

**THE IMPACT OF PRONOMINALISATION ON COMMUNICATION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTHERN SOTHO**



by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that “The Impact of Pronominalisation on Communication with Special Reference to Northern Sotho”, submitted to the University of the North, is my original work, and that it has not been submitted previously for a degree at any university.



DB MOABELO

08/10/2003

DATE

DEDICATION

To the people mentioned hereunder:

- ◆ My late father: Mafiwa Malose
- ◆ My mother: Lesiba Molatela
- ◆ My two sisters: Seleka and Mabjalwa
- ◆ My spouse: Matshelane
- ◆ My children: Madimetja, Selepa Mafiwa, Molatela Lesiba and Lebogang.

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ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 deals with a general introduction to the research paper. It gives the background to the problem, aim, rationale, significance, methodology and organisation of the research paper. Different definitions on nouns, verbs, subject, object and predicate are outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 2 gives an outline of pronominalisation processes. The definition of deletion as a pronominal strategy is outlined. Substitution as a pronominal strategy is also discussed. The importance of these strategies is outlined, that is, the difference between deletion and substitution is outlined fully.

Chapter 3 discusses the syntactic environments in which pronominalisation takes place. The pronominalisation of the subject and the object is outlined.

Chapter 4 analyses the pronominalisation of the determiners. Demonstrative determiners, deictic determiners, demonstrative pronouns, quantitative and qualificative pronouns used as determiners are brought into perspective. Because of the incorporation of the semantic component, the notion contrastiveness and emphasis are brought to the surface.

Chapter 5 gives the conclusion of this research paper. A summary of the findings and recommendations of the chapters dealt with in the previous chapters is given.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Pronominalisation in African languages has been described in terms of Germanic languages (i.e, English and Afrikaans). Many writers/grammarians, for example, Doke and Mofokeng (1957), Cole (1955) and Lombard (1985), classify parts of speech intuitively, which, in practice, means that they force particular languages into the grammatical mould of the classical languages. In such instance, the “translation meaning” seems to be the main criterion of classification.

This criterion seems to be incorrect because pronominalisation in Northern Sotho seems to be based on the criteria applicable to European languages such as English and Afrikaans. The traditional view states that pronominalisation is brought about by the rule of substitution. This view point has been highly criticised by brilliant grammarians like Wilkes (1974, 1976) and Louwrens (1991) who tried to describe African languages in terms of their own genius.

Pronominalisation is a term derived from the use of pronouns. There are several distinguishable subclasses of pronouns. Our main purpose is to look at how these subclasses are used pronominally. Pronouns present reference problems; especially when words like **se** (this), **sela** (that), **sona** (it) and **sefe** (which) refer to a general idea.

A pronoun is used to stand for an idea which the writer assumes the reader understands. For instance, among many other functions, the pronoun may be used to refer to a general idea:

1. Matome o ja **bjona**

(Matome eats it.)

Bjona in the above example serves as an absolute pronoun. The speaker assumes that the listener knows what **bjona** stands for. Before using a pronoun to refer to a general idea, the writer must be sure that the reference is clear and that the sentence would not be improved with a different construction. If this is not adhered to, the listener may end up misinterpreting the sentence.

Unless form clarifies the reference, a pronoun usually refers sharply only to a noun expression in an important position in the sentence or in a use parallel to its own. If the word order does not clarify the reference, the sentence must be revised or an antecedent provided; example:

2. **Yena** o tsena sekolo.

(He/she attends school.)

Yena (which is the absolute pronoun) in the abovementioned sentence, would be deemed ambiguous if the listener does not know what it represents or substitutes. To make the sentence clear, the speaker would have to utilise an antecedent in this way:

3. **Ngwana** o tsena sekolo.

(The child attends school.)

Defining the term pronominalisation is neither simple nor straightforward. It is a multifaceted phenomenon. No single definition of “pronominalisation” incorporates the research needs of all disciplines, hence there are numerous and varying definitions of pronominalisation. Some researchers maintain that pronominalisation is a specific event (for example, Givon, 1976; Greenberg, 1978; Du Plesies, 1985). However, others (for example, Wilkes, 1974; Louwrens, 1991) view it as a process which unfolds and is marked by a series of developmental stages that can be distinguished and differentiated.

Louwrens (1991) views pronominalisation as a significant role-change because it heralds a far-reaching change in a person’s social role as a functioning member of society, as such it carries with it consequential implications of changes and status. Still other researchers (Kunene, 1975; Posthumus, 1988) regard pronominalisation as a crisis which raises problems of dynamics of social and institutional relationships resulting in the loss of object activities, familiar surroundings and people.

The discrepancies and varying viewpoints regarding pronominalisation, highlight the predicament of researchers who must wade through diverse literature in which there seems to be no consensus on the meaning of pronominalisation. There is a need for more cross-disciplinary research and exchange, to further the understanding of the phenomenon pronominalisation.

Despite the impact pronominalisation has on communication in Northern Sotho, there is hardly an in-depth research of this phenomenon. It has been treated on the basis of the Germanic languages. A research of this nature is therefore a necessity.

1.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main objective is to locate the place of the pronoun in Northern Sotho, its utilisation and the impact it has on communication. The above aims will be achieved by posing questions of the following kind:

- ❖ What are the characteristics of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho?.
- ❖ What is the role of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho discourse?

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The researcher wishes to study the topic because he believes that there are many problems related to the concept of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho. Although the study cannot be regarded as the panacea for all the problems already highlighted, an endeavour would be made to resolve some of them.

Furthermore, the researcher would like to critically analyse existing relevant information on pronominalisation:

- To determine the essential character of pronominalisation by exploring the subjective viewpoints of various scholars; and
- To revise and review theories on pronominalisation with the aim of formulating guidelines that may assist Northern Sotho speakers to make informed decisions during their daily conversations.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The fundamental significance of this study lies in highlighting the following:

- The semantic significance of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho discourse;
- Pronominalisation as a deletion process;
- Pronominalisation as a substitution process;
- The syntactic environment of pronominalisation; and
- Pronominalisation of determiners.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The main research methodology that will be invoked in this study is qualitative in nature. The study of this nature, as stated by Milubi (1988:3), requires a variety of research methodologies to be effective and credible. The following research methods will be employed in this study:

1.6 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

Creswell (1994:2) regards qualitative research as “an enquiry process of understanding a social human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in natural setting”.

The qualitative research method assists the researcher to comprehend human behaviour; and also to provide the necessary tools in grasping meaning that people attach to issues in their societies. In a nutshell, qualitative research allows for the utilisation of the contextual approach which will be of great importance in this study, as it will enable the researcher and readers to understand the context in which pronominalisation occurs. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1992:69) sheds light on the use and significance of context in research:

Contextualism holds that the work of art should always be apprehended in its context or setting and that knowledge of it is much richer if it is approached with this knowledge of contextualising.

This extract explicitly shows that any text becomes useful and meaningful if it is placed in its proper context. Contextualising information thus enables the researcher to comprehend issues under scrutiny better.

The comparative approach-an aspect of qualitative research-, is appropriate for this research as well as it involves an examination of various works in relation to one another.

The importance of this approach has been aptly highlighted by, Praver (1973: 169) when he mentions:

The comparative approach is an effective method through which one can trace the movement and transformation of ideas, while at the same time widening the narrow experiences to which our existence in space and time condemn us by opening up for our emotional and intellectual enrichment, a vast storehouse of imaginative experience.

