A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION

INTO THE

STANDARDIZATION

OF

WRITTEN TSWANA

(A Study of the History and present state of
Tswana Orthography)

by

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CHAPTER I

TSWANA ORTHOGRAPHY, C. 1806 - 1960

INTRODUCTION

1.1 There is no intention here to give a complete account of the development of the Tswana Orthography. It is intended to show very briefly some of the efforts down the years which led to the present position, which position will be the best appreciated against a background of what went before.

LICHTENSTEIN'S "UPON THE LANGUAGE OF THE BEETJUANS" 1)

1.2 We start an investigation of the story of written Tswana from 1806, when Heinrich Lichtenstein contributed a vocabulary entitled, "Upon the Language of the Beetjuans". For our purpose this title offers material to note -

- the rendering of the prefix: Be-
- the rendering of the pre-palatal sound: ti
- the rendering of the present-day wa as: ua -
- the terminal suffix -na (normally -na)
- the plural suffix of English style -s.

CAMPBELL'S "BOOTCHUANA WORDS" - 1815 2)

1.3 John Campbell's vocabulary of 1815 is entitled "Bootchuana words". He conceives the language as that of the Country, and employs the prefix for Country, rendering his sounds -

prefix: Boo - (today Bo-)
pre-palatal sound: tch
terminal suffix: - na

Already there is a change from Lichtenstein's rendering of the pre-palatal sound and terminal suffix.

References:
2. Travels in South Africa, Campbell, 1815.
Burchell’s Contribution - 1824

1.4 In 1824 W. Burchell departs from the path of both Lichtenstein and Campbell, writing, "Sichuana". Already the distinction of symbols becomes such a live problem to him that he insists on the use of accent marks like on títa (to speak) buá (to slay). In any case, in 18 years we see:

tí: tóch: ch in succession for the same sound.

ROBERT NOFFAT - 1816

1.5 The Tswana got their first missionary in 1816, in the person of Dr. Robert Moffat, who settled among the Thoping around Kuruman, N.W. Cap. 4

1.6 Moffat gave the Tswana their first School in 1825, and understandably, sorely needed the use of the Tswana language, and its reduction to writing, systematic writing. An orthography was required, and understandably, he relied on the orthography of his own mother-tongue to serve as basis.

1.7 His great achievement was in the field of Bible translation, completing the Gospel according to St. Luke in 1830, the New Testament in 1840, the Old Testament in 1857. 5

1.8 As to Orthography he wrote for instance "Sichuana" compared to Burchell’s "Sichuana". The representation of the vowel of the prefix seems to have developed thus - ee : i : e between 1806 and 1830. The title page of Moffat’s Bible reads at the beginning of the old Testament - "Buku ea eintla ea ga Moshe, e e Birionâ Genese". The new testament is called "Kholagano enca". We observe -

3/......

5. Doke, Prof. C.M.: Bantu Language Pioneers of the 19th Century, Chapter III in Literary Efforts before 1900, p. 245.
Moffat:  Burchell:  Campbell:  Lichtenstein
\( \text{c} \)  \( \text{ch} \)  \( \text{tch} \)  \( \text{ti} \)
in  in  in  in
\( \text{enea} \)  \( \text{Sichuana} \)  \( \text{Bootchuana} \)  \( \text{Bootjuana} \).

1.9. The \( \text{c} \) is used in phonetic script for the voiceless prepalatal affricative sound, aspirated form \( \text{ch} \). Hoffat inclines to the English orthography therefore. As in English "she", the voiceless prepalatal fricative sound is rendered \( \text{sh} \) in Moshe. Significant also is the use of \( \text{r} \) before \( \text{i} \) in birico\( \text{m} \), morimo, and neither an \( \text{l} \) nor a \( \text{d} \). Hoffat employs \( \text{y} \) for the \( \text{i} \)-sound, as in Ka venu (Exodus 19:10); he used \( \text{y} \) or \( \text{o} \) as labial semi-vowel (c\( \text{oa} \) in Ex. 19:1, v\( \text{oa} \) in Ex. 19:2, but tla\( \text{c} \)ue in Ex. 19:10), and although using \( \text{r} \) before \( \text{y} \) for the \( \text{l/d} \) sound, as in rumela (Ex. 19:9) also used \( \text{r} \) before \( \text{y} \) for the normal rolled alveolar sound as in lora\( \text{m} \).

1.10 Summarising, there are already observable, the following alternants -

(a) \( \text{c} \) and \( \text{u} \) in the infinitive prefix and concord, e.g. \( \text{c} \)o, \( \text{c} \)u,

and as semi-vowels in c\( \text{oa} \), tla\( \text{c} \)ue.

(b) the employment of the symbol \( \text{y} \) for both the close high back vowel as in rumela (believe) and the semi-close back vowel as in \( \text{gu} \).

Difficulty with vowels persists to this day. The representation of sounds as they are represented in European languages, or otherwise, persists as the problem of today.

James Archbell's "Grammar of the Bechuana Language" - 1837

1.11 In 1837 the Tswana were first again, by getting a grammar (their St. Luke, their New Testament and their
Bible were all firsts in South African Bantu). The "Grammar of the Bechuana Language", from Rev. James Archbell, records the following prefixes -

He - in Bechuana (a Tswana man - singular)
Bu - in Bechuana (Land of the Tswana);
compare Campbell's "Boochuana" (1815)
Archbell says Bu - is a dual plural prefix.
Be - in Bechuana (plural of Bechuana).
The symbols Oh, wa seem to endure, since Burchell in 1824.

EUGÈNE CASALIS: "ETUDES SUR LA LANGUE SECHUANA" - 1841

1.12 Archbell was to be followed by Eugène Casalis in 1841 with "Etudes sur la langue Séchuanæ". The second person singular subjectival concord is rendered u; and the 3rd person, on the 3rd person, most probably because they differ in tone, or because Moffat so distinguished them. As in the title of the "Etudes", we notice tone-marking, which was emphasised by Burchell (1, 4. supra). Evidently the study of tone had not advanced abreast of the orthographic problems of Casalis' day, as confirmed by Letele, thus, "In the field of Sotho, apart from odd references to tone in grammar books and dictionaries, the first real study was made by Professor Jones in conjunction with S. D. R. Plaatjie in "Sechuana Reader" (dated 1916) and "Tones of Sechuanæ Sounds" (dated 1929)". Note the renderings Sechuana (1916) and Secwana (1929).

J.T. BROWN'S "LOKOALO U: MAKUKU A SECOWA LE SECOWALE" - 1876

1.13 In 1876 came Rev. J.T. Brown's "Lokoalo Loa Makuku a Secowale le Secowale". Moffat used "saon" in the 1850's, and this is now replacing Archbell and Casalis' 'shua - in Secowala. Why the semi-close back vowel symbol is Oh in the class-prefix Lo- (Lokoalo) and

should be y in Mahuku cannot be a matter of grammar only, i.e. 1st or second person, but must be a matter of tone too. It must be recorded now that Brown worked on the Tlhaping dialect, same as Hoffst, while Archbold worked on Rolong, as is suspected also of Casalis. We must underline this parting since it must multiply and strengthen alternants on the basis of dialects.

W. CRISPS "NOTES TOWARDS A SECQANA GRAMMAR" - 1880

1.14 Four years later, Brown was to be followed by Canon William Crisp with "Notes towards a Secoane Grammar". In his work, 1880, it is significant that the symbol h is excluded from the list of consonants of Rolong, his basis of operation, being employed only to mark aspiration.

ANOTHER NEW TESTAMENT - 1881

1.15 When all this is said and done, literature must follow, and indeed in 1881 was published in London, a New Testament with the following title:

Kholagana enca

co
e
Yesa Keresebe

co e loh

horena a1 rona le morebuluki:

3 a hatolecose nh mo puo nh
cu

Sechuana

.............

London:

E satiseresco phuthela pho halalstsa

Biblea mo Beritaneh, le mo, tehatsi, a

makue, ki Harrison and Sons, Basatsi.
"New Testament
of
Jesus Christ
who is
Our Lord and Saviour:
which is translated into the
Szechuan Language

London
Printed for congregation for purposes of
glorifying the Bible in Britain, and in
other Countries, by Harrison & Sons,
Printers."
1881:

Note:

i  Kh in Rhelagane was also used by Moffat for
    present Kg.

ii The acute accent mark on Moréna should be
    noted as against its omission on Szechuan
    (cf Casalis' Sóchuana).

iii Reversion to -chua- in Szechuan is striking,
    compared with Crisp's Seccana (1880). The
    life of an orthography goes backwards and
    forwards like that of an economy.

iv The employment of h in halalatsea is a
    warning of a probable departure from Crisp's
    orthography of Along in which h is employed
    for aspiration only.

v The renderings Keretse and Beriteng represent
    the upholding of an important phonological
    rule in Tswana, viz. that each syllable
    shall end on a vowel thus:
Ke - re - te as against Kresto

Beritane as against Britane

vi Employment of o and u as labial semi-vowels before the semi-close high front vowel a in hētolecōth and manwe is to be noted. It is an inconsistency. Cf. hētolecōth with Moffat's tlague (1.8 above). Of further interest in this Testament are -

vii Avoidance of elision of o between n's in the word banona (men) in Acts 22:1 for instance, along with the elision of a between r's in borra (fathers), also rather an inconsistency.

viii The contraction of nk'o bo to nko in 1 Cor. 13:1;

ix The employment of the 2nd position singular le-class demonstrative, yeuo, in Matt. 13:1 for instance, which is typical in Northern Sotho, and

x The employment of the construction ka bosa (in the morning), which inclines to Southern Sotho ka hosasa, and finally, at the morphological level,

xi The employment of the lo-class prefix as in Lorato lo (1 Cor. 13:4).

The problems, when to elide and when not to, when to incline to Northern or Southern Sotho and when not to, persist to this day.

A.J. Wooker's "Seccana Grammar with Exercises" - 1905

1.16 The work of 1881 was followed in 1905 by Rev. A.J. Wooker's "Seccana Grammar with Exercises". Is there now a complete switch from chua to coa in Seccana? 8/
Wookey employs this ə right through and notes its alternants in certain cases. He states in discussing orthography, "Note - Among the Northern Bechwana ə and əh seem absent, and their place is taken by ta and tab. Where among Southern Bechwana the ə and əh are prefixed by 'n', this 'n' changes to 'm' and the 'q' to 'ms', e.g. nqæ, a dog, becomes mpsæ, nsha, new, becomes mshæa."

1.17 Writing as he heard the people speak, he notes for instance the alternation of ə and ə in certain words as:

mmele (body), mmeliñ (in the body)
the alternation of ə and ə as in
veloñ, peduñ (in the heart).

1.18 Characteristic of him is the note on instability of consonants, showing how old the problem of standardization is, as in:-

Bothonaga along with bothologe (n/l) - to arise,
nyæwa " " nyema (ny/æy) - to smile,
he ne he " " re no re (h/r) - we did,
ka mosó " " ka moso (ʃ/ʃ) - tomorrow,
alæwa " " alashwa and alahiwa (ʃw/shw/hiw)
- be cured.

This employment of ə in place of r is also to be observed in the 1881 Testament (1.15 supra) in which the book of Acts is called Litihalalo (from diha in alternation with dira, to do).

THE 1910 ORTHOGRAPHY

1.19 Subsequently every five or ten years the problem of a standard orthography arises. After Wookey's grammar, followed what is known as the 1910 Orthography. The Rev.

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Sandilands quotes as follows, in the '1910 system', from St. Luke 5:36:

"me le goha a bua sochwancho’ nabo’ a re. Ga se ope’eo o rako’ a se apa’ se sesha a tsaca sebata a biliela sapiro’ se se onetsi ka shoa, ha a diha yalo, sebata se sesha se tla rako’ se se onetsi; le gona sebata se sesha se bo se sa dumala, le se se onetsi.

Le gona ga se ope’ee o tehela’ bovalo’ yo boya yo’ moline mo mehala’ e o onetsi; ha a diha yalo, bovalo’ yo’ bosa ha ka phanya mehala, le bo cholo’ le mehala e senyego............"

And from St. Matthew 25:23:

"Moréna oo gagwe a mo raea a re, U dilihlo sentlé molhanka eo o melele le boika’o; u nto u le boika’o me dilo’ tse di potlana; re tla su laodisa dilo di le dintsi"...........

We observe: (as underlined above by me)

i the use of the accent marks, e.g. opë,

ii the use of the acute accent mark on the semi-open front and back vowels, ë and zł, as compared to present day circumflex;

iii The velar nasal symbol to be ñ;

iv the conjunctive ha,

v the employment of the voiced alveolar explosive d, as opposed to r, in dilihle; the 1881 testament has rhile (Matt.25:23)

vi the use of both ð and w as labial semi-vowel as in qa, and gagwe;

vii the use of ŋ as palatal semi-vowel, as in ruga, eo.

viii The use of diha in place of present day dira;

ix the use of y in place of present day i in boyala, voa;

x the use of ch in cholone, and in sechwancho; cf. secuanco in 1881 testament;

xi The use of sh in shona, for the propalatal fricative;

xii the use of shona, zone and not shone or zone, the stabilizer of the absolute Pronoun being -nu and not -ne.

1.20 Prof. Cole⁹) indicates that the 1910 orthography had eleven vowels, of which the raised variant of the semi-open front vowel, was written ŋ, as also the semi-close front vowel and its raised variant. The last-named vowel had a variant i, thus - kiteshen or lehatshĩn (on earth), would be tenable.

1.21 The raised variant of the semi-open back vowel /ŋ, ɨ/, was written ə, as also the semi-close back vowel itself. The last-named vowel had a variant u, thus - peloũ and redoũ (in the heart) would be tenable.

1.22 The vowels are thus not arranged on phonemic basis, which would mean that a vowel and its raised alternant be written strictly alike and kept distinct from any other vowel and its raised alternant.

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In 1916 a Norolong of Kimberley, viz. Solomon Tshekisho Plaatjie, studied in London under Prof. Daniel Jones of London University. He, together with Prof. Jones, produced a reader in I.P.A. orthography\textsuperscript{10}. This publication gives a minute analysis of Tswana pronunciation. As can be expected it represents the language as spoken. Ten vowel-sounds are represented (par. 9 p. XIV), four front and five back vowels, and the low vowel \textipa{a}. Since it is characteristic of Bantu to have an equal number of front and back vowels, besides the low vowel \textipa{a}, Prof. Cole's analysis into eleven vowel-sounds (five front and five back) in 1949, was very welcome.\textsuperscript{11} Twenty-four consonants are recorded by Plaatjie & Jones, three symbols for the lateral semi-vowel for instance, and two for \textipa{I}. They differentiate between their phonetic or pronunciation orthography, and simplified orthography.

They indicate clearly the difference between the spoken and the written language, which is an old warning to writers, not to hope to manage to produce an orthography which is a faithful reproduction of their speech. Touching on the phonemic principles, they refer to speech alternants which are "non-distinctive", that is which "would probably never change the meaning of any word". Thus \textipa{u}, \textipa{y}, \textipa{A} would be the conventional symbols for all their respective alternants. A very important point in current spelling is when to employ the semi-vowel glide intervocally. On p. xxii Plaatjie

\textsuperscript{12/.....}

\textsuperscript{10} Jones/Plaatjie: A Sochuana Reader in International Phonetic Orthography. London Univ. Press. Ltd. 1916.

\textsuperscript{11} Cole: (ibid).
asserts, "In Sochuana the sound ſ does not occur before ſ, ſ, ſ", showing for instance that the class ſ demonstrative cannot be wo or wona, and that therefore Tsuna cannot readily accommodate a rule of option between spelling with and spelling without a semi-vowel in respect of this part of speech. He says in respect of ſ and ſ that such insertion of the intervocallic semi-vowel "is never essential". There must be a test of essentiality.

1.25 Pursuing this study of pronunciation, S.T. Plaatjie used a number of phonetic symbols in his translation of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors" in 1929. Examples are: \( \text{t} \) for ſ, \( \text{c} \) for ſ, ng along with \( \text{q} \). A phonetic or pronunciation orthography must be seen as a turning-point in the analysis of spoken languages, everything but a practical orthography. In any case Tsuna sounds stand minutely analysed by Plaatjie and Jones, leaving it to us to produce a conventional written form. As to word-division they declare themselves in favour of joining particles and concords to relevant stems.

A.N. TUCKER'S SUTO-CHUANA STUDIES: 1929

1.26 A milestone was set by A.N. Tucker in 1929 with the publication of his Ph.D (London) thesis entitled "Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu Languages". He used the Solong dialect as basis, and urged that it should be regarded as the basis of a standard form for purposes of writing. It is an open question whether this effort did not produce opposite

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results to those expected, whether other workers did  
not feel that their dialects were just as good. It is  
also an open question whether this was, or was not one  
of the efforts giving impetus to the consideration of  
unification of Bantu languages, or Sotho languages.  
1.27 It may be contended that the question was pushed  
forcibly to the foreground, as to whether dialects should  
be standardized or languages, as to whether dialects  
should be forced to the foreground or the variant  
speeches unified. What happened next strengthens the  
contention.

THE KGATLA CONTRIBUTION - 1930  
1.28 The Kgatla did not allow themselves to be long  
awaited, for in 1930, at Kochudi, Bechuana land Protecto-  
rate, with the aid of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church,  
they launched a newsletter, "Lesedi le Sechaba" (Light  
of the Nation), written in that dialect. The news-  
letter 13) was introduced as follows (page 1):

"Se ko go tsoa ka ntilha ga Lesedi la Sechaba.  
Re solosela gore ka thuso ya Modimo, lekoalo  
le le tla tsoela pele go ntshioa ka dinyaga  
di le dintsi, le go na lesedi la nteo bakong  
so batho ba Bakgatla....  
Pampiri e e kaletsoe go tlhagiseng lekoalo le  
le tshoanaang le le, garteru ka ngoaga, ka  
gore o tla tsoa mo dikgoeding tse, Diedeleng,  
lorula, Thakolo, Moranyama, Sentebosigo, Phatoe.  
Tsefa e tla na 2 skillings ka ngoaga".

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13. Lesedi la Sechaba, Vol. 1, no. 2, October 1930  
Printed in Kochudi, B.P.
(Translated: This is the first issue of Lesedi la Sechaba (the Light of the Nation). We hope that, by God's help, the paper will continue to be issued for many years, and will be a real light for the Bakgatla people.

This paper is intended to issue such a newsletter as this, six times a year, that is in the months of October, December, February, April, June, August. Subscription will be 2 shillings per year).

Observe:

i  The labial semi-vowel is consistently ə;

ii  the lo-class prefix does not appear; only the le-prefix, as in lekosile, does; consistently;

iii The sound ch is used (cf. Lichtenstein, Campbell above)

iv diacritic and accent marks are dispensed with.

v  the national motive, embodied in the conception of a national paper, in a national tongue, seems perceivable.

The orthography has the merit of consistency.

1.29  In the same paper,14) in 1931, one teacher M. Segogoane, a Bakgatla, of Stofberg-Gedenkskool in the Orange Free State, makes a plea for yet another orthography. He says: "Ke dumedisa Kghosi ya Bakgatla Morena Molefi. A Modimo a gho thuse. Ke dumedisa sehshaba sa Bakgatla, a se atlege. Ke thelaa mokghosi, ka re: Bakgatla romelaa ba a lona sekologo sa moruti wa lona - Stofberg ke shelo la shontlo .......

15/.....

-----------

(Translated: "I greet the Chief of the Bakhatla, Chief Nolapi: May God help you. I greet the Bakhatla tribe, may it prosper, I announce, I say: "Bakhatla, send your children to the school of your missionary - Stofberg is a beautiful place...........")

