A DIALECT- GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY
OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL,
EASTERN AND SOUTHERN DIALECTS OF TSWANA

A Comparative Analysis

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

B. stands for Ur-Bantu.
H. stands for Hurutshe.
> means "becomes".
< means "derived from".
' acute accent mark over a symbol indicates high toneme.
grave accent mark over a symbol indicates low toneme.
-hyphen before or after the form indicates that the form is incomplete.
* asterisk before the form indicates that it is hypothetical, but after the form it indicates footnote.
[ ] square brackets enclose phonetic Tswana symbols or forms.
// oblique brackets enclose phonemic symbols.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

1.01 Tswana is a member of the Sotho group of the South-eastern zone of Bantu languages. This zone has been divided by Doke¹ more or less geographically into five groups as follows:

(1) Nguni group, including Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi;
(2) Sotho group, including Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana and Lozi (Kololo);
(3) Venda;
(4) Tsonga group, including Ronga, Tonga and Tswa;
(5) Inhambane group, including Chopi (or Lenge) and Tonga.

1.02 The Tswana cluster of dialects has been subdivided geographically by Cole into four divisions which he terms Central, Southern, Northern and Eastern.²)

(a) The Central division includes the dialects spoken by the Rolong, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse.
(b) The Southern division includes the dialects spoken by the Tlhaping and Tlhako.
(c) The Northern division includes Western Kwena (of Molepolole), Ngwato and Tawana.
(e) The Eastern division includes Kgatla and Eastern Kwena.

¹ Doke, Prof. C.M.: Bantu — Modern Grammatical Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860, p. 74.
1.03 In connection with the above classification we are of the opinion that Western Kwena, being more closely related to Ngwaketse than to Ngwato, should be classified under the Central division; or alternatively, that Ngwaketse should be classified under the Northern division because, as Cole admits, it is more closely related to Western Kwena than to Hurutshe, for example. Similarly, Rolong, being more closely related to Tlhaping than to Hurutshe, should be classified under the Southern division. Our argument is based on dialectal similarities and differences revealed in chapter 3.

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

DISTRIBUTION OF TSWANA TRIBES

The Hurutshe

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

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

The Ngwaketse

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

The Kwena

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

"Like Ngwaketse of the Central division, to which it is similar in many respects, Western Kwena has traces of Kgalagadi influence."\(^4\)

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

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


The Ngwato

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

The Tawana

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

The Tlokwa

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

The Malete

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

The Kgatla

1.13 Referring to the Kgatla van Warmelo says:

"Not least important among the Eastern Tswana is the imposing chain of Kgatla tribes stretching from Schildpadfontein, east of Warmbad to Mochudi in the Protecorate."  

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Rolong

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

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

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

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(iii) The Rolong of Ratlou of Moamogwa (Barolong b66-Ratlou b66-Moamogwa) who live at Morokweng in the Vryburg district and at Khunwana in the Lichtenburg district. They are junior to those at Ganyesa politically.

(iv) The Rolong of Ratlou of Molale (Barolong b66-Ratlou b66-Molale) who live at Tseoge and Kgokgole, west of Ganyesa, and Bethithong, in the Vryburg district. They are also junior to those at Ganyesa.

N.B. According to Breutz all the Rolong in the Vryburg district call themselves the Rolong of Moamogwa (Barolong b66-Moamogwa).

(v) The Rolong of Ratshidi (Barolong b66-Ratshidi) whose chief settlements are in Mafeking town and district and also at Bodibe in the Lichtenburg district.

(vi) The Rolong of Seleka (Barolong b66-Seleka) in the district of Mafeking.

(vii) The Rolong of Tau of Rapulana (Barolong b66-Tau-Rapulana) at Bodibe, Polfontein.

1.16 Cole gives the following four divisions of the Rolong:

(i) The Rolong of Tshidi (Barolong b66rraTshidi) whose settlements are mainly in the Mafeking town and district.

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

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

(iv) The Rolong of Seleka (Barolong bõõSeleka) whose main settlement is at Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State.

N.B. Breutz calls them the Rolong of Ratlou of Seishtiro (cf. par. 1.14(i) above).

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

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

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

The Tlhaping

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

perhaps, the father of Phuduhudu and Phuduhutswana. He admits, however, that it is not certain because informants differ. \(^{11}\)

1.19 Breutz gives the following political divisions of the Tlhaping:

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

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

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

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

1.20 Breutz remarks that all the Tlhaping in the Vryburg district speak Rolong-Tlhaping dialect of Tswana. \(^{12}\) This is so because they live more or less together with the Rolong.

The Tlharo

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

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

\(^{11}\) Breutz, P.L.: The Tribes of Vryburg District.

(ii) The Tlharo of Lotlhware (Batlharo ba ga Lotlhware) whose chief settlement is at Heuning Vlei in the district of Vryburg.

(iii) The Tlharo of Thokwane (Batlharo ba ga Thokwane) at Disaneng in the districts of Mafeking and Postmasburg.\(^{13}\)

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

"The bulk of the Tlhware population is settled in the Kuruman district of British Bechuanaland."\(^{14}\)

**HISTORY OF TSWANA TRIBES**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wookey, A.J.: Dico tsa Secwana, p. 38


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

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF APPROACH

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

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

\(^{20}\) Breutz, P.L.: *The Tribes of Mafeking District*, p. 76.

\(^{21}\) Meinhof, C. and van Warmelo, N.J.: *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*. 
because, firstly, the Hurutshe are regarded traditionally, by most other Tswana tribes, as the nucleus or parent-stock from which they branched off. Secondly, because the Hurutshe still occupy, more or less, the same geographical area (Lehurutshe) in which they are believed to have lived for many years and from which the other Tswana tribes are believed to have branched off from them. Thirdly, because Hurutshe, being more central and the least influenced by other Bantu languages, can be expected to have retained more sound features and characteristics of the original Tswana speech forms than other Tswana dialects.

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

22. Moloto, E.S.: A Critical Investigation into the Standardization of written Tswana, Par. 4.3, unpublished dissertation for the M.A. degree presented at the University of South Africa, Department of Bantu Languages, 1964.
books, such as the Bible, catechisms and hymn books, written in Tlhaping. To this must be added the influence of school books written in other Tswana dialects, especially among young people.

1.32 These "foreign" influences are noticeable in Hurutshe as spoken today. For example, the typical Hurutshe forms for "dog", "ostrich", "milk" and "new" are [jɛɡwɜ́ː], [jɪtʃwɛ], [majwi] and [-ʃwá] respectively; but the forms [jɛpsˈá/ʌpsˈá] or [jɪtʃˈá], [jɪtʃʃɛ], [mæʃl] and [-ʃá] also occur in it. Both forms, Bahurutshe and Bafurutshe, (the latter with a bilabial [ʃ]), are used in Hurutshe. Therefore what I regard as Hurutshe in this study is what I consider to be typical Hurutshe sounds or forms.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II

DERIVATION OF HURUTSHE SPEECH SOUNDS
FROM UR-BANTU

UR-BANTU VOWELS

Primary Vowels

2.01 B. a > H. [a], for example,
   B. -kana > H. [-xánã] (refuse, deny);
   B. -kama > H. [-xámã] (milk).

B. i > H. [e], for example,
   B. -lima > H. [-lêmã] (plough, hoe);
   B. -lila > H. [-lêlã] (cry, weep).

B. u > H. [o], for example,
   B. -luma > H. [-lômã] (bite);
   B. -tatu > H. [-rãrb] (three).

Composite Vowels

2.02 B. e > H. [ɛ], for example,
   B. -tema > H. [-rêmã] (chop, cut);
   B. -pela > H. [-êlã] (become finished).

B. o > [ɔ], for example,
   B. -lota > H. [-lôrà] (dream);
   B. -koka > H. [-xôxã] (pull, drag).

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Close Vowels

2.03  B. ɪ > H. [i], for example,
B. -yina > H. [-bînâ] (dance),
B. -yîla > H. [-lîlā] (abstain from).

B. ʊ > H. [u], for example,
B. -tûna > H. [-rûnâ] (kill lice);
B. -pûlata > H. [-pûlûrā] (turn one's back, return)

Raising of Vowels

2.04 Raised vowels and conditions under which vowels are raised in Tswana have been discussed ade­quately by Cole.¹ Since his conclusions apply equally well to Hurutshê it is not necessary to repeat his findings.

Summary

2.05 As the above comparison shows Hurutshê has seven basic vowels or vowel phonemes, Cole² and Moloto³ also recognize seven vowel phonemes for Tswana although Moloto does not show their derivation from Ur-Bantu.

². Cole, Prof. D.T.: In the works cited.
³. Moloto, E.S.: A Critical Investigation into the Standardization of written Tswana, par. 5.7, unpublished dissertation for the M.A. degree, presented at the University of South Africa, Department of Bantu Languages, 1964.
Hurutshe vowel phonemes /e/, /ɛ/, /o/ and /o/ have raised variants [ɛ], [ɛ], [ɔ] and [ɔ] respectively. The following table shows Ur-Bantu vowel symbols and the corresponding I.P.A. ones which we use for Hurutshe, together with those employed by Cole:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ur</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Cole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i] with no variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>[i] with variant [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>[ɛ] with variant [ɛ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>[a] with no variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>[ɔ] with variant [ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>[ʊ] with variant [ʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>[u] with no variant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[-tl'âlâ] (be full) and [tl'âlâ] (hunger);
[p'êlê] (first) and [p'êlê] (in front);
[lêbêlê] (breast) and [lêbêlê] (plant or grain of corn);
[-ôîl'hâ] (conceal) and [-ôîl'hâ] (arrive);
[xô rônà] (be unbecoming) and [xô rônà] (to us);
[-tl'hólâ] (spy) and [-tl'hólâ] (create; portend ill-omen; spend the day);
[-bùâ] (talk) and [-bùâ] (flay).


UR-BANTU CONSONANTS

Primary Plosives before a

2.07  B. k > H. [x]:
   B. -kama (squeeze) > H. [-xámà] (milk)
   B. -kana (deny) > H. [-xánà] (refuse, deny);
   possessive concord of classes 15, 16, 17 and 18,
   [xá-].

   B. t > H. [r]:
   B. -tatu (three) > H. [-rårà] (three);
   B. -tama (cheek) > H. [lèrámà] (cheek).

   B. p > H. [Φ]:
   B. -pala (scratch) > H. [-ζålå] (scrape);
   B. -pàpa (take out) > H. [-rΦå] (take out,
      e.g. honey, clay);
   B. -pà (give) > H. [-Φå] (give);
   prefix of class 15, [Φa-].

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

Primary Fricatives before a

2.08  B. x > H. [-], that is, it disappears
as an initial sound of the root, for example,
   B. -taka (build) > H. [-áxà] (build);
   B. -tala (spread out) > H. [-ålå] (spread
      out, for example, blanket).
> H. [j] inside a stem, in which case it is sometimes also discarded, for example,
B. -lava (instruct) > H. [-làjà] or
[-làà] (instruct);
B. -taya (set a trap) > H. [-ràjà] or
[-ràà] (set a trap, doctor land; tell).

B. l > H. [l]:
B. -lala (stretch oneself on the ground)
> H. [-làlà] (lie down, sleep, spend
. the night);
B. -pala (scratch) > H. [-pàlà] (scrape).

B. v > H. [b]:
B. -vava (bitter) > H. [-bàbà] (be bitter);
B. -yava (divide) > H. [-àbà] (divide, share).

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

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

**Voiceless Palatals before a**

2.09  B. k > H. [tlh]:
B. -laka (cast away) > H. [-làtlhà] (cast away);
B. -paka (cross) > H. [-tàtlhà] (blind),
[letàlthà] (twin);
B. -kamba (wash) > H. [-tlhàp'à] (wash oneself).
B. \( t \) > H. [tlh]:
B. -tanu (five) > H. [-tlhánb] (five);
B. -taka (desire) > H. [-tlháxá] (active, wild);
B. -takuna (chew) > H. [-tlháhíná] (chew).

Thus both B. voiceless palatals \( k \) and \( t \) before \( a \) have changed to aspirated lateral affricate [tlh] in Hurutshe. One cannot always ascertain, therefore, whether H. [tlh] is derived from B. \( k \) or \( t \), since they have become identical, as Meinhof says. 

Voiced Palatals before \( a \)

2.10 B. \( x \) > H. [t'l']:
B. -xa (come) > H. [-t'l'á] (come);
B. -luxa (leak) > H. [-lútl'á] (leak).

B. \( l \) ?

Nasals before \( a \)

2.11 B. \( n \) > H. [n]:
B. -kana (deny) > H. [-xáná] (deny, refuse);
B. -vona (see) > H. [-bóná] (see).

B. \( m \) > H. [m]:
B. -kame (squeeze) > H. [-xámá] (milk);
B. -lima (hoe) > H. [-lémá] (hoe, plough);
B. -luma (bite) > H. [-lómá] (bite).

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

**VOWEL INFLUENCE ON PRECEDING CONSONANTS**

(i) Consonants before i and u

2.12 B. ki > H. [se]:

B. -kila (tail) > H. [mòsélà] (tail);
B. -kisbila (go about) > H. [-sèpélà] (walk);
B. ki-lembe (axe) > H. [sèlèp'è] (axe);
prefix and concord of class 7, [se-]:

B. ti > H. [re]:
B. -tì (tree) > H. [mòré] (tree);
B. -kati (in the middle) > H. [xàré] (in the middle).

B. pi > H. [ße]:
B. -pinda (pass, surpass) > H. [-èt'à] (pass, surpass);
B. -pima (measure) > H. [-èmà] (avoid blows).

B. ri > H. [ès]:
B. -rì (egg) > H. [lèé] (egg);
B. -riva (dove) > H. [lèèba] (dove);
concord of class 9, [ès-].

B. li > H. [le]:
B. -lila (weep) > H. [-lèlà] (weep, cry);
B. -lilo (fire) > H. [mòlèlò] (fire);
prefix and concord of class 5, [le-].
B. vi > H. [be]:
B. -vila (boil) > H. [-bêlê] (boil);
B. -wili (body) > H. [môbêlê] or
[êmêlê] (body).

B. mi > H. [me]:
B. -mila (sprout) > H. [-mêlê] (sprout, germinate);
B. -limi (tongue) > H. [lôlêmê] (tongue);
prefix of class 4, [me-].

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

B. ku > H. [xo]:
B. -kula (grow) > H. [-xôlê] (grow);
B. -kulu (big) > H. [-xôlê] (big);
prefix and concord of classes 15, 16, 17
and 18, [xo-].

B. tu > H. [ro]:
B. -tuma (send) > H. [-rômê] (send);
B. -tutuma (tremble) > H. [-rôrômê] (tremble).

B. pu > H. [fo]:
B. -pupa (fly) > H. [-ôbê] (fly);
B. -punga (blow) > H. [-ôb'ê] (blow).

B. vu > H. [o]:
B. -vuma (strike) > H. [-ômê] (threaten to strike);
concord of classes 1 and 3 [o-], and of second
person, singular, [o-].
B. lu > H. [lo):
B. luma (bite) > H. [-lómà] (bite);
B. luka (plait) > H. [-lòxà] (plait, weave);
prefix and concord of class 11, [lo-], and concord of 2nd person, plural, [lo-] (you).

B. vu > H. [bo]:
B. vumba (mould) > H. [-bóp'à] (mould);
B. vuya (return) > H. [-bòá] (return);
prefix and concord of class 14, [bo-].

B. ki > H. [tshe] or [se]:
B. paki (below) > H. [štátshe] (on the ground)

H. [lèšátshe] (country).
B. xaki (down) > H. [tl'áseg] (down).

B. xi > H. [ts'e]:
B. śyi (know) > H. [-its'e] (know).

B. ku > H. [tlho]:
B. kuya (pluck off) > H. [-tlhòbà] (pluck off, as feathers).

B. xu > H. [tl'o]:
B. xula (leap) > H. [-tl'ólà] (leap, jump).

B. mu > H. [mo-]:
B. lomu (mouth) > H. [mòlòmò] (mouth);
B. lemuka (perceive) > H. [-lémòxà] (perceive);
prefix and objectival concord of class 1, [mo-], and prefix of class 3, [mo-].
B. nu > H. [no]:
B. -mungu (porcupine) > H. [nök'ô] (porcupine);
B. -tanu (five) > H. [-tlhân] (five).

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

(ii) Consonants before i and u

2.13 B. ki > H. [si]:
B. -kita (hide) > H. [-sîra] (hide from view, shade);
B. -kilî (soot) > H. [môsîlî] (soot).
Cf. [môsîmânë] (boy).

B. ti > H. [si]:
B. -tila (grind) > H. [-slî] (grind);
B. -tiku (night) > H. [bôsîxô] (night).
> H. [ri]:
B. mpîtî (hyena) > H. [phîrl] (hyena);
B. -tika (winter) > H. [mûrîxà] (winter).

B. pi > H. [fi]:
B. -pîpi (darkness) > H. [lêpîlî] (darkness);
B. -pîka (hide) > H. [-Mîlîhà] (hide, conceal);
but H. [-Gîlîhà] (arrive).

B. vi > H. [i]:
B. -vîla (abstain from) > H. [-llâ] (abstain from);
B. -yiko (hearth) > H. [lèiso] (hearth); reflexive verbal prefix, for example, H. [-lp'ónà] (see oneself) < *-yi-vona.

B. li > H. [li]:
B. -kil (soot) > H. [mösíli] (soot); B. -línga (surround) > H. [-lɪk'à] (surround); prefix and concord of class 10, [li(N)-]

B. vi > H. [bi]:
B. -vina (dance) > H. [-bínà] (dance); B. -vimba (stuff) > H. [-blp'à] (cover).

B. ku > H. [hu]:
B. -kuva (chest) > H. [sèhúbà] (chest); B. -tlhahuna (chew) > H. [-tlháhúnà] (chew)
(Cf. par. 2.14).

B. tu > H. [ru]:
B. -tú (cloud) > H. [lèrù] (cloud); B. -túmo (spear) > H. [lèrúmù] (spear); B. -túnda (instruct) > H. [-rút'á] (teach, instruct).

