

THE ORTHOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF

ISIXHOSA



SINCE 1824
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BY

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The Orthographical Development of IsiXhosa

Since 1824

by



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**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts with the
Department of African Languages
Faculty of Arts**

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

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Dr N.P. Lesoetsa**

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation entitled "The Orthographical Development of IsiXhosa Since 1824" is my own work both in conception and execution.



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Acknowledgement

In the final stage of this Dissertation my thanks go to my Supervisor, Dr N.P. Lesoetsa, for his continued support and guidance right through my studies. I will never forget his kindness in taking care of me when I was left alone in the mist. I must also say "thank you" to all my colleagues in the Department of African Languages at the University of Fort Hare for encouraging me in my studies when I was about to give up. I will not forget to thank "Sis' Pat Ramakatsa", who kept showing keen enthusiasm in all my efforts, and also my typist, Miss P. Nzuzo, who has shown keenness to raise the standard of my manuscript and has produced the best out of nowhere.



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May God Bless all those who have given a hand in the production of this dissertation.

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Dedication

I dedicate this beautiful work to my one and only mother, Sindiwe and to my sister Nontobeko.



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Z.W. SAUL

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

It is in the nature of things that constant changes gradually occur. In language change has been observed throughout the history of mankind. Such changes in language may affect its structure, vocabulary and the meaning of words and/or sentences. IsiXhosa in its written form has undergone several changes in its orthography. It is these developments in isiXhosa orthography that are investigated in this study.

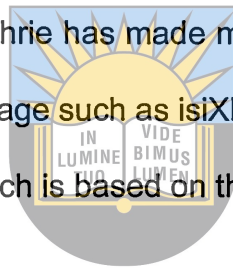
The problem which faced pioneers in reducing African languages into the medium of writing was that there was no reference material other than that designed to suit European languages. In other words they had no choice but to impose the Roman alphabet on languages which were structurally dissimilar. For instance, in European languages there are no clicks.

According to Guthrie (1948: 6)

In any study of the Bantu languages in general the problem of orthography becomes very difficult. It is clear that the

considerations governing the designing of a practical orthography do not necessarily operate in this case. On the other hand, to use any system of spelling that did not conform in most respects to the orthography based on the 'Africa' alphabet would be unsatisfactory, while to depart too much from the conventional spelling of important languages would in itself reduce the usefulness of the work.

In the above quotation Guthrie has made mention of an African alphabet that would suit an African language such as isiXhosa and the conventional spelling of important languages which is based on the Roman alphabet.



Guthrie has also identified the following in orthography:

- (a) Problem of orthography of Bantu languages, for example, isiXhosa and Sesotho.
- (b) Option of the African alphabet, which he claims would be unsatisfactory because it needed to be improved.

He goes on to say there were African languages in other parts of Africa, e.g. Sari. But since he was British, the orthography which was already there in Africa was automatically changed into British orthography.

As far as isiXhosa is concerned, there seems to be inconsistency in spelling even by some of its prominent authors. Hence a thorough research on its

orthographical development has been seen to be necessary.

1.2 Aims

The aims of the study are as follows:-

- (i) To trace the orthographical development of isiXhosa through various stages from 1824 to its present form, as evidenced from writings of various periods;
- (ii) to highlight the significance of orthography and the accurate observation thereof to activities related to the promotion of literacy, and the production of literary and other works in the language.

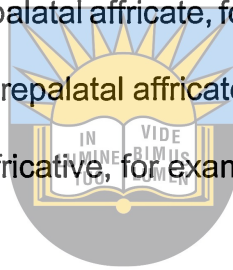


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1.3 Statement of the problem

In the development of isiXhosa orthography there may be one symbol which is used to represent different sounds and because of this it is difficult to spell certain words correctly, including people's names. Certain symbols seem to have defied change in orthography, as is the case with certain hymnbooks, for example. Below, examples are given where constant change in spelling has occurred.

Since isiXhosa was put into writing for the first time in 1823, it is noticeable that some of the sound symbols that have been used represent the same sound. Some of such sounds are **b** the voiced bilabial implosive, for example, **ukubuza** "to ask", **bh** the partially voiced bilabial explosive, for example, **ukubhala** "to write", **sh** the voiceless prepalatal fricative, for example, **ishishini** "business", **th** the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive, for example, **thatha** "take", **tsh** the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate, for example, **ukutshaya** "to smoke", **tsh** the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate, for example, **ukutshixa** "to lock" and **rh** the voiceless velar fricative, for example, **irhamba** "puff-adder".



Orthography should enable a reader to articulate a word without difficulty. But the name **Mbeki** can be articulated in three different ways. Firstly, its symbol **b** can be taken as the voiced bilabial implosive ɓ , e.g. **M ɓ eki**. Secondly, it can be articulated as the partially voiced explosive **bh**, e.g. **Mbheki**, and thirdly, it can be regarded as the fully voiced explosive **b** which occurs in the form of a nasal compound, e.g. Mbeki.

1.4 Rationale

Since it is very difficult in isiXhosa to find research conducted on linguistics in general, it is hoped that this study will help Xhosa speakers in general as the orthography of isiXhosa is a mixture of the phonetic and the Roman alphabets.

This study is not unique and as such will merely fill the gaps in what is already known. One hopes that by exposing the inconsistencies in the spelling of isiXhosa language and making suggestions for improvement as one sees fit, the orthography of this language will be up to standard.

1.5 Literature review

The literature of isiXhosa, classified into various stages of development, almost chronologically according to the periods of years, will be studied so as to compare the various forms of sounds reflected in the literature of each stage of development or of each period and to make conclusions as to how the orthography of isiXhosa developed from its early beginnings to the present.

For instance in the year 1823 John Bennie put isiXhosa into writing for the first time. His way of writing, as deduced from his manuscript, was as follows:

In ko mo zon ke ze zi ka- Ti xo:
un gum ni ni zo yë na.

"All the cattle belong to God: He is their owner".

Bennie's orthographical words constituted syllables. Such a division must have made reading very difficult and full of staccato gaps. This was a disjunctive form of writing carried to the extreme. It must have been a difficult system because it depended on how each individual formed syllables out of each 'word'.

Perhaps the reason for his doing this is that he was not yet conversant with the isiXhosa language. He was at the same time dealing with a different language, of which the structure and sound system were different from his.

After John Bennie there emerged in 1853 a prolific Xhosa writer by the name of W.G. Bennie, who did away with the syllabic writing used by John Bennie and came up with the idea of the conjunctive way of writing; for example, **elwandhle** "in the sea", **ngokwenene** "in reality". To nouns beginning with a nasal consonant **n** a complete prefix of that class was added, thus doubling the nasal as in the following words:

inncwadi "a book", ummoya "air", innxenye "some",

ngennxa "as a result of"

Again in his book, the voiceless nasalized alveo-lateral affricate **ntl** is written as **nkl**. For instance instead of writing the word "the heart" as **intliziyo**, he has written it as **inkliziyo**, the word **intloko** "the head" as **inkloko**. This means that the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive has been replaced by the voiceless ejective velar explosive. The voiced nasalized alveo-lateral affricate **ndl** is written as **ndhl** as in **indhlu** "a house".

The above mentioned words in the orthography of the Xhosa Bible as revised

by Dr Ross and published between 1874 and 1882 are written as **intliziyo** "a heart", **intloko** "a head" and **indlu** "a house".

The writing of the nasalized alveo-lateral affricates as **ntl** and **ndl** in the books which were published between 1874 and 1882 still continued: in the English hymns which were translated by Sophia Kiviet and published in 1893, the way of writing of certain sounds in isiXhosa is as follows: **ngq, tsh, ntl, ngc, ndl** and others. But at the same time there are sounds in this translation which are different although their symbols are the same, e.g. **imirozo** [imikx'zɔzɔ] "queues" and **itaru** [it'axu] "forgiveness". This means that according to this way of writing, there is no difference between the voiceless ejective velar affricate and the voiceless velar fricative and this might cause confusion in the pronunciation of these two words.

After this period the use of the diacritics was introduced in the writing of certain sounds: in 1915 Kropf used diacritics in his writing to represent the voicing of sounds in **incwába** "a grave" and **inxwélera** "injured ones"; to represent nasalization in **imbángeli** "cause" and **imbátsha** "losing colour"; to represent aspiration in **kúlu** "great" and **qípúka** "break"; to represent the use of **h** in **bála** "write" and **inxwélera** "injured ones"; and to represent ejectiveness in **incítákalo** "dispersal" and **inxentsi** "a dancer".

The above way of writing still continued in the following years: Stewart in 1921

used the following symbols in his book: **sh** in **ishushu** "it is hot" and **ihashe** "a horse"; **ntsh** in **intshumayelo** "a sermon" and **b** in **ubawo** "father". The aspirated sounds are written without **h**, e.g. **imitandazo** "prayers", **ipepa** "a paper", **imiti** "trees". To differentiate between the devoiced bilabial explosive stop and the voiced bilabial implosive stop, he used a diacritic, which is placed above the vowel which follows the explosive stop, e.g. **ukubála** "to write". To differentiate between a velar fricative and a velar affricate, a diacritic is used in the writing of **usarára** "he is still not satisfied" whereas the word **eRini** is written without it.

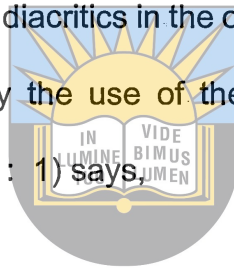


The way of writing which was used by Stewart in 1921 was continued even in the following years except for the writing of **ipepa** "paper", **imiti** "trees" and **imitandazo** "prayers", where aspiration is not marked: McLaren (1923) has used the following symbols: **sh** in **ihashe** "a horse", **tsh** in **ubutshaba** "enmity", **ngq** in **ingqumbo** "wrath", **ngx** in **ingxaki** "a problem", **ngcw** in **esingcwele** "the holy one"; aspiration is by means of a diacritic, e.g. **tóba** "come down", **púngula** "eliminate", **télekisa** "compare"; the diacritic is also used in the writing of the velar fricative, e.g. **iráfu** "tax", and in the other form of the writing of the voiced nasalized clicks such as **incwába** "a grave", **incúka** "a hyena", **enqúkuva** "a rounded one" and the ejective nasalized click, e.g. **qánqalaza** "boycott".

After this period the use of the diacritics in the writing of certain sounds was

eliminated: in 1925 Mqhayi wrote some of the sounds as follows: the same voiceless velar fricative is written in two ways, e.g. **igqira** "a witch doctor" and **e-Ncera** "at Ncera", and the voiced nasalized clicks are written differently without the use of a diacritic, e.g. **enqinelana** "corresponding" and **ingqeqesho** "discipline".

In the 1930's the use of the diacritics in the orthography of isiXhosa came to an end, and was replaced by the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols. As Bennie (1931: 1) says,



the Central Orthography Committee, delegated by the Union Advisory Committee to deal with orthography, decided at its meeting which was held in Johannesburg, on the 16th of July in 1930, to make certain recommendations with regard to Xhosa, and these were subsequently approved by the Union Government Committee.

Bennie further states that the most important changes to the orthography existing at that time were as follows:

- (a) Aspiration, hitherto represented by a rough-breathing mark over the following vowels, was to be represented by **h**, e.g. **thetha** for **tétá** "speak", **Xhosa** for **Xósa**.

- (b) The voiceless prepalatal fricative, then represented by **sh**, was to be represented by the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol *ʃ*, e.g. **u/ʃu/ʃu** for **ushushu** "he is hot", **umt/ʃato** for **umtshato** "wedding".
- (c) Implosive **b**, then represented by the plain letter, would be represented by a new symbol **ɓ**, and the plain **b** would represent the explosive **b**, e.g. **ukuɓaɓa** for **ukubaba** "to itch", and **ukubaba** for **ukubǎǎ** "to fly".



During this period the representation of two different sounds by the same symbol stopped as there was no difference between the writing of the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh** and the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **tsh** as in **ukutshaya** "to smoke" and as in **intshayi** "a smoker". During this period according to Bennie (1934: 1) 'it had to be noted that "**tsh**" aspirated would be written "**t/h**" and unaspirated "**t/**". Thus **umtshayelo omtsha** "a new broom" would become **umt/hayelo omt/ha**, but **entsha** "a new" would become **ent/a**'.

This information was from the announcement in regard to the adoption of a revised orthography of isiXhosa which was published in the Gazette of the 23rd November in 1933.

During this same period Mungo (1939) used the symbols which are similar to those used by W.G. Bennie. Instead of writing **ɓuɓunqhina** "it is evidence", he

has written **ḅuunqhina** which means that the deletion or omission of the implosive stop **ḅ** which was between the two vowels has taken place, and this has resulted in the doubling of the vowels. Emphasis in this writing of Mungo is on the doubling of vowels, the use of IPA symbols, e.g. **ḅ**, and the writing of the nasalized voiced palato-alveolar click as **nqh**.

In the 1940's there seemed to be an inconsistency in the writing of certain sounds in certain printed matter, e.g. in the Xhosa Newspaper called **Umthunywa** which was published in 1947, it is noticeable that the same sound is spelt differently, e.g. **uRulumente** "Government" or **uRhulumente**, **pezulu** "up" or **phezulu**, **bati** or **bathi** "they say".

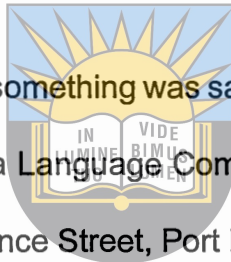
This shows that the writers of this newspaper wrote as they wished, without worrying themselves about the changes in writing which were taking place.

Despite this, there were people who adhered to the newly introduced way of writing: in 1948 Mesatywa translated into Xhosa **Notes on St Mark's Gospel**, which were written by Edward Grant, and the symbols he used in his writing are similar to those used by Mungo and W.G. Bennie in their writings.

Towards the end of the 1940's and at the beginning of 1950's this way of writing was still followed: Cook (1949) used symbols which are similar to those used by Bennie, Mungo and Mesatywa.

Morrison (1951) also used symbols which are similar to those used by Bennie, Mungo, Mesatywa and Cook.

This shows that these writers exercised care in the development of the sounds of this language during that period.



Towards the end of 1950's something was said about the use of the apostrophe because in 1957 the Xhosa Language Committee Meeting which was held in Room 501, Alfin House, Prince Street, Port Elizabeth from the 13th to the 19th of February says this about it: A former decision that the apostrophe should not be used in words like **intw'entle** (intwentle) was rescinded. It was agreed that use of **w** be optional, but that in both cases the apostrophe be used, e.g. **int'entle, intw'entle** "a beautiful thing".

Between 1960 and 1970 the isiXhosa orthography was in the process of being changed to the current orthography by the Xhosa Language Committee because the Xhosa Language Committee Meeting held in the Committee Room of the Magistrate's Court at Butterworth from the 20th to the 28th of April in 1960 stated that as the majority of Xhosa speakers no longer distinguished between **nch** and **ngc, nqh and ngq, nxh and ngx**, and experienced difficulty in knowing when to write the one and when the other, **ngc, ngq and ngx** would be written in all cases to serve school purposes, i.e. in the classroom, in school books and in school examinations, e.g. **ingca** "grass", **ingqolowa** "wheat" and **ingxowa** "a

The Xhosa Language Committee Meeting which was held in the Committee Room of the Magistrate's Court at Butterworth from the 28th of February to the 7th of March in 1961 decided that if the rolled sound (represented by **r**) and the velar fricative (normally also represented by **r**) occurred in the same word, the former would be represented by **r** and the latter by **rh**, e.g. **irorho** "rye", **inarhmeri** "nightmare", **ifrarha** "a load", **ibrorho** "a bridge".



The Xhosa Language Committee Meeting which was held in the Regional Office of Bantu Education in King William's Town from the 23rd to the 27th of August in 1965 decided against the use of any diacritic sign, circumflex or doubling of vowels, as the context would always decide how it should be read. The circumflex or other internationally used signs, however, could be used by lecturers when dealing with phonetics.

The Xhosa Language Committee Meeting which was held in the Education Office at Butterworth from the 15th to the 18th of March in 1966 stated that in his address J.C. Oosthuysen made the following suggestions:

- (a) that the vowel should be doubled in the abbreviated form "**wathi tsi**";
wee tsi on page 29 of the Blue Book;
- (b) that the capital referring to the deity in stereotyped pronouns should be used;

- (c) that verbal auxiliary formatives, i.e. **ba/be**, should be included in the rules in the Blue Book.

The Xhosa Language Committee Meeting which was held at the Xhosa Dictionary Rooms at Fort Hare from the 16th to the 22nd of October in 1968 made the following recommendations with regard to modifications of isiXhosa orthography:



- (a) Doubling of Vowels:

There would be no change in the doubling of vowels.

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- (b) Consonants:

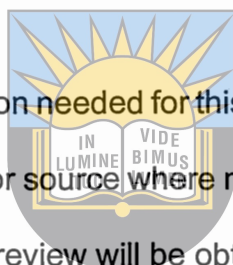
- (i) The rule that **h** would not be used to reinforce the explosive **b** in borrowed words would not be inserted in the revision of rules, e.g. **ibroro** "a bridge", **ibrandi** "brandy".

- (ii) The velar fricative would be represented by **Rh; rh**, e.g.

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| (a) Radicle | : | eRhabula; irhamba |
| (b) Voiced | : | ukugrhenya; ukugrhaya |
| (c) Affricate | : | Krhwada, ikrhele |
| (d) Rolled Alveolar | : | This would be represented by R, r (only) , e.g. uMariya, isitrato, ifrarha. |

In the book which was published by Mqhayi in 1970, it is noticeable that the symbols are written according to the current orthography, except the velar fricative, which is still written as the roll.

1.6 Methodology and data sources



Since much of the information needed for this study will be the written materials, the libraries will be the major source where most of the books which have been mentioned in the literature review will be obtained.

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The museums together with the archives will also be visited with the intention of obtaining those books which may not be available from the libraries. It is in these places where the minutes of the Xhosa Language Committee meetings on the orthography of isiXhosa will be found. It is also here where old letters and other documents written in isiXhosa are going to be obtained.

The Church Missions will also be visited with the purpose of gaining access to old scriptural materials. These places are of very great importance to this study because the first people to put the isiXhosa language into writing were the missionaries.

There will be a comparison of the orthography of isiXhosa and the International Phonetic Alphabet to see whether there is any relationship between their

1.7 Definition of Concepts:

Orthography:

Murray (1909: 214) defines orthography as 'correct or proper spelling; spelling according to accepted usage, the way in which words are conventionally written'.

Spelling involves the following aspects:



- * Letters/symbols aspect
- * Phonetic/phonological aspect, i.e. similarities between the letters of alphabet and the combinations thereof used in the written form on the one hand, and on the other the phonetic symbols used to represent the pronunciation of the sounds of a language
- * The grammatical/syntactical aspects reflected in the kind of word-division and morpheme combinations peculiar to a language
- * The various distinctions of meaning effected solely or partly by morpheme combinations or disjunctions
- * Hyphenation of compounds or lack of it, conditioned by peculiar formatives forming the parts of the compounds concerned.

According to Gelb (1952: 12) 'orthography means the ways in which the spoken language is represented graphically by means of conventional marks'.

By saying that the spoken language is represented graphically by means of conventional marks Gelb means the way it is written. Both the above writers have used the word "conventional" in their definitions of orthography.

According to Diringer (1962: 13) orthography is 'the graphic counterpart of speech, the "fixing" of spoken language in a permanent or semi-permanent form'.



This means that Diringer sees writing as "visible" speech or as the "photograph" of speech. Naturally and psychologically human beings see language in that light.

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According to Gwinn et al. (1992: 566)

Language is the expression of ideas by means of speech sounds combined into words. Words are combined into sentences, this combination answering to that of ideas into thought.

This definition tallies with the present study in that it views language from a structural point of view. Sounds are grouped together to form words and the combination of words forms sentences which are used for communication. The fundamental task of every language is to link voice to meaning to provide words for the expression of thought and feeling.

According to Crystal (1968: 28) 'language is the most frequently used form of communication'. Human life in its present form would be impossible and inconceivable without the use of language as it is a set of signals by which we communicate. Language interacts with every other aspect of human life in society, and it can be understood only if it is considered in relation to society.

According to Bierwisch (1971: 16) 'language is the totality of all sources which determine the structure of individual speech events'.



The origin of language has never failed to provide a subject of speculation, and its inaccessibility adds to its fascination. The earliest records of written language go back no more than about 4,000 or 5,000 years.

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Language could be seen as a form of communication, because if it did not exist it would be impossible for human beings to communicate, especially when far apart.

1.8 Conclusion

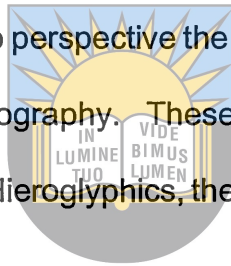
The two concepts, orthography and language, are closely related; orthography being the written, as distinct from the spoken form of language.

CHAPTER 2

History of writing

2.1 Introduction

This section of the study will focus attention on the history of writing and writing systems, in order to put into perspective the theory of writing, which is the basis for the introduction of orthography. These writing systems are Pictographic writing, Cuneiform writing, Hieroglyphics, the Alphabet, Logographic writing and Shorthand.



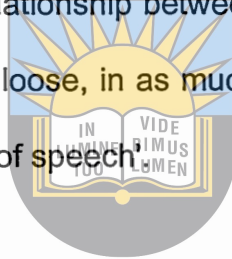
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The invention of writing was one of the greatest of mankind's achievements because after the beginning of writing it became possible for the people to have records of their activities. When writing began, history and civilization began. The importance of writing is asserted by Ullman (1963: 4) when he says:

The noblest acquisition of mankind is speech, and the most useful art is writing. The invention of writing and of a convenient system of records on paper has had a greater influence in uplifting the human race than any other intellectual achievement in the career of man. It was more than all the battles ever fought and all the constitutions ever devised.

The above quotation emphasises the importance of the existence of writing. A nation cannot be regarded as being complete without the knowledge of writing. This is proved by the fact that before John Bennie put the isiXhosa language into writing, the amaXhosa nation was regarded as being backward.

A tight relationship between writing and speech is important because according to Gelb (1952: 11) 'the relationship between writing and speech in the early stages of writing was very loose, in as much as the written message did not correspond to exact forms of speech'



This means that the introduction of writing was not an easy task. People had to devise means of corresponding writing to speech as speech comes before writing. This also shows that in order for a language to be up to standard its orthography must be accurate.

The commencement of the relationship between writing and pronunciation was not easy. Harris (1986: 123) says, 'We do not know, and never shall know, what concept of pronunciation if any was entertained at that remote period by the human beings who invented writing...'

It is interesting to note that nobody knows clearly who the inventors of writing were. It is therefore not possible for one to know exactly how those inventors of writing started with the concept of pronunciation.

In order for one to know more about the invention of writing, something should be said about types of writing systems.

2.2 Types of writing systems

There are different types of writing systems. According to Gwinn et al. (1992: 1027)



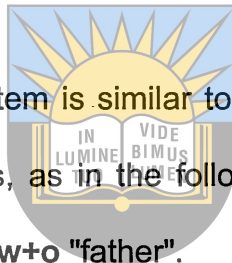
A writing system, technically referred to as a script of orthography, consists of a set of visible marks, forms, or structures called characters or graphs that are related to some structure in the linguistic system. Roughly speaking, if a character represents a meaningful unit, such as a morpheme or a word, the orthography is called a logographic writing system; if it represents a syllable, it is called a syllable writing system; if a segment of a syllable, it is called a consonantal writing system or an unvocalized syllabary; and if a phoneme, it is called an alphabetic system.

In the above quotation mention is made of the word "graph". It means that writing started by being in the form of a scratch. For instance when something was said about a person, a scratch of a person was drawn in order to symbolise him or her.