Observe the symbols:

\[ kgh \text{ for present } kg \]
\[ fh, "f" \]
\[ gh, "g" \]
\[ the, "tēh" \]
\[ thl, "thh" \]

1.30 About the same time Prof. Lestrade,\(^{15}\) commenting on Casalis' "Etudes sur la langue Sêchuan", feels that the language of this book is the Kolo dialect of "Thaba Ntšo"). Segogoane's Sêthôba should therefore have been Sêthôba, judging by the Professor's rendering of Thaba Ntšo.

1.31 The editor of the "Lesedi" says, referring to the orthography bespoke by H. Segogoane:

"Ke mokoalo o mmae o reng re o diriso".

(It is the orthography the government says we must use).

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE GIVES GUIDANCE - 1930

1.32 We go back to 1930, when the Institute of African Languages and Cultures issued "Practical Orthography of African Languages"\(^ {16}\)

A Tswana text in this memorandum is as follows:-

16/.......


\(^{16}\) Issued by Oxford Univ. Press, Memo 1, revised ed., 1930.
"Batswana ba boxe lo xo bare tlou ekile ya
folelo ya mo noke ene ya Sampisi, ya fitlha ya
nwa. Eri e se tse o nwa .......... !Ke fa
tlou o inola kwana, e o tsholtho ka
selono, e o kakarara, e o isa ko naxa,
"kxakalakxakala la noka................."

Observe:

i  x for "g of the present day, and g of
    Moffat, (1.10),

ii  h for ng of the present day, and h of
    Brown (1.13),

iii the symbol f in tsholtho for the present
day g, and the 1910 sh (1.19).

These are I.P.A. symbols. Was there a move in the
direction of I.P.A. symbols (See also 1.25 supra).

1.33 We observe as to word -division:-

i  bare for present day be re (they say)

ii  skile "  "  o kile (it once happened)

iii Kefa  "  "  ke fa (and then)

also:

iv there are no diacritics or accent marks,

v  thh for Segogoane's thl, (1.29)

vi  la in kefa for the ha of 1910 (1.19 above)

vii  thh for Lestrade's thh (1.30 above).

1.34 Of great importance in the Institute's memo-
randum are the Principles of Orthography, given on page

17 par. 31 as follows:

(1) "The orthography of a given Language
should be based on the principle of one
letter for each phoneme of that language.
This means that whenever two words are
distinguished in sound they must also be
distinguished in orthography.

17/......
(2) The existence of diaphones must be recognised and allowed for. Thus Fanti speakers of Akan pronounce the syllable di as dzi and ti' as tsi; but the orthography di, ti is adequate for covering both pronunciations. Again, the Hausa f is pronounced in some dialects as labio-dental f and in others as bi-labial f and in others as p; but the letter f can be used in orthography with the necessary conventions as to dialectal pronunciations.

(3) It may sometimes be convenient to depart from a strictly phonetic system, in order to avoid writing a word in more than one way. Thus it is better to write in Luganda soka aleke (wait a bit), although the pronunciation is sok aleke .

(4) "As a concession to existing usage an ordinary Roman letter may sometimes be used in place of one of the special new letters, when the sound denoted by the Roman letter does not occur in the language. Thus f may be used instead of j in writing Sechswana, because the labio-dental f does not occur in that language. Similarly g may be used instead of j in writing Goshikwanyama, because an ordinary g does not occur in that language".

1.35 As far as we know the labio-dental f occurs in Tswana, but is precisely the same phoneme as the bilabial f, thus our recommendation in terms of principle no. (1) above, is an f right through.
1.36 The enunciation of these principles represents an important milepost in writing Bantu languages in general, but for our purpose Tswana in particular, and we shall endeavour to apply them in this thesis.

THE 1937 ORTHOGRAPHY

1.37 Evidently the orthography employed by the Institute (1.32 above) was the same for Tswana as for Northern Sotho (Pedi), a shadow of coming events, cast ahead, as will be seen in 1.41 infra. We want here to refer to the so-called 1937 Orthography which was detailed by Prof. Lestrade in a pamphlet\(^{17}\) of that year giving decisions of a representative conference held in Johannesburg, S.A., in April of that year.

1.38 The great service of this conference was largely negative, as seen on page 142 of the said pamphlet. The exclusion of the undermentioned symbols from the orthography is urged. Indirectly it means basing standard writing on a dialect or at most a dialect cluster. The symbols to be excluded are:

- \(\text{ps} \) as in \(\text{mps}_a\) (dog)
- \(\text{p}u\) " " \(\text{mp}_a\) (dog)
- \(\text{py} \) " " \(\text{mp}_a\) (dog)
- \(\text{psh} \) " " \(\text{mp}_a\) (new)
- \(\text{pnh} \) " " \(\text{mp}_a\) (new)
- \(\text{phy} \) " " \(\text{mp}_a\) (new)

Positively stated, this means, of the four alternants:

- \(\text{ps} , \text{p}u , \text{py} \) and \(\text{t}u/\text{t}_w\)
in standard writing use \(\text{t}u\); of the four alternants

- \(\text{psh} , \text{pnh} , \text{phy} , \text{t}_w/\text{t}_h\w\),
in standard writing use \(\text{t}_h\); thus write

- \(\text{nt}a\) (dog) and \(\text{nt}_h\) (new).

---

17. Lestrade, Prof. G.P.: A Practical Orthography of Tswana, April 28, 1937.
Thus while the people speak as they like, as in Akan (1.34 above) the written language provides for only one form in terms of orthography principle No. (2) 1.34 above. Yet alternants were recommended in case of te and tē, tsh and tēş, t and tl, th and tīh, (e.g. kṣol/a/tṣol/a - undress; tšhoga/tšhoga - fear; tala/tlala - hunger; thala/tlala - divorce;) in contravention of principle no. 2 (1.34 above).

1.39 As to vowels the phonemic principle (no. 1, 1.34 above) was not complied with fully. The semi-open front and back vowels were circumflexed but their raised variants not, thus:

ô for o, as in bôna (see)
ø " o, as in boné (have seen)
ë " e, " āma (stand)
ë " e, " emé (have stood)

The semi-close front and back vowels were each written the same as its raised variant thus -

ø for o as in phöló (ox)
ø " " phólōng (to the ox)

These difficulties are not overcome to date as will be seen in the next paragraph and following ones.

UNIFICATION OF ORTHOGRAPHIES - 1947, 1962

1.40 The 1937 orthography is seen as a departure by Tswana, from a common system for Tswana and Pedi, as hinted at in 1.37 above. It was also averred at the opening of par. 1.37 that unification of orthographies cast its shadow ahead. Thus we hear, "In 1947, the Transvaal Education Department initiated further moves..."
towards unification of orthographies, and this resulted
in the Somerset House Conference of February, 1947, at
which a number of changes were agreed upon\(18\). Most of
the members of this conference were appointed to a per-
manent departmental committee, the Sotho (N. Sotho,
S. Sotho, Tswana) Language Committee, being Inspectors
of Education, Teachers, ministers of religion, assisted
by University professors.

1.41 The result was the issue of "Sotho Terminology
and Orthography no. 1" in 1957. On page 13 the follow-
ing sounds are listed for use in Tswana, among others:

"3. (b) fricatives.................\(\tilde{f}\), \(\tilde{f} \), \(\tilde{f}\)
(c) ejected affricates.........\(\tilde{g}\), \(\tilde{g}\)
(d) aspirated affricates ......\(\tilde{p}\), \(\tilde{p}\)

4. (b) miscellaneous
affricate/fricative ...........\(i\) (by)"

1.42 Provision is made for the first time for
"unusual consonants", "in order to represent certain un-
common sounds for which no provision had been made pre-
viously, and which occur mainly in idoophones and inter-
jections" (p.11). On page 15 then the list is:

"6. Other unusual consonants ....\(\tilde{g}, \tilde{g}, n\)
\(\tilde{g}, \tilde{g}, n\).
\(\tilde{x}, \tilde{x}, n\).
\(v, \tilde{z}\)
\(\tilde{z}\)"

21/........

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18. Sotho Terminology and Orthography no. 1, (N. Sotho,
1.43 Important also was the decision not to use
diacritic marks, and tone marks, except "when there is
likely to be confusion, or in scientific works", as well
as the ruling that it shall not be necessary to mark
elision, except perhaps if necessitated by poetic consi-
derations or dramatic renderings. Therefore the diacri-
tics are conditionally provided for in this ortho-
graphy.

1.44 We referred to Word-division in 1.33 above, and
need say here that the Orthography under review adopted
the disjunctive rendering of words, or approached word-
identification analytically, i.e. rendering particles
also as separate words. The matter will be discussed
infra.

1.45 A further rule was that the Absolute Pronoun,
except that of the ma-class, be rendered with a semi-
vowel, thus -

monna yena, moriti wona, but nalesa ona, marena
ona, magobe ona.

and that Demonstratives be written with or without semi-
vowel thus -

monna o/vo.

moriri o/vo.

Terminology was included, not only that existing, but
also that created by the Sotho language Committeee itself.
Where European words were translated, the phonological
rule of open syllables (See also 1.15.v abovec), was
employed, thus -

Afrikaans : "perske" - Sotho : parekisi
English : "glass" - Sotho : malase.
English : "silver" - Sotho : selebera etc.
LESTRADE ON UNIFICATION OF BANTU

1.46 In conjunction with the move towards orthography unification, we wish to record a wider move, that of unifying Bantu languages. Prof. Lestrade 19) said in 1945, "Our policy towards the Bantu Languages should therefore be plain. We should not attempt to repress them actively, since that, as has happened many a time in the linguistic history of the world, might serve as an indirect means of encouragement".

1.47 Advocates of the mergence of Bantu languages into one written language are therefore hesitant. Advocates for the mergence of the Sotho Languages, even at the orthographic and technical-lexical level only, must yet be seen to succeed. But the struggle is on.

TSWANA LANGUAGE COMMITTEE: 1960

1.48 As far as Tswana is concerned, and the other two Sotho Languages, in 1960 the composite Sotho Language Committee (1.40 supra) was divided into Tswana, Southern Sotho and Northern Sotho Language committees, and during 1962 each Committee issued its Terminology and Orthography no. 2. The Tswana sounds were as those of 1957, the bracketed forms under Tswana being "variants which are recognised as appearing in certain dialects, but whose incorporation into the standard Tswana alphabet or into standard written Tswana was not proposed in 1937". In other words, the use of a dialect as basis of standardization falls away, the use of dialectal alternants triumphs, principle of orthography, no. 1 (See 1.34 above),

23/........

is not fully complied with, and therefore standardization is not yet an established fact. It is up to the Tswana Language Committee in any case, and we hope this investigation will serve as inspiration, since, "for a people to retain its language is to retain one of the most powerful media to their hand both for assimilating and shaping to their own needs cultural elements derived from without, and also for developing those contributions to the culture of the world at large which they and they only can make and which well up from within". 20)

REV. SANDILANDS SPEAKS IDENTITY OF TSWANA - 1953.

1.49 In a publication dated 1953 Rev. Sandilands discusses orthography strongly and forthrightly, recommending that symbols be likened to those of the neighbouring European languages, e.g. that sh be preferred to š, since sh is used in English, but above all challenging the Tswana to retain their language as a distinct entity. He employs the Rolong dialect as basis of standardization. He says on page 319 et seq. of his "Introduction to Tswana", 21) "It is not at all certain, in the writer's opinion, that Tswana will survive the present century as a linguistic entity, preserving its identity in a recognizable form, and developing into a successful literary medium..... It all depends upon the Bantu - in this case, the Batswana - themselves ..... But, if Tswana is to survive, as on its merits, it certainly deserves to do, and if it is to avoid the fate of lapsing into a dead language entombed in a few volumes

24/.....

20. Lestrade (ibid) Some Problems... p. 72.
seldom read by any but experts in philology and phonetics, there is not a shadow of doubt in my mind that it must get to itself, and that soon, an effective orthography."

1.50 This marks the degree of discontentment with the 1937 Orthography, then in vogue. The following are taken from quotations of Rev. Sandilands rendered in the 1937 orthography and in that proposed by him:22)

1937 system (p. 321) ; Rev. Sandilands' System (p. 322)

\[
\begin{align*}
gôna & \quad gôna \ (it, \ that \ place) \\
setshwantsho & \quad setshwantshô \ (picture) \\
vô \ o \ gagolang & \quad vô \ o \ gagolang \ (who \ tears) \\
se \ seoša & \quad se \ sešha \ (new) \\
fa \ (if) & \quad ha \ (if) \\
bojalwa \ jo \ boša & \quad bojalwa \ jo \ boša \ (new, \ fresh \ beer) \\
o \ ntse \ o \ le \ boikangô & \quad u \ ntse \ u \ le \ boikangô \ (you \ have \ been \ faithful) \\
ke \ tla \ go \ laodiša & \quad ke \ tlae \ gu \ laodiša \ (I \ shall \ let \ you \ rule).
\end{align*}
\]

PROF. COLE'S BASIS OF STANDARDIZATION - 1953

1.51 In 1953 also came, from Prof. Cole23) this time, a publication on the Standardization of written Tswana. This work was based on a dialect-cluster, and now we have three streams - that of the Language Committee which may be described as centralised since it allows for alternants provided only they are spelt in a prescribed manner, that of Rev. Sandilands, typical of the honoured missionaries which may be described as sectional since it has a dialect as basis (Archibell, Crisp, Wookey, Casalis, Moffat all worked on this

22. Sandilands, Rev. A: Introduction etc. ibid
sectional basis, and Tucker too), and now that of Prof.
Cole, based on a dialect-cluster which may be described
sectional to a lesser degree.
1.52 The dialect-cluster chosen by Prof. Cole as
basis is the central, viz. Rolong (except that of
Thaba Nchu), Hurutshe, Ngwekete. Prof. Cole urges
that the sounds $fs$, $fz$, $fw$, $fzw$ be replaced by $z$
(par. 1.75, p. 36), and that $bi$, $bij$ be replaced by $i$,
while $bs$, $bs$ be replaced by $bs$, and $paw$, $paw$, are re-
placed by $paw$.
The sounds $fsw$, $fzw$, $bij$, $paw$, $paw$, had already fallen
into disuse on phonological grounds. The phonological
ground is that since $f$, $b$ and $p$ are bilabial consonants,
it is redundant to indicate labialization again with a $w$.
These sounds were therefore not included in the Ortho-
graphy of the Somerset House Conference referred to in
1.40 above. Prof. Cole notes the sound $zw$ (alternant
of $fs$, $fz$), which was omitted under Tswana in the list
of sounds of the Somerset Orthography, if one may so
refer to this record.
1.53 As to the vowels Prof. Cole proceeds strictly
phonemically, recommending seven symbols for the seven
phonemes as follows - (p. 5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Bantu Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ê$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$õ$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ã$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26/ ..........
He urges strongly that the raised variants of ə viz 
\[ \tilde{\varphi} \], of o') viz \[ \tilde{\varphi} \], and of o, viz 
\[ \tilde{\varphi} \], be written as the main member of the phoneme, thus -

\[ \hat{\varphi} \text{ for } \tilde{\varphi}, \tilde{\varphi} \]
\[ \hat{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \]
\[ \hat{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \]
\[ \hat{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \text{ " } \tilde{\varphi} \]

Prof. Cole then, accepts the \[ \hat{\varphi} \] which Rev. Sandilands
rejects, and the circumplex of the 1937 system on the
semi-open front and back vowels, where Rev. Sandilands
would rather employ a grave accent mark.

1.54 In his latest publication, Prof. Cole declares
his basis of operation as "the usage of Mr D.K. Nokaila,
a native speaker of the Tsholong dialect as spoken in the
vicinity of Mafeking, South Africa..." We shall see
infra what variant material can be found in a dialect
today.

1.55 We must record here Prof. Cole's linguistic
classification of Tswana dialects before stating the
method of dealing with these dialects in this investiga-
tion later. Prof. Cole gives the following divisions
of Tswana -

Central: Hurutshe, Rolong, Kgwakoe.
Southern: Tlaping, Tlhware (alias Tlharo)
Northern: Western Kwena, Kgwato, Tswana.
Eastern: Kratla, Eastern Kwena, Tlhako,
Phalane Kubung, Kolebeng, Tloung,
Tlokwa, Lelo, Fokung, etc.

27/.....

25. Cole: *Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, p. xvi
He notes the characteristic contractions of the Eastern cluster such as:

molelo < molelo (fire)
ke.và.bóna < ke.và.ro.bóna (I go to see)

and the alternant alveolar sounds of the Igwato:

t for tl
th for tbl

He recommends the uncontracted forms, and that the Igwato alveolar forms be excluded when a standard orthography is decided upon, in favour of the laterals. He objects to inclinations to Southern Sotho for instance by the Thaba Nchu Rolong, and to Northern Sotho by some Eastern dialects - very sound principles, and in agreement with Rev. Sandilands' principle of identity of Tswana (see 1.47 above).

THE TSWANA THEMSELVES WANT STANDARDIZATION

1.56 Knowing the dialects to which any attempt at standardization must perform a duty, indeed return dividends, since they all have a stake in the pie, we proceed to note briefly what we observe the Tswana themselves to be saying:

(a) Nalodi ya Batswana:

On March 16, 1963, the Tswana weekly publication "Nalodi ya Batswana", then published at 11 Newcastle Road, Industria, Johannesburg, S.A., placed news items in which one S.G. Sanoto argued points of orthography with one Zaccahotswakhomo, both of Bechuanaland Protectorate. Among others, the point of vowel raising was debated, in spite of apparent unawareness of
the phonological involvements on the part of the contributors. The question was whether to write pudi or podi (goat) for instance. Fact is that both wanted an authoritative ruling as to these variants - to use both alternately, or to use a standard one only. Important here is that even in Bechuanaland, away from Northern Sotho and Southern Sotho etc. there are irritating problems of standardization.

(b) Tswana Territorial Authority:
A further and very important proof of the desire for standardization of written Tswana, on the part of the Tswana themselves, is that at the second session of the Tswana Territorial Authority, held at Haikens, S.A., in December 1962, not only was it decided to explore the possibility of establishing a printing press of the Authority, but it was also resolved to request the Department of Bantu Education of the Republic of S.... for the standardization of Tswana. The relevant resolutions read as follows: Item 25: Proposed standardization of Tswana Language. 26) "That the Tswana Territorial Authority request the Department of Bantu Education to consider the question of standardising the Tswana Language".

29/........

Item no. 1: Establishment of own Printing Press.27)

"That the Tswana Territorial Authority should investigate and consider the establishment of its own Printing Press".

1.57 The Tswana Territorial Authority, being the national government of the Tswana, has however, to contend with many obstacles, among which that they are themselves, for no fault of their own, however, enemies of their own joint ventures, since they have no paramountcy, and the Territorial Authority or national government as such, is still to earn its spurs.

1.58 The Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, under the auspices of which Department the Territorial Authority operates, Mr. C. Bruce Young, gave a timely warning at the inaugural session of the Authority in December, 1961 at Mafeking, saying:

"The history of the Tswana is, of course, that, in the past, the various tribes and clans split up. The result is that there is no paramount chief here as you have, for example, in Zululand. Anybody who seeks to aspire to a paramountcy here may be looking for trouble... A chairman and a vice-chairman have been elected. This does not mean that they will exercise powers or functions over the individual chiefs and tribes. It means that they have certain functions and duties to perform in the capacities to which they have been elected".28)

27. Tswana Territorial Authority: Proceedings....
   Ibid p. 52.
1.59 To unite the Tswana linguistically is no less difficult, nor less important, and urgent, than to unite them administratively and politically. To ignore members of the fold may be equally disastrous.

