

SEMANTIC CHANGES ACCOMPANYING LOAN-WORDS IN THE NORTHERN SOTHO
LEXICON.

By

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
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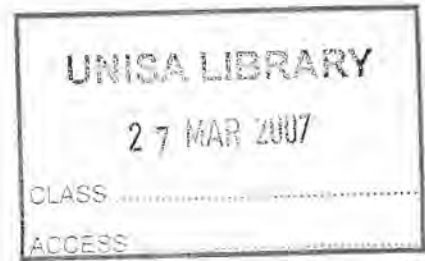
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DECLARATION:

"I declare that:

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is my own work, that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.



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SUMMARY

The loan-word may either have a restricted meaning or meaning extension when adopted in the vocabulary of Northern Sotho. Sometimes the loan lexical items undergo radical changes in meaning when compared with their counterparts in their source language.

In chapter one, the basic concepts of semantics, such as metaphor, hyponymy, homonymy, polysemy, sense, referent and reference, are defined. Meaning restriction is discussed in detail in chapter two. This restriction is found where the lexical item has lost one or more of its meanings when adopted in the vocabulary of Northern Sotho, e.g.: terômo from Afrikaans drom 'drum'. Chapter three deals with meaning extension of loan words. In this case the meaning of the Northern Sotho loan-word is more general than its counterpart in the language of origin, e.g.: namonêiti 'lemonade' for all types of cold drinks. Radical meaning shift is discussed in chapter four. This includes those loan-words whose referents are completely different from those of their counterparts in a foreign language, as well as those which have changed from one word category to another. Chapter five deals with the summary and conclusion.

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1.1. OBJECTIVES OF THIS DISSERTATION

The main objective of this dissertation is to analyse the semantic changes occurring in the meaning of loan words when they are incorporated into the vocabulary of Northern Sotho. In this chapter the various terms to be applied in the dissertation are defined. These include the following: semantics, semantic change, meaning, sense, reference, loan and foreign words, metaphor, euphemism, hyperbole, polysemy, ambiguity and hyponymy.

Two types of borrowing are discussed in this chapter, namely, direct and indirect borrowing. Direct borrowing includes loan words, e.g. sekerētē ('cigarette'), and foreign words, e.g. sista ('sister') and video ('video'). Indirect borrowing is concerned with instances where only the meaning of the word is borrowed, e.g. sealoga ('university graduate'). The discussion on borrowing enables one to identify the changes which occur in the meaning of loan words when they come to be applied in the Northern Sotho semantic system.

The change in meaning which occurs in loan words includes narrowing, extension and a radical change of the meaning of the word. The loan word will either have a more specific or restricted meaning when compared with the meaning it has in the original language, or it will have an extended meaning, e.g. anti ('aunt') which in Northern Sotho refers to 'father's sister' as well as any old lady working as a domestic servant or doing unskilled work. Sometimes the meaning of the word differs radically from what it previously referred to in the original language. In Northern Sotho all kinds of plastic bags are today widely known as tshakase from the name of the chain of supermarkets 'Checkers'. In some cases the word category to which the lexical item originally belonged

changes completely. e.g. pholaka which is an object referring to the condition where a person is a bit drunk, while the English word 'pluck' is a verb with completely different meaning from pholaka ('pluck') e.g.:

N.S. : Ke tla mo tse^vela pholaka

LIT. : 'I will take a pluck for him'

MEANING : 'I will drink a bit of liquor so as to get courage to face him'

These and other aspects will be investigated in this dissertation.

1.2. RESEARCH METHODS

As a result of the lack of sufficient theoretical sources dealing with this topic in Northern Sotho in particular, theories which were developed for foreign languages - English, German and Dutch in particular - will be applied to Northern Sotho. Beside formal references, several Northern Sotho magazines and publications were used as sources in this thesis. Northern Sotho novels and plays also played a major role as sources in the collection of loan words.

Furthermore, material has also been collected from radio and television broadcasts. Some of the words were collected during gatherings and other social occasions as well as from speakers of various dialects of Northern Sotho. For the theoretical background of this research, a thorough study of those works on semantics listed in the bibliography has been carried out, especially those dealing with loan words and semantic shifts.

1.3. DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

1.3.1. SEMANTICS

The term 'semantics', in its widest sense, is defined by various linguists such as Litowitz (1975:2-36) and Lyons (1968:400)

as the study of meaning. Watson (1976:1012) defines semantics as:

"...the branch of linguistic science which deals with the meanings of words and especially with development and change in these meanings."

With regard to this term, Lyons (1968:400) comments as follows:

"Semantics may be defined, initially and provisionally, as the study of meanings. The term 'semantics' is of relatively recent origin, being coined in the late nineteenth century from a Greek verb meaning 'to signify'."

1.3.2. MEANING

Controversial definitions have been given by linguists, philosophers and psychologists concerning the linguistic term 'meaning'. Convincing definitions were given by linguists such as Leech (1983:9-19), Weinreich (1980:32), Allan (1986:77), Lyons (1977:1-5), Stern (1931:35), Dillon (1977:3-4), Robins (1987:14-18) and Litowitz (1975:2-33). The term 'meaning' can only be understood when exposed to a wide and general definition due to the fact that it covers a variety of aspects of language (Palmer, 1976:1). Katz (1972:3-4) states his views as follows regarding the question: What is meaning?:

"It is not a question like "What is the capital of France?" "When did Einstein retire?" "Where is Tasmania?" because it is not merely a request for an isolated fact, a request which can be answered simply and directly. Rather, it is a theoretical question like "What is matter?" "What is electricity?" "What is light?"

Leech (1983:9-23) suggests that meaning, in its widest sense, should be

divided into seven different meaning types which he calls conceptual meaning, connotative meaning, social meaning, affective meaning, reflected meaning, collocative meaning, and thematic meaning. Leech regards conceptual meaning as the basic meaning of any linguistic expression (Louwrens, 1988:89). Louwrens (1988:89) comments as follows in this regard:

"The main reason why he assigns priority to conceptual meaning lies in the fact that it can be defined in terms of a finite set of binary contrastive semantic components according to the method of componential analysis."

The conceptual meaning of the loan word in Northern Sotho sometimes differs from that of its counterpart in the language from which it originates, as is exemplified in the following definition of 'teacher' and thitshêrê:

<u>teacher</u>	:	+ human	± male	+ adult
<u>thitshêrê</u>	:	+ human	+ male	+ adult

The English term 'teacher' obviously refers to either a male or female human adult whose work is to teach, while the borrowed lexical item thitshêrê refers only to a male teacher. The adoption of this word thus results in the restriction of its meaning.

Leech (1983:12) defines connotative meaning as:

"The communicative value an expression has by virtue of what it refers to, over and above its purely conceptual content."

Connotation, according to Leech (1983:12), pertains to the 'real world' experience one associates with an expression when one uses or hears it. When defining the word thitshêrê ('teacher'), one will, apart from its conceptual meaning, include the variety of connotations which one personally associates with the concept thitshêrê, e.g. always handsome, a

respected man, always wearing a jacket and tie, etc.

With regard to social meaning, Leech (1983:14) says:

"Social meaning is that which a piece of language conveys about the social circumstances of its use. In part we 'decode' the social meaning of a text through our recognition of different dimensions and levels of style within the same language."

The social meaning of words reveals variations according to dialect, e.g. sehlare ('tree'), which is a standard Northern Sotho lexical item, as against more which is used in inter alia the Lobedu dialect. The social meaning also reveals variations according to time, province, status, style and the like.

Leech (1983:15) defines affective meaning as follows:

"Language reflects the personal feelings of the speaker, including his attitude to the listener, or his attitude to something he is talking about."

So for example, the Sotho word mosatsana may denote diminution, affection or derogation, depending on the speaker's attitude towards the referent and the context of the discourse, e.g.:

Ke mosatsana wa mahlahla (diminution)

'She is an active young lady'

Ke mosatsana wa go ratêga (affection)

'She is a lovely lady'

Ke mosatsana wa pelompe (derogation)

'She is a cruel, worthless woman'

Affective meaning is also observed in instances where ideophones are used to express notions which are normally carried by other word categories, e.g.

Legapu l^é monate

Legapu le re tsw^é

'The watermelon is nice'

Reflected meaning, in Leech's views (1983:16), is the meaning which arises in case of multiple conceptual meaning when one sense of a word forms part of our response to another sense. Reflected meaning is observed in most cases in words which have a 'taboo meaning'. For example the lexical item l^éipara ('labour') also means 'give birth', and as such the loan lexical item b^ér^éka, from Afrikaans 'werk', is preferred to the former.

According to Leech (1983:17) collocative meaning is:

"The associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment."

As examples, the lexical items -n^óna ('fat'), -tswala ('give birth'), -fula ('graze') are associated with animals, while the following lexical items referring to the same actions are associated with human beings -akola, -b^él^éga, -ja .

The final category of meaning distinguished by Leech (1983:19) is called thematic meaning. This meaning pertains to :

"What is communicated by the way in which a speaker or writer organises the message, in terms of ordering , focus and emphasis." (1983:19).

For example, sentences may have the same conceptual content, but differ in their word-order, thereby suggesting a difference in their thematic meaning, as evident in the following active and passive sentences:

Maite o gamilê dikgômo maabane

'Maite milked the cows yesterday'

Dikgômo di gamilwê ke Maite maabane

'The cows were milked by Maite yesterday'

Certainly, these two sentences have different communicative values in that they suggest different contexts.

1.3.3. SEMANTIC CHANGE

Semantic change, which may also be referred to as 'change of meaning' or 'change of sense', is defined by Stern (1931:163) as:

"The habitual modification among a comparatively large number of speakers, of the traditional semantic range of the word, which results from the use of the word to denote one or more referents, which it has not previously denoted."

King (1974:73) defines semantic change as follows:

"Semantic change involves primarily the addition of new semantic units."

King's definition is obviously not sufficient, because semantic change does not only involve the addition of new semantic units, but also the loss of semantic units as is observed in the restriction of lexical items.

He goes on to say (1974:73):

"Apart from the borrowing of concepts and their symbolizations from

other languages and the conscious symbolization of new concepts, virtually all new concepts are symbolized by appropriating the symbolizations of already existing semantic units. These symbolizations thus acquire new meanings which coexist with the old ones or drive them out."

This definition of semantic change by King is in line with Chafe's (1970:40-50) hypothesis. Chafe refers to this process of semantic change as 'idiomaticization'. Stern (1931:163-168) divides sense change into seven classes i.e. substitutions; analogy, shortening, nomination, transfer, permutation and adequation.

Stern (1931:166) defines substitution as:

"Sense changes due to external, non-linguistic causes. The word 'ship', at present, may have meanings that were unknown at a time when steam-ships, motorships, airships, etc., were not yet invented."

Most Northern Sotho lexical items today designate concepts to which they originally did not refer. e.g. pitša ('clay pot'), which today designates all types of pots as well as the traditional container used to preserve traditional beer.

With regard to shortening, Stern (1931:167) is of the opinion that, whenever a word is omitted from a compound expression, the remaining words have to carry the total meaning that formerly belonged to the whole expression, e.g. anti wa go tliling is shortened to anti ('cleaning' aunt') which is also used to refer to a domestic servant' (especially a cleaning labourer) even though the word is shortened as if it only refers to 'father's or mother's sister'. e.g.:

N.S. : Anti o fihlilê maabane

ENG. : 'My aunt arrived yesterday'

N.S. : Ke anti môla sepêtlêlêng sêla.

ENG. : 'She is a cleaning labourer in that hospital' (referring to women).
Shortening is also observed in the use of proverbs. The shortened proverb carries the meaning of the full expression e.g:

PROVERB : Kgomo e swarwa ka lenaka, motho o swarwa ka leleme

LIT. : 'A beast is caught by the horn, a person is caught by the tongue'

MEANING : 'A person is usually recognised by his speech, or when he is being interviewed' (unshortened expression).

SHORTENED : Motho o swarwa ka leleme

Regarding transfer Stern (1931:168) says:

"The condition of the transfer is the speakers' perception of the similarity, on which he bases a transfer of the name from one referent to the other."

Metaphor plays an important role in this type of meaning shift, e.g. kolobe ('pig') referring to a fat person.

With regard to nomination, Stern (1931:168) says they are transfers in which a name is intentionally transferred from one referent to another, e.g. sealoga which is used to refer to a young man or a young lady graduating from a initiation school is today used to refer to someone graduating from a college or a university.

Adequation is an adaptation of the meaning to the actual characteristics of the referents which the word is employed to denote, and the cause of the shift lies in the subjective apprehension of the speakers (Stern, 1931:168), e.g. phala ('impala') which is also used to refer to a horn used as musical instrument, whether it is a horn of an impala or any

instrument resembling a horn.

Stern's seven classes of sense change will play a major role in this dissertation, especially due to the applicability of 'substitution', 'transfer', 'shortening', 'nomination' and 'adequation' to the semantic changes occurring in the borrowed lexical items in Northern Sotho.

1.3.4. SENSE

Unlike reference which has got to do with relationship between a linguistic expression and that to which it refers, sense is defined by Hurford and Heasley (1983:30) as follows:

"The sense of an expression is an abstraction, but it is helpful to note that it is an abstraction that can be entertained in the mind of a language user. When a person understands fully what is said to him, it is reasonable to say that he grasps the sense of the expression he hears."

For example, if a person understands the sentence: go ôpa kgômo lenaka ('to tell the truth') it means he grasps the sense of this idiom, which idiomatically gives a different sense from its literal one, i.e. 'to hit the beast on the horn'.

Leech (1983:9) regards the sense of a linguistic utterance as the 'conceptual meaning' of such an utterance (Louwrens, 1988:89). According to Leech (1983:23), conceptual meaning, which is sometimes also referred to as 'cognitive' or 'denotative' meaning, is the basic meaning of a linguistic expression, and is that meaning of an utterance which can be defined in terms of binary contrastive features according to the method known as 'componential analysis', e.g. monna ('man') can be defined as:

+human +adult +male (Louwrens, 1988:89).

According to Lyons (1968:428), what we refer to as the sense of a lexical item is the whole set of sense-relations which it contracts with other items in the vocabulary, e.g. selépé se rémilé ('the axe has chopped' or 'the convict is sentenced'), which is an example of polysemous sense.

1.3.5. REFERENT AND REFERENCE

There is a general agreement among semanticists with regard to their definition of the abovementioned concepts. Stern (1931:31) defines referent as:

"that which is denoted by a word; that to which a word and meaning refer."

The referent according to Stern (1931:31) can be anything capable of being made the topic of formulated thought and speech, and it may be concrete or abstract, actually existing or imaginary.

His definition is in line with that given by Ogden and Richards (1923:44). According to them, the referent is whatever we may be thinking of or referring to.

Lyons' (1968:404) definition of reference gives us a clear distinction between referent and reference. He says:

"The term 'reference' was introduced earlier for the relationship which holds between words and things, events, actions and qualities they 'stand for'.Under certain circumstances, the question 'what is the meaning of the word?', can be answered by means of 'ostensive' definition - by pointing to, or otherwise indicating, the referent (or referents) of the word."

According to this definition, it is clear that the relationship which holds between words and things (their referents) is the relationship of reference. Hurford and Heasley (1983:26) seem to agree with Lyons on this definition. Their definition of reference is summarised as follows (1983:26):

".....reference is a relationship between parts of a language and things outside the language (in the world)."

1.4. BORROWING

Loan words originate as a result of borrowing, and as such, it is important to be discussed in short, to show how it affects the theme of this dissertation.

When people of varied cultures come into contact, they have many things to share and these result in the process of foreign acquisitions and an extensive increase in vocabulary. An increase in vocabulary is at the same time accompanied by an increase, and also by changes and shifts, in meaning. This is usually a symbiotic process whereby both languages gain. As Giglioli (1975:223) puts it:

"Whenever two or more speech communities maintain a prolonged contact within a broad field of communication, there are cross-currents of diffusion."

These 'cross-currents of diffusion' presuppose that a language is a dynamic system. Northern Sotho, like most African languages, is to a large extent influenced by the two official languages of our country, i.e. English and Afrikaans. Most of the loan words in Northern Sotho are derived from these

two languages, and to a lesser extent from its neighbouring African languages such as Tsonga, Ndebele, Zulu, Venda and other Sotho languages. These cultural interactions lead to borrowing. Mackey and Ornstein (1980:277) say this about borrowing:

"For various reasons different cultures come in contact with each other and interact. The conditions and results of such interaction are often studied and discussed in terms of culture diffusion, acculturation, culture exchange or culture learning."

They go on to say (1980:277):

".....the names of new things and new concepts may be directly borrowed or they may be translated into the language of a borrowing culture."

This borrowing, direct or indirect, leads to a shift or change in the meaning of some of the borrowed lexical items. Regarding semantic shift of loan words, Hockett (1958:408) comments as follows:

"The acquisition of a loan word constitutes in itself lexical change, and probably we should say that it constitutes or entails a semantic change."

1.5 TYPES OF BORROWING

1.5.1. DIRECT BORROWING

With this type of borrowing, words are borrowed from foreign languages and are incorporated into the linguistic system of Northern Sotho. Mackey and Ornstein's opinions (1980:285) in this regard are as follows:

"When words are borrowed by one language from another, they are subjected to the phonological rules of the language that borrows."

The words which are directly borrowed from foreign languages can further be classified into loan words and foreign words.

1.5.1.1. LOAN WORDS

A loan word is one which has been taken up in the linguistic system of the borrowing language in such a way that it has become part and parcel of the borrowing language. In this regard, Hockett (1958:408) says:

"The borrower may adopt the donor's word along with the object or practice; the new form in the borrower's speech is then a loan word."

The loan words in Northern Sotho conform to the linguistic system of Northern Sotho. This embraces all the phonological, syntactic, semantic, and the tonological adaptations of the loan words, e.g. morphological adaptation:

ORIGINAL WORD	LOAN WORD
<u>ENG.</u> school	<u>N.S.</u> <u>sekó1ó</u>
<u>ENG.</u> speaker	<u>N.S.</u> <u>sepikara</u>
<u>ENG.</u> copper	<u>N.S.</u> <u>kópró</u>

For instance, if the word spyker is borrowed from Afrikaans, it is supplied with a class prefix se- in N.S., i.e. sepikiri. The loan word conforms to this morphological adaptation as is exemplified above. The loan word, once

incorporated into Northern Sotho, becomes part and parcel of this language, as is stated by Mackey and Ornstein (1980:291):

"A loan word is not only historically and etymologically foreign, but psychologically it is as indigenous as any other word once it is commonly used."

They refer to the complete incorporation of a lexical item into the borrowing language as naturalisation. According to Mackey and Ornstein (1980:287), the more frequently a loan word is used, the faster it becomes 'naturalised'. Sometimes a loan word is used together with a coined word to express or refer to the same concept or object, as is exemplified below:

LOAN WORDS	ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND WORD	COINED WORD
<u>m^heyara</u>	ENG. 'mayor'	<u>ramotse</u>
<u>mm^hot^vshare</u>	ENG. 'mortuary'	<u>bodulabahu</u>
<u>mm^hot^oro^o</u>	AFR. 'motor'	<u>sefatanaga</u>

Mackey and Ornstein (1980:285) say this concerning the synonymic application of a loan lexical item and a coined lexical item:

"When a foreign word is introduced as a possible loan word together with its newly coined equivalent in the borrowing language, the shorter of the two is usually adopted."

Speakers of Northern Sotho prefer to use the loan word, m^heyara, for 'mayor' and mm^hot^vshare, for 'mortuary' in everyday speech rather than the coined words - ramotse or bodulabahu.

Hockett (1958:411) distinguishes three types of 'loans' (as he prefers to call them), i.e. loan words, loanblends and loanshifts. He regards 'loan words' as those words which are acquired and adopted with their cultural meaning. Thus they are words which are adopted 'along with the object and practice', e.g.:

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE	SOURCE WORD	LOAN WORD	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
Afrikaans	'roes'	<u>rusa</u>	'rust'
Afrikaans	'laken'	<u>lhlakane</u>	'sheet'
Zulu	'shayisa'	<u>tshaisa</u>	'knock off from work'
Afrikaans	'kalkoen'	<u>lekalakuné</u>	'turkey'

Hockett (1958:412) regards 'loanblends' as adoptives that are blended with an emotive value. He says:

"The borrower imports part of the model and replaces part by something already in his own language."

For example, the compound word kgômobolékana ('condensed milk') is made up of the Sotho word kgômo, which is associated with milk, and the loan bolékana which is an adaptation of Afrikaans blik. The other example is modulasetulô ('chairman'), where the Northern Sotho form modula-, is used together with the loan word setulô, from the Afrikaans 'stoel'.

The last type of Hockett's (1958:413) 'loans' is loanshifts. According to him, loanshifts are adopted with either a broadened, narrowed or

a total shifted meaning, e.g. sokwa ('sixpence'). The loan word sokwa basically refers to the English coin 'sixpence', but the word today refers, also, to the 'five cents' coin.

1.5.1.2. FOREIGN WORDS

Foreign words are borrowed lexical items which are used by the borrowing language with either a partial adaptation or totally unadapted.

