

A GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TSWANA ADVERBIAL

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

AFRICAN LANGUAGES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

PROMOTER: PROF P M SEBATE

OCTOBER 2007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A special word of thanks and appreciation is hereby extended to:

Prof L J Louwrens, whose guidance and example through the years have been a tremendous source of inspiration. I am grateful to him for the sympathy and encouragement he has always been ready to afford me.

Prof P M Sebate, who, at a very late stage, was willing to help me finalise the study and act as promoter.

Friends and colleagues through whose moral support I was able to persist in this study, especially Prof J S S Shole and Mr M K Mothoagae of the Department of African Languages, University of South Africa.

SUMMARY

Adverbial constructions are a problematic subject in Tswana grammatical studies. Traditionally termed descriptives, it is not clear what the defining features of this category are. It is also a very vast category. There seems to be many different structures functioning as adverbials in Tswana, including particles, words, prepositional phrases and clauses. Tswana grammars in general often have little to say about the syntax of adverbials, in respect of, for instance, the propensity of Tswana adverbials for multiple occurrences in the same clause and the range of possible positions of Tswana adverbials in clause structure. Because of the vastness of the adverbial category we only deal with adverbials as elements of clause structure.

A typical feature of adverbials is the considerable mobility they enjoy in relation to other elements in clause structure which affects their grammatical and semantic status in relation to such elements. By distinguishing different categories of adverbials, in clause structure it becomes clear that the same structural element may function within different adverbial categories. This necessitates a definition of adverbials which is based on their specific semantic functions within clause structure.

The study is divided into five chapters. When dealing with the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana, we realise that it is not sufficiently described. The first two chapters therefore serve as an introduction to central theoretical issues where some relevant research is critically examined and related to the present study. In the next chapter, that is Chapter 3, we establish formal and semantic frameworks for the classification and descriptive treatment of adverbials in Tswana. In Chapter 4 we implement the structural, syntactic and semantic properties as well as the features adverbials have as modifiers to make a functional classification of adverbials in clause structure. The classification of adverbials as adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts from *A Comprehensive grammar of the English language* by Quirk, *et al.* (1985) (CGEL) is taken as the basis for this

classification. Chapter 5 presents the overall conclusions and implications of the study.

KEY TERMS

Tswana, Descriptive, Adverb, Adverbial, Clause Structure, Adjunct, Subjunct, Disjunct, Conjunct.

CONTENTS

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------|
| 1. | THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SOME EXISTING VIEWS | 1 |
|-----------|---|----------|

1.1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.2	OBJECTIVES	2
1.3	RESEARCH METHOD AND SCOPE	2
1.4	THE ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL	4
1.5	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	5
1.5.1	The traditional approach	5
1.5.2	The Dokeian approach	11
1.5.3	The structural approach	19
1.5.4	Modern models	26
1.6	CONCLUSION	38
2.	THE ADVERBIAL AS A CLAUSE ELEMENT	42
2.1	INTRODUCTION	42
2.2	ADVERB VS ADVERBIAL	42
2.3	THE CLAUSE AS A SYNTACTIC UNIT	43
2.4	CLAUSE STRUCTURE	49
2.5	CONCLUSION	62
3.	THE DESCRIPTION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	67
3.1	INTRODUCTION	67
3.2	THE STRUCTURAL REALIZATION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	67
3.2.1	Basic adverbs	68
3.2.2	Words from other word categories used as adverbs	68
3.2.3	Derived adverbs	69
3.2.3.1	Adverbs formed by adding a noun class prefix to an adjective stem	69
3.2.3.2	Adverbials formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem	70
3.2.3.3	Adverbs formed by adding the locative suffix -ng to nouns	70
3.2.3.4	Adverbs formed by adding a preposition to a base	71
3.2.4	Adverbial phrases	73

3.3	THE SYNTAX OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	73
3.3.1	Initial position	75
3.3.2	Medial position	76
3.3.3	End position	79
3.4	THE SEMANTIC ROLES OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	81
3.4.1	Space	81
3.4.2	Time	95
3.4.3	Process	97
3.4.4	Regard	100
3.4.5	Contingency	101
3.4.6	Modality	102
3.4.7	Degree	103
3.5	ADVERBIALS AS MODIFIERS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	104
3.6	THE FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	108
3.7	CONCLUSION	109
4.	THE CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE	115
4.1	INTRODUCTION	115
4.2	ADJUNCTS	115
4.2.1	The identification of adjuncts	115
4.2.2	Subcategories of adjuncts	117
4.2.2.1	Predication adjuncts	117
4.2.2.2	Sentence adjuncts	118
4.2.3	The functional realization of adjuncts	122
4.2.3.1	Adjuncts of space	122
4.2.3.2	Adjuncts of time	123
4.2.3.3	Adjuncts of process	124
4.2.3.4	Adjuncts of regard	126
4.3	SUBJUNCTS	126

4.3.1	The identification of subjuncts	126
4.3.2	Subcategories of subjuncts	127
4.3.3	The functional realization of subjuncts	128
4.3.3.1	Wide orientation	128
4.3.3.2	Narrow orientation	129
4.4	DISJUNCTS	133
4.4.1	The identification of disjuncts	133
4.4.2	Subcategories of disjuncts	133
4.4.2.1	Style disjuncts	133
4.4.2.2	Content disjuncts	134
4.5	CONJUNCTS	135
4.5.1	The identification of conjuncts	135
4.5.2	Subcategories of conjuncts	139
4.5.3	The functional realization of conjuncts	140
4.5.3.1	Listing	140
4.5.3.2	Summative	141
4.5.3.3	Appositional	141
4.5.3.4	Resultive	141
4.5.3.5	Inferential	142
4.5.3.6	Contrastive	142
4.5.3.7	Transitional	143
4.6	CONCLUSION	143
5.	GENERAL CONCLUSION	147
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	153

CHAPTER 1

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SOME EXISTING VIEWS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The adverbial construction is a problematic subject in Tswana grammatical studies for mainly three reasons. Firstly, in Tswana the adverbial category itself is elusive. Traditionally termed descriptives¹, it is not clear what the defining features of this category are, and consequently the borders with neighbouring categories such as substantives, qualificatives and conjunctives² are vague. Secondly, this is a very vast category. There seems to be many different structures functioning as adverbials in Tswana, including particles³, words, prepositional phrases⁴ and clauses. There also seems to exist many semantic types of adverbials in Tswana. These include adverbials of place, time, condition, position, reason, concession, manner, consequence, purpose, degree, duration, restriction and measure⁵. Thirdly, as a partial result of the elusiveness and vastness of the category, Tswana grammars in general often have little to say about the syntax of adverbials, in respect of, for instance, the propensity of Tswana adverbials for multiple occurrence in the same clause and the range of possible positions of Tswana adverbials in clause structure.

Due to the vastness of the adverbial category, this study only deals with adverbials as elements of clause structure. The focus of the study is therefore on adverbs, prepositional phrases and adverbial phrases. Against the background of these introductory remarks, the following preliminary objectives can be formulated for this study.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

- (i) To set defining features for adverbials as elements of clause structure.
- (ii) To describe adverbials as elements of clause structure in respect of structure.
- (iii) To identify the range of possible syntactic positions of Tswana adverbials as elements of clause structure.
- (iv) To explain the propensity of Tswana adverbials as elements of clause structure for multiple occurrence in the same clause.
- (v) To describe the semantic roles fulfilled by adverbials as elements of clause structure.
- (vi) To identify the distinct syntactic functions performed by adverbials as elements of clause structure.
- (vii) To investigate the use of adverbials as elements of clause structure in information processing. In this regard, particular attention will be paid to the role of adverbials as textual connectors.

Although these objectives are to some degree independent of each other, they are also to a large extent interconnected. For example, it is because there are different syntactic functions as well as different structures and semantic roles that we can have more than one adverbial element in a clause. Furthermore, certain structural forms and semantic roles are especially associated with certain syntactic functions and with certain positions in the clause structure. Interactions like these are very important for this study and we frequently draw attention to these aspects.

1.3 RESEARCH METHOD AND SCOPE

This study is a corpus-aided account of native speaker performance across the adverbial domain as attested by authenticated instances of language data. The focus is on surface structure, i.e. syntactic features and actual usage in discourse. The study does not embrace the theory of any one specific school nor does it adopt a particular syntactic theory such as transformational grammar or systemic grammar. The approach is typically eclectic. Given the complexity of the subject

and the vast array of analyses done on adverbials in other languages, we draw on the research of others whose works and findings are considered central.

The language data used for exemplificatory purposes are mainly drawn from the Tswana corpus compiled by myself⁶. This corpus consists of approximately 10,000 words and is mainly based on written texts such as the Bible and an array of literary works as well as newspaper articles and academic writings. Regional varieties of Tswana are included but reference is not made to these differences except where variations in patterns of usage are observed and can only be explained within these contexts.

We examine adverbials as elements of clause structure in accordance with their formal identification and definition, and then consider the syntactic and semantic processes at work when they are used. At a syntactic level, we investigate the distributional properties and frequency of appearance of adverbials within clause structure and explore the implications this has for information processing and textual coherence in Tswana discourse. At a semantic level, our analysis is aimed at clarifying the different semantic roles which can be fulfilled by adverbials.

The study is divided into five chapters. The first two serve as an introduction to central theoretical issues where some relevant research, related to the present study, is critically examined. The next two chapters establish formal and semantic frameworks for the classification and descriptive treatment of adverbials in Tswana. Chapter five presents the overall conclusion and reflects on the wider implications of the study. Each chapter is accompanied by notes which provide further details and references for readers wishing to pursue certain issues in greater depth. An abundance of illustrative material is used throughout the work, and examples are numbered consecutively within each chapter. Tswana examples are printed in bold throughout with highlighted portions underlined.

1.4 THE ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

The Tswana corpus is used as the main source for obtaining illustrative material

for the study.

Two main points can be made about the use of a corpus such as the one on which the investigation is based. Firstly, because the data represent instances of actual language usage, examples gleaned from the corpus are regarded as more reliable than much of the material used up to date, which was all too often the product of introspection⁷. Secondly, the data promote examination of the quantitative and probabilistic features of the language which were all but impossible to research previously. The draw-back of the corpus-based approach is however that one is in danger of not seeing the wood for the trees. Temptation is strong to just label the many instances in the corpus and in doing so lose sight of the system. On the other hand, one needs to be constantly aware of the obvious danger of the "introspective method", i.e. the use of examples of one's own making. In the past, this has often led to a selection of examples that fit the descriptive model which is advocated. We therefore try to avoid the pitfalls of introspection by basing our discussion on illustrative examples of various kinds which include:

- examples gleaned from other linguistic studies
- examples from the Tswana corpus
- examples collected from texts which are not included in the Tswana corpus such as Tswana newspapers and literary works.

However, before we embark on our analysis of adverbials in Tswana, we need to acquaint ourselves with existing views on the adverbial in general as well as in language specific literature. We therefore start with a review of the literature which contributed substantially to the theoretical principles which underpin this study.

1.5 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A vast number of works on the syntactic and semantic description of adverbials have been written. In general, most works focus on questions of placement or position, syntactic status and semantic and formal classification. Lately, studies

have adopted a contextual bias according to which adverbial behaviour is analysed in terms of speech act theory and discourse functions. We concentrate on the contributions made within the scope of the objectives set for this study.

Nilsen (1972), in his review of the literature on English adverbials, states that most of the studies concerning adverbs make use of the particular grammatical model in vogue at a particular time. He labels the models as traditional, structural, transformational, tagmemic and case. He concludes his review of the literature by stating that it is the traditional model that has given us the most insights into the system of adverbials, because the other models have primarily dealt with more specific problems. These models have in addition formalized the findings of the traditionalists. This is also the case for Tswana and we therefore start our review of the literature by looking at the impact of the traditional model on the study of adverbials. We, however, deviate from Nilsen's division of the different approaches to accommodate the specific developments associated with the Bantu languages in South Africa.

1.5.1 The traditional approach

Since Dionysius Thrax's first definition of the adverb as: 'an indeclinable part of speech used to amplify or qualify a verb' (Michael, 1970:73) under Alexandrian influence in 2 BC, until the definition of Richard Brown in 1700, i.e. '...joy'd (sic) to a Verb, Participle, Adjective, and sometimes to another Adverb' (Michael, 1970:449), the main debate around the adverbial element was whether it only modifies the verbal element or more than the verbal element. For almost the next hundred years, this debate centered upon Brown's definition of the adverb cited above.

The next step was taken in the Port Royal grammar of 1660 when recognition was given to the fact that the adverb could function as the equivalent of a longer expression. After a fairly uniform definition for the adverb was established, grammarians set themselves the task of listing and classifying adverbs according to their meaning. Lists of up to forty-one kinds of adverbs appeared and although

grammarians recognized increasingly that there are as many kinds of adverbs as there are circumstances of an action, even at the end of the eighteenth century lists of fifteen to twenty were not uncommon. The more usual number is between five and ten, and a representative list, given by George Stapleton in 1797, is: adverbs of time, place, number, order, quantity, affirming, denying, doubting, comparing.

The trend to classify and list adverbials continued throughout the nineteenth century and it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that grammarians started to investigate adverbials according to other prototypical features. Observations were made about adverbials in an array of publications. Henry Sweet (1903), for example, observed about the use of English adverbs that: "When one of two modifiers is a lengthy group, the shorter verb-modifier is often allowed to precede even if it would otherwise follow" (Sweet, 1903:20). He also felt that the lengthy group bears separation from the verb more easily.

Observations were also made about verb-adverb combinations. Arthur Kennedy (1920) discusses the syntactic and semantic changes that result from such a combination. With reference to the syntactic changes he observes that intransitive becomes transitive, transitive becomes intransitive, active becomes pseudo-passive. Kennedy also observes changes in the collocational restrictions between verbs and objects. As far as observations regarding semantic aspects of verb-adverb combination are concerned, the following were noted: that the meanings of separate units within such combinations may remain unchanged; that combinations may result in perfective or intensive meaning; that the meaning of the verb-adverb combination may become completely different from that of its constituent parts; that, within such combinations, particles carry little or no meaning; and that, meaning may become highly specialized in certain contexts.

The distinction between adverbs and prepositions also received attention. Crum (1925:22) defines an adverb as "... a word that modifies a verb, an adjective, or another adverb ..." and a preposition as "... a word that connects a noun or pronoun with a verb, adjective, or another noun or pronoun by indicating a

relationship between the things for which they stand." (Crume, 1925:25). According to Nilsen (1972) these typical definitions given by traditionalists, illustrate the common error of using different criteria for categorizing the separate parts of speech, i.e. function for defining the adverb, and position for defining the preposition.

Concerning the freedom of movement that adverbs have, Crume (1931:130) observes:

"An adverb can freely stand in almost any position except between a verb and its direct object, where it is much less common than elsewhere: 'Yesterday I met your father', 'I yesterday met your father', 'I met your father yesterday', but not 'I met yesterday your father'. This usage rests upon the principle that an adverbial element is usually more important than a direct object and, like important elements in general, gravitates toward the end."

According to Nilsen (1972) this is another example where traditionalists seem to be compelled to state reasons why the language is as it is. In his opinion, it is at least questionable whether an adverbial element is usually more important than a direct object, either semantically or structurally and it is also questionable whether important elements gravitate towards the end of a sentence.

According to Palmer (1927) there are five different ways in which adverbs can be classified:

- Formally, i.e. depending on whether they are simple, derivative, compound or group adverbs.
- According to their meanings (manner, time, degree, etc.)
- According to their manner of modification (epithets, complements or interrogatives, conjunctives).
- According to their grammatical function, i.e. according to the part of speech which they modify, etc.
- According to the position they occupy in the sentence.

The most significant classifications of adverbials, however, are still based on their meaning.

Nilsen (1972:26) concludes as follows about the contribution made by traditionalists to the study of adverbials:

"...the traditionalists have probably made more original statements about adverbs than have either the structuralists or the transformationalists. What is more interesting, they have made statements about distribution, substitution, strict subcategorization, and co-occurrence, and have even suggested some transformations, though these statements were made without the benefit of a complete and consistent formal model. The traditionalists are motivated primarily by logic and semantics (rather than by syntax), and their most important subcategorization of 'Adverb' is meaning based - place, time, manner, etc. The traditionalists often confuse category (part-of-speech) information with functional information, and their definitions tend to be inconsistent and unusable. Nevertheless, they have made some significant statements about adverbs that should be worked into a complete and consistent formal grammar of English. It was the early traditionalists who were responsible for setting up the category we call 'Adverb', and it was the later traditionalists who developed the prescriptive rules for the 'correct' use of adverbs."

The treatment of adverbials as a category in the analysis of Tswana during the first stages of the grammatical study of this language followed the trend set by the traditionalists. Initially, only lists of what writers regarded as adverbial elements were included in publications and it was not until a much later stage that a grammatical analysis of these elements was presented. The following is an overview of the relevant Tswana literature during these first stages.

The first informative reference to the Tswana language in European literature was made by Hinrich Lichtenstein (1812). He included a note "Upon the Languages of the Beetjuans" in his *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. This first reference consisted of a list of 270 Tswana words and phrases with a few explanatory notes. Other vocabularies of note were recorded by John Campbell in 1815 and William J. Burchell in 1824.

The first grammar of Tswana was published in 1837. It was James Archbell's *A Grammar of the Bechuana Language*. He distinguished nine parts of speech with

the adverb and preposition as two of them. He listed the following elements as adverbs without defining the adverb as a class:

kapedi (twice), **kararu** (thrice), **kashumi** (ten times), **gale** (usually), **gompieno** (today), **ka mosho** (tomorrow), **ka bonako** (swiftly), **kuana** (here), **kua tlase** (below), **yang** (how), **kai** (where), **leng** (when).
(Archbell, 1837:76)

As can be seen, this list included interrogatives, some phrasal structures, modifying words and some adverbials.

Three years later, in 1841, Eugene Casalis published his *Études sur la Langue Séchuana* and this attempt was followed by David Livingstone's *Analysis of the Language of the Bechuanas* in 1858. Six years later J. Frédoux published a twelve page booklet entitled *A Sketch of the Sechuana Grammar*. In all these publications minor lists of adverbial elements were given.

In 1875 John Brown published the first Tswana dictionary entitled *Lokwalo loa Mahūkū a Secwana le Seeñeles*. William Crisp's publication, *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar*, was published in 1880. He also only listed some adverbs under the heading "Prepositions, Adverbs, Conjunctions, etc.". The list included different types of structures which could be used as equivalents for English words such as 'then', 'when', 'from', 'to', 'into', 'always', 'until' and 'together'. Adverbial, prepositional and conjunctive elements were categorised together, the primary aim being to facilitate translation.

Based on Crisp's first work of 1880, F. Hermann Kruger published *Steps to learn the Sesuto Language* in 1883. Although not a grammar of Tswana, this little book needs to be looked at when dealing with the views of linguists during the last part of the 19th century. He was the first grammarian of this period to actually identify the adverb according to its function. He distinguished a part of speech which he called 'particles' and defined it as:

"..... invariable parts of speech, which either qualify an attribute or express the mutual relation between the material elements of one or several sentences." (Kruger, 1883:46)

Under particles he grouped together adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjectives. He did not define adverbs but suggested an adverbial function for such structures when he distinguished between the different structural types of adverbs. According to Kruger, adverbs are structurally of three kinds, i.e. primitive, e.g. **moo, yuang, hape**, etc.; and derivatives, being formed firstly by prefixing **ha-** to an adjective or noun, e.g. **hagolo, hamorago**, etc., and secondly, by using **ka** before a noun, e.g. **ka thoko**, etc. The third kind of adverb is simply nouns in the nominative or locative case used as adverbs, e.g. **gosasa, sephiring**, etc. He was also the first to classify adverbs according to semantic roles. He distinguished between adverbs of time, space, manner and mood.

A. J. Wookey entered the Tswana grammatical field with the publication of his *Secwana and English Phrases with Introduction to Grammar and a Vocabulary* in 1901. A second and enlarged edition appeared in 1902, and a third in 1904. His main contribution to Tswana linguistics was his *Secwana Grammar* which appeared in 1905. This publication consists of 230 pages of grammatical material, exercises and vocabulary. It was rearranged, revised and enlarged by J. Tom Brown and issued in 1921 after Wookey's death. In this work they also did not define adverbs but referred to structures that could be used adverbially. They distinguished between pure adverbs and adverbs formed from verbs, adjectives and nouns. They also referred to an interrogative adverb and noted that adverbs can be formed by putting **ka** before nouns or phrases. Semantically they distinguished between adverbs of time, place, quality or manner, degree, quantity, order and mood. They further identified adverbial conjunctions and noted that since these structures are used to introduce adverbial sentences, they are not strictly adverbs.

With regard to the grammars published during the first stages of the grammatical analysis of Tswana, it is clear that these early Bantuists based their analysis on the framework set by the traditionalists. They did not work within a fixed word or morpheme theory and also confused category (part-of-speech) information with functional information. This caused their definitions of parts of speech to be

inconsistent and unusable. As far as the adverbial is concerned, what mattered was which structure filled the equivalent of the conventional adverbial slot in English. Some interesting and significant observations were made but the grammatical classifications and concepts of European traditionalists were forced upon Tswana without recognising the uniqueness of the grammatical structure of Tswana. This is evident from the many elements that were identified on the basis of their English translation as being adverbials, i.e. on filling the adverbial slot and fitting the meaning of the traditional interpretation of adverbials. Many different structures were therefore identified as adverbial without recognising the unique character of each structure. However, in 1927 C. M. Doke's *Textbook of Zulu Grammar* appeared which heralded a new era for the analysis of the Bantu languages. He recognised the unique structure of the Bantu languages and managed to break away from the traditionally European based views upon which word identification and word categorisation in the Bantu languages were based.

1.5.2 The Dokeian approach

Since Doke, for the first time, developed a descriptive model which was inspired by the intrinsic linguistic characteristics of the Bantu languages, it would not make sense to try and accommodate his contribution within Nilsen's classification of the different approaches to the study of adverbials in English. Doke's approach can neither be characterised as traditional nor structural. Kosch (1991) classifies it as a functional approach but states that the term 'functional' needs to be understood in the context of the way it was implemented at that stage of Bantu linguistic development⁸. She also deals with the Dokeian approach in relation to European and American Structuralism and concludes that some characteristics of American structuralism are indeed reflected in Doke's approach. Doke himself however claimed that he developed his model for Bantu independently. For the purpose of this study we describe Doke's approach as a 'taxonomic' approach⁹.

The main characteristic of the Dokeian approach is that it distinguishes between functional information and formal information. The sentence is used as the point of departure and words are identified on the basis of their function in the sentence

and their grammatical relationship to one another to constitute six major functional categories. In determining the parts of speech Doke regards the complete word (and not formatives which function as constituent parts of complete words) as central. The structural characteristics of words are used to determine the different word categories. We now take a look at the impact this view had on the analysis of Tswana.

In 1955 D. T. Cole based his work, *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, on Doke's approach and, although it appeared some 28 years after Doke's work, it was the first to demonstrate in detail the application of the new approach in Bantu grammatical analysis to Tswana. Cole's work is therefore taken as the main source for investigating the view on the Tswana adverbial according to Doke's approach.

Cole (1955) followed Doke's model in recognising the conjunctive word as the basis for identifying the different parts of speech. One of the primary aims of this model was to arrive at a classification of words into word categories. As could be expected, Cole's classification yielded six so-called functional groups with subdivisions as parts of speech. As stated above, the functional groups are classified according to their function as well as their grammatical relationship to each other in the sentence. The parts of speech are classified according to their form as subdivisions of the functional groups.

The following parts of speech are identified by Cole (1955):

<u>Functional classes</u>	<u>Parts of speech</u>	
A. Substantives	(a) Noun	1
	(b) Pronoun	2
B. Qualificative	(a) Adjective	3
	(b) Enumerative	4
	(c) Quantitative	5
	(d) Possessive	6
	(e) Relative	7

C. Predicative	(a) Verb	8
	(b) Copulative	9
D. Descriptive	(a) Adverb	10
	(b) Ideophone	11
E. Conjunctive		12
F. Interjective		13

The only difference from Doke's original classification is that Cole adds the quantitative as another form of qualificative (See Doke's model on p.21 of this study). This difference does not have any implications for this study and therefore will not be dealt with further here.

From the above classification it is clear that Cole (1955) distinguishes the descriptive as a functional group with the adverb and ideophone as parts of speech within this group. Although he defines the descriptive as a word, he also identifies a variety of other structures which may have a descriptive function. He states that one may have a phrase or clause functioning as the equivalent of a single word in a complex sentence. He names these structures according to their form as descriptive phrases and descriptive clauses without explaining his terminological distinction between the concepts "phrase" and "clause".

The first part of speech Cole (1955) classifies as a descriptive is the adverb. He defines the adverb as a part of speech with reference to its function and meaning. He states:

"An adverb is a word which describes a qualificative, predicate or other adverb with respect to manner, place or time." (Cole, 1955:64).

