

# The Importance of “Weak” vs. “Strong Nouns” in Learning and Teaching Bantu Languages

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## 1. Introduction.

Several years ago when I was first introduced to a Bantu language, Sotho (Sesotho), I came across a description of weak and strong nouns. At the time, I assumed it was some relic of mid-19th century grammatical description, and probably had little relevance to a “modern”<sup>1</sup> description of the language. As a consequence my Sotho grammar (Zorc & Mokabe 1998) did not give the phenomenon any attention.<sup>2</sup> However, as my studies progressed into Xhosa, I began to see how important this distinction was for variations in nominal and pronominal inflection. We will take a brief look at Xhosa in §2.

Noun classes can, of course, be distinguished by many criteria, one of which is the phonological makeup of their prefixes. Some with vowels (**i-**, **u-**, **a-**), some with nasals (**m-**, **n-**), and others with stop or sibilant consonants (**b**, **k**, **r**, **s**, **z**, etc.). What is important is that there are SYSTEMATIC DIFFERENCES, i.e., that literally apply across the entire system of inflection. Forms that agree with classes having vowel or nasal prefixes (or a combination, such as **umu-**, **ama-**) behave quite differently from those which have a thematic consonant (e.g., **aba-**, **iki-** / **isi-**, **izi-**, **ubu-**, **uku-**, etc.). In descriptions, both recent and archaic, of Sotho, Xhosa, and Zulu (Southern Bantu languages), the former have been called “weak,” while the latter “strong.”

More recently, I have been working on Rwanda (Kinyarwanda) and Rundi (Kirundi) and note that textbooks and grammars resort to some rather tortuous explanations of why certain classes of nouns get various tone patterns or inflectional changes. What is going on in these cases is absolutely parallel with the Southern Bantu system, and it should benefit both students and teachers of these and other Bantu languages to be aware of it. I have not seen any published treatment using this descriptive mnemonic for either Rwanda or Rundi. Nevertheless, subject agreement forms, possessive markers, number affixes, and the entire demonstrative (deictic) system differ along these lines. This will be discussed in §3.

What is even more fascinating and relevant for the Rwandi-Rundi system is that pronouns also carry this distinction, so that there are varying subject and object agreement

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<sup>1</sup> Read: useful or student-friendly. The rejection was justified for Sotho (where the phenomenon occurs, but has only minor pedagogical impact). On the other hand it is extremely helpful in coming to grips with complex Xhosa, Zulu, and Rwanda-Rundi grammatical phenomena.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of Sotho this was no significant loss and I was in good company; none of the major authors employed this contrast in either their grammars or textbooks, e.g., DeMuth & Sekhesa (1978), Doke & Mofokeng (1967), Emslie (1983), Guma (1971), Paroz (1946), Sharpe (1980). I regret that I do not have the citation for the Sotho distinction; it was in a turn-of-the-century grammar (c.1892-1912) through which I was browsing at the Library of Congress.

forms, dependent vs. independent past forms, and preterit (perfect) forms which behave like corresponding strong or weak nouns.

Finally, there are two homographic classes marked with the prefix **umu-** (class 1 or group 1 singular as opposed to class 18 / group 12 locative). The former has a weak **-m-**, which is lost in subject agreement forms, demonstratives, etc., while the latter has a strong **-m-**, which is kept as a cluster (**mw-**) in demonstratives.

## 2. Strong vs. Weak Noun Classes in Xhosa.

If a Xhosa noun prefix consists of a single vowel or if it has a nasal, then it is called a weak noun, and follows different rules from the strong class nouns.<sup>3</sup> These result in shorter prefixes or agreement forms, a factor which applies across the entire Xhosa grammatical system. This affects subject agreement in that only the vowel (or article) survives – the nasal is lost. In possessive forms agreeing with nouns of class 1a, everything is lost, leaving only the marker **ka** with zero agreement. The relative agreement forms are the result of fusion with the relative marker **a-** (so that **a + u > o**, **a + i > e**, **a + a > a**). The first position demonstrative pronouns involve a unique or fossilized **l-** prefix plus the relative form. Meanwhile, the formation of predicative locatives consists of a **nan-** prefix and final class-related thematic vowel in common, with a complex series of intervening consonants (i.e., they irregularly become strong). Thus:

