \\
10. \( \gamma \text{a i ni} \rightarrow \gamma \text{i ni i i ni} \quad \text{e.g. i sinja} \\
11. \( \gamma \text{a lu} \rightarrow \gamma \text{lu lu} \rightarrow \text{lu lu} \quad \text{u luthi (stick)} \\
12. \( \gamma \text{a vu} \rightarrow \gamma \text{vu vu} \rightarrow \text{vu vu} \quad \text{u vuna (face)} \\
13. \( \gamma \text{a ku} \rightarrow \gamma \text{ku ku} \rightarrow \text{ku ku} \quad \text{u luma (death)}
\]

/ this vowel...
This vowel is the modern **general article** in Xhosa.

9.18. A problem that has received the attention of Bantuists since the middle of the nineteenth century is whether this vowel is to be regarded as an article or as part of the noun-class prefix. A summary of the views of various grammarians on the so-called "initial vowel" in Xhosa is given by Bourquin in *African Studies* (Vol. 5 No. 1, March 1946).

9.19. In making his contribution to the general discussion, Bourquin gives copious examples from Xhosa authors to illustrate the rules governing the uses of this "vowel", and the various shades of meaning conveyed by the sentence in the presence or absence thereof. In conclusion Bourquin says that the vowel in question "does not belong to the prefix proper".

9.20. In a footnote to Bourquin's article, Doke defends his well-known standpoint, namely, that the vowel in question is part of the noun-class prefix. While admitting its grammatical significance, Doke (i) refuses "to accept the term "article" in connection with the initial vowel, because the vowel in question does not constitute a separate word", (ii) asserts that "in *andiboni umuntu* (with no initial vowel) we are dealing with a single word-group, while in *andiboni umuntu* there are two words: *umuntu* will always occur when it is a separate word", (iii) asserts that "with the elision of the initial vowel in the formation of vocatives, the word has ceased to be a noun, and become an interjective".

9.21. Bourquin replies to Doke's first point in a footnote to an article on a different topic in *African Studies* (Vol. II No. 1, March 1952, p. 18). He points out that in other languages the application of the term "article" is not made dependent on "the condition that it can stand by itself". "Most articles", he goes on to say, "are weakened or detritive forms of demonstrative pronouns and can stand hardly by themselves or have any sense without their noun". He refers, *inter alia*, to the Afrikaans article, *n*, which "cannot stand alone".

/ 9.22. as a .... /
9.22. As a starting point in making his own contribution, the present writer proposes to comment on some of Doke's arguments.

(1) It is not intended to go into the details of the weaknesses of Doke's definition of "a word". That has been adequately done by Lestrade in his review of Doke's Bantu Linguistic Terminology. Among other things, Lestrade in this review gives a number of illustrations from Northern Sotho to show that Doke's definition is of no value in determining word-division. (Bantu Studies, March, 1936)

Lestrade's standpoint finds support in a statement made by Jespersen (Philosophy, p. 92):

"Words are linguistic units, but they are not phonetic units: no merely phonetic analysis of a string of spoken sounds can reveal to us the number of words it is made up of, or the division between word and word".

Merely to assert, as Doke does, that "the vowel in question does not constitute a separate word" is not at all helpful. The assertion does not establish a case. How does Doke arrive at the conclusion that it is not a separate word and therefore cannot be regarded as an article? In Terminology, p. 220, Doke defines a word-group as "a combination or fusion of two or more words brought about through vowel elision or coalescence, and governed as such by the Bantu rule defining a word, that it is subject to one and only one main stress".

Even if we accept this definition, we would find that neither the Zulu illustrations in the work cited above nor the Xhosa ones he gives in his comments on Bourquin's views support his case. The absence of a before nkosi in levo nkosi (which Doke writes as leyo-nkosi) does not involve the loss of "independent main stress". Each of the two elements, leyo and nkosi, maintains its main stress as indicated. Similarly, in ngifuma ukubamba the elision of the final a of fuma does not affect the main stress of ngifuma, which is on fu, nor that of ukubamba, which is on ha.

The expression andiboni umntu, which Doke contrasts with andiboni-umntu, is an unfortunate illustration, because the form /andiboni umntu/
andiboni umuntu does not exist in Xhosa and, as far as the present
writer has been able to investigate, the form angiboni umuntu does
not exist in Zulu either. But even in Andiboni umuntu there are two
independent main stresses as indicated. Therefore, on Doke's own
grounds, the statement that "umuntu will always occur when it is
a separate word" is refuted by this illustration.

(2) Doke says that his case "is proved by the difference
between lomuntu and umuntu lo", which he regards as "a difference
of structure and elemental emphasis, not of meaning".
In actual fact there is a difference of meaning between the two.

In lo umuntu (which Doke writes lomuntu), lo is a straight-
forward demonstrative qualitative, and the expression lo umuntu has
no further implication than merely "this person". It may be added
that each of the words lo and umuntu has its own independent stress
as indicated.

But umuntu lo (which he writes umuntu lo) means "as to the person"
- as against a non-person or non-persons in the minds of speaker
and listener.

Examples.
Thimbhani ii nkomo kutshela; u umuntu lo myekeni.
(Capture the cattle only; as to the person, leave him
alone)

A badala bangahambha; kodwa u umtwana lo ma kasala.
(The grown-ups may go; as to the child, it had better remain)

9.23. If the behaviour of the "initial vowel" is examined in
relation to the behaviour of the "prefix proper", it is difficult
to make out how so many grammarians were led to regard these two
elements as together constituting a single formative. Surely, if they
constituted a single formative, they should be subject to the
same grammatical rules. There should be no grammatical
circumstances in which the "prefix proper" is admissible while
the "initial vowel" is not, and vice versa. But the following
facts show that the reverse is the case.

/ the presence ......
(1). The presence or absence of the "initial vowel" before the noun is governed by grammatical rules that do not affect the "prefix proper" at all. In the vocative form, for instance, the "initial vowel" is inadmissible. The "prefix proper", on the other hand, is fully retained not only where it normally exists but also in those types of nouns that have otherwise contracted it.

(a) In Class 2a the prefix boo- is contracted to oo- e.g. cobawo (our fathers). In Hlubi, Nilangwini, and Zulu, the full form of this prefix and even the "initial vowel" is still to be found in such forms as abooaba and a woobaba, meaning "our fathers". In Xhosa the "initial vowel" has disappeared altogether, and the b of boo- is partially lost. The oo- is therefore not an "initial vowel" in the sense under discussion, but a contracted form of the "prefix proper". But in the vocative formation the b is retained, so that the "prefix proper" appears in its full form.

Cf. cobawo (our fathers) : boobawo! (fathers!)
contanga (mates) : bontanga! (mates!)
The "initial vowel" of this class, on the other hand, is not retained or restored in any circumstances.

(b). Nouns of Classes 10 and 11 employ the whole of the "prefix proper", but not the "initial vowel"

Cf. ii ntombhi (girls, the girls) : zintombhi! (girls!)
ufudo (a., the tortoise) : lufudo ! (tortoise!)

(2). The morphological rules governing the presence or absence of all or part of the "prefix proper", e.g. before various types of noun-stems in Classes 5, 10 and 11 do not apply to the "initial vowel".

Cf. i litve (a., the stone) : i xheso (a., the old man)
i zinto (things, the things) : ii nkomo (cattle, the cattle)
u luvo (an., the opinion) : u daka (mud, the mud)

(3). Class 1a has no "prefix proper", but it has an "initial vowel".

Cf. u bawo (my father), u Maduna (Maduna).

/ (4) if an ....
(4) If an additional noun-class prefix is pre-prefixed to a noun, it is not pre-placed to the "initial vowel", but to the "prefix proper".

Examples:
- ozindlovu (elephants and the like), not oo+izindlovu
- buntoombhi (girlhood), not bu+intombhi
- kusisipho (to Sipho/Co.), or dialectally, kubusisipho, but not ku+abosipho.
- kumadoda (to the men), not ku+amadoda.

(5) If the "initial vowel" and the "prefix proper" constituted a single formative, it would be impossible to split themselves up in any formation. But we find the following:

(a) The "prefix proper" does not come into play in the formation of demonstratives. On the other hand, the "initial vowel" is really the root of the Nguni demonstrative, as will be shown in the following pages: (9.43, et seq.)

(b) In Zulu, one of the ways of forming copulatives from nouns is to "lower the tone on the initial vowel". (Doke: Zulu, 538 - 541). This means that the "initial vowel" becomes the copula, while the "prefix proper" becomes part of the complement.

An impossible situation if these two constituted a single formative.

(6) As some of our illustrations will show, the presence or absence of the "initial vowel" is semantically significant. But the presence, absence or contraction of the "prefix proper" has in general no such significance. For instance, both i zwa la kuthi and i lizele la kuthi mean "our fatherland" 9.24. In short, if we look through all the available material on Nguni, we do not find a single instance where it can be established that the "initial vowel" and the "prefix proper" together function as a single grammatical unit. The obvious conclusion is therefore that the so-called initial vowel is not part of the noun-class prefix and not part of the noun.

*The remarks in 4.16 do not invalidate this argument. The fine distinctions referred to there are exceptional, and they are stylistic rather than semantic.
9.25. Admittedly, the vowel in question is not on all fours with the article as found in certain languages of the Indo-European family. But, as the comparisons below show, it has many points in common with the Indo-European article.

