

ADDENDUM A: Southern and Northern Ndebele Nouns

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
umsana	mutlhangana/ mukxhomane	'boy'
ipumalanga	buhlabalanga	'east'
ipi	ndwa	'war/fight'
isitja	sihlambhelo	'washing dish'
umkhuba	mukhuba/muhuda	'miracle'
ubudlabha	buwandla/bushaedi	'carelessness'
iveke	mbege	'week'
isipho	siti/mpho	'gift'
umakoti/umllobokazi	ngweji	'bride'
ikawu	nkxawo	'ape'
imiseme	makhukho	'grass mats'
umendo	nteko	'marriage'
idwende	muthimba	'bridal companion'
isiqhema	nkxundla / xoro	club/team
isigubhu	sikxugulu	'drum'
idlanga	nju/linyoni	'eagle'
inyathelo	sikxabula	'shoe'
izembe	lihloka	'axe'
umnini	munyi	'owner'
umsili	ntjhilo	'grinder'
ipumulo	mbumbulo	'nose'
umgade/ithanga	liphuthi	'pumpkin'
inwabu	liwobu	'chameleon'
utjwala	buyalwa	'beer'
isiwebu	sixogu	'spider'
umuthi	sihlahla	'tree'
ihlanya	sixaphi	'madman'

amathumbu	sisu	'stomach'
ilitje	liye	'stone'
iphini	liphalukuto	'ladle'
ihlombe	lixedla	'shoulder'
ibizo	litinyo	'name'
umgwatjha	mungasa	'hare'
amakhehla/amaqhegu	bakxhalabe	'old men'
umaphelaphelana	nkxhanxha	'bat'
amaqatha	mashukhu	'chunk (of meat)'
abazali/ababelethi	batali	'parents'
isiqwebu	sibungwana	'maize basket'
umratha	sidudu	'porridge'
umthetho	mulawu	'law'
intanga	mophato	'age group'
phezulu	etulu	'up'
isigede	sigege	'something'
iinhlobo/iinini	mitalo	'relatives'
inyanga	nyeti	'moon'
umhlangano/imbizo	mbhijo	'meeting'
umntazana	munrwatana/muthimbana	'girl'
amabutho	titha	'armies'
ipimpi / isikhukhuthi	sikhukhuni	'informer'
ukhokho	nkhulukhukhu	'great grandfather'
uZimu	mudimu	'God'
umdali	muhlololi	'creator'
isifuba	sikxubhu	'chest'
iimbambo	mbhambho/tithabha	'ribs'
isincele	khohlwa	'left'
siqalisisa	sibhekela	'inspect/check'
umtlhala	mutila	'trail'
isikhumba/edlhalo	lidlhalo	'skin'

iinhloli	batumi	'spies'
umnakwenu	munakenu	'younger brother'
umfowethu omkhulu	muxulwami	'my elder brother'
isivalo	sidlowu/sisibekelo	'lid'
igwayi	mujiji	'tobacco'
iluju	linambu	'honey'

[Northern Ndebele nouns were extracted from Zervogel (1959)]

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele	
-aba	-yaba	‘divide/distribute’
-anda	-yanda	‘increase’/multiply’
-embatha	-yambatha	‘wear/put on clothes’
-emba	-gaja	‘dig’
-eba	-yeba	‘steal’
-engeza	-wongeta	‘add (to)’
-osa	-simela	‘roast/toast (meat)’
-onga	-hlenga	‘be economic’
-ona	-sinya	‘destroy/damage/spoil’
-ala	-xana	‘refuse’
-enda	-teka	‘marry/get married’
-ehla	-thewuka	‘get down/descend’
-tjhefa	-photjha	‘shave/cut bears’
-tjheja/thogomela	-folonda/-tlhogomela	‘look after/take care of’
-beletha	-tala	‘give birth’
-soma	-rhuga/-firiya	‘propose love’
-phikisa	-khanyeta	‘argue’
-phekelela	-fegeleta	‘accompany’
-vuma	-bina	‘sing’
-thi	-ri	‘say’
-letha	-tisa	‘bring’
-tjela	-buta	‘tell/inform’
-qala	-bheka	‘look’
-khamba	-nambha/-khambha	‘go’
-raga	-kxhura /-khapha	‘drive (cattle)’
-gida	-thagela	‘dance’
-lalela	-lalela/thiyelela	‘listen’
-lala	-thobala	‘sleep’
-khuluma	-sumayela	‘talk/speak’

-hlakanipha	-tlhaliphia	'be clever/be wise'
-mangala	-tiyeta	'be surprised'
-thoma	-kxwala	'start/begin'
-qedo	-kxeja	'(get) finish'
-qotjha/qotha	-kxotha	'dismiss'
-phumula	-khuja	'rest'
-funa	-duma	'want /wish'
-bhada	-singatha	'carry under your shoulder'
-guqa	-khunama	'kneel down'
-bhambalala	-bhadlama	'lie on (one's) belly'
-quanta	-ribha	'cut'
-quanta	-phetha	'decide'
-hlathulula	-tlhakofela	'explain'
-gcina	-phela	'come to an end'
-dubula	-thuntjha	'shoot'
-coca	-thetha	'discuss'

[Northern Ndebele verb stems extracted from Ziervogel 1959]

ADDENDUM C: Southern and Northern Ndebele ideophones.

