

LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS AND  
THE QUESTION OF STANDARDIZATION  
IN SETSWANA

by

MAPHUTSHE HELLEN EVELYN KHOALI

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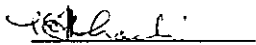
Finally, I am thankful to God for granting me strength to complete this study.

## DECLARATION

"I declare that:

**LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS AND THE QUESTION OF STANDARDIZATION IN  
SETSWANA,**

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



M.H.E. KHOALI

## SUMMARY

The main concern of this study has to do with the investigation of linguistic variation and standardization in Setswana. We are of the idea that linguistic variation and standardization occur as a result of both internal and external factors.

Focus of this study was both on some of those areas inhabited by Batswana both in Botswana and South Africa. An investigation has been made on the different orthographies used in these countries. Although their orthographies presently differ, they were initially the same. They separated after the revision of the 1937 orthography version by the then Tswana Language Committee in South Africa. But, however, Setswana Standard Orthography 1981 (1981) in Botswana, is the same as Tswana Terminology and Orthography No.3 (1972) in South Africa. This similarity was caused by the great influence and presence of Professor E.S. Moloto.

Botswana dependency on South Africa during that time, on language planning may have been because 'South Africa has more speakers of Setswana, has had larger total resources in money and manpower, and thus rather naturally took the lead and Botswana ended following suit' (Janson and Tsonope, 1991:78). During that time, South African policies were directed by the ideology of the apartheid system. So, 'to ignore linguistic developments in South Africa was impossible, but to accept them has often been unpalatable and maybe imponent' (Janson and Tsonope, 1991:78).

Data collected bear testimony that standard language is what Botswana people really want to be taught at schools and tertiary institutions. Most of them do not really understand why their children are expected to use standardized language as formal style. The reason behind all these is that they were never involved in language planning. Therefore, there is great need to involve people from different sectors where Setswana is involved. The language policy for the new South Africa in the future should be written in all official languages not just in English and Afrikaans only (refer to Government Gazette, 9 May 1997). Publication in the former two languages give the impression that all people in South Africa are expected

to be bilingual or monolingual although neither of these languages was ever declared as a national language. This research presents what is prevailing in those areas where Batswana people are located.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **1.0 LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS AND THE QUESTION OF STANDARDIZATION IN SETSWANA**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

This study intends to make a thorough investigation on linguistic variations and the question of standardization in Setswana. The term variety of language as Hudson (1980:24) puts it, can be used to refer to various manifestations of it. One variety of language is different from the other because of the linguistic items it includes.

Hudson (1980:24) goes on to define a variety of language as a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. We may here consider Setswana which is a form of language variety used by a group of people called Batswana who belong to the same social distributions. The term 'variety' therefore includes what we normally call languages; dialects and registers.

Setswana, the language under investigation, is a member of the Sintu group of Benue-Congo languages. The term Sintu was used by Khumalo J.S.M. in his doctoral thesis in 1987. He used the term Sintu because the term Bantu is offensive to most South African Blacks. Chaphole R.S. also used the term Sintu in his doctoral thesis in 1988. He used this term



because Bleek's internationally used term Bantu has acquired very unpleasant connotations in South Africa. Setswana is spoken in many dialects by Batswana living in South Africa and Botswana. In Botswana, Setswana is both an official language and a national language. Setswana is an official language along with English. Amongst Batswana of Botswana, there are people who use Setswana as a second language. Inclusive are the San, Hambukushu, Ovaherero, Bakgalagadi, Bakalanga, Basarwa, Bayeyi and Basubiya.

In South Africa Setswana is one of the eleven official languages at national level namely Sesotho, Sepedi, IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, Siswati, Sindebele, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English and Afrikaans. Setswana is also a provincial language in the North-West Region because according to South Africa's New Language Policy: The facts (nd: 5-6):

A province may, by a two-thirds majority vote, declare any of the national languages a provincial official language for the whole province or a part thereof. Every language that was an official language somewhere in South Africa up to April 1994 retains its official status there since the Constitution provides that language rights and statuses may not be diminished (Section 3 (2) and (5)).

## 1.2 MOTIVATION

When we look around we discover that variation-oriented research has been limited to a very few types like for example social dialect variation, creole continua and bilingual code-switching. The two kinds of variation which are prominent in the worldwide development of giant speech communities, are hardly touched.

Here, we refer in the first place to the standardization process by which different regional dialects are gradually overwhelmed by supra-dialectal norms, and the resulting standards develop regionally coloured variation related in complex ways to the earlier dialect variation. We refer in the second place to the spread of languages as lingua francas or as added components within existing repertoires, or as complete replacements for other languages. In all these cases, the spreading languages show variation related in complex ways to the earlier language competencies of the new users. So far, there has been no work on language variations and the question of standardization in Setswana.

What is there in Setswana is the master's degree study of Moloto (1964) entitled 'A critical investigation into the standardization of written Setswana'; Malepe's (1966) master's dissertation, 'A dialect-geographical survey of the phonology of the central, eastern and southern dialects of Tswana' and Malimabe's (1990) master's research based on 'the influence of non-standard varieties on the standard Setswana of high school pupils'.

To our knowledge, there is still a problem in Setswana relating to the application and acceptance of standardized Setswana. Social groups using the different dialects all feel that their dialects are standardized.

Therefore, as researchers we feel that there is need to look at

- (a) the linguistic variation in Setswana, focusing on their similarities and their differences;
- (b) external and internal factors responsible for these variations;
- (c) brief critical review about some of Setswana Terminology Orthographies;
- (d) the feeling of the people of what is taught at schools; is it standard language or standardized language?

### **1.3 SCOPE OF STUDY**

The following is the outline structure of the scope of this research study which will comprise of six chapters.

Chapter 1 presents the introduction, motivation for the choice of this particular topic, definitions and explanations of concepts, data collection and a summary of the literature reviewed.

A description of factors, namely internal and external factors, responsible for linguistic variations is presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 deals with variation in real time and apparent time, together with linguistic variation caused by internal factors in Setswana.

Chapter 4 presents linguistic variation and external factors in Setswana.

Chapter 5 presents the question of standardization in written Setswana.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, deals with the summary of the study. Here we look at whether our objectives have been achieved; we also consider possible future research on linguistic variations and standardization, contributions of the study and lastly recommendations.

#### **1.4 DEFINITIONS AND EXPLANATIONS OF CONCEPTS**

A few sociolinguistic terms which are relevant to this study, will be defined and explained in the following sections. Some of the concepts will be defined and explained during the course of the study.

### 1.4.1 A speech community

Hymes (1972:54) says that a speech community is

a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety.

Bloomfield (1933:42) defines speech community as

a group of people who interact by means of speech.

Crystal (1991:323) believes that a speech community refers to 'any regionally or socially definable, human group identified by a shared linguistic system'.

Hudson (1980:28) asserts that a speech community is

a set of people who have something in common linguistically - a language or dialect, interaction by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range of attitudes to varieties and items.

Labov (1972b:120-1) posits that

the speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms, these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

Charles Hockett in Hudson (1980:26) postulates that a speech community is

the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language.

We deduce from the definitions and explanations above that a speech community is a set of people sharing the same language or dialect, same norms and same set of social attitude towards that language or dialect.

### 1.4.2 Borrowing

'Dialect borrowing is in principle, a momentary and accidental event' (Wolfson, 1989:196). It is as a result of dialect borrowing that we find words which belong to a particular dialect being used in another dialect.

Changes that occur through borrowing from other dialects or languages are often quite distinguishable, for a while at least, from changes that come about internally. These changes may be idiosyncratic in their characteristics or distribution, and appear for a while to be quite marked in this way (Wardhaugh, 1992:193). For example, we have **pôrêsidênte** (a Setswana term used in South Africa) being borrowed from the English word 'president'; and **tautona** (president) (a Setswana term used in Botswana) literally 'big lion' in English; and **khondomo** (a Setswana word used in South Africa) being borrowed from the English word 'condom' and **sekausu** (a Setswana word used in Botswana) borrowed from the Afrikaans word 'kous'. Therefore, we find that in each case, Setswana words are peculiar to each country.

Borrowing is often done because of good social or cultural reasons. The items that are generally borrowed are usually words used to describe strange and unusual objects in a language. For instance, English words like pyjamas, tea, perfumes and kangaroo and their Setswana counterparts, namely dipejama, tee, menko and kankaruu respectively or learned or scientific words like for example in English we find psychology, semantics, X-ray and in Setswana saekholoji, semantiki, ekeserei respectively.

Speakers of different languages may have different views about borrowing. English speakers borrow indiscriminately from other languages, but speakers of French, German, Modern Hebrew and Icelandic are discriminating. Speakers of Hindi look to Sanskrit for borrowings while speakers of Urdu look to Arabic (Fromkin and Rodman, 1983). African languages in South African and Botswana basically borrow from English and Afrikaans.

Van Hout and Muysken (1994:40) identify two types of borrowing, namely substitution and addition. Substitution borrowing occurs when the borrowed item is used for a concept that already exists in the culture. This can be illustrated as follows in Setswana:

- (a) **tee** is borrowed from an Afrikaans word 'tee' while the concept already exists in Setswana with the words '**mogodungwana**' and '**mmutshwana**' used.
- (b) **mama** and **papa** are borrowed from Afrikaans words 'ma' and 'pa', respectively. The concepts for these words were already there with the words **mme/mma** (mother) and **rre/rra** (father) used respectively.
- (c) **mmaene** is borrowed from English word 'mine' while the concept already existed and being called **moepo** and **morafo**.
- (d) the term **fensetere** is borrowed from Afrikaans term 'venster' whereas the concept already existed and being called **letlhabaphefo** and **seokomelabagwe**.



Addition borrowing occurs when the borrowed item is used for a new concept. For example in Setswana we find the following:

- (a) **botlolo** which is borrowed from an English word 'bottle'.
- (b) **galase** is borrowed from an Afrikaans word 'glas'.
- (c) **sukiri** is borrowed from an Afrikaans word 'suiker'.
- (d) **petloloto** and **phensele** which are borrowed from Afrikaans and English words, 'potlood' and 'pencil', respectively.

Van Hout and Muysken (1994) further assert that content words, that is nouns, adjectives, verbs for example, are borrowed more easily than function words, namely for example, articles, pronouns and conjunctions.

### 1.4.3 Bilingualism

Zungu (1995:2) states that bilingualism 'alludes to the command of two independent languages'.

Halliday et al. (1968:141) believe that bilingualism occurs whenever a native speaker of one language makes use of a second language, whether partial or imperfect.

Crystal (1992:43) defines bilingualism as

A speech situation where an individual or  
community controls two (or more) languages.

Crystal (1992) goes on to say that the ability to speak two languages with equal facility is termed ambilingualism. Ambilingualism is generally included within the concept bilingualism.

Barbour and Stevenson (1990:273) postulate that bilingualism is 'one person's ability to speak two or more languages and the existence in one speech community of two or more languages'.

Bilingualism, therefore, refers to a speaker who speaks or knows two languages and a speech community or society which has two or more independent languages.

Appel and Muysken (1987:1-2) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990:17), identified two types of bilingualism, namely societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism.

Societal bilingualism takes place when two or more languages are spoken in a given speech community or society. In this case, therefore, nearly all speech communities or societies are bilingual, but they can differ with regard to degree or form of bilingualism.

Individual bilingualism occurs when an individual is able to use two or more languages. In this case the languages are in complementary distribution with each other, that is, A is used only for one set of functions, B for another.

Capell (1966) and Diebold (1964) came up with another type of bilingualism which they called passive bilingualism. This type occurs when one speaks in one's language and is answered in the addressee's language. Passive bilingualism thus means that a speaker does not have productive control over a second language but has the ability to understand its utterances. Passive bilingualism is what Hockett (1958:16) calls 'semibilingualism'.

Weinreich (1953:9-11) unlike Appel and Muysken (1987) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990) identified three types of bilingualism, that is, co-ordinate; compound and sub-coordinate. Co-ordinate bilingualism occurs when a person learns the languages in separate environment and the words of the two languages are kept separate with each word having its own specific meaning. For the co-ordinate bilingual, the languages are dependent. Weinreich gives an example of an English person but learning French in school.

We find compound bilingualism when a person learns the two languages in the same context, where they are applied at the same time, so that there is joined representation of the languages in the brain. The languages are interdependent for the compound bilingual.

Finally, sub-coordinate bilingualism takes place when a person has narrative proficiency in the second language. The first language acts as a filter for the second language.

Weinreich (1953) gives an illustration of the three types of bilingualism in the case of an English person but learning French in school as follows:

Co-ordinate		Compound	Sub-coordinate
			book
book	livre	book = livre	/buk/
		^	
/buk/	/livre/	/buk/ /livr/	/livr/

Bilingualism is produced when two languages come into contact; and speakers of either language learning elements of the other language (Diebold, 1964:496). Bilingualism occurs in environments of quick, social change, of great social unrest, of widespread desertion of earlier norms before the consolidation of new ones (Fishman, 1971:83). Fishman (1971:83) goes on to say that 'the language of school and government replaces the language of home and neighbourhood precisely because it provides status in the later domains as well'.

The above explanation of bilingualism by Fishman (1971) is what he calls bilingualism without diglossia.

#### 1.4.4 Code-switching and code-mixing

Code-switching refers to instances where speakers switch from one language to another, code-switching is defined and explained differently as follows:

Appel and Muysken (1987:120); Crystal (1992:69); Keiswetter (1995:1); Myers-Scotton (1992:9) and Trudgill (1983:75) perceive code-switching as switching from one language variety to another within the same conversation.

Myers-Scotton (1992:9) believes that code-switching is basically found in bilinguals and multilinguals who are very competent in two or more languages they use.

Wardhaugh (1992:106) identified two types of code-switching, namely, situational and metaphorical code-switching.

Situational code-switching as asserted by Wardhaugh (1992) occurs when a speaker speaks one language in one situation and another in a different one. There is no change of topic in this type of code-switching. Holmes (1992:79) argues that in a situational code-switching, people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be identified. Metaphorical code-switching occurs when a change of topic requires a change in the language used.

Appel and Muysken (1987:118) unlike Wardhaugh (1992) identified three types of code-switching, that is, tag-switches; intra-sentential-switches and inter-sentential-switches.

Tag-switching occurs when a tag, an exclamation, or a parenthesis is inserted into an utterance which is completely in another language, for example:

O batlile a wa, my God!

*(He nearly fell, my God!)*

My God!, is an English exclamation, at the end of a sentence entirely in Setswana.

Poplack (1980) as cited by Appel and Muysken (1987:118) named tag-switching, emblematic-switching because for example a tag serves as an emblem of the bilingual feature of a monolingual sentence.

Intra-sentential-switching is that type of switching which takes place within the clause or sentence boundary. For instance:

Bana ba rata go tshameka oyasi.

*(Children like playing, you know.)*

Oyasi, is an IsiZulu expression, occurring at the sentence boundary of Setswana sentence.

When switching occurs within the clause or sentence, with each clause or sentence in one language or another, this is termed inter-sentential-switching. Switching in this case may also occur between speakers turns. Inter-sentential-switching can be exemplified as follows:

Basadi ba bantsi ba itlwaeditse go seba, but,

it is their nature, ga go na seo se ka dirwang.

*(Most of the women are used to back-biting, but,  
it is their nature, there is nothing which can be  
done.)*

Between two Setswana sentences we have an English clause, 'but, it is their nature,'.

Jackson in Appel and Muysken (1987:119-120), stated that code-switching performs the following functions:

- (a) The referential function, when there is lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a particular subject;
- (b) The expressive function because speakers emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse;
- (c) The directive function, which involves the hearer directly;
- (d) The phatic function, as it serves to indicate a change in tone of the conversations;
- (e) Metalinguistic function, in the sense that switching is used to comment directly or indirectly on the languages involved. For instance, switching between different codes to impress other participants. Performers, circus directors, market sales people usually code-switch for metalinguistic purposes.

(f) Poetic function because it involves for example jokes and puns.

Code-mixing to Barbour and Stevenson (1990:273); Crystal (1992:69); Keiswetter (1995:1); and Wardhaugh (1992:106) occurs when a speaker uses morphemes from more than one language variety within the same word or sentence. For example:

(a) Pule le Modise ke bagwera ba ba ratanago thata.

*(Pule and Modise are friends who love each other very much.)*

'Bagwera' and 'ba ba ratanago' are Sepedi morphemes code-mixed with Setswana.

(b) Mosegare badisa ba swarwa ke lenyora thata.

*(Shepherds feel very thirsty during daytime.)*

'Mosegare' and 'ba swarwa' are Sepedi morphemes code-mixed with Setswana.

(c) Pule o sepetše ka tlhokomelo a lotile mohlala wa tsala ya gagwe.

*(Pule carefully followed the footprints of his friend.)*

In the above example Sepedi words code-mixed with Setswana are 'o sepetše', 'a lotile' and 'mohlala'.



(d) Dinose di batlile go mpolaya.

*(Bees nearly killed me.)*

'Dinose' is a Sepedi word code-mixed with Setswana in the above example.

Holmes (1992:50) postulates that 'code-mixing suggests the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetence'.

Wardhaugh (1992:107) gives a type of code-mixing, which he terms conversational code-mixing. Conversational code-mixing to Wardhaugh (1992:107) 'involves the deliberate mixing of two languages without an associated topic change'.

Pfaff (1977) as cited by Wardhaugh (1992:107-8) supplies the following examples of conversational code-mixing among Spanish-English bilinguals:

No van a bring it up in the meeting.

'They are not going to bring it up in the meeting'.

Todos los Mexicanos were riled up.

'All the Mexicans were riled up'.

Estaba training para pelear.

'He was training to fight'.

Some dudes, la onda is to fight y jambar.

'Some dudes, the in thing is to fight and steal'.

Wardhaugh (1992:108) cites another example of conversational code-mixing coming from Labov (1971:457); which is a long utterance, spoken quite flowingly by a New York Puerto Rican speaker:

Por eso cada, you know it's nothing  
to be proud of, porque yo no estoy  
proud of it, as a matter of fact  
I hate it, pero viene Viernes y  
Sabado yo estoy, tu me ve haci  
a mi, sola with a, aqui solita,  
a veces que Frankie me deja,  
you know a stick or something,  
y yo equi solita, queces Judy  
no sabe y yo estoy haci, viendo  
television, but I rather, y cuando  
estoy con gente yo me ... borracha  
porque me siento mas, happy, mas  
free, you know, pero si yo estoy  
com mucha gente yo no estoy,

you know, high, more or less, I  
couldn't get along with anybody.

These two types of conversational code-mixing, are according to Wardhaugh (1992:108) often used by bilinguals; mainly as a solidarity marker and has become an established community norm in the Puerto Rican community in New York city. However, a speaker who mixes codes in this way in a conversation with a friend or acquaintance will almost without doubt shift completely to English when addressing a monolingual English-speaking person or entirely to Spanish when addressing a complete stranger who is obviously of Spanish origin (Wardhaugh, 1992:108).

To Wardhaugh (1992:108) conversational code-mixing is not just a haphazard mixing of two languages brought about by laziness or ignorance or some combination of these. Rather, it requires conversants to have a sophisticated knowledge of both languages and to be sharply aware of community norms. These norms require both languages be used in this way so that conversants can show their familiarity or solidarity.

Bokamba (1991:1) distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing and asserts:

Code-switching is the mixing of  
words, phrases, and sentences from  
two distinct grammatical (sub-)

systems across sentence boundaries  
within the same speech event.

He posits that code-mixing is:

the embedding of various linguistic  
units such as affixes (bound  
morphemes), words (unbound  
morphemes), phrases and clauses  
from two distinct grammatical  
(sub-) systems within the  
same sentence and speech  
event.

Code-switching and code-mixing generally occur spontaneously.

#### **1.4.5 Dialect(s)**

Brook (1963:17) mentions that the word 'dialect' is of Greek origin and was borrowed into English through Latin and French. The Greek word from which the word 'dialect' is derived meant 'discourse, way of speaking'.

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:3); define the term 'dialect' as

a substandard, low status, often rustic  
form of language, generally associated  
with the peasantry, the working class,  
or other groups lacking in prestige.

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:3) further say that this term 'dialect' is in many cases used to forms of language, which are spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form. A dialect is often regarded as some kind of deviation from a norm.

Crystal (1992:101); Richards et al. (1985:50) and Trudgill (1983:17) believe that dialects are varieties which differ from other varieties in vocabulary, grammar as well as pronunciation.

Wardhaugh (1992:25) asserts that, ' a dialect is often equivalent to non-standard or even sub-standard, ..., and can connote various degrees of inferiority, with that connotation of inferiority carried over to those who speak a dialect. This means that Wardhaugh takes dialects to be non-standard varieties of a language.

Fromkin and Rodman (1983:245) and Petyt (1986:36) posit that dialects are

forms of a language which are generally  
similar to each other, but which vary in  
some respect.

Myers-Scotton (1992:4) states that dialects are sub-systems of languages.

Pringle (1986:219) came-up with four senses which are potentially relevant to the term 'dialect'; namely:

- (a) A dialect as a language for which there exists no written form; a language which has not yet been alphabetized, and is for that reason inferior, not a real language, but a mere dialect;
- (b) All languages whether they are written or not, are merely dialects, that is, dialect equals language.
- (c) A dialect, according to Ruth McConnell, is 'a sub-variety of a language, either regional or social. It is distinguished from other sub-varieties of the same language by a unique combination of language features: pronunciation (including stress and intonation); grammatical forms; words and expressions; meaning of words and expressions'.
- (d) The American structuralists assert that all languages and all varieties of languages are equally good.

We agree with the various views given above that a dialect is a variety of a language which has no written form, and which differs from other varieties in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.

However, we take the view that dialects are inferior and they lack prestige, is applicable to western culture. Regarding African languages, dialects are the ones which are superior and with prestige because unlike standardized languages, they are not yet generally influenced by other languages like Afrikaans and English except in a few cases like Setlhaping in Vryburg.

#### **1.4.6 Linguistic repertoires**

Gumperz (1964) in Gumperz (1972:20) asserts that, "a linguistic repertoire of a community is the totality of linguistic resources available to members of particular community".

Repertoire to Crystal (1991:298) is "a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to the range of languages or varieties of a language available for use by a speaker, each of which enables the speaker to perform a particular social role".

Crystal (1991) elaborates that this term may also be used collectively to the range of linguistic varieties within a speech community.

It is deduced from the definitions above that two types of repertoires can be identified, namely, personal and communal repertoires.

Van Wyk (1989:1-9) differentiated between the two types. To him, a personal repertoire is one which a given speaker commands and a communal repertoire is one which is required by a community in order for its members to function optimally as members of that community. There are as many personal repertoires as there are speakers in a community, but only one communal repertoire for a given community or society as a whole. Whilst a speaker's personal verbal repertoire is dynamic, the communal repertoire of a community on the other hand is static (Van Wyk, 1989:2). A personal repertoire changes and expands as the speaker's personal circumstances change. It is dependent to a large extent on the speaker's individual and social experience (Van Wyk, 1989:2).

A communal repertoire unlike a personal repertoire is independent of the circumstances of individual speakers and thus only changes as the needs and circumstances of the community as a whole change. This change of the community as a whole is normally slow to take place (Van Wyk, 1989:2).

In South Africa we find that there are communal repertoires for the country as a whole, for each of the separate language communities, for the various urban communities as well as the various rural communities. Various different communal repertoires are normally included within a speaker's personal repertoire.



Communal and personal repertoires can be illustrated as follows:

Communal Repertoires	Personal Repertoires
Standardized languages	Dialects
Rural dialects	Sociolects
Urban dialects	Creoles
Vernaculars	Pidgins
Creoles	Lingua francas
Pidgins	Vernaculars
Lingua francas	

The following are examples of linguistic repertoire: languages, dialects, sociolects, registers and styles.

## 1.5 DATA COLLECTION

### 1.5.1 Introduction

I visited the following rural areas: Dinokana and Motswedi around Zeerust; Moruleng, Ledig and Phokeng around Rustenburg; Montshiwa Stad in Mafikeng; Ganyesa, Taung and Kudumane around Vryburg; Ga-Mosetlha and Hebron near Pretoria and Morolong in Thaba Nchu.

These places were visited more than once during the three-year period of study, for the validity and reliability of the data. The variants researched were the noun class prefix **le-** (class 5) and the noun class prefix **lo-** (class 11); **mogodungwana** (tea) and **mmutshwana** (tea); and nouns **rre** (father) and **mme** (mother).

I performed the role of either a complete observer or participant observer, depending on the situation. I listened to Batswana conversation in taxis, at various ceremonies, at their homes and even at schools. Youth and older people were asked questions relating to the use of any or both of these noun class prefixes.

The observations or answers were written down as soon as possible after observing or hearing them. I made recording while they were still fresh in mind.

Quite a small number of informants was found, as I was not staying in those areas but only visiting them. Generally I had respondents.

### **1.5.2 Variation across age levels in apparent time**

The observations and recordings were made irrespective of age limits. The respondents and informants were divided into two groups, namely the older age group and the young age group.

The older people are chosen because they are retired and nonmobile. Most of them have little formal education, little reading and restricted formal contact. These people may or may

not have reached success, but their language is generally unaffected by contact with other languages.

The young people have been chosen because their language is somehow affected by the standardized language more than the language of the older people. People in their 70s, 80s and 90s are included within the older age group, and also children 10 years old are included within the young age group.

**(a) The older age group**

I had a number of problems in getting good data of spontaneous speech from some of the people in their late 70s, 80s, 90s. Some of them had physical deterioration which interfered with their speech like for example lax articulation and loss of teeth. Some, and not many of them showed deterioration of mental abilities like loss of memory, attention and interest. Not all of these elderly people were willing to cooperate as a result of the change from Bophuthatswana government to South African government.

But, however, many older speakers have retained the clarity and preciseness of their speech. I spoke to many people in their 70s and 80s who were good respondents and a pleasure to listen to. They spoke for sometime about my subject of interest and later included personal stories and also intelligent ideas and observations about Setswana community as a whole. They said it openly that in their writing they use the noun class prefix **lo-** but in their speech they apply the noun class prefix **le-**. The elderly people spoke of the differences among the Setswana dialects, which are slowly but surely disappearing.

For example, Bahurutshe mentioned that these noun class prefixes are variants; and they use the noun class prefix **le-** while the Barolong use the noun class prefix **lo-**. Barolong claim to be applying the noun class prefix **lo-**, but when listening and talking to them, they are mostly using the noun class prefix **le-**.

Although these noun class prefixes are taken as variants by Batswana, there are changes occurring where the noun class prefix **lo-** in commonly used words is disappearing and giving way to the noun class prefix **le-**.

**(b) The young age group**

The young age group included even the youngest members of the community, that is, the ten year olds. When listening and observing the young people, one realizes that they use the noun class prefix **le-**. But, in their writing, because they are taught at schools that we have the noun class prefix **le-** (class 5) and the noun class prefix **lo-** (class 11), without generally being told that these are variants; they write either the noun class prefix **le-** or **lo-**.

The conclusion from the observation above is that the noun class prefix **lo-** is becoming obsolete in the spontaneous speech of Batswana in South Africa. Words which are generally initially affected are frequently used words like, **lorato** (love); **logadima** (lightning); **loleme** (tongue) and **lobone** (lamp). The older people use these words with the class prefix **lo-** whereas the young people use the noun class prefix **le-**.

Concerning the use of **rre** (father) and **mme** (mother) among the older and young people, one realizes that these nouns are becoming obsolete in Setswana. What is happening is that young people use adopted words **papa** (father) and **mama** (mother) for **rre** and **mme** respectively. **Papa** and **mama** are adopted words from Afrikaans, **pa** and **ma**, respectively. One other observation relating to father in Setswana is that **ntate** (father), which is used in Sesotho is now becoming commonly used in Setswana amongst the young people to refer to any fatherly figure.

The noun '**mogodungwana**' and '**mmutshwana**' denoting tea in Setswana are also becoming obsolete. Some and not all the older people know them. They are basically unknown to young people. The commonly used word, which is basically known to the young people is 'tee' a derived noun from the Afrikaans word 'tee'.

There is however, a different picture in Botswana. I visited Gaborone, Kanye, Mochudi and Molepolole. In Gaborone we find Batswana speaking different dialects; in Kanye we find Bangwaketse, Mochudi is a village for Bakgatla; and Molepolole is that of Bakwena.

The older and the young people in Gaborone, Kanye, Mochudi and Molepolole, use nominal prefixes of their specific dialects. A Mongwaketse uses the nominal prefix **lo-** like in for instance **logadima** (lightning); Mokgatla and Mokwena use the nominal prefix **le-**. The differences observed was that between the older and the young people living in Molepolole. Here, the older people still use the ejected dental [t'] for example in **tlala** [t'ala] (hunger, starvation), and the interdental aspirated plosive [t<sup>h</sup>] for instance in **tlhapa** [t<sup>h</sup>ap'a], while

most of the young people use the voiceless plosive, [t<sup>h</sup>] and the aspirated plosive [t<sup>h</sup>] respectively.