**TASK OF THIS INVESTIGATION**

1.60 What then, is our task in this investigation? First of all, to catalogue the main points of difference of speech, and then the extent to which these differences are still reflected in literature (chapters II and III). Our next step will be to ascertain whether tribal boundaries correspond with these differences, conversely whether the differences are to be found even within a tribal unit. If circumstances point to a linguistic defiance of tribal boundaries, it may be wise to consider a different basis for standardization from these pointed out above and named "centralised", "sectional" and "less sectional" (1.51) and in order the better to decide on method, one would like to note what other languages have done down the centuries.

**EUROPEAN EXAMPLES AS TO METHOD OF STANDARDIZATION**

1.61 A few examples of European languages which passed through complex situations like that of Tswana are met.

(a) **German:**

Germany's standard language is not based on a particular dialect. We are told, "It is pure prejudice when any particular district is picked out in which it is alleged that the 'purest German' is spoken. The language which
serves as the German model is rather that employed in the theatre in serious drama, with which the pronunciation of educated persons in no place agrees". 29) In other words, the written is not a replica of the spoken language of any geographical or tribal unit.

(b) South African English:

As to South African English, we are informed that it "was not a transplanted version of any English dialect, but one incorporating features of several different dialects - in fact a new English dialect in Africa" 30) The 1820 settlers, 4,000 men, women and children, came from various parts and dialectal enclaves of Britain, "including such extreme ones as Scots English and Irish English" 30) and they pooled their linguistic heritages.

(c) Dutch:

In 1524, the New Testament was translated by Dolf into what was reckoned to be good Dutch, for the very reason that it was embrace. Of the language of this translation, we are told, "... op 't kortste en reynste, na onzen vermoegen een gemeen spraek... die men al Nederlant door: lichtelick solde mogen lezen ende verstaaen" 31) Even when the dialect Hollands eventually triumphed, owing to the economic ascendancy of that province, Holland, ....

29. Struys; Paul's Principles of Language, 1890, p. 477, par. 727.
it took with it the marks of the Limburg, Flemish and Brabant dialects, to constitute as it were, a four-cornered, a broadly representative standard written language.

(d) **London English:**

Britain's English is London English. London towered economically, educationally, politically and otherwise over all Britain. All roads literally led to London. It was exceedingly favourable for, and everything was promotive of, the London dialect becoming the standard for all Britain. And it did.

(e) **Afrikaans:**

Of Afrikaans we learn, "In die eerste periode het die Suide die toon aangegae op die gebied van die skryftaal (I underline), in die tweede het ook die Noorde seegingskap gekry".32)

**METHOD OF THIS INVESTIGATION**

1.62 With the guidance and inspiration of the great European languages, let us turn to our method of dealing with our task:

We aim at a common language, which must be as a common denominator of the spoken language, which "bears the same kind of relationship to actual linguistic activity as that of a particular code of laws to the entire legal authority in the district to which the laws apply, or of a confession of faith, or a dogmatic textbook, to the entirety of religious views and feelings."33) We shall endeavour to catalogue the

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main variants of contractions, of allophones, and allomorphs with a view to selecting what should go into standard writing. This method will go by the name of the selective method, since it is not a question of which dialect, but which form, which pattern, is best suited. We shall test data by the principles summed up in 1.34 above.

Résumé of Principles of Orthography

1.63 In par. 1.34 above, we noted the four principles of orthography enunciated by the Institute of African Languages and Cultures. These will be applied to test the material from which to select standard patterns. Further, the principle of maintaining the identity of Tswana, and not a dialect or cluster of Tswana, will be had in mind. At this stage one will not attempt unification of orthographies.

1.64 Since there is no political paramountcy and no economic or industrial precedence among the Tswana, there will be no dialect to treat prefentially.
CHAPTER II

VARIANT SOUNDS STILL ENCOUNTERED IN SPEECH

INTRODUCTION

2.1 In this chapter we simply catalogue variant material heard in the spoken language. The extent to which this material has entered into the written language will be reflected in Chapter III, and a full discussion follows in Chapter IV.

2.2 This and the next chapter must be seen as a statement of our problem of orthographical disunity without any substantial comment.

PHONETIC VARIANTS

2.3 We propose to deal with phonetic variants, first taking vowel and then consonant ones, mostly employing orthographic symbols.

The Vowels:

2.4 Vocalic variants will be represented as by Prof. Cole\(^1\) thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main member of phoneme</th>
<th>Phoneme variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [e _ segments e.g. [phi_i] (wolf)</td>
<td>No variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [a _ segments e.g. [se_be] (sin)</td>
<td>[e _ segments e.g. [se_be_n] or [se_be_n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [e _ segments e.g. [ts_be] (car)</td>
<td>[e _ segments e.g. [ts_be_n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. [a _ segments e.g. [p_g] (distribute)</td>
<td>No significant variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. [o _ segments e.g. [p_mp_g] (pump)</td>
<td>[o _ segments e.g. [p_mp_n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. [u _ segments e.g. [ho_lo] (ox)</td>
<td>[u _ segments e.g. [ho_lo_n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. [u _ segments e.g. [R_u_b_y] (hipo)</td>
<td>No significant variant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[7\] \(\frac{4}{11}\) \(\frac{35}{11}\)

---

2.5 Subsequently, unless otherwise necessary and stated, we are going to employ the existing practical orthography with the addition of the vowel symbols with dots underneath to indicate the raised vowels:

1. ĩ for [ɨ]
2. ė " [e] and ę for its raised variant
3. è " [ɛ] and ę for its raised variant
4. a " [a]
5. ô " [o] and ę for its raised variant
6. ę " [o] and ę for its raised variant
7. u " [u]

2.6 The interrelationship of these vowels and variants needs no further belabouring, as Prof. Cole has done so adequately. We might reiterate that in the spoken language one hears varying pronunciations, cutting across the normal phonemic ties. For instance, take the word-group selêpê sefe? (which axe?). One hears it pronounced, as to the enumerative -sefe, as -

sefe : the e's are phoneme no. 2 above in par 2.5

or

sefe : the ê is the raised variant of /ɛ/, i.e.

phoneme no. 3.

This warns us as well against the dangers of leaving language unwritten too long, as against those of attempting to write it faithfully as it is spoken.

Alternants ę and ę

2.7 This phoneme is no. 2 above in par. 2.5. In writing, the variant is represented by ī, right outside phonemic borders. A further consequence is that any a word soon assumes the variant pronunciation exclusively.
We give below, examples of this alternation under three main causes thereof:

(a) **Alternation due to locative formation by suffix - ng:**

mmele (body) > mneleng (in the body) written mneling or mneding or mnding, alternately mneleng.

sebe (sin) > sebeng (in sin), written sebing or sibing, alternately sebeng.

mosepole (journey) > mosepeleng (on a journey), written mosepelung, mosepding, mosipiding, alternately mosepeleng.

sethareth (tree) > setharetheng (in the tree), written setharething, alt. setharetheng.

sebi (dried cake of cow dung) > sbing (on the dung cake), written sibing, alternately sebing.

(b) **Alternation occasioned by a succeeding perfect suffix - ile:**

lema (to plough) > lemilë (have ploughed) written limile, alternately lemile.

betsa (to beat) > beditsë (have beaten), written biditese, alternately beditsse.

lofa (to pay) > logile (have paid), written lifile, alternately lofite.

(c) **Alternation due to the agentive suffix: - i**

lofa (to pay) > molofì (one who pays), written molifi, alternately molefi

sonya (to spoil) > sonyyi or sesonyi (one who spoils) written sesinyi or sinyi, alternately sesenoyi.

37/...........
2.3 Summing up, we find that:

(a) there may be up to five non-significant alternants from a common root, e.g.

mosepeling (in the journey)
mosepeding
mosepiding
mosipiding
mosipeleng

The root is right through - *epel*. Semantic, and functional value, is precisely the same.

(b) some of these alternations have an adverse semantic effect, e.g.

*sebing* (< *sebe* : sin) may also mean, on the dung cake (< *sebi* : cake of dried dung); *mmiding* (in the body), could also mean among the mealies (< *mmidi* : mealie).

The Alternants ê and â

2.9 The phoneme / â / is no. 3 above, in par. 2.5. The variant /ê/ is narrowed.

Examples:

selêpê (axe) > selêpêng (locative)
bôrêkêlô (market) > bôrêkêlêng "
phêthêkêgê (bucket) > phêthêkêngêng
bêrêkê (to work) > bêrêkêlê (perfect tense)
sêbêla (shisper to) > sêbêtse " "
rêra (preach) > morêrî (agentive form)
bêrêkê (to work) > mmôrêki " "

There is regularity here, the alternant derivative forms narrowing the vowel to ê right through. Difficulty
arisss when speakers who have only book knowledge of the language, pronounce the narrowed variant /ɛ/ precisely as the main member of the phoneme, decidedly bad speech.

The Alternants ɔ and ʌ

2.10 The sound ɔ is heard as phonetic u. The raised variant is ʌ.

Examples:

phələgələ (animal) > phələgələŋ (to the animal)
borəkə (sleep) > borəkəŋ (in sleep)
bəna (to see) > bəntsha (cause to see)
         pəntshə (a show)
bəla (to rot) > sebədu (stench)
gərəga (to arrive) > gərəgilə (have arrived)

This phoneme no. 5 above is the back counterpart of our no. 3 above in par 2.5.

The Alternants o and u

2.11 Plaatjie and Jones say this phoneme "is intermediate between the cardinal vowels o and u"\(^2\), while Prof. Cole adds that it "is slightly more open than the vowel in English pool...."\(^3\) The raised variant is midway between this and u. (cardinal vowel ɔ).

Example:

bola (betray secret) > podi or podí (goat)
roka (to sew) > moroki or moroki (dressmaker)
lefkə (a word) > lefəkəŋ or lefəkəŋ or
         lefəkəŋ (in the word)
roka (to sew) > rokile or rokile (have sewn)

-----------------------------
2.12 The alternation is non-significant. In some areas the raised variant dominates. Thus one hears lebokö, (a word), mbobodi (a patient), rona (we), right through such areas, while in others one hears only the normal q. In the main both vowels are heard in most places and occur in most books in alternation (See chapter III infra).

Vowel Breaking

2.13 There is also a case where a terminal front vowel exerts such influence over a preceding back vowel, as to break it, or bring it into harmony with it. It may also be argued that this is simply a case of two different sounds used in alternation, thus -

lekðë (a clot of earth) and lekwëë, as if the terminal ð of lekðë made the medial ð into wë. Further examples:

Ôle (oil) > wëlë

lengôlë (knee) > longwëlë

khuti (a ditch) > kwiti

kgôlë (a thong) kgwëlë

These alternants are not dialectally distributed, and are non-significant.

Vowel Integration

2.14 It is characteristic in Tswana, for verbs ending on -wa, to change wa to q or u in formations of the perfect tense. We propose to call this vowel integration as against vowel breaking. Here it may also be argued that it is simply two different sounds used in alternation, arising independently.
Examples:

* nwa (to drink) > noli (have drunk), or nwele
  wa (to fall)  > olī (have fallen), or wele.
  utiwa (to hear) > utuile (have heard), or utuile.
  utswa (to steal) > utsule (have stolen), or utsleale.
  butswa (to ripen) > buule (have ripened), or
                        buuleile.

The patterns are not dialectally distributed.

The Alternation of Terminiative - ḍ and -a

(a) Absolute Pronouns

This alternation is heard in all classes
of the Absolute pronoun, but not in the
first and second persons, singular and
plural.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 (3rd Person)</th>
<th>ḍona/ἀν (he/she)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ḍona/ἀν (it, the village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lōna/ℓόν (it, the baby)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sōna/sόν (it, the ax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yōna/yόν (it, the animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lōna/lόν (it, the generation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bōna/bόν (it, the porridge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ōna/όν (it, to yawn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 17, 18</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural

First Person  rota (we)  no alternating
Second Person  levu (you)

Class 2  bôna/bônê (they)
4  vôna/vônê (they, the villages)
6  âna/ânê (they, the tatics)
8  tsôna/tsônê (they, the axes)
10  tsôna/tsônê (they, the animals)
10  tsôna/tsônê (they, the generations)
6  âna/ânê (they, the porridges)
15, 16, 17, 18  no plurals

(b) The Imperative
The command, in the form of the Imperative verb, is rendered in two different ways in spoken Tswana, thus:

Give me  :  mphâ or mphê
Here me  :  nkutlwa or nkutlwe
Listen to me  :  nthâetsa or ntsâetsâ
Hide yourself:  iphitlwa or iphitlhê

This alternation appears to occur when the reflexive prefix or object concord precedes the verb-stem.

Consonantal Variants

The alternants  f.e.h.

2.16  This alternation applies extensively. Here under follow examples heard:

Conjunction:  fa, ë, ga, ha, hé, (if);
Verb:  fêla, hêla (get finished);
    dirafala, diragala, dirahala (to occur);
    solofêla, sologêla solohêla (to hope;

42/........
Hound: *sefela, schola* (hymn);
  *kromo, khomo* (cow);
  *lofêlô, lehêlô* (a broom);
  *leufa (-> dihufa), keufa (-> dihufa)*
  *lebuha (-> dihufa) (Jealousy).*

Observe that this alternation occurs initially, medially, and even in strengthened forms such as the last three.

**Alternation of h and r**

2.17 This alternation is of very limited extent.

**Examples:**

The Verb:  
  *diha* (to do)  
  *dihr* " "

  *dihala or dihahala* (to occur)

  *dirala or diragala*

The Subject

Concord:  
  *he (we)  
  *te.*

  e.g. *He ne ne sa itae* (He did not know)

  alt. *Re ne ro sa itae* " " " "

**Alternants r and l, l and n.**

2.18 The consonant *r* alternates often with *l*, and in one typical Southern case with *tsh*, while *l* alternates with *n* as well, thus:

  *r/l : tlhôbôro* (a gun)

  *tlhôbôlô* " "

One is reminded of children's language where all r's are spoken as l's e.g.

  *lita* for *rata* (love)

  *krola* " *kgora* (to be content)

  *malulu* " *mururu* (cold), etc.
1/n : letlhógoôôôle (blessing)
letlhógoôôôô
konopa (to throw)
kolona " "
gönlâ (deny)
garâna "
bothologa (rise and go)
bothonoga " "

r/tsh : rôna/tshona (we)

Alternants s and š, ts and tš, tsh and tsh

2.19 Outstanding also are the alternations of s and š and ts and tš, and tsh and tsh, before back vowels and ŋ, e.g.:
The verb suga (to tan a hide)
suga " " " "
The noun lesomo (a group)
lešomo " "
The verb tsoga (get awake)
tšoga " "
The noun letsoqô (hand)
letšôqô "
The verb tshoga (to fear)
tšôga " "
The noun letshwiti (multitude)
letšwiti "

Alternants t and l, th and tih

2.20 The alveolar explosive t is still heard in alternation with the lateral affricate th, as also th/tih, e.g.:
The verb *tala* (get full) or
*tla* " "

The verb *thathebe* (examine) or
*tilhatlhoa* " "

The Northern Tswana will say, for instance, and hardly be understood elsewhere in the field of Tswana:

\[ \text{Thôgô ya ka e itôtlôte} \]

Elsewhere this would be -

\[ \text{Thôgô ya ka e itôlêtse (my head has locked itself up, meaning; I am at my wits' end).} \]

**Alternation of n, h, th:**

2.21 This is limited, so far as we could hear, to the word *dira*, which is heard as:

*dira*, *diba*, *ira*, *itha*.

**Alternation of n and l, n and e/i:**

2.22 We must note the occasional instability of *n*, making it interchangeable with *l* or *e* e.g.:

The noun *senlhaga* (bird's nest) or
*seithaga* " "

The conjunction *etswa* or *ntwa*

The noun *mantsibo* (evening) or
*maitisibo* " "

**Din-class Quantitative Concord**

2.23 We conclude the phonetic alternants by noting the *din-class* Quantitative concord and its variants as follows:

\[ *\text{ts}j\text{ }* \text{tsôtlhô} (all of them) or \]
\[ *\text{ts}j\text{ }* \text{tsôtlhô} " " " or \]
\[ *\text{ts}j\text{ }* \text{tsôtlhô} " " " \]

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PHONOLOGICAL VARIANTS

2.24 Next to phonetic variants are phonological variants, that is, alternant sound-changes.

Prepalatal variants:
Most notorious of these are those changes that come under palatalization, as follows:

(i) When the passive is formed:
   aba (distribute) > abia (be distributed)
   alwa
   zapa (drive, cattle) > gapša (be driven)
   gapša
   thopa (loot) > thopša (be looted)
   thotšwa
   thotšwa
tlhopha (choose) > tlhopšha (be chosen)
   tlhotšwa
   tlhotšwa
   tlhopsha

(ii) When the locative is formed:
   bojang/bjang (grass) > bojannye/bjannya or
   bojanne/bianne

(iii) Diminutive formations also alternate as do the passive formations above, e.g.
   marano (bones) > maratswana
   maratšwana
   maratšwana
   marapšana
   marapsana

Elision:
2.25 Next to these we note alternants born of elision thus:
(i)  
lela (cry) > lla  
rarekalala (along side -) > rarekalla  
moby (ground) > maw  
yo mobe (ugly one) > yo maw  
rara (father) > rra  
mama (mother) > mae  
monona (man) > monna  
sidila (massage) > silla  

(ii) Well-known too is the employment or elision of the following class- prefixal morphemes:  
lo-, se-, lo-, bo-, di-, din-.  
This presents in fact no difficulties positively since the predicative concords remain the same, e.g.  
lebaka le tlele (the kraal is full)  
seka le tlele  

The problem however, often arises whether to say:  

bôkô (brain) or boboko  
boi (cowardice) or boboi.  

At the other extreme end there is found, the addition of the prefix where there is already a prefix. I have heard one word only, but it may be a warning of what can happen if we do not standardize. The word is:  
bobothe (humanity, character) as against botho.  
[Sem - tho, class-prefix bo-, double class-prefix prefix bobo-]  

**Strengthened forms of f and h alternate:**  
2.26 As a result of the alternation of f and h, noted in 2.16 supra, one today finds an alternation of the corresponding strengthened forms ph and hu, e.g.  

47/........
fēpa (feed) > o_mphepile (he has fed me)
hēpa > o_nkhepile " " " 
loea (err) > o_mhoseditse (he has erred against me)
hose " > o_nkhoseditse " " " 

The result is that one now hears in alternation,
o_mphepile and o_nkhepile, o_mhoseditse and o_nkhoseditse, etc.

Transposition

2.27 We might add here also instances of transposition which cause alternants, e.g.:
moretyva (Grewia flava berry-bush)4)
morwetla
jaaka (like)
kaa
phěthěkě (bucket)
phěkgěthě
ekete (It is as though...)
eteke
vikisi (vicks)
visiki
frisko (frisco)
frikso.

