

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ZULU DIALECTS IN NATAL AND ZULULAND

BY

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To you all I say, *UNWELE OLUDE!*

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A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ZULU DIALECTS IN NATAL AND

ZULULAND

INTRODUCTION

0.1 ZULU

Zulu or IsiZulu is the language of the AmaZulu and is spoken by more than 4 000 000 Zulus spread over Southern Africa, but mainly concentrated in Natal and Zululand. Natal has become a focal point owing to industrialization and consequently availability of work.

The term IsiZulu is of recent origin. It became generally accepted as the label for the language spoken by the new nation during the second half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1859 Grout published *The IsiZulu: A Grammar of the Zulu Language*. In 1869 Colenso produced his *Zulu -English Dictionary*, and his *First Steps in Zulu* belongs to the same period. To some extent the early missionaries established and popularized the use of Zulu as the name of the language of the Blacks occupying Zululand and Natal, and did away with the unpalatable lable "kaffir language".

Before this period it is not very clear what we now call IsiZulu was called, especially because the Zulu nation was only born during the reign of Shaka and consolidated during the reign of his successors, especially the peace-loving Mpande. The predecessors of the AmaZulu were generally called AbeNguni. Some branches of this Northern Nguni group, to which the Zulu clan belonged, called themselves AbeNtungwa. Van Warmelo has suggested that these black inhabitants of Zululand spoke isiNtu, 'human speech'. The people called their language isiNtu because in their thinking they alone were humans, 'abantu'. They referred to other groups in derogatory terms, calling them mere animals, 'izilwanyana' or 'izizwana'. This attitude of mind has persisted to the present day.

However, contrary to the foregoing observation, J.L. Dohne is of the opinion that Zulu is as old as Shaka's reign. In his introduction to his *Zulu-kaffir Dictionary* he says, "those of them who spoke another dialect than the Zulu were prohibited from doing so in his presence (Shaka), and addressed him by means of an interpreter. This was continued until they were able to express themselves properly in the Zulu language, which was on that account called ukukhuluma e.e. the high language"¹.

0.2 AREA OF SURVEY

It has been decided to limit the area to be covered in this preliminary survey to Natal and Zululand. Even in this area it has been decided to exclude the extreme North and South coasts of Natal. In the extreme South, the Zosha dialect area abutting on the Pondo dialect area

1. Dohne J.L., A Zulu-kaffir Dictionary, p.xv.

is excluded, and in the extreme north, the dialect area of the Tembe-Tongas bordering in the Tonga of Mozambique, is also excluded. The Sotho-influenced speech island in the Nquthu district under Chief Molefe has also been left out.

As already indicated earlier, IsiZulu and its related dialects is spoken over a wide area. A dialect of Zulu is spoken as far afield as Central Africa in the vicinity of Lake Malawi, by the Ngoni, the descendants of Zwangendaba who fled from Zululand. Notwithstanding the heavy influence of the surrounding languages and dialects, the Ngoni language is regarded as a dialect of Zulu. On the contrary, the language spoken by the descendants of Soshangane in Mozambique and of Manukuza in Gasaland is no longer comprehensible to the Zulus and is therefore not regarded as a dialect of Zulu. Soshangane left Zululand at about the same time as Zwangendaba.

The Ndebele of Rhodesia, the descendants of Mzilikazi Khumalo, also speak what is accepted as a dialect of Zulu. Despite the fact that this language has also been exposed to the influence of surrounding native dialects, it is very much intelligible to Zulu speakers. This is also in spite of the fact that during his trek north Mzilikazi incorporated many Sotho clans into his horde of fugitives. Judging by the nature of present day SiSwati which has been exposed to Sotho influence from the surrounding clans without losing its identity, it does appear that Sesotho fails to affect the Nguni dialects adversely.

Other pockets of Zulu speakers are to be found scattered in the eastern Orange Free State, As should be expected this Zulu is exposed

to Sotho influence as is evidenced by the manner of speaking of the Free State Zulu speakers.

0.3 AIM AND SCOPE OF SURVEY

This being a preliminary survey, the aim is to trace, establish and classify Zulu dialects according to some of their phonological and grammatical features, and describe some points of difference over and above the apparent and casually accepted homogeneity of the Zulu language, and finally to establish spheres where standardization is possible.

Dialect study entails extensive and intensive field work, and this type of work is at best handled by a team of investigators. Seeing that I was working entirely on my own, this survey has been necessarily limited to preliminaries in the spheres referred to above. This limitation affords opportunity for future investigation and extension of the field covered. Again it would have been possible or perhaps desirable to have limited the scope to one facet, namely phonological features, or alternatively grammatical features. But it does appear that the rate of change and standardization is very fast, and it was therefore decided to cover both these spheres while evidence still exists.

Another very important feature of interest in dialect study has not been handled in this survey. This is vocabulary. The reason for this omission is that at best this is handled by a team, and again this requires longer and deeper investigation. One can discover phonological

and grammatical differences far more easily and quickly than vocabulary. One would have to live with people for some time before one could pick up their distinctive words, usages and nuances.

Pinning down vocabulary usage is further complicated in our particular case by the fact that Zulu society is becoming progressively mobile and fluid consequent upon industrialization and availability of quick transport. The Zulu world is shrinking very rapidly especially because its dimensions are not very expansive and generally lack physical features such as impassable high mountain ranges and unbridged big rivers to serve as dialect boundaries, thus arresting the flow and march of linguistic features.

The pronunciation of words is clearly defined as we shall see when we handle phonology. For example people say either /hamba/, or /hamba/, /khamba/ or /yamba/, in the different dialect areas. Words and the meanings of words are not so clearly defined. It has been our experience that certain dialect words tend to be found in more than one dialect area, thus going counter to our delimitation. For example the stem /na/ means /to rain/ whereas the stem /netha/ means /to be caught in the rain, to be wet with rain/, is the Central Zululand, Zululand Coast and Northern Natal dialect areas but in the Natal Coast and the South West Natal areas /liyanetha/ means it is raining.

The word /emnyango/ means the /doorway/. In the latter areas mentioned above it means /outside the house, in the open/, as opposed to /phandle/ which is used in other dialect areas. The word /isicabha/ means

/door/ in the latter dialect areas as opposed to /isivalo/ in the former areas. The areas cited above form separate dialect groups because of the differences they show in their phonology and grammar, but the vocabulary examples quoted cut across the dialect boundaries and do not confirm the dialect boundaries as should be the case. If we were to rely upon these words to determine dialect boundaries, the whole coastal zone would constitute one dialect area and not three as we shall attempt to show later.

We have also not gone into the tonal aspect in detail in the delimitation of dialect areas. We shall only touch it in passing. The subject of Zulu tone has been covered in another survey of Prof. A.T. Cope of the University of Natal, in which he mentions tonal dialectism from time to time.

0.4 METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Research work involved two exercises, namely, reading on the subject of dialect generally and on the nature and distribution of the original Nguni dialects, and travelling to the different areas of Natal and Zululand to collect information on the modern dialects. These areas were dictated in the first place by the availability of contacts who were mainly school teachers in the teaching profession, and from there we were able to work out further and further into the field to cover finally the whole country. (See Map on page 24 for the record of places visited). Useful material was also obtained from interviews with people working in the focal area of Durban, our home base. These interviews bridged the gaps of places which were not visited.

A cross section of the community was interviewed, copious notes being taken all the time. Later on a tape-recorder was used to record both interviews and casual conversations. As soon as rapport had been established with members of the community, they were required to answer questions from a prepared programme. This programme was drawn up as a guide for the conducting of interviews. It was not handed to informants, for many of them were illiterate, and they were not required to write their answers, for this same reason and for the reason that this investigation was concerned with the spoken language and not with the written language, which is a literary or standard form based more or less on what we have identified as the Central Zulu Dialect.

The programme covered the following selected phonological and grammatical factors:

At the phonological level it sought to establish:

- (a) whether /kh/, /k'/ and /k/ are found everywhere as phonemes and whether /k'/ and /k/ sometimes go together as allophones,
- (b) whether velar /h/ and glottal /h/ are phonologically conditioned allophones or separate phonemes,
- (c) whether rolled /r/ is found only in borrowed words,
- (d) whether /ɟ/ occurs as a selfstanding consonant phoneme, apart from the homorganic nasal conditioned by a velar consonant in the compounds /nk/ and /ng/,
- (e) whether /ʃ/ and /tʃh/ are simply variants of a phoneme distinct from /tʃ/ as in tshela, tshala etc. or dialectally determined,
- (f) the phonological status of such sounds as /ts/ and /zh/,

- (g) The operation of palatalization in Natal and Zululand and "persistence of palatalization" (Doke),
- (h) the operation of click consonants and in particular the nasalised clicks.

At the grammatical level it was intended to establish the dialectal occurrence of the following facets:

1. Nouns

- (i) the form of noun prefixes
- (ii) the variation in occurrences of nouns in noun classes
- (iii) nominal derivations - diminutives in particular
- (iv) inflections: locative inflection of nouns based on abantu, inkosi, induna; and copulative inflection generally
- (v) the vocative form of nouns

2. Pronouns

- (i) absolute pronouns of classes 15 and 17
- (ii) demonstratives - to establish positions of reference in all classes
- (iii) demonstrative adverbs lapha and lapho, and locative copulative demonstratives in all classes

3. Adjectives

adjectival stem /bi/

some possessive concords are investigated under this heading

4. Adverbs

Locatives and the use of locative formative /s/

5. Verbs

- (a) monosyllabic verbs with latent /i/: /ma/, /mba/, /va/, /za/, /zwa/
- (b) vowel verbs (e) themba, (e) susa, (e) jwayela
- (c) indicative mood:
 - (i) subject concord of first person singular
 - (ii) object concord of first person singular
 - (iii) object concord of second person singular
 - (iv) special stative stems: lele, thule, etc.
 - (v) compound tenses
- (d) subjunctive mood:
 - (i) polite prefixes /ma/, /ka/, /a/
 - (ii) consecutive past tense
- (e) imperative mood:
 - (i) forms of monosyllabic verbs
 - (ii) use of object concord with imperatives
- (f) reciprocal derivation
- (g) reflexive formative /zi/

Other incidental points of interest are also covered.

0.5 EARLIER OBSERVATIONS OF ZULU DIALECTS

J.L. Dohne in his Zulu-Kafir Dictionary 1857 recognised only two dialects of Zulu, namely the High language *ukukhuluma*, (a term not very meaningful to Zulu speakers) and the low *amaLala* language. However, he also made reference to the *tekeza* dialect and the *tefula* dialect. He was conscious of the fact that these divisions were not clear cut,

pointing out that Zulu bore the stamp of *tekeza* and *tefula* in many practical points as in its soft form of *ngi*: *ngiyathanda*, *ngukudla* etc.¹

Bishop Colenso in his "First Steps in Zulu" also made reference to the *tefula* dialect, apart from isiZulu. He observed that this dialect was spoken by many of the Natal kafirs (sic) especially the AmaQwabe clan. In his classification we also find the Lala dialect. The Lala were said to *tekeza* (*teketa*) in their speech, whereas the people along the Zulu coast to the North East of Natal as far as Delagoa Bay generally *tefula'd*.

Rev. W. Wanger in his "Scientific Zulu Grammar" Volume I 1927 appears to have also accepted two dialects of Zulu. He says in his foreword that "the Zulu of the present grammar is that of Zululand and Natal, with occasional references to Zulu dialects. Zulu proper is that of Zululand; as the purest Zulu is considered that of the northern tribes who 'make the tongue stand upright' (*m-isa ulimi*), while the southern tribes 'make the tongue lie flat' (*lal-isa ulimi*) by their *tefulaing*, i.e. pronouncing *y* for *l* as in *ngiyambiye* for *ngilambile* (I am hungry)².

Prof. C.M. Doke made the following remarks about Zulu dialects, "A close examination of the geographical distribution of the Zulu speaking peoples, shows that "King's Zulu", called *ukukhuluma*, is spoken

1. J.L. Dohne, A Zulu-Kaffir Dictionary, 1857, p.xv.

2. Rev. W. Wanger, A Scientific Zulu Grammar, Vol. I, 1927, p.vii.

principally by the inhabitants of the Lower Tugela basin, and northward therefrom into Zululand, stopping, however, considerably short of the Portuguese border. *Ukukhuluma* is the Zulu word for 'to speak' and, to the Zulu, the only true speech is that of the Zulus, isiZulu.

As we have observed from the records of Dohne and Colenso, there are two main dialect forms of Zulu. Of these the first, called *ukuthetula* a term signifying "to be oily, slippery", is spoken by the AmaQwabe and other clans living along the eastern seaboard, abutting on the territory where the purest Zulu is spoken. The second dialect is called *ukutekeza* a term signifying "to quiver, to speak in a quivering voice". The dialects included under this term are isiBaca, spoken on the south eastern seaboard of Natal, south of the territory under "tethula" influence, and isiLala, spoken between the Tugela River and the Swazi border, abutting on the pure Zulu area. To the west of Natal is the *kubuwa* influence of the Sutu language. To the extreme north of Zululand the influence of the Tonga peoples of Delagoa Bay is felt"¹.

Carl Faye identified the following dialect areas of Zulu². He mentioned the pure Zulu dialect area, the area under *thetula* influence and the area under *tekeza* influence. Both of these fall under the Natal and Zululand coast. The interior of Natal he described as being under English and Afrikaans influence. The south west border was said to be under Xhosa influence, the north west under *kubuwa* or Sotho influence. Finally the northern² border is classified as falling under Swazi influence.

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1. C.M. Doke, The Phonetics of the Zulu Language, Bantu Studies Journal, Vol. II, 1926.
 2. C. Faye, Zulu References, 1923. See Map at end of book.

Except for a passing reference to the dying influence of *thefula* and *tekeza* on Zulu, N.J. van Warmelo¹ refers only to the difference between Zululand and Natal Zulu. Prof. J.A. Louw² refers also to two tone dialects of the Zulu language. One tone dialect is spread along the coastal area north of Durban and swings west in the direction of Swaziland. The other tone dialect is found just across the Thukela in the centre of Zululand and the Natal Midlands as far south as Pietermaritzburg. The dialect areas described above correspond more or less to the dialect areas we are going to describe. Carl Fayer's description comes very close to our own findings.

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1. N.J. van Warmelo, A Preliminary Survey of Bantu Tribes of South Africa, 1935, p.70.
 2. J.A. Louw, The Tone Sequence of the Potential Form in Zulu and Xhosa. Ethnological Publications No. 52, 1969, p.124.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 ORIGINAL MIGRATIONS

"The history of the Zulu people is the history of the whole Bantu race, and the history of the Bantu race is the history of half the African continent. Numerous scholars, in Germany, in England, and elsewhere, have already given we might almost say, their life to the unravelling of the pages of this puzzling history, but we regret to say, with the poor result that it still remains a closed book"¹. Not so closed one might say if one considers linguistic and archeological evidence that has been available since Bryant as has been done by M. Guthrie², Shula Marks³ and other scholars. Archeological excavations, particularly the work of Tim Maggs of the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg have revealed more than oral tradition was able to give.

It appears that the key to the Zulu dialects is to be found in the history of the people who contributed towards the founding of the Zulu language. Likewise the Zulu dialects could provide a clue to the history of these people. The truth about the history of the Nguni people and their migrations from the north to their present domain is difficult to establish

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1. A.T. Bryant, Zulu English Dictionary, (Introduction).
 2. M. Guthrie, Developments in the Pre-history of the Bant Languages, in Problems in African History, Ed. R.O. Collins, 1968.
 3. Shula Marks, The Traditions of the Natal Nguni, in African Societies in Southern Africa.

with certainty. All that is generally accepted is the fact that these people came from the north, because even they themselves point to the north as their place of origin. Roberts sums it up appropriately in his "The Zulu Kings" where he says "no one knows when the Bantu first arrived in Southern Africa or precisely where they came from"¹.

We are here concerned with a speech community which though at present shows some measure of homogeneity, was once heterogeneous. "It is also common nowadays to speak of 'the Zulus', meaning all the speakers of the language, and in addition, implying that they are one people or going still further, one political entity. This they have never been. One might distinguish:

- (a) the 'Zulu' nucleus of tribes closely bound to and loyal to the royal house, though split by the USuthu-Mandlakazi factions;
- (b) those whose ancestors held out against the Zulu might and neither fled nor subjected themselves;
- (c) those whose ancestors never were willing subjects of the Zulu kings, who fled when opportunity offered, and who were ready to take the field against the Zulus too;
- (d) those who fled in time and never came under Zulu rule and have no desire to be ruled by the house of Zulu to this day².

The foregoing notwithstanding, the black people of Natal and Zululand speak what is called IsiZulu, the Zulu language, with differences here

1. B. Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, p.37.
 2. N.J. van Warmelo, *The Classification of Cultural Groups, in the Bantu Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa* p 63

and there.

The historical reconstruction at our disposal satisfies our requirements. It must be pointed out that we are not, however, interested in history *per se*, but in history as it has a bearing and influence on the language whose survey we are treating. A number of scholars among whom A.T. Bryant in his "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", J.H. Soga in his "The South Eastern Bantu", Rev. L. Grout in "The Zulu and other Dialects of South Africa" from the Journal of the American and Oriental Society 1849, H. von Sicard in "Shaka and the North" from the African Studies Journal Vol. 14 No. 4 of 1955, and others have attempted a reconstruction of Nguni migrations. The greatest pity is that owing to an historical accident, the Nguni people did not cultivate the art of writing. As a result much of their history is lost to us. Another tragic accident in history was the fact that the European sailors who first came into contact with these people made but sketchy records about the culture of these people and next to nothing about their language.

Bryant's account is the best known and has recently been submitted to re-examination by Dr. Shula Marks. She concludes that Bryant is more or less correct in his outline of the history and settlement of the people he calls 'Nguni', but that there were probably earlier settlements or pre-Nguni Bantu here and there. Besides using evidence of the Portuguese sailors, and comparing certain social phenomena among the Bantu, Bryant used linguistic evidence for his construction of Nguni history. There is, however, no suggestion on our part that Bryant is more accurate

that Soga, and van Warmelo sums up the issue by saying "the early history of the Nguni group is still a field wide open for enquiry, not a subject to be dogmatic about"¹.

Bryant suggests that from the north the Nguni moved in a south westerly direction until they crossed the Zambezi. South of the Zambezi and about the vicinity of the Okavango they met Bush people and Hottentots. Here after the meeting clicks were introduced for the first time in the Nguni language. From here the Nguni trek took an easterly inclination until about the headwaters of the Limpopo. Dr. Shula Marks has suggested in her paper, "The Traditions of the Natal Nguni", that this is the most plausible starting point, because from here Bryant's theories are generally accepted. From this point the Nguni people separated into three divisions from the linguistic standpoint: the zunda group which left this area first, the tekela group which acquired this mode of speaking by reason of their having remained behind and come under the influence of Venda-Karanga people, and thirdly as a result of moving furthest to the east we have the Thonga-tekela group.

While others remained behind along the Limpopo, the zunda Ngunis moved in a southerly direction. These are also described as Pure Ngunis on account of their not having been influenced by the Venda-Karangas. The arrival of the Venda-Karangas is very significant, because it accounts initially for the difference in the language of the various Nguni groups. The infiltration of the Venda-Karangas introduced

1. N.J. van Warmelo, *ibid*, p.61.

the "tekela" mode of speaking into the language of the Ngunis that remained behind. Besides the phonological phenomenon of *tekela*, the language of Venda-Karangas was characterised at the grammatical level by the use of monosyllabic noun prefixes, which phenomenon is peculiar to some East-African Bantu languages. Again the language of the Venda-Karangas is alleged to have been clickless which suggests that they had not met the Bushmen and Hottentots. As the Zunda Ngunis moved south some of them kept falling behind, to wit, the Southern Transvaal Ndebele. When they entered Natal they broke into two groups namely the Northern Ngunis or Ntungwa-Ngunis and the Southern Ngunis. The latter did not remain in Natal but pushed on until they reached the Eastern Cape. These are the progenitors of the Xhosa-speaking people, and the group that remained in Natal, the Ntungwa Ngunis, are the mainstock of the Zulu speakers.

After the acquisition of the tekela mode of speech, the Tekela Ngunis (a term used to distinguish them from the Zunda Ngunis) left in an easterly direction. Before they reached the coast they split into two sub-groups, the one turning towards the south to settle eventually in three areas namely the north-eastern Transvaal, Swaziland and Northern Natal. The other group of Tekela Ngunis pushed further to the coast and came into contact with Thongas who were moving south along the coast. They also moved south and entered Natal from the north east. For clarity and convenience the two groups are given new names. Though they were both *tekela* speaking, one group has been called Thonga Ngunis because of their contact with the Thongas while the other group is called Embo-Nguni.

But what is the importance of all this movement? Its importance lies in the fact that as the different groups moved apart the divergence in the languages they spoke increased. This increase was so great that when the various groups met in Natal and Zululand they were almost complete strangers in terms of the languages they spoke, and also in customs. Though they all pointed to a common point of origin in the north, they now spoke differently. Bryant goes to the extent of saying when they met, "their Ntungwa cousins down there refused to recognise them any more as 'Ngunis', regarding them with contempt, as mere 'Thongas'. Tonga blood was apparent in their faces and Tonga customs in their daily life, while as to their speech, its vocabulary and pronunciation, and its grammatical structure had become so strongly Tonga-ized, that it was hardly longer intelligible to their relatives"¹. A recent parallel is that between the Zulus and the Shangane. Historical relationship notwithstanding, Zulus regard Shanganes and their language with contempt; as much as they refer contemptuously to the Swazis as Amankengane (low class people).

To conclude our brief history of migrations, we return to the Pure Ngunis or Zunda Ngunis. As already indicated when they left the Limpopo they are supposed to have gone south by way of the eastern Transvaal. Here they once again came into contact with roaming and game hunting Xhonian people. Through social contact of a very intimate nature, which did not exclude intermarriage with captive females, they incorporated more click sounds and words into their language. The acquisition of click^s by the Pure Ngunis is controversial, the reason being the linguistic divergence between Zulu and Xhosa, the two

1. A.T. Bryant, The Zulu People, p.16.

largest descendants of the Pure Ngunis. Shula Marks observes, "on the whole linguists tend to think that they (clicks) came into Zulu and Xhosa from Khoikhoi than any of the San languages. Yet while we have ample evidence of intensive contact between the Khoikhoi and the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, we have no evidence of contact between the Khoikhoi and the Zulu. Moreover, though cognates in Zulu and Xhosa are high, of the 2 400 click words in Xhosa only 375 have cognates in Zulu and there are some notable semantic differences between them, despite the fact that click words account for about one-sixth of the Xhosa vocabulary and one-seventh of the Zulu¹. From the above it appears that the Natal Nguni got their clicks from the Bushmen rather than from Hottentots. The click impact on the Pure-Nguni language shall be noticeable at the phonological level when the characteristics of the Tekela-Nguni and Pure-Nguni groups are described.

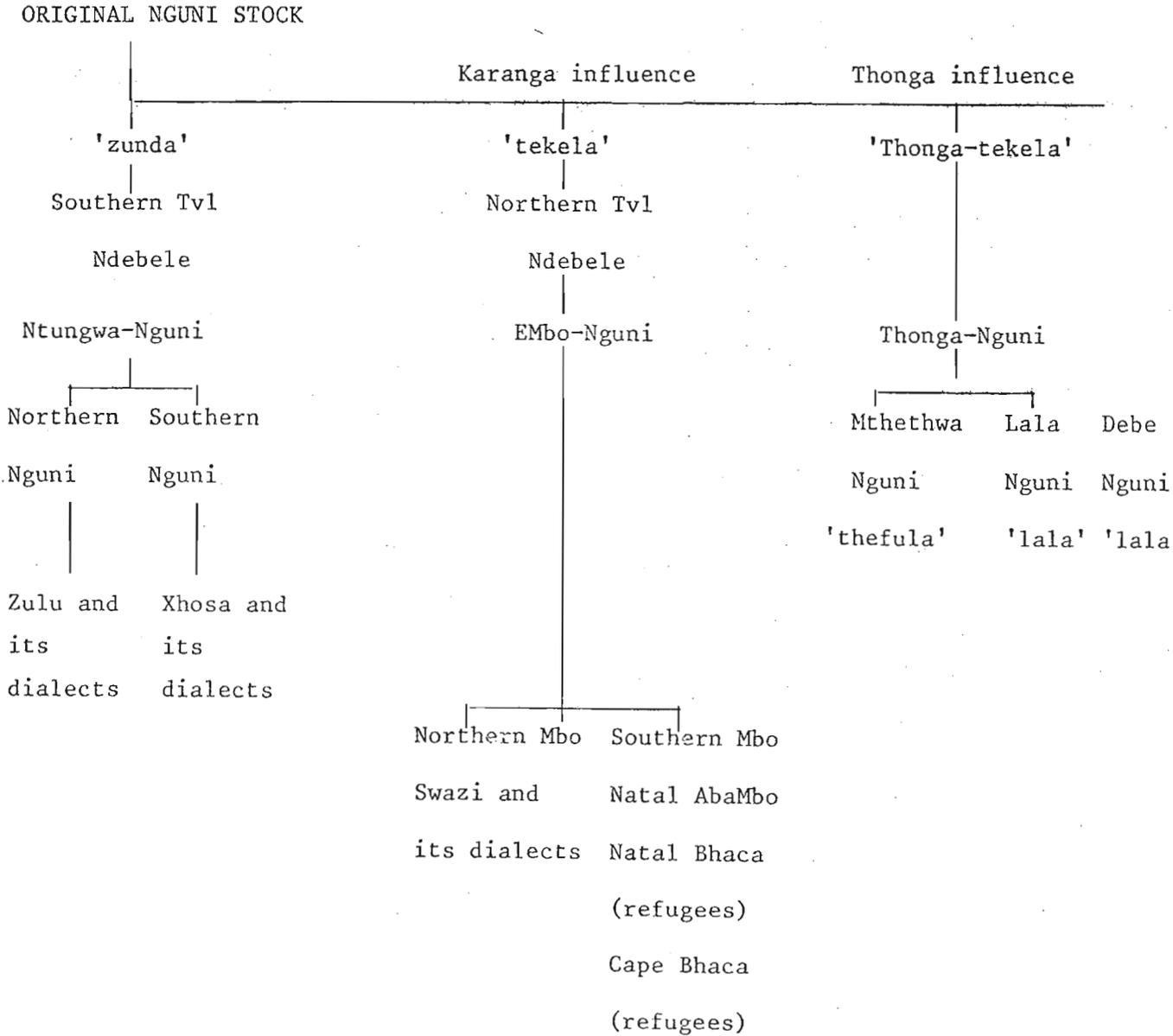
"Contact breeds limitation and limitation breeds linguistic convergence. Linguistic divergence results from secession, estrangement, loosening of contact"². This divergence in speech of the various Nguni groups is the basis for the existence of the dialects of present-day Zulu. We referred earlier to apparent homogeneity in the Zulu language, but this does not detract from the fact that under the surface the thread of difference goes through the structure of Zulu. The Xhosa, an erstwhile sister group of the Ntungwa Ngunis, now show so many differences from Zulu, owing to estrangement and loosening of contact, that their language may not be regarded as a dialect of Zulu or vice versa,

1. Shula Marks, *The Traditions of the Natal 'Nguni'*, p.132.
 2. Uriel Weinrich, *Languages in Contact*, p.viii.

but a separate language in its own right. That Xhosa is comprehensible to the Zulus does not change the position.

1.2 ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT

Diagram illustrating migrations and original settlement.



TEKELA

We shall now draw a picture of the postulated positions of original settlement of the different Nguni linguistic groups after their migrations from the north. Large portions of Natal were occupied by the tekela-speaking groups. The main branch of the AbaMbo-Ngunis (AbaNguni BaseMbo, namely the Dlaminis, the progenitors of the present day Swazi speakers, occupied the land to the north of the Phongolo. Their abamBo brother, the Ndwandwes, occupied the land opposite them on the southern side of the Phongolo river. They spread themselves on a large tract of land in the north-east of Zululand, covered the land across the Black Umfolozi and extended south to about the confluence of the Mfolozis. Some Dlamini clans lived as neighbours of the Ndwandwes in this area. The Hlubi people were spread over the present day Vryheid and Utrecht areas and across the Mzinyathi in Northern Natal. In the vicinity of Dundee and Waschbank to the south of the Hlubis were Dlaminis and Bheles. The Khuzes, Nhlamwinis, Xasibes, etc. were in the midlands about the vicinity of Greytown. The Zizis and the Tolos were to be found to the south-west of the Hlubis and spread to the vicinity of the foothills of the Drakensberg. The Cubes and the Mkhizes were settled near Mid-Thukela.

It appears that some of these people had lost most of their tekela peculiarities at the beginning of the 19th Century, or they have been wrongly classified. The Ndwandwes immediately to the north and the Mkhizes to the south of the Ntungwa people, were both so greatly influenced in later history, the one by destruction and the other by incorporation, that it is impossible to say that they were tekela speakers, are the groups in question. Even their 'izithakazelo' (family praise names) do not bear

the tekela stamp. However, the Mkhizes still refer to themselves as abaseMbo. Stranger still is the fact that Shaka, who is reputed to have despised the tekela speakers, was very friendly to Zihlandlo of the Mkhizes.

THONGA-TEKELA

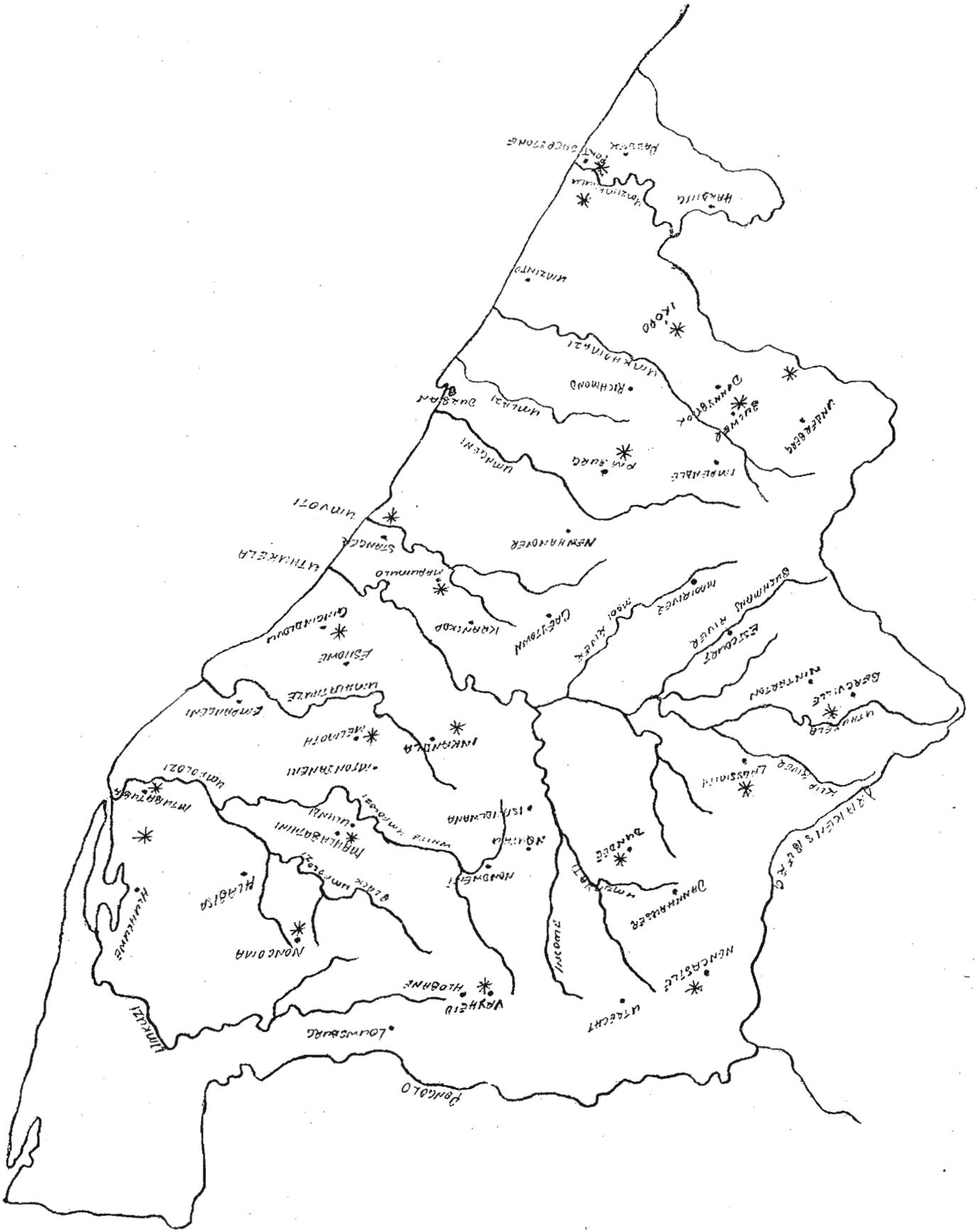
Along the Zululand north coast were to be found the Mthethwa group of Thonga Ngunis. The Mthetwas occupied the stretch of land about the Mfolozi mouth. The Mkhwanazis were slightly to the north of them. The Dubes and Mbonambis were further south along the coast. The coast to the south of the Thukela was occupied by the Celes. Their occupancy extended as far as the Mvoti mouth. South of the Mthethwa and moving further inland from the coast were Lala Thonga-Ngunis, comprising such clans as Nyuswa, Qadi, Fuze, Phephethas, Ngcolosis, Khabelas and the Thulis further south about the Bluff. In general the Lala speakers occupied the land towards the Thukela as far as the vicinity of Kranskop. Starting about the Mngeni mouth moving up as far as Howick and from mid-Mkhomazi and further up to the foothills of the Drakensberg in diminishing numbers, the land was occupied by pockets of Debe Thonga-Ngunis, comprising such clans as the Dunges (the notorious man-eaters of the Mfecane period), Wushes, Zelemus, Nyamvus, Njilos, etc. This group represents perhaps the oldest group of the Nguni settlers in Natal.

NTUNGWA (ZUNDA)

From the foregoing it will be realised that those who spoke

'isiNtungwa' or the Ntungwa Ngunis comprising such clans as the Mbathas, Khumalos, Mabasos, Sibiyas, Buthelezi, Gumedes, etc., were settled in the centre of the surrounding Tekela Nguni settlements. The Zulus only achieved pre-eminence in the 19th Century, as a result of the Mfecane. The Ntungwa Ngunis occupied central Zululand. This area spread about Nhlazat^{she} mount and embraced the portion of the land between the White and Black Mfolozis. To the west it extended as far as the Mhlathuze river, near whose banks Malandela the great ancestor of the Zulus had his home, and further on almost reaching the Thukela. The Qwabe clan after some time moved to the coast and lived among the Thonga Ngunis, which probably explains their thefula mode of speech. Thus although ^{Ntungwa} in origin, they became Thonga in speech, just as the Mkhizes, although Embo in origin became Ntungwa in speech. The various types of Nguni speech were apparently never so different that people could not change fairly easily from one to the other. The Bhacas claim to be Ntungwa in origin, and yet spoke and still speak in the Cape a tekela type of Nguni speech.