(1) The vowel in question is the relic of a primitive demonstrative. It has lost most of its demonstrative force, but it has developed a new grammatical significance that still distinguishes it from the noun. In the same way the Latin demonstrative, *ille, illa, illud*, has lost its demonstrative force in the modern Romance languages, and it "developed into the definite article, as in French *le, la*; Italian *il or lo, la*; Spanish *el, la*" (Loius H. Gray: Foundations of Language, p. 174).

The English definite article "the" is/phonetically weakened form" of *this* or *that*. (Jespersen: Philosophy, p. 109)

W. J. Entwistle states as a general rule that "a weakening of the demonstrative gives the definite article". (Aspects of Language, p. 206)

(2) Being itself a demonstrative, the vowel in question is not admissible after a demonstrative qualificative when the latter does no more than merely point out an object, e.g. *le ndoda* (*this man*) (cf. *le i ndoda* — *this particular man*). Similarly, the English and German articles are not admissible after demonstrative qualificatives e.g. *this man, dieser Mann*.

(3) The vowel in question is not admissible after nouns in their vocative use.

cf. *i ndoda* (*as the man*) : *ndodai* (*man!*)

*u mfasi* (*as the woman*) : *mfazi!* (*woman!*)

This is true of the article in many Indo-European languages besides English.

(4) The vowel in question is excluded before nouns in absolute negation, e.g. *Akukho bantwana* (*There are no children at all*)
The English translation shows that the same holds for English. Cf. also German keiner Kinder and Afrikaans geen kinders.

(5) The presence of this vowel nearly always gives definiteness to the noun it qualifies, while its absence nearly always gives the noun an indefinitely meaning.

Examples

Kukho u mntu apha? (Is there somebody here?)
Kukho mntu apha? (Is there anybody at all here?)

Hence, it is not admissible when the noun is qualified by an interrogative adjective.

Examples

Uzele mntwana mi? (What kind of child did she bear? i.e. male or female?)
Uza kuthenga hashe lini? (What kind of horse are you going to buy? i.e. male or female?)

As the translations show, the English article is inadmissible in similar circumstances.

(6) The vowel in question combines with a preceding preposition.

Examples

nga + i > nge, as in nge mela (by means of a knife).
na + u > no, as in no mfaz! (together with a woman)

In the same way the German article combines with a preceding preposition:

zu dem > zum; an dem > am; fur das > furs

9.26. The favourite objection is that because it is not like the article in Indo-European languages, the vowel in question cannot be regarded as an article (e.g. Werner: Bantu Languages, p. 49). But this objection is groundless not only in view of the parallels above but also because even in Indo-European languages the functions of the article vary from one language to another. In the Germanic sub-group alone its uses and forms vary from one member-language to another. The German article, for instance, shows grammatical gender and is declinable; the English and the Afrikaans articles are genderless and not....
inflected to indicate case. The German article may be used with proper names of people and with pronouns:

der Karl, der meine, die meine.

The English article has no such function. (See also Jespersen: Philosophy, pp. 203 - 5, and Entwistle: Aspects of Language, p. 206).

The Locative Article

9.27. The locative article is the monosyllable found in certain circumstances before modern locatives. It is sometimes referred to as "locative e". But in Xhosa it is as in certain circumstances.

9.28. Most Bantuists have stated that in the formation of locatives from nouns, e is substituted for the "initial vowel of the noun" (McClaren: Xhosa §23, Doke: Zulu §578, Dennie: Xhosa p. 69, Ziervogel: Swazi §230). But as far as the present writer knows, none of the Bantuists has suggested that there is any lexicological or functional relationship between the "initial vowel of the noun" and the "locative e". The present writer's view is that "locative e", like the general article, is related to Ur-Bantu ka."Locative e" would seem to be derived directly from ꝑve, which is related to the variant ꝑve postulated by Leinhef in Phonology, p 41. Ganda ꝑve, to which reference is made in 9.33, of this treatise, would seem to be sound evidence in support of this theory.

9.29. Like the general article, the locative article is not universal in Bantu. But outside the Nguni field, like the general article, it is also found in Ganda and Tsonga. The fact that these three language-groups share together both the rare "initial vowel" and the rare "locative e" should at once suggest to Bantuists that these two vowels have a great deal in common, and possibly even a common origin.

/ 9.30. .......
9.30. While the Ngunists see no relationship between the two—Junod on the other hand finds such relationship so obvious in Taonga that he does not even consider it necessary to prove that the two are identical. What makes it obvious to him is that in some Taonga dialects the "initial vowel", like the "locative e", is invariably e or a as the case may be.

Examples:

etibomu te mina (my cattle)
etatana wa wena (your father)
emasiwin (in the gardens)
emavelen (into the mealies)

ahosi ya le Loab (King of Loab)
amisabeni (on earth)

(Junod § 68)

(H.I. Bishop: Bantu Studies, Vol. II Po. 2, December 1924)

9.31. In Xhosa e appears before e after prepositions, after conjunction na, after the adverb kwa (even), and in copulative constructions.

Examples:

ngase ntabeni (near the mountain)
nase ntabeni (and on the mountain)
kwane ntabeni (even on the mountain)
hase ntabeni (they are on the mountain)

u kuba sentabeni (to be on the mountain).

In Zulu, the o that may be employed instead of e before nouns of certain classes is also preceded by e in these circumstances, e.g. o nyaveni (on the foot), nesase nyaveni (near the foot).

In some Tekeza dialects, k is employed instead of e in similar circumstances. Thus in Bha.ca e ntsabeni (on the mountain) becomes ngeke ntsabeni (near the mountain).

9.32. Some Ngunists have regarded the locative e as a mere case of insertion or interposition. Of the four mentioned in 9.28, Bennie is the only one who suggests that "the e found before a locative ........ is probably a relic" (Cr. of Dr., p. 24)
9.33. But Bourquin, who is aware of the corresponding k in Klubi, feels that the g is not a mere euphonic letter. "But there are certainly no mere euphonic letters at all, and each of these so-called euphonic letters has its full reasons, although we do not know them always. It would really be hard to believe that g is euphonic to the native ear in the locative, and another letter in another case. It could scarcely be a matter of individual taste". (Bantu Studies, Vol. 1 No. 2 Lay, 1922). Wanger too rejects the idea that the g is inserted for merely euphonic reasons. His main argument is that if the g is inserted to prevent "hiatus", there is no reason why Zulu should have uva emhla (he goes to the chief hut) and uvakuba emhla (he will be in the chief hut). In both expressions emhla is preceded by a word ending in a. If g is inserted to prevent "hiatus" in the latter expression, there is no reason why it should not be inserted in the former, for the same purpose. (Scientific Zulu § 351).

9.34. The present writer supports the view held by Bourquin more and Wanger that locative k or g is not a case of insertion. Reference has been made several times in this treatise to the phonological relationship between k and g in Bantu. The former gives rise to the latter (cf. 2.45 - 46). We therefore conclude that the Xhosa-Klubi ko is more primitive than the Xhosa-Zulu se. In Ganda, gye is sometimes used instead of g; e.g. gyetuli (here we are), gyeumuli? (are you there?) (Crabtree: Lu-Ganda, §§ 86 - 90). One is led to the conclusion that Ganda gye and Igusi k or g come from Ur-Bantu ky. In Igusi they first of all shifted to ky. Xhosa-Klubi elided y, leaving k; in Xhosa-Zulu ky became s. The accompanying vowel a of yve became o or e by assimilation and/or analogy.

/ 9.35. Earlier in...
9.35. Earlier in this chapter it was shown that the vowel of § becomes assimilated to the vowel of the prefix. But there are cases in which analogy also plays a part. In Central Tsonga the "initial vowel" is § before all classes. This means that the § of § was partially assimilated to i of the prefixes of classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10, and became %. Then, by analogy it became § before the rest of the classes. In Xerero, the "initial vowel" is § before all class prefixes except 5 and 16, by assimilation before those classes whose prefix vowel is % and by analogy in the rest. (Werner: Bantu Languages, p. 30) 

In the same way the "locative §" in Iguni, Gandis and some dialects of Tsonga comes by assimilation before classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, and by analogy before the rest of the classes.

(Cf. Heinrich: Phonology, pp 97, 98)

The § often found instead of % in Zulu before nouns of classes 11 and 14 is, in fact, an example of the rule rather than any exception.

9.36. The history of the Iguni locative article (%o or (a)é) can therefore be illustrated as follows:

Class 4: %a mi- > %ve mi- > %ve mi- > (a)é mi-
-e.g. nithini (on the trees), ngase nithini (near the trees)

Class 5: %a li- > %ve li- > %ve li- > (a)é li-
-e.g. lityeni (on the stone), ngase lityeni (near the stone)

Class 7: %a ki- > %ve ki- > %ve ki- > (a)é si-
-e.g. sitinyeni (in the basin), ngase sitinyeni (near the basin)

Class 6: %a vi- > %ve vi- > %ve vi- > (a)é si-
-e.g. sitinyeni (in the basins), ngase sitinyeni (near the basins)

Class 9: %a ni- > %ve ni- > %ve ni- > (a)é ni-
-e.g. ndlini (in the house), ngase ndlini (near the house)

Class 10: %a lini- > %ve lini- > %ve lini- > (a)é zii(i)
-e.g. zindlini (in the houses), ngase zindlini (near the houses)

/9.37. according....
9.37. According to this process, we should expect the following with the rest of the classes:

Class 1: (k)o mu- and (s)o mu-

2: (k)a ba- and (s)a ba-

3: (k)o mu- and (s)o mu-

6: (k)a ma- and (s)a ma-

11: (k)o lu- and (s)o lu-

14: (k)o bu- and (s)o bu-

15: (k)o ku- and (s)o ku-

But by analogy with those in 9.36, these classes are preceded by an invariable (k)e in Tekese and by (s)e in Xhosa. But we probably still have the primitive ko in such locative expressions as ko kwethu (my mother's house), ko mawenu (your house), ko Mibe (Mibe's mother's house) (cf. 4.56.)