B. nú > H. [nù]:
B. -núlo (froth) > H. [lèfúlù] (froth, foam); B. -nupú (blind) > H. [sèffú] (blind person).
(Cf. par. 2.14).
B. nd > H. [u]:
B. -yoyu (elephant) > H. [tl'pu] (elephant).
Cf. H. [-up'ä] (protect by medicine) < *-yômba.

B. lu > H. [iu]:
B. -låya (leak) > H. [-lùt'là] (leak);
B. -leldå (chin, beard) > H. [sêlëliù] (chin).

B. vu > H. [bu]:
B. -yula (open) > H. [-bùla] (open);
B. ngdvå (hippopotamus) > H. [k'ubù] (hippopotamus).

B. mi > H. [mi]:
B. -mina (press nose) > H. [-minâ] (blow the nose).
Cf. H. [lômip'â] (fatty membrane round the bowels).

B. nf > H. [v]:
B. -kont (shame) > H. [lîtlhôì]
(shame, used in the plural only).
H. [tlhôì] (hedgehog) plural, [lîtlhôì];
B. -kunf (fire-wood) > H. [lòxôf] (fire wood).

It is also locative suffix, for example,
H. [pêlôì] < *pelo-nf < [p'êlô] (heart);
B. μ̄ > H. [μu]:
Cf. H. [ŝomum̄a] (dumb person);
H. [-xamut'â] (press round).

B. μ̄ > ?

Thus B. k before ḳ and Ḵ has become H. [s] and [h] respectively; B. ḳ has become H. [s] or [r] before ḳ but [r] before Ḵ;
B. ẖ has become H. [l] before ḳ and Ḵ, while B. n has become H. [ŋ] before ḳ. The other B. Consonants follow the same rules as when they occur before ḳ.

The alternation of [φu] and [hu] in Hurutshe

2.14 In certain Hurutshe forms [φu] and [hu] alternate, for example,
[-puluâ] and [-hululâ] (turn one's back, return);
[-pûlûxâ] and [-hûlûxâ] (remove from one's place of residence).

Apparently such forms are derived from different Ur-Bantu roots; that, for example, the above pairs may be derived respectively from *-pûlûta and *-kûlûta on the one hand, and *-pûlûka and *-kûlûka on the other. In some Bantu languages, for example, Swahili, Konde, Kongo and Zulu, however, both Ur-Bantu kû and pû have changed to [fu]. It is possible, therefore, that, in some cases, Hurutshe [hu] may be derived from Ur-Bantu pû by the process B. pû > [φu] > [hu]. On the other hand Hurutshe [φu] may be replacing [hu] < B. kû.
by the principle of analogy with forms derived from Ur-Bantu forms containing \( p_u \). It is interesting to note that the Hurutshe call themselves either Hurutshe or Furutshe.

The Influence of \( li- \) on succeeding Consonants

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{B. } \text{ku} & > \text{H. } [\text{so}]: \\
\text{B. } \text{li-kumi} & (\text{ten}) > \text{H. } [\text{lësömë}] \ (\text{ten}).
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{B. } \text{kwa} & > \text{H. } [\text{kxhwa}] \text{ or } [\text{tshwa}]: \\
\text{B. } \text{li-kwanu} & (\text{lung}) > \text{H. } [\text{lëkxhwaßöö}] \text{ or } [\text{lëtshwaßöö}] \ (\text{lung}); \\
& \text{plural } [\text{makxhwaßöö}] \text{ or } [\text{matshwaßöö}].
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{B. } \text{ta} & > \text{H. } [\text{ra}] \text{ or } [\text{sa}]: \\
\text{B. } \text{li-tama} & (\text{cheek}) > \text{H. } [\text{lèrámà}] \text{ or } [\text{lèsámà}] \ (\text{cheek}), \text{plural, } [\text{màrámà}] \text{ or } [\text{màsàmà}]; \\
\text{B. } \text{li-tambo} & (\text{bone}) > \text{H. } [\text{lèráp'ò}] \text{ or } [\text{lèsáp'ò}] \ (\text{bone}), \text{plural } [\text{màráp'ò}] \text{ or } [\text{màsàp'ò}].
\end{align*}
\]

B. te > H. [je]:
B. li-teva (soft part of bone) > H. [lèf'tlà]
(editable part of head of a bone).

B. to > [tshp] or [rř]:
B. li-tompi (blister) > [lètshòphi] or [lèròphi]
(blister), plural [matshòphi] or [màròphi].

B. tu > H. [ro],[so] or [tsho]:
B. li-tuva (opening) > H. [lèròbâ], [lèsòbâ]
or [lètshòbâ] (hole, as in a piece of cloth or skin), plural, [màròbâ], [màsòbâ] and [matshòbâ] respectively.
B. li-tumbi (old dwelling place) > H. [lèróp'è]
or [lèsòp'è] (ruin, old dwelling place)
plural [màròp'è] or [màsòp'è].
B. li-tuyu (paw) > [leròb] or [lètshòb] (paw),
plural, [màròb] or [màtshòb].
B. li-tulo (hunting party) > H. [lètshòîb]
(hunting party).

B. na > H. [tshwa]:

B. la > [ts'a]:
B. li-langi (sun) > H. [lèts'âts'î] (sun, day),
plural, [mâlâts'î] or [màts'âts'î].

B. li > [ts'e]:
B. li-lime (a hoeing party) > H. [lèts'èmà]
(people ploughing, or workparty).
B. \textit{li} \textgreater{} H. [ts'i]:

B. \textit{li-liyoko} (ford, drift) \textgreater{} H. [lèts'èbòxò]

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

B. \textit{we} \textgreater{} [br] or [ts'e]:

B. \textit{li-vele} (breast) \textgreater{} H. [lèbèlè] or [lèts'èlè]

(breast), but H. [lèbèlè] or [lèts'èlè]

(plant or grain of corn).

B. \textit{vo} \textgreater{} H. [bo] or [ts'o]:

B. \textit{li-voko} (arm) \textgreater{} H. [lèbòxò] or [lèts'òxò]

(arm), plural, [màbòxò] or [màts'òxò].


B. \textit{vu} \textgreater{} H. [ts'o]:

B. \textit{li-vumba} (pot clay) \textgreater{} H. [lèts'òp'à] (pot clay).

The Influence of $y_i-$ on succeeding Consonants

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

B. \textit{ka} \textgreater{} H. [sa]:

B. \textit{-yikala} (remain) \textgreater{} H. [-sàlà] (remain behind);

B. \textit{ku} \textgreater{} H. [kxho]:

B. \textit{-yikuta} (become satisfied) \textgreater{} H. [-kxhórà] (become satisfied, of food);


B. ta > H. [tša] or [ʃa]:
B. -yitava (flee) > H. [-tšåbå] (flee, run away, fear);
B. -yitava (give a name) > H. [-ʃájå] or [-ʃåå] (give a name);
B. -yitava (mix) > H. [-ʃåbå] (eat, as porridge with relish);
B. -yitamba (beat) > H. [-ʃápå](beat, as with a cane).

B. te > H. [ʃɛ]:
B. -yiteva (look) > H. [-ʃèbå] (look);
B. -yiteva (cut) > H. [-ʃělå](cut off a piece, e.g. of meat).

B. ti > H. [ʃɛ]:
B. -yitina (grin) > H. [-ʃènå] (grin, as a dog threatening to bite).

B. tu > H. [tšo]:
B. -yituka (be startled) > H. [-tšòxå] (be frightened);
B. -yitula (scoop out) > H. [-tšòlå] (dish out food), but H. [-tšòlå] (possess).

B. ku > H. [khu]:
B. -yikåta (cover) > H. [-khùùmèlå] (cover, as pot with lid)
B.  tá > H. [tshu]:
B. -yitóva (set alight) > H. [-tshùbà] (light up, burn up, set alight), but H. [-thùbà] (break).

B.  na > H. [tshwa]:
B. -yipata (seize) > H. [-tshwàrà] (seize, catch, arrest).

B.  ya > H. [ts'wa]:
B. -yipata (seize) > H. [-tswàrà] (seize, catch, arrest).

B.  vu > H. [ts'o]:
B. -yiyuka (wake up) > H. [-ts'oxá] (wake up);
B. -yiwima (hunt) > H. [-ts'omà] (hunt).

B.  fio > H. [tʃho]:
B. -yipfoma (stutter) > H. [-tʃhómà] (speak a foreign language).
Cf. H. [-tʃhóthà] (chew) < *-yipfoka.

The Influence of yi- on succeeding Consonants

2.17 Sound changes due to the influence of the reflexive verbal prefix yi-, which is represented by [i] in Hurutshe, are identical with those due to B. ni-, cf. parr. 2.23 - 2.29, for example,
[-lkxhóxà] < [-xóxà] (pull) < B. -koka;
[-lthát'à] < [-rát'à] (love) < B. -tanda;
Consonants before e and o

2.18 B. ke?

B. te > H. [rt]:
B. -tenga (equalise) > H. [-rék'â] (buy);
B. -tenda (make) > H. [-rêt'â] (praise);
B. -tema (chop down) > H. [-rémâ] (chop).

B. ne > H. [e]:
B. -nêla (end) > H. [-nêlâ] (end, get finished);
B. -penêla (winnow) > H. [-nêpérâ] (winnow).

B. ye > H. [e]:
B. -yela (measure) > H. [-êlâ] (measure),
   but H. [-êlâ] (flow, as water);
B. yenda (go) > H. [-êt'â] (visit, journey).

B. le > H. [le]:
B. -lelâ (chin, beard) > H. [sêlêliù] (chin);
B. -lembá (axe) > H. [sêlêpê] (axe).
B. ve > H. [be]:
B. -vele (breast) > H. [lèbèlè] (breast),
   but H. [lèbèlê] (grain or plant of corn);
B. -veleka (carry on the back) > H. [-bèlèxà] (carry on the back).

B. ke > H. [tšè] or [sè]:
B. -keka (laugh) > H. [-tšèxà] (laugh);
B. -kela (pour) > H. [-tšèlà] (pour);
B. -keva (backbite) > H. [-sèbà] (whisper).

B. te ?

B. xe ?

B. le ?

B. ne > H. [ne]:
B. -ne (four) > H. [-nè] (four)
   Cf. H. [-nèpà] (aim well).

B. me ?

B. ko > H. [xo]:
B. -koka (pull, drag) > H. [-xóxà] (pull, drag);
B. -kokola (cough) > H. [-xótlhólà] (cough);
B. -kopì (palm of the hand) > H. [lèxòlì] (palm of the hand).

B. to > H. [ro]:
B. -tota (sink) > H. [-ròrà] (roar).
   Cf. [-ròbà] (break).
B. po > H. [tə]:
B. -pola (become cool) > H. [təˈlə] (become cool, recover);
B. -popa (blind) > H. [səˈpə] (blind person).

B. xo > H. [o]:
B. -xota (warm oneself) > H. [təˈdə] (warm oneself);
B. -xonda (become lean) > H. [təˈtə] (become lean).

B. lo > H. [lo]:
B. -lota (dream) > H. [ləˈtə] (dream);
B. -lomba (ask) > H. [ləˈpə] (ask, beseech);
B. -lova (bewitch) > H. [ləˈvə] (bewitch);
but H. [təˈlə] (become thick, as porridge).

B. vo > H. [bo]:
B. -vona (see) > H. [bəˈnə] (see);
B. -vola (rot) > H. [bəˈlə] (rot).

B. ko > H. [tlo]:
B. -kola (spy) > H. [tloˈlə] (spy, peep);

B. to > H. [tlo]:
B. -tola (produce, give out) > H. [tloˈlə] (create, portend evil omen, spend the day).
B. xo > H. [tl'ɔ]:
B. -yola (anoint) > H. [-tl'ɔlə] (anoint).

B. no > H. [no]:
B. -nona (become fat) > H. [-nɔnə] (become fat);
B. -yino (tooth) > H. [lèınə] (tooth).

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

Consonants before Semi-vowels
(a) Before y and w

2.19 B. kva > H. [sa]:
B. -kya (dawn) > H. [-sə] (dawn, become clear);
possessive concord of class 7, [sə-].

B. tva > H. [tsha]:
H. [sètlhátshànà], diminutive of [sètlhàrè];
H. [nàtsùhànà], diminutive of [nàrè] (buffalo)
< B. natyana < *nàti, <*nv-ati (buffalo).

B. pva > H. [ʃwa]:
B. -pva (new, burn) > H. [-ʃwá] (new, burn).

B. yva > H. [ja]:
B. -yva (go) > H. [-jà] (go);
possessive concord of classes 4 and 9, [ja-]
B. lva > H. [dʒa]:
B. -lva (eat) > H. [-dʒá] (eat);
H. [hʊmʊdʒanà] diminutive of [hʊmʊlɛ] (body);
H. [lèbejànà] diminutive of [lèbeطة] (grain or plant of corn).

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

"ɣ, which has a double sound in southern Secwana, seems never to carry with it the sound of 'y' in the English word 'year', but is in every case like unto 'j' in 'joke' in the north." (Cole, Prof. D.T.: An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, par. 1. 71.)

B. vya > H. [dʒwa]:
B. -vyla (sow) > H. [-dʒwála] (sow, plant);
H. [tsʷədʒwánà], diminutive of [tsʷəɓɛ] (ear);

B. nya > H. [na]:
B. -nya (rain) > H. [-nà-] (rain).

B. nya ?

B. kwa > H. [xwa]:
[-róxwà], passive of [-róxà] (curse);
[-ləxwà], passive of [-ləxà] (weave, plait).

Cf. [sèxwàxwà] (frog);
[sèxwàp'á] (biltong);
[-xwàlélà] (become stiff).

B. kwe > H. [xwe]:
B. -kwe (marriage, bridegroom, father-in-law)
> H. [mòxwè] (son-in-law); [bòxwè] (man's-
in-law's place);
possessive pronominal stem, 3rd person, singular,
[-xwè].
Cf. [-xwèti'là] (bleat, as a goat).

B. twa > H. [rwa]:
[-ééérwa] passive of [-éèérà] (winnow);
[-èòrwa], passive of [-èòrà] (deceive);
[-rwàlà] (carry) < B. -twàla ≈ -tu-ala;
[lèrwá] (small red ants).

B. pwa > H. [jwa]:
[-lèjwà] passive of [-lèèà] (pay);
[-bòjwà] passive of [-bòèà] (bind);
> H. [tjìhwà]:
[-tjìhwá] (dry up, as water) < B. -pùa.

B. pwe > H. [jwè]:
Cf. [lèjwè] (dirt, filth);
[mòjwè] (meercat);
[sèjwèjwè] (flower);
[lèjwè] (type of creeping plant).
B. *ywa* > H. [*wa*];
B. *-ywa* (fall) > H. [*-wà*] (fall);
possessive concord of classes 1 and 3, [wa-].

B. *lwa* > H. [*lwa*];
B. *-lwa* (fight) > H. [*-lwà*] (fight);
B. *-lwala* (be ill) > H. [*-lwalà*] (be ill);
H. [*-balwa*], passive of [*-bàlà*] (count);
possessive concord of class 11, [lwa-].

B. *vwa* > H. [*d3wa*];
[k'òd3wànà*], diminutive of [k'òbòb] (blanket);
[sèròd3wànà*], diminutive of [sèròbòb] (beer in
the process of making);
[-ròd3wà*], passive of [-ròbà*] (break);
[-sèd3wà*], passive of [-sèbà*] (whisper);

N.B. As possessive concord of class 14, Hurutshe
employs [*d3a-*] more commonly than [*d3wa-*].

B. *we* > H. [*d3we*];
B. *-we* (stone) > H. [lèd3wè*] (stone).
Cf. H. [phòk'òd3wè*] (jackal).

B. *kwa* > H. [*tlhwa*];
B. *-kwa* (white ants) > H. [mòtlhwá*] or
[bòtlhwá*] (white ants);
[-látlhwà*], passive of [-látlhà*] (throw away);
[-fitlhwà*], passive of [-fitlhà*] (hide).
B. *nwa*? Cf., however:

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

B. *nwa* > H. [*nwa*]:

[*nwànà*] (child) < B. *mwana* < mu-*yüna*;
[*nwàxá*] (year) < B. *mwaka* < mu-*yaka*;
[mólò*nwànà*], diminutive of [mòlò*mbà*] (mouth);
[-ró*ñwà*], passive of [-ró*ñà*] (send).

Cf. also [-*ñwàjá*] (scratch).

B. *nwe* > H. [*nwe*]:

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

B. *nwe* > H. [*nwe*]:

[*nwé*] (moon, moon-light) < B. mu-*yélè* (moon);
[*nwé*] (daughter-in-law)
[-*nwèxá*] (abscond).

(b) Before *y* and *w*

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

[-*isa*] < -*ekya*;
[-*osa*] < -*ukya*;
[-*usa*] < -*ukya*.

* Prof. D.T. Cole (Notes on the Phonological Relationships of Tswana Vowels, African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept., 1949) calls this change of *e* to *o* "vowel breaking". He says, "In this process, we find that the back vowels *u*, *o* and *a*, may interchange with a type of diphthong consisting of *w* followed by one of the front vowels *i*, *e*, *e* or *a*. Thus *y* interchanges with *wi*, *o* with *we*, and *a* or *o* interchange with *we*, *we* or *wa." (p. 123).
B. tša > H. [tsha]:
[môrîtšâñà], diminutive of [môrîl] (hair);
[phîtšâñà], diminutive of [phîrî] (hyena).

B. mba > H. [tshwa]:
[lètšîtshwânà], diminutive of [lèdîdî] (darkness).
[môrâtšhwânà], diminutive of [môrâgê] (tribe).

B. vya > ?

B. lêa > H. [ts'a]:
[-lâtså], causative of [-lålå] (lie down, sleep);
[-tîlîtshå], causative of [-tîlålå] (be full);
[nålîtshânà], diminutive of [nåléli] (star);
possessive concord of class 10, [tsh-].