This means that we have two types of foreign words in Northern Sotho, i.e. those lexical items which are taken over without any adaptation, e.g.

ENG. video : N.S. vide^o

ENG. radio : N.S. radi^o

There are also words which are only partially adapted. These words still show foreign elements in their structure after adaptation, such as instances where more than one consonant are juxtaposed, or appear within one syllable, e.g.

ENG. priest : N.S. moprista

ENG. step : N.S. st^episi

ENG. gram : N.S. kr^em^e

ENG. electricity : N.S. l^ekt^risiti

ENG. helicopter : N.S. h^elikh^optara

Today foreign words are widely used in Northern Sotho, some of which are partially adapted, while others are completely unadapted. This seems to be due to the fact that most Africans are gradually assimilated into Western Culture and everyone is trying to pronounce foreign words as they are pronounced by the mother tongue speakers. Mackey and Ornstein

(1980:284) have the following to say in this regard:

"..it is interesting to note that borrowed words introduced by skilled workmen and used in such practical areas as cooking and dressmaking are pronounced in close approximation to their original pronunciations as compared to those introduced by intellectuals. Sometimes the same foreign words are borrowed by these two groups of people with different pronunciations."

This is usually due to the fact that most intellectuals try to be formal when speaking, and they take it to be their responsibility to purify their language, and any borrowed word should be formally incorporated in the linguistic system of the language before it is accepted as part of it. Skilled workers on the other hand are more concerned with practical work, where various foreign tools are used, and it is time-saving to call these tools exactly as they are called in their original language. Most of the Northern Sotho skilled and unskilled workers still work together with the whites and, as a result, they are compelled to get used to the original pronunciation of the words they use. Thus, while the partially adapted foreign words, such as skrudraeba ('screwdriver'), and kréidara ('grader') are commonly used among the intellectuals, skilled workers usually use the unadapted foreign words, such as shifting, for 'shifting spanner' and spaner for 'spanner'.

What should be considered with direct borrowing, which includes loan words, e.g. terómó from the Afrikaans drom ('drum'), and foreign words, e.g. moprsta ('priest'), is that when the borrowing takes place, the basic meaning of the borrowed lexical item might be retained, restricted, extended or changed completely (Mogotsi, 1987:4). This issue is investigated in greater

detail in the next chapters.

1.5.2. INDIRECT BORROWING

While direct borrowing is said to refer to the borrowing of words from foreign languages, indirect borrowing is found where a foreign or a new concept is taken over, and not the word itself. In most cases such a concept is associated with an indigenous word. This type of borrowing usually leads to the formation of polysemous words. The word which previously referred to a known concept in Northern Sotho has its meaning extended to refer, also, to the new concept which has closer affinity with the known concept. The following are examples of indirect borrowing:

ORIGINAL	CONCEPT	N.SOTHO	WORD	ASSOCIATED WITH
<u>ENG.</u>	aeroplane	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>p^héolwane</u>	'a type of bird'
<u>ENG.</u>	graduate	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>aloga</u>	'come back from initiation school'.
<u>ENG.</u>	doctor	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>ngaka</u>	'a traditional doctor or 'sangoma'
<u>ENG.</u>	medicine	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>sehlare</u>	'leaves 'or 'roots' of trees

Stern (1931:180) says the following in this regard:

"...in every 'normal' sense-change there must be a close logical affinity between the primary and secondary logical meanings, otherwise the change is not normally explicable...."

The fact that indirect borrowing causes meaning extension in the indigenous words to include the meaning of the 'borrowed' concepts also means that it

gives rise to ambiguity. In Northern Sotho there are many polysemous words which came about as a result of indirect borrowing. For example, the words sehlare and aloga can be used to refer to more than one referent, e.g.

<u>sehlare:</u>	<u>monna o nwa sehlare</u> `the man is drinking medicine'
	<u>monna o namêla sehlare</u> `the man is climbing a tree'
<u>aloga:</u>	<u>bašimane ba aloga kôma gosasa</u> `the boys graduate from the initiation school tomorrow'.
	<u>baithuti ba aloga yunibêsithi gosasa</u> `the students graduate from a university tomorrow'.

It is true that without the words namêla ('climb') and nwa ('drink') the sentences under sehlare would have been ambiguous, while those under aloga would have been ambiguous without the words, kôma ('circumcision school') and yunibêsithi ('university').

1.6. SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE MEANING OF WORDS IN A LANGUAGE.

The meaning of words in Northern Sotho undergo several changes and shifts under the influence of several linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. The increase in vocabulary is simultaneously accompanied by the broadening of the cultural background of language users. The following are some of the most important factors causing shifts in meaning in Northern Sotho loan words:

1.6.1. EUPHEMISM

Stern's definition (1931:330) of euphemism is as follows:

".....a tendency to tone down or veil dangerous, indecent, or otherwise unpleasant things, and also as the linguistic result of this tendency."

In all languages there are words which are regarded to be indecent, unpleasant or inappropriate. These are those words which one is afraid or ashamed to mention. These words are usually replaced by euphemistic counterparts, depending on the situation. In most cases the replacements have their own basic meaning, but their meaning range is extended to express euphemism. The following are examples of euphemism:

TABOO LEXICAL ITEM	EPHEMISM MEANING	LITERARY MEANING	ENGLISH
- <u>ima</u>	<u>sesading</u>	'to be in woman state'	'pregnant'
- <u>béléga</u>	- <u>thuséga</u>	'be relieved'	'give birth'
- <u>rota</u>	- <u>ithoma</u>	'send yourself'	'urinate'
- <u>hwa</u>	- <u>róbala boróko</u>	'sleep'	'die'

Loan lexical items are sometimes used to replace taboo words in Northern Sotho. As a matter of fact, a taboo word in another language is regarded as less taboo when applied in one's own language. Northern Sotho speakers sometimes use borrowed lexical items to express euphemism, and to them, the impact a taboo word has in Northern Sotho does not seem similar to that of a foreign word, even though they both refer to the

same thing. Stern's (1931:331) comment in this regard is as follows:

" A foreign word is substituted, which, being less definite in meaning, is in the same degree less offensive."

Stern (1931:331) goes on to quote Beckman's comment in this regard as follows:

"...the foreign word is more or less a blank, which, obediently conforms to the use we make of it, while the native word has numerous undesirable associations with the offensive thing, and means exactly what it means, e.g. maniac for madman, intoxication for drunkenness'."

The speakers of Northern Sotho use inter alia the following borrowed lexical items more freely than their Sotho synonyms:

LOAN WORD	LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN	NORTHERN SOTHO TABOO WORD	ENGLISH
- <u>tilibara</u>	ENG.	- <u>bêléga</u>	'deliver' (give birth)
<u>prêké</u>	ENG.	- <u>ima</u>	'be pregnant'
- <u>rêipa</u>	ENG.	- <u>kata</u>	'rape'
- <u>mênstruêita</u>	ENG.	- <u>bôna kgwêdi</u>	'menstruate'

In reality the meaning of rêipa and kata is the same, but to the Northern Sotho speaker, the loan word's meaning is 'emotionally' less humiliating than its Northern Sotho synonym, kata ('rape'). This would be the reverse if English borrowed kata as its loan word from Northern Sotho. The following sentences have the same meaning, even though

it would be more difficult to mention the former than the latter:

Mosetsana o katilwé maabane 'The girl was raped yesterday'

Mosetsana o rēipilwé maabane 'The girl was raped yesterday'

In this way the taboo lexical items are avoided, and this, obviously, has an effect on the real sense of the word. Lyons's (1984:151) comment summarises the effect euphemism has on the meaning of words as follows:

"... diachronic investigation of the vocabulary have shown how important a factor euphemism - the avoidance of tabooed words - has been in changing the descriptive meaning of words."

1.6.2. METAPHOR

Metaphor is properly defined by Stahlin (Stern,1931:298) as follows:

"Metaphors are figures of speech in which a referent is designated by the name of another referent in such a fashion that (1) the transfer does not involve an essential identity of the two referents, (2) the designation is taken from another sphere of experience than that to which the actual referent belongs, and (3) the process of transfer is expressed."

When used in a metaphorical sense, the basic meaning of the lexical item gives way to a secondary meaning, thereby widening the semantic range of the lexical item. With regard to loan words, we find words referring to concepts previously unknown to the Sotho people being used in figures of speech to express metaphorical sense, e.g.

kaméla 'camel'

METAPHOR : monna yó ke kaméla

LIT. : 'this man is a camel'
MEANING : 'this man drinks too much water'
BASIC MEANING : 'monna o naméla kaméla'
 'the man is riding a camel'

thulusi : 'tool'

METAPHOR : monna yô ke thulusi ya mogwêra wa gagwê
LIT. : 'this man is a tool to his friend'
MEANING : 'this man is exploited by his friend'
BASIC MEANING : monna o somiša thulusi tša gagwê
 'the man uses his own tools'

Waldron (1967:169) too is of the opinion that metaphor is responsible for the extension of the meaning range of lexical items. He says:

"Metaphor enlarges the semantic range of words, momentarily or more permanently changing the frontiers of our lexical categories."

This widening of the semantic range of words and the expansion of the frontiers of our lexical categories takes place, mostly, in the form of polysemy, whereby the basic meaning of a word shifts to incorporate a secondary meaning. The following are examples of this:

khwaere : 'choir'
BASIC MEANING : morutiši o ôpêdiša khwaere
 'the teacher conducts a choir'

METAPHOR : bana ba gagwê ke khwaere
 'he has many children'

lebôtlêlô : 'bottle'

BASIC MEANING : o psatlilê lebôtléló
 `he smashed a bottle

METAPHOR : o bolawa ke lebôtléló
 `he drinks too much liquor

Polysemous words are always ambiguous, and as such, the loan words used to express metaphoric sense may be ambiguous when applied in sentences, e.g.

ba mmolailé ka lebôtléló
 `they killed him with a bottle'

This sentence may mean that `a bottle has been used to kill him' or `they gave him too much liquor'. Thus the same words may have two semantic interpretations. This ambiguity arises because the word has several closely related meanings, as explained by Hurford and Heasley (1983:123):

"A case of polysemy is one where a word has several closely related senses."

1.6.3 HYPERBOLE

In defining hyperbole, Stern(1931:310) quotes Stahlin's definition as follows:

"I have defined hyperbole as a figure of speech in which the enhancement takes the form of an exaggeration, an enlargement, a multiplication, or an intensification of the referents denoted, in other words, in the use of stronger words than the referent actually merits."

This definition is simplified by that given by Bain (1908:205). He

defines hyperbole as an effect gained by magnifying things beyond their natural bounds. The following may be used to exemplify hyperbole:

pharadēisi : 'paradise'

LIT. : Adama le Efa ba be ba dula pharadēising ya Eden
 'Adam and Eve were living in the paradise of Eden'

HYPERBOLE : legae la gagwē ke pharadēisi
 'his home is a paradise'

LIT. : 'there is peace and happiness in his home'

In the last sentence, the happiness and peacefulness of this home, has been highly exaggerated. The lexical item, khwaere ('choir'), reveals numerical exaggeration in the following sentence:

bana ba gagwē e diō ba khwaere

LIT. : 'his children form a choir'

Meaning : 'he has many children'

1.6.4 AMBIGUITY

A word, or phrase, is said to be ambiguous if it has two, or more, synonyms that are not themselves synonyms of each other (Hurford and Heasley, 1983:122). In the case of loan words, ambiguity is found where a loan word is used synonymously with an indigenous Northern Sotho word to refer to one and the same referent, e.g.:

LOAN WORD	ORIGINAL MEANING (WORD)	INDIGENOUS WORD
<u>pô^otô</u>	ENG. 'pot'	<u>pit^sa</u>
<u>nkate^o</u>	ENG. 'garden'	<u>serapa</u>
<u>phetrô^olô</u>	ENG. 'petrol'	<u>makhura</u>
<u>pêila</u>	AFR. 'byl' (an axe)	<u>selêpê</u>

Their ambiguity is reflected in the following syntagms:

pô^otô and pit^sa ('pot')

pô^otô ya bogôbê e sebêšong

'the porridge pot is on the fire'

pit^sa ya bogôbê e sebêšong

but

pit^sa ya bjala e khurumêšwe

'the beer pot is closed'

In the last sentence the loan word, pô^otô, cannot replace pit^sa.

Ambiguity is also associated with homonymy, polysemy and hyponymy, as is illustrated in the following examples:

Homonym :

serapa : 'garden' : nkate^o (loan word)

serapa : 'graveyard'

serapa : 'game reserve'

While the Northern Sotho word, serapa, may refer to 'garden', 'graveyard' or 'game reserve' (or 'zoo'), the loan word nkate^o, which is synonymous with serapa, is only applicable to 'garden' and not 'graveyard' nor 'game reserve'

Polysemy:

selêpê : ('axe') pêila : 'byl' (Afr.) (loan word)

selêpê : 'court sentence'

The application of the word selepe may cause ambiguity to some sentences, as illustrated below:

N.S : selêpê se rêmilê

LIT. : 'the axe has chopped'

FIGURATIVE : 'he is sentenced'

but

N.S : pêila e rêmilê

MEANING : 'the axe has chopped'

Hyponymy:

N. SOTHO WORD	ENGLISH WORDS	LOAN WORDS
<u>makhura</u>	'petrol' 'vaseline' 'cream' 'cooking oil' 'fat'	<u>phetrôlô</u> <u>basêlinê</u> <u>khirimi</u> <u>fishiôilê</u> <u>makhura</u>

While the Northern Sotho word makhura basically refers to 'fat' in English, other words, i.e. phetrôlô, basêlinê, khirimi and fishiôilê, may be said to be hyponyms of makhura. Their application also gives rise to ambiguity, e.g.

Kôlôî yê e sêkêtsa phetrôlô

'This vehicle saves petrol', is synonymous with:

Kôlôî yê e sêkêtsa makhura

The lexical items, makhura and phetrólo, in these two sentences cannot be replaced by baséliné, khirimi or fishiðilé, even though makhura can replace them all, e.g.

o tlôla makhura sefahlé̂góng

o tlôla baséliné sefahlé̂góng

'he anoints vaseline over his face'

o tlôla makhura maotong

o tlôla khirimi maotong

'he anoints cream on his feet'

o apea ka makhura

o apea ka fishiðilé

'he cooks with cooking oil' (or fish oil)

1.6.5 POLYSEMY AND HOMONYMY

In the previous paragraph it was shown how polysemy and homonymy may lead to lexical ambiguity and, as a result, affect the meaning of lexical items. Lyons (1977:550) says the following in this regard:

"..., there are two kinds of lexical ambiguity, one of which depends on homonymy and the other on polysemy."

It is not always an easy task to distinguish between these two sense relations, and subjectivity prevails in making the distinction, as is stressed by Lyons (1977:550):

"The difference between homonymy and polysemy is easier to explain in

general terms than it is to define in terms of objective and operationally satisfactory criteria."

Leech (1983:228) defines homonymy as:

"...roughly two or more words having the same pronunciation and /or spelling."

Tonal differences necessitate a distinction between two types of homonyms in Northern Sotho, i.e. homotonal homonyms and heterotonal homonyms, e.g.

Homotonal homonyms:

go láléla ('to eat supper')

go láléla ('to lie in ambush')

Heterotonal homonyms:

káta ('rape')

káta ('trot', 'move' or 'walk')

Macdonald's (1977:625) definition of homonymy is as follows :

"... a word having the same sound and perhaps the same spelling as another, but a different meaning and origin."

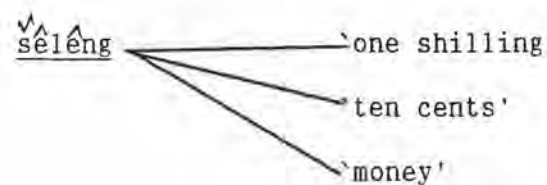
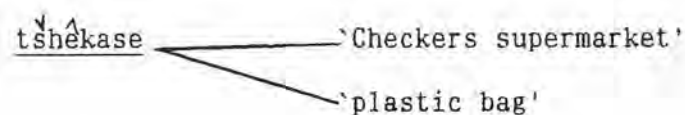
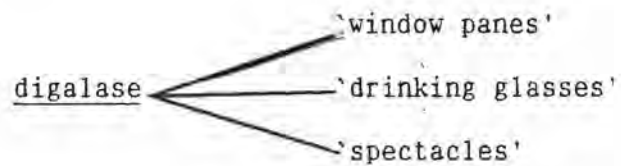
With regard to loan lexical items, we usually find some loan words with the same spelling and, sometimes, the same pronunciation as indigenous Northern Sotho words, but with different meanings, e.g.

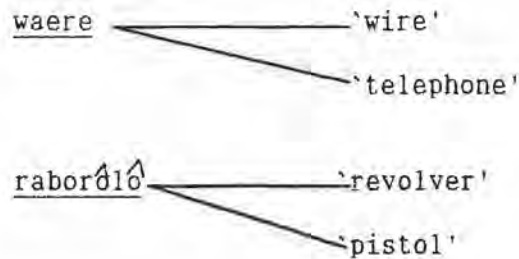
LOAN WORD	MEANING	N. SOTHO WORD	MEANING.
- <u>r</u> á <u>k</u> à	<u>AFR.</u> 'raak' 'be precise'	- <u>r</u> á <u>k</u> à	'get rid of'
- <u>r</u> á <u>k</u> à	<u>AFR.</u> 'rak' 'kitchen unit'		
- <u>k</u> ú <u>k</u> à	<u>ENG.</u> 'cook' 'someone hired to cook'	- <u>k</u> ú <u>k</u> à	'pick up'

The term polysemy refers to instances where one word may have a set of different meanings. Hurford and Heasley (1983:123) say:

"A case of polysemy is one where a word has several very closely related senses."

Polysemy plays a major role in semantic shift and its application usually leads to ambiguity, as we have seen in the previous discussion (under 'ambiguity'), e.g.





1.6.6. HYPONYMY

Hyponymy is defined by Lyons (1977:291) as:

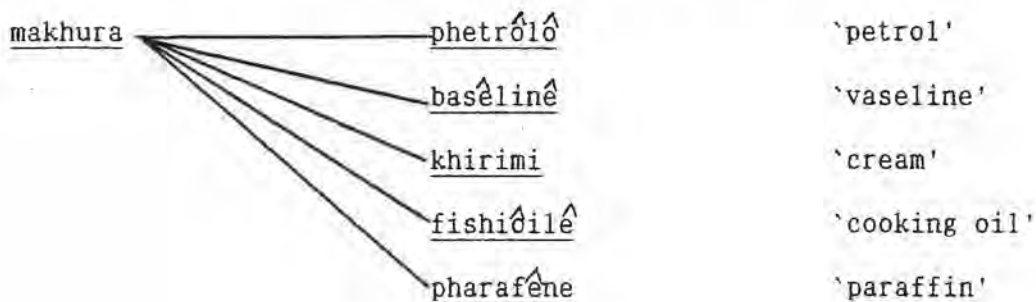
"The relation which holds between a more specific, or subordinate, lexeme and a more general, or superordinate lexeme."

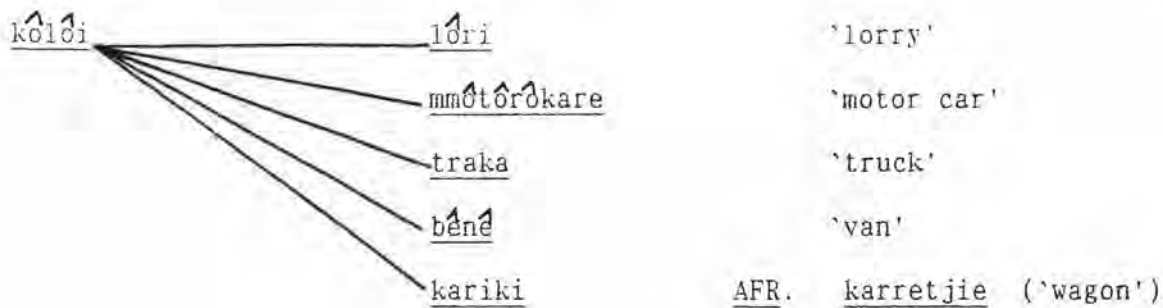
Hurford and Heasley (1983:106) say :

"Hyponymy is defined in terms of the inclusion of the sense of one item in the sense of another. We say, for example, that the sense of animal is included in the sense of cow."

With regard to loan words, we find some loan words, with specific meanings, which can be grouped as hyponyms of an indigenous Northern Sotho superordinate, e.g.

Superordinate (N.S. word) Hyponyms (loan words)





The Northern Sotho lexical item, kólōi, has a general meaning referring to all types of vehicles while its hyponymic loan words have restricted meanings. In some cases the hyponyms tend to shift from their original meanings to refer to different, but related, meanings. The type of vehicle known as 'truck' in English is not the same as what the Sotho refers to as traka. By traka, Northern Sotho speakers refer to what the English know as 'lorry', while bēné ('van'), in Northern Sotho refers to what in English is called a 'truck'.