### **1.5.3 Linguistic variation in Setswana**

I visited the following rural areas in South Africa: Dinokana and Motswedi around Zeerust; Moruleng, Ledig and Phokeng around Rustenburg; Montshiwa Stad in Mafikeng; Taung, Ganyesa and Kudumane around Vryburg; Ga-Mosetlha and Hebron near Pretoria and Morolong in Thaba Nchu.

The following villages were visited in Botswana: Kanye, Mochudi, Molepolole and Serowe.

Mogwase near Rustenburg; Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Mabopane and Soshanguve around Pretoria; Soweto in Gauteng; Galeshewe in Kimberley; Pampierstad near Kimberley and Vryburg; Selosha around Thaba Nchu; are urban areas visited in South Africa. Gaborone in Botswana was also paid a visit.

Questionnaires (in Setswana) were filled by Batswana people and some of the Africans who have been living among Batswana for more than five years. Basically the elderly and middle aged people filled these questionnaires. The elderly people, were preferred especially in the villages, because most of them have little education and travel experience; therefore hidden somewhere in their speech, are the real dialects which are slowly being changed by the standardized language.

All answers to specific questions were grouped and analysed by the researcher. Important facts about the research were highlighted as informants and respondents were curious about the objectives of the research.

It was not easy to have people completing the questionnaires as a result of the political situation. People had an attitude towards the researcher during the time of data collection; they viewed her as a spy for the former government (Bophuthatswana) or current government (South Africa). The questionnaire was compiled through the conventional style, which is a style formed by agreement and based on accepted practices, customs and standards; used by Chambers and Trudgill (1980) and Wardhaugh (1992); and was adapted to linguistic variation and standardization in Setswana.

Tape-recordings were part of the data collection. The main aim of the tape recorded interviews was to establish variation in spontaneous speech. At the beginning of the interviews, from the researcher's observation, the informants and respondents were a bit formal and not quite relaxed. But during the progress of the interviews, they became very formal and relaxed.

Linguistic variations of interest were: dialectal variations; social variations or sociolects particularly jargon; vernacular; registers; diglossia; style; borrowing; lingua francas; pidgins; creoles; koiné languages.

Personal visits were made to the following people: Rev. A.S. Phiri and Mr R.M. Maotwe in Mabopane who have been with Motsweding F.M. for considerable time; Mrs V. Makapan the chief's wife living in Ga-Mosetlha; Prof. R.M. Malope of University of the North-West; and Mr T.D. Ranamane of the University of South Africa.

## **1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this section we are going to review relevant literature on linguistic variations and standardization. This section will be divided into two parts, namely, literature review in Setswana and literature review in other African languages.

### **1.6.1 Literature review in Setswana**

Moloto in his Master's study, made detailed and contributive discussion on the history of Setswana orthography from 1806 to 1960. He also examined different methods which can be used in the standardization of written Setswana. A focus is also made on the main differences of speech and the extent to which these differences are still reflected in literature; their correspondence to tribal boundaries and their occurrence within tribal units were also researched. Teachers were his main sources of data collection and discussion.

Malepe (1966) in his dissertation made a phonetic comparison of Setswana dialects in his selection of a dialect as a basis for the establishment of literary Setswana. In order to make this comparison, Sehurutshe was chosen as a common denominator with which others were



compared. The sound system of Sehurutshe was firstly analysed by determining its derivation from Ur-Bantu as postulated in Meinhof by Meinhof and Warmelo (1932).

Furthermore, Malimabe (1990), in her M.A. research, made a good attempt in examining the degree to which different African languages, that is, Sepedi, Sesotho, IsiZulu, English and Afrikaans, influence the acquisition and use of standard written Setswana by high school pupils studying Setswana as a first language. This study also focuses on deviations and the reasons for such deviations, from standardized Setswana in the written language of high school pupils.

### **1.6.2 Literature review in other African languages**

Mokgokong (1966) in his M.A. study gives the classification of Sepedi dialects made by van Warmelo (1932) and Doke (1954). He continues to give the provisional classification of Sepedi into dialects by the department of Sintu languages at Unisa. Mokgokong also gives the historical background of the tribes speaking Sepedi dialects. His study is based on the Pedi, Kutswe and Pulana dialects. The phonology of the above-mentioned dialects was investigated.

Nomlomo (1993) in her M.A. study, investigates language variation in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community, focusing on the different dialects spoken in this geographical area and their impact on the education of children. Aspects such as standardization and language attitudes are also dealt with.

Thipa (1989) in his thesis, examines the concept of linguistic variation in Xhosa and the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties. His study is sociolinguistic, and thus deals with aspects such as language varieties, lexical borrowing, terminology, language standardization, language planning and culture, with less emphasis on grammar.

Zungu (1995) in her dissertation examines the concept of language variation in Zulu, focusing on contemporary speech codes and registers which are employed by the Black Durban speech community.

Madiba (1994) discusses change that occurs in the Venda language as a result of the influence of other languages. He focuses on the adaptation of foreign linguistic forms which have been adopted into the Venda language and their impact on the language. These foreign linguistic forms are discussed at the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic levels.

Sekhukhune (1988) in his sociolinguistic study of M.A. degree, in Sepedi, investigates Sepedi speech varieties.

Schuring (1981, 1983, 1985) makes a study of Tsotsitaal and Pretoria-Sotho. In his 1981 article he concentrates mainly on Tsotsitaal which is a slang language spoken mostly by Black urban youths. He focuses mainly on the origin and the use of Tsotsitaal (flaaitaal).

Furthermore, Schuring (1983) focuses on the users of Tsotsitaal; its function and linguistic aspects of Tsotsitaal in relation to other languages.

Schuring (1985) basically proves that Pretoria-Sotho is a koiné language.

Looking at the different studies listed above, one realizes that very little has been done on the investigation of African dialects. There is need for further research on linguistic variation on African dialects so as to protect our dialects which are undergoing change because of the influence of predominantly television which has most of the programmes in IsiZulu and IsiXhosa.

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## CHAPTER 2

### 2.0 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes factors which trigger linguistic changes, namely, internal and external factors. These factors form the basis of the theoretical framework which informs the analysis of subsequent chapters.

Bloomfield (1933:347) argues that 'the process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; ... that such observations, with our present facilities, is inconceivable ...'

But, when looking at what Labov (1966,1972,1994); Bailey (1973); Cheshire (1982) and Trudgill (1974(a)) say, linguistic change can be directly observed and this is a possibility. Labov (1966:7) confirms that linguistic change can be observed, when he mentions that 'we find in actual observations, that change proceeds by fits and starts; that the newer form is heard in some words, and the older form in others; that some groups of speakers lead in the change, while others lag'.

La Piere (1965:39) states:

... A change in society comes, even as  
does a tumor in an organism, as a foreign  
and unwanted agent, not necessarily of  
destruction, but always of disturbance to the  
established and organizationally preferred  
structures and processes of life.

Aitchison (1981:76) aligns herself with La Piere (1965) when she says:

... A change tends to sneak quietly into  
a language, like a disease which gradually  
infiltrates the body with minor, mostly  
unnoticed symptoms in the early stages ...

We deduce from the above quotations that change in society or language is normal. The early stages of change occur unnoticed just like that of a disease.

Johnson (1976:287) as cited by Nomlomo (1993:36) confirms what is said by La Piere (1965) and Aitchison (1981) in saying that 'constant change in word meaning, in pronunciation and

in grammatical structure is the normal condition of every language spoken by a living people'.

Aitchison (1981:64) believes that changes within a language may be conscious or unconscious. Conscious changes are those which people realize are happening and somehow encourage them; and language changes unconsciously when people do not notice it. Labov (1990) maintains that change from above, or conscious change, is influenced by speakers with higher social status, while change from below, or unconscious change is caused by speakers with lower social status.

Therefore, whether the society accepts or rejects change, it will always be there. But, what really causes these changes? To answer this question we will deal with both internal and external factors of linguistic change in this chapter.

## **2.2 INTERNAL FACTORS**

Labov (1994:600) believes that the internal development of linguistic structure is determined by the general principles of linguistic change. Labov came up with the following general principles as internal causes of linguistic change.



### 2.2.1 Chain shifting

Before concentrating on the eight principles of chain shift, let us firstly differentiate between a minimal and an extended chain shift. A minimal chain shift is a change in position of two phonemes where one moves from original place, and leaves a gap that is then occupied by the other. These two phonemes may be referred to as entering and leaving elements, respectively. The entering element does not necessarily occupy the exact place of the leaving element. An extended chain shift in return is any combination of minimal chain shifts in which the entering element of one minimal chain shift replaces the leaving element of the second minimal chain shift (Labov, 1994:118-119). A minimal chain shift can be represented like this:

/A/ → /B/ →

(Labov, 1994:119)

Chain shifting changes the appearance of languages concerned. This can happen within a couple of centuries.

Three general principles occur that govern the shifting of vowels.

#### 2.2.1.1 Principle I

**In chain shifts, long vowels rise.**

This principle involves the raising of long vowels in both back and front; with the high

vowels leaving the system of long monophthongs to become upgliding diphthongs. These arrangements were realized as follows in the Vowel Shift of English:

$$/\bar{\alpha}/ \rightarrow /e/ \rightarrow /i/ \rightarrow iy/$$

$$/\bar{\omega}/ \rightarrow /o/ \rightarrow /u/ \rightarrow uw/$$

(Labov, 1994:123)

### 2.2.1.2 Principle II

**In chain shifts, short vowels fall.**

#### Principle II (a)

**In chain shifts, the nuclei of upgliding diphthongs fall.**

This means that we have lowering of the diphthongal nuclei. It can be represented as follows:

$$/iy/ \rightarrow ey \rightarrow ay/$$

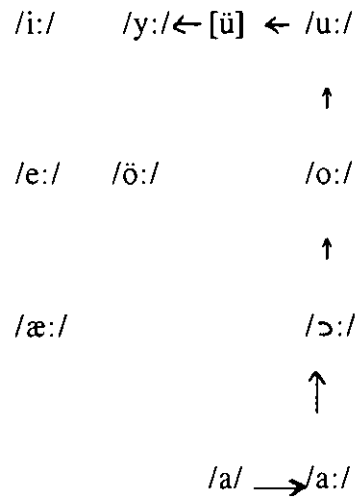
$$/uw/ \rightarrow ow \rightarrow aw/$$

(Labov, 1994:123)

### 2.2.1.3 Principle III

**In chain shifts, back vowels move to the front.**

This can be illustrated by examples in Swedish and East Norwegian. In this case, back vowels are fronted. Let us look at the following example:



The Swedish Chain shift (Labov, 1994:131)

This chain shift was probably initiated by the early lengthening of short /a/ (Benediktsson, 1970) as cited by Labov (1994:130). This resulted into a push chain.

The backing of the original long  $\bar{a}$  to  $ɔ$  was the next step. This caused raising and fronting as indicated by the arrows.

Shifting of vowels in Swedish as shown in the above diagram can be summarised as follows:

$/a/ \rightarrow /a:/ \rightarrow /o:/ \rightarrow /u:/ \rightarrow \ddot{u}/$

(Labov, 1994:281)

Principles 1 to 3 later refined to a single Vowel Shift Principle which says:

**In chain shifts, peripheral vowels become more open and nonperipheral vowels become less open.**

Germanic and Baltic languages have tense vowels being peripheral and lax vowels nonperipheral. The front unrounded and back rounded vowels are peripheral and the front rounded or "mixed" vowels are nonperipheral in the phonological space of Romance languages (Labov, 1994:601). In Setswana, a Proto-SINTU language, lax vowels are peripheral and tense vowels are nonperipheral. For example, /a/, a lax vowel in Setswana is peripheral while /i/ and /u/ are nonperipheral.

The following five principles of chain shifting regulate shifts of subsystems. If it was not because of these principles, the operation of Principles I to III would lead to the concentration of all peripheral vowels at the top of the vowel space, and all nonperipheral vowels at the bottom.

#### **2.2.1.4 The Lower Exit Principle**

**In chain shifts, low nonperipheral vowels become peripheral.**

This principle does not really lead into a change of subsystem. It governs the result of lowering under Principles II. It applies mostly to the nonperipheral nuclei of upgliding vowels as when the [É I] representing Modern English /ey/ falls to [aI] (Labov, 1994:280).

### 2.2.1.5 The Upper Exit Principle

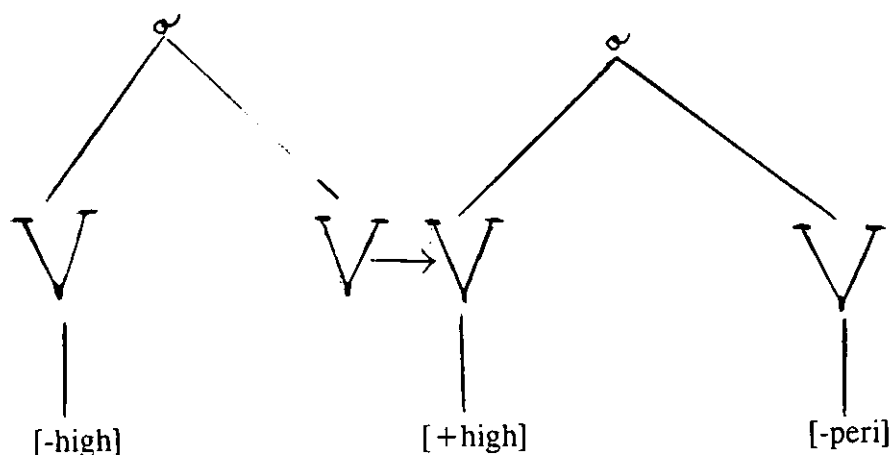
In chain shifts, the first of two high morae may change peripherality, and the second may become nonperipheral.

This principle involves change in peripherality. The Upper Exit Principle means that in the raising of tense monophthongs to the least open position, they may develop into upgliding or ingliding diphthongs.

### 2.2.1.6 The Middle Exit Principle

In chain shifts, peripheral vowels rising from mid to high position develop inglides.

The Middle Exit Principle means that when monophthongs move from mid to high position they change to ingliding diphthongs. This change can be illustrated as follows:



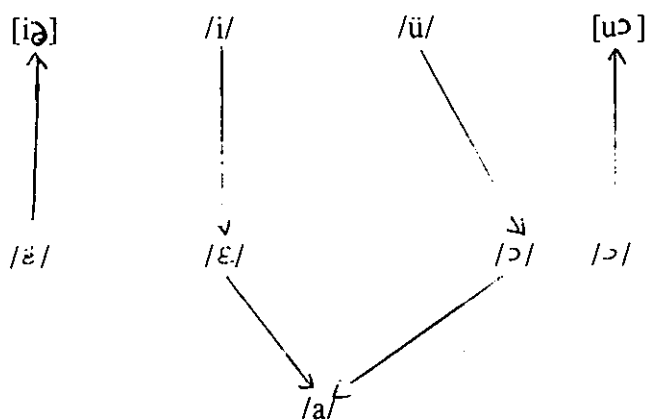
(Labov, 1994:284)

In the above example [-high] is changed to [+high].

### 2.2.1.7 The Redefinition Principle

**Peripherality is defined relative to the vowel system as a whole.**

It controls change caused by the redefinition of one or more vowels as peripheral or nonperipheral. In the Vegliote vowel shifts (see the example below), the creation of peripheral ingliding vowels *ie* and *uo* led to the redefinition of the original set of unmarked vowels as lax and their lowering in a chain shift.



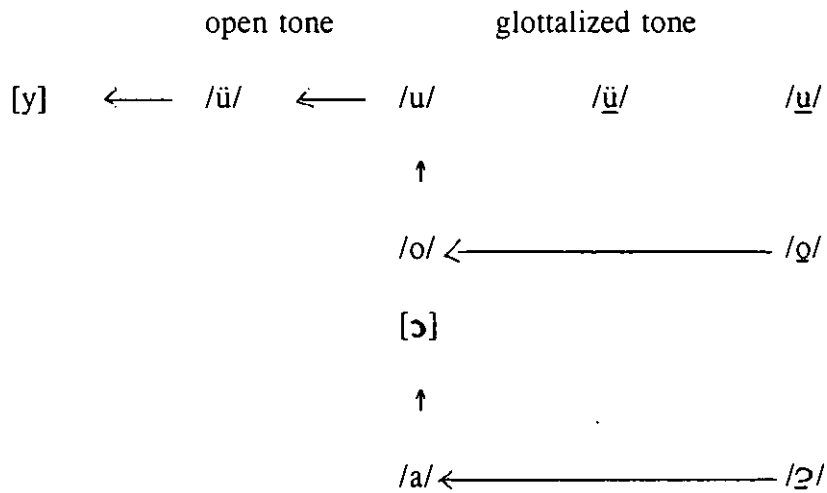
(Labov, 1994:128)

### 2.2.1.8 The Unmarking Principle

**In chain shifts, elements of the marked system are unmarked.**

This principle operates for individual changes. It can be illustrated by vowel shift in Akha (refer to the diagram below). Two sets of vowels are marked by the presence of open tone (the unmarked category) versus glottalized tone (the marked category) in Akha. The upward

shift of mid and low open tone vowels, in Principle III pattern, is followed by the unmarking of the mid and low glottalized tone vowels.



(Labov, 1994:288)

In Setswana vowel shift or chain shift occurs as a result of vowel raising or vowel harmony. Vowel shift or partial height assimilation takes place when non-high vowels are followed in words by high sounds or when the low vowels are followed by non-low sounds. Here, the sounds of lower heights shift towards higher heights. Since these lower sounds do not change completely from what they were before they were followed by these higher sounds, this is not a complete assimilation. 'The shift is only from their original height to one immediately above it, that is, although the sound is assimilated to a higher position, it does not lose its property as either low or non-high. It remains the

same sound; with a gain in height from the higher sound that follows it in a word ...'

(Khabanyane, 1989:58).

Khabanyane (1989:59) formulated a Vowel Raising Rule, which brings about the change in height when suitable higher sound follows. The rule is simply that 'high sounds will assimilate lower sounds that precede them'. They formulated this rule in various ways:

/eo/ > [eo]/ ----	/iu/
/εɔ/ > [εɔ]/ ----	/iu/ /eo/ /pɔts/

(Khabanyane, 1989:59)

This rule can be illustrated in Setswana using current phonetic symbols:

/ɨ/ > [i]/ ---- /i/

/fɩt'a/ (pass or overtake something (on the way)) > /mɛfɩt'i/ (bypasser)

/nɨsa/ (cause to rain) > /mɔnɩsi/ (the causer of rain)

/ɔ/ > [v]/ ---- /i/

/rɔma/ (send) > /mɔrvmi/ (sender)

/ts'ɔxa/ (wake up) > /ts'vxilɛ/ ((has/have) got up, arose or have or has arised from bed)



/ɛ/ > [e] ---- /i/

/fʌt'a/ (*pass or overtake something (on the way)*) > moft'i (*bypasser*)

---- /ʌ/

/sɛba/ (*whisper, backbite, or gossip*) > /sʌsebʌ/ (*do not whisper, backbite, or gossip*)

---- /ɔ/

/rɛk'a/ (*buy*) > rek'ɔɔɔɔ/ (*buy back*)

---- /r/

/ts'ɛna/ (*enter*) > ts'eɲa/ (*cause to enter; put in*)

---- /ɲ/

/fɛɲa/ (*defeat, conquer, overcome*) > /feɲɲa/ (*to be defeated, conquered, or overcome*)

---- /ts'/

/fɛɔa/ (*become finished, or completed or concluded or accomplished, or end*) >

/fets'a/ (*finish (up), complete, conclude, accomplish*)

/ɔ/ > [o] ---- /i/

/lɔra/ (*dream*) > /mɔlori/ (*dreamer*)

---- /ʌ/

/bɔla/ (*rot*) > /sʌboɔʌ/ (*a rotten thing*)

---- /ʌ/

/t<sup>h</sup>ɔ la/ (*spend a day*) > /t<sup>h</sup>ots'ɔ/ (*have/has spend a day*)

---- /ɔ/

/bɔfa/ (*bind, tie*) > /bofɔlɔla/ (*untie, loosen*)

---- /ɔ/

/nt<sup>h</sup>ɔ/ (*wound, sore, injury*) > /nt<sup>h</sup>oɔ/ (*to the wound, sore, or injury*)

- (a) Phonemic shift (Thipa, 1989:151) occurs in borrowing cases where a phoneme does not exist in the borrowing language. During phonemic shift borrowed sounds and borrowed words are subjected to phonemic adjustments when adapted in the borrowing language for instance:

baki (jacket)	< Afrikaans	'baadjie'
baesekele	< English	'bicycle'
boratšhe	< English	'brush'
letšhaena	< English	'Chinese'
tiki (threepence)	< Afrikaans	'tiekie'
šêlěng	< English	'shilling'

Phonemic shifting occurs because Setswana does not have the sounds dj, cy, c, sh, ch, ie. These sounds are brought as closely as possible to existing Setswana when they have to be used in borrowed words:

Thus, k, s, k, tšh, š, tšh, i, respectively.

### 2.2.2 Principles relating to mergers and splits

Merger is the converse process that eliminates functional distinction (Labov, 1994:33), and split, which is phonemic, is the converse of merger (Labov, 1994:35).

Mergers are found when distinction between two sounds may be lost in a language over a period of time. This has occurred historically in most varieties of English in the vowels of **meet** and **meat** or **horse** and **hoarse**. In most dialects of English these vowels have merged. A distinction may alternatively be gained where there was none before as in a house with an [s] but to house with a [z], or finally in thin and thing, the [n] and the [ŋ]. This is phonemic split (Wardhaugh, 1992:192-193).

'It is generally agreed that mergers are irreversible: once a merger, always a merger' (Labov, 1994:311). This principle is stated clearly by Garde in his review of Slavic inflections. He says:

**Mergers are irreversible by linguistic change.**

Herzog's Principle on mergers is that:

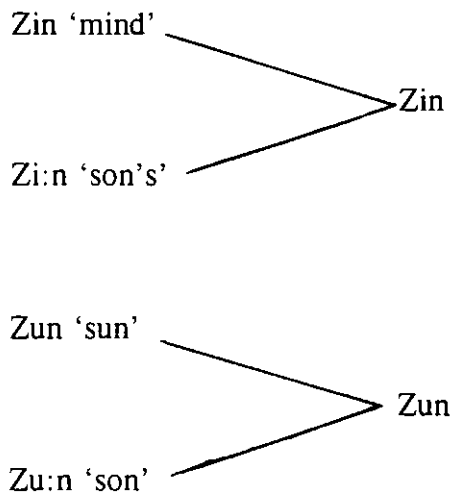
**Mergers expand at the expense of distinction.**

Herzog illustrates his general principle with data drawn from his study of the Yiddish of northern Poland. Two sets of mergers affected the high vowels of Yiddish.

- (1) Length was generally lost in the Northeastern dialects of Yiddish, and Polish dialects bordering on Lithuania show a merger of original /i:/ and /i/, /u:/ and /u/:

Proto-Yiddish

Northeastern Yiddish



The Northeastern Yiddish Merger (Labov, 1994:313)

- (2) The high back vowels /u:/ and /u/ are fronted to [ü:] and [ü] and unrounded, to merge with /i:/ and /i/, in central Poland, where length was maintained:

Proto-Yiddish

Southern Yiddish



#### The Southern Yiddish Merger (Labov, 1994:314)

These two sets sound change overlap in one area of northern Poland. /i/ will be the only sound left as a result of the intersection of these two processes in the region between Northeastern and Southern Yiddish because mergers expand at the expense of distinctions (Labov, 1994:314). In Setswana no research so far has been done on these types of mergers and splits.

#### 2.2.3 Neogrammarian Regularity Principle

Sound change is a change in the phonetic realization of a phoneme, without regard to lexical identity.

This principle means that phonemes change not words.

In some of the African Languages we find same words but different sounds. For example:

English 'to see': Setswana: /bɔna/; Sesotho: /bɔna/; IsiZulu: /bɔna/; Xitsonga: /βɔna/

Tshivenda: /βɔna/

English 'to enter': Setswana: /ts'εna/; Sesotho: /k'εna/; Xitsonga: /dɔna/; Tshivenda:

/tɛna/

An opposing principle is that of lexical diffusion which says:

**Sound change proceeds as a change in the phonetic form of individual words.**

The lexical diffusion principle means that sound change affects words not sounds.

The lexical diffusion principle was later reformulated as the Principle of Category

Change:

**Changes that affect several features of a sound simultaneously proceed by altering the category membership of individual words.**

This principle means that changes that affect a number of characteristics of a sound like for example the phonetic, phonological, syntactic, semantic, and morphological characteristics, will at the same time change the category membership of individual words.

The Principle of Category Change seems not to be applicable in Setswana. Generally in Setswana a feature of a sound is affected by change, not several of them in a word.

#### **2.2.4 Mechanical Principle**

**The relative progress of sound change is determined by phonetic factors alone, without regard to the preservation of meaning.**

This means that comparatively speaking what is important in sound change are the phonetic factors that cause it. There are no precautions taken for preservation of meaning.

This is applicable in Setswana as change is always looked at without really thinking of preservation of meaning.

#### **2.2.5 Principle of Structural Compensation**

**When the rate of deletion of a meaningful feature of a language increases, the frequency of features that redundantly carry this meaning will increase.**

The Principle of Structural Compensation is not applicable in Setswana as generally there is deletion of features which are not meaningful to a language.

This can be illustrated by elision of a vowel between the resonant consonants /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/ in a number of nouns and verbs:

/mɔtɪɪɔ/ (*fire*) > /mɔllɔ/

/mɛnɔna/ (*man*) > /mɔnna/

/mamɛ/ (*mother*) > /mme/

/rara/ (*father*) > /rra/

/lɔxɔlɔla/ (*unweave*) > /lɔxɔlla/

/lɛla/ (*cry*) > /lla/

### 2.3 EXTERNAL FACTORS

It is natural that some element of society should take the lead in the progress of any linguistic or other change (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:167). Sometimes, usually under interesting social circumstances, precedence is clearly taken over all others by one of the variables. This makes it possible to identify the innovators as for example women (regardless of age, social class) or young people (regardless of sex, social class) (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:167).



Let us now look at how the different external factors, which are namely social, geographical, and political, resulted in linguistic change.

### **2.3.1 Social Factors**

#### **2.3.1.1 Immigration**

Sometimes people leave an area or place of origin to another area which they make their home. This movement may result into a change in the language of that community.

Although nothing definite is known about the origins of the Sotho people to whom the Batswana belong, the conventional view is that they separated from the main body of SINTU-speaking people somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes of East Africa. They then entered South Africa possibly through the western portions of Southern Rhodesia in three series of migrations. The first is the Bakgalagadi who settled in the eastern more fertile parts of Botswana. The modern Barolong and Batlhaping ancestors followed upon the Bakgalagadi and settled along the upper reaches of the Molopo River, from which they gradually spread south and west (Schapera, 1953). The greatest migration was the third which brought ancestors of all the other Sotho tribes. They settled united in the south-western portions of the modern Transvaal, and later broke up rapidly into separate clusters. The most important of this migration were the Bahurutshe, Bakwena, and Bakgatla.

As early as around 1200AD the Sotho-Tswana people probably existed in the Transvaal (Janson and Tsonope, 1991:24). As time went on several groups moved westwards from the Transvaal into present Botswana. The first to arrive as already stated, are the Bakgalagadi. The Bakgalagadi were later on followed by the Bakwena tribe. The Bakwena tribe are the first important Batswana to settle in the present Botswana. Other Batswana tribes moved into their present habitats in Botswana in several instalments. By the middle of the 19th century, the present Botswana was mainly populated by Batswana (Janson and Tsonope, 1991).

This immigration of some of the Batswana tribes from South Africa into Botswana led into a change from South African Setswana into Botswana Setswana. This resulted into some of the following lexical changes:

South African Setswana	Botswana Setswana
Ferikgong ( <i>January</i> )	Firikgong
Diphalane ( <i>September</i> )	Phalane
Tautona ( <i>State President</i> )	Tautona ( <i>President</i> )
But Mopôresidente ( <i>President</i> )	
Ke ya <u>kw</u> a ntlong ( <i>I am going to the house</i> )	Ke ya <u>ko</u> ntlong
bône ( <i>have seen</i> )	bônye
bônwe ( <i>has/have been seen</i> )	bônywe

### 2.3.1.2 Fission

Droughts in the past were the main cause of fission. Sometimes tribes did split up to find water or pasture. Sons or brothers of the chief sometimes envied his wealth and this caused the group to split.

