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The Qualificative in Tswana

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The current definition of a Qualificative as a word which qualifies a Substantive is problematic. It immediately raises questions such as:

- i) Must the Substantive necessarily be there too, already identified, standing qualified, for us to identify a Qualificative?
- ii) In NATURAL speech, when do we identify our words, before or after uttering them, before or after structuring them syntagmatically?
- iii) If before, then a choice has already been made by the time the words are uttered in such relationship that one qualifies and the other is qualified. On what basis was such advance selection made?

We see an object in the distance. We tell its colour - white. We still don't know what it is. Coming closer we name it - an elephant.

It appears here that our choice of colour (Qualificative) came before and independently of our naming the object we saw, before supplying the Substantive. We may even identify and name the object (the Substantive) before determining and uttering its colour.

The question is: on what basis does a baby choose Tswana mma (mother) and weeks or months after, -nate < monate (sweet)? There seems no relationship between the choice of the naming word and that of the qualifying word, nor between the circumstances of their choice.

Since, however, we teach language from books, it is possible to place words deliberately in certain relationships in order to make a pre-conceived point. Let us therefore examine the following paradigm of qualificatives in terms of our definition:

Substantive	Qualificative	
a. kgomo	e tshwana	a cow - black
b. pitse	e tilotsana	a mare - black and white-spotted
c. kgomo	e e gangwang e se na namane e	a cow that is milked (milk cow) this having no calf
d. e e gangwang e se na namane e	e e tladitseng kgamelo	which is milked, it having no calf, that has filled the pail
e. kgomo	eo e gangwang	the cow there that is milked
f. kgomo	ele e gangwang jaanong	the cow yonder that is being milked now

Attention must be invited to a few important points:

1. The qualificatives above qualify Substantives and we knew a Qualificative and a Substantive before hand so to place them.
2. Some contain one word, some more, up to three words even by conjunctive standards.
3. c, d, e, f are clauses.
4. The Qualificative clause of (c) is identical with the substantival clause of (d).

5. The first lexical item [ɛ] in the Qualificative of (c) is identical with the last item of the same Qualificative. Conjunctivists would render the first one conjunctively, referring to it as the demonstrative element of the relative concord and the last one disjunctively recognising it as a Demonstrative, thus:

eegangwang esenanamane e

6. A very ticklish problem arises here, why one Demonstrative is a formative and the other a word. These are the points on which consensus is hard to reach regarding the word. This kind of irregularity occurs currently in Zulu too, for example, in the word-group lomuntu (this person) and by transposition umuntu lo. The first lo (this) is treated as a prefixal formative and the next one as a word. This goes to show that the near boundary of a word is blurred by a lack of clarity as to what a prefix is. Hence, when a word is placed before another it may be treated as a prefix, even if in the next breath it appears again as a word, and a separate unit at that.

What we have seen above, however, is that a Qualificative is not always a word although a qualifying word, if we can identify it, will always be a Qualificative.

This places a high premium on the proviso in current grammars that the classification into Qualificatives, Substantives and other '-ives' (six in all) is based on function and grammatical relationship, and that there is yet another classification, into word-classes, based on the form of the words. The classification into the six '-ives' is therefore admitted to be an exercise

in syntax. It is highly doubtful that it can pass as an exercise in word-identification. For as long, however, as the two exercises run concurrently a string of words can always drop into the same slot as a word, and so long may we refer to both as a word.

D. T. Cole¹ warns against this, saying, ". . . all relatives, strictly speaking, are relative clauses". This means that currently, because a functional concept (a Qualificative) and a lexical concept (a Relative) are both defined as a word, a clause is a word and a word is a clause in Tswana, in Southern Bantu. The idea of de Saussure that, "In language there are only differences" is relevant here. If there is no difference between a Relative and a clause there are no two linguistic issues. One must disappear. How then do we identify the qualificative word? Or any other word?