1.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the basic semantic concepts dealing with change in meaning were defined. These concepts included sense relations such as euphemism, metaphor, hyponymy, polysemy, homonymy and hyperbole. The following concepts were also defined since they will also be used in the chapters to follow: semantics, semantic change, meaning, sense, referent and reference. Various definitions given by various semanticists were considered, and were, where possible, compared. The discussion was directed towards loan words, and as such, borrowing, which leads to the origin of loan words has been discussed. Different types of borrowing were explicated and classified. A comparative discussion of loan words and their

Northern Sotho counterparts was presented and this aspect will be analysed in greater detail in the next chapters. Throughout the rest of this thesis the loan word will be the topic in focus, and the main objective will be to explicate the semantic changes which occur in the meaning of such words when they are incorporated into the Northern Sotho lexicon.

CHAPTER 2

SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS OF LOAN WORDS

2.1 SEMANTIC RESTRICTION

Semantic restriction may be said to be the 'reduction' or the narrowing of a word's meaning so that it is no longer applied in a wide range of syntagmatic relationships with other words. In the case of loan words, the meaning of a word is sometimes narrower than its counterpart in the language in which it originally occurred. Ullman (1962:228) comments as follows in this regard:

"The English word 'voyage' originally meant a 'journey', as the corresponding French term still does. In the course of time, its range was narrowed and it came to refer more specially to a 'journey by sea or water'. The net result of the change was that the word is now applicable to fewer things but tells us more about them: its scope has been restricted but its meaning has been enriched with an additional feature: that of travel by water. As a logician would put it, its 'extension' has been reduced while its 'intension' has been correspondingly increased."

The following loan words serve as examples in this regard:

- tali : ENG. 'darling'
terômô : ENG. 'drum'
patêla : AFR. betaal ('pay')

The loan word, tali ('darling'), is only applicable with reference to

one's wife, husband and more especially to a 'girl friend' or nyatse (as it is called in Northern Sotho), while the English word 'darling' refers to any beloved person, irrespective of whether the person is one's daughter, son or spouse.

Terômo ('drum') is a loan word referring only to a cylindrical container while the English word 'drum' is defined by Watson (1976:316) as:

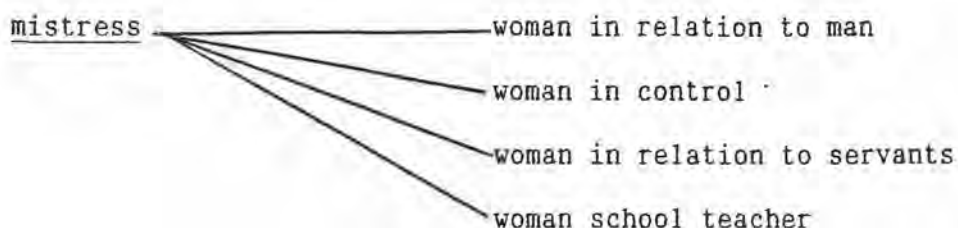
"Any of various types of percussive musical instruments consisting of a hollow cylinder or hemisphere of wood, metal etc... The sound made by such an instrument or a similar sound. Something resembling a drum in shape, e.g. a cylindrical container, or a cylinder or barrel on which cable is wound, e.g. in a capstan; cylindrical, stone block forming part of a pillar or its capital. An organ of the body which gives resonance...."

The loan word patêla from the Afrikaans word betaal, which means 'pay', is only applicable with reference to money payment, while the English word 'pay', or the Afrikaans betaal, does not necessarily refer to payment through money only.

Semantic restriction is sometimes called 'specialization' by other linguists such as Stern (1931:408-414) and Barber (1972:252). With regard to meaning specialization, Tudhope (1983:30) says:

"Specialization of meaning may be slight or extensive. Some polysemous words may lose one of their multiple meanings, while others cease to be polysemous retaining only one meaning."

The word 'mistress' is polysemous, but the loan word derived from it i.e. mmisitirisi has retained only one meaning, as a result of specialization e.g.



mmisitirisi woman school teacher

Stern (1931:40-414) divides semantic restrictions into 'appreciative' and 'depreciative' specialization.

2.1.1 APPRECIATIVE SPECIALIZATION

Stern (1931:408) regards appreciative specialization as:

"...a specialization on one or more characteristics of the referent which are considered as typical and essential, and involves a valuation of the referent as such, as a pre-eminent specimen of its kind."

An example of appreciative specialization is the loan word monêri from the Afrikaans word meneer ('mister'). The word monêri refers to a 'reverend' or 'mister', while the Afrikaans word 'meneer' is used when addressing an adult male of higher rank, or a male school teacher. A typical and essential characteristic of monêri i.e. 'handsome and well-dressed male', categorises him as a 'pre-eminent specimen of its kind' (Stern, 1931:408).

2.1.2 DEPRECIATIVE SPECIALIZATION

According to Stern (1931:411) depreciative specialization is the direct opposite of appreciative specialization. He says:

"Depreciative specialization is more exclusively emotive in character than the appreciative type, and is caused by the circumstance that the speaker apprehends one or more characteristics of the referent as disadvantageous, contemptible or ridiculous. The subjective factor is thus predominant."

In contrast to appreciative specialization, which is restricted to those characteristics which seem to be appreciative, depreciative specialization is concerned with those characteristics of the referent which one may not appreciate. As examples of depreciative specialization, the following lexical items are cited, i.e. pôi from 'boy' and the Afrikaans sheba or shaba for sesebo ('relish'). The word 'boy' refers to a 'male' child up to the age of 17 or 18' (Hornby, 1974:98), while in Afrikaans the word 'boy' refers to a 'male labourer'. In Northern Sotho the loan word pôi, lepôi or mpôi is a derogative term referring to an elderly boy or a young man. The Northern Sotho word sesebo refers to ('relish'). The Afrikaans term sheba or shaba also refers to 'relish', but only with regard to relish supplied to labourers.

2.2 PARTICULARIZATION

Semantic restriction may also take the form of a particularization of meaning. This type of meaning restriction is regarded by Stern (1931:415) as 'the unique use'. He says:

"An adequation without previous sense-change may take the form of a particularization of meaning. This happens when a term of more general import is habitually used in a particular sense. Thus, 'the king', without any qualification, is for English speakers the king of England. Similarly, 'the River', to a Londoner, is the Thames, the 'city' is the city of London."

With this type of meaning restriction, the speakers of a language, or of a particular speech community, have a tendency of applying a more general term to refer to a referent which is used or known to that community only. The general meaning of the word is only realised when used with a qualification, as in the above examples given by Stern. This is one reason why this type of meaning restriction is sometimes called 'the unique use', because it is only unique to a particular speech community. This particularisation of meaning is observed in the application of the following loan words in Northern Sotho:

N.S. : hafo : ENG. 'half'
N.S. : kô^htara : ENG. 'quarter'

As in the case of 'the king', which to the people of England will be taken for granted to mean the king of England if used without any qualification (Stern, 1931:415), the Sotho speakers understand the word hafo to mean 'half a loaf of bread' if used without any qualification to particularize it. Kô^htara 'quarter' without any qualification is taken for granted to mean the fourth part of a year, as is exemplified in the following sentences:

Hafo: ('half')

O rêkilê hafo a e fa ngwana (without qualification)

'he bought half a loaf of bread and gave it to the child'

O rêkilê hafo ya litara ya maswi (with qualification)

'he bought half a litre of milk'

Kotara ('quarter')

Ke kôtara efe yê? (without qualification)

'Which quarter of the year is this?'

O jele kôtara ya bor^oth^o (with qualification)

'he ate a quarter of bread'

In the same way the words zêbra ('zebra') and phaente ('pint') will have their meaning restricted when used without qualification. The word zêbra will, thus, refer to sorghum beer sold commercially instead of the animal 'zebra' when used without a qualification. Phaente, to a Sotho speaker, is a 'pint of milk' unless used with a qualification, e.g.

N.S. : Ntlêlê le zêbra ka mo ntl^ong (without qualification)

LIT. : 'bring me a zebra from the house'

ENG. : 'bring me a zebra beer from the house'

N.S. : Ke b^one zêbra ya tshadi (with qualification)

ENG. : 'I saw a female zebra'

N.S. : Ntlêlê le phaente t^{sê} p^êdi kua s^op^ong (without qualification)

LIT. : 'bring me two pints from the shop'

ENG. : 'bring me two pints milk from the shop'

N.S. : O na le phaente t^{sê} p^êdi t^sa ^oli (with qualification)

ENG. : 'he has two pints of oil'

Stern (1931:417) says the following regarding particularization in his conclusion:

"It is consequently, according to this theory, not the disappearance of the more general application of 'deer', 'hound', etc. that has caused the sense-change. The change was prior to the disappearance of the general meaning. The latter has of course affected the referential and semantic ranges of the word."

2.3 AMELIORATION

Amelioration is the term used by Barber (1972:253) for another special kind of narrowing. Tudhope (1983:31) defines amelioration as:

".... a process by which a word gains favourable connotations. With the passing of time these connotations have such an effect on a word that its conceptual meaning changes or the word comes to be used in a restricted set of syntagmatic collocations."

As a matter of fact, amelioration and appreciative specialization do not differ much. While amelioration is only concerned where the word, which previously had unfavourable connotations, gains favourable connotations, appreciative specialization is concerned where certain characteristics of the referent, whether the characteristics existed previously or gained in the course of time, affects the meaning of the word.

Tudhope uses the English term 'politician' as an example. This word in Shakespeare's days was a pejorative term which meant that the person in question was a scheming Machiavellian trickster. 'Politician'

over the years has lost these unfavourable connotations and an amelioration of the word's connotative meaning has taken place. Its conceptual meaning has also changed from 'trickster' to 'person engaged in politics'.

Amelioration of the connotative meaning of words results from 'association'. For example, the word lefôkisi ('detective') was associated with cunningness, i.e. the animal 'fox'. Lefôkisi ('detective') is also named after 'Fox Street', in Johannesburg, where the detective headquarters were originally stationed (even though this may not be regarded as an example of amelioration). The loan word patêla from Afrikaans betaal is used with a sense of amelioration compared to its Northern Sotho counterpart, lefa ('pay'). The word patêla is in Northern Sotho associated with the use of money for payments, while the word lefa ('pay') is associated with payment as an admission of guilt, or after one has been fined by the court, especially the tribal court. In this case the loan word patêla is an amelioration of the meaning of lefa. A further sign of amelioration is noticeable when we compare the same loan word i.e. patêla and the loan word derived from the English word 'pay' i.e. phêyi, with their Northern Sotho counterpart, lefa. The word phêyi ('pay') is a complete amelioration compared to the word lefa since it is neither applied in connection with fines, admission of guilt nor in commercial exchanges (negative), but only applies when people get their salaries (positive). In this way the English word 'pay' has gained favourable connotations or has lost negative connotations. The following sentences show the semantic restrictions called amelioration as exemplified above:

Matome o tla patêla

'Matome shall pay'

This means that Matome shall not fail to pay for the goods, while:

Matome o tla lefa

'Matome shall pay'

means Matome shall pay the fine, or if Matome continues to misbehave he shall be punished.

Ke phêyi ya Matome

'is Matome's salary'

2.4 DETERIORATION

Another type of meaning restriction caused by association is called deterioration by Barber (1972:253). Deterioration is the converse of amelioration. In this case a lexeme acquires unfavourable connotations.

The loan word, mmakê[^]tê[^] ('person looking for a job'), which is derived from the word 'market', has acquired unfavourable connotations. While in English the word 'market' refers to 'a place of supply and demand', its Northern Sotho counterpart, mmakê[^]tê[^], refers to an unemployed, suffering person who is looking for a job in the 'labour market'. In this way the sense of the lexical item is now associated with suffering, unemployment and all sorts of disparagements in contrast to the original sense of the lexical item 'market' in English, e.g.

- N.S. : Ke rēkilé ditamati kua mmakēté
ENG. : 'I bought the tomatoes at the market'
N.S. : Mmakēté o feditšé a hweditšé mméréko mafélélóng
ENG. : 'The workseeker ultimately got the job'

In Northern Sotho the names denoting racial classification either lead to amelioration or deterioration of the conceptual meaning of the lexical items. For example, the words Lentareana ('an Italian'), Lejapane ('the Japanese'), and Lenyasa ('Malawian') may either show negative or positive connotations, or both, depending on the connotative meanings associated with these words. To the Sotho, the Japanese are associated with technological superiority, and as such, a person regarded as Lejapane ('a Japanese') is regarded as superior in status. In the same way Lenyasa ('a person from Nyassaland or Malawi') is associated with inferiority due to the poverty in this country. Most people from Nyassaland (Malawi), known to the Sotho people, came as migrant labourers to do unskilled work in the South African mines, especially the Rand. The word Lepótókisi ('a Portuguese') also shows deterioration of meaning compared to its English counterpart. To the Sotho the word Lepótókisi refers to a person from Mozambique, especially the black migrant labourers who were recruited to the mines to do unskilled labour, while the English word 'Portuguese' refers to a person who is from Portugal or belongs to the Portuguese nation.

2.5. ELLIPSIS (SHORTENING)

Ellipsis or shortening is defined by Stern (1931:237) as follows:

"The shortening in question is primarily a morphological process.

the dropping out of some significant elements of the verbal form in the course of linguistic development."

Ellipsis also leads to semantic restriction in loan words. This is usually found when a compound word or a phrase is shortened by dropping some of the words so that the remaining word can stand, meaningfully, on its own. The word either retains its original sense after shortening, or has its meaning restricted.

Ullman (1962:222) says the following concerning ellipsis:

"Words which often occur side by side are apt to have a semantic influence on each other. We have already seen an example of this in the history of negation in French (p.198). The commonest form which this influence takes is ellipsis. In a set phrase made up of two words, one of these is omitted and its meaning is transferred to its partner... In a number of cases, ellipsis of this kind have led to drastic changes in meaning."

The English word 'motor-car' is adopted into Northern Sotho as mmôtorôkare. The loan word is usually shortened to mmôtorô, which was supposed to be a loan word for the English word 'motor', which refers to all types of engines, machines and motor-cars. In this case mmôtorô 'motor' is a shortened loan word for 'motor car', rather than a loan word from 'motor'. Ullman (1962:229) writes:

"Restriction of meaning can also result from ellipsis (canine for 'canine tooth'), from the need to fill a gap in vocabulary (traire to 'drow' replacing moundre in the sense of 'to milk'), and from various

other causes."

The shortening of the names of places is another example in this regard, e.g.

<u>O ilê Néila</u>	: 'He went to Nylstroom'
<u>O ilê Lôisi</u>	: 'He went to Louis Trichardt'
<u>O ilê Brónkôrô</u>	: 'He went to Bronkhorstspuit'
<u>O ilê Nabômô</u>	: 'He went to Naboomspuit'

The compound word Nylstroom is made up of Nyl-, which is a name (after the river Nile), and -stroom, which means 'stream'. The first explorers thought that the stream (stroom) could perhaps be a tributary of the Nile river, which is found in North Africa. But the shortened loan word Néila is only restricted to Nile, and it will not be easy to realise that the name of the town is made up of both 'Nile' and 'stream'. It is the same case with Nabômô and Brónkôrô where the words are only restricted to the first words of the compound i.e. Bronkhorst- and Naboom-. In reality, the word Bronkhorstspuit refers to a brook or stream named after Bronkhorst from where the town got its name. The Sotho name Brónkôrô is only restricted to the town itself and does not reveal the presence of a brook in the area.

2.6. THE ROLE OF EUPHEMISM IN MEANING RESTRICTION

Meaning restriction also occurs as a result of euphemism. Stern (1931:330-332) distinguishes various linguistic forms which a speaker may employ owing to a euphemistic tendency, i.e. clipping or omission of the main word, which he exemplified by the word 'Zounds' for 'Gods' wounds.; deformation or distortion of the offensive word, e.g. 'blooming' for 'bloody'; a term of vague or general import used instead of the more precise word, e.g. 'linen' for 'underclothes'; flattering

words, or words denoting the opposite of that which is meant, e.g. 'blessed' is used for 'cursed'; litotes, especially the form of litotes that consists in negating the opposite of that which is meant e.g. 'untidy' or 'unclean' used for 'dirty': and metaphorical euphemism e.g. 'to go to a better world', 'to go West', 'to join the majority' and other expressions for 'dying'. The last linguistic form distinguished by Stern (1931:331) which is relevant to semantic shift in loan words is the one concerning the substitution of indigenous words by foreign words to create a euphemistic expression. With regard to the role played by foreign words in expressing euphemism, Stern (1932:331) says:

"A foreign word is substituted, which, being less definite in meaning, is in the same degree less offensive."

Stern (1931:331) is of the opinion that a foreign word is more or less a blank, which obediently conforms to the use we make of it, while the native word has numerous undesirable associations with the offensive thing, and means exactly what it means. The Sotho speakers use inter alia the loan words kaka, from the Afrikaans 'kak', as an euphemism for nya or nyéla, and réipa ('rape') for go kata. Sotho speaking people also often use 'Jesus' as an interjection instead of Modimo, due to the 'euphemistic' nature of the former.

Ullman (1962:228) is also of the opinion that euphemism may cause meaning restrictions in words. He says:

"Another cause of restriction is euphemism, including the variety which is prompted by irony rather than by taboo. A famous case in point is 'poison' which is historically the same word as 'potion'. The most

unpleasant aspect of the sense, the fact that the potion is a poisonous one. was left unsaid, but when the word became closely associated with the tabooed meaning, it was gradually limited to denote this particular kind of potion and no other."

Loan words are sometimes used to express what Stern (1931:333) calls 'euphemism of decency or good breeding'. According to Stern, this type of euphemism consists in avoiding that which might fall beneath one's own dignity, or below the level of style that we adopt, or which might wound the feelings of the hearer, or sin against the prevailing standards of decency or good behaviour. He says:

"To this type belongs the euphemism of decency, which seeks new and indirect appellations for things, or actions, that are not considered mentionable in polite society: lavatory, unmentionables----, innumerable names for the state of intoxication, for parts of the body, for articles of clothing, and so on."

The word makaka from the Afrikaans 'kak' refers to 'faeces' and is used as a euphemism for the Sotho word masepa. As a matter of fact, Sotho speaking people prefer the loan word makaka to masepa. Even though these two words may be regarded as synonymous, the meaning of the loan word makaka is restricted to 'faeces' only while the meaning of masepa is wider, as in the following sentences:

- N.S. : Ke masepa a ngwana
ENG. : 'It is the child's faeces'
N.S. : Ke makaka a ngwana
ENG. : 'It is the child's faeces'

but

- N.S. : Monna yô o na le masepa (and not monna yô o na le makaka)
LIT. : 'This man has faeces'
ENG. : 'This man is troublesome'

In the sentence monna yô o na le masepa the word masepa can be substituted by ditšhila and have the same meaning i.e. monna yô o na le ditšhila ('this man is troublesome').

2.7 THE ROLE OF SYNONYMY IN MEANING RESTRICTIONS

Ullman's (1962:141) view of synonymy is that complete synonymy does not exist:

"In contemporary linguistics it has become almost axiomatic that complete synonymy does not exist."

In the words of Bloomfield (1935:145), each linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning. If the forms are phonemically different, we suppose that their meanings are also different. We suppose, in short, that there are no actual synonyms. In this regard, Ullman (1962:141) recommends Breal's 'Law of distribution', according to which words which should be synonymous, and which were so in the past, have acquired different meanings and are no longer interchangeable. Thus, while endorsing the validity of the abovementioned ideas, Ullman (1962:141) is also of the opinion that the possibility of complete synonymy does exist, especially in scientific terms.

These opinions can also be supported when comparing the meanings of Northern Sotho loan words with their synonyms of Northern Sotho origin.

These synonyms feature well in Collinson's nine possibilities (Ullman, 1962:142), i.e.

1. One term is more general than another.
2. One term is more intense than another.
3. One term is more emotive than another.
4. One term may imply moral approbation or censure where another is neutral.
5. One term is more professional than another.
6. One term is more literary than another.
7. One term is more colloquial than another.
8. One term is more local or dialectal than another.
9. One of the synonyms belongs to child-talk.