Assimilation/Dissimilation

2.28 Finally we observe alternants arising through assimilation and dissimilation, thus -

(a) Assimilation:
mokêtō (so and so) > nketo
letšēkō la moja (right hand) > letsoeng la njä/ntēa

4. Translation as per Cole, Prof. D.T.: *Introduction to Tswana Grammar* ibid. p. 78
(b) **Dissimilation:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ntlha (why?)</th>
<th>ntla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>setlhopho (group)</td>
<td>setlhora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re mo file (we have given him)</td>
<td>re while</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Easterner says:

**ntlha o robotse?** (Why sleepest thou?)

The Southerner says: **ntla o robotse?**

**MORPHOLOGICAL VARIANTS**

(a) **The lo and lo- class-prefixes**

2.29 Most troublesome perhaps, is the alternation of the class prefixal morphemes *lo-*, and *lo-*, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lemle (tongue), plural malile/ditene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lolile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelapa (courtyard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolwapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelong (wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leso (death)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebone (lamp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Long and short Perfect formations alternate**

The rendering of the perfect suffix presents a problem since the normal form -tile alternates with other forms, -tse, or -re, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tile (prank and frolic)</th>
<th>tidile or titse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seyna (take)</td>
<td>tshile or tsere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma (sit/stay/have)</td>
<td>nule or ntse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words however, are heard with the long perfect suffix only, and vice versa, and this causes mixture, which though logically right is idiomatically irritating, i.e.
kwala (write) > kwayle. School children invariably say kwetse, unknown among adults, but arrived at by analogy.

taya (tel, say to) > rile, along with rutsa (perfect of râla)

re (to say) > rile or rive or lle or lye.

E.g. ke rile, ke rive, ke lle; ke lye (I said).

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRACTIONS

2.30 We hear various interesting predicative contractions in the field, thus:

(a) Treatment of the infinitive prefix following a predicate:

le rata le ja (I want to eat) > ke rata le ja
> ke râ le ja

le tli le go ja (I have come to eat) > ke tli le xa
gui > ke tli le ja

le sena le ja (after I have eaten) > ke sena le ja
> ke senâ le ja
> ke senâ le ja
gui > ke sena le ja

ke sene na go ja
> ke sene na le ja
> ke sene na le ja
> ke sene na le ja
> ke sene na le ja:

(b) Treatment of the concordial morpheme o or a after a subject:

ngwaga o o tlang (next year) > ngwagotlang
ngwaga o o tlang (next year) > ngwagotlang
(c) Treatment of the Deficient Verb na before the Subject concord of the main verb:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{O ne a ja (he was eating) } & \Rightarrow \text{ o na ja} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ o na a ja} \\
\text{O ne o ja (you were eating) } & \Rightarrow \text{ o no ja} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ o no o ja} \\
\text{O ne wa ja (you did eat) } & \Rightarrow \text{ o no wa ja} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ o na wa ja}
\end{align*} \]

(d) Treatment of the concordial morphemes o and a after a predicate facilitates interesting contractions thus:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mo rêyê o re (tell him that) } & \Rightarrow \text{ mo rôôre} \\
\text{a mo raya a re (he then said to him that...)} & \Rightarrow \text{ a mo raaare} \\
\text{o mo rêyê o re (then tell him that) } & \Rightarrow \text{ o mo rôôre} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ o mo rôôre}
\end{align*} \]

In this category we hear the "ugly" alternant of

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{o mo rêyê o re and o ithaya a re, thus} \\
\text{o mo rêyê gore (literally tell him so that...)} \\
\text{o ithaya gore (he tells himself so that...)}
\end{align*} \]

(e) We bring into this section also the treatment of the negative formative ga when followed by the subject concord ke, thus

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Ga ke itse (I do not know) } & \Rightarrow \text{ Ga kitse,} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ Ke itse,} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ Kitse} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ Kritse}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Ga ke re jalo (I do not say/mean so) } & \Rightarrow \text{ Ga ke riîlo} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ Ke riîlo} \\
& \Rightarrow \text{ Ke liîlo}
\end{align*} \]
GENERAL

2.31 The following phenomena also pose problems of standardization

(a) The verb tilhola meaning "stay for a whole day", "continue" has the alternant tilhwe. e.g.
Ga ke tilhola fa: I am not remaining here for the day, or
Ga ke tilhwe fa.
Ga ke tilhla ke tla: I am no more coming, or
Ga ke tilhwe ke tla.

(b) Ngwetsi (daughter-in-law) is heard in two forms in the plural -

betsi or dingwetsi

Syntactic difficulties arise as to the concords e.g.: Betsi ba kae?: where are the daughters-in-law? (Concord ba means people)

dingwetsi di kae? where are the daughters-in-law? (Concord di means things).

(c) Alternants such as itaya, utaya, ditaza and dhaya (beat); mpa (a stick) and bha are confusing. cf. also siwa go tilhla \( s \) madhwa

madhwa for the more common maitwa. (Spare the rod, spoil the child)

(d) Southern areas employ peculiar demonstratives -

mahuku uq (those words)
motse uq (that village)
ma\( \text{?i} \) uq/aq, etc. (that milk)

These speech forms will be discussed in a subsequent chapter with a view to standardization.

* * * * *

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CHAPTER III

ALTERNANT SOUNDS IN CURRENT LITERATURE

SOURCES:

3.1 Works of contemporary authors have been scrutinised for the employment of variant or alternant sounds. The intention is to show to what extent the multiplicity of alternants noted in the spoken language (Chapter II) are contained in the written language. The nearer we are to the spoken language, of course, the further away from standard writing.

3.2 Inconsistencies, in the employment of alternants will be referred to, are by no means regarded as errors. Where however, an author is inconsistent with himself, that is, spells one word in different ways, and authors are inconsistent in relation to one another, that is, spell the same word differently, the position must be assessed in the light of principles of Orthography. (See 1.34 above).

3.3 The following publications have been selected as basis of operation:

1. *Harry wa Bone* by P.C.M. Schoni, A.P.B., 1952. The book is claimed to have been written in an orthography of 1951.


4. *Notimedi* by D.F. Moloto, A.P.B., 1957


7. **Testamento e ntsa la Dipasaloma, B.P.B.S., 1957**
   This revision of the Testament is claimed to be in Central Tswana (Hututshe, Holong, Nyakatshe).

8. **Livingstone Tswana Readers, Tiger Kloof, 1948** (The Substandard reader is Hpepi, the rest Padiso I – VI. We do not necessarily cut down from the whole series).


**PERIODICALS**

10. **Bona... Vol. 9, no. 6, Lwetse (September) 1960, Bona Press, Johannesburg.**

11. **Molebalobo... (The Observer)... Mafeking, S.A., Issue no. 1, April 1956.**

12. **Uthwmg... Vol. VIII, no. 8, March 1964, Uthwmg Publications, Rustenburg.**

13. **Jamba... Vol. 14, no. 4, Tjala (July) 1964, Bloomfontein.**

3.4 Alternative sounds are culled from these publications, by the use of abbreviations of names of authors where these are stated, and abbreviations of titles where no particular authors are named, as also in the case of the periodicals, thus:

   No. 1. Se for Seboni
   2. hâ " Matshego
   3. Phe " Phutieagae
   4. Mih " Moloto
   5. Wy " Wookey
   6. Le " Lesoyane
   7. Testamento for Testamento e ntsa etc.
   8. Mpe for Hpepi, Pl, Phe etc for Padiso I, Padiso V etc.
   9. Ditirëlô for Buka ya Herapele etc.
No. 10. Be for Tona

11. Mbb " Nolebalibi
12. U " Utwang
13. Wa " Wamba.

A number after the abbreviation relates to the page of the source of data. Such a number may be followed by C for column in the case of certain periodicals, thus:

Wa 1501 = Wamba page 15, Column 1.

Where the number following an abbreviation relates to a hymn this will be so stated.

Sounds and words are represented in the current orthography, phonetic and phonemic symbols being used when absolutely essential.

VOWEL ALTERNANTS

3.5 \( /e/ - a \).i

English words

really

(truth, indeed)

near

in the treasury

Tswana representations

Sp. 7 pure; Ha 63 pura; Nl.66 puri;
Le. 9 boammarurpe (truth); Testa-
mento 578 boammarurpi; Ditirâle
Ammarure (indeed); Ph. 56
boammaruri (truth), Bo 73 05,
Mbb. 2 puri.

Se. 32 gaufi; Ha. 104 gaufi; Le.
12 gaute; Ditirâle hymn 159 gaufi;
Bo. 1101 gaufi;

Se. 32 letloding <letloan, alter-
native locative letloeng. Letlo-
ding may otherwise mean "in the
ditch".

55/........
Water

Ditiro dike lg saniseng (locative of matse);
Ph. 47 matse.

Bear

Pv. 43 sereneng, serenongi;
Ph. 22 mosobeng; 35 le oleng <
mosobe (a pool).

in the pool

Ditiro le kwen 174 lefakhungi;
By kwen 221 lefakhungi; Pv. 19
lefakhangi; Abb. 3 lefakhangi;
Testamento 278 letlhakorgos <
letlhakorgo (side), alternate
locative letlhakorgo.

to the side

Ditiro le kwen 7 ditlhurung <
ditlhero (trees), alternate
locative ditlhurung.

to the trees

Ph. 5 ditlhurung < matlhurung
(olives); alternate locative
matlhurung.

to the olives

Hi. 21 disinyi; singular dl.
34 mosenvi; both from verb-stem
senyi (to commit offence) Testa-
mento 272 mosenvi; Abb. 5 basinyi
(class 1 plural). Ph. 42 sengivi.

Criminals

The Observer

Subtitle page Molobalibi <
kolobaleba (to observe); alternate
Molobalebi.

In the village

Abb. 2 motseing; Ph. 23 motseing <
motse (a village); alternate
locative motseong.

Ph. 22 motse.
in sin

Wy. hymn 34 dibin; Ph 37 sebi
(sin); the dictionary\(^1\) says
"Sebe, n., pl. dibha. A sin. Also,
a cake of dry dung." Elsewhere
i.e. in speech sebe = sin, sebi =
dung cake, corresponding and dis-
tinct locatives = sebaza, and
sebining. e.g. Ditirâlo hymn 27
dibem.

3.6 /a/ = o + u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English words</th>
<th>Tsawana Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>hl. 66 atlhe, 62 atlu; la. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atlu (plural); Sc. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tlunf (locative); Ph 54 ntlung;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U 401 ntlung; Testament 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atlhe, 212 tlung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the heart</td>
<td>hl. 55 pedlung; Ditirâlo hymn 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dipelung; hymn 172 dipelo /In</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the same hymn dipelo &lt; dipelung/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wy hymn 316 dipelhû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the word</td>
<td>hp. i lelokkung &lt;leloko (word),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck</td>
<td>Phv. 5 phuti, Ph. 45 diphuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(plural); alternant phuti e.g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Secwana dictionary (ibid).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In humanity</td>
<td>le. bothâ, of. Wy's bathi (to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the people), both locatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>built on to the root -the-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In sorrow</td>
<td>Ditirâlo hymn 7 batlhokung; &lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lotlhoko (sorrow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-----------------------------

1. Brown, Rev. J.F.: Secwana Dictionary, BechuanaLand
In death Bitirëlo hymn 102 lešung. cf. Secwëna Dictionary (ibid) lešo.
lešo/lešu also means - thicket of mimosa. Hence lešun - in the mimosa thicket.

On the elbow At 37 seltronun. < seltronu (elbow)

Sinner Bitirëlo hymn 145 lekozi, page 25 helezi (plural) seat iron root -lozi-

Proper names Wa. Luhirile school < lo dirile (you have worked)

in the newspaper Jamba 19 kurnata; cf. abb. kurnata (newspaper)

One who rules Abb. 5 nohudi; testament 210 nohodi.

snare Le. 10 meutluwe; alternant alternent meutluwe.

staircase Abb. 5, seonpu; cf. Secwëna Dictionary (ibid) seonpu.

3.7 Alternation of a and o

(a) Absolute Pronouns

The absolute pronoun consists of a pronominal root and a suffixal morpheme -na or -ne, except in the 1st and 2nd persons where the suffixal morpheme is always -na.

Alternate renderings were found as follows:

Singular:

3rd person. Sc. 9 ona; Ml. 94 ona; Pn. 2 ona

Class 1 : Bitirëlo hymn 11 ona; ib hymn 396 ona;
Wa 13 ono, 13 ona. | means he/she

Class 3 : Le. 9 ona; Bitirëlo 150 ona; Bo. 1103 ona; vide Secwëna Dictionary (ibid)
ona. Np. i ona | means it, the village for instance7

Class 5 : Testament 221 lonu; alternant lonu.
| means it, the light for instance7
Bitirëlo hymn 104 lonu.

58 /......
Class 7: Le. 9 zôna; Ph. 6 ōna. cf. Secwana Dictionary (ibid) shôna and shône. /\[\text{Means it, the instrument e.g. ax}]/\[\text{ax}]/7. Testamante 153 zôna.

Class 9: Ha. 134 yôna; Testamante 477 yôna; Hp. 17 yônâ. /\[\text{Means it, the animal}/\[\text{animal}/7.

Class 11: same as class 5 above lonâ/lonâ.

Class 14: Secwana Dictionary (ibid) yônâ (pronounced ionâ); Le. 142 bona Le. 9 ionâ alternate ionâ/bone /\[\text{Means it, the kingdom for instance}/7.

Class 15: Ha. 1 zôna; Testamante 273 zôna; Wy 16: hymn 397 zôna; U. 701 zôna; Wa. 18 17: zôna. /\[\text{Means it, to plough or the}/\[\text{the}/7. 18: plac7.

Plural:

3rd Person. So. 33 bona, Ha. 134 bônê Testamante 477 bona; Ph. 6 bôna.

Class 2: Le. 9 bona; Ditirôlo p. 14 bônê, hymn 38 bôna. Secwana Dictionary (ibid) only bôna /\[\text{Means they, the people}/7.

Class 4: Ditirôlo hymn 172 yôna; Ha 134 yôna /\[\text{Means they, they villages for instance}/7. Secwana Dictionary (ibid) yôna. Alter- nant yone.

Class 6: Le. 9 ona; Ditirôlo 159 ona. Bo. 1103 ona; Hp i onê /\[\text{They, the}/\[\text{the babies for instance}/7.

Class 8: Ph. 1 tšônê; Ditirôlo in preface tšônê cf. Secwana Dictionary (ibid) cânâ/ cânâ /\[\text{Means they, the instruments, e.g. axes}/7.

59/......
Class 10: As for class 8.
Class 15

16
17: No plural.
13

(b) Imperative Verbs with Reflexive -mpaX and Object Concord, 1st person:

Sc. 32: nthusa (you help me), nthuna (you, plural, give me). The terminative vowel of the stem is a viz. nthusa, nthu -a. But on the same p. 32 Ikóla, Ipienga with terminative -a and not -a.

Na. 101: laphan (you, plural, give me) and not lapha.
Testamento 272: So tsepan (you, plural, take him), 273
le sololela (release unto us) lamole (crucify him). Alternates no tsepan, le sololela, lamole. Terminative -a is not used. Is it good orthography to order "lapha", and then "lapha" (Give you me)?

3.8 Vowel breaking: This refers to cases where a back vowel /o/, /u/ alternates with or changes into a labial semi-vowel plus vowel /wa, va, wi/.

Examples:

Sc. 40 motswata < motetsa (minutes), 53 Lemanwe < lelole (kneel), 54 thwathwana, otherwise thothlusa (price).

Na. 9 dikwelga < dikolong (to the schools), 5 Banotwa, the people of Banoto 75. The stem is not -nota (hammer) or -notwa right through; 2 honitlua (March month, alternant honitlo).

Sc. náuti (ditches); Na. 3a akeleenga lep. 13 ikola.

60/...........
3.9 Vowel Integration: This takes place when in certain circumstances a verb ending on -wa changes the wa to a back vowel ū, ū. 

Examples:

Testamento 34 o dule (he is out) — dule: perfect form of tswa (go out); 97 o sulo (he is dead) from swa (to die); Mt. 6 nwa (he drunk) from nwe; could have been nwa.

3.10 Semi-vowel glide: U

Ww. 50 povan (bullock); 14 mantsiboa (evening); 44 xowa (to scream); Mt. 66 mantsibowa; Testamento 273 xoa (to scream); 126 mantsiboa U. 461 bokoa (weakness), sekroa (the European way); Ww. 961 mowa (spirit); Testamento 34 xoa; 278 latlwa (a net).

Ww. 9 bokowa (weakness); 77 makroa (Europeans);
Mt. in preface bekroa (the European way);
Ww. 112 Lekroa; Ph. 12 bowa (return), 161 boa (return). Bo. 34 leruarua (a mako).

Semi-vowel glide: Y

Mt. 5 ke yoo (cl. 1 demonstrative, elsewhere yoo/yu); 62 kevukutswe (to be in a fix); 65 toheka (to cross-cross); 7 manya (with him/her). Ditirâle yâ (this one-animal, alternant â). Ph. 5 yoo, see cl. Mt. in this paragraph. Ww. 19 yâ.

61/
CONSONANTAL VARIANTS

3.11 Data are also culled from the titles named in 3.3 above.

3.12 The alternants f, g, h:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English words</th>
<th>Tswana representations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>Se. 9 sefebana (diminutive of sefeb-a-chest); Wv. hymn 444 huba (locative of se-huba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jealousy</td>
<td>Ph. 4 lehuha; Se. 9 fuugela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hillside</td>
<td>Pv. 7 phapheng (locative); Testamente 201 maphapheng; Compare also Pv. 18 mphaphere (an uproar), and Le. 193 mhapa (precipice).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If

| If            | Ml. in the preface ha, 22, p. 5 | Le. 10 ha; Ph. 7 wa. |

now then

| now then      | Se. 7 jalo hong; Pv. 63 ha: | (singular) alternant ge/ren (sing/pl.) |

| shirt         | Ml. 5 digamponyana (diminutive of plural), 65 hemponyana (dim. of singular), both from Afrikaans hamp; stems -gemu/-genu; |

| occur(--rence) | Bo. 901 ditirahala; Mbb 5 | Mbb 6 dirapula; Testamente 276 dirafeta; < stems -dirahala, dirapula, kirafula. |

here

| here          | Le. 10 le; cf. Soewana Dictionary (ibid) ha. |
ditches: Tesiwente, 144 afuti; Se nahu t1i (strengthened form always khuti/khuti, never nhu t1i).

animal: Le, xholone xwana = xholokolo;
Ditirêlo 7 xholofêlo = xholofêlo.

Hymns: Ditirêlo - title page dîleta;
Ny - title page dîhela.

wish evil: Pr. 7 futa; hl. 1 bokutaana
(state of being; pitiable, being orphaned). Alternant stems -futa/huta.

Variants: l/n, l/n, r/v, f/b, b/p.

5.13 Examples here are not many, yet it is certainly inconsistent for authors to alternate these sounds arbitrarily. Soboni, in the title mentioned above, uses sononno, p. 12, for a bear, while "Livingstone Tswana Readers" alternate sononno (Pr. 43), and seholo (Pr. 43) freely. Leseye maps lhololole (a gun), and so does Phutiaga on pages 12 and 44 respectively, whereas we also know tîhôbo. "Baka ya wa râpô" has ditirêlo (services) on the title page, while "Bhola tsa Tîhêlo" (A.J. Vockey) has tîhêlo. "Livingstone Tswana Readers" teach us paloethata (hard-hearted, Pr. 36), and bakoethata (hardheartedness, Pr. 36). Leseye maps kôfita, page 157, whilst kôfita is in Sowana Dictionary (ibid). So do we hear nôthi thôbo and nôthi thôbo (inspector). There are just no rules, a dangerous situation, even as we are taught, "as jy geen beginsels na streek nie, verval jy maklik in willekeur". 2)

63/...........

Variants š and s, tš/ks, tšo/tsh, tš/š:

3.14 "Livingstone Tswana Readers", Pv. 30, write lošo (death), while Holoto (ibid) writes lopo, page 12, with "Buka ya Nɛrapélő" spelling the locative lošung, hymn 182. Seboni (ibid) writes moso, p. 15, the morning, and "Buka ya Nɛrapélő" moʃo, hymn 347. Buka ya Nɛrapélő has tʃotle, hymn 244, tʃonə, preface, and Holoto (ibid) tʃotle, p. 3 and tʃona, p. 46. So does Seboni write lonyetso p. 97 (spite, elsewhere lonyetso), and "Livingstone Tswana Readers" batsɔmọng, Pv. 73 (to the hunters, elsewhere batsomọng). The sounds s/ʃ, tʃ/tʃe alternate freely. Seboni writes tʃokoloro, p. 17, tʃoranyetso, p. 9; Holoto writes Kcoklotso, p. 8, and Livingstone Tswana Readers bactho, Pv. 46, and so on.