B. vya > H. [ts'a]:
B. -v'ala (bear young) > H. [-ts'ålå] (bear young).

B. nêa > H. [nã]:
B. -nêa (ease oneself) > H. [-nå] (exude);
Cf. [-tênâ] (defeat);
[-sênâ] (spoil, waste);
[nònànà] diminutive of [nògû]

B. mêa ?

B. kôa > H. [swa]:
B. -kôa (die) > H. [-swå] (die).
Cf. [bôswå] (inheritance);
[-swàbå] (wither, be disappointed);
[lèswàlô] (medicine to ensure prosperity or success).
B. tša ?

B. pwa > H. [tshwa]:
B. -pšana (resemble) > H. [-tshwànà] (resemble).

B. vša ?

B. lša > H. [tswa]:
B. -lša (come out) > H. [-tswa'] (come out).
Cf. [sélštsw'anà], diminutive of [sélč̥ù] (chin)
[-bútsw'à] (ripen, be well-cooked).

B. vša > H. [tswa']:
B. -všala (wear clothes) > H. [-tswa'là]
(wear clothes).

B. vša > H. [tlw'a]:
B. -všàa (hear) > H. [-tlw'à] (hear).

B. mša ?

B. mša > H. [ýwa]:
Cf. [mólámwànà] diminutive of [mólámù] (knobkerrie):
> H. [ýwa]: cf.,
[-ýwà], alternative of [-ánrà] (suck) < B. -ýndìa
> H. [nwa]: cf.,
[-nù] (drink) < B. -mìa < -mùa.
NASAL COMPOUNDS

Original Nasal Compounds

2.21  B. nk > H. [(ŋ)kɔh]:
B. -punka (stink) > H. [-ŋɔkɔh] (smell).

B. nt > H. [th]:
B. -ntu (person) > H. [mɔthɔ] (person)
Cf. [-bɔthɔ] (repose, as cattle after grazing).

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

B. nk > H. [k]:
B. -tenza (equalise) > H. [-rɛkɔ] (buy);
B. -punka (blow) > H. [-tɔkɔ] (blow, as wind).

B. nd > H. [t]:
B. -landa (follow) > H. [-lɛtɔ] (follow);
B. -linda (protect) > H. [-lɛtɔ] (wait, guard).

B. mb > H. [p]:
B. -vumba (mould) > H. [-bɔpɔ] (Mould);
B. -lomba (ask) > H. [-lɔpɔ] (request, beseech);
B. -kimbila (walk) > H. [-sɛpɔlə] (walk);
B. -kumbula (remember) > H. [-zɔpɔlɔ]
  (remember).

Thus B. original nasal compounds of primary plosives
and fricatives are represented in Hurutshe as follows:
B. \( nk \) > H. \( [kxh] \);
B. \( nt \) > H. \( [th] \);
B. \( mp \) > H. \( [ph] \);
B. \( ng \) > H. \( [k'] \);
B. \( nd \) > H. \( [t'] \);
B. \( mb \) > H. \( [p'] \).

There are examples where the nasal is retained inside a polysyllabic stem, for example,

\[-\text{thí́thà}] \) (shake off);
\[-\text{xwá́nt'á}] \) (walk briskly or arrogantly);
\[-\text{ró́jkxhà}] \) (hurt a sore).

As these examples show the \( n \) is retained in the penultimate syllable. Cf. Nasal compounds with ni- in parr. 2.23 and 2.24.

**Nasal Compounds before Semi-vowels**

2.22 B. \text{mpya} > H. \text{[tshwa]}:

Cf., \text{[tshé́tshwànà]} diminutive of \text{[tshéphè]} (springbok).

B. \text{mbya} > H. \text{[tsw'á]};

\text{[sélétswànà]} diminutive of \text{[sélép'á]} (axe);
\text{[mòtlhátswànà]} diminutive of \text{[mòtlháp'é]} (herd of cattle).

B. \text{nkwa} > H. \text{[kxhwá]};

Cf., \text{[sèkxhwá]} (forest);
\text{[mòkbxhw âphá]} (type of aloe);
\text{[sèkxhwàmá]} (purse);
\text{[ró́jkxhwá]} passive of \text{[ró́jkxhà]} (hurt a sore place).
B. ntwa > H. [thwa]:
Cf., [−rathwa] passive of [−rathà] (split up, e.g. wood; strike, as lightning).

B. mmpwa > H. [tʃhwə]:
Cf., [−Tātʃhwə] passive of [−tàphà] (split up wood; keep out of the way); [−kxhàtʃhwə] passive of [−kxhàphà] (wave aside; smear floor with cow-dung).

B. nmpwa > H. [kwə]:
[−rékwə] passive of [−rékə] (buy);

B. ndwa > H. [twə]:
[−lətwə] passive of [−lətə] (follow);
[−rətwə] passive of [−rətə] (love, like).

B. mbwa > H. [tʃwə]
[−bətʃwə] passive of [−bəpə] (mould);
[−lətʃwə] passive of [−ləpə] (request, beseech);

B. mpya > H. [tʃhwə]:
[ləkətʃhwənə] diminutive of [ləkəpə] (darkness);
[phətʃhwənə] diminutive of [phəpə] (splinter of wood).
B. ndèa > H. [ts'a]:
Cf. [phòts'ánà] diminutive of [phòt'í] (duiker);
[lòbàts'ánà] diminutive of [lòbàt'í] (plank, door).

B. mbèa > H. [tsw'a]:
[tlhàtsw'áñà] diminutive of [tlhàp'í] (fish).
Cf. also [-tlhàtsw'á] (wash) transitive of [-tlhàp'á] (wash);
[-látsw'á] (lick) < B. -lamba (lick).

B. mbwa > H. [tsw'a];
lèxàtsw'áñà] diminutive of [lèxáp'ú] (water melon);
Cf. also [lèràtsw'áñà] diminutive of [lèráp'b] (bone);
[mòlàtsw'áñà] diminutive of [mòláp'b] (valley, river).

Nasal Compounds with ni-

2.23 Nasal compounds with ni- are found with
(i) nouns of class 9,
(ii) nouns of class 10,
(iii) adjectives qualifying nouns of classes 9 and 10,
(iv) objectival concord, first person, singular.

(i) Nouns of class 9:
B. ni-k > H. [(ŋ)kxh]:
[kxhák'á] (guinea-fowl) < B. ni-kanga (guinea-fowl);
[kxhók'á] (tick) < B. ni-kupa (tick)
[kxhánò] (denial, refusal) < [-xáñá] (deny, refuse) < B. -kana (deny).
> H. [tsh]:
[ňtũhǐ] (eye-brow, eye-lash) < B. ni-kũye
              (eye-brow, eye-lash).
Cf. [tshimõ] (cultivated land) < *ni-kĩmu;
[tšĩpÕ] (iron) < *ni-kĩmbĩ.
[tšĩpõ] (black and white civet cat);
[ňtšũ] (a fowl's crop).

> H. [kh] before B. ľ and ū:
[ňhĩbõ] (apron) < *ni-kũya;
[ňhũlõ] (tortoise) < B. ni-kũlũ (tortoise)
[ňhũmõ] (wealth) < [-hũmã] (be rich);
[ňhũlũxõ] (removing from one's place of residence)
              < [-hũlũxã].

B. ni-t > H. [(n)th]:
Cf., [ňbõh] (mountain);
[ňhẽlõ] (wound);
[ňthõ] (wish) < [-rãtõ] (love);
[ňthẽlẽ] (udder);
[ňthẽthẽ] (a grub found in kraal manure);
[ňthõlõ] (a type of plant)
[ňthõmõ] (act of sending) < [-rõmã] (send);
[ňtõpõ] (knife); < [-rõpÕ]
[ňthõkũhõ] or [ňthõkũwĩ] (civet cat) <
              B. ni-tũŋõdõ;
[ňthõpõ] (a thin stick);
[ňthũ] (possession) < [-rũ] (rear animals).
B. ni-p > H. [(m)ph]:
[phàlá] (roebuck) < B. ni-pala (antelope);
[phé dó] (wind) < B. ni-pipo (wind);
[phók'á] (dew) < [-òkà] (blow, as wind);
[phírì] (hyena) < B. ni-pitt (hyena);
[phúlùhùlà] (red buck);
[ùphó] (gift) < [-ò] (give);
[phùlù] (pasture) < [-ùlù] (graze).

B. ni-n > H. [(m)k]:
[kòlòbè] (pig) < B. ni-yuluve;
[hàkú] (sheep) < B. ni-yá;
[kállímà] (act of lending) < [-álímà]  
> H. [ts'í] before B. ü:
[hts'í] (fly) < B. ni-ʃi;
[ts'e] (locust) < B. ni-xìve

B. ni-1 > H. [(n)t']:
[ht'a] (louse);
[t'e] (beard) < B. ni-leló;
[t'e] (payment) < [-letà] < B. -le

B. ni-v > H. [(m)p']:
[p'oli] (goat) < B. ni-vuli;
[p'ula] (rain) < B. ni-vla;
[áp'á] (belly);
[p'onó] (scene) < [-tònà] < B. -vona

B. ni-k > H. [(n)tlh]:
[htlhá] (point) < B. ni-ka;
[tlhògà] (hedgehog) < B. ni-koní (shame).
B. ni-\(\ddot{t}\) > H. [tl\(\ddot{a}\)h]:
Cf. [tl\(\ddot{a}\)šè] (spark).

B. ni-\(\ddot{r}\) > H. [(n)tl\(\ddot{r}\)]:
[tl\(\ddot{a}\)l\(\ddot{a}\)] (hunger) < B. ni-yala;
[tl\(\ddot{a}\) ë] (lightning) < B. ni-yalë
[htlë] (house) < B. ni-\(\ddot{y}\)u
> H. [ts\(\ddot{r}\)]:
[ts'ëlà] (path, road) < B. ni-yila

B. ni-\(\ddot{\imath}\) > H. [ts\(\ddot{\imath}\)]:
[ts'ëbe] (ear) < B. ni-\(\ddot{\imath}\)ye

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

B. ni-kwa > H. [kxhwa]:
[kxhwâlë] (partridge) < B. ni-kwallë.

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

B. ni-twa > H. [thwa]: Cf.
[thwânë] (lynx);
[thwallë] (one who excels).

B. ni-pwe > H. [(n)tjhwë]:
[htjhwë] (ostrich) < B. ni-pwelë.
Cf. [htjhwë] (sweet reed, sugar cane);
[setjhwë] (stamina).
B. $ni\text{-}ywe > H. [(n)kw'e]:$

[kw'e] (leopard) < B. $ni\text{-}ywe$;

[kw'e\text{nà}] (crocodile) < B. $ni\text{-}wenya$

B. $ni\text{-}lwa > H. [(n)tw'a]:$

[htw'á] (war) < B. $-lwa.$

B. $ni\text{-}ywa > H. [ntʃw'a]:$

[ntʃwá]* (dog) < B. $-ywa.$

B. $ni\text{-}kwa > H. [(n)tlhwa]:$

Cf. [rtlhwa] (larva of white ants);

[tlhware] (python).

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

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

[nàmà] (meat);

[nàrè] (buffalo);

[nòq] (bird);

[nòkà] (river).

(ii) Nouns of Class 10

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

* With some speakers this form sounds more like [hjɔwá].
(iii) Adjectives qualifying nouns of classes 9 and 10:

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

[kxholb] < [-xolb] (big) < B. -kulu;
[p'^li] < [-bell] (two) < B. -vali (-vili);
[mp'e] > [-be] (bad) < B. -vi;
[tharl] < [-rarl] (three) < B. -tatut

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

[pul' [mp'e] (bad rain);
[lip'ul' ts'e l'mp'e] (bad rains);
[t'ul' kxholb] (big lion);
[lt'ul' ts' e llkxholb] (big lions);
[t'kh' [htshb] (black sheep);
[l'tk' ts' e l'intshb] (black sheep).

Cf. also the examples in par. 2.21 in which the nasal is retained in the penultimate syllable.
(iv) Objectival concord, first person, singular:

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

B. ni-k > H. [ŋŋxh]:
[-ŋŋxhánà] (deny, refuse me) < B. -kana;
[-ŋŋxhop'élà] (remember me) < B. -kumbula.

B. ni-t > H. [nth]:
[-nthát'â] (love me) < B. -tanda;
[-nthút'â] (teach me) < B. -tûnda.

B. ni-p > H. [mph]:
[-mphá] (give me) < B. -pa;
[-mphét'â] (pass me) < B. -pinda

B. ni-Y > H. [ŋk]:
[-ŋkálímà] (lend me) < B. -valina;
[-ŋkélà] (measure me) < B. -vela.

B. ni-l > H. [nt']:
[-nt'áth] (follow me) < B. -linda;
[-nt'édà] (pay me) < B. -lipa.

B. ni-v > H. [mp']:
[mp'álà] (count me) < B. -vala;
[mp'ónà] (see me) < B. -vona.
2.30 When [mo-] < B. mu-, prefix of classes 1 and 3, occurs before stems commencing with [b], the [o] is elided, and [b] is assimilated to [m], that is [mob-] > [mm-] where the first [m] is syllabic. In many such cases, however, both: assimilated and non-assimilated forms occur in Hurutshe although the former are more commonly used, for example,

[êmútî'à] (hare) < *mobutî'a;
[êmú] (soil) < [mobû];
[êmélè] (body) < *mobole;
[êmôni] (dancer) < [mobimi] < [-ñhàn];
[êmôpî] (one who moulds) < [mobóp'î] < [-bóp'à].

2.31 When the prefix [mo-] occurs before stems commencing with [ŋ] < B. p, dissimilation occurs where [ŋ] becomes [n], as Cole also points out\(^9\), for example,

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

[-mmona] (see him) < *-mobóna;
[-mmolaja] (kill him) < *-mobolája.

[-háísá] < [-mòéísá] (burn him/her);
[-háítlhélá] < [-mòéítlhèlà] (find him/her);
[-háítlhá] < [-mòéítlhá] (blind him/her).

**Loan Forms**

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

**Summary**

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

1. **Primary Consonants before a**

2.35 **Plosives**: B. $\mathbb{K} > H. \{x\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{I} > H. \{r\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{P} > H. \{\phi\}$

2.36 **Fricatives**: B. $\mathbb{x} > H. \{-\}$ or $\{j\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{l} > H. \{l\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{v} > H. \{b\}$

2.37 **Nasals**: B. $\mathbb{n} > H. \{n\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{m} > H. \{m\}$

2. **Palatals before a**

2.38 **Voiceless Palatals**: B. $\mathbb{k} > H. \{tlh\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{t} > H. \{tlh\}$

2.39 **Voiced Palatals**: B. $\mathbb{j} > H. \{tl\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{I} > \{ts'\}$.

3. **Semi-vowels**:  

2.40 B. $\mathbb{y} > H. \{j\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{w} > H. \{w\}$

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

2.41 B. $\mathbb{nk} > H. \{kxh\}, \{\eta kxh\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{nt} > H. \{th\}, \{nth\}$  
       B. $\mathbb{mp} > H. \{ph\}, \{mph\}$. 
(b) Nasal compounds of B. ni-

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

B. ni-k > H. [kxh], [nkxh]
> H. [tsh], [ntsh] or [kh], [njkh]
before i and u.

B. ni-t > H. [th], [nth]

B. ni-p > H. [ph], [mph]

B. ni-y > H. [k'], [njk']
> H. [ts], [nts].

B. ni-l > H. [t'], [nts']

B. ni-y > H. [p'], [mp']

B. ni-k > H. [tlh], [ntlh]

B. ni-t > H. [tlh], [ntlh]

B. ni-y > H. [tl'], [ntl']
> H. [ts], [nts]

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

(c) Before the semi-vowel w

2.43 B. ni-kw > H. [kxhw], [njkxhw]

B. ni-tw > H. [thw], [nthw]
5. Vowel Influence on Consonants

(a) On primary consonants

2.45 B. k > H. [s], [h], [kxh], [kh]
B. t > H. [s], [tsh], [ʃ], [tʃh]
B. p > H. [tshw], [tʃh].
B. x > H. [ts]'
B. l > H. [l], [ts]'
B. y > H. [b], [ts'], [tsw].

(b) On Palatals

2.46 B. k > H. [tsh], [se]
B. x > H. [ts']

(c) On Nasals

2.47 B. n > H. [n]
6. Influence of Semi-vowels on consonants

(a) On primary consonants

2.48 B. k > H. [s], [sw], [xw]
B. t > H. [tsh], [rw]
B. p > H. [jw], [tjhw], [tshw]
B. y > H. [j]
B. l > H. [d3], [ts], [tsw], [lw]
B. v > H. [d3w], [ts], [tsw]

(b) On Nasals

2.49 B. n > H. [n], [n]
B. m > H. [xw], [rw], [nw]

(c) On Palatals

2.50 B. k > H. [tlhw]
B. v > H. [tlw]
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

THE VOWELS

3.04 Although the Hurutshe vowel system, as shown in parr. 2.01-2.05, applies to all the other Tswana dialects, yet there are instances of variations in the pronunciation of some of them in certain dialects.
Thus, for example, in Kwena of Molepolole, Ngwaketse, Tlhako, Thaping and Rolong the semi-close vowels [e] and [o] before the locative suffix [-rj] may be so raised that they become more or less identical with [i] and [u] respectively, for example,

[\text{p'elü] instead of [p'elö]} < [p'elö] (heart);
[\text{umeli]} instead of [ümelö]} < [ümelö] (body);
[\text{htl'ü}] instead of [htl'ö]} < [htl'ö] (house).