**Table 1. Weak Nouns in Xhosa**

WEAK	PREFIX	SUBJ	N1A-SG- POSS	REL/ATR	DEIC-1	PRED LOC	COP
n1-sg	<b>um-</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>o-</b>	<b>lo</b>	<b>nanku</b>	<b>ngum-</b>
n1a-sg	<b>u-</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>o-</b>	<b>lo</b>	<b>nanku</b>	<b>ngu-</b>
n2-sg	<b>um-</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>o-</b>	<b>lo</b>	<b>nangu</b>	<b>ngum-</b>
n2-pl	<b>imi-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>e-</b>	<b>le</b>	<b>nantsi</b>	<b>yimi-</b>
n3-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>la</b>	<b>nanga</b>	<b>ngama-</b>
n5-sg	<b>iN-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>Øka-</b>	<b>e-</b>	<b>le</b>	<b>nanzi</b>	<b>yin-</b>

In contrast, a strong noun has a consonant within its prefix (n1a-pl, **oo-**, was originally or historically **\*aboo-**). Note how each tends to keep its shape (i.e., its characteristic class marker) intact throughout the system. The only exceptions are the copulative forms of n1-pl and n1a-pl, which start with **ng-** (**ngaba-**, **ngoo-**); the other copulatives simply reduplicate or echo the class marker (**bubu-**, **kuku-**, **sisi-**, **zizi-**).

<sup>3</sup> Found in virtually all Xhosa textbooks and grammars, past and present, e.g.: McLaren-Welsh 1939:26, Jordan 1966:56, Einhorn & Siyengo 1990:17, Pinnock 1994:101, Dowling 1998:36f.

**Table 2. Strong Nouns in Xhosa**

STRONG	PREFIX	SUBJ	N1A-SG- POSS	REL/ATR	DEIC-1	PRED LOC	COP
n1-pl	<b>aba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>baka-</b>	<b>aba-</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>naba</b>	<b>ngaba-</b>
n1a-pl	<b>oo-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>baka-</b>	<b>aba-</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>naba</b>	<b>ngoo-</b>
n3-sg	<b>ili-</b>	<b>li-</b>	<b>lika-</b>	<b>eli-</b>	<b>eli</b>	<b>nali</b>	<b>lili-</b>
n4-sg	<b>isi-</b>	<b>si-</b>	<b>sika-</b>	<b>esi-</b>	<b>esi</b>	<b>nasi</b>	<b>sis-</b>
n4-pl	<b>izi-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zika-</b>	<b>ezi-</b>	<b>ezi</b>	<b>nazi</b>	<b>zizi-</b>
n5-pl	<b>iziN-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zika-</b>	<b>ezi-</b>	<b>ezi</b>	<b>nazi</b>	<b>zizi-</b>
n6-sg	<b>ulu-</b>	<b>lu-</b>	<b>luka-</b>	<b>olu-</b>	<b>olu</b>	<b>nalulu</b>	<b>lulu-</b>
n6-pl	<b>izi-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zika-</b>	<b>ezi-</b>	<b>ezi</b>	<b>nazi</b>	<b>zizi-</b>
n7-sg	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>buka-</b>	<b>obu-</b>	<b>obu</b>	<b>nabu</b>	<b>bubu-</b>
n8-vn	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kuka-</b>	<b>oku-</b>	<b>oku</b>	<b>naku</b>	<b>kuku-</b>
n9-loc	<b>pha-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kuka-</b>	<b>oku-</b>	<b>oku</b>	<b>naku</b>	<b>kupha-</b>
n10-loc	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kuka-</b>	<b>oku-</b>	<b>oku</b>	<b>naku</b>	<b>kuku-</b>