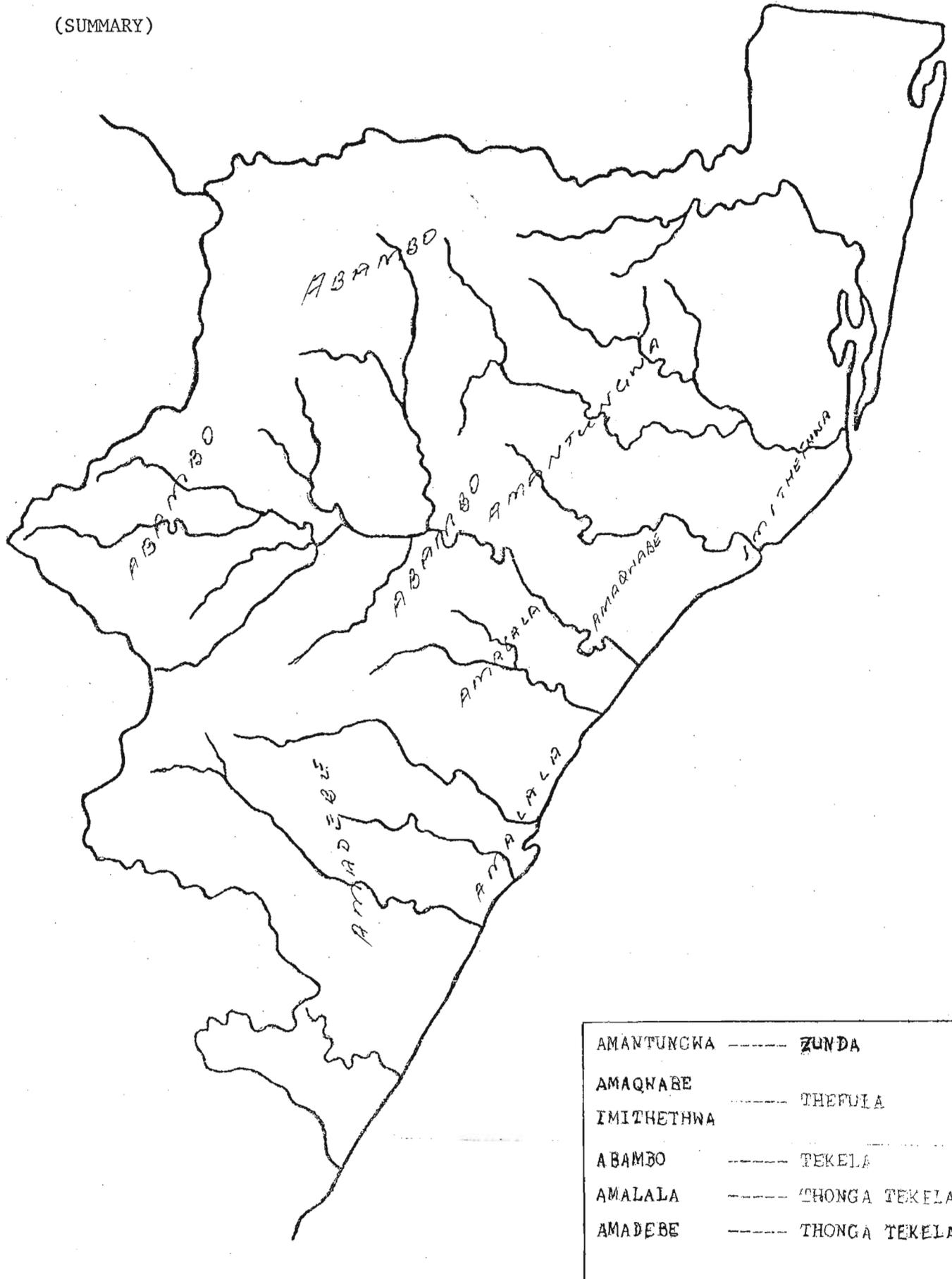
From the point of view of dialect there were three main groups of Ngunis occupying Natal and Zululand at the turn of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Century. There are the Ngunis of Embo or abamBo, the Ntungwa Ngunis or abeNtungwa or amaNtungwa, and the Thonga Ngunis or amaThonga.



MAP OF NATAL : FIELDWORK

Map showing the distribution of Nguni groups
BEFORE SHAKA

(SUMMARY)



1.3 UNIFICATION

1.3.1 The role of Shaka

We would be doing Shaka a grave disservice if we were to proceed to discuss the Zulu language and its dialects, without making as much as a remark about his significance and influence on the Zulu language. We can go as far as saying there was no Zulu nation and Zulu language before Shaka.

Shaka erupted on the peaceful Nguni scene like a volcano and with similarly catastrophic consequence⁵ to the Nguni world. The Zulu clan whose champion and master he was to become, was of little political and social significance before him. It is, however, not as if Shaka was solely responsible for all the atrocities that were perpetrated upon innocent and peace-loving clans; Shaka only set the ball rolling, then a chain reaction ensued. By determination, great military and diplomatic skill Shaka founded the Zulu nation and the Zulu language. This involved considerable destruction among people who tried to resist his dictates. Young men and maidens of conquered tribes and clans, were incorporated into the growing Zulu tribe. This, generally speaking, sounded the death knell to the many Nguni dialects which were spoken over Natal and Zululand. Whatever people escaped destruction and incorporation ran helter-skelter to unoccupied tracts of land to the extreme south and south-west of Natal.

A.T. Bryant in the introduction to his *Zulu-English Dictionary* describes the position aptly. "It was only after the overrunning of Natal and the universal leading into captivity of its people by the conquering Zulu host, that the ancient speech died out and all the youth of the land grew up knowing and speaking nothing but the language of the conquerors"¹. Bryant points out again in his *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* that "it seems probable that, by Shaka's time, those of the Tekela-Nguni who remained behind in Zululand (e.g. the Ndwandwes, Mthethwa and others) had already lost again most of their characteristics and had largely if not indeed wholly resumed the use of the purer original Nguni habits and speech"². The process of assimilation of new-comers into Zulu life was facilitated and accelerated by the fact that Shaka was a stern disciplinarian. It was simply a case of instant assimilation or, failing which, annihilation. J.L. Döhne writing in the nineteenth century points out that "those of them who spoke another dialect than Zulu were prohibited from doing so in his presence, and addressed him by means of an interpreter. This was continued until they were able to express themselves properly in the Zulu language, which was on that account called *ukukhuluma* i.e. the High Language"³.

Briefly Shaka's military campaign began with the incorporation of the Mthethwas, the breaking up of the Qwabe and Ndwandwe nations, and the absorption of the remnants who did not flee with Nqetho of the

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1. A.T. Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary* (Introduction).
 2. A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p.233.
 3. J.L. Döhne, *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, p.xv.

Qwabes and Zwide of the Ndwandwes. The consequence of Shaka's exploits was the break-up of the abaMbo block in the north or north-west. This was brought about by Matiwane of the Ngwanes falling upon the Hlubis and their abaMbo relative, the Bhele, Dlaminis and Zizis, etc., and driving them over the Drakensberg. Macingwane of the Chunus and Ngoza of the Thembus wrought havoc among the south and mid-Natal clans as they ran away to No-Mans-Land. The result of this stampede was a break up in clan identity as strange clans united for the purpose of self preservation. The coming together meant a break in clan dialect barriers followed by borrowing of dialect features by one clan from another. New tribes speaking what can roughly be described as new languages, were born.

Shaka did not reign long owing to the treachery of his brothers who killed him prematurely. Dingane succeeded Shaka to the Zulu throne. He took the reigns of government with a heart full of vengeance. Briefly, Dingane continued the atrocities started by Shaka, with the difference that he aimed at Shaka's friends. Some clans that had escaped Shaka's wrath were routed by Dingane. During his reign more people left Zululand and occupied the open tracts of land in Natal. Important clans that left Zululand during his reign were the Qwabes of Nqetho and the Celes of Magaye.

Out of disruption and turmoil was born the Zulu nation and language. The Zulu language grew rapidly because it absorbed into its structure new features which belonged to the languages of the

conquered clans. "Zulu itself bears the stamp of the Tekeza and Thefula in many practical points, as in its soft form of *ngi-(ngiyathanda)* (I like) (*ngukudla* (it is food), etc."¹ Thefula influence is to be seen in such Zulu words as */Bayethe! /balethe-* (bring them), */umqhoyiso/* (*umqholiso* - beast given the bride's mother), and ~~in~~ in the loan word of recent acquisition */iphoyisa/* (*ipholisa* - policeman), etc.

It was during peace-loving Mpande's long reign that calm returned to Natal and Zululand. This we regard as a period of stabilization. Mpande's reign resulted in the gradual return of fugitive clans towards their original homes, but as a matter of fact clans settled wherever they could. "Many, dispersed like the children of the guinea fowl that call one another together, even managed to reassemble as tribes and rescue their political identity. Numberless others were not so fortunate"². There was during this time a marked decline of the tekela dialects, especially among the men. "The women folk, however, were suffered to cling more tenaciously to their mother tongue, and it was they who preserved in Natal that leaven which subsequently tained^t_^ the Zulu of their families"³. A very significant observation indeed, in that the leaven forms the foundation for the present position. What remained below the surface caused the differences that are to be observed in the dialects of Zulu today. van Warmelo also corroborates the foregoing observation when he says, "On the other hand, Zulu power did not last long enough to produce something really new and uniform throughout"⁴. The process

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1. J.L. Döhne, A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, p.xv.
 2. N.J. van Warmelo, The Bantu Speaking Peoples of S.A., p.64.
 3. A.T. Bryant, A Zulu-English Dictionary, p.
 4. N.J. van Warmelo, A Preliminary Survey.....p.70.

of violent change was halted before all the evidence of the original dialects had been washed out in blood.

1.3.2 The Role of Western Influence

Another significant feature of this period of stabilization, was the appearance of the white hand on the reigns of government of the Zulus. Sir Theophilus Shepstone is a name not to be forgotten. The Whites saw to the peaceful settlement of the returning clans in their homes. Those who had been displaced were found alternative places. As examples we may mention Langalibalele of the Hlubis who in 1848 was settled near the foothills of the Drakensberg. In 1849 The Qadis under Mqhawe were settled below the Inanda Mount, where they are still to be found even at present. Other clans elected to remain where they had been settled during the stampede to the south.

When contact was made between the whites and the Zulus, on the part of the whites, it was with the purpose of converting the Zulus to Christian religion. Traders had met the Africans before, but it was only after the arrival of the missionaries that closer bonds were forged. The "White man's religion" had a marked influence on the language of the Africans. It brought with it many inhibitions. In the sphere of vocabulary a lot was suppressed in order to achieve a degree of polish in the language of the converts. While the Africans shelved some of their unchristian expressions, they started borrowing vocabulary from the White man's language.

A natural concomitant to the spread of Christianity was the establishment of schools. This started on a small scale as the Zulus were still sceptical of this innovation; but later schooling became an accepted feature of life. Schooling was very significant to the growth of the Zulu language and the accompanying decline of the tekela dialects. It was natural that formal Zulu should be taught in schools in addition to the other subjects. With the possible exception of Bhaca, no literature has been written in any of the tekela dialects of Natal and Zululand. With the desire for uniformity in Zulu taught in schools, the tekela dialects were further suppressed. In the eyes and ears of the educated Zulu they smirked of primitiveness and thus in a way became anathema.

The Whites did not only bring schools and churches to the Zulus. Small towns began to spring up here and there, and as a result a need for labour was felt. Cheap labour was found among the Zulus in Natal and later in Zululand. What did this signify? It meant that men, and later women, left their homes to go and work in towns. Here they met men and women from other areas resulting in the general acceptance and learning of one another's language especially because the Natal dialects were mutually intelligible to speakers. At work some men found brides. "Intermarriage has also been a great cause of differences of dialects and general confusion", says Dohne, "because we sometimes find women speaking the very opposite dialects, married to one husband, each retaining not only her dialect, but imparting it to her children, who, mixing with the other children of their father, have no power to observe

the distinction, and confound the one with the other"¹. But at this stage the opposite was most likely the result. Intermarriage resulted in a growing uniformity of speech.

As towns grew, industries sprang up and the result was an influx of Africans into towns. Intertribal animosity and rejection began to decline, and there began a general acceptance of Zulu nationhood among the Africans living in Natal and Zululand.

The growth of commerce and industry meant the broadening of the linguistic horizons for the Zulus. This led to the enrichment of the Zulu language in the sector of vocabulary. This took the nature of extensive borrowing from the White man's tongue and modification to fit the Zulu language structure. New sounds began to creep into the Zulu language. Here we may mention the rolled alveolar sound /r/ which began by being accepted as an allophone of the lateral /l/ sound in loan words. The former is gradually gaining its independence and being accepted as a phoneme in its own right following the sophistication of the Zulu speakers. Another example is the glottal stop most conveniently indicated by a hyphen in borrowed words. This is done to separate the prefix from the stem. This is on account of the fact that Zulu does not normally permit the juxtaposition of vowels:

u-anti	u-anyanisi
i-apula	i-ayina

1. J.L. Döhne, A Zulu Kafir Dictionary, p.xvi.

It has hitherto been the practice to avoid such occurrence of vowels together by the interposition of the semi-vowel /w/ or /y/ between the vowels.

1.3.3 The Present Position

At present the bulk of the Africans in Natal, let alone Zululand, tend to regard themselves as Zulus because they speak the Zulu language. The Ntungwa dialect or what is now called Zulu, has spread over practically the whole of Natal and Zululand. This has resulted in the shrinking of tekela dialects to remote areas where Shaka's influence was not directly felt. Very few relic areas remain in Natal and Zululand. Thefula is almost the only dialect still used in Zululand. This is an extensively modified thefula, spoken predominantly by the old Qwabes and Mthethwas in Zululand and by some old Thulis and Celes along the coast. Younger members of these clans speak 'standard' Zulu. Even in the so-called relic areas not all the old folk speak the ancient dialects. Lala is spoken in its modified or modernized form by a few old women in the relic areas at Kranskop and Harding.

A smattering of Bhaca is spoken by illiterates along the South Coast and in the Ixopo - Umzimkhulu districts, but Bhaca speakers are mainly to be found in East Griqualand in the Cape Province (now a part of Natal). Swazi is spoken in Swaziland and the border area between Swaziland and Natal. To the north east of Zululand around Maputa we find people who speak a mixture of Zulu and Tsonga. These are the neighbours of the Tembe Thongas of Mozambique.

At present tribal settlement does not hold any linguistic water. The only significance if any is political. While we agree that the Africans in Natal and Zululand speak Zulu and that tribal affinity has lost significance linguistically, it is worth observing that the Whites who organized the settlement of the clans and tribes, saw to it that wherever possible the fugitives were settled according to their original identity.

The significance of the original settlement of Nguni people speaking different dialects is not so much that the original dialects are still spoken extensively, but that whereas all the Ngunis in Natal and Zululand now speak Zulu, it is Zulu with a difference in the different areas. Briefly, the original Nguni dialects are a fundamental factor in the existence of the present day Zulu dialects. As Bryant observed they have tainted the Zulu of today. It will be observed later that these Zulu dialects correspond more or less to the position of the original settlement of the different Nguni groups.

It is beyond the scope of this survey to determine exactly how the modern Zulu dialects relate to or derive from the original Nguni dialects. Suffice it to say that the latter form the substratum of the former: the original dialects form the substratum upon which the Zulu language of today is built.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORIGINAL DIALECTS

2.1 SOURCES AND RECORDS

We pointed out earlier in our description of migrations, the handicap caused by the absence of records in the affairs of the Ngunis. This is a very serious handicap indeed in view of the fact that language is a dynamic and living organism which grows, develops steadily and changes readily. Oral tradition handed down from generation to generation is unreliable. Therefore we have no choice but to make do with scraps of available material. Here we are trying to describe linguistic characteristics of dialects before unification.

Guthrie says, "another important characteristic of the languages of this family as a field for comparative study is that for all practical purposes none of them has any recorded history. This means that in fact all the data to be investigated are strictly comparable in the sense that they are taken from languages that are or have been actually spoken in the present era"¹. In other words the descriptions to be made are in a sense anachronistic.

1. M. Guthrie, Comparative Bantu, p.11.

We still find people, however rare, at the present moment who still speak the old dialects, with modifications of course. Otherwise Zulu represents zunda, Swazi best represents Embo-tekela and Lala represents Thonga-tekela, and these languages throw most light on the original dialects, in the absence of written records. Some information is also to be obtained from the works of earlier scholars.

We begin by taking a look at a random casual treatment of the qualities of zunda and tekela dialects presented by different authorities.

In his *A Grammar of Swazi*, Prof. Ziervogel from a Swazi point of view states that "the term zunda in Swazi indicates the employment of the /z/ sound instead of the /t/ sound of Swazi. The Swazi therefore call themselves EmaSwati (in Zulu AmaSwazi), and their language siSwati"¹. With the Zulu predominantly in mind, Bryant did not make use of this term in his description of the language of the Nguni people. The term occurring frequently in his description is *tekela*. This is described by Prof. C.M. Doke as "a term signifying to quiver, to speak in a quivering voice"². Tekela has more to do with the operation of sounds in the language than the play of voice.

About the pure Ngunis, the zunda speakers, Bryant points out that they had a penchant for /z/ sounds. On *tekela* he points out that it is "to speak with a superabundance of dentalizations"³. He states also that

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1. D. Ziervogel, *A Grammar of Swazi*, p.xix.
 2. C.M. Doke, *Bantu Studies Journal*, Vol. II, 1926.
 3. A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People*, p.16.

the Thongas had a penchant for the weak /t/ sound, "while the old Nguni strong /or open) *t* had become changed into Tonga *ts* (e.g. Ntungwa Nguni *ukuTi*, to say, Lala Nguni *ukuTsi*)¹. Some illustrations from Bryant:

<u>Ntungwa</u>	<u>Lala</u>	<u>Chopi</u>
izinja	itimbwa	timbwa
amandzi	amadi	mati

W.H. Bleek has also described *tekeza*². He says "tekeza (also called tekela or teketa) dialects are known to use only through short vocabularies, the largest of which (referring to the dialect of Lourenzo Marques at Delagoa Bay) is published in my edition of Dr. Peters Mocambique Vocabularies ... The Kafir (Xhosa) *nk* is entirely dropped in the tekeza, and also in the dialect of Inhambane, the spiritus lenis taking its place (cf inkomo - iyomo, inkosi - ihosi/iyosi/iwosi). In the Northernⁿ Tekeza the *d* is only found before *i* as a semipalatalized sound ... whilst the Tekeza *t* stands in the place of Kafir *z* and Setshwana *ts* (cf Kafir zona, Setshwana tsona, Swazi tona). Kafir *nd* is not altered in the Tekeza, but the Kafir *nt* only the nasal remains in Tekeza, (cf intombi - inombi; intambo - inambo). Kafir *l* is perhaps in a greater number of kindred South African languages changed into *r* : in a few it is commuted into *n* (as in Makua and Mpongwe or into *y* as in the Thefula dialect of the Zulu language), and in others it has entirely disappeared"³.

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1. Ibid, p.17.
 2. tekela also called tekeza by zunda speakers and tekeya by thefuya speakers.
 3. W.H.I. Bleek, A comparative Grammar of South African Language, 1862.

In his *A Zulu Kafir Dictionary* J.L. Döhne says, "the distinguishing character of the high language (present day Zulu) is that it is comparatively free from many harsh and flat sounds"¹. Perhaps the harsh sounds he was referring to the glottal sounds which take the place of some Zulu lateral sounds in Lala:

xala for Zulu hlala

xanta for Zulu hlanza

isangra for Zulu isandla

To my mind nothing illustrates better the difference between the high language and Thonga-tekela than the substitution of /y/ for /l/ as in the thefula mode of speaking:

yaya - lala in the high language

yeyi - leli

siyiyo - isililo

Döhne proceeds to observe that "it will be seen that the chief dialectal differences are chiefly between letters (we believe he means sounds) of the same organ, the AmaLala preferring the flat, the high language the sharp sounds, and often vice versa; the tekeza always dropping the 'm' and 'n' etc."².

1. J.L. Döhne, *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, p.xvi.
 2. J.L. Döhne, *Ibid*, p.xvi.

Examples from Döhne:

umlenze	>	unede
inkunzi	>	iyudi
umfazi	>	ufati
umfana	>	ufwana
insizwa	>	isiva
phansi	>	kasi

In his "First Steps in Zulu", Bishop Colenso made the following point about the AmaLala: "The AmaLala use very freely the harsh guttural represented by *r(x)* which practice is called *ukuxadula*"¹. Examples from Colenso:

<u>ZULU</u>	<u>LALA</u>
Ngihlezi kahle	Ndzireti kahle
Ngihlabe izolo	Ndzirabe itolo

It would appear that the phenomenon of *ukuxadula* was not restricted to the AmaLala because even the Hlubis had such harsh guttural sounds. Even clan name *Radebe* had such a sound. Bishop Colenso also made the following observation about *thefula*. "The amaTefula dialect is spoken by many of the Natal Kafirs (sic), especially by the amaQwabe tribe. Its chief peculiarity consists of putting *y* (or rather a sound which resembles that of *y*, but is really a softening of the *l*) in the place of *l*, and changing *ny* into *n* as shown in the following examples:

1. J.W. Colenso, First Steps in Zulu, 1890, p.4.

Writing on Baca, Colenso made reference to Callaway's folk-tale *Ubabuze* written in Baca. It is stated here that in Baca affricates /tsh/ and /dz/ are frequently used, the former taking the place of the regular Zulu /th/ and the later found as /ndz/ instead of the Zulu /nd/. Again Colenso observed about the Lala that, like the Swazi, they have the habit of using the dental click where the Zulu use the palato-alveolar or lateral. J.H. Soga writing on the AmaLala throws more valuable light on *tekele*. He states that, "ukutekedza means to lisp like a child. Tekedza merely defines a peculiarity of enunciation, and this is not confined to one tribe of the Bantu race. Tekela differs according to clans and there are reasons.

1. Lalas substitute t for z - this is the distinguishing dialectic feature.
2. The AmaBaca and AmaWushe, on the other hand introduce the sibilant after the letter t e.g. ukutsi for ukuthi. Besides this there is the transmutation of u and owe to wi e.g. kwitsi for kuti or kowetu. This form of tekedza is called ukutsefula"¹.

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

1. Ibid.

as a separate language also falls under *ukutekeza*.

It should be noted that in the Unisa Notes Prof. J.A. Louw regards Tekela Nguni and Lala as separate sub-groups. Under Tekela Nguni he has Swazi, Bhaca, Phuthi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele and Ntlangwini. Lala constitutes a sub-group on its own probably because of agreeing with the theory that Lala are not Thonga-Nguni in origin, but an earlier settlement altogether. They are reputed to be the original iron smelters and could perhaps represent the earliest Bantu speakers in Natal. The latter suggestion notwithstanding, the Lala language bears the stamp of Thonga influence.

We now want to set out some phonological and grammatical characteristics of the Tekela Nguni dialects. Included under Tekela Nguni are the Dlamini-like or Embo dialects, the Mthethwa-like or thefula dialects, the AmaLala and the Debe-like dialects. If *tekela/tekeza* means, among other things, to pronounce a /t/ sound in the place of the /z/ sound, then the above are, generally classifiable together despite their differences. It should be pointed out also that in spite of this collective classification the abovenamed dialects do not agree in all their characteristics, but chiefly agree in the /t/ quality. For example at the phonological level, the change of /i/ to /y/ is a phenomenon peculiar to the Mthethwa-like dialects and the transmutation of nasal compounds is peculiar to Lala dialects.

Of the four branches of Tekela-Nguni, Debe-Thonga Nguni has been lost to us altogether as no written records on this group are available. On the other hand it is possible to argue that not all is lost and that traces are still preserved in what is called isiBhaca. To a casual observer Bhaca sounds like Swazi, but on closer examination, Xhosa influence excluded, it shows differences from Swazi. History tells us that the Bhaca of Madikane absorbed some Wushes and Zelemus and later the Njilos into their host. These clans are generally accepted as belonging to the Debe group. We cannot believe that they had no linguistic contribution to make to their new found allies. Like Debe, Lala is also getting lost to us. However, there are written records by investigators such as Bryant and a survey has been done by van Dyck in the relic areas of Kranskop. Some pockets of Lala speakers are to be found along the Ifafa river on the Natal South Coast, a Bhaca area according to van Warmelo, and in the Port Shepstone area.

2.2 PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

2.2.1 Alveolar Sounds

- (a) Ntungwa Nguni voiced alveolar fricative sound /z/ corresponds to Mbo tekela /t/ and /t̪/ (a dental. -t) in Lala and thefula. The use of /t/ instead of /z/ typifies the tekela dialects as tekela, while Ntungwa is a *zunda* dialect because it employs the /z/ sound:

NTUNGWA (zunda) z	MBO GROUP (tekela) t'	LALA GROUP (Thonga tekela) ṭ	MTHETHWA (thefula) ṭ
umfazi	umfati	ufaṭi	ufaṭi
izimbuzi	timbuti	ṭimbuṭi	ṭimbuṭi
izinkabi	tinkabi	ṭiyabi	ṭiyabi
izinkomo	tinkomo	ṭomo	ṭomo

- (b) Ntungwa aspirated alveolar plosive /th/ corresponds to Mbo tekela affricate /ts^h/ or /tf^h/. In Mbo tekela the sound is /ts^h/ if the succeeding vowel is a, e, i and /tf^h/ if the following vowel is o, u. The corresponding sound in Lala is /ts^h/ irrespective of the following vowel. The position applying to Lala also applies to Bhaca even though this dialect belongs to the Mbo tekela. There is no change in thefula but we would like to believe that the sound was originally dentalized.

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	THEFULA
th	ts ^h /tf ^h	ts ^h	th
thathu	ts ^h atf ^h u	ts ^h ats ^h u	thathu (ṭhaṭhu)
thutha	tf ^h uts ^h a	ts ^h uts ^h a	thutha (ṭhuṭha)

- (c) Ntungwa voiced alveolar plosive /d/ corresponds to Mbo tekela affricate /dz/ or /dv/ depending upon the succeeding vowel. The sound is /dz/ if the following vowel is a, e, i and /dv/ if the succeeding vowel is o, u. In Lala the corresponding sound is the affricate /dz/ irrespective of the

succeeding vowel. This feature is also to be observed in Bhaca. In thefula the corresponding sound is of an interdental nature:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
d	dz/dv	dz	d [^]
indoda	indvodza	indzodza	indoda [^]
amadoda	amadvodza	madzodza	madoda [^]
dala	dzala	dzala	dala [^]

- (d) Ntungwa voiced alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in this form in all the tekela dialects except Thethwa, where its place is taken by the semi-vowel /y/. Bishop Colenso's observation in "First Steps in Zulu" about this sound is that it is not a semi-vowel but really a softening of the /l/. The transmutation of this sound to /y/ has led to the Mthethwa-like dialect being called thefula (thefuya)¹:

-
1. Thefula: this dialect is employed even by Qwabes who were originally Ntungwas. A few Celes at Port Shepstone, refugee relatives to the Mthethwas, still employ thefula and retain the interdental t and d sounds which have been lost to the thefula speakers in Zululand. According to Bryant, Lala speakers employed dentalized sounds which are obviously thefula sounds. Up to this day a person who uses interdental sounds, due to physiological malfunctioning of speech organs is said to thefula even if that person is a zunda speaker. This phenomenon is primarily to be observed in young children learning to speak.

NTUNGWA	MTHETHWA
l	y
lala	yaya
lapho	yapho
umlilo	umyiyo
uNkulunkulu	uNku'nkuyu ¹
lelela	yayeya
Balethe	Bayethe ²

The /l/ sound does not undergo any change in prefixes and concords of classes 5 and 11:

Ilizwi lami elikhuyu lipheyiye

Uthi olukhuyu

- (e) Ntungwa voiceless fricative alveolar lateral /hl/ occurs in all the tekela dialects except Lala, where it occasionally occurs as a voiceless velar fricative /x/, written 'r':

NTUNGWA	LALA
hl	x/r/(b)
ngihlezi	ndzire _^ ti
ngihlaba inkomo	ndiraba iyomo
hlanza	ra _^ da
inhlanzi	ira _^ di

-
1. Elision peculiar to some thefula words (also uNkuy'nkuyu).
 2. Zulu royal salute obviously borrowed from Mthethwa by Shaka. This has recently been corrupted to Bayede which shows Natal Zulu influence.

- (f) Ntungwa voiced fricative alveolar lateral /dl/ occurs in all the tekela dialects except in Lala, where it occurs as a voiced velar fricative /gʀ/, written (gr):

NTUNGWA	LALA
dl	r/gr
dlula	grula (yula)
isandla	isangra
indlela	ingrela
amandla	mangra
indlovu	ingrovu
indlalifa	ingralifa

2.2.2 Nasal Compounds

- (a) The Ntungwa nasal compound /nz/ corresponds to /nt/ in Mbo, but to the sound /d/ in Lala, the nasal disappearing from all voiceless nasal compounds in the Thonga Nguni dialects:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
nz	nt	d	d [^]
Wenzani?	Wentani?	Wedani?	Wedani? [^]
umlenze	umlente	uned ¹	uned [^]
inhlanzi	inhlanti	ixadi	ixadi [^]
inkunzi	inkunti	iyudi	iyudi [^]
amanzi	emanti	amadi	amadi [^]
kunzima	kuntima	kudima	kudima [^]

1. van Dyck does not mention dentalization of the sounds /t/ and /d/ in his Lala examples, as opposed to Bryant. See Bryant O.T.p.23

- (b) The Ntungwa alveolar affricate nasal compound /nts/ /ns/ in the current Zulu orthography corresponds to alveolar fricative nasal compound /ns/ in Mbo, while in the Lala and Mthethwa dialects the alveolar fricative /s/ remains:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
nts	ns	s	s
insimu	insimi	isimu	isimu
insizwa		isiva	isiva
phansi	phansi	phasi	phasi
insika	i(n)sika	isika	isika

As far as Mbo is concerned this rule applies to all voiceless affricate/fricative nasal compounds:

NTUNGWA		MBO	
intshebe	(ntsh)	inshebe	(infēbe)
intshe	(ntsh)	inshe	(infē)
inhliziyo	(ntl)	inhliziyo	(nhl)
imfene	(mpf)	imfene	(mf)
imfe	(mpf)	imfe	(mf)

- (c) The Ntungwa nasal compound /nk/ corresponds to Mbo /nk/, which sound is less ejective, slightly voiced, "and approaches /ng/"¹. In Lala and Mthethwa the nasal element is lost, but its effect is felt in the reduction of /k/ to zero, represented in speech

1. Vide D. Ziervogel, A Swazi Grammar, p.4.

by a transitional element indicated in writing as /h/, w/ /y/:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
nk'	nk	h/w/y	h/y
inkosi	inkosi	ihosi/iwosi	iyosi/ihosi
inkabi	inkabi	iyabi	iyabi
inkunzi	inkunti	iwudi	iyudi
inkomo	inkomo	iyomo	iyomo
izinkuni	tinkuni	itiyuni	
inkuku emkulu	inkuku lenkulu		iwuku newulu

- (d) The Ntungwa nasal compound /nt/ corresponds to Mbo /nts/ when followed by vowels a, e, i and /ntf/ when the succeeding vowel is o or u. In Lala and Mthethwa dialects the /t/ element is lost, only the nasal remaining.

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
nt	nts/ntf	n	n
intombi	intfombi	inombi	inombi
intaba	intsaba	inaba	inaba
intambo	intsambo	inambo	inambo
intanjana	intsanjana	inambwana	
into	intfo	ino	ino

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
nt	nts/ntf	n	n
intombazane	intfombatane	inombatana	
izinto zami	tintfo tami	tino tami	tino tami ^ ^
umuntu	muntfu	umunu	umunu
umntwana	muntfwana	umwana	unwana
intethe	intsetshe	inethe	inethe ^
izinto ezintathu	tintfo letintsathfu	tino netinathsu	tino netinathu ^ ^

- (e) The nasal compound /mp/ occurs as /mp/ in Mbo where it tends to be spoken as /mb/, whereas /mp/ is essentially a voiceless sound. In Lala and Mthethwa only the nasal element is retained and the /p/ element is elided:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
mp'	mp	m	m
impisi	impisi	imisi	imisi
impi	impi	imi	imi
impongo	impongo	imongo	imongo
impukane	impukani (impungane)	imungane	imungane
mpompa	mpompa	moma	moma
impunzi	impunti	imuti	
izimpawu	itimpawu	timawu	

2.2.3 Syllabic Nasal Compound

- (a) Ntungwa syllabic nasal compound /ml/ corresponds to Mbo /ml/, but in Lala and Mthethwa dialects the alveolar nasal /n/ takes the place of the nasal compound:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
ml	ml	n	n
umlilo	umlilo	unilo	uniyo
umlenze	umlente	unede	unede [^]
umlomo	umlomo	unomo	unomo

- (b) Ntungwa syllabic nasal compound /mf/ (not /mpf/, the nasal affricate compound) corresponds to Mbo /mf/ fricative compound - and "its nasal characteristics are transferred on to the succeeding consonant without itself disappearing"¹. In Lala and Mthethwa dialects the /m/ occurring before the fricative disappears except in verbs and adjectives where it is retained².

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
mf	mf	f	f
umfula	umfula	ufula	ufuya
umfana	umfana	ufwana	ufwana
umfazi	umfati	ufati	ufati [^]
ukumfuna	ukumfuna	kumfuna	kumfuna
ukumfaka	ukumfaka	kumfaka	kumfaka
omfuphi	lomfuphi	nomfuphi	

1. D. Ziervogel, A Swazi Grammar, p.5.
 2. Vide van Dyck, 'n Studie van Lala, p.29.

2.2.4 The /zw/ Compound

The Ntungwa compound, voiced alveolar fricative plus velar semi-vowel /zw/, corresponds to the voiced dentilabial fricative /v/ in the tekela dialects.

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
zw	v	v	v
ilizwe	live	live	live
ilizwe	livi	livi	livi
izwa	iva	va	va

Our conclusions on Mthethwa-like dialects are based on the evidence obtained from the Celes of the South Coast of Natal. The Celes were neighbours of the Mthethwas and were thefula speakers in their own right. It should also be noted that the presence of the /l/ sounds in the examples quoted above is no contradiction of our earlier statement. The truth of the matter is that the /l/ sound of the prefix system of concords does not change.

2.2.5 Palatalization

Another phonological phenomenon peculiar to some tekela dialects is the non-operation of palatalization in the formation of diminutives from nouns, the inflection of nouns to form locatives and also the formation of passive verb forms. Mbo-Nguni is an exception to this state of affairs. van Dyck in his "'n Studie van Lala", seems to have found

evidence of palatalization in the Lala dialect he investigated. On the contrary we did not find this to be the case in our investigations. We are of the opinion that van Dyck's Lala was heavily influenced by Zulu. In Ntungwa Nguni dialects there exists an incompatibility between bilabials and the velar semi-vowel /w/. The following Lala examples were obtained from Lala speakers on the Natal South Coast:

NTUNGWA		LALA	
<u>Diminutives</u>			
impuphu	>	impushana	imuphu > imuphwana
intambo	>	intanjana	inambo > inambwana
intaba	>	intatshana	inaba > inabana
<u>Locatives</u>			
intambo	>	entanjeni	inambo > enambweni
umlomo	>	emlonyeni	unomo > enomweni
utshani	>	(etshanini)	unwani > ebwanini
intamo	>	entanyeni	inamo > enamweni
<u>Passives</u>			
luma	>	lunywa	luma > lumwa
bopha	>	boshwa	bopha > bophwa
gubha	>	gujwa	gubha > gubhwa
thuma	>	thunywa	thuma > thumwa
hlaba	>	hlatshwa	raba > rabwa
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
utshwala			bwalwa
utshani			bwani
inkomazi			iyomwadi
inkonyane			iyomwane

van Warmelo has this general observation to make about some of the foregoing sound changes. He says, "the reduction of nk, nt, mp to n, m reminds one forcibly of the corresponding forms in Shona (h, n, m) and Tonga (h, nh, mh) and some importance therefore surely attaches to the circumstances that mu + l which in Tonga becomes nn (e.g. nnala for mulala), is here changed to n, as ~~fly~~ example: unomo (umlomo), unete singular of imilete, unilo (umlilo), unotha (umllotha), unungu (umlungu)"¹. The significance of this observation is that it supports Bryant's theory of Nguni migrations, because of Karanga (Shona) and Thonga influence evident in the tekela dialects.