In Hurutshe, Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts the vowels [e] and [o] are merely raised to [e] and [o] respectively in such cases. Another difference or variation is found in the pronunciation of the forms for "water" and "bag". In some dialects, for example, Rolong, Ngwaketse and Kwena both forms [mëts'i] and [mëts'e], [kxhëts'i] and [kxhëts'e] respectively occur, while in others, for example, Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, only the forms [mëts'e] and [këts'e]

CONSONANTS

The Stop Explosive Consonants

H. [k']

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

[-rëk'a] (buy), [k'ëlîl] (tear),
[kík'â] (stamping block), [k'ölôbë] (pig),
[îk'ô] (nose) and [îk'ú] (sheep).

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

\textsuperscript{*} As pronounced in this dialect.

[tʃ'ík'á] instead of [k'ík'á] (mortar), and
[xà tʃ'íts'è] instead of [xà k'é íts'è] (I do not
know)

H. [t']

3.06 In all other Tswana dialects the sound corre-
sponding to H. [t'] is [t'], for example,
[t'àú] (lion), [-t'ímèá] (get lost, go astray),
[mòlàt'ó] (case), [mat'ut'ç] (juice),
[-xwânt'á] or [-hwânt'á] in Kgatla (walk briskly
or defiantly).

H. [p']

3.07 The corresponding sound to H. [p'] is [p']
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[-lap'á] (be tired), [-p'élá] (rock-rabbit),
[p'bó] (bull) and [p'úlá] (rain).

The Voiced Bilabial Explosive Consonant

H. [b]

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

(b) In Kgatla of Pilansberg and Hammsanskraal
districts as well as in Kwená of Rustenburg
and Brits districts, however, both the
bilabial explosive [b] and the bilabial
fricative [β] occur, for example,
[-bàbà] and [-bàβà],
[-bònà] and [-bònà].
In these dialects the bilabial fricative occurs especially in slow speech.

3.09 Both the bilabial explosive [b] and the bilabial fricative [β] may be replaced by [ts'] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla as in Hurutshe (cf. par. 2.15) and by [ts'] or [tʃ'] in Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo in certain nouns of classes 5 and 6, for example, [lèbélè] or [lèbélè] is sometimes pronounced [lèts'élè] (breast), plural, [màbélè], [màbélè] or [màts'élè]; [lèbōxõ] (arm) is sometimes pronounced [lètʃ'õõ] in Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo. The plural is [màbóxõ], or [màtʃ'õõ].

The Aspirated Explosive Consonants

H. [kh]

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

[khíbà] (apron), [mòkhínõ] (toothless), [sèkhí] (thorn bush), [khúlù] (tortoise) and [-khúts'ã] (rest).

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


H. [th]
3.11 The sound corresponding to H. [th] is [th] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[thàří] (a skin for carrying a child),
[màthò] (saliva),
[-thìbà] (stop, stop up, be overcast, as clouds),
[mòthò] (person),
[thùp'à] (stick).

H. [ph]
3.12 The corresponding sound to H. [ph] is [ph] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[phàlá] (rooibok), [phírí] (hyena),
[phóló] (ox), [-phùpà] (pierce through, cut open).

The Fricative Consonants

H. [ʰ]
3.13 (a) The sound corresponding to H. [ʰ] is [ʰ] in Ngwaketse, Kwena of Molepolole and Rolong (see N.B. below) for example,
[-bùbà] (fly) and [lèbǐbǐ] (darkness).
N.B. In Rolong, as spoken today, the sound [ʰ] alternates with [h]; for example, the above examples are pronounced respectively as follows:
[-bùbà] or [-hùbà] and [lèbǐbǐ] or [lèhǐhǐ].
Indeed the alternative sound [h] is far more commonly heard than [ʰ] as one goes further west of Mafeking, and especially in the Vryburg district, for example, at
Kudunkgwane, Tlakgameng, Ganyesa and Bothithong. This is due to the influence of Tlhaping in which [φ] does not occur (see (b) below).

(b) The sound corresponding to H. [φ] is [h] in Tlhaping and Tlharo, for example, [-hɔhɔ] and [lɛhɛl] for Hurutshe [-ɔtɔ] and [lɛtɛl] respectively. Strangely enough one encounters [f] in a few cases in Tlharo, for example, in [kə mɔfɔ] or [kə mɛfɔ] for Hurutshe [kə mɔsɔ] (tomorrow). Prof. Cole also remarks about this. ³ Perhaps this is due to the influence of other languages.

(c) In Kgatla and Kwen of Rustenburg and Brits districts both the bilabial fricative [φ] and the dentilabial [f] occur, for example, [-φɔφɔ] and [-fɔfɔ], [lɛtɛl] and [lɛfɛl]. In fact the latter, [f], is far more commonly heard than the former, [φ], in these dialects, especially in Kgatla of Hammanskraal district.

H. [s]

3.14 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before [a] [æ] and [e] is [s] in all other Tswana dialects, for example, [-sɔlɔ] (remain), [sɛlɔ] (thing) and [-sɛlɔ] (look for food, as a fowl).

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(b) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before [i] is [s] in all other Tswana dialects, except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, for example,

\[\text{mòsî} \] (smoke);
\[\text{-sîrâ} \] (hide from view);
\[\text{mòsîmâ} \] (hole);
\[\text{bòsîxò} \] (night);

In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, however, H. [s] before [i] is [ʃ]. For example, the above forms are pronounced respectively as follows in this dialect:

\[\text{mòʃî} \], \[\text{-ʃîrâ} \], \[\text{mòʃîmâ} \] and \[\text{bòʃîhò} \].

(c) The corresponding sound to H. [s] before [o], [ə] and [u] is [s] in Ngwaketse, Kwen and Kgatla, for example,

\[\text{lèʃb} \] (hearth);
\[\text{lèsómt} \] (ten);
\[\text{lèsùhú} \] or \[\text{lèsùhú} \]; (upper leg of an animal);
\[\text{-sûmâ} \] (roar, as a river in flood)
\[\text{lèsèbâ} \] (hole).

(d) In Rolong, Tlaping and Tlharo H. [s] before [o], [ə] and [u] is [ʃ]. For example, the above forms are pronounced respectively as follows in these dialects:

\[\text{lèʃb} \], \[\text{lèʃómt} \], \[\text{lèʃùhú} \] \[\text{-ʃûmâ} \] and \[\text{lèʃÈbâ} \].
H. \([f]\)

3.15 The corresponding sound to H. \([f]\) is \([f]\) in all other Tswana dialects, for example,

\([-\text{fá} \text{á}]\) also pronounced \([-\text{fá} \text{á}]\) (give a name);
\([-\text{fá} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (eat porridge with relish);
\([-\text{fá} \text{ó} \text{á}]\) (cane or beat);
\([-\text{fá} \text{á} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (cut or slice);
\([-\text{le} \text{á} \text{á} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (edible part of the head of a bone);
\([-\text{fá} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (grin) Cf. par. 2.15 and 2.16.

H. \([x]\)

3.16 (a) The sound corresponding to H. \([x]\) is \([x]\) in all other Tswana dialects (see (c) and (d) below) except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, for example, \([-\text{xá} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (refuse), \([-\text{xá} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (build) and \([-\text{bó} \text{xó} \text{á} \text{á}]\) (bark).

(b) In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district the corresponding sound to H. \([x]\) is \([h]\), for example, \([-\text{há} \text{á} \text{á}]\), \([-\text{á} \text{á} \text{á}]\) and \([-\text{bó} \text{hó} \text{á} \text{á}]\).

It occurs before all vowels in this dialect. It is typical of this dialect that \([x]\) does not occur in its sound system. Strangely enough its two sister dialects, namely, Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilansberg district, employ it.

(c) In Ngwaketse and Kwena of Molepolole, however, the sound \([x]\) is replaced by \([h]\) in the perfect forms of verb stems ending in \([-\text{xá}]\), for example,

\([-\text{ts} \text{ó} \text{hí} \text{lí} \text{lé}]\) < \([-\text{ts} \text{ó} \text{xá}]\) (wake up);
\([-\text{á} \text{ní} \text{lí} \text{lé}]\) < \([-\text{á} \text{xá}]\) (build);
\([-\text{xó} \text{bró} \text{hí} \text{lí} \text{lé}]\) < \([-\text{xó} \text{bró} \text{xá}]\) (arrive).
This is exceptional because, although it is in accordance with the rule that Tswana [x] does not normally occur before [l], other Tswana dialects do not usually substitute [h] for [x] in such cases.

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

[-liráfàlà] alternative of H. [-liràxàlà]
(happen);

[phólòfòlò] alternative of H. [phólàxòlò]
(animal).

In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. [x] is replaced by [h] in all cases as already pointed out (see (b) above). Thus

[-liràhàlà] for H. [-liràxàlà] and
[phólòhòlò] for H. [phólàxòlò].

H. [h]

3.17 (a) In all other Tswana dialects the sound corresponding to H. [h] is [h], for example,

[sehúbà] (chest, breast, slough);
[-húlòxà] (remove, trek);
[-húlòlà] (stir);
[-húmà] (be rich);
[-húbílà] [-hwíbílà] or [-híbílà]
(become red).

It occurs normally before [i] and [u], as well as in the forms [-hèmà] (breathe),
[hà], an alternative of [φà] (if, when),
and in the interjections ["hëilä!"] or ["hëë!"] (ho there!) ["çëë!"] (is that so!) ["ahë!"] (that is right! correct!) and the enclitic ["-he"]. In Tlharo, Tlhaping and to some extent in Rolong ["h"] has taken the place of H. ["Φ"] (see par. 3.13), by the process B. $p_{>}$ ["Φ"] $>$ ["Φh"] $>$ ["h"].

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

(c) In Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts as well as in Kgatla of Mochudi and Pilansberg district H. ["h"] alternates with ["f"] or ["f"], for example, the forms

- ["sëhùbà"] (chest), ["phùlùhùliù"] (rooibok)
- ["mòhùmàxàliì"] (lady), ["-hùlùxà"] (remove, trek), ["-hùlùhà"] (stir) and ["mòhùt'tà"] (type, kind)

are sometimes pronounced respectively as follows in these dialects:

- ["sëfùbà"] or ["sëfùbà"], ["phùlùfùliù"] or ["phùlùfùliù"], ["mòfùmàxàliì"] or ["mòfùmàxàliì"], ["-fùlùxà"] or ["-fùlùxà"] ["-fùldùà"] or ["-fùlùhà"] and ["mòfùt'tà"] or ["mòfùt'tà"].

Prof. Cole mentions this alternation of ["h"] and ["f"] also, but he refers to Kgatla only. 4)

The Lateral Consonants

H. [ṭl’]

3.18 The corresponding sound to H. [ṭl’] is [ṭl’] in all other Tswana dialects,* for example,
[-ṭl’ā] (come, shall, will),
[-ṭl’ālā] (be full), but [ṭl’ālā] (hunger),
[lewatl’ē] (sea); [ḥṭl’ō] (house).

H. [ṭlh]

3.19 In all other Tswana dialects the sound corresponding to H. [ṭlh] is [ṭlh], for example,
[-ṭlhābā] (stab, stick, slaughter, rise, as the sun);
[-ṭlhōlā] (create, portend ill-omen, spend the day);
[bōṭlhā] (sour, bitter, acid).

H. [l]

3.20 The corresponding sound to H. [l] is [l] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[-lālā] (lie down, sleep, spend the night),
[-lēmā] (hoe, plough),
[-lōmā] (bite).

This sound does not normally occur before [i] and [u] in all Tswana dialects, except (i) when it follows syllabic [l], for example,
[-lēlisā] for H. [-lēlisā] (cause to cry),
[mōlīli] for H. [mōlīli] (one who cries); (ii) in the interjective [li-li-li-li-li-li-’] (used especially by women when cheering) which is encountered in all Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe.

* "other" Tswana dialects of course include only those under discussion in this study. Ngwato employs [t’] for [ṭl’] and [ṭ] for [ṭlh]. (Cf. par. 1.08).
3.21 Vowel elision between two l's occurs in all Tswana dialects. But it is, however, a more common phenomenon in Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts than in other Tswana dialects. In such cases the first [l] is syllabic, for example,

[-lla] for H. [-lèlà] (cry),
[-bólèllà] for H. [-bólèlèlà] (tell),
[-lìròllà] for H. [-lìròlèlà] (undo),
[-phátìllà] for H. [-phátìlèlà] (disperse, scatter)

The Vibrant Consonants

H. [r]

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

[-ràt’à] (like, love), [màrìnìnì] (gums),
[lèrù] (cloud), [-rè] (say) and [rè-] (we).
When followed by another [r] it is syllabic in all Tswana dialects, for example,

[ìrà] < [ràrà] (father).

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

[hè-] and [hà-] for H. [re-] and [ra-] (we) respectively,
[hàrà] for H. [ràrà] or [ìrà] (father),
[-ìhà] for H. [-ìrà] (do, work),
[tjhònà] for H. [rònà] (we, us).
Cole mentions [-ìrhà] as an alternative pronunciation of [-ìhà] in Tlharo.

I was not able to detect it in the field, however. But it does indicate the development of [-lihà] from [-lirâ]. In Tlharo, however, the form [-lì] for H. [-lirâ] in which [r] is dropped, also occurs in the place of [-lihà].

(c) [r] may be replaced by [s] or [tsh] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla as in Hurutshe (see par. 2.15) and by [ʃ] or [tʃ] in Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo, in certain nouns of class 5. Thus, for example, in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, including Hurutshe, the following forms occur;

[léróbà], [lèsobà] or [lètshobà] (hole, as in a piece of cloth);
[léróp'è] and [lèsop'è] (ruin);
[léráp'è] and [lèsáp'è] (bone).

On the analogy of the forms for the singular the plurals also have alternative forms. For example, the plurals of the above forms are:

[máróbà], [màsóbà] and [màtshóbà];
[máróp'è] and [màsóp'è];
[máráp'è] and [màsáp'è]

(d) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the above forms are pronounced respectively as follows:

[lèròbà], [lèfòbà] and [lètʃhòbà], plural:
[màròbà], [màfòbà] and [màtʃhòbà];
[lèróp'è] and [lèjóp'è], plural:
[màróp'è] and [màjóp'è];
[lèráp'ò] and [lèjáp'ò], plural:
[màráp'ò] and [màjáp'ò]

But the forms [lèsáp'ò] and [màsáp'ò] also occur in these dialects.

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

[lèsáp'ò] (bone), plural, [màráp'ò],
[lèjámà] or [lèsámà] (cheek), plural [màrámà],
[lèjóp'è] (ruin), plural [màrp'è],
[lèʃhób] (paw), plural [màroò].

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

[lèrámà] (cheek), plural [màrámà],
[lèráp'ò] (bone), plural [màr áp'ò].

H. [i]

3.23 In all other Tswana dialects the sound corresponding to H. [i] is [l] which occurs before the vowels [i] and [u] only, for example,
[-lirà] (do, work), [màlì] (blood),
[bòlàiù] (pus) and [khúlù] (tortoise).
In Tlharo, Tlhaping and Rolong of Vryburg district [l] is replaced by [r] in [tshitshirl] for H. [tshitshìlì]. I could not get other examples of such replacement, however.

The Nasal Consonants

H. [m]

3.24 (i) The corresponding sound to H. [m] is [m] in all other Tswana dialects, for example, [màlà] (bowels), [-mèlà] (germinate, sprout).

(ii) When followed by another [m], when an intervening vowel is elided, it is syllabic in all Tswana dialects, for example, [ìmá] (mother). This occurs also when [mo-] is prefixed to stems beginning with [b] in which case [-o-] is elided and [b] assimilated to [m], for example,

[ìmàlà] < [mòbàlà] (colour),
[ìmètl'ì] < [mòbètl'ì] (carpenter) < [bètl'à] (work as a carpenter),
[-ìmòlàjà] < [-mòbòlàjà] (kill him) < [-bòlàjà] (kill).
Both the short and the long forms occur, although the former are more commonly used.

(iii) When [mo-] is prefixed to stems beginning with [ð] or [f], except in Tlhaping
and Tlharo, dissimilation occurs in all other Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe, in which case [f] or [h] becomes [n] for example,

\[
\text{[məhəmə]} < [məfəmə] \quad \text{or} \quad [məfəmə] \quad \text{(part)},
\]

\[
\text{[məhəxə]} < [məfəxə] \quad \text{or} \quad [məfəxə] \quad \text{(food for a journey)},
\]

\[
[-məltlələ] < [mo^itlələ] \quad \text{or} \quad [məfitlələ] \quad \text{(find him)}
\]

\[
< [-fəltlələ] \quad \text{or} \quad [-fəltlələ] \quad \text{(find on arrival)}.
\]

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

H. [n]

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

\[
[-nə] \quad \text{(rain);}
\]

\[
[nəmə] \quad \text{(meat);}
\]

\[
[-bənə] \quad \text{(see).}
\]

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

\[
[mənənə] < [mənənə] \quad \text{(man),}
\]

\[
[-ənə] \quad \text{(sit), [ənə] \quad \text{(I, me),}
\]

\[
[ənək'ə] \quad \text{(my younger brother or sister).}
\]

This occurs also in some applied forms of certain verb stems ending in [-nə], where, by assimilation,
the [l] of the suffix [-ela] becomes [n] and [e] is elided. This occurs in all Tswana dialects, for example,

\[-bônà] < *-bô̱nena < [-bônèlà] < [-bônà] (see),

H. [n]

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

\[-jiala] (marry); \[-nàts'â] (despise);
\[-bô̱pà] (wink); \[-lèngô̱râ] (thirst);
\[nô̱påkê] (bird).

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

\[-jûâts'â] (despise me);
\[-jûânâ] (small).

H. [u]

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

\[-râk'â] (doctor); \[-tàp'â] (scratch);
\[-gô̱gô̱rêxà] (complain, be discontented).

3.29 In all Tswana dialects, including Hurutshe, syllabic [q] occurs before non-syllabic [q], and before [k'], [kh] and [kxh] or [kh] in Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, and when it is the final sound, for example,
[-yáp'á] (scratch me);
[yk'ú] (sheep);
[yk’ó] (nose);
[-ykhumisa] (enrich me);
[ykxhó] (clay-pot);
[-ykxhámélá] (milk for me).