This definition is not based on the form of the part of speech as proposed by him when he states that the parts of speech are distinguished on their form. However, when he gets to discussing the form of the adverb he immediately states that there are very few primitive adverbs in Tswana and then goes on by giving interrogatives as examples of adverbs, i.e. **kae?**, **leng?** and **jang?** According to him the great majority of adverbs in Tswana are derivative, being mainly formed

from nouns and pronouns by prefixal and suffixal inflexion. Some nouns and pronouns may be used as adverbs without undergoing any change of form at all. He suggests that the relationship between substantives and adverbs is indeed a very close one. This aspect is emphasised by the existence of a locative noun class with corresponding pronouns and predicative and qualificative concords. He also points out that there is a considerable affinity between adverbs and conjunctives. He does not elaborate on this remark and it is discussed later in this study in the relevant section.

Cole (1955) distinguishes between three main categories of adverbs based on their meaning. He states that it is most convenient, for practical purposes, to classify Tswana adverbs into the following three main semantic categories:

- Locative adverbs, mainly indicating place, e.g. **nokêng** (at the river);
- Temporal adverbs, indicating time, e.g. **bogologolo** (long ago);
- Manner adverbs, with a number of sub-divisions according to method of formation, e.g. **fêla** (only).

He further points out that, although there is a close relationship between the three categories mentioned above and the way in which adverbs as members of these categories are formed, the three-fold distinction between locative, temporal and manner adverbs should not be regarded as rigid. Some overlapping does occur, particularly between adverbs of place and time. He suggests that such adverbs should be called Temporal Locatives.

Under locative adverbs Cole (1955) distinguishes between primary and secondary locative adverbs. Primary locative adverbs are those formed from nouns and pronouns by suffixing **-ing** or prefixing **go-**. Certain substantival forms are also used as primary adverbs without undergoing any inflexion. Secondary locative adverbs, on the other hand, are those locatives that are formed from the primary type together with the prefixal formatives **fa-**, **kwa-** [**kô-**] and **mô-**. These formatives are not always essential, and in some cases, their use would be incorrect.

A further distinction is made between locatives formed from nouns, locatives

formed from pronouns, adverbial use of locative class nouns, adverbial use of locative class pronouns, place names, locative phrases and locatives used with the formative **ka-**. These different structures are considered in detail when the structure of adverbial constituents is discussed in the next chapter.

According to Cole (1955) temporal adverbs can be classified with reference to the method of formation. Three main types are distinguished:

- Primitive forms and uninflected nouns functioning as adverbs of time, e.g. **bosigo** (at night);
- Adverbs of time formed from substantives by prefixing the formative **ka-**, e.g. **kalotlatlana** (at dusk);
- Temporal locatives, i.e. locative forms indicating time, e.g. **mômošông** (in the morning).

With all these forms the use of the formative **ka-** is usually essential but with some forms **ka-** is optional or not used at all.

Under manner adverbs, Cole (1955) distinguishes several sub-divisions. He states that the bulk of manner adverbs are derived from substantives by the addition of various prefixal formatives. Some are however derived from qualificative stems and a few appear to be primitive, while a number of substantival forms remain unchanged when used as adverbs of manner. He goes on to list the different types which he distinguishes. He also includes conjunctive adverbs as another type of manner adverbs. According to him these adverbs indicate the person or thing in conjunction or in association with which an action is carried out. This type of manner adverb is formed by prefixing the formative **le-** to substantives, e.g.

lenna (with me)

An alternative formative **na-** is used with absolute pronouns to form conjunctive adverbs, e.g.

naê (with him)

Instrumental adverbs are also distinguished. Cole (1955) states that this type of manner adverb indicates the instrument with which an action is carried out, and is formed from substantives by prefixing **ka-**, e.g.

kabonakô (quickly)

Another type of manner adverb distinguished by Cole (1955) is agentive adverbs. According to him this type of manner adverb is formed from substantives by prefixing **ké-**. It indicates the agent of an action, e.g.

kénoga (by a snake)

The last type of manner adverb distinguished by Cole (1955) is called manner-comparative adverbs. They are formed from substantives by prefixing **jaaka-**, e.g.

jaakaphala (like an impala)

The second part of speech which Cole (1955) identifies as functioning as a descriptive is the ideophone. He defines the ideophone as follows:

"An ideophone is a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a qualificative, predicate or adverb with respect to sound, colour, smell, manner, state, action or intensity." (Cole, 1955:64)

He goes on to state that the most convenient classification of ideophones is according to the number of syllables they contain, i.e. monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic. With reference to the function of ideophones, Cole observes that the ideophone is in many respects similar in function to the adverb. When used, they are usually preceded by tense forms of the verb **-re** (do, say) but this is not essential, e.g.

Pula enê entse ere šwaa (The rain was coming down slowly and softly)

Another type of constituent which can be used descriptively according to Cole (1955) is descriptive phrases. He defines this type of phrase as follows:

"When a noun or a pronoun is accompanied by a qualificative, and is inflected to form an adverb, a descriptive phrase results." (Cole, 1955:453)

He further notes that, although it is only the first word, i.e. the substantive, which undergoes inflexion, the whole phrase has a descriptive function, e.g.

sekgwa sêsegolo (a big forest) > **môsekgwêng sêsegolo** (in the big forest)

The second type of descriptive phrase that can be formed by inflexion is the substantival phrase which consists of a verb infinitive, together with objectival and adverbial adjuncts, e.g.

[Kagodira jalo] ótlatšwêlêla pele (By doing that he will make progress)

The locative phrase is another type of descriptive phrase and is formed when a locative is extended by qualificatives or other adjuncts. When the locative is a derivative, the qualificative and pronouns usually are in concordial agreement with the substantival base of the locative, e.g.

môdīkgōmong tsame (among my cattle)

where the possessive concord **tsa** is derived from **dikgomo**.

Another descriptive phrase, according to Cole (1955), is introduced by **bogolo** (greatly, more, rather, preferably) followed by a locative, e.g.

Ntša ebotlhale bogolo gopitse [môpitsêng]

(A dog is more intelligent than a horse)

Cole (1955) has, in his analysis, made significant observations concerning adverbials in Tswana. According to him different structures can function descriptively in Tswana. Apart from the adverb and ideophone which are recognised as two parts of speech which may function descriptively, a variety of phrases and clauses which may also fulfil a descriptive function are identified. Thus in true taxonomic tradition, Cole recognizes numerous distinctions and these form the basis for his description and classification of descriptives in Tswana. His analysis can be schematically represented as follows:

Descriptives

<p>Words:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adverbs - Ideophones 	<p>Phrases:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Qualificatives with inflected substantives - Locative phrases - Descriptive phrases introduced by bogolo 	<p>Clauses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Descriptive clause of place - Descriptive clause of time - Descriptive clause of reason - Descriptive clause of concession - Descriptive clause of purpose - Descriptive clause of comparison - Descriptive clause of condition
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This classification is seen as central to the analysis of the adverbial in Tswana and is referred to continuously when dealing with the structural characteristics of adverbials as clause elements in Tswana.

Several points of criticism can be raised against the Dokeian model and, as far as adverbials are concerned, these are focussed upon as this study proceeds. So, for example, it will transpire that many of the objections raised against the traditional approach, equally apply to Doke's treatment of adverbials. A major point to be noted in this regard is that Doke, like traditionalists, defines adverbials (descriptives) as words, but, despite this word-based approach, a large number of structures which are not words in terms of Doke's own definition of this concept, are recognised as adverbials. This and related inconsistencies are subjected to detailed scrutiny in later sections of this thesis.

Another point of criticism is that the criteria chosen by Doke to define the different parts of speech were not applied systematically. Some parts of speech are defined in notional terms, some in functional terms and others in structural terms. This aspect can also be observed in Cole's work. The adverb is, for example, defined in structural terms when he says:

"On further analysis, particularly with reference to the form of the words, we find sub-divisions in several cases." (Cole ,1955:59).

However, the definition of an adverb in the Dokeian model, i.e. a word which describes a qualificative, predicative or other adverb with reference to manner, place or time, is clearly a functional and not a structural one¹⁰.

Despite these shortcomings, Cole's monumental work is still regarded as the standard source of reference on Tswana grammar. Several contributions on the grammar of Tswana appeared after Cole's work. Some of these were also directly based on the Dokeian approach while others showed some characteristics of the structural approach. It is therefore necessary to reflect on the influence the structural approach has had on grammatical descriptions of Tswana.

1.5.3 The structural approach

The next step forward in Bantu linguistic description in South Africa came in 1958 with the appearance of a doctoral thesis by E.B. van Wyk entitled *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe: 'n Bydrae tot die vraagstuk van woord-identifikasie in die Bantoetale* (Word division in Northern Sotho and Zulu: A contribution to the problem of word identification in the Bantu languages) and, although it did not have a direct impact on the analysis of Tswana, it was to steer the grammatical description of the Bantu languages in yet a new direction. We will therefore first look at the general theoretical premises of this model and then deal with the influence it exerted on the linguistic analysis of adverbials in the Bantu languages. Afterwards we will consider some relevant aspects of a contribution which was modelled within this framework on the word group in Tswana - the word group being one of the manifestations of the adverbial as an element of clause structure in this language.

Towards the 1950's the Dokeian model had become very firmly established but in the course of time some of Doke's theoretical principles were found to be anomalous. Van Wyk (1958) gained linguistic insights from European structuralists, especially Reichling, and attempted to address these anomalies. The issue of word division and word identification was his main concern. This aspect was not addressed in detail in the Dokeian model and Van Wyk's work

caused our insight and understanding regarding this particular domain of the Bantu languages to undergo a metamorphosis.

According to Kosch (1991) phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic criteria were incorporated in the determination of word classes in the Van Wyk model. It was therefore a comprehensive classification and it differed from the restricted classifications up to then which were based on form and function. The Van Wyk model recognised a hierarchy of criteria and it suggested that an integration of the four principles of classification, applied according to a certain hierarchy, should be the solution. Morphological and syntactic criteria were accepted to take precedence over phonological and semantic criteria.

With regard to word categories, the Van Wyk model proposed eight word classes which differed radically from the Dokeian model with its 12 word classes. A comparison between the two models can schematically be presented as follows:

Doke's model	Van Wyk's model
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		I. WORDS WITH NORMAL PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURES
A. Substantives		A. Substantives
(a) Nouns	1	(a) Nouns
(b) Pronouns	2	(b) Pronouns
B. Qualificatives		B. Predicatives
(a) Adjectives	3	(a) Verbs
(b) Relatives	4	(b) Locative copulative
(c) Enumeratives	5	-demonstratives
(d) Possessives	6	C. Morphologically
C. Predicatives		heterogeneous words
(a) Verbs	7	(a) Adverbs
(b) Copulatives	8	(b) Particles
D. Descriptives		II. WORDS WITH PARANORMAL PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE
(a) Adverbs	9	D. Ideophones
(b) Ideophones	10	E. Interjections
E. Conjunctives	11	
F. Interjectives	12	

Comparing the two models, many detailed differences can be observed. Since this study is only interested in adverbials, we will focus on these elements in our discussion.

The first point of difference is that Van Wyk regards nouns from noun classes 16, 17 and 18 like **fatshe** (down), **godimo** (up) and **morago** (behind) as well as basic nouns with a descriptive meaning from other noun classes, like **gae** (home), **maloba** (a few days ago), and **mošate** (capital), as nouns. He also regards any noun with the locative suffix **-ng** as a noun. According to Prinsloo (1979) all nouns from noun classes 16, 17 and 18 as well as nouns from “locative classes” with the prefixes **ga-** and **n-**, e.g. **gare** (inside) and **ntle** (outside), are locative nouns. Nouns with the locative suffix **-ng** are seen by him as locativised nouns. These elements are all classified as adverbs by Doke.

Another point of difference is that Van Wyk distinguishes a word class called particles ("taaltegniese woorde"). The implication it has for the adverbial element in the Dokeian model is that those elements which are treated as formatives by Doke, i.e. as elements of words which cannot function independently, are seen by Van Wyk, together with adverbs, as morphologically heterogeneous words with limited autonomy. This implies that what Doke would have called formatives, i.e.

- (i) the locative **go-**, **ga-**, **ka-**, **mo-**, **fa-** and **kwa-** (**kô-**),
- (ii) the temporal **ka-**,
- (iii) the instrumental **ka-**,
- (iv) the connective **le-**,
- (v) the agentative **ke-**, and
- (vi) the manner comparative **jaaka-**,

are not regarded as formatives by Van Wyk but as particles.

Another important difference is the recognition of a word class called locative copulative-demonstratives by Van Wyk. These words are categorized as predicatives and correspond to what Cole (1955:335) calls the locative demonstrative copulatives in a copulative relationship, e.g.

Dijo, sidio!

(Food, there it is!)

Although the Van Wyk model did not have much influence on the study of Tswana grammar, it did a great deal to focus the attention of Bantuists *inter alia* on the word group and sentence, both of which were relegated to a position of minor importance during the Dokeian period. In fact, Van Wyk regards these two categories as two of the three categories of linguistic symbols in the disciplinary structure of Bantu linguistics which are essential categories determined on the grounds of deductive analysis - the third being the word.

C.J.H. Krüger made a contribution to the analysis of Tswana within the Van Wyk model with his D. Litt. thesis entitled *Die stuktuur van die woordgroep in Tswana* (The structure of the word group in Tswana) which appeared in 1967. He did his

thesis under Van Wyk and was clearly influenced by him. This is evident when looking at the different word groups distinguished by Krüger (1967:25), i.e. nominal groups, predicative groups and particle groups. It is especially the distinction of a particle word group that shows Van Wyk's influence.

Krüger followed Van Wyk's comprehensive classification when dealing with the word group in Tswana. He states:

"n Woordgroep sluit dus altyd minstens twee woorde in, maar net soos ander taalsimbole is die woordgroep 'n eenheid in sowel vormlike (d.i. 'n aanskoulike) as semantiese (d.i. onaanskoulike) opsig." (Krüger, 1967:6).

(A wordgroup thus always include at least two words, but like all other language symbols the wordgroup is a unit, both in terms of form (i.e. as seen) and semanically (i.e. as unseen).)

He goes on to refer to structural as well as syntactic characteristics as classification criteria for word groups.

Krüger (1967) never refers to adverbials as either a separate category or as a word group. He uses the term descriptive determiner ("deskriptiewe bepaling") to refer to a syntactic constituent which can be used with verbs, verbal groups, copulative groups and auxiliary word groups. He distinguishes between primary, secondary and tertiary descriptive determiners on the basis of the relationship between the predicative element on the one hand, and the descriptive element, on the other.

When Krüger (1967:153-158) refers to the structure of primary descriptive determiners he states that this syntactic constituent can be:

- (i) a locative noun, e.g. **motseng** (at the village),
- (ii) a locative class noun, e.g. **godimo** (up),
- (iii) a noun in another noun class of which the meaning brings about descriptive use, e.g. **thata** (very),
- (iv) a word group with one of the preceding types of nouns as its nucleus, e.g. **mo motseng** (in the village), **mo godimo ga dithaba** (on top of the mountains), **letsatsi leo** (that day),

- (v) a locative class pronoun, e.g. **fa** (here),
- (vi) a word group with a locative class pronoun as its nucleus, e.g. **gônê moo** (in there),
- (vii) an adverb, e.g. **gompîêno** (today),
- (viii) a particle group which may be a qualificative particle group, e.g. **mô go kalô** (that number),
- (ix) a locative particle group, e.g. **mô go ya gago** (in yours),
- (x) an associative particle group, e.g. **le mosadi** (with the woman),
- (xi) an instrumental particle group, e.g. **ka lobaka lô lolêlêlê** (for a long period of time); or
- (xii) a comparative-associative particle group, e.g. **jaaka nonyane** (like a bird).

All of these determiners can be extended by means of a predicate or predicative group which can be relative or infinitive, e.g. **mô motseng mô ba-binang têng** (in the village where they dance) or **ka go-dira jalô** (by doing so).

As secondary descriptive determiners, Krüger (1967:196) lists those constituents which can only be predicates and predicative groups. He also lists groups which include predicatives but which lack what he calls a nucleus valence (“kernvalensie”) for descriptive predeterminers because they can be preceded by primary descriptive determiners, e.g. in

/ke-tla-ya/(kwa motseng)(go-gama dikgômo)

(I will go to the village to milk the cows)

in which **kwa motseng** is the primary descriptive determiner with **go-gama dikgômo** the secondary descriptive determiner. Secondary descriptive determiners therefore include:

- (i) modal descriptive determiners in the infinitive, subjunctive and situative moods, e.g.

/di-tla-isiwa kgôsing/(batho bôtlhê ba-di-bônê)

(they will be taken to the ruler to be seen by all the people),

- (ii) particle groups which include a predicate as a complement such as the associative particle group, e.g. **le fa e-lomiwa mô gokalô** (even if it is bitten as such),

- (iii) the situational particle group, e.g. **fa pula e-nele** (when it rained),
- (iv) the comparative-deictic particle group, e.g. **jaaka ke-tsilê go-go-lekola** (when I came to visit you),
- (v) the instrumental particle group, e.g. **ka a-na a-bobola thata** (because he was very ill) and
- (vi) auxiliary word groups which include **etswe**, **ere**, **gônnê** or **esere** as an introductory member, e.g. **etswe di-le thata jaana** (although they being so strong).

When Krüger (1967) investigates these structures, he finds that some of them are lower in rank than others and he uses this as a criterion to distinguish so-called tertiary descriptive determiners. These are particle groups with a situative complement which include:

- (i) the temporal-condition particle group, i.e. the **fa**-group, e.g. **fa ba ya** (if they go)
- (ii) the comparative-associative particle group, i.e. the **jaaka**-group, e.g. **jaaka ngwana** (like a child)
- (iii) the associative situational particle group which consists of the particle **le** plus the **fa**-group as its complement, e.g. **le fa ba sa je** (although they do not eat) and
- (iv) the instrumental particle group, i.e. the **ka**-group, e.g. **ka selepe** (with an axe).

To this he adds:

- (v) the inflexible auxiliary word groups with the stems **-sa-le** and **-tswa/-tswe** as introductory members, e.g. **fa e-sa-le a-robega leoto** (ever since he broke his leg) and **e-tswa e-le mariga** (though it is winter)
- (vi) groups with the auxiliary verb stem **-re** as introductory member, e.g. **e-nê ya-re a-fitlha** (when he arrived),
- (vii) the infinitive auxiliary word group with **gônnê** as introductory member, e.g. **gônnê fa a-ka-dira jalo** (because if he could do it) and
- (viii) the auxiliary word group with the negative subjunctive form of the auxiliary verb stem **-re**, i.e. **esere** as introductory member, e.g. **esere gongwe a-lebala** (if not he forgets)

as tertiary descriptive determiners.

Krüger's (1967) main contribution is that he was the first scholar to apply some aspects of the Van Wyk model to Tswana. He used phonologic, tonologic, morphologic, syntactic and semantic principles to investigate the word group in Tswana which explains the almost overwhelmingly taxonomic character of his work. Apart from his observations regarding the syntactic structure of adverbial word groups in Tswana, his study contributes very little to our understanding of the meaning and discourse-pragmatic functions of such word groups.

1.5.4 Modern models

According to Kosch (1991), it was the appearance of the transformational-generative grammar theory which caused students of the Bantu languages to direct their attention to the possibility of adapting a new model to the grammatical description of these languages. The transformational-generative grammar theory was initiated by Noam Chomsky with his work entitled *Syntactic Structures* in 1957. Since then it has been adjusted several times. It started with the so-called STANDARD THEORY (ST) which was an adjustment by Chomsky himself of his 'classical' theory set forth in 1957. This was followed by the EXTENDED STANDARD THEORY (EST) and the REVISED EXTENDED STANDARD THEORY (REST). CORE GRAMMAR was incorporated in the latter theory. These adjustments went on and several versions of the transformational-generative grammar theory appeared, such as, THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND BINDING,

CASE GRAMMAR, GENERATIVE SEMANTICS (GS), RELATIONAL GRAMMAR and FUNCTIONAL GENERATIVE DESCRIPTION. Since we are only interested in how the transformational-generative grammar theory in general accommodates adverbials, we will not deal in great detail with these developments here. We will briefly look at the theoretical basis of the theory and then concentrate on how the adverbial element is accommodated within Chomsky's ST model and the influence it has had on the classification of adverbials according to other transformational-generative grammar based models. We will also investigate the classification of

adverbials according to more recent non-transformational theories.

Within the transformational-generative theory the sentence is seen as the point of departure for the grammatical description of any language. It is based on the view that the discovery and formulation of relationships between segments on more than one level can provide a much better understanding of syntactic structures than an investigation on a pure linear level. The two levels of analysis are referred to as the (syntactic) deep structure, i.e. the underlying or more abstract level and the (syntactic) surface structure, i.e. the immediate obvious or more concrete level. The deep structure is the semantic component but Chomsky (1965) maintains that this level is not yet a semantic representation. He states that it contains all the information that is necessary for determining meaning, but that it is the task of a separate semantic component to actually derive that meaning. The surface structure is the phonological component. First, base rules or phrase structure rules (PS-rules) are set together with the lexicon to represent the base component. Transformation rules, which represent the transformational component, are then applied to convert deep structure to surface structure. The following summary is far from complete but it will suffice as a starting-point for the rest of the discussion.

Chomsky (1965:106) derives adverbials in his base rules as follows:

- I $S \rightarrow NP \text{ } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{Predicate Phrase}$
- II $\text{Predicate Phrase} \rightarrow \text{Aux } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{VP (Place) (Time)}$
- III

$\text{VP} \rightarrow$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{Copula } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{Predicate}$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{(NP) (Prep. Phrase) (Prep. Phrase) (Manner)}$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
	$< \text{V } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{S}'$	$> \text{ } \overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
	$\underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{Predicate}$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
	$\underline{\hspace{1cm}}$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
- IV $\text{Predicate} \rightarrow$

$\overline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{Adjective}$	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$
$< \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } \text{(like) Predicate Nominal } \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$	$>$

V Prep. Phrase → Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency, etc.

According to Buyschaert (1982), it appears that Chomsky drives a fourfold distinction from these base rules, viz.

- (i) subject (the NP under S)
- (ii) (direct) object (the NP under VP)
- (iii) a class of adverbials without cohesion with the verb (Place, Time)
- (iv) a class of adverbials that show strong cohesion with the verb and that are necessarily "Prep Phrases"; and a Manner adverbial that is given a similar status.

He further points out that Chomsky (1965:102) uses the term 'verbal complements' for the object (NP), the two Prepositional Phrases (Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency, etc.) and Manner adverbials (Manner) in Rule III. Chomsky opposes these to the 'verb phrase complements' of place and time adverbials in Rule II. The implication is that the verb is categorized by the verbal complements, i.e. the object (NP), the two Prepositional Phrases (Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency, etc.) and Manner adverbials (Manner) and not by the verb phrase complements, i.e. place and time adverbials. That is, the object (NP) is required by transitive verbs, a Prep. Phrase of Direction by 'to dash', one of Duration by 'to last', one of Place by 'to remain' and a manner adverbial is refused by verbs such as 'resemble', 'have' and 'marry'. The verb phrase complements do however not play such a role in the subcategorization of the verb. According to Buyschaert (1982) the situation expressed here is not true. Consider for instance, 'It happened yesterday/here'. Another problem is the "etc." in Rule V. It leads to an open-ended classification.

From the above discussion it is clear that Chomsky (1965:102) distinguishes between verb phrase complements (Rule II) and verbal complements (Rule III). About verb phrase complements he states that they modify the entire verb phrase or perhaps the entire sentence. The corresponding adverbials in Nilsen (1972), who also follows a transformational-generative approach, are subdivided into Sentence Modifiers and Verb Modifiers. The criterion that he uses, is however

suspect. It excludes categories like Time or Place from Sentence Modifiers, where they often belong, according to Buyschaert (1982). Jackendoff's EST approach (1972) also distinguishes between adverbials dominated by S and adverbials dominated by VP. The semantic interpretations proposed for these categories suggest that they correspond to the S- and V-modifiers respectively.

Further, according to Hodge (1976), who insists on a functional analysis of adverbials, in considering Chomsky's base rules, one is struck by the presence in Rule II of the constituents 'Place, Time', in Rule III of 'Manner' and in Rule V of 'Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency'. Only categorial notions are included in base rules¹¹, but these terms seem to depict functional notions which are not supposed to be included in base rules. Chomsky (1965) states about these terms:

"Functional notions like 'Subject, Predicate' are to be sharply distinguished from categorial notions such as 'Noun Phrase, Verb', a distinction which is not to be obscured by the occasional use of the same term for notions of both kinds." (Chomsky, 1965:68).

One can however argue that it is not always possible to determine a functional

notion for each categorial symbol in the base rules. Given the rather extensive range of adverbial functions, this would appear to be impossible. From the statements made by Chomsky (1965) about functional notions, one can conclude that he felt it to be somehow essentially connected to semantic interpretation. He does not, however, discuss semantic interpretation and this caused some linguists to be dissatisfied with semantics being relegated to an interpretative role. This led to the development of the so-called Generative Semantic approach which regarded semantics as an integral part of the base component by way of the meaning-preserving hypothesis. This approach, however, still continued to ignore functional notions. It was Fillmore (1968) who reintroduced the notion of function to a dominant position in grammar by positing "case" in the base rules. His first base rule reads:

$S \rightarrow \text{Modality} _ \text{Proposition}$

The Proposition then contains the verb and a number of cases, each of which is represented categorially as a NP¹². As cases he lists Agentive, Instrumental,

Dative, Factive, Locative, Objective and observes that others will undoubtedly have to be added. These cases roughly correspond to what have simply been called "functions" by other linguists.

