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Editorial

The mission of LASU Journal is to support the efforts of the Linguistics Association of Southern African Development Community (SADC) Universities in agreement with article III of the constitution of the association.

The current issue of the journal is released as Volume 4, No 1 and marks the mutation of your journal from the traditional hard copy format to an on-line publication. This is compatible with a recommendation of the General Assembly Meeting held in Lusaka (Zambia) on May 11th, 2011 and comes as a solution to the long-term difficulty our association has been experiencing with securing the necessary financial means to sustain a regular publication frequency.

Though this decision to go on-line deprives the association of a valuable source of self-funding, it has the advantage of increasing the journal's readership by facilitating its accessibility all over the world. The objective of the present editor-in-chief is to boost the reputation of the journal by raising the quality standard of the articles, maintaining regularity of publication and changing the journal from a biennial to an annual publication. The editorial board therefore wishes to thank all those who have contributed papers to the present issue and encourages many more contributors to come forward with their papers so as to help the journal reach these goals and reinforce the its viability.

This issue includes five articles covering a variety of linguistics topics on a diversity of languages. The first article on “Criteria for Identification of Determiners in Bantu Noun Phrases” studies the feature specification for the noun prefixes and the order of the modifiers of the NP nucleus in Eastern Bantu languages.

The second article discusses the rise of English as a global language within the context of global multilingualism. In order to enable students to process their written texts better, the third article titled “Profiling the writing process of novice first-year ESL students...” examines how learners sharpen their writing skills in this process and how they are assisted by the instructor’s creativity.

The fourth article is a comparative study of Shona and Yaawo locatives. It analyzes the locatives in these two languages with reference to other Bantu languages and attempts to show their close relation to prepositions, a very restricted word category in many Bantu languages because of its limited content.

In the last article entitled “Valency Adding Processes in Khoesan”, the author focuses on Naro, Ju/hoansi and !Xóó and looks into the complex morphology of the verb stem to determine what morphotactic constraints hold in the ordering of the verbal constructions and how they are represented in the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).

As readers, you are invited to comment and review the articles involved which exclusively represent the authors' views and therefore engage in no way the editorial team.

Professor Stephen TM. LUKUSA
Editor-in-chief
Criteria for Identification of Determiners in Bantu Noun Phrases

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Abstract

Recent comparative studies of the Bantu languages focus on non-syntactic issues. For the syntax of noun phrase, attention is on the analyses of features specification for the noun prefixes and order of the modifiers of the nucleus. This work articulates the indication of determiners in the noun phrases in Eastern Bantu languages. I showed that the apparent order of the four elements is Noun » Poss/Dem » Adj/Num across Eastern Bantu family. Also, I have shown three criteria to be used when trying to find out which of the four modifiers function as determiners in the Bantu noun phrases. It is evident, particularly under combinatorial bases, that cliticization, linear ordering and prosodic phrasing criteria permit possessives and demonstratives to be determiners while adjectives and numerals remain modifiers in these languages.

1. Introduction

Recent comparative studies of the Bantu languages focus on specific issues, mainly noun class systems and agreement patterns (cf. Maho 1999), trends of grammaticalization of word-forms and morphology (cf. Güldemann 2003), object marking strategies (cf. Marten et al. 2007), and tense and aspect systems (cf. Nurse 2008). The contributions of the findings therein are quite remarkable. But Bearth (2003: 121) noted that studies explicitly dealing with syntactic phenomena are rare and are unevenly distributed over the area. The present work; therefore, makes a contribution to the comparative study of the structure of the Bantu noun phrase. Specifically, it looks into the mechanisms of signaling of the distinction between determiners and other modifiers in the Bantu noun phrases.

Also, over a decade now, the size of the literature for noun phrases of individual Bantu languages has increased (cf. Carstens 1993; Lusekelo 2009a [Swahili]; Mugane 1998 [Gikuyu]; Ndomba 2006 [Matengo]; Petzell 2008 [Kagulu]; Lusekelo 2009b [Nyakyusa]; Visser 2002, 2010 [Xhosa], among others). In these studies, the center of attention had been on the analysis of features specification particularly for the noun prefixes (Dembetembe 1988; Carsten 1993; Mugane 1998) and order of the modifiers of the head-noun particularly demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives and relative clauses (Ndomba 2006; Petzell 2008; Lusekelo 2009a, b). The details of the results articulated in these works are noteworthy. However, only a few comparative studies are available (cf. Van de Velde 2005; Rugemalira 2007; Carstens 2008). These comparative works on Bantu noun phrases deal with specific

1 Preliminary versions of the material reported here were presented at the departmental seminar, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Botswana, 3 November 2010 and the Language of Tanzania (LOT) Workshop XII, University of Dar es Salaam, 27-28 May 2011. I am grateful to the participants, specifically Stephen Lukusa, Herman Batibo, Josephat Rugemalira, Taji John and Abel Mreta for stimulating discussions as well as two reviewers of the journal for highlighting important issues for inclusion. Nonetheless, the errors and mistakes are my own faults.
concerns. Van de Velde (2005) investigates only the order of the noun and demonstratives, while Carstens (2008) discusses the status of the determiners in Bantu languages particularly Swahili. The articulation of the mechanisms of the indication of the determiners and other modifiers in the Bantu noun phrases is not explored in detail hence the need for this comparative study.

In addition, it is assumed that Bantu languages have free word order in their noun phrases because the modifiers of the head-noun may be adjoined pronominally and post-nominally (Van de Velde 2005; Carstens 2008). In Giha [D66], for instance, Harjula (2004: 132) found that the order of the possessive, indefinite pronoun, adjective and numeral modifiers may vary, without a change in the meaning. In Setswana noun phrases, DALL (2000: 9) reported that native speakers may wish to put the words in a noun phrase any how depending on focus, fashion and interest. This paper strives to address the extent to which such freedom of word order can be. I also argue in this paper that Bantu noun phrases have determiners independent of the nucleus, contra to Carstens’ (2008) claim.

2. Theoretical Back-up and the Comparative Approach

2.1 Theory
Although this paper does not entirely address issues related to a particular theory, a number of facts are borrowed from minimalist programme (Chomsky 1995; Radford 1997) and its subsequent application to the analyses of the noun phrases in Bantu languages (see Visser 2002, 2010 [Xhosa]; Mwihaki 2007 [Swahili]). Specifically, the ideas associated with the linear order of the lexical elements will be borrowed and applied in the present paper. This is in the line of Mwihaki (2007: 25) who states that the linear order of words is their structural relationship not just a string of words.

2.2 Comparative Approach
For many of the properties of the elements in the noun phrase we are concerned with, data from one single language cannot give us a full insight into all the relevant properties (Giusti 1997: 100). Thus, properties found in one language may not be available in the other language. This entails that we may find ourselves that we are leaving behind a number of facts once we focus on an individual language. Put in other words, while word categories like noun and verb are attested across languages (Baker 2003), other word categories, such as adjectives (Dixon 1982) and numerals (Zweig 2006) are not found across languages. Therefore, such word categories attested in some languages are one place where cross-linguistic comparisons are especially fruitful and syntactic universals may be uncovered. However, once these systems are examined more closely, the picture becomes a lot more complicated, for it appears that these categories (like, adjectives and numerals) do not belong to a uniform syntactic category (Zweig 2006; Croft 2007).
2.3. Terminology

**Functional Categories**: Functional elements, as opposed to **lexical categories**, in natural languages constitute properties briefly captured as: (i) they constitute a closed class e.g. prepositions, (ii) they are phonologically and morphologically dependent, i.e. articles and enclitics are stressless, (iii) they permit once complement which is not an argument but embed unique categories like agreement and tense, (iv) they are inseparable from the heads e.g. in topicalisation, and (v) they lack descriptive content (void of meaning) (see Giusti 1997 for general details; Visser 2002 for details in Bantu). All these features entail that lexical categories constitute independent contentive words which occur in open classes (see Radford 1997 for English; Visser 2002 for Bantu).

**Noun Phrase (NP)**: Generally, a noun phrase is a word or group of words at least having a noun as a nucleus. On minimalist approach, is postulated that the various projections of an NP could be referred to three groups: (i) Agreement Phrase (abbreviated as AgrP) as it hosts agreement morphology, Determiner Phrase (captured as DP) because its head is filled with the article, or (iii) in other cases the functional categories generated by the NP fill the NP hence form a Specifier Phrase (SP) (see Giusti 1997 for general information; Visser 2002 for details in Bantu).

**Determiner**: The representative class of determiners across world languages includes articles, demonstratives and quantifiers which seem to occur in complementary distribution (Giusti 1997: 99). Thus, a category known as determiner is well accounted for using distribution tests like substitution which result into well-formedness if these kinds of words, like possessives get replaced by the other, say, in our case, demonstratives. This is applied even to languages without overt articles like Bantu languages. Progovac (1998) says in spite of the lack of articles, and in spite of the fact that demonstratives and possessives act like adjectives in Serbo-Croatian, there is support for the existence of a DP selecting NP in Serbo-Croatian because it exhibits noun-pronoun asymmetries which are best captured by placing pronouns in D positions and nouns in N positions and Serbo-Croatian offers morphological evidence for the existence of more than one intermediate functional head between N and D. It is not only articles which occur at determiner position but also demonstratives and possessives can co-occur with articles in many unrelated languages and they occupy specifier position.

**Modifier**: These are word classes which occur within the noun phrase but which occur lower than determiners and in our case herein we refer to numerals and adjectives. Zweig (2006) says that numerals are not heads in an NP because they show syntactic integrations within numerals such as agreement and that numerals are not constituents. This is observed in Bantu languages where lower numerals tend to share features like adjectives such as triggered agreement by the head-nouns.
3. Data for the Present Study

The discussion in this work is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was gathered mainly for Nyakyusa and Swahili in Tanzania and Setswana in Botswana\(^2\). Most of the secondary data come from grammar books, dissertations and articles. Primary data for other languages cannot be obtained easily owing to the reason that the Bantu-speaking people settled in a large area in distinct nations (Nurse & Philippson 2003a: 1-2).

I worked with data from the Eastern Bantu which covers most of the Bantu languages in East, Central and Southern Africa (Guthrie 1948; Vansina 1995; Batibo 1998). The noun phrases surveyed are for the following sixteen Eastern Bantu languages: Giha [D66], Sukuma [F21], Kagulu [G12], Swahili [G42], Runyambo [JE21], Malila [M24], Nyakyusa [M31], Ngoni [N12], Matengo [N13], Chichewa [N31], Shimwela [P22], Makonde [P23], Yeyi [R41], Shona [S10], Setswana [S31], and Xhosa [S41]. Of the total zones in Guthrie (1948) and Maho (2009), I worked on data from nine groups, each being represented at least by one language or utmost three languages.

The choice of this sample is two-fold. One, the preference was pulled by the availability of literature that covers the description and analysis of the noun phrase in individual Bantu languages. Two, concerns of this selection for the present study rests on the fact that the Eastern Bantu languages have linguistic similarities which include, among others, common noun pairings, number of noun classes, dependent and independent prefixes, and locative marking (Nurse & Philippson 2003b: 167).

In the existing literature, the different structures of noun phrases of some Bantu languages have been presented. From the architectures of the Bantu noun phrases, several claims have been made. The most abound include: (i) there are rules governing the order of the modifiers around the head-noun, (ii) in some Bantu languages demonstrative are permitted to occur pre-nominal positions, (iii) possessives and demonstratives occur close to the head-noun in the post-nominal position, and (iv) numerals, adjectives and quantifiers occur freely after demonstratives and possessives. These require special attention due to their mobility within the noun phrases.

Moreover, in order to be precise and draw best conclusions, in this work, I present the architecture of the Bantu noun phrase with only four elements, namely numerals, adjectives, demonstratives, and possessives. The Swahili examples in (1-4) are illustrative of the numerals (1), adjectives (2), demonstratives (3) and possessives (4), the four modifying elements discussed herein the paper.

(1) mw-anafunzi m-moja [Swahili, My own data]

\(^2\) Data for Swahili and Nyakyusa, the native languages of the author, were obtained through discussions with several native speakers. Setswana data was collected through elicitation. Many thanks to Swahili and Nyakyusa discussants, as well as my young informants for Setswana – Obonye Doctor, Brenda Mathanda, Lesedi Bamponye and Oteng Maphane.
In this paper, I argue that Bantu noun phrases have rules that govern the ordering of these four nominal modifiers. To arrive at this conclusion, in what follows, I will propose three criteria to use for the classification of the modifiers. These criteria would need combinatorial usages so as to arrive at the best indication of determiners and other modifiers of the head-noun.

4. The Order of the Lexical Elements: Two criteria from Previous Studies
In the previous studies of the Bantu languages, two criteria had been used as a means to determine the definite determiners and other modifiers within noun phrases. I call the principles as morphological criterion – cliticization and constituent positioning criterion – linear order. In this section, I discuss their usages in the analysis of the Bantu noun phrases.

4.1 Morphological criterion – cliticization
This is used to determine whether the morphology of the four elements helps to distinguish between the determiners, which occur close to the head-noun and modifiers, which occur a little bit away from the nucleus. In fact, it had been pointed out that demonstratives and possessives occur close to the head-noun thus they form a class of determiners while adjectives and numerals occur after determiners (Lukusa 2002; Ndomba 2006; Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009b).

We can draw an example from Yeyi. Lukusa (2002) found that in Shiyeyi, when the possessive and demonstrative co-occur, the possessive comes first hence cliticized to head-noun, as shown in (5). Thus, since it cliticizes to the head-noun, it becomes clear that there is a tighter syntactic relationship between the head-noun and the possessive. Vázquez-Rojas (2011) suggests that elements close to the head-noun have tight relationship to it.

(5) mwan’anga yiini [Yeyi, Lukusa 2002: 43]
child-Poss Dem

---

3 Abbreviations and symbols used: 1, 2, 3 etc. = Bantu noun classes, Adj = adjectives, AU = augment/pre-prefix, Ass = associative marker, Dem = demonstratives, N = noun (nucleus), Num = numerals, Poss = possessives, Quant = quantifier, SM = subject marker.
‘this child of mine’

It was found that cliticization of the possessive is widely spread in the Eastern and Southern Bantu languages, as shown below. This suggests that the possessive has a tighter syntactic relationship with the nucleus.

(6) ngwana-ka [Setswana, Krüger 2006: 140]
   1.child-Poss ‘my child’

(7) dada-ke [Swahili, My own data]
   1.sister-Poss ‘his/her sister’

(8) mwana-ke [Nyakyusa, My own data]
   1.child-Poss ‘his/her child’

However, the morphological criterion which cliticizes the possessives is stranded with findings in other Eastern Bantu languages. In some Bantu languages, it is the demonstrative which is cliticized and not the possessive. In Chichewa, for instance, Mchombo (2004: 128) says demonstratives like izi ‘these,’ izo ‘those’ and iyo ‘those’ have reduced counterparts, zi, zo and yo respectively, which appear as enclitics in the noun phrases, as shown below.

(9) Mbïdzí izi ndi zá nzëlú
    10-zebra 10Dem be 10SM-assoc.mark 10-intelligence
    ‘These zebras are intelligent’

(10) Mbïdzí-zi ndi zá nzëlú
    10-zebra-clitic be 10SM-Ass 10-intelligence
    ‘These zebras (the ones already introduced) are intelligent’

Thus far, the morphological criterion has helped to indicate that the possessives and demonstratives are determiners in Bantu noun phrases as they enclitisize to the nucleus. We are propelled to confirm whether the two have some differences as far as indication of definiteness is concerned. As for use of cliticization criterion, this is not well defined. Therefore, in what follows, I propose the use of another criterion, linear ordering.

4.2 Constituent Positioning Criterion – Linear Order

It is pointed out that the morphological criterion seems to need support in order to maintain that possessives and demonstratives are determiners. Across Bantu, the constituent positioning criterion is used. It is suggested that both the possessive and demonstrative rank higher in the hierarchy of modifiers hence become determiners (cf. Ndomba 2006; Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009a). This is because they usually occur closer to the head-noun once a series of elements are stringed around the nucleus. The examples below are illustrative of this point. (11) shows that in Nyakyusa the possessive syake ‘her/his’ is a determiner because it occurs close to the head than
the numeral *kalongo* ‘ten’. The Matengo example in (12) shows that the demonstrative and possessive occur very closer to the head than the adjective.

(11) **i-ngosye sy-ake ka-longo** [Nyakyusa, Lusekelo 2009b: 319]
    AU-bundle 1-Poss 12-Num
    ‘her/his ten bundles of thatching grass’

(12) **ma-si gala gangu ma-keli** [Matengo, Ndomba 2006: 77]
    6-water Dem Poss 6-red
    ‘that dirty water of mine’

Furthermore, it is also suggested that the demonstrative is more of a determiner because it has the ability to occur even before the head noun (Van de Velde 2005; Rugemalira 2007; Carstens 2008). Rugemalira (2007: 142) uses Swahili to support the claim that demonstratives and possessives rank higher in the order of the modifiers of the nucleus because they scramble to occur tightly to the head-noun.

(13) **mtu wangu yule** [Swahili, Rugemalira 2007: 142]
    1.person 1.Poss 1.Dem
    ‘that person of mine’

(14) **yule mtu wangu**
    1.Dem 1.person 1.Poss
    ‘that person of mine’

This is also attested in other Bantu languages. In this line, Visser (2010) found that canonically in Xhosa, the demonstrative occur pre-nominally as a marker of specificity. When it occurs post-nominally it is for emphatic functions.

The linear order criterion has accentuated the claim that demonstratives and possessives are determiners. Nonetheless, constituent positioning criterion faces some contradiction in other Eastern Bantu languages. Contra to findings above, in Chichewa, possessives occur higher in the hierarchy as they come before the demonstrative (Mchombo 2004), as illustrated in (15). Harjula (2004: 131) shows that in Giha, possessives appear anywhere within the noun phrase; it scrambles, contra other Bantu, even to the final position, as illustrated in example (16).

(15) **M-lenje w-ánú u-ja w-á nthábwala** [Chichewa, Mchombo 2004: 7]
    1-hunter 1SM-your 11SM-that SM-asc. 10-humor
    ‘That humorous hunter of yours…’

(16) **in-kokó zi-níni z-óóse zi-anje** [Giha, Harjula 2004: 131]
    10-hen 10-Adj 10-Quant 10-Poss
    ‘all the small hens of mine’

The contradicting findings abound in Eastern Bantu. Another example is from Ngonyani’s (2003: 74) findings in the noun phrase of the Tanzanian Ngoni which show that a demonstrative appears
at the far end of the noun phrase. Such claims push the findings above far away in the spectrum. The position of the demonstrative in the NP in Ngoni is illustrated in (17) below.

(17) vi-dengu vy-angu vy-oha vi-la [Ngoni, Ngonyani 2003: 74]
8-basket 8-Poss 8-Quant 8-Dem
‘all those baskets of mine’

Further trouble comes from Shimwela [Mwera P22] where the demonstratives is always intervened by the head-noun hence it forms a discontinuous morpheme. John (2010: 63-64) shows that the demonstrative in Shimwela is discontinuous, as shown in example (18); another part of it occurs even after adjectives, as in example (19).

(18) ajula mw-áána jula [Shimwela, John 2010: 63-64]
Dem 1-child Dem
‘that child’

(19) ajula mw-ááná jwá-n-shóoko jula
Dem 1-child ASS-1-Adjl Dem
‘that small child (we talked about)’

To summarize, following the foregoing discussions, I showed that the apparent order of the four elements which could succinctly be captured as in (20) below. Also, I have exposed two criteria to be used when trying to find out which of the four modifiers function as determiners in the Bantu noun phrases. I pointed out that the cliticization criterion allows possessives and demonstratives to encliticize to the nucleus. However, it has problems particularly because in some Bantu languages either the former or the latter cliticizes. Hence it becomes difficult to maintain their status and distinctions across Eastern Bantu. The linear order has validated that the possessives and demonstratives do appear adjacent to the nucleus. But some Eastern Bantu position possessives and demonstratives after adjectives and numerals.

(20) Noun » Poss/Dem » Adj/Num

So far, this seems to point out that the suggested order in (20) above is not quite conclusive as some Eastern Bantu languages, like Ngoni, Giha and Mwera have different patterns. Therefore, in what follows, I indicate that the claim that possessives and demonstratives are determiners which is made above is supported by prosodic features. In fact, the prosodic features function succinctly to designate determiners as opposed to other modifiers. The prosodic phrasing criterion works well in Eastern Bantu languages even though it was neglected when previous analyses for the linear order of noun dependents were considered. This is the topic I focus in the following section.
5. A New Proposal: Prosodic Phrasing Criterion

I found that there is a new criterion to be brought in so as to keep demonstratives and possessives as determiners hence more of specifier constituent while adjectives and numerals as modifier constituent. The criterion is prosodic or phonological phrasing in Bantu noun phrases.

