



UNISA

AFRICAN MOSAIC

Festschrift for J A Louw

Edited by

Rosalie Finlayson

University of South Africa, Pretoria

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First edition, first impression

Published by Unisa Press
University of South Africa
PO Box 392, 0003

Electronic origination by Unisa Press
Printed by Unisa

Cover design and layout: Doris Hyman

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AFRICAN MOSAIC

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A Festschrift for J.A. Louw on his 75th birthday
.....

This volume presents a composition of 22 contributions embracing a strikingly colourful range of topics of interest to Africanists. These topics together conjure up a vivid mosaic which provides the key ingredients in drawing a picture of Africa. The topical contributions vary from glimpses into the richness of orality, some sound systems of the languages, their structure and finally the domain where all these play a role and have particular relevance – society itself.

Edited by Rosalie Finlayson

Curriculum Vitae

J.A. Louw

- 1923** Born 13 February 1923 in the Western Cape where he spent the greater part of his youth.
- 1940** Matriculated at the Boys' High School, Malmesbury.
- 1941** Enrolled as student at the University of Stellenbosch (US).
- 1943** Received BA Degree at US.
- 1944** Began studies for Master of Arts Degree (MA) on the deficient verb in Zulu with the late Prof B.I.C. van Eeden as supervisor.
- 1948** Although his studies were interrupted by ill health he received his MA with distinction.
- 1950** Received a bursary from the Human Sciences Research Council and spent the year doing research in Natal. From this year onwards he was appointed in a part-time capacity as an assistant to review the adaptation of words from the African languages in Afrikaans for *W.A.T. (Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal)*.
- 1952** Appointed as senior lecturer for Nguni languages at what was then the External Division of the University of South Africa (Unisa).
- 1955–68** Became member of the Xhosa Language Committee. For the last few years he attended meetings as a co-opted member.
- Due to his insistence Unisa appointed the first permanent Black members of the Department.
- 1955–58** Part-time lecturer at the former *Kollege ya Bana ba Afrika*. The experience gave him valuable insight into the difficulties of Black students.
- 1956** Took part in decisions relating to the present orthographies of Zulu and Xhosa. The decisions were based on the principle of greater uniformity between the orthographies of these two closely related languages. His advice on word division was accepted for the two languages.
- Unisa decided to start the teaching of Venda and Tsonga. He was made responsible for the latter language.

- 1962** Became member of the Place Names Committee of the Department of National Education. He was a member until 1978 when he resigned because of the involvement of the Committee in Apartheid policies, but not before drafting the rules for the writing of the place names in African languages, cf Official Place Names in the R S A and S W A, Government Printer.
- 1963** Received the D. Litt. et Phil. Degree from the University of Stellenbosch for his comparative study of the auxiliary verbs in Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi. He completed his thesis under his promoter, the late Prof D. Ziervogel, who succeeded Prof Van Eeden, who died in 1962. Van Eeden's chapter on the auxiliary verb in his *Zoeloe Grammatika* was based, with Louw's consent, on Louw's research.
- 1964** Published, in collaboration with a colleague, Mr J.B. Jubase, the *Handboek van Xhosa*, which was an advanced manual for beginners. This study was used intensively for research purposes and was the basis for a grammar in the vernacular by the late Prof H.W. Pahl.
- 1965–66** Spent the time at the Phonetic Institute of the University of Hamburg doing research on the tone of Xhosa and Tsonga with the assistance of Prof Emmi Kähler-Meyer and Prof Von Essen, Director of the Institute. He used one of the first electronic tone transcribers, a mingograph, for Xhosa.
- 1967** Acted as Head of the Department of African Languages while Prof Ziervogel was on leave.
- 1968** Promoted to Professor for Nguni Languages and Tsonga.
The University of Fort Hare requested his projected Xhosa Dictionary. An agreement was reached with Fort Hare, and he became a member of the controlling committee of the dictionary until his retirement. His proposal that Mr, later Prof H.W. Pahl, become chief editor was accepted. The first volume (Q–Z) has appeared which will be followed by two more.
His research on the tone of Xhosa and Tsonga appeared as an unpublished monograph. This research was supported by a senior bursary from the HSRC.
- 1968–73** Moderator for all Xhosa papers for the Joint Matriculation Board.
- 1970's** Member of the Linguistics Committee of the Faculty of Arts, Unisa, which eventually instituted the Department. It was his proposal that made it a department, independent of the control of the other language departments.
- 1973** He was appointed Head of the Department, whose name was

changed to that of *African Languages* at his suggestion, because of the political connotation with the word *Bantu*.

- 1975** He made an arrangement with Prof A. Traill of Wits to hold annually a conference on the linguistics of Khoi and San. This was a success and the papers were published annually. This venture became the *Khoisan Special Interest Group*, which lasted until 1987.
- 1977–79** Member of the Grants & Bursaries Committee of the HRSC.
- 1978** Elected Vice-Dean for the sub-Faculty of African Studies. He served on various university committees during his term. He was member of the Publications Committee, which was a standing committee, and also of the Committee for the Adjustment of Courses.
- As he was always interested in phonetics, he was able to procure the necessary funds for the initiation of a well-equipped phonetics laboratory.
- 1979** He initiated an *ad hoc* African Linguistics Conference, which was held biennially by the Department of African Languages, Unisa. He proposed at the conference of 1979 that these conferences should be replaced by a language association and he was instrumental in laying a draft of the constitution before the meeting. This draft had been circulated among the different universities. After some minor adjustments the draft was accepted and the African Language Association of Southern Africa, *ALASA*, was founded. This association has gone from strength to strength with its own journal, *South African Journal of African Languages*, *SAJAL*.
- He delivered a paper on the prehistory of the Nguni languages at the University of Leyden, Netherlands.
- 1982–83** When Prof D.T. Cole of Wits. retired as Head of their African Languages Department, he was appointed Academic Advisor by the Vice-chancellor of Wits concerning the future of this department.
- 1987** His term as head of the department came to an end and he did not make himself available for re-election since he was retiring the following year. The Department was the largest of its kind, teaching seven South African Bantu languages as well as Shona. It had an administrative staff of five and a teaching one of approximately 50.
- During that year the new undergraduate syllabus was finalised, which made a radical break from the past. All later adjustments were based on this syllabus.
- By the time he retired the use of the computer had been entrenched in

the department. As head, he gave much of his energy to introducing its use, which initially was not very popular.

- 1988** He reached the mandatory age for retirement and was granted an office in the Department of African Languages by the University of South Africa to continue his research. He has since been working on a grammar and dictionary of Xhosa, and has published several papers.
- 1989** Received Honorary Membership of *ALASA*.

General activities and interests

In May 1955 Professor Louw was one of the 13 university lecturers of the Universities of Pretoria and South Africa who signed a protest against the scrapping of the so-called coloured people from the common voter's roll of the Cape. He was one of the founders of the Pretoria Political Study Group, which came about as a result of this protest, and, given the political climate prevailing at that time, the members were not popular. For example, at one of its last meetings in 1959 the late Chief Luthuli, a Nobel Peace Prizewinner, was assaulted and the meeting broke up.

As Head of the Department of African Languages at Unisa he saw to it that the Department became a structured entity according to each language, with each language section having a professor as head. This structure is still accepted in the Department and was instituted for other departments in the Faculty of Arts. After a long struggle he was able, in the late seventies, to have the Black academic members of staff, who were called "assistants", recognised as lecturers, professors, etc. It should also be pointed out that representation was made in 1964 by the late Prof Ziervogel and Professor Louw himself that the Black members of the department should be accepted as lecturers. The Council turned down this proposal but later conceded the point. Only the University of Cape Town succeeded in achieving this before Unisa. He gave his special attention to the honours course and a new syllabus was accepted which is very much the basis of the present one. Although some attention was given to the study of folklore he laid the basis on modern principles of its study in the honours course. He instituted the first full honours paper on sociolinguistics and gave his attention to the development of this important branch of linguistics.

Links with overseas universities

Professor J.A. Louw gave Unisa's Department of African Languages an

international status by his invitations to foreign guest professors to attend conferences at the Department and at those of *ALASA*. Among the guest professors were African linguists such as Profs. A.E. Meeussen and A. Coupez from Ter Vuuren in Belgium. Dr D.K. Rycroft of SOAS was invited several times. Prof A.S. Gérard from the University of Liège, who is an acknowledged authority on African literature, came to visit the Department of African Languages several times and gave valuable guidance. A close association was built up with the Department of Linguistics of UCLA in the USA by the visits of Prof P. Ladefoged, who gave some valuable help by leaving us recorded tapes for the tuition of phonetics. Professor Chuck Kisserberth from the University of Illinois was also a regular visitor who assisted with phonology in the department. These links were brought about despite the boycott of South African universities at that time. It was only the international reputation of this Department that saved it from a similar fate. After he became head Prof Louw arranged that a member of the Department should regularly attend the Annual Conference on African Linguistics of the American Universities. This decision is still maintained and valuable contacts have been built up.

Prominent students

J.A. Louw was promoter, supervisor, or internal examiner for the following postgraduate students at the University of South Africa:

Professors:

E.J.M. Baumbach (ret Unisa); P.J. Wentzel (ret Unisa); C.S. van Rooyen (ret Unisa); the late P.C. Mokgong (UniN); the late H.W.E. Ntsanwisi (Giyani); A. Swanepoel (ret PUvCHO); C.T.D. Marivate (ret Unisa); A.C. Nkabinde (ret UniZul); the late E.S. Moloto (Vista); W. Kruger (UPE); D.B. Ntuli (Unisa), S.C. Satyo (UCT); J.S.M. Khumalo (Wits); the late S.D. Hlongwane (UniZul); C.T. Msimang (Unisa); P.M. Makgamata (Unin); A.S.Davey (UN); D.P. Lombard (Vista)

AND

Dr. H. Viljoen (Windhoek); Dr. L. Small (Soshanguve); Dr D.M. Kgobe (Unisa)

As external examiner or supervisor:

Professors:

W. Haacke (Namibia); A Wilkes (UP); P.M.S. von Staden (RAU); G. Poulos (Unisa); H.M. Thipa (UPE); M.W. Visser (US); S. Bosch (Unisa); P.J. Zungu (UDW); N. Saule (Unisa)

AND

Mr R. Bailey (Univ of Durban-Westville); G.S. Mayevu (UniN); Mr S.Z. Zotwana (UCT); Mr A. van der Spuy (Wits); Mr C. Wynne (UCT); Mr J. le Roux (Unisa)

External examiner for universities

When the Universities of Fort Hare, the North and Zululand were founded, he was the external examiner for Zulu, Xhosa and Tsonga for the first few years. He was occasional external examiner for the University of Natal. UCT appointed him as external examiner from 1976–78. He acted as external examiner for UOFS from 1962–64.

Publications

- 1954 Syntactical nature of the deficient verb and its complement in Zulu; *African Studies*, Vol. 13, pp. 147–152, Wits University Press
- 1958 The nomenclature of cattle in the South Eastern Bantu Languages; *Communications of the University of South Africa*, 19 pp.
Emphasis as expressed by the word order of the sentence in Xhosa; *Afrika und Übersee*, Vol. 42, pp. 111–118, Hamburg
The early settlement of South Africa by the first Nguni tribes; *Journal for Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 24–33; Stellenbosch
- 1962 On the segmental phonemes of Zulu; *Afrika und Übersee*, Vol. 46, pp. 43–93, Hamburg
- 1964 & Jubase, J.B: *Handboek van Xhosa*, pp. 268; Educum, Johannesburg
Consonant phonemes of the lexical root in Zulu; *Afrika und Übersee*, Vol. 48, pp. 127–152, Hamburg
- 1968 The intonation of the sentence and its constituent parts in Xhosa and Tsonga; Unpublished monograph, pp.154; & *An Appendix*, consisting of tone curve transcriptions and their interpretations, pp. (i)–(xi), & 1–83; HSRC, Pretoria
- 1969 The tone sequences of the potential form of Zulu and Xhosa, *vide* the publication in honour of N.J. van Warmelo; *Ethnological and Linguistic Studies*, pp. 123–132; Government Printer, Pretoria
- 1971 The tonal paradigm of the verb in Xhosa; *cf.* the Festschrift in honour of Prof J. Lukas; V. Six, N. Cyffer, E. Wolff, L. Gerhardt, H. Meyer-Bahlburg (eds): *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen – Ein Querschnitt*, pp. 102–113; Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung, Hamburg
The validity of case as a semantic feature in the Bantu languages, *Limi*, Bulletin no. 11, pp. 1–26, University of S.A.
- 1972 The Bantu languages in relation to the class languages of West Africa; *Limi*, No. 13, pp. 1–30, University of S.A.
- 1974 The influence of Khoe on the Xhosa language; *Limi*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 45–62, University of S.A.
- 1975 The clicks in loans in Xhosa; J.W. Snyman (ed.): *Bushman and Hottentot linguistic studies*, University of S.A.

- 1976 The influence of Khoi on Xhosa morphology; W.J. de Klerk & F.A. Ponelis (eds): *Gedenk-bundel H.J.J.M. van der Merwe*, pp. 87–95; Van Schaik, Pretoria
- Palatalization of bilabials in the passive, diminutive and locative in Xhosa and Tsonga, *Afrika und Übersee*, pp. 241–278, Hamburg
- 1977 The adaptation of non-click consonants in Xhosa; A. Traill (ed.): *Khoisan Linguistic Studies*, No. 3, pp. 74–92, Wits University, Johannesburg
- The linguistic prehistory of the Xhosa; W.J.G. Möhlig, F. Rottland, B. Heine (eds) in the Festschrift for O. Köhler: *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethno-historie in Afrika*, pp. 127–151, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin
- 1979 A preliminary survey of Khoi and San influence in Zulu; A. Traill (ed.): *Khoisan Linguistic Studies*, No. 5, pp. 8–21, Wits University, Johannesburg
- Some remarks on Nguni tone, *Limi*, Vol. 7, 1–2, pp. 45–49. University of S.A.
- 1983 The development of Xhosa and Zulu as languages; I. Fodor & C. Hagège (eds): *Language Reform*, Vol. II, pp. 373–392, Buske Verlag, Hamburg
- 1984 Word categories in Southern Bantu; In *African Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 231–239; in honour of D.T. Cole; Wits University Press
- 1986 Some linguistic influence of Khoi and San in the prehistory of the Nguni; R. Vossen & K. Keuthman (eds): *Contemporary studies Khoisan*, Vol. 2, pp. 41–68, Helmut Buske, Hamburg
- 1987 Auxiliary verbs in Xhosa; *South African Journal of African languages*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 7–15, Pretoria
- 1988 The adaptation of the folktale as a modern literary genre; in an anthology in honour of C.L.S. Nyembezi; A.C. Nkabinde (ed.): *African linguistics and literature*, pp. 103–120, Johannesburg
- 1990 & Finlayson, R.: Southern Bantu origins as represented by Xhosa and Tswana; *South African Journal of African languages*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 401–410
- 1992 & Marivate, C.T.D.: Restraints on the formation of nasal compounds in Tsonga; presented in honour of E. Westphal; F. Gowlett (ed.): *African linguistic contributions*, pp. 272–310, Via Afrika, Pretoria
- 1995 Xhosa tone; in A. Traill (ed.) *The Complete Linguist*, an anthology in honour of Patrick J. Dickens: pp. 237–270, Springer Verlag, Berlin.

Preface

The African continent has long attracted attention from all over the world. Language variation and the diversity of hypotheses on its linguistic similarities and differences have stimulated debate far and wide. From an ancient ignorant connotation as being regarded as the “Dark Continent”, Africa has emerged from centuries of colonization to long-awaited independence and democratic government. Both its prehistory and history have contributed towards a continually changing image of a continent in transition, brightly hued and with a diverse richness rarely found anywhere else in the world. All these forces have exerted an influence on the writings which have emerged from people both on and off this massive continent.

This Festschrift is dedicated to Professor J.A. Louw whose rich and diverse academic career has generated a wealth of scholarly endeavour which falls within the four fields of study which characterize the structure of this Festschrift. This collection of papers forms a mosaic of contributions covering four broad subject categories including orality, sounds, structure and society. The concept behind the ordering of the contributions reflects a progression from pre-recorded material in orality to the most basic form of speech, the sounds. Following discussions on the analysis of the speech sounds, the combination of these sounds to produce syllables is considered. Thereafter the structure of languages forms a category before the wider application of language in society closes the Festschrift. The mosaic also comprises pieces in the form of contributions from the southern, central, eastern and western parts of Africa cemented into an abstract pattern. Each piece in the mosaic provides both a measure of geographic reference and an indication of the broad subject category into which it falls. Although the contributions do not cover the whole of Africa and do not function as discrete pieces, since subject categories and their geographic locations may overlap, nevertheless the mosaic conjures up a vivid picture of Africa in the mind of the reader.

The first pieces to be inlaid represent one of the most fascinating topics from Africa and one which is so often associated with its richness – orality. The transition from this form of literature being entirely oral in telling the story to the wealth of its narration as part of the written literature is considered. The preservation of an African heritage is essential and a tribute is paid to those scholars who have laboured in collecting and evaluating the many different genres. Gifted composers themselves, such as A.C. Hodza, recognize and evaluate poetry. The wealth of valuable insight which is offered by orality has

been most aptly described as an inspiration and nourishment to modern literature. *Wend kuuni* from Bakino Faso provides us with a suggestion as to how this rich oral past of Africa can be preserved and recreated.

We progress further in this volume by considering the contributions of eminent scholars in the preservation of precious records. Within the richness of diversity of our African continent stories of both a negative and positive nature emerge. Perhaps one of the saddest accounts concerns the history of the Khoisan people who, through contact with different groups of people as well as by being literally hunted, have been virtually totally eliminated and who have taken with them in death some of their languages, unique to the world at large. The important contributions made by journals such as *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* as archival repositories therefore cannot be underestimated. This contribution contains a selection from these journals reflecting where the scholars who have been most active in philological and linguistic research have laid emphasis.

The volume then moves more particularly to one of the most basic features of all languages, the speech sounds in all the richness and diversity which Africa produces. The clicks of the Khoisan peoples provide one of the unique features of this richness. Often with diversity comes controversy, and no contribution to academic discourse would be complete without some differences of opinion. This interesting aspect within the African mosaic is explored further with regard to the extremely complex sound system elicited by the clicks.

Speech sounds combine to produce syllables and their identification and description provide another aspect to the debate. These speech forms are explored with regard to minimality requirements in Kikerewe, an interlacustrine Bantu language, spoken on the Ukerewe Islands of Lake Victoria in Tanzania, thereby adding another valuable inlay to be cemented into the picture of Africa depicted in this volume. Syllables combine further, and we have lexical items as we move with an inlay from the eastern borders of Africa to the west and explore lexical data collected in Namibia. From the minimal element of the individual's speech to the wider context of dialects, we include a contribution which arose as a "result of a re-perusal of lexical data that had been collected for a dialect survey with the view to establishing possible trends that would reflect on diachronic depth in the genealogical development of Nama and Damara dialects". This ties in with earlier articles in this publication on the clicks, and also demonstrates the inevitable history of something lost and something gained. In the instance of "Nama", which had the full range of these speech sounds, there has been click loss, but in other languages, such as Xhosa which originally had no clicks, there has been click gain.

PREFACE

Finlayson, R.: (*Unisa*)

(xvii)

ORALITY

Makgamatha, P.M.: (*University of the North*)

Narration as art in the Northern Sotho narrative: from oral to written

1

Fortune, G.: (*Wales, UK*)

A.C. Hodza, creative interpreter of Shona traditional poetry: a personal tribute

14

Swanepoel, C.F.: (*Unisa*)

The film *Wend kuuni* (by Gaston Kaboré) and the oral legacy

28

SOUND

Trail, A.: (*University of the Witwatersrand*)

Foundations in Khoisan studies: a survey of a selection of papers from *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies*, 1921–1967

41

Maddieson, I., Ladefoged, P. & Sands, B.: (*UCLA, USA*)

Clicks in East African languages

59

Snyman, J.W.: (*Unisa*)

The phonetic description of the Žul'hōasi clicks: a confusion of sounds?

92

Odden, D.: (*Ohio State University, USA*)

Kikerewe minimality

118

Haacke, W.: (*University of Namibia*)

Phonological gleanings from the dialects of Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara): towards internal reconstruction

131

Roux, J.C.: (*University of Stellenbosch*) & Jones, C.J.J.: (*Unisa*)

Queclaratives in Xhosa

164

Mathangwane, Joyce T. & Hyman, L.M.: (*University of California, Berkeley, USA*)

Meeussen's Rule at the phrase level in Kalanga

173

SOCIETY

- Knappert, J.: (*London, UK*)**
Loanwords in African languages **203**
- Davey, A.S.: (*University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg*)**
Towards an explanation of socio-cultural and behavioural differences which hinder communication between Zulu and English speakers **221**
- Slabbert, S.: (*University of the Witwatersrand*) & Finlayson, R.: (*Unisa*)**
The future of the standard African languages in the multilingual South African classroom **235**
- Boeyens, J.C.A.: (*Unisa*) & Cole, D.T.**
Kaditshwene: what's in a name? **250**
- Louwrens, L.J.: (*Unisa*)**
An ethnobiological investigation into Northern Sotho plant names **285**
- Ntuli, D.B.: (*Unisa*)**
Bus naming as a communication strategy – a Swaziland experience **311**

STRUCTURE

- Coupez, A.: (*Belgium*)**
Inversion diachronique en Rwanda (Bantou J61) **329**
- Bosch, S.E.: (*Unisa*)**
The reflexive prefix in Zulu – a typological perspective **344**
- Dembetembe, N.C.: (*Unisa*)**
The classification of proper nouns in Shona: problems and possible solutions **355**
- Nkabinde, A.C.: (*Kwazulu-Natal*)**
Some features of Zulu nouns **377**
- Sengani, T.M.: (*Unisa*)**
Another pronominalization – some views against Wilkes's deletion hypothesis **387**
- Myers-Scotton, C.: (*Columbia, USA*) & Jake, J.L.: (*Midlands Technical College, USA*)**
Chichewa/English codeswitching: the “do” verb construction **406**

Data acquisition, a veritable part of linguistic study with all its associated difficulties, together with its research findings continues to raise concern. Experimentation in speech analysis and synthesis provides a fascinating insight into this concern. In the past, phonologists studied speech sounds and formed hypotheses based on general unscientifically tested perceptions. In this regard we now jump in placing additional pieces in the mosaic from the west coast to the southernmost tip of Africa and highlight this aspect further, especially with regard to prosodic studies in the African languages and with special reference to Xhosa. An exciting alternative methodological approach is offered here.

The inextricable link between tone and the structure of languages once again holds our attention as we add another intriguing set of pieces in the formation of the mosaic in a contribution on Meeussen's Rule, this time as applied to Kalanga as spoken in Botswana. In Kalanga this rule applies at the phrase level, and certain suggestions are made as to why this rule differs when compared with other Bantu languages. A close colleague of Meeussen himself then offers an inlay, but this time instead of Meeussen's Rule use is made of Meinhof's Rule as applied to Rwanda, a Bantu language even further north than Kalanga. The findings of this study are engrossing as postulations are offered which do not rule out the possible influences on Rwanda of neighbouring languages such as Nyoro, Nkore and Ganda.

Hypotheses on origins through typological investigations continue as we turn to the reflexive prefix, this time in the Zulu language. The dynamic nature of language has elicited interest in the study of language change and etymologies and this has stimulated the establishment of hypotheses regarding possible solutions to the questions which arise. Methods of classification, whether typological, genetic or areal, afford synchronic studies some cohesion. In this volume the substantives are classified with regard first to Shona, as far as proper nouns are concerned, and then with regard to some features of Zulu nouns. But pronominalization too is investigated with special reference to the deletion process as exemplified in Venda. The relevance of pragmatic factors in an ongoing discourse in determining "rules" for linguistic phenomena is accentuated in this contribution. Pragmatic factors, still within the category of language structure, also form part of the issue on language shift and change, together with the realisation of language mix in contrast to that of language "purity". In this regard codeswitching is a relevant player as the effects of colonization, urbanization and modernization take their toll. As so aptly stated, "codeswitching data provide evidence on how languages may differ regarding how grammatical information is activated and projected by the lexicon." This aspect is discussed with special reference to Chichewa as far as the "do" construction is concerned.

Debate on the effects of colonization and the associated possibilities of glottophagia abound and the palimpsest effect which these may create induces a response of unease. Nevertheless, one of the languages often central to this fascinating discussion is Afrikaans, a language on occasion referred to as a creole. In this volume some etymologies of Afrikaans, the mother tongue of J.A. Louw himself, as well as those in other African languages, are discussed. The essential element of language is that it is a tool for communication and certain elements which hinder this process are highlighted in order to ensure their avoidance. The topic of language change and development now forms another inlay which illustrates how the standard African languages differ substantially from the language varieties that are spoken in the multilingual urban centres. The standards are generally regarded as linguistically the closest to the rural varieties. The question may well be asked as to whether the urban varieties are developing to the point where new linguistic varieties are being created. Some interesting viewpoints in this regard are given.

Lastly, "What's in a name?" and with the question come the associated perceptions on naming as this volume draws to a close. Whether it be controversy over the name of a capital town, plant names or even the procedure of naming buses, the study of onomastics can reveal some interesting dimensions to the communication process. However, we are cautioned with regard to the possible discrepancies which may arise between data obtained from different individuals from the same speech community, and from speech communities from different geographical regions. There is always the possibility that intuitive personal perceptions of the local people of an area may account for such discrepancies.

This composition of twenty-two contributions therefore embraces a strikingly colourful range of topics of interest to Africanists. The metaphor of an African mosaic has been used in an attempt to celebrate the lifelong dedicated contribution to the field of African languages made by the subject of this Festschrift, Professor J.A. Louw. Those who have had the privilege of knowing him in all the roles he has played during his most active academic life can only look back with respect, appreciation and wonder at the enormity of effort spent by this highly acclaimed African scholar. His contributions alone when assembled together can surely be described as in themselves having comprised a magnificent *African Mosaic*.

Rosalie Finlayson

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1

NARRATION AS ART IN THE NORTHERN SOTHO NARRATIVE: FROM ORAL TO WRITTEN

Phaka M. Makgamatha

INTRODUCTION

For quite some time now literary criticism and philosophy have been concerned with what I may call “the death of the author”. In post-structural criticism, for instance, every text is regarded as an intertext of another text, and thus as belonging to the intertextual. However, even the post-structuralists cannot deny that insofar as there is a narrative, there must be someone narrating it. Every narrative text, therefore, should be perceived as that text in which a narrative agent, that is a narrator, tells a story.

In the primary oral narrative the narrator is a visible, fictive “I”, a storyteller who interferes in his narration whenever the desire to do so arises or where necessary; who even participates in the action of the narrative of a character. In the written narrative the narrator is not a person, but the linguistic subject, that is a function which expresses itself in the language that constitutes the text. The “I” of the written narrative, which is for the most part invisible, is “that agent which utters the linguistic signs which constitute the text” (Bal 1988:120). Tzvetan Todorov (1970:133) calls this agent the “poetic personality”.

It has become commonplace in literary theory that it is essential not to confuse author and narrator. Wayne Booth, in *The rhetoric of fiction* (1967), even found it necessary to introduce the concept of the implied author as a concession to the arguments against the request for the intentions of the empirical author. The term would enable him to discuss and analyse the ideological and moral stances of a narrative text without having to refer directly to a biographical author. For the purposes of this inquiry I shall follow Mieke Bal and others, and stick to *narrator* in the written narrative as that

agent which utters the linguistic signs that constitute the text, and not the biographical author.

For analysis of oral narrative material I shall use folktales collected from various tradition-bearers in the Northern Sotho-speaking area and preserved in written form in Makgamatha's *Keleketla* (1990). It must be noted from the onset that even if only one pronoun denoting masculinity is used throughout this article, the storytellers who served as informants in this inquiry were both male and female. For the written narrative I shall use material from Matsepe's novel, *Megokgo ya bjoko* (1969).

THE NARRATOR-PERFORMER

In the primary oral narrative the narrator, who is the visible storyteller or narrator-performer, simply spins a tale, unbothered by considerations of form: "There was a tale ..." he begins, and then proceeds to narrate the tale to his audience. He describes the characters whenever it becomes necessary for general effect, often speculating on what the characters think and feel, as well as describing their action. For instance, in the tale *Mošemane wa dišo* (Makgamatha, 1990:76–80) the narrator-performer pauses to describe the action of the hero and heroine, whose whole bodies are covered in sores, to prepare the audience's minds to understand why the community treats them as outcasts later in the story, fearing that their disease might spread. He says:

Ba mo hweditše; motho le kgaetšediagwe. Dišo tša gona ga go sa na le ka sekgala se tee. Mebele ye ya bona ke dišo fela. Ba re batho ba ba fedilego mo, ba bolailwe ke tšona dišo tše. Go dio šala bona ba le babedi. (1990:76)
(They found him; the man and his sister. There is no part of their bodies that is not covered with sores. They say the people who have died here all died of these very sores. The two are the only people who survived.)

He also interjects comments and ideas of his own whenever he feels like it, although this does not occur on a large scale in the Northern Sotho *dinonwane*. Rather than be bothered by considerations of form, the narrator-performer tries to establish himself as the narrator-creator of the tale he is narrating. His ability to harmonize the individual (represented by himself) with the social and contemporary (represented by the audience) and with the historical (represented by the traditional tale) will determine the success of the performance, and consequently the survival of folklore (Başgöz, 1986:12).

The creativity of the narrator-performer, however, is limited by the traditionality of the tale in that he works within a tradition which imposes certain "structural patterns and plot-clichés" upon him (Scheub 1975:360).

Since all the events in a primary oral narrative are deemed to have occurred in remote or past time, the narrator-performer is called upon by tradition to present them along certain fixed and predictable lines. The telling or retelling is obviously done by someone who, although he was not an eyewitness to the events narrated, nevertheless comes to possess the information on the events. The invitation to the audience to listen to a tale, *E rile e le nonwane*, (There was a tale), is sufficient evidence of this.

Although the narrator-performer is the main source of information on all the events in the tale, he still does not exercise all the powers of omniscience. The limits of his knowledge do not extend beyond the actions and the events that can be seen and heard. Thus, he does not include as recorded observation anything about anything that could not have been seen or heard in action.

These conditions are different in the written narrative. The narrator takes us wherever he wishes, peers inside the minds and hearts of his characters at will and tells us what they are thinking or feeling. Although most narrators do not claim the authority of the eyewitness in their narratives (the rarity of the so-called first-person novels in Northern Sotho is sufficient evidence) as omniscient narrators they stand in a godlike position above their characters, knowing what each of them thinks and feels, and often allowing us to overhear conversations or “catch a character unawares in a way denied to any participant in the story” (Raban 1968:33). Such omniscient narrators usually display familiarity with the character’s innermost thoughts and feelings, knowledge of the past, the present and the future of the world they narrate about, and the awareness of what is happening in several homes and villages at a given time. However, for thematic purposes, the narrator often chooses to limit his omniscience or we may have the same anonymous narrating agency, but through different focalizers. It appears that in matters of a controversial nature the tendency is for the main narrator to hand over to secondary or tertiary narrators, so that we end up with a narrative with more than one narrator. When this is done, the secondary narrator (who may be a character that participates in the *fabula* as an actor) becomes a reliable narrator “whose rendering of the story and commentary on it the reader is supposed to take as authoritative account of the fictional truth” (Rimmon-Kenan, 1988:100).

MODES OF NARRATION

The narrator in the primary oral narrative, that is the storyteller, often interrupts his narrative with individual remarks aimed at explaining some archaic words and expressions (which may not be understood any more by his audience), or instructing his listeners on various topics such as religion and folk

medicine, or describing the meaning of certain customs, traditions and rituals which are given in the tale. Such individual remarks, referred to as “digressions”, are cross-cultural folklore phenomena. Başgöz (1986:6) observes, and correctly too, that despite the significance of these digressions in reflecting the individuality of the narrator, and in the very structure of the narrative, they have not been taken seriously by folklorists. They have not always been regarded as part of the so-called text, and have thus not been recorded and published.

In the written narrative one comes across many narratives which are interspersed with myths, biographical information, and elaborate descriptions of objects, scenes and personages; all of these can be regarded as digression. According to Başgöz (op. cit.), digressions in general can be divided into three categories: (1) explanatory and instructional; (2) opinion-related and communicative; and (3) self-reproaching and confessional. However, only the first two categories appear to characterize the Northern Sotho written narrative, on the average. The last category occurs rarely, and when it does, it usually occurs in those sections of the narrative where the narrator adopts a first-person narrating stance. In this inquiry I shall concentrate on only the *opinion-related and communicative digressions*.

These digressions enjoy a greater usage in the Northern Sotho written narrative than the other two categories. By means of these digressions the narrator often expresses displeasure of social and political tendencies, the operation of social institutions, and so forth, or reveals his own feelings, ideas and values related to the events being recounted. These digressions take the form of reliable commentary, and can range over any aspect of human experience as well as be related to the primary oral narrative in innumerable ways and degrees (Booth 1967:155).

Sometimes the narrator’s reliable commentary becomes an isolated rhetoric, with the narrator in his own person doing what he can, “with all the stops pulled, to work us into a proper mood before his story begins” (Booth, 1967:201). Then the digression, which often assumes the form of philosophizing, functions as a mood-setting commentary which prepares us psychologically for the events that are to follow, which may be unusual in contemporary society.

The narrative of O.K. Matsepe’s *Megokgo ya bjoko* (1969), for instance, opens with the following deep philosophizing comment that properly sets our mood for the intricacies that characterise the entire narrative:

Re llela go phela, re llišwa ke go phela; re llela go phala ba bangwe, re llišwa ke go phalwa ke ba bangwe; re llela tšwelopele, re llišwa ke

tšwelopele, ka ge nnete gona bophelo e le peapeano yeo go yona mang le mang a ratago go ba tšhia ya letšatši le lengwe le le lengwe. Re llela go buša, re llišwa ke go bušwa; re llela go huma, re llišwa ke bodiidi, gobane nnete gona se sekaone se ka ganwa ke wa kgopolo ya mohuta mang?
(1969:1;31;45;58)

(We yearn to live, we complain about living; we yearn to be better than others, we complain that others are better than we; we yearn for progress, we complain about progress, for indeed life is a race in which everyone would like to be a winner of every day. We yearn to rule, we complain about being governed; we yearn to be rich, we complain about poverty, for indeed, of what thinking will he be who declines something better?)

The narrator philosophizes about the natural desire of man, not only to *live*, but to lead a *better* life than others, to be *more* progressive than others, to be revered *more* than others, to be *more* powerful than others, and not only to combat poverty, but to be *wealthier* than others. The narrator's intrusion right at the opening of the narrative already implicitly outlines the source of conflict in the first narrative.

To show that the intrusion is not inadvertent but deliberate, the narrator conjures up the same commentary, verbatim, each time an event that verifies this philosophy is narrated. For instance, on the occasion of the death of Lefehlo's father, a king revered by all the neighbouring kings, all the neighbouring kings come to pay their last tribute to him, except Nthumule. All of them observe a period of mourning by suspending initiation schools, prohibiting feasts and the tilling of their lands, and so forth, except Nthumule. Indeed Nthumule makes sure that all that is regarded as taboo during such times is done – and very conspicuously too – among his subjects. At this point the narrator brings up the commentary (1969:31) as if to refresh the narratee's memory.

The same commentary is used again (1969:45) to digress in the narrative of the event in which the supremacy of Lefehlo's medicine-men over Nthumule's is demonstrated by a flight of pied crows that pick up all the divining bones of the latter and fly away (1969:44). Again, when the two kings prepare for battle the narrator digresses with the same philosophizing commentary (1969:58), to remind us that life is one long struggle for power. In fact, the entire narrative is characterized by dichotomies of goodness and evil, strength and weakness, friendship and animosity; and the various binary oppositions are mediated by the arrival of the Voortrekkers on the scene towards the close of the narrative.

Just as the narrative opens with a philosophizing commentary to set our mood

for the coming contraries, it closes with another, to assert that the binary oppositions have been mediated to a resolution, thus:

... mme go ratega bjang ge bana ba motho ba dutše gammogo mme ba ratana etšwe pele ba be ba meelane meno a ka godimo? (1969:103)
(... and how lovely is it when the children of man live together and love one another even though previously they had turned against one another?)

This closing philosophizing commentary leaves us with no doubt that the initial mood-setting commentary was not in any way inadvertent but deliberate, and had a direct bearing on the object of narration.

Another type of digression, related to the one discussed here, also characterizes the Northern Sotho narrative, and thus deserves mention even if in passing. This consists mainly of incorporation of traditional folklore forms (such as proverbs, myths, praise poetry and quotations from primary oral sources) into the narrative. In these digressions the narrator himself does not directly reveal his own feelings, ideas, values or comments, but lets a traditional form express them in stead (Başgöz, 1986:8). It is remarkable that when these digressions come in the form of proverbs, they are often introduced by means of the phrase, *moswana o re*, or even *mogologolo o re*, commonly meaning, “the old people, the ancestors, say”. This can be regarded as the narrator’s indirect manifestation of self. In these contexts, the narrator is not the creator of this folklore form, as its message and form have been handed down by the tradition (as evidenced by the reference to *moswana* or *mogologolo*); but it is significant is the fact that he is the selector. He selects and links the traditional lore to the first narrative and assigns it a specific function.

We note that digressions in general are about something clearly dramatized in the main narrative. In a digression the narrator tries to make clear to the narratee the nature of the focalized object itself, by giving the narratee the hard facts, by establishing a world of norms, or by relating the *fabula* in the narrative to general truths. Through digressions, the narrator explains the meaning of a motif or episode and expresses his emphasis, understanding, and personal interpretation, either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, in the digressions the narrator addresses the narratee directly, changing the third-person narration into the first, as it were. During the narration of the first narrative the father, religious or traditional man, remains silent; however, internal or external stimuli, from time to time, activate these other selves and let them come to the fore, thus interrupting the narration.

The discussion above may lead one to conclude that in the Northern Sotho narrative the narrators frequently speak directly and authoritatively to us even

where one would expect them to maintain a certain silence, leaving their characters to work out their destinies or tell their own stories. That cannot be further away from the truth, for in the Northern Sotho narrative a considerable balance is struck between what is related and what is represented directly in dramatic representations and in the presentation of the thoughts of a character. The narrators employ, each in their own way, certain dramatic devices, which become characteristic of their style, to present the narrative object. We shall examine some of those devices below.

PRESENTATION OF THE NARRATIVE OBJECT

One characteristic of the Northern Sotho narrative, from oral to written, is the use of **fantasy**. By fantasy here I refer to the unrealistic story, that is, one that transcends the bounds of known reality. Such a story conjures up a strange and marvellous world in the mind of the narratee; it introduces strange powers and occult forces into the world of ordinary reality. It introduces human characters into a strange and marvellous world where the ordinary laws of nature are suspended, where the landscape and its creatures are unfamiliar, or where familiar creatures perform unfamiliar acts. Such fantasy is commonly associated with, and is used abundantly in primary oral narratives, especially folktales (*dinonwane*).

In fact, the *nonwane* is a story of fantasy. Its opening formula, *E rile e le nonwane ...* (There was a tale ...), serves to set the mood for the start of the fantastic event, to prepare the audience for adventures, to warn the audience that what follows is fiction and does not call for their belief. The opening formula introduces the audience to the fantastic world of folktales which has its own logic, its own laws, and its own reality which differs from that of everyday life. It introduces them to

a world where the unexpected and the magical are commonplace, a world where the strong are overcome by the weak, a world where the human being, the animals and other natural objects are unified
(Makgamatha, 1991:46).

Thus in *Kgolomodumo* (Makgamatha, 1990:63) the audience are prepared for willing suspension of disbelief in the narrative of a single huge animal that swallows all the people of a village, save one old woman, together with all their cattle, sheep and goats. The same old woman takes instructions from a bird to get into a calabash, which returns through the rear of the monster each time the monster swallows it, until the monster abandons it. The same bird gives this old woman three eggs and a small stick to strike them with and bring forth a

boy and two dogs. This boy, with the help of the dogs, tracks down the monster and kills it to release all the people and animals from its belly. One cannot imagine all these acts taking place in the reality of our everyday life.

In the folktale world of fantasy the unification of human beings, animals and other natural objects is commonplace, for human characters easily infiltrate the animal world, acting like the animals and speaking their language, as in *Tau ya moroko dimpeng* (Makgamatha 1990:34–38). In this tale, a man in quest of a lion's liver to cure his dying wife dons a lion's skin and joins a pride of lions in the jungle, where he patiently waits for a safe opportunity to kill one of them and remove its liver. In addition to the lion's skin, the man carries, concealed on his body, some dried ground nuts to help him imitate the lions grinding their teeth, and some red ochre for the blood-spitting contests. All these initially enable him, even if for a short time only, to find acceptance in the pride as just another lion.

Similarly the animals, with or without transformations, have the ability to conceal their animal characteristics, re-enter the human world and interact successfully with human characters, as in *Moselapše* and *O jele ngwana a re ke mmutla* (Makgamatha 1990:48–55 and 56–60 respectively). In both these tales fabulous animals assume the appearance of human beings and approach the heroines with the motive of trickery. Their concealed animal characteristics are only revealed after their trickery has been successfully completed, thus bringing about what one may call, to use Propp's terms, the villain's Exposure and Punishment, especially in the former tale, *Moselapše*. In the latter, *O jele ngwana a re ke mmutla*, the heroine, who had given her baby to strange "children" to look after while she was hoeing the field, makes a shocking discovery only after the villains have killed and eaten the baby, sharing the "meat" with her. The narrator-performer describes what the heroine sees, when it is time to bring the baby back, as follows:

Ga go sa le batho; ke meselana fela. Ke moka meselana yela e namile e eme, e a opela (Makgamatha 1990:59).

(They are no longer human beings, but only little tails. Then those tails stood up and sang.)

With their mission accomplished, the characters have now been transformed back into fabulous animals. In fact, in the reality of the folktale world of fantasy, even if the animals retain the characteristics of their species, they "think and act like human beings in a human setting" (Makgamatha, 1991:28).

In the written narrative, fantasy, like other elements of fiction, is often employed merely for its own sake or to communicate an important insight, such as the temporal or spatial setting of the narrative. An element of fantasy

may be employed in a narrative simply for its own strangeness, for thrills, for surprise, or to illuminate the normal world of our experience. As in the primary oral narrative, we approach the written narrative with willing suspension of disbelief, for we understand that the narrator begins by saying, "Let us suppose ...", as it were.

One does not encounter such a well-defined use of fantasy in the Northern Sotho narrative on a large scale. In most cases the fantasy that is employed usually accompanies the magical powers of the traditional medicine-men. For instance, after the disappearance of Leilane from King Nthumule's in Matsepe's *Megokgo ya bjoko*, all the medicine-men are assembled to divine his whereabouts (1969:43–44). While they are examining the manner in which their thrown divining bones have fallen, a cloud appears from the east, followed by a shooting star in broad daylight. While the cloud is hovering over their heads, a flight of pied crows appears from nowhere, which swallow all the divining bones before flying away to the west, following the cloud. The miracle is apparently the work of Phethedi, King Lefehlo's greatest medicine man.

As I said earlier in this essay, such elements of fantasy help the narrator to create the desired temporal-spatial setting for the narrative. In this particular narrative the story is set in a traditional African society, at a time when a king had to prove his paramountcy over the other kings by defeating them in battle. This society also upholds the belief in the magical powers of medicine-men, which the kings also depend on for their victory in such battles.

Another characteristic of the Northern Sotho narrative is the use of *humour and satire*. The primary oral narrative may be regarded by some researchers as drab repetition of what has been heard from generation to generation, but when it is handled by a tradition-bearer with a good narrating style, then it is transformed into a fascinating form of entertainment that keeps the audience, both old and young, spellbound from the beginning of the narration to its end. Use of such narrative devices as humour and satire represents part of the oral style, which is characterised by the use of intonation of voice and bodily gestures, and facial as well as other expressions to achieve the desired effect. Thus, to read a folktale is not necessarily to experience it as one does when watching its live performance.

For instance, one may miss the humour (perhaps the satire too) when reading the tale *Mabutle le Tau* (Makgamatha, 1990:1–5), especially where Hare descends to the cooking pots of meat after securing Lion's tail to the roof of the hut they are erecting. To experience it, one needs to watch and listen to the storyteller as he goes through the story (to the accompaniment of voice intonation and bodily gestures). The audience is very amused by the

unsuspecting Lion who speaks with an authoritative voice, and the knowing Hare who fakes humility in the dialogue:

Tau a re: "Mabutle, eya go topa mola. O se ke wa ba wa topa ye kgolo ya go tshotshoma makhura."

Mabule ge a fihla mola dipitšeng o re: "A ke tope ye, Rakgolo?"

Tau o re: "Aowa, e sego yeo!"

Mabutle a e bušetša.

"Ke tope ye, Rakgolo?"

"Aowa! Ke ya Dimo yeo!"

A e bušetša; a topa ya lerapo.

"Ke tope ye, Rakgolo?"

"Aa! Yeo o ka no e ja."

Mabutle o a e bušetša. (Makgamatha, 1990:3)

(Lion said, "Hare, go and take a piece. You must not take a large, fatty one." When Hare reaches the pots he says, "May I have this one, Grandfather?" Lion says, "No, not that one." Hare puts it back in the pot.

"May I have this one, Grandfather?"

"No! That one is for the Great One!" He puts it back in the pot and selects one bony piece. "May I have this one, Grandfather?"

"Ah! That one you may have with pleasure." Hare puts it back in the pot.)

James Ngugi comments as follows on the use of satire:

The satirist sets himself certain standards and criticizes society when and where it departs from these norms. He invites us to assume his standards and share the moral indignation which moves him to pour derision and ridicule on society's failings. He corrects through painful, sometimes malicious laughter (1969:56).

In Matsepe's *Megokgo ya bjoko*, for instance, the narrator can be seen in a traditional and social setting, pouring "derision and ridicule" on society's total belief in traditional medicine-men and ancestor worship. He gives an account of a medicine-man who is called to attend to a woman suffering from tuberculosis (1969:36-41). With utmost confidence he demands a goat to slaughter, whose hide he wraps around the patient – to drain the sickness out of her. When that and the concoction of medicines fail he demands a cow to be slaughtered, whose dung should be smeared on the floor of the patient's hut. As if this is not enough, one of the patient's relatives claims that their ancestors gave instructions for the patient's cure in a vision she has had. Their uncle, Rathinyane, must slaughter a cow, and the patient must then be smeared with

its fresh dung. Rathinyane's insolent retort clearly ridicules the logic of the message, for he says:

Le tla nkwa banabešu, ditaba tše di a mmakatša. Go mmakatša ga tšona ke gore batswadi ba ka ge ba hlokofala – le kgomo e tee ga se ba ntlogelela yona ka gore le a tseba gore di ile tša ya kae, gomme ke makala gore kgomo yeo mme a e bolelago – o ra ye nna ke tšwago go e tšea kae (1969:38)

(You will hear me, my people, these matters astonish me. My astonishment is caused by the fact that when my parents died – they left me not even a single cow, for you all know what happened to them [the cattle], therefore I wonder at the cow that my late mother is referring to – where does she think I got that one from?)

Thus, according to Rathinyane, it does not make sense that his late mother can expect him to have a cow for slaughter, when she knows (or is supposed to know?) that when she died she had left him none. In his own voice, the narrator queries the logic of the message in this account thus: How can the ancestors demand a cow when they left none behind at the time of their death? How can the ancestors suddenly show concern over their daughter-in-law's health, when they never saw eye to eye during their lifetime? If they know where to find whatever is needed urgently, why do the ancestors take their message to someone else far away? It is clear that those who claim the ancestors sent them to Rathinyane are merely jealous of his cattle, and seek to find a way to reduce their number (1969:39).

As far as traditional medicine-men are concerned, in this narrative the narrator seems to have no problem. Even though humorous accounts of their queer methods of healing patients are given, they are, naturally, sometimes successful and sometimes unsuccessful. For instance, Maphutha's son, who is known for his ability to redirect medicinal traps from his patients to the people who set them, successfully heals a sick woman by strapping a black cat on her back and then beating it with a stick, whereupon it scratches and bites the patient, who runs and unfastens the cat. Thus freed, the cat climbs into a tree and cries, trembling, before it drops dead on the ground. The patient becomes instantly well. Impressed by his success, the villagers bring him another patient with the same sickness. But this time, instead of climbing into a tree, the freed cat attacks and kills the medicine man (1969:50–56).

Even though the narrator often gives credit to the traditional medicine-men, he also pours derision and ridicule on society's indiscriminate belief in any stranger who claims to be a medicine man. As a result of such belief, some people enrich themselves at the expense of the unsuspecting public, like the

couple who tell a man that a living being buried in his yard is depriving his family of peaceful sleep at night (1969:61–65). After promising to uproot the evil the following morning, they retire with him, only to sneak out during the night and bury a living tortoise they have brought along in his cattle kraal. About such deception, the narrator says:

Go tseba mang le mang gore ga go se se re forago go swana le ditaola. Motho o tla a rwaleletše dithebele le ditaola, a re go fihla go wena a go botše ge e le motho yo a ka go fago lešwalo leo ka lona o tla bolayago mabele, lešaka la tlala dikgomo le dihuswane, etšwe yena a se natšo tšona tšeo. (1969:61).

(Everyone knows that nothing deceives us as easily as divining bones. A man comes carrying a pouch of divining bones, and tells you that he can give you a lucky-charm through which you will have a good harvest and fill your kraals with cattle and small stock, when he himself does not have any of those.)

In such narratives we see the satirist narrator in his social setting. Other narrators, on the other hand, may look at contemporary South Africa and do the same with their narratives. In those narratives we see the narrators in their social as well as political settings. They often reduce all conflicts to two polarities, where white is wealth, power and privilege, and black is poverty, labour and servitude. However, I do not have space to elaborate on, and illustrate this in the present article.

CONCLUSION

Although the narrator in the primary oral narrative has his representation of events limited by the nature of the narrative to the actions and events that can be seen or heard, his counterpart in the written narrative is able to take us wherever he wishes, including inside the minds and hearts of the characters to show us their thoughts and feelings. A considerable balance is struck, however, between the narrator's "telling" and "showing", for he does not become fully dramatized by referring to himself as "I" in the narrative, although he is sometimes dramatized so subtly that an unobservant reader hardly notices. Interestingly the narrator in the written narrative often hands over the narration of events that handle controversial matters to tertiary narrators who participate in the *fabula* as actors, and he thus assumes a position of neutrality while he allows the characters to speak for him. However, certain internal or external stimuli often activate this narrator's other selves to come to the fore and reveal his feelings related to the events being recounted, by means of

digressions. When this happens, such devices as fantasy, humour and satire can help the narrator to conceal his “telling” in the narrative.

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A.C. HODZA, CREATIVE INTERPRETER OF SHONA TRADITIONAL POETRY: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

G. Fortune

The development of Shona as an academic discipline owes much to the experience, research and publications of the late Mr Aaron C. Hodza M.A. (Honoris Causa). At his death in 1983 he was Research Fellow in African Languages in the Department of that name in the University of Zimbabwe. His work, extending over some twenty years, lay mainly in the fields of traditional poetry and culturally defined speech styles. Of poetry he was not only a collector, but also a gifted composer, able within the tradition to recognise and evaluate poetry of many different genres. These are distinguished and exemplified in the three collections he compiled in order to share and perpetuate a heritage in danger of being lost.

The academic recognition of Shona in its homeland, as a language worthy of study and development, came to pass in 1959 with the creation of a Chair in African Languages in the new University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A grant from the Ford Foundation in response to an application from the college had made this development possible (Gelfand 1978:145).

The academic recognition of Shona as a group of related dialects close enough to allow of a common written form and a future literary development was also due to an American grant, this time from the Carnegie Corporation, in 1929. The recognition of this underlying unity was the result of a survey of the Shona dialects conducted by the late Professor C.M. Doke to whom progress in Shona studies will always be indebted (Doke 1931). As an example of the progress made on the foundation he laid, we have witnessed this year (1997), a mere sixty five years since Doke's work, and a short lifetime in the history of a language, the publication of the first completely monolingual Shona dictionary (Chimhundu (ed.) 1996). According to a review which heralded its launch on



Graduation Ceremony, University of Zimbabwe

22 August 1996 at the University of Zimbabwe, “it accommodates and represents all Shona dialects and has excellent explanations, illustrative examples or definitions, which are all in Shona’.¹

In 1959 much required to be done to enable Shona to take its place alongside other languages as an academic discipline. It had been taught at the Universities of Cape Town and London since the mid forties but as a foreign language with the emphasis on grammar and communicative competence. The subject needed to be given a new, rounded development if it was to meet the educational requirements and expectations of Shona-speaking university students and inspire them in their turn as teachers to invigorate the teaching, often sadly neglected, of the languages in the schools. Written literature was only just emerging, and the world of traditional oral literature, apart from some collections of folk-tales, was still unexplored.

At this early stage the new Department of African Languages had the extreme good fortune to engage, almost as a founder member, the person of Aaron Hodza as Shona Language Assistant. His formal educational qualifications were modest, but the qualifications of which the developing subject stood in need, and which he embodied in himself, were beyond price. The most valuable of these was not strictly literary. It was a pride and appreciation of his own traditional culture, both spiritual and material, which disposed him to wish ardently to make it known in its fullness so that it, and not a caricature, should be acknowledged and survive in spite of the inroads of Western ways. Because of the damage done to traditional kinship ties and institutions he referred to these inroads as *chakauya ichi* (this evil thing that has arrived), as for example in this fragment from a *nhango*, or moral instruction, entitled *Misha yava matongo* (Hamlets no longer inhabited).

*Dzimba nemisha zvaaparadzwa nechakauya,
Chisingazivikanwe mavambo nemagumo acho;
Tedza-kwese, huyo yevhuvhunye,
Nhora-mwoyo yapedza kudzura mwoyo yavanhu;
Mhanda-makan'a inoshanyira vaisinei nano,
Gweva-vanhu rakonzera pasi mupindu.*²

“Our homes and hamlets have been destroyed by this contagion,
Unsuspected in its coming, in its going still unsure;
Deceptive and unstable, like a grindstone apt to crumble,
A spell that draws the people’s hearts away from rooted custom;
A restless spirit haunting those on whom it has no claim,
A lure that’s turned our old world upside down.”



“Singing his praise”

It was only after some time that Hodza's gifts as a poet, able to express himself in all the genres of the traditional poetry, came to light in the department. This was roughly at the same time as the existence of these several genres was revealed as the result of his research, guided and enlightened by his own experience. He had grown up in a traditional environment in which the different situations and relational ships of life elicited, and were expressed in, suitable and appropriate poetic language. At the beginning of his work, this world of poetry which Hodza was to reveal, and which was to enrich the grasp and handling of the language in the department, was still unsuspected. His role was that of an informant rather than researcher and field worker, and his willing and discerning help was called on for the preparation of students' course notes in linguistic structure of a language laboratory course for non-Shona speakers, and in the collection of folk-lore and traditions, including songs, from different dialectal backgrounds. It was in this field that his expertise in the rich field of traditional poetry and of traditional speech styles was developed. As a poet he was able to recognize and critically appreciate oral poetry and, as he collected it, so he composed it. As a result of his work, transcribed from tape recordings at village council places and domestic hearths, and his own compositions, the world of Shona discourse was revealed as an exciting inscape of complementary poetic genres, each available to, and at the service of, different social relationships and situations, and of a variety of speech registers characteristic of different social occasions and contexts.

Using as parameter the stages of a man's or a woman's life, what emerged was a progression of genres, appropriate to each stage of development, and distinctive in the choice of formal poetic devices.

1. *Zvidobi, Zvindori*: Children's songs and games involving the rhythmic use of language between sides or competitors.
2. *Magure, Madetembedzo okupfimbana*: courtship poetry, developing indefinitely with age and maturity, from childhood and youth to senescence.
3. *Kuzvidumbidza*: personal and fighting boasts, also developing with age and the hazards and complexities of life. Professional boasts, such as those of diviners and farmers, are later developments in life.
4. *Nhetembo dzamadzinza*: clan praises to express thanks for services rendered.
5. *Kurumbidza*: tributes in praise of spouses, and of others who excel in service, such as hunters, blacksmiths, singers, musicians.

6. *Ndyaringo*: entertaining recitals of experiences, or in celebration of natural wonders. These are appropriate for the time of relaxation after the harvest and call for skill in the use of graphic languages.
7. *Nheketerwa, madeketero*: songs of an allusive style and critical tone sung for the singer's amusement or, in public, as a corrective and the expression of grievances and displeasure. Other similar forms are the utterances of grudges and grievances at threshing parties or at evening dances to the accompaniment of drums and hand pianos; the songs of daughters-in-law addressed allusively to the hearing of their mothers-in-law to vent their complaints; the public, yet oblique, denunciation of a suspected enemy at night; the semi-formal expression of particular grievances between spouses, co-wives, or close relatives; the licensed criticism of his mate by a *sahwira*, or privileged, jocular friend.
8. *Nhango*: poems of moral instruction, "didactic, pragmatic and worldly wise" (Haasbroek 1980), from a mother's brother to a sister's son, or from a father's sister to a brother's daughter.
9. *Kupira midzimu*: rhythmic prayers addressed to the living dead.
10. *Nhembo dzaparufu*: rhythmic laments in times of trouble and condolences in bereavement.

This typology is reflected in the arrangement of the poems in Hodza's three anthologies, *Dura ramadetembedzo aVaShona*, (A barnful of Shona poetic recitals) (1968); *Ugo hwamadzinza aVaShona*, (The culture of the Shona clans) (1974); and *Denhe renduri nenhorimbo*, (A potful of poems and praises) (1980). As he indicated in each of the introductions to his collections, his aim was to enlighten his contemporaries, especially the young, about their traditions and culture, concerning which they appeared to be so heedless and ignorant, not having benefited from the traditional social upbringing which he counted as his good fortune to have enjoyed. His work in the Department of African Languages enabled him to fulfil this service very effectively by the stimulus and direction he gave to our common research and documentation, and also by his contact with generations of students. His popular lectures on Shona speech styles, animated by his sometimes Rabelaisian humour, and by the graphic social settings which these several styles evoked, can be enjoyed in his three volumes of *Shona registers* (1983–86). The first deals with the main institutions and relationships of Shona life and the language appropriate to each. The second deals in like manner with courtship and marriage. Volume 3 deals with several topics, akin to one another in that they deal with the circumambient unseen world of good and evil forces, ancestral blessings as well as witchcraft.

The transfer of the traditional poetry in its spoken form to a corresponding written form was effected in Hodza's work in a way that testifies to his sure touch as a creative interpreter. Haasbroek has recognized the service, easily overlooked and taken for granted, which Hodza has rendered to Shona literature, and to its poetry in particular. He wrote:

I must also congratulate Mr Hodza on his consummate skill as a poet and versifier in transforming traditional oral utterances, some of considerable length, into such artistically satisfying written poems. The two media, oral and written, are often at great variance (Haasbroek, 1980, ii).

An important aspect of this transformation was the display, in the written arrangement, of the structural forms inherent in the poetic utterances. Hodza himself was often unaware of the controlling presence of the traditional poetic devices of linking and parallelism in his work and was pleased and reassured when close analysis revealed their shaping influence. The following fragments are examples which illustrate the formative principles of parallelism, cross-parallelism, front- and cross-linking.³

(a) *Usiku* ndiri *ishe*.

Masikati ndiri *sadunhu*.

"By night I am a king.

By day I govern a province."

(Two lines from a fighting boast conveying emphasis by the use of analogy expressed by the parallel use of imagery and corresponding linguistic forms)

(b) *Chembere* nde-*yembwa*.

Yomunhu inofa ichigurukuta.

"Mere old age is for an old dog.

An old person has death and heartache too."

(Two lines from a fighting boast conveying emphasis through contrast by the cross-parallel use of contrasting imagery and linguistic forms)

(c) *Mune meso anenge etsinza, anoendaenda*.

Mune meno anenge mukaka, akachena semwedzi wechirimo.

Mune mhuno yakati twi, kunge mutswi weduri.

"You have eyes like the oribi's, bright with life.

You have teeth like milk, white as the moon after harvest.

You have a nose, straight as the stamper in a mortar."

(Three lines from a love poem illustrating front-linking and parallelism)

- (d) *Mune kupa kunenge kuramwa;*
Mukati tsitsi dzinenge dzetsoro
Inotsunga kuriritira vana vasi vayo.

“You give, prodigal as if casting away out of pique;
 You show pity such as that of the honey guide,
 The honey guide, persistent in caring for children not its own.”
 (Three lines from a love poem. The first pair show front-linking, the second cross-linking)⁴

John Haasbroek returned the compliment he had been paid when he was invited to write an introduction to *Denhe renduri nenhorimbo* by inviting Aaron Hodza to provide a foreword to a collection of traditional rhythmic prayers to the ancestors which his students at the Gweru Teachers College had garnered from their elders (Haasbroek (ed.) 1979). Hodza was delighted to do so, particularly as the authenticity of his own collections had been vindicated by the independent research of the students, resulting in findings so like his own. What also gave him pleasure was to witness the appearance of a work done by an outsider to reveal and honour his people's sacred traditions. He was moved to compose a praise poem to celebrate gratefully the initiative of his white friend, and he claimed to speak in the name of all who valued their heritage and were uplifted in heart by witnessing its appearance in print. The poem will exemplify Hodza's style and poetic prowess. It consists of a number of front-linked verses, each replete with praise names.

Tinokutenda, Nhangarunvanze yemunakamwe,
Jongwe remurirakamwe,
Nyenyedzi yamavambakuedza,
Ziyanzvanyika namadzinza,
Mudembi wavachakabvu vausakaona.
Une mwoyo munaku usina vamwe
Unosvika kunyikadzimu isitarwe munhu.

Wakaita zvako, Mutorwa asina chinya nemunhu,
Dambanepwere, mudobi asina zishura.
Shiri isidyeh mhunga,
Chidohonyore chenhorimbo namagama
anotapira.

Zvakaitwa zvako, Risinawaro, munda weguru,
Muzinda usitare munhu.
Gumbamatandi,
Mugonakuronga maga namazembera.

Aiwa, zvakaitwa, Sekeramiti.

*Zvirambe zvakadaro kudzamara kuve kusina
ukoni.*

Tatenda, Nyamutorazvose pasina chinosemwa.

Mutopo ndowatashaya.²

“We thank you, Welcome incomer, welcome as a shower of the early rains,

Cock of the early morning cry,
Morning star, heralding the dawn,
Committed to the land and its many clans,
Mourning the departed whom you never saw.
You have a good heart not shared by others
Reaching into the ancestral country unseen by man.

You have done well, Stranger without scorn for the native born,

Playful with the young, leader in the rhythmic
game without a grudge.
Bird that does not rob us of our grain;
Seeker out of our lore in its sweet phrases.

It was kindly done, Giver with an even hand, like a field

sown for the whole family.
Unbiased as a court impartial.
Gathering up all our forms of poetry,
Able to relate the trifling with the profound.

Deed well done, One with a smile even for the trees.

May it go on until the impossible is no more.

We thank you, Who accept all, nothing despised.

Only, a clan name with which to thank you is
what we lack.”

This piece is cast in the form of a clan praise though it is addressed to one who has no clan totem, and whose name and ethnic affiliation can inspire none of the varieties of imagery used in clan praises. These are drawn customarily from the habits and appearance of the totem animal or object itself, from events in the past history of the clan, and from the sense of community and continuity of the present members of the clan with deceased members who are invoked by name. Yet thanks and praise were called for, so Hodza turned to another genre, that of the personal tributes, such as were, and are, evoked by services to the community, for example those performed by warriors, farmers, huntsmen, ironsmiths, or musicians.

As such, the poem is relevant and responsive to the occasion which calls it forth. Here the occasion is the performance of a work by one unrelated by

kinship to the people whose sacred liturgy he has treated with reverence and understanding. The tribute takes account of the person's alien race and culture from which has come an unexpected service so new that it is like the fresh dew of the dawn, or the first cockcrow in the midst of the dark. The poet hails the sympathy that can follow the dead into the underworld, lamenting their passing along with their wisdom, and which can find pleasure and interest in children's games and the imagery of courtship and love poetry. He praises the sensitive insight which treats the devices and conceits of traditional poetry with the skill needed to keep them in balance. To this novel occasion the poet in Hodza rises with complete adequacy, making spontaneous use of twin traditional resources of structure and imagery to construct and blend an original poem.

It was as a representative of traditional culture that Hodza made his contribution to his people and to Zimbabwe. It lives and moves in the rich language which was at his command in all its forms and registers. Through his writings he aimed at affecting continuity between the past and present so that the treasures of traditional wisdom might not be lost in the rush towards modernity. As he wrote in the Introduction to *Ugo*:

*Chikonzero chokunyorwa kwebhuku rino rezvidaudau
zvavakare vedu ndechokuti ndakaona kuti tsika nomutauo
wedu zvava kungorova, isu vari dzi takangotarisa.*

"The reason for gathering the beauties of the past in this book is that I see our customs and language just disappearing while we, the heirs to them, simply look on" (1974:6).

Hodza had been active in the early days of the Zimbabwe African People's Union to the extent of being the chairman of its branch in the Madziwa District, near Sinoia, now called Chinhoyi. He was put under restriction in September 1962, and in November of the same year was arrested and imprisoned for six months on a false charge of arson. When the case came to be heard, the "evidence" was found to be a frame-up, and he was released in March 1963. Subsequently he was not prominent in politics, preferring to express his criticism of the authorities in the veiled and ambiguous language called *chibhende* in which a speaker practises *kuhwanda nomunwe*, "hiding behind a finger".

Our relationship of over twenty years gradually developed to the point where Hodza was prepared to call me his *sahwira*. *Usahwira* is a relationship of familiar friendship characterized by a marked degree of privilege and jocularly. In fact it ranks as a joking relationship. In its full form among the Shona, *vanasahwira* enjoy a great deal of liberty in regard to helping themselves

to one another's property and in the language they may use to, and of, one another in public. Thus they may indulge in licensed abuse and criticism in a way that would be offensive and actionable in the context of other relationships. Between Hodza and myself these more extreme manifestations of jocular or licensed familiarity were inhibited by our different cultural backgrounds and our differences of status in our department. Though I was his administrative superior, I was, in matters of Shona culture and language, Hodza's disciple, taking freely from his hoard of knowledge and experience in order to mediate it to the scholarly world of African Studies. Though the theoretical and descriptive interpretations in my articles were mine, the evidence on which they were based was derived from him, and he did not get the credit for his share of the authorship which he deserved. That received full and due acknowledgement only when our joint *Shona praise poetry* (1979) was published. He was generosity itself and lived up to his clan's praise name of *Mazvimbakupa* (One who yearns to give).

I think he felt that the disclosure of so much of the intimacies of Shona culture required the uninhibited relationship of *usahwira* with the laughter that was its complement. On the other hand, as a *sahwira* entitled and expected to criticise his friend, he felt able to pass on his opinion of us, his fellow countrymen and rulers. In just such a strain could the *sahwira* of a chief serve as the licensed representative of his subjects, bringing their grievances and concerns to his notice. Here are a few lines of a satirical praise poem which Hodza judged as suitable for the situation, stopping short of the actionable by means of allusion and humour.

Vana vaPfumojena

*Wazviita, mwana waMushongerakurwa.
Makauya musina mabvi, iwo munawo.
Muna makonbwe namadzitateguru ari mhiri kwemakungwa
kunoendwa nokudenga.
Svutugadzike ndeyokutamba nayo,
Vamvura inovaraidza muzinda.
Vakomana vemhuno ndefu, munorwa isopera,
Vachiropa chisingadyike nokuvava.
Vana vaMakomo kure. Kuti masvika zvava zvikukutu.
Muna amai vasoziva mbereko nemindya.
Vana vaRambakupetwa. Waripeta ndowaripa kudya.
Mune mhuno inenge mutswi. Weduri unosara pasi.
Mune kushinga kunenge kwemheni
Inoshingirira kurova ibwe risina chinowanikwamo.*

*VaMupfudza pavake,
Vakohwi vapavasina kudzongera.*²

“Children of Whitespear”

“Thank you, child of the One equipped for war.
You came as if without knees, while having them indeed.
Your guardian spirits and ancestors lie beyond the seas,
Reached by travelling through the sky. Tea is what you toy with,
Using water to beautify your court.
Lads of the long noses, fighting a never-ending war.
Lord Crow’s-liver, too bitter to eat.
Sons of Him who strains after hills afar.
When you reach them, they turn out to be hillocks.
Your mother does not know the cradle skin, nor the
straps that fasten it.
Sons of Him who will not bend. Whoever bends him
must compensate with food.
You have a nose like a stamping pestle. The mortar’s
yields it pride of place.
Your energy is like the lightning’s,
Intent on striking a stone with nothing inside it.
One who tears down to build anew,
Reapers where they have not sown.”

The last service which a *sahwira* should render his friend is to bury him. Even here, on the journey to the grave, the aspects of jocularly and licensed abuse customarily appear. A.C. Hodza died on 6 September 1983, aged fifty-nine years. A memorial service was held in the university chapel some three weeks later. Given the circumstances, the only way this *sahwira* could fulfil his duty was to offer a tribute in accordance with university conventions. Anything more jocular than a gentle play on the name with which we used most often to address him would have been quite out of place. We recalled that when God wished Moses to go to the Pharaoh to demand the release of his people, Moses said, “No, Lord, don’t send me. I have never been a good speaker.” So the Lord said, “What about your brother, Aaron? I know he can speak well.”

Aaron Hodza was a good spokesman for his literary and cultural tradition, and the worth of his work was recognised by the university in conferring on him, in 1978, the degree of M.A. (Honoris Causa) and subsequently appointment to the post created for him of Research Fellow in African Languages. His colleague in the same field, Professor Solomon M. Mutswairo,

has called Hodza's work "a monumental contribution to Shona culture and its traditions in both prose and poetry".⁵

The last piece he sent me was a small praise poem addressed to the baboon, entitled *Bveni munhu* (Baboon is human). It was written as a commentary on a stone carving of a baboon, cradling its dead child in its arms, which had been my retirement presentation.

Bveni munhu

Maita, Mufanetwake.

Makaramba kusiya mwana akafa.

Maita, Mudyanevana,

Kunyima vana zvinoshura.

Kunyangara zvaro, gudo haridye usiku,

Asi, vakarima, tinodya tose.

Makaramba kuisa musoro pasi,

Mukarara mugere.

"Pamasvosve tinotakura chara negumbo,

Asi mhanimhani tinobovera."

"Baboon is human"

"Thank you, One who dies of his own ailments,

Yet you would not abandon your dead child.

Thank you, One who feeds with children,

To stint children is to invite a curse.

Bad though it be, yet baboon never forages at night.

As for those who do the cultivating, well, we all eat alike.

You will not lay your head upon the ground,

And so you sleep, sitting up all night.

"Where there are ants, we hold Tom Thumb up with our foot,

But scorpions we gobble down entire."

ENDNOTES

- 1 Mabasa, Ignatius T., Local languages milestone', *The Herald*, Harare, 12.8.1996.
- 2 From an unpublished poem in the writer's possession.

- 3 The various correspondences are indicated by bold type.
- 4 The examples are from Hodza and Fortune, 1979: (a) p. 372; (b) p. 378; (c) p. 392; (d) pp. 147–148.
- 5 Personal communication, 1.4.1996.

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THE FILM *WEND KUUNI* (BY GASTON KABORÉ) AND THE ORAL LEGACY^{1,2}

C.F Swanepoel

Made in 1982, *Wend Kuuni* is a film by the celebrated Burkina Faso film-maker Gaston Kaboré.³ Burkina Faso has played a central role in the development of African film and has produced a number of trail-blazing movies. The biennial Festival Pan-Africain du Cinema de Ouagadougou (FESPACO) has been held in the capitol Ouagadougou since the foundation of the organisation some twenty-four years ago (Tomaselli 1996:13). The festival is supported by the Organisation of African Unity, and Gaston Kaboré – together with West African film-makers such as Sembène Ousmane (the Senegal novelist), Souleymane Cissé and Idrissa Ouedraogo – has been instrumental in the development of the film industry in West Africa. In Gaston's own words "The example of Burkina, one of the world's poorest countries, proves that the creation of a national cinema has more to do with political will, effective use of existing resources and the creation of a cinematic environment than with money" (Gevisser 1992:4).

The film has been hailed for its effort on the part of the African film-maker to "return to the sources" of her/his culture, to rediscover "a 'usable' past", for its "measured rhythms of traditional African storytelling to create an authentically African cinematic language" (*Wend Kuuni*, back cover). Mark Gevisser (1992:3) is also quite outspoken in this respect: "Kaboré", he says,

... eschews Hollywood's neurotic tyranny of plot and recreates, instead, the cadence of an authentically African voice: languorous, pastoral and rich; metaphorical to the point of abstraction; lyrical to the point of poetry. As with a traditional folk-tale, the simplest of characters carry with them whole villages of history; as with traditional masks, the most wooden of faces express, with the etchings of their wrinkles, whole histories of emotion.

A little later Gevisser (1992:3) says:

Kaboré shows how, by marrying the most sophisticated Western cinematography with quintessentially African notions of storytelling, a very post-colonial finger could be raised to Hollywood.

The objective here is to explore the film's link with *orality* and all that the concept in this regard entails. While I will not question the obvious influence of oral tradition, I would like to suggest that its orality should be seen in a wider context of *rurality* and *pastoralism*. When, fairly early in the film, we watch a traditional harvest scene on the screen, the narrator says:

This was long ago, long before the white man came.
The Mossi Empire was in its days of splendour.
There was much grain. Rivers and wells were overflowing.
No one was hungry. All lived in peace and in good health.
(*My transcription from the film*)

Scenes of expanding landscapes, of sheep and cattle herding with the familiar and reassuring sounds of flocks of sheep approaching the drinking place, abound. Scenes of restful traditional living, with the camera often returning to the village of Tinga and Lale, or of Bila and his young wife Timpoko; scenes of traditional grain pounding, butter-making, or the weaving of textiles – these all fill us in on the kind of living during the 15th century, as the publicity material locates the historical time of the story. A striking pastoral scene is the one portraying the search for the boy's parents – when men on horseback cross the country, stopping at villages to enquire from local inhabitants. The camera-work here is enterprising and clever. A few long and short camera shots are enough to call up a major activity, and to remind one of a vast country of seemingly peaceful rural existence.

An important sign of rurality and pastoralism is the film's music. Only a few melodies are used right through the film, all reminiscent of the signature tune which we hear when the title appears on the screen. The melody is often produced by one, two or perhaps three instruments. They sound like a viola or perhaps a cello, or combinations of these. They are sometimes joined by woodwinds, brass and percussion. Young voices are used in the signature tune at the end of the film. There is a beautiful scene at the flock's drinking place where a solo oboe or cor Anglais plays the melody. This the mute herdboy imitates with the reed-flute he made himself. The composer, René Guirma, has been particularly sensitive to the atmosphere Kaboré wanted for the different scenes in the film, and his/her contribution is no doubt remarkable. The melodies are as uncomplicated as folk-songs, but one cannot say that they are

in fact folk-tunes. In a way they remind one of the African inspired compositions of the young Pretoria composer Alexander Johnson.

Coming now to the text of the film, and the kind of orality I am studying, I would like to do three things: make a number of observations about the verbal component and language in the film; work through the rough notes about the scenes demarcated during several viewings; and address views by two literary scholars of West African film with reference to their applicability to *Wend Kuuni*.

On orality

“Orality” is a broad term referring to a historic, sociocultural linguistic condition in which all communication – from factual day-to-day communication, through to artistic verbal communication that gives vent to the human need to entertain and/or to enchant – took place orally, that is by way of speaking and listening, from mouth to ear, as Ngugi wa Thiong’o puts it (1990:972). This was undoubtedly true of the Mossi Empire of the 15th century portrayed in the film. However, we have to remember that we are dealing with a cinematic representation of that time. The film was made in 1982, a time in human history in which the computer, the film camera and the motion picture all had developed considerably, if not breathtakingly. The orality we are talking about here cannot be a primary orality. It is a secondary orality rather, one that is mechanically transmitted, deferred in time. “This is where the new media – radio, cinema and television – find their place. Thus a media-controlled orality can co-exist with the other three,” Anny Wynchank (1994:13) aptly states.

The film certainly creates an impression of the state of primary orality, although through its intelligent and artistic use of the means of modern technology. There is no doubt an economy of language, although my verbatim transcription of the English sub-script covers no fewer than eighteen handwritten pages. Most of the time the language is limited to short, and in linguistic terms, simple or single sentences. It is only during the heated argument between the elderly Bila and his young wife Timpoko that one gets a fairly long stretch of accusation and counter-accusation with many interjections from bystanders and people who are anxious to stop the quarrel. Complex sentences one seldom comes across. There are often long pauses between stretches of language. The speaking tempo is slow most of the time (but not always), to match the camera as it surveys the landscape.

This being so, the film is more of a representation of a story than real drama; more of a mix of telling and happening of the story than drama. Gaston

Kaboré makes effective use of a narrator at four significant stages of the film, giving the impression of a narrative-based approach – as we shall see shortly. The narrative may sometimes be reminiscent of a dramatized folktale, but a folktale in the true sense it is not, at least not in the way it is represented in the film.

The story is more complex than a traditional folktale. While it tells the central story of the mute boy in search of his parents, there are also side stories with their own plots, solved and unsolved. While it will be possible to recognize some of Propp's thirty-one functions that made up his famous "morphology of the folktale", they do not come together in the way they do in a folktale. Even if one looks at African folklorists' adaptation of Propp's model, such as by C.T.D Marivate (1971) or C.T. Msimang (1980), one fails to apply them coherently and consistently. There are examples of functions such as *lack of initial situation*, of interdiction, *violation*, *villainy*, and *consequence*, but they are not coherent, or carried through as in the traditional folktale.

This I do not see as a weakness in the film. In fact, it would be a gross misunderstanding on the part of the critic to hold this against the work. It is the spirit and atmosphere of *orature* and *orality* that should be looked at for a fair understanding of Gaston Kaboré's tale. To me the film presents what one could call a cinematic *idyll* – a film portraying idealized scenes from rural life. Seen together with its fine music, it is "a serene composition suggestive of pastoral repose" (Webster 1981:476).

THE SCENES

I have not had access to the film's script, which would have been helpful. It would have been interesting too to see how and where this demarcation of scenes differs from Marie-Jeanne Kanyala's script. I have counted two introductory scenes during the prelude, that is before the title appears on the screen and the film "officially" starts. In the first an elderly gentleman opens the door of his house and addresses a weeping woman at the other side. He tries to convince her to marry again, since her husband has been away for thirteen months and will not come back. She does not agree. When he leaves her, she is alone with her grief, asking "What shall I do"? Painfully she decides: "I'll run away from here. I'll take my son and run away. It is the only solution ... I'll run away." That is scene 2 of the prelude.

When the film starts, we see a traveller getting off his donkey and approaching a bush. He finds a boy lying flat on his face. He investigates and finds that the boy is still alive. He discovers that the boy is a mute, but he can hear. He gives

him water and the boy recovers. They leave. This is scene 3 (Traveller finds mute boy).

Scene 4 (Arrival at Tinga's village) shows how the traveller brings the boy to a nearby settlement where he leaves him in the hands of Tinga, a weaver of textiles. His wife is Lale, and their only child is a daughter called Pogneré. She takes an immediate interest in the newcomer and is surprised that he cannot speak. The scene is rather important for our understanding of the film and its language. Let us look at my transcription:

Mother: Pogneré, have you nearly finished?

Pogneré: Yes.

Traveller: Good day!

Tinga: Greetings!

Tr: How are you?

T: Well, and you?

Tr: Very well.

T: What is it?

Tr: I found this boy in the bush ... He was lying there, half dead. I could not leave him there.

T: I see.

Tr: I have seen your farm. You may know him ...

T: What's his name?

Tr: He cannot talk. I think he is a mute.

T: He is not from this village.

Tr: I'll leave him in your care. I'm just passing through.

T: Leave him here. I'll find his parents. Isn't it strange? I wonder how he got here.

Tr: May I have some water? I have very far to go.

T: Of course. Pogneré, come here! ... Go and fill the gourd.

Tr: I'm a salesman, a hawker. Here today ... somewhere else tomorrow.

Pogneré (to Wend Kuuni): What's your name? Do you hear me? Well, answer me. My name is Pogneré. And you?

T: Safe journey!

Tr: Thank you!

T: (to Pogneré and Wend Kuuni) Let's go inside.

The language is indeed kept to the minimum, and there are long pauses between the different turns of the characters. But the language is sufficient and progressive. I will call it functional.

Scene 5 (The search for the parents.) In this scene the narrator speaks for the first time. He says:

Narrator: The chief of the village has decided to send riders across the land to spread the news. The child's parents must appear at the court.

The camera now takes us with the riders across the land. The search is in vain. The scene ends at the chief's court where the boy is entrusted to the care of Tinga. He, at request of the chief, gives him a new name: Wend Kuuni (God's Gift).

Scene 6 (Wend as herdboy. Rural harvesting) It is in this scene that the narrator speaks for the second time, locating the story in precolonial times, as we have indicated earlier.

Scene 7 (Market-place). The hustle and bustle of a traditional African market. Wend is given work. He must sell Tinga's textiles. The film shows how Wend copes with his inability to speak, using his hands and fingers.

Scene 8 (Home and homely chores). The scene shows how Wend assists his foster father, and how Lale scorns her little daughter. A passing visitor is told that Wend has been with the family for two years now. This makes the scene quite important since it is used to indicate passing time.

Scene 9 (Wend and his flock). There is no spoken language in this scene, and it is used entirely to reflect Wend's loneliness and longing for his parents. The scene shows how in his mind he sees his father, good-looking and dressed as a hunter (and hero).

Scene 10 (Home again). The scene spends time showing how the mother ill-treats her daughter, who is more interested in Wend Kuuni than bothering about her mother's quarrelsome attitude. To Wend Pongoré says: "Wend Kuuni, last night I dreamt that ... you could speak. It seemed so real."

Scene 11 (Wend and his flock again). The narrator tells about Wend's orphaned existence. He says:

Narrator: Although Wend Kuuni has a new family ... he must still bear his grief alone. He thinks of all he has lived through. As a mute he has no one to confide in.

It is a beautiful pastoral scene which once again symbolizes Wend's lonely existence as well as his world of thoughts.

Scene 12 (Home again). Pogneré's mother sends her to go and fetch water at

the river. We see landscapes of pastoral settings. The scene prepares us for the following one in which Pogneré is sent again. This time things go wrong.

Scene 13 (Pogneré is sent to take butter to her aunt). Instead of walking straight to the aunt, Pogneré passes the kraal where she picks up Wend Kuuni's reed-flute. She aims in the direction of the veld.

The scene is interrupted with scene 14. It takes place at Bila's village where a quarrel between Bila and his wife is eventually but temporarily solved through the intervention of Tinga and some friends. The questionable attitude towards women and their position in the male-dominated society come out clearly.

When the people disperse, the camera returns to the uncompleted scene 13, showing Wend in pensive mood clearly suffering from loneliness. It is in this position that Pogneré surprises him. The affection between the two young people is clear. She presents him with the flute and asks him to play. Again using his hands, he shows her that she must leave. She says:

P: Play me something before I go ... Don't you want to? Will you play me at the river then? Promise? Promise?

And the narrator says:

Narrator: That day Wend Kuuni awoke with a strange foreboding. All day long the feeling never left him. What was going to happen?

The next scene is a return to yet another part of scene 13: the arrival of Pogneré with the butter, although not at the aunt's place (she wasn't there) but at her mother's. The mother's scorn of her child continues.

Scene 15 (Tinga visits Bila) shows Bila brooding over the quarrel with his wife. Although everything looks fine on the surface, body language gives enough reason to believe that things are not well at all. Something may happen.

Scene 16 is a night scene with three shifts of location. It first shows Wend Kuuni discovering the corpse of Bila hanging from a tree. There is a shout of shock. The camera then shifts to the home of his foster parents. The dialogue reveals their surprise that he has not come home yet. Pogneré tells them that he has gone to the fields to search for his lost knife. Then, Wend appears, *shouting*: "Old man Bila ... in the fields. He's hung himself!" Tinga says: "Take it easy. Tell me what happened." Wend replies: "I wanted to get my knife and found Bila there, hanging." It is Pogneré who first makes the surprising observation: "Wend Kuuni can talk!" Lale says: "Keep quiet!", and Tinga replies: "Lale, you see what I mean: Wend Kuuni speaks." She replies: "Yes,

since when have you been able to talk”? He says: “I don’t know.” Pogneré urges him: “Tell them what happened”, while the father says: “Wend Kuuni take us there.” From a distance and with fine imagination the camera now follows the group as they make their way through the night.

This important scene shows the unravelling of a well-known psycho-medical condition, Wend Kuuni’s muteness which was temporary. It is a known phenomenon that muteness can result from a traumatic experience (which the audience does know at this stage), and that it can be brought to an end by the occurrence of another often similar or related incident (Bila’s suicide, which Gaston Kaboré allows his audience to share with the young Wend).

In Scene 17 the loving Pogneré visits Wend in the fields where he is herding his flock of sheep. She seizes their cordial relationship to ask him to tell her about his mysterious life. When Wend starts to reply, one feels that a crucial stage of the story has been reached. Wend relates to Pogneré the part of the story whose the end we saw at the beginning! This is a true flashback with a lot of information, and we see how Gaston Kaboré makes full use of the advantages of the film medium. Wend says:

I remember when my mother and I were very poor, I fell ill very often.
My mother cried a lot, she talked a lot about father. But I never knew him. One day ...

From here scene 18 takes over as an *analepsis*, showing the boy and his mother in their little house. The mother weeps about the missing father whom she still hopes will return to relieve them of their hardship. While she sings her son a little song, noises are heard at the outside of the house. There are shouts that she should come out. When the mother appears outside, she faces an angry crowd who accuses her of being a witch and of killing and bewitching their children. Mother and son watch as their house is put on fire. They start to run away. In a state of delirium the mother imagines (and the audience sees) her hunter-husband leaving the house, an epitome of a hero, the lost prince. The camera follows mother and child as they take to the wilderness, later to find some place to rest. The son observes his mother’s exhaustion and devastation, mumbling her grief of what will happen to him. She dies. And the flashback ends with the son calling: “Mother, mother, mother, mother!” The shouts, one accepts, were the last words before he became mute.

The camera returns to scene 17 and Wend completes his narration:

Wend: I ran many hours.
Then I stumbled and fell.

When I awoke ...
Pogneré: ... the traveller was there.

The film ends with Wend telling Pogneré:

The sun is setting. Hurry home.

The camera stops on a pleasing rural scene and the credits roll while functional music adds to the viewer's feeling of satisfaction.

VIEWS BY WYNCHANK AND MAKWARD

Coming now to the third promise, one would like to repeat the view that this film was created in the spirit of oral tradition, and that it succeeds in recreating the atmosphere of those times. However, in the process of the griot shedding his old skin (image from Abiola Irele 1971:17) to become a cineaste, much has been added and some may have been lost. Anny Wynchank postulates four characteristics of how the oral tradition marks the structure as well as the content of many West African films:

- The narrative is structured in a linear pattern, often interspersed with digressions and marked with repetitions. The rhythm of the montage and the pace of the film are usually slow. This is particularly noticeable in such films as *Yeleen*, by Souleymane Cissé, from Mali, *Tilai* by Idrissa Ouedraogo from Burkina Faso, and *Wend Kuuni* by Gaston Kaboré, the famous film-maker, one of the founders of the biennial Pan-African Film Festivals in Ouagadougou in 1969. This slow rhythm, which might enrage the hurried Western spectator, reflects the African mode of living.
- The characters in the film are often types who can be found in the oral tale, including the trickster, the thwarted lover, the dictatorial father, the domineering woman, etc., and their itinerary can be that of an initiatory journey.
- The topic of the film, as in the oral tale, is often based on the irrational.
- Finally, the film usually illustrates a moral teaching.

While the basic outline may be in order for the body of films from West Africa, one needs to be careful not to generalize. The question is whether these features (linearity, oral-tale character types, irrationality, and moralization) will not depend on, first, the story chosen, then the intention of the cineaste and, accordingly, the way the script was put together. Gaston Kaboré chose an old tale and preferred to relate and to recreate pristine Mossi culture that way. The linearity of the film is broken up at pivotal stages – at the beginning, in the

middle (cf what has been marked here as scene 13), and towards the end (scene 17, its flashback (scene 18) and the return to 17). The linear scenes are often incomplete and contain elements which validate further development and solutions in following scenes (cf Pogneré's transgressing of home rules to see the boy, and Bila's quarrel that led to his unhappy ending which is reflected in parts of scenes 14, 15 and 16). The mysterious father figure is shown twice as reflections of the thoughts of son and mother (in scenes 9 and 18 respectively). These are signs of non-linearity which show considerable skill in manipulating story time and narrative time, as well as similar skill in utilizing the profound means of the film medium. Here the camera's interaction with landscape and the microphone's with music are additional voices the cineaste employs to speak concurrently with the scenes of the plot. A film-maker with different intentions may choose to work differently with the same tale.

An African-American scholar who follows the development of West African film at close range is Edris Makward.⁴ Basing himself on the novels and films of Sembène Ousmane, and addressing the captivating shift from griot to cineaste, Makward inter alia remarks:

It is as if the griot of modern times that Sembène Ousmane had become, in his own eyes and in the eyes of many of his admirers, had moved from the status of *maître de la parole* (master of the word), to paraphrase another African writer, Camara Laye, to that of *maître de l'image* (master of the image).

One has to also admit that there is in these films, a certain dryness in the scenarios and in the dialogues; it is indeed as if the importance of the art of speech was reduced to the minimum, as if le *maître de la parole* (the master of speech) in adopting a new medium the language of visual images had lost interest in verbal art as a means of expression that could be combined effectively with this new medium, and had decided to give almost total preeminence to the new *maître de l'image* (master of images) that he has become. This weakness, this relegation to the secondary role of verbal art, of the art of dialogue or of narrative, constitutes, in my opinion, the major flaw of much of African cinema, not just the cinema of Sembène.

Professor Makward's scholarly and eloquent distinctions between word/speech and images, and the way the African film-maker chose the latter (sometimes to the detriment of the former), are worthy of consideration. The distinction fits and honours those film-makers of Africa who are using the rich oral past to explore the present and to forge the way to the future. While admitting that Gaston Kaboré too could not escape this "power struggle" between dialogue and image, I would not like to hold this against him in full. Again the film-

maker's intentions with the subject matter, the way s/he chose to draft the script, and the abilities of the medium itself (camera, sound and screen) should be considered. It is perhaps one of the "disadvantages" of the film medium that it tends to overpower the word, given its great visual mobility. To be effective and fully utilized according to its nature and abilities, it does require less speech, since the audience fills in and interprets what is seen on the screen. It demands swift changes of scene which puts a limitation on the quantity of speech (and perhaps even on quality). The "battle" between speech and image becomes a power struggle between eye and ear, seeing and listening, and humankind's ability to comprehend not necessarily through participation of both, but either through the one or the other. While one would be inclined to expect that participation of these and other senses would create full(er) comprehension, the medium dictates that the one should not be a mere duplication of the other. The viewer's interpretation of the image often renders the word/dialogue/speech unnecessary. If this is true, ideally, image and speech should be complementary, not (necessarily) duplicatory.

Supporting the film's impression of orality is the use of the Bukina Faso indigenous language Moore (see endnote 3). This enhances its accessibility to the local population and their identification with the film medium. This brave step on the part of the producer is an act of empowerment of the African language, and already an indication of the probability of Ngugi's prediction (1990:972) about the "return of the native tongue" in the 21st century. The use of French or English would have marred authenticity, while the subscript in English (and French?) enables international viewing as well.

Gaston Kaboré's *Wend Kuuni* suggests a creative way of how Africa's rich oral past will be preserved and recreated through the breathtaking cinematographic developments of our century and the following. From the student of orality in its different skins it will require similar breathtaking scholarly insights and skills.

ENDNOTES

1. This contribution was read as an introduction to the showing of the film on 4 September 1996, as part of the First Unisa African Film Festival, 31 August–6 September 1996. I would like to thank the organiser Dr Martin Botha (Department of Communication) for the generous invitation to participate.
2. In August 1973 I was interviewed by a selection committee of the University of South Africa for a senior lectureship in the Department of African Languages. Professor J.A. Louw was one of the senior representatives of the Department. During the interview he asked me whether I was interested in *folklore*. I replied positively, yet with one reservation: "Only insofar as folklore serves as inspiration and nourishment

to modern literature”, I said. To what extent the reply contributed to my appointment in the Department, I will not know. What I do know is that Professor Louw’s question started a process during which my folklore interests and research activities have developed considerably further than the reservation I had mentioned at the time: over the past twenty-three years at Unisa I have published widely in the fields of praise poetry, migrant poetry, and the oral-written interface; expansion to the fascinating field of African film was inevitable. All these I owe to the Nestor to whom I dedicate this contribution for his scholarly influence and enriching friendship.

3. Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) lies near the centre of what is known as French West-Africa. Neighbouring states are Mali (in the North and West); Ivory Coast, Ghana and Togo (in the South); and Niger (in the North-east). There is a population of about 10 000 000 people. About 53% of the population speaks Moore, the language used in the film. In Greenberg’s classification of the languages of Africa, Moore falls in the Niger-Kordofanian language family. Speakers of Moore as first language represent the largest single unit known as Mossi. The French colonisers arrived in 1880 and formal colonisation followed in 1916 after a “brutal uprising” was crushed by the French. The country gained independence in 1960, its capitol being Ouagadougou. It changed its name to Burkina Faso in 1984 and its present president, Captain Blaise Compaoré, was elected in 1987. Among its major industries are agriculture, processed foods and textiles – an ancient industry of which we see much in the film. Mining, tyre manufacturing and film are the other large industries. It exports cotton, gold and live stock. Despite these activities it is still a very poor country with a literacy rate of about 15% (Grimes, 1992:166).
4. Professor Marquard from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, read a paper on aspects of orality in West African films at a conference held in Tunisia in March 1996. I contacted him by fax shortly after Dr Martin Botha asked me to participate in the Unisa African Film Festival, and his kind sending of a copy of his manuscript is acknowledged with thanks.

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FOUNDATIONS IN KHOISAN STUDIES: A SURVEY OF A SELECTION OF PAPERS FROM *BANTU STUDIES* AND *AFRICAN STUDIES*, 1921–1967

A. Traill

INTRODUCTION

The journal *Bantu Studies* and its successor, *African Studies*, have been associated with the publication of Khoisan topics for over 70 years. The journal has provided South African-based scholars with a forum for publishing the results of local research in this field and the contributors number some of the pioneers: D.F. Bleek, W.H.I. Bleek, C.M. Doke, J.F. Maingard, G.S. Nienaber. Its pages provide precious records of a number of now extinct groups such as the Korana, the |Xam, the |'Auni, the ||Xegwi, and, linguistically, the ≠ Khomani. Khoisan studies have maintained a steady momentum since they were initiated in the last century with W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd's investigations of |Xam (Bleek and Lloyd, 1911), and they have recently received a renewed impetus from anthropological, historical, linguistic and archaeological research. Today there are regular international Khoisan conferences, a specialist monograph series, *Quellen zur Khoisan Forschung/Research in Khoisan Studies*, and even an interdisciplinary Khoisan electronic mail bulletin board.

Recently an intense interest in the Khoisan peoples and their languages has come from a quite different direction, namely from the recognition that the new South Africa should acknowledge its Khoisan heritage and the people who still identify with it. Suddenly, the ≠ Khomani and the Griqua are laying claim to land and cultural rights under the new dispensation and when the latter turn

to language, the importance of *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* as an archive is obvious.

This article contributes to the momentum of interest in the Khoisan field through a survey of a selection of papers from *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* which may be little known or inaccessible but which have made an important contribution, and in some cases even provided a foundation for the discipline. The period covered is from the inception of the journal in 1921 until 1967, a period which may be identified with the flowering of the early tradition of Khoisan studies in South Africa. The papers surveyed are listed in appendix 1; appendix 2 is a list of all the papers on Khoisan topics which were published in *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* during the survey period.

Bantu Studies and African Studies

When the first number of *Bantu Studies* appeared in October 1921 it carried the sub-title “and general South African anthropology”. In his opening editorial entitled “*Native studies in South Africa*”, the editor, J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, felt it necessary to explain that the title of the journal had been selected mainly for brevity and that there had been no intention of excluding “contributions on Bushman or Hottentot lore”. Indeed, this was soon evident, because the next number of the journal carried A.W. Hoernlé’s note “A Hottentot rain ceremony” (the sole Khoisan contribution in volume 1). By the time volume 2 appeared in 1923, *Bantu Studies* had a new sub-title: “A journal devoted to the scientific study of Bantu, Hottentot, & Bushman” and it carried no fewer than five papers on linguistic, anthropological and ethnological topics on the Bushmen.

Bantu Studies retained this sub-title until 1941 when it was renamed *African Studies* and during its first 20 years all but the last four volumes carried at least one paper on a Khoisan topic. Undoubtedly, volume 10, 1936, and volume 11, 1937, crowned this effort with the publication of 14 papers reporting the results of the University of the Witwatersrand’s research trip to study the Bushmen living between the Auop and Nossop rivers in Gordonia. These papers together with some additional material were republished in 1937 as *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*, edited by J.D. Rheinallt-Jones and C.M. Doke.

The re-naming of the journal was simply supposed to reflect a change in editorial policy to embrace a “wider scope” of subject matter, but in fact it marked a dramatic break in the publication of Khoisan research in the journal. It was to be fully 20 years before *African Studies* again published a paper on a Khoisan topic, in the form of L.W. Lanham and D.P. Hallows’ papers on Eastern Bushman (*African Studies*, 1956), and since then only a limited number

of papers on Khoisan topics have appeared in the journal. The reason for this uneven activity over 74 years may be attributed to the special “market forces” that have governed this field of investigation in South Africa.

In his 1921 editorial, Rheinallt-Jones had expressed the hope that the creation of *Bantu Studies* might encourage South African academics to initiate a local research effort in Khoisan studies, a field that had received more attention from scholars in Berlin, Hamburg and London and untrained missionaries, explorers and administrators. He quoted with approval the sentiments expressed in the *South African Quarterly* of September 1920 that it would have been “nothing less than a national disgrace if we looked on remissly at this work being done entirely by outsiders” and that “South African scholars can achieve pre-eminence in the world’s learning in this field if they choose to do so” (*Bantu Studies*, 1, 1921). The modest response reflected the small number of local scholars who were able to rise to this challenge: until 1937 Dorothea Bleek accounted for about 70% of all Khoisan contributions to the new journal! During the same period only three other scholars, Doke, Kirby and Maingard published more than one paper there. In the next 25 years it is J.F. Maingard’s name, almost exclusively, that dominates the authors of Khoisan contributions. The pool of scholars thus turned out to be quite small. Nevertheless, the history of Khoisan studies shows that both Dorothea Bleek and Maingard were scholars with an international reputation who made a major contribution to Khoisan studies in South Africa and one can imagine that Rheinallt-Jones must have derived some personal satisfaction from being able to publish some of their scholarship in *Bantu/African Studies*.