As a result, the usability of the loan words, in most cases, differs from their usability in the original language. The loan word, when replacing the original Sotho word, will possibly differ from it with regard to one or more of the above possibilities. This chapter is concerned with the usability of loan words which have been adopted with meaning restrictions when compared to their counterparts, or synonyms, of Northern Sotho origin. This is determined by comparing the syntagmatic collocations in which such borrowed words may enter in Northern Sotho with their counterparts in the original language, e.g.

draeva and ôtlêla

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| <u>O draeva taxi</u> | : | 'he is driving a taxi' |
| <u>O ôtlêla taxi</u> | : | 'he is driving a taxi' |
| <u>O ôtlêla dipholo</u> | : | 'he is driving the oxen', but not |
| <u>O draeva dipholo</u> | : | 'he is driving the oxen' |

While the Sotho lexical item otléla ('drive') has a general meaning, referring to the act of driving both the vehicles and the animals, the meaning of the loan word driva is restricted to driving vehicles only, and not animals. Restrictions of the meaning of loan words is also imminent in the following lexical items:

<u>LOAN WORDS</u>	<u>LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>N.SOTHO EQUIVALENT</u>
N.S. <u>kamore</u>	: AFR. 'kamer' (room)	<u>phaposi</u>
N.S. <u>béréka</u>	: AFR. 'werk' (Work)	<u>soma</u>
N.S. <u>thitshéré</u>	: ENG. 'teacher'	<u>morutiši</u>
N.S. <u>sekolotó</u>	: AFR. 'skuld' (debt)	<u>molató</u>
N.S. <u>patéla</u>	: AFR. 'betaal' (pay)	<u>lefa</u>
N.S. <u>nnése</u>	: ENG. 'nurse'	<u>mooki</u>

The meaning restrictions of the above-mentioned loan words is noticed in the following sentences where they are compared with their Northern Sotho counterparts:

kamore : 'kamer'

Phaposi : 'room'

O sa le ka kamoreng : 'He is still in the bedroom'

O sa le ka phaposing : 'He is still in the room'

In this case the loan word kamore is only restricted to bedroom, while its Northern Sotho synonym phaposi refers to any room in the house or in an office. These restrictions on the meaning of kamore are applicable to Northern Sotho only as the Afrikaans word kamer is not restricted to bedroom only, but to all types of rooms referred to by the word phaposi, e.g. woonkamer, ('living room'), eetkamer, ('dining room'),

sitkamer, ('lounge'), etc.

The meaning restrictions on the loan words thitshêré ('teacher') sekólótó ('debt') and fêila ('fail') are explicated as follows:

N.S. : thitshêré

ENG. : 'Teacher'

This loan word cannot enter into the same syntagmatic collocation in which its English counterpart enters, e.g.

1. ENG. : 'The teachers are going back home'
2. NS. : Mathitshêré a boêla gae
3. ENG. : 'She is a teacher in this school'
4. N.S. : Ke morutišigadi mó sekólóng sé

While the meaning of 'teacher' is general in the first sentence, the meaning of the loan word mathitshêré in the second sentence refers to the male teachers only, even though this sentence may be regarded as a Sotho translation of the first one.

N.S. sekólótó : AFR. skuld 'debt' N.S.: molato.

1. O na le tshêlêté ya go lefa sekólótó sa gagwê
'He has money to pay his debt'
2. O na le tshêlêté ya go lefa molato wa gagwê
'He has money to pay his debt'

but

3. O na le pudi ya go lefa molato (and not sekólótó)

'He has a goat to pay the debt'

In the first sentence sekólótó ('debt') is payable by money, while molato ('debt'), in the second and third sentences, has a more general meaning than sekólótó. The loan word sekólótó cannot replace molato in the third sentence.

In Northern Sotho, the word fêila is understood to mean 'fail', especially with regard to failing an examination or a test, and not all the meanings referred to by the English word 'fail' or the Sotho word palêlwa, which are all synonymous with the loan word fêila, as exemplified below:

1. Gê o sa bale o tla fêila mafêlêlông a ngwaga

'If you don't study you will fail at the end of the year'

2. Gê o sa bale o tla palêlwa mafêlêlông a ngwaga

'If you don't study you will fail at the end of the year'

3. Ke bôna e ka re ke tla palêlwa go bônana le yêna

'I think I will fail to consult him'

and not

*Ke bôna e ka re ke tla fêila go bônana le yêna

This means that the word palêlwa can replace fêila and make sense, while fêila cannot always replace palêlwa and make sense due to meaning restrictions. Only the loan word fêila is restricted while the English word 'fail' can be used in English to refer to almost all the meanings referred by the Northern Sotho word palêlwa. This

semantic restriction is also noticeable in the use of the loan words monéri and jefreu. Monéri is a loan word from the Afrikaans meneer, which is a form used when addressing a adult male of higher rank or a male school teacher. But monéri does not refer to a male school teacher. In the same way, the word jefreu is derived from the Afrikaans word 'juffrou', which refers to a female school teacher or a unmarried woman, while jefreu refers to the English 'madam'.

2.8 HYPONIMY AND SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS

According to Lyons (1977:291), hyponymy concerns:

"The relation which holds between a more specific, or subordinate, lexeme and a more general, or superordinate, lexeme."

Lyons exemplifies his definition by the relation holding between 'animal' and 'cow'. With regard to loan words in Northern Sotho, the original Sotho words usually take positions as superordinate lexemes while the loan words are usually subordinates, with their meaning restricted in comparison with the Northern Sotho words, e.g.

N.S : (Superordinate)

diaparó

LOAN WORD (Subordinate)

rôkó : AFR. rok ('dress')
borokgo: AFR. broek ('a pair of trousers')
hempé : AFR. hemp ('shirt')
makausu: etc. AFR kouse ('socks')

moago

kéréké : AFR. kerk ('church')
sekólo : ('school')
lebénkéle : AFR. winkel ('shop'), etc.

<u>makhura</u>	<u>phetrôlô</u>	: ('petrol')
	<u>basêlinê</u>	: ('vaseline')
	<u>khirimi</u>	: ('cream')
	<u>fishiôilê</u>	: ('cooking oil' or fish oil)

<u>kôlôî</u>	<u>lôri</u>	: ('lorry')
	<u>mmôtorô</u>	: ('motor-car')
	<u>traka</u>	: ('truck')
	<u>béné</u>	: ('van')

Lyons' definition of hyponymy is confirmed by Hurford and Heasley (1983:106):

"Hyponymy is defined in terms of the inclusion of the sense of one item in the sense of another. We say, for example, that the sense of animal is included in the sense of cow."

Hyponymy is definable in terms of unilateral implication (Lyons, 1977:292). This is due to the meaning restrictions on the subordinate words, while the meaning of the superordinate lexeme is wider, e.g.

taté o na le phetrôlô

'father has petrol' implies

taté o na le makhura

'father has fat'

but

taté o na le makhura

'father has fat' does not necessarily imply

taté o na le phetrôlô

'father has petrol'

This is due to the fact that petrol, vaseline, cream and cooking oil are all hyponyms of makhura. This shows that hyponyms obviously cause

ambiguity. In this regard, Kooij (1971:119) says:

" A second feature of lexical elements that may give rise to ambiguity in actual use without entailing these words having different sense is generality, e.g. hyponymy"

The 'generality' of the meaning of the Northern Sotho word kôlôî ('vehicle'), obviously leads to the ambiguity in the following sentence:

Monna o ôtlêla kôlôî

This sentence may mean 'the man is driving a car', 'the man is driving a truck', 'the man is driving a van' or 'the man is driving a wagon'

2.9 CONCLUSION

Loan words are sometimes used, in Northern Sotho, with their original meaning narrowed so that they are no longer used in a wider range of syntagmatic collocations. Sometimes the loan word expresses a restricted meaning in comparison with its Northern Sotho counterpart. This semantic restriction of loan words takes the form of specialized or specific meaning, particularization, amelioration, deterioration, ellipsis or euphemism. The synonymic or hyponymic relationships between the meanings of the loan words and those of the original Northern Sotho words show meaning restrictions occurring in respect of words when they are adopted into Northern Sotho. The Sotho word is applied in a wider range of syntagmatic collocations while the loan word is semantically restricted. The Sotho words are usually used as superordinates while the loan words are in most cases

used as subordinates of the Sotho word.

CHAPTER 3

MEANING EXTENSION3.1 INTRODUCTORY DEFINITION

Meaning extension can be regarded as the addition of secondary meaning, or meanings, to a word. The word which initially had a particular meaning, comes to express a more general meaning. It is consequently applied in a wider range of syntagmatic relationships. Tudhope (1983:27) regards this process of meaning extension as 'generalisation'. She says:

"When this process of changing a word's meaning takes place the word acquires an extension or widening of its meaning. It can now be used in a wider range of syntagmatic relationships. This is known as the process of generalization." (Tudhope, 1983:27)

Generalization of meaning is not a deliberately calculated and preplanned process, but a spontaneous and unintentional one. Tudhope (1983:27) goes on to say:

"Many of the shifts in meaning which occur in words are slow unintentional processes."

Stern (1931:340) defines meaning extension as:

" The unintentional use of a word to denote another referent than the usual one, owing to some similarity between the two referents."

The loan word namoneiti is derived from the English term 'lemonade'

which, according to Watson (1976:630), refers to:

"A drink made by mixing lemon juice and sugar with water. A commercially made lemon-flavoured soft drink."

In Sotho, the loan word namonêiti refers to any kind of cold drink, irrespective of its trade name, colour, flavour, etc., and not to a particular type of beverage as defined above. The word tshêkase ('Checkers') is another example of meaning extension. The word 'Checkers' is a name for a chain of supermarkets, but tshêkase, which is derived from this name, is also used to refer to some kind of plastic bag, e.g.:

N.S. : Ke nwa namonêiti
LIT. : 'I am drinking lemonade'
ENG. : 'I am drinking cold drink'

N.S. : Maite le Josefa ba rêka borôthô Tshêkase.
ENG. : 'Maite and Joseph buy bread at Checkers'
N.S. : Maite le Josefa ba rwêlê borôthô ka tshêkase
LIT. : 'Maite and Joseph carry bread in a checkers'
ENG. : 'Maite and Joseph carry bread in a plastic bag'

The loan word kôlôni is derived from the English term 'colony', which, according to Hornby (1974:163), refers to :

"1. Country or territory settled by migrants from another country, and controlled by it. 2. Group of people from another country, or of people with the same trade, profession or occupation, living together."

In Sotho, the loan word kôlôni or kôlône (Ziervogel and Mokgokong, 1975:532), is also used to refer to the Cape Province. The word has come to be used in a wider range of syntagmatic relationships. Besides referring to a territory settled by migrants, the word is used as a name for a province of the Republic of South Africa, e.g.:

ENG. : 'Sakhalin is a colony of Russia'

N.S. : Sakhalini ke kôlôni ya Rashiya

N.S. : Malome o tla êtêla Kôlôni gosasa

ENG. : 'My uncle will visit the Cape tomorrow'

3.2. MEANING EXTENSION AND AMBIGUITY

Semantic extension usually leads to polysemy and ambiguity. According to Kooij (1971:7), a sentence is inherently ambiguous when it sounds the same but has more than one meaning. He (1971:119) goes on to say:

"A second feature of lexical elements that may give rise to ambiguity in actual use without entailing these words having different senses is generality."

The use of the loan words sekôntiri ('tar'), pôntô ('one pound'), shêlêng ('shilling'), sokwa ('sixpence'), faefepôpô ('five bob') etc. without qualifications results in ambiguity, e.g.:

Ke sekôntiri, means

1. 'It is tar'

2. 'It is a tarred road'

Ke p^ho^ht^ho, means

1. 'It is one pound'

2. 'It is two rand'

Ke sh^he^hl^heng, means

1. 'It is one shilling'

2. 'It is ten cents'

Ke faefep^ho^hp^ho, means

1. 'It is five shillings'

2. 'It is fifty cents'

Ke sokwa, means

1. 'It is sixpence'

2. 'It is five cents'

With regard to ambiguity, Ullman (1962:193) says:

"Vagueness in meaning is another source of semantic change..... the generic nature of our words, the multiplicity of their aspects, lack of familiarity, absence of clearcut boundaries - all conspire to facilitate shifts in usage."

The word sek^ho^hntiri is derived from Afrikaans skoonteer ('tar'), which is defined by Watson (1976:1132) as follows:

"A thick, black or dark brown viscous liquid obtained by the destructive

distillation of wood, coal, etc."

In Sotho sekóntiri refers to this 'thick, black or brown liquid' as well as to a 'tarred road'.

Loan words denoting the British monetary units can be said to be examples of meaning extension, especially when considering their use by mostly older Northern Sotho people who once used these monies before they were phased out. These people use the terms póntó, shéléng, sokwa, faefepópó, etc. to denote both the British monetary units as well as the South African monetary units (rands and cents), while the young generation uses the same names to refer to the South African money. To the latter, the names are not polysemous and, as such, may be regarded to have undergone radical meaning change.

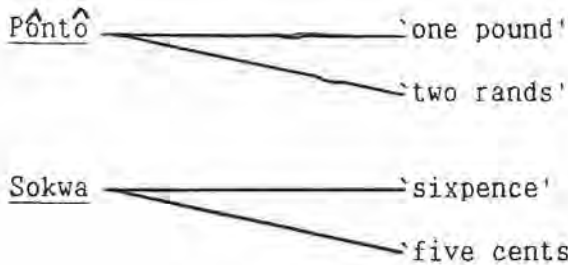
According to Watson (1976:29) ambiguity is:

"The quality of having more than one meaning; an idea, statement or expression capable of being understood in more than one sense."

The words sekóntiri ('tar'), shéléng ('shilling'), póntó ('one pound'), sokwa ('sixpence'), etc. exemplify ambiguity as follows:

Sekóntiri — 'tar'
 — 'tarred road'

Shéléng — 'shilling'
 — 'ten cents'



Among others, the following factors play a major role in the semantic extension of loan words in the Northern Sotho lexicon: metaphor and hyperbole; euphemism; kinship terminology and the so-called 'hlonipha language' or 'a language of respect' ; meaning extension resulting from association and connotation and the role played by polysemy and figurative expressions.

3.3. THE ROLE OF METAPHOR IN MEANING EXTENSION

With regard to metaphor, Breal (1964:122) says:

"Metaphor changes the meaning of words and creates new expressions on the spur of the moment. It is born from the instantaneous glimpse of a similarity between two objects or two acts."

When used in a metaphorical sense, the basic meaning of the word gives way to a secondary meaning, thereby widening the semantic range of the word. The semantic range of a loan lexical item is extended to express metaphoric or hyperbolic sense. According to Breal (1964:122), the secondary meaning attached to the loan lexical item resulting from metaphor will ultimately be adopted. In this regard Breal (1964:122) says:

"..if it be accurate or picturesque, or even if it merely fills a gap

in the vocabulary, its adoption is assured."

With regard to metaphor, Waldron (1967:18) states:

"Metaphor provides us with examples of a different sort of appropriateness in language, and many words had their origin in metaphor."

3.3.1. METAPHOR AND POLYSEMY

The use of metaphor in a language leads to the origin of polysemous words. This also applies when loan lexical items are used to express metaphoric sense in Northern Sotho. Besides having a basic meaning, the lexical item acquires a secondary referent, thereby resulting in polysemy. The contribution of metaphor to the origin of polysemous words is stressed by Waldron (1967:15):

"It is rather the appropriateness of using the same term for two different things in order to pick out similarities between them. It is appropriate to speak of the eye of a needle because of its similarity in shape to the human eye, and because we already use the word 'eye' in the literal sense."

The following are examples in this regard:

<u>Kanana</u>	└──────────┬──────────┘	'Canaan'	:	<u>basic meaning</u>
	└──────────┬──────────┘	'peace' and 'happiness'	:	<u>metaphor</u>
<u>Sôfa</u>	└──────────┬──────────┘	'sofa' (seat)	:	<u>basic meaning</u>
	└──────────┬──────────┘	'comfort'	:	<u>metaphor</u>

Association plays a major role in the use of metaphor in a language. The secondary meanings of the lexical items are usually derived from one or more characteristics of the basic referent. As a result of association, the characteristic of a lexical item becomes its referent, as exemplified in the following sentences:

N.S. : Monna o dutšê gôdimo ga sôfa : basic meaning

ENG. : 'The man is sitting on the sofa'

N.S. : Lône ya gagwê e diô ba sôfa : metaphor

LIT. : 'His lawn is like a sofa'

ENG. : 'His lawn is lush'

N.S. : BaIsraêlé ba ilê ba fêtsa ba fihlilé Kanana : basic meaning

ENG. : 'The Israelites ultimately arrived in Canaan'

N.S. : Ba bê ba itulêtsê e le Kanana : metaphor

LIT. : 'They were sitting, it was Canaan'

ENG. : 'They were happily and peacefully relaxed' (like in Canaan)

Metaphor is properly explicated in the use of Northern Sotho proverbs. The following examples explain the concept 'metaphor' properly, even though they do not include loan words among them:

N.S. : Mosadi ke tšhwêne (o jewa mabôgô)

LIT. : 'A woman is a baboon (she is eaten the hands)'

ENG. : 'It is not a woman's appearance which is important but her diligence'

N.S. : Monna ke nku (o llêla têng)

LIT. : 'Man is a sheep (he cries within himself)'

ENG. : 'A brave person does not reveal his problems to the public'

N.S. : Monna ke tshwêne (o ja ka matsogo a mabêdi)

LIT. : 'Man is a baboon (he eats with two hands)'

ENG. : 'Besides his wife, a man has relationships with other ladies'

In the first proverb mosadi ('a woman') is metaphorically compared to a baboon, and it does not necessarily mean 'a woman is a baboon'. The bravery of a man is compared (or associated) with the conduct of a sheep which remains quiet even when it is being slaughtered.

There is always a correlation between the basic and the secondary meaning assigned to the word which is used metaphorically. With regard to this correlation, Breal (1964:139) says:

" The new meaning of a word, whatever it may be, does not make an end of the old. They exist alongside of one another. The same term can be employed alternatively in the strict or in the metaphorical sense."

In this way, kanana ('Canaan') is always associated with 'peace and happiness' while sôfa is always associated with 'comfort'.

3.3.2. THE ETYMOLOGICAL ASPECT IN METAPHOR

Knowledge of the etymological history of words in a language plays a major role in the use of metaphor. The importance of the etymological history of lexical items is emphasized by inter alia linguists such as Kuczaj (1982), Sturtevant (1941) and Ullman (1957).

With regard to this historical hypothesis, Kuczaj (1982:357) says the following:

"Others have taken the position that in order to fully understand metaphor, one must know the etymological history of the words involved. ... The meaning of a metaphor from this perspective involves not only the current meanings of the words, but also aspects of the historical meanings each word brings to the metaphor."

Concerning the effect metaphor has on the meaning of lexical items, Kuczaj (1982:357) comments as follows:

" Many historical linguists, approaching the problem of metaphor from yet another perspective, have argued that shifts in the meaning of words have been initiated through the creation of metaphor."

The importance of etymological information is realised when the names referring to people ,or population groups, are used metaphorically in sentences, e.g.:

Lejuta : `a Jew'

N.S. : Mmabjala ke lejuta (metaphor)

LIT. : `Mmabjala is a Jew'

ENG. : `Mmabjala likes money too much' or `She is always greedy for money'

Goliata : `Goliath'

N.S. : Mokwape ke Goliata

LIT. : `Mokwape is Goliath'

ENG. : `Mokwape is strong and pugnacious'

The etymological history of words is also important in understanding

a metaphor where the names of places are used, as in the following examples:

Sódóma 'Sodom'

N.S. : Felo fa ke Sódóma (metaphor)

LIT. : 'This place is Sodom'

ENG. : 'This place is evil'

Kanana 'Canaan'

N.S. : Felo fa ke Kanana (metaphor)

LIT. : 'This place is Canaan'

ENG. : 'Peace and happiness prevail in this place'

The importance of etymology in metaphor is realised in the various spheres of life, such as political, religious, economic, scientific spheres, etc. Knowledge of biblical history will help one to understand the metaphor felo fa ke Sódóma to mean 'this place is evil', besides its literal meaning 'this place is Sodom'. In the same way, biblical knowledge will help one understand Kanana to refer to both 'Canaan', which is the land God promised the Israelites, and the metaphorical meaning which refers to 'an environment in which peace and happiness prevail'. Breals' (1964:132) opinion regarding metaphor is as follows:

"Metaphors are not chained to the language which gave them birth. When they are true and striking, they travel from idiom to idiom and become the patrimony of the human race. It is therefore for the historian to make a distinction between the images which being perfectly simple, are found independent in a thousand places, and these which, invented but

once in one particular language, have been subsequently transmitted, borrowed and adapted."

The role of metaphor in semantic extension is summarised by Waldron (1967:169) as follows:

"If it were not for metaphor we could never say anything that was not in a sense predetermined by the semantic range of the word we used. Metaphor enlarges the semantic range of words, momentarily or more permanently changing the frontiers of our lexical categories."

3.4 THE ROLE OF HYPERBOLE IN MEANING EXTENSION

Hyperbole, a figure of speech in which the enhancement takes the form of an exaggeration (Stern, 1931:310), is defined in chapter one in detail. When quoting Stahlin's definition, Stern (1931:310) refers to hyperbole as an intensification of the referents denoted, and this is usually found in:

"... the use of stronger words than the referent actually merits."

The meaning of the lexical item is extended to include both the basic meaning and the secondary meaning, which in reality is the exaggerated form of the basic meaning, e.g.:

tiki : 'tickey'

BASIC MEANING : Ke r^ékil^é dikuku t^sa tiki f^éla

LIT. : 'I bought cakes costing only a tickey'

HYPERBOLE : O dio gôla tiki fêla
LIT. : 'His salary is just a tickey'
ENG. : 'He gets a very small salary' (but not actually a tickey)

sepitifaya : 'spitfire'

BASIC MEANING : Sepitifaya se šomišitšwê ka ntwā ya pēle ya lefase

LIT. : 'The spitfire was used during world war I'

HYPERBOLE : Ge a tloga e bē e le sepitifaya

LIT. : 'When he left he was a spitfire'

ENG. : 'When he left he was very fast'

Bain (1908:225) defines this figure of speech as:

" An effect gained by magnifying things beyond their natural bounds."