Fillmore's approach (1968) bears close resemblance to Chomsky's apart from the use of cases. Both recognise a syntactic deep structure to which transformations apply to eventually yield a surface structure, and both leave the semantic component unexplored. Fillmore does, however, seem to provide a basis for semantic interpretation by constructing the base rules in such a way that they give formal expression to an awareness of function on the part of the speaker.

It was to be the tagmemicists who accorded function a formal place in grammar. They see a sentence as consisting of various functional (emic) slots filled with various structural (etic) forms¹³. TIME would be a functional slot. The noun 'Saturday' or the noun phrase 'next week', the adverb 'yesterday' or the prepositional phrase 'in two hours', would be possible structural forms with which the functional slot TIME might be filled. Looking at tagmemic rules, however, one gets the impression that the functional slots are being linked together on a sentence to sentence basis. No finite set of "function linking rules", something comparable to the base rules of transformational-generative grammar, seems to exist.

According to Buysschaert (1982) a purely semantic approach to the study of adverbials also seems to have a drawback. He states that if a semantic description is not constrained by some restricting principle like the "encoded aspect" which he propagates, there is no limit to the aspects that have to enter the analysis. The absence of some guidelines also affects classification, for it makes it difficult to decide where to draw the boundaries in the continuum of semantic subtypes. Bartsch (1976), for example, introduces a battery of 42 tests but since their nature and their possible interrelation are not fully explored, the classification that they suggest may give the impression of being arbitrary or accidental. She recognizes four main types:

- (i) sentence adverbials, which are operators on propositions, e.g. modality

adverbs;

- (ii) relational adverbials, which are asserted of events or circumstances, e.g. reason adverbs;
- (iii) manner adverbials, e.g. slowly, and
- (iv) grading adverbials, e.g. very.

The last two both qualify processes or states.

Huang (1975) also uses semantic labels to classify adverbs. He tries to regroup his categories into sentence adverbs, i.e. adverbs which have the whole sentence as their scope, and VP adverbs, i.e. adverbs whose scope is, according to him, "anything but the sentence." (Huang, 1975:70).

Buysschaert (1982) bases his proposals for the classification of adverbials on a generative-transformational framework, but he acknowledges the importance of semantics. He establishes three main sets of distinctions. Firstly, a distinction is made between adverbials which function as 'essential complements' and are obligatory, and adverbs which function as 'free modifiers' and which are optional. He argues that ultimately the decisive criterion is of a semantic nature; when obligatory, the adverbial is inherently required by the meaning of the verb; when omissible it is not. Secondly, the set of distinctions focuses on sentence adverbials and non-sentence adverbials. Semantics is again crucial. Sentence adverbials qualify 'the event, act, circumstance, claim or fact described in an entire sentence', while non-sentence adverbials only qualify the action or process described in the verb. Thirdly, a distinction is made between adverbials which are the comment or the topic of an utterance (which usually have no function in information structure), and adverbials that are or are not in focus. His analysis of adverbial behaviour in terms of informational structure allows for a categorization of adverbials which cuts across distinctions drawn according to the more traditional semantic and grammatical criteria. Buysschaert's treatment of adverbials has obvious implications for this study since it echoes some aspects of the objectives set out earlier. His views will therefore be revisited at different stages in the rest of this study.

Virtanen (1992) adopts a similar framework for her work on adverbial placement in English. Like Buysschaert, she notes that adverbial positions cannot be adequately accounted for by referring to sentence structure alone. She states in this regard:

"Several of the factors that may influence the placement of adverbials in their clause or sentence are textual or discursal in character." (Virtanen, 1992:1)

This comment strongly supports the position taken in this study namely that textual and discursal information play a crucial role in the study of the adverbial as an element of clause structure.

According to Buysschaert (1982), recent non-transformational theories, with their structural inspiration, were bound to find out that the elements called adverbial adjuncts do not always qualify verbs. Jacobson (1964) makes a distinction between sentence-modifiers and word (-group) modifiers, but notes that the distinction between the former category and that of the verbal modifier is difficult to define. Heartvigson (1969) brings into play the important factor of intonation. He concludes that the relevant distinction is not one between sentence-modifiers and verb-modifiers but between, as he calls it, "loose modifiers" and "close modifiers". The former category can only take "tail intonation", that is, it does not take main intonation. Greenbaum (1969) notes the confusion and disagreement surrounding the definition of adverbials as 'sentence modifiers' or 'sentence adverbs'. He states that these terms "have been used imprecisely and in various ways." (Greenbaum, 1969:2). According to him adverbs may function:

- (i) intersententially, i.e. where they have a linking function and conjoin clauses to indicate the connection between what is being said and was said before,
- (ii) sententially, i.e. where they are relatively peripheral to clause structure and express an evaluation of what is being said either to the form of the communication or to its contents; or
- (iii) intrasententially, i.e. where they are relatively integrated within clause structure.

On the basis of these differences he distinguishes three categories of adverbs,

viz. conjuncts, disjuncts and adjuncts. This classification was subsequently refined and used as the framework for adverbial description by Quirk *et al.* (1972) and Quirk *et al.* (1985). Quirk *et al.* (1985) add a fourth category to the three distinguished by Greenbaum: they apply the term 'subjunct' to adverbials "which have, to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements." (Quirk *et al.*,1985:566). Their fourfold classification of adverbials is based on the adverbial typology in terms of which their data are described. According to them the adverbial element operates with four parameters which are independent in principle and often in practice, viz.

- semantic role
- grammatical function
- formal realisation
- linear position

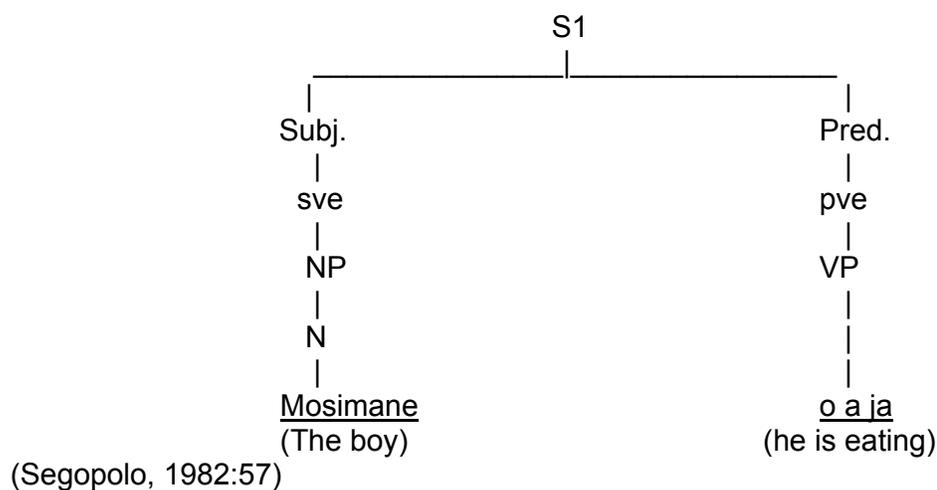
Each one of these parameters has several sub-categories and we will not attempt either to set forth the arguments substantiating these four parameters or to explicate the detailed sub-categorisation thereof. But since these parameters are in line with some of the objectives set for this study we will discuss each one in further detail in a later chapter.

As for the application of a modern model to the classification and analysis of the adverb in Tswana we need to refer to Segopolo's work entitled, *The Adverb in Tswana- A Structural, Syntactic and Comparative Study*, which appeared in 1982. Although he never mentions it, his analysis seems to be based on a constituent structure grammar model¹⁴, i.e. he tells us how the Tswana sentence is built up out of different constituent parts, and which strings of words are, and which are not, considered to be constituents. In doing so, he identifies the descriptive as an immediate constituent of the verb phrase and by using some aspects of the transformational-generative theory, he illustrates which language units can be used to fill the descriptive slot in the Tswana sentence.

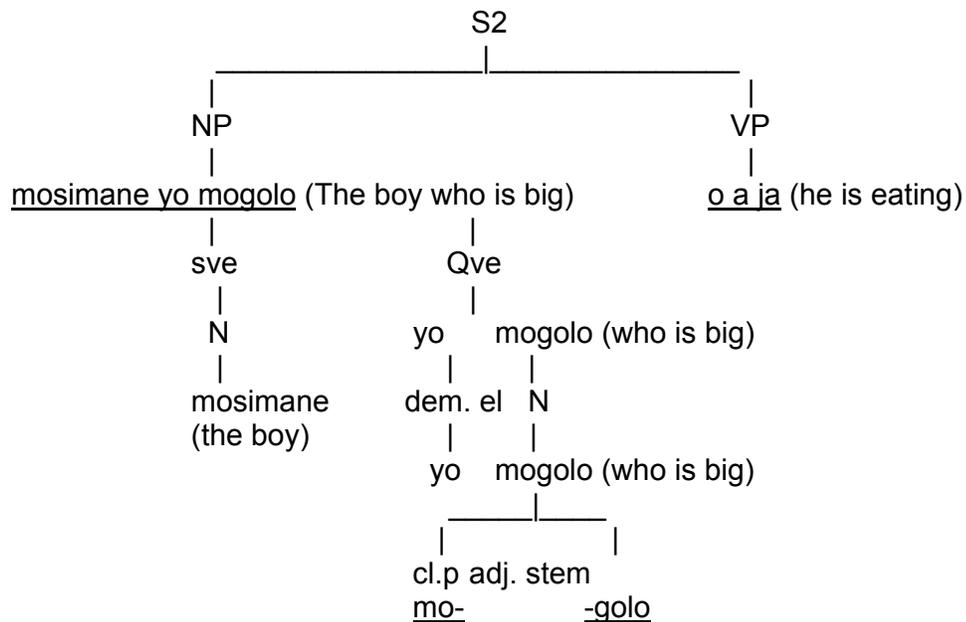
Although Segopolo (1982) tried to make some contribution to the study of the adverb in Tswana, he merely reproduced existing views set forth in grammatical works on Tswana with some minor changes. In his discussion of the adverb in

Tswana he makes some questionable observations when dealing with the subject. Firstly, he fails to stick to the topic of his study, i.e. the adverb in Tswana. Although he deals with the adverb as a word and the morphological theory pertaining to its status as a word, the emphasis is on it being a constituent of the clause, i.e. an adverbial. The topic therefore refers to the adverb as a word but in his study he deals with all structures falling into the descriptive slot, including adverbial phrases and clauses. Secondly, when dealing with adverbials he refers to them as 'descriptives' initially, but later starts to use the term 'adverbial' when he deals with elements which fill the descriptive slot. The fact that he reserves the term 'adverbial' for words from other word categories that may also function as adverbs (see par. 4.9.1 and 6.4 of his work) doesn't seem to be a point of concern to him. The inconsistent use of the terms 'descriptive' and 'adverbial' is confusing

and does not contribute to the understanding of the matter at hand. Thirdly, he does not adhere to the specific rules of constituent structure grammar. He tends to implement constituent rules in a way he sees fit, but in the process ignores some important aspects such as lexical rules as required by constituent structure grammar. Because he only sets constituent structure rules on a few occasions but never a lexical rule, he only uses tree diagrams to present rules. He seems to be mixing different levels of syntactic analysis which makes his attempt at a systematic analysis of these components unsuccessful. This is evident from the tree diagram of his base sentence represented as follows:



Here, he allows the functional clause elements, viz. subject and predicate, to dominate the sentence constituents, i.e. noun phrase and verb phrase. He also allows the functional categories substantive and predicative to dominate the sentence constituents. However, when he starts to analyse the different constituents of the sentence, he regards the sentence constituents as dominant. Compare the following tree diagram:



(Segopolo, 1982:58)

Segopolo(1982) is often inclined to taking short cuts when diagrams are used to illustrate sentence structure and in the process he sometimes overlooks important sentential information and fails to describe it.

An important aspect of Segopolo's analysis is that he deals with the adverbial as a constituent of the verb phrase but never as a constituent of clause structure on its own. This becomes clear when one looks at the constituent structure rule which he proposes to explain the position of the descriptive slot in the sentence, viz.

SC + VA + OC + V + DVE

(Segopolo, 1982:63)

One can therefore deduce that Segopolo (1982) only acknowledges the so-called sentence adverbials in Tswana. This is also evident from the fact that he only deals with adverbials in sentence final position, overlooking their occurrence in the initial sentence position. In doing so, he fails to give a reliable account of the distributional properties of adverbials.

Another important aspect of Segopolo's work is that he only deals with the adverbial constituent as far as it expresses time, place or manner of action. Although he mentions other semantic roles for adverbials in passing, he only recognises these for classificatory purposes without pursuing the matter further.

Since Segopolo (1982) did not succeed in developing a sound and sophisticated theoretical framework for the analysis of Tswana adverbials, many issues regarding this category remain unresolved. His work does however contribute to the understanding of the elements used as adverbials in Tswana as so-called sentence modifiers.

Although current Tswana grammatical analyses do not seem to have undergone significant changes under the influence of modern approaches, this is not to say that they need not be taken into consideration when dealing with the grammatical analysis of adverbials in Tswana. From the cursory survey of more recent descriptive models presented above, we have gained the following insights: Firstly, that we need to distinguish between obligatory adverbials which function as essential complements, and those that function as free modifiers and which are optional within clause structure. Secondly, that we need to implement a set of distinctions which focus on sentence adverbials and non-sentence adverbials. Thirdly, that we need to analyse adverbial behaviour in terms of information structure to be able to distinguish between adverbials which are the comment or topic of an utterance and adverbials which are or are not in focus.

It also became evident from our survey of more contemporary approaches that we need to incorporate certain restricting principles or parameters when classifying adverbials in Tswana. These parameters need to complement each other in order to contribute in a meaningful way to the final analysis. All levels of adverbial usage within clause structure therefore need to be explored before a final classification can be made.

1.6 CONCLUSION

When dealing with the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana we realise that it is not sufficiently described. Existing analyses are mainly based on the traditional grammatical theory which fails to move beyond the semantic subclassification of adverbs into adverbs of Place, Time, Manner and “so on”. Such a classification is vague and open-ended and does not offer a valid basis for a systematic explanation of the surface behaviour of adverbials. Other classifications are, in their turn, based on morphological characteristics only. This is also unacceptable since structure alone cannot account for all facets of adverbial behaviour in Tswana. The generally accepted characterization of an adverb is that it is indeclinable, and that it modifies the verb. There is much evidence contrary to this assumption that will be presented in this study.

At this point it is possible to rephrase the objectives of this investigation against a clearer background:

- (i) Firstly, we need to set defining features for the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana, and in doing so, a basic distinction needs to be drawn between the terms ‘adverb’ and ‘adverbial’ since both are relevant to this study. In order to define adverbials, we need to establish what separates adverbials from other clause elements at the functional level.
- (ii) Secondly, it is important to investigate all possible structures that can be assumed by adverbials because there is a high degree of correspondence between the adverbial element’s structure, and its

semantic, positional and syntactic properties.

- (iii) Thirdly, we need to draw a systematic distinction between two types of adverbials in relation to clause structure, i.e. adverbials which are peripheral to clause structure and those which are integrated in clause structure. This aspect has implications for the semantic interpretation of adverbials, their position within the clause as well as for information processing.
- (iv) Fourthly, we need to unravel the relationship between the function of adverbials, on the one hand, and the nature of information structure on the other. With “information structure” in this context is meant what Buysschaert (1982) describes as the elements that can be introduced as abstract propositions of the form (IT + BE + TOPICS)S, (IT + BE + COMMENT)S and (IT + BE + FOCUS)S, where IT is coreferential with the item(s) that make(s) up the topic, comment or focus respectively. Issues that need to be addressed include, *inter alia* terminological confusion, topic, comment, focus, focussing methods, criteria for information structure and the impact on adverbials.

NOTES

1. The term "descriptive" is traditionally used within the Dokeian model to refer to words with a descriptive function such as adverbs and ideophones which describe or modify the reference of a qualificative, predicative or other descriptive. On the analogy of this definition the term "descriptive" is also used to refer to phrases and clauses with the same function, i.e. descriptive phrases and descriptive clauses. See Cole (1955: par. 2.12, 15.27 ff., 19.51 ff. and 20.52 ff.).
2. This term is also used within the Dokeian model to refer to one of Doke's six major word categories. See Cole (1955: par. 2.6 ff.).
3. This term was introduced by Van Wyk to refer to a special word class in which are subsumed all linguistic units which only have a limited degree of word autonomy. See Kosch (1991: ch. 4).
4. Further research will have to determine whether certain adverbial structures are prepositional phrases in Tswana. It could be that the loss of morphological productivity of locative prefixes may set the stage for the eventual reanalysis of these elements as prepositions. See Demuth (1990:246).
5. At present, the semantic roles of adverbials in Tswana are limited to place, time and manner. See Cole (1955: par. 15.2 ff.).
6. Henceforth, this corpus will be referred to as the Tswana corpus.
7. Introspection involves ideas about language rather than facts of actual usage. See Greenbaum and Quirk (1970: ch. 1) and Sinclair (1991:39).
8. According to Doke's model the function of a word in a sentence takes precedence over the formal characteristics of a word to determine the part of speech to which it belongs. This is why Doke's approach is often referred

to as 'functional'. See Kosch (1991:42).

9. For further reading on the characteristics of Doke's approach see Kosch (1991:45 ff.) and Poulos (1981:15 ff.)
10. For a critical assessment of Doke's approach see Kosch (1991:52 ff.)
11. According to Chomsky (1965) the base component can only be described in terms of categorial notions with the familiar abbreviations: S, NP, VP, N, V, Aux, M, Det. He argues that it would be a mistake to extend a P-marker by means of re-writing rules to include functional information such as Subject, Predicate, Direct Object and Main Verb. For, according to him, this approach "confuses categorial and functional notions by assigning categorial status to both, and thus fails to express the relational character of the functional notions" (Chomsky 1965:69). He also notes that a P-marker which includes functional notions would fail to observe that the grammar on which it is based is redundant, since the notions Subject, Predicate, Direct Object and Main Verb, being relational, are already represented in the P-marker without them, and no re-writing rules are required to introduce them.
12. See Fillmore (1968), pp. 24 -25.
13. To become acquainted with the concepts behind tagmemic theory, see, among others, Pike (1967) and Cook (1969).
14. See Brown and Miller (1991).

CHAPTER 2

THE ADVERBIAL AS A CLAUSE ELEMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we attempt to set defining features for the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana. Firstly, we distinguish between the terms 'adverb' and 'adverbial' in order to establish the different linguistic levels of analysis on which these terms are used. Secondly, we verify which features separate adverbials from other clause elements in order to define them as linguistic entities. To be able to do this we need to investigate the clause as a syntactic unit in Tswana. We also need to establish all the elements of clause structure and investigate the relationship between these elements and the adverbial. From this investigation we will then determine the most acceptable way to describe the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana.

2.2 ADVERB VS ADVERBIAL

In order to establish the adverbial as a clause element, a basic distinction needs to be drawn between the terms 'adverb' and 'adverbial'. According to the existing classifications by Cole (1955) and others, adverbs are a heterogeneous group of items in Tswana which contrast with other main word-classes such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, possessives and verbs. They function in a variety of ways, modifying other elements in clause structure, such as qualificatives and other adverbials (descriptives), but their most frequent role is to provide more information about an action which is performed or a state of affairs which exists. Semantically, adverbs can be related to such questions as **Kae?** (Where?), **Leng?** (When?), **Jang?** (How?), **Goreng?** (Why?), **Le mang?** (With whom?), **Ka eng?**

(With what?), **Ke mang?** (By whom?), **Ke eng?** (By what?) and **Ga kae?** (How many times?). Once this is done, the functional equivalence of multi-word units immediately becomes apparent. Thus a question like '**O tsamaya leng?**' (When are you going?) may elicit one of a variety of responses, for example '**Jaanong**' (Now) - adverb of time, '**Gone jaanong**' (Now immediately) - adverb phrase with '**jaanong**' as its head, '**Phakela**' (Early morning) - noun phrase, '**Ka moso**' (Tomorrow) - prepositional phrase, '**Fa ke batla**' (When I want to) - finite clause. On the basis of functional analogy with the corresponding part of speech, viz. adverbs, these diverse realizations are commonly referred to as adverbials. 'Adverb' is thus a word category represented by words like **jaanong** (now) whereas 'adverbial' is a functional unit that, in addition to adverbs, includes the adverbial usage of a variety of items which are not adverbs themselves.

2.3 THE CLAUSE AS A SYNTACTIC UNIT

The usage of the term "clause" in Tswana grammar is based on Doke's definition of this concept, viz.

"A predicative statement which forms part of a sentence involving more than one predicate." (Doke, 1935:6)

The two main characteristics of a clause according to this definition are therefore:

- (i) a clause is a single predicative statement, i.e. a grammatical structure containing a single predicate, and
- (ii) a clause is only a constituent of a sentence which includes more than one predicate, e.g.

(2-1) **Re tla ba bolêlêla [fa ba tla]**

(We shall tell them when they come)

According to this view we distinguish between two clauses in (2-1) - the element outside the brackets and the element inside the brackets, each containing a single predicate which constitutes a single sentence.

This linear division of a sentence into clauses is reflected in most grammatical works that deal with the structure of the sentence in Tswana. If we start with Cole (1955), we find that he does not deal directly with the clause as a constituent of the sentence in Tswana. He does, however, recognise the clause as a linguistic unit because he uses the term “clause” to refer to certain structures, as in “substantival clause”, “qualificative clause” and “descriptive clause”, e.g.

- (2-2) (a) **Keitse [gore óalwala]**
 (I know that he is sick)
- (b) **Gakeitse [kwaoilêng têng]**
 (I do not know where he has gone)
- (c) **Retlabolola [letsatsi leise letlhabe]**
 (We shall set out before the sun rises)

Here the structures indicated in brackets are examples of what Cole (1955) regards as clauses, i.e. a substantival clause in (2-2) (a), a qualificative clause in (2-2) (b) and a descriptive clause in (2-2) (c). As linguistic units they all adhere to Doke’s definition of a clause in that they all contain a single predicate and they all are part of a sentence containing more than one clause. However, since Cole (1955) does not distinguish between different types of sentences on the basis of the number of clauses they contain and the syntactic relationship between such clauses, one is led to conclude that he regards a clause as a constituent of a multiple sentence¹ only. This conclusion is further confirmed where he deals with the placement of the substantive clause within the sentence. He states:

“Occasionally the clause may precede the main predicate, which then incorporates the objectival concord *go-*,”
 (Cole 1955:437)

By using the term “main predicate” Cole suggests that the clause as a sentence constituent appears in sentences which contain a “main predicate” plus another clause, in this case a substantive clause. He does not discuss the syntactic relations between clauses but by referring to a “main predicate” one must conclude that he has a subordinate relation in mind for the three types of clauses

which he identifies. Furthermore, since all the examples of the three types of clauses given by him display a subordinate relation to a main predicate, it is evident that Cole (1955) regards the clause as a constituent of a complex sentence² only. To him a clause is a syntactic unit which contains a predicate and which is subordinate to a main predicate. This view is also supported by Mogapi (1984). He only distinguishes between a simple sentence (polelonolo) and a complex sentence (polelopate) and thus also regards a clause (polelwana) as a constituent of a complex sentence only. Another source supporting this view is Snyman *et al.* (1991). They define a clause as:

“..... a group of words containing a subject and a predicate, but forming part of a complex sentence.” (Snyman *et al.*, 1991:275)

However, when Setshedi (1982) deals with the different types of sentences he uses the term “clause” (polelwana) to refer to an immediate constituent of a coordinate or compound sentence (polelotswako), i.e. a sentence which contains two or more independent or main clauses, or a complex sentence (polelopate), i.e. a sentence which contains a main or independent clause plus one or more subordinate or dependent clauses. He states:

“Polelotswako, jaaka polelopate, e bopiwa ka dipolelwana tse pedi kana go feta. Nngwe le nngwe ya dipolelwana tsa polelotswako e ikemela ka boyona. Go riana nngwe le nngwe ya dipolelwana tsa polelotswako ke polelwanakutu.” (Setshedi, 1982:117)

(The compound sentence, like the complex sentence, contains two or more clauses. Each one of the clauses in the compound sentence stands on its own. This is to say that each one of the clauses in the compound sentence is a main clause.)

With reference to the structure of the complex sentence he states:

“Polelopate, jaaka polelotswako, e bopiwa ka dipolelwana tse pedi kgotsa go feta. E farologana le polelotswako ka go nna le polelokutu e le nngwe fela, le polelwanakala e le nngwe kgotsa go feta.” (Setshedi, 1982:117)

(The complex sentence, like the compound sentence, contains two or more clauses. It differs from the compound sentence in that it contains only one main clause plus one or more subordinate clauses.)