The selected papers

Dorothea Bleek’s prodigious output was a reflection of her untiring commitment to continuing the tradition of research initiated by her father W.H.I Bleek and aunt L.C. Lloyd. This took the form of preparing for publication some of the |Xam texts collected by her father and aunt, conducting fieldtrips to East Africa and to remote parts of southern Africa to study Khoisan languages and cultures and the compilation of her magnum opus, *A Bushman dictionary* (American Oriental Society 1956) which incorporated the |Xam vocabulary collected by her father and aunt. However, only a few of Dorothea Bleek’s most original publications in the field of Khoisan studies appeared in *Bantu Studies* (none of her oft-quoted statements on Khoisan genetic relationships did). These were her papers on the Bushmen of central Angola (*Bantu Studies*, 3) and her grammatical sketch, texts and vocabulary of !’Auni (*Bantu Studies*, 11), both based on her own fieldwork. They provide a precious record (from !’Auni the only one) of groups of

Bushmen who were on the verge of extinction when she studied them. The !'Auni of Gordonia are now gone and today the Angolan !kū or !kuŋ or !o !kū – Bleek used all three names – in their modern guises as !Kung or Vasekela – are in the final stages of the cultural and linguistic disintegration that was in progress 70 years ago when Bleek visited them. She recorded the linguistic symptoms then: codeswitching with Nyemba and the substitution of non-clicks for clicks in the speech of the youth. These studies just rescue those groups from complete oblivion.

The bulk of Dorothea Bleek's papers in *Bantu Studies* consists of a collection of !Xam texts, selected by her from the Bleek and Lloyd archival collection, under the general title "Customs and beliefs of the !Xam Bushmen" (*Bantu Studies*, 5,6,7,9,10). These texts have made important contributions to the interpretation of Bushman cosmology and religion as reflected in the Rock Art of the Bushmen (for example Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Dowson & Lewis-Williams 1994) and some offer a few intriguing glimpses into the personal lives of the narrators (see Deacon 1986, Hewitt 1986). These are soon to be reproduced together with other !Xam texts (Lewis-Williams (forthcoming)). The piece "Special speech of animals and moon used by the !Xam Bushmen" (*Bantu Studies*, 10) is of special linguistic interest. In their stories, the !Xam portrayed the speech of animals such as the blue crane, ostrich, tortoise and jackal with distinctive phonetic peculiarities reflecting articulatory limitations or personality attributes. Thus, the ostrich cannot click because its "tongue is bone and is round and not long"; the jackal uses a nonaffricated version of the bilabial click as a substitute for all clicks and the tortoise substitutes labials for most consonants because "it does not talk with its tongue, it talks with its mouth's skin". As many of the substitutions are systematic, they provide interesting perspectives on the narrator's linguistic analysis of normal !Xam sounds, in much the same way as linguistic games in other traditions.

"Bushman terms of relationship" (*Bantu Studies*, 2), presents comparative kinship terminology from !Xam, compiled by D. Bleek from the W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd manuscripts together with kinship terminology from Naron, !k'au !len and !kuŋ based on her own material collected in the field. The paper thus gives a comparative perspective on this nomenclature from representative languages of the Southern, Northern, and Central Bushman languages and it remains an interesting source of data (see Barnard 1992)

Dorothea Bleek was by all accounts a modest and self-effacing person but she also possessed self-confidence and courage – enough to undertake pioneering field research in remote parts of Africa. "A note on Bushman orthography" (*Bantu Studies*, 2) shows that she had enough self-confidence to take on the

great C.M. Doke in a debate about his proposals for phonetically adequate click symbols and to reject them as linguistically inappropriate for the Khoisan languages. She maintained that her father's and aunt's practice in using adapted Lepsius symbols was more adequate and it is interesting that Doke conceded the point by using these symbols in a later paper "An outline of † Khomani Bushman phonetics" (*Bantu Studies*, 10). In a rare demonstration of her phonetic insights, she based part of her argument on the difference between "audible" and "silent" release of a click's secondary closure, but she followed this with a disarmingly frank acknowledgement of her limitations: "To Dr. Beech (sic) I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A. [International Phonetic Association] which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me" (*Bantu Studies*, 2:74)! Apart from its biographical interest, this paper provides a historical dimension to the debate about click symbolization which continues to this day.

The Empire Exhibition at the Milner Park Showgrounds in Johannesburg in 1936–37 featured an exhibition of living Bushmen who had been brought from Gordonias. During the exhibition they lived in a camp at the University of the Witwatersrand's Frankenwald Research Station north of Johannesburg, and it was here that Bleek was able to extend her earlier investigations into the language of one of the groups, the launi (sic), which she had begun 20 years before while on a trip to the Nossop and Auop Rivers (Bleek, 1956: ii, and fn. 5). Her findings were reported in two papers, "Grammatical notes and texts in the launi language" (*Bantu Studies*, 11:253–258) and "launi vocabulary" (*Bantu Studies*, 11:259–278). Bleek recognised that launi was a distinct language in the Southern group (she labelled it S IV in Bleek, 1956) (for some unsubstantiated reason, she thought it bore similarities to the Central group of languages (p. 195). Her very brief description and vocabulary are the only records we have of this now extinct language.

J.F. Maingard, another stalwart of Khoisan studies, made a seminal contribution to the study of the language, customs and history of the !Ora (Korana). His papers spanned a period of 36 years and provided some of the best available descriptions of the Korana: "A revised manuscript version of the Korana catechism of C.F. Wuras" (*Bantu Studies*, 5), "Studies in Korana history, customs and language" (*Bantu Studies*, 6), "Korana dialects" (*African Studies*, 23), and "Korana texts from Bloemhof" (*African Studies*, 26). In the index of *Bantu Studies*, 6 he also appears as the author of "Korana names of animals and plants", also reproduced here, but the paper is in fact his edited version of material collected by none other than L.C. Lloyd and her younger sister I. Lloyd from a Kora speaker who was in Cape Town in 1879!

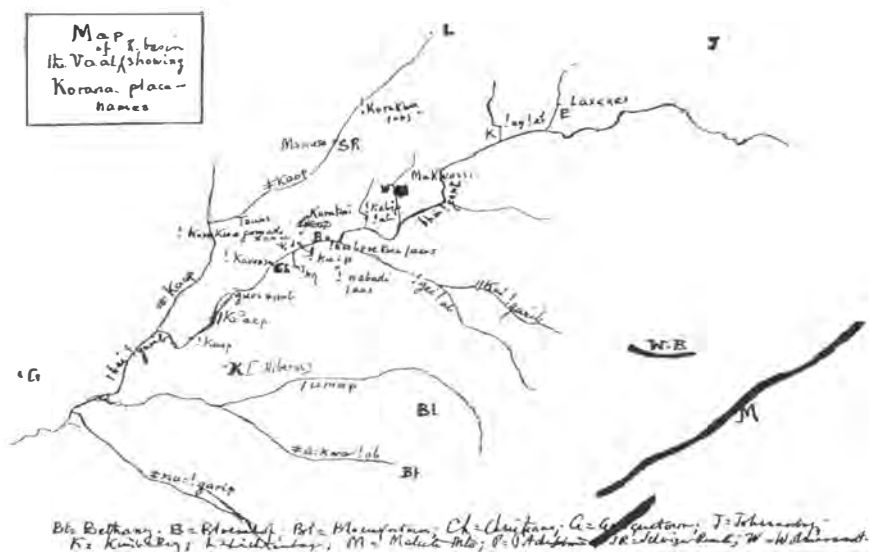
Leider nur

- ~~Seit 20 Jahren wohnen — Betschmann in Duthenien, nur weinige Koran.~~

Ihre ergebensten
C. F. Wurag.

46

Maingard's edited version of Wuras's Korana Catechism is an extremely important paper, first because it reproduces what he describes for the time as the "only long and connected text" in the language (Maingard 1931:111), second, because it provides a close linguistic analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Kx'am|oam and |Arre|oam Korana dialects spoken at Bethany, Orange Free State between 1840 and 1858 and, third, because of its observations concerning the endangered state of the language at that early time – and the shift to "Dutch".



African history is re-visited and peoples attempt to unravel their heritage, Maingard's Korana studies will provide a rich record to illuminate the process.

Maingard was interested primarily in linguistic matters and he published some important comparative studies on the Khoe language group which, of course, includes !Ora. In the section on language in his 1932 paper he demonstrated that among the Khoekhoe varieties (modern Nama, !Ora and Cape Khoe) there was a close affinity between one dialect of !Ora and Cape Khoe, a relationship that is not surprising given the history of the Korana (Van Riebeeck's Tobacco Thieves or Gorachouqua were in all likelihood the !Ora-||xau-kwa "the people of !Ora's place" (Engelbrecht, 1932:3-4)). He extends this comparative perspective in two papers, 'The central group of click languages of the Kalahari' (*African Studies*, 20) and "A comparative study of Naron, Hietshware and Korana" (*African Studies*, 22). In the former he includes R.L. Livingstone's vocabulary of a language collected on one of his journeys in what is now Botswana, and with fine insight identifies it as the first record of Danisi, an eastern Khoe variety, basing his conclusion on the pattern of click replacements of the palatal and alveolar clicks. The remaining data is from Dornan's Hietsho and Maingard's own material on Naron, ||Gana and a Khoe variety he recorded in Molepolole. In the latter paper he adds some intriguing and little-known comparative material on |Xam (Southern) and Hie and Naro (Central) concluding that they show an "undeniable relationship to one another".

The University of the Witwatersrand's formidable research team to visit Tweerivieren in Gordonia in 1936 included Maingard. One of his responsibilities was to investigate the † Khomani language spoken there and he analysed its morphology and syntax and collected and translated texts. His paper "The † Khomani dialect of Bushman: its morphology and other characteristics" is a report of the results. For some reason his paper did not appear in *Bantu Studies*, 10 and 11 with the other reports of this research expedition, but was later published with these papers in *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari* (Rheinallt-Jones & Doke, 1937). His † Khomani paper complements the one by C.M. Doke on the phonetic structure of the language (*Bantu Studies*, 10). Maingard's paper is the only record we have of the grammar of the language, which is now effectively dead. It is also of interest for its speculations that certain morphological and phonological features of the language were reflections of the "simple mind" of its speakers or their tolerance of "relative approximations" rather than invariance in pronunciation. In addition, the paper provides some glimpses into the pattern of bilingualism among the † Khomani in 1936: they were fluent in Nama and, fortunately for the investigators, many were fluent in Afrikaans; contraction of † Khomani was observable. Luckily the "best" speaker, ! Gurice, was part

of the group that visited Johannesburg and he was recorded in the Phonetics Laboratory at the University reciting the story of “Oom Wolfie”. This excellent acetate recording has been preserved together with its fluent Afrikaans translation! The paper also contains an important and little known comparison of Ꞥ Khomani and !Xam based on 52 lexical items and other shared features. Apart from Lanham and Hallows’ more modest comparison of !Xegwi and Ꞥ Khomani (*African Studies*, 15), this is the best evidence (as opposed to speculation) we have of linguistic relationships among the Southern Khoisan !Wi languages.

Whereas D. Bleek and Maingard were prolific contributors to the journal, C.M. Doke, who later became co-editor with Rheinallt-Jones, only published two papers on Khoisan topics in *Bantu Studies*. Both were classical studies of the phonetic structure of two San languages and they demonstrate that Doke was a master phonetician. “An outline of the phonetics of the language of the Chū: Bushmen of the NW Kalahari” which appeared in *Bantu Studies*, 2, is based on material he collected in 1925 chiefly at Neitsas in the Grootfontein district of South West Africa, but includes some comparative material from Otjomavare, southwest of Neitsas (this allowed him to make the first observations on click substitutions in a Khoisan language). For this paper, Doke devised a new orthography for symbolising click influxes and certain effluxes but, as noted above, he later abandoned it. The accuracy with which Doke identified the various effluxes was impressive, particularly because a number of them were without precedent in Khoisan studies. He was the first phonetician to confront in a systematic way the contrast between aspiration with and without an audible velar plosive (L. Lloyd, also an excellent phonetician, failed to solve this when she heard it 50 years earlier (Traill, 1993)) and his solution, although flawed, remains the convention for the language (Snyman 1975) and its first practical orthography (Dickens 1992).

Doke’s “An outline of Ꞥ Khomani Bushman phonetics” (*Bantu Studies*, 10) complements Maingard’s paper (discussed above). Khomani phonetic structure was simpler than that of Chū:, but it presented Doke with problems of a different kind, namely “the indefiniteness and variability of the sounds” (p. 61). He saw this as an intrinsic characteristic of “Bushman phonetics” (the counterpart of Maingard’s “relative approximation” in morphology (Rheinallt-Jones & Doke:253)) which affected the pronunciation of vowels and clicks, of which “there is also confusing variety, voiced forms and ejective forms each at times being substituted for the plain velar releases” (p. 61). The accuracy of these observations should not be doubted but a more likely explanation for them is that they were well-known symptoms of a language in the final stages of contraction; in this case the Ꞥ Khomani were about to complete the shift to Nama and Afrikaans (Traill,1995:14). Doke’s skill as a

phonetician is well illustrated in his description of the mechanism responsible for a voice quality with “considerable voice friction in the throat” as involving a “contraction and narrowing of the pharynx which make the epiglottis vibrate roughly” (p. 67–68). Audio recordings of ǀKhomani confirm that this sound is also found in !Xóò, and later fibre optic and x-ray investigations have verified Doke’s physiological description exactly (Traill, 1985). Since this was also a feature of ǁXam (p. 68) (Bleek & Lloyd referred to it as a “rough, deep pronunciation” (1911:vii)), it and the labial click are typological peculiarities of the Southern group of Khoisan languages.

Two papers by Lanham and Hallows on Eastern Bushman, or ǁXegwi, which appeared in *African Studies* in 1956, mark the end of the tradition of descriptive studies of Khoisan languages initiated by D. Bleek, Maingard and Doke. Significantly, these two papers coincide with virtual end of the San languages in South Africa (ǁXegwi was clearly moribund in 1956, with only about 20–30 speakers left and Lanham and Hallows correctly predicted it would become extinct with the passing of the generation of speakers they interviewed. In fact the language died when the last known speaker, Jopi Mabinda, was murdered in 1988; he had been one of Lanham and Hallows’ main informants), and once again, the journal provides an invaluable record of a part of South Africa’s linguistic heritage (see also Potgieter (1955)). “An outline of the structure of Eastern Bushman” (*African Studies*, 15) is a careful analysis of the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of this Southern !Wi language, and although the companion paper “Linguistic relationships and contacts expressed in the vocabulary of Eastern Bushman” (*African Studies*, 15) shows that ǁXegwi has close relationships to ǀKhomani of Gordinia, a number of features of the language set it apart from the other languages of the !Wi Group (Westphal, 1971) which includes ǁXam and ǀKhomani. For example, ǁXegwi has uvulars, unlike ǁXam or ǀKhomani, a feature it shares with !Xóò, a non-!Wi language. It has no palatal click [ǀ] unlike all the other Southern languages, and has a series of palatal non-click consonants which have replaced it (but this is not at all regular as it is in certain Khoe languages). The interesting linguistic borrowings from Swati, Sotho and Tsonga into ǁXegwi also remind one that the language had a unique development.

The question of linguistic relationships between the Khoisan languages are topics which have always attracted scholarly attention and continue to do so. Maingard’s comparative studies reviewed above and Lanham and Hallows’ discussion of relationships among the !Wi languages make a valuable contribution to this aspect of Khoisan studies. Nienaber’s papers “Die vroegste verslae aangaande Hottentots” [The earliest reports concerning Hottentot] (*African Studies*, 15) and “’n Lysie Hottentotse woorde uit 1626” (A short list

of Hottentot words from 1626) (*African Studies*, 22) add a fascinating philological dimension to comparative Khoe studies. The latter article discusses the oldest wordlists of Cape Khoe (Hottentot) from the earliest in Herbert's 1626 list of 31 words to Burchell's 1812 list of Korana words with particular attention to a close analysis of Herbert's transcriptions. Nienaber's knowledge of the sources was unsurpassed and the paper includes a valuable list of a number of obscure and more modern references.

Among the remaining papers from *Bantu Studies* included in this survey are some with a historical interest. Thanks to D. Bleek, *Bantu Studies* published a piece by the person commonly regarded as the founder of Khoisan studies, her father. W.H.I. Bleek's "A fragment" was written in 1869 and is a continuation of his *Comparative grammar of South African languages* (Bleek 1862, 1869), two parts of which had been published before his death. The "Fragment" consists of a detailed discussion of the pronouns of Nama, !Kora, Western Cape Khoe and Eastern Cape Khoe, drawing on all available sources and including some original data from a "Katkop" variety of !Kora. The data is summarised in a table, evidently in Bleek's own hand.

C.F. Wuras's "An account of the ǀKorana" is a translation of a manuscript sent to Sir George Grey in 1858 when Wuras was the missionary at Bethany in the Orange Free State. It contains some intriguing remarks on the differences between !Kora and Nama, using Nama data from the "Roggeveld Hottentots" and the "Chonakua" who "lived not far from Cape Town" (p. 290).

Wuras gives us the Chona name for Cape Town: ǀHùý ǀKeib (i.e. [ǀhui ǀeip]) glossed as "hastily pack the ox for a journey" (p. 290)! He also provides an extremely interesting description of !Kora customs.

Finally, one should mention A.W. Hoernlé's "A Hottentot rain ceremony" (*Bantu Studies*, 1) not only for its intrinsic interest, but also because it was the first paper on a Khoisan topic to appear in *Bantu Studies*.

The papers that have been surveyed above are simply a selection from some of the important contributions to Khoisan research that appeared in *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* in the period 1921–1967. The choice reflects mainly the intellectual emphases of the scholars who have been most active in philological and linguistic research only because this field is most distinctively associated with the journal's coverage during its first 45 years. There is, of course, no implication that other important work in the broad field of Khoisan studies was not published in the journal during this period and therefore a full list of papers on Khoisan topics for the period 1921–1967 has been provided in appendix 2. The 1967 cut-off marks the publication of Maingard's last paper and with it the end of a tradition.

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APPENDIX 1

Papers surveyed above.

Papers by D.F. Bleek

- Bushman terms of relationship. *Bantu Studies*, 2, 1923–26:57–70.
- Note on Bushman orthography. *Bantu Studies*, 2, 1923–26:71–74.
- Bushmen of Central Angola. *Bantu Studies*, 3, 1927–29:106–125.
- Special speech of animals and moon used by the !Xam Bushmen. *Bantu Studies*, 10, 1936:163–199.
- Grammatical notes and texts in the !auni language. *Bantu Studies*, 11, 1937:253–258.
- !Auni vocabulary, *Bantu Studies*, 1937:259–278.

Papers by J.F. Maingard

- A revised manuscript version of the Korana Catechism of C.F. Wuras. *Bantu Studies*, 5, 1931:110–165.
- Studies in Korana history, customs and language. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932: 103–161.
- Korana names of animals and plants. *Bantu Studies*, 6, 1932:–309–321.
- The † Khomani dialect of Bushman: its morphology and other characteristics. In J.D. Rheinallt-Jones and C.M. Doke (eds.). *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1937:237–275.
- The Central Group of clicks languages of the Kalahari. *African Studies*, 20,

He belonged to the !Pungkeke, "the vlei Bushmen", possibly named after Van Wyke's Vlei, the old name for the present-day ~~district~~ Boshoff. About the time when the voortrekkers arrived, the whole of that district of the Free State, between Boshoff and the Vaal was the hunting ground of David Danser and his Bushmen, who sold it to the Veld-cornet Fourie [Bleek Report of the Bloemhof Commission p. 266]. The tribe of Danser is still represented at Warrenton, on the Vaal, for instance, and their Bushman name, according to Bleekhof is !unKwe (Mentz mistakenly calls them "Dance" or "Dancel"). The dialect studied by Mentz is closely related to that of Korok.
 [in the Zatschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, XIX, pp. 161-168].

Phonetics

Vowels.

i
 ɪ, ɛ
 e
 ɛ
 a
 ɔ
 o
 u

/ka: / ʔa:ɪ
 a. ʔo
 !kosi

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f	s	ʃ		x	h	
ʔ	l					
m	n				ŋ	
ʔ	ʔ		ʔ	ka		
w			ʔ			

ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ

ka (te) diesen

A sample of Maingard's unpublished notes on the Bushman language that was spoken in the Boshoff area of the Free State. The language closely related to the variety labelled SI1b by D.F. Bleek, survives only in these notes (J.F. Maingard Papers, UNISA Library Archives)

1961:114–122. [Errata in *African Studies*, 20:194]A comparative study of Naron, Hietshware and Korana. *African Studies* 22, 1963:97–108.
 The Korana dialects. *African Studies*, 23, 1964:57–66.
 Korana texts from Bloemhof, *African Studies*, 26, 1967:43–46.

Papers by C.M. Doke

An outline of the phonetics of the language of the ChūBushman of the NW Kalahari. *Bantu Studies*, 2, 1923–26:129–165.
 An outline of ≠ Khomani Bushman phonetics. *Bantu Studies*, 10, 1936:433–459.

Papers by L.W. Lanham and D.P. Hallowes

Linguistic relationships and contacts expressed in the vocabulary of Eastern Bushman. *African Studies*, 15, 1956:45–48.
 An outline of the structure of Eastern Bushman. *African Studies*, 15, 1956:97–118.

Papers by G.S. Nienaber

Die vroegste verslae aangaande Hottentots. *African Studies*, 15, 1956:29–35.
 'n Lysie Hottentotse woorde uit 1626. *African Studies*, 22, 1962, 28–39.

Papers of historical interest

W. Hoernlé. A Hottentot rain ceremony. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1922:20–21
 W.H.I. Bleek. “A fragment”. *Bantu Studies*, 10, 1936:1–7
 Wuras “An account of the ∩Korana”. *Bantu Studies*, 3, 1927–29:287–296

APPENDIX 2

Papers on Khoisan topics in *Bantu Studies* and *African Studies* 1921–1967 (chronologically arranged).

A.W. Hoernlé. A Hottentot rain ceremony. *Bantu Studies* 1, 1922:20–22.
 D.F. Bleek. Bushman terms of relationship. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1923–26:57–70
 D.F. Bleek. Note on Bushman orthography. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1923–26:71–74.
 R.A. Dart. Jan the Bushman. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1923–26:107–109.
 C.M. Doke. An outline of Chū: Bushmen of North-West Kalahari. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1923–26:129–165.
 I. Schapera. Bushman arrow poisons. *Bantu Studies* 2, 1923–26:199–214.

- D.F. Bleek. Bushmen of Central Angola. *Bantu Studies* 3, 1927–29:106–125.
- T. Roos. Burial customs of the !Kaū Bushmen. *Bantu Studies* 5, 1931:81–83.
- P.R. Kirby. The gora and its Bantu successors: a study in South African native music. *Bantu Studies* 5, 1931:89–109.
- L.F. Maingard. A revised manuscript version of the Korana catechism of C.F. Wuras. *Bantu Studies* 5, 1931:110–165.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part I: Baboons. *Bantu Studies* 5, 1931:167–179.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part II: The lion. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:47–63.
- T. Pringle. The Coranna. *Bantu Studies*, 6, 1932:102.
- L.F. Maingard. Studies in Korana history, customs and language. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:103–161.
- L.F. Maingard. Physical characteristics of the Korana. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:162–182.
- P.R. Kirby. The music and musical instruments of the Korana. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:183–204.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part III: Game animals. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:233–249.
- L.F. Maingard. Korana names of animals and plants. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:309–321.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part IV. Omens, wind-making, clouds. *Bantu Studies* 6, 1932:323–342.
- A.Y. Mason. Rock paintings in the Cathkin Park area. *Bantu Studies* 7, 1933:131–158.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part V. The rain. *Bantu Studies* 7, 1933:297–312.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part VI. Rainmaking. *Bantu Studies* 7, 1933:376–392.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the |Xam Bushmen. Part VII. Sorcerers. *Bantu Studies* 9, 1935:1–47.
- B. Segal. A possible base for Bushmen painting. *Bantu Studies* 9, 1935:49–52.
- P.R. Kirby. A further note on the gore and its Bantu successors. *Bantu Studies* 9, 1935:53–61.
- L.F. Maingard. The origin of the word Hottentot. *Bantu Studies* 9, 1935:63–67.
- A.J.H. Goodwin. A commentary on the history and present position of South African pre-history with full bibliography. *Bantu Studies* 9, 1935:291–417.
- W.H.I. Bleek. A fragment. *Bantu Studies* 10, 1936:1–7.
- L.F. Maingard. Hendrik Jacob Wikar: his editors, translators and commentators. *Bantu Studies* 10, 1936:31–70.
- P. de V. Pienaar. A few notes on the phonetic aspect of clicks and the

- relationship thereof to certain other classes of speech sounds. *Bantu Studies* 10, 1936:41–56.
- D.F. Bleek. Customs and beliefs of the|Xam Bushmen. Part VIII. More about sorcerors. *Bantu Studies* 10, 1936:131–162.
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- D.F. Bleek. Grammatical notes and texts in the|auni language. *Bantu Studies*, 11, 1937:253–278.
- M.G. Dreyer-Brandwijk. A note on the Bushman arrow poison, diamphidia simplex *péringuey*. *Bantu Studies* 11, 1937:279–284.
- L.F. Maingard. Some notes on health and disease among the Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari. *Bantu Studies* 11, 1937:285–295.
- W. Bourquin. Click-words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common. *African Studies* 10, 1951:59–81.
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- L.W. Lanham and D.P. Hallows. An outline of the structure of Eastern Bushman. *African Studies* 15, 1956:97–118.
- L.F. Maingard. Three Bushman languages. *African Studies* 16, 1957:37–71.
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CLICKS IN EAST AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Ian Maddieson, Peter Ladefoged and Bonny Sands

1. INTRODUCTION

The languages of Southern Africa, in both the Khoisan and Bantu families, are strikingly marked by the presence of click sounds. Among J.A. Louw's seminal contributions to African linguistics are his studies of the processes by which sounds of this type have been adapted from their Khoisan origins and incorporated into the phonology of the Nguni languages. In only one other part of the world can clicks be found as part of the regular phonological system of languages, and this is in East Africa. Here there are three languages with clicks: Dahalo, Hadza and Sandawe. Their locations are indicated on the map in figure 1. The three authors of this article conducted field studies of the phonetics of these languages in Kenya and Tanzania in 1991, making the clicks a focus of special attention. No general discussion of the click sounds in these languages has been published since the survey provided by Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977). We are pleased to offer our own report as an affectionate and respectful tribute to Professor Louw.

In this article we will make the standard distinction between click type and click accompaniment. The click type describes the place of articulation and release of the front closure of the click, and the click accompaniment describes the remaining properties of its articulation, such as the place and manner of release of the back closure, the accompanying laryngeal actions, and the position of the velum, determining whether the nasal passage is open or closed. These terms are equivalent to the terms 'influx' and 'efflux' used by Beach (1938). A given click consonant is transcribed with one symbol representing the click type, and with one or more other symbols and diacritics representing the accompaniment.

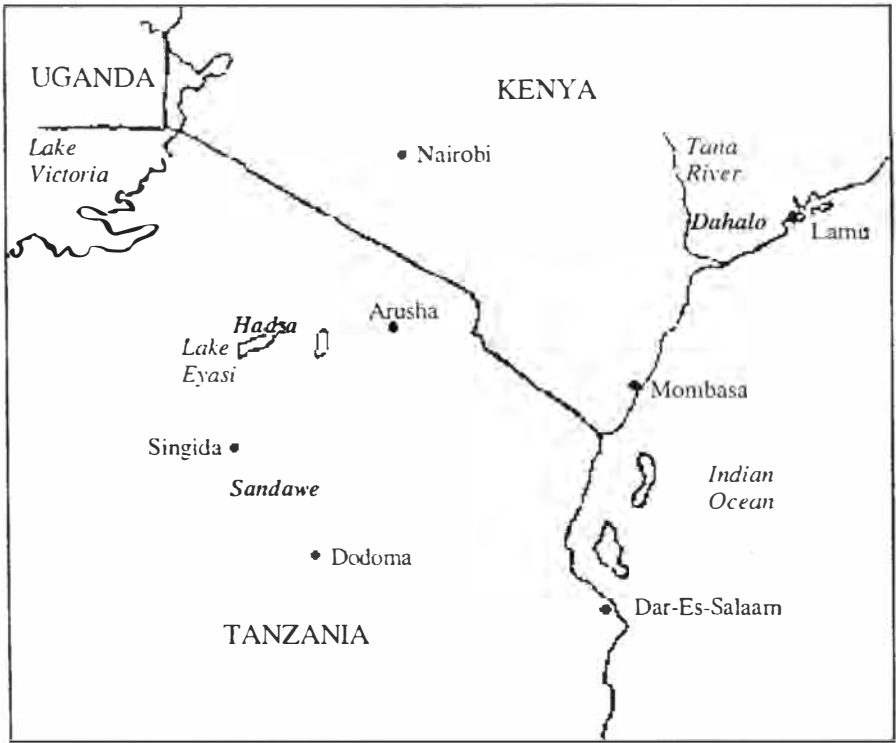


Figure 1: Map showing approximate locations of the Dahalo, Hadza, and Sandawe languages.

The East African click languages use from one to three click types, and from two to five click accompaniments. They confirm some of the typological patterns established on the basis of the Southern African languages, but also contain some surprises, such as the predominance of accompaniments which involve nasalization, and the common occurrence of (post-)alveolar clicks produced with an audible ‘tongue slap’ against the floor of the mouth. More extended discussion of phonetic aspects of these languages can be found in Maddieson, Spajic, Sands and Ladefoged (1993) for Dahalo, Sands, Maddieson and Ladefoged (1996) for Hadza, and Wright, Maddieson, Sands and Ladefoged (1995) for Sandawe.

2. DAHALO

Dahalo [dah̥aːlo], the most northerly language with clicks, is a Cushitic

language spoken by a small population living on the northern coast of Kenya between Lamu and the mouth of the Tana river. Cushitic is one of the branches of the large Afro-Asiatic family of languages, and is usually subdivided into Central, Eastern and Southern sub-branches. Greenberg (1963) placed Dahalo in the Southern Cushitic group, whose other members are all found in Tanzania. This affiliation is widely accepted (e.g. by Elderkin 1978, Ehret 1980, Nurse 1986), but is questioned by Tosco (1991), who prefers to see Dahalo as a divergent Eastern Cushitic language. But all linguists agree that Dahalo is Cushitic.

Dahalo thus has the distinction of being the only language with clicks that is known not to be Khoisan or Bantu. In addition to an extensive consonant inventory inherited from Cushitic it has a number of phonological characteristics borrowed from languages with which it has been in contact, including members of the Bantu group and Eastern Cushitic languages such as Aweera (Boni). Although there are no nearby languages with clicks, it is assumed that the clicks are also borrowed sounds, taken from a language of which all other trace has now gone. Nothing in the Cushitic inheritance of Dahalo can account for their occurrence.

Dahalo speakers live widely dispersed among populations speaking other languages, such as Swahili, Lower Pokomo and Aweera. Nurse (1986) estimated the number of remaining Dahalo speakers to be under 500, while Tosco (1991) thinks that "the figure of 400 cannot greatly exceed the truth" (p. xi). The estimate of 3 000 speakers cited in Grimes (1992) is wildly excessive. It is likely that the number of competent Dahalo speakers is still declining, as it was a very difficult task to find even six speakers to record for our study, and we did not observe any children acquiring Dahalo; instead Swahili seemed to be the most commonly used language among the younger Dahalo.

The most complete description of Dahalo is the 'Grammatical Sketch' by Tosco (1991). Elderkin (1974) had earlier discussed the phonology and morphology of the language. Analysis and comparison of the lexicon is a major focus of Ehret (1980) and Nurse (1986). Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989) published all the known lexical items of Dahalo.

Dahalo is rich in stop consonants and uses the full range of the usual linguistically employed airstream processes in their production, namely pulmonic egressive (plosives), glottalic egressive (ejectives), glottalic ingressive (implosives) and velaric ingressive (clicks). It has nine types of stops in total: plain voiceless, plain voiced, prenasalized voiced, prenasalized voiceless, voiced implosive, voiceless ejective, prenasalized voiceless ejective, and voiced and voiceless nasalized clicks. These facts place Dahalo in a very rare class of

languages. It is the only language we know of that uses such a wide range of types of stop distinctively.

2.1 Dahalo clicks

In Dahalo, clicks occur in a relatively small number of words – many fewer than in Hadza and Sandawe – but a good proportion of these words would be regarded as belonging to the basic vocabulary with meanings like “saliva”, “excrement”, “forest”, “breast”, “star”. We elicited as many words as possible containing clicks, but could only obtain 40. These include one, /ŋ|át'u/ “constipation”, that had not been reported previously in the literature. The glossary in Tosco (1991) lists only 26 words with clicks; Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989) list 58 (19 of which we were unable to elicit).

Dahalo has only one click type, which we transcribe as dental, [l̪]. A palatogram of the word /ŋ|aba/ “good smell” is shown in figure 2. The area covered by the black marking medium indicates where the articulators made contact during the articulation. A sagittal view of the articulation, inferred from the contact pattern and the known shape of the speaker’s palate (taken

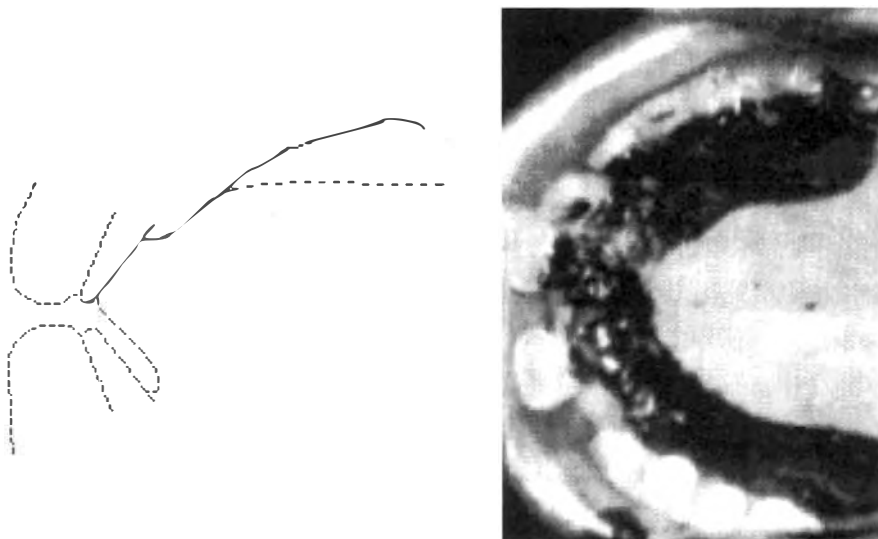


Figure 2: Palatogram and inferred sagittal section for the click in the Dahalo word /ŋ|aba/ “good smell”.

from a cast of his mouth) is drawn above the palatogram. (The palatographic investigation was conducted using the technique described in more detail in Ladefoged (1997) It is interesting to note that the articulation is somewhat intermediate between those seen for the contrasting dental and alveolar plosives of Dahalo. The contact area is broader in the click than we observed for the alveolar plosive, but much less extensive than in the dental plosive. Another noteworthy aspect of the palatogram is the absence of any indication of the contact for the back closure of the click. Clearly this contact must be quite far back on the roof of the mouth and/or quite short in the midsagittal plane. A relatively large pocket of air remains between the two closures during the most constricted phase in the production of this click. This seems to differ from the production of corresponding clicks in languages spoken in Southern Africa, such as !Xóõ (Traill 1985) and Zulu (Doke 1923, 1925, Beach 1938). In these other languages the back closure extends further forward, so that the contact of the back of the tongue reaches about the position of the second or third molars, and its forward edge is visible on palatograms.

In Dahalo clicks the accompaniment is always a nasalized one, but may be voiced or voiceless, with the voiceless option occurring much more frequently. Time-aligned waveforms and spectrograms illustrating the voicing difference in the nasal accompaniments to the clicks are shown in figures 3 and 4. In the example in figure 3, /ŋ|aba/ “forest”, the voiced nasal starts substantially before the click burst and continues to be held for a short interval after the click release occurs, while in /ŋ|abate/ “good smell(ing)” in figure 4 a delay of about 30 ms occurs between the click burst and the onset of voicing. Voiceless nasalization can be auditorily detected principally through its coarticulatory effect on adjoining vowels, which display a brief nasal on- or off-glide or receive light nasalization. The nasalization is always present with the click, rather than being present only “wherever a vowel immediately precedes”, as suggested by Elderkin (1992:112). In this token of /ŋ|abate/ it is possible to see in the waveform that at the onset to the vowel following the click there is a short voiced consonantal nasal portion before the back velar contact is broken.

It should be noted that considerable fluctuation was observed in the voicing of the voiced nasalized click accompaniment. Although certain words, such as /ŋ|aba/ “forest”, were almost invariably pronounced with voicing, others, such as /ŋ|uʔite/ “bitter” varied even for the same speaker. Furthermore, many tokens were recorded in which voice onset and click release are almost simultaneous; it was difficult to classify these as either clearly voiced or voiceless. The speakers recorded at Kipini showed greater variation than those recorded at Witu. Since these speakers were younger, it is possible that the voicing distinction in words with clicks is in the process of being lost in favour of uniform voicelessness.

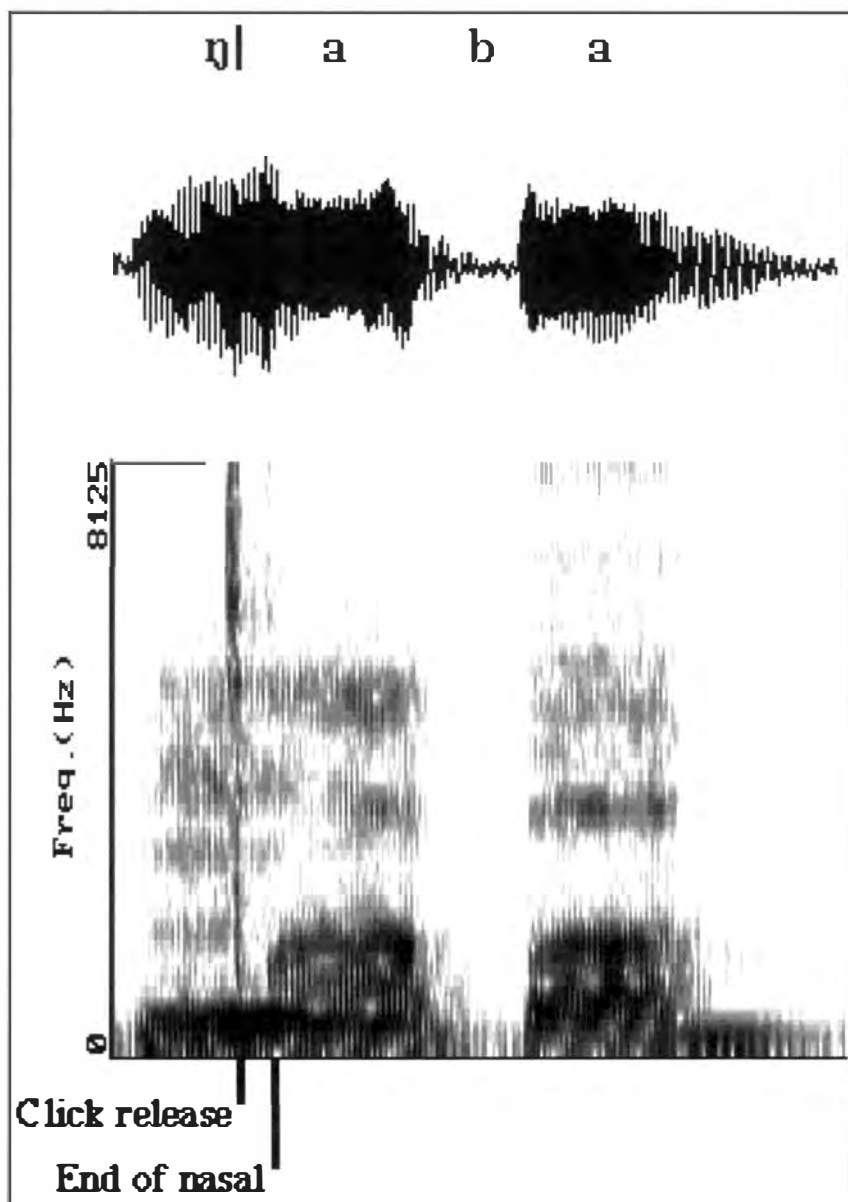


Figure 3: Spectrogram and waveform of a click with voiced nasalized accompaniment in the Dahalo word /ŋ|aba/ “forest”

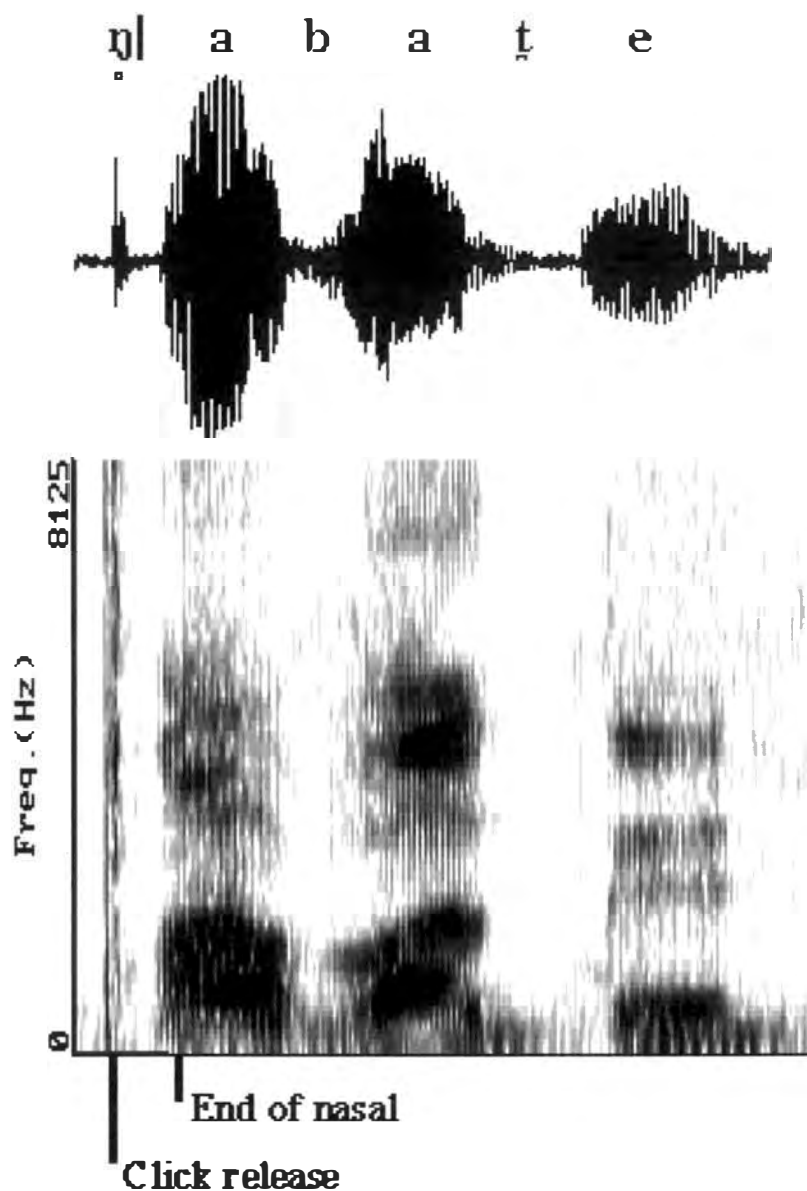


Figure 4: Spectrogram and waveform of a click with voiceless nasalized accompaniment in the Dahalo word /ŋ|abate/ “good smell(ing)”

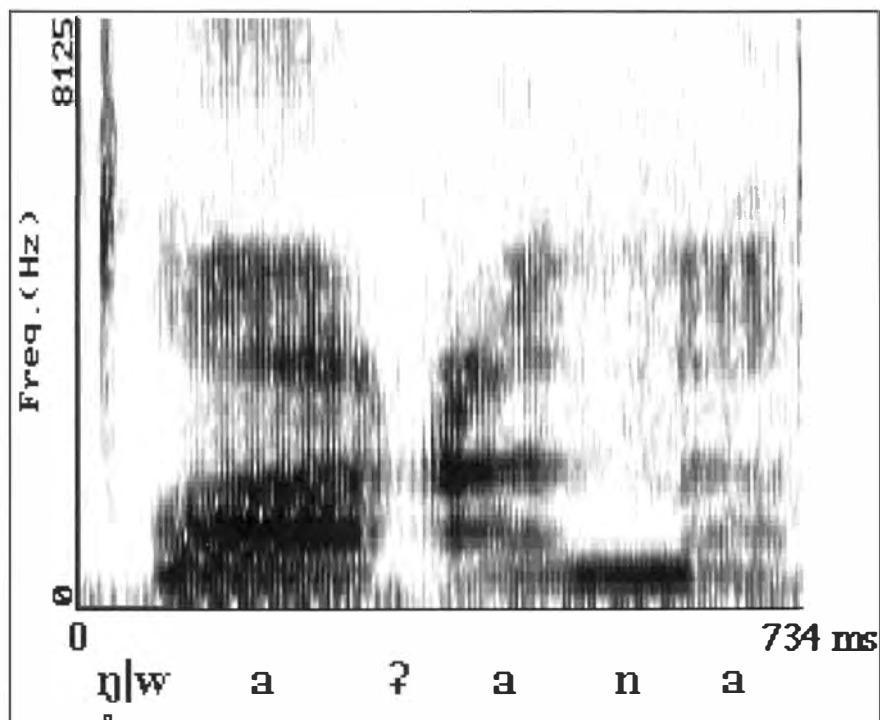


Figure 5: Spectrogram illustrating a labialized click in Dahalo

Clicks in Dahalo can also occur with labialization on the release, yielding a potential fourway contrast between voiceless nasalized [ŋ|], voiced nasalized [ŋ|], voiceless nasalized labialized [ŋ|w], and voiced nasalized labialized [ŋ|w], as shown in table 1. The labialized cases are extremely few in number; variability in maintaining labialization was also noted.

ŋ|	ŋ|ó:ne	‘breast’	
ŋ	ŋ|it`i	‘gums’	
ŋ|w	ŋ|waji ŋ|wá:ʔana	‘saliva’	in Kipini in Witu
ŋ|w			no examples in our data

Table 1: Words illustrating clicks in Dahalo

A spectrogram of the labialized click in /ŋ|wa:ʔana/ “knead massage” is shown in figure 5. Here again the release of the click precedes the onset of voicing and there is a brief voiced nasal portion before the vowel. At the vowel onset the second formant is lower than in the nonlabialized cases in figures 3 and 4.

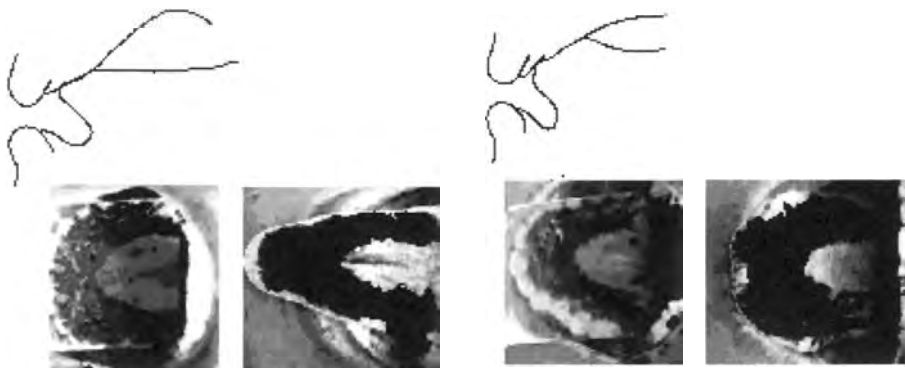


Figure 6: Palatograms and linguograms of a dental click in the word [ŋ|aha] ‘forget’ as spoken by two male Hadza speakers, and inferred sagittal views

The majority of clicks occur in word initial position, but medial clicks occur in a few words such as /**Ha**ŋ|ana/ “lick”, /**me**ŋ|ete/ “carefully” and /**fu**ŋ|inna/ “root/dig/up”.

3. HADZA

Hadza is a language of uncertain genetic affiliation spoken in the neighbourhood of Lake Eyasi in north-central Tanzania by approximately 800 people. Despite the small number of speakers and the strong influence of Swahili as the national language, young children are learning Hadza and the language is not under any immediate threat to its survival.

Relying on the structure of the phonological inventory – especially the presence of clicks – and a very small number of plausible lexical and morphological similarities, some researchers have classified Hadza among the Khoisan languages (Bleek 1931, Greenberg 1963, Ehret 1986). Others maintain that it is a language isolate (Woodburn 1962, Elderkin 1983) or that it cannot be classified on the basis of present knowledge (Sands, to appear 1998). There is no evidence that clicks are a borrowed feature of the phonology of Hadza; neither the language-internal distribution of the clicks nor the ability to

identify their source in external loans points in this direction. Despite the relative geographic proximity of Hadza and Sandawe there are very few similarities in their vocabularies to suggest either a genetic relationship between these two languages or close contact in the past. Neither is there any good evidence that Hadza belongs in the Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan or Afro-Asiatic families.

Hadza has been the subject of a considerable amount of fieldwork, resulting in partial descriptions (Obst 1912, Dempwolff 1916–17, Bleek 1931, 1956, Berger 1943, Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn 1977, Elderkin 1982, 1983, de Voogt 1992, Wagner unpublished) but no general grammar of the language has yet been written. There are some notable differences between different authors with respect to the numbers of click types and accompaniments posited for the language. In the following sections we attempt to resolve these conflicts.

3.1 Hadza click types

Hadza has three click types, dental, lateral and alveolar. Some earlier descriptions reported a larger number of types. Bleek (1956, but based on fieldwork conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s) transcribed a fourth click type with the symbol [ɛ̥]. In Nama and other Southern African Khoisan languages the click transcribed with this symbol has a more forward point of release and usually greater affrication than [!] (Ladefoged & Traill 1994, Ladefoged & Maddieson 1966). Greenberg (1963) followed Bleek in reporting four click types in Hadza. All the words which Bleek transcribed with the [ɛ̥] click have been transcribed by us or Sands (1992 ms) as containing other sounds, such as [!], [ʄ], and [kʰ]. The recognition of a [ɛ̥] click type therefore appears to be due to errors of transcription; it is unlikely that it has disappeared through a set of diverse linguistic changes occurring over the sixty years separating Bleek's and our fieldwork.

Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977) in addition transcribe a bilabial click and a “flapped” version of the [!] click, which they transcribed [!ʔ]. The two words they give as examples of the bilabial click are in greetings; they also indicate that these words may be produced with a dental click. Our consultants had aspirated bilabial stops in these words. Neither a bilabial nor a dental click was considered an acceptable substitute for the pulmonic stop. We will consider later the occurrence of a flapped version of the [!] click.

The articulation of the dental clicks [l̥] is illustrated in figure 6, which shows palatograms and linguograms of the front articulation in a dental click, as produced by two speakers. This can be described as having a laminal coronal articulation with a closure extending from the upper teeth to the alveolar ridge.

A sagittal view of the maximum area of the front contact for each speaker, inferred from the information in the palatograms and linguograms and casts of the speakers' palates, is shown above the palatograms. The location of the back closure of the click cannot be seen on these palatograms and linguograms (the dark areas toward the back, i.e. right, of the pictures for speaker 2 are shadows caused by a rather small mouth opening, not part of the contact pattern). Hence, we infer that the back closure is quite far back as in Dahalo. The inability to see the back closure in the palatograms of the dental click is similar to the production observed in Dahalo dental clicks.

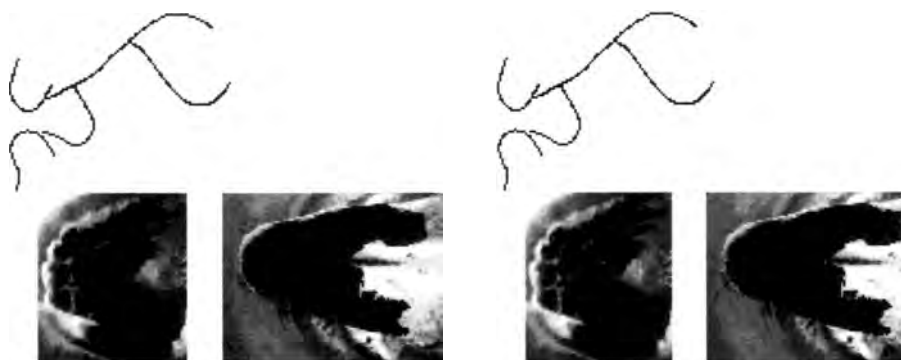


Figure 7: Palatograms, linguograms and inferred sagittal view of the alveolar click in the word [ɣ!ɛɾɛ] 'to cut' as spoken by two male Hadza speakers

Palatograms, linguograms and inferred sagittal sections of the front articulation of the [!] click type are shown in figure 7. We describe this click type as alveolar since the front closure of these clicks is made at a less anterior place of articulation than the [l] type; it might even be labelled post-alveolar. It is typically also more apical. This is certainly the case for speaker 2, who shows a contact area on the tongue for [!] that is approximately half the size of that for [l]. Speaker 1 shows more similarity in his articulations for [!] and [l]. The linguograms for speaker 1 show front closure contact on the tongue to be similar in length and location for both [!] and [l], but these clicks differ in the shape of the area in the middle of the tongue which did not make contact with the roof of the mouth. In the dental clicks, this area is tapered toward the front, whereas the alveolar click displays a more rectangular shape for the corresponding area. These linguograms and palatograms suggest that, at the midline, the tongue behind the contact is more sharply lowered for the alveolar than for the dental click.

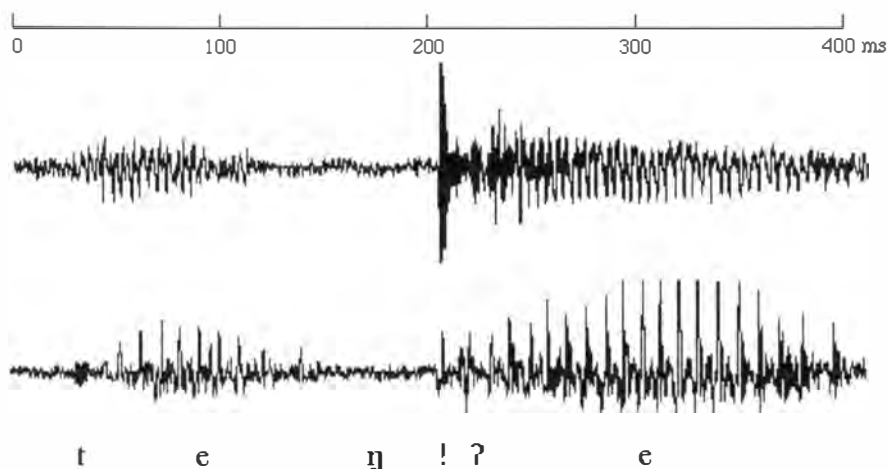


Figure 8: Waveforms of the word [teŋ!e] ‘to carry on shoulders’ as produced by two Hadza speakers. The upper example (from a female speaker) shows a high-amplitude burst for the release of this click; the lower example (from a male speaker) shows a low-amplitude burst

The palatogram of the alveolar click for speaker 1 shows that contact was also made against the back of the front teeth, yet this contact does not extend to the base of these teeth at the gumline. The blackened area on the front teeth must be the result of a separate and lighter contact than the principal one in the alveolar region, otherwise we would expect a continuous contact area extending over the dental and alveolar regions. The contact pattern does not indicate a broad laminal denti-alveolar articulation, but is more likely to be the result of the tip of the tongue quickly flipping against the teeth after the front contact closure is released.

The alveolar click [!] in Hadza was observed to vary a great deal in terms of how forcefully it was produced by speakers. In some instances the amplitude of the click release was very low, as if the click were produced with very little suction. This differs from the production of the similarly transcribed click in Xhosa and Zulu or Southern African Khoisan languages such as !Xóǝ and !Xǘ, which is typically very loud and salient (Traill 1994, Snyman 1978). Waveforms illustrating strong and weak productions of this click are shown in figure 8. In the high-amplitude production of this click at the top of the figure the burst is much louder than the surrounding vowels; in low-amplitude productions, the burst can have less energy than the surrounding vowels, as in the token illustrated in the lower part of the figure.

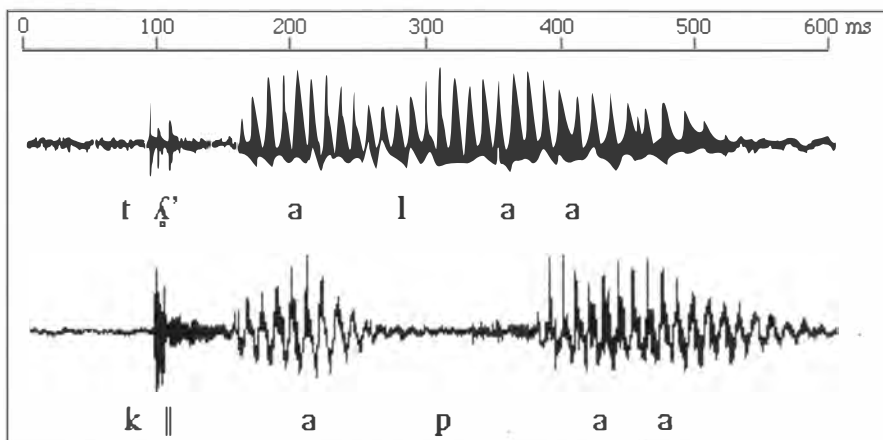


Figure 9: Waveforms illustrating a lateral ejective affricate in the Hadza word [tʃ'ala-a] 'dove' and a lateral click in the word [k||apa-a] 'stump', spoken by female speakers

A notable allophonic variant of the [!] click was observed at times from most of the Hadza speakers we heard. In this variant, the normal click release is quite quiet but the tongue tip makes a forceful contact with the bottom of the mouth after the release of the front click closure. The release of the front closure and the contact with the bottom of the mouth is one continuous, ballistic movement, with the underside of the tip of the tongue making a percussive sound as it strikes the floor of the mouth. This version of the [!] click is thus similar to the sound sometimes made by speakers of non-click languages trying to imitate the sound made by the shoes of a trotting horse. This is presumably the articulation which Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977) characterized as a flapped palato-alveolar click. It is quite clearly a free variant of the unflapped [!] and not a separate phoneme. The only parallel variant reported from any of the Southern African languages with clicks concerns an individual !Xū speaker, noted as atypical, who used what Doke (1925) called a palato-alveolar flapped click. The tongue front was “flapped smartly to the floor of the mouth, the under-side making a resounding ‘smack’ behind the lower front teeth and on the floor of the mouth” (Doke 1925: 163). No comparable allophonic variation is noted by current researchers on Southern African languages with clicks (Traill, personal communication), but this kind of production of [!] is quite frequent in Sandawe, and will be discussed further below. A suggested phonetic notation for this variant is [j].

The third type of click found in Hadza is the lateral click [||] This is especially interesting because of its similarity to the lateral ejective affricate. In many

acoustic and articulatory respects these two sounds are quite comparable, and earlier records of the language sometimes mistranscribe the ejective as a click. Native speakers learning to write their language sometimes make the same mistake. Figure 9 shows waveforms of words containing [k^l] and [t^ɛ] in similar environments produced by one of the female speakers recorded. The similarity between the two sounds in the burst amplitude and duration of frication is evident in this figure. The acoustic likeness also extends to the frequency characteristics of the frication period. Both these sounds are produced with a laminal closure involving the front of the tongue and with a ring-like closure along the sides. For many speakers, the lateral release in these sounds occurred quite far back in the mouth, and could be properly characterized as a lateral palatal release. Our field transcriptions show that we transcribed the lateral ejective on various occasions as [c^ɛ], or even as [k^l]. Based on the articulatory data we classify these sounds as palato-alveolar (or laminal alveolar) in place. Figure 10 shows palatograms and linguograms of the lateral click for the two speakers, and figure 11 those for the lateral ejective. The absence of any of the marking medium from the tongue tip in the linguograms for speaker 1 shows very clearly that both laterals were made with the tip of the tongue down. The laminal contact is on the teeth and alveolar ridge for the click, but only on the alveolar ridge for the ejective. Unfortunately this speaker did not open his mouth sufficiently when the photograph was taken, and his upper teeth prevent us from seeing the backward extent of the contact in the ejective. For speaker 2, the tongue tip also appears to be down during both laterals. Contact occurred from the bottom of the top front teeth to the back edge of the alveolar ridge, and appears quite similar in position and extent for both sounds.

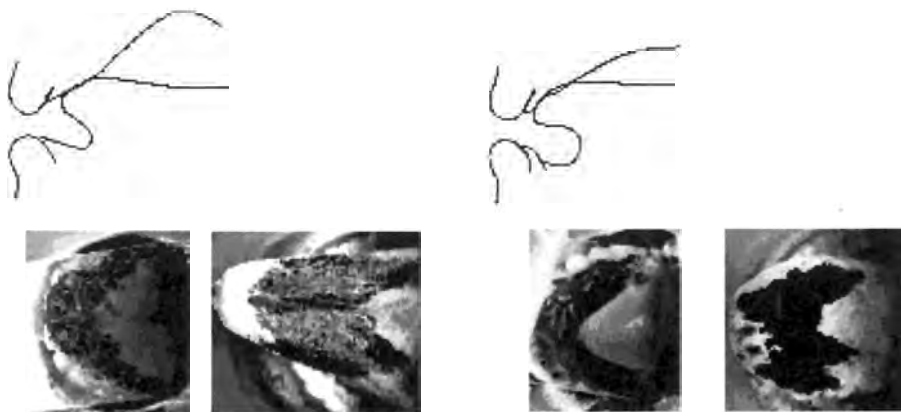


Figure 10: Palatograms, linguograms and inferred sagittal view of a lateral click in the word [ɲ^lɪa] ‘to scavenge’ as spoken by two male Hadza speakers

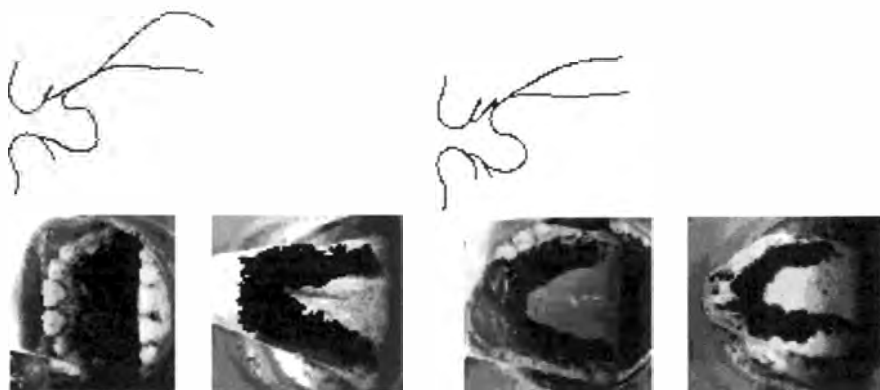


Figure 11: Palatograms, linguograms and inferred sagittal view of a lateral ejective affricate in the word ‘bone’ [mittʂ’a] as spoken by two male Hadza speakers. The inferred position of the tongue is uncertain for speaker 1 as the mouth was not open sufficiently and the extent of contact cannot be seen

3.2 Hadza click accompaniments

In Hadza, each of the three types of clicks, [ɿ, ʌ, ɿ], can have three different accompaniments. There are no plain (i.e. non-nasalized) voiced clicks, and aspiration plays no role in distinguishing between clicks. The first possibility can be regarded as an accompanying voiceless velar stop [k], giving [kɿkɿ, kʌkʌ, kɿkʌ]. A waveform of a word in Hadza containing an intervocalic dental click with this accompaniment is shown in figure 12. The same accompaniment is also illustrated in figure 9 above. There is a short delay before voicing begins after the click release; we measured the mean VOT as 45.9 ms for 182 tokens of /kɿ/.

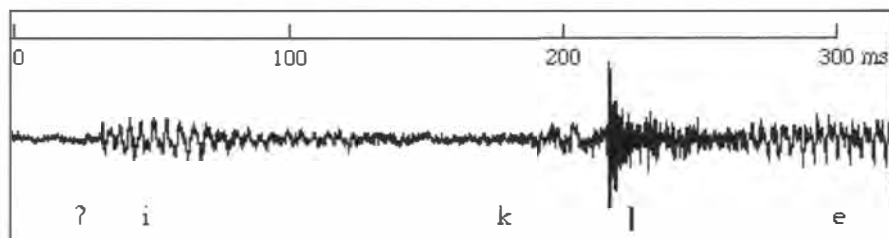


Figure 12: Waveform of a voiceless lateral click in intervocalic position in the Hadza word [ɿkɿ||e-ɿe] ‘to close’.

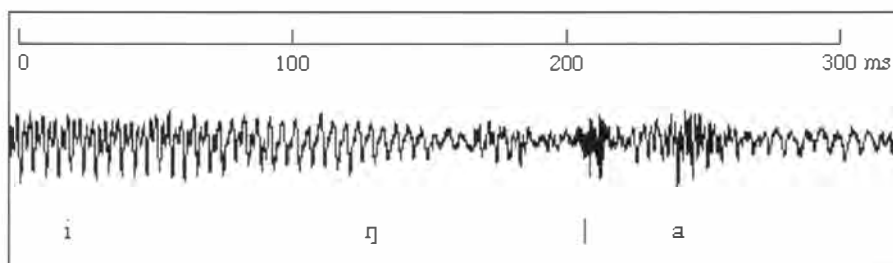


Figure 13: Waveform of voiced nasalized dental click in intervocalic position in the Hadza word [k | i k i l i ŋ | a] ‘little finger’

The other two accompaniments involve nasalization of the click. The second possibility is an accompanying voiced velar nasal [ŋ |, ŋ ||, ŋ!]. Voicing continues throughout the production of clicks with this accompaniment, as shown in the waveform of a dental click in figure 13. Some anticipatory nasalization of a preceding vowel occurs before clicks with this accompaniment.

The third accompaniment is more complex; it is both nasalized and glottalized. This voiceless nasal accompaniment is transcribed with [ŋ] before and [ʔ] after the click symbol (ŋ | ʔ, ŋ || ʔ, ŋ! ʔ), although it should be kept in mind that the devoicing is achieved not by opening the vocal folds but by glottalization. The glottalization takes the form of a glottal stop which is formed during the click closure, and released well after the release of the front closure of the click, so that there is a delay before the onset of voicing. We measured the mean VOT as 51.0 ms (s.d. 18.6) for 220 tokens of /ŋ! ʔ/. The nasalized nature of this accompaniment can be hard to detect in an utterance-initial click, but in word-medial cases it induces full or partial nasalization of a preceding vowel, as in the word ‘rock’ [hãŋ! ʔá-k^ho] in figure 14. Similar anticipation of nasalization is

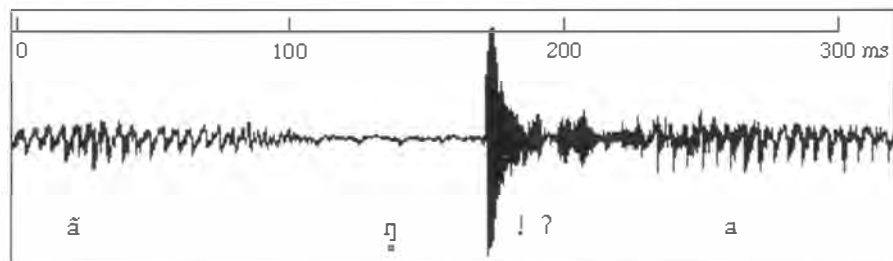


Figure 14: Waveform of voiceless nasalized click in intervocalic position in the Hadza word [hãŋ! ʔá-k^ho] ‘rock’

also heard on a preceding vowel across a word boundary. Also when a vowel precedes, a short voiced nasal segment can sometimes be heard as the click is being formed. However, in all environments the presence of nasal airflow can be detected by placing a hand in front of the nose of the speaker, and speakers themselves readily identify clicks with either the voiced or the voiceless nasalized accompaniment as having nasal airflow. The waveform of a voiceless nasalized alveolar click in figure 14 clearly shows that the closure for this click lacks voicing. Airflow is interrupted at some point by glottal closure, but when voicing resumes some time after the click is released the following vowel is somewhat nasalized, indicating that the velum remains lowered during the glottalization. Because of similar effects on neighbouring vowels, the voiced and voiceless nasalized click accompaniments can be difficult to distinguish in intervocalic position on first hearing. But as figures 13 and 14 show, the laryngeal contrast between them is not neutralized in this position.

Other researchers have distinguished different sets of accompaniments. Bleek (1956) notes among the click accompaniments velar frication, ejection, and voicing, writing [||kx, ||k", g||], etc.

We observed no voiced clicks other than the nasalized ones, and none in which the back closure was released into velar friction. The accompaniment marked as ejective may be the voiceless nasalized accompaniment we have described with its glottal closure component. Other disagreements in the literature also concern the failure to recognize the voiceless nasalized and glottalized accompaniment for what it is. Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977) report 'pausal' (i.e. only utterance-initial) clicks which have a glottalized accompaniment and go on to note that these have nasalized allophones in other positions. Elderkin (1992) also recognizes a glottalized click accompaniment but notes that nasalization "before the glottalized click" is "almost always present". A. de Voogt (1992) transcribes a total of four types of click accompaniment, described respectively as voiced nasalized, aspirated (glottalized), "simple" glottalized (without delay in voice onset, possibly not glottalized) and glottalized with delayed release. These researchers fail to note that the 'glottalized,' 'pausal' or 'glottalized click with delayed release' clicks are not nasalized only when intervocalical, but in all environments. The nasal component of this accompaniment is less auditorily salient when clicks of this type are post-pausal but it is still present. It appears to us that when these clicks are in utterance-initial position they actually begin with voiceless nasal airflow. This nasal airflow is, however, interrupted by a closure at the glottis that seems to be timed to coincide approximately with the formation of the front closure of the click. The initial nasal component is not at all auditorily salient, and this probably accounts for the emphasis given to glottalization in other accounts of Hadza. However, it is in intervocalic cases that the presence of the glottal

closure is particularly apparent as a sharp cut-off of the preceding voicing occurs. But since some audible nasalization always occurs at the release of clicks with this accompaniment, we believe that nasalization should be recognized as an inherent property of the accompaniment.

4. SANDAWE

Like Hadza, Sandawe has no close genetic relationship to any of the other languages of East Africa. Also like Hadza, Sandawe has frequently been classified as a member of the Khoisan family (e.g. by Greenberg 1963). Sands (1998) provides persuasive evidence that in the case of Sandawe this is likely to be correct. There is, however, no good reason to group Sandawe specifically with the Central group of Khoisan, as has sometimes been suggested.

Newman (1991/2) estimated the number of Sandawe as 30 000, but the population may be larger. Estimates projected from the 1967 population census suggest there may be between 70 000 and 90 000. Most Sandawe are speakers of the language. From our own field observations it is obvious that the majority of young children in the Sandawe area are still learning the language, but they (and most adults) are also fluent in Swahili, the national language, and many prefer to use this language. As Swahili is the language of wider contact and is used in education, church services, and for all government business, a relatively rapid loss of the language is a distinct possibility in the coming years.

Dempwolff (1916) provided the first systematic attempt at a description of Sandawe. Copland (1938), largely relying on Dempwolff, made some IPA transcriptions. Significant later contributions were made by Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977) and Elderkin (1989, 1992). Phonetic aspects of the clicks are discussed by de Voogt (1992) in an M.A. thesis. Van de Kimmenade (1954) and Kagaya (1993) are primarily useful as sources of vocabulary. Newman (1970) is also a very valuable source of specialized terminology for cultural items and local flora and fauna. Because quite a large lexicon is known for Sandawe it is possible to reach good estimates of how frequent words with clicks are. Some 20–25% of Sandawe words contain one or more clicks.

4.2 Sandawe click types

All accounts of Sandawe agree that there are three click types in the language. These may be broadly described as dental, post-alveolar, and alveolar lateral. The only difference among investigators is that Kagaya writes ɬ rather than ɬ . As with Hadza, comparisons will also be made with the lateral ejective affricate

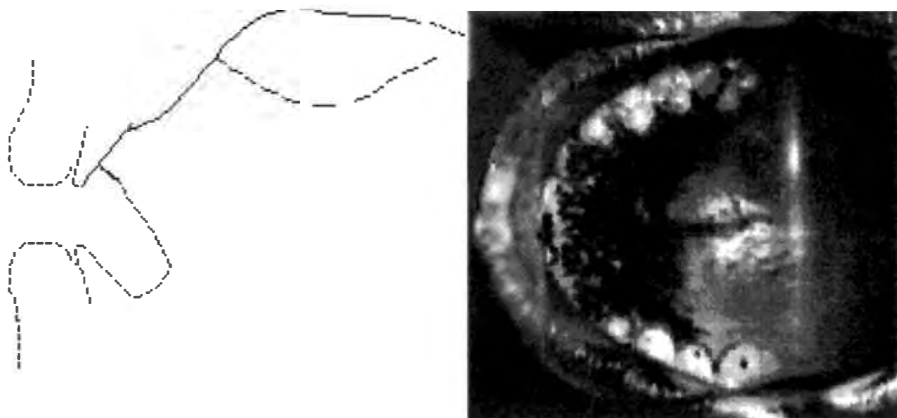


Figure 15: Palatogram (with some highlights removed) and inferred sagittal view of the dental click in [k |a] ‘leaf’ as spoken by speaker 1

because of the strong auditory similarity between it and the lateral click, already commented on by Dempwolff.

A palatogram of one of the speakers’ productions of the dental click [l] and the inferred sagittal section based on this palatogram is shown in figure 15. The palatogram shows a contact that extends from the back of the upper teeth to behind the alveolar ridge. Note that the contact in the centre is further forward than at the sides. The contact at the lateral margins is not recorded in this photograph, perhaps because it may have been on the lower edge of the molar teeth. The other speakers’ palatograms show a similarly extensive contact. From direct observation, it is our impression that this palatographic pattern reflects a large simultaneous contact area, and not a moving contact of the tongue sweeping over this area. This articulation might therefore be classified as laminal denti-alveolar.

A palatogram and inferred sagittal section of the front articulation of the same speaker’s post-alveolar click are shown in figure 16. In this case the closure is made at the back of and just behind the alveolar ridge. The length of the contact from front to back is shorter than that seen in the dental click above, indicating that this closure is more likely to have been made with the tip rather than the blade of the tongue. Another speaker’s palatograms showed the closure to be entirely behind the alveolar ridge. As in Hadza, this click type has two rather distinct release patterns in Sandawe. The post-alveolar closure is often released in a way that produces a sharp inrush of air, creating the loud transient associated with canonical click sounds. However, it may also be

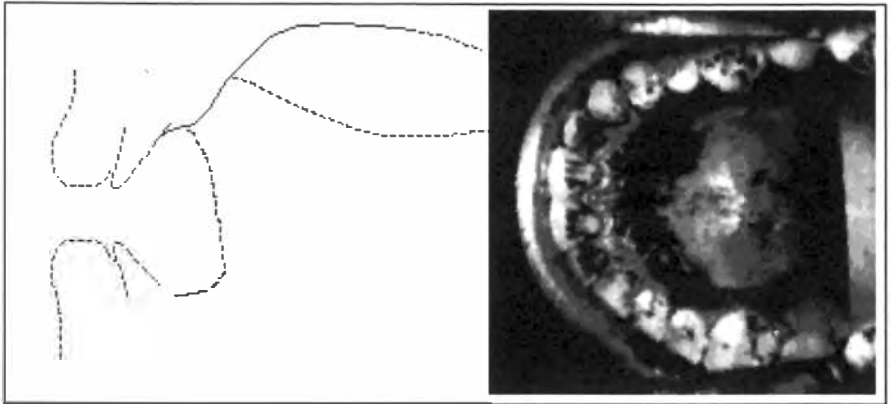


Figure 16: Palatogram and inferred sagittal view of the post-alveolar click in the word [k!amba] ‘spleen’ as spoken by a male Sandawe speaker (speaker 1)

released with a smaller prior expansion of the cavity, so that the breaking of the seal between the tongue and the palate produces only a relatively quiet noise. In this variant the tongue is usually allowed to strike the floor of the mouth after its separation from the roof, and it is this contact that produces the principal audible signal, as in the example in figure 17. We will call this a

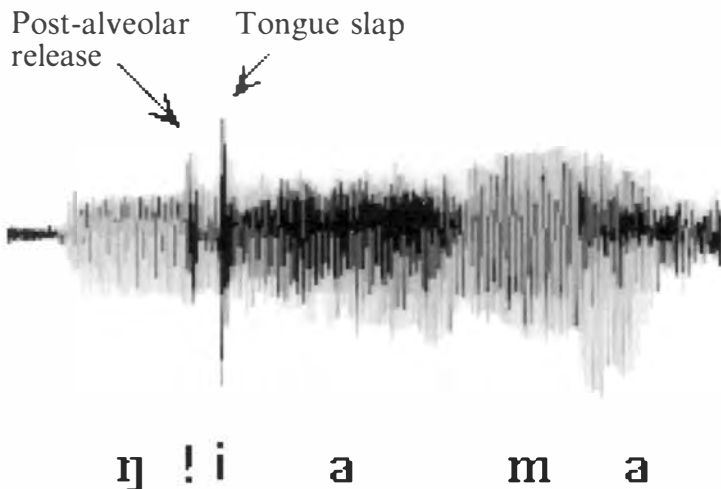


Figure 17: Waveform of the word [ŋ!ama] (tree species) spoken by a male Sandawe speaker (speaker 3)

tongue slap, and where appropriate will use the symbol [i] to transcribe the hitting of the tongue against the floor of the mouth. On some occasions both the post-alveolar release and the tongue slap create quite loud acoustic signatures, as in the example in figure 17. There is about a 20 ms delay between post-alveolar release and tongue slap when both are detectable. When the speakers were pronouncing words for our palatographic data collection, they produced the canonical loud variant of this click, so we do not know if the front closures are similar in location and extent between the two variants.

The third click type in Sandawe has a lateral release. Figure 18 shows a palatogram and inferred sagittal section of the front articulation of this click as produced by speaker 1. For this speaker, there is a broad laminal contact that covers the back of the upper teeth and extends behind the alveolar ridge, as in the dental click. The other two speakers who provided palatograms had narrower contact areas which neither included the teeth, nor reached as far back behind the alveolar ridge. As this articulation appears to be more typical, we consider this click type to be best described as an alveolar lateral click.

As noted earlier, Sandawe, like Hadza, has a lateral ejective affricate which is auditorily similar to the lateral click, sufficiently similar so that care was required to avoid transcription errors. The acoustic basis of this similarity in auditory impression is discussed in Wright, Maddieson, Sands and Ladefoged (1995). The contact pattern for the lateral ejective affricate as produced by speaker 1 is shown in figure 19. For this speaker the location and extent of the front closure is very similar for both the lateral click and the lateral ejective affricate.

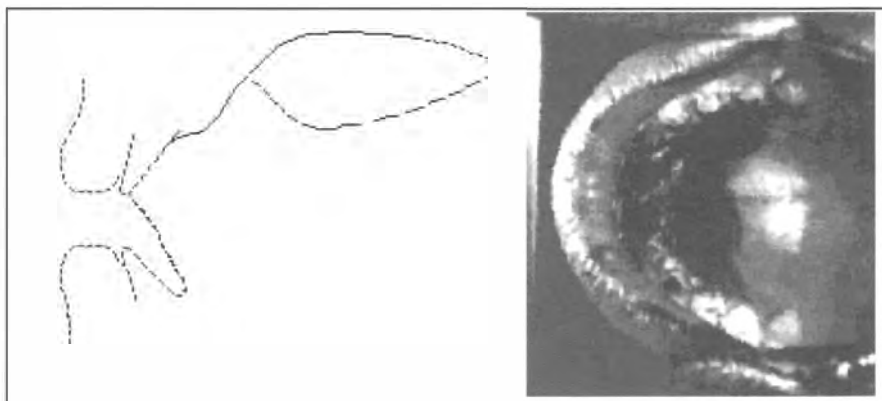


Figure 18: Palatogram and inferred sagittal view of the lateral click in ‘warthog’ [k||aŋ] as spoken by a male Sandawe speaker (speaker 1)

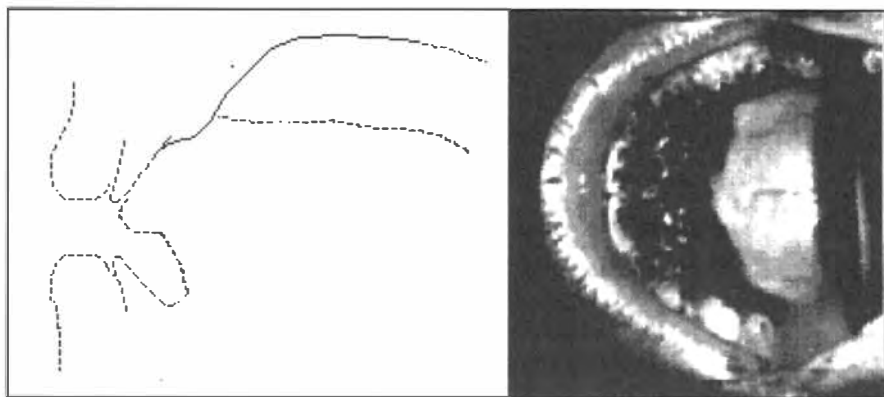


Figure 19: Palatogram and inferred sagittal view of the ejective lateral affricate in the word ‘to take’ [tɬ’a] as spoken by a male Sandawe speaker (speaker 1)

4.2 Sandawe click accompaniments

Previous accounts of the click accompaniments in Sandawe vary somewhat in the number recognized and in their nature. Our research confirms that there are five accompaniments in Sandawe: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced nasalized, voiced, and nasalized and glottalized. Dempwolff distinguished four principal accompaniments which may be interpreted as: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, glottalized, and voiced nasalized. Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977) report the same four accompaniments. Both sources note voiced clicks but regard them as occasional variants of the voiceless unaspirated. Elderkin (1989) recognizes all five accompaniments mentioned by these earlier authors as distinct, thus differentiating voiceless unaspirated and voiced. In his 1992 paper he also notes ‘predictable nasalization’ accompanying glottalized clicks in non-initial position. Kagaya (1993) reports four accompaniments which he calls voiceless, aspirated, glottalized and nasalized.

For Sandawe we were able to investigate the click accompaniments with aerodynamic records of the oral and nasal airflow patterns from speaker 3. Oral airflow for articulatory investigations of the click accompaniments was collected with a mask covering the mouth. Nasal airflow was recorded with a tube connected to a small foam plug with a narrow hole through it inserted in one nostril while the other was pinched closed. The aerodynamic records were produced under difficult field conditions, and flow volumes were not calibrated. However, they provide significant data of a type that is not

elsewhere available, and are particularly useful for determining aspects of the timing of different actions. Two non-consecutive repetitions of each word were recorded and the aerodynamic patterns were very consistent across these repetitions, indicating that this data provides reliable, qualitative information on the production of this speaker.

Figure 20 illustrates a token of a voiceless unaspirated post-alveolar click at the beginning of the word *k!e*: ‘termitary, anthill’. The sharp inward air flow at click release is clearly shown in the oral airflow trace, and is followed by low volume egressive flow for the following vowel. The nasal airflow record shows some small perturbations at the beginning of the word but no net flow of air out through the nose. These may reflect movements of the velum during the release of the click. No significant amount of air flows out through the nose during this period or during the vowel. The speaker exhales partly through the nose at the end of the utterance, and the increase from the baseline level of nasal flow is very clear at this point.

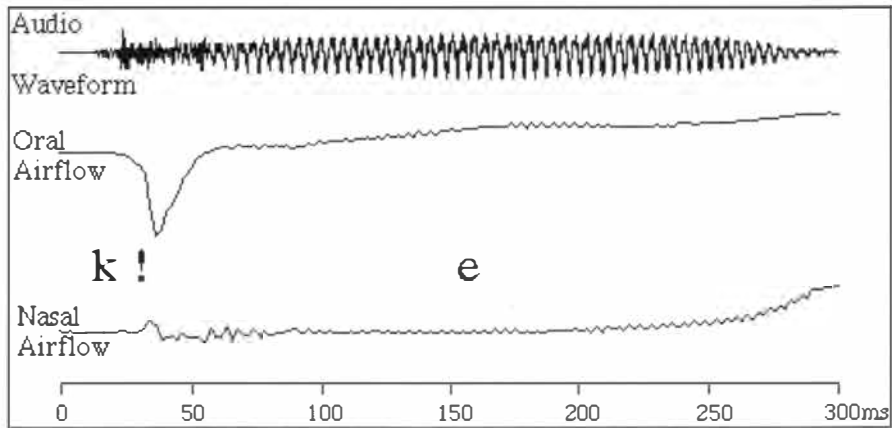


Figure 20: Aerodynamic record of the Sandawe word *k!e*: ‘termitary, anthill’ spoken by speaker 3

The voiceless aspirated accompaniment in the word *k!^heŋ* ‘tongue’ is shown in figure 21. Following the inward airflow due to the click release, there is a high-volume outward oral airflow, and some considerable delay before vocal fold vibration begins for the vowel. Nasal airflow is apparent for the final consonant, but not earlier. This accompaniment is found only in word-initial environments.

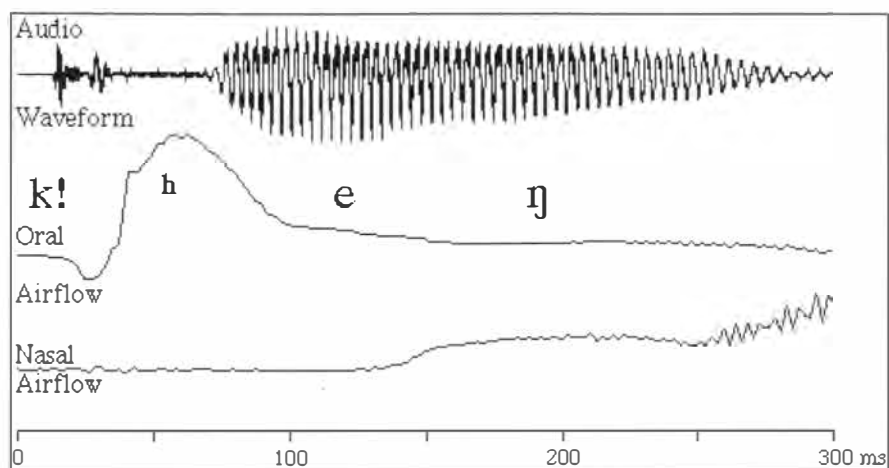


Figure 21: Aerodynamic record of the Sandawe word *kʰeŋ* ‘tongue’ spoken by speaker 3

The voiced nasalized accompaniment is illustrated in figure 22 which shows two voiced nasalized dental clicks in the word *ɲaŋaɔ* ‘to cut’ (reduplicated form). In the audio waveform, strong vocal fold vibration can be seen to begin well before the release of the initial click. (The oral and nasal airflow records are less reliable indicators of voicing, as they were sampled at a lower rate.) The nasal airflow record shows that at the very beginning of the record, before voicing onset, there is voiceless nasal airflow, which decreases as voicing is initiated. Continued flow through the nasal cavity for a short period after the click release is indicated by the strong vibrations in the nasal airflow trace at this time (much stronger than those in the previous two clicks), but the following vowel is primarily oral. In the medial nasalized click the onset of the nasal component can be detected from the decrease in the oral flow and the increase in the nasal flow shortly before the time point marked by the first bold vertical bar. This bar marks the point at which the velar closure is made, and it occurs about 100 ms before the click – i.e. the dental – release occurs. The velar nasal continues to be held for about another 100 ms until the time point marked by the second vertical bar on the figure, and thus occupies a good proportion of the duration that might be ascribed to the following [a] vowel. Note that the segment transcribed as a glottal stop in the infinitive ending [ʔo] does not involve complete vocal fold closure but only a constriction of the folds resulting in reduced air flow.

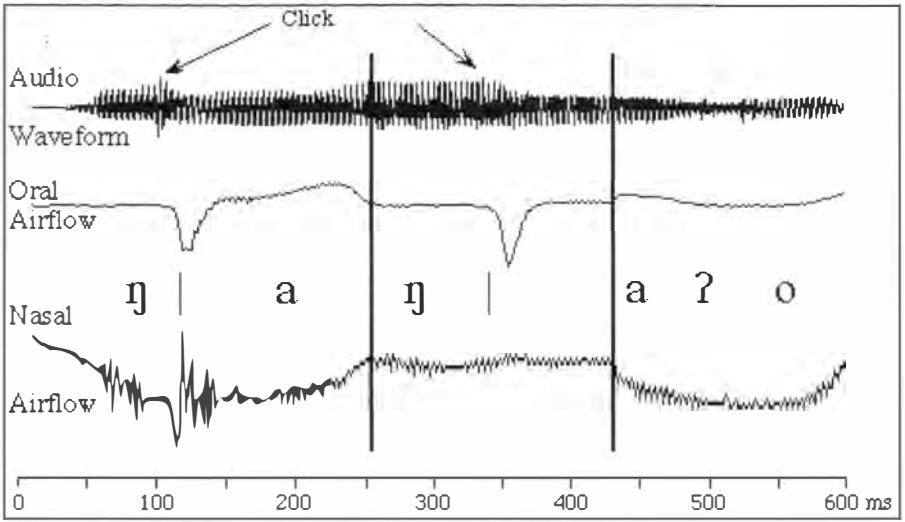


Figure 22: Aerodynamic record of *nana* 'to cut' spoken by speaker 3. The vertical bars mark the formation and release of the velic closure in the medial nasal click. The scale of the nasal airflow has been increased so as to show these points more clearly

The clicks in figure 23 in the word *g|ig|o*, the name of a species of small bird in the finch family, illustrate the voiced accompaniment with dental clicks. In initial position the onset of voicing does not occur until closer to the click release than is the case with the initial nasalized click shown in figure 22. In the audio waveform a few periods of low amplitude voicing can be observed following the click release. The vibrations produced by this voicing are observable in the nasal airflow channel, but there is no net flow of air through the nasal passage, and there is no nasal airflow preceding voice onset. We infer from this pattern that the tongue is raised to form the velar closure and that the velum is already raised to close the nasal passage before voicing is initiated. This token thus illustrates a voiced velar stop closure with about 50 ms of vocal fold vibration, which is probably close to the maximum duration that voicing can be sustained when such a configuration exists (Ohala & Riordan 1989). When this closure is released, both oral and nasal closures are broken and there is a phonetically nasalized vowel after the velar release. Because the vowel is a high vowel involving a considerable degree of constriction in the oral cavity, most of the airflow is directed through the nasal cavity.

The second voiced click in this word differs dramatically from the first in being prenasalized. The vowel in the first syllable is very short and is followed by a

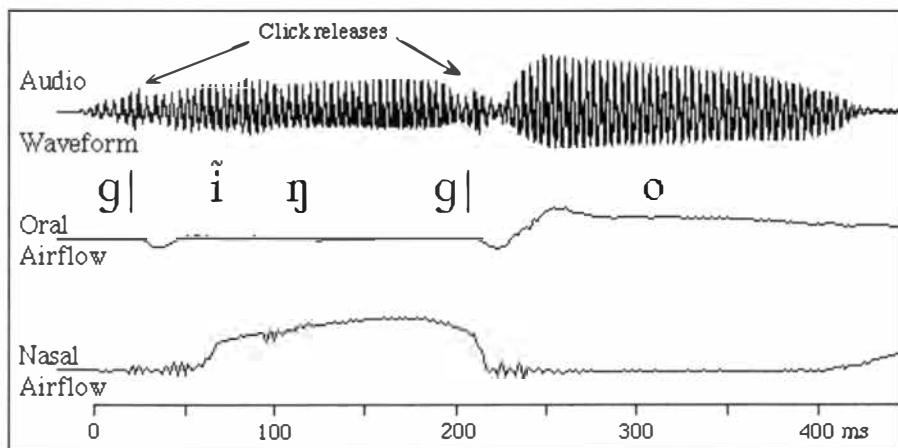


Figure 23: Aerodynamic record of *g|iŋ|g|o*, (species of small bird) spoken by speaker 3. In this and subsequent figures the symbols on the figure show the phonetic elements rather than the phonological categories

velar nasal which is part of this second click. There is complementary distribution such that voiced clicks in initial position occur without prenasalization and those in medial position are always prenasalized. In this token the exact time that the velar nasal begins is unclear, but might be around the 100 ms mark. Nasal airflow is shut off shortly before the click release, as shown in the nasal airflow trace and by the sharp reduction in the amplitude of the voicing vibration in the audio waveform. Both velar and velo-pharyngeal closures are maintained for about 50 ms while the dental click release is made. Then the velar closure is released and air directed solely out of the mouth. We suggest that the prenasalization of a medial voiced click is a means of retaining the relatively long lag between the formation of the velar closure and the release of the front closure for a click while enabling voicing to be continuously maintained. By shortening the period during which both the oral and the nasal passages are closed to no more than 50 ms, the speaker avoids an involuntary cessation of vocal fold vibration due to air pressure in the pharyngeal cavity approaching equality with subglottal pressure. In utterance-initial position, the problem is handled differently, by delaying the onset of voicing.

Another striking fact about these voiced clicks is the low oral inflow associated with the click release itself. In voiced velar plosives a forward movement of the location of the closure on the palate can be employed to assist in enlarging the pharyngeal cavity, thus enabling voicing to be sustained for a longer time than

would otherwise be the case. It is possible that these voiced clicks also involve some forward movement of the velar closure to assist voicing, and that this reduces the amount that the cavity between the two closures can be expanded. The result would be a weaker inflow on release, as is shown in this record.

The glottalized and nasalized accompaniment shows the greatest variation. Here we show only one example of this accompaniment, medially in the word **maɭa** ‘louse’ in figure 24. The oral air flow declines and nasal air flow rises as the [ŋ] is formed, but the nasal air flow subsequently falls as the glottal constriction impedes transglottal air flow. The velum is probably still down at the time of the click burst, as the nasal signal shows considerable fluctuations (there is also a final exhalation through both the nose and the mouth).

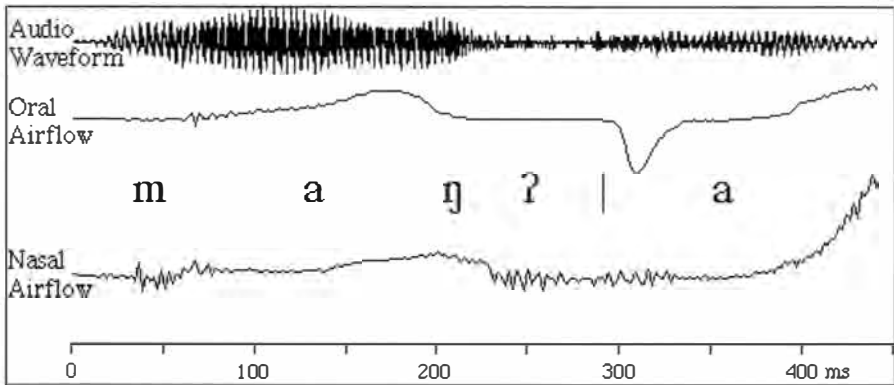


Figure 24: Aerodynamic record of the Sandawe word **maɭa** ‘louse’ spoken by speaker 3

As Elderkin (1992) notes, audible nasalization here is predictable in the sense that it is always observed before non-initial glottalized clicks. He also notes that it may occur before initial glottalized clicks when they follow a vowel at a word boundary. We therefore do not record it in our phonologically based transcriptions. However, we believe that this accompaniment always involves lowering of the velum, even in utterance-initial positions, but that a glottal closure usually prevents any actual escape of air though the nose in initial position.

Sandawe’s five click accompaniments are illustrated in figure 25 with expanded waveforms of onsets of words beginning with dental clicks. The three accompaniments which appear voiceless in word-initial position can be divided

into two groups using the well-established measure of voice onset time (VOT). This was measured from the onset of the release transient noise to the beginning of the first identifiable glottal pulse on an expanded waveform display. The mean VOT for 30 tokens (2 repetitions of 3 click types for 5 speakers) of glottalized clicks was 61.2 ms, for aspirated clicks 67.4 ms and for unaspirated clicks 32.0 ms. We had too few tokens of voiced clicks to measure a reliable mean for the duration of their prevoicing, but the mean duration of the prevoicing in nasalized clicks was 52 ms.

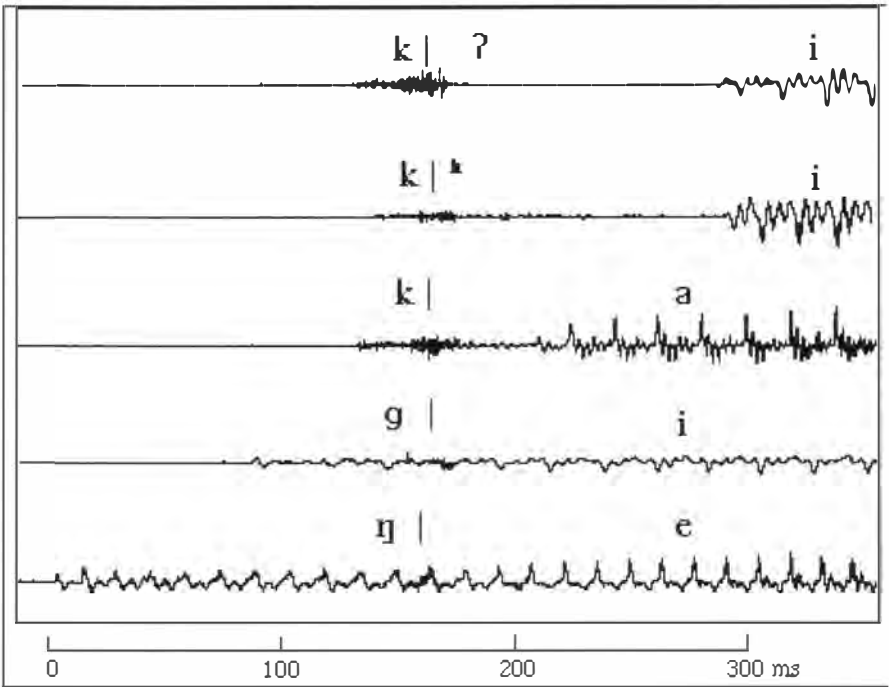


Figure 25: Example waveforms illustrating the five click accompaniments in Sandawe with the dental click type in the words *k|zi* ‘snake’, *k|^hia* ‘dikdik’, *k|a* ‘dikdik’, *k|a* ‘leaf’, *g|iglo* ‘finch’ and *ŋ|eɾo* ‘to cut’ as spoken by male speaker 2

5. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EAST AFRICAN CLICK LANGUAGES

There are relatively few languages with clicks and hence a weak foundation for constructing a typology of click inventories. However, the East African

languages which have clicks conform to the few patterns which do seem reliable. For example, they lack bilabial clicks, and this seems to be a click type that only occurs when at least three other types occur. They also conform to a general pattern according to which a larger number of click accompaniments tend to co-occur with a larger number of click types. Dahalo, with fewer click types, also has fewer accompaniments.