### 3. Strong vs. Weak Noun Classes in Rwanda.

If a noun prefix consists of a single vowel or if it has a weak nasal, then it is called a WEAK NOUN, and follows different rules from strong nouns. One must draw a distinction between a WEAK **m** vs. a STRONG **m**. The former (in n1-sg, n2-sg, n3-pl, n8-pl, and n9-pl) will be lost; the latter (in n12-loc and pro-2pl) will be retained, or strengthened further with the cluster **mw**. Weak forms result in shorter prefixes or agreement forms, and sometimes in a different tone pattern, a factor which applies across the entire Rwanda-Rundi grammatical system. This affects subject agreement in that only the class vowel (article or augment) survives – any nasal is lost). In the possessive, one of two semivowels appear, forms with **u** become **w**, forms with **i** or **a** become **y**. The first position demonstrative pronouns involve an echo vowel and a semivowel. Meanwhile, the second position demonstratives are formed from the class vowel, a semivowel, and the vowel root **-o**. The first position affective or emphatic demonstrative has high tone on the final syllable (whereas in the strong classes it is on the penult). The third position demonstrative has a high tone on the first of the long vowels. See Table 3.

**Table 3. Weak Nouns in Rwanda**

GROUP	prefix	subj	poss	num	deic -1	deic1- emph +2	deic1 +2	deic-2	deic-3
n1-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>wa waa</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>uyu</b>	<b>unó</b>	<b>urya</b>	<b>uwo</b>	<b>uríiya</b>
n1a-sg	<b>Ø-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>wa waa</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>uyu</b>	<b>unó</b>	<b>urya</b>	<b>uwo</b>	<b>uríiya</b>
n2-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>wa waa</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>uyu</b>	<b>unó</b>	<b>urya</b>	<b>uwo</b>	<b>uríiya</b>
n2-pl	<b>imi-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>iyi</b>	<b>inó</b>	<b>iryá</b>	<b>iyo</b>	<b>iríiya</b>
n3-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>aya</b>	<b>anó</b>	<b>arya</b>	<b>ayo</b>	<b>aríiya</b>
n5-sg	<b>iN-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>iyi</b>	<b>inó</b>	<b>iryá</b>	<b>iyo</b>	<b>iríiya</b>
n8-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>aya</b>	<b>anó</b>	<b>arya</b>	<b>ayo</b>	<b>aríiya</b>
n9-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>aya</b>	<b>anó</b>	<b>arya</b>	<b>ayo</b>	<b>aríiya</b>

In contrast, a STRONG NOUN has a consonant (stop or strong nasal) within its prefix. Note how each tends to keep its shape (i.e., its characteristic class marker) intact throughout the system. There are only two exceptions: the n3-sg has a thematic consonant **r-** which does not appear in the prefix (**i-**) and n5-pl/n6-pl has a thematic consonant **z-** which also does not appear in the prefix (**iN-**). Note that the irregularity is actually in the class prefix (where the consonant is lost), not in the various derivations, which retain the consonant. The first position affective or emphatic demonstrative has high tone on the penultimate syllable (whereas in the weak classes it is on the final syllable). Note also that the third position demonstrative has a high tone on the second of the long vowels, as well as on its first (thematic) syllable. See Table 4.