This view is shared by most linguists. Crystal (1997), Richards *et al.* (1995), Trask (1993), Quirk *et al.* (1985) and others all distinguish between main, independent or superordinate clauses on the one hand, and subordinate or dependent clauses on the other. The distinction between the two types of clauses is based on the ability of a clause to function on its own without being syntactically or semantically dependent on another clause. Louwrens (1994) states:

“..... *main clauses* are autonomous and can function on their own (e.g. **Letšatši le a fiša** ‘The sun is hot’), whereas *subordinate clauses* are *dependent* in that they always rely on a *main clause* to supplement their meaning (e.g. ...**ra fihla** ‘...and then we arrived’; ...**gê ba boa** ‘...if they return’. etc.)” (Louwrens, 1994:23-24)

According to Louwrens (1991) a clause that contains an independent predicate is a main clause while one that contains a dependent predicate is a subordinate clause. In Tswana only predicates that are in the indicative or the imperative moods can be independent. This implies that only a clause containing a predicate in the indicative or imperative mood can act as a main clause in Tswana. On the other hand we find that when a clause contains a predicate which is in one of the dependent moods such as the participial, the subjunctive or the consecutive, it is a subordinate clause, e.g.

(2-3) (a) **Ngwana o tla kgora [fa a ja]**

(The child's appetite will be satisfied provided that (s)he eats)

(b) **Bo tshole [fa bo budule]**

(Dish it up when it is cooked)

In (2-3) (a) we have the main clause, i.e. **ngwana o tla kgora**, with its predicate in the indicative mood and a subordinate clause, i.e. **fa a ja**, with its predicate in the participial mood. In (2-3) (b) we have the main clause, **bo tshole**, in the imperative mood and the subordinate clause, **fa bo budule**, in the participial mood.

If we now take a clause to be an immediate constituent³ of a compound

as well as a complex sentence and we apply it to sentence structure in Tswana we find that a specific hierarchy exists in which all syntagms⁴ are assigned to one type or another. The clause is regarded as a sentence-like unit which has a lower status than a sentence and which consists of smaller syntagms which are identified as phrases. If the clause is a sentence-like unit which is ranked lower than a sentence, then a phrase is a word-like unit which is ranked higher than a word. It therefore follows that clauses and phrases are intermediate units in a hierarchy with four ranks: at the lowest rank the word, if it is the minimal unit⁵; then the phrase as an extended word; then the clause; then the sentence as the maximal unit. This hierarchy can be presented as follows:

MAXIMAL UNIT: SENTENCES, which consist of one or more
CLAUSES, which consist of one or more
PHRASES, which consist of one or more
MINIMAL UNIT: WORDS

This linear division is however an oversimplified view of the relationship between the units because it is a hierarchy in which both the clause and the phrase are subject to what we can call 'rank-shifting'. A clause may simply consist of units of a lower rank; typically of one or more phrases as immediate constituents. However, it may also include a unit of its own rank, e.g.

(2-4) **O ne a re o rata nama**
(He had said he likes meat)

Here the clause⁶ **o rata nama**, is embedded within a second clause, i.e. **o ne a re o rata nama**. The relationship between these two clauses is however different from the relationship which exists between the clauses in a multiple sentence. When a clause is embedded within another clause it serves as a complement for the verb, as in (2-4) above where **o rata nama** complements **o ne a re**, but when two or more clauses combine to form a multiple sentence, the relationship between the clauses is one of conjoining or subordination. Likewise a phrase may simply consist of one or more words, but it too may include a unit of its own rank,

e.g.

(2-5) ... **mosadi yo montle** ...

(... beautiful woman ...)

In this example the adjective phrase **yo montle** is a phrase within the noun phrase **mosadi yo montle**. The phrase may also include a clause, e.g.

(2-6) ... **nama e re e jeleng** ...

(...the meat that we ate ...)

Here the noun phrase **nama e re e jeleng** includes the relative clause **e re e jeleng**.

In these cases a unit of a specific rank in the hierarchy is 'shifted' into a structure of a unit of either the same rank, i.e. clauses as elements of clauses or phrases as elements of phrases, or of the next lower rank, i.e. clauses as elements of phrases.

Since we regard a clause as a sentence-like unit which is lower in rank than a sentence, we need to clarify the existence of sentences containing a single clause, i.e. a basic, simple or simplex sentence. According to Trask (1993:252) a simple sentence consists of only a single clause. Quirk *et al.* (1985) expand this view by characterizing a simple sentence as a sentence that consists of a single independent clause. Crystal (1997) refers to the classification of sentences and states:

"Most analyses also recognize some such classification of 'sentence patterns' into simple v. complex or compound types, i.e. consisting of one SUBJECT-PREDICATE unit, as opposed to more than one. Whether one calls this subject-predicate unit a CLAUSE, a 'simple' sentence, or uses some other term depends on one's model of analysis - but something analogous to this unit emerges in all theories, e.g. NP + VP, ACTOR-ACTION-GOAL, Subject-Verb-Object." (Crystal, 1997:348)

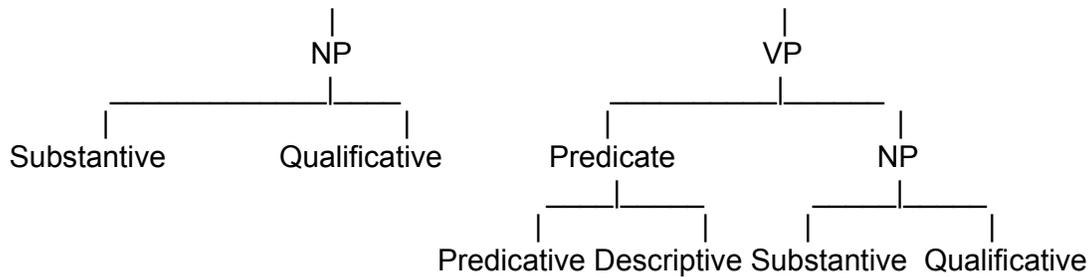
If we therefore adhere to Trask's (1993) view that a clause is always dominated by the initial symbol S, we must conclude that a simple sentence has the form of a clause or simply that it is a clause.

It is clear from the above discussion that we need to distinguish clauses to refer to the immediate constituents of multiple sentences, but we must also recognise a clause as the unitary constituent of a simple sentence. Because of this, and since the clause is in many ways a more clearly-defined unit than the sentence, we take the clause as the unit of analysis in this study.

2.4 CLAUSE STRUCTURE

In order to state general rules about the syntactic structure of the clause in Tswana, it is necessary to constantly refer to smaller syntactic units than the clause itself. Our first task must therefore be to explain what these smaller syntactic units are that we need to distinguish within clause structure to be able to deal with the adverbial as an element of clause structure. Since not much is said about the clause as a syntactic element in existing Tswana grammars, we will first look at different views on the units constituting a simple or basic sentence since this type of sentence takes a clause as a unitary constituent and simple sentences and clauses are therefore in most instances structurally equal.

Cole (1955) identifies four functional categories, i.e. substantive, qualificative, predicative and descriptive as the elements of "the simple type of sentence" which take a clause as a unitary constituent. He regards the predicative as an essential component⁷ and adds that it always takes a subject (expressed or understood). The predicate may also take an object. The normal word-order for this type of sentence is Subject-Predicate-Object. From here he then starts to refer to the subject and object as substantival subject and object and explains that each may have one or more qualificative adjuncts⁸ following them. The predicative may have one or more descriptive extensions⁹ which normally follow the substantival object in sentence structure. He gives the following example of a sentence containing all these elements:



In this analysis he regards phrases as the immediate constituents of the sentence with the substantive and qualificative as constituents of the noun phrase and the predicate and another noun phrase (object) as immediate constituents of the verb phrase. The descriptive is introduced as a constituent of the predicate together with the predicative.

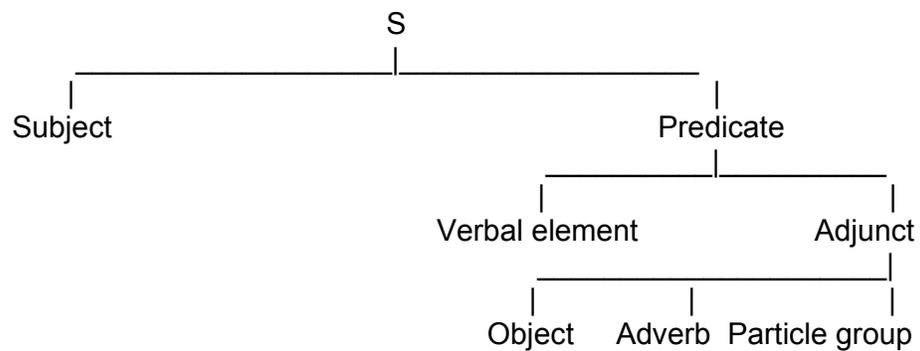
When Segopolo (1982) gets to introducing a clause into sentence structure he deals with the clause (coordinate or subordinate) as an immediate constituent of the verb phrase, i.e. as an embedded clause in the phrase. The clause is then analysed in terms of functional categories such as conjunctive, subject, predicative, object and descriptive. The subject of the clause is in some instances regarded as a noun phrase on the same level as conjunctives, predicatives, objects and descriptives. In such instances the subject is then indicated on the next level of analysis. The object is also treated in some instances as a noun phrase on the same level as the predicative. This analysis is in many ways confusing and cannot be regarded as a reliable exposition of clause structure in Tswana.

Louwrens (1991:13) defines a basic sentence, i.e. a sentence which enjoys the same status as a clause, as a sentence which consists of at least a subject and a predicate as immediate constituents. The predicate consists of a verbal element which may be extended by adjuncts of different kinds. He states:

“Apart from a subject, a basic sentence also contains a *predicate*. The predicate may consist either of a *verbal element*, or a verbal element together with certain *adjuncts* thereof.” (Louwrens, 1991:17)

When the predicate is a single verbal element it may either be a main verb or an

auxiliary word group. The main verb is any verb which functions independently and he distinguishes between proper main verbs and copulative main verbs¹¹. When an auxiliary word group constitutes the verbal element, the auxiliary verb can take a proper main verb or a copulative main verb or an auxiliary word group as its complement¹². The predicate slot can also be filled by a verbal element together with one or more adjuncts as sister constituents of the verbal element but as daughter constituents of the predicate. The different types of adjuncts which he distinguishes are objects, adverbs and particle groups. His analysis can be represented as follows:



Cole (1955), Segopolo (1982) and Louwrens (1991) all view the predicate as the 'central' constituent of clause structure and state that it always takes a subject (expressed or understood) as a sister constituent. They do, however, differ on the status of the object. Cole (1955) regards the object as a sister constituent of the subject and predicate. Segopolo (1982) treats it as a daughter constituent of the verb phrase but also as a sister constituent of the predicate or the predicative. The object is treated as a noun phrase under the verb phrase. Louwrens (1991), on the other hand, regards the object as an adjunct of the verbal element within the predicate, i.e. a daughter constituent of the predicate. The adverbial (descriptive) is also treated differently by these authors. Segopolo (1982) differs from Cole (1955), in as far as the adverbial (descriptive) is concerned, in that he treats it as a daughter constituent of the predicate while Cole (1955) treats it as a sister constituent of the predicate. Louwrens (1991) deals with the adverbial as an adjunct of the verbal element together with the object. It is regarded as a daughter constituent of the predicate and a sister constituent of the verbal element and the object. These differences in the interpretation of clause structure can

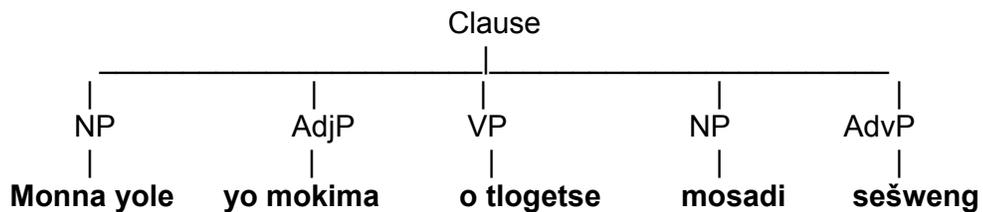
be attributed to the fact that grammarians deal with clause structure on different layers of constituency in Tswana. We need to identify the constituency layer on which adverbials are distinguished and by so doing get a more reliable view of clause structure in Tswana.

Quirk *et al.* (1985) state that the form-function distinction between elements is particularly important in the case of clause structure. With this we agree and we will investigate this mode of analysis further.

To start with, we can use the formal characteristics of a unit, i.e. we take into account how a unit is composed of smaller units or components structurally. However, if we were to use the formal characteristics of a unit to identify the constituents making up that unit, we need to differentiate between the various relationships between the constituents within that unit. A distinction should therefore be drawn between chain (syntagmatic) and choice (paradigmatic) relationships between the constituents of a unit. By using choice relationships between constituents, we can then identify different categories. For the clause we identify different phrases as constituents, i. e. noun phrases, verb phrases, adverbial phrases, adjective (qualificative) phrases and prepositional phrases, e.g.

(2-8) **{Monna yole} {yo mokima} {o tlogetse} {mosadi} {sešweng}**
 (The fat man over there left his wife recently)

This example can then be analysed as follows:



But as we saw above, such an analysis is often misleading since Tswana typically lacks formal indicators for these categories, i.e. a noun phrase does not have to

include a noun as an indication that it is a noun phrase, an adjective phrase does not have to include an adjective as an indication that it is an adjective phrase, a verb phrase does not have to include a verb as an indication that it is a verb phrase and an adverbial phrase does not have to include an adverb as an indication that it is an adverbial phrase. To describe more fully how clauses are composed, it is necessary to take cognisance of other factors such as whether a constituent may vary its position, and whether a constituent can be omitted. Adverb phrases can be subjected to both these syntactic processes, e.g.

- (2-9) (a) **Sešweng, monna yole yo mokima o tlogetse mosadi**
(Recently, the fat man over there left his wife)
- (b) **Monna yole yo mokima o tlogetse mosadi**
(The fat man over there left his wife)

Another feature of the adverb phrase is that it may be replaced by a different kind of constituent which is similarly mobile and optional, e.g. a noun phrase such as **maabane** or a prepositional phrase such as **kwa nokeng**, e.g.

- (2-10) (a) **Monna yole yo mokima o tlogetse mosadi maabane**
(The fat man over there left his wife yesterday)
- (b) **Monna yole yo mokima o tlogetse mosadi kwa nokeng**
(The fat man over there left his wife at the river)

On the other hand, we obviously cannot always replace a noun phrase with an adverb phrase or prepositional phrase, and this feature of a noun phrase indicates to us that noun phrases are in a 'choice' relationship to other kinds of phrases on some occasions, but not on others.

From the preceding discussion it becomes clear that when we need to state more complicated facts about constituency such as the ones dealt with above, it is important to also use the function performed by a unit in order to classify it syntactically. By function is meant what Quirk *et al.* (1985) describe as:

“..... a unit’s ‘privilege of occurrence’, in terms of its position, mobility, optionality, etc. in the unit of which it is a constituent” (Quirk *et al.*, 1985:48)

When two units share the same privilege of occurrence we may say that they are functionally equivalent. Thus the final phrases of (2-8), i.e. **sešweng** and (2-10) (a), i.e. **maabane** and (2-10) (b), i.e. **kwa nokeng** although they belong to different formal categories (adverb phrase, noun phrase, prepositional phrase), may be said to belong to the same functional category of adverbial. The functional categories define elements of structure in the higher unit; in this case the clause. It is therefore important to distinguish functional from formal categories because of two generalizations that can be made, i.e. about (a) a unit’s status as a constituent of a higher unit, and ; (b) those about its internal structure in terms of smaller or lower units. For example, it is important to distinguish those prepositional phrases which act as adverbials from those which act as parts of noun phrases. It is also important to distinguish adverbials (a functional category) from adverb phrases (a formal category, whose members frequently function as adverbials). This can only be done within a form-functional distinction model.

If we now direct our attention to the structure of the clause, we find that Quirk *et al.* (1985) regard the subject, verb, object, complement and adverbial as the functional constituents of clause structure. According to them the verb element (V) is seen as the most ‘central’ constituent of the clause and it is preceded by a subject (S). Following the verb there may be one or two objects (O), or a complement (C), which follows the object if one is present. The most peripheral element is the adverbial, which occurs either initially or finally although it may sometimes occur medially. When adverbials occur finally, they may vary in number. These observations are summarized in the following simplified formula:

(A) S (A) V (O) (O) (C) (A)

(Quirk *et al.* 1985:50)

(Parentheses indicate elements which may not be present in any given clause)

If we apply this formula to Tswana declarative clause structure we find that, with some minor adaptations, it applies in more than one instance. Cole (1955) calls

the type of structure formalised above a predicative sentence and states that it contains two primary components, a predicate, which is always expressed, and a subject, which is always implied even if not expressed, i.e. the subject is always supposed by the subject concord as a pronominal element when not expressed. If we now are to create formulae for the different structural types of clauses distinguished in Tswana we need to start with the subject and the verb as the two basic constituents, i.e.

SV

An example of such a structure is:

(2-11) **Ngwana o robetse**

(The child is asleep)

or only

(2-12) **O robetse**

(He/She is asleep)

Because we take the verb as the most 'central' element in clause structure it reveals the following characteristics:

- (i) its position is medial within clause structure;
- (ii) it is obligatory;
- (iii) it cannot be moved to a different position in the clause; and
- (iv) it helps to determine which other clause elements must occur.

With these characteristics in mind the above formula forms the basis for all clauses in Tswana. If the V element of such a structure represents a transitive verb it may take an object. In fact, Cole (1955) states that it can take up to three objects. We can therefore formulate three more clause types, i.e.

SVO

SVOO

SVOOO¹³

Examples of the above structures are:

- (2-13) (a) **Morutabana o kwala lokwalo**
 (The teacher is writing a letter)
- (b) **Morutabana o kwalela ngwana lokwalo**
 (The teacher is writing a letter to/for the child)
- (c) **Morutabana o kwalelela ngwana batsadi lokwalo**
 (The teacher is writing a letter to the parents on behalf of the child)

Besides objects we can also add a complement to the basic structure. If we define a complement as a unit which is used to complete a clause which contains the verb *to be*, we find that a complement always occurs in Tswana with a copulative verb. According to Louwrens (1991), copulatives should also be regarded as underlying main verbs even if they consist of only a particle in surface structure.

The formula for such a structure is:

SVC

An example of such a structure is:

- (2-14) **Batho ba Botswana ke setšhaba**
 (The people of Botswana are a nation)

The verbal element can also be an auxiliary word group, i.e. a word group of which the first member is an auxiliary verb. We regard this type of clause element also as a verb because it does not behave differently within the clause from the other two types of verbs distinguished above. Such a verbal element is therefore also represented by V^{14} in our formula.

The last type of clause element which can be added to our basic formula is an adverbial. If the V element determines that an adverbial element must occur it occurs with a copulative, e.g.

- (2-15) **Bana ba ne ba le kwa sekolong**
 (The children were at school)

One can argue that, because the adverbial element in (2-15), i.e. **kwa sekolong**, is essential for the 'completion' of the verb, it is a complement. Our position is however that this type of adverbial is the most central type of adverbial because it is immobile and compulsory. It does resemble a complement but it is an adverbial in meaning, in answering, for example, the question **Kae?** (Where?). This type of clause can therefore be formulated as:

SVA

An adverbial element can also be added to a SVO clause when the V element determines that an adverbial element must occur with the O element, e.g.

(2-16) **Mosimane yole o ragetse bolo mo metsing**

(That boy kicked the ball into the water)

This type of clause can be formulated as:

SVOA

Adverbials are however in most instances optional elements of clause structure. We know that they usually occur in clause final position and that more than one can be present. To cover this possibility, A..... needs to be added to a formula summarising all possible elements of clause structure, including optional elements. We also know that, according to Ranamane (1989), adverbials can appear in front position, i.e. initially and also that adverbials can appear after the subject but before the predicate, i.e. medially. There is however not one instance in which adverbials are obligatory elements of clause structure in these positions. We can thus also add adverbials as optional elements to these two positions in our summarising formula, which will then be:

(A)S(A)V(O)(O)(O)(C)(A.....)

(Parentheses indicate elements which may not be present in any given clause)

If we now take the above formula and we eliminate optional adverbials, we distinguish the following clause types which can be usefully applied to the whole range of Tswana declarative clauses whether main or subordinate:

(i) SV, e.g.

(2-17) **Monna o a ja**

(The man is eating)

(ii) SVO, e.g.

(2-18) **Monna o ja dijo**

(The man is eating food)

(iii) SVC, e.g.

(2-19) **Sello o nna morutabana**

(Sello is becoming a teacher)

(iv) SVA, e.g.

(2-20) **Dilo tsa gagwe di mo ntlong**

(His/Her things are in the house)

(v) SVOO, e.g.

(2-21) **Ke botsa bana dipotso**

(I am asking the children questions)

(vi) SVOOO, e.g.

(2-22) **Ke tla kwalelela mosimane batsadi lokwalo**

(I shall write a letter to the parents on behalf of the boy)

(vii) SVOA, e.g.

(2-23) **Ba kgarametsa monnamogolo mo mosimeng**

(They push the old man into the hole)

Cutting across this classification of clause types, there are some relational aspects between the various clause elements that need to be explained further in order to set forth a more detailed set of clause types for Tswana. First we need to identify three verb classes, viz.

- (i) intransitive verbs, which require no obligatory element and occur in type SV;
- (ii) transitive verbs, which may be followed by an object and which occur in types SVO, SVOO, SVOOO and SVOA; and
- (iii) copulative verbs, which are followed by a complement or an adverbial, and which occur in types SVC and SVA.

The term 'transitive' is applied to verbs which take an object but we need to make a further classification for this verb class in order to identify specific sub-types, viz.

- (i) single transitive verbs occurring in SVO clause types;
- (ii) double transitive verbs occurring in SVOO clause types;
- (iii) triple transitive verbs occurring in SVOOO clause types; and
- (iv) complex transitive verbs occurring in SVOA¹⁵ clause types.

When considering the object, we need to distinguish between three types of objects within the above formula. Firstly, we need to distinguish between the objects in a SVOO clause type, e.g.

(2-24) **Morutabana o botsa bana dipotso**

(The teacher is asking the children questions)

In this example the object **bana** clearly has a different semantic role from the object **dipotso**. This difference has been traditionally recognised by referring to the latter as a direct object and to the former as an indirect object. We indicate this difference in our formula by using Oi to indicate an indirect object and Od for a direct object. This clause type will then be indicated as SVOiOd . Secondly, we need to distinguish between the objects in a SVOOO clause type, e.g.

(2-25) **Ke tla kwalelela mosimane batsadi lokwalo**

(I shall write a letter to the parents on behalf of the boy)

Here we have three objects. The object of the basic verb (**ke tla kwala**) is **lokwalo** and it is the direct object (Od). The indirect objects are **mosimane** and **batsadi**. We distinguish between these two indirect objects by applying the derivative idea expressed by the verb. The object of the first derivative idea is **batsadi**. It is therefore the secondary indirect object (Osi). The object of the second derivative idea is **mosimane** and it is called the principal indirect object (Opi).

For the obligatory adverbials incorporated in clause types SVA and SVOA we also need to draw a distinction between two types. These adverbials usually indicate space and we distinguish between those occurring in the SVA clause type, in which a location is attributed to the referent of the subject (As), and those occurring in a SVOA clause type, in which a location is attributed to the referent of the object (Ao), e.g.

(2-26) (a) **Monna yole (S) o (V) kwa gae (As)**

(That man is at home)

(b) **Sello (S) o beile (V) diatla (O) mo tafoleng (Ao)**

(Sello put his hands on the table)

After we have now subclassified the functional categories into more specific ones, we can present a more detailed classification of clause types in Tswana (again omitting optional adverbials):

- (i) $SV_{\text{intransitive}}$
- (ii) $SV_{\text{single transitive } O_d}$
- (iii) $SV_{\text{copular } C}$
- (iv) $SV_{\text{copular } A_s}$
- (v) $SV_{\text{double transitive } O_i O_d}$
- (vi) $SV_{\text{triple transitive } O_{pi} O_{si} O_d}$
- (vii) $SV_{\text{complex transitive } O_d A_o}$

We concede that the clause types indicated here are not the only possible ones that exist. However, as will become evident in the following chapters, these prove to be sufficient to achieve the aims set out at the beginning of this thesis.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In the above discussion of the adverbial as a clause element we differentiated it from the adverb and identified it as a functional element within clause structure. The clause as a syntactic structure was investigated and the different elements of clause structure were identified which made the recognition of different clause types possible. We identified adverbials as obligatory constituents in clause types SVOA and SVA in which they appear in final position. Although adverbials usually appear in clause final position we also indicated that they are optional constituents in other positions in the clause. In the latter sense they can be added to or removed from the clause without affecting the acceptability of the clause and also without affecting the relations of other clause elements. We further found that more than one adverbial can appear at a time in a clause and also that they never determine what other elements should be used in clause structure.