As mentioned earlier, in Zulu the a of ya becomes o or e before the prefixes lu- and bu- by assimilation (cf. 2.95. (b));

Class 11: yva lu- > yvo lu- > kvo lu- > (s)e lu-

yva lu- > yvo lu- > kvo lu- > (s)e lu-

Examples

e lunyaweni or e lunyaweni (on the foot)

ngase lunyaweni or ngase lunyaweni (near the foot)

Class 14: yva vu- > yvo vu- > kvo vu- > (s)e bu-

yva vu- > yvo vu- > kvo vu- > (s)e bu-

Examples

o busweni or e busweni (on the face)

ngase busweni or ngase busweni (near the face)

9.3F. The general and the locative article have many functional resemblances that give support to the view that the two are related;

(1) Both are excluded in absolute negation

Cf. (a) Babone i hlathi (They saw a forest)

Bafika a hlathini (They came to a forest)

Ababonanga hlathi (They did not see any forest)

(b) Abafikanga hlathini (They did not come to any forest)

*The form o mawenu is also to be found*
(2). Both give definiteness to the noun, and their absence makes the noun indefinite.

Cf. (a) Ribone u muntu? (You saw somebody?)
    Niyaleze emntwini? (You gave instructions to somebody?)
(b) Ribone muntu? (Did you see anybody at all?)
    Niyaleze mntwini? (Did you give instructions to anybody at all?)
(c) Ribone muntu wumbhi (We saw some other person)
    Siyaleze mntwini wumbhi (We gave instructions to some other person)
(d) i ndoda a hlhangana naye (the man that he met)
    e ndodeni a hlhangana naye (to the man that he met)
(e) ndoda a hlhangana naye (any man that he met)
    ndodeni a hlhangana naye (to any man that he met)

Babulala i ndoda, u mFazi, u mntwana (They killed a/the man, a/the woman, a/the child)
U mKhonto wadla e ndodeni, e mFazi, e mntwaneni
The spear feasted on a/the man, a/the woman, a/the child

Babulala ndoda, mFazi, mntwana.
(They killed any man, any woman, any child indiscriminately)
U mKhonto wadla ndodeni, mFazi, mntwaneni.
(The spear feasted on any man, any woman, any child indiscriminately)

(3). Like the general article, the locative article combines with a preceding preposition or with the conjunctive na. This is clearer in some of the non-literary dialects (e.g. Hlubi, Ipondo and Phuthi) than in Xhosa and Zulu, because in the dialects the k or s is not retained in these circumstances.

The following illustrations are from Mpondo:

Cf. i Qawuka ne Nyanda (East and Western Pondoland)
    (na + i > ne)
(a) e Qawukeni ne Nyandeni (in Eastern and Western Pondoland)
    (na + a > ne)
    (b) nge ........
317.

Cf. 

\[ \text{nge Qawuka ne Nyanda} \] (concerning E & W Pondoland)

\[ \text{nge + i > nge; na + i > ne} \]

(b) 

\[ \text{nge Qawukeni ne Nyandeni} \] (near E & W Pondoland)

\[ \text{nge + e > nge; na + i > ne} \]

\[ \text{a bantu be Nyandeni} \] (the people from W. Pondoland)

\[ \text{ba + e > be} \]

The Xhosa forms corresponding to those containing the locative article above are as follows:

\[ \text{e Qawukeni nase Nyandeni} \]

\[ \text{ngase Qawukeni nase Nyandeni} \]

\[ \text{e bantu nase Nyandeni} \]

But in copulative construction all Nguni languages and dialects, as far as we know, retain the consonant.

**Examples.**

Xhosa: cf. (e ntabeni (on the mountain)

\{ base ntabeni (they are on the mountain)

\{ e khaya (at home)

\{ uze khaya (he is at home)

The corresponding k in Bhaca is retained after prepositions as well as in copulatives.

Bhaca: cf. e ntabeni and bake ntabeni

\[ \text{e khaya} \]

\[ \text{uke khaya} \]

\[ \text{e kpoza} \]

\[ \text{ngake kpoza} \] (near Kpoza)

But in the stereotyped locals such as e tulu, e mbhili, the k is not retained after nge.

\[ \text{e tulu > nge tulu instead of ngake tulu} \]

\[ \text{e mbhili > nge mbhili} \]

\[ \text{ngake mbhili} \]

9.39. The behaviour of the locative article in combination with prepositions would seem to support the present writer's view that k or e and a are not distinct units, as against the view held by Bourquin and Wanger that they are. Bourquin's view is that a is the essential locative element that re-inforces e, which he regards as "a sort of copula", because it was felt that this (i.e. copula e without a) did not sufficiently express the idea wanted". But then, as the illustrations from Npendo show, the /copulative article ......
locative article without a expresses (in combination with prepositions) exactly the same idea as the article with a or k in other Nguni dialects. In fact, even in Xhosa the two forms exist side by side with no difference in meaning in certain instances:

Examples:

- ngase ntlə and nge ntlə (towards the upper part)
- ngase zantsi and nge zantsi (towards the lower part)
- ngase mva and nge mva (towards the back)

9.40. The a of the Nguni locative is like the l of laphe (here, this place) which, in Xhosa, is retained in exactly the same circumstances. The se is a single unit, like the la of laphe (see 9.35. e.g.).

The case for regarding k or s and a as distinct units is as lacking as the case for regarding the l and a of la in laphe as two distinct units.

9.41. Doke suggests that the Tsonga la-, found in such expressions as famba le-Pembe (go to Pembe) "is probably the equivalent of Nguni a-" (Southern Bantu Languages, p. 202). If by "equivalent" Doke means that they are etymologically the same, then the k and a of Nguni certainly disprove this, there being no phonological relationship between k and a on the one hand and l on the other. It is possible, however, that Tsonga le is a contraction of la+ke, the la being a demonstrative formative of the type to be considered next. In Xhosa speech this contraction is very common.

E.g. le ndlini < la+e ndlini (here in the house)
1a mtini < la+e mtini (here in the homestead)

The Demonstrative of Emphasis.

9.42. The term demonstrative of emphasis is used here for the modified form of an ordinary demonstrative that is still to be found as such in some Nguni dialects outside of the Xhosa cluster, especially in the Swazi cluster. In Xhosa this demonstrative is no longer used regularly as such. Its significance has changed /somewhat ......
somewhat, hence the need for a new term. But it is necessary to trace it to its source, because that approach alone clearly shows the common origin of all the different types of demonstratives with which we have to deal.

9.43. A study of the original forms where they occur shows that this demonstrative is formed by prefixing the demonstrative formative 'la' to the general article. The following Bhaca forms are used for purposes of illustration:

Class 1. la < la + u e.g. la mmtfu (this person) < la + u mmtfu
2. la < la + a e.g. la bantfu (these people) < la + a bantfu
3. la < la + u e.g. la mti (this homestead) < la + u mti
4. la < la + i e.g. la miti (these homesteads) < la + i miti
5. la < la + i e.g. la live (this country) < la + i live
6. la < la + a e.g. la mave (these countries) < la + a mave
7. la < la + i e.g. la sandla (this hand) < la + i sandla
8. la < la + i e.g. la tendle (these hands) < la + i tendle
9. la < la + i e.g. la nja (this dog) < la + i nja
10. la < la + i e.g. la tinja (these dogs) < la + i tinja
11. la < la + u e.g. la lutshí (this stick) < la + u lutshi
12. la < la + u e.g. la busuku (this night) < la + u busuku
13. la < la + u e.g. la kudla (this food) < la + u kudla
14. la (this place)

9.44. In Zulu the above forms are used regularly as alternatives (in the case of the strong classes) to the first positional forms of the tri-positional demonstrative. In fact, the Zulu adverbial la/ is the demonstrative of Class 16 as shown in the table above.

In Xhosa, only the weak-class forms are used purely demonstratively, together with the strong-class forms of the tri-positional demonstrative, as shown in 9.55.

9.45. In Xhosa and Zulu this demonstrative has various uses. But Nyumists have failed to recognise it as a demonstrative, presumably because of the phonological modifications it has undergone. Inter alia, it functions as a relative connective. To establish this......
establish this, we first of all give illustrations from some of
the Teseza dialects that employ the demonstrative in its full form
as a relative connective.

(1) Xhosa :

"Nambha le tisong' entshini
Ndlovu le khafule ngo mboko"

(The mamba that coils itself in a tree; the elephant that
(squirted through its trunk.)