**Table 4. Strong Nouns in Rwanda**

GROUP	prefix	subj	poss	num	deic-1	deic1-emph	deic1+2	deic-2	deic-3
n1-pl	<b>aba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>báa</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>báno</b>	<b>barya</b>	<b>abo</b>	<b>báriíya</b>
n1a-pl	<b>ba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>báa</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>báno</b>	<b>barya</b>	<b>abo</b>	<b>báriíya</b>
n3-sg	<b>i-</b>	<b>ri-</b>	<b>ryáa</b>	<b>ri-</b>	<b>iri</b>	<b>ríno</b>	<b>riryá</b>	<b>iryó</b>	<b>ríriíya</b>
n4-sg	<b>iki-</b>	<b>ki-</b>	<b>cyáa</b>	<b>ki-</b>	<b>iki</b>	<b>kíno</b>	<b>kiryá</b>	<b>icyó</b>	<b>kíriíya</b>
n4-pl	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>bi-</b>	<b>byáa</b>	<b>bi-</b>	<b>ibi</b>	<b>bíno</b>	<b>biryá</b>	<b>ibyó</b>	<b>bíriíya</b>
n5-pl	<b>iN-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>záa</b>	<b>eCC-</b>	<b>izi</b>	<b>zíno</b>	<b>zirya</b>	<b>izo</b>	<b>zíriíya</b>
n6-sg	<b>uru-</b>	<b>ru-</b>	<b>rwáa</b>	<b>ru-</b>	<b>uru</b>	<b>rúno</b>	<b>ruryá</b>	<b>urwo</b>	<b>rúriíya</b>
n6-pl	<b>iN-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>záa</b>	<b>eCC-</b>	<b>izi</b>	<b>zíno</b>	<b>zirya</b>	<b>izo</b>	<b>zíriíya</b>
n7-sg	<b>aka-</b>	<b>ka-</b>	<b>káa</b>	<b>ka-</b>	<b>aka</b>	<b>káno</b>	<b>karya</b>	<b>ako</b>	<b>káriíya</b>
n7-pl	<b>utu-</b>	<b>tu-</b>	<b>twáa</b>	<b>tu-</b>	<b>utu</b>	<b>túno</b>	<b>turyá</b>	<b>utwo</b>	<b>túriíya</b>
n8-sg	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>bwáa</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>ubu</b>	<b>búno</b>	<b>buryá</b>	<b>ubwo</b>	<b>búriíya</b>
n9-sg	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kwáa</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>uku</b>	<b>kúno</b>	<b>kuryá</b>	<b>ukwo</b>	<b>kúriíya</b>
n10-loc	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ha-</b>	<b>háa</b>	<b>ha-</b>	<b>aha</b>	<b>háno</b>	<b>harya</b>	<b>aho</b>	<b>háriíya</b>
n11-loc	<b>ku-</b>		<b>kwáa</b>		<b>uku</b>	<b>kúno</b>	<b>kúrya</b>	<b>uko</b>	<b>kúriíya</b>
n12-loc	<b>mu-</b>		<b>mwáa</b>		<b>umu</b>	<b>múno</b>	<b>múrya</b>	<b>umwo</b>	<b>múriíya</b>
n13-loc	<b>i-</b>		<b>##</b>		<b>##</b>	<b>##</b>	<b>##</b>	<b>##</b>	<b>##</b>

Sources: Overdulse 1975:303

This distinction also applies to the PRONOUNS in that factors of vowel length or tone differ in various inflections between the singular (weak) forms and the plural (strong) forms. See Tables 5 and 6.

**Table 5. Weak Pronouns in Rwanda**

FORM	SUBJECT (S1)	DEP. PAST	IND.PAST	PRETERIT	OBJECT
pro-1sg <i>I</i>	<b>N-, m-, ny-</b>	<b>na-</b>	<b>naa-</b>	<b>na-</b>	<b>-n-, -m-, -ny-</b>
pro-2sg <i>you</i>	<b>u-, w-</b>	<b>wa-</b>	<b>waa-</b>	<b>wa-</b>	<b>-ku-, -gu-, -kw-</b>
pro-3sg ( <i>she</i> )	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya-</b>	<b>yaa-</b>	<b>ya-</b>	<b>-mu-, -mw-</b>

**Table 6. Strong Pronouns in Rwanda**

FORM	SUBJECT (S1)	DEP. PAST	IND.PAST	PRETERIT	OBJECT
pro-1pl <i>we</i>	<b>tu-, tw-, du-</b>	<b>twaa-</b>		<b>twaá-</b>	<b>-tu-, -du-, -tw-</b>
pro-2pl <i>you</i>	<b>mu-, mw-</b>	<b>mwaa-</b>		<b>mwaá-</b>	<b>-ba-, -b-</b>
pro-3pl <i>they</i>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>baa-</b>		<b>baá-</b>	<b>-ba-, -b-</b>

While such distinctions may appear to be GRAMMATICAL (i.e., between the singular and the plural), they are actually based upon their PHONOLOGICAL makeup: the weak pronouns, consisting of vowels (**a-**, **u-**) or a weak nasal (**n-**) vs. the strong forms, consisting of stop consonants (**b-**, **t-**), a strong nasal (**m-**), or consonant clusters (**mw-**, **tw-**). Note that the second person singular pronoun irregularly becomes strong in its object forms (it acquires a **k-**, or **g-**).

The following discussion relates to some other areas of Rwanda grammar where this distinction also applies.