The term "syllable" has also been mentioned. This means that following the

graph-writing was the syllable writing system where two or more sound symbols are grouped as in the word: **in ko mo** "cattle".

In a consonantal writing system the syllable is divided into two individual letters, as in the following examples: **l+a+l+a** "sleep", **t+a+t+a** "father", **m+a+m+a** "mother".



The alphabetic writing system is similar to the consonantal one as it is also formed of individual letters, as in the following examples: **s+i+s+i** "sister", **m+a+m+a** "mother", **b+a+w+o** "father".

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Before the existence of the characters or graphs, writing was in the form of pictures. This type of writing system is called pictographic writing.

2.2.1 Pictographic writing

The word pictography is a compound comprising 'pictus' meaning "painted" and gram/graph and as such it means a picture form of writing.

This view is substantiated by Diringier (1977: 13),

Pictography or picture-writing was used when ancient man first essayed to scratch, draw or paint schematic figures of animals, geometric patterns, crude pictures of objects, on

cave walls because of the urge to record important events or to communicate ideas.

We know that this picture-writing was also used by the San as it can be seen on cave walls in southern Africa. Schematic figures of animals and pictures of men carrying bows and arrows can be seen on these cave walls.

History tells us that the first kind of writing consisted mainly of pictures. This type of writing is also known as ideograms or idea-writing.



Diringer (1962: 14) states that 'the earliest written documents are Mesopotamian tablets, inscribed with a crude pictographic writing, many characters being purely pictorial and picture symbols representing various objects, animate or inanimate'.

The pictures were conventionalized so that they referred not to the whole ideas, but to particular words. The pictures in these scripts came to stand also for sounds and not only for words.

It is believed that the early drawings which were made by the ancient humans were the seeds out of which writing developed. Pictographic writing has been found among people throughout the world, ancient and modern.

After some time, symbols were produced in order to form a new kind of writing called cuneiform.

2.2.2 Cuneiform writing

Cuneiform writing, which is also known as wedge-script, is so called because its symbols are formed of combinations of strokes, having a shape of a wedge. These strokes were impressed, line by line, with the edge of a broad-headed stylus, consisting of a stick of reed, bone, hard wood or metal.

According to Fromkin and Rodman (1974: 357):



As cuneiform evolved, its users began to think of the symbols represented rather than the actual thing itself. Ultimately cuneiform script came to represent words of the language, and the Sumerians were in possession of a true word-writing system.

When a graphic sign no longer has any visual relationship to the word it represents, it becomes a symbol for the sounds which represent the word. A single sign can then be used to represent all words with the same sounds, that is, the homophones of the language.

The cuneiform writing system was borrowed by a number of peoples, most notably by the Assyrians when they conquered the Sumerians, and later by the Persians. In adapting cuneiform to their own languages, the borrowers used them to represent the sounds of the syllables in their words. In this way cuneiform is said to have been evolved into a syllabic writing system.

Each syllable in the language is represented by its own symbol in a syllabic writing system. Words are written by juxtaposing the symbols of their individual syllables. The Assyrians kept a large number of word symbols, even though every word in their language could be written out syllabically if desired.

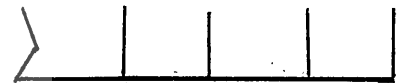
The following are examples of cuneiform writing:



star, sky, god



waxing moon,
horn, to grow



hand

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At the time that Sumerian pictography was flourishing a similar system was being used by the Egyptians. This was later called by Greeks hieroglyphics.

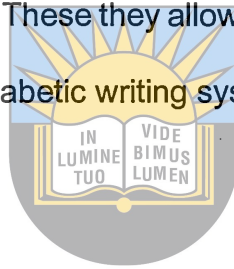
2.2.3 Hieroglyphics

Hieroglyphics is essentially a monumental script, mainly employed on stone monuments, on ancient tombs, and so on, but also used on papyrus and other perishable materials.

Like the Sumerian pictogram, hieroglyphics began to represent sounds of the word-writing system, which paralleled the Sumerian cuneiform development. In

this advanced syllabic stage, a single symbol represents both a consonant and a following vowel.

The Phoenicians had taken the first step by letting certain symbols stand for consonants alone. The language spoken by the Phoenicians, however, had more consonants than Greek, so that when the Greeks borrowed the system, they had symbols left over. These they allowed to represent vowel sounds, and thus they invented the alphabetic writing system.



2.2.4 The alphabet

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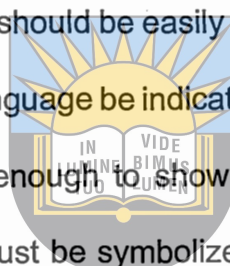
Diringer (1977: 12) says that 'the writing with which we are familiar is the alphabetic system, that which, generally speaking, represents a spoken sound by a mark or symbol or letter'.

The invention of the alphabet was taken as the most important event in history. Its existence brought about the possibility of genuine writing. The first alphabet was developed by the ancient Greeks from a Middle Eastern syllabic system that they had borrowed around 800B.C. It is believed that around 600B.C., the Romans developed the basics of the alphabet we use today.

There are two types of alphabet. They are the Roman and the Cyrillic. The Greek alphabet of the ninth century A.D. is the prototype of the Cyrillic; the

majority of the letters are identical in form and phonetic value. The richness of Slavonic sounds involved the addition of many signs to represent sounds not present in the Greek speech.

In order for an alphabet to be regarded as an ideal one, it must have the following two features: the letters should each stand for one sound and for one sound only, and the letters should be easily distinguishable. It is not necessary that all the sounds of the language be indicated - that depends on the language: for some languages it is enough to show the consonants; for others both consonants and vowels must be symbolized; for some languages intonation must also be indicated. Whatever is shown, the important thing is that one writing unit stands for just one sound unit.



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The alphabet appears to have been invented only once and to have spread from its inventors to the rest of the world. This invention is said to have taken place some three thousand years ago in the Middle East. Good proof of this is said to be the inscription on what is called the Moabite Stone in a language called North Semitic. Scholars still argue about where the inventors got the idea. Some think that they developed their alphabet out of Egyptian hieroglyphics, others that they took a cue from Cretan writing or from some other script. Certainly it is probable that they used letter signs already employed in some kind of writing. What they added was the alphabetic principle of one letter to one sound.

It is strange to learn that in the later Semitic alphabets only consonants were actually written down and there were no vowel-sounds represented in Egyptian writing. The existence of twenty-four uni-consonantal letters in Egyptian writing is said to have caused many people to believe that the Egyptians have the world's earliest alphabet.

After the Latin alphabet, the Arabic script is the most widely used form of alphabetic writing in the modern world.



The Latin alphabet comprised originally twenty-two letters, to which were added later **Y** and **Z**. These twenty-four letters are **A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z**.

Originally there was only one style in the Latin alphabet, and this was the monumental capital script. The chief considerations of monumental writing were permanence, beauty, proportion and evenness.

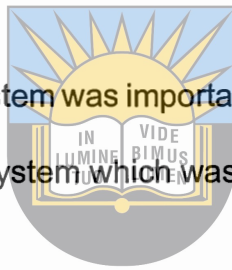
The activity of Christian missionaries and the colonial expansion of the nineteenth century have carried the Latin alphabet far afield into Africa and Asia, much as the Aramaic and Arabic branches of the alphabet were once spread by trade, by the movement of religious conversion, and by conquest. In the form of small letters the Latin alphabet is as follows: **a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, y, z**.

Moorhouse (1953: 94-97) is of the opinion that 'the alphabet, the most important and the most wide-spread system of writing in the world, is single and unique. It takes indeed many different forms'.

Moorhouse further states that the sacred pictures of the Hindus are written in the Indian-Devanagari script, the Koran of the Moslems in the Arabic, the Old Testament in the Hebraic, and the New Testament in the Greek. These scripts, he states, are all variations developed from the same original, and from it now comes the alphabet in which our English Bible is written. He continues by saying that the Semitic alphabet was composed of twenty-two letters. Each letter stood for a consonant. In this alphabet there were no vowels and for this reason it resembled the Egyptian collection of twenty-four single consonant sounds. In order, therefore, to be able to read the script, it was necessary to supply mentally the vowels required. The absence of vowels in this alphabet was regarded as a handicap. For this reason, it was later found desirable to have the means of showing vowels. For this purpose, four of the letters that stood for weak consonant sounds, had to be used for the long vowels, **a**, **i** and **u** respectively.

Moorhouse again maintains that thereafter still a more complete scheme of vowel notion was evolved in Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew by using vowel points or diacritic marks. In the eighth century A.D. yet another method was followed and this was to use Greek vowel signs in place of the points. But during this

period no system was in general use. Indeed, there is a possibility that not even these steps would have been taken if it had not been necessary for religious purposes to know the exact pronunciation of the old scriptures. In this type of alphabet, the vowel sounds in the language played only a subsidiary role, denoting different parts of speech and inflections. The essential meaning of the roots was shown by the consonantal sounds.



Although the alphabetic system was important, it was not alone. There was also another important writing system which was known as logographic writing.

2.2.5 Logographic writing

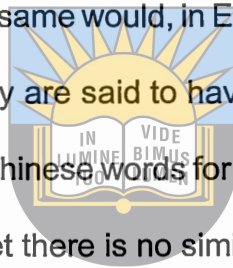
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Logographic writing is the Chinese writing, which has never reached even the syllabic stage as the Chinese language is isolating (i.e. without grammatical terminations or other grammatical forms), monosyllabic and polytonic, capable of being pronounced on a low pitch, on a rising pitch, on a high pitch and so on, the meaning varying according to pitch.

Chinese writing and Semitic writing constitute the two great writing systems of the world. Just as the Semitic writing system was fundamental to the evolution of modern writing systems in the West, Chinese script was fundamental to the writing systems in the East. Chinese writing, at least until relatively recently, was more widely in use than alphabetic writing systems. Until the 18th century, more

than half of the world's books had been written in Chinese.

Chinese script is said to be logographic. Characters or graphs represent not units of sound but rather units of meaning and morphemes. Chinese, like any other language, has thousands of morphemes, and as one character is used for each morpheme, the writing system has thousands of characters. Two morphemes that sound the same would, in English, have at least some similarity of spelling. In Chinese they are said to have been represented by completely different characters. The Chinese words for "parboil" and "leap" are said to be pronounced identically. Yet there is no similarity in the way they are written.



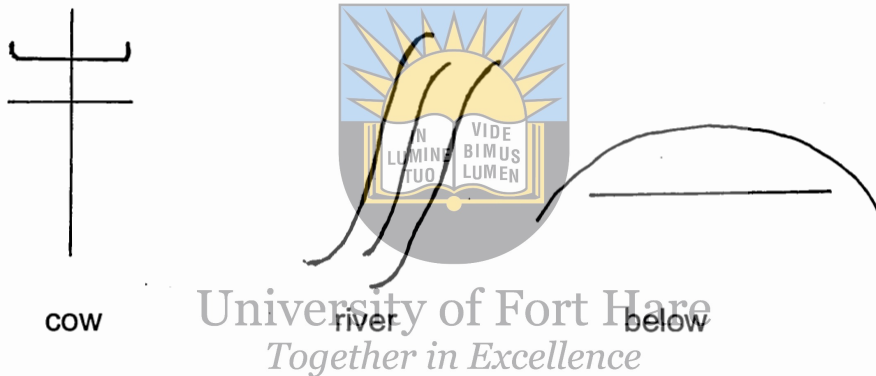
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The fact that the Chinese script is logographic and that its characters or graphs have a pictorial property has led some writers to conclude that it is less abstract than sound-based writing systems. Recent scholars point out, however, that all writing systems began with pictorial signs that lost their pictorial properties to the requirements of ease of writing, since it is easier to draw an arbitrary sign than a realistic picture. It is now recognized that a logographic script is a relatively optimal solution to the problem of representing the Chinese language.

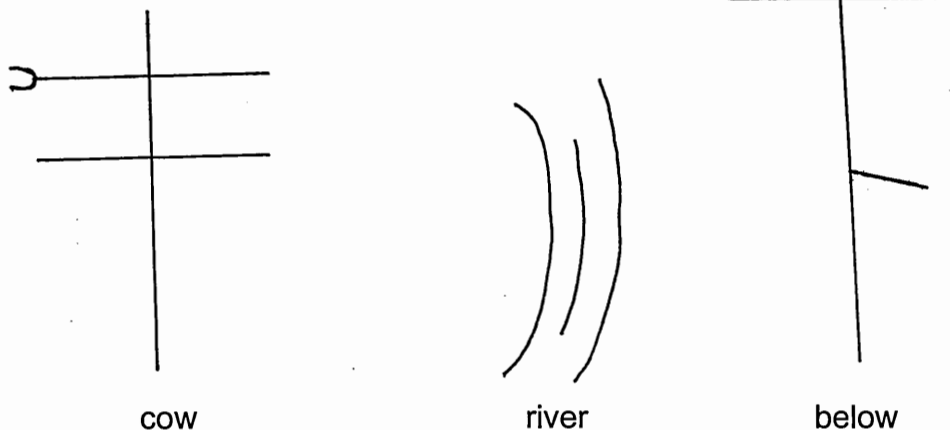
The Chinese language has clearly distinguished syllables that are easily recognized in speech and hence easily represented by a sign. These syllables correspond to morphemes; each morpheme is one syllable long.

Like the ancient Middle Eastern syllabic writing, the Chinese logographic system originated in ideograms. From archaeological records, it is known that ideograms were used to represent objects and ideas such as "cow", "river", and "below".

The following are examples of ideograms:



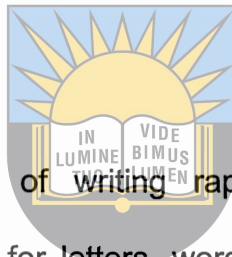
Towards the end of the Bronze Age, which was around 1700-700B.C., these ideograms came to represent not concepts but words. Today in the three logographic symbols that denote the Modern Chinese words 'cow', 'river' and 'below', the ideograms that originally represented these three notions are as follows:



From a very early stage, ideograms were combined to represent abstract ideas and other notions that are difficult to represent graphically.

There is also another writing system which is known as shorthand. This is a form of logographic writing.

2.2.6 Shorthand



Shorthand is a method of writing rapidly by substituting characters, abbreviations, or symbols for letters, words, or phrases. Other names for shorthand are stenography (close, little, or narrow writing), tachygraphy (swift writing) and brachygraphy (short writing). Because shorthand can be written rapidly, the shorthand writer is able to record the proceedings of legislative bodies, the testimony of law courts, or the dictation of business correspondence.

Through the centuries shorthand has been written in systems based on orthography (normal spelling), on phonetics (the sounds of words), and on arbitrary symbols, such as small circles within a larger circle to represent the phrase, "around the world". Most historians date the beginnings of shorthand with the Greek historian Xenophon, who used an ancient Greek system to write the memoirs of Socrates. It was in the Roman Empire, however, that shorthand first became widely used.

2.2.7 The difference between spoken and written language

It is interesting to note that there are differences between writing and speaking. Writing and speaking ordinarily serve different purposes and have somewhat different linguistic characteristics though it is commonly said that writing is speech written down or that writing is visual language as distinct from audible language. This difference can be proved by the fact that conversation does not usually take place in writing except as represented in novels and plays, nor are legal contracts ordinarily spoken, though one so drawn might be legally binding.



Speaking and writing are thus not mirror images of each other. This difference is also attested by the fact that there are fewer resources to communicate information in writing than in speaking. There is time to think before and to revise afterwards in most writing activities. Writing often contains characteristic syntactic patterns that do not readily occur in speech.

Another difference between writing and speaking is that speakers can interact commonly with their addressees, whereas writers usually cannot. But it is said that it is not easy to think of any words that could occur only in speech or only in writing, even though certain words may occur more frequently in one mode or the other.

2.2.8 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter one can say that orthography is of very great importance because in the history of writing communication was very difficult without it. The writing systems which were introduced then were not easily understood. The pictures as well as other symbols which were used during this period were differently interpreted and that led to confusion. But after the introduction of the alphabet, the consonants and the vowels, the situation improved as these are regarded as the basics of orthography.

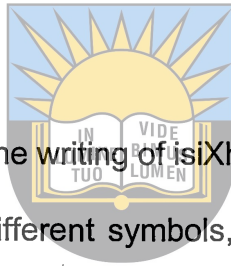


On the basis of this theory of writing, something can now be said about the orthography of isiXhosa.

CHAPTER 3

The state of isiXhosa orthography between 1823 and 1997

3.1 Introduction



This chapter will focus on the writing of isiXhosa as a language. Attention will be paid to the writing of different symbols, which seemed to be problematic before the introduction of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The state of the orthography of the literature books of isiXhosa which were published between 1915 and 1997 and also that of some of the newspapers of isiXhosa will be checked.

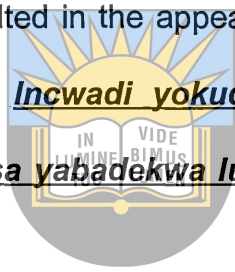
3.2 The pioneer of the writing of isiXhosa and his way of writing

The first person to put isiXhosa into writing in the year 1823 was John Bennie, one of the missionaries who came to the Cape with the aim of converting the Black people to Christianity.

It was partly because of a desire to convert amaXhosa through the reading of the Bible that isiXhosa was the first African language to be reduced into writing

by the Scottish missionaries in South Africa. Hitherto, no written form of this language was known. IsiXhosa literature was oral and was skilfully passed from generation to generation by word of mouth.

John Bennie made the first attempt to teach the amaXhosa the rudiments of their own language in reading and writing. His task would facilitate the study of the language. His efforts resulted in the appearance of the first printed book in isiXhosa in 1824 entitled *Incwadi yokuqala ekuteteni ngokwamaXhosa eTyume, Ilizwe lamaXhosa yabadekwa lubadeko lwabaTunywa eGlasco* 1824.



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His way of writing was as follows as deduced from his first written work:

IN KO MO zon ke ze zi ka-Ti xo: un gum ni ni zo yë
na. Kun ga bi ko nũm tu o zi ci ta yo. I pi we gu
ye i mi fi si, ne mi ti yon ke zi ya pi la ga yo; a pi
we na man zi e zi wa së la yo. Yim vu me yom ni
ni zo u ku ba zi kon ze ti na ban tu in ko mo; zi ya
si kon za go ko. Za pi wa in ko mo ku-No wa, na
ku ti gu-Ti xo um ni ni zo, u ku ze si zi xë le, si pi
le ga zo; zi xë li we go ko. Zi xë li we in ko mo, go
ku ba e vu me le ne na zo um ni ni-zo; go ko si
na so i si xa so e si ku lu e si pi la ga so. Zi ya ni
ka i ma zi za ko we tu lo ma si e si wa së la yo a
da li we yo gu-Ti xo. Si nen-gu bo, nem va ba, ne
zin to ezi nin zi ge zi kum ba zen ko mo ze tu. Zi
da li we in to ezi nin zi ga be lun gu ga ma tam bo

en ko mo, nem pon do za zo. En zi we lo ma ba
la on ke e zi na wo in ko mo gu-Ti xo um ni ni zo.

"All the cattle belong to God: He is their owner before there was anyone to sell them. He is the giver of grass, and they live on trees. The water they drink is given by him. It is the right of their owner for them to worship us, people. Therefore they worship us. The cattle were given to Nowa and to us by God their owner in order for us to live by slaughtering them. The cattle have been slaughtered because of the permission of their owner; therefore we have a big support on which we live. Our cows give us the sour milk we drink which has been created by God. We have blankets, calabashes and many other things because of the skins of our cattle. Many things have been created by the white people with the bones and the horns of them. All the colours that the cattle have, have been made by God their owner".

Concerning the usage of the vowels, Bennie has used diacritics in order to differentiate between the mid-front half open vowel [ɛ̃] and the mid-front half close vowel [ẽ]. These diacritics, which are in the form of double dots, are put above the vowel which represents the half open one as there is no difference in their writing orthographically. This is seen in the following words: **yě na** "him", **e zi wa sě la yo** "which they drink", **zi xě li we** "they have been slaughtered".

Again in this writing there is no doubling of the vowels to indicate plurality. Doubling of the vowels does not mean there are two vowels. It has to do with lengthening. For instance, in the words **IN KO MO zon ke** "all the cattle", plurality is deduced from the subject concord **zi-**. If this word was in the singular form, the subject concord would be something else.

In Bennie's writing it is also noticeable that where there is supposed to be a nasal compound in some words, the nasal consonant is left out, e.g. **ga yo** instead of **ngayo** "with it", **go ko** instead of **ngoko** "therefore" and **go ku ba** instead of **ngokuba** "because". This is because to a foreigner this voiced velar nasal compound in isiXhosa is not easily audible. Bennie has therefore written according to the way he heard the sounds.

What is also noticeable in John Bennie's way of writing is the use of a hyphen in **ze zi ka- Ti xo** "they belong to God", **ku- No wa** "to Nowa" and **gu- Ti xo** "by God".

In this writing the basic voiceless explosive stops **p**, **t** and **k** are represented without any sign although there are different ways of articulating them in isiXhosa. When they are written as individual sounds they can be regarded as being either ejected or aspirated, and when they are in the form of a nasal compound, their articulation is said to be ejective.

3.3 Orthographic development during the period 1844 to 1887

The reason for selecting this period is that this was the period when John Bennie was no longer involved in the writing of isiXhosa. The interest is in searching for the state of the representation of certain phonemes, capitalization, word-division, inconsistencies, etc. during the time of the well-known writers in isiXhosa such as William B. Boyce, W.G. Bennie and others before the introduction of the IPA.

John Bennie's way of writing was partly improved because Boyce (1844: 5) has the following way of writing in his book:


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Uku mka "to depart"

Uya ku ndi beta "You are going to beat me"

Dandi zisindisa "I was saving myself"

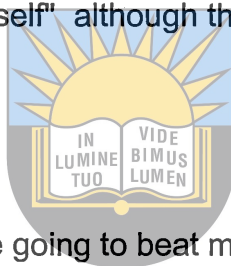
Diyaka "I build"

Diyoyika "I fear"

In the above selection there is no difference between the representation of the aspirated sounds and the ejective ones; for example, the voiceless ejective velar explosive [k'] in **diyoyika** "I fear" is written as **k** and the voiceless aspirated velar explosive [k^h] in **diyaka** "I build" is also written as **k**. The writing of these sounds is therefore similar to that of John Bennie, which means that there is no improvement in the writing of these sounds.

There is an improvement on the disjunctive system, especially in the writing of the words **diyaka** "I build" and **diyoyika** "I fear" as they are written conjunctively. In the disjunctive system they would have been written separately in the following way : **di ya ka** "I build", **di yo yi ka** "I fear".

There is also an improvement in the writing of **uku mka** "to depart" and **dandi zisindisa** "I was saving myself" although the prefixes are written disjunctively from the stems.



In **uya ku ndi beta** "you are going to beat me" the writing of **uya** separately is correct because it indicates the future tense. The separate writing of the infinitive **ku** as well as that of the subject concord **ndi** from the stem **beta** is similar to the disjunctive system.

In the above extract all the stems are written conjunctively. This means that generally there has been an improvement on the disjunctive system of writing.

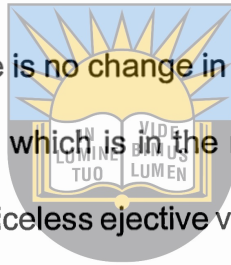
In this book John Bennie's writing of the first person subject concord singular **da-** in **dandi** "I was" and **di-** "I" in **diyaka** "I build" without the nasal has not been improved.

From the book which was translated into isiXhosa and published at the Wesleyan Mission Office in King William's Town in 1851 under the title of

Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations of Jeremiah and Lanie, the

following words have been selected:

engcwele yen-Kosi "a holy one of the Lord"
in-Kosi "the Lord", **intshaba** "enemies"
ngerele "with a sword", **bengcungcutheka** "being unhappy",
unganxami "you should not be in a hurry".