2.3 MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

2.3.1 Noun Prefixes

The tekela dialects show a preference for monosyllabic-prefixes. According to Bryant this phenomenon was borrowed from the Venda Karangas during the migration of the Ngunis to the south. Even among the tekela dialects, however, certain classes employ disyllabic prefixes, although in ^{Van} Dyck's treatment of Lala, all classes except class 2 have monosyllabic prefixes. The class 2 prefix is /aba-/². On the other hand Ntungwa Nguni shows a predilection for disyllabic noun prefixes. It will be observed when we treat current Zulu dialects that modern Zulu has adopted in some dialects monosyllabic prefixes in some of its classes, particularly in classes 5 and 11 where single vowels /i-/ and /u-/ respectively have

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1. N.J. van Warmelo, A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa, p.70.
 2. Even van Dyck refers to exceptions in class 1, see p.46.

resulted from prefixes (ili-/ and /ulu-/. Otherwise as a rule Ntungwa Nguni employ's disyllabic prefixes:

	NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA (MTHETHWA)
1.	umu-	umu-	mu- (umu-/u-) ¹
2.	aba-	ba-	ba- (aba-)
1a	u-	u-	-
2a	o-/awo-	bo-	bo-
3.	umu-	umu-	mu- (umu-/u-)
4.	imi-	imi-	mi- (imi-)
5.	ili-/i-	li-	li- (ili-)
6.	ama-	ema-	ma- (ama-)
7.	isi-	si-	si- (isa-)
8.	Izi-	ti-	ti- (iti- ti-)
9.	iN-	iN-	i- (i-)
10.	iziN-	ti-	ti- (ti-/iti-)
11.	ulu-/u-	lu-	lu-
14.	bu-	bu-	b- (ubu- ubw-)
15.	uku-	ku-	ku- (uku-)

	NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA (MTHETHWA)
1.	umuntu	umuntfu	munu
2.	abantu	bantfu	banu
1a	ubaba	(u)babe	babe
2a	obaba	bobabe	bobabe
3.	umuzi	muti	muti
5.	imizi	miti	miti

1. Lala examples taken from Bryant's Olden Times. p.234, and the Zulu People, p.16-17.

	NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA (MTHETHWA)
5.	Ilizwe (izwe	live	live
6.	amazwe	emave	mave
7.	isifuba	sifuba	sifuba
8.	izifuba	tifuba	tifuba
9.	inkabi	inkabi	iyabi
10.	izinkabi	tinkabi	tiyabi
11.	u(lu)donga	ludvonga	ludzonga
14.	ubuntu	buntfu	bunu
15.	ukudla	kudla	kuḃa

2.3.2 Pronouns

(a) Absolute Pronouns

Few differences are to be observed in absolute pronouns among the dialects under observations. On the whole they are similar in all dialects. They generally have the characteristic terminative /na/. The differences are to be observed in Mbo in class 1 first person singular and plural /mine/ and /tsine/ respectively, and second person plural /nine/ where /-ne/ takes the place of /na/. Another difference is also to be observed in classes 8 and 10 in both Mbo and Lala where the forms are /tona/ because of tekela.

(b) The Inclusive and Exclusive Pronominal stems

The inclusive pronominal stem in Lala is /khe/ and not /nke/ as in the case of Ntungwa and Mbo. On the other hand the

exclusive stem is /dzi/ in Lala /dvwa/ in Mbo and /dwa/ in Ntungwa:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA
bonke	bonke	bokhe
zonke	tonke	tokhe
wedwa	wedvwa	wedzi
sodwa	sodvwa	sodzi

2.3.3 Demonstratives

- (a) For purposes of this discussion we shall accept the three positional reference of demonstratives. The Ntungwa and the Lala demonstratives are the same except that in classes 8 and 10 the Ntungwa forms are zunda and the Lala forms are tekela. They take the forms: lezi, lezo, leziya, and leti, leto, letiya, respectively. The Mbo forms differ in a number of ways. The monosyllabic first position of classes 1, 3, 4, and 9 have an alternative disyllabic form ending in /yi/:

Class 1	lo(yi)
3	lo(yi)
4	le(yi)
9	le(yi)

The class i second and third position demonstratives take the semi-vowel /y/ unlike the Ntungwa and Lala forms which take /w/. Class 15 Ntungwa and Lala forms employ the aspirated

velar plosive /kh/ against Mbo's lenis velar plosive /k/:

Mbo Class 1	lo (yi)	loyo	loya
Class 15	loku	loko	lokuya (lokwa)

Ntungwa/Lala

Class 1	lo	lowo	lowo
	lokhu	lokho	lokhuya

While generally agreeing with Ntungwa and Lala forms, the Mthethwa forms substitute /y/ for /l/ in all classes except classes 5 and 11. According to Doke, the substitution of the /y/ for /l/ embraces even these two classes. Doke points out again that "in certain cases the /l/ is dropped altogether, or is so slight a /y/ that it is inaudible, e.g.

jendza o'khu	(do this)
khona ø'khu	(this one)" ¹ .

(b) Copulative Demonstratives

There are a number of similarities of form among the copulative demonstratives of Ntungwa, Mbo and Lala, and also a number of differences showing once again zunda inclination or tekela inclination. In Lala certain forms which go counter to the phonological qualities previously described are found. We are thinking in particular of nasal compounds, which obtain nowhere else but in demonstratives.

1. C.M. Doke, Bantu Studies Journal. Vol. II 1926 p. 307

NTUNG/A

Class	1st Pos	2nd Pos	3rd Pos
1.	nango	nango	nanguya
2.	nampa	nampo	nampaya
3.	nanku	nanko	nankuya
4.	nasi	nanso	nansiya
5.	nanti	nanto	nantiya
6.	nanka	nanko	nankaya
7.	nasi	naso	nasiya
8.	nazi	nazo	naziya
9.	nansi	nanso	nansiya
10.	nazi	nazo	naziya
11.	nantu	nanto	nantuya
14.	nampu	nampo	nampuya
15.	nakhu	nakho	nakhuya

MBO

Class	1st Pos	2nd Pos	3rd Pos
1.	nangu	nango	nanguya
2.	naba	nabo	nabaya
3.	nanku	nanko	nankuya
4.	nanki	nanko	nankiya
5.	nali	nalo	naliya
6.	nanka	nanko	nankaya
7.	nasi	naso	nasiya
8.	nati	nato	natiya
9.	nansi	nanso	nansiya
10.	nati	nato	natiya
11.	nalu	nalo	naluva

<u>MBO</u>	1st Pos	2nd Pos	3rd Pos
14.	nabu	nabo	nabuya
15.	naku	nako	nakuya

LALA

Class	1st Pos	2nd Pos	3rd Pos
1.	nangu	nango	nanguya
2.	nampa	nampo	nampaya
3.	nanku	nanko	nankuya
4.	nadi	nado	nadiya
5.	nali	nalo	naliya
6.	nanga	nago	angaya
7.	nasi	nasu	nasiya
8.	nadi	nado	nadiya
9.	nadi	nado	nadiya

LALA DEMONSTRATIVES

Class	1st	2nd	3rd
10	nadi	nado	nadiya
11.	nalu	nalo	naluya
14.	nabu	nabo	nabuya
15.	naku	nako	nakuya

2.3.4 Adjectives

An interesting feature of tekela dialects is the use of elements /l/ and /n/ with relative concords. The use of /l/ is peculiar to Mbo and /n/ is a feature of Lala. In Ntungwa the relative concords have no initial consonants:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA
inkomo ebukhali	inkomo lebukhali	iyomo nebukhali
umfana omkhulu	umfana lomkhulu	ufwana nomkhulu
ilizwe elibanzi	live lelibanti	live nelibanti
intombi emhlope	intfombi lemhlophe	inombi nehlophe

2.3.5 Enumeratives

Ntungwa's enumerative stem/nye/ occurs as /mwe/ in Lala:

NTUNGWA	LALA
munye kuphela	mumwe kuphela
ngelinye ilanga	ngelimwe lilanga
komunye umuzi	komumwe muti
kanye	kamwe
nyakenye	mwakemwe

As can be seen in the Lala examples, no incompatibility is experienced as a result of the juxtaposition of the bilabials and /w/.

2.3.6 Agentive Inflection

As opposed to Ntungwa and Lala where an initial element is employed in the formation of copulatives from nouns, apart from the manipulation of tone, Mbo has no initial element except in class 9:

<u>Ntungwa</u>	<u>Mbo</u>
ibhubesi yisilwane	libhubesi silwane
wabanjwa yizimpande	wabanjwa timpandze
into > yinto	intfo > yintfo
indoda > yindoda	iindvodza > yindvodza

While Ntungwa employs the prefixal element /yi/ in the formation of copulatives from demonstratives, Mbo employs the formative /ngu/:

<u>Ntungwa</u>	<u>Mbo</u>
lo > yilo	lo > nguloyi
laba > yilaba	laba > ngulaba
leli > yileli	leli > nguleli

2.3.7 Locative Inflection

In Lala, use is at times made of the element /k'/ in the inflection of nouns to form locatives. This /k'/ element is unlike the one employed by some Mbo dialects in inflections entailing the use of verbal and possessive concords. The latter element takes the place of the Ntungwa infix /s/:

sisekhaya > sike khaya
 basemfuleni > bakemfuleni

When the former /k'/ is used the prefixal element of the noun being inflected is elided:

NTUNGWA		LALA
ekhaya		k'ekhaya < likhaya ¹
ebusuku		k'esuku < busuku
phansi		k'asi < phasi
phezulu		k'etulu
phesheya		k'esheya

2.3.8 Other Inflections

Another characteristic feature of Mbo pointed out by Prof. Ziervogel² is the law of substitution of "e". He says when the possessive concord of the adverbial prefixes na-, nga-, njenga- and nganga- are prefixed to a class prefix the final -a of these prefixes changes to -e and the initial vowel of the prefix where it occurs is discarded:

na+	umfana	=	nemfana
na+	emanti	=	nemanti
ya+	umfana	=	yemfana
kw+	bafati	=	kwebafati

1. The apostrophe describes the fortisness of the velar plosive.
 2. Vide Ziervogel, A Swazi Grammar, p.15.

2.3.9 The Participial Form of the Verb

- (a) In personal class 1 Ntungwa employs the participial concord /e/ and /be/ and Mbo employs /a/ and /ba/. Ntungwa's verbal auxiliary is /be/ whereas in Mbo it is /ba/:

NTUNGWA	MBO
Ngimbone efunda incwadi	Ngimbone afundza libhuku
bebefunda incwadi	Bebafundza libhuku

- (b) The suffixal morpheme /ko/ or /kho/ or what Ziervogel describes as the 'participial' suffix, in the case of Mbo and Mthethwa-like dialects, is used where Ntungwa and Lala use /yo/ in relative construction, where the participial verb forms the base of the construction. In Mbo the suffix is always used when the verb takes the final position in a sentence in the present tense of the participial mood:

NTUNGWA	MBO	LALA	MTHETHWA
okhulumayo	lokhulumako	nokhulumayo	nokhu'makho
ohambayo	lohambako	nohambayo	nohambakho
elumayo	lelumako	nelumayo	neyumakho

2.4 CONCLUSION

We have only succeeded to scratch the surface in our description of linguistic characteristics of the original dialects owing to the paucity of available written records. This led us to the anachronistic practice of

getting evidence from modern languages, e.g. the Swazi language, which has been used here to illustrate Mbo features by way of trying to build a clearer picture of the linguistic status quo ante in Natal and Zululand. Early grammarians did not record much of dialect material because their concern was to try and portray in their grammars what they believed could be accepted as standard or pure Zulu. The consequence of this attitude was the further decline of local dialects as people strived to speak "pure Zulu" in order to identify with the master tribe - the Zulus. This state of mind was further fostered by the rise of schooling.

Suppression of old local dialects did not lead to complete extinction as is generally thought. Evidence of old dialect material is retained to some degree in family praises - izithakazelo, which are recited on ceremonial occasions. Some of dialectal evidence is found enshrined indelibly in place names e.g. Matikulu, Matimatolo, Nonoti, Wubwini, Nyamvwini. "The forms of place-names naturally incline to be more stable and less variable than those of common substantives and they change very slowly, or not at all, with shifting tides of speech"¹. On a large scale we still have evidence of Mbo Nguni in Swaziland (Siswati) and in the Transkei (Bhaca). The small pockets of old dialect speakers are fast disappearing. Our interest in the present work is not in such survivals and remnants, but in the present state of the Zulu language and its dialect varieties. The rest of the thesis will endeavour to isolate and delineate the current dialects according to phonological and morphological characteristics.

1. S. Potter, Modern Linguistics, p.136.

CHAPTER THREE

IDENTIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ZULU DIALECTS

3.1 WHAT IS A DIALECT?

It is necessary to try and establish what we understand by dialect, before we proceed to the issue of identification and distribution of Zulu dialects. We have already indicated that the native peoples of Natal and Zululand spoke differing tongues before political unification. The question that arises is: were the tongues they spoke dialects of one language or separate languages? Even before this question can be answered we wish to observe that there was an underlying common element in these tongues. It was the element of common Nguni origin. Bryant has observed about the Thonga Ngunis that when they met their cousins in Natal, they were regarded as strangers on account of the language they spoke and the customs they practised. It is therefore safe to assume that they spoke a different language. Similarly it is reasonable to suppose that the other descendants of the original Nguni language spoke different languages by the time they met their cousins in Natal. This makes Shaka's achievement even more remarkable, for today all these languages have been replaced by one language, the Zulu language.

Whereas it is now accepted that Zulu is a fully fledged language with a number of dialects, these dialects have heretofore not been properly

defined. We want to establish for instance, whether the speech of the Lower South Coast of Natal is a dialect of Zulu or simply the last remnant of one of the original Nguni languages or perhaps a dying dialect of it. Furthermore we wish to determine whether Swazi may be regarded as a Zulu dialect, in view of the fact that until recently Swazi had not been reduced to writing but depended on Zulu even to the extent that Zulu was taught in Swazi schools. Owing to an abundance of points of difference, both historical and linguistic, between Swazi and Zulu, and also because Swazi has its own dialects, it would seem that Swazi should therefore be regarded as an independent language. On the other hand, the speech of the Lower South Coast of Natal, because of its linguistic, historical and geographical situation, and also because of its insignificance politically and in numbers of speakers, should be regarded as a dialect of Zulu, whatever its origin.

What then is a language and what a dialect? S. Potter¹ defines a language as "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which human beings communicate with one another". Viewed from the angle of communication this does not go far enough because it does not include sign language by means of which some humans communicate, and does not say anything about written communication. In any event this definition is not exclusive of dialect which is also a means of communication in its own right, operating by means of vocal symbols. Bloomfield, however, rules out writing as a language and regards it as a record of language which is primarily a spoken system. Bloomfield's argument excludes deaf and dumb humans who depend on signs for communication. Potter goes on to say,

1. S. Potter, *Modern Linguistics*, p.36.

"to the linguistic there would seem to be no definable difference between a language and a dialect. The practical criterion is the plain test of mutual intelligibility"¹. However, the criterion of mutual intelligibility is not quite satisfactory, for dialects are not always mutually intelligible in some languages. On the other hand Swazi, for instance, is intelligible to a Zulu speaker, but this does not make Swazi a dialect of Zulu, as much as it does not make Zulu and Xhosa dialects of one language even though they are mutually intelligible.

Potter sums up the position by saying, "we must recognize that the difference between a language and a dialect is one of degree and not of kind"². Potter accepts that the two belong together. A dialect in other words is a limb of the body called language. It has its particular or specific characteristics while remaining a member of the body. Gleason also expresses a similar view when he states that "when differences are small, these are known as dialects, when larger, they are known as languages"³.

Theoretical considerations as to the difference between a dialect and a language aside, we want to try and establish just what makes a language an independent entity and not a dialect, and also what makes a dialect part of a language. In our historical background covering the Nguni migrations we observed that the forebears of the Xhosas and Ntungwas were one Pure Nguni group, probably speaking one language, but present Xhosa and Zulu are separate languages, yet they are mutually intelligible to speakers of these languages. The question is: why are they

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1. Ibid, p.123.
 2. S. Potter, Modern Linguistics, p.124.
 3. H.A. Gleason, An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, p.291.

separate languages and not dialects of one language? Similarly Flemish and Low Dutch, though spoken in one geographical unit and differing little structurally, are regarded as separate languages and not dialects of one language. In the case of Xhosa and Zulu, geographical and political considerations have made them to be regarded as separate languages. Mfengus who ran away from Natal speak Xhosa and not a dialect of Zulu.

Before the unification of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, Scottish was regarded as a separate language, but today it is regarded as a dialect of English even though it is difficult to understand to the average English speaker. The case of Scottish shows that it is not only the abundance of linguistic phenomena that set apart a dialect as a separate language. If this had been the case, Scottish might still be regarded as an independent language. Political considerations have reduced it to the level of a dialect. We look at Sobhuza's Swazis who until recently taught Zulu in their schools. This practice did not reduce Swazi to a dialect of Zulu in spite of this close association. On the other hand would the position have remained as it is had the Zulu kings succeeded in incorporating the small Swazi kingdom into the Zulu kingdom?

It does appear therefore that apart from lexical, phonological and grammatical differences, political considerations, historical and geographical reasons set dialects apart as languages or bring dialects under one "language banner". It does appear that statistics do not always determine the situation because we have seen that it is possible to find dialects

abounding in linguistic differences classified under one language for political reasons. In the case of Zulu, historical considerations are responsible for the existence of dialects. This observation does not exclude geographical considerations. Owing to the levelling process that has been going on, the differences between dialects do not amount to very much.

W. Dwight in "The Life and Growth of Language" recognizes the relativity in the determination of dialect when he says that "language and dialect ... are the only two names for the same thing, as looked at from different points of view. Any body of expressions used by a community, however, limited and humble, for the purpose of communication and as an instrument of thought, is a language; no one would think of crediting its speakers with the gift of dialect but not of language. On the other hand, there is no tongue in the world to which we should not with perfect freedom and perfect propriety apply the name of dialect, when considering it as one body of related forms of speech"¹. Although we do not disagree with this view, it is too broad to help us in a more precise definition of dialect. Dwight does remind us, however, that the determination of whether language or dialect is largely a matter of point of view, and historical and political factors are relevant.

Partridge stresses the geographical aspect when he defines a dialect as "a language within a language - that variety or form of a language which prevails in a district or region, in a county or a province or a state. It has local peculiarities of word or phrase, of pronunciation, and even of syntax ... Dialect is a form of linguistic independence and

1. Quote from P.C. Mokgokong's Thesis, "A Dialect Geographical Survey of the Phonology of the Northern Sotho Area", p.32.

individualism"¹. From this statement we see that language is more generalised whereas dialect is localised. The English language is spoken in England, Scotland, North America, Australia, India, South Africa, etc., but each of these countries has its own peculiarities of language usage. However, the spread of English is a relatively recent phenomenon, and it is usual to talk about different 'accents' rather than different 'dialects' in these various countries. The spread of Nguni is far more remote in time, and we would not refer to Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi as different 'accents' but rather as different 'dialects'. In fact we refer to them as different languages because of the additional historical reasons - and of course they are far more different than British, American or Australian English. We must not forget the importance of the linguistic aspect. Robins also makes the point that "within the domain generally recognized of 'one language', many clearly observable differences of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary are not haphazardly mixed, but occupy different regions within the territory, shading continuously into one another in all directions"². Thus dialect areas do not end abruptly but merge gradually into other dialect areas, except of course where certain geographical barriers separate them. It is because of this very local or regional nature of dialects that we have been able to define our dialect areas in terms of geography, e.g. the Central Zululand area, the South West Natal area, etc.

Another description of dialect we would like to look at is that given by R.I. McDavid Jr. of the University of Chicago. He says

1. Partridge, E., English - A Course for Human Beings, Book III, p.46.
 2. Robins, R.H., General Linguistics, p.51.

"a dialect, in the sense in which American scholars use it, is simply an habitual variety of a language, set off from other varieties by a complex of features of pronunciation (/drin/ vs /dren/ 'drain'), grammar (/dove/ vs /dived/), or vocabulary (doughnut vs fried cake). Dialects arise through regional or social barriers in the communications system: the stronger the barrier, the sharper the dialect differences. Most often we think of a dialect as the way some stranger talks; we generally assume that we speak "normal English" or French or Russian or Burmese or Ojibwa as the case may be"¹. What we note here is that the primary function of a language, communication, is achieved except that a difference is noted and that this difference constitutes dialect. Coming to our particular situation we again take the example of pronunciation: that one speaker says /Ngiyakhamba/ and not /Ngiyahamba/ does not detract from our ability to follow his message. What comes into our minds is that the speaker speaks Zulu differently, but it is the Zulu language all the same. The temptation to say the first speaker speaks 'abnormal Zulu' or 'substandard Zulu' is difficult to avoid. We underline that language refers to the totality and dialect refers to the particularities or specialities.

Another shade of meaning is provided by Robins where he states, "dialect is an abstraction of the same sort of language; but it covers fewer people; it enables one to keep one's statements closer to the actual speech of the speakers; each abstracted element in the description of a dialect covers a less wide range of actually different phenomena"². This observation is confirmed by Bloomfield's description of long settled areas. He says: "Every village, or, at most, every cluster of two or

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1. McDavid, R.I. Jnr., *Dialect Differences and Social Differences in an Urban Society*, p.73.
 2. Robins, R.H., *General Linguistics*, p.51.

three villages, has its local peculiarities of speech"¹. We wish to contrast the foregoing observation with the position of the standard dialect, which is a dialect in its own right. The standard dialect, like language, covers more people and is less localized than the regional dialects. This means that many persons who normally speak local dialects will also speak the standard dialect, because of its prestige or social status, and in particular because of schooling.

D. Abercrombie is more simplistic in his definition. He says, "I have used the word dialect here to mean any form of English which differs from Standard English in grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and, of course, in pronunciation too, though a difference of pronunciation alone is not enough to make a different dialect"². This description does not clear the position in the case of languages which have not been standardized. Nevertheless we realise that it is the sum total of considered linguistic phenomena and other factors namely political, historical, etc. which distinguish a dialect from a language or a language from a dialect.

However, in this thesis we are particularly concerned to investigate and describe the differentiating features within the area of the Zulu language. So we want to come nearer home to look at what Prof. Doke has to say on the subject of dialect. He says, "dialect indicates the local form of language. In Bantu it is applicable to the language of a tribe, and more particularly of a clan section of a tribe. It is best to reserve this term for such ultimate local vernaculars

1. Bloomfield, L. Language, p.325.

2. Abercrombie, D., Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics, p.11.

as are recognized by the Native speakers under special names, hence Qwabe, Ngoni and Ndebele (of Rhodesia) are dialects of Zulu"¹. Doke agrees with Robins that dialect covers fewer people. His description as far as the tribe is concerned may have been pertinent earlier on in history, but at present it does not hold water in the case of Zulu. The old tribal affinities have broken down. What Doke calls isiQwabe is not spoken by the Qwabe clan alone, but by other clans who share the same geographical area with the AmaQwabe. In our description we speak about the Mthethwa *thefula* dialect, and not isiQwabe. This does not mean to say that AmaQwabe do not also *thefula*. Likewise the amaQadi are not the only people who speak the local dialect. Under the Qadi banner are to be found members of other clans who are not descended from the same ancestor as the AmaQadi. Another weakness in Doke's reference to the tribe and clan is that it creates the impression that dialect boundaries are sharp and clear-cut, meaning that where the tribal territory ends the dialect also ends. Dialect features as already indicated do not end abruptly but tend to shade into one another gradually. In our description we shall observe that in the Zulu country there are no significant geographical features such as high mountains or wide rivers which arrest and terminate certain linguistic phenomena. Dialect areas merge into one another.

Bloomfield also states that "local dialect differs from place to place to such an extent that speakers living some distance apart may fail to understand each other ... The difference from place to place is small, but, as one travels in any one direction the differences accumulate, until

1. Doke, C.M., Southern Bantu Languages, p.21.

speakers, say from opposite ends of the country, cannot understand each other, although there is no sharp line of linguistic demarcation between the places where they live"¹. This observation has been brought in to contrast with the position of Zulu. Speakers of Zulu understand one another without difficulty in spite of dialect differences. Even the Zulu spoken by the Ndebele of Rhodesia does not present any barriers to communication. A word here and an expression there is all that causes eyebrows to rise. In the province of Natal a speaker from the extreme South Coast will communicate with a Zulu speaker from the extreme North Coast without difficulty. P.C. Mokgokong has made a similar observation about Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana². These Sothos speak different languages and dialects but they understand one another. Similarly Thembus, Ngqikas, Gcalekas, Mfengus, Mpondos and Mpondomises, speak different dialects of Xhosa, but experience no comprehension difficulties. However in Britain and the European continent we do come across these extreme cases where certain dialects of English or German are mutually incomprehensible. The question arises: Why do we not regard these dialects as separate languages if they are mutually incomprehensible. Again the explanation is to be found in the extra-linguistic or non-linguistic factors. A small, local, insignificant and unimportant type of speech does not constitute a language, but rather a dialect of the predominant language. If for instance Cockney or Liverpool English or the language of the Glasgow slums were spoken on the island of Malta, and if it had its own orthography to reflect its own pronunciation and particularly

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1. Bloomfield, L., *Language*, p.51.
 2. Mokgokong, P.C., *A Dialect Geographical Survey of the Phonology of the Northern Sotho Area*, p.32.

if it had its own literature, it would be regarded as a separate language, as Flemish is from Dutch, as Norwegian is from Swedish, as Afrikaans is from Dutch or Flemish.

From the foregoing observations, a dialect may be defined as a local or regional variety of a wider linguistic entity (i.e. a language), generally within that entity and not removed from it, generally showing a common history and literature with the other varieties within that entity, and subscribing with them to a common culture and usually society, nation and state.

At the bottom of the scale is idiolect, which refers to an individual's manner of using a given language, since it is known that even in one dialect area no two persons speak alike. This could be in respect of pronunciation, vocabulary, style, intonation, etc. Among the Zulus we have an extension of this individualism in 'hlonipha' speech. Brides coin their own vocabulary which they use to respect their relatives-in-law.

3.2 STANDARD LANGUAGE

Before proceeding to the issue of standard language we wish to take a brief look at social dialects. A social dialect has been defined by McDavid Jr. as "an habitual sub-variety of the speech of a given community, restricted by the operation of social forces to representatives of a particular ethnic, religious economic or educational group"¹. The

1. McDavid, R.L. Jr., *Dialect Differences*, p.73.

presence of social dialects is mainly a feature of highly developed societies where social stratification is the order of the day. The most important determining factors of stratification are economics and education. Ida Ward also states that, "the type of speech used by an individual depends chiefly on the region in which he is brought up and the social class to which he belongs. These two factors give rise to what may be called local and class dialects"¹. Bloomfield expresses the idea in similar vein. Speaking about the U.S.A. he says, "the most striking line of cleavage in our speech is one of social class. Children who are born into homes of privilege, in the way of wealth, tradition, or education, become native speakers of what is popularly known as 'good' English"². People living in ghettos are less likely to speak 'polished' English compared to inhabitants of affluent suburbs. Local dialects are as a rule spoken by the peasants and the poorest people of the towns. As a social dialect, standard language occupies the highest rung in the linguistic ladder to which all persons aspire. People wanting to graduate from the lower and the middle classes to the upper class stratum strive to acquire the standard language, the use of which, in a sense, has become a status symbol. This fact is brought out again by Robins where he says, "in conditions favouring large scale travel, regional mobility, urbanization and the like, local speech differences, especially where they are such as to hinder intercourse or where they have come to be associated with lack of education, low social prestige, or other unfavourable circumstances, are liable to be replaced with conscious effort on the part of the speakers

1. Ward, Ida, The Phonetics of English, p.4.
2. Bloomfield, L., Language, p.48.

by a more widely recognized and socially advantageous type of speech. The ultimate product of this tendency is the spread of 'standard languages' over whole regions"¹. Thus standard language transcends local barriers and imposes a socially acceptable form of speech upon the whole community. Looked at from another angle, standard language does create barriers of communication in that it tends to be regarded as the 'best' form of speech resulting in the relegation of the other forms of speech into an inferior bracket or something not to be taken seriously or just something funny to be used as a laughing matter. With regard to European languages Robin says, "a dialect or some closely similar group of dialects enjoying prestige as the speech of educated people of the capital city or some other socially respected group, is often designated 'the standard language', 'standard English', 'standard French', and so forth"². Regarding one form of speech as prestigious is likely to lead to snobbery on the part of persons fortunate enough to have acquired what is described as standard language.

Some amount of negativism tends to attach to the idea of social dialects, as Robins points out that "it is a popular assumption on the part of those speaking standard dialects that other dialects, especially those spoken by groups lacking social prestige or recognition, are both 'incorrect' and more or less formless, lacking a true grammar or precise means of discourse"³. A word of caution comes from Partridge in respect

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1. Robins, R.H., General Linguistics, p.61.
 2. Ibid, p.57.
 3. Ibid, p.53.

of the foregoing attitude. He points out that the guiding factor in recognizing and nurturing a standard language should not be snobbery but natural convenience.

How does Partridge¹ approach the issue of standard language?

He points out that the following factors constitute standard language:

- (a) the vocabulary - choice of words and phrases,
- (b) the syntax - the ordered arrangement of words and phrases into sentences resulting in easy communication at home and clear understanding abroad,
- (c) pronunciation.

Not one of the factors mentioned above is more important than the other. A speaker may have a good store of vocabulary, but if his pronunciation is 'bad' then it will not make his speech standard. But what tends to expose non-speakers of standard speech initially is pronunciation.

On standard pronunciation Ward says, "yet everyone knows what is meant when one speaks of Standard English, and the Committee on the Teaching of English in England, without entering into the question in any detail, describes it as one free from vulgarisms and provincialisms. The term "Standard English" implies one type of speech which is used by the educated population of the country, and which has received the approval of some authoritative body"². The significance of the 'authoritative body'

1. Partridge, E., English: A Course for Human Beings, Bk.III, p.44.
 2. Ward, Ida, The Phonetics of English, p.3.

cannot be overemphasized because without this body guided by a set of principles and rules, the possibility exists that standard language would tend to fluctuate readily. However, English has survived without this body. Standard language is subject to impacts from regional forms, but retains its form while accepting useful and necessary changes. Abercrombie's definition is very simple. He describes it as "that kind of English which is the official language of the entire English speaking world, and is also the language of all educated English speaking people ... It is, in fact, the only form of English to be at all widely written nowadays"¹. Abercrombie does not state what level of education qualifies one to be accepted as speaking standard English. Or, does he mean that in a country where education is compulsory, all people speak standard speech? Daniel Jones² asserts that persons who have been educated at 'preparatory' boarding schools and the Public Schools (in the English sense) use an acceptable and useful standard pronunciation. Bloomfield states that in American English "standard forms are used in school, in church, and in all discourse that officially concerns the whole community, as in law-courts and legislative assemblies. All our writing (except by way of jest) is based on the standard forms, and these forms are registered in grammars and dictionaries"³. Even the so-called standard languages are not the same. In some areas they are also affected by social class distinctions, density of population and geographical considerations. In "Usage and Abusage" Partridge has enumerated a number of types of standard. At the top of his list he

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1. Abercrombie, D., Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics, p.10.
 2. Jones, Daniel, An Outline of English Phonetics, 9th Edition, p.12.
 3. Bloomfield, L., Language, p.48.

has what is called Received Standard, then comes Modified Standard which differs from Received Standard mainly in pronunciation; and lastly Literary Standard which is mainly used in writing. The last type does not lend itself easily to speech in view of the fact that it is too bookish.

3.2.1 Standard Dialect of Zulu

The need for standardization of Zulu has been felt for a long time since the inception of schooling in the Zulu world. F. Suter¹ writing in the Native Teachers Journal on 'A standard uniform Zulu language' said, "A standard Zulu should have been fixed years ago; had it been done the present confusion would have been avoided. Zulu being now a written language it is of necessity, ... passing through the same stages of history as every other written language, a standard had to be fixed in every case ... The language generally spoken today, and even by educated Zulus, is a mixture of dialects ..." Suter then proceeds to suggest IsiNtungwa. However, finality has not been reached on this subject. Work has been done on a uniform orthography of Zulu and the writing of Zulu grammar and dictionaries, but grammarians and lexicographers have tended to record the material presented by informants

1. F. Suter, A Standard Uniform Zulu Language, Native Teachers Journal, January 1942.

apparently without screening them according to the dialects they use. In the field of written literature an attempt has been made to eliminate the most extreme dialect features. However, uniformity has not been realised. As Suter pointed out, people are still influenced by their local dialects. The acceptance of IsiNtungwa as proposed by Suter is accepting a vague concept. We believe when Suter spoke of IsiNtungwa he was referring to the dialect that was originally spoken by the Ntungwa clans. The best exponents of this dialect today, i.e. the speakers of what we shall call the Central Zululand Dialect, are not the Zulu elite, by which we mean the best educated and most sophisticated speakers. On the other hand standard English is the product of education and sophistication.

Contrary to the case of Standard English or Standard American, *this variety of* Zulu is not likely to be the socially accepted dialect for some time, if ever. Apart from the fact that Zulu society is not stratified along European lines, we still have not got the Oxfords, Cambridges, Harvards, etc. At best we can only boast of a handful of poorly staffed high schools and one university whose influence has not yet been felt. As such we are inclined to regard the latter part of R.S. Ndlovu's¹ observations on 'standard speech' as precipitate. Ndlovu says, 'Standard Educated speech is that form of speech which all people would probably agree in accepting as the best ... It is heard with practically no marked variations among speakers of a better class in the language area. This language may be Afrikaans, English, Sotho or Zulu. For the purpose of this study, this type of speech will be termed Standard Educated Speech or Public School Speech because it is the oral speech taught in

1. Ndlovu, R.S., Zulu Slang, p.12. (unpublished thesis).

Public Schools in Natal. Standard Educated Speech is characterised by uniformity of vocabulary and regularity of grammar". Ndlovu has not explained what he means by speakers of a better class, particularly in Zulu society. Again, whereas regularity of grammar is prescribed, it has not been realized. Home dialect influence still holds its own even in the said Public Schools. Our thinking is that Standard Zulu will develop more by a process of evolution and less by prescription. It should be remembered that even in Zulu schools, Zulu is not used as a medium of instruction except in the Lower Primary levels. It has lost the race to the much more acceptable English language. Furthermore, as we have already indicated, the teachers in the schools are generally not speakers of the dialect we have described as the Central Zululand Dialect, let alone Suter's IsiNtungwa on which it is based.

We also want to differ from the Unisa group of linguists of the Department of Bantu Languages in their assertion that "the standard version of Zulu did not actually develop from Zulu spoken in Zululand, but from the forms used south of the Thukela River, (uThukela) ... a levelling process of the Natal and Zululand dialects began to take shape as a result of the conquests of Shaka and Dingane, so that there never was much difference between the Zulu spoken in the North Natal (sic) (i.e. Natal south of the Thukela River) and that of Zululand"¹. Our objection is that they speak as if there is already in existence a standard dialect of Zulu even before a detailed study of the Zulu dialects has been done.

1. Handbook of the Speech Sounds and Sound Changes of the Bantu Languages of S.A., edited by D. Ziervogel *et al*, p.11.

As far as we are concerned "the standard version of Zulu" is still in the melting pot. To say the standard version sprang from south of the Thukela without fixing a boundary at the southern extremity is confusing. Taking examples at random, it is to be wondered how they explain the presence, in literary Zulu, of palatalization, certain inflections of the noun, the forms of demonstratives and copulative demonstratives, which are features belonging to dialects spoken north of the Thukela.