For the purpose of this study this method can be useful in showing the similarities and differences between various types of processes employed in pronominalisation.

1.7 DATA COLLECTION

Data will be collected from primary and secondary sources. As regards primary sources, the researcher will interview teachers, scholars, language professionals and lecturers. Unstructured questions will be used to solicit information from the said people.

Secondary sources will be important in this study as they help the researcher to comprehend a variety of views as expressed by different scholars. In this regard, data will be obtained from articles, academic books, newspapers, magazines, internet, and dissertations.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

There are a variety of scholars who have treated pronominalisation as a linguistic topic. As already stated above, most of these scholars treated Northern Sotho pronominalisation from the perspective of Germanic languages. Nevertheless, there are also scholars whose views on this issue cannot be ignored. In this regard, the following scholars come to mind: namely, Cole (1955); Doke and Mofokeng (1957); Wilkes (1974, 1976); Prinsloo (1987) and Louwrens (1991).

1.8.1 Cole (1955)

Cole (1955:61) defines a pronoun as a word which signifies anything concrete or abstract without being its name. He further states that there are three types of pronouns, namely, absolute pronoun, demonstrative pronoun and qualificative pronoun, and these can be shown respectively as follows:

4. a. **Yena** o gama dikgomo.
(He milks the cows.)
- b. **Yola** o a fokola.
(That one is ill.)
- c. **Yo mogolo** o tlile.
(The elderly one has arrived.)

According to Cole (1955), the first two (i.e. **yena** and **yola**) are real original pronouns. They consist fundamentally of monosyllabic radical elements agreeing concordially with the corresponding noun prefixes from which they appear to be derived.

Qualificative pronouns are qualificative forms used independently of, or preceding, the nouns or pronouns with which they show concordial agreement, and therefore functioning as substantives. This forces Cole to define a pronoun as a word which takes the place of a noun as either a subject or an object. This shows that on the surface structure, the substitution process is considered, therefore ignoring the deep structure which will show us why we say the pronoun substitutes the noun.

1.8.2 **Doke and Mofokeng (1957); Doke (1971)**

The Dokean theory (proposed by Doke), just like Cole (1955) takes pronominalisation as a substitution process. This theory takes the pronoun as a word that takes the place of the noun in its position as a subject or object. It is a word which is used in place of a noun or together with a noun. Doke (1971:61) states that it must be emphasised that each pronoun is in itself a complete word:

it may stand in the place of a noun, or it may be used in apposition to the noun. He doesn't mention the issue of the deletion of the antecedent.

1.8.3 Prinsloo (1987)

According to Prinsloo (1987:23), pronominalisation in African languages has traditionally been described in terms of European standards, and criteria applicable to pronominalisation in languages such as Afrikaans and English have often been artificially forced on African languages in general, and Northern Sotho in particular. He states that a typical example illustrating this unfortunate situation can be found in the well-established term "absolute pronouns", referring to words such as **yena**, **bona**, **tšona**, which are carelessly translated as "**he**", "**they**", and "**they**", respectively. In principle, these words are neither "pronouns" nor can they be regarded as absolute substitutions of nouns. Such an approach to the study of pronominalisation in African languages proved to be disastrous for a language such as Northern Sotho because the real nature of pronomina in this language has been completely overlooked.

The aforementioned approach influenced the researcher to make an attempt to solve certain problematic syntactic and semantic aspects concerning pronominalisation in Northern Sotho by means of the diachronic and typological approach.

1.8.4 Wilkes (1976)

Wilkes proposes an alternative theory of pronominalisation in African languages, which he calls the "deletion hypothesis". According to this hypothesis, pronominalisation does not result from the substitution of a pronoun

for a noun, but rather from the deletion of the antecedent noun, which appears, in apposition to the pronoun. According to Wilkes, the conditions under which the deletion of the antecedent takes place are determined by the pragmatics of discourse, namely when the noun's referent is presupposed to be known, that is, to be a given information. Wilkes, therefore, concludes that pronominalisation should rather be viewed as the result of deletion.

1.8.5 Louwrens (1991)

Louwrens states that it is traditionally assumed in African languages that pronominalisation is brought about by a rule of substitution; in as far as pronouns are regarded as words used in the place of nouns. Louwrens argues that pronominalisation in African languages is not a process of substitution, as has traditionally been assumed, but rather a process of deletion. Furthermore, words which are traditionally regarded as "pronouns", are not pronouns at all. These words may acquire a secondary status as pronouns in certain contexts of discourse.

Therefore, one would agree with Louwrens (1981:36) when he states that "pronominalisasie in Bantoe, anders as wat die Dokeaanse sienwyse dit wil he, nie in alle gevalle ñ vervangingsproses is nie, maar dat dit soms ook ñ weglatingsproses kan wees" (pronominalisation in African languages, unlike what the Dokean theory says, is not in even respect a substitution process, but sometimes it is a deletion process).

From this brief exposition, we have seen that the general definition of a pronoun is that it is a grammatically distinct class of noun-like words (typically a subclass of noun) whose most central members are characteristically used either

anaphorically or deictically. Our main objective will be based on the idea that most pronouns in Northern Sotho have anaphoric or deictic uses.

1.9 CONCLUSION

Certain grammarians regard the absolute pronouns of Northern Sotho as words which can substitute nouns in sentences; this is the Dokean Theory, and does not hold water anymore. According to the Dokean hypothesis, pronominalisation does not result from the substitution of a pronoun for a noun, but rather from the deletion of the antecedent noun which appears in apposition to the pronoun. On the other hand, Wilkes (1976) and Louwrens (1991) argue that the conditions under which the deletion of the antecedent takes place are determined by the pragmatics of discourse, namely, when the noun's referent is presupposed to be known, i.e, **given information**.

With the data presented one can conclude by saying that **pronominalisation** is a process whereby words which are not pronouns are pronominalised. Although pronominalisation is a deletion process, there are cases in which the substitution process is realised. From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that there are two different views on pronominalisation. On the one hand, scholars such as Doke (1957) and Cole (1955) regard pronominalisation as a substitution process. On the other hand, there are others, such as Wilkes (1976) and Louwrens (1991) who are of the opinion that pronominalisation in African languages is nothing else but a process of deletion. This study is an endeavour to analyse the merits and demerits of both views and will hopefully result in a sound thesis for studying pronominalisation in Northern Sotho.

1.10 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief outline of the concepts which are going to be used in this research. In this research, although the emphasis will be on the pronoun, the following concepts will also receive attention: noun; sentence; subject; object; predicate and verb.

Human beings communicate messages in a variety of ways. In Northern Sotho culture it is customary to shake hands with a person who you meet for the first time. If you refuse to do so it would convey the message that you are not friendly, or that you are harbouring a grudge against him or her. Similarly, in particular contexts, a nod, a wink, the wrinkling of the eye brows, or the raising of a finger may serve as a means of communicating one message or the other.

When we communicate messages by using gestures or other forms of body language, we are using non-verbal communication; that is, communication without words. The implication of that term (body language) is that we regard verbal communication, that is, communication using words or sentences, as somehow primary or more usual. And this is indeed the case.

Verbal communication may therefore be analysed and described in at least two ways: from the perspective of its meaning and the meaning of its constituent parts, and from the perspective of its grammatical structure and the grammar of its constituent parts.

