

**A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MORPHOLOGY OF  
THE TSHIGUVHU DIALECT OF VENDA**

by

**PHALANDWA ABRAHAM MULAUDZI**

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

in the subject

**AFRICAN LANGUAGES**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: DR A E KOTZÉ**

**JOINT SUPERVISOR: MR T M SENGANI**

**JANUARY 1996**

## DECLARATION

I declare that A descriptive analysis of the morphology of the Tshiguvhu dialect of Venda is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

*P.A. Mulaudzi*.....

SIGNATURE

(P.A. MULAUDZI)

.....

DATE

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my father, **MULAVHEDZI SAMSON** who died before he could witness the fruit of his encouragement to one of his sons.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I feel deeply indebted to my promoters, Dr A E Kotze and Mr T M Sengani whose help and encouragement, meticulous scrutiny and useful comments in each chapter of this dissertation have been invaluable.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor G Poulos for his constant moral support and interest in this work and for the many illuminating discussions about linguistic aspects of Venda.

Thanks are also due to Dr M J Mafela for the many illuminating discussions I had with him and for his willingness to offer advice where necessary.

I would also like to express my thanks to Professors C T Msimang, D T Mathumba and C F Swanepoel for their advice and encouragement concerning this work.

Further thanks go to Professor I M Kosch, Mr W J Van Staden, Mr M L Bopape and Mr P L Boshego for their willingness to supply me with reading matter and relevant information.

I am also very grateful to Mrs E M Wessels, Mrs L van Huyssteen and Mrs S E Bosch for their encouragement and support of this work.

The following informants who assisted in this project also deserve my sincere thanks. They are:

Gota Vho- S A L Mashamba

Mr William            Siṅagana Mugwena  
Mrs Mafhungo        Mashamba  
Mr Phineas           Maṭamba Mulaudzi  
Mrs Mudzhadzhi    Mbedzi

Furthermore, I am very grateful to the following people with whom I had an illuminating discussion about Tshiguvhu:

Mr P P            Maremeni  
Mr T T            Mashamba  
Mr M L            Ramusilei

Mr Nnditsheni Colson Mbedzi has also ably assisted in carrying out the necessary arrangements.

I shall be failing in my task if I do not express my thanks to Mr & Mrs L Molefe for their assistance in teaching me to type and print and Mrs C M Greaves for her highly competent editing.

Lastly, but not least, deep gratitude is due to my wife, Ramokone Margreth and our children, who understand the demands of an academic career.

## SUMMARY

In this study an attempt is made to describe the morphological aspects of Tshiguvhu. In chapter 1, it is indicated that historically, there was extensive early contact between Vhaguvhu and Balobedu and Tlokwa.

In chapters 2 and 3, nouns and pronouns are analysed morphologically. Some similarities and differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are highlighted. These differences are ascribed to influences from Lobedu and Tlokwa.

In chapters 4 and 5, the form of the verb and the use of verb forms in various tenses, where applicable, are described morphologically. Some verb roots and extensions have been influenced by Northern Sotho dialects whereas some have not.

In chapter 6, the morphology of adverbs, interrogatives, conjunctions, ideophones and interjections are briefly described.

In conclusion, it is indicated that Tshiguvhu is a dialect of Venda because of its cultural and historical bonds with Venda, although linguistically it shares some features with certain Northern Sotho dialects.

### KEY TERMS

Tshivenda; Tshiguvhu; Lobedu; Tlokwa; Morpheme; Morph; Allomorph; Prefix; Root; Suffix

# C O N T E N T S

		PAGES
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
1.1	Preliminary remarks	1
1.2	Historical background of the South-Western clans of Venda	2
1.3	Geographical location and the influences on the Vhaguvhu community	4
1.4	The classification of Tshiguvhu as a dialect of Venda	6
1.5	Aim of the study	12
1.6	Field research techniques	12
1.7	Suggested practical orthography of Tshiguvhu	13
1.7.1	Tshiguvhu vowels	14
1.7.2	Tshiguvhu consonants	14
1.8	Morphology	18
1.8.1	Approach	19
1.8.2	The root morpheme	19
1.8.3	Affixes	22
1.8.3.1	Prefixal morphemes	22
1.8.3.2	Suffixal morphemes	23
1.8.3.3	Stems	23
1.8.3.4	Extended root	24
1.8.4	Variants of word aspects (Allomorphs)	25
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>NOUN CLASSES</b>	
2.1	Introduction	26
2.2	Noun classes	27
2.2.1	Classes 1 & 2	28

2.2.1.1	Classes 1(a) and 2(a)	31
2.2.2	Classes 3 and 4	35
2.2.3	Classes 5 and 6	37
2.2.4	Classes 7 and 8	41
2.2.5	Classes 9 and 10	43
2.2.6	Class 14	48
2.2.7	Class 15	51
2.2.8	Classes 16,17 and 18	53
2.2.9	Class 20	54
2.2.10	Class 21	55
2.2.11	Classes 'x' and 'y'	56
2.3	Nouns	57
2.3.1	Basic nouns	58
2.3.3.1	Noun classes	58
2.3.2	Deverbative nouns	60
2.3.3	Qualificative nouns	64
2.3.3.1	Adjectival nouns	65
2.3.3.2	Nominal relative nouns	67
2.3.4	Locatives	70
2.3.4.1	Locative nouns	71
2.3.4.2	Locativised nouns	72
2.3.4.3	Nouns without overt locative markers	72
2.3.4.4	Locative prefixes	73
2.3.5	Diminutive nouns	76
2.3.6	Augmentative nouns	82
2.4	Recapitulation	84

### CHAPTER 3 THE PRONOUN

3.1	Introduction	86
3.1.1	The absolute pronouns	86
3.1.2	The reflexive pronouns	92
3.1.3	The quantitative pronouns	97
3.1.4	Enumerative pronouns	100
3.1.5	Possessive pronouns	101
3.1.6	The demonstrative pronoun	103



3.1.7	The compound demonstrative	108
3.1.8	The demonstrative copulative	110
3.1.8.1	The demonstrative copulative asi-	111
3.1.8.2	The demonstrative copulative gi-	113
3.2	Recapitulation	114

#### CHAPTER 4 THE VERB

4.1	Introduction	116
4.2	The subject concord	116
4.3	The object concord	120
4.4	The reflexive morpheme	122
4.5	The negative morpheme	123
4.6	Morphological types of verb roots	126
4.6.1	Simplex verb roots	126
4.6.1.1	Primitive verb root	126
4.6.1.2	Derivative verb root	127
4.6.1.3	Adopted verb roots	128
4.6.2	Extended verb roots	128
4.6.2.1	The applied	128
4.6.2.2	The causative	130
4.6.2.3	The passive	132
4.6.2.4	The reciprocal	137
4.6.2.5	The neuter extensions	138
4.6.2.6	The reversive extensions	139
4.6.2.7	The perfect /il...e/	142
4.6.2.8	The intensive -es-	146
4.6.2.9	Intensive and Repetitive -Ukan-	147
4.6.2.10	Additional miscellaneous extensions	148
4.7	Recapitulation	150

#### CHAPTER 5 THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

5.1	Introduction	152
5.2	Verbs which do not incorporate a subject concord	153

5.2.1	The imperative	153
5.2.2	The infinitive	155
5.3	Verbs which incorporate a subject concord	156
5.3.1	The indicative	156
5.3.2	The participial	160
5.3.3	The potential form	164
5.3.4	The subjunctive	166
5.3.5	The consecutive	167
5.3.6	The contingent	167
5.4	Auxiliary verbs	168
5.4.1	Auxiliary verbs that are followed by the participial	168
5.4.2	Auxiliary verbs that are followed by the infinitive	169
5.4.3	Auxiliary verbs that are followed by the consecutive	169
5.5	The aspectual prefixes (Deficient verb forms)	170
5.6	The relative	172
5.7	Recapitulation	179

## CHAPTER 6 ADVERBS, IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

6.1	Introduction	182
6.2	Adverbs	182
6.2.1	Adverbial prefix li- (associative)	182
6.2.2	Adverbial prefix ha-	183
6.2.3	Locative adverbial prefix ha-	184
6.2.4	Adverbial prefix mo-	185
6.2.5	The adverbial prefix ga- and locativised nouns	185
6.2.6	The combination of adverbial prefixes	186
6.2.7	Class prefixes and noun stems	186
6.3.	The interrogative	187
6.3.1	Basic interrogatives	187

6.3.2	Derived interrogatives	188
6.4	The ideophone	189
6.4.1	The basic ideophones	189
6.4.2	The ideophones derived from verbal stems	190
6.4.3	Reduplicated or triplicated ideophones	190
6.4.4	The verbal roots derived from ideophones	191
6.4.5	The ideophones derived from adjectival stems	191
6.4.6	The ideophones found in Tshiguvhu and Lobedu	191
6.5	Interjections	192
6.6	Conjunctions	192
6.6.1	Basic conjunctions	193
6.6.2	The derived conjunctions	194
6.7	Recapitulation	196
CHAPTER 7	CONCLUSION	198
BIBLIOGRAPHY		209

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In this dissertation attention will be focussed on the Tshiguvhu dialect as spoken at Musanda, Hamashamba where the research on this dialect was conducted. This does not eliminate the possibility of this dialect being spoken at the other areas under chief Mashamba, namely Mufeba and Tshivhuyuni. Other areas bordering on that of chief Mashamba, where this dialect may also be spoken, are those under chief Mulima of Hamulima, chief Muila of Hamuila and chief Masakona of Hamasakona.

The Tshiguvhu dialect seems to be spoken slightly differently from one community to another. These differences may have been caused by different influences to which each group was exposed. The main influencing factors were most probably the Northern Sotho dialects such as Lobedu, Tlokwa and Hananwa which are spoken in areas bordering on the territory of the Venda-speaking population. The south-western community, for example, which includes Vhaluvhu of Hamashamba and other Venda clans under chief Mashamba, appears to have been influenced by the Lobedu dialect and, to a lesser extent, the Tlokwa dialect. The western community, which includes the Singo clan and other Venda clans, seems to have been influenced by Tlokwa and Hananwa. In the north, the Twanamba or Twamamba of Tshivhula who adopted Venda as their language after surrendering their kingdom to Venda rulers (Ralushai, 1977:116), also seem to have been influenced by the Hananwa dialect of Northern Sotho.

Mathivha (1966:3-4), Ralushai (1977:46), Poulos (1990:8), Ziervogel et al.(1972:1), Khuba (1993:3) and Mulaudzi (1987:4-5) believe that Venda is a heterogeneous language. On the other hand, scholars such as Lestrade (1927:488), Van Warmelo (1937:9-10), Neluvhalani (1984:58) and Mathivha (1985:17-19) hold the view that Venda is a homogeneous language. This view has never enjoyed the support of those scholars who believe in the heterogeneity of the Venda language. According to them, Venda consists of the following dialects: Tshiilafuri, Tshironga, Tshimaanda or Tshilaudzi, Tshinia or Tshiṭavhatsindi and Tshiphani, which is the standardised dialect. Although these scholars have acknowledged the existence of Tshimbedzi and Tshilembethu, these two dialects seem to be becoming extinct. However, none of the abovementioned dialects has been researched in full. The documenting of Tshiguvhu therefore represents the first attempt to prove that Venda is not fully homogeneous.

## 1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN CLANS OF VENDA

The south-western clans of Venda which speak the Tshiguvhu dialect are mainly dominated by the Vhaluvhu of Hamashamba and Mulima. The Vhaluvhu are one of the twenty-one clans which constitute the Venda tribe. The dominated clans are Vari, Mugwena, Singo, etc. The Vhaluvhu of Hamashamba show more traces of Lobedu influence in their language than the Vhaluvhu of Hamulima who, in turn, show more traces of Tlokwa influence. According to Ralushai (1977:197) the Vhaluvhu originally hail from Vhukalanga in Zimbabwe along with other Venda clans, but it is not known when they entered Venda. They all migrated to Kokwane, the mountain situated on the southern side of Rabali's village in Nzhelele. It is here where they first

settled with some Venda clans south of the Limpopo. After many years time they moved to their present areas of settlement at Hamashamba, Mufeba, Mukondeni, Tshivhuyuni and Mulima. Their reasons for leaving Kokwane where they were ruled by Thohoyandou, a Singo ruler, are not known. Thohoyandou was the paramount chief of the Venda people although he belonged to the Singo clan. All chiefs from other clans were under his leadership.

According to one of the informants consulted for research purposes, Mr William Sinagana Mugwena, the Vhaluvhu were troubled by the Nguni at their present location during the 19th Century, particularly in 1898, during the Anglo-Boer War. Invasion by the Nguni forced them to protect their chief Rasishasha and other members of the royal family by helping them to flee to Modjadji, while some of his subjects fled to Hamakhuvha. The remaining subjects were left behind to fight for their land. On this issue Mugwena differs from Ralushai who says that mountains offered the Vhaluvhu a formidable defence against the Nguni at Modjadji and Hamakhuvha whereas, according to Mugwena, the remaining subjects were left behind to fight for their present settlements. Their presence in the area in which they are found today seems to confirm Mugwena's account. While the remaining subjects of Rasishasha were still fighting on his behalf, he died in exile. His sons and subjects returned after a long time from Bolobedu, their speech having been affected by Khelobedu. They subsequently also influenced the speech of the community to which they returned.

Ralushai's (1977:197) statement that the Vhaluvhu perform their religious services at Mukondeni and, like other Venda clans, have adopted the circumcision school of males is endorsed by Mugwena. Women have to attend



musevetho, domba and thondo as in other clans. Tshikona for men and tshigombela for women are practised as their traditional dances although they have also adopted givha and tshikhaba as traditional dances. The adoption of givha (kiba in Northern Sotho) and Tshikhaba (Sekhaba - probably Khekhaba in Lobedu) are indicative of the influence of their neighbouring Sotho communities.

Unlike the Vhaluvhu of Hamashamba, the Vhaluvhu of Hamulima have strong ties with the Lobedu people through marriage. According to Mugwena, during the dry seasons they used to send girls to chieftainess Modjadji so that she should perform rain rituals. These girls were also used to bear children for chieftainess Modjadji. Apart from this, Lobedu men have also been permitted to marry girls from Hamulima and other parts of Venda.

### 1.3 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE INFLUENCES ON THE VHAGUVHU COMMUNITY

Although the research on the Tshiguvhu dialect was conducted at the chief's village at Hamashamba, this dialect is probably spoken in the entire district of Tshitale. The clans which are found in this district are, among others, the Vhaluvhu, Vari, Singo and Mugwena. This district lies in the south-west and south of Venda. The centres of these clans are Mashamba, Mufeba, Mukondeni, Mulima and partly Masakona, also known as Rasikhuthuma. These centres are flanked by Lobedu in the south, and Tlokwa in the west.

The people who speak Tshiguvhu are purely Venda, sharing their culture and religion with other Venda clans. This view is also shared by headman S.A.L. Mashamba. The name Tshiguvhu is often regarded by



certain non-Tshiguvhu speakers as another name for Sotho, but this is not correct. According to headman Mashamba this name refers to Sotho people who have been influenced by Venda. It also, of course, refers to those Venda people who show distinct traces of influence by Northern Sotho dialects such as Lobedu, Tlokwa, Hananwa and others. However, those Sotho people who have lived alongside Venda people for a long time should be called Maguvhu (a hybrid of Venda and Northern Sotho speakers). The main reason for distinguishing those Sotho people who have lived alongside Venda people for a long time may be that they have adopted a culture and language which distinguish them from those who have never been subjected to these influences.

On the origin of Vhaguvhu speakers and their language, Ralushai(1977:198) maintains that they originated from contact between Venda and Northern Sotho people. He is supported by Mugwena who also points out that the sons of one of their chiefs returned from Bolobedu after the invasion by the Nguni people with Lobedu wives and their children. They spoke a mixture of Tshivenda and Lobedu. This mixture probably influenced the original Tshivenda spoken by the people at Hamashamba, Mufeba, Mukondeni, Tshivhuyuni, Muila, Mulima and Masakona known as Rasikhuthuma.

Many informants are entirely satisfied with the name Tshiguvhu because it reflects their language and what they are, although some informants are dissatisfied with this name because they regard it as an insult. To them, it suggests that they are impure and as such it humiliates them. However, this name is accepted overwhelmingly by the majority of the speakers of this dialect.

According to Mugwena, it is true that some areas in the south-western area of Venda, where Tshiguvhu is spoken, were highly mixed before the 1969 mass removal and resettlement of people on ethnic lines, consisting of speakers of Northern Sotho dialects such as Tlokwa, Lobedu etc, Tsonga and Venda. Today there is still cross-linguistic contact but on a far smaller scale than before 1969. The contact between Tshiguvhu speakers and Tsonga speakers seems to be of little importance to the spoken language because there are no discernible influences from Tsonga on Tshiguvhu. Only Northern Sotho dialects such as Lobedu and Tlokwa seem to have played a major role in the creation of Tshiguvhu. Today the Mulima royal family still procures wives from chieftainess Modjadji.

Mathivha (1966:3) mentions the influence of Lobedu in some Venda areas such as Hamashau, Hamasia, Davhana, Tshimbupfe and Tshikonelo. This statement is dubious because in these areas the Tshironga dialect is spoken and Tsonga influences seem to be restricted to Tshironga. On the other hand, he appears to be correct when he mentions that Tshiguvhu is spoken at Hanesengani. The main village where Tshiguvhu is spoken at Hanesengani is known as Garamokgopa. Evidence of the Lobedu influence on Tshiguvhu can be provided more easily in the south-west of Venda, in areas such as Hamashamba, Hamulima, Hamasakona and Hamuila.

#### 1.4 THE CLASSIFICATION OF TSHIGUVHU AS A DIALECT OF VENDA

It is widely accepted that the division of a community into two groups may result in speech differences as time passes. This is how dialects come into being. Bloomfield (1970:321) calls the study of this phenomenon dialect geography or linguistic geography.

He defines it as "... the study of local differentiations in a speech area." His view is also supported by Lehmann (1962:117) who describes dialect geography as "... the study of varying forms of speech in one language." According to the definitions of Bloomfield and Lehmann, the speech in one locality differs at least slightly from that of any other place.

According to Robins (1980:34) a dialect is generally defined as a local form of speech which differs slightly from other local forms of speech despite all being local forms of speech of the same language. The differences may be found within a specified area, country or part of a country. These local forms of speech may be distinguished from each other by features of any aspect of linguistic structure namely phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, vocabulary or the lexicon.

In line with this general view, Petyt (1980:11) defines a dialect as follows: "Forms of speech with no corresponding written form, or those used by uneducated people, are labelled dialects and contrasted with the true 'languages' of the literate and educated." This is a true description of Tshiguvhu because it does not correspond with the written form and it is also regarded as a non-standardised form of speech used in daily communication at home, during tribal court sessions etc.

Doke (1954:21) also defines a dialect as "...the local form of speech." He states further that in the case of African languages, this is applicable to the language of a tribe, and more particularly of a clan section of a tribe. According to his definition, the speech of the people speaking Tshiguvhu and that of people speaking

Tshiilafuri should be regarded as separate dialects because they are from different clans of the same tribe.

Mokgokong (1966:30) however, summarizes his idea of a dialect in this way, "What stands out prominently, however, is that dialect enjoys narrower usage as compared to language."

Sometimes it is difficult to decide if two different local forms should be regarded as languages or dialects. On this, various scholars hold the essential criterion to be that of mutual intelligibility. Petyt (1980:13) says, "...dialects are different but mutually intelligible forms of speech. So if two speakers, in spite of some observable differences in their speech, can understand each other, they are held to be using different dialects; if two speakers cannot understand each other, they are speaking different languages." This is the case with some Venda forms of speech: a Muilafuri speaker can understand a Muguvhu speaker although there are some differences in their speech. The same with a Muronga speaker and a Munia speaker, thus all of these are probably different dialects.

It should be noted, however, that certain Northern Sotho and Venda dialects are also mutually intelligible. A Muilafuri speaker can understand a Tlokwa speaker for the most part, a Muguvhu can understand a Lobedu speaker but these dialects are not of the same language. Petyt (1980:14) refers to a similar language situation prevailing in the Alps where dialects of Italian and French form a continuum. Speakers of adjoining dialects can understand each other but those who speak dialects which are at the extremes of the continuum, cannot. Similarly, from a linguistic point of view, Tshiguvhu and the Northern

Sotho dialects Tlokwa and Lobedu could perhaps be regarded as belonging to the same language. Linguistic factors, however, are secondary to, for instance, cultural factors when the status of spoken forms is determined. Thus, because Tshiguvhu is spoken by people who identify themselves with the Venda culture, it cannot be regarded as anything but a dialect of Venda. The abovementioned Northern Sotho dialects can also only be regarded as belonging to Northern Sotho because the speakers of those dialects identify themselves with the Northern Sotho culture.

Regarding the significance of mutual intelligibility, Brook (1963:19) has the following to say: "... if the differences between two dialects are so great that speakers of one are unable to understand those who speak the other, the two dialects are well on the way to developing into separate languages." He further argues that mutual intelligibility cannot be measured with precision. In pointing out further distinctions between language and dialect, he says,

"Although it is sometimes said that speakers of two different English dialects cannot understand each other, it is doubtful whether such a statement is ever really true, given intelligence, patience and co-operation in both speaker and hearer. Similarly, the differences between the English language as used in America and as used in Great Britain are heavily outnumbered by the resemblances,

and it is only occasionally that a speaker of the one form of English completely fails to understand a speaker of the other. It is therefore reasonable

to describe British and American English as different dialects of the same language. "

There are also some criteria which can supplement the criterion of mutual intelligibility such as the existence of a standard language. On this Petyt (1980:14) says,

"... if two or more groups who differ in speech nevertheless regard some form of speech (which may be different again) as a standard, or if they share a common written form, they tend to be regarded as speaking different dialects rather than different languages, whatever the degree of mutual intelligibility - provided only that the standard or written form is not totally unrelated to the one they speak."

What Petyt has said is applicable to Tshiguvhu and Tshiilafuri. These dialects differ, but both groups regard Tshivenḁa as their standard language. For speakers of both, the local newspaper is written in Tshivenḁa, at school children read and write the same written form in Tshivenḁa, at the government offices Tshivenḁa is used, etc.

In addition to non-linguistic criteria which may help in distinguishing between dialect and language, Petyt (1980:15) says there, "... are certain non-linguistic ones - concerning common cultural or political allegiances, or the consciousness of the speakers."

Tshiphani has been elevated from a dialect to the standard language of Venda. Tshiguvhu, Tshiilafuri, Tshironga and Tshiḁa have never been recognized as

dialects of Venda because certain scholars such as Van Warmelo (1937:9), Lestrade (1927:487), Neluvhani (1984:58) and Mathivha (1985:17) believe that Venda is a homogeneous language. Most of these scholars have conducted their research intensively in the Tshivhase area and partly at the Mphaphuli and Rammbuḁa areas. These areas are less influenced linguistically by foreign tribes. None of these scholars has ever mentioned conducting research intensively in the south-western, western and eastern regions of Venda. These areas are more influenced linguistically by foreign tribes. It appears as if without knowledge of these, the mentioned scholars appear to have concluded that Venda is a homogeneous language. Venda authorities also adhere to this view and actually discourage the use of these dialects.

Although scholars such as Mathivha (1966:3-4), Ziervogel et al. (1972:1), Ralushai (1977:46) etc. have indicated the existence of Venda dialects such as Tshiilafuri, Tshironga, Tshimaanḁa, Tshimbedzi, Tshilembethu, Tshiṭavhatsindi, and Tshiṅia, none of them has indicated the existence of Tshiguvhu as a dialect. Only Mathivha (1966:3) and Ralushai (1977:46) have noted the existence of the Vharonga people who are influenced by the Lobedu dialect. These scholars have classified these people under Vharonga and their spoken language as Tshironga. The Vhaguvhu do not speak Tshironga and their language does not even resemble Tshironga. No scholar has ever recorded data on Tshiguvhu and the analysis of the data collected actually represents the first attempt to study Tshiguvhu.

### 1.5 AIM OF THE STUDY

The intention of this study is to show to which extent Tshiguvhu differs from standard Venda. The ultimate aim is to reach a conclusion about the dialectal status of Tshiguvhu. If indeed it qualifies as a dialect of Venda, it should probably be regarded as the only dialect of Venda which has been researched. The conclusion will be based on an investigation of the structure of Tshiguvhu nouns, pronouns (basic, compound and copulative), verbs, conjugations of the verb, ideophones, interjections, conjunctions and interrogatives. These word categories have been compared with their Venda counterparts where deemed necessary. The structure of copulatives has not been investigated since most of the attention will be focused on the structure of the verb and the noun. The influences of the languages and dialects of adjoining areas will also be examined.

There is sufficient evidence of differences in phonetics, phonology and vocabulary between Tshiguvhu and Venda. An investigation of these grammatical aspects is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Likewise, intonation (tone) has not been included in this study. Nevertheless, there are indications of tonological differences between Tshiguvhu and standard Venda.

### 1.6 FIELD RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

A Nagra (Kudelski) IV-S model tape-recorder and a carefully-designed questionnaire were used to collect data from four informants at Hamashamba at different visits paid in 1991, 1992 and 1993. The ages of the informants ranged from 66 years to 93 years. They were



Mr William Sinagana Mugwena, Mrs Mafhungo Mashamba, Mr Phineas Maṭamba Mulaudzi and Mrs Mudzhadzi Mbedzi. Only the men amongst these informants were literate. Before the actual interview the informants were requested to give a spontaneous narrative which was also recorded.

The questionnaire covered all the word categories mentioned in 1.4 and also included a list of postulated stems and roots taken from Meinhof (1932) and Bourquin (1969). The corresponding forms of these items in Venda were presented to the informants and the Tshiguvhu reflexes noted. The questionnaire also made provision for Northern Sotho data as the influence of Northern Sotho dialects on Tshiguvhu had been anticipated.

Informants were requested to give Tshiguvhu responses to the items on the questionnaire. These were then recorded on magnetic tape and transcribed. The informants tended to reject any Northern Sotho examples presented to them, although in many cases their speech revealed many examples of Northern Sotho influence, simultaneously indicating that they understood the Venda examples better than the Northern Sotho examples.

After the recording phase, the research material was analysed morphologically and Tshiguvhu noun prefixes, roots, concords, adjectival stems, pronominal concords, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, and verbal forms were compared with standard Venda in order to identify morphological deviations.

#### 1.7 SUGGESTED PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY OF TSHIGUVHU

The suggested Tshiguvhu practical orthography below has been based on the standard Venda orthography, which in

turn is based on the Meinhof - Lepsius system.

### 1.7.1 TSHIGUVHU VOWELS

Like standard Tshivenda, Tshiguvhu is characterised by a five vowel system namely a, e, i, o and u. Although there is a difference in pronunciation between the closed and open variants of the vowels e and o, these differences are not indicated in writing.

### 1.7.2 TSHIGUVHU CONSONANTS

The practical orthography of Tshiguvhu is characterised by the following:

- (a) vhy is employed for [βz] as found in lexical items such as vhyogo (brain) vhyanyi (grass) etc.
- (b) fhy is employed for [fs] as found in lexical items such as fhyeya [ϕjɛja] (fear).
- (c) [mbj] should be written mmbw, e.g. mmbwa (dog).
- (d) d is employed to signify the voiced alveolar rather than alveolar retroflexive flap, for example -dia (beat) in Tshiguvhu and -dia (copulate) in Tshivenda.
- (e) ḷ is employed to signify the voiced dental lateral liquid rather than alveolar lateral liquid, e.g. ḷiivha (dove)
- (f) ts is employed to represent both the ejected and the aspirated form of this alveolar affricate. As far as ts is concerned ejection and aspiration are not distinctive in Tshiguvhu. For example, ts as an ejected consonant in Tshiguvhu: kutsimu (small field). ts as an aspirated consonant in Tshiguvhu: tsimu (field).
- (g) tsh is employed to represent only the aspirated prepalatal affricate. For example, matshila (dirty).

- (h) tsw is employed to represent the aspirated labio-alveolar affricate, for example:  $\underset{\wedge}{l}$ itswifhi  
(darkness)

Diacritics are used to distinguish dental consonants from the alveolar equivalents in the following list:

#### Tshivenḁa

- d : is a voiced alveolar plosive
- t : is an ejective alveolar plosive
- th: is an aspirated alveolar plosive
- n : is a voiced alveolar nasal
- l : is a voiced alveolar tap sound
- l : is a voiced alveolar lateral liquid
- $\underset{\wedge}{l}$  : is a voiced dental lateral liquid
- $\underset{\wedge}{d}$  : is a voiced dental plosive
- $\underset{\wedge}{t}$  : is a voiceless dental plosive
- $\underset{\wedge}{th}$ : is an aspirated dental plosive
- $\underset{\wedge}{n}$  : is a voiced dental nasal

#### Tshiguvhu

- d : is a voiced alveolar plosive
- t : is an ejective alveolar plosive
- th: is an aspirated alveolar plosive
- n : is a voiced alveolar nasal
- l : is a voiced alveolar tap sound
- $\underset{\wedge}{l}$  : is voiced dental lateral liquid
- $\underset{\wedge}{d}$  : is a voiced dental plosive
- $\underset{\wedge}{t}$  : is a voiceless dental plosive
- $\underset{\wedge}{th}$ : is an aspirated dental plosive

Apart, from the dental consonants and alveolar consonants in the lists nn is used in Tshiguvhu. The use of velars  $\underset{\wedge}{n}$  and  $\underset{\wedge}{nn}$  and alveolar n and nn should be noted. The letters c, j, and q are not employed in

Tshiguvhu as in Tshivenda. Tshivenda pf, zh, dy and pw do not occur at all in Tshiguvhu. The absence of these consonants in Tshiguvhu might have occurred as a result of the influence of Northern Sotho dialects.

Tshiguvhu consonants may be presented in table form as follows:

TABLE OF TSHIGUVHU CONSONANTS IN THE TSHIGUVHU ORTHOGRAPHY

	B I L A B I A L	D E N T I A - L	D E N T I A L	L A B V E O L A R	A L V E O L A R	P R E - T A L	P A A B L I A A L	P A A B L I A A L	L V E B L I A O R	V E L A R	G L O T T A L
<b>PLOSIVE</b>											
ejective	p		t <sup>h</sup>		t		pw	ty		k	
aspirated	ph		th <sup>h</sup>		th		phw		khw	kh	
voiced	b		d <sup>h</sup>		d		bw			g	
<b>AFFRICATIVES</b>											
ejected					ts						
aspirated				tsw	ts	tsh					
voiced		bv		dzw	dz	dzh					
<b>FRICATIVES</b>											
voiceless	fh	f		sw	s	sh	fhy			x	h
voiced	vh			zw	z		vhy				
<b>NASAL</b>											
non-syllabic	m				n					ṁ	
<b>LIQUID</b>											
lateral			l <sup>h</sup>		l						
trill					r						
<b>SEMI-VOWEL</b>							y	w			

N.B. Examples of ejected or aspirated consonants are quoted in 1.6.2. (e).

## 1.8 MORPHOLOGY

The term morphology has been interpreted by various scholars as the study of the internal structure of words. The main emphasis is on meaningful sequences of sounds, and how these sequences are arranged to form grammatical units (morphemes) and how combinations of these form words. According to Gleason (1965:53) these meaningful sequences of sounds of which words are composed are also termed minimal grammatical units. Nida (1949:1) reiterates this by saying: "Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words." These grammatical units are minimal because they are indivisible into other smaller meaningful units. These constituent elements known as morphemes are combined to build words.

Although Lombard et al. (1985:16) concur with Nida by saying that "Morphology is that discipline of the science of language which analyses the structure of polymorphemic words," they do not mention whether all these morphemes carry lexical meaning. Poulos (1990:152) however, points out that concordial morphemes, such as subject concords for example, do not have lexical meaning, as opposed to roots which do. His view is based on examples of concordial morphemes, such as, for example, li of class 5 which does not carry lexical meaning. All concordial morphemes are merely agreement markers and, as such, perform a grammatical function. A root such as -rem- (chop) on the other hand, has a lexical meaning because it carries the meaning of 'chop'. The matter of lexical meaning versus grammatical meaning will not receive much attention in this study, although it had to be considered when conducting the analysis of the structure of Tshiguvhu words.

A morpheme is the smallest functioning unit of grammar which carries meaning, e.g. {mu-} and {-eni} for mueni (visitor). {mu-} and {-eni} are minimal meaningful units. According to Nida (1949:1) these minimal meaningful units should be capable of constituting words or parts of words. In addition to this Van Wyk (1962:9) says, "... morfeme kan gedefiniseer word as die kleinste taalsimbole in 'n taalkode, dit wil sê taalsimbole wat nie in verdere taalsimbole opgedeel kan word nie."