When we refer to "standard" Zulu we mean the Central Zululand Dialect which appears to ^{be} the basis for 'school' or 'literary' Zulu. People who have been to school have absorbed many features of this "standard" Zulu dialect, and are using such features in their own speech. This we may describe as a levelling process or assimilation. What will evolve from this process will probably be termed Literary Standard Zulu. ~~At the same time~~ it does appear that the stamp of inferiority is gradually being branded onto local dialects in remote areas. As we went around in different areas we noticed that people who used local dialects suddenly switched to what they thought was 'standard Zulu' as soon as one began inquiring about interesting local features. Apparently the intention was to convince the field worker that local dialects were a thing of the past.

Central Zululand Zulu will remain our 'Queen's language' until a universally accepted dialect is decided upon. Apart from sentimentalism born of deference for Mandela's Zulu, this dialect is the one which has been used to a larger extent in most of the Zulu grammar books and it

is the Zulu that is preferred in the writing of Zulu books, which are mainly meant for school consumption. It is the dialect that approximates or approaches very closely the speech of the Ntungwa Ngunis. The paradox is that it is not the speech of the elite. It is highly esteemed because of its historical prestige, ~~but~~ this does not mean that it will finally become the standard dialect.

3.3 IDENTIFICATION OF DIALECTS

Identification and delimitation is done by means of isoglosses or isoglotonic lines. "An isogloss might be taken to denote such an imaginary line passing through places whose inhabitants use the same variety of speech. In fact an isogloss is regarded as not only linking but also enclosing or encircling regions or zones showing identical features"¹. These lines refer to certain linguistic phenomena. When they refer to sound they are described as isophonic, when they refer to tone they are said to be isotonic, they are isomorphic when they refer to word-form and isosyntagmic when they have to do with the arrangement of words in sentences. According to Gleason an isogloss "is a line indicating the limit of some stated degree of linguistic change"². It should not be thought that those lines terminate abruptly at dialect boundaries. Some of them continue or cross these boundaries if the particular feature they represent is common to more than one dialect area. In other words there is no sharp termination at dialect boundaries.

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1. Bloomfield, L., Language, p.325.
 2. Gleason, H.A., Descriptive Linguistics, p.291.

Potter states that "isoglosses may resemble belts, bands or 'seams' rather than linear boundaries. They are seldom static, but tend to shift with ceaseless interplay of contiguous forms of speech upon one another. In some way they may be said to resemble the colours of the spectrum, shading off into one another by gradations"¹. This is on account of the fact that language is a living organism constantly acquiring new features, holding on to old features and discarding less useful features. Lying between dialect areas are what are called transition areas. These areas are characterized by fluidity of linguistic forms.

Gleason says "if instead of one isogloss there are a number of them moving across the area at the same time, we may expect that they will tend to be retarded at the barrier and hence pile up. The result is what is sometimes referred to as a bundle or fascicle of isoglosses"². In practice dialect areas are not determined by single isoglottic lines but by such accumulation of dialect features forming the bundle or fascicle which in turn constitutes the boundary or limit of linguistic phenomena. This, however, does not exclude the significance of single isoglosses. A field worker may decide to work on a single item of vocabulary and trace its incidence over a wide area.

Isoglosses like isobars and isotherms may be influenced by the build of an area in question. High mountain range, wide unbridged rivers, deep impassable valleys, may have an arresting or inhibiting influence

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1. Potter, S., Modern Linguistics, p.134.
 2. Gleason, H.A., Descriptive Linguistics, p.272.

on the distribution of certain phenomena. It should be pointed out, however, that in our particular case such geographical features in general do not exist and this factor therefore has a very limited influence, if any. Natal does not have rivers as wide as the Mississippi, the Rhine, the Danube, etc. and mountains as high as the Alps, the Rockies, the Appalachians, etc. Even the Drakensberg range is modestly high when compared to the foregoing. However, the Drakensberg acts as an important barrier along the west of Natal: it separates Zulu from Sotho. Another factor which acts as a barrier is the incidence of large white-owned farms which at times intervene between Zulu settlements.

Social intercourse and easy mobility have a tendency of affecting isoglosses. Isoglosses are blurred even as a result of the settling of one person from one area to another. There is at present a relatively high degree of mobility and constant communication among Zulu speakers owing to industrialization and economic development of the land. Commuting from the reserves to focal points is an everyday affair. The matters of land rehabilitation and resettlement cannot be overemphasized. One wonders what influence the settlement of the Chunas from Msinga had on the Zulu of the Lower Umfolozi area. One can but conclude, even if prematurely, that several isoglosses were blurred. Robins states that "in conditions favouring large scale travel, regional mobility, urbanization and the like, local speech differences, especially where they are such as to hinder intercourse or where they ^h_{ave} come to be associated with lack of education, ... are liable to be replaced with conscious effort on the

part of the speakers by a more widely recognized and socially advantageous type of speech. The ultimate product of this tendency is the spread of 'standard languages' over whole regions"¹. A practical example of the foregoing is to be found in Zulu schools. At school, children consciously strive to suppress their local dialects and speak 'school Zulu'. When school breaks up, the tendency is to abandon 'school Zulu' and revert to local forms of speech. Apart from the school situation the use of two dialects by Zulus is reputed to have begun during the reign of Shaka. Shaka is said to have allowed only the use of 'isiNtungwa' in his presence.

In our plotting and identification of areas we shall depend mainly upon phonological and grammatical evidence. We have been prompted in our choice by Bloomfield's observation on Dialect Geography that "a single-handed observer can cover a small part of an area ... or else he may restrict himself to one or two features but follow ^{them} over a larger district"². As the summary of our prepared programme on p. 7 shows, we selected a number of phonological and grammatical features and followed them throughout the Zulu area. Thus our isoglosses are primarily isophonic and isomorphic. The bundles of these isophonic and isomorphic isoglosses which we traced indicate the dialect boundaries. We repeat that the isoglosses do not always coincide: We work on the majority of features that coincide to form bundles.

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1. Robins, R.H., General Linguistics, p.57.
 2. Bloomfield, L., Language, p.326.

At best this type of investigation is done by a team of field workers working over a considerable period of time and covering the area in detail. Notes have to be compared from time to time so that the end product is as accurate as humanly possible. In our case it was a solo effort, and we were not able to cross all the rivers and rivulets of Natal and Zululand and could not stay very long in each area. Furthermore we did not investigate vocabulary differences because of the amount of time and work involved. Our survey is preliminary: the title of the thesis is "A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects".

A general pattern of dialect areas showed up clearly after an isoglottic plotting of the features included in our programme. For instance at the phonological level the isogloss representing the occurrence of /h/ as an allophone of /h/ in the word /hamba/ encircled the area of Northern Natal and the Natal Midlands, while Zululand and Natal North Coast was enclosed by the isogloss representing the sound /h/ only. The Lower Natal Coast is covered by the isogloss showing the replacement of /h/ by /y/, while the South West of Natal has /kh/ replacing /h/.

Northern Natal and Midlands

hamba > hamba ~ hamba

Zululand and Natal North Cost

hamba > hamba

Lower Natal Coast:

hamba > yamba

South West Natal:

hamba > khamba

3.4 IDENTIFICATION OF ZULU DIALECTS

Zululand Zulu speakers recognise two dialects of Zulu without bothering to define what their characteristics are. They distinguish between Zululand Zulu, spoken to the north of the Thukela River and Natal Zulu spoken to the south of the Thukela in Natal (esilungwini). They fail to realise that the Thukela River was but a political boundary and not a linguistic one. Natal Zulu is generally described as "isiZulu esingaphelele" (improper Zulu) and Zululand Zulu as "isiZulu sempela" (proper Zulu). They describe the latter as /ulimi olu^oq_{kh}othileyo, olumile/, a 'Misa' dialect, and Natal Zulu as /ulimi oluleleyo/, a 'Lala' dialect. The terms imply that Zululand Zulu is high, clear, robust and 'upright', as opposed to the low, soft, flat Natal Zulu. They have in mind such features as:

- (a) the change of /l/ to /y/ in *thefula*,
- (b) the use of /k/ instead of /kh/ in the classes 15 and 17 prefixes, pronouns and demonstratives,
- (c) the absence of nasal compounds in Natal's copulative demonstratives, e.g. /na^oba/ instead of /nampa/, etc., ~~however~~, these characteristics do not in fact separate Natal from Zululand linguistically. They distinguish the Central Zululand dialect particularly.

This classification does not take into account the use of thefula in Zululand rather than in Natal and the incorporation of Lala elements into Zululand Zulu, e.g. the use of the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the place of the nasal compound /ng/ in the first person concord. It also does not take into account the enrichment of Zulu vocabulary with thefula word forms.

Our investigation has led us to the conclusion that there are in general six dialects of Zulu, spread over Natal and Zululand. The following are the dialects:

The Central Zululand Dialect (C.Z.D.),
 The Zululand Coast Dialect (Z.C.D.),
 The Natal Coast Dialect (N.C.D.),
 The Lower Natal Coast Dialect (L.N.C.D.),
 The South West Natal Dialect (S.W.N.D.),
 and
 The Northern Natal Dialect (N.N.D.)

Before we proceed with our description of these dialects we would like to refer again to C. Faye's description of Zulu dialects. Faye did not make use of geographical terms in his identification but referred to influences. He has:

1. the pure Zulu dialect area,
2. the area under thefula influence,
3. area under tekela influence,
4. area under English and Afrikaans influence,

5. area under Xhosa influence,
6. area under kubuwa (Sotho) influence,
7. and the area under Swazi influence.

Some of our dialect areas coincide with Faye's description. For example the Central Zululand Dialect coincides with Faye's pure Zulu dialect area. Although we have given our dialects geographical labels we are not trying to suggest that geographical features act as boundaries to our dialect areas. Geographical features are mentioned merely as a matter of convenience. Apart from the Drakensberg range which truly demarcates Zulu from Sotho, there are no other geographical features of significance in Natal and Zululand which separate dialect areas. Even Natal's largest river the Thukela does not perform this function because it is not wide enough to act as a barrier. As a matter of fact, as already indicated, the Thukela is simply a political boundary fixed by the British to separate the Zulu kingdom from the Natal colony. Over and above this there are many bridges and fords across its length, which makes communication a simple matter. For example, the Zululand Coast Dialect straddles this river at its mouth and spreads further south. The Northern Natal dialect spreads across this river nearer its source. For the sake of clarity we have used part Umzinyathi and Incombe rivers and also part Umkhomazi river as boundary markers, but what we show as boundaries should be read as transition belts and not as firm and abrupt boundaries.

(a) The Central Zululand Dialect (C.Z.D.)

The C.Z.D. coincides with the original area of settlement of the Ntungwa Ngunis except that it has been shifted and extended

on account of population growth and resettlement. For instance the dispersal of the N̄wandwes and Dlamini to the north opened up more land for Ntungwa Ngunis. Added to this, white encroachment has resulted in the centre of the Zulu kingdom shifting to Nongoma instead of the Melmoth area where most of the Zulu kings lie buried (Emakhosini). The royal household is now in the Nongoma area. The C.Z.D. more or less approximates to the original IsiNtungwa, but naturally has incorporated new sound features. The absence of harsh affricate sounds in its phonology has made it to be described as a soft, flowing and musical language. Contributing to the softness of this dialect is the influence of thefula. However, the quality of musicality can be applied to Zulu in general. The C.Z.D. adheres to the old sounds and generally resists the intrusion of the Western /r/ sound. Words with this sound borrowed from English and Afrikaans are modified or adapted to fit its ~~own~~ phonology. The /l/ sound replaces the /r/ as a rule. The harsh guttural sound /h/ is as a rule shunned by traditional Zulus. The /ulimi oluqokothileyo/ quality of this dialect is best illustrated by demonstrative copulatives:

nampa	nampo	nampaya	(cf. Natal naba)
nanti	nanto	nantiya	(cf. Natal nali)
nantu	nanto	nantuya	(cf. Natal nalu)

The C.Z.D. forms are regarded as high and upright ('misa') by Zulu speakers, in contrast to the low and flat ('iala') Natal forms.

(b) The Zululand Coast Dialect (Z.C.D.)

This dialect shares a large number of qualities with the C.Z.D. However, it has interesting qualities that set it apart. Although it can no longer be described as a thefula dialect as such, it still retains some of its historical characteristics and these have enriched the Zulu language generally. Now and again very expressive thefula - like constructions come to the surface:

Umfana wakhe omdayana ulimele	(His 'oldish' boy is injured)
Uffbonambi uyinja nemayana yakhe	(Mbonambi is a dog in spite of his wealth)
Ngiphe isikhayana ngibeke isinqe	(Give me some little room to sit).

(c) The Natal Coast Dialect (N.C.D.)

This is a product of the Mfecane as to geographical location. There was a population shift from the south bank of the Thukela to the south. This dialect occurs in the area of Mission Stations, wide-spread schooling and general White influence. Reference will be made later to the influence of the focal area of Durban and Pinetown. There is a general mixing of isoglosses representing some features from the Zululand dialects and features from the Natal dialects. It is ideally situated for the evolution and cultivation of

standard Zulu, and it will probably end up being accepted as the 'standard dialect' in spite of sentiment attaching to the traditional IsiNtungwa speech.

(d) The Lower Natal Coast Dialect (L.N.C.D.)

This is also a product of the Mfecane as to setting. It has many features in common with the N.C.D. but owing to its remoteness from spheres of influence it retains some of its historical characteristics. Its outstanding quality is the *dental articulation* of some alveolar sounds. Owing to its exposure to Xhosa from the south, some Zulu speakers have borrowed the Xhosa personal concord /ndi/. Although the isogloss representing the change of /h/ to /y/ in some words is one of its outstanding characteristics, it does not cover the whole area, but covers the southernmost extremity only.

(e) The South West Natal Dialect (S.W.N.D.)

Like the L.N.C.D. it is removed from the sphere of industrial influence characteristic of the N.C.D. Like the L.N.C.D. it is exposed to Xhosa influence in the extreme West. This is evidenced by the use of Xhosa's personal concord /ndi/ by some of the speakers of this dialect. Xhosa influence also shows in demonstrative copulatives. At the phonological level isoglosses representing such sounds as /ts/ and /zh/ characterise this dialect. At the grammatical level it is set apart by such isoglosses as use of /k/ in the place of the locative formative infix /s/.

(f) The Northern Natal Dialect (N.N.D.)

The N.N.D. coincides with the abaMbo (AbaseMbo) area of original settlement. The dialect has spread to the south of the country as a result of the Mfecane. According to some oral tradition this dialect area has until recently been called EmaSwazini, even though the dialect in question is a dialect of Zulu and not of Swazi. At the phonological level it is identifiable in terms of the incidence of such sounds as /ts/ and /r/. It is not very clear whether such occurrences are to be explained in terms of 'kubuwa' (Sotho influence), English and Afrikaans, or Swazi influence. Incidence of the fricative sound /h/ is another of its characteristics. At the grammatical level it is characterized by special demonstrative and demonstrative copulative forms.

3.5 DISTRIBUTION OF ZULU DIALECTS(a) The Central Zululand dialect

This dialect is spoken south of Vryheid and Louwsberg areas to the north, and north of Melmoth and Eshowe to the south. This dialect area is bounded by the Mzinyathi to the west and part of the Thukela to the south of Mzinyathi. It embraces the following districts: Nongoma in the north, Mahlabathini, Emakhosini and Ntonjaneni in the centre, to the west are the INkandla, Babango and Nquthu districts. Ingwavuma is left out because here we find an admixture of Swazi and a shade of

Thonga. It may be argued by some parties that geographically all of Eshowe and Melmoth belong to the Central Zululand Dialect. Was Eshowe after all not the home of Nqetho of the Qwabes, who took up thefula after leaving their Ntungwa relatives? As indicated by the preceding geographical outline, this dialect covers the area which was occupied by Ntungwa Ngunis, hence the label isiNtungwa.

(b) The Zululand Coast Dialect

Contrary to the geographical label this dialect is not restricted to Zululand in its distribution. This dialect area stretches from the Mkhuze in the north of the Zululand coast, spreads across the Thukela, the historical boundary of Zululand, into Natal and ends about the vicinity of the Mdloti river mouth. In other words in Zululand it lies east of the Central Zululand dialect area. On the Natal side it covers the Lower Thukela district embracing Stanger and Maphumulo, and is very strong in the Mthandeni and Glendale areas. It almost touches Kranskop and the neighbourhood of Dalton where some Qwabes are to be found. Greytown and New Hanover fall outside this dialect area.

(c) The Natal Coast Dialect

This dialect is spoken in the area surrounding the Durban metropolis. Starting south of the Mdloti mouth it embraces Ndwedwe and Inanda, the Nyuswa area of the Valley of Thousand Hills, moves up the Mgeni ending south of the Pietermaritzburg district but not including the metropolitan area. It combines

Mbumbulu, Mfume, Ulovu, and ends in the vicinity of the Mkhomazi mouth which is in reality a transition area. This is by tradition Lala country.

(d) The Lower Natal Coast Dialect

Its area spreads from south of the Mkhomazi mouth, which as already stated is a transition area, and hugs the coast until it reaches south of the Mzimkhulu. It incorporates the following districts: Mzinto, Mzumbe, Mthwalume, Port Shepstone and Harding. To the south of the Mzimkhulu mouth we begin to experience another change. Here we begin to pass from a Zulu speaking area to an area which becomes progressively Xhosa (Mpondo) speaking. The position is the same even south of Harding. The Machi and Mbotho clans begin to preponderate. IsiXolo and IsiZosha have been left out for future investigation, because they have a number of features which are suspiciously un-Zulu. van Warmelo referred to the existence of Bhaca clans along the Ifafa river and to the south of the river.

(e) The South West Natal Dialect

This dialect is spoken to the North of the Lower Natal Coast Dialect, west of the Natal Coast Dialect. Its area lies east of the Drakensberg which is its boundary in the west. It lies south of the Mooi River. The area incorporates the following districts: Ixopo, the Nhangwini area of Highflats, Richmond,

Bulwer, Underberg, Pholela, Howick and Pietermaritzburg and spreads east tailing off towards New Hanover. Although this area has now only a few Bhacas, it is distinct because of the underlying influence of Isibhaca or perhaps remotely Debe-Thonga influence. The clan names still tell some story of bygone days. The names Dzanibe, Jaca/Zaca, Njilo remind us of Debes. Facial incisions confirm this. Stofelton and the Lotheni areas have a touch of what Faye described as 'kubuwa' or SeSotho influence. The Emakhuzeni area at the confluence of the Pholela and the Mzimkhulu has a tinge of Xhosa influence, owing to its proximity to the Xhosa speaking area of the Transkei.

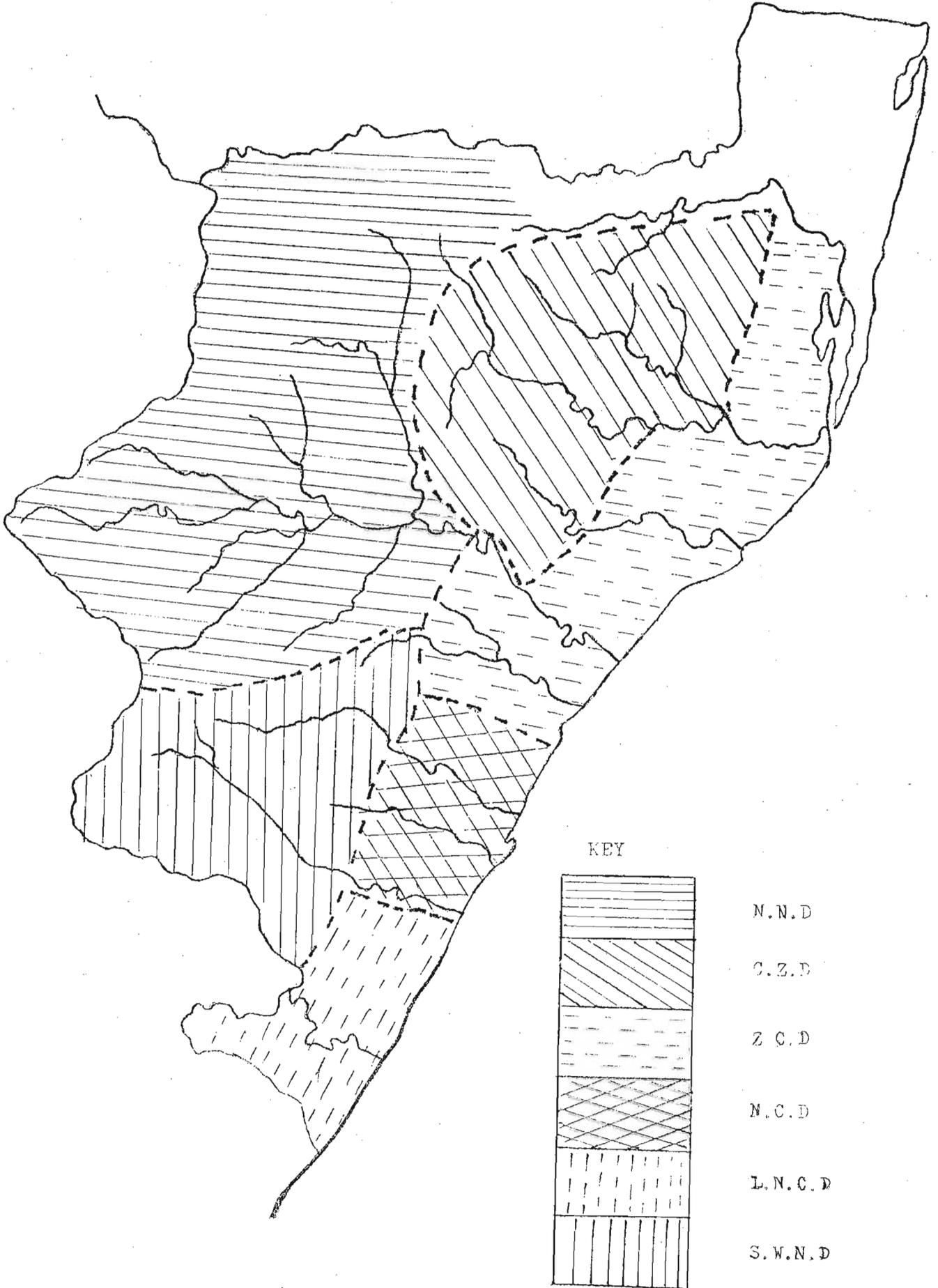
(f) The Northern Natal Dialect

The dialect is spoken north of the South West Natal Dialect area and west of the Central Zululand Dialect area. It also occurs to the north of the Central Zululand Dialect area past transition areas of Vryheid and Louwsberg. It is spread over the following districts in the north: Newcastle and environs, Utrecht districts, the Ladysmith and Dundee districts. To the West it covers the Bergville area. Of interest here is the EmaNngwaneni location or Rookdale. This place uses Zulu with a difference. The difference is that it still retains characteristics peculiar to the Central Zululand Dialect. History has it that the AmaNgwane who settled in this area came from the Mfolozi district of Zululand. Also covered

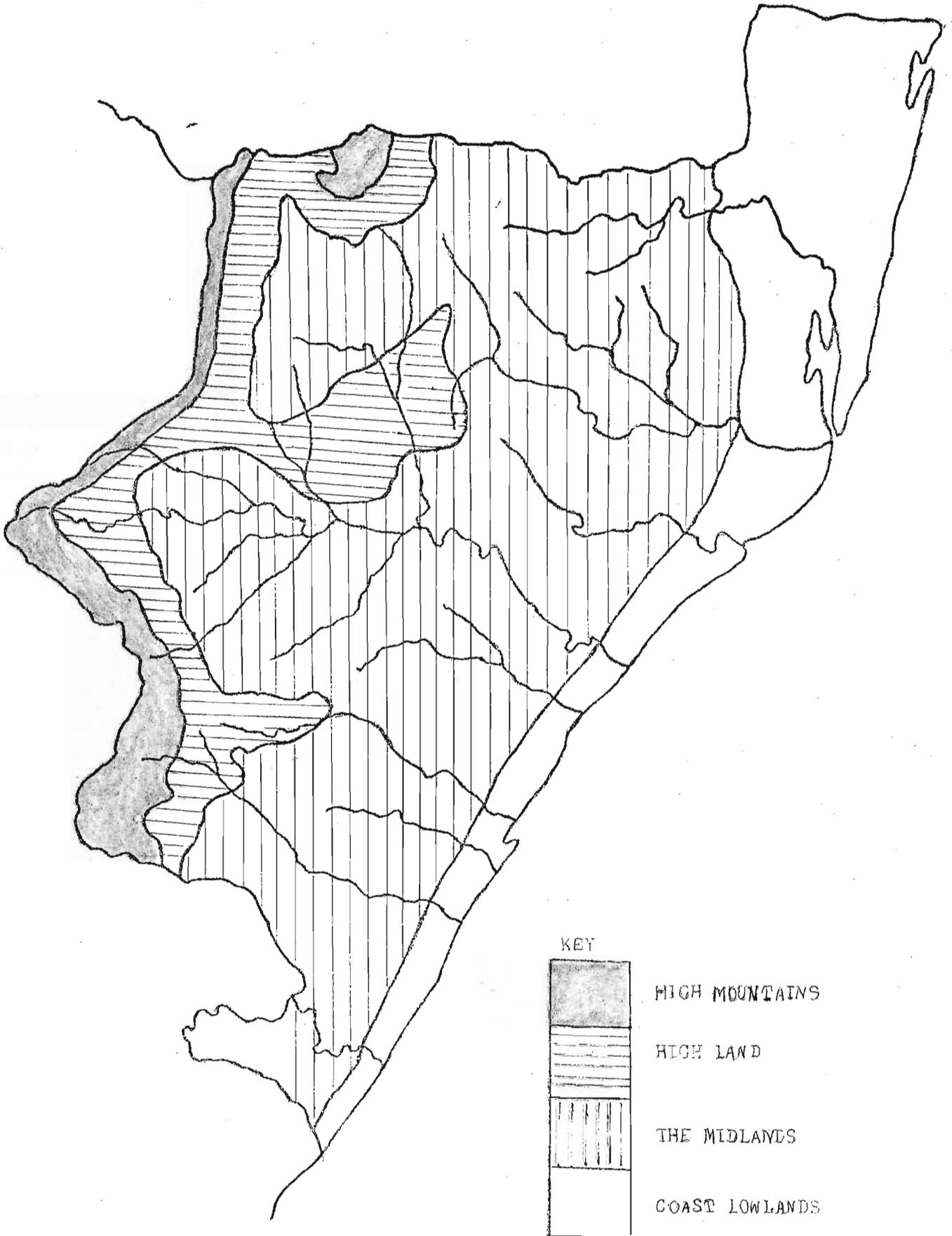
by this dialect are areas such as Weenen, Msinga, and Greytown to the south. To the west of here are the Amahlubi areas of Estcourt and Mooi River. Historically this area was Mbo-Tekela speaking.

Again we stress not only the approximate nature of these boundaries, but also that the boundaries we show on our map are not to be read as hard and fast boundaries, but rather as areas of transition between one dialect and the next.

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF ZULU DIALECTS IN NATAL AND ZULULAND



THE BUILD OF NATAL



CHAPTER FOUR

PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ZULU DIALECTSPHONOLOGICAL CHART: ZULU CONSONANT PHONEMES¹

	<u>Labl</u>	<u>Alvlr</u>	<u>Palatl</u>	<u>Velar/gltl</u>	<u>Latrl</u>
1. Plosives	p	t	tsh(tʃ)	k	kl
+ asp	ph	th	[tʃh]	kh	-
+ voice	bh	d	j (dz)	g	-
lenis (soft voice)	b	-	-	<u>k</u>	-
<hr/>					
2. Fricatives	f	s	sh	[<u>h</u>]/h	hl
+ voice	v	z	[zh]	[<u>hh</u>]/hh	dl
<hr/>					
3. Affricates		[ts]	(tsh)	(see plosives)	
+ voice		[dz]	(j)	(see plosives)	
<hr/>					
4. Nasals	m	n	ny(n)	ng(n)	-
<hr/>					
5. Sonorants	(w)	[r]	y	w	l
<hr/>					
6. Clicks	-	c	q	-	x
+ asp	-	ch	qh	-	xh
+ voice	-	gc	gq	-	gx
+ nasal	-	nc	nq	-	nx

1. Square brackets enclose sounds which do not occur in standard Zulu (The Central Zululand or IsiNtungwa dialect).

4.1 THE CENTRAL ZULULAND DIALECT

The C.Z.D. is, apart from a few additions, modifications, and a few losses of some features, perhaps the nearest as far as is known to the original language of the AmaNtungwa. The phonology of the Zulu language has been described by many authorities, so that it does not require any detailed description here. The chart summarizes the phonological system for this dialect and for the Zulu language as a whole, except for the differences pointed out below.

4.1.1 Plosives

The lenis velar plosive /k/ and the aspirated velar plosive are as a rule complementary in distribution in that aspirated /kh/ normally occurs in first consonant position of the root, whereas lenis /k/ rarely occurs in this position.* Only in rare cases does /kh/ occur in any other position in the root. When it occurs otherwise it is due to the influence exerted by the first consonant of the root, which results in assimilation of /k/ to /kh/ in the subsequent syllable:

khokhoba	(crouch)
isikhakha	(leathern skirt)
isikhukhukazi	(hen)
ikhikhizela	(new growth from a cut stem)
khekhezela	(bustle along)
khakhabisa	(drive away roughly)
khukhumala	(rise, as dough)

Another example of the occurrence of /kh/ in other instances is in absolute pronouns of classes 15 and 17, which is peculiar to this dialect:

Ngisho khona (I mean it, food/ - class 15)

Thatha khona (Take it, thing / - class 17)

and also in demonstratives of classes 15 and 17:

lokhu kudla (this food - class 15)

Yenza lokhu (do this - class 17)

Because of the prestige of this dialect, these are the forms used in writing, although the majority of speakers use the lenis velar plosive /k/:

Loku kudla (This food)

Yenza loku (Do this)

Note that the adverb /khona/ occurs as such throughout the Zulu area. Whatever its origin (class 17 absolute pronoun), it is clearly now the root of the adverb *khona*.

The lenis velar plosive /k/ does not occur in the first consonant position of the root but only otherwise*. It also occurs in concords, prefixes and suffixes *e_ka*, *a_kala*, *u_ka*, *k_azi*, etc. The plain velar plosive /k/, although a far rarer phoneme, can occur in any position:

* Except in a few words such as *kodwa*, *kepha*, *kanti*, whose first consonants historically derive from the concord system

ukalumuzi	(species of plant)
kapaka	(spill over)
kitaza	(tickle)
isiketekete	(hurricane lamp)
isikukulugu	(abnormally fat and round person)
isikutu	(closeness of atmosphere)

This consonant also occurs in the nasal compound /nk/:

inkomo	(beast)
inkonkoni	(blue wildebeest)
inkankane	(glossy ibis)
inkunzi	(bull)

4.1.2 Fricatives

Characteristic of this dialect is the absence of the velar fricative /h/. This sound is only heard in exceptional circumstances. The sound that operates in its place is the glottal /h/. Even in instances where in other dialects this sound occurs in borrowed words, the position does not alter in this dialect, and it is safe to regard its use here as purely ideolectal:

honqa	(snore, <u>h</u> onqa)
hudula	(drag, <u>h</u> udula)
uhala	(garing, <u>u</u> hala)
ibhuloho	(bridge, ibhulo <u>h</u> o)

4.1.3 Affricates

Affricative sound /ts/ does not occur in this dialect except in nasal compounds where it occurs as /nts/, represented in practical orthography as /ns/, showing that it is an allophone of /s/. Otherwise, mostly in borrowed words, its place is taken by /tsh/:

itshwele	(chicken, itswele)
isitshwebhu	(whip, isitswebhu)
itshako	(small gap between front teeth, itsako)
tshaka	(squirt saliva, tsaka)
utshwele	(roasted and ground mealies, utswele)

Again owing to the prestige of this dialect, although /ts/ occurs phonemically in other dialects, the nasal compound is always written /ns/ and not /nts/:

sebenza	>	insebenzo	(labour output)
sola	>	insolo	(complaint
		insimu	(field)
		insomi	(fable)

4.1.4 Nasals

Orthographic (ng) represents the velar nasal /ŋ/ in this dialect except in the first consonant position of roots where it represents the nasal compound /ŋg/:

Ngihamba nenja	(I am walking with dog)	(ŋihamba nenja)
Ngangingekho	(I was not present)	(ŋaŋiŋekho)
Ngangifasamboni	(I was no longer able to see him)	(ŋaŋiŋasamboni)
Thenga	(buy)	(theŋa)
Khangeza	(hold out hands to receive)	(khaŋeza)

In practical orthography both the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the nasal compound /ŋg/ are represented as 'ng'. The velar nasal also occurs in nasal compounds with /k/ and /g/, where it is written *n* as an allophone of the alveolar nasal:

inkomo,	ingane
inkungu	ingozi
intaba	indaba

4.1.5 Sonorants /l/ and /r/

The voiced alveolar rolled consonant which is as a rule an exotic sound in Zulu does not occur in this dialect, except in a few ideophonic expressions for imitating the sound made by flying birds:

mpr̥r! ntr̥r! ndr̥r!

In borrowed words, except among a small percentage of sophisticated speakers, its place is normally taken by its allophonic variant /l/:

iloli	(lorry)
isikulufu	(screw)
iwolintshi	(orange)

4.1.6 Clicks

The nasal click compounds, /nkc/ /nkq/ /nkx/, as distinct from the nasal clicks /nc/ /nq/ /nx/, do not occur in this dialect. In this dialect ordinary nasal clicks take their place where they occur in other dialects:

chinca	(ooze, chinkca)
gqunqa	(darken, gqunkqa)
xho ^x _h a	(prod, xhonkxa)

4.1.7 Palatalization

In the C.Z.D. this morphophonemic change occurs in order to avoid the occurrence of certain incompatible consonants in juxtaposition, namely bilabial consonants and the velar sonorant /w/. The bilabial consonant changes into a corresponding prepalatal sound. This phenomenon

of palatalization takes place in the formation of locative nouns and passive verbs:

umlomo	>	* emlomweni	>	emlonyeni
umphimbo	>	* emphimbweni	>	emphinjeni
isigubhu	>	* esigubhwini	>	esigujini
iphupho	>	* ephuphweni	>	ephusheni
bamba	>	* bambwa	>	banjwa
hlupha	>	* hluphwa	>	hlushwa
gubha	>	* gubhwa	>	gujwa
luma	>	* lumwa	>	lunywa

However this phenomenon also takes place in the formation of diminutive nouns, regardless of whether /w/ arises in the process:

umlomo	>	* umlomwana	>	umlonyana
inkabi	>	-	>	inkatshana
iphuphu	>	* iphuphwana	>	iphushana
isigubhu	>	* isigubhwana	>	isigujana
umbombo	>	* umbombwana	>	umbonjana

Palatalization in the formation of diminutive nouns is not restricted to bilabial consonants, but takes place also with alveolar consonants:

ithatha	>	ithashana
ikati	>	ikatshana
umgodi	>	umgojana
iqanda	>	iqanjana

4.2 THE ZULULAND COAST DIALECT

The passage of time and the dominance of the neighbouring Central Zulu Dialect has brought about a change in this dialect area. Although its existence points to a thefula linguistic substratum, the historical Thonga-tekela qualities have been lost. Although it coincides with the area of original thefula, it can no longer be described as a thefula dialect. This dialect shares many phonological peculiarities with the C.Z.D.

4.2.1 Plosives

As already indicated, this dialect shares many phonological characteristics with the C.Z.D. There is no difference in the plosives of this dialect and those of the C.Z.D.