The Barolong living somewhere west of Zeerust split because of draught. A younger son, Phudutswana, took a section of the tribe away from his father, Tshesebe, and settled at Dikgatlong on the confluence of the Harts and Vaal Rivers. They were forced to catch and eat fish because of the severity of the famine. This led to their being known as Batlhaping (Tlou and Campbell, 1984:65).

Draught at Majwanamatshwana (near Pretoria) forced the Bakwena under the leadership of Mogopa to move up the Madikwe River searching for a better place to live. Mogopa later returned to Majwanamatshwana because draught had ended, but the brother Kgabo remained behind and later crossed into Botswana. The Bangwaketse and Bangwato broke away from Mogopa and joined Kgabo in Botswana. The Batawana then broke away from the Bangwato (Schapera, 1953:15).

The above mentioned fissions resulted into the following phonological and morphological changes:

The dental stop with lateral /tl/ has changed to an ordinary /t'/ in Sengwaketse, Sengwato and Setawana; and the aspirated consonant /t<sup>h</sup>/ has changed to /t<sup>h</sup>/.

Cole (1955) did also discover these changes as he says: 'In the northern dialects, especially Ngwato, the voiceless explosive is commonly replaced by the ejective dental or interdental explosive [tʰ]; thus tlôu (elephant) is pronounced as [tʰou] (p.24); and 'As in the case of tl, the aspirated tlh is commonly replaced in Ngwato by a dental or interdental aspirated explosive [tʰ] thus tlhapi (fish) is pronounced as [tʰap'i]' (p.24).

The bilabial voiceless fricative [Ø] has changed to a glottal fricative [h] in for example Sengwaketse and Setlhaping. This change has been there in the past, first affecting some of the southern dialects as this is confirmed by Cole (1955:26) by saying that: 'In the southern dialects the two phonemes have merged and occur as a glottal fricative.'

In Setlhaping, the change was completed before the arrival of the missionaries. It later spread to the remaining southern dialects, lastly to Serolong. In recent times, it has advanced northward to Sengwaketse, Sekwena, and Sekgatla (Janson and Tsonope, 1991:47).

The prepalatal fricative Š [ʃ] is used in the southern dialects, Setlhaping and Setlharo for example. It is also beginning to spread to Serolong dialect. The prepalatal fricative š [ʃ] replace the alveolar fricative s [s] in other dialects.

The singular noun prefix **lo-** (class 11) is being assimilated by the singular noun prefix **le-** (class 5) in several dialects in Setswana. This change is found in central, northern and eastern dialects, for example Sehurutshe, Sekwena, Sekgatla and Sengwato. This is now spreading to the southern dialects and some of the northern dialects. Cole (1955:93) who uses Dokean classification of the noun class prefixes, which is a combination of Bleek- Meinhof classification of the noun prefixes, also made almost similar discovery a long time ago when he says that: 'In some Tswana dialects especially in the east and north, there is a tendency for nouns of class 6 to be absorbed into class 3, and: 'In the less typical eastern and northern dialects, most or all nouns of this class have the singular prefix **le-** instead of **lo-**, ... This tendency of class 6 nouns to be absorbed into class 3 appears to be spreading even to the central and southern dialects. The indications are that class 6 is gradually becoming obsolete in Tswana, as it already has done in Northern and Southern Sotho'.

Schapera (1953:17) did also come-up with the same discovery of the morphological change. He states: 'Dialectal differences within Tswana include the occurrence of Meinhof's noun class 11 (prefix **lo-**) in the South (e.g. Rolong), but not in the north and east where it is merged with class 5, prefix **le-**'.

### **2.3.1.3 Language Contact**

This occurs when the speakers of language migrate or conquer the territory of speakers of another. If the area is small, and there are only two major languages in question, they may continue to co-exist for centuries (Wolfson, 1989:259). In the case of conquest of

speakers of one language by those of another, however, there is no way to predict which of the languages will survive. If the dominant language survives, it will show very few traces of the contact. Speakers of the dominant language rarely have the need to learn the language of those whom they rule. If on the other hand, it is the lower language which survives, it will be like English after the Norman Conquest, show the scars of the contact in the form of huge numbers of borrowings, which will have far-reaching effects not only on the lexicon, but also on the phonology and even the syntax of the surviving language.

Setswana, in South Africa, borrowed from English and Afrikaans because English and Afrikaans are better developed technically.

Bakgatla ba-ga Mosetlha, who are living near Pretoria, have an influence from Sepedi. This seems to have occurred when they came in contact with Bapedi. The language contact occurred when they split away from Bahurutshe, Bakwena, and Batlharo in the area between the Marico (Madikwe) and Crocodile (Odi) Rivers. They lived for a while with Bapedi before also splitting from them (Tlou and Campbell, 1984:65). The contact between Bakgatla and Bapedi resulted into the following lexical changes:

Sepedi	Sekgatla sa - ga Mosetlha	Other dialects
ditšhila <i>(filthiness)</i>	ditšhila	maswe
aowa <i>(no)</i>	aowa	ee or nyaa

-nyaka (*want*                      -nyaka                      -batla  
*something*  
*or somebody*)

#### 2.3.1.4 Gender

Extreme style shifting towards the 'prestige norm' in women's speech was discovered by Trudgill (1974(a)) in his study in Norwich, England. Labov (1966) in his study in New York City made the same discovery. 'One of labov's major hypotheses is that the linguistic insecurity of lower - middle - class women leads to sound change' (Wolfson, 1989:177). The lower - middle - class speakers showed the greater tendency to use prestige forms in careful speech, and when sex was isolated as a variable, it was found that females demonstrated the most hypercorrection. 'Labov's point was that since children are usually cared for by women, and since the majority of school teachers at the elementary school level are to be middle-class women, children are very likely to be exposed to hypercorrection forms and to acquire them'. 'Labov also noted that in addition to the overt norms held by both sexes in New York speech community, there are also covert norms which place a high value on the tough talk of working - class men, equating it with masculinity ...' (Wolfson, 1989:177).

Trudgill (1974(a)) with the same finding as that of Labov (1966), guesses that women may use more status forms than men do, because lacking an occupational identity of their own outside the home, they are more likely than men to be judged by how they present

themselves rather than by what they do, and speech is very much a part of self-presentation (Wolfson, 1989:177).

Labov (1981:184) as cited by Wardhaugh (1992:204), says: 'It is important to bear in mind that this shift of women towards higher prestige forms is limited to those societies where women play a role in public life. If a woman's status is fixed unalterably, she has no motivation to change linguistically; only in a society in which status can change, does the necessary motivation exist'.

In Setswana, women in the middle class for example teachers, lecturers, nurses, typists, clerks, shift towards higher forms because of the different roles they play in the society. Some of them are actively involved in politics, therefore they need to use standardized Setswana not regional dialects. But, women in the lower class, who are mostly living in the rural areas, are still using and speaking the different regional dialects because their social status is fixed therefore there is no motivation to change linguistically.

Therefore, women, where there is need, 'lead the way in changes towards the standard, and men tend to march in the opposite direction' (Wardhaugh, 1992:202).

#### **2.3.1.5 Age**

Here younger speakers are observed to use language differently from older speakers.



Chambers and Trudgill (1980:172) argue that 'for an innovation to be age-based, it is essential that it involves a linguistic feature that was pervasive regardless of features like class and sex at one time, and that its occurrence be reduced throughout the entire population of younger speakers. One circumstance - perhaps the only one - that might lead to this kind of situation is the stigmatisation of a well established linguistic marker ...'

Among Batswana, older people are still using their dialects and those who are educated, use both their dialects and standardized Setswana. But, younger speakers of Setswana code-mix and code-switch, particularly in the urban areas because of the stigmatisation of Setswana. They are referred to as 'dibari' (fools) when they speak either a dialect or standardized Setswana.

#### **2.3.1.6 Social Class**

It is generally believed that the upper classes originate change and other social classes follow the lead (Wolfram, 1991:100-1). 'But, in reality, the lower social classes are much responsible for language change than they have been given credit for.

Furthermore, extremes in the social strata (for example the highest and the lowest social classes) tend to be peripheral in the origin of change; it is those social classes between the extremes which bear the major responsibility for change. The middle status group tend to have the strongest ties to group and local identity so that they are more sensitive to local innovations' (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:101).

The middle class in Setswana is the one that results into changes. This is because they are mostly involved in social activities, for example as teachers, nurses, doctors, political activists. Their involvement makes them innovators of linguistic change.

### 2.3.1.7 Social Need

'Language alters as the needs for its users alter' (Aitchison, 1981:124). Need is basically relevant at the level of vocabulary. Unneeded words drop out, for example items of clothing like for example names of clothes no longer worn.

New technical terms are coined as they are needed, for example names of objects and people are switched in accordance with day-to-day requirements (Aitchison, 1981:124).

Unneeded words like, for example, *tshega/seope* (loin-skin worn by boys) and *makgabe* (worn by girls) are rarely mentioned outside a cultural setting. These were worn by girls and boys in the olden days and now because of change, trousers and dresses are for example now worn. Therefore new words used now are *mosese* (dress) and *borokgwe* or *borukhu* (trousers).

Names of people in Setswana have also changed in accordance with the political climate today. Some people would like to be associated with fallen political heroes by naming their children after those heroes. People are given names like 'Tiro' (the surname of Onkgopotse, a SASO activist), who died because of a letter bomb in Botswana (1974).

Other names given to people are that of actors and actresses. For example, 'Lalas', is a name of one of the actors in Matswakabele, a Setswana television drama. Therefore, we can say that a change in culture results into a change in need of the society.

### 2.3.1.8 Urbanization

People started moving from rural areas to settle in cities and towns because of the possibility of finding employment or loved ones who never came back after departing for town. Movement from the country to urban areas led into language contact which resulted into language change. Here we find contact with people belonging to different ethnic groups and different dialect groups. Ethnic groups around Gauteng are mostly Basotho and Mazulu. Most of Batswana in Gauteng tend to code-switch and code-mix, because of the need for mutual intelligibility. Code-switching and code-mixing ultimately resulted into urban dialects which are different from rural dialects. One hears the following utterances in Gauteng:

'Ke kgathetse ke go dula mo Soweto'.

*'I am tired of living in Soweto'.*

We find -kgathetse (-tired) from Sesotho.

'Dumela magogo!'

*'Greetings old lady!'*

Here we have magogo (old lady) with a Setswana nominal prefix, ma-, and IsiZulu nominal root, -gogo.

Labov (1972(b):299) also discovered the influence of urbanization on people from the rural areas in his investigation of Black English Vernacular as he says:

When the rural speaker arrives in the city, he usually finds that his country talk is ridiculed. Even if it was a marker of local identity, and a source of prestige at home, he may already have been conscious of the provincial character of his speech before he came to the city. As a result, we often see a rapid transformation of the more salient features of the rural dialects as speakers enter the city.

Janson and Tsonope (1991:101) discovered some crucial lexical differences in speech of the children from that of their parents in Gaborone. When referring to concepts and objects that are relatively new to the Setswana culture, the Gaborone children tend to borrow from English: thivi for 'TV', mmuvi for 'movie', filimi for 'film'. An interesting part of borrowing here is the common occurrences of borrowed structures even in cases where Setswana words exist. Janson and Tsonope (1991:103-4) give the

following examples which are frequently there in spoken Setswana but not yet found in written sources:

English	Loanword	Original Setswana Word
<i>bed</i>	bete	bolao
<i>swim</i>	swima	thuma, shapa
<i>gym</i>	jima	itshidila
<i>watch</i>	watsha	lebelela

These lexical differences between speech of children from that of their parents in Gaborone are probably caused by urbanisation, as Janson and Tsonope (1991:104) also state: 'In the villages there were in general no marked differences reported between the language of the resident youth and that of the elderly people'.

### 2.3.2 Political Factors

#### 2.3.2.1 Great Trek

The Voortrekkers from the Cape Province settled in the Transvaal, after defeating and expelling Matebele. Several small states were amalgamated to form the present South Africa. The Voortrekkers established small townships and farmed the surrounding land. They also claimed all the local natives as their subjects, and forced labour was exacted from them. Several tribes were forced to move across the border into the present

Botswana because of the Voortrekkers policy. Among these tribes were Bakgatla, Bamalete, Batlokwa, and Bahurutshe (Schapera, 1953). The creation of a border between Bechuanaland and the then ZAR resulted into Botswana Setswana and South African Setswana.

### 2.3.2.2 Language Planning

Weinstein (1980:56) in Wardhaugh (1992:346) sees language planning as

A government authorized, longterm, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems.

Rubin in Thipa (1989:142) believes that language planning is

deliberate language change... changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes.

Wardhaugh (1992:347) argues that language planning is

an attempt to interfere deliberately  
with a language or one of its varieties.

We deduce from the above definitions that language planning involves careful consideration of language change. The effort of language planning in language change may focus on either its status with regard to some other language or variety of its internal condition with a view to changing that condition, or on both of these since they are not mutually exclusive. The first focus results in status planning and the second in corpus planning (Wardhaugh, 1992:347).

Status planning changes the function of a language or variety of language and the rights of those who use it (Wardhaugh, 1992:347). It concerns itself with the selection of the kind of language to be used for official purposes in government and educational institutions (Calteaux, 1996:161). For example, when speakers of a minority language are suddenly denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has lost status. Alternatively, when a government declares henceforth two languages rather than one of these alone will be officially recognized in all functions, the newly recognized one has gained status.

Setswana in South Africa has gained status because it is now officially recognized in all functions by the South African Government. This recognition has brought a change in South African Setswana because native speakers of Setswana are now developing the language. Workshops, conferences, and meetings are being held to build Setswana. Not long, there will be linguistic publications in Setswana.

Corpus planning sought to develop a variety of a language or a language itself. Generally the development of a language involves its standardization. It may also be involved in the extension of the vocabulary, the creation of terms, and codification.

The history of language planning in South Africa can, according to Thipa (1989:153), be traced back to the policy of Dutchification applied by the Dutch East Indian Company, followed by the policy of Angilicisation of the British governors, and the policy of bilingualism introduced by the first Nationalist Government.

South African Setswana has undergone tremendous changes because of South African Language Planning. For example, in the Tswana Terminology and Orthography (No.2, 1962) we have Sepedi examples. This is confirmed by the following statement: 'The example quoted herein are drawn almost exclusively from Northern Sotho, as most of the changes agreed upon affect Northern Sotho rather than Tswana'. (Tswana Terminology and Orthography, No.2, 1962, p.11)'.

Tswana Terminology and Orthography (No.2, 1962)

lefsifsi (darkness) p.15

nyatša (despise) p.15

pshio (kidney) p.17

tšhemo (plough field) p.17

But, in Tswana Terminology and Orthography (No.3, 1972), there has been a change in the examples provided. They are Setswana examples. This is supported by the following statement which says: 'The rules and vocabulary contained herein are a result of a continued effort, and apply to Tswana only'.

Tswana Terminology and Orthography (No.3, 1972)

tshoga (get afraid) p.31

tsoga (wake up) p.31



ntšhwê (ostrich) p.33

solofêla (hope) p.29

From the above statement we realize that there has been quite a change in the orthography of Setswana. In 1962 Batswana were given Sepedi examples in their book, but now all the examples supplied in Tswana Terminology and orthography (No.3, 1972; No.4, 1988) are in Setswana.

### 2.3.3 Geographical Factors

It has at many times been observed that languages which are spoken in the same general geographical region tend to have features in common even if they are not closely related historically (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:184).

As language is always in the process of change, it is clear that if speakers do not have the chance to interact with one another because of differences in location, their dialects will slowly diverge (Wolfson, 1989:258). The increasing contact between speakers of different dialects inevitably affects the speech of all, and reduces the differences. A lot of people, especially those farthest displaced by migration, slowly lose the features which mark their origins (Gleason, 1984:324).

Setlharo dialect which is spoken around Kudumane, has split from Sehurutshe dialect which is found around Zeerust. Kudumane is located in the neighbourhood of Taung, where we find Setlhaping dialect.

The geographical location of Setlharo dialect is causing divergence of this dialect from Sehurutshe dialect and convergence towards Setlhaping dialect. Setlharo and Setlhaping dialects are both using the prepalatal fricative š [ʃ] and the singular noun prefix *lo-* (class 11). Sehurutshe dialect, from which Setlharo dialect broke, is still using the alveolar fricative *s* [s] and the singular noun prefix *le-* (class 5). The differences which now occur between Sehurutshe and Setlharo dialects has been caused by location of the tribes, and as

Labov (1966:5) puts it, 'isolation leads to linguistic diversity, while the mixing of populations leads to linguistic uniformity'.

## **2.4 ENVISAGED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

Both external and internal factors are responsible for the innovation of linguistic change. Labov (1994) believes in the five general principles, presented and discussed in this chapter, as internal factors. Although Setswana is a language different from English; some of the internal factors are applicable to it. External factors responsible for language changes are generally social, political, and geographical.

The greater part of the analysis of linguistic variation in Setswana will basically be done on the basis of Labov (1994); (1966); and (1972).

In the next chapter we shall discuss and differentiate between variation across decades in real time and variation across age levels in apparent time and linguistic variation caused by internal factors in Setswana.

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## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.0 VARIATION IN REAL TIME AND APPARENT TIME AND LINGUISTIC VARIATION CAUSED BY INTERNAL FACTORS IN SETSWANA**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and differentiate between variation across decades in real time and variation across age levels in apparent time. Advantages and disadvantages of studies in real time and apparent time are listed. Furthermore, linguistic variation caused by internal factors is discussed. Before dwelling on this main aspect, we shall look at the general pattern of sound changes. Ethnography, which is the approach which has been used in the collection of data from Batswana community and the non-Batswana people, who have lived among the Batswana speech community for more than 5 years, and those people who have studied or used Setswana as their first language, is discussed in detail. Finally, a summary of the study is given.

Language variation, to Zungu (1995:14), 'alludes to individuals and groups of people who use a single language in a variety of ways and for different purposes'. Holmes (1992) states three inter-related ways in which language varies, namely, over-time; in physical space and socially. Variation in physical space simply means that people from different places often speak the same language differently, and the differences in a language that are related geographically can be phonological, syntactical, or lexical in nature' (Reagan, 1992:39). For

example, native speakers of Setswana in Botswana and those in South Africa, use the same language, but differently. Significant differences are shown with respect to both the phonology and the lexicon of Setswana and lesser differences with regard to its syntax. For example:

Botswana Setswana	South African Setswana
Firikgong ( <i>January</i> )	Ferikgong ( <i>January</i> )
Phalane ( <i>September</i> )	Diphalane ( <i>September</i> )
Sekole ( <i>School</i> )	Sekolo ( <i>School</i> )
Sekausu ( <i>Condom</i> )	Khondomo or Moselwana ( <i>Condom</i> )
Bojammogo ( <i>Socialism</i> )	Bososialesi ( <i>Socialism</i> )
Seapu ( <i>A glutton</i> )	Legodu ( <i>A glutton</i> )
Rifi ( <i>Heavy boots</i> )	Ditlhako ( <i>Heavy boots</i> )

In the above examples we find phonological differences where we have /i/ in Firikgong (Botswana Setswana) and /e/ in Ferikgong (South African Setswana); deletion of the nominal prefix **di-** in Phalane (Botswana Setswana) and the presence of the nominal prefix in Diphalane (South African Setswana), and /e/ in sekole (Botswana Setswana) and /o/ in sekolo (South African Setswana). But, however, syntactically we find the same basic structure: SVO. For example: **Baithuti ba rata sekole/sekolo** (Students like school).

Geographical variation, which generally takes time to develop, can also take place within a given country (Trudgill, 1983; Wolfram, 1991). For example in Setswana, the different dialects have been geographically divided into the central, southern, northern and eastern groups.

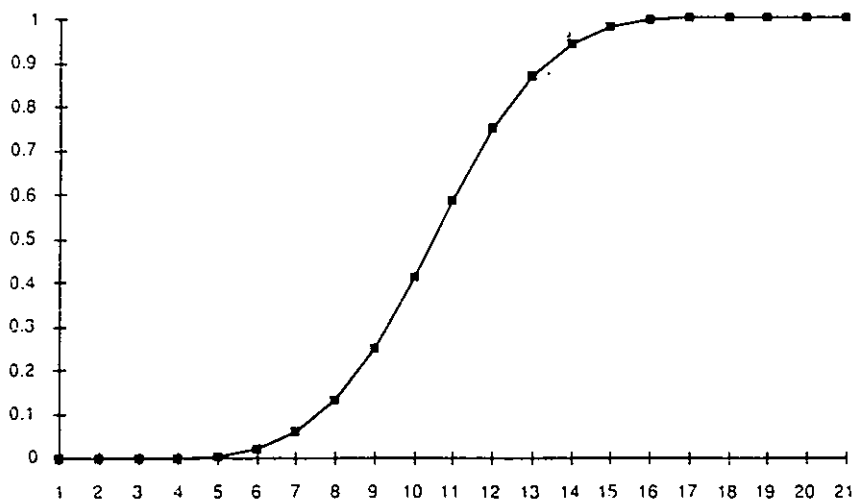
Social variation may be explained as language spoken or used by people belonging to different classes, for example, upper, middle or lower class. We find that in Setswana, upper class people usually use standardized Setswana; middle class people, standardized and standard Setswana, and lower class people use standard Setswana.

Aitchison (1981:90-1) believes that 'in trying to find out where a change began is similar to trying to locate the epicentre of an earthquake some years after the event. The best chance to discovering some general facts about how changes begin is then to look at changes in progress. Here we can note which words have been affected and attempt to find the reason'.

It is realized how important the study of changes in progress is, from what Aitchison says above. Holmes (1992:212) is in line with Aitchison (1981) when she says that: 'The source of change over time is always current variation; and all language change has its origin in variation. The possibility of a linguistic change exists as soon as a new form develops and begins to be used alongside an existing form. If it eventually displaces the old form, the change has become a fait - accompli-it has gone to completion ...'

### 3.2 THE S-SHAPED CURVE

A general observation has been made that a typical sound change fits into a slow-quick-quick-slow pattern which has features of an S-shaped curve or ogive (Aitchison, 1981:92 and Labov, 1994:65). These observations have been made by linguists like for example Bailey (1973:77) and Kroch (1989b). This typical change can be illustrated as follows:



S-Shaped curve produced by cumulative frequencies of binomial distribution  
(Labov, 1994:65)

It is further realized that changes generally do not occur in isolated bursts (Aitchison, 1981:106). A change is started at one locale at a given point in time, and spreads away from that point in progressive stages. This outwards spreading of the change results into earlier

changes reaching the outlying areas later (Wolfram, 1991:79). A series of connected changes is probably to appear to future generations as one single, massive change (Aitchison, 1981:106). This model of change is called the wave model as it is similar to the rippling - wave effect of a pebble dropped into a pool of water (Wolfram, 1991:79).

In Setswana we find that the singular noun prefix *lo-*(class 11) is being assimilated by the singular noun prefix *le-*(class 6) in Sehurutshe, Sekwena, Sekgatla and Sengwato. This change is now spreading to the outlying areas where we find Serolong, Setlhaping and Sengwaketse.

### **3.3 VARIATION ACROSS DECADES IN REAL TIME**

Linguists make a series of observations of the same population over many years in real time study.

Labov (1994:73) in his study of language in progress: real time observation, recognizes two basic approaches in the collection of data, namely:

(i) that the researcher can either search the literature handling the community in question and compare earlier findings with currents;

or

(ii) the researcher can return to the community after lapse of time and repeat the same study.



To Labov (1994) the first approach is the simplest and most efficient while the second is much more difficult. His second approach is similar to that distinguished by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:88) which they take to be the most satisfactory.

Chambers (1995:193) mentions that in order to carry out a real-time study, researchers need to begin making observations on ten-year-old subjects and continue making observations at intervals until those subjects were about forty. This procedure would take the researchers thirty-odd years from the time they started the project to its end.

Labov (1994:76) distinguishes two types of longitudinal studies in real time observations. They are trend and panel studies.

In trend study we find replication. Here, researchers enumerate the general population in the same way, draw the sample population the same way, get the data and analyze them in the same way. This is done x number of years later. It is highly improbable that the new sample will include any of the same individuals if researchers are handling a large urban population. But, if the same controlled procedures are followed, the sample will be representative, and the most reliable type of replication will be produced.

'For a trend study to produce a meaningful picture of linguistic development, it is important that the community have remained in more or less stable state in the intervening period. If severe changes have taken place in the community's demographic setting, the changes observed in language may have little to do with the logic of linguistic change in progress.

That which is observed by the researchers is external change in the language. Such external motivated changes may in the long run be more important for the history of the language than internal developments. But, however, they rely upon a chain of causes and effects that lie outside linguistic relations' (Labov, 1994:76).

A trend study has the following disadvantages:

- (i) It produces no information on the behaviour of individuals over time (Labov, 1994:85).
- (ii) It is rare to find that scholars 5, 10 or 20 years ago were interested in the same problems that occur now, or that they went about solving them in the same way (Labov, 1994:44).
- (iii) It is not easy to achieve reliability for trend studies that involve repetitions of similar procedures by different investigators (Labov, 1994:93).

In a panel study there are attempts to locate the same individuals that were subjects of the first study. Changes in their behaviour are monitored by submitting to similar questionnaire, interview, or experiment. This procedure is expensive and time-consuming if it is planned as a panel study from the start, because the first sample must be large enough to take the inevitable losses into account. An unplanned panel study will be left with a reduced sample, which might be too small for statistical importance. But nevertheless it will be extremely valuable for the interpretation of the original observations (Labov, 1994:76).

A panel study has the following disadvantages:

- (i) It is expensive;
- (ii) The losses are heavy; and
- (iii) Few funding agencies will support a project over the required 5 or 10 years (Labov, 1994:44).

### **3.3.1 Advantages of real time study**

**3.3.1.1** It can be surveyed at any interval following the original survey, be it a year, a decade, a century or (in theory, at least a millennium) (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:165).

**3.3.1.2** Real time study is a study of comparable sample populations rather than identical populations.

**3.3.1.3** Theoretically, comparative studies based on real time provide the basis for describing linguistic diffusion (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:165).

### **3.3.2 Disadvantages of real time study**

**3.3.2.1** Unwillingness of subjects to participate a second time;

- 3.3.2.2 Emigration not only from the survey area but probably even from the country such that some members cannot be located;
- 3.3.2.3 Death of the subjects.
- 3.3.2.4 Practically a straightforward replication is usually ruled out (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:64).
- 3.3.2.5 Comparison of a population in two parts of time is rare if ever possible (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:164).
- 3.3.2.6 Few chances are found to return to a community in order to make comparative study using the same methods (Chambers, 1995:198).
- 3.3.2.7 There is limiting of the interval between the comparison groups (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:66).

Although my method of research differs from that of Moloto (1964), some of his investigations and findings happen to be included in my field. My method of research differs from that of Moloto (1964) as Moloto (1964) was basically interested in the standardization of written Setswana, and unlike him, I am interested in both standardization and variation in Setswana.

He used the selective method, where he listed main variants of contractions, allophones and allomorphs; with the intention of choosing what should go into standardized writing. Moloto (1964:33) chose this method 'because it is not a question of which dialect, but which form, which pattern, is best suited'. Moloto tested his data against the following principles from the Institute of African Languages and Culture's memorandum (page 17, paragraph 31):

- (1). "The orthography of a given Language should be based on the principle of one letter for each phoneme of that language. This means that whenever two words are distinguished in sound they must also be distinguished in orthography.
- (2) The existence of diaphonemes must be recognised and allowed for. Thus Fanti speakers of Akan pronounce the syllable **di** as **dzi** and **ti** as **tsi**; but the orthography **di, ti** is adequate for covering both pronunciations. Again, the Hausa **f** is pronounced in some dialects as labio-dental **f** and in other as bi-labial **f** and in others as **p**; but the letter **f** can be used in orthography with the necessary conventions as to dialectal pronunciations.
- (3) It may sometimes be convenient to depart from a strictly phonetic system, in order to avoid writing a word in more than one way. Thus it is better to write in Luganda **soka oleke** (wait a bit), although the pronunciation is **sok eleke** ...
- (4) As a concession to existing usage an ordinary Roman letter may sometimes be used in place of one of the special new letters, when the sound denoted by the Roman letter does not occur in the language. Thus **f** may be used instead of *f* in writing Sechwana, because the labio-dental **f** does not occur in that language. Similarly **s**

may be used instead of  $\int$  in writing Oshikwanyama because an ordinary s does not occur in that language" (Moloto, 1964:16-7).

Moloto (1964) collected his data from:

- (a) publication in Setswana literature;
- (b) spoken language; and
- (c) teachers in active practice who were given lists of English words and requested to supply Setswana words.

An instance where transportation causes variation in Setswana was spotted by Moloto (1964:47).