(2) Phuthi (Mzamane, pp 177 - 9) :

mutali lolugiye (a good parent)
(lolugiye = lo luguye)
murudi lotshadzwako (beloved teacher)
(lotshadzwako = lo tshadzwako)

(3) Swazi (Ziervogel, pp 52, 59) :

lijaka lelidze (a tall young man)
(lolidze = le lidze)
bafa'ha labelusako (boys that herd)
(labelusako = la belusako)
lutsi lolwaphukile (a stick which is broken)
(lolwaphukile = lo lwaphukile)

9.46. The Xhosa forms corresponding to those given above are
as follows :

(1) Nambha e tisong' e mthini
Ndlovu e khafule ngo mboko.
(2) u mzali o lungileyo
u mfundidi o thandwavo
(3) i jarha e lide
a bafana a baluseyo
u luthi o lwaphukileyo.

9.47. The only difference then between the relative connective
in Xhosa on the one hand and in Xhaca, Phuthi and Swazi on the
other is the absence of the l in Xhosa. This means that the
relative connective in Xhosa is the demonstrative of emphasis
minus the ....

*Praises of the late chief, Nentjeketje.
minus the 1. If we consider Uguni as a whole, we can say that the relative connective is the general article preceded by (1)a. However, there are other aspects of the relative connective to be considered when relative construction is treated.

Uses of the Demonstrative of Emphasis.

9.48. In Xhosa the demonstrative of emphasis is used in the following constructions:

(a) In the formation of absolute qualificative phrases, where it precedes the absolute pronoun. In such constructions the noun qualified by the absolute phrase does not employ the general article.

Examples.

o vena mncedi (the real helper)
e zona nkosi (the real chiefs)
o bona bulumko (real wisdom)

(b) In the formation of emphatic possessive qualificative phrases, where it precedes a possessive qualificative.

Examples.

o wam u entwana (my child)
e sethu il nkosi (our chiefs)
o lwakhe u luvo (his opinion)

(see also 9.116.)

(c) In relative construction as a relative connective, as illustrated in 9.48.

In some non-literary dialects e.g. Ndebele, it is used even before interrogative enumeratives.

Examples.

Class 1. o wuphi? (which one?)
2. a baphi? (which ones?)
5. e laphi? (which one?)
6. a waphi? (which ones?)

/9.49. the view......
9.49. The view that the article and the demonstrative of emphasis have a common origin is supported by the striking resemblance in their behaviour.

(1). Like the general article, the demonstrative of emphasis gives definiteness to the word or words it precedes. It was recognition of this force that made Bennie term such combinations as e yena and e bona (which he writes o-yena, a-bona) "emphatic or distinctive pronouns." (Xhosa, p. 77)

(2). Like the general article, it is not admissible in the vocative use of a possessive qualitative pronominal.

cf. (Bayabamhha a ha kuthi (Those of my home village are going)
(Nambhani, ba kuthi! (Go, ye of my home village!)

(3). Like the article, it is excluded before possessive qualitative pronouns, and before relative predicates, in negative expressions.

Examples.

Ndifuna e zam i andifuni zakh
d (I want mine; I do not want yours)

Akukho bantu bezayo (There aren't any people coming)

cf. Kukho a bantu a bezayo (There are people who are coming)

(4). Like the article, it is omitted when the noun indicating the antecedent is indefinite.

cf. Kukho a bantu a bahlala aha?
(are there some people who live here?)

Kukho bantu bahlala aha?
(are there any people living here?)

(5). Like the general article, it combines with a preceding proposition.

cf. (nge mela yam (by means of my knife) ≤ nga t i mela
{nge yam i mela (by means of my knife) ≤ nga e yam

(no mfazi wakhe (with his wife) ≤ na + u mfazi

(no wakhe u mfazi (with his wife) ≤ na + o wakhe

(6). Like the .......
323.

(a) In possessive construction. Compare Xhosa o wam, e sethu with German der meine, der unsere.

(b) In relative construction, as a relative connective.

Examples.

i ndoda e kuthwa ngu Joji. (the man who is called George)
cf. der Mann der Georg heisst
u mfazi e ndimbonileyo (the woman whom I saw)
cf. die Frau die ich sah

The Tri-positional Demonstrative.

9.50. This demonstrative, as the name implies, has three positional types. Bennie uses the terms "proximate", "mediate" and "remote" for the three types respectively. But as the term mediate seems to be based upon a misconception, the present writer has decided to avoid all three and use the generally accepted, non-committal, "first position", "second position" and "third position".

9.51. The First-Position Demonstrative indicates either something physically near the speaker or something mentally associated with the immediate present by the speaker.

Examples.

aba bantu (these people)
le mFanzwe (the present war / this war)
ese sizukulwana (the present generation / this generation)

9.52. The Second-Position Demonstrative indicates either something physically nearer the hearer than the speaker - irrespective of the distance between them - or something mentioned in the relatively recent past and therefore known by the speaker to be mentally associated with the relatively recent past by the hearer. Thus aba bantu may mean "those people near you, Mr Hearer ....

*See the description of the significance of the three positions in Bennie's Xhosa, beginning of Chapter X, and also the first paragraph on p. 80.
"Hearer", or "the people to whom we referred a few minutes ago"; in English may mean "that war which, you, Mr Hearer, are able to watch from a closer distance than I", or "the war to which you or I referred a moment ago".

9.53. The Third-Position Demonstrative indicates either something that in the particular context is regarded as being physically remote from both speaker and hearer - whether it is a couple of yards or a hundred miles away from both, or one mile away from one and fifty miles away from the other - or something mentally associated with the remote past by both speaker and hearer.

**Examples.**

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{eziva ntaba} \quad \text{(yonder mountain)} \\
&\text{eziva wifazwe} \quad \text{(those wars - of long ago)} \end{align*} \]

**The Morphology of the Tri-positional Demonstrative.**

9.54. In order to avoid the bewildering rules given by Nguniists for the formation of the second and third positions of the tri-positional demonstrative, which are derived from the first position, it is necessary to trace the historical development of this demonstrative. The first position of the tri-positional demonstrative in Xhosa consists of three elements, namely, the demonstrative, \( la \), the general article, \( \chi \), and the general qualificative concord.

**Examples.**

Class 1. \( la + u + u > lowu \)

5. \( la + u + u > leli \)

6. \( la + u + u > lawa \)

9. \( la + u + u > levi \)

10. \( la + u + u > lexi \)

This could be stated more simply by saying that this general demonstrative is formed by suffixing the /\ general qualitative concord to the demonstrative of emphasis.

/ examples......
Examples.

Class 1. 1o + wu > lowu
5. le + li > leli
6. la + wa > lawa
9. le + yi > levi
10. le + zi > lezi

But in the weak classes Xhosa, like Zulu, elides the concord e.g. lowu > 1o, lawa > la, leyi > la; and in the strong classes Xhosa, unlike Zulu, elides the initial 1 e.g. leli > eIi, lezi > ez.

9.55. The following table illustrates the formation of the first position:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column I</th>
<th>Column II</th>
<th>Column III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formation</td>
<td>Primitive Forms</td>
<td>Xhosa Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1. la + u + wu</td>
<td>1o + wu &gt; lowu</td>
<td>1o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. la + a + ba</td>
<td>la + ba &gt; laba</td>
<td>aba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. la + u + wu</td>
<td>1o + wu &gt; lowu</td>
<td>1o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. la + i + yi</td>
<td>le + yi &gt; leyi</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. la + i + li</td>
<td>le + li &gt; leli</td>
<td>eIi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. la + a + wa</td>
<td>la + wa &gt; lawa</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. la + i + ai</td>
<td>le + ai &gt; lezi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. la + i + zi</td>
<td>le + zi &gt; lezi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. la + i + yi</td>
<td>le + yi &gt; leyi</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. la + i + zi</td>
<td>le + zi &gt; lezi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. la + u + lu</td>
<td>1o + lu &gt; lolu</td>
<td>olu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. la + u + bu</td>
<td>1o + bu &gt; lobu</td>
<td>obu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. la + u + ku</td>
<td>1o + ku &gt; loku</td>
<td>oku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. la + a + pha</td>
<td>la + pha &gt; lapha</td>
<td>(lapha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. la + u + ku</td>
<td>1o + ku &gt; loku</td>
<td>(loklu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.56. The lawa of class 6 in column II is not to be confused with the lawa of the same class in the third position in Xhosa. The lawa of column II is used by some Zulu writers in preference to the contracted form, le, e.g. H.M. Fuze in ABANTU ABANIWANA and W.B. Vilakazi who, in UDINGISWAYO XA-JOBE uses it no less than twenty-five .......
twenty-five times between pages 6 and 209 (inclusive). Grout, Samuelson, Wagner and Doke record it in their Zulu grammars, but none of them discovers that the lawo of the second position is derived directly from it. Ziervogel records it too in his Swazi, but does not recognise the direct relationship with lawo.

9.57. The 1 of class 16 lapha is retained when this demonstrative functions as a possessive, copulative or adverbial base, e.g. a bantu ba lapha (the people of this place), ndilapha (I am here), apha na lapha (here and there). The 1 of class 17 loku is retained, inter alia, when an adverbial is formed by prefixing ka to form kaloku (now / at this time).

The Second-Position Demonstrative.

