A SURVEY OF NORTHERN SOTHO GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS

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by

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SUMMARY

Language is inherently a dynamic system, a fact which is also reflected in the grammatical treatment of Northern Sotho. The various changes which have marked the linguistic description of this Bantu language in the course of its history, have prompted the present survey. The thesis also presents a bird's-eye view on as many contributions and views as possible which have appeared on Northern Sotho grammatical issues, since this language received its first authoritative grammar book in 1876 by Karl Endemann.

In order to place the linguistic inquiry of Northern Sotho into perspective before individual grammatical descriptions are attended to, the survey is organised into two parts. Part ONE reflects on the nature of linguistic periods in general (Chapter 1) and on four major periods which may be identified in the development of Bantu grammar, namely the traditional period (Chapter 2), the functional or Dokeian period (Chapter 3), the structural period or Van Wyk era (Chapter 4) and the modern period (Chapter 5). The boundaries of these periods as well as the theories which have risen to prominence during the four arbitrary time spans are especially considered through the glasses of the Northern Sotho grammarian.

It is indicated that the analysis of grammatical phenomena at different times in the history of Bantu linguistics, does not necessarily correspond with concurrent developments in general linguistic science. Some theories applied on the international level only filtered through to Bantu linguistics when their novelty had already started wearing off. Not all frameworks which became available have impacted the grammatical description of the Bantu languages in general and of Northern Sotho in particular to the same extent. In addition, not all grammatical categories are equally susceptible to treatment within certain schools of thought. Frameworks of linguistic inquiry therefore have had to be uniquely identified for Northern Sotho.

In Part TWO selected word categories as they have been treated in various Northern Sotho contributions since 1876, are brought into focus against the background of the grammatical periods. While Chapter 6 investigates non-predicative categories, Chapter 7 retraces the development of certain predicative categories and constructions.

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 BACKGROUND

Since the earliest recordings of Bantu languages by travellers, traders and missionaries, the description of Bantu grammar can be observed to have been approached within certain theoretical models. During their research, analysts might not consciously have worked within a certain frame of reference and in that sense, there are as many models as there are different grammatical descriptions. In another sense, however, the different lines of thought, which could perhaps be termed "undercurrent models"[1], seem to cluster about a relatively smaller number of "mainstream models", which in turn have enabled later linguists to identify in retrospect certain periods in the history of linguistic development. It is interesting to note that such periods have to be uniquely identified for Bantu grammatical development, since they do not coincide exactly with dominant linguistic approaches on the international scene.

In order to place the study of Bantu languages and of Northern Sotho in particular into historical perspective, at least six periods as distinguished by Von Staden (1979:5) will serve as a frame of reference. These include:

1. The impressionistic period;
2. The Latinistic orientated period;
3. The early European orientated period;
4. The Dokeian or functional period;
5. The structural period, and
6. The modern period.

For the purpose of this study the first two periods are regarded as relatively insignificant, since they have produced no written records of Northern Sotho. However, with the advent of the nineteenth century, marking also the beginning of the early European orientated period, research on the Bantu language scene became vibrant. Renewed interest in this field was

[1] Cf. Koerner, 1989:52.

sparked off mainly through contributions by missionaries who engaged upon their missions among different Bantu speaking tribes. For these pioneers language was naturally, and in the first place, a means to an end, namely to spread the gospel. Although their linguistic contributions were not always scientifically founded, their work nevertheless oftentimes served as a springboard for further study, which would gain momentum and become more and more specialized in the course of time.

In the case of Northern Sotho, it is also a missionary who deserves special tribute for his pioneering work, namely Karl Endemann. He had received his training from the Berlin Missionary Society which not only required of its candidates knowledge of the Bible and of Lutheran dogmatics, but also thorough knowledge of foreign, *inter alia* "heathen" languages and practical skills.[2] It was probably this profound linguistic training which enabled Endemann to produce a grammar book on Northern Sotho of truly authoritative format in 1876 (published in Berlin by Hertz). For the purpose of this thesis the year **1876** is therefore taken as the point of departure for the development of Northern Sotho grammatical studies, although sporadic instances of Northern Sotho had been recorded before 1876. Esterhuyse (1974:8), for example, mentions that the first words[3] in Northern Sotho which were published in an article, appeared in a contribution by Merensky, namely "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bapeli" in *Berliner Missionsberichte* (1862, XX:353-8). Hereafter references to Northern Sotho words and expressions appeared from time to time in reports by the missionaries in *Berliner Missionsberichte*. In 1874 a grammatical sketch of Northern Sotho of about 13 pages by K. Endemann appeared under the title "Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Neger" in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.

While the description of Northern Sotho grammar was still in its infancy, other Bantu languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana and Southern Sotho had already produced

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[2]Cf. Van der Merwe, 1981:3 Grepe uit die geskiedenis van die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap in Transvaal. Lesing aangebied vir die Tak Eugene Nielen Marais van die S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns op 27 Augustus 1981.

[3]These comprise mainly the names of people, tribes and places, the German spelling being employed, e.g. Maserumul, Batokoa, Thaba mosego (translated as the 'white mountain'), Mosetlabsche (Spekboom river) and Tuwutse (Steelpoort river).

noteworthy contributions by the year 1876.[4] Right up to the close of the nineteenth century Northern Sotho continued to experience a relatively inactive period as far as grammatical studies are concerned. From its humble beginnings, though, through the Dokeian era up to the modern period Northern Sotho grammar has truly undergone a transformation and has increasingly been placed on a more scientific footing.

0.2 SCOPE OF THESIS

0.2.1 GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

As the title of this thesis indicates, the present investigation will only concentrate on developments in the grammatical field of Northern Sotho as opposed to developments on the literary front. The reference to 'grammatical description' also requires further specification. In its widest sense the term 'grammar' or 'grammatical description' refers to the whole of the systematic description of a language. This usually comprises a study of phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, each of which generally enjoys some degree of attention in a language handbook.

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[4] E.g.

Zulu:

Bryant, J.C. (1849). "The Zulu language." The Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Grout, L. (1849). "The Zulu and other dialects of Southern Africa." The Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Colenso, J.W. (1859). First steps in Zulu, being an elementary grammar of the Zulu language. Ekukanyeni: Mission Press.
Colenso, J.W. (1861). A Zulu-English dictionary. Revised and enlarged edition 1905. Pietermaritzburg: Vause, Slatter & Co.

Xhosa:

Bennie, J. He published Xhosa material in the 1820's as well as a work entitled Systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language in two parts; to which is prefixed an introduction to Kaffrarian grammar (1826). Lovedale: Glasgow Mission Press.
Boyce, W.B. (1834). Grammar of the Kafir language. Grahamstown: Wesleyan Mission Press.
Davis, J.D. (1872). Dictionary of the Kaffir language. London: Wesleyan Mission House.

Zulu & Xhosa:

Döhne, J.L. (1857). Zulu-Kaffir dictionary. Cape Town: G.J. Pike's Machine Printing Office.

Tswana:

Archbell, W. (1837). A grammar of the Bechuana language. Grahamstown: Meurant & Godlonton.
Casalis, E. (1841). Études sur la langue Séchuana. Paris: L'imprimerie royale. (Jacottet maintained that this was Southern Sotho).
Frédoux, J. (1864). A sketch of the Sechuana grammar. Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co.

Southern Sotho:

British and Foreign Bible Society: New Testament in Southern Sotho (1855); Complete Bible in Southern Sotho (1872).
Mabille, A. (1876). Helps to learn Sesuto. Morija: Morija Mission Press.

in its narrower sense, which is also the approach mainly adopted for the present study and which exemplifies the standpoint of traditional grammatical theory, grammar has the **word** as its primary unit of description (Lyons, 1968:194). With the word as its focal point, traditional grammar is concerned with the fields of morphology (i.e. the internal structure of the word) and syntax (i.e. the rules governing the combination of words with other words in a sentence). This thesis will primarily concentrate on the word and word categories as described and identified for Northern Sotho in the course of its grammatical development. An in-depth discussion of the other fields of study, will not be possible within the limits of this thesis, but will be addressed where they feature as fundamental principles of certain trends. Questions regarding orthographic matters will be touched on in the discussion, since they are intricately linked with and affect interpretations in the grammatical field. Especially the schism regarding the disjunctive and conjunctive way of writing has directly influenced the matter of word division and subsequently the whole system of word categories.

0.2.2 PERIODS IN GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

The evolution of the linguistic description of Northern Sotho cannot be successfully and meaningfully described apart from the transitions which the Bantu language family as a whole has undergone. The latter, in turn, has not remained uninfluenced by developments on the international linguistic scene. In a survey of this nature a background knowledge of general linguistic inquiry will therefore provide an essential framework of description. No detailed investigation of each and every trend, current or line of thought will be undertaken, however, since this would exceed the aims of this study. Only developments which will help to clarify the position of Bantu linguistic studies in general, and of Northern Sotho in particular, will feature prominently in this research.

The description of various periods in Bantu grammatical development may be approached from more than one angle and each method may have its own merits. Van Wyk (1968a), for example, recognises three periods, not so much on the basis of certain "models of description", but rather on general contemporary linguistic pursuits observed internationally. These periods comprise:

(a) **The period of introduction**, being the earliest period during which the grammatical system of the European languages was imposed uncritically on the Bantu

languages by linguistically untrained researchers, missionaries, traders, etc.

(b) **The period of comparison**, marked by a tendency towards a more linguistic approach, though still based on the grammars of European languages. According to Van Wyk this period was inaugurated in 1850 by a publication of Appleyard on sound shifts between Bantu languages (i.e. *The Kafir language: Comprising a sketch of its history: Remarks upon its nature and a grammar*). Bleek also contributed to comparative linguistics in South Africa in two volumes of his *Comparative grammar of the South African languages* published in 1862 and 1869 respectively. This period culminated in Meinhof's meritorious works in 1899 and 1906 on reconstruction and comparison. Professional linguists began to take over from the missionaries as far as linguistic research was concerned.

(c) **The period of investigation** was marked by a return to descriptive study as well as an endeavour to describe the Bantu languages according to their own nature. The study of Bantu languages to a great extent became the domain of the academic. Various schools developed during this period, e.g. the "functional school" by Doke which dominated the South African scene for several decades, the "tonological school" which was initiated by the work of Burssens and Meeussen in Belgium, and the "London school" which received its main impetus from Guthrie who worked largely within a comparative framework. His linguistic methodology was, however, more of an individual approach and was mainly limited to England.

A more recent study which approaches the subject Northern Sotho in particular from a didactic point of view appeared from the pen of Goslin (1983). He roughly distinguishes between three periods in the development of Northern Sotho as a written language and as a literary medium. Without further details these include:

(a) **A missionary era** (1861 - 1917);
(b) **An education/teaching era** (1917 - 1960), and
(c) **An era of literary growth** (1960 - 1983).

The division by Von Staden (1979:5) as reflected earlier under 0.1, corresponds largely with views adhered to by other Bantuists. More recent publications of the latter include works by *inter alia* Fivaz (1974), Gregersen (1977), Wilkes (1978a & b) and Potgieter (1988), to mention

but a few. Of the six periods identified by Von Staden (1979), the last four are of special interest to the South African Bantu languages, namely

(a) The early European orientated period, also known as the classical or traditional period, and which is referred to by scholars such as Poulos (1981) as the Pre-Dokeian era;
(b) The Dokeian or functional period. Cole (1957) also refers to this as the "South African School" or the "Doke School";
(c) The structural period, also referred to as the Van Wyk era;
(d) The modern period (including transformational-generative studies as well as other approaches).

Wilkes (1978a) bases his discussion of Bantu grammatical development on these four periods in particular, and this is also the method which will be adopted in the present research. A few remarks, however, on the periods immediately preceding the above-mentioned four, will be appropriate albeit not directly applicable to Northern Sotho (cf. par. 1.7.1 and 1.7.2).

0.3 ORGANISATION OF THESIS

The present discussion has been organised into two parts:

PART ONE will focus on the main developmental periods which are distinguished in the grammatical description of the Bantu languages with special reference to Northern Sotho. General points of interest regarding descriptional periods will also be raised. The works which will be referred to during the discussion, do not lay claim to completeness. Only those publications which are of a more representative nature or which contribute in some significant way to the subject under discussion, will be included. The hope is expressed, nevertheless, that the bibliography at the end of this study will serve as a useful reference to Northern Sotho linguists in particular. PART ONE of this thesis is intended to sketch the background against which the developmental trends with regard to specific word categories will be rendered all the more clearly.

PART TWO comprises a discussion of selected word categories in Northern Sotho in the light of the foregoing criteria and characteristics which typify various periods of grammatical

description. An attempt will be made to retrace the descriptional development of individual word categories from the time of their first grammatical description up to the modern period. This will be done by consulting as many representative works in the form of textbooks, articles, dissertations and theses as possible, not forgetting information gleaned from lectures and personal correspondences.

Another method of presenting the data in a survey of this kind, would have been to confine oneself to one descriptional period at a time and describing all the word categories of Northern Sotho treated according to the main characteristics of that particular period. It was foreseen, however, that such an approach would, for various reasons, entail cumbersome cross-references and a fragmentation of data:

(a) The descriptional periods which are generally identified in the grammatical history of the Bantu languages, are not fixed time spans, but only rough indications of eras during which certain models or schools of thought dominated the linguistic description. The beginning and ending of each period are therefore to be interpreted as flexible boundaries and not as chronologically fixed points in time. If, for instance, a word category is described according to traditional characteristics, one needs to bear in mind that these characteristics are not necessarily confined to the generally recognised traditional period, but that instances of traditional approaches may be encountered in any of the subsequent periods. The overlapping and mutual penetration of eras would have necessitated many cross-references, making the prospect of describing the different word categories of Northern Sotho according to historical periods less attractive.

(b) This kind of approach would also not have been able to present the description of any one word category in a uniform way. The fragmentation of relevant data for each word category spread across different periods, would have failed to indicate their individual advances, changes of emphasis or progressive and (possibly) regressive moves within their history. The development of the grammatical description of word categories took place gradually and presenting this development on a continuum therefore seemed to be the answer.

(c) Another point which needs to be noted is that not all word categories of Northern Sotho will necessarily feature to the same extent in each of the periods. In fact, some

categories have remained relatively untouched by certain descriptional models, which would leave "gaps" in an approach conducted from the viewpoint of developmental periods.

In the evolution of linguistic science, clear-cut discontinuities are rare, if they ever occur. Repetitions and cross-references are therefore unavoidable in a survey of this nature, but by adopting the approach whereby the data will be organised into two parts as explained above, it is hoped that any unnecessary fragmentation of information will be side-stepped to a fair degree.

0.4 OBJECTIVES OF THESIS

Quite a number of works on the grammatical development of the Bantu languages as a whole have appeared up to date. Names such as Cole, Doke, Fivaz, Van Wyk, Von Staden, Wilkes and Ziervogel are no strangers to us in this regard. The contribution which this thesis hopes to make is to view grammatical descriptions through the glasses of the Northern Sotho grammarian in particular. Various approaches to the different word categories lie scattered in publications which have appeared over a long period of time. These descriptions need to be consolidated as far as possible in order to gain a clearer picture of the treatment of categories since 1876. The findings will be considered against the background of the four periods in Bantu linguistic description highlighted earlier on.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1
PERIODS IN BANTU LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to explain some aspects of the intrinsic nature of periods which are commonly distinguished in grammatical descriptions. The clarifications will hopefully preclude any misconceptions about "periods" in linguistic development and should provide a useful background for the subsequent discussion. It will also be observed that developments internationally were not necessarily always paralleled by comparable changes in the grammatical studies of the Bantu languages. Included in this chapter are also a few introductory remarks on the earliest periods distinguished in Bantu, being the "impressionistic" period and the "Latinistic orientated" period. The reason for the cursory treatment of these two periods is merely because they have produced no evidence of written Northern Sotho material. The first records of the latter were encountered during the sixties of the 19th century, which for Northern Sotho marked the beginning of the traditional period. The subsequent chapters of PART ONE of this thesis have each been devoted to a detailed discussion of Northern Sotho grammatical eras, beginning with the traditional period.

1.2 "BOUNDARIES" OF GRAMMATICAL PERIODS

> "... the assignment of changes in the history of a subject to particular years is arbitrary and somewhat artificial..." (Robins, 1979:226).

The periods or eras referred to during this survey should not be understood as mutually exclusive periods to which specific historical boundaries can be assigned. The dates attached to each of the periods have been chosen for the sake of convenience, the normal practice in general linguistics being that the initiation of a new era is linked to an authoritative work of some kind. This does not mean that preliminary work may not have been done by some previous researcher who was unfortunate not to have produced a standard work and therefore did not rise to prominence.

1.3 MODELS, TRENDS, CURRENTS AND SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

By a 'model of grammatical description', in the words of Hockett (1954:90), is meant:

> "a frame of reference within which an analyst approaches the grammatical phase of a language and states the results of his investigations."

The concept 'paradigm' is also frequently found to be employed in this regard. Sampson (1980:15), for example, states that the term 'paradigm', as coined by Thomas Kuhn (1962), is used to

> "... suggest how, at a given period, thinking about a particular subject is commonly conditioned by some more or less coherent system of ideas which act, not so much as explicit tenets of a scientific theory, but as unspoken assumptions about the range of possible hypotheses which the scientist may entertain."

Theories of more than one trend, current or school of thought may be practised during any particular period. Of those trends, however, some may have a limited influence and only affect some parts of linguistics. In most instances there would be one prevalent model, to which the period then also owes its label as, for example, the traditional, the functional, the structural period, etc. In this regard Hymes (1974, as quoted by Koerner, 1989:52) refers to "peripheral" and "central" traditions, while Koerner (1989:52) makes use of the distinction "undercurrent" versus "mainstream" model. Wilkes (1978a:108) describes the nature of a grammatical period in accordance with the aforegoing as:

> "die kumulatiewe opbou van 'n verskeidenheid gesigspunte wat op verskillende tye en soms op dieselfde tyd in die geskiedenis die gang van die Bantoetaalondersoek in Suid-Afrika bepaal het."

On the international linguistic front, Dinneen (1967:v) acknowledges the importance not only of leading authors and schools of thought, but also of other trends which have helped to shape the history of linguistics:

> "Like the proverbial iceberg, the history of linguistics has a largely invisible foundation consisting of many ideas and authors who are left unmentioned, but whose influence and importance are undeniable; those studies here are only the more visible peaks of this foundation."

Botha (in the preface to Sinclair, 1978) is of the opinion that it is impossible for linguists to gain insight into the nature and structure of language outside the framework of an adequately formulated theory which complies with a variety of strict prerequisites. Botha specifically has the Chomskyan Revised Extended Standard Theory in mind as an example of such a well-formulated theory. Not all linguists, however, consciously make use of a particular model. Regarding the latter group, two main streams may be identified: (a) Those who operate within an ill-defined, incoherent theory, which is tantamount to a non-existent theory. The aimless collection of data and the arbitrary systematization thereof cannot but remain meaningless. Botha (op. cit.:(i)) quotes an old Cape saying in which a linguist without a theory is compared to a ghost without a sheet. (b) The second category of linguists includes those which advocate an amalgamation of theories. This framework is created from aspects taken from various theoretical approaches. Botha is sceptical as regards the success which can be obtained from following either approach (a) or (b).

Botha's strong standpoint in favour of a monotheoretical approach is not blindly supported in Bantu linguistic circles. On the contrary, it is maintained that Bantuists should keep themselves informed of developments on the international front, while selectively applying only those aspects which would lead to further insights in their own particular subject. In his doctoral thesis on Zulu relativization, Poulos (1981:238) expresses the opinion that:

> "... the apparent multifaceted dimensions of Zulu relativization **cannot be accounted for by the rigid formal theoretical concepts of a single theory**, such as the one conceived within the transformational generative framework; in other words, it is believed that a monotheoretical approach would not be able to account for the various problematic issues that have been raised in this thesis concerning Zulu RCs (relative constructions - IMK). The formal theory would, in fact, **have to be enriched** to accommodate dimensions or facets of language such as pragmatics, typology and ontology - dimensions, which in the light of my analysis, obviously constitute a part of the linguistic knowledge of the speaker/hearer of a language." (Emphasis - IMK).

The exclusive application of any one theory, especially of any new theory just for the novelty thereof, is a "luxury" which Bantuists cannot afford at a time during which basic research on various levels is still urgently needed, according to Louwrens (1985c). He develops this idea further by stating that:

> "Die beskouing dat die nuutste teorie in 'n bepaalde wetenskap noodwendig altyd die enigste een is wat die navorser tot sinvolle ontdekkings in sy vak kan lei, is na my oordeel boonop vals." (op. cit.:7).

Von Staden (1986a:9) adopts a similar standpoint:

> "With regard to a theoretical framework and a model for language teaching, **it does not seem possible that a single model or method will result in the greatest measure of success** in all circumstances at all levels and for all languages ... It seems preferable to have an **open** or **eclectic** approach. A **selection of the best and most effective elements of different frameworks and models** for each situation and level may ensure the best results." (Emphasis - IMK).

1.4 "REVOLUTION" IN GRAMMATICAL PERIODS

Wescott, writing in 1960 (1960:484), states that:

> "...the field of African linguistics is ... undergoing a development so rapid and so radical as to amount to a revolution.
>
> Like most revolutions, the Revolution in African Linguistics has opponents as well as supporters. There is no dearth of Africanists who feel that the linguistic revolutionaries are trying to go too far too fast, that they have destroyed more than they have created, and that they have unjustly stigmatized as "obfuscators" many patient and devoted African linguists - now referred to as Traditionalists - whose only offense is a pardonable preference for mending their own scholarly fences rather than finding fault with those built by their predecessors."

A revolution in linguistic circles is largely brought about by a critical reassessment of the linguistic past. An example of such a revolution as sketched by Koerner (1989:63) reveals a general tendency associated with every new revolution:

> "As the acknowledged leader of a (supposedly) new way of treating the sound structure of language, Trubetzkoy must have felt the need to convince his contemporaries of the novelty of his approach. And - as any keen observer of public debates knows, especially when the subject of contention is a theory or an ideology (or both) - **what better way to establish one's claim to 'creativity' or 'innovation' than by demonstrating that one's contemporaries have gone astray (and, as a result, failed to account for 'interesting' data) because they followed the wrong path in their scientific pursuits.**" (Emphasis - IMK).

What Pearson (1977:330-131) has to say in this regard is also very interesting from the viewpoint of the progressive build-up towards a revolution:

> "The investigator cannot hope to deal with everything at once, and it is only natural to begin with the data most readily explained by the theory and postpone investigation of the more difficult problems in hopes that they can be explained later in the light of subsequent findings. Often this turns out to be the case. Even so there are some anomalies that remain unexplained. As these anomalies accumulate, normal science enters a **crisis period.** Eventually someone comes forward with a new way of looking at the facts, a new theory that not only provides a different way of looking at conventional facts but furnishes an explanation for the former anomalies as well. The new theory leads to a new paradigm that redirects the practice of normal science. The change amounts to a **scientific revolution**. Those who have invested their lives in the old paradigm may resist the change, but younger scientists who see the new paradigm as more promising turn to it and abandon the old paradigm. Textbooks are written from the vantage point of the new theory, and past achievements in the discipline are reinterpreted in the light of current theoretical beliefs. Younger scientists rising to positions of prominence within the field tend to disparage the work of their predecessors." (Emphasis - IMK).

A model is never entirely adequate as an analytic device. Evidence of this is the fact that the Bantu languages have been subjected to more than one model in an attempt to account for features not provided for within a particular approach. These languages have gone through various periods in the past (or revolutions for that matter) and their descriptions continue to be challenged by other approaches which have in the meantime become available on the international front. When a model no longer presents a challenge to linguists, grammatical description is felt to have reached a plateau. It may then perhaps be liable for an interpretation within another model. No tradition can lay claim to finality and, in the words of Poulos (1986:3):

> "... no tradition, whatever its nature, can be interpreted as being beyond or above the critical minds of academic practitioners."

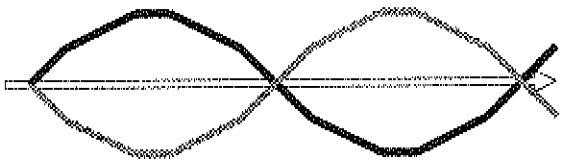
In the same vein Dinneen (1967:3) states that

> "... linguistics is still in a stage of dynamic development. No linguist has yet produced a program that convinces all other linguists that the final answers are in sight."

In an attempt to provide an assessment of the state of a discipline at any one stage, Koerner (1989:52) writes:

> "... something like a Pendulum-Swing Model seems to be called for in recognition of the observation that, within the development of linguistics, for instance, a continuous alternation between contrastive approaches to the subject ('empiricist' vs. 'rationalist', 'materialist' vs. 'idealist', etc.) is to be reckoned with."

Such a model could be represented diagrammatically as follows (Koerner, 1989:52):



The development of linguistics can thus not be said to be a field which follows a steady progression. Within its history many "pendulum swings", changes of emphasis as well as progressive and even regressive moves can be expected. The goal of linguistics is a constant adaptation or "renewal" of grammatical description, but, as Van Wyk (1968a:94) points out, such "renewals" do not always constitute an improvement. He mentions the example of the "class prefix" of "class 2a" in Northern Sotho which was in earlier times treated as a dependent or semi-dependent word, e.g. in *bô tatê* (or *bô-tatê*) 'father and company'. According to all modern grammars, however, *bô* is an ordinary, dependent class prefix, i.e. *bôtatê*. Van Wyk is of the opinion that sufficient proof can be provided to indicate that *bô* is in fact a truncated proclitic form of the absolute pronoun of class 2, namely *bôna*. In that case the older grammarians were nearer the truth than the younger ones.

Concerning the concept "revolution" in linguistic circles, Hayes et al. (1987) are of the opinion that this is perhaps too strong a label to assign to each advance in linguistic science. "Revolution", they feel,

> "has a way of implying that truth resides with the rebel and that there is something peculiar and even pernicious about those "unenlightened" who choose to maintain the faith." (op. cit.:28).

Their reason for refuting the idea that any new standpoint - they are specifically referring to

changes that have swept through the linguistic world since the early 1950's - amounts to a "revolution", is because any distinct step taken forward in the study of languages probably has its roots somewhere in the past.

1.5 UNIVERSAL VERSUS LANGUAGE SPECIFIC DESCRIPTIONS

Although the distinction between universal and language specific descriptions will feature in greater detail in the coming chapters, a few preliminaries will be in order.

Much of the outmoded nomenclature which Bantu grammars have inherited from the older generation of Bantuists has been the result of an uncritical projection of the European tradition onto Bantu grammar. Van Wyk (1968a) identifies especially two kinds of projection which marked the methodology of early Bantu periods:

(a) *Direct grammatical projection*

In the case of direct grammatical projection, a system of terminologies and (often only assumed) definitions which had been developed with the European languages in mind, is transferred directly with little or no change onto Bantu grammar. Van Wyk mentions as an example the conceptions with regard to nominal cases, gender distinctions, degrees of comparison and moods and tenses which were introduced into Bantu grammatical description.

(b) *Structural projection*

Structural projection refers to the process whereby structural phenomena of the European languages are directly projected onto Bantu structure independent of any influence by some or other aspect of the grammatical system. The anomalies with regard to word division in Bantu are an example of structural projection.

Van Wyk identifies a third type of projection, more characteristic of modern Bantuistics:

(c) *Indirect grammatical projection*

This kind of projection is a refinement of direct grammatical and structural projection. Instead of grammatical categories and foreign structural features being forced directly onto a language, categories derived from supposed extralinguistic realities serve as points of departure.

Van Wyk points out that the extralinguistic reality is an "assumed" or "supposed" one, since, although the Bantuist is of the opinion that his point of departure is an extralinguistic reality, his analysis of a particular category may in fact be based on linguistic preconception. The example is given of the linguist's conception of time. He assumes that all actions or processes in the extralinguistic reality always take place in time and that the verb, said to be *the* category which expresses actions, should consequently also be able to express time distinctions. The verb should therefore make provision for at least past, present and future tense since all passages of time according to extralinguistic experience are linked with a past, present or future time. At closer inspection, the researcher's approach to the verbal sub-category 'tense', may therefore not be derived directly from extralinguistic reality, but rather from some other linguistic system known to him which distinguishes tenses. Van Wyk summarises this kind of projection by stating that it is a projection from a grammatical system onto the extralinguistic reality and from there back onto another language system. Tenses will receive more attention in PART TWO of the thesis when predicative categories will be scrutinized.

Although the Bantu grammarian has to keep himself informed on new developments in general linguistics, his analysis of the Bantu languages has to be language specific. Often a language was approached with preconceived ideas and definitions derived from systems within the European languages, for example. Even within the Bantu language family a model worked out for one language may not apply satisfactorily to another. The Dokeian model, for instance, is known to have exerted a great influence on the description of Bantu grammars, and yet Gleason (1956:572) states that this model only applies to a narrow range of languages. He writes:

> "... the most serious challenges to the Doke model have been analyses of Bantu languages from Congo and the northwest, precisely those which, taking Zulu as the norm, are the most aberrant. These necessarily are the languages where the Doke model will be most difficult to apply and will give the least satisfactory result."

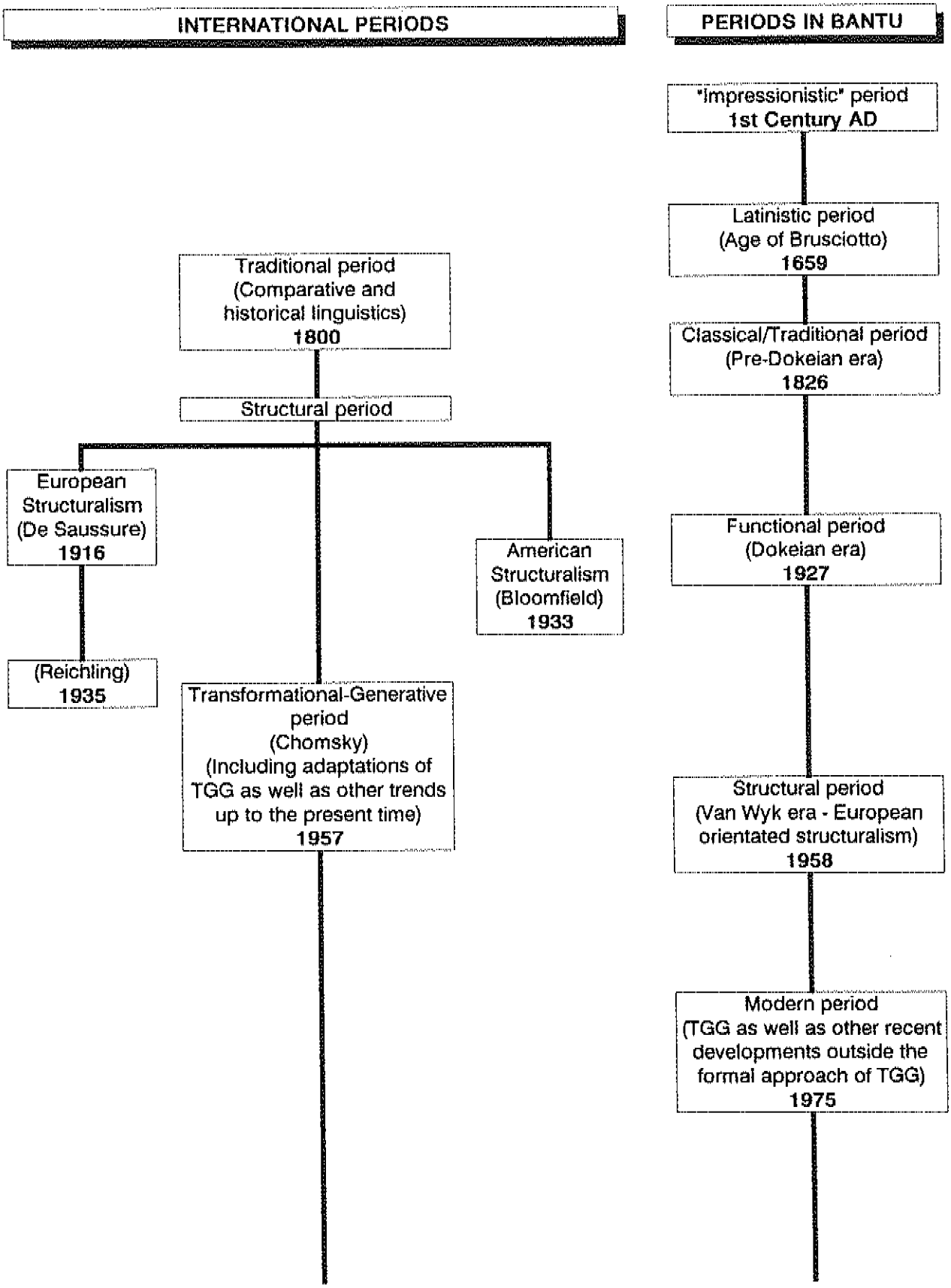
Doke was aware of the limitations of his model and carefully formulated his list of parts of speech as being *generally* applicable to Bantu (Doke & Cole, 1969:78).

A knowledge of developments on the international linguistic scene is essential to broaden the Bantu grammarian's perspective. He needs to be familiar with methodological theories in order to assess his own investigations. The value and influence of international models on Bantu grammatical description cannot be denied, but at the same time these movements brought with them a potential drawback. Attractive theories or a new framework would often be assumed to be applicable to or projectable onto the grammatical structure of a certain Bantu language, whereby the true nature of a particular aspect of grammar would sometimes be concelled.

1.6 BANTU LINGUISTIC PERIODS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC SCENE

Internationally linguistics as an independent discipline has produced a number of prominent and less prominent models and can be divided into quite distinct (though not rigid) periods. Grammatical description in the Bantu languages has also gone through a number of periods. It is interesting to note that the periods in the case of the latter did not always run concurrently with or coincide with the periods distinguished on the wider linguistic front. Probable reasons for this state of affairs will be offered in the course of the study.

The following is a simplified diagrammatic representation of the most salient internationally recognised currents or periods (since about 1800 when linguistics started developing as an autonomous discipline) over against grammatical periods in Bantu. A host of additional movements and trends (in Europe and North America) could be indicated for comparative purposes before and after 1800 under the international periods, but the given diagram is a deliberate restriction, since research on the Bantu grammatical front itself only started in all earnestness from the beginning of the nineteenth century. One also needs to remember that not all trends necessarily became more international movements eventually. Some traditions were important only in certain countries and in certain periods or affected some parts of linguistics only. The purpose of the diagram is therefore to merely serve as a handy reference or orientation to the reader as he approaches the following sections in which the individual periods in Bantu will be discussed. Once again it needs to be pointed out that the dates are not to be interpreted as rigid "cutting off" points in the continuum of linguistic development, but merely serve as approximate guidelines:


INTERNATIONAL PERIODS
PERIODS IN BANTU
"Impressionistic" period
1st Century AD
Latinistic period
(Age of Brusciotto)
1659
Classical/Traditional period
(Pre-Dokeian era)
1826
Functional period
(Dokeian era)
1927
Structural period
(Van Wyk era - European orientated structuralism)
1958
Modern period
(TGG as well as other recent developments outside the formal approach of TGG)
1975
Traditional period
(Comparative and historical linguistics)
1800
Structural period
European Structuralism
(De Saussure)
1916
(Reichling)
1935
American Structuralism
(Bloomfield)
1933
Transformational-Generative period
(Chomsky)
(Including adaptations of TGG as well as other trends up to the present time)
1957

1.7 THE EARLIEST PERIODS IN BANTU GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

1.7.1 THE "IMPRESSIONISTIC" PERIOD

Only sporadic examples of word lists, sentences and vague remarks on grammatical structures of Bantu languages have been traced between the period of the first century AD up to the 16th century. This, the earliest period, is referred to as "impressionistic", since recordings were mainly impressionistic in nature, making it difficult for later researchers to identify the recorded forms correctly.

1.7.2 THE LATINISTIC ORIENTATED PERIOD

In Bantu linguistic circles this has also become known as the "**Age of Brusciotto**", named thus by Doke (cf. Doke & Cole, 1969:11) after the writer of the first Bantu Grammar in 1659, namely Giacinto Brusciotto - an Italian priest. His breakthrough lay in the identification of the noun class and concordial system. Another contribution containing comments on semantic tone in Bantu appeared by Fr Antonio Maria de Monteprandone Amici in 1661 (cf. Cole, 1971:2). The frame of reference during which these early works were produced was Latinistic. Latin served as the norm in all grammatical descriptions, and continued to exert its influence up to about the third decade of the 19th century. At that time a gradual change was observed from the Latin and Greek models towards more modern methods inspired by the grammars of vernacular languages in Europe.

Since no contributions on Northern Sotho grammar are known from this period, these few observations should suffice to sketch the linguistic activity which marked this particular era in Bantu grammatical description.

CHAPTER 2
THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The traditional period is also referred to as the classical period because the classical European languages were used as basis of description during that time, while Latin was no longer used as the frame of reference. Some linguists, such as Poulos (1981), for example, described this period more aptly within a Bantu framework as the "Pre-Dokeian" era. It is significant that the work of Doke is used here as a point of orientation, and rightly so since Poulos writes with Zulu in mind, the language with regard to which Doke primarily worked out his model. Whether this term would carry the same importance with regard to a classification of periods for Northern Sotho is an issue for consideration.

Proof that the beginnings and terminations of periods are greatly arbitrary, is the fact that various dates have been suggested by different linguists regarding especially the inauguration of this period. Wilkes (1978a) mentions 1826 as an important milestone. During that year the first linguistic publication on a South African Bantu language appeared. J. Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society was responsible for this, the first printed work in Xhosa, entitled *Systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language in two parts; to which is prefixed an introduction to Kaffrarian grammar* (1826, Lovedale: Glasgow Mission Press).

Fivaz (1974) maintains that the classical phase was inaugurated in 1834 with the publication of the first grammar of a southern Bantu language by Boyce. (*Grammar of the Kaffir language*. Grahamstown: Wesleyan Mission Press).

The choice of the somewhat later date of 1876 as the beginning of the traditional period for Northern Sotho is also not an absolute point. Its choice is, however, motivated as far as the present survey is concerned, since the first grammatical contribution of linguistic significance in the history of Northern Sotho appeared during that year. Older records of Northern Sotho and works of literary nature have appeared from the early 1860's, but will not concern us here.

The classical model dominated grammatical studies in Bantu well into the 1920's. Almost 2000 items on African linguistics were produced during this period compared to the mere

handful of the preceding "Age of Brusciotto". In 1927 the approach to Bantu grammar took a new turn with the publication of Doke's method as outlined in his *Textbook of Zulu grammar* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press). It is generally agreed that this year marks a new period in the linguistic history of the Bantu languages.

2.2 FRAMEWORK OF DESCRIPTION

During the classical period the Latinistic model made way for descriptions based on the modern European languages. This shift in pattern did, however, not induce any remarkable change in the description of Bantu grammar, since, according to Fivaz (1974:21):

> "... the then modern European grammatical methods employed by the 19th century Bantuists still failed to do justice to Bantu structure and this era provides a further example of varyingly poor "fit" between the model used and the data it purports to represent."

The classical model upon which the grammars of the Bantu languages were generally patterned, provided a solid linguistic foundation on the one hand. On the other it unfortunately resulted in some grammatical classifications and concepts being forced upon the Bantu languages, without particular recognition of the uniqueness of their grammatical structure. The traditional grammarians who believed that grammatical categories were universal, tried to adhere to this assumption in Bantu, although their theory was in actual fact seriously being challenged by the completely different structure of these languages.

The emphasis on historical and comparative studies which marked the traditional era internationally, also found its way into some works on the Bantu linguistic field. (e.g. Bleek, 1862, 1869 and Torrend, 1891). Meinhof became a leading figure in this field on the grounds of his two major contributions of 1899 and 1906. In his former work (*Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*) Meinhof differed from other linguists in that he chose as point of reference for his studies of phonological correspondences, not a particular existing language but, instead, an original parent language which he reconstructed according to a

synchronic-deductive method for this purpose.[1] The phonological insights revealed in this work led Cole (1971:10) to comment that the year 1899 ushered in a new era in Bantu linguistic studies. Meinhof's theories had some impact especially on Afrikaans-medium universities such as Pretoria and Stellenbosch. His followers included W.W.M. Eiselen, J.A. Engelbrecht and N.J. van Warmelo. Their studies of the Bantu languages were conducted against the background of Meinhof's Ur-Bantu hypotheses. As far as grammatical insights are concerned, Meinhof's work of 1906 (*Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*) was still cast in the traditional mould. The discipline within which he worked largely remained a personal method and so the "Meinhof school", as the approach was also sometimes called, did not develop into a leading model. The importance of his theories towards the advancement especially of phonological studies in Bantu, cannot be denied, however.

2.3 NATURE OF CONTRIBUTIONS

2.3.1 MISSIONARIES

As mentioned earlier, the task of putting the Bantu languages into writing was mainly undertaken by missionaries whose primary aim was to reach the Bantu speaking people with the gospel in their own language. They were therefore not in the first place interested in grammar for its intrinsic value. The linguistic teaching which they had received as part of their theological training often proved to be inadequate for Bantu language study, although some of them produced works of astounding linguistic quality. Many of these pioneers reverted to the classical languages as their frame of reference. Drawing an exact line between one Bantu language and the next was also a difficulty they had to contend with. Some writings which appeared from the pen of missionaries and which were thought to be pure Northern Sotho, in actual fact included elements of other Bantu languages as well. The official written Northern Sotho only became established at a later stage, based mainly on the Pedi dialect.

[1]Owing to the complete absence of any written evidence of an older form of Bantu, Meinhof was compelled to resort to data gleaned from the Bantu languages as they existed at that time. The study of languages as they exist at a certain point in history is referred to as synchronic study. From his comparison of synchronic data, Meinhof inferred or deduced the original sounds of the hypothetical parent language, which he termed Ur-Bantu. This method consequently became known as the synchronic-deductive method.

It took a publication such as the one by Doke in 1927 to finally initiate a "fresh" approach to the description of phenomena in Bantu grammar.

2.3.2 NON MOTHER-TONGUE SPEAKERS

During the period 1876 - 1927 there is a remarkable absence of contributions in Northern Sotho by mother-tongue speakers in the literary and especially in the linguistic field. The Berlin missionaries played a tremendous role in order to fill this initial void in these areas. Rev. Schwellnus, amongst others, produced numerous Bible translations, catechisms, hymn books and reading books during this time for which he was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1937 by the University of Pretoria (cf. Van der Merwe, 1981:31).

The need for mother-tongue education became increasingly apparent and two Bantuists who especially devoted themselves to the promotion of this task in the Transvaal were W.W.M. Eiselen and G.H. Franz. Mother-tongue speakers started producing works in Northern Sotho from about 1910, but these were limited and mainly of a literary nature (Ziervogel, 1956:7). It was only to be some time later that they would enter the field of scientific study. In the meantime the position regarding literature had not changed drastically up until 1933, which led Doke to remark as follows (Doke, 1933:20):

> "Northern Sotho literature, as far as it exists to-day, may be said to be the creation of the missionaries. Serious attention must be directed towards increasing the number of Sotho contributors if the literature is to play any vital part in South African Bantu."

He furthermore says (op. cit.:21) that

> "The people should not become dependent on the missionaries and the Education Department for spoon-feeding with everything they have to read."

Gregersen (1977:103) advocates the participation of mother-tongue speakers in the field of Bantu grammatical research as follows:

> "Although ... Africans did not develop an independent tradition of linguistic analysis, it is clear that in the final analysis **only a native speaker can produce a truly adequate study of his own language**. The recruitment of African linguists is therefore a most auspicious development and should produce studies in depth the like of which we do not now possess." (Emphasis - IMK).