For example, **moretlwa** (brandy bush; *grewia flava* bush or berries) and **morwetla**. Our research reveals that **morwetla** is obsolete. Some of the interviewees do remember the usage of **morwetla** but they do not hear it anymore.

To Moloto (1964:43), **bothologa** (to get up after a repose) and **bothonoga** (to get up after a repose) are variants. But our research shows the disappearance of 'bothonoga'. Setswana dialects are presently using 'bothologa'.

Variants born out of elision are listed by Moloto (1964:45-6). For example:

mobu (ground) > mmu

yo mobe (ugly one) > yo mme

mame (mother) > mme

monona (man) > monna

However, presently, **mobu**, **yo mobe** and even **yo mme**, **mame** and **monona** are not met with in various Setswana dialects. **Monona**, according to one of the interviewees, was heard frequently a number of years ago in Sekgatla of Ga-Mosetlha. **Mobu** and **yo mobe** seem to be an influence from Sesotho which uses **mobu** and **o mobe** respectively. **Mmu**, **mme** and **monna** are presently used without those identified variants by Moloto (1964).

### 3.4 VARIATION ACROSS AGE LEVELS IN APPARENT TIME

Apparent time study is an alternative method to real time study. Here, a particular community is researched and a comparison is made between the speech of older people and that of younger people, and any differences are assumed to be the result of linguistic change (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:89). 'A steady increase or steady decline in the frequency of a form by age group suggests to a sociolinguist that a change may be in progress in the speech community, ...' (Holmes, 1992:225). Labov (1994:46) takes the study of changes in apparent time as the initial and most straightforward approach to study change in progress.

In apparent time study, people are observed in the way they use language when they are not aware that they are being observed. Here, language used by ordinary people in their everyday life is observed.

'Change is involved when a particular variant occurs in the speech of children though it is absent in the speech, of their parents, or, typically, a variant in the parents' speech will occur in the speech of their children with greater frequency, and in the speech of their grandchildren with even greater frequency. Successive generations in the community at large will show incremental frequencies in the use of the innovative variant. As time goes by, a reasonable conclusion, will be the unconditional use of that new variant and the removal of older variants' (Chambers, 1995:185).

Age-grades changes are commonly thought as changes in the use of a variant that recur at a particular age in successive generations. Age-graded changes are 'regular and predictable changes that might be thought of as marking a developmental stage in the individual life' (Chambers, 1995:188).

Examples of age-graded changes in Setswana are the following:

boloko for boroko (*sleep*)

go - lobala for go - robala (*to sleep*)

go - gola for go - kora (*to become sated with food*)

go - lata for go - rata (*to love/like*)

malulu for maruru (*cold*)

and

go - ṭa for go - ṭla (*to come*)

go - ṭala for go - ṭlala (*to be full*)



go - thapa for go - tlhapa (*to bath*)

thapi for tlhapi (*fish*)

tala for tlala (*hunger*)

The linguistic variables /l/, /t/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/ in the above-mentioned examples occur in the speech of children up to age 6; and from age 6 they change to the variables /r/, /tl/ and /tl<sup>h</sup>/, respectively. This shows that there is a decrease in high frequency of these variables as the generation grows older.

In Setswana the above-mentioned age-graded changes are also dialectal. For example:

tlou and tu (*elephant*)

- tlhattlhoba and -thathoba (*examine*)

Bakwena (generally elderly people) at Molepolole; Bangwato in Serowe and Batawana at Maun; all these villages are in Botswana, use the ejected dental [t'] and the interdental aspirated plosive [t<sup>h</sup>] while other dialects use the voiceless plosive [tl'] and the aspirated plosive [tl<sup>h</sup>] respectively.

According to Aitchison (1981:91) 'There is growing body of evidence that frequently used words often get affected early. This is an observation first made in the 19th century'.

'Changes often start in words that are frequent, and or in those that represent a certain subculture, provided that they are linguistically susceptible to certain change' (Aitchison, 1981:94).

A change will possibly catch on and spread once it has got a firm foothold in certain words (Aitchison, 1981:95). Language has not in effect changed unless the change is accepted as part of the language by other speakers (Labov, 1994:45).

### **3.4.1 Advantages of apparent time study**

**3.4.1.1** Researcher of both comparison groups is the same person, factors like methodology, transcription and analysis can easily be made comparable (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:66).

**3.4.1.2** There is no limitation in the data in any artificial and unnatural ways either, since the investigator can simply go back for more as it is required (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:66).

**3.4.1.3** Information about temporal developments are made available in a shorter time than the developments themselves take (Chambers, 1995:193).

**3.4.1.4** Inferences are generally reliable (Chambers, 1995:193).

### **3.4.2 Disadvantage(s) of apparent time study**

**3.4.2.1** Apparent time studies may understate the actual rate of sound change because generally older speakers show a limited tendency towards communal change; they participate to a small extent in the changes taking place around them (Labov, 1994:112).

### **3.4.3 Variation across age levels in apparent time**

**3.4.3.1** Approaches to data collection

Various approaches are found in the collection of data from a speech community, and in this chapter ethnography and other various approaches have been adopted.

#### **1. Ethnography**

According to McNeill (1985:54), ethnography is simply writing about a way of life. The spontaneous speech is studied in its natural context with ethnographic methodology (Zungu, 1995:62). Two approaches used in the collection of oral data for linguistic analysis are elicitation and participant observation (Wolfson, 1989:201).

##### **1.1 Elicitation**

The researcher may or may not be involved in the observation or gathering of data (Zungu, 1995:62). Thus, the subjects are generally aware of the research. Speech is elicited in

various ways and hypotheses and variables are usually defined before the data are gathered (Wolfson, 1989:201).

## 1.2 Participant Observation

Labov (1966) termed this type of field work - anonymous observation. He used it effectively in his study of Department stores. What is needed in participant observation is that the investigator involve himself or herself in the lives of those being studied (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:98). This involvement includes a number of activities as looking, listening, enquiring and recording. Participant observation involves the engagement of the researcher in a series of ordinary social situations as an ordinary human being. Becker and Geer (1970:133) as cited by Ackroyd and Hughes (1981:99) define participant observation as that 'method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role'. Using the participant observation approach the researcher tries to obtain an insider's view of the social group (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:99).

Four roles of the participant observer identified (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:107), are namely:

- (i) Complete participant: This is the role in which the researcher is concealing his true identity and intentions from the group, and living completely as they do. The main characteristic of this role is the large degree of pretence.

- (ii) Participant-as-observer: Here the investigator is actively involved in the group. But, the subjects are aware of the fact that the researcher is not really one of them. Since the researcher's purpose is not concealed it is much easier for the investigator to use other techniques of data collection including formal interviewing.
- (iii) Observer-as-participant: This research role involves a brief visit of the researcher to the subjects with limited participation.
- (iv) Complete observer: This fourth role is similar to the third in that the field worker is required to avoid as much as possible any social contact whatsoever with subjects.

In choosing participant role one needs:

- (i) To weigh carefully the nature of the group;
- (ii) Look at its accessibility and openness;
- (iii) Check the research exigencies like time and other resources; and
- (iv) The personal qualities of the researcher (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:107).

A participant observer is sometimes faced with a problem where he or she becomes so much a participant that he or she is no longer able to maintain the role of a researcher and becomes instead full-fledge participant. This can roughly be said 'going native'.

A complete participant is also sometimes faced with a problem where his observation may be seriously crippled by trying to give a convincing performance to such an extent that he becomes so involved in the role that he or she has chosen that the native view is adopted.

Vidich (1955:354-60) as cited by Ackroyd and Hughes (1981:108-9), noted that being both a participant and an observer is the 'strategy of having one's cake and eating it too. Deceiving the society to study it and wooing the society to live in it. The investigator as a participant and an observer, has position always ambivalent and it remains marginal to the group or organisation being studied'.

An important tool in the participant observer's craft is a field notebook in which everything felt to be relevant can be noted down, and the temptation to record anything and everything is not that easy to resist.

Becker (1958:682-90) as quoted by Ackroyd and Hughes (1981:110) identified four main stages of analysis in participant observation research, namely: the selection identification, definition of problems, concepts, and indices; the estimation of the distribution of phenomena; the incorporation of the findings into a model of the group, community, or organisation under study; and finally, the presentation of evidence and proof.

Persons studied by the participant observer, whatever role adopted are of two major types (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:114): respondent and informant. An informant has a special relationship with the researcher; there is normally a bond of trust between the researcher and

an informant, he gives information freely, and explains what is going on. The informant becomes more like a colleague. The respondent, on the other hand, does not have this kind of relationship of special intimacy. Normally, there will be no special trust between the researcher and the respondent, no privileged information imparted by the latter, and questions answered only when asked. The informant, by contrast, act as an observer for the researcher and as a means of access into the group or community under examination.

Hypotheses emerge from the data as they are collected, and relevant factors become obvious as the analysis proceeds (Wolfson, 1989:203). Investigators involved in participant observation, have an obligation to share why they learn with the population under study (Wolfson, 1989:205). The researcher intervenes as little as possible during the data collection and attempts to understand what is going on from the perspective of the participants in the interaction. The most crucial aspect of observational approach to data collection is that it seeks to study speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson, 1989:204).

### **1.2.1 Advantages of participant observation**

**1.2.1.1** The group or community is studied for longer and in more depth than is possible with the survey or any other research strategy (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:113).

- 1.2.1.2 The observer studies speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson, 1989:204).
- 1.2.1.3 The researcher is often not distinguishable from the group being studied and it is possible to observe everyday behaviour without being noticed and without causing self-consciousness on the part of those being observed (Wolfson, 1989:203).
- 1.2.1.4 The researcher find it useful to behave as a participant observer in a wider range of interaction with those speakers who have been singled out for the study (Wolfson, 1989:204).
- 1.2.1.5 Participation observation makes the interviewee less disturbed by the presence of the investigator, that is, if he is compelled to explain his position to the interviewees that data which will be collected will offer service to those who want to learn new codes and thus also help to improve their linguistic skills and socialisation patterns (Zungu, 1995:63-4).
- 1.2.1.6 This method diagnoses better the linguistic problems. In this way, data collected during participant observation help other speakers who have similar problems of not comprehending the new linguistic forms (Zungu, 1995:64).



- 1.2.1.7 People who are insecure about their reading or writing proficiency feel at home in this method because they are hardly required to read or write anything (Zungu, 1995:64).
- 1.2.1.8 Participant observation provides the best means of obtaining a valid picture of social reality (Haralambos and Heald, 1985:504).
- 1.2.1.9 The investigator is directly or indirectly involved in the investigation.

## 1.2.2 Disadvantages of participant observation

- 1.2.2.1 Participant observation relies too heavily on unsystematic techniques of data collection (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:113).
- 1.2.2.2 It fails even to approximate to the canons of objectivity and validity needed by an effective science (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981:113).
- 1.2.2.3 Participant observation is also time-consuming and laborious.

Other methods used are:

2. Sampling (random)
3. Questionnaires: 200 questionnaires  
24 questions

4. Informal discussions and conversations.
5. Interviews and tape recorded interviews.

### 3.5. VARIATION IN SETSWANA CAUSED BY INTERNAL FACTORS

Dialectal variation in Setswana is basically caused by internal factors. Dialectal variation occurs when a common language divides internally as the speakers distance themselves from one another socially over time and physical space (Zungu, 1995:20). Dissimilarities between dialects may be found in pronunciation, tone, accent, vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax (Nomlomo, 1993:21).

Wasserman (1976:7) divides dialect variation into three classes, namely:

- (a) Differences in the pronunciation of the individual phoneme;
- (b) Differences in the occurrence of the individual phoneme; and
- (c) Differences in the system in phonemes.

Akmajian, et al. (1984:286) also came up with three types of dialectal variation, which are:

- (a) Regional dialects: This refers to the different form of a language spoken in a certain geographical area, for example Sekgatla dialect of inhabitants of Moruleng, has certain different linguistic features that differentiate them from speakers of other dialects of Setswana;

- (b) Social dialects: We talk of social dialects where we have the distinct form of a language spoken by members of a specific socioeconomic class; for example the working class dialects in the North West.
- (c) Ethnic dialects: This occurs when a certain form of a language is associated historically with particular ancestors. A particular form of English, is for example, referred to as Yiddish English, that is, it is being historically associated with speakers of Eastern European Yewish ancestry.

Although Wasserman's (1976) dialect variation types are specific while those of Akmajian, et al. (1984) are general; they are referring to different linguistic forms occurring in distinct dialects of a language.

Dialects, as Akmajian, et al. (1984:287) assert, are never purely regional, or purely social, or purely ethnic; but are primarily used by a certain social class(es) in these regions; for example dialects are from my observation used mostly by the lower and middle class people.

Cole (1955:xvi-xvii) divided Setswana geographically into four divisions each containing various dialects:

#### A. Central Setswana

- (a) Serolong (as spoken by Barolong boorra-Tshidi, boorra-Tlou; and boorra-Pulana).

- (b) Serolong (as spoken by Barolong booSeleka).
- (c) Sehurutshe.
- (d) Sengwaketse.

B. Southern Setswana

- (a) Setlhaping.
- (b) Setlhwane/Setlharo.

C. Northern Setswana

- (a) Sekwena.
- (b) Sengwato.
- (c) Setawana.

D. Eastern Setswana

- (a) Transvaal Sekgatla.
- (b) Western Transvaal Sekwena.

Malepe (1966:2) says the following with regard to the above-mentioned classification: 'we are of the opinion that Western Kwena, being more closely related to Ngwaketse than to Ngwato, should be classified under the Central division; or alternatively, that Ngwaketse should be classified under the Northern division because, as Cole (1955:xvi) admits, it is more related to Western Kwena than to Hurutshe, for example. Similarly, Rolong, being more closely related to Tlhaping than to Hurutshe, should be classified under the Southern

division'. The argument is based on their finding on dialectal similarities and differences in Setswana.

We do agree with Malepe's (1966) opinions, but we would phrase his first opinion differently; that is: 'Ngwaketse should be classified under the Northern division because it is more related to Western Kwena than to Hurutshe'. The agreement with Malepe (1966) and the change in the structure of his first opinion is based on our finding on similarities and differences in Setswana dialects.

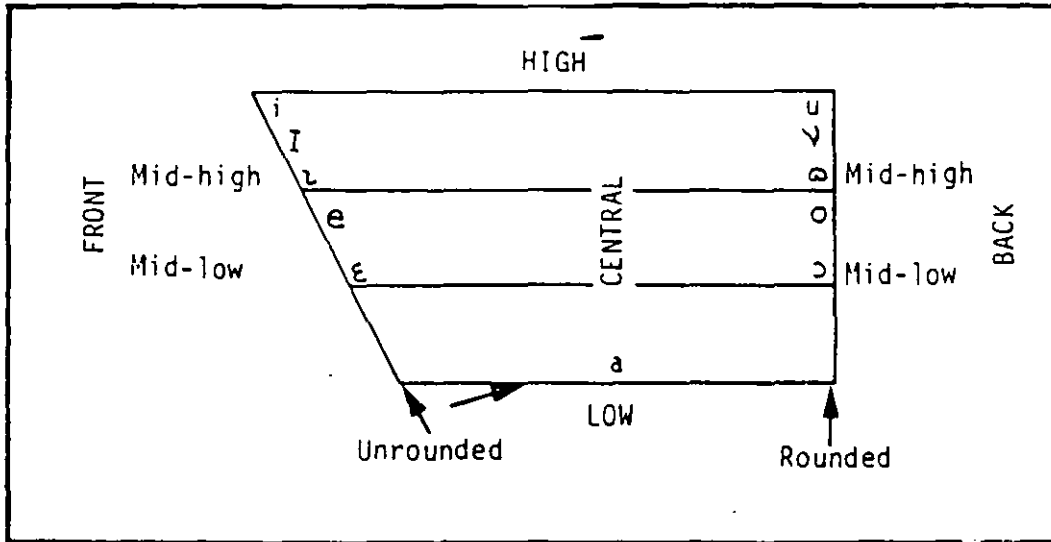
Our opinion is also supported by Janson and Tsonope (1991:43) when they say that 'in Botswana they talk about Sekwena and Sengwaketse although the differences between the speech forms of Sekwena and Sengwaketse are few, and gradual rather than absolute.'

No Setswana dialect spoken today can be said to be "pure" or "unmixed". Therefore, the forms given in this chapter are those which are typical of each dialect.

### 3.5.1 Chain shift or vowel shift

We do find dialectal variation in Setswana because of vowel shift. This has been discovered to be occurring in some locative nouns where because of the high vowel /i/ the mid-low vowel /ε/ shifts in height to /e/. This is found in the locative nouns /bodzappe/ and /bodzappe/. Both locative nouns are derived from the noun /bodzan/ (grass); where because of palatalization, /bodzan/ changed to /bodzappe/; and addition or suffixation of

the locative suffix '-ing' to /bɔdʒapɛ/ resulted into /bɔdʒapɛn/ (to cut grass). This shift in height can be illustrated like this in a vowel chart:



As a result of the shift in height of /ɛ/ to /e/ in the above-mentioned example; we find Bakwena in Molepolole; Batlharo of Ganyesa; Bahurutshe of Motswedi and Dinokana; and Bakgatla of Mochudi; Ga-Mosetlha and Moruleng using the variant 'bojannyê' while Batlhaping of Galeshewe and Pampierstad and Barolong of Kudumane; Montshiwa; Taung and Thaba Nchu use the variant 'bojannyêng'.

### 3.5.2 Elision and Assimilation

Elision of the vowel between the resonant consonant /l/, led into dialectal variation in Setswana. The elision of the central low vowel /a/ between the resonant consonant /l/, of

the verb stem **-lela** (cry) led into all the usage of **-lela** in spoken language of all the dialects investigated except Bakwena of Phokeng and Bakgatla of Ga-Mosetlha who apply **-lla** (cry).

Batlhaping of Galeshewe and Pampierstad use **'mbu'** (soil) because of elision of /ɔ/ of the class prefix **mo-**. The elision of this vowel, further led into complete assimilation of /b/ by /m/; that is the reason why we find **'mmu'** (soil) being used by other Setswana dialects except Setlhaping.

Assimilation of /m/ by /dz/ in /mɔdʒa/ made some of the Setswana dialects differ in the usage of certain nouns. For example:

/mɔdʒa/ (right-hand) changed to /ndʒa/ or /ntʃ'a/

Bakwena of Molepolole will say **'letsogo la nja'** (right-hand) and Bakgatla of Mochudi, Ga-Mosetlha and Moruleng will differ with them and say **'letsogo la ntša'**. Other researched dialects say **'letsogo la moja'**.

Moloto (1964:105) identified the vocabulary variants **'seithaga'** (a bird's nest) and **'sentlhaga'** (a bird's nest) in his research. Although he had the third variant as **'setlhaga'** for a bird's nest, he never met it in his field.

Unlike him, we have 'sentlhaga' and 'setlhaga' as dialectal variants for a bird's nest. 'Setlhaga', is the third variant for a bird's nest in Setswana, also spotted by Moloto (1964) in Lestrade (1958:67).

It is quiet difficult to say whether there has been elision of a **n** or **i** in **setlhaga**, or is it just the laziness of Batlhaping in Galeshewe and Pampierstad to pronounce /n/ in 'sentlhaga'. But, however, talking to people there, and other Setswana speakers, there has been elision of /n/ in 'sentlhaga' to arrive at 'setlhaga'.

Therefore, other dialects in Setswana use 'sentlhaga' except Batlhaping in Galeshewe and Pampierstad who utilize 'setlhaga'.

### 3.5.3 Dissimilation

Moloto (1964:48) realized that there is variation in Setswana dialects because of dissimilation. Dissimilation refers to 'the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become less alike, or different' (Crystal, 1997:121). [p<sup>h</sup>] dissimilated to [p']. For example:

[tl<sup>h</sup>ɔp<sup>h</sup>a] (*elect*) and [tl<sup>h</sup>ɔp'a]

[ntl<sup>h</sup>a?] (*why?*) and [ntla?]



Barolong of Taung and Thaba Nchu; and Bathaping will say 'go tlhopa mopresidente' (to elect the president) and 'ntlang o lela?' (why are you crying?) while other Setswana dialects say 'go tlhopha mopresidente' and 'ntlhang o lela?'.

### 3.5.4 Palatalization

Palatalization found in diminutive nouns also causes dialect or regional variation in Setswana. Palatalization occurs when a non-palatal consonant phoneme is replaced by a palatal consonant phoneme. For example:

[maxap'u] (*watermelons*) changes to [maxatʃwana] (*small watermelons*)

[maxatswana]

In the case of [maxap'u] changing to [maxatswana] we have a mutual relation which sometimes occurs between morphophonological processes. The mutual relationship here occurs between palatalization and alveolarization.

This relation can be illustrated as follows by the analysis of *legatswana* from underlying to surface structure:

/lexap'u + ana/	/lexatʃwana/ ... Palatalization
/lexap' + w + ana/ ...	Glide formation: /u/ > /w/
/lexatswana/ ...	Alveolarization: /p/ > /ts/

Dissimilation: labial /p/ + labial /w/ > alveolar (/ts/ + labial /w/).

'Magatšwana' will be heard in Sehurutshe, Sekwena of Molepolole and Sengwaketse of Kanye; and 'magatswana' will be heard in Serolong, Setlharo of Ganyesa and Sekgatla of Botswana.

### 3.5.5 Mergers and splits

Mergers and splits are generally that of vowels and consonants. But, in Setswana, we do find the merging and splitting of meaning of words.

In most of the dialects in Setswana 'mašwe/maswe' is used to refer to 'ugliness'. The meaning of 'mašwe/maswe' is originally 'to be dirty', but now, this has merged with that of 'to be ugly'. Therefore, nowadays, the meaning of 'mašwe/maswe' is determined by context.

The noun 'maswe' is found in Sehurutshe, Sekwena of Molepolole, Setlharo and Sengwaketse of Kanye, and 'mašwe' occurs in the speech of Barolong of Kudumane, Montshiwa, Thaba Nchu and Taung; and Setlhaping of Galeshewe and Pampierstad.

There is merging of meaning of the verb stems '-buisa' (read) and '-bala' (count) in the northern and eastern dialects. In these dialects we now find '-bala' (count) being used for both 'count' and 'read' depending on context.

But, however, the central and southern dialects still use **'-buisa'** to mean read and **'-bala'** for the meaning of 'count'.

The merging of the noun class prefixes **le-** (class 5) and **lo-** (class 11) was identified by Moloto (1964:72-3) when he states: 'The use of **lo-** words and **le-** words in alternation has resulted in grammatical difficulty, which although a matter of morphology and not orthography is noted here to point to a direction in which investigation awaits workers. Let us take **lolwapa** (Livingstone Readers, Mp 28) and **looka**, Pv 79. Since the plural form of the singular prefix **lo-** is **di-**, the plurals of **lolwapa** and **looka** should be **ditwapa** and **dikoka**, but we find **malwapa** and **maoka** right through the field. The plural of **lobelô** (a race), is **mabelô** (athletic races) and never **dipelô**. Nor is **loapi** (sky) ever **dikapi** (kappies)'.

Moloto's (1964) observation above shows that some nouns of class 11 take the plural nominal prefix of class 5 which is **ma-**. This indicates that class 11 is merging with class 5 especially in South African Setswana.

Janson and Tsonope (1991:95-6) also made this finding in Botswana when they say: 'The noun class with prefix **lo** (class 11) together with the array of agreement markers related to it is more productive in the Sengwaketse dialect than in the Sengwato dialect. The latter dialect, as is the case with other dialects, tends to assimilate class 11 nouns into the class with **le** prefix (class 5)'.

Our discovery supports Janson and Tsonope's (1991) findings; where we find that the two noun class prefixes are merging although one can still recognize their predominant occurrence in some dialects particularly in Botswana Setswana.

The noun class prefix *le-* is still heard in Sekwena of Hebron, Molepolole and Phokeng; Sekgatla of Mochudi, Moruleng and Ga-Mosetlha and Sehurutshe. There is occasional intrusion of the noun class prefix *lo-* in Sekwena of Hebron and Sekgatla of Ga-Mosetlha.

There is occurrence of the noun class prefix *lo-* in Sengwaketse in Kanye; Setlharo in Ganyesa; Serolong in Kudumane, Montshiwa and Thaba Nchu. There is similar usage of the prefix *lo-* in Setlhaping and Serolong of Taung. This appearance of the class prefix *le-* in Setlhaping and Serolong shows that the two class prefixes are merging and in the future we shall have the predominant occurrence of *le-* and not *lo-* in most if not all dialects in South African Setswana.

Cole (1955:79) also picked this up a long time ago when he says: 'In some Tswana dialects especially in the east and north, there is a tendency for nouns of class 6 to be absorbed into class 3'.

### **3.5.6 Neogrammarian regularity principle**

This principle also has an effect on regional variation in Setswana. There are several phonetic changes in Setswana without any effect on the meaning of the words. We still have the same word but change in phonemes.

According to Janson and Tsonope (1991:47), 'A change from [ø] to [h] has been going on for some time, first affecting some of the southern dialects. In Setlhaping, the change was completed before the arrival of the missionaries. Later, it spread to the remaining southern dialects, last to Serolong. In recent times, it has advanced northwards to Sengwaketse, Sekwena and Sengwato', and, 'Still one area is untouched by the change to [h], namely the eastern one. In Botswana, this is represented by the Sekgatla and Setswapong dialects.

In these, what has happened is instead that [ø], and, sometimes [h] have changed to [f]. When this happened is uncertain'.

Cole (1955: 25 and 26) says: 'In the eastern dialects, e.g. Kgatla, the typical bilabial [ø] is replaced by the dentilabial fricative [f]'; and 'In the Kgatla dialect the glottal fricative [h] is, often replaced by the dentilabial fricative [f]'.

Malepe (1966:65-6) made almost similar discovery as Cole (1955) and Janson and Tsonope (1991) when he states: 'The fricative consonant [ø] is found in Ngwaketse, Kwena of Molepolole and Rolong for example, [øòøa] (fly) and [lèøìøì] (darkness). In Rolong as spoken today, the sound [ø] alternates with [h]. The alternative sound [h] is far more commonly heard than [ø] as one goes further west of Mafeking and particularly in the Vryburg district. For example at Kudungwane, Tlakgameng, Ganyesa and Bothithong. [ø] is [h] in Tlhaping and Tlharo, and one encounters [f] in few cases in Tlharo'.

Malepe (1966) goes on to say that in Kgatla and Kwena of Rustenburg and Brits districts both the bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the dentilabial [f] occur. [f] is more commonly heard than [ɸ] in these dialects especially in Kgatla of Hammanskraal district.

In our present field we find that [ɸ] has changed to [f] in the eastern dialects. For example:

[ɸɛla] > [fɛla]

[ɸaəats<sup>h</sup>] > [fafats<sup>h</sup>]

The eastern dialects are represented by Sekgatla and Sekwena in South Africa.

[ɸ] has also changed to [h] in the southern dialects and some of the central dialects i.e. Serolong. This change is presently spreading northward in Botswana, to Sengwaketse, Sekwena and Sengwato. Similar discovery has also been made by Janson and Tsonope (1991).

The above-mentioned changes has led in dialectal variation where now we clearly identify the dialect of a person from the usage of either [f] or [h].

Another phonemic change experienced is that of the affricatives found in the quantitative. Here, [ts'] change to [tʃ]. This change occurs in Setlhaping, Serolong and Setlharo. Similar to the change from [ɸ] to [h], it started with Setlhaping and now it has spread to Serolong and Setlharo. All the other dialects still use the affricate [ts']. The following examples are used as dialectal variants:

[ts' ɔ tʰɛ] and [tʃ' ɔ tʰɛ]

[ɬts' ɔ x ɔ] and [ɬtʃ' ɔ x ɔ]

[ts' ɔ xa] and [tʃ' ɔ xa]

Moloto (1964:44) in his research found out that the occasional instability of n, has made it interchangeable with l. This variation is still there among Setswana dialects. The variant [n] occurs in all investigated Setswana dialects except Serolong of Thaba Nchu. Barolong of Thaba Nchu still use the variant [l]. For example:

[k' ɔ n ɔ p' ana] (*throw stone at each other*) and [k' ɔ l ɔ p' ana]

[n ɔ k' a] (*season with salt*) and [l ɔ k' a]

### 3.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter we focused on language variation in real time and apparent time, linguistic variation innovated by internal factors in Setswana. A brief explanation of each change in progress is given, inclusive are the advantages and disadvantages. Age-graded change is discussed to show how it differs from changes in real time and apparent time.