The click inventories of the East African languages are not as extensive as in some of the better-known click languages of Southern Africa. In particular, the range of accompaniments to the clicks in Dahalo, Hadza and Sandawe is more limited than that which occurs in many of the Khoisan languages and even in some of the Bantu languages of the same area (Ladefoged & Traill 1994, Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). But they stand out in two ways: first, the prevalence of nasalization in the accompaniments is very striking.

It is a common observation among teachers of practical phonetics that students learning to produce clicks customarily produce them with nasalization, apparently finding it easier to integrate them with a following vowel or other speech sounds if air flow can continue through the nose.

Perhaps the common nasalization of East African clicks is a reflection of a factor related in a similar way to ease of production.

Second, both Hadza and Sandawe show relatively frequent occurrence of the tongue slap variant (i) of [ɽ], which is otherwise unknown in languages with clicks. This is also a familiar sound to practical phonetics teachers, who frequently elicit this articulation unintentionally as a student's first attempt at a post-alveolar click. In the absence of evidence of contact between Sandawe and Hadza, a general explanation of this phenomenon – perhaps as a form of laxing – should also be sought.

The final striking point, observed with both Hadza and Sandawe, was the auditory similarity between lateral clicks and lateral ejective affricates in these languages. The possibility of confusing these two productions suggests to us one possible route by which it is possible to imagine a language developing clicks. A failure to recover the correct articulation from the acoustic signal could lead to the click becoming the target in place of the ejective. (We do not have any evidence that this is an actual scenario in these languages.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research reported in this article would not have been possible without the help of many people. We are very grateful to all who assisted in any way, but

especially to the Dahalo, Hadza and Sandawe speakers who shared their knowledge of their languages with us in very generous fashion, particularly Ali Mena, Gudo Mahya and Windolin Pankras. In Kenya we owe a debt of gratitude to Lucia Omondi for assisting with research permission, Nico Kalama for providing essential contacts in Witu, Haji Omar Abdallah and Ebrahim Khamisa for hospitality and research assistance in Kipini, and Ali Mirza for assistance with transportation. We would like to express appreciation to the Tanzanian Commission on Science and Technology for their approval and encouragement for our research in Tanzania, and to the district and provincial authorities in Arusha, Mbulu and Kondo for approving our project, and to Herman Batibo, Nicholas Blurton Jones, the Catholic Missions at Farkwa and Kurio, Dave and Jen Pearce, and Jeannette Hanby and David Bygott for facilitating our work in various ways. At UCLA, Sinisa Spajic, Richard Wright and Stephan Schütze-Coburn made essential contributions to the analyses presented here. We would also like to acknowledge the generosity of Edward D. Elderkin and Derek Nurse in sharing unpublished work with us. The research reported here was supported by grant BNS-9107004 from the National Science Foundation for research on the phonetic structures of endangered languages.

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THE PHONETIC DESCRIPTION OF THE ŽU|’HŌASI CLICKS: A CONFUSION OF SOUNDS?

J. Snyman

INTRODUCTION

The recently published *African linguistic contributions* (Gowlett, 1992) honouring E.O.J. Westphal, contains a contribution by Tony Traill, entitled “*A confusion of sounds: the phonetic description of !Xū clicks*” (pp. 345–362). In his contribution Traill (1992:345–350) summarises the transcriptional differences between Vedder, Lloyd, Bleek, Maingard, Köhler and Westphal and then proceeds (Traill 1992:351:361) to draw a detailed comparison between his personal data on Tsumkwe Žu|’hōasi with Snyman’s (1975) findings.¹ This seems rather inappropriate as he was aware (Traill 1992:347) of Snyman’s latest views on clicks, namely *The clicks of Žu|’hōasi* published in Baumbach (1978). For some reason this publication was not closely studied while Traill concentrated on the contents of Snyman (1975) where some of the click articulations were less elegantly explained. This led him to conclude that he had the answer to the “*recurrent confusions between sounds found in over a century (sic) of study*”, and that he had provided “*an objective basis for their correct description*” (Traill 1992:361). A closer analysis of his data, however, reveals that he did not take cognisance of all relevant sections in both Snyman (1975) and Snyman (1978). His misinterpretation and consequent misrepresentation of Snyman’s (1975:19) alternate application of the apostrophe in this language spawned a detailed argument bent on proving that Snyman regarded click accompaniments with **delayed aspiration**, viz. |’h [|’h], ≠’h [≠’h], !’h [!’h] and ||’h [||’h] as being **ejected** (Traill 1992:347, 355, 356). This is not however, the correct interpretation of Snyman (1975:20,

92–97, iii) where the offending “*tydelike daling in frekwensie*” (a temporary fall in (fundamental?) frequency) (Traill 1992:347), only refers to a period of decreased articulatory energy or amplitude in the case of three types of sounds. Snyman (1975:19) accounted for this period of low amplitude in the practical orthography of Žu|’hōasi by means of an apostrophe and a superscripted hyphen in the phonetic orthography. The hyphen was used in three instances, namely for:

- (a) a period of ‘silence’ followed by the **progressively increasing** air flow for the articulation of the delayed glottal fricatives as in |’h [|’h], †’h [†’h], !’h [!’h] and ||’h [||’h];
- (b) the **glottal stop** following on clicks like |’ [|’], †’ [†’], !’ [!’] and ||’ [||’] as well as **ejectives** like |x’ [|x’], †x’ [†x’], !x’ [!’x’] and ||x’ [||x’];
- (c) the **glottal attenuation** in the case of glottalised vowels and nasals, e.g. dà’á [dà’á] – fire, n!òm’m – navel.

Snyman (1975:19) is therefore basically in agreement with Traill (1992:348) that in the case of [|’h] we are dealing with “the regulation of the pulmonic pressure”. There is therefore no “phonetically spurious and phonologically irrelevant glottal stop” contained in Snyman’s data on !’h [!’h], as erroneously interpreted by Traill (1992:356). As for Snyman’s (1975:19, 94) n|’h [ŋ|’h], n†’h, [ŋ†’h], n!’h [ŋ!’h] and n||’h [ŋ||’h] Traill (1992:357) failed to take cognisance of Snyman’s (1978:157, 158) revised interpretation of these click accompaniments. Snyman regards them as examples of nasal pre-voiced clicks and explains his use of the phonetic symbol [ɿ] for **oral prevoicing** and [̤] for **nasal prevoicing**. There was therefore no need for Traill “to ponder the weird prospect of nasalized ejected aspirated segments!” (Traill 1992:357). Even in Snyman (1975:19, 94) these click accompaniments had not been described as “ejected aspirated segments”. They had been regarded as examples of click releases characterised by “*a period of silence*” or, more elegantly phrased, a period of low amplitude, which was phonetically represented as [ː], e.g. [ŋ|’h].

Traill’s (1992: 351) main concern however was, with the transcriptional differences in the documentation of the field notes of these researchers. Apparently he was convinced that he had an explanation for this state of affairs, because he sets up an elaborate experiment “to explore the mechanism responsible for the difference between the audible and silent release of the velar closure”. This led Traill (1992:347, 357) to find that:

- (i) the four click releases consist of : [ŋ!h] and n!h with **a silent release of the velar closure** and [!kh] and g!kh with **an audible release of the velar closure**.
- (ii) Snyman's !'h [!-h] and Westphal's !'h are characterised by a “voiceless nasal flow prior to the release of the click” (1992:353) which he represents it as ŋ!h. According to Traill (1992:357) “This breaks with the tradition of !Xū studies, none of which describe ŋ!h as nasalised, ...” This is of course only partially correct as Beach (1938:85) (See quote in Snyman (1975:133, 134)) as well as Snyman (1975:133, 134) observed the “slight nasal efflux” which is “never used if the click is initial in a breath group”.

Traill (1992:357) then implements the principles, mentioned in (i) and (ii) above, in “A revised phonological classification of clicks” which he proposes as his solution to the “confusion of sounds”.

However, the questions arise as to whether:

- (i) Traill's findings on “the audible and silent release of the velar closure” have been empirically validated?
- (ii) the inaudible nasal flow, which forms the basis of Traill's “revised phonological classification of clicks”, only applies to Snyman's (1975, 1978) !'h [!-h] etc and Snyman's (1978) n!h [ŋ!h] etc?²

If any doubts exist about the validity of these two issues, the premises on which Traill based his “*confusion of sounds*” become suspect. This, however, does not explain all the transcriptional differences documented by Traill (1992:349, 350) in the dialectal notes of Snyman, Maingard, Köhler and Westphal. Snyman (1978) did offer an empirically substantiated interpretation of the clicks of Tsumkwe Žu|'hōasi, but similar contributions are lacking in the work of the other researchers. A solution to the impasse may be found in:

- (i) a close scrutiny of Snyman (1978) and a comparison with Snyman's revisiting of the same topic as documented in the rest of this article;
- (ii) a comparison of Snyman's (1997) dialectal transcriptions with the published field notes of Maingard, Köhler and Westphal.³

This would present us with a better explanation for the transcriptional discrepancies observed by Traill.

In order to focus clearly on the clicks of Tsumkwe Žu|'hōasi, the rest of this contribution will refrain from referring to the work of Khoesanists other than

Snyman and Traill. By presenting an acoustic analysis of the Žu|'hōasi clicks, based on a cassette (available from the Unisa Library), scholars are afforded the opportunity to study this phenomenon at their leisure and make their own comparisons between Snyman's interpretation of the clicks of Žu|'hōasi and Traill's impression that !Xūu click phonetic description, prior to 1992, was a mere "confusion of sounds".

THE CLICKS OF TSUMKWE ŽU|'HŌASI

Unlike Beach (1938:75, 82), Snyman (1978) did not classify the clicks according to influx and efflux types but according to the place of articulation as well as the number of airstreams involved in the articulation of a particular click. In the present revision of Snyman (1978) the place of articulation (i.e. influx) and manner of egressive release (i.e. efflux or click accompaniment) will serve as parameters for classification.⁴

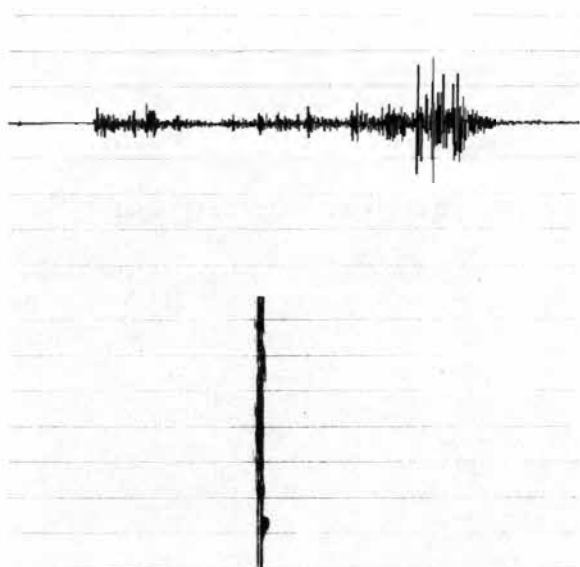
Žu|'hōasi has four basic clicks and their respective active and passive articulators are:

[|]	—	lamino-dental
[⊥]	—	lamino-palatoalveolar
[!]	—	apico-postalveolar
[||]	—	apico-alveolar

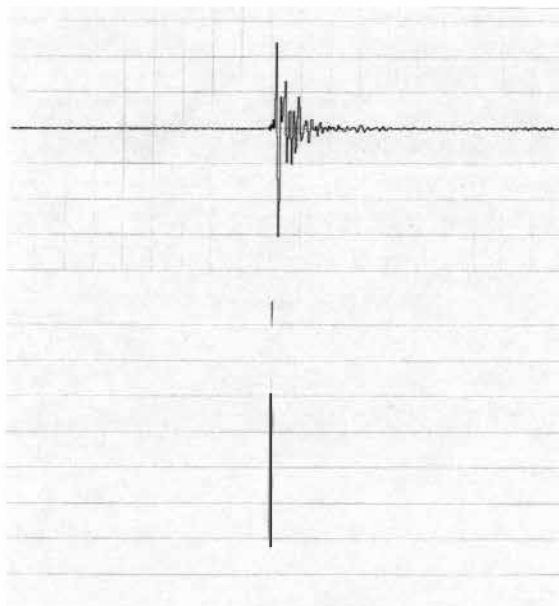
Traill (1985:113) found that the volume of rarefied air at the moment of articulation was smaller for [|] and [⊥]. This explains why these clicks are experienced as higher pitched than [!] and [||]. As the clicks [⊥] and [!] have an instantaneous influx reminiscent of a *plosive*. Snyman calls them *inplosive*, while the clicks [|] and [||] have a *fricative* influx which inspires the term *infricative*.

When spoken in isolation the wave forms and spectrograms of the four clicks are:

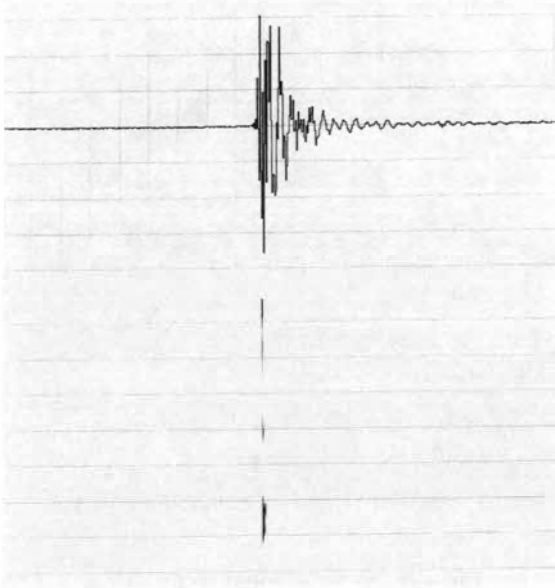
The lamino-dental click [ɽ]



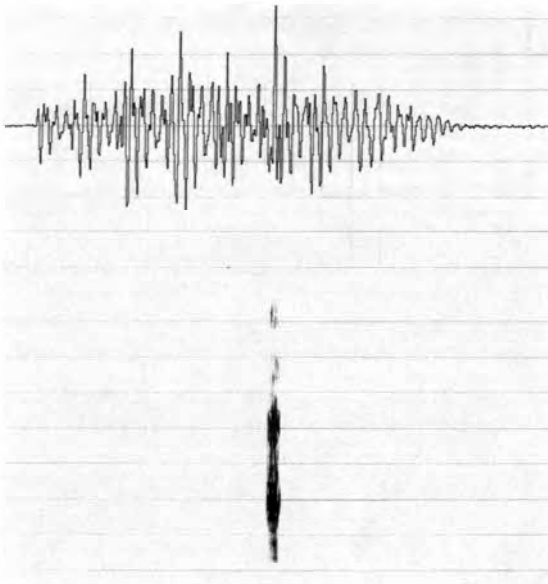
The lamino-palatoalveolar click [ɽ̟]



The apico-postalveolar click [ʔ]



The apico-alveolar click [ɰ]



The articulation of clicks can either be *basic*, i.e. only the lingual airstream is used, e.g. [ʔ], [ʔ̤], [ʔ̥] and [ʔ̥̥], or *complex* when the lingual airstream and (i) either the pulmonic, (ii) the laryngeal, (iii) or both these airstreams are simultaneously involved in the articulation of a number of effluxes like the nasal efflux, i.e. [ŋ] and the ejected velar fricative efflux, i.e. [x̥']. The basic click as well as the following complex clicks will be discussed in more detail:

- (i) the glottal plosive accompaniment, e.g.
[ʔ̥], [ʔ̥̥], [ʔ̥̥̥] and [ʔ̥̥̥̥];
- (ii) the voiced accompaniment, e.g.
[g̥], [g̥̥], [g̥̥̥] and [g̥̥̥̥];
- (iii) the velar fricative accompaniment, e.g.
[x̥], [x̥̥], [x̥̥̥] and [x̥̥̥̥];
- (iv) the ejected velar fricative accompaniment, e.g.
[x̥'], [x̥̥'], [x̥̥̥'] and [x̥̥̥̥'];
- (v) the voiced and velar fricative accompaniments, e.g.
[g̥x̥], [g̥̥x̥], [g̥̥̥x̥] and [g̥̥̥̥x̥];
- (vi) the prevoiced and ejected velar fricative accompaniments, e.g.
[̤x̥'], [̤̤x̥'], [̤̤̥x̥'] and [̤̤̥̥x̥'];
- (vii) the glottal fricative accompaniment, e.g.
[h̥], [h̥̥], [h̥̥̥] and [h̥̥̥̥];
- (viii) the delayed glottal fricative accompaniment, e.g.
[̤̤̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥̥h̥] and [̤̤̥̥̥̥̥h̥];
- (ix) the prevoiced and glottal fricative accompaniments, e.g. [̤̤̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥̥h̥] and [̤̤̥̥̥̥̥h̥];
- (x) the nasalised accompaniment, e.g.
[ŋ̥], [ŋ̥̥], [ŋ̥̥̥] and [ŋ̥̥̥̥];
- (xi) the nasal prevoiced and glottal fricative accompaniments e.g.
[̤̤̥̥̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥̥̥h̥], [̤̤̥̥̥̥̥̥h̥] and [̤̤̥̥̥̥̥̥̥h̥].

The following discussions of the !Xũ clicks, according to the *basic* and *complex* parameters mentioned above, will focus on *spectrograms* and *wave forms* of the *lamino-dental* and *lamino-palatoalveolar* clicks, the reason being that the click in the spectrograms of these two clicks seldom reaches frequencies lower than 800 Hz while the fundamental frequency of their various voiced and nasalised accompaniments do not exceed 500 Hz. This allows for an unambiguous analysis of the simultaneously articulated voiced/nasalised and click segments. The examples due to be analysed, as well as

additional examples of the other click types of Žu|'hōasi are available on cassette in the Unisa Library.⁵

A SPECTROGRAPHIC AND WAVE FORM ANALYSIS OF LAMINO-DENTAL AND LAMINO-PALATOALVEOLAR CLICKS

The following wave forms and spectrograms were printed on the DSP Sona-Graph, model 5500, and obviously lack supporting data available from air flow measurements. In the case of the wave forms of the words containing clicks, the attention was focused on the click segments of each word by *expanding the click wave form* and by adding the *amplitude graph* below it. The degree of expansion depended on the nature of the acoustic data under discussion. Together with the spectrographic tracings one has sufficient data on which to base an account of the Žu|'hōasi clicks. The spectrographic tracings of the words, displaying the *frequency* ranges of the clicks, were kept at the standard time setting of 50 ms.

The choice of the illustrative material used in the rest of this article depended on what had been found as a norm pronunciation for a particular click. Some of the examples on the cassette will obviously deviate from the norm but are nevertheless relevant as they illustrate the variety of pronunciations found in the speech of individual speakers of the language.

1. THE BASIC CLICK ARTICULATION

The basic articulation of clicks does not involve the pulmonic and laryngeal airstream mechanisms. These clicks are therefore produced by means of the lingual airstream mechanism only. In figure 1 this is evidenced by the wave form and spectrogram of the lamino-dental click [ɽ] in |oara (baboon).

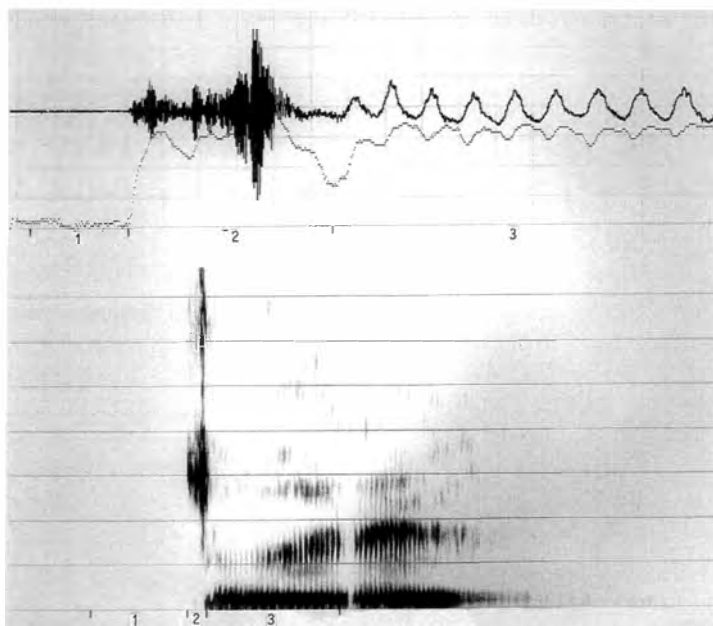


Figure 1. [!] in |oara (baboon)

The numbered phonetic segments in figure 1 are interpreted as follows:

Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset

Segment 2 = a lamino-dental click

Segment 3 = the vowel [o]

The wave form of [!], expanded to 3.12 ms./div., displays a lengthy aperiodic commencement with number of amplitude peaks leading to a high amplitude peak. The spectrogram displays the frequency of the click concentrated between 3 000 and 4 000 Hz. This is followed by a sharp decline in amplitude with the aperiodic wave fading into the onset of the periodic wave of the vowel [o].

2. THE COMPLEX CLICK ARTICULATION

The complex articulation of clicks is characterized by the fact that they have accompaniments (effluxes) resulting from *either* (i) the pulmonic, (ii) the laryngeal (i.e. glottalic) *or* (iii) a combination of both of these egressive airstream mechanisms.

(i) Clicks with a glottal plosive accompaniment

Clicks with a glottal plosive accompaniment are characterised by the fact that the rarefactive phase of the click articulation is accompanied by a glottal closure which is maintained till after the articulation of the click. The result is a vowel initiated by a glottal plosive onset.

In figure 2 this is attested by the wave form and spectrogram of [ʔ] in l'a (to give)⁶

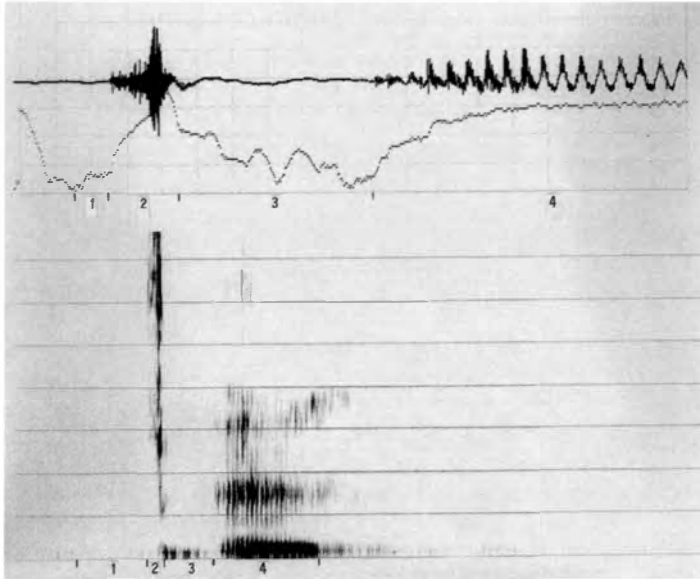


Figure 2. [ʔ] in l'a (to give)

The numbered phonetic segments of figure 2 are interpreted as follows:

- Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-dental click
- Segment 3 = the occlusion phase prior to the articulation of the glottal plosive
- Segment 4 = the vowel [a].

The wave form of [ʔ], expanded to 3.12 ms./div., shows the long aperiodic commencement of the click. The acoustic energy is spread over a wide range of frequencies with concentrations at 2 500–3 000 and 6 000–7 000 Hz

respectively. The click is followed by zero frequency and low amplitude associated with the vocal cord adduction prior to the glottal plosive onset of the vowel [a].

(ii) Clicks with a voiced accompaniment

This category of clicks is characterized by a negative voice onset which is audible despite the occlusion of the speech tract. The occlusion of the speech tract results in the voice onset being acoustically similar to the fundamental frequency. The articulation of the click is immediately followed by the glottal pulses initiating the vowel [o].

In figure 3 this is discernable in the wave form and spectrogram of [g] in g|oa (Combretum sp.).

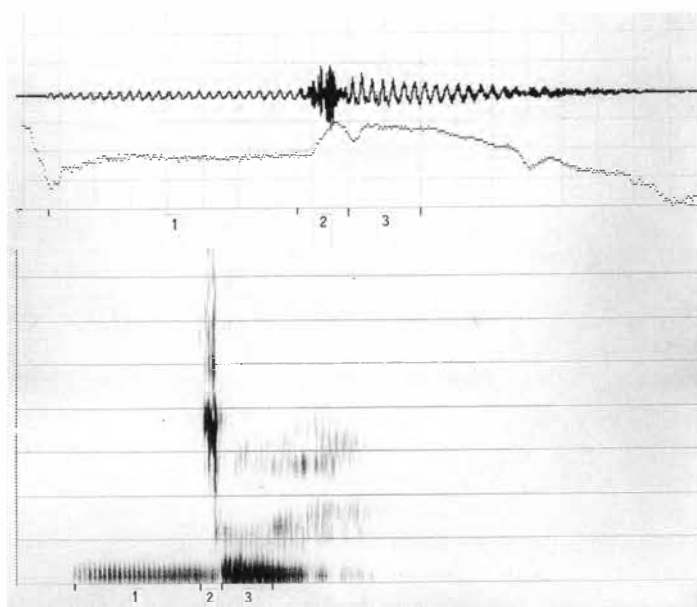


Figure 3. in g|oa (Combretum sp))

The phonetic segments demarcated in figure 3 represent:

- Segment 1 = a normal voiced click onset⁷
- Segment 2 = a lamino-dental click
- Segment 3 = the vowel [o]

When expanded to 25 ms./div., the wave form of [g] clearly displays a periodic low amplitude onset similar to the fundamental frequency. The duration of the voice onset depends on the supraglottal pressure which acts as a regulating factor of the pulmonic airflow. This is followed by the wide frequency wave associated with the lamino-dental click. The click segment of the wave displays a clear amplitude peak. The spectrogram shows a concentration of acoustic energy at 3 000–4 000 Hz. This is followed by a sharp decline in amplitude to allow for the readjustment of the articulatory organs prior to the production of the periodic wave of the vowel [o].

(iii) Clicks with a velar fricative accompaniment

These clicks are characterized by a voiceless onset immediately followed by a click and a velar fricative. The rarefaction for the click articulation occurs simultaneously with the pressurising of the pharyngeal cavity behind the velar and velic closures. The click and velar fricative segments are released in close succession and are immediately followed by the vowel [ɐ].

In figure 4 this sequence of events is discernable in the wave form and spectrogram of [ɬ] in |xani (guinea fowl).

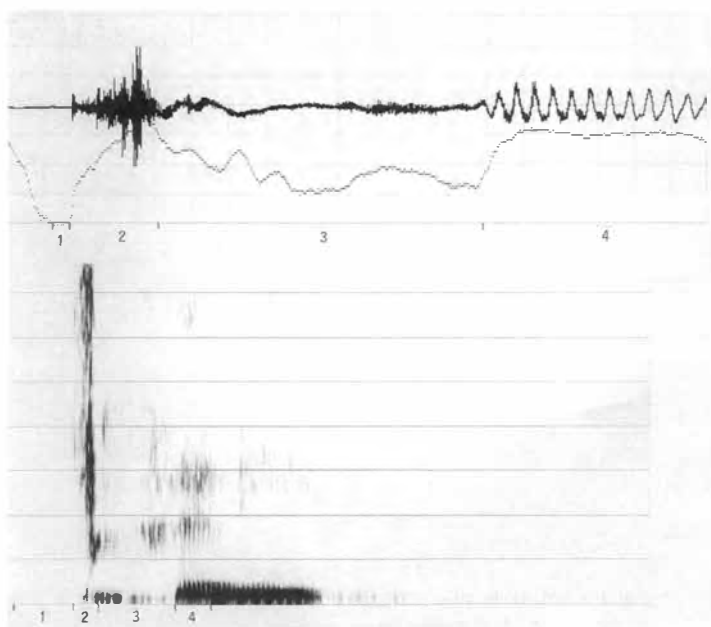


Figure 4. [ɬ] in |xani (guinea fowl)

The phonetic segments in figure 4 represents:

- Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-dental click
- Segment 3 = velar fricative noise
- Segment 4 = the vowel [ɐ]

The wave form of [x], expanded to 12.5 ms./div., illustrates the aperiodic wave of the click moving through a few amplitude peaks. The frequency of the click ranges from 500–7 000 Hz with a concentration of acoustic energy between 1 000 and 3 500 Hz. The click is followed by the aperiodic wave of the glottal fricative, with frequencies ranging from 1 000 to 4 500 Hz fading into the periodic waves of the vowel [ɐ]. Segment 3(a) of the aperiodic wave of the velar fricative displays oscillations which even out to the more usual wave form of a velar fricative. A similar *oscillation* occurs in the case of clicks with an ejective velar *fricative* accompaniment as well as clicks with a glottal *fricative* accompaniment.⁸

(iv) Clicks with an ejective velar accompaniment

These voiceless clicks are typically followed by an ejected velar fricative. The rarefaction for the click and the pharyngeal pressurisation, behind the velar and velic closures, occur simultaneously and the click and ejected segment are released in close succession. This, as a natural consequence, is followed by the glottal plosive release of a following vowel.

In figure 5 this sequence of events can be witnessed in the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [x'] in |x'uri (iron).⁹

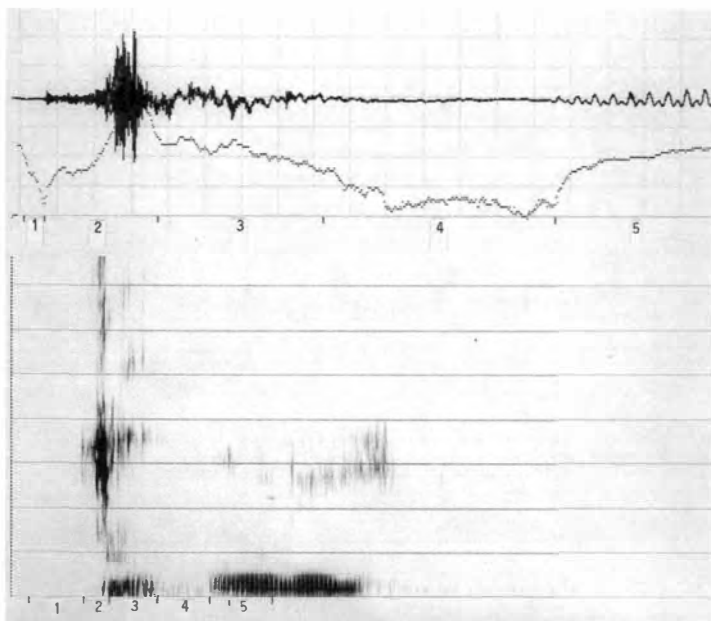


Figure 5. [x'] in |x'uri (iron)

The phonetic segments mentioned in figure 5 represent:

- Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset
- Segment 2 = a laminal dental click
- Segment 3 = a sharp ejected velar fricative noise.
- Segment 4 = the glottalic occlusion phase following on the production of the ejected velar fricative and prior to the articulation of the glottal plosive before the vowel [u].
- Segment 5 = the vowel [u]

The expanded wave form of [x'] to 12.5 ms./div. shows the aperiodic wave of the click with a few amplitude peaks. The spectrogram displays click frequency ranges from 1 000 Hz to over 7 000 Hz with a clear concentration of acoustic energy at 2 000–4 000 Hz. The click is followed by a typical aperiodic high frequency wave associated with ejected fricatives. The initial stages of the aperiodic wave show the oscillations mentioned in endnote 8. The aperiodic wave fades into a period of zero frequency and low amplitude. This is followed by a sharp increase in amplitude coinciding with the periodic wave pattern of the vowel [u] commencing in a glottal plosive.

(v) Clicks with a voiced as well as a velar fricative accompaniment

Characteristically these clicks have a negative voice onset followed by a click and ending in a velar fricative. This set of clicks is the voiced counterpart of the voiceless clicks with a velar fricative accompaniment, e.g. [x] discussed in section (iii) above. The velar and velic closures of these clicks close off the speech tract thus allowing for the production of a voice onset which is similar to the fundamental frequency. The production of this voice onset lasts as long as the supraglottal pressure allows an inflow of air. This process occurs while the lingual airstream is being produced. On reaching a suitable degree of rarefaction the articulation for the click is released and is immediately followed by a voiced velar fricative.¹⁰

In figure 6 this sequence of events can be verified against the wave form and spectrogram of [g|ɣ] in g|xam (urine).

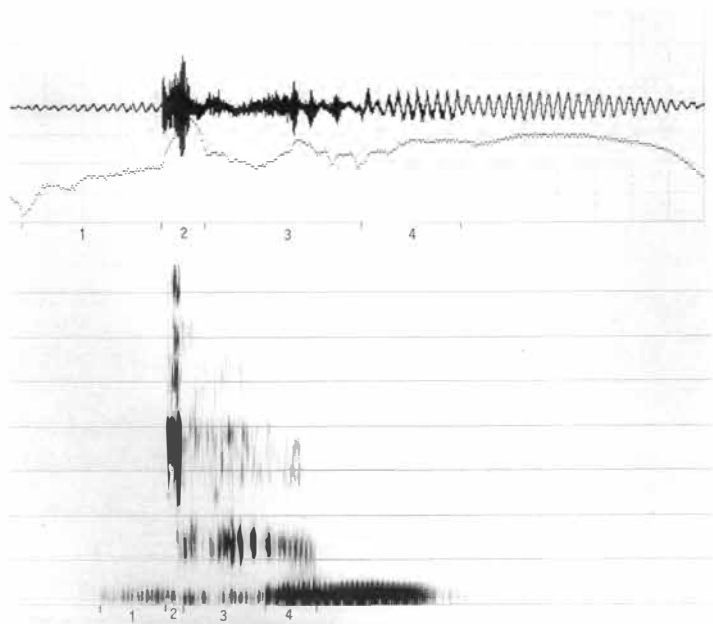


Figure 6. [g|ɣ] in g|xam (urine)

The phonetic segments of [g|ɣ] in figure 6 consist of:

- Segment 1 = a normal voiced click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino dental click

Segment 3 = velar fricative noise

Segment 4 = the vowel [ɐ]

When expanded to 25 ms./div., the wave form of [g|ɿ] shows the periodic low amplitude wave similar to the fundamental frequency. This wave clearly shows an increase in amplitude which is characteristic of normal voicing. It is followed by the typical wide frequency aperiodic click wave with its high amplitude peak and a frequency concentration at 2 200–3 100 Hz. The click is followed by a wide frequency aperiodic wave of the velar fricative with frequency concentrations at 800–2 000 Hz and 2 800–3 100 Hz respectively. The aperiodic wave then blends into the periodic wave of the vowel [ɐ].

(vi) Clicks with a prevoiced as well as an ejected velar fricative accompaniment

This set of clicks have as their voiceless counterpart the set of clicks with an ejected velar fricative efflux, e.g. [|xʔ] discussed in section (iv) above.

The clicks with a prevoiced as well as an ejected velar fricative accompaniment consist of a negative prevoiced onset, followed by a click, and ending in an ejected velar fricative.¹¹ The velar and velic closures obstruct the speech tract thus creating the circumstances for the production of the prevoiced onset. The wave form of the prevoiced onset resembles the wave form of the fundamental frequency but displays less acoustic energy – fading before the anterior release of the click. This fading occurs because of the decrease in air flow through the glottis as the pressure increases in the enclosed pharyngeal cavity. The rarefaction for the click release, and the laryngeal pressurisation occur simultaneously. The pharyngeal pressure is maintained when the glottis closes in preparation for the articulation of the ejected velar segment. The click and the ejected velar segments are released in close succession. The ejected velar fricative is naturally followed by the glottal plosive onset of a following vowel.

In figure 7 this sequence of events is illustrated by the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [ɛ|xʔ] in g|xʔui (to twist around, to wind).¹²

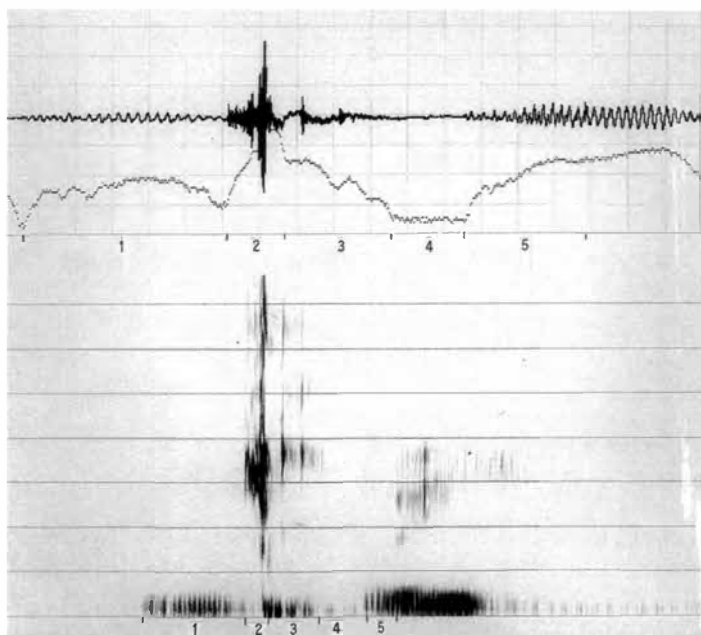


Figure 7. [ɛ|x'] in g|x'ui (to twist around, to wind)

The phonetic segments demarcated in figure 7 represent:

- Segment 1 = a prevoiced click onset viz [ɛ]¹³
- Segment 2 = a lamino-dental click
- Segment 3 = a sharp ejected velar fricative noise
- Segment 4 = the glottalic occlusion phase following on the production of the ejected velar fricative and prior to the articulation of the glottal plosive before the vowel [u].
- Segment 5 = the vowel [u]

The click wave of [ɛ|x'], expanded to 25 ms./div., displays the rising amplitude of the prevoiced onset as well as its declining amplitude before the commencement of the wide frequency aperiodic click wave. The prevoiced onset resembles the wave pattern of the fundamental frequency and lasts as long as the supraglottal pressure allows for a voiced pulmonic air flow.

The actual click wave has a number of amplitude peaks as well as concentrations of acoustic energy at 2 000–3 000 Hz. The click is followed by the oscillation (see endnote 8) and the aperiodic wave of the ejected fricative

continues into a period of near zero frequency and low amplitude. This is followed by an increase in amplitude corresponding with the periodic wave of [u] commencing in a glottal plosive.

(vii) Clicks with a strong glottal fricative accompaniment

These clicks are phonetically characterized by a voiceless onset, followed by a click, a glottal fricative and a vowel.

In figure 8 this sequence of phonetic segments is illustrated by the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [Ɂh] in Ɂ hai (many).

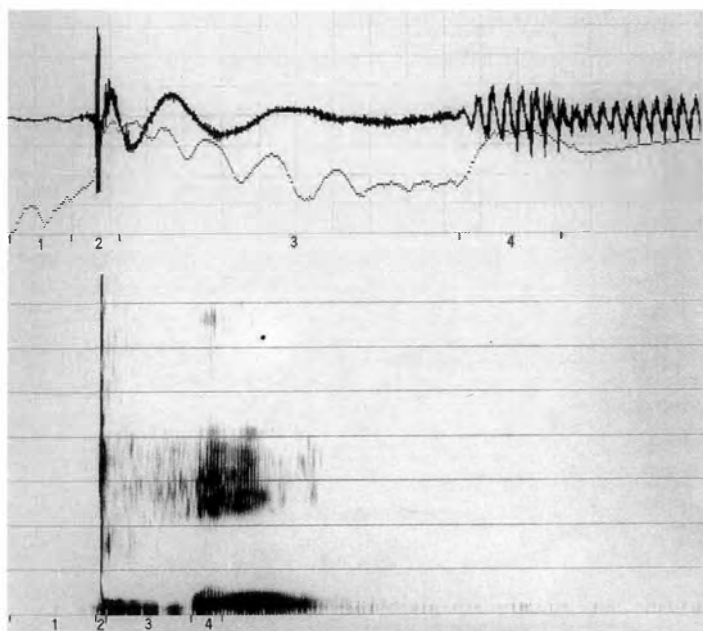


Figure 8. [Ɂh] in Ɂ hai (many)

The numbered phonetic segments in figure 8 represent:

- Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-palatoalveolar click
- Segment 3 = a voiceless glottal fricative
- Segment 4 = the vowel [ɐ].

The wave form of [ɛ̃h], expanded to 12.5 ms./div., displays zero amplitude and zero frequency prior to the articulation of the voiceless click. The click wave itself is characterized by a higher than normal amplitude and a wide range of frequencies from 300 to 7 000 Hz with a concentration of acoustic energy at 2 100–4 000 Hz. This is followed directly by an initially oscillating aperiodic wave (as explained in endnote 8) which gradually diminishes in amplitude but never approaches zero amplitude until it merges with the vowel [e]. Perceptually this click is experienced as strongly aspirated.

(viii) Clicks with a weak glottal fricative accompaniment

Clicks belonging to this category are distinguished by a voiceless onset, followed by the click and continuing into a barely audible glottal fricative. The extremely low level of friction may be ascribed to either cavity friction or an abducted glottis.

In figure 9 these articulatory events are depicted by the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [ɛ̃h] in ɛ̃'hã (to gather veldkos).

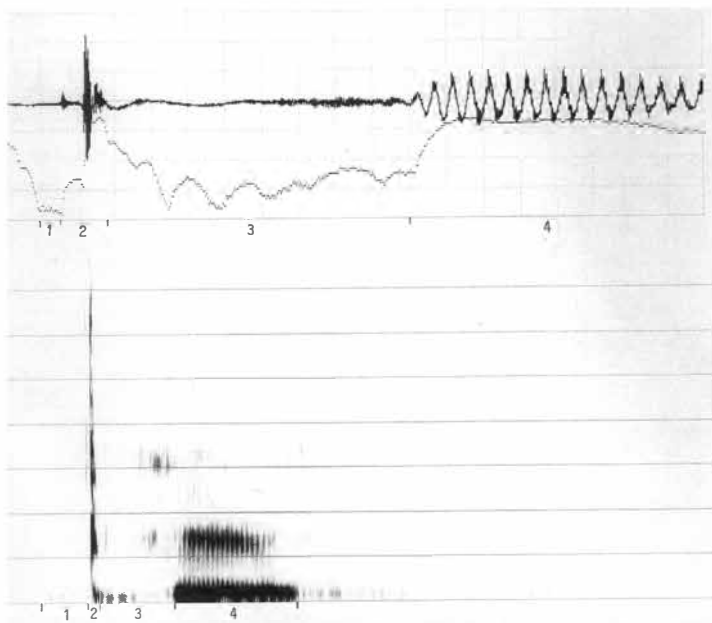


Figure 9. [ɛ̃h] in ɛ̃'hã (to gather veldkos)

The numbered phonetic segments in figure 8 represent:

- Segment 1 = a voiceless click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-palatoalveolar click
- Segment 3 = a glottal fricative gradually increasing in amplitude
- Segment 4 = the vowel [ã]

When expanded to 12.5 ms./div., the wave form of [ɕ̥h] displays low amplitude and zero frequency prior to the articulation of the voiceless click. The wave of the click shows the normal rise in amplitude with frequencies ranging from 200 to 7 000 Hz and a concentration of acoustic energy between 1 000 and 4 000 Hz. The click is followed by an aperiodic wave which falls significantly in amplitude and levelling near zero. It then rises gradually in amplitude well in advance of the onset of the vowel [ã].

Because the initial sudden drop in amplitude is sustained up to the amplitude gain just before the onset of the vowel, this category of clicks was previously perceived as clicks with “a period of silence” or as clicks with a “delayed glottal fricative efflux” (Snyman, 1978:154). This view can now be revised in the light of the fact that the aspiration is not *delayed* but *barely audible* for the greater part of its articulation.¹⁴

(ix) Clicks with a prevoiced as well as a glottal fricative accompaniment

This category of clicks has a limited distribution in the lexicon of this dialect and is characterized by a prevoiced click onset, a click and a glottal fricative accompaniment.

In figure 10 this articulatory sequence is demonstrated by the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [ɕ̥h] in gɕ̥hũi (dog).

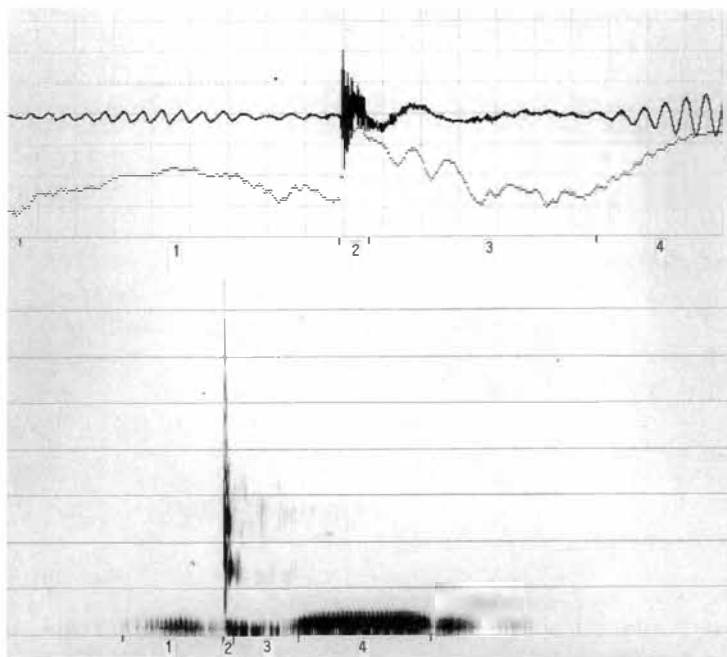


Figure 10. [ɛ ð h] in g ð hūi (dog)

The demarcated phonetic segments in figure 8 represent:

- Segment 1 = a prevoiced click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-palatoalveolar click
- Segment 3 = a voiceless glottal fricative
- Segment 4 = the vowel [ū].

The wave form of [ɛ ð h], expanded to 12.5 ms./div., displays a periodic onset gradually increasing in amplitude and then decreasing in both amplitude and frequency. The prevoiced onset resembles the wave pattern of the fundamental frequency and lasts only as long as the pressure in the supraglottal cavity allows for a voiced pulmonic airflow. This is followed by the wide frequency wave of the lamino-prepalatal click with frequency concentrations at 1 000 and 2 000 Hz. The click is followed by an initially oscillating glottal aperiodic wave (as explained in endnote 8) with a steep drop in amplitude. The low amplitude is sustained and starts rising well in advance of the vowel onset. The aperiodic wave gradually merges with the periodic wave of the vowel [ū].

(x) Clicks with a nasal accompaniment

This set of clicks has a voiced nasal onset, followed by a click and a vowel. The nasalisation continues throughout the click articulation.

This articulation is illustrated in figure 11 by the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [ŋɛ] in nɛ̃anghaše (honey badger).

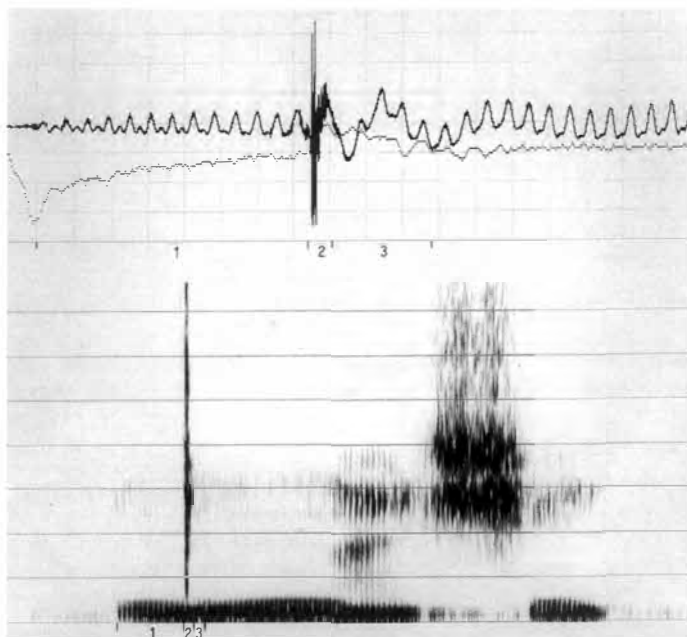


Figure 11. [ŋɛ] in nɛ̃anghaše (honey badger)

The phonetic segments mentioned in figure 11 represent:

- Segment 1 = a voiced velar nasal click onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-prepalatal click
- Segment 3 = the vowel [ɛ]

The wave form of [ŋɛ], expanded to 12.5 ms./div., shows a nasalised periodic wave gradually increasing in amplitude and merging with the high frequency aperiodic click wave. The frequency of the click wave ranges from ± 200 to 7 000 Hz with a concentration of acoustic energy below and above 3 000 Hz. The click is followed by the periodic wave of [ɛ].

(xi) Clicks with a nasal prevoiced as well as a glottal fricative efflux

This group of clicks is made up of a prevoiced nasal onset, followed by a click and a glottal fricative.

In figure 12 this series of phonetic segments is evident in the wave form and spectrogram tracings of [ɛ̃ ð h] in n ð hai (to sneeze).¹⁵

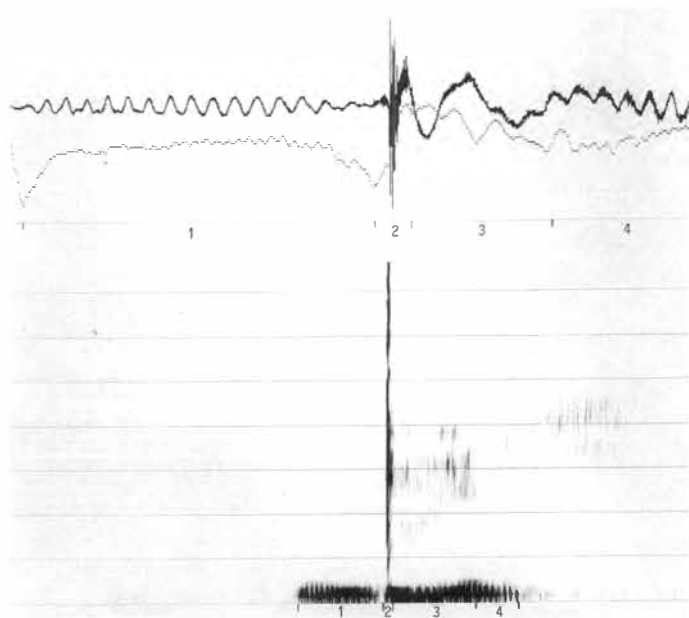


Figure 12. [ɛ̃ ð h] in n ð hai (to sneeze)

The phonetic segments demarcated in figure 12 represent:

- Segment 1 = a prevoiced nasal onset
- Segment 2 = a lamino-prepalatal click
- Segment 3 = a voiceless glottal fricative
- Segment 4 = the vowel [ɛ̃]

Segments 2 and 3 of both figure 8 and 12 depict a comparable sequence of phonetic segments.¹⁶

The wave form of [ɛ̃ ð h], expanded to 25 ms./div., shows a nasalized prevoiced periodic wave slightly increasing in amplitude and fading into a few aperiodic

cycles before the articulation of the click. The wide frequency click wave shows concentrations of acoustic energy between 2 000 and 3 000 Hz followed by an oscillating aperiodic wave (endnote 8) merging with the periodic wave of the vowel [ɐ].

CONCLUSION

This exposition of the clicks of Žu|’hōasi is not intended to be definitive in any way. It merely aims to reopen the debate by refuting past misrepresentations and misinterpretations. By making a cassette recording of click data available at the Unisa Library, other scholars may develop an interest in this language with an extremely complex sound system.

ENDNOTES

1. The major portion of Snyman’s research was based on the Žu|’hōasi or Southern dialect cluster of the !Xūu language.
2. According to Snyman (1975:133, 134) Traill’s voiceless nasal venting should also apply to [|’], [ǀ’], [!’], [||’], [x’], [ǀx’], [!x’] as well as [||x’]. Traill’s (1992:357) “revised phonological classification of clicks” is therefore in all probability incomplete – and therefore flawed?
3. Snyman (forthcoming) draws a detailed comparison between Doke’s (1923–6) and Snyman’s (1997) published field notes.
4. Generally speaking the articulation of clicks presupposes a negative intra-oral pressure created by the downward suction of the tongue. This implies that the *tongue is the initiator* of the rarefied intra-oral volume of air required for the articulation of clicks. This rarefied volume of air is produced as follows:
 - (i) the edges as well as the back of the tongue are lifted to form an airtight closure along the edges of the alveolus, palate and velum, thus enclosing a small volume of air;
 - (ii) the middle of the tongue is lowered without releasing the this airtight closure;
 - (iii) this results in the enlargement of the enclosed volume of air and consequently the lowering of the pressure inside the enclosed cavity.

On release of the anterior lingual articulation, the higher atmospheric pressure rushes into this cavity, equalising the difference in pressure between the *higher* extra-oral and the *lower* intra-oral pressures. This *influx* or ingressive flow of air is experienced as a click sound. The anterior part of the tongue *therefore acts as the active articulator of clicks*. The anterior part of the roof of the mouth is obviously the passive articulator. From this general description it is clear that the tongue has a *dual role* in the production of click sounds. It functions as the *initiator* of the rarefied airstream as well as the *articulator* of clicks. One should therefore distinguish between these two distinct roles of the tongue when discussing the articulation of clicks. The release of the post-dorsal contact is therefore incidental

to the **production** of the rarefied airstream and is not relevant for the click **articulation**. It is therefore not necessary to include an **inaudible** voiceless velar [!k] or [k!] in click transcriptions. The velar negative V.O.T. of voiced and nasal clicks on the other hand is **audible** as [g] and [ŋ] respectively because of the time overlap between the production of the lingual airstream and the negative V.O.T. of voiced and nasalized clicks.

5. The text of this recording as well as the cassette itself is available on interlibrary loan from the University of South Africa in Pretoria.
6. Orthographically the glottal plosive is written as an apostrophe.
7. The normal voiced click onset, [g], is in contrast with the prevoiced click onset, viz. [ɿ], to be discussed in figure 7 [ɿ|x'] as well as the nasal prevoiced onset to be discussed in figure 12 [ʒ÷h].
8. In a personal communication with Ian Maddieson, Peter Ladefoged and Keith Johnson (25/7/93; Columbus, Ohio) it was suggested that this inaudible oscillation can be ascribed to the strong air flow noise recorded when an informant is too close to a microphone.
9. Orthographically the ejection is written as an apostrophe.
10. Both Snyman (1975:93) and (1978:159) regard the velar fricative as voiced. This is not in all instances supported by the latest research.
11. A negative prevoiced onset wave displays a lower amplitude version of the glottal tone. It is further characterized by the fact that the amplitude drops before the onset of the click. In some instances this latter stage of the periodic wave may even acquire characteristics of an aperiodic wave.
12. The prevoicing is phonetically transcribed by the symbol [ɿ]. In the conventional orthography the ejection is represented by an apostrophe.
13. The prevoiced click onset, i.e. [ɿ], differs in a number of instances from the normal voiced click onset, i.e. [g], discussed in figure 3, i.e. [g|x] above.
14. This observation has a bearing on the orthographic conventions applied to this click. The apostrophe should be retained in the conventional orthography to distinguish ÷h [÷h] from ÷'h [÷'h]. The diacritic [˘] applies to the salient feature of low amplitude glottal friction as opposed to [÷h] where a strong glottal air flow is discernable throughout the fricative segment. These observations are supported by Traill's (1992:352–354) audio and oral flow readings.
15. In Snyman (1978:158) this series of clicks was no longer regarded as characterized by a voiced nasalised as well as a delayed glottal fricative accompaniment and was consequently no longer written with the apostrophe and the diacritic [˘], e.g. n ÷'h [ŋ ÷'h]. There was therefore no need for Traill (1992: 1992:357) "to ponder the weird prospect of nasalized ejected aspirated segments!"
16. The aspiration, in the [ɿ ÷h] series is not as pronounced as in the [÷h] series. This observation is supported by Traill's (1992: 352–355) findings in respect of the examples n!˘haba and !ha.

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KIKEREWE MINIMALITY

David Odden

1 INTRODUCTION

A common property of the phonology of Bantu languages is the minimality restriction, where words must contain at least two syllables or two moras. A fairly transparent instance of such a bisyllabic minimum is found in the Zezuru dialect of Shona. Excluding ideophones, words in Zezuru always have at least two syllables in their surface form. However, the underlying form of some words may contain a single syllable. For instance, the imperative of a verb is formed from the plain stem, containing a root, optional extensions, and the final vowel *-a*. Thus the imperative and infinitive pairs for ‘plough’ and ‘read’ in (1) simply involve the prefixation of *ku-* in the infinitive, whereas the imperative gives just the plain verb stem. For monosyllabic verbs like *-pa* ‘give’, the matter is complicated by the fact that **pa* would be an illicit monosyllable, which is prohibited in this dialect. In order to remain in conformity with the bisyllabic minimality condition, the vowel *i* is inserted in the imperative.

(1) Shona (Zezuru dialect)

ku-rima	‘to plough’	rimá	‘plough!’
ku-vereketa	‘to read’	verékétá	‘read!’
ku-pá	‘to give’	i-pá	‘give’

While such a minimality requirement is very common in Bantu languages, it is not universal, as witnessed by the fact that in the Karanga dialect of Shona, monosyllables such as *pá* ‘give!’, *mbwá* ‘dog’ and *bwe* ‘stone’ do exist.

The Interlacustrine Bantu language Kikerewe, spoken on the Ukerewe Islands of Lake Victoria in Tanzania, provides interesting data bearing on the question of how pervasive such minimality requirements are. We will see that Kikerewe does exhibit minimal-size effects; and yet such effects in this language are

neither uniform nor universal. Thus one must do a certain amount of digging to uncover these effects. We will see that in fact there is more than one minimal size requirement in the language.

As in so many Bantu languages, the morphological structure of words conspires to prevent the creation of underlying monosyllables. Nouns typically are composed of an initial vowel, a class prefix and a stem, so by design nouns typically cannot be less than two syllables long.

(2)	o-mu-káma	‘chief’	a-má-tá	‘milk’
	IV-NCP-stem		IV-NCP-stem	
	í-tí	‘tree’	e-n-da	‘stomach’
	IV + NCP-stem		IV-NCP-stem	

However, monosyllabic nouns can be created under certain circumstances by elimination of the initial vowel. The distribution of the initial vowel morpheme is subject to complex rules, but one can roughly state that when the noun is indefinite and modified by a numeral or a *wh*-word, the initial vowel morpheme is not used; nor is the initial vowel used in vocatives. This creates the potential for monosyllabic words: a monosyllabic stem in class 9–10 in one of these constructions would be expected to be monosyllabic. As the following data show, monosyllables are possible: no epenthesis is found, as it would be in Zezuru Shona.

(3)	ba-kámá	‘bábili	‘some two chiefs’	mbwá mwéenda	‘some nine dogs’
	ba-kámá	baangáhá	‘how many chiefs’	mbwá zii’ngáhá	‘how many dogs’
	mu-káma		‘chief!’	mbwá	‘dog!’

Adjectives provide a better source of monosyllables. Unlike nouns, adjectives do not generally select the initial vowel morpheme, so the class 9–10 form of a monosyllabic adjective is monosyllabic.

(4)	bá-ké	‘few (cl. 2)’	n-ké	‘few (cl. 10)’
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These data might seem to suggest that Kikerewe and Zezuru Shona differ in that there is no bisyllabic minimality requirement in Kikerewe. A deeper look at aspects of the phonology of Kikerewe shows that this is not the case, for there are indeed many examples of the minimality requirement in Kikerewe. Kikerewe simply differs from Zezuru in that it is partially tolerant of subminimal structures.

2 REDUPLICATION

One robust area for investigating minimality effects in Kikerewe is in the realm of reduplication. Nouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs all reduplicate in slightly different ways (see Odden 1996 for detailed discussion of reduplication in Kikerewe), and yet each pattern of reduplication shows important traces of the minimality effect. Noun reduplication is illustrated in (5), where we can see that the entire stem of a noun is reduplicated, but the noun class prefix is not.

(5)	o-mu-gólé	‘queen’	o-mu-golé ¹ -gólé	‘real queen’
	e-ki-swéélá	‘biting ant’	e-ki-sweelá ¹ -swéélá	‘real biting ant’
	e-bi-miíná	‘scorpions’	e-bi-miíná ¹ -miíná	‘real scorpions’
	o-lu-paapúlá	‘paper’	o-lu-paapulá ¹ -páá ¹ púlá	‘real paper’

An exception to this pattern is found when the noun stem is monosyllabic, in which case the noun class prefix reduplicates.

(6)	Noun	Reduplicated noun	Gloss
	e-ki-sa	e-ki-sá-ki-sa	*e-ki-sá-sa mercy
	e-ki-ná	e-ki-ná ¹ -ki-ná	*e-ki-ná-ná fungal ringworm
	o-bú-ló	o-bu-ló ¹ -bú-ló	*o-bu-ló-ló millet
	a-má-tí	a-ma-tí ¹ -má-tí	*a-ma-tí-tí trees

It would seem that this unexpected copying of the class prefix is a manifestation of a minimality requirement in the language. Notice, however, that even the ill-formed pattern **e-ki-sá-sa* would result in a quadrisyllabic word, not a monosyllabic word. Thus the minimality restriction found under noun reduplication is not imposed on the entire word, but rather a part of the word, specifically it is the reduplicant¹ which must be at least bisyllabic. Since the bare stem is monosyllabic, the noun class prefix must be exceptionally recruited to result in a reduplicant with an appropriate size.

It is tempting – and ultimately correct for nouns – to explain this condition on the reduplicant by requiring the reduplicant to itself form a phonological word (p-word). There is independent evidence that the reduplicant in a noun acts as though it forms an independent p-word. As is commonly the case in Bantu languages, long vowels cannot appear at the end of the word. However, vowels are always long when preceded by the sequence consonant plus glide. This leads to an inherent contradiction in words with a final syllable of the form CGV. On the one hand, the requirement for length after CG would dictate that the vowel should be long, but on the other hand the prohibition against long vowels at the end of the word requires that vowel to be short. It is the ban on

final long vowels that wins out in this struggle, as shown by forms like *okabásya* ‘you caught’.

Certain words, such as *kí* ‘which’, *ga* ‘who’ are clitics, and form a single phonological word with the preceding grammatical word – clitics are discussed further below. The examples in (7) show that the expected lengthening of vowels after the sequence CG is found in words such as *okabásya* and *émbwá* when they are followed by a clitic, for the final vowel in these words is lengthened just in case a clitic follows, because in that case the vowel is not at the end of a phonological word.

(7)	<i>okabóna</i>	‘you saw’	<i>okabó¹ná-gá</i>	‘who did you see?’
	<i>énká</i>	‘home’	<i>nká-¹kí</i>	‘which home?’
	<i>okabásya</i>	‘you caught’	<i>okabá¹syáá-gá</i>	‘who did you catch?’
	<i>émbwá</i>	‘dog’	<i>mbwáá-¹kí</i>	‘which dog?’

The examples in (8) show the expected result that monosyllabic noun stems of the form CGV have a long vowel, which is manifested on the surface when the vowel is not at the end of the p-word.

(8)	<i>mu-hyóó-¹kí</i>	‘which knife?’
	<i>ku-twíí-¹kí</i>	‘which ear?’
	<i>ma-hwáá-kí</i>	‘which thorns?’
	<i>ki-swáá-kí</i>	‘which anthill?’
	<i>lu-lá¹byóó-kí</i>	‘which lightning?’

Consider now the reduplicated examples in (9).

(9)	<i>o-mu-hyó¹-mú-hyó</i>	‘knife’
	<i>o-ku-twí¹-kú-twí</i>	‘ear’
	<i>a-ma-hwá-má-hwa</i>	‘thorns’
	<i>e-ki-swá-kí-swa</i>	‘anthill’
	<i>olu-lábyó¹-lábyo</i>	‘lightning’

Here, we see that the vowel after CG is not long, despite the general fact that vowels are always long after CG. However, if, as we have previously hypothesized, the reduplicant forms a phonological word (symbolized as ω), then the failure of a long vowel to appear at the end of the reduplicant is nothing more than an instance of the general ban on long vowels at the end of a word.

(10)	ω	ω	
	<i>o-mu-hyo</i>	<i>mu-hyo</i>	‘real knife’

The picture becomes more complex when adjective reduplication is considered. Like nouns, adjectives generally reduplicate by copying just the stem.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| (11) | ba-háángo | 'big (Cl. 2)' | ba-haango-háángo | 'kind of big' |
| | mu-gázi | 'wide (Cl. 1)' | mu-gazi-gázi | 'kind of wide' |
| | bi-bisi | 'raw (Cl. 8)' | bi-bisi-bisi | 'kind of raw' |

When an adjective stem is monosyllabic, the agreement prefix must exceptionally copy, just as it does with reduplicated monosyllabic noun stems.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (12) | bi-hya | 'new (Cl. 8)' | bi-hyáá-bi-hya | 'kind of new' |
| | 'bá-bí | 'bad (Cl. 2)' | ba-bíi-bá-bi | 'kind of bad' |
| | tú-ké | 'few (Cl. 13)' | tu-kéé-tú-ke | 'kind of few' |
| | mú-tó | 'young (Cl. 1)' | mu-tóó-mú-to | 'kind of young' |

Reduplication of subminimal adjective stems presents two related complications. As the form *bihyáá-bihya* shows, the vowel of the reduplicant is not subject to systematic shortening, which indicates that the reduplicant does not behave like a p-word, unlike the situation with nouns. Second, an adjectival reduplicant is subject to a further minimality condition: the stem portion of the reduplicant must be longer than monomoraic. Notice that the final vowel of a monosyllabic adjective stem is lengthened under reduplication. This is not merely a matter of retaining underlying vowel length. CV adjectives all have underlying short vowels, as is shown by the fact they also have short vowels when followed by a clitic (the adjective *hya* on the other hand has a long vowel before a clitic because of its preceding CG sequence).

- | | | |
|------|-------------|------------------------|
| (13) | ba-hyáá'-kí | 'which new (Cl. 2)?' |
| | ba-bí'-kí | 'which bad (Cl. 2)?' |
| | mu-tó'-kí | 'which young (Cl. 1)?' |
| | bi-ké'-ki | 'which few (Cl. 8)?' |

This leads to two conclusions. First, noun and adjective reduplication differ in that the reduplicant must form an internal phonological word in nouns, but the reduplicant does not form a p-word in adjectives. Thus, we have the following structural contrast.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | ω ω | ω |
| | o-mu-hyo mu-hyo | mu-hyaa mu-hya |
| | 'real knife' | 'kind of new (Cl. 3)' |

What follows further from this contrast – and the constant fact that the reduplicant exhibits a bisyllabic minimality condition – is that enforcement of the minimal size requirement is not necessarily mediated through the

phonological word. Instead, there must be a condition on the reduplicant specifically, that it must be at least two syllables long. Moreover, there is a separate size condition on just the portion of the reduplicant which corresponds to the stem, namely it must be at least two moras in size. Viewed from the perspective of minimality effects across languages, such vowel lengthening is one way to satisfy a bimoraicity requirement. Generally, vowel lengthening would not be an effective strategy for satisfying a minimal size requirement in Bantu languages, since mere vowel lengthening would be countermanded by the more powerful requirement that word-final syllables should not be long. Under special circumstances such as reduplication, where the unit subject to a size constraint is not always word-final, simple vowel-lengthening would also be appropriate. And yet, vowel lengthening is still not sufficient to satisfy the separate bisyllabicity requirement.

The reduplication pattern of numerals provides further evidence for this second size condition, that the stem portion of the reduplicant must be at least bimoraic. Numeral reduplication is different from noun and adjective reduplication, since the entire word is reduplicated, not just the stem, and thus the reduplicant copies any class-agreement prefix, no matter what the size of the stem is.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (15) | babili-bábili | ‘two by two (Cl. 2)’ |
| | ‘basatu-básátu | ‘three by three (Cl. 2)’ |
| | bataanu-bátáanu | ‘five by five (Cl. 2)’ |
| | mukaaga-mukáága | ‘six by six’ |
| | mweendá-mwéenda | ‘nine by nine’ |

If the stem is monosyllabic, the reduplicated copy of the stem is long, as was the case with adjective reduplication.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|----------------|--------------|------------------------|
| (16) | gú-mó | ‘one (Cl. 3)’ | gu-móó-gú-mo | ‘one by one (Cl. 3)’ |
| | ká-mó | ‘one (Cl. 12)’ | ka-móó-ká-mo | ‘one by one (Cl. 12)’ |
| | bá-ná | ‘four (Cl. 2)’ | ba-náá-bá-na | ‘four by four (Cl. 2)’ |
| | bí-ná | ‘four (Cl. 8)’ | bi-náá-bí-na | ‘four by four (Cl. 8)’ |

This argues that the reduplicant of numeral reduplication does not form an independent p-word, and that it is subject to stem-lengthening in order to force the stem part of the reduplicant to be long enough. Presumably, nouns would be subject to this same stem-lengthening condition, save for the fact that the reduplicant in nouns always forms a p-word, and thus long vowels are independently impossible at the end of a noun’s reduplicant.

The final category of reduplication to consider is verb reduplication. When a verb reduplicates, the whole stem is copied.

(17)	n-tééká	n-teeka-tééká	'I cook a bit'
	n-dimá	n-dima-límá	'I cultivate a bit'
	a-habúúlá	a-habuula-habúúlá	'he advises here and there'
	kuu-tu-téékéla	kuu-tu-téékéla-teekela	'to fry for us a bit'

If the stem is monosyllabic, one finds the final vowel of the stem being long, but there is no exceptional copying of prefixes.

(18)	ku-gwa	'to fall'	ku-gwaa-gwa	'to fall about'
	ku-sya	'to grind'	ku-syaa-sya	'to grind here and there'
	ku-gú-sya	'to grind it'	ku-gú-syáa-sya	'to grind it here and there'
	a-ka-za	'he went'	a-ka-zaa-za	'he went about'
	ba-láá-há	'they will give'	ba-laa-háa-ha	'they will give some'
	a-ka-tú-ha	'he gave us'	a-ka-tú-háa-ha	'he gave us a bit'

Notice that we do not find **ku-gwa-ku-gwa*, with exceptional copying of a prefix to satisfy a minimality requirement. This might appear to indicate a flagrant disregard for minimality under verbal reduplication. However, a closer look reveals that there is still a subtle trace of the bisyllabic minimality condition. When the stem is monosyllabic as in (18), the final vowel of the reduplicant is long. Lengthening of a vowel after such roots is the general rule in the language, and occurs independently of surface CG sequences or reduplication, as shown by *ku-h-aan-a* 'to give each other' (cf. *ku-bal-an-a* 'to count each other'). However, the fact that the vowel remains long at the end of a monosyllabic reduplicant indicates that the reduplicant does not form a separate p-word. Yet other data, given in (19), contradictorily indicates that the reduplicant does end a p-word, since the vowel following CG in the reduplicant is short.

(19)	ku-bal-w-a-bal-w-a	'to be counted'
	ku-básy-á-basy-a	'to catch'
	ku-chéélélélw-a-cheelelelw-a	'to be late'
	ku-gelezy-a-gelezy-a	'to sprinkle'
	ku-yébw-á-yebw-a	'to forget'

The short vowels in (19) cannot be explained by simply assuming that, *contra naturam*, such CG sequences do not cause vowel lengthening, because when a clitic follows such a sequence, the expected vowel lengthening is found.

(20)	ku-bal-w-áá-yó	'to be counted there'
	ku-bá'sy-áá-gá	'to catch who?'
	ku-chéélélélw-áá-hó	'to be late a bit'
	ku-gelezy-áá-kí	'to sprinkle what?'

What this indicates is that the reduplicant of a verb should form a phonological word, unless that would result in a monosyllabic p-word. This condition can be explained in terms of three more basic principles. First, the reduplicant of a verb absolutely must begin with the stem – recruitment of prefix material is not allowed, unlike the situation with nouns, adjectives and numerals. Second, all things being equal, the reduplicant should form a p-word, as is the case with nouns as well. Third – and here is where all things are not equal – p-words must be at least bisyllabic. Given a monosyllabic stem, it is impossible to satisfy all of these conditions, since there is not enough material in the stem alone to form a proper bisyllabic p-word. The resolution of this conflict is simply that when the stem is monosyllabic, the reduplicant does not form a p-word.

There is one last piece of evidence for minimality conditions coming from the domain of reduplication, and that comes from possible asymmetric patterns of reduplication. Two freely-varying variants of verb reduplication exist, one where the reduplicant exactly matches the stem, and one where the reduplicant has the default final tense-aspect suffix *-a* instead of the final suffix typical for the tense-aspect. Examples of these two patterns of reduplication drawn from the subjunctive, with the final vowel *-e*, are seen in (21).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (21) | ni-tu-lím-é | | ‘we should cultivate’ |
| | ni-tu-lim-a-lím-é | ni-tu-lim-e-lím-é | |
| | noo-habúúl-é | | ‘you should advise’ |
| | noo-habuul-a-habúúl-é | noo-habuul-e-habúúl-é | |
| | ni-ba-tafún-é | | ‘they should chew’ |
| | ni-ba-tafun-a-tafún-é | ni-ba-tafun-e-tafún-é | |

Analogous examples of full-copy and asymmetrical copy involving the perfective suffix *-ile* are given in (22).

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (22) | ku-bís-a | a-bis-ilé | ‘he concealed a fact’ |
| | a-bis-a-bis-ilé | a-bis-ile-bis-ilé | |
| | ku-báník-a | a-banik-ilé | ‘he roasted’ |
| | a-banik-a-banik-ilé | a-banik-ile-banik-ilé | |
| | ku-hágám-a | a-hagam-ilé | ‘he was too big’ |
| | a-hagam-a-hagam-ilé | a-hagam-ile-hagam-ilé | |

Looking just at monosyllabic verb stems in the subjunctive, we can see in (23) that both full-copy and asymmetric-copy reduplications are possible.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (23) | ni-tú-gwé | | ‘we should fall’ |
| | ni-tu-gwéé-gwé | ni-tu-gwáá-gwé | |

ni-tú-zé		‘we should go’
ni-tu-zéé-zé	ni-tu-záá-zé	
ni-tú-nwé		‘we should drink’
ni-tu-nwéé-nwé	ni-tu-nwáá-nwé	
ni-tú-té		‘we should release’
ni-tu-téé-té	ni-tu-táá-té	

But only the full-copy pattern of reduplication is possible if the final suffix is the perfective *-ile*.

(24) ku-gwa		‘to fall’
a-gwiile-gwiilé	*a-gwaa-gwiilé	‘he fell’
ku-za		‘to go’
a-ziile-ziilé	*a-zaa-ziilé	‘he went’
ku-mwa		‘to shave’
a-mweele-mwéélé	*a-mwaa-mwéélé	‘he shaved’
kú-lyá		‘to eat’
a-liile-liilé	*a-lyaa-liilé	‘he ate’
kú-nwá		‘to drink’
a-nweele-nwéélé	*a-nwaa-nwéélé	‘he drank’
kú-tá		‘to release’
a-teele-téélé	*a-taa-téélé	‘to release’

This rather specific restriction against asymmetric-copy reduplications of monosyllabic stems, just in the perfective, is a reflection of more general principles involving minimality. When the verb stem is bisyllabic or longer, there is no compelling phonological reason to prefer either the full-copy or asymmetric-copy patterns of reduplication, since under either option, the reduplicant can easily be structured as a minimally bisyllabic p-word. When the verb stem is monosyllabic but the final vowel suffix is *-e*, both patterns of reduplication suffer the same defect, that they result in a monosyllabic reduplicant (*gwee* or *gwaa*). However, with a monosyllabic verb and a choice between final *-ile* versus *-a*, a significant difference emerges: if the reduplicant follows the asymmetrical-copy pattern which selects the final inflection *-a*, the resulting reduplicant (*gwaa-*) is monosyllabic, but if it follows the full-copy pattern, the reduplicant (*gwiile*) is bisyllabic. When there is no choice within the paradigm but to have a monosyllabic reduplicant, for example in *ku-gwaa-gwa* or *ni-tu-gwéé-gwé~ni-tu-gwáá-gwé*, we find free variation between the two patterns of reduplication, since no matter what, a sub-minimal reduplicant results. When selection of the longer mode of reduplication yields a better verb

form in terms of the size of a reduplicant, then use of that longer form is enforced.

3 CLITICS

There are two other areas of the grammar which show signs of a bisyllabic minimality condition, apart from reduplication. One of these involves clitics. In Kikerewe monosyllabic words behave as clitics, leaning phonologically on the preceding word. As we have seen, a consequence of having a clitic follow a grammatical word is that the clitic effectively immunizes the preceding word from the effects of word-final shortening, and thus long vowels can surface word-finally after CG sequences. Examples of this behaviour of clitics is seen below.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (25) | okabó ¹ ná-ki | ‘what did you see?’ |
| | okabá ¹ syáá-ki | ‘what did you catch?’ |
| | nkalaá ¹ lá-yó | ‘I slept there’ |
| | nkabó ¹ nwáá-yó | ‘I was seen there’ |
| | ekakaná-mó | ‘it was more pronounced a bit’ |
| | akabú ¹ zyáá-mó | ‘he was silent for some time’ |
| | akanági ¹ lá-hó | ‘he slept in (specific)’ |
| | nkanáláganyáá-hó | ‘I spread a bit’ |

The reduction of monosyllables to clitic status is another manifestation of bisyllabic minimality; when a monosyllable reduces clitic status and becomes part of the preceding word, it avoids being an illicit monosyllabic word.

This reduction of monosyllables to clitic status results in a paradigmatic alternation in the form of *wh*-pronouns. The stem *-ga* ‘who’ has a zero inflection for noun class in the singular, and thus it becomes a clitic. However, the plural form has the class 2 agreement prefix *baa-*, so together, *báágá* results in a well-formed (bisyllabic) word.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (26) | okabá ¹ syáá-gá | ‘who did you catch?’ |
| | okabó ¹ ná-gá | ‘who did you see?’ |
| | okabásyá ¹ báágá | ‘who pl. did you catch?’ |
| | okabóná ¹ báágá | ‘who pl. did you see?’ |

4 IMPERATIVES

The final domain where minimality plays a role is in the formation of the imperative, thus bringing us back to the point where we began with Zezuru

Shona. As with nouns, there is a general conspiracy in the morphology to avoid constructing monosyllabic verbs. For example the infinitive has the prefix *ku-* which together with even the shortest stem provides at least two syllables. Other inflected verbs have a subject prefix which generally forms a syllable, except in the case of the 1 sg. subject *n-*; but even in the perfective, the perfective affix *-ile* is bisyllabic, again making it difficult to construct a potentially monosyllabic word.

(27) Inf.	ku-stem-a	kú-lyá	‘to eat’
Hesternal past	SP-stem-ile	a-liílè	‘he ate (hest.)’
		ndíílè	‘I ate’
Recent past	SP-a-stem-a	yá-lyá	‘he ate’
		ná-lyá	‘I ate’

There is one context where a monosyllabic form can be created, and that is in the habitual tense. This tense is formed with the subject prefix, no suffix other than the default final vowel *-a*, and no tense-aspect prefix. Thus when the stem is monosyllabic and the subject prefix is the nonsyllabic 1st sg. *n-*, a monosyllabic word results.

(28) Habitual	SP-stem-a	á-lyá	‘he eats’
		n-dyá	‘I eat’

Thus it might seem that the morphology can create monosyllabic words, without restriction.

However, a look at possible imperative forms shows that the matter is more complex than this. As is commonly the case in Bantu languages, the imperative and subjunctive are closely connected, so that one can freely use a subjunctive in place of the imperative (though not vice versa).

(29) Imperative	Subjunctive	
bálá	noobálé	‘count!’
kaláánga	nookaláángé	‘fry!’

When an object prefix other than the nonsyllabic 1st sg. *n-* is used, the imperative uses the final suffix *-e*.

(30) kí-lye	‘eat it!’
tu-bále	‘count us!’
tu-limíle	‘cultivate for us!’
ba-kalaangíle	‘fry for them!’

With the 1st sg. object prefix, the final vowel *-a* is used.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (31) | <i>mbála</i> | 'count me!' |
| | <i>ndimíla</i> | 'cultivate for me!' |
| | <i>nkalaangíla</i> | 'fry for me!' |

We now face the question of monosyllables and possible imperatives. While there are no restrictions on the imperative when the stem is polysyllabic, it is impossible to use the imperative with a monosyllabic verb, and the subjunctive must be used instead. When an object prefix is present, however, the imperative of a monosyllabic stem is possible: except, when the subject prefix is 1st sg, the imperative cannot be used, and instead the subjunctive is used.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| (32) | <i>*íya</i> | <i>nóólyé</i> | 'eat' |
| | <i>kílye</i> | <i>nookílyé</i> | 'eat it' |
| | <i>*ndya</i> | <i>nóóndyé</i> | 'eat me' |

The generalization explaining when the imperative can and cannot be used is very simple: the imperative is disallowed just in case the resulting form would be monosyllabic.

Given that one can create monosyllabic forms like *ndyá* 'I eat' in the habitual tense, the question remains why the imperative is singled out for obedience to the bisyllabic minimality condition. The answer, it seems, lies in making the best choice available. In the habitual, there simply is no other way to express what the habitual expresses, and thus one is sometimes forced to live with the consequence, which is a monosyllabic verb. With the imperative, on the other hand, there is always a choice between the imperative and a functionally equivalent subjunctive. Thus, faced with a choice between phonologically ill-formed **íyá* and **ndyá* versus phonologically well-formed *nóólyé* and *nóóndyé*, the phonologically better solution is selected.

5 CONCLUSION

We have seen above that minimal size requirements are active in Kikerewe, even though these requirements are not universally enforced in the language. In fact, there are two minimality requirements in the language, one being a more specific bimoraic minimality requirement which is enforced in certain patterns of reduplication, the second being the more general bisyllabicity requirement. While minimal-size conditions are well known throughout the languages of the world, their character tends to be rather uniform and thus less interesting: typically there simply are no undersized words in such languages, either because the relevant kinds of stems are missing (e.g. there are no CV stems in

Latin) or because potential undersized words are uniformly repaired, as they are in Zezuru Shona. Cases like that found in Kikerewe are interesting for understanding word-size conditions, because they show that such effects still pervade language even when they are not universal.

ENDNOTES

- * I would like to thank Deo Tungaraza for providing the data for this article. Research for this article was supported by NSF Grant SBR-9421362.
- 1 The reduplicant is the leftmost string which copies the stem, thus the first *kisa* in *e-ki-sa-ki-sa*. Odden 1996 shows, based on tonal evidence, that the reduplicant is a prefix.
- 2 Hyman and Katamba 1990 discuss the complex grammar of clitics, final shortening, and vowel lengthening in Luganda, and show inter alia that monosyllabic stem vowels are long before a clitic, as in *kibii-mû* 'rather bad'. The facts of Kikerewe and Luganda are thus radically different on this and a number of other points, for in Kikerewe there is no sign of monosyllabic lengthening in unreduplicated words.

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PHONOLOGICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE DIALECTS OF KHOEKHOEGOWAB (NAMA/DAMARA): TOWARDS INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

Wilfrid Haacke

The present article is the result of a re-perusal of lexical data that had been collected for a dialect survey (Haacke, *et al.* 1997), with the view to establishing possible trends that would reflect on diachronic depth in the genealogical development of Nama and Damara dialects. For the purpose of that dialect survey a closed set of data had been utilized primarily for establishing the dialects of Khoekhoe (short for Khoekhoe-gowab) and the dialectometrical proximity between them. The dialectometrical method essentially assesses lexical, not phonological proximity.

The upshot of that survey was that the Damara dialects as represented on the north-western periphery (Hailom, ± Ākhoe, Sesfontein, Namidama) are closer to Naro — and thereby to the nucleus of proto Western Central Khoesaa, than any of the dialects of the Nama in central and southern Namibia (i.e. Central Nama, Topnaar, and the Bondelswarts dialect; see below). This is considered to be cogent evidence that — contrary to the popular but unsubstantiated claim — the Damara were already Khoe-speakers *before* they came into contact with the Nama. Only the dialect of the more centrally situated Damara (between Otjiwarongo and Rehoboth) who lived in contact with the Nama — here called Central Damara — assimilated largely to what is referred to as Central Nama. The rate of proximity between the Central Damara and Central Nama lexicon was found to be as high as 98,9%; the rate between Central Damara and Hailom 79,5%. Of all Khoekhoe dialects Hailom has the highest rate of proximity to Naro with an index of 34%, against 22,3% for, Central Nama.

This historical implication of the survey, which in essence was confined to a *statistical* investigation concerning dialect proximity, raised the question whether the lexical evidence would also be corroborated by phonological evidence. For this purpose any material available was perused randomly; *including such material from the dialect survey which was not part of the final word list.*

The hypothesis is that, if the north-western Damara dialects (that were not exposed to Nama influences) are closer to proto-Khoe than the Nama dialects are, then these dialects should bear evidence of earlier etymological stages, or of sound correspondences that are also evident in other Khoe languages of Botswana that are relatively close to the nucleus. By way of anticipation it may be said here, that even though certain trends are discernible, the evidence is not as consistent as one might have wished. Just as historical reconstruction for Khoesaa in general is known to encounter considerable problems because of the irregularity of correspondences, so even internal reconstruction within Khoekhoegowab faces similar difficulties. No reconstructions are attempted in this paper, but a random inspection of various phenomena may hopefully show up directions for further investigation.

The dialect areas referred to are the following:

ǀAkhoe (ǀǀǀǀǀǀ)	Formerly of eastern Owambo near Otsholo
Haiǀlom (Haiǀlom):	North of Tsumeb: From Etosha to east of Tsintsabis.
Ghaub-Dama (Ghaub):	The triangle between Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Otavi. This is a transitional area, rather than a dialect in its own right.
Sesfontein (Sesf):	The phonologically most divergent dialect cluster: in southern Kaokoland, with own variants.
Namidama (Namid):	Along the pro-Namib from south of Sesfontein to the Brandberg.
Central Dama (CD):	South of the Haiǀlom (Otavi) to Windhoek/ Rehoboth, including the Kuiseb and Swakop areas in the west; i.e. bordering on the Nama.
Topnaar (Top):	On the lower Kuiseb near Walvis Bay. They have traits from the peripheral north-western dialects, as they had lived near the Skeleton Coast previously.
Central Nama (CN):	All the Nama in former Great Namaland, north of the Bondelswarts.

Gobabis (Gob):	A rather non-distinct area in the east. Informants seemed to have some non-endemic traits.
Bondelswarts (Bond):	The Nama south of Keetmanhoop, with centre around Karasburg and Warmbad.

1. VOWEL JUXTAPOSITION THROUGH CONSONANT ATTRITION

One of the most obvious processes that can be observed internally is the loss of the intervocalic consonant of radicals. This phenomenon, which was first mentioned by Hahn (1880:31),¹ is a clear instance of a unidirectional historical process, which amounts to the following: Khoekhoe roots are all dissyllabic and originally had the structure C_1V-C_2V . C_2 can only be one of four consonants: either a labial fricative/plosive (**w**) or an alveolar trill/tap (**r**); or a labial or alveolar nasal (**m, n**). In a process of lenition these can be lost, leaving behind either oral or nasalized juxtaposed vowels, thus CVV or $C\tilde{V}\tilde{V}$. If these vowels are identical, they are conventionally considered to be “long” (oral) or “nasal” vowels respectively; if not identical, they are considered to be oral or nasalized “diphthongs”. Identical oral pseudo-geminates are spelled with a macron to indicate their apparent “length”, thus $V_1V_1 = \bar{V}$; nasal “diphthongs” are spelled with a macron on the first vowel to indicate nasality, thus $\tilde{V}_1\tilde{V}_2 = \hat{V}_1V_2$.

Another possibility of reduction is that, if C_2 is a nasal consonant **N** (thus being a sonorant that can constitute a tone-bearing syllable on its own), then the final consonant may be elided; viz. $CV-NV > CV-\bar{N}$.²

As the “full” forms of radicals (i.e. $CV-CV$) are the historically older forms, it will be investigated here whether such original forms would occur predominantly in the peripheral Damara dialects, rather than in the Nama dialects.³

In the following instances the older, because non-attributed, form does occur in the **north** (short for Damara dialects of esp. the northern as well as the north-western periphery); i.e. the hypothesis is supported:

1 bad

<i>tsū-ai</i>	general
<i>tsū-ari</i>	Haillom
<i>tsūri, sūri</i>	Sesfontein

This set of manifestations provides the clue that the original form of *ais* “face”

and *ai* “on” is **ari* (and not **awi*, cf. Hailom), and that the origin of the intensifying verb suffix *-ri* is **ari*.

2 chase

<i>dorellgā</i>	Sesf (also remembered by Pastor E. Eiseb as “old” Damara)
<i>doellgā</i>	Hailom, Sesf, Top

Doe “move house, trek” is generally used.

3 chisel a hole (into wood)

<i>llhoro</i>	general, esp. Damara; <i>llhore</i> Nama
<i>llhō</i>	Bond

4 fall

<i>llnarallgôa</i>	Hailom
<i>llnā</i>	general

5 your father

<i>(sa) awo +</i>	Hailom, Sesf
<i>sao +</i>	general (Note the contraction with the possessive pronoun.)

6 knot (in wood)

<i>!hona +</i>	general
<i>!hôa +</i>	Bond

The reduced form *!hôas* is the general word for knobkerrie.

7 leaf

<i>± gare +</i>	Hailom, Ghaub
<i>± gae +</i>	general, including Hailom and Ghaub; (not elicited among <i>± Ākhoe</i>)

Cf. also *± nareb*, which is generally manifested, except among Hailom and *± Ākhoe*.

Only in the northern peripheral dialects is *awo +* used for “my father”. Otherwise *Awob* is generally used mainly in the biblical (hence archaic?) sense of Heavenly Father.

8 man

<i>arkhue +</i>	<i>± Ā</i> , Hailom
<i>arokhoe +</i>	Hailom

- cf. *kx'aro* + Korana
ao + all, except \neq Ā and Hailom (but cf. *aore khoe* + Hailom, Gob and Bond)

Naro uses the reduced form *kx'aukhoe*. Note the full manifestations *arogū* + (male sheep) and *arokhoe-ai* + (maleness; euphemism for genitals). Here Naro and the Bondelswarts dialect provide counter-evidence.

9 my father

- baba* + Naro, Ghaub, Top
bā + Top, CN, Bond

10 pipe; limestone

- !khorō* + Bond
!khō + general

11 pursue

- !khoe!gama* Hailom
!gū!gama Ghaub
!khoe!gā used elsewhere (extent not determined); cf. *dā!gā*

12 rainbow

- tu(r)utsi!nao* + , *turus di !nao* + Hailom

Cf. the general Damara word *tū* for “rain” (verb).

13 select

- tsaru* \neq *ui* Sesf, Outjo
tsau \neq *ui*

14 swear

- /ā-/!āxare* general, incl. Sesf
āxae Sesf

15 tell a lie, (deceive)

- gara* Hailom
gā Namid, CD, CN, Gob.

16 think

- \neq *āi tsi kere* \neq Ā
 \neq *āi* general

Kere probably is the original of *kē* “look” (variant *kō*).

17 wide

‡ <i>hawa</i>	Namid
‡ <i>hā</i> (flat, shallow)	general

18 traditional shelf (in hut)

! <i>hama</i> +	Hai||om
! <i>hā</i> +	Hai||om, Sesf, Namid, CN, Bond

19 while (conjunction)

<i>hā</i>	all, except ‡ Ā, Hai||om and Ghaub
<i>hina</i>	Sesf, Namid, Top

The manifestation of *-CiNa* (and thus *Cīa*) is confined to this one instance in Khoekhoe. Among the ‡ Ākhoe, Hai||om, Ghaub-Dama and Namidama a non-nasalized form *ia* was recorded, as is also found in Kxoe *ya*. The Topnaar most likely borrowed the full form from the Damara during their stay in the Kaokoland; cf. Haacke *et al.* (1997) on this.

Some interesting cases of reduction in roots with a nasal C₂ occur in Hai||om, where the nasal consonant is not elided, nor is the pgn-marker for the third person masculine singular *-b* assimilated, as it would be in all other dialects after a nasal consonant:

20 (halm of) grass

<i>gām</i> + <i>b(a)</i>	(= CVN)	Hai||om (not: * <i>gam</i> + <i>mi</i>)
<i>gā</i> + <i>b</i>	(= CŨŨ)	elsewhere

21 stomach

! <i>nā</i> + <i>b</i>	Hai||om and elsewhere
! <i>nām</i> + <i>b</i>	(Hai||om)
! <i>nā</i> +	Naro

In the following cases the “full” form is found in the **south**, contrary to the hypothesis:

1 bird’s nest

(<i>ani</i>)! <i>nuru</i> +	Ghaub, CD
cf. <i>tcaranguu</i>	Kxwé
<i>tsara</i> ! <i>nū</i>	Naro

Here the Damara dialects have retained the full form, while even Naro — which is supposed to be closest to the nucleus — uses the reduced form.

2 centipede

nāganeb optional in Sesf and among CD
naraganaeb Ghaub, Sesf., Namid, CD, Top, CN, Gobabis

Cf. *nanagana(h)eb* CD, CN.

3 namakwa dove

namakwa ≠ *nawi* + CN
‡ *naira* + ‡ Ā, Haillom, Ghaub
‡ *nai* + Namid, CD, CN, Bond

4 tadpole

purupē + *b* Top, CN, Bond
pūpī + *b* CD

In the following instance Ghaub-Dama and CD has retained the full form, while Naro and Kxwé have the reduced form:

5 tick

!orape + general
!oape + Haillom, Damara?

In the present sample the instances are predominantly in favour of the hypothesis, viz. that the full, older forms are found in the older, i.e. peripheral Damara dialects, rather than in the southern, Nama dialects. Nevertheless, this result should not be overrated, for the assumption cannot be taken for granted that trends in phonological change (in this case attrition through lenition) need to take place at the same speed everywhere.

2. ELISION OF V₂

An alternative kind of attrition of the radical involves the loss of the final vowel, V₂, instead of C₂. This, however, is only possible, if the intervocalic consonant C₂ is a sonorant (N: *m*, *n*) and hence can act as syllabic nucleus, with its own tone. Such a root is thus still dissyllabic:

CV-NV > CV-N̩.

Evidence in the form of *simultaneously* existing forms is rare; yet these instances show up the historical process.

1 gnaw bones

<i>/am</i>	± Ā, Hai||om
<i>/ama</i>	Hai||om

This word is not used among other groups.

In the following gloss the original nasal and V₂ are still evident in Naro:

2 know

	± <i>an</i>	generally in Khoekhoe
	± <i>âi</i>	Sesf
cf.	± <i>âna</i>	Naro (Barnard)
	!â	Naro (Vossen in Barnard)

The Sesfontein variant, with a high front vowel [ɪ] as V₂ is quite significant here, as will be shown now. In several radicals that generally end in the nasal consonant *n* in Khoekhoe, the Sesfontein equivalent ends in a (nasalized) high front vowel — provided V₁ is not a front vowel; e.g.

sweet

± <i>khon</i>	Hai||om, Ghaub, Namid, CD, all Nama dialects; Korana (Meinhof)
± <i>khun</i>	Hai||om, ± Ā, (CD) (i.e. northern dialects)
± <i>khûi</i> ⁴	Sesf, (Nami)
± <i>khen</i>	(CD), all Nama dialects
± <i>khin</i>	(CD)

hem (v.t.)

!khon	all dialects except ± Ā
!khûi-am!gâ,	Sesf, but also !khenam!gâ
!khen	Hai||om, Sesf, Top, CN, Bond

fetter (v.t.)

!gae!non	general
!gae!nûi	Sesf

smoke (n.)

/an + ni	general
/âi + b	Sesf

know

	± <i>an</i>	general
	± <i>âi</i>	Sesf
cf.	± <i>ana</i>	Naro (Barnard)

meat

||<i>gan</i> +	general
||<i>gâi</i> +	Sesf

Looking at the Khoekhoe forms (only) for “know”, $\neq an$ and $\neq âi$, the conclusion offers itself that the original form was $\neq ani$, and that this form atrophied differently: In Sesfontein C_2 was elided, while elsewhere V_2 was elided. The Naro form (Barnard) reveals, however, that the original V_2 has not been $-i$ but $-a$. This fact leads to the conclusion that in this reflex — and therefore most likely also in most other reflexes of this kind — the final vowel, next to being nasalized, was quasi “alveolarized” in a process of lenition of the alveolar nasal consonant (i.e. the vowel took on tongue body features of n by being fronted, and raised — if not already high, to i). It is interesting to note that this process does not take place if the first vowel is a front vowel;⁵ cf. e.g.

vomit

/k <i>hûi</i>	general
but	
/k <i>hen</i>	Sesf.

The correctness for this derivation is further supported by the fact that no instantiations are known where the *bilabial* nasal **m** is involved as C_2 . This process of quasi “vowel alveolarization” links the Sesfontein dialects also with other languages of central Khoesaaan, as is instantiated in the following case, where Sesfontein has retained the original form:

dwel, reside

||<i>ana</i>	Sesf
||<i>an</i>	general
||<i>âi</i>	Naro (Bleek in Barnard)

Cf. also the following set:

name (n.)

||<i>on</i> +	general, except Sesf
||<i>ûi</i> + <i>da</i>	Sesf
||<i>en</i> +	Hailom, Ghaub, Sesf, Top, (CN), (Bond)
||<i>in</i> + ⁶	Sesf
\bar{e} +	$\neq \bar{A}$
cf. ||<i>kx'ûi</i> +, ||<i>kx'ôe</i> +	Naro
||<i>xm</i> +	Kxwé
||<i>on</i> +, ||<i>kx'on</i> +	Korana.

A question relating to the alternation of *o* with *e* often found in V₁, this is whether a certain preference can be associated with a particular dialect region.

3. ALTERNATION OF *o* WITH *e*

Honken (1988:53) correctly observes that a vowel lowering phenomenon is widespread in Khoesaaan, leading to an alternation between the high vowels *i* and *u* on the one hand, and the mid vowels *e* and *o* on the other. More will be said about this below.

The present section will present the areal distribution of front versus back mid vowel (*e* vs. *o*), showing that there is no clear geographical trend to be observed from the available data.

The following instances show for *e* a wider distribution in the *southern* dialects:

1 **sweet** (cf. above)

The back version with *-o-* is found in all regions, and is exclusive to Ghaub-Dama, Sesfontein (*-ûi*) and the Namidama. With the exception of these areas */khen* was recorded everywhere, but is less prevalent among the Central Dama (where in Omaruru also an instance of */khin* was recorded), *Gobabis and the Bondelswarts*.

2 **baboon**

<i>/nōra</i> +	all, except ≠ <i>Ā</i> , Haillom, Ghaub and Gob — which use mainly <i>||arub</i> , or <i>||gorab</i> (≠ <i>Ā</i> , cf. Naro <i>/koarab</i>).
<i>/nēra</i> +	Haillom, Sesf, Top, CN, Bond. Not among Namid and CD.