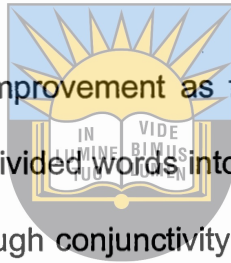


In the above selection there is no change in the representation of the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate which is in the nasal compound **ntsh** in the word **intshaba** "enemies", the voiceless ejective velar affricate **r [kʰ]** in **ngerele** "with a sword", the voiced bilabial implosive **b [b]**, the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive **t [tʰ]** and the voiceless ejective velar explosive **k [kʰ]** in the word **bengcungcutheka** "being unhappy".

There is an inconsistency in the representation of the nasalized voiced clicks. For instance the nasalized voiced alveolar click [ɖ̃] is written as **ngc** in the words **engcwele** "a holy one" and **bengcungcutheka** "being unhappy" whereas this same sound is written as **nc** in the word **bancolile** "they are unclean". Again the nasalized voiced palato-alveolar click [ɗ̃] is represented as **ngq** in the word **ingqele** "cold" whilst the nasalized voiced alveo-lateral click [ɗ̣̃] is represented as **nx** in the word **unganxami** "you should not be in a hurry".

There is also no change as far as the capitalization of the Deity is concerned as in the words **yen-Kosi** "of the Lord" and **in-Kosi** "the Lord" what is capitalized is the first letter of the stem, which is **K**.

The hyphen has been used in the joining of the prefix with the stem as in the words **yen-Kosi** "of the Lord" and **in-Kosi** "the Lord".



In this book there is an improvement as far as word-division is concerned because instead of being divided words into separate syllables, the words are written conjunctively, although conjunctivity in certain words is by means of a hyphen as in **yen-Kosi** "of the Lord" and as in **in-Kosi** "the Lord".

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From the book entitled **The New Testament**, which was written by W.G. Bennie and published in 1853, the following words have been selected:

inncwadi "a book", **ngokwennene** "in reality",
immini "a day", **ummoya** "air", **elwandhle** "in the sea",
babesidhla "they were eating", **bamba** "they stole him",
bamba "hold, catch", **bambedesha** "they worshipped him".
singqongiwe ngamanqina "we are surrounded by witnesses",
inkloko "a head", **inkliziyo** "heart" **au** "oh", **yaikunjulwa**
 "it was remembered", **ngeloxesha** "at that time",
amaramba "puff-adders".

In the above selection there is the doubling of the nasal sounds in the following words:

inncwadi "a book", **ngokwennene** "in reality",

immini "a day", **ummoya** "air".

The reason for the doubling of the nasals is that the first nasal is regarded as a prefix, e.g. **in-**, **im-**, **ngokwen-**.

In this book the voiced alveo-lateral fricative has been represented by **dhl** [ɖ] as in the words **elwandhle** "in the sea" and **babesidhla** "they were eating". The reason for this sound being represented in this way may be that since the writer knows that the voiceless alveo-lateral fricative is written as **hl** [ɸ], in order to change it into a voiced one, he simply precedes it with the voiced stop **d** to form **dhl**.

In this book there is the representation of the three different bilabial sounds by the same symbol, which is **b**, as in the following words:

- i) **babesidhla** [ɓaɓesiɖa] "they were eating".
- ii) **bamba** [ɓamba] "they stole him".

In the above two words, the symbol **b** only represents the voiced bilabial implosive stop.

iii) **bamba** [ɓamba] "hold, catch"

In the above word, this same symbol has represented two different sounds. It has represented the voiced bilabial implosive stop and the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop which is in the form of a nasal compound.

iv) **bambedesha** [ɓambedeʃa] "they worshipped him"



In this fourth word this same symbol has represented the voiced bilabial implosive stop and the devoiced bilabial explosive stop.

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Again in this book it is noticeable that the voiced nasalized palatal click has been represented in two ways in the following words:

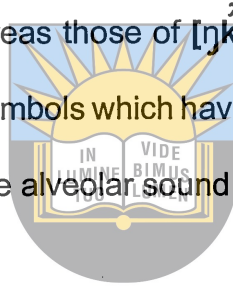
singqongiwe ngamanqina [siŋqongiwe ŋgamaĩna]

"we are surrounded by witnesses".

This voiced nasalized palatal click has been represented by **ngq** and **nq**. The word **ngamanqina** in this context may cause confusion in meaning because as it has been represented, instead of meaning witnesses, it means the legs of an animal. It would be better if the word **singqongiwe** also had been written as **sinqongiwe** because a reader would assume that **nq** is pronounced as the voiced nasalized palatal click.

In this book the voiceless nasalized alveo-lateral affricate has been represented as **nkl** instead of **ntl** in words such as **inkloko** "head" and **inkliziyo** "heart".

There is a difference between **ntl** [nt^ɰ] and **nkl** [ŋk^ɰl]. The three symbols which have formed the alveolar affricate [nt^ɰ] are of the same place of articulation, which is the alveolar, whereas those of [ŋk^ɰl] are not all of the same place of articulation. The first two symbols which have formed [ŋk^ɰl] are the velar sounds whereas the third one is the alveolar sound.

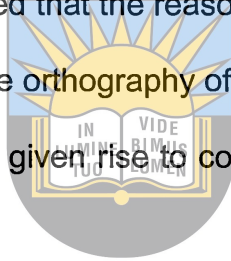


It may be supposed that the reason why W.G. Bennie decided to write this word this way is that in English the sound **ntl** does not occur, while the one which does occur is **nkl** in words such as **uncle** and **ankle**.

The palatal semi-vowel **y** as well as the velar semi-vowel **w** are omitted in certain instances, for example **au** "oh" and **yaikunjulwa** "it was remembered". It is noticeable that the omission of the semi-vowels takes place during the juxtaposition of the low vowel and the high vowel. This means that the two high vowels and the two semi-vowels have the same place and manner of articulation and therefore the pronunciation of these words is as if the semi-vowels are being inserted between the two vowels.

The word **ngeloxesha** "at that time" has been written conjunctively although it is supposed to have been written disjunctively. Again, in the same word the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ʃ] is represented by the phoneme **sh** and this shows that there has been no change in the representation of this sound.

In the word **amaramba** "puff-adders" the voiceless velar fricative is represented by **r [x]**. It may be supposed that the reason for writing this sound in this form is that during that period the orthography of isiXhosa did not have the alveolar roll **r [r]**, which could have given rise to confusion in the writing of these two sounds.



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From the first Xhosa hymnbook of the Anglican Church, which was published in 1869, the following words have been selected with the purpose of following the trend of isiXhosa orthography at that particular period to provide a general picture:

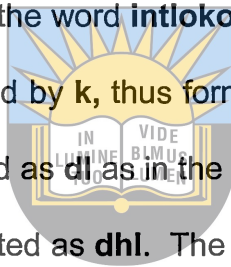
lapálala "it poured down", **lukányiso** "he is the light", **usipáté** "you should rule us",
ukukonza "to worship", **teta** "speak", **umtombo** "a source",
intloko "a head", **isidlo** "feast", **isitsaba** "a crown",
ukutsala "to pull", **ukutsiba** "to jump", **itarú** "a mercy",
sikukaulele "we meet you", **ubuqaqawuli** "glory",
silawulwa "we are ruled", **sicwáyite** "we become happy",
bamxóma "they hanged him", **siqáwukayo** "which is dying",
incwába "a grave", **wanqína** "he witnessed",
ngobunxámo "hurryingly", **ambéte** "they wear",
búla "thrash", **sibéke** "we go to", **sibúbé** "we die",
i-Nkosi "a chief", **le-Nkosi** "the chiefs",
ye-Zulu "the Heaven's".

In the above selection the writing of the voiceless explosive stops of isiXhosa which are represented as **p**, **t** and **k** is such that, in the form of aspiration, two of them are represented differently. Firstly, to show their aspiration, a diacritic is placed above a vowel which follows each explosive. This diacritic is in the form of an apostrophe as in the following examples: **lapáala** "it poured down", **usipáté** "you should rule us" **lukányiso** "he is the light". Secondly, it is also noticeable that the same basic explosive stops in this same book are represented without the diacritic when showing aspiration. This means that in this case there is no difference in the representation of the ejective sounds and the aspirated ones. It is known that in the orthography of isiXhosa, there are sounds which are said to be ejective and those which are said to be aspirated. For instance, in this word, **ukukonza** "to worship", there is no difference in the representation of the voiceless ejective velar explosive stop, whose articulation does not need much air, and the voiceless aspirated velar explosive stop, whose articulation needs a greater release of air, both of which stops are contained in the same word.

In this hymnbook the basic voiceless explosive stop **t** has no sign of aspiration in its representation whatsoever. This can be seen in the following words: **teta** "speak", **umtombo** "a source", etc. In some books there used to be uniformity in the writing of these three basic voiceless explosive stops. This means that if a diacritic is used, it is used in all of them.

There has been a change in the representation of the voiceless explosives **p** and **k** as their aspiration has been marked by the use of a diacritic.

The representation of the nasalized voiceless alveo-lateral affricate as well as that of the voiced alveo-lateral fricative in this book is different from that used in earlier books. For instance, here the nasalized voiceless alveo-lateral affricate is represented as **ntl** as in the word **intloko** "a head". In the earlier books the symbol **t** has been replaced by **k**, thus forming **nkl**. The voiced alveo-lateral fricative here is represented as **dl** as in the word **isidlo** "feast" whereas in the earlier books it is represented as **dhl**. The difference is in the omission of the **h** in the representation of this sound in this hymnbook.



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It is also noticeable that here the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate is represented as **ts** in words such as **isitsaba** "a crown" and **ngesitsaba** "with a crown". This means that there is no difference in the representation of this sound and that of the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate which is found in words such as **ukutsiba** "to jump" and **ukutsala** "to pull".

Here the voiceless velar fricative is represented by following the alveolar trill with a vowel above which an apostrophe is placed in order to differentiate it from the trill itself. This can be seen in the following examples: **itarú** "a mercy" and **ukutarúzisa** "to ask for a mercy"..

When the representation of the above sound is compared with that of the earlier books, the use of the diacritic is something new to it. This means that development has taken place in the representation of this sound.

Further, the voiceless ejective velar affricate is here represented by a dot placed above the alveolar roll as in the following examples: **ndine[̣]ratshi** "I am haughty" **u[̣]razuko** "tearing".



In one of the earlier books the voiceless ejective velar affricate has been represented just in the form of the alveolar roll without the diacritic.

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In this hymnbook two semi-vowels, namely **y**, which is the palatal one, and **w**, which is the velar one, are sometimes omitted from words such as **hai** "no", **kolaula**, "it is going to rule" and **sikukaulele** "we meet you", but they are inserted in the following words: **ubuqaqawuli** "glory" and **silawulwa** "we are ruled". This means that the two high vowels, namely **i**, which is referred to as the high front close vowel, and **u**, which is referred to as the high back close vowel, are sometimes pronounced as if they are together with the semi-vowels. This is possible because **i** and **y** are of the same place of articulation, because during their articulation the front part of the tongue approaches the palate; and also **u** and **w** are of the same place of articulation because during their articulation the back of the tongue approaches the velum.

Further, the aspirated clicks are shown here by an apostrophe-like diacritic placed above the vowel which follows the click as in the following words: **sicwá'yite** "we become happy", **bamxóma** "they hanged him" and **siqá'wukayo** "which is dying".

Here the nasalized voiced clicks have been represented by the diacritic in the form of an apostrophe placed above the vowel which follows the click as in the following words: **incwá'ba** "a grave", **wanqí'na** "he witnessed" and **ngobunxá'mo** "hurryingly".



In the orthography of this hymnbook this same diacritic represents something else. In the word **ambéte** "they wear", it indicates that the **b** is regarded as a fully voiced bilabial explosive stop as it is in the form of a nasal compound. If in the writing of the above word the diacritic was not used, there could be a change in the pronunciation of the word. That sound could be taken as the voiced bilabial implosive stop, which would mean something else. For instance it could be pronounced as **ambete** "beat". In this case it would mean that the bilabial nasal stop **m** and the bilabial implosive stop **b** were of the separate syllables. This means that they could be pronounced separately without forming a compound.

Again this same diacritic which is in the form of an apostrophe has been used here in the representation of the devoiced bilabial explosive stop as in the

following words: **búla** "thrash", **sibéke** "we go to" and **sibúbé** "we die".

But in the earlier books which have been mentioned in this work this diacritic was not used in the representation of the devoiced bilabial explosive stop. For instance in the book entitled **The New Testament** on page 44 the devoiced bilabial explosive stop in the word **bambedesha** "they worshipped him" is written without it. This shows that there has been a change in the representation of this sound.



Again in this hymnbook, in the word **i-Nkosi** "the Lord", to show the deity, the velar nasal stop is a capital letter whereas in the previous books the sound which used to be capitalized in this case is the voiceless ejective velar explosive stop **k**. This means that according to the writer of this book the stem of this word starts with the nasal stop and not with the velar stop.

From Dr Bryce Ross's revision of Xhosa Bible, 1874 to 1882 the following words have been selected in order to study developments in isiXhosa orthography:

intliziyo "a heart", **indlela** "the way",
ubuqaqawuli "glory", **inqeqesho** "a training",
inqina "a witness", **ngengqibelelo** "with completion",
linqónqóza "knocking", **ukuqata** "to cheat".

The above examples show that the author uses the symbol **ntl** instead of the

previously common **nkl** in words such as **intliziyo** "a heart". The symbol **dhl** is now replaced by **dl** in words such as **indlela** "the way".

Concerning the representation of the click sounds it is noticeable that in this book there is no difference in the representation of the unaspirated click and the aspirated click as exemplified in the words **ubuqaqawuli** "glory" and **ukuqata** "to cheat". The nasalized voiced palatal click has been represented in two forms. It is represented as a prenasalized click **nq** and as a voiced click **ngq** as in the following words : **inqeqesho** "a training", **inqina** "a witness" and **ngengqibelelo** "with completion".



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It is noticeable again here that the nasalized voiceless ejective palatal click is represented by following this click with a vowel which has a diacritic in the form of an apostrophe above it as in the following word : **linqǎnqǎza** "knocking".

3.4 Some trends in the development of isiXhosa orthography in general literature other than religious works

3.4.1 Introduction

This section will examine how the authors of the different literature books as well as the newspapers of isiXhosa have written the symbols as well as the words in representing the sounds of this language.

3.4.2 Symbol changes in the literature books of isiXhosa

In searching the isiXhosa literature books which were published between 1915 and 1997, one may see that there are those symbols which are changed now and again in the way they are written. These symbol changes are seen in the following table:

Table of the Consonants of isiXhosa



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1915-1925	1934-1939	1947-1951	1957-1984	1985-1997	Examples of words
1. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{r}} / \text{r}$	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{r}}$	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{r}} / \text{r} / \overset{\text{h}}{\text{r}}$	r / rh	rh - inhamba	"puff-adder"
2. r	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{k}}$	$\text{r} / \overset{\text{h}}{\text{k}}$	kr	kr - ubukrakra	"a bitterness"
3. sh	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{f}}$	sh/ $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{f}}$	sh	sh - shushu	"hot"
4. tsh	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{t}}$	tsh/ $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{t}}$ / $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{tsh}}$	tsh	tsh - tshaya	"smoke"
5. b	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{b}}$	$\text{b} / \overset{\text{h}}{\text{b}}$	b	b - betha	"beat"
6. ntsh	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{nt}}$	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{nt}}$	ntsh	ntsh - intshayi	"a smoker"
7. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{ncu}}/\text{ngc}$	nch	nch / $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{nc}}$	ngc	ngc - ingca	"grass"
8. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{nqu}}/\text{ngq}$	nqh/ngq	nqh / ngq	ngq	ngq-ingqolowa	"wheat"
9. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{pu}}$	ph	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{p}} / \text{ph}$	ph	ph-iphepha	"a paper"
10. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{to}} / \text{t}$	th	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{t}} / \text{th}$	th	th - thatha	"take"
11. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{ku}}$	kh	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{k}} / \text{kh}$	kh	kh - khula	"grow"
12. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{ba}}$	b	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{b}} / \text{b}$	bh	bh - bhabha	"fly"
13. $\overset{\text{h}}{\text{mbi}}$	mb	$\overset{\text{h}}{\text{mb}}/\text{mb}$	mb	mb - mbiza	"a pot"

In the above table of consonants, the first row consists of the voiceless velar fricative [x]. This velar fricative is written in four ways. In the years between

1915 and 1925, it is written like the alveolar trill or roll which occurs in the orthography of isiXhosa through borrowed words, and it is accompanied by a diacritic in the form of an apostrophe; for example, Kropf (1915: 367) has the following word: **itarú** "mercy". Again in some of the books which were published during this same period this fricative is written just like the alveolar trill. In the books which were published between 1934 and 1939 this fricative is written in one form and its structure is different from that of the previous years; for example **amaramncwa** "beasts". In the books which were published between 1947 and 1951 it is written in three ways. This means that during this period there are books which use the same velar fricative as the books which were published between 1934 and 1939; for example, Grant (1948: 2) has written this way: **oogqira** "doctors". But again during this same period there are those books which have used the velar fricative of the period between 1915 and 1925 but without the diacritic; for example, Grant (1951: 3) has the following word: **iqumru** "corporation". In those books which were published between 1957 and 1984 this velar fricative **r** is written differently. There are those in which it is written like the alveolar trill but it is followed by the voiceless glottal fricative **h** to form **rh** just like the velar fricative of the books which were published between 1985 and 1997; for example, Mkonto (1995: 9) has written this sound in the following way: **ngorhatya** "in the evening".

The second row consists of the voiceless ejective velar affricate [**kx'**]. This velar affricate is written in four different ways. In the years between 1915 and 1925

to change the fricative into an affricate a dot is put above the fricative. In the years between 1934 and 1939 the affricate is formed by preceding the velar fricative with the voiceless velar explosive stop **k**. In the books which were published between 1947 and 1951 there is no difference in the writing of a fricative and that of an affricate. In the books which were published between 1957 and 1984 and those which were published between 1985 and 1997 an affricate is formed by preceding the alveolar roll-like fricative **r** with the voiceless velar explosive stop **k**.



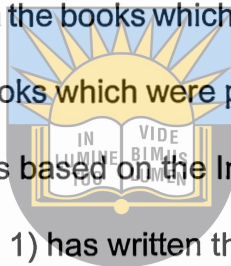
In the third row the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951, together with those which were published between 1957 and 1984 and those which were published between 1985 and 1997, have written the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç] as **sh**, which is a combination of the voiceless alveolar fricative and the voiceless glottal fricative. For example, McLaren (1917: 92) has written this fricative just as in the above statement in the following sentence:

Ndibe ndiwafuna amahashe.

"I have been seeking the horses".

But in the books which were published between 1947 and 1951 this fricative is written in the form of ç, which is a symbol derived from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

In the fourth row, the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951, together with those which were published between 1957 and 1984 and those which were published between 1985 and 1997, have written the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h] as **tsh**. In these books there is no difference in the writing of a voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃ'] and that of a voiceless aspirated prepalatal one. In the books which were published between 1934 and 1939 and some of those books which were published between 1947 and 1951, the writing of this affricate is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet.



For example, Grant (1948: 1) has written this sound as follows:

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satʃ^hatyalaliswa "we were destroyed".

Again in this row it is noticeable that the prepalatal affricate in the books which were published between 1947 and 1951 is written in three different ways. The first way is similar to that of the books which were published between 1915 and 1925, and those which were published between 1957 and 1984 and also those which were published between 1985 and 1997. The second way is similar to that of the books which were published between 1934 and 1939. The third way is something different because its aspiration is shown by a diacritic placed above the vowel which accompanies it; for example, Grant (1951: 1) has written this sound in the following word:

zimfutsháne "they are short".

It should also be noted that there is only one difference between the books which were published between 1957 and 1984 and those published between 1985 and 1997. This difference is that of the voiceless velar fricative [x], which is similar to the alveolar roll [r].



In the fifth row, the voiced bilabial implosive stop [ɓ] is written in the same way in the books which were published between 1915 and 1925, and some of those that were published between 1947 and 1951, and those that were published between 1957 and 1997. The books that were published between 1934 and 1939 and some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951 have written the bilabial implosive stop just like that of the International Phonetic Alphabet. For example, Mungo (1939: 4) has written this sound as in the following words:

ɓaɓengootitʃhala "they were teachers".

ukumthoɓela "to respect him.

In the sixth row, the nasalized voiceless ejective pre-palatal affricate [ntʃʰ] in the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and those that were published between 1957 and 1997 is written as an aspirated pre-palatal affricate [tʃʰ] whereas in the books which were published between 1934 and 1951 it is written without the glottal fricative h just as in the IPA in order to show that it is

ejective. For instance, Morrison (1951: 3) has written this sound as in the above statements in the following sentence:

Kuso aḃafundi ḃaye ḃalungise intʃhumayelo...

"In it the students used to prepare the sermon..."

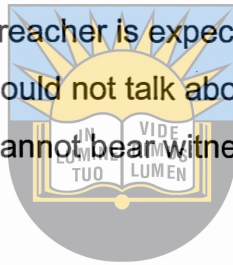
In the seventh row, the nasalized voiced alveolar click [ḃ̃] is written in three ways. In some of the books which were published between 1915 and 1925, and some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951, voicing of this click is by means of a diacritic placed above the vowel which accompanies the click. Another way of writing this same click is found in the books which were published between 1934 and 1939 and those which were published between 1947 and 1951, where the click is followed by the voiced glottal fricative **h** in order for it to be voiced as all the basic clicks are voiceless. The third way of writing this nasalized click is found in some of the books which were published between 1957 and 1997, where the voicing of this click is caused by the presence of the voiced velar stop between the nasal stop and the click.

In the eighth row, the nasalized voiced palatal click [ḃ̠̃] which is formed by placing the voiced velar stop between the nasal stop and the click is found in all the books which were published between 1915 and 1997. The second form of writing this click, where voicing is caused by the glottal fricative, is found in the books which were published between 1934 and 1939 and in some of those

which were published between 1947 and 1951. For example, Cook (1949: 11) has written this click in the following sentences as in the two forms which have been mentioned above:

**Kulindeleke ke ukuba umntu ongumfumayeli
abe nengqondo...angathethi ngezinto angazaziyo
nangazinqhiniyo.**

"A person who is a preacher is expected then to be brilliant... he should not talk about things he does not know and cannot bear witness to..."

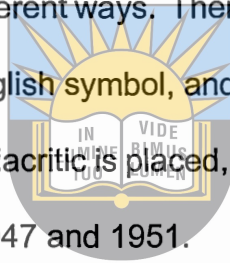


In the ninth row, the voiceless aspirated bilabial explosive stop [p^h] whose aspiration is shown by the voiceless glottal fricative h is found in the books which were published between 1934 and 1997. The other written representation of this sound is found in the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and in some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951. In this form aspiration is shown by means of a diacritic placed above the vowel which follows this stop. For instance in the following sentence, Grant (1948: 1) has written this sound as it has been stated above:

**Ibali lokupémbéka kobu-Kristu kumaxesha
okuqala...**

"The story of the starting of Christianity at the first times..."

In the tenth row the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive stop [t^h] whose aspiration is indicated by means of an **h** is found in the books which were published between 1934 and 1997. The only books which have not used the **h** as a sign of the aspiration of this sound are those which were published between 1915 and 1925 and some of those that were published between 1947 and 1951. Those books which were published between 1915 and 1925 have written this sound in two different ways. There are those which have written this sound as **t**, which is the English symbol, and those which have accompanied it by a vowel above which a diacritic is placed, just as in some of the books which were published between 1947 and 1951.