This idea begins with findings by Möhlig (2004: 166) who presents the prosodic realizations in Herero [R30] sentences which he found functions, among others, to structure (demarcate) domain referring to syntax (syntactically structuring domain). This means that syntactic units, like determiners, modifiers etc. are demarcated by prosody. To the present analysis, this idea was borrowed so that we can use prosodic phrasing to establish the hierarchy of the elements in Bantu noun phrases. The idea is supported by Downing (2010) who says that Bantu languages have a rich phrasal phonology. She pointed out that there are phrasal prosodic constituents because phonology refers directly to syntactic structure.

Outside Bantu area, support on the prosodic phrasing criterion also comes from other languages. For instance, Sandalo and Truckenbrodt (2002) say that phonological phrases are related to syntactic phrases to a certain extent, e.g. in Brazilian Portuguese, syntax, focus, and eurhythmy all seem to enter into the formation of phonological phrases.

In Bantu noun phrases, it was found that some elements, specifically demonstratives and possessives are so tightly related to the nucleus that they phrase together prosodically. This means demonstratives and possessives are determiners in these languages. This is well evidenced, for example, in Śimákonde [P23] and Malila [M24] where demonstratives, possessives, adjectives and numerals behave differently prosodically.

Manus (2010) found that in Śimákonde [Makonde] prosodically demonstratives must phrase together with the noun, as shown in a good example in (21), never separately, as illustrated in a bad example (22). Notice that there are three different demonstratives in Śimákonde (proximal, distal and anaphoric) and they all phrase exactly the same way. I argue that since demonstratives occur only close to the head noun and in one prosodic-phrase, then demonstratives become the highest in the hierarchy of specifiers in the Bantu language Śimákonde.

(21)  
(lījémbé) aliilá)  
5.hoe 5.Dem  
(N+Adj)  
‘that hoe’

[Śimákonde, Manus 2010: 163]

(22)  
*(lījémbé) (aliilá)  
5.hoe 5.Dem  
*(N) (Dem)

But in Śimákonde, possessives can either constitute a single prosodic phrase with the nucleus, as in illustrated in (23) or be parsed in an independent prosodic-phrase, as in shown in (24). This
shows that even possessives rank higher in the order of the four lexical categories though possessive for sure rank lower than demonstratives.

(23) \[(\text{iposo} \ y\text{aángu})\] 
9.present \ 9.Poss 
(N+Poss) 
‘my present’

(24) \[(\text{ipooso}) \ (\text{yaángu})\] 
9.present \ 9.Poss 
(N) (Poss) 
‘my present’

It was found that adjectives and numerals rank low in the hierarchy of specifiers in Símákonde because they can never phrase prosodically with the noun (Manus 2010).

(25) \[(\text{lyoônga}) \ (\text{líkúmeéne})\] 
5.arrow \ 5.Adj 
(N) \ (Adj) 
‘(a) big arrow’

(26) \[(\text{lyoônga}) \ (\text{liímo})\] 
5.arrow \ 5.Num 
(N) \ (Num) 
‘one arrow’

Thus, I would conclude here that possessives in Símákonde are second in the hierarchy of specifiers because either they occur close to the head-noun within the same prosodic-phrase or it leaves space for the highest specifier, the demonstrative which occurs only close to the head-noun. Therefore, I argue that adjectives and numerals form a group of modifiers in Símákonde noun phrases which are lower in the hierarchy of specification.

Another support is from Kutsch-Lojenga’s (2010) work in Shimalila. She found that possessives occur in one prosodic domain with the head-noun, as illustrated in (27) while adjectives, numerals and demonstratives occur in separate prosodic domains, as shown in (28). This behaviour is evidenced by the loss of vowel length in the nucleus íjínza ‘egg’ once the possessive occurs with it. But the other nucleus, ishipéeni ‘knife’ maintains its vowel length after an adjective. Kutsch-Lojenga (2010: 136) found that two long vowels are constrained against occurring in one prosodic domain in Shimalila. This is coupled with the constraint that a long vowel cannot occur further to the left of the antepenultimate position (Ibid).

(27) \[íjínza \ y\text{aakwε}\] 
‘egg’ \ [Malila, Kutsch-Lojenga 2010: 136] 
\[íjínza \ y\text{aakwε}\] 
‘his/her’

(28) \[ishipéeni\] 
‘knife’ \ [Malila, Kutsch-Lojenga 2010: 139]
Thus, the possessive in Malila is the first in the hierarchy of specifiers because either it occurs close to the head within the same prosodic-phrase. Demonstratives, adjectives and numerals form a group of modifiers in Malila noun phrases which are lower in the hierarchy of specification.

6. Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to lay-down the criteria to be used in determining the status of the nominal modifiers across Eastern Bantu. I argued that cliticization, linear ordering and prosodic phrasing, in combinatorial manner, work succinctly to designate that possessives and demonstratives are typical determiners while adjectives and numerals remain modifiers. I have shown in this work that once we combine all three criteria, say we experiment all the orders, we will realize that there is no free word order in Bantu noun phrases. Rather, as this work has shown, possessives and demonstratives are determiners.

Also, I showed that the claim above further supported by the existing literature. In fact, I showed that there are Bantu languages which strictly allow demonstratives and possessive to occur freely post-nominally: Sukuma, Chishona, Runyangbo, Kagulu, Makonde, Setswana, and Shiyei. Some Bantu languages permit only the demonstratives to appear optionally pre-nominally, for emphasis or topicalization purposes: Swahili, Matengo, Nyakyusa. Regularly, in these languages demonstrative and possessives may also occur immediately after the noun. In Giha, Chingoni, Malila, and Chichewa, demonstratives and possessives occur post-nominally but not strictly close to the head nouns. Ultimately, demonstratives and possessives occur closer to the head-noun.

Moreover, this work has shown that adjectives and numerals are modifiers. This is because most Bantu languages put adjectives and numerals together after the demonstratives and possessives: Swahili, Nyakyusa, Shiyei, Setswana, and Matengo. But there are Bantu languages that put numerals immediately after determiners (demonstratives and possessives) and adjectives at the final position: Sukuma, Runyangbo and Kagulu. Other Bantu languages have maximum freedom of movements of the adjectives and numerals: Chingoni and Giha.

All in all, to the best of my knowledge, these clusters give no geographical relationships. This was also found by Van de Velde (2005). In the majority of the Eastern Bantu languages, the order in (20) is attested. The exceptions include Giha which has freedom of occurrence of all elements excluding only demonstratives which occur close to the head noun, and Sukuma and Shiyei which have freedom of occurrence of all elements excluding only possessives which occur close to the head.
References


English as a global language: A gift or a curse?

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Abstract

This paper discusses the rise of English as a global language within the context of global multilingualism. It is noted that the unprecedented expansion of technical, economic and scientific knowledge written in English has generated a demand for English throughout the world. The paper contends that while English is increasingly being used as a global lingua franca, its omnipresence is seen as a threat to the preservation of linguistic diversity, particularly the survival of indigenous languages in Africa and elsewhere, which are marginalized as more and more people prefer to use English for international communication. The paper proposes that while the use of English as a global language may be an inescapable reality of our modern times, there is an urgent need to preserve indigenous languages so that we can bequeath to the succeeding generations the greatest treasure of mankind — language.

Key words: lingua franca, world English, Standard English, international English, global English, linguicide, language death, language murder, killer language

Introduction

Following the 11th Linguistic Association of SADC universities (LASU) conference held in Lusaka, Zambia, from the 9th – 11th of May 2011 which discussed, among other things, critical issues on indigenous languages, I was profoundly touched by the concerns raised by many participants, particularly the keynote speech by Professor Lazarus Miti regarding the marginalization of ‘minority’ languages. From the conference, I felt we needed to share more ideas regarding the forces that undermine not only minority languages but also ‘national’ languages.

In this context, I would like to examine the wisdom of using English as a global language which is today one of the most vexatious issues, not only among linguists but also among diplomats and envoys, politicians, economists, business people, pilots, scientists, educators, parents and almost everyone who is concerned with the language to be used for international communication. Those who advocate the use of English as a world lingua franca maintain that there is need for a common language because of the globalization of the world, such as the use of technology, the rise of new markets for entrepreneurs, the rapid expansion of scientific knowledge written in English, telecommunication, popular music, the film industry, travel, diplomacy and so forth. They argue that since English is already the dominant language used for these purposes, it should therefore be used as the medium of communication among the different peoples of the world.

On the other hand, opponents of the use of English as a global language who include, among others, the eminent linguist, Crystal (2003), argue that the use of English as a global
lingua franca has several risks that can easily plunge this world into an interminable conflict. These dangers include the perception that western countries comprising ‘inner circle’ countries (Kachru, 1992), such as the United States of America and Britain, impose their value systems on non-English speaking countries of the world, which leads to the loss of their cultural values.

It is also argued that since English-speaking countries are historically Christian-based, religious intolerance that is already the scourge of our modern era is likely to escalate in future. Trudgill (2000: 192) adds his voice by pointing out that the current trend of cultural homogenization is destroying linguistic diversity, which should be given the same priority as the preservation of biological diversity. He insists that a diversity of cultures does not only make the world more colourful and interesting, but also provides more opportunities for different ways of thinking. Trudgill (2000: 193) argues further that a mono-cultural world “would not only be a very dull but probably also very stagnant place”. It is these polarized ideas that are discussed in this paper by examining the various factors that have given rise to the use of English as a global language, the resultant dangers and the possible solution to the problem.

Critical terms

In discussing the use of English as a global language, perhaps the first thing that needs to be done is to unpack the crucial terms that make us understand what is meant by a global language. The first term is lingua franca, a Latin phrase, which means ‘French language’. The term appears to have been used from the period of the Renaissance in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries when French became the language mostly used in commerce and diplomacy among European countries. Before the use of French as a lingua franca, Latin had been widely used in Europe especially in religion, education and diplomacy; and Greek had also assumed a similar role, although to a lesser extent.

In subsequent years, other European languages assumed the same role of a lingua franca, such as German which had been used in the creation of the Zollverein as a customs union of Germanic states organized in the early 1830s under Prussian leadership. In this context, the term ‘lingua franca’ means a ‘universal’ language that is used for communication among people who speak different native languages. What needs to be noted is that a lingua franca establishes itself through an evolutionary process; but, in some cases, non-linguistic factors, such as the degree of influence a given language has on international decision-making, international diplomacy, economic prosperity, global business, and world affairs play a crucial role (Crystal, 2006; Graddol, 2006; Ulrich, 2003; Jenkins, 2003; Mair, 2003; Wallraff, 2000; Crystal, 1997).

The choice of a lingua franca, as determined by the power of the people who speak the language, is illustrated by the use of the languages of former European colonizers in Africa, South and North America, the Indian sub-continent and some parts of South East Asia. The former colonies in these continents have chosen English, French, Spanish or Portuguese to be used as a common language because they do not have native languages that can serve that
purpose (Trudgill, 2000: 132). In some parts of Africa, other indigenous languages, such as Swahili in East Africa, Arabic in North Africa, Hausa in West Africa and Pidgin English (which originated as a spontaneous mixture of languages) in Nigeria are used as a lingua franca. What should be noted is that when a language is used as a lingua franca, it goes through a certain amount of ‘simplification’ in order to get rid of difficult features of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and idiomaticity, which Kachru (1981: 18 – 25) considers as “evidence of lexical, semantic, and syntactic nativisation”. Here, what needs to be underscored is that in using English as a global language, there is a real possibility of the language becoming ‘simplified’, which has dire consequences for intelligibility among different speakers of the ‘same’ language.

The coterminous concepts of ‘world English’, ‘international English’ and ‘global English’ also need to be unpacked. The term ‘world English’ is generally used to mean ‘all’ English, i.e. the English that is used throughout the world regardless of dialect or accent. The use of the term ‘world English’, however, masks the fact that in essence we do not have a uniform language called ‘world English’, (also see Bamgbose, 1998) but world Englishes because “a language is a variable system of codes, specialized in function; not all of the codes will be intelligible to all members of the community” (Hymes, 1972: 104). In other words, there is no homogenous English spoken across the world, but a number of English varieties.

The other meaning of ‘world English’ refers to what is generally known as ‘standard English’, which may be defined as “a prestige variety of a country, identified by its vocabulary and grammar and not by pronunciation. It is usually a minority variety, but the one that is most widely understood” (Parkinson, 2003: 250). Standard English, which is synonymous with world English, is variously known as ‘the Queen’s English’, ‘BBC English’ or ‘Oxford English’. Honey (1981) points out that, although ‘standard’ English commands a great deal of respect as a notional model, it lacks credibility as a ‘representative’ variety of accent since it is spoken by a privileged small group who ‘talk posh’. In terms of the debate about whether the use of English as a global language is a gift or a curse, Honey’s reference to standard English as ‘posh’ suggests it carries the stigma of being used only by an elitist group that does not represent the vast majority of world users of English from either the ‘inner circle’ (native users), ‘outer circle’ (ESL users) or the ‘far-flung circle’ (EFL users) (Kachru, 1992).

The second term, ‘international English’, refers to the multinational use of English, especially when referring to language teaching and learning. The use of this term recognizes the fact that a language that is so widely spread across the world is bound to have distinct regional varieties that assimilate local words, such as the regional variety of English in Southern Africa which Chimbganda (2005: 29) says has absorbed words such as ‘tsotsi’ (street thug or member of a gang), ‘indaba’ (a meeting to discuss a serious matter), ‘fundi’ (learned person), ‘muti’ (herbal medicine), ‘vlei’ (low marshy land used for grazing cattle), ‘kopje’ (small isolated hill), ‘biltong’ (sun dried meat), ‘shebeen’ (a place where alcoholic drink is sold illegally) and many others. These words and other structural variations are now accepted as part of the regional standard.
The question that can be asked is: to what extent can English remain truly ‘international’ after it has assimilated a large corpus of local features whose meanings may not be understood easily by speakers from other parts of the world?

The third term, which is the subject matter of this paper, is ‘global English’. It implies the use of the language beyond international boundaries to cover many parts of the world. Crystal (2003: 7) maintains that it is associated with the ‘linguistic power’ of dominant countries, such as the USA and Britain. In pursuit of free-market ideologies that demand a high level of integration, the architects of globalization promote the penetration of socio-economic value systems that gravitate from the Anglo-American centre to the expanding periphery of the global community. The use of English in the context of these hegemonic forces is neither accidental nor power-neutral: it is deliberately used in order to articulate the different facets of the capitalist system throughout the world. Also, as the world moves closer together economically, Buck (2005) suggests that the use of English as a Second Language (ESL) or as a Foreign Language (EFL) is not only a convenient way of expanding the Anglophone sphere of influence but also a way of creating a multi-billion dollar job spinning English teaching industry in every corner of the world, with dire consequences for indigenous languages.

**Genesis of English as a global language**

In order to understand the current dominance of English, let us cursorily look at how it has emerged as a global language. The rise of English as a global language can be traced directly to British imperialism and the emergence of the United States as a superpower after World War II. The establishment of the first thirteen colonies in ‘New England’ on the north-east coast of the United States of America in the 16th century marked the beginning of a long-running colonization period, which was to include about a quarter of the then world’s population. At its pinnacle during the Victorian era, the British Empire included Canada, Australia, New Zealand, parts of western, southern and eastern Africa, many Pacific and Caribbean islands, the Asian subcontinent, and parts of Southeast Asia (McCormick, 2003: 14). At the zenith of their imperial glory, the British could afford to boast that ‘the sun never sets in their empire’.

The beginning of English as a global language can, therefore, be traced to this unique territorial aggrandizement. The expansion of the British empire across the world did not only result in political power, but also in economic and cultural influence. Where-ever the British established their colonies they also established English institutions, such as the use of English as an ‘official’ language even when the local people could not speak it. During the entire colonial period, the British administrators in Africa and Asia relied mostly on translators to communicate with the local people instead of making an effort to learn the local languages, except (and for different reasons) missionaries, traders and anthropologists.

Concerning the power of English during the colonial era, Phillipson (1992: 5) hits the nail on the head when he says that it was used for ‘cultural humiliation’; and its continued use in
the post-colonial era shackles the languages and cultural values of the ‘free’ and ‘sovereign’ people of the new states. This point is echoed by Crystal (2003) who maintains that people who do not speak English as their mother tongue, but use it as their second or foreign language, often play second fiddle to those who speak it as their native language. The ideological chasm between those who use English as their native language (ENL) and those who use it as an additional language is so deeply inscribed that it does not make the people who speak the ‘same’ language share common values in the global community.

The spread of English across the world has not only been the responsibility of the British through colonization, but also the work of the United States of America through their vast economic resources (Crystal, 2003: 29). After the Second World War, when previous colonial empires crumbled and the whole of Europe was shattered, the USA emerged as a superpower, while the Soviet Union was weakened by the pangs of war and the weight of its ramshackle empire. The USA began to grow in confidence as they felt that they were the only nation capable of stopping the spread of communism globally. During the ‘Cold War’ that followed World War II, they began to manufacture sophisticated and deadly weapons, such as long-range missiles, nuclear submarines and thermonuclear warheads, supposedly as a measure to prevent the spread of communism globally (Duncan & Goddard, 2005: 28).

To entrench their newly found power, the Americans kept their armies in central Europe and in the Pacific islands, and also fought against communist regimes in Korea and Vietnam. In these military campaigns (Afghanistan is the latest), they not only asserted their influence, but also spread the use of English. When their former mortal enemy, the USSR, split up in 1991 at the end of the Gorbachev era, the USA was the only superpower left to dominate the world. Thus, the use of English as a global language can be viewed from the standpoint of superpower hegemony; and until this factor is removed, English is likely to continue to superimpose itself and trespass on the territories of many national languages (Phillipson, 2003).

**Influence of ESP**

A critical factor that has helped to spread English across the world is the development of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), which Hutchison and Waters (1987) define as “an approach to language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner’s reason for learning”. Strevens (1988) points out that ESP, as opposed to other forms of English, is designed to meet the specific needs of learners in their particular disciplines, a view which is also shared by Dudley-Evans and St John (1998). An emphasis on the ‘specific needs’ of learners has led to a greater demand for English throughout the world because learners only need to focus on their specific needs without having to acquire the whole language.

The effect of this shift coincided with the unprecedented expansion in scientific, technical and economic activity after the Second World War, with many people wanting to learn English, not for the pleasure or prestige of knowing the language, but because they want to
master the key to the international currency of science, technology and business. This new generation of learners wants to learn English in order to do certain things, such as how to sell their products, how to read instruction manuals, how to keep up with developments in their field, and so forth.

This new demand has lead to a redefining of the English Language Teaching (ELT) profession by focusing on the ways in which language is actually used in real communication, rather than on describing the rules of English usage, i.e. the grammar. This shift has lead to the designing of new brands of courses, such as English for Science and Technology, English for Business and Economics, English for Humanities and Social Sciences, English for Medical studies, etc (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). The insatiable demand for ESP has, likewise, compelled colleges and universities in the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and other English speaking countries in Africa and Asia to design new ELT qualifications, such as MA (Applied Linguistics), M.A. (ESP or TESP), M.A (ESL or TESL) etc. that focus on the expanding needs of ESL and EFL students. The graduates who obtain these qualifications teach various English courses in the outer and expanding circles of the English speaking community, such as Latin America, Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent, South-East Asia, China, Korea and Japan. In this way (and perhaps unwittingly) they help to extend the frontiers of the English language far into the corners where it was not previously spoken.

Benefits of English as a global language

Let us now turn to the question of whether the use of English as a global language is a gift or a curse. The first thing to note is that throughout the shifting sands of our modern times, the quest for a common language has always been there, and this is illustrated by the construction of the now defunct Esperanto in Europe in order to communicate with people who speak different languages. The use of English as a global language can, therefore, be understood as an attempt to find a common language that can be used by people from different parts of the world. As early as 1931 Sapir predicted that English was going to be a global language and almost sixty years later Crystal (1997) notes that “a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country” (quoted in McArthur, 2004: 10).

The question of whether English is a gift or a curse is taken up by Mathangwane (2008) and Redmann (2002: 45), the latter claims that “English spans the divide between people and cultures. It is not owned by Britain and America: now it belongs to everyone”. Redmann’s (ibid) claim is correct in so far as the spread of the language is concerned, but it fails to acknowledge the stark reality that although English is used internationally, it does not necessarily mean that those who use it as a second or foreign language can actually call it their ‘own’ language. In this context, Kachuru’s (1996) and Schneider’s (2003) argument that the nativization of English in
some Asian and African countries is a result of the need to reconstruct the people’s identity, lacks steel because the question of identity is inextricably linked to the language one speaks.