As the topic deals with pronominalisation, we shall be concentrating on these constituent parts (as mentioned in the first paragraph), looking at the sentence as

a vehicle of communication. Working definitions of various linguistic concepts like the noun, object, subject and verbs as used in this research would be given:

1.10.1 Sentence

This is the largest structural unit in terms of which the grammar of a language is organised. Innumerable definitions of a sentence exist, ranging from the vague characteristics of traditional grammar to the detailed structural description of contemporary linguistic analysis. Ziervogel (1969:122) states that a sentence is built up of words, that is, of one or more words. Since we usually classify words into parts of speech we may say that one or more parts of speech constitute a sentence. Accordingly, the question is, which parts of speech? Ziervogel (1969) is of the opinion that practically any part of speech may form a sentence by itself, although more often than not more than one part of speech forms a sentence, for example:

5. (a) Bašomi !
(Hallow workers!)
- (b) Monna o rema dikgong.
(The man chops wood)

If one looks at sentence 5(a), one realises that it has only one part of speech, that is a noun; but 5(b) has more than one part of speech; that is a noun, subjectival concord, verb and object.

Trask (1993: 250) defines a sentence as:

Traditionally, any utterance or written sequence of words which is regarded as capable of standing alone to express a coherent thought. In generative grammar, the syntactic category which is taken as the largest category capable of syntactic characterisation, all of its component parts being bound together by the syntax and its entire structure being well-formed; in a framework employing the re-write rule formalism, the category is represented by the initial symbol S, it is important to understand that a sentence in this linguistically central sense is an abstract linguistic object...

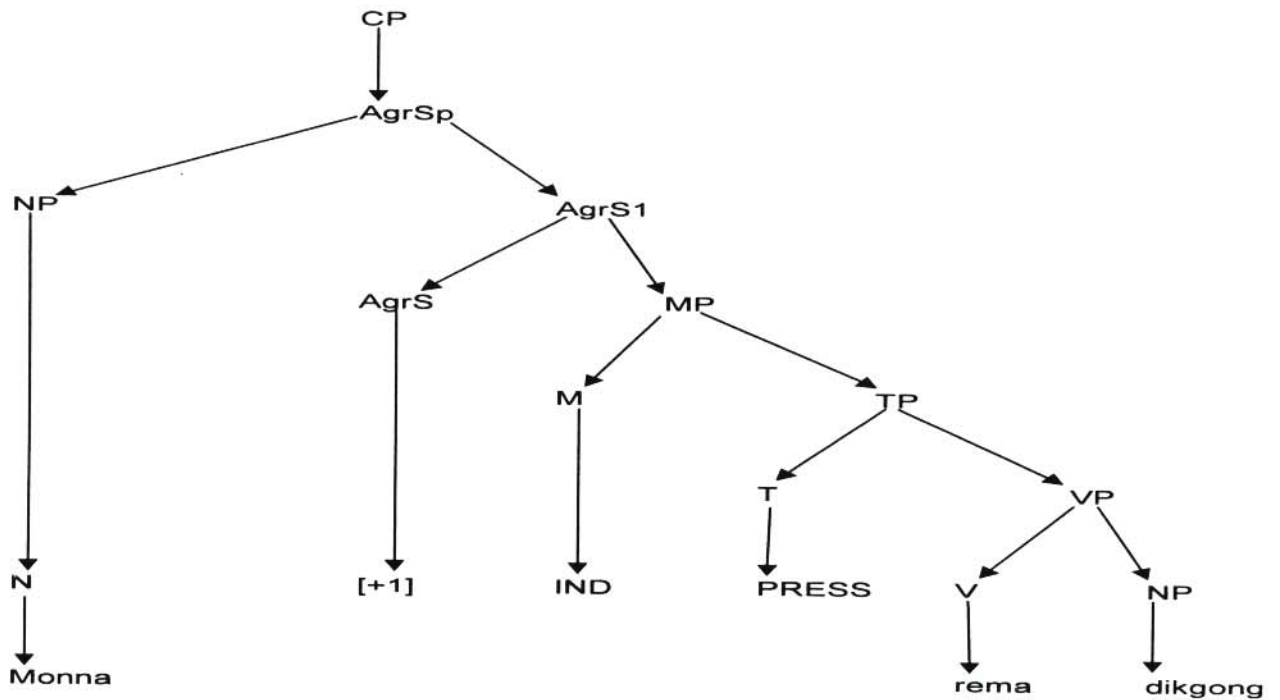
Cole (1955:57) on the other hand, describes a sentence thus:

Tswana speech, like that of other languages, is divided up into sentences, each of which consists of one or more words. Accepting definition that a sentence is a word or group of words which constitutes a relatively complete utterance in its context or situation, we find two fundamental types in Tswana, ...

Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary (1993) defines a sentence as a grammatically self-contained speech unit that expresses an assertion, a question, a command, a wish, or an exclamation, that in writing usually begins with a capital letter and concludes with an appropriate end punctuation, and that in speaking is phonetically distinguished by various patterns of stress, pitch and pause.

In light of the above definitions, we can conclude by saying a sentence is the basic structure into which words are placed in order to convey a particular message. If the sender of the message is to be understood, then he/she will have to use a structure recognisable to the receiver of the message. The sentence in Northern Sotho may consist of one word only, that word being a predicate, that is a word expressing an action without necessarily being a verb (refer 5(a) above).

A sentence then consists of a number of words of various formations, each belonging to a different part of speech (refer to 5(b) above), and this can be reflected in a tree diagram:



1.10.2 Subject

We can also mention that a sentence consists of a subject and a predicate, of which the subject is the head of the sentence. The subject may be a noun or an object of the predicate. According to Crystal (1985: 369) a subject is:

...a term used in the analysis of grammatical functions to refer to a major constituent of a sentence or clause structure, traditionally associated with the 'doer' of an action.

Cobuild (1994: 260) is of the same opinion as he mentions that:

A subject is a clause element that typically precedes the verb, inverts with the operator in interrogative case ... and 'agrees' with the verb. A subject is typically in the form of a noun phrase and refers to an 'actor' and or 'topic'.

Cole (1955:57) states that roughly defined, the subject is a word or group of words signifying that which carries out or undergoes the action, or is in the state that/which is indicated by the predicate. Trask (1993:266) asserts that the subject is the most prominent grammatical relation, which a noun phrase may bear in a clause. In most, but not all languages, subjects are prominent and readily identified. It must be mentioned that the subject forms the grammatical pivot in terms of which its clause is structured and in terms of which it is related to other clauses in the discourse. Again it is realised that the subjects most typically exhibit a large number of grammatical, semantic and discourse properties. Such properties as explained by Trask (1994:266) are:

- ◆ Subjects represent entities with independent existence;
- ◆ Subjects control coreference, including reflexives, pronouns and null anaphors;
- ◆ Subjects control switch-reference systems;
- ◆ Subjects control verb agreement;
- ◆ Subjects are topics in unmarked constructions;
- ◆ Subjects are the targets of advancement processes;
- ◆ Subjects can be relativised, questioned and clefted;
- ◆ Subjects undergo raising;
- ◆ Subjects receive minimal case marking; and
- ◆ Subjects are agents in the unmarked constructions.