With these preliminary features of adverbials as clause elements established in this chapter we can now move to a more detailed analysis of structural, syntactic and semantic features of adverbials in the next chapter. Firstly, we will distinguish between the different surface realizations of adverbials within clause structure. This is done because the syntactic and semantic properties of adverbials correspond to a large extent with their formal realization. We will further investigate the syntactic properties of adverbials as well as the semantic roles. Lastly, we will concentrate on the theoretical possibilities that adverbials have as modifiers. The structural, syntactic and semantic properties as well as the features adverbials have as modifiers will eventually be implemented to make a functional classification of adverbials in clause structure in Chapter 4.

NOTES

1. The term “multiple sentence” is used here to refer to all sentences which consist of more than one clause, either through subordination or through coordination. See Quirk *et al.* (1985:47 and 987ff).
2. Cole (1955) does not define a complex sentence but he refers to it in a footnote on p. 59. From this reference we conclude that he regards a complex sentence to be a sentence containing a main clause plus one or more subordinate clauses.
3. Immediate constituents are regarded as those constituents into which another unit is immediately divisible. See Quirk *et al.* (1985:40).
4. The term “syntagm” is used here to refer to any group of words forming a unit which is intermediate between the word and the sentence.
5. Some scholars such as Quirk *et al.* (1985) take the morpheme as the lowest unit and have established a hierarchy with five ranks, i.e. morpheme, word, phrase, clause and sentence.
6. A clause which contains another clause embedded within it is called a matrix clause by Trask (1993:44 and 168).
7. According to Cole (1955:311-312), even when a single noun is given as an answer to a question, it is predicative in function, e.g.

a. **Ke eng?** (What is it?)

b. **Mogoma.** (It is a plough)

(The translation for b. should be 'A plough'. Compare c. below).

Here **mogoma** is a noun which, according to Cole, functions as the base of the identificative copulative and should more commonly be expressed as:

c. **Kemogoma** (It is a plough)

We can also argue along the same line that the subject is presupposed, e.g.

d. **Selo se kemogoma** (This thing is a plough)

For the purpose of this study we will refer to this type of sentences as elliptical sentences, i.e. sentences of which a part has been deleted. The assumption being that the deleted part will always be recoverable from the surrounding context.

8. The terms “substantive” and “adjunct” are used by Cole (1955) in terms of how Jespersen (1924) uses the terms when he states:

“We might even define substantives as words standing habitually as primaries, adjectives as words standing habitually as adjuncts, and adverbs as words standing habitually as subjuncts”. (Jespersen, 1924:98)

See Cole (1955:57 footnote 1)

9. Cole (1955) uses the term “descriptive extension” in line with Doke (1935) which refers to “Extensions of Predicates”. See Doke (1935).
10. The terms “mother”, “daughter” and “sister” are used to refer to the relationships between nodes in a phrase-marker or tree. A node is the mother of the nodes it immediately dominates, its daughters; nodes sharing the same mother are sisters. See Brown and Miller (1991).
11. For reasons why Louwrens (1991) regards copulatives as main verbs see Louwrens (1991:18ff).
12. The term ‘complement’ is used here in terms of how Louwrens (1994) describes it according to Crystal (1997) who defines a complement as:
- “ a major constituent of sentence or clause structure, traditionally associated with ‘completing’ the action specified by the verb.” (Crystal, 1997:67).

See Louwrens (1994:27-28).

13. Cole (1955) states that when there are three non-coordinate objects, which are rare, one of them is principal, the other two subsidiary. See Cole (1955:431ff).
14. It is unfortunate that the term 'verb' is traditionally used to indicate both a clause element, and a word class in general linguistics. The term 'predicate' is used in Tswana grammar to indicate the clause element and the term 'verb' is reserved for the word class. In this study we shall use the term 'verb' to refer to the clause element. When used otherwise it shall be explained.
15. In this clause type it is the transitivity of the verb which brings about the obligatory use of an adverbial element. Compare the following examples:
- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| a. | Re apeela bana dijo mo pitseng | (We are cooking food for the children in a pot) |
| b. | Re apeela bana mo pitseng | (We are cooking for the children in a pot) |
| c. | Re apeela dijo mo pitseng | (We are cooking food in a pot) |

In a. and b. the adverbial element is optional. In c., however, it is an obligatory element because the transitivity of the V element determines the use of an adverbial element after the object.

CHAPTER 3

THE DESCRIPTION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes adverbials in clause structure by focussing on various features which they exhibit in surface structure. Firstly, we distinguish between the different surface realizations of adverbials within clause structure. This is done because the syntactic and semantic properties of adverbials correspond to a large extent with the features which they exhibit in surface structure. We then investigate the syntactic properties of adverbials as well as their semantic roles. Lastly, we examine the scope of modification which adverbials have. The structural, syntactic and semantic properties, as well as the scope of modification are eventually implemented to make a functional categorization of adverbials in clause structure in Chapter 4.

3.2 THE STRUCTURAL REALIZATION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Different words and phrases can be used as adverbials in clause structure, viz.

- (i) basic adverbs;
- (ii) words from other word categories used as adverbials;
- (iii) derived adverbs

- adverbs formed by adding a noun class prefix¹ to an adjective stem;
 - adverbs formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem;
 - adverbs formed by adding the locative suffix **-ng** to nouns;
 - adverbs formed by adding a preposition² to a base³;
- (iv) adverbial phrases.

3.2.1 Basic adverbs

Basic adverbs are words which are not derived from other word categories and which have an inherent adverbial meaning, e.g.

- (3-1) (a) **pila** (well)
- (b) **tôtá**⁴ (really, properly, truly, genuinely, actually, undoubtedly, indeed, in fact)
- (c) **rúri** (for a long time)
- (d) **jálê** (some time ago)

3.2.2 Words from other word categories used as adverbs

Apart from basic adverbs, which are very few, there are numerous words which belong to other word categories which may function as adverbials in clause structure. This implies that such words are taken as they are, and are used as adverbials. We distinguish between:

- place names, e.g.

(3-2) **Tlhabane** (Rustenburg)

- nouns, e.g.

(3-3) (a) **mošate** (chief's place, capital)

- (b) **bosigo** (night)
- (c) **sesimane** (boyish manner)

- nouns of classes 16, 17, and 18, e.g.

- (3-4) (a) **fatshe** (down, below, on the ground)
- (b) **godimo** (above)
 - (c) **morago** (behind, at the back)

- certain possessive forms with the possessive prefix of noun class 5, e.g.

- (3-5) **la ntlha** (first)

- absolute pronouns, demonstratives, enumeratives and quantitatives of noun classes 16, 17 and 18, e.g.

- (3-6) (a) **gona** (here, there)
- (b) **mo** (in here, on here); and
 - (c) **gope** (anywhere/nowhere)
 - (d) **gotlhe** (everywhere)

3.2.3 Derived adverbs

3.2.3.1 Adverbs formed by adding a noun class prefix to an adjective stem

This type of adverb is formed by affixing a noun class prefix to an adjective stem. We distinguish between two types:

- when the prefix **se-** of class 7 is added to adjective stems, e.g.

- (3-7) (a) **se-** + **-ntle** > **sentle** (well, beautifully, satisfactorily)
- (b) **se-** + **-golo** > **segolo** (particular)

(c) **se-** + **-šwa** > **sešwa** (anew)

- when the prefix **bo-** of class 14 is added to an adjective stem, e.g.

(3-8) **bo-** + **-golo** > **bogolo** (especially, rather)

3.2.3.2 Adverbs formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem

Adverbs are also formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem. We distinguish between the following types:

- when the adverbial prefix **ga-** is added to an adjective stem, e.g.

(3-9) **gabedi** (twice)

- when the associative prefix **na-** is added to the abbreviated form of the absolute pronouns, e.g.

(3-10) **nabo** (with them)

- when the adverbial prefix **ga-** is added to the communal possessive pronominal stem of the first, second or third person singular or to the possessive pronominal stem of the first, second or third person singular and plural, e.g.

(3-11) (a) **gagabo** (at the place or territory of his/her community)

(b) **gagagwe** (at a place or territory personally owned by him/her)

3.2.3.3 Adverbs formed by adding the locative suffix -ng to nouns

Adverbs may be formed by suffixing the locative suffix **-ng** to nouns. When a noun ends with **-a**, the **-a** changes to **-ê⁵** as a result of the suffixation of **-ng**. In all other instances the final vowel remains unaffected. In the case of nouns ending with the

nasal **-ng** the added suffix **-ng** causes the palatalization of the terminal **-ng** to **-nye** to which the suffix **-ng** may be added, e.g.

- (3-12) (a) **tiro** > **tirong** (at work)
(b) **thaba** > **thabêng** (at the mountain)
(c) **bojang** > **bojannye** or **bojannyeng** (at the grass)

3.2.3.4 Adverbs formed by adding a preposition to a base

Numerous adverbs are formed by adding prepositions to bases. The bases which are generally involved in the formation of adverbs of this kind are nouns, absolute pronouns, demonstratives and various qualificatives.

A variety of prepositions can be added to these bases to form adverbs. These prepositions are usually grouped together according to the different semantic relations they express, for example locative, temporal, connective and agent. We will here merely list them⁶ with examples since they will be dealt with in detail when the semantic role of adverbials is discussed later in this chapter. The following prepositions can be used to form adverbs:

- **fa-**, e.g.

(3-13) **fa nokeng** (at, to or from the river)

- **go-**, e.g.

(3-14) **go ena** (to him/her)

- **mo-**, e.g.

(3-15) **mo ntlong** (in the house)

- **kwa-**, e.g.

(3-16) **kwa Gaborone** (to Gaborone)

- **ga-**, e.g.

(3-17) **ga malome** (at my uncle's place)

- **ka-**⁷, e.g.

(3-18) **ka Labobedi** (on Tuesday)

- **mo-**, e.g.

(3-19) **mo marigeng** (during the winter)

- **mo go-**, e.g.

(3-20) **mo go maswe** (terribly)

- **le**, e.g.

(3-21) **le wena** (with you)

- **ke-**, e.g.

(3-22) **ke ena** (by him/her)

- **jaaka-**, e.g.

(3-23) **jaaka ntate** (like father)

- **goo-** which is added to personal nouns and kinship terms, e.g.

- (3-24) (a) **gooMotshabi** (in Motshabi's area)
(b) **gooTawana** (at the larger local area of the Tawana)

3.2.4 Adverbial phrases

Adverbials can also occur as phrases. An adverbial phrase is a word group without a verbal element with an adverb as the head of the phrase, e.g.

- (3-25) (a) **gona jaanong** (right now)
(b) **jaanong jaana** (just now)
(c) **gone jaana** (just like this)
(d) **dikhilomethara tse tharo** (three kilometres)

With the different realizations of adverbials established we can now investigate the behaviour of these adverbial forms within the clause with reference to the different positions which they can occupy in clause structure. The fact that different realizations can only occupy certain positions in clause structure will be dealt with when adverbials are discussed as modifiers.

3.3 THE SYNTAX OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

As we have stated in Chapter 2, the basic position of the adverbial within clause structure is the sentence final position, e.g.

- (3-26) **Monnamogolo o isa dikgomo kwa mafulong**
(The old man is taking the cattle to the pasture)

We also indicated that adverbials can appear in initial as well as medial position in the clause, e.g.

- (3-27) (a) **Motshegare basimane ba raga kgwele**
(At midday the boys play football)
(b) **Basimane motshegare ba raga kgwele**

(The boy at midday play football)

The latter positions were indicated as the non-basic positions of sentence adverbials.

However, in order to arrive at a reliable functional classification in the next chapter, we need to look more closely at the various positions adverbials can occupy in clause structure. The following examples illustrate the freedom with which adverbials can appear:

(3-28) (a) **Ka nako eo monna yo o ne a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(By that time this man was supposed to have been through with his work)

(b) **Monna yo, ka nako eo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man, by that time, was supposed to have been through with his work)

(c) **Monna yo, o ne, ka nako eo, a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man was, by that time, supposed to have been through with his work)

(d) **Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse ka nako eo, a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man was supposed, by that time, to have been through with his work)

(e) **Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo ka nako eo, a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man was supposed to have been by that time, through with his work)

(f) **Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka nako eo, ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man was supposed to have been through by that time, with his

work)

- (g) **Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe ka nako eo**

(This man was supposed to have been through with his work by that time)

Some of these positions are less likely than others for the adverbial element, but none are unacceptable. We must, however, keep in mind that the choice of position affects the meaning of the clause. The selection of one position rather than another is influenced by several factors such as the adverbial's role in information structure, type of realization, and semantic and syntactic typology. These aspects will receive our attention later in this study. For the moment, we will focus on the positions of adverbials in clause structure in greater detail.

Quirk *et al.* (1985:490f) distinguish up to seven different positions for the adverbials, the main ones being initial (I), medial (M) and end (E). For our description of the various primary positions we will take the initial position (I) as the position before the subject, the medial position (M) as any position between the subject and the main verb and the end position (E) as any position after the verb.

3.3.1 Initial position

When an adverbial is placed in the initial position in a clause it precedes all other clause elements. In effect, this generally means that the adverbial element precedes the subject, as in:

- (3-29) **Ka gale, dipolelwana tsa polelotswako di kopanngwa ka makopanyi a**

(Usually, the clauses of a coordinate sentence are joined with these conjunctions)

In direct questions, the adverbial is also placed before the operator of the *wh*-element, e.g.

(3-30) **Le gale, e sale leng a lwala?**

(Anyhow, since when is he ill?)

with the operator of the *wh*-element being **e sale**.

However, when an adverbial is used in initial position in subordinate or coordinate clauses containing a conjunction, it occupies the position following the conjunction, e.g.

(3-31) **[O ile gae] [mme maabane o ne a se teng mo kgotleng]**

(He went home and yesterday he was not in court)

To indicate these positions the positional notion, Initial (I) will be used.

However, when more than one adverbial occurs in initial position, e.g.

(3-32) **Maabane, kwa nokeng, o ne a sa lwale**

(Yesterday, at the river, he was not ill)

the positional notions Initial1 (I1), Initial2 (I2), etc. will be used to refer to the various adverbial elements in initial position.

3.3.2 Medial position

The medial position is the position between the subject and the main verb, e.g.

(3-33) **Badisa, kwa morakeng, ba bolaile tau**

(The herdsmen, at the cattle post, killed a lion)

and the positional notions (M1), (M2), etc. are used to indicate the adverbials in this position when the verbal element does not contain an auxiliary verb.

When the verb element consists of an auxiliary word group, especially when it

contains two or more auxiliary verbs⁸, this definition of medial position is inadequate. As we saw in (3-28) (b)-(e) above, the adverbial element can appear in a number of different medial positions within the auxiliary word group before the main verb. We distinguish between the following possibilities:

- when one or more adverbials appear before the verbal element which consists of an auxiliary group containing one or more auxiliary verbs it stands in initial medial (iM) position after the subject and before the auxiliary word group, e.g.

(3-34) **Monna yo, ka nako eo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man, by that time, was supposed to have been through with his work)

When more than one adverbial appears in this position the positional designations (iM1), (iM2), etc. will be used.

- when the adverbial or adverbials appear after the first auxiliary verb of the verbal element which consists of an auxiliary group containing two or more auxiliary verbs, it stands in medial Medial1 (mM1) position, e.g.

(3-35) **Monna yo, o ne, ka nako eo, a tshwanetse a bo a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe**

(This man was, by that time, supposed to have been through with his work)

When more than one adverbial appears in this position the positional notions (mM11), (mM12), etc. will be used.

- when the adverbial appears after the second auxiliary verb of the verbal element which consists of an auxiliary group containing three or more auxiliary verbs, it stands in medial Medial2 (mM2) position, e.g.

(3-36) **Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse ka nako eo, a bo a feditse ka tiro ya**

gagwe

(This man was supposed, by that time, to have been through with his work)

When more than one adverbial appears in this position the positional designations (mM21), (mM22), etc. will be used.

- when the adverbial appears after the third auxiliary verb of the verbal element which consists of an auxiliary group containing four or more auxiliary verbs, it stands in medial Medial3 (mM3) position, e.g.

(3-37) Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo ka nako eo, a setse a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe

(This man was supposed to have been, by that time, already through with his work)

When more than one adverbial appears in this position the positional notions (mM31), (mM32), etc. will be used.

- when an adverbial or adverbials appear after an auxiliary group containing one or more auxiliary verbs, i.e. when it stands adjacent to the main verb, it stands in end Medial (eM) position, e.g.

(3-38) Monna yo, o ne a tshwanetse a bo ka nako eo, a feditse ka tiro ya gagwe

(This man was supposed to have been by that time, through with his work)

When more than one adverbial appears in this position the positional notions (eM1), (eM2), etc. will be used.

In respect of the broader category medial (M), we can thus distinguish between different sub-positions; particularly in instances where multiple auxiliary verbs occur.

At a later stage in this study we will investigate in greater detail the influence which the syntactic positioning of adverbials has on the information structure of the sentence as a whole.

3.3.3 End position

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985) end position (E) is the position at the end of a clause following all obligatory clause elements. It is also the position of the obligatory adverbial when it follows the other obligatory elements of clause structure, e.g.

- (3-39) (a) **Monnamogolo o ja thata** [after SV]
 (The old man eats a lot)
- (b) **Sello o kwa gae** [A in SVA clause]
 (Sello is at home)
- (c) **Morutabana o ruta bana kwa sekolong** [after SVO]
 (The teacher teaches the children at school)
- (d) **Ntate o botsa bana dipotso mo ntlong**[after SVOO]
 (Father asks the children questions in the house)
- (e) **Morutabana o kwaleletse mosimane batsadi lokwalo maabane** [after SVOOO]
 (The teacher wrote a letter to the parents on behalf of the boy yesterday)
- (f) **Basimane ba nnile barutabana kwa bofelong** [after SVC]
 (The boys became teachers in the end)
- (g) **Matshediso o beile diatla mo dipatleng** [A in SVOA clause]
 (Matshediso put his hands in his pockets)

When more than one adverbial appears in end position, the positional designations End1 (E1) and End2 (E2), etc. are used to indicate the first, second, etc. adverbial elements at the end of the clause, e.g.

(3-40) **Sello o di bone kwa gae maabane**

(Sello saw them at home yesterday)

An adverbial which appears between the verb element of a clause and the object stands in initial End (iE) position, e.g.

(3-41) **Ngwana o di fitlhile ka bonako, dintšwa**

(The child hid them quickly, the dogs)

If more than one adverbial appears between the verb element and the object the positional notions initial End1 (iE1), initial End2 (iE2) etc., are used to indicate the first, second, etc. positions of the adverbial before the object, e.g.

(3-42) **Ngwana o di fitlhile ka bonako thata, dintšwa**

(The child hid them very quickly, the dogs)

For the moment we can summarize the basic positions which can be occupied by adverbials in surface structure as follows:

(I) - (subject) - (M) -(main verb) - (E)

However, as we have indicated, more than one adverbial can simultaneously occupy the same syntactic slot, in which case their occurrence can be formalized thus:

(I1 - I2 etc.) - (subject) - (iM1 - iM2 etc.) - (aux - mM11 - mM12 etc.) or (-aux - aux - mM21 - mM22 etc.) or (-aux - aux - aux - mM31 - mM32 etc.) -(aux - eM1 - eM2 etc.) - (main verb) - (iE1 - iE2 etc.) - (object) - (E1 - E2 etc.)

As has already been suggested, it will transpire in the next chapter that the scope or domain of modification exerted by an adverbial within the sentence as a whole (i.e. whether it modifies only the verb or the verb plus object or the whole sentence), as well as the semantic nature of such modification (i.e. whether as adjunctive, subjunctive, disjunctive or conjunctive) is directly determined by the

syntactic slot in which the adverbial occurs.

3.4 THE SEMANTIC ROLES OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

If we are to understand the semantic roles of adverbials in clause structure, we need to relate their semantic function to their structural features and distributional properties identified above on the basis of their surface structure appearance in clause structure. We distinguish several main categories of semantic roles for adverbials, in most instances with further subdivisions. Like Quirk *et al.* (1985) we begin with the category SPACE, since the expression of other categories is often achieved in terms of figurative extensions of spatial relations.

3.4.1 Space

The category of space can be subdivided into four semantic relations expressed by adverbials in relation to physical space, i.e.

- PLACE which is expressed by an adverbial which refers to a point within the physical space in order to modify the action. The reference may range from a specific point within the physical space to the place in general, depending on the context and the verbal element used with it. It can be expressed by the following realizations of adverbials:
 - the addition of the locative suffix **-ng** to nouns which results in locativized nouns, e.g.

(3-43) **Bana ba ile sekolong**

(The children went to school)

The locative suffix **-ng** adds the semantic feature [+ locative] to nouns within a specific context where the verbal element of the clause relates to a reference point expressed by the adverbial. In this form the adverbial element merely indicates general and non-specific

place, i.e. 'the reference point and the area surrounding it'.

- the addition of the preposition **go-** to nouns with the feature [+human] or pronouns. When added to a noun **go-** marks a very specific reference point since it indicates that the act is performed in relation to the place where a uniquely identifiable individual whose presence is presupposed, finds himself. In cases where a pronoun is used the pronoun already refers to a specific referent or referents as known or given information and the reference point is therefore also known and specific, e.g.

(3-44) (a) **Ba ne ba re ba ya go ntate**

(They said they were going to father (the place where he was at that moment))

(b) **Dikgomo di fa nokeng, mme re tla ya go tsona ka moso**

(The cattle are near the river and we will go to them (the place where they will be) tomorrow)

- **gae** which is used to indicate the reference point 'home' depending on the speaker's geographic position at the moment of speaking, i.e. specific or general, e.g.

(3-45) (a) **Bana ba tla ya gae**

(The children will go home, i.e. their specific home where they live)

(b) **Ke ba isitse gae**

(I took them home, i.e. the place where they live in a general sense)

- the locative noun **teng** which refers to a locality as reference point or to a locality where a referent is, was or will be present. The reference point can be mentioned or it can be presupposed, e.g.

(3-46) (a) **Ntate o teng kwa gae**

(Father is present at home)

(b) **Bana ga ba teng**

(The children are not present, at the known reference point, that is)

- the addition of the preposition **ga-** to a base which is a personal noun or a kinship term. It relates to a reference point which is possessed by a particular individual⁹, e.g.

(3-47) **Re tla ya ga malome**

(We will go to my uncle's place)

- the adverbial prefix **ga-** which is added to the communal possessive pronominal stem of the first, second or third person singular to denote the place or territory of my, your (singular) or his/her community or to the possessive pronominal stem of the first, second or third person singular and plural to denote a place or territory owned personally by me, us, you (singular and plural), him/her or them, e.g.

(3-48) (a) **Ba ile gaetsho**

(They went to the place or territory of my community)

(b) **Magodu a thubile ga gagwe**

(Thieves have broken in at a place or territory personally owned by him/her)

- the preposition **goo-** is added to personal nouns and kinship terms to indicate the larger locality owned by a family or a relationship-group and it is therefore mainly added to names of headmen, sub-chiefs and chiefs as well as tribes, e.g.

(3-49) (a) **Re tshabetse gooMotshabi** (We fled to Motshabi's area)

- (b) **Re hudugetse gooTawana** (We have moved to the larger local area of the Tawana clan)

- the addition of the preposition **fa-** to a base which can be a locativized noun, an adverbial with the preposition **go-**, **gae**, **teng**, an adverbial with the preposition **ga-**, an adverbial with the adverbial prefix **ga-** or an adverbial with the preposition **goo-**. The addition of the preposition **fa-** implies relative proximity, and therefore indicates that the place *at*, *to*, or *from* which the action is effected or directed, is relatively close to the reference point referred to by the base, e.g.

- (3-50) (a) **Ba nna fa nokeng**
(They stay at (nearby) the river)
- (b) **Tlaya o eme fa go tsa me**
(Come and stand by (nearby) mine)
- (c) **Bana ba sala fa gae**
(The children stay at (near) home)
- (d) **Ba ne ba eme fa teng**
(They were standing there, (i.e. close to the place referred to))
- (e) **Re di tlogetse fa ga malome**
(We left them at (nearby) my uncle's place)
- (f) **Ke di tlogetse fa gaetsho**
(I left them at (nearby) our place)
- (g) **Ka moso re tla goroga fa gooRramoleele**
(Tomorrow we will arrive at (nearby) Rramoleele's area)

- the addition of the preposition **kwa-** to a base which can be a locativized noun or an adverbial with the preposition **go-**, **gae**, **teng**, an adverbial with the preposition **ga-**, an adverbial with the adverbial prefix **ga-** or an adverbial with the preposition **goo-**. It relates to a reference point which is referred to by the base but which is remote and out of sight, i.e. relatively distant from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

- (3-51) (a) **Ka moso re tla isa dikgomo kwa merakeng**

(Tomorrow we will take the cattle to the cattle posts (remote from us))

(b) **Ke mo rometse kwa go Peloyatau**

(I sent him/her to Peloyatau (remote from us))

(c) **Bana ba setse kwa gae**

(The children stayed at home (remote from us))

(d) **Maabane re ne re ile kwa teng**

(Yesterday we went there, i.e. to the place referred to (remote from us))

(e) **Ka moso re tla di isa kwa ga mmangwanaago**

(Tomorrow we will take them to your mother's younger sister's place (remote from us))

(f) **Ke di tlogetse kwa gaetsho**

(I left them at our place (remote from us))

(g) **Ka moso re tla goroga kwa gooRramoleele**

(Tomorrow we will arrive at Rramoleele's area (remote from us))

- the absolute pronoun of noun classes 16, 17 and 18, i.e. **gona** which refers to a referential point which is known, i.e. *here, there or at the place referred to*, e.g.