The late Prof. D. Ziervogel of the University of South Africa gives a resumé of the views of various authorities on the word generally and we may learn from him.

D. Ziervogel sees a turning-point with the publication of C. M. Doke's Textbook of Zulu Grammar in 1927, where C. M. Doke, following Daniel Jones's (London) idea of phonetics, determines the Zulu word and by implication the Bantu word phonetically; the criterion being stress on the penultimate syllable as signal of its far boundary. We might add here that A. G. Nkabinde² sees "Doke's identification of the word according to its capability of being pronounced alone as well as the presence of a main stress . . . as a conjunctive technique of word-identification". D. Ziervogel goes on to state that this method was criticised by G. P. Lestrade and others, but that the conjunctive word has come to stay. He adds, "Today there is no linguist of note who regards the word as disjunctive".³ He warns, however, that the

problem is the extent to which the word may be so conjunctivised. We have hinted above that the problem of which prefix inheres to which stem remains to be solved, which is the crux of the problem of the near boundary of the word. We must now find that it is possible that from the extreme where, ". . . the divider (of words) is the meaning or shade of meaning with which words are invested, not concord . . . nor yet accent . . .", in which case morphemes being meaningful units could also claim their right as words, and are in fact doing so, a turning-point occurred in 1927 to the opposite extreme where it was not always known how much not to prefix. Is this why for instance a Relative (a word) can, strictly speaking, that is, when its 'prefixes' are credited with their own standing and identity, be viewed as a clause? The question arises too, to what extent linguistic forms are going to be classified more than once as forms, that is, as distinct from classification of their functions.

Back to D. Ziervogel, he sketches his own "new approach" to the word in his A Grammar of Swazi (1952). His criterion is morphology and not quite phonetics as Doke had previously done. He rejects penultimate stress or length as a criterion. He finds that there is some stress on the root-syllable of a word and therefore a word is basically a root plus pre- and suffixes. If there were some indication of the limit to prefixes and suffixes, especially the former, this approach would have been very plausible. In 1959 D. Ziervogel takes the matter further (Northern Transvaal Ndebele) and adds to root-syllable stress the criteria of function, prosodic factors and meaning. We suppose that to the functional definition, ". . . a word which qualifies a Substantive . . ." he would add morphological features, prosodic features (maybe also the self-same penultimate syllable-length), and the semantic features of a Qualificative. This would be a very comprehensive definition. He finds fault with

C. M. Doke's single, phonetic criterion of penultimate stress and prefers more than one criterion. Unluckily he still includes the criterion of function. In our view the criteria of form and meaning on the one hand, and form, meaning and function on the other, produce different results, so that there must be a limit to our criteria too. By the criteria of form and meaning the word motho (person) is classed as a noun on grounds of:-

class-prefix :	<u>mo-</u>
stem/root :	<u>-tho</u>
meaning :	person

By the criteria of form, meaning and function the classification is different, that is:-

motho o ja bogobe (a person eats porridge)

motho is now a syntactical component, viz. subject of sentence, still referred to as a noun.

bogobe bo jewa ke motho (porridge is eaten by a person)

motho is, once again, a syntactical component, viz. extension of predicate, now seen as adverb ke motho.

D. Ziervogel also recounts E.B. van Wyk's idea of a word in Zulu and in Northern Sotho. E.B. van Wyk is stated as having declared himself opposed to C.M. Doke's conception of a word, and espousing Reichling's. He bases his word-identification on syntactical criteria such as separability, transposition, isolationability. Once again, D. Ziervogel is not satisfied with a single syntactic criterion. He urges that the three approaches of C.M. Doke, E.B. van Wyk and his own be merged, which in fact we think he tries, but without success since he includes function among his criteria and therefore still identifies a Relative (which is a clause), and a Copulative (which is the predicative USE of words other than verbs). To us the very definition of a Copulative, ".... non-verbal predicatives . . . formed in Tswana by direct prefixal inflection of substantives, qualificatives

and adverbs,"⁴ is syntactical. It classifies a usage of words already classified. That these words are inflected with prefixes that do not inhere to them or diminish the properties on grounds of which these words were originally classified is abundantly apparent and intensifies the difficulty of determining the near boundary of a word.