While few of these properties may be unique to subjects in a given language, a subject may usually be identified by the fact that it exhibits more of them than any other noun phrase. Trask further states that languages in which subjects are prominent (the majority) are variously called subject-prominent or reference-dominated.

Lombard (1985:55) mentions that in general a subject is described as the 'object' which is grammatically responsible for the performing of the action; for example:

6. Banna ba a ja.
(Men are eating.)

The men perform the eating action and therefore **Banna** is grammatically the subject of the predicate (verb) **ja** (eat). On this basis, a sentence represents the combination of a verb, corresponding to a situation type, and a noun, according to the syntactic dependency relations contracted by the verb.

In the abovementioned definitions of a sentence, we discovered that a sentence is viewed as consisting of a number of slots. According to Jackson (1990:146-7), one of the slots will be filled by the verb. The verb then determines how many slots will occur in a given sentence. The other slot that is obligatory in most sentences is that of a subject.

The subject is, in short, the sentence element that usually denotes the 'doer' of an action, the 'undergoer' of an event or the entity that is in some state. A further grammatical characteristic of the subject is that the noun or a pronoun functions in this slot and also agrees with the verb.

1.10.3 Noun

The subject of a sentence can be a noun. Nouns name people, places, things, concepts or activities. A noun, according to Cole (1955: 60), is a word, which signifies the name of anything concrete or abstract. Crystal (1985:264) defines a noun as:

A term used in grammatical classification of words traditionally defined as the 'name of person, place or thing', but the vagueness associated with the notions of 'name' and 'thing', has led linguistic descriptions to analyse this class in terms of the formal and functional criteria of syntax and morphology. In linguistic terms, then, nouns are items which display certain types of inflection, have a specific syntactic function (as subject or object of a sentence). Nouns are generally sub-classified into common and proper types, and analysed in terms of number, gender, case and countability.

Nouns constitute a very large class of words in Northern Sotho, and they represent a semantically diverse set of words. Some nouns refer to human beings, either by name, for example: **Lesiba**, or by a general designation; for example: **mohlomphegi** (the honourable one).

The definitions above indicate that a noun may be object or subject of a sentence. Nouns characteristically function as the head of noun phrases, and these in turn function as subject, object, or predicative complement, for example:

7. (a) Mogwera wa ka wa bohlokwa o fihlile.
(My best friend has arrived).

(b) Ke boletše le mogwera wa ka wa bohlokwa.
(I contacted my best friend).

(c) Ke mogwera wa ka yo bohlokwa.
(She is my best friend).

In the above examples, sentence 7(a) displays the subject (**Mogwera**), sentence 7(b) the object (**mogwera**) and sentence 7(c) the predicative complement (**Ke mogwera wa ka yo bohlokwa**). This shows that nouns can be used in combination with other words. Therefore their essential characteristics according to Lombard (1985:54-55), can be summarised as follows:

(d) Nouns generate congruence (concordial agreement). This means that nouns provide a concordial morpheme through their class prefixes by means of which other words agree with nouns; that is, by means of which other words are linked to nouns; for example:

(i) **Bašimane** bona **bao**.
(Those particular boys).

(e) Nouns agree with demonstrative-copulatives by means of concordial morphemes, for example:

(ii) **Bašimane** šebao.
(There are the boys).

(f) Nouns may be used as subjects of predicates; for example:

- (iii) Bašimane ba raloka kgwele.
(Boys are playing soccer).

(g) Nouns may occur as the nucleus of qualificative attributes; for example:

- (iv) Bašimane (nucleus) bohle (attribute/qualificative).
(All the boys).

(h) Nouns may act as complements, as stated in 7(c) above.

Collins (2000:30) states it differently that within noun phrases; nouns take a range of dependants different from those taken by the other parts of speech; most distinctively, nouns are the only part of speech to take adjectives and determinatives as dependants. He further states that nouns are also the only class to take relative clauses as dependants.

Huddleston (1991: 84) agrees with Ziervogel (1969); Cole (1955); Lombard (1985) and Collins (2000) when he asserts that the term 'noun' is applied to a grammatically distinct word class in a language having the following properties: it contains among its most central members those words that denote persons or concrete objects; its members head phrases-noun phrases- which characteristically function as subject or object in clause structure and refer to the participants in the situation described in the clause, to the actor, patient, recipient, and so on; it is the class to which the categories of number, gender and case have their primary application in languages which have these grammatical categories. According to him, the 'primary' application of these categories is to be distinguished from their 'secondary' application, as when they are attributable to a rule of agreement.

A noun is one of the principal lexical categories. This category appears to be universally present in all languages. They usually occupy the head position in the structure of noun phrases, and the main functions of the Noun Phrases are: subject, object or predicative in clause structure, complement, or as dependent or as modifier of the following noun head.

1.10.4 Predicate

The predicate, according to Cole (1955:57), is the word or group of words signifying the action, which is carried out or undergone by the subject, or the state in which the subject is. Huddleston (1991:51) is of the opinion that at a particular language level, the predicate is in fact most easily defined negatively by reference to the subject: as a first approximation, the predicate is what is left of the clause when we remove the subject. He further states that as a general term, predicate applies to the function of a constituent, prototypically having a main verb as its ultimate head, that enters into construction with the subject and characteristically serves semantically to ascribe to the person or thing referred to by the subject some property or a role in some relation, action, or event; for example:

8. Lesiba o hlatswitše koloī.
(Lesiba washed the car).

In 8 above, the predicate is **o hlatswitše koloī** (he washed the car).

Collins (2000:37) agrees with Huddleston (1991) when he argues that the predicate is quite simply what is left once the subject is removed from the clause. As this rather negative definition suggests, the predicate does not have a

vital role to play in the grammatical description of basic clauses. But he further states that semantically, the predicate serves to say something about an activity performed by the subject-referent or about a property ascribed to the subject-referent.

Therefore a predicate is a word which, according to Cole (1955:63), signifies the occurrence of an action connected with a substantive, or the state in which a substantive is. Crystal (1985: 303) says that a predicate is a term which in the analysis of grammatical functions, refers to a major constituent of sentence structure, traditionally associated with a two-part analysis in which all obligatory constituents other than the subject are considered together.

1.10.5 **Verb**

In the definition of a sentence, it is stated that most sentences contain a subject and a verb. A subject and a verb are essential in a sentence, but other information may appear at various places, especially after the verb. A verb is a word that characteristically is the grammatical centre of a predicate and expresses an act, occurrence, or mode of being and that in various languages like Northern Sotho is inflected.

Cole (1955:63) mentions that a verb is a word which signifies the occurrence of an action connected with a substantive, or the state in which a substantive is, and is formed by prefixal and suffixal inflection from a base which is intrinsically predicative in force, and is brought into concordial agreement with its substantival subject by means of a subject concord. This is also emphasised by Lombard (1985:100) when he mentions that verbs are characterised by the structural elements root + verbal ending as essential characteristics. Apart from

the ending, a variety of morphemes can be affixed to the verbal root, which are prefixal morphemes and suffixal morphemes. According to Lombard (1985) the prefixal morphemes of Northern Sotho consist of concords and other prefixes. The concords include the subject and object concords, whereas the suffixal morphemes of the verb include all extensions and all the endings.