Further support for the use English as a global language comes from Ulrich (2003: 23) who claims that at the moment English is by far the most useful language for international communication, and that it is the most suitable for multilateral contacts. Ulrich’s (ibid) claim appears to be based more on sentiment than fact: there is no linguistic evidence to support the claim that it is ‘the most useful’ and ‘most suitable’ for international contacts. Stewart and Vaillette (2001: 307) have this to say about the use of a language:

*Linguistically speaking, no one dialect or language is better, more correct, or more logical than any other...but the prestige of any speech variety is wholly dependent upon the prestige of the speakers who enjoy positions of power, wealth and education.*

Some people who see the current world order as a natural evolution of human development feel there are compelling reasons why English should be used as a global lingua franca. Trudgill (2000: 164), for instance, argues that whichever way we look at it, there is need for a common language in our world. For him, English naturally stands out because of its propensity to borrow and assimilate foreign words, and its history of being a tough mongrel that thrives on cannibalizing other languages. The ‘accommodative’ nature of the language appears to be the basis of its strength. Every year, global standard dictionaries like the Oxford English Dictionary and other modern English dictionaries add new words from other languages. Based on its adaptive capacity, some people maintain that it lays a very strong claim to being the *de facto* global lingua franca.

In support of the use of English as a global language, Wallraff (2000: 1) provides a set of facts: it is the working language of the Asian Trade group; it is the language of 98% of German research physicists and 83% of German research chemists. It is also the official language of the European Central Bank, based in Frankfurt. Besides, it is the most widely understood language in the European Union and Eastern Europe. The fact that it is predominantly used in disseminating advances in science and technology and that it is the major medium of communication for international trade and business transactions (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Cronin. 2003), also enables it to lay a strong claim to being the undisputed lingua franca of the world.

Furthermore, those in support of the dominance of English as a global language argue that since it is used by various professional communities throughout the world its supremacy should continue. Wallraff (2000: 7), for example, talks of ‘Seaspeak’ as a form of English which is used by ships’ pilots across the world to communicate with one another, and ‘Airspeak’, a form of restricted English, as the language used by pilots, traffic controllers, airport managers and air hostesses. In Wallraff’s (ibid) view, the global use of English in these fields makes it the most suitable of all other languages.
Similarly, the global dominance of English in other fields, such as the formidable panoply of mass communication, i.e. television, radio, print media, and the internet is cited as one of the reasons why it should remain the lingua franca of the world. In support of the hegemonic position of English, Wallraff (2000: 8) states that 80% of the materials on the internet are available in English which, in a way, compels non-English speaking users to have a working knowledge of the language. The dominant use of English in world cup soccer commentaries which are broadcast live throughout the world compels many people to learn the language. Added to this, the film industry in which a plethora of films are produced in English persuades even those who are reluctant to learn the language to have a smattering of the language.

The music industry has been particularly pivotal in the dissemination of English in diverse parts of the world, notably the popular music of icons such as the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Elvis Pressley, James Brown, Bob Marley, Dolly Patton, Michael Jackson and many current musicians. Because of the overwhelming power of English through its economic, political and cultural influence (e.g. western films, soaps, sitcoms, popular music, etc), critics such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2006, 2004); Pennycook (2006) and Phillipson (2003) now call for some protectionist measures in order to preserve local languages against the ever increasing power of English.

**Dangers of English as a global language**

In spite of the rich rewards that may be reaped from using English as a lingua franca, there are serious concerns that need to be taken heed of. The first is the morality of using one dominant language throughout the world. This issue is acknowledged by Crystal (1997) who cautions that English should not be the language to oversee the disappearance of other languages from this planet, because it has an obligation to grow alongside other national languages.

The second concern is the impact of using English instead of indigenous languages for ordinary conversations. There is a real danger that autochthonous languages in Africa and elsewhere, especially those of ethnic minorities, may die out because the social, political and economic power of English will encourage a language shift as indigenous people would want to use English in order to get assimilated into the dominant culture. Already, as Batibo (2005) shows, some of the indigenous languages in Africa are, to all intents and purposes, dead. Mufwene (2004) also echoes this point by suggesting that a language can only remain viable as long as its users can derive benefits from it.

When referring to the risk of indigenous languages getting extinct, Trudgill (2000: 191) says that this can come about in two ways: either through ‘language death’ or ‘language murder’. He explains that languages die when they disappear naturally, i.e. the speakers abandon their language ‘voluntarily’ because it is not useful in the wider community. Already in Southern Africa, as confirmed by Batibo (2005), Khoisan languages are in danger of disappearing because there is very little that is being done to encourage their growth.
On the other hand, language murder is caused by a ‘killer language’, which has social, economic and political power. The killer language is often the language of conquerors or a dominant ethnic group that uses various means to ensure that other indigenous languages are not used in the media, education system and other aspects of public life. In our modern times, the unsavoury work of stifling the growth of indigenous languages is done under the guise of trying to maintain ‘nationhood’ and becoming part of the ‘global’ community, to the extent that some of the speakers of minority languages discard their own languages because they think their languages are not useful for their wider communicative needs. For example, the languages of the Khoisan of Southern Africa, the Pygmies of equatorial Africa and other small minority groups elsewhere are marginalized in the long-standing system of core-periphery relations.

The prospect of a ‘linguicide’ of indigenous languages is not just a matter of debate; it is a real concern. It is well known that English has a brutal colonial history that is characterized by war and dispossession (Crystal, 1997: 114). In Australia and New Zealand, the subjugation of the Aborigines and Maoris, respectively, is well documented in the annals of history. Similarly, the violent colonization of the indigenous people of the USA, offensively referred to as ‘Red’ Indians, and the subsequent loss of their linguistic identity is something that this world cannot be proud of. In Africa the pattern is the same: the use of English, French and Portuguese as official languages undermines the growth of indigenous languages as they get relegated to being languages of the hearth.

To illustrate the danger of using the language of a conqueror, the United States has attempted to kill the French language in Louisiana and New Orleans, and Spanish in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and California and other states by declaring English the official language in all the states. In the case of Spanish, it has not been possible to prevent its use for radio and television broadcasts because there are millions of Latinos in the USA whose home language is Spanish. The point that needs to be noted, however, is that if the only superpower we have in the world today is inclined to imposing English on other ethnic groups whose native language is not English, is there a guarantee in future that a similar situation will not occur to speakers of minority languages in other parts of the world where the USA has influence?

Here, the issue is not just about the need for an efficient medium of international communication, but the preservation of the greatest treasure of humanity: language. Trudgill (2000: 191) tells us that although it is generally agreed that there are about 6,000 languages in the world, the number is decreasing at an alarming rate because of the pressures of a ‘mono-cultural world’. If one may ask, is the disappearance of indigenous languages the price that has to be paid for sustaining one language that is understood globally?

The moral arguments about the need to retain the language of every ethnic group are illustrated better by the cultural values embodied in a language. It is common knowledge that language is the single most important treasure that holds the centre together, and it is the most collective of all possessions that binds a culture together. If it is removed, the centre cannot hold. Skutnabb-Kangas (2004) refers to language as a human right, like all other fundamental human
rights. Likewise, Bourdieu (2001) notes the symbolic power of language by virtue of its social relations that influence the production and reception of discourse in a particular socio-cultural context.

In order to preserve the symbolic power of indigenous languages, it is important to realize that the cultural contexts of many of them are lost when ideas are expressed in a foreign language. For instance, if English continues to become ‘very technical’ and ‘corporatised’ as more and more people in the ‘outer’ and ‘expanding’ circle use it for specialized fields such as science and technology, business, travel, internet, etc, it runs the risk of being ‘impoverished’ by what Kachru (1981) calls ‘reduction’ and ‘simplification’. For example, if the Innuits (Eskimos), who have several words for snow, were to use one word for snow, they would lose the other meanings.

Similarly, people who speak different languages would feel ‘poor’ if they were to express their feelings and emotions in a language that is not their mother tongue. For example, can a native speaker of a language other than English, cry, love or hate in English? Expressing emotions aside, the overriding point to note is that the use of English as a global language is neither a guarantee for effective communication nor a safety valve for world peace and security. This point has been proven several times in history when people who speak the same language go to war, such as the English Civil War, French Revolution, American Civil War, Spanish Civil War, the recent war in Yugoslavia (Crystal, 2003: 16), the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the ongoing ethnic war in Somalia.

Mutual intelligibility

In spite of the aura of an apparent use of English as a global language, remarkably very little has so far been said about its mutual intelligibility among the people who speak it. Experience shows that the use of English as a global language does not necessarily make it easier for its speakers to understand each other. For instance, the fragmentation of English into different regional varieties with their distinct accents, such as Scottish, American, Indian, Jamaican, Nigerian, South African, Australian, Singaporean English, etc does not always make mutual intelligibility easy. There are also cases in which even English speakers in the United Kingdom, where the population is thought to be linguistically homogeneous, find it difficult to understand each other because of differences in regional accents.

Buck (2005) suggests that the problem of intelligibility among English users in the outer and expanding circle often arises from disregarding the prosody of the language, word stress, intonation and the choice of words whose meanings may convey totally different messages. The use of English as a lingua franca is also affected by cultural infusions into the language which sometimes trip up the interlocutors, even when they have mastered the language to near perfection. In some cases, borrowing heavily or even calquing from the mother tongue impedes communication. And few people can dispute the fact that there are difficulties inherent in the
English language, such as the mismatch between spelling and pronunciation and the strong ideological ballast of the language. Considering all these practical problems and coupled with the fact that there is no world guardian to ensure that there is uniformity, there is reason to believe that the use of English as a global language may not be a gift at all.

**Role of translation**

While the use of English as a global language may have many strong advocates, there are equally strong voices that are against its expansion. Phillipson (2003), for instance, notes that English has been encroaching upon some national languages like French, German, Swedish, Danish and many indigenous African languages by usurping many of their customary functions. In order to allay the fears of those who view English as a threat, perhaps translation from and into English within the context of globalization may be the way out. Wallraff (2000: 1 - 2) maintains that “English is not managing to sweep all else before it, not even in the US...we monolingual English speakers may never be able to communicate fluently with everyone everywhere...we may need help from something other than English”. Wiersema (2003: 6) correctly captures the essence of translation: “in our globalized world, translation is the key to understanding and learning foreign cultures...and that globalization decreases the element of foreignness in translation”.

The kind of translation that is advocated here is not _a-la-carte_ translation, but the one that focuses on important educational, social, economic and political aspects that influence global thinking, leaving the bulk of ‘literature’ to the potent attributes of national sovereignty. The ‘hard’ issues of a ‘national language’, ‘culture’ and ‘identity’ should be left to each sovereign state and its communities so that they can develop all the cultures that make the present world what it is.

In suggesting translation as an alternative _modus operandus_, one is aware that there are powerful arguments against it. One of the arguments is that translation is a ‘cottage industry’, which has for so long stood in the way of the modern world’s drive for homogeneity. This argument, however, fails to recognize translation as the nucleus of international communication that has survived many generations and one that has served well the United Nations and many other international organizations. Also, there is the argument that translation is a luxury, particularly for those countries whose economies are too weak to sustain their own people. While this may be true, especially where translation is done wholesale, it does not however give us a full picture of the total costs involved. For example, has anyone tried to calculate the costs involved in the thousands of hours spent on learning English individually as a second or foreign language, so that one can be reasonably competent in the language? What about the costs of wastage in foreign language teaching and learning in many education systems over many years? I think a more fruitful debate should focus on ‘what’ to improve on and ‘how’ to use translation effectively for the mutual benefit of all people in different countries.
Demographic shift

If a solution to the problems associated with the use of English as a global language is not found, then perhaps the solution may come from a demographic shift. Wallraff (2000: 2) suggests that “the world language picture may be transformed according to the new political alliances, and how the regional trading blocks in Asia, the Arab world and Latin America will be formed, in which the US and other primarily English-speaking countries will be little involved”. McArthur (2004: 10) makes a similar point: “the future of English as a global language may depend, in a large measure, on how the language is taken up by young adults in Asian countries”. In order to show the extent to which English as a global language will be affected by a demographic shift, Wallraff (2000: 3) has this to say:

*English is likely to cede second place within fifty years to the South-Asian linguistic group of Hindi and Urdu. In 2050, the world will hold 1,384 million native speakers of Chinese, 556 million of Hindi and Urdu, and 508 million of English. As native languages, Arabic and Spanish will be almost as common as English with 486 and 482 respectively. And among young people aged fifteen to twenty four, English is expected to be in fourth place, behind not only Chinese and Hindi-Urdu languages but Arabic, and just ahead of Spanish.*

A critical factor that may neutralize the use of English as a global language is its diminishing influence. Graddol (2006: 62) asserts that “English is by no means the only language in global business… as it only accounts for 30% of the world Gross Domestic Product, and is likely to account for less in future”. The current power of English as a global language is closely linked with the economic dominance of the USA and the UK. This economic power is, however, shifting in favour of China, which is rapidly growing in economic importance, resulting in a growing interest in learning Mandarin world wide. In Graddol’s (2006: 113) view, “the US-dominated phase of globalization is fading…and English does not enjoy a complete hegemony”. The current economic recession, if it does not end quickly, might be the mortal blow that is going to render the stranglehold of English moribund.

An equally important factor that may lead to the decline of English as a global lingua franca is its use for accessing information from the internet. According to Wallraff (2000: 8) “non-English users are the fastest growing group of new Internet users…and that Internet traffic in languages other than English will outstrip the English language traffic within the next few years”. Graddol (2006: 44) shares the same view: “it is often claimed that English dominates computers and the internet, and that those wishing to use either must first learn English. That may have been true in the early days of the technology, but the lack of English is no longer the barrier it once was”. If these observations have any credence at all, the use of English as a global language is going to decline as more languages become channels of communication for technological needs.
Conclusion

In this paper the rise of English as a global language has been discussed as an outgrowth of colonialism. It has been argued that English is currently preferred for discourse in many educational, social, economic and political fields, as well as for science and technology, the film industry, the internet, popular music and others because of its dominant influence. However, critics of the use of English as a global language have been quick to remind us of the dangers of having one monolithic language, which has the power to kill the languages and cultures of autochthonous people. It has been shown that the arguments of those opposed to an overarching language are of a moral nature, i.e. they see this world as a better place when it has linguistic diversity than having one global language.

In order to reconcile the divergent views between those who want to see English as the lingua franca of the world and those who want to preserve linguistic diversity, it has been proposed that perhaps the use of selective translation to articulate key social, economic and political issues can meet both global and national interests. It has also been suggested that if this proposition does not work, perhaps the evolutionary process of a language shift will determine eventually whether English will continue to maintain its dominant position as a global language.

In the final treatise of this paper, it has been argued that the rapid economic growth of China and the other Asian ‘tigers’, which have huge populations, is likely to tilt the linguistic pendulum in their favour. At the moment, however, the indisputable fact is that English is like a flooded river whose rising water is bound to subside at some stage. As for the language future of mankind, particularly the future of marginalized languages in Africa and elsewhere, the critical issue for us all is that this world is likely to be a richer, safer and more peaceful place when it speaks with many voices (which can all be heard) than when it uses one language which has the potential to stir up resentment.

References


Profiling the writing process of novice first-year ESL students at the University of Botswana

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ABSTRACT:

What exactly do students do from the day the essay assignment is announced to the day they submit it? Using a questionnaire and a class discussion, this paper reports the activities that 59 university students followed to compose their thoughts on a writing task lasting three weeks. The results showed that the writing processes students alluded to included all vital stages, such as outlining and self-editing, key components in minimizing textual inaccuracies in mechanics and organization. Despite this claim, the essays still exhibited errors. To remedy this, we recommend that students’ essay outlines be awarded marks; and that the provision of additional error feedback mechanisms such as peers, the lecturer, and the computer (albeit mechanistic and frequently inconsistent), enable students to process their written texts better.

Key terms: Academic writing, writing process, textual accuracy, outlining, drafting, self-editing, conferencing, textual organization

INTRODUCTION

The essay has become an entrenched assessment tool within higher education, and, for that reason, it must be mastered early by first year university students. Miller, Bradbury, and Lemmon (2000) rightly note that, in higher education, alternative assessment that places limited demands on students’ writing skills, such as assessment via multiple choice questions, is resented by administrators and is therefore, not frequently used. The authors attribute this resentment to the fact that while the essay can assess conceptual understanding, multiple choice questions test recall of isolated facts. To cope with the demands of essay writing, students adopt strategies that may include acts of dishonesty such as recycling essays from former students. Also popular with students, is hiring a commercial typist in town to type their assignments in the hope of getting error-free pages from the qualified typist. However, greater frustration follows the student who hires a commercial typist, since, in addition to the risk of late submission, the score may not be high enough to justify the financial expense. Additionally, the act of employing a commercial typist denies the student the opportunity to engage in processing the text through the final stages of its development. Only the writer via drafting and redrafting, reviewing (by peers or self), re-casting, and self-editing, can respond to the entire textual details from punctuation to word appropriateness to sentence length, cohesiveness, viewpoint, force, pace, and so on. This paper argues that when writing tasks are structured along a process approach, opportunities for increasing the clarity of students’ thoughts and ideas on the topic of writing can be assured. This is because the different stages allow for multiple interactive opportunities with peers, authors, the lecturer, and the self. Alternatively, when the ideas are obscure to the writer, the language to express them is muddled.

This paper reports a three-week academic writing task that was designed for first-year students from the University of Botswana’s Faculty of Humanities studying Journalism. The students came from different cultural backgrounds but had all gone through school systems that used English as the medium of instruction. The students, numbering fifty-nine, were all L2 users of
English and novices at academic writing. This was part of a writing course which is a mandatory support programme for all first year students at the University of Botswana. The goal of the task was to raise their awareness of approaching text production as a systematic process. Specifically, the objective was to enable students to recognize the activities they need to engage in so as to increase the organizational and structural accuracy in the written texts they produced. The objective was to use the findings to inform instructional intervention strategies in the belief, as Chen (1997) showed, that a writing process for L2 novice writers that responds to accuracy is possible.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Two theoretical underpinnings that best explain a stages model of L2 writing instruction are cognitivism and second language acquisition (SLA). Cognitivism stipulates that students acquire literacy skills through three stages, namely: the cognitive, the associative, and the autonomous (Anderson, 1996) and focuses on gaining insight into the writing process through the writer’s thought processes and the choices they make as they write. SLA research, on the other hand, informs us that providing multiple opportunities for learners to interact with authentic, linguistically challenging materials that are relevant to their personal and educational goals facilitates literacy development (Kasper, 2000; Krashen, 1983). These two theoretical insights were helpful in justifying the multiple activities of the writing task recounted here.

THE WRITING PROCESS IN L2 CONTEXTS

The existence of a writing process that L2 writers follow to produce their texts is the subject of much controversy. Casanave (2003) reports for example, a case where L2 student writers followed no distinct stages. Lee (2004) also observed that novice writers avoided planning, preferring instead to use a trial-and-error approach to trigger more writing. Mu and Carrington (2007) wondered whether or not L1 writing processes are different from L2 writing processes; whether or not it is the cultural difference that results in L2 students' rhetorical organization problems and whether knowing the strategies in L1, positively or negatively aided writing in L2. The implication of these controversies is that using L1 theory to understand L2 contexts may be inappropriate. The paper argues, however, that a process model for L2 writing, similar or different to the one for L1, is necessary. The goal therefore should be to achieve effectiveness in instruction, not to compare and contrast L1 and L2 writers.

Writing processes peculiar to L2 writers are in response to contextual realities which are known to play a big role in instructional practices. For example, the always-large L2 classes, which may exceed 100:1 (Kasanga, 2006:144; Chen 1997), make a stage-by-stage instructional strategy problematic if not outright impossible because of the excessive marking loads (Swart 1999:72). Consequently, while some writers are now referring to a post-process period in L1 contexts (Atkinson 2003, Matsuda 2003), practice in many L2 contexts has tended to remain product-oriented. Additionally, in higher education where writing instruction is offered as a support course (often perceived as ‘remedial’), we have witnessed a reduction in contact hours resulting in essays being returned without any direct contact between their writers and the lecturers. Always at the centre of the writing tasks is the need to compile sets of marks for students’ continuous assessment records, when ideally the purpose of writing tasks should be to meet students’ needs. Often students do not even collect their marked scripts, yet those who do, make very little use of the feedback.
Process pedagogy is also debilitated by students’ attitudinal problem of trivializing support courses intended to develop their academic language skills. Although it is the education system to blame, Fandrych (2003) laments students of higher education who ‘are examination-oriented and tend to be more interested in courses which are “directly” (in the students’ view) linked with the student’s major field of study’. This attitude results in students’ texts being very tedious to read often due to problematic sentence structure and sometimes outright meaninglessness. The same students also know and expect that their role is limited to producing a written product for the lecturer to correct and evaluate (Le Roux 1996; Kasanga 2006). Gray (2004) noted that L2 students expect grammar corrections and that they become quite resentful if this does not occur. So, a view of the lecturer as a facilitator, co-learner or collaborator (Atkinson 2003) is absent in the students’ mindset.