Malcolm Guthrie criticises the whole exercise of word-division in Bantu for this very reason. He finds that what was to have been word-division turned out to be an exercise in word-fusion, which means that instead of determining where to divide words, rather, what had to be affixed to the stem was sought. He also employs syntactical criteria to identify his word, similar to those of E. B. van Wyk above, mainly isolationability, separability, replacability, transposition.

One simple example may illustrate this word-fusion allegation. Take the word-group:-

dibaga tse dintle - fine beads

It is generally agreed that the Adjective is tse dintle, conjunctively written tsedintle. The segment is divisible into concord tse + di and adjectival stem -ntle. The tse- is described as the demonstrative element of the concord, and the di- as the class-prefixal element, the latter by A. J. Wookey too.⁵ We may extend tse dintle to tse dintle tse, conjunctively tsedintle tse.

Currently the first Demonstrative is prefixed by conjunctivists and declared a formative, and the second one separated and declared a word. In addition to this inconsistency, the first Demonstrative is separable in a construction such as tse di leng dintle (which are fine) or tse tota di felang di le dintle (which indeed are absolutely fine). We see no ground for viewing the first tse as anything else but a thorough going Demonstrative functioning concordially and as independent a word as the tse at the end of:-

tse di leng dintle tse (conjunctively tse dileng-
dintle tse)

There is an abundantly clear difference between the two elements of the concordial structure, tse di, namely that only the di inheres to the adjective stem as is true of a noun-class-prefix. Finally, the first element tse, asserts its features as Demonstrative in that it may be uttered and replaced by tse no, tse o, tse le, (these here hardby, those there, those yonder) in the same construction.

We would therefore view an Adjective, like a Noun, as class-prefix plus adjectival stem (form) meaning some quality of a Substantive, irrespective of function. Any other word meaning quality of a Substantive would not have an adjectival stem.

There is no end to differences of opinion about a word. A. C. Nkabinde⁶ cites J. A. Louw's approach which he regards as geared to the conjunctive word too. Perhaps the trouble arises from seeking the conjunctive word instead of the word, resulting in 'word-fusion' instead of 'word division' or at the other extreme seeking the disjunctive word and ending up with formatives as words. In any case, J. A. Louw is said to demarcate words by the criterion of word juncture, that is, when two juxtaposed vowels do not coalesce as in ubaba uya-bingelela (father greets). The kind of elision between two such words - ubab' uyabingelela - also points to the far boundary of the first and the near boundary of the second word. The merit of J. A. Louw's approach is that it tries to determine the near and the far boundary of the word. But it does not provide an answer to the problem of the fusion of nga + umkhonto (with + the spear) into ngomkhonto which yet leaves mkhonto with its properties as a noun intact. Is ngomkhonto now an adverb even though mkhonto is qualified and further inflected as a

noun as if nothing has happened? The further merit of J. A. Louw's approach is that it seeks word-boundaries in NATURAL speech and not in grammar.

The problem of word-identification still besets languages like English. An authority says, "In any language, some lexical units seem to be more word-like than others, and between languages there is no necessary parallelism. For example, because of the way 'the' behaves in English it is hard to call it a 'word' in the same clear sense as 'children' is a word. On the other hand, it is certainly more word-like than the '-ren' of 'children'."7

Without suggesting that African languages do as English, it seems there are similar features of degrees of word-likeness and somewhere both conjunctivism and disjunctivism could take account of this. The idea is held that a Bantu word must be capable of being spoken alone, a very perfect degree of isolationability. Is there a language in which every word is isolatable to this extent? To our mind the opposite pole to declaring formative words indiscriminately, is declaring a clause a word. It appears that a search for a middle way can be fruitfully attempted by reference to NATURAL SPEECH.