3.15 The alternants tʃokolo (repentance), tʃoranyetso (surprise), Kcoklotso (throat), bactho, would be no surprise at all. Who would think those authors are contemporaries? Furthermore, witness Seboni's ma-tʃarana, p. 4, as against Holoto's bodarara, p. 45, and Buka ya Nɛrapélő's botʃarara, all from the stem - tʃarara (sour), with alternant - ʃarara. The authors are all right while there is no limitation to alternants. The pairs of sounds are unquestionably allophonically related.

3.16 The alternation of (a) š, šv, sw, fs, fš
(b) i, iv, bi
(c) ts, tʃw, pš, tš, fš,
(d) tʃk, tʃkw, ph, nʃ, nš,

(a) š, šv, sw, fs, fš:
"Livingstone Tswana Readers" write maʃa (milk), Pv. 23, and mafša, Pv. 60. Leacyane (ibid) writes sofsha, p. 34 (sfresh), and fʃwa (burn) page 81, and on page 181.
Holoto (ibid) writes moša in the preface for a youth, employs the interjections faï i- i, p. 65 and iïiïi, p. 79 to convey the idea of suddenly getting dark. Phutieagae (ibid) writes šweditse (have finished), p. 37, šelâ p. 2û (have burnt), maði, p. 35 (milk) and not šwelâ or mašwi, after the pattern of šweditse.

(b) i, jw, jë.
"Livingstone Tswana Readers" write maje (stones), Pw, 25, along with leïwe, ji,ii (a stone); also phokoje, Pw, 23 along with phokoje (a jackal), P1, 64. "Buka ya Nerapalô" again has jala (to sow,) hymn 175, along with the concord jwa and not ja, in the preface. Holoto uses the concord jwa (of) in the preface, and ja p. 30. Last-named must of course, be known to be a prosessed centralist. Phutieagae uses these two concords in alternation too.

(c) ha, këvä, pë, po, ku.
Leseyane (ibid) writes ntswa; p. 11 (whereas), and otšwe, p. 26, while "Livingstone Tswana Readers" contain atšo, Pw, 76, ntšwa, Pw, 14, ntšwe, Pw, 14, and Testamento atšwe, p. 205. Leseyane further writes mousa, p. 19 (a dog), along with maja, p. 21, and Phalanye, p. 30 and kemonose (thumb) p. 110. Compare with "Livingstone Tswana Readers" ntša (dog), Pw, 45, and Holoto's na-tša, p. 81 (clapping of hands), and kxorokọjowe, p. 35 (the thumb) as well as the interjection maim, p. 39, an expression of disgust. Suppose the words above had been rendered as follows:

ntswa (whereas), ntšwa (dog), Phalatšwe (name of Bechuanaland town), tšawa-tšawa (hand clapping) kxorokọjowe/kxonotšwe.

would there not have been system?

65/...........
"Buka ya Nerupelö" writes tšimola, hymn 171, from stem tšhatla (to smash). This may also be written tšistla, pšhatla, pšhela. But the same book has phimola (to rub off), which may also be tšrimola, tšhimola, pšimola, pšhima. Moloto (ibid) employs pšediswa, p. 20 (be caused to undress), (alternant tšwedisiwa) along with ntšhe (ostrich) (alternants nqhe, ntšhe, mpsha); he writes iphina, p. 59 (enjoy oneself) (alternants itšwina, ipshina, ipshina). He also writes tšhwetlelela, p. 51 press to point of smashing), (alternant pšhetlelela, pšhletlelela). Witness also Lesayane's (ibid) akimola, p. 41 (to rub off), mpsha, p. 193 (now), and mpsha (ostrich), p. 15. Phutieagae (ibid) consistently writes morotswanahe, p. 7, (ostrich urine) tšhele, p. 24 (have dried- a well), setšane (stamina).

Quite clearly, authors are writing the spoken language, in regard to which we might consider the advice of Dr. T.H. le Roux (ibid p. 207), that, "Dis egter heetemal onjuis on te meen dat 'n taal-altoos stel ontwikkel, soge naam langs sy eie lyne; dat hy nooit opsetlik in 'n bepaalde rigting kan gestuur word nie".

Variants tl/t, tly/th:

3.17 We found this phenomenon in Moloto's book, in the word-group se se tšwaale (not to get acquainted) p.23, which word-group may also be rendered se se tšwaale. We also found ngwagatola (last year) in Phutieagae's book, p. 19, which alternates with ngwagatola (last year). I sincerely hope these are misprints.
Variants d/-, n/i or a:

3.18 "Livingstone Tswana Readers", precisely as in the spoken language, write, e iri iane? (what is the matter with you?) on p. 30 of Seppi, while "Zona" imagazine employs irile (have done), on 78c5. These could have been dira (to do) and dirile (have done.) As to the n/i alternation, see Leseyane's maitsiboa (evening) as against Seboni's mantsiboa, p. 14. Note also Leseyane's maiphorwana, p. 20, (birdlings), seitlhaga, p. 20 (bird's nest). In this particular case Leseyane consistently uses i in place of n. The words maiphorwana and seitlhaga are very commonly used in alternation with maiphorwana and seitlhaga.

PHONOLOGICAL ALTERNANTS

3.19 We deal here with the sound changes of elision and palatalization only, being the ones in particular on grounds of which serious dialectal emulation often arises.

Elision:

3.20 We coll data again from authors cited in 3.3. A number after a word indicates page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author &amp; title</th>
<th>Elided forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.D. Matshego -</td>
<td>Thibêlla 5 (to drive into corner), alternant thibêla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Bonnê-botlwâêlô&quot;</td>
<td>phallêla 12 (to on expedition), alternant phalalêla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compare the Author's</td>
<td>Bafaladi 7 (trokkers); one would expect bafalli in view of phallêla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dilelo 12 (complaints), one would expect dilelo in view of lilêla, 11, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cry for.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Testamente e ntšha le Dipalesa le" (ibid)

le, lela 129 (to cry) lebella
127 (to look, to expect), mello
393 (fire) — cf. tshololola
and no longer tshololo, and selelo, no longer sello on p. 768.

D.P. Motlolo

"Motemedi" (ibid)

petollo 3 (vomiting, cf. petolo< botololo 3 (to vomit, otherwise betolla).

3.21 What we learn here is that authors employ elided and unelided forms alternately. Should not an author employ the elided forms consistently or the unelided forms? In any case even sectionalistic authors show centralist tendencies, e.g. L.D. Matshego above writes phallela (elided spelling) and basaladi (unelided spelling), and many others can be instanced. It is a matter on which there is no ruling at present, so that the authors are perfectly right. But, is such a mixed system sound?

Palatalization

3.22 Let us focus attention on the manner in which our authors handle this sound-change as it occurs daily in passive, diminutive, and locative formations.

(a) Passive Formations

Author & title
L.D. Matshego —
"Bonno - botlwačlo" (ibid).

tilhàva 122 (be stripped of feathers) from tilhàfà (to strip of feathers), tshàhàva 3 (be feared) from tshàhà, to fear. (ba>bya)
cf. immediately hereunder.
"Testamente a ntšha tlahwa 619 (be bored or
le D. pesalema" (ibid) stabbed), from tlahwa, to stab.
(bo > awa); monyadiwi 608 (a
bride), from nyalwa (to get
married), usually monyadiwi.
Use of the labial semi-vowel
after d is as strange as the
use of a back vowel in this
position. D.P. Molelo avoids
this by using baabeloi --
ba-a-be-lo-i -- those given
a share, from abelwa, to be
given a share.

"Livingstone Tswana" Buka ya Herupelö spells it
Readers (ibid) baabedi. page 59. matlhotšwa
Pv, 27 (those selected) from
tlhopha, select. May also be
spelt matlhophá hošwa Pv, 5
(by bound). cf. Molelo's
diboswa 31. (may also appear as
boša), kolotšwa Pv, 14 (to be
aimed at with missile), from
ekolona (to throw). Alternant
kolopša.

That tlošwa and tshabya should come from the same author
shows either that the patterns palatal + wa and bilabial
+ palatal + a are not dialectally distributed, or that
authors are inclined centralist. Fact is that alterna-
tions abound in contemporary literature.
(b) **Diminutive formations**

L.D. Matshego — *nabotšana* 132 (small bodies),

"Bonno-botlwaelo" from *nabole* (bodies), *makojane*

(ibi) 65 (mother of Kjojane). Kjojane is derived from *Košào* (ries)

cf. *šeqelian* of "buka ya

Košào", p. 40. We see here —

le > šàna, le > jàna, le > jàna.

Alternation of le and j was

recorded in 3.3. above. See

also Livingston Tswana Reader

ditsejana, P 3, and Holoto's

hosojana, 3. This means

ditsebe > ditsejana, boxobé >

hosojana i.e. - bô > jana, or

jwana.

"Buka ya košào" *košàhana*, p. 18 (young virgin)

Ibid)

from *košàbê*, introduces a fur-

ther alternant, viz, -bê > hana.

Holoto switches to another

alternant, writing, *lekošàtswana*,

from *lekošàbê*. This now means

- bê > tswana

"Testamento e ntsâna

le Dinasa" *mezotšâna* 608 (small wooden

bowls), from *mezono* (wooden

bowls). Alternant *mezotšôna*,

mezopôna.

(c) **Locative formations**

Leseyane, P. — *botwanya* 14 (deep down), from

"Letheku le le-

zôlogolo" (ibi)

(boteng) (depth), *bojiane* 21

(in the grass), from *bojiane*.

70/......
The author also uses *dikgonwe* 35 and *dikgonwe* 36 (in the news). This means –*ng > ngwe*
–*ng > nga*.
Admittedly the spoken language has it so, and there is no rule forbidding
their alternation. Compare
Livingstone Tswana Reader's
*Kraenye*, Pl. 10. This now
means -- *ng > nge*.

"Testamente o ntsha"

Lemone, 509 (on the wood).
From *lejong* (wood), *bajane*:ye

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRACTIONS

3.23 Seboni, M.O.M. –

"Henry wa Bone"

(ibid)

**boorra** – Douglas 36 (those of
the Douglas locality or clan),
from *ba gabo pra-Douglas* (of
the clan), or *ba kwa ga gabo*
pra-Douglas (of the locality)
The forms written in full are
differentiating. So does
Phetshagoe (ibid) write *lska*
loa khago, 42, and Hatshago
Kofi yo Photo, p. 63;
these may mean "of the clan or
locality". Now which?

"Buka ya Merapelo"

etc (ibid)

**vo bobolang** 171 (sick one) from

**vo o bobolang**: a ko nne ve polo
17 (please give me a heart)
from *a ke o mnabo polo: ba ve*
158 (years) from *ba oceko*. This
compares well with ba moatlha (those of Moeti) in place of ba sa moatlha.

L.D. Matshego - ba seno bontsha (after they showed), from ba sena sa bontsha. cf. also ba seno wo bontsha, p. 62. The Moffat Bible has a third rendering in Matt. 5:1, viz a sina lula (after taking a seat). <a sina ro dula. See also mera ga sina tsarolola nolu ca me in Ps. 119:32.

3.24 Thus, contractions are not at all dialectally distributed. Either they are determined by versification or simply getting ingrained. Compare the spoken language as recorded in chapter II.

LOCAL WORDS

3.25
Seboni, N.O.i. 
"Henry Wa Bone"
(ibid)

Teransefala - in preface.
Kreite 7 - Christ. In view of Te - ra-n-Go - la-la from Transvaal, should we not expect Ke-re-ne-te from Christ?

L.D. Matshego -
"Bonna - botlwa sete"
(both)

Teransefala 5 (Transvaal)
Karisetsepop 106 (Krugerstad)
Mangabokhwi 74 (Parbroek)
Magasetate 61 (Magistrate)
Here this author is consistently writing Tswana syllables ending on a vowel.

72/....
"Fuka ya Merapolo" (ibid) throne 7 (throne), and not 

terence, diharn. p. 328, not in 
a hymn, therefore not influenced 
by poetic considerations. Com-
pare aketarong 5 (at the altar) 
with bakresta 76. It seems fair 
to feel that there is no consis-
tency.

**Aspirated Consonants**

3.26 The tendency exists for authors to alternate 
aspirated with unaspirated phones. Thutlaqae (ibid) writes 
kgatlha, p. 5, (to please) while Matshego (ibid) writes 
kgatlhego (act of being pleased), p. 95. Seboni(ibid) 
writes ntlha (why?) where others would write ntlha. Hololo 
(ibid) writes mothepa, p. 52, while Matshego (ibid) 
writes mothepa, p. 130, (young girls). "Luka ya harapolo" 
(ibid) has dipupung, hymns 276, 63, 69 which word is given 
as dipupu (graves) in the Tswana dictionary3). On page 
26 this book records bokutliling (in insurrection), and 
on p. 9 bokhutlethae (have rebelled against) from same 
stem bokutlha. On page 22 we find kgatlhe (be pleased), 
which is otherwise kgatlhego. Compare Leacyane's (ibid) 
bokhatshwayane 21, with Thutlaqae's (ibid) bokhatshwayane 
8. Clearly the dictionary cannot be loaded with non-
significant variants.

**The Emergence of the Le- and Le- Class-Final**

3.27 The use of le-words and le-words in alternation 
has resulted in grammatical difficulty, which although a

matter of morphology and not orthography is noted here to point to a direction in which investigation awaits workers. Let us take lolwana (Livingstone Tswana Reader, p. 28) and looka, P. 79. Since the plural form of the singular prefix lo- is di-, the plurals of lolwana and looka should be ditwana and dikoka, but we find malwana and maku right through the field. The plural of lobolo (a race), is neselolo (athletic races) and never singelo. Nor is loapi (sky) ever dikapi (kappies). The matter of, exactly which words should be written with lo- or la-, needs thorough investigation.
NO UNIFORM OR STABLE LANGUAGE

4.1 Chapter III has shown unquestionably the disunity in the orthography of the present day as interpreted by contemporary authors. That there are alternant sounds and symbols is as true of Tswana as it is of many languages. We are informed that, "whether we refer to 3000 B.C. or 1950 AD. a completely uniform language is a fallacy.... So is the assumption of a perfectly stable language... the equilibrium is disturbed and restored all the time". We believe, however, that while the people are left to speak as they please, they must leave themselves to be made to write as they need. Where in the next pages we find that given alternants are unnecessary, or akin to other Sotho but non-Tswana forms, we shall suggest the selection of one form. This shall not represent a change of the language, as indeed standardization does not, but merely a pruning off of unnecessary verbiage.

ENRICHING THE VOCABULARY

4.2 It may be argued that alternants enrich a vocabulary. We would submit that synonyms do, but alternants are redundant. For example, the synonyms betsa, itse, otla (to beat, with a stick for instance), do enrich vocabulary, being different words from different roots but with the same semantic force. But the alternants ntša, ntšwa, npae, npēa (a dog), all hypothetically derived from Urbantu mbwa, a single root, are certainly unnecessary, the need being easily covered by one only

of the lot. Such ineffectual disunity is adjudged in the following terms: "To make the sounds of one language distinguishable from those of another - nay, even those of one dialect from those of another - can never be the purpose of an alphabet which seeks to serve, not scientific phonology, but only practical need: and this need necessarily occur only so far as the differences in question have a functional value". 2) The four alternants have the value of one only.

ALTERNANTS SEEN AS SPEECH PATTERNS, NOT DIALECTAL MATERIAL.

While not denying the existence of dialects in Tswana, we contend that dialectal boundaries are broken by population shifts, by urbanisation, by political reorganisation. Hereunder follows a short word-list as written by the informants themselves, collected from the Hurutshe area, near Bechuanaland, in the reserves, which will show that material unknown in that area in the past, has now infiltrated.

**Four Hurutshe Informants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-list</th>
<th>No. 1</th>
<th>No. 2</th>
<th>No. 3</th>
<th>No. 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>mpya</td>
<td>mpya</td>
<td>mpya</td>
<td>ntja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new (adj.)</td>
<td>mpya</td>
<td>ntšwa</td>
<td>mpya</td>
<td>nchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>go fya</td>
<td>go shwa</td>
<td>go šwa</td>
<td>sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a flower</td>
<td>sofyefye</td>
<td>sešwešwe</td>
<td>sešwešwe</td>
<td>seswešwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostrich</td>
<td>mpye</td>
<td>ntšwe</td>
<td>ntšwe</td>
<td>nchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>mafyi</td>
<td>mashi</td>
<td>mashi</td>
<td>mashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thumb</td>
<td>kgonotšhe</td>
<td>kgonotšhe</td>
<td>kgonotšhe</td>
<td>kgonotšhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Not a single one of our English words was written alike by all four informants. My informants are all teachers in active practice, therefore in the present situation it should not be surprising to find the three spellings of the word for “new” in the same school. The words given also show that Hurutshe, one of the main members of the Central dialect-cluster, has not remained uninfluenced by other dialects and so have all dialects. Our alternants cannot be bound to a locality or tribe. Therefore we do not speak of dialects in this investigation, but simply of alternant patterns. We propose to select certain of the alternants for use in a standard orthography, irrespective of dialect, since, “Language is a convention, and the nature of the sign that is agreed upon does not matter.” 3

LITERARY SOURCES OF DATA

4.5 In chapter III we culled data from works of contemporary authors, taking nine titles published between 1948 and 1963, an historic period in the development of Sotho Orthographies (see chapter 1).

4.6 Some authors employ plenty of alternants, notably P. Lesoyane and D.P. Moloto. We view these as Centralists, since they centralise all dialects. D.P. Moloto is in fact a professed centralist, saying in the title of his book, “Esagetshe le tla lemosa gore ga rea leka go buwa Setswana ka ntlha epe ya lomene lwa Setswana mo lokwadong lo. Ke lekile go buwa ka bobhara jwa lomene lwa Setswana. Ke gore ga rea leka go kwala Serolong, kgotse Sekgatla kgotsa Songwato, kgotsa 

Sekwena, re dirimita e mantswe a re a iseng a puo ya
Setswana re sa tlopho gore le le dirisiwang ke Batswana
base bogo. Re iwaletse Setswana ka fa se re kgatlhang
ka teng".4) (See preface)

Translation:

("My people, you will realise that we have not
tried to speak Setswana from any side of the
Tswana language in this book. We have tried to
speak according to the breadth of the Tswana
language, that is we have not tried to write
Rolling, or Kgotla, or Kgatla or Kwena; we have
used what Tswana words we know, not selecting
according to which word is used mostly by which
Tswana people. We have written Tswana as it
pleases us".)

4.7 Some of our authors are inclined to what used
to be the speeches of certain localities. For convenience
we may state that they write the one or other supposed
dialect or group of dialects. These we regard as "sectionalists", since they have been sectional in their
choice of speech patterns. For example Testamento-e
ntša le Dipetsana is claimed to be in Central Tswana.
The works of H.C.H. Seboni, and the Livingstone Tswana
Readers may be counted in this group, sectionalists, too.

4.8 Wooley employs his own orthography, based on
the Tlaping dialect. The other authors, L.D. Matshego,
Phutieagae, and the Compilers of Buka ya Herapolo, employ
the 1937 orthography to the Rolog dialect, also a sec-
tionalist approach. Of the periodicals, Wamba, Uliwang,
Bona, may be classed as centralist, and Molabalibi as
sectionalist.