Such problems have led to a strong suggestion in higher education that writing support courses which at the moment are directly taught should instead be replaced by computers carefully programmed to do this work (Chen 1997, Swart 1999, Kasanga cited in Fandrych 2001). Working on the computer, these authors argue, the novice writers are put directly in charge of their literacy development. This paper argues, however, that this is only true as far as accuracy in spelling, punctuation, and grammar are concerned. As noted by Gray (2004), writing also involves matters which the computer cannot do for the novice. It can neither supply the essay content (e.g. providing description, argument, thesis statement, focus, facts and experience, cogency and consistency); nor essay organization (the logical development and sequencing of ideas and arguments in order of importance, the effectiveness of the introduction and conclusion, etc.). The above insights informed the design and objectives of this paper.

METHOD: The writing task

The fifty-nine students were asked to select one essay topic picked from ten. The topics required either argumentation, or exposition, or narrative, or description. They then had three weeks to research and organize their essay in four or five paragraphs. In the intervening weeks, lectures dealt with issues relating to academic writing such as: how to avoid plagiarism, referencing styles, citing sources including online sources, how to read selectively, identifying and making a thesis statement and a topic sentence, cohesive devices in writing, writing an introduction and a conclusion, paragraph structure, making outline notes from a source, paraphrasing, and so on. Time was made available outside lectures for conferencing with each student where they brought the outline notes and references to talk about what they were going to write about. At the end of the three weeks, they brought the outlines and the references page to the testing room and used them to write the essay in one hour. However, for this paper only the composing process (not the essay) was subjected to analysis using a questionnaire and a class discussion using the research question: What exactly do students do from the day the essay assignment is announced to the day they submit it?

The questionnaire: Using the questionnaire, students were prompted to recall all the activities they engaged in week-by-week in order to develop the essay from the moment they selected the topic to work on. The questionnaire was structured to serve as an open-ended self-report list of the activities of each of the three weeks for each respondent. All fifty-nine students responded to the questionnaire and handed it in along with the essay.

The class discussion: The class discussion marked the end of the three-week writing task. It was guided by the following eight questions:
1. Do you now think essay writing is a series of steps to follow?
2. Did you choose the topic as a group?
3. Could you have written a satisfactory essay in less time than three weeks?
4. Would you say that one rough draft is enough?
5. Did you proofread the essay before submitting it?
6. What did you pay more attention to: grammar, ideas, or both?
7. In what specific ways did lecturer-student conferencing help?
8. What would you say frustrates you with essay writing?

Proceedings were recorded on tape to ease analysis.

FINDINGS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND DISCUSSION

Respondents listed the weekly activities relating to the task as required by the questionnaire. In order to convey the cyclic and recursive nature of text production, the paper presents the responses to the questionnaire as a pie chart which appears in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: A summary of steps first-year students claimed to have taken to develop their essays**

The results show that the writing process students alluded to included all vital stages (see Figure 1), such as outlining and self-editing, key components in minimizing textual inaccuracies in mechanics and organization. These claims indicate a systematic approach to text production; not
surprising since these ideas had been mentioned during the lectures in the intervening weeks. In
the class discussion students raised interesting issues concerning process pedagogy. Their
thoughts are summarized item by item below.

1: Do you now think essay writing is a series of steps to follow? Almost all respondents were
unanimous in their perception of essay writing as a long process composed of steps. Their
explanations were that although they may not be able to articulate this process, it exists in
the different steps they recalled following in the three weeks. However, the discussion also revealed
that it was not possible to follow a uniform set of steps because the individual workloads for each
student varied during those weeks.

2: Did you choose the topic as a group? In choosing a topic respondents seemed to differ in
their approach. The class discussion revealed that the reason many of them worked in groups was
to compare notes they had outlined on the topic; and that they found this very beneficial even
though it consumed a lot of their time. The discussion further revealed that because of the wide
choice of topics available, locating someone working on the same topic was problematic. One
complaint (quoted verbatim in italics and all those that follow) was ‘Why not just give us one
topic? It is not fair to lose marks because I chose a bad topic’ reflecting the perception that their
single role was to produce a text for evaluation irrespective of whether they liked the topic or not.
Some said it was not fair to select the topic as a group because they thought the task was a test.

3: Could you have written a satisfactory essay in less time than three weeks? The subjects
appreciated that there was enough time to go online and to visit the library. Some said three
weeks were insufficient. According to one explanation, ‘It can be a handful running around to
collect data from especially electronic sources e.g. the internet because of the scarce resource
which are available to use in the research’. Others, however, resented the long time given saying
‘three weeks is too much’. Two students who came for conferencing during the first week with
their essays complete may confirm this resentment. They reluctantly accepted my advice that
they needed more time before taking their work back for further self-editing.

4: Would you say that one rough draft is enough? Responses showed that for many novice
writers, and indeed all writers, the drafting step marks a crucial stage in essay development. In
the discussion, the general feeling was that drafting and redrafting was necessary albeit tedious
and time-consuming. Getting the time to draft and redraft was difficult because, according to one
respondent, ‘most assignments are given at the same time and due on the same time or date for
different courses making it difficult to do this’. It is also very laborious to handwrite one draft
after another. Sheer exhaustion may have stopped them from correcting repeatedly even if they
saw a need to do so. When the drafting stage is haphazard, the essay’s organization, content,
grammar, and punctuation will reflect it.

5: Did you proofread the essay before submitting it? The discussion revealed that it was very
difficult to come to this stage during the test because ‘there was no time’. There was also general
agreement that this was because ‘It is not just what I think; the lecturer always finds something
wrong to show me’. Proofreading was therefore not done but left for the lecturer to do.

6: What did you pay more attention to: grammar, ideas, or both? The general response was
that both grammar and ideas were important but for different reasons. The majority correctly
observed that ‘Both... because if the grammar is poor it may lead to the reader not
understanding even if they are good ideas’ or that ‘the two make a good assignment’. Others
lamely argued that ideas expressed in correct grammar indicated the high level of the research effort involved, because ‘it will show the reader that it is well researched work’; and ‘marks are lost due to grammar mistakes’. There were however, few badly-reasoned ones such as ‘ideas should be always expressed well even if my grammar is very poor’, or that ‘this course requires correct grammar’. Mu and Carrington (2007) reviewed studies that showed that less proficient English writers paid more attention to mechanics rather than content. The concern for grammar may explain why many wrote very little about each point in the essay, a problem that an outline could have minimized.

7: In what specific ways did lecturer-student conferencing help? They reported that when the lecturer appeared impressed by what they had found from reading on their own, their confidence increased; and that it also clarified what they had read. However, it did not surprise students to learn that there were a few students in the class who did not come for conferencing. Instead, their reaction to this was that student-lecturer conferencing was not obligatory, especially ‘if the topic you were working on was easy’. These students are making the right observation that not all steps of the process are obligatory for every writer to follow.

8: What would you say frustrates you with essay writing? In the discussion, the general feeling appeared to be that it was the score that frustrated them more rather than the activities of the process per se. Specifically, they said they were frustrated by incorporating their reading into their text without plagiarizing. They also complained that sometimes the lecturer’s comments were unclear and that following up these comments with the lecturer is time-wasting and unnecessary ‘because no change occurs’.

**DISCUSSION**

The purpose of the three-week writing task was to enable first-year students identify the activities they engage in as writers. It was hoped that that awareness would increase the structural and content accuracy in the written texts they produced for academic purposes. The design of this writing task enabled the students to discover these activities for themselves, as they worked at the task while the questionnaire and discussion recorded these activities. The design reflected the multifaceted nature of academic literacy (see Kasper 2000) that first-year students are expected to develop. For example, the task sought students’ ability to demonstrate their critical literacy via activities involving critical language use in speaking, listening, reading, and finally writing. Kasper (2000:106) defines critical literacy as ‘the ability to evaluate the validity and reliability of informational sources so that they [the novice writers] may draw appropriate conclusions from their research efforts’. Via making outline notes and conferencing with their lecturer, students demonstrated their ability to read texts, analyze and respond to those texts through various modes of written and oral discourse. Students also demonstrated their ability to speak, understand, read, and write English, as well as to use English to acquire, articulate and expand their knowledge about what they were writing about. Additionally, process pedagogy, where, according to Atkinson (2003), the lecturer’s role is that of a facilitator, co-learner or collaborator, was assured via conferencing sessions.

Findings from the questionnaire and class discussion show that students are conscious of the numerous activities that go into essay construction. Questionnaire responses and the class discussion alluded to the benefit of clarifying ideas through the reading, discussion, and conferencing activities. Students reported how the brainstorming with peers, the conferencing with the lecturers, and the outlines they developed, helped them in organizing the essays. And
although they tended to regard their individual approaches as diverse and therefore implying
diverse instructional procedures, a common step-by-step approach was identified. Students’
problems in textual organization, mainly at sentence and paragraph levels may be attributed to
the lack of preplanning resulting in some paragraphs that are excessively piled with information
while others are not. In this paper we propose that when we know what the student wanted to say
in outline form, we can then assist the student with how to organize it. And because repeated
drafting by hand can be physically exhausting to write and rewrite, perhaps outlining the contents
of each paragraph first could ease the task.

Better still, the word processor can provide the first essential step in self-editing for novice
writers particularly in terms of specific mechanical aspects of writing. As the essay develops, the
word processor simultaneously reveals the inaccuracies requiring attention. In this way,
proofreading is spontaneous. Secondly, the proofreading feedback is not personalized, so it does
not create embarrassment and resentment; nor does it strain the writer. Additionally, computer
feedback is always present, so the writer is alert to the editing activity throughout the writing.

THE WAY FORWARD

To instill a systematic approach to essay writing, my colleagues and I in the writing support
course for students from the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Botswana began
awarding students’ essay outlines. Instead of submitting the entire essay, students were asked to
write in full only the introduction (approx. 150 words) and a conclusion, but the development
paragraphs were to be developed and submitted as outlines as formatted in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Format of a four or five-paragraph essay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paragraph 1: Introduction in full sentences (approx. 150 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 2: strongest point in one sentence to serve as the topic sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 3: another topic sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 4: another topic sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 5: Conclusion in full sentences (approx. 100 words)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, because we awarded what was previously not awarded, students began to realize the
importance of preplanning in this manner. The idea increased students’ focus on the topic thus
aiding the clarity of the ideas that support it. It also shifted students’ primary emphasis away
from grammar to the content and organization of the essay. The reduced marking load for the
lecturer resulting from the now fewer pages of text was an obvious advantage but further
research is needed to provide empirical evidence of its capacity to improve student writing.
CONCLUSION

The paper has analyzed the activities novice L2 writers follow to increase the clarity of the thoughts and ideas in their essays. It is recommended that writing processes involving outlining and the presence of additional error feedback mechanisms such as peers, the lecturer, and the computer, enable students of higher education to develop increased self-editing behavior resulting in better essays. Additionally, an awareness of academic writing styles and conventions is needed to reduce the chance of the processes ending in recurrent frustration. And as Kasper (2000:106) notes what is needed is ‘a pedagogy that facilitates and hastens linguistic proficiency development, familiarizes students with the requirements and conventions of academic discourse and supports the use of critical thinking and higher order cognitive processes’. Additionally, we must stress to novice writers that what the essay communicates is the full responsibility of the writer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I would like to acknowledge my work colleagues at the University of Botswana’s Communication and Study Skills Unit for suggesting alternative grading using the essay outline format appearing as Figure 2. It was this suggestion that nurtured my interest in the activities novices follow during academic essay construction.

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A Study of Locatives in Bantu: The Case of Shona and Yaawo

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Abstract

The paper is a comparative study of Shona and Yaawo locatives, the set of prefixes (pa-, ku- and mu-) that indicate position/location in place or time. In these languages, the class of locatives is nominal, adverbial and prepositional. Locatives also function as adverbs of place and they answer questions like: ‘where?’, ‘to and from where?’, ‘to and from what?’, ‘in what?’, ‘in where?’. In addition to their adverbial use, the prefixes pa-, ku-, and mu- can also be used as prepositions. Previous descriptions of Bantu languages (Fortune 1967, 1984; Ngunga 2002, 2004) usually address the locative but do not include the preposition as a grammatical category. The few of those which mention prepositions as a word class in Bantu (eg.: Simango, Ngonyane 2003) observe that prepositions are a restricted class. The present study intends to analyse the locatives in Bantu and their relation to prepositions in Shona and Yaawo.

Keywords: adverb, locative, prefix, preposition.

1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to describe locatives in Bantu, with particular reference to Shona and Yaawo (S10 and P21 respectively in Guthrie’s 1967-71 classification). The former is spoken in Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe and the latter is spoken in Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The paper analyses the characteristics of locatives in Shona and Yaawo, whose reconstructed forms are *pa-, *ku- and *mu- (Bleek 1862-69, Guthrie 1948, 1967-71, Meeussen 1967) found in classes 16 to 18 of the Bantu nominal system. The study will show that these three prefixes, whose reflexes in Shona and Yaawo are pa-, ku-, and mu-, also have adverbial meanings. The paper also endeavors to highlight the close relationship between locatives and prepositions in the two languages. Previous descriptions of Shona and Yaawo have not attested a class of prepositions, but as the data will show, in some instances the prefixes pa-, ku-, and mu- demonstrate prepositional characteristics, a phenomenon which is not peculiar to Shona and Yaawo, as examples from other Bantu languages such as SiSwati (Marten 2010), Swahili (Mohamed 2001), CiNsenga (Simango), Cingoni (Ngonyani 2003) and others will attest.

The paper is organised as follows: section 2 deals with the nominal characteristics of locatives; section 3 will discuss locatives as adverbs of place, followed by section 4 where the locatives are described as prepositions. In the end, conclusions are drawn.
2. Nominal characteristics of locatives

Nominally, locatives belong to noun classes 16, 17 and 18 and they have the prefixes pa-, ku-/Ø and mu- respectively. The difference between class 16 and class 17 is that class 16 indicates proximity or nearness to the speaker whereas the ku- of class 17 is directional. Semantically, pa- indicates a ‘place at, on top of’ and it locates the object at a precise place. Class 17, on the other hand, is less precise in terms of location, but is general. In the examples below, pa- of class 16 indicates that the speaker is near the place being spoken about, that is, the house, or on top of (e.g. the table). In the second example, ku- indicates that the object is at some place but is not as precise as pa- in that the location is general.

Shona
1.a) ndiro iri paimba ‘the plate is at the house’
   b) ndiro iri patafura ‘the plate is on the table’
   c) inini ndinoenda kumba ‘I am going home’
   d) ndiro iri numba ‘the plate is in the house’

Yaawo
2.a) mbaale jidi panyumba ‘the plate is at the house’
   b) mbaale jidi pateebulu ‘the plate is on the table’
   c) wune nguja kunyuumba ‘I am going home’
   d) mbaale jidi n’nyuumba ‘the plate is in the house’

The examples in (1) and (2) show that the three locative prefixes display different meanings both inherent to them (a, b, d), or according to the meanings of other semantic elements occurring in the same syntactic structure such as the verbs (b, c). These occurrences are those in which the locative prefixes can be prefixed to nouns belonging to any class in the language, a feature which makes them different from all other prefixes. According to Winston (1962) the locative prefixes (pa-, ku-, mu-) and, in the case of Shona and Yaawo, diminutive prefixes (ka- and tu-) are long series prefixes because there is no limit to what kind of nouns (i.e., prefixes+stems) they can be attached to. These are therefore said to be secondary prefixes as opposed to the primary prefixes which are attached to stems. It should be necessary to mention that there is a limited number of stems which are inherently locative, that is, those which accept the locative prefixes to be attached to them without the mediation of the primary prefixes.

These stems are primary locatives in the sense that their basic meaning refers to location. They do not accept any other prefixes except those of the locative classes. Examples of the primary locative stems are:

Shona:
3. -kati: pakati (cl.16) ‘centre/middle’
    mukati (cl.18) ‘inside’
4. **-mhiri:**
   - pamhiri (cl.16) ‘across’
   - kumhiri (cl.17) ‘across’

5. **-seri:**
   - paseri (cl.16) ‘behind’
   - kuseri (cl.17) ‘behind’
   - museri (cl.18) ‘behind’

6. **-si:**
   - pasi (cl.16) ‘below/under’
   - -zasi/-nyasi (cl.17) ‘below, under’
   - pazasi/panyasi (cl.16) ‘below, under’
   - kuzasi/kunyasi (cl.17) ‘below, under’
   - muzasi/munyasi (cl.18) ‘below, under’

7. **-nze:**
   - panze (cl.16) ‘outside’.
   - kunze (cl.17) ‘outside’

8. **-mberi**
   - mberi (cl.17) ‘in front, ahead, forward’
   - pamberi (cl.16) ‘in front, ahead, forward’
   - kumberi (cl.17) ‘in front, ahead, forward’

9. **-sure/-shure**
   - sure/shure (cl.17) ‘behind’
   - pasure/pashure (cl.16) ‘behind’
   - kusure/kushure/kumasure/kumashure ‘behind’
   - musure/mushure/mumasure/mumashure ‘behind’

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**Yaawo**

10. **-kati:**
    - pakati (cl.16) ‘inside’
    - kukati (cl.17) ‘to the interior’
    - n’kati (cl.18) ‘inside; within’

11. **-caanya:**
    - pacaanya (cl.16) ‘on top’
    - kucaanya (cl.17) ‘to the top’
    - n’caanya (cl.18) ‘in the top’

12. **-inaani:**
    - peenaani (cl.16) ‘above’
    - kwinaani (cl.17) ‘above’
    - mwinaani (cl.18) ‘above; suspended’

13. **-nyuma:**
    - paanyuma (cl.16) ‘behind’
    - kuunyuma (cl.16) ‘behind’
    - muunyuma (cl.16) ‘behind’

14. **-si:**
    - paasi (cl.16) ‘on the flow’
    - kuusi (cl.17) ‘below’

15. **-sa:**
    - paasa (cl.16) ‘outside’
    - kuusa (cl.17) ‘outside; abroad’

16. **-wujo:**
    - pawujo (cl.16) ‘in front; ahead’
    - kuwujo (cl.17) ‘in front; ahead’
    - m’bujo (cl.18) ‘in front; ahead’

It is important to note the morphotatic constraint which does not allow for the class 18 prefix (mu-) to be attached to **-mhiri, -nze, -seri** (Shona), and **-si** and **-sa** (Shona and Yaawo respectively) which is probably due to the semantics of these stems. The fact that the class 18 prefix mu- has the meaning which refers to ‘interiority’ disallows it from being attached to stems which mean ‘open unlimited space’ or ‘flat surface’. Another observation has to do with some phonological notes on the Ciyaawo locative prefix. In (12), we see that the hiatus resolution principle is an obligatory one. As such, the high front vowel in stem initial position coalesces with the prefix low vowel to produce a mid vowel. The same high front vowel triggers the
gliding rule of the prefix high back vowel. In (13), the prefix vowel is realized as long due to the fact that the stem initial nasal is moraic. This is an instance of compensatory lengthening which can be represented in the lexical phonology and morphology framework (Kiparsky 1982, 1985), combined with the moraic theory of phonological weight (Hyman 1985), as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Morphology} & : \mu \mu \mu \mu \\
\text{Phonology} & : \mu \mu \mu \mu \\
\text{Output} & : \mu \mu \mu \mu 
\end{align*}
\]

This means that when the locative prefix is attached to the stem, the stem initial moraic nasal gives up its mora which is subsequently taken over by the prefix vowel which becomes long. In (14) and (15), it is the size of the stem that determines the prefix vowel length. That is, the fact that the locative stem is monomoraic determines that the locative prefix becomes bimoraic, that is, its vowel becomes long. This suggests that in order for a locative noun to be licensed as a word, it has to be at least three moras long.

The second type of stems consists of existing nouns that refer to location. The prefixes of these locative classes are then superimposed onto already existing nouns to denote location, as the examples below show:

**Shona:**

18. pamusha < pa- (cl.16) + musha (cl.3) ‘at the village’
kumusha < ku- (cl.17) + musha (cl.3) ‘to the village’
mumusha < ku- (cl.17) + musha (cl.3) ‘in the village’
pamba < pa- (cl.16) + imba (cl.9) ‘at the house’
kumba < pa- (cl.16) + imba (cl.9) ‘to the house’
mumba < mu- (cl.18) + imba (cl.9) ‘in the house’
pamusana < pa- (cl.16) + musana (cl.3) ‘on the back’
kumusana < ku- (cl.17) + musana (cl.3) ‘at the back’
mumusana < ku- (cl.17) + musana (cl.3) ‘in the backbone’
parwizi < pa- (cl.16) + rwizi (cl.11) ‘at the river’
kurwizi < ku- (cl.16) + rwizi (cl.11) ‘to the river’
murwizi < mu- (cl.16) + rwizi (cl.11) ‘in the river’

**Yaawo:**

19. pamusi < pa- (cl.16) + musi (cl.3) ‘at the village’
kumusi < ku- (cl.17) + musi (cl.3) ‘to the village’
mumusi < mu- (cl.17) + musi (cl.3) ‘in the village’
panyuumba < pa- (cl.16) + nyuumba (cl.9) ‘at the house’
kunyuumba < ku- (cl.16) + nyuumba (cl.9) ‘to the house’
n’nyuumba < mu- (cl.18) + nyuumba (cl.9) ‘in the house’
pan’goongo < pa- (cl.16) + n’goongo (cl.3) ‘on the back’
kun’goongo < ku- (cl.17) + n’goongo (cl.3) ‘at the back’
mun’goongo < mu- (cl.17) + n’goongo (cl.3) ‘in the backbone’
palusulo < pa- (cl.16) + lusulo (cl.11) ‘at the river’
A little phonological note on Shona is that the vowel hiatus resolution rule applies when the locative prefix is attached to the class 9 noun whose prefix is the high front vowel which undergoes deletion in order to avoid vowel sequence. In this case, the locative prefixes are extra prefixes. Syntactically, the superimposed locative prefixes control the agreement between the noun and the elements syntactically dependent on them (e.g. its modifiers and verb forms).