In the analysis of type 3 demonstratives (**unó-kíno**), Overdulve [1975:174] states that they are “formed from the thematic cluster *-no* preceded by the pronominal prefix; the prefix carries a morphotoneme which is placed on *-no* when the prefix is monophonic.”<sup>4</sup> Comparison with the DEIC1-EMPH columns in Tables 3 and 4 illustrates their WEAK vs. STRONG nature.

Possessives are based upon three connectives, **-a**, **-aa**, and **-ó**, depending on the type of word that follows. [Overdulve 1975:47f] If a pronoun follows, the vowel will always be long. If a noun follows, the weak vs. strong noun distinction applies. Note that only weak nouns have two possessive forms (short vs. long vowel in Table 3); strong nouns have a single form (with long vowel, high tone on the first in Table 4).

Among many other parts of the verb system, the inflection of the preterit perfect (Tables 7-8) makes more sense if looked at from the weak-strong framework, as demonstrated by the treatment of the negative participial (in Table 9).

**Table 7. Indicative Preterit Perfect Independent Positive**

AGREEMENT	FORMATION	REALIZATION	TYPE
pro-1sg	<b>n-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>narákoze</b>	weak
pro-1pl	<b>tu-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>twaárákóze</b>	strong
pro-2sg	<b>u-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>warákoze</b>	weak
pro-2pl	<b>mu-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>mwaárákóze</b>	strong
n1-sg	<b>a-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>yarákoze</b>	weak
n1-pl	<b>ba-á-ra-Δ-ye</b>	<b>baárákóze</b>	strong

Source: Overdulve 1975:135ff

**Table 8. Indicative Preterit Perfect Negative**

AGREEMENT	FORMATION	REALIZATION	TYPE
pro-1sg	<b>si-n-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>sinakóze</b>	weak
pro-1pl	<b>nti-twa-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>ntitwaákoze</b>	strong
pro-2sg	<b>nti-u-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>ntiwakóze</b>	weak
pro-2pl	<b>nti-mu-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>ntimwaákoze</b>	strong
n1-sg	<b>nti-a-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>ntiyakóze</b>	weak
n1-pl	<b>nti-ba-á-Δ-ye</b>	<b>ntibaákoze</b>	strong

Source: Overdulve 1975:137

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<sup>4</sup> Translation of the French by Steven Harrell of MRM/McNeil.

**Table 9. Formation of the Negative Participial**

AGREEMENT	-geenda ‘go’	-kora ‘work’	TYPE
pro-1sg	<b>ntágeendá</b>	<b>ndákorá</b>	weak
pro-2sg	<b>utágeendá</b>	<b>udákorá</b>	weak
n1-sg	<b>atágeendá</b>	<b>adákorá</b>	weak
pro-1pl	<b>tútageendá</b>	<b>túdakorá</b>	strong
pro-2pl	<b>mútageendá</b>	<b>múdakorá</b>	strong
n1-pl	<b>bátageendá</b>	<b>bádakorá</b>	strong

Sources: Overdulse 1975:156

There is an interrogative co-verb **-te** ‘how?’ which agrees with the head verb. If the prefix is WEAK, the tone falls on the stem **-té**; if the prefix is STRONG, the tone falls on the prefix, as in Table 10.

**Table 10. Interrogative co-verb -te**

AGREEMENT	FORMATION	ENGLISH	TYPE
pro-1sg	<b>nté</b>	how ... I?	weak
pro-1pl	<b>dúte</b>	how ... we?	strong
pro-2sg	<b>uté</b>	how ... you?	weak
pro-2pl	<b>múte</b>	how ... you (all)?	strong
n1-sg	<b>até</b>	how ... he / she?	weak
n1-pl	<b>báte</b>	how ... they?	strong
n2-sg	<b>uté</b>	how ... it?	weak
n2-pl	<b>ité</b>	how ... they?	weak
n3-sg	<b>ríte</b>	how ... it?	strong
n3-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?	weak
n4-sg	<b>gíte</b>	how ... he / she / it?	strong
n4-pl	<b>bíte</b>	how are things? [com- [mon / generic neuter]	strong
n5-sg	<b>ité</b>	how ... he / she / it?	weak
n5-pl	<b>zíte</b>	how ... they?	strong
n6-sg	<b>rúte</b>	how ... it?	strong
n6-pl	<b>zíte</b>	how ... they?	strong
n7-sg	<b>gúte</b>	how ... he / she / it?	strong
n7-pl	<b>dúte</b>	how ... they?	strong
n8-sg	<b>búte</b>	how ... it?	strong
n8-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?	weak
n9-sg	<b>gúte</b>	how ... it?	strong
n9-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?	weak
n10-loc	<b>háte</b>	how ... it (there)?	strong