The distributional pattern of this word is less apparent. Note the form */naidab* (≠ *naidab*) in Korana. As is known, *ai* is often assimilated to *ee*.

3 **fetter, handcuff** (see also above)

<i>!gae!non</i>	general
<i>!gae!nen</i>	Top, Bond

4 **pursue**

All dialects (except ≠ *Ā*) use compounds based on *-!gon*; e.g. *sao!gon*, *!gôa!gon* or *!khoe!gon* (Ghaub: *!gû!gôan*). Only in CN *!gôa!gen* was recorded as alternative.

5 namakwa dove

‖howo +	general; also Naro: ‖khowo +
‖lowege +	CN, Bond
‖hoe +	CN

Mid vowel alternation is also possible in V₂:

6 peck at

‖howo	generally Damara
‖howe	generally Nama

Reduction may then lead to an alternation of *ō* with *oe*. In the following instance the regional distribution was not investigated:

rinderpest

sō‖ōb, soe‖ōb

The correspondences for “name” (see above, section 2.) show for *e* a wider distribution in the *northern* dialects. While the *-o-* version appears in all areas (Sesf = *-ûi*), the *-e-* version was not recorded in Namidama, CD, and Gobabis, and was rare in CN and the Bondelswarts dialect. /En is, thus, prevalent in the north-western periphery, from where the Topnaar probably acquired it.

In others, again, no predominance can be determined, e.g. “hem” (above), where *!hen* is used in the north among the Hai‖lom, in Sesfontein and among the Nama (Top, CN, Bond), but not among the Central Dama.

(*Sore*)!hore + (fata morgana) occurs generally, except among the ≠Ākhoe, Hai‖lom and Ghaub. Only in CN occurs *!horo* + and *!horobe* +.

4. VOWEL LOWERING

The phenomenon of vowel lowering already pointed out by Honken (see above), is most apparent between the back vowels in Khoekhoe. On the face of it (because of geographical dominance of forms with *o*), it appears as if a nasal consonant *raises* the mid back vowel V₁ *o* to *u* in the northern dialects. Internal reconstruction from nasal vowel combinations, however, suggests the opposite process, viz. *lowering* of an original high vowel *u*, for the following reason. Only the following juxtapositions exist in Khoekhoe with a back vowel as V₁:

oral	nasal
<i>u + i</i>	<i>û + i</i>
<i>o + e</i>	
<i>o + a</i>	<i>ô + â</i>

Combinations of mid with high vowels do not exist in either sequence; e.g. **oi*, **io*, **ue*, **ôî*, **éu*. Judging from the non-existence of **ôî*, an original form **CoNi* was not available to develop into this juxtaposition. A perusal of written Nama texts does, however, contain words like the following:

‡ <i>homi</i>	tell a lie
/ <i>omi</i>	inherit
// <i>omi</i>	disintegrate.

Such words are pronounced with a rather close *o* even in the Nama areas, and in the northern, more conservative Damara areas indeed with *u*, thus ‡ *humi*, etc. The latter phonotactic constellation, *CuNi*, is indeed the one that would have given rise to the vowel combination *ûî*.⁷ This means that *CoN* radicals that are pronounced *CuN* in the northern dialects probably also are manifestations of older forms, which resulted from the loss of the final vowel *i*. CVN radicals that are pronounced with the mid vowel *ô* even in the north (e.g. *Hai||om* / *!hom + mi* mountain) are likely to have had their origin in roots of the type *CoNo* or *CoNa*, i.e. with a non-high final vowel.

The conclusion suggesting itself is thus, that vowel lowering, which is more prevalent in the central and southern, Nama areas, was a fairly late process, as it must have occurred only after the juxtaposition of *u + i* through loss of the nasal consonant that generally occurred.

The following examples illustrate the issue:⁸

1 breathe

/ <i>om</i>	general from Ghaub to Bond
/ <i>um</i>	‡ <i>Ä</i> , <i>Hai||om</i> , Ghaub

Note, however, Naro *tsâ/om* and Kxwé *tsa/om*.

2 blow (wind)

/ <i>gom</i>	<i>Hai||om</i> , <i>Sesf</i> , <i>Namid</i> , <i>CD</i> and to the south
/ <i>gum</i>	‡ <i>Ä</i> , <i>Hai||om</i> , Ghaub, (Nami); also Korana

3 **millipede** (confined to $\neq \bar{A}$ and Hailom)

<i>xumme</i> +	$\neq \bar{A}$
<i>xomme</i> +, (<i>xûbe</i> +, <i>xombe</i> +)	Hailom

4 **spear** (confined to Damara and Top)

<i>sum</i> +	$\neq \bar{A}$, Hailom, Ghaub
<i>som</i> +	Sesf, Namid, CD, Top

5 **house**

<i>um</i> +	$\neq \bar{A}$, Hailom
<i>om</i> +	all others

It is conspicuous that the co-occurrence of the mid vowels and a nasal C_2 is constrained, as can be seen from the inventory of vowel juxtapositions:

oral (< *CVC ₂ V)					nasal (< *CVNV)				
i ⁹	.	.	.	.	i ⁹	.	.	.	.
ē	.	.	.	.	âi	—	â	—	âu
ai	ae	ā	ao	au					
oe	oa	ō	.	.	ôa	—	.	.	.
ui	.	.	.	ū	ûi	.	.	.	û
C ₂ = r, w					N = m, n				

The mid front vowel *e* as V_1 does not combine with any vowel other than itself, be it in an oral or nasalized context. The back vowels *o* and *u* are mutually exclusive in the oral context, which is further support for the assumption of vowel lowering. The nasal set of *o* and *u* furthermore has systematic gaps, as the mid vowels never occur as V_2 after a nasal C_2 in a root.

In nasalized context no mid vowels occur at all, be they V_1 or V_2 or both, other than the combination *ôa*. This would invite the deduction that no combination of mid vowels with intervocalic nasal consonant could have existed to stand parent, other than **CoNa*.

Yet the roots of the type *CeN* evidently exist, as already shown. It is not clear whether these alternatives — which are less frequent than *CoN* forms, were derived from **CuN* forms *after* lowering to **CoN*, or from **CiN* forms *by way* of lowering. It is also conceivable that both sequences have occurred. Honken (*op. cit.*: 53) points out that the alternation between the high vowels *i* and *u* is widespread all through Khoesaaan, and that the alternation is fossilized.

The following instances of high vowel alternation are on record for Khoekhoe. No clear regional tendency can be established with regard to the use of back or front vowels.

broth

	<i>sūro</i> +	all, except Hailom and Ghaub
vs.	<i>ṣīro</i> +	all, but scarce in CN
cf.	<i>tsiri</i> +	Naro

slip

	≠ <i>khuri</i>	(Top)
vs.	≠ <i>khiri</i>	all, except ≠ <i>Ā</i>

slip (esp. from tree) (not among Nama, except Top)

	<i>suriwbe</i>	Hailom
	<i>dāsuri</i>	(Top)
	<i>surube</i>	(CN)
vs.	<i>siri</i>	Ghaub, Sesf, CD
	<i>sere</i>	Sesf, Namid, Top
	<i>seribe</i>	Hailom

Note the occurrence of high and mid vowels.

move backwards

	<i>khaoduru</i>	general
vs.	<i>khaoduri</i> +	≠ Aodama (= northern CD)

scorpion

	<i>llarube</i> +	general, except ≠ <i>Ā</i> , Hailom and Bond
vs.	<i>llari</i> +	Gob
	<i>llkxari</i> +	Naro
	<i>llkx̣əri</i>	Kxwé

namakwa dove (not Sesf)

	≠ <i>nawu</i> +	CD, CN
vs.	<i>namakwa</i> ≠ <i>nawi</i> +	CN
	≠ <i>nai</i> +	Namid, CD, CN, Bond
	≠ <i>naira</i> +	≠ <i>Ā</i> , Hailom, Ghaub
	≠ <i>nīra</i> +	≠ <i>Ā</i>
	≠ <i>nēra</i> +	Hailom

In this root various processes have applied randomly: high back/front alternation, lenition (loss of C_2), full regressive assimilation ($a + i > \bar{i}$), and reciprocal assimilation ($a + i > \bar{e}$).¹⁰ Note that the reduced form $*\neq nau +$ is not on record, suggesting that the variant with i is the original version.

milk weed

	<i>lgūtama||ō +</i>	general Damara
vs.	<i>lgītama||ō +</i>	general Nama

goat

	<i>puri +</i>	Sesf
vs.	<i>piri +</i>	general

The occurrence of *puri +* in remote Sesfontein appears to be a remnant of the loan derived from Tswana *podī*. In this case the available possibility of front/back alternation seems to have given the front vowel the upperhand.

The combination of the mid vowel *o* with other consonants — which are complementary to combinations with *u* (cf. Table 1) — tend to have non-lowered equivalents in the north-western dialects:

person

	<i>khoe +</i>	general, except $\neq \bar{A}$
vs.	<i>khue +</i>	$\neq \bar{A}$, Hai||om
	<i>xue +</i>	Sesf

nine

	<i>khoese</i>	general
vs.	<i>khuese</i>	Hai||om

return

<i>oa</i>	general
<i>ua</i>	Sesf

all

<i>hoa</i>	general
<i>hua</i>	Hai||om

The combinations *ue* and *ua* are also attested for ǁAni and Naro.

sit

‡ *nôa* general (< ‡ *nû hâ*)¹¹

vs.

‡ *nûa* Sesf

smash

‡ *nôakhôa* general

vs.

‡ *nôakhûa* Hai||om

hunt

xûre, xôre Hai||om

5. LOWERING OF *o* TO *a* IN THE BONDELSWARTS DIALECT

A well-known characteristic that distinguishes the Bondelswarts dialect from CN is the lowering of the mid back vowel *o* to the central low vowel *a* in V₁ position. Neither the reason nor the historical implications of this change are clear at this stage. Examples like “slave” show that it cannot be a matter of vowel assimilation. This phenomenon is apparently also not shared with the former southern neighbour, the Korana.

cow

goma + general, Korana

gama + Bond

slave

khowo + general, incl. Bond

khawo + Bond

wild cucumber

toma + (> *tôa* +) general

tama + Bond

open mouth

khowa general, Korana

khawa Bond

reject an offer as puny

<i>/ho(w)a</i>	general
<i>/hawa</i>	Bond

The following gloss presents the reverse occurrence in one option for the Bondelswarts dialect:

rainbow

compounds based on *!hanab* (arched pole), e.g.

<i>/lawi!hana +</i>	Ghaub, Namid, CD, Top, CN, Gob
<i>/noas !hana + m</i>	Korana (Wandres)
<i>!gao!hana + b/-!hona + b</i>	CN, Bond

6. VARIANTS OF *ai*

Vossen (forthcoming, section 1.1.1), as already mentioned, has postulated that proto-Khoe **ai* is **ai* or **a* in proto-Khoekhoe and **ai* or **e* in proto-Non-Khoekhoe. It is another indication of older remnants in the northern dialects of Khoekhoe, that the combination *ai* is occasionally retained in those dialects:

long

<i>gaihu</i>	± <i>Ā</i> , Hailom
<i>gaixu</i>	± <i>Ā</i> , Hailom, Ghaub (Sesf), (Nami), CD, Gob, (Bond); <i>not</i> CN

vs.

<i>*gaxu</i> (= <i>gāxu</i>)	all, except ± <i>Ā</i> ; Korana
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also

<i>gaoxu</i>	(Gob) cf. Naro <i>!kao</i> , Kxwé <i>kyao</i>
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stomach

<i>!nā +</i>	all, except ± <i>Ā</i> ; Korana
<i>!nai +</i>	Sesf

In some cases the distinction between the juxtapositions *ai* and *ae* is neutralized between dialects. Too few data are available, however, to allow any generalization concerning a regional bias:

eight

<i>||khaisa</i>	most widely used; cf. Korana <i>||khaisi</i>
<i>||khaesa</i>	Bond

my mother

	<i>ai</i> +	all Damara, Gob; (no Nama);
	<i>ae</i> +	Sesf
cf.	<i>aitjo</i> +	Korana (Meinhof)
	<i>ai</i> +	Naro

In other cases assimilation seems to apply:

jackal

	<i>lgaire</i> +	all, except Bondelswarts and Gob, rare in CN
vs.	<i>lgiri</i> +	all, except ≠ Ā and Hailom; but also Naro: <i>/kiri</i> +
	<i>lgere</i> +	Hailom
cf.	<i>laiɿ</i> +, <i>/iɿe</i> +	Korana

smell (v.t.)

<i>hamme</i>	≠ Ā, Hailom, Ghaub, CD, Top, CN
<i>hamai</i>	Hailom, Bond
<i>hami</i>	Bond

ram (n.)

<i>bai</i> +	all, except ≠ Ā, Hailom, Ghaub
<i>bira</i> +	(Hailom)

7. CLICK LOSS

Click loss is a phenomenon well known from Central Khoesaaan languages of Botswana (excepting Naro), as well as Kxwé. In Khoekhoe it is only associated with the Damara dialects of Sesfontein, and to a lesser extent with Hailom, and perhaps Namidama. Contrary to trends in Botswana, it is not confined to the “abrupt” alveolar and palatal clicks ! and ≠ (see Traill & Vossen 1997), as the following examples show. In most cases click loss involves merely the loss of the primary articulation, while the secondary articulation is retained in near-original form. This process is not consistent, however, as can be seen from the examples for */kh*

7.1 Loss of the Dental Click /

scorpion

/hũ +	(Hai||om), Sesf, (Namid), CD, generally Nama; Korana
hũ +	(Hai||om)

with (postposition)

/kha	general
/khua	± Ā
xa	Sesf

come

/khĩ	general, but less frequent in Sesf
/hĩ	Sesf
sĩ	Sesf

It is not clear whether in this last case the surrogate is formed by analogy to the semantically close word *sĩ* (arrive elsewhere) — which is tonally distinct, though.

duiker

/nâu +	± Ā, Hai||om, Ghaub, Sesf, Namid; Naro
nâu +	(Hai||om)

hunnable game

am/nē + n	Hai||om, Bond
amnĩ + na	Sesf

7.2 Loss of the Alveolar Click !

The variants *!apupũe + b*, *!apu(ga)kũe + b*, *!apu(pe) + b*; *!apuro + b* (Hai) (lavender croton) are on record as having the alternatives commencing merely with a glottal stop, thus *apupũe + b*, etc. among the (northern) Damara.¹²

take, receive

!khō!oa	general
!khō-oa, !khō ± oa	(Sesf)

Both these variants are from the same informant in Sesfontein.

(my) brother

ti !gûi + b, ti kûi + b	Damara variants
-------------------------	-----------------

track down

(!gû)!gôa'gon, (!gû)!gôan;

gôan

Damara variants

The following is an unusual (erratic?) reversal of click loss recorded in Sesfontein:

right (side)

am

general

!am

Sesf.

fall through (e.g. ceiling)

||nâ:k'huru, ||nâk'huru

Damara variants

in (postposition)

!nâ

general

nâ

Sesf

7.3 Loss of the Palatal Click ɛ

eat

ɛû

general

hûû

Sesf

go hunting

ôaû (< ôa ɛû)

Sesf

tell a lie

sûa

Sesf

cf. tsu ≠ hôa

ɛ Æ, Hai||om, Ghaub

excessively soaked

ɛ gon ɛ gon

general

dondon

Damara (exact distribution not established)

7.4 Loss of the Lateral Click ||

Only cases of the lateral click with velar aspirated release are on record. In this case double lenition occurs: first the primary release is lost, then the velar aspirate or affricate is fricativized:

scratch

<i>//kha(r)o</i>	general Nama
<i>xaro</i>	northern/western Damara

spear

<i>xao-oa+</i>	Hailom
<i>kxao//khao</i>	Naro
<i>//xao</i>	Kxwé (missile)

7.5 Alternation of Secondary Click Releases

Employment of different click releases occurs particularly in the peripheral regions. Noteworthy is the alternation between former depressor releases and non-depressor releases, particularly *Xh* (depressor) with *Xkh* (non-depressor). A systematic study of any possible influence of this alternation on the tonology has not yet been undertaken. Suffice it to say that in the “main-stream” versions (non-)depression did not occur quite consistently with *Xkh* as against *Xh*.¹³

A characteristic of especially the Namidama and Sesfontein dialects is the neutralization of the distinction between *Xh* and *Xkh*.

sour

	<i>//khuru</i>	general
	<i>//huru</i>	Sesf
cf.	<i>/xuru</i>	Korana

righthand side

<i>am//khā+</i>	general
<i>am//hā+</i>	Sesf

namakwa dove

<i>//howo+</i>	general
<i>//khowo+</i>	Sesf, Namid; (Naro)

spear

	<i>//haigôa+</i>	general. except ≠ <i>Ā</i>
	<i>//khaigôa+</i>	Sesf
cf.	<i>//hâe//kxao</i>	Naro

blade (of animal)

<i>||khûi+</i>	general
<i>||hûi+</i>	Sesf

extract marrow

<i>!hû</i>	general
<i>!khû</i>	Sesf, Namid

pierce

<i>*!khā</i>	general
<i>!hā</i>	Sesf; Korana

small

<i>‡khari</i>	general
<i>‡hari</i>	Sesf

crack a louse

<i>‡khû</i>	general
<i>‡hû</i>	Sesf

Almost all possibilities of release alternations can be instantiated with the odd example, but without any meaningful pattern emerging. The *Xkh/Xh* alternation or neutralization is by far the most prominent, albeit not consistent especially in Sesfontein. The above list only represents typical examples.

In the great majority of cases it is the fricative *Xh* version that occurs in the peripheral dialects, i.e. in the Namidama and Sesfontein dialects. Although these peripheral dialects usually reflect the more archaic, original form, one would universally expect a process of lenition from an aspirated or affricated release *Xkh/Xkx* to the fricative *Xh*, rather than fortition in the opposite direction, as found in some instances above. This would also be in harmony with other processes of lenition that elide the intervocalic consonants in roots, as well as root-initial consonants.

8. LENITION OF EGRESSIVE CONSONANTS

It appears as if the north-western peripheral dialects went even further in the process of lenition as described by Honken (1988) for the “Nama” dialects. The alternation between aspirated/affricative and fricative click releases is directly paralleled by an alternation between aspirated/affricative and fricative consonants, *kh* vs. *x*. Again, the peripheral dialects have an affricative if not fricative version, which in those dialects leads to a neutralization between *kh*

and original *x* as C₁. In the case of egressive consonants, however, the effect on tonemes was the opposite: *kh* consistently was a depressor, while *x* was a non-depressor.¹⁴ *Kh* typically is pronounced as an aspirated plosive in the Nama dialects, while affrication is typical for peripheral Damara dialects when lenition has been only partial. The affricate *kx* is also employed in Kxwé.

kh/x

skin

<i>khō + b</i>	general
<i>khō + , kxō +</i>	general; Naro

vs.

<i>xō + b</i>	Namid, Sesf
---------------	-------------

person

<i>khoe +</i>	general, except ≠ Ā ; Naro
<i>khue +</i>	≠ Ā, Hailom; Naro

vs.

<i>xue +</i>	Sesf
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cf. <i>kxoe</i>	Kxwé
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fly (v.i.)

<i>khâi</i>	general
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<i>xâi</i>	Sesf
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cf. <i>tsâi</i> ¹⁵	Naro
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It should be remarked here that in certain instances the fricative *x* of general Khoekhoe has the glottal fricative *h* as equivalent in Hailom and ≠ Ākhoe. If it is regular, then the proto-form remains yet to be established. Compare also Naro, for instance, for *xoa/hoa* (write).

wild animal

<i>ûitswa hū + n</i>	Hailom
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cf. <i>ûitsaba xū + n</i>	general: “living things”
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cf. <i>xuu +</i>	Naro: “thing”
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butterfly

<i>apuxare, apuhale</i>	≠ Ā
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<i>apuxare</i>	Namid, CD, CN
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dirty

<i>/uriha</i>	Hailom
<i>/urixa</i>	general

ts/s

Honken (*op. cit.*) has demonstrated how “Nama” (i.e. essentially represented by the central and southern dialects) has merged five consonant series into two: *s* and *ts*^h.¹⁶ In the Sesfontein dialects speakers widely neutralize even this distinction by pronouncing “Nama” *ts* as *s*. The affricate has not entirely disappeared, though. It remains to be a topic for future investigation whether the lenition is a random process, or whether it is systematic, reflecting the different original affricates *before* they were merged in “Nama”. There is a good likelihood that at least some of it is systematic, as one particular informant, Gustav [Nūab, replaced *ts* with an alveopalatal fricative *sh* [ʃ] in certain but not all words (cf. ashes vs. dust).

The following examples serve as illustration:

ashes

	<i>tsao</i> + ¹⁷	general
	<i>tsao</i> + , <i>sao</i> + , <i>shao</i> +	Sesf
cf.	<i>thau</i> +	Naro

dust

	<i>tsara</i> +	general
	<i>sara</i> +	Sesf
cf.	<i>tshara</i> +	Naro
	<i>thara</i> +	Korana

float, swim

	<i>tsâ</i>	general
	<i>sâ</i>	Sesf
cf.	<i>thâ</i>	Korana

day

	<i>tsē</i> +	general
	<i>sē</i> +	Sesf
cf.	<i>tsē</i> +	Korana

night

	<i>tsuxu</i> + (= <i>tsūxu</i> +)	general
	<i>sūxu</i> +	Sesf
cf.	<i>thūxu</i> +	Korana

gnaw bones

<i>tsoro</i> ≠ <i>ui</i>	general
<i>soronâ</i>	Sesf

9. ALTERNATION OF EGRESSIVE CONSONANTS

Most alternations involve alveolar consonants, including the ones just discussed.

Most conspicuous are the variants of the nasal alveolar consonant *n*. While the nasal is typical for mainstream Khoekhoe, oral continuants or stops may appear in the peripheral dialects and in Botswana.

n/l

The lateral continuant *l* is not normally considered to be part of Khoekhoe, but it does appear in the peripheral dialects. In non-Khoekhoe the alveolar often appears as plosive *t*.

lightning

	<i>nawa</i> +	(Hai||om rare) all, except ≠ <i>Ā</i>
vs.	<i>lawā</i> +	Hai||om, Sesf
	<i>tawa</i> +	≠ <i>Ā</i> , Hai||om, Sesf, (Namid)
cf.	<i>tawa</i> +	Korana
	<i>tewe</i>	Naro
	<i>téwe</i>	Kxwé

tongue

	<i>nam</i> +	all, except ≠ <i>Ā</i> and Ghaub
vs.	<i>lam</i> +	Ghaub, Sesf, (Namid), (CD)
	<i>tam</i> +	≠ <i>Ā</i> , Hai||om
cf.	<i>tam</i> +	Korana, Naro
	<i>dam</i> +	Kxwé

fontanelle

<i>nīra</i> + <i>s</i>	general
<i>līra</i> + <i>s</i> , <i>pīra</i> + <i>s</i>	peripheral (distribution not exactly established)

The following set for “pursue” seems to be of a different diachronic origin, as it has mainly *n* in the peripheral dialects, to which it is confined. It may be the equivalent of *sao* (follow) in general Khoekhoe, but an alternation with the alveolar fricative *s* has not been noted elsewhere.

pursue

<i>nao</i>	Hai||lom, Sesf
<i>nāu</i>	± Ā
<i>lao</i>	Sesf
cf. <i>sao!gon</i>	elsewhere, except Top

n/d

In the following case the distribution is contrary to that of the previous cases, with [t] being the more general:

flow

<i>dāu</i>	all, except ± Ā, rare with Hai||lom
<i>nāu</i>	Hai||lom, Ghaub

n/r

The alternation between *n* and *r* seems to be rather unsystematic. Köhler (1966:150) reports this alternation also for Kxwé.

(wild) animal

In this instance *n* is predominantly northern, *r* southern.

<i>xamani</i> +	± Ā, Hai||lom, Ghaub, Sesf, Namid, CD, (Top), (CN), Gob, (Bond)
<i>xamari</i> +	Ghaub, Namid, CD, Top, CN, Gob, Bond

bite

<i>nā</i>	general, except ± Ā
<i>nā</i>	± Ā, Hai||lom, Ghaub, (Namid)
<i>ndā</i>	± Ā, Hai||lom, Sesf
<i>dā</i>	(Sesf)
<i>rā</i>	(Sesf)

cf.	<i>kaa</i> , (<i>taa</i>)	Naro
		<i>paa</i> Kxwé
		<i>baa</i> Korana

iguana

<i>||náre + b</i>	general, except ≠ Ā, Hailom, Bond
<i>||nāre + b</i>	≠ Ā, Hailom
<i>||nāne + b</i>, <i>||nana + b</i>	≠ Ā

twinkle

	<i>||namino</i>, <i>||namiro</i>	Hailom
cf.	<i>||gamiro + b</i> (star)	general Khoekhoe
	<i>||gamoro + b</i> (star)	Korana

r/l

The trilled or tapped **r** and the plosive **d** are allophones in radicals (but not grammatical morphemes), with **r** appearing intervocally, while **d** is root-initial.

butterfly

<i>apuxare +</i>	≠ Ā, Namid, CD, Top, CN
<i>apuhare +</i>	≠ Ā
<i>apuxale +</i>	Hailom

d/k

One further correspondence underpins the close link of Hailom to other Central Khoesaa languages: When the alveolar stop [t] is followed by *i*, it becomes a velar, e.g.

ten

	<i>disi</i>	general; Naro
	<i>kisi</i>	Hailom
cf.	<i>djisi</i>	Korana

The reflex with the velar consonant appears to have been the general form in the Cape dialects, according to the records cited by Nienaber (1963:478).

Some Hailom speakers also use *ki* instead of the common *di* as possessive particle.

10. VOWEL ANTICIPATION

One phenomenon that might deserve further comparative attention is the anticipation of V_2 in a root:

$$CV_1CV_2 > CV_1V_2CV_2.$$

This process is not confined to Khoekhoe, but is common to all Khoe languages and has been recorded even as far as Zulu of Northern Khoesaa (cf., e.g., the discussion of Jan Snyman's data by Elderkin 1988:130).

No clear trend can be detected from the available data, other than that $\neq \bar{A}$ tends not to anticipate the vowel when other dialects do. With the exception of the gloss for "warthog", Bondelswarts always uses the extended form with anticipated vowel.

give chase

!kholesarugu	$\neq \bar{A}$ (pursue)
<i>saru</i>	Hai||om, Sesf, (Top), CN, (Bond)
<i>sauru</i>	Hai||om, Sesf, Namid, CD, Top, CN, Gob, Bond

A Damara in Sesfontein considered *saru* to be Nama.

all

<i>horaga</i>	Hai||om, Ghaub, Sesf, CD, CN
<i>hoaraga</i>	Sesf, CD, Top, CN, Gob, Bond
<i>hoar'ga</i>	Ghaub
cf. <i>horaka</i>	Korana

baboon

<i>/gora +</i>	$\neq \bar{A}$
cf. <i>/koara +</i>	Naro

warthog

<i>gari +</i>	$\neq \bar{A}$, Hai||om
<i>gairi +</i>	Hai||om, all others except Bond

cripple

<i>!hora +</i>	general (not established in detail); Korana
<i>!hoara +</i>	Bond

rough

<i>/khora</i>	general (not established in detail)
<i>/khoara</i>	Bond

engrave

xora

general (not established in detail)

xoara

Bond

More instances of vowel anticipation are on record, but their distribution is not known reliably.

11. MORPHOLOGICAL RELICS

The peripheral dialects, particularly the Sesfontein dialects, have retained some instances of an early stage of grammaticalization of the present stative aspect marker *a*. In the fully grammaticalized form this aspect marker has become the “oblique” case suffix, marking NPs that serve as objects, deposed subjects and as subjects of interrogative sentences. In this process a “minimal” sentence, i.e. a sentence with only one (lexical) stem, which serves as predicate head, can assume only two forms.¹⁸ Crucially, these forms differ in meaning, best illustrated with an adjective:

Kai b a
big he stat

Predicative rendering: “He is big”

Kai a b
big stat he

Copulative/nominal rendering: “He is a big *one*”

In the predicative rendering the stative marker (**stat**) grammaticalizes into a suffix denoting the “oblique” case *Kai + ba*; the copulative rendering presents the “nominative” form, which — after elision of the stative marker *a* — is grammaticalized into the surface citation form of a noun, consisting of a “stem + pgn-marker”, viz *kai + b*. The stative marker can only be deleted in the copulative strategy, i.e. *before* the pgn-marker.

Typically, in mainstream Khoekhoe the citation form of the noun is the *nominative*, e.g. *tara + s*. The northern dialects, i.e. ≠Ākhoe, Haiǁom and the Sesfontein dialects by contrast, share with Naro the trend that frequently the *oblique* form of the noun is offered as citation form during interviews, thus *tara + sa*. Sometimes the noun “stem” (which is the true noun underlyingly) is even cited without pgn-marker, e.g. *tara* — a behaviour shared with Kxwé. This hardly happens in mainstream Khoekhoe.

A further characteristic of these northern dialects is that in the oblique form the phonological adaptation of the grammaticalization has not proceeded all the way (yet), in that assimilation (or deletion, as the case may be) has not taken place systematically. Thus, typically, the oblique form of nouns with the

third person masculine plural pgn-marker *gu* is not *ga* but *gua*; e.g. *!am + gua* (feathers) instead of *!am + ga*.

Traill & Vossen (1997:21–56) report the same phenomenon from various Khoe languages as reflected in the following extracted table:¹⁹

“Nama	.kū (sic)
!Ora	.ku
||Ani, Kxoe, Naro, Ts’ixa, ||Gana	.lùà
Cara, Danisi, Cua	.kùà
Kua	(.ku)”.

Further evidence of incomplete grammaticalization is found in the Sesfontein dialects with regard to the nominative form as well. While in mainstream Khoekhoe the pronominal use of the definite article (often erroneously referred to as pronoun stem) for the first person singular and plural is *ti + ta* and *si + da* respectively, the corresponding forms in Sesfontein are *tia + ta* and *sia + da*. These forms are not phonologically cute quirks, but simply the *copulative/nominative* renderings in which the stative aspect marker *a* has not been elided. The same is found in other forms like the first person common gender plural *saa + da*, but it is not as conspicuous.

Such structures exist in mainstream Khoekhoe as well, frequently with the non-deletable present *progressive* marker *ra*, but only in fossilized *nouns*; e.g. Nama *bai(ra) + b* (ram, lit. he who butts). In the peripheral dialects even such nouns are more frequent, e.g.

your parents

<i>sao + n</i>	general
<i>saoa + n</i>	Haillom (lit. they <i>who are</i> your parents).

12 CONCLUSION

While the present survey is bound to remain largely cursory because of the limitations of the data gleaned, it should have become evident nevertheless that the conspicuous *dialectometric* proximity (*i.e.* of the *lexicon*) of the northern and western Damara dialects to Naro (cf. Haacke *et al.* 1997) — which according to Köhler (1975:329) is closest to the proto-Central Khoesaa nucleus — is paralleled by phonological trends. Aspects like the non-attrition of the intervocalic consonants of roots; the fronting and raising of final vowels by the alveolar nasal; the resistance to vowel lowering in general, and in particular of *u* to *o* before *e* or *a*; the retention of the loan *puri* (goat) as against *piri*; the retention of the juxtaposition *ai*; click loss; alternation of alveolar

consonants; the incomplete grammaticalization of the present stative marker *a*; all these suggest that these peripheral dialects are diachronically still closer to the genealogical nucleus than dialects further south.

It is hoped that the present data may have shown up the need for systematic comparative work in the northern dialect regions of Khoekhoe, with the purpose of establishing the link to the non-Khoekhoe languages of Khoe. It should also have become clear by now that for comparative purposes existing sources on “Nama” can no longer be considered to be representative of the Khoekhoe language as a whole.

ENDNOTES

- 1 See also Beach 1938:259 *et seq.* on the “decomposition theory”, which he acknowledges to Vedder, and Haacke (1988:145) for further instances.
- 2 For a discussion of this issue cf. Haacke 1992, chapter 2.
- 3 It should be emphasized that the fact that a form is quoted here as instantiation, is not to be construed as a claim that such a form is the predominant form in that area. It may be a single manifestation. If it clearly is a minor manifestation in an area, it appears in parentheses.
In order to avoid unnecessary detail that may vary between dialects, nouns will be quoted without pgn-marker whenever discrepancies occur. Instead, a plus-sign will remind the reader that in most dialects a pgn-marker would follow.
- 4 Nasalization of vowel combinations is only indicated on the first vowel in the standardized orthography; e.g. [ũĩ] = *üi*.
- 5 Variants of roots with $V_1 = o$ that have *e* or *i* instead, present instances of rule bleeding, as a prior change to the front vowels does not permit the “alveolarization” of vowels. They furthermore illustrate that diachronic changes need not consistently take place in the same order through a linguistic area.
To compound the issue, cf. Honken’s claim (1988:54) that within general Khoesaaan Zhu -ŋ is to be derived from *-ni.
- 6 /*In* can probably be considered to be the non-lowered version of -/en, and would thus represent the older version of the two. Cf. the discussion of a general process of lowering, below. /*In* presents an instance where the relic form was preserved in Sesfontein. The alternation between the original high vowels in */*in* and */*un* is part of a general phenomenon in Khoe languages, as is to be illustrated below.
- 7 This holds, of course, only for those roots which did not develop through what was called quasi vowel “alveolarization” earlier.
- 8 As the fieldnotes were recorded not in phonetic script but in standard orthography by the fieldworkers, the exact value of the back vowel could not always be reflected. They may thus, at times, have been forced to commit themselves to either *o* or *u* with some hesitation. Yet the trend is beyond doubt.
- 9 Pseudo-geminate vowels are spelt as “long” vowels if oral, e.g. *í*, and as nasal vowels if nasalized, e.g. *ĩ*.
- 10 The fact that Hailom here uses ≠*nēras* next to ≠*nairas* again highlights the links to

- the non-Khoekhoe branches of Khoe. Vossen (forthcoming) reconstructs proto-Khoe ***ai** as ***ai** or ***a** in proto-Khoekhoe and as ***ai** or ***e** in proto-Non-Khoekhoe.
- 11 This is a case of partial assimilation between the morphemes.
 - 12 The reader is again reminded of the orthographic conventions of Khoekhoe: /**a** = [ʼa], /**ga** = [ʼa] (voiceless). Words commencing with a vowel in the spelling actually commence with a glottal stop, e.g. *a..* = [ʼa..]. The letters *p/b*, *t/d*, *k/d* all represent voiceless stops and are used distinctively merely to indicate higher and lower tones respectively.
 - 13 See Haacke (1992b: 77 *et seq.*) for a detailed discussion of tonogenesis in Khoekhoe.
 - 14 Although in the click release the fricative alternant is a *glottal* fricative, the glottal fricative consonant **h** is not involved in the alternation with **kh/kx** in egressive consonants. With **h** only **x** alternates.
 - 15 Double underlining indicates a pressed vowel.
 - 16 The affricate is aspirated, but in word-initial position only. It is not aspirated in the second person masculine singular pgn-marker, which appears in final position, e.g. *sats* [saats].
 - 17 The fact that the general Khoekhoe word has the [ʼ ʼ] melody, which has not been not affected by the depressor consonant **ts**, may possibly be indicative of the origin of the proto-form, considering that the reflex with **sh** was found in Sesfontein.
 - 18 For a more detailed argument cf. Haacke *i.a.* 1992a: 150.
 - 19 These data suggest, not surprisingly, that the hypothesis that Khoekhoe surface nouns (i.e. with enclitic pgn-marker) are of sentential origin, holds generally for Khoe languages.

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QUECLARATIVES IN XHOSA

Jackie J. Jones & Justus C. Roux

INTRODUCTION

The study of prosody in African languages in general, and in the Nguni languages in particular, boasts a wealth of descriptions stretching over many decades. In Roux (1995:27) the nature of these descriptions was assessed and it was argued that much of this data lacks authenticity and is often incomplete and even contradictory in nature. This is mainly due to the impressionistic bases of these descriptions, and it was felt that levels of descriptive adequacy could be raised considerably if data acquisition took place in a more controlled manner and if the impressionistically observed phonetic forms were actually subjected to some measures monitoring their accuracy and comprehensiveness. After all,

... the scientific description of speech sounds must necessarily aim at characterizing explicitly and quantitatively – rather than skillfully imitating – the acoustic events as well as the psychological and physiological processes that speakers and listeners use in generating and interpreting utterances (Lindblom, 1980:7).

In this contribution we would like to demonstrate the diversity of (impressionistic) opinions with respect to a topic such as queclaratives in Xhosa. It will be proposed that prosodic studies in the African languages should move beyond the “good ear” of the “skilled phonetician” in his/her task of describing, for instance, tonal patterns in a given language. It is suggested that researchers in this field change their focus from solely describing their own interpretation of the production of a mother tongue speaker’s renditions of words, phrases or the like to concentrating on the actual performance of the mother-tongue listener. That is, to monitor through experimentation in speech analysis and synthesis the mother-tongue listener’s

(linguistic) responses to alleged differences in the prosodic structure of an utterance.

PROSODIC QUALITIES OF QUECLARATIVES

Queclaratives represent a certain type of interrogative and may be defined as “utterances with declarative form, functioning as questions.” (Geluykens 1988:467). In normal communication in a language such as Xhosa, these forms appear from time to time, cf.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) | (a) | Yinkomo. | It is a beast. | (Declarative) |
| | (b) | Yinkomo? | Is it a beast? | (Queclarative) |

It is clear that in utterances such as 1(a) and 1(b) above some type of prosodic information serves to distinguish between a declarative and a queclarative. Ohala (1983:1) in addressing this topic in general terms states that:

Where the same utterance can be produced as a question or statement using intonation i.e. without any lexical or syntactic markers, it is almost invariably the case that high or rising tone signals the former, whereas low or falling pitch the latter.

This general observation seems to hold true also for languages such as Xhosa and Zulu, albeit as a superficial observation. However, scholars have identified other factors which may also play a distinctive role in disambiguating statements and corresponding questions in the Nguni languages. Some of these impressionistically acquired “additional” factors will now be assessed in view of experimentally derived data of Theron (1991) on the topic.

Lanham (1963:58) ascribes to the view of differentiating intonation curves for statements and questions respectively, adding that the interval between penultimate H and L in the final syllable may also be contrastive. The duration of the penultimate vowel is also regarded as important by Lanham; a relatively long penultimate vowel is typical of questions, whereas an extra long vowel signals a statement. Riordan (1969:14) is in agreement with these views, supplementing them, however, with the observation that questions normally start at a higher absolute pitch level (maintaining this level throughout the utterance) and that no tonal downdrift is thought to occur with questions. Khumalo differentiates between these sentence types in the following manner:

Statement intonation is unmarked for key (i.e. it is at “average” speaking key), while question intonation is at a much higher key (1981:91).

Statement intonation is unmarked for tempo (i.e. it is at “average” speaking tempo), while question intonation is at a much faster tempo (1981:92).

In statement intonation the tone of the final syllable of the phonological phrase is lowered ... this lowered final tone does not occur in question intonation (1981:92).

Louw (1968), using a “pitch extractor”, presents experimental phonetic data on pitch contours in Xhosa in which he cursorily also touches on the difference between statements and questions. His few examples on the topic, three to be exact (1968:87), support the impressionistic notions without however quantifying them to any degree.

The results of an experimental analysis performed by Theron (1991) of some of these phenomena involving the production of 60 statement-question pairs by one male and one female speaker of Xhosa will now be considered.

Sentence duration and speech tempo

The data presented by Theron (1991:59) indicates a distinct shortening of sentence duration in questions as opposed to statements. In 87,5% of the total number of cases the statement sentences were produced with a longer duration than corresponding question sentences. On average question sentences constitute 88,97% of the duration of corresponding statements.

As far as speech tempo is concerned, Theron (1991:61) indicates that there seems to be some variation between speakers. Her first informant produced 90% of his questions at a faster tempo (determined as syllables per second), 1,67% of the productions showed no difference at all, whilst 8,3% of his statements; were in fact produced faster than corresponding questions. The second informant produced 83,33% of her questions faster than the corresponding statements, however, in 16,67% of the cases the opposite was true. Control data of the second author indicate an average tempo of 4,9% syllables/second for statements and 5,5% syllables/second for corresponding questions.

This data to a large extent supports the impressionistic claims of scholars that argue for relatively longer duration and slower rate of articulation of statements as compared with corresponding questions.

Penultimate vowel duration

Theron (1991) expresses the duration of the penultimate vowel as a percentage of the total duration of the sentence. Although there seems to be a general tendency in support of the view that penultimate vowel duration is shorter with question sentences than with corresponding statements, the situation is not so clear-cut at all. Theron (1991:64) points out that in 33,4% of instances speaker #1 produced a longer penultimate syllable in questions, and this figure is even as high as 41,67% for speaker #2. On the basis of these findings it is very difficult to argue in support of impressionistic data that penultimate vowel shortening is a significant or relevant perceptual cue differentiating statement and question sentences in Xhosa.

Tonal interval between the final two syllables of an utterance

Lanham (1963:58) asserts that statements and corresponding questions may be differentiated in terms of the interval in tonal realisation between the penultimate and final syllables. The experimental data of Theron (1991:77-79) indeed support this view, indicating a mean pitch interval between the final two syllables of 35 Hz in the case of statements, and 75 Hz in questions.

Tonal register and tonal movement

Riordan (1969:16) states that a question “begins on a slightly higher absolute pitch and maintains it throughout”. Theron’s results (1991:67) support this view in general claiming an approximate tonal register for a male person being between 115 and 210 Hz for statements and between 170 and 260 for questions.

As far as tonal movement is concerned, Theron (1991:69,80) lends support to the view that statements are characterized by tonal downdrift, however, she also identifies a measure of downdrift in echo-questions. This attested downdrift, normally, is less than in corresponding statements; however, she also refers to examples (1991:73) where an equally sharp decline of the F_0 curve may occur with questions as well. In these cases she argues that a sudden change in the pitch value of the final (and/or penultimate) syllable may be responsible for maintaining the perceptual statement-question differentiation. She demonstrates this phenomenon (1991:74, figure 23) by indicating a LL sequence changing to a LH.

The experimental data discussed to a very large degree supports thus far the sum total of impressionistic claims made by scholars in this field. It is, however, true that none of the impressionistic descriptions address all the factors

simultaneously. It is furthermore still debatable as to which of these factors, or combinations of them, are really perceptually relevant in the communication process.

Apart from these language specific observations regarding the Nguni languages it has to be recognized that the generally held view concerning “rising intonation” in questions is not without any queries. Geluykens (1988:468), for instance, is of the opinion that

Perhaps a much more likely universal of rising intonation is its signalling of “non- finality” in the turn taking system in conversation ...

Another interesting contradiction to these theories is raised and exemplified by Geluykens when he states that

Rising intonation is irrelevant for the recognition of a declarative utterance as a queclarative, provided pragmatic factors contribute to the utterances question-status. If pragmatic cues fail to make the utterance question-prone, rising intonation may, but need not, be used to turn such an utterance into a queclarative (1987:492).

and

The most striking outcome of our analysis is the very low frequency of rising tones in Queclaratives ... Falling tones are far more frequent; in the majority of cases these are preceded by a “high booster” ..., i.e. a step-up in the pitch in the Head of the TU (1988:468).

Fries (1964) claims that in his study of 2 561 yes-no questions in English, 1 580 had a falling intonation pattern, and only 981 had a rising intonation pattern. In percentage terms therefore 61,7% had a falling intonation pattern and only 38,3% had a rising intonation pattern. He continues by stating

Unfortunately, so far as the evidence goes, the many assertions concerning the rising intonation of yes-no questions in English have not been based on any adequate body of quantitative information (1964:245).

The quantitative information derived from the corpus examined for this study does not support the much repeated assertion that yes-no questions “regularly”, “usually”, “characteristically” have a rising intonation pattern (1964:250).

In view of these remarks, consider now the following two pitch analyses (figure 1) of the utterance in (2)

- (2) (a) Yimifula. They are rivulets. (Declarative)
 (b) Yimifula? Are they rivulets? (Queclarative)

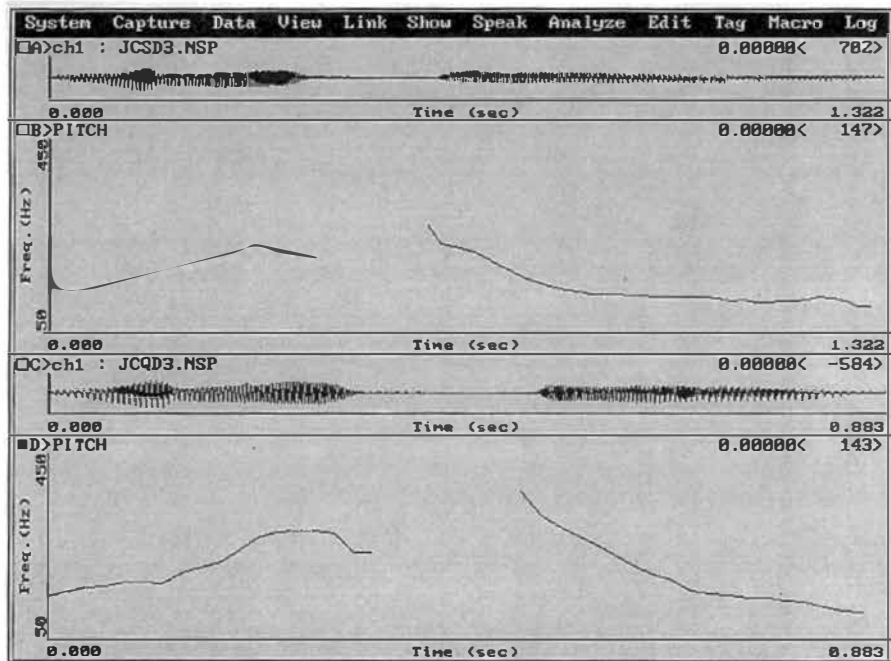


Figure 1: Panel A: Pressure wave of “yimifula” – declarative
 Panel B: Pitch contour of “yimifula” – declarative
 Panel C: Pressure wave of “yimifula” – queclarative
 Panel D: Pitch contour of “yimifula” – queclarative

From these examples it is quite apparent that apart from the fact that there is a clear difference in duration between the declarative (1,322 sec) and the queclarative (0,883 sec) there is little difference between, for instance, tonal register or overall shape of the pitch contour. A relatively sharp decline of the contour is present in the penultimate syllable (cf. panel D) of the queclarative; however, simultaneous downdrift also occurs in both renditions. This downdrift contradicts the widely held view of rising final tones in queclaratives. The fact that an expected acoustic difference may or may not manifest itself in these utterances lends support to the observation of Roux (1995b) that speakers may use different strategies in encoding an acoustic signal to convey a specific meaning.

A controversial issue, however, still remains to be addressed, the relationship between acoustic signals and perceptual cues. It is commonly known that no direct relationship exists between the acoustic signal and perceptual dimensions, and therefore it would be presumptuous to claim this in a language such as Xhosa. Although these acoustic analyses present a wealth of information, the limitations of this data presented in isolation are also perfectly clear. This type of data alone will not necessarily elucidate an understanding of the relevant perceptual cues involved in the disambiguation process, therefore the emphasis ought to change to one of experimental perceptual investigations.

AN ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Technological developments over the last few decades have made it possible to edit and manipulate speech signals in a variety of ways through the use of different types of speech analysis and synthesis programmes. Different parameters of the speech signal may be edited in isolation or in their synergetic relations to other parameters. The duration of segments may, for instance, be changed, pitch and amplitude levels and contours may be altered, and new levels or contours may be synthesized. These resynthesized stimuli are then presented to listeners of a language in the form of carefully designed perception tests and the results are interpreted in terms of prevailing theories.

A classical example of an attempt to develop a “model of the listener” is exemplified in the work undertaken by the Institute for Perception Research (IPO) at Eindhoven in the Netherlands, which is reported in ‘t Hart, Collier & Cohen (1990). Experimental approaches to speech perception have been around for many years; however it is true to say that African languages have been neglected and have received very little attention.

Apart from the limited works of Roux (1982, 1995a, 1995b), Swart (forthcoming), Jones and Roux (1996) and Jones (forthcoming), little is known about the perceptual qualities of prosodic structures in the African languages spoken in South Africa. This type of knowledge has proven to be indispensable, not only for a better understanding of the human speech communication process, but also for attempts to model this process in the development of human-machine communication systems. These systems which are able to respond to speech input in a specific language, or which are able to generate good quality natural speech from texts are well developed for European languages (cf. Rabiner, 1995) and have numerous applications in everyday life. The need for these types of applications is bound to spread to the African continent sooner rather than later and this will certainly increase the necessity for obtaining quantitative prosodic data (cf. Roux, 1996).

The foundations laid by researchers such as Louw in his phonetic and phonological studies of tone in the languages of Southern Africa, and more particularly Xhosa, need to be acknowledged and developed using more experimental and all-encompassing approaches. This would simply imply that the value of such research be retained, yet the approach to further research in this field become more dynamic in understanding the nature of speech communication in the languages of this region.

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MEEUSSEN'S RULE AT THE PHRASE LEVEL IN KALANGA

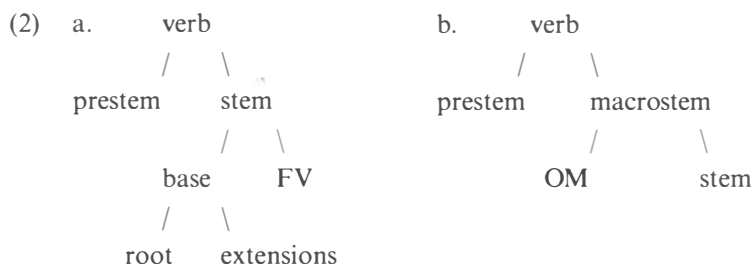
Joyce T. Mathangwane & Larry M. Hyman

1. INTRODUCTION

A number of Bantu languages of the Eastern and Southern zones attest a rule of the form in (1) by which a H tone is deleted when directly preceded by another H:

- (1) μ μ
 | |
 H H
 ↓
 \emptyset

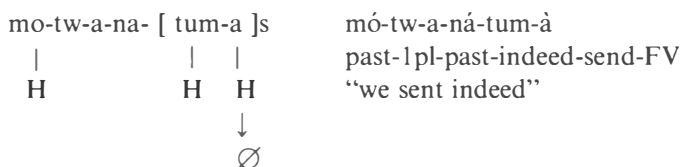
As seen from the formulation in (1), the H tone deletion rule is clearly a dissimilatory process which various authors (e.g. Odden 1980, 1986) have sought to explain as an instantiation of the obligatory contour principle (OCP).¹ This phenomenon, which can be traced back at least to Meeussen's (1963) work on Tonga, has been dubbed "Meeussen's Rule" by Goldsmith (1984). Despite its widespread occurrence within Bantu, the application of MR varies from language to language, especially with respect to the domain within which it operates. This is particularly clear in the case of verbs. In order to see this, consider in (2a) the traditionally assumed morphological structure of Bantu verbs (see, for instance, Meeussen 1967):



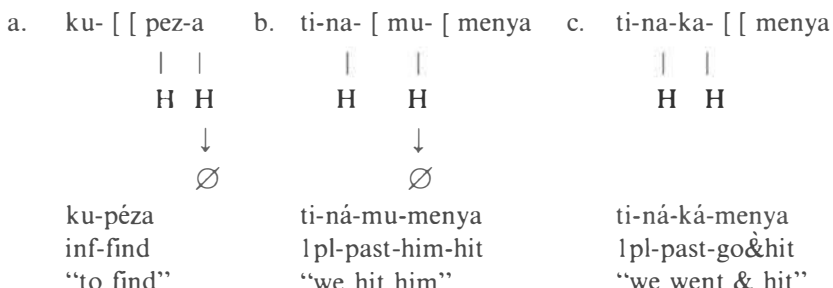
As indicated, a verb consists of a stem preceded by a prestem of one or more prefixes. These prefixes may include a subject marker (SM), negation (NEG), tense/aspect marker(s) (TM), and object marker(s) (OM).² The stem in turn consists of a base followed by an inflectional final vowel (FV), most frequently -a. The base consists of a root possibly extended by derivational suffixes (or “extensions”) such as applicative *-id-, causative *-ic-j-, reciprocal -an-, and so forth. The one modification that is required in some languages is that the OM, last among the prefixes, may form an additional domain, the macrostem, as shown in (2b).³

We thus assume the structure in (2b) and the three domains of increasing inclusion that it defines: the stem, the macro-stem and the word (= the entire verb).⁴ Significantly for our study, different languages restrict MR to applying within each of these domains. The three possibilities considered thus far are briefly illustrated in (3)–(5) from Nande, Cewa and Ganda, respectively:⁵

(3) Stem-level MR in Nande (Hyman and Valinande 1985)



(4) Macro-Stem-level MR in Cewa (Hyman and Mtenje, in press)



(5) Word-level MR in Ganda (Hyman 1982, Hyman & Katamba 1993)

[a-ba-ta-li- [tu- [lab-a]s]ms]w	a-bá-tà-lì-tù-làb-a
| | | | |	IV-3pl-neg-fut-us-see
H H H H H	“they who will not see us”
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	
∅ ∅ ∅ ∅	

In (3a) we see that the H of the FV -a is deleted when preceded by a H root in Nande.⁶ In (4a) we see that when a H occurs on both vowels of a bisyllabic stem in Cewa, the H of the FV is deleted by MR. (4b) shows that the H of an OM also falls prey to MR, while the H of a TM does not. Hyman and Mtenje’s interpretation of this fact is that the H targeted by MR must occur within the macro-stem, which includes -mɛ- in (4b), but not -kɕ- in (4c).⁷ Finally, in (5), one observes that MR applies throughout the verb (stem, macrostem, pre-stem) in Ganda, potentially affecting a sequence of several H’s in a row.

In this paper we take a close look at the domains of MR in Kalanga, an outlying language of the Shona group spoken in Botswana.⁸ The application of MR in closely related Shona has been carefully studied by Myers (1987, 1995, in press). Limiting ourselves to the domains defined by (2b), one aim of Myers’ studies is to show that MR applies only if the H-H sequence occurs across a prestem-macrostem juncture. Thus, MR applies in (6) below deleting the doubly linked H tone of the verb stem -tégá “buy”:

(6) MR across prestem-macrostem juncture in Shona (Myers, in press)

[ndi-cha] [tenga]	ndi-chá-tenga	“I will buy”
| \ /	I-fut-buy	
H H		
↓		
∅		

In (7a), however, we see that MR fails to delete the H of -tégá when it is preceded by the H class 5 OM -ri-, since the latter falls within the macrostem:

(7) MR fails to apply within macrostem and within prestem

a. [ku] [ri-tenga]	b. [va-cha] [bvunza]
\ /	
H H	H H
ku-ri-tégá	vá-chá-bvúnza ⁹
inf-OM-buy	3pl-fut-ask
“to buy it”	“they will ask”

In addition, (7b) shows that the H of the SM *vá-* does not condition the deletion of the H of the TM *-chá-*, since both morphemes occur within the prestem.

Thus, to summarize, MR has generally been seen as a process taking place within (parts of) the phonological word: the stem, the macrostem, the (verbal) word. We shall see that in many respects MR in Kalanga resembles Shona. However, what is quite unusual (perhaps unparalleled within Bantu) is that MR applies across words in Kalanga. In §2 we shall first demonstrate that MR is a phrase-level rule in Kalanga. In §3 we show how MR interacts with clitics. In §4 we take up the issue of the word-internal domains that are relevant for the application or non-application of MR. Finally, in §5, we conclude with a discussion of how MR applies, showing both iterative and cyclic aspects of the rule.

2. MR AS A PHRASE-LEVEL RULE IN KALANGA

As stated, we wish to show in this article that MR applies across phonological words in Kalanga. The contexts that will be used to illustrate the postlexical operation of MR in this section will come first from basic sentence structure: verb + object, object + object, and subject + verb. We will then turn to possessive constructions to show that MR also applies within the noun phrase. In each case we will not be concerned to justify the underlying representations that serve as inputs to MR. Although we introduce the essentials of the tone system in §2.1, for further discussion readers are referred to Hyman and Mathangwane (in press) and Mathangwane (1996).

2.1 MR applies between the verb and its object NP

The examples in (8) below show that MR applies between a verb and its object:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (8) | a. | ku-lóǀá goola | “to hit a vulture” | cf. goóla | (< góóla) |
| | | ku-thóǀwá baani | “to hate the forest” | cf. baáni | (< bááni) |
| | | ku-téǀyá fioobe | “to trap a fish” | cf. fioóbe | (< fióóbe) |
| | b. | ku-lóǀá káatsi | “to hit a cat” | cf. káatsi | |
| | | ku-thúǀsá shúumba | “to help a lion” | cf. shúumba | |
| | | ku-báká léele | “to build a ladder” | cf. léele | |

Forms are cited as they appear before pause, i.e. with penultimate vowel lengthening and the tone-lowering effect of the breathy or voiced obstruents known as depressor consonants.¹⁰ The examples in (8a) show an infinitive

followed by a noun which begins with a depressor consonant, while the nouns in (8b) begin with a non-depressor. The forms in (8a) transparently exhibit the loss of H by MR, as shown in (9a).

- (9) a. [ku-loβa]w [goola]w b. [ku-loβa]w [kaatsi]w
- $\begin{array}{c} \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} \diagdown \quad \diagup \quad \text{---} \quad \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$
- ku-lóβá goola “to hit a vulture” ku-lóβá káatsi “to hit a cat”

The nouns in (8b) also undergo MR, as shown in (9b), but, as indicated, a postlexical rule of H tone spreading applies to restore the H. This rule, which Hyman and Mathangwane (in press) refer to as HTS3, is blocked by the depressor consonant in (9a).¹¹

Now consider the similar combinations of infinitive + noun object in (10).

- (10) a. ku-léyá faali “to avoid a pot” cf. fiáli (< fiáli)
- ku-thú má jiila “to sew a cloth” cf. jií lá (< jií lá)
- ku-ŋwá vuula “to drink water” cf. vúulá (< vúulá)
- b. ku-tátá nyáati “to chase a buffalo” cf. nyáati (< nyáati)
- ku-βóná sháato “to see a python” cf. sháátó (< sháátó)
- ku-kángá fúupa “to fry a bone” cf. fúupá (< fúupá)

The nouns in (10a) again begin with a depressor consonant, while those in (10b) do not. The difference here is that the input Hs are linked to both syllables of the nouns.¹² As shown in (11), these Hs also undergo MR:

- (11) a. [ku-leya]w [faali]w b. [ku-tata]w [nyaati]w
- $\begin{array}{c} \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} \diagdown \quad \diagup \quad \text{---} \quad \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$
- ku-léyá faali “to avoid a pot” ku-tátá nyáati “to chase a buffalo”

While the above examples involve an infinitive, MR also applies between a verb and its object in appropriate cases where the verb is fully inflected. The following examples involve the recent past tense:

- The operation of MR between H-final verb and a H-initial noun object is quite general. In the next subsection we show the same effect between two noun objects that follow the verb.

More evidence that Meeussen's Rule applies between lexical words is also seen in constructions with H tone noun objects in sequence. We observe in (13) below that this rule applies between the recipient and theme argument of the verb *ku-pá* 'to give'.

- Similarly, in cases of possessor raising such as in (14),

- MR will apply to the second of two H tone nouns in sequence. In fact, the function of the post-verbal nominals does not appear to be relevant. In (15), for instance,

- (15) [ku – kuma]w [mbudzi]w [kwaazo]w ku-kuma mbúdzí kwáazo
 to-touch goat a lot
 “to touch the goat a lot”
- $\begin{array}{c} \backslash \quad / \quad \backslash \quad / \\ \text{H} \quad \quad \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

we see that the second nominal is adverbial in meaning. Thus, kwáázo, realized HH-L in isolation, becomes kwaazo by MR. By HTS3 the H of mbúdzí spreads onto the adverb, creating the fall in the surface output kwáazo.

In §5 we shall return to other possibilities of nominals in sequence, particularly cases where there are two noun objects and an adverbial. But first let us consider the role of the subject nominal in the next subsection.

2.3 MR applies between subject and verb

It is clear from the preceding subsection that MR applies within the verb phrase. What of the subject? The examples in (16) clearly show that the H of a SM can undergo MR when preceded by a H-final subject NP:

- (16) a. z-o-swiika b. zwi-po z-o-swiika
- $\begin{array}{c} | \quad / \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
- \downarrow
 \emptyset
- z-ó-swiika zwi-pó z-o-swiika
“they are arriving” “the gifts are arriving”

In (16) the class 8 SM zwi- fuses with the present tense prefix -o- to produce the H tone syllable z-ó-. In (16a) this H spreads onto the first vowel of the verb stem -swiika by HTS3, as shown. In (16b), however, when the same verb form is preceded by the subject noun zwi-pó “gifts”, the H of z-ó- undergoes MR. Since z-o- begins with a depressor, the H of zwi-pó cannot spread onto the verb by HTS3. This differs from the corresponding singular forms in (17).

- (17) a. c-o-swiika b. ci-po c-o-swiika
- $\begin{array}{c} | \quad / \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} | \quad \backslash \quad / \\ \text{H} \quad \quad \text{H} \end{array}$
- \downarrow
 \emptyset
- c-ó-swiika ci-pó c-ó-swiika
“it is arriving” “the gift is arriving”

In (17a) the H of c-ó- (from cí-o-) spreads onto the verb stem -swiika. In (17b), however, the H of c-ó- is deleted by MR, and hence not available for spreading onto the TM. A parallel example is given in (18), where the present tense marker is -no-:

- (18) a. $\beta\acute{a}$ -no-buuzwa
 |
 H

 $\beta\acute{a}$ -nó-buuzwa
 “they are asking”
- b. $\beta\acute{a}$ -lume $\beta\acute{a}$ -no-buuzwa
 \ / |
 H H
 ↓
 \emptyset
 $\beta\acute{a}$ -lúmé $\beta\acute{a}$ -no-buuzwa
 “the men are asking”

In (18a) the H of the class 2 SM $\beta\acute{a}$ - spreads onto the progressive TM. On the other hand, in (18b), where there is a subject noun ending in a H tone, MR deletes the H of the SM $\beta\acute{a}$ -, which therefore cannot spread onto -no-. As shown, HTS3 spreads the H of $\beta\acute{a}$ -lúmé onto the SM $\beta\acute{a}$ -. Thus, MR applies across the subject-verb juncture, despite the fact that this juncture is frequently opaque to prosodic rules in other Bantu languages.

We thus conclude with certainty that MR, normally a lexical rule in Bantu languages, has a phrasal or postlexical character in Kalanga. In the following subsection we consider cases of MR that involve a pro- or enclitic.

3 MR AND CLITICS IN KALANGA

Having established that MR applies between phonological words, we now consider structures that involve a host and a clitic (marked by =). As Myers (1987, 1995) has shown, these are prime candidates for the application of MR in Shona. In the following subsections we show the same to be the case in Kalanga.

3.1 MR applies between a host and enclitic

We begin with the one H tone enclitic we have found in the language, = $\beta\acute{o}$ “too, also”, whose H tone surfaces after the L tone verbs in (19a).

- (19) a. ku-peta = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to fold too” b. ku-túmáá = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to send too”
 ku-ligaa = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to drop too” ku-lóbáá = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to hit too”
 ku-sekaa = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to laugh too” ku-lingáá = $\beta\acute{o}$ “to look too”

This H tone fails however to show up in the forms in (19b), where = $\beta\acute{o}$ is

(20) a. simbee = βó “charcoal too” b. fūpáá = βo “a bone too”
 moyoo = βó “a heart too” phépóó = βo “wind too”
 shathuu = βó “an axe too” shátóó = βo “a python too”

(21) a. ku-tuma = β o

$\begin{array}{c} \backslash / \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

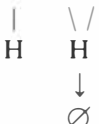
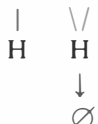
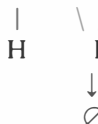
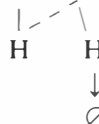
$\begin{array}{c} \backslash / \\ \text{H} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{H} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

3.2 MR applies between a proclitic and host

(22) a.	sé = vuula	“like water”	b.	sé = fúupa	“like a bone”
	sé = jiila	“like a cloth”		sé = phéepo	“like wind”
	sé = zhiino	“like a tooth”		sé = sháato	“like a python”
(23) a.	né = vuula	“with water”	b.	né = fúupa	“with a bone”
	né = jiila	“with a cloth”		né = phéepo	“with wind”
	né = zhiino	“with a tooth”		né = sháato	“with a python”
(24) a.	pé = vuula	“of water”	b.	pé = fúupa	“of a bone”
	pé = jiila	“of a cloth”		pé = phéepo	“of wind”
	pé = zhiino	“of a tooth”		pé = sháato	“of a python”

181

the other hand, begin with a non-depressor, first undergo MR and then H tone spreading. Sample derivations are given in (25).

- (25) a. se = vula b. ne = jila c. pe = zhino d. se = fupa
- 




To obtain the surface outputs penultimate lengthening applies to all forms, and HTS3 applies in (25d), where the noun does not begin with a depressor.

3.3 MR applies between noun and possessive

Having established that MR applies between a host and its enclitic or proclitic, we are now ready to consider the complexities that arise in the analysis of possessive pronouns. We begin by giving a table of possessive pronouns for all the noun classes in Ikalanga for first, second and third persons. We observe that these pronouns show agreement with the noun classes that they modify.

Table 1 Possessive pronouns for all noun classes¹⁴

Class	Noun Prefix	Agreement	1st Pers.	2nd Pers.	3rd Pers.
1	n-	u-	wáŋgu/ wédu	uwó/ wényu	uwé/ wábo
1a	—	βa-	βáŋgu/ βédu	βaβó/ βényu	βaβé/ βábo
2	βa-	βa-	βáŋgu	βaβó	βaβé
2a	βó	βa-	βáŋgu	βaβó	βaβé
3	n-	u-	wáŋgu	uwó	uwé
4	mi-	i-	yáŋgu	iyó	iyé
5	[+ voice]/Ø	li-	láŋgu	liló	lilé
6	ma-	a-	áŋgu	awó	awé
7	ci-/i-/Ø	ci-	cáŋgu	cicó	cicé
8	zwi-	zwi-	zwáŋgu	zwizó	zwizwé
9	N-/Ø	i-	yáŋgu	iyó	iyé

10	dzi-/N-/Ø	dzi-	dzángu	dzidzó	dzidzé
11	li	gu-	gwángu	gugó	gugwé
14	βu-	gu-	gwángu	gugó	gugwé
15	ku-	ku-	kwángu	kukó	kukwé
16	pa-	pa-	pángu	papó	papé
17	ku-	ku-	kwángu	kukó	kukwé
18	mu-	ku-	kwángu	kukó	kukwé
20	ku-	ku-	kwángu	kukó	kukwé
21	zi-	li-	lángu	liló	lilé

As seen under class 1, two of the six possessives exhibit a Ø-H tone pattern, while the remaining six forms are identified as H-Ø. We are concerned to establish that the latter can undergo MR if preceded by a H tone. For expository reasons we begin by showing the tone of these possessive pronouns when they function as independent NP's, that is, when they occur with a zero head. Consider the forms in (26).

- (26) a. cáángu “mine” (cl. 7) zwaángu “mine” (cl. 8)
céédu “ours” zvéédu “ours”
céényu “yours” (pl.) zvéényu “yours (pl.)”
cááβo “theirs” zwaáβo “theirs”
- b. ku-wana cáángu / ku-wana zwaángu “to find mine” (cl. 7/8)
ku-wana céédu / ku-wana zvéédu “to find ours”
ku-wana céényu / ku-wana zvéényu “to find yours (pl.)”
ku-wana cááβo / ku-wana zwaáβo “to find theirs”
- c. ku-túmá cáángú / ku-túmá zwaangú “to send mine” (cl. 7/8)
ku-túmá céedú / ku-túmá zweedú “to send ours”
ku-túmá céényú / ku-túmá zweenyú “to send yours (pl.)”
ku-túmá cááβó / ku-túmá zwaabó “to send theirs”

In (26a) we illustrate the four H-Ø pronouns in singular class 7 and its corresponding plural class 8. With penultimate lengthening this H spreads so that we obtain cáángu, etc. in class 7 and zwaángu, etc. in class 8 (with delinking of the H on the vowel following the depressor [zw]). We obtain the same surface forms in (26b) when these possessives are preceded by a toneless verb form. However, a surprising result is observed in (26c), where these forms are preceded by a H tone verb. As seen the class 7 forms have a HØ-H pattern (cáángú etc.), while the class 8 forms surface as ØØ-H (zwaangú etc.). The

question is why? If MR is removing the H of the first syllable of these possessives, why does a H crop up on their second syllable?

The answer, we believe, is that these forms carry two H tones, one on each of their syllables, as shown in the representations in (27).

- (27) a. -angu b. -edu c. -enyu d. -aβo
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | | |
| H H | H H | H H | H H |

Since these forms consist of two separate H tone features (rather than a single one which comes to be doubly linked), when preceded by a H tone, MR will remove the first of the two Hs. Sample derivations are given in (28).

- (28) a. [ku-tuma]w [cangu]w b. [ku-tenga]w [zwenyu]w
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| \ / - - - | \ / |
| H H H | H H H |
| ↓ | ↓ |
| Ø | Ø |
| ku-tú má cángu | ku-téngá zweenyú |
| “to send mine (cl. 7)” | “to buy yours (pl.) (cl. 8)” |
- c. [ku-cinya]w [yedu]w d. [ku-thuma]w [dzaaβo]w
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| \ / - - - | \ / |
| H H H | H H H |
| ↓ | ↓ |
| Ø | Ø |
| ku-cínyá yéedu | ku-thú má dzaaβó |
| “to destroy ours (cl. 9)” | “to sew theirs (cl. 10)” |

To obtain the surface outputs penultimate lengthening first applies, followed by H tone spreading in (28a,c), where cángu and yéedu begin with non-depressors vs. (28b,d), where the initial depressors of zweenyú and dzaaβó block spreading.

While the derivations in (28) work – and, we believe, provide an explanation for the HØ-H realizations in (26c) – the proposed representations do not explain why the second H is missing in (26a,b). That is, why are these pronouns pronounced cángu, céedu, etc. rather than cángú, céedú, etc. when not preceded by a H? The answer, again, is MR: When there is no preceding H to delete the first H of these H-H possessives, the first H will cause the second to delete. This is the first case of MR apparently applying internally to a word in Kalanga, an issue which we address in §4. But first we consider how possessive pronouns are realized after noun heads.

In (29) we show how each of the four possessives are realized after both \emptyset and H tone nouns in classes 7 and 8:

- | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|---|---------|---------|-----------------------|
| (29) a. | ci-thu | cáángu | / | zwi-thu | zwaángu | “my thing(s)” |
| | ci-thu | céédu | / | zwi-thu | zweédu | “our thing(s)” |
| | ci-thu | céényu | / | zwi-thu | zweényu | “your (pl.) thing(s)” |
| | ci-thu | cááβo | / | zwi-thu | zwaáβo | “their thing(s)” |
| b. | ci-pó | cáángu | / | zwi-pó | zwaángu | “my gift(s)” |
| | ci-pó | céédu | / | zwi-pó | zweédu | “our gift(s)” |
| | ci-pó | céényu | / | zwi-pó | zweényu | “your (pl.) gift(s)” |
| | ci-pó | cááβo | / | zwi-pó | zwaáβo | “their gift(s)” |

As seen, these possessives are realized HH- \emptyset whether preceded by a toneless noun stem in (29a) or a H tone noun stem in (29b). As we have seen elsewhere, the forms in class 8 undergo delinking conditioned by the depressor consonant (zwaángu → zwaángu, etc.). The question is why MR appears not to apply in (29b). If it had, we would have obtained forms such as *cipó cáangu and *zwipó zwaangu, where H spreading would have placed a H on cáangu in the first example, but would have been blocked by the depressor in the second.

We are hard-pressed to come up with a satisfactory explanation. We might propose that MR applies only across certain constituents, as we cited from Myers (in press) in (6) and (7). In this case MR would apply across phonological words, between a proclitic and a host, and between a host and an enclitic – but between a noun and a following possessive. However, what would be the nature of this noun + poss domain that would exempt it from MR? It could be considered a tighter bond than some of the word + word combinations we considered in §2. However, it would have to be a looser bond than the clitics + host seen in this section. It therefore is not likely that there will be a motivated place for noun + poss within a hierarchy of domains that will explain its exemption from MR.¹⁵

The only other obvious approach to consider would be the underlying representations. Dividing up the possessives into two parts (e.g. ya + ngu) does not in itself solve the problem. An extra tone-bearing unit might be invoked to block MR from the left, e.g. /ye + á + ngú/, but it would run into numerous difficulties: such sequences typically fuse into a single monomoraic syllable in Kalanga, which does not have a vowel-length contrast, most length deriving from penultimate lengthening.¹⁶ So why should the first syllable of these forms function as two tone-bearing units? Even if this problem could be overcome, we would still have to address why MR does apply when the possessive appears modifying a zero head.

Since no explanation has been found yet as to why MR fails to apply between a noun and its possessive pronoun, we shall simply leave this question for further research. With this problem tucked away, we can now consider the application of MR within words.

4 MR AND THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF WORDS

In this section we turn from the “syntactic” application of MR to consider its application within the word. Since most sequences of H arise in verbs, we shall limit our attention to see how MR applies with respect to the stem, macrostem and prestem domains set up in (2). We shall begin by showing that some sequences of H do not undergo MR, while others do.

4.1 Application of MR within the macrostem

The aim of this subsection is to determine whether MR ever applies within the macrostem. To begin, non-reflexive OM’s provide a particularly clear case of non-triggering of MR. As seen in (30), the addition of an OM does nothing to the tones of a H tone verb stem:

- | | | | | |
|---------|------------|----|---------------|--------------------------------|
| (30) a. | ku-lóoβá | b. | ku-ń-lóoβá | “to hit / him (cl. 1)” |
| | ku-túumá | | ku-ci-túumá | “to send / it (cl.7)” |
| | ku-fúmiika | | ku-βá-fúmiika | “to cover / them (cl.2)” |
| | ku-túumá | | ku-zwi-túumá | “to send / them (cl.8)” |
| | ku-dziimá | | ku-dzi-dziimá | “to extinguish / them (cl.10)” |

The H verbs in (30a) retain their tonal pattern when an OM is added in (30b). The OM is always underlyingly H, although as seen in ku-zwi-túumá “to send them (cl. 8)” the H may become delinked because of a depressor consonant. It thus appears that MR cannot apply between OM and stem.

There is one possible exception to this statement. Compare the effect of the reflexive OM -zwi- in the following infinitives (Mathangwane 1996):

- | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|----|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (31) a. | kuu-cá | b. | ku-zwií-ca | “to fear / oneself” |
| | ku-túumá | | ku-zwi-túuma | “to send / oneself” |
| | ku-ťóóla | | ku-zwi-ťóóla | “to take /oneself” |
| | ku-fúmiika | | ku-zwi-fúmiiká | “to cover / oneself” |
| | ku-fúmiikiila | | ku-zwi-fúmiikiilá | “to cover for / oneself” |
| c. | ku-ḍá | d. | ku-zwii-ḍa | “to like / oneself” |
| | ku-dzĩmá | | ku-zwi-dziima | “to extinguish / oneself” |
| | ku-baaṭa | | ku-zwi-baaṭa | “to catch /oneself” |

ku-dzimúúla	ku-zwi-dzimuulá	“to allay / oneself”
ku-gwādziisa	ku-zwi-gwadziisá	“to hurt / oneself”

All of the verb roots in (31) have a H tone. Those in (31a,b) have a non-depressor initial, while those in (31c,d) begin with a depressor. The forms in (31d) show us as the reflexive OM -zwi- is H tone. The H of -zwi- cannot spread through the following depressor in (31d), but does spread in (31b), which is without a depressor consonant, followed by delinking of the H from the OM. As seen, a H tone is placed on the FV of verb stems that have at least three syllables.

What is important about the forms in (31) is that the H of the stem is lost. Could this be a MR effect? If so, this would mean that the H of reflexive -dzi- causes a following H to delete (as well as a final H to be assigned to verb stems consisting of at least three syllables). There is reason to believe that this is not a MR effect. Consider the reflexive form of toneless verbs in (32).

(32) a.	ku-waana	b.	ku-zwi-wáana	“to find / oneself”
	ku-βeeza		ku-zwi-βéeza	“to carve / oneself”
	ku-sumbiika		ku-zwi-súmbiiká	“to conceal /oneself”
	ku-shaluula		ku-zwi-sháluulá	“to choose / oneself”
	ku-shaluliila		ku-zwi-sháluliilá	“to choose for / oneself”
c.	ku- <u>di</u> ila	d.	ku-zwi- <u>di</u> ila	“to pour / oneself”
	ku-buuzwa		ku-zwi-buuzwa	“to ask / oneself”
	ku-duβiika		ku-zwi-duβiiká	“to immerse /oneself”
	ku-zunguza		ku-zwí-zunguzá	“to shake / oneself”
	ku-buzwisiisa		ku-zwi-buzwisiisá	“to ask alot / oneself”

A quick perusal of the forms in (32) will verify that they show the exact same tone patterns as in (31).¹⁷ In other words, -zwi- again comes in with its own H and assigns a second H to verbs consisting of at least three syllables. Now it is certainly possible to attribute the loss of the stem H of the verbs in (31) to MR. But it is just as likely that we should view the reflexive as imposing an paradigmatic tone pattern on all verbs. Where the input verb is H, its tone is simply overwritten by the requirements of the reflexive construction. The pattern which assigns a H to the FV is generally associated with dependent tenses, to which we now turn for another potential input to MR.

The evidence is mixed. First consider a comparison of the infinitives and bare imperatives of the H tone verbs in (33).

(33) a.	kuu-cá	b.	ii-cá	“to fear / fear!”
	ku-túumá		túumá	“to send / send!”

	ku-tóóla	tóolá	“to take / take!”
	ku-fúmiika	fúmiiká	“to cover / cover!”
	ku-fúmiikiila	fúmiikiilá	“to cover for / cover for!”
c.	ku-ḍá	d. ii-ḍá	“to like / like!”
	ku-dziimá	dziimá	“to extinguish / extinguish!”
	ku-baáṭa	báaṭá	“to catch / catch!”
	ku-dzimúúla	dzimúulá	“to allay / allay!”
	ku-gwádziisa	gwádziisá	“to hurt / hurt!”

As seen, a final H is assigned in all imperatives. The crucial examples for us are the bisyllabic stems. In the infinitive these may have a H linked to both syllables (= the majority pattern), as in (34a) or a H linked only to the first syllable, as in (34b).

(34) a.	tuma	dzima	b.	tol < a >	bat < a >
	\ /	\ /			
	H	H		H	H

These stems are shown prior to the effects of penultimate lengthening and of depressor consonants. It is clear that the stems in (34a) are realized identically in the infinitive and in the imperative. It is less clear whether they keep the representations in (34a) or acquire a second H, as longer verbs do. The stems in (34b) are realized differently in the two constructions: HH-L in the infinitive vs. HL-H in the imperative. Hyman and Mathangwane (in press) argue that verb stems such as in (34b) have final extrametricality and that a stem-level H tone spreading rule (HTS1) cannot reach their final vowel (as they can in (34a) and in the case of the majority of bisyllabic stems). Now this might argue that a second suffixal H is assigned to these verbs, as in (35a).

(35) a.	tola	bata	b.	tola	bata
	H H	H H		H	H

If (35a) is correct, then clearly MR does not apply between root and suffix H tones. However, another interpretation is possible, shown in (35b). One could equally well propose that the extrametricality of verbs such as ku-tóóla and ku-baáṭa is removed in the imperative. In this view there need not be a suffixal H tone operating on shorter stems – or, if there is, it need not be seen as linking.

A somewhat different situation obtains in “non-bare” imperative forms, all of which involve the FV -e as well as a suffixal H tone. This pattern is illustrated in (36) and should be compared with (33b,d):

- (36) a. ú-cí-cé “fear it!” b. ú-cí-dé “love it!”
 ú-cí-túúme “send it!” ú-cí-dziíme “extinguish it!”
 ú-cí-tóóle “take it!” ú-cí-baáte “catch it!”
 ú-cí-fúmíiké “cover it!” ú-cí-dzimúulé “allay it!”
 ú-cí-fúmíikiilé “cover for it!” ú-cí-gwádziisé “hurt it!”
 | | | / | | | | |
 H H H H H H H H

The prefixes involved are the second person singular SM ú- and the class 7 OM -cí-. As seen, the stem-initial H spreads one vowel to the right in (36a), but is blocked by the depressor in the last form in (36b). Bisyllabic verbs apparently also acquire a suffixal H which in this case appears to undergo MR, as indicated:

- (37) a. tume dzime b. tum <e> dzim <e>
 | | | | | |
 H H H H H H
 ↓ ↓
 ∅ ∅

The surface forms are obtained by penultimate lengthening and H tone spreading. The alternative in (37b), where there is an ad hoc extrametricality on the suffixal -e of bisyllabic stems is not appealing, since there is no extrametricality on longer stems (which take a H on the final -é).

To summarize, MR does not apply between an OM and a H verb stem, but appears to apply within bisyllabic stems in the imperative marked by -é. Before commenting further we shall now examine the status of MR within the prestem.

4.2 Application of MR within the prestem

While there was some ambiguity, if not contradiction, in the application of MR within the macrostem, it can be stated with confidence that MR does not apply when both H tones are contained within the prestem. This occurs when a H SM is followed by a H TM, as in the following two pairs of data:

- (38) a. ndi-cá-wáána “I still find” b. ndi-ngá-wáána “I can find”
 vá-cá-wáána “they still find” vá-ngá-wáána “they can find”
 | | | |
 H H H H

In (38a) the TM is the perstitive prefix -cá-, while in (38b) it is the potential

prefix -ngá-. Each pair of data first shows the toneless first person singular SM *ndi-* compared with the H tone third person plural (class 2) SM *vá-*. As seen, the Hs of -cá- and -ngá- are not affected by MR.¹⁸

4.3 Application of MR between the prestem and macrostem

Thus far we have seen that MR is non-existent within the prestem and has a mixed status within the macrostem. We shall now see that the latter is also the case when two Hs meet across the prestem-macrostem juncture. We have already seen a case, in (36), where MR fails to apply between the second person singular SM *ú-* and the class 7 OM *-ci-*. The forms in (39) show that MR also fails to apply when a H SM is directly followed by the verb:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| (39) a. | <i>váa-cé</i> | “let them fear!” | b. | <i>váa-dé</i> | “let them love!” |
| | <i>vá-túume</i> | “let them send!” | | <i>vá-dziime</i> | “let them extinguish!” |
| | <i>vá-tóole</i> | “let them take!” | | <i>vá-baáte</i> | “let them catch!” |
| | <i>vá-fúmiiké</i> | “let them cover!” | | <i>vá-dzimúulé</i> | “let them allay!” |
| | <i>vá-fúmiikiilé</i> | “let them cover for!” | | <i>vá-gwádziisé</i> | “let them hurt!” |
| | / | | | | |
| | H H H | | | H H H | |

If MR had applied in (37) the last form of each column would have been realized **vá-fúmiikiilé* and **vá-gwadziisé*, respectively.

From examples in (36), (38) and (39) we can conclude that the SM never triggers MR, whether the following H is part of the stem, the macrostem or the prestem. The situation is however different when the prestem H belongs to a TM. We begin with the perstitive and potential prefixes seen in (38). As seen in (40), both -cá- and -ngá- may condition the deletion of a H in the verb stem:

- | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------|----|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| (40) a. | <i>ndi-cáá-ca</i> | b. | <i>ndi-ngáá-ca</i> | “I still / can fear” |
| | <i>ndi-cá-túuma</i> | | <i>ndi-ngá-túuma</i> | “I still / can send” |
| | <i>ndi-cá-fúmiika</i> | | <i>ndi-ngá-fúmiika</i> | “I still / can cover” |
| c. | <i>ndi-cáá-ḁa</i> | d. | <i>ndi-ngáá-ḁa</i> | “I still / can like” |
| | <i>ndi-cá-dziima</i> | | <i>ndi-ngá-dziima</i> | “I still / can extinguish” |
| | <i>ndi-cá-baaṭa</i> | | <i>ndi-ngá-baaṭa</i> | “I still / can catch” |
| | <i>ndi-cá-dzimuula</i> | | <i>ndi-ngá-dzimuula</i> | “I still / can allay” |

The forms in (40c,d) which begin with depressors show that these verbs have lost their underlying H tone. Those in (40a,b) have done likewise, but receive a H back from H tone spreading from -cá- and -ngá-. MR thus applies between a H TM and a H verb stem.

Consider now, however, the corresponding forms in (41) which have the H tone SM $\beta\acute{a}$ - “they”:

- | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (41) a. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cáa-cá | b. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngáa-cá | “they still / can fear” |
| | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cá-túumá | | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngá-túumá | “they still / can send” |
| | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cá-fúmiika | | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngá-fúmiika | “they still / can cover” |
| c. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cáa-ḍa | d. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngáa-ḍa | “they still / can like” |
| | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cá-dzĩmá | | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngá-dziimá | “they still / can extinguish” |
| | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cá-baáṭa | | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngá-baáṭa | “they still / can catch” |
| | $\beta\acute{a}$ -cá-dzimúúla | | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ngá-dzimúúla | “they still / can allay” |

For some reason MR does not apply between the TM and the verb stem when there is a preceding H tone SM, whereas it did apply in (40) when the SM was toneless.

When originally faced by this dilemma, our strategy was to say that MR applies between the SM and the TM in forms such as in (41), thereby bleeding the operation of MR between the TM and the verb, as schematized in (42).

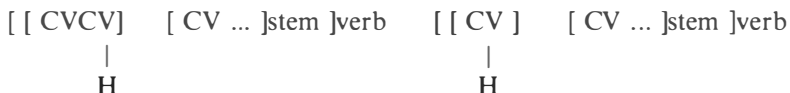
- | | | | |
|---------|--|----|--|
| (42) a. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -ca-tuma | b. | $\beta\acute{a}$ -nga-tuma |
| | $\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \quad \diagdown \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \end{array}$ | | $\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \quad \diagdown \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \end{array}$ |
| | $\begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$ | | $\begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$ |

The H of the SM would then spread onto the TM’s -ca- and -nga- disguising the loss of H by MR. However we have already seen in (38) that the H of these TM’s must not be deleted by MR, since they are needed to spread onto a toneless verb. This solution is thus not available.

The solution we would like propose in its place is the following: in the phrasal application of MR the two Hs must belong to two different domains. Where MR applies within a verb it is because two Hs meet across a domain. This much we have in common with Myers’ analysis of Shona. Where Kalanga seems to differ is in defining the verb-internal domains. The only way we can avoid MR in forms such as (41) is to say that such verb forms constitute a single domain. The algorithm we propose for dividing up the Kalanga verb is as presented in (43).

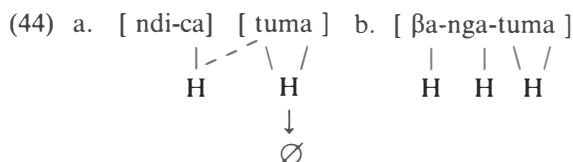
(43) Verb-internal domains:

- (i) A verb consists of two domains if it has a single H syllable or a \emptyset -H bisyllabic sequence preceding the stem, hence:



- (ii) Otherwise a verb consists of a single domain

By this algorithm forms such as in (44a) are two domains, and MR applies, whereas those such as in (44b) constitute a single domain, and MR does not apply:



We have no explanation for why a (\emptyset)-H sequence should be required, nor why it must be directly followed by the stem (i.e. not by a prefix), but suspect that there is something metrical (iambic) about the weak-strong tonal sequence that is required. We shall content ourselves here to show that this account is general.

First, let us demonstrate that the initial (\emptyset)-H sequence will not be bracketed off as a domain if another prefix follows, e.g. the OM in (45).

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (45) a. ndi-cá-cii-cá
ndi-cá-cí-túumá
ndi-cá-cí-tóóla
ndi-cá-cí-fúmiika | b. ndi-cii-dá
ndi-cá-cí-dziimá
ndi-cá-cí-baáɬa
ndi-cá-cí-dzimúúla | “I still fear / love it”
“I still send / extinguish it”
“I still take / catch it”
“I still cover / allay it” |
| c. βá-cá-cii-cá
βá-cá-cí-túuma
βá-cá-cí-tóóla
βá-cá-cí-fúmiika | d. βá-cii-dá
βá-cá-cí-dziimá
βá-cá-cí-baáɬa
βá-cá-cí-dzimúúla | “they still fear / love it”
“they still send / extinguish it”
“they still take / catch it”
“they still cover / allay it” |

In (45) the OM neither undergoes nor triggers MR. However, the prestem trigger of MR need not however be a TM, as in the cases we have considered thus far. In a very specific case, an OM does trigger MR. This occurs in the recent past tense, which is first illustrated without OM's in (46).

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| (46) a. nd-aa-cá
nd-a-túumá | b. nd-aa-dá
nd-a-dziimá | “I feared / loved”
“I sent / extinguished” |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---|

	nd-a-tóola	nd-a-baáta	"I took / caught"
	nd-a-fúmiika	nd-a-dzimúula	"I covered / allayed"
c.	βá-a-cá	d. βá-a-dá	"they feared / loved"
	β-á-túuma	β-á-dziima	"they sent / extinguished"
	β-á-tóola	β-á-baáta	"they took / caught"
	β-á-fúmiika	β-á-dzimuula	"they covered / allayed"

The underlying representations of the pre-stem are /ndi-á-/ in (46a,b) and /βá-á-/ in (46c,d), where -á- is the recent past TM.¹⁹ MR does not apply in (46a,b) since the prestem consists of a single toneless syllable. However, it does apply in (46c,d) where the prestem syllable is H.²⁰ Now compare the corresponding forms with OM in (47).

(47) a.	nd-a-cíi-ca	b. nd-a-cíi-da	"I feared / loved it"
	nd-a-cí-túuma	nd-a-cí-dziima	"I sent / extinguished it"
	nd-a-cí-tóola	nd-a-cí-baáta	"I took / caught it"
	nd-a-cí-fúmiika	nd-a-cí-dzimuula	"I covered / allayed it"
c.	β-á-cíi-cá	d. β-á-cíi-dá	"they feared / loved it"
	β-á-cí-túumá	β-á-cí-dziimá	"they sent / extinguished it"
	β-á-tóola	β-á-cí-baáta	"they took / caught it"
	β-á-fúmiika	β-á-cí-dzimúula	"they covered / allayed it"

This time it is the forms in (47a,b) with ndi- as SM that show the effects of MR: The prestem nd-a-cí (from/ndi-a-cí-/) has the Ø-H tonal contour that is required. Thus the verb stem that follows the OM -cí- undergoes MR. In (47c,d), the prestem β-á-cí- has a H-H tonal contour and hence is not parsed out as a domain.

Tonal forms parallel to (47) are found in the general past tense, whose marker is -aká-. As seen in (48a,b),

(48) a.	nd-akáá-ca	b. nd-akáá-da	"I feared / loved"
	nd-aká-túuma	nd-aká-dziima	"I sent / extinguished"
	nd-aká-tóola	nd-aká-baáta	"I took / caught"
	nd-aká-fúmiika	nd-aká-dzimuula	"I covered / allayed"
c.	β-ákáa-cá	d. β-ákáa-dá	"they feared / loved"
	β-áká-túumá	β-áká-dziimá	"they sent / extinguished"
	β-áká-tóola	β-áká-baáta	"they took / caught"
	β-áká-fúmiika	β-áká-dzimúula	"they covered / allayed"

the prestem nd-aká- has the Ø-H shape that is required to be parsed off as a domain. The prestem β-áká- in (48c,d) is H-H and therefore remains with the

stem. Finally, note in (49) that when an OM is added MR fails to apply, as expected:

- | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------|----|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (49) a. | nd-aká-cii-cá | b. | nd-aká-cii-dá | “I feared / loved it” |
| | nd-aká-ci-túumá | | nd-aká-ci-dziimá | “I sent / extinguished it” |
| | nd-aká-ci-tóóla | | nd-aká-ci-baáta | “I took / caught it” |
| | nd-aká-ci-fúmiika | | nd-aká-ci-dzimúúla | “I covered / allayed it” |
| c. | β-áká-cii-cá | d. | β-áká-cii-dá | “they feared / loved it” |
| | β-áká-ci-túumá | | β-áká-ci-dziimá | “they sent / extinguished it” |
| | β-áká-ci-tóóla | | β-áká-ci-baáta | “they took / caught it” |
| | β-á-fúmiika | | β-áká-ci-dzimúúla | “they covered / allayed it” |

In each case the prestem is trisyllabic, hence ineligible as a separate domain by the criteria in (43).

With this last observation we complete our survey of the environments in which MR applies in Kalanga. We turn next to the manner in which MR applies when there are multiple appropriate inputs in sequence.

5 THE MULTIPLE APPLICATION OF MR

In this section we return briefly to the different contexts in which we have seen MR to apply and ask how these applications interact with each other. We will begin with left to right applications of MR and then turn to apparent application by size of domain.

5.1 Multiple application of MR between words

Since many of our inputs to MR have involved bisyllabic words with doubly linked H tones, it is not automatic how MR will apply to inputs such as in (50a).

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| (50) a. | [H-H] | [H-H] | [H-H] | [H-H] | |
| b. | [H-H] | [Ø] | [Ø] | [Ø] | (right-to-left) |
| c. | [H-H] | [Ø] | [H-H] | [Ø] | (left-to-right) |

If MR applies to this sequence in a right-to-left manner, as in (50b), then only the left-most triggering H tone will survive. This corresponds to what we saw of MR at the word level in Ganda in (5). If, on the other hand, MR applies in a left-to-right fashion, as in (50c), then MR will affect every other word. A third possibility, that MR applies cyclically, could mean that the string in (50a) could come out either as (50b) or as (50c), depending on its internal bracketing.

- (52) [βa-lume] [β-a] [loβa] [nyati] [thudzi] [kwaazo]

 βa-lúmé β-á- loβa nyátí thúdzi kwáázo
 “the men hit a buffalo on the shoulder a lot”

we see that there are two applications of MR in a row: one between the subject noun and one between the two parts of the verb. What this suggests is that MR must apply cyclically within the verb before applying outside the verb. In cases such as in (51d), where the interaction is with a postverbal word, there is no difference between cyclic and left-to-right rule application. As seen in (53), however, there is a difference when the potential interaction is with a preverbal word such as the subject:

- (53) [βalume] [[βa] [loβa]] IV ...]S βalúmé βá-loβa “the men hit”

 βalúmé βá-loβa “the men hit”

In this example both the H of the preverb and the H of the stem are deleted, though the H of the subject subsequently spreads onto the prestem. We assume that the best way to effect this is to apply MR within the word first, then move out to the phrase. In the next section we shall see additional effects of bracketing when a host and clitics vie for MR.

5.2 Multiple application of MR among host and clitics

Although much of MR applies left-to-right, cyclic application is suggested in the derivations of (52) and (53) as well as in the case of proclitics. Consider the examples in (54)-(56).

- (54) a. [ku-ŋwa [se= [kaatsi]]] b. [ku linga [se= [nyooka]]]

 ku-ŋwá sé= kaatsi
 “to drink like a cat”
 cf. káátsi, sé= káatsi “(like a) cat”

 ku-língá sé= nyooka
 “to look like a snake”
 cf. nyóóká, sé= nyóoka “(like a) snake”

- (55) a. [phuka [ne = [shaato]]] b. [sindi [ne = [nyooka]]]
-
- phuká né = shaato
“an animal and a python”
cf. sháató, né = sháato
“(with a) python”
-
- sindí né = nyooka
“a squirrel and a snake”
cf. nyóóká, né = nyóoka
“(with a) snake”
- (56) a. [ku-sunga [ye = [mbuudzi]]] b. [ku-tuna [we = [siindi]]]
-
- ku-súngá yé = mbuudzi
“to tie that of the goat’s”
cf. mbúudzí, yé = mbúudzi
-
- ku-túná wé = siindi
“to abstain (from) that of a squirrel’s”
cf. síindi, wé = síindi

The clitics involved are sé = “like”, né = “with, and” and yé = , wé = “genitive” (classes 9 and 1, respectively). As seen, it is necessary for the proclitic to condition the loss of the H of the following noun before itself losing its H to the preceding H of the infinitive (which then spreads back onto the proclitic). Had MR applied left to right only the H of the proclitic would have been deleted.

We now return to the one enclitic with a H tone which we found, -βó “too, also, as well”. The examples in (57) recall those seen earlier in (20):

- (57) ku-túmáá = βó “to send as well” ku-súngáá = βó “to tie too”
ku-lóβáá = βó “to hit too” ku-língáá = βó “to look too”

In each case the H of = βó undergoes MR because of the preceding H tone. However, in cases where a proclitic also precedes the verb, MR applies between the proclitic and the verb, thereby bleeding the operation of MR between the verb and = βó. The nouns in (58) all have an input H linked to both syllables:

- (58) né = síndii = βó “with a squirrel too” cf. síindi, síníi = βó
né = mbúdzii = βó “with a goat too” cf. mbúuzi, mbúzi = βó
sé = nyátii = βó “like a buffalo too” cf. nyáatí, nyátí = βó
sé = vulaa = βó “like water too” cf. vúulá, vulá = βó

Sample derivations are shown in (59).

- (59) a. $[[\text{ne} = [\text{sindi}]] = \beta\text{o}]$ b. $[[\text{se} = [\text{vula}]] = \beta\text{o}]$
-
-
- né = sindii = βó “and a squirrel too” sé = vula = βó “like water too”

In each example MR applies. In addition, HTS3 applies in (59a), but not in (59b), where [vula] begins with a depressor consonant. As seen, the bracketing that is needed is one where procliticization occurs within encliticization, exactly as Myers (1987) established for closely related Shona.

5.3 Multiple application of MR within the word

It is difficult to show that MR must apply more than once within the word. First, it may not apply within the prestem, and second, its application within the macrostem is not always clear. What we would like to do in this section is discuss one example where it might appear that MR is applying twice. This concerns the general past TM -ká- in examples such as in (60).

- (60) a. y-ákáa-ŋwá b. nyátí y-ákaa-ŋwá
 dz-akáá-ŋwá dzi-nyátí dz-akaa-ŋwá
 “it/they drank” “the buffalo/buffalos drank”

The tonal representation of the singular appears to be as in (61a).