**Shona:**

20. **pamusha pakanaka (cl.16)** ‘the place at (around) the home is good’

   **kumusana kwebhiza (cl.17)** ‘on the horse’s back’

   **mumba manakanaka (cl.18)** ‘the interior of the house is good’

   **pamba pedu (cl.16)** ‘at our home’

**Yaawo:**

21. **pamusi pasaleele (cl.16)** ‘the place at (around) the home is good’

   **kuunyu mwa aci kwesweela (cl.17)** ‘(on the horse’s back) (it) is white’

   **n’nyuumba musaleele (cl.18)** ‘the interior of the house is good’

   **payuumba peetu (cl.16)** ‘at our home’

In these examples, it would be ungrammatical to have the primary prefix of each noun to control the grammatical agreement in an attempt to mean what is said in these phrases. Look at the following examples:

**Shona:**

22. **pamusha wakanaka (cl.16)** ‘(at) the village it is good’

   cf. **pamusha pakanaka (cl.3)** ‘(the place where) the village (is) is good’

   **kumusana webhiza kwekuchenya (cl.17)** ‘the white back of the horse’

   cf. **kumusana kwebhiza kwekuchenya (cl.3)** ‘the white horse’s back’

   **muimba yakanaka (cl.9)** ‘the interior of a good house’

   cf. **mumba manakanaka (cl.18)** ‘the good interior of the house’

   **pamba pedu pakanaka (cl.16)** ‘(the place at) the village is good’

**Yaawo:**

23. **pamusi weesalele (cl.16)** ‘the place at (around) the home is good’

   cf. **pamusi weesalele (cl.3)** ‘(the place where) the village (is) is good’

   **kuun’goongo wa aci jeejweela (cl.17)** ‘the white horse’s back’

   cf. **kun’goongo kwa aci jeejweela (cl.9)** ‘the white horse’s back’

   **munyuumba jeejweela (cl.18)** ‘the interior of the good house’

   cf. **n’nyuumba mwesalele (cl.18)** ‘the good interior of the house’

In relation to locatives, we can also refer to locativization in time, and this includes nouns such as the following:

**Shona:**

24. **pamasikati (cl.16)** ‘sometime during the afternoon’

   **pamambakwedza (cl.16)** ‘sometime during dawn’
pakuedza (cl.16) ‘sometime at sunrise’
kumanheru (cl.17) ‘sometime during the evening’
kumangwanani (cl.17) ‘sometime during the morning’
mumanheru (cl.18) ‘sometime in the night’
pamasikati (cl.18) ‘sometime during the afternoon’

Yaawo:
25. pamasikusiku (cl.16) ‘sometime during dawn’
pakuca (cl.16) ‘at sunrise’
kwii gulo (cl.17) ‘sometime during the afternoon’
kuusiku (cl.17) ‘at dawn’
n’kuca (cl.18) ‘at sunrise’
m’magulo (cl.18) ‘sometime during the afternoon’

In these nouns, the locative prefixes are referring to the time location/element and not to physical location per se.

These languages also use the locative kwa- ‘at’ for nouns in class 1, 1a, 2a and 2b to denote location as illustrated below:

Shona:
26. kwababa ‘at father’s’
kwamaiguru ‘at aunt’s’
kwasadunhu ‘at the village head’s’
kwaVaShava ‘at Mr Shava’s’

Yaawo:
27. kwa baaba ‘at father’s’
kwa acimweene ‘at elder brother’s’
kwa mweenye ‘at the village head’s’
kwa ce-Saani ‘at Mr Assan’s’

These examples confirm the fact the class 17 is the unmarked (or general) locative in that it is, of the three, the only one which can be used to mean ‘the place’ where the real name of place is not overtly mentioned.

3. Locatives as adverbs of place

So far it has been shown that locatives are nouns, since they take noun prefixes through which they control the grammatical agreement within a syntactic unit (phrase or sentence). In this section it will briefly be shown that locatives can also function as adverbs of place. Consider the following examples:

Shona:
28. Nyama iri mupoto. ‘The meat is in the pot.’
Mari iri muhomwe. ‘The money is in the pocket.’
Mwana ari kuchikoro. ‘The child is at school.’
Saga riri pasi. ‘The sack is on the floor.’

Yaawo:
29. Nyama jidi m’pooto. ‘The meat is in the pot.’
Mbiya sidi mun’saku. ‘The money is in the pocket.’
Mwaanace judi kucikoola. ‘The child is at school.’
N’saku wudi paasi. ‘The sack is on the floor.’

From the data above, we can see that locatives are analogous to adverbs of place since they answer questions like: ‘where?’, ‘to and from where?’, ‘to and from what?’, ‘in what?’, ‘in where?’. After this observation, let’s move to the next section where a proposal is made and discussed on locatives as prepositions.

4. Locatives as prepositions

Bantuists (Nurse and Philippson 2003, Simango, Mohamed 2001, Ngonyani 2003) generally concur that in Bantu languages there are few or no words of Bantu origin which can be termed prepositions. Simango (undated manuscript, p. 16) describes the two prepositions in CiNsenga:
- a ‘of’ which occurs in possessive phrases and gets inflected with an appropriate noun class prefix marker; and na- ‘with, by’. He cites the following examples:
30. nyula ya muzha ‘the slave’s cloth’
Pomba waya na Mumbi ‘Pomba went with Mumbi’

Similarly, for Swahili, Mohamed (2001) explains that the -a of relationship may at times assume a prepositional function when it portrays meanings such as na- ‘with, by’ and kwa- ‘by means of, with, by, for, to, at, from, through’.

In the examples above, it is shown that like in Nsenga and Swahili, similar forms in Shona (-a, kwe-, na-, ne-), and Yaawo (-a, kwa-, ni-) can be regarded as prepositions. Apart from these prepositions, in relation to which there seems to be some agreement amongst at least the scholars mentioned earlier, the present paper argues for locative prefixes to be regarded as prepositions in certain syntactic contexts where they contrast with both the adverbs and the nouns regardless of controlling grammatical agreement or not. See the following examples:

Shona:
31. muimba yangu ‘in my house (inside my house)’
paimba yangu ‘at my house’ (at my house’s place)
kuimba yangu ‘at my house’ (that place at my house)
mudura rangu ‘in my granary’ (inside my granary)

Yaawo:
32. mu nyuumba jaangu ‘in my house (inside my house)’
pa nyuumba jaangu ‘at my house’ (at my house’s place)
kju nyuumba jaangu ‘at my house’ (that place at my house)
mu ngokwe jaangu ‘in my granary’ (inside my granary)
As the examples demonstrate, there is a close affinity between locatives and prepositions in Bantu in that the prefixes *pa-*, *ku-*, and *mu-* can function as prepositions. There is of course some orthographic difference between the two languages since Shona adopts a conjunctive form of writing, while Yaawo adopts a careful approach where the two writing systems are used wherever they are judged appropriate. This is why the two languages appear to be different. In Yaawo (32), the disjunctive writing system seems to have been used in order to conform to the writing needs, to show the prepositional function of the locative. In Shona, however, although they are written conjunctively, the examples in (31) are prepositional in that semantically they indicate meanings such as *in, at, on*. In other words, they indicate location or position. When the prefixes *pa-*, *ku-*, and *mu-* are used as prepositions, the succeeding modifier takes its agreement from the noun and not from the locative prefix. Hence, syntactically the locative prefixes in (31) and (32) are prepositions because prepositional prefixes are separate clitics from the noun phrase. If we are to draw tree diagrams for the above phrases, they would appear as follows:

Fig. 1: **Shona:**

```
PP
  / \    /
Prep  NP
  mu-   
     /
    / \   /
   N    Mod
  imba  yangu
```

Fig. 2: **Yaawo:**

```
PP
  / \    /
Prep  NP
  mu-   
     /
    / \   /
   N    Mod
  nyuumba  jaangu
```

As illustrated in the tree schema, the preposition *mu-* occupies a node that is separate from the noun. This is why the modifiers *yangu* and *jaangu* ‘my, mine’ agree in gender with the nouns *imba* and *nyuumba* ‘house’, respectively. Though there is no word class preposition attested in Shona and Yaawo, the data in (31) and (32) do suggest that the function of *mu-, ku-*, and *pa-* can
sometimes be prepositional. Compare the adverbial use of these same prefixes in similar structures in (33 and 34):

**Shona:**

33. *mumba mangu* ‘inside my house’  
    *pamba pangu* ‘at my house’  
    *kumba kwangu* ‘at my house’  
    *mudura mangu* ‘in my granary’

**Yaawo**

34. *n’nyuumba mwaangu* ‘inside my house’  
    *panyuumba pangu* ‘at my house’  
    *kunyaumba kwaangu* ‘at my house’  
    *muungokwe mwaangu* ‘in my granary’

In contrast with the examples in (31) and (32) where the grammatical agreement was shown to be controlled by the primary prefix of the locative noun, the tree diagrams of the phrases in (33) and (34) would be represented as follows:

**Fig. 4: Shona:**

```
NP  
  N     Mod  
mumba    mangu
```

**Fig. 5: Yaawo:**

```
NP  
  N     Mod  
n’nyuumba    mwaangu
```

Apart from apparent similarity of their glosses, the phrases in (31) and (32) are different from those in (33) and (34). Syntactically, the difference is that in the latter set of examples, the prefixes *mu-, pa-* and *ku-* are the ones that control the agreement between the locative noun and the modifier. Semantic differences between the examples in (31) and (32) on the one hand and (33) and (34) on the other hand are that in (33) and (34) it is the object *imba/nyuumba* (‘house’) which is mine, while in (31) and (32) it is the place (the interior of the house) *mumba/n’nyuumba* (‘inside the house’) which is mine (*m(mwa)angu*). It is the location *pa-* or *ku-* where the object *imba/nyuumba* ‘house’ is built which is *p(a)angu* or *kwa(a)angu* (‘mine’). That is, in the case of *mumba mangu/n’nyuumba mwaangu*, the *imba/nyuumba* (house, building) would be someone else’s, but the inside (e.g. if I am renting the house, the building
which does not belong to me) is mine. In the case of pamba pangu/panyuumba paangu, the house would be someone else’s, but the location where the house was built is mine. It is these meanings which give us two different tree digrams. Look again at the following examples:

**Shona:**

35.a) pamba yangu yakanaka ‘it is good (the place) around my house’
   b. pamba pangu pakanaka ‘it is good (my place) where the house is’

36.a) ini ndiri kuenda kuimba yavanhu ‘I am going to the house of/belonging to people’
   b. ini ndiri kuenda kumba kwevanhu ‘I am going to the house where there are people’

37.a) muimba yedu yakanaka ‘my house is good in the interior
   b. mumba medu makenaka ‘the interior of my house is good

**Yaawo:**

38. pa nyuumba jaangu jeeosalale ‘it is good (the place) around my house’
   b. panyuumba paangu peeosalale ‘it is good (my place) where the house is’

39.a) wune nguja ku nyuumba ja vaandu ‘I am going to the house of/belonging to people’
   b. wune nguja kunyuumba kwa vaandu ‘I am going to the house where there are people’

40a) mu nyuumba jeetu jeesalale ‘my house is good in the interior’
   b. n’nyuumba mweetu mweesalale ‘the interior of my house is good’

As is seen in the constructions in (a) above, it is the object and not the place where the object is that belongs to the speaker, while in (b) they show that it is the place where the object is, and not the object itself, that belongs the speaker. The difference between the two sets in Fig. 6a and Fig. 6b of constructions can be represented in two tree diagrams as follows:

Fig. 6a: Shona and Yaawo.

```
         PP
           
Prep[Loc]  NP
           
   N           Mod
```

Fig. 6b: Shona and Yaawo.

```
         NP
           
N[Loc]  Mod
```

These tree diagrams show that when the locative is prepositional as in (a), the modifier agrees with the primary prefix of the NP. When the locative prefix is nominal as in (b), the modifier agrees with it (secondary prefix). In the two languages, this difference is represented differently
in writing. In Shona, for instance, when the locative prefix is prepositional, the vowel hiatus resolution rule does not apply (e.g.  \textit{paimba}_{[cl.9]} \textit{yedu}_{[cl.9]} ‘at our house’). When the locative is nominal, the vowel hiatus resolution rule applies obligatorily (e.g.:  \textit{pamb\textit{a}}_{[cl.16]} \textit{pedu}_{[cl.16]} ‘the place of our house’). But this is only perceptible if the locative prefix is attached to a noun with a vowel in initial position. When the noun initial phoneme is a consonant, this difference is not possible to establish. Therefore, in order to guarantee that there is a difference between the two structures, the solution would be to write the prepositional prefix disjunctively as is done in the case of Yaawo (\textit{pa nyuumba}_{[cl.9]} \textit{jeetu}_{[cl.9]} ‘at our house’ vs. \textit{panyuumba}_{[cl.16]} \textit{peetu}_{[cl.16]} (at the place of our house’) which in Shona would be something like \textit{pa imba}_{[cl.9]} \textit{yedu}_{[cl.9]} ‘at our house’) vs. \textit{pamba}_{[cl.16]} \textit{pedu}_{[cl.16]} ‘the place of our house’ This would then disambiguate in writing the possible source of syntactic confusion.

5. Conclusion

The paper has analyzed the locative prefixes \textit{pa}- (cl.16), \textit{ku}- (cl.17), and \textit{mu}- (cl.18) in Shona and Yaawo in relation to their locative and adverbial characteristics. According to Marten (2009: 1), Bantu languages fall into three types: Those in which nominal agreement with locative nouns is with the locative noun, those in which the agreement is the original, non-locative noun, and those in which both agreement patterns are found, a difference partly correlating with Guthrie’s (1967-71) zones. Through the discussion of some data on the syntactic and semantic behavior of these prefixes, the present paper has shown that Shona and Yaawo fall into the third type, the group of those “in which nominal agreement with locative nouns is with the locative noun”, in which case the locative prefixes (\textit{pa-}, \textit{ku-} and \textit{mu-}) are attached to the nouns as their prefixes, and “those in which the agreement is the original, non-locative noun”, in which case the locative prefix is prepositional. Therefore, they should be written disjunctively as a disambiguation measure in both Shona and Yaawo. These observations and the others above lead to the conclusion that in these languages, and many others of this type, the locative prefixes (\textit{pa-}, \textit{ku-} and \textit{mu-}) can be seen as words or parts of words belonging to a variety of grammatical categories, namely: nouns, adverbs and prepositions.

References:


Setswana Complementizers; their forms, meanings and complementation

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the forms and meanings of the Setswana complementizers as well as determine the types of sentential complements that each complementizer takes. The paper asks two questions, namely: a) what form(s) do Setswana complementizers take? and b) What features do the sentential complements that each complementizer takes have, that is in terms of +/-WH and +/-finiteness? With regards to question (a), we determined that Setswana has two main complementizers, namely gore and fa/ha. We also determined that both gore and fa have dual meanings: gore can mean 'that' or 'whether'; fa can mean 'that' or 'if'. Regarding the second question, we determined that gore 'that' takes information seeking interrogative complements as well as non-interrogative complements. The non-interrogative sentential complements of gore can be finite or non-finite. Gore meaning 'whether' takes only interrogative sentential complements of the yes/no type which can only be finite. Fa with the meaning 'that' takes only non-interrogative complements with the verb form in the participial tense; no non-finite complements are allowed with this complementizer. Fa with the meaning 'if' takes only yes/no interrogatives with the verb form in the participial tense. However, fa meaning 'if' also takes non-finite complements. We determined that Setswana has very specific means of distinguishing the different meanings of the two complementizers gore and fa using the type of sentential complement that a given complementizer takes.

1.0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the forms and meanings of Setswana complementizers as well as the types of sentential complements that these complementizers take. To achieve this, the paper specifically investigates the following questions: a) What forms do Setswana complementizers take? b) What features do the sentential complements that each complementizer takes have, that is in terms +/-WH and +/-finiteness? The complementizer category deserves special attention because it is a grammatical category that plays a crucial role in the creativity and productivity of language. As pointed out in Chomsky (1959), one of the distinguishing characteristics of human language is that it is creative. One way in which the creativity of language is realized is through the process of recursion. Recursion is achieved through the use of complementizers; yet complementizers have not received any special attention in any study or grammar book of Setswana that we have come across so far. But what is a complementizer? A complementizer is a syntactic category that introduces clauses that function as the complement of a verb, noun or adjective (Radford 1988). In English these include words like 'that, if, whether, for'. For example, in (1) below the complementizer is 'that' and 'that' Tom will be late' is a complement of the verb know.

1. I know [that Tom will be late]
Setswana has two main complementizers: gore, which originates from the verb 'to say', and fa. Historically, complementizers are said to have developed from other syntactic categories such as possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and verbs. Example (2) from Lunda (Kawasha 2007) illustrates a complementizer that developed from a possessive pronoun while the complementizer 'that' in example (3) comes from the Old English demonstrative pronoun þæt 'that' (Hopper & Traugott 2003); the comp kuti in Ikalanga example (4) originates from the verb 'to say'.

2. Mu-kwezi w-e-eluk-ilí nindi mpata y-a- telela⁴
   1-youth SA1-TNS-know-RP COMP 8. country SA8-TNS-ought
   ku-himp-ew-a high-IMP-ECOMP-FV
   ‘The youth knew that the country ought to be changed’ (Kawasha 2007: Ex. 3c)

3. I know [that John came late].

4. Nda-bona kutí Nchidzi wa-ka-izel-a
   1-SA-see that 1.Nchidzi 1SA-PST-sleep-FV
   ‘I saw/realized that Nchidzi is sleeping’.

The discussion in this paper will focus on verbal complements leaving the other types that is, adjective and noun complements for future research. Before discussing the complementizer in Setswana, a brief review of what exists in the literature with regards to the Setswana complementizer is necessary.

There are various grammar books of Setswana, e.g. Cole (1955), Hopkins (1979), Mogapi (1984), and other publications on various grammatical aspects of the Setswana language e.g. Creissels (2004). Mogapi (1984) is a simplistic Setswana grammar book which is based on Cole (1955). Thus it does not provide any discussion but merely mentions different grammatical aspects such as parts of speech and then gives examples to illustrate them. Hopkins (1979) is an elementary grammar of Setswana meant to teach non-Setswana speakers (particularly Peace Corps) the basics of the language. This book provides elementary information about how to form different types of Setswana sentences since it is intended to teach the learner how to communicate in Setswana. Hopkins mentions two things about the use of gore 'that' in forming complex sentences namely that gore 'that' is used with object noun clauses and with clauses of purpose. The other complementizer, namely fa 'that/if' is not mentioned in Hopkins.

Cole (1955) is the only comprehensive grammar of Setswana to date. However, he too follows the method of traditional grammar which consists in identifying and classifying words and word classes in a given language. The final chapter of this book (chapter 20) is the only place where the author deals with the syntax of the language. It is in this last chapter where complementizers subsumed under conjunctives that form substantival clauses are mentioned but are not discussed.

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⁴ Abbreviations:
1, 2,3,... Noun class markers, Assoc. = Associative, FUT = Future Tense, FV = Final vowel, OM = Object marker, PASS = Passive, PRF. = Perfect Tense, PRS. = Present Tense, Q.part. = Question particle, Rel. = Relative Marker, SA = Subject agreement, Sing. = Singular, SUBJN = subjunctive
in any systematic way. According to Cole (1955: 436) there are two main substantival clauses and phrases: a) those introduced by the conjunctives gore and fa and b) qualificative clauses used independently of their antecedents. The former is what is of interest to this paper. The examples given in Cole (1955:437) are the following:

5. Ke itse gore oalwala. (I know that he is sick.)
6. Ke itse fa alwala (I know that he is sick.)

While Cole recognizes that gore and fa can both mean 'that', he nevertheless does not show that in fact gore and fa as complementizers are different from the other 'conjunctives' in that they introduce complements of verbs, adjectives or nouns while ordinary conjunctives introduce adjunct clauses, that is clauses that are not required by either the verb, adjective or noun. In addition, the treatment of gore and fa in Cole (1955) is neither systematic nor rigorous. For example, he does not fully explore the fact that these conjunctives can have other meanings and if he does acknowledge this, this is not done in a systematic manner. For example, he does provide other examples where gore is translated as 'when' and fa is translated as 'whether' as in the examples below but he makes no comment on this.