Two types of morphemes are generally recognised, namely roots and affixes. The latter may be divided into three sub-types namely prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Infixes do not occur in any southern Bantu language and in this sense Tshiguvhu is no exception.

#### 1.8.1 APPROACH

The morphological analysis of the data collected on Tshiguvhu is based on the approach of Poulos (1990) and Poulos and Louwrens (1994). Lombard et al. (1985) have also been consulted in cases where an additional source on Northern Sotho was required.

#### 1.8.2 THE ROOT MORPHEME

A root can be defined generally as that word aspect which constitutes the basic core of words, in other words it is that word aspect which repeats itself regularly in a series of words which display a common semantic aspect e.g. -nna and -ana which carry the semantic implications "man" and "child" in both standard Venda and Tshiguvhu, as in the following words:

**-nna**

vhanna (men)

zwinna (little men)

tshinna (little thin man) (in standard Venda only)

sinna (little thin man) (in Tshiguvhu only)

kunna (little man)

lunna (little thin man) (in standard Venda only)

**-ana**

ñwana (child)

vhana (children)

kwana (little child) (in standard Venda only)

zwana (little children) (in standard Venda only)

In addition to this Robins (1980:158) defines a root as follows: "...the root being that part of a word structure which is left when all affixes have been removed. Root morphemes may be bound or free..." Thus, free root morphemes may constitute a word on their own without the assistance of affixes. Bound root morphemes require the assistance of affixes in order to express the full meaning of a word. Bloomfield (1970:240) endorses Robinson's view when he says, "The remaining part of the primary word is called the root... In accordance with this terminology primary words that do not contain any affix-like constituents, are classed as primary root words."

Robins and Bloomfield agree that roots are the basic core of words.

Some root morphemes in the Bantu languages are free whereas a great number are bound. If a root is regarded as a free morpheme, it should constitute a word on its own without the assistance of affixes. Compare the



following standard Venda and Tshiguvhu examples of roots as free morphemes:

thavha (mountain) in both standard Venda and Tshiguvhu  
 bi! (falling down) in both standard Venda and Tshiguvhu  
 guvho (blanket) in Tshiguvhu

When "nguvho" in Venda and "guvho" (blanket) in Tshiguvhu are considered the following transpires: In standard Venda a prefix {n-} occurs, whereas there is no prefix in Tshiguvhu. This has the implication that the root morpheme {-guvho} is a bound morpheme in standard Venda, but a free morpheme in Tshiguvhu.

Sometimes a root must appear with one or more affixes in order to express the full meaning of a word e.g. mushumo (work) in both standard Venda and Tshiguvhu, where the root {-shum-} may require both prefix and suffix in order to express the full meaning of word. This type of root is known as a bound root morpheme. Other examples of bound root morphemes are as follows:

musibili (walker) in Tshiguvhu: The root {-sibil<sub>l</sub>-} requires both a prefix and a suffix in order to express the full meaning of the word. mutshimbili (walker) in standard Venda: The root {-tshimbil-} also requires both a prefix and a suffix like the root {-sibil<sub>l</sub>-} in Tshiguvhu.

From these examples it is apparent that the smallest element of which a linguistic word can consist is a root.

### X 1.8.3 AFFIXES

Lombard et al. (1985:22) state that affixal morphemes are affixed to roots. According to this definition, these morphemes seem to be bound morphemes which are added to the roots or stems of words. Accordingly, Robins (1980:158) defines affixes as "...bound morphemes; they are limited in number, though their numbers vary from language to language, and they may be exhaustively listed."

Although affixes are limited in number, they are the most important morphological device in the Bantu languages because these languages are of the agglutinating type.

The most common types of affix which occur are prefixes and suffixes.

#### 1.8.3.1 PREFIXAL MORPHEMES

As has been mentioned in 1.8.2, prefixal morphemes (also referred to as prefixes) are bound morphemes which are placed before roots or stems. Compare their occurrence in examples such as the following:

Tshivenda	and	Tshiguvhu	:	muthu (person)	prefixal
				morpheme	{mu-}
Tshiguvhu	:			sigolo (school)	prefixal
				morpheme	{si-}
Tshivenda	:			tshikolo (school)	prefixal
				morpheme	{tshi-}
Tshivenda	and	Tshiguvhu:		kushumo (little work)	
				prefixal morpheme	{ku-}
Tshivenda:				vha tshimbila (they walk)	
				prefixal morpheme	{vha-}

Tshiguvhu: vha sibiḷa (they walk)  
 prefixal morpheme {vha-}

The example *muthu* in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda is formed by the prefixal morpheme {mu-} and the root {-thu}. Poulos (1990:154) suggests that this type of stem should be regarded as a root because it carries the basic meaning of the noun.

### 1.8.3.2 SUFFIXAL MORPHEMES

Suffixal morphemes are also bound morphemes and these occur after roots as in the following examples:

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -vhona (see), root morpheme  
 {-vhon-}; suffixal morpheme  
 {-a}

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -gidima (run), root morpheme  
 {-gidim-}; suffixal morpheme  
 {-a}

Of course there is a great variety of suffixes in Tshiguvhu and these will be treated in detail in a subsequent chapter.

### 1.8.3.3 STEMS

According to Poulos (1990:153) a verb stem is formed by a verb root plus a final suffixal morpheme, for example:

Tshiguvhu: -shuma (work) < -shum- + -a

Tshivenda: -fhaṭa (build) < -fhaṭ- + -a

Tshiguvhu: -shumisa (cause to work) < -shum- + -is- +  
 -a

Tshivenda: -fhatisa (cause to build) < -fhat<sub>α</sub>- + -is- +  
-a

According to Lombard et al. (1985:24) a word may be considered to have a stem if it has a suffixal morpheme. If there is no suffixal morpheme in the part of the word which is attached to the prefix, the latter part should be called a root and not a stem, e.g.

Tshiguvhu: muthu (person) < mu- + -thu: {-thu} is a  
root morpheme

Tshivenda: muthu (person) < mu- + -thu: {-thu} is a  
root morpheme

Tshiguvhu: muri (tree) < mu- + -ri: {-ri} is a root  
morpheme

Tshivenda: muri (tree) < mu- + -ri: {-ri} is a root  
morpheme

If the suffixal morpheme {-ana} is added to the noun muthu the root morpheme {-thu} becomes a stem {-thwana}.

#### 1.8.3.4 EXTENDED ROOT

Extended roots consist of a root plus an extension. This extension should occur between the verbal root and the ending. According to Poulos (1990:169) the incorporation of an extension into the verb root modifies the meaning of the basic verb root. The following are examples of extended verbal roots in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda:

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -rumana (send each other)  
< - rum- + -an- (extended root)

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -remisa (cause to chop)  
 < - rem- + -is- (extended root)

#### 1.8.4 VARIANTS OF WORD ASPECTS (ALLOMORPHS)

Morphs are phonological realisations of morphemes. According to Robins (1980:156) some morphemes retain their shape, always being realised in the same way. These morphemes are known as morphs. If more than one shape results from one morph then these are referred to as allomorphs, e.g.

##### Morphs

Tshiguvhu: ithuda (to teach oneself); reflexive prefix  
 i- is a morph /i-/ of a morpheme {i-}

Tshivenda: difunza (to teach oneself); reflexive prefix  
 di- is a morph /di-/ of a morpheme {di-}

##### Allomorphs

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -ruma (to send); the root  
 morpheme {-rum-} has the  
 allomorphs /-rum-/ as in  
 -ruma and /-thum-/ as in  
 thumo. Tshivenda also has an  
 additional allomorph /-ruñ-/  
 of the root morpheme {-rum-}  
 as is evident in -ruñwa.

# CHAPTER 2

## NOUN CLASSES

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter mainly deals with the morphs and allomorphs of the noun class prefixes of Tshiguvhu. The basic nouns, deverbative nouns, qualificative nouns, relative nouns, diminutive nouns and augmentative nouns will also be examined. These nouns are analysed in terms of the structural elements identified in Poulos (1990), Poulos and Louwrens (1994) and Lombard et al. (1985).

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that adjectival nouns and nominal relative nouns are qualificative in nature. On the other hand, the approach as suggested by the title is a morphological one and for that reason, it is decided to group the nominal structures together in this chapter.

As a result of unmistakeable influences from Northern Sotho, and more specifically Lobedu and Tlokwa, references will, from time to time, be made in order to highlight these influences.

Accepted morphology conventions are used in the representation of morphemes, morphs and allomorphs. It was decided, having readability in mind, not to enclose morphemes in braces or slashes when allomorphic variation is not the focus of the discussion. In such cases morphemes will be represented in boldface.

The following is a table of the noun classes of

Tshivenda and Tshiguvhu upon which the analysis will be based:

	Tshivenda	Tshiguvhu
CLASS	PREFIX	PREFIX
1	mu-	mu-
1(a)	∅-	∅-
2	vha-	vha-
2(b)	vho-	vho-
3	mu-	mu-
4	mi-	mi-
5	li-	li-
6	ma-	ma-
7	tshi-	si-
8	zwi-	zwi-
9	*N-	*N-
10	dzi*N-	li*N-
11	lu-	-
14	vhu-	vhu-
15	u-	u-
16	fha-	fha-
17	ku-	ku-
18	mu-	mu-
20	ku-	ku-
21	di-	-

N.B. The noun prefix \*N- is often omitted.

## 2.2 NOUN CLASSES

The structure of each pair of noun prefixes and their allomorphs is discussed in the following paragraphs. The singular and plural forms, where applicable, will be discussed together.

N.B. The class prefix lu- of class 11 does not occur in





muhwira (masked male dancer)	< mu- + -hwira pl. vhahwira
mueni (visitor)	< mu- + -eni pl. vhaeni
muthu (person)	< mu- + -thu pl. vhathu

The following Tshiguvhu examples reveal Northern Sotho influence:

Munyi (owner) (Lobedu monye), cf Tshivenda, mune.  
Nwaninyana (a girl) for nwananyana in Tshivenda  
(ngwanenyana in Northern Sotho).

If the prefix mu- of class 1 is followed by a nominal stem starting with vh- it gives rise firstly to vowel elision and then to complete progressive consonant assimilation e.g. mu- + -vh > mvh > mm. According to Mokgokong (1966:108) this also occurs in most Northern Sotho dialects including Tlokwa, but with the exception of Lobedu, Phalaborwa, Khaga and Dzwabo. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: mmusi < m- + -musi (mu- + -vhusi) (governor)
N. Sotho: mmu <sup>v</sup> si
Tshiguvhu: mmu <sup>l</sup> ai < m- + -mu <sup>l</sup> ai (mu- + -vhu <sup>l</sup> ai) (killer)
N. Sotho: mmolai
Tshiguvhu: mme <sup>q</sup> i < m- + -me <sup>q</sup> i (mu- + -vhe <sup>q</sup> i) (carpenter)
N. Sotho: mmetli

Looking into these examples one can see to which extent Tshiguvhu has been influenced by this typical Northern Sotho sound rule.

Complete progressive consonant assimilation does not

occur in Tshivenḁa when nouns of class 1 are formed as in Tshiguvhu. The Tshiguvhu examples above have the

following Tshivenḁa counterparts:

muvhusi < mu- + -vhusi (governor)  
 muvhulai < mu- + -vhulai (killer)  
 muvhaḁi < mu- + -vhaḁi (carpenter)

Tshiguvhu, like Tshivenḁa, has /ḁw-/ as an allomorph prefix of class 1. This allomorph prefix occurs before stems which commence with a vowel, e.g.

ḁwana (child) < ḁw- + -ana                      pl. vhana  
 ḁwali (God) < mu- + -ali                      no plural exists

The noun ḁwali is rarely used in Tshiguvhu.

The allomorph also occurs before roots starting with the vowel e, for example:

ḁwedzhi (bridegroom)                      < ḁw- + -edzhi

Morphologically, this noun belongs to class 1 (ḁw-), but it has been relocated to class 9/10. This is proven by the use of the concords of class 9/10 which agree with this noun.

As is the case with Tshivenḁa, the contracted form m- of class 1 also occurs in Tshiguvhu. Only a few nouns in Tshiguvhu take this contracted form. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: mphego (madman) < m- + -phego

The variant prefixes mu-, m- and ḁw- should be

regarded as allomorphs /mu-/, /m-/ and /ñw-/ of the prefix {mu-}. Also, as far as class 2 is concerned, /vha-/ is the morph of the prefix {vha-}.

### 2.2.1.1 CLASSES 1(a) AND 2(b)

The prefixes involved here are class 1(a)  $\emptyset$ - and class 2(b) vho-. Class 1(a) has no overt prefix but uses the same concord as class 1. The two classes are regarded as sub-classes of classes 1 and 2. Compare the following:

#### (a) Proper names

Masidi	< $\emptyset$ - + -Masidi	pl.vhoMasidi
Lathani	< $\emptyset$ - + -Latha- + -ni	pl.vhoLathani
Madumi	< $\emptyset$ - + -Madumi	pl.vhoMadumi
Takhalani	< $\emptyset$ - + -Takhalā- + -ni	pl.vhoTakhalani

In class 1(a), proper nouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are formed by the variant prefix  $\emptyset$ - and a noun stem, e.g: Masidi and Masindi. As in Tshivenda and Tshiguvhu, the imperative suffix -ni also plays an important role in forming proper nouns in Lobedu and Tlokwa (Mokgokong, 1966:81). Compare the following proper names:

Tlokwa/ Lobedu: [ romane ]

Tlokwa/ Lobedu: [ βɔnane ]

In the formation of plurals, the allomorph prefix / $\emptyset$ -/ is replaced by the allomorph prefix /vho-/, e.g: vhoMadumi and vhoMaemu.

(b) Also included in classes 1a and 2b are nouns which

are used to express kinship, e.g:

gugu (grandmother)	< Ø- + -gugu	pl. vhogugu
baba (father)	< Ø- + -baba	pl. vhubaba
mma (mother)	< Ø- + -mma	pl. vhomma
malumi (uncle)	< Ø- + -malumi	pl. vhomalumi

The examples gugu, mma and malumi in Tshiguvhu resemble koko, mma and malome in Northern Sotho respectively.

(i) Nouns with miscellaneous significances

In classes 1(a) and 2(b) the personal nouns differ from those mentioned before in 2.2.1.1 (a) and (b) in as much as animal names, which feature prominently in folktales, are personified. Compare:

rakhwevho (business man)	< ra- + -khwevho	pl. vhorakhwevho
muzhou (mr elephant)	< Ø- + -muzho	pl. vhomuzhou
mabalane (clerk)	< Ø- + -mabalane	pl. vhomabalane
ramphashane (sandal)	< ra- + -mphashane	pl. vhoramphashane

The examples rakhwevho and ramphashane in Tshiguvhu are typical Northern Sotho nouns, particularly characteristic of Lobedu and Tlokwa. Personification in Tshivenda is always associated with the expression of respect and this also occurs, in Tshiguvhu. Compare the following sentences:

Tshiguvhu: Vho-Dau vha a sibila (Mr Dau walks)

Tshivenda: Vho-Ndau vha a tshimbila

In similar fashion to Tshivenḁa, some nouns in Tshiguvhu in classes 1(a) and 2(b) incorporate prefixes with specific meanings. Such prefixes in Tshiguvhu are as follows:

/ma-/: this prefix, like /nya-/ in Tshivenḁa, indicates 'mother of', for example:

Mamasidi	(mother of Masidi)	< ma- + -masidi
		pl. VhoMamasidi
Maphasha	(mother of Phasha)	< ma- + -phasha
		pl. VhoMaphasha
Masiḁagana	(mother of Siḁagana)	< ma- + -siḁagana
		pl. VhoMasiḁagana

The prefix /ma-/ is prolific in Northern Sotho. Its presence in Tshiguvhu must be ascribed to influence from that source. In Tshiguvhu the use of the prefix /ma-/ may be realised in names which are formed with the aim of indicating some action that can be considered to be out of the ordinary.

Compare the following examples:

Tshiguvhu

Mamusibili	(one who always prefers walking)	
Mamusibili	< ma- + -musibili	pl. vhomamusibili
Mavhulaise	(one who causes others to be ill-treated)	
Mavhulaise	< ma- + -vhulaise	pl. vhomavhulaise

Tshivenḁa

Mavhulaise	(one who causes others to be ill-treated)	
Mavhulaise	< ma- + -vhulaise	pl. vhomavhulaise

Ra-: this prefix occurs in Tshiguvhu as well as in Tshivenda. It indicates 'father of' and is prefixed to proper nouns. Compare the following examples:

Tshiguvhu

Ramalebe (surname)	< Ra- + -malebe	pl. vhoRamalebe
Ravhura (surname)	< Ra- + -vhura	pl. vhoRavhura
Rabau (surname)	< Ra- + -bau	pl. vhoRabau

Ra- of Tshiguvhu is the equivalent of Venda ne-. It indicates 'the master of' and it is only prefixed to the nouns of class 1 and 3, for example:

Tshiguvhu

ramudzi (the master of the household) < ra- + -mudzi

Tshivenda

nemuḍi (the master of the household)

< ne- + -muḍi

Nemaṭhoṭhwe (the master of Maṭhoṭhwe village)

< ne- + -Maṭhoṭhwe

Nouns in class 2(b) may also be used to express respect towards a single individual both in Tshiguvhu and in Tshivenda:

Tshiguvhu

Vhogugu vha ḍile (Grandmother has come)

Vhomaḷumi vha ḍo ḍa (The uncles will come)

## Tshivenḁa

Vhomakhulu vho ḁa (Grandmother has come)

Vhomalume vha ḁo ḁa (The uncles will come)

The { $\emptyset$ -} morpheme prefix in class 1a has the suppletive forms / $\emptyset$ -/, /ra-/ and /ma-/ in Tshiguvhu while in Tshivenḁa it has / $\emptyset$ -/, /ne-/, /ra-/ and /nya-/ as suppletive forms. However, these suppletive forms are not the result of sound changes. They are special morphemes with specific semantic connotations. The {vho-} morpheme prefix in class 2b has /vho-/ as a morph.

## 2.2.2 CLASSES 3 AND 4

These noun classes have mu- (singular) and mi- (plural) as prefixes. These class prefixes display the same structural characteristics in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa.

(a) The prefix mu- of class 3 has the following allomorphs:

(i) /mu-/

As in Tshivenḁa this allomorph is followed by all other roots or stems, as is illustrated by the following examples:

muḁoḁo	(back bone)	< mu- + -ḁoḁo
muḁana	(back of the bone)	< mu- + -ḁana
mukhuvhu	(navel)	< mu- + -khuvhu

## (ii) /m-/

As in class 1, when the prefix *mu-* of class 3 is followed by a nominal stem starting with *-vh*, it first gives rise to vowel elision and then to complete progressive consonant assimilation e.g. *mu-* + *-vh* > *mvh* > *mm*. The following are Tshiguvhu examples:

*mmuḁa* < *m-* + *-muḁa* (*mu-* + *-vhuḁa*) (hare)  
*mmuso* < *m-* + *-muso* (*mu-* + *-vhuso*) (government)  
*mmudu* < *m-* + *-mudu* (*mu-* + *-vhuḁu*) (village or hill)

Complete progressive consonant assimilation and vowel elision do not occur in Tshivenda when nouns of class 3 are formed as in Tshiguvhu. The given examples in Tshiguvhu have the following counterparts in Tshivenda:

*muḁa* < *mu-* + *-vhuḁa* (hare)  
*muḁu* < *mu-* + *-vhuḁu* (village or hill)  
*muso* < *mu-* + *-vhuso* (government)

The allomorph /m-/ also occurs in Tshiguvhu when the initial consonant of the root is *ph*. Compare the following:

*mphaga* < *m-* + *-phaga* (*mu-* + *-fhaga*) (knife)

On the other hand, this allomorph can also occur in Tshivenda when the initial consonant of the root is *p*. Compare the following:

*mpambo* < *m-* + *-pambo* (beer made out of *mufhoho*)  
 (*mu-* + *-pambo*)  
*mpale* < *m-* + *-pale* (slices of pumpkin)  
 (*mu-* + *-pale*)



(iii) /*ñw-*/

The prefix *mu-* in Tshiguvhu also has a variant *ñw-* which appears before stems commencing with a vowel, as is found in the example *ñwaha* (year). This noun is formed by *ñw-* followed by the noun stem *-aha*. In the plural, the plural prefix *mi-* is prefixed to the variant form *ñw-* e.g. *miñwaha*, resulting in the noun having two prefixes. These types of noun are not as prolific in Tshiguvhu as in standard Venda. The following examples from Tshivenda further illustrate this phenomenon:

<i>ñwongo</i> (bone marrow)	pl. <i>miñwongo</i>
<i>ñwenda</i> (cloth, worn by women)	<i>miñwenda</i>

(b) The prefix *mi-* of class 4 realises as the morph */mi-/* as in the following examples:

*miṭoḍo* < *mi-* + *-ṭoḍo* (back bones)  
*miñwaha* < *mi-* + *-ñwaha* (years)  
*miphaga* < *mi-* + *-phaga* (knives)

The juxtaposition of the plural prefix *mi-* to the prefix *mu-* can also be seen in the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

Tshiguvhu

*moya* (wind, air) pl. *mimoya* < *mi-* + *-moya*

The variant prefixes *mu-*, *m-* and *ñw-* should be regarded as the allomorphs */mu-/*, */m-/* and */ñw-/* of the prefix {*mu-*}. Also, as far as class 4 is concerned, */mi-/* is the morph of the prefix {*mi-*}.

## 2.2.3 CLASSES 5 AND 6

In the discussion that follows it will become apparent that Tshiguvhu and standard Venda are very similar as far as the structure of the nouns found in these classes is concerned. There are, however, nouns which are found in these classes in standard Venda which are not found in the same classes in Tshiguvhu, and vice versa. It has come to light, for instance, that some augmentative nouns which are found in class 21 in standard Venda have been channelled to class 5 in Tshiguvhu because class 21 does not exist in Tshiguvhu.

Unlike standard Venda in which the class prefix of class 5 has three forms, viz. a zero prefix, indicated by / $\emptyset$ -/, /I-/ and the morph / $\underset{\wedge}{l}i$ -/, the class prefix of class 5 only appears as / $\emptyset$ -/ and / $\underset{\wedge}{l}i$ -/ in Tshiguvhu. The prefix of class 5 is sometimes not elided in Tshiguvhu when its counterpart in standard Venda is elided. Compare the following examples:

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
$\underset{\wedge}{l}i\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a$ (fool)	< $\underset{\wedge}{l}i$ - + - $\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a$	$\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a\underset{\wedge}{d}a\underset{\wedge}{b}a$
$\underset{\wedge}{l}i\underset{\wedge}{f}h\underset{\wedge}{y}e\underset{\wedge}{a}$ (coward)	< $\underset{\wedge}{l}i$ - + - $\underset{\wedge}{f}h\underset{\wedge}{y}e\underset{\wedge}{a}$	$\underset{\wedge}{g}o\underset{\wedge}{s}w\underset{\wedge}{i}$
$\underset{\wedge}{l}i\underset{\wedge}{t}sw\underset{\wedge}{o}k\underset{\wedge}{u}$ (blind person)	< $\underset{\wedge}{l}i$ - + - $\underset{\wedge}{t}sw\underset{\wedge}{o}k\underset{\wedge}{u}$	$\underset{\wedge}{b}o\underset{\wedge}{f}u$

(a) / $\emptyset$ -/

Poulos (1990:25) has suggested that those nouns in Tshivenda which show no apparent prefix, in a linguistic analysis should be regarded as having a zero prefix ( $\emptyset$ -). Nouns which have / $\emptyset$ -/ as a prefix are scarce in Tshiguvhu. Compare the following examples:

## Tshiguvhu

$\underset{\wedge}{l}aba$  (court-yard) <  $\emptyset-$  +  $-\underset{\wedge}{l}aba$  pl.  $ma\underset{\wedge}{l}aba$   
 $\underset{\wedge}{l}wa\underset{\wedge}{l}a$  (grinding stone) <  $\emptyset-$  +  $-\underset{\wedge}{l}wa\underset{\wedge}{l}a$   $ma\underset{\wedge}{l}wa\underset{\wedge}{l}a$

## Tshivenda

$gopwa$  (armpit) <  $\emptyset-$  +  $-gopwa$  pl.  $magopwa$   
 $tombo$  (stone) <  $\emptyset-$  +  $-tombo$   $matombo$   
 $\underset{\wedge}{d}uvha$  (sun) <  $\emptyset-$  +  $-\underset{\wedge}{d}uvha$   $ma\underset{\wedge}{d}uvha$

## (b) /I-/

The allomorph prefix /I-/ of Tshivenda causes the singular and plural forms of nouns to differ. According to Poulos (1990 :25) this change of form occurs in the initial consonant of the noun. Compare:

## Tshivenda

$gumba$  (egg) < I- +  $-kumba$  pl.  $makumba$   
 $dzembe$  (hoe) < I- +  $-lembe$   $malembe$   
 $bako$  (cave) < I- +  $-pako$   $mapako$

In the examples above, the initial consonant alternates between singular and plural, viz. g-k; dz-l; b-p respectively. This alternation does not occur in Tshiguvhu because the allomorph prefix /I-/ is absent in it.

(c) The prefix {ma-} of class 6 has the following allomorphs in Tshiguvhu: /ma-/ and /m-/ while the morpheme prefix {ma-} in Tshivenda has only /ma-/ as a morph. Compare:

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
marama (cheeks)	< ma- + -rama	marama
marabo (bones)	< ma- + -rabo	marambo
mamina (nasal mucus)	< ma- + -mina	maduda

The allomorph /m-/ is found in Tshiguvhu but not in Tshivenda. According to Lombard et al. (1985:41) this allomorph occurs before roots which are underived but which begin with the vowels i or e. The examples are as follows:

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
meedzi (water)	< m- + -eedzi	maḏi
meno (teeth)	< m- + -eno	mano

In Tshivenda augmentatives belong to class 21 which uses the prefix ḏi-. However, this prefix may also be omitted in some instances. In Tshiguvhu there is no class 21, and augmentative nouns are found in class 5. The use of li- of class 5 for the expression of excessive size is limited and only a few augmentative nouns are found in class 5. In this class the augmentative suffix is not used to form augmentative nouns. Compare the following examples:

liḷo (ogre, monster)	< li- + -ḷo
	pl.malo
liada (big, clumsy hand)	< li- + -ada
	maada
ligwada (large clod, flat on one side overtured by plough)	< li- + -gwada
	magwada

Certain class 5 nouns in Tshiguvhu, including some deverbatives nouns, have counterparts in class 11 in

Tshivenda. This can be ascribed to influence from Northern Sotho because there are numerous nouns in Northern Sotho which have previously belonged to class 11 but which have been absorbed by class 5. In Tshiguvhu the following nouns illustrate this fact:

Tshiguvhu	Tshivenda
liabo (language)	luambo
lina <sub>l</sub> ala (nail, claw)	lu <sub>l</sub> ala
thada (stick)	lutanda
linyadzho (despise)	lunyadzo

A number of class 5 nouns which previously belonged to class 11 use either the prefix of class 8 or the prefix of class 14 in the plural in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. (The plurals of these class 5 nouns are usually in class 6.)

Tshiguvhu: lidzhadzhaha (hooded weaver-finch)	
pl. zwidzhadzhaha (class 8)	
Tshivenda: lunzhaanzhaa (hooded weaver-finch)	
pl. vhunzhaanzhaa (class 14)	
Tshiguvhu: lianakha (a type of shrub)	
pl. zwianakha (class 8)	
Tshivenda: luanakha (a type of shrub)	
pl. vhuanakha (class 14)	

The prefix {li-} in Tshivenda has the allomorphs / $\emptyset$ -/, /I-/ and /li-/ whereas in Tshiguvhu the prefix {li-} has / $\emptyset$ -/ and /li-/ allomorphs. The prefix {ma-} in Tshiguvhu has the allomorphs /m-/ and /ma-/ whereas in Tshivenda the morpheme prefix {ma-} has the morph /ma-/ only.

## 2.2.4. CLASSES 7 AND 8

Despite the strong Lobedu influence, the prefix of class 7 is *si-* and not *khe-* as in Lobedu. In Tshivenda the prefix of class 7 is *tshi-*. In both languages the plural prefix is the *zwi-* of class 8.

The nature of the nouns in the classes mentioned above in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda is the same, the only striking feature is the prefix *si-* of Tshiguvhu. It

appears as if it has been influenced by the *se-* of Northern Sotho. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
sit <sub>^</sub> efu (chin)	< si- + -t <sub>^</sub> efu pl. zwi <sub>^</sub> t <sub>^</sub> efu	tshi <sub>^</sub> t <sub>^</sub> efu
sifha <sub>^</sub> tuwo (face)	< si- + -fha <sub>^</sub> tuwo pl. zwifha <sub>^</sub> tuwo	tshifha <sub>^</sub> tuwo
sivhugu (worm)	< si- + -vhugu pl. zwivhugu	tshivhugu

There are also a few nouns in these classes which denote diminution, sometimes with a derogatory meaning. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

sinna (little man)	< si- + -nna pl. zwinna
sinnyana (little girl)	< si- + -n- + -nyana pl. zwinnyana
sibudzhani (little goat)	< si- + -budzh- + -ani pl. zwibudzhani

## Tshivenḁa

tshinna (little man)  
 tshisidzana (little girl)  
 tshibudzana (little goat)

In the examples sinna/tshinna only the prefixes si-/tshi- have been employed to denote diminution with derogatory meaning. The prefixes si-/tshi- of sinnyana /tshisidzana and of sibudzhani /tshibudzana have been employed to denote diminution without derogatory meaning.

## (a) Variants of the prefixes of classes 7 and 8

The prefix {si-} in Tshiguvhu has /si-/ as a morph while the prefix {tshi-} in Tshivenḁa has /tshi-/ and /tsh-/ as allomorphs. The allomorph /tsh-/ in Tshivenḁa occurs before roots or stems starting with a vowel. Compare:

## (i) /si-/ (Tshiguvhu)

sihwahwa (frog) < si- + -hwahwa  
 sikunwe (toe) < si- + -kunwe

## (ii) /tshi-/ (Tshivenḁa)

tshiḁula (frog) < tshi- + -ḁula  
 tshikunwe (toe) < tshi- + -kunwe

## (iii) /tsh-/ (Tshivenḁa)

tshalo (grave yard) < tsh- + -alo  
 tshanda (hand) < tsh- + -anda

(b) The variants /zwi-/ and /zw-/

/zwi-/ and /zw-/ are the plural allomorphs of /tshi-/ and /tsh-/ respectively in Tshivenda while the plural form of the morph /si-/ in Tshiguvhu is /zwi-/.

### 2.2.5 CLASSES 9 AND 10

The prefixes involved here are class 9 n- and class 10 lin- in Tshiguvhu and class, 9 n- and class 10 dzin- in Tshivenda. The structure of the nouns formed in these

classes is nearly identical in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. This is illustrated by the following examples:

#### Tshiguvhu

khomu (head of cattle)	< $\emptyset$ - + -khomu	pl. likhomu
ngu (sheep)	< n- + -gu	lingu
phuthi (duiker)	< $\emptyset$ - + -phuthi	liphuthi

#### Tshivenda

kholomo (a head of cattle)	< $\emptyset$ - + -kholomo	pl. (dzi)kholomo
nngu (sheep)	< n- + -nggu	pl. (dzi)nngu
ntsa (duiker)	< n- + -ntsa	pl. (dzi)ntsa

(a) The prefix {N-} of class 9 has the following allomorphs:



(i) / $\emptyset$ -/

According to Poulos (1990:25) if no apparent prefix occurs in a noun, such a noun should be classified as having a 'zero' prefix and this can be seen in some Tshiguvhu examples in class 9. This approach of analysing the linguistic structure of nouns in class 9 will be followed. Compare the following:

## Tshiguvhu

t <sub>h</sub> oho (head)	< $\emptyset$ - + -t <sub>h</sub> oho
thavha (mountain)	< $\emptyset$ - + -thavha
khuli (mist)	< $\emptyset$ - + -khuli

## (ii) /m-/

As in the case of Tshivenda this prefix occurs when it precedes monosyllabic noun stems which have an initial labial consonant:

## Tshiguvhu

## Tshivenda

mphwe (ostrich)	< m- + -phwe	mphwe
mbwa (dog)	< m- + -bwa	mmbwa
mbo (tsetse fly)	< m- + -bo	mmbo

## (iii) /n-/ [ŋ]

This morph also occurs when preceded by monosyllabic noun stems which have an initial velar consonant:

## Tshiguvhu

## Tshivenda

ngu (sheep)	< n- + -gu	nngu
ngwe (leopard)	< n- + -gwe	nngwe

## (iv) /n-/ [ṉ]

This allomorph occurs before monosyllabic noun stems which have an initial dental consonant:

Tshiguvhu

Tshivenda

ṉdu (house)

nṉdu (house)

&lt; n- + -ḏu

&lt; n- + -nḏu

ṉthu (berries of mutu)

ṉthu (berries of mutu)

&lt; n- + -ṯhu

&lt; n- + -ṯhu

(v) /N-/ as in the following Tshiguvhu examples:

N + r &gt; th thumo (sending)

cf. -rum- (send)

N + s &gt; ts tsigamo (slanting)

cf. -segam- (slant)

N + s &gt; ts tsego (court)

cf. -seg- (appear in court case)

N + fh &gt; ph phidulo (an answer)

cf. -fhidul- (answer)

N + l &gt; d difho (settlement of a debt)

cf. -lifh- (pay back)

N + a &gt; g gabo (talk)

cf. -ab- (speak)

The effect of /N-/ on the initial consonant or vowel of the verb root is the same in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

Some Tshivenda nouns which come into existence because

of the effect of allomorph prefix /N-/ on the initial consonant or vowel of the verb root are not found in class 9 in Tshiguvhu. Some of these nouns are channelled to class 5 and others to class 15, e.g:

nyimbo (song)	is <u>li</u> bo in Tshiguvhu (class 5 <u>li</u> -)
nyendo (a journey)	is <u>li</u> edo in Tshiguvhu (class 5 <u>li</u> -)
nyofho (fear)	is u fh <u>ye</u> a in Tshiguvhu (class 15 u-)
nyaluwo (growth, growing up)	is u hu <u>la</u> in Tshiguvhu (class 15 u-)
tshando (turn into)	is u <u>ta</u> nu <u>la</u> in Tshiguvhu (class 15 u-)

(b) The prefix {li-} (Tshiguvhu) of class 10 has the following allomorphs:

(i) /li $\emptyset$ -/

likhuba (snails)	< li $\emptyset$ - + -khuba
li <u>na</u> ga (witchdoctors)	< li $\emptyset$ - + - <u>na</u> ga
likhoba (nubile girls)	< li $\emptyset$ - + -khoba

The variant prefix dzi $\emptyset$ - in Tshivenda is the plural of the singular prefix  $\emptyset$ -.