- (61) a. nyati y-aka-ŋwa b. nyati y-aka-ŋwa
-
-

The two Hs that delete in (61a) belong, respectively, to the two morphs -a- and -ka- that make up the general past prefix. In addition, there is evidence that the SM i- also carries a H tone. So why are both deleted? The H-H prestem does not qualify as a separate domain, nor do we want to divide it up into two domains, [yá] and [ká], so that the former can condition MR on the latter. Instead, it seems likely that we have to consider that the Hs come together as indicated in (61b) and that the one H feature is deleted by MR. If this is correct then there is no multiple application in this example.²¹

6 CONCLUSION

In this article we have demonstrated that MR applies at the phrase level in Kalanga. It applies between full words as well as between a proclitic or enclitic and its host. Finally, most of the cases of MR that apply within the verb are also attributable to two Hs coming together across a domain juncture. In providing the above description we have attempted to provide an illustration and account of the most salient aspects of MR in the language. We have not exhausted its richness. Finally, in certain areas answers still elude us (e.g. the alternations characterizing possessives).

In addition to the synchronic sorting out that is required one naturally asks why Kalanga should be different from other Bantu languages. Our suspicion is that MR is a secondary diachronic development replacing earlier downstepping of Hs. It is our contention that Hs were downstepped between words and that these Hs later became L (cf. Hyman 1978). Now it is possible that downsteps were not tolerated within words, or were tolerated only in a corner of the verb system (where the notorious TM *-á- resides). Perhaps these issues could be clarified by a full-scale comparison with other languages and dialects of the Shona cluster which clearly differ from Kalanga in important respects.

ENDNOTES

- 1 In the Bantu languages under consideration the binary tonal contrast is between H and Ø rather than between H and L. Thus, MR deletes a H tone rather than changing a H to L.
- 2 In some languages the SM may also be preceded by an initial element: the so-called augment or initial vowel element, a negative prefix, a past tense marker, etc. In addition, an overt prefix may be lacking in the case of a singular imperative verb. We ignore here possible pro- and enclitics that may also accompany a verb form.
- 3 For further discussion see Clements and Goldsmith 1984, also Kisseberth 1984, Mutaka 1990, Odden 1996, Hyman and Ngunga 1990 and others for further evidence.
- 4 An issue raised in Myers (1987, 1995, in press) is whether the “prestem” (referred to as the “inflectional stem” in Myers, in press) also constitutes a domain.
- 5 All tones are indicated as they appear at the exit of the lexical phonology, i.e. before phrase-level tone rules apply.
- 6 Mutaka (1990) presents a different analysis to account for the loss of H in such forms. Despite differences in synchronic interpretation, presumably all can agree that MR is correct diachronically, and that it is limited to the stem domain.
- 7 When occurring in context, the forms in (4b,c) undergo a rule of H tone spreading (HTS) to be pronounced ti-ná-mù-ménya ... and ti-ná-ká-ménya ... respectively.
- 8 Guthrie (1967–71) assigns Kalanga (or Ikalanga with prefix) to S.16 within the

Shona group. According to Chebanne et al (1995), there are at least four dialects of Kalanga. The present article deals with the Lilima dialect, as spoken by the first author. Despite the similarity of name, Kalanga should not be confused with the Karanga dialect of Shona, spoken in Zimbabwe.

- 9 The H on the stem -bvúnza results from a rule of H tone spreading (see Odden 1980, Myers 1987, Hewitt & Prince 1989), which, as we shall see, has a direct analogue in Kalanga.
- 10 The one exception to this statement is that we do not transcribe the predictable conversion of H to a LH rising tone after a depressor consonant. In Kalanga these depressors include the voiced obstruents /b, bz, d, dz, j, g, dzw, gw, v, z, zw, ʒ/, as well as breathy consonants, e.g. /f, tʰ/. (see Mathangwane 1996). Although a voiced bilabial fricative /β/ is very common in this language, it is not a depressor consonant. The nouns to be the right of (8a) are actually realized LH-L because of the lowering effect of the depressor consonants. In presenting the relevant facts in this study we have tried to choose examples which most transparently show the effects of Meeussen's Rule. Many times these involve depressor consonants. Both the behaviour of these latter as well as the tone system in general (which contains three separate rules of H tone spreading, HTS₁, HTS₂, and HTS₃) require more than the discussion we can provide here. For more information, as well as any questions arising about the data presented in this study, readers should consult Hyman and Mathangwane (in press) and Mathangwane (1996).
- 11 The reason why káátsi 'cat' has a HH-L contour is that the H of /ká/ spreads onto the mora introduced in intonational-phrase-penultimate position. The realization káátsi, with a penultimate falling tone, is due to the fact that the H of the verb ku-lóbá spreads onto the first mora of the noun, which has first become kaatsi by MR.
- 12 The reason why such nouns are realized fǎáli and nyáati, rather than fǎáli and nyáati is that the language does not permit an intonational-phrase-final HH-H sequence (which is thus automatically simplified to HL-H).
- 13 The underlying form pé = of the genitive/connective is pa-é = , where pa- represents the class 16 (locative) agreement that would be obtained, for instance, when these forms follow the head noun pathu 'place', e.g. pathu pé = vuula 'the place of water'.
- 14 The plural form is indicated for classes 1 and 1a only. This is the form which will be assumed for all the other noun classes in the plural with a change in the initial syllable which has to show agreement with the agreement marker of that particular class. It is also seen in table 1 that classes 1a and 2a, used for names, kinship terms, etc. take plural class 2 agreements.
- 15 Note that there is no syntactic definition of noun + possessive that would single it out either, since MR has been seen to operate between head and complement as well as across major constituent phrases.
- 16 In addition there seems to be no clear argument in favour of treating the lengthened penultimate as a single syllable rather than as two.
- 17 The only transitive toneless monosyllabic verbs in the language are kuu-nya 'to defecate' and kuu-bza 'to belch', which if occurring with a reflexive OM would be realized ku-dzii-nya and ku-dzii-bza.
- 18 In fact these Hs spread twice from the TM onto the stem. Hyman and

Mathangwane (in press) account for this by positing two separate H tone spreading rules, HTS₂ and HTS₃, only the second of which is blocked by a depressor consonant. Thus compare ndi-cá-shálúula ‘I am still choosing’ vs. ndi-cá-lízaanya ‘I am still trying on’. In the second form HTS₂ spreads the H of -cá- onto the syllable [li], but the depressor /z/ blocks HTS₃.

- 19 We assume that the H of -á- is lost in (46a,b) because of the tonelessness of the SM ndi- with which it fuses.
- 20 Since bá-a-dá are obtained, this means that we must not bracket these as [bá-á] [cá] and [bá-á] [dá]. Otherwise MR would apply to the monosyllabic stems as it has in other examples above – and crucially HTS₃ may not spread a H onto a final syllable (Hyman and Mathangwane, in press). The only constraint we can think of to block this is to say that a bisyllabic verb form cannot be parsed into two (monosyllabic) domains.
- 21 We also wonder whether the H of the OM might not fuse with a following H tone verb as another way to capture that MR does not apply between them (except in the one case where the OM is parsed with the prestem).

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LOANWORDS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Jan Knappert

One of the most interesting subjects in the vast field of sociolinguistics is the study of acculturation as it is reflected in language or the study of languages in contact. This subject, which forms only a small part in the whole spectrum of sociolinguistic phenomena, is again divisible into a number of sub-branches, each of them specialising in one of the degrees of influence of one culture upon another. It is evident that this branch of sociolinguistics must lean heavily on its sister-science, psycholinguistics, which studies the function of language in the psychical processes of human beings. The knowledge of a second language, however superficial, has an influence on the attitudes and concepts of a person. If such a knowledge is accepted as normal by his/her (part of) society, then bilingualism becomes a sociolinguistic phenomenon as well as a psycholinguistic one.

At one end of the scale there are the small communities in a country where one language – not their own – is prevalent, such as the United States, where many languages of immigrant communities still linger (although they usually disappear in two or three generations). In East Africa, especially in some parts of Tanzania, the younger generation prefer to speak Swahili rather than their own tribal language.

Another example of the powerful impact one language can have on another is that of creolization, as we find in the creole languages of West Africa and the Caribbean. Creolization is more than the wholesale adoption of foreign vocabulary, it is a complete restructuring of the morphology and syntax, contemporaneous with a cultural revolution.

An example from antiquity is the rise of the Romance languages out of Latin under the impact of the Germanic invasions. The French language arose out of a simplified Latin used by the Romance speakers in their dealings with their Frankish rulers.

The conquest of England by the Norman invaders and the subsequent rule by a foreign – language minority changed the English language almost beyond recognition. The fact that English is such a mixed language makes it of special interest to the etymologist.

In some languages in Central Africa and Polynesia and other remote areas of the world, only a very small number of loanwords can be found. This suggests that culturally these peoples are relatively “pure” of foreign influences. Nevertheless, reading through the dictionaries – where they are available – of a number of neighbouring Central African languages will yield a suprisingly large number of loanwords of different origins. It is of these that I want to give you a few examples, tracing each word back to its ultimate origin – as far as we have records from the past – and it will be seen that this past is sometimes as far back as 3 000 years. But first a few points of methodology must be explained to show that we can create method in this network of data from the dictionaries of 26 African languages, each of which contains at least a few dozen loanwords.

The study of loanwords belongs to the branch of linguistic science that studies the origins of words called *etymology*. This comes from the Greek word *to etymon* (the truth), implying that for the Greeks the true meaning of a word was its original meaning, that modern development of a language is a deviation from the true and genuine forms of the language of the ancestors. Since about 1900, however, linguists and ethnologists have begun to realise that an objective scientific approach to other peoples and their languages required linguistic and cultural relativism. The present state of a language is neither better nor worse than any of its previous forms, nor is any present-day language better than any other language in the same period of history. It is the cultures that differ and develop, while the evolution of a language is merely a reflection of the changes in the culture for which it serves as a vehicle of expression. If the speakers of a language modify their culture, this change will be reflected in the history of their language. In most cases this change will result from contact with another culture: the discovery of objects and activities, of skills and ideas in a foreign people, will cause the people of our own culture to covet these things and so to acquire them, adopting at the same time the words for them. In each human society the totality of its language expresses the totality of its culture. The study of the language of a people is the best method of studying its culture: ethnolinguistics is a double term for a single subject.

In Africa, the study of loanwords is of interest not only to the student of languages and cultures, but also to the student of history. African historical records in written form are extremely rare. Apart from the Semitic languages in Africa (Arabic, Amharic, and a few other Ethiopian languages), chronicles

have been found only in Hausa, Fula, Malagasy and Swahili. It is because of this scarcity of recorded historical material that the oral traditions in Africa are the main source material for the historian. The most important treasure-house of oral traditions is the language itself. By comparing a given African language to the non-related languages in the area, we shall find a number of common words that we may assume are loanwords. Of course, this material needs checking and rechecking, as we shall see presently.

The term *loanword* is not a satisfactory one. Obviously a word that people have “borrowed” cannot be returned after use. The German *Fremdwort* (lit. “alien word”) seems more appropriate since our first task will be to note the foreign quality of certain words in the languages we are studying. But for how long may such a word be regarded as foreign? Are the English words *chair* and *school* still to be regarded as Greek words? If not, at what date in history did they become English words? These two words do not *sound* foreign to the English speaker, but many other borrowed words do, such as *cocoa*, *banana*, *pawpaw*. These words denote products that will not grow in the British Isles and therefore do not form part of the original Anglo-Saxon culture and language. But there is another criterion by which we can recognise these words as of foreign origin – their shape. In English the reduplication of syllables has a foreign ring about it and this unusual morphophonemic form is the symptom of an overseas origin. In nine cases out of ten, the exceptional shape of a word gives it away as a *Fremdwort*. In African languages it is often an unusual tonal pattern that guides the searcher for loanwords onto the right track. Yet, for a more profound study, especially of the older and therefore more interesting loanwords, the criterion of structure is too narrow, because the oldest loanwords are no longer recognisable from their form (as we have seen from the English examples). Yet, as long as we cannot trace the origin of a suspected loanword to some other language, there is nothing we can do.

Another method for the detection of loanwords is the following: if we suspect that a given word in *language A* is of foreign origin (on the grounds either of its shape or of its meaning), we can look for a similar word with a similar meaning in *language B* (spoken in a territory adjacent to that of *language A*). If we find it, then we can look for it in *language C* (a neighbour of *B*, although already some distance away from *A*). If the word *is* a loan, then there is a good chance that we shall find it not only in *language C* but in *D*, *E* and possibly in a whole chain of languages across part of the African continent. We shall see how the word may gradually change in shape and sometimes also in meaning, but these changes must always be accounted for. In this way we shall see that not just one word but whole clusters of words – belonging to some well definable provinces of meaning – travel a long way over the surface of the continent of Africa, gradually changing in form.

For such words I would propose the term *travel-words*. Once a word has left its homeland – because the speakers of a neighbouring language found it a useful term – it may start on a journey of a thousand miles or more, not without damage to both its shape and meaning, and often to the extent that it becomes unrecognisable. For instance, if someone should be tempted to compare the Rwanda word *zuzi* with Kikuyu *njanji* (of the same meaning), he may be surprised to find that their origin is ultimately the Latin word *iudex* (a judge), one word having been introduced via the east coast by English and the other word via the west coast by French. The Lingala word *yema* (tent) and the Hausa word *alaima* (tent) are both from Arabic *khayma* (tent), the Hausa word having preserved the Arabic article *al-*. The Lingala word arrived in the Congo via Swahili, travelling upcountry from the east coast; the Hausa word has been carried across the Sahara, possibly via Twareg, hence my term *travel-words*.

An example of a more sophisticated change in shape is the following. The Luba word for a “box” or “chest” is *mushete*. Its meaning aroused my suspicion from the start, but I was unable to pin down its origin. When I found it in Kimbundu as well, I was certain it must be a loanword and that its origin must be Portuguese. The Portuguese word for this article is *caixete* and this would become something like **kashete* in a Bantu language. But the Bantu speakers seem to have disagreed with this form of the word, since the first syllable *ka-* has the shape of the prefix of class 12, which denotes only small things; for big things and for things made of wood, the *mu-* prefix is used and has therefore been substituted, cp. Shona *mufarinya* (cassava) from Portuguese *farinha*, “flour”.

The following may be cited as examples of changes of meanings in loanwords: the Swahili word for “a lamp” (*taa*) comes to mean “brass” in some of the languages of Eastern Zaire (probably because lamps were the only articles of brass the upcountry people ever saw). Similarly, the Swahili word for “thread” (*uzi*) has become the word for “cotton” in East-Zairean languages. It is interesting to note in this connection that the English word “silk” is derived from Arabic *silka* (thread). The Luganda word *èppeesà* (a button) is derived from Swahili *pesa* (a coin, money) via Hindustani from Portuguese *pesa*. The ultimate origin of the word is again Latin, i.e. *pensa* (a weight) from *pendere* (to hang). That the word has travelled to East Africa via India is proved by its shape: if it had come directly from Portuguese, it would have been pronounced with a “z” instead of “s” – compare Swahili *meza* (table) via Portuguese *mesa* from Latin *mensa*. In Hindustani, this type of “z” is identified with the *s*-phoneme. The Swahili word *unga* (flour) comes to mean “gunpowder” in Tswa, Lala and some other East African languages because, having a word for “flour” in their own languages, these peoples adopted the Swahili word for “flour” or “powder” in the special sense “gunpowder”, possibly for

euphemistic reasons. It shows that the peoples of the northern half of Moçambique learned the art of shooting with guns from the Swahili and so they probably learned it before the Portuguese arrived. This is confirmed by other words in the same cultural context, such as *muzinga* (gun). Both words have penetrated into Shona.

A third method of identifying loanwords is to make lists of words classified in certain categories of meaning such as tools, clothes, fruits, spices, weapons, furniture, parts of the house, metals, cereals – and then find the words for these meanings in the various languages of a given area. One will find loanwords among these words in all African languages.

Two interesting historical conclusions can be drawn from a collection of loanwords, if one has a large number of them in a variety of languages spoken over a wide area in Africa. The first conclusion is about the route and the direction that a word or a group of words has taken on its journey through the continent. Normally one will find that such words travel inland from the coasts of Africa, up-river along the Nile, the Zaire, the Zambezi and the Senegal, and finally from the riverbanks into the interior. In parts of West Africa, however, we find that some loanwords (mostly Arabic) arrive at the coast from the northern inland regions.

As we have seen, the shapes and the meanings of these words change *en route*, but something else changes as well – their quantity – and that is highly indicative of the direction in which a group of words has travelled, as well as of the extent to which the speakers of that language have become accessible to the influence of foreign culture and which culture it was that brought them these particular articles. Examples of this are the words for “horse” and “donkey” in Central Zaire. Both have been introduced from the east coast via Swahili, but in the languages of the central Zaire Basin there is only the word for donkey (*punda*), used for both donkey and horse indiscriminately.

Another important guide for establishing the route of a group of loanwords is their phonetic form. On purely linguistic grounds we can determine the direction of loaning if we know the phonemic systems of the languages concerned. We can thus indicate the *giver-language* and the *receiver-language* and observe how a group of words and meanings that describe a particular aspect of life (e.g. horse-riding or the money-economy) have been adopted *en bloc* from one *giver-language*. In Bantu Africa the principal *giver-languages* are all spoken along the coast: Nguni (Zulu-Xhosa), Swahili, Kongo and Kimbundu (Ngola). Trade languages such as Hausa, migrant-labour languages such as Nyanja, and administrative languages such as Lingala and Luganda will also function as *giver-languages* in the area where they are employed outside their home territory, so that the socio-economic situation in a given

part of Africa has a direct effect on the linguistic and culture-historical situation. All the languages mentioned acted in fact as mediators, as *passer-on* languages. Their speakers handed on the culture of the Europeans and Orientals to the other Africans. So the Arabic word *fitila* (lamp) was brought to Yorubaland by the Hausa traders. All oriental words in the languages of East and Central Africa show by their shapes that they have come via Swahili. Many Afrikaans words in Shona have come in via Zulu. European words in Northern Central Africa have been brought by the Arabs, i.e. the French word *vapeur* (steamboat) became in Arabic *bâbûr* and this form travelled up the Nile as far as the Zande language in north-east Zaire.

Perhaps the most important result of historical interest that we gain from a comprehensive study of loanwords in a large portion of Africa (for example Africa south of the equator) is that, if one draws the extreme extent of loanwords on a map of the continent, one can show with fair precision the sphere of influence of the *giver*-languages. In this way we discover four main spheres of cultural influence in precolonial (that is, pre-mid-nineteenth century) Africa. Indian words extend from the east, brought by Swahili traders; in West-Central Zaire, they meet the Portuguese words that travelled inwards from the west coast. Afrikaans-Dutch words spread north from the Cape and stop at the Zambezi. But by far the largest cultural area of Africa is shown by long lists of loans from Arabic, extending over the whole of northern Africa into the Central-African Republic, in the west as far as Dakar and Sierra Leone, in the east as far as Madagascar.

We may safely assume that the words did not travel without the objects they denote. The Portuguese word *mesa* (table) is found over most of Central and East Africa as far north-east as Somali (*miis*). Some groups of people preferred to create a word of their own, i.e. Herero in Namibia has for "table" *otyriri* (a thing to eat from or at), side by side with *otyitafela* from Afrikaans *tafel*. But if the word is there in the language we can be sure that the object has arrived in the country, so that the lexicon of the language still gives us exact information on the stage of acculturation of its users.

How can we prove that a word is a loanword? Similarly, close resemblance between two words in two otherwise unrelated languages is not in itself a proof for borrowing. For instance, in Amharic and in Hindi the word for "to be" is *hona*. A word of that meaning, however, is rarely borrowed and we therefore exclude it from our list. In Swahili all words that contain one of six special phonemes are borrowed from Arabic, because these phonemes have themselves been adopted from Arabic. Words with two non-homorganic consecutive consonants (*m-* excepted) are foreign in most Bantu languages. For example, the Swahili *mstari* (a line on paper) is from Arabic *mistâr*; the impression of

being a class 4 plural prefix that was subsequently replaced by a class 3 singular prefix. I suspect that this is the origin of the Shona word *mutšara* (a line).

A third argument for the foreign origin of a word is its occurrence in unrelated neighbouring languages (note the plural). For example, the word *somo* (to read) in both Alur and Luo – two closely related Nilotic languages – might tempt the investigator to enter it in his or her list of proto-Nilotic starred forms. However, its presence in most other East African languages such as Luganda, Kikuyu, Sukuma and Masai marks it out as a loanword from Swahili.

Obviously a loanword must resemble its equivalent in the giver-language, and if it does not, rules must be established to explain why it was altered. For instance, the reluctance of the speakers to pronounce certain phonetic combinations, or their preference for monosyllabic words. The Luganda word *èmmündú* (rifle) looks like a loan from Swahili *bunduki*, itself a loan from Turkish via Arabic. The origin of this word is the Greek *pontikòn* (hazelnut), referring to the shape of a musket bullet. The Ganda form of the word can be explained by the “law of Meinhof”, which states that the first of two consecutive voiced pre-nasalized plosive consonants must become a nasal. The loss of the last syllable is already found in Luo *bunde*; the Nilotic languages prefer words of one or two syllables.

In spite of all our efforts in comparing probable loanwords with their potential originals in the *giver*-languages, there is a large number of words the origin of which remains undecided, or at least, unproven. The Wolof word *frastu* (bottle) sufficiently resembles the Portuguese *frasco* to be acceptable as a loanword from that language. The Wolof *sondel* (candle) is close enough to the French *chandelle* to be listed as a French loan. But can we equate Wolof *munas* (perfume) with the Arabic *marash*? Is Wolof *gelem* (camel) from the Arabic *gāmāl*? This last equation seems attractive but we still have to show that metathesis is a rule or at least a common phenomenon in Wolof. Similarly in Wolof *fas* (horse) and Arabic *faras* there are too many resembling features to discard borrowing, and too few to accept it.

The Portuguese *manihoco* – one of the forms of the Brazilian word for cassava – must be the origin of the Swahili *mahogo*, but what happened to the syllable *ni*? In this case there can be little doubt about the question of borrowing, for extra-linguistic reasons, and we are left with the realisation that loanwords suffer a great deal on their long journeys from language to language.

An important criterion for determining the giver-language is the fact that a word “makes sense” in its own language, e.g. it is analysable and fits into the morphological system of that language. For instance, although the Tsonga

word *xitimela* looks acceptable enough as a Bantu word, with a class 7 prefix and what looks like an extension *-ela*, it is a loan from the English “steamer” via Zulu. English and Afrikaans words with the initial *s* + *consonant* are invariably remorphologized and assigned to class 7, i.e. *isitolo* (from “store”), *isipunu* (from “spoon”), *isipinashi* (from “spinach”), *isipanji* (from “sponge”). When travelling north into other Bantu languages, these words retain their allegiance to noun class 7, and change the prefix according to the prevailing sound-laws, so that the Shona word for “store” becomes *chitoro*, which looks completely Bantu to the uninitiated, and is no longer recognisable as an English word.

The Swahili form *vilabuni* means “in the nightbars” and is derived from the English “club”, Bantuized to *kilabu*, plural *vilabu*, locative *vilabuni*, which looks like an indigenous form.

The Luganda word *obusuulu* (tax, ground-rent) has been connected with the Ganda verb *okusoolooza* (to gather tribute, levy taxes), but in reality it is a loan from the Swahili *usuhuru*, which is in turn from the Arabic *cushr* (tithe, tax), connected with the Arabic *cashara* (ten). It would be tempting to link the Afrikaans *kraal* (cattle enclosure) with Ganda *ekiraalo* (cattle enclosure), whereas in fact the latter is connected with a pure Bantu verb *okulaala* (to settle down) (note the conformity in tone pattern), while the Afrikaans word is from the Portuguese *corral*, connected with the verb *correr* (to run), whence *corral* (a place to run about in). In the case of the word for tax the suggested Ganda derivation of the word was unsatisfactory, so that the word must be called a loan, in the latter instance the Ganda derivation is the more likely one.

Some popular etymologies are quite astonishing, i.e. Swahili *motokaa* (from “motor car”); the Swahili word looks like a compound contracted from *moto wa kaa* (charcoal fire) very appropriate if one remembers how hot motor cars become in the tropical sun!

As we have seen, nouns need plurals and so do verbs. For example in Arabic we find *finishnâ* (we have finished) from *finisht*, from the English “finished” – which looks like a first person singular form of the perfect tense. Arabic *jyib* (jeep) forms its plural inevitably as *juyub*; *tâksi* becomes *takâsi* (taxis), quite regularly, once one accepts the word as native Arabic. Parsons gives *sukuruderebobi* as the plural of Hausa *sukurudereba* (screwdriver). In Swahili I found *wamishe* (missionaries), plural of *mmishe*, which is formed by prefixing from *mishe* (mission station), which is in turn formed from *misheni* (mission) by what looks to the Swahili like a locative suffix *-ni*.

It will now be clear why loanwords must always be studied in groups *and* in groups of languages together. It is necessary to record all the intervening links

in order to show why a particular word has adopted the form and meaning represented in the receiver-languages at the end of the chain. For instance, in Ganda, the word for railway becomes *leerwe* because there is a rule in this language that an *r* may occur only after *e* or *i*. In those positions *l* is impossible.

These three criteria then – the shape of a word (its morphophonemic form), its meaning and the fact that it is widespread, i.e. that similar forms are found in neighbouring languages – help us to determine whether a particular word is a loanword. Two of these criteria are linguistic, one is geographical, *none* is cultural. We omit a cultural criterion because we wish to avoid the logical snare of first categorising a word as a loanword because it denotes an object foreign to the “pure” native culture and then later using this loanword to prove that the native culture did not have the object. In some cases “vicinity” may seem a rather loosely used term, as when a wide stretch of forest, desert, a lake, or a mountain range separates two language areas. We have to accept this until we have dictionaries of the adjacent languages; in some cases these may be spoken by hill tribes or nomads who never participated in the exchange of culture that went on between the more powerful nations. On the other hand, what may seem a barrier to us may not in reality have been one. Lake Tanganyika did not stop Swahili culture from spreading into Kivu; the Sahara was crossed by several trade routes.

Sometimes it is obvious that a word under consideration is borrowed from a European language, most frequently English, French, Portuguese or Dutch (in order of frequency), but it is not always clear from which language. There are, however, linguistic criteria to ascertain the origin, i.e. Malagasy *bènitra* (bayonet) and *bizimofo* (bismuth) must be from English and not from French because of the phonetic forms of the words in Malagasy. This is clear in spite of the fact that Abinal and Malzac rubricise these words as *du Français* in their dictionary.

In Ganda the word for “blue” is *bbululû*, which looks like the English, but it cannot have been borrowed directly because it has a syllable too many. The Swahili word is *buluu* which is directly from English; where Swahili has a double vowel, Ganda has the custom of putting in an extra *l*, cf. *kyoloòni* from the Swahili *chooni* (latrine) and *èttaala* (lamp) from the Swahili *taa*.

It is these results of careful linguistic research that, I hope, will be of interest to the historian: the presence of a large body of loanwords from languages other than the coloniser’s language.

In the case of the English loans in Malagasy, these can be explained by two factors. In the first place a small group of English technicians, including an army officer at the court of the Hova king in the first half of the nineteenth

century (see Hubert Deschamp's *Histoire de Madagascar*, p. 161). Secondly, a small group of English Protestant missionaries preceded the French Catholic missionaries on the island. It would be interesting in this connection to investigate the relationship between the occurrence of early European loanwords and the arrival of the first missionaries: each missionary had his own idiosyncrasies.

In Bemba words like *ibotolo* (bottle) and *ibuuku* (book) could have been borrowed from either English or Afrikaans. However, as it appears that most European loans (not counting those from Portuguese) in Bemba are directly from English – as is made probable by their phonetic form – one is led to accept the English origin of these two words as well. The word for “store” in Bemba, for instance, is *shitoolo* (not in class 7), so that the word did not travel all the way north through the other Bantu languages but was brought directly from England.

Often the form of the loanword is so corrupted that only meticulous study will detect it as such. The Malagasy word for “oil” is *diloilo*, which can be only understood if one remembers the French *de l’huile*. Similarly we find *dipilō* (shot for a shotgun) from the French *du plomb* (lead), *dipoávatra* (pepper) from the French (*du poivre*), *dité* (tea) from *du té*, and *diváy* (wine) from *du vin*. This latter word finally solves an old problem: what is the origin of the Swahili word *divai* (wine)? The answer is that it has not come the long way from the Belgian Congo where the Europeans drink more beer than wine, but from Madagascar.

The Malagasy word *arâfana* (palmwine) puzzled me for some time. It looks like a passive noun and could well be native from a morphophonological point of view. But it also looks deceptively like the Arabic *’araq*, Swahili *araki*, Malay *arak* (palmwine, gin) – but how to account for the *f*? Finally I found Malagasy passive forms like *doafana* (what has been beaten) from a basic form *doàka* (to beat). It follows that one can regard the Malagasy *arâfana* as a derivate from the presumed loanword **âraka* not now recorded in the language in that form.

We have seen that the largest part of Africa falls within the sphere of influence of the Arabs, the centre of which is Mecca. In the course of history three secondary centres have developed, no less important for our African studies, viz. Morocco, Egypt and South Arabia. From these, further tertiary foci of radiation of Arabic scholarship were created, such as Timbuktu, Kano, Khartoum and Mombassa.

In contrast with the specifically technical influence exercised by some European languages, Arabic influence has gradually spread through all aspects of native culture. It aims at encompassing ultimately the total life of the community as well as that of the individual. On the outer fringes of this circle

of radiation of Arabic influence there live the peoples who have adopted only a few cultural objects with their names, such as “money”, “gold”, “cotton”. They have received these things through the traders – who belong usually to particular tribes – chiefly the Swahili, the Hausa and the Mandingo, as well as the Arabs themselves.

The peoples who have had more intensive contact with the Arabs already show a long list of loanwords, mostly in semantic clusters as, for instance, names for different types of cloth, the parts of a rifle, the objects connected with saddlery, and words belonging to book culture.

Finally, there are the peoples who live in the inner sphere of Arabic influence. These tribes have been converted almost entirely to Islam. The best-known examples are the Hausa, the Fulani, the Mandingo, the Swahili and the Somali.

With Islam, a flood of Arabic words comes into the language. A complete revolution has taken place and now there is only one step left to total assimilation – the adoption of the Arabic language, as we see it going on in the Sudan and elsewhere.

In many ways the Arabs did not create the culture they brought to Africa. They merely handed on what they had previously acquired from other peoples, mainly the peoples of antiquity. That is why we find today in African languages words of such diverse origin as the words for pen, money, army and shirt from *Latin*; for philosophy, paper, diamond and list from *Greek*; for lead, temple, poor man and sulphur from *Babylonian*; for offering, angel, praise and prayer from *Syriac*; for soap, sugar, banana and musk from *Sanskrit* – but most of the words they brought are genuinely Arabic such as grape, copper, cotton (*katani*), ink (*dawati*), kettle (*ibriga*) and gold (*dhahabu*).

The second important area of foreign influence in Africa that is still discernible today is the Portuguese sphere that once extended along the entire coast from Cabo Guardafogo in the east. The commonest Portuguese loanwords one finds are in the first place *meza* (table) from the Latin *mensa*; *zapata* (shoe) from Persian via Turkish and Italian; *chumbo* (lead) from the Latin *plumbum*; *igreja* (church) from the Greek *ekklesia* (this word now means “prison” in Swahili); *ouro* (gold) from the Latin *aurum*; *prata* (silver); *chapeu* (hat) – itself a loan from French – travelled inland as far as Buganda (*èssèppeèwo*); *carreta* (car) travelled as far as Bembaland (*iceleeta*).

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of the Portuguese to the cultures of Africa was the importation of American fruits and other foods such as cassava, guava, pineapple (*ananas*), pawpaw (*papaia*), maize (*milhos*), chilli, cocoa, groundnuts, tomatoes and cashew nuts.

Fruits were brought to Africa by the Indians too, mainly, of course, to East Africa. There is the mango (*embe*) and the grenadilla (*sita~~af~~eli*). The Indians brought cereals as well (white rice and wheat) and everything that appertains to curry, such as pepper, chutney and pickles. The Indians brought administrative terms (government, clerk), terms of trade (insurance, invoice), for travelling (carriage, litter), for betel chewing and all that is connected with its rites.

The Dutch occupied the Gold Coast in 1637 and South Africa in 1652, the same year in which they abandoned Madagascar. On this island they left only the word for a musket (*basi* or *busi*); on the Gold Coast the words for veranda (*stoep*), cloth (*doek/duku*) and a few others. The main impact of the Dutch language was felt in southern Africa.

The Shona language contains 120 Dutch words, most of which have been carried north through other Bantu languages. These comprise terms for the farm (donkey, ewe); household terms (pail, yarn and button); words for clothes (trousers, shirt, handkerchief).

The two languages that now have by far the most powerful influence on African languages – English and French – arrived last and not before the nineteenth century was well under way (except on the west coast). The process of borrowing is still going on and with it the process of adaptation or rephonemization.

What we can learn from loanwords adds up to a considerable amount of data in the field of cultural history.

We can now assess the level of civilisation of a people before it came into contact with the giver-language culture. This assessment can, it is true, never be absolute, but it will always permit us to draw a fair overall picture of the “native” culture of the people concerned.

For instance, the Swahili prefer to use the Arabic word for God *Ilahi* or *Allahu*. There is a word of Bantu origin – *Mungu* – which has been used exclusively by the Christian missionaries, who naturally did not feel inclined to use an Islamic term. Mohammedans would point out that *mungu* has a plural *miungu* (gods, i.e. idols). A plural of Allah is absolutely inconceivable and this may explain the preference of the Swahili Islamic writers for this word.

Another example is the Bantu word for “boat, canoe” (**bwato*), not found in Swahili. The commonest boat on the Swahili coast is the *ngalawa*, the outrigger canoe, which is ideally suited to navigation on the Indian Ocean. The river canoe was discarded, together with its name. By this method of historical

interpretation we can explain why a language has adopted a foreign word even though a native word was available.

The total body of loanwords in a language yields a fair picture of the material and spiritual culture that its speakers have acquired since they settled in that part of Africa, or in any other way became accessible to trade and the exchange of ideas. The linguist can usually establish the route which the word has taken through Africa and often the relative age of loanwords, which have a habit of coming in waves.

A few examples taken from Shona may help to illustrate the type of culture-historical conclusions that we can draw from our collection of loanwords. Shona is particularly fortunate in that it is situated in Central Africa, literally on the crossroads of cultural influences. In Shona we find 120 Afrikaans loanwords that trickled in from the south, many of them evidently via Zulu. They denote in the first place articles of clothing, e.g. *bachi* (jacket), *bande* (belt), *burúku* (trousers), *chiperei* (pin), *nariti* (needle), *roko* (skirt), *makorosibandi* and *makurubandi* (braces), *fasikoto* (apron), *hembe* (shirt), *jasi* (coat), *kamu* (comb), and *konopera* (to button). The word *gumbeze* (blanket) is French *couverts* via Afrikaans.

There are words for *household* articles and *farming tools* such as the saw, hammer, sieve, kettle, knife, bolt, nail, scissors, spoon, rake, hoe; *textiles* – cloth, duster, cottonwool; *foodstuffs* – bread, salt, *dapura* (potato), tomato; *animals* – donkey, turkey, goose (*hanzi*); and *parts of the house* – brick, window. The words for window (*fasitera*), pan (*pani*) and mug (*bikiri*) are originally loans from Latin via Afrikaans.

Several hundred Shona words are borrowed from English. The process of cultural borrowing is, of course, still continuing owing to the sociolinguistic situation in Zimbabwe.

There are 60 Portuguese words in Shona which refer to *smoking* (*fodya*: tobacco, *kasha*: snuffbox, *fofo*: matches, ultimately from the Greek *phosphoros*); *household goods* (candle, bottle); *metals* (*rata*: sheet-tin, *kóbiri*: copper, *chumbu*: lead); *dress* (*chapewa*: hat, itself a loan from French, *tsapato*: shoe, itself a loan from Persian via Turkish and Italian, *samburera*: umbrella, *borosa*: pocket).

The Shona word for rubber (*mupira*) is a loan via Swahili from Portuguese and, ultimately, from the Latin *pila* (ball), which also gave rise to the Dutch *pil* (pill), diminutive *pilletje*, which arrived in Shona in the form *piritsi* (pill), so that the same Latin word resulted in two Shona words of very different

meanings, arriving along different routes, many centuries after Latin, their language of origin, became extinct.

Most interesting of all are the 45 loanwords of oriental origin, viz. 30 Arabic, 10 Hindi and 5 original Swahili words (including *ngege*, *muzinga*, *mupunga*). All these oriental words have apparently come in via Swahili. The Arabs brought several words from the classical languages, e.g. *hanzu* (ultimately from the Latin *camisa*); *ndarama*, “gold” and *ngarava*, “ship” from Greek.

Hindi gave hemp, chilli, rice, lemon and *pesa* (cloth). This last word has a long history behind it. Cloth is used for payment in many parts of Africa, hence the change in meaning.

CONCLUSION

1. Loanwords

All languages possess loanwords, some a few dozen, others many hundreds. As long as the speakers of a language retain their cultural coherence, even thousands of loanwords do not seriously affect the structure of the language or its identity.

When the number of words of foreign origin rises to the 50% mark, one may speak of a mixed language. Usually at that stage the grammar of the language is also influenced by loan-morphemes, such as plural affixes, new phonemes and syntax.

In most cases such a drastic restructuring of a language takes place as a result of severe social upheavals, often the result of conquest by a foreign nation or culture. Examples of such conquests are the Arab conquest of Persia in 656, the Norman conquest of England and the Roman conquest of Gaulle, great events which were the original causes of the modern Persian, modern English and French languages respectively. The structures of these languages are rather different from Old Persian, Old English and Latin respectively.

2. Pidginization

Pidginization of a language happens when it is used between people whose home language is different, and who know only a few words of the one language they have in common with the persons they want to speak to. The result is that wherever there are multilingual socio-economic conditions, the dominant language of the region is pidginized, so that we hear pidginized

English, pidginized Afrikaans, pidginized Swahili and Arabic. I have heard pidginized German and pidginized Russian in eastern Europe. The pidgin language of India is *bazaar* Hindustani; in Indonesia and Malaysia one hears Melayu Pasar, Market Malay.

3. Creole

A creole language is the result of a very different social situation. It is the language of a group of people who want to speak not to outsiders but to each other, to their wives and husbands and to their own children. They have no common language so they have to use what they know of the dominant language, mixed with whatever words they remember from their own languages insofar as these can be made commonly understood. This was the situation of the African slaves in the Americas. Wherever the dominant language remained present, the creoles that were based on it tended to reabsorb it. Thus, the creoles of Jamaica, Sierra Leone and the U.S. are gradually becoming more grammatical English; the creoles based on Spanish such as those spoken in Cuba are becoming Spanish.

Several creole languages on the other hand, are isolated from the once dominant language and so they are forced to survive and develop according to their own tendencies. Examples of this type are Papiamentu in Curaçao (based on Spanish), Takitaki in Surinam (based on English), and the French-based creoles of Haiti and Mauritius. They will survive since they have become the common languages of new nations.

4. Language development

Like all historical events, these developments are completely unpredictable. For instance, the Latin language was once spoken in one town only. In the days of Hadrian it dominated western Europe and North Africa. Today it is a dead language. Babylonian, once the dominant language of the Middle East, is likewise dead. All the living languages of today were once insignificant. Examples: Arabic exploded from the Arabian desert to become the dominant language of the Middle East after 634. Castillian, the language we now call Spanish, was once spoken only in the hills of Amaya northwest of Burgos. It expanded and became one of the world languages, with English, Russian and Chinese. Russian as we know it today, was once the language of just Moscow, a vassal state of the Mongol empire. Anything can happen in history!

APPENDIX

Some notes on South African etymologies

The following are some reflections on the etymologies of certain Afrikaans words with a long history. They are “loanwords” or, as Dietrich Westermann called them, “Wanderwörter”, travel-words, words that have been passed on from one language to another, and are now being passed on from Afrikaans and English into the languages of Africa.

After fifty years of studies in Oriental and African languages, this writer thinks he can recognise a loanword whenever he meets one. In reading through Boshoff and Nienaber’s excellent dictionary of *Afrikaans etimologieë* (Uitg. Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns 1967), it occurred to me that after thirty years a few comments on some of the etymologies in this vast scholarly work might offer some additional points to the discussion.

The reader is invited to join in a journey through this dictionary and enjoy the shining facets of some added meanings.

Aalwyn, *Aloe* in English and several other European languages, this genus of plants is represented by half a dozen species in South Africa. The word *aloe* originates from *al-d*, from which we also have *lute*, the musical instrument that was made from the wood of the trunk. This is not the South African aloe but a distinct species of the same genus, called *Aloe vera*, true aloe; it is native in north-eastern Africa and Socotra where its juice was called *alo* by the Copts and Greeks, *sabr* or *sabir* in Arabic and *Shubiri* in Swahili. It was used medicinally as a purgative and for healing inflammations of the skin, sores and burns (Manniche 1989:72). However, this plant of the *Liliaceae* family is totally distinct from the aloe of the Bible. Grievés (1992:29) writes:

The word aloes, in Latin *Lignum Aloes* is used in the Bible and many ancient writings to designate a substance totally distinct from the modern aloes, namely the resinous wood of *Aquilaria agalloch*, a large tree growing in the Malayan Peninsula. Its wood constituted a drug which was, down to the beginning of the present century, generally valued for use as incense, but now is esteemed only in the East.

Akasia, Acacia of the *Leguminosae* family, is likewise a tree native in all of eastern Africa, well known to the ancient Egyptians, and valued for its resin. It is distinct from the Robinia of the same family which is known as acacia in Europe but originates from America. The Latin name comes from the Greek *akakia*, which is derived from *akakia*, the Coptic word

for the juice of this tree, Arabic *q qiya*. The tree: Ar. *sant*, from Coptic *sonte*. Manniche 1989:65. Hepper 1990:22 gives three species of Egyptian acacia trees.

Albaste, from Greek *alabastos* from ancient Egyptian *A -la-baste* “vessel of the goddess Ebaste, also called Bubaste” (Klein 1967 I p. 43)

Amabele, *Sorghum caffrorum*. The Tsonga equivalent *mabele* is used for maize; Swahili *mawelee* is “bullrush millet”, *pennisetum*. The plant originates from the Sudan, and was brought to tropical Africa by the Nilotes, who call it *bel*, or *bele*, but they mean yet another genus of millet, *eleusine*.

Amandel from Greek *amygdalos* which is from Hebrew *mege-el* “divine fruit” (Klein).

Banaan, Eng. *banana*, from *bàn'ani* in Susu (spoken in Guinea), see Knappert 1972, p. 268, n. 6.

Baobab, from Sudanic Arabic *abab* or *abuab* “calabash”; perhaps *b-habhab* “father of calabashes”.

Bobbejaan, Latin name *Papio*. This may be South African in origin. There is no Arabic word from this simian.

Brensie, “rise”, comes ultimately from Sanskrit *vrihi*, via Persian *birinj* and / or Malay *beras* “uncooked rice”. The Hindi word *brinjal* is a conflation; it means “aubergine”, both words come from Persian *b dīng n*, from which we have also Swahili *mbilingani*. The Latin name is *Solanum melongena esculentum*, in Sanskrit *vatinganah*.

Dragoman via Greek and Arabic from Aramaic *turgemana* which comes from Babylonian *targum nu* “caller, interpreter”.

Esel, ass, from Latin *asinus*, Greek *onos* from **osonos*. This animal was first domesticated in eastern Asia Minor; the Armenian word is *sh*, pl. *ishank*. (Klein).

Ghitaar, guitar, Latin *cithara*, from which German *zither*, which is a different instrument, with 72 strings. English “guitar” comes from Spanish and Portuguese *guitarra*, from Arabic *qit ra* which is, like the Latin form, from Greek *kithára* “cither”. The Indian *s t r* is a different instrument. Its origin is Persian *s* “three” + *t r* “string”.

Gnoe. The French spelling of this word, *gnou*, is pronounced *nyu*, which is the first syllable of the Swahili word for this animal, *nyumbu*. I am told that this syllable is onomatopoeic for the gnu’s call.

Jasmyn form Persian *yasm n*, perh. from Skr. *ya as-v n* “beautiful, splendid”.

Kameel, Camel. Nubian has *kam* “camel”, plural *kam-li*, from which the Romans may have made *cameli*, and a singular *camelus* from that.

Kapot “broken”. In Dutch. also *kapoeres*, from Yiddish Hebrew *kappures*, Hebr. *kapp reth*, a sacrificial offering. A broken thing was good enough for an offering.

Karakoel is from Turkish *kara kul* “black slave”, name of one of the tribes

which nomadised in the region of Astrakhan in the late Middle Ages, raising sheep with a particular type of curly wool.

Karwats, Turkish *kirbaç*, cp. *kirba-ci* “leatherworker”.

Khedive, title of the ruler of Egypt during the nineteenth century, from Middle Persian *hwa-diwa* “his own lord”.

Kobang (also *koebang*), from Malay *kupang* “a ten cents piece”. A Javanese *koepang* was worth less, c. 2½ Netherlands cents.

Koemkwat from Cantonese *kam kwat* “Golden orange”. (R. Jones).

Koffie from Ar. *b n kaff* “bean from Kaffa”. Coffee shrubs are native in the Ethiopian kingdom of Kaffa. The habit of drinking coffee to stay awake during nocturnal prayers was brought to Arabia from Ethiopia by *Al-Ah dhil* (b. 1096).

Kongsi, from Chinese *g ngs* “company, corporation”, referring to trading, mining or services company, or a clan association.

Kramat, “Graf van een heilige Islamiet”, from Ar. *kar ma*, Pers. *kar mat* “generosity”, esp. God’s gracious gift to a saint which enables the latter to work wonders, even after death.

Laskaar “Oriental sailor, marine”. Mal. *lashkar* “soldiery”, via Persian from Ar. *askar* “belonging to the army”, from *askar* “army”, which is from Latin *exercitus* “army”.

Padie from Malay *padi* “paddy, riceplant in the field, rice-seed in the husk”.
Pari

TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL AND BEHAVIOURAL DIFFERENCES WHICH HINDER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ZULU AND ENGLISH SPEAKERS.

A.S. Davey

INTRODUCTION

I would like to express my thanks to the third-year Zulu mother-tongue students at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg and my colleagues Adrian Koopman, Msawakhe Hlengwa, Ndela Ntshangase and Mary Gordon for discussions which have lead to the writing of this article.

Nessa Wolfson (1989:26) says:

... negative judgements based on the lack of understanding of cross-cultural variation in speech behaviour tends to be reciprocal in nature. That is, if native speakers form negative impressions of people from cultures different from their own, non-native speakers' judgements of native speakers are likely to be equally strong for the same reasons, and it is not uncommon for a foreigner to express anger or hurt toward an entire society on the basis of exactly this sort of misunderstanding.

Teaching a course on sociolinguistics over the past four years has made me realise that the frustrations suffered by students because they feel that members of another group are dirty, noisy, quiet, bad-mannered, undisciplined or merely intolerable are based on many misunderstandings as well as on various other premises. For the purpose of this article I will be looking at some of the criticisms put forward by students about members of the other groups.

Most people, even though they may not have realised the cause of it, have come up against examples of misunderstandings between different groups

which have been the product of a misinterpretation of actions or words across a socio-cultural boundary. Some of these misunderstandings are easily overcome but others need to be understood. In this article the terms “society” and “culture” will be used synonymously.

It is well known that meaning is often signalled by more than the mere words chosen for a message. People can use gestures, changes in word order or idiomatic language and the fact that the cultures of the speakers may differ can make these signals extremely difficult to interpret. When dealing with languages and cultures as different as Zulu and English the possibilities of misunderstandings are limitless.

Besides the word order, gestures and idioms mentioned above there are the social norms which people are brought up to think are sacrosanct and absolutely necessary for “good behaviour” and that any behaviour outside of this is unacceptable. Unluckily, when one learns one’s social behaviour one is never taught that people from other cultures have different norms and that these are no more universally “correct” or “incorrect” than one’s own.

Hudson (1980:84-85) says:

To what extent do languages differ from one another? Are they all in some sense cut to the same mould, reflecting a common underlying “humanity”, or do they differ arbitrarily and unrestrictedly from one another, reflecting the fact that different people live in very different intellectual and physical worlds? This is the question of RELATIVITY, which may be considered in relation *either to language, or to non-linguistic aspects of culture, or to the area of contact between language and non-language in culture.* (My emphasis AS)

Wolfson (1989:1) says of relativity:

What sociolinguistic relativity means is that *each community has its own unique set of conventions, rules, and patterns for the conduct of communication* and that these must be understood in the context of a *general system which reflects the values and the structure of the society.* No two societies are quite alike in this respect, although some have more in common than others. The central point behind the notion of social relativity is that *no group has a monopoly on correct sociolinguistic behaviour*, for such judgements can be based only upon the rules one begins with. Lack of knowledge of the sociolinguistic rules which guide the interlocutor from a different cultural background can lead to serious breakdowns in communication. For this reason, it is of prime importance for language learners to be made aware, insofar as possible, of the rules

which obtain among native speakers of the target language. Where, as is most often the case, sociolinguistic rules have not yet been adequately analysed and described, *language learners and others who are involved in intercultural communication can at least be made sensitive of the fact that these patterns exist.* (My emphasis ASD)

The problem is that few people are aware of the norms of other societies and those involved in day-to-day communication with others fail to recognise the merits of those cultures.

Goodenough (1957) as quoted in Hudson (1980:74) says of culture:

Possibly one of the major areas of annoyance between peoples of different cultures is the inability to recognise cultural differences in others.

De Kadt (1992:104) says:

Politeness seems to be negotiated primarily by means of other, often non-verbal dimensions of the interaction, ... in Zulu ... the following aspects seem to be included: posture (subordinate should be seated, the avoidance of eye contact by subordinates, gesture (especially rubbing one's hands together when asking for something), pauses, the order of speaking, address terms, strategies (such as the role of hints), and vocabulary (*hlonipha* of language).

The criticisms dealt with in this article are from students – mainly mother-tongue Zulu-speaking – who did a section on sociolinguistics in their third-year course and were asked to write down their criticisms of people of other race/language groups.¹ It so happened that almost all of the criticisms were of English-speaking South Africans (normally referred to as “whites” in the text), not surprisingly because they are the majority of other students who are at the University of Natal.

The major subcategorization used here is between language-based and behaviour-based norms. It is not always easy to demarcate the difference between these two, and so the language category is used for anything in which language rather than pure behaviour is involved. The criticisms will be listed as given (indented and enclosed in inverted commas) and then there will be a discussion on the differences between the two cultures.

LANGUAGE-BASED CRITICISMS

These will be divided up into the following sub-categorizations:

- Greetings
- Manner of speaking
- Deference
- Appreciation

A. Greetings

The first two criticisms are related and will be dealt with together.

1. “Whites do not bother to greet people that they do not know”.
2. “When a white comes across two people, one of whom he knows and the other not he will greet those he knows and leave the other/s out”.

In Zulu culture one must greet people whether or not one knows them. It is considered rude not to do so. In English culture, on the other hand, although there is nothing to stop one from greeting a stranger, it is uncommon and might even be viewed with some suspicion by that stranger. If one were to greet a stranger, then often a smile would suffice for the greeting (see point 3 on smiling to greet).

Point 3 is not language based but as it also refers to a greeting it will be handled here.

3. “When greeting the whites give a ‘grin’ which fades very soon as if they regret ever having given it.² This is most annoying to Zulus.”

Of this Wolfson (1989:104) says:

The most common nonverbal³ greetings were found to be head gestures, mutual glances, and *smiles*. (My emphasis ASD)

To most peoples greetings are mere phatic communion (in Malinowsky’s terms) to acknowledge the presence of the other. Whether this is done by using words or actions does not really matter as long as it is done. The problem for the Zulu speakers here is that they can use an action for greeting, that of holding both hands out with the palms pointing forwards and down, but they do not recognise that the smile, which English speakers use, carries the same message. They feel that a smile shows happiness and if the smile fades quickly it shows that it is insincere and that the person doing the smiling is not happy at all. The fact that it is an acknowledgement of the other person and not an indication of happiness has to be learned by non-English speakers.

4. “Whites greet you even if they have already seen you that day. This we find annoying as he is making a fool of you (*sic*).”

As has been said, greetings are merely forms of “phatic communion” and as such they indicate acknowledgement of the other person’s presence and that is really all. In Zulu a second meeting would entail a remark about the weather, the fact that one was busy, the state of the world or some such thing merely because it would be rude to go by without saying anything. In English, it would also be rude to ignore someone whom you had already seen, but the difference here is that it is not impolite to give a greeting similar to that given at the first meeting. It would also be possible to use a reference to the weather or other subject as in Zulu, but a greeting would do just as well and it is this discrepancy which bothers the Zulu speakers. I have heard Zulus whose children are at school with English speakers complaining that even their children now greet them each time they see them and that they have found this strange.

B. Manner of Speaking

5. “Whites speak too softly, which makes it difficult to understand them and it also seems when they speak to one another they may be gossiping and therefore not want others to hear what they are saying.”

It is often true that English speakers do not want others to hear what they have to say. This is because they feel that what they are saying is private (of course this does enable them to gossip without being too obvious but that is not normally the case) and that they don’t want to disturb others by making too much noise. Zulu speakers, on the other hand, speak out loudly to show that they are not saying anything which could offend anyone else, and that they are not ashamed of what they are saying. English speakers, and people from other cultures, can find this annoying because they feel that it disturbs them. It is considered to be an invasion of their privacy.

6. “The Whites use bad language (*i.e. swearing*) and this offends us”

The Zulu word *-ethuka* is translated in the Doke and Vilakazi dictionary as:

Utter abusive language, swear; abuse, insult

and the Zulu word: *-funga*

Take an oath, swear.

These two Zulu words, both being translated as *swear* in English, are very different and even they don’t cover all the meanings of the English word.

“Swearing” is a word which can be used in three ways in English. Either (i) one can swear in anger, disgust or surprise; or (ii) one can swear at someone; or (iii) one can swear an oath.

The use of certain words describing the sex act or bodily functions (swearing in one of its English meanings) is taboo in many languages. However, words of this type can now be used as interjections (expletives)⁴ – in sense (i) above – to express pain or annoyance in English.

Cursing at people is probably not acceptable in most cultures, although the punishment for this is very different in different cultures. In English, the use of various words has changed radically over the last generation or so. Words such as “bloody”, “bugger”, “bastard” and the like have been used in polite company in certain contexts for the past forty or fifty years at least, and probably longer. On the other hand, words like “shit” and “fuck” (which are becoming more commonly used now in the English-speaking world) were completely taboo even twenty or thirty years ago in South African English society. Nowadays these words are heard on television and in movies and are read in books, and so are gaining acceptance very fast. It is difficult for children to be told that these are unsuitable for polite conversation when they hear them all the time on the media.

In Zulu swearing is very different in that there is not really an equivalent of the annoyance/ disgust type of swearing. Swearing (-*ethuka*) is normally used to curse people. Swearing (-*funga*) is to swear to truth or to swear falsely. There are various levels of (-*ethuka*). Some forms, like *udakiwe*, “you are drunk”, can be used jokingly. Others, like *unyoko*, “your mother”, can never be used other than with the intention of insulting. Such an insult might traditionally only be revenged by the death of the person using the language. This in itself goes some way to explain why the Zulus feel insulted when they hear English speakers swearing. First, they often regard it as being aimed at them because they are not familiar with the annoyance type swearing. Second, because the teaching of a language always changes far later than the actual language itself. Zulu speakers often do not recognise that the modern use of words which were taboo a generation ago are now acceptable in many instances.

The following tables may shed some light on this:

swear - <i>ethuka</i>	Zulu	English
Offensive; swearing at someone or insulting them:	- <i>ethuka</i> “ <i>insult</i> ” used when one swears at a person often using the word <i>unyoko</i> “ <i>your mother</i> ” in some or other way.	Swearing at: Calling someone a <i> fucking bastard</i> or words to that effect.

Inoffensive; expletive:	A Zulu person would say something like “ ush ” if hurt and would never <i>swear</i> .	An English speaker might well say “ shit ” or “ fuck ”. Although this is using a “swear word” it is not insulting or aimed at anyone. It is used to express annoyance much like the Zulu “ ush ” and should not be translated by - <i>ethuka</i> .
swear -funga	Zulu	English
To take an oath	<i>ukufunga iqiniso</i> “to swear to the truth”	To swear on the Holy Bible

7. “Whites don’t tell you if they are upset with you. If they don’t talk about it how can we know how to correct the wrong.”

It appears to me that this depends on who the people in question are. For example, Zulu people will not tell their elders if they are upset with them, nor will the English. English speakers may well take this far further to where they seldom tell anyone if they are annoyed with them. This could be because they feel that it is impolite to do so, or that they want to avoid the unpleasantness or confrontation which may ensue if their displeasure is expressed verbally. Often the displeasure is expressed through the body language of the person concerned. This does not necessarily help the person causing the annoyance to know what exactly he or she is doing wrong.

8. The use of the term “maid” to refer to *umuntu olekelela ekhaya* is offensive.

This is a difficult criticism to comment on because the term “maid” is not derogatory in English.⁵ Presumably it has taken on a disparaging connotation to Zulu speakers of English and it is probable that English speakers will have to use something like “domestic” in future if they wish to avoid giving offence.

9. “Whites ask if you want something to eat or drink instead of just bringing it.”

In Zulu society when visitors arrive, the hostess brings out food or drink, or

both, and the guests are expected to eat or drink whatever is brought unless they have a good reason for not doing so. In English society, on the other hand, the host/hostess must ask the guests if they want something to eat or drink, and then say what is on offer so that the guests can decide whether they want to partake of it or not.

10. “If a Zulu should hurt himself he expects to hear *Nxese* or ‘sorry’, and not to be asked if he is alright.”

Here again we have a problem with the translation. In Zulu the word *Nxese* is an expression of empathy with the person who is hurt. In English, on the other hand, one uses “sorry” if one has caused the discomfiture. To express solidarity with the person hurt one must ask: “Are you alright?”. This latter can still be used after “sorry” but the sorry always indicates culpability and so it cannot be used instead of “are you alright?”

C. Deference

11. “In Zulu one would not address someone older than you by name (i.e. by first name) as it is considered disrespectful. One should use *Baba* or *Mama* before the name to show respect.”

A “respect form” is common in languages of the world. French uses the pronouns *tu* and *vous*, the former which is informal and the latter formal. Afrikaans uses *ji* or *u*, and German *du* and *Sie* in the same way. The thing is that these forms can change for various reasons and these are not normally because the people in that culture lack any sort of respect. For example, as Hudson (1980:124) says:

It was normal until quite recently for French children to call their fathers *vous*, in recognition of his greater power, but now it is usual for them to call him *tu* because of high solidarity. Similar changes have taken place in many Western European languages such as German and Italian ... and also in Russian.

In the first part of the twentieth century, British boys attending private schools would address their fathers as “Sir”. The fact that this type of language has changed to the extent that young people now often call their elders by their first names does not signify a diminution in respect but merely a change in what Hudson calls “solidarity”. Many older people in South African English society prefer to be called by their first names rather than Mr So-and-so or Uncle So-and-so, another form which was possible at one time in this country for children to call good friends of their parents.

D. Appreciation

12. “Thanking. Whites do not do this, i.e. use both hands.”

In Zulu society it is necessary to receive something in both hands, or at least, accept it with the right hand but hold the right wrist with the left hand. The only time that it is not necessary to do this is if one is already using one hand for something else. It would be common, but not necessary for the acceptance to be accompanied by *Ngiyabonga*, “Thank you”. In English society one can accept with either hand and it would be unusual to use both hands unless the thing being handed over was either large or heavy. The important thing would be to say “thank you”. That is necessary in almost all cases.

BEHAVIOURALLY BASED CRITICISMS

These will be divided up into the following sub-categories:

- interactions
- decency
- miscellaneous

A. Interactions

Invitations:

1. “We do not like the fact that one cannot go to, or bring a friend/s to a party without being invited.”
2. “Whites live in their own houses and don’t care who their neighbours are. Neighbours are not even necessarily invited to a party taking place next door to them.”

In Zulu society a party is held so that people in the neighbourhood can socialise. This means that anyone is invited, even strangers who may be passing. Invitations do not need to be issued. It can be rude not to attend a party which one knows is being held. A great deal of food is prepared and many people may well have a hand in the preparation. In English society, on the other hand, where parties can be very small and consist of six to twelve people, or much larger for special occasions such as weddings or twenty-first birthday parties, the host and hostess issue invitations to people whom they wish to have and only those invited would be expected to attend. They will make sure that they have enough food for those invited without having too much left over at the end. The difference here may well be that the English

families tend to be of the nuclear type and so if there is too much food left over it goes to waste, whereas the Zulu families are of the more extended type where leftover food would be consumed by the members of the extended family. The different structures of the Zulu and English families probably also explain the different approaches to neighbours. Zulus are more used to large groups of family and friends and therefore have no problem enlarging the group even more, whereas the English families, being far smaller units, tend to keep out extraneous members, and may well live next door to someone they never really get to know and whom they certainly would not expect to attend any party to which they were not specifically invited.

Nessa Wolfson (1989:118) says of invitations (and this has a bearing on offering as well):

The knowledge of how to give, interpret, and respond to invitations is an aspect of communicative competence which is critical to those who wish to interact socially.

Offering food or drink:

This criticism is language based but as it is closely allied to invitations, it will be dealt with here.

3. "If an English speaker offers something and you refuse they always say, "Are you sure?" as if you had not thought out your reply."

In different cultures there are different ways of accepting what is offered. In Zulu one merely answers with something like: "*Yebo*" "Yes" or "*Ngiyabonga*" "(No) Thank you" and that is the end of it. In English one can answer similarly, but if the answer is "No thank you" then the host is obliged to ask: "Are you sure?" If the last assurance is not sought, then the host might be considered to be impolite.

4. "Whites expressing of joy strange. (*sic.*) In graduation ceremonies the whites clap politely where the blacks get up and make a great deal of noise."

English upbringing stresses that one should be controlled at all times and that neither joy nor anguish should be displayed too obviously. If one looks at the behaviour of sports crowds, and even sportsmen and women, this could well be in a process of change among the English. Zulu people express their joy in no uncertain manner.

5. “The use of eye-contact is annoying to Zulus but normal to the English.”

Zulu children are taught not to make eye contact with their elders as a form of respect. In English society if one does not make eye contact, then one is considered to be trying to hide something and so one automatically looks others in the eye. Many English speakers get annoyed if the person they are speaking to does not look them in the eye.

6. “Hugging and kissing in public is embarrassing to us.”

Zulus may not make use of terms of endearment or show affection in any way even to their spouses in front of anyone. English culture is in a state of change here, where it is now far more common than it was some years ago to use a hug, possibly accompanied with a kiss, as a greeting. This has no sexual connotations whatsoever. Zulu culture does seem to be changing here to a certain extent as well, as one does see students on occasion hugging one another.

7. “In Zulu you should not touch someone else in public, especially on the head. The English do this.”

8. “White students brush or touch their hair whilst others are eating.”

In English society there is no specific taboo on touching someone else other than if it is done in a sexual way. The face or head would be considered to be more intimate than, for example, the arm, but could be touched to remove a mark or leaf or such thing. There would be no more problem with touching the hair than any other part of the head and touching one's own head whilst others were eating would not normally be noticed. The fact that chefs and others working in kitchens traditionally wear some sort of headgear may be an indication that this touching of the hair around food is relatively new amongst English speakers. More research needs to be done on this. With Zulus, on the other hand, it is not permitted to touch another in public, and touching on the hair is to be avoided at all costs. Zulu speakers may not touch their hair near food.

9. “Use of personal space. Zulus feel that it is not right for an unmarried man and woman to stand close together.”

English speakers may stand close to a member of the opposite sex without any sexual connotations being manifested. This is not so in Zulu society and, for members of the opposite sex to stand apart, probably links up with the next criticism wherein one does not admit to a liaison with one of the opposite sex.

10. “Referring to your girl- or boyfriend to people slightly older than you are is wrong to us.”

To acknowledge having a boy- or girlfriend to one’s parents or friends is normal in English society. The parents would even expect to be introduced to the person in question. Zulus consider this to be wrong culturally and must not admit this to anyone in an older age group. Even if the liaison is known about by the parents, neither the parents nor the children should admit to this. Standing close together may well be considered by Zulus to be an admission of some sort of involvement and therefore taboo.

11. “A child must be close to an adult if being spoken to by the adult. The child must approach the adult. The English children do not do this.” (i.e. they do not automatically approach the adults. ASD).

Children need only approach adults when being spoken to by them if told to do so in English society, otherwise they may stay where they are. This does not necessarily indicate a lack of respect but is merely part of convention. Zulu convention, on the other hand, demands that the child approach the adult.

12. “Whites do not come in or sit down until told to do so.”

A Zulu person must sit down immediately on entering a room. Even if there is not a chair then he must sit or squat on the floor until one is brought. The English, on the other hand, must wait to be invited to sit. If the invitation is not forthcoming, then one must remain standing. Another case of the two cultures expecting diametrically opposed behaviour.

B. Decency

13. “The wearing of slacks or shorts by English women can give offence to us.”

This is something which is changing in Zulu society where one sees female students wearing both shorts and slacks. However, point 14 below probably has a lot to do with the more traditional use of this sort of dress amongst English-speaking females.

14. “White women sit with their legs crossed. Black women must sit with their legs pressed tightly together.”
15. “Zulu girls are taught not to sit with their legs up. The whites do this.”

As stated above, this probably pertains to the common wearing of slacks and

shorts rather than skirts. The latter can be rather more revealing if the wearer doesn't sit carefully. There is also the problem that Zulu women are not supposed to show their thighs and feel that it is indecent for English speakers to show theirs. The English, on the other hand, feel that it is indecent to show off their breasts (although this is changing now on beaches), where the Zulus find nothing wrong with this.

16. "The English smoke and drink in front of their parents. In Zulu society you never do this even if you are a parent yourself."

17. "Smoking of women or children annoys Zulus." (*Sic.*)

Smoking in public is probably becoming less acceptable in many societies, but it has never been a taboo for the English to smoke or drink in front of their parents, or anybody else for that matter, unless under age. One wonders what the new smoking laws will do in this area.

18. "White males like to go naked and this offends the blacks, whereas white girls merely find it funny."

The habit of "streaking" has been around for some time now. In some way young white males (not only English speaking) seem to think that it is daring and that they can prove something by running naked in front of crowds or women's residences. This is normally only done by young males who have quite possibly had too much to drink.

C. Miscellaneous

19. "A man must not cook, look after children or do other domestic work."

In English society there is no stigma attached to any of these tasks and a man may be involved in any of them. From the reaction of some of the women in the class to this criticism, some Zulu males may well find themselves in the same position in a few years time. Certainly with the attempt to get more equality for women this would appear to be a threatened area of Zulu culture.

20. "To Zulus it is odd to take a dog into a room where there are people present, especially when it is allowed to sleep in that room. A Zulu who sleeps inside with a dog, can be accused of being a witch because the dog's place is outside" (*sic.*)

There is a great deal of difference between the way in which the Zulus and the English regard pets in general and dogs in particular. One has only to look at the abstract noun *ubunja* "bestiality, inhumanity" formed from the stem *-nja*

“dog” in Zulu to see the extent of this difference. The English regard the dog as a loving friend whom they play with, stroke and pat, and who can be with them at all times, whereas the Zulus feel that it is something which will protect their houses but must remain outside.

The differences between Zulu and English culture obviously go way beyond the few examples addressed in this article. The various criticisms dealt with above are classified largely into those which are language based and those which are behaviourally based. Some, which have been handled in one or other of the sections, straddle both, (i.e. language and behaviour) but all of these and many more must necessarily be understood by the people concerned if there is to be meaningful communication between them.

The examples given above are a start, but only that towards clearing up some of the misconceptions about the “bad behaviour” or “lack of manners”, as it is sometimes expressed, of people from across the Zulu/English cultural border. This needs to be taken further and to be extended to all of the other groups in the country to be of any real benefit. It is only by learning something of the cultures of other groups that we will ever be able to accept differences in behaviour which are so often thought to be rudeness or at least inconsiderateness on the part of others and to realise that what we take to be “correct” behaviour may well be unacceptable to people brought up in another culture.

ENDNOTES

- 1 They were collected between 1994 and 1997.
- 2 The majority of the students who had this complaint identified this as a grin which they differentiated from a smile. The first they felt was insincere.
- 3 This was taken from a laboratory study of greetings by Krivonos and Knapp of college-age men in the United States.
- 4 The word “expletive” is glossed as: *an exclamation or swearword; an oath or sound expressing emotion rather than meaning in Collins concise English dictionary.*
- 5 It is glossed as *a female servant* in the *Collins concise English dictionary*.

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THE FUTURE OF THE STANDARD AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN THE MULTILINGUAL SOUTH AFRICAN CLASSROOM

Sarah Slabbert/Rosalie Finlayson

INTRODUCTION

As we leave the second and enter the third millennium, we will be further exposed to forces and developments not envisaged except in science fiction projections. Information technology continues to outstrip the ability of the hardware and software industries to keep pace with its development. How this is likely to impact on the field of language and communication is difficult to predict. However, with the increasing rate of urbanization coupled with the inadequacies of South Africa's historical legacy at all levels of education, we are already confronted with changes rapidly appearing in the use of the so-called standard forms of language. This situation is further exacerbated by the in-migration of foreign nationals in search of employment and a better way of life.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the processes that have been and still are eroding the standard South African African languages, with specific reference to the implications of the teaching of the standard forms:

- the colonial and neo-colonial history of the standardization process itself
- the lack of function and status of the standard languages
- the development of high status non-standard varieties in the urban centres.

With regard to the non-standard urban varieties, empirically derived data from a selected sample group of classroom test cases have been used to investigate the following issues:

- Do the attitudes of learners in the sample area concerning the speakers and

functions of the standard and non-standard varieties conform to the normal pattern of attitudes associated with the standard variety?

- Are learners able to recognise standard forms as such and produce such standard forms?
- Is a single urban variety in Pretoria used as a lingua franca?
- How do the linguistic devices employed in the accommodation process relate to contact phenomena in general?

The chapter will conclude with an argument on whether the use of this non-standard or so-called diluted variety is either a reversal in the development of the African languages or intrinsic to their further promotion and growth. The question may also be asked as to whether the urban variety may be regarded as a stage in the continuum towards creolization.

In addressing the complex issue of standard language in post-colonial Africa we would like to pay tribute to the substantial contribution that J.A. Louw made not only to the standardization process, but in particular to the issue of the conjunctive orthography in the Nguni languages, especially with reference to Xhosa.

History of the standard African languages

No comprehensive study has yet been undertaken of the history of the standardization process of the African languages in South Africa. While the missionaries did the pioneering work in the early transcription of the African languages, not everybody is as positive of their attempts at standardization, referring to them as “clumsy procedures ... each working to their own agenda, often basing their orthographies on those of their own languages ...” (Bill 1990:108). After the Nationalist government came into power in 1948 so-called “Bantu Education” was centralized and the standardization process became formal. Seven departmental committees, later called the language boards, were instituted to standardize spelling, as well as the settling of still outstanding differences of orthographic opinion, and the creation of new words in an effort to modernize these languages and enable them to express the many concepts needed in the new educational syllabuses, broadcasting services and technical training (Van Wyk 1970:102). These language boards also made recommendations about the highly influential and profitable market of prescribed books for schools, acting as guardian angels over language purity. As instruments of the government, their recommendations were expected to screen out any protest literature, with the result that published works in the African languages were restricted to “traditional” themes. Because of the association with apartheid structures, the standardization process therefore

unfortunately lacked legitimacy. The standard languages are consistently viewed (Calteaux 1995:36) as a result of historical accident and a direct and deliberate intervention by society.

Function and status of the standard African languages

South Africa in the past had no single national standard language. English and Dutch, the latter replaced by Afrikaans in 1925, were the official languages of the country from 1910 to 1994. English is the colonial language, whereas Afrikaans, although developed from the colonial Dutch, can be regarded as indigenous. However, during the apartheid years Afrikaans functioned as a neocolonial language.

In 1963 the government amended the language clauses of the constitution so that the newly formed self-governing states, the infamous homelands, could legislate themselves on the status of the African language of the region. This gave the African languages the first chance to gain some official status, for example the Transkei homeland chose Xhosa as one of its official languages.

The 1996 Constitution of South Africa declared all 11 major South African languages national official languages. This declaration, which was also part of the Interim Constitution of 1994, gave for the first time in the history of South Africa national official status to the nine African languages. Appropriate and accepted standard forms of the African languages are requirements for the effective use of these languages in higher functions. Despite the formal declaration of the official status of the African languages, their use in practice is very limited and often restricted to political gestures, such as their inclusion in letterheads and single phrases in advertisements.

History of the urban varieties

The urban varieties of the South African African languages have developed as a result of mainly two factors:

- In the townships speakers from the spectrum of South African Bantu languages, as well as the Bantu languages of neighbouring countries, adapt their languages to facilitate communication in a multilingual context where accommodation is a central communicative norm.
- The linguistic influence of English and Afrikaans as a result of the colonial history, neocolonial apartheid and modernization in general has impacted dramatically on these languages.

The typology of urban varieties has been described by various researchers and a range of variety types have been identified. Schuring (1985), for example, identifies a lingua franca for the townships of Pretoria, which he defines as a koine (Pretoria-Sotho) which is comparable with Town Bemba (Kashoki 1972 & Richardson 1963). According to Schuring, Pretoria-Sotho is based on the Kgatla dialect of Tswana, with elements of the other Sotho languages, English and Afrikaans, as well as a low percentage from non-Sotho languages. As a koine it is characterized by contractions and abbreviations, phonetic and morphological simplification or “levelling” as well as slang words.

Calteaux (1994), using material from Tembisa, another urban area in Gauteng Province, distinguishes what she calls the Black Urban Vernacular (BUV), which she regards as similar in function and structure to Pretoria Sotho. She notes (1994:194) that it “is not a discrete variety, but represents a wide spectrum of variation ... the languages which dominate in Mixed Language are Zulu and English ... Adopted words are often Africanised ... (and there is) semantic shift (as well as) code-mixing and borrowing”. She further maintains that the BUV can be compared with Town Bemba with regard to the following features: “the nuances and finer points of the classical idiom have lost their relevance under urban conditions. Epstein suspects considerable changes in the phonetic structure and pronunciation as well, and mentions the most obvious changes are the innovations in words and phrases. A large number of English words have been adopted into Bemba ... new words, often short-lived, are constantly being coined.” The languages featuring most prominently in BUV differ from area to area. Calteaux (1994:199) states further that “the process of convergence appears to be similar to the process of levelling”, which Schuring has also described for Pretoria Sotho.

A similar typology is also found in the work of the other researchers who took part in the Human Sciences Research Council’s Stanon (Standard and Non-standard Languages) project although a distinction is made between BUV and what are called urban varieties. To quote from the Stanon report (1995:52) BUV has an accommodating function and “also functions as a mark of urbanization and to indicate that the speaker is “city-wise”,” whereas urban varieties such as of Tsonga and Xhosa “differ from the standard varieties of these languages due to modernization and contact with other languages and varieties.”

Standard African languages differ substantially from the language varieties that are spoken in the multilingual urban centres. The standards are generally regarded as linguistically the closest to the rural varieties. Calteaux (1995:37) confirms this in saying that “in South Africa the standard forms of the African languages are based on regional dialects which are spoken in the rural areas.”

Calteaux (1995:38) states that “typically, non-standard dialects are not *socially* equal to the standard dialect, i.e. speaking the standard dialect is associated with high socio-economic prestige.” She goes on (1995:50) to add “that standard languages are used for the higher functions of language, such as in the domains of education, religion, and formal meetings.” However, while the standard languages have enjoyed this higher status, Calteaux (1995:50) acknowledges that “this viewpoint seems to be changing, however, as the younger generation no longer hold the standard language in awe.”

Impact of the situation in the classroom

All of the points raised so far have a profound impact on the urban classroom situation. Recent research (Eltic 1997) has shown that although stakeholders in education generally welcome the official status of the African languages, their practical value in education and the market-place is not held in high esteem. For example, the feeling is that if you can speak it why should you learn it? Parents would prefer learners to learn something useful and new such as English rather than a Bantu language. New language regulations in the schools do not require that you take your home language as a subject. The general expectation is that African parents will choose languages other than their own.

The urban varieties themselves seem to be threatening the future of the standard languages. Some comments in this regard show how teachers are caught between pillar and post: they appreciate the possible role of the urban varieties in popularizing African languages, yet they fear for the demise of the standard form. They include the urban varieties to popularize their teaching because,

We identify an educated person with English. Once you see a person reading Zulu, you think that person is not educated. The kids are even very embarrassed, shy to read the setbook in public, because people will think they are not educated.

On the demise of the standard languages, comments such as the following were expressed:

I think the youngsters must be taught the pure languages so that they can know their culture.

While another said:

The children don't speak standard Zulu. It is a serious problem. These languages kill Zulu. Do you want to kill Zulu? We are to enforce and

maintain the standards. I am as a Zulu teacher totally against it. If these languages are successful, Zulu writers will be regarded as outdated.

and further,

It disturbs them (the students in the learning of the standards). When they go out of the classroom it is the end of the standard language.

These opinions of the teachers are echoed in research on African languages in the classroom. For example, Malimabe (1990:19) acknowledges that many words from the standard forms are anglicized in class but she is of the opinion that “codeswitching should be discouraged in the classroom, especially where it interferes with the purity of the standard language.” This has led to tensions in teaching standard African languages as first-language subjects to multilingual urban African children. These tensions also have very definite implications for future language policies in education.

Research design

In order to test the status of both the standard and non-standard languages, two hypotheses were formulated:

- The attitudes of black high school children in Gauteng concerning the standard and non-standard/urban varieties of their home languages undermine the definition of the standard variety.
- Black high-school children in Gauteng have trouble in understanding and producing the standard speech forms of their home languages.

The research comprised four focus groups from Tsako Thabo High School in Mamelodi township in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan area. The school has 1 330 learners from a variety of language backgrounds. For each group, eight Grade 10 learners, gender more or less equally distributed, were selected. Two of the groups had learners with Northern Sotho as home language and the other two groups had Zulu as home language. For each group there were two sessions planned, with different varieties planned for each session.

Table 1

	Group 1	Group 2
Session A	Standard	Urban
Session B	Urban	Standard

The discussion guide consisted of:

- Playing a tape recording to respondents of a person speaking in the standard or urban variety. The task then was for respondents to select from a set of pictures, faces, clothes, jobs, houses, activities associated with areas such as church, shebeen, soccer field, means of transport, etc., those characteristics which most closely depicted the person speaking on the tape. They were subsequently asked to discuss why they had made such a choice.
- Identifying the language the person was speaking, where one would associate such a person and, with the pictures as a guide, which functions would be associated with the variety spoken.
- Filling in missing words from a given passage.
- Answering questions from a given passage.

Research results

- (a) The matched guise test has confirmed the result of a similar test for the adult black population in South Africa which was done in 1993 (Slabbert & Van den Berg). The attitudes of pupils in Mamelodi about the speakers and functions of the standard and non-standard varieties do not conform to the normal pattern of attitudes associated with the standard. The standard languages have become more closely associated with those people who express traditional and more conservative values. The non-standard urban varieties on the other hand embody the modernity and relative affluence of the urban centres. Compare examples 1a and 1b:

[1a] *Ke e kwa ko kgorong ge banna ba bolela ba rera tsa mosate goba melato.* (It (standard form) is from the chief's court when men speak at the chief's kraal when they discuss cases.)

[1b] **Ungumama - ungu**MISTRESS, **uyafundisa. MOSTLY** abotishelekazi nabotishela bathanda **impahla ezinhle** AND THEN **lesi ngibona ukuthi impilo yakhe neFAMILY yakhe inhle. Nabantwana bakhe ubaphethe kahle, ngoba abotishelekazi indlu zabo zinhle, inwele zakhe ngethemba ukuthi zinhle ngoba abotishelekazi bathanda into ezinhle.**

(It's a female [speaking on the tape] – a lady teacher, who teaches. Most lady and male teachers like lovely clothes and here I believe her life is good and her life with that of her family is good. She looks well after her children, she has a beautiful house because lady teachers have beautiful houses. I believe her hair is lovely because lady teachers like nice things.) (Zulu bold, Sotho italics, English caps)

What should be clear from the above is that the South African situation places a question mark behind the relevance of the concept of standard language in all situations. Van Wyk at a seminar on the non-standard

African language varieties commented on the concept as follows: “Standard language is a typically vague sociolinguistic concept in that it is impossible to define it in such a way that it will mean the same thing for every possible situation.” He then goes on to say: “I would favour the view, by no means original, that standard languages, at least in our situation, are *superordinate language varieties representing in one way or another correct or prestigious linguistic usage*” (1992:24–25, our emphasis). If the prestige of standards is so seriously undermined by a system that it becomes non-existent, the relevance of the standards is then brought into question.

- (b) The Mamelodi learners showed a sensitivity with regard to the difference between the standard and non-standard varieties. For example, they attempted to answer in the standard language itself questions on a passage in the standard, and questions on a passage in the non-standard in the non-standard. The language variety they used in the discussion on their choice of pictures to suit the audio example of the standard was significantly closer to the standard than that of the discussion on the non-standard audio example.

This result was reaffirmed when the learners were required to do a very simplified production exercise, i.e. they attempted to fill in standard forms within a standard text and while not consistent in their responses, some non-standard forms were offered in a text depicting a non-standard variety. They had very few problems in filling in missing words in both a standard and a non-standard text. The standard Northern Sotho passage for example contained 123 lexical items of which 13 were omitted for the test. The non-standard Zulu passage contained 87 lexical items of which 16 were omitted. The disjunctive convention of writing for Sotho versus the conjunctive for Nguni would explain the difference in the number of lexical items. See example 2 in this regard:

- [2] Sentence 1 from the standard Northern Sotho test passage:

La mathomoge a phaphama e be e le iri ya lesomepedi (1 bošegogare), mme ka go lemoga gore ga sešo (2 a gogoge) a ipoelela borokong.

Although a variety of answers were given for the omitted relative construction (*a gogoge*), learners with the exception of a few idiosyncratic deviations, consistently produced grammatically correct forms.

Jacobeth:	<i>ya ba nako yago tsogo</i>
Patience:	<i>e be nako</i>
Moses R:	<i>o boa</i>
Jacob:	<i>a apa</i>

Steve	<i>gose</i>
Jonas	<i>a robala</i>
Moses M:	<i>go sa</i>

Sentence 2 from the non-standard Zulu passage:

Uyabona, labomama abasebenza amabhunwini (6 uma) ungabheka kahle nje vele abantwana babo (7 bazamile) ukuthi baye ezikoleni noma (8 bangafundanga) bona, abazali laba abasebenza (9 emapulazeni) wamabhunu benzile ukuthi abantwana (10 babo) baye ezikoleni.

In the case of a locative (no. 9) for example being omitted, learners generally also produced a locative, the grammatically correct form.

Philistus:	emakhishini
Fortune:	emakhishini
Phyllis:	ezindlini
Veronica:	emahovisini
Patricia:	umsebenzi
Phineas:	emakhishini

Our conclusion is that although these learners might predominantly speak a non-standard variety, even at home, they are still able to position themselves on a continuum closer or further removed from the standard, which would be determined by specific communication variables. Despite both teachers' and Africanists' concerns that learners no longer know the standard varieties, we find them definitely able to differentiate between an urban and standard variety and able to shift towards the standard.

- (c) The comprehension tests did not give conclusive results since learners fared extremely poorly for both the standard and non-standard passages. A number of reasons could be given for this: one of the markers commented that the non-standard version did not adequately eliminate what she regarded as difficult items. How factors such as locality, context, subject matter, grammatical complexity, and dialectal diversity or a combination thereof impact on comprehension has not been fully researched for the standard languages. Further, it appeared as if the skill necessary to answer a comprehension test could have been a factor.

Road to the future

We would conclude that the standard African languages as have been discussed are in many ways dysfunctional. Unless the functions of the African languages are extended in practice, the need for a standard variety as such is seriously in question. If, however, there is a functional need for a standard, then the issue would be to retain the standards as they have currently been defined and to

actively promote them in order to at least bring their status on a par with the urban varieties. The other option would be to open up the standards to include the urban varieties. To make a decision as to whether the non-standard varieties are indeed a diluted or watered-down version of the standard and as such a reversal in the development of the African languages or whether they should be regarded as intrinsic to their promotion and development is a highly debatable issue. The implications of the latter choice could be either allowing a process to go its natural course, which could lead to the demise of the African languages, or to try and intervene.

Linguistic descriptions of the urban varieties in South Africa have focused on codeswitching (Stanon researchers, Kamwangamalu, Finlayson and Slabbert et al) as well as the phonetic, morphological and syntactic aspects of English and Afrikaans adoptives in the Bantu languages (Koopman et al). These descriptions do not make any projections as to where issues such as incremental codeswitching (CS) and adoptives can be seen as against a broader picture in the lifecycle of a language. Even taken against a brief historical perspective of some 20 years, the shift of the African languages has been characterized by a merging process and at the same time they have been dramatically incorporating the high prestige target language, English. The speakers see CS as enhancing the merging process.

Attempts at formulating a typology of the urban varieties have already been mentioned. However, the transcript of the learners' discussions, as well as their own interpretations of the accommodation process, have confirmed the conclusion that we came to in two recent papers (1997a, 1997b). Instead of a single BUV or koine for a specific urban area that functions as a lingua franca, non-standard varieties of all the African languages have developed in the urban areas as a result of the accommodation process and are used to accommodate. We acknowledge, however, that not all of them are equally relevant in a specific urban area and that their relevance would be determined further by the home languages of the interlocutors of a particular conversation.

Preliminary findings on certain linguistic devices that characterize the urban speech and that can be regarded as part of the accommodation process include (i) phonological truncations, (ii) morpheme elision, (iii) levelling of lexical items to a common denominator, including CS, and (iv) the use of specific patterns of CS, such as the use of the English and Afrikaans conjunctions and adverbs to simplify the verbal structure. Each of these is discussed below.

(i) Phonological adaptations

The phonological characteristics of the urban varieties have been studied in some detail (Stanon report), however, as has already been mentioned,

with the emphasis on adoptives. One of the exceptions is Childs' article on Iscamtho (1995), an in-group urban variety with Bantu (mostly Zulu) as matrix language. He maintains (1995:11) "That the erosive processes at work on Zulu words are most heartily operant at word edges, *ukuthi* 'that', for example, becomes truncated to *kuthi* or even *kthi* [kt^hi]. This may signify that the rich morphological system of Zulu may be at peril." The transcript of the learners' discussions revealed similar truncations, e.g.:

ngolosithathu (cf. ngolwesithathu) "on Wednesday"

ma (cf. uma) "if"

a ye (cf. *ga e*) "but if"

ge ke ye (cf. *ga ke e*) "when I (it)"

(Zulu bold, Sotho italics)

(ii) Missing morphemes

As has been described in a previous paper (Finlayson & Slabbert 1997b:85) "missing constituents could either be regarded as indications of a convergence or a simplification process. Both possibilities were expressed by the speakers, on the one hand recognising their speech variety as a new language and on the other hand using the description "diluted" to refer to it." This was indeed also found to be the case with the research findings from Mamelodi where the simplification process of omitting morphemes similarly took place. These are exemplified in [3] (Zulu) and [4] (Northern Sotho) below, where the non-standard may be compared with the standard. The missing morphemes are underlined in the standard versions.

- [3] **Eze sonto** OR **ama**CHORAL CHOIR - **umculo okahle** NOT **ezama**COMRADE **ama**COMMUNISI.

cf:

Ezasesontweni noma umculo wamakhwaya - umculo omuhle nje hhayi ngamakhomreyidi noma amakhomanisi.

(Church music or choral choir-music that is just ok, not music sung by comrades or communists.)

- [4] *Nna a ke so* CHOOSEe SPORT *se ke se ratang ke sa* SEARCHa. *Ke dlala se seng le se seng se ka* INTRODUCEiwang. *Ke tla bona gore* AT THE END *ke tla* FITa kae.

cf.

Nna ga ke ešo ke kgethe moraloko wo ke o ratago, ke sa nyaka. Ke raloka se sengwe le sengwe seo se ka tlišwago. Ke tla bona gore mafelelong ke tla tsena kae.

(I have not chosen a sport which I like, I'm still searching. I play each and every sport that is introduced. I'll see at the end where I fit in.)

- (iii) Levelling of lexical items to a common denominator (including CS)

This comes about as a result of a process of convergence in an attempt to suppress localisms in favour of features which are simply more common, better known (Samarin 1971:134 as quoted by Siegel 1985:364). For example, the Sotho languages have different words for "play", namely *bapala*, *raloka* (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho), *tshameka* (Tswana), but the Nguni **dlala** as well as the non-standard form *tshanoka* (cf. 5 & 6 below) are becoming commonly used in all Sotho languages in the urban areas.

- [5] *Ke dlala se seng le se seng se ka INTRODUCEiawang. Ke tla bona gore AT THE END ke FITa kae. Ke dlala SOCCER yanong e nKEEPa FIT.*
(I play each and every sport that is introduced. I will see at the end where I fit in. At present I play soccer, it keeps me fit.)

So also with the following example:

- [6] **Ngithanda ibholo MAAR ukukhuluma isiZulu ngihluleka -SO ngizokhuluma isiSotho ONCE. Nna ke rata go dlala bolo SO ke nyaka re DEVELOPe - la bona TEAM ya SOUTH AFRICA - e yang re tlo REACHa STANDARD seo le rena MAYBE re tla tshanokela SOUTH AFRICA.**

(I love football but speaking Zulu is difficult so I'll speak Sotho. I like playing football so I want us to develop – you can see the South African team – how it is we can reach their standard and maybe we will play for South Africa.)

The Sotho languages also have three forms for the English equivalent of "but", i.e. *fela*, *empša* (Northern Sotho), *empa* (Southern Sotho) and *mme* (Tswana). This might similarly explain the common use of the Afrikaans conjunction "maar" as in examples 6 and 7.

- [7] *Ne ke ya ye rata bolo, MAAR go na le bothata o KRYa re dlala bolo MAAR go se na batho ba re fang SUPPORT.*

cf.

Ke be ke e rata kgwele fela go na le bothata o humana re raloka kgwele empša go se na batho bao ba re fago thekgo.

(I like it, but the problem is you find us playing soccer, but there is no one to give us support.)

- (iv) Specific patterns of CS

Specific patterns of CS, such as the use of the English and Afrikaans

conjunctions and adverbs including examples such as “but”, “if”, “maar”, “besides”, “so”, “eintlik” and “mostly” are also devices which may be used to simplify the verbal structure. As demonstrated in example 1a above, the English adverb “mostly” is used instead of the Zulu auxiliary **mana**. Similarly “and then” replaces the use of the narrative or subjunctive mood. In example 6 the translation of the second “so” as well as “maybe” would also require the subjunctive.

The use of the Afrikaans “maar” (but) as in examples 6 and 7 is extremely common in the urban varieties. Contrary to the previous examples, though, both Nguni and Sotho equivalents would require the use of the indicative. However, it is interesting to note that the syntactic structure of the ensuing clause conforms more to English, i.e. in this case “maar” allows for greater syntactic flexibility.

A further simplification process may be exemplified by the repetitive use of “that is why” in example 8. In Zulu each of these contexts would have required a different construction.

- [8] **THAT IS WHY, mina ngibona isiZulu kuyiLANGUAGE e abantu bayizwisisa masinya, THAT IS WHY sikhona ukuyikhuluma nabeSuthu – THAT IS WHY siyikhuluma - njengabantu abaphuma ngaphandle, amakwerekwere, bakhona ukukhuluma isiZulu bafika bakhulume isiZulu, hayi isiSuthu.**

cf:

Yingakho-ke mina ngibona isiZulu kuwulimi abantu abaluzwisisa masinya, ngakho-ke singakhuluma sona uma sikhuluma nabeSuthu - yikho-ke sikhuluma sona - njengabantu abavela ngaphandle kwaleli zwe bayasazi isiZulu futhi bakhuluma sona nxa befika, hhayi isiSuthu.

(That is why, I see that Zulu is a language which people can understand quickly, that is why we can speak it with the Sothos – that is why we speak it – just like people who come from outside, the foreigners, they can speak Zulu when they arrive they speak Zulu, not Sotho.)

Although the findings are preliminary, all of the above (i–iv) point towards various degrees of levelling and/or simplification as a result of language contact. Both the linguistic composition and the social context in which they function are extremely complex and defy a singular label. Not only are linguistic subsystems of various levels involved (different dialects or varieties of the same language, as well as mutually intelligible languages of the same language family), but also languages of other Bantu language families, as well as the colonial high-prestige target language English and the neocolonial Afrikaans. This would mean that the parameters defining a koinization

process, i.e. “the mixing of linguistic subsystems ... characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison” (Siegel 1985:363), as well as those defining a creolization process, i.e. speakers from different ethnic groups in contact with a high-prestige target language (Arends, Muysken & Smith 1994, chapter 1) are simultaneously operational. Evidence from quantitative as well as qualitative studies (Slabbert & Van den Berg 1993; Calteaux 1994) indicates that nativization is taking place, but it would not seem as if the urban varieties have yet stabilized. Whether the outcome will be resembling koinization or creolization is difficult to predict at this stage.

CONCLUSIONS

Over the past twenty years the African languages have literally been “gobbled up” by the colonial languages in the urban centres. However, the devastating effect of glottophagia will be very difficult to counter in a situation where the esteem and function customarily associated with a standard form is lacking, as has been exemplified by the attitudes of learners in Mamelodi. If the speakers of the African languages would want this process of glottophagia to be countered at all and thereby to retain their linguistic identity, both the learners and the teachers should recognize a need for the use of these languages. In other words, it is essential that functions for the African languages should be created. Empty sentimental gestures towards the retention and use of the African languages serve no purpose. Rather functions that make business and political sense should be created for the African languages.

On the other hand, a standard form that relentlessly clings to a language version that cannot accommodate a modern environment undermines its own functionality. Some compromise will have to be found to take the African languages of South Africa into the third millenium as vibrant, modern, yet distinctly African in nature.

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KADITSHWENE: WHAT'S IN A NAME?

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INTRODUCTION

It is a little-known fact of history that prior to its destruction during the so-called *difaqane* in the 1820s, the capital of the main section of the Bahurutshe was probably the largest African town in the South African interior. In 1820 John Campbell, a director of the London Missionary Society, estimated the population of this Batswana town, to which he referred as “Kurreechane”, at either 16 000 or 20 000 (Campbell 1822[i]:277; MSB77[iii]:18). Surprisingly enough, there has been considerable controversy about the correct rendering of the town's name as well as the location of its stone-walled ruins. As a recent author observes, “Many scholars maintain that Kurreechane is the English corruption of Tswana Kaditshwene; that the capital described by Campbell 170 years ago is the same as that currently being excavated by archaeologists. But there are those who disagree, and believe that Kurreechane is in fact a lost city. A number of reasons underline this contradicting theory. Perhaps the most important is that there is no direct oral evidence linking the two names.” (Hall 1996:15).

The controversy about the location of the ruins of the capital is discussed elsewhere (Boeyens 1998:78–93); suffice it to say that a study of contemporary descriptions and sketches of the town, an archaeological survey of Iron Age sites in the Marico, as well as an analysis of the recorded oral traditions of the Bahurutshe, have confirmed beyond doubt that the main complex of the Bahurutshe capital was situated on a hill on the border of the two farms, Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP and Bloemfontein 63 JP, about 25 km north-east of present-day Zeerust in the North-West Province (see the 1: 50 000 topographical map, 2526AC Mokgola).

Until recently, the consensus among anthropologists and historians has been

that Kaditshwene is the correct rendering of the name of the capital of the Bahurutshe, first reported by European explorers early in the nineteenth century. Although Kaditshwene has largely faded from historical memory, the name of the town has been kept alive in corrupted form by the common English names of two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail (*Turnix sylvatica*) and the Kurrichane thrush (*Turdus libonyana*) (see Skead 1967:61). The modern orthographic form of the town's name, Kaditshwene, has come into use mainly as a result of the research done by the two well-known anthropologists, Isaac Schapera (1951:73 & 1959:83) and Paul-Lenert Breutz (1953:6 & 1989:188). However, Kaditshwene represents an unusual construction for Setswana, and no entirely adequate explanation of the meaning or origin of the name has as yet been provided, as the following observation by Cole (1991:188) indicates: "I have not yet been able to find anyone who can explain the origin of this name, T. *Kaditshwêne* HHLL 'by (means of) baboons', which presumably derives, by ellipsis, from some longer construction" [NB H = high tone, L = low tone].

In recent years the spelling "Kaditshwene" has been challenged, and two alternative versions of the place name, viz. "Gaditshwene" and "Karechuenya", have been proposed as the correct rendering (see Mmabatho High School 1992a & b and Hamilton 1995:xiii-xiv). It has been suggested that the place name Kaditshwene is either a neologism or does not conform to the grammatical structure of Setswana. These two proposed versions of the place name have not only gained wide currency in scientific literature, but the version of "Gaditshwene" has also been given the stamp of approval in television programmes and in school syllabuses and projects (Levitz 1996:22-28; SABC (50/50), 26 April 1992; Skinner 1993:99-108). In view of the resurgent interest in South Africa's precolonial past, as well as in the pivotal role played by the Bahurutshe in the interior during the early nineteenth century, some clarification of the issue concerning the name of their capital is urgently needed. What follows is an outline of the results of an investigation into this historical, toponymical and linguistic problem¹. At the same time this study demonstrates the complexity of enquiries into the meaning or etymology of place names whose origins pre-date recorded memory. It highlights the difficulties inherent in transcribing early recordings of indigenous languages, which were distorted by a lack of knowledge of the relevant language and the absence of a suitable or standardised orthography (for another example, see Rasmussen 1975). In particular, it emphasises the importance of combining fieldwork among local mother-tongue speakers with historical (documentary) investigations and linguistic analyses when attempting to determine the etymologies of indigenous African geographical names.

From Kurreechane to Kaditshwene: An orthographic odyssey

In an attempt to determine whether Kaditshwene² is indeed the correct name of the erstwhile Bahurutshe capital, or a neologism coined by twentieth-century scholars, it is necessary to trace the history of the recording of the name. Such an investigation may also reveal some clues as to its meaning or etymology, for earlier recorders may have had a better opportunity of gaining insight into what the name signified to contemporary inhabitants of the town or to their descendants.

The first literate observer to record the name of the Bahurutshe capital was John Campbell, a director of the London Missionary Society. Campbell's visit was primarily aimed at investigating the possibility of establishing a mission station among the Bahurutshe, and his sojourn at the capital lasted from 4 May to 12 May 1820. On 5 May 1820 Campbell entered the following note in his journal: "This morning only we learned that the name of the city was Kurreechane, and that Marootzee [i.e. Bahurutshe] is the name of the nation, not of the town ..." (Campbell 1822[i]:226). Campbell also inquired about the meaning of the name of the town, and in the original, unpublished version of his journal (MSB77[iii]:37), he recorded on May 11: "Kurreechane, the name of the town means, No baboon". One can only speculate as to why this seemingly incorrect explanation was omitted from the published work, but we shall return to its possible significance later.