Just like metaphor, hyperbole plays a major role in increasing the vocabulary of a language, as the meaning of words are extended by the adoption of both the basic and secondary meanings.

3.5. MEANING EXTENSION DUE TO KINSHIP AND RESPECT

The use of kinship terminology leads to semantic extension of the loan words in Northern Sotho. There are some kinship terms which are used specially to show respect to those who deserve it, and the use of these terms leads to the widening of their semantic range. Watson (1976:604) defines kinship as the condition of being related or the condition of being similar. He goes on to define a kinship system as:

" A social system of various forms governing the reciprocal obligations between members of a culture who are to be related."

Kinship terminology is widely used in Northern Sotho to show respect even to those who do not qualify for that relationship. In most cases loan words expressing kinship have a general meaning when compared with their Northern Sotho synonyms. The following are a few examples of kinship terms whose semantic range have been extended to include more referents than they merit in their language of origin:

<u>N.S.</u> : <u>ausi</u>	<u>AFR.</u> : <u>ousus</u> ('elder sister')
<u>N.S.</u> : <u>sista</u>	<u>ENG.</u> : 'sister'
<u>N.S.</u> : <u>ômi</u>	<u>AFR.</u> : 'oom' ('uncle')
<u>N.S.</u> : <u>anti</u>	<u>ENG.</u> : 'aunt'

Ausi is derived from the Afrikaans word 'ousus' which means 'elder sister'. In Northern Sotho ausi refers to 'elder sister', and is also used when addressing any girl, irrespective of whether she is a sister or not. In this way the loan word ausi is used in a wider range of syntagmatic collocations than its Afrikaans counterpart 'ousus', e.g.:

Ausi wa ka o tla fihla gosasa (basic meaning)

'My elder sister will arrive tomorrow'

Ke mang ausi yôla?

'Who is that girl?'

The loan word ômi, Afrikaans 'oom', is another example of meaning extension, to show respect. The word 'oom' refers to 'uncle' in

English, but in Northern Sotho the word omi refers to any man as a sign of respect even though he may not be one's uncle, e.g:

<u>KINSHIP</u>	:	<u>Ômi o tlilê le motswala maabane</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	'Uncle came with his cousin yesterday'
<u>RESPECT</u>	:	<u>Ke mang ômi yôla fale?</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	'Who is that uncle over there?'
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'Who is that man over there'

In the above example, it is obvious that the speaker uses the word ômi as a sign of respect even though he does not know the person. The effect kinship terms have on the meaning of words is not only found in Northern Sotho, but also in other languages. With regard to kinship terminology, Leech (1983:236) says:

" Like colour terminology, kinship terminology offers the fascination of a relatively homogeneous set of lexical meanings whose organization differs markedly from language to language, and yet somehow has an underlying element of uniformity."

The loan word anti ('aunt') is another example cited from the kinship terms which are used in Northern Sotho with expanded meaning. The word is derived from the English word 'aunt' which is defined by Watson (1976:71) as:

"...a sister of one's mother or father; by courtesy, the wife of one's uncle."

Besides referring to the meanings of the English word 'aunt', the

word anti is also used to refer to 'a washerwoman' or 'a cleaner' in an institution, a hospital or a factory. This means that the semantic range of the word anti is wider than the English word 'aunt', as is the case in the following sentences:

Papa le anti ke bōna ba le babēdi fēla lapēng la rakgolo.

'Father and aunt are the only two in grandfather's family'

but

QUESTION : O bērēka mmērēko wa mohuta mang kua sepētletlēt?

ANSWER : Ke anti.

LIT. : 'What type of job is she doing at the hospital?'

ANSWER : 'She is an aunt'

ENG. : 'She is a washerwoman' or 'She is a cleaner'

Besides its reference to 'washerwoman' or 'cleaner', the word anti is also used when addressing any lady who is a senior in age, irrespective of whether she is known or unknown. This is usually used as a sign of respect, e.g.

RESPECT : Ke mang anti yōla?

LIT. : 'Who is that aunt?'

ENG. : 'Who is that lady?'

This shows that the sentence ke mang anti yōla? means the same as ke mang mosadi yōla?, i.e. 'who is that lady?'. even though the latter does not show respect as in the case of the former. One interesting example of semantic shifts affecting kinship terms is the meaning restriction affecting the loan word buti ('brother') and the meaning extension affecting the word abuti ('older brother'). The word buti is derived from the Afrikaans word boetie which means 'brother',

irrespective of whether he is an older or a younger brother. But the loan word buti is restricted to an older brother only. The word abuti is also derived from Afrikaans 'ouboet', which refers to 'older brother'. The word is also used when addressing any 'young man', as a sign of respect, irrespective of whether the man is younger or older than the person speaking. This word is usually used by girls to show respect or positive appreciation to any young man, whether he is known or unknown to them, e.g.:

Buti : AFR.: boetie ('brother')
N.S. : Buti wa ka o gama dikgomo (Restriction)
LIT. : 'My brother is milking the cows'
ENG. : 'My older brother is milking the cows'

Abuti : Afr. ouboet ('older brother')
N.S. : Abuti waka o fihlilê maabane
LIT. : 'My older brother arrived yesterday'
RESPECT : Abuti yô o botse
LIT. : 'This older brother is handsome'
ENG. : 'This young man is handsome'

3.6. THE ROLE OF CONNOTATION AND ASSOCIATION IN MEANING EXTENSION

Semantic shift is to a large extent caused by the association of an object, person or concept with its characteristics, or the connotative meaning of the words. Ullman(1962:211) says the following regarding association as a cause of meaning shift:

" No matter what causes bring about the change, there must always be some connexion, some association, between the old meaning and the

new. In some cases the association may be powerful enough to alter the meaning by itself; in others it will merely provide a vehicle for a change determined by other causes; but in one form or another, some kind of association will always underlie the process. In this way association may be regarded as a necessary condition, a sine qua non of semantic change."

It is an obvious fact that meaning extension is always a result of association. Almost all the examples cited in this chapter to show semantic extension are the result of association. For instance, kanana ('canaan') is associated with 'peace and happiness'; sôfa ('sofa') is associated with 'comfort'. With regard to connotation, Leech (1983:13) says:

"It will be clear that in talking about connotation I am in fact talking about the 'real world' experience one associates with an expression when one uses or hears it."

With respect to the role played by the characteristics of the referent, Leech (1983:13) remarks:

"Any characteristic of the referent, identified subjectively or objectively, may contribute to the connotative meaning of the expression which denotes it."

The connotative meanings of the following loan lexical items obviously led to their semantic extension when adopted into the Northern Sotho lexicon:

<u>p^olitika</u>	:	'talk politics'
<u>Maemae</u>	:	'Mau Mau' (a secret society in Kenya)
<u>let^erorese</u>	:	'a terrorist'

The word 'politics' is defined by Watson (1976:868) as:

"The art and science of the government of a state."

To the Sotho people, the word p^olitiki ('politics') is associated with 'criticism' or 'opposition to authority'. The stem -p^olitika ('talk politics') is also used to refer to the art of criticising the government. The word is also used even where someone is just opposing or criticising others, especially opposing those with good ideas. Lep^olitiki refers to a person who is talking politics or who is criticising other people's ideas, e.g.:

<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Monna yo ke lep^olitiki</u>
		1 'This man is a politician'
		2 'This man likes talking politics'
		3 'This man likes criticising the government'
		4 'This man is always against authority'
		5 'This man is always against other people's ideas'

The generalization of the meaning of p^olitiki is mostly due to the connotations which the Sotho speaking people associate with the word 'politics', especially as a result of the political situation in which the majority, including the Northern Sotho speaking people, had little say in the government of the country. Louwrens(1988:89) says:

"Since the real world experiences of each and every individual in a given speech community differ, one can assume that every individual will attach certain connotations to the meaning of a given word which are uniquely determined by his particular background."

According to Louwrens , a word's connotative meaning will vary from society to society, from historical period to historical period, from age group to age group, and even from individual to individual.

" So for example, 'woman' may have connotations in the Northern Sotho culture which could differ markedly from the connotations this word has in the English, Japanese or Bushman cultures." (Louwrens, 1988:89).

As a result of association, the word 'Mau Mau' has undergone remarkable semantic shifts in Northern Sotho. The word maemae, derived from 'Mau Mau', is an example of both semantic extension and complete semantic shift. It is an example of semantic extension in that few Sotho speaking people who remember that maemae refers to 'the underground secret society' in Kenya, whose terrorist activities during the years 1952-1959 resulted in massacres and destruction throughout Kenya, use the word maemae for 'Mau Mau'. Besides its reference to 'Mau Mau', maemae is used by most Sotho speaking people to refer to a 'ritual killer'. The word maemae can also be regarded as an example of complete meaning shift due to the fact that very few Northern Sotho speaking people can still trace the word from its origin, i.e. 'Mau Mau', while the rest of the Sotho people use the word with reference to 'a ritual killer', and nothing else. The killings and destructions which formed part of the daily activities of the 'Mau Mau' during the rebellion in Kenya led to its association with

'ritual killing'. Another interesting fact about the meaning shift from 'Mau Mau' to maemae is that 'Mau Mau' refers to a secret society, which is a group of people, while maemae is a singular lexical item which refers to one person only, e.g.:

BASIC MEANING : Kenyatta ke moêtapele wa maemae

LIT. : 'Kenyatta is a Mau Mau leader'

SECONDARY MEANING : Kenyatta ke maemae

LIT. : 'Kenyatta is a Mau Mau'

ENG. : 'Kenyatta is a ritual killer'

The word maemae is used as synonym for the Northern Sotho words sekêbêka, senkhodane or mmuwane, which all refer to 'a killer'.

Another example of loan words which had undergone meaning extension due to association with the 'real world experience' in which the Sotho speaking people found themselves, is the loan lexical item letêrôrese 'a terrorist'. The basic meaning of the English word 'terrorist' is, according to Watson(1976:1141):

"... a person who favours or practises terror as a method of ruling or of conducting political opposition."

In Northern Sotho, a person regarded as letêrôrese ('a terrorist') is associated with the following connotations:

1. Male person who is shabbily dressed or untidy.
2. Bellicose in nature
3. A merciless killer

4. Usually a dagga smoker or a drug addict
5. Spend most of his time in the bush or hiding from authority
6. An outlaw

Some of these connotations are relevant to a 'terrorist'.

The following example shows how the meaning of the word letêrôrese is generalised in Northern Sotho:

N.S. : Montu ke letêrôrese. means

- 1 'Montu is a terrorist'
- 2 'Montu is a guerilla'
- 3 'Montu likes opposing the government'
- 4 'Montu is a killer'
- 5 'Montu likes terrorising people'
- 6 'Montu is an outlaw'
- 7 'Montu is an armed bandit'

3.7. THE ROLE OF POLYSEMY AND FIGURATIVE MEANING IN MEANING EXPANSION

Words become polysemous when used to express figurative meaning.

The loan word tura, from the Afrikaans word duur which means 'expensive', is also used to express a figurative meaning, thereby becoming polysemous, e.g.:

BASIC MEANING : Dikôlôî di a tura matsatši a.

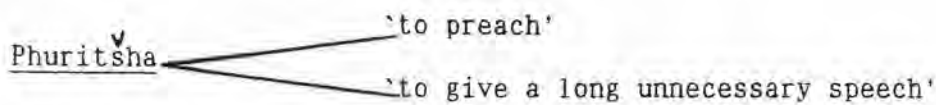
LIT. : 'Cars are expensive these days'

FIGURATIVE : Montu o a tura matsatši a.

LIT. : 'Montu is expensive these days'

ENG. : 'Montu is scarce these days'

The lexical item tura basically refers to 'expensive' and it is also used figuratively to mean 'scarce' as is exemplified above. Another example of meaning extension due to figurative meaning is found in the loan word phuritsha from the word 'preach'. Polysemy in this loan word can be illustrated as follows:



The basic meaning and the figurative meaning of the word phuritsha can be identified in the following example:

<u>BASIC MEANING</u>	:	<u>Moruti o phuritsha ka kerekeng</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	'The priest is preaching in church'
<u>FIGURATIVE</u>	:	<u>Maite ge a bega taba o a phuritsha</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	'Maite is preaching when introducing a case'
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'Maite is not brief and to the point when introducing a case'

Semantic extension due to idiomatic expressions also occurs in loan lexical items in Northern Sotho. The following are examples in this regard:

<u>Sepoko</u>	:	('ghost'), from the Afrikaans word <u>spook</u>
<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Wa se tle o tla bona sepoko</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	'If you don't come you will see a ghost'
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'If you don't come you will land in trouble', or 'If you don't come you will see miracles'

Borôthô : ('bread'), from the Afrikaans word brood

N.S. : Montu o ragilê borôthô

LIT. : 'Montu has kicked bread'

ENG. : 'Montu has misused her fortune'

or

'Montu did not use the fortune, given to her, properly'

Pakête : 'Bucket'

N.S. : Montu o rwala pakête

LIT. : 'Montu is carrying the bucket'

IDIOMATIC EXP.: Montu o ragilê pakête

LIT. : 'Montu has kicked the bucket'

ENG.: : 'Montu is dead'

The meaning of the lexical items sepoko, borôthô and pakête has shifted to express idiomatic expressions. In this way these loan words have become polysemous due to their use in idiomatic expressions.

3.8. SUMMARY

Semantic extension in loan lexical items enriches the Northern Sotho lexicon, 'gradually and unintentionally' (Tudhope, 1983:27). In this process, the restricted meaning of the foreign words are generalised when these words are adopted into the Sotho lexicon. As a matter of fact,

" The coexistence of several meanings in one word, which is extremely common, is called polysemy. Some words develop a whole family of meanings, each new meaning often forming yet another starting point for more."

This semantic extension is ascribed to various factors, such as the use of words in metaphoric expressions; figurative and idiomatic expressions; the use of kinship terminology; hyperbolic expressions; connotations and association. These factors, inter alia, play a major role in the generalisation of the meaning of loan lexical items when they are adopted in the Northern Sotho lexicon. Breal (1964:121) concludes as follows regarding semantic extension in a language:

"The expansion of meaning is a normal phenomenon, which must have a place among all peoples whose life is intense and whose thought is active."

CHAPTER 4

RADICAL SEMANTIC CHANGE IN NORTHERN SOTHO LOAN WORDS4.1 INTRODUCTION

As we have seen in the previous chapters, meaning change occurs in the form of extension, i.e. a new sense may be added to an old name or a new name to an old sense, and in the form of meaning restrictions, i.e. a name loses one, or more, of its senses. Ullman (1951:65) says the following in this regard:

"Meaning, it will be remembered, has been defined as a reciprocal relationship between name and sense..... A change of meaning will arise whenever there is some alteration in that basic relationship. Such alteration can take two forms: a new sense may be added to an old name, or a new name to an old sense."

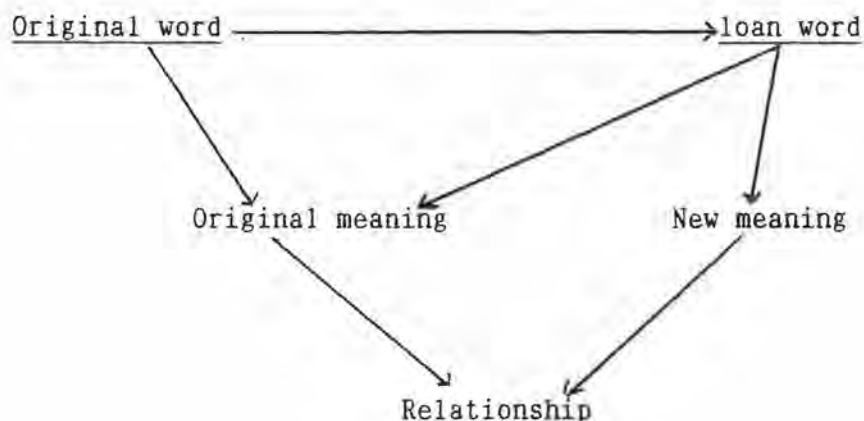
Beside meaning restriction and meaning extension, lexical items sometimes undergo radical meaning change. In this case, the meaning change may occur through meaning restriction when the lexical item loses its basic meaning and retains a secondary meaning. With regard to loan lexical items, the word is adopted with a different meaning to that of its counterpart in another language. In some cases, the word is adopted in a word category which differs from that of the original word in the other language, e.g. from verb to noun:

AFR. slag ('slaughter') :verb

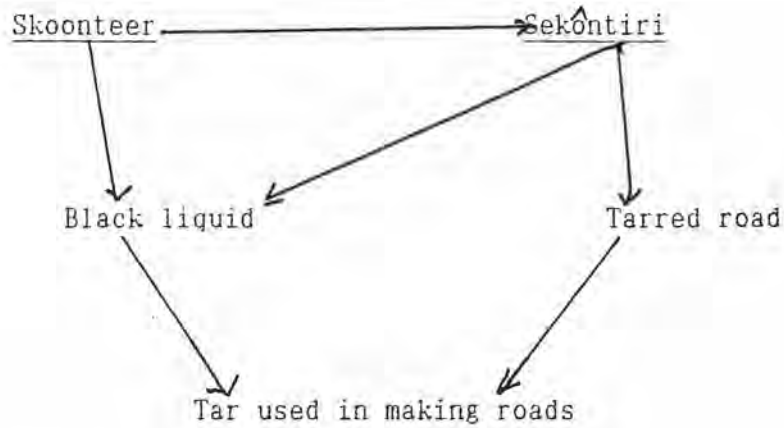
N.S. selaga ('butchery') : noun

It is not always possible to distinguish between loan words whose meanings have changed radically from the original meaning, and those whose meanings have undergone meaning shift through restriction or extension. This is mainly due to the fact that words will still be semantically related to a certain extent even though their meanings may seem to have changed completely from the original meanings. Loan words which seem to differ radically from their counterparts in the original language with regard to their meanings are investigated in this chapter. Knowledge of the etymological history of words determines the extent to which one can make this distinction. The distinction between radical meaning change and meaning extension, as well as a change of word category, is represented diagrammatically:

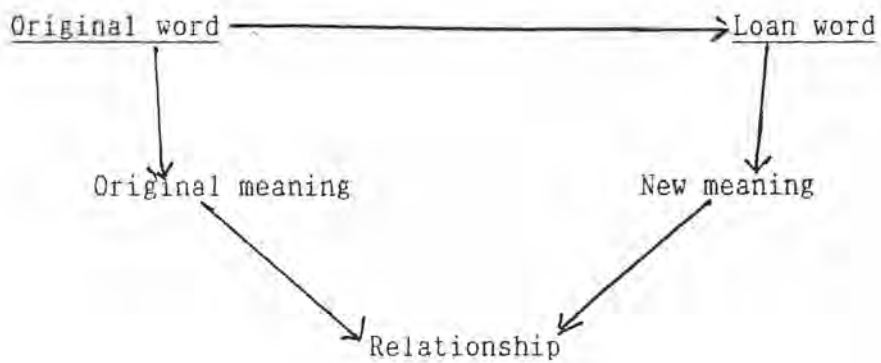
MEANING EXTENSION



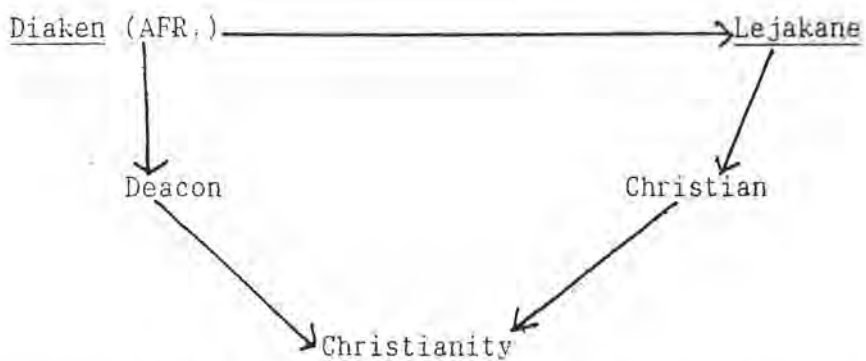
e.g.: Sekontiri : AFR.: Skoonteer ('tar')