4. Matloto, D.P.: Hotimedi (ibid), in preface
THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

4.9 The crux of the orthography problem is that Centralists and Sectionalists are in competition, with unity scarcely in view.

4.10 Summarising, our data show inter alia:

(a) Centralism in the orthography of certain writers, i.e. the employment of most or all alternate forms.

(b) Sectionalism with centralist inclinations e.g. the Livingstone Tswana Readers contain alternants metse/metsi, phokeje/phokobe, while pouring scorn on elided forms like molle, ginolla, etc., thus being sectionalist up to a point only. The amount of inconsistency with oneself, which is perpetrated by authors, suggests the proposition that nobody writes a dialect, all centralise in a measure. This is the crucial point, that no author spells every word the same way, that therefore there is no standard writing in the field. Our undertaking is to attempt to contribute towards uniformity in the rendering of words.

(c) That a community does not necessarily speak the dialect it is supposed to speak, but an admixture of alternate sounds, so that while there has been no unqualified success in the past by adopting a given dialect as basis of standardization, there is hardly such dialect today.
(d) That teachers accept and employ (rightly, in the absence of a ruling), all sounds they hear, all of which should be of interest for descriptive linguistics, a selection only of which is of interest for a practical orthography.

4.11 Taking for example the four alternants for "dog" that we culled from informants and authors' works, viz. ntša, ntšwa, mpša, mpša/mpša, if the first were a fox terrier, the second a pointer, the third a sheepdog, and the fourth a bulldog, one would certainly see reason in the shades of semantic difference, for the use of these alternants. Bible Translators have pointed the way by referring to the Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, and Tswana Bibles as Beibele, Bibele, and Bibela respectively. Alternant forms as distinct from synonyms, must at least have some force justifying their inclusion in an orthography, be it semantic or functional.

4.12 We take into consideration that there is an Orthography of Tswana, which is vested in official as well as social circles. This orthography, however, lays down the broad principles of representation of sounds, and does so excellently. Within its framework though, there is in fact possibility for alternant forms to thrive. For instance, as to the alternants by/bi/iy (p. 15) we are told that by is "completely discarded", but that, "In such cases either bi or iy

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may be used according to dialect, e.g. *bijang* or *djang*, *robia* or *rodja*, *teebia* or *teeswa*. We take the cue from a point such as this believing sincerely that "according to dialect" was a suggestion to the Tswana people themselves to select their standard form.

4.13 Centralist authors have done a great service in bringing as many alternant forms as possible in writing into circulation, which should facilitate selection of standard forms by the Tswana, irrespective of what dialect a given form is supposed to have come from, when dialects were still fairly distinct. Sectionalist authors have done an equally great service, preserving as much as possible, in writing, of the respective dialects, but their centralist inclinations point to a desire to write for all Tswana people, of all 'dialects'.

4.14 A Selective orthography, taking single patterns from as many 'dialects' as possible, should serve -

(a) to give all or most groups an interest in the standard language,

(b) to make clear to teachers, authors, editors, exactly where they stand about each word,

(c) to enable lexicographers the more easily to produce authoritative lexicons. As things are, a lexicon containing *ntshwa* (now), but excluding *ntsia*, *mpsia*, *mpsia*, unnecessary as the alternants are, is of no use as a guide to spelling where teachers in a single school may require and rightly demand all alternant forms. With this in mind we turn to a discussion of our data.

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VOWEL VARIANTS

4.15 The /e/ phoneme (alternant i):
Firstly, /e/ and /i/ are normally different phonemes, so that in terms of our principle of one phoneme one letter, they should not alternate in orthography. We have two kinds of alternations, what we may call a primary alternation, and a secondary one.
Primary alternations are those which occur between e and i, without any apparent reason, phonological or otherwise, e.g.

metse and metsi (water)
gasfe and gasfi (near)
rure and ruri (really)

Since the vowel i is the more stable of the two, normally allowing of no variants, it seems safer to employ this symbol in all cases of primary alternation.
Secondary alternations are those which occur when derivative words are formed, i.e. those for which there is a linguistic explanation, e.g.

agentives:

senya (to spoil) > mosenyi (spoiler)

or mosinyi (by vowel raising)

lefa (to pay) > molofi (one who pays)

or molifi (by vowel raising)

locatives:

mogobo (a pool) > mogobeng (in the pool)

or

mogobing (by vowel raising)

letlola (treasury) > letlceng (in the treasury)

or letlding (by vowel raising)

Seeing that the form with e is recognised right through in the non-derivative stems, it should be conceded that i must be secondary in these cases. A further consideration is that often i has a differentiating effect, e.g.
motąps (~ in the village) < motse
motšing (~ in the era) < motši
letšolong (~ in the treasury) < letšola
letšoling (~ in the ditch) < letšodi

If, Molebalibi ~ were written holebadibi, as it should phonologically be, it would mean, not observer, but one who looks at dried cow dung. cf. leba (look at), dibi (cow dung) with lebalaba (observe) and molėbala (observer). Cases of secondary alternation therefore, should be spelt with o.

4.16 The /o/ phoneme (alternant u)

Since this is the back counterpart of the /e/ phoneme, the rules under (a) above apply mutatis mutandis, as also the arguments.

Primary alternations are not found. Since /u/ is a separate phoneme, all secondary alternations might well be spelt with the /o/ right through, e.g. –

podi, and not pudi (goat)
serepodi, and not serenudi (a stair)
ntlo, and not ntlu (house)
ntlong, and not tlung (in the house)
dipelong, and not dipelung or dipadung (in the hearts)
molelodi, and not molelui (sinner)

4.17 The alternation of a and ê

(a) Absolute Pronouns:

It is striking that in the Holong of Buka ya Merapōlō etc. quoted in chapter III, the terminative ê is found in the preface, while a is largely the rule in the text. Does this not suggest that the preface is written in the speech

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of the revisers or compilers, while the text, with a, is as originally compiled, when stabi-
zizer -na was probably the rule? Wooley teaches us that, "The final vowel of all emphatic pro-
nouns may be either a or e, except in the first and second persons"9). Wooley and Moloto em-
ploy a in âna (he/she), Wamba employs both âna and ânê. Cole makes a debatable statement, 
that, "All the 3rd person forms have dialectal 
variants with -na instead of -nê as stabilizer, 
e.g. âna, bôna, etc."10)
Which is the dialect, and which the language?
Wooley's stand is more equitable and in line with 
our standpoint that the variants are simply speech 
patterns distributed all over. The Moffat Bible 
employs âna, bôna, âna. And as to contemporary 
authors studied in chapter III, we find that these 
alternants stand shoulder to shoulder. Giving each 
author/magazine a point for the use of either a or 
ã we find as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ã</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Seboni</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Matshego</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Moloto</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Livingstone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Leseyane</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Testament</td>
<td>e ntêna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Buka ya</td>
<td>Hêrapôlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Dihela tsa</td>
<td>Tihêlo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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cises, LMS, 2nd ed., 2nd impression, p. 42 par. 32.
Brown & Co. 1933, p. 127, par. 5.2, notc. (4)
The alternation is non-significant. In the interests of uniformity within Tswana, and within the Bantu fold, we urge the use of the stabilizer -na right through, in line with the first and second person absolute pronouns.

(b) Imperative Verbs:

Terminative á may indicate imperative mood, with object concord, and á is a terminative for the subjunctive mood. But the negative of the Imperative employs á, e.g.

mpba (give me) Imperative, positive.

se mpba (don't give me) Imperative, negative.

Alternant:

mpba (give me) Imperative, positive

se mpba (don't give me) Imperative, negative.

Quite clearly, á persists in both positive and negative conjugations, which á does not survive. In any event the alternation is non-significant. Hence we suggest:

naávé, and not naaya (hand to me)

nkutlwá, and not nkutlwa (hear me)

ipiná, and not ipipa (cover yourself)

(c) Transliterations:

It is suggested that loan-words be rendered with due regard to their forms in the lending language, e.g.
"heiden" to be: mohaitšē and not mohaitšang. (we found both forms used).

hump to be: mopē and not rampē

4.18  **Vowel Breaking:**

This alternation is not distributed on area or dialectal lines. In the same area one hears tlhotlhwà, and not tlhwatlhwa (price), as well as khwiti and not khuti (a ditch or hole). There is no doubt however, that the labialised vowel is secondary. What is more, the alternation is non-significant, e.g. lennôlé and lengwele (the knee).

Hence, in the interests of standardization we urge that our word-list, taking the examples in chapter III para. 3.8 must read:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Alternate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sekolong (to school)</td>
<td>sekweleng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranôtē (name of man)</td>
<td>Rhotwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nopitlo (March month)</td>
<td>Nopitlhwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lencôle (knee)</td>
<td>lengwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahuti (potholes)</td>
<td>mahwiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metswosso (minutes)</td>
<td>metswatwa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternate forms to be left to the spoken language.

4.19  **Vowel Integration:**

The following examples are peculiar to Tswana and the alternants are not quite popular idiom:

**Idiomatically**          **Alternate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Tswana perf. of tswana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o dule (he is out)</td>
<td>o tswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o nole (he has drunk)</td>
<td>o nwele &quot; swa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o nule (he is dead)</td>
<td>o swile &quot; swa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o utluše (he has heard)</td>
<td>o utluwe &quot; utluwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This integration occurs with verbs ending on -wa. In the case of the last verb above, quite strangely, the alternate form is more commonly heard and written. The integrated forms are supported, in any event, one form in each case, unless the alternate is significant.

4.20 Semi-vowel Glides:

(i) The labial semi-vowel, w:

Alternate spelling such as the following cannot be justified:

- mantsiboa along with mantsibowa (evening)
- maksoa  "  " akskowa (the European way)
- gga  "  " gowa (scream)
- ba  "  " bowa (return)
- bua  "  " buwa (speak)
- moa  "  " moa (spirit)

Two tests are suggested in all such cases. Firstly, as to whether the semi-vowel has any significance, whether its insertion or omission is differentiating in any way. If it has no significance, there is no justification for its use. Secondly a morphological test may apply. Take the words boa (return) and mowa (spirit).

The morphemes are:

- boa = root: -bo-
- terminative vowel: -a

hence: boa : return

boila: have returned
boctse: have returned to.

Omission of the w is justified, since it does not occur in the derivative forms.

- mowa = class prefix: mo-
- root/stem: -wa

hence mowa: spirit (singular).
The stem here is seen as $\text{-wa}$, since the plural form and locative form retain the $\text{w}$. The $\text{w}$ is immutable, irreducible, e.g.

$mewa$, spirits (plural); $mewane$ (locative).

Insertion of the $\text{w}$ is justified, indeed essential.

(ii) The palatal semi-vowel, $\text{y}$:

With the move towards unification of Sotho orthographies came the ruling, "In the case of absolute (empastic) pronouns however, it has been agreed that the spelling with the semi-vowel should be the standard except for that referring to the $\text{ma}$-class of nouns"[11]). Not only is this glide non-significant, but it is more often than not absent in actual speech. The pronoun $\text{yena}$ (he/she) is heard as $\text{ena}$, or $\text{one}$ in Tswana. The influence of the ruling, or demonstratives however, has had far-reaching results.

The ruling is that these be written alternately with or without semi-vowel, e.g. $\text{e}$ or $\text{ye}$, $\text{go}$ or $\text{ygo}$. This glide is non-significant and not articulated. It is used extensively by a centralist author, in medial position e.g.

$\text{tobya}$, $\text{kacyletswe}$, (to criss-cross, to be in a fix).

It is non-significant and inarticulate in that position too.

4.21 The $\text{/ø/}$ phoneme and its back counterpart $\text{/ø/}$. This phoneme has two members, $\text{ø}$ and its raised variant $\text{e}$, while $\text{ø}$ has a corresponding back variant $\text{i}$. Prof. Cole rightly proposes to write both members of the phoneme with the diacritic sign according to the principle of one symbol per phoneme. This orthography in vogue uses the symbols $\text{ø}$ and $\text{o}$ without diacritics. In this orthography great stock is set at meaning. The

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symbol ə is used for the semi-close front vowel phoneme and its variant (e/o) and for the semi-open front vowel and its variant (æ/ɔ), while for the back opposite member ə is used.

4.22 By means of context only, do we differentiate lema (to make horns), lema (to plough), as well as the perfect forms lemle and lemle. This applies to the back vowels in sëka and sëka with variants sëkilə and sokilə for instance. Prof. Cole\(^2\) gets over the difficulty by proposing:

(a) an ɪ for the semi-close front and ʊ for the semi-close back vowel,
(b) a diacritic i (i) and diacritic u (û) for the close high front and back vowels,
(c) an ə and an ə for the semi-open front and back vowels.

Fact is that this proposal, basically, will introduce an ɪ for two different phonemes, as well as an ʊ for two phonemes, precisely as in the orthography in which ə is used for two phonemes, and ə for two. Granted that Prof. Cole's proposal would entail less use of diacritics since the frequency of ɪ and ū is lower than that of ə and ŋ. But these diacritics on ɪ and ū would be compulsory, while none are, in the current orthography.

4.23 The use of the phonetic symbols for ñ, as done by Plaatjie and Jones (see chapter I) is not satisfactory since it cannot cover both members of the phoneme in each case, i.e. ñ and ñ. The sounds of the members of the phoneme differ, and while Plaatjie and Jones accept the I.E. principle of "one sound one letter", they

\[39/\ldots\]

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would be forced to employ different "letters" for members of a phoneme. The two principles, "one sound one letter", and "one phoneme one letter" stand in diametric opposition to each other, and orthographies, practical orthographies as distinct from phonetic orthographies, are based on the latter. The use of $\varepsilon$ and $\varphi$ in ordinary writing, is supported for $\varepsilon/\varepsilon$ and $\varphi/\varphi$, with diacritics when necessary.

CONSONANTAL INCONSISTENCIES

4.24 The alternants $\varepsilon$, $\varphi$, $\delta$:

In Chapter II we recorded this alternation in speech. In chapter III, we noted the alternation in the works of contemporary authors. There is an inclination to write as they speak locally, along with centralised inclination to write as all the Tswana speak. Hence we find:

- **ha, qa? qa** (if)
- **fa**, (if)
- hemponyana (little shirt)
- digemponyana (little) shirts
- mafuti (holes) as compared to mahuti.
- mbaphane and mfaphane (on the hillside)
- lefupa (jealousy)
- lehuha (jealousy) and lehupa.

It is possible that the four forms of "if" above have the same origin, same function and meaning are the same.

4.25 Our examples above divide into three kinds:

Firstly, Tswana words that offend against identity since they occur also in other Sotho languages, viz. Northern and Southern Sotho. Of the words for "if", qa occurs also in Northern Sotho. Those using it in Tswana are accused of being inclined that way. The accusation often comes from those who prefer $\varepsilon_{13}$ or $\varphi$, but it is never

13. For example, Sandilands, *Introduction to Tswana* (ibid) p. 327, (3) prefers $\varphi$; p. 351, (2) he is regarded simply as non-Tswana.
admitted that ha as well, occurs in Southern Sotho. Prof. Lestrade refers to fa simply as the form generally employed in "written Tswana Literature". It seems advisable to take the stand that if identity is at stake, preference need not be given to either Southern or Northern Sotho-inclined forms without good reason. Secondly, we have transliterations, mainly from Afrikaans and/or English. kemenyana (little shirt) comes from Hemp, and so does digesepenyana. The most faithful form to the original language is of course kempe, but does not quite satisfy since it is truer to South Sotho phonology; hence kempe with g is preferred. Fact is that there is no need, it is not "essential", to have three forms for "hemp". It does not enrich vocabulary. It complicates orthography and overloads lexicology. The need is covered by kempe, and the complication eliminated on the score that transliterations be made true to the phonology of Tswana. We would urge that a transliteration not be unnecessarily disguised from its language of origin first of all, and then studiously brought into line with the phonology of the borrowing language. Thirdly we have steps beginning with f/g, which may be tested by initial strengthening, with due regard to the rules.

\[ f > ph, h > kh \]

Thus:

- mafuti, lefuti, with same khuti (a hole)
- mahuti, lehuti, with alternant khuti (a ditch)
- fufulala > khulare, sometimes phulare (turning one's back to)
- nherembera/mferefera > phorotlako and nowa khorotlako (a stir)

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lelu/lelu > phatsa, and never phatsa (a finish)
leliti/leliti > dikithi/dikithi (darkness)
leluta/lehuka leluta > dishuka/dishuka/dishuka (jealousy)

4.25 It must of course be recalled that Canon Coetzee's orthography had no h, except, for aspiration, and that Rev. Brown's Dictionary excluded the letter k, using h right through.15 Parallel forms like dishiti/dishini, khulare/phulare, must be ascribed to a great extent to contemporary literature. Hence we might tackle the problem in two stages, firstly the cases which still have no alternants in their strengthened renderings, and then those with alternants. In regard to the first cases it is comparatively simple to accept that, "In the case of dialects in which the sound represented by h occurs in both cases, the determination of the particular diaphoneme to which the sound belongs can be made in many cases by reference to the form assumed by the relative words if and when subject to initial strengthening".16 The statement is carefully worded to cover "many" and not all cases. We submit that it covers 'any' cases of the f, g, h diaphonemes occurring initially. Provision must be made for the rest, as also for medial occurrence where strengthening is not a practicable test. It is easy then to rule that spelling should be with f in cases like:
leloko, since khoke and never khoke occurs, (a word)
leluka, since dishuka and never dikhuka occurs,
(a wing)

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15. Brown, Rev. J.F. SECHUANA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, Lobatse, B.A., "with the exception of foreign words this letter k does not appear in the orthography of the Sechuan language."

lofola, since diphola and never dikhola occurs
(a feather),
and with an h in cases like:
lohati, since khuti and never phuti occurs,
(a ditch)
hêma (breathe), since khêma and never nhêma
(breathe) occurs.
mohubu (navel), since khujwana and never phublana
occurs.
huma since khumê and never nhuma occurs (yet rich).

4.27 The question arises how safe it is, in cases
where strengthened alternants occur "in the interests
of literary standardization... to use the symbol f
throughout"17). A further problem is whether it would
be possible to apply this ruling to the medial occurrence
of the f, g, h diaphonemes.
Cases which cannot be finalised by a test of strengthen-
ing may well be tested by comparison with other Bantu
languages e.g.

compare fotofa/heto ha with Zulu phendula,
fatshe/hatshe " " phangi
falatea/halatea " " phalaza
lapana/hapana " " phantana

This is not a foolproof test however, but it does give
point to a consideration of f in preference to h. If
Tswana h is found to alternate just as well with Zulu
ph, a decision in favour of f or h must be made in our
case. Some few cases should be left to alternate any
diaphonemes since some of the alternant forms are deeply
ingrained in the idiom of Tswana. For instance

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(ibid) p. 25 par. I. 45.
phudusa alternates with khudusa (the act of leaving a dwelling place for another), but the metaphor khudusa (the business of erecting a new home, or additional buildings, or renovating old ones extensively) stands alone, and does not alternate with phudusa. Hence it would be difficult to rule that the f diaphoneme and its strengthened form only be retained. Similarly phularo may alternate with khularo (the act of facing away), but dikhularo (back side of a person) stands alone in the idiomatic speech. Thus: Ke tshwane khudusa (never phudusa): We are busy, building/rebuilding/renovating. Ke me itsite ka dikhularo: I recognised him by his back side (never diphularo).