Huddleston (1985:37) confirms the relationship between the verb and inflectional categories by saying:

At a general level a 'verb' is applied to a grammatically distinct word class in a language having the following properties: (a) it contains amongst its most central members the morphologically simplest words denoting actions, processes, or events, in predications of these types at least, the word functioning as head of the predicate expression will normally belong to the class we call a verb; (b) members of the class carry inflections of tense, aspect and mood if the language has these as inflectional categories.

The above insertion emphasises that the verb is that part of speech which expresses an action, a process, state or condition or mode of being. Although Trask (1993:297) agrees with Cole (1955) and Lombard (1985), he brings in more information about the verb when he states that 'it is one of the most important lexical categories, and one of which is seemingly universal. It is realised that the class of verbs in Northern Sotho is both large and open. Grammatically speaking, verbs are most obviously distinguished by the fact that each verb typically requires the presence in its sentence of a specified set of Noun Phrase arguments, each of which typically represents some particular grammatical form.' He further states that in a very high proportion of languages, though not in all, verbs serve as the locus of marking for tense, and often also for aspect, mood and agreement in person and number with subjects and

sometimes other argument noun phrases. Semantically, verbs most typically in Northern Sotho express actions, events and state of affairs; for example: **ja** (eat), **tseba** (know) and **raloka** (play).

1.10.6 Object

In the above discussion, it is mentioned that a sentence may be viewed as consisting of a number of slots. One of the slots will be filled by the verb. The verb then determines how many further slots will occur in a given sentence. It can then be mentioned that many verbs open up an object slot in addition to a subject slot. Pei (1954:151) describes an object as the word or word-group or phrase designating the person or thing at which the action expressed in the sentence is directed; for example:

9. (a) Monna o ja bogobe.
(The man eats porridge).

In sentence 9(a) above, the word '**bogobe**' (porridge) is an object. The object cannot change its position in the above example unless we change the predicate by inserting an object concord; for example:

9. (b) Monna o a **bo** ja bogobe.
(The man eats (it) porridge).

The substantive as subject or object may be changed so that the position of the predicate remains unchanged; for example:

9. (c) Bogobe, oa bo ja monna.
(Porridge, is what the man is eating).
- (d) Bogobe, monna o a bo ja.
(It is porridge what the man is eating).
- (e) Monna o robetše.
(The man is sleeping).
- (f) Monna o fa ngwana borotho.
(The man gives a child bread).

The above examples show that an object is a word which is used in the analysis of grammatical functions to refer to a major constituent of a sentence or clause structure, traditionally associated with the receiver or goal of an action. In short, an object is a term used for a noun phrase occupying an argument position other than the subject.

1.11 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

1. The background to the problem and definition of concepts are treated in **Chapter 1**.
2. In **Chapter 2** pronominalisation is discussed on account of the role played by pronouns when they appear in apposition to the antecedent.
3. In **Chapter 3** question of the syntactic environment in which pronominalisation takes place will be discussed.
4. **Chapter 4** treats the semantic aspects of the pronouns.
5. **Chapter 5** is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROCESS OF PRONOMINALISATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Pronominalisation in chapter 2 is discussed on account of the role played by pronouns when they appear in apposition to the antecedents. It will also be shown that the essential characteristic of the deletion process is that grammatical elements which in Northern Sotho fulfil a pronominal function, are primarily not pronouns, but determiners. Again in chapter 2 the given/old or known information will be discussed. In all these instances, it will be realised that there are two pronominalisation strategies, that is, one based on deletion and the other on substitution.

The Dokean approach, as promulgated by Doke, views pronominalisation as a substitution process. The relatively new insights, as unveiled by Voeltz (1971); Wilkes (1976); and Louwrens (1991), brought about a reappraisal of the so-called pronouns in the African languages.

It must be emphasised that pronominalisation as a process of replacing a noun phrase by a pronoun takes place under certain constraints. The conditions under which the rule of pronominalisation apply, according to Louwrens (1976), pertain directly to several discourse pragmatic factors. He is of the opinion that in this regard a distinction should be drawn between the nature of those pragmatic factors which initiate pronominalisation and the conditions to which object noun phrases must comply in order to be accessible to the rule of pronominalisation.

Pronominalisation should be discussed on account of the role played by pronouns when they appear in apposition to their antecedent; for example:

10. (a) Matome, ga se **wena** yo mogolo?
(Matome, are you not the eldest?)
- (b) Matome, **wena** ke wena yo mogolo.
(Matome you (you) are the eldest).
- (c) **Wena** ke wena yo mogolo, gobane o feta Lekgoba.
(You are the eldest because you are older than Lekgoba).
11. (a) Phuti o gotetša lebone.
(Phuti switches on the light).
- (b) Phuti **yena** o gotetša lebone, ka ge go fifetše.
(Phuti (he) switches on the light because it is dark).
- (c) **Yena** o gotetša lebone gore a kgone go bona.
(He switches on the light so that he can be able to see).

In the above examples, **wena** and **yena** are absolute pronouns that appear with the antecedents **Matome** and **Phuti** respectively. The idea that forms like **wena** and **yena** in 10(c) and 11(c) respectively are substitutes for the nouns given in 10(a) and 11(a) in the discourse context seems to be completely without basis. It is quite sufficient to indicate precisely that such forms refer to object-types whose particular referents are assumed by the speaker to be known to the person spoken to. Tasmonosky (1992:299) argues:

If a personal pronoun occurs in a sentence which doesn't contain an antecedent for that pronoun, then either the pronoun has an antecedent in some preceding sentence in the discourse (possibly sentence uttered by someone other than the speaker) or that pronoun is used deictically (i.e. is a direct reference to someone or something physically present as the sentence is uttered) and is stressed and accompanied by a gesture.

Therefore, on account of the above-mentioned information, it could be said that in the above sentences, that is 10(a)-10(c) and 11(a)-11(c), pronominalisation has taken place. This is based on the argument that the pronouns in (c) sentences are clearly present in the unpronominalised versions in the (b) sentences. The role of the pronoun in apposition to the antecedent is evident. Doke (1955) evidenced this by saying that pronouns may stand alone, as subject or as object in a sentence, or in apposition to, and usually following, but sometimes preceding a noun or other pronoun. The data presented above add to the argument that the primary procedure associated with pronouns is to seek a representation in explicit focus, and map onto it. Furthermore, with written discourse, rephrasing patterns suggest that the use of pronouns without antecedents is judged as infelicitous.

Doke's assertion is confirmed by examples 10(c) and 11(c) which prove that a **pronoun** can stand alone as a subject in a sentence. Furthermore, it can be argued that in the (b) sentences, the pronouns co-occur with their subject nouns (i.e. **Matome** and **Phuti**). Here the "apposition" concept or principle is fulfilled. On the converse, however, no explanation for the use of pronouns with their antecedent noun is given, according to Louwrens (1991):

... if the so-called pronouns are regarded as words which substitute nouns, i.e. as words which act in place of nouns, no plausible explanation can be given for the function of these

words when they are used in apposition to nouns as is often the case.

It is noted that in (c) sentences pronominalisation has taken place. In these sentences the deletion of the noun or nominal expression seems to be a common way of introducing the use of the third person pronoun into the address system.