Sources: Overdulse 1975:140-141,228, Hands 1952:159-160, Dubnova 1984:50

As with many languages, there are two ways of expressing ‘another,’ depending on whether one is talking about ‘another (of the same kind)’ as opposed to ‘another (of a

different kind).<sup>5</sup> Although the root (**-ndi**) is homophonous, there is a difference in both word order and in inflection to express these subtle differences:

- **-ndi** ‘another (of the same kind), the other’ – precedes the noun it qualifies and takes strong vs. weak prefixes; the noun loses its initial vowel [Cf: Hands 1952:198f,263]
- **-ndi** ‘another (of a different kind)’ – follows the noun it qualifies and loses its initial vowel [Cf: Hands 1952:307]

It is only Hands (op.cit.) who draws attention to the semantic differences of this form. Other authors treat them as if they were simply positional variants. [Cf: Hurel 1959:43f, Overdulve 1975:202-203 (§69), 305 (Table II).]

Most significantly, it is only the weak forms that have an alternate short form (see forms marked with † in Table 11).

**Table 11. Enumerative Pronoun ‘Another’**

AGREEMENT	<b>-ndi</b> [same kind] preposed	<b>-ndi</b> [different] postposed
n1-sg	<b>uwuúndi</b> , † <b>undí</b>	<b>wúundi</b>
n1-pl	<b>abaándi</b>	<b>báandi</b>
n2-sg	<b>uwuúndi</b> , † <b>undí</b>	<b>wúundi</b>
n2-pl	<b>iyiíndi</b> , † <b>indí</b>	<b>yíundi</b>
n3-sg	<b>iriíndi</b>	<b>ríundi</b>
n3-pl	<b>ayaándi</b> , † <b>andí</b>	<b>yáandi</b>
n4-sg	<b>ikiíndi</b>	<b>kíundi</b>
n4-pl	<b>ibiíndi</b>	<b>bíundi</b>
n5-sg	<b>iyiíndi</b> , † <b>indí</b>	<b>yíundi</b>
n5-pl	<b>iziíndi</b>	<b>zíundi</b>
n6-sg	<b>uruúndi</b>	<b>rúundi</b>
n6-pl	<b>iziíndi</b>	<b>zíundi</b>
n7-sg	<b>akaándi</b>	<b>káandi</b>
n7-pl	<b>utuúndi</b>	<b>túundi</b>
n8-sg	<b>ubuúndi</b>	<b>búundi</b>
n8-pl	<b>ayaándi</b> , † <b>andí</b>	<b>yáandi</b>
n9-sg	<b>ukuúndi</b>	<b>kúundi</b>
n9-pl	<b>ayaándi</b> , † <b>andí</b>	<b>yáandi</b>
n10-loc	<b>ahaándi</b>	<b>háandi</b>
n11-loc	<b>ukuúndi</b>	<b>kúundi</b>

Sources: ALO:305, ERH:198f,307; GKH:43-44

<sup>5</sup> As an illustration, if I offer someone a menthol cigarette, he may take it, smoke it, and ask for ‘another’ (i.e., another menthol cigarette). On the other hand, he might ask for ‘another,’ i.e., a non-menthol one. In Aklanon (Bisayan, Central Philippines) the differences are **Ea’ín** (different) vs. **ibáh** (same); in Yolngu-Matha (Aboriginal, Northeast Arnhemland, Australia) they are **wiripu** (different) vs. **bulu** (same); in Xhosa (Southern Bantu) they are **-mbi** (different) vs. **-nye** (same).

I hope that from this brief discussion and overview, teachers and students can draw their own mnemonic devices for learning or teaching a Bantu language more effectively and rationally.

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