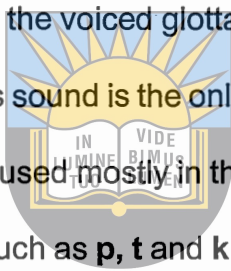
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In the eleventh row, the voiceless aspirated velar explosive stop [k^h] whose aspiration is shown by means of the voiceless glottal fricative **h** is found in the books which were published between 1934 and 1997. There are also those books which have used a diacritic instead of **h** to show the aspiration of this sound, namely, those which were published between 1915 and 1925 together with some of those that were published between 1947 and 1951. For instance McLaren (1915: 35) has used this diacritic in the writing of the following words:

umk^ómbe "a boat", **ik^ówa** "a large mushroom",
k^úlu "great".

In the twelfth row, the partially voiced bilabial explosive stop [b_ɓ] is written in three

different ways. In the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and some of those which were published between 1947 and 1951 this bilabial stop is formed by being followed by a vowel which has a diacritic above it in the form of an apostrophe. The second way of writing this sound is by means of a bilabial explosive stop **[b]**, which looks like the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop of the IPA, which occurs only in the form of a nasal compound. The third way of writing this sound is to follow it with the voiced glottal fricative **[h]**. In the history of the orthography of isiXhosa, this sound is the only voiced stop that is written with an **h**. In this language this **h** is used mostly in the aspiration of the basic voiceless explosive stops of the IPA such as **p**, **t** and **k** and the voiceless affricates like **ts** and **ty**.



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In the thirteenth row, which is the last one, there are two ways of writing the voiced bilabial nasal compound **[mb]**. The books which were published between 1934 and 1939 and those which were published between 1957 and 1997 have written this sound as in the new orthography, in which the writing of this sound is exactly similar to that of phonetics. The second way of writing it, in the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 and those which were published between 1947 and 1951, is that of accompanying the ordinary bilabial nasal compound with a vowel above which an apostrophe is placed. For instance Grant (1951: 1) has words written in this way in the following examples:

watémbá "he hoped",

ayakukúmbúla "they are longing for you".

When we look at the first column, which is the one consisting of the books which were published between 1915 and 1925, we see that there are symbols which have been changed now and again in the development of the orthography of isiXhosa. These symbols are the voiceless velar fricative **r** [x], the voiceless prepalatal fricative **sh** [ʃ], the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh** [tʃh], the voiced bilabial implosive stop **b** [ɓ], the nasalized voiced alveolar click **ngc** [ɗ̃] and the nasalized palato-alveolar click **ngq** [ɗ̃̃]. All these symbols are being used in the latest orthography except the voiceless velar fricative **r** [x] which is at present accompanied by the glottal fricative in order to form **rh**. This velar fricative **r** did not create any confusion in pronunciation during that earlier period because the alveolar roll was not common as it occurs only in borrowed words. The remaining symbols of this column were not used for a long period. They were used only after some time in the books which are in the third column.

What is noticeable in the second column is that more or less all its symbols are written according to the IPA. Because of this there is a clear distinction between the writing of an implosive and that of an explosive. There is also a clear difference between the writing of an aspirated affricate and that of an ejective one. In this column all the basic voiceless explosive stops are followed by the voiceless glottal fricative to show their aspiration, just as in the IPA, although in

the IPA this **h** is not taken as a consonant, but as a sign of aspiration. Again in this column the bilabial nasal compound **[mb]** is written according to the IPA as well as orthographically according to the latest orthography. The devoiced bilabial explosive stop **[b̥]** is written like the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop **[b]** of the IPA, which occurs only in the form of a nasal compound. Also in this column, the changing of the nasalized voiceless click into a voiced one by accompanying it with an **h** shows that writers have applied their knowledge of the IPA by regarding this as the voiced glottal fricative **[ɦ]**. In this column a fricative is formed of only one symbol, just as in the IPA, and an affricate is formed of two symbols. For instance, here there is the voiceless prepalatal fricative **[ç]** as well as the voiceless velar fricative **[x]** which are represented by one symbol. There is also the voiceless ejective velar affricate **[kxʰ]** which is formed of two symbols, namely a stop and a fricative. Also in this column the nasalized voiceless ejective pre-palatal affricate **[ntʰ̃]** is written without the **h** to show its ejection. During this period the nasalized voiced palato-alveolar click **[ɽ̃]** is written in two ways. The first way is that of causing voicing of this click by means of the voiced glottal fricative of orthography. The second way is that which causes voicing of this click by means of the voiced velar stop, as happens in the IPA.

It can be seen that column 3 is the period which has used both the symbols of column 1 and column 2 simultaneously. It can also be said that this period is the last one to write symbols according to the International Phonetic Alphabet. This

shows that some of the writers of the isiXhosa literature books adhered to the orthography used in the books which were published between 1915 and 1925 whilst others have followed the orthography used in those books which were published between 1934 and 1939. When one looks at the last two columns, one notices that what is referred to as the new orthography of isiXhosa, started from 1957 because all the symbols that were used in the books published between 1957 and 1997 are the same except for one sound which has been used in some few books. This sound is the voiceless velar fricative [x] which looks like the alveolar roll. What is noticeable in the latest orthography of isiXhosa according to the symbols shown in the table above, is that most of the symbols which are used in the new orthography are not new as such, because they are derived from the previous ones. There are only three symbols found in the books published between 1957 and 1997 which are never seen in the earlier books. These symbols are the voiceless velar fricative **rh [x]** which has used the voiceless glottal fricative **h** for the first time, the voiceless ejective velar fricative **kr [kx']** and the devoiced bilabial explosive stop **bh [b̥]** which has also used the glottal fricative for the first time in its formation.

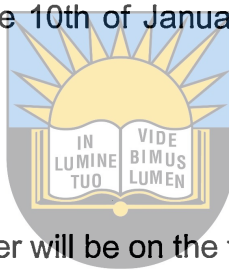
3.4.3 The role played by print media

The newspapers play an important role in the development of a language as some of them are read daily. The current well-known isiXhosa newspaper in the Border region is the **limvo ZabaNtsundu**.

In the Transkei region there was a newspaper called **Umthunyw Waphesheya KweNciba**. This was one of the most widely read isiXhosa newspapers in South Africa.

As there were many publications of this newspaper, the focus will be on the one

which was published on the 10th of January in 1953, as it represents some interesting ways of writing.



The focus on this newspaper will be on the following points:

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- (1) Use of the apostrophe
- (2) Inconsistency in consonant representation
- (3) Word-division
- (4) Hyphen usage

3.4.3.1 Use of the apostrophe

It is known that in the writing of isiXhosa the juxtaposition of vowels is avoided in most cases. In some cases it is avoided by the insertion of a consonant between them, e.g. **hayi** instead of **hai** "no". But the writers of this newspaper have decided to omit certain consonants in order for the vowels to follow each other in some cases, for example, **auv'uba** "when he heard that", **kuzaufika**

"there will arrive". These words in full are supposed to be: **akuva ukuba** "when he heard that", **kuza kufika** "it is going to arrive". What has been done here is to omit **k** of **akuva** "when he heard" in order to be **auva ukuba** "when he heard that". During this period the vowel **u** which is the high back close vowel is pronounced just like the high back semi-vowel **w**. Thereafter the **a** of **va** "hear" and the **uk** of **ukuba** "that" are omitted at the same time in order for these words to form only one word, **au'vuba** "when he heard that". To show that this one word is formed by the combination of the two words, an apostrophe has been utilized. By writing the two vowels in succession the writer is forming what is known as a diphthong, which is common in English. The writer has also written **intombi yomlungu** "the girl of a white person" as **intomb'omlungu** by deleting the last vowel of the noun **intombi** "a girl" and also the palatal semi-vowel **y** of the possessive concord **ya-** after the vowel coalescence between **a** of **ya** and **u** of **umlungu** "a white person" has taken place to form **o**. An apostrophe has been used to show the omission of both the vowel and the semi-vowel.

To indicate the past tense, the writer has used double vowels, for example, **baahleka kunene** "they laughed loudly". The writer of this newspaper has shown a great interest in the use of an apostrophe. This can be shown by the following examples, **auv'uba**, "when he heard that" **ufuna nton'apha?** "what do you want here?" **nguban'lo?** "who is this?" **hamb'apha** "go away", **intomb'omlungu** "a girl of a white person", etc.

3.4.3.2 Consistency in consonant representation

In this newspaper the different sounds are represented by the same symbol in one sentence while at the same time in this same sentence the same sound is written differently in some cases. From page one of this newspaper the

following sentence has been selected in order to prove the above mentioned point:



Iqela elikhulu leenkokheli alibanga nako ukuya entlanganisweni ngenxa yokuthintelwa ngumthetho ekuthe ngawo uMpathiswa we micimbi yo mthetho wazibalela ezalela ukuba zihambe iintlanganiso ngaphandle kweze cawe...

"A big group of leaders could not attend the meeting because of being prevented by the law by which the minister concerned wrote them refusing them permission to attend meetings except those of the church"...

When the underlined sounds of the above sentence are studied it is noticed that the writer has used only one symbol in representing the voiced bilabial implosive stop [ɓ], the devoiced or partially voiced bilabial explosive stop [ɓ̥] and the fully

voiced bilabial explosive stop **[b]** which occurs only in the form of a nasal compound in the orthography of isiXhosa. Furthermore, it is seen that the pronunciation of **mp** in the word **umpathiswa** "a minister" can be regarded as a voiceless ejective bilabial nasal compound whereas the **p** is taken as a separate syllable from the nasal stop **m**. This confusion can be caused by the fact that in this same sentence the voiceless aspirated bilabial explosive stop is written as **ph** just as in the new orthography of isiXhosa. The aspirated **p** without the glottal fricative is a result of the influence of the orthography of English.



Other examples of words which the writer has written differently although their pronunciation is the same on page one of this newspaper are the following:

liyiqube and **liqhube** "be continued"

amapepa "papers" and **iziphoso** "mistakes"

3.4.3.3 Word-division

Now some of the words which have been taken from page one of the same newspaper must be looked at before something is said about the heading itself.

These words are the following:

- (1) **kuzaufika** "there is going to arrive"

- (2) **Wakwa Tshabalala** "of Tshabalala"
Wakwa Donki "of Donki" **la Phesheya** "of across"
- (3) **Kwesisehlo** "in this incident"
lomfana "this young man"
- (4) **bebe yi 28** "they were 28," **be be yi 34** "they were 34"

According to the orthography of isiXhosa the future tense is separated from the verb. For instance, the word in (1) should be written as **kuza kufika** "there will arrive". Again the possessive concord should combine with the noun to form one word, for example, the words in (2) should become **wakwaTshabalala** "of Tshabalala", **wakwaDonki** "of Donki", **laPhesheya** "of across". The two words in (3) should be separated as the rule of the new orthography of isiXhosa says that a demonstrative and a noun should be written disjunctively. Therefore the two words should be written as **kwesi sehlo**, "in this incident", **lo mfana** "this young man". The two words in (4) should be written as **bebeyi-28** "they were 28", **bebeyi-34** "they were 34".

3.4.3.4 Hyphen usage

According to the new orthography of isiXhosa a hyphen has to be used whenever a word is followed by a number in a sentence. For instance in examples (4) above, the writer has failed to use the hyphen in **bebeyi-28** "they were 28" and in **bebeyi-34** "they were 34".

3.5 Symbol inconsistencies reflected between literature and the print media between 1947 and 1951

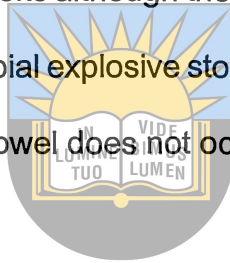
The reason for choosing this period in dealing with the inconsistencies in symbols reflected between literature and the print media is that this period seems to be the one when most symbols underwent some changes in literature.

The purpose of comparing the symbols of these literature books and those of this newspaper is to see whether there was a common way of writing certain consonants of isiXhosa between the two. In order therefore for us to be able to see the differences as well as the similarities between the two, we have to tabulate the symbols as follows:-

Symbol comparison

Symbols of the books of between 1947 and 1951	Symbols of Umthunywa of between 1947 and 1951	Examples of words
bǎ/b	bh/b	bhala "write"
b/ḅ	b	beka "put"
pǔ/ph	ph/p	pheka "cook"
té/th	th/t	thetha "speak"
ř/r/ṛ	r/rh	rhuqa "drag"
nz	nz/ndz	inzuzo "gain"
r/kr	kr	krakra "bitter"
ncǎ/nch	ncw/ngc	ingca "grass"
ʃ/ sh	sh	shiya "leave"
tshǒ/t/h	tsh	tshisa "burn"
kǒ/kh	kh	khaba "kick"

There are similarities as well as differences in as far as the devoiced bilabial explosive stop [b̥] is concerned. The similarity is in writing this stop as **b** just like the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop which occurs in the form of a nasal compound both orthographically and according to the IPA. The devoiced bilabial explosive stop which is accompanied by the glottal fricative in **Umthunywa** does not occur in the literature books although their period of publication is the same, and again the devoiced bilabial explosive stop which is accompanied by a vowel and a diacritic above that vowel does not occur in the newspaper.



Another difference is that some of the books which were published during this period have used symbols taken or derived from the International Phonetic Alphabet. These symbols are the voiced bilabial implosive stop [ɓ], the voiceless pre-palatal fricative [ç] and the voiceless aspirated pre-palatal affricate tʰ which is not completely according to the IPA because of the glottal fricative instead of an aspiration sign. Furthermore all the sounds which have a diacritic and a vowel as a symbol in some of the literature books do not occur in **Umthunywa**.

In certain of the literature books, to differentiate between the bilabial explosive stop [b̥] which is devoiced and the voiced bilabial implosive stop [ɓ] the devoiced bilabial explosive stop is accompanied by a vowel and a diacritic is placed above that vowel, whereas the implosive stop, which is written just like

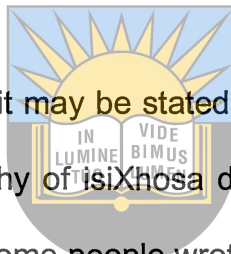
the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop which occurs only in the nasal compound, is written alone. Where the bilabial stop **b** is written this way, the bilabial stop which is an implosive is written as [b̥] as in the IPA. In **Umthunywa** in the case where the devoiced bilabial explosive stop is accompanied by a glottal fricative, the voiced bilabial implosive stop is written just like the fully voiced bilabial explosive stop which occurs in the form of a nasal compound. What is noticeable in **Umthunywa** as being unusual is the identical way in which both the bilabial explosive stop and the bilabial implosive stop are written. For instance there are words such as **ababexeshi** "drivers" and **ababaleli** "those writing for" instead of **ababheshi** and **ababhaleli**. These two words can confuse a reader who may pronounce them as either bilabial explosives or bilabial implosives. It is not common for a writer to represent both sounds with the same symbol.

It is noticeable that in this newspaper the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is written just as in the new orthography of isiXhosa, whereas in the literature books it is not written with the glottal fricative. In the newspaper the nasalized voiced alveolar fricative is written in two ways. The first way is just similar to that of the literature books. The second way is according to the IPA by changing the fricative into an affricate because of the nasal compound. Another difference is that the literature books have not used the voiced nasalized alveo-palatal click whose voicing is by means of the voiced velar stop.

In **Umthunywa** there are also sounds whose symbols are based on the orthography of English, where the aspirated sounds are written without the **h** which indicates aspiration. These symbols are **p** and **t**.

3.6 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it may be stated that syllabification was one of the problems in the orthography of isiXhosa during this period as there was no common way of writing. Some people wrote words disjunctively whilst others wrote them conjunctively.



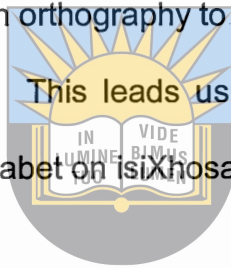
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The changes in the representation of certain sounds have been noticed. For instance, at first there was no difference in the representation of the ejective and the aspirated sounds. But later on a diacritic was used to mark the aspirated sounds. This same diacritic was also used by the writers to differentiate between the implosive and the explosive sounds.

To show the deity during this period, the word **i-nkosi** "a chief" was firstly written as **in-Kosi** and later as **i-Nkosi**. The voiced alveo-lateral fricative [ɓ] started by being written as **dhl** and later as **dl**.

It has also been noticed that although certain books and newspapers were published during the same period, different symbols were used in the representation of the same sound. This might have been caused by the lack of co-operation among the writers themselves. Perhaps it was also caused by the typewriters which could not type certain symbols.

It is clear that in order for an orthography to be up to standard, there should be a board which controls it. This leads us to focus on the influence of the International Phonetic Alphabet on isiXhosa orthography.



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CHAPTER 4

The influence of the International Phonetic Alphabet on isiXhosa orthography

4.1 Introduction



In this chapter the changes in symbols in the writing of isiXhosa after the introduction of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in 1888 will be discussed. Other orthographical aspects such as word-division, capitalization and hyphen usage will also receive attention.

The IPA was a set of symbols and diacritics chosen by the International Phonetic Association in 1888 to represent the speech sounds which are utilised in all the languages of the world. This was decided upon because of the fact that orthographically one sound is written differently in different languages. For example, the phonetic symbol [ʃ] is written differently in the following languages:

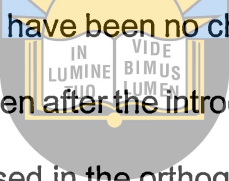
isiXhosa and seSotho: **sh**

Sepedi and Setswana: **š**

Tsonga: **X**

This in itself could cause confusion, but the representation of the above phonological symbols in phonetic script makes it possible for any trained person to read any language, although he may not understand the meaning of words.

4.2 State of the vowels

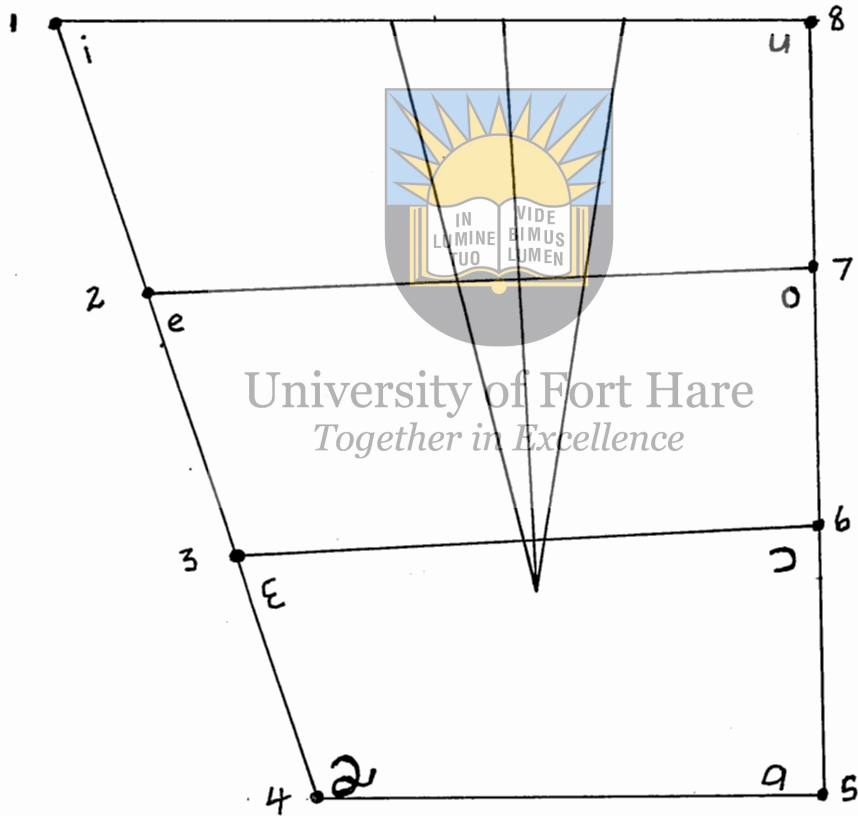


It should be noted that there have been no changes in the representation of the vowel sounds of isiXhosa even after the introduction of the IPA. The IPA vowels which are similar to those used in the orthography of isiXhosa are the low back open vowel [a], the high front close vowel [i], the high back close vowel [u], the mid-front half-close vowel [e] and the mid-back half-close vowel [o].

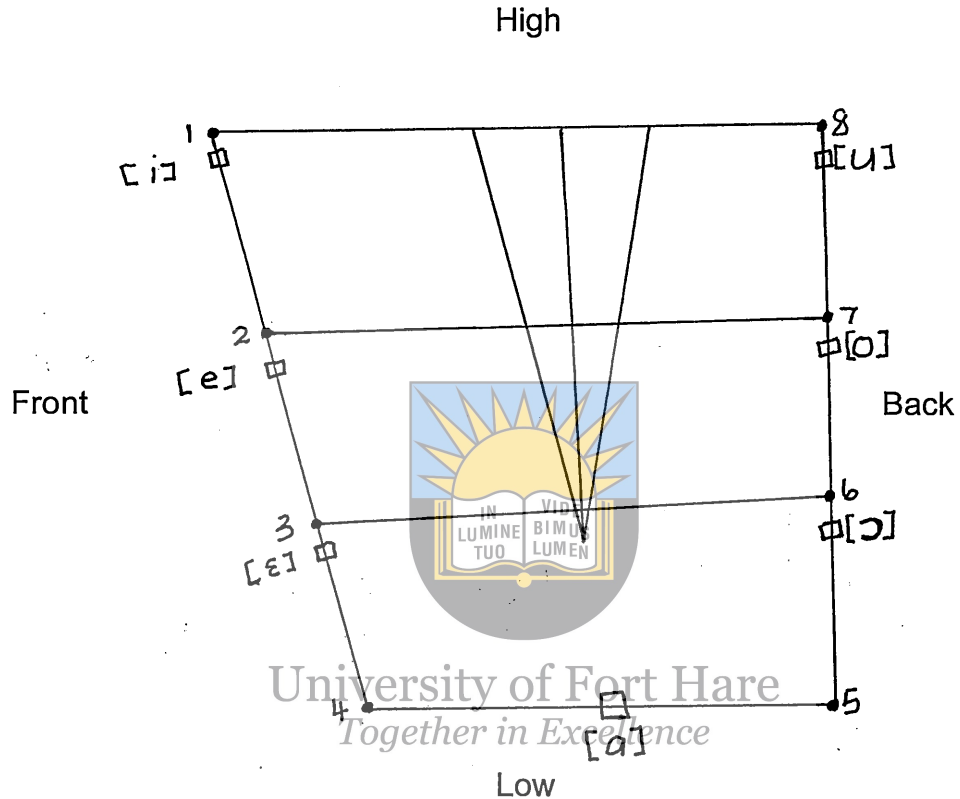
IsiXhosa close and semi-close vowels are slightly lower than the IPA cardinal vowels [i] and [u] and [e] and [o]. Symbols used in isiXhosa orthography therefore do not tally with those of the IPA in this respect.

In other words, although the two high vowels above are referred to as close vowels, in isiXhosa they have to be regarded as semi-close vowels since in their articulation they are not articulated exactly at the points. Since therefore all the cardinal vowels are articulated exactly at the points, it is correct to refer to the high vowels as close vowels. This shows that there is a difference between the articulation of the isiXhosa high vowels and the cardinal high vowels.

According to Pullum and Ladusaw (1986: 255) the chart of the eight original primary cardinal vowels is as follows:



Although orthographically there are five vowels in isiXhosa, phonetically they are seven. The following chart shows how the vowels of isiXhosa are articulated:



4.3 State of the consonants

In the previous chapter it was noted that it is possible for two different sounds to be represented by the same symbol. For instance, the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h] and the ejective alveolar affricate [ts'] are both represented by the symbol **ts**, as in *isitsaba* [isits^haba] "a crown", *ukutsiba* [uk'uts'iba] "to jump".

It was also noted that the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ʃ] is represented by the symbol **sh**, for example, *ishushu* [iʃuʃu] "it is hot". The ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃ'] and the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h] are represented by the

symbol **tsh**, as in **ukutshixa** [uk'utʃ'i//a] "to lock" and **ukutshaya** [uk'utʃ'haja] "to smoke".