Currently the Tswana Qualificative is analysed as follows, the Qualificative given between square brackets:-

- i) The Adjective - a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into agreement with it by an adjectival concord, e.g.
disjunctively : ngwana [yo montle] (a fine child),
conjunctively : ngwana [yomontle]
concord : yo mo / yomo-
- ii) the Enumerative - a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into agreement with it by an enumerative concord, e.g.

disjunctively : letsatsi /le lengwe/(another day)
 conjunctively : letsatsi /lelengwe/
 concord : le le- /lele-

iii) the Quantitative - a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into agreement with it by a quantitative concord, e.g.
 disjunctively : basetsana /ba botlhe/(all the girls)
 conjunctively : basetsana /babotlhe/
 concord : ba bo- /babo-

iv) the Possessive - a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into agreement with it by a possessive concord, e.g.
 disjunctively : selepe /sa gago/(your axe, sing.)
selepe /sa lona/(plural)
 conjunctively : selepe /sagago/(singular)
selepe /salona/(plural)
 concord : sa

v) the Relative - a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into agreement with it by a relative concord, e.g.
 disjunctively : kgomo /e e gangwang/(a cow that is milked/a milk cow)
 conjunctively : kgomo /eegangwang/
 concord : e e /ee-

When used in isolation these qualificatives are declared qualificative pronouns.

Many problems arise: whether each of the above qualificatives is in fact a word, having heard already that the Relative is really a clause? Whether when spoken in isolation and each is now reclassified as a qualificative pronoun, we are at this stage classifying a form that means quality of a substantive or declaring their substantival function, in which case whether we are not doing syntax in the name of word-classification? Whether concord as such is a morphological or syntactical

requirement, therefore whether a form identifiable by a concord is a morphological or syntactical unit? Whether qualificatives can only be identified when in the functional company of substantives and concords, that is, when not spoken alone, in which case they would not qualify as words if they cannot be spoken alone? Whether these concords are determined by the qualificative or the substantive and therefore whether they belong to either or both and to what extent? What actually constitute these concords in point of form and meaning, irrespective of the concordial function? Whether or not these concords are classifiable differently on their own steam as forms with meaning?

We do not think that it is absolutely necessary to answer all the questions above in detail in respect of each of the Qualificatives. Since we have already heard that the Relative is in fact a clause we make it the guinea-pig. In the sentence ntate o rekile kgomo e e gangwang (my father has bought a cow that is milked/a milk cow), the form e e gangwang (conjunctively eegangwang):(that is milked) is the Relative Qualificative, in isolation the Relative Qualificative Pronoun, otherwise the Relative Qualificative Clause. Sentence analysis would be something of this sort:

a) DETAILED ANALYSIS

Subject	Predicate	Object	Enlargement of object
(a) when the Qualificative is in company of the Substantive it qualifies, and therefore 'a word that qualifies':			
ntate	o rekile	kgomo	e e gangwang
(b) when the Qualificative is in isolation and now a Relative Qualificative Pronoun, a Substantive and still a word:			
ntate	o rekile	e e gangwang	-----

We find that if the Relative is viewed as a word, it performs two functions here, qualificative and substantival. It has other functions - with the aid of an adverbial formative it can function adverbially. With the copula a predicative function is performed. Its functions are a study in syntax. If the Relative is viewed as a clause the analysis would be as follows:

b) GENERAL ANALYSIS

Clause	Kind and Relation
a. Ntate o rekile kgomo	Main Clause
b. E e gangwang	Relative Qualificative Clause, qualifies object <u>kgomo</u> in main clause a.