9.58. The second-position demonstrative is derived from the full primitive forms in Column II of the first position by substituting -g for the final vowel and eliding the initial 1 in the strong classes.

The following table illustrates the formation -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full Primitive Forms</td>
<td>Full Primitive Forms</td>
<td>Xhosa Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>lowu</td>
<td>lowo</td>
<td>remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>laha</td>
<td>(1)abo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>lowu</td>
<td>lowo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>leyi</td>
<td>leyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>leli</td>
<td>(1)elo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>lawa</td>
<td>lawo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>lesi</td>
<td>leso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>lezi</td>
<td>leso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>leyi</td>
<td>leyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>lezi</td>
<td>leso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>lolu</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>lolu</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>lapha</td>
<td>lapho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is to be noted that the middle forms are still used exactly as they are in present-day Zulu.

The Third Position Demonstrative.

9.59. The third-position demonstrative is also derived from the full primitive forms in Column II of the first position as follows:

(1) In the weak classes a long high-toned a is substituted for the final vowel.

(2) In the strong classes the initial 1 is elided and a high-toned -ya is suffixed. But in Class 15 the whole of 1a is elided except in the circumstances described in 9.60.

The following table illustrates the formation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Primitive Forms.</td>
<td>Full Primitive Forms.</td>
<td>Xhosa Forms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1.</td>
<td>lowu</td>
<td>&gt; lowa remains loha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>laba</td>
<td>&gt; labaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>lowu</td>
<td>&gt; lowa remains loha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>leyi</td>
<td>&gt; leya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>leli</td>
<td>&gt; leliya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>lawa</td>
<td>&gt; lawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>leei</td>
<td>&gt; leeiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>lezi</td>
<td>&gt; leziya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>leyi</td>
<td>&gt; leya remains leya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>lezi</td>
<td>&gt; leziya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>lulu</td>
<td>&gt; luluva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>lubu</td>
<td>&gt; lubuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>&gt; lokuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>lapha</td>
<td>&gt; laphaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>&gt; lokuya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.60. The class 15 form aphaya, is still to be found in Ilubi. In Xhosa, the a of 1a a is retained only after nga in the word ngaphaya (on the other side), in which the long length / of, and ....
of, and the main stress on, the a of the first syllable show that the root vowel a is not lost.

9.61. The following is a full table of tri-positional demonstratives in their qualitative use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 &amp; 1a.</th>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>abo</td>
<td>abo</td>
<td>abaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>levo</td>
<td>levo</td>
<td>leva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ezi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
<td>eziya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lawo</td>
<td>lawo</td>
<td>lawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ese</td>
<td>eso</td>
<td>eseiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>eso</td>
<td>eso</td>
<td>eseiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>levo</td>
<td>levo</td>
<td>leva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ezo</td>
<td>ezo</td>
<td>eziya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>oio</td>
<td>oio</td>
<td>oluva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>obu</td>
<td>obu</td>
<td>obuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>oko</td>
<td>okuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>apfa</td>
<td>apfa</td>
<td>phaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>oko</td>
<td>okuya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.62. There are also two demonstratives of comparison, in all probability related to lost noun-classes, one of which is Class 13. They also show positional differentiation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i). ngaka</td>
<td>ngako</td>
<td>ngakaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii). nja</td>
<td>njalo</td>
<td>njaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set in (i) indicate "as big as this" or "as much as this", "as big as that" etc. The set in (ii) indicate "like this", "like that" etc.

ngaka would seem to be a compound of nga and a+ka. cf. ngoku = nga+(1)a+u+ku.

nja, both by its own final vowel and by the corresponding second positional form shows irregularities which are probably due to phonological changes. The related interrogative adverb njani? is also proof of such irregularity.
These demonstratives are now used mainly as adjectives, as described in 8.16. and 8.37.

**Contracted Forms**

of the

**Tri-positional Demonstrative.**

9.63. It has already been noted that in the weak classes the demonstratives of the first position have been permanently contracted by sliding the concord. There are contracted forms also of the second and third positions in the weak classes, and contracted forms of the third position in the strong classes.

9.64. Contracted forms of the second and third positions in the weak classes consist of ɨ and a lengthened final vowel, 0 becoming ̄əə and a becoming əə.

The following table illustrates the formation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowə &gt; Ɂ(ow)a &gt; loo</td>
<td>lowa &gt; Ɂ(ow)a &gt; əa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lowə &gt; Ɂ(ow)a &gt; loo</td>
<td>lowa &gt; Ɂ(ow)a &gt; əa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. leyə &gt; Ɂ(ey)a &gt; loo</td>
<td>leyə &gt; Ɂ(ey)a &gt; əa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. lowə &gt; Ɂ(aw)a &gt; loo</td>
<td>lowa &gt; Ɂ(aw) &gt; əa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. leyə &gt; Ɂ(ey)a &gt; loo</td>
<td>leyə &gt; Ɂ(ey)a &gt; əa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.65. The contracted forms of the third position in the strong classes employ the consonantal form of the general qualitative concord, and a long əə is substituted for whatever element originally followed the concord.

The following table illustrates the formation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abəva</td>
<td>ab- &gt; abəə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>elıva</td>
<td>el- &gt; eləa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>esıva</td>
<td>es- &gt; esəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>ezıva</td>
<td>ez- &gt; ezəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ezıva</td>
<td>ez- &gt; ezəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>oluyə</td>
<td>olw- &gt; olwəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>obuyə</td>
<td>ob- &gt; bəəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>okuyə</td>
<td>okw- &gt; okwəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>phıva</td>
<td>ph- &gt; phəa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>okıva</td>
<td>okw- &gt; okwəa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstrative Constructions.

9.66. If the demonstrative has no further implication than merely pointing out something, it precedes the noun it qualifies, and the noun employs no article.

Examples:

le matsi (this person).
ceso zinsa (those dogs)
oluya lundi (yonder horizon)

It is to be noted that the prefix oc- of class 2a is elided by analogy with the article.

Examples:

aba dabula (those dabulas) < aba (oc)dabula
abo nonkala (those crabs) < aba (oc)nonkala

In ordinary speech the second and third positions employ the contracted form in this contraction, where they exist. This tendency is becoming very popular even in literature.

Examples:

lo ndoda for lawo ndoda (that man)
lo ma hashe for lawo ma hashe (those horses)
zas nkono for esiya nkono (yonder cattle)
olwa lundi for oluya lundi (yonder horizon)

9.67. If the demonstrative indicates a particular object or set of objects or a particular concept or set of concepts as against another or others of the same kind, it precedes the noun, but the article does not drop out. Only the full forms are used in this construction.

Examples:

lo u mutwana (this particular child)
obo u buso (this particular face)
lawo a matole (those particular calves)
olo u luvo (that particular idea)
leya i mizi (yonder particular homesteads)

/ other elements ......
Other elements may separate the demonstrative from the noun in this construction.

Examples:

le ko u mfasí (this particular woman then)
sha bafikilelo a bantu (these particular people who have arrived)
le ibambha nam i ndoda (this particular man who is travelling with me)
alo lakho i hashe (that particular horse of yours)
eziya zingaphaya ii ntaba (those particular mountains on the other side)

9.66. If the significance is not only to indicate an object or objects, concept or concepts, but also to make a contrast with some other object(s) or concept(s) of a different nature, the demonstrative follows the noun, and the article does not drop out. Only the full forms may be used in this way.

Examples:

Hambhani nina ; kodwa a bantuwa sha ma basale.
(You go, but as to the children, they had better remain)
I wase e le lam ; ziinkomo zodwa e zakho.
(as to the horse, it is mine; it is only the cattle that are yours)

Very often the idea of contrast is merely implied rather than expressed. Thus, when a man says to a number of negligent herd-boys: "Makwedini, eziya ziza kungena e masimini" (you boys, the cattle there are going to enter the fields), he is contrasting in his mind what the boys are actually doing (say, hunting birds) with what they ought to be doing, namely, tending the cattle.

Emphatic Forms and their Uses.

9.69. For purposes of emphasis the demonstrative in its use, as described in 9.66, may be repeated after the noun. The form preceding the noun may be full or contracted (where a contracted form exists), but after the noun only the full form may be used.

/ examples.....
9.70. In west dialects the first and third position demonstratives after the noun may be made more emphatic by suffixing -na.

Example:

le ntywana le (this little fellow here)
lea mfazi lowa (that woman there)
eco nkomo' eco (those cattle there)
loa madoda lawo (those men there)

In its other uses, the first and third demonstrative may suffix the -na of emphasis even if there is no repetition.

Example:

ezina ii nkomo (these particular cattle)
oluna u sana (this particular baby)
abayana a bantu (those particular people)
u kutya okuna (as to the food here)
ii nkomo ezivana (as to the cattle there)

The -na of emphasis is suffixed to nje and ngaka too, the latter employing a reduplicated form in the first position.

nje > njena , njyana
ngaka > ngakanana , ngakayana

Demonstratives and Locative Substantives.

9.71. The demonstratives epha, oku, nje qualify a limited number of locative substantives only.

Example:

e ndlin' apha (this house)
cf. aph' e ndlini, which means "here in the house"
ea khay' apha (this homestead)
cf. aph' ekhaya, which means "here at home"
e mini oku (during the day to-day)
phezolo oku (only last night)
lit. "this last night"
e mini nje (during the day to-day) / there are ...
There are also a few instances of the use of the second positional forms.