(ii) /lim-/

These allomorphs occur before nominal roots starting with a labial consonant. Compare:

limphwe (ostriches)	< lim- + -phwe
limbwa (dogs)	< lim- + -bwa

The allomorph prefix /dzim-/ is the plural form of the singular prefix /m-/ in Tshivenda.

(iii) /lin-/ [fin] or [fiŋ]

This allomorph occurs before monosyllabic noun stems which have an initial velar or alveolar consonant.

The allomorph prefix /lin-/ is the plural of the singular prefix /n-/ in Tshiguvhu, for example:

linda (lice) < lin- + -da  
 lingu (sheep) < lin- + -gu  
 lingwe (leopards) < lin- + -gwe

The allomorph prefix /dzin-/ is the plural of the singular prefix /n-/.

(iv) /lin-/ [fin]

This allomorph also occurs before monosyllabic stems which have an initial dental consonant.

The allomorph prefix /lin-/ is the plural of the allomorph prefix /n-/ in Tshiguvhu, for example:

linḁu (houses) < lin- + -ḁu  
 linṭhu (berries of mutu) < lin- + -ṭhu

The allomorph prefix /dzin-/ is the plural of the singular prefix /n-/ in Tshivenda.

(v) /liN-/

The variant prefix /liN-/ is the plural of the variant prefix N- in Tshiguvhu, for example:

lithego (price)	< liN- + -reg-
liphidulo (answer)	< liN- + -fhidul-
lidifho (settlements of debts)	< liN- + -lifh-
ligabo (talks)	< liN- + -ab-

In Venda, the variant prefix /dziN-/ is the plural of the singular prefix /N-/.

#### 2.2.6 CLASS 14

The prefix of this class is vhu- in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. Many nouns in this class have neither specific singular nor plural meanings. The nature of nouns in this class is identical in both Tshiguvhu and

Tshivenda. Compare the following:

##### Tshiguvhu

vhubi (flour)	pl.mavhubi
vhu <sub>l</sub> ogo (cattle dung)	pl.ma <sub>l</sub> ogo
vhya <sub>l</sub> wa (beer)	pl.mavhya <sub>l</sub> wa

##### Tshivenda

vhukhopfu (flour)	pl.makhopfu
vhutoko (cattle dung)	pl.matoko
halwa (beer)	pl.mahalwa

It is evident that the Tshiguvhu nouns cited above have links with Northern Sotho:

vhubi is similar to bupi  
 vhu<sub>l</sub>ogo is similar to buloko  
 vhya<sub>l</sub>wa is similar to byalwa

The example vhya<sup>l</sup>wa in Tshiguvhu is formed by the allomorph /vhy-/ and the noun stem /-al<sup>l</sup>wa/ whereas in Tshivenda this example is halwa and it is formed by an allomorph /h-/ and the noun stem /-al<sup>l</sup>wa/. The plurals of these examples are as follows:

Tshiguvhu: mavhya<sup>l</sup>wa

Tshivenda: mahal<sup>l</sup>wa

The examples mavhya<sup>l</sup>wa and mahal<sup>l</sup>wa are formed by juxtaposing the prefix /ma-/ and the singular prefixes /vhy-/ and /h-/.

Certain nouns in this class have no plural in Tshiguvhu, for example:

vhuludu (loneliness)

vhugwa (laziness)

vhudodo (foolishness)

As in the case of Tshivenda, some nouns are formed from other parts of speech or other classes. In Tshiguvhu the following nouns can be distinguished:

(i) Nouns derived from adjectival roots. These are nouns formed by the prefix vhu- and an adjectival root. Compare:

vhutswu < vhu- + - tswu (blackness)

vhuhul<sup>l</sup>wane < vhu- + - hul<sup>l</sup>wane (greatness)

vhuvhi < vhu- + -vhi (badness)

vhudele<sup>l</sup>le < vhu- + -dele<sup>l</sup>le (length, height)

(ii) Nouns derived from verb roots. They are formed from the prefix vhu- and verb root. Compare:

vhuyo (destination) < -y- (go)  
 vhuphilo(life) < -phil- (live)  
 vhufhelo (conclusion) < -fhel- (finish)

(iii) Certain nouns in this class are derived from other classes. The nouns formed from other classes have no plural in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. They are formed by the variant prefix vhu- and the noun stems as illustrated by the following examples from Tshiguvhu:

vhusali (femininity) < musali (class 1) woman  
 vhusilu (foolishness) < lisilu (class 5) fool  
 vhumumu (dumbness) < simumu (class 7) mute

The morpheme prefix {vhu-} has the allomorphs /vhu-/ and /vhy-/ in Tshiguvhu whereas in Tshivenda this prefix has the allomorphs /vhu-/ and /h-/.

### 2.2.7 CLASS 15

The prefix of this class is u- in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. When this prefix u- is placed before the verb stem it expresses the infinitive. According to Poulos (1990:58), "The infinitive is a very interesting category in that it manifests both nominal as well as verb features; in other words, it has a dual nature."

#### (a) Nominal features

The nouns of this class in Tshiguvhu are formed by the prefix u- and a verb stem, for example:

u vhona (to see, seeing) < u- + -vhona  
 u fha (to give, giving) < u- + -fha  
 u hubula (to think, thinking) < u- + -hubula

Infinitive nouns may function as subjects in the following examples:

u vhona hu a netisa (to see is tiring)  
 u fha hu a takadzha (to give is satisfying)  
 u fha<sup>^</sup>ta hu a thusa (to build is helpful)

Infinitive nouns may also function as objects, as in the following examples:

Gi nyaga u shuma (I want to work )  
 Vha nyaga u vhona (They want to see )

N.B. Infinitive nouns do not have plural counterparts in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda<sup>^</sup>.

(b) Verbal features

The infinitive form as a verb has a negative form, as is shown in the following examples:

Positive	Negative
u gidima (to run)	u si gidime (not to run)
u vhona (to see)	u si vhone (not to see)

The negative form in Tshiguvhu is characterised by the negative prefix si- and the terminative vowel -e of verb stem. These are also characteristic of negative infinitives in Northern Sotho. In Tshivenda<sup>^</sup> the negative morpheme is sa- and the terminative vowel of the verb stem is -a.

As a verb, the infinitive may incorporate object concords and the reflexive prefix in both Tshiguvhu and



Tshivenḁa, for example:

Tshiguvhu: U vha ruma (to send them)

Tshivenḁa: U vha ruma (to send them)

Tshiguvhu: U iduma (to bite oneself)

Tshivenḁa: U diluma (to bite oneself)

The reflexive prefix {i-} in Tshiguvhu resembles the reflexive prefix {i-} in Northern Sotho while Tshivenḁa has {di-} as reflexive prefix.

Infinitive verbs may be modified by adverbs as in the following examples:

Tshiguvhu: u ruga ga maada (to sew very hard)

Tshivenḁa: u runga nga maanda (to sew very hard)

The difference between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa is evident from the verbal forms where Tshiguvhu has the negative prefix si- while Tshivenḁa has sa-.

#### 2.2.8 CLASSES 16, 17 AND 18

All three classes indicate locality. The prefixes of these classes are as follows in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa:

Class 16 fha-

Class 17 ku-

Class 18 mu-

There are very few nouns in these classes, for example:

(i) Class 16 fha-: The nouns of this class can be formed by the prefix /fha-/ plus a noun stem or by the allomorph prefix /fh-/ plus a noun stem.

fhasi (down, below) < fha- + -si  
 fhelo (place) < fh- + -elo

The morpheme prefix {fha-} has the allomorphs /fha-/  
 and /fh-/.

(ii) Class 17 ku-: The nouns of this class are formed  
 by the prefix ku- plus a noun stem.

kule (far) < ku- + -le

The morpheme prefix {ku-} has /ku-/ as a morph.

(iii) Class 18 mu-: The nouns of this class are formed  
 by the prefix mu- followed by the noun stem.

Tshiguvhu: murahu (behind, at the back)  
 < mu- + -rahu

### 2.2.9 CLASS 20

The prefix of this class is ku- in Tshiguvhu and  
 Tshivenda. The nouns of this class take the prefix zwi-  
 of class 8 as a plural prefix. This class signifies  
 diminutives, as well as a characteristic way of doing  
 something.

#### (a) Diminutive significance

The nouns which denote a diminutive significance are  
 derived from other noun classes. These nouns are formed  
 by the prefix ku- followed by a noun stem.

For example:

Tshiguvhu/Tshivenda: ku<sub>h</sub>otoho (small head)

		< ku- + -t <sub>h</sub> o <sub>h</sub> o
		(t <sub>h</sub> o <sub>h</sub> o cl. 9)
Tshiguvhu: kullwana (small fire)		< ku- + -l <sub>l</sub> o- + -ana
		(mul <sub>l</sub> o cl. 3)
Tshivenda: kudido (small fire)		< ku- + -lilo.
		(mulilo cl. 3)
Tshiguvhu: kugwana (small sheep)		< ku- + -gu- + -ana
		(ngu cl. 9)
Tshivenda: kugu (small sheep)		< ku- + -gu
		(nngu cl. 9)

The diminutive in Tshiguvhu is formed differently from its Tshivenda counterpart in this class. The suffix -ana may be added to the noun stem unlike in standard Venda. The noun ku<sub>h</sub>o<sub>h</sub>o in Tshiguvhu has been retained as it is in Venda. Some phonological changes take place when nouns are formed in class 20 ku- in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. For example: t<sub>h</sub> in t<sub>h</sub>o<sub>h</sub>o becomes the deaspirated t when ku<sub>h</sub>o<sub>h</sub>o is formed; l in mulilo becomes vocalised the d when kudido is formed and n in nngu is deleted when kugu is formed. The plurals of these nouns are as follows:

Tshiguvhu/Tshivenda: zwi <sub>h</sub> o <sub>h</sub> o (small heads)
Tshiguvhu: zwi <sub>l</sub> l <sub>l</sub> wana (small fires)
Tshivenda: zwidido (small fires)
Tshiguvhu: zwigwana (small sheep)
Tshivenda: zwigu (small sheep)

The prefix {ku-} of class 20 also has an allomorph /kw-/ in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda, but there are very few such nouns. Compare:

Tshiguvhu/Tshivenda: kwana (little child)	< kw- + -ana
---	--------------

The morpheme prefix {ku-} has the allomorphs /ku-/ and

/kw-/.

This class prefix also denotes characteristic ways of acting. The nouns which denote characteristic ways of acting in this class are formed by the prefix ku-, a verb root plus a verbal extension. This will be dealt with under 2.3.2 where the structure of deverbative nouns is discussed in detail.

#### 2.2.10 CLASS 21

The prefix of this class is {ḍi-} and it is a prefix denoting singular and augmentative meaning. As Wentzel et al. (1972:37) have indicated, the nouns in this class may also be used to express a derogative meaning. Although this class is still used productively in Tshivenda, it no longer exists in Tshiguvhu. Most nouns in this class have been channelled to class 5 as in the following examples:

ḍithu (orgre)	< ḍi- + -thu: is ḷilo in Tshiguvhu
ḍinga (large lump of earth)	< ḍi- + -nga: is ḷigwada in Tshiguvhu
ḍanda (big clumsy hand)	< ḍi- + -anda: is ḷiada in Tshiguvhu

These nouns take ma- as a plural prefix in Tshivenda as well as in Tshiguvhu, for example:

Tshiguvhu

maḷo

magwaḁa  
 maḁa

Tshivenda

maḁithu  
 maḁinga  
 maḁanda

The nouns in Tshivenda are formed by the prefix {ḁi-} and a noun stem while in Tshiguvhu they are formed by the prefix {li-} and a noun stem. The prefix {ma-} in Tshivenda is juxtaposed to the singular prefix {ḁi-} while in Tshiguvhu {ma-} replaces the singular prefix {li-}.

#### 2.2.11 CLASSES 'X' AND 'Y'

According to Louwrens (1991:113) the class 'Y' which is distinguished by Lombard et al. (1985:50) should be referred to as the ga- locative class. In Tshiguvhu, it may be referred to as the ha- locative class. In contrast to Northern Sotho, there are very few nouns in this class in Tshiguvhu, for example: hae (home).

The class 'Y', which is also distinguished by Lombard et al. (1985:50), has been postulated as the N-locative class by Louwrens (1991:113). Louwrens further indicates that nouns in the N-locative class follow the same pattern as nouns in class 9 as regards the class prefix. These nouns take hu- as their subject concord. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

thugo (alongside)

bi<sub>l</sub>i (front)n<sub>d</sub>e (outside)Tshivenda<sub>l</sub>

thungo (alongside)

phan<sub>d</sub>a (front)nn<sub>d</sub>a (outside)n<sub>t</sub>ha (above)Tshiguvhu: Bi<sub>l</sub>i hu a thakadzha

(It is so pleasing to be in front)

Tshivenda<sub>l</sub>: Phan<sub>d</sub>a hu a takadza

(It is so pleasing to be in front)

The nouns in these classes also evince an influence from Northern Sotho.

## 2.3 NOUNS

The nouns which are to be dealt with are basic nouns, qualificative nouns, deverbative nouns, locative nouns, diminutive nouns, and augmentative nouns. The focus of this section will be the distinct morphological structure of nouns as found in Tshiguvhu.

## 2.3.1 BASIC NOUNS

According to Lombard et al. (1985:57) basic nouns are words which are associated with the nominal category. To a great extent these nouns share a common structure, such as a class prefix plus a root. In addition to this Poulos (1990:69) indicates that nominal roots should be called primitive stems because they cannot be reduced to any simpler form. Basic nouns are distinguished from qualificative nouns on the basis of their function.

There are numerous examples of basic nouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda<sub>l</sub>. They are composed of a class prefix and

a noun stem. The following are examples of basic nouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda from selected noun classes.

### 2.3.1.1 NOUN CLASSES

#### (a) CLASSES 1 AND 2

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
musimana (boy)	< mu- + -simana	mutukana
pl.vhasimana		
mukwasha (bridegroom)	< mu- + -kwasha	mukwasha
pl. vhakwasha		

#### (b) CLASSES 1(a) AND 2(b)

Class 1(a) nouns singular are characterised by a  $\emptyset$ -prefix and a monomorphemic stem, while in class 2(b) (plural) the class prefix is vho-, followed by a noun stem.

#### Tshiguvhu

malumi (uncle)	< $\emptyset$ - + -malumi	
		pl.vhomalumi
maine (diviner, a traditional doctor)	< $\emptyset$ - + -maine	
		pl.vhomaine

#### (c) CLASSES 3 AND 4

The class prefix of class 3 is mu- and mi- is the prefix of class 4.

Tshiguvhu		Tshivenda
muri (tree)	< mu- + -ri	pl. miri
		muri

mudzi (village) < mu- + -dzi                      midzi    mudzi

(d) CLASSES 5 AND 6

Class 5 in Tshiguvhu has allomorphs / $\emptyset$ -/ and /I-/. The prefix of class 6 prefix is {ma-}. In Tshivenda nouns in the singular are formed by / $\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ -/, / $\emptyset$ -/ or /I-/ and a noun stem while the plural is formed by the prefix of class 6 followed by a noun stem.

Tshiguvhu

$\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ huyu (wild fig)	< $\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ - + -huyu	pl.mahuyu
$\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ dzhadzhi (sun)	< $\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ - + -dzhadzhi	madzhadzhi
$\underset{\wedge}{\text{la}}$ ba (court-yard)	< $\emptyset$ - + - $\underset{\wedge}{\text{la}}$ ba	ma $\underset{\wedge}{\text{la}}$ ba

Tshivenda

fuyu (wild fig)	< I- + -huyu	pl.mahuyu
$\underset{\wedge}{\text{du}}$ vha (sun)	< $\emptyset$ - + - $\underset{\wedge}{\text{du}}$ vha	ma $\underset{\wedge}{\text{du}}$ vha
$\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ ivha (dove)	< $\underset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ - + -ivha	maivha

(e) CLASSES 7 AND 8

The prefix for class 7 is si- in Tshiguvhu and tshi- in Tshivenda. These class prefixes are replaced by the prefix of class 8 zwi- in the plural form.

Tshiguvhu

$\underset{\wedge}{\text{si}}$ haga (cooking hut)	< si- + - $\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ haga	pl. zwi $\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ haga
sikosi (back of the head)	< si- + -kosi	pl. zwikosi

Tshivenda

tshi $\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ anga (cooking hut)	< tshi- + - $\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ anga
---	--



pl.zwitanga  
 tshikosi (back of the head) < tshi- + -kosi  
 pl.zwikosi

N.B. See also 2.2. for additional examples.

### 2.3.2 DEVERBATIVE NOUNS

These are nouns derived from verbal roots. According to Lombard et al. (1985:62) they differ morphologically from basic nouns in as much as deverbatives always have a suffix. The suffix of a deverbative noun is a vowel and it is called a deverbative ending. The following deverbative vowel endings will be referred to:

deverbative vowel ending -i as in *sivhini* (dancer);  
 deverbative vowel ending -o as in *mushumo* (work) and  
 deverbative vowel ending -e as in *makone* (master in craftsman).

Poulos (1990:70) distinguishes between personal deverbatives, non-personal deverbatives, deverbatives which are formed from passive extended verb roots and those which are derived from verb roots which may take the suffix -e.

Personal deverbatives are characterised by a class prefix which is placed before the verb stem and by the replacement of the verbal ending -a with a deverbative ending -i. Compare:

*mushumi* (worker) < mu- + -shum- + -i

Non-personal deverbatives have a class prefix before the verb stem and an ending o-, -i or -e instead of -a. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

muñwalo (writings) < mu- + -ñwal- + -o  
 sivhoni (mirror) < si- + -vhon- + -i  
 makone (master in craftman) < ma- + -kon- + -e

Deverbatives based on passive extended verbal roots are formed by simply prefixing the relevant class prefix to the root. Compare:

murumiwa (messenger) < mu- + -rumiw- + -a

The following are examples of deverbative nouns occurring in the various noun classes.

(a) CLASSES 1 AND 2

These classes only contain personal deverbative nouns. Some of the nouns may be formed from passive extended verb roots. The deverbative ending in these nouns is -i or -a. The latter is used when the extended verb roots contain the passive extension. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: muñwali (writer) < mu- + -ñwal- + -i  
 pl.vhañwali  
 Tshivenda: muñwali (writer) < mu- + -ñwal- + -i  
 pl.vhañwali  
 Tshiguvhu: murumiwa (a beloved one) < mu- + -rumiw- + -a  
 pl.vharumiwa  
 Tshivenda: muruñwa (a beloved one) < mu- + -ruñw- + -a  
 pl.vharuñwa

Here it should be noted that the suffix -iw- has been used in Tshiguvhu while in Tshivenda the shortened extension -w- is used. The vowel i of the extension -iw- in -ruñw- in Tshivenda has been deleted, resulting in -w- .

## (b) CLASSES 3 AND 4

These classes are mainly for non-personal deverbatives. The ending which characterises these deverbatives is -o. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

murwalo (a load) < mu- + -rwal- + -o pl. mirwalo  
 mushumo (worker) < mu- + -shum- + -o pl. mishumo

## (c) CLASSES 5 AND 6

These classes are also mainly for non-personal deverbative nouns. The deverbative endings found in these classes are -o and -e. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

linwalo (letter) < li- + -nwal- + -o pl. manwalo  
 lirado (love) < li- + -rad- + -o pl. lirado  
 livhone (lamp) < li- + -vhon- + -e pl. mavhone

## (d) CLASSES 7 AND 8

These classes contain mainly non-personal deverbative nouns, but personal deverbative nouns which express the notion of "specialist, expert" etc. are also found in them. The deverbative endings found in these classes are -i and -o. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

silimo (summer) < si- + -lim- + -o pl. zwilimo  
 siabi (speaker) < si- + -ab- + -i pl. zwiabi  
 sillo (crying) < si- + -ll- + -o pl. zwillo

## (e) CLASSES 9 AND 10

These classes are mainly for non-personal deverbative

nouns and they are renowned for the large number of nouns which refer to animals. They have -o as an ending. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: phidulo (answer)	< N- + -fhidul- + -o
	pl. liphidulo
Tshivenda: phindulo (answer)	< N- + -fhindul- + -o
	pl. dziphindulo
Tshiguvhu: thuhano (quarrel)	< N- + -ruhan- + -o
	pl. lithuhano
Tshivenda: tsemano (quarrel)	< N- + -seman- + -o
	pl. dzitsemano
Tshiguvhu: thego (price)	< N- + -reg- + -o
	pl. lithego
Tshivenda: thengo (price)	< N- + -reng- + -o
	pl. dzithengo

(e) CLASS 14

This class is mainly reserved for non-personal deverbative nouns which express abstract ideas or concepts. The nouns in this class have -o as an ending. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

vhuyo (destination)	< vhu- + -y- + -o.
vhufhelo (conclusion)	< vhu- + -fhel- + -o.

These abstract nouns have no plural counterparts.

(f) CLASS 20

This class contains also mainly non-personal deverbative nouns. According to Poulos (1990:63) these nouns express a characteristic way of doing something. The nouns are formed by the prefix {ku-} and an extended verb root with the deverbative ending {-e}.

The plural of these nouns is formed by replacing the singular prefix {ku-} with its plural counterpart {ma-}. Compare:

kuvhone<sub>Λ</sub>le (a characteristic way of looking)

< ku- + -vhone<sub>Λ</sub>l- + -e      pl.mavhone<sub>Λ</sub>le

kugidime<sub>Λ</sub>le (a characteristic way of running)

< ku- + -gidime<sub>Λ</sub>l- + -e      pl.magidime<sub>Λ</sub>le

There are no structural differences between class 20 nouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

### 2.3.3 QUALIFICATIVE NOUNS

According to Poulos (1990:124) "The term 'qualificative' is used to refer to those categories of words whose primary function in the language is to qualify some or other noun." He asserts further that this type of noun may be used to give more information about the noun being qualified as it is sometimes used to modify or describe.

The structure of qualificative nouns and basic nouns is the same. It consists of a class prefix and a stem. Qualificative nouns are termed qualificative on the basis of their particular function.

According to Lombard et al. (1985:57) there are two types of qualificative noun, namely adjectives and nominal relatives. He further indicates that adjectives are characterised by a class prefix which "... changes in accordance with the class of the noun which is being qualified."

### 2.3.3.1 Adjectival nouns

Adjectival nouns express concepts such as size, length, age, number, colour, quantity, character and texture.

Adjectival nouns are not dealt with in terms of their semantic categories, but rather in terms of the similarities or differences in their structure, when compared with their Tshivenda counterparts. Adjectival nouns are formed using a class prefix and an adjectival stem.

The adjectival nouns of Tshiguvhu differ markedly from their Tshivenda counterparts. In the latter language demonstratives do not feature in the formation of adjectival nouns whereas in Tshiguvhu adjectival nouns are preceded by a demonstrative of the same class as that of the class prefix of the adjectival noun. This is identical to the structure of adjectival nouns in Northern Sotho. Compare the following Tshiguvhu and Northern Sotho examples:

#### (a) CLASS 1 AND 2

Tshiguvhu: musimana yo muthihi (one boy) < mu- + -thihi

N. Sotho: mošemane yo motee (one boy) < mo- + -tee

Tshiguvhu: vhasimana vha vhararu (three boys)

< vha- + -raru

N. Sotho: bašemane ba bararo (three boys)

< ba- + -raru

Tshiguvhu: muthu yo mutuku (small man)

< mu- + tuku

N. Sotho: motho yo monyane (small man)

< mo- + -nyane

## (b) CLASSES 3 AND 4

Tshiguvhu: muri yo muthihi (one tree) < mu- + -thihi  
 N. Sotho: mohlare yo motee (one tree) < mo- + -tee  
 Tshiguvhu: miri ye mine (four trees) < mi- + -ne  
 N. Sotho: mehlare ye mine (four trees) < mi- + -ne

## (c) CLASSES 5 AND 6

Tshiguvhu: mafhi a mandzhi (more milk) < ma- + -ndzhi  
 N. Sotho: maswi a mantši (more milk) < ma- + -ntši  
 Tshiguvhu: likhuba le litsweu (white egg) < li- + -tsweu  
 N. Sotho: lee le lešweu (white egg) < le- + -šweu  
 Tshiguvhu: makhuba a matsweu (white eggs) < ma- + -tsweu  
 N. Sotho: mae a mašweu (white eggs) < ma- + -šweu

## (d) CLASSES 7 AND 8

Tshiguvhu: sifha<sup>u</sup>tuwo se sikhufhi (short face)  
 < si- + -khufhi  
 N. Sotho: sefahlogo se segoswane (short face)  
 < se- + -goswane  
 Tshiguvhu: zwifha<sup>u</sup>tuwo zwe zwikhufhi (short face)  
 < zwi- + -khufhi  
 N. Sotho: difahlogo tše digoswane (short face)  
 < di- + -goswane  
 Tshiguvhu: sigolo se sithihi (one school)  
 < si- + -thihi  
 N. Sotho: sekolo setee (one school)  
 < se- + -tee

## (e) CLASSES 9 AND 10

Tshiguvhu: buli ye thihi (one goat) < N- + -thihi  
 N. Sotho: pudi ye tee (one goat) < N- + -tee  
 Tshiguvhu: libuli dzhe beli (two goats) < N- + -vheli

- N. Sotho: dipudi tšē pedi (two goats) < N- + -pedi  
 Tshiguvhu: thada e de<sub>le</sub>le (long stick) < N- + -telele  
 N. Sotho: thata ye telele (long stick) < N- + -telele

## (f) CLASS 14

- Tshiguvhu: Vhubi vho vhu<sub>t</sub>uku (small amount of flour)  
 < vhu- + -<sub>t</sub>uku  
 N. Sotho: Bupi bjo bonyane (small amount of flour)  
 < bo- + -nyane

The following Tshivenda examples serve to illustrate the difference between adjectival nouns of Tshivenda and Tshiguvhu.

- Vhukhopfu vhu<sub>t</sub>uku (small amount of flour) < vhu- + <sub>t</sub>uku  
 Vhurukhu vhutuku (small trousers) < vhu- + <sub>t</sub>uku  
 Vhutshilo vhulapfu (long life) < vhu- + lapfu

## 2.3.3.2 Nominal relative nouns

These nouns are characterised by bound class prefixes. According to Lombard et al. (1985:59), "This means that the relative nominal root does not readily change its class prefix in accordance with the class of the noun which is being qualified,..." This can be illustrated by the following example:

- Tshiguvhu: Musimana wa ma<sub>a</sub>da u sibi<sub>d</sub>zhi ga go<sub>l</sub>oi  
 (The strong boy went by car)

There are two ways to construct nominal relatives in Tshiguvhu. The first one is the typical Northern Sotho structure consisting of a demonstrative and a noun. Compare the following examples:



## (a) CLASSES 1 AND 2

Tshiguvhu: musimana yo v<sup>h</sup>uthali (clever boy)

< vhu- + -<sup>h</sup>thali

N. Sotho: mosemane yo boh<sup>l</sup>ale (clever boy)

< bo- + -hlale

Tshiguvhu: vhanna vha ma<sup>a</sup>da (strong men)

< ma- + -<sup>a</sup>da

N. Sotho: banna ba ma<sup>a</sup>tla (strong men)

< ma- + -atla

## (b) CLASSES 7 AND 8

Tshiguvhu: lingu dzhe sigidi (a thousand sheep)

< si- + -gidi

N. Sotho: nku t<sup>s</sup>he sekete (a thousand sheep)

< se- + -kete

Tshiguvhu: zwimumu zwe li<sup>s</sup>umi (ten mute persons)

< li- + -sumi

N. Sotho: dimumu t<sup>s</sup>he les<sup>u</sup>me (ten mute persons)

< le- + -sume

The second one is more of typical Venda construction in which a possessive concord is used instead of the demonstrative as in Northern Sotho. Compare the following examples:

## (a) CLASS 4

Tshiguvhu: miphego ya mafulu<sup>f</sup>ulu (energetic madmen)

< ma- + -fulu<sup>f</sup>ulu

Tshivenda: mipengo ya mafulu<sup>f</sup>ulu (energetic madmen)

< ma- + -fulu<sup>f</sup>ulu

## (b) CLASS 20

Tshiguvhu: Kunna kwa mafulufulu (energetic little man)  
 < ma- + -fulufulu

Tshivenda: Kunna kwa mafulufulu (energetic little man)  
 < ma- + -fulufulu

Tshiguvhu: Kullwana kwa maada (strong small fire)  
 < ma- + -ada

Tshivenda: Kudido kwa maanda (strong small fire)  
 < ma- + -anda

The significance of these constructions is that the nominal relative nouns in Tshiguvhu is currently undergoing a change. In time, one of these two constructions will probably outclass the other.

## 2.3.4 LOCATIVES

Louwrens (1991:112) asserts that, "The term locative(s) is used in grammar to refer to linguistic structures which are employed to denote the position or 'location' of an object or objects within the confines of a particular area." In this regard, he is supported by Poulos (1990:406). Louwrens (1991:113) distinguishes two types of locative structures, namely locative nouns and locativized nouns. In Louwrens (1994) as in Poulos (1990) both locative nouns and locativised nouns are regarded as being adverbs of place rather than nouns because the approach is functionalist as opposed to the structuralist approach employed in Louwrens (1991). As this work focuses on the morphology of Tshiguvhu words, Louwrens' distinctions between locative and locativised nouns is adhered to.

## 2.3.4.1 Locative nouns

According to Louwrens (1991:113) locative nouns are

formed by the locative prefixes 16 {fha-}, 17 {ku-} and 18 {mu-}. These prefixes are attached to noun stems. This observation is also made by Ziervogel et al. (1972:39). Compare:

16 fha-:	fhasi (under)	< fha- + -si
17 ku-:	kule (far)	< ku- + -le
	kusi (far)	< ku- + -si
18 mu-:	murahu	< mu- + -rahu
	muno	< mu- + -no

Basically there are no differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda as far as locative nouns from classes 16, 17 and 18 are concerned.

Louwrens (1991:113-114) also distinguishes locative nouns having the prefixes N- and ha-. Locative nouns with the prefix N- follow the same pattern as the nouns of class 9 as regards morphophonological characteristics. Louwrens has further indicated that this prefix occurs either as /n-/ or as /N-/ in Northern Sotho. This is also evident in Tshiguvhu. Compare:

Prefix {N-} occurs as /n-/:  
 nde (outside)  
 Prefix {N-} occurs as /∅-/:  
 thugo (alongside, next to)  
 bili (before, in front of).

The best example of a locative noun with the prefix ha- is haye (home). Locative nouns with the prefix ha- are very rare in Tshiguvhu.