Southern Ndebele Northern Ndebele

bhu	bhu	‘dust (something)’
du	du	‘quietness/swimming’
dusu	wubu	‘throw down (something heavy (e.g. sack/bag)
nka	nka	‘effective swift drinking (of something).
nke	nti	‘brightness of the moon’
pha	pha	‘openness of the truth’
pho	pho	‘hit by throwing/breaking off wood’
phu	phu	‘severity of stench’
swi	psi	‘a container full (of a liquid) to the brim’
twa	pya	‘brightness of the white colour’
petle	sa	‘scatter about (e.g. by animals) maize grain’
tho	tho	‘dripping of water drops’
(n)tli	tsi	‘stiffness of a tied knot’
be	tlerr	‘redness (e.g.of blood)’
tjerr	pyer	‘ideophone signifying diarrhoea’
bha	wo	‘brightness/shining (e.g. moon/sun)’
nya/ntse	nnya	‘disappearance/quietness’
ngqi	nnga	‘closing (of a door/bottle etc’
kgho	nka	‘ideophone signifying digging sods’
ve	thushalala	‘sudden / quick appearance’
saka	phadla	‘scatter on the ground (e.g. maize grain)
tjhe/wu	mudu	‘Oh no! O dear me!’
pitji	bhikxi	‘crushing something soft (e.g.worm)’
phehle	pha	‘ideophone of breaking wood/plate’
bhidli/bhuru/giri	bhu	‘ideophone of falling down (e.g. building)’
gidi/gudu	gidi/gugudu	‘ideophone of something rolling (e.g. stone)’
meke	phati	‘shining of lightning’
senu/siphu	nnga/thusu	‘coming out of seed from the soil (e.g. maize)’

genu	thenu	'ideophone of falling over'
tepu/qhi	matha/tobololo	'ideophone of wetness/being drenched'
ruthu	tshwamu	'ideophone of pulling something out'
tjirr	tjhelele	'slip (over mud)'
tinini	gidi	'ideophone of running fast.'
rabhalala	jabha	'ideophone of laying flat on your stomach'
kikiliki...gi	kwikwi	'crowing (e.g. of a cock)'
ge...ge...gege...ge	nkwenkwekwekwe	'crackle (e.g. hen)'
qwatjhaqwatjha	kanta	'ideophone of walking confidently'
moqomoqo	kxofu	'walking in mud'
phakghaphakgha	phasha	'walking aimlessly and lazily'
tshwahla	swatlha	'sneak (e.g. in the grass/bush)'
nqe nqe	nke	'clang of metal'

Southern Ndebele ideophones that do not have equivalents in Northern Ndebele

Southern Ndebele	Northern Ndebele
ngho	....
dlhi	....
bhi	....
virr	....
fu	....
mncwi	....
(n)tsi	....
vumbu	....
qethu	....
nti	....
tsiyo	....
ngwe	....
gudlu	....
tswe	....
	'very hard'
	'piercing / stabbing of something'
	'hold firm / catch right handed'
	'throw something away (e.g. stone)'
	'feeling of pain (e.g. headache)'
	'ideophone of swearing '
	'ideophone of motionless/stillness'
	'ideophone of sudden/quick appearance'
	'sleep on your back with knees up'
	'fullness after eating'
	'sound of a bird / chicken'
	'an ideophone signifying emptiness (e.g. house)'
	'opening/closing of a door'
	'alright / correct / fine'

mpo	....	'coldness of something (e.g. water)'
bhe/layi	....	'hotness of something (e.g. fire / tea)'
tlabha	....	'ideophone of greenness (e.g. grass)'
tshu	....	'ideophone of a blackness/darkness (e.g. night)'
khihli	....	'redness of fire (wood)'
poro	....	'exactly/upright'
cime	....	'disappearance of something'

Northern Ndebele ideophones that do not have equivalents in Southern Ndebele

.....	wabalala	'jump out'
.....	tonono	'galloping/running (e.g. of a horse)'
.....	matha	'sticking fast on something'
.....	bhidli	'melt (e.g. of fat)'
.....	hha	'ideophone of an open mouth'
.....	hhe	'ideophone signifying out of breath'

[NB: Northern Ndebele ideophones have been extracted from Ziervogel (1959:163-165).