We must teach that the same Relative Qualificative, a word, functions as enlargement of object, as object, a word again, and as a qualificative clause. If this is wrong we must teach that the same Relative Qualificative clause functions as qualificative clause, as a substantive (a word) and as an enlargement of a substantive (a word). How the qualificative word can be a clause simultaneously or the qualificative clause a word simultaneously defies anybody's conception of a word and a clause. We are not yet at the stage of stating which we think it is. Other factors should determine how many words constitute the form e e gangwang/ eegangwang. When we say that this form is a Relative Qualificative Pronoun we are in fact saying volubly that it functions substantivally when in isolation, and are still in the field of syntax, the classification of functions and not the classification of words. We will return to the matter.

Is concord a morphological or syntactical requirement? Concord means agreement, the opposite of discord or disagreement. This is never a feature of one pole. Concord/discord presupposes two poles. In our case there must be two distinct poles, the Substantive and the Relative Qualificative, in functional discord in the absence of their concord, incapable of function until the concord is introduced, yet identified severally as words, thus:-

<u>kgomo</u>	---	<u>gangwang</u>
cow	---	being milked

Admittedly gangwang commands a lesser degree of isolation-ability or word-likeness than kgomo.

This gangwang can be used in different ways, thus:-

gó gǎngwǎng? : what is being milked?

gó gǎngwǎng? : what being milked?

dí gǎngwǎng? : what is being milked/tapped out of them (those huge trees)?

dí gǎngwǎng? : what being milked out of them?

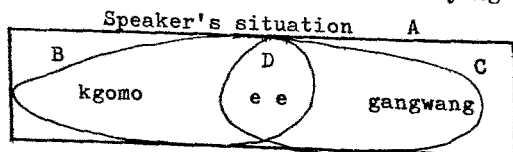
Depending on the class of the noun qualified, in this case kgomo, n-/din- class, singular, the concord we require in the gap above is e e (which is), which we require not for the identification or even classification of gangwang but for its usage for purposes of qualifying kgomo. As seen above, for other usages we also select other forms, gó, dí, gangwang already standing identified. These are all concordial forms replacing each other according to the meaning intended. We come to the conclusion that concord is a syntactical requirement. We do not know which concord to select when we have gangwang only, so that these concords do not inhere to the so-called relative stem unless we know the determinant substantive qualified and we are constructing a clause. We discuss the nature of the concord further down. Suffice

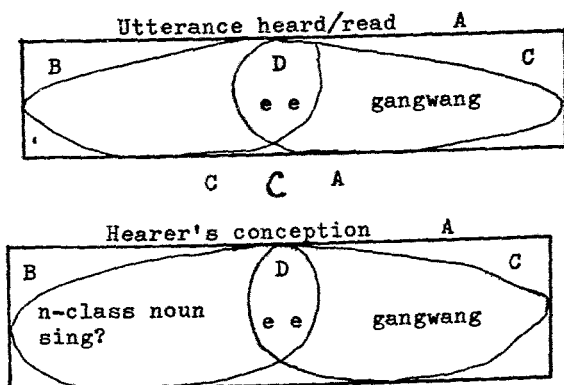
it to add that gangwang is one of the forms of the lexeme gama /xá:má/ (to milk). And the forms of this lexeme are legion and are all verb-stems with inflections that are semantic twists always seen in the light of the mother lexeme. This form of this lexeme and those of other verbal lexemes can be used to qualify a substantive in addition to other usages.

When e e gangwang is used in isolation, the concord betrays the noun-class of the substantive referred to. One would not know which qualificative or other concord to employ unless one had a particular noun or state in mind. Speech is by suppression, expression, impression. Strictly speaking, it is only to the eye and to the ear that any of the Qualificatives above, with its concord, is used in isolation.

The construction e e gangwang has the semantic consequence of n-/din- class-noun, singular + e e gangwang to the hearer, and this noun is never absent in the speaker's situation, or the speaker would not be able to select this concord. This noun is concord-determinant. A form identifiable by a concord is therefore a syntactical unit in our view. In semantic terms therefore there is no isolation of a Qualificative, with concord, from the substantive qualified. This substantive is consciously and deliberately suppressed as a matter of usage, but consciously held in the speaker's situation.