Examples.

*e busuku apho* (then during the night)
*e busuku njale* ("""")

Relationship between Concordclass and Concord-governing Demonstratives.

9.72. Some Nguniists have been completely eluded by the concordless demonstratives from which the Xhosa demonstrative of emphasis is derived. Where it occurs, they mistake the prefix of the succeeding noun for the qualificative concord, and they think the prefix of the noun has been elided after a concord-governing first-position demonstrative. Thus, Engelbrecht writes *lesi khali* instead of *le sikhali* (this asssegai). (*Swazi Texts* pp. 15 & 16), and Ziervogel says the demonstrative "is alternatively used directly before the noun stems of nouns belonging to all classes except 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10". Among other examples, he gives *labafana* (these boys), *lesikhwana* (this bag) and *lobuso* (this face). (*Swazi*, § 46).

But surely it is possible to determine which of the two elements is missing - whether the qualificative concord or the noun-class prefix. For there are situations where there is no possibility of any doubt which of the two is missing:

(1) in nouns of Classes 7 and 8 whose stems commence in a vowel or whose prefix vowel is *a* instead of *i*.

Examples.

*le sandla* (this hand) cf. *lesi sandla*
*le salukati* (this old woman) cf. *lesi salukati*
*le tandla* (these hands) cf. *leti tandla*
*le sangoma* (this diviner) cf. *lesi sangoma*

/ in fact....
In fact even in Class 2 there are such examples as *la belusi* (these herdboys), *la boni* (these sinners).

(2) Before possessive qualifiers, where the demonstrative is not followed by a noun-class prefix but by a possessive preposition.

Examples

*la bamu* (a bantwana) (these ones of mine) (children)

cf. *laba bami*

*le sani* (i sandla) (this one of mine) (hand)

cf. *lesi sani*

(3) The adverbial *le* (here) which is commonly used in Zulu and in the Tekeza cluster instead of *lapha*.

9.73. In Bhaea only the concordless demonstratives may be used before a noun without an article. In Swazi the concordless and the concord-governing may be used interchangeably in some classes (Ziervogel : *Swazi §46*). In Zulu it would seem that the position varies according to dialect and taste. Nyemberzi uses the two forms interchangeably. In *lkntanami* he uses *labafana* (these boys) on pages 2, 32 and 35, but *lababantwana* on page 3, not *labantwana* (these children). On page 3 again he uses *lelifu* (this cloud), not *lelilifu*. In *Dundoda*, page 4, he uses *lesitishi* (this station), but *leaisikhwanvana* (this little bag).

On page 6 he uses *lesioumbi* (this crowd), and on page 20 *labantuwnana* (these children).

On the other hand, an illiterate informant from Newcastle insisted that only forms like *la bantu*, *le zinkomo*, *le zinza*, were "correct", and when *laba bantu*, *lesi zinkomo* etc. were suggested as alternatives, he dismissed them summarily with the remark: "*Wu kukhuluma lwe zingane lokho*" (That is how infants speak)! In other words, in his own particular dialect these forms are not regarded as "good Zulu".

Compare the favourite remark among Xhosa speakers that "listening to Zulu speech is like listening to an infant learning to speak Xhosa."
"Distributive Demonstratives."

9.74. To express the idea "each", Xhosa uses a mixture of forms that have the full forms of the second positional demonstrative as a basis. Some of these have been called "distributive pronouns" by McLaren and "distributive demonstratives" by Bennie. They fall into three sets as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>e lowo</td>
<td>waa lowo</td>
<td>yaba ngulowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e lowo</td>
<td>waa lowo</td>
<td>yaba ngulowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e lelo</td>
<td>laa alo</td>
<td>yaba lelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e seso</td>
<td>waa eso</td>
<td>yaba seso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e leyo</td>
<td>waa leyo</td>
<td>yaba yileyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o lolo</td>
<td>lwaa alo</td>
<td>yaba lelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o bobo</td>
<td>baa obo</td>
<td>yaba bobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o koko</td>
<td>lwaa oko</td>
<td>yaba koko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locatives (o koko)

In set (3) the contracted form waa is commonly used instead of yaba e.g. waa ngulowo u mntu (each person).

9.75. Strictly speaking, sets (2) and (3) do not belong to this section of this treatise, because they are obviously copulative constructions. But in present-day Xhosa it is well-nigh impossible to find a single informant who uses any of the sets throughout.

Many speakers use e lowo from the first set, but for the rest of the classes they use the forms in set (3). Sets (1) and (2) have all but disappeared.

9.76. An alternative that is universally used is the prepositional phrase nga plus an adjectival pronoun with stem -nye (one).

Examples:

u mntu nga mnye (each person)

u msi nga mnye (each homestead)

i hashe nga linye (each horse)

i sizwa nga aiyne (each tribe)

(cf. 17.42, last example)
The Quantitative Qualificative.

9.77. There are three types of quantitative qualificative, viz: -

(1) those employing the stem -nke (the whole of, all),
   e.g. wonke umzi (the whole community)
   bonke a bafana (all the young men)

(2) those employing numeral adjectives as stems. These indicate "both", "all four" etc.
   e.g. bobabini (both of them)
   nobane (all four of you)

These may be called inclusive quantitative qualificatives.

(3) those employing the stem -dwa (only, alone).
   e.g. a belungu bodwa (Europeans only)

These may be called exclusive quantitative qualificatives.

9.78. Quantitative qualificatives are to be found with all three types of stem in all persons. The quantitative qualificative concords are characterized by a, which replaces the vowel of the basic qualitative concord. Common to all three types is the elision of the w of the concord of Class 6, which, however, is retained when quantitatives are employed as copulative stems. (see Chapter 14.31)

There are one or two irregularities of concord that are not common to all three types. These are discussed under the particular types in which they occur.

9.79. Personal and Class Forms of -nke:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Flur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ndonke</td>
<td>sonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>wonke</td>
<td>nonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Classes 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>wonke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>bonke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wonke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>wonke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lonke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>(w)onke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Class 7. sonke......
3rd P. Classes 7.

7. sonke
8. zonke
9. yonke
10. zonke
11. lonke
12. bonke
13. konke
14. —
15. konke
16. konke
17. konke

9.80. The singular forms indicate "the whole of" or "every single ....". The plural forms indicate "all".

Examples:

mma ndonke (the whole of me)
thonke ndonke (all of us)
yonke i ndoda (every single man)
onke a madoda (all the men)
wonke u mntu (every single person)
bonke a bantu (all the people)
konke e Kapa (the whole of Cape Town)

9.81. A quantitative qualitative with the stem -onke may precede or follow the substantive it qualifies.

Examples:

Bonke a bantu bayasebenza (All the people are working)
A bantu bonke balapha (All the people are here)
Bisani zonke izizwe (Call all the nations)
Mama u mzi wonke (Invite the whole community)
Uxole i into yonke (He reported everything)
Me alpewule wonke i into (Let us note everything)
Konke apha kukwam (This whole place is my homestead)
Apha konke kukhwakho? (Is this whole place your homestead?)

/ inclusive .........
Inclusive Quantitative Qualificatives.

9.82. An inclusive quantitative qualificative employs as its stem a numeral adjective, strong or weak. It must be understood that by "a strong adjective" is meant an adjective complete with a class-prefix identical with that of the noun qualified. The first and second persons employ the class 2 adjectival forms. The concord is prefixed to the adjective. It is in the nature of things that this type of qualitative should have no singular forms. There are therefore no forms based on the numeral indicating "one". But forms exist for class 14, 15 and 17, because there are substantives in those classes that can be used as plurals.

9.83. The following are the personal and class forms based on the strong adjectives indicating "two" to "six":

1st P. sobabini, sobathathu, sobane, sobahlanu, sobathandathu
2nd P. nobabini, nobathathu, nobane, nobahlanu, nobathandathu
Cl.2&2a. bobabini, bobathathu, bobane, bobahlanu, bobathandathu
4. yomibini, yomithathu, yomine, yomihlanu, yomithandathu
6. (w)omabini, (w)omathathu, (w)omane, (w)omahlanu, (w)oma
8. zozibini, zozithathu, zozine, zozihlanu, zozithandathu
10. zombbini, zontathu, zone, zontlanu, zontandathu
14. bobubini, bobuthathu, bobune, bobublanu, bobuthandathu
15. kokubini, kokuthathu, kokune, kokuhlanu, kokuthandathu
17. kokubini, kokuthathu, kokune, kokuhlanu, kokuthandathu

Examples:
Thina sobabini ma sikhale apha. (we two had better stay here.)
Yomithathu i mithi yaphukile. (all three trees are broken.)
Sehendzisa i zanda zozibini (Use both hands)
Zombbini ii ntombhi zakhe zilapha (both his daughters are here.)
Qaba u buso bobubini (paint both faces)
Kokuthathu ko kwabo na kwa nisekazi na kwa ninalume (all three of his father's, his father's brother's and his mother's brother's places)
9.84. Strong adjectives with the stems *-nga* ("X") and
*ngaphi* (how many?) and *-nie* (number indicated by the fingers) can also be
used as inclusive quantitative stems.

E.g. *sobanga* (all "X" of us)

*zosinga i zizwe* (all "X" tribes)

*zongaphi ii nkomo?* (all how many head of cattle?)