The last two examples are pronounced [kó] and
[-ykxhamélá] respectively in Kgatl of Hammanskraal
district.

Examples of syllabic final [ŋ] are the following:

[lnenóp] (vulture);
[lénó] (when?)
[thábé] < [thábá] (mountain).

The Semi-vowels

H. [w]

3.30 The sound corresponding to H. [w] is [w]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[-wá] (fall), [náwá] (bean), [wéná] (you).

It occurs also in the following cases:

(i) To represent labialization of conso-
nants for example,
[-lwá] (be ill);
[-réw'á] < [-rék'á] (buy).

(ii) In the passive suffix [-íwá].

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

3.31 The sound corresponding to H. [j] is [j] in all other Tswana dialects. It occurs mainly before [a], [o], [ɔ] and sometimes [e], for example, [-jà] (go); [jànà] (it);
[jò] (this),
[-jè] as in [ö jè] (you should go);
[ja-], possessive concord of cases 4 and 9.

As a medial sound it is sometimes omitted in speech in all Tswana dialects, also in Hurutshe, for example,
[-ts'âmajà] or [-ts'âmàà] (walk);
[-bólàjà] or [-bólàà] (kill).

The Affricative Consonants

H. [ts']

3.32 (a) The sound corresponding to H. [ts'] before [a], [e] and [ɛ] is [ts'] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[-bòts'à] (ask), [ts'èlà] (path, road),
[ts'èbè] (ear)
It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns and adjectives ending in [-li] and [-t'i] in all Tswana dialects, for example,
[nálìts'ànà] < [náléilà] (star);
[lòbàts'ànà] < [lòbàt'í] (door);
[-t'ìlòts'ànà] < [-t'ìlòlì] (black and white).

(b) The sound corresponding to H. [ts'] before [o], [o] and [u] is [ts'] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, for example,
[ts'ònà] (they, them);
[p'òts'òb] (question);
[-ts'ómà] (hunt);
[-ts'ólà] (undress);
[-ts'ùbûtl'à] (shake violently);
[-ts'ùbàlòlà] (as a bird flying with wings spread).

(c) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlhaco H. [ts'] before [o], [o] and [u] is [tf'], for example, the forms given in (b) above are pronounced respectively as follows in these dialects:
[tf'ònà], [p'òtf'òb] [-tf'ómà], [-tf'ólà],
[-tf'ùbûtl'à] and [-tf'ùbàlòlà].

(d) H. [ts'] before [i] is [ts'] in all other Tswana dialects with the exception of Kgatla where it is [tf'], for example,
[tf'ìììì] for H. [ts'ìììì] (cold);
[lètf'ìbòbhò] for H. [lèts'ìbòbò] (ford, drift);
[ìtf'ì] for H. [ìts'ì] (fly);
[-tf'ìbòhà] for H. [-ts'ìbòxà] (be startled);

H. [tf']

3.33 The corresponding sound to H. [tf'] is [tf'] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[bòtf'áràrà] (sourness, bitterness),
[phàtf'ánà] < [phà't'è] (skin mat).
H. [tsh]

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

[-tshábà] (run away, fear);
[-tshélà] (pour);
[tshétl'ò]* (honey bird);
[létshá] (lake);
[-tshélà] (cross, live);
[mòtshè] (pestle);

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

[sèlt hàtshànà] < [sèlt hàrè] (tree, medicine);
[mòrtshànà] < [mòrirl] (hair).

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

[-tshòlà] (dish out food);
[lètshòlà] (hunting party);
[-itshòk'à] (persevere, restrain oneself);
[tshúk'úlù] (rhinoceros);
[-tshùbà] or [-tshùmà] (light, e.g. candle, burn).

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

* Pronounced [tshétl'ò] in Kgatla.
[-ltj hôk'â], [-tj hôlê], [lêtj hôlê],
[tj hôk'úlê] and [-tj hôbê] or [-tj hômê].

(d) H. [tsh] before [i] is [tsh] in all other
Tswana dialects with the exception of Kgatla
of Hammanskraal district where it is [tjh],
for example,
[môtshítjshî] for H. [môtshítshî] (swarm
of bees);
[tj hômê] for H. [tshêmê] (cultivated field);
[tj hôk'â] for H. [tshîk'â] (artery, vein,
sinew);

H. [tjh]

3.35 The corresponding sound to H. [tjh] is [tjh]
in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[tj hôk'â] (battle axe);
[sêtj hôbê] (tribe);
[~tj hômêxê] (break loose) which in Kgatla of
Hammanskraal district is [pshâmêhê] or
[pshâmêhê];
[~tj hôtlêhê] (chew);
[~tj hômê] (speak a foreign language);
[môtj hôtj hômêhê] (comet, shooting star).

See par. 2.16.

H. [kxh]

3.36 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [kxh] is [kxh]
in all other Tswana dialects, except Kgatla
of Hammanskraal district, for example,
[kxhak'á] (guinea-fowl), [-รกxhà] (smell),
[kxhêts'i] or [kxhêts'i] (tag),
[-kxholà] (pluck off),
[kxhmô] (cow).
This sound does not normally occur before [i]
and [u] except in the perfect forms of verb
stems ending in [-kxha] in Hurutshe, Rolong,
Tlhaping, Tharo and Kgatla of Mochudi and
Moruleng, for example,
[-rójkrxhlè] < [-rójkrxhà] (hurt);
[-kxhlè] < [-kxhá] (pluck off).

(b) In Ngwaketse and Kwena of Molepolole, however,
in the perfect forms of such verb stems it
becomes [kh], for example,
[-rójkhìlè] < [-rójkrxhà] (hurt);
[-khìlè] < [-kxhá] (pluck off).

(c) In Kgatla of Hamanskraal district the cor­
responding sound to H. [kxh] is [kh], for
example,
[khák'á] for H. [kxhák'á];
[-ᶧkhà] for H. [-ᶧkxhà];
[khêts'ê] for H. [kxhêts'e];
[-kholà] for H. [-kxholà];
[khmô] for H. [kxhmô].
It is typical of this dialect that [kxh]
does not occur in its sound system. Cf.
par. 3.16 (b).

3.37 In Kwena of Brits district one hears peculiar
contracted forms such as, for example,
for the normal forms [kxhíts'è] (I do not know) and [kxhéralo] (I do not say so) respectively.

H. [dʒ]

3.38 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [dʒ] (< B. l in ḫwá) is [dʒ] in Ngwaketse, Kwena of Molepolole, Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo. As in Hurutshe (cf. par. 2.19) it varies in pronunciation so that it is sometimes heard as [ʒ], [dj] and, less commonly, [j], for example,

[-dʒá], [-ʒá] or [-dʃá] (eat);
[lèbèɡána], [lèbèɡáná] or [lèbèdjána]
diminutive of [lèbélé] (corn plant or grain).

(b) In Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts it tends to be replaced by [tʃ'], for example,

[-tʃ'á] (eat); [lèbètʃ'áná].

(c) In Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts H. [dʒ] is often replaced by [j] in certain forms in which the [j] is sometimes dropped, for example,

[jàŋó] or [àŋó] for H. [dʒàŋó]

(now);

[sèjána] or [sèàna] for H. [sèdʒána]

(utensil).
LABIALIZED CONSONANTS

Labialized Explosives

H. \([kw']\)

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

\([kw'áí]\) (mouth organ),
\([-kw'á]\) (write) and
\([kw'á]\) (there, at).

N.B. In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. \([-kw'á]\) is \([-qwá]\).

H. \([tw']\)

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

\([htw'á]\) (fight, war);
\([-rátw'á] < [-rát'á]\) (love);
\([-látw'á] < [-lát'á]\) (follow).

H. \([thw]\)

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

\([-thwá]\) (find a lost property and take it not knowing its owner);

\([thwánè]\) (lynx).

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

\([-rátthwá] < [-rátthá]\) (chop, thunder, as lightning).
Labilized Laterals

H. [lw]

3.42 The sound corresponding to H. [lw] is [lw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
    [-lwâ] (fight); [-lwâlâ] (be ill).

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

H. [tlw']

3.43 In all other Tswana dialects the sound corresponding to H. [tlw'] is [tlw'], for example,
    [-útlw'â] (hear, feel);
    [-tlw'âlâ] (get accustomed to, be tame).

It occurs also in:

(i) passive forms of verb stems ending
    in [-tl'a] for example,
    [-lètlw'â] < [-lètl'a] (allow, permit);
    [-bátlw'â] < [-bátl'a] (seek, look for).

(ii) diminutive forms of nouns ending in
    [-tl'o] and [-tl'o], for example,
    [hètlw'ànâ] < [hètl'o] (house);
    [sèkhùtlw'ànâ] < [sèkhùtl'ò] (corner).

H. [tlhw]

3.44 The corresponding sound to H. [tlhw] is [tlhw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
    [tlhwàrè] (python),
    [mòtlhwà] or [bòtlhwà] (small white ants found in antheaps),
Labialized Fricatives

H. [sw]

3.45 (a) The sound corresponding to H. [sw] is [sw] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, for example, [-swá] (die);
[bòswá] (inheritance);
[-swábà] (wither, be disappointed);
[lèswé] (dirt);
[-swéjú] (white).

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corresponding sound to H. [sw] is [jw]. For example, the above forms are pronounced respectively as follows in these dialects:
[-jwá], [bòjwá], [-jwábà], [lèjwé] and [-jwéjú].

That is H. [sw] before [a] and [e] is represented by [jw] in these dialects.

H. [jw]

3.46 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [jw] is [fá], also pronounced [fáj] or [fáj], in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla, for example,
[-fásá], [-fásáj] or [-fásájá] for H. [-fásá] (burn new),
[leʃʃ], [leʃʃjɛ] or [leʃʃɛ] for
H. [leʃʃɛ] (type of creeping plant);
[seʃʃɛʃɛ], [seʃʃjɛʃɛjɛ] or [seʃʃɛʃɛjɛ]
for H. [seʃʃɛʃɛjɛ] (flower);
[maʃʃ], [-maʃʃjɛ] or [maʃʃjɪ] for H.
[maʃʃjɪ] (milk);
[-boʃʃ], [-boʃʃjɛ] or [-boʃʃjɛ] for
H. [-boʃʃjɛ] < [-boʃʃjɛ] (tie, fasten),
[-raʃʃ], [-raʃʃjɛ] or [-raʃʃjɛ] for
H. [-raʃʃjɛ] < [-raʃʃ] (take out, e.g.
honey or pot clay),
[-leʃʃ], [-leʃʃjɛ] or [-leʃʃjɛ] for
H. [-leʃʃjɛ] < [-leʃʃjɛ] (pay).

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

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

(i) [-ʃa] for H. [-ʃɔa] (burn, new);
[leʃʃ] for H. [leʃʃɛ] (type of
creeper plant),
[seʃʃɛʃɛ] for H. [seʃʃɛʃɛjɛ] (flower),
[maʃʃjɪ] for H. [maʃʃjɪ] (milk);

(ii) [-boʃʃjɛ] < [-boʃʃjɛ] for H. [-boʃʃjɛ]
< [-boʃʃjɛ] (tie, fasten),
[-raʃʃjɛ] < [-raʃʃjɛ] for H. [-raʃʃjɛ]
< [-raʃʃ] (take out, e.g. honey)
[-leʃʃjɛ] < [-leʃʃjɛ] for H. [-leʃʃjɛ]
< [-leʃʃjɛ] (pay).
H. [hw]

3.47 This sound occurs before [i] in (i) the adjectival stem [-hwibilu], an alternative of [-hubilu] and [-hibilu] (red), and (ii) the verb stem [-hwibila], an alternative of [-hubila] and [-hibila] (become red) in all Tswana dialects, except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, in which only [-hibilu] and [-hibila] occur. Cf. par. 3.50.

H. [khw]

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

Labialized Vibrants

H. [rw]

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

[-rwàlà] (carry, put on hat, shoes, watch);
[lèrwá] (small red ants);
[bòrwá] (south).

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

[-lèrwà] < [-lèràn] (dream).
H. [lw]

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

Labialized Nasals

H. [nw]

3.51 The sound corresponding to H. [nw] is [nw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example, [-nwá] (drink);
[-bórwá] < [-bónà] (see);
[-xánwá] < [-xánà] (refuse, deny).

H. [jiw]

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

H. [gw]

3.53 The corresponding sound to H. [gw] is [gw] in all other Tswana dialects, for example,
[-wánà] (child);
[-wàli] (moon, moonlight);
[-twàjà] or [-qwà] (scratch);
[-rógywá] < [-rómà] (send);
[-lēqwá] < [-lèmà] (hoe, plough);
[lèrùqwànà] < [lèrùmb] (spear);
[mblqwànà] < [mblùmù] (mouth);
[mblarwànà] < [mblàmù] (knob-kerrie).
3.54 The sound corresponding to H. [ŋw] is [ŋw] in all other Tswana dialects. It occurs in the passive forms of verb stems ending in [-ŋa]. Its alternative in such cases is [ŋw] which, however, is less commonly used, for example,

[-séŋwà] or, less commonly [-séŋwà] < [-séŋà] (spoil, waste),

[-lèk'áŋwà] or, less commonly, [-lèk'áŋwà]

< [-lèk'áŋà] (make equal, measure).

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

[-séŋwà] < [-séŋà] and [-lèk'áŋwà] < [-lèk'áŋà].

Labialized Affricatives

H. [tsw']

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

[-tsw'à] (come out);

[-bútsw'à] (ripen, be well-cooked),

[-tsw'álà] (put on clothes),

[-tsw'álà] (close),

[-útsw'à] (steal),

[-látsw'à] (lick),

[ból̥tsw'à] (bird-lime),

[lèhtsw'ê] (voice).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns ending in -iû, for example,
In diminutive forms of some nouns in which the final consonant is \([b]\) or \([p']\) it occurs as an alternative of \([bz]\), \([bj]\) or \([b3]\), and \([ps']\), \([psj]\) or \([pj']\) in these three dialects, for example,

\([ts'ebzanaj]\), \([ts'ebjana]\), \([ts'eb3anaj]\) or \([ts'etsw'anæ]\) for H. \([ts'ed3wana]\) < \([ts'ebè]\) (ear);

\([sèléps'änæ]\), \([sèlépsj'änæ]\), \([sèlépj'änæ]\) or \([sèlétsw'änæ]\) for H. \([sèlétsw'änæ]\);

\([tlhàps'anæ]\), \([tlhàpsj'anæ]\), \([tlhàpj'änæ]\) or \([tlhàtsw'anæ]\) < \([tlhàp'l]\) (fish);

\([mòxòps'änæ]\), \([mòxòpsj'änæ]\), \([mòxòpj'änæ]\) or \([mòxòtsw'anæ]\) for H. \([mòxôtjw'anæ]\) < \([mòxòp'b]\) (wooden eating vessel);

\([lèrâps'anæ]\), \([lèrâpsj'anæ]\), \([lèrâpj'änæ]\) or \([lèrâtsw'anæ]\) < \([lèrâp'b]\) (bone);

\([lèxàps'anæ]\), \([lèxàpsj'änæ]\), \([lèxàpj'änæ]\) or \([lèxàtsw'anæ]\) for H. \([lèxátjw'anæ]\) < \([lèxàp'u]\) (water melon).

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corresponding sound to H. \([tsw']\) is \([tjw']\), for example,

\([-tjw'æ]\) for H. \([-tsw'æ]\) (come out)

\([-bútjw'æ]\) for H. \([-bítsw'æ]\) (ripen, be well cooked);

\([-tjw'álæ]\) for H. \([-tsw'álæ]\) (put on clothes);
[-tʃw'ːlə] for H. [-tʃw'ːlə] (close);
[-ʊtʃw'ː] for H. [-ʊtʃw'ː] (steal);
[-lətʃw'ː] for H. [-lətʃw'ː] (lick);
[boʃtʃw'ː] for H. [boʃtʃw'ː] (bird-line);
[lətʃw'ː] for H. [lətʃw'ː] (voice, word).

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

[-bɪtʃw'ː] for H. [-bɪtʃw'ː] < [-bɪts'ː] (call);
[-bɒtʃw'ː] for H. [-bɒtʃw'ː] < [-bɒts'ː] (ask);
[lɪt'ʃtʃw'ːnə] for H. [lɪt'ʃtʃw'ːnə] < [lɪt'ʃiː] (beard);
[mɒtʃlətʃw'ːnə] for H. [mɒtʃlətʃw'ːnə] < [mɒtʃləp'ː] (herd, flock);
[səlʃtʃw'ːnə] for H. [səlʃtʃw'ːnə] < [səlʃp'ː] (axe);
[tlətʃw'ːnə] for H. [tlətʃw'ːnə] < [tləp'ː] (fish);
[mɒʃtʃw'ːnə] for H. [mɒʃtʃw'ːnə] < [mɒʃp'ː] (wooden eating vessel);
[mɒlətʃw'ːnə] for H. [mɒlətʃw'ːnə] < [mɒləp'ː] (ravine).