2.3.3 GENERAL CONTENTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

No original texts in Bantu appeared initially during the classical period. Most works were translations and had an overridingly christian content, while other contributions included word lists and notes on grammatical phenomena. The purpose of the grammatical publications was primarily to assist missionaries in their effort to acquire the language and to translate Scripture.

Study on tone in the Bantu languages received very little attention during this period, though Xhosa, for example, could already boast with tonal studies in the following works prior to 1876:

> 1832 J. Bennie : Manuscript of Xhosa grammar. (In the keeping of the Library of the University College of Fort Hare according to Doke & Cole, 1969:33).
> 1850 W. Appleyard : *The Kafir language: Comprising a sketch of its history: Remarks upon its nature and a grammar*. London, King William's Town: J. Mason.

Although, as mentioned earlier, the importance of semantic tone in the Bantu languages had been recognised as far back as 1661, tone was generally ignored until the beginning of the 20th century.

In the course of time the interest in Bantu grammar acquired a more academic character. As the volume of work on Bantu languages increased, the accuracy of data also increased gradually.

2.3.4 SOME IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS REGARDING NORTHERN SOTHO DURING THE PERIOD 1876 - 1927

Works which do not deal directly with grammatical issues, like e.g. school readers, christian literature and articles on folklore and ethnology, etc. will not be mentioned specifically. Scripture translations and other translational work will not feature in the lists of publications, since it is felt that their importance lay mainly in the pioneering role they played in the reduction of Northern Sotho to writing rather than in providing academic insights into the grammar of Northern Sotho during those early years of its development. For convenient reference purposes, however, a number of more significant works dealing with phonetics, phonology, orthography, tonology, dialects, dictionaries and word lists have been included along with the grammatical material. It should be noted that all the grammatical contributions were conceived in the traditional mould. The latter, however, continued to serve as a framework of reference far beyond the arbitrary boundary of 1927 as will be illustrated later on.

2.3.4.1 *Textbooks and notes on grammatical structure*

The following list, arranged in chronological order, is headed by Endemann's work which, for the purpose of this survey, is taken as the starting point of the traditional period in the development of Northern Sotho grammar. Various comments on Northern Sotho words or expressions which appeared from time to time in reports by German missionaries in *Berliner Missionsberichte* will not specifically be listed.

1876b Endemann, K. *Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho*. Berlin: Hertz.

The choice of the title under which Endemann's grammar appeared, is indicative of the fact that the author did not claim his work to be a complete description of the language. He also acknowledges this in his preface. The term 'Sotho' in the title refers to the language of the Bapedi, which today is classified as a dialect of Northern Sotho. The Berlin missionaries started working in the Eastern Transvaal where the Pedi speakers were dominant. The result was that Pedi was the first of a group of dialects to be reduced to writing. When the work of the missionaries was extended to the Northern and North-Eastern Transvaal, they introduced Pedi to areas where other dialects

were spoken. Since the latter did not have writing systems of their own, Pedi was used as a form of 'standard' language to serve speakers of these dialects.

It appears that the grammar described by Endemann was not pure Pedi. It was criticised as containing Tswana and Southern Sotho elements as well. As regards the grammatical analysis and terminology, Doke regarded them as "somewhat antiquated" yet also "very full and accurate" (Doke, 1945:87). Some orthographic symbols suggested by Endemann were not acceptable to other linguists and were consequently discarded.

In spite of several criticisms, this 'attempt' by Endemann can today be looked upon as a praiseworthy piece of pioneering work in the development of the grammar of Northern Sotho. According to Meinhof, as quoted by Van Eeden (1946:80), it is "'n meesterstuk van taalkundige noukeurigheid". Meinhof especially appraised Endemann's thorough phonetic descriptions and based a comparative study on sounds and sound changes between different Bantu languages on Endemann's work (1896). Jacottet also acclaimed Endemann's grammar in the following way in his introduction to "A grammar of the Sesuto language" (1927:xiv):

> "It is without doubt the best and most scientific grammar which had ever been published on a Sesuto or Sechuana dialect, perhaps even on any Bantu language. It remains one of the best even now, and it is impossible to praise this work too highly. It has, among other strong points, a most brilliant exposition of the phonetics of the language."

For a long time Endemann's grammar book was the only handbook available for Northern Sotho. Unfortunately it was only accessible to those with a knowledge of German and therefore it could not be used widely by students and grammarians.

1906 Meinhof, C. *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen.
This work contains many references to Northern Sotho grammar.

1914 Beyer, B. *Kurze Sesotho Grammatik*. (In the keeping of the Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria).

This is a handwritten manuscript of 70 pages, dedicated to P. Trümpelmann in 1914. Beyer made use of his own orthography and concluded this grammatical work with an alphabetical list of German expressions and their equivalents in Northern Sotho. The expression 'through' or 'with', for example, would appear as follows: "durch/präposition/*ka*".

1920 Beyer, G. *A handbook of the Pedi-Transvaal Suto language. Practical grammar with exercises, phrases, dialogues and vocabularies*. Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.

This was an important grammar book since it was the first to appear in one of the two official languages. It was not very practical as a school textbook, since its orthography, based on the 1910 agreement, was already outdated by 1940 when Northern Sotho was first offered as a school subject in the Transvaal. According to its author, however, it had not been intended for school use in the first place, but as a practical guide "not only to Bantu students, but also to traders, employers, Government officials, missionaries and all who have to deal with the native population of this country" (Beyer, 1920: Preface).

1925 Engelbrecht, J. "Suffixbildung in den südafrikanischen Bantusprachen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung hottentottischer Einflüsse." *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 28, Abt.3: *Afrikanische Studien*:86-131.

This investigation into suffix formation in the South African Bantu languages includes Northern Sotho. A description of this type, where a specific phenomenon within Bantu grammar is singled out for study, was the exception rather than the rule at that time.

1925-27 Schwellnus, P.E. Unpublished lecture notes in Afrikaans: *Sepedi-Transvaal Sesotho* delivered by Schwellnus at the Transvaal University College between 1925 and 1927.

n.d. Hoffmann, C. *Grundriss zu einer Sotho-Grammatik.*
Unpublished manuscript of 50 pages referred to by Doke (1933:74) and containing some interesting forms not recorded elsewhere in the literature.

2.3.4.2 *Phonetics, phonology and orthography*

1874 Endemann, K. "Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Neger". *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 6(1):16-66.
This work *inter alia* contains sections on phonetics and phonology.

1876b Endemann, K. *Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho.* Berlin: Hertz.
The first part deals with Northern Sotho phonetics and phonology and also addresses some problems regarding practical orthography.

1896 Meinhof, C. "Die Bedeutung des Sotho für die Erforschung der Bantusprachen." *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen* 2(2):150-167.
This article is based on quite an extensive discussion by Endemann (1876b) on the phonetics and phonology of Northern Sotho.

1899 Meinhof, C. *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen. (Second revised and enlarged edition 1910).
Meinhof bases his reconstruction of Ur-Bantu mainly on Pedi, since no other dialect according to his knowledge so clearly reveals the systematics involved in the sound change rules which he postulated.

1920 Beyer, G. *A handbook of the Pedi-Transvaal Suto language. Practical grammar with exercises, phrases, dialogues and vocabularies.* Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.
The above work also contains an introduction to the phonetics of the Pedi dialect.

1924 Eiselen, W.W.M. "Die Veränderung der Konsonanten durch ein vorhergehendes *i* in den Bantusprachen". *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 14(2):81-153.
Phonological changes brought about by a preceding *i* in the Bantu languages are discussed, featuring changes in Northern Sotho as well.

2.3.4.3 *Studies on tone*

1876b Endemann, K. *Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho*. Berlin: Hertz.

1901 Endemann, K. "Beitrag zu dem Capitel von den Tönen in den sogenannten Bantu-Sprachen". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 4, Abt.3: *Afrikanische Studien*:37-41.
The above two works contain investigations of the intonation system of Northern Sotho. Endemann identifies three tones, which he subsequently expanded to five in the following publication:

1911 Endemann, K. *Wörterbuch der Sotho-Sprache*. Vol.VII of Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts. Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co.
Doke (1945:88) comments that this work is "of special importance, because it was the first considerable dictionary to make an attempt at consistent marking of the tones." However, inaccuracies in the intonation of the words do occur.

1916 Endemann, C. "Der Tonfall in den südostafrikanischen Bantusprachen". *Vox* 26(4-5):161-175.

1923-24 Endemann, C. "Ueber den Tonfall im Sesotho". *Brücke* 1923 Vol.1, No.1 & 1924 No.2.

2.3.4.4 *Textbooks for the mother-tongue speaker*

1902 Anonymous. *Thuto ea polelo ea Sekgooa I.* Berlin: Carl Hermann Müller.
While most grammarians were intent on providing for the needs of the foreign learner, some Bantuists recognised the need for instruction in Sotho to the Sotho speakers to learn Afrikaans (which at that time was still more appropriately Dutch than Afrikaans) or English. This booklet of 62 pages gives explanations in Northern Sotho of how Dutch sounds are to be pronounced and is accompanied by appropriate exercises.

1925 Franz, G.H. & T.P. Mathabathe *An outline of English-Transvaal-Sesotho grammar and composition.* Pretoria: Yardley & Harvey.
The Sotho speaker also needed to be instructed in his own mother tongue on the structure of his own language. This work is not entirely written through the medium of Northern Sotho, but partly in English as well. It contains grammatical material, information on idiom and syntax in addition to a phonetic introduction and an introductory course in composition.

2.3.4.5 *Dictionaries and word lists*

Word lists which are subject specific (e.g. Sotho bird names, etc.) are not reflected here:

1911 Endemann, K. *Wörterbuch der Sotho-Sprache.* Vol.VII of Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts. Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co.
In this dictionary entries appear under the stem and not under the prefixes as is the case in many other dictionaries. Tswana and Southern Sotho words are observed among the items which led Doke (1954:18) to comment that it is "a work not confined to any one of the Sotho clusters, but rather comparative in form". Jacottet (1927:xvii) severely criticised Endemann for not having acknowledged as references the dictionaries by Mabille and Brown[2] on Southern Sotho and Tswana respectively, which Endemann evidently consulted. How much of the work was actually his own was difficult to say,

[2]Jacottet does not mention the specific editions he has in mind.

since Endemann had left South Africa in 1875 and was subsequently helped by his missionary son in the Transvaal with regard to some special features and outstanding data.

1924 Franz, G.H. & T.P. Mathabathe *A vocabulary of the more common words in the Transvaal-Sesotho language*. Morija: Morija Printing Works.
The contents of this publication of 69 pages was described by Doke (1933:69) as "extremely scanty".

2.3.4.6 *Dialect studies*

Except for the Pedi dialect of Northern Sotho, no works especially dealing with other dialects of this Bantu language can be given as examples during this era of development.

2.4 ORTHOGRAPHIC ISSUES

Unresolved issues regarding orthographic matters hampered the early Bantuists in their efforts to record the grammatical structure of the Bantu languages. In addition to the large amount of unfamiliar language structures which the grammarians were confronted with, they had to deal with the problems of an unstandardized writing system and an inefficient orthography. In some cases new symbols had to be created to make provision for speech sounds or combinations unique to the particular Bantu language, e.g. *pš*. For lack of a better alternative the European way of writing was often followed and in some cases the European influence could clearly be observed. Amongst some of K. Endemann's earlier recordings of Northern Sotho, his German background can without doubt be identified, e.g. in the use of the symbol *ä* to indicate the middle-low vowel [ɛ] in a word like *mabäle* (cf. *mabêlê* 'wheat'). In his grammar book of 1876 Endemann used the symbols *tz* and *ts*, for example, instead of *ts* ([ts']) and *tsh* ([tsh]) respectively to distinguish unaspirated from aspirated consonants. In this way he tried to adapt the standard alphabet of Lepsius. For seven years Endemann occupied himself with the modification of the then existing orthography of Sotho which he described as being useless. It frustrated him that his suggestions did not make any inroads on the orthographies being used and that incorrect spellings had already become established to such a degree that any effort to introduce changes would be faced with a great amount of

resistance (Endemann, 1876a:87). The orthographic inconsistencies were ascribed by Endemann to the work of untrained Europeans who hadn't developed the skill to discern sound systems:

> "Die genaue Unterscheidung der Sotho-Laute ist für Europäer, die es an dem nöthigen Studium fehlen lassen, oft schwer, und es ist mir noch kein einziger Missionar vorgekommen, der diese Laute sämmtlich richtig aufgefasst hätte und demgemäss auch richtig unterschiede." (op. cit.:87).

The French, for their part - in accordance with their writing tradition - resorted to the symbols *o* and *e* in Southern Sotho instead of using the semi-vowels *w* and *y* respectively. The latter only came into use at a later stage (1912-1913).

Amongst the Tswana groups, missionaries of the London missionary society used the symbols *c* and *ch* respectively to represent the glottalic prepalatal [t∫'] and its aspirated counterpart [t∫h] (Havenga, 1988:119).

It is clear that with the prevailing inconsistencies in the orthographies of the Bantu languages, the Bantuists of the traditional period did not have an easy task in reducing these languages to writing. A co-ordinating body which would be able to exercise control over the Bantu languages as written languages had become a necessity, not only because of the variety of symbols used, but also with the view to uniformity in the writing system of Bantu (cf. par.2.5). A first standardized orthography for Northern Sotho was only to be published in 1930, but this work by Lestrade, entitled "The practical orthography of Transvaal Sotho", has since then undergone numerous revisions.

2.5 ANOMALIES IN WRITING SYSTEMS AND WORD DIVISION

The concept of the European word clearly influenced the early Bantuists in their approach to Bantu word division. In the Sotho languages, as well as in Venda and Tsonga, this led to the adoption of a disjunctive method of writing. In the Nguni languages, owing particularly to their structure which is characterised by vowel coalescence, vowel elision and consonantalisation - features which are to a great extent absent in the Sotho languages - a conjunctive writing system was adopted. The choice of the different writing systems was thus motivated by practical rather than scientific considerations. A scientifically based method of word division

for the Bantu languages was later to be proposed by Van Wyk (1958). It became known as the semi-conjunctive method, but did not make any impact on the existing writing systems (cf. par. 4.4.2).

Doke (1954:45-46) explains as follows how the disjunctive method, under the influence of the European approach, came to be used for Bantu word description:

> "Basing their deductions upon the grammatical forms applicable to the European language they were used to, the early missionaries, in reducing the different Bantu tongues to writing, divided up the words according to a non-Bantu conception - according to a disjunctive method, separating each grammatical conception without realizing the great difference existing in Bantu between what are words forming 'parts of speech' and what are non-isolatable formatives."

Although Doke held the conjunctive writing system to be the correct one for Bantu, his method contained a number of shortcomings, one of them being that his orthographical words did not always correspond with linguistic units which can be identified as words. This, however, is a convention found in most orthographical systems of the world. Wilkes (1985:150) gives a Zulu example such as *lomuntu* which, according to Doke's theory of one main stress (i.e. length) is a single orthographic word, although Doke recognises nouns as well as the demonstrative of the first position to be independent words.

The correct word division for the Bantu languages is a problem which has already received attention since the middle of the 19th century. This issue increasingly drew more interest as the academic interest in the Bantu languages grew. To indicate this trend, the list of works given below is not limited to one grammatical period only. Publications which specifically address the issue of word division are in fact found to be spread right across the linguistic periods distinguished for Bantu. They include *inter alia*:

1850 Appleyard, J.W. *The Kafir language: Comprising a sketch of its history: Remarks upon its nature and a grammar.* London, King William's Town: J. Mason.

1929 Doke, C.M. *The problem of word-division in Bantu, with special reference to the languages of Mashonaland.* Southern Rhodesia: Department of Native Development.

1948 Guthrie, M. *Bantu word division; a new study of an old problem.* International African Institute. Memorandum 22. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

1958 Van Wyk, E.B. *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe.* Unpublished D.Litt. thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1960 Endemann, T.M.H. *Die gebied en taak van die Bantoe-taalkunde.* Inaugural lecture. Turfloop: Department of Bantu languages, University College of the North.

1969 Ferreira, J.A. *Beskrywingsprobleme in die Bantoetaalstudie.* Inaugural lecture. (Publikasiereeks van die Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit. Reeks A, Nr.11). Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1974 Esterhuyse, C.J. *Die ontwikkeling van die Noord-Sothoskryftaal.* Unpublished MA dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1985 Wilkes, A. "Words and word division: A study of some orthographical problems in the writing systems of the Nguni and Sotho languages." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(4).

These works also highlight the fact that writing systems and the grammatical analyses of Bantu languages are interdependent. In spite of the many arguments against a disjunctive approach, the Sotho languages, Venda and Tsonga retained the disjunctive system by means of which these languages were originally recorded by the missionaries. Ferreira (1969:9) comments as follows on the tenacity of tradition in this regard:

> "Dit bevestig die welbekende feit dat dit haas onmoontlik is om 'n skriftradisie te verander. Selfs taalkundig gefundeerde bewyse en onomstootlike argumente van latere taalgeleerdes kon hierdie skrifrots van Gibraltaar nie beweeg nie."

As opposed to the above approach, the Nguni languages developed along the lines on which their writing system was originally conceived, namely the conjunctive method.

The unstandardized writing system not only frustrated grammarians but also writers of literature. In this regard Tucker reported in 1929 that:

> "Sepedi as a literary language is still in a state of flux. There are even four conflicting spelling systems in existence, while a vernacular literature is practically unknown." (Tucker, 1929a:8).

Although later grammarians were left to deal with various inconsistencies inherited from the pioneers in the Bantu linguistic field, the latter nevertheless deserve recognition for their important contributions in their respective fields.

2.6 CLASSICAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN BANTU GRAMMAR

The classical model which served as a framework to the early Bantu grammarians, was responsible for the introduction of certain concepts in the description of Bantu grammar, which were later found to be inapplicable or otherwise in need of reinterpretation to suit the new situation.

Classical grammar used to be held in high respect so that there was hardly any grammatical description that did not include categories such as preposition, article, degrees of comparison, as well as gender, case and number for the noun and tense, mood, person and voice in the case of the verb. Bantu grammars were burdened with headings such as 'Substitutes for English adjectives', 'Substitutes for the comparative and the superlative', 'Indefinite pronouns', 'Les verbes être et avoir', etc.

The identification of words and word categories was often dictated by preconceived ideas or definitions construed within the classical framework. Word categories were mainly defined on notional grounds, i.e. in terms of what they signify. This often led to circularity and consequent vagueness in definitions. Most traditional grammars recognised eight parts of speech, being the noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, preposition, conjunction, adverb and the interjection. These parts of speech were also recognised by Endemann (1876b), the only difference being the use of the term 'substantive' instead of 'noun' and the addition of the word class 'numeral'. Direct grammatical projection based on translation is a common, but sometimes misleading criterion which is encountered here. Van Wyk (1966b:232), for example, illustrates how easy it is to intuitively describe *maabane* 'yesterday' as an adverb in Northern Sotho, since it is mostly interpreted as an adverb in the European languages. This approach, however, totally disregards the morphologic similarity which this word shows

with the noun. In addition, *maabane* has all the semantic and syntactical characteristics of Northern Sotho nouns as well. In the same vein Cole (1957:13-14) states:

> "We know only too well that what the European grammarian would normally classify as an adverb or adverbial phrase may commonly be represented in Bantu languages by a full-blooded noun."

Assuming the universality of parts of speech, was therefore a methodological error committed by most of the traditional Bantuists. The parts of speech could also not be accepted to be final since further sub-classifications and additions or changes were required in the study of other languages. Deploring the prescriptive influence of the classical model on Bantu grammatical development, Doke (1954:49) writes:

> "Students of Bantu languages have experienced the difficulty of trying to use unaltered the moulds of classical and modern European grammatical systems, and considerable harm has been done to the study of Bantu languages by forcing foreign nomenclatures upon Bantu structure."

Before 1927, the year which marked the presentation of a new Bantu methodology by Doke, Doke himself had been guilty of working within the classical frame. In his first published study, namely *The grammar of the Lamba language* in 1922, the dominating influence of the classical model during the early 1920's is clearly revealed. Commenting on this work, Cole (1957:6-7) observes that it

> "probably had more than its full share of the defects of a classical approach to Bantu linguistic analysis. I know that he shudders visibly today on being reminded of this work, with its declensions of nouns, among other such peculiarities: Thus we find *ciβa* (dove) declined as: Absolutive Case *ciβa*, Vocative Case *ciβa*, Genitive Case *ciβa*, Locative Case *ciβa*, Predicative Case *ciβa*; and of these, it was noted that the Absolutive Case covers the ordinary Nominative and Accusative, while the Locative Case "fills the place of the Latin Dative and Ablative"! (Doke, 1922:27-28)."

Doke's attempt to list various forms of a single word in order to mark its particular function in a sentence, was not very successful, since nouns in Bantu do not display morphological variations in the various cases. The noun in the nominative case (subject of the sentence), for example, does not assume another form when in the accusative case (object of a transitive verb):

Mokgalabjê as subject : ***Mokgalabjê** o a gôhlôla*
'The old man is coughing'

Mokgalabjê as object : *Mosadi o ôka **mokgalabjê***
'The woman is nursing the old man'

The category of 'case' which traditionally refers to inflections or declensions of nouns in order to indicate their syntactic valence, is thus not relevant in Bantu. In a letter addressed to Fivaz in 1968, Doke states that it was A. Werner who tactfully questioned his 'declensions' (Fivaz, ed., 1982:v). Doke soon abandoned this view since he realised that it was more meaningful to describe syntactic distinctions between nouns on the basis of the relative order of the nouns in a sentence.

2.7 SOME ASPECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL MODEL IN TEACHING

Goslin (1983) points out that the classical influence can especially be observed on two levels, namely on the level of subject terminology and as regards working methods.

As regards subject terminology, it is a well-known fact that a number of 'classical' terms and concepts have become so deeply rooted through the years, that it would be almost impossible to finally replace them. Grammarians who wrote textbooks were schooled within the traditional framework and their pedagogical manuals, being the only ones available at the time, have continued to exert their influence on scholars deep into the second half of the twentieth century.[3] The dependence on the grammar translation method by teachers of Northern Sotho in white schools even today, has been established in a research conducted by Potgieter (1988). The manuals involved included Ziervogel's *Handboek van Noord-Sotho* (Ziervogel, D., D.P. Lombard & P.C. Mokgokong, 1969a) of which an English edition is also available (1969b), Harman's *Pula 1* and *Pula 2* (1981, 1983) and Kock & Kock's Handbook series (1983, 1986).

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[3] Cf. Endemann, T.M.H. 1939a: Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho (Sepedi). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd; and especially the handbooks by Grobbelaar, J.C.:
1952: Junior Sepedi, 'n handleiding met oefeninge vir die aanleer van Noord-Sotho vir Standerd 7 en Standerd 8. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers;
1967: Senior Sepedi (with J.J. Schmidt as co-author). Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers;
1968: Nuwe Junior Sepedi. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.

In the traditional era it seems as if the working method was one of matching up constructions. It was presupposed that a kind of equivalence existed in meaning between forms and structures in the source language (be that Afrikaans or English, for example) and the target language (one of the Bantu languages). There are in fact many non-matchings between languages, and what may be treated as one grammatical category in one language, may be treated as something quite different in another.

In an HSRC report on African languages in white primary schools, the following comment appears on the implications of the traditional model being applied in the teaching of Bantu as a foreign language (Von Staden, 1986b:17):

> "As onderrigmodel het dit veral aanleiding gegee tot die onderrig van tale via "verduidelikings" van grammatikale verskynsels in die doeltaal en vertaling."

Von Staden (1979:10) refers to this method as the classical grammar translation method ('grammatikavertaalmetode'). The one-sided emphasis on translation as the most important learning activity and methodology in foreign language teaching generally characterised the pedagogical manuals which appeared not only up to 1927, but far beyond that. The search for word categories in Bantu which semantically corresponded with word categories in the source language, was a potentially misleading principle. The example of *maabane* 'yesterday' has already been mentioned, which is classified as an adverb semantically, while displaying all the structural and syntactic characteristics of nouns.

Textbooks took the form of instructions for the production of 'correct' speech in accordance with the rules of traditional grammatical theory, which were mostly prescriptive or normative. The data to be learned were typically presented in the form of paradigms[4] and were often accompanied by statements of grammatical rules in the learners' native language. Students were expected to accept and learn in a stereotyped way and without question the material that was presented to them by their teacher and in their handbook. Emphasis was placed on the standard language and on reading and writing skills which did not really promote the development of communicative skills. This model should therefore be regarded as outmoded for the purpose of language teaching.

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[4]A paradigm in this context is to be understood as a set of linguistic elements in which one part remains constant while another part is different in each member of the set.

CHAPTER 3
THE FUNCTIONAL PERIOD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Bantu linguistics the era following the traditional period has generally become known as the functional period. The term 'functional', however, needs to be understood in context here. In more modern general linguistic science the term has namely been applied in a different sense[1] to the way it was implemented at that stage in Bantu linguistic development (see par. 3.3.2). For this reason it would perhaps be more appropriate and more descriptive to refer to this period as the **Dokeian Period.**

The year **1927** is generally accepted as having marked the beginning of a new era in the South African Bantu languages. In that year C.M. Doke revolutionised Bantu linguistic description with the presentation of a new model in his *Textbook of Zulu grammar* published by the University of the Witwatersrand Press. In the preamble to this work entitled "The phonetics of the Zulu language" (1926) Doke had *inter alia* already given the outlines of his new view of grammar for Zulu, applicable to Bantu languages in general.

Doke's theories made a deep impact on Bantu grammatical description for at least the subsequent three decades. Not all Bantu languages were affected to the same degree, though. The close of the functional period is once again arbitrary (around 1960) since descriptions conceived in the Dokeian framework continued to be produced for some time. For the purpose of this survey the year 1958, during which Van Wyk submitted his doctoral thesis on word division in Northern Sotho and Zulu, could be regarded as having inaugurated the next period - a significant, albeit gradual, change in direction for Northern Sotho grammatical descriptions in particular.

The functional period of Doke was marked by increased contributions by trained linguists, which eventually completely superseded the involvement of the missionaries.

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[1]Reference is made here to the emphasis placed on the function of speech in communication in recent trends which may be subsumed under the umbrella term 'functionalism' and which include, for example, Pragmatics, Functional Sentence Perspective, Discourse Analysis, the Speech Act Theory by Austin and Searle, and others.

The model propounded by Doke in his 1927 edition was not final, and several more editions were to follow in which Doke continued making corrections, additions and improvements (i.e. 1931, 1939, 1945, 1954 and 1961). Had his physical and mental alertness allowed it, he would have made even more improvements after the 1961 edition (Fivaz, ed., 1982:v).

3.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DOKE'S 'FUNCTIONAL' PERIOD IN RELATION TO BANTU LANGUAGES IN GENERAL AND TO NORTHERN SOTHO IN PARTICULAR

Without doubt Doke has emerged as the greatest missionary linguist in the history of Bantu linguistics. His theories have filtered through to many Bantu grammars. The extent to which the model was valid and applicable was naturally determined by the structure of each individual language. The Nguni languages have particularly been suited to the Dokeian model. In their case the work of Doke represents a link between traditional observations and more recent descriptions.

In the case of the Sotho languages the impact of the Dokeian model has not been as dramatic, although some grammars of Southern Sotho and Tswana were based on this framework.[2] Of all the Bantu languages Northern Sotho seems to have been influenced the least by the Dokeian approach and grammars continued to be written in the traditional framework right up to the 1950's, 1960's and beyond, which raises the question whether the recognition of the Dokeian era as an interim period between the traditional and the Van Wyk era would be of any particular significance in the development of Northern Sotho grammar. Since Northern Sotho remained relatively untouched by Doke's theories, it could be said that, for all practical purposes, Northern Sotho grammatical description was still cast in the traditional mould right up to at least the second half of the twentieth century. The devotion of a whole chapter to the Dokeian influence is, however, justified in the light of the fact that newer developments can only be viewed in proper perspective against aforegoing thoughts and trends. The very shortcomings in Doke's arguments constituted a point of departure for Van Wyk to develop a theory which would be able to deal more adequately with the

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[2] Van Eeden, B.I.C. (1941): Inleiding tot die studie van Suid-Sotho. Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery.
Doke, C.M. & S.M. Mofokeng (1957): Textbook of Southern Sotho grammar. London, Cape Town, New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
Cole, D.T. (1955): An introduction to Tswana grammar. London, Cape Town, New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

grammatical structure of the Bantu languages and of Northern Sotho in particular. Ziervogel, largely concentrating on Northern Sotho grammatical analysis as well, used some of Doke's principles as a springboard for re-evaluation and reformulation (e.g. Ziervogel, 1964).

3.3 TENETS OF THE DOKEIAN MODEL

The two major issues in Bantu which were addressed by Doke were the problem of word identification and the classification of word categories.

3.3.1 IDENTIFICATION OF THE BANTU WORD

Doke was mainly influenced by the English School of Daniel Jones, adopting a phonetic/prosodic approach towards the Bantu word. According to Ziervogel (1956:5 and 1964:212) the inspiration of Marouzeau[3] could be recognised in Doke's definition of the word. Doke's ideas could also be found as far back as the works of Colenso and Bryant. Doke (1935:220) describes the Bantu word as follows:

> "The Bantu word is dependent upon the Bantu law of stress and may be defined as 'that sound or group of sounds which is subject to one main stress and one only.'"

On the basis of this principle Doke concluded that the conjunctive way of writing is the correct one for Bantu. This viewpoint favoured the Nguni languages rather than the Sotho languages which have a marked absence of coalescence across word and morpheme boundaries. The "stress" described by Doke in actual fact proved to refer to the "length" which marks the penultimate syllable of a word. Van Wyk (1966a) describes this phenomenon more narrowly as acoustic prominence and points out that it is a strategy whereby sentences are rounded off, and not as Doke maintained, a means whereby words are delimited.

Doke's phonetic or prosodic criterion as the only one for word identification evoked criticism by later Bantuists, who pointed out that the distinction of words based on "one main stress"

[3]Cf. Blok, H.P. 1953: "Negro-African linguistics." Lingua 3. Note 21.

on the penultimate syllable yielded different possibilities, the result not necessarily being words and that disparities existed between conjunctive units and linguistic words (cf. *lomuntu* in par. 2.5). The identification of monosyllabic units such as the demonstratives of the first position as autonomous words in Northern Sotho would also have been problematic on the grounds of Doke's prosodic criterion of one main stress on the penultimate syllable. Lestrade (1936:61), for instance, pointed out that, for a definition to be theoretically sound, it

> "... must consider not merely one phase of the thing defined, however fundamental that phase may be, to the exclusion of other equally and perhaps even more fundamental phases."

In spite of these shortcomings, Doke's attempt deserves recognition, since it was the first in which the identification of words was based not on intuitions stemming from a European background, but on more scientifically motivated criteria.

3.3.2 CLASSIFICATION OF WORD CATEGORIES OR PARTS OF SPEECH

Doke recognised the conjunctive word as constituting the part of speech. While his definition of the Bantu word, however, was entirely based on a phonetic/prosodic principle, his definitions of word categories or parts of speech bespoke other considerations. The principles underlying his classification of word categories have probably been responsible for this period being labelled as the **functional** period (Wilkes, 1978a:150). According to Doke the *function* of a word in a sentence (presumably the syntactical characteristics) took precedence over its *formal* (presumably morphological) characteristics to determine to which part of speech a word belonged. Van Wyk (1966b:233) poses the question why the principle of 'function' should necessarily dominate over that of 'form' in a classification. Why 'function' and 'form' were the only principles on which a valid classification could be based was also not clear. Although the definitions of various parts of speech purported to be based on syntactic and morphological characteristics, some were in fact determined on semantic criteria. From the mixture of syntactic, morphological and semantic criteria applied in no fixed order, it is clear that word categories were not laid down according to consistent procedures or principles. Van Wyk (1968a) states that Doke's definitions were practically the same as those assigned to homonymic parts of speech in the "old" grammar, e.g. a *substantive* is 'a word signifying anything concrete or abstract, or any concept'; or: a *qualificative* is 'a word

which qualifies a substantive'.

The value of Doke's classification lay in the contribution it made towards a systematization of Bantu parts of speech into six functional groups and the classification of the ideophone and the copulative as separate parts of speech. His final classification yielded twelve parts of speech:

Six functional groups		**Twelve separate parts of speech**			
1. SUBSTANTIVE	:	(1)	Noun	(2)	Pronoun
2. QUALIFICATIVE	:	(3)	Adjective	(4)	Relative
		(5)	Enumerative	(6)	Possessive
3. PREDICATIVE	:	(7)	Verb	(8)	Copulative
4. DESCRIPTIVE	:	(9)	Adverb	(10)	Ideophone
5. CONJUNCTIVE	:	(11)	Conjunctive		
6. INTERJECTIVE	:	(12)	Interjective		

Lestrade (1936) later modified Doke's parts of speech slightly, since he found it difficult to see the full theoretical justification for grouping together, as one fundamental part of speech, words which showed such semantic, functional and morphological differences as did some of Doke's divisions.

3.4 THE DOKEIAN MODEL IN RELATION TO PRECEDING AND CONTEMPORARY LINGUISTIC WORK

3.4.1 THE DOKEIAN MODEL AS A REACTION TO THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH

Out of the realisation of the need for a more suitable descriptional model for the Bantu languages, Doke produced his *Textbook of Zulu grammar* (1927). Doke (1945:79) himself considered his main contribution in this work to have been:

> "... a new grammatical classification and treatment designed to get away from European and classical preconceptions, and use a mould more naturally suited to the structure of Bantu languages."

Some time before the appearance of Doke's textbook, several Bantuists had already commented on the undesirability of forcing the traditional model onto Bantu grammar. Werner (1919:109), for example, relates the futile attempt of European influenced grammarians to recognise and conjugate the verbs "to have" and "to be" in Bantu. She states:

> "This one fact shows how necessary it is for those who draw up grammars to take the language as they find it, instead of trying to fit it into the framework of any pre-conceived scheme."

Although Werner advocated renewal in various respects, it is interesting to note that in Doke's opinion (Doke, 1943:62) her approach in grammatical classification was still to a great extent prejudiced by European methods.

Jacottet (1927:xxiii) similarly claimed that his *Grammar of the Sesuto language* was conceived along more scientific lines, "endeavouring to explain the language in a manner suited to the language itself." Surprisingly Doke (1954:17) states that this grammar is one of the best examples of a grammar which still took the modern European languages as the basis of classification.

The references to Werner and Jacottet above, are just two examples to illustrate the general thought which dominated Bantu linguistic description during the second and third decades of this century. The need for renewal in Bantu linguistic description was thus gradually being addressed, but it was Doke's contribution which finally marked the end of the traditional era.

Doke discarded many inappropriate grammatical categories which had become part and parcel of Bantu grammatical description in the classical tradition, such as 'case', 'preposition' and 'article'. Some definitions, however, which were conceived with the European languages in mind, were retained. The treatment and interpretations of "moods" and "tenses" even up until today, are striking examples of the projection of preconceived ideas onto Bantu grammar.

3.4.2 THE DOKEIAN MODEL IN RELATION TO EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN STRUCTURALISM

At the time when Doke worked out his new model for Bantu grammar, changes were also taking place on the international front. In Europe De Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* - a series of lectures published in 1916 after the writer's death by his students - introduced a new school of thought. In this work De Saussure promulgated two fundamental distinctions: The first embodied a complete break with the Junggrammatiker, which, in contrast to classical tradition, were obsessively interested in historical as opposed to synchronic studies during the second half of the 19th century. De Saussure emphasised that the synchronic structure of a language could be studied independently of language history (diachronic study) and that synchronic analysis was the primary object of linguistic theory. This insistence on or over-emphasis of the descriptive synchronic method of linguistic analysis and neglect of the historical aspect, was criticised by later linguists.

De Saussure made another most important distinction, namely between what he calls respectively *la langue* and *la parole*, concepts which would later be taken up again by the generative linguists in their distinction *language competence* and *language performance*. The basic premise of the Saussurian school of thought was that each language was a self-contained structural system and that each of its elements should be seen as part of the system and not as isolated units. The fundamental viewpoint expressed here was responsible for this period in linguistic history becoming known as (European) structuralism.

European structuralism did not have a marked influence on Bantu grammatical description. It was only towards the end of the 1950's that the views of the European structuralist Reichling filtered through and affected especially the description of the Sotho languages through the works of E.B. van Wyk.

In the meantime a structural approach towards language analysis and description was developed in the United States under the leadership of Boas and Sapir. Bloomfield emerged as the leading figure of American structuralism, his publication of 1933, entitled *Language*, becoming a standard work. His approach dominated the international linguistic scene until about 1957. Lyons (1977a:16) points out that the deliberate break with traditional linguistic approaches of the past was sharper and more definitive in America than it was in Europe. The Bloomfieldian school, which was dominant in the United States after the Second World

War, vehemently expressed their rejection of traditional grammar. There is a notable correspondence between this movement and concurrent developments in Bantu grammar (see par. 3.4.3).

Doke claims that he largely worked out his model for Bantu independently of other trends and schools of thought:

> "I had certainly been stimulated by contact overseas with workers in phonetics and in different Bantu languages. But, as I look back, on the human side, **I must take the responsibility for the gradual development of what others have called my functional approach** (emphasis - IMK). I do not deny that other, quite different, approaches to Bantu grammatical treatment, may have their contribution to make, and I dare not criticize or condemn another man's method ... Still I must hold to the method which *to me* (emphasis - Doke) is the most satisfying." (Fivaz, ed., 1982:v).

The above is an illustration of the climate within which Bantu linguistic studies were conducted at that time. Bantuists worked largely independently and almost exclusively within their own paradigm, rarely formulating their general methodology, assumptions or objectives explicitly in relation to international linguistic developments. Wilkes (1978a) observes that these grammarians were probably relatively immune to "outside" influences on the international field of theoretical linguistics, because they themselves were just in the process of working out their own unique methodology and of getting it established. The framework within which they worked was in other words practical rather than theoretical. Grammatical studies were not undertaken with the explicit aim of furthering Bantu linguistics as a science or of complying with requirements for scientific inquiry.

3.4.3 THEORETICAL PROPERTIES COMMON TO DOKE'S MODEL AND BLOOMFIELDIAN STRUCTURALISM

Although Doke, as has been mentioned in the previous paragraph, emphasised that the working out of his theory was his own responsibility, some correlations between his approach and Bloomfieldian structuralism can be observed. It is probably because of these correlations that Doke is also said to have worked within a structural framework, although his model generally became known as the functional model in Bantu grammatical description (cf. par. 3.3.2). As observed by Fivaz (1974:24), neither Doke himself nor any of his adherents ever

discussed the theoretical properties of the Dokeian model explicitly. It is rather from the application of Doke's model that some of the tenets underlying his approach to language can be inferred. It seems appropriate at this point to highlight some characteristics of American structuralism which are also reflected in the Dokeian period.

3.4.3.1 *Unbiased description of languages according to their internal structure*

Internationally, comparative studies had enjoyed renewed interest in the 19th century, which led to the realisation that not all languages have the same grammatical structure and hence that the classical model was not suitable for all languages. In the pre-Bloomfieldian era Franz Boas had already pointed out in his *Handbook of American Indian languages* (1911) that the description of the American Indian languages, which had never been committed to writing before, was distorted and failed to appreciate the potential diversity of these languages, because traditional grammatical categories were imposed on them. An interesting parallel existed with regard to the Bantu languages. Many of these languages had never been reduced to writing before. This task was in most cases undertaken by foreigners who were unfamiliar with the unique structure of the Bantu languages. As a result the only model known to these researchers, i.e. the classical model, was uncritically projected onto Bantu grammar.

Both Bloomfieldian linguistics and the Dokeian model were thus a reaction against the imposition of preconceived systems onto other languages. They emphasised the importance of determining the grammatical system of a language with reference to its own internal structure.

3.4.3.2 *Empiricist approach*

The empiricist approach which marked the international scene during the early decades of the twentieth century propagated that only **observable data** were relevant to language description. The working method had to be objective and the language data themselves had to serve as points of departure, not any preconceived views on the language material. This approach was particularly suited to the description of many "exotic" languages, i.e. those with structures quite different from the familiar European languages, which were being recorded

at the time (cf. Pearson, 1977:338). The structuralists proceeded inductively, attempting to extract their theory from collections of primary data. Generalisations were only regarded as useful in so far as they were based on inductive methods applied to a fixed set of (and therefore actually observable) utterances. **Predictive generalisations** and **language universals** which decried the unique structure of individual languages, were not in the interest of the structuralists. Though they did not deny the existence of universals outright, they criticised the tendency of older linguists of ascribing certain properties to all languages. In European linguistics, however, generalisations were implemented freely.

Mental processes such as subjective judgments, evaluations and introspections which underlie the observable data, were not regarded as relevant. In practice this meant that any language facts which could not be mechanically ordered or rigorously described were not considered in language description. Both Bloomfieldian and Dokeian linguistics advocated the view (the former explicitly and the latter implicitly) that speech could be accounted for in terms of behaviour or analogy, in other words that linguistic competence is a set of habits acquired by learning. For this reason this approach has also been described as 'behaviouristic', 'mechanist' or 'non-mentalist'. This is the framework within which Doke conducted his analysis of Bantu grammar.

The above approach constituted a significant limitation in both the Bloomfieldian and Dokeian traditions, particularly since it was not able to account for the creative ability of a speaker to produce new sentences which he has never made or heard before. The field of "meaning" was said to be neglected in the structuralists' account of language description.

3.4.3.3 *Descriptivism*

Linguistic analysis was **descriptive** in nature as opposed to the normative/prescriptive tendency of traditional schools of thought. Descriptions were based on primary data and not dictated by preconceived definitions or rules for 'correct' or 'pure' forms of a grammar. In the traditional period the emphasis was on reading and writing. Much attention was paid to these skills at the expense of practical skills, since it was believed that reading and writing were indispensable to preserve the standard, pure or correct form of a grammar. Although the dichotomy between the theoretical and practical skills was beginning to be realised at that time, the emphasis on theoretical activities was so deeply engrained, particularly in the case

of the Bantu languages, that teaching in this framework continued right up to the modern period.

3.4.3.4 *Taxonomy*

The essence of the structuralistic approach was the acknowledgement that language had a structure which manifested itself in regularities, patterns or rules which had to be discovered methodologically. The structuralists' analysis was essentially a classificatory or taxonomic exercise, the main aim being to list elements and classes of linguistic units. It was believed moreover that the linguistic analysis was to have to take place in a specific linear direction. According to Bloomfield, for example, the discovery of linguistic structure lay firstly in the segmentation of a stream of language and secondly in the grouping of those segments into classes. The first segmentation and classification would be at the phonological level, resulting in the discovery of phonemes, while the second level, the level of morphology, would result in the discovery of the morphemes. The discovery was always to proceed from the phoneme to the morpheme and never vice versa. On both of the levels the approach is structural in the sense that the language is supposed to be composed of 'strings' of phonemes and morphemes, i.e. phonemes and morphemes in sequence.

It was Bloomfield's aim to be completely empirical and scientific and he hoped to achieve a mathematically precise system of language analysis and description by dealing only with fixed sets of utterances. This resulted in the concentration on two major levels, namely phonology and morphology. His adoption of an extreme theoretical viewpoint whereby meaning was not considered important in establishing the phonology and the grammar, was a reaction against the notional grammar of the traditional approach. Syntactic and semantic studies were also conspicuously limited in Doke's contributions.