4.2.2 Fricatives

- (a) The voiced labial fricative /v/ undergoes a softening change in this dialect. Its point of departure is that of a voiced fricative, but at the final point of articulation it has less voice so much so that it tends to sound more like voiceless fricative /f/. Even the nasal compound based on this sound undergoes a similar softening:

ivfa	(iva)	(thorn)
vfela lapha	(vela lapha)	(come here)
uvfemvfanø	(uvemvane)	(butterfly)
imvfula	(imvula)	(rain)

- (b) The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ also behaves in the same manner. The point of departure in the articulation is that of a voiced fricative but a change towards the sibilant /s/ is realized. The nasal compound is similarly affected. These changes are not represented in practical orthography, and standard Zulu forms are used in writing:

isizsulu	(isiZulu)	(Zulu language)
izsulu	(zulu)	(sky)
inzsika	(inzika)	(<i>sediment</i>)

4.2.3 Affricates

Except for the softening of /mv/ and /nz/ referred to above, there is no appreciable difference between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. as far as affricates are concerned.

4.2.4 Nasals

One of the differences that are to be observed between this dialect and the C.Z.D. pertains to the first person singular concord. In this particular instance there is evidence of a predilection for the nasal compound /ng/ in the personal concord, particularly on the Natal side of the Thukela, although the velar nasal /ŋ/ is also used freely.

In some verbal constructions some sounds have a retroactive influence on the concord in question. Instead of the concord being /ng/, it seems to be the homorganic nasal. Labial sounds are preceded by a labial nasal, alveolar sounds are preceded by an alveolar nasal and velar sounds are preceded by a velar nasal:

Mphuzisa	(ngiphuzise)	(Give me something to drink)
Mboleka imali	(Ngiboleke imali)	(Lend me some money)
Amfuni ukuhama	(Angifuni ukuhamba)	(I don't want to go)
Amboni kahle	(Angiboni kahle)	(I don't see clearly)
Anthandi ukufunda	(Angithandi ukufunda)	(I don't want to learn)
Ankhali ngalutho	(Angikhali ngalutho)	(I have no complaints)

Note that in the imperative, the final *a* does not change to *e* in this dialect.

4.2.5 ^oSnorants /l/ and /r/

It has already been pointed out that /r/ is an exotic sound in Zulu. There is no difference between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. as far as this sound is concerned. The sound is normally replaced by the /l/ sound even in borrowed words. Of interest is the sound /l/. Its change to /y/ was noted when thefula was described. Although this dialect is spoken in the old thefula area, it must be stressed that we are not describing thefula. Whereas the change of /l/ to /y/ has virtually disappeared in everyday speech, the taste for the change lingers on in the field of vocabulary. The practice may perhaps be described as an embellishment, but we frequently find speakers of this dialect favouring the change of /l/ to /y/. The truth of the matter is that

we still find individuals here and there who still thefula:

Kunendayi kwaDukuza	(There is a sale at Dukuza)
Wazishaya zonke kanye nomqhoyiso	(He paid lobola in full)
Umfana kaDube uliphoyisa	(Dube's son is a policeman)
Kwehla imvuya yezithukuthuku	(Perspiration rolled down like rain)
Sengithembeye kuMdayi	(I trust in the Creator)

4.2.6 Clicks

The isogloss representing the nasal click compounds /nkc/ /nkq/ and /nkx/ covers part of this dialect area. The influence comes from the south. It should be observed that these nasal click clusters do not entirely replace the nasal clicks common to the C.Z.D., but generally occur only in the last syllable of words:

chinkca	(ooze, chinca)
gqunkqa	(darken, gqunqa)
xhonkxa	(prod, xhonxa)
but incema (species of grass)	
inqola	(wagon)
inxeba	(wound)

4.2.7 Palatalization

Palatalization is another feature of this dialect. However, side by side with palatalized forms we also encounter forms that are not

palatalized. This points to elements from the past rearing up, showing that linguistic roots are not altogether dead below the surface:

intaba > intabana
 inkomo > inkomana
 insimu > insimana
 inswempe > inswempana

There is another incidence of resistance to sound change experienced in diminutive formation. In 'standard' Zulu final /l/ ^{generally} changes to /dl/ in the formation of diminutives, but in this dialect the /l/ remains unchanged:

umlilo > umlilwana
 umfula > umfulana
 isihlalo > isihlwana

In the predecessor of this dialect the /l/ was represented by /y/ which did not change to /dl/, and these forms are still found with people who still thefula:

ikhala > ikhayana
 insila > insiyana
 isicathulo > isicathuywana

4.3 THE NATAL COAST DIALECT

The linguistic substratum of this dialect is Lala. In the modern

dialect, the most striking characteristics of Lala speech have disappeared. We believe this is consequent upon the factor of the location of this dialect. It lies in an area where very important focal areas on the Natal coast, namely the industrial complex of Durban and Pinetown, and also Pietermaritzburg to the north, are found. The influx of speakers from varying dialect areas has resulted in the suppression of the original local dialect and the propagation of "standard" Zulu. This area has the highest concentration of educational institutions of higher learning catering for African needs. We have Amanzimtoti, Inanda Seminary, Ohlange, Mariannhill, etc. At these institutions "standard" Zulu forms are propagated.

4.3.1 Plosives

The position in the case of plosives is similar to the C.Z.D. form except in the case of pronouns. The class 15 and 17 absolute pronouns are typically Natal, in that where the Zululand dialects employ the aspirated velar plosive /kh/, this dialect uses the lenis velar plosive /k/:

Udla kona ukudla (Class 15) (He is eating (it) the food)

U^h_kethe kona akuthunyiwe (Class 17) (He has what he was sent to fetch)

4.3.2 Fricatives

The occurrence of the velar fricative /h/ is very much limited, and it is usually replaced by the glottal fricative /h/. Its ideophonic qualities are preferred for purposes of emphasis, otherwise the glottal /h/ is preferred:

hafa	(scold, <u>h</u> afa)
honqa	(snore, <u>h</u> onqa)
hudula	(drag, <u>h</u> udula)
hwitha	(snatch, <u>h</u> witha)

4.3.3 Affricates

The occurrence of the affricate /ts/ is minimal. It is safe to observe that it does not usually occur as an independent phoneme, but as an allophone of /s/ in nasal compounds:

itshako	(gap between upper incisors, itsako)
isitshwebhu	(whip, isitswebhu)
insimu	(field)
insini	(laughter/gums)

4.3.4 Nasals

The position of the velar nasal /ŋ/ is as a rule similar to that in the *C.Z.D. & Z.C.D.*, but there is a difference to be heard in the case of the first person singular concord. Where the *C.Z.D.* prefers the velar nasal, the *N.C.D.* shows a predilection for the nasal compound /ng/. The position becomes extreme in the case of this dialect's sister dialect, the Lower Natal Coast Dialect, where /ŋ/ is as a rule hardly heard.

In our discussion with the late O.L. Shange he asserted that Stuart's disjunctive method of writing Zulu gave rise to the use of /ng/

in the first person singular verbal concord. This form was then propagated by schools. He further asserted that its use is particularly strong in the Mission Stations of the Natal Coast where people wanted to distinguish themselves from the uneducated folk in the surrounding areas.

4.3.5 Sonorants /l/ and /r/

The sounds /l/ and /r/, as in the case of the C.Z.D., occur as allophones. The sound /r/ mainly comes into the picture where borrowed words are involved. Its use depends upon the sophistication of the speaker. Among the less sophisticated /l/ usually takes its place in borrowed words. On the other hand the schooled speakers make use of the /r/ sound freely.

4.3.6 Clicks

The full complement of click sounds found in the Zulu language is found in this *dialect*. What is peculiar to this dialect among the unschooled speakers is the interchange between the clicks. This fluctuation is between the dental and the palatal, and the dental and the lateral clicks. Where 'standard' Zulu uses the dental clicks, the palatal may be used in this dialect, and vice versa. Even the lateral and the palatal clicks may be interchanged. Whereas the best exponents of this practice are the Celes and Ngcolosis, the practice is no way limited to these groups. The isogloss covering this practice extends as far as the L.N.C.D:

Cele	>	Qele	
cela	>	qela	(ask for)
cabanga	>	qabanga	(think)
qina	>	cina	(be tight)
xoxa	>	coca	(narrate)
ixhiba	>	iqhiba	(hut)

Another point of departure from 'standard' Zulu is the presence of this dialect of nasal click compounds /nkc/ /nkq/ and /nkx/ as opposed to and in addition to the ordinary nasal clicks /nc/ /nq/ and /nx/. As a rule they occur in the ultimate or the penultimate position in the root and not in the first position of the root:

ikhonkco	(buckle, chain link)
khenkceza	(tinkle)
gqankqula	(gamboi, hop about)
qhinkqa	(wait idly)
xhonkxa	(prod)

The isogloss representing this usage goes beyond the bounds of this dialect and projects in both directions north and south respectively. To the south it includes the whole of the L.N.C.D. To the north it projects into the Z.C.D. area south of the Thukela, as already indicated.

4.3.7 Palatalization

The palatalization of labials in the formation of diminutive nouns, in the formation of passive verbs and in the formation of locative nouns, is not a regular feature of this dialect. As a rule palatalization

occurs in order to avoid the clustering of certain incompatible sounds. In this dialect and its sister dialect, the L.N.C.D., the latent influence of Lala comes to the surface and the clustering which is avoided in 'standard' speech is permitted. This is not to say there are no people who use palatalized forms, especially among those who have been to school. Generally, however, labials and /w/ occur in juxtaposition without any harm:

isigubhu > isigubhwana > isigubhana
 intambo > intambwana > intamana
 umlomo > emlomweni > emlomeni
 isitambu > esitambwini > esitambini
 isigubhu > esigubhwini > esigubhini

4.4 THE LOWER NATAL COAST DIALECT

The linguistic background of this dialect does not differ from that of the N.C.D. in that they are both an overlay of the Lala dialect. The difference that is to be found between them emanates from the fact that the Lower Natal Coast Dialect is further removed from the influence of the Central Zululand Dialect compared to the N.C.D. Consequently this dialect still retains characteristics belonging to the original dialect of Lala. It is also exposed to Xhosa influence from the South. Even among speakers who use the C.Z.D. here, it is tinted with local dialect qualities.

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4.4.1 Plosives

- (a) The singular characteristic of this dialect is its preference for the ejective or glottalized velar plosive /k/ even where the standard dialect and other Natal dialects use the lenis velar plosive /k/. This does not imply that the lenis velar plosive form is ruled out altogether. Probably this usage stems from the influence of Xhosa, in view of this region's proximity to the Transkei.

Another point of interest as far as velar plosives are concerned is the word /umakoti/. A feature reminiscent of Lala with its harsh guttural sounds is the substitution of the velar fricative /h/ in the place of the velar plosive /k/ in this word: /umahoti/. Some speakers substitute the aspirated velar plosive

/kh/ in the place of /k/: /umakhoti/, while others go to the extreme of substituting glottal /h/: /umahoti/.

Contrary to the position in the C.Z.D. where absolute pronouns of classes 15 and 17 and demonstratives of classes 15 and 17 employ the aspirated velar plosive /kh/, in the L.N.C.D. there seems to be a fluctuation between the lenis and the fortis velar plosive in pronouns and demonstratives of classes 15 and 17: /kona/, /loku/, /kona/, /loku/.

- (b) One other quality showing the *influence of* Lala on the local dialect is that of dentalization of alveolar plosives. In this area the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ occur as interdental sounds /t̪/ and /d̪/. Nasal compounds based on these plosives are also dentalized. This practice is to be heard even among the sophisticated speakers:

tatazela	>	t̪at̪azela	(bustle)
duduza	>	d̪ud̪uza	(comfort)
amadoda	>	amad̪od̪a	(men)
indoda	>	ind̪od̪a	(man)
umuntu	>	umunt̪u	(person)

4.4.2 Fricatives

- (a) Velar fricative /h/. The position of this sound is more or

less the same as in the N.C.D. in view of the fact that it occurs primarily in borrowed words and it alternates with glottal /h/.

- (b) Of interest in this dialect is the substitution of /y/ for /h/ and /hh/ in certain words:

hamba	> yamba	(travel
ihembe	> iyembe	(shirt)
eHarding	> eYadini	(Harding)
ihhashi	> iyashi	(horse)
amahhashi	> amayashi	(horses)

This is not a regular feature of this dialect because it does not occur in all words, but it is sufficiently interesting to deserve mention.

4.4.3 Affricates

Even in this dialect affricate /ts/ does not occur as an independent phoneme, but it occurs^{as} an allophone of /s/. Its position is the same as in the N.C.D.

4.4.4 Nasals

In this dialect the velar nasal /ŋ/ is preferred in the first person concord. The nasal compound /ng/ is used freely by some speakers in addition to the velar nasal. It has been suggested that this tendency emanates from Xhosa influence; in fact some speakers of this dialect use /ndi/. We notice that there is a tendency to use the nasal compound by

educated speakers:

Ngangingaboni	(I used not to see)
Ngihamba ngoba ngithanda	(I am going because I want to)

4.4.5 Sonorants /l/ and /r/

There is no difference to be noted about this dialect as far as the use of the above sounds is concerned. The /r/ sound of borrowed words is converted into /l/ except here and there among educated speakers, where the use of /r/ presents no problem.

4.4.6 Clicks

As we indicated in our discussion of the N.C.D. the isogloss covering click sounds extends to this area. The position is therefore the same in both the N.C.D. and the L.N.C.D.

4.4.7 Palatalization

Because of a common background between the N.C.D. and the L.N.C.D. the position is also the same as far as the phenomenon of palatalization is concerned. It does not obtain except among those who use 'standard' Zulu.

4.5 THE SOUTH WEST NATAL DIALECT

This portion of what was once called No-Mans-Land is as heavily

mixed as the L.N.C.D. area. This used to be the sanctuary for a large number of fugitives, e.g. the Bhacas and the Nhlangwinis, to mention a few. Bhaca and Nhlangwini are no longer spoken dialects in Natal, only their influence remains.

4.5.1 Plosives

This dialect behaves like other Natal dialects in their difference from ^{Z.C.D.} E.Z.D. Zulu as far as the use of aspirated velar plosive /kh/ in class 15 and 17 absolute pronouns and class 15 and 17 demonstratives are concerned. The Natal dialects prefer the velar plosive /k/ contrary to the position in *Zululand*. As in the case of speakers of the Lower Natal Coast Dialect, some speakers of this dialect substitute the ejective velar plosive /k/ in the place of the lenis velar plosive /k/. Again this is possibly explainable in terms of Xhosa influence from the Transkei.

4.5.2 Fricatives

- (a) As a rule velar fricative /h/ occurs as an allophone of glottal /h/. The choice of either sound depends upon the speaker's inclination. No distinction is made between the two in writing.
- (b) The above generalisation notwithstanding, the present-day Khuzes of this region use the velar fricative /h/ as an independent phoneme, although in only a few words:

<u>i</u> hawu	(shield)
pulu <u>h</u> a	(Afrikaans 'ploeg', plough)
baba <u>h</u> a	(be exceedingly bitter)
<u>h</u> ona	(snore)
ama <u>h</u> ewu	(fermented mealie brew)
<u>h</u> athula	(grind coarsely)
<u>u</u> hazane	(fast mover)

- (c) Another interesting phonological phenomenon is the substitution of glottal /h/ by /kh/ in some words. The word /hamba/ stands out above others as an important determinant of this dialect:

hamba	>	khama ^h _h	(go/walk)
isihambi	>	isikhambi	(stranger)
ihawu	>	ikhawu	(shield)
uhele/	>	ukhet ^h he/	(species of hawk)
uheshane		ukheleket ^h hane	

- (d) /zh/ and /zw/. Doke in his *Phonetics of the Zulu Language* asserts that /zh/, the voiced palatal fricative, occurs only in songs in Zulu. We do not wish to ^pose his observation as far as 'standard' Zulu is concerned, but in this region some speakers employ this sound in a diminishing number of words. In some words this sound corresponds to 'standard' Zulu voiced fricative /z/ and in others it corresponds to voiced palatal plosive /j/. Furthermore in some it alternatives with /sh/. The sound is not represented in Zulu practical orthography:

zhuba	(jump, juba)
zhwiba/jwiba	(swing, shwiba)
zhacile/jacile	(lean, zacile)
zhizha	(settle down, zinza)
isizhumba	(package, isijumba)
zhwi	(only, zwi/shwi)
ubuzhwebe	(red ants)

Also in a limited number of examples /zw/ is represented by /v/ in this region. This points to a persisting influence of Bhaca:

insiva	(young man, insizwa)
ilive	(country, izwe)
ilivi	(voice, izwi)
ukuva	(to feel/hear, ukuzwa)
ukuvelana	(sympathise, ukuzwelana)

4.5.3 Affricatives

- (a) /tʃh/¹. In his Swazi Grammar Ziervogel makes reference to a Swazi sound similar to /tʃh/ which he describes as an old form of /ʃ/. We are of the opinion that even in Zulu this was probably the old form of /ʃ/ because old writers of Zulu wrote

1. Not to be confused with /tʃ/, e.g. utshwala.

tsh instead of *sh*, e.g. *tshetsha* instead of *shesha*, etc. Xhosas to this day refer to Zulus as *amaTshaka* from Shaka. Owing to its remoteness from spheres of influence, this dialect still retains this sound particularly in areas where Nhangwinis preponderate. Bhaca influence may also be a factor. Depending upon the local background, this sound occurs either as an independent phoneme or as an allophone of fricative /*f*/. Typical speakers of this dialect prefer affricate /*tʃh*/. This sound is not represented in the standard practical orthography in view of the fact that the majority of dialects use fricative /*f*/:

<i>tʃhetʃha</i>	(hur ^j _h , <i>shesha</i>)
<i>tʃhisa</i>	(be hot, <i>shisa</i>)
<i>tʃhaya</i>	(hit, <i>shaya</i>)
<i>isitʃho</i>	(a saying, <i>isisho</i>)

- (b) /*nts*/. As in Bhaca where the nasal does not influence the alveolar sound /*s*/ in the nasal compound /*ns*/, this phenomenon is observable to some extent in this region:

<i>insimu</i>	(field, in(t)simu)
<i>insiva/insizwa</i>	(a young man, in(t)sizwa)
<i>insila</i>	(dirt, in(t)sila)

4.5.4 Nasals

Velar nasal /ŋ/ and nasal compound /ng/: There is a free interchange between these sounds in this area. Choice depends upon the linguistic background:

/ganga/	(be naughty, gaŋa)
/dinga/	(want/need, diŋa)
/thengisa/	(sell, theŋisa)

4.5.5 Sonorants /l/ and /r/

It has already been observed that /r/ is foreign to Zulu. There is not much difference between the position of /r/ and /l/ in this area from elsewhere. Perhaps the only difference observable is the freedom in this dialect's use of /r/ in borrowed words. This is probably attributable to the fact of 'kubuwa' influence, for this area borders Lesotho and there are even some Sotho speakers in the Stofelton and Loteni areas which fall within the S.W.N.D. area.

4.5.6 Clicks

The only difference to be noticed in certain districts in this area is the use of voiced nasal click compounds where 'standard' Zulu uses unvoiced compounds:

ingqina	(hunting party, inqina)
ingqina	(lower limb of animal, inqina)
ingqondo	(mind, inqondo)
(Note also ukwegqa	(jump, ukweqa)

4.5.7 Palatalization

Contrary to the position obtaining in the coastal Natal, palatalization obtains in this dialect. The position is therefore the same as in standard Zulu. The Bhaca linguistic substratum possibly accounts for this situation, for tradition has it that Bhacas are of Ntungwa extraction.

4.6 THE NORTHERN NATAL DIALECT

Notwithstanding its Mbo-tekela background, this dialect has lost its tekela qualities and has become a Zulu dialect rather than a distinct type of Nguni speech. Gone is the change of /z/ to /t/ for example. What we stated when treating other Natal dialects holds here: although the distinguishing characteristics of tekela speech have disappeared, the underlying influence of tekela has made this a separate dialect of Zulu.

4.6.1 Plosives

The general rule is that the lenis /k/ and the aspirated velar plosive /kh/ are complementary in distribution in that the latter only occurs in the first consonant position of the root and the former only in

subsequent consonant positions. Only the former is used in concords, prefixes and suffixes. Whereas in the Central Zulu Dialect, which is the basis for literary Zulu, this principle does not obtain in the demonstratives /lokhu/ /lokho/ / lokhuya/ and in the absolute pronoun /khona/, this dialect employs the lenis /k/ in /loku//loko/ /lokuya/ and in the class 15 and 17 absolute pronoun /kona/, in accordance with the general rule.

4.6.2 Fricatives

The velar /h/ which is not found freely in 'standard' Zulu, is characteristic of the Hlubi mode of speaking described as 'ukuhadula'. (Hadebe is an important Hlubi family). In this dialect, velar /h/ occurs in free variation with glottal /h/ in a number of words:

<u>h</u> amba	(travel, hamba)
<u>h</u> witha	(snath, hwitha)
<u>h</u> ola	(get paid, hola)
ama <u>h</u> ewu	(fermented mealie brew, amahewu)

Velar /h/ also finds preference under certain circumstances, especially in ideophonic words purporting to convey the connotation of scraping:

<u>h</u> ona	(snore)
<u>h</u> ahaza	(gargle)
<u>h</u> udula	(drag on the ground)

In the N.N.D. there is limited evidence of the presence of the voiced velar

/hh/. The voiced velar fricative does not ^{normally} occur as a phoneme at all in Zulu, but in this dialect it occurs as an allophone of the voiced glottal /hh/:

<u>hh</u> ahhama	/ hhahhama	(growl)
<u>hh</u> onga	/hhonga	(growl)
<u>hh</u> aya	/hhaya	(crush or grind very coarsely)

4.6.3 Affricatives

Except in ideophonic expressions the affricate /ts/ occurs as an independent phoneme in a limited number of instances in this dialect. When it occurs as a variant, it alternates with the sound /tsh/, but even here this dialect prefers the /ts/ sound:

itswele	/itshwele	(chicken)
itsiyo	/itshiyo	(chicken)
tsaka	/tshaka	(squirt saliva)
itsako	/itshako	(gap between upper incisors)
itseketse	/itsheketshe	(species of ant)

The following words have no alternative pronunciation in this dialect:

tsebhu	(red)
itswayi	(salt)
isitswebhu	(whip)
tesgeza	(creak)
umtsalo	(bow and arrow)
tsaza	(squirt out)
tswininiza	(whine)

4.6.4 Nasals

Of interest to us is the use of the velar nasal /ŋ/ in first person singular verbal concord. Characteristic of its linguistic background, this dialect employs only this nasal in verbal *concord*s:

/ngiphatha ingane/	(I look after the baby)	(ŋiphatha)
/ngangifunda iskolo/	(I was attending school)	(ŋaŋifunda)

4.6.5 Sonorants /l/ and /r/

We want to bear in mind Faye's allusion to English and Afrikaans influence in this area. Whereas the sound /r/ is foreign to Zulu, only occurring in ideophonic expressions illustrative of the flying of birds, it is gradually becoming accommodated in the sound system of this area. As a rule it occurs in borrowed words, where it occurs as an allophone of the /l/ sound. To go back to ideophones, we wish to observe that in this

dialect it occurs in more ideophonic expressions than is generally the practice in 'standard' Zulu:

rwe! twere!	(scarlet/bright red)
paru paru!	(imitative of the running of a horse)
tarutshu/purutshu	(of escaping in a constricted opening)

However, it also occurs in a large number of words:

pareka	(to throw with mud)	(of phahleka)
khiribha	(to trip from behind)	
amaransi/ amarens	(kind of game)	
amarephurephu	(tatters, rags)	
umkakarambana	(lean bony animal)	
ra ^h a	(kick backwards)	
amarabi	(type of music)	
uMtirane	(name of rivulet in Matiwaneskop)	
eMerane	(a village near Washbank)	
ingagaru	(species of bird)	
imburunga	(round object)	(imbulunga)
indumburuzi	(pip, stone of fruit)	(indumbuluzi)
isikurenje	(shifting spanner)	
onorayi	(flowing robes)	
reka	(do a type of dance)	

One way of explaining this dialect's freedom with the /r/ sound, apart from English and Afrikaans influence, is probably the occurrence of Sotho pockets

as at Crimen, near Elandslaagte, and also the fact that Sothos occur to the west of this dialect area. We also do not want to underestimate the influence of the returning fugitives who had scampered off to Moshoeshoe's country during the Mfecane. Quite a number of original inhabitants of this abaMbo area crossed the Drakensberg and mixed with Sothos.

There is evidence of over-enthusiasm in the use of the rolled lingual sound, meaning that instead of retaining the syllables in their order where borrowed words are concerned, the order is disturbed. This leads to metathesis in that the /r/ sounds are converted into /l/ and the /l/ sounds are converted into the /r/ sounds for no apparent reason:

lorry	>	iroli	(iloli)
Flora	>	uFrola	(uFlola)
Lawrence	>	Rolense	(uLolense)

There are also instances where the /r/ becomes intrusive. This is peculiar to those who want to demonstrate their ability to pronounce the /r/ which until recently gave the unschooled Zulu trouble:

Isihoransi	(Hollands,	Isiholansi)
amafrawa	(flowers,	amafulawa)
uphorishi	(polish,	upholishi)
igarkuni	(kalkoen,	igalikuni)
isiperede	(speld,	isipelede)

4.6.6 Clicks

There is a tendency for this dialect to use voiced clicks where 'standard' Zulu uses plain clicks, and to use voiced nasal clicks where 'standard' Zulu uses plain nasal clicks:

igceke	(yard, open plain)	iceke
gxamalaza	(stand with legs apart)	xamalaza
igxolo	(bark of tree)	ixolo
umngcele	(border, boundary)	umncele
umngcelu	(species of bird)	umncelu
ingqina	(lower limbs of animal)	inqina
ingqama	(ram)	inqama

4.6.7 Palatalization

The position is the same as that obtaining in 'standard' Zulu on the issue of palatalization. Labials and some alveolars are palatalized in diminutive noun formation; labials only in the formation of locative nouns and passive verbs.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 4: PHONOLOGY

	CZD	ZCD	NCD	LNCD	SWND	NND
Plosives	lokhu khona	lokhu khona	loku kona	loku kona <u>k</u> or k'	loku kona <u>k</u> or k'	loku kona kona
Fricatives	h only hamba v & z	h only hamba vf & zs	h (& <u>h</u>) hamba v & z	h (& <u>h</u>) yamba iyashi	h & <u>h</u> khamba zh	<u>h</u> & h <u>hamba</u> <u>hh</u> & <u>hh</u>
Affricates	tsh only shesha	tsh only shesha	tsh only shesha	tsh only shesha	tsh only tshetsha tshaya	tsh & ts shesha ts
Nasals	ŋ only	ŋ (& ng)	ŋ & ng	ŋ (& ng)	ŋ (& ng)	ŋ only
Sonorants	l only	l only (l > y)	l & r	l (& r)	l & r	l & r r phoneme
Clicks	nc only	nc (& nkc)	nc & nkc c~q~x	nc & nkc) c~q~x	nc (& nkc)	nc only c > gc
Palatalization	yes l > dl	yes or no l > l(or y)	no(or yes) l > l	no(or yes) l > l	yes l > dl	yes l > dl

In this dialect the axiomatic negative forms are prefixless:

Angizwa zwi (I don't hear any voice)
 Akusekho z^w_λ lapha (There is no longer any land here)
 Akubonakali fu nelilodwa (Not a cloud is visible).

In this dialect again a large number of class 8 and 10 nounstake the contracted form of the prefix. This usage is still restricted to spoken language and is not practiced in writing where the full prefix is used. This practice is a departure by these speakers from the generally accepted practice of using the full prefixes in these classes:

Class 8: Uphethe i:khwama ezimbili (He is carrying two bags)
 Ngiyokutshela i:khathi ezingaki?
 (How many times will I tell you?)
 Seziphelile i:tulo endlini (Chairs are finished in the house)

Class 10: Ziphi i:nkomo mfana? (Where are the cattle boy?)
 Ziwakhaphi i:ntombi zalapha) (Where do maidens of this place fetch water?)
 Wazithatha i:ntambo zombuso (He took the reins of govt.)

Axiomatic negative forms do not take the prefix:

Angazi 'khwama mina (I know no bags)
 Akukho 'ntombi kulendawo (There are no maidens in this area)

5.1.1.2 Noun classes(a) Class 17 nouns:

Except for the noun /ukwindla/ which still occurs in its uninflected form, the C.Z.D. is devoid of other examples of ^{uninflected} nouns in this class. The nouns /ukunene/ and /ukunxele/ quoted by Doke only occur in their inflected forms:

Udla ngesandla sokunxele (He eats with the left hand)

Ubhalala ngesandla sokunene (He writes with the right hand)

(b) Nouns occurring in alternative classes

The following class 1a nouns have alternative forms in class 3:

1a	umoya	omoya	(2a)
3	ummoya	imimoya	(4)
1a	unyaka	onyaka	(2a)
3	umnyaka	iminyaka	(4)
1a	umese	omese	(2a)
3	ummese	imimese	(4)

In the C.Z.D. both /omoya/ and /imimoya/ are used, but omoya is only used to connote evil spirits and does not refer to wind. The form (onyaka) is not used in the C.Z.D. Both /omese/ and /imimese/ are used to mean knives.

The following class 11 nouns have alternatives in class 5:

11	uphiko	amaphiko	/izimpiko
5	iphiko	amaphiko	
11	ucansi		
5	icansi	amacansi	

In the C.Z.D. the term /uphiko/ refers to a kind of light metal. The term used for wing is /iphiko/. Both /ucansi/ and /icansi/ are used to mean 'mat'.

5.1.1.3 Copulative inflection

In the C.Z.D. nouns commencing with vowel /i/ prefix the element /y/ in addition to the lowering of the tone on the initial syllable of the noun. Class 5 nouns alternatively prefix the /l/ element, but this alternative form is not common:

imimoya	>	imimoya	/yimimoya
inja	>	inja	/yinja
imbuzi	>	imbuzi	/yimbuzi
izihambi	>	izihambi	/yizihambi

Class 5

ihashi	>	ihashi	/yihashi	/lihashi
ikhasi	>	ikhasi	/yikhasi	/likhasi
ilanga	>	ilanga	/yilanga	/lilanga

In this dialect all nouns commencing with vowel /u/ prefix the element /w/, and nouns commencing with vowels /a/ or /o/ or /u/ lower the tone on the initial syllable with or without the prefixal element /ng/:

w :	ulwandle	>	w ^ˈ ulwandle
	utalagu	>	w ^ˈ utalagu
ng :	abantu	>	ng ^ˈ abantu
	amadoda	>	ng ^ˈ amadoda
	osokhaya	>	ng ^ˈ osokhaya
	umfundisi	>	ng ^ˈ umfundisi

Tone only:	abantu	>	à ^ˈ abantu
	obaba	>	ò ^ˈ baba
	umfaná	>	ù ^ˈ mfana

Class 11 nouns like class 5 nouns may preplace the /l/ element as an alternative to /w/ or /y/:

	uthando	>	l ^ˈ uthando
	ukhama ^b	>	l ^ˈ ukhamba

Apart from tonal inflection which may be used without the copulative prefixes, there is a rather rare form peculiar to some districts of this dialect area, which entails prefixing /y/ to nouns commencing with vowel /u/:

uphondo	>	yùphondo
uthi	>	yùthi
ufuzo	>	yùfuzo

As a rule /y/ is prefixed to nouns commencing with vowel /i/, as has been shown.

5.1.1.4 Locative inflection

- (a) Special locatives based on nouns /abantu/, /inkosi/, /induna/, using the prefix /ko/. This prefix is generally used with nouns of 2a:

obaba	>	kobaba
ogogo	>	kogogo

In the C.Z.D. this prefix is used with nouns /inkosi/ and /induna/ but not with /abantu/:

Uye konkosi	(He has gone to the Chief's place)
Besiphuza konduna	(We were drinking beer at the induna's place)

The forms /enkosini/ and /enduneni/ are also used.

- (b) Locatives based on names of people, family or clan names, employ the prefix /kwa/ bearing the connotation 'at the place or residence of'. The initial vowel of the noun is elided when this prefix is used:

KwaVukayibambe	(at Vuka ^y ibambe's home)
kwaNgcobo	(at Ngcobo's place)
kwaNgcolosi	(at the Ngcolosi location)
kwamfowethu	(at my brother's place)

These are the forms used in the C.Z.D. Some Natal dialects deviate from the C.Z.D. by using /ka/ instead of /kwa/.

5.1.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

Only three aspects of this feature shall be examined, namely nouns whose final syllable has consonant /l/, nouns whose final syllable has a bilabial consonant, and those whose final syllable has an alveolar consonant.

- (a) In the C.Z.D. there are two ways of forming diminutives from nouns with /l/ in the final syllable. Either the /l/ undergoes no change before the diminutive suffix, or it changes to /dl/ before the suffix:

ikhala	>	ikhalana	/ikhadlana
umfula	>	umfulana	/umfudlana
imali	>	imalana	/imadlana

- (b) Where bilabials are involved, the general rule in this dialect is that they are palatalized before the diminutive suffix:

imbobo	>	imbotshana
isigubhu	>	isigujana
insimbi	>	insinjana
ikopi	>	ikotshana
uphappe	>	uphashana
impempe	>	impentshana
umlomo	>	umlonyana

Nevertheless a number of speakers^{ey} of this dialect employ two forms of diminutives, namely the unpalatalized bilabials and the palatalized form:

intaba	>	intabana	/intatshana
indaba	>	indabana	/indatshana
inkabi	>	inkabana	/inkatshana

- (c) Alveolars /th/, /d/ and /nd/ occurring in the final syllable of the noun change to prepalatals with the diminutive suffix or do not undergo any change :

isithutha	>	isithuthana	/isithushana
amaqakatha	>	amaqakathana	/amaqakashana
umgodi	>	umgodana	/umgojana
ingadi	>	ingadana	/ingajana
ukhondo	>	ukhon ^d wana	/ukhonjwana

5.1.2 Absolute Pronouns

With the exception of classes 15 and 17 pronouns, there is similarity of form in all Zulu dialects in absolute pronouns. We referred to the class 15 and 17 forms in our discussion of phonological characteristics. It is sufficient to give illustrations of the C.Z.D. forms:

Class 15	Udla khona ukudla	(He is eating the food)
17	Uphethe khona	(He has it)

5.1.3 Demonstratives

NOTE: Before we describe dialectal differences of demonstratives there is a submission we wish to make. The submission concerns the positions of reference of demonstratives. This observation also applies to copulative demonstratives and demonstrative adverbs. It would appear that all authorities describing the grammar of the Zulu language recognize a three positional reference of demonstratives, namely, this, that, and that yonder. Contrary to this description, we have come to the conclusion that Zulu demonstratives refer to four positions. This observation applies to all dialects.

- (a) The first position demonstratives refer to an object or objects relatively close to the speaker. The speaker is the controlling factor. While it is common practice to use the first position demonstratives to refer to things which are very close to the

speaker, these demonstratives can quite easily be used to refer to things about a mile or more away.

- (b) The second position demonstratives are controlled by two factors namely, the speaker and the audience. Except where these demonstratives are used in narration and for general reference as 'the former' or 'the latter' in English, where the objects referred to are not as a rule near or close to the person or persons addressed, these second position demonstratives require that the object referred to must be in close proximity to the person or persons addressed. The distance between the speaker and the object referred to is limited by the audience, which must be within speaking distance.
- (c) Where the object referred to is neither with the speakers nor with the person spoken to, the third position demonstrative is used. The second and third position demonstratives refer more or less to the same distance, under differing circumstances: if the object is close to the person addressed, the second position demonstrative is used; if the object is neither with the person addressed nor with the speaker, the third position demonstrative is used. Over and above this, the third position demonstrative differs from the second position demonstrative in that it has stress on 'ya'. One can say: Yini igama laleyantaba? (What is the name of that hill?) whether the hill is twenty miles away or just a mile away. On the contrary, the

second position demonstrative cannot be used in the same context:

Yini igama laleyontaba? (What is the name of that hill previously mentioned?).

cf. Yini igama laleyonto? (What is the name of that thing near you?).