(3-52) **O ile gona**

(He/She went there, i.e. to the place referred to)

- enumeratives **gongwe** (somewhere), **gosele** (elsewhere) and **gope** (anywhere) as well as the quantitative **gotlhe** (everywhere) which all indicate uncertainty regarding the exact reference point, e.g.

(3-53) (a) **Ba ile gongwe**

(They have gone somewhere)

(b) **O beile thipa gosele**

(He/She put the knife away elsewhere)

(c) **Ga ke ise ke ye gope**

(I have gone nowhere)

(d) **Re di batlile gotlhe**

(We looked for them everywhere)

- the demonstrative pronouns **fa** and **kwa**¹⁰ with their different forms indicating place with reference to the position of the speaker and the addressee to the reference point which is known by the hearer and the addressee. The different forms are interpreted as follows according to Le Roux (1988):

- **fa** refers to a reference point equally near the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-54) **Tlaya o eme fa**

(Come and stand here, i.e. here close to where we are)

- **fana** refers to a reference point near the speaker, e.g.

(3-55) **Tlaya o eme fana**

(Come and stand here, i.e. here close to where I am)

- **fano** refers to a reference point at which the speaker finds himself, e.g.

(3-56) **Tlaya o di bee fano**

(Come and put them here, i.e. here where I am)

- **foo** refers to a reference point near the addressee but relatively remote from the speaker, e.g.

(3-57) **Se atumele! Ema foo!**

(Do not come closer! Stop there, i.e. there where you are away from me)

- **fale** refers to a reference point that is equally remote from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-58) **Tsamaya o eme fale**

(Go and stand there, i.e. there away from where we are now)

- **kwa** refers to a reference point far away from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-59) **Isa dinku tse kwa**

(Take these sheep there, i.e. over there far from where we are)

- **kwana** refers to a reference point away from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-60) **Ba ile kwa tshimong kwana**

(They have gone to the fields over there, i.e. the fields remote from us over there)

- **kwano** refers to a reference point at which the speaker finds himself, e.g.

(3-61) **Tlisa dilo tseo kwano**

(Bring those things here, i.e. here where I am)

- **koo** refers to a reference point where the addressee is and which is relatively remote from the speaker, e.g.

(3-62) **Ka moso re tla tla koo**

(Tomorrow we will come there, i.e. there where you are)

- **kwale** refers to a reference point far away from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-63) **Batho ba ba leng kwale ga ke ba itse**

(I do not know the people over there, i.e. remote from us over there)

- adverb phrases which include one or more of the above adverbials indicating place, e.g.

(3-64) **Isa dilo tseo kwa motseng ole wa kgosi ya Batawana gooTawana**

(Take those things to that village of the chief of the Tawana in the district of the Tawana)

- POSITION, indicated by an adverbial which refers to a position in relation to a known or mentioned reference point. When the reference point is known it is not always mentioned and the position is indicated with the speaker and addressee being well aware of the reference point, e.g.

(3-65) **Dipodi di tsamaya kwa pele**

(The goats are walking in front, i.e. in front of the reference point which is known)

When the reference point is mentioned it is usually done by using the possessive, e.g.

(3-66) **Dipodi di tsamaya fa pele ga badisa**

(The goats are walking in front of the herdsmen)

The semantic role of position is expressed by the following adverbial forms:

- the addition of the preposition **mo-** to a locativized noun or a locative noun which indicates an enclosure. The preposition **mo-** therefore relates to a reference point of which the boundaries are structured to the extent that an enclosure is formed but which is sometimes only interpretable within the context. It then expresses

the position inside the reference point, e.g.

(3-67) (a) **O ja mo ntlong**

(He eats in the house, i.e. in the house as an enclosure)

(b) **Bana ba tsene mo teng**¹¹

(The children went inside, i.e. inside the reference point which is known)

mo- is also used in relation to a reference point which cannot be interpreted as an enclosure within the context but as a surface upon which the action takes place. In this sense the preposition **mo-** is used to indicate that the position where the action takes place is on top of or above the reference point, e.g.

(3-68) (a) **O robotse mo bolaong jwa gagwe**

(He/She is asleep on his/her bed)

(b) **Ba beile dijo mo godimo**

(They placed the food on top, i.e. on top of the known reference point)

- the demonstrative pronoun **mo** with its different positions indicating the location of an object or objects inside the reference point which is known by the hearer and the addressee. The different forms are interpreted as follows:

- **mo** refers to a point inside an enclosure equally near the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-69) **Tlisa dilo tseo kwano o di tsenye mo**

(Bring those things here and put them in here, i.e. inside this known enclosure or demarcated area close to both of us)

- **mona** refers to a reference point inside an enclosure

near the speaker or in which the speaker finds himself,
e.g.

(3-70) **Pula e a na, tsena mona**

(It is raining, come in here)

- **mono** refers to the inside of a reference point in which the speaker finds himself, e.g.

(3-71) **Dipoo tseo re tla di tthatlhela mono**

(We will drive those bulls in here, i.e. inside this reference point at which I find myself)

- **moo** refers to a reference point inside an enclosure where the addressee is and which is relatively remote from the speaker, e.g.

(3-72) **Ke tla di tliša koo mme re tla di tsenya moo**

(I will bring them there and we will put them in there, i.e. inside the known reference point close to you but remote from me)

- **mole** refers to a reference point inside an enclosure that is equally remote from the speaker and the addressee, e.g.

(3-73) **Re tla di tlogela mole**

(We will leave them in there, i.e. inside that reference point equally remote from both of us)

- the addition of the preposition **fa-** to a base which refers to a position in relation to the reference point, i.e. underneath, above, behind, amongst, outside, nearby, in front or next to the reference point, e.g.

(3-74) **Ba eme fa gare ga ditlhare**

(They are standing amongst the trees)

- the addition of the preposition **kwa-** to a base which refers to a position in relation to the reference point. When **kwa-** is added to such a base the position which is indicated by the base is remote from the reference point, e.g.

(3-75) **Lenong le fofa kwa godimo**

(The vulture flies high above, i.e. the position high above the earth)

- the addition of the preposition **ka-** to a base which refers to a position in relation to the reference point and which includes the prepositions **mo-**, **fa-** or **kwa-**. When **ka-** is used with the preposition **mo-** the reference point must be an enclosure. When the preposition **ka-** is not used with **mo-**, it is not clear that the reference point is an enclosure and it can also be interpreted as an open area where the action takes place, e.g.

(3-76) **Monna o eme mo ntlong**

(The man is standing in/on the house)

When the preposition **ka-** precedes **mo-**, it indicates that the action takes place within the enclosure, e.g.

(3-77) **Monna o eme ka mo ntlong**

(The man is standing in the house, i.e. inside the house as an enclosure)

The uncertainty about the reference point being an enclosure depends on the speaker because when two speakers refer to the same position one might use the preposition **ka-** with **mo-** while the other might only use **mo-**.

When the preposition **ka-** is used with the preposition **fa-** the position

in relation to the reference point is emphasized in contrast to another position, e.g.

(3-78) (a) **Robala fa tlase ga kolo**

(Sleep under the wagon)

(b) **Robala ka fa tlase ga kolo**

(Sleep underneath the wagon, i.e. as opposed to on top of the wagon)

When the preposition **ka-** is used with the preposition **kwa-** the remote position in relation to the reference point is emphasized in contrast to another position, e.g.

(3-79) (a) **Ema kwa morago**

(Stand at the back, i.e. at the back (remote) of the reference point where you are now)

(b) **Ema ka kwa morago**

(Stand at the back side, i.e. at the back side (remote) of the known referential point as opposed to the front of the reference point)

- DIRECTION, which may refer to directional path without referring to a reference point, e.g.

(3-80) **Ba ile borwa**

(They went southwards)

Or it can refer to direction in relation to a reference point when the direction to the reference point is mentioned or known, e.g.

(3-81) **Matlo a lebile lewatleng**

(The houses face towards the sea)

The reference point is expressed by any adverbial indicating place or

position and the semantic difference between a place or position adverbial, on the one hand, and a directional adverbial referring to a reference point on the other, is to be found in the considerable variation in the meaning of the verbal element. A verbal element containing the applied extension usually takes a directional adverbial, e.g.

(3-82) **Boela kwa morago**

(Turn back, i.e. in the direction of the reference point where you came from)

- DISTANCE, in the sense of a measurement of the space between a reference point and the point where the action or process expressed by the verb element takes place. This semantic role is expressed by the following adverbial realizations:

- the locative noun **gaufi** (near) is used to indicate a relatively small space from a mentioned or known reference point. When the reference point is mentioned it is done by adding the preposition **le-** to a base which indicates the reference point, e.g.

(3-83) **Ba nna gaufi le noka**

(They live near the river)

When the reference point is referred to pronominally the adverbial prefix **na-** is sometimes added to a stem resembling the first syllable of the absolute pronoun, e.g.

(3-84) **Monnamogolo o ne a nna gaufi nae**

(The old man lived near him/her)

The preposition **fa-** is used with **gaufi** when the proximity of the action to the reference point, which may be mentioned or known, is emphasized. When the reference point is mentioned it is done by adding the preposition **ga**, i.e. the so-called possessive concord of

the locative classes, to a base which indicates the reference point, e.g.

(3-85) (a) **Batho bale ba nna fa gaufi ga dithaba tse**

(Those people live near these mountains)

(b) **Ba robotse fa gaufi**

(They slept near(by), i.e. near the known reference point, e.g. where we are now)

- the locative nouns **gole/kgakala** (far) are used to indicate relative remoteness from a known or mentioned reference point or a relatively large space in which the action takes place. When the reference point is mentioned it is done by adding the preposition **le-** to a base which indicates the reference point, e.g.

(3-86) **Batsomi ba tsoma kgakala le motse**

(The hunters hunt far from the village)

When a relatively great distance with regard to which the action takes place is expressed, no preposition is used, e.g.

(3-87) **Maabane re tsamaetse kgakala**

(Yesterday we walked far, i.e. the action of walking covered a great distance)

- a noun phrase is used to indicate a specific spacial measure in which an action takes place, e.g.

(3-88) **Mosadi yo o tsamaile dikhilomethara tse tharo**

(This woman walked (for) three kilometres)

3.4.2 Time

The category of time can be subdivided into four semantic relations. The concept of measure is very important and temporal measure is seen as duration. The following sub-roles are distinguished:

- a fixed POSITION on a temporal scale which is expressed by adverbials referring to a reference point on the time scale: time as stasis - the time when an action takes place or the time to which a state applies. The reference may range from specific to general time, depending on the context and the verbal element used with it. It can be expressed as follows:
 - nominals referring to a reference point on the time scale, e.g.

(3-89) **O gorogile fa maabane**

(He/She arrived here yesterday)

- the addition of the preposition **ka-** to a base indicating a reference point on the time scale, e.g.

(3-90) **Re ne ra tsamaya ka mahube-a-basadi**

(We left at daybreak)

- the addition of the preposition **mo-** to a base indicating a reference point on the time scale to which is added the suffix **-ng**, e.g.

(3-91) **Ba mmone mo letsatsing leo**

(They saw him/her during that day)

- DURATION in terms of some period on the time scale which an action or state lasts. A noun phrase is used to express such a period, e.g.

(3-92) **Re tla sala kwa gae dibeke tse pedi**

(We will stay at home for two weeks)

- FREQUENCY in terms of how often an action takes place or how often a recurring state endures on the time scale. We distinguish between two major subclasses, i.e. definite frequency and indefinite frequency.

Definite frequency states explicitly the number of times in terms of which the frequency is measured. When the definite frequency is stated in terms of the number of times an occasion occurs, i.e. occasion frequency, it is expressed by using the adverbial prefix **ga-** with a numeral adjective, e.g.

(3-93) **Ke mmone gabedi**

(I saw him twice)

When the definite frequency relates to period frequency, i.e. how many times it occurs within a period of time, the preposition **ka-** is used before a base indicating the period of time, often by repeating the base with the preposition **le-**, or by using the inclusive enumerative with the base, e.g.

(3-94) (a) **O je gararo ka letsatsi**

(Eat three times daily)

(b) **Monnamogolo o re etetse ka ngwaga le ngwaga**

(The old man visited us annually)

(c) **Re tsena sekolo ka matsatsi otlhe**

(We go to school daily)

Indefinite frequency, i.e. not naming the number of times an action takes place or a state recurs explicitly within a period of time, is expressed by different kinds of adverbials. We distinguish between usual frequency, continuous frequency, high frequency and low frequency, e.g.

(3-95) (a) **Gale ba tsoga phakela**

(Usually they rise early)

(b) **Ka gale ba ithuta bosigo**

(They always study at night)

- (c) **Ba re betsa gangwe le gape**
(They hit us once and again, i.e. repeatedly)
- (d) **O lwala mokabagangwe**
(He is seldom ill)

3.4.3 Process

The semantic role of process can be subdivided into five subclasses, viz. manner, means, instrument, agent and association. They can be explained as follows:

- MANNER, which refers to the way in which an action is done or in which something happens or the way a state is in. It is expressed as follows:
 - a noun phrase or adverb indicating manner, e.g.

(3-96) **O bothale thata**

(He/She is very intelligent)

- by adding the noun class prefixes **bo-** or **se-** to an adjective stem, e.g.

(3-97) (a) **Bogolo ke batla nama**

(I want meat especially)

(b) **O bua Setswana sentle**

(He/She speaks Tswana well)

- by using a noun with the noun class prefix **se-**, e.g.

(3-98) (a) **O itshotse sesimane**

(He/She behaves in a boyish manner)

(b) **Mme o apaya Sengwato**

(Mother cooks according to Ngwato tradition)

- the preposition **ka-** is used before a base indicating manner e.g.

(3-99) **Ba bua ka bonya**

(They speak slowly, i.e. with slowness)

- the combination of the prepositions **mo-** and **go-** before a base, e.g.

(3-100) **Ba rogana mo go maswe**

(They curse a lot, i.e. terribly)

- the manner-comparative preposition **jaaka-** is added to a base, e.g.

(3-101) **O batla go fofa jaaka nonyane**

(He/She wants to fly like a bird)

- MEANS, which overlaps with instrument and is only distinguishable within context. It is expressed as follows:
 - by adding the preposition **ka-** to a base to express the means by which an action can be accomplished, e.g.

(3-102) (a) **Re tla tsamaya ka bese**

(We will go by bus)

(b) **Ka tlhaloganyo o kgona go ithuta dilo tse dintsi**

(Through insight you can learn a lot of things)

- INSTRUMENT, which indicates the thing with which the action is performed. It is expressed as follows:
 - the preposition **ka-** is added to a base which refers to an instrument with which the action can be performed, e.g.

(3-103) **O sega ka thipa**

(He/She is cutting with a knife)

- AGENT, which indicates the performer of the action. It is expressed as follows:
 - the preposition **ke-** is added to a base which refers to the agent performing the action, e.g.

(3-104) **Re bitswa ke mme**

(We are called by mother)

- ASSOCIATION, which indicates the person or thing in association with which an action is carried out or in association with which a state of affairs exists. It is expressed as follows:
 - the preposition **le-** is used with a base, e.g.

(3-105) **Ke epa sediba le ntate**

(I am digging a well with my dad)

- the prefix **na-** is added to an abbreviated absolute pronoun, e.g.

(3-106) **Re tla dira nabo ka moso**

(We will work with them tomorrow)

3.4.4 Regard

The semantic role of regard concerns the use of an adverbial to identify a relevant point of reference in regard of which the clause concerned derives its truth value, e.g.

(3-107) **Mme o thusa Sello ka tirogae ya gagwe**

(Mother is helping Sello with his homework)

The regard role is especially seen when the adverbial answers “What?” where an adverbial is used which expresses place. Without the option of including an indication that a specific reference point is in mind, the adverbial rather serves to answer the question ‘What is he/she doing?’ than ‘Where is he/she working?’, e.g.

(3-108) **O dira ka mo moepong**

(He/She is working in a mine, i.e. He/She is a mine worker)

If the adverbial does indeed answer “What?” rather than “Where?” it is being predicated of a regard relationship: ‘He/She is a mine worker’.

3.4.5 Contingency

The semantic role of contingency includes sub-roles like condition, reason, concession, purpose, comparison and consequence. They can be explained as follows:

- CONDITION, which indicates a circumstance which should be met, e.g.

(3-109) **Fa a ka tla, o mo neele thipa ena**

(If he should come, give him this knife)

- REASON, which supplies the reason why the action is performed, e.g.

(3-110) **Ka a gana, re tla mo tlogela**

(Since he refuses, we shall leave him)

- CONCESSION, which concedes that the action will take place in spite of the circumstances predicted, e.g.

(3-111) **Le fa a ka tla kwano ga ke batle go mmona**

(Even if he should come here I do not want to see him)

- PURPOSE, which provides the aim for which some action is performed or for a situation to exist, e.g.

(3-112) **Ema gore batho ba go bone**

(Stand up, so that the people may see you)

- COMPARISON, which correlates one action or situation with another action or situation, e.g.

(3-113) **O dire jaaka rona re dira**

(You should do as we do)

- CONSEQUENCE, which indicates the effect of an action or situation on another action or situation, e.g.

(3-114) **Ga o rate go bala jalo o tla sala morago**

(You don't like to read, so you will stay behind)

3.4.6 Modality

When an adverbial enhances or diminishes the truth value or force of a clause it is said to be a modal adverbial. The semantic sub-roles distinguished under this role are based on adverbials expressing the possibility, probability or certainty that the action which is expressed in the clause takes place or that the state exists. The following sub-roles are therefore distinguished:

- POSSIBILITY, which indicates that an action might, may or could take place or that a state might, may or could exist, e.g.

(3-115) **Gongwe ngwana o a lwala**

(Maybe the child is sick)

- PROBABILITY, which indicates that an action should, ought to, would or will take place or that a state should, ought to, would or will exist, e.g.

(3-116) **Kooteng ga a ise a boe**

(Probably he/she has not returned)

- CERTAINTY, which indicates that an action must take place or that a state must exist, e.g.

(3-117) (a) **Tota ke a lwala**

(Indeed, I am ill)

(b) **Ruri ga ke mo itse**

(Surely I do not know him/her)

- RESTRICTION, which directs focus on a particular part of a statement and indicates that the action is restricted or that the state which exists is restricted in some sense, e.g.

(3-118) **O itse dipalo fela**

(He/She is good at figures only)

3.4.7 Degree

The semantic role of degree is commonly observed in existential constructions, i.e. constructions in which a copula relates a subject to a particular, gradable quality or feature. So, for example, the quality of beauty in **O montle thata** (She is very beautiful) is gradable in terms of the assessment of the degree of beauty of the subject. Degree implies grading which is achieved by the utilization of adverbs such as **thata** (very), **ruri** (forever), etc. This grading can assume the form of the amplification of a quality or feature, or the reduction thereof. Two sub-roles are therefore distinguished:

- AMPLIFICATION, which is concerned with asserting a generalized high

degree, e.g.

(3-119) **O bothhale thata**

(He/She is very intelligent)

- DIMINUTION, which is concerned with asserting a generalized low degree by using the negative with amplification, e.g.

(3-120) **Ga a bothhale thata**

(He/She is not very intelligent)

From the above discussion of the semantic roles of adverbials within clause structure it becomes evident that there is a close relationship between the surface realization of an adverbial and the semantic role it plays. Different components are used to fulfill different semantic roles and this relationship also filters through to the syntactic characteristics of adverbials in clause structure. To give us a clearer view of the interaction between the realization of adverbials, their semantic role and syntactic distribution within clause structure we need to consider adverbials as functional units. We will therefore first deal with them as modifiers before we attempt to make a functional classification in the next chapter.

3.5 ADVERBIALS AS MODIFIERS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

In Chapter 2, we identified the following preliminary features of adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) their usage in clause structure may either be obligatory or optional;
- (ii) they usually occur in final position;
- (iii) they may, however, occupy a variety of other positions in clause structure;
- (iv) more than one adverbial can appear at a time; and
- (iv) they do not determine what other elements should be used in clause structure.

Guided by these general features and the formal realization, syntactic distribution

and semantic roles of adverbials in clause structure, we can now identify more specific functional features by investigating the behaviour of adverbials as modifiers.

Adverbials as modifiers in surface structure do not always behave in the same way. In the following example we identify the adverbials **thata** and **kwa sekolong** as modifiers:

(3-121) **Bana ba dira thata kwa sekolong**

(The children work hard at school)

Examples like the following however reveal important distributional differences between these two adverbials, e.g.

(3-122) (a) **Kwa sekolong, bana ba dira thata**

(At school, the children work very hard)

(b) ***Thata, bana ba dira kwa sekolong**

(*Hard, the children work at school)

(c) ***Bana ba dira kwa sekolong thata**

(The children work at school hard)

Such distributional differences are not restricted to the opposition: “manner adverbial : place adverbial” as in (3-121). They can also be observed in the case of the opposition: “degree adverbial : time adverbial”, e.g.

(3-123) **Batho ba buile bobe maabane**

(The people talked a lot yesterday)

and

(3-124) (a) **Maabane, batho ba buile bobe**

(Yesterday, the people talked a lot)

(b) ***Bobe, batho ba buile maabane**

(*A lot, the people talked yesterday)

(c) ***Batho ba buile maabane bobo**

(*The people talked yesterday a lot)

If we look at examples (3-121) and (3-123) we find that **thata** and **bobo** modify the verb in both instances, while **kwa sekolong** and **maabane** modify the whole clause. The first two modifiers are therefore verb-modifiers (V-modifiers) while the second two are clause-modifiers (Cl-modifiers).

We also know that adverbials need not always modify a verb or clause only. They can also modify a noun phrase, i.e. the subject or object of the clause, e.g.

(3-125) **Yo montle thata ga a nyalwe**

(A very beautiful one does not get married)

Adverbials can only be used to modify a noun phrase which is an adjective or which includes one. The reason being that adjectives are derived from underlying clauses of the form IT + BE + Adjective (for instance), where the pronoun IT is co-referential with the head of the noun phrase. The adverbial modifies the aspect of 'being something', for example 'being big' or 'being two', expressed by the adjective, e.g.

(3-126) **Mosimane yo motona thata o a lwala**

(The very big boy is ill)

Adverbials can also be used in the clause to modify other adverbials, e.g.

(3-127) **Lenong le fofa kwa godimo tota**

(The vulture flies really high up above)

Here the same principle, described for adjectives, applies. The adverbial **tota** modifies the adverbial **kwa godimo** in terms of the underlying form IT + BE + 'high up above'.

Judged on the surface structure appearance of adverbials, the following theoretical possibilities of modification can therefore be distinguished for adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) CI-modifiers;
- (ii) V-modifiers;
- (iii) NP-modifiers;
- (iv) Adv-modifiers.

This distinction of adverbials in clause structure into different types of modification is of a semantic nature but since it influences the syntactic structure of a clause, i.e. the adverbial is placed in different positions within a clause to distinguish between the different types of modification, we consider it to be more of a syntactic nature. In this study semantic criteria will, however, be regarded as decisive because one surface test, i.e. interpreting the position of the adverbial within the clause only, though apparently more objective or even 'scientific' because of its concreteness, is often unreliable on its own. One isolated surface characteristic may, for instance, be the manifestation of different aspects. A constituent can, for example, occur in the surface structure of a clause in front position, because it is focussed upon, or because it modifies the whole clause, or for still other reasons. One surface test for one distinction is therefore not enough. A network of surface tests, related to the more basic semantic criteria in whose light they can often be explained, is more reliable. We therefore need to take the above possible appearances of adverbials as modifiers as our first step in classifying adverbials as elements of clause structure in Tswana. The next step would be to describe the function of adverbials in clause structure.

3.6 THE FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

With the structural, syntactic and semantic properties as well as the scope of modification of adverbials appearing in clause structure established, we can investigate the functional categories of adverbials in clause structure. To be able to do this we also need to link the degree of integration or peripherality the adverbials exhibit in relation to clause structure with the range of their functional properties. We therefore identify the different functional categories of adverbials in clause structure according to Quirk *et al.* (1985), namely,

- adjuncts, which are adverbials that are relatively integrated into the structure of the clause and closely resemble other clause elements such as S, O and C, e.g.

(3-128) **Monnamogolo o nna kwa Botswana**

(The old man lives in Botswana)

- subjuncts, which on the other hand, are also relatively integrated into the structure of the clause but have to a greater or lesser degree a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements, e.g.

(3-129) **Nte ke fete, tsweetswee**

(Let me pass, please)

- disjuncts, which are adverbials that are peripheral to clause structure without a primarily connective function, e.g.

(3-130) **Tota ke a lwala**

(Really, I am ill)

- conjuncts, which are adverbials that are also peripheral to clause structure but with a primarily connective function, e.g.