Various models and schools of thought have been subsumed under the blanket term 'taxonomic' (e.g. Structural linguistics, Descriptive linguistics and Tagmemics). Since they are in essence classificatory and do not proceed to the construction and testing of a theory, they may be referred to as pre-theoretical or pre-scientific constructions (cf. par. 3.4.3.5).

The Dokeian model was classificatory primarily with regard to *words*. These were classified in a way which Doke believed to do justice to the unique structure of the Bantu languages.

3.4.3.5 *Pre-scientific status of the theory*

The break with traditional grammar was accompanied by greater autonomy of linguistic studies. The study of language had previously been intimately connected with other disciplines such as philosophy, rhetoric, pedagogy and literary criticism. For Bloomfield "scientific" in the 1930's implied a restriction of evidence to empirical data. The work of scientific linguistics was primarily classificatory and descriptive. In spite of having acquired greater independency, the study of language still fell short of scientific requirements. Fivaz (1974:27), for example, questions the scientific status of the structuralists' classificatory or taxonomic exercises, since they lacked explanatory power. He states that such analyses which terminate on the level of observation, description and classification without proceeding to the final stage of deductively formulated theory, may be termed pre-theoretical descriptions. It was the transformationalists who later laid claim to completeness of scientific inquiry by incorporating a stage involving the construction and testing of a theory.

Requirements of scientific inquiry have been dealt with at length elsewhere (Fivaz, 1974; Poulos, 1981, and others) and it is not my intention to deal with these requirements in detail here, since this would go beyond the scope of this study.

3.5 APPLICATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF THE DOKEIAN MODEL BY OTHER BANTUISTS

3.5.1 GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF DOKE'S FRAMEWORK OF DESCRIPTION

Cole (1971:14) describes the overall value of Doke's model as one that

> "... enables the researcher to get to grips very rapidly and efficiently with the vast bulk of the morphology of a Bantu language, with little risk of overlooking significant features, and it provides a descriptive framework which will readily accommodate almost all of the data collected."

The contribution of the functional period lay in the tremendous progress which was made, not only in the description of the Bantu languages, but also in the development of a methodology on which these descriptions were based. The Dokeian model provided grammarians with a

clear directive at a time during which the development of Bantu grammatical description was still relatively young and unestablished. The new and unique approach was gradually making an impact on the broader Bantu linguistic scene as analysts loosed themselves from the apron strings of the classical languages.

Writing as recently as 1989, Louw (*In* Swanepoel, ed., 1989:20) is of the opinion that the Dokeian approach has outlined such a solid foundation that it would be rather difficult to make any drastic changes. He foresees, however, that this approach will, in the near future, undergo a great change with the impact of new language theories. These changes would probably be most urgent in the fields of syntax and semantics where Doke's contributions were rather limited.

In the course of time the impact and applicational value of the Dokeian model have been varied. Some scholars adhered very closely to the principles of Doke (e.g. Cole, 1955; Malcolm, 1949 and Van Eeden, 1941, 1956), while others only accepted the new model in part (e.g. Ziervogel, 1952 and Cope, 1957. Cf. par. 3.5.2 and 3.5.3 respectively). Writing in 1968 Van Wyk stated that the functional approach of Doke had rapidly been losing ground in South Africa over the preceding number of years (Van Wyk, 1968a). In its place an approach based more on American structural linguistic principles and techniques had been developed mainly at the English medium universities such as the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and the Rhodes University in Grahamstown. At the University of South Africa an adapted form of the Dokeian model had been worked out by Ziervogel. In most of the Afrikaans medium universities, as Van Wyk (1968a) points out, a Dutch inspired structural approach had replaced the Dokeian model.

3.5.2 ZIERVOGEL'S APPROACH

Realising that the phonetic principle, which was used as the sole marker of word boundaries by Doke, could not be applied throughout, Ziervogel proposed a new approach to the word which he presented for the first time in 1952 in *A grammar of Swazi.* This approach was based on morphological considerations gleaned from Meinhof's works. Since Meinhof himself had accepted the Bantu word as self-evident, he didn't consider it necessary to define it explicitly. Consequently Ziervogel's morphological approach was in actual fact based on an interpretation of Meinhof's view on the Bantu word (Ziervogel, 1964:212). The word was

basically identified as consisting of a root plus prefixes and suffixes. In a later work entitled *A grammar of Northern Transvaal Ndebele* (1959), Ziervogel attempted to extend his definition by including *inter alia* functional, morphological, prosodical and semantic principles. In the field of Northern Sotho grammar Ziervogel's contributions (of which those having appeared up to and including 1957 are mentioned in par. 3.7 below) are highly valued, but his method of analysis did not have such an extensive influence on the broader Bantu grammatical front, as to secure it a special slot amongst and alongside the other periods recognised generally in Bantu linguistic history. Chronologically the "School of Ziervogel" spanned the transition from the Dokeian period to the Van Wyk era. The model which Ziervogel developed largely remained a personal one and did not reflect the influence of Van Wyk. Ziervogel in fact expressed his doubts as to whether Van Wyk's working method was really as scientific as he claimed it to be (cf. par. 4.4.3.2).

3.5.3 COPE'S APPROACH

Like Ziervogel, Cope (1957) also deviated from Doke's "prosodic" approach and rather followed the syntactically based method propounded by the London linguist Malcolm Guthrie (Guthrie, 1948). The latter accepted the sentence as the most fundamental fact of a language in question. The breaks in a sentence could only be discovered from the point of view of syntax and morphology. Guthrie applied various criteria to segments of sentences in order to establish their autonomy (e.g. isolation - by which Guthrie meant internal stability -, interpolation or omission, substitution, interruption and transposition). Van Wyk (1968b:556) states that Guthrie's approach amounted in principle to a recognition of differences in word autonomy.

3.6 SYNOPSIS

For easy reference a short point by point synopsis of the most salient features of the Dokeian approach, as they emerged in this chapter so far, is given below:

(a) Doke's model was an attempt to provide a new descriptional framework more suitable to the internal structure of the Bantu languages.

(b) The Bantu word was identified on phonetic/prosodic principles, i.e. by "one main stress".

(c) Parts of speech were grouped together into six functional groups, yielding a total of twelve parts of speech.

(d) Some categories which proved to be inappropriate in Bantu linguistic description, such as 'case', 'preposition' and 'article' were discarded from Bantu linguistic terminology.

(e) Some new parts of speech such as the ideophone and the copulative were introduced.

(f) Although Doke claimed his approach to be uniquely Bantu, many of his definitions showed great similarity with those in the classical tradition. Preconceived definitions, inspired by the traditional framework, clearly influenced the Bantuists' treatment of 'mood' and 'tense', for example.

(g) Criteria chosen by Doke to define the different parts of speech were not applied systematically, some parts of speech being described in notional terms, some in functional terms and others according to their structure.

(h) During the Dokeian period Bantu grammatical studies were still relatively immune to developments on the international linguistic front.

(i) Doke never explicitly formulated the theory underlying his methodology, but from the applications of his model, various features can be deduced which characterised his approach. Similar features, though advocated more explicitly, marked the concurrent American structuralism, for example:

Empiricist approach: Pre-occupation with synchronic description and observable or primary data. Since the emphasis was on observable data, this approach favoured theoretical skills such as reading and writing. Semantics as a linguistic field was neglected, since meaning was not directly accessible to empirical observation. Predictive generalisations and language universals were not generally accepted, since this would have defeited the structuralists' aim of providing an unbiased description of a language according to its internal structure.

Behaviourist, non-mentalist or mechanist approach: Speech was believed to be acquired by habit.

Taxonomic approach: The analysis was in principle classificatory with a strict observance of discovery procedures regarding different levels of analysis. The fields

of phonology and morphology were given precedence over those of semantics and syntax. The fact that linguistic phenomena were often treated autonomously without regard for their interaction with other principles and cognitive parameters, predictably led to many wrong interpretations and misrepresentations of linguistic phenomena (cf. Hendrikse, 1990).

(j) The Dokeian approach has been described as pre-theoretical or pre-scientific because it did not progress beyond the point of description and classification to provide a deductively formulated theory. In other words it lacked explanatory power.

3.7 NORTHERN SOTHO CONTRIBUTIONS DURING THE FUNCTIONAL PERIOD

Various works referring to or dealing with Northern Sotho linguistic issues are listed in the following section. These lists do not purport to be complete, but they should be fairly representative of the work produced in this field during the period 1927 until about 1957. It should be noted here that not all the works are necessarily illustrative of the Dokeian approach. In fact, the majority of descriptions were still conducted within the classical framework.

3.7.1 PEDAGOGICAL MANUALS

Northern Sotho was the first Bantu language offered as a school subject to white students. This was in the year 1940 and there were four students. In 1945 Northern Sotho was accepted as a modern language for the curriculum of the intermediate school in the Transvaal. As far as black school education is concerned, Northern Sotho was already offered as a subject from 1937.

The introduction and development of Northern Sotho as a school subject progressed slowly due to an initial lack of suitable textbooks and qualified teachers. Textbooks which were available by 1940 for school or college use could not all be used with the same measure of success and each had their specific shortcomings, because they were not necessarily intended for school use. In the Dokeian period suitable pedagogical manuals both for the mother-tongue speaker and the foreign learner became a pressing need. The result was an

increased number of grammatical works intended for school use, the writers of which were mostly Europeans, although mother-tongue speakers soon came to the fore as well.

Some examples of grammar books produced during this period, chronologically arranged according to first/only editions, include the following:

1931 Franz, G.H. *Thellenyane; 'n handleiding van Noord-Sotho vir beginners in Afrikaans*. Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Beperk.

This was written as a practical handbook for Afrikaans students wanting to speak Northern Sotho. It contains short guidelines on the pronunciation of vowels and consonants as well as grammatical exercises. It was not intended by its author to be an in-depth scientific analysis of Northern Sotho grammar. The principles of Doke's theory were not applied in this work yet. With regard to various grammatical aspects, Franz made use of correlations with phenomena in Afrikaans as his method for discussion, instead of approaching phenomena from a Bantu point of view. For lack of a better term Franz still made use of 'prepositions' which had been discarded by Doke. He included a variety of concordial morphemes and particles under the umbrella term 'koppelwoordjie'. Nowhere did he refer to the copulative, a category recognised by Doke in his classification of parts of speech. Up until 1939 when T.M.H. Endemann's grammar appeared, this was the only grammar in Afrikaans for Northern Sotho.

n.d.(±1931) Franz, G.H. *Motsoša-Lenyôra (Seripa sa I). Pukana ya Thutô ya Polêlô ya Sesotho e e lekanetšexo* Std. 1. (The Arouser of Thirst, Part I. Graded booklet for the study of the Sesotho language). London, Glasgow: Blackie & Son, Ltd.

Motsoša-Lenyôra (Seripa sa II). Pukana ya Thutô ya Polêlô ya Sesotho e e lekanetšexo Std. 2. London, Glasgow: Blackie & Son, Ltd.

These little books intended for black school children of Standards 1 and 2, contained elementary language exercises. Doke (1945:88) described them as being based upon the direct method of mother-tongue teaching and as being well suited to their purpose.

1931 Schwellnus, P.E. *Thlalosa-Polêlô: Grammar ya Sesotho se se bolêlwaxo dileteng tša Transvaal*[4] (The Explainer of Language: Grammar of Sesotho spoken in the districts of the Transvaal). London, Glasgow: Blackie & Son, Ltd.

This work attempts to explain English technical terms in Northern Sotho and to provide suitable equivalents for terms such as 'grammar', 'sounds', 'syllables', 'word', 'sentence', 'noun', etc. Remnants of the classical model are still clearly noticeable, e.g. the discussion of cases (p.16), degrees of comparison (p.23, 24) and the conjugation of verbs (p.31).

1939a Endemann, T.M.H. *Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho (Sepedi).* Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

Apart from grammatical exercises and explanations Endemann's grammar also contained an introduction on the phonetics of the language. Some classical terms, such as 'genitiefskakelwoord' were still used. In spite of its shortcomings and an orthography which had become outdated, this handbook was used by most schools for a considerable time. In Doke's opinion (Doke, 1945:88) this grammar was an example of "the scientific interest being taken in Bantu languages, especially in the Sotho group, by young Afrikaans graduates."

1940 Barutiši ba sekolo sa Pax (Teachers of Pax College). *Kxaša-Peu I: Thutô ya Sesotho ê lekanyeditšwe sekolo sa borutiši.* (Sowing seed. Sesotho instruction designed for the Teachers' Training College). Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers.

This exercise book of 194 pages, based on reading lessons, was prepared primarily for Northern Sotho speaking students in Teachers' Training Colleges.

1941 Madiba, M.J.S. *Thutô ya Polêlô. (Sesotho sa Transvaal). E ngwalêtšwe sehlôpha sa V le VI.* (Language study - Transvaal Sesotho. Designed for standards V and VI). Pretoria: Union Booksellers, Ltd.

As in the case of the preceding work, this book of 93 pages was written in

[4]In the title as given by Schwellnus, the s in Thlalosa should have appeared with its diacritic (i.e. š) as in tša, to indicate prepalatal articulation.

Northern Sotho and aimed to help the student to develop and improve his knowledge of his mother tongue. It was intended for standards V and VI, but was also suitable for College use.

1941 Van Zyl, H.J. *Thika-Polêlô; dithutô tša mphatô wa pele dikôlông tša barutiší le Std. VI le VII.* (Encompassing study of language - lit.: a complete attack on language; lessons for first year students of Training Colleges as well as for standards VI and VII). Pretoria: Union Booksellers, Ltd.
(Another exercise book for standards VII and VIII was to follow later in 1966, published by Bona Press, Ltd. in Johannesburg).
Written once again primarily for the Northern Sotho speaking student, this was a very useful practical vernacular study and exercise book for use in Teachers' Training Colleges and for pupils in secondary schools.

On reviewing the preceding three works (i.e. *Kxaša-Peu, Thutô ya Polêlô* and *Thika-Polêlô*), Lestrade (1944:27) observes that formal grammar is unfortunately relegated to a position of minor importance. Systematized knowledge as opposed to knowledge *per se* would be needed in order to develop systematic thinking about certain aspects of language.

1949 Ziervogel, D. *Noord-Sotho-Leerboek: Leesstukke en 'n woordelys met oefeninge en vertaling*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
In the preface to the first edition[5] Ziervogel stresses *inter alia* that:

> "Hoewel die grammatiese terminologie aansluit by die gangbare, is sorg gedra om die Europese terminologie nie klakkeloos op Sotho oor te dra nie maar aan te pas by die struktuur van 'n Bantoetaal."

Although Ziervogel took care not to impose European categories unaltered onto Bantu structure, his grammar still leaned heavily on translation exercises as did traditional grammars as a means of instruction. It also contained reading passages and a word list.

[5]A second revised and extended edition appeared in 1953 under the title Noord-Sotho-Leerboek met oefeninge en vertalings benewens leesstukke en 'n woordelys.

In his survey of available school grammars up until 1951, Van Heerden (1953) rates Ziervogel's (1949) teaching book as the most usable one, although it did not comply with all the requirements of the syllabus.

Judging by the availability of Northern Sotho grammars written in Afrikaans up to that time (cf. Franz, 1931; Endemann, 1939a and Ziervogel, 1949) it seems as if the interest in Northern Sotho mainly stemmed from Afrikaans speaking persons. (Grammars for other Bantu languages were mostly written in English). Van Heerden describes the Afrikaans tendency in Northern Sotho description to the initial work done in this language by German and Afrikaans missionaries such as Schwellnus, Franz, Eiselen, Hoffmann and Endemann (K. Endemann as well as his son C. Endemann).

1950 Van Zyl, H.J. *Dithutô tša Polêlô. Std. III le IV*; *Dithutô tša Polêlô. Std. V le VI.* Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Beperk.
These books contain exercises in Northern Sotho which were mostly to be completed according to given examples.

1952 Franz, G.H. *Maitekellô*. Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Beperk.
This series (including *Phulamadibogo, Bosothong* and *Matshelô*) consists of a number of reading lessons with questions and exercises in Northern Sotho for non mother-tongue beginners.

1952 Grobbelaar, J.C. *Junior Sepedi, 'n handleiding met oefeninge vir die aanleer van Noord-Sotho vir Standerd 7 en Standerd 8.* Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
The exercises were mainly geared to develop the student's reading and writing skills through translation, comprehension exercises, and drill of constructions (which were sometimes forced, unnatural or non-idiomatic for the sake of familiarising the student with the structure of the language).

During the early years quite a number of grammar books written in Northern Sotho were the work of Europeans, but gradually mother-tongue speakers also started making their contributions. These works consisted mainly of exercises in Northern Sotho with no grammatical analyses or explanations of linguistic phenomena:

1952 Rakoma, J.R.D. *A o ka hlatha? Sesotho sa Transvaal*. (Do you know the answer? Transvaal Sesotho). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

1954 Lekala, J.S. *Lemogang Polêlô. Sehlopha sa V le VI*. (Let us take note of language. Standards V and VI). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

3.7.2 SPECIALIZED GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

After the initial need for and explicable pre-occupation with general grammar books in Bantu by the missionaries, the attention was gradually beginning to be placed on individual grammatical phenomena. In the course of time this led to increasing specialization. Some examples worth mentioning which deal with Northern Sotho in particular or refer to this Bantu language in their analyses, are mentioned below. Since 1958 is treated as having introduced the following period in Northern Sotho grammatical description in this survey, only publications up to and including 1957 will be referred to in this section.

1927 Van Warmelo, N.J. *Die Gliederung der südafrikanischen Bantusprachen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen.
Herein especially Northern Sotho grammar is compared with the grammar of other South African Bantu languages.

1936 Coertze, P.J. "Die betekenis en funksie van die voorvoegsel van selfstandige naamwoorde in die Sotho-Tswana-groep van Bantoetale." *Bantu Studies* 10(1).

1938 Lestrade, G.P. "Locative-class nouns and formatives in Sotho." *Bantu Studies* 12.

1940 Van Zyl, D.P.J. *Die vorm van die kwalifikatief in die Bantoetale van die Unie*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

1945 Letele, G.L. "The noun-class-prefix in the Sotho group of Bantu languages." *Fort Hare Papers* 1(2).

1948 Ziervogel, D. *Lokatiefvorming met pre- en suffikse in die Bantoetale*. Unpublished D.Litt. thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1951 Guma, S.M. *A comparative study of the ideophone in Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

1951 Kunene, D.P. *Comparative study of the deficient verb in Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

1953 Van Wyk, E.B. *Die kopulatiewe van Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1955a & b Van Wyk, E.B. "Die kopulatiewe van Noord-Sotho." *Kongo-Overzee* 21(1) (Part 1); 21(3-4) (Part 2).

1957 Van Wyk, E.B. "Potential and progressive constructions in Northern Sotho." *African Studies* 16(3).

Wilkes (1978a:117) rates this work as one of the best synchronic-diachronic studies produced during that time. It in fact paved the way for later research regarding rank-shifting (cf. Chapter 5) and made Bantuists aware of the contribution which such studies could make towards the better understanding of grammatical phenomena.

3.7.3 ORTHOGRAPHIES, WRITING SYSTEMS, PHONETICS, PHONOLOGY AND TONOLOGY

1927 Van Warmelo, N.J. *Die Gliederung der südafrikanischen Bantusprachen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen.

A section of this work is devoted to a comparison of the phonetics of the Sotho languages, including Northern Sotho, with that of other South African Bantu languages.

1928 Lestrade, G.P. "Some remarks on the practical orthography of the South African Bantu languages." *Bantu Studies* 3(3).

This article contains references, amongst others, to the phonetics of Northern Sotho.

1929a Tucker, A.N. *The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co.

Tone marking and phonetic phenomena such as labialisation are treated in the three main Sotho types with the orthography of the IPA as basis.

1929b Tucker, A.N. *Suggestions for the spelling of Transvaal Sesuto*. International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (I.I.A.L.C.). Memorandum 7. London: Oxford University Press.

1930 Lestrade, G.P. "The practical orthography of Transvaal Sotho." *Bantu Studies* 4(1).

1942 Schwellnus, P.E. *Kima le kxalô le mešitô ya dirêtô*. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.

The English title is rather unsatisfactorily rendered as accent, intonation and poetic diction. *Kima* is actually 'stress', while *mešitô ya dirêtô* more appropriately refers to prosody. Length (*kišô*) is also dealt with in the book, but this is not reflected in its title. Schwellnus wrote this work through the medium of Northern Sotho, which makes it a remarkable achievement viewed the technical terminology which had to be either adapted or newly coined.

1942 Trümpelmann, H.D. *Intonasie in Sepedi*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1943 Endemann, T.M.H. *Palatalisering en labialisering in Sepedi*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1945 Nhlapo, J.M. *Nguni and Sotho*. Cape Town: The African Bookman.

Herein the writer states the case for the unification of the Bantu languages and their dialects through their reduction to two languages, namely Nguni and Sotho. Nhlapo proposes that the spoken varieties of Nguni (including Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele as main varieties) and Sotho (Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana) respectively be standardized in a written form in an attempt to strive towards a possible standardized indigenous African language and to overcome tribal and ethnic division. Although he considers, for example, the adoption of one Bantu orthography, free borrowing of new words and the use of one Bantu grammar book as means of encouraging unification, he does not express an opinion on how the unification can be brought about.[6]

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[6]The idea of a possible unification of the Bantu languages has been approached cautiously in the course of time by a number of Bantuists, such as Tucker, Lestrade, Doke, Cole and Westphal, amongst others. Most recently, Alexander (1989) of the ANC/SACP alliance, in speculating on policies in a post-apartheid era, has heralded Nhlapo - also a member of the ANC - as "the voice of the future". According to Alexander, Nhlapo was "one of the first South Africans to approach the question of language and national unity from a perspective that was not Anglocentric or elitist, while being in complete accord with the state-of-the-art in regard to linguistic science at the time." (op. cit.:32).

Nhlapo's suggestions were "shot down" and ridiculed in the forties and fifties, and even at the end of the eighties similar sentiments were expressed in academic and political circles, as observed by Alexander. Alexander is of the opinion that the development of a written Standard Nguni and Standard Sotho, as an initial phase of a very long-term process of "uniformation", need not and will not lead to the disappearance of Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Siswati, Sipedi (sic.), Tswana and their dialects. It may, however, be expected that over a long time the spoken standard - used in formal and relatively formal settings, such as school, church, law-courts, etc. - will begin to approximate to the written standard even though individuals will still betray their regional and social origins via their accent and intonation.

Nhlapo (in a pamphlet written in 1944 under the title Bantu Babel: Will the Bantu languages live?) had proposed that, while the question of the African Babel of tongues was being cleared up, English was to be promoted as the lingua franca. To this Alexander (1989:53-54) responds as follows:

"We can also accept as a perfectly feasible projection the idea that after an initial phase of the dominance

1949 Tucker, A.N. "Sotho-Nguni orthography and tone-marking." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13.

1955 Cronjé, A.P.J. *Die Sotho-tale in die Bantu-lokasie van Pretoria: 'n Studie van fonologiese aanpassing* (The Sotho languages in the Bantu location of Pretoria: a study of phonological adaptation). Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

3.7.4 PHRASE BOOKS, DICTIONARIES, WORD LISTS AND VOCABULARIES

Scientific interest in lexicography developed in the course of time. The earlier interest in dictionary writing was obviously to meet practical requirements.

1939b Endemann, T.M.H. *Sotho-woordelys; met die Afrikaanse ekwivalente versamel uit bestaande Sotho-literatuur*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
A useful Northern Sotho-Afrikaans word list consisting of 56 pages.

1942 Kriel, T.J. *Sotho-Afrikaanse woordeboek*. Noord-Sotho - Afrikaans. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
While teaching at the Botšhabelo Mission station near Middelburg, Kriel became aware of the fact that no suitable dictionary existed to meet the need of especially black teachers in training. He immediately embarked upon the project of compiling such a dictionary which is indicated erroneously in Doke (1945:88) to have appeared in 1932. Kriel[7] tells of the initial set-back he had when he presented his manuscript to the publisher J.L. van Schaik in Pretoria in 1941. Since Kriel's work was completely new and unknown, Van Schaik requested that somebody first certify that the dictionary was authentic. Kriel subsequently approached the then chairman of the Sesotho Language Board and Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal at that time, Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen. It just so happened that at the very moment Kriel went to see

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of English, one or other of the indigenous African languages, such as a unified or standardised "Nguni", for example, might well become the lingua franca of a free Azania/South Africa. Such a path of development would certainly be quite consistent with developments in many parts of the world, especially in Africa."

[7]Personal interview with Dr. T.J. Kriel recorded in Pietersburg in 1989 by Prof. L.J. Louwrens of the University of South Africa and Prof. D.J. Prinsloo of the University of Pretoria.

Eiselen, the latter was in a meeting which had been convened with the specific purpose of appointing a suitable person to compile a Northern Sotho dictionary. Eiselen immediately recognised the value of Kriel's work, but added that this "diamond" would have been of greater importance had it been in English, the medium of instruction, instead of in Afrikaans. Kriel accepted the challenge, finally producing the first Northern Sotho-English dictionary in 1950. This was published under the title *The new Sesotho-English dictionary*. In the meantime his Northern Sotho-Afrikaans dictionary had been accepted for publication and appeared for the first time in 1942 (cf. Lestrade, 1944:23; Lombard, 1970:13; Kriel, 1966: "Inleiding"). Other records report its first publication to have been in 1941 (according to Niemandt, 1959:9). An enlargement of Kriel's *Sotho-Afrikaanse woordeboek* was temporarily suspended until the compiler had completed the English version thereof.

1950 Kriel, T.J. *The new Sesotho-English dictionary*. Johannesburg: A.P.B.

1954b Ziervogel, D. *Van Schaik's Northern Sotho phrase book with vocabulary for use in the Transvaal*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

1957 Kotzé, N.J. *Noord-Sotho - Afrikaans; Afrikaans - Noord-Sotho woordelys (met 'n byvoegsel van Sotho-vakterminologie vir die gebruik in Bantoeskole)*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.

3.7.5 DIALECT STUDIES ON NORTHERN SOTHO

1929 Eiselen, W.W.M. "Zur Erforschung des Lovelu-Dialektes." *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 19(2).
A comparative phonetic analysis of the Lobedu dialect followed by texts and translations.

1932 Tucker, A.N. "Some little known dialects of Sepedi." *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 35, Abt.3: *Afrikanische Studien*:133-142.

1936 Prinsloo, C.W. *Klank- en vormleer van Sekoni*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1948 Ferreira, J.A. *Klank- en vormleer van Lovedu*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1954a Ziervogel, D. *The Eastern Sotho*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
Apart from a tribal and historical survey of the Pai, Kutswe and Pulana tribes

in the Pilgrim's Rest district of the Transvaal, this work contains phonological and grammatical characteristics of the dialects as spoken by these tribes.

3.8 SOME ASPECTS OF THE DOKEIAN MODEL IN TEACHING

A teaching model had never been formulated explicitly by Doke. Hence the methods or goals practised or strived at during the Dokeian period can only be inferred from the applications of his model and from implicit correspondences with its American contemporary, i.e. Bloomfieldian structuralism.

Language was viewed as a set of conditioned human responses to physical or chemical stimuli. The responses were neither instinctive nor inherited and had to be acquired by repetition. Teaching a language successfully was therefore held to be synonymous with teaching a set of language habits. Habit-producing activities included pattern-practice drills, mimicry of the teacher and the memorisation of dialogues. This method became known as the audiolingual method. Some of its assumptions (as observed by Hayes et al., 1987:158) which were a reaction to those of traditional language teaching included the following:

(a) Language is primarily speech, not writing. Traditional grammar, on the other hand, emphasised the primacy of reading and writing.

(b) Language is a set of speech habits largely learned through a process of conditioning and many repetitive drills. As opposed to traditional grammar which leaned heavily on translation exercises as a means of acquiring proficiency in a foreign language, the audiolingual method emphasised mimicry and the memorisation of utterances and dialogues.

(c) The actual language should be taught, not merely the facts about the language being taught. Once again, this assumption was a reaction to the traditional emphasis on grammatical explanation.

(d) Language is what native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say. Traditional grammars were conceived in the form of rules which purported to prescribe "correct" speech.

(e) Languages are more different than they are alike. In the classical tradition the individuality of languages was not appreciated, since the Latinistic or European model was uncritically imposed on foreign languages.

The audiolingual method represented a departure from the classical tradition which emphasised translation exercises and the explanation of grammatical phenomena at the expense of the development of communicative competence. The audiolingual method attempted to remedy this state of affairs by introducing a practical component. Grammatical terminology was avoided as far as possible, while much opportunity was given to develop desired language behaviour through pattern-drills. Since the teaching method entailed an ordered exposure to the grammar of the language, high frequency constructions received just as much emphasis as did low frequency constructions. The teaching material was often relegated to preconceived situations especially innovated with the view to familiarising the student with the grammatical structure of the foreign language. Although the stimulus-response type of teaching program enabled the student to acquire a measure of practical competence, it did not mean that he would be able to communicate effectively in real life situations, where participants were expected to be able to innovate and to be relevant so as to contribute successfully to the interaction. The behaviouristic explanation for language acquisition was eventually no longer considered to be the ideal method of language teaching. A number of linguistic movements which were later subsumed under the term "functionalism" (not to be confused with Doke's functional school) were to "revive" the interest in semantics as a study field by paying particular attention to questions of the function and relevancy of statements in communication situations (see Chapter 5).

The weaknesses of the audiolingual method in its extreme application were apparent. The absence of the creative element, for example, was one of the key issues addressed by the transformationalists. They pointed out that pattern drills were without theoretical foundation and that the mechanist, behaviouristic approach of American structuralism made no provision for and could not account for the ability of an individual to innovate, as in the production of new sentences, by habit.

In a less extreme form of application the audiolingual method can still be relevant as stated by Engelbrecht (1978:228) in a study conducted on the teaching of Bantu languages to white children in primary schools:

> "... it seems that imitation and repetition (the audiolingual method) play an important role in language acquisition provided the elicited repetition is not mechanical, out of context, and unduly prolonged. There must be progress from purposeful drill to creative language production; both of these are built into the dialogue technique."

Engelbrecht also states, however, (op. cit.:220) that it is up to the teacher to find the means whereby the pupils will be able to master the skills required for effective language learning.

The teaching of Northern Sotho at university level since the early 1930's was conducted in the theoretic-academically orientated framework of the classical tradition. This framework remained the undisputed teaching method for a number of decades. Goslin (1983:49) states that provision had been made for a practical component since the inception of Northern Sotho as a subject at the University of Pretoria. However, the services of a mother-tongue assistant, who had been appointed for this purpose, were not effectively utilised. A restructuring of the course in the 1960's resulted in some improvement. It was only in 1976 that the practical component was given its rightful place in the training program of first year Northern Sotho students through the effective use of a language laboratory. On the international front language laboratories had successfully been implemented in the teaching of foreign languages, a practice which gained world-wide popularity in 1944 through the work of two French phoneticians, Pierre Delattre and Frederick Eddy at the University of Oklahoma.[8] With its emphasis on stimulus-response type of programmed material, the audiolingual method was especially suited to teaching in language laboratories.

[8]Cf. Hocking, E. 1968 "The language laboratory in the U.S.A." In Jalling, H., ed.

CHAPTER 4
THE STRUCTURAL PERIOD (VAN WYK ERA)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1958 appeared a doctoral thesis by E.B. van Wyk entitled *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe: 'n Bydrae tot die vraagstuk van woord-identifikasie in die Bantoetale* (Word division in Northern Sotho and Zulu: A contribution regarding the problem of word identification in the Bantu languages) which was to steer the grammatical approach towards the Bantu languages in a new direction. The Dokeian approach had become so firmly established as a descriptional model, that its replacement by other models was almost inconceivable. In fact, grammatical analyses based on the Dokeian approach as well as on adaptations of this model, continued to be produced for quite some time beyond 1958. It is also true, however, that in the course of time some of Doke's theoretical principles were found to be anomalous or inadequate. In the light of linguistic insights gained especially from European structuralists, Van Wyk attempted to address these anomalies.

In order to distinguish the Dokeian approach, which displays some remarkable affinities with Bloomfieldian structuralism - though not through any conscious adherence by Doke - from the era under discussion in this chapter, the latter has also been referred to as the "new" structural model (cf. Louwrens, 1985b:ix).

The termination of the structural or Van Wyk era is once again arbitrary. According to Wilkes (1978a & b) and Von Staden (1979) this approach was beginning to be superseded by the transformationalist approach in the late sixties and early years of the 1970's. Goslin (1983) and Potgieter (1988) are more assertive by quoting the year 1975 as a "boundary", although they do not supply an explanation for this specific choice. Contributions written in more "modern" frameworks increased only gradually from the 1970's which is a clear indication of the reluctance by Bantuists of substituting the structural model - which, as an essentially taxonomic grammar, had just become established during the preceding decade and had stood the test of time - with a new unfamiliar approach merely for the sake of its scientific novelty. Since no comprehensive work on the immediate South African Bantu linguistic scene can be identified as having introduced a definite transition from the Van Wyk era to the modern period, the arbitrary "boundary" of 1975 was decided on in this survey, there being

no need to differ from Goslin and Potgieter. Contributions up to and including 1974 will feature in the current chapter, while publications from 1975 onwards will be considered in Chapter 5. Naturally, this procedure is only followed in order to systematize the information and 1975 should by no means be interpreted as an absolute dividing line in the grammatical description of the Bantu languages.

4.2 LINGUISTIC CLIMATE DURING THE LATE 1950's/EARLY 1960's

The development of Bantu grammatical description had undeniably taken great steps forward since Doke presented his model in 1927. No uniform approach had, however, emerged regarding the identification and division of the Bantu word. Apart from Doke's approach which was based on "one main stress", two further approaches were also being supported to a greater or lesser degree by other Bantuists. These approaches were respectively developed by Ziervogel (1952) and Guthrie (1948) on the grounds of morphological and syntactic considerations (cf. par. 3.5.2 and 3.5.3). Neither these approaches nor any of the adaptations of Doke's model which were developed in the course of time, attained to the measure of scientificness introduced into Bantu analyses by Van Wyk. He became the first South African Bantuist, according to Wilkes (1978b:97), to have scientifically investigated and assessed all the existing approaches to the problem of word division in Bantu as well as the word theories on which they were based. Not only did Van Wyk address the existing problems regarding the identification and division of words and the classification of parts of speech, but he also played an important role in advancing the study of Bantu grammar as a scientific discipline. The theories of general linguistic science were gradually beginning to influence the Bantu grammatical field during the sixties, leading the Bantuist to re-evaluate existing approaches and to investigate new research areas which had not been exploited before.

The sentiment expressed by Kruger (1958a:348) reveals the state of Bantuistics as it existed just before Van Wyk presented his new scientifically based approach:

> "Tot dusver het Bantoeloë nog geen taalwetenskaplike bewyse aangevoer vir hulle woordsoortindeling of vir hulle konsepsie van die woord of vir hulle konjunktiewe en disjunktiewe metode van skrywing nie. Ook die grenstekens van die woord en die woordgroep verg nog ondersoek. Ondersoeke na hierdie aspekte van die Bantoetale sal 'n metamorfose ten opsigte van ons Bantoetaal-kennis teweegbring."

The very issues mentioned above were addressed in detail by Van Wyk in his work of 1958 and subsequent publications and one could perhaps state that, as anticipated by Kruger, our knowledge regarding the Bantu languages (and more particularly Northern Sotho) has indeed undergone a metamorphosis.

4.3 THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN STRUCTURALISM ON THE VAN WYK MODEL

While the English universities continued operating in the Dokeian framework, supplemented by insights from Bloomfieldian structuralism, the teaching of Bantu languages at Afrikaans universities seemed to have reached a plateau towards the end of the 1950's. Evidence thereof was the fact that Bantuists at these institutions readily latched onto and implemented the fresh input by Van Wyk. The latter had drawn his inspiration from the works of a Dutch linguist by the name of A.J.B.N. Reichling (i.e. *Het Woord. Een studie omtrent de grondslag van taal en taalgebruik*, 1935 and an inaugural lecture entitled *Wat is algemene taalwetenschap?* delivered in Amsterdam on 12th May 1947).

Whereas the American counterpart of European structuralism under the leadership of Bloomfield held that all scientific knowledge was based on and should be derivable from experience (primary data), Reichling's theory (and by implication that of Van Wyk) was more mentalistically orientated. Reichling pointed out that the language system which underlay language performance, was not directly accessible to primary observation. The language system could only be determined inductively and described through a thorough investigation of the systematic order observed during linguistic usage. It is a known fact that language users may deviate from the language system through, for example, hesitations, repetitions, interruptions, etc. The linguist has to evaluate such utterances against the backdrop of a set of language rules which are the collective property of a specific language community. This very ability of the observer to recognise and exclude deviations in the process of his discovery of the language system, discloses his mental involvement.

The viewpoints expressed during the Van Wyk era were almost completely taxonomic-synchronic. It was only later, during the modern period, that grammatical description was to experience a return to diachronic studies with typological investigations, rank-shifting, etc. It needs to be pointed out, however, that Van Wyk had already moved in the direction of diachronic investigation in 1957 with his study on potential and progressive constructions in Northern Sotho.

4.4 TENETS OF THE VAN WYK MODEL

4.4.1 IDENTIFICATION AND DIVISION OF THE BANTU WORD

The existing anomalies regarding the identification and division of the Bantu word were addressed by Van Wyk (1958) in his doctoral thesis *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe*. He emphasised the important distinction between word identification on the one hand, which is a purely *linguistic* problem, and word division, which is an *orthographic* problem, on the other (1968c). His system of word identification necessitated a new scheme of parts of speech, while his method of word division opened the way for a systematic syntactical study in the Bantu languages.

In his endeavour to bring the linguistic and the orthographic word closer together ("sisteemwoord" versus "skrifwoord"), Van Wyk was led to accept a semi-conjunctive writing system as the most appropriate one for the Bantu languages (cf. par. 4.4.2).

4.4.2 WRITING SYSTEM

The writing systems which had evolved in the course of time for the Nguni and Sotho group of languages respectively were mainly based on the conjunctive and the disjunctive methods. The latter system was also applied to Tsonga and Venda. The conjunctive system was based partly on words and partly on rhythm groups, while the disjunctive system could be described as a hybrid form of sentence division based partly on the word and partly on the syllable and the morpheme (cf. Van Wyk, 1968a:12). Conjunctivism, as illustrated by Van Wyk (op. cit.), reveals much less influence from European word structures than does disjunctivism. In the

case of the latter, translation equivalents mainly seem to have been responsible for the division of Bantu words. The following example should suffice to illustrate this point:

(a) *O swanêtšê **go re** o lapilê*
'You ought **to say** you are tired'

The infinitive verb is written as **go re** to correspond with its translated equivalent. In a classification its constituent parts would therefore have to be sought under two different categories, e.g. "prepositions" and "verbs". Written as one word, as in the (b) example below, it would be classified as a conjunction:

(b) *Mo hlôkômêlê **gore** a se timêlê!*
'Keep an eye on him **that** he doesn't get lost!'

In addition to the conjunctive and disjunctive methods, Von Staden (1978) gives examples of two further possibilities in writing systems, namely an ultra-disjunctive and a semi-conjunctive method. Should these different systems be applied, for example, to one and the same Northern Sotho sentence (lit.: 'There were building those who know the work of building with bricks'), this would result in the following representations as indicated by Von Staden (op. cit.:39):

Conjunctive representation:

Goagilê bababêgo batseba modirô wagoaga kamatlapa (6 orthographic words).

Semi-conjunctive representation:

Goagilê ba babêgo batseba modirô wa goaga ka matlapa (9 orthographic words).

Disjunctive representation:

Go agilê ba ba bêgo ba tseba modirô wa go aga ka matlapa (13 orthographic words).

Ultra-disjunctive representation:

Go agilê ba ba bêgo ba tseba mo dirô wa go aga ka ma tlapa (15 orthographic words).

Van Wyk regarded the semi-conjunctive method as the most scientifically motivated approach. It enabled him to distinguish in his scheme of parts of speech a special word class in which are subsumed all linguistic units which only have a measure of word autonomy and which he refers to as particles ("taaltegniese woorde"). According to the semi-conjunctive method verbs are written conjunctively, while constructions such as the possessive, locative, copulative and certain qualificative constructions are written disjunctively.

Van Wyk's method is based on the recognition that the words of a language may have differing degrees of autonomy ranging from minimal to maximal. The approach made allowance for any linguistic forms which complied with the minimum requirements of autonomy, being *internal immutability* and *syntagmatic mobility*, to be considered as words and consequently to be represented as separate orthographic units. Words which only displayed one of the four aspects of syntagmatic mobility (i.e. *separability*, *transposability*, *replaceability* or *isolatability*) were naturally less autonomous than words which featured two or more of the distributional characteristics of words. Applying these principles to Northern Sotho, Van Wyk could motivate his orthographic representation of particles (which had proved to be problematic since they occupied a position between morphemes and words), as separate (albeit deficient) words. As such they formed parts of word groups, e.g. ***ka*** in the word group ***ka selêpê*** 'with an axe'. The conjunctive system, on the other hand, was to apply in the case of subject concords, for example, as a result of their failure to comply with the minimum requirements of word autonomy, e.g. ***o*** in ***orêkilê*** 'he bought'.

As had been the experience of many previous theoreticians, Van Wyk's proposals for a new approach to word division and the orthographic adaptations which this would have entailed, fell on unfruitful ground. The writing traditions had already become so firmly established that the implementation of changes in this regard were not deemed desirable or practical. Van Wyk's findings nevertheless entailed important linguistic implications.

4.4.3 CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS INTO WORD CLASSES

4.4.3.1 *Van Wyk's word classification for Northern Sotho*

According to Reichling, a linguist who develops a theory *before* having examined linguistic usage, cannot expect valid results from its application. Following Reichling's viewpoint, Van Wyk started from observed facts of linguistic usage in order to develop his classificatory system. This meant that the assumption of a universal definition of any part of speech was untenable as was the assumption that all languages have basically the same parts of speech. The parts of speech distinguished for any language, assuming that such parts of speech existed in the particular language, therefore had to be uniquely defined. Any scheme of word classification worked out for a particular Bantu language did not necessarily apply to all

members of the Bantu language family, although a reasonable degree of similarity between the various Bantu languages could be expected in this regard.

From the above discussion, it would appear that induction was held to be the only method whereby scientifically valid results would be achieved. The requirement that each language had to be described uniquely, however, did not mean that deductive procedures had to be discarded and regarded as irrelevant. Van Wyk (1962:5) in fact points out that in order for general linguistic science to attain to completeness, inductive as well as deductive methods should complement each other. He explains that the inductive procedure could be instrumental in arriving at the **general** or **universal** features of language, i.e. those which are applicable to all languages, while the deductive method could lead to the establishment of the **necessary** or **essential** categories and principles of any given individual language, i.e. features without which a language would not be a language.

The word classes of Northern Sotho are singled out for description in an article by Van Wyk (1961). Criteria from all levels of linguistic study were incorporated in the determination of word classes in the Van Wyk model: phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic principles. Such a classification is referred to as a **comprehensive** classification. These criteria were applied systematically in contrast to most of the previous theories in which the identification of words and word classes was based on an *ad hoc* basis on one or more of the above-mentioned principles. The latter approach could be typified as a **restricted** classification. Ziervogel, whose method of word identification and classification is reputed to have been an example of such a one-sided approach in that it was mainly developed on morphological evidence, in turn offers some criticism on Van Wyk's method (cf. also par. 4.4.3.2). He points out that the latter's theories on the word tended mainly towards the syntactic criteria of separability and transposability:

> "Net soos Doke hom toegespits het op 'n enkele kriterium om sy woord af te baken, so doen Van Wyk dit ook, net op 'n ander vlak." (Ziervogel, 1964:213).