*zoominye i mizi* (all "so many" homesteads)

9.85. It is to be noted that adjectives of class 10 elide *zi*
of the prefix *zin* - just as nouns of that class commonly do, and
just as the strong adjective does, for instance, as a secondary
member in compound nouns. (cf. 5.62.)

Hence we find *zombhini, zonta-thu* etc. instead of *zozimbhini, zozi-thathu* etc.

9.86. When weak numeral adjectives are used as inclusive
quantitative stems, they naturally retain their full unvarying
nominal prefixes, and only the qualitative concords vary
according to the class of the substantive qualified, so that here
the morphological differences between strong and weak adjectives
comes out in all classes.

In the following paradigms *sibhozo* (eight), *lishumi* (ten) and
*mashumi-mane* (forty) are used for illustrative purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>2nd P.</th>
<th>3rd P.</th>
<th>2a. Cl.</th>
<th>3a. Cl.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>8.</th>
<th>10.</th>
<th>14.</th>
<th>15.</th>
<th>17.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sosibhozo</em></td>
<td><em>solishumi</em></td>
<td><em>somashumi-mane</em></td>
<td><em>bosibhozo</em></td>
<td><em>bolishumi</em></td>
<td><em>bomashumi-mane</em></td>
<td><em>vosibhozo</em></td>
<td><em>volidhumi</em></td>
<td><em>vomashumi-mane</em></td>
<td><em>zosibhozo</em></td>
<td><em>zolishumi</em></td>
<td><em>zomashumi-mane</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.87. By analogy with the strong adjectival forms, the first
and second personal forms may prefix *ba-* to *sibhozo, sibhozo, lithoba*...
lithoba and lishumi, to make sobasixhwe, sobasibhoro,
sobasixhwe, sobasibhoro etc. (cf. Doka; Zu. Gr. § 257)

9.88. The prefix li of lishumi is elided when the meaning is
not literally "all ten" but "the whole pack of...". Thus for
instance belishumi means "all ten of them", but bushumi "the
whole pack of them". Similarly, colishumi means "all ten of you"
but neshumi means "the whole pack of you".

9.89. An inclusive quantitative qualitative may precede or
follow the substantive it qualifies. It is more emphatic when
it precedes the substantive.

Examples:

Bobabini kuyama bakho bakho
(Both his sons are present)

li akathelani zam zambini zendile
(Both my daughters are married)

"There are kathelane kwekholwe siilandumo"
(If two will be separated by thunder i.e. nothing
short of the supernatural can separate us)

Bala li zambu usi veziba zosixhwe
(Tell all seven days of the week)

Uphakamisa i minwe yomibini
(He raised both fingers)

Ndifuna okisoblinlu (I want all hundred of those)

Exclusive Quantitative Qualificatives.

9.90. An exclusive quantitative qualitative is formed by
prefixing the qualitative concord to the stem -ma. In the
first and second persons the vowel of the concord may be a or o.
The concord of Class 1 is ya-, most probably in order to avoid
confusion with the ya- of the second person singular and ya- of
Class 3 respectively. (cf. the absolute pronouns yemam; yema
and yema).

/9.91. personal...

Young people's traditional love-song
9.91. Personal and Class Forms of -edwa (-EDWA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>nedodwa / nedewa</td>
<td>sodwa / sedwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td></td>
<td>wedwa / sedwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Classes 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>yedwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; 2a.</td>
<td>bodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>yodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>(w)odwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>sodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>zodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>yodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>zodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>lodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>bodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>kodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>kodwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.92. Of the alternative forms in the first and second persons, Xhosa speakers seem to prefer the forms in -edwa, especially in the first person singular.

9.93. No instances have been discovered of any qualificative use of this type of qualificative with an ordinary grammatical subject. On the other hand, there are numerous instances of its qualificative use after a logical non-grammatical subject when impersonal verbal constructions are involved.

Examples.

Kuza kuhambha wena wedwa (Only you will go)
Lit. "There will go, you only"

Kafika u yise yedwa (Only his father came)
Lit. "There came his father only"

Na kungene a madoda odwa (Only the men had better enter)
Lit. "There had better enter the men only"

/kwakhe ......
examples cont.

Kwakhe a beLungu bodwa apha (only White people reside here.
Lit. "There reside white people only here"

9.94. An exclusive quantitative qualificative may qualify a substantive functioning as object of a sentence. It always follows the substantive in word order.

Examples.

Lo mfazi wasazala ii ntombhi zodwa. (This woman beget daughters only)
Musa u kusola mna nedwa. (Don’t blame me only)
Ndazi u luSuthu kodwa : andikwazi e luTiwana (I know Basutoland only: I don’t know Bechuanaland)
Ndibize lo yedwa. (I called this one only)

9.95. As a qualitative, an exclusive quantitative in Nguni always follows the substantive it qualifies. In any other position it is adverbial, meaning "separately", "all by oneself", "unattended" etc.

The following questions and statements illustrate this clearly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lo mntwana uhambha no vise?</td>
<td>(Is this child going with its father?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo mntwana uhambha yedwa</td>
<td>(This child is going alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I nkomo be zihambha na bani?</td>
<td>(With whom were the cattle going?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I nkomo be zihambha zodwa</td>
<td>(The cattle were going alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I nkosi ifike na maphakathi?</td>
<td>(Did the chief arrive with the councillors?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I nkosi ifike yedwa</td>
<td>(The chief arrived alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbize na bani?</td>
<td>(With whom did you call him?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndimbize yedwa</td>
<td>(I called him all by himself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ube uhlala na bani kule ndlu?</td>
<td>(With whom were you staying in this house?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibe sibhlala sedwa</td>
<td>(We have been staying all by ourselves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ in each .....
In each of the groups of sentences above, the function of the quantitative does not differ from that of the adverbial phrase in the sentences in the same group. In fact, of the Zulu examples given by Doke in § 254 of his Zulu Grammar, the second, third and fourth would seem to be adverbial.

In izinkomo bezihamba zodwa (the oxen were going alone), zodwa does not qualify izinkomo but modifies bezihamba. Similarly, in Lwasha lod' ukhumi (the firewood burnt alone), lodwa does not qualify ukhumi but describes the manner in which the firewood burnt. The same applies with ba.sfika bodw' abantu. The quantitatives in these examples could be qualificatives only if the sentences were recast to read:

be kubamba izinkomo zodwa (only the cattle were going)
kwasha u khuni lodwa (only the firewood burnt)
kwasifika a bantu bodwa (only the people came)

The meaning is now different, and the relationship of the words in each sentence is different: "izinkomo", "ukhumi", and "a bantu" are now logical, not grammatical, subjects in impersonally constructed sentences, and the quantitatives are qualificatives.

In all three types of quantitative qualificative, the concord w of class 6 is retained when quantitatives are employed as copulative stems. Thus we have (i) onke a madoda (all the men) but a madoda awonke (the men are all there).

(ii) a madoda olishumi (all ten men), but a madoda awolishumi (all ten men are there)

(iii) a madoda odwa (men only), but a madoda awodwa (the men are all by themselves)

In Hlubi the w is retained even in the qualitative use of quantitatives.

e.g.
wonke a madoda (all men)
womabini la madoda (both these men)
a madoda wodwa (men only)

/ in Zulu ....
In Zulu the quantitative may or may not have the w. The impression given by grammar books is that the w is not there in the quantitative qualitative use. But one finds "ngawo wena lana womabili" instances in Ndebele's **uqubudele**.

"ngawo wena lana womabili" (a mehlo)

(p. 16) (with these very two) (eyes)

"wonke amazimuxim" (all the cannibals)

"abizana wonke" (they called one another)

"ekhulumisana wodwa" (talking among themselves)

In Ntanami: p. 49. Nyembezi has "wonke amadolobe" (all the towns)

**The Possessive Qualitative**

9.97. A possessive qualitative results from the mergence of a possessive preposition with a pronominal stem or demonstrative, the two together constituting a single word qualifying a substantive with which the preposition is related by means of a qualitative concord.

**Examples**

a bantwana bakhe (his children)  

lit. "the children those belonging to him"

iindzipo zeli (the claws of this one)  

lit. "the claws those belonging to this one"

The formation of possessive prepositions and the various relations they define are fully discussed and illustrated in Chapter 17.

**Possessive Pronominal Stems**

9.98. In Xhosa there are exclusively possessive pronominal stems for the first person plural, the second person singular and plural, and for the third person class 1. The first person singular, and all the fully extant classes other than class 1 in the third person employ the enclitic form of the absolute pronoun, as described in Chapter 7. Class 17 has an enclitic form like ....
form like other classes, but in this particular construction the full form of the pronoun is employed.

9.99. To illustrate the formation of possessive qualificatives with pronominal stems, the enclitic -m, < mana, of the first person singular is used as a possessive stem merging with the class forms of the possessive preposition. The class noun indicates the possessee. Possessive relation is defined by the possessive preposition with which the pronominal stem merges.

The possessive qualitative qualifies the class noun.

Class 1. u mutwana wam (my child) lit. "the child of me."