SUMMARY

This study investigates the linguistic relationship between Southern and Northern Ndebele. The focus is on the historical background of the two main South African Ndebele groups, covering various linguistic aspects, such as phonology, morphology, lexicography and spelling rules.

The research reveals that, despite the fact that Southern and Northern Ndebele share a common name and historical background, the death of the Ndebele ancestral chief, Musi, at KwaMnyamana, which caused this nation to split into Southern and Northern Ndebele, resulted in the two Ndebele languages. As this study shows, these differ substantially from each other.

The two Ndebele languages are examined, phonologically, in Chapters Three and Four revealing demonstrable phonological differences. Southern Ndebele, for instance, has several sounds (e.g., click sounds) that do not occur in its northern counterpart, while Northern Ndebele contains a number of non-Nguni sounds (e.g., interdentals) that do not occur in Southern Ndebele. Phonologically, Southern Ndebele, like other Zunda Nguni languages, employs the voiced lateral alveolar fricative phoneme /z/ [z] (e.g., **izifo** ‘diseases’), whereas Northern Ndebele, like other Tekela Nguni languages, uses the ejective interdental explosive /t/ [t’] (e.g., **tifo** ‘diseases’). Morphophonologically, the so-called denasalition feature that both languages manifest in their primary and secondary nasal compounds (i.e., Classes 9 and 10 noun class prefixes) occurs in almost opposing ways. In Southern Ndebele, the nasal /n/ resurfaces in all noun class prefixes of Class 10 nouns, while in Northern Ndebele, it occurs only in the noun class prefixes with monosyllabic stems or stems beginning with a voiced or semi-voiced consonant. This morphophonological feature (denasalisation) has spread to other grammatical environments, such as adjectival concords, inclusive quantitative pronouns and all formatives with the nasal compound **ng** [Jg], in Northern Ndebele. The two languages also reveal that there are differences in assimilation, syllabification, palatalization, vowel elision, vowel substitution, consonantalization, glide insertion and labialization.

Chapters Five to Eight focus on morphological differences. Here, the two Ndebele languages show differences in the various word categories: nouns, pronouns, qualificatives, copulatives, adverbs, moods, tenses, verbs, auxiliary verbs, conjunctives and ideophones. For instance, whereas Southern Ndebele noun class prefixes, like other Nguni languages – such as isiZulu and isiXhosa – comprises the *pre-prefix + basic prefix + stem* (e.g., **u-mu-ntu** ‘person’ **a-ba-ntu** ‘people’), in Northern Ndebele, this word category comprises the *basic prefix + stem* like Sotho languages (e.g., **mu-nru** ‘person’ **ba-nru** ‘people’). In addition, while the noun class prefix of Class 8 in Southern Ndebele contains a nasal before polysyllabic noun stems (e.g., **iinkhova** ‘owls’), in Northern Ndebele, Class 8 noun class prefixes contain no nasal (e.g., **tikxabula** ‘shoe’).

Lexically, the most salient differences are that, although the two Ndebele languages share similar Nguni vocabulary, they have been unequally influenced by the neighbouring Sotho languages. Most importantly, despite the fact that both Ndebele languages have borrowed words from Northern Sotho and Setswana, Northern Ndebele has borrowed many more terms than Southern Ndebele.

Lastly, in line with the Southern Ndebele (2008) and Northern Ndebele (2001) Spelling Rules, this investigation observes that the two Ndebele languages differ radically. In Southern Ndebele, for instance, there are numerous language aspects that have spelling rules governing their encryption, but in Northern Ndebele no rules exist as yet for such aspects.

The findings reveal that Southern and Northern can be regarded as two distinct languages that deserve autonomous development even though they trace their origin from the same historical source.

Key Words

Morphology

Morphophonology

Syntax

Southern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele

Ndrondroza

Assimilation

Denasalisation

Dialect / variant form

Phonology

Morphology

Morphophonology

Nasalization

Vowel coalescence

Vowel assimilation

Vowel substitution

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die linguistiese verhouding tussen Suid- en Noord-Ndebele. Daar word gefokus op die historiese agtergrond van die twee Suid-Afrikaanse Ndebele groepe asook op verskeie linguistiese aspekte soos die fonologie, morfologie, leksikologie en spelreëls.

Die studie toon dat ten spyte van die feit dat Suid- en Noord-Ndebele dieselfde naam deel en dieselfde historiese oorsprong het, die dood van die Ndebele hoofman, Musi, by KwaMnyamana daartoe gelei het dat die nasie in die Suid- en Noord-Ndebeles uitmekaargespat het. Die twee Ndebele tale was die gevolg. Soos hierdie studie aantoon, verskil die twee tale aansienlik van mekaar.