The voiceless velar fricative [x] is represented by the symbol **r** as in **iramba** [ixamba] "a puff-adder". This same sound is also represented by the use of a diacritic in the form of a breathing-mark, for example, **itarú** [it'axu] "mercy". The ejective velar affricate [kx'] is represented by using a dot placed above the symbol **r**, for example **urázuko** [ukx'azukɔ] "tearing".



It was noted that at times there is no difference between the representation of the ejective explosives and the aspirated explosives, for example, **ukukonza** [uk'ukʰɔndza] "to worship", **itarú** [it'axu] "mercy" **teta** [tʰɛtʰa] "speak". In this case these two sounds are both represented by the symbols **k** and **t**.

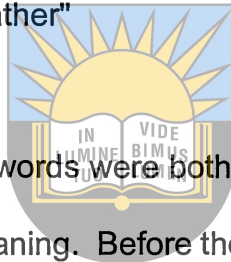
Again in the previous chapter aspiration has been shown by means of the breathing-mark as in the following words: **lapálala** [lapʰalala] "it poured down", **lukányiso** [lukʰaɲiso] "it is the light".

Now, something will be said about certain changes which had been taking place in the representation of some of the consonant sounds of isiXhosa. One of these changes occurred in the aspirated and unaspirated sounds, for example, **uthuthu** [utʰutʰu] "ash", **itutu** [it'ut'u] "thief".

In the writing of isiXhosa, the distinction between the representation of the aspirated and the unaspirated sound symbols is necessary because it prevents confusion between two or more different words. For instance, the use of the aspirated symbol **h** is necessary in the differentiation of the following words:

thatha [t^hat^ha] "take"

tata [t^hat^ha] "father"



It means that if the above words were both written without **h** there would be a problem with regard to meaning. Before the introduction of **h** as the aspiration symbol the breathing-mark was used over the succeeding vowels.

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But it has been noticed that even after this period the aspiration symbol was not used in the writing of the basic voiceless explosive stops **p**, **t** and **k** by certain writers, as witnessed in the hymns translated by Sophia Kiv-iet at Shawbury in 1893 in which the following words occur: **paya** [p^haja] "there", **uTixo** [ut^hi//ǀ] "God", **uko** [uk^hǀ] "he is present".

Bennie (1931: 1) states that 'the Union Government Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies and Research brought some changes in the representation of certain consonantal sounds of isiXhosa'. These sounds were represented as in the following chart of the plain consonants of isiXhosa:

**A Chart of the Plain Consonants as Recommended by the Union
Government Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies and Research in 1931**

	Bilabial	Denti-labial	Alveolar	Pre-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Explosive:- Radical Aspirated Voiced	p ph b		t th d		ty tyh dy	k kh g	
Implosive	ɓ						
Nasal	m		n		ny	ng	
Fricative:- Radical Voiced		f v	s z			t gɛ	h
Rolled							
Lateral:- Voiced Radical fricative Voiced fricative			l hl dl				
Affricate:- Radical Aspirated Ejective Voiced		mf mv	ts nts nz	tʃ tʃh ntʃ j nj		kɽ	
Lateral Affricate:- Ejective Voiced			ntl ndl				
Semi-vowel					y	w	

This committee decided that the voiceless prepalatal fricative, then represented by **sh**, was to be represented by the IPA symbol [ʃ], for example, ʃuʃu for **shushu** "hot", umtʃhato for **umtshato** "wedding".

Perhaps the motive behind replacing the voiceless prepalatal fricative **sh** by the IPA symbol [ʃ] was to enable readers internationally to read isiXhosa with ease as it has already been mentioned that this sound was represented by different symbols in Setswana, Sesotho, Sepedi, Xitsonga and isiXhosa. The use of **sh**

was easier than that of [ʃ] as both **s** and **h** were in the Roman alphabet which was contained in the typewriters of that period.

This committee also decided that the implosive **b**, then represented by the plain letter, would be represented by a new symbol **ḃ**, and the plain **b** would represent the explosive **b**, for example, **ukuḃaḃa** for **ukubaba** "to itch" and **ukubaba** for **ukubáá** "to fly".



The replacement of the implosive **b** by the voiced bilabial implosive stop [ḃ] of the IPA was necessary because it differentiated between an implosive [ḃ] and an explosive **b**. For instance the words **umbali** [ḃali] "a counter" and **umbali** [umbali] "a writer" can be read without any problem. But the use of the symbol **ḃ** instead of **b** created a difficulty in the writing of isiXhosa in that, since this symbol was not in the Roman alphabet, many typewriters did not have it.

The committee also decided that **r**, which then represented both the voiceless velar fricative and the rolled **r** of English, would represent only the rolled **r**, for example, **uMariya** "Maria", **ilori** "a lorry".

The reason for the use of the rolled **r** in the representation of the voiceless velar fricative was that this sound did not exist in the sounds of isiXhosa. But later on it was introduced in borrowed words such as **igaraji** "garage", **ilori**, "lorry" etc. The committee decided that the voiceless velar fricative would be represented

suspect", had been written as **ukurana** "to suspect".

The introduction of this new symbol **ɿ** became a great help as it created a difference between the representation of the alveolar roll r [r] and the voiceless velar fricative **ɿ** [x]. But at the same time the introduction of this sound created a difficulty in the writing of isiXhosa because the typing machines did not have it and therefore it had to be inserted in them. The committee decided that the voiced velar fricative would be represented by the symbol **gɿ**, for example, the word **ironya** "a sack" became **igɿronya**.



It is clear that the introduction of the symbol **r** made the representation of the different sounds easier because the symbol which represents the voiced velar fricative [ɿ] was simply formed by preceding this symbol with the voiced velar explosive stop **g** [g].

This committee decided that the ejective velar affricate [kx'] would be represented by the symbol **kɿ**, for example, the word written as **ifele** "a sword" would be written as **ikɿele**.

The ejective velar affricate [kx'] was formed by preceding the voiceless velar fricative **ɿ** [x] with the voiceless explosive stop [k]. The introduction of this new symbol **kɿ** brought to an end the use of the diacritic which used to be in the form of a dot placed above the rolled r [r]. This replacement of the dotted symbol by

a consonant was a great achievement in as far as the orthographical development of isiXhosa was concerned because it was easier to use a consonant than a diacritic.

According to Bennie (1934: 1) 'an announcement in regard to the adoption of a revised orthography of isiXhosa was published in the Gazette of the 23rd November 1933'.



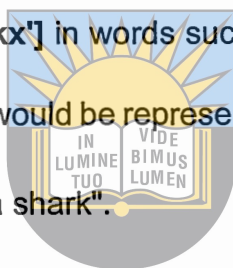
It is noticeable that some of these changes were those which were decided upon by the Union Government Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies and Research in 1931 where it was decided that the diacritic used to express aspiration should be replaced by the symbol **h**, the symbol **sh** should be replaced by **ʃ**, the voiceless velar fricative which was represented by the English rolled **r** was to be represented by the symbol **ɽ**.

This committee also decided that **tsh** aspirated would be written **tʃh** and unaspirated **t**. Thus **umtshayelo omtsha** "a new broom" would become **umtʃhayelo omtʃha**, but **entsha** "a new one" become **entʃa**.

The introduction of the symbol **ʃ** was of very great importance because it made possible the difference in the writing of the aspirated prepalatal affricate **[tʃ^h]** and the ejective prepalatal affricate **[tʃʼ]**. Before this change there was no difference in the writing of these two sounds. This was due to the fact that when

these sounds were both represented by the symbol **tsh**, the omission of **h** in the writing of **tʃ** would cause confusion with the ejective alveolar affricate **[tsʰ]** as it was represented as **ts**, as in the words **tsala [ts'ala]** "pull" and **tsiba [ts'iba]** "jump".

The committee decided that the English rolled **r** which represented the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate **[kxʰ]** in words such as **irele [ikxʰɛɛ]** "a sword" and **urebe [ukxʰɛbɛ]** "a shark" would be represented by the symbol **kɾ**, for example, **ikɾele** "a sword", **ukɾebe** "a shark".



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What is noticeable is that the English rolled **r** which represented the ejective alveolar affricate **[kxʰ]** in the changes in symbols in 1931 was accompanied by a diacritic which was in the form of a dot and placed above it. But now this rolled **r** which represented the ejective velar affricate **[kxʰ]** before the 1934 symbol changes is written without the diacritic. This may mean that the symbol **r** which represented the ejective velar affricate **[kxʰ]** before the symbol changes of 1931 was forgotten because the representation of the ejective velar affricate changed from the symbol **r̥** to **kɾ** in 1931, whereas it changed from **r** to **kɾ** in 1934.

Before the sound symbol changes of 1931, the alveolar roll **[r]** represented the English rolled **r** as in **uMariya [umarija]** "Maria" and the voiceless velar fricative **[x]** as in **ukurala [uk'uxala]** "to be greedy", whereas before the sound symbol changes of 1934 it represented the English rolled **r** in **ilori [ilori]** "a

lorry", the voiceless velar fricative [x] as in **iramba** [ixamba] "a puff-adder" and the ejective velar affricate [kx] as in **irele** [ikx'elɛ] "a sword".

The committee also decided that the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] which was represented by the symbol **rh** in words such as **ukurhenya** [uk'uɣɛɾa] "to bite" and **irhonya** [ixɔɾa] "a sack" would be represented by the symbol **gr** as in **igronya** "a sack" and **ukugrenya** "to bite".



This introduction of the new symbols of sounds was advantageous because it enabled each sound to be represented by its own distinct symbol.

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4.4 The role played by the Zulu and Xhosa Language Committee in the changes to some of the consonants of IsiXhosa between 1955 and 1968

The details of the role played by the above mentioned committee in the development of the orthography of isiXhosa were obtained from the minutes of its meetings, which are kept in the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Fort Hare.

Several meetings were held by this committee at different places, where it discussed the changes which should take place in the spelling of both Zulu and

isiXhosa. In 1955 the joint meeting of the Zulu and Xhosa Language Committee which was held in the Bunga Committee Room in Umtata from the 23rd to the 26th of August, made some far-reaching changes, which affected the spelling of these languages. But since the interest is in the spelling of isiXhosa only, nothing will be mentioned about the orthography of isiZulu.

In this meeting it was decided that the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h] would be represented by **ts**, for example, **isitsaba** [isits^haba] "a crown", **ukutsutsuza** [uk'uts^huts^huza] "to be busy with cooking".



The reason for representing the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h] as **ts** was to differentiate it from the ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃ'] and the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h] as they were both represented by the symbol **tsh** in words such as **ukutsheqa** [uk'utʃ'ε/a] "to cut" and **ikratshi** [ikx'atʃ^hi] "haughtiness" as decided by this language committee during this period. Therefore the fact that there was no difference in the representation of the ejective alveolar affricate [ts'] and the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h], as they were both represented by the symbol **ts** did not create any problem, since there was no change in meaning whether these two sounds were treated as being ejective or aspirated.

The decision of this language committee to change the representation of the ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃ'] from the symbol **tʃ** back to **tsh** and that of the

aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h] from the symbol tʃh back to **tsh** may have been caused by the difficulty experienced in the writing of the non-Roman symbols. The representation of the ejective prepalatal affricate as well as that of the aspirated prepalatal affricate by the IPA symbols was preferable because it differentiated between the ejective and the aspirated prepalatal affricates whereas the introduced symbol **tsh** could cause a problem during the pronunciation of these sounds as they were both represented by one and the same symbol.



This committee also decided that the bilabial implosive [ɓ] would be represented by the Roman **b**, instead of the IPA symbol ɓ, for example, **ababoneli** [ababoneli] "observers", **umbono** [umbono] "a vision", **ukubala** [ukubala] "to count". It decided that the devoiced bilabial explosive [ɸ] occurring at the beginning of a syllable would be represented by the symbol **bh**, for example, **ukubhala** [uk'ubala] "to write", **ukubhabha** [uk'ubaba] "to fly". It decided that the fully voiced bilabial explosive [b] occurring in a nasal compound would be written as **mb**, for example, **umbona** [umbona] "mealies", **khumbula** [k^humbula] "remember", **imbumba** [imbumba] "a compound".

Although there is a clear difference between the bilabial implosive [ɓ], which is represented as **b**, and the devoiced bilabial explosive [ɸ], which is represented as **bh**, there could be confusion in pronunciation between the bilabial implosive [ɓ], which is represented as **b** when it follows the bilabial nasal [m], although

they are regarded as different syllables as in **umbono** [umbɔ̃nɔ̃] "a vision", and the fully voiced bilabial explosive [b], which has formed a nasal compound with the bilabial nasal [m] as in **umbona** [umbɔ̃na] "mealies".

This joint meeting of the Zulu and Xhosa Language Committee also decided that the non-Roman symbol ꞑ was to be represented by r, for example, **ukurana** [uk'uxana] "to suspect", **isiralarume** [isixalaxumɛ] "a cruel person". The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] was to be changed from the symbol gꞑ to gr, for example, **grumba** [ɣumba] "dig", **grenya** [ɣɛɲa] "bite". The ejective velar affricate [kx'], which was represented by the symbol r, would be represented by kr, for example, **ikrele** [ikx'ɛle] "a sword", **krazula** [kx'azula] "tear".


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What the language committee has done is to replace the non-Roman symbols by the Roman symbols. The motive for this might have been to make the writing of isiXhosa easier, as it was easier to use the Roman symbols than the non-Roman symbols. For instance, the non-Roman symbol r was changed to the Roman symbol r. The advantage of this change was that as it was easy to use the alveolar roll [r] in the typewriters, it was also easy to use both the voiced velar explosive [g] and the voiceless velar explosive [k], as they were also available in the typewriters, when representing the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] by just preceding the alveolar roll [r] by g and when representing the ejective velar affricate [kx'] by preceding the alveolar roll [r] by k.

Before 1960 the Zulu section became separated from the Xhosa section and the committee became known as the Xhosa Language Committee.

In 1961 the Xhosa Language Committee met in Butterworth from the 28th of February to the 27th of March, in order to continue with its previous years' task. It decided that if the rolled sound (represented by **r**) and the velar fricative (normally also represented by **r**) occurred in the same word, the former was to be represented by **r** and the latter by **rh**, for example, **irorho** [ir^ɔxɔ] "rye", **inarhmeri** [inaxmeri] "a nightmare", **ifrarha** [ifraxa] "a load", **ibrorho** [ibr^ɔxɔ] "a bridge".



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This committee brought about an improvement because now there is a difference in the representation of the alveolar roll [r] and the voiceless velar fricative [x] as the latter is now represented by the symbol **rh**. Normally in isiXhosa it is not good for two different sounds to be represented by one and the same symbol because this creates confusion in pronunciation. For example, if the alveolar roll and the voiceless velar fricative were still represented by the same symbol, namely **r**, the words **ifrarha** [ifraxa] "a load" and **ibrorho** [ibr^ɔxɔ] "a bridge" would have been pronounced as [ifrara] and [ibr^ɔrɔ] by the foreign speakers of isiXhosa.

In 1965 this Xhosa Language Committee met in the Regional Office of Bantu Education in King William's Town from the 23rd to the 27th of August, where it

suggested some changes in the representation of the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç], the ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ], the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ], the ejective alveolar affricate [tsʰ] and the aspirated alveolar affricate [tsʰ].

This committee suggested that the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç], which was represented by the symbol **sh**, should be represented by the symbol **sj**, for example, **isjumi** [içumi] "ten", that the ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ], which was represented by **tsh**, should be represented by **tsj**, for example, **intsjontsj** [intʃʰntʃʰ] "a chicken", and that the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ], which was represented by the symbol **tsh**, should be represented by **tsjh**, for example, **utsjhaba** [utʃʰaba] "enemy".

It seems as if the above suggestion was not a success because the books which were published in isiXhosa after this period never used these proposed new symbols.

This committee suggested that the ejective alveolar affricate [tsʰ], which was represented by the symbol **ts**, should remain as it was as in **itswele** [itsʰwɛlɛ] "onion".

Of course, there was no need for the above symbol to undergo a change because it is a suitable symbol in the representation of this sound.

This committee again during this period suggested that the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h], which was represented by the symbol **ts**, should be represented by the symbol **tsh**, for example, **isitshaba** [isits^haɓa] "a crown".

There is an improvement in the representation of the above mentioned sound as it was represented by the symbol **ts** as an aspirated alveolar affricate. Therefore before this sound became **tsh**, there was no difference between the symbol which represented the ejective alveolar affricate [ts'] and the one which represented the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h]. But now that the symbol for the ejective alveolar affricate is **ts**, whereas that of the aspirated alveolar affricate is **tsh**, there is now a clear difference in the representation of these sounds.

But since the symbol **tsjh**, which was suggested by this Xhosa Language Committee to represent the aspirated prepalatal affricate in 1965, did not materialise, the symbol **tsh** was used in its place in the books of isiXhosa. Again, instead of using the suggested symbol **tsj** as the ejective prepalatal affricate the same symbol **tsh** was used in its place. This means therefore that three sounds during this period were represented by one symbol, namely **tsh**, for example, **isitshaba** [isits^haɓa] "a crown", **isitshixo** [isitʃ'i//ɔ] "a key", **ukutsha** [uk'utʃ^ha] "to burn". This caused confusion in the pronunciation of these sounds.

Two years later the Xhosa Language Committee met again in order to continue with certain changes in the representation of the sounds of isiXhosa. As it met twice within the same year, the first meeting was held in the Radio Bantu Studios in King William's Town from the 19th to the 23rd of August, 1968, where it decided that **ts** should be accepted for the sound in **ukutsala** [uk'uts'ala] "to pull" and the symbol **tsh** should be accepted for **isithsaba** [isits^hab̩a] "a crown" and **uthsothsi** [uts^hots^hi] "a crook".



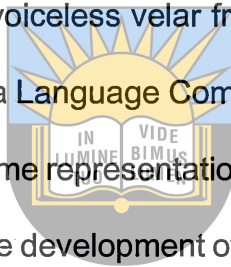
This committee placed emphasis on the different representation between the ejective alveolar affricate [ts'] and the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h]. The committee changed the symbol **tsh** to the symbol **tsh** in the representation of the aspirated alveolar affricate because of what has already been mentioned before, that is, this symbol **tsh**, two years previously, at one and the same time, had represented both the aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h], the ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃ'] and the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h]. Therefore, after the introduction of this symbol **tsh** for the representation of the aspirated alveolar affricate, matters improved because from then on the symbol **tsh** represented only the other two sounds.

The second meeting of this Xhosa Language Committee was held at Fort Hare, from the 16th to the 22nd of October, 1968, where it was decided that the rule that **h** must not be used to reinforce the explosive **b** in borrowed words must not be inserted in the revision of rules, for example, **ibrandi** [ibrandi] "brandy".

In the spelling of isiXhosa the borrowed words can be written with **bh** or with **b** before **r**. This creates no problem with the meaning of such words.

In this meeting it was also decided that the voiceless velar fricative [x] would be represented by the symbol **rh**, for example, **ukurhala** [uk'uxala] "to be greedy".

The representation of the voiceless velar fricative [x] as **rh** had already been decided upon by this Xhosa Language Committee in 1961. The reason for the Committee to repeat the same representation of this sound even in 1968, is that it wanted to demonstrate the development of the spelling of other sounds which is based on it.



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In this meeting this committee again decided that the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] should be represented by the symbol **grh**, for example, **ukugrhenya** [uk'uɣɛŋa] "to bite", **ukugrhaya** [uk'uɣaja] "to grind".

It is noticeable that there was an improvement in the representation of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] as compared to the previous one, as it changed from the symbol **gr** to the symbol **grh**. This new symbol was preferable because it differentiated between the devoiced velar explosive [g̊] followed by the vibrant **r** in words like **igrabile** [igrabilɛ] "gravel", **igrafu** [igrafu] "graph", etc. and the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] as it had been also represented by the symbol **gr** in

words such as **ukugrumba** [uk'uɣumba] "to dig" and **ukugrenya**

[uk'uɣɛɲa] "to bite".

During the same period this Xhosa Language Committee decided that the ejective velar affricate [kx'] should be represented by the symbol **krh** as in **krhwada** [kx'wada] "raw" and **ikrhele** [ikx'elɛ] "a sword".

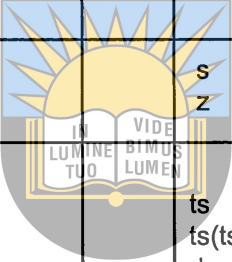
This symbol change from **kr** to **krh** was necessary because it differentiated between the ejective velar explosive followed by the vibrant **r** in a word like **ukukrama** [uk'uk'rama] "to bolt" and the ejective velar affricate [kx'], which was also represented by the symbol **kr**, for example, **ikrele** [ikx'elɛ] "a sword".

4.5 1966 Jordan's consonants of isiXhosa

Now that something has been said about the symbol changes in the writing of the isiXhosa consonants, it is important to say more about those consonants which have been used by the other writers.

In the 1960's the Xhosa Language Committee was not the only body responsible for the symbol changes in the representation of the sounds of isiXhosa. A.C. Jordan was one of the people who were concerned about the sound representation of this language. According to Jordan (1966: 8-9) the table of

the consonants of isiXhosa is as follows:

	Bila-bial	Denti-labial	Denti-labial	Alveo-lar	Prepa-latal	Mid-palatal	Velar	Glottal	Lateral
Explosive: Voiceless ejective Voiceless aspirated Voiced	p(p') ph bh(b)			t (t') th d		ty(c') tyh(c'ʰ) dy (ɗ)	k(k') kh g		
Implosive	b(ɓ)								
Fricative : voiceless voiced		f v		s z	sh(j)		r(x) gr(ɣ)	h h(ɦ)	hl(ɬ) dl(ɓ)
Affricate: Voiceless ejective Voiceless aspirated Voiced				ts ts(tsh) dz	tsh(tʃ') tsh(tʃh) j(dʒ)		kr(kx')		
Nasal: Plain Aspirated	m			n		ny(ɲ) nyh	ng'(ŋ)		
Lateral				l					
Rolled				r(r)					
Semi-vowel	w					y			
Nasal : Exp. compound Voiceless compound Voiced compound	mp(mp') mb(mb)			nt(nt') nd		nty ndy	nk(ŋk') ng(ŋg)		
Nasal Affric. compound Voiceless compound Voiced compound		mf (ɱɸ) mv(ɱɸv)		nts nz(ndz)	ntsh nj(ndʒ)				ntl(ntʰ) ndl(ndʒ)
Click Oral voiceless ejective Oral aspirated Oral voiced Nasal voiceless Voiceless nasal comp. Voiced nasal compound				ç ch gc nc nkc ngc		q qh gq nq nkq ngq			x xh gx nx nkx ngx

What should be noted about Jordan's table of the consonants of isiXhosa is that they are written orthographically as well as according to the IPA.

The advantage in writing the consonants according to the IPA is that each sound is represented by a different symbol, whereas in the orthographical writing there is a possibility of two sounds being represented by one and the same symbol. At times this leads to confusion in pronunciation. For instance in the above table of consonants there are certain sounds which are represented by one and the same symbol. The examples of such sounds are the following: The symbol **r** represents both the alveolar roll [**r**] and the voiceless velar fricative [**x**]; the symbol **ts** represents the ejective alveolar affricate [**ts'**] and the aspirated alveolar affricate [**ts^h**]; and the symbol **tsh** represents the ejective prepalatal affricate [**tʃ**] and the aspirated prepalatal affricate [**tʃ^h**].

It is noticeable that in 1968 the Xhosa Language Committee solved the problem of the representation of two different sounds by one symbol. For instance the symbol **ts**, which represented both the ejective alveolar affricate [**ts'**] and the aspirated alveolar affricate [**ts^h**] in Jordan's table of consonants, now represented the ejective alveolar affricate only, since the aspirated alveolar affricate was represented by the symbol **tsh**. The symbol **r** represented the alveolar roll [**r**] only and the voiceless velar fricative [**x**] has now been represented by the symbol **rh**. The representation of the ejective prepalatal

affricate [tʃ'] and that of the aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ] by the symbol **tsh** was not solved. It was once solved when the IPA symbols were used in the orthography of isiXhosa.