7. Mmotse gore otlatla leng. (Ask him when he will come)
8. Mmotse fa atlatla. (Ask him whether he will come).

In this paper, gore and fa are differentiated from conjunctives such as fa 'if' used to introduce adjuncts as we will see below. Each of the complementizers is investigated individually and systematically in order to determine its different meanings as well as the type of sentential complements that each takes. Although Cole's general method of doing grammar follows the traditionl grammar school, he however recognizes something very important which many traditional grammarians failed to take into consideration when describing grammars of Bantu languages, namely that 'A proper and satisfactory analysis of Bantu languages can only be achieved by discarding all foreign preoccupations....' (Cole 1955: xxxiii). Thus, Cole's grammar book recognizes word class categories peculiar to Bantu such as ideophones for example.

Thus, although Setswana is a relatively well documented language, there is no contemporary grammar book of the language and consequently important grammatical aspects such as complementizers have not been investigated in the language. The purpose of this paper is to fill this gap and provide pioneering work on this topic. Due to space considerations, this paper focuses only on object sentential complementation. Suffice it to say, sentential complements that can function as objects can also function as subjects.

2. **Background information on Setswana**

Setswana (S.31a) belongs to the Sotho group of the south-eastern zone of Bantu languages (Guthrie, 1967 -71 Vol 4:62). Pivotal to the grammar of Setswana as is the case in other Bantu
languages (Ikalanga, see Letsholo, 2002, Chichewa, see Mchombo 2004) is the noun class system. The noun class is determined by the prefix of each noun and the noun class determines the verbal agreement as well as the agreement of the noun modifiers.

2.1. Tense
There are two aspects of Setswana grammar that I would like to discuss briefly as they are directly relevant to the discussions in this paper: these are the tense system and question formation in the language. The tense system in Setswana is quite complex and my aim is not to go into the specific complexities of this system but rather to provide the basics of the system in so far as they are relevant to the discussion in this paper. I therefore briefly describe the simple forms of the tense system including the infinitive form, imperatives, the present tense, the past and the future tense. The tenses of Setswana have what Cole (1955) refers to as the participial tense which seems to occur only in some subordinate clauses as shown in example (9a). In non-subordinated clauses, the subject marker for 3rd person singular is o as shown in (9b).

9a. Re- tla mo tshwara fa a-feta fa.
   2nd.P.PL-FUT. 3rd.P.Sing catch Conj.SA.pass here
   'We will catch him/her when he/she passes here.'
9b. Tsholo o-rek-a nama.
   Tsholo SA-buy-FV meat
   'Tsholo is buying meat'.

The infinitive verb is introduced by the infinitive marker go while the verb itself ends in the vowel -a in Setswana, for example:

10a. go lem-a to plough
10b. go rok-a to sew
10c. go tsheg-a to laugh

As in other Bantu languages such as Ikalanga (Letsholo 2002), and Chichewa (Mchombo 2004), imperatives in Setswana are formed through the bare form of the verb as shown in (11). However, plurality in imperatives is marked through the morpheme -ng as in (11b).

11a. Tsamaya! Go!
11b. Tsamaya-ng! Go-PL

The Present Tense in Setswana is formed via the bare form of the verb as in example (12) below.

12a. Mme o- lem-a merogo. (conjoint)
   1.mother 1.SA-plough-PRS-FV 4.vegetable
   'Mother plants/ is planting vegetables.'
12b. Mme o-a-lem-a (disjoint)
   1.mother 1.SA-PRS.-sew-FV
   'Mother plants/is planting.

12c. *Mme o-lem-a
   1.mother 1.SA-plough-FV.PRS
   'Mother plants/is planting.

12d. *Mme o-a-lem-a merogo
   1.mother 1.SA-PRS.CONT-plant-FV 4.vegetables
   'Mother plants/is planting vegetables'.

12e. Fa mme a-lem-a merogo, o-tla-bona madi.
   Cond. 1a.mother1.SA-plant-FV 4.vegetables 1.SA-FUT.-get 6.money
   'If mother plants vegetables, she will get money.

The verb forms in examples (12a&b) can be interpreted as either present simple or present continuous as indicated in the gloss. The present tense in Setswana can be expressed in two different forms as shown by examples (12a&b). In both (12a&b), the action could be on-going at the time of speaking, or it could be habitual. Traditional grammarians such as Cole (1955) refer to examples such as (12a) as the short form of the present tense while (12b) is referred to as the long form. A more contemporary way of distinguishing between these two is to refer to the verb form in (12a) as conjoint while (12b) is disjoint (see Creissels 1996, and Buell 2005 for a discussion of similar phenomenon in Tswana and Zulu respectively). When the conjoint form is used, the verb has to be followed by some category such as an object or an adverbial; if not the sentence becomes ungrammatical as evident in (12c). The verb form requires an object to follow it but none is provided. On the other hand, when the disjoint form is used, no element is allowed to follow the verb; if an element is placed after the verb, ungrammaticality obtains as evident in (12d). (12e) is in the participial verb form.

Setswana is an interesting language in terms of past tense usage in that although the language has a way of expressing the past (ex. 13a), past tense meanings are nevertheless expressed through the perfective form of the verb (Hopkins 1979, Cole 1955).

13a. Mme o-ne-a-lem-a merogo.
    1.mother 1.SA-AUX.-1.SA-plough-FV 4.vegetables
    'Mother ploughed vegetables'.

13b. Mme o-lem-il-e merogo.
    1.mother 1.SA-plough-PRF-FV 4.vegetable
    'Mother (has) planted vegetables.'

13c. Mme o-rom-ets-e lekwalo.
    1.mother 1.SA-send-PRF-FV 5.letter

It has been pointed out that they do not see any ungrammaticality in (12c&d) since such ungrammaticality is not indicated in the glosses or in the translation. While the English glosses and translations may not reveal the ungrammaticality of examples (12c&d), in Setswana a sentence with a conjoint verb form such as (12c) requires an object; omission of an object results in ungrammaticality; similarly, a sentence whose verb is disjoint such as (12d) cannot take an object NP.
'Mother has sent a letter.'

13d. Lefa mme a-lem-il-e merogo,
even though 1a.mother 1.SA-plant-PRF.-FV 4.vegetables
ga-a-a-boel-w-a ke sepe.
NEG.-1.SA-NEG-return-PASS.-FV by anything

'Even though mother planted vegetables, she did not get anything in return'.

The simple past in Setswana is expressed through the use of the morpheme -ne- (13a). Notice however that when the past tense is expressed this way, two subject agreement markers surface; one preceding the morpheme ne, the other immediately following this morpheme. In cases like these where two agreement morphemes surface in the same clause, we will treat the element on which the first agreement marker of the clause attaches to as an auxiliary. As already pointed out, past tense meanings are usually expressed through perfective forms of the verb in Setswana. The past perfect form of the verb is usually expressed through the suffix -ile (13b) or -ets- (13c). Example (13d) illustrates the participial verb tense.

The future tense is mainly indicated through the morpheme -tla- plus the bare form of the verb as shown in example (14).

14a. Mme o -tla-lem-a merogo.
1.mother 1.SA-FUT.-plough-FV.4.vegetable
'Mother will plant vegetables.

14b. Mme o -tla-rok-a
1.mother 1.SA-FUT.-sew-FV
'Mother will sew'.

14c. Lefa mme a-tla-lem-a merogo,
even though 1a.mother 1.SA-FUT.-plant-FV 4.vegetables
ga-a-kitla-a-boel-w-a ke sepe.
NEG.-1.SA-NEVER-NEG-return-PASS-FV by anything

'Even though mother can plant vegetables, she will not get anything in return'.

2.2 Question formation in Setswana

Setswana, like other languages, has two kinds of question formation strategies: information seeking and yes/no type. Setswana has question words that are used in the construction of information seeking questions: these are: mang = who, eng = what, -fe=which, kae = where, leng = when, jang = how. An interesting thing to note is that most question words in Setswana (with the exception of -fe 'which' and kae 'where) tend to end in the morpheme -ng, which is probably the question morpheme in this language. As in other Bantu languages e.g. Ikalamga (Letsholo 2009), Chichewa (Mchombo 2004), Zulu (Sabel & Zeller, 2004), Setswana forms information seeking questions through clefts. Consider the examples in (15) below:

15a. Ke mang yo Neo a-mmone-ng?
Cop. who Rel. 1a.Neo 1.SA-see-Q.part
LITERALLY 'It is who that Neo saw?' 'Who did Neo see?'

15b. Ke eng se Neo a-se-rek-ile-ng?
    Literally 'It is what that Neo bought? 'What did Neo buy?'

As can be seen from the glosses, both (15a&b) are cleft structures. Another interesting thing to note though about question formation in Setswana is that the question particle -ng is also attached to the verb in this language when forming questions. Omitting this question particle results in ungrammaticality as shown in (15c).

15c. *Ke mang yo Neo a-mmon-e?
    Cop. who Rel. 1a.Neo 1.SA-see-FV
    'Who did Neo see?'

Yes/no type questions are formed by placing the question particle a at the beginning of what is otherwise a simple declarative sentence (16a) or simply raising the intonation towards the end of the sentence (16b). Thus (16b) and (16c) differ only in that the intonation rises in (16b) while it is falling on the final vowel of the object noun in the declarative (16c).

16a. A Néo ó-rék-íl-e mosêšé?
    Q.part. 1a.Neo 1.SA-buy-PRF-F 3.dress
    'Has Neo bought a dress/Did Neo buy a dress?'

16b. Néo ó-rék-íl-e mosêšé?
    1a.Neo 1.SA-buy-PRF-FV 3.dress
    'Has Neo bought a dress/Did Neo buy a dress?'

16c. Néo ó-rék-íl-e mosêsè.
    1a.Neo 1.SA-buy-PRF-FV 3.dress
    'Neo bought a dress '

With this background in mind, we now turn the discussion to complementizers in Setswana, first establishing the forms they take and then addressing the question 'What type of sentential complements does each of these complementizer take?' Before proceeding to the analysis of complementizers in Setswana, we provide a brief discussion of the theoretical framework on which this analysis is couched below.

3. Theoretical framework

The analysis adopted in this paper leans on the theory of Transformational grammar particularly Radford (1988). Radford classifies the English complementizers 'that', 'for', 'whether' and 'if' in terms of features: a) a +/-WH feature and b) +/-Finite feature. He comes up with the following classification for these English complementizers:
This feature matrix says that 'that' is a non-interrogative finite complementizer; in other words, the complementizer 'that' cannot take a complement which is an interrogative but that its complement has to be a finite clause. The complementizer 'for' on the other hand has a non-interrogative feature just like 'that' but it takes infinitive complements. 'Whether' is an interrogative complementizer whose complement clause can either be finite or non-finite while 'if' is by its nature an interrogative complementizer which takes only finite clauses. We will analyze the Setswana complementizers below in light of this feature matrix proposed in Radford (1988).

4. Forms of Setswana complementizers

Setswana has two main forms of complementizers which are: gore 'that'/'whether' and falha 'that'/'if'. However, -re 'say' can itself function as a complementizer as will be shown below. There are also instances when the complementizer can be deleted in Setswana.

4.1 The complementizer -re
In Setswana -re which means 'say' can be used as a main verb in a sentence (Ex. 18) but -re can also be used as a complementizer meaning 'that' as shown in (ex. 19a).

18a. Kutlo a-re bana ba- gorog-il-e.
1a. Kutlo 1.SA-say 2.children 2.SA-arrive-PRF-FV
‘Kutlo says the children have arrived.’

18b. Kutlo o-ri-l-e bana ba-gorog-il-e.
‘Kutlo said the children had arrived.’

19a. Monna yole o ba- re-il-e a-re
1.man that 1.SA 2.OM -tell-PST-FV 1.SA-that
o-tla-ba-bon-a kamoso.
1.SA FUT.-2.OM-see-FV tomorrow
‘That man told them that he would see them tomorrow.’

19b. * Monna yole o ba- re-il-e a-ri-l-e
1.man 1.that 1.SA 2.OM-tell-PST-FV 1.SA-say-PST-FV
o-tla-ba-bon-a kamoso.
1.SA FUT.-2.OM-see-FV tomorrow
‘That man told them that he would see them tomorrow.’

-re as a complementizer contrasts with -re as a main verb of a sentence in Setswana in that used as a main verb, -re can be inflected for tense as shown in (18b). However, -re used as a complementizer cannot be inflected for tense. This observation is consonant with that expressed
in Hopper and Traugott (2003) that in Ewe, the complementizer be 'that' whose source is verbal no longer behaves like a verb in that it does not take verbal affixes. Other than the lack of co-occurrence with tense inflection, evidence that -re is a complementizer comes from the fact that it cannot co-occur with any other complementizer form that we have identified. Consider example (19c).

19c. * Monna yole o- ba- re-il-e a-re (*gore/fa)  
    1.man 1.that 1.SA 2.OM -tell-PST-FV 1.SA that that  
    o- tla-ba-bon-a kamoso.  
    1.SA-FUT.-2.OM-see-FV tomorrow  
    ‘That man told them that he would see them tomorrow.’

Example (19c) in which the complementizer -re co-occurs with either gore or fa is ungrammatical, presumably because there is only one position for a complementizer per clause in this language.

4.2. gore as a complementizer

The complementizer gore 'that'/'whether' is the predominant form in the language; the data collected for this project shows more usage with this complementizer than fa 'that/if'. In addition, a concordance search performed by a colleague demonstrates that the word gore is the most widely used word in the language (Otlogetswe, p.c. 2012). Gore is formed from -re meaning 'say' just as the complementizer forms of other Bantu languages such as Ikalanga, Bemba (Givon 1972), and KiSwahili (Ngonyani 1999) which are also formed from the verb 'to say'. Gore is an infinitive form which, like –re, can mean 'that' (ex 20a). Both the disjoint form of the verb (20a) and the conjoint form (20b) can be used in the sentential complements of gore.

20a. Neo o-ba-its-is-its-e gore mme  
    1a.Neo 1.SA-2.OM-inform-CAUS.-PRF-FV that 1a.mother  
    o-a-rok-a  
    1.SA-Disj.-sew-FV  
    'Neo informed them that mother sews/is sewing.'

20b. Neo o-ba-its-is-its-e gore mme  
    1a.Neo 1.SA-2.OM-inform-CAUS.-PRF-FV that 1a.mother  
    o-rok-a mosese  
    1.SA-sew-FV 3.dress  
    'Neo informed them that mother is sewing a dress.'

Notice that just like the complementizer -re, gore cannot be inflected for tense as shown by the ungrammatical (21).

21. * Neo o-ba-its-is-its-e gor-il-e mme  
    1a.Neo 1.SA-2.OM-inform-CAUS.-PRF.FV that-PRFT 1a.mother  
    o-rok-a mosese  
    1.SA- sew-FV 3.dress  
    'Neo informed them that mother is sewing a dress.'
4.3 Gore meaning 'whether'

Gore can also be used to mean 'whether' (ex.22a). It is interesting that in order to form constructions equivalent to 'whether' in English, the sentential complement has to be in the form of a yes/no question with the question particle a at the beginning of the sentential complement as shown in (ex. 22a). If one or the other of the two parts is left out of a sentence intended to give the 'whether' meaning, then the resulting sentence is ungrammatical as shown in example (22b) where the question particle is omitted or (22c) where the complementizer is omitted. Notice how the indirect question in (22a) is exactly the same in structure and word form as a direct question e.g. (22a'). In fact Kawasha observes that in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda and Luvale (also Bantu languages), direct and indirect quotes are indistinguishable; the diexis in these languages is not adapted to the reporter's speech. This is what we find also in Setswana as shown in (22a) and later on in section 5.1 ex. (31a). This is different from English.

22a. Thuso o-i-pod-its-e gore a mongwe.
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX.-wonder-PRF that Q-part. Someone
o-bon-e tonki eo
1.SA see-PST-FV 9.donkey 9. that
'Thuso wondered whether someone had seen that donkey'.

22a'. A mongwe o-bon-e tonki eo ? Q-Part. someone 1.SA-see-FV donkey that
'Has someone seen that donkey?'

22b. *Thuso o-i-pod-its-e gore mongwe
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX.wonder-PRF that someone
o-bon-e tonki eo.
1.SA see-PST-FV9. donkey 9.that
'Thuso wondered if someone had seen that donkey'.

22c. *Thuso o-i-pod-its-e a mongwe
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX.-wonder-PRF Q-part. Someone
o-bon-e tonki eo.
1.SA see-PST-FV 9.donkey 9. that
'Thuso wondered if/whether someone had seen that donkey'.

22d. A mongwe o-bon-e tonki eo? Q.part someone 1.SA see-PST-FV 9.donkey 9.that
'Has someone seen that donkey?'

4.4 fa / ha as a complementizer

The fa/ha alternation is a dialectal one; fa tends to be used in the southern parts of Botswana and in written texts while ha is used more in the northern parts of the country. Falha just like gore, has more than one complementizer meaning in Setswana; as already pointed out above; it can mean 'that' as shown in example (23a) where it is used to introduce a declarative clause functioning as the object of a sentence; it can also convey the meaning 'if' and introduce a complement in the form of an indirect yes/no question as shown in (23b); but it can also function as an ordinary conjuctive 'if' in which case it is used to introduce an adjunct clause in a sentence as shown in (23c);
Evidence that the *fa* in (23a) is different functionally from the one in (23b) comes from the fact that while we can substitute the *fa* in (23b) with the complementizer *gore* (ex. 24a), we cannot do the same in (23a); substituting *fa* with *gore* in (23a) results in an ungrammatical structure as shown in (24b)

An interesting point to note is that when *fa* meaning 'that' or 'if' is used in a sentence, the subject agreement marker of the embedded clause in which *fa* is used consistently changes to *a* instead of the *o* that surfaces when the complementizer is *gore*. Consider the examples below:

**23a.** Neo o-ba-its-is-its-e *fa*
1a.Neo 1.SA-2.OM-inform-CAUS-PRF-FV that mme a-rok-a
1a.mother 1.SA.-sew-FV
'Neo informed them that mother sews/is sewing.'

**23b.** Thuso o-i-pod-its-e *fa*
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX.-wonder-PRF-FV if mongwe a-bon-e tonki eo.
someone1.SA see-PST-FV donkey that
'Thuso wondered if someone had seen that donkey'.

**23c.** *Fa* pula e-ka-n-a kgwedi e e-tla-ng, if 9.rain 3.SA-PST-rain-FV 7.month 7.SA-come-FUT.
2nd.Pl-PST-plough-FV
'If it can rain next month, we can plough.'

**24a.** Thuso o-i-pod-its-e *gore a*
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX.-wonder-PRF.-FV that Q.part.
mongwe o-bon-e tonki eo.
1.someone 1.SA see-PST/FV 9.donkey 9.that
'Thuso wondered whether someone had seen that donkey'.

**24b.** *Neo o-ba-its-is-its-e *gore a*
mme a-rok-a
1a.mother 1.SA.-sew-FV
'Neo informed them whether mother sews/is sewing.'

**25a.** Babereki ba-ne ba-its-e *gore* moeteledipele
2.workers 2.SA Aux.PST-2.SA know-FV that 1.leader
o-tshwan-e-ts-e go ntsh-iw-a
1.SA-should-PRF-FV to remove-PASS-FV
'The workers knew that the leader should be removed'.

**25b.** *Babereki ba-ne ba-its-e *gore*
2.workers 2.SA-Aux.-PST 2.SA-know-FV that
moeteledipele a-tshwan-e-ts-e go ntsh-iw-a
1.leader 1.SA-should-PRF-FV to remove-PASS-FV
'The workers knew that the leader should be removed'.
The workers knew that the leader should be removed.

Example (25a) where the complementizer is *gore* and the subject marker in the embedded clause is *o* is grammatical. However, example (25b) where the subject marker in the embedded clause is *o* instead of *a* is ungrammatical. We also note that example (26a) where the complementizer is *fa* and the subject marker is *a* is grammatical while (26b) is ungrammatical because the subject marker is *o*. This is because *fa* can only take a sentential complement whose verb form is in the participial form (Cole 1955).

4.5 Complementizer deletion in Setswana

In Setswana, just as in other languages, for example English, it is possible to delete the complementizer in some instances. Complementizer deletion is allowed in Setswana in structures that use *fa* meaning 'that' (ex. 27a); whenever the matrix verb is *-re*, that is 'say' (ex. 27b), when the sentential complement is an infinitive (27c) and sometimes when the verb form of the sentential complement is a subjunctive (27d).