Van Wyk, however, recognised a hierarchy of criteria, and conclusively explained how the consistent exclusive and exhaustive application of any one criterion might result in an impractical classification with an unmanageable number of classes and extensive and confusing overlapping (Van Wyk, 1966b). The solution he suggested lay in an integration of the four principles of classification, applied according to a certain hierarchy. Morphological

and syntactic criteria (referred to as 'essential' features or 'dominant' principles of classification by Van Wyk) were accepted to take precedence over phonological and semantic criteria, since they took the whole word as a complete linguistic sign into consideration, i.e. as a unit of sound and meaning. Phonological and semantic principles ('additional' features or 'subsidiary' principles of classification), on the other hand, involved the analysis of only one aspect of the word as a linguistic sign. In the case of purely phonological or semantic classifications therefore, the danger existed of applying irrelevant phenomena as criteria.

The following basic viewpoints underlay Van Wyk's classificatory method (Van Wyk, 1961):

(a) The objective of the classification was to find the lowest possible number of word classes, each with the largest possible content.

(b) Although each of the four criteria (phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic) had to be considered in determining the word classes, this did not necessarily imply that all of them were relevant to the discovery of an encompassing system of word classes. Such irrelevant criteria therefore were to be eliminated through a process of comparison and reduction.

(c) Morphological and syntactic principles had to take precedence over phonological and semantic principles. With regard to each other, however, the morphological and syntactic principles were to be treated as of equal value, as were also the phonological and semantic principles.

Eight word classes for Northern Sotho as they emerged from the application of Van Wyk's theory are briefly given below, preceded by some of the ways in which this classification differed primarily from the word classes proposed by Doke:

- The addition of particles ("taaltegniese woorde") as a part of speech; on morphological grounds particles were classified as parts of words, but as separate words on the basis of separability;

- The inclusion of locative nouns (e.g. *nokêng* 'at/by the river') and certain other nouns with descriptive valence (e.g. *maabane* 'yesterday') in the class of nouns. These were classified as adverbs by Doke;

- The absence of separate classes distinguishing between nouns (e.g. *mosadi* 'woman') and adjectives (*-mogolo* 'large'). Both nouns and adjectives, as well as nominal relatives (e.g. *-bohlale* 'clever') constituted a sub-category of the noun;

- The abandonment of Doke's distinction between pronouns and qualificatives;

- The exclusion of constructions containing particles like *ka*, *le*, *go*, *ga*, etc. from the class of adverbs, since these particles were regarded by Van Wyk as autonomous words appearing in word groups;

- The classification of imperatives in the verbal class instead of in the class of interjections;

- The recognition of infinitives as words which are simultaneously nouns and verbs;

- The treatment of copulative verbs as autonomous words and not as prefixal parts of words;

- The absence of conjunctions as a separate word class.

I. WORDS WITH NORMAL PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

A. SUBSTANTIVES

1. NOUNS

This class also includes:

(a) Locative nouns

(b) Adjectival nouns

(c) Infinitives

(d) Nouns with adverbial valence

(e) Nouns with qualificative valence

2. PRONOUNS

(a) Absolute pronouns

(b) Demonstrative pronouns

(c) Quantitative pronouns

(d) Enumerative pronouns

(e) Possessive pronouns

B. PREDICATIVES

3. VERBS

These include:

(a) Infinitive verbs

(b) Imperative verbs

(c) Relative verbs

(d) Auxiliary verbs

(e) Copulative verbs

(f) Certain 'conjunctions'

4. LOCATIVE COPULATIVE-DEMONSTRATIVES (INTERJECTIVE DEMONSTRATIVES)

C. MORPHOLOGICALLY HETEROGENEOUS WORDS

5. ADVERBS

6. PARTICLES

These include *inter alia*:

(a) The instrumental *ka*

(b) The associative *le* and *na*

(c) The copulas *ke* and *gase*[1]

(d) Possessive concords which appear before autonomous words

(e) The 'conjunction' *gê*

(f) Subject concords as copulas

(g) The adverbial *ga* as part of a word group

(h) Cohortative particles

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[1]Van Wyk employs the semi-conjunctive writing system of which he is a proponent, hence gase.

II. WORDS WITH PARANORMAL PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

7. IDEOPHONES

8. INTERJECTIONS

4.4.3.2 *Word classes distinguished by Ziervogel as a reaction to Van Wyk's classification*

As had been pointed out earlier on (par. 3.5.2), Ziervogel's theories did not affect Bantu linguistic description on a wide scale. The framework which he had initially put forward in a publication on Swazi grammar (1952) was later applied and adapted in the analysis of Northern Transvaal Ndebele (1959) as well as Northern Sotho (1960). It was an approach in which the word was recognised according to its structure, i.e. consisting of a root with prefixes and suffixes. The definition of the Bantu word was later extended to include function, form, prosodics and semantics (Ziervogel, 1959) in protest against the use of a single criterion by Doke to determine the word. In the same way Van Wyk's inclusion of criteria from all linguistic levels was a reaction against the practice of basing a theory on a limited number of principles.

Ziervogel (1964) points out that, in spite of claims to the contrary, Van Wyk was not always consistent in the application of his principles. He mentions the example of, *inter alia*, the locative copulative-demonstratives which are placed outside the class of pronouns, although they morphologically also contain a concordial morpheme and a root just like the pronoun.

Ziervogel essentially based his word identification on the morphological construction of the word. This approach is reflected in his division of word classes into two major types: Those which are basic and consist of a certain minimal fundamental form on the one hand, and those which are secondary and have been derived from the basic forms, on the other. Only the broad outlines of Ziervogel's scheme of word classes or parts of speech are given below (Ziervogel, 1964:218-219):

I. BASIC PARTS OF SPEECH

1. NOUN
2. PRONOUN
   (a) Absolute
   (b) Demonstrative
   (c) Possessive
   (d) Copulative-demonstrative
3. VERB

II. SECONDARY PARTS OF SPEECH

1. ADJECTIVE
   (a) Normal
   (b) Enumerative
2. RELATIVE
   (a) Normal
   (b) Nominal
   (c) Verbal
   (d) Enumerative, etc. according to the language
3. POSSESSIVE
4. QUANTITATIVE
5. COPULATIVE
6. ADVERB
7. IDEOPHONE
8. CONJUNCTION
9. INTERJECTION
   (a) Primitive
   (b) Vocative
   (c) Imperative

Any differences between Ziervogel and Van Wyk's classification are naturally attributable to their different approaches to grammatical analysis. Some of the 'secondary parts of speech' determined by Ziervogel, e.g. 'adjective', 'relative', 'possessive', 'quantitative', 'copulative' and 'conjunction', have not been identified as separate word classes by Van Wyk and have instead been subsumed under one of the eight classes which he distinguishes.[2] Other differences include, for example, the classification of the imperative as an interjection by Ziervogel, while in Van Wyk's classification the imperative verb is placed under the category

[2]Ziervogel (1964:216) remarks that the exact application of the term 'word class' by Van Wyk was not clear. He apparently only used this term to refer to his main classes such as the noun, pronoun, etc., resulting in uncertainty as to whether terms such as quantitative and enumerative were 'classes' as well.

of verbs. The copulative-demonstrative is classified as a pronoun by Ziervogel, but Van Wyk regards it as a separate word category.

Ferreira (1969:14) suggests that the lack of unanimity amongst Bantuists regarding word division (and by implication the classification of words) is partly due to differences of opinion which exist in general linguistic science as to the linguistic demands which should be made on a word.

4.4.4 THE STATE OF SYNTACTICAL STUDIES DURING THE VAN WYK ERA

Writing in 1966 Van Wyk (1966a) states that no reliable or complete publications on syntactical problems in the Bantu languages had appeared up to that stage. Bantuists were for the most part dependent on themselves to develop suitable descriptive techniques and could not effectively exploit the findings of general linguistic science in this regard. Internationally syntax had also just been embarked on as a new study field and differences of opinion were numerous.

It is not within the scope of this study to engage on a detailed investigation on syntactical research. It needs to be mentioned, however, that Van Wyk did much to focus the attention of Bantuists *inter alia* on the **word group** and **sentence**[3] - categories which had been relegated to a position of minor importance during the functional period of Doke. Whereas previous studies (including those dealing with tone) had been limited to the level of the word, studies were now being extended to include the word group and the sentence (e.g. Van Wyk, 1964). The valencies of the verb and the noun in particular were placed under scrutiny. Syntactical investigations were conducted within the structural framework until transformational syntax was introduced in the modern period, affording new ways of approach to linguistic issues.

The Afrikaans medium universities seemed to subscribe to the syntactical research of Dutch linguists such as Reichling, De Groot and Uhlenbeck, while the English medium universities

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[3]These are two of the three categories of linguistic symbols in the disciplinary structure of Bantu linguistics - the third one being the **word** - which, according to Van Wyk (1962), are essential categories determined on the grounds of deductive analysis. Each of these categories forms the basis of a linguistic discipline, subdivided in turn into several subdisciplines such as phonology, morphology, semiology and syntax. The possibility of a fourth disciplinary category was also mentioned by Van Wyk, namely the **morpheme**, but the morpheme was regarded as a universal category and not as an essential one.

appeared rather to follow the work of Americans such as Gleason and Nida.

4.5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VAN WYK 'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES

Although Van Wyk (1958) had applied his theories on the Bantu word to Northern Sotho as well as to Zulu, the grammatical description of the latter was not affected to the same extent as was the study of Northern Sotho. As stated earlier, the analysis of the Nguni languages tended more towards a structural approach inspired by Doke and Bloomfieldian linguistics until the advent of transformational generative grammar and more modern approaches.

On the whole, however, it can be said that the Bantu languages as a field of scientific investigation, benefitted from the theories put forward by Van Wyk. He had indicated the important role of general linguistic science in providing a theoretical foundation which would ensure a more meaningful and systematic approach to Bantu linguistic study (Van Wyk, 1962).

4.6 NORTHERN SOTHO CONTRIBUTIONS DURING THE STRUCTURAL PERIOD

4.6.1 PEDAGOGICAL MANUALS

The structural period is marked by an increase in the number of pedagogical manuals for school and college use, including contributions by mother-tongue speakers. Obviously textbooks and exercise books differ in regard to their grammatical and academic content since they are mostly designed with a specific group in mind. Some of the materials produced for teaching purposes cannot rightly be described as manuals, since they mostly contain exercises without grammatical analyses or explanations. Once again, the list given below does not purport to be complete, but includes some of the better-known works produced during this period:

1960 Mojapelo, G.P. *Popô-puô ya Sesotho*. Johannesburg: A.P.B.
This was a grammar book in Sepedi for beginners in the language and for Junior and Matriculation students. In a later edition (1966) the title was changed to *Popopolelo ya Sepedi*.

1960 Ziervogel, D. *Handboek van Noord-Sotho*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
In 1969 Ziervogel, in collaboration with D.P. Lombard and P.C. Mokgokong (1969a), produced a revised edition of this work as well as an English version entitled *A handbook of the Northern Sotho language* (1969b). In the introduction to the revised edition, Ziervogel states the essence of his working method as being one of attempting to combine a practical handbook for beginners with advanced linguistic material for the student. The grammar-translation method of the traditional period still features prominently.

1961a Ziervogel, D. *Sleutel tot Handboek van Noord-Sotho met leesstukke.* (Also in English: *Key to 'Handboek van Noord-Sotho' with reading lessons*). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

1967 Du Plessis, P.P. & G.A. Landsberg. *Re bolêla Sepedi*. Std. 6. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.

1967 Grobbelaar, J.C. & J.J. Schmidt. *Senior Sepedi*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.

1967 Mojapelo, G.P., C.M. Mothoa & P.A. Hoffmann. *Dithuto tša Sepedi*. (Std. 1: 1967; Std. 2 & 3 in one volume: 1968). Cape Town: Via Afrika.

1967 Nchabeleng, C.K. *Tsela ya segagešo*. Pretoria: Beter Boeke.

1968 Grobbelaar, J.C. *Nuwe Junior Sepedi*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.

1968 Ziervogel, D., D.P. Lombard & P.C. Mokgokong *Werkboek - Oefeninge en sleutel by die gebruik van Handboek van Noord-Sotho / Workbook - Exercises and key to be used with A handbook of the Northern Sotho language*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

1973 Mashabela, P.H.D. & C.N. Phatudi *Dilakalaka tša segagešo*. (The torches of our own (language)). (Std. 8: 1973; Std. 7: 1975). King William's Town: Better Books.

1974 Mojapelo, G.P. & C.N. Phatudi *Le hlabile*. Johannesburg: Educum Publishers.

1974 Moloisi, G.J., A.M. Sekhitla & P.A. Hoffmann *Ithuteng polelo*. (Std. 1, 2 & 8: 1974; Std. 3 - 7: 1975). Cape Town: Via Afrika.

4.6.2 GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

The verb, the noun and the ideophone were amongst the first categories to be described within the new grammatical approach of Van Wyk (cf. Wilkes, 1978b:99). Aspects of these categories were singled out for investigation and scrutinized according to specific linguistic principles such as morphological structure, semantic characteristics and syntactic valence, for example. Studies on 'tense' and 'mood' as sub-categories of the verb were also undertaken. Most of the publications indicated below are representative of the structural approach which marked this era in the grammatical development of Northern Sotho:[4]

1958a Kruger, C.J.H. "Opmerkings oor Sotho-morfologie." *Koers* 25(4-5).

1958b Kruger, C.J.H. "Morfologie van die naamwoordelike woordsoorte in Noord-Sotho." *Koers* 26.

1960 Groenewald, P.S. *Morfologiese verdubbeling in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1961 Van Wyk, E.B. "Die woordklasse van Noord-Sotho." *In* Feesbundel.

1961b Ziervogel, D. "'n Vergelykende benadering van die omskrywingskonstruksie in die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoetale." *In* Feesbundel.

1963 Du Plessis, J.A. *Die morfologie van die naamwoord en voornaamwoord in die Sothotale: 'n Vergelykende studie*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1966b Endemann, T.M.H. "'n Voorlopige ondersoek na aspekverskynsels in Noord-Sotho." *Taalfasette* 2.

1966b Van Wyk, E.B. "Northern Sotho." *Lingua* 17(1-2).

1969 Lombard, D.P. *Die morfologie van deverbatiewe naamwoorde in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
Lombard discerns five deverbative endings, each associated with a definite semantic value.

1969b Ziervogel, D. "Voornaamwoorde." *Limi* 7.
The pronouns of Northern Sotho are analysed according to Ziervogel's morphological approach.

[4]The Nguni languages also produced some grammatical studies conceived in the structural framework as indicated by Wilkes (1978b).

1971 Kruger, W.J. *Die morfologie van die werkwoordkategorieë in die Sothotale.* Unpublished D.Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1971 Louwrens, L.J. *Die meervoudsmorfeem -ng in die Noord-Sothowerkwoord.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
Louwrens investigates the distribution of the morpheme **-ng** and the semantic characteristics of verbs in the so-called imperative and subjunctive moods.

1971 Schuring, G.K. *Die diminutiewe en augmentatiewe agtervoegsels in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
Important semantic and distributional differences between the diminutive and augmentative suffixes are pointed out. Due to the conclusions which Schuring arrives at regarding the status of these suffixes, this work anticipates a movement which was to be exploited on a much larger scale during the modern period (cf. par. 5.4, as well as 6.2.4 and 6.2.5).

1971 Ziervogel, D. "The Bantu locative." *African Studies* 30(3-4).
In this article it was ascertained that the locative could function as a subject or as an object in sentences.

1973 Makwela, A.O. "The role played by the phoneme, morpheme and the word in the semology of Northern Sotho." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.

1973 Mashabela, P.H.D. "The relative in Northern Sotho." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.

1973 Nkondo, C.P.N. "The adjective in Tsonga and Northern Sotho." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.

1973 Setshedi, J.E. "The problem of the verb stem preceded by **go-**." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.

1973 Van Wyk, E.B. "Verbal nouns in Northern Sotho." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.
Differences between compound and verbal nouns are illustrated on the grounds of structural, syntactic and semantic considerations. The infinitive construction is identified as belonging to both the verbal and the nominal category.

1973a Ziervogel, D. "Die pronominale afleiding in Sotho." *Limi* 1(1).
Ziervogel compares two types of "pronominals", i.e. pronominal prefixes or concords (of which he distinguishes a simple and a compound type) on the one hand and the pronoun on the other.

1974 Louwrens, L.J. "Die meervoudsmerker **-ng** by werkwoorde in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 1(1).

1974 Schuring, G.K. "Naswana ya mošate: diminusie en vroulikheid in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 1(1).

4.6.3 PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

1961 Endemann, T.M.H. "Die affrikate van Noord-Sotho. 'n Bydrae tot die vraagstuk rakende die fonematiese saamgesteldheid van die affrikate in Sotho." *In* Feesbundel.

1961a Ferreira, J.A. *Die fonemiese struktuur van die Sothotale: 'n Sinchronies-vergelykende ontleding.* Unpublished D.Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1961b Ferreira, J.A. "Die gesnedenheid van foneemverbindings in Sotho." *In* Feesbundel.

1964 Endemann, T.M.H. *Some morpho-phonological changes incident with the phoneme combination C V V, as observed in Northern Sotho.* (Publications of the University College of the North. Series A, No.3). Pietersburg: Noordelike Pers.

1966a Endemann, T.M.H. *Die junktuurverskynsel as foneem: 'n Bydrae tot die identifisering van die foneme in Noord-Sotho.* (Publications of the University College of the North. Series A, No.5). Pietersburg: Noordelike Pers.

1967 Ziervogel, D. et al. *Handboek van spraakklanke en klankveranderinge in die Bantoetale van Suid-Afrika.* (Title in English: *Handbook of speech sounds and sound changes of the Bantu languages of South Africa*). Handboekreeks 3A. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1968 Ferreira, J.A. "Morfofonemiese aanpassings in die Sothotale." *Taalfasette* 5.

1973 Kgware, M.S. "The problem of (l) and (d) as allophones of the same phoneme in the Sotho languages." *Essays on Literature and Language* presented to Prof. T.M.H. Endemann. Turfloop: University of the North.

1974 Esterhuyse, C.J. *Die ontwikkeling van die Noord-Sothoskryftaal*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

4.6.4 TONOLOGY

As was the case with syntactical studies, research into the tonology of the Bantu languages had also suffered neglect. Wilkes (1978a) attributes the advances eventually made with regard to tonal studies to a contribution by Kenneth Pike entitled *Tone Languages* (1948). Research by the Belgian Bantuist A. Burssens on the Kongo languages had apparently also provided useful insights. What differentiated these tonal studies from previous ones, was that they were based on principles and methods developed by modern structural linguists in respect of (segmental) phonology. The number of tones was reduced to two fundamental tonemes. Tone patterns of nouns and verbs in their minimal morphological structure were established as basic tone patterns. Although Wilkes (op. cit.) states that a number of tonal systems were investigated during this period, including Northern Sotho, he does not quote an example of such a study for Northern Sotho.

1969 Lombard, D.P. *Die morfologie van deverbatiewe naamwoorde in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
Lombard's analysis reveals the determining influence which deverbative endings have on the tone pattern of deverbative stems. He concludes that deverbative nouns can be divided into two tone morphological classes in Northern Sotho, namely a high and a low class.

4.6.5 DICTIONARIES

1958 Kriel, T.J. *The new English-Sesotho dictionary*. Northern Sotho - English; English - Northern Sotho. Johannesburg: A.P.B.
Many revisions of this dictionary appeared, the most recent one in 1989. The revisions were continued under the title *The new English-Northern Sotho dictionary* as from 1967 (Johannesburg: Educum Publishers).

1961 Ziervogel, D., A.T. Malepe & P.C. Mokgokong *Klein Noord-Sothowoordeboek; Pukuntšu e nnyana ya Sesotho sa Lebowa; Short Northern Sotho dictionary*. Northern Sotho - Afrikaans/English; Afrikaans - Northern Sotho; English - Northern Sotho. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.
Numerous editions and impressions, with Ziervogel and Mokgokong as authors, have since then appeared up to and including 1988. According to the preface of the 1969 edition of *Klein Noord-Sothowoordeboek*, this dictionary was intended for use with Ziervogel's *A handbook of the Northern Sotho language/Handboek van Noord-Sotho* (1969).

1966 Kriel, T.J. *Pukantšu*. Noord-Sotho - Afrikaans; Afrikaans - Noord-Sotho. Pretoria: Dibukeng. (Continued as *Pukuntšu* in 1977: Noord-Sotho - Afrikaans; Afrikaans - Noord-Sotho. 2nd revised and extended ed.: Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.; 3rd ed. 1983, 4th ed. 1989).

1971 Kriel, T.J. *Popular Northern Sotho pocket dictionary*. Northern Sotho - English; English - Northern Sotho. Pretoria: Dibukeng.
This dictionary was continued as *Popular Northern Sotho dictionary* (1976, Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.). Numerous editions and impressions appeared right up to 1988.

4.6.6 DIALECT STUDIES

The following examples also include some classifications in which Northern Sotho and its dialects feature as part of the Sotho group of languages.

1961 Van Loggerenberg, J.C. *'n Fonologiese vergelyking van die Sotho-dialekte met Oer-Bantoe: 'n Bydrae tot die fonologiese vergelyking van die Sotho-dialekte onderling, as ook tot die fonologiese vergelyking van die Sotho-dialekte met Oer-Bantoe*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1966 Mokgokong, P.C. *A dialect-geographical survey of the phonology of the Northern Sotho area*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1966 Vercueil, F.C. *Die klank- en vormleer van Phalaborwa: 'n Beskrywende studie*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1969 Van Wyk, E.B. "Die indeling van die Sotho-taalgroep." Ethnological and linguistic studies in honour of N.J. van Warmelo. *Ethnological Publications* 52. Pretoria: Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Government Printer.

1969a Ziervogel, D. "Veertig jaar van taalnavorsing in Suid-Afrika." Ethnological and linguistic studies in honour of N.J. van Warmelo. *Ethnological Publications* 52. Pretoria: Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Government Printer.

4.7 SOME ASPECTS OF THE VAN WYK MODEL IN TEACHING

Goslin (1983) notes a difference during the structural period between the teaching framework within which school teachers operated on the one hand, and the model implemented at tertiary level on the other. Addressing the situation at school level, Goslin observes that, apart from the implementation of Van Wyk's scientifically motivated views on the category of the word and especially the sub-category of word morphology, the structural approach had made very little impact. This state of affairs could probably be ascribed to the lack of suitable manuals and exercise books. The only existing handbooks dated from earlier periods and had mostly been conceived in the traditional framework. Before the Van Wyk model could really make inroads into the grammatical analysis and become firmly established, the transformational approach was beginning to demand attention. At tertiary level, on the other hand, the curriculum was not necessarily dictated by the availability of existing textbooks and in that sense was at reasonably greater liberty to be channelled into new avenues not yet exploited. The scientific component which a new model such as the Van Wyk model had to offer at the time, appealed to language teaching at university level. An example of a handbook based on this model, but published only much later during the modern period,[5] is D.P. Lombard's *Introduction to the grammar of Northern Sotho* (1985). In a research conducted by Potgieter (1988) on the teaching of Northern Sotho as a third language, only one of a group of primary school teachers indicated that he used Lombard's handbook as a reference to assist him in his teaching task. Potgieter expected a low-frequency response to this handbook in his questionnaires, since the high academic content of Lombard's

[5]See par. 5.6.1

grammar rendered it unsuitable for instruction at the primary school level.

The Bantu languages are well suited to a description within the structural model, due to their strongly developed and intricate morphological structure. This method enabled the Bantuist to recognise language as a system, i.e. as a totality of constituents, and to determine how the different parts were related to each other and to the whole.

Apart from the definite advantage which Van Wyk's approach offered to Bantu grammatical analysis as mentioned above, it also entailed a disadvantage in the sense that the attention was mainly focused on structural issues. In relation to morphological analysis, semantics and syntax received little attention, as reflected by the inability of students and pupils to acquire the desired level of proficiency with regard to reading in Northern Sotho (cf. Goslin, 1983:23).

CHAPTER 5
THE MODERN PERIOD

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1971 Schachter observed that as far as the grammatical analysis in the Bantu languages was concerned, the attention had up to then been focussed primarily on the more superficial aspects of the grammatical systems in question. Students were beginning, however, to direct their attention to the possibility of adapting some of the more sophisticated contemporary theoretical models to the grammatical structure of African languages. The transformational-generative model was one of the first to offer a challenging new framework to Bantuists. In its wake followed a number of adaptations of this model. A variety of other approaches soon superseded the transformational-generative framework. In contrast to previous periods in the description of Bantu grammar, the modern period was not marked by the prolonged dominance of any one approach. Instead of trying to accommodate all grammatical phenomena in the descriptional framework of one particular model, Bantuists were now in a position to be more selective and to test which of the modern approaches which had become available, would hold promise of deeper insight into specific linguistic issues. The fact that these approaches were limited in their application, in no way invalidated the important contributions they had to make towards a more complete comprehension of the grammatical system of the Bantu languages. The analytical approaches following the discussion of the transformational-generative model in the sections below, are not indicative of any particular order in which these studies are thought to have followed each other. It seems rather that Bantu linguistic description as a whole opened up to a variety of international developments at approximately the same time, resulting in the co-occurrence of studies conceived within different frameworks. The discussion in this survey will be centred only on those models which have been applied to the Bantu languages of the South Eastern Zone and in particular to Northern Sotho. Publications in Northern Sotho produced during the modern period will follow under par. 5.6, while the merits and demerits of the various modern approaches in teaching will be weighed up against each other in par. 5.7.

Once again, Bantu grammatical analysis experienced no abrupt change, but rather a gradual transition over a number of years, especially during the first half of the 1970's, from structuralism to the modern period. In accordance with Goslin (1983) and Potgieter (1988), 1975 is accepted as the arbitrary boundary between the structural and the modern period for

the purpose of this survey.

Linguistic analysis on the broader Bantu spectrum is seen to have been influenced by some new movements in the previous decade already, as indicated by Schachter (1971).[1] According to Wilkes (1978b) transformational studies made inroads into South African Bantuistics via contributions on non-South African Bantu languages conducted from the early years of the seventies by American linguists under the leadership of Talmy Givon. Wilkes' reference to Givon as a leading figure in transformational-generative studies in Bantu was perhaps a little premature. Louwrens (1985c) points out that Givon in fact became an ardent critic of the so-called Chomskyan approach in linguistic circles abroad. Another premature statement by Wilkes is that Givon's contributions were responsible for the final replacement of the structural by the transformational-generative approach as the foremost model for linguistic research and description. This declaration needs to be understood in the climate within which Wilkes was writing. The transformational approach had had such a revolutionising effect on general linguistic description, that repercussions thereof were expected to have a prolonged effect on Bantu analysis as well. The Nguni languages were in fact subjected to a number of studies within the TG-model, which began to filter through to the Bantu languages in the seventies. A number of word categories which lent themselves favourably to a discussion within the transformational approach included adjectives, pronouns, relative clauses and conjoined subjects:

1971 Lanham, L.W. "The noun as the deep-structure source for Nguni adjectives and relatives." *African Studies* 30(3-4).

Ten years before Lanham's publication, Van Wyk had also concluded that adjectives were basically nouns, although he had accounted for this view mainly on structural grounds and not from a transformational viewpoint (Van Wyk, 1961).

1974 Wilkes, A. "Oor die sogenaamde eksklusiewe kwantitatiewe in Zulu." *Studies in Bantoetale* 1(1).

Wilkes established that the quantitative pronouns in Zulu did not comply with the Dokeian definition of pronouns. The exclusive quantifiers, as they also

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[1] **Transformational-generative analysis**: Williamson, K. 1965: A grammar of the Kolokuma dialect of Ijo. West African Language Monographs 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tagmemic-matrix model: Pike, K.L. 1966: Tagmemic and matrix linguistics applied to selected African languages. The University of Michigan Center for Research on Languages and Language Behavior. Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Scale-and-category model: Bamgbose, A. 1966: A grammar of Yoruba. West African Language Monographs 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

became known, could appear as adverbs in the surface structure, having been derived transformationally from subordinate clauses in the deep structure.

1976 Wilkes, A. "Oor die voornaamwoorde van Zulu met besondere verwysing na die sogenaamde demonstratiewe en absolute voornaamwoorde." *Studies in Bantoetale* 3(1).

Working within the transformational-generative framework, Wilkes indicated that the so-called absolute pronouns were in fact not primarily pronouns in the sense of being substitutes for nouns, but that they functioned as determiners of such nouns in the first place.

A number of studies based on the transformational analysis also appeared on relativization in Nguni, e.g.

1975 Hendrikse, A.P. "Topics in Xhosa relativization - Some traditional analyses re-examined." *Communications* 4. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

1978 Nkabinde, A.C. "The relative in Zulu." *In* Baumbach, ed., 1978.

The following is an example of a study on conjoined subjects from a transformational-generative viewpoint:

1975 Botha, J.J. "Die saamgestelde onderwerp in Xhosa." *Taalfasette* 2.

In the course of the seventies publications such as the above created the impression that the transformational-generative framework would be employed as the foremost descriptional model for quite some time. Its anticipated dominance, however, did not materialise. Instead, many analyses - especially in Northern Sotho - were still conducted in the taxonomic approach of the structural era. Since a proper syntactic "tradition" was non-existent, linguists opted for the structural taxonomic framework which still enabled them to deal adequately with the complex morphological system of the Bantu languages, rather than for the unfamiliar new framework in which the sentence featured prominently. The Chomskyan influence also remained in the background as far as papers read at Africa Languages Congresses are concerned, the only notable peak being reached in 1979 when three out of ten linguistic papers were presented within the Chomskyan framework (Louwrens, 1981c). Publications written within the different models of the Chomskyan theory since 1971 could hardly be indicative of a "revolution". During the seventies, individuals representing three universities,

were mainly responsible for contributions within the standard theory and the revised standard theory according to Louwrens (1981c), i.e. Wilkes (Pretoria), Hendrikse (Rhodes) and Du Plessis (Stellenbosch). The following decade saw a further dwindling of interest in Chomskyan frameworks, the only approach still exploited being the revised extended standard theory as reflected in contributions by the University of Stellenbosch. During that time, however, the general trend in Bantu linguistic description, was towards other approaches such as Discourse Analysis, Functional Sentence Perspective, Relational Grammar and Language Dynamic approaches.

5.2 THE TRANSFORMATIONAL-GENERATIVE MODEL (TG-MODEL)

As structural grammar was a reaction to the concepts held by traditional grammarians, so transformational-generative grammar (TGG) was, in turn, a reaction to the concepts held by structural grammarians. Moreover, while the latter tended to emphasise the differences to be found among languages, TGG investigated the possibility of all languages being alike in a deep abstract sense, thus returning partially to the goals of traditional grammar which may have sought common attributes among all languages by their imposition of Latinistic categories on other languages which were superficially different.

5.2.1 SOME THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES

The publication in America of Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic structures* in 1957 heralded a new era in linguistic research. The transformational-generative model which Chomsky propounded took linguistic institutions by storm, visible evidence thereof being the tremendous increase in the number of enrolled students.

By adopting the sentence as the point of departure for grammatical description, Chomsky's theory embodied a reaction to the structuralists' standpoint. The latter were largely concerned with the order of discovery of their data, working 'upwards' from the sound system (which served as their point of departure) to the grammatical system, and keeping these two systems completely apart. With the sentence as the "new" focal point in TGG, syntactic studies received a major impetus, although other levels such as phonology could also benefit from the principles put forward by this approach.

The revolutionary concepts 'transformation' and 'generation' as applied in a linguistic context, added a new dimension to language studies. As pointed out by Palmer (1978:135), the two aspects 'transformation' and 'generation' are not logically dependent upon each other, though their interaction added to the plausibility of the theory. Space does not allow for a detailed exposition of Chomsky's theory, but a brief elucidation should sketch the essence thereof and the advantages which it was believed to offer in comparison to the phrase structure grammar developed by the American structuralists.

5.2.1.1 *Language performance versus language competence*

In contrast to the traditionalist and structuralist view, TG-description was concerned with the possible set of sentences in a given language, not the actual set of sentences observed. The object of TGG was not to investigate what a person actually utters, but to discover his set of internalised rules which enabled him to speak and understand his language. The former aspect is referred to as the 'performance' of a language user, while the latter is known as his 'competence'. This distinction, as will be recalled from an earlier discussion in the previous chapter, had already been expressed early in this century by De Saussure - the terms used being 'parole' and 'langue' respectively. The aim of TGG was to arrive at generalisations through qualitative induction, i.e based on the essence of linguistic phenomena.[2] TG-grammar thus attempted to formalise the set of internalised rules of an individual with the view to making important generalisations regarding sentence structures. The sentence structure was accordingly generalised by a syntactic rule which, while revealing the relationship of constituents to the sentence, also expressed the relationship of constituents to each other. This entailed the rewriting of one symbol or set of symbols as another symbol or set of symbols until the whole sentence was produced. In the example below, the symbol S, representing the sentence, is rewritten by a sequence of rules, i.e. a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). Rules (1) to (3) are known as rewrite rules (or phrase structure rules since they could be represented in the form of a tree diagram, also known as a phrase marker), while rules (4) and (5) are examples of lexical insertion rules:

[2]Bloomfieldian generalisations, on the other hand, being based on the widest possible body of evidence, could be described as quantitative induction.

Rule (1) S → NP + VP
Rule (2) VP → V + NP
Rule (3) NP → N
Rule (4) V = *o bôna*
Rule (5) N = *monna, mpša*

The application of the above rules would proceed as follows:

S

NP	+	VP			(Rule 1)
NP	+	V	+	NP	(Rule 2)
N	+	V	+	N	(Rule 3)
N	+	*o bôna*	+	N	(Rule 4)
monna	+	*o bôna*	+	*mpša*	(Rule 5)

'the man sees a dog'

By formalising the syntactic rules which speakers of the language applied intuitively, it was in principle possible to account for an infinite number of sentences by means of a limited number of rules, which leads us to the following important concept in the Chomskyan tradition, namely 'generation'.

5.2.1.2 *Generation*

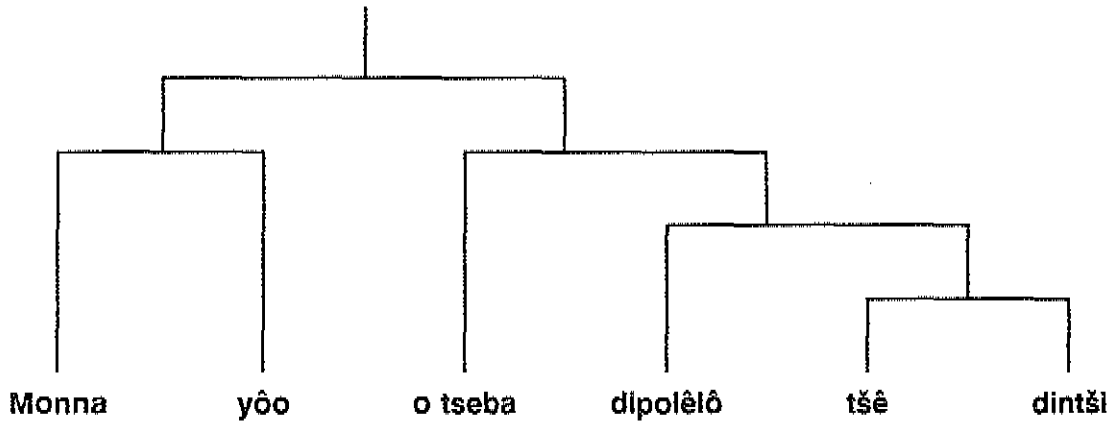
The Chomskyan revolution provided linguists with valuable insights of which many resulted from efforts to address the shortcomings of the American structural approach. One of the most salient shortcomings is probably the inability of the structuralists to account for an individual's creative use of language, i.e. his ability to generate sentences he has never heard or constructed before. 'Generation' according to Palmer (1978:150), means "that a grammar must 'generate all and only the grammatical sentences of a language'". By following the rules and conventions of a language one should be able to produce, predict or specify all the possible sentences in that language. While the rules are finite in number, the number of sentences that can be generated by these rules, is infinite. On the level of lexical insertions items were to be scanned by sub-categorisation features and selectional features, so that only semantically acceptable sentences would be produced. These rules together with the phrase structure rules formed the so-called base component of the grammar.

5.2.1.3 *Transformation*

Transformational grammar was designed to address certain weaknesses in the structuralists' method of dividing sentences up into their immediate constituents (IC's). IC analysis, as this practice became known, was based on the assumption that language was essentially a one-dimensional linear string which could be divided up into decreasing segments. In the example the first cut is indicated by means of one slanted line, the second by two, etc.:

Monna // yôo / o tseba // dipolêlô /// tšê //// dintši
'That man knows many languages'

Normal practice was to indicate the segmentation, which was determined by the principle of expansion, by means of a tree diagram:



In contrast to IC analysis[3] which only considered the relationship of segments on a linear level, transformational grammar recognised that the discovery and formulation of a relationship between segments on more than one level of the sentence's existence could provide much more clarity in certain respects. These levels were referred to as the surface structure (i.e. the immediately obvious or more concrete level) and the deep structure (i.e. the underlying or more abstract level). Transformational rules were applied to convert deep structures into surface structures, thus revealing the particular kind of relationship which may exist between them. In the case of passive transformations, for example, transformational rules could change the order of symbols (and add the agentive particle *ke* in Northern Sotho)

[3]Palmer (1978:133-134) mentions three other versions of phrase structure grammar which were based on the same assumption that language consisted to a large extent of elements in sequence, namely:
'Scale and category' (associated with Michael Halliday, London University); 'Tagmemics'(associated with Kenneth Pike, Michigan) and 'Stratificational grammar' (associated with Sidney Lamb, Yale).

- changes which could not be accounted for in IC analysis.[4] Transformational rules may also indicate co-ordination and subordination of phrases which form part of larger compound sentences. Ambiguous meanings (as conveyed by identical surface structures), of which only certain types could be disambiguated by IC analysis, could be effectively resolved by reference to the deep structure. Transformational grammar could deal with sentences in which segments which belonged together, were separated from each other, a structure which had posed a problem to IC analysis since segmentation was no longer essentially binary, e.g.:

Mosetsana ***o beilê*** *morwalô* ***fase*** 'The girl **put** the load **down**'

As far as morphophonemic issues are concerned, certain rules which had presented a problem to the structuralists due to their particular approach to the morpheme, could be handled comfortably by TGG. A case in point are changes such as *will* + *ed* → *would*, *take* + *ed* → *took*, i.e. forms of which the morphs could not readily be identified according to the linear approach followed by the structuralists.

Palmer (1978:149) observes that "Transformational grammar allows us to state all kinds of relationships that could not otherwise be stated."

5.2.2 ADAPTATIONS OF THE TG-MODEL

The original form of TGG was referred to as the 'classical' theory by Chomsky. Its major concern was to resolve the anomalous position of syntax in the structural model by means of formal descriptions. This theory was later adapted several times, even by Chomsky himself. These theories became known as:

The STANDARD THEORY (ST): Presented in 1965 in Chomsky's *Aspects of the theory of syntax* in which he reformulated his earlier model.

The EXTENDED STANDARD THEORY (EST): Chomsky made an amendment to his original

[4]TGG failed, however, as regards the generalisation of the passive transformation, since some sentences cannot be passivised due to their meaning. Compare, for example:

Molato wô o tlô bôna mafêlô lehôno
'This problem will come to an end (will see an ending) today'
*** Mafêlô a tlô bônwa ke molato wô lehôno**
* 'An ending will be seen by this problem today'

model in an article entitled *Deep structure, surface structure and semantic interpretation*, published in 1970.

The REVISED EXTENDED STANDARD THEORY (REST): Chomsky, together with others, continued to adjust his theory which became known as the revised extended standard theory. The theory of CORE GRAMMAR is *inter alia* included in this theory.

Several versions of transformational-generative grammar appeared, such as, e.g. the THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND BINDING, Fillmore's CASE GRAMMAR, McCawley and Ross' GENERATIVE SEMANTICS and Postal and Perlmutter's RELATIONAL GRAMMAR. Some of these approaches have been employed with regard to the Bantu languages, such as the THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND BINDING in Xhosa (cf. Visser, 1989). In a research on applicative verbs in Zulu, Wilkes (1978c) expresses the opinion that the frameworks of CASE GRAMMAR and RELATIONAL GRAMMAR provide interesting principles regarding the laws of clause structure which could be implemented fruitfully in Bantu linguistic studies. As regards Northern Sotho, a number of studies were conducted on the locative by Prinsloo, who *inter alia* worked within the RELATIONAL framework to define the syntactical and grammatical relationship of elements in a sentence (cf. Prinsloo, 1981c, 1984a).

Many of the adjustments within the general transformational-generative framework, were specifically designed to counteract the inadequate treatment of the semantic component in Chomsky's classical model. Initially meaning does not feature in the definitions of TG-grammars. The ongoing development of the Chomskyan model is evidence of the fact that adherents of Chomskyan theories have not been able to decide on a suitable model yet. Louwrens (1985c) states that a Bantuist cannot be expected to keep up with all the latest developments in the international linguistic field and at the same time to perform his own primary task of researching grammatical issues in a specific Bantu language to any high degree. This explains why the description of Bantu linguistics has remained fairly uniform and has not as a whole been forced into each and every descriptional model that has appeared. The nature of the Bantu languages also proved to be such that not all models could be applied to their description without major adaptations. No individual approach during the modern period has as yet offered sufficient scope in order to set the study of Northern Sotho off onto a particular course. The various theories nevertheless provided greater clarity on important grammatical phenomena which had been problematic within the periods preceding the modern era.

Various other schools of language study which emerged during this time, but which will only be mentioned in passing (since they have not been exploited as frames of reference for Northern Sotho studies) include Leonard Bloomfield's NEO-STRUCTURALISM, Kenneth L. Pike's TAGMEMICS, Sydney Lamb's STRATIFICATIONAL ANALYSIS and M.A.K. Halliday's SCALE-AND-CATEGORY GRAMMAR (SYSTEMIC GRAMMAR). To these can be added André Martinet's FUNCTIONAL THEORY, Lucien Tesniére's DEPENDENCY GRAMMAR or VALENCE GRAMMAR and Zellig Harris' STRING GRAMMAR.

5.3 FUNCTIONALISM / FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

The concept of a functional approach towards language can be retraced to the works of De Saussure in Switzerland, Boas in the United States and Mathesius in Prague. From 1926 several linguists gathered regularly in Prague under the leadership of Vilém Mathesius (1882-1945). Their school of thought later became known as the Prague School. Their theories were characterised and distinguished from conventional American descriptional linguistics by their investigation of the different functions performed by the different structural components in language usage. Webb (ed., 1983:v) states that these theories in fact differ so radically from conventional linguistics, that they could neither be regarded as alternative nor as complementary theories or frameworks. The possibilities which the Prague School of thought offered to linguistic investigations were only taken up again in the seventies under a number of models which could all be subsumed under the term 'Functionalism'. These models all emphasise the importance of language as a social phenomenon - a means whereby people communicate. This entails the recognition that a wide variety of linguistic phenomena are controlled not only by immediate linguistic contexts, but also by non-syntactical or extra-linguistic factors. In contrast to the situation in generative grammar, the various models within functional linguistics do not constitute an integrated theory of language study, in spite of the fact that they share the central concept of the communicative function of language. Their diversity has led Webb (ed., 1983) to consider 'Interactional Linguistics' (IAL) more appropriate as a collective term than 'Functionalism'.