It has been discovered in Setswana that so far no person in the past had a direct interest in language variation as a whole. A brief comparison is made between Moloto's (1964) findings and the present investigation. From this comparison it has been discovered that **morwetla** (brandy bush; *grewia flava* bush or berries); **bothonoga** (to get up after a repose),

**mame** (mother) and **monona** (man) are obsolete in Setswana. A study on variation in apparent time is made, and as Labov (1994:45) puts it, this is the initial and most straightforward approach to studying linguistic change in progress. Participant observation approach is the method used in the collection of data. It is explained in detail and its advantages and disadvantages are listed. The Setswana community is divided into two groups, namely the older and young people. Reasons for this division are given.

This study led to the conclusion that the noun class prefix **lo-**, and the nouns **rre** (father) and **mme** (mother) are becoming obsolete in spoken and not written Setswana. In the next chapter we shall discuss linguistic variation in Setswana as caused by external factors.



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## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4.0 LINGUISTIC VARIATION AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN SETSWANA**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this chapter is to look closely at how external factors innovate linguistic variation in Setswana.

##### **4.1.1 Lingua Francas**

The movement of people from villages to urban areas to seek work, has caused the development of lingua francas in some urban areas of South Africa. The term lingua franca as defined by Crystal (1992:203); Fishman (1968:689); Fromkin and Rodman (1983:260) and Holmes (1992:86) is 'a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in multilingual speech community'.

Adler (1977:101) agrees with the above-mentioned linguists when he says that, 'a lingua franca is in most cases a national language which is spoken within a linguistically mixed population by a large number of people'.

Furthermore, a lingua franca can be said to be a language which is commonly used by people whose native languages are different (Adler (1977:101); Malimabe (1990:ii); Samarin (1968:661) and Trudgill (1983:157)).

From the definitions and explanations given above we deduce that lingua francas are common languages used by people in multilingual societies.

The term lingua franca is derived from a trade language of this name used in Mediterranean ports in medieval times, consisting of Italian with elements from French, Spanish, Greek and Arabic (Akmajian, et al., 1984:317). Some of the lingua francas arise naturally, while others are developed due to government policy and intervention (Fromkin and Rodman, 1983:261).

The adoption of a lingua franca, does not mean that the ethnic mother tongue is lost, but rather that a new language is added to serve a specific function (Wolfram, 1991:264). But, however, sometimes lingua francas in multilingual communities are so useful that they may in the end displace the vernaculars.

This variety can be a pidgin or it can be formed from a pidgin language which has been accepted to a large degree and has more often than not, become a creole language. In this way, it also becomes a national language, that is, the only language of a large part of the people and in due course, becomes accepted by speakers of other languages. The procedure in this case according to Adler (1977:101) is as follows:

pidgin → creole → national language → lingua franca.

The most common lingua francas in antiquity were Latin and Greek. Swahili is a lingua franca in the East African countries and in many parts of West Africa Hausa is used. English serves as a lingua franca in various social and political situations where people require a common language and in contemporary for example, English has become a lingua franca for international scientific journals and international scientific meetings.

Schuring (1985:xiii) proved that Pretoria - Sotho is both a koiné language and a lingua franca of multilingual communities.

A koiné language is defined by Mothoagae (1989:1-2) as:

a casual language, a colloquial language,  
which was greatly influenced by other  
languages which came into contact with.

He further elaborates that the word 'koiné' is a Greek abbreviation of the term "koine dialektos"; the general dialect spoken by Greeks in the Mediterranean areas about 2000 years ago.

Siegel (1985:363) as cited by Malimabe (1990:11) defines a koiné language as follows:

... the stabilized result of mixing of  
linguistic dialects. It usually serves  
as a lingua franca among speakers of the  
different contributing varieties and is

characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison.

Crystal (1992:209) believes that a koiné language is 'the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca'.

Samarin (1968:133) describes a koiné language as 'an amalgamation of features from several regional varieties of a single language'. Wardhaugh (1992:37) takes a koiné to be 'a common language, but not necessarily a standard one'.

We deduce from the definitions and descriptions above that a koiné language is a casual language developed from a mixture of various language varieties.

The following are the hypotheses and findings about koiné languages (Schuring, 1985:xiii):

- a. A koiné language is a colloquial language;
- b. It is a dynamic language;
- c. A koiné is a mixed language consisting of a base language to which familiar elements from other languages are added ... Pretoria-Sotho is basically the once dominant Kgatla dialect of Hammanskraal with additions mainly from Pedi, Afrikaans and English;
- d. It may have regional varieties;

- e. It is a lingua franca ... Pretoria Sotho is a lingua franca of multilingual communities;
- f. It is a cosmopolitan language. The communities using Pretoria-Sotho are urban communities with a relatively high incidence of inter-ethnic marriage;
- g. A koiné is an autonomous popular language with a lower status than that of the related standard language. This applies to Pretoria-Sotho: Northern Sotho or Tswana.

Similar findings to that of Schuring (1985) have been made by Malimabe (1992:12); where she discovered that 'the vocabulary of Pretoria-Sotho is basically Sekgatla to which has been added a large number of words from Northern Sotho, a few from Southern Sotho, loan words from English, Afrikaans and a few coined words either from English or Afrikaans'. She gives the following examples of coined words:

English endene : and

Afrikaans astere : is dit nie so nie.

The observation of the emergence of this type of urban dialect was made by van Wyk in Schuring (1985:6). He argues:

in Black communities in bigger urban areas,  
 where 'urban dialects' seem to be coming into  
 existence. These differ appreciably from the  
 Bantu languages used in traditional areas and  
 also in formal situations in urban areas. Again,  
 the uses of these dialects have not been investi-

gated well enough to decide whether the situation represents a case of diglossia, of emerging dialects or of a widening of the stylistic spectra of the relevant languages.

My findings are the same as that of Schuring (1985) and Malimabe (1990). I visited Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Mamelodi. These are black townships around Pretoria. The following villages were also visited, namely Ga-Mosetlha in the vicinity of Hammanskraal, and Hebron near Pretoria. Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mosetlha are living in Ga-Mosetlha while we find Bakwena-ba-ga-Mogopa at Hebron. These two Setswana dialects have a great influence of Sepedi. Bakgatla of Ga-Mosetlha deny the fact that they have an influence of Sepedi; but, listening and talking with them, one realizes that there is Sepedi vocabulary in Sekgatla. The following expressions were picked up during my several visits to Ga-Mosetlha:

"Pula e nele bošiu ka moka" (*The rain fell for the whole night*).

In the above sentence we have bošiu (night) being Sepedi and Setswana equivalent is bosigo, and ka moka (all night) being Sepedi and Setswana word is jotlhê.

"A ke re ga le re botše fa le thota".  
(*By the way you do not tell us when you depart*).

In the example above we find -botše (report), Sepedi word and -bolelele it's Setswana equivalent.

"Pretoria e kwa kgolê" (*Pretoria is far away*).

Kgolê (far away) is Sepedi while in Setswana we find kgakala.

"Ngwaga o go a tonya" (*It is cold this year*).

The above expression has -tonya (cold) being part of Sepedi language and tsididi or maruru being its equals in Setswana.

"Basetsana ba rata go bolela kudu" (*Girls like talking a lot*).

Kudu (a lot) is picked up as Sepedi form and Setswana form is thata or bobe.

The following Sepedi words were spoited in conversations in Hebron:

<u>Sepedi</u>	<u>Setswana</u>
letšatši ( <i>a day or sun</i> )	letsatsi
mola ( <i>there</i> )	mole



rena ( <i>we</i> )	rona
go - gafa ( <i>to be insane or mad</i> )	go - tsênwa
go - nyaka ( <i>to look for something</i> )	go - batla or go-senka
go - raloka ( <i>to play</i> )	go - tshameka
go-betha ( <i>to beat someone or something</i> )	go - otlá, go - betsa or go - itaya
noši ( <i>alone</i> )	nosi
go kwa go fiša ( <i>to feel the heat</i> )	go utlwa go fisa

The language spoken in Pretoria and the surrounding urban areas, including the above-mentioned rural areas, from our research, is a mixture of languages like Setswana, Sepedi, Sesotho, Afrikaans and English. Sekgatla, which is a Setswana dialect, is its base. So far, no regional varieties of Pretoria-Sotho exist.

There is yet another koiné language developed in Kimberley and the surrounding areas. This language has been identified at Kimberley and two black townships, namely Galeshewe and Pampierstad. Kimberley-Setswana has its vocabulary being basically Afrikaans with quite a number of words added from Setswana (Setlhaping) and very little from English. The influence from Afrikaans is so high that most of the parents use Afrikaans and Setswana equally in their communication. This influence from Afrikaans is from the Coloureds,

Griquas and the Hottentots also living in these areas. This koiné language has also been identified by Mothoagae (1989:5), although no intense investigation was then made. The following are expressions recorded at these areas:

"Waarom is jou water so warm?"

*(Why is your water so hot?)*

"Jy was nie skoon nie".

*(You are not bathing very well).*

"Waar gaan jy, jong?"

*(Where are you going, you little thing?)*

"Ek gaan na die kliniek toe, jong".

*(I am going to the clinic, you little thing).*

The above-mentioned Afrikaans examples were uttered in a normal home situation.

The following are other examples recorded with forms from different languages:

"Tsamayang le ilo tlhapa nou; ke tle ke tlhapisé

dié kind". *(Go and bath now so that I can bath this child).*

We find the following Afrikaans words in the above examples: nou (now) and dié kind (this child).

"Go a fisa, omtrent". (*It is almost hot*).

An Afrikaans form is omtrent (almost or nearly) in the above sentence.

Children in these areas hardly know the word koko (grandmother) in Setswana. They are used to the word aumama, derived from Afrikaans ouma.

Although Mothoagae (1989) feels that the common language spoken in Soweto is a koiné language, we differ with him from our discoveries in that, what we have in Soweto is code-switching and code-mixing. The mixture of languages is controlled by the ethnic group of the person you are talking to. For example, if a Motswana in Soweto is speaking to a Mosotho, he or she will mix Setswana with Sesotho; but, if he or she is talking to Mozulu, Movhenda or Motšhangane, there will be a mixture of Setswana and IsiZulu. Sometimes, English and Afrikaans forms are included within these structures. For example:

"Ga ke tsebe gore nka ntsha jwang mokgathala  
o o mo go nna o". (*I do not know how to take out  
the weariness in me*).

The above example has -tsebe (do not know); jwang (how) and mokgathala (weariness) which are Sesotho forms mixed with Setswana forms. Equal terms in Setswana are -itsê; jang and letsapa respectively.

"Batho ba senna ba rata go shaena ka dinyatsi; and,  
you can't believe it, it makes me mad". (*People of  
mankind like boasting with their mistresses; and,  
you can't believe it, it makes me mad*).

In the above sentence, there is code-switching from Setswana to English.

"O a itse, abantwana ba ya thanda ukukhala".  
(*You know, children like crying*).

The above example illustrates code-switching from Setswana to IsiZulu.

"Uyazi, matsatsi a, ngikhathele". (*You  
know, I am tired these days*).

There is code-mixing of IsiZulu and Setswana. Uyazi (you know) and ngikhathele (I am tired) are IsiZulu expressions and matsatsi a (these days) is Setswana.

Thus, the type of language spoken by Batswana in Soweto, is quite different from that spoken by Batswana around Pretoria and Kimberley. Those living around Pretoria and Kimberley, are clearly and easily identified from their speech, unlike those in Soweto in the vicinity of Johannesburg who might be mistaken to be living in Sebokeng because of the usage of Sesotho or from Daveyton because of the application of IsiZulu. For now, we cannot talk of a koiné language in Soweto. But, however, if a koiné language ever develops it will be either Soweto-Sesotho or Soweto-IsiZulu.

#### **4.1.2 Code-switching and code-mixing**

Urbanization is also seen by Malepe (1966:14), as directly responsible for bringing languages into contact with another. This contact, cause people to go back home carrying with them the new speech forms which they have acquired. During urbanization, Batswana people did not only meet with other Setswana dialects, but also with other foreign languages.

Bahurutshe were also forced to leave their villages to go and work at Zeerust. Some of them went even as far as Gouteng. This movement led into a change in Sehurutshe dialect; which later also caused variation within the same dialect. Influence of Afrikaans and English on Sehurutshe dialect is reflected in the completion of the questionnaire.

#### Question 19(g) reads:

Batho ba bagolo ga ba itse go nna ka diatla, gantsi

o fitlhela ba ntse ba \_\_\_\_\_ mo segotlong.

*(Elderly people are not used to sit without doing*

*anything, most of the time you will find them \_\_\_\_\_  
in the backyard).*

Where most of the investigated dialects filled in dira (work), most of Bahurutshe supplied bêrêka (work) and a minority of them have dira. Bêrêka is a derived verb stem from Afrikaans verb 'werk'. This verb stem does not even appear in Setswana Terminology and Orthography No.4 1988. This orthography has dira (page 344).

Question 19(d) is:

Motho yo o ratang go utswa ra re o \_\_\_\_\_.

*(The person who likes stealing we say is \_\_\_\_\_).*

The expected word is dinalanyana or manalanyana (being a petty thief) or legodu (being a thief). But, however, most of Bahurutshe because of their contact with Afrikaans, gave boskeleme (being secretive); derived from Afrikaans form skelm. Another word which is filled in by Bahurutshe is sleg (bad) an Afrikaans verb.

We have question 19(t) being:

Diaparo fa di tsutsubane re a di \_\_\_\_\_.

*(When clothes are wrinkled we \_\_\_\_\_).*

The majority of Bahurutshe completed this question with aena (iron) from English grammatical element iron; and some sidila and very few of them treika from Afrikaans *stryk*, and phutholla.

The Setswana word reached in Setswana Terminology and Orthography No. 4 (1988:208) is sidila.

The great influence of Afrikaans on Sehurutshe is also partly political. Africans in the past had to learn Afrikaans not only at school, but also on the farm, in the church and even at industries. Most of the shops owned and maintained by Europeans, did not serve you if you addressed them in English. Africans were forced to speak Afrikaans, whether educated or not. To the Africans, Afrikaans was bogobe (porridge).

### 4.1.3 Regional variation

Dialectal contact initiated regional variation. Batlharo separated from Bahurutshe as already stated in Chapter 2. They are presently settled at Ganyesa in the neighbourhood of Batlhaping and Barolong. This proximity to Batlhaping and Barolong, resulted into their divergence from Bahurutshe and convergence to Batlhaping and Barolong. Batlharo still use the absolute pronoun tšhona (we) and nyena (you) which are also used by Bahurutshe. Other dialects use rona and lona respectively.

Although Cole (1955:128) mentions that tšhona and nyena are rare in Setswana, but typical of Kgalagadi, they are there among Bahurutshe and Batlharo. These two dialects are located far from Sekgalagadi.

Regional variation between Batlharo and Bahurutshe, innovated by dialectal contact occurs in the usage of prepalatal affricate [tʰ] and alveolar affricate [tsʰ]; also between vocalic resonant [h] and dentilabial fricative [f]. Batlharo apply the prepalatal affricative [tʰ] and vocalic resonant [h] because of their contact with Setlhaping and Serolong dialects. For example:

<u>Setlharo</u>	<u>Sehurutshe</u>
tšotlhe ( <i>all</i> )	tsotlhe
letšogo ( <i>hand</i> )	letsogo
lehihi ( <i>darkness</i> )	lefifi
ha hatshe ( <i>on the ground</i> )	fa fatshe

Serolong of Thaba Nchu unlike other Serolong dialects, has a great influence of Sesotho. This influence from Sesotho is caused by their location at the boundary between Lesotho and Orange Free State. The following are examples from Serolong in Thaba Nchu:

fore (*so that*) and not gore. -

go - timela (*to die*) and not go - tlhokofala.

bogobe to refer to bread not porridge.





Matšhutišhuti: Barolong of Taung and Thaba Nchu.

Matshutišhuti: Barolong of Kudumane.

Barolong of Taung.

Bakgatla of Moruleng.

Batlharo of Ganyesa.

Bakgatla of Mosetlha.

We realize from the various answers given above that Batlhaping of Pampierstad and Galeshewe, Bakwena of Molepolole, and Bakgatla of Mochudi are still having the morpheme /ch/ although there has been a change in the orthography of written Setswana. Early publications in Setswana were based on Serolong and Setlhaping dialects for example Archbell, J. (1837): A Grammar of the Bechuana Language which is based on Serolong; Crisp, W. (1886): Notes towards a Secoana Grammar, based on Seleka-Serolong; Wookey, A.J. (1905): Secwana Grammar, which is based on Setlhaping and Wookey, A.J. and Brown, J.T. (1923): Secwana Grammar (2nd ed.) which is also based on Setlhaping, therefore, because their dialects were once used in the orthographies of Setswana, it is there to be spoken and written. Early orthographies are based on Serolong and Setlhaping as the missionaries settled firstly among Barolong and Batlhaping, therefore, the first and only Setswana dialects to learn were Serolong and Setlhaping.

Batlharo of Ganyesa are presently using 'matshutitshuti' which is different from 'matshwititshwiti' used by Bahurutshe from whom they separated. Batlharo are now in contact with Barolong who either say 'matshutitshuti' or 'matšhutišhuti'.

#### 4.1.4 Diglossia

As a result of forced labour from the Voortrekkers, and also because of defeats by the Voortrekkers, some of the Nguni people found themselves living as **bo-ntholeng** (people from whose heads and hands luggage has been taken). **Bo-ntholeng** is a derogative term used by South African Batswana to refer to foreigners.

Nguni people, most of them Mazulu, are found living at Ledig in the vicinity of Rustenburg amongst Bakubung. Ledig is divided into sections, namely IsiZulu and Setswana. Mazulu and Batswana are staying at IsiZulu and Setswana sections, respectively.

This division brought about the development of diglossic situation in the IsiZulu section particularly amongst their children.

Diglossia occurs when two languages or language varieties exist side by side in a community and each one is used for different functions (Ervin-Tripp, 1984:81; Van Wyk, 1989:5). Usually, one is a more standard variety called the High variety or H-variety, which is used in government, the media, education, and religious services. The other one is usually a non-prestige variety called the Low-variety or L-variety, which is used in the family, with friends, when shopping, etc. (Crystal, 1987:43).

Ferguson (1959:336) defines diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community conversation.

Gumperz (1961, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966) believes that diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages", and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or, functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind (Fishman, 1971:74).

Fishman (1971:74) following John Gumperz also extends the term diglossia to include any society in which two or more varieties are used under different circumstances.

We determine from the definitions and explanations above that a diglossic situation develops when two languages or language varieties of the same language are in a stable manner and used by all the members of the same community for different purposes.

Diglossia as pointed out by Holmes (1992:36) is 'a feature of speech communities rather than individuals. Individuals may be bilingual. Societies or communities are diglossic'.

Diglossia came into being at Ledig because of the political situation which existed during the era of Bophuthatswana, which is presently part of the North-West Region. During this period, the only official African language was Setswana. This was mainly because of the majority of Batswana in Bophuthatswana. Pupils were taught, and even today are still taught until grade seven in Setswana irrespective of their different mother tongues. However, changes are expected in the near future.

The above-mentioned situation led into IsiZulu and IsiXhosa speaking children, being taught in Setswana and even using it in the school premises. But, at their various homes, they had to speak IsiXhosa or IsiZulu.

#### **4.1.5 Social variation**

Social variation refer to 'differences between speakers which can be attributed to factors such as social status and education; and it is as extensive as, and perhaps even more significant for its speakers than any purely regional variation' (Hawkins, 1984:226).

Although Chambers and Trudgill (1980:54) do not believe in a differentiation between regional and social dialect, by stating that 'all dialects are both regional and social, since all speakers have a social background as well as a regional location', we decided to differentiate between the two as distinct factors are responsible for variation within them.

Social variation may be divided into urban dialects and rural dialects. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:55) have a strong feeling that rural dialects are more conservative than urban dialects. Ethnicity and education are the main causes of different Setswana vernaculars. A vernacular is a sub-type of rural dialects. Social class and age are the main factors which resulted into the following sub-types of urban dialects, namely cant, slang, jargon and tsotsitaal.

As the speech community of Setswana has different ethnic groups, this made it also to have different vernaculars. A vernacular as Holmes (1992:80-1) and Gumperz (1964:420) maintain, 'generally refers to a language which has not been standardized and which does not have official status; the most colloquial variety in a person's linguistic repertoire'.

Crystal (1992:410); Fishman (1971:372) say that the term vernacular alludes to 'the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community. For example the vernacular of Liverpool, Berkshire, and Jamaica'.

Thus, the term vernacular, deducing from the definitions above, may be summarized as a variety which is learned as first language and used for everyday interaction. Therefore,

various Setswana dialects are vernaculars because they are the varieties that we learn from early childhood and that which we use in common communication. The following are examples of some of Setswana vernaculars:

O ta ta a go bitsa. (*He will come and call you*) - Sengwato.

O mpo<sup>o</sup>ditše gore go botse kwa Potchefstroom resort (*He told me that it is nice at Potchefstroom resort*) - Sekgatla in Ga-Mosetlha.

Kgeise ke llao. (*I never said that*) - Sekwena in Hebron.

Morwadia ntsalake o timetse maloba mo kotsing ya koloi. (*My cousin's daughter died in a car accident*) - Serolong in Thaba Nchu.

Tše bonê ba opelang. (*It is them who are singing*) - Sehurutshe.

The above examples are used as follows in official communication:

O tla tla a go bitsa.

O mpoleletse gore go monate kwa Pochefstroom resort.

Ga ke ise ke rialo.

Morwadia ntsalake o tlhokofetse maloba mo kotsing ya koloi.

Ke bonê ba opelang.

#### 4.1.6 Styles

This is a type of personal variation. It is a kind of variety found within idiolects. Styles are basically determined by situations. Fromkin and Rodman (1985:263) maintain that styles are

situation dialects where one speaks differently when one is with friends, and one way when on a job interview. Therefore, we could say that 'the style is man' (Bloomfield, 1983:260).

Every speaker of a language changes his speech to fit the casualness or formality of the occasion, though one is often unaware of doing so because the shift in style is unconscious and automatic (Akmajian, et al. 1984:298).

Generally, formal speech occurs in social context that are formal, serious, often official in some sense, in which speakers feel that they must watch their language and in which the manner of saying something is regarded as socially important (Akmajian, et al. 1984:298; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:70). In this situation, the speaker will tend to articulate more slowly and carefully. Individual words will be given their full value; none will be omitted (Hughes and Trudgill, 1979:4). For example, formal job interview, meeting an important person, and standing before the court of law.

Informal speech occurs in casual, relaxed social settings in which speech is spontaneous, rapid, and uncensored by the speaker. The informant's attention is diverted away from his speech (Akmajian, et al. 1984:298; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:70; Hughes and Trudgill, 1979:4). For example, chatting with friends, and interacting in an intimate or family environment or in similar relaxed setting. Question 22 of the questionnaire was based on what we have in informal style. Informants were asked to say whether they utter the following sentences similar to the interviewer:



- (a) Ke batla go ja (*I want to eat*).
- (b) Ke tliile go ja (*I have come to eat*).
- (c) ... ke sena go ja (*... after eating*).
- (d) ... ke semane go ja (*... after eating*).
- (e) O ne a ja ... (*He was eating ...*).
- (f) Nako e e fetileng (*The past tense*).
- (g) Ngwaga e e fetileng (*The past year*).

Moloto (1964:49-50) picked up the contractions in the field. 'Contraction is a term used in linguistic to refer to the process or result of phonologically reducing a linguistic form so that it comes to be attached to an adjacent linguistic form, or fusing a sequence of forms so that they appear as a single form. Illustration of the first kind can be I've from I have; haven't from have not, and wanna-contraction. The second kind is seen in French *du, des* from *\*de le* and *\*de les* respectively' (Crystal, 1997:89-90). Wanna-contraction is 'a term used in Extended Standard Theory and Government-Binding theory for the process deriving I wanna go home from I want to go home' (Crystal, 1997:417). The two types of contractions are found in the informal style of Setswana as illustrated below.

<u>Ke rata go ja</u> ( <i>I want to eat</i> )	> <u>ke ratô ja</u> .
	> <u>ke rtô ja</u> .
<u>Ke tliilê go ja</u> ( <i>I have come to eat</i> )	> <u>ke tliilô ja</u> .

	> <u>ke tsuô ja.</u>
<u>Ke sena go ja</u> ( <i>After I have eaten</i> )	> <u>ke senô ja.</u>
	> <u>ke snô ja.</u>
	> <u>ke sena ja</u>
	> <u>ke smô ja.</u>
	> <u>ke sna ja.</u>
<u>Ke semane go ja</u> ( <i>After I have eaten</i> )	> <u>ke semano ja.</u>
	> <u>ke smano ja.</u>
<u>Ngwaga e e tlang</u> ( <i>Next year</i> )	> <u>ngwagêtlang.</u>
<u>Ngwaga o o tlang</u> ( <i>Next year</i> )	> <u>ngwagôtlang.</u>
<u>O ne a ja</u> ( <i>He was eating</i> )	> <u>o na ja.</u>
	> <u>o na a ja.</u>
<u>O ne o ja</u> ( <i>You were eating</i> )	> <u>o no ja.</u>
	> <u>o no o ja</u>
<u>O ne wa ja</u> ( <i>You did eat</i> )	> <u>o no wa ja.</u>
	> <u>o nwa ja.</u>
	> <u>o na wa ja.</u>

There is no vast difference between Moloto's (1964) informal style and mine, but however there are minor differences in our findings. The majority of respondents and informants did not have a problem with the usage of the sentences in question 22 in their speech except question 22(g) where they said that a year in Setswana should be personified. This means

that it must be 'ngwaga o o fetileng'. This in formal speech, will not be in relationship to the concordial agreement between the noun class prefix, the noun and predicate. Ngwaga in speech takes the concordial morphemes of Class 1: mo-. Barolong and Batlhaping (especially elderly people), changed the denti-labial fricative [f] to the vocalic resonant [h] in question 22(f) and (g) because this is how they speak.

But, however, listening to Batswana in general this is what was discovered:

22. (a) Ke batlô ja.
- (b) (i) Ke tliî ja.  
 (ii) Ke tsuô ja (Sehurutshe).
- (c) (i) ... Ke senô ja.  
 (ii) ... Ke suô ja (Sehurutshe).  
 (iii) ... Ke sna ja.
- (d) (i) ... Ke semano ja  
 (ii) ... Ke smano ja.
- Both are heard in Setlhaping.
- (e) (i) O na ja ...  
 (ii) O na a ja ...
- (f) (i) Nakoêfetileng.  
 (ii) Nakoêhetileng (Serolong and Setlhaping).

- (g) (i) Ngwaga ê e fetileng (Some of the upper class and the middle class people).
- (ii) Ngwaga ê fetileng (middle class people).
- (iii) Ngwagôfetileng (Upper class, middle class and lower class people).
- (iv) Ngwagôhetileng (Upper, middle and lower class people).

We also find the following discoveries having been made by Moloto (1964:50) concerning contractions in Setswana:

Ga ke itse (*I do not know*) > Ga kitse  
 > Ke itse  
 > Kitse  
 > Kgitse

Ga ke re jalo (*I do not say/mean so*) > Ga ke rialo  
 > Ke rialo  
 > Kge llao

Answers almost similar to those of Moloto (1964:50) were expected in the following questions:

Question 23. Rra/Mma a o itse gore ke morwadia mang?

*(Father/Mother do you know whose daughter am I?)*

The expected answers were: Ga kitse; ke itse, kitse and kgitse. But, however, the following

answers were supplied: Nnyaa (*No*)

Ee (*No*)

M-m (*No*)

Ga kitse (*I do not know*)

Kgitse (*I do not know*) (Bakwena of Hebron).

Question 24. Rra/Mma a o rile ke tsaletswe kwa Serowe?

*(Father/Mother did you say that I was born in Serowe?)*

The expected answers were: Ga ke a rialo, ke a rialo, kge a llao. The answers received are

however the following: Nnyaa (*No*)

Ee (*Yes*)

M-m (*No*)

Ga ke a rialo (*I did not say that*)

Aowa (*No*) (Bakgatla ba ga-Mosetlha, some of Bakwena of Hebron and most of Batswana living in Mabopane, Mamelodi,

Soshanguve and Atteridgeville). Kge a llao (*I did not say that*)

(Bakwena of Hebron especially the elderly people).

The above findings leads one to agree with Labov (1972a:209) as he says 'good data' is:

No matter what other methods may be used to obtain sample of speech (group sessions, anonymous observation), the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any one person is through the most obvious kind of systematic observation.

As Barbour and Stevenson (1990:104) argue, 'the only exception to this axiom is that good lexical data may, still be gathered by the use of questionnaire'.

Labov (1966) identified four styles in New York City, namely: casual style, careful style, reading prose and reading word lists. His first two types of style are synonymous with informal and formal style respectively.

Fromkin and Rodman (1983:264) argue that many cultures have rules of social behaviour that strictly govern style. For example in some Indo-European languages there is the distinction between "you familiar" and "you polite". German du and French tu are to be used only with "intimates". Sie and vous are more formal and used with nonintimates.