A deletion process has taken place; that is, **Matome** and **Phuti** in 10(b) and 11(b) above have been deleted. It must be noted that the pronouns usually agree in number with the nouns or nominal expressions which are deleted. It can be said that the grammatical elements which in Northern Sotho fulfil a pronominal function, are primarily not pronouns, but congruency markers, which will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. This follows Greenberg's (1978:170) argument where he mentions that agreement with the deleted forms helps to account for use of the singular for an individual and plural for more than one person, in differential address systems during earlier periods, as well as in some contemporary varieties.

It must be noted that the working definition of the term 'agreement' which delimits the class of phenomena to which it will be applied in this research paper is, according to Greenberg (1978:170), the following:

A grammatical constituent A will be said to agree with a grammatical constituent B in properties C in language F, if C is a set of meaning-related properties of A and there is a covariance relation between C and some phonological properties of a constituent B across some subset of the sentences of language F, where constituent B is adjacent to constituent C and the only meaning-related non-categorical properties of constituent B are the properties of C.

This trend is similar to what is evidenced in sentences 10(c) and 11(c) above. Thus the verb is said to agree with the subject in number and person in languages such as English because there is a relationship of covariance between the number and person specification of the subject noun phrase and between the phonological shape of the verb suffix across a subset of those sentences of the language that are in the present tense, in that if the subject noun phrase is singular, third person, the suffix is -s, and if it is some other number and person, the suffix is zero; like in the following English sentences:

12. (a) The cow grazes. (3rd person singular)
(b) The cows graze. (3rd person plural)

In light of the sentences in 12 it can be said that in the following Northern Sotho examples, **e** and **di** are congruent morphemes:

13. (a) Kgomo **e** a fula
(The cow is grazing).

(b) Dikgomo **di** a fula.
(The cattle are grazing).

These morphemes are in congruence with their subjects, that is, **kgomo** and **dikgomo** respectively. Constituent (a) and (b), that is, the subject noun phrase and the verb in the above examples 12 and 13, will be called agreeing constituents. Although Northern Sotho has a class category distinction which behaves differently from English, the examples in 13(a) and 13(b) show the congruent morphemes in Northern Sotho.

To conclude this subsection, it can be said that examples 12 and 13, according to Louwrens (1991), reveal the fallacy of the argument that pronominalisation in Northern Sotho results from the substitution of a noun with its corresponding pronoun. Wilkes (1976) therefore concludes that pronominalisation should rather be viewed as being the result of deletion.

Pronominalisation as a process of deletion rather than being one of substitution will be considered in the discussion that follows.

2.2 PRONOMINALISATION AS A DELETION PROCESS

In Transformational Generative Grammar, deletion is viewed as the process by which a constituent of some underlying structure is omitted from the surface structure. The missing item must be recoverable for deletion to be recognisable. Let us examine the following sentences:

14. (a) **Yena** o a lwala.

(He is ill).

Yeo ke ya ka.

(That one is mine).

(b) **Lesiba** o a lwala.

(Lesiba is ill).

Pudi ke ya ka.

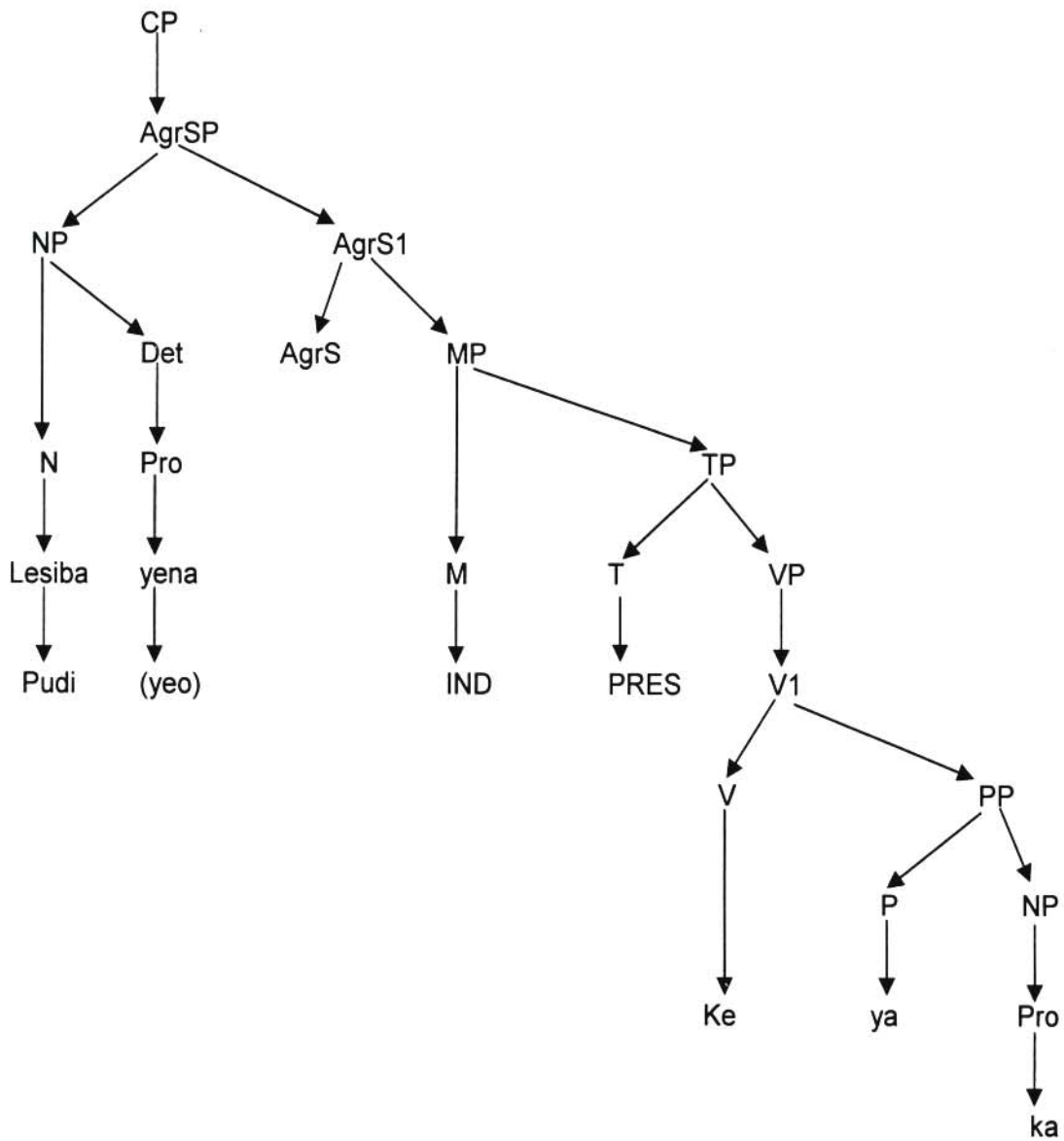
(That goat is mine).