### 2.3.4.2 Locativised nouns

These nouns in Tshivenda are characterised by the suffix **-ni**. Louwrens (1991:118) further indicates that these nouns are derived from nouns, "...that do not have any locative features whatsoever..." In the case of Tshiguvhu, the morpheme which is suffixed to nouns which are to be locativised is **{-(i)ni}**. Historically this morpheme is derived from B **-ini**. The **(i)** is used to indicate that **-ni** includes a vowel **i** in front of **n**, which coalesces with a stem final **-a**. This results in **a + i > e**. The suffix **-(i)ni** differs from the Tshivenda **-ni** which does not cause coalescence as in Tshiguvhu. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: dzil<sup>^</sup>eni (at the road, in the road)

< dzil<sup>^</sup>a- + -ini

thav<sup>^</sup>heni (at the mountain, in the mountain)

< thav<sup>^</sup>ha- + -ini

ñag<sup>^</sup>eni (to the doctor)

< ñag<sup>^</sup>a- + -ni

Tshivenda: ndil<sup>^</sup>ani (at the road, in the road)

< ndil<sup>^</sup>a- + -ni

thav<sup>^</sup>hani (at the mountain, in the mountain)

< thav<sup>^</sup>ha- + -ni

ñang<sup>^</sup>ani (to the doctor)

< ñang<sup>^</sup>a- + -ni

### 2.3.4.3 Nouns without overt locative markers

Certain nouns may be used to express a locative meaning although they do not contain any locative markers such as a class prefix of class 16, 17 or 18 or the locative suffix **-(i)ni**. Compare:

## (a) Names of places in Tshiguvhu

Tswane (Pretoria)

Musina (Messina)

Tshitandani (Louis Trichardt)

Mafishi (Bandelierkop)

## (b) Basic nouns which are used to indicate locality

musada (at the capital) &lt; mu- + -sada

vhurwa (in the south) &lt; vhu- + -rwa

## 2.3.4.4 Locative prefixes

There are three locative prefixes in Tshiguvhu namely ha-, ga- and mo-, while Tshivenda has only two locative prefixes namely ha- and kha-. These prefixes precede nouns as for example, in Tshiguvhu ha ma<sub>l</sub>umi (at uncle's, to uncle). In Tshiguvhu, as in Northern Sotho, one locative prefix may be used in combination with another. This is in contrast to Tshivenda where only one locative prefix may be used. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: ga mo n<sub>d</sub>uni (in the house)

N. Sotho: ka mo ntlong (in the house)

## (a) The locative prefix ha-

(i) Where ha- is prefixed to proper nouns (to form place names), ha- and the proper noun are written together as one word, for example:

Tshiguvhu: Hamashaba (Ha- + -Mashaba)

Hamakhuvha (Ha- + -Makhuvha)

Hamasia (Ha- + -Masia)

(ii) Ha- may also precede proper nouns referring to humans only and nouns belonging to classes 1(a) and 2(b) to form locatives, for example:

ha Masilo (at Masilo's, to Masilo)  
 ha khosi (at the chief's, to the chief)  
 ha vhathu (at the people's, to the people)

(iii) When ha- is used before a noun or pronoun, the locative meaning "on..." is expressed. Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda differ here, because in the latter language kha- is used for this purpose. Compare:

Tshiguvhu

ha lifhiga (on the stone)  
 ha ndu (on the house)  
 ha yena (on him/her)  
 ha sidulo (on the chair)

Tshivenda

kha tombo (on the stone)  
 kha nndu (on the house)  
 kha ene (on him/her)  
 kha tshidulo (on the chair)

(b) The locative prefix mo-

This locative prefix occurs only in Tshiguvhu and it is always followed by a locativised noun. According to Louwrens (1991:123) this prefix expresses "...two different types of locative relationship which can loosely be translated with on/on top of on the one hand, and with in, on the other." This locative prefix

always occurs with nouns which have a semantic feature signifying locality. Compare:

mo <sup>^</sup>lirameni (on the cheek)  
 < mo- + -<sup>^</sup>lirama- + -(i)ni  
 mo thavheni (on top of mountain)  
 < mo- + -thavha- + -(i)ni  
 mo <sup>^</sup>lisageni (in the kraal)  
 < mo- + -<sup>^</sup>lisaga- + -(i)ni

(c) The locative prefix ga-

This locative prefix also only occurs in Tshiguvhu. As in the case of the locative prefix mo-, it is also associated with locativised nouns. It also expresses "in..." which in Tshivenda is expressed by the suffix -ni. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: ga ofisini (in the office)  
 < ga- + -ofisi- + -(i)ni

Tshivenda: <sup>^</sup>ofisini (in the office)  
 < ofisi- + -ni

Tshiguvhu: ga nugeni (in the river)  
 < ga- + -nuga- + -(i)ni

Tshivenda: <sup>^</sup>mulamboni (in the river)  
 < mulambo- + -ni

Tshiguvhu: ga si<sup>^</sup>hageni (in the kitchen)  
 < ga- + -si<sup>^</sup>haga- + (i)ni

Tshivenda: tshi<sup>^</sup>tangani (in the kitchen)  
 < tshi<sup>^</sup>tanga- + -ni

(d) The combination of locative prefixes

Locative prefixes which may be used in combination are mo- and ga-. When combined, they are also followed by

a locativized noun. The meaning of the combination of mo- and ga- is not easy to describe because the semantic factors which give rise to prefix combination should be taken into account. Ga- could be explained in terms of the notion of enclosure while mo- expresses on and within. This particular use of combined locative prefixes is only found in Tshiguvhu and can be illustrated by the following examples:

ga mo sithageni (into the kitchen)

< ga- + -mo- + -sithaga- + -ini

ga mo lisageni (into the kraal)

< ga- + -mo- + -lisaga- + -ini

ga mo sigoloni (into the school)

< ga- + -mo- + -sigolo- + -ini

Most examples of locative nouns and locative prefixes resemble those of the Lobedu dialect of Northern Sotho. Compare in this regard Kotze' (1995:263-266).

### 2.3.5 DIMINUTIVE NOUNS

Diminutive nouns express the idea of smallness. In this regard, Poulos (1990:81) says that they, "...basically express the idea of "smallness" or "shortness", and where appropriate, "the young of" some or other noun." He further indicates that in specific cases the diminutive suffix expresses derogation or amelioration. The Venda noun sikegulu "small old lady; short and somewhat stocky in build", for instance, may convey a derogatory attitude or express a low opinion.

Diminutives are formed through the prefixation of the prefixes of classes 7, 8, 14 and 20 in Tshiguvhu. This differs from Tshivenda in which the prefixes of classes 7, 8, 11, 14 and 20 are used in diminutive formation.



Diminutives may also be formed by suffixing the suffixes : -ana or -nyana. Sometimes a prefix and suffix can be used together to form a diminutive noun.

Diminutives in Tshiguvhu are formed in the following manner:

(a) The prefix si- of class 7 in Tshiguvhu is prefixed to the noun stem in order to express the idea of smallness, shortness or thickness in shape. The diminutive nouns formed by the prefix of class 7 take zwi- of class 8 as a plural prefix. In this process the prefixes of classes 7 and 8 replace the "original" class prefix of the noun, i.e. the prefix the noun had before the derivation of the diminutive noun.

sisimana (small boy, short and somewhat stocky in build)

< musimana (noun stem -simana) pl.zwisimana

sikegu<sub>u</sub> (small old woman, somewhat stocky in build)

< mukegu<sub>u</sub> (noun stem -kegu<sub>u</sub>) pl.zwikegu<sub>u</sub>

When diminution is applied to nouns from all noun classes except classes 1 and 2, the prefix of class 7 is used concomitantly with the diminutive suffix -ana.

sibidzhana (small and broadish clay pot)

< bidzha (noun stem -bidzha) pl.zwibidzhana

(b) The prefix ku- of class 20 in Tshiguvhu as well as in Tshivenda may be prefixed to nominal or verbal stems in order to express the idea of smallness and shortness. The prefixing of ku- to verbal stems leads to the formation of deverbatives. The deverbative ending of such diminutive nouns is -o. The nouns formed

in this manner take zwi- of class 8 as a plural prefix, e.g.

Tshiguvhu:	kushumo (small and short work)	
	(verb stem -shuma)	pl. zwishumo
Tshivenda:	kushumo (small and short work)	
	(verb stem -shuma)	pl. zwisumo
Tshiguvhu:	kusali (small and short woman)	
	(noun stem -sali)	pl. zwisali
Tshivenda:	kusadzi (small and short woman)	
	(noun stem -sadzi)	pl. zwisadzi
Tshiguvhu:	kullwana (small fire)	< mullo
	(noun stem -llo)	pl. zwillwana
Tshivenda:	kudido (small fire)	< mulilo
	(noun stem -lilo)	pl. zwidido
Tshiguvhu:	kunugana (small and short river)	< nuga
	(noun stem -nuga)	pl. zwinugana
Tshivenda:	kudambo (small and short river)	< mulambo
	(noun stem -lambo)	pl. zwidambo

In some cases the prefix ku- in Tshiguvhu has to be used concomitantly with the diminutive suffix -ana e.g. kunugana. The simultaneous use of a diminutive prefix and the diminutive suffix -ana in forming diminutive nouns is one of the most distinctive features of diminutive nouns in Tshivenda which Tshiguvhu has retained. On the other hand, there are ample examples where diminutive prefixes are used without the presence of -ana.

(c) The prefix vhu- of class 14 may be prefixed to the stems of nouns in order to express the idea of smallness and thinness. The nouns formed with the prefix vhu- of class 14 always denote the plural, e.g.

Tshiguvhu: vhuguluvhe (small and thin pigs)  
 (noun stem -guluvhe)

Tshivenda: vhuguluvhe (small and thin pigs)  
 (noun stem -guluvhe)

Tshiguvhu: vhudzhebe (small and thin hoes)  
 (noun stem -dzhebe)

Tshivenda: vhudzembe (small and thin hoes)  
 (noun stem -dzembe)

(d) Further differences may be observed among diminutive nouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. In some cases diminutive nouns in Tshivenda take vhu- of class 14 as a plural prefix, while diminutive nouns in Tshiguvhu take zwi- of class 8 as a plural prefix and -ana/-nyana as a suffix, e.g.

Tshiguvhu: zwirunyana (small and thin clouds)  
 (noun stem -ru)

Tshivenda: vhukole (small and thin clouds)  
 (noun stem -kole)

Tshiguvhu: zwikhovhyana (small and thin fish)  
 (noun stem -kovhe)

Tshivenda: vhukovhe (small and thin fish)  
 (noun stem -kovhe)

(e) Diminutives may also be formed by simply suffixing the diminutive suffix -ana to nouns. When this suffix, which expresses the idea of smallness, is attached to nouns it leads to morphophonological processes such as:

(i) Vowel deletion

When the diminutive suffix is added to nouns that end with the vowel a, this vowel is deleted. Compare the

following examples in Tshiguvhu:

sivhadana (little carnivores) < sivhada- + -ana  
 thavhana (small mountain) < thavha- + -ana

(ii) Consonantalisation

1. When a noun ends with a vowel followed by o or u, these back vowels change to the semi vowel w. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

ḍowana (small elephant) < ḍou- + -ana  
 bohvana (small bull) < boho- + -ana

2. When a noun ends with a vowel followed by e or i, these front vowels change to the semi vowel y. In Tshivenḍa the vowels e or i are elided when -ana is suffixed to the noun. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

dzhiyana (small locust) < dzhie- + -ana  
 nziyana (small locust) < nzie- + -ana

(iii) Labialisation

When a noun ends with o or u, the vowel u changes to w when the suffix -ana is attached to the noun. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

nḍwana (small hut) < nḍu- + -ana  
 khorwana (small court) < khoro- + -ana  
 nṯhwana (muṯu berries) < nṯhu- + -ana

(iv) Palatalisation

1. When the final syllable of a noun is -ḷi, the

consonant l changes to dzh when the suffix -ana is attached to the noun. Compare:

khwadzhana (small partridge) < khwali- + -ana

2. When the final syllable of a noun is -di, the consonant d changes to dy when the suffix -ana is attached to the noun. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

mulidyana (small hole) < mulidi- + -ana  
 mavhadyana (small doors) < mavhadi- + -ana

3. When the final syllable of a noun is vhu, vho, vhi or vhe, the consonant vh changes to vhy when the suffix -ana is attached to the noun. Compare the following examples in Tshiguvhu:

guvhyana (small blanket) < guvho- + -ana  
 khavhyana (small flame) < khavhu- + -ana  
 makovhyana (small, deep-set eyes) < makovhi- + -ana  
 khovhyana (small fish) < khovhe- + -ana

N.B. Nouns which have the final syllable bi, fhi or pha do not use the diminutive suffix -ana, but rather the diminutive suffix -nyana in order to form diminutive nouns as in the following examples:

vhubinyana (a small amount of stamped meal)  
 < vhubi- + -nyana  
 mafhinyana (a small amount of milk)  
 < mafhi- + -nyana  
 musiphanyana (a small amount of muscle)  
 < musipha- + -nyana

(f) Finally diminutives in Tshiguvhu may be formed by the concomitant use of the prefix *si-* of class 7 and the suffix *-ana*. Diminutives formed in this way express an intensified degree of smallness, for example:

sibudzhana (tiny young goat)  
 < *si-* + *-buli-* + *-ana*  
 si<sup>^</sup>ḡwana (tiny young elephant)  
 < *si-* + *-ḡdou-* + *-ana*  
 sibohwana (tiny young bull)  
 < *si-* + *-boho-* + *-ana*

The Tshivenda diminutive nouns are similar to the Tshiguvhu ones treated in 2.3.5. (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). In Tshiguvhu as in Tshivenda, the use of the diminutive suffixes *-nyana* and *-ana* does not give rise to different degrees of diminution. It is rare for the diminutive suffixes *-nyana* and *-ana* to be used interchangeably because both diminutive suffixes express the idea of smallness. In certain cases *-nyana* expresses a derogative meaning, e.g. *musalinyana* (little woman). Furthermore, the suffixes *-ana* and *-nyana* may not be combined to express a further degree of intensity of the diminutive as is the case in Northern Sotho.

### 2.3.6 AUGMENTATIVE NOUNS

Augmentatives express largeness or greatness. According to Lombard et al. (1985:83), "The term 'augmentative' refers to the enlargement, increasing of an object." This may be seen in some nouns from classes 5 and 6 in Tshiguvhu. The augmentative nouns which are found in classes 5 and 6 in Tshiguvhu, are found in class 21 in

Tshivenda. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: liada (massive hand) < li- + -ada

Tshivenda: danda (massive hand) < da- + -anda

Tshiguvhu: lilo (ogre, monster) < li- + -lo

Tshivenda: dithu (ogre, monster) < di- + -thu

The formation of augmentative and non-augmentative nouns by the prefix li- nouns is not unique as it also occurs in Tshivenda. In Tshivenda li- may also be used to form augmentative nouns from other classes. Compare:

liri (large tree) < muri

ligu (monstrous) < nngu

According to Wentzel (1983:89) this also occurs in Shona.

The Tshiguvhu counterparts of some augmentative nouns in Tshivenda do not have any augmentative meaning.

Compare:

Tshiguvhu: khomu e khulu

Tshivenda: dikolomo (large beast)

Tshiguvhu: liudu le lihulu

Tshivenda: didenzhe (large leg)

Tshiguvhu: musi wo muhulu

Tshivenda: ditsi (billows smoke)

The occurrence of these nouns in Tshiguvhu seems to be evidence of Northern Sotho influence because in Northern Sotho these nouns also do not have an augmentative meaning.

#### 2.4. RECAPITULATION

Nouns in Tshiguvhu, as in standard Venda, consist of at least two morphemes, namely a noun prefix and a noun stem. In the case of deverbatives, they consist of a noun prefix, a verbal root and a suffix, as Poulos (1990:69-70) has indicated. The noun prefix classifies a noun into one of numerous noun classes.

According to Poulos (1990:12), standard Venda has 20 noun classes. Of these 20 noun classes, Tshiguvhu shares 18 with standard Venda. In Venda the class prefixes of classes 7 and 10 are tshi- and dzi- respectively whereas in Tshiguvhu they are si- and li-. This is probably as a result of the influence by Northern Sotho.

Certain differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa are evident in the morphs and allomorphs of the noun prefixes of classes 1(a), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 14. For example, in class 1(a) Tshiguvhu has the suppletive forms /∅-/, /ra-/ and /ma-/ while Tshivenḁa has /∅-/, /ne-/, /ra-/ and /nya-/. The suppletive forms in Tshiguvhu should be seen as influence of Northern Sotho dialects.

As regards deverbative nouns, Tshiguvhu shows no structural differences from Tshivenḁa.

There are more similarities between Tshiguvhu and Northern Sotho as regards qualificative nouns, and specifically adjectives, because the demonstratives which precede adjectival nouns in Tshiguvhu resemble those of Northern Sotho. This can also be noticed in the locative nouns where most nouns and locative prefixes are similar to those of Northern Sotho.



Basic nouns, on the other hand, evince no structural differences between Tshivenda and Tshiguvhu.

However diminutives reveal both features from Tshivenda and Northern Sotho. Tshiguvhu uses the diminutive prefixes ku-, zwi- and vhu- which are commonly used in Tshivenda but Tshiguvhu also uses si- as well as si- with -ana instead of tshi- of Tshivenda. On the other hand, the suffix -ana, when it is affixed to a noun in order to form a diminutive noun, sometimes causes palatalization, a change which does not occur in Tshivenda.

Augmentative nouns which are in classes 5 and 6 in Tshiguvhu are basically formed in the same way as augmentative nouns in Tshivenda.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE PRONOUN

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main topic of this chapter is the types of pronoun in Tshiguvhu. These are absolute pronouns, reflexive pronouns, possessive pronouns, quantitative pronouns, enumerative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, compound demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative copulatives.

The components of each type of pronoun will be examined with the analysis of each type being based partially on Poulos (1990) and Lombard et al. (1985). The structural approach followed in the latter source will be used as far as possible.

As a result of the overt influence of Northern Sotho and more specifically, Lobedu and Tlokwa reference will from time to time be made to highlight this influence.

#### 3.1.1 THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

According to Sengani (1988:119) a pronoun should be used to refer to a noun or nouns mentioned earlier in discourse. This can be seen in the following examples where an absolute pronoun is emphatic in significance:

Tshiguvhu

Siñagana a ga si ye ḍoroboni gauri yena ha dzivhi muthu  
(Siñagana won't go to town because he doesn't know anybody)

## Tshivenda

Tshiṅangana a nga si ye ḍoroboni ngauri ene ha ḍivhi muthu (Tshiṅangana won't go to town because he doesn't know anybody)

Yena/ene refers back to Siṅagana/Tshiṅangana

Two types of absolute pronoun are distinguished in Tshivenda, namely personal absolute pronouns and non-personal absolute pronouns. The absolute pronouns of Tshiguvhu may be treated in the same manner.

### (i) Personal absolute pronouns

These pronouns express the first, second and third person singular or plural. With the structure of the irregular variety some suffixes differ from others, while in the case of the regular type, the suffix is -na throughout and this can be observed in the examples below. Although Lombard et al. (1985:86) indicate that a structural analysis of personal absolute pronouns can only be conducted on a historical or diachronic basis, Poulos (1990:97) has attempted to analyse them synchronically. According to Poulos, these absolute pronouns are formed by a concordial prefix and a suffixal form -ne. The suffix in Tshiguvhu is -na. Compare:

#### FIRST PERSON

##### Tshiguvhu

Singular: nna (I) < n- + -na

Plural: rina (we) < ri- + -na

## Tshivenda

Singular: n<sup>^</sup>ne (I) < n- + -n<sup>^</sup>ePlural: ri<sup>^</sup>ne (we) < ri- + -n<sup>^</sup>e

## SECOND PERSON

## Tshiguvhu

Singular: wena (you) &lt; we- + -na

Plural: li<sup>^</sup>na (you) < li- + -na

## Tshivenda

Singular: iwe (you) &lt; i- + -we

Plural: inwi (you) &lt; i- + -nwi

## THIRD PERSON

## Tshiguvhu

Singular: yena (he/she) &lt; ye- + -na

Plural: vhona (they) &lt; vh- + -o- + -na

## Tshivenda

Singular: ene (he/she) &lt; e- + -ne

Plural: vhone (they) &lt; vh- + -o- + -ne

The suffix -na in Tshiguvhu consistently appears in all personal absolute pronouns. Unlike Tshiguvhu, the personal absolute pronouns in Tshivenda do not all have the same distinct suffix. Tshiguvhu personal absolute pronouns are structurally identical to those of Northern Sotho.

## (ii) Non-personal absolute pronouns

These absolute pronouns are formed by a concordial morpheme as a prefix, a pronominal root {-o-} and the suffix {-na} in Tshiguvhu. In Tshivenda, they are

formed by a concordial morpheme, a pronominal root {-o-} and the suffix {-ne}. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu

zwona (class 8) < zw- + o- + -na

hona (class 14) < h- + -o- + na

Tshivenda

zwone (class 8) < zw- + -o- + -ne

hone (class 14) < h- + -o- + -ne

The concordial morpheme which acts as a prefix is always in agreement with the noun to which it refers, for example:

Tshiguvhu

Class 5: liivha lona (dove) it

Class 8: zwigolo zwona (schools) they

Class 10: liguluvhe dzhona (pigs) they

N.B. The concordial morpheme {l-} in lona (class 5) is in agreement with liivha to which it refers. The concordial morpheme {zw-} in zwona (class 8) is also in agreement with zwigolo to which it refers. The same can be said of the concordial morpheme {dzh-} in dzhona (class 10) which is in agreement with liguluvhe to which it refers.

Tshivenda:

Class 5: liivha lone (dove) it

Class 8: Zwikolo zwone (schools) they

Class 10: nguluvhe dzone (pigs) they

N.B. As in the case of the Tshiguvhu pronouns, the concordial morpheme {ḷ-} in ḷone (class 5) is in agreement with liivha to which it refers; {zw-} in zwone (class 8) is in agreement with zwikolo to which it refers; and {dz-} in dzone (class 10) is in agreement with nguluvhe to which it refers.

The following table of non-personal absolute pronouns for the different noun classes in Tshiguvhu displays the structural make-up of these pronouns:

CLASSES		PRONOUNS	PREFIX	ROOT	SUFFIX
3	Tshiguvhu	wona	w-	-o-	-na
4	Tshiguvhu	yona	y-	-o-	-na
5	Tshiguvhu	l <sub>^</sub> ona	l <sub>^</sub> -	-o-	-na
6	Tshiguvhu	*ona	a-	-o-	-na
7	Tshiguvhu	sona	s-	-o-	-na
8	Tshiguvhu	zwona	zw-	-o-	-na
9	Tshiguvhu	yona	y-	-o-	-na
10	Tshiguvhu	dzhona	dzh-	-o-	-na
14	Tshiguvhu	vhyona	vhy-	-o-	-na
15	Tshiguvhu	hona	h-	-o-	-na
16	Tshiguvhu	hona	h-	-o-	-na
17	Tshiguvhu	hona	h-	-o-	-na
18	Tshiguvhu	hona	h-	-o-	-na
20	Tshiguvhu	kona	k-	-o-	-na

\* The concordial prefix a has fallen away in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

N.B. Class 11 & 21 do not exist in Tshiguvhu.

The suffixes -na in Tshiguvhu and -ne in Tshivenḁa make it easy to distinguish Tshiguvhu non-personal absolute pronouns from their Tshivenḁa counterparts. Certain differences in the pronominal prefixes can also be observed. In class 7 Tshiguvhu uses the concordial prefix s- and Tshivenḁa uses tsh-. In class 10 the concordial prefix dzh- is used in Tshiguvhu and dz- is used in Tshivenḁa.

### 3.1.2 THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The only distinctive feature concerning the form of the reflexive pronoun in Tshiguvhu is the reflexive stem -nyi (self). The Tshivenḁa counterpart of this stem is -ne (self).

In Tshiguvhu the reflexive pronoun is formed by a concordial prefix which is in agreement with the noun to which is being referred. The concordial prefix is attached to the stem -nyi. This is applicable to both personal reflexive pronouns and non-personal reflexive pronouns. The personal reflexive pronouns of the first, second and third person singular are formed by the concordial prefix mu- and the stem -nyi. The plural of these personal reflexive pronouns is formed by the concordial prefix vha- and the stem -nyi. The concordial element of each reflexive pronoun is identical to the corresponding subject concord.

Compare:

Tshiguvhu

I ḁo ibulaya yona inyi [i- (concordial prefix, class 9)  
+ -nyi (reflexive stem) ]

(It will kill itself)



## Tshivenda

I do divhulaha yone ine [i- (concordial prefix, class 9) + -ne (reflexive stem) ]

(It will kill itself)

The following tables contain examples of reflexive pronouns in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the various persons and classes:

Person	TSHIGUVHU		TSHIVENDA	
	Abs. Pr.	Refl. Pr.	Abs. Pr.	Refl. Pr.
1 st sg.	(nna)	munyi	(nne)	mune
1 st pl.	(rina)	vhenyi	(rine)	vhane
2 nd sg.	(wena)	munyi	(iwe)	mune
2 nd pl.	(lina)	vhenyi	(inwi)	vhane

## TSHIGUVHU

TSHIVENDA<sup>^</sup>

ABSOLUTE PRONOUN	REFLEXIVE PRONOUN	ABSOLUTE PRONOUN	REFLEXIVE PRONOUN
---------------------	----------------------	---------------------	----------------------

## CLASSES

1	(yena)	munyi	(ene)	mune <sup>^</sup>
2	(vhona)	*vhenyi	(vhone)	vhane <sup>^</sup>
3	(wona)	unyi	(wone)	une <sup>^</sup>
4	(yona)	inyi	(yone)	ine <sup>^</sup>
5	(lona)	linyi	(lone)	line <sup>^</sup>
6	(ona)	anyi	(one)	ane <sup>^</sup>
7	(sona)	sinyi	(tshone)	tshine <sup>^</sup>
8	(zwona)	zwinyi	(zwone)	zwine <sup>^</sup>
9	(yona)	inyi	(yone)	ine <sup>^</sup>
10	(dzhona)	dzhinyi	(dzhone)	dzine <sup>^</sup>
11	_____	_____	(lwone)	lune <sup>^</sup>
14	(vhyona)	vhunyi	(hone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
15	(hona)	hunyi	(hone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
16	(hona)	hunyi	(hone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
17	(hona)	hunyi	(hone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
18	(hona)	hunyi	(hone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
20	(kona)	hunyi	(kwone)	hune <sup>^</sup>
21	_____	_____	(lone)	line <sup>^</sup>

\* According to Bourquin (1969:252) the original form of the root is B.-enye. It appears as if the e in the example is the result of vowel coalescence between the a of vha and this original e which is realised as i in Tshiguvhu.

Each reflexive pronoun consists of a concordial prefix and a reflexive stem:

## TSHIGUVHU

Class	Pron.	Conc. Prefix	+	Refl. Stem
1	munyi	< mu-	+	-nyi
2	vhenyi	< *vha-	+	-nyi
3	unyi	< u-	+	-nyi
4	inyi	< i-	+	-nyi
5	l <sub>̣</sub> inyi	< l <sub>̣</sub> i-	+	-nyi
8	anyi	< a-	+	-nyi
7	sinyi	< si-	+	-nyi
8	zwinyi	< zwi-	+	-nyi
9	inyi	< i-	+	-nyi
10	dzhinyi	< dzhi-	+	-nyi
11	Does not occur			
14	vhunyi	< vhu-	+	-nyi
15	hunyi	< hu-	+	-nyi
16	hunyi	< hu-	+	-nyi
17	hunyi	< hu-	+	-nyi
18	hunyi	< hu-	+	-nyi
20	kunyi	< ku-	+	-nyi
21	Does not occur			

## TSHIVENDA

Class	Pronoun		Conc. Prefix	+	Reflexive Stem
1	mune	<	mu-	+	-ne
2	vhane	<	vha-	+	-ne
3	une	<	u-	+	-ne
4	ine	<	i-	+	-ne
5	line	<	li-	+	-ne
6	ane	<	a-	+	-ne
7	tshine	<	tshi-	+	-ne
8	zwine	<	zwi-	+	-ne
9	ine	<	i-	+	-ne
10	dzine	<	dzi-	+	-ne
11	une	<	lu-	+	-ne
14	hune	<	hu-	+	-ne
15	hune	<	hu-	+	-ne
16	hune	<	hu-	+	-ne
17	une	<	hu-	+	-ne
18	une	<	hu-	+	-ne
20	kune	<	ku-	+	-ne
21	line	<	li-	+	-ne

The reflexive stem -nyi in Tshiguvhu appears to have been derived from Venda itself. In fact it does not differ much from from Tshivenda -ne if one considers that n̄ (dental) is derived from an Ur-Bantu palatal n, and ny in Tshiguvhu -nyi is also a palatal nasal. There are no reflexive pronouns in classes 11 and 21 in Tshiguvhu since the nouns in these classes have been shifted to other classes, as has been indicated in 2.2.5 and 2.2.10.

### 3.1.3 THE QUANTITATIVE PRONOUN

Poulos (1990:103) indicates that in Tshivenda quantitative pronouns are formed by a concordial prefix which is attached to the quantitative stem -o<sub>h</sub>the (all) in all noun classes and plural forms of personal quantitative pronouns. The singular personal quantitative pronouns of Tshiguvhu differ substantially from their Tshivenda counterparts. Firstly, in the singular, a different stem is used, viz. nthihi (compare with N. Sotho -tee or Khelobedu -tihi) whereas in Tshivenda -o<sub>h</sub>the or -t<sub>h</sub>the is used. Nthihi is neither a quantitative pronoun nor a quantitative stem. It functions like a personal quantitative and is listed as one below, but it is not one judging by its appearance. Compare the following:

			TSHIGUVHU		TSHIVENDA
1st	person	sg	nthihi	(alone)	ndo <sub>h</sub> the
1st	person	pl	ro <sub>h</sub> the	(all)	ro <sub>h</sub> the
2nd	person	sg	nthihi	(alone)	wo <sub>h</sub> the
2nd	person	pl	vho <sub>h</sub> the	(all)	no <sub>h</sub> the
3rd	person	sg	nthihi	(alone)	e <sub>h</sub> the
3rd	person	pl	vhothe	(all)	vho <sub>h</sub> the

Personal quantitative pronouns are composed of a concordial prefix followed by a quantitative stem:

#### TSHIGUVHU

Person	Pronoun	Concordial Prefix	+	Quantitative Stem
1ps	nthihi	< n-	+	-tihi
1pp	ro <sub>h</sub> the	< r-	+	-o <sub>h</sub> the
2ps	nthihi	< n-	+	-tihi

2pp	vho <sup>^</sup> the	< vh-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the
3ps	n <sup>^</sup> thihi	< n-	+	-tihi
3pp	vho <sup>^</sup> the	< vh-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the

## TSHIVENDA

Person	Pronoun	Concordial Prefix	+	Quantitative Stem
1ps	nd <sup>^</sup> o <sup>^</sup> the	< nd-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the
1pp	ro <sup>^</sup> the	< r-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the
2ps	wo <sup>^</sup> the	< w-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the
2pp	no <sup>^</sup> the	< n-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the
3ps	e <sup>^</sup> the	< e-	+	- <sup>^</sup> the
3pp	vho <sup>^</sup> the	< vh-	+	-o <sup>^</sup> the

In Tshiguvhu the concordial prefix vh- of class 2 is used in the second person plural instead of the n- which is used in Tshivenda. This could be ascribed to the Northern Sotho influence as the first and second person plural in Northern Sotho are both bohle.

The use of nthihi is a dialectal phenomenon found in, amongst others, Vhailafuri speakers as well as among the Vhaguvhu. The stem nthihi is used as a quantitative pronoun in Tshiilafuri for the first person, second person and third person in the singular. Nthihi in Tshiguvhu and Tshiilafuri functions as a quantitative pronoun. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Musimana u aba a nthihi  
(The boy speaks alone)

Tshiilafuri: Musimana u amba a nthihi  
(The boy speaks alone)

As far as non-personal quantitative pronouns are concerned, Tshiguvhu is generally similar to Tshivenda.

In the table below all Tshiguvhu pronouns are listed, as well as the Venda counterparts which have different concordial prefixes.