Campbell was greatly impressed with the populous Bahurutshe capital and the missionary prospects, about which he expressed himself as follows: "I never designed to penetrate farther into the interior than the central city of the Marootzee [Bahurutshe] nation, which I found greatly to exceed, in point of importance, what I had previously conjectured. By the blessing of God it may prove a Jerusalem to the surrounding nations." (Campbell 1822[i]:253). Enthused about the missionary prospects and Campbell's favourable impressions of the Bahurutshe, the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, Stephen Kay, visited the Bahurutshe capital in August of the following year. On 9 August 1821 Kay noted in his journal, recorded at "Kurry Chane": "Arrived about three o'clock this afternoon at Kurry-chane, which appears to be the most populous town I have seen, since I left the Cape." (W.M.M.S., Box I, File 1821). In a letter to his superiors after his return from the Bahurutshe capital, he used the spelling "Kurrichane" (W.M.M.S., Box II, File 1822), and in the published account of his journey it appears as "Kurreeshane" (Kay 1834:196).

Only fifteen months after Campbell had been there, Kay found the Bahurutshe in a despondent state, largely because of the continuous wars with neighbouring Batswana chiefdoms. His description of the town and its

inhabitants contrasts sharply in many ways with that of Campbell, little more than a year earlier: "A gloomy spiritlessness sat on every countenance, and the manner of all bespoke the absence of peace. Great poverty was apparent in the aspect both of old and young; and their reduced state induced them eagerly to eye every thing that was at all edible." (Kay 1834:198).

When Europeans again visited the domain of the Bahurutshe, their capital town had been devastated and evacuated. Not long after Kay's visit the Bahurutshe were overrun and dislocated in a series of attacks by several refugee Southern Sotho groups during the so-called *difaqane*, a period of instability which led to the displacement of several Batswana and Nguni communities (see Legassick 1969:328–341). On 12 April 1823 Robert Moffat, the well-known missionary among the Batlhaping at Kuruman, noted in a letter that "If the public accounts of the Bootchuanas can be depended on, Kureecheene is no more than a heap of rubbish, and very probably the camp of a ferocious enemy who are said to carry devastation and horror in their train." (Schapera 1951:73). During the next four years numerous reports of the town's fate were received by literate observers, notably by Robert Moffat. Grappling as he did with the language, he recorded the place name in a variety of ways, but at least some of these are probably typographical errors, as indeed there may be also in the publications of other early writers: "Kureecheene, Kureechane, Kurrecheene, Kureechueene, Kurreechuene, Kureechuene, Kurechuen, Kurecheune, Kureechuen" (Schapera 1951:73, 77, 86, 102, 131, 139, 197, 216, 241, 242, 244, 258, 262, 289). Others who reported on the losses suffered by the Bahurutshe were the Wesleyan Methodist missionary among the Barolong booSeleka, Thomas Hodgson, who, writing in November 1823 and January 1824, referred to "Kurrichane" and "Kurruchane" (Cope 1977:203, 215), and the traveller, George Thompson, who wrote about the devastation in 1823 of "The populous town of Kurrechein, the capital of the Morootzi" (Thompson 1827:178–179, 99).

When the "trading-travellers", Robert Scoon and William McLuckie, passed through their territory in 1829, about 2 000 Bahurutshe were living in the Mosega basin, to the south-west of present-day Zeerust. Their former capital was found "deserted, and but few houses standing" (Chase 1830:404). In the published extract from their journal the town is referred to as "*Kurreechane*, or properly *Chuan*, i.e. the Town of Baboons, so called from the numbers of that animal in the vicinity ..." (Chase 1830:404; see also Cooley 1833:311). Note that in this quotation there appears another name, "Chuan", which is usually transcribed incorrectly as "Tshwenyane" and to which we shall refer again. The precarious state in which the Bahurutshe found themselves at Mosega at the time was also noted by Robert Moffat (1842:516): "... Mosega, the abode of Mokhatla [Mokgatla], regent over the fragments, though still a large body,

of the Bahurutsi. These had congregated in a glen, and subsisted on game, roots, berries, and the produce of their corn-fields; having been deprived of their flocks by the Mantatees. They were evidently living in fear, lest Moselekatse [Mzilikazi] should one day make them captives.”

To bolster up their position against the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi, the Bahurutshe sought missionary support and in 1830–1831 three French missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, Prosper Lemue, Samuel Rolland and Jean-Pierre Pellissier, established a short-lived mission among the remnant of the Bahurutshe chiefdom under Mokgattha and Moilwa (or *Moilwê*) at Mosega (on the present farm Zendingpost 300 JP). They collected as much information as possible about the geography of the country, and in their early writings mainly used the spelling Kurrichane for the deserted capital’s name (Germond 1967:86, 118,120). Its location was described by Lemue (1835:26) as follows: “Then follows a chain of mountains with an almost rectangular form to which the Baharoutsis gave the name of *Morilati* and which most travellers erroneously called Kurrichane, the name of one of its summits.”³ We have not encountered the name “Morilati” in any other source, but it is significant that “Kurrichane” is described as “one” of the “summits” of this mountain range.

The Bahurutshe’s hopes of retaining their ancestral lands were finally thwarted when the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi moved from the Magaliesberg region to the Marico area in 1832 (Rasmussen 1978:98). In fear of their lives, the Bahurutshe fled to the Harts River and began their diaspora, which was only to end in 1848 when they returned to the Marico, by this time part of the territory controlled by the Transvaal Boers (Manson 1990:79–86). When the next round of travellers and explorers visited Lehurutshe, the former country of the Bahurutshe, in the 1830s it was in the possession of the AmaNdebele or Matebele, and only a small number of Bahurutshe were scattered among the settlements of their victors (Wallis 1945[i]:70). Nevertheless, the former capital of the Bahurutshe remained an important point of geographical orientation and reference as is evident from the following remark by J.C. Chase in 1834: “This [the Manica trade fair] is the most southerly establishment of the Portuguese, upon the frontier of the Zambezi colony, and not above four hundred and fifty miles from Kurrechane, that is, about one-third of the distance between Kurrechane and Cape Town.” (Steedman 1835:222).

A flurry of travellers made their way through Lehurutshe in the 1830s when the area was in the possession of the AmaNdebele. In all respects, the most influential of these was Dr Andrew Smith, the naturalist and medical doctor. Smith was on an expedition to collect and describe the natural phenomena of the interior and he reached the Marico area in June 1835 (Smith 1836:403–

404). We can surmise from Smith's journal and diary that the bird species which bear the name of the erstwhile Bahurutshe capital were probably collected in its vicinity during his return journey from Mzilikazi's temporary headquarters near the Tholwane River, a tributary of the Marico (Setswana *Madikwê* or *Madikô*), towards the end of September 1835 (Lye 1975:274–275; Kirby 1940:247–251; Wallis 1945[i]:73). On his collection of the Kurrichane buttonquail, which he named *Hemipodius lepurana*, Smith (1849:Plate XVI) commented as follows: “The grassy valleys south-east of Kurichane were the only localities in which they were discovered, and even in those they appeared to be very thinly scattered, for seldom was more than a single individual found in, or even near the same place.”

Smith's scientific name for this bird has been placed in the synonymy of *Turnix sylvatica*, but that for the Kurrichane thrush, *Turdus libonyana*, has endured (Maclean 1993:181, 500). Smith reported (1849: Plate XXXVIII) that “The first specimens of this thrush were procured in the neighbourhood of Kurichane.” In both cases the common English name has retained one of the old corrupted versions of the name of the Bahurutshe capital. It may be mentioned here that Smith took his specific name for the Kurrichane buttonquail, *lepurana*, from the Setswana *lephurrwana*, which is used also for the Common and Harlequin quails. However, the specific name *libonyana*, for the Kurrichane thrush, though almost certainly of Setswana origin, has not yet been satisfactorily identified or explained (see Cole 1991:185, 188).

Smith's contribution to the scientific description and classification of the South African fauna cannot be over-estimated, but linguistically he is not altogether reliable or consistent. He used a number of variant spellings for the Bahurutshe capital: “Kurrichaine, Kurichane, Kurrichani, Currichaine, Currychaine” in his diary (Kirby 1940:60, 139, 142, 250, 251), “Cuddy chain, Curry Chain, Kurichane, Kurrichaine” in his journal (Lye 1975:199, 213, 214, 225, 244, 274, 295, 296), “Kurrichaine” in his report (Smith 1836:403, 404, 411) and “Kurichane, Kurrichane, Kurrichaine” in his descriptions of various bird species collected in its vicinity (Smith 1849:Plates XII, XVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, LXXIX, CIII). He was more consistent in recording the name of a nearby hill, “Chinyane” (Kirby 1940:139, 206, 224, 247, 248, 250), only once, curiously, as “Chinwayne” (p. 142). Smith also inquired about the meaning of the name of the deserted town, as he noted on 2 October 1835 in his diary: “I have not been able to ascertain the import of the word [i.e. Currichaine]. *Chaine* means baboon, and at that time there were a great number of these animals about the hills.” (Kirby 1940:250). On his return journey also, he saw the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital, as he noted in his journal (Lye 1975:274): “In our return we passed over the site of the town in which Mr Campbell found the Baharootzi, nearly on the top of Kurrichaine ...”.

While Smith was in the Marico area with Mzilikazi, he was joined by the missionary Robert Moffat in June 1835. Moffat stayed with Mzilikazi for nearly a month while Smith explored the country, first eastwards towards the Magaliesberg region and then to the north, before he returned with Mzilikazi to his other AmaNdebele settlements at Mosega (Wallis 1945[i]:73–113). Moffat's return journey also took him past the ruined town of the Bahurutshe, whose name he recorded variously as "Kurechuene, Kurichuene, Kurrechain, Kurechane, Kurrichuene, Kurrechane" (Wallis 1945[i]:62, 72, 76, 77, 81, 92, 94, 99, 134, 137). Moffat's attempt to see the former capital of the Bahurutshe was, however, unsuccessful, as he later recalled: "Having travelled in a circuitous direction, we came to Kurrechane, or as it is more commonly called, Chuenyane, a noble mountain, in a fine, well-watered country, the boundary of Mr Campbell's journey; but the town which bore the name of the mountain was not to be found by my Matabele attendants" (Moffat 1842:581). We shall refer again to the apparent confusion between "Kurrechane" and "Chuenyane", another corrupted version of the mountain referred to above as "Chuan" in the account of the "trading-travellers", Scoon and McLuckie.

A year after Smith and Moffat had been there, the area was visited again in October 1836, this time by William Cornwallis Harris, the famous hunter. At the time Mzilikazi was already settled at his new headquarters, *eGabení*⁴, not far to the north of the ruins of the former capital of the Bahurutshe, from which he was to be driven by the Boers (Afrikaners) and their Barolong allies the following year (Kotzé 1950:200 and map opposite p. 212; Rasmussen 1978:131–132). Harris (1852:92–93) never saw the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital, but referred somewhat imprecisely to the "Kurrichane range" of mountains in the account of his journey.

It is perhaps opportune to pause here for a moment and to digress briefly into Setswana phonetics and orthography in order to evaluate the various early spellings of the place name. What should be borne in mind is that no orthographic system had been developed for Setswana at the time when the name was first recorded, and that these early explorers and writers used the English sound-spelling "system" as a basis for recording their very deficient hearing and understanding of the totally foreign Setswana words. Their ignorance and lack of understanding of the highly complex but amazingly consistent grammatical structures of the indigenous languages is saliently borne out by the remark of the missionary Stephen Kay (1823:4) on Setswana after his journey in 1821 to the Bahurutshe capital: "Their language, as yet, possesses no regular form, but is filled with all the unsoftened barbarity of savage sound."

For our purposes it suffices now to restrict our analysis to three forms, namely

Campbell's "Kurreechane", the bird-name "Kurrichane" (derived from the contributions of Andrew Smith and other early recorders of the name) and Moffat's "Kurichuene". In each case the author tried to record the Setswana name Kaditshwene, using and adapting the English sound-spelling "system". Thus, all three versions contain the same number of syllables as the original Setswana *Ka-di-tshwê-ne*: Kur-ree-cha-ne, Kur-ri-cha-ne, Ku-ri-chue-ne. Most troublesome for modern readers are perhaps the first two syllables of the word which superficially look very different from the current Setswana equivalent. Taking Campbell's rendering of the name as example, the *u* in *ku* was meant to be pronounced something like the *u* in *curry*, the *ee* or *e* as in *meet* (not as *i* in *bite*), the *ch* as in *chin*, and the *a* as in *dare*. The occurrence of the *r* instead of the *d* can also be easily explained. In Setswana the *d* used to be pronounced as a "soft sound between *l* and *r*" (Wookey 1921:12) and could be confused with the latter two consonants by listeners not acquainted with the language. Numerous examples from the early recordings of Setswana can be cited to illustrate this point. In the following few, the modern orthographic form is placed in brackets after the original rendering: Andrew Smith (see Lye 1975:225), "boreli" [*bodilê*] hooklipped or black rhinoceros; David Livingstone (see Schapera 1959:185, 205), "burile" [*bodilê*], "cukuru" [*tshukudu*] rhinoceros [generic term]; Stephen Kay (1822:59), "moreemo" [*modimo*] God; John Campbell (1822[i]:242), "Sibbewhooree" [*Sebôgodi*] name of a former chief of the Bahurutshe; Robert Moffat (1842:461, 462), "chukuru" [*tshukudu*], "ririmala" [*didimala*] be quiet. The difficulty experienced by Europeans with the recording of the alveolar flapped vibrant *d* in Setswana (see Cole 1955:28) is perhaps best exemplified by the still widely used name, Marico. As we have indicated, this name is derived from the Setswana word for the river *Madikô* or *Madikwê*, but in time its use was extended by the early Boer settlers to refer to a Transvaal district, and it still survives in the name of the village of Groot-Marico.⁵

Of the various versions, Moffat's spelling "Kurichuene" is the most recognisable form and closest to the current Setswana orthography. This is no coincidence, since as missionary among the Batlhaping he was studiously attempting to master the language, also with a view to translating the Bible into Setswana (see Wallis 1945[i]:84). Note that it was the practice for many decades prior to 1937, when the new standard orthography was first introduced, to spell the Setswana word for baboon as "chuene, choene, chwene". In this regard it is significant that in 1847 the missionary Prosper Lemue no longer referred to the site of the former Bahurutshe capital as Kurrichane, but instead called it "Karichuene", which he translated as "montagnes des babouins", i.e. "mountains of the baboons" (Lemue 1847:144). He also mentioned very specifically that "le babouin ..., ou le chuene des natifs" ["the baboon ..., or the chuene of the natives"] had given its name to

“Karichuene, montagne du Lohoroutsi” (Lemue 1847:152). Lemue who, as we have indicated, was earlier involved in the ill-fated mission among the Bahurutshe at Mosega, had by then become much more versed in the Setswana language through his missionary endeavours at Motito (*Bothithông*).

After their return to the Marico area in 1848, the Bahurutshe were awarded the territory around what was to become known as Dinokana, whereas the ruins of their former capital formed part of the Boer settlement in the area which acquired the general name of Enselsberg or Enzelsberg. It was so named after the enigmatic commandant Jan Enslin, owner of the farm Mezeg and also leader of the “Jerusalemgangers”, a religious sect among the Boers who yearned to reach the promised land and whose adherents shortly afterwards concluded that they had discovered “de Nyl zyn Oog” [the source of the Nile River] in the vicinity of the present-day Nylstroom (Claasen 1978:24, 54–55, 58–59, 82–85).

From about the middle of the nineteenth century the site and name of the erstwhile capital of the Bahurutshe slowly faded into obscurity and it seems that few, if indeed any, European travellers visited the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital after the flurry of visitors in the 1820s and 1830s. As time went by, uncertainties arose about its location as well as the rendering of its name. When J.G. Gubbins wrote a series of articles, “Notes on the History of Marico”, for *The Marico Chronicle* in 1912, he followed the well-known historian G.M. Theal in confounding Campbell’s “Kurreechane” with Mosega. In a letter in the issue of 16 March 1912, the Hermannsburg missionary among the Bahurutshe at Dinokana, F.H.W. Jensen, provided the following correction: “As regards Rev Campbell’s visit to the Bahurutse it is impossible that it was at Mosega for the Bahurutse were only chased there by Moselikatse several years later. I suggest that the place Mr Gubbins calls Kurrechane was Kaditsoene, where the Bahurutse were at that period, which is a mountain between Leeuwfontein and Bloemfontein near Enzelsberg.” Jensen also mentioned that the name of the town meant “amongst the Baboons”.

Also closer to the modern orthography was the spelling of the name by Rev Noel Roberts of St. John’s Church, Zeerust, who wrote it “Kaditshaene”, translated as “the domain of *The Baboon*” (Roberts 1934:3, 5). Roberts obtained much of his information from local Bahurutshe, as well as from H.G. Robertson, the owner of Struan, a portion of Rietfontein 89 JP, the farm adjacent to Bloemfontein and Kleinfontein where lie the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital. While the incorrect translation of the Setswana plural *ditshwêne* by the singular “baboon” may have been a printing error, it is noteworthy that the same mistake appears in an article written by Roberts (1915:242) on the Bahananwa.

The first spelling of the place name which we have located in its modern orthographic form is in an article by Vivien Ellenberger on the Balete, a Batswana tribe purportedly of AmaNdebele origin (Breutz 1989:259). The article appeared in 1937, and in the appendix on the "Manner and Extent to which the Tribe has been Affected by Contact with European Civilization" the name in the reference to Campbell's visit to "Kurreechane" is corrected in a footnote to "Kaditshwene" (Ellenberger 1937:59). We do not know whether Ellenberger himself established the correct version of the place name, or whether this should be ascribed to the endeavours of Isaac Schapera, who is acknowledged in the preface to the article for his advice and emendations.

Certainly, Schapera was the first modern scholar to inquire purposefully into the correct rendering of the name. Though he had already used the correct form, Kaditshwene, in 1942 in his article on the history of the Bangwaketse (1942:5), it is possible that he was still following Ellenberger's lead. Schapera himself did not ever do fieldwork among the Bahurutshe (Letter, 8 February 1995), but when he edited the journals and letters of Robert and Mary Moffat (*Apprenticeship at Kuruman*), he inquired about the name and location of the capital. The relevant information was obtained from P.L. Hattingh, the Native Commissioner at Zeerust, and acknowledged by Schapera (1951:73, fn.) as follows: "The Native Commissioner, Zeerust, (Mr P.L. Hattingh), who kindly inquired into the matter, informs me that the correct version of the name is *Kaditshwene*. The town was situated on the present farm Bloemfontein 223 [now registered as Bloemfontein 63 JP], Marico district, about 28 miles N.E. of Zeerust, and close to Enzelberg (Tshwenyane)."

After Schapera's groundwork, the name Kaditshwene was adopted by most researchers into the history of the Bahurutshe. Principal among these was the state ethnologist, Paul-Lenert Breutz, whose publication, *The Tribes of Marico District* (1953), is one of several ethnographic monographs on the Batswana of the former Transvaal. Breutz devoted long periods of fieldwork to the Bahurutshe and consistently recorded the name of their former capital as Kaditshwene, although he doubted the claims of some of his informants that their ancestors were the builders of the numerous stone-walled settlements in the Marico district (Breutz 1953:15). These he erroneously attributed to a pre-Bantu "mining and stone building culture", possibly of Cushitic origin (Breutz 1989:3, 84). As far as could be ascertained Breutz never attempted an explanation of the name, although he alluded to the possibility that the capital was named after the totem of the Bahurutshe [i.e. the baboon, *tshwéne*, plural *ditshwéne*] (Breutz 1989:188). In a private communication (Letter, 11 February 1996), however, he explained the meaning of the name as "place of the baboons", and suggested that it was derived from a combination of the locative prefix *ka-* and the plural noun *ditshwéne* ("baboons"). The function of the

locative *ka-* in Setswana, as well as reasons why this explanation of the name seems implausible, will be dealt with below. Another researcher who subsequently used the name Kaditshwene is Edwin Smith (1956:55), who, in his account of Sebetwane's Makololo, one of the main destroyers of the Bahurutshe capital during the 1820s, suggests that the name signifies "the home of baboons".

Challenging the orthodoxy: Kwaditshweneng, Kaditshweneng, Gaditshwene or Karechuenya

From our discussion so far it is clear that a steady train of contemporary observers and also modern-day scholars recorded the name of the town as Kaditshwene, albeit often in corrupted form, and therefore that it is definitely NOT a neologism. Nevertheless, the name of the town has been in dispute, and the main reasons for this are (a) that the linguistically unsophisticated way in which the name was recorded led to confusion, especially with "Chinyane", to be discussed further below, and (b) that the various explanations offered for the meaning of the name, such as "the town of baboons", "the home of baboons" or "amongst the baboons", could not be inferred from a literal interpretation or translation of the Setswana name.

Perhaps the first person to question the then current rendering of the name was the missionary David Livingstone. Writing to his parents on 27 April 1844 from Mabotsa, his mission station among the Bakgatla ba Mmanaana in what was later to become the Marico district, Livingstone noted the following: "Sebegwe [the son of the late Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketse] lives a little to the South of Kurreechane. The range you see marked in the map so is somewhat long, but there is one conical hill in it which gives explanation to the whole name. It means a little baboon, & the Natives below being much plagued by baboons spoiling their gardens say, "By it we are vexed", or Karechuenya. It may also be translated, "A vexation by or near us", viz. the whole range, on account of the depredations of the baboons. These animals always inhabit rocks." (Schapera 1959:96–97).

In his editorial note Schapera (1959:97, fn. 17) gives a plausible explanation for Livingstone's etymological attempt: " 'Kurreechane' was Campbell's rendering of the name Kaditshwene ... D.L., apparently misled by the spelling, wrongly suggests that it is derived from *ka-rea-tshwengwa*, 'since we are troubled'. The 'conical hill' is Tshwenyane, which he correctly translates 'little baboon'; it is located, very close to Kaditshwene, 'on the farm Mezeg 139, "Waterval", around the post office Enzelsberg' (Breutz, *Tribes of Marico District*, p. 93). "There is no evidence that Livingstone ever visited the ruins of the deserted

Bahurutshe capital, and it is also not clear who the people were who were living below the mountain for, at the time of his writing, the bulk of the Bahurutshe had not yet returned to the Marico. Read in a broader context, Livingstone's comment seems to confirm that the name of the town was derived from the large number of baboons which inhabited the mountain and plagued the Bahurutshe before, and probably even after, they established their capital on its summit.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing early comments on the name of the town comes from Joseph D.M. Ludorf, then a Wesleyan missionary among the Barolong of Moroka at Thaba Nchu. In a letter dated 17 August 1854 which was published in the *Missionary Notices of The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* in 1855, he related the death of John Moguera, a Motswana evangelist. On John's background he included the following snippet: "John Moguera was born far in the interior, at Chuenyane, 'little monkey,' so called from a small species of the *opealrumania* families, which abound in the mountainous region of which Chuenyane forms the principal peak, and which the late Rev John Campbell in his travels called Kurechane (should be *Kua lichueneng*, 'among the Monkeys')" (Ludorf 1855:21). Ludorf was mistaken, of course, in his identification of the animal, for the Vervet monkey is *kgabo* in Setswana; *tshwêne* is the Chacma baboon.

In modern orthography Ludorf's rendering would be transcribed as "Kwa ditshweneng" (*Kwa ditshwêneng*), and translated as "at or to [the place of] the baboons". Of all the versions of the name that have been proposed, this one (Kwaditshweneng) makes the most sense grammatically and semantically and would have been gladly accepted by us, but for the fact that no other recorder of the name corroborates Ludorf's transcription, and that our own fieldwork among the local Bahurutshe clearly demonstrates that the name of the mountain is Kaditshwene. As a missionary, Ludorf was reasonably well acquainted with the Setswana language, having served for two years between 1850–1852 as a missionary among the Barolong booRatshidi of Chief Montshiwa at Lotlhakane to the south of Mafikeng, and he had some knowledge of the area since he had travelled to Mosega in June 1851 (Bloemhof Blue Book 1871:175; Wallis 1945[ji]:31). Furthermore, it is clear from his letter that he had collected information about John Moguera's life history and had presumably spoken to him about his early career. We can only speculate that he presented this incorrect version of the name because he was imposing the logic of his own knowledge of the language on Campbell's poor rendering of an imperfectly understood place name.

While Ludorf's comment on the name may have been caused by the seemingly unintelligible transcription of "Kurechane", it may also have been prompted

by his uneasiness about the grammatical correctness of the locative construction. He might have assumed that the “ku-” was in error for the locative prefix *kwa-*, with which he was familiar, and been puzzled by the absence of the complementary locative suffix *-ng*. The form *ka-* also occurs as a locative prefix in Setswana (as in the other Sotho languages), and very often in association with the suffix *-ng*, but generally with the implication that some line of demarcation exists between the speaker and the locality designated (see Cole 1955:355–358). Because of his knowledge of Southern Sotho, the missionary D.F. Ellenberger may for a similar reason have decided to add the locative suffix *-ng* in his rendering of the place name as “Kurrichueneng” (Kaditshweneng in modern orthography) in his account of the attack of the Bataung of Moletsane on the Bahurutshe during the *difaqane* (Ellenberger & Macgregor 1912:165). Several examples can be cited of the omission of the locative suffix *-ng* in the early recordings of place names, for example Andrew Smith’s use of “Latacoo” instead of Dithakong and “Chuie” instead of Tswaing (Lye 1975:207). However, it has become clear from our fieldwork that the prefix *ka-* in the name Kaditshwene is NOT the homophonous locative prefix.

Likewise, it is probably the enigmatic occurrence of the prefix *ka-* which has led some researchers to consider “Gaditshwene” to be a more appropriate basis for the meaning which has most often been ascribed to the name of the town, namely “place of the baboons”. This perhaps explains why Lye (1975:313) in his annotated index to Andrew Smith’s journal suggests “Gadithwene” as an alternative for Kaditshwene, and why Setiloane (1986:5–6) refers to the former capital as “Gaditshwene”, to which he adds the following explanation: “*Gaditshwene* translates, ‘At the place of Baboons/Monkeys’ [sic]. Baboons are plentiful in the land of Bahurutshe and the animal is their tribal totem.”

The view that “Gaditshwene” is the correct name was strongly advocated in a recent school project on the history of the town, and an attempt was also made to justify its adoption instead of Kaditshwene: “We prefer to use the seTswana spelling ‘Gaditshwene’ to the seSotho spelling ‘Kaditshwene’ so commonly used by the South African Archaeological and Historical Fraternities” (Mmabatho High School 1992a:no page number), and “The group has decided to use the seTswana spelling of *Gaditshwene* rather than the more commonly used seSotho spelling, *Khaditshwene* [sic], when referring to the city” (Mmabatho High 1992b:18). The confident manner in which the school group presented the case for Gaditshwene perhaps persuaded other researchers to follow their lead in abandoning Kaditshwene as the accepted form of the town’s name (see Maggs 1993:32, 34; Phillips [no date, but presumably 1995]).

Some comment is necessary here. First, to the best of our knowledge, no-one

from Mmabatho High School has ever done any linguistic research on this name. Second, the Sesotho spelling “Kaditshwene” is not different from what it is in Setswana; after all, the two languages are very closely related, and the translation in both is “by (means of) baboons” (Cole 1991:188). Third, the South Sotho equivalent of “Gaditshwene” would be Haditshwene, NOT “Khaditshwene”. We are unable to find any basis for the latter in our knowledge of Sesotho, nor in any of the dictionaries or grammars available to us. The only possible basis for Setswana “Gaditshwene” would involve ellipsis, e.g. as in *golô ga ditshwêne* (“place of baboons”), and it is presumably this construction to which Setiloane refers, as noted above. This would be entirely plausible and acceptable, but the fact is that Setswana-speaking people in the area consistently and totally reject “Gaditshwene” as the name of the place.

The argument of the Mmabatho High School group is not based on a historical analysis of the recording of the place name, nor is it confirmed by fieldwork among the Bahurutshe in the area. It is also very clear that their linguistic reasoning is suspect. Reference may be made here also to the following comment by Louwrens (1994:36) on place names formed by means of locative prefixes: “Of the different locative prefixes which are distinguished in the Sotho languages ..., only *ga-* (NS and TWN)/*ha-* (SS) occurs abundantly in place names. This prefix occurs together with *personal names* [our emphasis], in which case it denotes an area or territory that was traditionally governed by such a person ...”. It is important to emphasise here that the possessive prefix *ga-* is typically used with names of people, or kinship terms, NOT with names of animals.

More recently, Livingstone’s explanation of the name of the site has been revived by the historian Neil Parsons. In the second edition of his *A New History of Southern Africa* (1993:45), he refers to the “Hurutshe capital of Karechuenya (Ka-re-tshwenyega), in the hills north of later Zeerust”. The phrase “ka re tshwenyega” is presumably intended to serve as a modern orthographic rendering of Livingstone’s original suggestion. A fuller explanation of the reasoning behind Parsons’s choice is found in the introductory “Notes on Orthography and Names” in Carolyn Hamilton’s recently published collection of essays, *The Mfecane Aftermath* (1995:xiii–xiv): “Place names present a particular set of problems. ... In some instances an appropriate usage is not easily established. A case in point is Karechuenya which is better known as Kaditshweni [sic]. Our use of Karechuenya is based on the following argument provided by Neil Parsons:

‘David Livingstone, writing to his mother on 27 April 1844, in a letter not published until 1959, used the name Karechuenya. Livingstone explained that the town was next to a conical peak called Chuenyane (“little

baboon”). “Karechuenya” meant “By it we are vexed” or “A vexation by or near us”, a reflexion of people’s complaints about the depredations [sic] of baboons on their gardens, putting the blame jocularly on the “little baboon”. The name “Kaditshwene”, on the other hand, is a neologism which was first suggested to the archaeologist P.W. Laidler in the 1930s by a white farmer at Zeerust called Hattingh. As Desmond Cole points out, “People with no knowledge of linguistics or of the Tswana language have confused *tshwenyana* or *tshwenyane*, meaning “young or small baboon” and *go tshwenyana* meaning “to bother or trouble one another”” (Hamilton 1995:xiii–xiv). [Parenthetically, two things need be noted here: The entry attributed to Desmond Cole, with full benefit of quotation marks, is NOT a quotation but a paraphrase of his statement in *Botswana Notes and Records* 1991:186; and Jan Boeyens’s contributions to this discussion, gratefully acknowledged in footnote 2 on p. xiv, were in fact totally ignored].

Perhaps as a matter of editorial policy and consistency, Parsons’s use of “Karechuenya” instead of Kaditshwene has been adopted for all the various contributions to the volume which touch upon the fate of the Bahurutshe during the *difaqane* (see Hall 1995:311; Hartley 1995:405; Kinsman 1995:366; Manson 1995:352; Parsons 1995:331). This gives undeservedly great credence to a speculative piece of historical writing which, as we will demonstrate, is consistently rejected by all informants in specifically directed field research and is also seriously flawed. Incidentally, neither *Ka re tshwênya* nor *Ka re tshwênyêga* can occur as a meaningful entity on its own, though they might be used elliptically, as parts of longer constructions, e.g. in response to questions.

In any event, it seems inappropriate, and indeed even insensitive to Setswana speakers, to retain the grammatically doubtful and orthographically outdated rendering “Karechuenya” as the approved name of the nineteenth-century Bahurutshe capital. Furthermore, as our historical investigation of the recording of the name has revealed and as our field data show, Kaditshwene is definitely not a neologism, as Parsons suggests. Parsons fails to give any consideration to Schapera’s explanation of Livingstone’s apparent misreading of Campbell’s original rendering of the name; instead he gives credence to Livingstone’s explanation of the name in terms of his still inadequate grasp, at that time, of the Setswana language.

Parsons also ignores the fact that Livingstone never actually visited the locality and thus never heard the name at first hand from local people. However, while the reference to Livingstone’s suggestion might merely have highlighted a linguistic problem, Parsons aggravates his error by his cavalier treatment of the sources which he invokes to support his interpretation. As we have indicated

above, it was Schapera who obtained the information from Mr P.L. Hattingh about the correct version of the name and the location of the site, and not P.W. Laidler who, incidentally, was a medical doctor by profession, although he did undertake archaeological research. Laidler visited the ruins of Kaditshwene in the 1930s, where he collected some pottery and surveyed part of the site, but in his publications he used “Kurrechanee” or “Kurrichanee”, both corrupted forms of the name (Laidler 1937:45 & 1938:133). Furthermore, as is clear from Schapera’s comment, cited above, Mr P.L. Hattingh was the Native Commissioner at Zeerust, and not, as Parsons states, a local “farmer”.

Recent fieldwork

From our discussion of the historical recording of the name of the Bahurutshe capital, it is clear that *Kaditshwêne*, in its various corrupted forms, is the name attempted by all those early travellers who actually visited the town, or its ruins, or its vicinity. We have shown also that of all the alternative names suggested, “Kwaditshweneng” is, at first sight, the most plausible, but that the single remark of Ludorf in 1854 is not confirmed by any investigator who inquired about the name in the relevant area. Nevertheless, in our recent fieldwork (1995-1996) among Bahurutshe living in the vicinity of the ruins of the erstwhile capital, we inquired of our informants not only about the name of the mountain on which the ruins of Kaditshwene are located, but also very specifically whether the other suggested names were not the correct ones. As indicated in the list of interviews tabled in the Acknowledgements below, our informants were all from Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP and Bloemfontein 63 JP, the farms on which the archaeological site is located, or from the adjacent settlements of Leeuwfontein (Mokgola) and Braklaagte (Lekubu). All Bahurutshe interviewed during our fieldwork consistently named the mountain *Kaditshwêne*, and equally consistently rejected any suggestion that the name could have been “Gaditshwene”, “Kaditshweneng” or “Kwaditshweneng”.

One possibility which must be borne in mind when trying to determine the etymology of the place name Kaditshwene is that it could refer to the baboon as totem of the Bahurutshe, and not merely as a ubiquitous member of the area’s wildlife. As we have indicated, Breutz (1989:188) has alluded to the possibility that Kaditshwene could have been named after the totem animal. What makes this a particularly tempting explanation for the origin of the name is the fact that the Bahurutshe’s adoption of the baboon as totem is purported to be linked with their settlement in the area around Kaditshwene. There are different accounts of their adoption of the baboon as totem (see Brown 1926:37, 262), but it occurred so long ago that it is doubtful whether these

accounts have any factual basis, and they should rather be viewed as versions of an origin myth.

It is nevertheless interesting to recount one of the versions of this occurrence. As recorded by Breutz (1953:19) the Bahurutshe changed their totem from the eland (*phôfu*) to the baboon after a dispute between Motebele and Motebejane, the sons of Mohurutshe, the eponymous founder of the Bahurutshe chiefdom: "It is still well remembered how the totem *phofu* came to be changed. On a hunting expedition MOTEBEJANE'S regiment caught a young baboon and took it to the chief MOTEBELE. The chief ordered him to guard the baboon at the cattle post. One day the baboon escaped. When MOTEBEJANE'S men reported to the chief what had happened, they were flogged severely. This led to a split in the tribe. MOTEBEJANE prepared his regiment for war and defeated the chief, who thereupon fled to the south-east. The majority of the people elected ... MOTEBEJANE as their chief. He adopted the baboon as totem, and founded a new village at Tshwenyane (Mezeg 139, Waterval, post office Enzelsberg) at some time between 1470 and 1520."

All our informants rejected the notion that the reference to baboons in the place name was linked to the baboon as totem animal. Similarly, none concurred with the suggestion that the name of the town derives from an oath in which the Bahurutshe swear by their totem, i.e. hypothetically **Ka ditshwêne!* ("By the Baboons!"). Taking oath in the name of one's totem animal is well known among the Sotho-Tswana, as Ellenberger and Macgregor (1912:241) observed long ago: "The emblem of the Bakuena is the crocodile (*kuena*). They consider themselves under its protection, calling it their father, and swearing by it (*ka kuena*)". The important point here is that if and when Batswana swear by their totem animals, they use the singular form, in this case *Ka tshwêne!* (NOT **Ka ditshwêne*). Another suggestion was rejected by some of our informants, but others agreed that *Tshwêne!* (singular) and *BôTshwêne!* (plural, not **Ditshwêne*) could be used interjectively as greeting forms when addressing one or more persons who venerate the baboon (but see Snyman 1990:198). However, all our informants agreed that *Motshwêneng!* (singular) and *Batshwêneng!* (plural) are the more usual salutations.

Another indication that the name is unlikely to have been derived from an oath involving the totem of the Bahurutshe is the occurrence of the same place name among Northern Sotho speakers in an area where no connection with the Bahurutshe or their totem could be established. In what was formerly known as the homeland of Lebowa (now part of the Northern Province), about 50 km north-west of the modern town of Potgietersrus and to the west of the Mogalakwena River, there is a little village which is named after a hill called

Kaditšhwene. The hill and the village, which are located on the registered farm Klipplaatdrift 787 LR (see 1: 50 000 topographical map, 2328DC Suswe), fall under the jurisdiction of the Langa of Bakenberg, a Northern Ndebele chiefdom which has become largely Sothoized. Fieldwork carried out at Kaditšhwene in 1993 failed to reveal much of the early history of the area, except that it was formerly occupied by Northern Sotho speakers, whose language has become the *lingua franca* of the current inhabitants of the village. The local chief and councillors of the town were adamant that the hill had no historical link with the Bahurutshe, and no evidence in the oral or the documentary record of the Bahurutshe has as yet been discovered to counter their claim. Our informants also suggested that the present town of Kaditšhwene was named after the mountain, which derived its name from the large number of baboons which inhabited it before the commencement of the recent mining thereof for granite. Thus the place name Kaditšhwene in the Marico area has at least one parallel elsewhere in the Sotho-Tswana language cluster.

In response to our inquiries about the possible meaning of the name, our informants among the Bahurutshe agreed unanimously that it referred to the large number of baboons which formerly inhabited the mountain, and still do. Since such an explanation of the meaning of the name is not evident from a literal translation of the Setswana word which, as we have already pointed out, appears to signify “by [means of] the baboons”, the name must have been derived by ellipsis from some longer construction. In our fieldwork interviews two such possibilities were offered by our informants:

[a] *Re utlwilê* [or, *Re utlwa*] *ka ditshwêne* (“We heard [or, We hear] by the baboons”), i.e. We heard by the warning barking of the baboons of the arrival of enemies. According to one informant the name derives from the fact that the large number of baboons which inhabited the mountain gave warning of an imminent attack by the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi. In the oral traditions of the Bahurutshe the name of Kaditšhwene is first mentioned in connection with the reign of *Menwê*, who ruled about the middle of the seventeenth century AD (see Breutz 1953:22–23). As noted before, the town’s name was also recorded by Campbell in May 1820, so that it is unlikely that the above phrase refers to the Bahurutshe being attacked during the *difaqane*. However, this folk etymology clearly supports earlier references to the name of the town being derived from the presence of the large number of baboons on the mountain.

[b] The second explanation for the possible origin of the name, offered by another of our informants, was that the name derives from the idiomatic expression, *Ga se ka ditshwêne!* This translates literally as “It is not by baboons!”, seemingly incomprehensible, but a common Setswana

idiomatic and exclamatory usage to describe a very large number of baboons; see also, for example, in *Ga se ka batho!*, indicating a huge crowd of people [batho], or *Ga se ka dikgômo!*, referring to vast numbers of cattle [*dikgômo*]. This usage is reminiscent of John Campbell's remark in 1820 that the name of the town "Kurreechane" means "No baboon". Campbell's note warrants careful consideration, for it is clear from his journal that he consistently tried to obtain the meanings of the names of people and places he encountered on his journey. At the Bahurutshe capital, for instance, he attempted, by no means always successfully, to note the meanings of the names of various persons, e.g. "Sinosee" [*Senôsi*, the chief of a large "district" of Kaditshwene] as "only" (MSB77[iii]:25); "Liqueling" [*Diutlwilêng*, the regent] as "what have you heard?", and "Moeelway" [*Moilwê*], the "young king" as "cannot bear him" (Campbell 1822[i]:227).

Campbell's explanation, "[There is, or, It is] No baboon", would be translated literally as *Ga go tshwêne* or *Ga se tshwêne*, but we must bear in mind his lack of knowledge of the Setswana language and the fact that he worked through an interpreter who himself had a limited knowledge of English (see Campbell 1822[i]:144–145 & 1822[ii]:188–191). In the case of a highly idiomatic expression such as *Ga se ka ditshwêne!*, the difficulties of translation and comprehension would have been greatly compounded. Furthermore, it seems likely, that the same name-giving strategy obtained among Setswana and Northern Sotho speakers in the coining of the place names *Kadithwêne* in the Marico and *Kaditshwêne* in the former Lebowa. It should be noted that the latter site is located in a region which borders on the Setswana language area and that some influence of Setswana on the local Northern Sotho dialect is, or was, possible, if not probable. In any case, as the following entry in Kriel's Northern Sotho dictionary (1984:248) indicates, a similar grammatical construction is also found in that language cluster: "**ka**, plus negative means very much, abundance of; **ga se ka** — , much, many". The idiomatic expression *Ga se ka ditshwêne!* seems to us a more likely source for the origin of these two names than any other construction from which they might have been derived by ellipsis. To this day the mountain on which the former capital of the Bahurutshe stood remains the abode of a large troop of baboons, an often vocal reminder of the origin of the name Kaditshwene, as also of the capacity for survival of *Papio ursinus*, the totem of the Bahurutshe, and his near neighbour and distant relative, *Homo sapiens!*

The latter explanation also suggests the possibility that the name of the mountain pre-dates the establishment of the town on top of it at some time after the middle of the seventeenth century AD, as indicated by radiocarbon dates obtained from the archaeological excavations and a careful analysis of

Bahurutshe oral traditions. Earlier settlements at the base of nearby hills, which can be ascribed to the Batswana/Bahurutshe on the basis of ceramic styles and oral traditions, date to between 1450 and 1650. The place name Kaditshwene may therefore represent part of the oldest recorded vocabulary in the Sehurutshe dialect of Setswana.

In our historical overview of the recording of the name of Kaditshwene, occasional reference has been made to another place name, “Chinyane”, which, in modern orthographic form, has been transcribed as “Tshwenyane”. As such, the name has been assumed to be derived from *tshwēnyana* or *tshwēnyane*, the Setswana word for “little baboon” and diminutive form from *tshwēne*. Some of the references suggest that “Tshwenyane” might be an alternative name for the same mountain on which the town Kaditshwene was located; others attest to the ambiguity of the geographical relationship between Kaditshwene and “Tshwenyane” and the tendency of some early travellers to use them interchangeably. This is particularly clear from some of the entries in the diary of Andrew Smith pertaining to his visit to the Marico area in 1835: “The aborigines call the mountains of Kurichane, Chinyane” (Kirby 1940:139); “The Baharootzie lived on the west of these hills and amongst them about the hills called Kurrichani, which lies behind and to the west of Chinwayne” (Kirby 1940:142); “The high hill to our left on crossing the range is called Chinyane and that on our right Currichaine” (Kirby 1940:250). Even Robert Moffat who, as we have noted, suggested that the two names referred to the same mountain, distinguished between the two geographical markers when he recorded on 10 June 1835: “I have still to search for timbers at Chuenyane, close to Kurichuene ... ” (Wallis 1945[i]:76). Breutz (1953:19) is much more specific in locating the hill “Tshwenyane” on the farm Mezeg (now registered as 77 JP), at the “waterval” near the former “post office of Enzelsberg”, the old farm of commandant Jan Enslin.

A possible explanation for this apparent confusion is that the geographical range of the two names overlap. This is suggested in the information collected by Noel Roberts (1934:6, fn.): “From Native sources I gather that *Chuenyane* was (and is) the name given to the whole settlement of which *Kaditshaene* was the Citadel. According to Mr H.G. Robertson, of Struan, this settlement covered all the hills on the farms Kleinfontein 27, Bloemfontein, Mezeg [Enzelsberg], Kareepoortfontein, Ella, and the Eastern portion of Grietfontein 107.” It should be pointed out, however, that such a naming strategy does not seem to be the pattern among the Sotho-Tswana, where the tendency is not to give an overarching name to large mountain ranges, but rather to name each individual hill-top or valley. There is, for example, no all-encompassing indigenous name among the Bahananwa (a Northern Sotho chiefdom which is, incidentally, of Batswana origin) for the Blouberg in the

Northern Province – when the need arises to refer to the mountain in general they use the adoptive *Bolôubêrê* (Louis Louwrens, personal communication, 21 May 1996). The extension of the place name “Tshwenyane” to cover a broader geographical area may therefore be a more recent development, attempting to find an equivalent for the Afrikaans name Enselsberg. It may be significant that the confusion between the two names seems to have arisen after the Bahurutshe had been driven from the region, and when later explorers such as Andrew Smith and Robert Moffat had to depend mainly on Matebele interpreters who were also newcomers to the area.

Further research might clarify the geographical ambience of the two names, but our fieldwork has revealed with total consistency that the name “Chwenyane” or “Tshwenyane” has, hardly surprisingly, been incorrectly recorded, and should be *Tswényane* with tones LHL. The tone-pattern for this is the same as for *Tshwényane* “small or young baboon”, but in the first the initial consonant /ts/ is never aspirated, in the second the /tsh/ is consistently aspirated. Needless to say, the similarity of *Tswényane* to *Tshwényane*, and the fact that the latter is the diminutive from *Tshwêne*, the basis for *Kaditshwêne*, has complicated matters further. However, whereas informants provided some suggestions as to the origin of the name *Kaditshwêne*, we have been unable to get any leads in respect of *Tswényane*. It is most interesting to note that this name appears in a praise-poem collected by the Hermannsburg Mission in 1906, when it was presumably recorded in the old orthography as “Cwenyana”, and revised at some later date to “Tšwenyana” (Breutz 1953:28–29). The alternation of word-final /a/ and /e/ is common in Setswana, especially in the diminutive suffix /-ana ≈ -ane/. Further confirmation of our fieldwork data is found in a brief outline of the history of the Bahurutshe, which was “Revised in October, 1922, from notes supplied by Rev F.H.W. Jensen and the Native Commissioner, Zeerust”, but only published in 1947. In this “Note on the Bahurutshe” the totem of the tribe is referred to as “Tshoene”, whereas their former abode is designated as “Tsoenyana” or “Tsoenyane”, that is without the aspirated consonant (Jeffreys 1947:177). In addition, in his account of the Balete, Ellenberger (1937:31, fn. 22) locates an old settlement of the Bakgatla ba Mmanaana as being “at or near Tswenyane, some 10 miles north-east of Dinokana (Transvaal)”. This description accords well with Tswenyane’s geographical orientation to Dinokana.

One suggestion, not from any of our informants in the Kaditshwene area, was that *Tswényane* might be connected with the verb *go tswena* “to ooze or trickle, of water, e.g. out of the ground”. However, although alternations between the vowels /e/ and /ê/ do occur sometimes in Setswana, we have no record of it in this instance. Another name to add to the complexity of the problem is *Tswêdiāne*, LHL, for a small stream which emanates from near the

Kaditshwene mountain on the farm Bloemfontein 63 JP. It comes as no surprise that this name, too, has been incorrectly recorded as “Tshwediyane” (Breutz 1953:23) or “Tšhwedinyane” (Breutz 1989:228). *Tswêdiane* might be derived as a diminutive from *motswêdi* LLL, “spring, fountain”, though not by any extant process in Setswana, according to which the diminutive is *motswêtsana*. Bearing in mind, though, that these two names, as also *Kaditshwêne*, most certainly date back several centuries, allowance must be made for the possibility of some structural and/or semantic changes in the language. It is also noteworthy that there used to be a constant spring in the *Tswêdiane* stream, and that the Afrikaans name of the adjacent farm, Kleinfontein, on which two small fountains can be found, literally records the occurrence of this natural phenomenon. In fact, the well-watered Enselsberg-Tswenyane area is renowned for the number of small streams and fountains that dot the landscape, and this probably explains why the Bahurutshe originally decided to settle there.

Uncertain as the etymology of *Tswényane* may be, the name is of major significance in the ancient traditions of the Bahurutshe people. A praise-poem similar in some respects to that recorded by Breutz (1953:28–29), as noted above, appears in *Mogorosi II*, a school reader published by the Hermannsburg Mission (1942:50). Here again reference is made to “Ngwana wa ntswê la Tswenyane ...” [Child of the hill of Tswenyane ...]. Another Bahurutshe praise-poem, recorded more recently by K. Mogapi (1994:29) ends as follows:

Tseo ke tshwene tsa ga Malope-a-Masilo
 [Those are the baboons of Malope son of Masilo]
 Ba ga Sebogodi-a-Menwe-a-Moilwa
 [Of Sebogodi son of Menwe son of Moilwa]
 Bana ba ntswe la Tswenyane
 [Children of the hill of Tswenyane]

It is not possible to go into details here about the aetiological legends of the Batswana, more specifically those of the Bahurutshe who are the senior tribe from which all others purportedly derived. According to one version they are believed to have emerged from a cave on Tswenyane, hence the references in these praise-poems to the child, or children, of the hill of Tswenyane (for snippets of information on this legend, see Campbell 1822[i]:303, 306–307; Kirby 1940:218, 221–222; Lye 1975:267).

A last point to mention is that Andrew Smith’s specific name for the Rattling cisticola, *Cisticola chiniana*, is in all probability derived from *Tswényane*, for it was in this region that he collected the bird (see Skead 1967:61). On the discovery of *Drymoica chiniana*, as it was originally named, Smith (1849:Plate

LXXIX) commented as follows: “Only one specimen of this species was obtained, and that was killed while perched upon some brushwood growing near the edge of a small stream to the northward of Kurrichane.”

CONCLUSIONS

Extensive study of the relevant literature on the recording of the place name and recent fieldwork among local Batswana living in the vicinity of the archaeological ruins clearly show that the name of the early nineteenth-century capital of the Bahurutshe, north-east of present-day Zeerust, was *Kaditshwêne*. The town was most probably named after the mountain, which in turn derived its name from the large number of baboons which inhabited it prior to and after the establishment of the Bahurutshe settlement on its summit at some time after the mid-seventeenth century. The mountain's name was most probably derived by ellipsis from some longer construction. The most plausible etymology offered during the investigation suggests that the place name can be traced to the idiomatic expression, *Ga se ka ditshwêne!*, which can be translated roughly as “What an incredible number of baboons!”. The name Kaditshwene is therefore not, as has been suggested, a neologism coined in the twentieth century, nor is it an ungrammatical construction in Setswana. No connection could be determined between the reference to baboons in the place name and the beliefs or practices of the Bahurutshe concerning the baboon (*tshwêne*) as their totem animal. It has also been established that another name which has sometimes been used interchangeably with Kaditshwene, but which refers to a nearby hill, has been incorrectly recorded as Tshwenyane (“little baboon”) instead of *Tswényane*. At present no satisfactory etymology for the latter name can be offered. However, Tswenyane is of major significance in the praise-poems and aetiological legends of the Bahurutshe.

Historical and linguistic reasons have also been advanced as to why two alternative renderings of the place name which have recently gained wide acceptance, viz. Gaditshwene and Karechuenya, as well as two other suggested forms, Kwaditshweneng and Kaditshweneng, must be rejected. The propagation of Gaditshwene and Karechuenya as alternative versions of the place name, in particular, is based on ignorance of the historical context in which the name was recorded, a poor grasp or understanding of linguistic principles in general and of the Setswana language and grammatical structures in particular, and a neglect of primary linguistic fieldwork among local Bahurutshe who are acquainted with the landmarks and their names. The recording of our indigenous place names is important, not only to preserve the cultural heritage of South Africa, but also to trace the linguistic prehistory and affinities of the Bantu (and Khoisan) languages. Such place names may serve

as a repository or historical record of the human imprint on the changing South African landscape, and their study is perhaps particularly important in areas subject to the influence of the English and Afrikaans languages.

An analysis of the historical context in which the name was recorded clearly demonstrates how a lack of knowledge of Setswana and the absence of a suitable or standardised orthography led to confusion about the correct rendering of the name and of its meaning. The corrupted spelling of Kaditshwene which still occurs in the common English names of two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail and the Kurrichane thrush, is just one example of the many unsuccessful attempts by early European explorers and writers to record the place name. The various corruptions or distortions also explain why some recent scholars, especially those who are linguistically ill-informed, unsophisticated or ignorant, find it difficult to accept or appreciate that the earliest spellings of the name all represented no more than approximations to the Setswana name *Kaditshwêne*. According to A.N.B. Masterson the name “Kurrichane” in the names of the two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail and the Kurrichane thrush, is “normally pronounced as ‘curry-cane’” which, as is rightly pointed out, “bears little resemblance to the word ‘Kaditshwene’ from which it was derived” (Ginn 1989:192). Other pronunciations heard among birding enthusiasts are “curry-chain” and “curry-chin”. The dispute about the name of the town having now been clarified, ornithologists may care to consider adopting the uncorrupted form of the name for the bird species concerned. Equally, historians and other scholars need no longer be unduly concerned about the correct rendering or etymology of the town’s name, but could instead focus on the reconstruction of Kaditshwene’s complex and intriguing past, as well as the future conservation of its stone-walled ruins as an invaluable cultural resource.

ENDNOTES

- 1 This is a revised and updated version of an article which appeared in *Nomina Africana*, 1995, 9(1):1–40. It is republished here by kind permission of the Scientific Editor.
- 2 Note that as a rule diacritics are not used in the rendering of indigenous place names (see Louwrens 1994:6); hence the name of the Bahurutshe capital should be written as Kaditshwene and not Kaditshwêne. In any linguistic analysis, however, and to ensure correct pronunciation of Setswana words, it is essential to distinguish between the close vowels /e, o/, and the mid-open vowels /ê, ô/ respectively. Therefore we retain the circumflex where we are concerned primarily with linguistic aspects.
- 3 “Vient ensuite une chaîne de montagnes qui a presque la forme d’un rectangle à laquelle les Baharoutsi donnent le nom de *Morilati* que la plupart des voyageurs ont improprement nommée Kurrichane du nom de l’un de ses sommets.”

- 4 Van der Merwe (1986:210–214) has convincingly argued that this settlement, which is more commonly known by its corrupted name “Kapain”, could not have been located on the present farm Zelikatskop 16 JP on the Marico River, but was situated much nearer to the deserted capital of the Bahurutshe.
- 5 Incidentally, the popular belief (see Du Plessis 1973:268–69; Gronum 1938:31) that the Setswana name of the river is derived from the words *madi* “blood” and *kō* [sic] “there” must be rejected on grammatical grounds. The arguments are too complex to present briefly here. The name may refer to “ ‘twists and turns, meanderings’ (in the river), from *-dika* HL ‘go around’” (Cole 1991:183), but, perhaps more probably, to “the centre of activities”, from *-dikwa* “be surrounded [by]”. The river’s name was recorded by Robert Moffat as “Marikue, Marico, Maricue, Marique” (Wallis 1945[i]:12, 59, 68, 70–72, 86, 98, 125).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are very much indebted to the following people, all Bahurutshe resident in the area, who devoted much time to answering our questions and discussing matters relevant to this investigation:

- (a) At Lekubu (Braklaagte), Chief Lekolwane Sebogodi (born 5 April 1901, aged 94 at the time of our interview, who became Chief on 6 November 1949); his son Pupsey Ntšanyane Sebogodi; tribal elders Tshenyego Makgolela, Olebogeng Boeleng Majafa, and Ngwapitso Moitoi; also Chief Moswana Moilwa of Mokgola (aged 83);
- (b) At Mokgola (Leeuwfontein), Johanna Moetse (born on the farm Bloemfontein 63 JP in 1907, aged 88); an old man, Hendrik Mosadi; an old lady, Sello Rakodi, her daughter Gadifele Mosimanyane, and their friend Lebogang Motlhaja; Ana Mmutle Monnana (born 7 September 1910, aged 85), her daughter Mediyamere Elizabeth Monnana, and Colin Ntoko Pule, a teacher at Moswana Moilwa School;
- (c) At Kleinfontein, Ntoro Sogo, foreman on the farm and a member of the *lekgotla* of Mokgola; also Johannes Mogoledi Ramoloso, a hunting-guide who made enquiries for us among older residents, and Elias Busang Mothoagae, a high school pupil from Mokgola who guided us to various informants.

To Paul and Barbara van der Merwe we are very much indebted for accommodation and hospitality on several occasions when we visited their farm Kleinfontein, and for making inquiries and advising us about the appropriate people to contact about our research project. Paul’s crucial role in the scientific “rediscovery” and exploration of Kaditshwene has yet to be accounted for, and he was also responsible for introducing Jan Boeyens in 1990 to the late Mamporeka Moremedi of Mokgola (born at Dinokana in 1904),

whose intimate knowledge of the landmarks in the area, revealed during an all too brief interview shortly before his death, kindled a lasting interest in toponymy and started a long search for the origin of the place name Kaditšhwene.

Maria van der Ryst first drew Jan Boeyens's attention to the occurrence of the place name Kaditšhwene in former Lebowa (now part of Northern Province), and he wishes to thank her and Frik de Beer, another colleague in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in the University of South Africa, for their assistance and contributions during his fieldwork at the site in 1993. To Chieftainess Ngali (*ngwan'a* Maapa) and her councillors at Kaditšhwene he conveys his gratitude for their willingness to bear with his seemingly incomprehensible obsession with a place name. Lastly, he wishes to acknowledge the encouragement and help received from yet three more colleagues in the University of South Africa: Johannes du Bruyn of the Department of History, who was always willing to share his wide knowledge of early documentary sources on the Batswana, and Jan Snyman and Mpho Mothoagae of the Department of African Languages, who patiently answered his many queries about Setswana place names over the past five years.

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Letter from Dr P.-L. Breutz to J.C.A. Boeyens, 11 February 1996

D. Television Programme

SABC 50/50, 26 April 1992

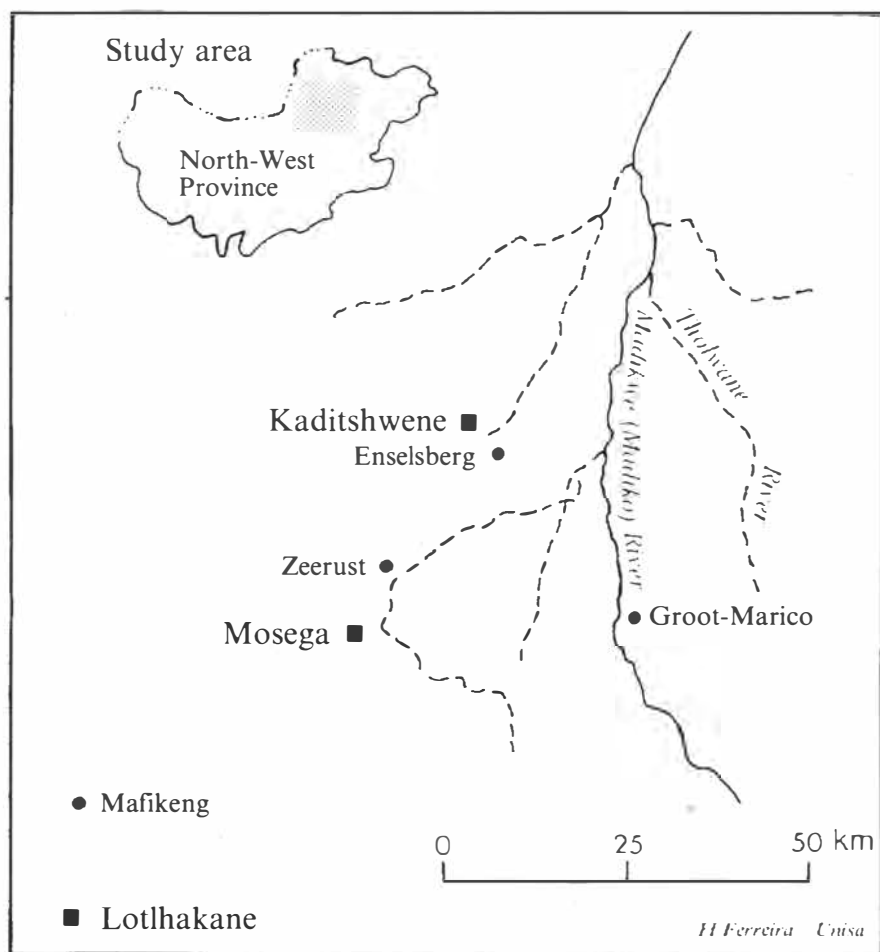
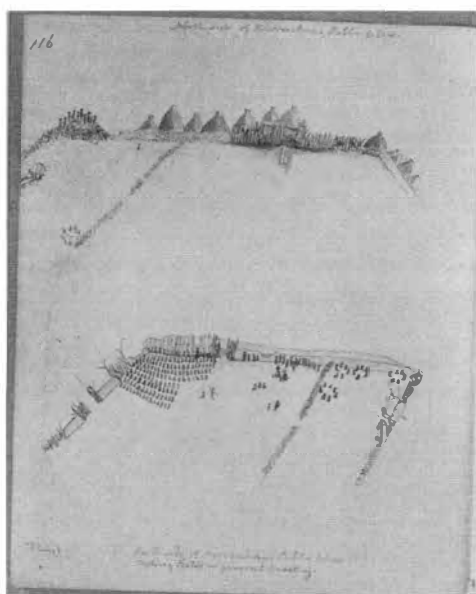


Fig. 1: Map depicting the location of Kaditshwene, the erstwhile capital of the Bahurutshe, north-east of present-day Zeerust in the North-West Province



Photograph 1: View of a small portion of the stone-walled ruins of Kaditshwene on the farm Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP



Photograph 2: John Campbell's depiction of the *pitsô* in the main *kgotla* or public gathering-place where he and his entourage stayed during their visit to Kaditshwene in May 1820 (original water-colour sketch in the South African Library, Cape Town)



Photograph 3: The monolith near the entrance to the main *kgotla* (part of the ruins of Kaditshwene on the farm Bloemfontein 63 JP). Note that this monolith is also depicted in Campbell's 1820 sketch of the northern section of the public gathering-place



Photograph 4: The Kurrichane buttonquail as depicted in Andrew Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* (1849)



Photograph 5: The Kurrichane thrush as depicted in Andrew Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* (1849)



Photograph 6: View of Kaditšhwene village and hill, north-west of Potgietersrus in the Northern Province (former Lebowa)



Photograph 7: The waterfall at Tswenyane on the farm Mezeg 77 JP, Enselsberg, Marico district



Photograph 8: The Rattling cisticola as depicted in Andrew Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* (1849)

AN ETHNOBIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO NORTHERN SOTHO PLANT NAMES

L.J. Louwrens

INTRODUCTION

In this contribution the linguistic structure and hierarchical ordering of Northern Sotho plant names are investigated within the realm of ethnobiological theory. Ethnobiological research conducted within the domain of cognitive anthropology is primarily concerned with “prescientific man’s classification of his biological universe” (Berlin et al. 1973:214). One of the main objectives of investigations into folk taxonomies is to determine “the relationship of the formal linguistic structure of plant and animal names and the cognitive status of the taxa to which such names apply” because “while no isomorphic correspondence is claimed to exist between nomenclature ... and classification ... the overwhelming body of evidence now in hand suggests that nomenclature is often a near perfect guide to folk taxonomic structure” (Berlin et al. 1973: 216). A major methodological principle which underlies this approach is that members of every speech community organize the biological diversity which exists in the natural world surrounding them by classifying plants into hierarchically ordered categories called “taxa” and, furthermore, that the status of each taxon within this hierarchy is reflected in the linguistic structure of the nomenclatural element which names that taxon. Hunn (1976:69) puts it thus:

This taxonomic and linguistic evidence suggests that all folk biological hierarchies are comprised of a series of categories organized in a series of levels or ranks related by inclusion and designated by specifiable kinds of linguistic labels depending upon their taxonomic rank.

According to Berlin et al. (1973:240) there consequently “seems to be strong

evidence that the linguistic structure of a plant or animal name is usually a good mirror of the taxonomic status of the category which it represents” (Cf. also Swanepoel, 1994a & 1994b; Atran, 1985 & 1987; Brown et al. 1976; and Berlin, 1976).

Ethnobiological research is therefore primarily concerned with “important aspects of man’s conceptual organization of the natural world” (Berlin et al. 1973:214) and, as is pointed out by Atran, striking cross-cultural uniformities are observed in the structure of folkbiological classification because

Knowledge of species *qua* biological species, and knowledge that organic individuals naturally fall into groups within groups, is a knowledge humankind shares, whether bushman, layman or scientist. Such knowledge determines the way we see the world and regulates our inductions about what we do not see (Atran, 1987:48).

The classification of plant names in Northern Sotho will be investigated against this background in order to ascertain whether the “strikingly regular structural principles of folk biological classification which are quite general” alluded to by, *inter alia*, Berlin et al. (1973:214), are also attested by data from this language.

In the first half of the article attention will be paid to particularly four aspects, namely (a) the general principles underlying ethnobiological taxonomies, (b) the way in which the linguistic labelling of ethnobiological categories reveals their hierarchical status within an ethnobiological taxonomy, (c) possible exceptions to general nomenclature principles; and (d) ontological and cognitive considerations which have a direct influence on a person’s classificatory activities. In an attempt to ensure maximum clarity and understanding, examples cited in this section will be taken from English only. In the second half of the contribution Northern Sotho data on plant names which have been collected during fieldwork will be analysed following the research paradigm which is generally accepted for the purposes of ethnobiological inquiry. The Northern Sotho material will be shown to confirm observations made by ethnobiologists for languages around the world namely that folk biological classifications are largely governed by universal principles.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF FOLK TAXONOMY

Most of the principles that were set out by Berlin, Breedlove and Raven in their 1973 article entitled *General principles of classification and nomenclature in folk biology* today still form the basis for folk taxonomic investigations. Their

distinction between primary and secondary lexemes, a matter that will be addressed in more detail below, plays a particularly crucial role in this regard (Swanepoel, 1994a:36). The following is a slightly adapted version (particularly as far as examples are concerned) of the most important of these principles as summarized by Berlin et al. (1973:214–215):

- (a) In all languages it is possible to isolate linguistically recognized groupings of organisms of varying degrees of inclusiveness. These classes are referred to as *taxa* ...
- (b) Taxa are further grouped into a small number of classes known as taxonomic ethnobiological categories. These ethnobiological categories, definable in terms of linguistic and taxonomic criteria, probably number no more than five. They may be named as follows: *unique beginner* e.g. plant, *life form* e.g. tree, *generic* e.g. bushwillow, *specific* e.g. velvet bushwillow, weeping bushwillow, etc., and *varietal* of which examples are rarely encountered (also see Brown, et al. 1976:75). A sixth category, called intermediate, may be required as further research is carried out (Atran, 1985:309 and Berlin, 1976:387). This point will shortly receive special attention under the heading *Intermediate categories*.
- (c) The five universal ethnobiological categories are arranged hierarchically and taxa assigned to each rank are mutually exclusive, except for the unique beginner of which there is only one member.
- (d) Taxa of the same ethnobiological category characteristically, though not invariably, occur at the same taxonomic level within any particular taxonomic structure, e.g.:

Level	Taxon	Example
Zero	unique beginner	“plant”
1	life form	“tree”
2	generic	“bushwillow”
3	specific	“velvet bushwillow”, etc.
4	varietal	?

- (e) Taxa assigned to each of the fundamental ethnobiological categories characteristically exhibit linguistic and/or taxonomic features which allow for their recognition.

According to Atran (1987:40) the hierarchy outlined above is governed cross-culturally by principles such as the following:

- Every natural object is either a living kind or not.
- Every living kind is either a plant or an animal.

- Each plant or animal belongs to one and only one basic taxon.
- No two basic taxa share all of their characteristic phenomenal properties. This implies that where two taxa are encountered, one will lack at least one feature which is characteristic of the other.
- Every basic taxon belongs to only one life form taxon *LF*.
- For every LF_i there is at least one phenomenal property D_i which is characteristic and diagnostic in the sense that to all LF_j , D_i is not characteristic. Atran explains this by observing that if, for example, “quadruped” is characteristic for the life form mammal, it is *not* characteristic for life forms such as TREE, GRASS, HERB, etc.

Berlin et al. (1973:215–216) proceed by identifying the following general tendencies regarding the nature of the basic taxa mentioned above.

Unique beginners

It is very often found in languages around the world that a taxon which is a member of the category *unique beginner* such as plant and animal is not labelled linguistically (also see Berlin, 1976:394). The unique beginner is the most inclusive taxon and is therefore polytypic in the sense that it always includes several subordinate members.

Life forms

Life form taxa such as tree, grass, herb, mammal, bird, fish, etc., are generally few in number ranging from five to ten (Berlin et al. 1973:214; Brown et al. 1976:75), and are “the most inclusive, wide-ranging categories in folk biological taxonomies (apart from the unique beginner)” (Berlin, 1976:384). Every taxon belongs to only one life form, and each life form has at least one diagnostic characteristic which distinguishes it from all other life forms (Atran, 1987:40).

Generics

Taxa which are members of the category *generic* are much more numerous than life form taxa, and due to their high degree of saliency, many investigators regard generics as the core of any folk biological taxonomy. Berlin et al. (1973:216) therefore characterize generic taxa as “the basic building blocks of all folk taxonomies”. (See, however, Dougherty, 1978 for a refinement of this viewpoint.) Typical generics like *baobab*, *marula*, *tamboti*, *leadwood* and *mopane* are characterized by two features in particular, namely: they are

terminal and include no further named subdivisions; and therefore they are monotypic since they always refer to a single species.

Specifics and varietals

According to Berlin et al. (1973:216):

Taxa which are members of the ethnobiological categories “specific” and “varietal” are, in general, less numerous than taxa found as members of the generic category.”

Subgeneric taxa of specific and varietal rank occur in contrast sets of mostly two to three members, whereas sets comprising six or more members are rarely found. Compare a contrast set comprising two members, e.g. {seringa: white seringa; mountain seringa}, with one containing six or more members, e.g. {shepherd’s tree: rough-leaved shepherd’s tree; stink shepherd’s tree; broad-leaved shepherd’s tree; kaoko shepherd’s tree; hairy shepherd’s tree; etc.}. (Van Wyk, 1994; Coates Palgrave, 1981). Specifics like rough-leaved shepherd’s tree are generally terminal in the sense that they do not form category superordinates for other terms of a lower rank, i.e. of a varietal nature. It is for this reason that varietals are said to be seldom found (Swanepoel, 1994a:40; Brown et al. 1976:75).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNOBIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES AND THEIR LINGUISTIC LABELS

Berlin (1976:394) observes that:

With the exception of the unique beginner, which is commonly not named, taxa of the ranks of life form, generic, specific and varietal are all given linguistic recognition.

All investigators dealing with ethnobiology whose aim it is “to discover the conceptual foundations of ethnosciences as practised by preliterate peoples” by focusing on “the cognitive organization of the world of plants and animals” (Berlin et al. 1973:227) recognize a strong correlation between the linguistic form of a plant name and the taxonomic category which it labels (Berlin et al. 1973:226). Dougherty (1978:68) makes a similar observation when he states that

A strong correlation has been observed in botanical classification between the taxonomic rank of a particular category and the linguistic nature of its name.

The nature of this correlation amounts to the following: the higher up on the hierarchical scale [unique beginner ← life form ← generic ← specific ← varietal] a taxon is, the more basic (i.e. “primary”) the lexical item becomes with which it is labelled. The lower down a taxon appears in the hierarchy, the less basic (i.e. “secondary”) the linguistic label of the taxon appears to be. (Predictable exceptions to this rule are addressed below.) Swanepoel (1994a:42) therefore states the primary interest linguists have in ethnobiological taxonomies as follows:

Die aanname van die isomorfie tussen linguistiese struktuur (etnobiologiese nomenklatuur) en konseptuele ordening bring mee dat die taalkundige deur 'n ontleding van die semanties-konseptuele relasies van die etnobiologiese nomenklatuur van 'n taal ... 'n passing van die etnobiologiese nomenklatuur na die onderliggend taksonomiese strukturerings daarvan in etnobiologiese konseptuele kategorieë kan aanpak.

(Also see Berlin et al. 1973; Berlin, 1976; Atran, 1985 and 1987; Hunn, 1976; Dougherty, 1987 and Brown et al. 1976). The correlation which has been observed between what are called *primary lexemes* and high ranking taxa and *secondary lexemes* and low ranking taxa calls for a detailed discussion of the crucial role played by the distinction *primary* versus *secondary* with regard to nomenclatural labels.

Primary lexemes and the role of contrast sets

Brown et al. 1976:74 state that

Primary and secondary lexemes are distinguished from one another in terms of the manner in which they are linguistically analysed and whether or not the taxa they label occur in “contrast sets” in taxonomies.

Primary lexemes can either be *unanalysable* or *analysable*. A characteristic feature of *unanalysable* primary lexemes is that they are single-word expressions. Life forms like tree, bush, grass, herb, shrub and weed are labelled by primary lexemes, and so are many generics such as marula, mopane, tamboti and baobab. Consequently, sets like {life form: tree, bush, grass, herb, ...} and {tree: marula, mopane, tamboti, baobab, ...} are characterized as *primary contrast sets*. Generics are, however, very often also denoted by *analysable* primary lexemes. These are compounds which consist of more than one lexical component and are divided into *productive analysable primaries* and *unproductive analysable primaries*. This distinction is based on whether one of

the components of the name denotes the relevant *life form* or not. If one of the components in the name denotes the *life form* in question like *tree* and *bush* in the following examples, the lexemes are regarded as *primary* and *productive*, e.g. {*tree*: fever *tree*, bell-bean *tree*, carrot *tree*, common cabbage *tree*, currant resin *tree*, etc.}; and {*bush*: caterpillar *bush*, common bride's *bush*, common poison *bush*, cucumber *bush*, etc.}. Such lexemes are regarded as *primary* since they can occur in contrast sets with the same superordinate term together with single word items, e.g. {*tree*: marula, mopane, bell bean tree, carrot tree}. This set denotes the fact that a mopane is a tree in the same way as a bell-bean tree is a tree. Furthermore, such lexemes are *productive* because a whole range of names containing the component *tree* can be derived in a productive way, e.g. dead-man's *tree*, snuff-box *tree*, fever *tree*, gland-leaf *tree*, horn-pod *tree*, shepherd's *tree*, etc. (Van Wyk, 1994). In the second half of the article it will be shown that, for explainable language specific reasons, productive primary lexemes of this kind do not occur in Northern Sotho.

Unproductive primary lexemes, on the other hand, are characterized by the fact that "no constituent marks a category superordinate to the [life] forms in question" (Brown et al. 1976:74). Compare the following examples from Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk (1962): Aaron's rod (*Verbascum virgatum*), Abraham's book (*Mansonnia bowkeri*), bachelor's buttons (*Centaurea cyanus*), common blackjack (*Bidens bipinnata*), dog's tooth (*Cynodon dactylon*), etc. These examples all represent instances of metaphoric compounding since Aaron's rod is not a kind of rod, whereas bachelor's buttons has very little to do with either bachelors or buttons. The *unproductive* nature of such compounds therefore arises from the fact that none of the other members of, for example, the genus *Centaurea*, e.g. *Centaurea calcitrapa* (starbur), *Centaurea melitensis* (cockspur), *Centaurea picris* (hardheads), etc. are named in terms of either bachelors or buttons. (Consider a fictitious contrast set like {*Centaurea*: bachelor's *button*; ladies *button*; gentleman's *button*; ... etc.}.) In this regard, unproductive primaries stand in vivid contrast with productive primaries occurring in sets like {fever *tree*, shepherd's *tree*, jumping bean *tree*, nyala *tree*, ..., etc.}. Examples of larger trees which are labelled by unproductive primary lexemes are weeping boer-bean, sjambok pod, jackal berry, monkey orange, etc. Although a tree named jackal *berry* is recognised, no other trees are productively related to the jackal *berry* by conceivable names like, for instance, wolf *berry*, lion *berry*, leopard *berry*, etc. An important feature of such *unproductive primary lexemes* is that despite the absence of a constituent denoting the life form (i.e. *tree*) in their composition, they can nonetheless enter into the same contrast set with *primary simplex* (i.e. "tamboti") and *productive primary complex* lexemes (i.e. "fever *tree*"), e.g. {*tree*: tamboti, fever tree, sjambok pod"}. It will be shown later that whereas *productive* primaries do not occur in Northern Sotho, *unproductive* primaries abound.

Secondary lexemes and the role of contrast sets

Like compound primary lexemes, secondary lexemes also consist of more than one constituent. They differ from compound primary lexemes in that they always occur in contrast sets of which *all members* contain a component which denotes the immediate superordinate taxon like *thorn*, *bushwillow*, *fig*, etc., in {*thorn*: bitter false-*thorn*, black monkey *thorn*, common spike *thorn*, paperbark false-*thorn*, broad-pod false-*thorn*, etc.}; {*bushwillow*: red *bushwillow*, river *bushwillow*, velvet *bushwillow*, russet *bushwillow*, false forest *bushwillow*, weeping *bushwillow*, etc.}; {*fig*: Natal *fig*, Wonderboom *fig*, red-leaved rock *fig*, small-leaved rock *fig*, mountain *fig*, lowveld *fig*, etc.}. It is clear from these examples that *secondary lexemes* denote either *specifics* which are dominated by the same superordinate taxon (e.g. *fig*) as in Natal *fig*, Wonderboom *fig*, sycamore *fig*, rock *fig*, etc., or they denote varieties of a specific (such as, for example, *rock fig*) as in red-leaved *rock fig*, small-leaved *rock fig* and large-leaved *rock fig*. A limited number of contrast sets of this kind which will be discussed later have been recorded for Northern Sotho.

The main differences between *primary* and *secondary* lexemes can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Primary lexemes may be monolexemic whereas secondary lexemes are always compound.
- (b) Compound primary lexemes, in their turn, differ from secondary lexemes in as far as one constituent of the compound in the case of primaries denote the *life form* which is involved (e.g. *tree*), whereas one constituent of the compound in the case of secondary lexemes denote an immediate superordinate category which is a *generic* and not a *life form* (e.g. *bushwillow*, *fig*, etc.).
- (c) Primary lexemes, whether they are monolexemic (mopane, tamboti, etc.) or compound (fever tree, sjambok pod) may enter into the same contrast set, e.g. {*tree*: mopane, tamboti, fever tree, sjambok pod}. Secondary lexemes, on the contrary, enter into contrast sets of which *all members* contain a component denoting the same superordinate term (e.g. *bushwillow*) as in {*bushwillow*: red *bushwillow*, river *bushwillow*, velvet *bushwillow*, russet *bushwillow*, Rhodesian *bushwillow*, etc.}.

Summary: the nomenclature principle

From this it is clear that *primary lexemes*, be they monolexemic or complex, denote taxa such as *life form* (*tree*) and *generic* (*tamboti*, *fever tree*, *sjambok pod*) which occupy high positions in the taxonomic hierarchy. Secondary

lexemes, on the other hand, label taxa such as specifics (Wonderboom fig, sycamore fig, rock fig), or, where they occur, varieties (red-leaved rock fig, small-leaved rock fig) which are low on the taxonomic hierarchy. Following Brown et al's (1976:74–75) characterization of what they call “the nomenclature principle”, the generalizations which emanate from what has been observed thus far can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Some taxa marked by primary lexemes are terminal, i.e. they include no other labelled taxa (e.g. tamboti, marula, sausage tree) or immediately include taxa designated by secondary lexemes (e.g. fig which includes Wonderboom fig, Natal fig, etc.). Taxa satisfying these conditions are *generic*: their labels are generic names.
- (b) Some taxa other than the taxon which is the unique beginner marked by primary lexemes are not terminal and immediately include taxa designated by primary lexemes (e.g. tree which dominates tamboti, marula, sausage tree, etc.). Taxa which satisfy these conditions refer to *life form* categories: their labels are life form names.
- (c) Some taxa marked by secondary lexemes are terminal and are immediately included in taxa designated by primary lexemes (e.g. Wonderboom fig, sycamore fig, lowveld fig, rock fig which are dominated by fig). Taxa satisfying these conditions are *specific*: their labels are specific names.
- (d) Some taxa marked by secondary lexemes are terminal and are immediately included in taxa which are designated as well by secondary lexemes (e.g. small-leaved rock fig, large-leaved rock fig, red-leaved rock fig which are included under rock fig). Taxa satisfying these conditions are *varietal*: their labels are varietal names.

In the second half of this presentation it will be shown that, apart from predictable exceptions, these generalizations are equally valid for Northern Sotho botanical nomenclature.

Intermediate categories: possible exceptions to the nomenclature principle

Unaffiliated generics

Following the nomenclature principle, it is possible to identify plant names such as tamboti (*Spirostachys africana*), river bean (*Sesbania sesban*), wild tea (*Lippia javanica*), common blackjack (*Bidens pilosa*), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), etc. with specific life forms:

<i>Plant</i>	<i>Life form</i>
tamboti	tree
river bean	shrub
wild tea	herb
common blackjack	weed
sweet potato	vegetable

Stated differently: each one of the plant names in the list can be said to be dominated by a superordinate term which denotes the life form to which it belongs. However, when an attempt is made to relate the names of cultivated plants such as maize, grain sorghum, finger millet, groundnut, etc. to specific life forms, it seems to become impossible. Generics like these are apparently not dominated by a superordinate term denoting the *life form* to which they belong. They are, in fact, directly dominated by the *unique beginner* "plant", causing them, as it were, to constitute *life forms* on their own. Berlin (1976:387) refers to such examples as *unaffiliated generics* and defines them as follows:

An *unaffiliated generic* encompasses organisms which, in all contexts of actual plant identification, are consistently said not to be included in one of the major life forms.

Many investigators like Berlin et al. (1973); Berlin (1976), Atran (1985 and 1987); Hunn (1976), and others have observed this deviant tendency with regard to plants which are of particular cultural and economic importance. Atran (1987:56) explains the exceptional behaviour of such names within the nomenclature hierarchy as follows:

Rather, it is because constant and direct intervention by man actually creates an isolated role for them in the local environment, which makes them phenomenally salient.

When investigating the Northern Sotho data, particular attention will therefore be paid not only to cultivated plants, but also to a variety of fruit bearing wild plants such as members of genera such as *Grewia* (wild raisin), *Ximenia* (sour plum) and *Maytenus* (spike thorn), as well as other wild species such as members of the genus *Commiphora* which are, for a variety of reasons, of major cultural importance. Many of the names of such plants behave exceptionally due to, as Atran stated above, "constant and direct intervention by man".

Ambiguously affiliated generics

According to Berlin et al. (1973:219); Berlin (1976:387, 391) ambiguously affiliated generics are names referring to plants which exhibit some or other morphological peculiarity particularly with regard to stem habit. In this regard, Berlin (1976:387) observes:

It is informative to examine some examples of the unaffiliated or ambiguously affiliated generic taxa, for it can be shown that, as is the case with Tzeltal Mayan ethnobiological materials, such plant classes are “almost without exception cultivated and/or morphologically peculiar in some fashion” (Berlin, Breedlove & Raven 1973:219).

When discussing the Northern Sotho data, specific reference will be made to this aspect regarding species like *Aloe marlothii*, the Transvaal sesame-bush (*Sesamothamnus lugardii*) and the baobab (*Adansonia digitata*).

“MAN, THE CLASSIFYING ANIMAL” (Berlin et al. 1973:214)

Ethnobiologists point out that people are constantly in a process of “bring[ing] order to the diversity of the domain of plants by classifying groups of similar organisms into a number of taxa of greater and lesser inclusiveness” (Berlin 1976:384). As Atran (1985:311) puts it:

In short, folk-botanical life forms partition the everyday world of human experience with local flora in ways that are “natural” to the human mind as it partakes of the activities of ordinary life.

It should, however, be kept in mind that the act of categorization in folk taxonomies is not carried out by an ideal mother-tongue speaker who possesses a complete and perfect scientific knowledge of the botanical world which surrounds him or her. Categorization is done by individuals with an imperfect knowledge of the botanical world and who rely heavily on their own subjective perceptions, experiences and deductions. This implies that species which are being regarded as belonging to the same taxon by one language user might be categorized differently by another member of the same speech community. Swanepoel (1994b:59) quotes Taylor (1989) in this regard:

Similarity, like beauty lies in the eye of the beholder. Once we invoke similarity as a basis for categorization, we inevitably bring language users, with their beliefs, interests, and past experience into the picture. *Things are similar to the extent that a human being, in some context and for some purpose, chooses to regard them as similar.* (My emphasis.)

These observations explain why field notes often reveal that different names are given to the same species, why different species are sometimes named with the same nomenclatural label, or why the members of certain taxa encountered in one speech community may differ completely from corresponding taxa in other speech communities. They also explain why folk taxonomies often deviate from the purely scientific ones adhered to by biologists, although striking similarities between pre-scientific and scientific taxonomies are often observed with more than chance frequency. About these similarities, Hunn (1976:508) writes:

However, recent advances in the anthropological understanding of folk biological classification stem in large from a growing recognition of the striking similarities between folk systems and the biologist's system of classification. It is now clear that these similarities are neither fortuitous nor to be taken for granted. We are now directing our attention at discovering the constraints in nature and in the human mind which may account for the pan-cultural regularities.

The field worker must, therefore, be constantly aware of the fact that the capacity of individuals to differentiate one concept from other similar concepts, that is to identify the members of the same *prototype category*, may vary, since "the individual may draw the lines of demarcation differently from the social group, either out of misconstrual or out of thoughtful considerations" (Kittay, 1992:237). Furthermore, the ethnobiologist must realize that the boundaries between adjacent categories or ranks are *arbitrary* "due to the continuous variation of taxonomic heterogeneity" (Berlin, 1976:383 quoting Hunn). This heterogeneity is interpreted by Chaffin (1992:255) in terms of what he calls the "typicality gradient" which is explained as follows:

Exemplars of a category vary in the degree to which they are typical of the concept (Rosch 1978). For example, a robin is a very typical bird, a crow is less typical, and an ostrich is not very bird-like at all. The gradient continues for nonmembers of the category; a *bat* is rather like a *bird* but it is not a bird, whereas a *rock* is nothing like a *bird*.

These are all very important considerations which will constantly have to be kept in mind when the Northern Sotho data are analysed below.

NORTHERN SOTHO PLANT NAMES

The data corpus

Plant names considered for the purposes of this investigation were collected as follows:

Fieldwork

Names of plants were collected particularly in two areas in the Northern Province, i.e. (a) in the Alldays district including Blouberg and the farms Middelsigt and Claudiushoop of Mr J.N. Joubert.¹ Middelsigt lies to the north of the Soutpansberg, whereas Claudiushoop lies to the south of it; and (b) in the Steelpoort-Lydenburg district on the farm Spitskop which is also owned by Mr J.N. Joubert. Where necessary, the two areas will be distinguished from one another by referring to the former as Soutpansberg, and to the latter as Steelpoort.

Northern Sotho biological taxonomy

The Northern Sotho data² support the hypothesis regarding folk biological classification to an amazing extent. As will become evident from the exposition below, the hierarchical ordering of names on the scale [unique beginner ← life form ← generic ← specific ← varietal] is not only clearly identifiable in Northern Sotho, but the different biological categories occurring on this scale are all given recognition through linguistic labelling. Furthermore, as is predicted by the folk taxonomic hypothesis, groupings occurring higher up in the hierarchy are labelled by names which are linguistically more basic or primary than the names of groups which occur lower down in the hierarchy.

Unique beginners

Although the unique beginner is often not labelled in other languages of the world, the following two unique beginners are constantly named in Northern Sotho, i.e. *phôôfôlô* (animal) and *semela* (plant). Note that unique beginners are labelled by unanalysable (i.e. monolexemic) *primary* lexemes.

Life forms

Life forms such as the following which are dominated by the unique beginner

semela (plant) are given linguistic recognition in Northern Sotho: *mohlare* (tree), *mohlašana* (shrub), *mošunkwane* (herb), *hjang* (grass), *morôgô* (vegetable), *morara* (vine), *ngwang* (weed), etc. Again, life forms are named by monolexemic primaries.

Generics

As is predicted by the theoretical paradigm developed in the first half of this presentation, generics are dominated by life forms within the hierarchy and are much more numerous than either of the two categories mentioned above. In Northern Sotho, genera are named either by (a) unanalysable (i.e. simplex) primaries, or (b) by analysable (i.e. compound) primaries. Here the first signs are observed of the linguistic recognition which is given to the hierarchical difference which exists between unique beginners and life forms and generics: being higher up on the hierarchical scale, unique beginners and life forms are named by *simplex* primaries only. Generics, on the contrary, are named by *either* simplex primaries *or* compound primaries:

Genera named by simplex primaries

The following examples illustrate this nomenclatural trend and, as was indicated earlier, genera of this nature are generally *monotypic* and therefore *terminative*:

morula (marula, *Sclerocarya birrea*), *modumêla* (wild seringa, *Burkea africana*), *motswiri* (leadwood, *Combretum imberbe*), *morala* (Transvaal gardenia, *Gardenia volkensii*), *monoko* (common resin tree, *Ozoroa paniculosa*), *mokgwa* (knob thorn, *Acacia nigrescens*), *monêi* (red ivory, *Berchemia zeyheri*), *mohlafuhla* (worm-bark false-thorn, *Albizia anthelmintica*), *morekhure* (tamboti, *Spirostachys africana*), and many more.

Genera named by complex primaries

It will be recalled that two subdivisions of complex primaries were discussed earlier, namely (a) *productive* complex primaries being compounds of which one of the components designates the *life form*, e.g. tree; and (b) *unproductive* complex primaries, being compounds of which none of the constituents refer to the category superordinate (Abraham's book, sjambok pod). As far as Northern Sotho is concerned, (a) in particular presents a very interesting case, and hence these two sub-categories will be discussed separately.

● *Productive complex primaries*

English examples like coral *tree*, shepherd's *tree*, resin *tree*, fever *tree* and lavender *tree* illustrate what is meant by *productive* complex primaries, since one component of the name, i.e. tree, denotes the *life form* in question. See also Afrikaans examples such as paddaboom, peperbasboom, rondeblaargifboom, rooihartboom and helikopterboom. Strikingly enough, this category of names does not occur in Northern Sotho. Although this observation initially seemed to present an exception to the nomenclatural principles outlined thus far, it later became clear that there are clearly explainable language specific reasons for this. It should be kept in mind that, like in all other Bantu languages, nouns are grouped into different noun classes in Northern Sotho. With the exception of class 1/2, these classes today have a heterogenic nature, i.e. a single class, e.g. class 5, may accommodate nouns referring to a variety of semantically diverse objects such as humans, plants, animals, artifacts, etc., e.g. (class 5), *lesôgana* (young man), *legapu* (water melon), *lehlalerwa* (wild dog), *lehô* (ladle), etc. Note also the heterogenic nature of nouns of class 3/4 which may denote plants (*motswiri* leadwood), animals (*moswe* meerkat), natural phenomena (*molapô* valley), etc. Givón (1971), however, argues convincingly that, although nouns “appear to be distributed all over the noun-class system in inexplicable chaos” today, this system, at an earlier stage in the development of the Bantu languages, had a purely semantic basis. He observes (op. cit.:34):

Evidence exists to suggest that what is now largely a system of “grammatical” genders was once a system of semantic classification of the noun universe.

This entails that in the early phases of the development of the Bantu language family, membership of a particular noun class was determined by the presence of a common semantic denominator in the meaning of nouns belonging to the same class. Givón (1971:33) hypothesizes that such an older semantically based system could have had the following form:

class 1/2	humans	class 12/13	small objects
class 3/4	plants	class 14	masses
class 5/6	fruits	class 6	liquids
class 7/8	inanimates	class 15/16	paired body parts
class 9/10	animals	class 15	infinitive nominalizations
class 11/10	elongated objects		

It is important to note that *plants* probably all occurred in the same class, i.e. class 3/4 which, in present-day Northern Sotho, is marked by the singular prefix *mo-* (in the case of class 3), and the corresponding plural prefix *me-* (in

the case of class 4). It is very significant that, apart from predictable exceptions which will be returned to shortly, *all* trees are accommodated in class 3/4 in modern Northern Sotho. (Note, for example, the recurring class prefix *mo-* of class 3 in the Northern Sotho names of trees cited thus far.) Regarding the situation in modern Bantu languages Hendrikse and Poulos (1992:202) point out that “despite the heterogeneity of the contents of certain classes ... certain sets of classes appear to have a common underlying denominator which could be abstracted from the semantic details in each case ...”. In the case of class 3 the most salient common denominator today still appears to be “plant” (and by implication “tree”) as has been proposed by Givón above – a notion which is contained in the *class prefix mo-*. Class prefixes are, therefore, not mere semantically empty markers of the categories “singular” and “plural”, since they contribute significantly to the overall meaning of nouns. This implies that in names such as *moduba* (large-fruited bushwillow, *Combretum zeyheri*), *moôbaôba* (yellowwood, *Podocarpus latifolius*), *mogônônô* (Transvaal silverleaf, *Terminalia sericea*), *mokgalô* (buffalo-thorn, *Ziziphus mucronata*), *mohlôpi* (shepherd’s tree, *Boscia albitrunca*), *mohlware* (wild olive, *Olea europaea*) and *mogaba* (mountain seringa, *Kirkia wilmsii*) the notion of the life form “tree” is already contained in the class prefix which makes the utilization of an additional lexical component to designate the life form redundant. This appears to be the most plausible explanation which presents itself for the absence of productive complex primary lexemes in Northern Sotho – an explanation which will probably be equally valid for all other Bantu languages since all are characterized by the division of nouns into different noun classes.

● *Unproductive complex primaries*

Unproductive primary lexemes are characterized by the fact that no constituent in the compound denotes a category superordinate term or the life form in question. Recall examples such as dog’s tooth, sjambok pod, bachelor’s buttons and Abraham’s book. Names which fall within this category abound in Northern Sotho, e.g. *mmutšwaosepela* (common turkey-berry) – *butšwa* (ripen) + *o sepela* (while you travel); *molalakgaka* (red thorn) – *lala* (sleep) + *kgaka* (guinea fowl); *modulakgogo* (lowveld cluster-leaf) – *dula* (sit, perch) + *kgogo* (fowl); *moilagaê* (bead-bean tree) – *ila* (avoid) + *gaê* (home); *mohlabaphala* (live-long) – *hlaba* (stab) + *phala* (impala); *masepa’magôkubja* (bird’s brandy) – *masepa* (excreta) + *magôkubja* (ravens); *mpharatšhwêne* (climbing raisin) – *fara* (be interwoven) + *tšhwêne* (baboon).

The naming of specifics and varieties

Being lower down on the taxonomic hierarchy, specifics and varieties are commonly named by secondary lexemes. This category of names is characterized by the fact that (a) they always appear in contrast sets; and that (b) each member of the set denotes the immediate superordinate category. The following English examples illustrate this naming strategy: {bushwillow: red *bushwillow*; river *bushwillow*; velvet *bushwillow*; russet *bushwillow*}. Such contrast sets do occur in Northern Sotho, but appear to be rare. It is important to observe that secondary lexemes are used to name specifics and varieties of a genus. As has been pointed out by several investigators, preliterate peoples only tend to distinguish varieties when these are culturally important. As Berlin (1976:394) puts it:

In rather unprecise terms, the native folk biologist recognizes generic taxa “because they are there”; he recognizes specific (and varietal) taxa “because it is culturally important to do so.”

Furthermore, the moment varieties become culturally important (see discussion below), they tend to be named by primary rather than by secondary lexemes, which explains the restricted occurrence of secondary lexemes in the language. The following contrast set that was documented in the Soutpansberg region presents an interesting case: {*motšhidi* (sourplum – *Ximenia caffra*): *motšhidikgwanathê* (common spike-thorn – *Maytenus heterophylla*); *motšhidikgômo* (false spike-thorn – *Putterlickia pyracantha*); *motšhidiphiswane* (red spike-thorn – *Maytenus senegalensis*)}. In this contrast set, each of the names contains a component denoting the immediate superordinate category, i.e. *motšhidi*. What is striking, however, is that three biologically differentiated genera i.e. *Ximenia*, *Maytenus* and *Putterlickia* are presented as members of the same contrast set in folk taxonomy. The fact that such a contrast set exists points first and foremost, to the cultural importance of the plants involved. In this regard, Coates Palgrave (1981), Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk (1962) and Fox and Norwood Young (1982) can be consulted for lengthy discussions regarding the utilization of these plants by indigenous peoples which range from the manufacturing of utensils to the preparation of food and other decoctions for medicinal purposes. But apart from their cultural importance, these plants also show striking resemblances as far as overall *gestalt* (i.e. gross morphology), leaf form, and the presence of spiky thorns are concerned. The reason that biologically unrelated genera and varieties are included in the same folk biological taxon should be looked for in the language user’s perception of similarities and resemblances between species. All classifications of this nature revolve around the notion of *prototype*, i.e. “an item that would be a ‘good example’ of the category” according to Grandy (1992:112). Once such a

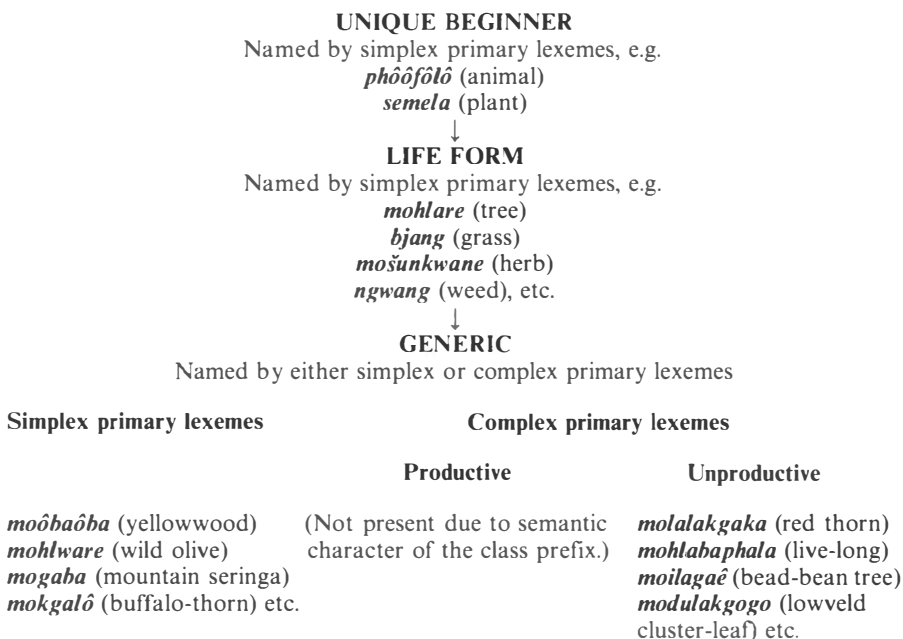
prototype has been established in the mind of the language user (cf. *motšhidi* sour plum), it becomes possible to expand the category through the inclusion of other species and varieties which, *according to the language user's perception*, are reminiscent of the prototype. (Also see Hendrikse and Poulos, 1992:205–206.) This expansion normally takes on the form of an attributive being added to the prototypic name, irrespective of whether the inclusion of biologically different species and varieties in the contrast set is scientifically justifiable or not. As Swanepoel (1994b:56) points out:

... integrasie en benoeming by 'n prototipe geskied op basis van 'n ooreenkoms (hoe groot of hoe gering dan ook al) met *wat binne 'n bepaalde kultuur* as die prototipe van die kategorie geld ... (My emphasis.)