In mathematical terms this is what I am trying to convey:





The hearer lives himself into the speaker's situation and is led thereto by the intersection of the sets. The hearer is sure that the speaker had an n-class noun in mind, and reckons with this situation. The usage appears to us to be a matter of idiom and not word-building. One would therefore not speak of a Pronoun but a Noun Clause, when referring to C above.

This is where NATURAL speech is primary to the written language.

Coming now to the nature of the concord we may learn from A. J. Wookey who identified Proper Adjectives and Verbs, Nouns and Adverbs used adjectivally. He would have seen gangwang in e e gangwang as a verb used adjectivally. His mistaken reference to the first e of e e gangwang as Relative Pronoun (translated 'which') is significant as pointing out in effect that there exists a word-boundary after this form. Earlier on we showed that this form takes the usual inflections of a Demonstrative in the normal way:-

- e e gangwang : (which is milked)
- eo e gangwang : (which there is milked)
- ele e gangwang : (which yonder is milked)

It is also perfectly separable as in:-

- e tota e gangwang : (which indeed is milked)

We believe that it is this consideration that accounts for classifying this form both as a Relative (a word) and as a Relative Qualificative Clause (a string of words). Wookey would have classified it only as a string. We support this view, especially where gangwang commands negative conjugation as a verb normally does:-

e e sa gangwang : (which does not get milked)
commands tense formation:-

e e tla gangwang : (which will get milked -
future)

and commands modal formation:-

e e ka gangwang : (which can be milked -
potential).

From the above then e e gangwang would be a clause and not a word and there would be eventually no word-class called Relative Qualificative in Tswana. The detailed analysis of the clause would be:

Subject	Predicate
E (Demonstrative functioning as conjunctive) • (Yona) Subject proper understood	e gangwang

The second element of the concordial segment e e, namely e, remains subject concord. In fact, it is the only concord, the first element being a Demonstrative of the class of the substantive qualified. The formula for the Relative Qualificative Clause above would therefore be: Demonstrative of the class and number of substantive qualified

+

Subject (often suppressed/understood)

+

Subject concord of class and number of noun qualified
(suppressed/understood)

+

Conjugational and/or tense or modal formative elements
(often omitted)

+

Verb-stem plus passive morpheme wa plus participial
formative -ng

In the orthography the Demonstrative would stand separated. There is the argument of separability by conjugational and tense formative elements from the verb-stem regarding the subject concord, as well as our earlier idea that the concord, being a syntactical requirement, does not necessarily inhere to the forms of the lexeme gama, even more so when the Demonstrative is separated. This is why we would have no objection to this form being treated as one of the not-so-word-like words in orthography, and at the same time would sympathise if orthographers decided to join it to succeeding forms. Orthography is practical.

We are aware that the arguments above will not suit a Nguni language just as well, but this need not be so. The trouble is where it was made to look as if what suited Nguni always suited Sotho.

Having aligned ourselves with the stand that there is only a Relative Clause in Tswana, which may function qualificatively or substantivally or predicatively or adverbially, and therefore no Relative Qualificative or Relative Qualificative Pronoun as word-classes, we briefly consider the rest of the Qualificative types.

In our view the remaining four Qualificatives fall into two categories according to form. There are those three whose concordial form is bielemental and the one whose corresponding form has one element, thus:-

A

Adjective : ngwana /yo montle/ - a fine child
 Enumerative : letsatsi /le lengwe/ - another day
 Quantitative : basetšana /ba botlhe/ - all the girls

B

Possessive : selepe /sa me/ - my axe

Starting from the bottom the Possessive is to us a form which means possession. It has primitive forms which are not necessarily qualificative and deserve to be treated simply as Possessives, their qualificative, descriptive, predicative, substantive, interjective functions being a separate study in syntax. The primitive forms are:-

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
First Person	<u>me/ka</u> (my)	<u>etsho</u> (our)
Second Person	<u>gago</u> (your)	<u>eno</u> (your)
Third Person	<u>gagwe</u> (his/hers)	<u>abo</u> (their)

The other noun-classes use other word-classes, mainly the Absolute Pronoun.