Compare:

TSHIGUVHU

Class	Pronoun	Concordial Prefix	+	Quantitative Stem
3	wo <sup>h</sup> the	< w-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
4	yo <sup>h</sup> the	< y-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
5	lo <sup>h</sup> the	< l-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
6	o <sup>h</sup> the	< o-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
7	so <sup>h</sup> the	< s-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
8	zwo <sup>h</sup> the	< zw-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
9	yo <sup>h</sup> the	< y-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
10	dzho <sup>h</sup> the	< dzh-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
11	Does not occur			
14	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
15	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
16	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
17	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
18	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
20	kwo <sup>h</sup> the	< kw-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
21	Does not occur			

The Tshivenda quantitative pronouns which differ from those of Tshiguvhu are:

Class	Pronoun	Concordial Prefix	+	Quantitative Stem
7	tsho <sup>h</sup> the	< tsh-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
10	dzo <sup>h</sup> the	< dz-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
11	lwo <sup>h</sup> the	< lw-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the
21	ho <sup>h</sup> the	< h-	+	-o <sup>h</sup> the

From the table above it is evident that the differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa are ascribable to differences in the class prefixes, viz. Tshiguvhu class 7 si- and Tshivenḁa class 7 tshi- ; Tshiguvhu class 10 li- and Tshivenḁa class 10 dzi.

#### 3.1.4 ENUMERATIVE PRONOUNS

The term 'enumerative' will be used instead of 'radical' which has been used by Lombard et al. (1985). As in Tshivenḁa, Tshiguvhu has only two enumerative stems, namely: -fhio/-fhi? (which?) and -sili (foreign). -Fhi? is a shortened form of -fhio? which is probably the result of influence from the Northern Sotho -fe?. Enumerative pronouns are formed by an enumerative concordial prefix and enumerative stem. The enumerative concordial prefix is identical to the subject concord. The difference between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa enumerative pronouns is basically as a result of the different subject concords which arise from the different class prefixes of Tshivenḁa and Tshiguvhu. The enumerative pronouns are as follows in Tshiguvhu:



Class	PRONOUN	PREFIX	+	STEM
1	ufhio/ufhi	u-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	usili	u-	+	-sili
2	vhafhio/vhafhi	vha-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	vhasili	vha-	+	-sili
3	ufhio/ufhi	u-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	usili	u-	+	-sili
4	ifhio/ifhi	i-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	isili	i-	+	-sili
5	lifhio/lifhi	li-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	lisili	li-	+	-sili
6	afhio/afhi	a-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	asili	a-	+	-sili
7	sifhio/sifhi	si-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	sisili	si-	+	-sili
8	zwifhio/zwifhi	zwi-	+	-fhio/fhi
	zwisili	zwi-	+	-sili
9	ifhio/ifhi	i-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	isili	i-	+	-sili
10	lifhio/lifhi	li-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	lisili	li-	+	-sili
11	Does not occur			
14	vhufhio/vhufhi	vhu-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	vhusili	vhu-	+	-sili
15/16/17/18	hufhio/hufhi	hu-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	husili	hu-	+	-sili
20	kufhio/kufhi	ku-	+	-fhio/-fhi
	kusili	ku-	+	-sili
21	Does not occur			

The only differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are the result of the different concordial morphemes as is seen in noun classes 7 and 10:

Tshiguvhu	Tshivenda
cl 7:   sifhio/sifhi	tshifhio
cl 7:   sisili	tshisili
cl 10: lifhio/lifhi	dzifhio
cl 10: lisili	dzisili

### 3.1.5 THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

Possessive pronouns in Tshiguvhu of classes 1 and 2 are different in form as compared to the possessive pronouns of other classes. Among these possessive pronouns the following can be identified: the possessive pronouns of the first person, singular and plural; the possessive pronouns of the second person, singular and plural; the possessive pronouns of the third person, singular and plural. The following possessive stems are found in Tshiguvhu:

1st person	singular:	-ga 'my'	(-nga in Tshivenda)
1st person	plural:	-su/-shu 'our'	(-shu in Tshivenda)
2nd person	singular:	-u 'your'	(-u in Tshivenda)
2nd person	plural:	-nu/-henu 'your'	(-nu in Tshivenda)
3rd person	singular:	-we 'his/hers'	(-we in Tshivenda)
3rd person	plural:	*vho 'their'	(wavho in Tshivenda)

\*Vho is not really a possessive stem as it is a shortened form of vhona. Vhona is an absolute pronoun and it expresses a possessive relationship when it is preceded by a possessive concord. This shortened form of the absolute pronoun is used in all the noun classes to express a possessive relationship. \*He- is sometimes part of the possessive stem -nu and it is always preceded by a possessive concord. Henu resembles the geno of Northern Sotho.

As in Tshivenda and Northern Sotho, possessive pronouns

in Tshiguvhu are formed by a possessive concord and a possessive stem. The possessive concord should be in agreement with the noun which acts as the possession. Compare the following:

- 1st person singular: Likhomu dzhaga (my cattle)  
 1st person plural : Vhana vhesu/vhashu (our children)  
 2nd person singular: Lirumo lau (your assegai)  
 2nd person plural : Mañwalo anu/a henu (your letters)  
 3rd person singular: Bugu yawe (his/her book)  
 3rd person plural : Liṭhoho dzhavho (their heads)

### 3.1.6 THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Poulos (1990:105) points out that demonstrative pronouns indicate four positions in Tshivenda. Tshiguvhu, unlike Tshivenda, has three positions. Tshivenda distinguishes positions 1(a), 1(b), 2 and 3, while Tshiguvhu differentiates between positions 1, 2, and 3. The structure of demonstrative pronouns for the first, second and third position in Tshiguvhu is similar to that found in, for instance, the Lobedu dialect of Northern Sotho (Kotzé, A.E., research notes). The demonstrative pronouns of the first position in Tshiguvhu are formed by a concordial prefix, which in some classes is identical to the subject concord, followed by a root which differs from one class to another. Position 2 of Tshiguvhu is similar to position 3 of Lobedu in as much as both are characterised by the suffix -la or -le. Likewise, position 3 of Tshiguvhu corresponds with position 4 of Lobedu. In Tshiguvhu position 3 is characterised by the suffix -laa or -lee. In Lobedu position 4 is characterised by the lengthening of the penultimate syllable, e.g. yo::la; le::la, not lelaa etc.

As a result of the structural similarities between

Tshiguvhu demonstratives and those of Northern Sotho, Tshiguvhu demonstratives will be analysed in terms of the structural elements identified in Lombard et al (1985).

#### POSITION 1

The demonstratives in this position refer to objects which are nearer to the speaker than to the hearer, e.g. Musimani yo (this boy).

As has been indicated above, Tshiguvhu demonstratives in position 1 are formed by a concordial prefix and a root. The concordial prefix is derived from the class prefix. In class 3, the semi-vowel w occurs as a concordial prefix and in the case of classes 1, 4 and 9, the semi-vowel y occurs as a concordial prefix. Class 10 has dzh as a concordial prefix while class 14 has vhy as a concordial prefix. The root of each demonstrative, which is a vowel, resembles that of the class prefix as is evident in classes 2, 6, 16 and 18. If the vowel i appears in the class prefix, then the demonstrative root will be e and this can be seen in the following classes: 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10. If the vowel u appears in the class prefix, then the demonstrative root will be o and this can be seen in the following classes: 1, 3, 14, 15, 17, 18 and 20.

#### POSITION 2

Demonstratives in this position refer to an object which is closer to the addressee than to the speaker, e.g. Vha lisa likhomu dzhe<sup>h</sup>la. (They are herding those cattle near you).

Demonstratives in this position are formed by the demonstrative pronoun of position 1, plus the suffix

-la or -le. The suffix -le occurs when the root is -a-, while the suffix -la is attached to demonstratives from the other noun classes.

### POSITION 3

Demonstratives in this position refer to objects which are relatively far from both speaker and addressee, e.g. Vhana vhalee vha dlee. (Those children have come.)

Demonstratives of position 3 are formed by affixing the suffixes -laa or -lee to the demonstrative of position 1. -laa or -lee is characterised by a lengthened penultimate syllable.

Compare the following table of demonstrative pronouns:

CLASS	POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3
1	yo	yol <u>a</u>	yol <u>aa</u>
2	vha	vh <u>al</u> e	vh <u>al</u> ee
3	wo	wol <u>a</u>	wol <u>aa</u>
4	ye	yel <u>a</u>	yel <u>aa</u>
5	<u>l</u> e	<u>l</u> el <u>a</u>	<u>l</u> el <u>aa</u>
6	a	al <u>e</u>	al <u>ee</u>
7	se	sel <u>a</u>	sel <u>aa</u>
8	zwe	zwe <u>l</u> a	zwe <u>l</u> aa
9	ye	yel <u>a</u>	yel <u>aa</u>
10	dzhe	dzhe <u>l</u> a	dzhe <u>l</u> aa
14	vhyo	hyol <u>a</u>	hyol <u>aa</u>
15	mo	mol <u>a</u>	mol <u>aa</u>
16/17	fha	fh <u>al</u> e	fh <u>al</u> ee
18	mo	mol <u>a</u>	mol <u>aa</u>
20	ko	kol <u>a</u>	kol <u>aa</u>

The following tables depict the structure of the demonstrative pronouns of positions, 1, 2 and 3 respectively:

## POSITION 1

CLASS	DEMONSTRATIVE	CONCORDIAL PREFIX		ROOT
1	yo	y-	+	-o
2	vha	vh-	+	-a
3	wo	w-	+	-o
4	ye	y-	+	-e
5	le ^	l- ^	+	-e
6	a	a-	+	-a
7	se	s-	+	-e
8	zwe	zw-	+	-e
9	ye	y-	+	-e
10	dzhe	dzh-	+	-e
14	vhyo	vhy-	+	-o
15	mo	m-	+	-o
16	fha	fh-	+	-a
17/18	mo	m-	+	-o
20	ko	k-	+	-o

## POSITION 2

CLASS	DEMONSTRATIVE	CONCORDIAL			ROOT	SUFFIX
		PREFIX				
1	yol <sub>ā</sub> a	y-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
2	vhāl <sub>ā</sub> e	vh-	+	-a-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> e
3	wol <sub>ā</sub> a	w-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
4	yol <sub>ā</sub> a	y-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
5	lāl <sub>ā</sub> a	l-	+	-e-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
6	āl <sub>ā</sub> e	∅-	+	-a-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> e
7	sāl <sub>ā</sub> a	s-	+	-e-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
8	zwāl <sub>ā</sub> a	zw-	+	-e-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
9	yāl <sub>ā</sub> a	y-	+	-e-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
10	dzhāl <sub>ā</sub> a	dzh-	+	-e-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
14	vhyāl <sub>ā</sub> a	vhy-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
15	mol <sub>ā</sub> a	m-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
16	fhāl <sub>ā</sub> e	fh-	+	-a-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> e
17/18	mol <sub>ā</sub> a	m-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a
20	kol <sub>ā</sub> a	k-	+	-o-	+	-l <sub>ā</sub> a

## POSITION 3

CLASS	DEMONSTRATIVE	CONCORDIAL PREFIX		ROOT		SUFFIX
1	yo <sub>l</sub> aa	y-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
2	vhalee	vh-	+	-a-	+	- <sub>l</sub> ee
3	wo <sub>l</sub> aa	w-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
4	yo <sub>l</sub> aa	y-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
5	le <sub>l</sub> aa	l-	+	-e-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
6	a <sub>l</sub> ee	∅-	+	-a-	+	- <sub>l</sub> ee
7	se <sub>l</sub> aa	s-	+	-e-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
8	zwe <sub>l</sub> aa	zw-	+	-e-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
9	ye <sub>l</sub> aa	y-	+	-e-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
10	dzhel <sub>l</sub> aa	dzh-	+	-e-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
14	vhyo <sub>l</sub> aa	vhy-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
15	mo <sub>l</sub> aa	m-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
16	fhalee	fh-	+	-a-	+	- <sub>l</sub> ee
17/18	mo <sub>l</sub> aa	m-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa
20	ko <sub>l</sub> aa	k-	+	-o-	+	- <sub>l</sub> aa

## 3.1.7 THE COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVE

Compound demonstrative pronouns in Tshiguvhu do not have as many prefixal forms as in Tshivenda e.g. ha-/he- and ho-. Compound demonstratives consist of the absolute pronoun of a particular noun class and the corresponding demonstrative, e.g. class 1 position 1 *yenayo* (this very one) which consists of the absolute pronoun *yena* and the demonstrative *yo*. In Tshivenda, this absolute pronoun is only prefixed to the basic demonstrative pronoun of the fourth position, e.g. *enehouno* (that very one). In Tshiguvhu, however, it is prefixed to demonstratives in any of the three positions. The compound demonstrative of each position is formed as follows:



## POSITION 1

Compound demonstratives of the first position are characterised by the absolute pronoun which is prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun of the first position, e.g. class 1 yena- + -yo > yenayo (this very one).

The demonstratives of this position refer to objects which are nearer to the speaker than to the hearer, but with more emphasis than in the case of basic demonstratives. They indicate that a particular object, person or animal right next to the speaker, in contrast to any other, is focused upon "here next to me", e.g. Munna yonayo (this very man right here next to me).

## POSITION 2

Compound demonstratives of this position are formed by the absolute pronoun which is prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun of the second position, e.g. class 2 vhona- + -vha<sub>l</sub>e > v<sub>h</sub>onav<sub>h</sub>al<sub>e</sub> (that very one).

Demonstratives of this position refer to an object which is closer to the addressee than to the speaker, but with greater emphasis. They suggest that this very object, person or animal right there next to the addressee, e.g. Vha v<sub>h</sub>ona ngu yonayel<sub>a</sub>. (They see that very sheep right there next to you).

## POSITION 3

Compound demonstratives of this position are composed of the absolute pronoun which is prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun of the third position, e.g. class 2 vhona- + -vha<sub>l</sub>ee > v<sub>h</sub>onav<sub>h</sub>al<sub>e</sub>ee (that particular

one).

Demonstratives of this position refer to objects which are relatively far from both speaker and addressee, but with greater emphasis. It may mean that this object, person or animal is right over yonder, e.g. U ḡo vḡona vḡhasali vḡhonavḡhalee. (You will see those very women right over yonder.)

The following table summarizes the various compound demonstratives found in Tshiguvhu:

CLASS	POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3
1	yenayo	yenayoḷa	yenayoḷaa
2	vhonavha	vhonavḡhale	vhonavḡhalee
3	wonawo	wonawoḷa	wonawoḷaa
4	yonaye	yonayeḷa	yonayeḷaa
5	ḷonale	ḷonaleḷa	ḷonaleḷaa
6	onaa	onaale	onaalee
7	sonase	sonaseḷa	sonaseḷaa
8	zwonazwe	zwonazweḷa	zwonazweḷaa
9	yonaye	yonayeḷa	yonayeḷaa
10	dzhonadzhe	dzhonadzheḷa	dzhonadzheḷaa
14	vhyonavhyo	vhyonavhyoḷa	vhyonavhyoḷaa
15	honamo	honamoḷa	honamoḷaa
16/17	honafha	honafḡhale	honafḡhalee
18	honamo	honamoḷa	honamoḷaa
20	kwonako	kwonakoḷa	kwonakoḷaa

### 3.1.8. THE DEMONSTRATIVE COPULATIVE

Demonstrative copulatives in Tshiguvhu are derived from basic demonstratives. They are characterized by a prefix *asi-* or *gi-* which is affixed to the basic demonstratives. The prefixing of *asi-* or *gi-* to the basic demonstrative extends the meaning of each basic

demonstrative by 'is'. Although *asi-* and *gi-* are commonly used in Tshiguvhu, Tshivenda has more of these copulative prefixes. Compare Poulos (1990:122-123) in this regard.

### 3.1.8.1 THE DEMONSTRATIVE COPULATIVE PREFIX ASI-

These demonstratives differ from those of Tshivenda because of the Tshiguvhu suffixes *-uwe* (2nd position), *-laa* and *-lee* (3rd position) which are not found in Tshivenda. The demonstrative of position 1 is similar in both languages, e.g. class 9 *asiyi*. In position 2 Tshivenda does not make use any suffix, while in position 3 Tshivenda uses *-la* instead of Tshiguvhu's *-laa/ -lee*.

The following changes take place when the prefix *asi-* is prefixed to basic demonstratives:

#### POSITION 1

The vowel root *-e-* in all basic demonstratives of position 1 is replaced by *-i-* when the copulative prefix *asi-* is prefixed to basic demonstratives. This results in some demonstrative copulatives being identical to those of Tshivenda, e.g. *asiyi* etc. The basic demonstratives *vha* of class 2, *wo* of class 3, *mo* of class 15 and *fha* of class 16 do not change when the demonstrative copulative prefix *asi-* is attached to them. Likewise, the vowel root *o* in all basic demonstratives of classes 1 and 14 changes to *u* after prefixing *asi-* to the basic demonstratives. This results in the demonstrative copulative *asuyu* of class 3 being identical to that of Tshivenda. The basic demonstrative *a* of class 6 changes to *ya* after prefixing *asi-* to *-a* and this results in *asiya*.

## POSITION 2

These demonstrative copulatives are characterised by the suffixes -uwe and -we. The suffix -uwe occurs with demonstrative copulatives of position 1 which end with the vowel -a or -o, e.g. asivhauwe, asiyauwe, etc. The suffix -we is attached to demonstrative copulatives of position 1 which end on -i, e.g. asiliwe. In the case of -uwe (class 1 and 3) the basic demonstrative appears to be completely omitted. Consequently this form only consists of the prefix asi- and the suffix -uwe.

## POSITION 3

This is characterised by the suffix -lee. The -u- which sometimes appears with -lee is part of the stem. This can be seen in the demonstrative copulatives of classes 1, 3 and 14, e.g. asiulee and asivhulee etc.

The following is a table of demonstrative copulatives with the prefix asi-.

CLASS	POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3
1	asiyu	asiuwe	asiu <sub>l</sub> ee
2	asivha	asivhauwe	asivha <sub>l</sub> ee
3	asiyu	asiuwe	asiu <sub>l</sub> ee
4	asiyi	asiyiwe	asiyi <sub>l</sub> ee
5	asi <sub>l</sub> i	asi <sub>l</sub> iwe	asi <sub>l</sub> i <sub>l</sub> ee
6	asiya	asiyawe	asiya <sub>l</sub> ee
7	asisi	asisiwe	asisi <sub>l</sub> ee
8	asizwi	asizwiwe	asizwi <sub>l</sub> ee
9	asiyi	asiyiwe	asiyi <sub>l</sub> ee
10	asidzhi	asidzhiwe	asidzhi <sub>l</sub> ee
14	asivhu	asivhuwe	asivhu <sub>l</sub> ee
15	asimo	asimouwe	asimo <sub>l</sub> aa
16/17	asifha	asifhauwe	asifha <sub>l</sub> ee
18	asimo	asimouwe	asimo <sub>l</sub> aa
20	asiko	asikouwe	asiko <sub>l</sub> aa

### 3.1.8.2 THE DEMONSTRATIVE COPULATIVE PREFIX GI-

Like the demonstrative copulative -asi, these demonstratives differ from those of Tshivenda because of the application of the suffixes of the second and third positions, viz -uwe, -<sub>l</sub>aa and -<sub>l</sub>ee respectively. Here, Tshiguvhu also uses -uwe for the second position whereas Tshivenda does not use any suffix, and in third position Tshiguvhu uses -<sub>l</sub>aa/-<sub>l</sub>ee instead of Tshivenda's -<sub>l</sub>a.

No changes occur when the demonstrative copulative prefix gi- is attached to basic demonstratives. Position 1 has no suffix, but position 2 is characterized by -uwe, whereas position 3 takes either -<sub>l</sub>aa or -<sub>l</sub>ee, depending on the final vowel of the form used in position 1, to which these suffixed are attached. If the final vowel is o or e -<sub>l</sub>aa is used; if it is a, -<sub>l</sub>ee is used.

The following table contains demonstrative copulatives with the prefix gi- in Tshiguvhu:

CLASS	POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3
1	giyo	giyouwe	giyo <sub>Λ</sub> laa
2	givha	givhauwe	givha <sub>Λ</sub> lee
3	giyo	giyouwe	giyo <sub>Λ</sub> laa
4	giye	giyeuwe	giye <sub>Λ</sub> laa
5	gile	gileuwe	gile <sub>Λ</sub> laa
6	gia	giyauwe	gia <sub>Λ</sub> lee
7	gise	giseuwe	gise <sub>Λ</sub> laa
8	gizwe	gizweuwe	gizwe <sub>Λ</sub> laa
9	giye	giyeuwe	giye <sub>Λ</sub> laa
10	gidzhe	gidzheuwe	gidzhe <sub>Λ</sub> laa
14	givhyo	givhyouwe	givhyo <sub>Λ</sub> laa
15	gimo	gimouwe	gimo <sub>Λ</sub> laa
16/17	gifha	gifhauwe	gifha <sub>Λ</sub> lee
18	gimo	gimouwe	gimo <sub>Λ</sub> laa
20	giko	gikouwe	giko <sub>Λ</sub> laa

### 3.2 RECAPITULATION

In the above exposition, it has been noted that the pronouns in Tshiguvhu display structural features found in both Northern Sotho and Tshivenda pronouns. For example: The absolute pronoun in Tshiguvhu is characterised by the suffix -na which is identical to that of Northern Sotho, while in Tshivenda the absolute pronoun is characterised by -ne or -ne. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: dzhona (they)

Tshivenda: dzone (they)

Quantitatives in Tshiguvhu are characterised by the

quantitative stem -o<sub>h</sub>e as it occurs in Tshivenda, e.g. vho<sub>h</sub>e (all). The possessive pronouns display structural features found in Northern Sotho and Tshivenda pronouns. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: hesu (our)            cf N.Sotho:    gešo  
Tshiguvhu: wawe (his/her) cf Tshivenda: wawe

There are only two enumerative stems in Tshiguvhu as in Tshivenda. Enumerative pronouns are formed in the same way that they are formed in Tshivenda:

ufhio (which)  
vhasili (strange, foreign)

Tshiguvhu has its own unique demonstratives. There are only three forms instead of the four forms of Tshivenda and Northern Sotho. Its first position resembles the first position of Lobedu whereas the second and third positions respectively resemble the third and fourth positions of Lobedu.

Compound demonstratives of all positions in Tshiguvhu resemble the fourth position of Tshivenda in form; that is they are formed by the absolute pronoun and basic demonstrative of any position in Tshiguvhu. For example: yenayo (that).

Demonstrative copulatives are characterised by demonstrative copulative prefixes namely, asi- and gi- which are equivalent to asi- and nga- in Tshivenda. On the other hand, the second position of demonstrative copulatives is characterised by the suffix -uwe or -we. These suffixes are also found in some dialects of Northern Sotho.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE VERB

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter mainly deals with the prefixal morphemes of Tshiguvhu, which include concords as well as non-concordial prefixes. Concordial prefixes include subject concords, object concords and the reflexive morpheme. Non-concordial prefixes such as negative prefixal morphemes are also looked into.

Furthermore the structure of different verb roots is expounded. These include primitive (basic), derivative and adopted verb roots (cf Poulos, 1990:161). A closer look is also taken into the structure of extended verb roots. According to Poulos (1990:169), these are verb roots which include one or more suffixal morphemes. The suffixes in question include the applied {-el-}, passive {-iw-}, neuter {-e-} and other extensions. The verb roots are analysed in terms of the structural elements identified in Lombard et al. (1985) Poulos (1990) and Poulos and Louwrens (1994).

### 4.2 THE SUBJECT CONCORDS

According to Lombard et al. (1985:101), the concordial morpheme which is derived from the class prefix of the subject noun is known as the subject concord and it forms an integral part of the verb, although it is written separately from the verb stem.

According to Poulos (1990:212-217) subject concords are formed by a concordial element and a vowel which



corresponds with the vowel of the class prefix, for example vha < {vh-} (concordial element) + {-a} (vowel corresponding with that of the class prefix). The subject concords of classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9 contain a zero prefix as a concordial element. Consequently they only consist of the vowel which corresponds with the vowel of the class prefix, for example: class 4 i < {∅-} + {-i} . Classes 16, 17 and 18 contain words with a locative meaning and as such they share a single subject concord, namely hu < {h-} + {-u} . The following table displays the subject concords of Tshiguvhu as well as Tshivenda:

	TSHIGUVHU	TSHIVENDA <sup>^</sup>
1st pers. singular	gi-	ndi-
1st pers. plural	ri-	ri-
2nd pers. singular	u-	u-
2nd pers. plural	li- <sup>^</sup>	ni-
Class 1	u-/a-	u-/a-
Class2	vha-	vha-
3	u-	u-
4	i-	i-
5	li- <sup>^</sup>	li- <sup>^</sup>
6	a-	a-
7	si-	tshi-
8	zwi-	zwi-
9	i-	i-
10	li-	dzi-
11	-	lu-
14	vhu-/hu-	vhu-/hu-
15	hu-	hu-
16	hu-	hu-
17	hu-	hu-
18	hu-	hu-
20	ku-	ku-
21	-	li- <sup>^</sup>

In Tshiguvhu the form of the subject concord in the perfect tense does not change as it does in Tshivenda<sup>^</sup>. In Tshivenda<sup>^</sup> the vowels of subject concords in perfect verbs are replaced by the perfect marker -o- (cf Poulos 1990:216). Compare the following list of subject concords used in perfect tense verbs in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda<sup>^</sup>:

	TSHIGUVHU	TSHIVENDA
1st pers. singular	gi-	nd(o)-
1st pers. plural	ri-	r(o)-
1st pers. singular	u-	w(o)-
1st pers. plural	li-	n(o)-
Class 1	u-/a-	∅(o)-
Class 2	vha-	vh(o)-
3	u-	w(o)-
4	i-	y(o)-
5	li-	ḷ(o)-
6	a-	∅(o)-
7	si-	tsh(o)-
8	zwi-	zw(o)-
9	i-	y(o)-
10	li-	dz(o)-
11	-	lw(o)-
14	vh(u)-/hu-	vh(o)-
15	hu-	h(o)
16	hu-	h(o)
17	hu-	h(o)
18	hu-	h(o)
20	ku-	kw(o)-
21	-	ḷ(o)-

Whereas Tshiguvhu leaves the subject concord unchanged in the perfect, marking the verb stem with the perfect extension instead, in Tshivenḁa the notion of "perfect" is indicated by marking the subject concord with -o-, the verb stem, in turn, remaining unchanged. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

## Tshiguvhu

- (i) Buli i a fula vhyanyi (present tense)  
(The goat is grazing grass)
- (ii) Buli i fulile vhyanyi (perfect tense)  
(The goat grazed grass)

## Tshivenda

- (i) Mbudzi i khou fula hatsi (present tense)  
(The goat is grazing grass)
- (ii) Mbudzi yo fula hatsi (perfect tense)  
(The goat grazed grass)

The underlined subject concords in (i) in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are similar in the present tense. On the other hand, the underlined subject concords in (ii) in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda demonstrate the use of the perfect marker -o- in Tshivenda, whereas in Tshiguvhu, the subject concords are not affected by tense.

## 4.3 THE OBJECT CONCORDS

The object concords, like the subject concords, are derived from the noun class prefixes, e.g.

Tshiguvhu: Gi vha vhoni vhana (I saw the children)

Musadzi u a zwi abia zwiliwa (She cooks food)

The underlined morphemes are object concords which refer to the object nouns, e.g. vhana (children) and zwiliwa (food).

The form of object concords is generally similar to that of subject concords, for example the object concord of

class prefix {si-} (class 7) is derived from class prefix si-. Object concords are thus also derived from class prefixes. The nasals of class prefixes are not elided in object concords as in the case of subject concords, for example the object concord of class prefix {mu-} (classes 1 and 3) is derived from the class prefix mu-.

Compare the following list of object concords in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda:

	TSHIGUVHU	TSHIVENDA
1st pers. singular	-N-	-N-
1st pers. plural	-ri-	-ri-
2nd pers. singular	-u-	-u-
2nd pers. plural	- <u>l</u> i-	-ni-
Class 1	-mu-	-mu-
Class 2	-vha-	-vha-
3	-u-	-u-
4	-i-	-i-
5	- <u>l</u> i-	- <u>l</u> i-
6	-a-	-a-
7	-si-	-tshi-
8	-zwi-	-zwi-
9	-i-	-i-
10	-li-	-dzi-
11	-	-lu-
14	-vhu-	-vhu-
15	-hu-	-hu-
16	-hu-	-hu-
17	-hu-	-hu-
18	-hu-	-hu-
20	-ku-	-ku-
21	-	- <u>l</u> i-

According to Lombard et al (1985:105) the object concord

{-N-} of the first person singular is subject to assimilation by the first consonant of the verbal root in Northern Sotho. This occurs in Tshiguvhu as well as in Tshivenda. Compare the following Tshiguvhu examples:

N + fh > mph	Masidi u ḁo mpha tshelede (Masidi will give me money)
N + r > nth	Maḥoli u nthuma doroboni (Maḥoli sends me to town)
N + s > nts	Madumi u ntsuvha mo sirubini (Madumi pinches me on the thigh)
N + sh > ntsh	Vhasimana vha ḁo ntshumela (The boys will work for me)
N + vh > mm	Gi mmoni sigoloni (I saw him at school)
N + w > ngw	Musimana u ḁo ngwisedzha fhasi (The boy will cause me to fall down)
N + h > nk	Munna u nkhuvalidzhe (The man injured me)

The form of object concords in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda is the same throughout except in the second person plural and class 7.

#### 4.4 THE REFLEXIVE MORPHEME

The reflexive morpheme {-i-} in Tshiguvhu indicates an action or process which is directed towards the subject of the verb. When this happens, the subject simultaneously acts as a semantic object, e.g.

Maḥoli u a ithada (Maḥoli likes herself)

The Tshivenda equivalent of the Tshiguvhu {-i-} is {-ḁi-}. The fact that the reflexive concord is {-i-} in Tshiguvhu is ascribed to influence from Northern Sotho. According to

Lombard et al. (1985:106) the reflexive morpheme {-i-}, can be traced to -i(N)- which causes sound changes similar to that of the object concord {N-} (1 p.s.) in Northern Sotho. This also occurs in Tshiguvhu but not in Tshivenda. The reflexive morpheme is positioned directly in front of the verb stem. Compare the following Tshiguvhu examples:

Nna gi a itsola                      \*-i- + -sola > -itsola  
(I blame myself)

Rina ri do iphatela ndu              \*-i- + -fhatela > -iphatela  
(We will build ourselves a house)

#### 4.5 THE NEGATIVE MORPHEMES

The following negative prefixal morphemes have been identified in Tshiguvhu:

##### (a) {a-}

This negative prefixal morpheme is the counterpart of {ga-} in Northern Sotho, which always appears at the beginning of certain negative indicative verbs. This negative morpheme is used in Tshivenda as well.

In the first person singular, the (negative) subject concord is {-si-}, and not the usual {gi-}. This alternation is also prominent in Hananwa (Kotzé, 1992:124) and is probably ascribable to influence from Northern Sotho. In Tshivenda, there is also alternation between the positive and negative subject concords of the first person singular, but this is between {ndi-} (positive) and {-thi-} (negative). Compare:

Tshiguvhu: A si lyi (I do not eat)      Hananwa: Ha se dye

Tshivenda: A thi li (I do not eat)

In the case of the second person and the other noun classes the subject concord is not affected when preceded by the negative prefixal morpheme {a-}. Compare the following Tshiguvhu examples:

A u dzivhi - second person (You do not know)

A <sup>^</sup>li fhufhi - class 5 (It doesn't fly)

In the case of the third person and noun class 6, the negative morpheme {a-} is realised as either /a-/ or /h-/. This occurs in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha yi sigoloni - third person  
(He does not go to school)

Tshiguvhu: Ha fhufhi - class 6  
(They do not fly)

Tshivenda: Ha <sup>^</sup>divhi mbalo - third person  
(He does not go to school)

Tshivenda: Ha kudzeli makumba - class 6  
(They do not lay eggs)

(b) {-sa-}

This negative prefixal morpheme in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda directly precedes the verbal stem. {-sa-} occurs mainly in the participial and infinitive verb forms. In the participial form it may alternate with the negative prefixal morpheme {-si-} which is followed by the formative {-ya-}. Compare:

(i) Participial

Ha likhomu li sa vhuyi, <sup>^</sup>li vhudzhe vhamusada

(If the cattle do not return, you must report them to the chief)



Ha likhomu li si ya vhuyi, li vhudzhe vhamusada

(If the cattle do not return, you must report them to the chief)

(ii) Infinitive

Tshiguvhu: U sa lya (not to eat)

(c) {-si-}

This negative morpheme always occurs directly in front of the verb stem. This occurs mainly in the subjunctive, consecutive and imperative verb forms. Compare:

(i) Subjunctive

Tshiguvhu: Vha nyaga uri vha si shume - subjunctive

(They do not want to work)

(ii) Consecutive

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimana vha dile vha si pose marifhi

(The boys came and did not post the letters)

(iii) Imperative

Tshiguvhu: U si lye! (Do not eat!)

The Tshiguvhu imperative verb form is very different to that of Northern Sotho because Northern Sotho lacks a subject concord whereas it features in Tshiguvhu. However, dialectically, a subject concord is used in Lobedu (cf Kotzé, 1995:377). The inclusion of the subject concord in Tshiguvhu is probably due to Lobedu influence. Kotzé is also of the opinion that in Lobedu the imperative negative

is actually the subjunctive negative which is used to express negative commands.