However, complementizer deletion is not allowed when the complementizer is *gore* meaning 'that' as we can see from the ungrammatical (28a); neither is it allowed if the complementizer is *gore* meaning 'whether' as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (28b) nor with *fa* meaning 'if' as shown by the ungramatical (28c).
‘The workers knew that the leader should be removed’.

28b. *Thuso o-i-pod-its-e a mongwe
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX-wonder-PRF-FV Q.part. 1.someone
o-bon-e tonki eo.
1.SA-see-PST/FV 9.donkey 9.that
‘Thuso wondered if someone had seen that donkey’.

28c. *Thuso o-i-pod-its-e mongwe
1a.Thuso 1.SA-REFLX-wonder-PRF-FV 1.someone
a-bon-e tonki eo.
1.SA see-PST/FV 9.donkey 9.that
‘Thuso wondered if someone had seen that donkey’.

To summarize, we have established that Setswana has two main complementizers: *gore* and *fa*, both of which can mean 'that'; and that each one of these has a dual meaning; *gore* can mean 'that' or 'whether' and *falha* can mean 'that' or 'if'. Complementizer deletion is allowed only with the complementizer *fa* meaning 'that'; when the matrix verb of the sentence is '-re' and when the complement is an infinitive. Deletion of the complementizer is not allowed with the complementizers *gore* and *fa* meaning 'if'. In the next section, we investigate the type of sentential complement that each one of these complementizers take; that is, whether the sententential complement has a question feature or not and whether it is finite or non-finite.

5. Types of sentential complements that each complementizer takes

There are three types of sentences that can function as sentential complements. These are declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives.

5.1 Gore with the meaning 'that'

The complementizer *gore* takes two kinds of sentential complements: declaratives (ex. 29) and declaratives expressed through the subjunctive mood (ex. (30).

29. Ke -akany-a gore Thuso o-lath-il-e
1stP.Sing think-FV that 1a.Thuso 1.SA- abondon-PRF-FV
mogopo wa teng
3.idea Assoc.that
'I think that Thuso has abondoned that idea.'

30. Ke batl-a gore ba berek-e.
1st.P.Sing. want-FV that 2.SA-work-Subj.
Literally 'I want that they work' 'I want them to work'.

The complementizer *gore* also takes information seeking interrogative sentential complements (ex. 31a) but not a yes/no type of interrogative as evident from the ungrammaticality of (31b).

31a. Neo o-bod-i-ts-e gore ke mang yo
o-tla- etelel-a-ng phuthego pele.
'Neo asked (that) who would chair the meeting'.

31a'. Ke mang yo o-tla-etelel-a-ng phuthego pele?
Cop. who Rel.-1. SA-FUT.-lead-FV.Q.part. 7.meeting front.
'Who will chair the meeting?'

1a.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV that 1.SA-FUT.-return-FV
'Neo asked that will he/she return'.

Notice that the structure of the 'indirect question' in (31a) is really not different from a direct question in Setswana (ex. 31a') as there is no difference in word order or tense form just as we saw with the yes/no interrogative sentential complements in example (22a) above. This phenomenon has been observed in other Bantu languages, for example Lunda (Kawasha 2007), and Zulu (Sabel & Zeller, 2004). In addition, the Setswana complementizer gore behaves differently from its English counterpart 'that' as 'that' does not take interrogative sentential complements as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (32a). In addition, gore is different from English 'that' in that it takes non-finite verbs as shown in example (30). Further, even though gore has the meaning 'that' it also differs from the English 'that' in that the English complementizer can be omitted in some instances while gore can never be omitted. For example, English requires complementizer deletion in order for (32a) to be grammatical (see ex. 32b). Thus, even though gore has the same function as English 'that', they nevertheless differ in non-trivial ways syntactically.

32a. *John asked that who would chair the meeting.
32b. John asked who would chair the meeting.

Notice that complementizer deletion in the Setswana example (31a) results in ungrammaticality as shown in (33).

33. *Neo o-bod-its-e ke mang yo
1a.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV cop. who Rel.
o-tla-etelel-a-ng phuthego pele.
1.SA-FUT.-lead-FV-Q-part. 7.meeting front
'Neo asked who would chair the meeting'

Thus the behaviours of the complementizers gore and 'that' in Setswana and English respectively are different. This recalls Cole's (1955) caution quoted above that a satisfactory analysis of Bantu languages cannot be achieved by studying their grammars through grammatical concepts of foreign languages.

Imperatives as complements of gore
Direct imperatives (ex. 34) cannot form sentential complements of gore; however, indirect imperatives (hortatives) can form complements of gore in the form of the subjunctive mood (ex. 35).
34. * Kgosi o-lao-ts-e gore monna les-ia-a
9. chief 9.SA order-PRF that 1.man 1.SA- release-PASS.-FV.
The chief ordered that, man be released.

35. Kgosi o-lao-ts-e gore monna a a-les-ia-a
9. chief 9.SA order-PST that 1.man be 1.SA- release-PASS.-SUBJN.
The chief ordered that the man be released.

cf.

Compare (35) with (36) below:
36. Monna a a les-ia-a!
1.man be- 1.SA-PASS-SUBJN
"Let the man be released!"

The embedded clause in (35) is a hortative construction just like example (36). The structure and forms of the words in the indirect speech in (35) are exactly the same as in ex. (36) which is in direct speech. This recalls the situation of indirect speech involving questions already discussed above.

5.2 Gore with the meaning 'whether'
The complementizer gore with the meaning 'whether' takes only interrogative sentential complements of the yes/no type question (37); in other words it has a +WH feature just like 'whether' in English. Deletion of gore 'whether' is not allowed as this results in ungrammaticality as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (37b). Thus any sentence type be it declarative (38), imperative (39) or information seeking question type (40) results in an ungrammatical sentence if used as a complement of gore with the meaning 'whether'.

37a. Neo o-bod-its-e rraagwe mogolo
1.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older
gore a o-tlaa-bo-a
whether Q-Part.- 3rdP.sing.-FuT.-return-FV
‘Neo asked her grandfather whether he would come back’.

37b. *Neo o-bod-its-e rraagwe mogolo a a-bo-e?
1.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-.FV 1a.fatherolder Q-Part. 1.SA-return-FV
‘Neo asked her grandfather whether she should come back’.

38. *Ke akany-a gore a Neo o-gorog-il-e.
1.P.Sing. think-FV whether Q-Part. 1.Neo 1.SA arrive-PRF-FV
‘I think whether Neo has arrived.’

39. *Neo o-bod-its-e rraagwe mogolo
1.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older
gore a bo-a-ng
whether Q-Part. return-FV-PL
‘Neo asked her grandfather whether come back’.

40. *Neo o-bod-its-e rraagwe mogolo
1.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older
gore a o-tlaa-bo-a leng
whether Q-Part. 3rdP.sing.-FuT.-return-FV when
‘Neo asked her grandfather whether when will he return’.
5.3 Complementation of \( fa \) meaning 'that'

Just like its counterpart \( gore \), \( fa \) also takes declarative complements with a participial verb form. This is illustrated in (41) below. Unlike \( gore \), \( fa \) meaning 'that' does not take interrogative complements as exemplified in the ungrammatical (43). In addition, unlike \( gore \), \( fa \) does not take subjunctive complements as evidenced by the ungrammatical (42), nor imperatives as shown by the ungrammaticality of (44).

41. Ke-akany-a \( fa \) Thuso a-latlh-il-e
   1stP.Sing-FV that 1.Thuso 1.SA- abandon-PRF-FV
   mogopolo wa teng
   2.idea 3.Poss. that
   'I think that Thuso has abandoned that idea.'

42. *Ke batl-a \( fa \) ba-berek-e.
   1st.P.Sing. want-FV that 2.SA-work-Subj./FV
   Literally 'I want that they work' 'I want them to work'.

43. *Neo o-bod-its-e \( fa \) ke mang
   1a.Neo 1.SA-order-PRF-FV that cop. who
   yo o-tla-etel-e-a-ng phuthego pele.
   Rel. 1.SA-FUT-lead-FV-Q-part. 7.meeting front
   'Neo asked (that) who would chair the meeting'

44. *Kgosi o- lao-ts-e \( fa \) tsamay-a-ng!
   1.chief 1.SA-lead-FV-PL that go.-FV-PL
   'The chief ordered that go!'

5.4. Complementation of \( fa \) meaning 'if'

\( Fa \) meaning 'if' intrinsically has a question feature and therefore it follows that the complement clause that follows it in Setswana has a question feature. The question feature of the complement of \( fa \) is found in the yes/no interrogative; the only complement type that this complementizer takes. Just like \( fa \) meaning 'that', it takes the participial form of the verb. Unlike English 'if', \( fa \) can take sentential complements which are in the infinitive form as shown in (45b). Declarative complements are not permitted with \( fa \) neither are imperative ones as evident from the ungrammaticality of (46) and (47) respectively.

45a. Neo o-bod-its-e rrangwe mogolo \( fa \) a-tla- bo-a
   1a.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older if 1.SA.-FUT.-return-FV
   'Neo asked her grandfather if he would come back'.

45b. Neo o-bod-its-e rrangwe mogolo \( fa \)
   1a.Neo 1.SA ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older if
   go-ka-thus-a go-lem-a ka Firikgong.
   Inf.-Part.-help-FV Inf.-plough-FV in January
   'Neo asked her grandfather if it can be worthwhile to plough in January.'

46. *Ke akany-a \( fa \) Neo a-gorog-il-e.
   1stP.Sing. think-FV if 1a.Neo 1.SA arrive-PRF-FV
   'I think if Neo has arrived.' (the Setswana sentence is
   ungrammatical under the relevant reading; otherwise with \( fa \) meaning 'that' it is okay)

47. *Neo o-bod-its-e rrangwe mogolo \( fa \) bo-a-ng
One might question the idea that the complementizer *fa* takes question complements using an example such as (48) below as a counter example to my generalization:

48. Ke- tla- m-mona fa a-le teng.
    1.SA FUT.-OM-see if 1.SA-Part. there
    'I will see him if he is there'.

It is true that the 'if' clause in this example is not an indirect question or a question of any sort. It is also true that the 'if' clause is not a complement clause in this sentence. Rather, the 'if' clause in the example above is an adjunct clause which can be omitted from the sentence without resulting in ungrammaticality of any sort. In the two examples (45a) and (45b), the 'if' clauses are complements of the verb. The verb 'ask' subcategorizes for three arguments, the person who is asking, that is *Neo*, the person who is asked, that is *rragwe mogolo* 'the grandfather' the question asked, that is, the indirect question carried by the 'if' clause. Deletion of the 'if' clause in either one of them results in incomplete sentences if no prior discourse has happened as illustrated below:

49a. ?Neo o- bod-its-e rragwe mogolo.
    1a.Neo 1.SA-ask-PRF-FV 1a.father older
    'Neo asked her grandfather'.

49b. ?Neo o- bod-its-e rragwe mogolo
    1a.Neo 1.SA ask-PRF-FV 1a.fatherolder
    'Neo asked her grandfather'.

Notice that without previous discourse, anyone hearing (49a) or (49b) would want to know what Neo asked her grandfather. On the other hand, if someone hears (48) 'Ke tla mmona', 'I will see him/her' there is no question that arises such as 'What will you see him/her for?'

From this discussion, it is clear that Setswana distinguishes the dual meanings of *gore* and *fa* in terms of the sentential complement that follows each one of these complements. Thus *gore* meaning 'that' takes three types of sentential complements: simple declaratives, declaratives in the subjunctive form, and direct information seeking interrogatives while *gore* meaning 'whether' takes only interrogative sentential complements of the yes/no type. *Fa* with the meaning 'that' takes only declaratives with the verb form in the participial tense while *fa* with the meaning 'if' takes only yes/no interrogatives with the verb form in the participial tense. The findings above can be summarized in table form as shown in Table 1 below.
Table 1: characteristics of Setswana complementizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comp deletion</th>
<th>+content WH complement</th>
<th>Non-interrogative complement</th>
<th>Yes/No complement</th>
<th>+Finite complement</th>
<th>-Finite complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gore 'that'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gore 'whether'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa 'that'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa 'if'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Conclusion

This paper set out to address two questions, namely: a) what are the form(s) of Setswana complementizers? and b) What features do the sentential complements that each complementizer takes have, that is in terms +/-WH and +/- finiteness? With regards to question (a), we determined that Setswana has two main complementizers namely gore and falha and that gore, which is formed from the verb 'to say' is the predominant form. We also determined that both gore and fa have dual meanings: gore can mean 'that' or 'whether'; fa can mean 'that' or 'if'. In addition, we determined that only the complementizer fa with the meaning 'that' allows complementizer deletion while gore and fa meaning 'if' do not. Regarding the second question, our investigation determined that each complementizer selects a specific sentence type and that the type of sentential complement selected determines the meaning of the complementizer. For example, gore meaning 'that' takes three types of sentential complements: simple declaratives, declaratives in the subjunctive form, and information seeking interrogatives; in other words it has a +WH feature. In addition, the sentential complements of gore can be finite or non-finite. Gore meaning 'whether' takes only interrogative sentential complements of the yes/no type which can only be finite. No non-finite complements are allowed with this complementizer. Fa with the meaning 'that' takes only non-interrogative complements with the verb form in the participle tense; no non-finite complements are allowed with this complementizer. In addition, this is the only complementizer of the four discussed here which allows complementizer deletion. Fa with the meaning 'if' takes only yes/no interrogatives with the verb form in the participle tense; that is, it has a +WH feature. However, fa meaning 'if' also takes non-finite complements. Thus the language has very specific means of distinguishing the different meanings of the two complementizers gore and fa using the type of sentential complement that a given complementizer takes.
References


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Valency Adding Processes in Khoesan: The case of Naro, Ju/hoansi & !Xóó

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Abstract

In this paper, I look into the complex morphology of the Khoesan verb stem and attempt to determine what morphotactic constraints hold in the ordering of the verbal constructions and how they are represented in the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). The most engaging aspect of Bantu verbal morphology lies in the verbal suffixes that also affect the number of NPs that the verb can support in the syntactic configuration. I am of the idea that the same aspect holds for Khoesan verbal morphology. The suffixes can be divided into two groups; those that increase by one the number of NPs that can appear in a sentence and those that reduce by a corresponding amount the number of NPs the suffixed or extended verb can support.

Introduction

The Khoesan languages constitute a group of languages, which originate from Khoe and San. The term Khoesan is in fact constructed as a compound consisting of two parts; Khoe is a Nama word meaning “person” and San is also a Nama word which is a common gender plural of a root sá- meaning “bushmen, forager” (Anderson and Janson 1997:111). Over the past four millennia, the Khoe and the San have inter-married and intermixed to the extent that they have influenced each other not only linguistically but also physically, culturally and socio-economically. From a linguistic point of view there is extensive intermixture of characteristics, there are at least three distinct typological categories namely; Northern Khoesan, Central Khoesan and Southern Khoesan. Anderson and Janson are of the idea that both the Ju/'hoansi and !Xóó families have preserved many of the San characteristics (live in small groups as hunters and gatherers) while the Naro group has preserved many Khoe characteristics (live permanently in small villages and have herds of sheep and cattle). In fact, the Western group known as Khoekhoe has preserved most of the original khoe features. The Northern Khoesan group includes languages like Ju/'hoansi. On the other hand the Central Khoesan group consists of languages like Nama, Kua, Naro, //Gwi, //Gana, etc. Lastly the Southern Khoesan comprise of !Xóó which is spoken over large parts of Southern and South-western Botswana.

Aim of the paper

In this paper therefore, I look into the complex morphology of the Khoesan verb stem and attempt to determine what morphotactic constraints hold in the ordering of the verbal constructions and how they are represented in the theoretical framework of LFG. The most engaging aspect of Bantu verbal morphology lies in the verbal suffixes that also affect the number of NPs that the verb can support in the syntactic configuration. I am of the idea that the same aspect holds for Khoesan verbal morphology. The suffixes can be divided into two groups; those that increase by one the number of NPs that can appear in a sentence and those that reduce by a corresponding amount the number of NPs the suffixed or extended verb can support.
These are called extensions because they extend the basic meaning or significance of the simple radical. A given radical may incorporate a number of extensions in a more or less fixed order. In some cases, however, the order may be varied depending on the meaning to be conveyed. In other words, verbal extensions entail verbal suffixes which are added to the root resulting in a new verb stem. They fall into two main groups, namely; productive verbal extensions and non-productive verbal extensions. The productive verbal extensions to which meanings can be attributed include tense/aspect/mood (TAM) markers on the one hand and suffixes which affect verb valency on the other hand. By contrast, non-productive extensions can formally be isolated as suffixes but cannot be attributed any meaning and, in most cases, do not have any syntactic consequences.

As observed in Hyman and Mchombo (1992) when looking at the Chichewa verb stem, verbal extensions do not just combine freely; they are subject to different kinds of sequential constraints. For example, Chichewa allows a sequence of the Applicative + Reciprocal extensions in (i.a) but not Reciprocal + applicative in (i.b) below (Hyman and Mchombo, 1992).

(i) a. Applicative + Reciprocal
   Man-ir-an- ‘tie for each other’
   b. *Reciprocal + Applicative
      *mang-an-ir ‘tie each other for’

The fact that verbal extensions are subject to different kinds of sequential constraints in many Bantu languages has been known for many years by linguists working on Bantu languages (see also Mathangwane 2001, Dlayedwa 2002). In this paper therefore, I look into the complex morphology of the KhoeSan verb stem and attempt to determine what morphotactic constraints hold in the ordering of the verbal constructions and how they are represented in the theoretical framework of LFG. The most engaging aspect of Bantu verbal morphology lies in the verbal suffixes which also affect the number of NPs that the verb can support in the syntactic configuration. I am of the idea that the same aspect holds for KhoeSan verbal morphology. The suffixes can be divided into two groups; those that increase by one the number of NPs that can appear in a sentence and those that reduce by a corresponding amount the number of NPs the suffixed or extended verb can support. In other words, the extensions can be classified as +O (add one object) or -O\(^6\) (eliminate one object). Typical examples of the +O extensions are the causative and the applicative while the -O extensions are exemplified by the reciprocal, passive, extensive, neuter and reflexive. The idea is to try and find out if what holds in Bantu languages does also holds in KhoeSan languages. In addition, the sequence in which the suffixes occur will also be examined. I will start by looking at the argument adding constructions.

**Argument Adding Constructions**

**The Causative / Applicative**

The causative extension is used productively to form semantically compositional causatives (corresponding to English ‘make someone do X’). In the examples below I give simple sentences, from which causatives will be derived.

(1) Base verb
   || a’ama ‘buy’ (SUBJ) (OBJ)
   a. Kaùh || a’ama ko tjı!ah (Ju’hoansi)

---

\(^6\) O in +/-O refers to Object and should therefore not be mistakenly read as +/- Zero.
kaùh buy part blanket
Kaùh buys a blanket’

b. A-structure <ag pt>

c. n≠áí A’ama ‘cause to buy’ (SUBJ) (OBJ2) (OBJ1)
Kaùh n≠áí a’ama G≠kàò ko tji!ah
Kaùh cause buy G≠kàò part blanket
Kaùh makes G≠kàò to buy a blanket’

d. Base verb k│ha ‘kill’ (SUBJ) (OBJ) (!Xóõ)
Txhaaghaa k│ha yee qee
Thief kill the dog
The thief kills the dog’

f. A-Structure <ag pt>
g. han k│ha ‘cause to kill’ (SUBJ) (OBJ2) (OBJ1)
Gustel han txhaaghaa se k│ha yee qee
Gustel cause thief to kill the dog
Gustel causes the thief to kill the dog’

h. A-Structure <ag exp pt>
i. Base verb cg’áé ‘fall’ (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Naro)
Haghu ba ncãa cg’âé
Dog pgn prst fall
‘The dog falls’

j. A-Structure < ag pt >
k. cg’áé kagu ‘cause to fall’ (SUBJ) (OBJ2) (OBJ1)
l. Haghu ba ncãa katsi ba kagu me cg’âé
Dog pgn prst cat pgn cause prt fall
‘The dog causes the cat to fall’

m. A-Structure < ag exp pt >
n. Base verb tshega ‘laugh’ (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Setswana)
o. monna o a tshega
1-man 1-sm prst laugh
The man is laughing’

p. A-Structure < ag pt>
q. tsheg-is-a ‘cause to laugh’
r. Monna yo o a re tsheg is-a
1-man this 1-sm prst us laugh –caus-fv
This man makes us laugh’

The causative in Ju│’hoansi is realized by the morph n≠áí. On the other hand, in Naro the causative is shown by the morph kagu. Lastly in !Xóõ it is indicated by han and in Setswana it is indicated by –is-. The causative morpheme is suffixed to the verb with the result that there is a new NP introduced into the structure as shown in the examples above.