4.5.1 Symbol changes in the clicks

The clicks are known as the special consonants which are said to have been borrowed from the San and the Khoikhoi. There are three basic clicks. These are the voiceless alveolar click **c**[!], the voiceless alveo-lateral click **x**[!l] and the voiceless palato-alveolar click **q**[!ʃ].



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It is noticeable that before the introduction of the IPA aspiration, as well as the voicing of the nasalised clicks, was indicated by means of a diacritic which was in the form of a breathing mark. The following are examples of the aspirated clicks: **ukucáćá** [uku/^ha/^ha] "to recover", **ukuxéla** [uk'u/^hɛla] "to slaughter" **ukuqátha** [uk'u/^hat^ha] "to cheat". The voicing of the nasalised clicks was represented as in the following examples: **incá** [i[̃]a] "grass", **inxówa** [i[̃]ɔwa] "a bag" and **inqáyi** [i[̃]aji] "a water pot".

This form of representation was a little confusing as the diacritic had nothing to do with the click itself because it was placed above the vowel which follows that particular click.

The Gazette of the 23rd of November 1933 published a notice that the letter **h** would replace the diacritic used to express aspiration or the voicing of nasalised clicks. For example, **ukucáćá** would become **ukuchacha** [uk'u/h'a/h'a] "to recover", **ukuxéla** would become **ukuxhela** [uk'u//h'ɛla] "to slaughter", **ukuqátha** would become **ukuqhatha** [uk'u/h'at'h'a] "to cheat", **incá** would become **incha** [i/ã] "grass", **inxówa** would become **inxhowa** [i//ɔwa] "a bag" and **inqáyi** would become **inqhayi** [i/ãji] "a water pot". This way of representing of the clicks seemed to be better than the first one because in it only the ordinary symbols were used and the diacritics were no longer there. But the use of the symbol **h** in the nasalised clicks could cause confusion in pronunciation because the clicks could be pronounced as being voiceless since they appeared to be merely aspirated.

It was also decided that the radical click sounds following a nasal would be represented by the click symbol preceded by **k**, instead of the dotted symbol, for example, **inkcani** [iŋ/ani] "marksman", **inkqayi** [iŋ!aji] "bald head" **inkxaso** [iŋ//asɔ] "sustenance" for **inćani**, **inqáyi** and **inxáso**. The replacement of the dotted symbol by the symbol **k** was an improvement in the writing of the clicks because the symbol which is in the form of a consonant was clearer and easier to use than the dotted one.

In 1960 the Xhosa Language Committee decided that the nasalised voiced clicks **nch**, **nxh** and **nqh** should be replaced by **ngc**, **ngx** and **ngq** as in words such as

ingca [i ǀ̃a] "grass", **ingxowa** [i ǁ̃wa] "a bag" and **ingqolowa** [i ǀ̃qɔwa] "wheat".

During this period there were already the following types of nasalised clicks: **ngc** and **nch**, **ngx** and **nxh**, **ngq** and **nqh**. The reason for using one type of nasalised clicks was that the majority of Xhosa speakers no longer distinguished between **nch** and **ngc**, **nxh** and **ngx**, **nqh** and **ngq** and they experienced difficulty in knowing when to write the one and when the other.



4.5.2 Summary

In summary, it is important to state that concerning the five vowels of the orthography of isiXhosa there were no changes in their representation whatsoever.

Concerning the consonants it should be stated that there had been some changes in the symbol representation of certain sounds of isiXhosa. These changes are as follows: The bilabial implosive [ɓ] changed from **b** to **ɓ** and then to the symbol **b** again. The devoiced bilabial explosive [p̥] changed from the symbol **b** to **bh**. The aspirated bilabial explosive [pʰ] changed from **p** to the symbol **ph**. The aspirated alveolar explosive [tʰ] changed from **t** to the symbol **th**. The aspirated velar explosive [kʰ] changed from the symbol **k** to **kh**. The aspirated alveolar affricate [tsʰ] changed from the symbol **ts** to **tsh** and thereafter to the symbol **ths**. The ejective prepalatal affricate [tʃʰ] changed from

the symbol **tsh** to **tsj** and then to **tʃ** and thereafter to the symbol **tsh** again. The aspirated prepalatal affricate [tʃ^h] changed from **tsh** to the symbol **tsjh** and then to **tʃh** and thereafter to **tsh** again. The ejective velar affricate [kxʰ] changed from **ř** to **kř** and then to the symbol **kr** and then to **krh** and thereafter to **kr**. The voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç] changed from the symbol **sh** to **sj** and then to **ʃ** and thereafter to **sh**. The voiceless velar fricative [x] changed from **r** to **ř** and then to the symbol **rh**. The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] changed from the symbol **r** to **gr** and then to **grh** and thereafter to the symbol **gr**.



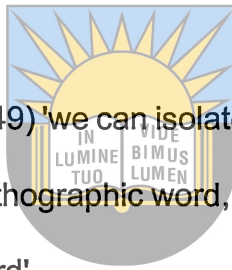
Concerning the clicks, it can be mentioned that aspiration and voicing were marked by means of a diacritic which was in the form of a breathing mark placed above the vowel which follows a click. But later on aspiration became represented by the **h** symbol which follows the click whilst voicing became represented by the symbol **g** preceding the click. Ejection became represented by the symbol **k** placed between the nasal and the click instead of a dot placed above the click which follows the nasal. As there were two types of nasalised voiced clicks it was decided that there should be only one type in order to avoid confusion.

Finally, it may be stated that there had been some problems in the representation of certain sounds of isiXhosa and that is why their symbols were changed now and again.

4.6 Word-division in isiXhosa

4.6.1 Introduction

Since this research is about the orthographical development of isiXhosa, it is necessary for the word-division to be investigated as it is a part of orthography. But the first thing to be considered is to define the concept 'word'.



According to Todd (1987: 49) 'we can isolate four of the most frequently implied meanings of 'word': the orthographic word, the morphological word, the lexical word and the semantic word'.

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The orthographic word is one which has a space on either side. This means that orthographic words are those based on the practical orthography of a particular language. Words are determined by space in between, irrespective of whether such a space isolates a bound morpheme from a free one, as is the case with the Sotho language. The following are examples of orthographic words in isiXhosa, Sesotho and English:

Ndiyabona
Ke a bona
I see

The above examples indicate one isiXhosa word, three Sesotho words and two English words, all determined by space.

In defining an orthographic word Jackson (1988: 1) says" 'in writing at least, a word is often regarded as an item bounded by spaces'. This statement is the confirmation of what has already been mentioned about the orthographic word which is defined in terms of space.

The morphological word is defined by Todd (1987: 50) as 'a unique form which considers form only and not meaning'. She has given some English examples where she states that 'ball', for example, is one morphological word, even though it can refer to both a bounding object and a dance. 'Ball' and 'balls' would be two morphological words because they are identical in form. In isiXhosa '**ilitye**' "a stone" for example, is one morphological word. '**ilitye**' "a stone" and '**amatye**' "stones" are two morphological words because they are not identical in form. These two words have similar stems but different prefixes. Therefore the emphasis in the morphological word is in the morphemes which have formed a word rather than in the space which is on either side of the orthographic word.

The lexical word is also defined by Todd as the one which comprehends the various forms of items which are closely related by meaning. She illustrates this with English words by stating that 'chair' and 'chairs' are two morphological words, but one lexical word. In isiXhosa, for example, the words '**umntu**' "a person" and '**abantu**' "people" are two morphological words, but one lexical word. The difference between these two types of word is that the morphological word focuses on the form only and not on meaning whereas the lexical word

focuses on the various forms of items which are closely related by meaning. For instance the difference between the words '**umntu**' "a person" and '**abantu**' "people" is that the first word is in singular whereas the second one is in plural.

The semantic word involves distinguishing between items which may be morphologically identical but differ in meaning. For example, '**ibala**' "colour" and '**ibala**' "open space".



Basically an isiXhosa word can be defined under two categories. Firstly, there are those words which are made up of two or three morphemes, namely a prefix and a stem, or a prefix, a root and a suffix, for example, the noun '**umntu**' "a person" is made up of a prefix **um-** and a stem **-ntu**, or the noun '**umfazana**' "a young woman" is made up of a prefix **um-**, a root **-faz-** and a suffix **-ana**.

The noun determines or controls the prefixes of other word categories that are directly related to it, such as the verb, the adjective, the relative, the quantitative etc. For instance the words in the sentence: **Abantu abakhulu abaninzi batyhutyha ilizwe** "Many adult people travel the country" can be tabulated as follows:

Prefix	Stem
aba	ntu
aba	khulu
aba	ninzi
ba	tyhutyha
ili	zwe

Secondly, there are those words which consist of the stem only. Examples of such words are the interjectives, for example, **tyhini!** "what!", **hayi bo!** "no!" , the ideophones, for example, **dyumpu** "a water sound", **bham** "a gunshot", the interjectives, for example, **phi?** "where?", **uthini na?** "what do you say?" and the demonstratives, for example, **le** "this", **loo** "that".

Viewed typologically isiXhosa is generally an agglutinating language since in it the root is extended by means of morphemes which are 'glued' to it. Such morphemes have independent content and function but not an independent use; for example, in **uthetha isiNgesi** "he speaks English", the stems are **-thetha** and **-Ngesi**. They have their own content or meaning and function. Similarly the remaining morphemes are the subject concord **u-** and the prefix **isi-**.

The fact that isiXhosa is an agglutinating language is supported by Stapleton (1903: 6) who says 'the languages of the Bantu family belong to the class generally called agglutinative - a term covering all those languages which agree in forming their words by gluing a prefix or a suffix to the root'.

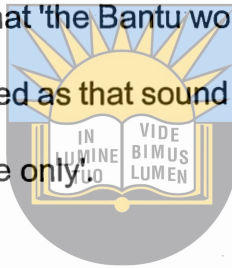
A word has been defined by several people. For instance according to Akmajian et al. (1990: 14) 'a word is an arbitrary pairing of sound and meaning'.

These people have given an English example where they say that the word "brother" is a complex pattern of sounds associated with a certain meaning

("male sibling"). There is no necessary reason why the particular combination of sounds represented by the written word "brother" should mean what it does.

The above statement is true even in the writing of the words of isiXhosa because the word **indoda** "man" could be regarded as referring to a woman.

Doke (1935: 220) states that "the Bantu word is dependent upon the Bantu law of stress and may be defined as that sound or group of sounds which is subject to one main stress and one only".



This means that every language has its own way of writing a word.

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According to Doke (1955: 2) 'words are meaningful units of speech, consisting of one or more syllables, adhering together in a unity of enunciation, by the attractive force of a fully stressed syllable'.

According to the above definition a word can be formed by one syllable as long as it bears a meaning. This statement is acceptable because Grout (1893: 50) says:

A word, in respect to orthography, is one or more syllables written together, as the sign of some idea, or of some relation of ideas; as tanda, love; abantu, people; ngi, I; ba, they; ca, no; yebo, yes.

What is emphasized in the definition of a word is that the coming together of sounds in the formation of a word must create a meaning.

Appleyard (1850: 67) says the following about Bantu words:

In the orthographical construction of Kafir words, formation is a distinguishing feature. They generally consist of a root, which contains the leading or fundamental idea, and a prefix, usually indicative of specific relationship to the general principle of Euphonic concord, and in most cases including some accessory idea, more or less distinct, which modifies the radical one according to the full and perfect idea intended to be represented. Some of the prefixes, again, especially the nominal ones, may be further modified by others, when the principle of formation advances to that of composition, as is plainly indicated by the coalition and omission of sounds which take place under circumstances. Hence ideas, considerably modified and extended, are expressed in the united and compact form of single word. The Kafir language, accordingly, is essentially a polysyllabic one, the occurrence of monosyllables, either as words or roots, being comparatively rare.

It is true that most of the words of isiXhosa are polysyllabic as they are formed by the combination of the prefix, the stem and the suffix.

From what has been said about a word in isiXhosa, it can be deduced that a word in isiXhosa can be made up of a single syllable and a number of syllables.

4.6.2 The Changes in word-division

The development of isiXhosa orthography since 1823 to the present underwent many changes. For example, Bennie, one of the great pioneers in the writing of isiXhosa, made it a point that there was space between the syllables as in **in ko mo ze zi ka- Ti xo** "cattle belong to God". This system of writing could make reading difficult today, especially with people who have been trained differently.



Viewed from an orthographic word definition, one would identify eight words from the above example.

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It is not clear how long Bennie's syllabic system lasted but by the year 1844 a disjunctive system of writing isiXhosa had even been developed by Boyce. Here are examples:

uku mka "to depart"

siya sizana "we help one another"

In the above system of writing the verbal prefixes are separated from their stems. For instance the infinitive **uku-** is separated from the verb stem **-mka**, and the word **siya sizana** "we help one another" is also written separately, that is, the auxiliary verb **-ya-** is not joined to the verb **-sizana**. This conjunctive writing system was used in books published between 1851 and 1893. Here are examples:

According to Kiv-iet (1851: 2) words are written in the following way:

Ukuxasa "to support"

izindhlu "houses"

In the above words the prefix and the stem have formed one conjunctive word. For instance the infinitive **uku-** is joined to the verb stem **-xasa** and the prefix **izi-** is also joined to the noun stem **-ndhlu**. During this period the voiced alveo-lateral fricative [**ɮ**] was written as **dh** to differentiate it from the voiceless alveo-lateral fricative [**ɬ**] which was written as **hl**.

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According to Bennie (1853: 1) words are written in the following system:

babeteta "they were speaking"

zisixenxe "they are seven"

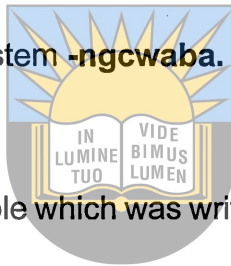
The word **babeteta** "they were speaking" consists of the subject concord **ba-**, the auxiliary verb **-be-** which indicates the continuous remote past and the verb stem **-teta**. The word **zisixenxe** consists of the subject concord **zi-**, the prefix proper **-si-** and the noun stem **-xenxe**.

Kiv-iet (1864: 1) has the following words:

ukushukuma "to move"

ingcwaba "a grave"

The word **ukushukuma** "to move" consists of the infinitive **uku-** and the verb stem **-shukuma** joined together. The word **ingcwaba** "a grave" consists of the pre-prefix **i-** and the noun stem **-ngcwaba**.



The words in the Xhosa Bible which was written by Dr Bryce Ross as a member of the Xhosa Bible Revision Board between 1874 and 1882 are written in the following way:

ubuqaqawuli "glory"

intliziyo "a heart"

In the above words the prefix has been written conjunctively with the noun stem. For instance in the first word the prefix **ubu-** is joined to the noun stem **-qaqawuli** whilst in the second one the pre-prefix **i-** is joined to the noun stem **-ntliziyo**.

According to Kiv-iet (1893: 1) words are written as follows:

ziyaxaswa "they are supported"

amashumi "tens"

In the first word above, the subject concord **zi-** and the auxiliary verb **-ya-** are

joined to the verb stem **-xaswa** which is in the passive voice. The prefix **ama-** of the second word has been joined to the noun stem **-shumi**.

What has been highlighted in all the examples of the words taken from some of the books published between 1851 and 1893 is the conjunctive system of writing which was introduced after the disjunctive system of writing started by John Bennie in 1823.



It is surprising to notice that even after this period the disjunctive system of writing was used again by certain writers. According to Stewart (1894: 19) there were words written as follows:

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Ndiya vuma "I am willing"

Uku susa "to remove"

In the above words the prefixes are written separately from the stems again. This might have been due to the fact that during this period there were no language boards of isiXhosa which should have been controlling the writing system of the words of this language.

Doke as quoted by van Wyk (1958: 36) says:

Disjunctive writing in Bantu is built upon the principles which govern the grammatical word-division in modern European languages, especially

those in English, German, French and Portuguese. Is this a sound basis? Is not this an accidental method of writing, due to the fact that the first persons to deal with the grammar of the Bantu languages were English-speaking, German-speaking, French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking missionaries?

What has been quoted above is the main cause of the disjunctive writing in the orthography of isiXhosa, especially by Bennie as the language he spoke was English. Therefore by the time he put isiXhosa into writing for the first time, he had the English way of writing in his mind.


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After this period the system of writing in which words of isiXhosa are expected to be made up of a prefix and a stem was followed again. For instance according to McLaren (1923: 1) there are the following words:

ubutshaba "enmity"

ukugcina "to keep"

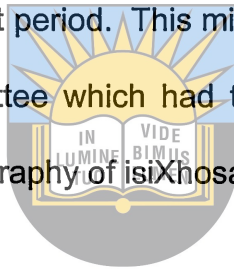
In the above words the prefixes and the stems are written conjunctively.

It seems as if there was no common way of writing a word of isiXhosa because the system of writing which was used by Stewart in his book, which was published in 1894, was used again in 1925 because according to Mqhayi (1925: 17) there was the following system of writing:

**Ngo mhla we 15 kwinyanga yo Kwindla,
u Lena ongu molokazana ka Bokwe...**

"On the 15th of March, Lena who is the
wife of Bokwe's son..."

In the above system of writing the possessive concords and the pre-prefix are separated from the stem. This means that the problem of word-division continued even during that period. This might be the reason for the formation of the Xhosa Sub-committee which had to provide some guidelines in the development of the orthography of isiXhosa.



In 1930 the Xhosa Sub-committee made some recommendations in connection with word-division. This committee suggested that the vowels should be elided in words such as **usele efikile** "he has already arrived", **ufumana ethetha** "he is talking for nothing" etc. and they should be replaced by the use of an apostrophe as in **usel' efikile** "he has already arrived", **ufuman' ethetha** "he is talking for nothing".

This suggestion was made because in speech these words **usele efikile** "he has already arrived" are regarded as one word. The hyphen usage shows that these are still two different words even when the vowel has been deleted. At the same time this committee decided that the word **ndini** "thou" would be joined to the noun without a hyphen as this was joined with it, thus: **mfazindini** "you woman", **mfondini** "you man". The reason for this decision by the Sub-

committee was that it regarded **ndini** "thou" as a suffix since in its usage it always comes after a noun. One may say that there is no need for **ndini** "thou" to be joined to the noun as a suffix because it can be regarded as an independent word which is totally different from the suffixes which have to be joined to the noun as they used to be an integral part of it.

The other recommendations of the Xhosa Sub-committee were passed by the Central Committee and the Union Government Advisory Committee. These recommendations were:



- 1) Demonstratives should always be separated, thus: **esi sixeko** "this city", **le nto** "this thing".

The reason for the above separation may be to indicate that a demonstrative is a separate part of speech which should be written independently.

- 2) **Kwa** "also" to be written separately, save when it is incorporated in a verbal form, thus: **kwa nama-Xhosa** "the amaXhosa also", **ukwalungile** "he is also good".

The above recommendation means that **kwa** "also" can be used in two ways. Firstly, it is used separately when it is not preceded by a subject concord and secondly, it is used conjunctively when it is preceded by a subject concord which joins it to the verb.

- 3) The auxiliary verbs **ya** and **za** to be written separately, thus: **ndiya funa** "I want", **ndiza kufuna** "I shall want".

The above auxiliary verbs are both written separately only when they present the future tense. One may not agree with the disjunctive writing of **ndiya funa** "I want" because when it is in the indicative mood it is written conjunctively with the verb stem as follows: **ndiyafuna** "I want".

This word can be written separately when the verb stem **-funa** is preceded by the infinitive **ku-** which is without its pre-prefix as in the following example: **ndiya kufuna** "I'll want".



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- 4) The locative prefix to be joined to proper nouns by a hyphen, thus: **e-Qonce** "in King William's Town", **kwa-Komani** "in Queenstown".

The above locative prefix can be joined to the proper nouns without a hyphen just as in all the nouns because it makes no difference.

- 5) **Nje** and **nga** to be written separately, thus: **nje ngam** "like myself", **nga ngam** "of my size", **kanga ngokuba** "to an extent that".

The disjunctive system of writing the above words is acceptable because a word in isiXhosa can be a single syllable.

- 6) The words **ni**, **na** and **ke** to be written separately, thus: **uthi ni?** "what do you say?" **uyabona na?** "do you see?" **ke kaloku ke** "and then".

If the words **ni**, **na** and **ke** above were to be joined to the verb stems, they would appear as suffixes although they are not. Therefore writing them disjunctively is correct.

- 7) The word **ndini** "thou" to be joined to the noun without hyphen, thus: **mfazindini** "you woman".



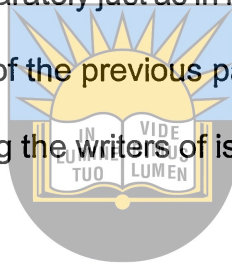
The recommendation about the writing of **ndini** "thou" is repeated as it was made by the Central Committee and the Union Government Advisory Committee, although it had already been made previously by the Xhosa Sub-committee. It seems the grammarians had different views about the correct way of writing this word as there were those who suggested that it should be joined to the noun by a hyphen. This might be because they even differ in referring to it: some of them refer to it as a vocative suffix, whilst others refer to it as a vocative particle.

Although in the 1930's the Xhosa Sub-committee tried to solve the problem of word-division, it still continued in the 1940's because in the isiXhosa newspaper called **Umthunywa** which was published on the 25th of January 1942, there is the following system of writing:

**...kuba ngalomhla kwaku hlangenwe kwa Nozulu
into ka Soyizwapi...**

"because in that day there was a gathering
at Nozulu Soyizwapi's son..."

In the above system of writing the locative prefix **kwa-** and the possessive concord **ka-** are written separately just as in Mqhayi's book which was published in 1925 as quoted on one of the previous pages. This may indicate that there was no co-operation among the writers of isiXhosa.



Again in the Umthunywa of the 10th of January 1948 there is the following system of writing:

zithini-na ngalomcimbi? "what do they say about this issue?"

kekaloku-ke ndizakuthetha "then I'll speak"

loomqulu "that volume"

kuleveki "this week"

In the above system of writing the writers have ignored the recommendation of the Xhosa Sub-committee that the words **na**, **ke**, the auxiliary verb **za** and the demonstratives should be written separately.

The lack of co-operation among the writers of isiXhosa is also proved by the fact that although the Xhosa Sub-committee made some recommendations about word-division in 1930, the same recommendations were again made by the

Education Department in 1951.

Other recommendations in connection with word-division in isiXhosa were made by the Xhosa Language Committee at Butterworth in 1960. They were as follows:

Phi "where", when used adverbially, would be written separately, for example, **uvela phi na?** "where do you come from?" **Bahlala phi?** "where do they live?"



In all other cases **phi** "where" would be written conjunctively, for example, in copulatives: **Ngabaphi aba?** "whose are these?" With adverbial formatives: **ubuye ngaphi na?** "which direction have you come back?" In possessives: **Ngumntu waphi lo?** "where does this person belong?"

From the above recommendations it can be seen that **phi** "where" could be written either disjunctively or conjunctively, according to the function assigned to it in a given context.

The suggestions about word-division in isiXhosa still continued because in 1968 the Xhosa Language Committee suggested that the auxiliaries **khe**, **ze** and **de** should be written separately with or without pronouns, for example, **khe simbone edolophini** "we used to see him in town". **Thina khe simbone edolophini** "we used to see him in town". **Ze nifike apha ngomso** "you should

come here tomorrow". **Nina ze nifike apha ngomso** "you should come here tomorrow". **Hlala apha de ndibuye** "stay here till I come back". **Hlala apha wena de ndibuye** "stay here till I come back".

It appears that if the problem of word-division in isiXhosa was not solved even after the existence of the Xhosa Sub-committee and the Xhosa Language Committee because there were still some arguments about it.