When used in the imperative, the negative prefixal morpheme {-si-} in Tshiguvhu functions similarly to {-songo-} in Tshivenda. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: U si ḁe! - imperative (Do not come!)

Tshivenda: U songo ḁa! - imperative (Do not come!)

The Tshiguvhu negative verb form here is structurally similar to the Lobedu, e.g.

Lobedu: O khe le! (Don't eat!) (Kotzé, 1995:377)

#### 4.6 MORPHOLOGICAL TYPES OF VERB ROOT

There are three types of verb root in Tshiguvhu. These three types are:

##### 4.6.1 SIMPLEX VERB ROOTS

According to Poulos (1990:161), this type of verb root does not incorporate any extension, and can be further sub-divided into three types, namely primitive roots, derivative roots and adopted roots.

##### 4.6.1.1 Primitive verb roots

This type of root is not derived from any other part of speech (Poulos, 1990:161).

The following examples from Tshiguvhu can be cited:

-vhon- see

-si- leave behind

-or- warm oneself

Some of the primitive verb roots in Tshiguvhu have clearly been influenced by or derived from Lobedu and related Northern Sotho dialects. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu		Khelobedu	
-ly-	(eat)	-ly-	(-l̥- in Tshivenda)
-khud-	(hide)	-khud-	(-dzumb- in Tshivenda)
-dw-	(hear)	-d̥w-	(-pf- in Tshivenda)

#### 4.6.1.2 Derivative verb roots

According to Poulos (1990:162) these are verb roots which have been derived from nouns and adjectives. The verb roots are derived from these parts of speech by using verbalisers such as /-fh-/ and /-fhal-/. Compare the following Tshiguvhu examples:

-gwafh-	(be lazy)	from the nominal root -gwa (lazy)
-t̥al̥ifh-	(become wise)	from nominal root -t̥ali (wise)
-vhifh-	(become ugly/bad)	from the adjective root -vhi (bad)
-t̥hugufhal-	(become grieved)	from the nominal root -t̥hugu (pain)

Some verb roots are derived from ideophones by using the verbaliser {-m-}. Other verbalisers found in Tshivenda are rarely used in Tshiguvhu to form verbal roots from a non-verbal base. These verbalisers are as follows: {-tshel-}, {-t-}, {-k-}, {-kal-}, {-dz-}, {-kany}, {-ny-}, {-l-} and {-w-}. In Tshivenda, these verbalisers are more commonly used than in Tshiguvhu. The use of the verbaliser {-m-} is illustrated by the following examples from Tshiguvhu.

- gwadam- (kneel) from the ideophone gwada!
- gidim- (run) from the ideophone gidi!

#### 4.6.1.3 Adopted verb roots

According to Poulos (1990:166) adopted verb roots are roots adopted from other languages and in this regard English is the main source. Note the following examples:

- rob- from English (rob)
- gad- from English (guard)
- dzhoin- from English (join)
- dirivhul- from English (dribble)
- rab- from English (rub)
- ras- from Afrikaans (raas)

#### 4.6.2 EXTENDED VERB ROOTS

According to Poulos (1990:169), these are verb roots which include one or more suffixal morphemes. These suffixes are called verbal extensions and they modify the basic meaning of the verb root. Some extensions cause phonological changes to extended verb roots, whereas others do not.

The following verbal extensions occur in Tshiguvhu:

##### 4.6.2.1 The applied

In Tshiguvhu, unlike in Tshivenḁa, {-e<sub>l</sub>-} may assume different forms as a result of phonological changes to which it is subjected. The allomorphs in question in Tshiguvhu are /-e<sub>l</sub>-/ and /-edzh-/. The final consonants of the verb roots are responsible for the realization of these allomorphs. /-e<sub>l</sub>-/ is the basic, unaltered realization of the applied extension, whereas the

allomorph /-edzh-/ is realised when the root or extended root ends on s, dzw and ny. Compare the following examples:

s + -el<sub>̣</sub> > sedzh: -lis- > -lisedzh- (look after for)  
 dzw + -el<sub>̣</sub> > dzwedzh: -ṭhadzw- > -ṭhadzwedzh- (wash for)  
 ny + -el<sub>̣</sub> > nyedzh: -fheny- > -fhenyedzh- (overcome on  
 behalf of)  
 dz + -el > dzhedzh: -vhidzh- > -vhidzhedzh- (call for)

Changes similar to the abovementioned ones also occur in Northern Sotho, and are further evidence of Tshiguvhu's relatedness to Northern Sotho. Compare the following Northern Sotho equivalents of the Tshiguvhu examples just quoted:

s + -el > setš: -diš- > -dišetš- (look after for)  
 tsw + -el > tswetš: -hlatšw > -hlatswetš- (wash for)  
 ny + -el > nyetš: -feny- > -fenyetš- (overcome on  
 behalf for)  
 tš + -el > tšetš: -bitš- > -bitšetš- (call for)

There are no phonological changes in Tshiguvhu when /-el<sub>̣</sub>-/ is affixed to verb roots ending on any consonants other than dz, s, ny and dzw, for example:

-reg- (buy) > -regel<sub>̣</sub>- (buy for)  
 -shum- (work) > -shumel<sub>̣</sub>- (work for)  
 -fhaṭ<sub>̣</sub>- (build) > -fhaṭel<sub>̣</sub>- (build for)  
 -rum- (send) > -rumel<sub>̣</sub>- (send for)  
 -vhofh- (tie) > -vhofhel<sub>̣</sub>- (tie for)

In contrast to Tshiguvhu, there are no changes when /-el<sub>̣</sub>-/ is affixed to verb roots in Tshivenda, for example:

-lis- (look after) > -lisel- (look after for)

-ṭanzw- (wash) > -ṭanzwel- (wash for)  
 -fheny- (overcome) > -fhenyel- (overcome on behalf of)

#### 4.6.2.2 The causative

##### (a) The extension {-Y-}

Poulos (1990:179) presents this extension with a capital {-Y-} in order to show that it causes verb roots to undergo certain phonological changes. This occurs in verb roots which end on the consonants n, l, w, or r. The phonological changes are illustrated by the following examples:

##### (i) Verb roots which end on l

When {-Y-} is attached to verb roots which end on l, fusion occurs and dzh results. In Tshivenda the same combination has dz as a result.

-magal- (become amazed) + -Y- > -magadz- (amaze)  
 -fel- (become finished) + -Y- > -fhedz- (finish)  
 -sibil- (walk) + -Y- > -sibidz- (cause to walk)  
 -aravhel- (sauna) + -Y- > -aravhedz- (sauna)

##### (ii) Verb roots which end on w

When {-Y-} is attached to verb roots which end on w, fusion occurs and s results.

-rebuluw- (turn around, become converted) + -Y-  
 > -rebulus- (turn around, convert)  
 -karuw- (wake up) + -Y- > -karus- (cause to get up)  
 -dzuw- (awake) + -Y- > -dzus- (wake up)  
 -phiguluw- (roll over) + -Y- > -phigulus- (cause to roll  
 over)

## (iii) Verb roots which end on r

When {-Y-} is attached to verb roots which end on r, fusion resulting in s in Tshiguvhu and dz in Tshivenda.

-abar- (dress) + -Y- > -abes- (help to dress)

## (iv) Verb roots which end on n

When {-Y-} is attached to verb roots which end on n, fusion occurs, resulting in a root final /-ny-/.

-ligan- (be equal) + -Y- > -ligany- (equalise)  
 -thagan- (become mixed) + -Y- > -thagany- (cause to mixed)  
 -dzen- (enter) + -Y- > -dzeny- (put into)

## (b) The extension {-is-}

{-is-} can assume two forms as a result of its sensitivity to specific phonological environments. This is illustrated by the following:

## (i) Verb roots which end on n

When {-is-} is attached to verb roots which end on n, {-is-} changes to /-tsh-/.

-ligan- (be equal) + -is- > -ligantsh (equalise)  
 -thagan- (mixed) + -is- > -thagantsh (cause to mixed)  
 -dzen- (enter) + -is- > -dzentsh (cause to enter)

There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as {-is-} remains unchanged when affixed to -vhon- e.g. -vhonisa





## (a) Verb roots which end on p

## Tshiguvhu

-kap- (scoop) > -kapiw- (be scooped)

-tap- (flick) > -tapiw- (be flicked)

Tshivenda<sup>^</sup>

-kap- (scoop) > -kapw- [-k'apj'-] (be scooped)

-tap- (flick) > -tapw- [-t'apj'-] (be flicked)

## (b) Verb roots which end on ph

## Tshiguvhu

-thuph- (pile) > -thuphiw- (be piled)

-khoph- (break off) > -khophiw- (be broken off)

Tshivenda<sup>^</sup>

-thuph- (pile) > -thuphw- [-thuphj-] (be piled)

-khoph- (break off) > -khophw- [-khophj-] (be broken off)

## (c) Verb roots which end on b

## Tshiguvhu

-beb- (bear) > -bebiw- (be born)

-thub- (capture) > -thubiw- (be captured)

-dob- (pick up) > -dobiw- (be picked up)

## Tshivenda

- beb- (bear) > -bebw- [-bebj-] (be borne)  
 -thub- (capture) > -thubw- [-thubj-] (be captured)  
 -dob- (pick up) > -dobw- [-dobj-] (be picked up)

## (d) Verb roots which end on m

## Tshiguvhu

- sum- (report) > -sumiw- (be reported)  
 -lim- (plough) > -limiw- (be ploughed)  
 -rem- (chop) > -remiw- (be chopped)

## Tshivenda

- sum- (report) > -suñw- [-suŋw-] (be reported)  
 -lim- (plough) > -liñw- [-liŋw-] (be ploughed)  
 -rem- (chop) > -reñw- [-reŋw-] (be chopped)

## (e) Verb roots which end on fh

## Tshiguvhu

- lafh- (give medical attention) > -lafhiw- (receive  
 medical attention)  
 -rafh- (extract (honey)) > -rafhiw- (be extracted)  
 -vhofh- (bound) > -vhofhiw- (be bound)

## Tshivenda

- lafh- (give medical attention) > -laxw- [-laxw-] (be  
 doctored)  
 -rafh- (extract (honey)) > -raxw- [-raxw-] (be extract)  
 -vhofh- (bound) > -vhoxw- [-vhoxw-] (be bound)

(f) Verb roots which end on *vh*

## Tshiguvhu

-dzivh- (know) > -dzivhiw- (be known)  
 -sevh- (tip) > -sehiw- (be tipped)  
 -rovh- (break) > -rovhiw- (be broken)

## Tshivenda

-ḍivh- (know) > -ḍihw- [-ḍiγw-] (be known)  
 -sevh- (tip) > -sehw- [-sɛγw-] (be tipped)  
 -rovh- (break) > -rohw- [-rɔγw-] (be broken)

Due to the process of dissimilation in Tshivenda, as illustrated above, some verb roots have allomorphs which are the result of the affixation of /-w-/, while in Tshiguvhu these verb roots remain unaltered. This is illustrated by the following examples:

## Tshiguvhu

Morpheme	Morph
{-tap-} (flick)	/-tap-/ (flick) as in -tapa
	/-tap-/ (be flicked) as in
	-tapiwa

## Tshivenda

Morpheme	Allomorphs
{-tap-} (flick)	/-tap-/ (flick) as in -tapa
	/-tap-/ (be flicked) as in
	-tapwa
	/-tak-/ (be flicked) as in
	-takwa

## Tshiguvhu

Morpheme  
 {-thuph-} (pile)

Morph  
 /-thuph-/ (pile) as in -thupha  
 /-thuph-/ (be pile) as in  
 -thuphiwa

## Tshivenda

Morpheme  
 {-thuph-} (pile)

Allomorphs  
 /-thuph-/ (pile) as in -thupha  
 /-thuph-/ (be piled) as in  
 -thuphwa  
 /-thukh-/ (be piled) as in  
 -thukhwa

## Tshiguvhu

Morpheme  
 {-beb-} (bear)

Morph  
 /-beb-/ (bear) as in -beba  
 /-beb-/ (be born) as in -bebiwa

## Tshivenda

Morpheme  
 {-beb-} (bear)

Allomorphs  
 /-beb-/ (bear) as in -beba  
 /-beb-/ (be borne) as in -bebwa  
 /-beg-/ (be borne) as in -begwa

## Tshiguvhu

Morpheme  
 {-rem-} (chop)

Morph  
 /-rem-/ (chop) as in -rema  
 /-rem-/ (be chopped) as in  
 -remiwa

## Tshivenda

Morpheme	Allomorphs
{-rem-} (chop)	/-rem-/ (chop) as in -rema
	/-reŋ-/ (be chopped) as in -reŋwa
	/-rem-/ (be chopped) as in -remwa

It is clear from the examples just quoted that the Venda allomorphs which include a velar final consonant are the result of the affixation of /-w-/.

The passive extension /-iw-/ does not cause any phonological changes to verb roots in either Tshiguvhu or Tshivenda. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda

-kuvh- (wash)	>	-kuvhiw- (be washed)
-fh- (give)	>	-fhiw- (be given)
-k- (pluck)	>	-kiw- (be plucked, be drawn)
-vhon- (see)	>	-vhoniw- (be seen)

## 4.6.2.4 The reciprocal

Like the passive extension {-iw-}, the reciprocal extension {-an-} does not cause any phonological changes in Tshiguvhu. Compare the following:

-rad- (love)	>	-radan- (love each other)
-rum- (send)	>	-ruman- (send each other)
-ruh- (swear)	>	-ruhan- (swear at one another)
-vhon- (see)	>	-vhonan- (see one another)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda as far as the suffixation of the reciprocal extension {-an-} is concerned.

#### 4.6.2.5 The neuter extensions

Two types of neuter extensions occur in Tshiguvhu, namely {-e-} and {-a<sub>1</sub>-}. The neuter extension {-e-} in Tshiguvhu is equivalent to {-eg-} in Northern Sotho but, unlike Northern Sotho, Tshiguvhu has four neuter extensions. The two neuter extensions of Tshiguvhu do not cause any phonological changes.

##### (a) The neuter extension {-e-}

This extension causes the verb root to become intransitive because the extended verb root cannot take any objects. Compare the following:

-ḍw- (hear)	>	-ḍwe- (be audible)
-vha <sub>1</sub> - (read)	>	-vha <sub>1</sub> e- (be legible)
-la <sub>1</sub> ṭh- (throw away)	>	-la <sub>1</sub> ṭhe- (be lost)
-vhofh- (bind)	>	-vhofhe- (able to be bound)

The usage of these verb roots is illustrated by the following sentences:

Nama i a lyea

(The meat is edible)

Ṇwaninyana u a radea

(The girl is loveable)

##### (b) The neuter extension {-a<sub>1</sub>-}

Like the extended verb roots formed by affixing {-e-} (cf (a) 4.2.2.5), the extended verb roots formed by affixing

{-a<sub>l</sub>-} are intransitive. The following are examples of neuter verb roots which include {-a<sub>l</sub>-}:

-l<sub>e</sub>m- (spoil) > -l<sub>e</sub>ma<sub>l</sub>- (become spoilt)  
 -v<sub>h</sub>ais- (hurt) > -v<sub>h</sub>aisa<sub>l</sub>- (become injured)  
 -d<sub>w</sub>- (hear) > -d<sub>w</sub>a<sub>l</sub>- (be comprehensible, audible)

The occurrence of such extended verb roots is illustrated by the following sentences:

Ŋwana yo u a l<sub>e</sub>ma<sub>l</sub>a  
 (This child is becoming spoilt)  
 Mulumo u a d<sub>w</sub>a<sub>l</sub>a  
 (The sound is audible)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda as far as the neuter extensions {-e-} and {-a<sub>l</sub>-} are concerned.

#### 4.6.2.6 The reversive extensions

Reversive extensions may be divided into transitive and intransitive reversive extensions.

##### (a) The transitive reversive {-u<sub>l</sub>-}

The transitive reversive is formed by suffixing the extension {-u<sub>l</sub>-} to the verb root. According to Poulos (1990:185) the extension {-u<sub>l</sub>-} is suffixed to verb roots containing any final vowel other than o in which case the variant extension /-o<sub>l</sub>-/ is used instead of /-u<sub>l</sub>-/. The allomorph /-o<sub>l</sub>-/ occurs under the same circumstances in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. Examples of transitive reversives have proved difficult to find. Nonetheless, the following examples serve to exemplify the two realizations of {-u<sub>l</sub>-}:

-sim- (plant) > -simu<sub>l</sub>- (uproot)  
 -a<sub>l</sub>- (spread out)a mat > -a<sub>l</sub>u<sub>l</sub>- (roll up a mat)

The reversive extension /-u<sub>l</sub>-/ has a variant extension /-o<sub>l</sub>-/. This variant extension also forms an extended reversive verb root by being suffixed to the verb root. This occurs when the base root contains the vowel o but there are very few examples in both Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. Compare the following example of this reversive extension:

-t<sub>o</sub>m- (pierce, insert) > -t<sub>o</sub>mo<sub>l</sub>- (pull out)

(b) The transitive reversive {-u<sub>l</sub>l-}

The transitive reversive extension {-ulul-} of Tshivenda manifests found as {-u<sub>l</sub>l-} in Tshiguvhu. {-u<sub>l</sub>l-} is suffixed to verb roots in order to form reversive verb roots. This extension is affixed when the base root contains any vowel other than o. Compare the following examples:

-l<sub>i</sub>m- (plough) > -l<sub>i</sub>mu<sub>l</sub>l- (replough)  
 -reg- (buy) > -regu<sub>l</sub>l- (buy back)  
 -fash- (catch) > -fashu<sub>l</sub>l- (release)

Apart from the allomorph /-u<sub>l</sub>l-/, the transitive reversive extension also has an allomorph /-o<sub>l</sub>l-/ in Tshiguvhu just as Tshivenda has the allomorphs /-ulul-/ and /-olol-/. The use of the contracted forms /-u<sub>l</sub>l-/ and /-o<sub>l</sub>l-/ appears to be the result of influence from Northern Sotho dialects such as Lobedu in which {-o<sub>l</sub>l-} occurs (Kotzé, 1995:330).



Compare the following:

-vhofh- (tie) > -vhofh<sub>l</sub><sub>l</sub>- (untie)  
 -thom- (start) > -thom<sub>l</sub><sub>l</sub>- (start again)  
 -bony- (close the eyes) > -bony<sub>l</sub><sub>l</sub>- (open the eyes)

(c) The intransitive reversive {-uw-}

The extension {-uw-} is affixed to the base root when it does not contain an o. When the base root does contain o then the allomorph /-ow-/ realizes. Compare the following examples:

-pharu<sub>l</sub>- (pull apart)  
 cf -pharuw- (split)

-phamu<sub>l</sub>- (wipe something off)  
 cf -phamuw- (peel off)

-tom<sub>l</sub>- (pull out)  
 cf -tomow- (pulled out)

(d) The intransitive reversive {-uluw-}

The extension {-u<sub>l</sub>uw-} and its allomorph /-o<sub>l</sub>ow-/ have a repetitive significance. Compare the following examples of extended reversive verb roots with /-u<sub>l</sub>uw-/ and /-o<sub>l</sub>ow-/:

-tad- (wind)  
 cf -tadu<sub>l</sub>uw- (become unrolled)  
 -vhofh- (tie)  
 cf -vhofholow- (become untied)

Compare the use of these intransitive stems in the following sentences:

Thabo i a v<sup>h</sup>ofhol<sup>o</sup>wa

(The rope is (be)coming loose)

Dara<sup>t</sup>a i a ta<sup>d</sup>ulu<sup>w</sup>a

(The wire is (be)coming unrolled)

#### 4.6.2.7 The perfect extension {-il...e}

The perfect tense in Tshiguvhu is characterised by the extension {-il...e}, instead of the perfect tense marker {-o-} which marks the subject concord of verbs in the perfect tense in Tshivenda. The use of {-il...e} in Tshiguvhu is a clear sign of influence from Northern Sotho as this extension is not used in Tshivenda at all.

According to Lombard et al. (1985:116-117) the extension {-il...e} is a feature of the perfect tense in Northern Sotho. The occurrence of -il- and -e is mutually obligatory although sometimes their uninterrupted co-existence may be upset by the passive extension -w- which is inserted between them. See, in this regard, its occurrence in the Northern Sotho stem -bonilwe (was seen). Combinations of this nature are also found in Tshiguvhu.

The norm variant {-ile} has the allomorphs /-il<sup>e</sup>/, /-idzhe/, /-i/, /-ne/ and /-dzhe/. As a result of fusion it is sometimes not possible to isolate the constituents of these allomorphs synchronically. The description regarding their occurrence is largely based on that of Lombard et al. (1985) for Northern Sotho as a result because of the obvious similarities between Tshiguvhu and Northern Sotho.

(a) When the final syllable of a polysyllabic verb stem is la, this la is replaced by dzhi, for example:

-sibi<sup>l</sup>a (walk)

-sibidzhi (walked)

-magal <sup>^</sup> a (surprise)	-magadzhi (surprised)
-hubul <sup>^</sup> a (think)	-hubudzhi (thought)
-fhumul <sup>^</sup> a (keep quiet)	-fhumudzhi (kept quiet)
-aravhel <sup>^</sup> a (take a vapour path)	-aravhedzhi (took a vapour path)

(b) When the verb stem ends on al<sup>^</sup>a, this al<sup>^</sup>a is replaced by edzhi, for example:

-dal <sup>^</sup> a (fill, is full)	-dedzhi (filled, was full)
-vhonal <sup>^</sup> a (is visible)	-vhonedzhi (was visible)
-dwal <sup>^</sup> a (is audible)	-dwedzhi (was audible)

(c) /-idzhe/

When the final syllable of a verb stem is sa, swa, tsha, dzwa the allomorph /-idzhe/ is used, for example:

-tus <sup>^</sup> a (take away)	-tusidzhe (took away)
-swasw <sup>^</sup> a (joke)	-swaswidzhe (joked)
-vhontsh <sup>^</sup> a (show)	-vhontshidzhe (showed)
-thadz <sup>^</sup> wa (wash)	-thadzwidzhe (washed)

When the final syllable of a verb stem is dzha the allomorph /-idzhe/ is used, while the final consonant dzh of the verb stem changes to l, for example:

-vhudzha (tell)	-vhulidzhe (told)
-khudzha (rest)	-khulidzhe (rested)
-thadzha (vomit)	-thalidzhe (vomited)
-hodzha (kindle)	-holidzhe (kindled)

There are, however, examples ending on dzha to which the allomorph /-idzhe/ is simply affixed without any resulting changes to the verbal root, for example:

-vhudzha (tell)	-vhudzhidzhe (told)
- <u>h</u> thadzha (vomit)	- <u>h</u> thadzhidzhe (vomited)

(d) /-dzhe/

When the final syllable of a verb stem is -nya the allomorph /-dzhe/ is used, for example:

-fhanya (overcome)	-fhendzhe (overcame)
- <u>h</u> thaganya (mix)	- <u>h</u> thagandzhe (mixed)

(e) /-i/

The extension {-il...e} has a shortened form which realizes as /-i/ when the extension is affixed to certain roots ending on n or m for example:

-vhon- (see)	-vhoni (saw)
-dzen- (enter)	-dzeni (entered)
- <u>h</u> atham- (open)	- <u>h</u> athami (opened)
-em- (stand)	-emi (stood)

The extension {il..e} realizes as /-ile/ when suffixed to the following verb roots instead of the shortened allomorph /-i/, for example:

-hum- (turn back)	-hum <u>l</u> e (turned back)
-rem- (chop)	-rem <u>l</u> e (chopped)
-rum- (send)	-rum <u>l</u> e (sent)

In the following examples /-ile/ intrudes into the root. After coalescence of the first a and the i of -ile, the l of -ile is discarded. Vowel replacement finally causes the ending e to be replaced by i at this stage.

-tswara (catch)	-tsweri (caught)
-abara (put on)	-aberi (put on)

## (f) /-ne/

The allomorph /-ne/ is affixed to certain verb roots ending on n, for example:

-khun- (harvest)	-khunne (harvested)
-non- (fat)	-nonne (fattened, be fat)

The use of three different realizations of the perfect extension in roots ending on n, as treated in 4.6.2.7 (e) and (f) above, is also found in Northern Sotho. In Northern Sotho there is also an allomorph /-me/, but this is not found in Tshiguvhu.

(g) /-i<sub>l</sub>e/

Unlike Northern Sotho, there is no coalescence of the vowel i of the extension {-i<sub>l</sub>...e} and the ending vowel -a of the verb stem when the extension {i<sub>l</sub>...e} is suffixed to monosyllabic verb roots. Instead /-i<sub>l</sub>e/ is simply affixed. Compare the following examples:

-n- (rain)	-ni <sub>l</sub> e (rained)
-ly- (eat)	-lyi <sub>l</sub> e (ate)
-gw- (come out)	-gwi <sub>l</sub> e (came out)
-nw- (drink)	-nwi <sub>l</sub> e (drank)
-w- (fall)	-wi <sub>l</sub> e (fell)

In most cases the ending vowel -a of the verb stem is replaced by the allomorph /-i<sub>l</sub>e/. Compare the following:

-rema (chop)	-remi <sub>l</sub> e (chopped)
-rada (love)	-radi <sub>l</sub> e (loved)

-gwa (come out)	-gwile (came out)
-hula (grow up)	-hulile (grew up)
-xwa (die)	-xwile (died)
-lya (eat)	-lyile (ate)
-vhuba(mould)	-vhubile (moulded)

The use of the perfect extension /-il...e/ in Tshiguvhu is a clear indication of influence from Northern Sotho because this extension is not used in Tshivenda at all. The norm variant {-ile} has the allomorphs /-ile/, /-dzhe/, /-idzhe/, /-ne/ and /-i/ which are equivalent to /-tše/, /-etše/, /-itše/, /-ne/ and /-e/ in Northern Sotho.

#### 4.6.2.8 The intensive -es-

This extension is not used in Northern Sotho, and is clearly a Tshivenda feature. Compare the following examples:

##### Tshiguvhu

-ly- (eat)	-lyes- (overeat)
-tswar- (hold)	-tswares- (hold tightly)
-lem- (spoil)	-lemes- (excessively)

##### Tshivenda

-l- (eat)	-les- (overeat)
-far- (hold)	-fares- (hold tightly)
-lem- (spoil)	-lemes- (excessively)

A reduplicated version of -es- is also used, viz -eses-. Compare the following:



-tomow- (become pulled out) > -tomokan- (become loose)

/-okan-/ changes to /-okany-/ when the verb stem is followed by an object. Compare the following:

-tomow- (become pulled out) > -tomokany- (become loose)

(c) /-ukan-/

The allomorph is affixed to extended verb roots with the extensions /-ul-/ and /-uw-/. Compare the following:

-pharuw- (split) > -pharukan- (split into many pieces)

-kherul- (tear)

-kheruw- (tear) > -kherukan- (tear into many pieces)

This allomorph /-ukan-/ changes to /-ukany-/ when the verb stem is followed by an object. Compare the following:

-pharuw- (split) > -pharukany- (split into many pieces)

-kherul- (tear) > -kherukany- (tear into many pieces)

#### 4.6.2.10 Additional miscellaneous extensions

Poulos (1990:193) indicates that in Tshivenda there are some verbal extensions with no corresponding base roots to confirm their identity. He further says that, "A comparative study of the languages in the family, however, reveals that these forms are in fact, extensions." Lombard et al. (1985:126-127) go further than Poulos by naming most of the extensions, which are dealt with in the paragraphs below.



## (a) The positional {-am-}

The incorporation of the extension {-am-} into the root indicates that the subject of the verb assumes some condition, bodily position or posture, for example:

-<sup>^</sup>atham- (open the mouth) < -\*<sup>^</sup>ath-  
 -ganam- (lie on back) < -\*gan-  
 -kunam- (stand aslant, hang over forward or sideways)  
 < -\*kun-

Also compare the following sentence:

Masidi u <sup>^</sup>athama <sup>^</sup>mulomo  
 (Masidi's mouth hangs open)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḡa as far as the positional extension {-am-} is concerned.

## (b) The extension {-e-}

This extension is suffixed to the root, e.g.

-<sup>^</sup>lovhe- (soak in) < -\*<sup>^</sup>lovh-  
 -kape- (hang, sling something over) < -\*kap-

According to Poulos (1990:192) the extension {-e-} adds the idea of "hanging or placing something" in a position relative to a root, for example:

Vhakegulu vha kapea liguvho holimu ha mmudwani  
 (The old women hang blankets on the wall)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḡa as far as the extension {-e-} is concerned.

## (c) The contactive {-ar-}

In most cases this extension has become part of the root because the original root is not used without {-ar-} anymore. This extension conveys the idea that contact takes place between objects, e.g.

-abar- (wear, put on) > -\*ab-  
 -tswar- (hold) > -\*tsw-

Compare the following example of such an extended verb root in a sentence:

Vhana vha abara marukhu  
 (Children put on trousers)

The form and use of {-ar-} is similar in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

## 4.7 RECAPITULATION

From the preceding discussion it is evident that, despite the fact that Tshiguvhu is a dialect of Tshivenda, it also shares some significant characteristics with Northern Sotho. As has been indicated in previous chapters, these characteristics have most probably entered Tshiguvhu through the influence of the Northern Sotho's dialects, spoken closest to Venda territory, namely either Lobedu or Tlokwa, or both. In this section the most prominent differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda which have been covered in this chapter, are highlighted.

A very significant difference between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda is the use of the perfect extension {-il...e} in the former, instead of marking the subject concord with

the vowel -o-, as is the practice in the latter. It is clear that Tshiguvhu uses a Sotho strategy by marking the extended verb root in the perfect tense, whereas Tshivenda uses a different strategy whereby the subject concord, and not the extended verb root, is marked. The rules according to which the allomorphs of the perfect extension in Tshiguvhu are selected, clearly have their origin in Northern Sotho.

The Tshiguvhu reflexive morpheme {-i-} differs structurally from its standard counterpart, namely {-di-}. The Tshiguvhu {-i-} is identical to the Northern Sotho reflexive and, as such, this represents further evidence of the relatively close relationship between Tshiguvhu and Northern Sotho.

In Tshiguvhu the applied extension is sensitive to its phonological environment, and because of this it has a number of allomorphs. The use of these allomorphs is clearly governed by rules similar to those which determine the shape of allomorphs of the Northern Sotho {-el-}. In contrast to this, the applied extension has no allomorphs in Tshivenda. This should be seen as further evidence of influence from Northern Sotho.

Tshiguvhu's use of the passive extension actually differs from both Northern Sotho and Tshivenda. In both of these languages two passive extensions are used, namely /-iw-/ and /-w-/. In Tshiguvhu, however, only the former is found.

The reversive extension {-ulul-} of Tshivenda occurs as the shortened {-ull-} in Tshiguvhu. This can probably be ascribed to Lobedu influence, in view of the fact that the Lobedu counterpart of this extension is the shortened {-oll-}.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the discussion below, the conjugation of the verb in Tshiguvhu is analysed in terms of the structural elements described in Poulos (1990) and Poulos and Louwrens (1994). In their analysis of the conjugation of the verb, these authors refer to the so called moods as "verb forms". By the conjugation of the verb is meant the use of the verb in different tenses, either in the positive or the negative as well as the different verb forms.

In dealing with verbal forms, the approach of Poulos (1990) is followed, whereby he has indicated that the term "mood" is not suitable for reference to all verbal forms in Tshivenda (Poulos, 1990:250). Instead of mood he opts for verbal forms (Poulos, 1990:250). The verbal forms which are discussed below are the infinitive, imperative, indicative, participial, potential, subjunctive, consecutive, and contingent. The structural differences between verb forms in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are also treated. Auxiliary verbs and aspectual prefixes are also examined.

As far as the verbal relative is concerned there is consensus with Poulos' viewpoint that it functions as a qualificative. However because the approach in this study is a morphological one, it has been decided to include verbal relatives in this chapter in order to have all verbal structures in the same chapter.

## 5.2 VERBS WHICH DO NOT INCORPORATE A SUBJECT CONCORD

There are two verbal forms in Tshiguvhu which do not incorporate a subject concord, namely the imperative and the infinitive.

### 5.2.1 THE IMPERATIVE

This is a verb form which is used to express commands. According to Poulos (1990:238) a command is normally directed towards a second person in the singular or plural.

The imperative in Tshiguvhu is formed in the following way:

#### (a) Monosyllabic verb stems

When monosyllabic verb stems are used, singular imperatives are formed by the monosyllabic verbal root plus the terminating vowel -a. The verbal stem is preceded by the vowel i- which is prefixed to it, resulting in the structure i-R-a. Compare:

Ifa! (die!)