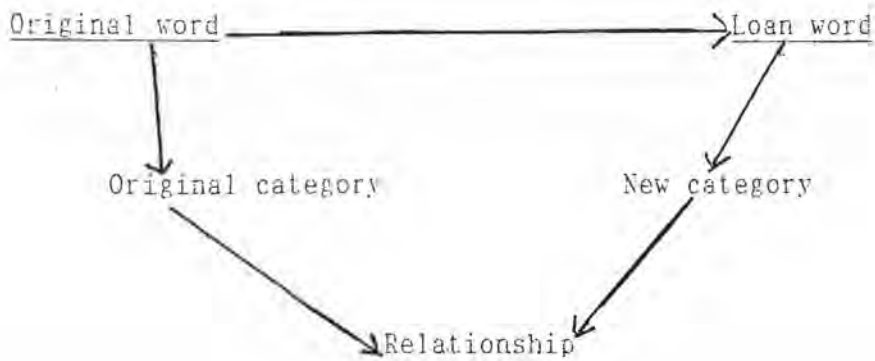
Radical meaning change:



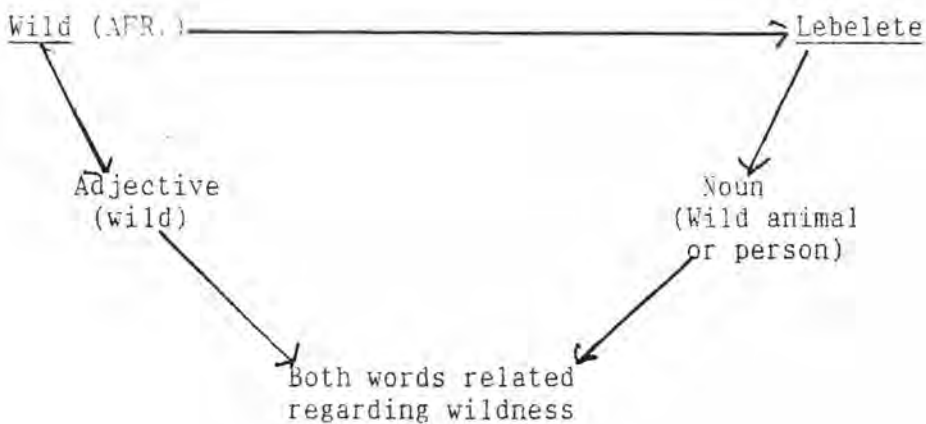
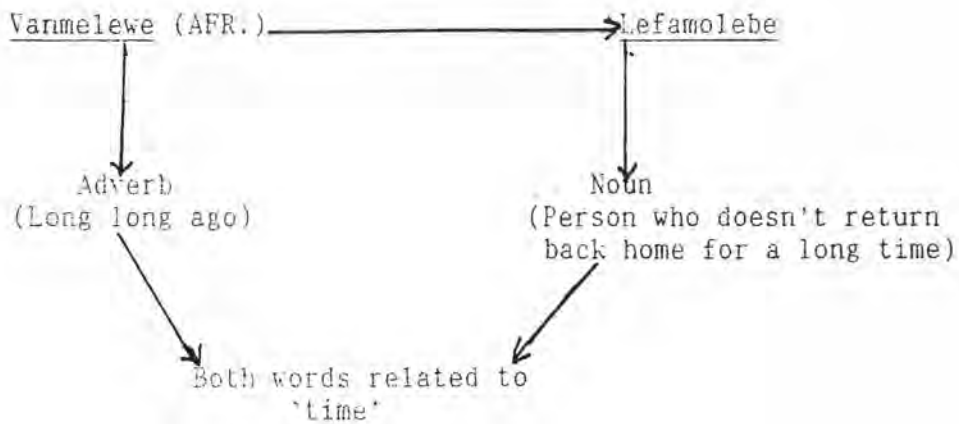
e.g.:

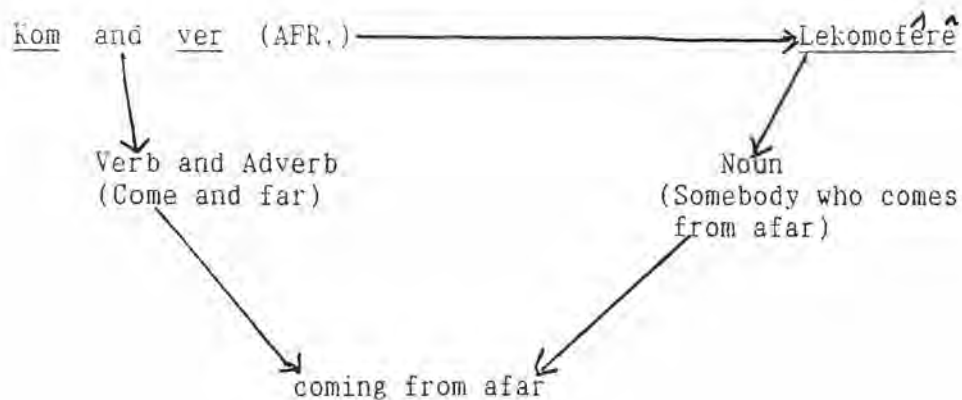


(Unlike motikone, which refers to 'deacon' or diaken, and not lejakane)

CHANGE OF CATEGORY:

e.g.





4.2 SEMANTIC RESTRICTION DUE TO INCORRECT ASSOCIATION

In this case, the word which previously expressed a general meaning has its meaning restricted to one particular meaning, which is radically different from the basic meaning of the word. With regard to loan words, the word initially refers to both the basic as well as the secondary meaning, but ultimately the basic meaning becomes obsolete and the meaning of the loan word is restricted to the new meaning. Barber (1972:244) says:

"When a word develops a new meaning, it sometimes loses the old one. Thus, the word 'wan' (old English 'wann') at first meant 'dark', or even 'black', being applied for example to a raven and night. In late Middle English it developed its modern sense of 'pale'."

Subjectivity prevails in the distinction between words which have changed radically from the original meaning and those which are still applied in a wider range of collocations.

A good example here is the word maemae ('Mau Mau'), which has been

discussed in the previous chapter, exemplifying meaning extension. Subject to etymological analysis the word maemae can be said to be polysemous i.e. referring to both 'Mau Mau' and 'a ritual killer'. But practically, the word maemae has lost its original meaning i.e. its reference to the meaning of 'Mau Mau', and is restricted to the secondary meaning i.e. 'a ritual killer'. In reality, there are very few Sotho speaking people who know the word maemae to be a loan word from 'Mau Mau', which, according to Watson (1976:689), is :

"A secret society in Kenya, drawn chiefly from the Kikuyu, which aimed at driving European settlers out of Kenya."

The Northern Sotho speaking people in the Eastern and North-Eastern Transvaal use the word malaene to refer to a planned rural residential area. This word is derived from the English word 'line'. This is due to the fact that houses in a planned residential area are built in lines. The word is most commonly used in the locative form, i.e. malaeneng. This is another example of radical meaning change of loan words, and very few people can still realise that malaeneng is derived from the word 'line'.

As examples of radical semantic shifts resulting from restrictions, the following loan lexical items are cited:

maké¹ta : 'to market'

kôulô : 'goal'

semausu : AFR. smous ('hawker')

The stem -makêta is a verb derived from the word 'market' which refers to 'a place of supply and demand'. Instead of referring to 'the act of marketing' i.e. of selling or buying commodities, the loan word is today restricted to 'the act of looking for a job'. This loan word is derived from the noun mmakête 'a person who is looking for a job' and its meaning has radically shifted from what its English counterpart 'market' refers to, e.g.:

<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Ba makêta kua ôfising ya mmasetarata</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	*'They market at the magistrate's office'
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'They look for employment at the magistrate's office'

The loan word -makêta has completely lost its basic meaning, i.e. that of 'marketing' and is restricted to that of 'looking for a job'.

Kôulô is a loan word derived from the English word 'goal' which is defined by Watson (1976:452) as:

"The pair of posts etc. between or into which the ball or puck has to be sent to score points. The act of sending the ball or puck between the two posts or into the hoop etc."

In Northern Sotho, the loan word kôulô refers to a ball, not the pair of posts into which this ball, or kôulô, is to be sent to score points. The plural form of the loan word, i.e. dikôulô ('goals') is still used polysemously to refer to both 'balls', and 'the pair of posts' through which the ball is directed, while the singular form is restricted to a 'soccer ball', 'netball' or 'basketball'. The word is also used to refer to a 'soccer game'. Thus, while kôulô is synonymous with 'a ball' and 'a soccer game',

dikôulô is synonymous with 'balls' and 'goals' or 'dinô,' as is explicated in the following sentences:

N.S. : Dikôulô tšê di katogane kudu

LIT. : 'These goals are too wide', which is synonymous with

N.S. : Dinô tšê di katogane kudu

N.S. : O rekêtsê ngwana kôulô tôrôpông

LIT. : 'He bought a ball for the child in town', synonymous with

N.S. : O rekêtsê ngwana kgwele (bolo)

N.S. : Basemane ba bapala kôulô

LIT. : 'The boys are playing soccer', synonymous with

N.S. : Basemane ba bapala kgwele ya maoto

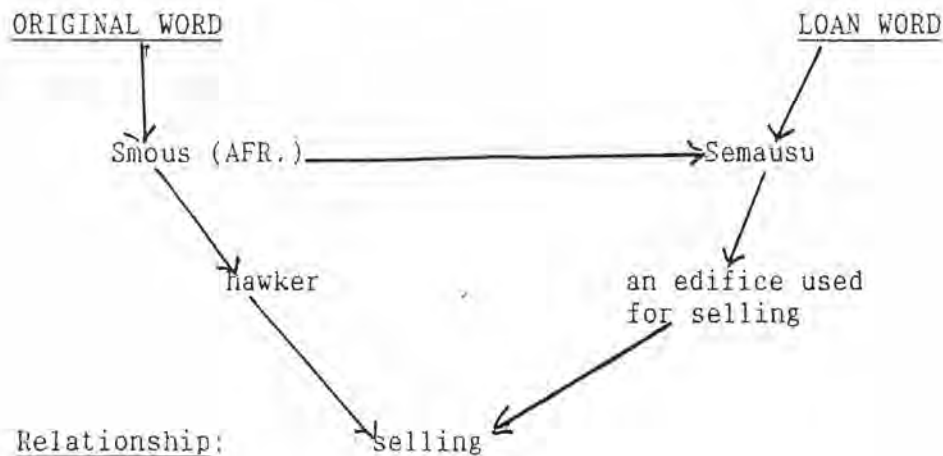
The English translation of the sentence basemane ba bapala kôulô cannot be interpreted to mean 'the boys are playing goal', nor can the sentence kôulô yê e bulêgilê kudu be translated as 'this goal is too wide', because the Sotho word kôulô in both sentences refers to different objects from what the English 'goal' refers to in both sentences.

The loan word semausu from Afrikaans smous ('a hawker') is another example of a complete semantic shift, which still shows a sign that the word initially applied to a more general meaning, i.e. 'hawker' and also 'a temporary building used as a shop'. The loan word gradually lost its basic meaning i.e. its reference to 'a hawker' and retained the secondary meaning which is completely different from what the Afrikaans word 'smous' or the English word 'hawker' refers to.

The word 'hawker' is defined by Watson (1976:494) as:

"Someone who peddles goods esp. from cart etc., moving from place to place and shouting out his wares."

Contrary to this definition, the Sotho loan word semausu does not refer to a person but to a building, a vehicle or any edifice used for selling commodities, either movable or immovable, as long as it is a temporary edifice. The following diagram shows how the meaning of the loan word semausu differs from that of its English and Afrikaans counterparts:



The first Sotho people to use the loan word semausu must have understood it to mean 'hawker' but gradually the meaning shifted to denote a place where a hawker usually sells his goods. And ultimately the word came to be restricted to 'the place' where the hawker sells his goods, and not the 'hawker' himself.

Most Northern Sotho loan words, whose meaning changed radically from that of their counterparts in the languages of origin, originated through restrictions and ultimately lost the original meaning. Most of the

examples cited in this chapter fall under this group.

Some loan words in Northern Sotho changed their meaning radically from what the original words in the foreign language refer to, due to incorrect interpretation or association with the wrong concepts. A foreign word is not correctly interpreted and the loan word derived from this word will, therefore, refer to a wrong concept and habitually used as such. Ullman (1962:198) says the following in this regard:

"Some semantic changes are due to associations which words contract in meaning. Habitual collocations may permanently affect the meaning of the terms involved....."

The following loan lexical items are examples in this regard:

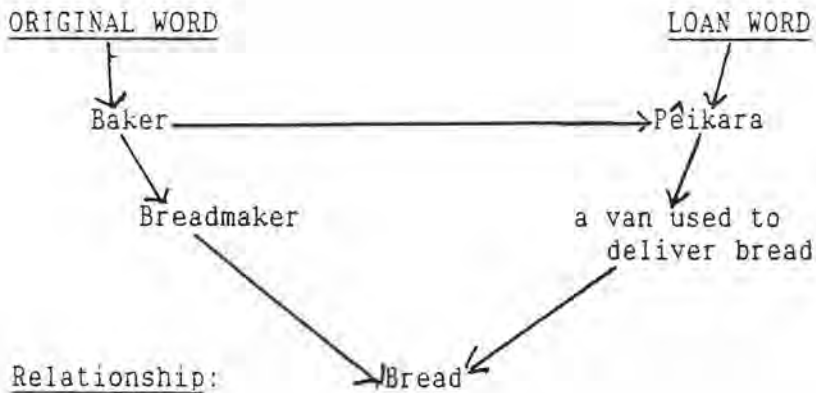
<u>Peikara</u>	:	<u>ENG.</u>	baker
<u>Pasopiša</u>	:	<u>AFR.</u>	pas op! ('be careful')
<u>Nkomase</u>	:	<u>ZULU.</u>	<u>Inkomazi</u> ('cow')
<u>Sekhampelēni</u>	:	<u>NDEBELE.</u>	<u>Skhambeleni?</u> ('What have we travelled for?')

The lexical item peikara is derived from the word 'baker' which, according to Watson (1976:83), refers to:

"A professional breadmaker; someone who sells bread and pastries."

In Northern Sotho peikara refers to a 'van' or 'a vehicle' used to deliver bread to shops. Sometimes the word is used to refer to a

baker's shop, and in this case, a locative suffix -ng is often used i.e. pêikareng. The loan word does not refer to a person, as in English, but to a vehicle or building. It is obvious that the word was associated with the van which usually delivered bread and ultimately the word had come to denote just that. The difference in meaning between pêikara and 'baker' is explicated in the following diagram:



The word pasôpiša, derived from Afrikaans pas op, which is a warning 'be careful' or 'beware', is wrongly used in Sotho to signify forgiveness, e.g.:

- QUESTION : Ba fêditšê bjang molato wa gagwê?
ANSWER : Ba mo pasôpišitšê
LIT. : 'How did they conclude his case?'
LIT. : 'They told him to be careful'
ENG. : 'They pardoned him' or 'They warned him'

This meaning shift is due to the fact that most people - Afrikaans speaking people especially - use the words 'pas op' when they forgive the culprit by warning him. The fact that the words are mentioned when a person is forgiven led to Northern Sotho speakers' association of this

expression with forgiveness, and consequently, the warning 'pas op', i.e. pasôpiša and 'forgiveness' became synonymous. The real meaning of the word is expressed by the loan word pasôpa, while pasôpiša has shifted to mean 'forgiveness'.

The word nkomase, derived from the Zulu inkomazi meaning 'cow', is used in Northern Sotho to refer to a type of milk contained in cartons. There are very few Sotho speaking people today who know that the word nkomase is derived from a Zulu word meaning 'cow'. The carton containing this type of milk has a picture of a cow on it, and is labelled 'inkomaas'. And, as a result, the word nkomase is associated with this type of milk and not with the cow, e.g.:

<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Mma o rêkilê nkomase</u>
<u>LIT.</u>	:	* 'Mother bought a cow' (an <u>inkomazi</u>)
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'Mother bought sour milk'

An interesting shift of meaning is the one which has affected the Ndebele phrase skhambeleni? which means 'what have we travelled for?'. The phrase was habitually used by the Ndebele when they were tired and hungry, especially after a tiresome travel or walk. Due to lack of money, the cheapest way was to use starch water as a drink with bread. The phrase skhambeleni? was used by speakers of other languages, especially the Sotho, to refer to this starch water. Thus, in Northern Sotho, sekhampêlêni is not a phrase nor a question but a drink made of a mixture of sugar and water, e.g.

<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Ba nwa sekhampêlêni</u>
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'They drink starch water', and not

LIT. : *`They drink `what have we travelled for?`

This meaning shift is due to association. Since the phrase was always said when they were preparing this `drink`, other people, especially those who did not understand the phrase, associated the phrase with starch water.

Misinterpretation or wrong association of foreign lexical items with their correct meaning or referents played a major role in semantic shifts of loan words in languages. Most of the loan words which differ semantically from their counterparts in the original languages originated in this way. In Northern Sotho, for instance, the speakers use these loan words unaware of the differences in meaning between these words and their counterparts in the foreign languages. Words such as the following refer to objects which are different from what the original words refer to:

N.S. : Lesantase : ENG. : `Sandal`

N.S. : Lelaeta : AFR. : Laitie `A coloured or black boy under street light`

A `sandal` is defined by Watson (1976:986) as:

"A sole attached to the foot by straps which pass over the instep and round the ankle."

Lesantase is a different type of shoe from what the word `sandal` refers to. The lexical item lesantase refers to what the English speaking people know as `a slipper`. The sentence o rwala masantase

does not mean 'he is wearing sandals' but 'he is wearing slippers'. The word lelaeta, derived from the Afrikaans (colloquial) word 'laitie', which refers to a member of a group of coloured boys or young boys (black) usually found under street lights, refers to 'a tsotsi' or 'juvenile delinquent' in Northern Sotho. The word khawapoi, derived from the English word 'cowboy', does not refer to the same referent as its English counterpart, but to 'juvenile delinquent'. The word cowboy is defined by Watson (1976:250) as:

"A cattle herder on a ranch, especially one who works on horseback."

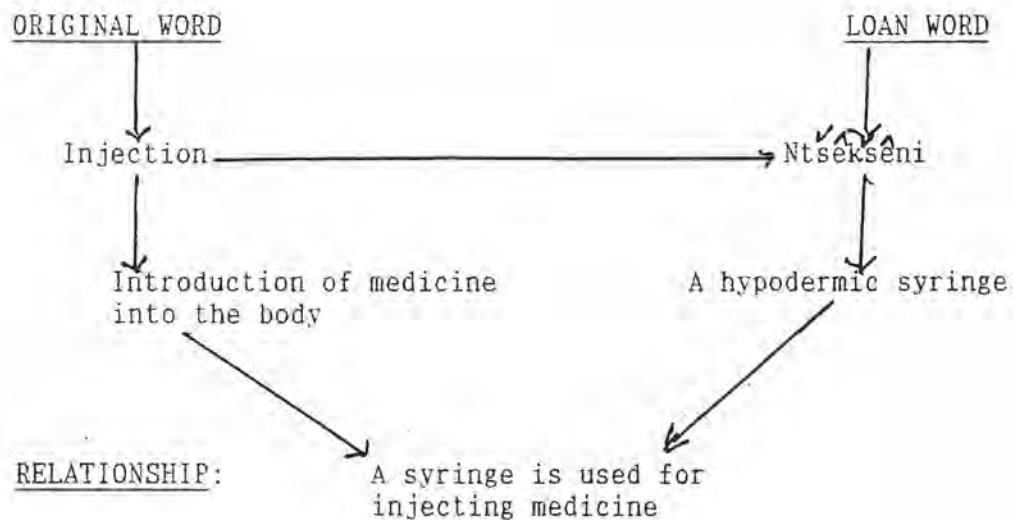
Thus, while the connotative meaning of 'cowboy' will include the following: a cattle herder, usually on horseback, found usually on a ranch, those of the Sotho khawapoi will include none of the above connotations, since the Sotho word refers to a 'film star' in Western pictures, or 'a juvenile' delinquent'. This meaning shift is due to the fact that most of the cowboys the Sotho people know are those they have seen acting in the cinematographic pictures, especially shooting each other with guns. This is why the word 'cowboy' is also associated with 'juvenile delinquent' in Sotho.

The word ntsekseni 'injection' is another example of meaning shift resulting from an incorrect use of foreign words. Habitual collocation has completely changed the meaning of the word ntsekseni or ntsekišeni, which is derived from the English word 'injection'. The word injection is defined by Watson (1976:555) as:

"The act of injecting; the introduction of a substance, especially a drug into the body especially by means of a hypodermic syringe ; a

substance especially a drug in solution, that is injected."

The Sotho word ntsekseni does not refer to the act of injecting medicine nor a substance that is injected but to a hypodermic syringe. Instead of referring to the act of injecting or a substance that is injected, the word ntsekseni refers to the instrument used in the process, as in the following diagram:



N.S. : Ngaka e ntlhabilê ka ntsekseni e koto

LIT. : * 'The doctor injected me with a thick injection'

ENG. : 'The doctor injected me with a thick syringe'

N.S. : Ntsekseni ya bana ke yê sese kudu

LIT. : * 'The children's injection is very thin'

ENG. : 'The hypodermic syringe used for children is very thin'

4.3 RADICAL MEANING SHIFT RESULTING FROM CHANGE OF REFERENTS

According to Lyons' (1981:30) referential theory, the meaning of an expression is what it refers to, or stands for. This meaning changes

when the thing referred to changes or alters its structure. With regard to change of meaning due to change of referents, Barber (1972:247) says:

"One reason why a word changes its meaning is that the thing it refers to changes. The word 'ship' has been used in English for over a thousand years to denote a vessel for travelling on the sea, but the kind of machine actually used for this purpose has changed enormously; the word used of the long boats of the Vikings is now also used of a modern liner or aircraft carrier, and it seems reasonable to say its meaning has changed."