Although the examples which have been discussed here illustrate the application of *secondary* lexemes in the naming of culturally important plants, it will become evident below that a much more productive strategy exists in Northern Sotho whereby monolexemic *primaries* are used for this purpose.

Northern Sotho folk taxonomy: summary

The following schematic representation summarizes the material discussed thus far:





SPECIFICS AND VARIETALS

(Named by secondary lexemes. One component of the compound designates the superordinate.)

motšhidi (sourplum) – superordinate
motšhidikgwanathê (common spike-thorn)
motšhidikgômo (false spike-thorn)
motšhidiphiswane (red spike-thorn)

INTERMEDIATE CATEGORIES

Intermediate categories are categories of plants the naming of which deviates from the hierarchically structured pattern outlined above. The three categories of plants for which these deviations have been observed are (a) cultivated plants; (b) wild plants of cultural importance; and (c) wild plants with exceptional or conspicuous morphological (i.e. *gestalt*) features.

Cultivated plants

Cultivated plants like *tloo* (groundnut), *mphôgô* (finger millet), *lebêlê* (giant millet), *lefela* (maize), etc. present exceptions to the hierarchically ordered naming principles outlined thus far in that they cannot be associated with a particular life form. This implies that mother-tongue speakers regard cultivated plants neither as belonging to the life form tree, nor as belonging to other life forms like shrub, herb, grass, vegetable, etc. Examples such as those listed above are in the strict sense of the word *generic* names, but since they are not conceptually included into a particular life form, they, as it were, constitute highly specific life forms on their own. A further exceptional characteristic of such plant names in Northern Sotho is that the majority of them do not occur in class 3/4 despite the fact that they refer to plants. It is for reasons such as these that Atran (1985:310) aligns himself with Rogers who observes:

... among plants at the species [i.e., folkgeneric] and subspecies levels there are apparent and wide differences between natural and cultivated plants. These discrepancies indicate that modern systematics and nomenclature, aimed primarily at natural phenomena populations, cannot be appropriately applied to cultigens.

Also see Atran (1987); Berlin et al. (1973) and Berlin (1976).

Culturally important wild plants

The research undertaken for the purposes of this contribution revealed that wild plants which are highly valued by speech communities behave exceptionally as far as nomenclature is concerned. It became clear that, contrary to predictions made by the nomenclature hierarchy, certain varieties and specifics are named by primary and very often by simplex primary lexemes, instead of secondary lexemes. Berlin (1976:391) remarks as follows in this regard:

Although binomial nomenclature is the general rule for taxa of specific rank, a number of taxa which are taxonomically included in generic classes are labelled by primary lexemes and, as a consequence, constitute an exception to the binominality principle.

The first contrast set that can be cited was documented in the Soutpansberg region and includes members of the highly valued *Grewia* (wild raisin) genus about which *inter alia* Fox and Norwoord Young (1982:354) remark as follows:

Gerstner (MS) states that nearly all species of *Grewia* (about 20) are very tasty, especially so are *Grewia caffra*, *G. flava* and *G. monticola*; some like *G. hexamita* (*G. messinica*) are more or less woody, but all are sweet ... According to Maguire (MS) at least ten species of *Grewia*, eaten by Bushmen, are difficult to distinguish as the species seem to merge into one another because of hybridisation, and there is also a variability in growth habit induced by local conditions. (My emphasis.)

Similar difficulties in the identification of *Grewia* varieties were encountered during the field work undertaken for the purposes of this contribution, and although the varieties of which the Northern Sotho names are given below have been identified with a fair amount of certainty, doubt still exists regarding the exact scientific name which corresponds with a particular Sotho name. For this reason, only the Northern Sotho names are given, except in the case of *Grewia flava* (*morêtlwa*) the scientific name of which could be established beyond doubt. Being the most common and particularly highly valued, *Grewia flava* has been elevated to the status of a generic in Northern Sotho since the name *morêtlwa* is currently used as a common denominator of all *Grewia* varieties. The generalization of a specific name is a fairly common naming strategy which has been observed in several other languages across the world. In this regard Berlin et al. (1973:224) observe:

... one of the members of the set is considered as the focal or most dominant member. Generally, the type specific taxon refers to members

of the generic class which have the widest geographical distribution, are larger in size, or are the best known ... In many natural contexts, it is often the case that one can refer to the type specific by the generic name alone (i.e. by the polysemous use of the generic name) with total confidence of being understood.

Consider the following contrast set: {*morêtlwa* (wild raisin): *morêtlwa* (*Grewia flava*); *sokê*; *phalane*; *kokorutô*; *sebonosamaphokwê*; *mpharats'hwêne*}. Authors like Berlin et al. (1973:216) and Swanepoel (1994a:40) point out that the greater the number of the varieties which are specified in a contrast set, the more important the genus is within a particular cultural context. Similarly, the less important a plant is within a speech community, the fewer the number of varieties which are distinguished become, to the extent that for culturally unimportant plants no varieties are recognised at all. Berlin et al. (op cit.) write:

Specific and varietal taxa characteristically occur in contrast sets of few members, the most frequent being a set of two classes. Contrast sets of more than two members tend to refer to organisms of major cultural importance.

For culturally unimportant plants or plants with limited usages like, for example, *Acacias*, no varieties are distinguished in Northern Sotho. This means that the different *acacias* are regarded as belonging to different monotypic *genera* which are terminal in that they do not include any other named categories. Consequently, they are labelled by generic names such as the following which have been recorded in the Soutpansberg region: *mooka* (sweet thorn – *Acacia karroo*), *mošu* (umbrella thorn – *Acacia tortilis*), *molalakgaka* (red thorn – *Acacia gerrardii*), *mofatanare* (scented thorn – *Acacia nilotica*), etc. With regard to *acacias*, the English nomenclature differs markedly from the situation in Northern Sotho. In English, the name *acacia* is used as a common denominator for all the different *acacia* species whereby all *acacias* are grouped together under the same superordinate term. (Note the recurring constituent *thorn* in the English names above.) In Northern Sotho, on the other hand, there exists no equivalent for the superordinate *acacia*, i.e. there is no single term which denotes *acacias* in general.

The second contrast set also documented in the Soutpansberg region involves members of the genus *Commiphora* (corkwood). The cultural importance of this genus is mentioned, *inter alia*, by De Winter et al. (1966:91) who observe that “several north African and Asiatic species are blended to obtain the fragrant and resinous myrrh”, and according to the informants the resin of these trees has traditionally been used in the preparation of soap. *Commiphora*

glandulosa (tall common corkwood) is regarded as the type specific and is called *mogôrôgôrô*. Due to the generic status acquired by this species, informants prefer to call *Commiphora glandulosa* *mokôulô*, while reserving the term *mogôrôgôrô* as a common denominator for all *Commiphora* varieties which occur in the region. However, whenever the name *mogôrôgôrô* is heard, it is first and foremost interpreted as referring to *Commiphora glandulosa*. The contrast set hence takes on the form {*mogôrôgôrô* (corkwood): *mogôrôgôrô*/*mokôulô* (tall common corkwood); *moôkgôthu* (green-stem corkwood); *serêkwê* (glossy-leaved corkwood)}.

The third contrast set which was documented in the Steelpoort region includes two varieties of the genus *Ximenia* (sourplum trees), i.e. *Ximenia caffra* (sourplum) and *Ximenia americana* (blue sourplum). *Ximenia caffra* is much valued as a food source and is known as *motšhidi*, and due to its focality in community life *motšhidi* has gained generic status. Although both species of *Ximenia* are referred to as *motšhidi*, *Ximenia caffra* is distinguished from *Ximenia americana* by preferably using the name *mohwele* for the former, and *morotologane* for the latter. The contrast set involved therefore takes on the form {*motšhidi* (sourplum – generic): *motšhidi*/*mohwele* (sourplum); *morotologane* (blue sourplum)}. Contrary to the situation in the Soutpansberg area, different varieties of the spike-thorn are not included in the contrast set for *motšhidi* in the Steelpoort region. (Compare the contrast set for *motšhidi* listed higher up under the heading *The naming of specifics and varieties*.) This clearly reveals the differences which exist between different speech communities regarding perceptions as to what ought to be grouped together as a taxonomic category under the same prototype.

Although the nomenclature principle predicts that varieties are named by secondary lexemes which are, per definition, complex, the three contrast sets discussed above reveal that varieties are quite commonly named by simplex primary lexemes in Northern Sotho. This anomaly in respect of the nomenclatural hierarchy is explained by ethnobiologists in terms of the cultural importance (i.e. focality) of these plants. This results in them obtaining a distinct and isolated status within a given community which makes them phenomenally salient (Atran, 1985:310; 1987:56). Consequently they are not only named by *primary* lexemes, but more so by *simplex* primary lexemes (Hunn, 1976:78; Berlin et al. 1973:224).

Plants with conspicuous morphological (“gestalt”) features

The plant names which will be considered in this section do not present exceptions to the nomenclature principle as such. They refer to genera which

are monotypic and terminal, and as predicted by the nomenclature principle, their names are (either complex or simplex) primary lexemes, e.g. *seêmakamotho* (*Aloe marlothii*: Soutpansberg), *sebôï* (baobab: Steelpoort), *seokgolwê* (Transvaal sesame-bush: Soutpansberg), etc. They should, however, for language specific reasons be regarded as exceptional because they exhibit a prefix other than that of class 4 (*mo-*) which normally occurs in the names of plants; particularly trees. What such plants have in common is some kind of conspicuousness or morphological peculiarity in their overall appearance or *gestalt*. Compare, for example, the well known baobab which needs very little or no introduction in this regard. De Winter et al. (1966:110) write as follows regarding this tree:

A huge, deciduous tree, with a large swollen trunk Trees rarely over 45 ft, but with a stem-girth frequently about 75 ft, and known to be over 120 ft.

Similarly, when observing the Transvaal sesame-bush for the first time, one is immediately struck by the highly exceptional overall *gestalt* of this tree. Van Wyk (1994:214) refers, *inter alia*, to its short but exceptionally thick and “fleshy” trunk which spreads into branches very low above the ground. Particularly as far as stem habit is concerned, the morphological conspicuousness of these plants makes it very difficult for language users to reconcile them with the generally held view of what a prototypic tree should look like (compare also the *Aloe marlothii*). Consequently, linguistic recognition is given to their exceptional appearance by assigning their names to a noun class other than class 4 which usually denotes trees. The important role played in naming by exceptional *gestalt*-features has been recognised by a number of ethnobiologists such as Berlin et al. (1973:216, 219); Berlin (1976:388, 391); Atran (1985:309) and others. Stated in rather unscientific terms, the replacement of the class prefix of class 3 with another class prefix in the names of these plants entails that the language user regards them as something other than a prototypical tree. By doing so, the language user in fact conveys the message that such plants are not being regarded as members of the life form tree. As Berlin et al. (1973:216) put it:

It is not uncommon to find, however, a number of classes of generic rank which are aberrant (in terms of the defining features of the life form taxa) and, as such, are conceptually seen as unaffiliated (i.e. are not included in one of the life forms). Aberrancy may be due to a number of factors but *morphological conspicuousness* and/or economic importance appear to be the primary reasons involved. (My emphasis.)

Atran (1985:309) refers to such generic names as “unaffiliated” since they are

“apparently included under no life form”. As far as Northern Sotho in particular is concerned, these observations show convincingly that class prefixes are not merely semantically empty markers of what are generally regarded as grammatical “genders”, but that they contribute significantly to the overall meaning of nouns.

CONCLUSION

In this contribution Northern Sotho plant names have been investigated within the paradigm developed by ethnobiologists following nomenclatural trends in many languages of the world. The main objective was to ascertain whether the universal trends which have been observed by other investigators are also attested by the Northern Sotho data. It has become apparent that naming practices in Northern Sotho adhere, almost to a surprising extent, to what has been called the “nomenclature principle” and data from this language thus give further support to the idea that this principle has cross-cultural and hence universal underpinnings. The universal features of the nomenclature principle, however, cannot be fully appreciated if special attention is not given to what has been referred to as intermediate categories. Although such categories initially seem to present exceptions to the nomenclature principle, close scrutiny of the data reveals clearly explainable reasons for their exceptional behaviour. Furthermore, it should always be borne in mind that folk biological categories do not present themselves as discrete, watertight compartments. Here the important role played by the concept *prototype* in the consciousness of speech communities as well as in the minds of individual speakers should never be underestimated. Discrepancies between data obtained from different individuals from the same speech community, and from speech communities from different geographical regions are almost always explainable in terms of people’s intuitive personal perceptions and deductions regarding the biological diversity which surrounds them.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The contribution made by the following people in the preparation of this article is herewith gratefully acknowledged:

Mr and Mrs J.N. Joubert for their keen interest in the research project and their invaluable logistic assistance.

Mr Hector Leboho and Mr Maropeng Petrus Moseamo, both elderly inhabitants of the Soutpansberg district, with whom many hours were spent in the veld. Their intimate knowledge of the floral world contributed greatly to the successful completion of the field work.

Mr Josef Sebolai Mabelane, Mr Mbuyane Leudi Leshaba and Mr Jack Matsoshe Mohlahlo, all elderly inhabitants of the Steelpoort/Sekhukhune area for their patience during long hours of consultation. Without their remarkable knowledge of the botanical world this investigation wouldn't have been possible.

Dr. A.O. Leistner of the National Botanical Institute for checking botanical terms.

Prof P.H. Swanepoel of the Department Afrikaans, Unisa, who has a keen interest in cognitive linguistics for useful comments on the original draft.

2 Printed sources

The following printed sources were also consulted: Coates Palgrave (1981); De Winter, et al. (1966); Fox and Norwood Young (1982); Vahrmeijer (1987); Van Wyk (1993 & 1994) and Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk (1962). Two sources which were brought to my attention by Prof J.A. Louw due to his keen interest in the topic i.e. Fox and Norwood Young (1982) (of which Prof Louw kindly made his personal copy available) and Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk (1962) were particularly useful since the authors not only provide extensive lists of vernacular plant names, but also discuss the cultural importance of plants to indigenous peoples at length. These sources were first used to cross-check the data obtained from informants in the veld, and, secondly, they were consulted for additional information on species which do not occur in the research areas mentioned above.

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BUS NAMING AS A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY – A SWAZILAND EXPERIENCE

D.B. Ntuli

INTRODUCTION

In the preface to the book *Lithemba alibulali – hope does not kill* Shongwe and Nhlapo (1990:iii) say:

In Swaziland it is very common to see a person reading an inscription or a name of a bus and chuckling to himself with an expression of puzzlement, a smile or even breaking in laughter.

The puzzlement emanates from the peculiarity of most of the names which are emblazoned on the flanks of the buses. In most cases when one reads the name one feels there is some story or explanation hiding behind the name. This hidden meaning can only be disclosed through patient investigation.¹

In this discussion I shall look at systems discernible in the origin of some of these names² and point out onomastic peculiarities which place the naming of buses in a category of its own. Some of the names possess or produce literary and linguistic features which warrant special attention.

Only about 6% of the bus names are written in English in Shongwe and Nhlapo's book. The rest are in siSwati (abbreviated as "S") or isiZulu (Z) or a combination of these languages (S&Z) in one name. Of course there are words which are common in all respects in these two languages (S/Z). After the name, words such as "Bus Service" or "Express" or "Transport" are appended.



Most of the buses originally belonged to private individuals. Each owner coined a particular name with the intention of conveying a special message or information to the people who would see his or her bus.

Origin of the names

There are very few names which merely indicate the place of origin of the bus or the route it takes or the destination to which it travels. The bus, **Inkomati Bus Service**, for example crosses the Nkomati river.

There is little need for elaboration on the bus name which is taken from the first name or the clan name of its owner. The owner of **Mthunzi**, for example, is Mthunzi Matsenjwa. But even with what may seem to be a straightforward correspondence between the name of the bus and that of its owner, one may get the full picture only after making some enquiry. The significance of the bus name **Sanele**, for example, is understood more fully – after we have been told that Irvin Mabuza named his bus after his sister with the same name. The bus, **Qobonga**, was named after Qobonga, one of the forefathers of the owner of the bus, Elizabeth Masina whose name was Qobonga. **Lembelele Bus Service** was named after Lembelele Dlamini, the forefather of the bus owner Macebo Dlamini. A bus owner may wish to perpetuate the memory of his or her beloved relatives by painting their names on the sides of the bus.

Such honouring is not limited to the members of the immediate family. The bus owner may decide to exalt the whole clan to which he or she belongs.

EmaKhonkosi Express belongs to Reuben Mndzebele. The clan praise for the Mndzebeles is Mkhonkhosi. This implies that all the people who share this praise are made to feel that **EmaKhonkosi Express** is their bus. The same applies to **Mahle EmaPhotholoz** (S) (The Photholozis are beautiful) owned by Francis Fakudze. Even those Fakudzes that Francis is not acquainted with are known as **emaPhotholoz**. They all share the compliments of being regarded as “beautiful” as *their* bus spreads this perception to whoever sees it.

Many bus names have an interesting history behind them. The most common story is that of a person who toils hard to get money to buy a bus. Having toiled hard he or she also struggles against odds to get a permit to operate, especially because of fierce opposition from objecting bus companies. When Johnson Tsela eventually got his permit, he justifiably exclaimed: **Awu Ngaphumelela** (S/Z) (at last I have succeeded). But in most cases the names are utterances or comments directed at members of the public. Jabulani Masuku’s **Yekelani Transport** (S) got this name because he felt that his opponents were jealous. When he did well, he told them “*Yekelani umona*” (Down with jealousy!). Duma Msibi named his bus **Yivume Wethu** (Z) (Admit that I have beaten you), an expression made by a victorious fighter after striking an opponent with a stick. He was obviously telling those who had been trying to block his way that he had defeated them.

It is noteworthy that the name givers sometimes use the shortened forms of an expression. In order to appreciate the full meaning of that expression you must know the full text that has been abbreviated. According to my informant, Nhlanhla Khumalo, when Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini bought a fleet of buses, the people were curious about his source of income. He retorted: **Teka Takho** (S) (Mind your own business). The full proverb is “*Teka takho (tindzaba) ngobe tebantfu tiyafomisana*” (Mind your own business because other people’s affairs will put you into trouble). Another bus owner wanted to complete the sentence started by Prince Mfanasibili; so he used the second portion: **Tebantfu Tiyafomisana** (S) to name his bus.

The use of a proverb as a bus name is common. The bus owner seems to wish to spread the wisdom contained in the aphorism to wherever his or her bus will travel. We find names such as **Kwandza Kwaliwa Batsakatsi** (S) (Wizards detest prosperity, i.e. thank you very much); **Lithemba Alibulali** (S&Z) (If you are hopeful you will eventually succeed); **Umbango Awakhi** (S/Z) (Disputes do not help to build); **Budze Abuphangwa** (S) (Don’t do things you are not yet ripe enough for).

Other names are aimed at telling the people, especially the Swazis, to strive for

high ideals. They must unite and co-operate with one another. We thus find names such as: **Sizanani MaSwati** (Z) (Help one another, Swazi people), **Phambili MaSwati** (Z) (Go forward, Swazi people) and **Sukumani MaSwati Nitimele** (S) (Stand up, Swazi people, and be independent).

We have a substantial number of names which reflect the role Christianity plays in the lives of some bus owners. Mr Msibi was not ashamed to tell the world that he was grateful to God who enabled him to buy a bus. He named it **Bonginkosi** (S/Z)(Thank the Lord). What is obviously a prayer is found on Charles Matsenjwa's bus, **Hamba Nathi Nkosi** (Z)(Go with us, Lord). Shongwe and Nhlapo (1990:6) explain:

Since nowadays there are too many car accidents, he (Matsenjwa) wished that nothing should happen to the passengers while being transported. The name "Hamba Nathi Nkosi" is his prayer for the safety of the bus and the passengers.

David Zeeman's religious father liked to sing the hymn: "*Zulu khaya lami, ngiyophephela kuwe ...*" In memory of his father, David used a phrase from this popular hymn and named his bus **Zulu Kaya Lami** (S/Z) (Heaven, my home).

Apart from these "dialogues", "speeches" and "prayers" we also find names used to advertise the service in a number of interesting ways. In some of these advertisements the bus owner uses gentle tactics to encourage people to board the bus. We find names such as **Masihambisane** (S/Z)(Let us go together), and **Wota Sambe** (S) (Come, let us go). It sounds as if the bus is coaxing the passenger to do it a favour by accompanying it on its journey. Such a gentle plea would be difficult to turn down. Malsov (Morgan & Welton 1986:104) considers the need for companionship as one of the five levels of human needs. In a subtle way the owner of the bus is aiming at satisfying this need.

In certain cases you are given a guarantee about your journey. When you see a bus with a name such as **Hamb' ubuye** (S/Z) (Go and return), you are assured that the bus will take you to your destination and back. You can depend on **Inyonimaphiko** (S/Z) (a bird with wings) because it will take you swiftly to where you want to go.

The bird metaphor is fairly common in the names, hence **Impangele** (S/Z) (guinea fowl), **Lijuba** (S&Z) (dove), **Ligwababa** (S)(crow). Of course if you want to go deeper than the surface meaning and symbolism of these metaphors you may discover interesting stories behind the name. With regard to **Ligwababa** for example, Shongwe and Nhlapo (1990:19) say that the owner, Mr Gule:

... named his other bus “Ligwababa” because of his past experiences. This is an extract from the Zulu saying, “Ngiyoxoxel” amagwababa echobana” – I’ll tell it to the crows whilst they are picking fleas from each other. This means that his experiences are so bad he will not forget easily.

Other animals which feature in these names are, for example, **Imbabala** (S/Z) (bushbuck), **Impala** (S/Z)(antelope), and **Inyatsi** (S) (buffalo). If you take **Imbabala** or **Impala** you will get to your destination in no time. These metaphors are well selected in order to present a positive image of the bus company. If you board **Inyatsi**, you will not be delayed by a breakdown on the way. Here again, if you ask the owner the exact reason for the choice of a particular animal you are likely to get an exciting story. Elvis Dlamini, the owner of **Inyatsi Bus Service**, had to confront people who discouraged him from embarking on this business. Because he was as strong as a buffalo he forged ahead. He hoped that his bus would also be strong and survive the rugged roads.

Ikhwezi (Z) (morning star) is a symbol of hope. Vondo Shongwe started his bus service just after Swaziland had gained its independence. He felt that there was new hope for prosperity in his country.

We do find names which have historical allusions. In explaining the origin of the name **Ingabisa** (S) (a show-piece), my informant, Celiwe Nxumalo, wrote that Duma Msibi, the owner:

... named it after king Sobhuza had named the first girls’ regiment as Ingabisa In his (Msibi’s) family this business was the first of its kind.

Slogans

Apart from having names by which they are registered, the buses also display various types of slogans on the forehead of the bus or at the rear or on the sides, above the doors. This is in agreement with what Vos (1992:33) observes regarding Durban buses that “... a bus may have a name, a nickname, a motto and message”. These occur in various combinations. Where an expression is shortened as the name on the side of the bus, that expression may be completed at the back as a kind of a slogan. For the expression “Inqabakayitshelwana” (an uncommon phenomenon), only **Inqaba Bus Service** (Z) appears on the sides and “*Kayitshelwana*” appears at the back of the bus.



The bus known as **Isiphiwo** (a gift) has “*Luvivane*” (S) (butterfly) written above the door.

On the rear is written: “*Olukaphunga Olukamageba*”, and further below that: “*ngathi ngiyaluthinta lwahaqabala*”.

The bus owner obviously borrowed “lines” from the praises of King Dingane of the Zulus:

*UVemvane lukaPhunga noMageba ...
Ngibe ngiyaluthinta lwahwaqabala ...*

(The butterfly of Phunga and Mageba ...
When I touched it, it frowned ...)



One is struck by the religious tinge in many of the slogans. Again Vos (1992:330, comments on how some buses

... carry inscriptions which identify the cultural and religious values of their owners, their operators and many of their passengers.

Timele Ngwane (S) (Be independent, Ngwane) has "*Jehova ungumalusi wami*" (The Lord is my Shepherd). **Sibhuluja** (S) (a mealie-cob) has "*Yizwa imithandazo yethu*" (Hear our prayers). One **Thuthuka Kusile** (Z) (Develop, it is dawn) bus has "*Nkosi Bathethelele*" (Lord forgive them). The other **Thuthuka Kusile** bus has "*Ukhona uMalusi*" (There is a shepherd). The different slogans for the buses belonging to this fleet are probably used to identify one **Thuthuka Kusile** from the others.

In some cases people are told in English that "Jesus is Lord".

Sibane (S) (the lamp) has "The Lord is my Shepherd". **Inawe Ngwane** (S/Z) (He is with you, Ngwane) has two slogans: "God be with us" and "Thank God". I asked one of the drivers about the kind of person the owner of one of these buses was, and he confirmed that he was a very religious person. The slogans are meant to spread the gospel, as it were. Of course this need not always be true since ownership of the buses may change hands.



Popular slogans such as “The Lord is my Shepherd” are used freely on buses belonging to different owners.

The attitude of the owner to women is clear to whoever reads “Women’s Rights” written on the face of one of the buses.

Some of the inscriptions are meant to entertain or amuse those who read them. **Qobonga Brothers**, for example, has “*Unganginaki*, okey” (Don’t worry about me. O.K.?) **Khuphuka Ngwane** (S/Z) (Come up Ngwane) has an interesting combination of slogans. We find “*Hhusha moya*” (Blow, wind); on the bumper is written: “*Uvele ngemadlebe entabeni*” (You appear with the ears on the mountain); behind the rear wheels, on the left-hand mud flap is written: “*Phakamisa Ndvodza*”; and the sentence is completed on the right-hand flap: “*Kuyesindza*” (Lift up, man, it is heavy).



One of the conductors explained that he sometimes drew the attention of the prospective passengers to his bus by using the slogan of the bus. This means that some of the slogans are, in fact, used as nicknames for the buses.

Praise poems (*tibongo*)

Buses are so much part of the community that they seem to be perceived as “human beings” who should be praised in the same traditional way as prominent heroes are praised. Leonard Dlamini called his buses by the name: **Sishingishane** (S) (a whirlwind i.e. an active, hard-working person). When any of his buses goes past, people praise it:

Shikisha Mntfwanenkhozi,
Shikisha Leonard.
Kwefika Asikhutulisane,
Bamshaya phansi batsakatsi.
Kwavela Sibhatu sababhatula;
Satala Sibhuluja,
Sahlanyela kwamila luchule,
Kwaba luhlata siganga.
Hha! Shikisha Leonard,
Shikisha Mntfwanenkhozi.

(Move fast, Prince.
 Move fast, Leonard.
Asikhutulisane arrived,
 The wizards killed him.
Sibhatu appeared and broke them off,
 He gave birth to *Sibhuluja*,
 He sowed seeds and
 The veld turned green.
 Move fast, Leonard,
 Move fast, Prince.)

In these praises we learn how Leonard bought buses on which he used different inscriptions. On the first bus he used **Asikhutulisane** (S)(Let us help one another), on the next one he used **Sibhatu**, (S) (shoe) and on the third one he used **Sibhuluja** (S) (mealie-cob). Eventually he bought a fleet of green buses that people were very satisfied with. Although all of Dlamini's buses had the name **Isishingishane** on both sides, the additional inscriptions helped people to identify one **Isishingishane** from the others. In the *tibongo* we are given the history or the "genealogy" of the bus family.

While the bard is praising the bus, he simultaneously expresses admiration for the owner's fortitude during times of adversity. In the poem, we find typical *tibongo* formal features such as linking (lines 1, 2) and parallelism (lines 3, 5). Personification is a dominant feature in the poem.

In order to appreciate all the allusions found in *tibongo*, one needs to be supplied with adequate background information. The bus known as **Vulindlela** (S/Z) (Open the way) used to take people to Mlembe mines. Sometimes people wondered why the fruit they had put on the carriage on top of the bus disappeared. The conductor by the name of King used to explain that the fruit had obviously been eaten by rats. One day a mischievous passenger smeared

some poison on the fruit. King himself landed up in hospital. All this is summarised in the *tibongo*:

*Vulindlela, Mkholo lonsundvu netinyawo takhe,
Lohlala aphuphuma abheke kanyama kayipheli
Kuphel' ematinyw' endvodza.
BoKing bavuke etibhedlela
Ngekujik' emagundvwane bangesiwo.
Vulindlela yemaSwati*

(Vulindlela, Mkholo who is brown, down to his feet
Who is always full as he goes to
The big town (Mlembe).
King woke up in hospital
Because he had turned into a rat.
Vulindlela of the Swazi people.)

This poet incorporates praises borrowed from other sources. “*Mkholo lonsundvu netinyawo takhe*” has been borrowed from the clan praises of the Mavimbelas. “*Kanyama kayipheli kuphel' ematinyw' endvodza*” is part of the praises for Johannesburg which are freely used to praise any big town or city. In a satirical manner the bard criticises King's behaviour.

Songs

Bus names have also stimulated the composition of traditional songs through which people, especially women, voice their protest. The bus, **Sondundu**, is named after its owner, Sondundu Dlamini. A person who was left behind by this bus composed the song:

Leader: *Sondundu, ngitowucela lokuhle kuwe.*
Chorus: *Wangishiya Sondundu, ubongiphatsela lokuhle.*
Leader: *Sondundu, ngiphatsela lokuhle mine.*
Chorus: *Wangishiya, Sondundu, ubongiphatsela lokuhle.*
Leader: *Mine ngitawugibela yiphi ibhasi?*
Chorus: *Wangishiya Sondundu, mine ngitawugibela bani?*
Leader: *Sondundu, ubongibonela Joana Masuku.*
Chorus: *Wangishiya, Sondundu, ubongiphatsela lokuhle ...*

(Leader: Sondundu, I am asking for something nice from you.
Chorus: You are leaving me, Sondundu, bring me something nice.
Leader: Sondundu bring me something nice.
Chorus: You are leaving me, Sondundu, bring me something nice.)

Leader: Sondundu, which bus will I take?
 Chorus: You are leaving me Sondundu, which bus will I take?
 Leader: Sondundu please greet Joana Masuku.
 Chorus: You are leaving me, Sondundu, bring me something nice.)

Superficially the song is addressed to the bus, but it is clear that the singer is speaking to the owner, Sondundu himself. The singer has been inconvenienced by the early departure of the only bus that would take her to town. All she can do is to ask it to pass her regards to a popular woman announcer, Joana Masuku. The singer chooses the female announcer, probably because, as a woman, Joana will be in a better position to understand her (singer's) plight. The singer may be hoping that Joana will announce to the nation what the bus has done.

We have referred briefly to the bus known by the name of **Inqaba**. It operates between Nhlanguyavuka and Pigg's Peak. When it did not appear according to schedule, people complained, but they did this in a song of protest:

Leader: *Inqaba.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Inqaba ishonephi?*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Sibuta kuwe Jabulani.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Tsine bakuNhlanguyavuka.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Ngobe sisehlatsini.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Sitjelele Nkotheni.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Sibuta kutsi ibhekephi.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*

Leader: *Sibuta kini baholeli.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 Leader: *Sitsi Inqaba ibhekephi.*
 Chorus: *Siyayikhalel' Inqaba, siyayifuna.*
 (Leader: *Inqaba*
 Chorus: *We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.*
 Leader: *Where did it go?*
 Chorus: *We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.*
 Leader: *We are asking you, Jabulani.*
 Chorus: *We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.*
 Leader: *We the people of Nhlanguyavuka.*

Chorus: We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.
 Leader: Because we are in a forest.
 Chorus: We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.
 Leader: Tell Nkotheni.
 Chorus: We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.
 Leader: We want to know from you, conductor.
 Chorus: We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.
 Leader: We say where did Inqaba go?
 Chorus: We are crying for Inqaba, we want it.)

In the song they ask Jabulani, the driver, who is also the bus-owner's son, to tell his father, Nkotheni, that the mysterious absence of the bus is frustrating them.

Commenting on these songs, Dlamini (1995:50) says:

... buses have a major function in rural society. Their failure to operate brings misery to the society. Bus owners should take their responsibility seriously and know that they are not engaged in the business for profit but also to give service to society.

Some linguistic features

The main indigenous language in Swaziland is siSwati. IsiZulu was the only African language taught in schools before siSwati was introduced as a school subject after 1967 when Swaziland had attained its independence. One of the features of bus naming in this country is that the name giver feels free to use isiZulu or siSwati or a combination of these in the same name. Although both of these languages belong to the Nguni group, they have a number of phonological, morphological and lexical differences which manifest themselves in the names. One of the differences is the absence of the initial vowel in some noun classes in siSwati.

A name is usually associated with the noun. In African languages we would expect all the names of buses to be easily slotted into one of the noun classes. There is no problem with names which are unquestionably nouns, e.g. **Injabulo** (S/Z) (joy), **Ikhwezi** (Z) (the morning star), **Umthombo Wempilo** (Z) (the fountain of life). When these names are used in a sentence, normal prefixes and concords of their respective classes are employed.³

The names which do not appear as nouns are put into class 1a. For this class isiZulu always uses the prefix *u-*, but this *u-* is latent in siSwati, e.g.

Lekelela Ngwane (S/Z) (help, Ngwane): (*lekelela* –imperative) >
(u)Lekelela Ngwane
Lensha (S) (a new one): (adjective) > **(u)Lensha**
Phambili MaSwazi (Z) (forward, Swazis): (*phambili* – adverb) >
(u)Phambili MaSwazi

Sometimes a speaker has to refer to a number of buses bearing the same name. An owner may feel the incongruity of using a name in its singular form in referring to his or her fleet of buses. Mr Sihlongonyane's first bus was **Intsaki** (S) (a finch). When the number of his buses with this name increased, he changed the name to the plural form, **Tintsaki**. Sibhuluja Thomo used his first name to name his bus **Sibhuluja**. Shongwe and Nhlapo (1990:38) remark:

Since he had a number of these buses he decided to name them
"Tibhuluja" which is plural of *"Sibhuluja"* – which means maize cobs.

One informant suggested that in a situation where we have to refer to only one of the buses with the name in the plural form, we may revert to the singular form, e.g. **Intsaki** instead of **Tintsaki**.

When a name is written in the singular form, a speaker may use the normal plural prefix to imply plurality, e.g. **uMasihambisane** > **boMasihambisane** (S). In this example *bo-* denotes "distributive" plurality. Explaining this plurality in the context of kinship terms and human beings, Van Wyk (1987:35) says: "Nouns with a distributive plural meaning refer to sets of semantically identical individuals."

We may also get "associative plurality" (Van Wyk 1987:35) when we imply that apart from the bus with a specific name, there are also other buses with other names. **(b)oMasihambisane** may thus mean that one of the many buses is **Masihambisane**.

The question then arises as to whether the name in the plural form still qualifies to be taken as a proper name. In his discussion of the semantics of common nouns and proper names Leech (1990:160) states:

It does seem ... that all proper names incorporate the feature
 COUNTABLE and most of them the feature SINGULAR.

There is much controversy on the validity of the premise that a proper name is singular. A proper name which is grammatically similar to a common noun tends to shift to the level of the latter when the speaker intends to convey the idea of plurality.

The problem is compounded when one intends to convey the idea of plurality in the case of a bus name based on a noun which has no plural form, e.g. **Inkululeko** (S/Z) (freedom), **Umusa** (S/Z) (kindness). It is not uncommon to hear speakers using the class 2a prefix and concords, so that we get *oNkululeko abane* (Z) or *boNkululeko labane* (S).

The emergence of an irregular morphological construction in the formation of the plural form of the proper name confirms that, in fact, this name is not meant to be used in a plural context. Raper (1983:268) says:

Possibly the most important function of a name is that of referring uniquely, that is, indicating within context one specific and individual entity out of countless possible entities with the same name.

The difference between what Raper refers to as “countless entities with the same name” and the buses with the same name is that the former may differ remarkably in some respects whilst the latter may be exactly the same. The buses sharing the same name may be of the same model and have the same size, shape and colour. Once we try to use the name in the plural form, its status as a proper name seems to be eroded because the name is shared by many “entities” even though they are similar. We appreciate the view by some scholars cited by Raper (1983:268) when they argue that a proper name shared by many people, (e.g. Paul 1, Paul 2, Paul 3) has elements of a homonym.⁴

Like other names in African languages (cf. Pongweni 1983:3), many bus names are sentential. Nguni languages use the conjunctive way of writing, this is why a one-word name can sometimes be translated into a long sentence. What are independent words in other languages are mere morphemes in a Nguni name, e.g.

Asikhutulisane (S) (Let us share maize from one cob: i.e. let us help one another)

Compound names are fairly common:

Impikanelanga (Z) (compete with the sun): < *phika* (verb) + *na-* (conjunctive) + *ilanga* (noun)

Intamakuphila (S) (try to live): < *tama* (verb) + *kuphila* (infinitive)

We do get very long names which are reminiscent of “verses” of praise poetry. On one bus we find a name with four words: **Mandla Ngampisi Kubaka Mamba** (S) (Obtained by force from the Mamba people). In current orthography this could be written as **Mandlangampisi KubakaMamba**. Moses Dlamini’s bus is named: **Ulwa Nebuphuya Msamaliya: Wafa Wavuka** (S) (You, Samaritan, are

fighting poverty: you died and rose again). As we said earlier, some of these names are so long that they are broken halfway and continued elsewhere on the body of the bus. One wonders if the name giver really intended to give his/her bus a “name” in the proper sense of the word or he/she was preoccupied with telling a story or imparting some information to the people.

The breaking up of some of the long names results in abbreviated versions and hypocorisms on the sides of buses. For **Insukanabani Idla Ngamabala** (S) (The service which had doubtful beginnings is now prosperous) only the first part of the expression, **Insukanabani**, appears on the sides of the bus. For **Inyonimaphiko** (a bird with wings) only the second portion, **Maphiko**, is used. The full meaning found in the complete or long name is encapsulated in the shorter “version” of the name. As we said earlier, in order to appreciate the significance of the short form one must know what the full form of the name is.

CONCLUSION

From this discussion it is evident that in some areas, names of buses are not mere tags to identify one bus from the others. They serve many functions, the main one of which is to communicate information and messages to people. The name tells us about the experiences and feelings of the owner. It may further be used by the owner to impart to his or her audience certain lessons and philosophies about life. From some of the names and slogans we are even afforded a glimpse of the personality of the name giver.

In most cases the process of communication agrees with the pattern found in most of the communication models. According to V. O'Donnell and J.S. Garth (Smith 1989:49) we normally have:

- the “sender” (the bus owner in our case),
- the “message” (a lesson or advertisement),
- the “channel” (the body of the bus)
- the “receiver” (the passenger or those who see the bus).

Lasswell (Morgan and Welton 1986:29) adds the element called “effect”. The people who see the bus are expected to react by conforming to the norms suggested by the name, or by developing a positive attitude towards the bus.

We finally illustrated how the names of buses inspire the composition of poems and songs in a unique manner. The poems and songs in turn transmit to the community certain ideals which it must embrace to foster harmony and peace.

This discussion confirms the validity of the remark made by Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:3) on the criterion often used to distinguish African and Western names:

It is well known that African names “have meaning” and that speakers readily identify that meaning.

What is significant regarding bus names is that merely looking at the linguistic aspects does not take us to the core of the meaning. Nicolaisen (Botha 1986:28) remarks:

Quite clearly, onomastic field-workers would ... be neglecting a considerable amount of relevant information if they were to ignore ... non-linguistic data ... he (the field worker) will not for instance, neglect to obtain, or spurn as irrelevant, stories which, according to local oral tradition, explain the origin of certain names.

It has been demonstrated in this article how extra-linguistic details add more sense and richness to what might otherwise be a dry label.

ENDNOTES

1. I am indebted to Mr J.V. Bongwe, Secretary of the Road Transportation Board in Swaziland for the assistance he and his staff gave me when I was doing research on this subject.
2. Explanations were supplied by informants and bus conductors and supplemented by Shongwe and Nhlapo (1990).
3. There is often confusion regarding the letter to be capitalized. Should it be the initial vowel in cases of nouns where this vowel is found, or the consonant immediately after the initial vowel? The latter proposition has merit because the consonant is more stable than the initial vowel, e.g.

Ikhwezi: *Kukhona ne-Ikhwezi.* < *Kukhona neKhwezi.* (There is also Ikhwezi.)
Angiboni Ikhwezi lapha < *Angiboni Khwezi lapha.* (I don't see any Ikhwezi here.)

- 4 A fuller discussion of this aspect is found in Raper 1987, pages 82–83.

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INVERSION DIACHRONIQUE EN RWANDA (BANTOU J 61)

A. Coupez

1. INTRODUCTION

La langue rwanda (Bantou J 61), appelée ikinyarwanda par les locuteurs et kinyarwanda dans le français local, a donné accès à une abondante information diachronique, qui n'est pas encore publiée, mais qui permet de suivre certains faits d'évolution dans le détail. Bien qu'elle soit considérée comme la plus conservatrice du groupe bantou (Meeussen 1977), elle a subi diverses innovations qui ont pour effet d'opposer des règles synchroniques actuelles à d'anciennes règles qui se sont maintenues à titre d'exceptions. En d'autres termes, les faits protobantous intéressés offrent deux couches de réflexes successives et opposées. On observera ici cette inversion diachronique dans six secteurs de la morphonologie, à savoir les contacts vocaliques, la création des variantes de classes 9i et 10i, les modifications de consonnes sous l'influence d'une voyelle précédente, la dissimilation consonantique (appelée en diachronie règle de Dahl), l'assimilation consonantique réciproque (en diachronie, règle de Meinhof) et le traitement des séquences de tons hauts.

On recourra dans l'exposé à la notion de "codérivation" pour désigner des séquences de formes ayant en commun un radical défectif qui ne peut s'employer sans être suivi de suffixes de dérivation dits primaires. Ce radical défectif est marqué du signe °. Par exemple, les thèmes verbaux codérivés -**zaam-** <—> -**ziik-**, signifiant respectivement "être enterré" et "enterrer", s'analysent en °-**zi-am-** et °-**zi-ik-**, où le radical défectif est suivi des suffixes primaires -**am-** et -**ik-**.

La notion de variante (lexicale) libre telle qu'elle apparaît en bantou a été posée dans Coupez 1975. La relation des variantes libres est notée par le signe ~, qui s'oppose au signe ≈ notant les variantes obligatoires, imposées par le contexte.

On convient que tout thème, nominal ou verbal, inclut un radical, analysable ou non, selon les cas. Cette convention permet d'unifier la formulation de plusieurs règles.

Le signe ɟ note une consonne fricative prépalatale dévoisée, distincte de ɟ palatale (**gufira** “finir”; **gufira** “mettre”).

2. CONTACTS VOCALIQUES

2.1 Généralités

Le rwanda a 5 voyelles face aux 7 voyelles du protobantou. Les proto-voyelles des deux premiers degrés d'aperture se sont confondues lors de l'évolution diachronique.

Toutefois, à l'initiale des préfixes ou des radicaux, la proto-voyelle *i a aussi eu pour réflexes **e** ou un morphonème de quantité vocalique (allongeant la voyelle précédente et notée par un ton flottant), duquel est parfois issu **u** par mécoupure (voir 2.5 ci-dessous).

Les principales règles actuelles des contacts de voyelles sont les suivantes, compte non tenu de la quantité vocalique:

élision:	$\text{a} > \emptyset / - \text{V};$	
semi-vocalisation:	$\text{i} > \text{y} / - \text{V};$	$\text{u} > \text{w} / - \text{V}.$

Par exception, les règles suivantes apparaissent dans des contextes particuliers:

contraction:	$\text{a} + \text{i} > \text{e};$	$\text{a} + \text{u} > \text{o};$
élision:	$\text{i} > \emptyset / - \text{i};$	$\text{u} > \emptyset / - \text{u}$

2.2 Contraction **a + i**

Parmi ces cas exceptionnels, la règle $\text{a} + \text{i} > \text{e}$ est la mieux attestée. On la trouve dans plusieurs contextes.

- (a) Au contact de radicaux verbaux de structure CV à voyelle **a** (3 cas) et d'un suffixe de dérivation, par exemple le suffixe applicatif **-ir-**:

-bá-ir- → **-béer-** “être pour”; de même **-héer-** “donner pour”, **-téer-** “laisser tomber pour”.

- (b) Au contact d'un préfixe nominal et des thèmes suivants:¹
3 substantifs:

-iijo 6 (améenyo) “dents”; **-iisozi 6 (améesozi)** “larmes; **-iibo 12 (akeebo)** “petit panier sp” (diminutif de cl 7 **icyiibo**);

3 adjectifs:

-iinfi, p. ex. classe 2 + augment **abeénfi** “la majorité”; **-iizá**, p. ex. classe 2 + augment **abéézá** “les beaux”; – **°iirá** (défectif) classe 12 **keéra** “tard”.

- (c) Dans des noms complexes où le premier terme se termine par la voyelle **a** et le second commence par **i** appartenant à un substantif des classes 5, 9 ou 10. La règle est hésitante: une partie des substantifs qui ont la même structure ont **aa** au lieu de **ee** et d’autres ont les deux voyelles en variantes libres. La voyelle **ee** est plus fréquente dans les noms à formatif possessif, tandis que **aa** domine dans les noms composés.

Exemples:

- peesuku** ~ -**paasuku** 1 “personne propre”; -**pa-** formatif possessif; -**suku** 9i “propreté” (pour la variante de classe 9i, voir ci-après 3);
- gweepama** 14 “chance du chasseur qui vise juste”; substantif composé, formé à partir d’un syntagme incluant l’infinitif **kugwa** “tomber” et le substantif **ipama** (-**pama** 9) “viande”;
- cáasúka** 1 “plante rampante sp., à racine très dure”; substantif composé, formé à partir du syntagme **gucá isúka** “briser la houe”.

- (d) Dans un cas de dérivation nominale déverbative irrégulière: **-byáar-** engendrer” → **-byéeyi** 1, 2 “géniteur”.²
- (e) Dans le paralogatif³ **heemáana** ~ **haamáana** “par chance”, où le préfixe locatif de classe 16 **ha-** précède l’augment **i-** du substantif **-máana** 9 “facteur de chance”; dans cette position, l’augment a tantôt son segment **i**, porteur du ton bas, tantôt un segment zéro et le ton bas flottant; cette alternance se compare à celle de ***í.** dans ***-jícòdí.** (voir 2.5).

2.3 Contraction **a + u**

La règle **a + u → o** est très rare. En voici les cas connus.

- (a) Le radical verbal régulier **-tá-** “laisser tomber” suivi du suffixe réversif **-ur-**:

-tá-ur- **-tóor-** “ramasser”;

le radical verbal défectif **°-há-** “éprouver de l’hostilité” attesté dans les thèmes codérivés **-háan-** <—> **-hóor-**, où figurent les suffixes de

dérivation primaires **-an-** associatif et **-ur-** “hapax”³, et qui signifient respectivement “se quereller” et “s’en prendre à”.

- (b) Le substantif de classe 6 **a-ma-úsozG 6** → **amóosozi** “larmes. Il s’agit d’une variante libre dont le statut est expliqué ci-dessous en 2.5.
- (c) Le pronom connectif **wá** “de” (la forme citée est de classe 1) et les indices **ná** “avec”; **nká** “comme”. Ces trois mots ont en commun un morphème formatif **-á**, précédé du préfixe pronominal dans le cas du connectif et de morphèmes défectifs **°na-**, **°nka-** dans le cas des indices. Leur voyelle est régulièrement éliée devant l’augment, par exemple:

ná ukuguru → **n úkuguru** “et la jambe”; **ná ukureeba** → **n úkureeba** “et (le fait de) regarder”.

Par contre, ils ont une variante **-ó** du morphème formatif lorsqu’ils précèdent les locatifs **ku** et **mu** (classes 17 et 18) ainsi que l’infinitif sans augment (classe 15), qui coexiste avec l’infinitif à augment attesté dans le dernier exemple cité. Exemples:

ná ku kuguru	→	nó ku kuguru	“et sur la jambe”;
ná kureebe	→	nó kureeba	“et regarder”.

2.4 Élisions

Les règles **i** → **O** / – **i** et **u** se limitent aux radicaux CV suivis d’un suffixe de dérivation. La première apparaît d’une part avec les quatre radicaux Ci canoniques, par exemple

-rí-ir → **-ríir-** “manger pour”, avec suffixe applicatif, et d’autre part avec quelques radicaux défectifs. La seconde n’apparaît qu’avec des radicaux défectifs, par exemple

-twáar- <–> **-túur-**, respectivement “porter sur la tête” et “déposer la charge”, analysés en **°-tú-ar-** et **°-tú-ur-**, avec les suffixes primaires **-ar-** positif intransitif et **-ur-** réversif transitif.

2.5 Interprétation diachronique

Sur le plan diachronique, les exceptions susdites des contacts vocaliques de la langue actuelle correspondent aux règles du protobantou, tandis que les règles générales résultent d’innovations. Les exceptions appellent en outre les remarques suivantes.

Aux listes synchroniques données ci-dessus, on peut ajouter quelques cas où l'identification des voyelles intéressées est diachronique, par exemple:

-**eerwe** 6 (**ameerwe**; diminutif **utweerwe** cl 13) “fringale de viande”; la commutation des classes 6 et 13 pose en synchronie une voyelle initiale **e**, mais celle-ci est issue de ***ĩ**.

(***-j** **ĩdue**) par mécoupure; paralogatif³ **haanzé** “dehors, issu de ***pà-njáĩ**. cl 16 (Doneux et Gregoire 1977, 174); paralogatif **hé** “où?”, issu de ***hà-ĩ**. cl 16 (Doneux 1971, 125); coverbe³ **-té** “comment?”, issu de ***tá-ĩ**. (Doneux et Gregoire 1977, 173).

Les voyelles **i** et **u** qui entraînent la contraction en **e** à l'initiale des noms sont toutes issues de la proto-voyelle ***ĩ**, du premier degré. Par exemple, **-iipo** 5,6 “dent” est issu de ***jĩ.nò** 5,6. La protoforme ***jĩcòdí**. 6 “larmes” a donné comme réflexes une série de variantes libres incluant – **sozi** 6 (**amáasozi**) ~ **-iisozi** (**améesozi**) ~ **-úusozi** (**amóosozi**); le ton flottant et la voyelle **i** sont des réflexes concurrents de ***jĩ**. initial de thème; la voyelle **u** est issue d'une mécoupure (Coupez 1980) à partir du diminutif de classe 13 **utúusozi** (**u-tuu-ízo**), où la voyelle longue est réinterprétée comme issue de deux **u** successifs, par analogie avec une règle fréquente dans la langue.

L'infinitif de classe 15 et les locatifs des classes 17 et 18 (Gregoire 1975, 158) sont reconstruits avec l'augment dans une partie du bantou. En rwanda, la protovoyelle ***a** du connectif et des indices s'est combinée avec le ***u** de l'augment en donnant **o**. Il y a eu plus tard une réfection des séquences “connectif ou indices + infinitif à augment”, entraînant l'opposition actuelle entre **nk úkureeba** (infinitif à augment) et **nkó kureeba** (infinitif sans augment): la séquence originale où l'infinitif à l'augment a été interprétée comme ne l'ayant pas et une nouvelle séquence à augment a été créée.

Les principaux contextes des exceptions sont des contacts morphologiques où les morphèmes sont très solidaires. Ainsi, dans l'évolution diachronique des langues bantoues, il arrive fréquemment qu'un préfixe nominal s'agglutine au radical et qu'un suffixe de dérivation s'agglutine à un radical de structure CV. A cette solidarité morphologique s'associe naturellement une tendance conservatrice.

3. VARIANTES DE CLASSES 9i ET 10i

Les substantifs des classes 9 et 10 ont en commun le préfixe nominal **n-**, par exemple **-taama** 9, 10 (**intaama**, **intaama**) “mouton, singulier et pluriel”.

Cette forme canonique du préfixe s'emploie en général, y compris dans les substantifs qui commencent par une des consonnes fricatives dévoisées *f*, *s*, *ʃ*, si le thème est attesté à une autre classe, par exemple **-siiká 11, 10 (urusiiiká, insiiiká)** “cloison de vannerie, singulier et pluriel”. Ne compte pas comme “autre classe” dans le présent contexte la classe 6 du pluriel, qui est dérivée de la classe 9i (voir ci-après **amasúka**).

Par contre, les substantifs dont le thème commence par une des fricatives dévoisées *f*, *s*, *ʃ* sans être attesté à une autre classe ont, comme la classe 5 (voir 4.1), une forme *i y*-³ qui tient lieu simultanément d'augment et de préfixe et que l'on désigne par les sigles 9i, 10i. Exemples:

-sí 9i “terre”; **-súka 9i 6 (isúka, amasúka)** “houe, singulier et pluriel”; **-sogi 9i, 10i (isogi, isogi)** “plante comestible gynandropsis, singulier et pluriel”.

Le traitement des dérivés déverbatifs face à ces deux règles est ambigu: certains suivent la première (classes 9 et 10 canoniques) et d'autres, la seconde (classes 9, sous variante 9i). Exemples:

-sib- “boucher, bostruer”; **-sibíri 9, 10 (insibíri, insibíri)** “objet obstrué, singulier et pluriel”.

-sib- “labourer sans soin”; **-sibé 9i, 6 (isibé, amasibé)** “champ labouré sans soin, singulier et pluriel”.

Les rares types de dérivés qui sont en formation libre aux classes 9 et 10 ont la variante canonique du préfixe dans le présent contexte.

Sur le plan diachronique, les variantes 9i et 10i résultent d'un cas particulier de l'élimination des séquences “nasale + consonne sourde”, qui est bien attestée dans l'évolution des langues bantoues (Kerremans, 1980, 172 sq), mais n'apparaît pas dans d'autres contextes en rwanda. Le nyoro (J 11) a une classe 9e qui correspond à la classe 9i du rwanda et s'emploie dans les mêmes contextes.

La conservation en rwanda de la consonne nasale des classes 9 et 10 devant une fricative sourde résulte soit de l'analogie avec une autre classe (**urusiiiká, insiiiká**), soit d'une dérivation déverbative postérieure à la période où l'élimination de la nasale s'est effectuée (**insibíri**).

4. PRÉFIXE ET CONSONNE INITIALE DU THÈME

4.1 Généralités

En règle générale, les consonnes initiales des thèmes nominaux sont stables sur le plan synchronique. Toutefois, plusieurs préfixes sont associés à des variantes obligatoires, très rares, de la consonne initiale du thème. Il s'agit du préfixe **i** y- de la classe 5 des substantifs, du préfixe **e-** des pronoms numéraux de la classe 10 (sigle 10e), du préfixe locatif **i-** \approx **e-** de classe 25 dans quelques mots où il a sa variante **e-** (sigle 25e) et de l'infixe réfléchi **-iy-**. Tous les quatre sont issus de protoformes ayant pour unique segment la voyelle fermée ***i**, dont on sait qu'en diachronie elle tend à influencer la consonne suivante.

4.2 Liste des variantes suivant ***i**.

La plupart de ces variantes sont obligatoires et les mots correspondent à des protoformes.

b et **by** après préfixe pronominal de classe 10e

-biri “deux”	\approx -byiri 10e	*-bidi
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g et **j** après préfixe nominal de classe 5

-gabo 1 “homme (mâle) dérivé de -gab- “régner; faire la guerre” ⁷	\approx -jabo 5 “virilité	*-gab-
-gaambo 6 “paroles”	\approx -jaambo 5	*-gàmbò 5
-gana 6 “centaines”	\approx -jana 5	*-gànà 5
-guru 11 “vers le haut”	cf -juru 5 “ciel”	*-gùdù

g et **j** après préfixe locatif de classe 25e

-guru 11 “vers le haut”	cf -juru 25e “plus haut”	*-gùdù
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h et **fy** après préfixe nominal de classe 5

-haangá 6 “pays étrangers”	\approx -f aangá 5	*-pàngá 5,6
-hano 6 “malheurs sp” dérivé de -han- “punir” ⁵	\approx -f ano 5	*-pàn-
-hári 6 “jalousies conjugales”	\approx -f ári 5 “polygamie”	*-pádi 7
-heembé 5, 6 “cornes”	\sim -f eembé 5 (archaïque) “corne”	*-pémbé 5

-hérezo 6 “fins” ≈ **-f'érezo** 5
dérivé de **-hér-** “finir” ***-péd-**

k et **c** après préfixe nominal de classe 5

-kára 5, 6 “charbon” ≈ °**-cára** 5 défectif⁶ ***-kádà** 5,6
-kúk- “entasser du fumier” **-cúkiro** 5, 6 “tas de fumier”
***-kúk-**
°**-kúmi** 6 défectif⁶ ≈ **-cúmi** 5, 6 “dix, dizaine” ***-kúmi** 5, 6

n et **c** après préfixe pronominal de classe 10e

-né “quatre” ≈ **-cé** ***-nàj**

t et **f** après préfixe pronominal de classe 10e

-tatu “trois” ≈ **-fatu** ***-càtù**
-taanu “cinq” ≈ **-faanu** ***-càànò**
-táandátu “six” ≈ **-féesátu** ***-tándátú**⁸

4.3 Interprétation diachronique

Les mêmes règles qu'en 4.2 et des règles analogues apparaissent en diachronie pure, sans variantes synchroniques attestant directement la protoconsonne. Il s'y ajoute un contexte supplémentaire: la voyelle initiale *j. du radical. Voici quelques exemples.

***g > j** après préfixe nominal de classe 5

-joro 5, 6 “nuit” ***-gòdò** 5
-josi 5, 6 “cou” ***-kòtì** 5, 6 (après règle de Dahl donant
***k > g**)

***g > j** après initiale *j.

-iijut- “être rassasié” ***-jìkut-** (après règle de Dahl donnant ***k > g**)

***k > c** après préfixe nominal de classe 5

-cò 5 “saleté” ***-kó** 5, 6
-cuumbi 5, 6 “gîte, logement temporaire” ***-kùmbì** 5, 6

***k > c** après initiale *j.

-iicar- “être assis” ***-jì.kad-**

***n > ñ** après initiale *j.

-iɲo 5, 6 “dent”

*-jɲò 5, 6

*p > ɲ (premier réflexe) après préfixe nominal de classe 5

ɲaambà 5, 6 “brousse”

*-pàmbà 5, 6

*p > ɲ (premier réflexe) après initiale *ɲ.

-iiɲ ur- “payer”

*-jɲud-

-iiɲ wa 1 “neveu sp”

*-jɲpùà 1

-iiɲ wá 3 “plante épineuse sp.”

*-jɲpùá 3 “épine”

*p > ɲ. (second réflexe) après initiale *ɲ

-fât- “prendre”

*-jɲpat-

haafi paralogatif³ “prê”

*pà-jɲpɪ

-uufir- “désheber”

*-jɲpid-

*t > c après initiale *ɲ

initiale *ɲ: -iic- “tuer”

*-jɲt-

L'influence de *ɲ sur la consonne suivante est ancienne: on en trouve la trace en protobantou même, par exemple dans les alternances des numéraux “trois”, reconstruit *-tātù ou *-cātù, et “cinq”, reconstruit *tāàno ou *-fāàno, ainsi que dans les formes du mot signifiant “père”: *tāàtà la “mon père”; *-cólɪ (icó) “ton père”; *-cé lɪ (icé) “son père”. Dans certaines langues actuelles, telles que S21 venda, cette influence opère régulièrement en synchronie. En rwanda, elle n'a laissé que des traces isolées, sous forme d'exceptions.

5. DISSIMILATION CONSONANTIQUE (RÈGLE DE DAHL)

5.1 Règles synchroniques

Dans les consonnes, la langue actuelle pratique en deux positions une dissimilation de voisement régressive qui fait passer **k** et **t** à **g** et **d** respectivement si la consonne suivante est dévoisée. Il en résulte un emploi fréquent de la consonne **d** hors de la séquence **nd**, lequel est rare par ailleurs.

La dissimilation est constante dans un affixe qui précède directement le radical.

Exemples:

préfixes pronominaux des classes 12 **ka** – et cl 13 **tu**; négateur **-ta-** radicaux **-reeb-** “regarder” et **-faak-** “chercher”;

kareebá, gaʃaaká; katareebá, kadaʃaaká “qui regarde, qui cherche; qui ne regarde pas, qui ne cherche pas”

tureebá, duʃaaká; tutareebá, tudaʃaaká “qui regardent, qui cherchent; qui ne regardent pas, qui ne cherchent pas”;

on notera que dans **katareebá** et **tutareebá** l’initiale des préfixes **ka-** et **tu-** ne subit pas la dissimilation parce que ces morphèmes ne précèdent pas directement le radical.

La dissimilation ne s’applique jamais, sur le plan synchronique, à la consonne initiale du radical (désignée par le sigle C1). Il y a par exemple des radicaux de forme **-kat-** et **-tak-**, signifiant respectivement “couper” et “crier”, et la consonne initiale y reste toujours telle quelle.

Par contre, la dissimilation s’applique de manière sélective à une consonne ultérieure du radical ou du thème verbal (désignée par le sigle C2). Le critère distinctif est lié à l’autonomie relative du radical. Si celui-ci s’emploie librement sans suffixe de dérivation, la dissimilation est exclue: quand les deux radicaux cités prennent le suffixe intransitif **-ik-**, les formes sont **-katik-**, **takik-** “se laisser couper; se laisser crier”.

Si par contre le radical est défectif et accompagné de suffixes de dérivation primaires, la dissimilation se pratique parfois, selon un choix lexical particularisé:

-fútam- “être de travers”, **-fútuur-** “redresser, corriger”; avec dissimilation **-fúdik-** “mettre de travers”; sans dissimilation: **-fútuuk-** “être redressé, corrigé”.

Deux thèmes verbaux dissimilent **t** en **r** au lieu de **d**:

-áatur- “bouillir, être bouillant”; **-áarik-** “faire bouillir”;

-zitur- “détacher un animal”; **-zirik-** “attacher un animal”

On notera incidemment que les deux derniers exemples cités incluent un suffixe **-ik-** transitif, homonyme du suffixe intransitif **-ik-** cité plus haut.

5.3 Attestations diachroniques

La consonne C1 des reconstructions a subi la dissimilation dans un petit nombre de radicaux. Outre ***k** et ***t**, elle peut être aussi ***p**, donnant un réflexe ***b**. Les exemples connus sont:

***p** > **b**: ***pákà** 9 “chat sauvage” > **-báka** 9; ***-pácud-** > **-báʃur-**

- “ébrécher”; *peepe 11 > -béhé 9, “écuelle”; *-pépò 9 “froid” > -bého 9;
- *t > d: *-táp- > -dáh- “puiser de l’eau; *-túpà 3 > -dúha 3 “euphorbe candélabre”; *tààtà la > daatà la “mon père”; *-tèp- “être faible” > -deh- “paresser au travail”;
- *k > g: *-kátà 11 “tortillon” > -gáta 11; *-kòok- “être fatigué” > -gook-; *-kúat- “prendre, saisir” > -gwát- “saisir vivement”

5.4 Interprétation diachronique

Les applications non contemporaines de la règle de Dahl concernent le radical.

En ce qui concerne la première consonne (C1), le nombre restreint des attestations diachroniques semble attester que le rwanda s’est trouvé à la limite de l’aire d’application de la règle. Les formes intéressées se situent à deux périodes différentes: les deux formes où *t passe à r sont contemporaines du passage ancien de *d à r⁹, subissant la séquence évolutive *t > *d > r, tandis que les autres, où *t passe à d, sont postérieures à l’époque de ce passage et ne l’ont donc pas subi.

Il est possible que la règle ait été autrefois générale pour la consonne C2. C’est en tout cas ce que suggèrent les cas synchroniques, où il apparaît que les suffixes de dérivation intéressés sont du type primaire, donc étroitement liés au radical par un mécanisme qui n’est plus productif aujourd’hui. Les exceptions actuelles peuvent s’expliquer, selon les cas, par des réfections ou par des dérivations postérieures à la période de la dissimilation.

L’application de la règle aux préfixes ne peut être située dans le temps par un raisonnement direct car seules les données actuelles sont connues, la régularité du mécanisme dans la langue présente éliminant toute trace du passé.

On peut tenter de recourir à l’histoire globale de la règle de Dahl pour préciser la chronologie des faits rwanda, bien qu’elle n’ait pas encore été établie de manière évidente. Peut-être la règle est-elle originaire du shi (J 53), où elle s’applique sans exception au niveau phonologique, modifiant toutes les consonnes intéressées sans tenir compte de critères morphologiques. Elle se serait ensuite étendue vers l’est (zones J, E, F, G) en s’affaiblissant progressivement par perte de positions morphologiques. Dans cette hypothèse, son application aux préfixes et à la consonne C2 du rwanda serait ancienne. L’application à la consonne C1, limitée à quelques mots, aurait relevé d’influences latérales isolées, au contact direct du shi, anciennes également car les mots correspondent à des proto-formes situées haut dans l’arbre généalogique.

6. ASSIMILATION CONSONANTIQUE RÉCIPROQUE (RÈGLE DE MEINHOF)

6.1 Généralités

L'assimilation consonantique réciproque concerne la consonne nasale du préfixe nominal et l'occlusive sonore initiale du thème: la nasale prend le point d'articulation de la consonne suivante et celle-ci prend le mode d'articulation nasal. Elle dépend de la présence d'une séquence "nasale plus consonne sonore" à l'initiale de la syllabe suivante.

En rwanda, elle apparaît en synchronie dans une série restreinte de variantes obligatoires. Comme la langue exclut les séquences de deux nasales, la séquence de nasales issue de la règle susdite se réduit à une seule. On a donc l'interprétation suivante dans ces variantes obligatoires: **mb** > **mm** > **m**; **nd** > **nn** > **n**; **nj** > **ɲ** > **ɲ**

Les attestations diachroniques sont plus nombreuses.

6.2 Attestations synchroniques

Les cas d'assimilation consonantique réciproque en synchronie se limitent à 5 cas qui incluent au départ la séquence **mb**:

- baambo** 11, -**maambo** 10 (**urubaambo**, **imaambo**) "cheville pour séchage de peau"; dérivé de -**baamb-** "fixer la cheville"; < ***bàmb-**;
- baandw-** "être initié à un culte"; -**maandwá** 9, 10 (**imaándwa**) "personne initiée"; dérivé de -**band-w-**; < ***-bànd-u-**;
- baanga** 5, 6 "pente de colline"; -**maanga** 9, 10 "pente abrupte"; < ***-bàngà** 5, 6
- báango** 11, -**máango** 10 "arme à bois pointu"
- baanzá** 11, -**maanzá** 10 (**urubaánza**, **imaánza**) "palabre"; < ***-bánjá** 11, 10.

6.3 Attestations diachroniques

L'assimilation réciproque est régulière pour la séquence ***nj**. Elle apparaît en outre dans une dizaine de réflexes pour la séquence ***mb** et dans des réflexes isolés pour ***nd**.

Exemples:

***mb**: ***-bàndì** 9, 10 > -**maanzi** 9, 10 "tatouage"; ***-béndé** 9, 10 > -**meendé** 11, 10 "rat sp.";

***nd:** **-dàngà* 9, 10 > *-naanga* 9, 10 “cithare”;

***nj:** **-jàngé* 9, 10 “héron garde-boeufs” > *-ñaangé* 9, 10; **-jénjé* 9, 10 > *-neenzi* 9, 10 “grillon”.

6.4 Interprétation diachronique

La règle de Meinhof n’a atteint le rwanda que de manière marginale dans le passé, se limitant à la séquence **nj* et à quelques traces sous forme de variantes synchroniques obligatoires pour les séquences **mb* et **nd*. Ces dernières résultent probablement d’influences latérales à la limite de l’aire d’application de la règle diachronique, et particulièrement à proximité de l’ensembel J 11 – 13 nyoro-nkore et J15 ganda.

7. SÉQUENCES DE TONS HAUTS

Cette partie de l’exposé se limite à un résumé car le texte complet exigerait trop d’espace.

Le ton haut final que la langue actuelle emploie dans les noms et les verbes recule jusqu’à la deuxième syllabe du thème, puis annule le ton lexical, qui occupe la position initiale dans la première syllabe du thème. Dans les noms déverbatifs, le ton haut est ensuite attiré sur la seconde more de la voyelle précédente is celle-ci est longue.

Exemples:

subjonctif présent affirmatif: *ba-túur-an-é* → *batúuráne* → *batuuráne* “(il faut) qu’ils habitent ensemble”

substantif déverbatif cl 4: *i-mi-túur-ir-é* → *imitúurire* → *imituurire* → *imituúrire* “mode d’habitation”.

La partie de règle qui annule le premier de deux tons hauts correspond à une règle diachronique qui apparaît dans les thèmes nominaux, par exemple:

-kokó 9 “poule” < **-kókó* 9; *-pyisi* “hyène” < **piti* 9; *-baanzá* 11 (*urubaánza*) “palabre” < **-bánjá* 11.

À cette règle ancienne s’opposent deux règles plus récentes. L’une s’applique dans certains thèmes nominaux déplace pas et n’efface pas le premier. Les dérivés de ce type ne sont pas très nombreux.

Exemples:

-seesekar-	“déborder” →	-séesekaré 3	“le trop-plein
-ziik-	“haïr”	-ziiká 9	“haine”;
-kúund-	“aimer”	-kúundé 3	“bon goût de bière”.

La seconde règle récente efface non pas le premier, mais le second de deux tons hauts consécutifs. Son emploi est très fréquent. On l’observe par exemple après le pronom connectif; lorsqu’il précède une consonne, celui-ci a un ton haut flottant qui se porte à l’initiale du mot suivant. Exemple:

wá¹⁰ “de”, pronom connectif de classe 1; Butáre toponyme de colline;
wá Butáre → wa Bútáre → wa Bútare “de Butare”.

ENDNOTES

1. La catégorie du nom inclut noms les substantifs, les adjectifs et les mixtes (Coupez, 1984).
2. En général, la voyelle d’un radical ne change pas en présence de la terminaison. Dans le cas présent, le mécanisme de l’imbrication (Bastin 1983) intervient sous une forme connue dans d’autres langues: le thème du substantif est issu de ***-bjad- jdi** > ***-biajdi** (imbrication) > ***-byájdi** > ***-byáiyi** > **-byéeyi**. Le passage irrégulier de ***d** à **y** a un parallèle en rwanda dans la terminaison verbale de sens perfectif **-ye**, issue de ***-jde**: le perfectif de **-byáar-** est **-byáaye**.
3. Parolocatif: mot de classe locative formé sur le modèle du dyntagme locatif (préfixe locatif + substantif), mais figé; le préfixe locatif de classe 16 ne s’emploie pas librement, contrairement à ceux des classes 17, 18 et 25, mais se limite aux parolocatifs. Suffixe “hapax”: suffixe de dérivation présentant une association morpho-sémantique non récurrente. Coverbe: mot dont le préfixe est verbal et le thème, pronominal; en syntaxe, il accompagne un verbe en prenant son accord.
4. Préfixe **i y-**: la semi-voyelle, qui n’est représentée que devant voyelle, est posée par parallélisme avec la classe 5 (voir **i yóga** en 4.1)
5. Le malheur **-fano** 5 est dû à la violation d’un interdit et considéré comme une punition d’origine surnaturelle.
6. Les formes °**-cára** et °**-kúmi** sont défectives: la première n’apparaît que dans des toponymes; la seconde, dans **-kúmyaabiri** 6 “vingt”.
7. Le substantif **-gabo** 1 est un terme d’évitement signifiant littéralement “porteur de bouclier”. Il est dérivé par changement de classe de **-gabo** 9 “bouclier”, lui-même dérivé déverbatif de **-gab-** “régner; faire la guerre”.
8. La forme de classe 10 **-shéeshátu** subit dans sa première syllabe des perturbations particulières, sans parallèle dans la langue.
9. Cette hypothèse est formulée sous réserve que le protobantou n’ait pas déjà eu un allophone **l** ou **r** hors de la position NC.

10. Le pronom connectif a trois variantes obligatoires: **wá** \approx **wa'** \approx **wó**. La première s'emploie devant l'augment (voir 2.3); la seconde, devant une forme sans augment (comme ici); la troisième, devant une consonne appartenant à l'infinitif ou à un locatif (voir 2.3).

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THE REFLEXIVE PREFIX IN ZULU – A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Sonja E. Bosch

In this article I shall investigate the origins of the reflexive prefix in Zulu, paying special attention to the process of grammaticalization by which lexemes develop into grammatical formatives. Since reflexivization in a number of Bantu languages will be compared, the article will be in the form of a typological investigation.

In Lehmann's (1982:46) discussion of the phenomena which are commonly referred to as reflexive, it is interesting to note that he assumes four categories of reflexives, namely

- (i) autophoric nouns which are ordinary nouns such as “body, breath, soul, head” that may be used non-reflexively. For example, in Sanscrit the noun *ātmán* meaning “breath, soul”, and in Basque, the noun *burua* meaning “head”, are used to express the equivalent of English “self”.

Autophoric nouns used as reflexives are often accompanied by a possessive pronoun, as in the following example from Vedic:

Vedic

- (1) *bálam dádhana ātmáni*
strength:ACC put:PART self:LOC.SG
“putting strength in himself”
- (ii) reflexive nouns which are nouns expressing the meaning “self” and nothing else, for instance the German *selbst* “myself” and Finnish *itse* as illustrated in the following examples:

German

- (2) *Ich komme selbst*
“I am coming myself”

Finnish

- (3) *Halu-at-ko lipu-t itse-lle-si?*
want-2.SG-INT ticket-ACC.PL self-ALL-POSS.2.SG
“Do you want the tickets for yourself?”

In languages such as Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish reflexive nouns take possessive affixes, while in other languages such as German or the Romance languages, these nouns are not normally combined with possessive pronouns.

- (iii) reflexive pronouns which have the primary function of referring back to the subject, such as the German *sich* in:

German

- (4) *Sie waschen sich*
“They are washing themselves”

- (iv) verbal reflexives which are verb affixes indicating that the action somehow affects the subject, as in the following examples:

Swahili

- (5) *a-li-ji-ona*
SBJ.CL1-PAST-OBJ.REFL-see
“he saw himself”

Turkish

- (6) *Çocuk yıka-n-di*
child wash-REFL-PAST
“The child washed himself”

Lehmann (1982:46) emphasizes that the boundaries between the categories are fluid and states that “these four categories of reflexive elements are in fact on a scale of increasing grammaticalization”.

Grammaticalization means the process of change from a fully fledged lexical item to a grammatical morpheme over periods of time. In other words, one can see this as a continuum of change which can be represented as follows:

Lexical
item

Grammatical
morpheme

Lehmann (1982:44ff) provides examples in various languages to illustrate the changes that have taken place or are still taking place from one category to the next. The process of change is confirmed by Faltz (1977:57) who, with regard to his morphological distinction between two main types of reflexives, namely NP-reflexives which may consist of a nominal morpheme acting as head of the reflexive noun phrase, and verbal reflexives, consisting of reflexive pronouns which are cliticized onto the verb, remarks:

Languages may move from one pole towards the other, in fact, such movement is necessarily from the NP-reflexive pole towards the verbal reflexive pole.

In Zulu reflexiveness is realized by means of a prefix which directly precedes the verb stem. The reflexive prefix is invariable in form, which means that it is a morphological shape which remains constant irrespective of the class to which its antecedent belongs. This is clearly illustrated in the following examples in Zulu:

- (7a) *Umfana wazishaya*
the-boy he-himself hit
“The boy hit himself”

- (7b) *Intombazane izibona esibukwini*
the-girl she-herself-see in-mirror
“The girl sees herself in the mirror”

In these examples *-zi-* is the reflexive morpheme and the actions of “hit” and “see” are directed back upon the respective grammatical subjects, that is, “boy” and “girl”.

It is interesting that in generative studies, a significant insight is made into the underlying structure of sentences containing reflexives, namely NP1 – V – NP1. On the surface, such a construction is ungrammatical in the Bantu languages if the two NPs are co-referential and identical in form, e.g.

- (8) **USipho wakhohlisa uSipho*
*“Sipho cheated Sipho”

In Zulu such a sentence is made grammatical by the insertion of a reflexive prefix in the verb and the deletion of the co-referential noun, e.g.

- (9) *USipho wazikhohlisa*
 “Sipho cheated himself”

The underlying structure of this sentence would therefore be as follows:

- (10) *USipho wakhohlisa uSipho* ⇒
 NP1 V NP1

- ✱ *USipho u-zi-khohlisa*
 NP1 V

If we take into consideration Lehmann’s four categories of reflexives as mentioned earlier, it is clear that the reflexive in Zulu conforms to Lehmann’s fourth category, namely verbal reflexives. It is this category which according to Lehmann’s scale of grammaticalization has developed furthest from the lexeme or nominal element and has been reduced to the status of a grammatical morpheme. One could ask at this stage whether there is any evidence in Bantu that this type of grammaticalization of the reflexive prefix has taken place at all.

In the majority of Bantu languages, according to Polak (1983:275), the reflexive prefix is invariable in form and is cliticized onto the verb. Let us look at a few examples (the reflexive prefix is underlined in each case):

Swahili (North-eastern zone; Ashton, 1949:43)

- (11a) *Walijificha*
 “They hid themselves”

- (11b) *Kijidudu kilijificha*
 “The insect hid itself”

Lamba (Central zone; Doke, 1938:256)

- (12a) *Awantu walukulikaka*
 “The people are tying themselves”

- (12b) *Liwone*
 “Look at yourself”

Polak (1983:288ff), in a comparative study concerning the forms of reflexive prefixes in a considerable number of Bantu languages, comes to the conclusion that there are certain resemblances between the form of reflexive prefixes and certain class prefixes. The most common class prefixes which resemble reflexive prefixes are classes 8/10, 7, 15 and 5. So, for instance, in Zulu the reflexive -zi- resembles the class 8/10 prefix:

Zulu (South-eastern zone)

- (13) *Bazifundisa*
“They taught themselves”

In kiKongo the reflexive *-ki-* resembles the class 7 prefix:

KiKongo (Congo zone; Laman, 1912:128)

- (14) *Yandi wakivonda*
“He killed himself”

In languages such as Chagga and Chasu the reflexive *-ku-* class 15:

Chagga (Eastern zone; Raum, 1964:72)

- (15) *akukapa*
“I love myself”

Chasu (Eastern zone; Kotz, 1964:58)

- (16) *kukubiga*
“to hit oneself”

In Tonga, Venda and kiMbundu, for example, the reflexive *-li-*, *-di-* and *-ri-* respectively resemble the class 5 prefix:

Tonga (Central zone; Collins, 1962:74)

- (17) *nda-li-yanda*
“I love myself”

Venda (South-eastern zone; Poulos, 1990:234)

- (18) *Mmbwa i khou dīnanzwa*
“The dog is licking itself”

kiMbundu (Congo zone; Chatelain, 1888–9:81)

- (19) *eme ngi ri zola*
“I love myself”

An important observation that can be made about the reflexive in the above languages, which represent a number of zones as identified by comparativists, is that although the reflexive prefix in each of these examples is invariable in form, the form differs from language to language.

Questions coming to mind now are why the different languages make use of different forms, and also whether the reflexive prefix is in any way related to the class prefixes?

In an attempt to answer such questions, I would like to entertain a possible

hypothesis which involves the process of *grammaticalization* which was mentioned earlier on.

This is not a unique process and has been well attested in the evolvement of numerous grammatical elements in the study of language. Poulos (1986:290ff) has already shown how the diminutive suffix *-ana*, which is a grammatical morpheme, has developed from a fully fledged lexical item, namely a noun stem **-yana*, which still occurs in many Bantu languages and expresses the meaning of “child”.

In the case of the reflexive this would of course imply that some lexical item originally occurred in the Bantu languages which developed by the process of grammaticalization into the reflexive prefix, as we know it today. In the research that I have done it has been interesting to note that there are in fact languages in the North-western zone which express a reflexive relation by means of a lexical item. The lexical item which is used usually carries the meaning of one of the following: “body”, “soul”, “spirit”, “head” or even “heart”. The occurrence of such a lexical item corresponds to Lehmann’s category of autophoric nouns.

Consider the following examples from certain Bantu languages of the North-western zone in which the word for “body” is used as a reflexive marker, e.g.

Londo (Kuperus, 1985:319)

- (20) *ò-’ sà-kpēm-i p-ódò*
you s.-NEG-watch out pf 9-body
“you don’t watch out for yourself”

Ewondo (Redden, 1979:72)

- (21) *awó nól dzie*
he body killed
“he killed himself”

Duala (Ittmann, 1939:177)

- (22) *lée nólò*
show body
“to show oneself”

In Babungo, yet another Bantu language spoken in the North-western zone, a reflexive significance is conveyed by using the word for “body” followed by a possessive pronoun, which agrees with the coreferential subject noun, e.g.

Babungo (Schaub, 1985:110)

- (23) *mə sɔ́ ɲwáa ɲwāa*
I wash-pf body my
“I washed myself”
(where pf = perfective).

Similarly, Chimwi:ni, a Bantu language very closely related to Swahili, and in fact spoken in the North-eastern zone, uses the morpheme *ru:hu*, a loan-word from Arabic, meaning “soul/spirit”, followed by a possessive ending, to express reflexiveness, e.g.

Chimwi:ni (Abasheikh, 1976:14)

- (24) *mw-a:na ø- lum- il-e ru:hu-y-e*
child SP-bite-T2-TV soul his
“The child bit himself”

(where SP = subject prefix; T2 = tense marker; TV = terminal vowel).

The question could arise here as to why these specific lexical items are used in these languages, and Lehmann (1982:44) makes the following observation regarding his first category of reflexives:

There is a whole set of notions centering around the person, as a whole or in part, which are generalized in many languages to comprise the self and which I call autophoric.

Thus it is not surprising that terms for “body”, “spirit”, “soul”, “head” and so forth are used to express reflexive actions.

What I am hypothesizing here is that over long periods of time the lexical item in the various forms in which it has been reconstructed by Guthrie (1971) and others has gone through a process of grammaticalization and has evolved into a prefixal form in a language such as Zulu. Let us look at the reconstructed forms of terms such as “body” and “spirit” as presented by Guthrie. It will be noticed that he lists up to five different forms for “body” and three different forms for “spirit”:

“body”

*bidi, *-dĩmba,(*-dutu, *-jutu) *-yutu (Guthrie, 1971:147)

“spirit”

*-dĩmu, *-kiti, (*-pepo) (Guthrie, 1971:154)

Although we do not have any conclusive answers, it is possible to assume that terms for “body” and “spirit”, for instance, took on various reflexive forms in

the different Bantu languages and these eventually led to the evolvement of the reflexive prefix.

This hypothesis is endorsed by Heine et al. (1991:152) who remark that,

... various body parts as well as the term “body” itself have provided the source for the development of reflexive pronouns¹ in many African languages.

Further research would be necessary to determine whether there are traces of the intermediate stages which Lehmann identifies, that is reflexive nouns and reflexive pronouns, to be found in the Bantu language family. Such evidence would obviously strengthen the given hypothesis.

It is interesting to note is that once a lexical item becomes grammaticalized it may go through further stages in the diachronic process of change. In fact, it tends to become weaker in its semantic import and this actually can be seen in certain examples in Zulu where the reflexive prefix *-zi-* becomes part of the verbal stem and loses its reflexive function to assume a figurative meaning, e.g.

- (25) *-zibusa*
(lit. to govern oneself)
“be comfortable”

in which case the basic stem *-busa* “govern” is still productive in the language.

A further weakening of the morpheme is when *-zi-* becomes part of the stem and no longer has that flexibility as a morpheme. That is, it loses its status as morpheme and becomes part of a larger entity. This could be the case with:

- (26) *-zibula*
“bear the first offspring; have a first baby”
the basic root of which no longer exists in Zulu.

Yet a further stage in such a process would involve phonological adjustments, although this has not yet been attested in any Bantu language, as far as I know. However, Poulos (1986) has shown how the relative suffix has developed to this stage in a language such as Tsonga, where the vowel of the relative suffix changes in such a way that it becomes phonologically identical to the vowel of the preceding syllable. For example:

Tsonga

- (27a) *vanhu [lava va vulavulaka] i vadyondzisi*
“The people who are talking are teachers”

- (27b) *vanhu [lava va nga vulavuliki] i vadyondzisi*
 “The people who are not talking are teachers”

With reference to the above examples, Poulos (1986:287–288) says that the vowel *o-* of the relative suffix together with its functions, has disappeared. Instead, vowel harmony, an assimilation process, whereby the relative suffix has taken on a vowel which is phonologically identical to the final vowel of verb stem, has taken place. Poulos (1986:288) continues by postulating that

The occurrence of this phenomenon in Tsonga could in my mind represent a later stage in the phonological development of the relative suffix, which cannot be overlooked as a possible future development of the suffix in languages such as Zulu, Northern Sotho and Venda. It may be mentioned here that this suffix already manifests unstable qualities in the Nguni languages – since it may, for example, be omitted in certain syntactic environments.

Poulos’ last reference to the complete omission of a morpheme in a grammatical process is an interesting one, since this observation can be applied in a very restricted sense to the reflexive prefix in examples such as the following where the reflexive morpheme can be omitted:

- (28a) *uyazigeza*
 “he is washing himself”

- (28b) *uyageza*
 “he is washing himself”

Obviously more research is required, but note that in the above example the reflexive is omitted when the implied reference is to the body.

To summarize, it can be hypothesized by analogy to the situation of the reflexive in languages such as Babungo, Londo and Chimwi:ni, that the reflexive in Zulu could possibly have evolved from a nominal element referring to a body part. The conclusion drawn from this hypothesis is then that in the underlying structure a fully fledged noun occurs, be it the term “body” or any other body part, as illustrated in the following example:

- (29) *USipho wakhohlisa [noun, e.g. “body”]*
 NP1 V NP2

and that by the process of grammaticalization this noun (NP2) evolved into an invariable reflexive prefix, hence:

- (30) *USipho wazikhohlisa*
 “Sipho cheated himself”

ENDNOTES

- I By the term ‘reflexive pronoun’ Heine et al. (1991:152) are not necessarily referring to Lehmann’s third category of reflexives, but to reflexive forms in general in certain African languages, including the reflexive prefix in the Bantu languages.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere appreciation to Professor George Poulos for his valuable comments and assistance in the preparation of this article.

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF PROPER NOUNS IN SHONA: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

N.C. Dembetembe

1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally the term “proper”, as employed in the grammatical classification of nouns, is defined as the name of an individual person, place or object and is used in opposition to a set of terms which include “common” and “abstract”. But in modern linguistics it usually contrasts with “common” alone (Crystal, 1980:288) and in this study it is this latter interpretation which is adopted. The classification of proper nouns is an area which has not received as much attention as that of common nouns. Most of the literature which one comes across in this regard deals with place-names covering, among others, their socio-cultural aspects, their origin, their structure or their classification in the noun class system (for instance, see Koopman 1992, Ntuli 1992, Van Huyssteen 1994). In most grammar books on Bantu languages proper nouns are at best merely alluded to and at worst just assumed. For instance, in discussing nouns of class 1a Fortune (1985:43–44) mentions personal names, lunar months and names of rivers as belonging to noun class 1a. Nowhere in Shona studies do we seem to find how names of animals, towns, countries, mountains, schools, streets, buildings, etc. fit into the system of Shona noun classification. The purpose of this study is to explore this area further.

1.1 Organisation of the study

First the theoretical assumptions of the study are set out. Then follows a discussion of the criteria which will be used to determine the classification of a given proper noun. A hypothesis is set forth. The third section deals with a

sample of the different types of proper noun, the problems which arise, and their possible solution with regard to noun classification. This sample will concentrate on personal names, country and area names, towns and semi-urban settlements, domestic animals, rivers, and mountains and hills. It is hoped that this sample, though arbitrarily selected, is, in terms of its morphosyntactic behaviour, representative enough of all the various types of proper nouns that are found in the Shona world. The last section is the conclusion.

1.2 Theoretical assumptions

It is generally accepted that proper nouns occupy a position in the linguistic system of a language which is different from that of common nouns. In this study a separation is made between aspects which relate to the origin of proper nouns and their status as linguistic units at the present time. In other words, a distinction is being made between the etymology of these proper nouns and their synchronic status (see Raper 1986:266). It is conceded here that from a purely synchronic point of view proper nouns (or names, as the onomasticians call them) have reference, since they denote identifiable entities in the natural (or even imaginary) world, but they do not possess lexical meaning or sense (Louwrens 1994:4). For instance, *dombó sháva* “a brownish rock” and *musána* “back (of a human being or animal)” as constructions are respectively a noun phrase in class 5 and a common noun in class 3. The name which derives from the first construction is *Dombóshava* (cl 9) “Domboshava area” and from the second is *Musána* (cl 1a) “Musana (a personal name)”, showing quite clearly that the control of grammatical agreement has shifted to that of noun classes 9 and 1a respectively. However, with regard to *Musána*, a place-name can be derived from it, namely *Musána* (cl 1a/9) which refers to Chief Musana’s country. Its agreement concords are either those of class 1a or 9.

What can be concluded from these observations, as Louwrens (op. cit. p. 9) points out

is that once nomination (to use Lyons’ term) has taken place, the morphology of the erstwhile noun on which the geographical name is based becomes obsolete to the extent that the original nominal prefix loses its status as a prefixal morpheme.

In other words, by the process of nomination the original class prefix is rendered inoperative in that, as a component of a proper noun, one can no longer identify it synchronically as a distinct morpheme. (We owe the term “nomination” to Lyons (1977:217) who used it to indicate a process whereby a

name is assigned to an entity.) As a result, it is observed that semantic features generated by nomination tend to override formal features with regard to the control of grammatical agreement in Bantu languages. It is clear then that, viewed synchronically, proper nouns are incapable of being analysed morphologically.

What is somewhat intriguing, however, is that with regard to place-names in Shona the distinction as to whether a place derived its name from some person is morphosyntactically relevant. For instance *Musáná*, as the name of an area, continues to behave as a noun of class 1a, not only in grammatical agreement, but also in inflections like the copulative and the possessive. Of course, as already noted above, it may also control the concords of class 9. But a name like *Dombóshava*, which is not derived from a personal name, shifts its noun class as an place-name and behaves as a noun of class 9 in all respects.

1.3 Criteria for noun class assignment

As stated above, in order to determine the noun class into which a given proper noun belongs, some criteria will be employed. These criteria are divided into three types, namely the inflection type, the locative type and the concord type. The inflection type includes the predicative (or copulative) inflection, the possessive inflection and the adverbial/conjoining inflection. The locative type includes the locative prefixes (*pa-*, *ku-*, *mu-*) as a set. The concord type of criterion comprises all the concordial affixes, e.g. demonstrative, quantitative, including that of the pronoun. The inflection and the locative criteria constitute what will be referred to as the core criteria, while the concord criterion will be regarded as the peripheral criterion. The former are regarded as core criteria because their use with a given proper noun results in the choice of one form only from which the other possible members of the set are excluded. On the other hand, use with a peripheral criterion may result in the choice of one or another of alternative forms of a set. All these aspects of grammar which are exemplified above are, for the purpose at hand, treated amply by Fortune (1985).

The hypotheses which we advance here are as follows: the core criteria as stated above will determine the noun class into which a given proper noun falls; and the effectiveness of the peripheral criterion is reduced by the semantic influence of hyponymy. Since reference to these criteria will be made frequently in the text, they will be illustrated below using nouns of classes 1a, 5, 9 and 17a.

1.3.1 With class 1a nouns

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *ndíbabá* “It is father”
possessive: e.g. *rábabá* “father’s/of father”
adverbial: e.g. *nababá* “with father”
conjoining: e.g. *amái nababá* “mother and father”

Locative criterion e.g. *Endá kunábabá* “Go where father father is”

Concord criterion

- subject prefix: e.g. *Babá ánonwá dóro*. “Father drinks beer.”
object prefix: e.g. *Babá ndamúona*. “As for father, I saw him.”
demonstrative: e.g. *babá uyo!* “There (is) father!”
quantitative: e.g. *ndíbabá wésé aítá izvi*. “It is father who did all this.”
babá wóga “father alone”
pronoun: e.g. *íye babá* “father himself”

Notice that with some nouns of class 1a, e.g. *babá*, *teté*, *tézwára*, *sekúru* (all of which refer to either relationships or functionaries), there is variation regarding the concords which are allowed with speakers of Zezuru. Some speakers use these nouns with concords of class 1, while others use them with concords of class 2. e.g.

babá wángu or *babá vángu* “my father”
teté wákó or *teté vákó* “your aunt”
tézwára uyú or *tézwára ava* “this father-in-law”
sekúru ánonwá or *sekúru vānonwá* “uncle drinks”.

1.3.2 With class 5 nouns

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *íbhizá* (5) “it is a horse”
possessive: e.g. *rébhizá* (5) “of a horse”
adverbial: e.g. *nébhizá* (5) “with a horse”
conjoining: e.g. *mombe nébhizá* “a cow and a horse”

Locative criterion e.g. *Endá kúbhizá iro* / *Endá kuné bhizá iro*. “Go to that horse.”

Concord criterion

- subject prefix: e.g. *Bhizá rínomhánya chaízvo*. “A horse runs fast.”
demonstrative: e.g. *bhizá iri/iro* “this/that horse”
quantitative: e.g. *bhizá résé* “each/every horse”
pronoun: e.g. *íro bhizá* “the horse itself”

1.3.3 With class 9 nouns

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *ímómbe* “it is a cow”
- possessive: e.g. *gumbo remómbe* “leg of a cow”
- adverbial: e.g. *ndaúya nemómbe* “I came with a cow”
- conjoining: e.g. *bhizá nemómbe* “a horse and a cow”

Locative criterion e.g. *Endá kúmombe iyo / Endá kuné mombe iyo* “Go to that cow”

Concord criterion

- subject prefix: e.g. *Mombe ínofura uswá* “A cow eats grass”
- object prefix: e.g. *Mombe taítengesa* “As for the cow, we sold it”
- demonstrative: e.g. *mombe iyi/iyo* “this/that cow”
- quantitative: e.g. *mombe yésé* “each/every cow”
- pronoun: e.g. *íyo mombe* “the cow itself”

1.3.4 With class 17a nouns

Here let us consider as examples the noun (*ku*)*mberí* and the place-names (*ku*)*Karói* and *kwáChiví* all of which belong to this noun class. Both *mberí* and *Karói* can occur optionally with the locative prefix *ku-* (cl. 17), the difference between them being that, while the former is a common noun, the latter is a proper noun. Prefix *ku-* is used optionally with common nouns and place-names of class 17a which do not derive from the names of some persons. We will indicate this optionality thus: (*ku*) + Noun. It is this same locative prefix which takes the form *kwá-* “in the direction of” when it occurs with a place-name like *Chiví*, *Musána* or *Mutáre*, in which case it is not optional. This *kwá-* is a possessive form whose morphemic structure is [*ku-* + *-á-*]. As has already been stated above, place-names which take their names after people will necessarily occur with *kwá-*. The illustration below will take into account the three names given above.

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *kumberi/mbéri* “it is in front”
kuKarói “it is in the Karoi direction”
ndékwaChivi “it is Chivi’s country”
- possessive: e.g. *imbá yekúmbéri/yémbéri* “a room further inside”
nzira yekúKarói/yéKarói “the road to Karoi”
nzira yekwáChivi “the road to Chivi”
- adverbial: e.g. *Endá nekúmbéri/némbéri* “Approach (it) from the front”

		Endá <i>nekú</i> Karói/ <i>né</i> Karói “Go through Karoi” Endá <i>nekwa</i> Chiví “Go through Chivi’s country”
conjoining:	e.g.	kushúre <i>nekú</i> mberí/shúre <i>né</i> mberí “behind and in front” kuKariba <i>nekú</i> Karói/Kariba/ <i>né</i> Karói “in the direction of Kariba and Karoi” (ku)Mwenézi <i>nekwa</i> Chiví “in the direction of Mwenezi and Chivi”
Concord		
subject prefix:	e.g.	(ku)mberí <i>kú</i> rí kúnaya “In front of us it is raining” (ku)Karói <i>kú</i> rí kúnaya “At Karoi, it is raining” KwáChiví <i>kú</i> rí kúnaya “At Chivi, it is raining”
demonstrative:	e.g.	(ku)mberí <i>uko</i> “there in front” (ku)Karói <i>uko</i> “there at Karoi” kwáChiví <i>uko</i> “there at Chivi”
quantitative:	e.g.	(ku)mberí <i>kwésé</i> “all over in front” (ku)Karói <i>kwésé</i> “all over Karoi” kwáChiví <i>kwésé</i> “all over Chivi area”
pronoun:	e.g.	<i>iko</i> (ku)mberí “in front (with emphasis)” <i>iko</i> (ku)Karói “Karoi (with emphasis)” <i>iko</i> kwáChiví “Chivi (with emphasis)”

Some place-names, however, though named after some people, have changed, over the passage of time, from the use of *kwá-* to *ku-*. A typical example is *Chinхой*, named after Chief *Chinхой*. Today both the area which was under the jurisdiction of Chief *Chinхой* and the town of *Chinхой*, which was named after him, are referred to as (*ku*) *Chinhói*, not *kwáChinhói* at all. Similarly we talk of (*ku*) *Harare* but not *kwaHarare*, although it is believed that the city took its name from the man who used to live on Harare Kopje. Other place-names, which currently make use of *kwá-* and *ku-* more or less interchangeably, may be said to be in the process of changing from the use of the one to the other, e.g. *kwáChiwéshe*/*kuChiweshe* “at Chiweshe communal land” and *kwáMukáro*/*kuMukáro* “at Mukaro area” (see also Dembetembe 1981:114). It should be noted though that the use of *ku-* in, for instance *kuChiweshe* and *kuMukaro*, does not seem to be optional.

Note that, for the sake of economy, in testing a proper noun for its noun class we will not be using all the tests listed under the concord criterion. A sample will suffice in each case.

1.4 Hyponymy

One aspect which is relevant in the treatment of proper nouns is that of hyponymy. By this term we refer to instances where the meaning of one item subsumes the meaning of another (see Leech 1974; Kempson 1977). For instance, the items *shuramúrové* (stork), *njivá* (dove), *kanyénganyénga* (swallow), *gondó* (eagle) and *hángá* (guinea fowl) are all subsumed under the word *shiri* (bird). The item with the more general meaning, for example *shiri* in this case, is referred to as the superordinate, while those with the more specific meanings are called *hyponyms* of the superordinate.

1.5 Types of proper noun and their classification

1.5.1 Names of persons

In Shona names of persons are classified as belonging to class 1a. As a group they lack a common syllabic noun prefix, but they share the same sets of concordial affixes as for class 1, e.g. quantitative affixes, demonstrative affixes. Applying the criteria given in 1.3.1 above to the name Kanyowa, we obtain the following paradigm:

Inflection criterion	
predicative:	e.g. <i>ndiKanyówá</i> “It is Kanyowa”
possessive:	e.g. <i>ráKanyówá</i> “of Kanyowa”
conjoining:	e.g. <i>naKanyówá</i> “and Kanyowa”
Locative:	e.g. <i>kuná Kanyówá</i> “to Kanyowa”
Concord	
subject prefix:	e.g. <i>Kanyówá ánonwá</i> . “Kanyowa drinks”.
object affix:	e.g. <i>Kanyówá ndamúona</i> . “As for Kanyowa, I saw him.”
demonstrative:	e.g. <i>Kanyówá uyo</i> “There is Kanyowa”
quantitative:	e.g. <i>Kanyówá wógá</i> “Kanyowa alone”
pronoun:	e.g. <i>íye Kanyówá</i> “Kanyowa himself”

As can be seen, the inflections, the locative form and the affixal concords used with a personal noun like *Kanyówá* are characteristic of those which are used with class 1a nouns as shown in 1.3.1 above.