4.28 Finally, in this category, we take note of the medial occurrence of the f, s, h diaphonemes as in —

pholofola
pholorolo
pholoholo

solofala
solorela 18
solohela

dirufala
diragala
dirahala

Where the segment - fala can be equated to a Zulu parallel, the suggestion of comparison above in this paragraph may be helpful. Since the Zulu counterpart is - kala, it would appear preferable to employ - kala, in the verbs

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in the last set of words. But in the rest we would be left to choose on other grounds. I wish to emphasize "choose" since the procedure recommended is selection. Whereas it seems best to take the form with Ḃ in the case of *selolola*, because Notsisi and Van Zyl's Ḃ-form is very, very rare, and because where ḋ and ḃ have equal claim, it seems advisable to recall that ḃ may either be extremely sectional or inclined to Southern Sotho, it seems safer to take the Ḃ-form for *phololo*. The reasons here are, *phololo* savours of Southern Sotho *phofofo*, and *phololo*, is indeed very rare or sectional. In most cases the denominative (-fala) and neuter (-gala) formative might still alternate.

**Alternation of ẓ and Ḃ, ḃ and ḋ, ẓ and ḃ, ḋ and Ḃ.**

4.29 (i) ẓ and Ḃ: take the list that follows:

*bothologa/bothonoga* (arise)
*loko/noka* (put in salt)
*morotologa/morotonoga* (a sour wild fruit)
*tlokonolo/tlhoronono* (luck
*senonitori/selollori* (a bear)
*kologa/konoga* (to throw)
*sokologa/-repent), retologa/- (turn round),
*bolologa/- (get loose), folora/- (descend),
*phologa/- (escape).

I know no reason for preference of the one or the other form. If we accept the stand that alternants without semantic or functional justification are not essential, the Tswana people would do well to decide on one form.

(ii) Ḃ and ḃ: The reasoning under (i) above applies.
(iii) \( r \) and \( h \): This alternation must at present be seen as absolescing, not only in writing but in speech too. It is in fact heard only in the Southern dialects, and found in jockey's orthography, which is based on these dialects. It seems quite acceptable to contemporary writers that \( r \) be preferred to \( h \) right through, thus:

\[ \text{dira and not diha (Jo)} \]

\[ \text{ru and not ho (we - subject concord)} \]

(iv) \( p \) and \( h \): The dissimulation of \( p \) to \( h \) in the stem \( pelo \) (the heart) occurs when the bo-class prefix is added, thus:

\[ \text{pele > peloethata} \]

(hard-hearted) > \[ \text{bopeloethata} \] (hard-heartedness) or \[ \text{bopeloethata} \].

Only one author employs the form, and it is perhaps fair to feel that, the \( p \)-form may be replaced in the written language by the \( p \)-form, safe in the collective plural form of the stem, thus:

\[ \text{pelo (singular), peloethata (hard-hearted)} \]

\[ \text{dipoelo (plural), bopeloethata (hard-heartedness)} \]

\[ \text{mabelo (multiplicity of hearts)} \]

(v) \( h \) and \( f \) and \( m \): This alternation is of such limited sway that there is hardly any need to make rules. One author writes \( kqofati \), while the spoken language also has \( kqobati \), (fibre) one author writes \( letshane \) and \( leqshane \), (flock) another writes \( thabalakane \).
while we also hear *thanalakane* (riddle).
Suffice it to suggest *thihoa, thiathboa, kwebuti, lotsewu*, and *thambatho* as standard.

4.30

The alternation of *s* and *ʃ*, *ts* and *tʃ*, *t* and *t* and *t̅h*.

(i) *s* and *ʃ*:

There is no doubt that the pairs of sounds above are, to use Plaatjie and Jones' term or expression, "non-distinctive", that is "never change the meaning of any word". 19

Our difficulty is which to regard as standard or normal, and which as variant.

We are taught that: "The term diaphoneme is used to denote a normal (I underline) sound together with the variants of it, heard from different speakers of the same language". 20 We need not lose over 4,000 lives on the issue as did the people of Ephraim (Judges 12:6) in days of yore, but we also have no cause to brook further uncertainty as to whether to write *siboletha* or *Siboletha* or *Shiboletha*. The symbol *ʃ* must be discarded since *h* is employed when aspiration is intended, and on the principle one sound one letter. The sound *ʃ* operates allophonically with *s*, but in another sphere as a separate phoneme. To prefer it where it alternates with *s*, leads to employing it.

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in two different phonemic environments. It is therefore best to employ ə exclusively where it shares environment with ɐ, and ɐ exclusively where it is distinctive to ə. There is no dialectal consideration at all. Orthographic principles lead us, and here, the principle one pronounce one symbol.

Examples:
Where ə and ɐ alternate: Of the words ....
sotla/sotla (mock at) sutla/sutla (break through), swatola/swatola (pull out roughly) sun/swa (die), swa/swu (seven) scoobana/şoobana, solofola/solofola (hope), suwu/sušu (deaf one), we would select the forms with ə.

In the following examples ə is the sole phoneme and ɐ is not alterant:

ɐaba (eat with a relish)
ɐapa (beat)
ɐala (for porridge to fail to cook well due to underheating)
ɐana (cut)
ɐatola (do poorly e.g. teach other than thoroughly)
ɐakala (be curious)
dišše (coward)
lešuluba (loud shouting)
lešaba (grey coarse sand used for cleaning wooden bowls
lešatla (quantity of coins)
(ii) ts and tŏ; teh and tŏh; tŏ and tŏh

The arguments are largely the same as under (i) supra. These sounds are pairs of allo-phones in certain environments. In others tŏ and tŏh are distinctive to ts and teh respectively. By the reasoning under (i) above we come once more to the conclusion that where ts and tŏ, and where teh and tŏh alternate, the non-palatal sound be employed leaving the palatal sound employed where it functions as the sole phoneme.

Thus, of the words:

tŏsŏi (they only) and tsŏsŏi, select tsŏsŏi;
batšonŏng (to hunters) and batsonong
        select batsonong,
lotsŏ (genus) and lotsŏ select lotsŏ

tŏsa (they, the ones) and tsŏna, select
        tsŏna

lonyatsŏ (spite) and lonyatsŏ, select
        lonyatsŏ,

and of:

tshekošo (repentance) and tĕshekošo,
        select tshekošo,
bastŏho (my people) and bastŏho, select
        bastŏho,

klŏkštshŏ (gullet) and klŏkštshŏ,
        select klŏkštshŏ

tŏshon (to be afraid) and tshon (to be afraid) select
        tshon.
ntša, and never ntša (dog)
ntšorotša\textsuperscript{21}, and never ntšorotša
(left hand)
tšararara, and never tšararara (shoot
liquid)
botšarara, and never botšarara (sourness)

tšhatšhama\textsuperscript{a}, and never tšhatšhama\textsuperscript{a} (fry)
tšhote\textsuperscript{b}, and never tshote\textsuperscript{b} (chew)
tšhotšh\textsuperscript{c}, and never tshhotsh\textsuperscript{c} (minced meat)
tšhôna, and never tshôna (speak foreign
tongue)
ntšhwa, and never ntshwa (now)

(iii) The alternation of tš and j:
This alternation hinges on the fact that
there are different articulations of the
sound j. The result is that one gets alter-
nant spellings such as:
ntša and nja (dog)
lejwe and lentšwe (stone)
kronojwe and kzonotšwe (thumb)

In chapter III we found mtašarrana (sour things)
and also bojarara (sourness) from the same
stem. With the first person object concord the
pronunciation is certainly ejective and not
voiced, thus:
ke jsaka > o ntšakise. (help me gain)

See also: ke ja (I eat) > o ntšee (feed me)
ke jaJa (I sow) > o ntšalala (sow
for me)
o jabetsa (you shout) > o ntšabetsa
(you cheat me)

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\textsuperscript{21} Moffat Bible, Bahamasi (Judges) 3:15 (means left-
handed).
Normally a voiced sound does not follow a nasal. Bearing also in mind that, "It may sometimes be convenient to depart from a strictly phonetic system, in order to avoid writing a word in more than one way" 22), there seems no harm in suggesting that verbs with initial j be written ntŠ when the first person singular object concord is prefixed. It is also necessary to make writers aware that it is not good orthography to write botšapara along with boja-para for instance. Only the strengthened form of j should be rendered tŠ, and the strengthened /non-strengthened forms can be catalogued and standardised in a measure at least.

4.31 The alternation of groups:
The following groups alternate:
\[ ĕ, ūw/aw, ūs/fūš\]
\[ ĕ, ūw, bi\]
\[ ūs/tūš, ūs pa/vē\]
\[ tūš, pēh/hal, tūw ph\]

Certain of these phones occur in certain parts of speech by a hypothetical derivation, of which we learn, "It is possible that all w, ĕ, tū, tē words may be traced back to non-palatal beginnings, and urantu students have essayed to do so" 23) Ours is not a philological investigation, so that what concerns this work is simply the representation of these sounds in writing. The sounds occur also in synchronic shifts such as diminutive, and passive formations.

We see these sounds in three patterns, according to fairly definite rules. Taking for example, passive formations, we find:

(a) A verb ending on bilabial consonant +
\[ \hat{a} \] bilabial consonant + palatal consonant + \[ \hat{a} \] or

(b) A verb ending on bilabial consonant + \[ \hat{a} \] palatal consonant + \[ \hat{a} \].

4.32 Cases occur where at sight it may be thought that certain phones are not covered by the rules because they contain alveolar or fricative sounds, e.g.:

\[ \text{ps} \] (bilabial + alveolar)
\[ \text{fs} \] " + "
\[ \text{sw} \] (alveolar + bilabial).

For our purpose \[ \hat{a} \] is treated as palatal, since we are enlightened that, palatalization is the substitution of a "prepalatal or alveolar consonant (affricate, fricative or nasal) . . . . for one of some other . . . organic position."

24) We therefore arrange our material under three formulæ as follows:

**Pattern no. 1: bilabial + palatal + terminative vowel (mpv)**

- \[ \text{nafs} \] phokobin' pshedisinga, \[ \text{msh} \] he
- \[ \text{sos} \] lebiè \[ \text{msh} \] he
- \[ \text{mp} \] x

**Pattern no. 2: palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel (ptv)**

- \[ \text{nw} \] phokojes \[ \text{nt} \] x
- \[ \text{swa} \] rwa \[ \text{nt} \] x
- tshefeleleité \[ \text{nt} \] x
- \[ \text{lw} \] \[ \text{nt} \] x
- \[ \text{x} \] 102/ . . .

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Our hypothetical derivatives, then, are in these three palatal patterns.

Synchronic shifts show these patterns as well, e.g.

**Diminutive Formations**

**Pattern no. 1: bilabial + palatal + terminative vowel (buy)**

motlhafu (sheen) > motlhašana
kobö (blanket) > kobjana
lenganu (watermelon) > lenganšana
mecono (wooden bowl) > mc janšana

**Pattern no. 2: palatal + bilabial + terminative vowel (mbv)**

motlhafu > motlhašwana
kobö > kobjwana
lenganu > lacatšwana
mecono > mocotšwana

**Pattern no. 3: Palatal + terminative vowel (py)**

motlhafu > motlhašana
kobö > kobjana
lenganu > lacatšana
mecono > mocotšana

**Passive Formations**

(Formules for patterns will now be abbreviated)

**Pattern no. 1.: buy.**

Tlhaha (to stab) > Tlhajja (be stabbed)
Tlhopa (to wash) > Tlhopša (be washed)
Leja (to pay) > Lejša (be paid)
Pattern no. 2. Phv

thaba > thajwa
thipa > thapiwa
lota > lešwa

Pattern no. 3. Pv. - nil, in Tswana, in passive formations.

The alternation of these palatal patterns, often in the
same book, is certainly one of the chief marks of distinc-
tion between dialects. We contend that an author should
employ only one of the patterns in a given book. This
would make the reading of a book so much easier as a word
once seen, would always be the same. Authors are themselves
worried about the situation, hence they attempt to avoid
palatal sounds altogether e.g.:

*pēhinola/*tēhinola/*kēhinola* is spelt by many as

phinola (rub off)

*saθāsa/*saθūsē/*saθesē* is spelt as amsweso

(a flower)

*kronēsa/*kronēge/*kronēswē/*kronēte* is spelt as

kronoš (thumb).

We also find diminutives and passives formed alternatively
by means of additive formatives, presumably to avoid palat-
tal alternants.

**Diminutives:**

motlhafunyana, kobóvana, lesapunyana.

**Passives:**

thhabiwa, tlahapiwa, lešiva.

We do wish to recommend as follows:

(a) That all hypothetical derivitives be written

on the pattern pbv., since the patterns bpv and

pv are extensively used in Northern and Southern
Sotho, in order thus to enhance the identity of

Tswana, e.g.:

10%/......
Southern Sotho (pv)  Northern Sotho (bpv)  Proposed Turkish spelling (ptv)

To burn: tiha  fea/swa  đwa
dog: ntla  moša/mesa  ntēwa
new: nkiba  mosha  ntēwa
to smash: nacutele  pēnicatele  tēnicatele
jackal: phokole  phekele  pekole

tom: xlala  bala  jula
beer: kula  biela  bojula

 ostrich: mushe  mēshe  našhe

to rub off: phugola  phugola  tēnukola

(b) That in passive formations, the standard form be the use of additive morphemes, in case of verbs ending on -ba, -ba, ša, pha:

tlhaba (to stab) > t lhabiwa

	lhaba (to wash) > tlahiwa

	lēba (to pay) > lefiwa

	lnōpha (to choose) > tlnophiwa.

The tendency of authors and speakers points the way.

(c) That in diminutive formations, standard orthography employ the additive formatives -ana/-ana in the case of nouns in whose final syllable there is a b, or p or f or ph, e.g.:

	thaba (mountain) > thabana

	kobō (blanket) > kobonyana

	tlhani (fish) > tlhaninyana

The spoken language need not change.

4.35 The alternation of lateral affricates tl, tlh, with bilocular explosives t, th:

Only two titles out of thirteen showed this tendency, and in a slight measure too. In daily speech one hears it intensively. This is one instance where we are well on
the way to abiding by the principle of speaking as we please, and writing as we need, namely employing the lateral sounds, and leaving ɣ and th to function in speech. All previous workers on orthography have recommended this.

4.34 The Instability of ɣ, and the alternation of ɣ with ɬ.

In this matter it is best to write only ɬiri, as to the alternation of ɣ and ɬ in caithaga and saithaga, we recommend the use of the form with ɬ. Lestrade's third alternant setlhaga was not met in our field, but rather in Northern Sotho as schlaga, and in Southern Sotho as schlaha.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIANTS

4.35 Palatal variants occurring in synchronic sound-change have been dealt with for convenience under 4.30 - 4.32, above and need no further consideration. What remains to be treated are alternants occasioned through elision.

4.36 Elision, definition of, etc.

"Elision is defined as the disappearance of a sound". Prof. Cole regards elision as the dropping of a sound, dealing with Tswana, but treats the dropping of a morpheme also under elision. Elision must be distinguished from an ellipse, the dropping of a word or word-group. Elision is aimed at economy of time and energy, the rendering of as much speech as possible in as little time as

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28. Ibid p. 100
possible and with the least possible expenditure of energy. From the examples in chapter III we find elision occurring when:

(a) a vowel is dropped between two $h$'s,
(b) a vowel is dropped between two $f$'s,
(c) a vowel is dropped between two $m$'s/r's
(d) a vowel is dropped after consonant $m$, of class-prefix $mo$, when prefixed to a stem beginning with $b$ or $f$, and (e) when a class-prefix is dropped altogether.

4.37 Taking these in turn we collected the following examples:

(a) $llêla$ instead of $lelela$
   $labêlla$ " " $labêlêla$
   $molêô$ " " $molêlô$
   $kabôllê$ " " $kabôlêlô$

(b) $bôraraâtsha$ instead of $boraraâtsha$

(c) $mono$ and $mm$ for $monona$ and $ma$m.

(d) $mhûrûtsâ$/mo$furûtsâ$
   $mmabu$/môbabu.

(e) $tsâtsi$ le, instead of $letaâtsi$ le (this day)
   $gôbê$ jwa $me$, instead of $borâbô$ jwa $me$ (my porridge)
   $lênô$ se $me$, instead of $selênô$ se $me$ (my axe).

4.38 It is significant that most authors use both the elided and un-elided forms, thus for example:

L.D. Matshego: $âiilêlê$, $llêla$
"Testamanite o ntôha
le Wipesalema" (Central Tswana): $llâ$, $lala$, $labêlla$, $tsêholôlêla$, $selêlê$, $molê$

D.F. Moloto: $petollô$, $betôlôla$, $môkôlla$, etc.

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4.39 Elided forms under (b), (c), (d) and (e) are not a bone of contention. Everybody uses them in speech and writing. It is elision of the vowel between $l$'s, (a) above, which is always contended over. See for instance the declared standpoint of the "Livingstone Tswana Readers". 30) "Go tlo go atlwale "mollo", "sello", simoll"...ga se Botswana gopə sa borareteho," (One hears mollo, sella, simolla...) it is not at all the Botswana of our fathers).

4.40 Economy is in fact in favour of elision, although an expert contended, "In the whole of the Sotho field, Kgatla finds its equal only in South Sotho, in its tendency to contract $l$ vowel + $l$ into $ll$. 31) By implication, non-elision is to maintain the identity of Tswana as distinct from South Sotho. It must be noted that the latest Southern Sotho dictionary contains lala or lla, lala and lala. 32) Examples of elision given by Rev. Sandilands 33) are not quite so effective in proving a case against elision. On the contrary they prove that elision is used with circumspection. Krololo (conciption) is never krololo, nor golela (to free) never rolla, as the writer appears to expect, because rolla is to make biltong, and is kept, even in the spoken language, distinct from rolo (to free). Hence krololo remains distinct from krolla. As the author says "lala remains lala", simply because, and he should have given the Kgatla dialect credit for this, it would be confused with lla (to cry), if it were elided. Elision is therefore not used indiscriminately. All the same, in the interests of standardization, it appears expedient to agree to

30. Ipini, (ibid) p. iii.
33. Sandlinds (ibid) Introduction to Tswana p. 351.
the unslided forms as standard, and the elided forms as alternate, used mainly in drama and poetry. The fact that elision cannot be removed from these genres makes any hard and fast legislation purposeless of course. All languages insist on unslided forms, e.g. cannot, do not, instead of can't and don't. So should the Isimang

Inconsistent treatment of Aspirated Consonants.

4.41 The tendency to write certain sounds indiscriminately with or without mark of aspiration is assuming considerable proportions. Often this has an adverse semantic force, sometimes not, but we must make for uniformity. Witness for instance:

    kseatla (to please)
    kseatla (monkey)
    ntilha (point, in argument for instance),

hence why? This is rendered ntilha, yet one hears and reads ntila. I do not at all want to suggest that the authors do not know that aspirated and ejected consonants (e.g. t/th, p/ph etc.) are different phonemes. For purposes of correct writing we should urge that the phonemes be kept apart, no matter how carelessly or conscientiously people or we ourselves speak. Therefore:

    ntilha  (why?)
    mme ntilha (but why)
    phutha  (gather)
    tihopha (choose)
    krawatha (lie down to be beaten)
    kratla  (please)
    kratla  (monkey) bokratla
    rukutlha (rebel)
    diphunu (graves)
    muthupha (young maiden)

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MISCELLANEOUS CONTRACTIONS

4.42 Such Contractions affect mostly the Infinitive prefix go, possessive and productive Conords.

(i) Infinitive prefix -

ke tlile go ja > ke tlilo ja (I have come to eat)

ke rato go ja > ke rato ja (I want to eat)

ba pa le go tloa > ba pa lo tloa (they have to go)

ba se no go ja > ba sene ja (after they ate)

u va go betolola > a yo betolola (he then vomitted)

The people must be credited as quite discriminating. While saying ba sene ja (after they ate < ba sene go ja), they will never contract ba se na go ja (being unable to eat) as this means something else.