The plural forms have a rather subtle interpretation, really meaning:-

etsho : of my (singular) family or clan or kraal
eno : of your (singular) family or clan or kraal
abo : of his (singular) family or clan or kraal

If intended to convey the idea of 'our' family . . . the Absolute Pronoun takes the place of the Possessive, thus:-

selepe sa rona : our (plural) axe
 selepe sa lona : your (plural) axe
 selepe sa bona : their axe
 or selepe sa gabo bona : axe of their household,
 etc.

An important point of principle arises here : whether the Absolute Pronoun thus functions in a posse-

ssive construction it is to be classified as a Possessive. But for the fact that it is preceded by a possessive concord it retains all its properties as a Substantive, as an ABSOLUTE and UNQUESTIONABLE pronoun. The possessive concord is determined by and is proper to the preceding substantive, the possessee. It operates between two poles and is simply a matter of orthography (conjunctive or disjunctive) and a matter of whether a word must always be capable of being spoken alone, whether or not the concord must be separated from or joined to the possessive stem or other stem used in a possessive construction.

This is important since our primitive forms above would be viewed as stems. We accept this analysis. We find it better than defining a word in terms of its concord, which makes it syntactic. It is the problem of the near boundary of a word, which must not be so contrived as to make it a word-group or clause.

In any event if when the Absolute Pronoun is used in a possessive construction it becomes a Possessive, where do we end in re-classifying it? As a result of such tendency to re-classify a form ad infinitum there is a Sotho school grammar which states that the possessive and the Absolute Pronoun are the genuine Southern Sotho Pronouns. Only because the Absolute Pronoun functions in possessive constructions it would be viewed as a Possessive, and since it retains the properties of a Pronoun intact in this construction, it is a genuine pronoun too.⁸ Why is it not the genuine adverb when it functions in a descriptive construction? In still higher places it happens where C. M. Doke and S. M. Mofokeng's scheme of Qualificatives⁹ excludes the Quantitative; D. T. Cole's corresponding scheme¹⁰ includes the Quantitative; and S. M. Guma's¹¹ includes the Quantitative as well as the Demonstrative, which latter category is generally regarded as one of the two genuine pronouns.

For as long as function is the touchstone for word-classification, all the above scholars are right. The differences of classification are the logical result of the approach to word-classification, the criterion of function.

We would like to see the Quantitative, the Adjective, the Enumerative simply as Quantitative, Adjective, Enumerative, forms operating in most instances with noun-class-prefix plus stem which means quality, a count, quantity, respectively, and which, in another study, ALL function adjectivally, substantivally, adverbially, predicatively, and otherically. The term Qualificative is understood as classifying function and not words, as classifying a function which can be performed by a word, a word-group, a clause, and a word of practically all word-classes for that matter.

As to the nature of the concords of the Adjective, the Enumerative, the Quantitative the first element, when expressed, is demonstrative and the second class-prefixal, with minor exceptions. This study needs no further elucidation. Hence we have written examples of them under A above as two words each.

It is also not found absolutely necessary to set out the word-classes under review fully according to the noun-class system as the aim of this paper is to highlight problems.

We would finally like to close with a paragraph on yet another problem which we think has a solution in NATURAL speech rather than in grammar. The Adjective compares with the Noun not only by the inherent class-prefixal inflexion, but by the diminutive transformation too. As a form of endearment, the 'fine one' is yo montlenyane/yo montlane. The 'black one' may be translated yo montshonyana (male) moswana (female).

The diminutive formation is intriguing.
Witness:-

montlana < montlê

moswana < motshò < mòntshò

The dissimilation of tsh to s speaks for itself.