In Tshivenda, monosyllabic verbal stems are preceded by the stabilizer i- and are sometimes also followed by -i, that is, i-R-a-i. For example:

Ilai! (eat!)

In the plural, the imperative is formed by the monosyllabic verbal root, terminating vowel -a and the imperative suffix {-ni}. The verb stem also takes a stabilizer i-, that is, i-R-a-ni. Compare:

Ifani! (die!)

**(b) Polysyllabic verb stems**

With polysyllabic verb stems, the imperative singular is characterised by a verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is R-a, whereas in the plural it is characterised by a verbal root, the terminative vowel -a and the imperative suffix -ni, that is R-a-ni. Compare:

sg. Shuma! (work!)

pl. Shumani!

The negative form of the imperative includes a subject concord. Its structure is similar to that of the negative form of the subjunctive. This situation also prevails in Lobedu and the similarity between Tshiguvhu and Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:378) in this aspect is probably as a result of contact between speakers of these language varieties. Its structure in Tshiguvhu is SC-si-R-e, while in Tshivenda it is SC-songo-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: U si lye! (Do not eat!)

Tshivenda: U songo la! (Do not eat!)

**(c) Imperative with object concord**

Singular imperatives are formed by an object concord, verbal root and the terminating vowel -e, that is OC-R-e. In the plural the imperative suffix -ni is added to the structure used in the singular, that is OC-R-e-ni. Compare the following:

sg. Vha thuse! (Help them!)

pl. Vha rumeni! (Send them!)

Tshiguvhu differs from Tshivenḁa in two respects. Firstly, the suffix -i, which is sometimes found in monosyllabic verb stems in Tshivenḁa, is not used in Tshiguvhu. Secondly, Tshiguvhu uses a negative form which is similar to that used in Lobedu, but markedly different from the -songo- form of Tshivenḁa.

### 5.2.2 THE INFINITIVE

According to Poulos (1990:244) the infinitive has nominal as well as verbal characteristics. In this section only the verbal characteristics are dealt with, since the nominal characteristics have been covered in chapter 2.

#### (a) Infinitive without object concord

The infinitive positive is formed by the infinitive prefix u-, the verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is u-R-a. In the negative, there is an infinitive prefix u-, a negative (infinitive) prefix -sa-, a verbal root and the terminative vowel -a, that is u-sa-R-a. Compare:

Positive: u shuma (to work)

Negative: u sa shuma (not to work)

#### (b) Infinitive with object concord

The infinitive may also include an object concord resulting in the structure u-OC-R-a. The negative is characterised by the inclusion of the negative infinitive prefix between the infinitive prefix and the

object concord, that is u-sa-OC-R-a. Compare:

Positive: u i vhona (to see it)

Negative: u sa i vhona (not to see it)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the infinitive.

### 5.3 VERBS WHICH INCORPORATE A SUBJECT CONCORD

The following verb forms, which do incorporate a subject concord, are treated:

#### 5.3.1 THE INDICATIVE

The indicative is treated with reference to the four basic tenses contained in Poulos (1990:251) namely the simple present, present continuous, future and perfect tenses.

##### (a) Simple present tense

The present tense positive in Tshiguvhu is formed by a subject concord, a verbal root and a terminating vowel -a, that is Sc-R-a. There is also a long form which is formed by a subject concord, the formative -a-, a verbal root and a terminating vowel -a, that is Sc-a-R-a. Compare:

Short form: Madumi u ya ñageni  
(Madumi goes to the doctor)

Long form: Madumi u a ya ñageni  
(Madumi goes to the doctor)



The negative form is formed by a negative prefix, the subject concord, the verbal root and a terminating vowel -i, that is a-SC-R-i. Compare:

Short form: Madumi ha yi ñageni  
(Madumi does not go to the doctor)

Long form: Lihodo a li lyi mavhele  
(The mouse does not eat the maize)

There are no differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda either in the short or long form of the indicative.

(b) The present continuous tense

The present continuous tense positive in Tshiguvhu is formed by a subject concord, the formative -a- and verb stem with the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-a-R-a. In Tshivenda, the positive form is formed by a subject concord, the formative -khou- and verb stem with the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-khou-R-a, compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhana vha a lya (The children are eating)  
Tshivenda: Vhana vha khou la (The children are eating)

The negative of the present continuous tense in Tshiguvhu is formed by the negative prefix a-, the subject concord, a verbal root, and the terminating vowel -i, that is a-SC-R-i. In Tshivenda the negative of the present continuous tense is formed by the negative prefix, the subject concord, the formative -khou-, the verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-khou-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhana a vha lyi  
 (The children are not eating)

Tshivenda: Vhana a vha khou la  
 (The children are not eating)

It is important to note that the pattern of the present continuous form in Tshiguvhu is identical to the long form of the simple present tense in Lobedu and Tlokwa (Mokgokong, 1966:76) and this should be seen as evidence of the influence from Lobedu and Tlokwa.

### (c) Future tense

The positive form of this tense is formed by a subject concord, the formative -do-, a verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-do-R-a. Compare:

Vhaninyana vha do ya nugeni  
 (The girls will go to the river)

In the negative this tense is characterised by a negative prefix, a subject concord, the negative formative -ga-, a verbal root and the terminating vowel -i, that is a-SC-ga-R-i. Instead of using the formative -ga-, Tshivenda has -nga-. Tshivenda also uses another negative form, consisting of a negative prefix, a subject concord, the negative formative -nga-, a formative -do-, a verbal root and a terminating vowel -a, that is a-SC-nga-do-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: A vha ga yi nugeni  
 (They will not go to the river)

Tshivenda: A vha nga yi mulamboni  
 (They will not go to the river)

Tshivenda: A vha nga do ya mulamboni (They will not go  
 to the river)

The second negative form of Tshivenda does not occur in Tshiguvhu.

(d) The perfect tense

The perfect tense positive is formed by the subject concord and a verbal stem with the perfect extension *-ile*, that is SC-R-*ile*. In Tshivenda, the perfect tense (positive) is characterised by the subject concord, perfect tense prefix *-o-* and verbal stem with the terminating vowel *-a*, that is SC-o-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhana vha vhinile  
 (The children danced)  
 Vhanna vha nwalile mañwalo  
 (The men wrote letters)

Tshivenda: Vhana vho tshina  
 (The children danced)  
 Vhanna vho nwala mañwalo  
 (The men wrote letters)

The negative of the perfect tense is formed by the negative prefix *a-*, a subject concord, the formative *-ya-* and a verbal stem with the terminating vowel *-a*, that is a-SC-ya-R-a. In Tshivenda it is formed by the negative prefix *a-*, a subject concord, the perfect tense prefix *-o-*, the formative *-ngo-*, a verbal root and the terminating vowel *-a*, that is a-SC-ngo-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhana a vha ya vhina  
 (The children did not dance)  
 Vhanna a vha ya nwala mañwalo

(The men did not write letters)

Tshivenda: Vhana a vho ngo tshina

(The children did not dance)

Vhanna a vho ngo n̄wala mañwalo

(The men did not write letters)

In the positive and negative traces of Northern Sotho influences are obvious. In the positive the perfect extension *-ile* is evidence of Northern Sotho influence, while the formative *-ya-* in the negative corresponds with the perfect-stative *-a-* in Northern Sotho (Lombard et al., 1985:146).

### 5.3.2 THE PARTICIPIAL

The participial verb is a dependent form because a participial predicate is always dependent upon another predicate. This verb form is treated according to its appearance in the simple present, future and perfect tenses. There is no present continuous tense in participial verbs in Tshiguvhu as there is in Tshivenda.

#### (a) Simple present tense

The positive form of the simple present tense in the participial is characterised by the formative *-i-* which immediately follows the subject concord. The participial formative *-i-* in Tshiguvhu is functionally equivalent to the participial formative *-khe-* in Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:360). In other words, the simple present tense follows the pattern SC-i-R-a. In Tshivenda the participial simple present tense is characterised by the participial formative *-tshi-*. In Tshivenda the simple present tense follows the pattern SC-tshi-R-a. Verbs in all tenses may be preceded by the conjunction

ha in Tshiguvhu and arali in Tshivenda, whereas in Lobedu it is he. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha vhanna vha i shuma ga maada, li vha fhe  
vho vhunwe vhyalwa  
(If the men work very hard, give them some  
beer)

Tshivenda: Arali vhanna vha tshi shuma nga maanda, ni  
vha fhe vhunwe halwa  
(If the men work very hard, give them some  
beer)

Lobedu: He diboo di khe (e)lwa le di lamole  
(If the bulls fight, you must separate them)  
(Kotzé, 1995:360)

The negative of participial verbs in the simple present tense consists of the subject concord, the negative prefix -si-, a formative -ya- and the verbal stem with the terminating vowel -i, that is SC-si-ya-R-i. The formative -ya- in Tshiguvhu is equivalent to the perfect-stative -a- in Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:360), e.g.

Tshiguvhu: Ha libuli li si ya vhuyi, li vhudzhe  
vhamusada  
(If the goats do not return, you must report  
them to the chief)

Lobedu: He bula e khe a ne re ga se leme  
(If it does not rain, we cannot plough)

The negative form of present participial verbs in Tshiguvhu may also be formed by the subject concord, the negative prefix -sa- and the verbal stem with the terminating vowel -i, that is SC-si-R-i. On the other hand, the negative in Tshivenda consists of the subject concord, negative prefix -sa-, verbal root and the terminating vowel -i, that is SC-sa-R-i. This form is

similar to the second form of Tshiguvhu. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha libuli li sa vhuyi, li vhudzhe vhamusada  
(If the goats do not return, you must report  
to the chief)

Tshivenda: Arali mbudzi dzi sa vhuyi, ni vhudze  
vhamusanda  
(If the goats do not return, you must report  
to the chief)

The occurrence of the first negative form, viz SC-si-ya-R-i suggests influence from Lobedu, as this form is found in Lobedu, but not in Tshivenda.

(b) The future tense

The positive form of the future tense is formed by the subject concord, the participial formative -i-, the future formative -do-, a verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-i-do-R-a. Compare the following examples:

Ha vhanna vha i do nwa vhyala, vha do badala  
(If the men will be drinking beer they will pay)

In the future tense the negative form of the verb is characterised by the negative prefix -si- and the formative -ya-. In other words, it follows the pattern SC-si-ya-R-i. In Tshivenda, the negative prefix is -sa- and the future formative -do- is also included. It therefore has the pattern SC-sa-do-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha vhanna vha si ya thavhi ngu, ni vha fhe  
tshelede  
(If the men will not be slaughtering sheep,  
give them money)

Tshivenḁa: Arali vhanna vha sa ḁo ṭhavha nngu, ni vha  
fhe tshelede  
(If the men will not be slaughtering sheep,  
give them money)

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa use entirely different morphemes in their verbal structures in the negative of the future tense. In Tshiguvhu the negative prefix is -si- while it is -sa- in Tshivenḁa. The verbal endings are also different, viz -i in Tshiguvhu and -a in Tshivenḁa. Lastly Tshiguvhu makes use of the formative -ya-, whereas Tshivenḁa uses the future formative -ḁo-.

(c) The perfect tense

The positive form of the perfect tense is characterised by the perfect suffix -ile, and it follows the pattern SC-R-ile. In Tshivenḁa the perfect tense of the participial is characterised by the perfect tense prefix -o- and this results in the pattern SC-o-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha vhana vha lyile vhuswa, li vha fhe meedzi  
vha nwe  
(If the children have eaten porridge, give  
them water to drink)

Tshivenḁa: Arali vhana vho la vhuswa, ni vha fhe maḁi  
vha nwe  
(If the children have eaten porridge, give  
them water to drink)

The negative form of the perfect tense is formed by the subject concord, the negative prefix -si-, the formative -ya-, a verbal root and the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-si-ya-R-a. In Tshivenḁa, it is formed by the subject concord, the formative -songo-, a verbal

root and the terminating vowel -a, that is SC-songo-R-a. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Ha vhana vha si ya lya vhuswa, li vha fhe  
meedzi vha nwe

(If the children have not eaten their  
porridge, give them water to drink)

Tshivenda: Arali vhana vha songo la vhuswa, ni vha fhe  
maḁi vha nwe

(If the children have not eaten their  
porridge, give them water to drink)

In Tshiguvhu, the perfect extension -ile characterises the positive form of perfect tense verbs whereas the perfect tense prefix -o- characterises the perfect tense in Tshivenda. In the negative, Tshiguvhu is characterised by the negative prefix -si- and the formative -ya-, whereas in Tshivenda it is characterised by the formative -songo-. The presence of the perfect extension -ile in the positive, as well as the negative prefix -si- and the formative -ya- in the negative form, may be attributed to Northern Sotho influence as similar negative forms exist in dialects of Northern Sotho (cf Lombard et al. 1985:147-149).

### 5.3.3 THE POTENTIAL FORM

This form of the verb expresses that an action is possible and it may occur in the main clause or in subordinate clauses. However, only its structure in main clauses is covered here.

Although potential verbs are commonly found in Northern Sotho, such verbs are not regarded as a manifestation of a separate "mood", viz verb form, as a result of different approaches to grammatical analysis (Poulos



and Louwrens, 1994:24). The structure of potential verbs is characterised by the potential formative *-ga-* in both the present and future tenses, with or without an object concord. The form of the verb in the positive has the pattern SC-*ga-R-a*. In Tshivenda, the potential formative is *-nga-* instead of *-ga-*. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimana vha ga shuma (The boys may work)

Tshivenda: Vhatukana vha nga shuma (The boys may work)

In Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda the negative is characterised by the negative prefix *-si-* and it follows the pattern SC-*ga-si-R-e* and SC-*nga-si-R-e* respectively. Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimana vha ga si shume

(The boys may not work)

Tshivenda: Vhatukana vha nga si shume

(The boys may not work)

In the future tense, the future formative *-do-* is included in the verb. The pattern of verbs in this tense is thus SC-*ga-do-R-a* (Tshiguvhu) and SC-*nga-do-R-a* (Tshivenda). Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimana vha ga do lima

(The boys would plough)

Tshivenda: Vhatukana vha nga do lima

(The boys would plough)

In the future tense the negative is characterised by the negative prefix *-si-*. The pattern is SC-*ga-si-do-R-a* (Tshiguvhu) and SC-*nga-si-do-R-a* (Tshivenda). Compare:

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimani vha ga si ḁo ḁima  
(The boys would not plough)

Tshivenda: Vhatukana vha nga si ḁo ḁima  
(The boys would not plough)

Apart from the slight difference between the potential formatives in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda, there are no structural differences between these language varieties as far as the potential form of the verb is concerned.

#### 5.3.4 THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The positive form of this verb is characterised by the structure SC-R-e. This form of verb is often preceded by the conjunction uri. Compare:

Ri nyaga uri vha thuse (We want you to help)

This form of the verb often follows an imperative verb, e.g.

Idani fhanḁ ḁi thuse vhana (Come here and help the  
children)

A subjunctive verb may also be used to express a polite request, e.g.

Ha vha dzene vha ḁule! (Please come in and sit down!)

The negative form of subjunctive verbs has the structure SC-si-R-e. Compare:

Ri nyaga uri vha si thuse (We want you not to help us )  
Idani fhanḁ ḁi si thuse vhana (Come here and do not

help the children)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa as far as the subjunctive form of the verb is concerned.

### 5.3.5 THE CONSECUTIVE

In the positive, as well as the negative, consecutive verbs are characterised by a subject concord which always ends in -a, this -a being a consecutive marker. The structure of consecutive verbs is SC-a-R-a. Compare:

Vhathu vha ḁiḁe vha posa marifhi  
(The people came and posted letters)

In the negative, the structure of the consecutive verb is characterised by a negative prefix which can be either -si- or -sa-. The verbal structure is SC-a-si-R-e or SC-a-sa-R-e. Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: Vhathu vha ḁiḁe vha si pose marifhi  
(The people came and did not post letters)

Vhathu vha ḁiḁe vha sa pose marifhi  
(The people came and did not post letters)

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḁa as far as consecutive verbs are concerned.

### 5.3.6 THE CONTINGENT

The pattern of this verb form in the positive is identical to that of the consecutive. The difference is

only manifested in the negative, where the terminating vowel remains -a in contrast to the -e of the consecutive. The pattern of this verb form in the positive is therefore SC-a-R-a. Compare:

Ha vhasimana vha vha<sub>l</sub>a ga ma<sub>a</sub>da, vha d<sub>o</sub> pha<sub>s</sub>a  
(If the boys study hard, they will pass)

The negative structure of this verb form is SC-a-sa-R-a. Compare:

Ha vhasimana vha sa vha<sub>l</sub>a ga ma<sub>a</sub>da, vha d<sub>o</sub> fei<sub>l</sub>a.  
(If the boys do not study hard, they will fail)

The structure of contingent verbs in Tshiguvhu is similar to those of Tshivenda.

#### 5.4 AUXILIARY VERBS

It has been highlighted by several scholars, including, Poulos (1990), Poulos and Louwrens (1994) and Lombard et al. (1985), that auxiliary verbs cannot function on their own in a sentence because they are obliged to take some form of complement. Possible complements for auxiliary verbs are the participial, the consecutive and the infinitive forms. Although the copulative may be used as a complementary form, it will not be discussed here.

##### 5.4.1 AUXILIARY VERBS THAT ARE FOLLOWED BY THE PARTICIPIAL

In Tshiguvhu, as in Tshivenda, there are a number of independent verb roots which function in auxiliary verbs. When this happens, the original meaning of the verb root changes to a related figurative meaning. This

is illustrated by the following examples, complemented by participial forms:

-l<sub>l</sub>a<sub>l</sub>- (fall asleep, lie down) original meaning  
 Vha l<sub>l</sub>a<sub>l</sub> vha i lya (they spent the night eating)  
 -l<sub>l</sub>a<sub>l</sub>- (spend the night doing) figurative meaning  
 -lu<sub>l</sub>- (live) original meaning  
 Vha lu<sub>l</sub> vha i aba (They continuously speak)  
 -lu<sub>l</sub>- (continuously) figurative meaning  
 -t<sub>h</sub>w-/-t<sub>w</sub>- (spend the day)  
 Musimana u t<sub>h</sub>wa/t<sub>w</sub>a a i l<sub>l</sub>ima t<sub>s</sub>imu  
 (The boy continually plough the field)  
 -t<sub>h</sub>w- /-t<sub>w</sub>- (continually) figurative meaning

#### 5.4.2 AUXILIARY VERBS THAT ARE FOLLOWED BY THE INFINITIVE

Tshiguvhu has a number of auxiliary verbs which can be complemented by infinitive verbs. These verb roots include, amongst others, -t<sub>h</sub>w-/-t<sub>w</sub>- and -lu<sub>l</sub>-. These verb stems usually have the applied extension, e.g. -t<sub>h</sub>wel<sub>l</sub>- or -t<sub>w</sub>el<sub>l</sub>- and -lu<sub>l</sub>el<sub>l</sub>-. Compare:

Vhana vha t<sub>h</sub>wel<sub>l</sub>a/t<sub>w</sub>el<sub>l</sub>a u l<sub>l</sub>a  
 (The children spend the day crying)  
 Vhaninyana vha lu<sub>l</sub>el<sub>l</sub>a u shuma  
 (The girls always work)

#### 5.4.3 AUXILIARY VERBS THAT ARE FOLLOWED BY THE CONSECUTIVE

Very few auxiliary verbs are followed by the consecutive. The auxiliary verbs which occur in Tshiguvhu are -vhuy- (eventually, return) and -ile<sub>l</sub>

(once upon a time). Compare:

Ri ḍo vhuya ra fhiḥa Musina  
 (We will eventually reach Messina)  
 Gi ile ga mmona nugeni  
 (I once saw him at the river)

### 5.5 THE ASPECTUAL PREFIXES (DEFICIENT VERB FORMS)

According to Poulos, (1990:330) these are,  
 "...prefixes which may be included in various tense  
 forms with the effect of changing or modifying the  
 overall meaning of the verb."

Tshiguvhu has the aspectual prefixes which are commonly  
 used in Tshivenḍa and Northern Sotho. The typical  
 Tshivenḍa aspectual prefixes are -ṭolou- (to do  
 continually), -sokou- (just) -yo- (go to) and -konou-  
 (expresses subsequent action). Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: -ṭolou- (to do continually)  
 Tshivenḍa: -ṭolou- (to do continually)  
 Tshiguvhu: Mbwa i ṭolou gidimisa mmuḍa  
 (The dog continually chase a hare)  
 Tshivenḍa: Mmbwa i ṭolou gidimisa muvhuḍa  
 (The dog continually chase hare)

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḍa: -sokou (just)  
 Tshiguvhu: Lingu li sokou fhula  
 (The sheep are just grazing)  
 Tshivenḍa: Nngu dzi sokou fula  
 (The sheep are just grazing)

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenḍa: -yo- (go and, go to)  
 Tshiguvhu: Vhana vha yo raḷuga nḍe  
 (The children always go and play outside)

Tshivenda: Vhana vha yo tamba nnda  
 (The children always go and play outside)

Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda: -konou- (expresses subsequent  
 action)

Tshiguvhu: Ha ri lule ri konou lya.  
 (Let us sit down and then eat)

Tshivenda: Kha ri dzule fhasi, ri konou la  
 (Let us sit down and then eat)

The typical Northern Sotho aspectual prefixes are -sa- (still), -esu- (not yet) and lio- (just). Compare the following:

Tshiguvhu: -sa- (still)

Tshivenda: -kha di- (still)

Tshiguvhu: Libuli li sa fhula  
 (The goats are still grazing)

Tshivenda: Mbudzi dzi kha di fula  
 (The goats are still grazing)

Tshiguvhu: -lio- (just)

Tshivenda: -tou- (adds emphasis to the action or state)

Tshiguvhu: Vhana vha lio rauga  
 (children are just playing)

Tshivenda: Vhana vha khou tou tamba  
 (children are just playing)

Tshiguvhu: -esu- (not yet)

Tshivenda: -athu- (not yet)

Tshiguvhu: A gi esu u mmona, monna yo  
 (I have not yet seen this man)

Tshivenda: A thi athu u mu vhona hoyu munna  
 (I have not yet seen this man)

## 5.6 THE RELATIVE

The verbal relative in Tshiguvhu occurs in three tenses, namely the present, perfect and future tenses. The structure of each tense will be treated under the relevant tense heading.

### (a) Present tense

The verbal relative in Tshiguvhu, as in Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:365), is formed by a relativiser, relative concord, verb stem and relative suffix -ho. In Tshivenda the verbal relative is formed by a relative concord, verb stem and a relative suffix -ho. Compare:

#### Tshiguvhu

Munna yo a rudaho vhana u vhaḷa, u fhiṭhile  
 (The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)  
 Vhasimana vha vha lisaho libuli, gi vha vhoni  
 (I have seen the boys who look after the goats)

#### Lobedu

Nkhe nyage dimbywa dze di lomaho  
 (I do not like dogs that bite) (Kotzé, 1995:365)

#### Tshivenda

Munna a funzaho vhana u vhalo, o swika  
 (The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)  
 Vhatukana vha lisaho mbudzi, ndo vha vhona  
 (I have seen the boys who look after the goats)

In Tshivenda two additional relative structures which do not occur in Tshiguvhu are also used.



Firstly, there is a form consisting of a relativiser, relative concord, and the verb stem, for example:

Munna ane a funza vhana u vhala, o swika  
 (The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)  
 Vhatukana vhane vha lisa mbudzi, ndo vha vhona  
 (I have seen the boys who look after the goats)

Secondly, there is a structure consisting of a relative concord, the formative -no- and a verb stem, for example:

Munna a no funza vhana u vhala, o swika  
 (The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)  
 Vhatukana vha no lisa mbudzi, ndo vha vhona  
 (I have seen the boys who look after the goats)

The negative form of present tense relatives in Tshiguvhu is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, negative prefix -sa- and a verb stem with the terminative vowel -i-, followed by the relative suffix -ho. The corresponding Tshivenda relative form is similar to the Tshiguvhu form, with the exception of the relativiser, which is absent in the former. Compare:

Tshiguvhu

Munna yo a sa rudiho vhana u vha<sub>l</sub>a, u fhi<sub>h</sub>i<sub>h</sub>i<sub>l</sub>e  
 (The man who does not teach the children to read, has arrived)  
 Vhasimana vha vha sa lisiho libuli, gi vha vhoni  
 (I have seen the boys who do not look after the goats)

## Tshivenda

Munna a sa funziho vhana u vhala, o swika

(The man who does not teach the children to read, has arrived)

Vhatukana vha sa lisiho mbudzi, ndo vha vhona

(I have seen the boys who do not look after the goats)

In the negative Tshivenda has one additional relative structure which does not occur in Tshiguvhu. This form is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, negative prefix -sa- and a verb stem ending on the vowel -e, for example:

Munna ane a sa funze vhana u vhala, o swika

(The man who does not teach the children to read, has arrived)

Vhatukana vhane vha sa lise mbudzi, ndo vha vhona

(I have seen the boys who do not look after the goats)

## (b) The perfect tense

In the perfect tense the verbal relative is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, verb stem with the perfect extension -ile and the relative suffix -ho. This is comparable to Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:366) and Northern Sotho in general (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994:106). In Tshivenda the perfect of the verbal relative is formed by the relativiser which ends on the vowel -e, the relative concord, the verb stem which ends on the vowel -a and the relative suffix -ho. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

Vhanna vha vha rudileho vhana u gidima.....

(The men who taught the children to run.....)

Vhakegulu vha vha limileho masimu.....

(The old women who ploughed the field.....)

Lobedu

Vyalwa vyo vo thodilweho vo a nwewa

(Beer which has been filtered is drunk) (Kotzé,  
1995:366)

Northern Sotho

Pudi ye e nwelego meetse or

(The goat that drank water)

Tshivenda

Mbudzi ye ya nwa madi.....

(The goat that drank water.....)

Vhanna vhe vha funza vhana u gidima.....

(The men who taught the children to run.....)

Vhakegulu vhe vha lima masimu.....

(The old women who ploughed the field....)

In Tshiguvhu the negative is formed by a relativiser, relative concord, negative prefix -si-, the formative -ya-, a verb stem with the ending -i and the relative suffix -ho. The formative -ya- in this structure is not found in Lobedu, although Kotzé (1992:125) reports that it occurs in Hananwa, which belongs to the same dialect cluster as Tlokwa. It is, therefore, possible that this structure is also found in Tlokwa. In Tshivenda, this structure is formed by a relativiser, relative concord, negative prefix and a verb stem which ends on -e. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

Vhanna vha vha si ya rudiho vhana u gidima.....

(The men who did not teach the children to run.....)

Vhakegulu vha vha si ya limiho masimu.....

(The old women who did not plough the field.....)

## Tshivenda

Mbudzi ye ya si nwe maḁi.....

(The goat that did not drink water.....)

Vhanna vhe vha si funze vhana u gidima.....

(The men who did teach the children to run.....)

Vhakegulu vhe vha si lime masimu.....

(The old women who did plough the field.....)

## (c) Future tense

In this tense the verbal relative is formed by a relativiser, relative concord, future prefix -ḁo-, the verb stem with the vowel suffix -a and the relative suffix -ho. This structure is similar to that of Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:366) and Northern Sotho (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994:107). In Tshivenda, on other hand, this tense is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, future prefix -ḁo- and a verb stem with the relative suffix -ho. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

Vhasali vha vha ḁo rudaho vhana u vhaḁa.....

(The women who will teach the children to read)

Buli ye i ḁo nwaho meedzi.....

(The goat that will drink water.....)

Lobedu

Munna yo a do vodzaho vathu, ge yo  
 (Here is the man who will tell the people)  
 (Kotzé, 1995:366)

Tshivenda

Miri i do melaho.....  
 (The trees which will grow.....)  
 Tshikolo tshi do hulaho.....  
 (The school which will grow.....)

As in the present tense, Tshivenda has two additional future tense relative structures which do not occur in Tshiguvhu.

The first additional form is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, future prefix -do-, and the verb stem, e.g.

Mutukana ane a do nwa maḁi.....  
 (The boy who will drink water.....)  
 Mudededzi ane a do ḁivha mbalo.....  
 (The teacher who will know mathematics.....)

The second additional form is characterised by a relative concord, the formative -no- and a verb stem ending on the vowel -a, e.g.

Nwana a no do lila ndi wanga  
 (The child who will cry is mine)  
 Muri u no do mela.....  
 (The tree which will grow.....)

The negative form of verbal relatives in the future

tense is formed by a relativiser, relative concord, the negative prefixes -ga si-, a verb stem with the ending -e and the relative suffix -ho. This is similar to Lobedu and Northern Sotho in general. In Tshivenda, this form is characterised by a relative concord, negative prefix -sa-, future prefix -ḁo-, a verb stem with the ending -a and the relative suffix -ho. Compare:

#### Tshiguvhu

Vhasali vha vha ga si rudeho vhana u vha<sup>^</sup>la.....

(The women who will not teach the children to read.....)

Nwana yo a ga si rumiweho ḁoroboni.....

(The child who will not be sent to town.....)

#### Lobedu

Budi ye re ga se e thaveho.....

(The goat which we shall not slaughter.....) (Kotzé, 1995:366)

#### Tshivenda

Muthanga a sa ḁo remaho khuni.....

(The young man who will not chop wood.....)

Kholomo dzi sa ḁo fulaho.....

(The cattle which will not graze.....)

In the negative Tshivenda has an additional relative structure which does not occur in Tshiguvhu. This additional negative form is characterised by a relativiser, relative concord, negative prefix -sa- and a verb stem ending on the vowel -a, for example:

Vhana vhane vha sa ḁo shuma.....

(The children who will not work.....)

Mbudzi ine ya sa ḁo fula.....

(The goat which will not graze.....)

The differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda are ascribed to the fact that verbal relatives in the future tense in Tshiguvhu have been greatly influenced by Northern Sotho, whereas Tshivenda has a variety of structures which are unique to it.

### 5.7 RECAPITULATION

From the preceding discussion, it is further evident that Tshiguvhu shares certain features with Northern Sotho although it is clearly a dialect of Tshivenda. In the following paragraphs the most prominent differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda which have been covered in this chapter, are highlighted.

A striking feature which differentiates Tshiguvhu from Tshivenda is the use of only one verbal relative structure in Tshiguvhu as opposed to the three of Tshivenda. The structure which is used in Tshiguvhu is similar to that used in Northern Sotho, especially its Lobedu dialect. This structure is as follows: a relativiser, relative concord, verb stem and relative suffix -ho, e.g.

Munna yo a rudaho vhana u vhaḁa, u fhiḁhile

(The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)

On the other hand the structures in Tshivenda are characterised by:

(i) a relative concord, verb stem and a relative

suffix -ho, e.g.

Munna a funzaho vhana u vhala, o swika  
(The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)

(ii) relativiser, relative concord, and the verb stem,  
e.g.

Munna ane a funza vhana u vhala, o swika  
(The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)

(iii) relative concord, the formative -no- and the verb  
stem, e.g.

Munna a no funza vhana u vhala, o swika  
(The man who teaches the children to read, has arrived)

In the imperative form Tshiguvhu uses a negative  
structure which is similar to that used in Lobedu, but  
markedly different from the /-songo-/ form of  
Tshivenda, e.g.

U si lye! ( do not eat!)

In the potential Tshiguvhu uses the formative /-ga-/  
while Tshivenda uses /-nga-/. More differences can also  
be seen in the negative form of the future tense where  
Tshivenda has two negative forms, namely a-SC-nga-R-i  
and a-SC-nga-si-ḁo-R-a while Tshiguvhu has one only,  
namely a-SC-ga-R-i, e.g.

Tshiguvhu: Vhasimana vha ga si shume  
(The boys may not work)

Tshivenda: Vhatukana vha nga si shume  
(The boys may not work)  
Vhatukana vha nga si ḁo shuma  
(The boys may not work)



The participial formative /-i-/ in Tshiguvhu is equivalent to the formative /-khe-/ of Lobedu and /-tshi-/ of Tshivenda.

Tshiguvhu also has a number of other features in its verbal forms which are not found in Tshivenda, such as the formative /-a-/ of the present continuous tense which is equivalent to /-khou-/ in Tshivenda. The perfect tense is characterised by the perfect extension /-ile/. This contrasts with Tshivenda where the perfect tense is expressed by the perfect tense prefix /-o-/.

# CHAPTER 6

## ADVERBS, IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the above mentioned word categories will be discussed with reference to their morphological structure. As in the case of the preceding chapters, the discussion is based on Poulos (1990), Poulos and Louwrens (1994) and Lombard et al. (1985). As a result of spatial restrictions, lengthy discussions and long lists of examples have been avoided.

### 6.2 ADVERBS

This part of speech primarily specifies the mode of action of the verb, e.g. U lya gulu (He eats too much).