H. [tʃw\textsuperscript{h}]

3.56 (a) In Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla the corresponding sound to H. [tʃw\textsuperscript{h}] is [tʃw], for example,
[lètšhwàfà] or [lèkxhwàfà] (lung),
[-tšwàrà] (seize)
[-tšwànà] (resemble, be like),
[-kùtšwànà] (short),
[-phàtšwà] (black and white),
[-tšwèfà] (worry, trouble).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of some nouns in which the final consonant is \( \emptyset \)
or [ph] in these dialects, for example,

\[ \text{moràtšwànà} < \text{mòràfè} \text{ (tribe);} \]
\[ \text{lèfítšwànà} < \text{lèfìfì} \text{ (darkness);} \]
\[ \text{phètšwànà} < \text{phòfè} \text{ (wind)} \]
\[ \text{phètšwànà} < \text{phòfè} \text{ (elegan);} \]
\[ \text{leùatšwànà} < \text{leùaphà} \text{ (section, part);} \]
\[ \text{tšètšwànà} < \text{tšèphè} \]
\[ \text{lòphàtšwànà} < \text{lòphàphì} \text{ (splinter of wood).} \]

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corresponding sound to H. [tšhw] is [tʃhw], for example,

\[ \text{lètʃhwàhò} \text{ for H. [lètšhwàfà] (lung);} \]
\[ [-tʃhwàrà] \text{ for H. [-tšwàrà] (seize);} \]
\[ [-tʃhwànà] \text{ for H. [-tšwànà] (resemble);} \]
\[ [-kùtʃhwànà] \text{ for H. [-kùtšwànà] (short);} \]
\[ [-phàtʃhwà] \text{ for H. [-phàtšwà] (black and white);} \]
\[ [-tʃhwèfà] \text{ for H. [-tšwèfà] (worry, trouble).} \]

* The form [phèfèsànà] or [phèfèfànà] also occurs in Kgatla.
It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns in which the final consonant is [h] or [ph] in these dialects, for example,

[môráfhwânâ] < [môráhè] : H. [môráè] (tribe);
[lêhitfhwânâ] < [lêhlì] : H. [lêòùì] (darkness);

[phôtfhwânâ] or [phôfwanâ] < [phôhè]:
H. [phôè] (wind);

[phôtfhwânâ] or [phôfwanâ] < [phôhû]:
H. [phôù] (eland);

[lèhâtfhwânâ] < [lèhàphà] : H:
[lèfàphà] (section);

[tshétfhwânà] < [tshéphè] (springbok);

[lôphâtfhwânà] < [lôphàphi] (splinter of wood).

H. [tfw']

3.57 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [tfw'] is [ps'] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla. This sound, [ps'], varies in pronunciation to [psj'], [pj'], [psw'] or [pw'] in these three dialects, for example,

[mps'á], [mpsj'á] or [mpj'á]
for H. [htfw'á] (dog);

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

[-bôps'á], [-bôpsj'á], [-bôp'á],
[-bôpsw'á] or [-bôpsw'á] for H.
[-bôtfw'á] < [-bôp'á] (mould);
[-lóps'à], [-lópsj'à], [-lópj'à],
[-lópsw'à] or [-lópfw'à] for H.
[-lótfw'à] < [-lóp'à] (beg, beseech)
[-lûps'à], [-lûpsj'à], [-lûpj'à],
[-lûpsw'à] or [-lûpfw'à] for H.
[-lûtfw'à] < [-lûpà] (smell out).

It occurs also in diminutive forms of some
nouns in which the final consonant is [p'],
as an alternative of [tsw'] (cf. par 3.51(a)),
for example,

[selep's'ana], [selep'sj'ana] or [selep'j'ana]
alternatives of [seleptsw'ana] for
H. [seleptsw'ana] < [selep'è] (axe);
[mëxóps'ana], [mëxópsj'ana] or [mëxópj'ana]
alternatives of [mëxóptsw'ana] for
H. [mëxóptsw'ana] < [mëxóp'è]
(wooden eating vessel);
[lëxáps'ana], [lëxápsj'ana] or [lëxápj'ana]
alternatives of [lëxáptsw'ana] for
H. [lextsw'ana] < [lëxáp'à]
(water melon).

(b) The corresponding sounds to H. [tjw'] are (i)
[tj'] and (ii) [tjw'] in Rolong, Tlhaping and
Tlharo.

(i) [tj'] occurs, for example, in
[hitj'å] for H. [hitjw'å] (dog);

(ii) [tjw'] occurs, for example, in
[lëhtjw'è] for H. [lëhtsw'è] (voice);
[lëhtjw'è] for H. [lëhtsw'è] (stone, mountain);
and in passive forms of verb stems ending in [-p'á] and [-ts'a], for example,
[[-bótjw'á] for H. [-bótjw'á] < [-bóp'á] (mould);
[-lótjw'á] for H. [-lótjw'á] < [-lóp'á] (beg, beseech);
[-bótjw'á] for H. [-bótsw'á] < [-bóts'a] (ask);
[-létjw'á] for H. [-létsw'á] < [-lèts'á] (cause to cry).
It occurs also in diminutive forms of nouns in which the final consonant is [l] or [p'] in these three dialects, for example,
[lèxótjw'áná] for H. [lèxótsw'áná] < [lèxôl'] (thief);
[môtlhátjw'áná] for H. [môtlhâtsw'áná] < [môtlháp'e] (herd, flock);
[sèlêtjw'áná] for H. [sèlêtsw'áná] < [sèlep'e] (axe);
[tshítjw'áná] for H. [tshítsw'áná] < [tshîp'í] (iron);
[môxôtjw'áná] for H. [môxôtsw'áná] < [môxp'í] (wooden eating vessel);
[mâlôtjw'áná] for H. [mâlôtsw'áná] < [mâlp'í] (ravine);
[lèxátjw'áná] for H. [lèxátsw'áná] < [lèxáp'í] (water melon).

H. [tʃhw]
3.58 (a) In Nkwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla the corresponding sound to H. [tʃhw] is [pʃ] or [pʃh] or [pʃn], for example,
[-pshá] or [-pʃhá] for H. [-tʃhwá]  
(dry up, as water);  
[-m̲ps̲há] or [-mpʃhá] for H. [-h̲tʃhwá] (new);  
[m̲pʃh̲] or [m̲pʃh̲] for H. [h̲tʃhw̲] (ostrich);  
[m̲pʃh̲] or [m̲pʃh̲] for H. [h̲tʃhw̲] (sweet reed);  
[s̲ɛpʃh̲] or [s̲ɛpʃh̲] for H. [s̲ɛtʃhw̲]  
(drought, stamina);  
[-pʃh̲tl̲'ã] or [pʃh̲lt̲l̲'ã]* for H. [-tʃhw̲tl̲'ã]  
(crush, break to pieces);  
[-pʃh̲e̲x̲ã] or [-pʃh̲e̲x̲ã] for H. [-tʃhw̲e̲x̲ã]  
(be purged).  

In passive forms of verb stems ending in [-pha] it is [psh] or [pshw] [pʃhw] in these dialects, for example,  
[-k̲xh̲ápʃh̲] [-k̲xh̲ápʃhw̲], [-k̲xh̲ápʃh̲] or [-k̲xh̲ápʃhw̲] for H. [-k̲xh̲átʃhw̲] < [-k̲xh̲á] (wave aside, or smear floor with cow dung);  
[-f̲óʃh̲] [-f̲óʃhw̲], [-f̲óʃh̲] or [-f̲óʃhw̲] for H. [-f̲óʃhw̲] < [-f̲óʃ] (strike, as with the hand).  

(b) In Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo the corresponding sound to H. [tʃhw] is [tʃh], for example,  
[-tʃhá] for H. [-tʃhwá] (dry up as water);  
[h̲tʃh̲] for H. [h̲tʃhw̲] (ostrich);  
[h̲tʃh̲] for H. [h̲tʃhw̲] (sweet reed);  
[s̲ètʃh̲] or [s̲ètʃh̲] for H. [s̲ètʃhw̲]  
(stamina or drought);  
[-tʃh̲tl̲'ã] for H. [-tʃhw̲tl̲'ã] (crush).  

* Pronounced [-pʃh̲t̲l̲'ã] or [-pʃh̲t̲l̲'ã] in Kgatla.
But in passive forms of verb stems ending in [-pha] it is represented by [tʃhw] in these dialects, for example,

[-kxhâtʃhwâ] for H. [-kxhâtʃhwâ] < [-kxhâphâ] (wave aside, smear floor with cow dung)

[- tôtʃhwâ] for H. [- tôtʃhwâ] < [- tôphâ] (strike, as with the hand).

H. [kxhw]

3.59 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [kxhw] is [kxhw] in all other Tswana dialects, except Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, for example,

[lekwâlê] (partridge);
[sekwâmâ] (purse);
[mékxhwá] (manner, custom)
[kxhwâlî] (moon, month).

(b) In Kgatla of Hammanskraal district H. [kxhw] is [khw] for example, the forms in (a) above are pronounced respectively as follows in this dialect:

[lekhwâlê], [sekhwâmâ],
[mêkxhwá] and [khwêlî]

H. [dʒw]

3.60 (a) The corresponding sound to H. [dʒw] is (i) [dʒw] and (ii) [dʒ] in Rolong, Tlaping and Tlharo.
(i) In these three dialects [dʒw] occurs in passive forms of verb stems ending in [-ba], for example,
[-rɔdʒwə] < [-rɔbə] (break);
[-sɛdʒwə] < [-sɛbə] (whisper)
[-ɑɾɑdʒwə] < [-ɑɾɑbə] (answer).

(ii) In these three dialects [dʒ] occurs in other forms, for example,
[-dʒɪlə] for H. [-dʒwɪlə] (sow, plant);
[boðʒəŋ] for H. [bɔdʒwəŋ] or
[boðʒəŋ]* (grass);
[boðʒəlʷə] for H. [bɔdʒwələ] or
[boðʒəlʷə]* (beer);
[dʒənəŋ] for H. [dʒwənəŋ] or
[dʒənəŋ]* (now).

In diminutive forms of nouns, however, both [dʒw] and [dʒ] are used alternatively in these three dialects, for example,
[tsʰədʒwənə] or [tsʰədʒənə] for H.
[tsʰədʒwənə] diminutive of [tsʰəɓə] (ear);
[kʰɔdʒwənə] or [kʰɔdʒənə] for H.
[kʰɔdʒwənə] diminutive of [kʰɔbə] (blanket);
[phəkʰədʒəwə] or [phəkʰədʒə] for H.
[phəkʰədʒəwə] (jackal);
[lədʒəwə] or [lədʒə] for H. [lədʒəwə]
(stone).

* Both forms occur in Hurutahe.
(b) The corresponding sound to H. [d3w] is [bz] in Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla. This sound [bz], varies in pronunciation to [bj], [b3] and less commonly [bzw] [bjw] or [b3w] in these three dialects, for example,
[-ròbza], [-ròbjà], [-ròb3à], [-ròbzwà],
[-ròbjwà] or [-ròb3ywà] for H.
[-ròbd3wà] < [-ròbà] (break);
[-sèbza], [-sèbjà], [-sèb3à], [-sèbzwà],
[-sèbjwà] or [-sèb3ywà] for H.
[-sèázwà] < [-sèà] (whisper);
[-árábza], [-árábjà], [-áráb3à], [-árábzwà]
[-árábjwà] or [-áráb3ywà] for H.
[-árád3wà] < [-árábà] (answer);
[-bzàlà], [-bjálà] or [-b3álà] for H.
H. [-d3wàla] (sow, plant);
[bzàj] or [bzaè], [bjàj] or [bjaè],
[b3àj] or [b3aè] for H. [bòd3wàj] or
[bòd3gàj] (grass);
[bzàlwà], [bjalwà] or [b3àlwà] for H.
[bòd3wlà] or [bòd3glàwà] (beer);
[bzànòi], [bjànòi], [b3ànòi] for H.
[d3wànòi] or [d3ànòi] (row);
[ts'èb3ànà], [ts'èbjànà] or [ts'èb3ànà]*
for H. [t'èd3wànà] diminutive of
[ts'èbè] (ear);
[k'òb3ànà], [k'òbjànà] or [k'òb3ànà] for
H. [k'òd3wànà] diminutive of [k'òb3b] (blanket).

* The form [ts'èts'wànà] also occurs in these three dialects.
[phok'ɔbζɛ], [phɔk'ɔbjɛ] or [phɔk'ɔbjɛ]
for H. [phɔk'ɔdʒɛ] (jackal);
[lebζɛ], [lebjɛ] or [lebjɛ] for H.
[leджɛ] (stone);

N.B. In the above examples the forms with
[bfzɛ] are the ones commonly heard in these
three dialects.

SUMMARY

3.61 In the following tables the symbol [ ] indi-
cates variant pronunciation, and the symbol / indicates
sounds occurring as substitutes before certain vowels.

Kwena A and Kwena B refer respectively to the Kwena
dialects of Molepolole on the one hand, and of Rustenburg
and Brits districts on the other.

Kgatla A and Kgatla B refer respectively to the Kgatla
dialects of Mochudi and Pilansberg district on the one
hand and Hammanskraal district on the other.
### TABLE 1

**NASAL CONSONANTS AND SEMI-VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>nw</th>
<th>pw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolong</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlhaping</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlharo</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>nw</td>
<td>pw</td>
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</table>

### TABLE 2

**STOP AND ASPIRATED EXPLOSIVE CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>k'</th>
<th>t'</th>
<th>p'</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>kh</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>ph</th>
<th>kw</th>
<th>tw</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena A</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena B</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla A</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla B</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
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<td>Rolong</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tlhaping</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlharo</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>tw</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1. Before [a].
2. Before [a] and [e].
3. Before [i] and [u].
### TABLE 3

**FRICATIVE CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>φ s sw $\text{sw}^3)$ $\text{sw}^4)$ x $\text{xw}^5)$ h $\text{sw}^6$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>φ s sw $\text{sw}$ $\Phi[\phi s, \phi f]$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena A</td>
<td>φ s sw $\text{sw}$ $\Phi[\phi s, \phi f]$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena B</td>
<td>$\Phi[f]$ s sw $\Phi[\phi s, \phi f]$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgalta A</td>
<td>$\Phi[f]$ s sw $\Phi[\phi s, \phi f]$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgalta B</td>
<td>$\Phi[f]$ s $\text{sw}^1$ sw $\Phi[\phi s, \phi f]$ h $\text{hw}$ h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolong</td>
<td>$\Phi[h]$ s $\text{sw}^2$ $\text{sw}$ $\text{sw}$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlhaping</td>
<td>h s $\text{sw}^2$ $\text{sw}$ $\text{sw}$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlharo</td>
<td>h s $\text{sw}^2$ $\text{sw}$ $\text{sw}$ x xw h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

**LATERAL AND VIBRANT CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l $\text{tlw}^7$ r $\text{tlw}^8$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}^8$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena A</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgalta A</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolong</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlhaping</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlharo</td>
<td>tl' tlh l l r $\text{tlw}^7$ $\text{tlhw}$ $\text{lw}$ $\text{lw}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Before [i].
2. Before [o] [o] and [u].
3. Before [a].
4. Before [a].
5. Before [a].
6. Before [i] and [u].
7. Before [i] and [u].
8. Before [i].
## TABLE 5

**AFFRICATIVE CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>tf' tsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw tf'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃhw kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>tf' tsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw pʃ'[psj', pʃ', ps'w', pʃ'w']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃh[pʃh, pʃhw, pʃhw] kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena A</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>tf' tsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw pʃ'[psj', pʃ', ps'w', pʃ'w']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃh[pʃh, pʃhw, pʃhw] kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena B</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>tf' tsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh tf' tʃw pʃ'[psj', pʃ', ps'w', pʃ'w']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃh[pʃh, pʃhw, pʃhw] kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla A</td>
<td>ts'/tf'1)</td>
<td>tf' tʃh/tʃh1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh tf' tʃw pʃ'[psj', pʃ', ps'w', pʃ'w']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃh[pʃh, pʃhw, pʃhw] kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla B</td>
<td>ts'/tf'1)</td>
<td>tf' tʃh/tʃh1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kh tf' tʃw pʃ'[psj', pʃ', ps'w', pʃ'w']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃw tʃh[pʃh, pʃhw, pʃhw] kxhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolong</td>
<td>ts'2)/tf',3)</td>
<td>tf' tʃh2)/tʃh3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw tf' tf'w/tʃf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃf'w tʃh tʃhw[kxhw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlhaping</td>
<td>ts'2)/tf',3)</td>
<td>tf' tʃh2)/tʃh3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw tf' tf'w/tʃf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh[tʃhw] tʃhw[kxhw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlharo</td>
<td>ts'2)/tf',3)</td>
<td>tf' tʃh2)/tʃh3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh kxh dʒ tʃw tf' tf'w/tʃf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh[tʃhw] tʃhw[kxhw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Before [i].
2. Before [a], [e], [ɛ] and [i].
3. Before [o], [o] and [u].
CLASSIFICATION OF TSWANA DIALECTS

3.62 In the light of our findings in the foregoing paragraphs the Tswana dialects under discussion (see par. 1.32) may be classified phonologically into four divisions, namely, (1) Hurutshe, (2) Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla of Mochudi, (3) Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, and (4) Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo.

Main Characteristics

3.63 Hurutshe is characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i) \([s], [ts'], [tsh]\) before \([o], [o]\) and \([u]\) as in \([sona] (it), [lọsọ] (death), and \([-sùp'á] (point);\n
(ii) \([sw], [tsw']\) and \([tshw]\) before \([a], [e]\) and \([i]\) as in \([-swá] (die), [swèlə] (die for, at), [mòswí] (deceased), \([-tswá] (come out) and \([-tshwáná] (resemble);\n
(iii) \([jw], [tjw'], [tjliw], [dʒw] as in \([-jwá] (new, burn), [-bójwá] (be fastened), [màjwi] (milk); [bọjwá] (dog), [-bótjw'á] (be moulded); [bọtjhwé] (ostrich), \([-kxhàtjhwá] (be smeared, be waved aside); \([-rbdʒwá] (be broken), \([-dʒwálà] (sow, plant).\n
Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla are characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i) [s], [ts'], and [tsh] before [o], [o] and [u] as in Hurutshe [səná], [ləxə] and [-sup'a].

(ii) [sw], [tsw'] and [tshw] before [a] [ə] and [i] as in Hurutshe.

(iii) They differ from Hurutshe, however, in the employment of such compounds as, for example, [ϕs/ϕsj/ϕj], [ps'/psj'/ps'/psw'/pʃw'], [psh/pʃh/pshw/pʃhw], and [bz/bj/bzw/bjw/bzw] as in [-ϕsá/-ϕsjá/-ϕʃá] (new burn); [-bóϕsà/-bóϕsjà/-bóϕʃà/-bóϕswà/-bóϕʃwà] (be fastened); [màϕsí/màϕʃí] (milk); [àmps'á/àmpsj'á/àmpʃ'á] (dog); [-bóps'á/-bópsj'á/-bópsʃ'á/-bópsw'á/-bópsʃw'á] (be moulded); [mps'he/mpʃ'he]; [-kxhapʃhà/-kxhapʃhà/-kxhapʃhà/-kxhapʃhwà] (be smeared, be waved aside); [-ròbza/-ròbja/-ròbʒà/-ròbʒwà/-ròbʒwà/-ròbʒwà] (be broken).