Therefore in (1c), the subject argument Kaùh is causing the first object argument, G≠kàò which is a cause to buy the second object argument tji!ah ‘blanket’. The blanket is realized as a patient. The same thing applies to example (1g) in which the subject Gustel is making the first object argument txhaaghaa ‘thief’ to kill the second argument qee ‘dog’. Like the causative shown above, the applicative constructions can also be derived from simple sentences as below.
Like the causative n≠ai || a’ama ‘cause to buy’, an applicative verb || a’ama || à ‘buy for’ is derived. The application of the applicative morphemes || à, xe, màá and –el- has introduced new object arguments in the same manner as the causative morpheme n≠ai. The roles played by the new arguments are different. While G≠kàò is realized as a causee-object argument in the causative construction, he is playing a beneficiary role in the applicative sentence. The same applies to qgwa ‘the child’, who is also realized as a beneficiary. The conclusion is that the application of the causative and applicative morphemes gives rise to new syntactic arguments, i.e. genuine objects, which play a causee and beneficiary roles respectively. The causative and the applicative differ in the semantic roles and the grammatical functions associated with the new
NP. As mentioned before, the new NP is agentive in the causative constructions and is normally realized as the subject of the sentence while the applicative introduces non-agentive NPs which are not directly associated with the subject function. The four verbs \textit{a'ama} ‘buy’, \textit{e} ‘eat’, \textit{kôre} ‘herd’ and \textit{reka} ‘buy’ have only one object in the simple sentences.

In the applicative examples above, the NPs \textit{Gñàò} ‘the child’, \textit{X’aiga} ‘chief’ and \textit{mme} ‘mother’ are introduced as the second objects and they are associated with the semantic roles of beneficiary. The two verbs therefore are associated with thematic roles of agent, theme and beneficiary.

**Argument Reducing Constructions**

Naro, !Xóô and Ju’hoansi have four argument reducing suffixes, namely the reciprocal, the passive, neuter, extensive and the reflexive but I will only look at three of them in detail namely, passive, reciprocal and the reflexive.

**Passive Morpheme**

The passive indicates that the subject of the verb is acted upon. It has the effect of demoting the subject NP to the status of the object and making the object NP the subject. In other words, the object of the active sentence appears as the subject of the corresponding passive sentence. The passive therefore reduce by one the number of NPs that can appear in a sentence. In Ju’hoansi it appears after the verb as well as in Naro and !Xóô. Passive constructions are characterized by the morpheme \textit{è} in Ju’hoansi. On the other hand, in Naro it is marked by \textit{è}. Lastly, it is indicated by \textit{ke} in !Xóô. Examples (3c,h and l) illustrate the above statements.

(3) a. Base verb \textit{tc’óó} ‘eat’

\textit{Cóán ba ko tcõòan tc’óó} (Naro)

‘The boy ate food’

b. A-Structure <ag> pt>

c. Passive \textit{tc’óó è} ‘eaten’

\textit{Tcõò nea ncãa cóá ba ka tc’óó è} food pn pst boy pgn part eat pass

‘The food has been eaten (by the boy)’

d. A-Structure \textit{tc’ôóè} ‘eaten’ <ag>

e. Base verb \textit{qha | å} ‘plough’ (SUBJ)

\textit{Taghaa ba qha | å ke qha | å} Man prt plough the field

‘The man ploughed the field’

f. A-Structure \textit{qha | å} ‘plough’ < ag> pt>

g. Passive \textit{qha | å ke} ‘being ploughed’ (SUBJ)

\textit{Qha | å eye ka qha | å ke field is prt plough pass}

‘The field is being ploughed’

h. A-Structure \textit{qha | å ke} ‘being ploughed’ < ag>

i. Base verb \textit{an} ‘eat’ (SUBJ)

\textit{Qgwa an asa} Child eat food

‘The child ate the food’
In examples (3c, h, and l), the themes of the active sentences are realized as the subjects of the passive sentences while the subjects of the active sentences (3a, e, i and m) are realized as the NPs. The examples clearly show that when the passive morpheme is applied to the verb, it demotes the subject and promotes the object into the position of the subject of the passive. The passive can acquire new words through nominalization as shown below.

\[ \text{r. } \text{'à 'give'} \quad \text{'}e \text{ 'be given'} \quad \text{'ànce 'e 'gift'} \quad (!Xóõ) \]

\[ \text{s. g} \quad \text{aoh 'strong'} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{aoh 'be strong'} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{aoh 'strength'} \quad (Ju/'hoansi) \]

**Reciprocal Morpheme**

The other suffix that reduces the number of arguments a verb can take is the reciprocal. A verb is called reciprocal when it suggests that the people or things represented by the subject of the sentence are doing something to one another. In other words, it appears with one NP that denotes a group or by having a coordinate structured in the subject position. It reduces by one the number of arguments in a sentence. In many Bantu languages the reciprocal is represented by the suffix – *an*-. However, reciprocal constructions are marked by the presence of the reciprocal marker *khoe* in Ju | *hoansi, x| hae in !Xóõ and *ku* in Naro as shown in the examples that follow.

(4)  
\[ \text{a. 'hoan are o dshàú (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Ju/'hoansi)} \]
\[ \text{man love part woman 'The man loves the woman'} \]
\[ \text{A-Structure are 'love' < ag pt>} \]
\[ \text{b. 'hoan sa dshàú are o khoe (SUBJ)} \]
\[ \text{man and woman love prt rec 'The man and the woman love each other'} \]
\[ \text{A-Structure are khoe 'love each other' < ag/pt>} \]
\[ \text{c. Khóè ba ncàm khoè sa (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Naro)} \]
\[ \text{Man pgn love woman pgn 'The man loves the woman'} \]
\[ \text{A-Structure ncàm'love' < ag pt >} \]
\[ \text{d. Khóè ba hẽé khoè sa hěéthẽé khara ncàm ku (SUBJ)} \]
\[ \text{man pgn and woman pgn also they love rec 'The man and the woman love each other'} \]
A-Structure ncàm ku ‘love each other’  < ag/pt >  
e. Tagha xham tak | ae’n (SUBJ) (OBJ) (!Xóó)  
Man loves woman  
‘The man loves the woman’  
A-Structure xham ‘love’  < ag  pt >  
f. Tagha qa tak | ae’n xham x hae (SUBJ)  
Man and woman love rec  
‘The man and the woman love each other’  
A-Structure xham x hae ‘love each other’  < ag/pt >  
g. Monna o rata mosadi (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Setswana)  
1-man 1-sm love 1-woman  
‘The man loves the woman’  
A-Structure rata ‘love’  < ag  pt >  
h. Monna le mosadi ba a rat-an-a (SUBJ)  
1-Man and 1-woman 2-sm prst love-rec-fv  
‘The man and the woman love each other’  
A-Structure rat-an-a ‘love each other’  < ag/pt >  

The reciprocal constructions above lack the object argument. This is due to the fact that the original object argument is co-joined with the subject argument to share the role of instigating the action to each other. In addition, the examples show that the reciprocalized verbs require subjects with plural reference. The usage of the reciprocal morpheme therefore conveys the meaning of two or more individuals, which are engaged in some activity. In this case, it is the man and the woman engaged in the activity of loving each other.

The Reflexive

This is a verb used so as to imply that the subject is doing something to himself, herself or itself. To express a reflexive action in Ju│’hoansi, │’àè (plural │’àèsi) ‘self/selves’ is used. With the personal pronouns m!á ‘we’ (inclusive), è!á ‘we’ (exclusive), l!á ‘you’ (pl), and si!á ‘they’, the -!á is left out preceding │’àèsi ‘selves’.

On the other hand in Naro the reflexive is marked by the following; -se ‘myself’, ‘herself’ and ‘herself’, ne ‘themselves’, ta ‘ourselves’, a ‘yourself’, tu ‘yourselves’, and an ‘itself’. However in !Xóó, it is shown by tam ‘himself/herself/myself, qomta ‘themselves’ and ta ‘ourselves’.

Mchombo (1993: 195) claims that the reflexive unlike the reciprocal is a syntactic argument that functions as the object of the verb. He is of the opinion that the reflexive behaves like the object marker. Consider the example below from Naro.

(5) a. Haghu ba ko dxau ba xhaia xhaia ‘chase’ (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Naro)  
Dog 3sg prt rat 3sg chase  
‘The dog chase the rat’  
b. A-structure xhaia ‘chase’  < ag  pt >  
c. Haghu ba ko xhaia se xhaia se ‘chase himself’  
Dog pgn prst chase himself  
‘The dog chases himself’  
d. G≠hòà !xè n hui !xè ‘chase’ (SUBJ) (OBJ) (Ju/’hoansi)  
Dog chase rat  
‘The dog chases the rat’
The above example indicates that when the reflexive morpheme is added to the verb it implies that the subject is doing something to himself as shown above.

Mchombo (1993:195) states that the reflexive suffix like other suffixes is involved in the determination of expressible NP arguments within the sentence. The examples above indicate that unlike in Bantu where the reflexive is expressed with a suffix, in Khoesan languages it is expressed with a free form and in most cases it is a pronoun.

The paragraph that follows highlights possibilities of the combination of the argument increasing constructions with the argument reducing ones in the derivation of further predicates.

Co-occurrence of verbal constructions

Causative and Reciprocal Ordering

In the above discussion, I have only presented constructions with single verbal constructions i.e. an argument increasing morpheme or an argument reducing morpheme. The examples below show the reciprocal use of the causatives.

(6) a. Kaùh || ’ama G≠kàò n≠áí khòè tji!ah (Ju/'hoansi)
    Kaùh buy G≠kàò caus rec blanket
    ‘Kaùh and G≠kàò make each other buy a blanket’

b. Marry qhe John [han ku qom x] hae sabi (!Xóô)
    Marry and John caus prst buy rec blanket
    ‘Marry and John make each other buy a blanket’

c. Marry khara John kagu ko ku wèéa ba xámá (Naro)
    Marry and John caus prst rec both pgn buy
    ‘Marry and John make each other buy a blanket’

*d. Marry qhe John x [ hae ka ban qom ] han txhaa seesa
    Marry and John rec to teach caus to cook
‘Marry and John cause to teach each other to cook’

Sentences (6a, b and c) demonstrate the reciprocal use of the causative. However, the ordering *rec-caus does not exist in these languages as indicated in example (6d). On the other hand, Mathangwane (2001: 398) argues that in Ikalanga the ordering Rec-Caus occurs as indicated in example (6e).

e. dabil -an-is- ‘cause each other to answer’
   verb root- rec-caus

In addition, in Ikalanga the pass + rec and vice versa combinations are possible as illustrated in examples (6f and g) borrowed from Mathangwane (2001: 405).

   REC-PASS
   f. Lób -an- (i)-w (lób-aŋ-w-) ‘be beaten by each other’
      verb root- rec- pass
   g. PASS-REC
      lób -w -an- (lóg-w-an-) ‘be beaten by each other’
      verb root- pass- rec

Mathangwane argues that unlike in Chichewa, in Ikalanga it is possible to eliminate the argument requirements of the verb. The data shows that in the languages under study, it is not possible to combine the two extensions in both orders. The combination of the two is restricted by the fact that they both reduce by one the number of arguments a verb can take.

The examples below show that it is possible to add other constructions to the causative and the reciprocal.

h. Haghu ba nakam katsi ba hēēthēē tsara ko kúrú ku a dxāu ba maa ku
   Dog pgn and cat pgn conj part part caus rec part rat pgn app rec
   ‘The dog and the cat cause each other to give each other a rat’ (Naro)
i. Gustel qhe Wire kutā hān se txāa ke qhoye xe x hae
   ‘Gustel and Wire cause themselves to chase the rat app rec’ (!Xóõ)
j. G≠hò sa n≠áí m≠huì o khè (Ju’hoansi)
   Dog and cat caus eat pass rat to rec
   ‘The dog and the cat have caused each other to eat a rat’

The examples above clearly indicate that the causative precedes the reciprocal. Example (6h) shows the combination; Caus-Rec-Rec, while (6i) indicates Caus-Ref-Rec and lastly (6j) shows Pass-Caus-Rec-App. Even though the *Pass-Caus ordering is not acceptable in these languages, the same ordering becomes acceptable when other constructions are added resulting in the ordering Pass-Caus-Rec-App as shown in (6j). The data clearly indicates that it is possible for the reciprocal to double following one another as revealed in (6j).

In the next paragraph, I examine the application of the argument reducing morphemes on the applicative.

(7) a. khòè ba hēē naka-s khòè sa hēēthēēa ko tćōoan xâmá máá ku
   Man pgn and conj-pgn woman pgn also part food buy app rec
   ‘The man and the woman buy the food for each other’ (Naro)
b. Gǂhọà sâ nǂoàn nǂhaò !ǂa o khoe (Ju’hoansi)
   Dog and cat fall app part rec
   ‘The dog and the cat fall for each other’

Like the causative constructions derived above, the applicative is compatible with the argument-reducing morphemes too.

The combination of the two argument-increasing morphemes with one of the argument-reducing morphemes is also possible.

c. Gustel | han xe tam txha ke qhoye xu tomta (!Xôô)
      Gustel caus app refl chase the rat in house
      ‘Gustel causes to chase the rat for himself in the house’

d. Nǂoành nǂái ha !ǂae ko nhùi | ‘a Gǂhọà ko tjù ngang (Ju’hoansi)
      Cat caus refl part rat app dog part house inside
      ‘The cat causes himself to chase the rat for the dog in the house’

Passivation of the applicative causative verb ‘cause to chase for’ is also possible. Consider example (7e).

e. Dxàu ba ko kúrú a haghu máá ka xhàie ko e katsi xu ka (Naro)
      rat pgn part causprt dog app part chase pst pass cat pn part
      ‘The rat is caused to be chased for the dog by the cat’

f. Qhoye eke a | han txhaa ke xe qee ke katsee (!Xôô)
      Rat is prt caus chase pass app dog by cat
      ‘The rat is caused to be chased for the dog by the cat’

The above examples demonstrate that it is possible to combine two argument-reducing constructions with one of the argument-increasing construction morphemes. In the section below, all the possible combinations found in these languages are given. Combinations not acceptable in these languages are marked with an asterisk.

**Possible Combinations of various grammatical relation-changing constructions**

The following tables give a summary of the possible combinations of various grammatical relation-changing constructions in the three languages. Table 1 gives double combinations whereas table 2 gives triple combinations. Furthermore, table 3 gives quadruple combinations. All these combinations are manifested in the three languages under consideration and the examples illustrating the combinations are shown under findings.

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Table 1: Double Combinations
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Table 2: Triple Combinations

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</table>

Table 3: Quadruple Combinations

Findings

Morpheme Orderings with the Causative

The causative morpheme can precede the passive as indicated in (7e and f). Even though the *Pass-Caus ordering is not acceptable in these languages, the same ordering becomes acceptable when other constructions are added, resulting in the ordering Pass-Caus-Rec-App as shown below.

(8a). Haghu ba hẽé nakam katsi hẽéthẽé è ncāa kagu ku máá ncāa dxàu ba tc’Ôô
Dog pgn do and cat conj pass adj cause rec app part rat pgn eat
‘The dog and the cat have caused each other to eat a rat’. (Naro)

b. Qee qhe katsee ke | han ku qom x | hae | â qhoye
Dog and cat pass caus prt eat rec app rat
‘The dog and the cat have caused each other to eat a rat’ (!Xóô)

c. G≠hòà sa n| oàn | ‘e ‘m n≠áí o khòè | ‘a
(Ju/”hoansi)
Dog and cat pass eat caus part rec app
‘The dog and the cat have caused each other to eat a rat’

**Causative-Reciprocal**

This is one of the possible combinations in these languages. The causative precedes the reciprocal as indicated in examples (6a), b and e. However, the ordering *rec-caus* does not exist in the languages under consideration as shown by example (6d). The data shows that it is possible for the reciprocal to double following one another as revealed in (8d, e and f).

d. ‘Haghu ba hẽé nakam katsi ba hẽéthẽé kama ko kagu ku a dxàu ba máá ku
Dog pgn do and cat pgn conj give part caus rec part rat pgn app rec
‘The dog and the cat cause each other to give each other a rat’. (Naro)
e. G$hòà sa n àn n#ái khoè ko n huì
Dog and cat caus rec to give rec a rat
‘The dog and the cat cause each other to give each other a rat’

**Causative-Reflexive**

This ordering is possible in both the three languages and the causative precedes the reflexive. It is possible for the reflexive to be doubled following one another as in (9a and b).

(9) a. Haghu ba ko kagu se a dxàu ba xhràia máá se nguum q’oo koe (Naro)
Dog pgn part caus refl part rat pgn chase app refl house inside in
‘The dog causes himself to chase the rat for himself in the house’.
b. Nqham han tam se txhaase tee xe tam x ae twe (!Xóõ)
Granny caus refl to make tea app refl house
‘Granny causes herself to make the tea for herself in the house’
c. G$hòà sa n#ái !xòè ha ko n huì 'a ha 'ae tjù (Ju’hoansi)
Dog caus chased refl part rat app refl house
‘The dog causes himself to chase the rat for himself in the house’

**The Passive Morpheme**

The **Pass-App** is one possible ordering in the languages under study. It appears that the passive morpheme only occurs before the applicative as shown earlier. However, orderings in which the passive morpheme occurs after the applicative are not acceptable; thus *App-Pass*. The passive morpheme can also allow the addition or intervention of a third morpheme. This is the case when the reciprocal morpheme is added and when it intervenes resulting in **Pass-App-Rec** and **Pass-Rec-App**.

(10) a. Wire qhe Service ba txhaa ke pari xe qom x hae (!Xóõ)
Wire and Service prt chase pass goat app rec
‘Wire and Service have chased a goat for each other’
b. G$hòà sa n àn !xòè 'e n huì 'a khoè (Ju’hoansi)
Dog and cat chase pass rat app rec
‘The dog and the cat have chased a rat for each other’
c. Haghu ba hẽé nakam katsi tsara ko dxàu ba xhaàa e máá ku (Naro)
Dog pgn part and cat have part rat pgn chase pass app rec
‘The dog and the cat have chased a rat for each other’

d. Sara qhe Mary txhaa ke qom x | hae xe qom k | ae (!Xóö)
   Sara and Mary chase pass rec app mother
   ‘Sara and Mary have chased each other for mother’

Service and Wire, the dog and the cat and mother are both associated with the role of beneficiary.

Morpheme Orderings with the Applicative

Applicative-Reciprocal

In the case of the applicative-reciprocal ordering, only the App-Rec ordering is possible as seen in (7a and b) whereby the applicative precedes the reciprocal. Generally, the ordering *Rec-App is not acceptable. Even though this ordering is not acceptable in general, it becomes acceptable when other morphemes are added, in this case the Passive-Causative morphemes are added resulting in Passive-Causative-Reciprocal-Applicative as exemplified in (8a, b and c).

Applicative-Reflexive

In the case of the applicative-reflexive morphemes, both orderings are possible. In this combination, the applicative precedes the reflexive. However, in the ordering Refl-App, the applicative comes after the reflexive.

(11) a. G≠húí n≠ai !xòè ha |'ae ko | 'a n|hui ha |'ae tjù n|ang (Ju/'hoansi)
   Dog caus chase refl part app rat refl house inside
   ‘The dog causes himself to chase the rat for himself in the house’

   b. Service txhaa qhoye xe tam (!Xóö)
   Service chase rat app refl
   ‘Service chases the rat for himself’

   p. Haghu ba ko dxàu ba xhaia máá se (Naro)
   Dog pgn prst rat pgn chase app refl
   ‘The dog chases the rat for himself’

   r. Service txhaa qhoye tam xe (!Xóö)
   Service chase rat refl app
   ‘Service chases the rat for himself’

Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that some morpheme orderings are possible in the languages under study while others are not. The data clearly shows that certain combinations that are acceptable in one language may not be acceptable in another and this shows that verbal constructions do not just combine freely; they are subject to different kinds of sequential constraints. For example, the languages under study have the ordering Pass-App, Caus-App, Caus-Rec, etc. which ordering does not occur in Ikalanga as noted by Mathangwane 2001. On the other hand, Ikalanga has the orderings Rec-App, Caus-App, Pass-Rec, etc which do not occur in these languages and in Setswana. The Rec-App does not occur also in Chichewa as indicated by Hyman and Mchombo (1992). Furthermore, the phonology is also shown to play an important role in determining whether a particular ordering is acceptable or not. This is shown in the doubling of some constructions with or without the addition or intervention of other morphemes. Certain constructions may need to occur before others so as to create the necessary environment for others to apply. Khoesan languages are different from Bantu languages in the
sense that, in Bantu languages the extensions are necessarily suffixes while in Khoesan languages they occur as free morphemes or free forms.

References