The first position demonstratives mean "this or these", the second position demonstratives mean "that or those with you", except in narrative usage, e.g. Zazimandi lezozinsuku. (Those were the days). The third position demonstratives refer to objects some distance away from both the speaker and the audience, relative distance with no fixed line of demarcation. It corresponds to English 'that or those', and Afrikaans 'daardie'.

The fourth position demonstratives refer to objects which are a great distance away from the speaker. However, such objects must be within sight of the speaker. Greater remoteness and decrease in visibility is indicated by the greater lengthening of the initial syllable and of the final syllable and also by stress. Even though both the third and fourth position demonstratives may end in /-ya/, the obvious phonological difference is the lengthening of the vowel of the initial and final syllable of the fourth position demonstratives. There is also a tonological difference in that the fourth position form has a falling tone on the final syllable, which feature is lacking in the third position demonstrative. There is also the semantic difference which should not be overlooked.

Summary of positional reference of Zulu demonstratives

First position	- this/these
Second position	- that/those <i>with you</i> or next to you.
Third position	- that/those
Fourth position	- that/those <i>yonder</i> or over yonder.

1st position	- Lomuntu unomusa	(This person is kind)
2nd Position	- Ngiphe leyombali	(Give me the flower near you)
3rd Position	- Thatha loluyakham ^b _a	(Take that pot)
4th Position	- Bavela kul ^e :ziya:ntaba	(They come from yonder hills)

The demonstratives of the C.Z.D. are generally the same as the demonstratives of other dialects. The typical C.Z.D. demonstrative forms are found in classes 1, 3, 6, 15 and 17.

Class	1st position	2nd position	3rd position	4th position
1	lo	lowo	lowaya	lo:waya:
3	lo	lowo	lowaya	lo:waya:
6	la/lawa	lawo	lawaya	la:waya:
15	lokhu	lokho	lokhuya	lo:khuya:
17	lokhu	lokho	lokhuya	lo:khuya:

When demonstratives are followed immediately by nouns it is permissible in class 1, 2, 3 and 6 to use the short form of the third position demonstrative:

1	lowamuntu
2	lababantu
3	lowamfula
6	lawamasosha

5.1.3.1. Locative copulative demonstratives

Copulative demonstratives also refer to four locative positions. The C.Z.D. has a distinct set of forms which while showing grammatical agreement with nouns and pronouns do not show phonological agreement. The origin of the forms is not clear. As a rule copulatives represent inflections of other parts of speech, which means they lack primitive stems: wumuntu, nguyena, ngabantu, yibona, etc. Here is one instance, however, where copulatives show originality of form, except in classes 7, 8, 10, where the forms are traceable to noun prefixes. In the C.Z.D. the simpler forms found elsewhere, e.g. naba, nali, naku, do not occur.

Table of C.Z.D. Locative Copulative Demonstratives

Class	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position	4th Position
1	nangu	nango	nanguyá	na:nguyá:
2	nampa	nampo	nampayá	na:mpayá:
3	nanku	nanko	nankuyá	na:nkuyá:
4	nansi	nanso	nansiyá	na:nsiyá:
5	nanti	nanto	nantiyá	na:ntiyá:
6	nanka	nanko	nankayá	na:nkayá:
7	nasi	nasó	nasiyá	na:siyá:
8	nazi	nazo	naziyá	na:ziyá:
9	nansi	nanso	nansiyá	na:nsiyá:
10	nazi	nazo	naziyá	na:ziyá:
11	nantu	nanto	nantuyá	na:ntuyá:
14	nampu	nampo	nampuyá	na:mpuyá:
15	nakhu	nakho	nakhuyá	na:khuyá:
17	nakhu	nakho	nakhuyá	na:khuyá:

5.1.4 Demonstrative Adverbs

The C.Z.D. demonstrative adverbs /lapha/ /lapho/ /Laphaya/ have a characteristic light 'l' as opposed to some of the Natal dialects' heavy initial 'l'. As a matter of fact the heavy 'l' in question is so heavy and breathy that there is a temptation to represent it as 'lh' in writing. This heaviness is also to be observed in inflected forms of the

demonstrative adverb. The C.Z.D. 'l' remains light¹:

light :lapha,ngalapha

heavy : lhapha,ngal^h_Λapha

The breathiness is particularly audible in the N.C.D. forms.

5.1.5 Adjectives

5.1.5.1 Adjectival stem /bi/

In the C.Z.D. this stem occurs as /bi/ except in classes 8 and 9; and 10 where it occurs as /bhi/ in response to the strengthening influence of the homorganic nasal [N]:

Class 1	Umuntu omubi
2	abantu ababi
8	izitulo ezimbi
9	inkunzi embi
10	izintombi ezimbi

Note that the change is not reflected in written Zulu.

-
1. The Zululand dialects, both C.Z.D. and Z.C.D., use a light /n/ in the conjunctive prefix na, whereas elsewhere it is always a heavy or a breathy /nh/,
- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| <u>Zululand</u> | | <u>Natal</u> |
| nentombi [⁻ - ⁻] | | nhentombi [- ⁻ -] |
| nomuntu [⁻ - <u> </u>] | | nhomuntu [- ⁻ -] |

5.1.5.2 Adjectival stem /bili/

When this numeral functions as a base for the quantitative pronoun it takes a compounded prefix which is the product of a merger between the pronominal prefix and the adjectival concord. We are here concerned with class 2 forms. In this case, prefix /bo/ is prefixed to the adjectival concord /ba/.

bobabili	(both)
Bobabili bayasebenza	(They are both working)

There is nothing extraordinary about the foregoing, it is brought in for purposes of comparison.

5.1.5.3

It is sufficient to observe in this dialect that certain nouns are used as relative stems, e.g. ubuhlungu, ubukhali, ebuthuntu. When so used the prefix is elided:

Indaba ebuhlungu	(a painful affair)
Umese obukhali	(a sharp knife)
Inalithi ebuthuntu	(a blunt needle)

There is nothing extraordinary about this usage. It has been brought in to contrast with the position in the Z.C.D.

5.1.5.4 Relative suffix /yo/

In the C.Z.D. certain verb stems which are used as a base for relative construction take relative suffix /yo/:

Izintombi eziculayo	(singing maidens)
Abantu abahambayo	(people who walk)

This usage is not restricted to the C.Z.D. As in the case of the foregoing features, it has been brought to contrast with other dialects.

5.1.5.5.

The possessive concord of class 6 in the C.Z.D. and other dialects is /a-/, except the S.W.N.D. where it is /wa/. When this concord is used with nouns it coalesces with the initial vowel of the prefix:

Noun	amaswidi	a + ingane	>	engane
	amandla	a + umuntu	>	omuntu
Pronoun	amaswidi	a + mina	>	ami
	amandla	a + ithu	>	ethu
	amazwi	a + lomuntu	>	alo

5.1.6 Verbs5.1.6.1 Imperative mood(a) Monosyllabic verbs

In the C.Z.D. the imperative mood with monosyllabic verb stems is formed by suffixing /-na/ to the stem in the singular and /-nini/ in the plural:

	dla	>	dlana	Dlana ukudla	(eat food)
	ma	>	mana	Mana lapho	(stop there)
	thi	>	thana	Thana ngibone	(let me see)
	mba	>	mbana	Mbana umgodi	(dig a hole)
Note	sho	>	shono	Shono ngizwe	(speak and let me hear)

These imperative forms should not be confused with reciprocal verb forms: *Udlana nokudla* (He is gorging himself with food).

Plural forms

dla	>	dlanini
mba	>	mbanini
zwa	>	zwanini

(b) Vowel verbs

The C.Z.D. differs from some Natal dialects in that when vowel verbs are used in the imperative, no prefix is used with the

verbs, whereas the Natal dialects use the prefix /y/:

Ethemba kuJehova	(trust in Jehova)
Ejwayela ukuvuka ekuseni	(Get used to waking up early)
Osa inyama	(roast the meat)

(c) Object concords with imperatives

The C.Z.D. differs from the other Zulu dialects in a limited number of instances where use is made of object concords with imperatives. The differences are observable in classes 3, 4, 6 and 9, where the C.Z.D. uses the class vowels alone instead of the usual /cv/ concords, i.e. without the support of the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/:

Class 3	ugawule umuthi	(chop the tree)
4	ishise imithi	(burn the trees)
6	agibele amahashi	(ride the horses)
9	ishaye inkomo	(hit the beast)

5.1.6.2 Indicative mood

- (a) The C.Z.D.'s subject concord for first person singular is the velar nasal /ŋ/ rather than nasal compound /ng/. The use of /ŋ/ illustrates the influence of tekela on this Ntungwa dialect.

- (b) The object concord for 2nd person singular used with the greeting term is /wu/: Sawubona! There are still some old speakers who use the concord /ku/: Sakubona! This /ku/ is the regular concord for the 2nd person singular.

(c) Compound tenses

The prerequisite of the compound tense in Zulu is the use of the verbal auxiliary /be/ in addition to the main verb. Certain dialects drop this /be/ under certain conditions and its influence becomes latent. The C.Z.D. differs from the Natal dialects where compound tenses relating to the second and third persons are concerned. In the remote past continuous tense the C.Z.D. makes use of the verbal concord followed by the vowel of the auxiliary /be/. In the Natal dialects the auxiliary is usually completely elided.

Second Person

Recent Past Continuous	ubuthenga	(you were buying)
Remote Past Continuous	wabuthenga	(you were buying)
cf Natal's	wawuthenga	

Third Person

Recent Past Continuous	ubethenga	(he was buying)
Remote Past Continuous	wabethenga	(he was buying)
cf Natal's	wayethenga	(he was buying)

(d) Negative conjugation

In the negative conjugation of the indicative mood the negative element used in the C.Z.D. is /ka/ instead of the usual /a/:

Kangazi	(I do not know)
Kazikho izinkomo	(There are no cattle)
Kalikho izulu namuhla	(there is no rain today)
Kabaphethe lutho	(they are not carrying anything)

5.1.6.3 The subjective mood(a) Hortative subjunctive

In the Zulu language this mood employs three "polite" prefixes, namely /ka-/, /ma-/ and /a-/. The different dialects show a predilection for one or more of these prefixes, but as a rule one is used regularly. The C.Z.D. uses the polite prefix /ka-/, which is otherwise the least common of the three possibilities. This is particularly the practice with older speakers.

Kasihambe siye ekhaya	(Let us go home)
Kabangene sizwe ukuthi bathini	(Let them come in so that we can hear what they are saying)

(b) Negative conjugation

The prefix /ka-/ is used by the C.Z.D. in the construction of

the negative subjunctive past tense instead of the usual /a/:

1st Person	Ngangena kangathenga lutho
2nd Person	Wangena kawathenga lutho
3rd Person	Wangena ka:thenga lutho (for 'kaka')
	Lafika ibhasi kakwehla muntu (for 'kakwa')

5.1.6.4 Verb forms

In this dialect as in the other Zulu dialects the reciprocal verb forms entails mutual interaction between two or more subjects:

Izimbuzi ziyazondana	(Goats hate each other)
Babonana endleleni	(They saw each other on the way)

In some verbs which are reciprocal in form, the action does not involve interaction between two or more parties:

Vimbana	(be blocked, as of nostrils)
xubana	(get mixed)

Another connotation attaching to the reciprocal verb form is that of being engrossed in some exercise. Even here interaction does not come in, for the action ^{issues} from the subject without any response from the party acted upon:

Akasebenzi ulibele ukuphuzana notshwala	(He does not work, he spends his time drinking)
Utshalana nommbila engabe etshala izithelo	(He keeps on growing mealies instead of growing fruits).

The C.Z.D. has no peculiarity of its own here. The foregoing has been brought in to contrast with the position in the N.N.D.

5.1.7. Locative adverbs

In the majority of Zulu dialects locative adverbs commencing with vowel /e/ or /o/ take the formative element /s/ under the following circumstances:

- (i) in copulative construction - basendlini, basekhaya
- (ii) with descriptive possessives - utshani basemfuleni amaziⁿ asentabeni
- (iii) with conjunctive formative /na-/
- emhlabeni nasezulwini
ekujabuleni nasekuhluphekeni
- (iv) with adverbial formatives nga/ - ngasemfuleni, ngangasekuseni
nganga/ njenga-

Mayenziwe emhlabeni *njengaseZulwini* (as it is in heaven).

The foregoing applies also in the C.Z.D.

5.2 THE ZULULAND COAST DIALECT (Z.C.D.)

Note: We shall observe a number of similarities between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. owing primarily to geographical proximity and

common linguistic background, yet the Z.C.D. has characteristics of its own which set it apart as a dialect in its own right.

5.2.1 Nouns

5.2.1.1 The position of the noun prefixes is the same in the Z.C.D. as in the C.Z.D.

5.2.1.2 Noun classes

Even here the position is the same except that as one approaches the area of the N.C.D. the isogloss covering the noun /ukwindla/ is halted, and does not go to the whole length of the area. Otherwise the inflected forms of /ukunene/ and /ukunxele/ cover the entire area:

Isandla sokunene ngesokudla (The right hand is used for eating)

The only striking point of difference between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. is to be observed in class la nouns. When nouns /unyezi/ and /ugwayi/ are inflected they take different prefixes from those of the C.Z.D.:

	Z.C.D.	C.Z.D.
<u>Possessive Inflection</u>	Ukunuka kogwayi	Ukunuka kukagwayi
	Ukukhanya konyezi	Ukukhanya kukanyezi
<u>Locative Inflection</u>	Faka imali egwayini	Faka imali kugwayi
	Uhleli enyezini	Uhleli kunyezi

5.2.1.3 Copulative inflection

The zero prefix is generally becoming accepted in this dialect in the formation of copulatives from nouns commencing with vowels /a/ or /o/ or /u/, excepting those of class 11. The zero prefix is essentially a feature peculiar to the Natal dialects. Naturally there still remains a sector of speakers who employ the typical C.Z.D. prefixal /ng/:

abantu	>	àbantu	or	ngàbantu
ogogo	>	ògogo	or	ngògogo
umfana	>	ùmfana	or	ngùmfana

5.2.1.4 Locative inflection

- (a) The special locative inflection with the /ko/ prefix is found only with /konkosi/:

Baye embizweni koNkosi (They have gone to the meeting at the Chief's place)

- (b) In the Z.C.D. and other Zulu dialects, locative inflections based on nouns referring to some parts of the body employ only the prefixal element and no suffix is added to the noun:

ikhanda	>	ekhanda
iqolo	>	eqolo
ihlombe	>	ehlombe

Other nouns referring to parts of the body form their locatives in the regular method of prefixing and suffixing:

umphimbo	>	emphinjeni
isifuba	>	esifubeni
ukhalo	>	okhalweni

In the Z.C.D. some nouns referring to parts of the body which in other dialects form their locatives regularly, only make use of the prefixal element in the place of the initial vowel:

umphimbo	>	emphimbo
isifuba	>	esifuba
ukhalo	>	okhalo
isiphongo	>	esiphongo

5.2.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

The position of diminutive derivation from nouns is more or less the same between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. Some difference is noticed among nouns whose final syllable has consonant /l/ or the bilabial /b/. In the C.Z.D. the normal position is for the /l/ to change to /dl/, but in the Z.C.D. the position is for the /l/ not to change at all,:

	umfula	>	umfulana
	ikhala	>	ikhalana
	isihlalo	>	isihlalwana
	uvalo	>	uvalwana
also	phambili	>	phambilana
	kakhulu	>	kakhulwana

Among some speakers of the Z.C.D., bilabial /b/ occurring in the final syllable of some nouns is not palatalized in diminutive formation, as in the case in the C.Z.D.:

intaba	>	intabana
udaba	>	udabana

Anginandaba nenkabana yakhe (I don't care for his pitiful small ox)
 Ikhabana lalombila lihle (The smallish foliage of this maize plant is attractive)

5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.2.4.

Pronouns and demonstratives

There is no difference between the C.Z.D. and the Z.C.D. as far as pronouns and demonstratives, locative copulative demonstratives and demonstrative adverbs are concerned.

5.2.5 Adjectives

5.2.5.3.

A few relative stems derived from nouns undergo a change in

some area⁵ of this dialect. The stems in question which regularly commence with *bu-*, e.g. *buhlungu*, *bukhali*, *buthuntu*, occur as *luhlungu*, *lukhali* and *luthuntu* in this dialect and in quick speech the vowel /u/ of the /lu/ is elided:

	<i>indaba el'hlungu</i>	(a sad affair)
	<i>umese ol'khali</i>	(a sharp knife)
	<i>umese ol'thuntu</i>	(a blunt knife)
	<i>isilonda esil'hlungu</i>	(a painful sore)
also	<i>kul'hlungu emphimbo</i>	(it is painful in the throat)

5.2.5.4 The relative suffix

In the Z.C.D. the relative suffix /yo/ is replaced by /kho/ when it is used with relative stems based on verbs. This formative is also used in the S.W.N.D. except that it occurs as /ko/. The Z.C.D. /kho/ is used even by those speakers who have discarded thefula whose relic this suffix is:

Z.C.D.	C.Z.D.	
<i>Abantu abahambakho</i>	<i>Abantu abahambayo</i>	(People who travel)
<i>Ubani obuzakho?</i>	<i>Ubani obuzayo?</i>	(Who is asking?)

5.2.6. Verbs

5.2.6.1 Imperative mood

(a) In the Z.C.D. the imperative forms based on monosyllabic verbs and vowel verbs are the same as in the C.Z.D.

- (b) In the Z.C.D. when the imperative form of the verb is used with the first person object concord a situation resembling that which takes place in the N.C.D. arises. While the general practice in Zulu is to change the final vowel of the verb to /e/, in this dialect it is possible to use the special object concord without changing the final vowel to /e/:

M'phuzisa	(give me something to drink)
M'bambisa	(help me hold or carry)
N'thathisa lempahla	(help me take this parcel)

5.2.6.2 Indicative mood

- (a) The Z.C.D. uses both the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the nasal compound /ng/ as first person subject concord. As one approaches the N.C.D. area there is an inclination to use the nasal compound /ng/ while the /ŋ/ is used further away from the N.C.D. area.
- (b) The object concord used with the greeting is /wu/: Sawubona! Another point of departure from the C.Z.D. is the issue of the first person singular subject concord. In the place of the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the velar nasal compound /ng/, the Z.C.D. uses the homorganic nasal. It is also used extensively as the object concord for the first person singular. It must be pointed out that the special form referred to here is used as an alternative to the normal form:

Z.C.D.	C.Z.D.	
Um'phe ukudla	Ungiphe ukudla	(He gave me food)
An'thandi ukusebenza	Angithandi ukusebenza	(I don't like working)
An'nandaba	Anginandaba	(I don't care)
Ake m'bone ukuthi wenzani	Ake ngibone ukuthi wenzani	(May I see what you are doing)
Akam'funi uNtombana	Akangifuni uNtombana	(Ntombana does not like me)
Uyan'qala n'thule nje	Uyangiqala ngithule nje	(He teases me but I just keep quiet)
Ngabe sem'phuza njalo	Ngabe sengiphuza njalo	(Then I started drinking)
Uthi an'thini mina?	Uthi kangithini mina?	(What do you want me to say?)

(c) Compound tenses

Towards the extreme north coast of this dialect area the verbal auxiliary /be/ used in the formation of compound tenses is at times replaced with /ye/. Where /ye/ is used, contraction of the verb is not permissible.

Z.C.D.		C.Z.D.
Ngaye ngingakazi kahle	-	Ngabe ngingakazi kahle
Waye engakamboni umnewabo	-	Wabe engakamboni umnewabo
Waye ungakamboni umnewenu	-	Wabungakamboni umnewenu

(d) Negative conjugation

The Z.C.D. uses both the usual negative element /a/ and the special Zululand element /ka/. Older speakers tend to employ

the /ka/ element while the younger speakers use /a/:

Angimboni / kangimboni	(I do not see him)
Akathandi ukusebenza /Kathandi ukusebenza	(He doesn't like to work)
Abaphuzi lutho / Kabaphuzi lutho	(They are not drinking anything)
Alini izulu / Kalini izulu	(It is not raining)

5.2.6.3. Subjunctive mood

(a) Hortative subjunctive

In the Z.C.D. the three polite prefixes of the subjunctive mood are used, but /ma/ is used more frequently than the others, which is followed by /a/ in popularity:

Masithandaze / Asithandaze	(Let us pray)
Mayibuye!	(Let it return)

(b) Negative conjugation

The Z.C.D. uses mainly the negative prefix /a/ in the formation of negative subjunctive:

Wafika akathenga nkomo	(He came and did not buy cattle)
Wangena awabona muntu?	(You entered and saw no one?)

5.2.6.4 Verb forms

- (a) The reciprocal verb form.

No difference is observable between the Z.C.D. and the C.Z.D. as far as this verb form is concerned.

5.2.7 Locative adverbs

The Z.C.D. also uses the locative prefix /s/:

Usemfuleni (He is at the river)

Utshani basentabeni (Mountain grass)

5.3 THE NATAL COAST DIALECT (N.C.D.)5.3.1 Nouns5.3.1.1 Noun prefixes

The N.C.D. does not differ from the C.Z.D. as far as prefixes are concerned. We can only record in passing that contraction is becoming the regular pattern. One wonders if we are not reverting to the monoprefixes mentioned by Bryant.

Angizwa (I hear no voice)

Angiboni fu mina (I see no cloud)

I:khwama zilahlekile (Bags are lost)

5.3.1.2 Noun classes

- (a) This dialect is without class 17 nouns ~~except the~~ nouns used in their inflected form, = /ukunene/ and /ukunxele/:

Jikela ngakwesokunene	(Turn to the right)
Isandla sokunxele	(The left hand is difficult to work with)

The noun /ukwindla/ usually occurring as a remnant in other dialects, does not occur, and its place is taken by the noun /ihlobo/:

Sesidla ihlobo (We are eating the summer season's crops)

- (b) Of the nouns with alternatives in other classes only the noun /ucansi/ has an alternative in class 5:

Class 11	ucansi	
	5	icansi amacansi

The class 11 noun /uphiko/ has gone out of circulation.

- (c) Contrary to the usual pattern of the so-called class 1a nouns, /umese/, /unyezi/, and /umoba/ taking class 3 verbal concords,

these nouns take only the class 1 concords in this dialect:

Ngiyamfuna umese	(I want the knife)
Bayamthanda umoba	(They like sugar cane)
Ikhaba likamoba	(Sugar cane foliage)
Icala likamese	(The knife case)

However, there are some speakers who use the class 3 concord.

Bayawuthanda umese	(They like the knife)
Ziyawubona unyezi	(They see moonlight)

5.3.1.3 Copulative inflection

In this dialect we encounter typical Natal copulative inflections. The pattern common in Zulu dialects is to preplace prefix /y/ in nouns commencing with vowel /i/ except in class 5 where /l/ may be preplaced as an alternative to /y/. In the N.C.D. as in the other Natal dialects it is usual to rely on the zero prefix:

ingane	>	ĩngane
indoda	>	ĩndoda
ikati	>	ĩkati

With the lowering of the tone on the initial vowel the product becomes so heavily breathy that it sounds as if voiced glottal fricative /hh/ has been employed.

Even with nouns commencing in the vowels /a/, /o/ or /u/ tonal inflection is the regular practice. This differs radically from the C.Z.D. forms where the typical prefix is /ng/:

amadoda	>	˘amadoda
amazwe	>	˘amazwe
omakoti	>	˘omakoti
umlungisi	>	˘umlungisi
uthando	>	˘uthando/l˘uthando

5.3.1.4 Locative inflection

- (a) The class 2a locative prefix /ko/ which may be used with nouns /abantu/, /inkosi/, /induna/ in other Zulu dialects is as a rule not used in the N.C.D. When used exceptionally with /abantu/ it has an idiomatic purport.

abantu	>	kobantu (In the bundu or rural area)
--------	---	--------------------------------------

- (b) The locative prefix /kwa/, (not to be confused with the possessive concords), when used with names of people and names of clans to mean "at the place of", undergoes contraction and becomes /ka/, which is not to be confused with class 1a possessive concord:

udokotela	>	kadokotela	(kwadokotela)
umfundisi	>	kamfundisi	(kwanfundisi)
ummeli	>	kammeli	(kwammeli)

Proper names and family names:

uCijimpi	>	kaCijimpi	(kwaCijimpi)
uNgcobo	>	kaNgcobo	(kwaNgcobo)
uMzolo	>	kaMzolo	(kwaMzolo)
Ngcolosi	>	kaNgcolosi	(kwaNgcolosi)
Qwabe	>	kaQwabe	(kwaQwabe)

cf. indlebe kadokotela

imali kagogo

5.3.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

There is not much difference between this dialect and the other Zulu dialects with regard to the formation of diminutives from nouns, except in the case of some nouns with bilabials in the ultimate syllable. In our treatment of phonological characteristics we referred to the non-observance of palatalization in this dialect area. The point of departure from the C.Z.D. is the compatibility of bilabials with semi-vowel /w/ in this dialect:

umlomo	>	umlomwana / umlomana
intambo	>	intambwana / intambana
isitambu	>	isitambwana / isitambana
isipho	>	isiphwana / isiphana

The alternative forms reflected above represent a transition from the tekela-like forms towards the regular Zulu forms which show palatalization.

The above position involving bilabials is also to be observed in passive formation of verbs and locative formation of nouns:

Verbs:

bamba > bambwa

luma > lumwa

Locatives:

isitambu > esitambwini

inkulumo > enkulumweni

5.3.2 Pronouns

Class 15 pronouns.

The N.C.D. has the typical Natal class 15 absolute pronoun /kona/, which, unlike the case of the Zululand dialects, is quite distinct from the adverb /khona/ and agrees with nouns of class 15 both phonologically and grammatically:

Up^h_xethe *kona* ukudla okumnandi (He is carrying delicious food)

Kwathi *kungangena* endlini ukufa
kwazitika ngokudla (As soon as the fellow entered the house, he ate food).

5.3.3 Demonstratives

An irregularity is to be observed in the N.C.D. in that, except for class 15 demonstratives (loku, loku^y), the general position of demonstratives resembles that of the Zululand dialects and differs from that of the Natal dialects. The broad difference between Natal and Zululand dialects (in addition to class 5 demons.) is observable in classes 1, 3, and 6 second position forms: loyo (cl. 1), loyo (cl. 3), and layo (cl. 6). Perhaps this leaning of the N.C.D. towards the Zululand forms can be explained in terms of the fact that the N.C.D. lies in an industrial belt and has an important metropolis at its centre. As a result it is subjected to many influences. We wish to observe at this point that there is already evidence in the N.C.D. of the N.N.D. demonstrative forms of class 1, namely /loyo/, /loya/ and /lo:ya:/, in addition to the regular forms /lo/.

5.3.3.1 Locative copulative demonstratives

We find once more that N.C.D. copulative demonstrative forms resemble those of the C.Z.D. It shall therefore not be necessary to repeat them here.

5.3.4 Demonstrative Adverbs

The adverbs in question are /lapha, lapho, laphaya, la:phaya:/. The point of interest about the N.C.D. adverbs is the form of the first position demonstrative adverb /lapha/. Apart from the existence of the

regular /lapha/ the form mainly used in this dialect is /lana/:

Incwadi yibeke lana.	Incwadi yibeke lapha.	(Put the book here)
Hlala lana.	Hlala lapha.	(Sit here)
Lezi ^h nkomo ezalana.	Lezi ^h nkomo ezalapha.	(These cattle are of this place)

The /lapha/ that is used in this dialect differs from the C.Z.D. form in that the initial 'l' of /lapha/ is heavier and as such may be described as a depressor *l*. As we have already observed the Zululand *l* of /lapha/ is lighter. This depressor quality of *l* or *lh* is to be observed even among inflections in that it acts as a block to tone displacement:

ngalhapha [̄-̄]	cf.	ngalapha [̄-̄]	(C.Z.D.)
ngalhapho [̄-̄]	cf.	ngalapho [̄-̄]	(C.Z.D.)

5.3.5 Adjectives

5.3.5.1 Adjectival stem /bi/

In the N.C.D. the adjectival stem is singularly interesting. The point of interest is that the stem occurs as /mbi/ in all classes and not as a result of homorganic nasal influence:

umuntu omumbi	(umuntu omubi)
abantu abambi	(abantu ababi)
ihashi elimbi	(ihashi elibi)
amahashi amambi	(amahashi amabi)
inkomo embi	(inkomo embi)

izinkomo ezimbi (izinkomo ezimbi)

5.3.5.2 Numeral /bili/

When this numeral is used as a quantitative pronoun of class 2 it normally takes compound prefix /boba-/:

bobabili bahambile (both of them are gone)

bobabili bayafunda (both attend school)

In some areas using this dialect a different prefix is used. The prefix is /bobo-/:

Ubathume bobobili (He sent both of them)

Bahambile bob^{b.}o_^ili (Both are gone)

5.3.5.3 The relative suffix /yo/

In the N.C.D. the point of interest is not so much whether /yo/ is used in relative constructions or not, but the apparent influence of this suffix on the tone of some relative verb stems. It would appear that /yo/ has a retrospective influence on the preceding two syllables in that it causes a peculiar low tone on the final two syllables. Even where there is no depressor consonant the tone is lowered:

Umfana ogulayo (a sick boy) [̄---]

Ingane efikayo (a child who has just arrived) [̄---]

5.3.6 Verbs5.3.6.1 Imperative mood(a) Monosyllabic verbs

The N.C.D. differs from the C.Z.D. in the formation of imperatives from monosyllabic verbs. In the N.C.D. element /yi/ is prefixed to the stem in the singular:

yidla	(eat)
yiza	(come)
yimba	(dig)

The plural form is arrived at by suffixing /ni/ or /nini/ to the singular form:

yidlani	or	yidlanini
yizani	or	yizanini
yimbani	or	yimbanini

(b) Vowel verbs

In the N.C.D. the imperative is formed from vowel verbs by prefixing element /y/ to the verb:

Yethemba enkosini	(Trust in the Lord)
Yejwayela ukufunda	(get used to reading)
Yosa inyama	(roast meat)

(c) Object concords with imperatives

As opposed to the C.Z.D. where object concords are used without the support of semi-vowels /y/ or /w/, in the N.C.D. object concords take either semi-vowel /y/ or semi-vowel /w/:

3	Wugawule umuthi	(Fell the tree)
4	Yishise imizi	(Burn the kraals)
6	Wagibele amahashi	(Ride the horses)
9	Yishaye imbuzi	(Hit the goat)

The object concords using semi-vowels belong to classes 3, 4, 6 and 9 as shown above. Otherwise all dialects share the same forms in the other classes. As a general rule where the object concord is used with imperative forms of the verb, the final vowel of the verb changes to /e/. In this dialect, in addition to the regular usage, the final vowel of the verb may be left unchanged where first person object is used:

Ngiphuzise or ngiphuzisa	(give me something to drink)
Ngiphe or ngipha	(give me some)
Ngiboleke or ngiboleka	(lend me).

5.3.6.2 Indicative mood

(a) First person singular subject concord.

In the case of the C.Z.D. the personal concord preferred is the velar nasal /ŋ/. In the N.C.D. both the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the nasal compound /ng/ are used, but the inclination is to use more and more the nasal compound:

Positive

Ngifunda incwadi (ng)

Ngithanda inyama (ng)

Negative

Angifundi (ng)

Angithandi (ng)

In practical orthography no distinction is made between the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the nasal compound /ŋg/.

(b) Indefinite object concord

The indefinite concord /ku/ is used in this dialect where locative inflections are used objectively with transitive verbs. In other Zulu dialects locatives are not treated as objects and no concord is used. When used with vowel verbs /ku/ occurs as /kw/ in order to avoid the occurrence of vowels in juxtaposition:

Ngiyakwazi eThekwini	- Ngiyazi eThekwini	(I know Durban)
Siyakuthanda eGoli	- Siyathanda eGoli	(We love Johannesburg)
Lengane iyakwazi kubo	- Lengane iyazi kubo	(This child knows its home)
Angkwazi eThekwini	- angazi eThekwini	(I don't know Durban)
Asikuthandi eGoli	- Asikuthandi eGoli	(We don't like Johannesburg)

(c)

Compound tenses

The verbal auxiliary used with compound tenses in 2nd and 3rd person singular is /be/. Unlike the situation in the C.Z.D. and the Z.C.D., the verbal auxiliary /be/ is not used in the remote past compound tenses:

Second person

Recent Past Continuous : ubuthenga

Remote Past Continuous : wawuthenga

cf. Zululand wabuthenga

Third person

Recent Past Continuous : ubethenga

Remote Past Continuous : wayethenga

cf. Zululand wabethenga

(d)

Negative conjugation

- (i) The negative conjugation of the verb with nouns of class 6 and as subject of the sentence presents an interesting variation to the negative conjugation of the C.Z.D. Whereas

the C.Z.D. negative formative is /wa/, in the N.C.D. the formative is /ka/:

Amanzi akashisi	(water is not hot,	Amanzi awashisi)
Amanga akamahle	(lies are no good,	Amanga awamahle)
Lamanzi akamandi	(this water is not tasty,	lamanzi awamandi)

- (ii) Another interesting variation is to be observed in the negative copulative conjugation of /khona/, with class 1, 3rd person singular subject concord. Instead of the negative formative /ka/, the N.C.D. uses the formative /mu/, which is reminiscent of the object concord:

ukhona > amukho
usekhona > amsekho

5.3.6.3 The subjⁿunctive mood

(a) Hortative subjunctive

There are two polite prefixes that are used in this dialect namely, /a/ and /ma/:

Asithandaze (let us pray)
mabangene (let them come in)

(b) Negative conjugation

The N.C.D. uses the usual negative prefix /a/ in the construction of the negative subjunctive past tense.

First Person

Ngangena angathenga lutho (I entered and did not buy anything)

Second Person

Wangena awathenga lutho (You entered and did not buy anything)

Third Person

Wangena akathenga lutho (He entered and did not buy anything)

5.3.6.4 Verb forms

There is nothing out of the ordinary about the reciprocal verb in this dialect. It behaves as in the C.Z.D.

5.3.7 Locative adverbs(a) Locative infix /s/

In the N.C.D. the position is the same as in the C.Z.D. where locative adverbs commencing with vowels /e/ and /o/ are concerned. Infix /s/ is used to separate the vowel of the locative prefix and the initial vowel of the locative:

usekhaya	(He is at home)
utshani basemfuleni	(river grass)
emhlabeni naseZulwini	(on earth and in heaven)

(b) The Interrogative adverb stem /phi/

The C.Z.D. has the form /kuphi/ alternative /phi/ e.g. uphi? or ukuphi? The N.C.D. makes use of the form /ephi/ over and above /kuphi/? /Laphi/ is also used in this dialect as well as /maphi/, not to refer to nouns of classes 5 and 6 as these forms may suggest, but as alternative to /kuphi/:

Usho ephi?	(Where do you mean?)
Ulaphi uyihlo?	(Where is your father?)
Imphi induku?	(Where is the stick?)
Limaphi idolobha lasePitoli?	(Where about is the city of Pretoria?)

The above forms are also to be observed to some extent in the L.N.C.D.