One mark of an informal style is the frequent occurrence of slang, for example pig and fuzz are derogatory terms for 'policeman'. The use of slang varies from region to region, for example, a slang in New York and slang in Los Angeles are not the same (Fromkin and Rodman, 1983:264-5).

Slang as defined by Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary in Capell (1966:99) is

a type of popular language comprised of words and phrases of a vigorous, colourful or facetious nature, which are invented as needed or derived from the unconventional use of the standard vocabulary.

Carl Sandberg as cited by Wolfram (1991:48) defines slang as

a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands and gets down to business.

Schuring (1985:3) maintains that

'n Slang-taal is die eksklusiewe taal, van 'n groep mense wat saam 'n subkultuur vorm.

Van Wyk (1989:5) similar to Schuring (1985) argues that slang is

a variety used by particular sub-cultures  
in a community or, society, such as scholars,  
students, gangs, sportmens, etc.

We deduce from the definitions above that slang is an exclusive language used by a group of people belonging to a community or society forming a certain sub-culture.

According to Akmajian, et al. (1984:329-330) and Wolfram (1991:48), slang has the following prominent features:

- (1) Slang is part of casual, informal styles of language use.
- (2) It has a short life span.
- (3) Certain areas of slang are often associated with a specific social group, and for this reason one can speak of teenage slang, underworld (criminal) slang, and the slang of drug culture.
- (4) Slang also has a role of that of a special kind of synonym. For example kick the bucket instead of die.

The following are examples of slang as found in Setswana spoken by Batswana in different areas and societies.



<u>English word</u>	<u>Setswana</u>	<u>Slang</u>
<i>pension</i>	phenšene	<u>mmabasotho</u> ( <i>mother of Basotho</i> ); <u>motêntê</u> ( <i>like tent</i> ): <i>Pension is helpful to people just like a mother and a tent.</i>
<i>to strip a car</i>	go - budutsa koloi	<u>go - kokotela koloi</u> : <i>to nail the car because of the noise made when stripping the car.</i>
<i>condom</i>	khontomo or moselwana (South African Setswana) and Sekausu (Botswana Setswana).	<u>jase ya mokgonyana</u> : <i>son-in-law's overcoat as it is worn similar to a cultural son-in-law's overcoat.</i>
<i>theft</i>	bogodu/kutso	<u>borotho</u> : <i>bread because one can provide himself or herself and family from this.</i>
<i>dullard</i>	sekopa	<u>letlapa</u> : <i>stone as it is not easy to break a stone.</i>

<i>to break a marriage</i>	go thuba lelapa	<u>go-šapa monna kana mosadi ka setena</u> : <i>to hit a man or woman with a brick; because it is painful to divorce.</i>
<i>prostitute</i>	seaka, sepêpê, mosadi wa dikgora	<u>phate</u> : <i>skin used to sit on or to sleep on because a prostitute sleeps around with any man because money speaks.</i>
<i>AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome)</i>	bolwetse jwa dithuso	<u>kokwana-tlhoko</u> : <i>dysentery because it is as infectious as dysentery (letshololo).</i>
<i>a drunkard</i>	letagwa, letlhapelwa	Kwena (crocodile): <i>the person's drinking habit is compared to that of a crocodile because it is most of the time in water. That is, he or she is swimming in liquor like a crocodile in water.</i>

*cabbage*

khabetšhe

Johane 14: *a scripture reading entitled 'Jesus the Way to the Father'. Cabbage is compared with this chapter because it is found everywhere; even people who cannot afford meat, can afford cabbage. This is similar to Jesus and the Father who are found everywhere.*

*lover*

moratiwa

sugar daddy: *an older man having an affair with a younger woman. He is compared with sugar because of it's sweetness as he provides her with money and presents.*

*mistress, concubine,  
paramour*

nyatsi

roll-on: *an unlawful lover of a married man or woman. He or she is said to be a roll-on as he or she hides from the public like roll-on in the arm-pit.*

<i>to stay away from lectures or omit lectures</i>	go tlola dithuto	go-banka ditlase: <i>skipping lecture is compared to banking your money.</i>
<i>to look through an album</i>	go lebelela ditshwantsho mo alebamong	go šeba albamo: <i>to sit and watch people passing by.</i>
<i>to meet a lover</i>	go kopana le mokapelo/ moratiwa	go ya leboteng: <i>to go to the wall because one of the lovers generally leans against the wall.</i>
<i>to break a marriage</i>	go thuba lelapa	go šapa ka khorobrik: <i>to hit with a brick made of ice as it is very painful to divorce.</i>

Gleason, Jr., (1984:317-321) came up with five keys or styles of the system of speech types:

- (1) Consultative key: Consultative key is the central point in the system. It is the type of language required of every speaker. Its usage is mostly in orally conducted everyday business, particularly between chance acquaintances. This is the usual form of speech in small group except among close friends. In English, for example, we find may expressing permission; and can being the invariable consultative equivalent.

Similar situation occurs in Setswana where ka nna (may) expresses permission; and ka (can) is its invariable consultative equivalent. This can be illustrated as follows:

"Nka tsamaya" (*Can I go?*)

"Ee, o ka nna wa tsamaya" (*Yes, you may go.*)

- (2) Casual key: Casual key implies a complete rapport and mutual interest. It is characterized by the use of slang. True slang as identified by Gleason, Jr., is a sort of semi-private language. It is used only with insiders, and it is assumed to be known only by members of the group. True slang is always restricted to specific groups, for example to teenagers or to some clique among adolescents. It is also recognized by omission of unstressed words, particularly at the beginning of sentences. Articles, pronouns, auxiliaries, and be, are those most involved. See example of tsotsitaal.
- (3) Deliberate key: It is used in speaking to medium or large groups. The speaker is left on his own to maintain the proper pace of delivery. He plans ahead, framing whole sentences before they are delivered. Deliberate key may also be used in speaking to a single hearer. For example, a mother, with a daughter named Lerato, will call her Rato (casual); Lerato (consultative); and Lerato Celester Dire (deliberate); and a child rightly expects quite different treatment, and responds accordingly.
- (4) Oratorical speech: Oratorical speech is planned structurally over longer spans. Successions of sentences are intricately related. This type of speech needs to be

carefully planned and for it to be well done it requires high skill. It is used exclusively by specialists. Professional orators, lawyers and preachers are illustrations of oratorical speech. The following is an example of part of a sermon delivered by a preacher at the wedding ceremony.

"A se se kopantsweng ke Modimo, motho a se se kgaoganye". (*Let that that has been joined by God be not separated by man*).

- (5) Intimate key: This is a completely private language developed within families or between very close friends. Intimate key is not used in public.

Tsotsitaal is a type of slang among African languages in South Africa, with Setswana included. Although in the past tsotsitaal was associated with Black young people as Schuring (1985) says, nowadays it has shifted even to older people. Tsotsitaal of the elderly people is that which they used during their youth. But, however, they use it with people of their age group. Differences in vocabulary according to differences in age also occur. Generally very few females (young or old) use tsotsitaal.

It is not possible that tsotsitaal can be known to everybody because, tsotsitaal develops as a result of same interest and culture within a group; and also that it is 'an urban colloquial language which moves with times, as a result its vocabulary becomes enriched with new words and phrases' (Khumalo, 1995:126).

Tsotsitaal is as important to its speakers as other non-standard and standard varieties are to theirs; and they accept it as a correct and purified language. Afrikaans has always been the basis of tsotsitaal and as Schuring (1985) also sees it, one of the African languages may also be used as a basis; and as we see it this could be either IsiZulu or Sesotho.

Tsotsitaal is used by both educated and uneducated Setswana speakers. Cultured and uncultured Batswana living in both rural and urban areas in South Africa. Tsotsitaal has not spread completely to rural areas, therefore not everybody in the rural areas uses it. Botswana has a different situation as there is very little if ever intrusion of tsotsitaal in Setswana.

The following expressions were recorded in the field during the period of research. Underlined words belong to tsotsitaal vocabulary:

"Ke meti wa ga Thabo o" (*It is Thabo's wife*).

Meti (wife) is derived from English 'maid' with change in its original meaning - a housemaid.

"Ke hlala ka hi" (*I am staying here*).

Hi (here) is derived from Afrikaans 'hier'.

"Bolo e khepile" (*The ball is captured on the roof of the house*).

Khepile (captured) is from English 'cap' with a change in the original meaning - to cover with a cap.

"Mme yo o ya mo di-B, ga o go jaje"

*(This woman is going to Block B, she does not know the place).*

Jaje (know) is derived from an English word 'judge' with a shift in the basic meaning - to give a decision about (someone or something).

"Le a nlaga" *(You laugh at me).*

-Laga (laugh) is formed from Afrikaans 'lag'.

"Ke lethaema la me" *(He is my father).*

Lethaema (my father) no source language found.

"Ke a lander my bra" *(I am climbing down my brother).*

Lander (climbing down) from English 'land' with a shift in meaning from the original - to settle, to come to rest, or fall.

My bra (my brother) is derived from Afrikaans 'my broer'.



"Ke a boarda" (*I am dying*).

Boarda (dying) is derived from English 'board' meaning to climb a ship or public vehicle.

"Ke ya ka da" (*I am going on that side*).

-da (that side) is from the Afrikaans 'daar'.

wasplanka (*washing plank*): A person with flat buttocks like that of a washing plank.

laêti (*a young boy*); it is formed from Afrikaans 'laaitie'.

moja (*sharp/right*).

di-Klerk (*President de Klerk*): R2.00.

clipper : R100.00.

two-iron : 20c.

boqweba : money or jewellery.

ntšheza : gun.

Tsotsitaal which is used by Batswana belonging to certain criminal groups, will be referred to as argot.

Wolfram (1991:299) defines an argot as

a specialized vocabulary or jargon,  
typically in a way to conceal the contents  
of conversation from outsiders, often used  
with reference to criminal activity.

Adler (1977:5) supports him when he says

argot is the special language of the  
underworld of thieves and other criminals.

Crystal (1992:27) agrees with the above-mentioned linguists when he maintains that argot is

special vocabulary used by secretive  
social groups to protect its members  
from outside world.

Therefore, argot is a type of jargon used by underworld criminals.

#### 4.1.7 Pidgins and creoles

A pidgin developed as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language (Fasold, 1984:180; Trudgill, 1983:61). Therefore, it is no-one's native language.

Pidgins probably arise where there is contact between two or more groups with different languages and there is also one dominant language as defined by Fishman (1968:689):

A pidgin is a language which has arisen  
as the result of contact between people of  
different languages usually formed from mixing  
of the languages.

Calteaux (1996:29) maintains that 'a special kind of language contact situation leads to the development of language varieties called pidgins and creoles. Pidgins and creoles are often called "mixed" languages, implying that they are created from two or more languages and that they have no structure of their own but constitute a blend of two languages'.

We deduce from the explanations and definition above that pidgins may sometimes be called contact languages because such languages mostly arise when social groups come in contact; or marginal languages as they have reduced grammar and vocabulary; or mixed languages because they develop from two or more languages.

O'Donnell and Todd (1991:43) came up with two types of pidgins:

- (1) A marginal pidgin: It arises when speakers of two languages come into superficial contact. A marginal pidgin serves limited communication needs and tends to disappear when the contact which gave rise to it is withdrawn. It develops between expatriates and African house-servants in West Africa. The examples here are Korean, Vietnamese and Thai Pidgin Englishes.
  
- (2) An expanded pidgin: An expanded pidgin develops in multilingual areas; and it is useful in intergroup communication. For example all the West Africa varieties of pidgin English, Tok Pisin the English-based lingua franca of Papua New Guinea.

'The difference between marginal pidgins and expanded pidgins is that one sees in expanded pidgins the emergence of new languages, languages with the potential to grow and spread or to disappear if their usefulness as a means of communication diminishes; if an expanded pidgin dies, it does so for sociological reasons, rather than because of any linguistic deficiency' (O'Donnell and Todd, 1991:43).

Fanakalo is a pidgin which developed amongst Blacks in South Africa because of contact between people speaking different languages. It is an IsiZulu-based English pidgin used by workers around Johannesburg, Rustenburg and even in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Fanakalo came into being in the first half of the 19th century in Natal. Indian speakers settled in this area came into contact with IsiZulu speakers and because they did not share a common language, Fanakalo was created to fulfil communication needs. It spread from the plantations in Natal to mines in Johannesburg and Rustenburg areas.

It is termed Chiraparapa (a Shona term) in Zimbabwe; Basic Bantu; the lingua franca of Southern Africa in Bold (1990:1); Isikula that is, a language spoken by the Indians; Silingubhoyi; Isilololo because of its extensive use of the morpheme -lo and derogatively Pidgin Bantu or Kitchen-kafir or Mine-kafir by Europeans.

Fanakalo is generally looked down upon. One can just get it from the use of terms like 'matšompololo' meaning 'mine workers' being used in villages like for example Phokeng, Luka and Bleskop, to refer to people working in the mines. They have been given this name because of the type of variety they use.

As a result of fanakalo being looked down upon, being referred to as an inferior, haphazard, broken, bastardized version of IsiZulu, mine workers nowadays where possible, have interpreters in their general meetings.

Batswana people working in the platinum mines in Rustenburg communicate with their co-workers (non-Setswana) in Setswana outside the working areas but in fanakalo in the working environment when there is need.

As already mentioned above, fanakalo is dying because of the attitudes of the people towards mine workers and also the attitude of the mine workers themselves towards the language they are expected to use. Most of them prefer English than any of the African languages.

The following are examples of fanakalo recorded:

"Omama gamina" (*She is my mother*).

"Hayikena ngena lapa; lo mgwagwa yena valiwe"

(*Do not drive in there, the road is closed*).

"Yini wenafuna?" (*What do you want?*)

"Mina funa lo-msebenzi" (*I want work*).

"Nkos! Bonga sterek" (*Thank you very much, master*).

"Mina gula sterek" (*I am very sick*).

mponyana : *bread*

makaza : *cold*

lo-mfazi gawena : *your wife*

inja : *dog*

hamba : *go*

When a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech community, a creole arises (Akmajian, et al., 1984:319; Crystal, 1987:336; 1992:87; O'Donnell and Todd, 1991:43; Todd, 1974:3).

A creole like any other first or standard language, grows to serve all the purpose of language community. Its vocabulary is more comprehensive, and its syntactic system is more flexible and precise than the majority of even expanded pidgins (O'Donnell and Todd, 1991:43).

Creoles, according to Trudgill (1983:182), are perfectly normal languages only their history is somewhat unusual.

The term creole comes from Portuguese crioulo or crioulu via English and French. It originally meant a person of European descent who had been born and brought up in a colonial territory. Later, it came to be applied to other people who were native to these areas, and then to the kind of language they spoke (Crystal, 1987:336; Romaine, 1988:38).

Afrikaans is a creole language used in South Africa. It came in use within the Setswana speech community when Africans were subjected to their European masters and had to find a means of communication. During that time, the Europeans did not learn African languages because these were spoken by what they considered to be inferior people. Therefore,

Africans had to learn one or the other European language. Most of Batswana living in Thaba Nchu, Kimberley, Vryburg, Zeerust, Rustenburg and the vicinities, learned Afrikaans.

They use Afrikaans at work and even when looking for work. This has been confirmed by one of the residents of Galeshewe in Kimberley when she said, 'Re kopa le go batla bogobe ka yone' (We ask and look for 'porridge' with it). 'Bogobe' in this context means work and food.

Afrikaans developed from Dutch which was spoken by settlers. It became official in 1925 when it replaced Dutch.

The following are examples of Afrikaans expressions uttered within Setswana:

"Daardie vrou is lekker kwaai" (*That woman is very fierce*).

Setswana: Mosadi yoo o a galola/o bogale tota.

"Ek praat suiwer Afrikaans nie die Afrikaans in Klerksdorp".

(*I speak pure Afrikaans not Afrikaans in Klerksdorp*).

Setswana: Ke bua Seaferikanse se se phepa e seng Seaferikanse se se teng Klerksdorp.



"Jy ken nie Afrikaans jong" (*You do not know Afrikaans man*).

Setswana: Ga o itse Saferikanse monna.

#### 4.1.8 Jargon

Wolfram (1991:46) believes that the term jargon simply refer to 'the specialized vocabulary characterizing a full array of special interest groups'. He has computer vocabulary and sports vocabulary as his examples.

According to Crystal (1992:200-1) jargons are:

Technical terms and expressions used by  
a group of specialists, which are not  
known or understood by the speech community  
as a whole.

Crystal (1992) goes on to say that 'every subject has its jargon, which can contribute to economy of communication and precision of thought among those who belong to the group'.

It is argued by Akmajian et al. (1984:323) that in almost every recognized profession, a special vocabulary evolves to meet the needs of the profession. This special or technical vocabulary is what is known as jargon. Akmajian, et al. (1984) further states that 'for example physician and health professionals use medical jargon; lawyers use legal jargon; and

linguists use a technical linguistic jargon with vocabulary items such as phoneme, morpheme, transformation'.

Jargon, as pointed out by Akmajian, et al. (1984:323) and Capell (1966:99), is not only limited to professional groups, but also exists in special-interest groups. For example, sports enthusiasts, amateur rock climbers, jazz and rock-and-roll fans, custom cars, hobbyists, art lovers, and many other groups all make use of technical jargons that are specially suited to the particular interests of the group.

Profession in Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978:874) is defined as

a form of employment, especially one that  
is respected in society as honourable and  
is possible only for an educated person and  
after training in some special branch of know-  
ledge (such as law, medicine, and the church) ...

Barnhart and Barnhart (1976:1661) has the definition of profession as

an occupation requiring special education,  
such as law, medicine, teaching, or the ministry ...

We deduce from the definitions and descriptions above that a jargon is a special but not secretive variety used within a profession or by a group of people with familiar interests and needs.

Jargon vocabulary is usually understood by in-group members because it contains technical terms which are not easy to be understood by out-group members; and it is hardly accommodative of out-group members (Zungu, 1995:43).

The existence of jargons is exemplified by the story of a seaman witness being cross-examined at a trial, who was asked if he knew the plaintiff (Fromkin and Rodman, 1983:265).

'Indicating that he didn't know what plaintiff meant brought a chide from the attorney: "You mean you came into this court as a witness and don't know what plaintiff means?" Later the sailor was asked where he was standing when the boat lurched. "Abaft the binnacle", was the reply, and to the attorney's questioning stare he responded: "You mean you came into this court and don't know where abaft the binnacle is?"

Data collection for jargons was collected by visiting medical doctors' surgeries and Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital. I just listened to the type of language used by Batswana employed as nurses and doctors. Conversation among themselves was basically medical jargon. They use abbreviations to conceal information from their patients. Mr L.Z.S. Moalusi, a lawyer at Rustenburg was visited just to learn a little about legal jargon. During

collection of data at schools and universities I also recorded the linguistic jargon used by Setswana teachers and lecturers. The types of jargon not included has not been researched.

Some of the Setswana community use different jargons depending on their training and occupation. This variation occurs because of education and various needs.

The following are examples of data collected of legal jargon used by lawyers:

plaintiff (mongongoregi, moikuedi) : a person who brings a charge against somebody (defendant) in court.

defendant (moiphemedi) : a person in a law trial against whom a charge is brought. For example:

*The plaintiff instituted a claim against the defendant.*

(Mongongoregi o dirile molato kgatlhanong le moiphemedi).

bona fide (Latin) (tumelo e e molemo) : good faith

mala fide (Latin) (tumelo e e maswe) : bad faith. For example:

*Bona fide is an essential element of a contract.*

(Tumelo e e molemo ke elemente ya botlhokwa ya konteraka).

A thief even though *mala fide* in his possession, he can use the mandament van spolie to protect his possession.

(Legodu le fa le na le tumelo e e maswe ya leruo la lona, le ka nne la dirisa tshiamelo ya tshireletso ya magodu go sireletsa leruo la lona.)

*rei vindicatio* (Latin) (tshiamelo ya tshireletso ya dithoto ke mong wa tsona) : The right of the property owner to protect his property in court. For example:

The owner can use *the rei vindicatio* to reclaim his car.

(Mong a ka nne a dirisa tshiamelo ya tshireletso ya dithoto ke mong wa tsona go lopa sejanaga sa gagwe gape.)

*mandament van spolie* (Latin) (tshiamelo ya tshireletso ya magodu) : The right of protection of thieves.

*donatio mortis causa* (Latin) (kabo ya boithaopo ya matshidiso) : Donation made in contemplation of death. For example:

A will can include *a donatio mortis causa*.

(Kabo ya boswa e ka nne ya akaretsa kabo ya boithaopo ya matshidiso.)

de jure (Latin) (ka tshiamelo) : by right. For example:

Although Mr N. Mandela is the jure president of the Republic of South Africa, in actual fact Mr T. Mbeki is running the country.

(Le fa Rre N. Mandela e le porêsidênte ya Aferika Borwa ka tshiamelo, bonnete fela ke gore Rre T. Mbeki ke ena a tsamaisang naga.)

mutatis mutandis (Latin) (kakaretso le diphetogo tsa

botlhokwa) : With or including necessary changes. For example:

*What would St. Francis have said to the beggar who ... wanted to get to the Assisian equivalent of Wall Street? Mutatis mutandis, what would Robert Owen have said? Or Lenin (Time). (Barnhart and Barnhart, 1976:1373.)*

(St. Francis o ne a ka re eng go mokopi yo o neng ... a batla go fitlhelela mmila wa Seashishia o o lekanang le wa Wall? Re akaretsa diphetogo tsa botlhokwa, Robert Owen o ne a tla reng? Kgotsa Lenin (Time). (Barnhart and Barnhart, 1976:1373).

Examples of linguistic jargon recorded used by linguists:

morpheme (popi): a minimal distinctive unit of grammar.

For example: Leina 'motho' le bopilwe ka dipopi tse pedi e leng mo- (tlhogo ya leina) le -tho (thito ya leina.)

*(The noun 'motho' (person) is formed by two morphemes, namely mo- (the noun class prefix) and -tho (the nominal root.)*

phoneme (tumarinini, fonimi): the minimal unit in the sound system of a language.

For example: Fonimi e ka dirisiwa go farologanya magareng a mafoko a mabedi. Sekao:

Mo Setswaneng, mafoko 'kama' le 'kgama' a farologana fela ka modumo wa kwa tshimologong: 'kama' e simolola ka /k'/ le 'kgama' ka /kx<sup>h</sup>/.

Ka jalo, /k'/ le /kx<sup>h</sup>/ ke difonimi mo Setswaneng.

*(In Setswana, the words 'kama' (comb) and 'kgama' (alcelaphus caama) differ only in their initial sound: 'kama' begins with /k'/ and 'kgama' with /kx<sup>h</sup>/.)*

*Therefore, /k'/ and /kx<sup>h</sup>/ are fonemes in Setswana.)*

fricative consonants (ditumagwasa): sounds made when two organs come so close together that the air moves between them.

For example: /f/ le /tʰ/ ke ditumagwasa mo Setswaneng ka gonne mowa o gwasa fa o ralala legano mo tumisong ya tsona. Dikao mo mafokong:

[fafats'a]

[tʰɪtʰa]

*(/f/ and /tʰ/ are fricative consonants in Setswana because in their articulation the air rustle softly as it passes through the mouth. Examples in words:*

*[fafats'a] (to sprinkle)*

*[tʰɪtʰa] (strain or filter).)*

velar consonant (tumatengwana): a sound made by the back of the tongue against the soft palate or velum.

For example: / / le /kʰ/ ke medumo ya ditumatengwana. Dikao:

[ak'a]

[dikʰanakʰana]



(/ / and /kʰ/ are velar sounds. For example:

[ak'a] (doctor)

[dikʰanakʰana] (delicious food.)

phonology (phetogamedumo, fonoloji): a branch of linguistics which studies the sound systems of languages.

For example: Pule o rata fonoloji ka gone o kgona go itse gore ke eng Batswana ba re 'mpona' e seng 'mbona' jaaka Mazulu.

*(Pule likes phonology because he is able to know why Batswana say 'mpona' (see me) not 'mbona' (see me) like Mazulu.)*

phonetics (fonetiki): it is the scientific study of the physical features of human speech sounds.

For example: Fa bana ba ne ba ithuta fonetiki ba ne ba itumediswa ke go lemoga gore go na le dirwe tseo di dirisetwang go kapodisa medumopuo.

*(When children were learning phonetics they were made happy by noticing that there are organs which are used to pronounce sounds of a language.)*

morphology (popegopuo): a branch of grammar that studies the structure or forms of words.

For example: Baithuti ba rata go ithuta ka popegopuo ka ntlha ya gore e ba tsibositse gore mafoko a bopiwa ka megatlana, ditlhogo le medi.

*(Learners like learning about morphology because it has made them aware of the fact that words are formed by suffixes, prefixes and roots.)*

length (boleele-nokong): it can be defined as a prolonged pronunciation of a syllable, usually occurring at the penultimate syllable of sentences.

For example: Baithuti ba bangwe ba na le go nna le bothata jwa go farologanya magareng a boleelenokong le segalo.

Sekao: mo:tho (boleelenokong)

mòthò (segalo.)

*(Some of the learners sometimes have a problem in differentiating between length and tone.*

*For example: mo:tho (person): Length*

*mòthò (person): Tone)*

variety (mofuta): a term used in sociolinguistics and stylistics to refer to any system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables.

For example: Mo Setswaneng re fitlhela mefuta ya puo e leng ditengwana jaaka Sehurutshe, Serolong, Sekgatla, Sengwaketse, Setlhaping, Sekwena le Sengwato.

*(We find in Setswana varieties of language namely dialects like Sehurutshe, Serolong, Sekgatla, Sengwaketse, Setlhaping, Sekwena and Sengwato.)*

Medical jargon recorded during the research:

Conversation between nurses:

"Malatsinyana a, S.T.D. e wele" (*S.T.D. is nowadays very common*).

"E dirwa ke gore batho ba ga bo-rona ga ba dirise dikhondomo" (*It is caused by the fact that our people are not using condoms*).

S.T.D.: Sexually Transmitted Disease (Bolwetse jo bo tliswang ke thobalano).

Conversation between a doctor and a nursing sister:

"Ga ke itse gore ba ga Kwape ke tlile go ba pota kwa kae, morwadiabona kana ke yole wa D.O.A." (*I do not know how I am going to approach Kwape's family, by the way their daughter is that of D.O.A.*).

"Nna mosadi" (*Be strong*).

D.O.A. : Death On Arrival (Motho yo a gorogang a tlhokofetse).

"Se itshwenyeng ka ene, ke M.C." (A nurse at a doctor's surgery talking).  
(*Don't bother yourselves about him, he is M.C.*).

M.C. : Mental Case (O tlhakane tlhogo) (I hardly new what M.C. meant. We just read between lines that maybe he is insane).

V.D. : Venereal Disease (Makgome)

H.I.V. : Human Infectious Virus

C.P. : Cerebral Palsy (go swa ditokololo)

T.T.O.: To take out treatment and also for doggy bag (go ya gae ka ditlhare le go phuthela dijo tse di setseng fa o ne o ja).

H.T. : Hypertension (Madi a magolo).

Here is an example to show how special is the medical jargon. Some of us if not all do not really understand 'sugar diabetes'. We think that it is 'bolwetsi jwa sukiri' (sugar illness), that is, it is an illness caused by too much intake of sugar. This is not the case.

## 4.2 SUMMARY

Different linguistic varieties and their sub-types in Setswana have been discussed. The emphasis is on how these are caused by the external factors in Chapter 2. The main varieties identified are: lingua francas; pidgins and creoles; social variation; regional variation; code-switching and code-mixing, styles and diglossia. Various sub-types within these main varieties are described as koinés, tsotsitaal, fanakalo, Afrikaans, argot and slang.

Main external factors responsible for these varieties are contact, education and urbanisation innovated by other factors namely migration and social needs.

Standardization in written Setswana will be discussed in the following chapter.

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## CHAPTER 5

### 5.0 STANDARDIZATION IN WRITTEN SETSWANA

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters we have seen how various internal and external factors caused linguistic variation in Setswana. In this chapter we are going to discuss standardization in Setswana. A brief critical review of different Setswana orthographies will also be done. There is also the need for a comparison between standardized and standard Setswana.

Trudgill (1983:161) states that it is argued that standardization is needed in order to facilitate communications, to make possible the establishment of an agreed orthography, and for provision of a uniform form for school books. When looking at this process one also finds out that this is a complex process; and it rests on power and prestige (Nomlomo, 1993:78).

Ansre (1971:680) maintains that the term language standardization is used to mean 'the process by which specific variety of a language emerges as the preferred variety of a speech community, this is to be distinguished from the phenomenon of the language of a speech community being replaced by a distinctly different language'.