Adverbs are discussed in terms of the prefixes and/or suffixes they contain, where applicable. Reference is made to the semantic content of certain adverbs where necessary.

Adverbs are formed by means of the following adverbial prefixes:

#### 6.2.1 Associative adverbial prefix li-

This adverbial prefix is attached to proper nouns, nouns and pronouns. Such associative adverbs express the idea of "together with", similar to adverbs in Tshivenda which have the prefix na-. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Vhakalaha vha ḡo ḡa ḡi vhasimana  
 (The old men will come with the boys)  
 Maḡholi u ḡile ḡi vhona  
 Maḡholi came with them)

### 6.2.2 Adverbial prefix ha-

This prefix is attached to adjectival stems which denote cardinal numerals, as well as other adjectival stems. This adverbial prefix differs from the adverbial prefix ha- which is discussed in 6.2.3 in terms of meaning as it refers to number, whereas the one which is discussed in 6.2.3 refers to place.

The adverbial prefix ha- in Tshiguvhu is similar to that of the Lobedu ha- (Kotzé, 1995:273) and is also the equivalent of the adverbial prefix ga- in Northern Sotho (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994:338), for example:

Tshiguvhu		Northern Sotho
havheli (twice)	< -vheli (two)	gabedi
handzhi (often)	< -ndzhi (many)	gantšhi
hanyani (a little)	< -nyani (small)	ganyane

Tshivenda uses ka- instead of the Tshiguvhu ha-, for example:

kavhili (twice)  
 kanzhi (often)  
 kaḡuku (a little)

### 6.2.3 Locative adverbial prefix ha-

#### (a) ha- prefixed to proper nouns to form place names

When ha- is prefixed to proper nouns (to form place names), ha- and the proper nouns are written together as one word, for example:

Hamashaba (Ha- + -Mashaba)

Hamakhuvha (Ha- + -Makhuvha)

Hamasia (Ha- + -Masia)

#### (b) ha- preceding proper nouns

Ha- can also precede proper nouns which refer to human nouns belonging to classes 1a, 2b and 9, for example:

ha Masil<sup>o</sup> (at Masil<sup>o</sup>, to Masil<sup>o</sup>)

ha khosi (at the chief, to the chief)

ha vhatu (at the people, to the people)

#### (c) ha- prefixed to nouns/pronouns

When ha- is used before a noun or pronoun, the locative meaning "on..." is expressed. Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda differ here, because in the latter language kha- is used for the same purpose. Compare:

Tshiguvhu

ha lifhiga (on the stone)

ha ndu (on the house)

ha yena (on him/her)

ha sidulo (on the chair)

## Tshivenḁa

kha tombo (on the stone)  
 kha nnḁu (on the house)  
 kha ene (on him/her)  
 kha tshidulo (on the chair)

## 6.2.4 The adverbial prefix mo-

This prefix occurs in Tshiguvhu, but not in Tshivenḁa. It is always used with adverbs which contain the locative suffix -(i)ni. Compare:

mo ḁlirameni (on the cheek)  
 < mo- + -ḁlirama- + -(i)ni  
 mo thavheni (on top of mountain)  
 < mo- + -thavha- + -(i)ni  
 mo ḁlisageni (in the kraal)  
 < mo- + -ḁlisaga- + -(i)ni

## 6.2.5 The adverbial prefix ga- and locativised nouns

This adverbial prefix also only occurs in Tshiguvhu. Like the adverbial prefix mo- in 6.2.4 above, it is also associated with locativised nouns. It expresses "in..." , while in Tshivenḁa this meaning is expressed by means of the locative suffix -ni alone. Compare:

## Tshiguvhu

ga ofisini (in the office) < ga- + -ofisi- + -(i)ni  
 ga nugeni (in the river) < ga- + -nuga- + -(i)ni  
 ga sithageni (in the kitchen) < ga- + -sithaga- + (i)ni

## Tshivenda

ofisini (in the office) < ofisi- + -ni  
 mulamboni (in the river) < mulambo- + -ni  
 tshitangani (in the kitchen) < tshitanga- + -ni

## 6.2.6 The combination of adverbial prefixes

Adverbial prefixes which may be combined are mo- and ga-. When combined, they are followed by a locativised noun. The semantic implication of the combination of mo- and ga- is not simple to express because ga- and mo- can be used together in order to express the meaning "into...". Ga- could be explained in terms of the notion of enclosure while mo- expresses "on" and "within". This particular use of combined locative prefixes is not found in Tshivenda and is illustrated by the following examples:

ga mo sithagani (into the kitchen)  
 < ga- + -mo- + -sithaga- + -(i)ni  
 ga mo lisagani (into the kraal)  
 < ga- + -mo- + -lisaga- + -(i)ni  
 ga mo sigoloni (into the school)  
 < ga- + -mo- + -sigolo- + -(i)ni

## 6.2.7 Class prefixes and noun stems

According to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:340) adverbial nouns are formed by the class prefixes fha-, ku- and mu- of classes 16, 17 and 18 respectively. The prefixes are attached to noun stems. Compare:

16 fha-: fhasi (under) < fha- + -si

17 ku- : kule (far) < ku- + -le

kusi (far) < ku- + -si

18 mu- : murahu (back) < mu- + -rahu

muno (here) < mu- + -no

Basically there are no differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda as far as the structure and meaning of adverbial nouns from classes 16, 17 and 18 are concerned.

### 6.3 INTERROGATIVES

This is a word which is used at the beginning or end of a sentence in order to mark it as an interrogative sentence, e.g. Li dzuwile vhyani? (How are you?) Interrogatives can be categorised into basic and other types.

The following are Tshiguvhu examples:

na?, naa?, gai? (where?), ini? (what?), vhyani? (how?),  
lini (when).

#### 6.3.1 Basic interrogatives

These are interrogatives which have not been derived from any other part of speech.

Basic interrogatives in Tshiguvhu have Lobedu counterparts which are similar in appearance (Kotze, 1995:272-273). They are all words which are indivisible (monomorphemic), for example: na?, naa?, gai? (gae? in Lobedu) (where?), ini? (ene? in Lobedu) (what?) and lini? (lene? in Lobedu) (when?). These are all known as basic interrogatives. Compare the following Tshiguvhu examples:

Vhasimana vha a gwafha naa?

(Are the boys lazy?)

U lya ini?

(What are you eating?)

U gai munyi wa ndu ye?

(Where is the owner of this house?)

Naa vhakegulu vha do vhuya lini?

(When will the old ladies come back?)

### 6.3.2 Derived interrogatives

These are interrogatives which have been derived from other parts of speech.

The interrogatives vhyani? and mani? are derived from other parts of speech. The interrogative vhyani? consists of the prefix vhu- of class 14 and the stem -ani. Mani? (mane? in Lobedu) (who?), on the other hand, consists of the morph prefix /ma-/ (a realization of class 1 {mu-}) and the stem -ni. See the following Tshiguvhu examples:

Vhasimana vha dzuwile vhyani? (How are the boys?)

Matholi u rada mani? (Who does Matholi like?)

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:380) also regard the following as interrogative stems, viz: -fhi? (who?) and -gai? (how many?). The completed interrogatives are formed by means of the subject concord of the noun to which they refer and the stem, e.g.

Ufhi? > Munna ufhi? (Which man?)

Lifhi? > Likhomu lifhi? (Which cattle?)

Migai? > U vhoni milu ye migai?

(How many roots have you seen?)



Vhagai? > U vhoni vhana vha vhagai?

(How many children have you seen?)

#### 6.4 IDEOPHONES

Ideophones are words which modify a predicate with regard to its action, sound, smell etc. In other words, they fulfil an adverbial function.

In this section, the primary focus of the discussion is on the structural characteristics of ideophones, viz basic ideophones, ideophones derived from verbal stems and verbal stems derived from ideophones. Possible influences from Northern Sotho on Tshiguvhu ideophones are also briefly examined.

##### 6.4.1 Basic ideophones

The following ideophones have not been derived from other word categories and, as such, are regarded as basic ideophones:

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| te! (bone dry)                  | Hu omile hu li yo te!<br>(It is bone dry)   |
| pha! (full)                     | Nuga i li yo ri pha!<br>(The river is full to capacity)                               |
| tsi! (sting)                    | Nosi i li yo mu ri tsi!<br>(The bee stung him/her)                                    |
| tserr! (slip)                   | Musimani u li yo ri tserr maraheni<br>(The boy slipped in the mud)                    |
| hia!(throw down)                | U li yo ri hia fhasi masaga a muroho<br>(He/She threw down the bags of<br>vegetables) |
| duu! (the state of being quiet) | Hu lio ri duu ga mo nduni<br>(It is quiet in the house)                               |

#### 6.4.2 Ideophones derived from verbal stems

These ideophones are formed using a verbal root and the vowels i, o or u, e.g.

- khubi!/ khubu! (drifting or gathering)  
 < -khub- + -a (gather)
- dzeni! (entering)  
 < -dzen- + -a (enter)
- l<sub>u</sub>mi! (ploughing)  
 < -l<sub>u</sub>m- + -a (plough)
- godi!/godo! (packing goods for departure)  
 < -god- + -a! (pack)
- dugu-dugu! (catch alight)  
 < dug- + -a (ignite)

Ideophones can also be derived from verb stems, in which case the last syllable of certain verb stems is deleted, e.g.

- rubu! (piercing) < -rubu<sub>l</sub>a (pierce)
- thunyu! (bubbling water) < -thunyuwa (swiftly flawing water)
- thusu! (coming out) < -thusuwa (come out)

#### 6.4.3 Reduplicated or triplicated ideophones

When an intensified meaning needs to be expressed, existing ideophones are reduplicated or triplicated: monosyllabic forms are triplicated, while other ideophones are repeated twice, e.g.

- lu<sub>l</sub>i-lu<sub>l</sub>i! (sit solidly) < -lu<sub>l</sub>i
- shumi-shumi! (work like a Trojan) < -shumi
- dududu! (absolutely) < du

khokhokho! (knocking) < kho

#### 6.4.4 Verbal roots derived from ideophones

A limited number of verbal roots are derived from ideophones. This is done by means of adding the verbalisers -m-, -e<sub>l</sub>- and -l- to the ideophones. Compare the following examples:

gwada! (kneel down) < -gwadam-  
 dudu! (stand on tip-toe) < -dudumel-  
 domo! (keep eyes wide open) < -domol-

#### 6.4.5 Ideophones derived from adjectival stems

Such ideophones are formed when the reduplicated or lengthened final vowels of certain ideophones are replaced by the syllables -lu or -la. This short explanation suggests that the examples below are adjectives derived from ideophones. Compare the following:

khwivhii! (red) < -khwivhilu  
 da<sub>l</sub>ee! (green) < -da<sub>l</sub>a

#### 6.4.6 Ideophones found in both Tshiguvhu and Lobedu

The following ideophones also occur in Lobedu and are further evidence of contact between speakers of both languages:

fhine! (tighten)  
 thomo! (pull out)  
 khwivhii! (red)  
 domo! (keep eyes wide open)

## 6.5 INTERJECTIONS

The Collins Concise Dictionary (1986:587), defines an interjection as "...a word or phrase that is used in syntactic isolation and that expresses sudden emotion...". This is illustrated by the following example:

Aa! (to answer)

Interjections are monomorphemic in nature. Consequently only roots or stems are identified. The interjections found in Tshiguvhu are structurally similar to their Tshivenda counterparts. A few examples are cited below:

Ndaa! (to answer)

He! (to answer)

Ebo! (to refuse)

A-u-dwi! (happiness)

As a result of the similarity between interjections in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda further attention is not given to interjections.

## 6.6 CONJUNCTIONS

These are words which are used to join sentences or phrases, e.g.

Matholi u a lwala fela ha nyagi u ya nageni (Matholi is ill but she doesn't want to go to the doctor)

According to Lombard et al. (1985:175), "Morphologically conjunctions are heterogeneous." By this they imply that conjunctions as a word category have no uniform morphological structure and, in addition to this,

display no typical morphological characteristics. Most conjunctions are words from other word categories which are used as conjunctions.

Conjunctions can be categorised into basic and derived conjunctions.

### 6.6.1 Basic conjunctions

These conjunctions have not been formed from other parts of speech, neither can they be traced back to other word categories. Compare the following examples:

ha (if) which appears to have been derived from Northern Sotho, more specifically from the Hananwa dialect or a related dialect such as Tlokwa. In Hananwa, the Northern Sotho ge (if) is found as ha (Kotzé, 1988:126). Ha is used to introduce participial clauses. Compare its use in a sentence:

Musimana, ha a i vha<sub>Λ</sub>la u do phasa (If the boy reads, he will pass)

Other basic conjunctions include the following:

kana (or) which is identical to the kana of Tshivenda, e.g.

Vha do fhi<sub>Λ</sub>tha kana vha ga si fhi<sub>Λ</sub>the, a ri dzivhi  
(Whether they will arrive or not, we do not know)

bi<sub>Λ</sub>li ha he (before) which resembles bele ha he in Lobedu (Kotzé, 1995:276). See the following examples:

Ri vha vhoni bi<sub>Λ</sub>li ha he vha ya nugeni (We saw them before they went to the river)

### 6.6.2 Derived conjunctions

These are conjunctions derived either from other word categories or adopted from one or more word categories.

The following derived conjunctions have been identified:

#### (a) Conjunctions derived from verbs

**huri/uri** (that), which is equivalent to **uri** in Tshivenda, appears to have been derived from the verb stem **-ri**. Likewise, the conjunction **fela** (but) appears to have been derived from the verb stem **-fela**. The conjunction **ivhile** (and moreover) appears to have been derived from the copulative verb **i vha** (to be). Compare the following examples:

Vha nyaga uri li vha fhe meedzi (They want you to give them water)

Gi mmoni fela a gi mu dzivhi (I have seen him but I don't know him)

U a gwafha ivhile a si a abiya naasi (She is lazy; and moreover she didn't even cook today)

#### (b) Conjunctions derived from nouns

**Mutha** (when) is equivalent to **mohla** in Northern Sotho. It appears to have been derived from the noun **mutha** "occasion" or "point in time". See the following example:

Ri do vha vhona mutha vha fhiṭha (We will see them when they arrive)

**(c) Conjunctions derived from absolute pronouns**

hona "but", "in the mean time" is derived from the absolute pronoun hona. This conjunction is equivalent to gona in Northern Sotho and hone in Tshivenda. Note its use in the following sentence:

U aba ga maada hona a sa dzivhi se a abaho ga sona  
(He speaks a lot but he does not know what he is talking about)

**(d) Conjunctions derived from demonstratives**

The conjunction mo<sub>l</sub>a (while) has been derived from the demonstrative of the 2nd position of noun class 18, e.g.

Vha ri<sub>l</sub>e mo<sub>l</sub>a vha sa aba vha we<sub>l</sub>a fhasi  
(While he was still talking, he fell down)

**(e) Conjunctions derived from other word categories****(i) gaurialo (so, like that)**

This conjunction has been derived from an adverb formed by the adverbial prefix ga- and the infinitive verb u ri vhyalo (to say so). See the following example:

Bula i vhe i na gaurialo vha ba<sub>l</sub>edzwi ga u ya haye  
(It was raining so they couldn't go home)

**(ii) gauri (because)**

This conjunction has been derived from an adverb formed by the adverbial prefix ga- and the infinitive verb u ri (to say). See the following example:

Ha ya mushumoni naasi gauri u a lwala  
 (He is not going to work today because he is ill)

(iii) li hona (in addition)

This conjunction has been formed by the adverbial prefix li- and the absolute pronoun hona. See the following example:

Munna yo u na li vhana vha vhandzhi li hona a vha lyi  
 silo  
 (This man has many children; in addition there is  
 nothing for them to eat)

#### 6.7 RECAPITULATION

The preceding discussion has revealed that of the four word categories involved namely adverbs, conjunctions, ideophones and interjections, only the ideophones and interjections closely resemble those of Tshivenda in structure. In contrast, the adverbs of Tshiguvhu are more inclined to Northern Sotho in structure than to Tshivenda. The adverbs found in Tshiguvhu are similar to their counterparts in the Northern Sotho dialects Lobedu and Tlokwa. The structural similarities are based on similar adverbial prefixes such as ha-, li-, mo- and ga mo-. These prefixes are similar to those of Lobedu. For example: ga sihageni (in the kitchen), hararu (three times) etc. Furthermore, the adverbial prefixes mo- and ga mo- are not used at all in Tshivenda.

Locativised nouns are characterised by the suffix -ni in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda. The locative suffix -(i)ni is also used as -(e)ne in Tlokwa and Lobedu (Mokgokong,



1966:80).

Finally, the conjunctions display features from Tshivenda and the Northern Sotho dialects of the same geographical area. Conjunctions such as fe<sub>l</sub>a, ivhi<sub>l</sub>e, li hona etc. are indicative of the influence from Lobedu and other dialects of Northern Sotho, whereas conjunctions such as uri, kana etc. are typical Tshivenda conjunctions.

# CHAPTER 7

## CONCLUSION

During the research process, it was not clear whether Tshiguvhu should be regarded as a dialect of Venda and, if not, of which language it actually is a dialect. Some scholars, such as Van Warmelo (1927), Lestrade (1927) and others who previously embarked on this type of research, never investigated Tshiguvhu as a spoken language. In contrast, scholars such as Mathivha (1966) and Ralushai (1977) indicated that Tshiguvhu is spoken at Vhuronga and consequently they (incorrectly) classified it as being part of the Tshironga dialect.

In order to classify Tshiguvhu correctly, various linguistic factors have to be considered, namely its structure, previous contact with other speech varieties, mutual intelligibility and its relation to the standard language of the geographical region. Its sound system is also of vital importance in this regard, but as this was not investigated, the classification is done without considering phonological factors. Non-linguistic factors such as the cultural links of the Vhaguvhu as well as the geographical region where they find themselves also have to be considered. The importance of these factors is also stressed by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:5). These authors advise that apart from linguistic factors, non-linguistic factors such as geographical, historical, sociological and cultural factors should be considered in the classification of a language variety.

Linguistically speaking, Tshiguvhu is a highly significant dialect because it displays features of not

only Tshivenda, but also the Northern Sotho dialects which are spoken adjacent to the Tshivenda speech area. It is, in fact, the only known Tshivenda dialect which has been influenced so extensively by Northern Sotho dialects. Without consideration of the phonological similarities and differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda/Lobedu/Tlokwa it is not possible to finalise a classification. However, judging by the structural evidence, the degree of relatedness between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda, on the one hand, and Tshiguvhu and the mentioned Northern Sotho dialects on the other, is of such a nature that it could be said that Tshiguvhu falls mid-way between these languages. In classifying Tshiguvhu it is therefore necessary to resort to non-linguistic criteria such as culture, historical background and the geographical location where Tshiguvhu is spoken.

Culturally, the Vhaguvhu have much in common with other Venda clans. Unlike the Balobedu and Batlokwa, the Vhaguvhu greet in the same way as Venda people in other clans, for example: Ndaa! for men and Aa! for women. Their practice of domba, vhusha, tshikona, vhusha and tshigombela overshadow their adoption of givha and tshikhaba.

Historically, the Vhaguvhu regard themselves as part of the Venda population. They have lived among Venda clans for a considerable period.

The Vhaguvhu are probably found in the entire district of Tshitala. The clans which are found in this district are the Vhaluvhu, Vari, Singo, Mugwena and others. All of these are Venda clans, but they are flanked by the Lobedu in the South and the Tlokwa in the west.

The use of Tshiphani as standard language in their schools, local courts, clinics etc. made it impossible for the Vhaguvhu to identify themselves with the Balobedu or Batlokwa. The geographical location of Vhaguvhu speakers has also played a role in this regard. They reside amongst Venda people, and as such, mutual intelligibility between Tshiguvhu and other Venda dialects is a fact.

The factors mentioned above reveal that socially, historically and culturally the Vhaguvhu are much closer to certain Venda clans than to the Balobedu and Batlokwa.

Morphologically, it is not easy to judge whether Tshiguvhu shares more or fewer features with Tshivenda or with the Northern Sotho dialects Lobedu and Tlokwa. A brief summary of the similarities and differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda/Northern Sotho dialects confirms this.

## 1 NOUNS

### 1.1 Class prefixes

Tshiguvhu classes 7 and 10 are the same as those of Northern Sotho dialects Lobedu and Tlokwa.

Like Northern Sotho, Tshiguvhu does not have classes 11 and 21.

Tshivenda has classes 11 and 21.

Tshiguvhu does, however, have class 20 and is, in this sense, more like Tshivenda than like Northern Sotho.

Tshiguvhu classes X and Y are the same as those of Lobedu.

### 1.2 Basic and deverbative nouns

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and the Lobedu dialect of Northern Sotho as regards basic and deverbative nouns, e.g. *munna* (man) and *mushumi* (worker). The same can be said of Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

### 1.3 Adjectival nouns

The adjectival nouns of Tshiguvhu differ markedly from their Tshivenda counterparts. As in Lobedu, the adjectival nouns in Tshiguvhu are preceded by a demonstrative of the same class as that of the class prefix of the adjectival noun. In Tshivenda, the demonstrative does not feature.

### 1.4 Nominal relative nouns

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and some Northern Sotho dialects regarding nominal relative nouns. This can also be noticed between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda, e.g. *vhuṭali* (clever).

### 1.5 Locative nouns

Locative nouns from classes 16, 17 and 18 are the same in Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda.

The form of locativised nouns in Tshiguvhu is the same as that of Lobedu. Tshiguvhu, like Lobedu, has the locative prefixes *mo-*, *ga-* and *ga mo-*. Tshivenda does not have *mo-* and *ga mo-*.

### 1.6 Diminutive nouns

Tshiguvhu, like Tshivenḁa, uses the diminutive class prefixes 7, 8, 14 and 20 whereas Lobedu, like Tshiguvhu, also uses the diminutive class prefixes 7 and 8.

### 1.7 Augmentative nouns

Only a few augmentative nouns in Tshiguvhu are found in classes 5 and 6, whereas in Tshivenḁa they are also found in class 21. The augmentative nouns of Lobedu are formed differently to those of Tshiguvhu because they are formed using the augmentative suffix -hadi.

## 2 PRONOUNS

### 2.1 Absolute pronouns

As in Northern Sotho, Tshiguvhu's absolute pronouns are characterised by the suffix -na, whereas, in Tshivenḁa, absolute pronouns are characterised by the suffix -ne.

### 2.2 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns in Tshiguvhu are characterised by the reflexive stem -nyi, whereas in Tshivenḁa they are characterised by the reflexive stem -ḁe.

### 2.3 Quantitative pronouns

They are characterised by the quantitative stem -oḁe which is also a prominent feature in both Lobedu and Tshivenḁa.

#### 2.4 Possessive pronouns

They are the same as those of Lobedu but different to those of Tshivenḁa.

#### 2.5 Enumerative pronouns

They are the same as those of Tshivenḁa but different from those of the Northern Sotho dialects.

#### 2.6 Demonstrative pronouns

The structure of demonstrative pronouns of position 1 resembles those of Lobedu. Those of positions 2 and 3 resemble those of positions 3 and 4 respectively in Lobedu. Tshivenḁa, unlike Tshiguvhu, has four positions but with structures different to those of Tshiguvhu.

#### 2.7 Compound and copulative demonstratives

Their structure is the same as those of Tshivenḁa.

### 3 THE VERB

#### 3.1 Reflexive morpheme

Like Lobedu, Tshiguvhu uses the reflexive morpheme {-i} whereas Tshivenḁa uses {-ḁi}.

#### 3.2 Perfect extension

Tshiguvhu uses the perfect extension -iḁ to mark the perfect tense, whereas Tshivenḁa uses the perfect marker -o- to mark its perfect tense.

### 3.3 Suffixes

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda as far as the suffixation of the following extensions is concerned, /-an-/, /-e-/, /-a<sub>1</sub>-/, /-es-/, /-ukan-/, /-ukany-/ etc.

#### 3.3.1 Applied extension

The suffixation of the applied extension /-e<sub>1</sub>-/ to verb roots results in phonological changes in Tshiguvhu similar to the changes in Northern Sotho, whereas in Tshivenda no phonological changes occur.

#### 3.3.2 Reversive extension

Tshiguvhu, like Lobedu, has the shortened reversion extension /-o<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>-/ or /-u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>-/ whereas Tshivenda has /-olol-/ or /-ulul-/.

## 4 THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

### 4.1 The imperative

In the imperative form, Tshiguvhu uses a negative form which includes a subject concord. This is similar to that used in Lobedu, but markedly different from the /-songo-/ form of Tshivenda.

### 4.2 The infinitive

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the infinitive. The same can be said of Tshiguvhu and Lobedu.



#### 4.3 The indicative

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the indicative. The same can be said of Tshiguvhu and Lobedu.

#### 4.4 The potential

In the potential Tshiguvhu uses the formative /-ga-/ while Tshivenda uses /-nga-/. The formative /-ga-/ of Tshiguvhu is equivalent to the /-ka-/ of Northern Sotho.

#### 4.5 The participial

The participial formative /-i-/ in Tshiguvhu is functionally equivalent to the participial formative /-khe-/ in Lobedu and /-tshi-/ of Tshivenda.

#### 4.6 The subjunctive

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the subjunctive. The same can be said of Tshiguvhu and Lobedu.

#### 4.7 The contingent

There are no structural differences between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda in the contingent.

#### 4.8 The relative

Tshiguvhu has one verbal relative structure which is similar to the one used in Lobedu. Tshivenda has three verbal relative structures which are all different from that of Tshiguvhu.

## 5 ADVERBS, INTERROGATIVES, IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

### 5.1 Adverbs

Tshiguvhu, like Lobedu, has the associative prefix li-. Tshivenda has the associative prefix na- in the place of li-. Tshiguvhu, like Lobedu and Tshivenda, has the locative adverbial prefix ha-.

Some differences and similarities between Tshiguvhu and Tshivenda adverbs have been treated under locatives.

### 5.2 Interrogatives

The interrogatives found in Tshiguvhu resemble their Lobedu counterparts, e.g. gae? (where?). However, they are also structurally similar to their Lobedu and Tshivenda counterparts.

### 5.3 Ideophones

The ideophones found in Tshiguvhu, unlike those of Lobedu, resemble their Tshivenda counterparts, e.g. te!? (bone dry).

### 5.4 Interjections

The interjections found in Tshiguvhu, unlike those of Lobedu, resemble their Tshivenda counterparts, e.g. Aa! (to greet).

### 5.5 Conjunctions

Some conjunctions found in Tshiguvhu are structurally similar to their Tshivenda counterparts, e.g. kana (or).

Some conjunctions also found in Tshiguvhu are structurally similar to their Lobedu counterparts, e.g. gaurialo (so, like that), hona (but).

Bearing the current information about Tshiguvhu as well as its linguistic and other ties with other language varieties in mind, Tshiguvhu should be regarded as a Tshivenda dialect with distinct, a-typical features of Northern Sotho origin. If, however, Tshiguvhu had been as strongly linked to Northern Sotho by the non-linguistic factors which bind it to Tshivenda, it would not have been difficult to classify it as an a-typical dialect of Northern Sotho. The linguistic situation which prevails between Tshivenda, Tshiguvhu and Northern Sotho is similar to that of dialects constituting the geographical dialect continua described in modern literature about dialectology. In this regard, Chambers & Trudgill (1980:8) summarise the controversy surrounding the South Slavic continuum:

"The South Slavic continuum... incorporates the standard languages Slovene, Serbo-Croat, Macedonian and Bulgarian. Those varieties spoken on the Yugoslavian side of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border are claimed by Yugoslavia to be Macedonian and by Bulgaria to be Bulgarian... From a purely linguistic point of view, however, the argument is not resolvable, since dialect continua admit of

more-or-less not either-or judgements. The linguistic varieties involved may be more or less like standard Macedonian or Bulgarian, but no linguist would feel confident about saying that they actually are one or the other."

Geographical dialect continua are found all over the world, but have not received attention yet in South Africa. A study such as this one would, hopefully, encourage the investigation of other dialects with characteristics of more than one language in order to broaden the existing knowledge of dialects and language change.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bloomfield, L.                    Language. (4th. print). London:  
1970                                George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Bourquin, W.                    Neue-ur-Bantu-wortstamme.  
1969                                (Nachdruck). Liechtenstein: Kraus  
Reprint.
- Brook, G.L.                      English dialects. London: Andre  
1963                                Deutsch.
- Chambers, J.K & Trudgill, P.  
1980                                Dialectology. London: Cambridge  
University Press.
- 1986                                Collins Concise Dictionary of the  
English language. London: Collins.
- Doke, C.M.                      The Southern Bantu languages.  
1954                                London: Oxford University  
Press.
- Gleason, H.A.                    An introduction to descriptive  
1965                                linguistics. (Revised ed.).  
London: Holt, Rinehart &  
Winston.
- Hughes, A. & Trudgill, P.  
1987                                English accents and dialects.  
(2nd. edition). London: Edward  
Arnold.

- Khuba, A.E.  
1993 The significance of the Musanda language in Venda. Unpublished D. Litt et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Kotzé, A.E.  
1988 Morfologie van nie-predikatiewe woorde en konstruksies in Hananwa. Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Afrikatale, Vol. 8, Nr.4, pp. 114-130.
- 1992 Morfologie van predikatiewe woorde in Hananwa. Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Afrikatale, Vol. 12, Nr.3, pp. 117-129.
- 1995 'n Fonologiese en morfologiese beskrywing van Lobedu. Ongepubliseerde D.Litt et Phil. proefskrif, Universiteit van Suid Afrika, Pretoria.
- Lehmann, W.  
1962 Historical linguistics: An introduction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Lestrade, G.P.  
1927 Some notes on the Ethnic history of the Bavenda and their Rhodesia affinities. South African Journal of science, vol xxiv, p. 487

- Lombard, D.P., Van Wyk, E.B. & Mokgokong, P.C.  
1985                    Introduction to the grammar of Northern Sotho. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Limited.
- Louwrens, L.J.  
1991                    Aspects of Northern Sotho grammar. Pretoria: Via Afrika.
- Mathivha, M.E.R.  
1966                    The toneme patterns of the Venda noun. Unpublished M A dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Mathivha, M.E.R. & Makhado, J.T.  
1966                    Thahulela Luvenda. Pretoria: Beter Boeke.
- Mathivha, N.R.  
1985                    The Berlin missionary venture in education 1985 at Tshakhuma: Venda (1872-1954). Unpublished M A dissertation, University of the North, Pietersburg.
- Meinhof, C.  
1932                    Introduction to the phonology of the Bantu languages. (Translated, revised and enlarged in collaboration with the author and Dr. Alice Werner by N. J. Van Warmelo). Berlin: Dietrich Reiner/ Ernst Vohsen.
- Milubi, N.A.  
1987                    Ngoma ya Vhatei. Sovenga: N.A. Milubi.

- Mokgokong, P.C.  
1966 A dialect-geographical survey of the phonology of the Northern Sotho area. Unpublished M A dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Mulaudzi, P.A.  
1987 The dialects of the Venda language. Unpublished B A Hons article, University of the North, Pietersburg.
- Neluvhalani, M.C.  
1984 Nqona ya Luvenda ya vhadededzi vhagudiswa. Pretoria: Via Africa Limited.
- Nida, E.A.  
1949 Morphology, the descriptive analysis of word. (2nd. edition). Michigan: Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press.
- Petyt, K.M.  
1980 The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology. London: Andre Deutsh Limited.
- Poulos, G.  
1990 A linguistic analysis of Venda. Pretoria: Via Afrika limited.
- Poulos, G. & Louwrens, L.J.  
1994 A linguistic analysis of Northern Sotho. Pretoria: Via Afrika Limited.
- Ralushai, V.N.M.N.  
1977 Conflicting accounts of Venda History with particular reference to the role of mitupo in social organisation. Unpublished Ph.D.



thesis, Queen's University,  
Belfast.

- Robins, R.H.  
1980                    General linguistics: an  
introductory survey. (3rd.  
edition). London: Longman Group  
Ltd.
- Sengani, T.M.  
1988                    Aspects of discourse reference  
in Venda. Unpublished M A  
dissertation, University of South  
Africa, Pretoria.
- Van Warmelo, N.J.  
1989                    Venda dictionary. Pretoria:  
J.L. Van Schaik.
- Van Wyk, E.B.  
1962                    Die Bantoetaalkunde as  
beskrywende Taalwetenskap.  
Publikasies van die Universiteit  
van Pretoria, Nuwe reëks., nr. 20.  
Pretoria: Universteit van Pretoria.
- Wentzel, P.J.  
1983                    The relationship between Venda  
and Western Shona. Vol. III.  
Pretoria: University of South  
Africa.
- Ziervogel, D., Wentzel, P.J. & Makuya, T.N.  
1972                    A handbook of the Venda language.  
Pretoria: University of South  
Africa.