5.4 THE LOWER NATAL COAST DIALECT (L.N.C.D.)

5.4.1 Nouns

5.4.1.1 Noun prefixes

We have observed in the dialects that we have discussed that some

prefixes have undergone contraction. This is particularly the case in classes 5 and 11 nouns, even with nouns having monosyllabic stems. We have also observed a tendency towards contraction in other classes such as 7, 8 and 10. Here we need to be reminded of the fact that the dialect under consideration is a product of Lala tekela speech. Bryant observed that tekela speech was characterized by the use of monoprefixes, and it is those same monoprefixes that still tend to survive in this area, preplaced by the Ntungwa Nguni initial vowels, whereas in the C.Z.D area they tend to disappear (the li & lu elements of classes 5 and 11 have already done so both in speech and in writing, ^{and} the si & zi elements of classes 7, 8 and 10 seem to be following this example). This survival is particularly apparent in nouns with monosyllabic stems:

Prefixes:

ili-

ilihlo, ilitshe, ilizwe

ulu-

uluthi, ulutho, ulusu

izi-

izintombi, izinkomo

Positive conjugation

Ulimele ilihlo (He has injured his eye)

Umshaya ngelitshe (He struck him with a stone)

Unelizwi elikhulu (He has got a big voice)

Ufuye izinkomo (He keeps cattle)

Negative conjugation

Angizwa lizwi (I hear no voice)

Angiboni lizwe (I see no land)

Vocative

Lizwe Lakithi	(Our native land)
Lizwi linamandla	(Almighty word)

5.4.1.2 Noun classes(a) Class 17 nouns

While /ukunto/ may be used to a limited extent in the L.N.C.D., the only noun of class 17 used freely is /ukwindla/. The other two /ukunene and / ukunxele/ now occur in their inflected forms only, as in the other dialects.

(The class 14 noun /utshwala/ occurs as /bwala/ only among a few old Lala speakers).

(b) Nouns with alternatives in other classes

The class 1a noun /umese/ has an alternative in class 3:

1a	umese	2a	omese
3	ummese	4	imense

The class 11 nouns /uphiko/ and /ucansi/: whereas the noun /uphiko/ has migrated to class 5, the noun /ucansi/ is still a member of class 11.

5.4.1.3 Copulative inflection

As in the case of the N.C.D., except among nouns commencing with vowel /i/ where the prefix /y/ may be employed in copulative inflection, the zero prefix is employed in the L.N.C.D. with nouns commencing with other vowels:

ilizwi	>	ilizwi	/yilizwi
umuntu	>	umuntu	
abantu	>	abantu	
amayashi	>	amayashi	/amhashi

Peculiar to this dialect only is the use of copulative prefix /yi/ in the place of the initial vowel of nouns commencing with /a/. Not all speakers use this form, but it is nevertheless not ideolectal:

abantu	>	yibantu
amadoda	>	yimadoda
ukuthi	>	yikuthi
ukuba	>	yikuba

5.4.1.4 Locative inflection

- (a) Special locatives based on nouns /abantu/, /inkosi/ and /induna/ using prefix /ko/.

In the L.N.C.D. these special forms do not obtain, and only

regular prefixes are used with the nouns in question:

abantu > kubantu /ebantwini

inkosi > enkosini

- (b) Prefix /kwa/ or /ka/ used with locative names. As in the case of the N.C.D., the tendency in the L.N.C.D. is to use prefix /ka/ in preference to /kwa/:

KwaNyuswa /kaNyuswa

kwaZulu /kaZulu

kwamlungu /kamlungu

5.4.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

Of interest to us here are diminutives formed from nouns whose final syllable has a bilabial consonant. In this dialect as in the case of the N.C.D., the observation to be made is that bilabials are not palatalized as happens generally in Zulu. As observed earlier, the explanation for this is to be found in the linguistic background of this dialect. Palatalization was not observed in the Lala dialect. This position holds even in the case of passive and locative forms. (See 5.3.1.5 for examples).

5.4.2 Absolute pronouns

In classes 15 and 17 the L.N.C.D. has the typical Natal forms of pronouns, /kona/, cl 15 and /kona/ cl 17, as opposed to the C.Z.D's /khona/:

Class 15 Bafuna kona okuphekiwe (ukudla) (They want cooked food)
 17 Ngisho kona (I mean it).

An interesting departure is to be observed in the inflection of the first person absolute pronoun /mina/. In locative inflection absolute pronouns take prefix /ku/ with /ki/ or the first person singular. In this dialect some speakers employ prefix /ku/ even for this first person pronoun, i.e.

/kumi/ instead of /kimi/:

Yilethe kumi — yilethe kimi (Bring it to me)

Copulative inflection of /mina/ uses prefix /u/ instead of the regular /yi/:
 /umina/ (it is me) instead of /yimi/ or /yimina/.

5.4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives of the L.N.C.D. differ only slightly from the C.Z.D. forms. In classes 15 and 17 there is the usual phonological difference so that the L.N.C.D. form is /loku/. There is then the difference of contraction and vowel length. Disyllabic first person demonstratives are at times contracted into monosyllables with vowel length and a characteristic lowering of the tone on this syllable:

lababantu > la:bantu
 lesisitsha > le:sitsha
 lezizinkomo > le:zinkomo
 lolukhamba > lo:khamba

In the other dialects contraction affects the noun but not the demonstrative. It does appear as if the /l/ of these demonstratives acts as a depressor. In these contractions it assumes a breathy quality so that it should be reflected as:

lhà:bantu	(these people)
lhè:sitsha	(this vessel)
lhè:zinkomo	(these cattle)
lhò:kudla	(this food)
lhò:khamba	(this pot)
(See 5.3.4)	

5.4.3 Locative copulative demonstratives

A difference occurs between the copulative demonstratives of the L.N.C.D and the C.Z.D. forms. However, a similarity is to be observed in class 6 where the forms /nanka/ /nanko/ /nankaya/ /na:nkaya:/ are found. The L.N.C.D. forms lack the preponderance of nasal compounds except in a few classes namely, classes 1, 3 and 6. At the extreme south of this dialect area a divergence is also to be observed in class 3 forms, in that these forms are the same as the class 1 forms. These class 3 forms are not to be found in the N.N.D. whose demonstratives are generally similar to these of the L.N.C.D. (See 5.6.3) forms, even though the two had differing tekela backgrounds, the N.N.D. being Mbo-tekela and the L.N.C.D. Lala tekela.

Class	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position	4th Position
1	nangu	nango	nanguyá	na:nguyá:
2	naba	nabo	nabayá	na:bayá:
3	nangu	nango	nanguyá	na:nguyá:
4	nayi	nayo	nayiyá	na:yiya:
5	nali	nalo	naliyá	na:liyá:
6	nanka	nanko	nankayá	na:nkayá:
7	nasi	nasó	nasiyá	na:siyá:
8	nazi	nazo	naziyá	na:ziyá:
9	nayi	nayo	nayiyá	na:yiya:
10	nazi	nazo	naziyá	na:ziyá:
11	nalú	nalo	naluyá	na:luyá:
14	nabu	nabo	nabuyá	na:buyá:
15/17	naku	nako	nakuyá	na:kuyá:

Owing to the spread of dialects over the face of Natal some speakers employ the C.Z.D. forms.

5.4.4 Demonstrative adverbs

As far as these are concerned the only observable difference between the L.N.C.D. and the C.Z.D. is in the first position demonstrative. In the L.N.C.D. it usually takes the form /lana/.

Woza lana	(come here)
yibeké lana	(put it here)
Izingane zalana azizwa	(children of this place are naughty)
umuntu olana akasuke	(a person who is sitting here should move)

5.4.5 Adjectives5.4.5.1 Adjectival stem /bi/

As in the case of the N.C.D. the stem /bi/ occurs as /mbi/ even in the L.N.C.D. This practice is to be observed even among speakers who tend to use the C.Z.D. forms:

Umntwana om ^m _^ ubi	(a bad child)
indoda embi	(a bad man)
isandla sakhe simbi	(his handwriting is poor)

5.4.5.2 Numerals /bili/ /thathu/

The singularity of the stem /bili/ stands out when the stem is used as a quantitative pronoun (inclusive) of class 1. The qualificative prefix used is /bobo/ instead of /boba/:

bobobili	(both or two of them)
Abafana bobobili bayasebenza	(both boys are working)

The form /bobothathu/ is heard but very rarely. The change of the compound prefix /boba/ to /bobo/ is attributed to the influence of isiCele.

5.4.6 Verbs5.4.6.1 Imperative mood

- (a) In the formation of imperative from verbs with monosyllabic stems, /yi/ is prefixed as in the other Natal dialects:

yidla, yiza, yimba.

Suffix /ni/ or /nini/ is suffixed in the formation of plural forms:

Yidlani ukudla	(eat food)
Yizanini lapha	(you come here)
Yimbani umgodi	(dig a hole)

- (b) Vowel verbs

As in the case of the N.C.D., the L.N.C.D. employs the element /y/ in its formation of imperatives from vowel verbs:

yotha umlilo	(warm yourself in the fire)
yenza masisha	(hurry up)

- (c) Object concords with imperatives

In classes 3, 4, 6 and 9 when the imperative is used with object concords, two forms are possible, with or without the support of /w/ or /y/:

wushise umuzi / ushise umuzi	(burn the home)
yishise imizi / ishise imizi	(burn the homes)
yishaye inkomo/ ishaye inkomo	(hit the beast)

5.4.6.2 Indicative mood

(a) First person singular subject concord

In the L.N.C.D. the first person subject concord takes the form of the velar nasal /g/. Owing to the mixed nature of the inhabitants of this area on the Lower South Coast, the nasal compound /ndi/ is also used regularly. This usage shows the influence of Xhosa.

- (b) The second person object concord used in the greeting expression is /ku/: Sakubona!

The C.Z.D. employs /wu/: Sawubona!

Even in the L.N.C.D. we find the indefinite concord /ku/ being used intrusively with locative inflections:

Ngiyakwazi eMzinkhulu (I know uMzinkhulu)

(c) Compound tenses

The L.N.C.D. differs from the N.C.D. in that the former has two forms of compound tenses for the second and third persons singular. There is the full and the contracted form:

conjugation as it is sometimes called, present another interesting feature. In the L.N.C.D. the /ka/ of the expectant implication is replaced with /ko/. Where this /ko/ is used with the 3rd Person of negative concord /ka/, the latter is as a general rule elided:

L.N.C.D.	C.Z.D.	
akotheli	akakatheli	(he has not yet paid tax)
akobuyi	akakabuyi	(he has not yet returned)
bebengakothuthi	bebengakathuthi	(they had not yet moved house)

Otherwise like the other Natal dialects and as opposed to the C.Z.D. the negative element used in this dialect is /a/:

ngiyahamba	>	angihambi
ziyadla	>	azidli
kuyashi ^s _A	>	akushisi

5.4.6.3 The subjunctive mood

(a) Hortative subjunctive

Of the three polite prefixes used with the hortative subjunctive, namely, /a/, /ma/ and /ka/, /a/ predominates in certain localities of this dialect area and /ma/ in others. On the average /a/ can be regarded as the prefix which is characteristic of this area:

asihambe /asiyambe	(let us go)
abasebenze	(let them work)
asigibele	(let us ride)

(b) Negative conjugation

The negative infix /nga/ is used instead of the negative prefix /a/. There are two forms of the negative past tense in this dialect. The form where verbs in the negative conjugation end in vowel /i/ is more common compared to the form where verbs end in vowel /a/. The latter is the regular negative form in the other Zulu dialects. We notice in this case a departure from the Natal dialects' position. The forms ending in /i/ are characteristic of the L.N.C.D.

1st Person

Ngangena ngangathengi lutho (I came and did not buy anything)

2nd Person

Wangena wangathengi lutho (You came in and did not buy anything)

3rd Person

wangena wangathengi lutho (he came in and did not buy anything)

Lesser used alternatives of the L.N.C.D.

1st Person

Ngangena ngangathenga lutho

2nd Person

Wangena wangathenga lutho

5.4.6.4 Verb forms(a) Reciprocal verb form

This dialect does not differ from the dialects already discussed as far as the reciprocal form is concerned.

(b) Stative verbs

In Zulu stative verbs as a rule have two forms, the long and the special short form. The forms are generally interchangeable and the use of either form depends upon the speaker. However, in the L.N.C.D. there is a noticeable or characteristic tendency to use the long form even where the other dialects prefer the short special form:

L.N.C.D.	OTHERS	
usuthile	usuthi	(he has had enough to eat)
ukhathalile	ukhathele	(he is tired)
ujabulile	ujabule	(he is happy)
Ngamfica ethulile	ngamfica ethule	(I found him silent)
Uphumulile akasebenzi	uphumule akasebenzi	(he is resting and is not working)
Wenamile unkabi namuhla	weneme unkabi namuhla	(the fellow is happy today)

5.4.7 Locative adverbs

Whereas it is not the regular practice in this dialect to substitute /k/ for the locative infix /s/ with vowel commencing locatives, some speakers do use /k/. Probably this is because the dialect lies close to a dialect which practices this exchange:

Usekhaya	/ ukekhaya	(he is at home)
BaseSayidi	/ bakeSayidi	(they are at Port Shepstone)

5.5 THE SOUTH WEST NATAL DIALECT (S.W.N.D.)

5.5.1 Nouns

5.5.1.1 Noun prefixes

Contrary to the position obtaining in the majority of Zulu dialects as far as the contraction of noun prefixes in classes 5 and 11, 7, 8 and 10, is concerned, the position in this dialect is that on the average, as in the case of the L.N.C.D., prefixes still retain their full forms. However, evidence of a swing towards contracted forms is beginning to show in classes 7, 8 and 10.

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.
ilizwi	izwi
ilizwe	izwe
uluthi	uthi
ulutho	utho
isikhwama/iskhwama	iskhwama
izikhwama/izkhwama	i:khwama (ziphi i:khwama)

In verbal constructions, in the negative conjugation and the axiomatic negative, this dialect differs from the C.Z.D. where nouns of class 5 with monosyllabic stems are concerned, in that the S.W.N.D. retains part of the prefix while the C.Z.D. does not use the prefix at all:

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
angizwa lizwi	angizwa zwi	(I hear no voice)
angifuni lizwe lamuntu	angifuni zwe lamuntu	(I don't want and man's land)

Axiomatic forms.

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
lizwi	zwi	zwi lani lelo?
lizwe	zwe	zwe linjani?
	zwe	zwe lithini?

Agentive nouns

U ^h _o ngelizwi elikhulu.	Usho ngezwi elikhulu	(He speaks with a deep voice)
Ugabe ngelizwe lakubo	Ugabe ngezwe lakubo	(He prides himself on his family property)

5.5.1.2 Noun classes(a) Class 17

Of all the Zulu dialects the S.W.N.D. is the only dialect which still has two nouns in class 17 to its credit. The only noun still used in other dialects is /ukwindla/. The S.W.N.D. also has /ukunto/ to its credit:

Angikuboni ukunto kwami (I don't see my thing)

Okukabani lukukunte? (Whose thing^{is} is this?)

Nouns /ukunene/ and /ukunxele/ are used in their inflected forms.

(b) Nouns with alternatives in other classes

The nouns /uphika/ and /ucansi/ do not occur in this dialect any longer. The noun /uphika/ occurs as /iphiko/ (class 5). Even /icansi/ is not used, instead /isihlandla/ or /isicamba/ is used. In this dialect the nouns with alternatives in other classes are /umbese/ and /umoya/. It should be pointed out that /ummese/ occurs as /umbese/ and that it has no plural form in 2a, its plural being found in class 4. On the other hand /umoya/ has alternatives in class 3:

umoya > omoya

ummoya > imimoya

5.5.1.3 Copulative inflection

When nouns are inflected to form copulatives the prefixal element /yi/ is preplaced to those nouns commencing with /i/ and the zero prefix or tonal inflection is employed in the case of nouns commencing with other vowels. Tonal breathiness results in the incidence of other ill-defined prefixal elements such as /hh/ and /w/:

inja > ìnja / yinja /hhìinja
 indoda > ìndoda/ yìndoda /hhìndoda
 ilizwi > ìlizwi/ yìlizwe /hhìlizwi
 ukhama > ùkhamba/wùkhamba /hhùkhamba
 onogwaja > ònogwaja/ hhònogwaja

5.5.1.4 Locative inflection

Inflections of nouns /abantu/ /inkosi/ and /induna/ do not make use of the class 2a locative prefix /ko/. Therefore the forms /kobantu/ and /konkosi/ do not obtain in this dialect.

The influence of Xhosa shows itself in the inflection of the noun /abantu/. As a rule Zulu makes use of the prefix /ku/ with this word except when /ebantwini/ is used in an idiomatic expression /Zal'abantu ziy'ebantwini/. The S.W.N.D. uses prefix /e/ on this noun regularly. The form /ebantwini/ is reminiscent of Xhosa /emntwini/ and /ebantwini/. In the S.W.N.D. the word /unkosi/ is as a rule used in the place of /inkosi/. When locatives are formed using this noun the prefixes used are /kwa/ or /ka/,

not to be confused with possessives. Speakers who employ the form /inkosi/ prefix /e/ and suffix /ini/:

unkosi	>	kunkosi	Ngiya kunkosi	(I am going to the shief's place)
unkosi	>	kwankosi / kankosi		
uhlala kwankosi				(He stays at the chief's place)

In constructions referring to place names and family names, two varieties of the possessive locative prefix are used. Nearer Pietermaritzburg the prefix /ka/ is preferred, while both /kwa/ and /ka/ may be used as alternatives nearer the Natal-Transkei border:

S.W.N.D.	REGULAR
kaMafunze	kwaMafunze
kaNgcobo	kwaNgcobo
KaXosheyakhe	kwaXosheyakhe
kamfundisi	kwamfundisi

5.5.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

Whether it is because some early settlers of this area such as the Bhacas came from Zululand or some other reason, diminutive derivation in the S.W.N.D. is the same as in the C.Z.D., and labials which occur in the final syllable of the noun are palatalized.

5.5.2 Pronouns

There is similarity of form between the S.W.N.D. and the Natal dialects' absolute pronouns. The class 15 and 17 pronouns are typical Natal forms:

- Class 15 kona - akafuni kona ukudla (he does not want food)
 17 kona - kona kuncane (ukunto) (it is small)

There is also in the S.W.N.D. an interesting case of copulative formation based on the absolute pronoun, first person singular /mina/. In this case the copulative formative /u/ is used instead of the C.Z.D. formative /yi/ e.g. mina > umina. This S.W.N.D. construction is attributed to Nhlanguwini influence. However, the use of the expression is not limited to the Nhlanguwini as we saw it in the L.N.C.D.

5.5.3 Demonstratives

There is no clearly defined picture as far as the demonstratives of the S.W.N.D. are concerned. This dialect employs forms typical of the C.Z.D. as well as forms of the N.N.D. (see 5.6.3) in those classes where differences occur, viz. class 1, 3, 6. In classes 15 and 17, the Natal forms are used. This is to be explained in terms of admixture, in this remote area, of forms peculiar to different dialects, consequent upon earlier migrations. There is, however, a tendency in this particular matter for the S.W.N.D. to lean more towards C.Z.D. forms. Another

interesting point of difference from the C.Z.D., occurs in the use of the first person position demonstratives in some classes. The difference is that as in the case of the L.N.C.D., the S.W.N.D. uses contracted forms instead of the regular disyllabic forms. The S.W.N.D. forms are also heavily accented as a result of an exaggerated lowering of the tone. This is accompanied by the lengthening of the vowel of the demonstrative, probably in an attempt to accommodate the contraction.

Class	S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D	
2	là:bantu	lababantu	(these people)
3	là:mahashi	lawamahashi	(these horses)
7	lè:sinkwa	lesisinkwa	(this loaf)
8	lè:zinkwa	lezizinkwa	(these loaves)
11	lò:khamba	lolukhamba	(this pot)
14	lò:buso	lobubuso	(this face)
15	lò:kudla	lokukudla	(this food)
17	lò:kunto	(lokhu)	(this thing)

In the fourth position demonstrative the tonal pattern of the demonstratives is transferred to the succeeding noun. Beside a falling tone on the final syllable of the noun, the syllable is also heavily accented:

lo:wá: muntú:
 lo:wá: muzi'

There is evidence of the use of Xhosa forms among those speakers living near the dialect boundary.

laa: muntu:

laa: muzi:

5.5.3.1 Locative copulative demonstratives

Even in the case of locative copulative demonstratives the S.W.N.D. has no clear cut pattern of forms. Forms peculiar to the C.Z.D. and the N.N.D. are used, as well as, in classes 3, 4 and 9 forms leaning towards Xhosa:

Class 3	nangu	nango	nanguya	na:nguya:
4	nandi	nando	nandiya	na:ndiya:
9	nandi	nando	nandiya	na:ndiya:

In other classes there is a noticeable tendency to use the N.N.D. forms even though the C.Z.D. forms are also used.

5.5.4 Demonstrative adverbs

As alternatives to the C.Z.D. forms of demonstrative adverbs, the S.W.N.D. has its special form. The second position demonstrative /lapho/ is replaced by /layo/. The form /laya/ takes the place of the third and fourth position demonstrative adverb /laphaya/. (It may be noted also that locative interrogative /kuphi/ has alternatives /laphi/ and /layi/.

Uya kuphi? / Uya layi? (where are you going?)

5.5.5 Adjectives5.5.5.4 Relative suffix /yo/

The Khuzes who speak the S.W.N.D. employ formative /ko/ instead of /yo/. This position is reminiscent of the position obtaining in Swazi (Mb⁰₄) and the Z.C.D.:

Ubani okhulumako?	(who is speaking)
Umlilo ovuthako	(a burning fire)
Sambona mhla efikako	(we saw him the day he arrived)

5.5.5.5 Class 6 possessive prefix

In the C.Z.D. the possessive prefix used with nouns of class 6 is /a/. In the S.W.N.D. the prefix used is /wa/ which is similar to the class 1 and 3 prefixes:

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
amazwi wami	amazwi ami	(my words)
amandla wendoda	amandla endoda	(man's strength)
amahashi wethu	amahashi ethu	(our horses)

The form we have described is not used to the total exclusion of the common form.

There is another usage of the possessive which is suggestive of Xhosa or probably Bhaca influence. This takes the nature of contracted possessives. This entails the elision of the /y/ and /w/ where they occur in the possessive prefix, together with the final vowel of the noun qualified:

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
inkom'akhe	inkomo yakhe	(his beast)
imaz'akhe	imanzi yakhe	(his cow/wife)
mhlob'ami	mhlobo wami	(my friend)
inkab'ebhokhwe	(intondolo)	(we ther)

5.5.6 Verbs

4.4.6.1 Imperative mood

(a) Monosyllabic verbs

The S.W.N.D. also uses stabilizers in the formation of imperatives from monosyllabic verb stems. Prefixes /yi/ and /i/ are employed alternatively with verbs in the singular:

yidla	/	idla	(eat)
yimba	/	imba	(dig)

Plural forms are derived from singular forms by suffixing /ni/

or /ninⁱ/:

yidlani / yidlanini (eat)

yimbani / yimbanini (eat)

(b) Vowel verbs

Vowel verbs are used either as they are or with the element /y/ prefixed to the verb stem:

osa > osa / yosa

elusa > elusa / yelusa

(c) Object concords with imperatives

The position is the same as in the C.Z.D. regarding the use of object concords with imperatives. Object concords of classes 3, 4, 6 and 9 are used without /y/ or /w/ when used with the imperative forms:

ugawule umuthi (fell the tree)

ishaye inkomo (hit the beast)

5.5.6.2 Indicative mood

(a) Subject concord 1st person singular

The personal verbal concord in this dialect takes the form of

the nasal compound /ng/ as opposed to the C.Z.D.'s use of the velar nasal /ŋ/. However, there are some speakers even in this dialect who employ the velar nasal /g/ as personal concord. Certain speakers use the nasal compound /ndi/, which is evidence of Xhosa and Bhaca influence. Some Bhacas say /ndzi/.

(b) Object concord

The second person singular object concord in the greeting expression is /wu/, common to Natal Zulu:

Sawubona! (Greetings)

(c) Compound tenses

There is some measure of similarity among Zulu dialects of Natal as far as compound tenses are concerned. The second person recent past continuous form is /bewuthenga/ as opposed to the C.Z.D.'s /ubuthenga/. There is no difference in the case of the remote past /wawuthenga/.

Third person forms:

Recent past continuous tense - ubethenga

Remote past continuous tense - wayethenga

(d) Negative conjugation

The S.W.N.D. uses negative prefix /a/ in the formation of the negative indicative. This element is common to the Natal dialects.

Angazi (I do not know)
 Ayikho imali (there is no money)
 Azifundi isikole
 (they do not attend school)

(e) The verbal auxiliary used with verbs in the present tense continuous aspect is /ye/ as opposed to the regular form /ya/ used in all the other dialects:

S.W.N.D.	REGULAR	
uyefunda	uyafunda	(he is learning)
uyebusa	uyabusa	(he is ruling)
uyefika	uyafika	(he is arriving)

This is not to be confused with constructions employing verbs with a latent initial vowel or an alternative initial vowel:

uya	+	izwa	>	uyezwa
liya	+	iva	>	liyeva
baya	+	(e)suka	>	bayesuka

As a matter of fact there is some degree of similarity between the S.W.N.D. and the C.Z.D. with regard to Zulu verbs with a latent initial vowel. There is in these two dialects no evidence of any latent vowel in the verbs /ma/ and /mba/:

Ihashi lama phansi komuthi	(the horse stood under a tree)
Wamba umgodi ojulile	(he dug a deep hole)

- (f) Another characteristic feature of the S.W.N.D. is observable in the future tense. In the place of the auxilliary /zo/, indicative of the immediate future, this dialect employs the auxilliary /za/. Coalescence of vowels does not take place.

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
uzahamba	uzohamba	(he is going to go)
uzafunda	uzofunda	(he is going to learn)
lizakuna	lizokuna	(it is going to rain)
sebezaphuma	sebezophuma	(they are just about to come out)

5.5.6.3 The subjunctive mood

(a) Hortative subjunctive

In the S.W.N.D. as in the other Natal dialects the polite prefixes used are /ma/ and /a/, while the C.Z.D.'s choice is /ka/:

Mabangene	(let them come in)
Abahambe	(let them go)
Asisebenze	(let us work)

(b) Negative conjugation

As in the case of the L.N.C.D. which uses infix /nga/, in the S.W.N.D. there are forms of the past tense in the negative conjugation. The negative infix is /nga/ (nasal compound) while the C.Z.D. uses prefix /ka/. Whereas as a general rule the past subjunctive negative tense ends in the vowel /a/, the S.W.N.D. also has verbs ending in /i/ as in the case of the indicative mood negative present tense:

Ngangena ngangathenga lutho (I came in and did not buy anything)
 Ngangena ngangathengi lutho

Zafika zangadla lutho (They came and had nothing to eat)
 Zafika zangadi lutho

5.5.64 Verb forms

Passives: (Morphophonological Changes)

In the formation of passives from verbs where final syllables have bilabials, these sounds are as a rule palatalized, and there is evidence of palatalization even where the bilabials do not occupy the ultimate syllable. The persistent pal^atalization is evident in the majority of Zulu dialects. In the S.W.N.D., however, there is evidence of avoidance of palatalization of bilabials other than those occupying the ultimate position:

Uzabambiswa umi	(he is going to be assisted by me)
Ivangeli lishumayelwa umfundisi	(the gospel is preached by the priest)
Izinkabi zibophelwa umina	(the oxen are inspanned by me)

It should be observed, however, that persistent palatalization is creeping even into this dialect.

5.5.7 Locative adverbs

Except for minor differences, the position of adverbs is the same as in the C.Z.D. The most characteristic usage of this dialect is the substitution of /k/ in the place of the locative infix /s/ used with locatives commencing with vowels /e/ or /o/:

(a) Copulative constructions

S.W.N.D.	C.Z.D.
ukekhaya	usekhaya
bakeXobho	baseXobho
zikeMfuleni	ziseMfuleni

(b) Descriptive possessive

utshani bakemfuleni	Utshani basemfuleni	(river grass)
utshwala bakemshadweni	utshwala basemshadweni	(wedding feast beer)

(c) Conjunctive formative /na/

Emhlabeni nakeZulwini	Emhlabeni naseZulwini	(on earth and in heaven)
Endlini nakemmyango	Endlini naseemmyango	(inside and outside)

(d) Adverbial formatives /nga/ and /njenga/-

Bakhe ngakeXobho	Bakhe ngaseXobho	(their home is near Ixopo)
Usebenza njengakekhaya	Usebenza njengasekhaya	(he works like at home)

5.6 THE NORTHERN NATAL DIALECT (N.N.D)5.6.1 Nouns5.6.1.1 Noun prefixes

The phenomenon of prefixal contraction in certain classes of nouns is also to be observed in the N.N.D. The classes that stand out clearly as far as this is concerned are 5 and 11. Apart from these it is gradually becoming standard practice to contract prefixes of classes 8 and 10 in nouns whose stems have more than one syllable. In such cases the lengthened initial vowel stands in the place of the full prefix. It does appear that Zulu is beginning to lose many of its zunda sounds in the concordal system.

Class 5	izwi,	isu,	izwe
11	uthi,	utho,	usu, uvu
8	i:khwama	i:hlalo	i:thelo
10	i:nkomo	imbuzi	i:ntombi
	i:thelo zokona ukufa (the fruits of evil are death)		

However, in negative verbal conjugation there is a partial resuscitation of the prefix.

Angiboni lizwe	(I see no land)
Abezwa lizwi	(they hear no voice)
Akukho lisu elingcono	(there is no better plan)
Akukho luvu kwezami izinwele	(there is no grey hair among my hair)

It should be noted that full prefixes may be used in slow and deliberate speech and in rhetoric, but they are rare in ordinary conversation.

5.6.1.2 Noun classes

It has been observed that certain nouns have alternatives in certain classes. In the N.N.D. it would appear that instead of alternatives there has been a migration or shifting of nouns from one class to the other. The nouns /umoya/ and /umese/ only belong to class 3 in the N.N.D. The class 11 nouns /uphiko/ and /ucansi/ do not occur in this form in the N.N.D. They occur as class 5 nouns /iphiko/ and /icansi/.

As in the majority of Zulu dialects the only class 17 noun occurring in its uninflected form is /ukwindla/.

5.6.1.3 Copulative inflection

There is some agreement between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. with regard to the formation of copulatives from nouns commencing with vowel /i/. The general practice is to prefix /y/ or use the zero prefix. The N.N.D. differs somewhat when it comes to nouns of class 5. Where the C.Z.D. normally relies on the /y/ prefix, the N.N.D. in addition employs the /l/ prefixal element freely:

inja	>	ĩnja	/	yinja
indoda	>	ĩndoda	/	yindoda
ikati	>	ĩkati	/	yikati / likati
i ^h hembe	>	i ^h hembe	/	yihembe / lihembe
Wehlulwa	likhela			(he is beaten by an old man)
Izintanga	zishiswa	lilanga		(pumpkin plants are scorched by the sun)

In addition to these prefixes the N.N.D. also uses the prefixal element /hh/. It is difficult to distinguish between an exaggerated lowering of the tone on vowel /i/ and this sound /hh/:

ikati	>	ĩkati	/	hhĩkati
izwi	>	ĩzwi	/	hhĩzwi

The difference becomes clearly defined where nouns commencing with vowels /a/, /o/ or /u/ are inflected. Generally the N.N.D. employs the zero prefix as against C.Z.D.'s use of the prefixal element /ng/:

N.N.D.	C.Z.D.
àbantu	ngabantu
àbafana	ngabafana
òmalume	ngomalume
ònogwaja	ngonogwaja
ùmfundisi	ngumfundisi

In nouns of class 11, in addition to the use of the zero prefix, the N.N.D. employs prefixal elements /hh/ and /w/:

ùlwandle	/	hhùlwandle	/	wùlwandle
ùdondolo	/	hhùdondolo	/	wùdondolo

Elements /hh/ and /w/ may also be used with other nouns commencing with /u/, and /hh/ with nouns commencing with vowels /a/ or /o/:

ugogo	>	hhùgogo	/	wugogo
umuntu	>	hhùmuntu	/	wumuntu
abantu	>	hhàabantu		
omantindane	>	hhòmantindane		
obani	>	hhòbani		

For no apparent reason the AmaNdwane around Rookdale in the Bergville district still adhere to the C.Z.D. practice of prefixing /ng/ to nouns commencing with /a/ or /o/ or /u/. The AmaNdwane ran away from Zululand during Shaka's reign.

5.6.1.4 Locative inflection

The N.N.D. does not differ much from the C.Z.D. as far as locative inflections are concerned. The class 2a locative prefix /ko/ used in the C.Z.D. to mean 'at the place of' is not normally used in the N.N.D., the regular /kwa/ being preferred:

Ngisaya kwaCijimpi (I am going to Cijimpi's place)

Icala belithethwa kwanduna
(the case was heard at the induna's place)

5.6.1.5 Diminutive derivation (Morphophonological Changes)

Again the position is more or less the same between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. with regard to the formation of diminutives from nouns, especially where bilabials are concerned. Palatalization takes place regularly, except of course in cases which are not palatalized as a general rule. However, the N.N.D. lacks the forms which the C.Z.D. do not palatalize by choice:

intabana

indabana

Apart from bilabials, the change of /l/ to /dl/ is generally the order of the day in diminutive formation in the N.N.D:

umfula	umfudlana
ikhala	ikhadlana

5.6.2 Absolute pronouns

There is similarity between the absolute pronouns of the N.N.D. and those of the other Natal dialects, including the Zululand dialects except in classes 15 and 17 where the difference is *observable*. The N.N.D. forms of class 15 and 17 are /kona/:

Class 15	Ufuna kona ukudla	(he wants food)
17	Ngisho kona ukwindla	(I mean autumn)

5.6.3 Demonstratives

The N.N.D. demonstratives are nearly the same as those of the C.Z.D., but differ in classes 1, 3 and 6, in the second, third and fourth positions, where N.N.D. used /y/ in its forms while the C.Z.D. uses the /w/:

N.N.D.

Class	Second position	Third position	Fourth position
1	loyo	loyá	lo:yá:
3	loyo	loyá	lo:yá:
6	layo	layá	la:yá:

C.Z.D.

Class	Second position	Third position	Fourth position
1	lowo	lowayá	lo:wayá:
3	lowo	lowayá	lo:wayá:
6	lawo	lawayá	lo:wayá:

The use of /na/ as a suffix in the third and fourth positions is optional:

Third position	Fourth position
loyá / loyaná	lo:yaná: / lo:yá:

In classes 15 and 17 the differences obtain in all the positions because of phonological reasons:

Class 15 Okukabani lokukudla? (whose food is this?)
 Ngizodla loku, ngidle loko, ngidle lokuya.
 (I will eat this, eat that and eat that yonder)

Class 17 Ngisho kona impela (I mean it)

The N.N.D. demonstratives are similar to Swazi forms except in classes 3 and 6. This can be explained as persistent Mbo influence in the case of the N.N.D. It must be observed, however, that even in this dialect area the use of N.N.D. forms is not exclusive of C.Z.D. forms owing to easy communication among speakers. However, the use of /loyo/ is a distinctive feature the N.N.D.

5.6.3.1 Locative copulative demonstratives

There are many points of difference between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. where copulative demonstratives are concerned. Unlike the case of the plain demonstrative, the differences are more of a morphological nature. The C.Z.D. forms are characterized by the use of nasal compounds which is not the case in the N.N.D. In spite of this difference the stable initial element /na/ remains the same in all ⁶dialects. It is the element that reflects agreement that changes. C.M. Doke seems to see a relationship between the C.Z.D. copulative demonstratives and the contracted form of the absolute pronoun. We feel this is stretching the point too far. Whatever relationship there is between absolute pronouns and the copulative demonstratives seems to be more patent in the N.N.D. forms:

	N.N.D.	C.Z.D.
Compare class 2	<i>bona</i> and <i>nabo</i>	<i>bona</i> and <i>nampo</i>
3	<i>wona</i> and <i>nawo</i>	<i>wona</i> and <i>nanko</i>
5	<i>lona</i> and <i>nalo</i>	<i>lona</i> and <i>nanto</i>

Difference in form between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. occur in classes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15 and 17. As in the case of the plain demonstratives the N.N.D. forms tend to be similar to the Swazi forms:

N.N.D.