Fishman, et al. (1960:31) as cited by Malimabe (1990:2) defines language standardization as

the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as supra-dialectal norm - the "best" form of the language - rated above regional and social dialects although these may be felt appropriate in some domains.

Stewart (1968:534) believes that standardization is

the codification and acceptance, within the community of users, of a formal set of norms defining "correct" usage.

Wardhaugh (1992:30) defines standardization as

the process by which a language has been codified in some way.



Wardhaugh (1992) elaborates further that 'this process involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books and dictionaries, and probably a literature.

... Standardization also requires that a measure of agreement be achievement about what is in a language and what is not; and once a language is standardized it can be taught deliberately'.

We deduce from the definitions above that standardization is the codification and acceptance of a language variety by a speech community and the establishment of an orthography to be used in grammars, spelling books, dictionaries and literature.

Only after a norm has been selected and accepted may the process of standardization proceed. Standardization is not likely to proceed if and when a speech community disagrees on the form of a model to provide a norm.

## 5.2 WHAT IS STANDARD LANGUAGE?

Hudson (1980:32) defines a standard language as

the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. This intervention, named 'standardization', produces a standard language where before there were just 'dialects i.e. non-standard varieties'.

According to Wardhaugh (1992:36) a standard variety of a language is

actually only the preferred dialect of that language. It is the variety that has been chosen for some reason, perhaps political, social, religious, or economic, or some combination of reasons, to serve as either the model or the norm for other varieties. As a result, the standard is often not called a dialect at all, but is regarded as the language itself ... all other varieties become related to that standard in some way and come to be regarded as dialects of that standard.

Wardhaugh (1992:31) goes on to say that a standard language may unify individuals and groups within a large community by reflecting and symbolizing their identity which might be regional, social, ethnic, or religious, while on the other hand separating the community that results from other communities. For example, Botswana Setswana differs from South African Setswana here and there. These differences are caused by the fact that South Africa is multilingual. Thus, Batswana from Botswana are always identified as speaking standard Setswana. A similar situation occurs in South Africa itself, where Batswana living in the

rural areas speak standard Setswana because of little or even no inflection from other South African languages.

According to Holmes (1992:83) a standard variety is

generally one which is written, and which has undergone some degree of regularisation or codification (for example in grammar and a dictionary); it is recognised as a prestigious variety or code by a community and it is used for H functions alongside a diversity of L varieties ...

Barbour and Stevenson (1990:279) support Holmes (1992:83) when they define a standard variety as

That socially determined variety of a language which enjoys the highest prestige, which is (usually) required in schools, which is taught to foreigners, which is (usually) employed in broadcasting, and which bears the closest relationship to the written form of the language.

It is deduced from the above definitions that a standard variety can be both a written and spoken language which is developed from a dialect or dialects and is accepted by the community as a whole and serves as a norm for other varieties.

Van Wyk (1989:5) is in line with what has been said above, when he says that 'A standard language is shared by, or even required of, all members of a community, irrespective of the vernaculars which individual speakers may use at home, that is, it transcends all the other varieties in the personal repertoires of the members of the community'.

Fromkin and Rodman (1983:253) rightly put it when they say that a standard variety 'is neither more expressive, more logical, more complex, nor more regular than any other dialect. Any judgement as to the superiority or inferiority of a particular dialect are social judgements, not linguistic or scientific ones'.

Hudson (1980:32) postulates that a typical standard language will have passed through the following processes:

1. Selection: A particular variety must have been selected as the one to be developed into a standard language. It could be an existing variety or a mixture of various dialects. The choice is a matter of great social and political importance, as the chosen variety gains prestige and the people who already speak it share in this prestige. But, however, the chosen variety may be with no native speakers at all.

2. Codification: Some agency must have written dictionaries and grammar books to 'fix' the variety; so that everyone agrees on what is correct. Once codification has taken place, it becomes necessary for any ambitious citizen to learn the correct forms and not to use in writing any 'incorrect' forms he may have in his native variety.
3. Elaboration function: Furthermore, it must be possible to use selected variety in all the functions associated with central government and with writing.
4. Acceptance: A standard variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the variety of the community, and usually as the national language.

All that Hudson (1980) has as the most important steps in standardization applies to those languages that have been looked after like British English, American English, Settlers African English and Afrikaans.

In South Africa Setswana and other African languages were never selected. Their standardization has been relegated to the former homelands. Languages which have been taken care of are the then official languages, English and Afrikaans.

Even in Botswana, where Setswana is both an official and a national language, Setswana has not been socially selected. Botswana relied on South African standardized Setswana until after the publication of a revised version of the 1937 orthography in Tswana: Terminology

and Orthography No.3 (1972). This, made the authorities of Botswana feel the need to set up a formally independent orthographic norm for Botswana. The need to establish a formally independent orthographic norm, led into the publication of Setswana Standard Orthography 1981 (1981). The standardization was made by the Setswana Language Committee in Botswana.

What is expected in Botswana is to have Setswana being used in Botswana government, but, however, things are different. Janson and Tsonope (1991:75) quoted the following in relation to the language policy in Botswana:

‘The official language of the country is English;  
the national language is Setswana’.  
(Botswana up to date (1985:2)).

But, the same official statement is:

‘the official languages are Setswana and English, the  
latter being the main language in Government’.  
(NDP6:8).

The above-mentioned statement means that practically, English has to be used throughout in all contexts regarded as official. Even in parliament, where almost all members speak

Setswana as their first language, all discussions were conducted in English until a few years ago when the use of Setswana was allowed both in the House of Chiefs and in the National Assembly. As appropriately put by Janson and Tsonope (1991:76), 'Governmental agencies in Botswana have not spent a great deal of energy on questions of language planning'.

What we have in the above discussion as standard language is what is standardized language in Setswana; and a standard language in Setswana is that language spoken by Batswana living in the rural areas of South Africa and Botswana.

Standardized Setswana cannot be said to be standard Setswana because speakers of Setswana did not decide on choosing and standardizing Setswana. As already mentioned, governments usually involve themselves in the standardization process. They establish bodies like language boards and councils to regulate language matters, and to encourage innovations that are thought to be desirable in the language.

### **5.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN STANDARDIZED SETSWANA AND STANDARD SETSWANA**

It suffices to compare standardized Setswana and standard Setswana before discussing standardization and different orthographies in Setswana.

Standardized Setswana

Standard Setswana

### 5.3.1 Plosives

[k'] and [k <sup>h</sup> ] : [k'ik'a] ( <i>motor</i> )	[tʰ] (Sengwaketse and Sehurutshe): [tʰika]
[k' ʌ ts <sup>h</sup> w ʌ -	[tʰ' ʌ ts <sup>h</sup> w ʌ -
rw ʌ k' ʌ	rw ʌ tʰ' ʌ
tl <sup>h</sup> o <sup>x</sup> o] ( <i>to have a headache</i> )	tl <sup>h</sup> o <sup>x</sup> o]
[møk <sup>h</sup> inɔ] ( <i>absent front tooth</i> )	[møtʰinɔ]
[sʌk <sup>h</sup> i] ( <i>thorn bush</i> )	[sʌtʰi]

### 5.3.2 Fricatives

[x] : [axa] ( <i>build</i> )	[h] (Sengwaketse, Sekwena of Molepolole and Sekgatla of Ga-Mosetlha) : [aha]
[bʌxa] ( <i>report</i> )	[bʰa]
[fʌxa] ( <i>sigh</i> )	[fʰa]
	[f] (Sekgatla of Mochudi and Moruleng):
[diraxala] ( <i>happen</i> )	[dirafala]
[p <sup>h</sup> ɔɪɔxɔɪɔ] ( <i>animal</i> )	[p <sup>h</sup> ɔɪɔfɔɪɔ]

### 5.3.3 Lateral sounds

[tl'] and [tl <sup>h</sup> ]	:	[t̪] and [t̪ <sup>h</sup> ] (Sengwato and Sekwena of Molepolole)
[tl'ala] ( <i>hunger</i> )		[t̪'ala]
[tl <sup>h</sup> ap'i] ( <i>fish</i> )		[t̪ <sup>h</sup> ap'i]



### 5.3.4 Trill resonant sound

[r] :	[h] (Setlharo and Setlhaping):
[rara] ( <i>father</i> )	[hara]
[røna] ( <i>we, us</i> )	[r <sup>h</sup> øna] (Setlharo and Sehurutshe)

### 5.3.5 Affricates

[kx <sup>h</sup> ], [dʒ], [ts <sup>h</sup> ], [ts'] :	[tʃ'] and [tʃ <sup>h</sup> ], [k <sup>h</sup> ], [tʃ'] (Sekgatla of Ga-Mosetlha)
[nts'i] ( <i>fly</i> )	[ntʃ'i]
[ts'ie] ( <i>locust</i> )	[tʃ'ie]
[nts <sup>h</sup> i] ( <i>an eyelash</i> )	[ntʃ <sup>h</sup> i]
[ts <sup>h</sup> imø] ( <i>field</i> )	[tʃ <sup>h</sup> imø]
[kx <sup>h</sup> omø] ( <i>cow</i> )	[k <sup>h</sup> omø]
[dʒa] ( <i>eat</i> )	[tʃ'a]

### 5.3.6 Labialized consonants

[kw] and [kx <sup>h</sup> w] :	[ŋw] and [k <sup>h</sup> w]:
[kwala] ( <i>write</i> )	[ŋwala]
[sɪkx <sup>h</sup> wa] ( <i>forest</i> )	[sɪk <sup>h</sup> wa]
[møkx <sup>h</sup> wa] ( <i>manner, custom</i> )	[møk <sup>h</sup> wa]

### 5.3.7 Linguistic variations

#### 5.3.7.1 The variation of f, g and h

huma ( <i>be rich</i> )	guma (Sekgatla of Moruleng and Mochudi)
fa ( <i>give</i> )	ha (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping)
hulara ( <i>depart</i> )	fulara (Sekwena and Sekgatla)
lofufa ( <i>jealousy</i> )	lohufa (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping)
lofofa ( <i>feather</i> )	lohoha (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping)
fa ( <i>here</i> )	ha (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping)
fa/ge/ha ( <i>if</i> )	ge (Sekgatla of Moruleng and Mochudi)
	ha (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping)

#### 5.3.7.2 The variants s and š, ts and tš, tsh and tšh

s, ts and tsh:	š, tš and tšh (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping):
mosu ( <i>camel thorn, Acacia</i> <i>giraffe</i> )	mošu
lesôlê ( <i>soldier</i> )	lešôlê
tsoga ( <i>wake up</i> )	tšoga
letsomane ( <i>a flock of goats,</i> <i>or sheep</i> )	letšomane
letshogô ( <i>fear</i> )	letšhogô
letsholô ( <i>a hunt, hunting party</i> )	letšholô

5.3.7.3 The variants fš, š and šw

šw: fš (Sekwena, Sengwaketse and Sekgatla) and  
š (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping):

šwa (*burn*) fša  
ša

5.3.7.4 The variants pš, tš and tšw

tšw: pš (Sekwena, Sengwaketse and Sekgatla) and  
tš (Serolong, Setlharo and Setlhaping):

ntšwa (*dog*) mpša  
ntša

5.3.7.5 The variants pšh (psh), tšh, tšhw

tšhw: pšh (psh) (Sengwaketse, Sekgatla and Sekwena)  
and tšh (Serolong, Setlhaping and Setlharo):

ntšhwa (*new*) mpšha  
mpsha  
ntšha

5.3.7.6 The variants j, bj and boj

boj and j:

bojalwa (*beer*)jala (*sow, plant*)

bj (Sekwena, Sekgatla and Sengwaketse):

bjalwa

jwala

5.3.7.7 Aspirated and non-aspirated consonantsphupu (*grave*)tlhopha (*elect*)

pupu

phuphu

puphu

tlhopa

5.3.7.8 Demonstrative for Class 1: mo-

Standardized forms:

Position 1

yô (*this or this  
one*)

Position 1(a)

yôno (*this or this  
one*)

Position 2

yôô (*that one*)

Position 3

yôlê (*that one yonder*)

but

Standard forms:

ô (*this or this one*)    ôno (*this or this one*)    ôo (*that one*)    ôlê (*that one yonder*)

#### 5.3.7.9 Adjectival, relative and nominal word groups

yô montlê ( <i>the pretty one</i> )	ô montlê
yô o tsomang ( <i>one who hunts</i> )	ô o tsomang
yô o bogale ( <i>one who is fierce</i> )	ô o bogale
motho yô ( <i>this person</i> )	motho ô

#### 5.3.7.10 Deletion of semi-vowel w or y

lee ( <i>an egg</i> )	lehe
tsamailê ( <i>has gone</i> )	tsamayilê
pôô ( <i>a bull</i> )	pôwô
	pôhô

#### 5.3.7.11 Labialized variants of the vowel o/ô

kôô ( <i>there</i> )	kwaô
kwa ( <i>there</i> )	ko
lengôlê ( <i>knee</i> )	lengwele
sekolo/sekole ( <i>school</i> )	sekwele
metsotso ( <i>minutes</i> )	metswetswe

5.3.7.12 Elision of the vowels e, a and o between l's

lêla ( <i>cry</i> )	lla
simolola ( <i>to start</i> )	simolla
galala ( <i>be dissatisfied, despise</i> )	galla

5.3.7.13 Variation of the vowels e and i; o and u

ruri ( <i>indeed</i> )	rure
metsi ( <i>water</i> )	metse
bupi/boupe ( <i>meal</i> )	bupe
podu ( <i>goat</i> )	pudi
serepodu ( <i>a stair</i> )	serepudi

## 5.4 STANDARDIZATION IN SETSWANA

Cole (1955:xix) feels that the Central dialects, except Serolong of Thaba Nchu which has an influence of Sesotho, are suitable as the foundation for standardization of written Setswana because

1. they provide the most suitable foundation;
2. these dialects also show least evidence of influence by other African languages because of their geographical central location, and therefore must be regarded as the most typical; and
3. the tribes of the central division are also numerically predominant.

Moloto (1964:24-5) in his discoveries came up with three streams of standardization of written Setswana, namely:

1. that of the language committee which he described as centralised since it allows for variants provided only they are spelt in a prescribed manner;
2. that of Reverend Sandilands which he described as sectional since it has a dialect as basis; and finally
3. that of Cole based on a dialect-cluster which may be described sectional to a lesser extent.

Moloto (1964) is totally against basing written standardized Setswana on any particular dialect because this might not be acceptable to speakers of other Setswana dialects. He maintains that 'since there is no political paramountcy and no economic or industrial precedence among Tswana, there will be no dialect to treat preferentially' (p.33).

Both centralism and sectionalism were rejected by Moloto ((1964:113-4), because the former lacks consistency and uniformity, and the latter because it is tribalistic. His conclusion is that standardization of written Setswana should be based on a 'selectivist orthography' as it cuts across all dialectal grounds. He defines selectivist orthography as 'one in which a choice of speech patterns is made on other than dialectal ground' (Moloto, 1964:113). His conclusion is in accordance with Gleason (1961:428) who says:

A second and ultimately more important effect is to produce a new literary language which is not merely a reflection of any single dialect, but a composite of many.

Gleason (1961:428) elaborates further that 'if this process is continued, the point may be reached where there are appreciable differences between written and spoken language for all dialects'.

Malepe (1966:117) unlike Moloto (1964) sees nothing wrong in basing literary Setswana on any particular dialect provided that such a dialect is representative of the other dialects and that it is fairly uniform in its sound system. In this way, he maintains, standardization is made easier.

He recommended that standardization of literary Setswana be based on Sehurutshe because:

1. Sehurutshe is geographically more central than other Setswana dialects, and therefore, it is least influenced by other African languages;
2. Standardization is made much easier when a representative dialect is chosen as the basis;
3. Sehurutshe's sounds are on the whole limited to a minimum, adequate to express Setswana;



4. It has no redundant variant sounds as it occurs in some of the Setswana dialects;
5. Bahurutshe are also regarded traditionally by most other Setswana tribes as the nucleus or parent-stock from which they branched off; and
6. Malepe's (1966) analysis of the derivation of Sehurutshe speech sounds from Ur-Bantu and comparative analysis leaves no doubt that the typical sound system of Sehurutshe is to a great deal uniform.

Moloto's (1964) recommendations, although based on selectivism, are in fact typical Sehurutshe forms. Although Malepe (1966) does not say it, he is in line with Moloto's (1964) recommendation that standardization of Setswana should be based on selectivism. The great similarities will be briefly understood when we critically review different Setswana orthographies.

## **5.5 CRITICAL REVIEW OF SETSWANA ORTHOGRAPHIES**

### **5.5.1 The 1910 Orthography**

The most suitable date to briefly review Setswana orthography is maybe 1910 when Setlhaping was used as the basis. The elderly people of Setlhaping dialect still believe that their dialect should be the standardized language and also as pointed out by Janson and Tsonope (1991:78) concerning the diacritic mark in the 1937 orthography, in *setšhaba*, that,

it has never become popular in spelling, and in practice often left out even in official print (...). Many persons feel that it would be preferable to reintroduce the spellings with 'c' that is **sechaba** (1910) and not **setšhaba** (1937).

This orthography was decided by the Orthography conference of 1910 at Johannesburg under the aegis of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The 1910 Orthography was used until 1937 by the London Missionary Society. Sandilands (1953:321) quotes from St. Luke 5:36-38 as follows in the 1910 system:

Me le gòna a bua sechwanchò nabò a re, Ga go opè eo o gagolañ seaparò se sesha a tsaea sebata a bitièla seaparò se se onetseñ ka shòna, ha a diha yalo, sebata se sesha se tla gagola se se onetseñ; le gòna sebata se sesha sea bo se sa dumalane le se se onetseñ.

Le gòna ga go opè eo o tshèlañ boyalwa yo bosha yoa mofine mo mehaloñ e e onetseñ; ha a diha yalo boyalwa yo bosha bo tla phanya mehalò, me bo chologe, le mehalò e senyege. Me boyalwa yo bosha bo chwanetse go tshèlwa mo mehaloñ e mesha.

From St. Matthew 25:23-28:

Morèna oa gagwè a mo raea a re, U dihile sentlè, motlhanka eo o melemò le boikano: u nntse u le bòikañò mo diloñ tse di pòtlana; ke tla gu laodisa dilò di le dintsi: tsèna mo boitumeloñ yoa morèna oa gago.

Le èna eo o na a amogetse e le ñwe hèla, a tla a re, Morèna, ke gu itsile ha u le monna eo o pelo e thata, ka u tlo u robe kwa u se kañ ua yala gòna, u bo u sele kwa u se kañ ua gasa gòna: me ka boiha, ka ea ka hitlha talenta ea gago mo mbuñ: bòna, u na le e leñ sa gago ke se.

Me morèna oa gagwè a mo hetola, a re, Motlhanka eo o boshula le bochwakga ke wèna, u itsile ha ke tle ke robe kwa ke se kañ ka yala gòna, ke be ke sele kwa ke se kañ ka gasa gòna: ke gona u no u chwanetse go isa madi a me kwa baatisiñ ba aòna; me e ne e tla re ke tla, e bo ne ne ke bonye a me a oketsegile. Ke gòna mo tseeleñ talenta enò, me lo e neè eo o nañ le ditalenta tse di shomè.

The following observations are made:

1. The use of ch as compared to tsh in bochwakga and in sechwanchò.
2. The velar sound ñ as compared to ng applied in gagolañ and in kañ.
3. The sound sh used in bosha and in shona.
4. h and not r used in diha and in dihile.
5. h used and not f in ha and hèla.
6. y applied and not j in boyalwa and in yalo.
7. Both o and w are used as labial semi-vowel w in oa, yoa, boyalwa and gagwe.
8. e is used instead of the palatal semi-vowel y in raea and tsaea.

When making an observation on vowels, we discovered that the 1910 Orthography had eleven vowels. This observation had also been made and indicated by Cole (1949:111). The following is a comparison between I.P.A. and 1910 Orthography vowels:

<u>I.P.A.</u>	<u>1910 Setswana Vowels</u>
[i]	i as found in <u>madi</u> and in <u>isa</u> .
[I]	e and i as occurring in <u>onetseñ</u> and <u>baatisiñ</u> .
[ɪ]	e as in <u>a re</u> and in <u>sebata</u> .
[e]	e like in <u>dihile</u> and in <u>itsile</u> .
[ɛ]	è as used in <u>opè</u> and in <u>tshèlañ</u> .
[a]	a as used in <u>seaparò</u> and in <u>phanya</u> .
[ɔ]	ò like for example in <u>nabò</u> and in <u>gòna</u> .
[o]	o like for example in <u>eo</u> and in <u>diloñ</u> .
[ɒ]	o as applied in <u>bochwakga</u> and in <u>motlhanka</u> .
[ɤ]	o and u like in <u>gu</u> and in <u>go</u> .
[u]	u for example in <u>bua</u> and in <u>dumalane</u> .

Looking at the above 1910 Orthography eleven vowels, we realize that, the raised variant of the mid-low front vowel, was written e, just like also the mid-high front vowel and its raised variant. The mid-high front vowel, raised variant had a variant i, so, mmeleñ or mmediñ (on the body); and the raised variant of the mid-low back vowel was written o, just like also the mid-high back vowel and its raised variant. The mid-high back vowel, raised variant had a variant u, so, peloñ or peduñ.

Moloto (1964:10) correctly puts it when he says: 'The vowels are thus not arranged on phonetic basis, which would mean that a vowel and its raised alternant be written strictly alike and kept distinct from any other vowel and its raised alternant'.

Therefore, e and i; o and u, being different phonemes, should not alternate in an orthography.

Lestrade (1937:137) views about the 1910 Setswana Orthography are that: 'This orthography allowed for certain variations in the writing of dialects other than that (Setlhaping) employed by the London Missionary Society and was not uniformly applied by other denominations; nor was it uniformly accepted by Native writers. By 1928, the number of orthographies in use for various dialects of Setswana and even for the same dialect by various writers had increased'.

The above-mentioned irregularities and short-comings in the application of the 1910 Setswana Orthography led into the development of the 1937 Orthography.

### **5.5.2 The 1937 Orthography**

This orthography was based on recommendations of a Conference representing the Education Departments of Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Cape, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, together with the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, held at Johannesburg on April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1937.

The 1937 Orthography was widely accepted for application both in South Africa and Bechuanaland. Failure of a unified orthography for Sesotho, Sepedi and Setswana, led into the continued usage of the 1937 Orthography. A South African Language Committee made a light revision of the 1937 Orthography in the early 1970s. This new version is published in Tswana Terminology and Orthography No.3 (1972).

This situation in Setswana Orthography, made the authorities of Botswana feel the need to establish a formally independent orthographic norm of the country (Janson and Tsonope, 1991:77). This led into the publication of Setswana Standard Orthography 1981.

The 1937 Orthography recommended that the following dialectal variants in pronunciation, not be employed in written Setswana, namely: ps, pš, py, psh, pšh, phy, bj, by, fs and fš, which occur in the following examples:

mpsa (*dog*)

mpša (*dog*)

mpya (*dog*)

ipshina (*enjoy oneself*)

pšhatla (*crush*)

phyaphyata (*clap hands*)

bjang (*grass*)

byang (*grass*)

fsa (*burn*)

fša (*burn*)

But, in return, however, it was inconsistent in that it allowed the employment of other alternative dialectal variants like ḡ and ḡ, ts and tš, tsh and tšh, tl and t, tlh and th, thus:

suga and šuga (*tan or curry skin*)

tsoga and tšoga (*wake up*)

tshoga and tšhoga (*be afraid*)

tlala and tala (*hunger*)

tlhapi and thapi (*fish*)

Sandilands (1953:vii) concludes as follows regarding the 1937 Orthography: 'The would-be universal and official system hastily decided upon in 1937 obviously left many things in a highly unsatisfactory state, and bore, within its exaggerations and inconsistencies, the seeds of its own decay'.

Moloto (1964:18) in support of Sandilands (1953) says: 'The great service of this conference was largely negative, as seen on page 142 of the said pamphlet' and 'Indirectly it means basing standard writing on a dialect or at most a dialect cluster'.

The following vowels were recommended:

<u>I.P.A.</u>	<u>1937 Setswana Orthography</u>
[i]	i in for example <u>bina</u> ( <i>dance, venerate (a totem object)</i> ).
[I]	e in <u>lemile</u> ( <i>ploughed, cultivated</i> ).
[ɪ]	e in for instance <u>lema</u> ( <i>plough, cultivate</i> ).

[e]	e for instance <u>tsebeng</u> ( <i>on the ear</i> ).
[ɛ]	ê in for instance <u>tsêbê</u> ( <i>ear</i> ).
[a]	a in for example <u>mma</u> ( <i>mother</i> ).
[ɔ]	ô in for example <u>nthô</u> ( <i>wound</i> ).
[o]	o in for example <u>moloji</u> ( <i>witch</i> ).
[ɔ̄]	o in for example <u>motho</u> ( <i>person</i> ).
[v]	o in for example <u>mothong</u> ( <i>to the person</i> ).
[u]	u as in <u>bua</u> ( <i>skin</i> ).

Although there has been a decrease in the number of vowel symbols used, there was still confusion in the representation of mid-low and mid-high back and front vowels and their raised variants. The mid-low front and back vowels were circumflexed but their raised variants not, so

ê for e, like in tsêna (*enter*)

ê for e, like in tsene (*have entered*)

ô for o, like in bôna (*see*)

ô for o, like in bone (*have seen*)

Differently from the above, the mid-high front and back vowels are written the same as their raised variants, so:

e for mid-high front vowel in setlhare (*tree*) and e

for its raised variant in setlhareng (*on the tree*).

o for mid-high back vowel in motho (*person*) and o

for its raised variant in mothong (*to the person*).



Sandilands (1953:318) gives an example of a quotation from the newspaper NALEDI YA BATSWANA, which shows the confusion brought about by the 1937 Orthography: The anomalous and contradictory spelling occurred on the 8<sup>th</sup> September 1951: "... fa kereke e shafadiwa ...", "basetšana Moeng ba shapa Serowe ...", "go dirafetse lo 'so ...", "mono loso lo gaketse thata ...", "... dintsho tsa metse ...", "... tshimololo e nts'ha kwa ...", "... motho o mosha ...", "... babadi ba bafsa ...", "... koranta ya setshaba ...", "badiri ba bantsho ba makeishene", "nts'a e tsenwang e dira kotsi", "dikomishenare di tlhaloganya ...".

We realize from the above excerpt that the aspirated affricate /ts<sup>h</sup>/ is used in a number of words but spelt differently. For instance:

shafadiwa ( <i>to renew</i> )	instead of ntšhafadiwa
nts'ha ( <i>new</i> )	instead of ntšha
mosha ( <i>new</i> )	instead of ntšhwa
bafsa ( <i>new</i> )	instead of bantšhwa
setshaba ( <i>nation, tribe</i> )	instead of setšhaba

Concerning the 1937 Orthography, Malepe (1966:110) concludes as follows: 'It must be admitted, however, that with its shortcomings, this orthography was indeed an attempt to create order out of the confusion which still exists'.

### 5.5.3 The 1962 Orthography

This orthography was recommended by the Department of Bantu Education. It made several important changes to the 1937 Orthography. This orthography stopped the use of the circumflex over the mid-low vowels ê and ô, except in those cases 'where there is likely to be confusion with different words having identical spelling, or otherwise in the case of clarity in non-scientific works, but that in scientific works, such as grammars and dictionaries, should be used' (Tswana Terminology and Orthography, 1962:13).

Regarding the semi-vowel, the 1962 Setswana Orthography (p.19) recommend that 'The semi-vowels w and y should only be used where they are clearly pronounced and not where there is a non-significant glide between two vowels; for example, bua (speak, skin); boa (return); tia (be strong), not buwa; bowa; tiya (respectively).

This orthography just like the 1937 orthography, was not consistent because it permitted the employment of dialectal variants in written Setswana 'in those cases where there are variations in pronunciation' (p.15).

Concerning the above-mentioned third recommendation, Malepe (1966:113) remarks as follows: 'In this respect it makes matters worse as it does not cause confusion only but also encourages each Setswana dialect to develop its own type of literary medium, a thing which is undesirable and which if allowed, can cause chaos'.

Moloto (1964:79-80) regarding the 1962 Orthography aligns himself with Malepe (1966) as he remarks: 'This orthography, however, lays down the broad principles of representation of sounds, and does so excellently. Within its framework though, there is in fact possibility for alternant forms to thrive. For instance, as to the alternants by/bj/jw (p.15) we are told that by is 'completely disregarded, but that 'In such cases either bj or jw may be used according to dialect, for example, bjang or jwang, robja or rojwa, tsebja or tsejwa'. We take the cue from a point such as this, believing sincerely that 'according to dialect' was a suggestion to the Tswana people themselves to select their standard form'.