The best example here is the use of loan words denoting British monetary units (discussed in chapter 3), which were replaced in the early sixties of this century, to refer to present South African monetary units. The following terms referring to the English money are still widely used by the Sotho speaking people:

<u>Sokwa</u>	:	'six pence'	for	'five cents coin'
<u>Lefakōrōng</u>	:	'half a crown'	for	'twenty five cents'
<u>Faefepōpō</u>	:	'five bob'	for	'fifty cents coin'
<u>Shēlēng</u>	:	'shilling'	for	'ten cents coin'
<u>Pōntō</u>	:	'one pound'	for	'two rand'

The South African people were used to British monetary units and when this money was phased out, the people continued to use the same names to refer to the new money which seemed to be more or less equal in value, instead of using the new names, i.e. cents and rands. The loan

words referring to British monetary units did not only develop in Sotho but also in almost all the languages spoken in South Africa. The following examples show the meaning changes which occurred to the abovementioned names:

N.S. : Ke rēkilē malēkērē a sokwa
LIT. : 'I bought sweets costing sixpence'
ENG. : 'I bought sweets costing five cents'

N.S. : Borōthō bo bitša lefakōrōng fēla
LIT. : 'Bread is costing half a crown only'
ENG. : 'Bread is costing twenty five cents only'

N.S. : Josefa o filē Maite faefepōpō
LIT. : 'Joseph gave Maite five bob'
ENG. : 'Joseph gave Maite fifty cents'

N.S. : Ba filē Thakadu shelēng
LIT. : 'They gave Thakadu a shilling'
ENG. : 'They gave Thakadu ten cents'

N.S. : Ke rēkilē nama ya pōntō
LIT. : 'I bought meat costing one pound'
ENG. : 'I bought meat costing two rands'

It is interesting to know that some Sotho youths who were born after these monetary units were no longer in operation also use these terms to refer to the South African cents and rands even though they do not personally know the British coins and notes.

This means that the British monetary units (the referents) have been phased out, but the names are retained to refer to the new monetary units, and thus a new sense has been added to an old name (Ullman, 1951:65). Cooper (1976:87) exemplifies meaning change resulting from change of referent as follows:

"The question arises: Does woman as 'female person' have the same meaning in 1976 as it did in King Alfred's time? Does lady mean the same thing today as it did to Queen Elizabeth I in 1588? The problem lies in the relationship between meaning and the social reality which meaning is an abstraction of."

4.4 MEANING CHANGE RESULTING FROM COMPOUND WORDS

The loan lexical items which are derived from compound words usually omit one word of the compound and adopt one as loan word. The meaning of loan words differs radically from the literal meaning of the original words, but still refers to the meaning of the original compound words. Loan words such as the following fall under this category:

N.S.	:	<u>swiri</u>	:	AFR.:	<u>suur</u>	for	'lemon'
N.S.	:	<u>khontentse</u>	:	ENG.:	'condense'	for	'condensed milk'
N.S.	:	<u>selaga</u>	:	AFR.:	<u>slag</u>	for	'butchery'

Swiri is a loan word referring to a 'lemon'. The word is derived from the Afrikaans compound word suurlemoen, and only the first word of the compound, i.e. suur- is used while the word -lemoen is omitted. Even though each of the words constituting a compound has its own meaning, the loan word swiri does not refer to the literal meaning of

the word suur 'sour', but to the meaning of the compound word as if the loan word reflects the complete structure of the word suurlemoen. The words swiri and suur were supposed to have the same meaning, but the influence of the omitted lemoen ('orange') causes a complete shift of meaning.

The word khōntēntse is literally derived from the word 'condense', which is defined by Watson (1976:22) as follows:

"To make more dense or compact; to express in fewer words; to concentrate, increase the strength of; to reduce (gas or vapour) to a liquid form; to reduce by evaporation....."

Practically the loan word khōntēntse is derived from a compound word 'condensed milk' and, as such, does not refer to the literal meaning of 'condense', (as defined above), but to condensed milk, i.e. the milk which is thickened by evaporation and sweetened (Watson, 1976:226), e.g.:

N.S. : ke nwa khōntēntse
LIT. : * 'I am drinking condense'
ENG. : 'I am drinking condensed milk'

The loan word -selaga is used in Sotho to refer to a butchery. The word is derived from the Afrikaans compound word slaghuis ('butchery'). The loan word is identical to Afrikaans slag which means 'slaughter'. Even though the word huis ('house') is not included in the loan word selaga, its influence still exists.

The word matherafiki is usually used to refer to the traffic policemen as in the following example:

- N.S. : Matherafiki ba phatrola therafiki
LIT. : 'The traffics are patrolling the traffic'
ENG. : 'The traffic policemen are patrolling the traffic'

In this way, the words 'traffic policemen' are shortened to one loan word by omitting 'policemen' and using only the word 'traffic' which has a different meaning from the loan word.

4.5 SEMANTIC CHANGE RESULTING FROM CHANGE OF CATEGORY

In some cases the lexical items do not only change their meaning when they are borrowed into another language but also the category to which they belong. A word which is a noun in one language is borrowed as verb in another, and vice versa, or an adjective is borrowed as a noun, etc. The following are examples of words which shifted from their categories when adopted into the vocabulary of Northern Sotho:

- N.S. : tsh^heka, verb : ENG. 'cheeky' adjective
N.S. : pholaka, noun : ENG. 'pluck' verb
N.S. : sekham^hel^heni, noun : NDEBELE. Skhambeleni? 'What have we travelled for?' phrase (interrogative)
N.S. : leb^hel^hete, noun : AFR. wild 'wild' adjective

The word 'cheeky' is an adjective referring to the quality of being impudent or impudent behaviour (Watson, 1976:540). The Sotho loan derived from 'cheeky' is tsh^heka or tsh^henka which is a verb referring to 'the act of being cheeky' or 'bully'. e.g.

- N.S. : Monna yô o a tšheka
LIT. : 'This man is cheeky'
ENG. : 'This man is acting in a cheeky (or bullying) manner'

Pholaka is a noun referring to the act of taking liquor so as to be a bit intoxicated to get courage to do that which one is afraid to do when sober. Pholaka is derived from the English verb 'pluck' which is defined by Hornby (1974:641) as follows:

".... summon one's courage; overcome one's fears."

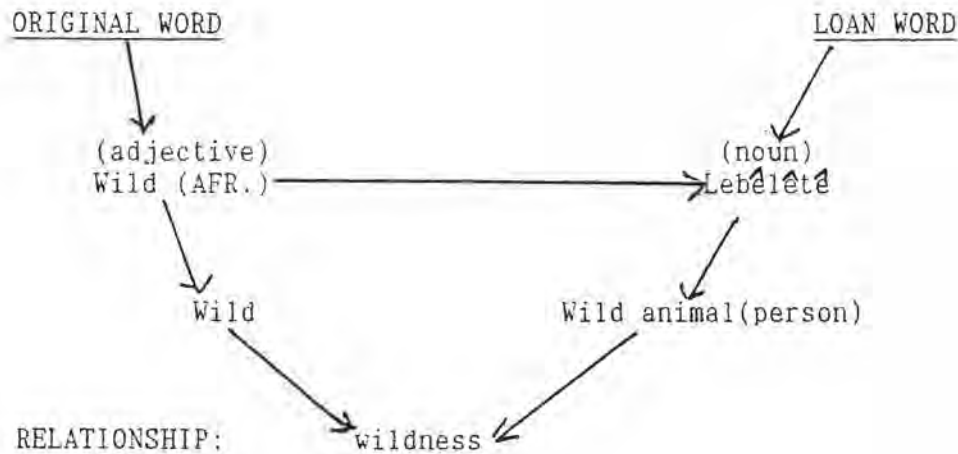
This verb has shifted to a noun when borrowed into Northern Sotho and is used as such, e.g.

- ENG. : 'The man plucked up his courage and faced the lion'
N.S. : Monna o betile sebetse a leba tau

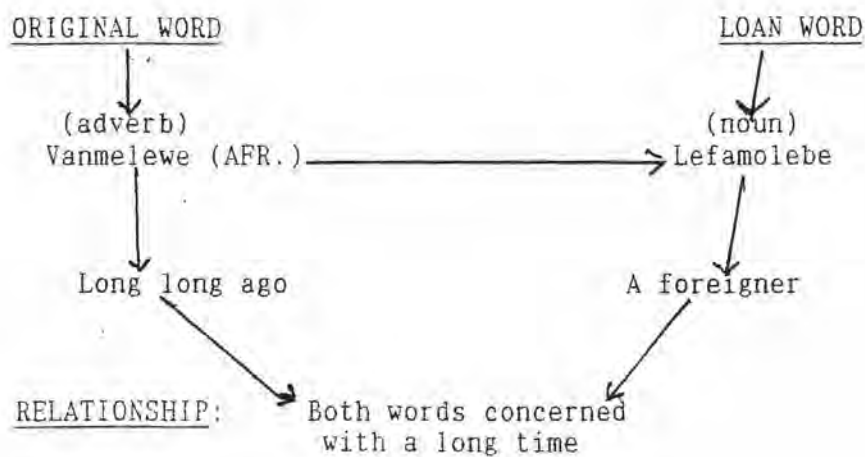
but

- N.S. : Ke tseetse Maite pholaka
LIT. : *'I took a pluck for Maite'
ENG. : 'I took a bit of liquor to get courage to face Maite'
- N.S. : Maite o be a sa tagwa kudu o be a le pholakeng
LIT. : *'Maite was not too much drunk, she was on a pluck'
ENG. : 'Maite was a little bit drunk'

The lexical item lebêlêtê is a noun derived from the Afrikaans adjective wild ('wild'). The loan word lebêlêtê refers to a 'wild animal' or 'a wild person' as is explicated in the following diagram:



Change of word category is also explicated in the following diagram to show semantic change affecting the loan word lefamolebe ('a foreigner'), derived from the Afrikaans word vanmelewe:



4.6 THE CONTRIBUTION OF SLANG IN SEMANTIC CHANGE

Macdonald (1977:1225) defines slang as:

"The 'jargon' of any class, profession, or set: words and usages not accepted for dignified use."

Typical examples of slang commonly used among the Sotho people originate from the so-called 'tsotsi' language or 'tsotsi-taal' (as it is commonly known). This 'tsotsi' language is sometimes called 'Flaaitaal', (Coertze, 1969:339). Although it is obvious that 'tsotsi-taal' will never develop into a fully-fledged language, it nevertheless influenced the vocabulary of most languages in our country, especially the black languages. With regard to 'tsotsi-taal', Swanepoel (1978:9) says:

"This so-called 'gangster-language' is very limited and it changes from time to time according to the whims of the speakers and also according to the changing circumstances. It is also in a way a secret language. It has no officially recognized orthography and no set rules as to how it should be written."

Despite the fact that 'Flaaitaal' has no officially recognised orthography nor set rules as to how it should be written, there are many words which the Sotho Languages have borrowed from other languages such as English, Afrikaans etc. via 'tsotsi-taal'. And, as such, the meaning of words changed from those of their counterparts in the original languages to refer to what 'tsotsi-taal' refers to. In most cases, 'tsotsi-taal' borrows words in the form of metaphor. In this regard, Breal (1964:133) says:

"What is called 'argot', or slang, is largely composed of metaphors, more or less vaguely indicated, yet it is a language which can be learnt as quickly as any other."

Words such as the following are used metaphorically in 'tsotsi-taal' to refer to different meanings from what they usually refer to in the languages of origin:

<u>ENG.</u> :	'cherry'	<u>SLANG</u> :	<u>cheri</u>	<u>N.S.</u> :	<u>tshêri</u>
<u>AFR.</u> :	jol ('be merry')	<u>SLANG</u> :	<u>jola</u>	<u>N.S.</u> :	<u>jôla</u>
<u>ENG.</u> :	'groove' or 'groovy'	<u>SLANG</u> :	<u>gruva</u>	<u>N.S.</u> :	<u>kuruba</u>
<u>ENG.</u> :	'mission'	<u>SLANG</u> :	<u>mishen</u>	<u>N.S.</u> :	<u>mmišêni</u>

For instance, the word 'cherry' in English refers to 'a soft, small round fruit' (Hornby, 1974:142). The slang word 'cherry' refers to 'a girl'. Obviously the slang word is derived from the English 'cherry' in the sense that a girl is metaphorically compared to a cherry fruit. In Northern Sotho the word tshêri is widely used to mean 'girl friend'. The word is used as euphemism for the Sotho words motlabo, nyatse or mokaola and, as such, it is usually preferred by most speakers of Northern Sotho, young and old. It is interesting to know that the word may even be used with reference to old ladies, as is explicated in the following sentences:

<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Ke tshêri ya ka</u>	(slang)
<u>LIT.</u>	:	* 'She is my cherry'	
<u>ENG.</u>	:	'She is my girl friend'	
<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>Mokgêkolo yô ke tshêri ya Madala</u>	(slang)

- LIT. : *`This old lady is Madala's cherry'
ENG. : `This old lady is Madala's girl friend (or sweetheart)'

The word -jôla is used as euphemism for the Sotho words -tlabola, -nyatsela or -kaola which seem insulting when compared to the former. This slang word is widely used by the Sotho speaking people today to refer to 'the act of having an extramarital-love affair'. The word is used alternatively with the Sotho lexical item -ratana, which is also euphemistic. This word developed from the Afrikaans word jol which means 'to be merry'.

The idea here may be that lovers are usually happy together, which obviously led to the use of the word -jola to denote the act of having a love affair, e.g.:

- N.S. : Ba a jôla (slang)
LIT. : *`They are jollyng' (which is senseless)
ENG. : `They have a love affair'

alternatively

- N.S. : Ba a ratana
LIT. : *`They are loving each other'
ENG. : `They are having a love affair (extramarital or marital)'

This slang word is obviously a metaphoric derivative of the English word 'jolly' which underwent a complete shift of the meaning of the word.

The slang kuruba is derived from the English word 'groove' or 'groovy'.

which Hornby (1974:380) defines as follows:

"A way of living that has become a habit One's style of living.
An up-to-date: in the latest fashion (especially of young people)."

The slang kuruba in Northern Sotho refers to a 'habit or the act of following the so-called 'nice times', such as organising parties (which are called 'gigis' in tsotsi language), spending money entertaining friends, girl friends, etc. e.g.:

N.S. : Maite o rata go kuruba kudu
LIT. : * 'Maite likes groving very much' (senseless)
ENG. : 'Maite likes enjoying 'nice times' very much'

The slang word mmis^{va}eni which is usually pronounced 'mishen' in 'tsotsi-taal' is derived from the English term 'mission' which Watson (1976:712) defines as follows:

"...any task, especially of a diplomatic nature, that one is sent to do : a permanent diplomatic delegation abroad; an aim in life, arising from a conviction or sense of calling...."

In 'tsotsi-taal' the word 'mishen' refers to 'the ability to think or to plan one's things properly', which is the meaning referred to by the word mmis^{va}eni.

N.S. : Lebak^a l^e le mpha mmis^{va}eni
LIT. : * 'This dagga gives me a mission' (senseless)
ENG. : 'This dagga makes me think properly'

This meaning is radically different from the meaning of the English lexical item 'mission', which is a result of the use of the word to express a metaphorical meaning.

The following are some of the slang words which exemplify radical semantic shifts in Northern Sotho:

ENG. : 'smog' SLANG: 'smoko' N.S.: semôkô

ENG. : 'spot' SLANG: 'spoto' N.S.: sepôto or spôtsô

N.S. : semôkô ke eng mô?

LIT. : * 'What is the smog here?' (senseless)

ENG. : 'What is wrong here?'

N.S. : O khôsitsê semôkô

LIT. : * 'He has caused smog' (senseless)

ENG. : 'He has caused trouble'

The word 'smog' is according to Watson (1976:1047) a noun referring to:

"...heavy fog injurious to health because it contains smoke and gases produced by the partial combustion of fuels."

The slang word smoko refers to 'trouble' and this is the meaning which the Sotho word semôkô has. The fact that 'smog' is a combination of smoke and gas means that the atmosphere in the area is contaminated and there is the possibility of fire blazing in the area, thereby causing destruction. The metaphoric use of the slang 'smoko' to mean trouble

is based on this fact.

The word sepôto or sepôtsô is used to refer to a private house or home where liquor is sold or 'a shebeen'. This word is a loan word from the English word 'spot' which means 'place' or any 'marked area'. The meaning differences between the English 'spot' and the Sotho word spotso is explicated in the following examples:

- N.S. : Bjala bja spôtsông (sepôtông) bo a tura
LIT. : * 'Liquor in a spot is expensive' (senseless)
ENG. : 'Liquor in a shebeen (private home) is expensive'
- ENG. : 'This is the spot on which an accident occurred.'
N.S. : Ke lôna lefelo lêô kôtsi e hlagilêgo

Even though these informal languages may seem to be unimportant, their effects on our vocabulary cannot be ignored, particularly with regard to their role in semantic shift. Most of the words used in these informal languages are not accepted by the Language Committees but the people who use these words outnumber those who use alternative ones. In Sotho, for instance, words such as tshêri, jôla, kuruba, pholaka, etc. are used by the majority of the Sotho people.

The meaning change resulting from slang occurs in the form of what Barber (1972:257) calls 'dead metaphor'. Breal (1964:116) summarises the effects of 'dead metaphor' with the following comment:

"...the particular characteristic after which an object has been named may therefore retire into the background, may even be wholly forgotten."

4.7 CONCLUSION

Beside meaning restriction and expansion, Sotho lexical items sometimes change their meaning radically. This may occur through restriction and the lexical item loses its basic meaning and retains a secondary meaning, as in the use of the so-called 'slang'.

Radical meaning change occurs, sometimes, as a result of misinterpretation of foreign words and the association of words with the wrong concepts in one's own language e.g. ntš[^]ekš[^]eni 'injection' for a 'hypodermic syringe'.

A shift also occurs as a result of change of referents. The original concept referred to by the word disappears but the word is retained to refer to a different concept, which may be related in some way or another to the original concept. The best examples here are the British monetary units which are no longer in use in our country but their names are still retained to name the new monetary units which are different in value and features from the old ones e.g. sh[^]el[^]eng ('shilling') for 'ten cents'.

The 'indirect' form of radical meaning shifts affecting loan words occurs in compound words, especially those derived from English and Afrikaans in Northern Sotho e.g. selaga for slaghuis ('butchery') instead of for slag ('slaughter').

Some words change their category when borrowed into Northern Sotho vocabulary, and this goes hand-in-hand with meaning change, e.g. tš[^]heka,

derived from adjective 'cheeky'.

The influence of slang in the Sotho vocabulary results in complete shift of meaning. According to Breal (1964:133) what is called 'argot' or slang is largely composed of metaphor, and the metaphorical use of existing foreign words in informal languages, such as slang, results in meaning shifts. e.g. tshêri for the English word 'cherry'.

Breal (1964:121) concludes his views regarding semantic shift with the following comment:

"Speech would cease if all words had to be restored to the exact meaning which they possessed in the beginning."

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION5.1 BORROWING

When people of different cultures come into contact, they have many things to share and these result in the process of foreign acquisitions and an extensive increase in vocabulary. An increase in vocabulary is at the same time accompanied by an increase, and also changes and shifts, in meaning. With regard to borrowing, Ullman (1962:210) comments as follows:

"Whenever a new name is required to denote a new object or idea, we can do one of three things: form a new word from existing elements; borrow a term from a foreign language or some other source; lastly, alter the meaning of an old word. The need to find a new name is an extreme cause of semantic change."

Borrowing is divided into direct and indirect borrowing. With regard to direct borrowing, the words are borrowed from foreign languages and are incorporated into the linguistic system of Northern Sotho. These words can further be classified into loan words and foreign words. The loan word is one which has been taken up completely in the linguistic system of the borrowing language in such a way that it has become part and parcel of the borrowing language, e.g.:

<u>kopôró</u>	:	'copper'
<u>sekôlô</u>	:	'school'
<u>mêyara</u>	:	'mayor'

Foreign words are borrowed lexical items which are used by the borrowing language with either a partial adaptation or no adaptation. This means that we have two types of foreign words in Northern Sotho, i.e. those lexical items which are taken over without any adaptation, e.g.:

radiô : 'radio'
videô : 'video'

and those words which are only partially adapted. These are words which still show some foreign elements in their structure after adaptation, e.g.:

hêlikhoptara : 'helicopter'
stêpisi : 'step'
moprîsta : 'priest'

Indirect borrowing is found where a foreign or a new concept is taken over, and not the word itself. In most cases such a concept is associated with an indigenous word, e.g.

pêolwane : 'aeroplane'
ngaka : 'doctor'
sehlare : 'medicine'
tona : 'cabinet minister'

The words which originate from borrowing usually shift their meaning when adopted in a new language. As such, there are many loan words in Northern Sotho which have undergone meaning restriction, meaning extension or a radical change of meaning compared to the original meaning of the word.