According to Guthrie (1970: 5)



Nearly all the earliest writers on Bantu languages used the system of word division which appeared to them to be the most natural, consequently few of them thought it necessary even to explain the reasons that had influenced them in developing such a system. Before long, however, it became clear that quite different types of word-division were being practised, sometimes for one and the same language. There can be little doubt that this situation has given rise to more disagreement among workers in Bantu languages than any other single problem. Broadly speaking there have been two different opinions, known as the conjunctivist and the disjunctivist; and the fact that these two points of view are irreconcilable has led to much arguing, which has all too often proved fruitless. To-day the general tendency is unquestionably more and more towards a conjunctivist system, but there are still so many convinced disjunctivists that the matter can hardly be said to have been settled.

One may agree with Guthrie's remarks, especially with reference to the writing of isiXhosa, when he says that before long, it became clear that quite different types of word-division were being practised, sometimes for one and the same language. For instance in the writing of isiXhosa there were writers who followed the disjunctive system and those who followed the conjunctive system. Therefore word-division in this language was inconsistent.

Wilkes (1985: 148) states that:



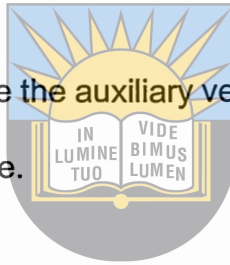
One of the most complicated problems encountered in the writing systems of the South African Bantu Languages is that of word division. Whilst work done by the various language boards has succeeded in bringing much needed certainty into this field, there are nevertheless still many instances in these languages where words and morphemes are written in what seems to be an inconsistent way, thus unnecessarily complicating the writing of these languages.

The examples Wilkes has given are that (i) the interrogative adverb **phi** "where" should be written as a separate word after a predicative (verb), for example, **uvela phi?** "where do you come from?" **bahlala phi?** "where do they live?" (ii) **phi** "where" can be written conjunctively with prefixed formatives, for example, **luphi ubisi?** "where is the milk?" **kuphi?** "where is it?"

Wilkes further states that there are also those words which should be written consistently, because if that is not done, there can be a change of tense, as in the writing of the following words:

Ndiya kubona "I shall see"

Ndiyakubona "I see you"



This means that in this case the auxiliary verb **-ya-** has represented the future tense and the present tense.

It appears that the ideas of Wilkes about the writing of **phi** "where" are similar to the recommendations which were made by the Xhosa Language Committee at Butterworth in 1960.

4.6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be stated that although the various language boards tried to devise a consistent way of writing of isiXhosa, there was no improvement whatsoever. This could be because the rules regarding word-division were not clearly motivated by the language boards.

4.7 Capital letters in isiXhosa writing

4.7.1 Capitalization of proper names, place names and the Deity

4.7.1.1 Capitalization of proper names

Generally the first letter at the beginning of a sentence is a capital letter even if the second letter has also to be a capital letter, for example **ULizo uyathetha** "Lizo is talking".



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Capitalization of proper names in the orthography of isiXhosa underwent no changes because even during the writing of this language for the first time by John Bennie in 1823 the first letter after the prefix was capitalized, for example, **u-Tixo, u-Tiyo, u-Nolizwe**. In the case of clan names of women compounded with **ma-** both the **m** of **ma-** and the initial letter of the stem are capitalized, for example, **uMamNgqosini, uMamTshawe, uMaMaduna, uMaDlamini**.

4.7.1.2 Capitalization of place names

In place names the first letter after the initial vowel, or after the locative formatives **e-, ku-, kwa-** is a capital, for example, **iQonce** "King William's Town", **eDikeni** "at Alice", **kuTsolo** "at Tsolo", **kwaGaga** "at Gaga".

4.7.1.3 Capitalization of the Deity

The same principle whereby the initial letter of the stem is capitalized was applied to the use of the capital of the Deity in the early books, for example, **in-Kosi, um-Dali, um-Enzi, um-Alusi**. Although it was like that during that early period, in the latest books the first letter after the initial vowel is written as a capital letter, thus: **iNkosi, uMdali, uMenzi, uMalusi**. Therefore what is capitalized in the latest books is the prefix-proper instead of the initial letter of the stem.



In conclusion, one may state that there is still a problem in the capitalization of the clan names of women compounded with **ma-** as there are people who write them as in the following manners: **umaMTshawe, umamBhele, umaDosini, uMangqosini** etc.

4.8 Hyphen usage

In the early books of isiXhosa the hyphen was used in a word between a prefix and a noun stem, for example, **u-Tixo** "God", **ama-Jipete** "Egyptians", **abantu base-Jipete** "people of Egypt", **ndoda-ndini** "you man" etc.

The Xhosa Language Committee which met at Butterworth in 1960 decided to use the hyphen in the writing of the following words: **kwa-oko** "immediately",

kwa-umntu "a person again", **kwa-iinkomo** "cattle again".

The hyphen has been used in the above words in order to prevent vowel juxtaposition.

4.9 Conclusion



The introduction of the IPA made a great contribution in the development of the sound representation of isiXhosa as it stopped the use of the diacritics and the non-Roman symbols. At the same time it prevented the representation of different sounds by the same symbol.

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As evidence of its great importance in the orthography of isiXhosa, the discontinuance of the use of its symbols in the orthography of isiXhosa has caused a problem at present as there are different sounds represented by the same symbol. Such sounds are the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **tsh**, the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh**, the voiced bilabial implosive **b** and the fully voiced bilabial explosive **b** which occurs in the nasal compound.

It has also been noticed that word-division was a problem although there were attempts by some people to solve it.

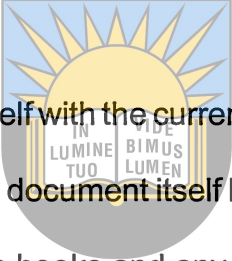
There were no serious problems in as far as the state of capitalization and hyphen usage are concerned.

CHAPTER 5

The current isiXhosa orthography

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will concern itself with the current isiXhosa orthography by focusing not only on the orthography document itself but also on its application in various isiXhosa literatures such as books and any print media.



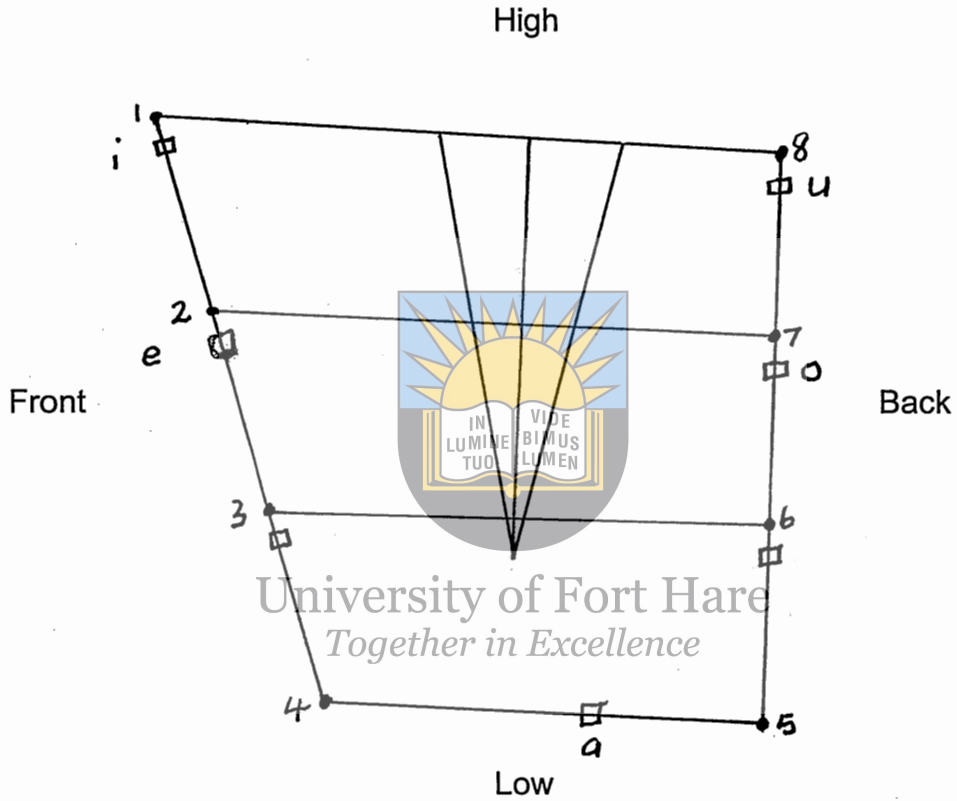
The logo of the University of Fort Hare, featuring a shield with a sunburst at the top, a central sun, and the Latin motto 'IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BONUS LUMEN' on a banner below. The shield is flanked by two columns.

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5.2 The current symbols in the isiXhosa orthography in chart form

According to 1980 Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No.3 the following symbols are recommended for use:

5.2.1 Vowels



5.2.2 Consonants

	Bila- bial	Denti- labial	Alve- olar	Pre- palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Late- ral
Explosives:								
Voiceless ejective	p pl pr		t tr			k kl kr		
Voiceless aspirated	ph		th			kh khr		
Voiced	bh br bl		d dr			g gr gl		

Implosive: Voiced	b							
Fricatives: Voiceless		f fr fl	s	sh		rh	h	hl
Voiced		v	z			gr	h	dl
Affricates: Voiceless ejective			ts	tsh	ty	kr ky		tl
Voiceless aspirated			ths	tsh	tyh	kyh		
Voiced			dz	j	dy			
Nasals: Plain	m		n	ny		ng'		
Murmured	mh		nh	nyh				
Liquids: Voiced			l					
Murmured			lh					
Vibrant:			r					
Semi-vowels: Voiced					y	w		
Murmured					yh	wh		
Nasal explosive compounds:								
Voicless compound	mp		nt		nty	nk		
Voiced compound	mb		nd		ndy	ng		
Nasal Affricate compounds:								
Voicless compound		mf	nts	ntsh				ntl
Voiced compound		mv	nz	nj				ndl
Clicks:								
Voicless ejective			c		q			x
Voicless aspirated			ch		qh			xh
Voiced			gc		gq			gx
Nasal voiceless			nc		nq			nx
Voicless nasal compound			nkc		nkq			nkx
Voiced nasal compound			ngc		ngq			ngx

5.3 Sound symbols which have been consistent

In the above charts there are sound symbols which have been consistent in the orthographical development of isiXhosa. These symbols are the following:

5.3.1 Vowels

The five vowels in the orthography of isiXhosa, namely, **a, e, i, o** and **u**, were never affected by the changes which had been taking place in some of the consonants of this language.

5.3.2 Consonants



The consonants which resisted change are the following:

mp, mb, f, v, mf, mv, t, d, s, z, ts, dz, n, l
nt, nd, nts, j, ny, nj, ty, dy, nty, ndy, k, g, nk, ng, hl
c, q, x, gc, gq, gx, nc, nq and nx.

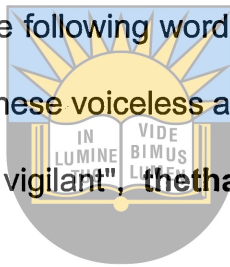
The reason for this resistance to change is that these consonants are derived from the Roman alphabet, which is the basis of the orthography of isiXhosa and of which most of the sound symbols are similar to those of the IPA.

5.4 Sound symbols that have constantly been changing

In the chart of the consonants of isiXhosa on pp.128 and 129 there are also those sound symbols which have constantly been changing throughout the years. These symbols are the following:

5.4.1 Plosives

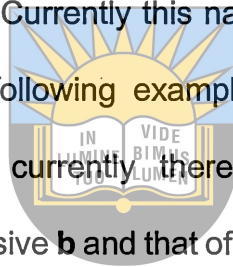
At first **ph**, **th** and **kh** were written without the presence of the symbol **h** which now marks their aspiration because during that period the writer himself was an English-speaking person who was not aware of the aspiration mark as it is not used in English. After that period a diacritic was placed above the vowel which follows the plosive as in the following words: **pá pá** "be vigilant", **tá tá** "take", **kómba** "point". Currently these voiceless aspirated plosives are written with **h** following as in **phapha** "be vigilant", **thetha** "speak", **khomba** "point".



At first the symbol **bh** was represented as **b** as in **ukubaba** "to fly". This representation was derived from the Roman alphabet as this is how this symbol is pronounced. After this period **b** was written with a diacritic above the vowel which follows it as in **ukubábá** "to fly". Currently this sound is written as **bh** as in **ukubhabha** "to fly".

The implosive **b** at first was written as **b** as in **ukubaba** "to itch". During this period therefore there was no difference between the writing of the explosive **bh** and the implosive **b**. After the introduction of the IPA the implosive **b** was written as **ɓ** whilst the explosive **bh** was written as **b**. Since this IPA symbol did not exist in most of the typewriters of that period, this sound came to be written as **b** as it is currently; for example, **ukubaba** "to itch".

The symbol **b**, which represents the explosive which occurs in the nasal compound as in **mb**, was written as **b**; for example, **imbumba** "compound". Thereafter this nasal compound was written as **imbumba** "compound". This means that before this period there was no difference between the representation of the devoiced bilabial explosive **bh** and the fully voiced bilabial explosive **b** which occurs only in the nasal compound; for example, **umbali** "writer", **imbali** "history". Currently this nasal compound is written without a diacritic again as in the following examples: **imbali** "history", **imbumba** "compound". Therefore currently there is no difference between the representation of the implosive **b** and that of the explosive **b** which occurs in the nasal compound.



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5.4.2 Fricatives

The voiceless prepalatal fricative in the orthography of isiXhosa was represented at first as **sh**, the symbol which had been already in use in the orthography of English. The person who put isiXhosa into writing for the first time was English-speaking. After the introduction of the IPA according to Bennie (1931: 1) the symbol **sh** was changed to **ʃ**; for example, the word **shushu** "hot" was to be written as **ʃuʃu** "hot". After this period it became necessary for the IPA symbol to be changed because some of the typewriters did not have it. Therefore **ʃ** was changed to **sj** through the influence of the chairperson of the Xhosa Language Committee, who was an Afrikaans-speaking person; for example, the word

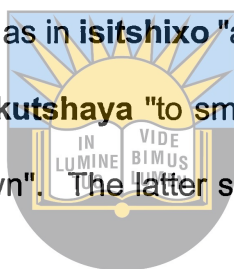
if **umi** "ten" was to be written as **isjumi** "ten". Thereafter **sj** was changed to **sh**, the symbol currently in use; for example, the word **isjumi** "ten" is written as **ishumi** "ten".

The voiceless velar fricative was written as **r** at first. During that period the English sound **r**, whose representation is similar to that of this fricative, did not exist in the orthography of isiXhosa. Later on **r** was changed to **ṛ**; for example, the word **ukurola** "to drag" was written as **ukuṛola** "to drag". This change was caused by the introduction of the English sound **r** in the orthography of isiXhosa, which led to the representation of two different sounds by one symbol; for example, **iorenji** "orange" versus **ukurola** "to drag". Currently this sound is written as **rh**; for example, **ukurhola** "to drag".

In the writing of isiXhosa for the first time the voiced velar fricative was written as **rh**; for example, **ukurhumba** "to dig". During this period the voiceless velar fricative was written as **r**. When the voiceless velar fricative was written as **r**, the voiced velar fricative became **gr**; for example, **ukugrumba** "to dig". When the voiceless velar fricative was written as **rh** as in **ukurhana** "to suspect", the Xhosa Language Committee special meeting which was held at Fort Hare in 1968 according to Handout 1 of the Xhosa Language Committee decided that the voiced velar fricative should be written as **grh**; for example, **ukugrhenya** "to bite", **ukugrhaya** "to grind". At present this sound is written as **gr** as in **ukugrenya** "to bite", **ukugraya** "to grind".

5.4.3 Affricates

The voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate **ths** was written as **ts** at first as in **isitsaba** "crown". Since this symbol **ts** also represented the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate as in **ukutsala** "to pull", it was changed to **tsh**; for example, **isitshaba** "a crown". Since the symbol **tsh** also represented the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate as in **isitshixo** "a key" and the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate as in **ukutshaya** "to smoke", it was changed to **ths**; for example **isithsaba** "a crown". The latter symbol is the one which is used at present.



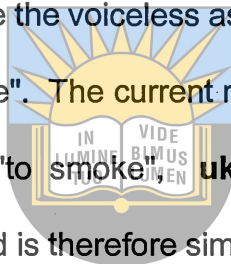
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The voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **tsh** was written as **tsh** in the first writing of isiXhosa; for example, **isitshixo** "key". After the introduction of the IPA this symbol was changed to **tʃ** as in **isitʃixo** "key". Since it was not easy to use this IPA symbol, the Xhosa Language Committee decided to change it to **tsj**; for example, **isitsjixo** "key". Thereafter this symbol changed to **tsh** as in **isitshixo** "key".

The voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh** started by being written as **tsh** as in **ukutshaya** "to smoke". Thereafter it was written as **tʃh** as in **ukutʃhaya** "to smoke", using the IPA symbol.

This symbol was written as **tsh** according to Grant (1951: 4) as deduced from

one of the words he uses in the following sentence: '**Yiyo lo nto le ncwadi inenteto ezininzi ezicatshulwe kwi-Testamente e-Ndala yama-Yuda**' "It is why this book has got many speeches which have been quoted from the Old Testament of the Jews". The use of the diacritic here is to differentiate between the representation of the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate, which is **tsh**, and that of the voiceless aspirated prepalatal, which is also **tsh**. In 1968 the Xhosa Language Committee wrote the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate as **tsjh** as in **ukutsjhaya** "to smoke". The current representation of this sound is **tsh**; for example, **ukutshaya** "to smoke" and **ukutshisa** "to burn". The present representation of this sound is therefore similar to that of the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate.



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The voiceless ejective velar affricate **kr** was first represented as **r**; for example, **irele** "sword". During this period therefore there was no difference between the representation of this sound and that of the voiceless velar fricative. Later on this affricate was represented as **r̥** as in **irele** "sword". It was also changed to **kr̥**; for example, **ikr̥ele** "sword". According to Handout 1 of the Xhosa Language Committee in 1968 the Committee's special meeting decided to represent this sound as **krh** as in **krhwada** "raw", **ikrhele** "sword". The present representation of this sound is **kr**; for example, **ikrele** "sword", **krwada** "raw".

5.4.4 Nasals

In the writing of isiXhosa for the first time the murmured bilabial nasal **mh** was written as **m** in words such as **molo** "hullo", **umakhulu** "grandmother". This means that during this period there was no difference between this sound and the voiced bilabial nasal **m**. To differentiate between the representation of these two sounds, the murmured nasal was written as **m[̣]** as in **umá** "mother". Thereafter this sound was written as **mh**; for example, **ukumhomha** "to drink speedily".

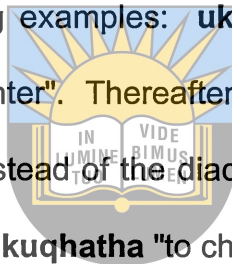


The murmured palatal nasal **nyh** started by being written as **ny**; for example, **inyunyu** "trouble". Since during this period there was no difference between the writing of this sound and the voiced palatal nasal **ny**, this sound was written as **ny[̣]** as in **inyóloba** "pocket". Thereafter this murmured palatal nasal became written as **nyh**; for example, **inyhunyu** "trouble", **inyholoba** "pocket".

The murmured palatal nasal followed by the velar semi-vowel **nyhw** was at first written as **nyw** as in **inyweba** "luck". This means that during this period there was no difference between the representation of this sound and that of the voiced palatal nasal followed by the velar semi-vowel **nyw**. Thereafter this sound was written as **nyw[̣]**; for example, **inywéba** "luck". Currently this sound is written as **nyhw** as in **inyhweba** "luck".

5.4.5 Clicks

At first the voiceless aspirated clicks **ch**, **qh** and **xh** were represented by **c**, **q** and **x** as in the following examples: **ukucasa** "to oppose", **iziqamo** "fruits", **ukuxasa** "to support". After this period aspiration was marked by means of a diacritic as in the following examples: **ukucáca** "to recover", **ukuqátá** "to cheat", **ukuxéla** "to slaughter". Thereafter the aspiration of these clicks was marked by the use of **h** instead of the diacritic as in the following examples: **ukuchacha** "to recover", **ukuqhatha** "to cheat", **ukuxhela** "to slaughter".



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The voiceless ejective nasalized clicks **nk̥c**, **nk̥q** and **nk̥x** started by being written as **nc**, **nq** and **nx** as in **incani** "marksman", **ukunqonqoza** "to knock", **inxaso** "sustenance". After that period ejection was by means of a dot placed above the prenasalized clicks; for example, **inċani** "marksman", **inq̣ayi** "bald head", **inx̣aso** "sustenance". At present ejection of the clicks is marked by placing **k** between the nasal and the click as in the following examples: **inkcani** "marksman", **inkqayi** "bald head", **inkxaso** "sustenance".

The nasalized voiced clicks **ngc**, **ngq** and **ngx** were once represented as **nc**, **nq** and **nx** as in the following examples: **ukuncola** "to be dirty", **ukunqina** "to witness", **ukunxama** "to be in a hurry". This means that during this period there was no difference between the writing of the nasalized voiced clicks and the

voiced prenasalized clicks. Thereafter the writing of these clicks was by means of the breathing-mark placed above the vowel which follows the prenasalized click as in the following examples: **incúka** "hyena", **inqúumbo** "wrath", **inxáki** "problem". These clicks were also written as **nch**, **nqh** and **nxh** as in **incha** "grass", **inqholowa** "wheat", **inxhowa** "sack". The current representation of these clicks is **ngc**, **ngq** and **ngx**; for example, **ingca** "grass", **ingqolowa** "wheat", **ingxowa** "sack".



5.5 New sounds

In the development of the orthography of isiXhosa new sounds have been acquired. These new sounds are found from the chart of consonants at 5.2.2 which has been derived from the consonants introduced by the Department of Bantu Education in the book entitled **Xhosa Terminology And Orthography No.3** which was published in 1980. These new sounds are the following:

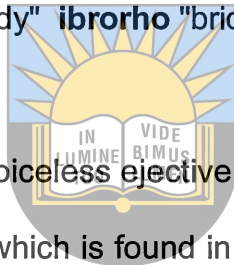
- r** : This is the alveolar roll which occurs only in words borrowed from English; for example, **irula** "ruler", **irabha** "rubber".

The representation of this sound is similar to that of the voiceless velar fricative in the first books of isiXhosa and it plays an important role in the formation of the other new borrowed sounds as will be seen.

pr : This is the voiceless ejective bilabial explosive followed by the alveolar roll which is found in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English; for example, **iprayimasi** "primus", **imprempu** "chew".

br : This is the devoiced bilabial explosive followed by the alveolar roll which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans, for example, **ibranti** "brandy" **ibrorho** "bridge".

tr : This is the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive followed by the alveolar roll which is found in words borrowed from English; for example, **umatrasi** "mattress", **itreyila** "trailer".



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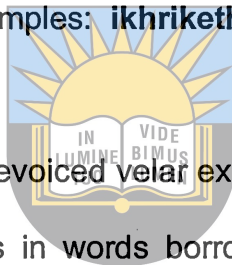
dr : This is the devoiced alveolar explosive followed by the alveolar roll. This sound occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English; for example, **idrati** "fence", **iadresi** "address".

ndr : This is the nasalized voiced alveolar explosive followed by the alveolar roll which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans; for example, **unondrubhatyi** "waistcoat", **ukundrondroza** "to idle".

kr : This is the voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English as in the following examples: **ikriva** "wheelbarrow", **uKrestu** "Christ".