Class	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position	4th Position
1	nangu	nango	nanguya	na:nguya:
2	naba	nabo	nabaya	na:baya:
3	nawu	nawo	nawuya	na:wuya:
4	nayi	nayo	nayiya	na:yiya:
5	nali	nalo	naliya	na:liya:
6	nawa	nawo	nawaya	na:waya:
7	nasi	naso	nasiya	na:siya:
8	nazi	nazo	naziya	na:ziya:
9	nayi	nayo	nayiya	na:yiya:
10	nazi	nazo	naziya	na:ziya:
11	nalu	nalo	naluya	na:luya:
14	nabu	nabo	nabuya	na:buya:
15/17	naku	nako	nakuya	na:kuya

Except for minor differences in classes 3 and 6 the N.N.D. forms are similar to the L.N.C.D. forms.

5.6.4 Demonstrative adverbs

Adverbs ^b_λ /lapha/ /lapho/ /laphaya/ /la:phaya/ are the same in the N.N.D. as in the C.Z.D.

The light 'l' is characteristic of this area.

5.6.5 Adjectives

Even in the case of adjectives there is no structural or functional difference to be observed between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. This indicates that the levelling process has gone very far between the N.N.D and the C.Z.D. which leads one to think about the possibility of evolving standard Zulu from the merger of these dialects. However, it is too early to conclude: only time will tell.

5.6.6 Verbs5.6.6.1 Imperative mood(a) Monosyllabic verbs

The N.N.D. differs decidedly from the C.Z.D. with regard to the use of the imperative forms of monosyllabic verbs. The difference is brought about by the N.N.D.'s use of the stabilizer /yi/ which is prefixed to the verb stem, while the C.Z.D. uses a suffixal element /na/ in the singular. In the plural both dialects use the suffix /ni/ or /nini/ depending upon the speakers:

N.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
yidla	dlana	(eat)
yimba	mbana	(dig)
yidlanini	dlanini	
yimbani /nini	mbanini	

(b) Vowel verbs

N.N.D. vowel verbs take /y/ in the imperative.

yelusa	(herd stock)
yazi	(know)
yosa	(roast)
yanda	(increase / spread)

(c) Object concords with imperatives

One other difference between the N.N.D. and the C.Z.D. in the imperative mood is to be seen where the object concord is used in classes 3, 4, 6 and 9. The C.Z.D. prefers to use /v/ concords instead of the /vc/concords:

	N.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
Class 3	Wugawule umtholo	ugawule umtholo	(cut down the wattle)
4	Yishise iminyani	Ishise iminyani	(burn the husks)
6	Wachithe amanzi	Achithe amanzi	(pour out the water)
9	Yithume ingane	Ithume ingane	(send the child)

5.6.6.2 The indicative mood(a) Subject concord 1st person singular

The N.N.D. uses the velar nasal /ŋ/ as the personal concord. This

dialect together with the C.Z.D. show a decided inclination towards this concord as opposed to the dialects along the coast where the inclination is to use the nasal compound.

- (b) The N.N.D. uses object concord /wu/ with the word for greeting:
Sawubona!

(c) Compound tenses

The N.N.D. differs from the C.Z.D. in respect of compound tenses in that the form for the 2nd person singular reflect different contractions of the verbal auxiliary /be/:

N.N.D.	C.Z.D.
Recent past continuous	
Bewuthenga	Ubuthenga
Remote past continuous	
Wawuthenga	Wabuthenga

(d) Negative conjugation

In the negative conjugation of the indicative, the negative formative of the N.N.D. is /a/ while that of the C.Z.D. is /ka/:

N.N.D.	C.Z.D.	
Angazi	kangazi	(I do not know)
Alikho izulu namuhla	Kalikho izulu namuhla	(There is no rain today)

(e) Past tense

The Rookdale area in Bergville has a distinctive way of expressing the past tense of the exclusive implication of the indicative mood of class 1. Instead of verbal concords /wa/ and /u/ of the remote past and the immediate past tense respectively, this area has special contracted forms employing the /l/ element:

Regular form	Special form	
Remote past: Sewahamba	Selahamba	(he has gone)
Sewafa	Selafa	(he has died)
Recent past: Usehambile	Selehambile	(he has gone)
Useganiwe	Seleganiwe	(he has got married)

5.6.6.3 The subjunctive mood(a) Hortative subjunctive

Of the polite prefixes used by the hortative subjunctive, the N.N.D. employs the prefix /a/ mainly:

Asihambe	(let us go)
Abangene	(let them come in)

(b) Negative conjugation

Even in the negative conjugation the N.N.D. uses prefix /a/ as opposed to the C.Z.D. /ka/:

Past tense

1st person	Ngangena angathenga lutho
2nd person	Wangena awathenga lutho
3rd person	Wangena akathenga lutho

5.6.6.4 Verb formsReciprocal verb form

Of interest in this instance is the intensive or habitual verb form which is peculiar to the N.N.D. Under normal circumstances, as we observed in the C.Z.D., reciprocal verb forms entail an interplay between two parties. This special intensive verb for the N.N.D. does not show overt reciprocity or interaction. The shade of meaning attaching to this special form is that action is habitual and intensive:

/Inja yakwaDlamini iyalumana/ (Dlamini's dog is vicious,
bad tempered)

Interaction is implied only in that ^{the} dog could not be said to be vicious if there was no other party to which the viciousness is directed.

Abafana balendawo bayashayana (boys of this area are in the habit
of hitting others)

Ngiyashayana mina (I am in the habit of hitting people)

The use of the reciprocal verb form in question is closely allied to the form used with the conjunctive morpheme /na/, which also does not show overt reciprocity. This /na/ form means to be engrossed or deeply interested in doing something:

Ulibele ukufundana nencwadi (he is busy reading a book)

Yeka ukuluph^hana nami (stop bothering me)

5.6.7 Locative adverbs

The point at issue about the use of locative infix /s/ in the N.N.D. is not that the N.N.D differs from the C.Z.D., but the N.N.D.'s occasional omission of the infix resulting in the contraction of forms. These contractions occur when locatives are used with /na/, /nga/, /njenga/:

Eduze nasekhaya Eduze nekhaya

Ngena ngasendlini Ngena ngendlini

Bangasexhibeni Bangexhibeni

Ngisaya ngasekhaya Ngisayangekhaya

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 5: MORPHOLOGY

	CZD	ZCD	NCD	LNCD	SWND	NND
Noun Prefixes	izwi uthi	izwi uthi	izwi uthi	ilizwi uluthi	ilizwi uluthi	izwi uthi
Copulatives	ng, y ngũmuntu	ng, y ngũmuntu	w, y zero ũmuntu	w, y zero ũmuntu	w, y, hh zero wũmuntu hhũmuntu	w, y, hh zero wũmuntu hhũmuntu
Locatives Locative prefix Loc.poss.prefix	konkosi s kwa	konkosi s kwa & ka	enkosini s ka	enkosini k ka & kwa	kunkosi k ka & kwa	enkosini s kwa
Absolute Pnoun	khona	khona	kona	kona	kona	kona
Demonstratives	lokhu lowo	lokhu lowo	loku lowo	loku lowo laba/la:	loku lowo/loyo la:,le:,lo:	loku loyo
Loc.cop.dem.	nampa nanti nansi	nampa nanti nansi	nampa nanti nansi	naba nali nayi	naba/nampa nali/nanti nayi/nandi	naba nali nayi
Loc.Adverb	lapha kuphi akakho	lapha kuphi akakho	lhapha maphi laphi akekho amukho	lhapha lana laphi akekho amukho	lapha laya laphi layi akekho	lapha kuphi akekho
Adjective Relative suffix	bi yo	bi 'ho	mbi yo	mbi yo	bi ko	bi yo
Imperative	dlana enza	dlana enza	yidla yenza	yidla yenza	idla enza	yidla yenza
Imp. o.c.	u & i	u & i	wu & yi	wu & yi	u & i	wu & yi
Ist l. concord	ŋi	ŋi(& ŋgi)	ŋgi(& ŋi)	ŋi(& ŋgi)	ŋi (& ŋgi)	ŋi
Compound tenses	wabu wabe	wabu waye	wawu waye	wawu waye	wawu waye	wawu waye
Negative Prefix Cl. 6 Neg. s.c.	ka kawa	a & ka awa	a aka	a aka	a awa	a awa
	ka	ma	a & ma	a	ma & a	a

conservative Zulus. The rapid pace of life has forced the Zulus to abandon their staid traditional way of life. Slow movers are being swept along by changing social tides. It is now common place to find all the senior male members of the family away from home and employed as migrant labourers. This results in the crumbling of language barriers. Of late the demands of an industrial economy are forcing even the female members of the family into industrial areas. Mothers have heretofore been staunch adherents of tradition and preservers of local dialects. A fast moving society demands quick and easy communication and does not bother with purity of form. Consequently new forms of speech, peculiar to the times, spring up, without necessarily disturbing the local linguistic substratum immediately.

With the advent of industrialization has ensued the efflux of settled communities from rural areas into towns in quest of employment. Townships and squatter settlements have mushroomed around towns and cities with the result that a new urban and sophisticated society has developed, resulting in an urbanised form of speech, 'isidorobha', being cultivated. Without breaking the grammatical tenets of Zulu, this new speech makes use of all linguistic material at its disposal and is primarily characterized by an abundance of neologisms and a fair sprinkling of slang. This practice is loosening the conservative roots of Zulu and opening up vistas of change.

6.3 RESETTLEMENT

While on the issue of movement of settled communities, we want

to refer in passing to the South African government's politically motivated resettlement scheme. Under this scheme long established communities are moved from their homes to new area where they meet new people, who at times speak differing dialects and this leads to a levelling of dialects. In view of the fact that this scheme is far from complete, seeing that there is still homeland consolidation to be achieved, Zulu is due for more change, leading to homogeneity. Other groups leave their places of birth out of their own volition. We have in mind the Chunus who left Msinga owing to disturbances in that area and settled at Mahlabathini and Lower Umfolozi. This has affected the language position even if minimally.

6.4 THE SCHOOL

Schools play a very important role in the levelling process. Whereas a few decades ago many parents were tardy to send their children to school, there is now an eagerness among Zulus to educate children. Children go to school in their thousands. While there is still no complete uniformity in Zulu that is taught in schools, a measure of success has been realised. The Department of Education provides a uniform terminology of grammatical terms which is used in the teaching of Zulu grammar. The introduction and enforcement of mother tongue instruction in the fifties at primary school level saw a spirited attempt at coining Zulu terms to be used in the teaching of factual subjects, seeing that Zulu is not properly equipped as a vehicle for imparting technological concepts. Out of this exercise has sprung a standardized store of vocabulary. However,

even in schools there is nothing to stop teachers from using forms peculiar to their dialects in factual subjects, namely *loku* instead of *lokhu*, *loya* in the place of *lowa*. It is sad to observe that the grammatical terms and technical expressions used in school are not used outside the school precincts.

In schools the most glaring points of dialectal usage are frowned upon. For instance the habit of interchanging click sounds, peculiar to some dialects is not allowed in school. Owing to the uniform nature of Zulu orthography it permits only the use of glottal fricative /h/ in writing. Although these dialectal alternative sounds are still used, the force of uniformity in writing tends to eliminate them even in speech. One rarely hears the velar fricative /h/ even in the name 'Hadebe' of late.

The largest concentration of Zulu scholars is to be found in the primary school. These children are day scholars. In practice they speak one dialect of Zulu in class, but as soon as they leave school they slip back to their local dialects. Bloomfield observes that "indeed, diffidence as to one's speech is an almost universal trait. The observer who sets out to study a strange language or local dialect, often gets data from his informants only to find them using entirely different forms when they speak among themselves. They count these latter forms inferior and are ashamed to give them to the observer. An observer may thus record a language entirely unrelated to the one he is looking for". The foregoing obtains even in the Zulu situation.

1. Bloomfield, L., *Language*, p.497.

6.5 THE TEACHER

The Zulu schoolmaster does not play an altogether insignificant role in the dissemination of dialect forms on one hand and fostering standardization in class on the other hand. The pupils hear the teacher's peculiar form of speech, and at times try to emulate it, thinking that it is the proper thing coming from the mentor. Therefore more forms are brought into the melting pot leading to the sifting and selection of those elements which are thought to be better for communication purposes, especially if the teacher is instrumental in the selection. The teacher's influence also embraces parents or adults. People are apt to frown less on unfamiliar expressions they hear from the teacher, even though they belong to dialects other than their own. An example of this is the adverb /ave/ meaning extremely, which is of Bhaca origin:

Ave ngilambile (I am very hungry)

Likewise /lokhuza/ meaning 'what's it', 'what's name', which is reputed to be peculiar to Natal is now spreading to Zululand.

Apart from the esteem in which they are held socially, teachers communicate with a large number of speakers because of their position or function in society.

6.6 THE CHURCH

This institution is also helping to iron out dialectal differences and bring about uniformity. With the spread of Christianity among the Zulus, the church as a social institution has assumed an important role.

Church hymnals and prayer books for the different denominations, are written in one form of Zulu, the literary form, and used in widespread areas. The Methodist Church in particular is responsible for the introduction of some Xhosa sounds and expressions into Zulu, because a large number of congregants use Xhosa hymnals. The most important book in the church, the bible, is written in what for want of a better term shall be called 'standard'. This points to one significant fact and that is that 'standard' Zulu shall only be a literary and not a spoken form for a long time. When people speak they are free, but when they write they are subjected to some literary discipline.

6.7 THE TOWNS

Whereas the growth process of Zulu is evolutionary, that process is quickened by the social revolution taking place. It will illustrate our point better if we take a brief look at the position of Zulu in metropolitan areas. Outside Natal we look at the metropolis of Johannesburg. Zulus born and bred in this city speak a peculiar kind of Zulu, characterized by the fact that it is a happy mixture of everything that is spoken in the various dialects and languages in and around the city, notwithstanding the ethnic divisions of the inhabitants of the township:

Awizwe lenyama *la immandi ngakhona* (----mo emonate kateng)

Uyofika *ngezi 16 zikaJune* (----ka li 16 tsa June)

The foregoing are illustrations of Zuluized Sotho. Durban in Natal differs

a great deal from Johannesburg in that what is spoken by those born and bred in Durban is to all intents and purposes pure Zulu. However, it is also to some extent a mixture of features from the various Zulu dialects. Is there a possibility that standard Zulu for future literate generations is evolving around Durban, a focal area, as standard English evolved in and around London? The prospects are there because town language is not inhibited by the conservatism characteristic of rural dialects. Durban is serving as a melting pot where dialect differences are melting away. Again, Durban and environs has a greater concentration of African schools where uniform Zulu is emerging. What is observable just now is that people living continuously with people from different localities are placed in a position to use any form which appeals to them. For instance a speaker of the Northern Natal Dialect living in Durban may use /lowa/ or /loya/ for demonstratives, in as much as a person originally speaking the South West Natal Dialect may say both /khamba/ and /hamba/ without thinking that there is anything strange with one of the forms.

6.8 LITERATURE

The paucity of Zulu books on the market shows that not much attention has been paid to the development of Zulu as a literary language. This has probably been brought about by the fact that Zulu books have to be tailored to suit Zulu school children. In other words we have little Zulu literature in the generally accepted sense of the word. Therefore, what there is of Zulu literature cannot at present serve as a proper guide to what is standard. The straitjacketing of Zulu literature has had a

crippling effect on its growth. There is no adult reading public, and many Zulu words acceptable to adult minds are going into desuetude, which will result in stunting the development of the language. Most of the books which have been written so far have been written by Zulus living in Natal, i.e. Zulus speaking other dialects than *the C.Z.D.*

There is yet no uniformity in the Zulu used for literary purposes. There is, however, an observable bias, born out of prescription by education authorities and inspectors of schools, towards the Central Zululand Dialect in as far as grammatical structure is concerned, because ~~this dialect~~ has been thought to be the most acceptable form of Zulu. However, local dialect influence is still to be found in Zulu books. This means that most Zulu writers use Zulu they do not normally speak, a literary Zulu.

The Ilanga, the Zulu weekly newspaper, is the biggest literary culprit in the Zulu literary world. It is simply a mixture of everything that goes under the label 'Zulu'. Its ¹⁷columns are written in all spoken dialects of Zulu. This also goes for another public medium provided for the Zulus, the radio. Radio Zulu is far from providing anything that is standard. It can best be described as a linguistic circus.

6.9 FACTORS DELAYING STANDARDIZATION

(a) Conservatism

A conscious and determined effort to standardize Zulu is still lacking on the part of the Zulu speakers. People are aware

of the need to standardize Zulu but they seem to think it should be another's job to provide formulae for standardization. Perhaps it is premature to expect Zulu to be already recognizing a standard dialect, because it is after all a young language as far as the modern world is concerned. Older languages such as English and French, took centuries to cultivate a standard form.

(b) Local indentity and status

Before a faulty impression is created on the subject of uniformity of the Zulu language, we want to refer to the status of different dialects. The Zulu dialects do not have the same status in the minds of the speakers. There is an inclination to regard some dialects, especially the Zululand dialects, as more acceptable than others, some dialects as purer than others. Dialects which still adhere tenaciously to archaic forms are regarded as inferior and less pure than those which have discarded most of the obvious original dialecticisms. The tendency among the speakers of the supposed inferior dialects is to use them less and less in the presence of person^s who are supposed to speak superior dialects. However, the local forms are not discarded completely. There is an attempt among those speaking outlandish dialects to learn the 'superior' dialect forms. This is why we hear less and less of IsiBhaca in Natal,

less IsiCele on the coast, and less outright *thefula*, to the extent that when these forms are heard in public they sound funny. At the same time people hold on to their own dialect forms, and this delays standardization.

(c) Master and servant communication

Another factor that has also contributed towards the delay in standardizing Zulu is communication media in places of employment. The position is that the schooled Zulu has up to now been concerned and still is concerned with learning the master's language, English, and in Natal, Afrikaans only to a lesser extent, to have had time to bother with Zulu, a language he knows and a language without commercial or industrial status. Bread and butter considerations dictate the position used daily in places of employment since few employers condescend to the level of learning Zulu, the language of menials. The compromise product of condescension is 'Fanakalo' or 'Kitchen Zulu' as it is sometimes called. The impact of western culture has had catastrophic consequences on the Zulu people. Zulus were so overwhelmed by this westernization trauma that it has taken a lot of persuasion to make them, like other blacks, realise that their culture still matters. Organisations such as Inqolobane yamagugu kaZulu and Inkatha yesizwe will speed the awakening of the Zulu giant.

(d) The Central Zululand Dialect

This dialect has been suggested as a possible standard Zulu dialect. Our opinion is that this dialect may not perform the role successfully on its own. It has been pointed out earlier that the *C.Z.D.* is mostly spoken by unschooled people. If we were looking for a spoken standard form, perhaps it could have fulfilled that function, but just now we are convinced that standard Zulu will of necessity be a literary language. Consensus is readily arrived at where rules controlling the use of the language are prescribed. Such rules can only be observed by the ^tliterate in literary exercises. In speech communication no amount of regimentation can force people to use particular forms. Speakers are guided by freedom of expression. "Human speech is after all a democratic product, the creation not of scholars and grammarians, but of unlettered people. Scholars and men of education may cultivate and enrich it, and make it flower into all the beauty of a literary language"¹. However, standard speech is the creation of men of letters. *The C.Z.D.* has the added disadvantage that it is mainly spoken in an area which for a long time has been far removed from centres of industry and higher learning. Rural folk are usually characterized by conservatism and adhere for as long as possible to what they regard as dear to them.

1. Pearsal Smith in *Usage and Abusage*, by E. Patridge, p.306.

CHAPTER SEVENFORECAST7.1 STANDARD ZULU

A word of caution about standardization: it should not render a language rigid and regimented, because this would detract from its variety, vitality and growth. There is presently a reaction in England against standardization as such, and dialect is widely heard even on radio and TV. Standard language should be flexible and plastic enough to accommodate new concepts in its framework. "It is only natural that new systems of thought and new modes of living should, by the very strength of their process and by their widespread currency, generate new words, new compounds, new phrases and even new modes of expression"¹. In short, "language, though regulated, must change in company with the changing conditions of life"².

An observation pertinent to our particular case is that "a standard language in modern conditions tends to be rather a written than a spoken language"³. Our belief is that standard Zulu will not be based on any one dialect, but will develop out of an amalgam of dialects, and

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1. Partridge, E. Usage and Abusage, p.305.
 2. Ibid p.306.
 3. Ibid p.305.

of necessity it will be a literary standard form with its roots firmly entrenched in educational institutions. Though this does not necessarily follow, but seeing that Natal has a higher concentration of industrial centres and institutions of higher learning, it is fair to surmise that as in the case of standard English, standard Zulu will develop in public schools in and around industrial areas where there is a large aggregation of Zulus. Although we do not agree entirely with the assertions of the professors of Bantu languages at UNISA, we agree with their thinking that standard Zulu will develop south of the Thukela. The Durban complex is most suited for this type of development owing to the mixed nature of communities living here. The standard Zulu that will develop here will incorporate everything that is acceptable from the N.C.D., the N.N.D., and the C.Z.D. From the C.Z.D. it could make use of copulative inflections, from the N.N.D. it could incorporate the velar fricative /h/ and affricative /ts/, the absolute pronouns of classes 15 and 17 (which are common to all Natal dialects), the demonstrative pronouns of classes 1, 2, 3, 15 and 17, and the smooth copulative demonstratives. From the N.C.D. it could make use of nasal click compounds. Were this to be a spoken dialect it would have to rely mostly on Natal tones, but since it will initially be a written dialect the question of tone could be looked into later.

To close our ^opr_ggnostication we refer to E. Partridge where he says, "no standard language exists on its own capital; no standard language can thus exist, if it is to continue to be a language and not become a mausoleum. Standard English, sprung from a dialect, has never

for long, disregarded the other dialects, over which by a geographical, political, and social accident, it has been exalted; those others have always had too much to offer in potential enrichment of the triumphant dialect. Like dialect, popular speech abounds in uncouth phrases and low words and absurd perversions and inaccuracies; but it also abounds in vivid phrases, in racy and vigorous words, in strong monosyllables and picturesque compounds, and also in ancient words that have, unfortunately for us, dropped out of cultured speech. How useful, how valuable, how fitting it would be if many of these words and phrases were to be admitted, or re-admitted, to standard speech and were in their turn, to become Received Standard, whence there would be duly expelled those learned terms which had become synonyms of these racier or stronger or more musical terms adopted from dialect and from the popular speech of the towns"¹.

Since we live in a scientific age, standard Zulu will of necessity open room for many western concepts and thus many loans in the form of words, expressions and constructions. A very rich and absolutely useful store of vocabulary has been and is in the process of being borrowed from English and Afrikaans. Where necessary new terms will be coined in order to enable Zulu to express new concepts.

In the metamorphosis Zulu is undergoing, our opinion, is that phonological differences will disappear first and then grammatical differences will be the next to be ironed out. Vocabulary is destined to remain different, where differences still occur, for a long time. In spite of this march in the process of development, minor differences

1. Partridge, E. "Usage and Abusage", p.306.

will linger on, thus making it possible still to speak of Zulu dialects.

7.2 PHONOLOGY

Velar fricative /h/

Our opinion is that there is room for velar fricative /h/ in the Zulu language as a whole although at present it is mainly a feature of the N.N.D. In view of the fact that we still have to borrow a good deal from foreign languages, the presence of this sound in our system will stand us in good stead. Afrikaans has a great potential as a source of loan words making use of this very expressive sound. Ideophones based on this sound are very graphic and expressive. Compare /hona/ and /hona/ (to snore) - the latter is very close to the sound produced by a snoring person. Compare also /hudula/ and /hudala/ (to drag on the ground), /hwaya/ and /hwaya/ (to scrape). This sound can easily be accommodated to serve as a useful alternative to glottal /h/.

Voiced glotta /hh/

This sound now occurs only in spoken Zulu; it is not represented in practical orthography. Eliminating it because another Nguni language, Xhosa, does not employ it in its practical orthography was a miscarriage of linguistic justice. Use of /h/ to represent two different sounds makes reading very difficult. Non-Zulu speakers attempting to learn Zulu are placed at an unnecessary inconvenience. A look at the following near homonyms will illustrate what we mean:

hala	(be greedy)
hala	(rake)
haya	(sing)
haya	(be coarse)
haya	(grind coarsely)
hela	(spread fire)
hela	(cut down indiscriminately)
amaholo	(pay)
amaholo	(holes) (a loan word)

Alveolar affricate /ts/

There is a tendency to regard /ts/ as a rarity in view of its supposed low functional load in some dialects. However, it occurs freely in combination with an alveolar nasal where in practical orthography it is represented by symbol /ns/. It does appear that it will be necessary to decide between this sound and the C.Z.D. sound /tsh/ where the latter occurs as an alternative to /ts/ of the N.N.D. Zulu has an unlimited scope in coining ideophones. The words *tsaza*, *tsegeza*, *tswininiza*, *utsotsi* and its recent cousin, *bhotsotso*, to mention a few, cannot be left in the cold in our vocabulary stores.

Sonorant /r/

Rolled sound /r/ has always been regarded as exotic to Zulu. It is high time this sound is regarded as a naturalised member of the Zulu sound system. Loan words using this sound abound in the Zulu language. It is therefore no use pretending that the sound is un-Zulu when a large proportion of Zulus use it freely.

7.3 MORPHOLOGY

(a) Noun classes

Owing to the scarcity of nouns belonging to class 17 it is safe to excise this class from our grammar as much as we already do not have classes 12 and 13. The words *ukunxele* and *ukunene* only function in their inflected forms. The noun *ukunto* is current only in the S.W.N.D. *Ukwindla* still remains in some dialects. Prof. C.L.S. Nyembezi in his 'Uhlelo LwesZulu' has omitted this class altogether.

(b) Noun prefixes

In some classes the prefixes of Zulu nouns are undergoing a process of contraction in spoken Zulu in some Natal and Zululand dialects.

Where the process has been completed only the initial vowel remains in the place of the full prefix. We have in mind classes 8 and 10 where the full prefix is /izi/. Monosyllabic

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noun stems usually employ the full prefix, but quite a number of dialects now employ contracted prefixes even here in classes 5 and 11:

Class 5 itshe, izwe, idwala, ikhubalo
 8 i:khwama, i:khathi, i:limazo
 10 i:nkomo, i:mbuzi, i:limazo
 11 uthi, utho, uthando, uthingo

In classes 5 and 11 the position has stabilized in almost all the dialects in that nouns can be written using the contracted prefix without any reading inconvenience. The position differs in classes 8 and 10. On account of difficulties that would be experienced in writing, it is advisable to adopt as standard practice the use of full prefixes in writing even in those nouns where colloquially there has been an accepted contraction of the prefix. Using the class 8 and 10 contracted prefix /i:/ instead of /izi/ in writing would entail using vowel length and tone marks to show that the initial vowel is lengthened and tone modulated, when reading, to bring in the connotation of plurality:

cf: i:nkomo (izinkomo)
 i:ntombi (izintombi)
 i:nkaba (izinkaba)
 i:ndonga (izindonga)

(c) Agentive or copulative nouns

No problem is experienced in spoken Zulu as far as copulative nouns are concerned. The Natal dialects employ the zero prefix. Zululand dialects employ certain prefixal elements, to wit, /y/, /w/, /ng/.

In view of the fact that our prognosis concerns a written or literary dialect, the Zululand forms are the more preferable. It is easier to read the copulative meaning in the Zululand forms. What makes the Natal forms difficult to read is that tone marks are not used in Zulu orthography:

Natal forms:

umuntu	a person
ùumuntu	it is a person
obaba	our fathers
òbaba	it is our fathers

Zululand forms:

umuntu	a person
ngumuntu	it is a person
abantu	people
ngabantu	it is people

(d) Absolute pronouns (classes 15 and 17)

The Zululand dialects employ /khona/ as the class 15 and 17 absolute pronoun. Bearing in mind that this pronoun functions in relation to class 15 and 17 nouns, we want to note that whereas there is grammatical agreement between /khona/ and class 15 and 17 nouns, there is no phonological agreement. Moreover it is difficult to distinguish between the pronoun /khona/ and the adverb /khona/ in the Zululand dialects. To stem confusion emanating from this similarity, it appears that the standard Zulu issuing from our linguistic cauldron will employ the Natal dialects' form of the absolute pronoun of class 15 and 17, because Natal's /kona/ cannot be confused with the adverb /khona/, and also because it shows both grammatical and phonological agreement with nouns of class 15 and 17.

(e) Demonstratives

The classes under scrutiny here are 1, 3 and 15. For purposes of phonological and grammatical agreement the N.N.D. forms are preferred, in view of the fact that Zulu operates on an agreement system. The C.Z.D. forms in these classes though showing grammatical agreement, do not show phonological agreement. Around Durban more and more people use /loyo/ and /loya/ for both classes 1 and 3, and the class 15 forms

loku, *loko*, *lokuyá*, *lo:kuyá*: will emerge as the standard patterns. Based on prefix *uku-*, these forms are regular, while *lokhu* and *lokho* are exceptional. Furthermore as we have seen, /kh/ never normally occurs except in first position of the stem of words.

(f) Copulative demonstratives

As in the case of demonstrative pronouns, the Zululand dialects' copulative demonstrative forms show grammatical agreement with nouns but do not show phonological agreement. On the contrary the N.N.D. forms show both grammatical and phonological agreement. It is our opinion that standard Zulu will do well to employ the N.N.D. forms:

<i>Abantu</i> :	naba rather than nampa
<i>umuzi</i> :	nawu rather than nanku
<i>imi[~]zi</i> :	nayi rather than nansi
<i>ihashi</i> :	nali rather than nanti
<i>amhashi</i> :	nawa rather than nanka
<i>inkomo</i> :	nayi rather than nansi

(g) Verbs

Concords: Here we are concerned with the position of the verb concord of first person singular. The most question is whether standard Zulu should employ the verb concord with a velar nasal

/ŋi/ or nasal compound /ngi/? It does appear that standard Zulu will experience an inconvenience. Spoken Zulu is now heavily biased in favour of /ŋi/ as its verbal concord. The inconvenience issues from practical orthography. For purposes of clarity the nasal compound /ngi/ is used because our practical orthography has no symbol for the velar nasal. It will be a trying exercise to ask people to write one thing, the nasal compound, and when reading pronounce the velar nasal. Until consensus is reached on the character to represent the velar nasal in our writing we shall be content with writing /ngi/.

(h) Stative verbs

Zulu has two forms of the stative verb. There is the regular short form and the less frequently used long form. The long form is not to be confused with the perfect form of the verb which is the immediate past tense. Stative verbs connote complete verbal action which persists in the present. Among Zulu dialects preference for the long form is peculiar to the L.N.C.D. Other dialects prefer the short form of the stative verb. To avoid confusion in writing, between the long form of the stative verbs and the immediate past tense verbs, standard Zulu will do well to opt for the crisp short form instead of the long cumbersome form:

ngisuthi rather than ngisuthile
 uthule rather than uthulile

7.4 VOCABULARY

A dialect association or committee will have to decide on the form of words to be used. There are some differences to be observed between various dialects with regard to forms of words that are used. For example some speakers use the word:

shunqa while others use thunqa
 shanyela while others use shanela
 shanyela while others use thanyela
 umshanelo while others use umthanyelo
 iconsi while others use ithonsi
 iso while others use ihlo
 phandle while others use emyango
 isivalo while others use isicabha
 itswayi while others use usawoti

The most suitable words will become standard vocabulary and the remainder will still operate at local dialect level.

7.5 ORTHOGRAPHY

This is one area where greater uniformity has been realized because it is strictly regulated. It does appear, however that some material which has been discarded for some lame reason will have to be reintroduced into Zulu orthography. We have in mind the character '6'

which was discarded because it was argued that it was not provided on the European typewriter keys. A very lame excuse indeed in this space age. Zulus will if necessary manufacture typewriters suited for their language. Printers are able to produce in print very complicated characters, and the symbol 'ǂ' would offer the book printing trade no problem. This sound has a high functional load in Zulu and needs to be represented by this useful symbol. Its reintroduction would release the labial plosive 'b' (now written *bh*) from its unnecessary companion 'h', thus restoring the status quo ante of clarity. Spoken Zulu offers no problem, but seeing we are concerned with written Zulu, clarity should be the watchword. The use of 'h' with 'b' does not make sense in view of the fact that 'h' is usually paired with other symbols to indicate aspiration. Plain 'b' performed its function adequately before the brainstorm which led to its being made to represent lenis /b/ in practical orthography. It is not clear why the reasoning was not carried to its logical conclusion resulting in the forms: *gh* and *dh* which are phonetically identical to the sound written 'bh'.

It does appear that for purposes of clarity a distinction has got to be made between the symbols k and k. At present one symbol is used to represent two separate sounds. The sound that needs special treatment is /k/ in view of the fact it also gives whites trouble, so much so that they believe it sounds more like a 'g' and have gone to the extent of writing it as such. (Note Tugela for Thukela, Umbogintwini for Ezimbokodweni). Representing this lenis /k/ with a mark below it would not present any writing or typing problems:

ukuba, sukuma, nika
 cf. kikiza, kekeleza, kekela

Another sound deserving attention is velar fricative /h/. Our opinion is that there is need for a symbol for velar fricative /h/ in Zulu orthography. This sound has been written at different stages as /r/ and as /x/, e.g. the surname Radebe. Zulu's practical orthography no longer accommodates it, ^{as} if it has gone out of circulation. Symbol 'h' cannot represent three sounds adequately. At the moment it has to cater for the glottal fricative /h/ the voiced glottal fricative /hh/, and the velar fricative /h/.

Note the sentence:

AmaBhunu ayahahaza uma ekhulma. As it stands it means
 'Boers hiss like geese when they speak'.

A velar fricative changes the meaning completely, and the meaning conveyed is that 'the Boer language abounds in velar fricatives'.

As in the case of /k/, a dash below the symbol would serve to provide Zulu with a new and necessary symbol. We have already referred to the need of incorporating the 'hh' symbol in Zulu orthography.

7.6 THE FUTURE

Languages do not grow overnight, nor do they develop at the impatient bidding of humanity. They take their own course in response to prevailing circumstances. At the beginning we observed that the history of the Nguni people remains shrouded in mystery. Perhaps the

mists of mystery provided the necessary periods of incubation during which the melting^s process took place. What began as strange tongues merged and produced something communicable. When Shaka came on the scene much ground had been covered. The Mthethwas thefula'd and the Lalas tekela'd but there was mutual comprehension. Modern science through the useful technique of carbon dating is opening up the lost pages of the book of history of this sub-continent. This notwithstanding, many pages of the history of the Nguni languages are permanently lost in the absence of written records. But the language grows on.

What we are predicting is going to become our standard Zulu language can only be the foundation stone for future standard Zulu. The first phase, as in the case of English, will be literary standard serving as a medium for writers, teachers, students, and other sophisticated Zulus. "Standard German is likewise first of all a written language, *neuhochdeutsche Schriftsprache*, which owes its birth not so much to political as to religious causes"¹.

This will later give way to Received Standard Zulu. This will be used in daily conversation as well as in writing. At that period in life illiteracy will be a thing of the past. The public schools of the Zulus will have accepted this noble language as a dignified medium of instruction.

The socio-political organisations such as "Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe" are preparing the ground for such development. The spirit of

1. Potter, S., *Modern Linguistics*, p.126.

nationalism will have grown and destroyed the stamp of inferiority attached to the Zulu language at present. Official documents, parliamentary debates and communication in general will be through the medium of Zulu and perhaps English. It is hoped the fetters chaining Zulu literature at present will be a thing of the past, making it possible for it to grow unimpeded. It is hoped that the University of Zululand will guide the development of Zulu, as Oxford and Cambridge did the growth and development of English.

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