Kgatla of Hammanskraal district is further characterised by the employment of, for example,
(i) [ʃ], [tʃ'] and [tʃh] before [i] where the other dialects employ respectively [s], [ts'] and [tʃh], and

(ii) [h], [kh] and [khw] where the other dialects employ [x], [kxh] and [kxhw] respectively.

3.66 Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo are characterised by the employment of, for example,

(i) [ʃ] before [o] [o] and [u];

(ii) [ʃw] before [a] and [e];

(iii) [tʃ'] and [tʃh] before [o], [o] and [u];

(iv) [h] in the place of Hurutshe [ɔ];

(v) like Hurutshe they employ [tʃw'], [tʃh] and [dʒw].
CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF THE CURRENT PRACTICAL TSWANA ORTHOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

4.01 In this chapter we shall review critically the current practical Tswana orthography with a view to offering suggestions and recommendations for its improvement on the basis of the evidence presented in chapter 3. Although it is not within our scope to give an historical account of the development of Tswana orthography in this study, it is necessary to review briefly some recommendations that have been made.

THE 1937 ORTHOGRAPHY

4.02 The 1937 Tswana orthography, which was agreed upon at a representative conference held in Johannesburg in April, 1937, recommended, inter alia, that in the interests of uniformity, certain dialectal variants in pronunciation, such as, for example, ps, p̒s, p̒sh, p̒sh, bj, by, f̒s and f̒h, should not be employed in written Tswana. This was a good recommendation. Unfortunately, however, this orthography was not consistent because it permitted the employment of other alternative dialectal variants such as for example, s and š, ts and t̒s, tsh and t̒sh. Therefore Moloto concludes rightly as follows:

"The great service of this conference was largely negative, as seen on page 142 of the said pamphlet."²)

In support of this fact, Sandilands says,

"The would-be universal and official system hastily decided upon in 1937 obviously left many things in a highly unsatisfactory state, and bore, within its exaggerations and inconsistencies, the seeds of its own decay."³)

4.03 The 1937 orthography recommended the retention of the disjunctive system of word-division hitherto followed in Tswana. It was thus conservative. It failed, however, to provide for symbolization of click sounds, as Prof. Cole also points out,⁴) which though not a characteristic of Tswana, are encountered in it. It must be admitted, however, that, with its shortcomings, this orthography was indeed an attempt to create order out of the confusion which still exists.

4.04 Prof. Cole employs the 1937 Tswana orthography in his work⁵) with some modifications in the symbolization of certain sounds, especially the semi-close vowels. He discourages the employment of dialectal variants for the sake of standardization of written Tswana (see par. 4.11) and makes provision for the representation of click sounds which the 1937

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orthography had ignored. But, causing still more confusion, he departs from this orthography in that he employs the conjunctive system of word-division according to Prof. Doke's theory that a word in Bantu has one penultimate stressed syllable. Prof. Cole's approach is of course scientific; but we are concerned here with practical orthography which must, however, be realistic and consistent.

4.05 As far as standardization of literary Tswana is concerned, since there are many dialectal variations in pronunciation, Prof. Cole's point of view is that it should be based on one or more closely related Tswana dialects. In accordance with this sound principle he bases his work on the dialects of Rolong, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse which he groups together geographically as the Central division of Tswana dialects because they "show the least evidence of influence by other Bantu languages, and must therefore be regarded as the most typical." He therefore writes, for example,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{tšōna} (they), \texttt{tšhoga} (be frightened), \texttt{bōtsa} (be moulded) \texttt{lešomē} (ten), \texttt{ntša} (dog) and \texttt{ša} (burn, new)
\end{itemize}

in preference to dialectal variants \texttt{tsōna}, \texttt{tshoga}, \texttt{bopsa} or \texttt{bopsa}, \texttt{lesome}, \texttt{ntswa} or \texttt{mpsa} or \texttt{mpša} and \texttt{šwa} or \texttt{fša} or \texttt{fša} respectively.

\----------------------
4.06 Strangely enough, however, there are differences in the pronunciation of the above forms even in Rolong, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse. Typically they are pronounced respectively as follows:

**Rolong:** tšôna, -tšhôza, -botšwa, lešomè, ntša and -ša;

**Hurutshe:** tšôna, -tshôza, -botšwa, lesomè, ntšwa and -šwa;

**Ngwaketse:** tšôna, -tshôza, -bopsa, lesomè, mpsa and -fsa.

From this comparison it is obvious that Prof. Cole is inclined more towards Rolong than either Hurutshe or Ngwaketse. In his latest publication he employs Rolong. 9) We agree with him, however, in choosing one or more closely related dialects as a basis for written standard Tswana, and in following the recommendations of the 1937 Tswana orthography in discouraging the employment of what he calls "heterorganic compounds", 10) for example, fs, fš, bi, by, ñs, ñš, pšš and pšh, although Moloto is not in favour of basing written Tswana on any one particular dialect (cf. par. 4.13).

**OFFICIAL ORTHOGRAPHY**

4.07 The present official Tswana orthography is that recommended by the Department of Bantu Education. 11)

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11. *Tswana Terminology and Orthography No. 2,* (Department of Bantu Education, 1962.)
This orthography makes several important modifications on the 1937 orthography. In the first place it abolishes the use of the diacritic sign (') over the vowels Ĝ and Ő, except in those cases "where there is likely to be confusion with different words having identical spelling, or otherwise in the interests of clarity" 12) in general literature; but that in scientific works, such as grammars and dictionaries, it should be used. In the second place it permits the employment of dialectal variants in written Tswana "in those cases where there are variations in pronunciation. "13) In this respect it makes matters worse as it does not cause confusion only but also encourages each Tswana dialect to develop its own type of literary medium, a thing which is undesirable and which, if allowed, can cause chaos.

4.08 With reference to this orthography Moloto remarks rightly as follows:

"This orthography, however, lays down the broad principles of representation of sounds, and does so excellently. Within its framework though, there is in fact possibility for alternant forms to thrive. For instance, as to the alternants by/bi/ix (p.15) we are told that by is 'completely disregarded', but that 'In such cases either bi or ix may be used according to dialect, e.g. biang or iwai, robia or rojwa, tsebiia or tsejwa? We take the cue from a point such as this, believing sincerely that 'according to dialect' was a sug-

12. ibid., p. 13.
13. ibid., p. 15.
gestion to the Tswana people themselves to select their standard form. 14

Although it is stated specifically that "The examples quoted herein are drawn almost exclusively from Northern Sotho, as most of the changes agreed upon affect Northern Sotho rather than Tswana," they are misleading since they appear in a terminology-list intended for Tswana. This orthography, therefore, does not aim at standardization of literary Tswana, but it gives guidance only for the spelling of Tswana speech forms as they are encountered in the various dialects. If it is intended for general use by writers it can do more harm than good.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

4.09 The problem is not so much what symbols should be employed to represent Tswana speech sounds but which one of a given pair or group of alternative dialectal forms should be accepted as standard for literary Tswana and which ones should be eliminated. This is the crux of the whole problem of standardization of literary Tswana. For example, which one of the alternative dialectal forms mpsa, mpha, mpha, ntšwa and ntša should be recommended for purposes of standardization of Tswana orthography, and on what basis should such a choice be made? The 1937 Tswana orthography had tried to answer this question, but it

15. Tswana Terminology and Orthography No. 2, p. 11.
failed because of its weakness (cf. par. 4.02), while
the recommendations of the Department of Bantu Educa-
tion ignored it (cf. par. 4.07). The result is that
a wrong impression has been created that one should
write according to one's own pronunciation, or that
one's particular dialect, as a medium of communication,
is as good as any other dialect, which fact is, of
course, correct, but which is quite a different thing
from a language as a literary medium of communication.

4.10 If choice is to be left to writers we shall
find, for example, that, from the alternative forms for
"dog", given in par. 4.09 above, Rolong, Tlhaping and
Tlharo will prefer ntša, Hurutshe will prefer ntšwa,
while Ngwaketse, Kwena and Kgatla will prefer either
mpsa or mpša, which cannot not be permitted.

MOLOTO'S APPROACH

4.11 Moloto's findings have led him to the conclu-
sion that there are two groups of Tswana writers. The
one group represents those who employ alternative dia-
lectal forms indiscriminately. Such writers he calls
"centralists, since they centralise all dialects."16)
The other group comprises those writers who are in-
clined more or less to favour those speech forms
occurring in their particular dialects. Such writers
he calls "Sectionalists, since they have been sectional
in their choice of speech patterns."17) He points out,
however, that "Sectionalists" are inconsistent with
themselves in that, while they are sectional they employ

16. Moloto, E.S.: A Critical Investigation into the
Standardization of written Tswana, par. 4.6
also other forms which are characteristic of other dialects so that they too tend to centralise. He points out further that authors are not consistent even in the spelling of the same form. He concludes rightly as follows: "That teachers accept and employ (rightly, in the absence of a ruling) all sounds they hear, all of which should be of interest for descriptive linguistics, a selection only of which is of interest for a practical orthography." This means that the position is indeed chaotic, and under such circumstances there can be no standard written Tswana.

4.12 With reference to Tucker who adopted Rolong as standard for Tswana because the Rolong are the most important branch of the Tswana, Moloto remarks as follows:

"We cannot see how historical eminence becomes synonymous with linguistic precedence, unless we are carrying out a linguistic imperialism."

From this statement it is clear that Moloto is totally against basing literary standard Tswana on any particular dialect because, perhaps, this may not be acceptable to speakers of other Tswana dialects. He argues, "Since there is no political paramountcy and no economic or industrial precedence among the Tswana, there will be no dialect to treat preferentially."

18. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.10(b).
19. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.10(d).
22. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 1.64.
It is unfortunate that tribal affiliations should transcend scientific linguistic considerations. We see nothing wrong with Tucker or any proposal to base literary Tswana on any particular dialect provided that such a dialect is representative of the other dialects and that it is fairly uniform in its sound system. It makes standardization much easier in that way.

4.13 Moloto rejects both centralism and sectionalism (cf. par. 4.11), the former because it lacks consistency and uniformity, and the latter, which includes, for example, Tucker and Prof. Cole (cf. par. 4.12) because it is tribalistic. In accordance with Gleason who says,

"A second and ultimately more important effect is to produce a new literary language which is not merely a reflection of any single dialect, but a composite of many,"  

he comes to the conclusion that standardization of literary Tswana should be based on a "selectivist orthography" which cuts across all dialectal considerations, and which he defines as follows:

"A Selectivist orthography is one in which a choice of speech patterns is made on other than dialectal grounds."  

By "a choice of speech patterns" he means that if, for example, the form for "milk" occurs in the various Tswana dialects as mafsi, mafi, mašwi and maši, one

24. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.2.
only of these variant forms should be chosen as standard for written Tswana. To give yet another example: One only of the alternative forms mpešê, mpêšê, ntsêhwê and ntsêhe should be chosen.

4.14 As a basis according to which a choice of speech patterns should be made Moloto gives an excellent but arbitrary formula. He says that forms to be chosen should be those on the pattern palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel (pbv). According to this formula, therefore, from the two series of forms for "milk" and "ostrich" given in par. 4.13 above, mašwi and ntsēhwē respectively will be chosen. This is a sound principle; but we do not see the reason why Moloto should not be in favour of applying it to the formation of passive forms of verb stems and diminutive forms of nouns as well. In these cases he recommends the long forms with the suffixes -iwa and -ana or -nyana respectively, for example, -lefiwa and not -leswa (be paid); kobônyana and not kojwana, both diminutive forms of kobô (blanket). Both the forms -leswa and kojwana are formed in accordance with his formular, from which he should not have departed.

4.15 Our point of view is that, in the case of passive and diminutive formations both the long and the contracted forms should be accepted in our orthography because they are both a characteristic of Tswana. If a contracted form is employed, however, it should be the one according to the formula referred to in par. 4.14

25. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.32.
26. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.32(b) and (c).
above. For example, from the series -bopša, -boswe, -bopše, -bopšwa, -botšwa and -bopšwa, all alternative passive forms of -bopa (mould), both -botšwa and -bopšwa should be allowed, and from the series kobjana, kobvana, kojwana and kobonyana, the last two should both be accepted. It is interesting, however, to note that Moloto is not totally opposed to the employment of contracted forms because he says, "If a contracted form must be used, let it be on either one, but one at a time, of the two patterns p+wa or b+p+v, thus:

abia or ažwa, alafša or ažlašwa

tlhophša or tlhotšwa, sapsa or gatswa."

Unfortunately he allows alternative contracted forms here contrary to his point of view. We maintain that in this case those forms on the pattern p+wa (i.e. palatal sound plus -wa) only should be allowed in literary Tswana, for example, -ažwa, -alašwa, -tlhotšwa and -gatswa. We wish to point out here that this choice agrees with Cole's recommendation that heterorganic compounds should not be employed in written Tswana (see par. 4.06).

4.16 Apart from the inconsistency referred to in the foregoing paragraph, Moloto must be congratulated in applying his selectivist principle successfully. His selectivist orthography is based on phonemic principles according to which non-distinctive variations occurring in the spoken language should not be reflected in the written language, and that, therefore, one symbol or a group of symbols only should be employed to represent them. Thus te and tš are non-distinctive in, for example, tšóna and tšóna. Therefore in such cases tšóna should be accepted in written Tswana. But ṭ as in ṭaba (eat with a relish) is

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27. Moloto, B.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.21(b)
distinctive since the form -saba does not, to my knowledge, exist in Tswana.\textsuperscript{28}) In this way he is able to make a selection of those sounds or forms which he recommends for standardization of literary Tswana.

4.17 A selectivist orthography raises a serious question: On what basis should one form be preferred to another? On what basis, for example, should -šwa (new) be preferred to either -fša or -ša? To say that -šwa is preferred because it is on the pattern p+b+v (i.e. palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel) is arbitrary and not convincing. On what basis should the form ntšhwé (ostrich) be selected rather than mpšhē or mpšhē or ntšhē? It is for this reason that we are not in favour of a selectivist orthography because it is arbitrary.

HURUTSHE AS BASIC DIALECT FOR STANDARDIZATION OF TSWANA ORTHOGRAPHY

4.18 We maintain that standardization of literary Tswana should be based on one dialect which can be found to be not only uniform in its sound system but also fairly well representative of, at least, the majority of the other Tswana dialects.

4.19 Our analysis of the derivation of Hurutshe speech sounds from Ur-Bantu in chapter 2 and our comparative analysis in chapter 3 leave no doubt but that the typical sound system of Hurutshe is not only considerably uniform but also fairly well representative of most other Tswana dialects. Its sounds are on the whole limited to a minimum, adequate to express Tswana. It has no redundant alternative sounds as we find, for example, in Kgatla. This is not surprising. It is so

\textsuperscript{28}. Moloto, E.S.: Loc.cit., parr.4.30,4.32 and 5.19-5.20.
because it is geographically more central than other Tswana dialects, and therefore, it is the least influenced by other Bantu languages. We, therefore, recommend that standardization of literary Tswana be based on Hurutshe. This does not mean that, by so doing, we shall be "carrying out a linguistic imperialism", as Moloto may accuse us (cf. par. 4.12). We are concerned not with tribal political supremacy or paramountcy among the Tswana but with linguistic considerations which, in a scientific study such as this, must transcend the boundaries of tribal or political affiliations. It makes standardization much easier when a representative dialect is chosen as the basis.

4.20 Fortunately, as we have seen in parr. 1.26 and 1.29, the Hurutshe are regarded traditionally by most other Tswana tribes as their senior tribe. This fact, though of secondary importance here, should mitigate any feelings of estrangement among speakers of other Tswana dialects if Hurutshe is chosen as basic dialect for literary Tswana. What is of primary importance to us, however, is that the problem of standardization of literary Tswana should be approached objectively. It is in this spirit that we recommend Hurutshe, convinced that it offers the best solution.

4.21 We may remark here that Moloto's recommendations, though based on selectivism, are in fact typical Hurutshe forms as revealed in chapter 2. Indeed as one examines them one cannot help concluding that they are based on typical Hurutshe although he does not admit it. He is in fact supporting our
standpoint that standardization of Tswana orthography should be based on Hurutshe. This will become clear when we come to evaluate his recommendations in the following paragraphs.

THE VOWELS

4.22 Moloto recognises 7 vowel phonemes in Tswana, namely, /a/, /ɛ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /o/, /o/ and /u/; and that each of the phonemes /ɛ/, /e/, /o/ and /o/ has a variant [ɛ], [ɛ], [ɔ] and [ɔ] respectively, thus making a total of 11 vowel phones. These are the same as we have noted for Hurutshe (cf. par. 2.05). But for the practical Tswana orthography he accepts 5 vowel symbols, namely a, ɛ, i, o and u since, we presume, they have been officially recommended (see par. 4.07). While we agree with him we must point out that this is unfortunate because ɛ and ɔ, as recommended, each represents two contrasting vowel phonemes, as in, for example,

- tšela [-tšělə] (cross) and
- tšela [-tšɛlə] (pour).

noka [nɔkɔ] (river) and
noka [nɔkɔ] (hip).

This is a good example of an orthography being a matter of convention. It is argued that in such cases as the above the context will show which phoneme is used.

4.23 We accept Moloto's recommendations as to which vowel symbols should be used in such forms where

29. Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.7.
there are dialectal variations in pronunciation, for example, *podi* and not *pudi* (goat) (< B. *-mbulif*), *metsi* (phon.: *mètsi*) and not *metse* (water (< *ma-yingi*), *ntlong* and not *ntlung* (at the house). Although he does not give hypothetical original forms his recommendations in this respect are logical.