Some of the frameworks which have been subsumed under the blanket term of functional linguistics include 'Discourse Analysis', 'Functional Sentence Perspective', the 'Speech Act Theory' by Austin and Searle and 'Pragmatics'. Although these approaches are addressed in separate sections below, a watertight compartmentalisation is not possible due to basic shared principles.

Louwrens played a major role in drawing Bantuists' attention to descriptions within a functional approach. A number of his publications, with special emphasis on Northern Sotho, investigate key concepts which feature to a greater or lesser degree in functional linguistics. These include the distinction old/known information or presuppositional knowledge versus new/unknown information, definiteness versus indefiniteness as well as concepts such as co-reference, focus, contrast, discourse functions, etc. These concepts will not be elaborated on at this point in time, except to say that they formed the centre of discussion in quite a number of publications from the late seventies and through the following decade. These publications appear in section 5.6.

5.3.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Syntactic studies moved away from the analysis of (dreamed-up, artificial) sentences which were isolated from their discourse context. Semantics was beginning to be accorded its rightful place in linguistics with attention being paid to issues such as the initiation and termination of texts or conversations, the organisation of texts, conversational genres such as narration, instruction, argument, etc. and acceptable communicative norms laid down by the community.

In his doctoral thesis on Northern Sotho (1979a) Louwrens worked within a discourse analytical framework. This was followed by a number of contributions on various important concepts pertaining to discourse analysis (e.g. 1981b, 1983a). Apart from Northern Sotho, other languages were also used as frames of reference by Louwrens to illustrate some of the principles of the discourse approach, e.g.

1979b "Die sintaksis van interrogatiewe naamwoorde en die interrogatiewe bepaler **-fe** in Suid-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 6(1).
Louwrens indicates that interrogatives share the same syntactic restrictions as nouns which present new discourse information. He describes the value of a discourse analytical approach towards language description in Bantu syntactical studies as follows:

> "Binne die kader van die diskoersgefundeerde onderskeid tussen ou en nuwe informasie, blyk dit moontlik te wees om sintaktiese verskynsels wat tot dusver slegs op deskriptiewe vlak aandag kon geniet, te herinterpreteer en te verklaar." (Louwrens, 1979b:83).

1981a "'n Perspektief op Wilkes se delesiehipotese oor pronominalisasie in Bantoe." *Studies in Bantoetale* 8(1).
Two pronominalisation rules in Bantu, i.e. **substitution** and **deletion**, are scrutinized with reference to Southern Sotho examples within a discourse-pragmatic approach.

5.3.2 FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE (FSP)

This approach was conceived by the Prague School and extended by the Japanese linguist Kuno of the Harvard University in the United States. As in the case of discourse analysis, the role of extralinguistic factors in the analyses and descriptions was acknowledged. While the emphasis in discourse analysis, however, was on the structure of texts and conversations, FSP recognised the **sentence** as the primary structure. Sentences were arranged in order to perform a specific **function** within a specific context. Through organising his sentences in a particular way within the cadre of a well-formed discourse, the speaker reveals his choice of **perspective** on the information which he is presenting: **New information**, which has a greater communicative content than old or known information, is normally accorded more prominence by the speaker in order to achieve his specific communicative goal. **Old information**, however, which is assumed by the speaker to be familiar to the addressee or derivable from extra-sentential factors, is accorded less prominence.

In her investigation of the so-called present-tense **a** in Northern Sotho, Kosch (1985) relied greatly on principles applicable in Functional Sentence Perspective to provide explanations for the distribution of this grammatical formative. The investigation of the semantic scope of certain words and the syntactic cohesion between the constituents of sentences as part of this type of approach, also provided some valuable insights.

5.3.3 SPEECH ACT THEORY

The conception of this theory can be traced back to a work by John L. Austin (1962) entitled *How to do things with words*. This theory, to which Searle also made a notable contribution later in time, represents a complete break from the view that the sentence constitutes the basic analytical and descriptional unit. The approach instead revolves around the speech act as the central concept, i.e. what we **do** with language in a communication process. A

distinction is drawn between locutionary acts (i.e. the utterances as such which have sound, structure and meaning), illocutionary acts (i.e. the communicative intentions aimed at by means of the utterances - subject to certain appropriateness or felicity conditions which would ensure the success of illocutionary acts in a communicative interaction) and perlocutionary acts (i.e. the effect of the utterance on the addressee). The Speech Act Theory investigates the formulation and identification of questions, statements, requests, etc., as well as the conditions which determine their being interpreted as questions, statements, etc. by the receiver (addressee). Northern Sotho contributions dealing with speech acts are intertwined with investigations on pragmatic issues and are therefore mentioned under the section following below.

5.3.4 PRAGMATICS

The term 'Pragmatics' was used by Charles Morris (1938) to refer to the study of the "relation of signs to interpreters." Meaning, however, was not to be accorded any serious attention for a number of decades. Only after the transformational-generative model had reached its summit, did interest begin to shift away from competence towards performance, i.e. to the communicative force of language in actual speech situations.

Pragmatics is concerned with the origin, uses and effects of utterances and is very closely related to the Speech Act Theory. It is interested in the speech act as an **illocutionary** act. This means that pragmatics studies speech acts as goal-directed communication units which need to be understood in relation to the particular context of situation in which they are used. Social determinants are specifically taken into account in the establishment of the communicative intention or illocutionary force of verbal performances. The social nature of language demands that it be investigated not only as a series of utterances, but primarily according to the way in which it functions in specific speech situations. Meaning in pragmatics is therefore defined relative to the language user in particular social spheres. The speaker may use as the context of his utterance any background knowledge which he assumes to be known and shared by the receiver. The acceptability of linguistic utterances is closely linked with the social institutions in which they are used, such as e.g. the family, the church, school, etc. Examples of pragmatic studies include *inter alia* Louwrens (1980, 1982, 1987b) and Sekhukhune (1986 and 1988).

5.4 LANGUAGE DYNAMIC APPROACH

This approach differed from the transformational-generative approach in that the focus was not on transformational rules which converted underlying into surface structures, but rather on natural developmental processes such as rank-shifting and category shifting which were most probably responsible for certain changes in a language. The historical development of syntactic processes was investigated by means of synchronic data. Examples of such studies pertaining to Northern Sotho include Ponelis (1975), Louwrens (1975, 1976 and 1978b), Vercueil (1981) and Van Staden (1988 and 1990).

Rank-shifting entails a shift within the hierarchy of linguistic units. Shifts may either proceed from the morpheme towards the more autonomous units such as the word, word group and the sentence or vice versa, the latter being the more common developmental tendency. Where transitions from lexical items to categorial items take place, the process is referred to as grammaticalisation. Linguistic units may thus be raised or lowered in rank or may be in an intermediate state of development if they display features of more than one rank (e.g. the potential *ka* and the progressive *sa* which have characteristics of both verbs and prefixes). Category shifting entails the reinterpretation of one word category as another word category by means of a formal change, e.g. the so-called enumerative stems which are progressively being employed in adjectival and nominal relative constructions by Northern Sotho speakers as indicated by Louwrens (1975).

5.5 LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY

Typological studies are concerned with the synchronic nature of word order, the diachronic processes of word order change and the discovery of the dynamic universal processes which underlie these syntactic changes. The strict Saussurean separation between synchronic and diachronic description was no longer observed as it proved to be unpractical. Greenberg (1979:279) in fact regards the interaction between these two studies as essential:

> "... diachronic factors enter at a number of levels and often in a complex way, as an integral and at least equal partner with synchronic factors, in the over-all explanatory-theoretic structure of linguistic science."

Typological changes, brought about primarily by discourse-pragmatic factors, entail the loss of function of a particular syntactic arrangement and the interpretation of the new word order as the normal word order in the course of time. Generally a direct correlation can be

observed between the arrangement of morphemes and words in the sentence and the dominant word order type to which a particular language belongs, e.g in dominant SOV languages modifiers tend to occur *before* the noun, while in dominant SVO languages they occur *after* the noun which they modify. When changes occur, these usually develop or drift in one direction only (i.e. from SOV to SVO to VSO).

During the sixties general linguistics was still in the grip of transformational-generative grammar, with the result that Greenberg's revolutionary contribution towards typological investigations in 1963 (entitled "Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements") did not immediately receive the recognition it deserved. During the seventies and eighties, however, the importance of his framework was realised internationally and also filtered through to African and Bantu linguistic studies as evidenced by publications such as the following:

1971 Givon, T. "Some historical changes in the noun-class system of Bantu. Their possible causes and wider implications." *Papers in African Linguistics* 3.

1976 Heine, B. *A typology of African languages based on the order of meaningful elements*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Andrews & Steiner.

1980 Louwrens, L.J. "Woordvolgorde en volgordeverandering in Xhosa: 'n Ondersoek na die verband tussen pragmatiek en taaltipologie." *Studies in Bantoetale* 7(1).

1985a Prinsloo, D.J. "Beginsels waarop taaltipologie en tipologiese verandering berus." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(4).
Prinsloo attempts to formulate a theoretical framework based on principles of typology and typological change "to enable Bantu linguists to tackle those problematic aspects which are generally regarded as 'exceptions', 'inconsistencies', 'irregularities', etc. by linguists employing synchronic investigation strategies." (op. cit.:128).

5.6 NORTHERN SOTHO CONTRIBUTIONS DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

5.6.1 PEDAGOGICAL MANUALS

A selection of pedagogical manuals which appeared since 1975 is given below. Language handbooks designed for the lower grades are of no special academic interest to us due to

their elementary content and emphasis on language exercises. Manuals intended for use at secondary school level, college or university, however, are considered important to the present research, since they generally contain more theoretical grammatical explanations and analyses which naturally also play a role in the shaping of Northern Sotho grammatical development. The needs of mother-tongue students are catered for through the medium of Northern Sotho, while non mother-tongue speakers have recourse to a number of works, mostly with Afrikaans as medium of instruction. Many of the works contain more than one volume, i.e. for the different standards.

1975 Nchabeleng, C.K. *Mmila wa segagešo.* (Two volumes, i.e. Standards 5 & 6). Johannesburg: Educum Publishers.

1976 Nokaneng, M.B. *Segagešo: Tlhamego le tšhomišo. Mphato wa matriki le wa borutiši.* Elsies River: Via Afrika.

1980 Motuku, H.Z. & P.C. Mashobane *Sepedi se se phelago.* (More than one volume, i.e. Standards 1, 2 and 3). Johannesburg: Educum Publishers.

1981 Harman, F.J.N. et al. *Pula 1. Noord-Sothotaalkunde/Northern Sotho grammar.* Groenkloof: F.J.N. Harman.
This volume, followed by *Pula 2* in 1983, is an elementary introduction to Northern Sotho for non mother-tongue speakers.

1981 Legodi, D.W., J.M. Ramushu & M.C.J. Mphahlele *Ithute go ruta Sesotho sa Lebowa* (A teaching method for the Northern Sotho language). Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, Pty. Ltd.

1983 Kock, J.H.M. & S.D. Kock *Noord-Sotho vir Standerd 6.* (Four volumes, i.e. Standards 6, 7 and 8 in 1983; Standards 9 and 10 combined in 1986). Johannesburg: Nasou Ltd.

1984 Goslin, B. du P. *Werkskemas en modellesse vir Standerds 6 en 7.* Pretoria: Daan Retief Publishers.

1984 Mogale, K.I. & G.P. Mojapelo *Sesotho sa Leboa sa mahlahla.* (Std. 4: 1984, Std. 3: 1987. Cf. Serudu et al. (1986) for Standards 5 to 10). Pretoria: De Jager-Haum.

Writing in 1983 Goslin maintains that no Northern Sotho grammar book, in which one specific theoretical approach was adhered to, had appeared up to that stage. Ziervogel's Northern Sotho handbook (1969a & b), as well as the same author's grammatical exposition in his dictionary (cf. Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975) - generally regarded as authoritative works - are specifically mentioned by Goslin as having failed to give an explicit exposition of the

disciplinary nature and cohesion of the language. This was attributable to Ziervogel's application of his unique approach which was difficult to define. An attempt at presenting a grammatical analysis of Northern Sotho within a specific framework, was to follow by D.P. Lombard in 1985:

1985 Lombard, D.P. *Introduction to the grammar of Northern Sotho* (also in Afrikaans: *Inleiding tot die grammatika van Noord-Sotho*). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

The fact that Lombard's work was still conceived within the Van Wyk framework in the mid-eighties, indicates that the structural approach continued offering interesting analytical and descriptional possibilities not yet exploited fully. Words and word classes in Northern Sotho are identified on the basis of Van Wyk's theories, while another word category is distinguished under the group of morphologically heterogeneous words by Lombard, i.e. 'conjunctions'.

1986 Goslin B. du P. *Noord-Sotho in aksie: Spreektaal vir Standerd 6*. Pretoria: De Jager-Haum.

This work, based entirely on the functional-communicative approach, offers practical exercises for language acquisition.

1986 Grobler, G.M.M. et al. *Mahube a Sesotho sa Leboa*. (Std. 5 & 8: 1986, Std. 6 & 9: 1987, Std. 7 & 10: 1988). Johannesburg: Educum.

1986 Mawasha, A.L. & J.R. Maibelo *Thakga Polelo*. (Std. 5: 1986, Std. 8: 1986 - with M.P. Mmola as joint-author, Std. 6 & 7: 1990). Cape Town, Wetton, Johannesburg: Juta & Co., Ltd.

1986 Nokaneng, M.B. & L.J. Louwrens *Segagešo*. (Std. 5: 1986, Std. 8: 1987, Std. 6: 1988, Std. 7: 1989, Std. 9: 1990, Std.10: 1991). Goodwood: Via Afrika, Ltd.

The new syllabus under the title *Segagešo* was implemented from Standard 5 to 10. Except for Standards 1 to 4, it replaced the series *Ithuteng polelo* (originally from Std. 1-8) by Moloisi, G.J. et al.

1986 Ramushu, J.M. & M.C.J. Mphahlele *Polelo ye e phelago*. (Std. 5 & 8: 1986, Std. 6 & 9: 1987, Std. 7 & 10: 1988). Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

1986 Serudu, S.M. et al. *Sesotho sa Leboa sa mahlahla*. (Std. 5 & 8: 1986, Std. 6 & 9: 1987, Std. 7 & 10: 1988). Pretoria: De Jager-Haum.

1990 Van Wyk, E.B. et al. *Noord-Sotho vir eerstejaars*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd.

In this manual the grammar of Northern Sotho is made accessible through an

easy-to-understand presentation, theoretical intricacies being avoided as far as possible. Its aim is not a complete coverage of all aspects, but rather to introduce first year students to the basic principles of the grammar.

5.6.2 GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

The increase in the number of publications since 1975 has been remarkable. In order not to render the following list too voluminous, only works dealing specifically with grammatical issues in Northern Sotho or in which the language features quite prominently as in comparative studies, for example, are mentioned:

1975 Louwrens, L.J. "Enumeratiewe as 'n onproduktiewe klas in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 2(1).

The natural developmental approach enabled Louwrens to provide a more satisfactory assessment of the state of the enumerative than had been possible within other frameworks. He indicated that the enumerative was in the process of undergoing category shifting and was in need of reinterpretation.

1975 Ponelis, F. "Die ontwikkeling van hulpwerkwoordgroepe: Hulpwerkwoord en infinitiefsin." *Studies in Bantoetale* 2(1).

Grammaticalisation (i.e. the transition from lexical item to categorial item) and rank-shifting are illustrated in Ponelis' investigation of the development of certain auxiliary verb groups from their earlier status as modality verbs in main clauses to modality morphemes.

1976 Louwrens, L.J. "Oor die sogenaamde situatief van Noord-Sotho: 'n Voorlopige probleemstelling." *Studies in Bantoetale* 3(1).

1976 Makhado, J.T. *The pronoun in Venda and Northern Sotho: A comparative morphological, syntactic and semantic study.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Turfloop: University of the North.

1976 Ponelis, F. "Kanttekening by Keenan se teorie van die proposisiestruktuur." *Studies in Bantoetale* 3(1).

Ponelis indicates that constructions with internal "pronames" were formerly focus constructions. In the case of Northern Sotho, the subject concord - employed as an original focussing strategy - has become relegated to being an inomissible part of a neutral construction. A focus construction thus becomes a new neutral construction and the construction is said to be

grammaticalised. On the analogy of this development, the object concord which today still expresses focus in Northern Sotho, may in due time also forfeit its semantic markedness, developing into a neutral internal proname.

1977 Ferreira, J.A. "Morfologie van die voornaamwoorde in die Sothotale." *Limi* 5(1-2).

1977 Makhado, J.T. "The enumerative pronoun in Venda and Northern Sotho." *Communiqué* 3(1).

1978b Louwrens, L.J. "A semantic interpretation of Northern Sotho subjunctives and the subordinator **gore**." *In* Baumbach, ed. (1978).

1979a Louwrens, L.J. *Naamwoordfunksies in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished D. Litt. thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1979 Prinsloo, D.J. *Lokatiefvorming in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

1980 Ponelis, F.A. "Die lang presensvorm en klousvlakke in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 7(1).

1980 Van Wyk, E.B. "Assosiatiewe meervoude in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 7(1).

1981 Kock, J.H.M. "Onreëlmatige verskynsels by die werkwoordelike relatief in Noord-Sotho." *Opstelle oor Taal- en Letterkunde* opgedra aan Prof. Dr. J.A. Ferreira by sy aftrede. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1981 Kosch, I.M. "Economy in the verbal relative construction in Northern Sotho." *Limi* 9(1-2).

1981b Louwrens, L.J. "The relevance of the notions 'given' and 'new' discourse information in the study of North Sotho syntax." *South African Journal of African Languages* 1(1).

1981a Prinsloo, D.J. "'n Kritiese oorsig van bestaande beskouinge oor lokatiefvorming in Bantoe met besondere verwysing na Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 1(1).

1981b Prinsloo, D.J. "Lokatiewe voorsetselgroepe in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages*. Supplement.

1981c Prinsloo, D.J. "'n Semantiese analise van lokatiewe in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 8(1).

1981 Van Wyk, E.B. "Saamgestelde tye, modi en aspekte in Noord-Sotho." *Opstelle oor Taal- en Letterkunde* opgedra aan Prof. Dr. J.A. Ferreira by sy aftrede. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1981 Vercueil, F.C. *Die ontkenning in Noord-Sotho.* Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1982 Louwrens, L.J. "Remarks on some grammatical and pragmatic functions of the object concord in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 2(1).

Louwrens studies the discourse-pragmatic factors which govern the syntax of object noun phrases.

1983a Louwrens, L.J. "Definiteness and indefiniteness in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 3(1).

Louwrens investigates how definite and indefinite noun phrases can formally be distinguished by referring to certain interrogative structures. The type of interrogative structures employed are indicative of the speaker's presupposition regarding the knowledge of the addressee on a specific referent in question.

1983b Louwrens, L.J. "'n Funksionele interpretasie van enkele sintaktiese verskynsels in Noord-Sotho." *In* Webb, ed. (1983).

1984 Kock, J.H.M. *Relatiefomskrywing in Noord-Sotho.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1984a Prinsloo, D.J. "Die sintaksis van lokatiewe in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 4(2).

1984b Prinsloo, D.J. *Woordvolgorde en volgordeverandering in Noord-Sotho.* Unpublished D.Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1985 Kosch, I.M. *Die 'onvoltooidheids-a' in Noord-Sotho.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1985 Kotzé, A.E. "Herinterpretasie van die betekenis van demonstratiewe in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(3).

1985a Louwrens, L.J. "Contrastiveness and the so-called absolute pronoun in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(2). New insights brought to light by Functional Sentence Perspective elucidate the qualificative nature of the absolute pronoun. By referring to the distributional properties of the so-called 'absolute pronouns' as well as the 'imperfect tense morpheme **a**', Louwrens is able to illustrate that a much closer semantic cohesion exists between the verb and the object than between the subject and the verb.

1985b Prinsloo, D.J. "Semantiese analise van die vraagpartikels **na** en **afa** in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(3).

1986 Prinsloo, D.J. "Ontwikkeling van prefikse, suffikse en voorsetsels in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 6(4).

1986 Van Wyk, E.B. "Consecutive and relative in Northern Sotho: A problem in grammatical analysis." *South African Journal of African Languages* 6(4).

1987 Barnard, R. *Die situatief in Noord-Sotho.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1987b Louwrens, L.J. "Some pragmatic functions of interrogative particles in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 7(4).

1987 Prinsloo, D.J. "Perspektief op pronominalisasie in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 7(1).

Discourse functions such as specificity and contrast, as expressed by the "pronouns" are investigated and a correlation drawn with typological sequence strategies.

1987a Van Wyk, E.B. "Linguistic theory and grammatical description: the case of the verb categories of Northern Sotho." *African Studies* 46(2).

1987b Van Wyk, E.B. "Proclitic **bo** of Northern Sotho. *South African Journal of African Languages* 7(1).

1988 Barnard, R. "Relationship between situative and relative in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 8(3).

1988 Kosch, I.M. "'Imperfect tense-a' of Northern Sotho revisited." *South African Journal of African Languages* 8(1).

1988 Prinsloo, D.J. "Taaltipologiese verandering by vraagpartikels in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 8(4).

1988 Van Staden, W.J. *Rang- en kategorieverskuiwing in Noord-Sotho, met spesiale verwysing na die bywoord en die voegwoord.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1989 Prinsloo, D.J. "Invloed van diskoersfaktore en taaltipologiese verandering op die sintaksis van vraagwoorde in Noord-Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 9(1).

1990 Louwrens, L.J. "Mood and modality in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 10(1).

1990 Van Staden, W.J. "Rang- en kategorieverskuiwing in Noord-Sotho met spesiale verwysing na die voegwoord." *South African Journal of African Languages* 10(3).

1991 Du Preez, P.M. *Die possessief in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa. (In preparation for submission, November 1991).

1991a Louwrens, L.J. *Aspects of Northern Sotho grammar*. Pretoria: Via Afrika, Ltd. This work has not been included under the pedagogical manuals in the previous section, since its aim is not to introduce the unenlightened to the language, but rather to present and consolidate in a scientific way all of the most recent and new ideas by different scholars on certain grammatical issues in Northern Sotho.

1991b Louwrens, L.J. "A functional interpretation of some agreement phenomena in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 11(3).

1991 Mampuru, D.M. *The habitual mood in Northern Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1991 Steyn, E.C. *Vraagwoorde en vraagpartikels in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

5.6.3 ORTHOGRAPHY, PHONETICS, PHONOLOGY AND TONOLOGY

1975 Esterhuyse, C.J. "Die ontwikkeling van die skryftekenstelsel van Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 2(1).

1976 Lombard, D.P. *Aspekte van toon in Noord-Sotho*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
Lombard makes use of transformational principles in order to indicate how surface tonal realisations are arrived at by the application of tone rules to underlying tonal structures.

1977 Lombard, D.P. "'n Diakronies-tonologiese ontleding van enkele werkwoord-strukture in Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 4(1). (This was also published in English, cf. Lombard, 1978b).
Lombard's findings provide tonological support for Ponelis' (1975) assumptions regarding the developmental course of auxiliary verbs and the infinitive.

1978 Grobler, G.M.M. "Is hierdie **p** 'n **b** of 'n **p**?" *Limi* 6(1-2).

1978a Lombard, D.P. "A brief analysis of high tone in Pedi verbs." *In* Baumbach, ed. (1978).

1978b Lombard, D.P. "A diachronic-tonological analysis of certain rank shifted verbal structures in Northern Sotho." *Studies in African Linguistics* 9(3).

1978c Lombard, D.P. "Die laterale konsonante van Noord-Sotho." *Studies in Bantoetale* 5(1).

1980 Lombard, D.P. "Duur en lengte in Noord-Sotho ('n verkenningstudie)." *Studies in Bantoetale* 7(1).

1980 Mburente, R. & A. Coupez *Phonologie historique du nord-Suthu*. Memoire de maitrise. Rwanda: Université Nationale du Rwanda.

1982 Bing, T.B. "The Sotho orthographies - Yesterday, today and tomorrow." *South African Journal of African Languages*. Supplement 2.

1982 Lombard, D.P. "On the places of articulation and obstruction in articulatory phonetics with reference to some Northern Sotho consonants." *South African Journal of African Languages* 2(2).

1983 Roux, J.C. *Vokaalkwaliteit, toon en konsonantale invloede in Sotho.* Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

1983 Swanepoel, C.J. *Die segmentele fonologie van Noord-Sotho: 'n Transformasionele Generatiewe Interpretasie*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1985 Wilkes, A. "Words and word division: A study of some orthographical problems in the writing systems of the Nguni and Sotho languages." *South African Journal of African Languages* 5(4).

1987a Kotzé, A.E. "Dealing with nasals within the phonological system of Northern Sotho: Another alternative." *South African Journal of African Languages* 7(4).

1989 Kotzé, A.E. *An introduction to Northern Sotho phonetics and phonology*. Hout Bay: Marius Lubbe Publishers.

5.6.4 DICTIONARIES AND RELATED STUDIES

1975 Ziervogel, D. & P.C. Mokgokong *Groot Noord-Sotho-Woordeboek / Pukuntšu ye kgolo ya Sesotho sa Leboa / Comprehensive Northern Sotho Dictionary* (Northern Sotho - Afrikaans/English). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, Ltd. & University of South Africa.

1990 Prinsloo, D.J. "Resensie: Pukuntšu Woordeboek." *South African Journal of African Languages*. Supplement 10(1).

1991 Prinsloo, D.J. "Towards computer-assisted word frequency studies in Northern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 11(2).

1992 Lombard, D.P., G.M.M. Grobler & R. Barnard *Sediba*. Dictionary and phrase book based on the special course for Northern Sotho at the University of South Africa. Northern Sotho - Afrikaans/English; Afrikaans - Northern Sotho; English - Northern Sotho. Pretoria: Via Afrika. (Forthcoming).

Multilingual dictionaries:

1991 *The Oxford Junior Primary Dictionary for South Africa*. Northern Sotho / Southern Sotho / Setswana / Afrikaans. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

1991 Reader's Digest Association S.A. *South African Multi-Language Dictionary and Phrase Book*. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association S.A., Pty. Ltd. The Northern Sotho section (i.e. Northern Sotho - English - Afrikaans) was compiled by A.E. Kotzé and G.M.M. Grobler.

5.6.5 DIALECT STUDIES

1977 Louwrens, L.J. "Die fonetiese sisteem van Lobedu." *Studies in Bantoetale* 4(1).

1978a Louwrens, L.J. "Enkele morfologiese verskynsels in Lobedu." *Studies in Bantoetale* 5(1).

1987b Kotzé, A.E. *Die fonologiese sisteem van Hananwa*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1987a Louwrens, L.J. "Remarks on the historical background and some grammatical characteristics of Eastern Sotho." *South African Journal of African Languages* 7(1).

1988 Havenga, B. *Die samestelling van die Sotho-taalgroep*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

1988 Kotzé, A.E. "Morfologie van nie-predikatiewe woorde en konstruksies in Hananwa." *South African Journal of African Languages* 8(4).

5.6.6 SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES

Although it was stated at the outset that semantic studies fall outside the scope of this investigation, it was felt that the following deserve to be mentioned here, since the modern functional approaches cannot be divorced from semantic analyses. These contributions relate

to the general pragmatic trend towards the interpretation of meanings in context or against certain cultural backgrounds.

1975 Mokgokong, P.C. *Context as a determinant of meaning with special reference to Northern Sotho.* Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

1977 Mokgokong, P.C. *Meaning in the context of culture.* Inaugural lecture. (Publication Series C, No.37). Turfloop: University of the North.

1986 Sekhukhune, P.D. "Pragmatics of discourse in Northern Sotho: A functional approach." *South African Journal of African Languages* 6(1).

1988 Sekhukhune, P.D. *Discourse analysis and speech varieties in Northern Sotho: A sociolinguistic study.* Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Turfloop: University of the North.

5.7 TGG AND OTHER TRENDS IN THE TEACHING OF NORTHERN SOTHO DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

A number of contemporary Bantuists (*inter alia* Engelbrecht, 1978 and Von Staden, 1979, 1986a & b) have expressed the opinion that a selection of models would provide the most adequate linguistic apparatus for teaching purposes. According to Groenewald (1983) it would seem that the University of Pretoria favoured a combination of various aspects from different approaches in the teaching of Bantu languages to white students at first year level. Firstly, the emphasis on translational exercises from and into the student's mother tongue as well as repetitions of phrases are reminiscent of the methods employed by traditionalists and behaviourists. In the second place, traces of the transformational-generative approach may be recognised in the provision which is made for a creative element. The student's creative ability is developed as he completes certain phrases on his own after having been exposed to the language laboratory for a while. Relying on his memory or filling in gaps in known or familiar structures, the student will systematically be increasing his knowledge of the language. Thirdly, functionalism, which places a great premium on the practical implementation of a language in social interactions, is provided for in the teaching method. A good balance between the acquisition of academic knowledge and the development of efficient communicative skills would seem to constitute the ideal approach.

The TG-model has evoked various reactions. On the one hand it enjoyed an overwhelming support, since its academic content furthered linguistics as a scientific discipline. On the other hand, conflicting views seem to exist on the impact which TGG as a leading linguistic theory is purported to have made on the Bantu languages. In 1983 Goslin reports, for example, that TG-theories were not visible in school practice at that stage. In addition, very few universities had accepted this modern framework as their only frame of reference. The TG-model as a method for acquiring a foreign language has been described as a complete failure. The problems encountered by first language learners are completely different to those experienced by second language learners.

The former group have the advantage of having been exposed to their mother tongue or any other language up to the age of not more than 7, which afforded them the opportunity of naturally acquiring a level of proficiency in the language through their mastery of a set of internalised rules. This group is able to check the grammaticality of a series of words against their own introspective judgements. It is also this group which served as Chomsky's frame of reference in the formulation of his theories. For this reason, the transformational generativists, being mother-tongue linguists, only dealt with native languages, the surface categories of which were already familiar to them.

The second language learner - usually the older child or adult -, on the other hand, cannot rely on any intuitive knowledge to produce correct utterances. He acquires the second language primarily by comparison with his mother tongue - a basis which is predominantly on the syntactical level.

In 1976 Bantu languages were introduced as school subjects in white primary schools in the Transvaal. The children involved were pupils of standards 3 to 5. The implementation of a TG directed approach would have presented a problem, since at the age of about 10 to 12, the children would already have passed the crucial age during which a set of rules of a language normally becomes fostered in an individual. As a linguistic theory TG-grammar, being mainly concerned with abstract, formal structures of sentences, thus fails to meet the requirement of second or foreign language teaching where a high premium is placed on active language usage in concrete communication situations. In developing his views Chomsky himself did not have the interests of language teachers in mind and, according to Wilkins (1972:171), could not see why anyone should think that it ought to have applications in teaching.

The possibilities which the TG-model had to offer as a descriptional or teaching framework were not really exploited by Northern Sotho linguists. They were reluctant to exchange the concrete structural approach of Van Wyk for the more abstract, theoretical approach of the TG-framework. A serious draw-back for the practice of TG-grammar was also the fact that Chomsky's theory had been designed with English examples in mind, resulting in its failure to account for certain issues in Bantu grammar with its different structure. With the introduction, however, of the various functional movements which entailed more practical applications, a remarkable interest in Northern Sotho could be observed as evidenced by a score of publications on grammatical and pedagogical issues. Educational institutions like the University of South Africa, for instance, adopted a functional approach towards the description of grammatical structures in some of their tutorial matter for Northern Sotho (cf. Louwrens, 1985b). Communicative requirements also took precedence over the analysis of grammatical phenomena (as an end in itself) in the laboratory programs of Northern Sotho at the University of Pretoria. Goslin (1983:viii) is of the opinion that as far as the teaching of Northern Sotho as third language in secondary schools is concerned, the functional language act model should also achieve the best communicative aims and goals. It is interesting to note that while social and communicative goals were increasingly demanding attention, the greater part of syllabi still pursued structural aims, even up until the present time. Van Wyk's scientifically founded views on the Bantu word especially maintained their validity at university and secondary school level. Goslin (op. cit.) points out that an outright functional teaching model without a structural (grammatical) component would be inadequate. The term 'formalistic-functionalism' has been used by Leech (1980 as quoted by Badenhorst *In* Webb, ed., 1983) in this regard to describe a balanced approach between the two extremes, i.e. strict formalism and strict functionalism.

The various linguistic schools which have emerged since the presentation of TGG, are too divergent as to allow for their being subsumed under one particular approach. A general observation regarding most of the "more modern" approaches, however, is that they acknowledge the importance of language as a social phenomenon.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 6
NON-PREDICATIVE CATEGORIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

PART TWO of this thesis endeavours to disclose some interesting developments in the description of selected word categories in Northern Sotho. Rather than becoming involved in matters of technical detail - which would render this work far too voluminous and which the present survey therefore cannot make provision for - the intention in this section is mainly to indicate various interpretations and approaches which Northern Sotho word categories were subjected to in grammatical analyses. While Chapter 6 investigates word categories of a non-verbal nature, Chapter 7 will look into issues relating directly to the verb. This mode of operation is adopted merely for convenience purposes and should in no way be seen as a classificatory attempt of word categories in Bantu. A brief synopsis on the whole research will conclude the study.

6.2 THE NOUN

The imposition of "European categories" on the Bantu languages during their initial recording, resulted in a number of incorrect or inappropriate descriptions. Similarity of meaning often served as a guide in identifying segments, and by 'meaning' was usually meant an equivalent usage in some European language. Structural differences also proved to be a source of difficulty. The fact that word categories in Bantu are usually concatenations of morphemes instead of single free morphemes, probably led the first writer of a Northern Sotho grammar to describe all substantives as *derivata* or *derivata verbalia* (Endemann, 1876b:28), i.e. as derivatives from nominal or verbal stems or roots, e.g. *motho* 'human being' derived from *-tho*; *lerato* 'love' derived from *-rata*, etc.

In the following sections various aspects or sub-categories of the noun will be brought into focus:

6.2.1 GENDER

The term 'gender' derives from the Latin word *genus*, which has the general meaning 'class' or 'kind'. Nouns in the classical Indo-European languages were mostly classified into three main classes or genders, i.e. masculine, feminine and neuter to account for pronominal reference and adjectival concord or agreement. In traditional grammar a close association came to be established between gender and sex. The early Bantu grammarians realised that this association did not hold for the Bantu languages. They found instead that nouns naturally fell into classes or 'genders' according to their various class prefixes - the system was thus prefixal and not suffixal as in the case of traditional gender - for the purpose of indicating syntactic relations. This had nothing to do with biological gender nor were any inflections of nouns observed by which gender is traditionally recognised. For this reason 'gender' was dismissed by Endemann (1876b) as being of no significance as a *grammatical* sub-category of the noun. The traditional framework nevertheless compelled him to include a reference to 'gender' in the Bantu languages. He did this by indicating the different means by which the opposition male:female could be expressed, of which not one was categorial in nature. The same procedure was followed by Franz (1931) and Schwellnus (1931). When discovering that 'gender' was not realised by inflections in the Bantu languages, they proceeded to discuss a sex-based gender, leaving it to later Northern Sotho linguists to re-interpret the notion of 'gender' to suit the "new" situation in the Bantu languages, namely to refer to the nominal class system, cf. Endemann (1939a). As in the case of most of his predecessors, Endemann's (op. cit.:17) description was still conducted on the basis of comparison with European languages, e.g.:

> "Waar die snwe. in Duits bv. in klasse volgens die geslag verdeel word, word die snwe. in al die Bantoetale en so ook in Tvl.-Sotho in klasse volgens hulle voorvoegsels verdeel."

In his tabulation of the noun classes, Endemann (1876b) made use of a method whereby singular and plural forms were grouped together into one class. The seven classes which he distinguished in this way were also recognised by Beyer (1920) in the same order, while Schwellnus (1931) changed the sequence slightly, cf.

Endemann[1] & Beyer:

Class 1. **mo-** (singular), **ba-** (plural)

Class 2. **mo-** (singular), **me-** (plural)

Class 3. **bo-**[2] (singular), **ma-** (plural) (Schwellnus **le-/ma-**)

Class 4. **le-** (singular), **ma-** (plural) (Schwellnus **se-/di-**)

Class 5. **se-** (singular), **di-** (plural) (Schwellnus **bo-/ma-**)

Class 6. - (no prefix is recognised for the singular, although the strengthening of the initial sound in the singular as well as the plural is observed), **di-** (plural)

Class 7. **go-** (infinitive of the verb)

Franz (1931) does not seem to commit himself to a specific order as far as the classes are concerned and instead of assigning numbers to the classes, describes each singular-plural pair according to the form of its prefixes and its overriding contents, e.g.

mo-/ba- class: "Personaalklas" (i.e. class of persons)
(The **-/bô-** class is recognised as a sub-category of this class)
mo-/me- class: "Nie-persoonsklas" (i.e. non-person class)
se-/di- class: "Dingklas" (i.e. class of things)
-/di- class: "Gemengde klas of alomvattende klas" (i.e. mixed class or all-encompassing class)
le-/ma- class: "Kollektiewe klas" (i.e. collective class)
bo-/ma- class: "Abstrakte klas" (i.e. abstract class)
go- class[3]: "Werkwoordelike klas" (i.e. verbal class)

Exactly the same exposition is observed much later in Grobbelaar (1952 and 1968) as well as in Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1967), the **mo-/ba-** class being described as the 'mensklas', the **mo-/me-** class as the 'nie-mensklas', the **se-/di-** class as the 'instrumente-klas', the **(n(e)-)/di(n)-**[4] class as the 'dierklas', the **bo-/ma-** class as the 'klas van abstrakte begrippe' and the

[1]As far as examples quoted from Endemann (1876b) are concerned, the current orthography will be used instead of the author's own orthography.

[2]Endemann (1876b:32) expressed the possibility of the **bo-** class prefix being related to the verb stem **-ba** 'be', due to its being able to denote characteristics and states or conditions. This suggestion was, however, not taken up by any later Northern Sotho grammarians.

[3]The current orthography is used instead of the system in use at that time.

[4]It should be noted that Grobbelaar, in contrast to Franz, does recognise a latent nasal in these prefixes.

go- class as the 'infinitiefklas'. The latter is unique in character since members of this class may function both as verbs and as nouns (cf. Van Wyk, 1973). Arguments such as those by Setshedi (1973) who rejected the dualistic view in favour of an exclusively nominal categorisation, did not stand the test of time.

Doke's standpoint according to which singular and plural nouns should preferably be grouped together into classes, is followed in most of the above-mentioned Northern Sotho publications. Whether the preference of Doke's approach to Meinhof's (who suggested a separate numbering of classes) is the result of a conscious adherence to the Dokeian model as *the* model of description at that time, is difficult to say.

The order in which Endemann (1939a) arranged his classes, is in accordance with current practice and agrees with the sequence proposed by Meinhof (1906), except that singulars and plurals were still joined together resulting in a total of 7 classes, cf.:

Class 1:	**mo-/ba-** class
Class 2:	**mo-/me-** class
Class 3:	**le-/ma-** class
Class 4:	**se-/di-** class
Class 5:	**-/di-** class
Class 6:	**bo-/ma-** class
Class 7:	**go-**[5] class

In his treatment of the noun classes Ziervogel (1949) basically followed the same scheme. In addition to the above classes he distinguished three locative classes with the prefixes **fa-**, **go-** and **mo-** respectively. For at least the next twenty years the noun classes in Northern Sotho were mostly referred to on the basis of their semantic content and/or according to the prefixes of the singular-plural pairs, e.g. the "person" class or **mo-/ba-** class, etc. (cf. Ziervogel, Lombard & Mokgokong, 1969b - henceforth referred to only as Ziervogel et al., 1969b; Nchabeleng, 1975). Bantuists have since become weary of this practice, because there was always a measure of deception or untruth involved in the general semantic labelling of the classes (Lombard, 1985:30).

[5]See footnote 3.

The practice of numbering noun classes separately in compliance with the internationally recognised numbering system, seemed to find its way gradually into the description of Northern Sotho, e.g. in a study on North Eastern dialects by Ziervogel (1954a). By the mid-seventies the international numbering had become the norm (cf. Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975; Lombard, 1985; Nokaneng & Louwrens, 1986-91; Serudu et al., 1986-88; Louwrens, 1991a).

In addition to the regular noun classes, Northern Sotho grammarians have found it necessary to distinguish two other classes which do not fit in with any of the recognised noun classes. They contain locatives which, according to Ziervogel, probably belong to a **ga-** class to which he assigns the number 24 (Ziervogel, 1954a:137) and locatives which are similar to the **n-/ din-** class (Ziervogel et al., 1969b:26). Lombard (1985:50) refers to these classes respectively as class 'X' and class 'Y', the class prefix of the latter being similar to that of class 9. Other grammarians have preferred to name these classes according to their prefixes, i.e. the **ga-** and **N-** locative classes (cf. Prinsloo, 1979 and Louwrens, 1991a).

Class 1:	**mo-**[6]		Class 9:	**(N-)**
Class 1a:	**-**		Class 9a:	**-**
Class 2:	**ba-**		Class 10:	**di(N)-**
Class 2a:	**bô-**		Class 10a:	**di-**
Class 3:	**mo-**		Class 14:	**bo-**
Class 4:	**me-**		Class 15:	**go-**
Class 5:	**le-**		Class 16:	**fa-**
Class 6:	**ma-**		Class 17:	**go-**
Class 7:	**se-**		Class 18:	**mo-**
Class 8:	**di-**			
Additional classes:	Class 'X': **ga-**			
	Class 'Y': **n-**, **ϕ** or **N-** (cf. Lombard, 1985).			

[6]Only the basic forms of the prefixes are given here, i.e. no morphophonemic variants.

6.2.2 CASE

According to Lyons (1968:12) it was the Stoics who gave to the term 'case' the sense which it has retained ever since in standard grammatical usage, i.e. "distinguishing between the true form of the noun, the 'upright' case (what we now refer to as the nominative) and the 'oblique' cases, which they regarded as deviations from the upright." Nouns were inflected to mark their particular relationship with other parts of the sentence.

Doke (1927) discarded 'case' as an inappropriate category, which had been imposed onto Bantu grammar by unenlightened linguists trained within the European School. He had, however, also been guilty of declining nouns in Lamba (1922) with the same case forms as in Greek or Latin, as will be recalled from paragraph 2.6. His paradigms were of no particular significance, since the noun in Bantu does not display any inflections. Case as a traditional category of inflection was thus in need of reinterpretation to suit the Bantu context. Just because the noun does not display formal case markings to indicate different syntactic relationships, this doesn't mean that relationships such as nominative, accusative, etc. cannot be expressed. In their search for equivalents (based on translational content) of European nominal cases, the early Northern Sotho scholars had to resort to the syntactic level of description. Endemann (1876b), for example, realised that the nominative and objective (i.e. dative and accusative) 'cases' could only be identified by the way in which a sentence or phrase was organised. Three other 'cases' distinguished by Endemann (op. cit.) are the possessive, locative and vocative. Schwellnus (1931:16) also devotes a section in his grammar book to 'cases', distinguishing the same five cases as Endemann in 1876. The following extract may serve as a typical example of the treatment of cases at a time during which Northern Sotho was still very much in the grip of European traditional description:

> "In Sesotho is daar nie 'n vervoeging van die ww. of snw. om die naamval aan te toon nie. Dit is egter vanselfsprekend dat 'n naamwoord wat die onderwerp van 'n sin is in die eerste naamval gebruik is; en naamwoorde wat die direkte voorwerp van 'n sin is in die vierde naamval staan. Die besitlike koppelwoord toon weer aan dat die snw. wat op die koppelwoord volg in die 2e. naamval is (genetief). Die derde naamval of Datief is die indirekte voorwerp en word in Sesotho deur die direktiewe en relatiewe afleiding van die ww. aangedui." (Endemann, 1939a:57).