In both cases the terminative vowel has disappeared. It is not grammar which so decrees, but NATURAL speech. In the case where the terminative was a front vowel (-ê) the replacement is -ana. In the case where the terminative was a back vowel the replacement is -wana. In the latter case the terminative -o and the initial vowel of suffix -ana have disappeared during NATURAL speech.

A sound-change has taken place. It does not take place in NATURAL speech, after the root-consonant -s. In fact it takes place before this consonant, after the prefixal syllable mo-. Our Adjective could in fact have been written mo - wsana just as well. There would still be no -ana in NATURAL speech in spite of what the eye saw. This is because there is lip-rounding which spells the sound-change, before the root-consonant -s. To say the diminutive suffix is -ana amounts to denying the sound-change. The spelling above wsana is deceptive, suggesting that the -ana remains unimpaired, whereas at no stage does the NATURAL speech system articulate an a. What is articulated is a lip-rounded a represented orthographically as -wa. Hence what is suffixed to the root-consonant -s is -wana. There is no suffixation of -ana to ws- or sw-. The whole sound -swa- is one. Only the s thereof is part of the root morpheme. Current grammar however has it that the diminutive suffixes are -ana/-ane. Grammar apparently notes the sound-change after or before suffixing -ana. NATURAL speech at no stage articulates an -ana. The -ana is in grammar and not in NATURAL speech.

Does grammar describe or prescribe NATURAL speech? This question can be put in regard to various aspects of the diminutive and passive transformations which we need not go into in detail in this paper.

C O N C L U D I N G

We are of the view that when we talk of word-identification and word-classes we should rather not employ the term Qualificative or any other of the -ive terms knowing them as we do to be terms of function and not word-classification. We have made our work difficult, even confused by practising syntax in the name of word-identification.

As to the five forms generally referred to as types of Qualificative, the so-called Relative, also being a clause, is a syntactical unit and should be scrapped. The rest are what they are, not because they function qualificatively. After all various other word-classes function qualificatively. They are what they are as forms which mean a quality (adjective), a count (enumerative), a quantity (quantitative) or possession (possessive). The term qualificative confuses their classification since it applies to the corresponding function of any other word-class and is therefore not nearly peculiar to them.

Once classified then all the possible usages of a word-class should follow in an enterprising syntactic study. We consider form and meaning adequate criteria for the classification of Tswana words. We also consider that more time would be found for the study of USAGE, as generally emphasised in school syllabuses, than is at present the case where, once words are classified in terms of function, it makes no sense to go back to a study of such function specifically.

We also consider that the capability of being spoken alone is the property of a sentence, a clause, a word-group, and SOME words. It is partly the cause of

confusing words with clauses which we have shown above.

In the NATURE of speech some words depend on grouping but the grouping must be seen for what it is, functional or morphological.

We suggest that it is essential for grammar as at present to get more faithful to NATURAL speech.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Cole, D. T. : An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, Longmans, Green & Co., 1955. p.63 footnote
- ²Nkabinde, A. C. : A Revision of the Word Categories in Zulu, unpublished doctoral thesis, Unisa, 1975, p. 10
- ³Ziervogel, D., in van der Merwe, H. J. J. et. al : Studierigtings in die Taalkunde, Van Schaik, 1964, p. 212
- ⁴Cole, D. T. ibid p. 311
- ⁵Wookey, A. J. : Secwana Grammar with Exercises, L.M.S., second edition, p.67
- ⁶Nkabinde, A. C. Op. cit., p. 10
- ⁷Crystal, David : Linguistics, Pelican, 1971, p. 191
- ⁸De Jager et al : Kwahollopuo ya Sesotho sa Borwa, Std. 6 Bantoe se Boekhuiste, 19 p. 49
- ⁹Doke, C. M. and Mofokeng S. M. : Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar, Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 118-135
- ¹⁰Cole, D. T. ibid pp. 138-171
- ¹¹Guma, S. M. : An Outline Structure of Southern Sotho, Shuter & Shooter, 1971, pp. 98-126