(3-131) **O rekile ntlo e tona, jalo o tshwanetse a bo a na le madi a mantsi**

(He/She has bought a big house, so he/she must have a lot of money)

We shall deal in turn with each of these and their subcategories in the following chapter.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In our attempt to describe adverbials in clause structure in this chapter we firstly distinguished between the different surface realizations of adverbials. The following words and phrases were identified as constituents that can function as adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) basic adverbs;
- (ii) words from other word categories used as adverbials;
- (iii) derived adverbs
 - adverbs formed by adding a noun class prefix to an adjective stem;
 - adverbs formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem;
 - adverbs formed by adding the locative suffix **-ng** to nouns;
 - adverbs formed by adding a preposition to a base;
- (iv) adverbial phrases.

We further investigated the syntactic properties of adverbials as well as their semantic roles. As for the syntax of adverbials in clause structure we indicated that the basic position of adverbials within clause structure is the sentence final position, i.e.

(I) - (subject) - (M) - (main verb) - (E)

We did however find that more than one adverbial can appear in different positions in the clause. To illustrate this freedom with which adverbials can appear we summarized their occurrence as follows:

(I1 - I2 etc.) - (subject) - (iM1 - iM2 etc.) - (aux - mM11 - mM12 etc.) or (-aux - aux - mM21 - mM22 etc.) or (-aux - aux - aux - mM31 - mM32 etc.) - (aux - eM1 - eM2 etc.) - (main verb) - (iE1 - iE2 etc.) - (object) - (E1 - E2 etc.)

For the semantic roles of adverbials in clause structure we distinguished several main categories, in most instances with further subdivisions, i.e.

Space

- place
- position
- direction
- distance

Time

- position on temporal scale
- duration
- frequency

Process

- manner
- means
- instrument
- agent
- association

Regard

Contingency

- condition
- reason
- concession
- purpose
- comparison
- consequence

Modality

- possibility
- probability
- certainty
- restriction

Degree

- amplification

- diminution

These detailed syntactic and semantic divisions were done in terms of the important finding that the scope or domain of modification exerted by an adverbial within the sentence as a whole, as well as the semantic nature of such modification is directly determined by the syntactic slots in which the adverbial occurs.

We also dealt with adverbials as modifiers in clause structure. We found that adverbials as modifiers in surface structure do not always behave in the same way and we distinguished between the following theoretical possibilities of modification for adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) CI-modifiers;
- (ii) V-modifiers;
- (iii) NP-modifiers;
- (iv) Adv-modifiers.

Lastly, we examined the scope of modification which adverbials have in relation to their structural, syntactic and semantic features and identified the following categories:

- adjuncts, which are adverbials that are relatively integrated into the structure of the clause and closely resemble other clause elements such as S, O and C;
- subjuncts, which on the other hand, are also relatively integrated into the structure of the clause but have to a greater or lesser degree a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements;
- disjuncts, which are adverbials that are peripheral to clause structure without a primarily connective function; and
- conjuncts, which are adverbials that are also peripheral to clause structure but with a primarily connective function.

NOTES

1. The term 'prefix' is used here to refer to an affix which is added initially to a root or stem. Cf. Crystal (1997:304).
2. A preposition is seen as any linguistic unit which typically introduces noun phrases (often preceding single nouns, pronouns or qualificatives), to form a single constituent of structure in the clause. Our argument is based on the fact that these constituents show some characteristics associated with words, e.g. the word test of separability (interpolation) can be applied to the

instrumental **ka**, i.e. **ka selepe** (with an axe) > **ka sona selepe** (with the specific axe), where the pronoun **sona** is interpolated between two elements, thus rendering these elements to be words. See Louwrens (1994:149) for an argument assisting this view.

3. The term 'base' is used here to refer to a linguistic unit which can stand on its own as an independent word and to which a preposition can be added, e.g. **ka Labobedi** (on Tuesday).
4. The circumflex and tone marking are used on vowels in examples to distinguish between homonyms.
5. For a more detailed discussion of this sound change see Cole (1955:342).
6. The translations given here are generalized. Examples are given out of context and may in some instances, depending on the context, also be translated differently.
7. The use of the preposition **ka-** to form adverbials has caused Sotho grammarians considerable difficulty. As a preposition it is seen here to be one and the same unit that is used to form different semantic types of adverbials, i.e. instrumental, temporal and locative.
8. The maximum number of auxiliaries in an auxiliary group seems to be four, but more might be possible. We will only deal here with auxiliary groups containing up to four auxiliaries.
9. The use of the preposition **ga-** must not be confused with the adverbial prefix **ga-** and the preposition **goo-**. These elements also express some possessive aspect, but more in a communal sense. Also note that place names such as **Ga-Mmangwato** and **Ga-Ngwaketse** incorporate this preposition to indicate communal possession.
10. We only deal with the demonstrative forms **fa** and **kwa** here since the demonstrative pronoun **go** (and its variant forms) lost its demonstrative meaning and expresses endearment or disparagement concerning a referent to which it refers, e.g.
A golo **go**, go ka mphenya! (Can this thing (derogative) defeat me!)
11. Although **teng** (inside) is seen as a locative noun, it is, according to Cole (1955:348), a locativized noun formed from an obsolete noun ***nta**, in which the original stem was **-la**, which is still found in the noun **mala** (intestines).

Note that the locative noun **teńg** (present) differs tonologically from **teng** (inside).

CHAPTER 4

THE CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBIALS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we deal with the classification of adverbials in clause structure. The description made in Chapter 3 will be used as a basis to categorize the functional categories. As stated in Chapter 3 we will use the different functional categories as distinguished by Quirk *et al.* (1985), viz.

- adjuncts

- subjuncts
- conjuncts
- disjuncts

The criteria for distinguishing between these functional categories are not discussed here separately since it will be explained as we deal with each category on its own.

4.2 ADJUNCTS

4.2.1 The identification of adjuncts

The term 'adjunct' is given a highly restricted sense when we use it to refer to a functional subclass of adverbials. Adjuncts form part of the basic structure of the clauses in which they occur and act as modifiers. They are elements of clause structure on the same level as the other clause elements, viz. subject, verb, object and complement and in terms of their realization, syntactic appearance and semantic roles, we distinguish adjuncts from the other functional categories of adverbials on the basis of the following criteria, set forth by Quirk *et al.* (1985):

- (i) adjuncts, unlike the other functional categories of adverbials, can be the focus of a cleft sentence (a sentence split into two clauses, each with its own verbal element), e.g.

- (4-1) (a) **O mmone maitseboa**
 (She saw him *late afternoon*)
- (b) **E ne e le maitseboa fa a mmona**
 (It was *late afternoon* when she saw him)

- (ii) adjuncts can be the basis of contrast in alternative interrogation or negation, e.g.

- (4-2) (a) **A o mmone maitseboa kgotsa (a o mmone) phakela?**

(Did she see him late afternoon or (did she see him) early in the morning?)

(b) **Ga a a mmone maitseboa, mme o mmone phakela**

(She didn't see him late afternoon, but she saw him early in the morning)

(iii) adjuncts do, irrespective of their position in the clause, come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms exactly like other post-operator elements. In consequence, the following sentences are synonymous, e.g.

(4-3) (a) **Ka 1987 Pule a nna moruti mme le Sello**

(In 1987 Pule became a preacher and so did Sello)

(b) **Pule a nna moruti ka 1987 mme le Sello a nna moruti ka 1987**

(Pule became a preacher in 1987 and Sello became a preacher in 1987)

(iv) adjuncts, like S, O and C, can be elicited by question forms, e.g.

(4-4) (a) **O mmone leng?**

(When did she see him?)

(b) **O mmone maitseboa**

(She saw him late afternoon)

4.2.2 Subcategories of adjuncts

Although the characteristics outlined above broadly hold for all adjuncts, we need to distinguish between two distinct types of adjuncts based on the function of adjuncts as modifiers within clause structure, viz. predication adjuncts and sentence adjuncts.

4.2.2.1 Predication adjuncts

Under predication adjuncts we distinguish between:

- (i) obligatory predication adjuncts which resemble an object both in the necessity of its presence for verb complementation and in its relative fixity of position, e.g.

- (4-5) (a) **O ne a rata Dikeledi** [O_d]
(He loved Dikeledi)
(b) **O ne a nna kwa gae** [A_{oblig}]
(He lived at home)

In (4-5) (b) the adverbial **kwa gae** is obligatory in the same way as the object **Dikeledi** in (4-5) (a). Its position is also relatively fixed since it appears in its unmarked position, viz. E position¹. The obligatory adjunct does however differ from the object in that it more readily permits interruption between the V and itself:

- (4-6) (a) ? **O ne a rata mo ntlong Dikeledi**
(He loved in a house Dikeledi)
(b) **O ne a nna mo ntlong kwa gae**
(He lived in a house at home)

and

- (ii) optional predication adjuncts which are not compulsory elements in clause structure because the relations between the other elements of clause structure remain constant irrespective of the presence or absence of the predication adjunct, e.g.

- (4-7) **Kgosi e gorogile ka mophato**
(The king arrived with a regiment)

Although it is a fact that the mere addition of an adjunct after an intransitive verb reduces the verb's semantic weight, it can be seen in example (4-7) that the relation between S and V is not radically altered when an A is added. The S and V can occur without the adjunct which is therefore optional. This also holds for SVO

clauses, e.g.

(4-8) **Mmolai o tshabile kgosi mo pelong**

(A murderer stabbed the king in his heart)

4.2.2.2 Sentence adjuncts

Sentence adjuncts are never grammatically essential and they mark themselves off from predication adjuncts by their relative freedom to occur at I positions as well as E positions with relatively little consequence for its stylistic or semantic effect, e.g.

(4-9) (a) **Mmolai o tshabile kgosi mo pelong**

(A murderer stabbed the king in the heart)

(b) **Mmolai o tshabile kgosi kwa gae**

(A murderer stabbed the king at home)

The relative centrality of the adjunct in example (4-9) (a) as compared with the more peripheral orbit of the adjunct in example (4-9) (b) is shown when these adjuncts are put in I position, e.g.

(4-10) (a) ? **Mo pelong, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**

(In the heart, a murderer stabbed the king)

(b) **Kwa gae, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**

(At home, a murderer stabbed the king)

If we combine fronting of the adjuncts in (4-9) (a) and (b) with a truth-focussing paraphrase², the difference is brought out more sharply, e.g.

(4-11) (a) ? **Mo pelong, *ke nnete*, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**

(In the heart, *it is a fact*, a murderer stabbed the king)

(b) **Kwa gae, *ke nnete*, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**

(At home, *it is a fact*, a murderer stabbed the king)

If we now combine the two adjuncts in (4-9) (a) and (b) at E position, the adjunct in (4-9) (a) would normally precede the one in (4-9) (b), i.e. the sentence adjunct **kwa gae** is located further from the centre of the clause than the predication adjunct **mo pelong**, e.g.

- (4-12) (a) **Mmolai o tshabile kgosi mo pelong kwa gae**
(A murderer stabbed the king in the heart at home)
- (b) ? **Mmolai o tshabile kgosi kwa gae mo pelong**
(A murderer stabbed the king at home in the heart)

A further indication of the relatively peripheral status of the sentence adjunct is that it can be separated from the rest of the clause by a separate tone unit in speech while a predication adjunct normally requires a context of special motivation³, e.g.

- (4-13) (a) **Kwa gAE⁴, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**
(At home, a murderer stabbed the king)
- (b) ? **Mo peLONG, mmolai o tshabile kgosi**
(In the heart, a murderer stabbed the king)

We also note that an I-placed sentence adjunct has the potential to relate to the whole sentence, even where the sentence comprises two coordinate clauses, while the same E-placed adjunct will normally be interpreted as a predication adjunct and hence relates only to the clause in which it is placed. Compare:

- (4-14) (a) **Re tsamaile thata mme kwa bofelong ra nna kwa Botswana**
(We travelled a lot and at the end we stayed in Botswana)
- (b) **Kwa Botswana, re tsamaile thata mme kwa bofelong ra nna**
(In Botswana, we travelled a lot and at the end we stayed)

A further indication of the greater mobility of sentence adjuncts is that, in contrast to predication adjuncts, they can usually appear at M without giving any

impression of radical word-order dislocation, e.g.

- (4-15) (a) **Monna yo o ne, ka nako eo [A_{sentence}] a nna kwa gae [A_{pred.oblig}]**
(This man was, by that time, living at home)
- (b) **? Monna yo o ne, kwa gae a nna ka nako eo**
(This man was, at home living by that time)

Based on these criteria we can further distinguish between subject-related and object-related adjuncts. If we compare identical adjuncts in specific clauses we detect an obvious difference in their relations, e.g.

- (4-16) (a) **Ke fitlhetse lekwalo mo phaposing**
(I found the letter in the room)
- (b) **Ke kwadile lekwalo mo phaposing**
(I wrote the letter in the room)

Both examples above respond to the question **O le kae?** (You being where?), just as both can be framed in a cleft sentence **E ne e le mo phaposing mo ke fitlhetseng/kwadileng lekwalo** (It was in the room that I found/wrote the letter). Again, both can be paraphrased in terms of **Ke ne ke le mo phaposing fa ke (I was in the room when I)**. But whereas (4-16) (a) can be paraphrased as **Lekwalo le ne le le mo phaposing fa ke le fitlhela** (The letter was in the room when I found it), (4-16) (b) cannot be paraphrased as **Lekwalo le ne le le mo phaposing fa ke le kwala** (The letter was in the room when I wrote it). This test therefore does not only help us to see that **mo phaposing** (in the room) in (4-16) (b) is a sentence adjunct, but also that example (4-16) (a) is ambiguous as to whether the adjunct **mo phaposing** (in the room) is more object-related (**Lekwalo le ne le le mo phaposing** (The letter was in the room)) or more subject-related (**Nna ke ne ke le mo phaposing** (I was in the room)). If we now reorder these examples:

- (4-17) (a) **Mo phaposing, ke fitlhetse lekwalo**
(In the room I found the letter)

(b) **Mo phaposing, ke kwadile lekwalo**

(In the room, I wrote the letter)

we seem to have done more than foreground the adjuncts to make them the informational point of departure for what follows. We have also skewed the relations of the adjunct in (4-17) (a) to make the hearer predisposed to interpret it as subject-related (**Nna ke batlile mo phaposing mme nna ka fitlhela lekwalo teng**' (I searched in the room and I found the letter there)) whereas in (4-16) (a) the predisposition was to interpret it as object-related (**Ke tsene mo phaposing mme ka fitlhela lekwalo teng**' (I went into the room and I found the letter there)).

With these subclasses of adjuncts now established we can investigate the functional realization of adjuncts in clause structure.

4.2.3 The functional realization of adjuncts

The functional realization of adjuncts is based on the different semantic roles expressed by adjuncts within clause structure as well as the different subcategories established for adjuncts above.

4.2.3.1 Adjuncts of space

In Chapter 3 we distinguished between four sub-roles within the semantic category of space, viz. place, position, direction and distance. If we now relate these semantic sub-roles to the subcategories distinguished for adjuncts we find that the different sub-roles are expressed as follows:

- (i) PLACE is expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts, optional predication adjuncts as well as sentence adjuncts, e.g.

(4-18) (a) **O nna fa ga malome** [$A_{\text{pred.oblig}}$]

(He/She lives (nearby) my uncle's place)

- (b) **Badisa bale ba ile kwa merakeng** [A_{pred.opt}]
(Those herds boys went to the cattle posts (remote from us))
- (c) **Morutabana o gorogile kwa sekolong** [A_{sentence}]
(The teacher arrived at school (remote from us))

(ii) POSITION is also expressed by all three types of adjuncts, e.g.

- (4-19) (a) **Re nna kwa pele** [A_{pred.oblig}]
(We stay in front)
- (b) **Re ba tlogetse kwa morago** [A_{pred.opt}]
(We left them behind)
- (c) **Ke kwala lokwalo mo ntlong** [A_{sentence}]
(I am writing a letter in the house)

(iii) DIRECTION is only realized by obligatory predication adjuncts and optional predication adjuncts, e.g.

- (4-20) (a) **Boela kwa morago** [A_{pred.oblig}]
(Turn back, i.e. in the direction from where you come from)
- (b) **Basimane ba ile borwa** [A_{pred.opt}]
(The boys went south)

(iv) DISTANCE is also only expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts and optional predication adjuncts, e.g.

- (4-21) (a) **Ba nna fa gaufi** [A_{pred.oblig}]
(They live near(by))
- (b) **Ba ile kgakala** [A_{pred.opt}]
(They have gone far away)

In terms of the functional classification of space adjuncts we can therefore conclude that obligatory predication adjuncts, optional predication adjuncts as well as sentence adjuncts are used to express PLACE and POSITION, but only

obligatory predication adjuncts and optional predication adjuncts are used to express DIRECTION and DISTANCE.

4.2.3.2 Adjuncts of time

For this semantic role we distinguish three sub-roles, viz. position, duration and frequency. These sub-roles are expressed as follows by adjuncts within clause structure:

(i) POSITION is expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts, optional predication adjuncts as well as sentence adjuncts, e.g.

(4-22) (a) **Kopano ya rona e ka moso** [$A_{pred.oblig}$]
(Our meeting is tomorrow)

(b) **O tla goroga maitseboa** [$A_{pred.opt}$]
(He/She will arrive in the late afternoon)

(c) **Ga re a ja nama gompieno** [$A_{sentence}$]
(We did not eat meat today)

(ii) DURATION is expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts, optional predication adjuncts as well as sentence adjuncts, e.g.

(4-23) (a) **Kopano e nnile metsofso e metlhano** [$A_{pred.oblig}$]
(The meeting lasted for five minutes)

(b) **O setse dibeke tse pedi** [$A_{pred.opt}$]
(He /She stayed behind for two weeks)

(c) **Bana ba ne ba ja bogobe matsatsi a mabedi** [$A_{sentence}$]
(The children were eating porridge for two days)

(iii) FREQUENCY is expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts, optional predication adjuncts as well as sentence adjuncts, e.g.

(4-24) (a) **Dikopano di tla tshwarwa ka beke** [$A_{pred.oblig}$]

(Meetings will take place weekly)

- (b) **O nwe dipilisi tse tharo gabedi ka letsatsi** [$A_{pred.opt}$]

(Take three pills twice a day)

- (c) **O nwe dipilisi tse tharo gabedi ka letsatsi** [$A_{sentence}$]

(Take three pills twice daily)

4.2.3.3 Adjuncts of process

The process adjuncts can be subdivided into five subclasses, viz. manner, means, instrument, agent and association. These sub-roles are expressed as follows by adjuncts within clause structure:

- (i) MANNER is expressed by adjuncts which answer the question **jang?** (how?, in what way?). It is expressed by obligatory predication adjuncts as well as optional predication adjuncts, e.g.

- (4-25) (a) **O tsamaya sethutiwa** [$A_{pred.oblig}$]

(He/She walks like a giraffe)

- (b) **O robotse sengwana** [$A_{pred.opt}$]

(He/She sleeps like a child)

- (ii) MEANS overlaps with instrument and is only distinguishable within context, e.g.

- (4-26) **Ke ya tirong ka mmotorokara**

(I go to work by car)

- (iii) INSTRUMENT, which indicates the thing with which the action is performed e.g.

- (4-27) **O bolailwe ka sethunya**

(He/She was killed with a gun)

- (iv) AGENT, which indicates the performer of the action, e.g.

(4-28) **O bolailwe ke sethunya**

(He/She was killed by a gun)

- (v) ASSOCIATION, which indicates the person or thing in association with which an action is carried out or in association with which a state of affairs exists, e.g.

(4-29) **Ba tsamaile le bana**

(They went with the children)

4.2.3.4 Adjuncts of regard

The regard role is especially seen when the adverbial which expresses place answers the question “What?”. Without the option of including an indication that a specific reference point is in mind, the adverbial rather serves to answer the question ‘What is he/she doing?’ than ‘Where is he/she working?’, e.g.

(4-30) **O dira ka mo moepong**

(He/She is working in a mine, i.e. He/She is a mine worker)

4.3 SUBJUNCTS

4.3.1 The identification of subjuncts

The term ‘subjunct’ is applied to adverbials which have in general a lesser role than the other sentence elements; they have, for example, less independence both semantically and grammatically and in some respects are subordinate to one or other of the sentence elements, i.e. they have to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements.

If we consider the following example:

(4-31) **Gantsi mo lwapeng ngwana mongwe le mongwe o nna le leina la gagwe le a retwang ka lone, godimo ga le e leng la gagwe tota**

(Frequently in the family every child has his name with which he is praised, in addition to the one which is actually his)

tota is a subjunct in that it is semantically subordinate to the clause element **la gagwe**. It cannot, for example, be moved to any other position in the clause without changing the unit that it modifies as in * **le tota e leng la gagwe** or * **le e leng tota la gagwe** within the context of the sentence. The factuality expressed by **tota** is emphasizing 'his/hers' and not 'being' or 'being his/hers'.

Usually subjuncts can also not be treated grammatically in any of the four ways stated for adjuncts. If we compare the use of **tota** in (4-31) above it cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence; cannot be the basis of contrast in alternative interrogation or negation; cannot come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis; and cannot be elicited by question forms. Compare:

- (4-32)..... * **ke tota (la gagwe) godimo ga le e leng la gagwe**
..... * **A ke la gagwe tota kgotsa ke la gagwe ka kakaretso?**
..... * **le e seng la gagwe tota mme le e leng la gagwe tota**
..... * **tota le e leng la gagwe le tota le e leng la me**
..... * **tota fela le e leng la gagwe**
..... * **ke le e leng la gagwe jang? * Tota**

4.3.2 Subcategories of subjuncts

The 'subordinate role' of subjuncts may apply to the whole clause in which the subjunct operates or it may be subordinate to an individual clause element. When it is subordinate to the whole clause it is called a subjunct of 'wide orientation' and when it is only subordinate to one of the other clause elements, e.g. the S or V then it is a subjunct of 'narrow orientation'. Compare the following examples:

(4-33) (a) **Ka ngwao, batho ba ke Batswana**

(Culturally, these people are Batswana, i.e. 'as a cultural experience', experienced by the speaker)

(b) **Ka boitumelo, Sello a dumedisa baeng**

(Happily, Sello greeted the strangers, i.e. Sello was happy, offhand, when he greeted the strangers)

In (4-33) (a) **ka ngwao** functions as a viewpoint subjunct of wide orientation since it is subordinate to the whole clause in which it operates. In (4-33) (b), however, **ka boitumelo** is only subordinate to an individual clause element, viz. **Sello**, the S of the clause.

It is easier to realize the subordinateness of the role in relation to the subjuncts of narrow orientation since some paraphrases for those of wide orientation (such as 'from a cultural point of view' for **ka ngwao**) seem to raise the A so as to be superordinate to the other clausal elements and therefore seem to have the role of disjuncts.

4.3.3 The functional realization of subjuncts

The functional realization of subjuncts is based on the different semantic roles expressed by them within clause structure as well as the different subcategories established for them above.

4.3.3.1 Wide orientation

- (i) VIEWPOINT subjuncts can be roughly paraphrased by 'if we consider what we are saying from a nominal point of view' and corresponds with the English adverbial suffix *-ly* (See Cole 1955, par. 15.48). They are formed by prefixing the prefix **ka** to nominal elements, e.g.

(4-34) **ka boomo** (deliberately)

ka mokgwa (customarily)

ka boitumelo (happily)

All viewpoint subjuncts have a corresponding participle clause with **ke go re** (speaking/this is to say) that is also a viewpoint subjunct, e.g.

(4-35) **ka boomo - ke go re ka boomo** (deliberately speaking)

They also have a corresponding phrase with the frame **ka maemo a** (from a [nominal] point of view) that also has the same function, e.g.

(4-36) **ka boomo - ka maemo a boomo** (from a deliberate point of view)

Viewpoint subjuncts tend to be put in E position. They are nongradable, being distinct from when they are used as process adjuncts (cf. p. 124). They therefore do not accept clause comparison of the modification possible for many adjuncts, e.g.

(4-37) ***ka boomo thata** (*very deliberately)

(ii) COURTESY subjuncts are realized by a small group of adverbials used in rather formulaic expressions of politeness and propriety, e.g.

(4-38) **Nte ke fete tsweetswee**

(Let me pass please)

More examples that may be used as courtesy subjuncts are:

ka boingotlo (humbly)

ka tshwaro, ka pelotshweu (graciously)

ka pelo, ka bomolemo (cordially)

4.3.3.2 Narrow orientation

(i) ITEM subjuncts refer to those subjuncts which are in a sense subordinate

to an element in clause structure or even to a constituent of the phrase or clause realizing an element, e.g.

(4-39) **Ka lesego, Sello a se bulele baeng lebati**

(Fortunately, Sello did not open the door for the strangers [Sello was fortunate, offhand, when he did not open the door for the strangers])

In this example we have subject-orientation because it is possible to say:

(4-40) **Sello o ne a le lesego**

(Sello was fortunate)

Subject-orientation thus effects a characterization of the referent of the subject with respect to the process or state denoted by V.