5.2 SEMANTIC CHANGES AFFECTING LOAN WORDS

Semantic change, which may also be referred to as 'change of meaning' or 'change of sense', is defined by linguists such as Stern (1931:163), King (1974:73) and Chafe (1970:40.50). Stern (1931-168) divides sense-change into seven classes, i.e. substitution, analogy, shortening, nomination, transfer, permutation and adequation.

5.2.1 SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE MEANING OF WORDS

The meaning of loan words in Northern Sotho undergo several changes and shifts under the influence of a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. The meaning of Sotho loan words change from the original meaning due to factors such as euphemism, metaphor, hyperbole, polysemy, and homonymy as well as hyponymy.

Euphemism is concerned where the loan words are used to ameliorate the senses expressed by the original Sotho words, such as the following:

<u>rēipa</u>	:	'rape'	for	<u>-kata</u>
<u>prēkē</u>	:	'pregnant'	for	<u>-ima</u>
<u>tilibara</u>	:	'deliver'	for	<u>-bêlēga</u>

Even though these loan words may be regarded as synonyms of the existing Sotho words, their meaning will differ with regard to one or more of Collinson's nine possibilities (Ullman, 1962:142) mentioned in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

With regard to metaphor, the basic meaning of the lexical item gives way to a secondary meaning, and in this way, the semantic range of the

lexical item is widened, and the word becomes polysemous, e.g.:

sôfa : 'sofa' for 'comfort'

Sôdôma : 'Sodom' for 'evil'

Hyperbole refers to instances where the meaning of the word is exaggerated. Bain (1908:205) defines hyperbole as an effect gained by magnifying things beyond their natural bounds. e.g:

sepitifaya : 'spitfire' for 'swiftness'

tiki : 'tickey' for 'meagre salary'

With regard to polysemy, the word comes to express or to refer to different senses which are related in some way or another. In this way the word comes to refer to concepts to which it originally did not refer, thereby resulting in ambiguity. Homonymy is concerned where two different words have the same pronunciation or the same spelling. The homonyms are divided into homotonal homonyms and heterotonal homonyms, according to their tonal patterns. e.g.:

Polysemy:

tshêkase : 'Checkers'
'plastic bag'

Homotonal homonyms:

píkírí : AFR. spyker (nail)

píkírí : 'goblet' or 'mug'

Heterotonal homonyms:nkáté : 'garden'nkátè : 'guard me'

Hyponymy is defined in terms of the inclusion of the sense of one item in the sense of another, e.g.:

koloi : lôri : 'lorry'
mmôtlôrôkare : 'motor-car'
traka : 'truck'
bêné : 'van'
kariki Afr: karretjie ('wagon')

Semantic change occurs in the form of meaning restriction, i.e. when a name or a word loses one, or more, of its senses, or in the form of meaning extension, i.e. when a new sense is added to an old name, or a new name to an old sense. (Ullman, 1951:65). The loan words sometimes undergo radical semantic shifts as well as changes from one word category to another when adopted into the Northern Sotho lexicon.

5.3. SEMANTIC RESTRICTION

Semantic restriction is the 'reduction' or the narrowing of the meaning of the word so that it is no longer applied in as wide a range of syntagmatic relationship with other words. e.g.:

terômd : 'A cylindrical container'Drum : 1. Cylindrical container

2. A musical instrument
3. A barrel on which a cable is wound
4. A cylindrical stone block forming part of a pillar
5. An organ of the body which gives resonance.

In Northern Sotho the word terômo, which is derived from the Afrikaans word drom ('drum'), is restricted to only one meaning of all the meanings referred to by the word 'drum', i.e. 'a cylindrical container'.

5.3.1 APPRECIATIVE AND DEPRECIATIVE SPECIALIZATION

Stern (1931:408-414) divides meaning restriction into 'appreciative' and 'depreciative specialization'.

According to Stern (1931:408) 'appreciative specialization' is a specialization on one or more characteristics of the referent which are considered as typical and essential, and involves a valuation of the referent as a pre-eminent specimen of its kind, e.g.:

<u>moneri</u>	:	<u>AFR.</u>	:	<u>meneer</u>	'mister'
		<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>monêri</u>	'reverend'
		<u>AFR</u>	:	<u>Meneer</u>	1. 'any adult male of higher rank'
					2. 'a male school teacher'

Depreciative specialization is the opposite of appreciative specialization, and is, according to Stern (1931:411), caused by the circumstance that the speaker apprehends one or more characteristics of the referent as disadvantageous, contemptible or ridiculous, e.g.:

pôï : 'boy'

Eng. : 'boy' 'a male child up to the age of 18' (Hornby:1974)

N.S. : póí (derogative) 'black male servant'

N.S. : sešeba 'relish'

AFR. : sheba or ' shaba': 'relish for labourers'

5.3.2. PARTICULARIZATION

This type of meaning restriction is regarded by Stern (1931:415) as 'the unique use'. It happens when a term of more general import is habitually used in a particular sense. In Northern Sotho, for instance, the word hafo ('half') will mean 'half a loaf of bread' if not accompanied by a qualificative. The word phaente ('pint') without a qualificative will mean 'a pint of milk' while kótara ('quarter') without a qualificative will refer to 'a quarter of a year'.

5.3.3 AMELIORATION AND DETERIORATION

Amelioration is a process whereby a word which previously had unfavourable connotations gains favourable connotations. With regard to loan words, either the meaning of the original Sotho word or the meaning of the foreign word may be ameliorated, e.g.:

'Pay' :

1. Pay money to someone owed
2. Pay for admission of guilt.
3. Pay salary to employee
4. Pay old-age pension (salaries)
5. Salary (wages)

phéyi :

1. Salary (wages)
2. Old-age pension (salary)

While the original English word has a general meaning (as listed above), the Northern Sotho loan word phéyi, which is derived from this English word, is only restricted to the more favourable meaning of all the meanings of the word 'pay', i.e. that of 'payment of salaries' and 'old-age pension'. The meanings which are not favourable, such as payments for 'admission of guilt', as expressed by the indigenous word lefa, do not form part of the meaning of phéyi.

Deterioration is the converse process of amelioration. In this case a lexeme acquires unfavourable connotations and ultimately comes to be used in a restricted set of syntagmatic collocations. The word mmakête ('person looking for a job'), which is derived from the word 'market', is a good example in this regard.

5.3.4. ELLIPSIS (SHORTENING)

With regard to ellipsis, restriction of the meaning of loan words occurs when one significant element of a phrase or a word is dropped. This is usually the case when a compound word or a phrase is shortened by dropping some of the words so that the remaining word can stand, meaningfully, on its own. e.g.:

mmôtorô : 'motor-car' instead of mmôtorôkare
Nêila : 'Nylstroom'
Bronkôro : 'Bronkhorstspuit'
bôlphêné : 'ball-point pen'

5.3.5 THE ROLE OF EUPHEMISM AND SYNONYMY

Stern (1931:330-332) distinguishes various linguistic forms which a speaker may employ owing to a euphemistic tendency, such as clipping or omission of the main word. Deformation or distortion of the offensive word, e.g. 'blooming' for 'bloody', etc. In Northern Sotho, loan words are used as proper substitutes for indigenous words to show euphemistic expression. According to Stern (1931:331), a foreign word is substituted, which, being less definite in meaning, is in the same degree less offensive, e.g.:

kaka : 'kak' (AFR.) for nyéla or nya
réipa : 'rape' for kata

With regard to synonymy, most linguists, such as Ullman (1962:141) and Bloomfield (1935:145), are of the opinion that complete synonymy does not exist. This is proved when comparing the meaning of Northern Sotho loan words with their so-called synonyms of Northern Sotho origin. These words will differ in either one or two of Collinson's nine possibilities (mentioned in 2.8), e.g.:

AFR : kamer ('room')
N.S. : kamore ('bedroom')

AFR. : werk ('work')
N.S. : béréka ('work for a salary')

The loan word kamore refers to 'a bedroom' in Northern Sotho, and not to all the 'rooms'. The word béréka is derived from the Afrikaans word werk, which means 'work'. The loan word is restricted to work done for a salary instead of referring to what the Northern Sotho

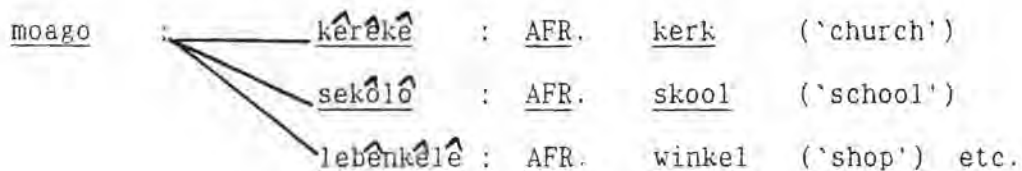
word soma ('work') refers to.

Linsky's (1952:73) comment, regarding synonymy, is as follows:

"In ordinary speech when we say that two terms have the same meaning, we usually indicate only that their kind and degree of likeness of meaning is sufficient for the purposes of the immediate discourse."

5.3.6 HYPONIMY AND SEMANTIC RESTRICTION

Hyponymy is defined by Lyons (1977:291) as the relation which holds between a more specific or subordinate lexeme and a more general lexeme. With regard to Northern Sotho loan words, the original Sotho words usually take positions as superordinate lexemes while the loan words are usually subordinates, with their meaning restricted when compared to the Northern Sotho words, e.g.:



5.4 MEANING EXTENSION IN LOAN WORDS

Meaning extension can be regarded as the addition of a secondary meaning, or meanings, to a word. The word which was previously restricted to a particular meaning comes to express a more general meaning. Waldron (1967:115) says:

"Extension is the change which takes place when a word comes to designate a larger class than it did formerly. (picture was

formerly 'painting'; now it can mean any flat visual representation, including, for instance, a photographic print)."

5.4.1 AMBIGUITY

Semantic extension usually leads to polysemy and ambiguity. The loan words which are affected by meaning extension are generally polysemous, and as such, they are ambiguous. e.g.:

N.S. : Ke mmakêê
LIT. : 'It is a market', means
 1. 'It is a place of supply and demand'
 2. 'It is a workseeker'

N.S. : Ke tshêkase
LIT. : 'It is Checkers', means
 1. 'It is Checkers supermarket'
 2. 'It is a plastic bag'

The exact meaning of the lexical item will be identified when it is qualified by a qualificative.

5.4.2 THE ROLE OF METAPHOR IN MEANING EXTENSION

Kuczaj (1982:356) gives the following comment with regard to the role played by metaphor in a language:

" The issue concerns the manner in which one person can create a relationship between two distinct concepts and, without stating the relationship explicitly, communicates that relationship to another person."

The loan lexical items which are used metaphorically in sentences acquire secondary meanings in addition to their basic meaning.

Waldron (1967:15) says the following with regard to metaphor:

"It is rather the appropriateness of using the same term for two different things in order to pick out similarities between them."

5.4.2.1 METAPHOR AND POLYSEMY

The use of metaphor in a language leads to the origin of polysemous words, and this is the case when loan lexical items are used to express metaphor in Northern Sotho. e.g.:

Sôdôma : 'Sodom'

N.S. : Felo fa ke Sôdôma

LIT. : 'This place is Sodom' (basic meaning)

'This place is evil' (metaphor)

5.4.2.2 THE ETYMOLOGICAL ASPECT OF METAPHOR

Knowledge of the etymological history of words in a language plays a major role in the use of metaphor. In order to understand metaphor, one should know the etymological history of the words used. Knowledge of the biblical history will help one to understand the metaphor felo fa ke Sôdôma to mean 'this place is evil'.

5.4.3. THE ROLE OF HYPERBOLE

Hyperbole is a figure of speech in which enhancement takes the form of an exaggeration. The meaning of the lexical item is extended

to include the hyperbolic sense, which, in reality, is the exaggerated form of the basic meaning. For instance, the loan word sepitifaya ('spitfire'), which basically refers to a type of aeroplane, will also refer to 'speed' or 'swiftness'.

5.4.4 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND RESPECT

The use of kinship terminology leads to semantic extension of loan words in Northern Sotho. Some kinship terms are applied in Northern Sotho to show respect to those who deserve it, and the use of these terms, especially loan words, result in meaning extension. The terms are also used for those who don't qualify as relatives, e.g.:

<u>ausi</u>	:	'Older sister'	
		'A girl'	(respect)
<u>abuti</u>	:	'Older brother'	
		'Young man'	(respect)
<u>bra</u> (slang)	:	'Brother'	
		'friend'	

5.4.5 THE ROLE OF CONNOTATION AND ASSOCIATION

Semantic shift is to a large extent caused by the association of an object, person or concept with its characteristics, or the connotation of the word. For instance, Kanana ('Canaan') is associated with 'peace' and 'happiness' and 'abundance of food' while Sodoma ('Sodom') is associated with 'evil practices' and 'corruption'. The word politika ('talk politics') is associated with criticism, rebellion, etc. These associations ultimately result in meaning extension of the lexical items concerned. The

connotations of the word letêrôrese ('a terrorist'), i.e. 'opposition to authority', 'terrorising people', 'killing innocent people', 'waging guerilla war and applying guerrilla tactics', 'causing havoc', obviously resulted in its meaning extension and thereby in its becoming ambiguous in its application.

5.4.6. THE ROLE OF FIGURATIVE MEANING

Lexical items become polysemous when used to express a figurative sense. The word tura from Afrikaans duur is figuratively used in Northern Sotho to mean 'scarce', e.g.:

- N.S. : Prescilla o a tura matsatsi ano
LIT. : Prescilla is duur deesdae (AFR.)
LIT. : 'Prescilla is expensive these days'
ENG. : 'Prescilla is scarce these days'

The loan word used in idiomatic expressions also have their meaning extended to refer to different concepts from that of their original counterparts:

- Sepoko: AFR. : spook 'ghost'
N.S. : Go bôna sepoko
LIT. : 'To see a ghost'
ENG. : 'To land in trouble' or 'to see miracles'

- Pakete : 'bucket'
N.S. : Go raga pakete
LIT. : 'To kick the bucket'
ENG. : 'To die'

5.5 RADICAL SEMANTIC CHANGES IN NORTHERN SOTHO LOAN WORDS

Beside meaning restriction and meaning extension, lexical items sometimes undergo radical meaning changes. With regard to Northern Sotho loan words, the lexical items are adopted with meanings which are radically different from those of their counterparts in the original languages. In some cases the word is adopted in a category which differs from that of the original word in the foreign language. For instance, a substantive can be adopted as a qualificative or vice versa, or a verb adopted into Northern Sotho as noun, etc.

Subjectivity plays an important role in distinguishing between words which are radically different and those which have undergone meaning extension. Knowledge of the etymological history of loan words plays an important role in making this distinction. This is due to the fact that loan words, even though they may seem to be completely different in meaning from the original words, will still be related to a certain extent. For the purpose of this thesis, the difference between words which had their meaning extended and those which changed radically is based on the following facts:

1. Extension: Besides referring to the same referent as the original word, the loan word also refers to one or more referents to which the original foreign word does not refer, even though they may still be related to a certain extent, e.g.:

<u>AFR.</u>	:	<u>skoonteer:</u>	'tar'
<u>N.S.</u>	:	<u>sekōntiri</u>	1. 'tar'
			2. 'tarred road'

2. Radical Change: The loan word refers to a different referent from that of its counterpart in a foreign language, even though their referents may be related to a certain degree, e.g.:

AFR. : vanmelewe : 'long long ago'

N.S. : lefamolebe : 'a person who doesn't come home for a long time'

These two words have different meanings but are related with regard to 'time'.

5.5.1 THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATION AND MISINTERPRETATION

Misintepretation or wrong association of foreign lexical items with their correct meaning or referents plays a major role in semantic shifts of loan words in a language. The word pas^opi^sa from Afrikaans pas op ('be careful') means 'to forgive'. The warning pas op is used by the Afrikaans speaking people when a culprit is forgiven, or warned, and, as such, the word comes to be associated wrongly with 'forgiveness'.

The meaning change which has affected the word nt^seks^seni is a direct result of misinterpretation and association. The word is derived from the English word 'injection' which refers to 'the act of injecting medicine' while the loan word nt^seks^seni refers to a 'hypodermic syringe'.

5.5.2 RADICAL CHANGES DUE TO CHANGE OF REFERENTS

The meaning changes when the thing it refers to changes or alters its structure. Barber's (1972:247) example in this regard is as follows:

"One reason why a word changes its meaning is that the thing it refers to changes. The word 'ship' has been used in English for over a

thousand years to denote a vessel for travelling on the sea, but the kind of machine actually used for this purpose has changed enormously: the word used of the long boats of the Vikings is now also used of a modern liner or aircraft carrier, and it seems reasonable to say its meaning has changed."

The use of the names of the British monetary units to refer to the South African monetary units is the example in this regard, e.g.:

<u>shêlêng</u>	:	'shilling'	for	'ten cents'
<u>faefepôpô</u>	:	'five bob'	for	'fifty cents'
<u>sokwa</u>	:	'sixpence'	for	'five cents'
<u>pêni</u>	:	'penny'	for	'one cent'

5.5.3 RADICAL CHANGE OF MEANING IN COMPOUND WORDS

The loan lexical items which are derived from compound words usually omit one word of the compound and adopt one as a loan word. The meaning of a loan word differs radically from the literal meaning of the original word, but still refers to the meaning of the original compound word.

e.g. swiri, (AFR) suur ('sour'), for suurlemoen ('lemon'); khôntentse ('condense') for 'condensed milk'; selaga, (AFR) slag ('slaughter'), for slaghuis ('slaughter house' or 'butchery').

5.5.4 MEANING CHANGES DUE TO CHANGE OF CATEGORY

Semantic change does not only occur when the lexical items are borrowed into another language, but also when this borrowing is accompanied by a shift in the word category. A word which is a noun in a foreign language is borrowed as a verb in another, and vice versa, or an

adjective is borrowed as a noun, etc. For example, the word lefamolebe, which is a noun, is derived from the Afrikaans adverb vanmelewe, which means 'long long ago'. The word lekomofêre, which is a noun meaning 'a foreigner', is derived from the Afrikaans phrase kom ver (a verb kom and adverb ver) which means 'coming from afar'. Lebêlête, derived from the Afrikaans adverb wild ('wild'), is a noun referring to 'a wild animal or person'.

5.5.5 THE ROLE OF SLANG IN MEANING CHANGES

The slang which is commonly used among the Sotho people is the so-called 'tsotsi' language or 'flaaitaal' (Coertze, 1969:339). 'Tsotsi-taal' or 'flaaitaal' had tremendous influence on the vocabulary of most languages, especially the African languages. According to Breal (1964:133), what is called 'argot', or slang, is largely composed of metaphors. Words such as the following are used metaphorically in 'tsotsi-taal' to refer to different concepts which differ from what they usually refer to in their languages of origin:

<u>ENG.</u> : 'cherry'	<u>Slang</u> : <u>cheri</u>	<u>N.S.</u> : <u>tshêri</u>
<u>ENG.</u> : 'mission'	<u>Slang</u> : <u>mishen</u>	<u>N.S.</u> : <u>mmisêni</u>
<u>ENG.</u> : 'groove' or 'groovy'	<u>Slang</u> : <u>gruva</u>	<u>N.S.</u> : <u>kuruba</u>

For instance, the word 'cherry' in English refers to 'a soft, small, round fruit' (Hornby, 1974.142), while the slang word cheri refers to 'a girl'. A girl is metaphorically compared to a cherry fruit, and this metaphorical comparison ultimately leads to a radical change of the meaning of the word 'cherry' from which the Sotho term tshêri is derived. In Sotho, the word tshêri is widely used to mean 'a girl' or 'a girl friend'. This shows that 'tsotsi taal' is mainly composed of

metaphors (Breal, 1964:133).

5.5.6 CONCLUSION

It is an undisputable fact that Northern Sotho, like any other language, is in the process of growth. This growth is facilitated by contact with the speakers of other languages. With regard to this growth, Leech (1983:35) says:

"Fortunately for the human race, language is continually being extended and revised, new concepts are introduced,....(and) these new concepts are eventually not felt to be strange, but assimilated into the language."

Without borrowing, Northern Sotho would obviously cease to be a communication medium, since Western civilization has brought many new concepts which the Sotho speaking people did not know, and as such, there has been no provision for these concepts in the Northern Sotho vocabulary. By adopting words from other languages, extending or restricting their meanings, the vocabulary of Northern Sotho is being enriched to be well-equipped for future communication with, and among, the various communities living in this country. Informal languages, such as 'Flaai-taal' are rich in vocabulary accumulated from various languages in the form of metaphor. Northern Sotho, and other languages, can use these words fruitfully to enlarge their vocabularies, instead of ignoring them while we use them in our daily communication.

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