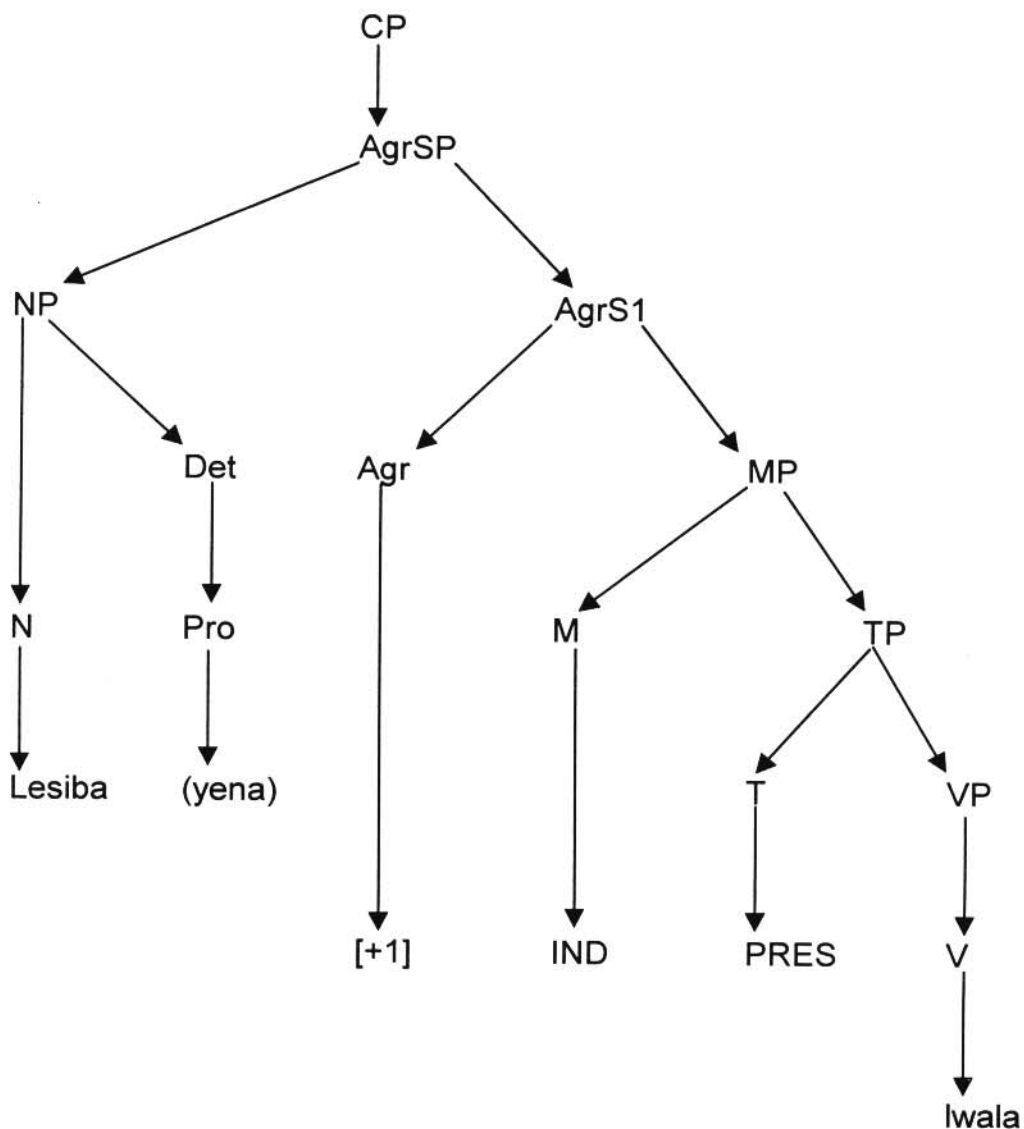
In terms of more recent insights as revealed by the work of Voeltz, Wilkes and Louwrens, regarding pronominalisation, examples such as those in 14(a), cannot be viewed as pronominalised versions of those in 14(b), that is, if the examples in 14(a) are compared with their counterparts in 14(b), clear semantic differences are observed. It can be argued that in 14(a) the subject is **emphasised** or **contrasted**. The concepts 'contrast' and 'emphasis' will be discussed in chapter 4. These sentences may mean 'He' in particular; 'It' in particular, or 'He' in contrast to somebody else; 'It' in contrast to something else.

The examples in 15(a) below are derived from structures such as those in 15(b) in which the so-called pronouns, that is, **yena** and **yeo**, appear in apposition to a noun:

15. (a) (i) **Yena** o a lwala.
(He is ill).
- (ii) **Yeo** ke ya ka.
(That is mine).
- (b) (i) Lesiba **yena** o a lwala.
(Lesiba in particular is ill).
- (ii) Pudi **yeo** ke ya ka.
(That goat in particular is mine).

It should be noted that words such as **yena** and **yeo** in 15(b) have no pronominal value or function whatsoever. According to Wilkes (1976) and Louwrens (1991), they function as nominal determiners. They qualify the head nouns **Lesiba** and **Pudi** which is their primary function. They may be illustrated succinctly in the diagram as follows:





Therefore it can be stated that the head noun in the (a) sentences in 15 is deleted. Greenberg (1978:419) is of the opinion that the given head noun in ‘cleft’ construction does not carry any information which is not also present elsewhere in the sentence. It is therefore not surprising that in most languages the head noun is optionally deleted, at least in some environments. Greenberg (1978) further states that in languages such as English, the head noun is obligatorily deleted and the subject extraposition applies. But in Northern Sotho, you can have the noun and the determiner together. In support of Greenberg’s view, that

deletion plays a vital role in the pronominalisation process, the following examples are cited:

16. (a) Motho yo a utswitšego sereledi ke Lesiba.
(The person who stole the cheese is Lesiba).
- (b) Lesiba **yena** ke yena yo a utswitšego sereledi.
(Lesiba is the one who stole the cheese).
- (c) **Ke yena** yo a utswitšego sereledi.
(He is the one who stole the cheese).

The effect of both (b) and (c) in 16 is that the focus constituent is brought closer to the front. This is what is happening in pronominalisation. The pronoun is fronted. It is a well-known fact that sentence initial position is a position of focus in most languages. This assertion is further discussed in chapter 3. In the above sentence, that is 16, a rule called pre-subject insertion in Northern Sotho places the pronoun into the position of the subject noun phrase after the subject had been extraposed. As far as it could be established, pre-subject insertion is restricted to subject-verb-object (SVO) languages where it takes place if the subject noun phrase is extraposed (fronted). In this regard, Guy Carden (1982: 363) says:

... that we can test this by setting up what I will call the substitution test:

Given a discourse NP1...Pro1...NP2...all coreferent, the forwards-only hypothesis predicts that NP1 is the antecedent of Pro1. Other things being equal, NP1 should still be

available as an antecedent when we get to the location of NP2. If we replace NP2 by the appropriate pronoun, the forwards-only hypothesis therefore predicts that the new discourse NP1... Pro1... Pro2... will be as coherent as the original discourse, and that will have the same coherent reading.

This conclusion holds whatever formal mechanism is set up for establishing the coreference required by the predictability requirement; since the formal mechanism predicts that Pro1 is coreferent with NP1, it should equally predict that Pro2 is coreferent with NP1. This is evidenced in 15(c) above. Of course, as Carden (1982:363) argues, there will be cases where this test will not apply either because NP2 is in a structural position that requires a full NP rather than a pronoun, or because the material between Pro1 and NP2 might arguably interfere with establishing coreference between NP1 and Pro2. In all these cases ambiguity must be avoided. Even without there being any specific alternative referent available, the reference of Pro2 becomes so vague that the discourse becomes incoherent.