**SEMI-VOWELS**

4.24 We agree with Moloto that the semi-vowel *w* should be used only where it is significant, or distinctly heard in the spoken language as, for example, in

- *wa* (fall) (< B. *-yua*)
- *lwa* (fight) (< B. *-lua*)
- *lwala* (be ill) (< B. *-lu-ala*),
- *nwa* (drink) (< B. *-míá*),
- *mowa* (air) (< *-mu-yua*) and
- *wena* (you);

and that it should not be used where it is not generally heard as, for example, in *boa* (return) (< B. *-yua*), even though in this latter case, in comparison with the above forms, its use would be justified because B. *u + a* > Tswana *-wa*.

4.25 With reference to the semi-vowel *v* it is unfortunate that Moloto should make a sweeping statement that, "This symbol need in fact never be used in rendering the Absolute Pronoun, and the Demonstrative."[^31]

This statement must be qualified. The semi-vowel *v* is distinctly heard in the spoken language, in the demon-

[^31]: Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 5.16.
strative for the 1st person, singular, yo, as in
motho yo, and in the Absolute Pronoun for class 9,
for example, nku yona. We recommend that it be used
in these cases. He is correct, however, in recommend-
ing that it should not be used with the Absolute
Pronoun, 3rd person, singular, ena (he), and the
Demonstratives ọ (this one) and ẹọ (that one) 32
because it is not normally pronounced in the spoken
language in these cases. He says, further, "Intervo-
callically it should not be used, even when clearly
articulated," 33 as in, for example, losea or lesea
(baby) and -lọa (bewitch). Here we agree with him
because it is not normally distinctly pronounced. We
may qualify his statement as follows: That the semi-
vowel y, should not be used between the vowels e and a,
i and a or o or à and a, as in, for example, lesea,
-dia (delay) and -lọa. It is not normally heard in
these cases.

4.26 Moloto raises an interesting but logical
point in recommending that such forms as -tsamaya
(walk), -baya (place) and -tsaya (take) should be written
without the semi-vowel, as -tsamaa, -baa and -tsaa
respectively, 34 because it falls away in their derived
forms such as, for example -tsamaile, -teamaela and
-tsamaisa, -bėile and -tsere or -tsēile. While it is
true that the forms such as -tsamaya, -baya and -tsaya
are sometimes heard without the semi-vowel, even in
Hurutshe, we feel that it should be retained because,

firstly, it is normally, clearly heard in nearly all Tswana dialects, and, secondly, an orthography being a matter of convention, it is used by most, if not all, Tswana writers so that it has become accepted as the norm. For these reasons we feel that we have to be conservative in some cases. We may point out further that the form for "go" is -va (< B.-ria) in Tswana; but some of its derived forms are -ila, -isa and -ila in which the semi-vowel has fallen away. Could we, therefore, say that -va should be written without the semi-vowel as -a because the semi-vowel is dropped in its derived forms? That would not be acceptable. We, therefore, recommend that, for practical purposes, the following forms, for example, be regarded as standard:

-va (go), but its derivatives as -fiia, -isa and -illa

-bolava (kill), but -bolaana, -bolaala, -bolaisa and -bolailla;

-tsamaya (walk), but -tsamaala, -tsamaisa and -tsamailla;

-baya (place), but -baana, -bela, -bela, and -belailla;

-tsaya (take), but -tsaana, -tsela, -tsela, and -tsela or -tselila;

-laya (instruct), but -laana, -laela and -lailla.

Prof. Cole remarks as follows:

"Although so closely resembling vowels in their quality and manner of production, the semi-vowels function solely as consonants in the sound structure of Tswana."35)

Hence our recommendation that the semi-vowel be retained in such cases.

**DIALECTAL VARIANTS**

4.27 In the case of certain dialectal variant forms, such as, for example, -fssa, -fša, -fya, -ša and -šwa (new, burn) Moloto recommends -šwa because it is formed in accordance with his formula *pbv*, that is, palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel (see par. 4.14). This method is unsatisfactory because it is arbitrary. We recommend -šwa because it is a typical Hurutshe form, since we take Hurutshe as the basic dialect for standardization of literary Tswana.

4.28 In Chapter 2 we saw that

B. -pya (burn) > Hurutshe -šwa (burn);
B. -pya (new) > Hurutshe -šwa (new);
B. -pwa (dry up) > Hurutshe -tšwha (dry up);
B. li-pwe (dirt) > Hurutshe lešwe (dirt);
  *ki-pwe (flower) > Hurutshe sesšewe (flower);
B. mbwa (dog) > Hurutshe ntšwa (dog);
  *mpungumbwe (jackal) > Hurutshe phokojwe (jackal);
B. mbwe (stone) > Hurutshe lešwe or lengwe
  (stone, mountain);
B. mpwe (ostrich) > Hurutshe ntšnev (ostrich);

According to these derivations, therefore,

(i) from the series -fssa, -fša, -fya, -ša and -šwa (burn, new) we take the Hurutshe form -šwa (< B. -pya);
(ii) from the series -nsha, -psha, -pwa, -tšha and -tšhwa (dry up) we take the Hurutshe form -tšhwa (< B. -pwa);

(iii) from the series leswe and lešwé (dirt) we take the Hurutshe form lešwé (< *li-pwe);

(iv) from the series sefsefse, sefšefše, seʃeʃe, seʃeʃe and seʃeʃe (flower) we take the Hurutshe form seʃeʃe (phon. *ki-pwepwe);

(v) from the series mpsa, mpša, mpvā, mša and ntšwa (dog) we take the Hurutshe form ntšwa (< B. -mbwa);

(vi) from the series phokobi, phokoby, phokoʃe and phokoʃe (jackal) we take the Hurutshe form phokoʃe;

(vii) from the series lebše, lebye, leje, lentše, lentše and lejše (stone) we take both the Hurutshe forms lentše (hill, mountain) and lejše (stone) (B. li-mbwe);

(viii) from the series mpshe, mpšhe, mpvhe, ntšhe and ntšhwé (ostrich) we take the Hurutshe form ntšhwé (phon. ntšhwé) (< B. mpwe);

(ix) from the series mpshe, mpšhe, mpvhe, ntšhe and ntšhwé (sweet reed) we take the Hurutshe form ntšhwé (phon. ntšhwé) (< B. mpwe);

(x) from the series sepšhe, sepšhe, sepvhe, setšhe and setšhwé (stamina) we take the Hurutshe form setšhwé (phon. setšhwé) (< *ki-mpwe);
(xi) from the series -pshatla, -p̣hatla, pyhatla and -tshwətla (crush) we take the Hurutshe form -tshwətla (phon. -tʃhwət'la).

4.29 In the same way as we have done in paragraph above we shall give a few more examples:

B. -vwala (sow) > Hurutshe -iwala (sow, plant);
B. -ỵ-ala (dress) > Hurutshe -tswala (dress, especially round the loins);
B. -p̣-ana (resemble) > Hurutshe -tshwana (resemble).
B. -p̣-ata or -ỵp̣ata (seize) > Hurutshe -tshwara (seize);
B. li-panu or li-kwanu (lung) > Hurutshe letshwape or lekgwafo.

Therefore,

(i) from the series -bvala, -bvala, -jala and -iwala (sow, plant) we take the Hurutshe form -iwala (< B. -twala);

(ii) from the series -tswala and -tswala (dress) we take the Hurutshe form -tswala (< B. -wala);

(iii) from -tshwana and -tshwana (resemble) we take the Hurutshe form -tshwana (< B. -ṃana);

(iv) from -tshwara and -tshwara (seize) we take the Hurutshe form -tshwara (< B. -ṃana);
(v) from *letšhwafo, leshhwafo and lekgwafo (lung) we take both the Hurutshe forms *letshwafo (< B. li-*pamu) and lekgwafo (< *li-*kwamu).

(vi) from the series bjalwa, byalwa, jwala and bojalwa (beer) (< B. vu-*valwa) we take bojalwa. Moloto recommends jwala; but although both forms jwala and bojalwa occur in Hurutshe we recommend the form bojalwa (because it retains the final syllable -lwa of the B. root -valwa.

4.30 In the formation of passive forms of certain verb stems we have noticed in Chapter 2 that

B. -tov*wa (< -tov*a) > Hurutshe -r*ᵀwa (< -r*ᵀa) (be broken);
B. -yumb*wa (< -yumb*a) > Hurutshe -b*誓言 (< -b*誓言) (be moulded);
B. -yikamp*wa (< -yikampa) > Hurutshe -k*誓言 (< -k*誓言) (be smeared with cow dung, be waved aside);
B. -pamp*wa (< -pampa) > Hurutshe -f*誓言 (< -f*誓言) (be cut lengthwise, e.g. wood).

In such cases we take typical Hurutshe forms, for example, -r*ᵀwa, and not -r*ᵀw*wa, -r*ᵀbia, -r*ᵀbywa or -r*ᵀbya; -b*誓言, and not -b*誓言, -b*誓言, -b*誓言 and -b*誓言. As we have already pointed out (see par. 4.15) the long passive form of the verb stem with the suffix -iva, for example, -r*ᵀbiwa and -b*誓言 should be retained also. In fact Hurutshe prefers this long form.
in many cases, for example,

-レスワ (be put on fire) < レサ,
-れしわ (be burnt) < レサ,
-レシワ (be let loose) < レサ.

Moloto also recommends it to avoid contracted forms which result in variant dialectal forms. (See par. 4.15).

4.31 In the formation of diminutive forms of certain nouns we have noticed in Chapter 2 that

B. -んゅワナ (< -ゅ）。 > Hurutshe カイワナ
(small blanket) < キョノ;
B. -キレムャナ (< -キレム） > Hurutshe セレトワナ (small axe) < セレペ;
B. むタプャナ (< むタプ） > Hurutshe モタツワナ (small tribe) < モラペ;
B. むクムバナ (< むクム） > Hurutshe モゴトワナ (small wooden eating vesel)
< モゴポ。

In such cases we take typical Hurutshe forms, for example,

カイワナ, and not カバイナ, カブナ or カイナ;
セレトワナ, and not セレプワナ, セレプナ or セレトワナ;
モゴトワナ, and not モゴンワナ, モゴンナ, モゴンスワナ, モゴンプワナ or モゴトワナ.

4.32 The Hurutshe forms given in paragraphs above are the same as those recommended by Moloto. It is not necessary, therefore, to resort to selectivism or any other formula in deciding which forms should be
accepted for literary Tswana as he does. Typical Hurutshe offers the best solution which can make standardization of Tswana orthography very easy.

4.33 We wish to comment briefly on the sound represented by $i_e$ [$d_3$]. Moloto recommends that when it is preceded by a nasal sound, for example, the objectival concord, 1st person, singular, $n-$, it should be written $t\check{e}$ because it is now voiceless as a result of this nasal sound, \(^{36}\) for example, $-nt\check{e}a$ (eat me) and $-nt\check{e}la$ (eat for me), instead of $-nia$ [$nd_3a$] and $-ni\check{e}la$ [$nd_3\check{e}la$] respectively. According to my findings in Hurutshe and Ngwaketse, however, the sound $i_e$ remains unchanged normally even in this case. It is true, as we have already pointed out (see par.3.38) that the pronunciation of this sound, [$d_3$], varies in different dialects. In fact in some dialects, for example, Kgatla of Hammanskraal district, it does not exist even without the nasal, its place being taken by $t\check{e}$ [$t\check{e}$], for example, $leb\check{e}t\check{a}na$ [$l\check{e}b\check{e}t\check{a}n\check{a}$] instead of $leb\check{e}jana$ [$l\check{e}b\check{e}j\check{a}n\check{a}$] (< B. li-velyana) $leb\check{e}l\check{e}$ (plant or grain of corn) $($< B. li-vele$)$.

Variations in pronunciation occur even in one and the same dialect, for example, the form $nt\check{e}wa$ (dog) is sometimes heard pronounced as $ni\check{e}wa$ [$nd\check{e}w\check{a}$] (< B. mbwa) among some Hurutshe speakers, which, of course, is how it should be pronounced if it was not because of the nasal, as for example,

$-r\check{e}\check{i}wa$ [$-r\check{e}d\check{a}w\check{a}$] $<$ $-r\check{e}\check{e}ba$ (break) $<$ B. $-to\check{e}wa$ $<$ $-to\check{e}a$.

\(^{36}\) Moloto, E.S.: Loc. cit., par. 4.30 (iii).
Therefore, since the sound $j$ in -ja [-dʒa] (eat) (< B. -li a) remains unchanged in -nia [-ńdʒa] and -njela [-ńdʒɛla] in Hurutshe, which we take as our basic dialect, we feel that it should be retained in standard written Tswana even when it is preceded by a nasal sound. We say so because it is heard among some speakers of Tswana. It is for this reason, we presume, that Cole employs it even when preceded by a nasal sound. Another reason is that writers have come to accept it as standard.

4.34 We accept the form jō [dʒō] demonstrative for class 14, and not bō [bō], because jō is the Hurutshe form. Similarly we accept jwa- [dʒwa-] (< B. -ywa), possessive concord for class 14, and not ba- or ja-; and lwa- possessive concord for class 11 and not la-.

4.35 Regarding the problem of word-division we accept the disjunctive system, as Moloto does, simply because it has long been followed in Tswana. We admit that this is conservatism. But an orthography is a matter of convention. What is important is that the disjunctive system must be applied consistently.

4.36 In conclusion we wish to record our appreciation of Moloto's well-considered suggestions and recommendations. Although we differ from his approach, we admit that his work is not only thought-provoking but it is also commendable.
APPENDIX

Maps showing the Distribution of Tswana Tribes and Dialects.
DISTRIBUTION OF TSWANA TRIBES

NGWATO

NGWAKETSE

MALETE

KWENA

KGATLA

HURUTSHE

KGATLA

KWENA

ROLONG

Vryburg

Kuruman

TLHARO

ROLONG

Thaba'Nchu

Map No. 1
Map 2 showing the distribution of [s]/[ʃ], [ts']/[tʃ'], [tʃh]/[tʃh] before [o], [o], [u] and [w] respectively, as in [sbná]/[ʃbná] (it), [lòsó]/[lɔʃó] (death), [bòsulá]/[bɔ́sulá] (bad), [-swá]/[-ʃwá] (die), [ts'bná]/[tʃ'bná] (they), [-ts'ómá]/[tʃ'ómá] (hunt), [-ts'ùbùtì'á]/[-tʃ'ùbùtì'á] (shake violently), [-ts'wá]/[-tʃwá] (come out), [p'óntshá]/[p'óntʃhá] (show), [-tshòxá]/[-tʃhòxá] (be frightened), [tshûk'úlá]/[tʃhûk'úlá] (rhinoceros), [-tshwárá]/[-tʃhwárá] (seize).

* * * : [s], [ts'], [tʃh]
+ + + : [ʃ], [tʃ'], [tʃh]
Map 3 showing the distribution of [tʃh]/[pʃh]/[tʃ] as in [tʃh]/[pʃh] (ostrich), [tʃh]/[pʃh] (sweet-reed), [sɛtʃh]/[sɛpʃh]/[sɛtʃh] (stamina).

* * * : [tʃh]
= = = : [pʃh]
++ : [tʃ]
Map 4 showing the distribution of [dʒ]/[tʃ] as in [-dʒa]/[-tʃa](est), [ ámbɛdzɛnà]/[ ámbɛtʃɛnà] diminutive of [ ámbɛlɛ] (body).

*** : [dʒ]
++ : [tʃ]
Map 5 showing the distribution of [dʒw]/[dʒ]/[bʒ] as in [-dʒwà]/[-dʒà]/[-bʒà] (sow), [k'òdʒwàà]/[k'òbʒàà]/[k'òbʒàà] diminutive of [k'òbò] (blanket), [-ròdʒwà]/[-ròbʒà] passive of [-ròbà] (break).

* * * : [dʒw]
= = = : [dʒ]
+ + + : [bʒ]
Map 6 showing the distribution of \([sw]/[j]/[\#s/\#f]\) as in \([-swa/-fj\]/[-swa/-fj\] (burn, new).

- **:** \([sw]\)
- **:** \([j]\)
- **:** \([\#s/\#f]\)
Map 7 showing the distribution of [tjw']/[tf']/[ps'/pj'], [tʃhw]/[tʃh]/[pʃh/pʃ] as in [ʃtʃw'/ʃtʃ'/ʃpʃ']/ʃtʃ/ʃpʃ' (dog), [-b tjw'/a]-[b pʃ a/-b pʃ'] passive of [-b pʃ'a] (mould), [-tʃhw]/[-tʃh]/[-pʃh/-pʃ] (dry up, as water).

* * * : [tjw'], [tʃhw]
++ : [tʃ'], [tʃh]
== : [ps'/pj'], [pʃh/pʃ]
Map 8 showing the distribution of [x]/[h], [xw]/[hw], [kxh]/[kh], [kxhw]/[khw] as in [-xóxà]/[-hóhà] (pull), [-xwáh't'à]/[-hwáh't'à] (walk briskly), [kxhõmò]/[khõmò] (cow), [sèkxhwàmà]/[sèkhwàmà] (purse).

* * * : [x], [xw], [kxh], [kxhw]
= = = : [h], [hw], [kh], [khw]
Map 9 showing the distribution of [f]/[r]/[h] as in [lèfil]/[lèfir]/[lèhil] (darkness).

* * * : [f]
= = = : [r]
++ + : [h]
Map 10 showing the distribution of [s]/[ʃ], [ts']/[tʃ'], [tʃ]/[tʃ], before [i], as in [məsʃ]/[məʃʃ] (smoke), [ts'ʃ]/[tʃ'ʃ] (locust), [mətʃʃtʃ]/[mətʃtʃ] (swarm of bees).

* * * : [s], [ts'], [tʃ]
= = = : [ʃ], [tʃ'], [tʃʃ]
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