Two 'cases' which will presently be considered in some detail, are the locative and the possessive:

6.2.2.1 *The locative*

Traditionally locatives have been described as adverbs of place, based on the translational equivalent of one of the European languages. Structurally, however, they generally qualify as nouns. Syntactically they function as adverbs, though they may also occur as subjects and objects with certain restrictions. During the past decade a number of publications by Prinsloo (1981a, b, c, 1984a, 1986) especially addressed various facets of the locative which had not been recognised or discussed satisfactorily for Northern Sotho before. Locative meaning may be conveyed in one of the following ways:

(a) Locativised nouns

A noun may be locativised by means of the suffixation of the morpheme **-(e)ng (B.-(i)ni)**. It has become general practice among Northern Sotho grammarians to refer to this type of locatives as locativised nouns. According to traditional understanding these nouns express 'locative case' as a grammatical category because they display 'inflection' in the form of the suffixation of **-(e)ng**. Semantically they expressed vague locality, e.g. *tselêng* 'in, at, by the road, i.e. the vague vicinity of the road'. A fact which was often overlooked, was that the choice of the different 'prepositions' *in*, *at*, *by*, *from*, etc. which featured in the translations, was actually determined by the meaning of the verb with which the locativised nouns were used, cf.

Moêti o tšwilê thabêng	'The traveller came **from** the mountain'
Moêti o fihlilê thabêng	'The traveller arrived **at** the mountain', etc.

Not all locatives are grammatically 'inflected', thus rendering the recognition of a 'locative case' irrelevant, cf. (b) and (c) below:

(b) Locative nouns

Locative nouns, as opposed to locativised nouns, do not undergo any structural change and have an inherent locative meaning. They may belong to one of the locative classes, e.g. 16, 17, 18, 'X', 'Y' (or possibly class 24 - cf. Ziervogel, 1954a:40) or they may structurally be unmarked for locative implication (e.g. *mošatê* 'capital/chief's village', class 3). Ziervogel (1949) was one of the first grammarians to record three locative classes in a Northern Sotho

grammar, i.e. classes 16 (**fa-**), 17 (**go-**) and 18 (**mo-**) - classes which had already been acknowledged in Bantu at the turn of the century by Meinhof (1899). While the prefixes of classes 16 and 18 have become fossilized to a limited set of roots, the prefix of class 17 is the only one which can still be used productively to a certain extent. Doubt has, however, been expressed whether **go-**, used as class prefix in class 17 nouns (e.g. *godimo* 'above'), is the same as the **go-** used in its more productive capacity (e.g. *go mosadi* 'to a woman' or 'with regard to a woman'), cf. (c) below.

The fact that classes 16 and 18 do not make use of their own absolute pronouns and concordial morphemes, but employ those of class 17 instead, is indicative of a process of neutralisation which must have taken place in the locative classes. This phenomenon was explained by Poulos (1985) in terms of semantic bleaching which classes 16 and 18 have probably undergone. These classes expressed highly specific locative meanings, and since they were not used as frequently as class 17 (which in contrast conveyed more general or unspecified localities), classes 16 and 18 amalgamated with class 17. It is interesting to note that the demonstrative pronouns were not drawn into the neutralisation process as well. Louwrens (1991a:116) clarifies this situation, as well as the fact that class 17 does not distinguish a demonstrative of its own, by explaining that the concept of highly specific referential properties inherent in demonstratives is reconcilable with the more specific semantic features of class 16 and 18, while it is not compatible with the non-specific, i.e. generic meaning of class 17.

Schwellnus (1931) makes no mention of any noun classes beyond class 15 (the infinitive or **go**-class). He relegated all locative nouns to the infinitive class on the grounds of the similarity in their concords and particles. Referring to the nouns *gaé* 'home' and *felô* 'place' - nouns which today would be placed in classes 'X' and 16 respectively - Schwellnus (op. cit.:13) remarks as follows on their concordial correspondence with the infinitive class:

> "Xó na le Nouns tše di sepelaxo ka tsela ya Xo-Class."

In Endemann (1939a:42, 44) the same practice is observed, with examples such as the following indicated as belonging both to the **go**-class:

> "xo phela fá" (infinitive noun): 'to live here', and
> "Felô fao" (locative noun): 'that place'

Although the infinitive and locative classes are treated as separate classes today, Meinhof believed that there was enough evidence to assume that the infinitive prefix and the prefix of class 17 were originally identical. Meinhof (1906:19) supported his assumption with reference to Duala, where the development from a locative meaning to the infinitive prefix could still be seen clearly.

(c) Locative particle groups

A third type of locative is expressed by locative particle groups. They consist of one or more locative particles (e.g. **mô**, **ka** and **kua**) followed by a locative or locativised noun. Subtle semantic differences are expressed by these particles which may also occur combined. The particles **go** and **ga** normally occur with the names of persons. Locative particles have in the course of time been referred to in different ways, e.g.

ka : binding element (Ziervogel, 1949:20);

kwa/kua : adverb (Ziervogel, 1949:20);

go (as well as **ga**) : preposition (Endemann, 1876b:54; Beyer, 1920:27; Schwellnus, 1931:17; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:63; Prinsloo, 1981a, b, c, 1986). It seems as if the term 'preposition' was freely used in Northern Sotho circles, although Doke had strongly been opposed to the use thereof in the Bantu languages. He stated (1954:48) that what many writers had called prepositions were not separable words, but morphological elements forming adverbs. He held the disjunctive orthography largely responsible for the elements often having been regarded as prepositions. Ziervogel et al. (1969b:25) refer to **go** as a prefix, "written as a separate word"; Franz (1931:43) is very non-committal in the sense that these particles are mostly referred to as (little) words, although 'preposition' ('voorsetsel') is also found in this context (op. cit.:69). Contrary to Ziervogel's (1971:376) view, Van Wyk (1958) is of the opinion that **go** as a particle in locative particle groups is not identical with the prefix **go-** in locative class nouns, though these formatives are probably diachronically related. Enough evidence in support of this assumption can be advanced on tonological, semantic and morphosyntactical grounds as indicated by Prinsloo (1986).

It is assumed that the locative prefixes **fa-**, **go-** and **mo-** were used to express specific locative relationships as is the case still in some African languages. When these prefixes later became unproductive and lost their original specified meanings, a locativising strategy by means of the locative suffix **-(e)ng** was employed. Nouns which were locativised in this manner,

however, could only express vague, unspecified locality. Locative particles were consequently used with these nouns in order to express specified locative meanings. The exact meanings and distributional restrictions imposed on locative nouns and particles have been dealt with at length in numerous contributions (e.g. Ziervogel, 1948; Prinsloo, 1979, 1981a, b, c, 1984a, 1986 and Louwrens, 1991a) and will not be elaborated on here. What needs to be observed, however, is that natural developmental processes as well as insights from language typology and typological changes, which became especially prominent as research frameworks during the modern period, played an important role in providing most of the new insights gained on the nature of the locative classes. Prinsloo (1986), for example, indicated that of the four locative affixes, **B.-ni**, **pa-**, **ku-** and **mu-**, which were all originally postpositional, the latter three developed prepositionally due to the natural inclination of languages to change from a dominant SOV language (correlating with post-positions) to a dominant SVO language (correlating with pre-positions). The fact that the affixal morpheme **B.-ni** (**-(e)ng**) had not - in contrast to **B.pa-**, **ku-** and **mu-** - become prepositional, is evidence of the fact that this suffix is older than the locative prefixes. **B.-ni** became established as a suffix when Northern Sotho was predominantly SOV, while the **B.pa-**, **ku-** and **mu-** developed as prefixes after a reinterpretation from SOV to SVO had commenced.

6.2.2.2 *The possessive*

A common error committed by the traditionalists, was that they recognised the possessive or genitive as a nominal case on a par with e.g. the nominative or objective. The fact that the possessive is expressed by word groups instead of words, did not occur to them as being worthy of any differential treatment in grammatical analysis. The terminology regarding the analysis of the 'genitive case' has been quite varied and will presently be considered in more detail:

In Beyer's grammar of 1920 no reference has been made to 'cases' of the noun. Instead of 'case' the author preferred to use the term 'relation' as in, e.g. the genitive relation. As early as 1876 Endemann had already made use of the concept 'possessive construction', a term which became established later in Northern Sotho linguistic description rather than 'genitive', 'genitive relation' or 'genitive construction' as used by, for example, Ziervogel (1949) and Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1967). Some described the introductory element of the possessive construction as a word (cf. Franz, 1931:26 "besitskoppelwoordjie"; Endemann, 1939a:33

"besitlike koppelwoord" or "genetiefs-skakelwoord"); others accorded prefixal status to it (cf. Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975:107 "possessive concord"), while others described it as a particle (consisting of a concordial morpheme plus a possessive root **-a**[7]) which did not have full word status on the one hand, but was more autonomous than a morpheme on the other (cf. Van Wyk, 1968b). Although some of the early Bantuists had made use of the term "particle" in this context, they did not specify, as Van Wyk had done, exactly what word status this formative enjoyed (cf. Endemann, 1876b:46; Beyer, 1920:12; Schwellnus, 1931:11). Some Bantuists did not concern themselves with meticulous terminological issues, resulting, however, in some ambiguity. Grobbelaar (1968), for instance, referred to the possessive particle both as a word (i.e. 'skakelwoordjie') and a concord (i.e. 'besitlike skakel'), although a word and a concord clearly do not enjoy the same measure of autonomy. Grobbelaar's use of the diminutive form (i.e. 'skakelwoordjie') may nevertheless be indicative of his intuitive sense of this 'word' not enjoying full word status.

6.2.3 NUMBER

The category of number is marked prefixally in the Bantu languages. The most common distinction is that between singular and plural. Not all nouns, however, necessarily have singular or plural counterparts, while others may have counterparts in more than one class. Further categorisations which were found to apply in the Bantu languages include a distributive and a collective plural as well as an associative plural, as already observed in the first Northern Sotho grammar by Endemann (1876b). Endemann ascribed the occurrence of irregular plural formations such as the class 9 noun *kgonthe* 'truth' forming its plural in class 6 *makgonthe* instead of in class 10[8], to the fact that two forms may originally have existed for the singular and plural respectively. One member of each of the two singular-plural pairs subsequently fell into disuse, resulting in the irregular pair. The traditional method whereby each class was referred to as a combination of a singular and a plural (e.g. the **mo-/ba-** class) made it difficult to handle instances which deviated from the regular class system. The step towards the separate numbering of each class facilitated class references, but this was introduced only much later in Northern Sotho grammatical descriptions as was indicated in

[7]Note that the corresponding construction was referred to as a 'Bindepartikel' (binding particle) by Endemann (1876b) and was described as consisting of a primitive pronoun suffixed by the possessive particle **a**. In Endemann (1939a) the same form is described as consisting of a subjectival pronoun plus **a**.

[8]The internationally recognised numbering is used here.

par. 6.2.1.

In addition to the above-mentioned types of plural, a honorific plural can also be identified in Northern Sotho, especially in the Eastern and North Eastern dialects (cf. Van Wyk, 1980). This entails the use of the prefix **bô-** of class 2a to address either individuals or more than one person as a form of showing respect. Van Wyk (1987b) reports that the use of **bô-** as a marker of respect or status without implying plurality, was overlooked by most Northern Sotho grammarians except Nokaneng (1976). This type of plural, *inter alia* referred to as "the royal plural" (Hendrikse, 1990), "the plural of excellence" or "the respectful plural", had, however, been recognised earlier for the Bantu languages, cf. Doke (1935:117).

The prefix of class 2a deserves special mention, since its status as a class prefix was questioned for the first time just over two decades ago. In the light of its semantic uniqueness, phonological peculiarities, morphological characteristics and syntactic behaviour, Van Wyk (1968a, 1980, 1987b) concluded that class 2a differed from the other regular classes.

Semantically it was the only class which, apart from a distributive plural could also express an associative and a honorific plural. As an associative plural it could occur with common names, place names, kinship terms or compounds introduced by *(m)ma* or *(r)ra*. What had not been recorded up to then was the fact that **bô-** could appear with nouns of other classes as well as with absolute pronouns, adverbs, word groups and even sentences. In conjunction with word groups and sentences class 2a often expresses honorific plural.

Phonologically the prefix of class 2a is characterised by a high tone, while all other class prefixes are underlying low toned. It is furthermore the only class with a mid-low vowel in its prefix. The vowel in this prefix is found to be raised without any evidence of factors which normally cause vowel raising. Van Wyk (1968a) is of the opinion that **bô-** is a truncated form (proclitic variant) of the absolute pronoun **bôna** of class 2 (cf. par. 1.4). In that case **bô-** occupies a word boundary position, which could explain the phonological peculiarities of this prefix. Van Wyk regards **bô-** as a particle which is more autonomous than the genuine class prefixes and as such should be written separately from its stem. In his opinion some of the older grammarians (cf. Endemann, 1876b; Schwellnus, 1931; Franz, 1931 and Endemann, 1939a) had been nearer the truth than some of their later colleagues by hyphenating this prefix instead of treating it as the other prefixes, though no explanations were ventured for this separate treatment. Van Wyk pointed out that the nouns of class 2a were in fact noun

phrases and not single nouns. He therefore questioned the need for the recognition of an independent class 2a in the grammatical system of Northern Sotho. Lombard (1976) also noticed the peculiar behaviour of the prefix **bô-**, but concluded that it was a shortened form of the quantitative pronoun **bôhlê** of class 2. Van Wyk could not readily accept this theory, but stated that his own conclusions were merely speculative as well.

In addition to the above semantic and phonological peculiarities, Van Wyk also indicated some morphological and syntactical characteristics which distinguish the prefix of class 2a from the other genuine class prefixes. These differences will not be discussed here, except to say that they further support Van Wyk's assumption that **bô-** is a specialised proclitic variant of the absolute pronoun **bôna** of class 2 which has undergone partial rank-shifting towards a class prefix. In contrast to true class prefixes, it precedes a word boundary instead of a morpheme boundary and occupies a position in between a word and a morpheme.

Class 1a as a sub-class of class 1 also seems to be unique. According to Van Wyk (1980) the generative framework could easily cope with the absence of prefixes in some class 5 and 9 nouns: A process of elision from the underlying to the surface structure was feasible on phonological grounds. In the case of class 1a, however, there was no evidence to suggest the presence of an underlying prefix. This made it necessary to acknowledge a special sub-class for class 1 in contrast to the other classes where such sub-classes did not seem to be necessary. Van Wyk (1987b) also observes that the sub-classes 1a and 2a differ from other regular classes in that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between singular and plural forms in these classes.

6.2.4 DIMINUTIVE FORMATION

Although diminutives in Northern Sotho are formed through a suffixal strategy, there are indications that prefixes were originally responsible for assigning a diminutive connotation to a root or stem. In some African languages special diminutive classes, of which the prefixes are still productive, may be recognised (i.e. class 13[9] **(a)ka-** in Herero, and class 19 **(i)pî-** in Karanga). The emergence of suffixes to perform the function of the diminutive prefixes is possibly the result of an overloading of the class prefix system (cf. Poulos, 1984:246). Some

[9]Meinhof's numbering is used according to which the singular appears in class 13 and the corresponding plural in class 12.

remnants in Northern Sotho illustrate an intermediary state in the development of diminutives in so far as they display both a(n) (unproductive) prefix and a suffix, e.g. ***kgabutlana*** 'little hare'.

The discussion of diminutive formation in Northern Sotho grammars was fairly elementary during the traditional and functional periods. The basic diminutive suffix was recognised as **-ana**, all other forms being treated as variants of the norm. Its use in conjunction with colour adjectives and generic antecedents to express femininity was recognised, e.g.

-khulông	> *kgômo yê khulwana*	'red cow'	(cf. Endemann, 1939a:57)
tau	> *tawana*	'lioness'	(cf. Endemann, 1876b:36)

During the Van Wyk era, which was generally characterised by more detailed structural analyses, a Masters dissertation appeared by Schuring (1971) on various views on the diminutive as well as the augmentative. On the grounds of structural, semantic, phonological and tone-phonological data, Schuring came to the conclusion that at least two different diminutive suffixes should be distinguished, i.e. **-ana** (expressing ordinary diminutives) and **-nyana** (expressing intense diminution) of which a number of variants could in turn be identified.

Anomalies in the terminology used by various Bantuists in regard to diminutive formation, were also addressed. These anomalies could mainly be attributed to the researcher's approach to the phenomenon. On the one hand a synchronic approach led to the description of **-ana/-nyana** as a nominal suffix. On the other hand the theory of natural development provided the strongest evidence to suggest that **-ana** and **-nyana** were originally lexical items. The former was believed to have derived from an original nominal stem **B.(mu-)-ana** with the meaning 'child'. As far as **-nyana** is concerned, Schuring (1971:94) mentions that it is perhaps diachronically comparable to **B.(mu-)-nina** 'brother, sister' (cf. also Johnston, 1922:262-3). As lexical stems **-ana/-nyana** thus formed part of a compound word (cf. Meinhof, 1948:143). Due to a process of grammaticalisation these lexical items were increasingly used as formatives to express 'diminutive'. It is suggested that the process of rank-lowering which is observed here, has not fully been completed yet.

The diminutive formative is used productively in most instances, and is not restricted to nouns. It has been found to occur with adjectives, enumeratives, absolute pronouns, adverbs

and even verbs (cf. Schuring, 1971:36-37). In some words in Northern Sotho the diminutive occurs in a bound form, e.g. *mošemane* 'boy' and *mosetsana* 'girl'.

6.2.5 AUGMENTATIVE FORMATION

Some Bantu languages still distinguish a special class which conveys an augmentative significance, e.g. class 21 in Venda. In Northern Sotho class 21 is absent and it is assumed that a suffix (i.e. **-gadi**) took over the function of the augmentative prefix (i.e. **B.iγî-**) when the latter became unproductive. It appears that the suffix **-gadi** not only serves to convey augmentative meaning, but is also able to express 'feminine gender' or 'feminine largeness' in Northern Sotho. The feminine connotation of **-gadi** is attributable to the fact that it probably derives from the original nominal stem **B.(mu-)-kali** for 'wife' (Meinhof, 1948:143), cf.

Augmentation:

mothogadi 'an important person'

Feminine gender:

morutišigadi 'a lady teacher'

Augmentation and feminine gender:

kgômogadi 'an important, outstanding cow'

Schuring (1971:113) observes that **-gadi** as a marker of augmentation is an unproductive suffix in the language usage of some speakers, while it is used productively by others, as evidenced by its occurrence with new or borrowed words, e.g. *sekêpêgadi* 'a big ship'. Research conducted for the purpose of this survey supports Schuring's findings. It was also found that the use of **-gadi** as a marker of feminine gender in conjunction with certain words evoked different reactions. While established words like *kgôšigadi* 'regentess' and *morutišigadi* 'lady teacher' presented no problem, newly coined words suffixed by **-gadi** were frowned upon as being unusual, e.g. *modulasetulôgadi* 'chairlady'. No clear pattern emerged as to whether the degree of productivity of **-gadi** is dialect related or rather a matter of personal preferences or intuitions by mother-tongue speakers. Its application is, however, not unrestricted, which may perhaps lead to its eventually becoming completely discarded as a productive strategy in Northern Sotho.

In existing Northern Sotho grammars the distribution and semantic application of **-gadi** have mostly been treated in a cursory manner. Judging from the absence of references to the augmentative use of **-gadi** in the majority of Northern Sotho grammars, (e.g. Franz, 1931; Endemann, 1939a; Ziervogel, 1949, 1953; Ziervogel et al., 1969b; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967; Nchabeleng, 1975), it would seem that the use of **-gadi** to express augmentation had never been a high-frequency strategy in the language. In the above-mentioned works the suffix **-gadi** was only associated with feminine gender and appeared either as an unbound or a bound formative, e.g.

-gadi as an unbound formative:

kgôšigadi 'a regentess'
taugadi 'a lioness'
tšhwênegadi 'a female baboon'

-gadi as a bound formative:

mohlôlôgadi 'a widow'
mohumagadi 'lady, chief's wife'

According to Engelbrecht (1925) "old" compounds formed with **-gadi** were exclusively associated with feminine gender, while "young" compounds - especially under the influence of the Hottentot language - apparently also denoted augmentation.

In an example given by Endemann (1876b:36), the notion 'augmentative' can be detected alongside the feminine connotation. He states that gender is *inter alia* expressed by the affixation of **-gadi** to names of animals to indicate the feminine gender of **fully grown** (i.e. mature, large) animals, as in *kgômogadi* '(mature) cow'. In Mojapelo (1967:29) the reference to augmentation is much clearer, with examples like the following to illustrate his point:

phologadi "pholo ya nnete, ya go bonagala, ye kgolo"
i.e. 'a pure-bred, respectable, large ox'

nkugadi "nku ya pholo goba ya tshadi / nku ye e sa nyatšegego, ya paale"
i.e. 'a sheep (ram or ewe) / a pure-bred sheep not to be despised'

More recently Lombard (1985) is observed to have included under his discussion of augmentative/feminine nouns, references to 'largeness' and 'female largeness'. Schuring (1971:3) had distinguished 'largeness' and 'female largeness' as two semantic variants of the

augmentative suffix. Since the variant 'female largeness' occurs more often than 'largeness', Schuring chose the former as the norm.

As far as the grammatical status of this formative is concerned, there basically seem to be two views. In the course of time **-gadi** has either been referred to simply as a nominal suffix, while others took its diachronic evolvement into consideration and preferred to describe it as a stem within the (compound) augmentative noun. Perhaps this anomalous situation results from the fact that **-gadi** no longer has full word status, but on the other hand has not yet fully developed into a grammatical morpheme. It seems therefore that it occupies a position in between a stem (word) and a morpheme, and has not yet fully undergone the process of grammaticalisation.

6.3 THE PRONOUN

Traditional grammarians once again set the scene for the description and interpretation of 'pronouns' in the Bantu languages. As time progressed it was necessary to refine or refute some traditional approaches towards the so-called pronoun.

In the history of Northern Sotho grammar independent words as well as concords (i.e. formative elements which form part of larger linguistic units) have been referred to as pronouns. This was inspired by the traditional concept of a pronoun having the function of referring to or standing in the place of some or other subject or object. Pronominal descriptions of the subjectival and objectival concords will presently be considered, after which a number of other elements of anaphoric nature will receive attention.

6.3.1 SUBJECTIVAL AND OBJECTIVAL CONCORDS AS 'PRONOUNS'

Poulos (1990:93) points out that absolute pronouns have often been confused in the literature with subjectival and objectival concords. This could partly be attributed to the fact that both pronouns and concords are translated by the same forms in European or classical languages, e.g. the absolute pronoun **yêna** (class 1) and its subjectival concord **o-** are both translated as 'he/she'. Subjectival and objectival concords differ from anaphoric pronouns such as the absolute, demonstrative and quantitative pronouns, in that they are not independent words,

but instead function as concords in verbs. These observations naturally also have a bearing on the category of 'person' in Bantu and it is felt that a few comments in this regard would be appropriate at this juncture:

Traditionally a distinction is made between three grammatical persons, viz. first person, second person and third person. The first person is used by the speaker to refer to himself as a subject of discourse, the second to refer to the addressee and the third to refer to persons or things other than the speaker and addressee, i.e. he/she/it/they. This corresponds with the situation in the Bantu languages, with the further specification that all the noun classes together constitute the third person. 'Person' in Bantu may be expressed by independent words (e.g. **nna, yêo, tšôhlê**, etc.) or by subjectival and objectival concords. Expressed by concords, 'person' is regarded as a sub-category of the verb.

Due to a misconception of Bantu word division and the use of pronouns in parallel construction in European languages, many Bantuists have made the mistake of describing the subjectival and objectival concords as 'pronouns' instead of recognising them for what they were, i.e. concordial prefixes representing respectively the subject and object of a predicate.

What are commonly referred to today as subjectival and objectival concords, Endemann (1876b:36) described as **primitive** pronouns. These correspond with what Franz (1931:38) called the 'naamwoord-koppelwoord'. Endemann (op. cit.) regarded them as elementary forms and as the basis on which most of the other pronouns were built. In current descriptions in Northern Sotho these elementary forms are more appropriately referred to as concordial morphemes or elements. Endemann preferred the term **primitive** pronoun to **personal** pronoun, pointing out that the elementary forms were not the only pronouns which were 'personal'. According to the function it performed, the subjectival concord was also labelled as follows by Schwellnus (1931:25): 'Subject Pronoun', 'Copulative Pronoun' and 'Conjugational Particle'.

The traditional concept of a pronoun being a word (or a concord for that matter) which was able to stand in the place of a noun, is well-represented in Northern Sotho grammars right up to the modern period (e.g. Beyer, 1920; Franz, 1931; Schwellnus, 1931, Endemann, 1939a; Grobbelaar, 1952; Mojapelo, 1967; Ziervogel et al., 1969b, to mention but a few).

A change in the understanding of pronominalisation in the Bantu languages came about in the modern period especially as a result of a contribution on Zulu pronouns by Wilkes (1976). He illustrated that not all instances of pronominalisation were necessarily the result of a **substitution** process. Many words and concords commonly referred to as pronouns up to that stage, were only secondarily pronouns. Their primary functions were to act as qualifiers of the noun or to establish concordial agreement with the nouns to which they referred. These words and concords did in fact not function as pronouns because they *substituted* a substantive, but because of the *deletion* of their antecedent (i.e. the noun they were in concordial agreement with). In the example below the subject concord **o-** acquires its pronominal status through the deletion of its antecedent *mosadi*:

mosadi ***o*** *apeêla bana dijô*
'the woman is cooking food for the children'

> \- ***o*** *apeêla bana dijô*
'she is cooking food for the children'

(Note: Object concords, however, do not owe their pronominal status to deletion, since agreement between the object and verb is not compulsory in Northern Sotho).

Wilkes' (1976) contribution was significant in that it provided Bantuists for the first time with a thorough theoretical framework within which the inadequacies of traditional views could be exposed. His deletion hypothesis also enabled the researcher to explain the unique character of pronominalisation in Bantu. The results of Wilkes' study were examined and applied with reference to Southern Sotho data by Louwrens (1981a). His findings were equally applicable to Northern Sotho. Modern frameworks of description employed by Louwrens (1985a) and Prinsloo (1987), which include Functional Sentence Perspective, Language Typology and Discourse Analysis, have shed more light on the whole matter of pronouns and pronominalisation in Northern Sotho.

6.3.2 THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

In the course of time this pronoun has *inter alia* been referred to as a substantival/substantive pronoun (cf. Endemann, 1876b:39; Endemann, 1939a:31), a substantivised pronoun (Meinhof, 1906:41), a personal pronoun (Schwellnus, 1931:24; Grobbelaar, 1952:68 and Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:11), an independent pronoun (Endemann, 1939a:31), an

absolute pronoun (which is currently the term used by most scholars) and an emphatic pronoun (Van Wyk et al., 1990:58). One of the earliest references in Northern Sotho grammar to the term 'absolute' in connection with the pronoun under discussion here, is found in Franz (1931:40):

> "Die woorde ... het geen ander funksie as om te toon watter naamwoord bedoel word nie, en ons kan hulle dus noem die *koppelwoordjie van identifikasie* of die *koppelwoordjie absoluut*."

Until such time as new insights provided by Wilkes (1976) demanded some reinterpretations of the traditional and Dokeian 'substitutional' approaches to the absolute pronoun, most Northern Sotho grammars held the following viewpoints on the function of these pronouns: They were regarded as words which may take the place of nouns with which they are in concordial agreement. This was done to avoid the repetition of nouns. The absolute pronoun furthermore served to emphasise the noun.

As was pointed out in par. 6.3.1, pronominalisation of subjectival and objectival concords was often the result of a process of deletion. The same is true of absolute pronouns. They acquire their pronominal function when the noun they are qualifying is deleted. However, in instances where absolute pronouns merely function in their anaphoric capacity, they are said to substitute the noun as, for example, when both the direct and indirect object of a double transitive verb need to be pronominalised simultaneously:

Mosadi o apeêla bana dijô

> *Mosadi o* ***ba*** *apeêla* ***tšôna***
> 'The woman is cooking it (the food) for them (the children)'

The transformational-generative framework allowed Wilkes (op. cit.) to indicate that the primary function of pronouns was to qualify substantives. This was revealed through their underlying structures where they occurred in apposition with their antecedents. The conclusions arrived at by Wilkes, were taken up by Northern Sotho grammarians and applied in modern functional frameworks. Louwrens (1985a), for example, illustrated that two different discourse-pragmatic functions could be distinguished for the pronoun, namely a specifying and a contrasting function. Pronouns which occur prenominally serve to specify the noun (cf. example (a) below). Pronouns which follow the noun (cf. example (b)), on the other hand, serve to

contrast the noun. This distinction was overlooked by previous Northern Sotho grammarians, and co-occurrences of absolute pronouns and nouns were merely described as instances of stress or emphasis (e.g. Ziervogel et al., 1969b:48). The surface structure, where only the absolute pronoun is observed, is arrived at through the deletion of the noun and not through a process of substitution (cf. examples (c) and (d)). The pronouns which occur alone without their nouns retain their specifying or contrasting meanings, however, which explains why the translational equivalent of sentences such as (c) and (d) cannot merely be 'they studied well', cf.:

(a) ***Bôna basetsana*** *ba ithutilê gabotse*
'The girls, in particular, studied well'

(b) ***Basetsana bôna*** *ba ithutilê gabotse*
'The girls, on the other hand (e.g. in contrast to the boys), studied well'

(c) ***Bôna*** - *ba ithutilê gabotse*
'They (in particular) studied well'

(d) - ***Bôna*** *ba ithutilê gabotse*
'They (on the other hand) studied well'

In his study Louwrens (1985a) also investigated the distributional restrictions applicable to absolute pronouns. He indicated that object nouns occurring in their basic object position, could only be specified and not contrasted. The pronoun is but one example of a word category on which a fuller understanding has been gained through contributions provided by various theoretical frameworks in the course of time.

The analysis of the structure of the absolute pronoun also became more specific in the course of time. Initially it was described somewhat superficially, as e.g. done by Endemann (1876b:39, 40) who simply stated that the *endings* **êna** or **ôna** are affixed to the *primitive pronoun*. Franz (1931:40) analysed it as consisting of a modified form of the *'koppelwoordjie'* followed by the *suffix* **-na**. To Endemann (1939a:33) its structure was simply a *prefix* plus **-ôna**. In Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1967:13) it is described as a *'aanwysende voornaamwoord'* (i.e. corresponding with the basic form of the demonstrative) followed by the *suffix* **-ôna**. Ziervogel followed a unique analysis in some publications which has, however, not had any following among Bantuists, viz. a *pronoun root* plus an **-ô-** or **-ê-** (he does not give a grammatical description of these vowels) plus the *suffix* **-na** (Ziervogel, 1964:217; Ziervogel et al., 1969b:47). In a later publication, Ziervogel (Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975) proposed

a different analysis - an analysis which has become the generally accepted one in the modern period. It recognises the initial element as a *concordial morpheme* (which may be reconstructed diachronically where it is absent in the surface structure), followed by the vowels **-ê-** or **-ô-** (derived from the corresponding class prefix) as the *pronominal root* and **-na** as the *suffix* (Lombard, 1985; Nokaneng & Louwrens, 1987; Serudu et al., 1988 - Std. 10; Louwrens, 1991a). Van Wyk et al. (1990:58) only indicate the structure of the absolute pronoun as a bipartite one, e.g. consisting of a *concordial morpheme* plus a *stem* **-ôna, -êna** or **-(e)na**, the reason possibly being because their grammar book was not meant to include unnecessary theoretical argumentation.

6.3.3 THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

From the earliest analyses mainly three so-called distances or positions of the demonstrative pronoun were identified, generally referred to today as Position 1(a and b), 2(a and b) and 3. These positions were distinguished on the grounds of different suffixes affixed to the basic form, i.e. Position 1a (a concordial morpheme plus a vowel as root):

1a	No suffix
1b	Suffix **-no** or **-khwi** (restricted to certain dialects)
2a	Suffix **-o**
2b	Suffix **-uwê** or **-we** (dialectal and contrary to Ziervogel et al.'s (1969b) opinion, not semantically equal with the suffix **-o**, as pointed out by Kotzé (1985)
3	Suffix **-la** or **-lê**

Not all scholars have in the course of time acknowledged all the different forms. Beyer (1920), for example, only recognised Position 1(a) and Position 3, while others did not record any forms additional to the three basic ones. Endemann (1876b:38) referred to the demonstrative suffixes as adverbial endings, because demonstratives semantically have close connections with adverbs of place and time, as will become clear in the subsequent discussion.

Wilkes (1976), applying the TGG approach, investigated the syntax of pronouns, including the demonstrative. As in the case of the absolute pronoun, he established that demonstratives are actually determiners which may be used pronominally in surface structures. A statement to this effect, but specifically with regard to locative demonstratives, appeared as far back as

1951 in an article by Haddon (1951:99): "In Bantu the demonstratives are primarily qualificatives and secondarily pronouns."

A distinction between two specific functions of the demonstrative had not consciously been made until the advent of the modern period. These two functions, i.e. deictic and referential, became the objects of investigation of some grammarians working within the discourse-pragmatic framework. Prior to that time Northern Sotho grammars primarily concentrated on the deictic function. Some scholars referred exclusively to 'aanwysende voornaamwoorde', a term which clearly has a deictic connotation (cf. Schwellnus, 1931:38 and Endemann, 1939a:38). The referential function only featured in examples which were meant to illustrate that the demonstrative could be used independently without its nominal antecedent. Other functions which demonstratives had *inter alia* been accredited with, include an adverbial function (cf. Endemann, 1876b:38) and an adjectival function (cf. Beyer, 1920:18).

The deictic meaning of demonstratives indicates distance in space, while the referential meaning indicates distance in time. The three basic positions which were traditionally recognised as far as the deictic meaning of demonstratives is concerned, were: Position 1 - immediate proximity, Position 2 - non-immediate proximity and Position 3 - distance. In all Northern Sotho grammars the positions were determined according to the distance which an object was removed from the speaker. Kotzé (1985) indicated that, in addition to the object and the speaker, the addressee had to be taken into account as a third reference point, in order to gain a correct understanding of the deictic functions of all the different demonstrative forms. The addressee as a third reference point had already been taken note of earlier in Bantu grammatical history, but in languages other than Northern Sotho (cf. Van Eeden, 1941 and Maphike, 1982 - Southern Sotho; Nkabinde, 1971 - Zulu; Cole, 1975 - Tswana).

6.3.4 THE QUANTITATIVE PRONOUN

The only quantitative pronoun distinguished in Northern Sotho is the inclusive quantitative pronoun.[10] It has not consciously been subjected to specific frameworks of description, but has been treated fairly uniformly by most scholars as a pronoun expressing 'all, everything, the whole' and consisting of a concordial element plus the root/stem *-ôhlê.*

[10]Exclusive quantitatives are expressed by means of a noun nnoši 'alone' and will not concern us here.

Endemann (1876b) had included the quantitative under 'indefinite numerals' because it signified an unspecified number. He furthermore regarded it as a type of adjectival pronoun, because of its concordial nature. The concept of the inclusive quantitative as a pronominal adjective can be encountered on more than one occasion (cf. Endemann, 1939a:81 and Mojapelo, 1967:40).

6.3.5 THE DEMONSTRATIVE-COPULATIVE

Some controversy exists regarding the classification of the demonstrative-copulatives, also referred to by some as copulative-demonstratives. Traditionally they were classed with the pronouns, cf. Endemann (1876b:39) who described the demonstrative-copulative as a type of substantival pronoun. The term 'absolute pronoun' was used by Schwellnus (1931:22) since this demonstrative could be used absolutely, i.e. independently as a sentence on its own. This type of pronoun was regarded as belonging to type B, over against type A which included the regular demonstratives. Its predicative valence was reflected in the term used by some Bantuists, e.g. 'werkwoordelike aanwysende voornaamwoord' (Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:14).

The conception of the demonstrative-copulative as a pronoun has until recently been characteristic of most Northern Sotho grammars, even though Van Wyk, as the leader of the structural school had suggested that these 'interjective demonstratives', as he preferred to call them, be recognised as a word category on their own (Van Wyk, 1966b). Lombard (1985), whose grammar was based on the structural framework, supports this view, stating that the demonstrative-copulatives have very little in common with pronouns, except for their ability to express three distances as do the regular demonstrative pronouns.

Structurally the demonstrative-copulative was *inter alia* analysed as consisting of an adverbial particle **ši** followed by a 'primitive pronoun' (cf. Endemann, 1876b:39). Ziervogel (1949:71) assumed that the initial element **še** was a palatalised form of the copula **ke** which was then followed by the regular demonstrative. In a later work, an amendment is observed in that **še** is said to be followed by a *pronominal root* for the first position from which other positions are then derived by the addition of **-ô**, **-la** or **-lê** (Ziervogel et al., 1969b:83). As mentioned earlier, Ziervogel's analysis of the pronouns remained limited to his own approach (cf. par. 6.3.2). Other analyses of the basic form have been proposed by, e.g. Van Wyk (1966b:256), i.e. the

elements '**še-** (or alternant) + concordial morpheme' and Lombard (1985:163), i.e. 'the demonstrative-copulative root **še-** (or variant) plus a concordial morpheme as suffix'.

6.3.6 THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

Whereas the pronouns discussed so far mostly owe their pronominal status to the deletion of their antecedents, the possessive pronoun is truly pronominal in the sense that it can only *substitute* a noun, e.g.

(a) *Ngwana wa **mosadi*** 'The child of the **woman**'
(b) *Ngwana wa **gagwê*** '**Her** child'

The possessive pronoun in Northern Sotho has not explicitly been treated within a well-defined theory, but its description has been quite consistent throughout most of its grammatical history:

1.p.s.	*ka*
2.p.s.	*gago*
3.p.s.	*gagwê* (noun class 1)
1.p.p.	*gêšo* (communal possession) or *rena*
2.p.p.	*gêno* (communal possession) or *lena*
3.p.p.	*gabô* (communal possession) or *bôna* (noun class 2)

The first, second and third persons singular and plural employ their own possessive pronouns, with the exception that the plural persons may also make use of their corresponding absolute pronouns. In the case of all the noun classes (except class 1) the possessive pronouns are commonly described as being the same as their absolute pronouns. The fact that some of the possessive pronouns could only be analysed diachronically, had already been realised by Endemann (1876b). Within possessive constructions the constituents following the possessive particle, were described as possessive stems by Ziervogel et al. (1969b), i.e. the noun *mosadi* and the possessive pronoun *gagwê* respectively in examples (a) and (b) above. The function of possessive pronouns was described as being an adjectival one by Schwellnus (1931:22). Ziervogel et al. (1969b:50) only recognised the function of the possessive as an adjectival one when the possessive stem was an inanimate object, e.g. *lesogana la maatla* 'a young man of strength, i.e. a strong young man'.

6.3.7 MISCELLANEOUS 'PRONOUNS'

An isolated instance of the reflexive verbal prefix **i-** being referred to as a pronoun has been observed (e.g. Endemann, 1876b:43). Otherwise this formative has been treated as a prefixal morpheme in the verbal category. Another type of pronoun which Endemann (1876b) found necessary to distinguish, is the 'indefinite pronoun'. It includes the "pronominal adjectives" *-ngwe* 'one, a certain one' and *-šele* 'another, strange one'. The identification of these examples as "indefinite pronouns" is semantically determined. The terms 'enumerative pronouns' (e.g. Van Wyk, 1961:83) and 'radical pronouns' (e.g. Lombard, 1985:90 and Kotzé, 1988:124) have been used in relation to four roots in Northern Sotho, i.e. *-tee* 'one', *-fe?* 'which (one)?', *-šoro* 'cruel' and *-šele* 'strange'. A further discussion on these roots as sub-categories of adjectives and relatives follows in par. 6.4.2.

Interrogative words, such as *mang?* 'who?' (plural *bômang?*) and *eng?* 'what?' have on occasion been described as pronouns (cf. Endemann, 1876b and Beyer, 1920). Where *mang?* is used to express 'what kind of?', this interrogative has been referred to as an invariable adjective (cf. Endemann, 1876b). Another adjectival interrogative pronoun, according to Endemann (1876b:42) is formed by the primitive pronoun plus the affixed question particle *fe?*. Interrogatives and aspects relating to question formation will receive detailed attention under a separate heading (cf. par. 6.6).

Louwrens (1981a) pointed out that the traditional Bantuists had only recognised certain examples such as the absolute, quantitative and demonstrative pronouns as belonging to the word class "pronoun". Other nominal qualifiers, however, which may assume pronominal status on the same basis as the regular pronouns (i.e. through processes of deletion or substitution) were excluded from the word class "pronoun". These include, for example, adjectives, nominal and verbal relatives, enumeratives, etc. Louwrens (op. cit.) distinguishes between pronominalisation which is pragmatically motivated and pronominalisation which fulfils a grammatical function. In the latter case the use of the pronoun is not optional and its absence would in fact lead to ungrammaticality, e.g.

Dilêpê tšê ba rêmago ka ***tšôna***
'The axes with which they are chopping'

In examples such as these, the "pronoun" *tšôna* should rather be regarded as a semantically empty marker of a grammatical relationship.

6.4 THE QUALIFICATIVE

The term 'qualificative' is generally employed in Bantu linguistics as a collective term for a number of qualifying or descriptive words and constructions. According to the Dokeian model, the qualificative as a main word category, included the adjective, the relative, the enumerative and the possessive. Other grammarians have added the quantitative and demonstrative pronouns. 'Adnominal' is another term which has been used in a general classifying sense to refer to adjectives and relatives, but this practice has not been followed in Northern Sotho grammars. On occasion the term 'relative' has been used in a broader sense to include adjectival and nominal relative constructions (Ziervogel et al., 1969b:58; Louwrens, 1975:45, Footnote 3).

As regards Northern Sotho, it seems that the terms 'adjective' or 'adjectival construction' instead of 'qualificative' were used initially to refer in a comprehensive sense to all words (regardless of their structural differences) which in some way or another qualify a substantive (cf. Endemann, 1876b; Schwellnus, 1931 and Endemann, 1939a). The classification of these words was determined solely on the basis of their descriptive function. The fact that there was no structural one-to-one correspondence with adjectives in the European languages was not taken into account in the identification of Bantu adjectives. Various constructions could hence be encountered within the adjectival category, e.g.

(a) Demonstrative plus class prefix plus root:
*Selêpê **sê segolo*** 'a big axe'
(Cf. also par. 6.4.1).

(b) Subjectival concord plus root:
*Dimpša **di šele*** 'strange dogs'
This adjective was treated as a special type, since it occurred with a morpheme resembling the subject concord and contrary to expectation, no plosivation of the initial sound of the root took place in classes 8, 9 and 10. (See par. 6.4.2 for further discussion).

The following were recognised as 'adjectival constructions' which supplemented the dearth of the genuine adjectival roots in (a) and (b) above:

(c) Demonstrative plus another noun (concordial agreement as an alternative form was recognised in some cases):
*Monna yô **botse*** or: *Monna yô **mobotse*** 'A handsome man'
(Cf. par. 6.4.3 below).