In hoofstukke 3 en 4 word die twee tale fonologies ondersoek en opmerklike fonologiese verskille word aangetoon. Suid-Ndebele, byvoorbeeld, besit verskeie klanke (byvoorbeeld klapklanke) wat nie in die Noordelike eweknie voorkom nie. Aan die ander kant bevat Noord-Ndebele 'n sekere hoeveelheid nie-Nguni-klanke (byvoorbeeld interdentale klanke) wat nie in Suid-Ndebele voorkom nie. Suid-Ndebele, soos ander Zunda Ngunitale, gebruik die stemhebbende alveolêre frikativ **/z/ [z]** (byvoorbeeld **izifo** 'siektes') terwyl Noord-Ndebele, soos ander Tekela Ngunitale die ejektiewe interdentale eksplosief **/t/ [t']** (byvoorbeeld **tifo** 'siektes') gebruik. Op morfofonologiese vlak vind die sogenaamde denasalisering wat albei tale in die primêre en sekondêre nasale samestellings (d.i. die Klas 9 en 10-naamwoordklasprefiks) ondergaan, op byna teenoorgestelde wyse by die twee tale plaas. In Suid-Ndebele kom die nasale **/n/** in alle naamwoordklasprefiks van Klas 10-naamwoorde voor, maar in Noorde-Ndebele kom die nasale **/n/** slegs voor by naamwoordklasprefiks met monosyllabiese stamme en stamme wat met 'n stemhebbende of halfstemhebbende konsonant begin. Hierdie morfofonologiese aspek (denasalisering) het ook uitgebrei na adjektiefsprefiks, kwantitatiewe voornaamwoorde asook alle formatiewe met die nasale samestelling **ng** [**J g**] in Noord-Ndebele. Die twee tale toon ook verskille ten opsigte van assimilasie, sillabifikasie, palatalisasie, vokaalelisie, vokaalvervanging, konsonantalisasie, glyklankinvoeging en labalisasie.

Hoofstukke 5 tot 8 konsentreer op die morfologiese verskille tussen Suid- en Noord-Ndebele. Die twee Ndebele tale vertoon verskille in die onderskeiewoordsoortkategorieë soos naamwoorde, voornaamwoorde, kwalifikatiewe, kopulatiewe, bywoorde, modi, werkwoorde, hulpwerkwoorde, voegwoorde en ideofone. Byvoorbeeld, waar Suid-Ndebelenaanwoorde, soos in ander Ngunitale –soos isiZulu en isiXhosa – uit die *prefiks + basiese prefiks + stam* bestaan (byvoorbeeld **u-mu-ntu** ‘persoon’ **a-ba-ntu** ‘mense’), bestaan hierdie woordsoortkategorie in Noord-Ndebele uit die *basiese prefiks + stam* soos in die Sohotale, byvoorbeeld **munru** ‘persoon’ **banru** ‘mense’. Aan die ander kant bevat die Klas 8-naamwoordklasprefiks in Suid-Ndebele ’n nasale klank voor polisyllabiese naamwoordstamme (byvoorbeeld **iinkhova** ‘uile’) maar Noord-Ndebele se Klas 8-naamwoordklasprefik bevat geen nasale klank nie (byvoorbeeld **tikxabula** ‘skoen’).

Op leksikale vlak is die vernaamste verskille die feit dat die twee Ndebele tale wel ooreenkomsstige Nguniwoordeskataal maar op ongelyke wyse deur die naburige Sohotale beïnvloed is. Trouens, hoewel albei Ndebeletale woorde uit Sepedi (Noord-Soho) en Setswana ontleen het, het veel meer ontlening uit hierdie tale in Noord-Ndebele plaasgevind.

Laastens verskil die Spelreëls van Suid-Ndebele (2008) en Noord-Ndebele (2001) radikaal. In Suid-Ndebele, byvoorbeeld, is daar verskeie taalaspekte wat deur spelreëls gerig word terwyl Noord-Ndebele nog geen reëls vir hierdie taalaspekte het nie.

Die oorkoepelende bevindinge toon dat Suid-Ndebele en Noord-Ndebele twee afsonderlike tale is wat outonome ontwikkeling verdien selfs al het hulle dieselfde historiese oorsprong gehad.

Sleutelterme

Morphology

Morphophonology

Syntax

Southern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele

Ndrondroza

Assimilasie

Denasalising

Dialek/taalvariant

Fonologie

Morfologie

Morfonologie

Nasalising

Vookalsamesmelting

Vokaalassimilasie

Vokaalvervanging

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