This orthography further states that 'The examples quoted herein are drawn almost exclusively from Northern Sotho, as most of the changes agreed upon affect Northern Sotho rather than Tswana' (p.11). Malepe (1966:114) remarks as follows with reference to the above statement: 'they (examples) are misleading since they appear in a terminology - list intended for Tswana. This orthography, therefore, does not aim at standardization of literary Tswana, but it gives guidance only for the spelling of Tswana speech forms as they are encountered in the various dialects. If it is intended for general use by writers it can do more harm than good'.

As a result of the short-comings experienced in the 1962 Orthography, we have the 1972 Orthography.

#### 5.5.4 The 1972 Orthography

The Tswana Language Committee and the Bantu Language Board recommended the 1972 Orthography. The Department of Bantu Education approved the use of these recommendations in Setswana schools throughout the Republic of South Africa where Setswana is taught or used as medium of instruction and for use wherever Setswana is the official language.

This orthography, is equivalent to Setswana Standard Orthography 1981 (1981). The reason behind this is that the chairperson of reconstituted, The Tswana Language Committee in 1970 was Professor E.S. Moloto who also became a member of the Setswana Language Committee in Botswana. Professor E.S. Moloto enforced his ideas that the standards of South Africa and Botswana should differ as little as possible. Unfortunately in Botswana, after the publication of Setswana Standard Orthography 1981 (1981), the committee in practice ceased to exist. The Setswana Language Committee has been replaced by the new National Setswana Language Council established in 1986.

The 1972 Orthography recommended the abolishment of dialectal variants; for example, sw in swatola (to wrench out) to be used and not dialectal variants shw and šw in shwatola and šwatola, respectively; and in the case of š, tš, tšh, š, tš and tšh to be in words where s, ts, and tsh are not variants. For instance:

*šapa* (to beat, swim) and not *sapa*.

*lešalaba* (a load shouting) and not *lesalaba*.

tšale (*shawl*) and not tsale.

botšarara (*sourness*) and not botsarara.

tšhatšhama (*have a fever*) and not tshatshama.

tšhōna (*become poor*) and not tshōna.

sidila (*massage*) and not šidila.

bosula (*unpleasantness*) and not bošula.

letsogo (*hand*) and not letšogo.

tsoga (*wake up*) and not tšoga.

tshoga (*get afraid*) and not tšhoga.

tshaba (*fear, run*) and not tšhaba which means rise of the sun, or moon.

Further recommendations were made that certain dialectal variants in pronunciation should not be employed in written Setswana, for example, fš, š, pš, tš, pšh (psh) and tšh.

But however, this orthography also allowed dialectal variants in cases where bj, jw and boj occur as variants, boj and jw, were recommended; thus bojalwa/bjalwa/bojwala then bojalwa or bojwala (beer);

jwala/bjala then jwala (sow); and jala not recommended because it is Sesotho.

One good recommendation was that aspirated consonants are to be used as standardized forms and never to be varied with unaspirated consonants:

phupu (*grave*) but not pupu,  
 tlhopha (*choose*) but not tlhopa.  
 ntlhang? (*why?*) but not ntlang?

Relating to the dialectal variation of f, g and h, strengthened form of the word concerned was recommended for standardized writing. For instance, 'if the strengthened form of the initial consonant is ph the standardized spelling takes f, if kh then it takes h, and if kg it will take g' (p.29), for example:

fa/ha	mphô ( <i>gift</i> )
	Therefore the standardized form is fa.
fuma/guma/huma	khumô ( <i>wealth</i> )
	Therefore the standardized form is huma.
fêpa/hêpa	phêpô ( <i>feeding</i> )
	Therefore the standardized form is fêpa.
fêfêra/hêhêra	phêphêrô ( <i>sifting or winnowing of grain</i> )
	Therefore the standardized form is fêfêra.

Where it was not clear which form should be used, the following forms were recommended as standardized forms:

mohuta/mofuta ( <i>kind</i> )	:	mohuta
fa/ha ( <i>here</i> )	:	fa

fa/ge/ha ( <i>if</i> )	:	fa
phôlôgôlô/phôlôfôlô/phôlôhôlô ( <i>animal</i> )	:	phôlôgôlô

The deletion of the vowels a, e and o between l's was not allowed in standardized writing:

lêla/lla standardized form lêla (*cry*)

falala/falla standardized form falala (*emigrate*)

bôfolola/bôfolla standardized form bôfolola (*untie, unbind*)

This orthography caused confusion in their recommendation of the employment of the semi-vowel y (p.27). It was recommended that in some words where y is heard in pronunciation be allowed in standardized writing but in other words where it is heard was not permitted in standardized writing. For instance:

tsamaa and not tsamaya (*go*)

ya but not a (*go*)

The 1972 Orthography, however, with a few irregularities, has been a very good attempt in the standardization of written Setswana.

### 5.5.5 The Current Orthography: The 1988 Orthography

Recommendations in this orthography have been made by Setswana Language Board, the Department of Education and Training and the Department of Education (Bophuthatswana).

This orthography was for use in Setswana Schools throughout the two Republics where

Setswana is taught or used as medium of instruction, and where it is used as the official language.

The following good modifications and recommendations were made:

The forms with the semi-vowel y was recommended for standardized writing, for example:

tsamaya (*go*) and not tsamaa

faya (*give*) and not faa

boj and j were recommended where j alternate with boj, and bj for example:

bojalwa/bjalwa then bojalwa (*beer*)

jwala/bjala then jala (*sow*)

The above changes shows that Setswana Orthography has reached a stage of uniformity. But, this is just a theoretical state, practically we still find that most of Batswana people write as they speak, that is, in South Africa. Most of them are not even aware of the availability of Setswana Terminology and Orthography. Teachers still use their dialect in the teaching of Setswana because they take them to be standardized.

These discrepancies still occur because it is expected that everyone, irrespective of origin, learns the dominant variety which is labelled as 'correct'. The rules of an orthography, also expect people to transfer the same rules for the written form of language, that is standardized language, to their everyday speech. Although standardization attempts to reduce diversity



in a language we cannot prescribe what and specially how people should say what they want to say.

Pupils have to unlearn forms at school which they normally use in their home environment and they are penalized for using them.

Thus, as Eastman (1992:17) puts it, 'until people who have power and prestige and whom everyone wants to emulate use the language that has been formulated for national or educational purposes, that language will not succeed as a national language or medium of instruction'.

Eastman (1992:17-8) elaborates further that in such a case, it is necessary to evaluate the whole plan, for example, what may have gone wrong? and then what can be done about it?

For instance:

1. Find out aspects of language planning that might be helpful, for example, maybe it needs some modernization; in order to function better in classrooms.
2. Maybe it needs to be some lexical elaboration as well as sense on the part of the people as to why the community needs to use standardized language.

### 5.5.6 Our findings in the field

Question 18 of the questionnaires was based on the feelings of Batswana people, both in the urban and rural areas. It reads: **Ke puo e efe e o bonang go le matshwanedi go dirisiwa kwa dikolong?** (Which language or variety do you think is suitable for use in schools?)

The following are the various actual responses received by the researcher from the respondents and informants:

1. Batlhaping of Pampierstad:

- (a) Standardized Setswana.
- (b) Setlhaping.
- (c) Secwana.

2. Batlhaping of Galeshewe:

- (a) Setswana.
- (b) Setlhaping.
- (c) Correct Setswana.
- (d) The current orthography.

3. Barolong of Thaba Nchu:

- (a) English.
- (b) Setswana.
- (c) Setswana through the medium of English.

4. Barolong of Taung:

- (a) Setlhaping.
- (b) Serolong.
- (c) All Setswana dialects.
- (d) Standardized Setswana.
- (e) Setswana.

5. Barolong of Montshiwa:

- (a) Standardized Setswana.
- (b) A mixture of dialects.
- (c) The current orthography.
- (d) Setswana.
- (e) Marketable language for Batswana.
- (f) Central Setswana, that is, Serolong of boorraTshidi; boorraTlou; boorraPulana; and boorraSeleka; Sehurutshe and Sengwaketse.

6. Barolong of Kudumane:

- (a) English.
- (b) Setlhaping.
- (c) Sekwena.
- (d) Setswana.
- (e) The language loved by the majority of Batswana.

7. Batlharo of Ganyesa: Setswana
8. Bakgatla of Mochudi:
- (a) Pure Setswana.
  - (b) Sekgatla.
  - (c) Setswana.
9. Bakgatla of Ga-Mosetlha:
- (a) English.
  - (b) The dominant language at school.
  - (c) Setswana.
  - (d) IsiZulu and Xitsonga.
  - (e) Setswana, IsiZulu and Xitsonga.
  - (f) Pure Setswana.
10. Bakgatla of Moruleng: Sekgatla.
11. Bakwena of Hebron:
- (a) English.
  - (b) Proper Setswana.
  - (c) Pure Setswana.
  - (d) Original Setswana.
  - (e) Setswana.

12. Bakwena of Molepolole:
- (a) Proper Setswana.
  - (b) Pure Setswana.
  - (c) A type of language which can be mastered by anybody.
13. Bakwena of Phokeng:
- (a) Sehurutshe.
  - (b) Correct Setswana.
  - (c) Revised standardized Setswana.
  - (d) Setswana.
14. Bangwaketse of Kanye:
- (a) Sengwaketse.
  - (b) Setswana.
  - (c) Primitive Setswana: Setlhaping.
15. Mabopane:
- (a) English.
  - (b) Setswana and English.
  - (c) Setswana.
  - (d) Mother tongue.

16. Mamelodi:

- (a) English.
- (b) Setswana.

17. Gauteng:

- (a) English.
- (b) Any standardized Setswana except one which is dialect based.
- (c) Understandable language.
- (d) IsiZulu.
- (e) Setswana.
- (f) English and African Languages.
- (g) The language of the pupils.
- (h) A language which will support the interest of the pupils.
- (i) Mother tongue.
- (j) English and Setswana.
- (k) Tshivenda and Xichangani.

The responses to this question show that most of Batswana people would like standard Setswana to be taught at schools because this variety of language will be accepted by every Motswana. We find these responses because standardized Setswana is for those who have been to school. A large area of the speech community never gets exposed to the standardized forms of the language. That is why standardized language is referred to as 'school Setswana'.

## 5.7 SUMMARY

We discussed standardization in Setswana. This discussion was prefaced by a comparison of standard and standardized Setswana.

Looking at linguistic variation in Setswana, it is realized that there is need for a change in the standardization process. Batswana at grass roots level need to be involved in the standardization process. Their involvement will make them understand why standardized Setswana is expected to be taught or used as a medium of instruction and also as an official language. Standardized Setswana will then move nearer to the so-called non-standardized varieties of Setswana which we call standard varieties. Standardization of Setswana will then have a unifying effect and not a divisive effect as it has been in the past. We believe like Chumbow (1991:10) that 'he who wants honey must not be afraid of bees'.

In the next chapter we are going to look at the conclusion and recommendations of the study as a whole.

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## **CHAPTER 6**

### **6.0 SUMMARY, CONTRIBUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POSSIBLE FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter we looked at standardization in written Setswana; with a brief review of some of Setswana different orthographies and comparison between standardized and standard Setswana inclusive. This chapter deals with the summary which leads us to the contributions, recommendations and possible future directions.

#### **6.2 LOOKING BACK**

This study has been an attempt to investigate linguistic variation and standardization in Setswana. The data has been collected from some of the rural areas and urban areas; both in Botswana and the Republic of South Africa where Setswana is spoken and is either an official and or a national language.

In order to fulfil the attempt above, we had to look for applicable objectives of linguistic variation and standardization. The main objectives were:

- (a) to identify the main villages and urban areas in both Botswana and the Republic of South Africa where different language varieties are employed;
- (b) to investigate similarities and differences in linguistic variations in Setswana;
- (c) to find out how internal and external factors cause these variations;
- (d) to investigate how Setswana Terminology Orthographies might have affected the application of standardized Setswana;
- (e) to get the feeling of the people about the language taught at school.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives, language variations, standard language, standardized language and related terms had to be explained and defined. In the development of a theoretical framework, internal and external factors responsible for linguistic changes were described. These factors formed the basis of the theoretical framework which forms the analysis of the following chapters. The internal factors described are what Labov (1994) has identified namely chain shifting, mergers and splits, neogrammarian regularity principle, mechanical principle and principle of structural compensation.

It has been discovered that in Setswana we have chain shifting or vowel shifting as a result of vowel raising or vowel harmony. This vowel shifting, leads to the realization that in

Setswana, we find nine phonetic vowels making five primary heights and eleven phonetic vowels having increased to six heights. These can be illustrated in pairs as follows:

Heights	Front Sounds	Central Sound	Back Sounds
1	/i/		/u/
2	/ɪ/		/ʊ/
3	/e/		/o/
4	/ɛ/		/ɔ/
5		/a/	

The nine phonetic vowels making five primary heights

Heights	Front Sounds	Central Sound	Back Sounds
1	[i]		[u]
2	[ɪ]		[ʊ]
3	[e]		[o]
4	[ɛ]		[ɔ]
5			
6		[a]	

The eleven phonetic vowels making six primary heights

These have been proved beyond doubt by the acoustic analysis through which spectral qualities and the pitch level of the vowels were determined in Sesotho which belongs to the same language group with Setswana (Khabanyane, 1989).

Neogrammarian regularity principle is applicable in African Languages where we find same words but changes in sounds.

External factors responsible for linguistic changes in Setswana identified are social factors, political factors and geographical factors. Ethnography, sampling, questionnaires, informal discussions and conversations, interviews and tape recorded interviews; were the different approaches used in the collection of data.

It has been revealed that the above-mentioned factors have resulted in what can be called dialect mixture and language mixture. No area can be said to be having a particular dialect being the only one applicable. For example, we now find Setlhaping and Serolong words in Setlharo and Sekgalagadi words occurring in Setlharo and Sehurutshe or English and Afrikaans terms in Setswana.

This study also revealed that the Pretoria-Sotho koiné language, which has also been discovered by Schuring (1985) and Malimabe (1990) in Pretoria and surrounding African townships, has spread to Ga-Mosetlha and Hebron; and another koiné language has also developed in Kimberley and the surrounding areas. This language has Afrikaans as its basis.

Another discovery made is that of the slow death of **Fanakalo** as a result of the attitude found towards it and its speakers. This is giving way to the usage of English and African languages in the mines.

The non-involvement of the man on the street has been discovered to be the major cause of the general non-acceptance of standardized Setswana. People have a strong feeling that standard Setswana (dialect(s)) must be taught at schools. The reason behind this is that standardization of written Setswana has been done by the elite for the elite. A large sector of the speech community never gets exposed to the standardized form of language. This discovery is supported by Heine (1991:10) in saying that:

Decisions on language policy in both colonial and post-colonial African were frequently made without due consideration of the actual existing modes of linguistic communication; almost invariably, such decisions were biased in favour of a small minority of the population, they were made by the elite for the elite, and, hence, they largely ignored the needs and the aspirations of the majority of the population, the masses.

One of the findings made regarding standardization of written Setswana is that although not said or written anywhere, the current standardized Setswana has **Sehurutshe** as its basis.

### 6.3 CONTRIBUTIONS

The following contributions will be made by this study to Setswana and other African languages:

- (a) There will be a change of attitude by the educators in the teaching of Setswana. Teachers qualified in Setswana will be those allocated in the teaching of it not just any teacher who is a 'Motswana'.
- (b) A change in language planning and language policy will be effected.
- (c) There will be possibly an inclusion of the teaching of dialects in the curriculum.
- (d) The labelling of Suntu dialects as non-standard languages and standardized languages as standard languages, will follow a new direction as these are labels in European languages.
- (e) An appreciation of dialect differences will be expressed.
- (f) People will have an idea of the differences and similarities between Botswana Setswana and South African Setswana.

## 6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.4.1 Vowels

We recommend nine phonemic vowels in Setswana namely, /a/, /e/, /ɛ/, /ʉ/, /i/, /u/, /ɔ/, /o/ and /ɔ̄/; and eleven phonetic vowels, namely [a], [e], [ɛ], [ɨ], [i], [u], [ɔ], [o], [ɔ̄], [I] and [ɣ]. The reason behind this recommendation is that we find sounds in some words in Setswana not governed by vowel raising rule. These sounds are /e, o/; /e/ and /o/ occur basically naturally in some words without being governed by any phonetic rule, they are phonemically uninfluenced. For example:

pêo ( <i>seed</i> )	:	/p'eɔ/
thêpê ( <i>type of wild vegetable</i> )	:	/tʰep'ɛ/
kgomo ( <i>cow</i> )	:	/kxʰomɔ/
tlhôtlhô ( <i>mace, sceptre</i> )	:	/tlʰotlʰɔ̄/

What is meant and also observed in the given examples is that /e, ɛ/ and /o, ɔ̄/ are phonemically different. It is not always the case that /e/ is derived from /ɛ/ and /o/ from /ɔ̄/, but, they are phonemically different in some context.

Further recommendation is that of the reconstruction of a recommendation found in Setswana Terminology and Orthography No.4 (p.5) which reads:

"N.B. - The circumflex sign (^) on the vowel ê and ô, should be used regularly in scientific works such as grammars and dictionaries, which as books of reference, should reflect the pronunciation accurately. In non-scientific works, however, such as readers, novels, etc. the circumflex should be used only where there is likely to be confusion with different words having identical spelling, or otherwise in the interests of clarity".

The recommendation is that this clause should read as follows:

N.B. - The circumflex sign (^) on the vowels ê and ô, should be used regularly in both scientific and non-scientific works, to reflect the accurate pronunciation, to avoid confusion and in the interest of clarity.

### **6.4.2 A change in the teaching approach**

We recommend bidialectalism. In this case, a dialect and a standardized language should be treated as equal. A dialect must be corrected without being looked down upon.

According to Crystal (1997:41) bidialectalism:

recommends that both non-standard and standard dialects should be encouraged in the educational process, along with the fostering of children's abilities to use code-switching, thus developing a greater degree of understanding and control over



the varieties of their language than would otherwise be the case.

Thipa (1989:181) in his recommendations also had a strong feeling towards the need in the change of the teaching approach. He argues that:

A balance need to be struck between two approaches to language teaching. These are the instrumental and the sociolinguistic approaches. The instrumental approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if standardized. This approach aims at improving the aesthetic and functional characteristics of language as a tool or instrument. It also regards some languages as being better than others. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards language as a resource which can be employed to improve social life.

### **6.4.3 Incorporation of dialects in the school curricula**

We recommend that dialects be incorporated in the school and tertiary curricula. This incorporation will lead into a change of attitude towards the dialects and not a change of the dialects themselves. Dialects are as good as standardized languages. The only difference is that most of the dialects never had a chance of being written. Students can learn these

dialects by going out into the community and collecting dialect data. This inclusion will make the learning of indigenous languages quite interesting.

Wolfram (1991:277) asserts that 'the study of dialects can, indeed, become vibrant, relevant topic of study for all students, not just for those who choose to take an optional course on this topic at a post secondary level of education'.

Msimang (1992:18) supports the incorporation of dialects in the school and tertiary curricula, when he argues that:

It is regrettable that the varieties investigated ...  
are never taught in schools or discussed in grammar  
books because these are not standard. This has made  
the performance of the pupils to be very poor in their  
language studies because they are discouraged from  
learning the spoken language and forced to assimilate  
a language which only lives in textbooks.

#### **6.4.4 Adjustment of the written language**

Let there be some resemblance between the written language and the spoken language. Written language need not be a type of language which seems not to have any links or relationships with the spoken language.

#### **6.4.5 A change in the teachers' attitude**

It is now high time that teachers change their attitude towards the teaching of the indigenous languages. They need to respect and be whole-heartedly involved in the teaching of these languages. Terminology and Orthographies of these languages should be always on their side to help them in any spelling mistakes, vocabulary and even word division.

#### **6.4.6 A change in language planning**

There is a great need for a change in language planning. Language planning must shift from the elite to the elite, to from both the elite and the illiterate to the elite and the illiterate. This problem of language planning has been picked up by van Rensburg (1991:7) when he says that:

the real problem of language planning of South Africa and other multilingual countries, lie in involving all the South African languages and their speakers in the real South African society. The vitality of every language must be given a chance to realize itself through negotiating from the grass roots level for its own deserving future.

#### **6.4.7 Emphasis on the importance of Setswana as a subject**

It is important for pupils and students of Setswana to know what the future holds for them in studying Setswana. They need to know that they do not only have to be teachers or lecturers, they can be interpreters, authors, sociolinguists and even leaders. This will make them take Setswana seriously as a subject.

The reasons behind this as discovered by Janson and Tsonope (1991:82) in Botswana are that 'at one time no grades were given in Setswana: thus, it was explicitly designed as a subject that was not related to academic achievement'.

Although this has changed, 'the prevalent attitude seems to be that skill in Setswana is not really anything that matters very much. The ultimate reason for this is that there are no important awards for such skill in Setswana that can be acquired at school. In the modern sector and in the higher echelons of the educational system, there is very little demand for Setswana at all ... the school concentrates on reading and writing, and Setswana is not used very much in writing in any sector of society'.

### **6.5 POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS**

The following areas require investigation in the field of linguistic variation and standardization, particularly in South African Setswana:

- (a) Language variation related to age;
- (b) Relationship among certain Setswana dialects and the relationship between particular Setswana dialect and some languages. For example: the relationship between Setlharo and Sehurutshe; and between Sehurutshe, Setlharo and Sekgalagadi;
- (c) Differences and similarities between Botswana Setswana and South African Setswana;
- (d) the attitude of Batswana towards standardized Setswana;
- (e) The type of language spoken in Mmabatho or Tlhabane;
- (f) Investigation on secretive language and 'hlonipha' language in Setswana.

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## APPENDIX 1

### QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Leina la mmui  
*(Name of the speaker/interviewee)*  
.....
  
2. Dingwaga:  
*(Age)*  
.....
  
3. Dithuto tse di falotsweng:  
*(Education attained)*  
.....
  
4. Tiro (fa a dira):  
*(Occupation (if working))*  
.....
  
5. Mohiri/Mothapi (fa a dira):  
*Employer (if employed)*  
.....
  
6. Leina la lefelo le a nnang mo go lona:  
*(Name of the residential area)*  
.....
  
7. Morafe wa ga mme:  
*(Mother's ethnic group)*  
.....



8. Morafe wa ga rre:  
*(Father's ethnic group)*

.....

9. Lenyalo:  
*(Marital status)*

.....

(a) O nyetse/nyetswe:  
*(Married)*

(b) Ga o a nyalwa:  
*(Unmarried)*

(c) O tladilwe:  
*(Divorced)*

(d) Motlholagadi/Moswagadi:  
*(Widow/Widower)*

10. Morafe wa molekane:  
*(Spouse's ethnic group)*

.....

11. Morafe wa mmui:  
*(Speaker's/Interviewee's ethnic group)*

.....

12. Dingwaga tse ba di ntseng mmoo:  
*(Period of stay at the residential area)*

.....

13. Puo e e buiwang ka mo ntlong:  
*(Language spoken in the house)*

.....

14. Puo e mmodiwa a ithutileng yona bonnyaneng:

*(The language learned at youth)*

.....

15. A go na le dipuo tse dingwe tse mmodiwa a di buang?

*(Are there any other languages spoken by the interviewee?)*

.....

16. Fa di le teng kitso ya tsona:

*(If any, their knowledge)*

.....

17. A magareng a baagisani le ditsala go na le ba ba buang puo esele? Fa go le jalo, le buisana ka puo efe?

*(Are there among your neighbours and friends those who are speaking a foreign language? If so, through which language do you communicate?)*

.....

18. Ke puo efe e o bonang go le matshwanedi go dirisiwa kwa sekolong?

*(Which language do you think is suitable to be used at school?)*

.....

19. Tlatsa/feleletsa dipotso tse di latelang:

*(Fill in/Complete the following questions)*

(a) Bana ba rata go tshameka ka matlapa, mme a ka nna kotsi fa ba ka .....ka ona.

*(Children like playing with stones, and they can be dangerous if they can ..... with them.)*

- (b) Bana ga ba na nnete. Gantsi fa ba dirile phoso mme o ba botsolotsa, ba a  
 .....  
*(Children are untruthful. Mostly when they have done something wrong and you reprimand them, they .....)*
- (c) Morago ga go nosiwa mo tshokologong dikgomo di a botha, di tloge di  
 .....go boelwa go gorosiwa kwa gae.  
*(After being caused to drink in the afternoon cows will repose, and then .....to be helped to return for arrival at home.)*
- (d) Motho yo o ratang go utswa ra re o .....  
*(We say the person who likes stealing is .....)*
- (e) Fa motho a lwala, mme a ile ngakeng, ngaka gantsi e mo tlhaba ka  
 .....  
*(When a person is ill and he or she consults a doctor, the doctor mostly inject him or her with .....)*
- (f) Kgosi fa e dirile moletlo, go tla ..... a batho.  
*(When there is a feast at the chief's kraal, ..... of people come.)*
- (g) Batho ba bagolo ga ba itse go nna ka diatla, gantsi o fitlhela ba ntse ba  
 .....mo segotlong.  
*(Elderly people are not used to sit without doing anything, most of the time you will find them ..... in the backyard.)*
- (h) Dinonyane di beela mo .....  
*(Birds lay eggs in .....)*
- (i) Ga ke rate motho yo o dulang a ntshegisa .....  
 botennye jwa pelo ya gagwe a sa nthate.  
*(I hate a person who will always cause me to laugh ..... deep-down his/her heart hating me.)*
- (j) Dibopiwa ..... ke tsa Modimo/Mmopi.  
*(..... creatures are of God/Creator.)*

- (k) Morago ga dingwaga tse tlhano, Aferika Borwa e .....  
Moporesidente yo mošwa.  
*(After five years, South Africa ..... a new President.)*
- (l) Gantsi fa go le selemo ..... bo a talafala.  
*(Mostly during summer ..... becomes green.)*
- (m) Bomme ke bona gantsi ba yang ..... go rulela matlo le go dira mafeelo.  
*(Women are mostly the ones who go to ..... to thatch houses and to make sweepers.)*
- (n) Magapu a mannye ke .....  
*(Small watermelons are .....)*
- (o) Ngwana fa a šapilwe ka thupa o a .....  
*(When a child has been beaten with a switch he or she .....)*
- (p) Re dirisa ..... go dila malapa.  
*(We use ..... to smear low walls.)*
- (q) Mosadi fa a se montle (fa e le gore o teng yo o seng montle) ra re o .....  
*(If a woman is ugly (if there is any ugly woman) we say she is .....)*
- (r) Motsadi wa me wa mosadi ke .....  
*(My parental woman is .....)*
- (s) Motsadi wa me wa monna ke .....  
*(My parental man is .....)*
- (t) Diaparo fa di tsutsubane re a di .....  
*(When clothes are wrinkled we .....)*
- (u) Marukhu a aparwa ke .....  
*(Trousers are worn by .....)*
- (v) Thupa ya ..... e botlhoko thata. Ngwana fa a sentse re mo .....  
..... ka thupa, fa re sena go dira jaana, go sala ..... a thupa.

*(A switch of ..... is very painful. When a child has damaged something we ..... with a switch.)*

- (w) Batho ba dumedisiwa ka letsogo la .....  
*(People are greeted with a ..... hand.)*

20.

BONGWE (SINGULAR)	BONTSI (PLURAL)	BONTSI (PLURAL)
loleme ( <i>tongue</i> )		
leleme ( <i>tongue</i> )		
legaga ( <i>cave</i> )		
logaga ( <i>cave</i> )		

- N.B. Lebaka le a tlhokofala fa dikarabo di farologanye kana di feta pedi.  
*(A reason is required if answers are different or more than two.)*

21. Nako (Time):

GOMPIENO ( <i>TODAY</i> )	MAABANE ( <i>YESTERDAY</i> )
Ke a sela ( <i>I am picking up</i> )	
Ke a tsaya ( <i>I am taking</i> )	
Ke a re ( <i>I am saying</i> )	

22. A mela e e latelang e siame?  
*Are the following sentences correct?*

- (a) Ke batla go ja.  
*(I want to eat.)*

- (b) Ke tlile go ja.  
*(I have come to eat.)*
- (c) ..... ke sena go ja.  
*(..... after eating.)*
- (d) ..... ke semane go ja.  
*(..... after eating.)*
- (e) O ne a ja.  
*(He/she was eating.)*
- (f) Nako e e fetileng.  
*(The past tense.)*
- (g) Ngwaga e e fetileng.  
*(The past year.)*

23. Rra/Mma a o itse gore ke morwadiamang?  
*(Father/Mother do you know whose daughter am I?)*
24. Rra/Mma a o rile ke tsaletswe kwa Serowe?  
*(Father/Mother did you say that I was born in Serowe?)*