(d) Possessive construction: Possessive particle plus noun
*Monna **wa bohlale*** 'a clever man'
*Pitša **ya tshipi*** 'an iron pot'

(e) 'Verbal adjective': demonstrative plus subject concord followed by the verb stem and the suffix **-go**:
*Motho yô **a lokilêgo*** 'a righteous person'

Towards the middle of the twentieth century greater specialization had led to each of the above 'adjectives' in Northern Sotho being referred to on their own merit according to their individual structure. The scope of the 'adjective' or 'adjectival construction' became narrowed down to refer to a specific grammatical construction only, i.e. type (a) above (cf. *inter alia* Ziervogel, 1954a, 1960). Types (b), (c) and (e), on the other hand, became known as relatives, i.e. enumerative, nominal and verbal relatives respectively. Before considering how watertight these distinctions, especially types (a), (b) and (c), really are, a brief reference to Van Wyk's (1966b) opinion regarding the use of 'qualificative' as a word category, is appropriate. As an exponent of the structural approach, Van Wyk explained that the recognition of 'qualificatives' as a separate word category was unjustified, since the different types of qualificatives could be classified under other word categories which were structurally identical. This resulted, for instance, in the classification of *mogolo* (in *motse wô **mogolo*** 'a big kraal') or *bohlale* (in *monna yô **bohlale*** 'a clever man') as sub-categories of the noun, where they are referred to respectively as adjectival nouns and relative nouns, since they consist of a class prefix plus a root/stem just like ordinary nouns.

6.4.1 THE ADJECTIVE

As mentioned above, the 'adjective' was the common term denoting all kinds of descriptive words. Attempts at identifying degrees of comparison as sub-categories of the adjective in

the Bantu languages, were unsuccessful because these languages did not make use of categorial means to express comparisons. Instead, grammarians had to resort to the description of various kinds of constructions to illustrate the expression of degrees of comparison. These will not be discussed here, however.

The typical adjectival construction is composed of:

(i) the demonstrative of the first position; this initial formative has in the past been referred to in different ways, e.g. a relative pronoun (Endemann, 1876b:54; Schwellnus, 1931:20; Van Wyk et al., 1990:73), a connective particle (Schwellnus, 1931:20), 'adjektiewe koppelwoord, adjektiefs-skakelwoord' (Endemann, 1939a:62), 'demonstratiefskakel' (Grobbelaar, 1952:59), a demonstrative pronoun (Ziervogel, 1954a:141), a relative particle (Mashabela, 1973:111), a particle (Van Wyk, 1958) and a qualificative particle (Lombard, 1985:171);

(ii) a class prefix which is in concordial agreement with an antecedent - also referred to as the adjectival concord (Mashabela, 1973:111); Other grammarians have used the term 'adjectival concord' to refer jointly to elements (i) and (ii), cf. Van Zyl (1940), Cole (1955) and Doke & Mofokeng (1957);

(iii) the adjectival root/stem.

Example: *Selêpê **sê**(i) **se**(ii)**golo**(iii)* 'a big axe'

In the given construction, the demonstrative(i) has undergone semantic bleaching since it has lost its demonstrative force. Should a demonstrative meaning be required, the demonstrative of the first, second or third position would have to be added to the above construction, e.g.

*Selêpê **sê** sê segolo* 'this big axe'
*Selêpê **sêo** sê segolo* 'that big axe', etc.

Ziervogel (1961b) observes that the loss of the demonstrative's semantic content in the adjectival construction must have been relatively recent, since evidence existed of older forms in which a demonstrative could act as the first element of an adjectival construction, while simultaneously still displaying a demonstrative meaning:

*motho **yôo** mogolo* instead of *motho yôo yô mogolo*
'that big person'

Ziervogel (op. cit.) also advanced some interesting theories regarding the development and interrelationship between the adjectives and the relatives of the Sotho languages in particular. His study was conceived in the historic-comparative framework characteristic of the Meinhof school. He came to the conclusion that the dividing lines between adjectives, (nominal) relatives and enumeratives were in the process of crumbling. Similar conclusions were reached by Louwrens (1975) during the modern period. Developments were shown to take place according to a certain hierarchy within a language dynamic approach. The developments alluded to here, will *inter alia* feature in the following discussions.

A contribution by Nkondo (1973) on a comparison of adjectives in Tsonga and Northern Sotho was clearly influenced by Van Wyk's framework. True to the structural tradition, attention was paid to all levels of linguistic research, i.e. semantic, structural, syntactical and phonological characteristics and differences.

6.4.2 THE ENUMERATIVE RELATIVE

In his earlier works, Ziervogel followed the pattern set by his predecessors of treating the enumerative relatives as exceptional forms within the category of adjectives. Due to their peculiar character according to which they often deviated from the regular adjectival construction (i.e. demonstrative plus class prefix plus stem/root), Ziervogel (1954a) later described them separately as 'enumerative relatives'. However, where the enumerative roots were engaged in the regular adjectival construction, these were referred to as enumerative adjectives (1954a:143).

The appropriateness of the term 'enumerative' to refer to the category under discussion, has been much debated. Originally this category contained numeral roots as is still the case in some other Bantu languages. In Northern Sotho only the root *-tee* 'one' has remained. Other roots, which employ the same basic construction as *-tee* (cf. (a) below), have analogically enriched the class of enumeratives and have also been labelled 'enumerative', although - except possibly for *-fe?* 'which one(s)?' - they have nothing to do with the semantic idea of number. This anomaly has led some Bantuists to rather make use of other terminology to refer to these roots, cf. Lombard (1985:91): 'radical pronouns', i.e. 'roots which function as radical pronouns' and Van Wyk et al. (1990:78): 'onegte adjektiewe' (i.e. non-genuine adjectives). The enumerative roots in Northern Sotho include: *-tee* 'one', *-šele* 'strange one,

another one', *-šoro* 'cruel' and *-fe?* 'which (one)?'. In the literature and language usage, these roots have been encountered in one or more of the following constructions (only one example is given as an illustration in each case):

(a) enumerative concord (resembling the subjectival concord) plus enumerative root:
motho o tee 'one person'

(b) demonstrative plus enumerative concord plus enumerative root:
mosadi yô o fe? 'which woman?'

(c) demonstrative plus enumerative root:
nku yê šele 'a strange sheep'

(d) demonstrative plus class prefix plus root:
monna yô mošoro 'a cruel man'

Louwrens (1975) indicated that the various constructions in which the enumeratives may occur (though not necessarily used by one and the same speaker) are a reflection of the fact that these relatives are in a state of flux. It is assumed that the structures given in (a) to (d) above indicate four stages in the developmental hierarchy of the enumerative roots. The basic enumerative construction (i.e. (a) above) became unproductive and according to natural developmental principles, was increasingly reinterpreted in terms of the more productive classes. The adjectival construction (i.e. (d)) was assumed to be the terminal point in the hierarchy.[11] The implications of this hypothesis with regard to Northern Sotho's nominal relatives, are considered in par. 6.4.3.

6.4.3 THE NOMINAL RELATIVE

Nominal relatives are characterised by a demonstrative as relative pronoun followed by a noun. Louwrens (1975) suggests that the nominal relatives are subjected to the same process as the enumerative stems, although their development is not as complete as in the case of enumeratives. Some nouns have only developed up to the third phase (cf. *maatla* in the examples below), while others have progressed to the final stage and are completely reinterpreted as adjectives (cf. *botse*):

[11]The enumerative roots, with the exception of -fe? 'which (one)?', can all be used in the adjectival construction.

(a) Concord plus noun:

**Monna o maatla* 'a strong man'

**Mosetsana o botse* 'a beautiful girl'

(b) Demonstrative plus concord plus noun:

Monna yô o maatla

**Mosetsana yô o botse*

(c) Demonstrative plus noun (basic structure of nominal relatives)

Monna yô maatla

Mosetsana yô botse

(d) Demonstrative plus class prefix plus noun (adjectival construction)

**Monna yô momaatla*

Mosetsana yô mobotse

Nouns such as *botse* 'beautiful' and adverbs such as *bjang?* 'how?' and *bjalo* 'so, like this', which may be employed in adjectival constructions, have been referred to by Van Wyk et al. (1990) as non-genuine adjectives.

From the discussion of the adjective and the enumerative and nominal relative constructions in 6.4.1 - 6.4.3 above, it has become clear that due to natural developmental processes, no absolute dividing lines exist between the qualificative types.

6.5 ADVERBS

Structural and semantic characteristics are difficult to divorce in the classification of adverbs and have in varying degrees determined the description of adverbs by Northern Sotho grammarians. Traditionally adverbs were analysed primarily according to their meanings (cf. Beyer, 1920; Schwellnus, 1931; Endemann, 1939a; Grobbelaar, 1952), which generally included adverbs of manner, time and place. Little thought was given to the fact that the adverbs were structurally heterogeneous, ranging from independent words to derived words and word groups. What were adverbs in the European languages were simply translated into Northern Sotho and labelled "adverbs" regardless of their divergent structures.

Grammarians who were more analytically inclined, recognised that the analysis of the adverb could be approached not only according to its meaning, but also in terms of its structure.

Due to the absence of a well-formulated definition of exactly what constituted an adverb in the Bantu languages, no uniformity can be observed in the classifications of adverbs. In order to facilitate the analysis of the various ways in which adverbs have been treated in the past, the threefold approach as used by Lombard (1985) will be employed as a means of reference in the following discussion:

(a) Basic adverbs:

According to Lombard (1985) these include monomorphematic words not related to any other word category. Grammarians working outside of this framework have in addition listed as basic or true adverbs a number of words which only function as adverbs, but which in essence display the structure of other word categories, e.g. *bjalê* 'now' (noun, class 14), *fa* 'here' (locative demonstrative pronoun, class 16), etc. (cf. Endemann, 1876b; Franz, 1931).

General consensus exists regarding the fact that types (b) and (c) serve to supplement the limited supply of basic adverbs in Northern Sotho:

(b) Derived adverbs:

These are adverbs derived from other word categories by means of the prefixation of **ga-**. In some examples **ga-** has become fossilized to a word, losing its status as a morpheme, e.g. *gabotse* 'well, good'. Franz (1931) described these adverbs, to which he also added those derived by means of **ka** 'with' as in ***ka*** *pela* 'quickly', as non-genuine adverbs. The term 'non-genuine adverb' was reserved, in turn, for adverbs of type (c) by Van Wyk et al. (1990).

(c) Adverbs that developed from other word categories:

Words belonging to other word categories such as the noun and the pronoun which can incidentally function as adverbs, belong to this type of adverb according to Van Wyk et al. (1990). He excludes from this group all adverbs popularly referred to as "instrumental adverbs" (e.g. *ka selêpê* 'with an axe'), "connective or associative adverbs" (e.g. *le ngwana* 'with a child'), "agentive adverbs" (e.g. *ke nôga* 'by a snake'), etc. on the basis of the fact that these examples constitute word groups instead of words. According to Van Wyk's (1968a:99) theory on word classes, only words qualify as members of word classes and not word groups. Hence he observes that one of the methodological errors committed by Doke, was the fact that he had included

under the category 'adverb' some examples which were in essence word groups, even though the Dokeian definition had a bearing on adverbs as *words*.

From the ranks of Northern Sotho grammarians, examples of different means whereby adverbs can be expressed to supplement the dearth of true adverbs, have appeared. These have varied from limited instances to inclusive lists. The main reason for the discrepancies can probably be ascribed to the fact that examples were not limited to words, but were - once again in order to accommodate translational correlates from the European languages - represented by a variety of particle groups and phrases. The following extensive list as supplied by Endemann (1876b:150-1) may serve as an example:

(1)	Substantives:		
	E.g.	*morago*	'behind, at the back'
		bošego	'late, at night'
(2)	Substantives with prepositions:		
	E.g.	*ka mehla*	'always'
(3)	Substantives in the locative form:		
	E.g.	*letsôgông lê letona*	'on the right hand'
(4)	Verbs:		
	E.g.	*ba boêla ba bolêla*	'they are talking again'
		swara o tiišê	'hold tight'
		ke sa ja	'I am still eating'
		ga ke ešo ka ya	'I have not yet gone'
		ke bilê (šêtše) ke ilê	'I have already gone'
(5)	Pronouns:		
	E.g.	*gôna*	'there'
(6)	Substantives with adjectives:		
	E.g.	*mohlamong (= mohla o mong)*	'maybe'
(7)	Substantives with (adjectival) pronouns:		
	E.g.	*ngwagôla (= ngwaga ôla)*	'last year'

Classifications such as these were narrowed down in the course of time. Especially the 'verbal adverbs' (cf. (4) above) were not identified by any of Endemann's successors. With the realisation that European adverbs did not always have exact correlates in the Bantu

languages, a reinterpretation or rather reformulation gradually began marking the treatment of this word category in Bantu. Instead of an outright classification of certain examples as adverbs, they were described as words belonging to other word categories which may, in their unaltered form or in conjunction with certain prefixes, suffixes or particles, take on the function of adverbs in sentences (cf. *inter alia* Ziervogel, 1953, 1954a; Ziervogel et al., 1969b; Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967; Van Wyk et al., 1990). Based on a study conducted within the modern framework of language dynamic processes, Van Staden (1988) rates adverbs as a secondary word category, because it can be accepted that most of them are derived from other word categories.

6.6 INTERROGATIVES AND ASPECTS RELATING TO QUESTION FORMATION

6.6.1 INTERROGATIVES

During the traditional, the functional and the structural periods, the description of interrogatives in Northern Sotho was not conducted within any recognisable, well-defined theory. Discrepancies regarding the categorial status accorded to interrogatives, can be observed in a number of representative works which have appeared over these periods. These discrepancies result from the fact that interrogatives are categorially flexible, i.e. they can be employed as members of more than one word category, depending on the constructions they enter into or the position they take up in a sentence. Some interrogatives have also been categorised on the grounds of their morphological similarity with other word classes. Word categories which interrogatives have *inter alia* been associated with, include:

6.6.1.1 *Pronouns*

The interrogatives which have commonly been referred to as pronouns are *mang?* 'who?', *eng?* 'what?' and *-fe?* 'which (one)?' (e.g. Endemann, 1876b:42; Beyer, 1920:10; Endemann, 1939a:81; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:13 and Grobbelaar, 1983:144). Semantically they have the function to question the nominal constituents in a sentence and have probably been referred to as pronouns because they refer to a noun. More recently, Lombard (1985:90-1) has referred to *-fe?* as a radical pronoun.

6.6.1.2 *Adjectives*

The interrogative *-kaé?* 'how many?' is classified as an adjectival stem, which enters into a regular adjectival construction, i.e. *matšatši a makae?* 'how many days?'. It is tonally distinguished from *káe* 'where?', which is generally recognised as a basic adverb (cf. par. 6.6.1.4). Some interrogatives were classified as adverbs and as adjectival stems, revealing their multi-categorial character, e.g. *bjang?* 'how?' (cf. Ziervogel et al., 1969b:30, 58).

6.6.1.3 *Enumeratives*

The only interrogative which is employed in the so-called enumerative relative construction, is *-fe?* 'which (one)?' (cf. Ziervogel et al., 1969b:120).

6.6.1.4 *Adverbs*

The interrogatives *bjang?* 'how?', *neng?* 'when?' and *káe?* 'where?' have generally been placed in the class of adverbs (e.g. Endemann, 1876b:157; Beyer, 1920:44; Ziervogel et al., 1969b:30 and Grobbelaar, 1983:77). They all have the semantic function of questioning the process which the verb in the sentence refers to.

Lombard (1985:166) only regards *neng?* and *káe?* as basic adverbs. On morphological grounds he maintains that *bjang?* is basically a noun (cf. par. 6.6.1.5).

The interrogatives *na?/naa?/a?/afa?* have occasionally been described as words which are used as adverbs (cf. Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:64; Ziervogel et al., 1969b:30, 119).

6.6.1.5 *Nouns*

An investigation of Northern Sotho contributions reveals that the affinity between interrogatives and nouns had escaped the early grammarians' attention. During the time of Ziervogel, *eng?* or its short form *ng?* were recognised as being able to be used like objects, e.g. Ziervogel et al. (1969b:82, 120). Ziervogel also described *mang?* and its plural *bômang?* as nouns (op. cit.:121). These conclusions were arrived at on the grounds of the function of these

interrogatives. Lombard (1985:167), however, also provided support for such assumptions on structural grounds, e.g. *bjang?* which could diachronically be reconstructed as a noun of class 14, i.e. **bo-ang?*. On morphological and syntactic grounds Louwrens (1979b) believes that *mang?* (*bômang?*) and *eng?* can respectively be regarded as nouns of classes 1a/2a and 9[12], while *-fe?* is valued as a nominal determiner. Van Wyk (1980:149) has suggested that *mang?* and *eng?* are based on the enumerative stem *-ng?* 'what kind of?'. Whereas *mang?* is the class 6 form which has ended up in class 1, *eng?* is believed to have been the class 9 form of the enumerative which has completely given up its class relationship to become a classless pronoun, according to Van Wyk.

6.6.1.6 *Particles*

Particles had not been recognised as a separate word category in Northern Sotho until the advent of the structural period. Former references to a certain group of interrogatives as particles had not been uncommon (cf. Schwellnus, 1931:49; Endemann, 1939a:111), but their exact categorial status had nowhere been explained and probably differed from Van Wyk's use of this term. Van Wyk and others who adhered to the structural framework, regarded interrogatives such as *na?*, *naa?*, *afa?* and *a?* as formatives which did not have full word autonomy, but which at the same time were higher in rank than a morpheme.

6.6.2 QUESTION FORMATION

Studies on interrogatives and question formation received a new impetus in the light of certain approaches associated with the modern period in Bantu. Two scholars who may especially be singled out for their pioneering work towards interrogative investigations in Bantu are Louwrens (1979b, 1983a, 1987b) and Prinsloo (1985b, 1988, 1989). A Masters dissertation has also appeared in which *inter alia* the most recent theories on interrogative words and particles have been consolidated (Steyn, 1991). Understandably not all of the "new insights" can be accorded due attention within the confines of this thesis. In the spirit of this survey, however, descriptional frameworks which marked investigations on interrogative issues, will

[12]Due to certain distributional restrictions which apply to mang? and eng?, however, these interrogatives are not syntactically of the same value as ordinary nouns, cf. Louwrens (op. cit.).

be identified:

6.6.2.1 *Discourse-analytical and pragmatic approach*

Louwrens (1991a) investigated interrogatives in terms of three pragmatic functions which they fulfil in a context of discourse:

(a) Interrogatives used to question the information contained in the verb.

These include examples generally referred to as adverbs of place, time and manner.

(b) Interrogatives used to question the information contained in either the subject or object noun phrase.

Based on discourse-analytical concepts such as the distinction between "old" and "new" discourse information, Louwrens was able to explain why subject noun phrases could not be subjected to questioning in their basic pre-verbal position, while object noun phrases in their basic post-verbal position could be questioned. He established that interrogatives, which were aimed at eliciting new information, could only question new information noun phrases (i.e. either subject noun phrases which were presented as new information in a post-verbal position, or object noun phrases which were not in concordial agreement with the verb). Syntactically interrogatives were found to be restricted to positions in which new discourse information occurs in sentences.

(c) Interrogatives used to question the information carried by the sentence as a whole.

Two strategies which fulfil different pragmatic functions have been identified by Louwrens (1991a):

(1) **Question formation by means of a change in intonation.** This type of question is said to be neutral and aimed at the confirmation or negation of a proposition.

(2) **Question formation which makes use of interrogative particles.** Before the modern period the particles *na?/naa?/afa?* and *a?* seem to have been treated as alternants.[13] Differences in their distribution were recognised, but no attempts were made to provide any explanations for their distributions. Ziervogel (in e.g. Ziervogel, 1954a:81 and Ziervogel et al., 1969b:30) was of the opinion that *na?* is simply a sign of interrogation which has no translatable meaning and that *afa?* has the same function as *na?*. Prinsloo (1985b:91) reports that the question particles were literally regarded as 'spoken question marks' (i.e. as particles lacking any semantic import) by some traditional grammarians. Lombard (1985:174) does not pay attention to different discourse-pragmatic implications which could be associated with the use of certain interrogative particles and merely refers to them as interrogative markers.

Prinsloo (1985b) indicated convincingly that two sets of interrogative particles needed to be distinguished on the basis of certain semantic/pragmatic functions which each fulfilled in the context of discourse. His semantic analysis, which was based on the pragmatic principle of presupposition, enabled him to provide a theoretically motivated explanation for the distributional behaviour of the question particles and for certain restrictions on their co-occurrence. *Afa?* and *a?* have, on the one hand, been identified as particles which mark questions to which no answer is required. These questions are generally rhetorical and the would-be answers are known to both the speaker and the addressee. *Na?* and *naa?*, on the other hand, demand an answer from the addressee. They may, in contrast to *afa?/a?*, occur in conjunction with other interrogative words, to render the question pragmatically more demanding.

It seems as though the distinction between the discourse-pragmatic function of *na?/naa?* on the one hand and *afa?/a?* on the other, is not always maintained in modern usage anymore. Examples in which members of these

[13]An attempt at identifying different semantic implications of some interrogative particles can be recognised in Endemann's (1939a) reference to afa? as a particle which indicates a question expressing doubt, e.g. Afa o tlô tla ka moswana? 'Will you really come tomorrow?'. Another statement, claiming that a? had nearly the same function as naa?, cannot be accepted in the light of modern research within the discourse-pragmatic framework.

two sets co-occur have been encountered, as well as rhetorical questions which, contrary to expectation, employ the particles *na?* or *naa?* These observations have led Louwrens (1991a:146) to conclude that the interrogative particles are possibly approaching a re-evaluation of their pragmatic functions in present-day Northern Sotho.

Louwrens comes to the conclusion that the pragmatic functions of the interrogative particles stretch beyond mere interrogativity, a factor which had long been overlooked by Northern Sotho grammarians. He suggests two factors which were probably responsible for the superficial treatment of interrogative structures in existing works:

> "... Firstly, one gets the impression that researchers are reluctant to investigate 'common' linguistic structures which, when judged on face value, seem to lack the intricacy which would justify the effort. Secondly, the important influence exerted by the pragmatics of discourse on the formal structure of linguistic expressions is not regarded with the attention it deserves." (Louwrens, 1987b:124).

6.6.2.2 *Historical-typological approach*

Typological change is a linguistic reality which Prinsloo (1988) could exploit profitably in order to explain why some interrogatives occur only sentence initially, others sentence finally and still others in both of these positions. It is suggested that the Bantu languages, which were originally of the SOV-type developed into an SVO-type. Along with this change, question particles also moved from a sentence final position to a sentence initial position. Since the development from a dominant OV-type to a dominant VO-type takes place gradually, the positional change of interrogatives is also gradual. Evidence thereof is the fact that interrogative particles are encountered in more than one position in the Bantu languages, depending on the degree in which they have been affected by the typological change. Prinsloo (op. cit.) suggests that the following three stages may mark the development of interrogative particles:

(a) Some interrogative particles may already have gone through the complete process, having changed from final to sentence initial position, e.g. *afa?/a?*, which are no longer acceptable in the sentence final position.

(b) Some particles may not have undergone the process yet and still appear in the sentence final position, e.g. *na?* in Zulu.

(c) Some particles, not having shifted completely, may appear in the final or the initial position, or even simultaneously in both positions, e.g. *na?* in Northern Sotho.

It is evident that the historical-typological approach in the case of interrogative particles has provided valuable information which would not have been gained through synchronic analysis.

6.7 IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS, CONJUNCTIONS AND PARTICLES

This chapter is concluded with a few remarks pertaining to ideophones, interjections, conjunctions and particles. They have for the most part not consciously been subjected to treatment within any of the dominant theoretical frameworks which have been identified in the linguistic development of Northern Sotho, although they have appeared in grammars as part of the overall grammatical treatment of the language. A possible reason for this state of affairs is that they appear at face value to be too elementary as to present a challenge to the analyst. Some of these are no longer or have not always been treated as separate parts of speech in Northern Sotho.

6.7.1 IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

Compared to some of the other Bantu languages, the ideophone in Northern Sotho has not received much attention. Its description has been quite uneventful in the course of its historical development. Southern Sotho, however, has produced a number of interesting studies in the modern period, conducted *inter alia* within the frameworks of pragmatics and the speech act theory.

In the early periods of Bantu grammar ideophones were subsumed under the category of interjections (e.g. Endemann, 1876b; Meinhof, 1906). This mode of operation was understandable in view of the fact that ideophones have no parallel in the European languages, the closest being the interjection and onomatopoeia. The ideophone *tu!* 'representative of silence', for example, was described as an onomatopoeic interjection

(Endemann, 1876b:170). Before the term 'ideophone' became established in Bantu linguistic terminology (mainly under the influence of Doke), various terms had been used to describe this phenomenon. The term 'onomatopoeia', as pointed out by Van Wyk (1966a), was not appropriate, since the Bantu ideophones were much more than onomatopoeia in the European sense. Instead of being mere imitations of sounds, they are expressive of colours, smells, manners, intensity, actions, states, etc. A further distinguishing factor of the Bantu ideophone, is that it forms an integrated part of the grammatical system of the language, being derivable from other parts of speech with the converse also being possible.

The first separate treatments of ideophones and interjections in Northern Sotho are observed in Schwellnus (1931) and Endemann (1939a). References to ideophones were, however, still clothed in traditional terminology, i.e. 'onomatopoeia' and 'klanknabootsende woorde'. These terms gradually fell into disuse, while 'ideophone' became established as a linguistic term and as a separate word category in Northern Sotho in the course of the fifties, especially under the influence of Ziervogel's contributions.

Some consideration is given presently to phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic aspects, where these have featured in the description of ideophones and interjections.

(a) **Phonological characteristics**:

Phonologically ideophones and interjections show some relationship in that they both display paranormal structures. Van Wyk's (1961) division of parts of speech into two major groups was based on the phonological characteristics of words. This resulted in ideophones and interjections constituting a group on their own.

One way in which ideophones and interjections were described, was in terms of the number of syllables they consisted of and in terms of tone sequences. Samarin (1971:137) reports that Doke had called this the 'natural classification' and that "it was slavishly adopted by a whole string of Bantuists who produced Dokeian descriptions."

(b) **Morphological characteristics**:

Northern Sotho grammarians have not been unanimous in regard to the words which qualify as interjections. Some have only recognised basic underived words as interjections (cf. Endemann, 1876b; Schwellnus, 1931; Endemann, 1939a), while others have added vocatives and imperatives (cf. Mojapelo, 1967; Ziervogel et al.,

1969b; Nchabeleng, 1975 - Std. 6; Serudu et al., 1988 - Std. 10). The heterogeneous nature of this class has therefore hindered a characterisation of interjections in terms of their morphological make-up. Under the influence of Van Wyk the members of this word category have once again been reduced to basic interjections, the argument against the inclusion of vocatives and imperatives being that these structurally belong to the nominal and verbal categories respectively. This standpoint has generally been maintained in Northern Sotho grammars, with the result that interjections may currently be described as being monomorphematic. Just like ideophones, however, interjections may be reduplicated.

Ziervogel (1949) had called ideophones 'radicals', i.e. roots which constituted words. Ideophones may, however, also be polymorphematic, since they can be derived from other word categories (especially verbs). One matter over which there has been much debate among Bantuists on the broader front, is over the directionality of the derivation, i.e. whether ideophones are derived from verbs or vice versa. Wilkes (1978a) maintains that valid reasons can be advanced for both approaches.

(c) **Semantic characteristics**:

Semantic classifications of ideophones are generally based on human senses and perceptions, e.g. sight, touch, smell, taste, inner feeling, etc. Interjections are expressive of the experience of the speaker, e.g. agreement, denial, doubt, drawing attention, bewailment, etc.

(d) **Syntactic characteristics**:

Ideophones and interjections are syntactically marginal. However, ideophones may also be employed as verbs or as adverbs within clauses and sentences in which case they are accorded predicative and adverbial (descriptive) functions respectively.

The ideophone *inter alia* derives its **predicative** function from its ability to signify an action in the absence of a verb. It may also occur within predicative phrases, in which case it acts as an attribute of the defective verb stem *-re* 'say' or its perfect form *-itšê* (Lombard, 1985:181, e.g. *mêêtse a a tônya a re tô* 'the water is *ice*-cold'). The ideophone may be modified by an adverbial adjunct, a feature which it shares with the predicative category. Due to its affinity with the verb, Kunene (1965) suggested that the ideophone be placed as a new sub-category under the predicative.

References to the **adverbial** function of ideophones are common. Doke (1935) classified the ideophone as a descriptive. Ziervogel et al. (1969b:91) describe the ideophone as a word with an adverbial function, because it modifies a predicate with regard to manner, colour, smell, sound and action. According to Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1967:75), *hlê* and *gê* 'please' - which in their opinion are interjections[14] - are used as adverbs after the verb.

6.7.2 CONJUNCTIONS AND PARTICLES

The works of traditional grammarians reveal some discrepancies with regard to the examples given of conjunctions, particles[15] as well as prepositions. What some have classified as conjunctions have been described by others as prepositions (or particles) and vice versa. This situation can be ascribed to the absence of a well-formulated theory regarding words and word categories in Bantu.

Conjunctions have proved to be a problematic category, since they cannot be identified formally. A wide range of words is used with a conjunctive function. Until the advent of the structural period, the majority of Northern Sotho grammarians, including Ziervogel, had recognised conjunctions as a separate part of speech. The status of conjunctions as a separate category, however, was challenged by Van Wyk in the light of his structural approach to the Bantu word. In contrast to all the other word categories in Northern Sotho, conjunctions consisted of word groups, and not of words only. It was argued that the majority of the so-called conjunctions were in fact derived from other parts of speech, such as verbs, nouns and pronouns, and that the recognition of conjunctions as a separate category was therefore unjustified. Although Lombard (1985) based his grammar on the structural framework, he could not go along with Van Wyk's viewpoint regarding conjunctions and re-instated this group of words as a separate word category, particularly on the grounds of their special usage.

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[14]These have been described as clitical particles by Lombard (1985).

[15]The term 'particle' as used by traditional grammarians such as Schwellnus (1931) and Endemann (1939a) most probably did not have the same connotation as the one attached to this term by Van Wyk.

The derivational relationship between conjunctions and other parts of speech, led Van Staden (1988) to identify conjunctions as a secondary word category. His conclusion was based on an investigation within the modern framework of language dynamic developments. He indicated how processes of rank- and category shifting had resulted in various words and word groups functioning as conjunctions.

Particles as a special group of words which enjoyed limited word autonomy, were only introduced as a word category during the structural period under the influence of Van Wyk. Particles such as the instrumental *ka*, the connective/associative *le*, the copulative *ke/ga se*, etc. had been termed 'secondary prefixes' by Ziervogel & Mokgokong (1975). Prinsloo (e.g. 1981a, 1981c, 1986) made use of the term 'voorsetsel' (i.e. 'preposition') in the sense in which Van Wyk had defined the particle.

CHAPTER 7
PREDICATIVE CATEGORIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

For convenience purposes this chapter has been organised into two parts according to two types of predicatives which may be found in Northern Sotho, i.e. the non-copulative and the copulative type. The non-copulative predicatives will form the basis of discussion for a selected number of sub-categories of the verb. Sub-categories such as mood, tense, aspect, actuality, voice, etc. constitute such a vast field of research, that these cannot be done justice to within the scope of the present survey. Each of these sub-categories merit a full study on their own. The investigation in this chapter, therefore, is restricted to major developments or changes in Northern Sotho grammatical description only as far as moods, tenses and aspects are concerned. What makes their individual treatment especially difficult, is the fact that they are mostly intersected. This, together with preconceptions as to what should constitute moods, tenses, etc. in the Bantu languages, has been responsible for much of the confusion within the verbal category. This state of confusion has persisted up to the present time, because no universal distinction between mood, tense and aspect can be advanced. These concepts are elusive and grammarians have generally been weary to give explicit definitions thereof. Van Wyk (1991) is of the opinion that the only valid definitions of these concepts are those which are designed language specifically, e.g. "mood/tense/aspect in Northern Sotho is ....".

Although many Bantuists had claimed, along with Doke, that their approach was designed to suit the character of the Bantu languages, their *aprioristic* use of mood, tense and aspect stood in the way of a coherent and unbiased analysis of the verbal categories. In some cases the distinction of a particular category was dictated by real world phenomena and not by linguistic phenomena, e.g. the identification of three "tenses", which was based on the experience that there is a past, present and future time. In the light of methodological errors such as these, Van Wyk (op. cit.) stressed the need for a renewal of the grammarian's conceptual apparatus. A constant revision of the verbal sub-categories led Van Wyk to depart from some of his previously held viewpoints and to adopt the opinion that mood, tense and aspect are perhaps not at all applicable to Northern Sotho or the Bantu languages for that matter. Moods, tenses and aspects may be available universals, i.e. available to all

languages, but alien to the structure of Northern Sotho. Didactically these concepts cannot be done away with, but the linguist who is interested in the intrinsic nature of the language, needs to handle problems language specifically and not from universal assumptions. Dinneen (1967:218), quoting Boas (1911), observes that any description of a language should concentrate first on what "according to the morphology of the language *must* be expressed" and not just on what the language *might* say.

These introductory remarks should give a brief glimpse into the complexity of the sub-categories of the verb and of the absence of their uniform treatment. Descriptions have ranged from uncritical projections of Latin categories onto the Bantu verb on the one hand, to the complete dismissal of these categories on the other. Judging from recent contributions by authoritative linguists, one could perhaps conclude that the current line of thought is to avoid controversial terms like mood and tense, until more clarity has been obtained. The traditional terms are replaced by more neutral concepts (cf. Van Wyk et al., 1990; Van Wyk, 1991; Poulos, 1990), e.g. "sentences", "constructions", "verbal categories", "forms" as in "the indicative verb form", etc. This survey does not purport to have any final answers with regard to the sub-categorisation of the verb or with regard to definitions of the concepts of mood, tense and aspect as applied to Northern Sotho. Considering the unstable state which these categories currently find themselves in as far as their grammatical description is concerned, any attempt at such definitions would in any case only be tentative.

7.2 MOOD

7.2.1 DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

It is a well-known fact that inconsistencies occur in the description of the modal system of Northern Sotho. From the vantage point of the modern period, Louwrens (1990) has been able to relate the discrepancies to a lack of proper definitions and to the fact that different scholars have adhered to different frameworks in determining the modal categories within the language. He bases his own proposal for a modal system on the distinction between 'mood' and 'modality', a distinction which had not been recognised before by Northern Sotho grammarians. As will be indicated further on, this framework called for the exclusion of the **infinitive** and **relative** from the system of moods. The term 'mood' was conventionally

associated with the grammatical forms which mark the verb[1] in order to express different relations between the subject and the predicate. 'Modality', on the other hand, is not so much expressed by the verb as by the whole utterance and expresses the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying (e.g. necessity, probability, etc.).[2] Whereas 'mood' is therefore a morphological matter, 'modality' is a semantic matter.

'Mood' was generally left undefined in the early Northern Sotho grammars, which leads one to conclude that it was regarded as a basic linguistic premise or universal category which needed no language specific clarification. Doke (1935:147), quoting Bradley, had defined mood as

> "A special form assumed by the verb in order to mark some special manner (*modus*) in which that connexion between a subject and predicate which every verb implies is viewed by the speaker."

Ziervogel (1953:86) attempted a definition reminiscent of the Dokeian conception of mood:

> "Die Wyse of Modus bepaal die vorm wat 'n werkwoord aanneem om die wyse (manier) waarop die spreker die verhouding tussen onderwerp en gesegde benader, uit te druk."

From the inconsistent application of terminology and the piecemeal discussion of issues relating to moods, tenses and aspects in some of the Northern Sotho contributions to be considered presently, it cannot always be deduced clearly which sub-categories of the verb are regarded as moods and which are not. Endemann's (1876b) organisation of data in his treatment of moods (i.e. "Aussageweisen") and tenses is rather cumbersome. This stands in the way of a clear assessment of his classificatory system and has led Van Wyk (1981), for example, to comment that Endemann had regarded the consecutive as a mood. If it is considered, however, that the consecutive examples appear under the sub-title 'simple tense forms' within the 'paradigm of the indicative', the conclusion should be made that Endemann

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[1]Louwrens (1990) observes that in the case of the Northern Sotho verb, not all inflections are necessarily modally significant, e.g. the imperative verb eja! 'eat (you:sing.)!' may be inflected by means of the plural suffix -ng without changing its mood, i.e. ejang! 'eat (you:pl.)!'.

[2]A verb in a specific mood may express one of two basic modalities, namely a deontic or an epistemic modality. The former has been described by Lyons (1977b:823) as being concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents. Epistemic modality, on the other hand, expresses, parenthetically, the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes (op. cit.:452). The expression of modality is not restricted to verbs, but can also be conveyed by phrases or word groups.

valued the consecutive[3] as a tense form rather than a mood. A tendency observed in Beyer (1920) is that grammatical phenomena are not presented in a systematic way and that they are unspecified as regards their category. Examples are merely listed without further explanation under headings such as, e.g. "relative conjugation", "imperative", "optative", "potential", etc.

Differences in terminology may be misleading and are a result of the lack of proper definitions. The term 'participial', for instance, was used by Endemann (1876b:87) to refer to the consecutive as a tense form, e.g. *ra dira* '(and then) we did'. The related term 'participle', however, was used to denote the verbal relative construction as a mood, e.g. *(yô) a tsênago* '(he) who enters / (he), entering'. In later works the 'participial mood' was understood to refer to the situative verb only, e.g. *(gê) a tsêna* '(if, while, when) he enters'. Franz (1931) made use of the terms "wys" and "vorm" in such a way that it is not clear whether these terms were intended to distinguish respectively between moods and non-moods. The examples he gives include "aanvoegende *wys*" (i.e. subjunctive), "onbepaalde *wys*" (i.e. infinitive), "gebiedende *wys*" (i.e. imperative), "voorwaardelike *wys*" (i.e. potential) and "versoeks*wys*" (i.e. hortative). On the other hand, the term "vorm" appears in connection with the relative ("beskryfs*vorm*"), habitual ("gewoonte *vorm*") and consecutive ("verhaals*vorm*"). Endemann (1939a) seems to have used the terms "wys(e)" and "vorm" interchangeably.

The modal categories as proposed for Northern Sotho will presently be considered.

7.2.2 MODAL CATEGORIES

The modal system presented by Endemann (1876b) is complicated and obscured by the many compound moods, and tense and aspect combinations which he distinguishes within the system, e.g. 'effective conditional' and 'potential conditional'. Other moods include the potential, infinitive, indicative, final (i.e. subjunctive), imperative, optative (i.e. hortative) and the participle (i.e. verbal relatives which function as qualificatives). In addition to the above-mentioned moods, Endemann distinguishes special "moods" such as the "continuate" (i.e.

[3]Endemann (1876b:87) does not make use of the term 'consecutive' and instead classifies examples such as ka dira '(and then) I do/did' as belonging to the participial present tense. In a later publication Van Wyk (1987a:278) does recognise that Endemann had treated the consecutive as a special sub-category of the present tense.

progressive), and "moods" expressed by means of auxiliary verbs (e.g. *-ešo*, *-hlwê* and the contracted deficient auxiliary verb form *-fô*[4]), some of which would today be described as compound predicates or auxiliary word groups, rather than moods.

The initial modal system proposed for Northern Sotho was to undergo many changes in the years to follow as the academic interest in the language increased. Whether all the descriptions since then have necessarily constituted progressive developments, is difficult to assess, since investigations are still ongoing and the final word on this topic has not been spoken. Some constructions have so far escaped positive identification, such as the "conditional", for instance, which often occurs in proverbs, and in poetic and archaic language (cf. Louwrens, 1976:52; Lombard, 1985:161-2; Van Wyk, 1986:172): ***Kgaka ya hwa*** *mae a bôla* *'If* the guinea-fowl dies (then) the eggs rot'. These forms look like the consecutive, yet are translated to express conditions. It could be that these forms have up to now been incorporated into the situative, but their exact classification has not yet been established.

Van Wyk's (1981) proposed scheme of basic moods is given below merely as a means of orientation. Major developments and relevant information pertaining to each of these "moods" will presently be investigated, while brief references to tenses and aspects will prove to be necessary as well. However, separate consideration is given to tenses and aspects in sections 7.3 and 7.4. respectively.

Temporal moods:	Indicative
	Situative
	Relative
Dependent moods:	Subjunctive
	Consecutive
	Habitual
Non-predicative moods:	Infinitive
	Imperative

[4]Lombard (1985:190) recognises verb forms such as -fô-, -nô- and -diô- as belonging to an (unspecified) verb category which he terms casual deficient verb forms. They derive from a contraction with a following infinitive prefix in the same manner as the form -tlô- of the futuritive. Other authors have not recognised the casual deficient verb forms as a verb category.

7.2.2.1 *The indicative*

Throughout the history of Northern Sotho grammatical descriptions, the status of the indicative as a mood has been uncontested and it is therefore not a problematic category. According to Van Wyk (1981) the indicative can be classified as a basic, temporal mood. Lombard (1985) describes it as a predicative, independent mood which is able to distinguish tenses, while Louwrens (1990) groups the indicative under moods which express epistemic modality.

7.2.2.2 *The situative (participial) and the relative*

The verbal relative has often been classified together with the situative (also known as the participial), because of certain features which they share on the morphological, syntactic and semantic level. An analysis of correspondences and differences appears in Barnard (1988) and will not be repeated here. Since both the situative and the verbal relative may act as qualifiers, they have often been referred to as 'participles' and consequently as appearing in the so-called 'participle mood' or "deelwoordwyse" (cf. Ziervogel, 1949, 1953; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967) or as belonging to a "beskrywingsvorm", i.e. descriptive form (Franz, 1931), e.g.

(a) Situative: *Mosadi o šoma **a bolêla***
'The woman is working while (she is) talking'

(b) Relative: *Mosadi **yô a bolêlago** o a šoma*
'The woman who is talking, is working'

It needs to be pointed out that in instances where the verbal relative was recognised as appearing in the 'participle mood', it was regarded and treated by the above-mentioned scholars as a construction rather than a mood. Other grammarians, on the other hand, have classified verbal relatives as a mood on their own, cf. Endemann (1876b), Schwellnus (1931) and Mojapelo (1967).

As indicated by Louwrens (1976), the term 'participial' is somewhat misleading, because the participial application of the situative mood (cf. the descriptive function in example (a) above) only represents a part of this mood's total syntactic applications. It may also be used with

temporal and conditional implications.[5] For this reason, some scholars have preferred the term 'situative' to 'participial'.

From observations it would seem that the status of the participial did not crystallize immediately, because its treatment was always intermingled with that of the verbal relative. Beyer (1920) had merely referred to participial clauses as subordinate sentences, while the first clear reference to the situative as a mood seems to have appeared in Schwellnus (1931:39), i.e. 'dependent mood'. Ziervogel had consistently treated the participial/situative as a mood in his grammatical works on Northern Sotho, as did also the majority of Northern Sotho grammarians.

The classification of the verbal relative construction has been more uncertain. As indicated earlier, some Bantuists had accorded modal status to the verbal relative. Ziervogel excluded it from his modal system for Northern Sotho, while linguists working within Van Wyk's framework reinstated the relative as a mood. In Van Wyk's classification the relative features as a separate mood and is classified together with the indicative and situative as a basic temporal mood (e.g. Van Wyk, 1981). The situative and relative are recognised as separate moods in Lombard's (1985) classification, where they are both sub-categorised as tense-distinguishing, modifying, independent predicative moods. Posthumus (1987:195) prefers the term 'qualificative mood' to 'relative mood' since the former is more descriptive.