(ii) Possessive Conords -

boorra-Douglas < ba gabo ra-Douglas (those of the Douglas clan) or

ba gabo rra-Douglas (those of the ward/district of the Douglas's)

kofi yo Photo < kofi ya gabo Photo (the coffee of the clan Photo) or

the coffee of the locality of the Photo's i.e. kofi ya ga gabo Photo.

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sika loo Phase < sika le mabo Phase (the family of the Phago's) or
sika le mabo ba loo Phase (the family of Phago's locality).

ba mosetlh < ba ga mosetlh (those of mosetlh)
bo Boo Ratshi < ba ga Boo Ratshi (those of Ratshi clan)
ba oo ga Boo Ratshi (those of Ratshi's locality).

Confusion through contraction is caused between "those of a clan" and "those of a locality".
It is in fact no better and no worse to allow boo Ratshi, than ba mosetlh. Both have a
double meaning which suffers through contraction.

(iii) Predicative and Qualitative Conords:

a ko kolop < a ke o kolone (do throw)
vo boboleng < vo o boboleng (the sick one)
vo šuleng < vo o šuleng (the dead one)
o na ja < o no a ja (he was eating)
o no wa ja < o no wa ja (you did eat)
o na ja < o no wa ja (you did eat)
o mo rère < o no rère o re (tell him that...)
a no raar < a mo raar a re (and then he said to him...)
kritse < na ke itse (I do not know)
krollae < na ke rihlo (I do not say so)

In all the cases above, it is advisable to write the full form. The last two forms are
not common, in fact unknown in South Sotho
and Northern Sotho. They therefore enhance
the identity of Tswana and are recommended.

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A good rule is that the long form be standard, especially in prose, the contractions alternate, provided used without apostrophes, and meaning is not affected. In drama and poetry they are most likely to entrench themselves.

**Transposition**

4.43 Transposition of the type of "frisce" and "visch" instead of "frisco" and "vicka" is common. There is in fact no harm in it to say:

- **morëtle** or **morëtla** (kruistés)
- **phëthëko** or **phëkëthë** (a bucket)
- **ebëto** or **etëko** (it seems)

The first forms above are however regarded here as standard, and should be employed exclusively in writing. We must guard against slovenly language such as alternating **gwëte** and **ga*tuo** (it is said) and **kësa** and **jëka** (as).

**WORD-DIVISION**

4.44 This is not a problem of orthography, but one of word-identification. The word must be identified. Parts of speech must be decided. The present position in Tswana is that there are disjunctive, conjunctive and semi-disjunctive writers. This has caused a problem of Parts of Speech for each school of thought. It is therefore best not to enter into a discussion of word-division at this stage. As far as Tswana writers are concerned, the question is always asked, how to spell such segments as the following:

- **ebile** (also)
- **arile** (it happened) etc., etc.,

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We must ask ourselves what to do if the concord is no, or ku, or ba, or he, etc.

je bile (you also did)

go rile (it happened, go-class)

ba rile (they did) etc. etc.

The latter are often not joined together, while the former are more often than not joined. The orthography in vogue is disjunctive, and we ought to be consistent with it.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 With Ward, we come to the conclusion that man (the Tswana in this case) has "to disabuse his mind of the idea, which is very common, that one dialect — class or local — is intrinsically better, or more beautiful, or more "historically correct" than another".1)

5.2 In the spirit of 5.1 above, we prefer a Selectivist orthography to either a Sectionalist or Centralist one. A Selectivist orthography is one in which a choice of speech patterns is made on other than dialectal grounds. Tucker said, "The Bechuana are divided into a number of distinct tribal groups, the most important of which is the Barolong branch, and it is their dialect, Rolong, that I have adopted here as my standard for Bechuana".2). We cannot see how historical eminence becomes synonymous with linguistic precedence, unless we are carrying out a linguistic imperialism. See also Leotrade in par. 1.46 above. We must not set off to express any dialect.

5.3 We submit that a writer should, in a given book, be consistent with himself. It makes reading so much easier, and pleasanter, if the word for an ostrich is the same right through a book, when derived from the same root. In other words a sharp distinction is to be

maintained between alternants and synonyms. \textit{ntlhâ}, \textit{ntšhu} and \textit{mpšhâ} (ostrich) are alternants of which one only should be used in a given book or in standard writing while \textit{ntlhâ} and \textit{ntšhu} are synonyms for ostrich.

5.4 We underline principles of orthography viz:

a. One phoneme, one symbol or group of symbols as far as possible.

b. One sound, one symbol, where practicable.

c. People must be left to speak as they please, while they leave themselves to be made to write as they need. This means that the written language cannot be a faithful reproduction of the spoken.

d. Variants must be reduced to the barest minimum, if they cannot be eliminated.

5.5 In orthography must be realistic, that is, have regard for current population, political and administrative trends. While a Centralist orthography might be premature, a sectionalist one is unrealistic.

5.6 From Chapters II and III it is abundantly clear that Tswana authors as a whole, write most spoken alternants, hence there is no standard written style so far.

D. \textsc{R}ecommend\textsc{a}t\textsc{i}ons

We recommend a selectivist orthography with the following sounds:

5.7 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Their Variants</th>
<th>Orthography Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>\textit{ɛ}, \textit{ɛ}</td>
<td>\textit{ɛ}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>\textit{ɔ}, \textit{ɔ}</td>
<td>\textit{ɔ}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[7\] 8+ a+ i+ u +11 \[11\]
There are 11 vowel sounds, making 7 vowel phonemes, represented in writing by 5 vowel symbols.

5.8  The /o/ Phoneme:

This phoneme should be written o. The practice of representing its raised variant with i should be discontinued. Where the alternant i cannot be traced to o as in metsi/metsa (water), runi/runa, senomnor/senomnors, saufi/saufa, we recommend the exclusive use of i. See n.15 above for primary and secondary alternation of o and i, etc.

5.9  The /ɔ/ Phoneme

This phoneme should be written o only, to represent the main as well as the raised member. The use of variant u should be discontinued, as stated in 4.16 supra.

5.10  The /ʌ/ Phoneme:

This phoneme should be written a, and its raised variant also o. The symbol ʌ may be used where absolutely necessary, for the main member only. It is not recommended for the raised variant. If rəkətlə (to totter) is spelt rəkətlə, the pronunciation resulting is low and deep, characteristically Nguni, and the acoustic effect is disastrous to intelligibility. It is better, with rəkətlə, to err in the direction of the semi-close vowel ə than the semi-open one ʌ. It is in such a case that we must depart from strictly phonetic rules for practical reasons. Reference to the vowel chart shows also that ʌ is much nearer ə/ə than ʌ.3)

5.11  The /ʌ/ Phoneme:

This phoneme should be written a, and its raised variant

also ə. The main member may be written ː when this is absolutely necessary. The practice of writing the variant with a circumflex too, is not recommended. It certainly makes better pronunciation, and more readily intelligible speech, to pronounce the ː in rōkōtsa more as the semi-close back vowel ə than as the semi-open one ȯ. Refer again to Cole's (ibid) vowel chart.

5.12 The phonemes /a/, /i/, /u/.
These have no variants of practical significance.

5.13 The alternation of a and e (written a or ə):
It is recommended that Absolute Pronouns be spelt with Stabilizer - na in all classes and persons, thus -

- nna (I) rona (we) 1st person
- wona (you) lona (you - plural) 2nd person
- ena (he/she) hona (they) 3rd person

Class 1.

- ona (it) xona (they) Class 3
- lōna (it) Ôna (they) Class 5.

e tc. etc.

Vide par. 4.17(a) above. The Conjunction fe should allow of no alternant fe, nor ze or xe.

Since the negative of the Imperative with terminal -e takes a terminal -ə, it appears best to toe the line with the -ə variant, and establish as standard the following, for instance -mphə (give me) se mphə (don't give me) nayêvə (hand to me) se nnêvə (don't hand to me) rather than:

mpha (give me) se mpha (don't give me) nnaxy (hand to me) se nnêxə (don't hand to me).

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5.14 Vowel breaking: Forms with the broken vowel should be regarded as alternant. Thus the forms recommended for standard writing are:

khuti
letshuti
sekolo etc., etc.

5.15 Vowel Integration -
The integrated alternants should be regarded as standard, being peculiar to Tswana, as distinct from other Sotho languages, thus -

*odeule* (he is out)
*odepole* (he has drunk)

5.16 Semi-vowel W.
This semi-vowel is used for labialising vowels, except *o* and *u*; or for labialising consonants, except bilabial consonants, thus -

*wa*, *wâ*, *ve*
*kw*, *nx*, *lw*, *jw*, etc.

It should not be used where it is non-significant, as in -

*aowna* (no!) instead of *aoa*
*lekgownwa* (white person) instead of *lekregoa*
*bowa* (return) instead of *boa*.

It is significant in *mowo* where it is the immutable nucleus. Non-significant symbols always get discarded e.g. *h* in *koh*, *fh*, in par.1.29 supra.

Semi-vowel Y.
This symbol need in fact never be used in rendering the Absolute Pronoun, and the Demonstrative. See parr. 1.23 and 4.20 above. Hence the following should be viewed as standard.
one, and not xane (he/she)
2, and not ye (this one)
30, and not yeo (that one)

Intervocally it should not be used, even when clearly articulated as in

tsmaya (go); to be tsmaya.
baya (place, put) to be bau,
tsaya (take); to be tsaa.

These words are as good with or without it. So its use is redundant. Their derived forms are in any case always without a semi-vowel, e.g. -tsnile, etc.

A writer should never use the forms with and without the glide alternately. The following will be written without glide.

gobea (roam)
lceea (baby)
blee (report)
bleigana (get mined up)
leleo (emptiness)
toba (stir)

CONSONANTAL ALTERNANTS

5.17 The variants f/g/h:

(a) The conjunction fa is proposed. See par. 4.24 above.

(b) Dissimilated forms such as mshepha (< mfshpa)
should be retained in alternation. However the standard form should be that with full prefix mo- and with f, thus -
mofama (side of carcass)
mofapha (hillside)
mofosi (one who errors)

(c) Where the test of initial strengthening reveals the diaphoneme unequivocally as f or h, f or h alone should be written e.g. fosafosafos (fault) fosafosafos is standard; lehuti > khuti (a hole); lehuti is standard.

(d) Where strengthened forms also alternate, alternant forms should be retained, e.g.
lehufa > diphufa (jealousies)
lehufa > dikhufa ( )

(e) Where the diaphoneme can be determined by comparison with Nguni, the benefit of the comparison should be taken advantage of, e.g.
fotola (alter), not hetola, (Nguni, phudula), fapaana (cross each other), not hanaana, (Nguni phambana).
Nguni ph suggests Tswana f. See par. 4.27 above.

(f) In transliterations we should be faithful to the language of origin e.g.
fonsater < venster. (not honstere)

(g) Where medial alternation is occasioned by the derivative suffix falla/gala/hala, with Nguni equivalent - kala, g should be preferred. (Nguni g suggests Tswana g). Hence - diragala and neither dirafala nor dirahala

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We admit this is a difficult aspect, and alternants may have to be retained some time.

5.18 The alternation of:

(i) l and n:
l seems in greater use, and may be the one society will prefer, thus -
kolopa, not konopa (throw a missile)
letlhôgôrôlô, letlhôgôrôôôô (fortune)
bothologa, bothonora (arise)
loka, noka (put in salt)
selolori, senonori (a bear)
ratologa, no alternant (turn round)
sinologa, " " (get started)
tloaloga, " " (get untied)

(ii) l and r: This alternation is of limited sway.
A decision either way should impose no hardship on readers or writers. We recommend r. See 3.13 above.

(iii) r and h: this obsolescing alternation is not encouraged. Hence the forms more commonly written should be regarded as standard, thus:
dira and not diha (to do)
re " " ha (we)

(iv) p and b: This alternation we cannot support.
Strengthened thata should be preceded by strengthened peło in bonoeothata, not boba loothata. There is a reason for mabulo, being a collective plural of peło (heart).

(v) b and f, b and m: By analogy with alternants such as tihatlhoba/tihatlhofa (inspect),
tihoba/tihofa (strip of feathers), of which the forms with b are generally accepted,
5.19 The alternation of ə and ŋ, ṭ and ṭ̣, ṭ̣h and ṭ̣h, ṭ̣ and ṭ̣:

(i) ə and ŋ: Where these allophones are non-distinctive, it is proposed that ə be preferred, leaving ŋ to function solely as the distinctive prepalatal fricative phoneme. Thus:

- əngə and not ŋəngə (tan a skin)
- swə and not ŋswə (to die)
- səla and not ŋsəla (to stroke, e.g. a beard)

but

- ŋəba and not səba (eat with a relish)
- leŋətə and not leŋətə (soft edible bone)
- leŋəba and not leŋəba (gray soft stone)
- səboletha and not səboletha (shiboleth)

(ii) ṭ and ṭ̣: As in the case of ə and ŋ the ṭ is recommended wherever it alternates, with ṭ̣, and ṭ̣ solely for that sound, where it is distinctive to ṭ̣, thus:

- təsəma and not ŋtəsəma (to hunt)
- təsəsi and not ŋtəsəsi (they, alone)
- lotə and not lotə, (a tribe)

but

- nətəsətəlhə and not ntsəsətəlhə (left hand)
- təsəamu and not təsəamu (spit)

(iii) təh and ŋtəh: Similarly it is recommended that these sounds be kept apart, təh to be preferred where they alternate and ŋtəh where it is distinctive, thus:
tshokololô and not tšhokololô (act of converting)
ditshôku and not ditšhôka (ear wax)
bostho and not bucthô (my people)
tshwara and not tšhwara, (catch)

but
tšhoma and not tshôma (speak foreign language)
tšhatšamisa and not tshutshamisa (fry)
(iv) tɔ and i: It is certainly ugly for any author to write ntāo and mia, iabotsa and tšabotsa, kronotšwe and kronojwe. It is proposed that i be used where there is no nasalisation and tɔ wherever there is nasalisation, in any case the two not to alternate, e.g.

to seek gain: jaku > ntšakisa (with nasal prefix)
to sow: iwala > ntswalôla (with nasal prefix)
to eat: in > ntšÔla. (with nasal prefix)

5.20 The alternation of -
(i) ɔ, Ñw/sw, ṭs/fs:
(ii) i, iw, bi
(iii) ts/tɔ, tōw/tsw, nɔ/pu
(iv) tʰh, pʰh/pha, tʰhw, ph.

From the above observe that bilabial consonant + w̩ produces up to six different patterns, which are all still used in current literature. It is felt that centralists on the one hand stretch the point too far by using all these patterns, and that sectionalists are being unrealistic if they employ only one pattern.
5.21 It is suggested that three patterns only be employed in standard writing, as seen in \( b^1 \text{wa} \rightarrow \text{i} \), \( \text{bi} \) in which cases the following rules are suggested:

(a) that hypothetical derivatives be spelt on the pattern \( p^+\text{wa} \) (palatal+wa) thus:

- Phokeiwa (jackal)
- ntšwa (dog)
- mašwi (milk)
- tšhwela (unclothe)
- spešwe (flower)

(b) that in the case of passive formations, the additive pattern \( b^+\text{iwa} \) (bilabial plus passive suffix \(-\text{iwa}\)) be preferred, thus:

- abiwa (be shared)
- alaфиwa (be cured)
- tšhophiwa (be selected)
- sapiwa (be taken captive)

If a contracted form must be used, let it be on either one, but one at a time, of the two patterns \( p^+\text{wa} \) or \( b^+p^+v \), thus:

- ubda or ašwa
- alafiša or alašwa
- tšhopša or tšhotšwa
- sapša or gatšwa

These last two passive formations are alike found in South Sotho and North Sotho. Hence writers incline to \( b^+\text{iwa} \).

(c) that in the case of diminutive formations the additive pattern be preferred, thus --
kobê > kobonwana (little blanket)
tlhapi > tlhapiwana (little fish)
setlhôpha > setlhôfanwana (little group)
or setlhôfanwana

phefô > phefonwana.

If we are inclined to prefer long forms lela, lebêlâ to lla, lebêla, it seems consistent to give preference to long forms in these cases too. If however, contracted forms must be used, in poetry for instance, it would be realistic to use the patterns pêwa or bêv, thus:

kojwana or kobjana
tlhatswana or tlhantswa

pheÊwana or pheÊjana

Again both patterns occur in Southern and Northern Sotho, which cannot be avoided, and the pattern bêv is the older of the two, I suspect.

PHONOLOGICAL ALTERNANTS

5.22 Palatal sounds are treated under 5.19 - 5.21 above, owing to their overlapping by hypothetical derivatives.

5.23 Elision: The unelided forms of words with ï plus vowel plus ï should be preferred in standard prose works, leaving the elided forms for poetry and drama. Elision of vowel between Ñ, Ñs and Ñ's appears to entrench, and we must be realistic and recognise this tendency. So with elision of a vowel of a prefix preceding a stem commencing with a bilabial consonant (mofu > mf u: a wasp) and with the elision of certain class - prefixes eg. le-, bo-, le-, se-, di-.

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5.24 Aspirated Consonants:
Unaspirated and aspirated sounds must be seen at all times as separate phonemes and cannot be employed in alternation e.g. tlhôpha and never tlhôbu, tlhapa and never tlhupha for choose and wash.

5.25 Miscellaneous Constructions:
The long forms must be preferred to the contracted forms, in standard prose e.g.

ke tlile go ja
ke rata so ja
nc râs o ra
ba gabo ra-Douglas
ba ga gabo ra-Douglas
ba kwa ga gabo ra-Douglas
ba ga mosělha
tsoo tso pedi
ga ke rialo,

and not:

ke tlilô ja
ke rato ja / ke rto jo
mo rôre/rôre
bôô ra-Douglas
baa moselha
tsôôpedi
kôollaô

The contracted forms are one and all beautiful creations, and must be allowed in drama and poetry.

5.26 Transposition:
This process must not assume careless proportions. See 4.43 above.
C. WORD-DIVISION

5.27 We happen to know that the division into parts of speech at present in vogue is that of the Conjunctivists, and so the present morphological analysis. Conjunctivists have defined the word\(^4\) and as far as we know Disjunctivists have not presented a materially different definition, and so also semi-disjunctivists. It is therefore best to spell disjunctively as heretofore, until the battle of the above schools of thought shall have delivered results. We therefore recommend disjunctive spelling, the separate rendering of words, particles and concords, thus -

\textit{mo-re\textbar o-re} (say to him that)

\textit{ke\textbar t\textbar li\textbar le\textbar ga\textbar ja} (I have come to eat)

and not

\textit{mor\textbar e\textbar xe,}

\textit{k\textbar et\textbar li\textbar le\textbar ga\textbar i\textbar ja}.

We have hinted above at a battle over the parts of speech, of which an authority submits: "Dit wil voorkom asof daar nog geen eenstemmigheid onder Bantoe-taalkundiges is omtrent die probleem van woordklasse of woordsoorte nie. Hoewel betroklik min skrywers hulle nog gewaag het aan motiverings of selfs toelightings van hulle benodigings in dié verband, kom daar 'n groot verskeidenheid indelings voor".\(^5\)

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\[\text{---------------------------------}\]


In the circumstances our proposal is tentative. The disjunctive Tswana word, or Sotho word, must first be identified. This is in fact more of a lexicological than an orthographic problem. In practical life, however, the Tswana want to know what to write separately and what not. In the interests of proper system we suggest disjunctive spelling tentatively.

V. T O N E

5.28 The tones of Tswana words and word-groups can be studied from Prof. Cole's Course in Tswana. 6)

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