More examples are:

ka kelelelo (carefully)

ka boatla (carelessly)

ka matsetseleko (cautiously)

Volitional subjuncts are also subject-orientated subjuncts but they are different in that they express the subject's intention or willingness/unwillingness. They often occur with copular verbs, e.g.

(4-41) **Mosimane yo, o bonya ka boomo**

(This boy is being slow deliberately)

Predication subjuncts function within the V-element, e.g.

(4-42) **Leina le tota e leng la gagwe**

(The name which is really his)

- (ii) EMPHASIZERS are subjuncts which have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause or part of the clause to which they apply. In addition to the force (as distinct from the degree) of a constituent, emphasers do not require that the constituent concerned should be gradable. Compare the following:

(4-43) (a) **Tota ke a lwala**

(Really, I am ill)

(b) **Ka nnete ga ke go itse**

(I really don't know you)

- (iii) INTENSIFIERS are usually concerned with the semantic category of DEGREE. It does not always refer only to means whereby an increase in intensification is expressed. It rather indicates a point on an abstractly conceived intensity scale and the point indicated may be relatively low or relatively high. The scale is seen as applying to a predicate or to some part of a predicate, such as the predication, the verb phrase, or even an item within the verb phrase. The V in question is largely expressive of attitude. Compare the following:

(4-44) **Ga a a araba potso gotlhelele**

(He/She did not answer the question completely)

When we deal with intensifiers we need to distinguish two subsets:

AMPLIFIERS scale upwards. They are divided into MAXIMIZERS, which denote the upper extreme of a scale, and BOOSTERS, which denote a high degree or high point on the scale, e.g.

(4-45) (a) **Ba tlhaloganya mathata a rona gotlhelele**

(They fully understand our problems)

(b) **Ba mo rata thatathata**

(They like her very much)

DOWN TONERS have a general lowering effect on the force of the V-element, e.g.

- (4-46) (a) **O bua fela a sa itse sepe**
(He just talks without knowing anything)
- (b) **Bogolo ke batla nama**
(I would rather have meat)

(iv) FOCUSING subjuncts draw the attention to a part of a sentence as wide as the predication or as narrow as a single constituent of an element. There are two subdivisions, namely RESTRICTIVES and ADDITIVES.

RESTRICTIVES restrict the application of the utterance exclusively or particularly (predominantly) to the focused part, e.g.

- (4-47) (a) **Ke ne ke ba isa fela kwa sekolong**
(I was only taking them to school)
- (b) **Basetsana, bogolobogolo ba ne ba sa batle go tsamaya**
(The girls, especially did not want to walk)

ADDITIVES indicate that the utterance concerned is additionally true in respect of the focused part, e.g.

- (4-48) **O mabela gape o makgakga**
(He is proud, also he is impudent)

More examples are:

e bile (also, even)

le (also)

e sita (even)

4.4 DISJUNCTS

4.4.1 The identification of disjuncts

Disjuncts have a superior role as compared with the sentence elements; they are syntactically more detached and in some respects 'superordinate', in that they seem to have a scope that extends over the sentence as a whole. We relate them to the speaker's 'authority' for (or the speaker's comment on) the accompanying clause.

If we consider the following example:

(4-49) **Tota, ga ke mo itse**

(Actually, I do not know him)

tota functions as a disjunct in that it states the sense in which the speaker judges what he/she says to be true. There is a reference to the 'reality' of what is said, i.e. it asserts the reality of what is said in the rest of the clause.

4.4.2 Subcategories of disjuncts

Disjuncts can be divided into two main classes, viz. style disjuncts and content disjuncts.

4.4.2.1 Style disjuncts

Style disjuncts convey the speaker's comment on the style and form of what he/she is saying, defining in some way under what conditions he/she is speaking as the 'authority' for the utterance, e.g.

(4-50) **Ka nnete, ke lapile**

(Truly, I am tired)

The relationship between a style disjunct and the clause to which it is attached can often be expressed by a clause in which the same item as the style disjunct is a process adjunct with a verb of 'speaking' and the subject of which is 'I'. Thus **ka nnete** in (4-50) is equivalent to **Nna ke bolelela wena ka nnete** (I tell you, truly) or **Ke a re ka nnete** (I say, truly). If the clause is a question, the disjunct may be ambiguous:

(4-51) **A ka nnete o lapile?**

(Truly, is he/she tired?)

Here the adverbial may correspond to **Ke go botsa ka nnete** (I ask you, truly) or to the more probable **Mpolelele ka nnete** (Tell me, truly).

4.4.2.2 Content disjuncts

Content disjuncts make observations on the actual content of the utterance and its truth conditions. The speaker's comment on the content of what he is saying is of two principal kinds, viz. degree of truth and value judgement.

- (i) DEGREE OF TRUTH presents a comment on the truth value of what is said, expressing the extent to which, and the conditions under which, the speaker believes that what he/she is saying is true. Some express conviction as a direct claim, others express some degree of doubt and another group state the sense in which the speaker judges what he says to be true or false, e.g.

(4-52) (a) **Tota, ke di bone**

(Indeed, I saw them)

(b) **Gongwe o tla goroga ka moso**

(Perhaps he will arrive tomorrow)

- (ii) VALUE JUDGEMENT conveys some evaluation of or attitude towards what is said, e.g.

(4-53) **Ka tshiamo, a ka bo a boditse pele**
(Correctly, he/she should have asked first)

4.5 CONJUNCTS

4.5.1 The identification of conjuncts

Conjuncts are also grammatically distinct from adjuncts in terms of the features set out for adjuncts. Compare the use of **le gale** (nonetheless) in the following example:

(4-54) **Le fa megopo e sa tlhole e dirisiwa go jela, le gale go sa na le dithakga tse di e betlang.**
(Although wooden bowls are not used to eat out of anymore, nonetheless there are skilled people who still produce them)

The adverbial **le gale** cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence; cannot be the basis of contrast in alternative interrogation or negation; cannot come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis; and cannot be elicited by question forms. Compare:

(4-55) * **ke le gale go sa na le dithakga tse di e betlang**
..... * **A go sa na le dithakga tse di e betlang le gale kgotsa jalo?**
..... * **go sa na le dithakga tse di e betlang le gale mme go sa na le banna ba ba e betlang le gale**
..... * **go sa na le dithakga tse di e betlang le gale**

Conjuncts, as part of their greater distinctness from closely interrelated clause elements such as S, C and O, often have semantic roles that are conjunct-

specific. That is, they have the function of conjoining independent units rather than one of contributing another facet of information to a single integrated unit. We therefore consider conjuncts by looking beyond the particular grammatical unit in which they appear. Whereas, in the case of disjuncts we related them to the speaker's 'authority' for (or the speaker's comment on) the accompanying clause, we relate conjuncts to the speaker's comment in one quite specific respect, viz. his/her assessment of how he/she views the connection between two linguistic units. The units concerned may be very large or very small: sentences, paragraphs, or even larger parts of a text at one extreme; at the other extreme, they may be constituents of a phrase realizing a single clause element, e.g.

(4-56) (a) **Sello ke serutegi le setlhalefi. Mo godimo ga moo o setse a kwadile dibuka tse dintsi**

(Sello is a highly-trained very wise person. In addition he has already written many books.)

(b) **O ne a rata go utswa mme mo godimo ga moo o ne a rata go fisa dilo**

(He liked to steal and in addition to stealing he liked to burn things)

As in (4-56) (a), it is common for a conjunct to have a focussing role along with the conjoining one, especially when it is conjoining relatively small units. The conjoining role might however be less prominent when it appears together with a conjunction (coordinator) like **mme** (and) as in (4-56) (b) above.

Like disjuncts, conjuncts conjoining relatively small units can often be seen as equivalent to adverbials in clauses having the speaker as subject, e.g.

(4-57) **a le serutegi. Ke go bolelela mo godimo ga moo gore o ne a setse a kwadile**

(..... a highly-trained person. I tell you in addition to that, that he has already written.....)

Some conjuncts include a pronominal reference to the unit which is to be related,

e.g.

- (4-58) (a) **mo godimo ga moo**
(in addition to *that*, i.e. for example what I have mentioned)
- (b) **kwa ntle ga tsena**
(besides *these*, i.e. for example of what I shall list)

In the case of some informal conjuncts, we seem to have an abbreviation of a concessive clause. Thus with:

- (4-59) **Ga a je sentle mo matsatsing a, mme ga a a simolola go lwala gape, le gale**
(He doesn't eat well these days but he hasn't begun to get ill again, *though*)

we are expected to understand something like the clausal disjunct:

- (4-60) **Ga a a simolola go lwala gape, le gale ke rile ga a je sentle mo matsatsing a**
(He hasn't begun to get ill again, *though I have said that he doesn't eat well these days*)

Although we have said that conjuncts indicate how the speaker 'views the connection between two linguistic units', such an indication does not conversely entail the use of a conjunct. The semantic role of expressing a relation between two units can frequently be fulfilled by an adjunct. Compare the following (where a pronoun, i.e. **se** functions as the linking device):

- (4-61) **Pula e ne e na, mme kwa ntle ga se go ne ga sala go le monate thata**
(It was raining, and in spite of this it was still very nice)

The adverbial here which conjoins and indicates a concessive relation is an adjunct, as we see from its propensity to be focused in a cleft sentence:

(4-62) **mme e ne e le kwa ntle ga se gore go sale go le monate thata**
(..... and it was in spite of this that it was still very nice)

By contrast, in:

(4-63) **Pula e ne e na, mme le gale go ne ga sala go le monate thata**
(It was raining, and nevertheless it was still very nice)

the same conjoining function with the same concessive relation fulfilled grammatically by a conjunct:

(4-64) *..... **mme e ne e le le gale gore go sale go le monate thata**
(*..... and it was nevertheless that it was still very nice)

Conjuncts thus both indicate the relation and are demonstrably outside the syntactically integrated clause structure which admits adjuncts.

Moreover, there is still another significant aspect which needs us to relax the semantic characteristic of conjuncts of conjoining linguistic units. It is the possibility for conjuncts to be used as discourse-initial items. Speech may begin with a conjunct given a particular context or situation, e.g.

(4-65) **Antsaana o a tsamaya naa?**
(So you are going, then?)

Both **antsaana** (so) and **naa** (then) are conjunctive comments of an inferential nature, but in this example the speaker's inference is based on extralinguistic evidence, which has been treated just as though the person addressed was heard to say **Ke tla le bona ka moso** (I will see you tomorrow).

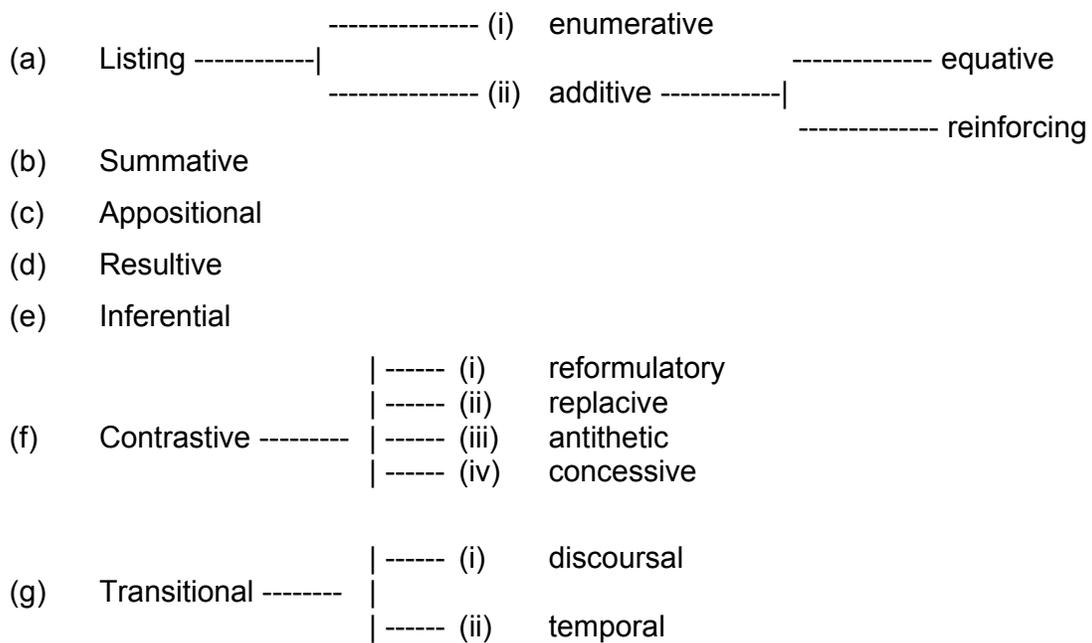
4.5.2 Subcategories of conjuncts

Semantically, the conjunct function entails a conjunct-specific set of semantic

relations. They are connected with, but are frequently rather remote from, the adverbial relation we must assume in the speaker-related clause to which they correspond. It is necessary, therefore, to set out the conjunctive meaning concerned.

We distinguish seven conjunctive roles, in some cases with fairly clear subdivisions.

Compare the following diagram:



4.5.3 The functional realization of conjuncts

4.5.3.1 Listing

Listing is a basic language function and the conjunction **mme** (and) is used for this

purpose, e.g.

(4-66) **Ke ne ke le kwa gae mme ka robala teng**

(I was at home and I slept there)

On the other hand we can use conjuncts to give a particular structure or orientation to a list. It shows order by having items performing an ENUMERATIVE function, e.g.

(4-67) **La ntlha, ke batla go tlhapa mme la bobedi ke batla dijo**

(First (ly), I want to wash, and second(ly) I want food)

This function does more than merely assign numerical labels to the items listed, it connotes relative priority and endows the list with an integral structure, having a beginning and an end.

When the idea of an integral relation is expressed it is done by the ADDITIVE conjuncts. With the EQUATIVE function of an additive conjunct it is indicated that an item has a similar force to a preceding one, e.g.

(4-68) **O na le maikarabelo a mantsi mme, fela jalo madi a mantsi**

(He/she has a lot of responsibilities and, equally, a lot of money)

The REINFORCING function of additive conjuncts typically assesses an item as adding greater weight to a preceding one, e.g.

(4-69) **O botlhale, o na le madi mme gape o na le kitso**

(He is intelligent, he has the money and furthermore he has the knowledge)

4.5.3.2 Summative

Summative conjuncts introduce an item that embraces the aforementioned ones, e.g.

(4-70) **O latlhegetswe ke sesupanako, mmotorokara wa gagwe o senyegile mme gape ba utswa dibuka tsa gagwe, gotlhelele, ga a a robala sentle**
(He lost his watch, his car broke down and furthermore they stole his books, all in all, he did not sleep well)

4.5.3.3 Appositional

Appositional conjuncts are used to express the content of the preceding item or items in other terms, e.g.

(4-71) **O na le bathusi, jaaka rraagwe le mmaagwe**
(She does have helpers, for instance her father and mother)

The apposition might apply to more than one preceding item and then there is usually a summative implication, e.g.

(4-72) **Ba rekile maungo, dimonamone, dinotsididi le majalwa, ka mafoko a mangwe ditapoloso tse di lekaneng**
(They bought fruit, sweets, cold drinks and beer, in other words, enough refreshments)

4.5.3.4 Resultive

Resultive conjuncts are used to be a conclusion in terms of a result on what is said in the preceding items, e.g.

(4-73) **O gorogile morago ga nako e bile a gana go araba dipotso, mme kana a ba kgopisa**
(She arrived late and also refused to answer questions, and of course she displeased them)

4.5.3.5 Inferential

Inferential conjuncts are used to indicate a conclusion based on logic and speculation, e.g.

(4-74) **Ga o a araba potso ya me, antsaana ga o dumelane le se ke se buang**
(You did not answer my question, so you don't agree with what I am saying)

4.5.3.6 Contrastive

This type of conjunct presents either contrastive words or contrastive matter in relation to what has preceded. REFORMULATORY contrast seeks to replace what has been said by a different formulation, e.g.

(4-75) **O ne a nole thata, ka mafoko a mangwe, o ne a tihapetswe**
(He drank a lot, in other words, he was drunk)

With REPLACIVE conjuncts contrast is expressed when the speaker withdraws an item, not to express it better but to replace it by a more important one, e.g.

(4-76) **A ka batla go tla gompieno, gape, a ka batla go tla ka moso**
(He may want to come today, again, he may want to come tomorrow)

ANTITHETIC conjuncts express a contrast with a preceding item by emphasizing that the opposite is true, e.g.

(4-77) **Ga ke a mo kopa go tsamaya, mme fela ke mo kopile go emela Lesego**
(I did not ask her to go, but instead I asked her to wait for Lesego)

When contrast is expressed in terms of one unit being seen as unexpected in the light of the other CONCESSIVE conjuncts are used, e.g.

(4-78) **O ithutile, le mororo a sa kgone go bona**

(He studied, although he could not see)

4.5.3.7 Transitional

Transitional conjuncts serve to shift attention to another topic or to a temporally related event. When it is used to shift attention to another topic we refer to it as DISCOURSAL, e.g.

(4-79) **Nna ga ke ye gae. Kana wena o rile o ya kae?**

(I am not going home. By the way, you said you are going where?)

When a conjunct is used to shift attention to a temporally related event we refer to it as TEMPORAL, e.g.

(4-80) **O nkagetse ntlo, kgabagare a fuduga**

(He built me a house, meanwhile he moved)

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we implemented the structural, syntactic and semantic properties, as well as the scope of modification of adverbials in order to make a grammatical categorization of adverbials in clause structure.

We distinguished between Adjuncts, Subjuncts, Disjuncts and Conjuncts as grammatical categories of adverbials and discussed the identification, subcategorization and functional realization of each category.

For the identification of adjuncts we distinguished them from the other functional categories of adverbials on the basis of four criteria set forth by Quirk *et al.* (1985), viz.

- adjuncts, unlike the other functional categories of adverbials, can be the focus of a cleft sentence (a sentence split into two clauses, each with its own verbal element);

- adjuncts can be the basis of contrast in alternative interrogation or negation;
- adjuncts do, irrespective of their position in the clause, come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms exactly like other post-operator elements. In consequence the following sentences are synonymous; and
- adjuncts, like S, O and C, can be elicited by question forms.

We found that, although these characteristics broadly hold for all adjuncts, a distinction between predication adjuncts and sentence adjuncts was also needed. For predication adjuncts we also distinguished between obligatory predication adjuncts and optional predication adjuncts.

Based on the different semantic roles expressed by adjuncts within clause structure, as well as the different subcategories established for adjuncts, the different functional realizations of adjuncts as adjuncts of space, time, process and regard were discussed.

Subjuncts were identified as adverbials which have a lesser role than other sentence elements. They have, for example, less independence both semantically and grammatically and in some respects are subordinate to one or other of the sentence elements, i.e. they have to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements. They can also not be treated grammatically in any of the four ways stated for adjuncts.

We distinguished between subjuncts of 'wide orientation' and subjuncts of 'narrow orientation'. Wide orientation subjuncts are distinguished on the basis of the 'subordinate role' of subjuncts in terms of the whole clause whereas narrow orientation subjuncts are distinguished in terms of the 'subordinate role' of subjuncts in relation to one of the other clause elements.

Under wide orientation subjuncts we dealt with viewpoint and courtesy functional realizations and for narrow orientation subjuncts we distinguished between item subjuncts, emphasizeers, intensifiers and focusing subjuncts.

Disjuncts were identified on the basis of them having a superior role when compared to the other sentence elements. They are syntactically more detached and in some respects 'superordinate', in that they seem to have a scope that extends over the whole sentence. They are interpreted in terms of the speaker's 'authority' over or the speaker's comment on the accompanying clause. We distinguished between style disjuncts and content disjuncts.

Conjuncts were identified in terms of the speaker's assessment of how he/she views the connection between two linguistic units. We identified and discussed seven main conjunctive roles, viz. listing, summative, appositional, resultive, inferential, contrastive and transitional.

In drawing the distinctions between the different categories of adverbials in clause structure it became clear that the same structural element may function within different categories. This is indicative of the fact that adverbials need to be defined in terms of the specific semantic use each one has within a specific clause or discourse.

NOTES

1. The symbols used to indicate the different positions taken up by the adverbials are indicated according to the different positions of adverbials distinguished in chapter 3. See page 80.
2. A truth-focusing paraphrase is the repeat of a sentence with the inclusion of a truth-focusing element, e.g. **ka nnete** (truly) or **tota** (truly).
3. With a context of special motivation is meant a linguistic environment in which a unit needs to be interpreted in terms of special syntactic and/or semantic circumstances.
4. Capital letters are used here to indicate the separate tone unit in terms of the sentence adverbials used.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL CONCLUSION

When dealing with the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana we realised that it is not sufficiently described. Existing analyses are mainly based on the traditional grammatical theory which fails to move beyond the semantic subclassification of adverbs into adverbs of Place, Time, Manner and “so on”. Such a classification is vague and open-ended and does not offer a valid basis for a systematic explanation of the surface behaviour of adverbials. Other classifications are, in their turn, based on morphological characteristics only. This is also unacceptable since structure alone cannot account for all facets of adverbial behaviour in Tswana. The generally accepted characterisation of an adverb is that it is

indeclinable, and that it modifies the verb.

In order to get a more reliable interpretation of the adverbial as a clause element we attempted to set defining features for the adverbial. Firstly, we distinguished between the terms 'adverb' and 'adverbial' in order to establish the different linguistic levels of analysis on which these terms are used. Secondly, we verified which features separate adverbials from other clause elements in order to define it as a clause element. To be able to do this we investigated the clause as a syntactic unit in Tswana. We also established all the elements of clause structure and investigated the relationship between these elements and the adverbial. From this investigation we then determined the most acceptable way to describe the adverbial as a clause element in Tswana.

We identified the adverbial as a functional element within clause structure. The clause as a syntactic structure was investigated and the different elements of clause structure were identified which make the recognition of different clause types possible. We identified adverbials as obligatory constituents in clause types SVOA and SVA in which they appear in final position. Although adverbials usually appear in clause final position we also indicated that they are optional constituents in other positions in the clause. In the latter sense they can be added to or removed from the clause without affecting the acceptability of the clause and also without affecting the relations of other clause elements. We further found that more than one adverbial can appear at a time in a clause and also that they never determine what other elements should be used in clause structure.

In our attempt to describe adverbials in clause structure we firstly distinguished between the different surface realizations of adverbials. The following words and phrases were identified as constituents that can function as adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) basic adverbs;
- (ii) words from other word categories used as adverbials;
- (iii) derived adverbs
- adverbs formed by adding a noun class prefix to an adjective stem;

- adverbs formed by adding an adverbial prefix to a stem;
 - adverbs formed by adding the locative suffix **-ng** to nouns;
 - adverbs formed by adding a preposition to a base;
- (iv) adverbial phrases.

We further investigated the syntactic properties of adverbials as well as their semantic roles. As for the syntax of adverbials in clause structure we indicated that the basic position of adverbials within clause structure is the sentence final position, i.e.

(I) - (subject) - (M) - (main verb) - (E)

We did however find that more than one adverbial can appear in different positions in the clause. To illustrate this freedom with which adverbials can appear we summarized their occurrence as follows:

(I1 - I2 etc.) - (subject) - (iM1 - iM2 etc.) - (aux - mM11 - mM12 etc.) or (-aux - aux - mM21 - mM22 etc.) or (-aux - aux - aux - mM31 - mM32 etc.) -(aux - eM1 - eM2 etc.) - (main verb) - (iE1 - iE2 etc.) - (object) - (E1 - E2 etc.)

For the semantic roles of adverbials in clause structure we distinguished several main categories, in most instances with further subdivisions, i.e.

Space

- place
- position
- direction
- distance

Time

- position on temporal scale
- duration
- frequency

Process

- manner
- means
- instrument
- agent
- association

Regard

Contingency

- condition
- reason
- concession
- purpose
- comparison
- consequence

Modality

- possibility
- probability
- certainty
- restriction

Degree

- amplification
- diminution

These detailed syntactic and semantic divisions were done in terms of the important finding that the scope or domain of modification exerted by an adverbial within the sentence as a whole, as well as the semantic nature of such modification is directly determined by the syntactic slots in which the adverbial occurs.

We also dealt with adverbials as modifiers in clause structure. We found that adverbials as modifiers in surface structure do not always behave in the same way and we distinguished between the following theoretical possibilities of modification for adverbials in clause structure:

- (i) CI-modifiers;
- (ii) V-modifiers;
- (iii) NP-modifiers;
- (iv) Adv-modifiers.

Lastly, we examined the scope of modification which adverbials have in relation to their structural, syntactic and semantic features and identified the following categories:

- adjuncts, which are adverbials that are relatively integrated into the structure of the clause and closely resemble other clause elements such as S, O and C;
- subjuncts, which on the other hand, are also relatively integrated into the structure of the clause but have to a greater or lesser degree a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements;
- disjuncts, which are adverbials that are peripheral to clause structure without a primarily connective function; and
- conjuncts, which are adverbials that are also peripheral to clause structure but with a primarily connective function.

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- adjuncts, unlike the other functional categories of adverbials, can be the focus of a cleft sentence (a sentence split into two clauses, each with its own verbal element);
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