Two recent investigations which could have major implications for the description of Northern Sotho verb categories, have appeared from the pen of Van Wyk (1986) and Louwrens (1990). Both researches affect the verbal relative, and in particular its temporal distinctions (cf. the 'alternative relative', par. 7.3.4) and its modal status respectively. As regards the latter, Louwrens (op. cit.) is of the opinion that whereas the situative qualifies as a mood because it expresses epistemic modality, the verbal relative cannot be regarded as a mood, because it cannot express either epistemic or deontic modality.

The sub-categorisation of the relative mood will not be dealt with here, except to state that a distinction is traditionally made between direct and indirect relative relationships. This distinction is purely based on syntactic evidence, i.e. the relationship is direct when the relative pronoun and the subjectival concord both refer to the antecedent. Should only the

[5]These issues have been investigated for Northern Sotho in contributions by e.g. Louwrens (1976) and Barnard (1987).

relative pronoun refer to the antecedent, such a relationship is said to be indirect. The relevancy of this distinction has been questioned by linguists such as Hendrikse (1974) and Posthumus (1987). The latter suggests that this mood should rather be sub-categorised according to other criteria such as (i) the type of verb involved, (ii) the semantic-syntactic function of the antecedent in the co-structure and (iii) the semantic-syntactic function of the antecedent in the qualificative subordinate sentence (Posthumus, 1987:196).

7.2.2.3 *The subjunctive*

The subjunctive has enjoyed modal status throughout the history of Northern Sotho linguistic description. It was referred to by Endemann (1876b) as the conjunctive or final mood. Semantically it was described as being purpose or goal directed (op. cit.:73). The term 'subjunctive' seems to have become the regular term to denote this mood and has replaced other concepts such as "aanvoegende wyse" and "konjunktiewe wyse" (e.g. Franz, 1931; Endemann, 1939a; Ziervogel, 1949; Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967). In Van Wyk (1981) and Lombard's (1985) modal systems the subjunctive is classified together with the consecutive and the habitual as a dependent mood, because these moods may be said to be dependent on preceding sentences, either in the deep structure or in the surface structure.

The subjunctive is generally introduced by the conjunction *gore*. In some instances, however, *gore* is inadmissible. The factors which allow or disallow the occurrence of this conjunction, as well as the semantic relation between the main verb and the subjunctive verb have been investigated by Louwrens (1971 and 1978b).

The subjunctive qualifies as a mood according to Louwrens' (1990) framework, because it expresses epistemic and deontic modality. When subjunctive clauses are included in indicative main clauses, the complex sentence as a whole expresses epistemic modality. The subordinate subjunctive clause is factual or assertive in nature and expresses purpose (cf. example (a) below). On the other hand, second person forms of the subjunctive may be used as independent commands (cf. example (b)) or follow the imperative main clause (cf. example (c)) to express deontic modality:

Epistemic modality:

(a) *Ba gotša mollô, gore* ***ba rakê dibata***
'They make a fire in order to chase predators away'

Deontic modality:

(b) *O tlogê!*
'You must leave!'

(c) *Tšea tšhêlêtê, o yê tôrôpông, o rêkê dijô!*
'Take money, go to town, and buy food!'

The subjunctive form of the verb may appear after the so-called hortative particles, where it is used to express deontic modality. The modal status of the hortative is considered in the following section.

While some Bantuists believe that various tenses can be distinguished for the subjunctive (e.g. a present, a future and a narrative tense, cf. Franz, 1931 and Ziervogel et al., 1969b), others such as Lombard (1985) have based their sub-classification of the subjunctive with the consecutive and habitual on the very fact that these moods do not distinguish tenses. The differences of opinion are evidently the result of different interpretations of "tense" in its application to the Bantu languages.

7.2.2.4 *The hortative*

Indirect commands and requests which are issued to evoke an action from the first or second person are expressed by the subjunctive clause preceded by **a (ga)** or **a nkê/ankê (akê)**. The latter have been termed cohortative particles, exhortative particles, hortative prefixes, etc. These forms of the verb are traditionally described as hortatives and opinions as to their modal status or position within the modal system have been varied: In Endemann (1876b) and Beyer (1920) the hortative (or 'optative') is treated as one mood with the imperative. Others have classified the hortative (or 'optative') as an independent mood, e.g. Franz (1931), Schwellnus (1931), Endemann (1939a), Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1967) and Nokaneng (1976). In yet other classifications, the hortative is described as a verb in the subjunctive mood (e.g. Ziervogel et al., 1969b; Lombard, 1985). From a pragmatic viewpoint, Louwrens (1991a) believes that the hortative is one of at least three possible sub-categories of the verb (the other two being the imperative and subjunctive), which fall within the domain of deontic modality. The form introduced by **a** expresses an indirect command, while **a nkê** indicates a polite command, i.e. a request.

7.2.2.5 *The consecutive*

The consecutive is used to mark events which occur in chronological order. These events take place over a certain period, which is probably why the consecutive has been regarded as a tense form for the greater part of its descriptional history. It seems as though the consecutive was for the first time accorded proper modal status in Northern Sotho through the influence of Van Wyk. Basing his modal system on the framework of mutual inclusion and exclusion, Van Wyk (1981) was led to conclude that the consecutive qualified as a (dependent) mood. Lombard (1985), whose grammar was cast in the mould of Van Wyk's approach, was of the same opinion. Recent research, however, seems to favour the original standpoint, namely that the consecutive should be valued as a tense form. This was a conclusion which Van Wyk (1986) arrived at in the light of evidence provided by a so-called alternative relative. More consideration will be given to this alternative relative as well as to the consecutive as a tense form in par. 7.3.4 under TENSES.

7.2.2.6 *The habitual*

The habitual does not feature as regularly as other verbal categories in Northern Sotho grammars. Only isolated references to the habitual can be found up to the structural period. The habitual has in the past been classified as a tense or as a mood. Schwellnus (1931) had treated it as a habitual present tense, e.g. *ke e dire* 'I do it usually' as did also Mojapelo (1967). Franz (1931) had described it as the "gewoonte-vorm", where "vorm" presumably denotes 'mood'. Ziervogel (in Ziervogel et al., 1969b) recognised the habitual as a mood, but had not done so in some of his earlier works (e.g. 1949, 1953). Subsequent scholars have classified the habitual as a dependent, basic mood (cf. Van Wyk, 1981), or as a dependent, predicative mood which does not distinguish tenses (cf. Lombard, 1985). Mampuru (1991) observed that the habitual can, under certain conditions, be used in the main clause of a sentence. As a result she concluded that the habitual is a dependent category only in a semantic sense and not, as existing literature suggests, in a syntactic sense. Within Louwrens' (1990) classification the habitual is a mood, since it is able to express epistemic modality.

7.2.2.7 *The infinitive*

The infinitive (*inter alia* described as the "onbepaalde wyse" in some Afrikaans medium grammars) has generally been regarded as a mood. It is marked by a class prefix and lacks a regular subject concord. The latter feature it shares with the imperative, which has resulted in these two moods being classified together as non-predicative moods by Van Wyk (1981) and Lombard (1985). The infinitive and the imperative distinguish themselves from other moods in that they also display characteristics of other word categories: The infinitive may act as a noun (cf. Lombard, 1969:30 and Van Wyk, 1973), whereas the imperative has characteristics of interjections.

In a recent publication by Louwrens (1990) the modal status of the infinitive has been challenged. It was suggested that the infinitive was in fact not a mood, because it could not express either epistemic or deontic modality.

7.2.2.8 *The imperative*

The imperative has featured regularly as a mood in Northern Sotho grammars since the traditional period. It has been closely associated with the hortative with which it has sometimes been classified as one mood. According to Van Wyk (1981) and Lombard (1985), however, hortatives are excluded from the imperative paradigm, because they display subject concords in contrast to imperatives. The semantic characteristics of verbs in the imperative and subjunctive moods were brought into focus in a Masters dissertation by Louwrens in 1971.

Whereas Van Wyk (op. cit.) and Lombard (op. cit.) had classified the imperative together with the infinitive on structural grounds as a non-predicative mood, Louwrens classified the imperative together with second person forms of the subjunctive as well as hortative forms on semantic-pragmatic grounds as belonging to the deontic modality type.

7.3 TENSES

The researcher is confronted with a kaleidoscope of examples when investigating the treatment of so-called tenses in Northern Sotho. Tenses are so merged with aspects and implications that what one researcher may have classified as a tense, may be regarded as an aspect by another and vice versa. One and the same researcher may even in the course of his career find it necessary in the light of new insights to adapt his terminology and sub-categorisations. Van Wyk (1981), for example, had been of the opinion that only two basic tenses could be identified for Northern Sotho, i.e. the imperfect and perfect tenses. These respectively had to do with the non-completeness and the completeness of events or actions. In a later publication, he amended his standpoint by regarding the completeness or non-completeness as expressing aspects instead of tenses (Van Wyk, 1987a). At the same time he also regarded the use of the notion 'implications' more appropriate to refer to certain secondary verb forms which he had formerly termed 'aspects'. More recently Van Wyk (1991) expressed the opinion that the sub-category 'tense' might not be applicable to Northern Sotho. In his system of verb categories presented at a regional seminar of the African Languages Association of Southern Africa, tense does not feature at all as a sub-category (op. cit.).

The discrepancies between the classifications of tenses can be ascribed to various factors. The universalistic approach, for example, was bound to hamper an objective assessment of tense categories in the Bantu languages. Many scholars based their interpretation of tense on their experience of logical time, not drawing a clear distinction between tense as a grammatical category and time as an extralinguistic reality. The three basic tenses which were therefore often recognised, were the past, present and future tenses. These approaches did not take into account the fact that logical time was not necessarily reflected in corresponding linguistic structures. Examples which are well-known by now include the so-called present tense, which may express logical past, logical present and logical future time:

Past:	*ke mmône a eja*	'I saw him eating'
Present:	*ke mmôna a eja*	'I see him eating'
Future:	*ke tlô mmôna a eja*	'I will see him eating'

Differences in time-expressions are therefore not necessarily marked inflectionally in the verb. Doke's (1935:209) definition, therefore, according to which tense refers to the modification of verbal forms to express distinctions of time, is misleading. The essential characteristic of the

category of tense according to Lyons (1968:305) is that:

> "it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being 'now'). Tense is therefore a *deictic* category ...." (Emphasis - Lyons).

In his attempt to find equivalents for the many tense distinctions encountered in German, Endemann (1876b) believed that up to as many as 37 different tenses existed in Northern Sotho. These included simple tenses as well as compound and double compound tenses expressed by means of auxiliary verb constructions. Other grammarians have restricted their tenses to basic tenses from which all the others may be derived, e.g. Franz (1931), Nchabeleng (1975) and Nokaneng (1976): present, past and future tense; Ziervogel (1953): simple present tense, perfect past tense and narrative tense; Lombard (1985): imperfect, perfect and future tense.

Space does not allow for a detailed discussion of each of the different "tenses" which are believed by various authors to apply to Northern Sotho, but a few tenses have been selected for critical evaluation:

7.3.1 THE IMPERFECT TENSE

Grammarians like Endemann (1876b), Beyer (1920) and Ziervogel (1953) recognised two imperfect tenses based on examples such as the following:

Short imperfect tense:	*Monna o ya gaê* 'The man is going home'
Long imperfect tense:	*Monna o a ya* 'The man is going'

The distinction was based on semantic differences which they believed could be associated with these forms. The simple or short present tense was associated with habitual actions, while the long form was said to emphasise actions or to express actions which were in progress at the moment of speaking. As indicated by Kosch (1985) the use of the short or long form had nothing to do with tense. Based on discourse-pragmatic considerations the formative -a- was shown to be a marker of communicative units. Its inclusion in the verb indicated that objects, subjects or adjuncts following the verb were known or old information

and therefore fell outside the scope of the actual sentence. Former references to **-a-** as a 'present particle' or 'present tense morpheme' were thus misleading, since this formative is not a marker of the present tense, although it is restricted to the domain of the present tense (cf. also Louwrens, 1991b).

7.3.2 THE PERFECT TENSE

The perfect tense, characterised by the suffix *-ilê* (or one of its alternants), is the second of the two basic tenses recognised for Bantu by Van Wyk (1981). Based on semantic considerations two perfect forms have generally been identified, i.e. forms which indicate completed actions (e.g. *ba fihlilê maabane* 'they arrived yesterday') and forms which indicate a state or condition (e.g. *di hwilê* 'they have died, i.e. they are dead'). Traditional grammarians failed to indicate that the completed or stative interpretations attached to perfect forms were actually dictated by the context of the utterance, cf.

Completion:	*Ba ilê kêrêkêng maabane* 'They went to church yesterday' (i.e. completed action)
Stative meaning:	*Baêng ba ilê* 'The guests have gone' (i.e. they are in a state of being away as a result of having left)

A common misconception among Bantuists was that the categories 'imperfect' and 'perfect' were equivalent respectively to present and past time. Van Wyk's (1981) classification whereby the imperfect and perfect were regarded as the two basic tenses, was by no means final. In a later publication Van Wyk (1987a) suggested that the term 'aspect' would in fact be more appropriate to refer to these two "tenses".

7.3.3 THE FUTURE TENSE

Endemann (1876b:78) had recognised that the so-called future tense was composed of an auxiliary verb followed by a verb in the infinitive. Although the "future tense" was therefore not expressed by a single verb, Endemann nevertheless categorised it as a simple tense form together with the past and present tenses. Traditional grammarians tended to recognise tenses according to their time references only, ignoring the individual structural means

whereby these distinctions were brought about.

Ponelis (1975), applying the principles of grammaticalisation and rank-shifting, indicated that the verb stem *-tla* 'come' acquired the categorial value "future tense" as a result of its transition from a lexical item to a grammatical item (cf. also par. 7.4.1). Since the future tense is not expressed in the conventional way through formal changes in individual verbs, Van Wyk suggested that the terms "aspect" (1981) or "implication" (1987a) be used instead of "tense", when dealing with references to future time in Northern Sotho.

7.3.4 THE CONSECUTIVE AS A TENSE FORM

As mentioned earlier, Endemann (1876b) had included the consecutive (which he labelled 'participial') as a tense form under the paradigm of the indicative. Beyer (1920) referred to it as the 'historical aorist', while Schwellnus (1931) and Endemann (1939a) also regarded it as a tense form, i.e. 'historical tense/consecutive tense'. To Grobbelaar (1952) and Ziervogel (1949, 1953) the consecutive constituted a narrative tense form. In a later work, Ziervogel (in Ziervogel et al., 1969b) held the opinion that the consecutive tense should be classified as the past tense of the subjunctive. This classification has, however, been questioned in the light of the fact that the consecutive is basically neutral with respect to time (although it is associated with past time in context-free applications). It may refer to past, present and future time, depending on the temporal context created by the verb in the main clause:

Past:	*O tsogilê* ***a tloga***	'He got up and **left**'
Present:	*A ka tsoga* ***a tloga***	'He may get up and **leave**'
Future:	*O tlô tsoga* ***a tloga***	'He will get up and **leave**'

The 'discovery' of an alternative relative in Northern Sotho, which incidentally had already been noticed by Kock in 1981, forced Van Wyk (1986) to re-evaluate his categorisation of the consecutive as a mood. In non-relative clauses (cf. examples above) the time attached to the consecutive is determined by the tense of preceding actions. The alternative relative, however, selects the past tense without a preceding verb, a feature which it shares with consecutive verbs in context-free applications, e.g.

Alternative relative: *Lesogana lê la go tloga*
'The young man who left'

Consecutive: *Lesogana la tloga*
'The young man left'

Structurally the alternative relative is derived from a deficient verb group which has undergone rank-shifting towards a single verb. Details of the possible evolvement of the alternative relative appear in Van Wyk (1986) and will not be dealt with here. Its similarity with the consecutive lies in the employment of the same subject concords. Semantically it corresponds with the consecutive in that it is also used to refer to an action which takes place among other things, i.e. actions which follow in sequence. The alternative relative is therefore a true consecutive relative. It seems, therefore, that the relative and the consecutive are not mutually exclusive. Van Wyk's previous assumption that both the relative and consecutive were moods and therefore mutually exclusive, were refuted by this new evidence. The only solution was to recognise the consecutive as a tense form, which in turn would justify its inclusion in the alternative relative as a mood, since tenses and moods are mutually inclusive. A logical conclusion which Van Wyk draws is that if there is a consecutive relative, there should also be a consecutive indicative or a consecutive situative. The categorisation of the consecutive has been and still is a controversial issue.

7.3.5 THE PARTICIPIAL AS A TENSE FORM

Traditionally inspired Northern Sotho grammars generally identified two types of clauses or constructions as 'participles', i.e. the situative and the verbal relative. The term 'participial' to refer to the situative only, seems to have been a later development. Of the two participles, the situative is not directly referred to as a tense form, but it is recognised as playing an important role in the construction of (compound) tenses (cf. Endemann, 1939a):

E.g. Continuous past tense: *Ke bê **ke dira***
'I **was (busy) working**'

7.3.6 THE PROGRESSIVE AS A TENSE FORM

In his table of moods and tenses for the indicative, Ziervogel (1953:82) distinguishes two progressive tenses, i.e. "voortdurende teenwoordige tyd/**sa**-teenwoordige tyd" (e.g. *re sa dira* 'we are still working') and "voortdurende toekomende tyd" (e.g. *re sa tlô dira* 'we shall still work'). The same paradigm of tenses also appears in later works (e.g. Ziervogel et al., 1969b; Ziervogel & Mokgokong, 1975), with the specific nature of **sa**-, however, being acknowledged as an aspectual one, cf.

> "A progressive tense form is in fact an aspect of an action, indicating an action which is in progress and not yet completed. It occurs with a present tense, a future tense and a stative only." (Ziervogel et al., 1969b:46).

In Mojapelo (1967) and Setshedi (1973) the progressive is also treated as a tense. One of the major arguments raised by Van Wyk (1981) against viewing the progressive as a tense form, was that tenses were mutually exclusive. This principle was, however, violated by the fact that the progressive could co-occur with other tenses. The progressive as a verbal sub-category will be considered in more detail in par. 7.4.3.

7.4 ASPECTS

Grammarians are not all in agreement as to what constitute aspects. Aspects have to be determined language specifically. It appears that two basic reasonings underlie the different viewpoints on aspects in Northern Sotho. These viewpoints can perhaps best be summarised as follows in the words of Lyons (1977b:705):

> (1) "The term 'aspect' is currently used by linguists as the rather unsatisfactory, but conventionally accepted, translational equivalent of the term that is employed in Russian ('vid') to refer to the opposition of perfective and imperfective in the Slavonic languages.

> (2) Usually, though not invariably, it is extended to cover a variety of other oppositions, in so far as they are grammaticalized in the structure of particular languages - oppositions based upon the notions of duration, instantaneity, frequency, initiation, completion, etc. We have tacitly adopted this relatively broad conception of aspect, according to which the opposition between the progressive and the non-progressive forms in English ..., the opposition between the simple past and the imperfect in literary French ..., the opposition between the progressive and the aorist forms in Turkish ... and comparable grammaticalized oppositions in other languages, are all legitimately classified as aspectual." (Numbering - IMK).

Both approaches are represented in Northern Sotho contributions. The particular viewpoint which is adopted, naturally calls for a re-evaluation of moods and tenses within the modal system, since these categories are all interrelated.

(1) The first approach, i.e. where aspect is vested in the opposition 'perfective:imperfective', had *inter alia* been adopted by Franz (1931) and Endemann (1966b). The former had, however, made use of the term "handeling", i.e. action, instead of 'aspect' to denote the distinction 'perfective:imperfective'. Endemann (op. cit.) voiced the possibility of the existence of a third aspect in Northern Sotho, i.e. the narrative aspect. Van Wyk (1987a) also followed approach (1), but had formerly adhered to the second approach with its broader conception (cf. Van Wyk, 1981).

(2) The second approach includes various means whereby the nature of an action may be characterised. This group is therefore essentially heterogeneous and may not be restricted to categories which have been treated as aspects up to now. Space does not permit a speculation on the possible aspectual status of dubious examples such as the iterative form of the verb (e.g. *-gataka* 'tread repeatedly') or reduplicated verb forms (e.g. *-kitikitima* 'run a little'), etc. This will have to be left to future investigations. As far as Van Wyk is concerned, only secondary verb forms which had undergone partial rank-shifting were considered to be aspects (1981). In a later re-evaluation of the sub-categories of the Northern Sotho verb, Van Wyk found it to be more appropriate to refer to these rank-shifted forms as implications (1987a) or secondary categories (1991), while the notion 'aspectual categories' was implemented for the distinction of perfective and imperfective (cf. approach (1) above). A mixture of both approaches is encountered in Nokaneng (1976), who regarded the stative perfect, the potential and the progressive forms of the verb as aspects.

Three aspects have been chosen for consideration, i.e. the future, potential and progressive. Structurally all three are deficient verb forms derived from syntactic constructions containing deficient verb stems. References to the future and the progressive aspect as tenses appear in par. 7.3.3 and 7.3.6 respectively and will not be repeated here. The potential has on occasion been described as a tense, but references to the potential as a mood have been more frequent as will be indicated in par. 7.4.2.

7.4.1 THE FUTURITIVE OR FUTURE ASPECT

Two considerations which have mainly been responsible for the exclusion of future forms from the tense paradigm (as done by e.g. Ponelis, 1975 and Van Wyk, 1981), may be summed up as follows in the words of Posthumus (1987:202):

> "Morphologically the future verb forms have developed differently from the tense forms in that they have developed from an auxiliary verb group. It is further argued that semantically the future verb forms do not really relate the time of the event, action or process to coding time, but that these forms rather indicate a possibility. The future has thus been classified as an aspect rather than a tense."

The futuritive aspect or implication is said to contain a rank-shifted auxiliary verb stem which has not yet fully developed into a prefix. Two developments are generally recognised, i.e. one in which the prefix of the complementary infinitive verb has been deleted (cf. (a) below) and the other in which the verb stem *-tla* has coalesced with the prefix *go-* of the complementary verb (cf. (b)):

		Ngwana o tla go bala puku	Lit.: 'The child comes to read a book'
>	(a)	*Ngwana o tla bala puku*	'The child will read a book'
or	(b)	*Ngwana o tlô bala puku*	

Referring to Chaphole (1988), Louwrens (1990:15) indicates that the type of modality expressed by *-tla-* or *-tlô-* in indicative verbs has been described as a 'commissive modality' "since the speaker asserts the commitment of the subject to carry out the action referred to by the verb."

7.4.2 THE POTENTIAL ASPECT

The potential has not readily been classified as a tense, while references to the potential as a mood, on the other hand, are numerous. Setshedi (1973) may be quoted as an example of the former viewpoint. He described a form such as *go ka bôna* (i.e. the potential form of the infinitive verb 'to see') as appearing in the conditional tense. References to the potential as a mood are found in e.g. Endemann (1876b); Franz (1931:64): "Voorwaardelike wys"; Schwellnus (1931:28): "Conditional mood"; Endemann (1939a:106): "Konjunktief / Conditionalis / Moontlikheidsvorm"; Ziervogel (1953:86): "Potensialis / Moontlikheidswys" and Ziervogel et al. (1969b:79): "Potential mood" (cf. also the use of "potential form", suggesting an unspecified category, op. cit.:72); Mojapelo (1967:67): "Modirišokgonego" and Grobbelaar & Schmidt (1976:93): "Potensialis / Moontlikheidsvorm / Potensiële wyse". Examples of the potential as an aspect have been few, e.g. Nokaneng (1976:111) and Van Wyk (1981:90).

The potential *-ka-* can be reconstructed as having consisted of a deficient verb stem *-ka* followed by a consecutive verb. Due to a loss of the subjectival concord of the complementary verb, *-ka-* underwent partial rank-shifting towards a prefixal morpheme, cf.

**re ka ra thôma* > *re ka thôma* 'we can/may begin'

Van Wyk (1957) supplied extensive evidence to support his assumption that the original complementary verb must have been in the consecutive.

As far as its modality is concerned, *-ka-* 'may' expresses epistemic judgement according to Palmer (1986), as indicated by Louwrens (1990:15).

7.4.3 THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

This aspect is also known as the persistive aspect. It was not assigned any specific category by Schwellnus (1931), Endemann (1939) or Ziervogel (1949), but was generally characterised as a (defective) auxiliary verb (stem). It was presented as a tense form in later classifications by Ziervogel (e.g. 1953:82; Ziervogel et al., 1969b:46). The progressive is also assumed to have developed from a syntactic construction which has undergone partial rank-shifting. Van

Wyk (1957) illustrates that the complementary verb which followed the deficient verb stem *-sa*, must have been in the situative mood, cf.

**re sa re eja* > *re sa eja* 'we are still eating'

It seems as though the process of rank-shifting in the case of the progressive has advanced further than in the case of the future and potential aspects. The distribution of the relative suffix *-go* suggests that a morpheme boundary is still sensed after the future and potential aspects. In the case of the progressive, however, the relative suffix is only allowed to occur after the complementary verb, suggesting that *-sa-* has lost its word status completely:

Future: *Mosadi yô a tlô apeago*
or *Mosadi yô a tlôgo apea*
'The woman who will cook'

Potential: *Mosadi yô a ka apeago*
or *Mosadi yô a kago apea*
'The woman who may/can cook'

Progressive: **Mosadi yô a sago apea*
Mosadi yô a sa apeago
'The woman who is still cooking'

7.5 COPULATIVES

7.5.1 BACKGROUND

Copulatives were invariably one of the first problematic issues facing the traditional grammarians who tried to expose the conjugational system of the Bantu verb. The verbs "to be" and "to have" just did not manifest any forms comparable to the paradigms in the European languages. There was no particular set of formative elements characterising the copulative category, since most of its formatives were taken over from other grammatical categories, e.g. from concords or auxiliary verbs. Since, according to Schwellnus (1931:37), *ké* and *go ba* 'to be/become' could not be "conjugated" in any meaningful way without reference to a context, he characterised these as verbs of incomplete predication.

Van Wyk (1955a:74) commented as follows on the lack of unanimity among Bantuists regarding the nature and classification of the copulative:

> "Die grootste verwarring by die studie van die kopulatief ontstaan wanneer die student trag om uit die beskikbare werke oor Noord-Sotho en ander Bantoetale vas te stel wat die kopulatief is. Dit is toe te skrywe daaraan dat elke skrywer 'n ander uitspraak daaromtrent het, en gevolglik verskillende vorme daarby insluit."

The term "copulative" has thus been interpreted and applied in different ways by various scholars. Louwrens (1991a) used it as an umbrella term to denote a construction consisting of (a) a subject (which may be deleted if assumed known), (b) a copula and (c) a non-verbal complement, e.g.

(a) *bogôbê*	(b) *bo*	(c) *monate*
(a) 'the porridge	(b) is	(c) delicious'

According to Doke's (1935:82) definition, the copulative comprises elements (b) and (c) in the example above, though he regarded these two elements as constituting one word:

> "A word which does the work of a predicative, and which is formed directly from some other part of speech by modification or prefix or concord or by some other inflexion."

Van Wyk (1955a) adopted the term "copulative" from the works of Doke, but indicated that the copula and the complement were actually two words, though the word status of the copula was not an autonomous one. Whereas the copulative had thus been classified as a part of speech by Doke, Van Wyk concluded that the copulative was rather a syntactic construction or a word group which could function like a verb and which could therefore be called a predicative.

The oldest and most archaic form of the copulative construction consisted only of the juxtaposition of elements (a) and (c) (cf. Lanham, 1953:142; Van Wyk, 1953:7; Lyons, 1968:322). This elementary construction had no intrinsic time or mood reference. The copula (i.e. element (b)) was subsequently introduced as a means whereby various shades of tense, mood, etc. could be expressed. This copula may take on a wide range of forms in various languages, which emphasises the fact that there is no universal verb "to be". In Northern

Sotho the copula may take on the form of a particle (e.g. the subject concord in the example above) or a copulative verb. The latter needed to be introduced into the language, since various semantic nuances could not be conveyed by the subject concord alone, cf.

(a) *bogôbê*	(b) *bo bê bo le*	(c) *monate*
(a) 'the porridge	(b) was	(c) delicious'

or

(a) *bogôbê bjô*	(b) *bo ka bago*	(c) *monate*
(a) 'the porridge which	(b) may be	(c) delicious'

etc.

The information available on copulatives has steadily increased in volume since Endemann first paid attention to this phenomenon. It is interesting to note that copulatives barely covered three pages in Endemann's (1876b) grammar, while over seventy pages were devoted to the discussion of non-copulative predicates! It is not the aim of this investigation to present a detailed and comprehensive exposition of all the issues relating to copulatives. Instead only some salient developments have been singled out for consideration.

7.5.2 THE NATURE OF THE COPULA

Definitions of the copula or copulative construction are practically absent in Northern Sotho grammars up to the structural period. Some sub-categorisations of copulatives had been attempted, but not in any systematized way. It was mainly through a contribution by Van Wyk (1953) that much of the prevailing confusion on this phenomenon was removed. Van Wyk (1953:8) had described the copula as:

> "enige vormelement of rededeel wat die funksie verrig om 'n komplement aan 'n onderwerp te koppel en daarmee saam die predikaat te vorm."

In essence the copula is therefore an element which links the subject with a non-verbal complement in a copulative word group. In Northern Sotho this copula can assume either the form of a particle[6] or a verb. As a particle the copula may be expressed by a subject concord or by the forms *ké* (positive) or *ga se* (negative). Except for *ké* and *ga se* which are always invariable, both the copulative particle and the copulative verb may be variable or

[6]The use of the notion 'particle' in relation inter alia to copulas, was introduced into the description of Northern Sotho grammar as a result of Van Wyk's theory on the word (1958). In previous publications Van Wyk had referred to copulative particles as 'kopulatiewe voorvoegsels' (1953) or 'sintagmeme' (1955).

invariable depending on whether they are determined by the class of the subject noun or not. A further specification of copulas is that they may be static or inchoative, i.e. dynamic-changing. Not all of these characteristics have always been recognised in Northern Sotho grammars, but were gradually introduced into the treatment of copulative constructions to yield more comprehensive and systematized descriptions. Some of the early grammarians did not make use of the terms 'copula' or 'copulative', but nevertheless discussed constructions which qualify as copulatives (e.g. Beyer, 1920; Franz, 1931; Schwellnus, 1931).

The distinction between variable and invariable copulas had been recognised by Endemann (1876b). As regards the copula as a particle, he only recognised the form *ké* and failed to identify the copulative function of subject concords. This can be deduced from his parenthetical indication of the verb "to be" which was needed in order to complete the meaning of the copulative construction (op. cit.:148). In his estimation examples such as the following thus consisted of the simple juxtaposition of a substantive (which in this case assumed the form of a subjectival concord) and a complement without any intermediate verb:

o gôna	"er (ist) da", i.e. 'he (is) there'
ke motho	"ich (bin) ein Mensch", i.e. 'I (am) a person'

Ziervogel (1949:53) had acknowledged the copulative force of subjectival concords, though he did not typify them as copulas. The only copulas which he recognised were the invariable forms *ké* and *ga se* (op. cit.:11).

7.5.3 SOME SUB-CATEGORISATIONS

Various frameworks have been designed to cover the distinctive features and peculiarities of the copulative construction. Some of these approaches, as pointed out by Van Wyk (1955b), had been based on the nature of the subject (e.g. Van Eeden, 1941), the nature of the complement (e.g. Doke in Fivaz, ed., 1982) and the copula in its invariable, non-verbal form (e.g. Ziervogel, 1953). None of these approaches, however, could render a proper account of this phenomenon in Northern Sotho. Van Wyk (1955b) consequently proposed an approach based on the semantic relationship between the subject and the complement, yielding three main types, i.e. an identifying, a descriptive and an associative copulative. Grammarians who have adhered to this threefold classification include *inter alia* Ziervogel et

al. (1969b), Nokaneng (1976), Lombard (1985), Serudu et al. (1988 - Std.10) and Louwrens (1991a). Within this system the formal differences between the copulas could also be addressed satisfactorily.

7.5.3.1 *Identifying copulative*

On semantic grounds a subject may be described as displaying an identifying relationship with its complement, if they are both presented as being semantically equal, i.e. if they both refer to the same referent, e.g.

bana ké batho 'children are people'

Structurally the identifying copulative may be recognised by its invariable copula (i.e. the particles *ké / ga se* and the classless subject concord e-), though there are exceptions to this rule, cf. par. 7.5.5.

According to Endemann (1876b:148-9) this type of copulative was characterised by a substantival predicate, in contrast to copulatives of the descriptive type, in which case the predicate was described as adverbial. The distinction between an identifying and a descriptive type of copulative had thus not escaped his attention, but he had made use of his own terminology to describe his observations, as did also other traditional grammarians until the terms 'identifying' and 'descriptive' eventually became established in Northern Sotho grammars as a result of Van Wyk's contributions in this field.

7.5.3.2 *Descriptive copulative*

The complement of a descriptive copulative describes the subject in terms of a particular quality, feature or characteristic. Structurally the descriptive copulative is marked only by variable particles and variable copulative verbs, e.g.

Copulative particle: *lešela **le** mêêtse*
'the cloth is wet'

Copulative verb: *dithipa **di tlô ba** bogale*
'the knives will be / become sharp'

For some Bantu languages grammarians have found it necessary to recognise a locative adverbial copulative as a sub-category of the descriptive type, because copulative formation from qualificatives may not be identical to copulative formation from adverbs, e.g. Lanham (1953) for Zulu. Poulos (1990:367) also identified a locational copulative as a fourth type of copulative in Venda, apart from the identifying, descriptive and associative types. Van Wyk (1955b:247), however, did not deem it necessary to distinguish four types of copulatives in Northern Sotho. Adverbial or locational copulatives are in other words subsumed under descriptive copulatives, cf.:

Copulative of description: (a) *Batswadi* (b) *ba* (c) *bohlale*
'Parents are clever'

Adverbial copulative: (a) *Batswadi* (b) *ba* (c) *sekôlông*
'The parents are at the school'

7.5.3.3 *Associative copulative*

It would appear that the associative copulative had not been recognised as a copulative type in the early periods of the grammatical description of Northern Sotho. It was described as a phenomenon on its own (e.g. Endemann, 1876b; Franz, 1931; Endemann, 1939a and Grobbelaar, 1952), or as belonging to the descriptive type (e.g. Van Wyk, 1953:68). Although Endemann (1876b) had discussed the application and meaning of the defective verb stem *-na*, it was not discussed as a copulative type. Van Wyk had initially included the associative copulatives under the notion 'qualificative copulatives' (Van Wyk, 1953). In a later publication, however, the copulative of association was distinguished as a separate type based on the specific kind of relationship which it established between the subject and the complement (Van Wyk, 1955b).

Semantically the associative copulative establishes a relationship according to which the complement is the possession (alienable or inalienable) of the subject or in the company of the subject, e.g.

kobô yêo e **na** *le mebalabala*
'that blanket has many colours'

kgômo e **na** *le namane*
'the cow is with her calf'

The analysis of the associative copulative proved to present some difficulty to the European schooled grammarians, cf.

> "Sotho het nie een enkele woord om die Afrikaans 'het' uit te druk nie. Letterlik word gesê: 'Ek is met.'" (Franz, 1931:44).
>
> "Die Mosotho het nie 'n suiwere ww. 'om te hê' nie, hy maak ook vir hierdie ww. gebruik van die ww. 'xo ba'. 'Xo ba le'; sou beteken: Om te wees met." (Endemann, 1939a:123).
>
> "Saam met **na** druk **le** 'het' uit." (Ziervogel, 1949:56).

Grobbelaar (1952:81) explained that two words, i.e. *na* and *le* were needed to express the concept "have". Since they semantically conveyed a single concept, he concluded that *na* and *le* together formed one independent verb. On a later occasion (cf. Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:80) a slightly different version is given in which *le* is referred to as a verb on its own, cf.

> "In **na le** is **le** 'n ww. wat beteken *wees* of *synde*, en word soms saamgesnoer met **na**..."

To add to the confusion, the above exposition is almost immediately followed by a statement supporting the view that *na le* is a verb in its own right, cf.

> "**Na le** is die assosiatiewe koppelww. en druk gewoonlik die Afrikaanse ww. *hê*, *het* en *besit* uit. Dit kan ook *is* uitdruk." (Grobbelaar & Schmidt, 1967:80).

Any attempts at word division were further complicated by the fact that *na* could coalesce with *le* to form *n'e*. These writers failed to recognise that *le* was not part of the copula, but the introductory element of the complement which consisted of a particle group. In the negative the associative particle *le* posed no problem, since it was generally deleted.

7.5.4 STATIC AND DYNAMIC (INCHOATIVE) COPULAS

The distinction static:dynamic has not been commented on in all Northern Sotho grammars. A static relationship is expressed by a copulative particle or verb to refer to a state of rest, an accomplished position. A dynamic or inchoative relationship, on the other hand, involves motion or change. A dynamic relationship can only be expressed by copulative verb stems (i.e. *-ba, -bê, -be* or *-bilê*), and not by copulative particles.

Grammarians such as Endemann (1911:258) and Van Wyk (1953:48) recognised the distinction which could be drawn between dynamic and static relationships in terms of the incompleteness or completeness of an action or process. The copulatives used to express these relationships were respectively identified as imperfect and perfect copulatives.

The difference between static and inchoative copulas can only be formally recognised in the ordinary imperfect tense or the progressive imperfect form of the indicative and situative moods. In other instances where no formal distinctions exist, the meaning has to be derived from the context, e.g.

Imperfect, indicative:

mokgalabjê ***ké*** *kgôši* 'the old man **is** a king', but

Future, indicative:

mokgalabjê ***e tlô ba*** *kgôši* 'the old man **will be** a king', or
'the old man **will become** a king'

7.5.5 VARIABLE AND INVARIABLE COPULAS

Both copulative particles and copulative verbs display variable and invariable forms. The invariable particles in Northern Sotho are *ké* and *ga se*, while the variable forms assume the shape of the subject concords, i.e. they are concordial particles. Of the four copulative verb stems which occur in Northern Sotho, i.e. *-ba* (*-bê, -be, -bilê*), *-le, -se* and *-na*, the former three may be variable or invariable, while the latter may only occur as a variable copula.

A sub-categorisation of copulatives in terms of the variableness or invariableness of copulas has been shown by Van Wyk (1955b) to present its share of difficulties. It failed, for instance, to recognise the relationship between, e.g.

Ké motho 'It is a person' (i.e. invariable particle as copula)

and

Kè motho 'I am a person' (i.e. variable subject concord as copula)

Semantically the two given examples express the same relationships, but their different copulas would require a separate sub-categorisation. The occurrence of a variable copula in instances which normally display an invariable copula, would also have been difficult to explain within a framework based solely on the form of the copula. Van Wyk (1953:13) suggests that a possible explanation of the alternative use of the copulas in examples such as the following may be a semantic one:

Invariable: *Baithuti e tlô ba barutiši*
'The students will be teachers' (with the emphasis on "being", i.e. a static connotation)

Variable: *Baithuti ba tlô ba barutiši*
'The students will become teachers' (with the emphasis on "becoming", i.e. a dynamic connotation)

In the case of the first and second persons the copulas are variable, since the respective subject concords are used to express the copulative of identification:

nna kè morutiši 'I am a teacher'

lena le barutiši 'You are teachers', etc.

Since the same copulas are used for the first and second persons in the descriptive copulative, no formal distinction is possible in these instances between the identifying and descriptive copulatives.

In the case of the infinitive and imperative the distinction variable:invariable is not applicable, since no subject concords occur to reflect formal differences, e.g.

Infinitive: *Go ba morutiši go boima*
'To be/become a teacher is difficult'

Imperative: *Eba mofênyi!*
'Be/become a conqueror!'

7.6 SYNOPSIS OF GRAMMATICAL SURVEY

This thesis aimed at presenting a bird's-eye view on developments in Northern Sotho linguistic circles since 1876, when Endemann produced the first authoritative grammar on this language. The analyses of various grammatical categories and phenomena hope to serve as a field guide to future investigators. This is also the intended purpose of the extensive (though not exhaustive) bibliography provided at the end of the study.

Being in essence a survey, this thesis could not pay attention - at least not in any detailed way - to each and every grammatical issue. Selected grammatical phenomena were investigated against the backdrop of four main developmental periods which can be distinguished for Northern Sotho, i.e. the traditional, functional, structural and modern periods. None of the grammatical categories have been discussed exhaustively, since this would have exceeded the aims of the study.

Certain changes with regard to methodology and grammatical categorisations which have characterised the description of Bantu grammar in general and of Northern Sotho grammar in particular since just over a century ago, have emerged during this study. Without becoming too involved in details, some of the developments which have been observed include *inter alia* the following:

(a) Trained linguists superseded the missionaries which had been responsible for the initial recording of the language.

(b) Northern Sotho had initially been studied with the view to practical implementation. In due course, however, the interest also shifted to the analysis of the language as a science.

(c) The description of linguistic phenomena became more detailed as new frameworks offered new possibilities to researchers.

(d) Each new period challenged and questioned some of the principles of preceding approaches. The deficiencies of the traditional period in particular, were scrutinized by Doke. Van Wyk later concentrated on the more subtle "sins of projection" inspired not only by the traditional approach, but also by the linguist's experience of

extralinguistic realities. "Sins of projection", as pointed out by Van Wyk (1968a:105), are a universal problem in linguistic methodology and not a weakness exclusive to the study of Bantu grammar.

(e) Certain inapplicable or inappropriate categories, distinctions and concepts inherited from the traditional framework, were either discarded or reinterpreted in a language-dependent way. Scholars who had approached phenomena based on preconceived definitions, were criticised for having distorted or obscured the linguistic facts of the language.

(f) New terminology was introduced into Bantu grammatical description, e.g. 'copulative', 'ideophone' and 'deficient verb'.

(g) From the survey it has become clear that grammatical categories are susceptible to change. Some word classes were shown to have undergone certain changes or as still being in a state of transition (e.g. the change of auxiliary verb stems into conjunctions and adverbs). Observations of changes have in certain instances induced predictions on possible future developments (e.g. the reinterpretation of enumerative and nominal relative constructions as adjectival constructions, or the eventual change of the augmentative suffix into a completely unproductive formative). Word class divisions can hardly ever be final due to the fact that language is not a static system.

(h) The four major periods which have been identified in the development of Bantu grammatical description are not to be conceived of as succeeding one another in a strict chronological order. It is not uncommon to find one or more frameworks, which are typically associated with a certain period, being implemented beyond the arbitrary boundaries of that period. As far as Northern Sotho is concerned, the traditional approach was mostly still adhered to during the Dokeian period. The latter had a greater effect on the Nguni languages, but was nevertheless an important link in the grammatical treatment of Northern Sotho in the sense that it provided Van Wyk with a starting point from which he could launch his theories on the identification and division of the Northern Sotho word.

(i) Not all phenomena are equally susceptible to investigation within the different frameworks. Due to their apparent lack of intricacy, some linguistic structures have not readily drawn the interest of grammarians. It is interesting to note that Fivaz, writing at the beginning of the modern period, did not consider the paradigm within which Bantuists were working at the time, a very exciting one. Proof thereof, according to Fivaz (1974), was the non-existence among South African Bantuists of a professional society. Since then, however, the African Languages Association of Southern Africa has been founded (1979). Its vibrant membership as well as the numerous scholarly contributions which have appeared in the Association's journal, reveal the keen interest which exists both locally and abroad in Bantu grammatical research.

The changes which have been observed in the course of time regarding the interpretation and approach of linguistic categories, have underscored the fact that

> "... **controversy is the breath of science** and when we all agree it will be only because our science is dead." (Bach, 1965:128) (Emphasis - IMK).

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