1.5.2 Country and area names

Let us consider the place names *Mazówe*, *Musáná* and *Dánde*, and subject them to our tests.

1.5.2.1 *With Mazówe we get the following forms:*

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *íMazówe* iyo “That is Mazowe country”
 possessive: e.g. *nyika yéMazówe* “lit. country of Mazowe = Mazowe country”
 conjoining: e.g. *Musáná néMazówe* “Musana and Mazowe countries”

Locative e.g. *Endá kúMazówe*. “Go to Mazowe country.”

Concord criterion

- subject affix: e.g. *Mazówe írí pádyo*. “Mazowe country is near.”
 Demonstrative: e.g. *Mazówe iyo!* “There (is) Mazowe country!”
 Quantitative: e.g. *íMazówe yésé iyo* “all that is Mazowe country”

The paradigm above clearly shows that a place-name such as *Mazówe* behaves in all respects like a noun of class 9 as illustrated in 1.3.3 above. Some examples of other place-names that behave linguistically in the same manner as *Mazówe* are *Goromónzi*, *Dáruweni*, *Bindúra*, *Shámva*, *Nyánga*, *Rúwa*, *Chégutú*, *Harava*, *Améreka* and *Zámibia*.

1.5.2.2 *The noun Musáná, on the other hand, gives us the following pattern:*

Inflection criterion

- predicative: e.g. *ndíMusáná* “it is Musana’s country” cf **íMusáná*
 possessive: e.g. *nyika yáMusáná* “Musana’s country” cf **nyika yéMusáná*
 conjoining: e.g. *Mazówe naMusáná* “Mazowe and Musana’s countries” cf **Mazówe neMusáná*
 Locative e.g. *Endá kwáMusáná*. “Go to Musana’s country” cf **Endá kúMusáná*.

(As is the usual practice in linguistic studies, the asterisk (*) in the examples above and in the rest of this study indicates an ungrammatical or unacceptable form).

Concord criterion

- subject affix: e.g. a. *Musáná ári uku*. “Musana is this way.”
 b. *Musáná írí uku*. “Musana is this way.”

quantitative and demonstrative: e.g.

a. ndiMusána wésé uyo (1a) mhiri
kwáMubvinzi.

b. ndiMusána yesé iyo (9) mhiri kwáMubvinzi.
“all that is Musana’s country which is beyond
the Mubvinzi river.”

What we observe in respect of place names which are exemplified by *Musána* is that when subjected to the inflection and locative criteria they behave like class 1a nouns. But with the concord criteria they behave both as class 1a and as class 9 nouns, which is rather strange. The question which arises is: Why should there be this difference when both *Mazówe* and *Musána* are place-names?

One reason pertains to their origin. We observe that whereas the place-name *Musána* derives from the name of a person, *Mazówe* does not. This observation seems crucial for it explains why *Musána* behaves as a class 1a noun, while *Mazówe* does not. As to why *Musána* also behaves like a noun of class 9 when subjected to the concord criteria, the answer seems to lie in the concept of hyponymy. As already stated, *Musána* here is a name of a country, not a person. *Musána* as a hyponym has *nyika* (class 9) “country” as its superordinate from which, it would appear, it derives its class 9 concords.

Notwithstanding what has been said above, a few places which took their names from some chiefs seem to be in the process of changing from behaving as nouns of class 1a, only according to the core criteria, to being both nouns of class 1a and class 9. For example, the predicative inflections of the place-names *Chivi* and *Chirúmhanzú* are both

ndiChivi “it is Chivi’s country”

ndiChirúmhanzú “it is Chirumhanzu’s country”

and iChivi “it is Chivi’s country”

iChirúmhanzú “it is Chirumhanzu’s country”

(The latter examples were provided by my students, Messrs N.C. Shumba, N. Musara and D. Mushandirwi, in personal communication.) This type of change is by no means unique as we saw something similar in 1.3.4 above.

1.5.2.3 Now let us consider another place name, *Dánde* found in the Zambezi valley, and subject it to our criteria.

Inflection criterion

predicative: e.g. iDande “it is Dande country”

possessive:	e.g. nyika yéDande “lit. country of Dande = Dande country”
conjoining:	e.g. Gurúve néDande “Guruve and Dande countries”
Locative	e.g. Endá kuDánde! “Go to Dande!”
Concord criteria	
subject concord:	e.g. a. Dánde ínopísa (class 9). b. Dánde rínopísa (cl. 5). “Dande country is hot.”
quantitative and demonstrative: e.g.	
	a. iDande yésé iyo (9) b. iDande résé iro (5) “All that is Dande country”

Comparing *Dánde* and *Mazówe* it is noticed that both of them behave as nouns in class 9. However, *Dande*, but not *Mazowe*, may alternatively behave as a noun of class 5 with respect to the concord criteria. Another place-name which behaves like *Dánde* is *Dombóshava*. Admittedly examples of this type of place-name seem to be very few and far between. It is not apparent what triggers the concordial affixes of class 5 in respect of these two place-names.

1.5.2.4 Now consider the noun Runhanga, a small area to the north of Harare, and subject it to our three types of criteria.

Inflection criteria	
predicative:	e.g. Runhanga “It is Runhanga area.” cf *ndiRúnhanga/*iRúnhanga
possessive:	e.g. reRúnhanga “of Runhanga” cf *ráRúnhanga
conjoining:	e.g. Póte neRúnhanga “Pote and Runhanga areas” cf *Póte naRunhanga
Locative	e.g. kuRunhanga “to Runhanga” cf *kuná Rúnhanga
Concord criteria	
subject prefix:	e.g. Runhanga rúrí pédyo néPóte. “Runhanga is near Pote.”
quantitative and demonstrative: e.g. Runhanga rwésé urwu. “All this is Runhanga area.”	

What the paradigm above reveals is that the place-name *Runhanga* behaves differently from either the name *Mazówe* or *Musáná* or *Dánde* which we saw earlier. Secondly, it also shows that *Runhanga* is assigned into a class on the basis of its first syllable which has the same shape as that of the noun prefix of

class 11, *ru-*. Other examples which behave like *Runhanga* are *Rutope* (a place in Bindura district), *Ruvinga* (a place in Guruve district), *Rupange* (a place in Murewa). However, there are other place-names which, although they have an initial syllable *ru-*, do not behave as nouns of class 11, but of class 1a or 9, e.g. *Rusápe*, *Rutánhirá* (a place in Wedza district). The difference in this case seems to be attributable to the way each group uses the locative prefix *ku-* or *kwa-* of class 17a referred to in 1.3.4 above. We say, for instance, *kuRunhanga*/**kwaRunhanga* “at Runhanga” but *kwaRusape*/**kuRusape* “at Rusape”. This difference hinges again on whether the name is derived originally from that of a person, e.g. *Rusápe*, or not, e.g. *Runhanga*. Unfortunately no examples involving noun classes other than class 11, which behave in this manner, have been attested.

1.5.2.5 Tentative conclusion

Places which indicate territory of some kind, e.g. *Mazówe*, and which do not take their names from persons, belong to noun class 9 because, as we have seen in 1.5.2.1 above, they behave in all respects like nouns of this class. However, place-names as exemplified by *Musáná*, which are named after persons (be it a chief, a clan head, a village head or an individual) cannot be classified so readily. If the concord criterion alone is considered, they fall into classes 9 and 1a as shown in 1.5.2.2. If it is maintained that a proper noun like *Musáná* belongs to either class 1a or 9, the implication is that it behaves as a noun of class 1a or 9 throughout, which is not true. While it behaves as a noun of class 1a throughout, it only behaves as a noun of class 9 partially, as was demonstrated above. If, on the other hand, we consider the inflection and locative criteria, i.e. the core criteria, as well as the concord criterion, then we may regard them more as nouns of class 1a than of class 9. What is happening here weakens the claim by Louwrens (1994:9) that “by investigating the agreement pattern which is triggered by place-names in sentences, it becomes possible to determine the noun class into which such names ought to be classified”, since it does not state the whole story about the classification of proper nouns, at least in respect of Shona.

It appears more logical to classify these nouns into class 1a than class 9 for two reasons. First, they will have a wider distribution as class 1a nouns than as class 9 nouns. Second, the class 9 concords which they sometimes control can be explained in terms of the influence on them of their superordinate term *nyika* which belongs to class 9. Accordingly, it is proposed in this instance to regard such place-names as *Musáná* as belonging to noun class 1a. As for nouns like *Runhanga*, the shape of their initial syllable, which resembles that of noun class 11 prefix *ru-*, makes them candidates for this noun class, although

on a selective basis which seems to be determined by their origin, as stated in 1.5.2.4 above. With regard to the place-names *Dánde* and *Dombóshava*, which in addition to the concord of class 9 can also control that of class 5, at present we find no apparent explanation for it.

1.5.3 Cities, towns and semi-urban settlements

We would now like to consider place-names which are cities, towns, semi-urban settlements and growth points, and see how they fit into the noun class system. In this regard we will take as an example *Haráre*, the capital city Zimbabwe. If we apply our tests we obtain the patterns shown below

Inflection criterion:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| predicative: | e.g. <i>iHaráre</i> “it is Harare (City)”
* <i>ndiHaráre</i> |
| possessive: | e.g. <i>chikomo chéHaráre</i> “Harare hill”
* <i>cháHaráre</i> |
| conjoining: | e.g. <i>Mutáre néHaráre</i> “Mutare and Harare”
* <i>Mutáre naHaráre</i> |
| Locative: | e.g. <i>kuHaráre</i> “to or in the direction of Harare”
* <i>kuná Haráre</i> |

Concord:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| subject prefix: | e.g. <i>Haráre írí múZimbábwe</i> . “Harare is in Zimbabwe.”
* <i>Haráre árí múZimbábwe</i> . |
| object prefix: | e.g. <i>Haráre ndinóizivá</i> . “As for Harare, I know it.”
* <i>Haráre ndinómuzivá</i> . |
| demonstrative: | e.g. <i>Haráre iyo!</i> “There is Harare!”
* <i>Haráre uyo!</i> |
| quantitative: | e.g. <i>Haráre yósé</i> “all of Harare”
* <i>Haráre wósé</i> |

It is clear from the patterns shown above that the place-names which are exemplified by *Haráre* behave in all respects like nouns of class 9 as indicated in 1.3.3 earlier on. Other such cities and towns are *Burúwayo*, *Mutáre*, *Gwerú*, *Rusápe*, *Victoria Falls*, the semi-urban settlements of *Dáruweni*, *Mvúrwí*, *Muréwa* and the growth points or townships of *Mubayira*, *Mupándáwaná* and *Jurú*, to name just a few examples. The last group are not infrequently used together with the word *táundishipi* “township” as in *Mubayira táundishipi*, *Jurú táundishipi* and *Mudhindo táundishipi* all of which are in noun class 9. We also observe that towns and townships, whether these are named after some person,

e.g. *Mubayira* and *Haráre*, or not, e.g. *Victoria Falls* and *Mvúrwí*, belong to the same noun class.

1.5.4 Names of domestic animals

With regard to domestic animals we will examine only the names given to cattle, dogs and horses as illustrations. Cattle names and dog names will be treated together, while those of horses will be separate. Subjecting these names to our criteria, we obtain the patterns which appear below.

1.5.4.1 *With cattle names and dog names*

For each test applied in the examples which follow the first name is that of a cow/ox while the second is a dog's name.

Inflection

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| predicative: | e.g. <i>ndíCharúvéki</i> "it is Charuveki" * <i>íCharúvéki ndíMucházviréga</i> "it is Muchazvirega"
* <i>íMucházviréga</i> |
| possessive: | e.g. <i>gumbo ráCharúvéki</i> "Charuveki's leg" * <i>gumbo réCharúvéki</i>
<i>gumbo ráMucházviréga</i> "Muchazvirega's leg"
* <i>gumbo réMucházviréga</i> |
| conjoining: | e.g. <i>Mángo naCharúvéki</i> "Mango and Charuveki"
* <i>Mángo néCharúvéki</i>
<i>Bónzo naMucházviréga</i> "Bonzo naMuchazvirega" * <i>Bónzo néMucházviréga</i> |
| Locative: | e.g. <i>Endá kuná Charúvéki</i> "Go where Charuveki is"
* <i>Endá kúCharúvéki</i>
<i>Endá kuná Mucházviréga</i> "Go where Muchazvirega is" * <i>Endá kúMucházviréga</i> |

Concord

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| subject prefix: | e.g. <i>Charúvéki ínokúpúrú</i> "Charuveki will kick you"
* <i>Charúvéki ánokúpúrú</i>
<i>Mucházviréga ínorúmá</i> "Muchazvirega bites (people)"
* <i>Mucházviréga ánorúmá</i> |
|-----------------|---|

object prefix:	e.g. Charúvéki ndaíona “As for Charuveki, I saw it” *Charúvéki ndamúona Mucházviréga ndaíona “As for Muchazvirega, I saw it” *Mucházviréga ndamuona
pronoun:	e.g. íyo Charúvéki “Charuveki itself” *íye Charúvéki íyo Mucházviréga “Muchazvirega itself” *íye Mucházviréga
demonstrative:	Charúvéki iyi “here is Charuveki” *Charúvéki uyu Mucházviréga iyi “here is Muchazvirega” ?Mucházviréga uyu

(The sign [?] occurring at the beginning of a form is used here to indicate that some speakers reject the form in question as ungrammatical, while others might accept it.)

What we observe in respect of these two names is that, when they are subjected to the inflection and the locative tests, which are the core criteria, they behave as class 1a nouns do as seen in 1.3.1. But when these same names are subjected to the concord test, which is a peripheral criterion, they behave generally like class 9 nouns. Clearly there is a problem of noun classification: that is, should these two nouns, and others that behave like them, be placed into class 1a or into class 9. Since the application of the core criteria, as defined in 1.3.1, results in the choice of one form only from which the other possible members of the set are excluded, it appears logical to classify these nouns according to the results of the core criteria. Accordingly, it is proposed to classify the nouns *Charúvéki* and *Mucházviréga*, and others, of which these two are only examples, as belonging to class 1a. As far as the concord is concerned, it would appear that the influence of the superordinate terms of these items, namely *mombe* and *imbwá*, both of which belong to class 9, has almost completely supplanted that of class 1a, of which only traces appear to remain, as seen in the forms marked with this sign [?].

1.5.4.2 With horse names

Now consider the paradigms below.

Inflection

predicative:	e.g. ndiTáranáki “it is Taranaki” *iTáranáki
--------------	---

possessive:	e.g. gumbo <i>rá</i> Taranáki “Taranaki’s leg” *gumbo <i>ré</i> Taranáki
conjoining:	e.g. Sáša <i>na</i> Taranáki “Sasha and Taranaki” *Sáša <i>ne</i> Taranáki
Locative:	e.g. Endá <i>kuná</i> Taranáki “Go where Taranaki is” *Endá <i>kuné/kú</i> Taranáki
Concord	
subject prefix:	e.g. Taranáki <i>rine</i> mwaná “Taranaki has a foal” *Taranáki <i>íne</i> mwaná *Taranáki <i>áne</i> mwaná
object prefix:	e.g. Taranáki <i>ndarí</i> ona “As for Taranaki, I saw it” *Taranáki <i>ndaí</i> ona *Taranáki <i>ndamú</i> ona
demonstrative:	e.g. Taranáki <i>iri</i> “Here is Taranaki” *Taranáki <i>iyi</i> *Taranáki <i>uyu</i>
quantitative:	e.g. Taranáki <i>réga</i> (ndiro risipo) “Taranaki alone (is the one which is not there)” *Taranáki <i>yéga</i> (ndíyo isipo) *Taranáki <i>wóga</i> (ndíye asipo)

What is happening in the case of horse names is similar to what we observed in respect of cattle and dog names above. The core criteria firmly place horse names into class 1a. With regard to the concord criterion, it is the concord of class 5 which is in use. What we have here is another instance of the ineffectiveness of the concord criterion as a means of classifying nouns as observed in 2.4.1 above with regard to cattle and dog names.

1.5.5 Names of rivers

1.5.5.1 Rivers

Taking the river *Dánde* as our example and applying our criteria to it, we obtain the following pattern:

Inflection criterion

predicative:	e.g. <i>ndí</i> Dande “It is the Dande River” * <i>i</i> Dande
possessive:	e.g. madziva <i>á</i> Dande “Dande River’s pools” *madziva <i>é</i> Dande
conjoining:	e.g. Mhányáme <i>na</i> Dánde “Mhanyame and Dande

	Rivers”
	*Mhányáme néDande
Locative:	e.g. Endá <i>kuná</i> Dande “Go to the Dande River”
	*Endá <i>kuDánde</i> “Go to the Dande River”
Concord	
subject prefix:	e.g. Dánde <i>ánodira</i> muná Mhanyame
	Dánde <i>rúnodira</i> muná Mhanyame
	“Dande flows into Mhanyame River”
object prefix:	e.g. Dánde ndaká <i>mu</i> yámbúka
	Dánde ndaká <i>r</i> wuyámbúka
	“As for the Dande River, I crossed it”
quantitative and demonstrative:	
	ndiDande <i>wésé uyu</i> “All this is the Dande River”
	ndiDande <i>rwésé urwu</i>

There are countless examples of other rivers which are found not only in Zimbabwe but also elsewhere. Some of these are *Mazówe*, *Manwánzou*, *Muséngézi*, *Kadzi*, *Masikandoro*, *Mukúvisi*, *Rúnde* and *Zambézi*.

1.5.5.2 Streams

Some typical Shona names of streams are *Munwáhuku* (where chickens drink water), *Mutóráhukú* (the stream which drowns chickens), *Semhenéka* and *Mupágové*. With regard to streams, while the application of the core criteria yields the same results as for rivers, the concords employed tend to be those of noun class 12 *ka-* as shown below.

subject prefix:	e.g. Munwáhuku <i>kánodira</i> muná Kadzi
	“Munwahuku flows into Kadzi River”
adjective:	e.g. Munwáhuku <i>kápfupi</i>
	“Munwahuku is a short stream”
demonstrative:	e.g. <i>aka</i> ndiMunwáhuku
	“this one is Munwahuku”
	* <i>uyu</i> /* <i>urwu</i> ndiMunwáhuku
	<i>aka</i> ndiRúya “this one is Ruya”
	or <i>uyu/urwu</i> ndiRúya “this one is Ruya”

Taking the last examples above, i.e. those which involve the demonstrative, we notice that *Munwáhuku* employs the concord *aka* (class 12) to the exclusion of those of classes 1a and 11. *Mutóráhukú* behaves in a similar fashion. This is because their courses are short; they do not develop into fully fledged rivers. However, in regard to *Rúya*, it is observed that, although the concord *aka* can

also be used with it, this applies only at its source. Still at its source, where it is just a stream, *Rúya* may be used also with *uyu* (class 1a) or *urwu* (class 11) in recognition that it is a big river further down along its course. In fact, what we are saying about *Rúya* River is true of any river as opposed to a stream in Shona.

1.5.5.3 Summary

The conclusion to be drawn from the patterns above is that names of rivers and streams are placed in class 1a in Shona. This is confirmed in both instances by the core criteria. However, with regard to the concord criterion, we see that names of rivers use the concord of class 11 *ru-* in addition to that of class 1a. As with some place-names which we have already seen above, this can be explained in terms of hyponymy. The Shona word for a “river” is *rukova* (class 11). This word serves as the superordinate term, while the name of any river is its hyponym, hence its influence on the concord in the paradigms above. But this influence is restricted to the class concord only. We also observe that streams employ the concord of class 12 *ka-*. Unlike the use of the concord of class 11 *ru-*, which can be explained in terms of hyponymy, the use of the concord of class 12 with streams seems to be that of secondary association (see Fortune 1970; Dembetembe 1995). This concord is being used in this case to indicate abnormal size of the river, namely that it is a little one as opposed to a normal-size river. This change of concord from class 1 to class 12 can be linked, as Van Huyssteen (1994:56) says, “to the morpho-semantic tendency of class shift”.

1.5.6 Mountains and hills

Some names of typical mountains and hills in Shona are *Muchinjiké* (in Murewa district), *Dombóshava* and *Ngomakurira* (both in Chinamhora communal land), *Mumúrwí* (in Bindura district), *Nyamhanjí* (in Guruve district), *Mhándámbirí* and *Dámbáshokó* (both in Chivi district), *Nyánga* and *Chimánímáni* (in eastern Zimbabwe). It should be noted that the difference between a mountain and a hill in Shona is not the same as in, say, English. For instance, while *Dombóshava* is referred to as a mountain (*gomo*) by the Shona, it is regarded only as a hill (Domboshava Hill) by the white people. In Shona a hill is usually referred to as *chikomo*.

Taking *Muchinjiké* and subjecting it to our tests, we obtain the following results:

Inflection

predicative:	e.g. <i>ndi</i> Nyámhanji iro “that one there is Nyamhanji Hill” * <i>i</i> Nyámhanji iro
but	<i>i</i> Dombóshava iro “that one there is Domboshava hill” * <i>ndi</i> Dombóshava iro
possessive:	e.g. ninga <i>dzá</i> Nyámhanji *ninga <i>dze</i> Nyámhanji “Nyamhanji’s caves”
but	bako <i>re</i> Dombóshava “Domboshava cave” *bako <i>rá</i> Dombóshava
locative:	e.g. kuGurúve <i>kúna</i> Nyamhanji *kuGurúve <i>kúne</i> Nyamhanji “At Guruve there are Nyamhanji Hill”
but	MáChinamhóra <i>múne</i> Ngómakurira <i>né</i> Dombóshava “In Chinamhora there are Ngomakurira and Domboshava hills” *MáChinamhóra <i>múna</i> Ngómakurira <i>na</i> Dombóshava

Concord

subject prefix:	e.g. Nyamhanji <i>ríri</i> kúGurúve “Nyamhanji Hill is in Guruve” *Nyamhanji <i>ári</i> kúGurúve Dombóshava <i>ríri</i> máChinamhóra “Domboshava Hill is in Chinamhora” *Dombóshava <i>ári</i> máChinamhóra
demonstrative:	e.g. Nyamhanji <i>iro</i> “there is Nyamhanji Hill” *Nyamhanji <i>uyo</i> Dombóshava <i>iro</i> “there is Domboshava Hill” *Dombóshava <i>uyo</i>

While it is evident that the concord criterion places the names of mountains and hills discussed so far into class 5, the situation is different with regard to the core criteria. For instance, the predicative test yields one result with Nyamhanji Hill (*ndi*Nyamhanji) and another with Dombóshava hill (*i*Dombóshava). At present there does not appear to be a way of accounting for this discrepancy, i.e. one cannot predict when to use the predicative (or copulative) form *ndi*- or *i*- with the name of a given mountain or hill. Similarly with the possessive form, while *Dombóshava* will allow the possessive form with

-e- only as in *réDombóshava*, Nyamhanji seems to allow the form with -a- only as we saw above. The same applies to the other core criteria. On the basis of the core criteria, it has to be accepted that some names of mountains and hills fall into class 1a, while others are in class 5.

Some hills, in whose names the first syllable resembles a noun prefix, are placed into the noun class whose prefix they resemble. Such is the case with *Ruvunga* (cl 11) and *Chitomba* (cl 7) (both in Guruve district) and *Runhanga* (cl 11) (in Chinamhora Communal Land). Other hills are named after people or some animals or event. Examples of such names are *Gomo ráChinyani* (Chinyani's Hill), *Dombó ráMwari* (God's Rock), *Dombó rémbudzi* (Goats' Hill), *Chikomo chévasikaná* (The Girls' Rock) and *Chikomo chéHaráre* (Harare Hill). It is interesting to note that structurally these names consist of, not just a single word, but a noun and a possessive qualifier forming a noun phrase. The first three names are in class 5, understandably so because of their head words *gomo* and *dombó*, both of which belong to class 5, while the last two are in noun class 7 *chi-*. Usually the hills that are designated *Chikomo chá/ché*— or *Dombó rá/ré*— are much smaller in size than those designated *Gomo rá/ré*—.

1.5.7 Miscellaneous items

In the preceding sections, namely 1.5.1–1.5.6, we discussed and demonstrated how proper nouns such as personal names, country and area names, names of towns and settlements, names of domestic animals, rivers and mountains fit into the Shona noun class system. Obviously this is only a small portion of the various types of proper nouns which exist in Shona. To each of the other types not covered in 1.5.1–1.5.6, we can apply the procedure that was used to determine the noun classes of the types of proper noun covered so far. However, constraints of space in the present study do not allow us to demonstrate this in the same detail. All that will be done in the rest of this section is to state, without providing the paradigms, the classes to which a further sample of these belong. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to list all the various types of proper noun found in Shona. However, in stating the noun classes to which the different types of proper noun given in the rest of this section belong, the overriding consideration will be the core criteria already mentioned above.

All the Shona lunar months except *Mbúdzi* (November) fit into noun class 1a. With regard to names of schools, generally those whose names take after names of people, e.g. *Molife*, *Chógugudza*, *Kutámá*, *Munyawiri*, *Chiveso* and *Kanzota* will belong to class 1a (cf *Musáná* in 1.5.2.2), while the others, e.g. *Póte*, *Nhowe*, *Gókómeré*, *Vainona*, belong to class 9 (cf *Mazówe* in 1.5.2.1). For

the name of a school to qualify as a noun of class 1a in Shona, the person after whom it is named must have lived for some time at or in the vicinity of the location of that school. This explains why *Kanzota*, for instance, a school taking its name after the nickname of a white man who owned the farm on which the school is situated, belongs to class 1a, while school names such as St Theresa, Lord Malvern, Churchill, and Bernard Mizeki, though clearly named after some persons, are placed in class 9. The persons after whom the latter schools take their names were not physically associated with the locations of those schools. In other words, they never stayed in those areas. But names of hotels and of buildings, whether named after people or not, seem to belong to class 9, e.g.

hotels: *Meikles, Ambassador, Mushándirápámwé*,
buildings: *Livingstone, Karigamombe, Runháre, Makómva*.

In the speech of those who went to school, there is a tendency to use the name of the building accompanied by the word “house” or “building” or “school” or “hotel”, etc., although the medium of expression employed will be Shona, e.g.

Zimbirú School *né*Molife School *zviri máChinamhóra*.
but Zimbirú *na*Molife *zviri máChinamhóra*.
“Zimbiru School and Molife School are in Chinamhora”.
*Zimbirú School *na*Molife School

Headmaster *wá*Molife
“Headmaster of Molife (School)”
but Headmaster *wé*Molife School
“Headmaster of Molife School”.
*Headmaster *wá*Molife School

In such cases the name of the building behaves as a qualifier to the noun “house” or “building” or “school”, etc., which then determines the classification of the whole phrase. The nouns, “house, building, school, hotel, etc.” are placed into class 9 when they are adopted into Shona.

Street names fall into class 1a, e.g.

*ndi*Baker *uyu* “this is Baker (Street)”
*ndi*Second *uyu* “this is Second (Street)”
*kóna yá*Chitépó *na*Fourth
“at the corner of Chitepo Avenue and Fourth Street”

Of those which are not named after people some, but not others, may also behave as nouns of class 9 but only in some morpho-syntactic respects, e.g.

tinouyá *na*Mazówe/*né*Mazowe (Road)

‘‘we will come along Mazowe Road’’

áénda *na*Second Street ‘‘he went along Second Street’’

*áénda *né*Second Street

Although both Mazówe and Second do not derive from personal names, it is not immediately apparent why one of them may behave alternatively as a noun of class 9, while the other may not.

There are many other items which we have not mentioned. These include names of shops, brands, cars, appliances, etc. However, we believe that these can be classified on the basis of the criteria which we have been applying, namely the core criteria.

1.6 Conclusion

In a situation in which the concord criterion is in conflict with the core criteria with regard to the classification of a given proper noun, it is the core criteria which are considered in determining the classification, as stated, for instance, in 1.5.2.5, 1.5.4.1 and 1.5.4.2. In other words, in order to classify proper nouns in Shona, it is advisable to disregard the concordial agreements which come about as a result of the influence of a superordinate term, otherwise the situation becomes chaotic and intractable.

When asking for a proper noun, one uses the interrogative formative *aní* (who/whom?) (or its copulative form *ndíani*), but not *chii* (what?), which would be used for most non-proper (i.e. common) nouns. In the case at hand the interrogative formative is chosen, not according to concord relationship with the object concerned, i.e. whether it is a cow (*mombe* (cl 9), or a horse (*háchi* (cl 5), or a river (*rukova* (cl 11), but in accordance with the expectation of a proper noun in the answer. Note that syntactically the word *aní* behaves as a noun of class 1a.

Among the core criteria which we employed as tests was the predicative (or copulative) inflection. This test was used with all the items which we tested. Sometimes, however, with place-names this predicative form is not used; instead the predicative inflection of the superordinate item in question is used, while the hyponym becomes a possessive phrase which qualifies the superordinate item, as in *ínyika yáChiví yósé iyi* instead of *ndíChiví yósé iyi* or

iChivi yósé iyi “all this is Chivi’s country”. This phenomenon does not seem to apply to proper nouns which are not place-names.

Given the criteria which were outlined and how these were applied in this study, the conclusion that emerges is that proper nouns fall generally into one or another of three noun classes, namely cl 1a or cl 5 or cl 9, all of which incidentally possess non-syllabic noun prefixes. It is also clear from this study that it is the core criteria as outlined in 1.3 which are more useful and reliable than the concord criterion in determining into which noun class a given proper noun falls. In other words, we achieve a greater degree of linguistic generalisation and adequacy by adopting the core criteria as the chief determinants in classifying proper nouns than by adopting the concord criterion.

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SOME FEATURES OF THE ZULU NOUNS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Analyses of the phonological and morphological variations of the noun coupled with the different positions in which the noun occurs in the Zulu sentence have been somewhat circuitous and incomplete. The failure of the grammarians to take cognisance of the fact that the semantic structure¹ of the predicate (the verb or copulative) largely determines the nature of a following noun has led to inconclusive description.

This article attempts to demonstrate that the use of the noun in the three main types of sentence², the exploration of case relations, and the transposition of the noun in the sentence could be used to good advantage to determine the nature of Zulu nouns.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRIMARY NOUN

Zulu primary nouns are made up of a regular morphological and tonal structure. They have a disyllabic class prefix and a monosyllabic or polysyllabic stem. The class prefix has a VCV combination of phones, whereas the stem mainly has a CV combination. As a rule, the tonal structure of the class prefix has a /HH sequence of tones. We recognise the following tone patterns of Zulu noun stems identified by Cope (1970:120-121): /LL/; /LH/; /HL/; and /FL/.

The primary noun occurs mainly in the subject "slot" of a declarative sentence in Zulu.³ It also occurs less regularly in the object "slot". However, in its secondary function, the primary noun undergoes morphological, semantic,

tonological or phonological modification. The changes to primary nouns predominantly occur at the beginning and/or end of the word.⁴

The structural changes of the primary noun in its secondary function appear to be attributable to the following factors:

- the nature of sentence in which the noun is used
- the relationship of the verb with the noun; case relation
- the relationship of the noun with another word with which it is juxtaposed.

An examination of the causes of the structural changes of the primary noun according to the manner proposed in the foregoing, offers greater scope of explaining changes to nouns than merely cataloguing the environment in which a noun occurs in relation to other words with which it may co-occur in the sentence. It is accordingly the aim of this article to explore some of the major causes of changes to the primary noun along the lines indicated in the foregoing paragraph.

The phonological, tonological, morphological and semantic changes to nouns entail, *inter alia*, the more covert ones such as the elision of vowels, vowel assimilation, vowel coalescence, the use of prefixal and/or suffixal formatives.

3. THE USE OF THE PRIMARY NOUN

3.1 The Interjective Sentence

The interjective sentence is characterized by the absence of penultimate length. Interjectives and ideophones identifiable by their *extra-normal* sounds, *extra-normal* pitch and *extra-normal* duration are the prime candidates for use in an interjective sentence. However, nouns are also used in the interjective sentence. When nouns occur in an interjective sentence, they have their pre-prefix elided and their intonation adapted to the intonation of the interjective sentence.

Examples

- (a) Proper Nouns⁵: *úBongáni* > *Bongáni*; *úCeliwe* > *Celiwe*.
- (b) Common Nouns:
- | | | |
|----------------|---|---------------|
| <i>indoda</i> | > | <i>ndoda</i> |
| (a man) | | (man!) |
| <i>inkósi</i> | > | <i>nkósi</i> |
| (a chief/king) | | (chief/king) |
| <i>umálume</i> | > | <i>malúme</i> |
| (my uncle) | | (uncle) |

(c) Co-occurrence with Interjectives

wé mfána (hey boy!)

shwele babá (pardon me, Sir!)

yebo mzála (yes, cousin).

3.2 The Interrogative Sentence

The interrogative sentence has a quick tempo, a high pitch and has no downstepping.

Examples:

(yi)sikhathí síni mánje (what's the time, now)

(yi)mali ní ámaqanda (what's the price of eggs?)

ínkómazi ízalé nkómó ní? (what's the sex of the newborn calf?)

wená úfúna motó ní? (What kind of car do you want?)

ungubó ngaki? (how many blankets have you?)

The secondary function of primary nouns results in the modification of the prefix, the elision of the pre-prefix or the substitution of the pre-prefix by a subject concord.

3.3 The Declarative Sentence

This type of sentence is characterized by a cadent intonation with unchecked length on the penultimate syllable of the only word or the last word in a sentence. It has a low pitch and occurs in the indicative mood.

The declarative sentence occurs as the superordinate sentence in a complex sentence and as the superordinate and co-ordinate sentence(s) in a compound sentence.

The verbal and non-verbal predicate may be used in a declarative sentence.

3.3.1 Verbal and non-verbal predicates

(a) *The verbal predicate*

(i) When the noun is used as an auxiliary verb:

sá:fika mhlá ébóshwa (we arrived on the day he was arrested)

ásihámbe khathí simbe úzofika (let's go, maybe he will arrive)

- (ii) When the noun is accompanied by a qualifier to express “same” or “other/another”:

sízohámba (nga)sikhathí sínye (we’ll leave at the same time)
(nga)langa lithíze wáfika éphuzile (one day he arrived under the influence of liquor)

- (iii) When the noun in the object “slot” is not a direct object in a negative construction:

- (iv) *(k)angifúni ndoda lápha ékhaya* (I want no man at this house)
(k)asithengánga zinkomó éndalini (we bought no cows at the auction sale)
ákayí ndáwo (he/she is going nowhere).

N.B. Only a direct object is capable of concordial relationship with the verb as expressed by means of an object concord (OC).

- (v) when the comparative prefix *njenga-* is preplaced to a post-verbal noun. e.g.

úThóko úsebenza njengónina
 (Thoko works like her mother)
ló mfána úvilápha njengómfówabo
 (this boy is lazy like his brother)

- (vi) *na-* preplaced to the noun in the object “slot” meaning “with” or “together with” is also involved in effecting a relationship between the verb and the object. e.g.

ízisebénzi zixóxa nómqashi
 (workers are conversing with the employer)
ábázukúlu bálala nógogo
 (grandchildren sleep with grandmother)

(b) Non-verbal predicate

The subject of the sentence comprising a primary noun may be related to a noun in the predicate position as follows:

- (i) by means of an identificative noun:

ínkomó (y)ísilwane (a cow is an animal)
óbabá (ng)amaqháwe (father and his mates are heroes)

- (ii) by means of the SC:

thiná singamákholwa (we are believers)
ízinsizwa zingónógada (the young men are guards)

The noun which forms the subject of the sentence may be related to the non-verbal predicate in the negative where the latter is shorn of the pre-prefix:

indoda (k)ayínamáli (the man is penniless)
izigebéngu (k)azinasihé (criminals are merciless)
úmzála ákanankomó (my cousin has no cattle)

Negative forms of the positive construction with *ku-* as the SC prefixed to *khona* have the nouns occurring without the pre-prefix:

kúkhoná úkudlá > *ákúkho kudlá*
 (there is food) (there is no food)
kúkhoná umgwáqo > *ákúkho mgwaqo*
 (there is a road) (there is no road)

- (iii) The prefixal formative *nganga-* is preplaced to a noun in the predicate “slot” to indicate equality in size with the noun in the subject “slot”. e.g.

úgilonci úngangétinginóno
 (the blue heron is as big as the secretary bird)
úBafána úngangóMuziwákhe
 (Bafana is as big as Muziwakhe)

- (iv) the comparative prefixal formative *kuna-* is preplaced to the noun in the object “slot” to contrast it with the noun in the subject “slot”:

úqiniséla mdála kúnoGijimáni (Qinisela is older than Gijimani)
úmthófi únzima kúnethúsi (lead is heavier than copper)

4. CASE FORMS

4.1 The identification of the agent case

The identification of the direct and indirect object (DO and IO) has been dealt with fairly exhaustively in an earlier publication.⁶ Accordingly, it is unnecessary to repeat that analysis in this article. Suffice to say that the feature of permutation resulting in the transposition of the DO to the subject “slot” and the noun in the object “slot” to the object “slot” explains the word-initial morphological and/or phonological modification of the subject of the sentence. e.g.

inkomó íséngwa (ng)úmǃána/!úmǃána
 (The cow is milked by the boy)
 cf. *úmǃána úsénga inkomó*
 (The boy milks the cow)

incwâdi ibhâlwa (y)ingâne/!ingâne
 (The letter is written by the child
 cf. *ingâne ibhâla incwâdi*
 (The child writes the letter)

4.2 Identification of the instrumental case

The instrumental formative *nga-* is preplaced to the noun. In the deep structure, the subject of the activity/achievement verbs is invariably an agent noun, whereas that of the process/stative verbs is a neutral noun.

Instrumental nouns

- (a) “by means of”/ “manner of execution of an action”.

úmâma úlima ngégeja
 (mother ploughs with a hoe)
thiná sihâmba ngébbasi
 (we travel by bus)
isigebéngu sáthatha imâli ngénkâni
 (the bandit grabbed the money by force)
izingâne ziphâthwa ngénhlonipho namúhla
 children are treated with respect nowadays)

- (b) Spatial/temporal significance:

bázofika ngéSonto
 (they will arrive on Sunday)
ánibombhéka ngothú ntámbâma
 (please expect him at 2 o'clock in the afternoon)
wená wakhé ngasémfúleni
 (your homestead is by the river)
bágawûla ngakwâDlamini
 (they are hewing wood near Dlamini's place)

4.3 Identification of the locative case

Stative verbs have both a locative and temporal significance. In addition, process verbs also have this quality.

Zulu possesses static and directional locative predicates. The former indicate the position of the subject at a certain place or time and the latter indicate movement *away from* or *towards* some place.

Static locative predicates

The nouns comprising the complements to static locative predicates may preplace:

- (a) PB classes *pa-*, *ku-* or *mu-*

izinkomó zilála phandle (cows sleep outside)

hamba kumama (go to mother)

uNomasonto wáqéda muva (Nomasonto finished last)

- (b) most noun-like nominals

Preplace prefixal locative formative *e-/o-* and suffix locative suffix *-ini*

úgógo úhleli éndlini (granny is sitting inside the house)

inqola ibhajwé odakéni (the wagon is stuck in the mud)

Preplace prefixal locative formative *e-*, *o-* or *kwa-*

sizovúna ébusika

(we will harvest in winter)

úfike émini

(he arrived during the day)

izingáne zihambelé olwandle

(children are visiting the sea)

isithá básihólela óPhathé

(they led the enemy into an ambush)

- (c) PB class *pa-* nouns or covert locative nouns with the prefix *e-* may enter into a genitive relationship with such nouns where the possessive prefix *kwa-* or *na-*⁷ is preplaced to the noun used as a qualificative.

ábantu báléle phánsi kómuthi

(people are lying under a tree)

súka phézu kwéndlu

(get off from the roof)

kwáSwayimáne kúsedúze náseMgungúndlóvu

(Swayimane is relatively close to Pietermaritzburg)

wá:banjwá émuva kwéhhotéla

(he was arrested behind the hotel)

The foregoing PB class *pa-* nouns and covert locative nouns describe the action, state or process of the predicate in relation to the noun in the genitive case form. Further, they have a qualificative function.

Normally, the qualificative nominals follow the noun in word order except

where they precede the noun so qualified to express emphasis or when they are used without the noun which has previously been mentioned in discourse.

The PB class *pa-* nouns and covert nouns are not the only ones that have a qualificative function and precede the noun in the genitive case in Zulu. A large number of these nouns have a stem similar to that of the verb or ideophone. e.g.

- (k)ábamázi ló, !ísiphuhlá séngáne cf. -phuhlá (blurt out)
 (they do not know this one, he's a child that blurts out uncontrollably)
 úmhlola wámi! cf. -hlola (predict evil)
 (an exclamation of surprise and indignation)
 bénzé ísiphihli sédili cf. phihli (of abundance)
 (they held a huge party)
 ízingáne zídla ímvuthú yésínkwa cf. vuthú (of falling off)
 (the children are eating bread crumbs)
 kúbikwa inhlekelele yéngôzi éXobho cf. hlekelele (of being widespread)
 (there's a report of a serious accident at Ixopo)
 úthuswé úhambalála lwényoka cf. bhambalala (of lying stretched out)
 (he/she was frightened by a big snake lying on the ground)
 úngiphakéle íntimentime yókudlá cf. timé (of darkness)
 (he gave me insipid food)
 ísidumúdumu séndaba lési cf. dumú (of booming sound)
 (this is a very important affair)

It is common to find qualificative nouns used without the accompanying noun in the genitive case form. e.g.

- ísíqukaqúka (big heavy object); úbúmehlémehle (riotous, uncontrolled fighting); ísidididi (difficulty); ínsámbathéka (confusion); ámanáanganánga (frivolous excuses); inhlokohléla (a powerful and destructive gun).

Directional locative predicates with the feature “remote”

The directional locative predicates with the feature “remote” may take locative complementary nominals identified under static locative predicates. The case “source” may be posited for the directional locative predicates with the feature “remote”.

Verb stems such as the following constitute directional locative predicates:

-*velá* (appear); -*phúma* (emerge, appear); -*yá* (go); -*súka* (leave, give way);
-*vuzá* (leak); -*milá* (grow); -*khúla* (grow in size), etc.

Examples:

*úJójo úvela éThekwini*⁸

(Jojo is from Durban)

igúla lívúza ésinqéni

(the gourd is leaking at its base)

igolide líphúma émgodini

(gold is mined in the ground)

5. TRANSPOSITION OF THE NOUN IN THE SENTENCE

The primary noun constituting the subject of the sentence generally occurs at the beginning of the sentence. It co-occurs with secondary nouns without any modification. The secondary nouns juxtaposed to the primary noun may occur in the genitive, instrumental, identificative, agent or locative form.

Other nominals also co-occur with the primary noun. When the primary noun precedes the accompanying nominal no modification of the primary noun takes place. A transposition of the primary noun to occur immediately after a nominal such as the demonstrative, interjective or the absolute pronoun the primary noun's pre-prefix is elided. e.g.

lé ndoda (this man)

lési sinkwa (this bread)

lába bántu (these people)

wé madoda (hey, men!)

thuláni zingáne (keep quiet children)

niná bafána (you boys)

wená mzála (you, my cousin)

The interjective and the absolute pronoun cause changes in the second and third persons only.

The reason for the modification of the class prefix of the primary noun appears to be that the concordial element of the demonstrative already possesses a morphological relationship with the noun class prefix. In respect of the interjective and the absolute pronoun the noun is used in an interjective sentence.

6. CONCLUSION

The traditional analysis of the environment where the modification of the noun occurs appears unnecessary in the light of the foregoing discussion.

This article goes some way towards explaining the reasons for the changes of the structure of nouns in different syntactic environments and it is hoped that it charts a new path to more intensive study of syntax.

ENDNOTES

1. Zulu verbs are classifiable into four semantic types, viz. activity, process, achievement, and stative verbs. The agentive and instrumental adverbs identified by Doke (1968) are restricted to relations between achievement and stative verbs and a following noun. This is misleading. It is not clear from his analysis how activity and process verbs behave towards following nouns. Further, it is not clear how the incorporation of radical extensions to all four semantic types of verbs, influence the relationship between the verb and the following noun.
2. The interjective, interrogative, and declarative sentence.
3. The occurrence of the primary noun in both the subject and object "slots" generally without modification.
4. Morphological and phonetic changes are more easily detectable.
5. Proper nouns used in a nuclear sentence as subject or direct object use a prefix which has a function of reference.
6. See *Introduction to Zulu syntax*.
7. The prefixal formative *na-* functions as a possessive prefix. It should be distinguished from the connective formative *na-* as used in *ubaba nomama*.
8. Together with *eMkhambathini* and *oZwathini* these are irregular derivations of locatives from place names. This may be due to the fact that these place names originate from general nouns and not geographic specific names.

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ANOTHER PRONOMINALIZATION – SOME VIEWS AGAINST WILKES’S DELETION HYPOTHESIS

T.M. Sengani

Wilkes (1976) supported later by certain scholars (among them Louwrens (1981, 1985, 1990), Prinsloo (1987), Mndawe (1989), Kosch (1991) and Jiyane(1994), claims that the so-called pronouns in Zulu (and also Northern Sotho and Ndebele, are determiners which gain their pronominal status only after the nouns with which they occur in appositive structures have been deleted. Only after this kind of deletion has occurred, he argues, do they assume their emphatic and/or contrastive function. In this manner he concludes that pronominalization is a deletion-hypothesis. This theory leads him and some of his contemporaries to claim that every so-called theory of pronominalization is a theory of co-reference, that every anaphor in a co-referential relationship between expressions is a pronoun, and that there must be agreement-morphosyntactic agreement in principle between words and or word groups that yield co-referential relationship between them.

The aim of this article is to challenge the view expressed above i.e. that pronominalization is a deletion process. It will be argued that co-referential antecedent-anaphor relations do not result from the so-called pronominalization process only; that antecedent-anaphor relations do not necessarily result in coreference; that anaphors in these relations are not always necessarily the so-called “pronouns” and that agreement, especially morphosyntactic agreement, does not necessarily guarantee co-referentiality. It will be indicated that the so-called pronouns are anaphoric expressions which are used to show emphasis and or contrast to antecedent(s) mentioned earlier in the discourse; that they can occur with other expressions in appositive structures as determiners to show emphasis and/or contrast i.e. anaphorically to an antecedent in a discourse. (In both cases, however, they can be used deictically to refer to entities in the physical environment.) Examples from

Venda, a language spoken in South Africa and a sister language to those mentioned above, will be used to challenge the views expressed.

In the quest for match-making antecedents and anaphors so that they can yield co-reference, thereby determining topicality through two expressions, Wilkes (1976) challenges Doke's (1954) substitution theory between an antecedent and a pronoun. Doke (1954:90) defines a pronoun as a word "*which signify(ies) anything concrete or abstract without being its name*". For instance in

1. Ndi funa *Onndisa*. (I like *Onndisa*.)

Doke would replace *Onndisa* with a pronoun *ene* as in

2. Ndi funa *ene*. (I like *him*.)

In Doke's approach, a pronoun is used in the place of a noun. This has been challenged by Wilkes (1976), Louwrens (1981, 1985, 1990), Prinsloo (1987), Mndawe (1989) and Kosch (1991) and Jiyane (1994). Their argument is that in the second sentence, *ene*(he) expresses emphasis whereas *Onndisa*, which is being replaced, does not have such emphasis. To them there are semantic differences between the two structures and as such the pronoun in (2) cannot be said to be replacing or substituting the noun in (1).

Wilkes goes on to give further examples to argue his case, e.g.

3. Ndi funa *vhone*. (I like *them*.)
Ndi vhidza *ene*. (I call *him/her*.)

and explains that the above cases imply that their underlying noun phrases for *vhone*/them and *ene*/him could be *vhathu*/people and *mutukana*/the boy; as in

4. Surface structure Ndi funa *vhone*. (I like *them*.)
Deep structure Ndi funa *vhathu*. (I like *people*.)
5. Surface structure Ndi vhidza *ene*. (I call *him*.)
Deep Structure Ndi vhidza *mutukana*. (I call *the boy*.)

and concludes:

Doke se uitgangspunt kom naamlik daarop neer dat hy die voornaamwoorde van Zulu [Venda TMS] as woorde beskou wat in 'n koreferensiële relasie tot naamwoorde kan staan en wat op grond daarvan in die plek van naamwoorde in sinne gebruik kan word (Wilkes 1976:61).

(Doke's point of departure is namely that he regards the pronouns of

Zulu as words which can occur in a co-referential relationship with nouns and which can resultantly be used in sentences instead of nouns.)

Wilkes (1976:62) says that if this is the case then:

In 'n meer moderne idioom geformuleer, kom Doke se bogenoemde uitgangspunt dus daarop neer dat die onderskeie voornaamwoordtipes van Zulu as transformasies van onderliggende naamwoorde gesien moet word, min of meer op dieselfde basis as wat die voornaamwoorde van Afrikaans of Engels dit van die sogenaamde delisie-hipotese.

(Formulated in a modern idiom, the above point of view of Doke implies that the various pronouns of Zulu should be seen as transformations of underlying nouns more or less on the same basis as the pronouns of English and Afrikaans with regard to the deletion hypothesis.)

Wilkes' deletion hypothesis is modelled on the classical theory of the deletion hypothesis or pronominalization transformation (Lees & Klima 1963) although he tries to modify it. Deletion presupposes an underlying structure, i.e. one which is abstract and not uttered. When one has elements that are identical, one deletes or pronominalize the other in generative grammar.

According to this theory, there are two structures, i.e. the deep and surface structures. In the deep structure are two identical NPs, the second of which is replaced with a pronoun in the surface structure, e.g.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6. Surface structure | <i>The boy say he is sick.</i> |
| Deep structure | <i>The boy say the boy is sick.</i> |
| Surface structure | <i>Die seun sê hy is siek.</i> |
| Deep structure | <i>Die seun sê die seun is siek.</i> |

The case in Afrikaans, as it would in English, indicates that the pronoun *hy*(he) in the surface structure has replaced the second of the identical NP in the deep structure. In the case above, according to the deletion theory, there is co-reference between the antecedent *die seun*(the boy) and the anaphor *hy*(he). This approach will be challenged later as the anaphor can refer to an antecedent mentioned earlier on or point deictically to one that is in the extralinguistic situation.

However, Wilkes (1976:63) argues further against Doke and says:

Sy referensiële van voornaamwoorde impliseer namlik dat hirdie woorde in die plek van naamwoorde waarmee hulle korefereer kan optree.

(His referential definition of nouns implies namely that these words occur instead of nouns with which they can co-refer.)

Wilkes then claims that a case such as

7. Deep structure: *Vhana vha a tamba.* (*The children play.*)

cannot be the underlying form of

8. Surface structure: *Havha vha a tamba.* (*These (the children in particular) play.*)

or

9. Deep structure: *Takalani u ri Takalani u a lwala.*
(*Takalani says Takalani is sick.*)

cannot be the underlying form of

- 10a. Surface structure *Takalani u ri ene u a lwala.*
(*Takalani says he (in particular) is sick.*)

The reason here is that the pronouns *havha* (these in particular) and *ene* (him in particular) are emphatic, whereas the underlying noun phrases *vhana* (the) children and *Takalani* are not. Wilkes and his contemporaries rightly indicate that pronouns are used to show emphasis and contrast as in

- 10b. *One mavhele o no kanwa.* (*It the mealies has been harvested.*)

Here *one* (it) shows emphasis and in

Sandani u funa *Itani*, fhedzi *ene* ha mu funi.

(Sandani likes *Itani* but *he* (on the other hand) does not like her.)

ene (he) (on the other hand) expresses contrast but is also anaphoric to *Itani*. Wilkes, Louwrens, Prinsloo, etc., argue that Doke's co-referentiality is unfounded and Louwrens (1981:36) in support of Wilkes's stand writes:

In Wilkes (1976) neem die outeur die Dokeaanse siening van pronominalisasie in Bantoe onder die loop, en le hy die vinger op verskeie inkonsekwenthede en leemtes in die tradisionele pronominalisasieteorie.

(In Wilkes (1976) the author critically evaluates the Dokean view of Bantu pronominalization and points out various inconsistencies and inadequacies in the traditional pronominalization theory.)

Again Wilkes and his contemporaries give reasons why Doke failed to see the

position of pronouns in African languages. Prinsloo (1987:23) in support of Wilkes and Louwrens says:

By means of careful analysis of the relevant data of Northern Sotho and Zulu, these authors have succeeded in unveiling the real character of pronomina in Bantu without being preoccupied or influenced by criteria holding good for European languages.

Wilkes (1976), Louwrens (1981, 1985, 1990), Prinsloo (1987), Mndawe (1989) and Kosch (1991) go on to give an alternative theory of pronoun understanding. They claim that pronominalization in African languages is a deletion-process. Louwrens (1981:36) confirms with satisfaction that,

Die delesiebypotese bring waardevolle nuwe insigte oor pronominalisasie in Bantoe mee.]

(The deletion hypothesis provides valuable new insights on pronominalization in Bantu.)

The deletion-hypothesis, they postulate, is different from the classical theory of pronominalization of Lees and Klima (1963) in which there are two structures, i.e. a deep structure and a surface structure with the antecedents and anaphors far apart. In their case, there are two structures, one with an appositive structure consisting of a determiner and a noun and another in which the noun has been deleted, they claim, by pragmatic factors as in

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 11. | <i>Mutukana ene u a gidima.</i> | (The boy (on the other hand) runs.) |
| | <i>Ene u a gidima.</i> | (He (on the other hand) runs.) |

or

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 12. | <i>Ene mutukana u a gidima</i> | (The boy, particularly, runs.) |
| | <i>Ene u a gidima</i> | (He, particularly, runs.) |

In the case of concordial elements it occurs as in

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 13. | <i>Mutukana u a gidima.</i> | (The boy runs.) |
| | <i>U a gidima</i> | (He runs.) |

They claim here that for pronominalization to take place, the noun is deleted and that accordingly the deletion is determined by discourse or pragmatic factors. In the words of Louwrens (1985:58),

The conditions under which the deletion of the antecedent takes place are determined by the pragmatics of discourse, namely when the noun's referent is presupposed to be known, i.e. given.

For instance, according to these scholars, in examples 11 and 12 the appositive structures consist of a noun and a determiner (the so-called pronoun), 11 has a contrastive structure in which the noun is deleted by pragmatic factors because it is known and the so-called pronoun is pronominalized and subsequently refers to the deleted noun with which it agrees and the two become co-referential, i.e. in both structures contrast is expressed, and in 12 the appositive structure is emphatic. When the noun is deleted by pragmatic factors, the determiner (the so-called pronoun) is pronominalized and it too refers to the deleted noun with which it agrees and the two become coreferential. The remaining pronoun also expresses emphasis. Example 13 is not a new case, as they note that even in traditional grammar for a concordial element to be pronominal the noun is deleted. In this manner, pronominalization, according to them, becomes a deletion-hypothesis.

The deletion hypothesis was challenged and also rejected by many scholars in the seventies (Bach 1970; Bresnan 1970; Carden 1970; Kayne 1971; Lasnik 1976; Bolinger 1977, 1979; Billy 1977). Bach went on to endorse that the so-called pronominalization hypothesis was a problem, hence the notion “problominalization”.

He endorses that

... one conclusion might be that there is no such thing as pronominalization except as a name for a semantic relation between independently chosen NP's and pronouns ... a relation which must then be determined (at least) on the basis of surface structure relations (Bach 1970:122).

Lasnik (1976:2) is seen as one scholar who laid the issue of the deletion-hypothesis to rest and in support of Bach and others he writes the following on *antecedent-anaphor relations*:

What we have is simply a principle of co-operation. By this I mean that a speaker must provide every reasonable means for his listener to know what he is talking about. Stated this way, the explanation can readily be seen not to be a claim about pronouns but rather about getting along with people, not about language, but about communication.

He further adds that, “a principle of co-operation limits the indiscriminate use of pronouns (as well as many other noun phrases)”.

Whilst Wilkes and his contemporaries have tried to correct Doke (1954) and Van Eeden (1956), they fail and in fact compound the problem further. In the first place, the appositive structures they use are all anaphoric, be they

emphatic or contrastive. It is impossible for one to emphasize or show contrast without referring to an earlier mentioned. When one emphasises or shows contrast, there is always a known antecedent mentioned earlier on. In fact, if the cases above were occurring in the natural language, no deletion would take place. The noun they claim is deleted by the pragmatics of discourse is the one that is being referred to by the emphatic appositive structure and/or by the contrastive appositive structure and it is the one that has been mentioned earlier on. This is the antecedent that introduces information in the discourse. The pronouns in the second structures do occur as they explain but not through any deletion, e.g.

14. A: *Odaho* u khou ya doroboni.

14. B: Nna mathina *ene Odaho* u ngafhi?

14. C: Kana *ene* u ngafhi?

15. A: *Odaho* is going to town.

15. B: Tell me in fact where is *she (Odaho)* (in particular)

15. C: Where could *she (Odaho)* (in particular) be?

For any co-reference to take place, there should be an ongoing discourse and not a series of repeated structures as they suggest. Their kind of deletion-hypothesis has been tailor-made to yield a co-referential relationship between an antecedent and an anaphor which does not occur in any African languages. Pronouns in Venda and other related African languages can in fact be used on their own as anaphoric expressions to show emphasis or contrast. Concordial elements do function as anaphors in discourse but they refer to their antecedents as the discourse continues, i.e. being far apart from their antecedent. No antecedent is deleted, but it is mentioned or understood and the discourse continues. Any deletion in most of these scholars' examples is a forced case which speakers of the language never experience.

Another misrepresentation and misinterpretation is illustrated in the examples Louwrens (1985:59) uses from Ramaila (1960:135):

“7. Mmadipola o be a šetše a na le nywaga e senyane ge a thoma go lemoga bošwana ba gagwe. Ba be ba tsena sekolo ka babedi ba bitšwa Bertha Molapo le *Louisa* Molapo ka sekolong. Ka mo ntle le kua gee,

7a. *Louisa yena* o be a bitswa ka la Mmadipola.
Le ge go le bjalo go be go le phapano e kgolo mo gare ga Bertha le Louisa. Ya pele, Bertha o be a apara mašelana a mabotse a a swanelago ngwana wa sekolo, mole

- 7b. *Louisa yena* a leša dihlong.
Ge go ka laelwa ka sekolong gore go nyakega dipuku tše mpsha goba mokgwanyana o mongwe o mofsa, go be go dula go kgona Bertha, eupša
- 7c. *Louisa yena* a hloka.
(Mmadipola was already nine years old when she started to realize that she was an orphan. They went to school together and in school they were called Bertha Molapo and Louisa Molapo. Outside the school and at home, (7a) *Louisa*, however, was called Mmadipola. But even if this was the case, there was a great difference between Bertha and Louisa. Firstly, Bertha was always neatly dressed as a schoolgirl ought to be, while (7b) *Louisa*, on the contrary, was shameful. If new books or anything new was needed, Bertha always succeeded in providing it, while (7c) *Louisa*, on the other hand, couldn't.)

Note also in the following passage from Ramaila (1960:135):

8. Ge go ka laolwa leeto la bana ba sekolo, gwa thwe yo mongwe a tle le *šeleng* ya go namela, Louisa o be a atiša go e hloka. *Tseo* le, *le tše dingwe*,
- 8a. ke *ona masetlapelo* a Mmadipola a godilego ka *ona*, go se na yo a lorago therešo ya lefoko la ba batala ge ba re. Tshuana e sa hwego, e leta monono.

(If a tour was arranged for the schoolchildren, and they were expected to contribute *ten cents* for transport, Louisa was continuously unable to provide it. *These and others* then, (8a) are the very miseries in which Mmadipola grew up with (them). Nobody was ever contemplating the truth of the saying of the old people which goes: "An orphan which survives awaits prosperity.")"

In example 7, the discourse is about *Bertha Molapo* and *Louisa*. There are three cases where the appositive *Louisa yena* (as for Louisa), occurs to show contrast and in each case it refers anaphorically to *Louisa* in contrast to Bertha. Louwrens sees contrast only, but does not show any deletion, which is his cornerstone.

In example 8 *ona masetlapelo* (that kind of misery) refers emphatically to what has been mentioned earlier on, i.e. *tseo le tse dingwe* (these and others) and it is also anaphoric to it. For instance *tseo* (these) refers to the problems that Louisa used to face such as being without money etc., and *ona* (that) refers

again to *ona masetlapelo* (that kind of misery) mentioned earlier on. *Tseo* (these) for instance has not occurred through any deletion but it is here as both anaphoric and emphatic to the misery *Louisa* faced *go hloka šeleng* (to be out of pocket.) Equally *ona* (that) does not occur through any deletion but, it is in fact anaphoric and emphatic to *ona masetlapelo* (that kind of misery.)

Prinsloo (1987:52) says that in *Ke reka yona* (I buy it,) *yona* (it) is not anaphoric but emphatic only. However, if it refers to *baisekela* (a bicycle) mentioned earlier on, then it can never be emphatic without being anaphoric, unless it has been used deictically to refer to a referent that is in the extra linguistic situation.

More misrepresentations and misinterpretations emerge from the pen of Louwrens (1981). He believes that any expression which enters into a co-referential relationship with an antecedent is a pronoun; that all cases of pronominalization yield co-referentiality and that antecedent-anaphor agreement leads to co-reference. It will be indicated below that this is not the case. Louwrens (1981:37) says:

Essensieel is enige pronominalisasieteorie 'n teorie van koreferensie. Hiermee word bedoel dat 'n voornaam-woord sy pronominale karakter daaraan te danke het dat dit na dieselide saak 'n verswee naamwoord verwys, en dus met die naamwoord korefereer.

(The essence of any theory of pronominalization is a theory of co-reference, i.e. a pronoun owns its pronominal nature to the fact that it refers to the same referent as a "disappeared" noun, it as such co-refers the noun.)

He goes on to illustrate his case with an example in Afrikaans, e.g.

16. *Die studente se hulle* is moeg. (*The students say they* are tired.)

where *hulle* (they) is pronominal and together with its antecedent *die studente* (the students) are co-referential. It is important to note that the anaphor *hulle* (they) can also be anaphoric to a previous antecedent or be deictic to a referent that is visible besides being anaphoric to the given antecedent *die studente* (the students.) The same applies to *hy* (he) in 6.

He goes on to conclude that:

Omdat koreferensie 'n noodsaaklike voorwaarde is vir 'n woord om tot voornaamwoord te kwalifiseer, geld die teendeel eweseer, naamlik dat alle woorde wat in 'n taal oor koreferensiele eienskappe beskik, as voornaam-woorde gewaardeer behoort te word. (Louwrens 1981:37).

(As co-reference is an essential condition for a word to qualify as a pronoun, the opposite also applies, viz. that all words which have co-referential properties in a language should be appreciated as pronouns.)

What Louwrens states above is a misrepresentation and a misinterpretation. Co-referentiality does not always result from the so-called pronominalization; neither are anaphoric expressions that refer co-referentially with their antecedents always only pronouns. For instance, one can repeat a lexical expression as an anaphor as in

17. *Takadzani*¹ u a dina, mara o tou ita hani *Takadzani*².
(*Takadzani*¹ is very troublesome, but what is wrong with *Takadzani*².)

*Takadzani*² is anaphoric to *Takadzani*¹ and it is not a pronoun. It has been used as an anaphoric proper name. Equally one can use a definite expression *muthannga* (the guy), his surname *Rapakatani*, his clan name *Bakali* or *Mukwevho*, an epithet *ligwena* (the boss) and many others which do not result from the so-called pronominalization process as anaphors.

There are many other cases which involve pronominalization but which do not result in co-referentiality. For instance, note cases of bound variable anaphora like in the example below,

- 17(a) *Arali muthu/munna e na donngi u a i rwa*.
(If a man has a donkey he beats it.)

In this example, the anaphors may be seen in terms of pronominalization, but there is no co-reference between them and their antecedents. This is a case of generic reference in which the two expressions refer to random referents.

The example below and all instances of the so-called pronouns of laziness or lazy anaphora, including what in English is known as the one-anaphora, which in Venda is expressed by anaphoric concords, involve what is seen as pronominalization, but do not yield co-reference between them, e.g.

- 17(b) *Munna we a fha musadzi wawe tsheke yawe u khwine kha we a i fha mufarekano wawe*.
(The man who gave his paycheque to his wife is better than the one who gave it to his mistress.)

This is a case of multi-reference and not coreference.

All these cases violate the pronominalization constraint. Louwrens and his contemporaries put elements together, delete a noun and then claim that any remaining one is a pronoun, but what they do is in fact pack elements together so that after the deletion of, say, the noun then their prophesy should become true – but this is a man-made case; it has nothing to do with any natural discourse. The point is that there is no real deletion – the pronoun that they claim remains after deletion in natural discourse is determined by discourse-pragmatic factors and refers to the appositive NP used earlier on.

On the issue of agreement which he claims leads to coreferentiality Louwrens (1981:38) says:

Woord kongruensie aldus vertolk, is dit moontlik om te konkludeer dat alle woorde wet met naamwoorde kongrueer, in prinsipe met dergelike naamwoorde korefereer en bygevolg oor die vermae beskik om as pronominalisasievorme te funksioneer.

(If word congruence is interpreted in such a way, it is possible to conclude that all words which are in congruence with nouns co-refers in principle with such nouns, with the result that they have the potential to function as pronominal forms.)

and he further claims (Ibid 39):

... woorde en woordgroepe wat met naamwoorde kongrueer beskik oor potensiele koreferensiele eienskappe en kan derhalwe, onder bepaalde voorwaardes, 'n pronominale funksie vervul.

(Words and word groups which co-refer with nouns have potential co-referential properties and can, therefore, under certain conditions fulfil pronominal functions.)

Not all cases that display agreement, i.e. morphosyntactic agreement between the antecedent and anaphor, result in co-reference. In African languages agreement is not always morphosyntactic but can also be semantic or coherent. There are cases that involve morphosyntactic agreement but which do not result in coreference as in the *one anaphora* (in English) which is expressed by pronominal and concordial anaphoric expressions in Venda. The so-called bound variable anaphora (Reinhart 1986) and also the so-called pronouns of laziness (Karttunen 1969) are cases in point, e.g.

- 18(a) Takalani o renga *goloi*, na nne ndo *i* renga.
(Takalani has bought *a car*, I have bought *one* too.)

his contemporaries on the other have similar approaches to a problem they both fail to resolve. Their approaches need to be seen in the South African languages perspective where traditionally non-mother tongue speakers learn and study them through repetitive structures or sentences in isolation instead of using them in context. Although such cases do occur in discourse, though, there is no deletion as such. In both cases co-reference is a forced process and is explained through either substitution or deletion. A natural case involving coreference for Doke, Van Eeden, etc., would be

22. *Tinae* o vha e hone, *ene* o swika o neta.
(*Tinae* was here, *she* (*Tinae*) (in particular) arrived being tired.)

Here *ene*/she refers anaphorically and emphatically to *Tinae* in an ongoing discourse. The co-referential relationship is a result of a natural process unlike in

23. *Tinae* u ri u do da.
Ene u ri u do da.
24. *Tinae* says he will come.
She (in particular) says she will come.

where Wilkes et al allege Doke implies that *ene* (he) is anaphoric to *Tinae*. This very case cannot be seen as a natural discourse by mother-tongue speakers. These are mere sentences following each other. Doke seems to have been dealing with pure substitution at sentence level and not co-reference in an ongoing discourse. However, his approach led to the conclusion arrived at by Wilkes et al. It should be stated here that there is no substitution at sentence level too. What happens is that expressions refer to given antecedents or those which could have been mentioned before in an ongoing discourse.

The Wilkes et al case in real discourse would be as in

25. A: *Tinae* u khou fanela u ya doroboni.
B: Nna mathina *ene Tinae* u ngafhi?
C: Kana *ene* u ngafhi?
- A: *Tinae* should go to town.
B: But where is *she* (*Tinae*) (in particular).
C: Oh, where is *she* (in particular)?

In this case, *ene Tinae* (she *Tinae* in particular) is an appositive structure which emphasizes anaphorically and refers to *Tinae* who is mentioned earlier on in A. *Ene* (she) in C is also emphatic and refers anaphorically to *ene Tinae* (she *Tinae*, in particular) in B and/or *Tinae* in A. Note that *ene* in C can be said to

refer to Tinae in A or ene Tinae in B and in both cases nothing has been deleted. A case that involves concordial anaphors would be as in

26. *Musadzi* u^1 bikela vhana zwiliwa, u^2 vha bikela ngauri vha na ndala.
(The woman cooks food for the children, she cooks for them because they are hungry.)

Note that the non-local concord u^2 (she) is anaphoric to *Musadzi* (the woman) but the local u^1 (she) is just an agreement marker. The mistake that is committed by Wilkes et al is that they do not use examples from purely natural discourse but resort to concocted sentences and employ a rigid method that would yield desired results. The noun that they delete in both cases involving pronouns and concords is the antecedent mentioned earlier. For instance *ene* (him, in particular) in 25 and u^2 (she) do not occur through deletion but are used here to refer to known or given information which has been mentioned earlier, i.e. without any deletion.

These scholars seem to have been somehow liberated by Wilkes' deletion-hypothesis. For instance, Louwrens (1990:91) writes:

As far as pronominalization is concerned, Wilkes (1976) made an important contribution in the sense that he reconsidered the whole theory of pronominalization in Bantu languages, and came to the conclusion that the traditional views on this issue are unacceptable.

In the words of Kosch (1991:134):

Wilkes' (1976) contribution was significant in that it provided Bantuists for the first time with a thorough theoretical frame work within which the inadequacies of traditional views could be exposed. His deletion-hypothesis also enables the research(er) to explain the unique character of pronominalization in Bantu.

Prinsloo (1987:34) says:

Pioneering publications from researchers such as Wilkes and Louwrens brought new and exciting insights but regrettably have not received proper recognition and acknowledgement in recent publications.

In support of the scholars above, Mndawe (1989:25) says that they have been able to prove that

... the traditional conception of the so-called pronouns in African languages has been misguided.

There is a feeling of sympathy and empathy in the writings of these scholars. The fact that this approach has been found appealing to them is because it has been tailored to yield desired results. That it has not received any critical attention possibly from mother-tongue scholars is because, as it has been with Doke's approach, the deletion-hypothesis does not solve any problem for them, because there is no problem that it identifies that mother-tongue speakers and scholars are beset with. However, there are among others Mndawe(1989) and Jiyane(1994) who merely repeat Wilkes's views, more so because he happens to be their promotor. In the case of Mndawe, his M.A. dissertation(1989) is entitled, *Zulu grammar and the new syllabus for Zulu mother-tongue speakers* and has clearly been based on Wilkes's (1988) article entitled, *Zulu grammar and the new school syllabuses for Zulu*. The titles of their works are almost the same and so are their contents. There is no problem that Mndawe solves except to champion Wilkes's views. However, the major problem for most students and scholars of language has been to impose theories on languages and further deal with language issues out of context. This approach compounds the problem because it deals mostly with reference out of instead of in context. The problems identified and solutions suggested are all of human creation: that of dealing with manufactured or concocted sentences instead of real natural language.

There are, however, similarities between Lees and Klima's (1963) approach and that of Wilkes et al. Lees and Klima were challenging Bloomfield's (1933) substitution theory and Wilkes was likewise challenging Doke's substitution theory. Whereas the case of the classical theory can be accepted, save the ambiguities that result (though of course without deletion); in Wilkes' case real deletion never takes place in African languages. It is such a rare case that to call it exceptional would be unfair. As a rule, this deletion-hypothesis implies that each time we use the so-called pronouns we first pack them into appositive structures, and as the discourse continues, we delete the nouns so as to remain with the pronominalized anaphors. This is far-fetched and unnatural in both spoken and written language. It is surprising that both theories do not use quantifiers, split antecedents, etc., and the co-reference that results is always predictable, mechanistic and prescriptive. In the end, the classical theory scholars merely renewed Bloomfield's substitution theory, because where he spoke of a mentioned antecedent, Lees and Klima speak of an underlying form. Where he speaks of this form being substituted or replaced by a pronoun, they too speak of it being deleted and replaced by a pronoun. In Wilkes' case, the antecedent is said to be a deleted noun which is given information, after whose deletion the remaining element is pronominalized, whereas Doke and others would have a substantive or antecedent which is replaced by a pronoun. Doke deletes a noun and replaces it with a pronoun, Wilkes et al delete a noun and pronominalize the remaining so-called pronoun.

All arrive at the same conclusion, though differently except that Doke's case needs a full discourse to be uttered, but in Wilkes' case in a discourse reference can occur to show emphasis and/or contrast though nothing should be deleted.

These scholars go on to refer to Kunene (1975) on pronominalization, but she approaches pronominal anaphora quite differently. Kunene (1975:172), whom they rely on, does speak about deletion and goes on to show how deletion takes place, but later becomes more pragmatic when she says:

When the subject of the sentence has been introduced in previous discourse, on second occurrence it may be deleted and the SVA will function as an anaphoric pronoun.

This case is similar to the discourse that has been given in 22, 25 and 26. *One can understand her use of the term deletion as this was one of the cornerstone terms in pronominalization then.*

On the whole, Kunene (1975:181) has misgivings about the transformational approach to pronominalization applied in sentences and she writes further:

The facts of Zulu cast strong doubt on the validity of any strict transformational approach to pronominalization since two pronouns may co-exist with their co-referent noun, and further the various combinations of pronouns with the nouns are used for distinct communicative purposes, to map different discourse situations. Pronominalization is just showing itself to be not a syntactic process in Zulu, but rather a complex array of pragmatic devices used to elucidate subtle distinctions concerning the discourse context in which sentences are uttered.

It should be noted that Wilkes (1976) published his paper on the deletion-hypothesis when Lasnik (1976) was laying this theory to rest. The Wilkes' deletion-hypothesis has managed to survive because he and his contemporaries deal more with self-made cases and not real language ones. Besides, there have been attempts to defend the theory at all costs by Wilkes's students.

A closer look at this theory shows that it deals more with tailor-made cases where the machine runs according to prescribed rules. Deletion cases do occur in, for instance, the equi-NP deletion (Wasow 1979) and verb and verb phrase anaphora (McCawley 1987). What happens here is that as the discourse continues, some expressions are mentioned and others are sort of deleted by some pragmatic mechanisms because they are understood and are evident in the language. Such cases do not occur in the Wilkes' deletion-hypothesis. This type of deletion is rare in both the written and spoken language. In a topical

discourse, therefore, if one were to give it licence or, as Lakoff and Ross (1972) would say, “anmestisize” it, then it would imply that each time we want to use the so-called “pronouns”, we must first pack them in appositive structures with nouns and immediately in almost the following similar (repeated) structure delete the noun so that the remaining element is pronominalized and then claim that this anaphor agrees with the deleted noun which is given information; we must further claim that the deletion has been determined by pragmatic factors and ultimately end up with a co-referential relationship. This whole process is unpalatable in African languages.

A lot of revision went into the classical theory of Lees and Klima (1963), and that of Ross (1967) and Langacker (1969), as has been the case with that of Wilkes. What has happened is that the scholars who support Wilkes’ approach have tried to patch it wherever they disagree with him without openly disagreeing to make it workable and acceptable.

In conclusion it can be said that antecedent-anaphor relations that yield co-reference or any other anaphoric relation are not rule-based, but are determined by pragmatic factors in an ongoing discourse. The rules used and suggested in the theory above are rather predictive, mechanistic and prescriptive and yet communication is free and natural. Billy cited by Smyth (1986:28) alleges that the unending revisions to pronominalization “are often mere ad hoc patch works on the syntactic rule which does not work” and Bolinger (1979:289) seals the whole issue by stating that

After years of efforts at rule-making that have only led up one blind alley after another, a number of researchers have concluded that the key to “pronominalization” is not to be found in syntax, perhaps even “the key” does not exist.

Pronominal forms are in fact used and should be understood as such in ongoing discourses. This means that their occurrence, be it anaphoric or deictic, indicating contrast or emphasis, are indeed determined by pragmatic factors. The deletion referred to by Wilkes et al does not occur in this way.

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CHICHEWA/ENGLISH CODESWITCHING: THE “DO” VERB CONSTRUCTION

Carol Myers-Scotton & Janice L. Jake

1. INTRODUCTION

This article¹ attempts to explain one type of “bare form”, a compromise strategy in codeswitching data. The bare form to be discussed is the “do” verb construction in Chichewa/English codeswitching. In this structure, the Chichewa *ku-chit-a* “to do” occurs in a fully inflected form followed by an English verb stem. The English verb conveys the semantic structure of verb. While the “do” verb construction is discussed in Myers-Scotton (1993), Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995), and Jake and Myers-Scotton (1997), its occurrence in Chichewa/English codeswitching is not mentioned. The goal of this article is to illustrate “do” verb constructions in Chichewa/English CS and to argue that because these occur frequently in such CS, but not in all other Bantu/English CS corpora, this may be evidence that the tense/aspect system of Chichewa and English may be different from that of other Bantu languages. That is, it may be the case that not all tense/aspect systems of Bantu languages are alike. Certainly, the use of these constructions in Chichewa/English seems to show that there is incongruence between English and Chichewa regarding their tense/aspect systems. However, another possible explanation of why the “do” verb construction is categorical in the Chichewa corpus studied may have to do with the sociolinguistic milieu in which Chichewa is spoken vs. the settings for other Bantu languages.

2. FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The data are discussed in terms of the matrix language frame (MLF) model developed in Myers-Scotton (1993) and extended in Myers-Scotton and Jake

(1995). This model is structured by two oppositions: the matrix language (ML) vs. embedded language (EL) and the content vs. system morpheme distinctions. There are three types of CS constituents: ML + EL constituents or mixed constituents; ML islands; and EL islands. Mixed constituents include morphemes from both the ML and EL, with the ML setting the grammatical frame. ML islands consist entirely of morphemes from the ML and are well formed according to ML requirements. Similarly, EL islands include only EL morphemes and are well formed according to EL requirements, although some aspects of EL islands may be determined by the ML (e.g. their position in the larger CP). Note that mixed constituents may contain EL islands. This article focuses on mixed constituents containing singly occurring lexemes from the EL. In general, the form which EL material takes, for example whether it can be inserted into a mixed constituent, depends on congruence between ML and EL abstract lexical entries.

3. THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Earlier work on grammatical constraints on CS structure referred to intra-sentential CS. However, the CP is a preferable unit of analysis because its domain is more exact than that of “sentence”. A CP is the projection of the COMP node; it includes a verb and its subject and arguments, plus the additional material to make the “clause” or “sentence” well formed. Using CP as the unit of analysis means that complementizers and other discourse elements occurring under COMP are constituents of a larger category participating in CS; they are not “between sentences”. A sentence, of course, may contain more than one CP. Example (1) illustrates two monolingual CPs, one embedded in the other. The embedded CP includes an overt subordinator in COMP position. The MLF model, however, applies only to the use of morphemes from two or more languages *within the same CP*, not to monolingual CPs.

- (1) [ndiye iyeyo [akuti mtima wake sungatsaike]₂]₁ ...
 “[And so he says [that his heart will not rest]] ...”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995 VIII)

4. LEXICAL STRUCTURE

A crucial premise to this analysis and a discussion of language competence in general is that lexical structure is both abstract and complex. The analysis assumes three levels of lexical structure. These are lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument-structure, and morphological realization patterns. At the level of lexical-conceptual structure, intentions are bundled into semantic and

pragmatic features; how these features are bundled plays a role in the projection of thematic structure. Such thematic structure includes discourse-thematic roles such as topic, focus, contrast, and argument-structure thematic roles, such as agent, experiencer, and patient.

Predicate-argument structure deals with the mapping of thematic roles onto the hierarchical phrase structure of a CP. For example, in Bantu languages a locative NP is typically an NP argument of the verb, as opposed to a PP; in English it is a PP.

Morphological realization patterns include surface morpheme and constituent order and grammatical inflections and functional elements required by well-formedness conditions in a specific language. Noun class agreement marking is an example of morphological realization patterns. Another example is word order within NPs. In Bantu languages, nouns precede their modifiers; in English, they follow.

5. TYPES OF MORPHEMES

The content vs. system morpheme distinction plays a role in the structures observed in intra-CP CS. Content morphemes participate in the thematic structure of a sentence, both at the discourse-thematic level and the level of assignment of thematic roles to arguments. Morphemes which either assign or receive a thematic role are content morphemes. Therefore, nouns and verbs are prototypical content morphemes. In addition, we now consider discourse particles and subordinators to be content morphemes since they often assign discourse-thematic roles (e.g., *however* and *because*) (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995). In contrast, system morphemes neither assign nor receive thematic roles. In addition, most system morphemes have the feature [+ quantification]. For example, tense is a system morpheme and it quantifies over events; articles quantify over NP reference.²

6. CS AND THE CONCEPTUAL LEVEL

What happens when a speaker decides to engage in codeswitching? First of all, the language of the CP frame is chosen; that is, the ML is chosen. The choice of the ML is largely based on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic considerations, even though it is the structural consequences of its choice which are of concern here. ML selection means that one language is more activated in the sense that it sets the grammatical frame for the entire CP.

6.1 Also at the conceptual level, the speaker's intentions select abstract

lexical entries underlying content morphemes in either of the participating languages. That is, lemmas are selected. Lemmas are abstract entries in the mental lexicon which contain all the structural information regarding lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure, and morphological realization patterns required to complete the constituent projected by the content morpheme supported by the lemma (Levelt 1989). The activated lemma sends directions to the formulator, and the formulator projects the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization patterns required to complete the constituent at the surface level. This constituent is the maximal projection of the lemma, e.g. NP, PP.

- 6.2 In addition, at the conceptual level, the lemmas supporting some system morphemes are selected or “pointed to” by the lemma supporting the content morpheme. These are “indirectly elected” (Bock & Levelt 1994) and contrast with the second class of system morphemes, which are “structurally assigned” at the functional and positional level (i.e. at the level of the formulator and surface structure). Indirectly elected system morphemes flesh out the speaker’s intentions at the conceptual level. For example, the lemma supporting the content morpheme *look* indirectly elects the lemma supporting the satellite/preposition/particle *at* as *look at* is used in *The girl looked at the monkey*. In order to express the telic activity on the part of the actor/experiencer, *at* is required (as opposed to *look, look for, look up, etc.*)
- 6.3 In contrast, structurally assigned system morphemes are not activated at the conceptual level because they do not contribute in any essential sense to the semantic/pragmatic information of the proposition encoding the speaker’s intentions. The presence of the grammatical features they encode is largely arbitrary and always language-specific. Case markers are examples of structurally assigned morphemes, as is subject-verb agreement.
- 6.4 The discussion above outlines a general model relating language competence to language production; it is applicable to monolingual or bilingual discourse. When a speaker engages in intra-CP CS, an EL content element is inserted into the grammatical frame prepared by the ML. Part of this process is the evaluation of its congruence with an ML counterpart (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995). In general, two outcomes obtain. Either the EL content morpheme is sufficiently congruent so that it can be morphosyntactically integrated into the ML frame, or congruence is insufficient and one of several compromise strategies results. The compromise strategy discussed in this paper is the “do” construction in Chicheŵa/English CS.

7. POSSIBILITIES IN CS AND CONGRUENCE.

+ Congruent	→	mixed constituent
– Congruent	→	compromise strategies

7.1 Mixed constituents: If an EL lemma entry is sufficiently congruent with its ML counterpart, the EL content morpheme is inserted into a frame prepared by the ML counterpart and the result is a well-formed, integrated mixed constituent. The EL content morpheme occurs with the requisite ML system morphemes. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the optimal CS constituent is the mixed constituent. The reason is that if the ML and EL lemmas are congruent at the conceptual level, the formulator need only project the morphosyntactic structures of the ML rather than activate such structures from the EL as well. That is, the grammars of both languages do not have the same level of activation (Grosjean 1994), resulting in “psycholinguistic saving”. Examples (2) through (5) illustrate such “optimal” constituents from several language pairs for which the ML is a Bantu language.

- (2) U-ki-j-a huku, u-na-CHANGE, mazee ...
 2S-CONDIT-come-FV there 2S-PAST-change, old person ...
 “If you come there. You will change, my friend ...”
 (Swahili/English Myers-Scotton, 1993:103)
- (3) A-mummy Justin Lewis a-na-li-be kalikonse mu-**folder** ya-ke
 HON-mummy Justin Lewis 3S-PAST-COP-without anything LOC-
 folder 9-3S/POSS
 “Mummy, Justin Lewis did not have anything in his folder.”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995 VI)
- (4) nthawi ya **news** si-i-na-kwan-e
 time 9/ASSOC news NEG-9-PAST-arrive-FV
 “It’s not news time yet.”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995 VI)
- (5) ... **but** di-lo tse di-**cause**-w-a ke **sectional points**,
 ... but 10-thing DEM 10-cause-PASS-FV COP sectional points
 le ma-bitso a tsona o a a utlw-a
 COP 6-name 6/POSS 10/EMPH 2S 1/PRES 6/OBJ hear-FV
 ha o le mo **section-ing**, ...
 COMP/TEMP 2S COP 18/DEM section-LOC, ...
 “But these [languages] are caused by sectional points,
 and from these names [which] you will hear
 when you are in a section, ...”
 (Sotho/English Finlayson, Calteaux, & Myers-Scotton 1995)

8. LACK OF CONGRUENCE: COMPROMISE STRATEGIES

- 8.1 In some language pairs there are fewer “optimal” mixed constituents than might be expected a priori. Instead, many EL Islands and bare forms occur, suggesting a lack of congruence of the ML and EL lemma counterparts. This article will only deal with bare forms.
- 8.2 Bare forms are EL lexemes which occur in a mixed constituent, with a frame prepared by the ML. In contrast with other EL material in a mixed constituent, a bare form is an EL element which is missing the required ML system morphemes. We will discuss one type of bare form in this article, the “do” verb construction. This construction consists of a non-finite EL verb with the requisite verbal inflections, which would make the verb well-formed in the ML, realized on a “do” (i.e. light/aux) verb. Thus, for example, in (6) the Turkish verb for “do”, *yap-*, appears with all the requisite Turkish inflections, but the “real” meaning of the verbal construction is carried by the Dutch infinitive, *beheers-en* “control”. Literally, the “do” construction means “do control”.

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate the “do” verb construction in Turkish/Dutch CS. In Backus’ 1992 corpus, 43 Dutch verbs occur in Turkish mixed CPs. All are bare Dutch infinitives. There are no instances in this corpus of Dutch verbs inflected with Turkish system morphemes. Similarly, Türker (1996) finds no examples of Norwegian verbs inflected with Turkish system morphemes in her corpus of Turkish/Norwegian CS; however, there are many examples of the “do” construction (with the Turkish verb for “do” and a Norwegian infinitive).

- (6) Bu bir sürü **taal-lar-I** **beheers-en** yap-iyor-ken ...
DEM INDEF range language-P-ACC control-INF do-PROG-while
“While he knows a lot of languages ...”
(Turkish/Dutch Backus, 1992:83)
- (7) Ama ben o-nu hep **uitschrijv-en** yap-acağ-im
But I that-ACC all transcribe-INF do-FUT-1S
“But I will transcribe it all.”
(Turkish/Dutch Backus, 1992:77)

“Do” verb constructions occur in CS corpora involving a variety of languages, from Japanese/English CS to Chichewa/English CS. They are very common in corpora in which an Indic language is the ML. They are also very common when a verb-final agglutinative language is the ML, such as Turkish, as illustrated above. While “do” verb constructions occur in such Southern Bantu languages corpora as Zulu/English CS, in these data sets English verbs

can also be inflected with Bantu affixes. In this regard, Chicheŵa seems to be different, since in the Simango (1995) corpus, 48 English inflected verbs, 42 (85%) occur in “do” verb constructions. This corpus comes from several different naturally-occurring conversations in a Malawian family which was resident in the United States at the time of the recording.

Of the six English verbs which occur with Chicheŵa inflections, *sign* occurs five times, and *shoot* occurs only once. The verb *sign* occurs all six times in the same conversation. Examples (8)–(10) illustrate “do” verb constructions in Chicheŵa/English CS: the Chicheŵa verb for “do” *-chita*, is inflected with all necessary system morphemes to make the verb well formed in Chicheŵa, and it is followed by a bare English verb stem (e.g. *-chita think about* in (8)). The example in (11) illustrates the infrequent inflection of an English verb with Chicheŵa affixes.

- (8) a-ma-ngo-chit-a **think about** ku-ma-a-umbz-a a-nthu
 3S-HAB-CONSEC-do-FV think about INF-HAB-2/OBJ-beat up-FV 2-person
 ‘He just thinks about beating up people.’
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995: II)
- (9) a-chit-a **swallow air** y-ambiri apo
 3S/do-FV swallow air 9-much there
 “He’s going to swallow a lot of air there.”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995: I)
- (10) Ngoni, ku-khomo w-a-chit-a **check**, eti?
 Ngoni, LOC-door 2S/SUB-PERF-do-FV check, right?
 “Ngoni, you have checked the door, right?”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995: III)
- (11) ndi-**sign**-a bwanji?
 1S/SUBJ-sign-FV how?
 “How am I going to sign?”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995: IV)

8.2 We hypothesize that the level at which congruence becomes a problem in the case of “do” verb constructions explains why this construction occurs rather than the other options which the MLF model allows. (Recall that the main other options under the model of relevance here are the mixed constituent, which would include an English verb with Chicheŵa system morphemes; and the EL island, a constituent entirely in English – including an English verb in this case – and well formed according to English requirements, but occurring within a larger mixed constituent.)

8.3 The fact that English verbs cannot be easily inflected with Chicheŵa

system morphemes implies that Chicheŵa verb lemmas are not congruent in some way with English verb lemmas. However, since English verbs can occur as non-finite forms (infinitive, nominal-like forms), this indicates that they match a Chicheŵa counterpart regarding semantic or pragmatic requirements. Thus, congruence at the conceptual level is not a limiting issue. Congruence checking between Chicheŵa verbal inflections and those for English is not relevant at this level because verbal inflections for neither language are conceptually activated; only content elements are conceptually activated (e.g., nouns and verb roots). However, congruence does become a problem at the level of morphological realization patterns. Most grammatical theories recognize that these abstract levels of structure are necessary to satisfy the requirements of a language-specific grammar.

If the congruence problem is not in terms of lexical-conceptual structure, it may be in terms of information about morphological realization patterns contained in lemmas. That is, lemmas supporting Chicheŵa verbs may contain morphological information which is missing in lemmas supporting English verbs.

There is a difference in the Chicheŵa/English corpus discussed in this paper and the Turkish/Dutch corpora from Backus (1992, Backus & Boeschoten 1996). While a Dutch verb *never* occurs with Turkish inflections, in the Chicheŵa/English corpus, the interdiction against the inflection of English verbs with Chicheŵa inflections is not absolute. A major reason for the categorical absence of Dutch verbs with Turkish inflections may be the extent to which the two languages are incongruent at the level of morphological realization patterns. We have shown elsewhere that there are many ways in which Turkish and Dutch are not congruent at this level (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997). These same differences do not hold for Chicheŵa and English. For example, case marking is an issue in Turkish/Dutch lack of congruence. In Turkish, nominals require suffixes marking case. In Dutch there is no overt case marking on nouns. We have also argued that Turkish postpositions and Dutch prepositions are not congruent. Word order (affecting thematic role assignment) is also different in Turkish and Dutch, since Turkish is uniformly verb final, although there is variation in Dutch order. An additional issue of incongruence involves the nature of verb complexes.

The implication is that the templates of Turkish verbs contain *all* of the morphological realization patterns which map lexical-conceptual structure onto the predicate-argument structure. In Dutch, no single template maps lexical-conceptual structure onto predicate-argument structure. Rather, this information is part of the directions of the lemmas supporting *specific* verb

lemmas *or* it is contained in the lemmas which support the *specific* indirectly-elected prepositional complements of the verb (i.e., the verb satellites/particles). Furthermore, as noted above, case marking in Dutch is typically not overt, and therefore, the lemma supporting the Dutch verb does not send the same type of grammatical information to the formulator which the Turkish template must send. Instead, in Dutch, adjacency to case assigners (e.g. lexical governors: INFL, verbs, and prepositions) is the surface realization of abstract case assignment.

9. CODESWITCHING AND CONGRUENCE IN “DO” VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

How are these differences in abstract structure played out in Chicheŵa/English CS data? As already noted, English verbs occur only infrequently with Chicheŵa inflections in such data; instead, they occur as non-finite forms with a Chicheŵa inflected “do” verb. We have suggested above that at the conceptual level, the English verb is sufficiently congruent with its Chicheŵa counterpart. Therefore, at this level, a mixed VP constituent is already projected by the Chicheŵa ML and the activated EL verb is ready to be inserted. However, since the EL verb does not meet the requirements which a Chicheŵa frame places on a finite verb, only a Chicheŵa verb may be inserted. Thus, the problem of congruence is at a lower level, the level of morphological realization patterns.

The data from Chicheŵa/English CS suggest that specifications for tense and aspect are different in English and Chicheŵa. In English, it appears that the way aspect, for example, interacts with other elements under INFL (e.g. tense, modal) shows that aspect and these other elements under INFL operate as a complex intersecting system. The assignment of meaning to a particular set of auxiliaries under INFL does not depend on context, but is indicated by the surface-level form of the morpheme. For example, *has* is the realization of perfect aspect in *the child has jumped on the bed*. It also realizes present tense and only present tense. Past tense is realized on *have*, as in *the child had jumped on the bed*.³ In Chicheŵa, however, it may be that the interpretation of the relation of tense to aspect encoded by elements under INFL (in the verbal complex) depends on the larger discourse context. For example, the interpretation of tense in relation to “perfective” *a* may depend on the larger context. In this sense, then, in Chicheŵa, tense and aspect may be more salient at the lexical-conceptual level and may also be more tightly intergrated into the verb complex. That is, we suggest that the system morphemes realizing tense and aspect in Chicheŵa may be “pointed to” at the conceptual level by the lemma supporting the verb root; that is, they are “indirectly elected”. In

contrast, while the slot for tense and aspect in English may be indirectly elected as well (e.g. the slot for “have”), the specific system morpheme itself is only “structurally assigned” at a lower level (i.e. the level at which the formulator in language production assigns surface structure). That is, the rendition of “have” as *has*, *had*, *have* depends on the formulator.

In Chicheŵa, as in (12), for example, *a* is interpreted as present perfect because of the context, not because there is a different form of the morpheme for “present” vs. “past” or “third person singular” vs. “third person plural”.

- (12) Mw-a-mu-pukut-a? Mw-a-chit-a **change** ma-wipes?
 2S/SUBJ-PERF-3S/OBJ-wipe-FV 2S/SUBJ-PERF-do-FV change 6-
 wipes
 “Have you wiped him [the baby]? Have you changed the wipes?”
 (Chicheŵa/English Simango 1995: VI)

An obvious question arises. Why does Swahili allow many English verbs with Bantu inflections in Swahili/English CS? Why is CS in Swahili/English so different from that in Chicheŵa/English? In the Nairobi corpus discussed in Myers-Scotton 1993, there are 91 English verbs inflected with Swahili system morphemes, and the “do” construction is not used at all. The same question applies to an extent to those other Southern Bantu languages, outside of Chicheŵa, which seemingly allow many English verbs with Bantu inflections.

To answer this question, more field work of a quantitative nature needs to be done on the Southern Bantu languages. To date, examples reported in the literature showing CS, from languages other than Chicheŵa, have been few (e.g. Khati 1992; Finlayson et al. 1995). While structural incongruence between Chicheŵa and English regarding how tense and aspect are encoded may explain the data, another suggestion comes to mind as well. Perhaps a social explanation will explain why so many “do” verb constructions occur in Chicheŵa and not in Swahili/English or Zulu/English CS. That is, it is possible that the difference in the sociolinguistic situations in which Swahili and Zulu are spoken, along with any use of English or CS involving English, is distinct from that in which Chicheŵa is spoken in contact with English. What might be the difference? Even though Chicheŵa is spoken as a second language by many people in Malawi, it is the primary African language in that country which is heard in public settings. In contrast, both Swahili and Zulu are spoken in more “visibly” multilingual communities. In addition, many of the speakers of either Swahili or Zulu speak it as a second language. Even though there is a large number of first language speakers of Zulu in South Africa and Zulu has a good deal of inter-ethnic prestige, especially as an urban lingua franca, it is still one indigenous language among a number of formidable competitors for

prominence. Further, and possibly most important, the history of Chicheŵa usage in Malawi has a very “prescriptive” flavor. In these ways, the sociolinguistic milieu for Chicheŵa/English CS may be such that any incongruence between Chicheŵa and English VPs, such as that discussed above in regard to tense and aspect, may be less tolerated in CS than it is in the case of Swahili or Zulu. That is, the fact that there is more of a history of CS in both Kenya and South Africa as an acceptable conversational strategy may make a difference.

Both of the suggestions offered here, that tense and aspect are differently organized in regard to their salience at the conceptual level in Chicheŵa and English, and that attitudes toward Chicheŵa “purity” are more restrictive than those toward some other Bantu languages, are only speculations. Further research by others, especially quantitative work on CS in the South African Bantu languages, will indicate the value of these suggestions.

10. CONCLUSION

The tension between the speaker’s desire to convey intended semantic-pragmatic information with an English verb and the grammatical requirements of the ML results in a compromise strategy: the English verb occurs as a non-finite form and a Chicheŵa “do” verb satisfies the requirements of the ML frame. The result is an integrated bare form.⁴

CS data provide evidence on how languages may differ regarding how grammatical information is activated and projected by the lexicon. Considering abstract lemma structure, as opposed to more surface morphemes and lexemes, could tell linguists more about the relationship between syntax and morphology and relations across lexical and syntactic categories. CS data, and in particular compromise strategies such as bare forms, give linguists insights into how language works: Where the grammatical structures of two languages come together, the internal –and often obscured – workings of a particular language may be better exposed, and, therefore, better understood.

ENDNOTES

1. Research for this paper was conducted under NSF grant SBR-9319780. Authors’ e-mail addresses: carolms@vm.sc.edu; jakej@mtcl.mid.tec.sc.us.
2. To “quantify” in this sense means that one element selected “quantifies” or “picks out” one member of a set. For example, *this* in *this book is mine* picks out a particular book from a set.
3. Recall that one of the original goals of syntactic movement rules was to capture the

- regularity involved in English “affix hopping” (Chomsky 1965). In a sentence such as *John had been running*, the assumption was that past + perfect (*have-en*) + progressive (*be-ing*) occurred in that order under INFL. The *have* element of perfect combined with tense to give *had*; the *be* element of progressive combined with *-en* to give *been* and the verb *run* of the VP combined with progressive to give *running*.
4. Backus and Boeschoten (1996) have already demonstrated that Dutch infinitives in such constructions have nominal properties. They also argue that the *yap-* CS construction is an extension of a construction available in monolingual Turkish.

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