1a. u nyana wam  (my son)
2. a bentwana bam (my children)
2a. oonyana bam (my sons)
3. u mzi wam (my homestead)
4. i mizi yam (my homesteads)
5. i lizwi lam (my word)
6. a mazwi am (my words)
7. i sandla sam (my hand)
8. i zandla zam (my hands)
9. i nja Yam (my dog)
10. i zinja zam (my dogs)
11. u luvo lwam (my opinion)
14. u buso bam (my face)
15. u kutya kwam (my food)
16. phambhi kwam (in front of me)

9.100. The w of the qualitative concord in class 6 is elided, hence am instead of wam. But in some dialects, e.g. Hlubi, the full form is used e.g. a mazwi wam (my words), a mahlolo wam (my eyes). Even in Xhosa the w is retained after a demonstrative e.g. la wam a mazwi (these words of mine).

9.101. (i) If the "possessee" is indicated by a locative substantive, relationship between the substantive and the preposition is indicated by the class 17 qualitative concord.

/examples...
Examples.

phambhi kwam (in front of me)
phantshi kwam (under me)
e mva kwam (behind me)
ko kwathu kwam (my people's house)

(ii) If the possessee is indicated by a first or second person absolute pronoun, relationship is shown by the class 1 qualificative concord in the singular and by class 2 qualificative in the plural.

Examples.

wena wam (you belonging to me, you of mine)
nina ham (you of mine)

9.102. The following are the exclusively possessive pronominal stems found in Xhosa:

1st Person Flur. - ithu
2nd Sing. - kho
2nd Flur. - inu
3rd Class 1. - kho

9.103. In the following illustrations, the absolute pronoun is given in brackets after the class noun or substantive, to show the relationship between it and the possessive stem:

1st Person Sing. : wena no sapho lwam (you and your family)
1st Flur. : thina nce ntsapho zethu (we and our families)
2nd Sing. : wena no sapho lwakho (you and your family)
2nd Flur. : Nina nce ntsapho zenu (you and your families)
3rd Class 1 : u mfazi(yena) no sapho lwakhe

1a : u Nobantu(yena) no sapho lwakhe
(Nobantu and her family)
2 : a bafazi(bong) nce ntsapho zabo
(the women and their families)
2a : a Nobantu(bong) nce ntsapho zabo
(Nobantu and her family)

/ 3. u mzi ....
3rd Person Class 3:  
1. u mzi (wona) no buhle bawo  
   (the homestead and its beauty)
2. i mizi (wona) no buhle bayo  
   (the homesteads and their beauty)
3. i hashe (lona) no buhle balo  
   (the horse and its beauty)
4. a mahashe (wona) no buhle bawo  
   (the horses and their beauty)
5. i sandla (sona) no buhle baso  
   (the hand and its beauty)
6. i zandla (sona) no buhle baso  
   (the hands and their beauty)
7. i nja (yona) no buhle baso  
   (the dog and its beauty)
8. i nja (sona) no buhle baso  
   (the dogs and their beauty)
9. i nja (zona) no buhle baso  
   (the horse and its beauty)
10. u sana (lona) no buhle baso  
    (the baby and its milk)
11. u buso (bona) no ncumo lwabo  
    (the face and its smile)
12. u kutya (kona) ne ncasa yako  
    (the food and its flavour)
13. phakathi (khona) no kubanda kwa khona  
    (the interior and the cold of that place)
14. kwa Zulu (khona) na bantu be khona  
    (Zululand and the people of that place)

9.104. After the noun mnini (owner), its plural form, banini, and the corresponding feminine forms, mnikazi and banikazi, the possessive preposition may drop out and the possessive stem is suffixed to the noun.

Examples:

u mzi no mnini wawo / or / u mzi no mnini-wo  
   (the homestead and its proprietor)
i mizi na banini bayo / or / i mizi na banini-yo  
   (the homesteads and their proprietors)

/ indlu no .....
348.

Examples cont.

i ndlu no mnikazi wayo, or i ndlu no mnikazi-vo
(the house and its proprietress)

i zindlu na banikazi bazo, or i zindlu na banikazi-zo
(the houses and their proprietresses)

9.105. After the noun mka (wife), the qualitative concord has dropped out entirely, and the result is a single word.

Examples.

wena no mkakhe (you and your wife)

The noun mka has no independent existence in Xhosa. It is found only in this construction and only in the singular form.

Communal Ownership.

9.106. Possessive qualifications signifying communal ownership are based mainly on the possessive stems -ithu (first person plural), -inu (second person plural) and -bo (third person, class 2).

They are found in such compound nouns as dadewethu (my or our sister), which means, literally, "sister belonging to us (of this family)", dadewenu (your sister), dadewabo (his, their sister).

In the plural the concord does not change. Thus we have oodadewethu (instead of oodadebethu), oodadewenu and oodadewabo.

In the third person, classes other than class 1 mostly use their own possessive stems, but occasionally -bo is to be heard even here.

/examples
Examples.

i nkwenkwe no dadewavo, or, i nkwenkwe no dadewabo
(the boy and his sister)

esi ntwana nooda dewazo, or, esi ntwana nooda dewabo
(these young fellows and their sisters)

i tyendye no dadewalo, or, i tyendye no dadewabo
(the dandy and his sister)

Quite definitely, Xhosa speakers prefer the first form in each case. Indeed, many informants claim that the latter forms are "not Xhosa".

9.107. In the compounds mnakwethu (my /our brother - woman speaking), mnakwenu and mnakwabo; msakwethu (my /our younger sister - woman speaking), mnakwenu and mnakwabo, there are two prepositions. The first is wa, referring to mna or msa as the case may be. This "a" is elided. The second is kwa, the class 17 form.

mna (wa) kwa - ithu mnakwethu lit. "man belonging to our house"

With these too Xhosa speakers prefer the various class forms in the third person, instead of the invariable -bo.

Examples.

u Noziswe no mnakwabo -(Noziswe and her brother)
i ntombhi no mnakwayo (the maiden and her brother)
ii ntombhi na basakwazo (the maidens and their brothers)

"nje ngoko se ndenzile kubanakwazo ngaphezulu"
as I had already done with their brothers higher up"

Mqhayi: UDON JADU, p. 22.
Emphatic Possessive Qualitative Phrases.

9.108. As described earlier in this chapter, a possessive qualitative may be made emphatic by preceding the substantive qualified in word order. But the qualitative must be preceded by a demonstrative of emphasis agreeing with and in apposition to, the substantive qualified. The demonstrative and the qualitative constitute a qualitative phrase.

Examples.

u mntwana wam (my child) > o wam u mntwana (my child)

lit. "the one belonging to me, the child"

ii nkomo zam (my cattle) > e zam ii nkomo (my cattle)

lit. "these belonging to me, the cattle"

As shown earlier in this chapter, such qualitative phrases can function as possessive qualitative pronominal phrases.

e.g. o wam (my one; the one belonging to me)

e zam (mine; those belonging to me)

But it must be noted that this formation is possible in true possession only. In relations other than truly possessive, the possessive qualitative never precedes the "possessed". Hence, when the "possessed" is indicated by a locative substantive, there can be no "emphatic" form or order. The meaning of phamphi kwam is "the front in relation to me". The "front" is not truly possessed. (cf. 17, 172(8))

Demonstratives in Possessive Construction.

9.109. As shown earlier in this chapter, a demonstrative in Xhosa merges with a preceding preposition. Thus, in possessive construction, a demonstrative, whether functioning as a qualitative before a substantive or as qualitative pronoun, merges with the possessive preposition. This includes the articles, the demonstrative of emphasis, and the tri-positional demonstratives.
Examples.

(1) u buso bo mntwana (the face of the child), bo < ba + u
(2) u busi base ndle (wild honey), base < ba + se
(3) u buso bo wan u mntwana (the face of my child), bo < ba + o
(4) u buso balo mntwana (the face of this child),
(5) u buso balo (the face of this one)
(6) u msila we hashe (the tail of the horse), wa < wa + i
(7) u mkhiwane wase ndle (wild fig), wase < wa + se
(8) u msila we lam i hashe (the tail of my horse), wa < wa + a
(9) u msila we lam (the tail of my one)
(10) u msila weliya hashe (the tail of that horse),
    weliya < wa + eliya
(11) u msila weliya (the tail of that one)

If the demonstrative precedes a substantive, the result of such merging is a possessive qualitative phrase.

If the demonstrative functions as substantive, the result is a possessive qualitative, a single word. In the above illustrations balo in (5) and weliya in (11) are possessive qualificatives, each constituting a single word. The rest are possessive qualitative phrases. (cf. 17. 1.)

Emphatic Order.

9.110. A possessive qualitative with a demonstrative base or a possessive qualitative phrase involving a demonstrative as base may precede the substantive it qualifies, provided that a demonstrative precedes the qualitative or qualitative phrase.

Examples.

u buso bo mntwana > o bo mntwana u buso (the child's face)
Lit. "that belonging to the child, the face"

u busi base ndle > o base ndle u busi (wild honey)
Lit. "that of the open veld, the honey"

u buso bo wan u mntwana > o bo.wam u mntwana u buso
    (my child's face)
Lit. "that of my child, the face" / u buso balo .....
examples cont.

- \text{u buso mtnwana} \rightarrow \text{balo mtnwana u buzo} (this child's (face.)

Lit. "that his child, the face"

- \text{u buso} \rightarrow \text{balo u buso} (this one's face)

Lit. "that his one; the face"

These emphatics can stand alone as possessive qualitative pronominal phrase e.g. \text{balo} (this one's)