The writing of this sound can be confused with that of the voiceless ejective velar affricate which is also **kr** as in words such as **ubukrakra** "bitterness" and **isikrokro** "dissatisfaction".

khr : This is the aspirated velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll. This sound occurs in words borrowed from English as in the following examples: **ikhrikethi** "cricket", **ikhrashi** "samp".



gr : This is the devoiced velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll which occurs in words borrowed from English; for example, **igrabile** "gravel", **igrafu** "graph".

The symbol which represents this sound can be taken as the voiced velar fricative in words such as **igrangqa** "brandy" and **ukugrunya** "to bite".

pl : This is the voiceless ejective bilabial explosive followed by the alveolar lateral liquid which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English; for example, **iplanga** "timber", **ipleйти** "plate".

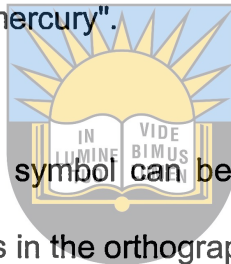
lbh: This is the voiced alveolar lateral sound followed by the devoiced bilabial explosive. This sound is found in words borrowed from

English as in the following example: **ibhalbhu** "bulb".

- bl :** This is the devoiced bilabial explosive followed by the alveolar lateral sound which occurs in words borrowed from English as in the following examples: **ibleki** "brakes", **ibloko** "block".
- gl :** This is the devoiced velar explosive followed by the alveolar lateral sound. This sound is found in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English; for example, **iglas** "glass", **iglu** "glue".
- fl :** This is the voiceless denti-labial fricative followed by the alveolar lateral sound which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English, for example, **iflarha** "load", **iflu** "flu".
- kl :** This is the voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the alveolar lateral sound which occurs in words borrowed from Afrikaans and English; for example, **iklas** "class", **iklimati** "climate".
- ky :** This is the voiceless ejective post-palatal affricate which occurs in words borrowed from English as in the following example: **isekyula** "circular".

The symbol **k** in this sound can be replaced by **t** in order for this sound to be taken as **ty**, which already exists in the orthography of isiXhosa as the voiceless ejective palatal affricate.

kyh : This is the voiceless aspirated post-palatal affricate. This sound occurs only in words borrowed from English; for example, **imekyhuri** "mercury".



The **k** in this symbol can be replaced by **t** to form **tyh**, which already exists in the orthography of isiXhosa.

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The introduction of the new sounds in the orthography of isiXhosa is of very great importance because the standard of the orthography of this language should be equal to that of English.

5.6 The effect of the current isiXhosa orthography on literature

To enable us to see if the introduction of the current isiXhosa orthography has significant effect on literature, the sound symbols which used to change and the newly acquired sounds have to be observed.

First of all it should be noted that although the Xhosa Terminology And Orthography No.3 , the book in which the current orthography of isiXhosa has

been introduced by the Xhosa Language Committee, was published in 1972 and again in 1980, there is no difference in its content whatsoever. Therefore the isiXhosa literature published after this period has to be observed.

It is interesting to know whether people do in fact adhere to the present orthography or not. This knowledge will be revealed by examining the state of the orthography of isiXhosa literature from 1972 onwards.



Mtywaku (1972: 14) has written in the following way:

Khangela, ikubethile kwiZibalo nakwiJografi

**Kodwa eyona nto ndiyithandayo kuni
ngumoya wenkuphiswano.**

"Look, she has beaten you in Arithmetic
and in Geography. But the thing that I
like most about you is the competitive spirit".

The above extract indicates that the writer has written according to the current orthography because in it aspiration is marked by **h** as in **ph**, **th** and **kh**. The bilabial implosive is written as **b**. Again the writer has used **gr**, which is one of the new sounds in the orthography of isiXhosa, namely the devoiced velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll.

Other people, too, who have adhered to the new orthography. For instance in Qangule (1974: 19) there are the following words which are written according to the new orthography:

**Undikhumbuza ugqirha ofika umguli
seletshabile.**

"You remind me of a doctor who arrives
when a sick person has already died".

In the above extract the voiceless velar fricative **rh** and the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh** are written according to the current orthography of isiXhosa.



It is interesting to note that although more or less all the isiXhosa literature published after 1972 has used the new symbol for the writing of the voiceless velar fricative **rh**, Sinxo (1980: 6) has written it in the following way:

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Taru, taru, mfazi

"Forgive me, forgive me, wife"

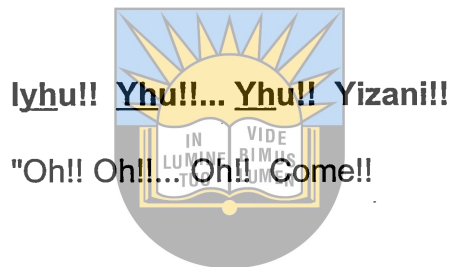
In the above extract it seems as if the writer was not aware of the new symbol for the voiceless velar fricative **rh** as according to him it is still **r**.

There is another sound whose symbol Sinxo has not written according to the new orthography. This sound is the murmured palatal **yh**. He has written this sound on page 101 of his book as the voiced palatal semi-vowel **y** in the following sentence:

Yini! yini, mntakabawo

"Why! why, my father's child"

Although Sinxo has done this, there are other writers who have written this murmured palatal **yh** according to the new orthography. For instance Bongela (1982: 21) writes this sound as follows:



In the above extract there is a difference between the writing of the murmured palatal and the voiced palatal semi-vowel.

There are writers who have appreciated the introduction of the new sounds in isiXhosa orthography. Thus in Dazela (1984: 14) there is the use of the new sound **tr** as in the following sentence:

**Wabethelwa ucingo uNomeva kusithiwa
 makalindele unyana wakhe okhweliswe
 ngeendleko zefektri.**

"Nomeva was phoned and told to wait for her son who was being transported by the factory's expenses".

Again in Sigcu and Yiba (1984: 2) there is the use of the new sound **r** as in the following sentence:

**Ngenye imini kwagaleleka kuloo garaji
isininhanha...**

"One day there came to that garage a
wealthy man..."



Sigcu and Yiba have also used the new sound **kl**, which is the voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the alveolar lateral sound, on page 5 of their book as in the following sentence:

**... ndisoloko ndiqhuba kakuhle kwiimviwo
zeklasi yam...**

"I always perform well in the examinations
of my class..."

On page 7 of their book these writers have used the new sound **dr** in the following sentence:

Uyayibhala iadresi yakho


"You write your address"

In conclusion, it would seem that most people do in fact adhere to the present orthography of isiXhosa as it does not pose any problems to readers.

5.7 Retention of the old orthography

The old orthography is still retained in the hymnbook of the Wesleyans of South Africa.

Although this hymnbook was published as early as 1926, it is still the only one that is used by all the Wesleyans of South Africa. In it there are still some sound symbols which are no longer used in the new isiXhosa orthography. Some of these symbols are *ḡ*, *ḣ* and *tḣh* and they can be found on page 17 of this hymnbook in hymn 14 verses 1 and 3, which read as follows:


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1. **Thixo, akunangqaleko;
Thixo akunangqibeko;
Ukho eendaweni zonke,
Ukho ngamaxeḣa onke.**

3. **Zoda zigqibeke zonke,
Kuthi tḣhaḣalala konke;
Uḣe Wena ungapheli,
Uḣe Wena usahleli.**

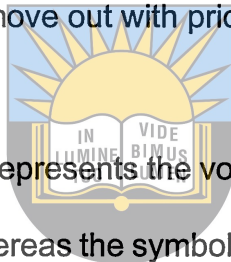
1. "God, you have no beginning;
God, you have no end;
You are present in all places,
You are present all the time.

3. They will all be finished,
They will all die;
You will not disappear
You will remain alive.

All these symbols are derived from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Other symbols which are not found in the new orthography but found in this hymnbook are **kɿ** and **tʃ** as they appear on page 104 hymn 127 verse 2 as follows:

Uphuma nekɿratʃi...

"You move out with pride"...



The symbol **tʃ** which here represents the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate is derived from the IPA, whereas the symbol **kɿ**, which represents the voiceless ejective velar affricate, is not an IPA symbol.

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In this hymnbook on page 143 hymn 178 verse 1 there is the following sentence:

Taru, taru, nKosi!

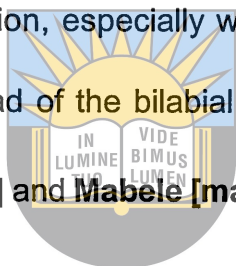
"Forgive me, forgive, Lord".

In the above extract the symbol **r** has been used to represent the voiceless velar fricative. This symbol is not found in the IPA.

Also in this extract there is the capitalization of the velar explosive **k** in the nasal compound to represent the Deity. In the new orthography of isiXhosa capitalization of this word is as follows: **Nkosi** "Lord".

The old orthography is still retained in the writing of certain personal names which include the symbols **p**, **t**, **k** and **b** which are now accompanied by **h** in the new orthography; for example, there are personal names like **uPapama**, **uTanduxolo**, **uKolekile**, **uNomabaso**, **uMpati**, **uMtati**, **uKuselo** and **uMbadi**.

The omission of **h** in the writing of some of the personal names can create a problem in their pronunciation, especially when the symbol **b** represents the bilabial implosive [ɓ] instead of the bilabial explosive [b] as in the following examples, **Mabele** [maɓeɓe] and **Mabele** [mabeɓe], **Mabelana** [maɓelana] and **Mabelana** [mabelana].



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What is taking place in the writing of the place names is the same as is taking place in the writing of the personal names; for example, **ePumlani**, **eMkubiso**, **kwaMabongo**.

This type of writing is found in Zwelitsha, where Griffiths Mxenge College, which was founded in 1978, is written as **IKholeji yoqeqesho Lwee Titshala** "The College of The Training of Teachers".

What is noted in the writing of the name of the above college is the separation of **lwee** "of" from **titshala** "teachers" although according to the 1980 new orthography of isiXhosa this should be written as **LweeTitshala** "of the teachers". The reason why this word is written as one is that the possessive

concord in isiXhosa a word is joined to the noun because of the influence of vowel juxtaposition.

The way this word is written shows that the writing of this language was not taken seriously by certain people, who wrote it as they wished even though there were already guidelines for them to follow.

The disjunctive writing of the word **Lwee Titshala** "of the teachers" might have been the result of the influence of English where the preposition "of" is separated from the noun.



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5.8 Conclusion

In the current isiXhosa orthography the five vowels have not undergone any changes in their sound representation.

Concerning the consonants it can be stated that each sound is represented by its own distinct symbol except the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **tsh** and the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **tsh**, which are represented by the same symbols as has been seen.

The introduction of the new sounds has caused the sound representation of the voiced velar fricative **gr** to be similar to that of **gr** which is the devoiced velar

explosive followed by the alveolar roll. It has also caused the sound representation of the voiceless ejective velar affricate **kr** to be similar to that of the new sound **kr** which is the voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll.

Finally, the use of **h** in the current orthography of isiXhosa has played a major role in the marking of the aspirated and the murmured sounds. This has eliminated the use of diacritics in the writing of this language.



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CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Conclusion



As the aim of this study has been to trace the orthographical development of isiXhosa through various stages from 1824 to its present form, it has been found that there have been some changes in the writing of this language.

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First of all it has been noticed that orthography generally is based on picture writing, which developed to cuneiform writing, which in turn developed to hieroglyphics, which ultimately developed to the alphabet. The sound symbols are derived from the alphabet.

As the writing of isiXhosa came after the writing of English, which is based on the Roman alphabet, John Bennie as the first person to put isiXhosa into writing used the English alphabet as this was the language he spoke.

It has been noticed that since Bennie used the English sounds in the writing of isiXhosa, there were certain sounds in isiXhosa which had to be represented by the same sound symbol as these are two different languages. For instance, in

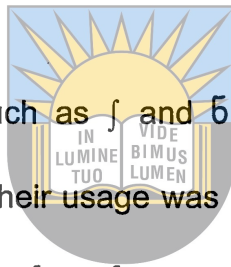
isiXhosa the voiced bilabial plosives are divided into an implosive, e.g. **b** as in **ububele** "kindness", and the explosives, e.g. **bh** as in **ukubhala** "to write" and **mb** as in **imbumba** "compound", whereas in English there are only voiced bilabial explosives, e.g. **b** as in **buy** and **mb** as in **combine**. In Bennie's writing therefore there was no difference between the representation of the voiced bilabial implosive [ɓ] and that of the partially voiced bilabial explosive [b̥]; for example, a word like **bambhala** "they wrote him/her" was written as **bambala** "they wrote him/her". This led to the use of a diacritic in order to distinguish between the writing of the implosive and that of the explosive as this at times led to a change in meaning. For instance in the above example, the word which is written as **bambala** "they wrote him/her" may mean "they counted him/her". To avoid this confusion the diacritic was used as follows: **bambála** "they wrote him/her".

This diacritic was also used in differentiating between the writing of the ejective and the aspirated sounds as in the following examples: **intshatshéli** "champion", **intotóviyane** "locust", **isikókelo** "guidance" **ukupútúma** "to bring back", etc.

Another diacritic which was also used in making a distinction between the writing of a fricative and that of an affricate was the one which was in the form of a dot as in the following example: **ř**. For instance, as the voiceless velar fricative was written as **r** as in **ukuruqa** "to drag", the voiceless ejective velar affricate was

written as **ĩrele** "sword".

After the introduction of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), the use of the diacritics was stopped and replaced by the use of the IPA symbols as in the following examples: **ḃambala** "they wrote him/her", **intʃatʃheli** "champion", **intothoviyane** "locust", **isikhokelo** "guidance", **ikrele** "sword", etc.



Since the IPA symbols such as **ʃ** and **ḃ** were not found in some of the typewriters of that period, their usage was stopped. Therefore the voiceless prepalatals were written as before; for example, **ʃ** became **sh**, **tʃ** became **tsh**, **tʃh** became **tsh** as in the following words: **ʃuʃu** became **shushu** "hot", **ukutʃixa** became **ukutshixa** "to lock", **ukutʃhaya** became **ukutshaya** "to smoke". As a result, during this period there was no difference between the writing of the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate and that of the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate since they were both represented by the symbol **tsh** just as in the time of John Bennie.

When the IPA symbols were used in the writing of the prepalatals, the writing of the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate was represented by **ts** whilst that of the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate was represented by **tsh** as in the words **tsiba** "jump" and **isitshaba** "crown", but when some of the IPA symbols were no longer used in the writing of isiXhosa, the voiceless aspirated alveolar

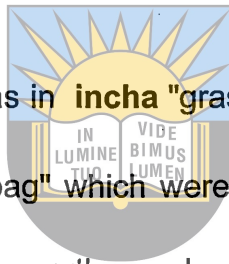
affricate **tsh** as in **isitshaba** "crown" was changed to **ths** because there was no difference between the writing of the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate, the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate as they were both represented by **tsh**.

When the writing of the voiced bilabial implosive was changed from **ɓ** to **b**, it became necessary for the partially voiced bilabial explosive to be changed from **b** to **bh** as there would be no difference between its representation and that of the implosive as they would both be written as **b**. At present therefore there is no difference between the writing of the voiced bilabial implosive and that of the fully voiced bilabial explosive which occurs in the nasal compound as in the following examples: **ubumbano** "unity", **ukubamba** "to catch", **bamba** "they stole him/her".

As the murmured nasals were written as the voiced nasals, which are **n** and **m**, it became necessary that they should be written as **nh** and **mh** as in the words **isinhanha** "a rich person" and **ukumhomha** "to finish drinking speedily with the original container".

As there used to be no difference between the writing of the voiced semi-vowels **y** and **w** and that of the murmured semi-vowels, it became necessary that the murmured semi-vowels should be written as **yh** as in **yhini** "why" and as **wh** as in **whowu** "wow".

During the development of the orthography of isiXhosa some new borrowed words from Afrikaans and English were introduced. This led to the introduction of the following new sounds: **pr, pl, br, dr, tr, kr, khr, gl, gr, fl**, as in **iprayimasi** "primus", **iplanga** "timber", **ibranti** "brandy", **unondrubhatyi** "waistcoat", **itreyla** "trailer", **ukukrama** "to bolt", **ikhrikethi** "cricket", **iglu** "glue", **igrabile** "gravel", **iflu** "flu".



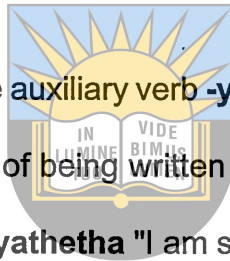
The click consonants **nch** as in **incha** "grass", **nqh** as in **inqholowa** "wheat" and **nxh** as in **inxhowa** "bag" which were used in the early books are not included in the current isiXhosa orthography. They have been replaced by **ngc**, **ngq** and **ngx** as in **ingcinga** "thought", **ingqele** "cold" and **ingxolo** "noise".

Concerning a word in isiXhosa, it has been described as being mainly polysyllabic as most of the words of this language are made up of a prefix, a stem and a suffix, as in the following examples: **amakhosikazi** "women", **umlambokazi** "a big river", **abantwana** "children" etc. Again a word in this language has been said to be monosyllabic as well as disyllabic as it is formed of a stem only, as in the following examples: **ke** "then", **phi** "where", **gqi** "appear", **thatha** "take", **lala** "sleep", **funa** "want" etc.

Concerning word-division, John Bennie's syllabic form of writing, as in **in ko mo** "cattle", developed to the disjunctive form of writing where the prefix was written separately from the stem as in **uku thetha** "to speak". Thereafter the

conjunctive way of writing was introduced where the prefix was joined to the stem as in **ukuthetha** "to speak".

The joining of the future tense to the verb stem as in **ndizakuhamba** "I shall go" was stopped. It was written separately as in the following examples: **ndiza kuhamba** "I shall go", **niza kufunda** "you will study".



The disjunctive writing of the auxiliary verb **-ya-** in the long form was done away with. For example, instead of being written as **ndiya thetha** "I am speaking", it came to be written as **ndiyathetha** "I am speaking".

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The conjunctive way of writing the demonstrative as in **elolitye** "that stone" was stopped. The demonstrative came to be written disjunctively as in **eso sitya** "that dish".

The vocative word **ndini** "you" was joined to the noun at first by means of a hyphen as in **mfazi-ndini** "you woman". Currently it is joined to the noun without the use of the hyphen as in the word **mfazindini** "you woman" and it is referred to as the vocative suffix.

Concerning capitalization, there was never any change in the capitalization of the first letter at the beginning of a sentence. There was also no difference in the capitalization of the first letter of personal names and place names. The

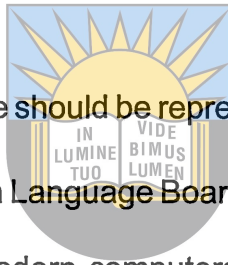
change was only in the capitalization of the Deity in the nasal compound. For instance in the early books the word **inkosi** "chief", when it referred to the Deity, is written as **inKosi** "Lord". Currently, to show the Deity this word is written as **iNkosi** "Lord". Capitalization in the clan names of women is doubled; for example, **uMamTshawe**, **uMamKhomanzi**, **uMaDosini**.

Concerning the hyphen, it is used optionally in compound words and duplicated stems in **umhlali-ngaphambili** "chairperson", **umsebenzi-mgodini** "mineworker". It is also used to indicate a long-drawn-out syllable, for example, **si-i-i-!** "hey". It is also used to prevent unnecessary doubling of the vowels as in **i-ink** "ink", **ama-apile** "apples", and in the prefixing of the concords to figures as in **ama-30** "thirty", **wesi-7** "seventh".

6.2 Recommendations

Despite the need for each sound to be represented by its own symbol, there are still instances in the current orthography of isiXhosa in which different sounds are represented by the same symbol. For instance, although in the current orthography there are three voiced bilabial plosives, namely the voiced bilabial implosive, the partially voiced bilabial explosive and the fully voiced bilabial explosive which occurs in the nasal compound, there are two symbols which are used in their representation. The partially voiced bilabial explosive is represented by **bh**, while the voiced bilabial implosive and the fully voiced

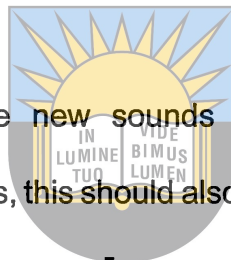
bilabial explosive which occurs in the nasal compound are both represented by **b**; for example, **umbhali** "a writer", **umbuzo** "question", **imbumba** "compound". Now that there is only one symbol for the two different sounds, the present symbol, **b**, should be used only for the representation of the fully voiced bilabial explosive which occurs in the nasal compound, e.g. **imbali** "history", **ukumbombozela** "to grumble" etc.



The voiced bilabial implosive should be represented by the IPA symbol **ɓ**, which was once used by the Xhosa Language Board, now that the IPA symbols are no longer a problem for the modern computers which are used for printing, e.g. **umɓuzo** "question", **umɓono** "vision", **ukubaleka** "to run" etc.

Again, because at present there is no difference between the sound representation of the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **[tʃʼ]** and the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate **[tʃʰ]** as they are both represented by **tsh**, the IPA symbol **[tʃ]** should be used. Thus the voiceless prepalatal fricative, which is represented by **sh**, should be represented by **ʃ** as in **ukuʃiya** "to leave", the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate **[tʃʼ]**, which is represented by **tsh**, should be represented by **tʃ** as in **tʃixa** "lock", and the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate, which is represented by **tsh**, should be represented by **tʃʰ** as in **ukutʃhaya** "to smoke".

The symbol **tsh** should be used in the representation of the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate as in the word **isitshab̩a** "crown", as the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate is represented by **ts** as in **tsala** "pull". The symbol **ths**, which represents the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate at present, should be eliminated as there will be no need for the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate **[ts^h]** to be represented by both **tsh** and **ths**.

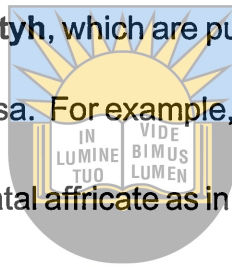


As the introduction of the new sounds has caused a similarity in the representation of two sounds, this should also be resolved. For instance, where both the voiced velar fricative **[ɣ]** and the partially voiced velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll **[gr]** are currently represented by **gr**, this symbol should be used only in the representation of the partially voiced velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll **[gr]** as in **igrabile** "gravel". The symbol for the voiced velar fricative should be **grh** as in the word **igrhangqa** "brandy". This symbol was once suggested by the Xhosa Language Committee for the representation of this fricative.

Further, where the voiceless ejective velar affricate and the voiceless ejective velar explosive followed by the alveolar roll **[kʳ]** are both represented by **kr**, this symbol should be used only in the representation of the latter sound as in the word **ukukrama** "to bolt". The former sound should be represented by the symbol **krh** as in the word **ikrhele** "sword". This symbol was also once

suggested by the Xhosa Language Committee before the introduction of the current orthography of isiXhosa.

The two new sounds namely **ky**, which is the voiceless ejective post-palatal affricate as in the word **isekyula** "circular", and **kyh**, the voiceless aspirated post-palatal affricate as in the word **imekyhuri** "mercury", should be written as the palatal affricates **ty** and **tyh**, which are pure isiXhosa sounds already known in the orthography of isiXhosa. For example, **ky** should be changed to **ty**, which is the voiceless ejective palatal affricate as in **isetyula** "circular", and **kyh** should be changed to **tyh**, which is the voiceless aspirated palatal affricate as in the word **imetyhuri** "mercury".



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Concerning the vocative word **ndini** "you", there is no need for it to be joined to the noun as is being done currently because it can stand as an independent word without doing any harm.

This dissertation may be concluded with the strong recommendation that since isiXhosa has now been designated as one of the official languages in South Africa, and as it is going to be used by different nations, its orthography should be up to standard.

The standard of the orthography of this language depends on the co-operation of all the people who have an interest in its development.

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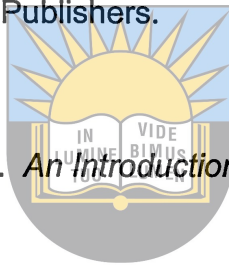
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