It is true that before the antecedent can be deleted, it must be known information: compare 15(b) with the pronominalised forms in 15(a). The nouns **Lesiba** and **Pudi** in 15 were first identified in (b) before deleted in (a). This compares with the agreement between the noun phrases and verbs as said in example 4. This is in line with Louwrens' argument which goes thus:

It should be observed that the so-called 'pronouns' always agree with the head noun if they are used in apposition to it.

Combining the two, that is, **agreement** and **known** or **given information**, Louwrens states that agreement between noun phrases and verbs is only possible when nouns have the status of given discourse information and the word order in

sentences is also determined by noun's status as given or new information. The new information is restricted syntactically to the post-verbal slot, while given information may precede or follow the verb.

It could be stated that the reason why the grammarians value the pragmatic dichotomy **given/new discourse** information to such a large extent, is that it leads to very useful insights into the nature and pragmatic functions of linguistic phenomena such as pronominalisation.

Louwrens states that given/new information in communication may be characterised in the following:

...the speaker attempts to bring to the addressee's consciousness certain communicative units he assumes not to be there at the moment of communication.

In this attempt, the speaker may or may not mention other units which he assumes are present in the addressee's consciousness. It must be known that the information exchanged during communication always has a dual nature. Firstly, there is information which forms the central topic of discussion and which is known to the interlocutors, and in that sense, constitutes the 'known' or 'given' information. Secondly, there is information which is added to the central topic of discussion as the conversation evolves, and which has the status of 'unknown' or 'new' information, in so far as it is introduced into the addressee's consciousness for the first time, as exemplified by the sentences in 17:

17. Nageng ya ga Ramaano kua kgauswi le thaba tša Tshebjane go sa dirišwa.

(In the village known as Ramaano, next to the Tshebjane mountain,)

- (a) **Dikariki** ka gobane **ditsela** tša gona di na le makgwara...
(carts are used very much because of gravel roads...)
- (b) Dikariki tšona ga di tšhabe **ditsela** tša makgwara.
(Carts, which are stronger can be ably used on such roads).
- (c) **Tšona** ga di tšhabe **tša** go ba le makgwara.
(Such roads are not a problem to **them**).

Ramokgopa (1980:52)

It is proposed that felicitous use of pronouns without antecedents can occur only when interlocutors have particular things in mind which serve as ‘effective antecedent’. If the interlocutors do not have these in mind, then it is argued that such usage is infelicitous. It is argued that speakers may have particular antecedents in mind even if addressees do not. Imagine the speaker starting his conversation with 17(c) above. This would be unintelligible!

In 17(a) the referents **dikariki** ‘carts’ and **ditsela** ‘roads’ are introduced into the discourse as new information. These two noun phrases’ new information status is vested in the fact that their referents are unidentified to the reader at this specific point in the text. In 17(b) however, where the two noun phrases are repeated, they represent given information, as their referents are identifiable at that particular point in the text as mentioned earlier in 17(a). In 17(c) **dikariki** ‘carts’ and **ditsela** ‘roads’ are deleted, because they represent known information (old information). It must be realised that the two nouns are deleted because they appear in apposition to the pronouns **tšona** and the concord **tša** respectively, except where they are used gesturally as follows:

- (d) **wena** o dula **mo**, wena **mo**, le wena **mo**.
(you sit here, and you here, and you here).

It is shown that pronouns occur when there is an explicit antecedent for them in the discourse where they appear. In this case, the speaker will be pointing the position to the addressee.

It should be evident from the preceding discussion that the noun's status as given or new information is directly determined by its scope of reference within a given discourse context: if a noun can, at a particular point in the discourse, be interpreted as referring to any possible member of a large set of referents denoted by that noun, it has the status of new information (refer 17 (a)) above. Only the contrary, however, a noun represents given information when it has a unique referent, namely, when discourse pragmatic factors restrict its scope of reference in such a way that it refers to one, and only one, possible referent within the context; refer to the pronominal in 17(c) above. In conclusion, it must be mentioned that a noun's status as given information may arise textually, namely, when a pronoun which appears at a certain point in a text is coreferential with one or more phrases in the preceding text. In this regard Yule (1992:318) states:

It is typically the case that pronominals, in spoken discourse, are used by speakers for the expression of information which is treated as **given**.

To support the above-mentioned statement, it can be said that it may be, of course, that the speaker misjudges what information he may justifiably treat as **given** and therefore **known to** or **shared by** the hearer. In such case, the hearer will indeed have to work (possibly through some retrospective inferencing) at interpreting what it is he is assumed to know. Thus **dikariki** 'carts' and **tšona**

‘they’ in 17 appear in the same context. It must be realised that nouns with unique referents always present **given information** whilst nouns having diverse referents have the status of **new information**. Once the information is **known** or **given**, the repetition of the label/noun can be avoided by deleting it. Thus in 17(c) the nouns are not repeated, but the pronouns are used to refer to them instead.

It can be argued that the referent, though not linguistically expressed, was somehow present in the discourse context, or that cases like 17(c) where the explanation is clearly omitted, represent a stylistic move to create vividness by writing as if the referents were present. It can further be explained that an indefinite noun phrase in itself marks its referent as new to the discourse, and therefore cannot be used as if a non-linguistic antecedent or non-existing antecedent (things) is already available in the discourse context.

This section has treated the deletion process, and the function of the pronominalised anaphora has also been investigated. Pronominalisation as a process will be discussed to show its merits alongside the deletion process.

2.3 PRONOMINALISATION AS A SUBSTITUTION PROCESS

Although Wilkes (1976) states that the deletion process counts for most instances of pronominalisation, Louwrens (1991) and Prinsloo (1987) argue that there are certain instances in which pronominalisation results from **substitution** rather than from **deletion**. It must be realised that the observations do not refute Wilkes’ deletion process. What is revealed is the instances of two pronominalisation strategies, that is, one based on deletion and the other on substitution.

Yule (1992:315) points out that the most widely held view of anaphoric pronominals receive their interpretation based on **substitution** or **referring** back relationship between the anaphor and its antecedent nominal. He further argues that without an identifiable antecedent, pronouns present extremely difficult processing problems.

Wilkes (1976); Louwrens (1991) and Prinsloo (1987) mention that it is traditionally assumed in African Languages' grammar that pronominalisation is brought about by the rule of substitution, in as far as pronouns are regarded as words used in the place of nouns. This is in agreement with Doke's (1971: 88) argument:

It must be emphasised that each pronoun is in itself a word: it may stand instead of a noun, or it may be used in apposition to a noun; for example:

18. (a) **Yena** mošimane o tlile .
(The (specific) boy has arrived).
- (b) **Yena** o tlile.
(The specific one has arrived).
- (c) **Mošimane** o tlile.
(The boy has arrived).
- (d) **O** tlile.
(He has arrived).

However, in 18(b) and (c) **yena** and **o** do not substitute **mošimane** ‘the boy’. In terms of the traditional view of pronominalisation, it is argued that **yena** in 18(b) and **o** in 18(d) are used instead of the noun **mošimane** ‘the boy’ in 18(a) and (c) respectively.

The pronoun **yena** and the concordial morpheme **o**, obtain a pronominal function once the noun **mošimane** with which they agree is deleted. In 18(a) **yena** is a **determiner** not a pronoun (refer to section 2.4 below). Louwrens (1981) states that although pronominalisation in African languages is a deletion process, substitution, under normal circumstances, takes place. The question of the substitution process is mistakenly taken from the traditional definition of the pronoun, whereby, according to Cole (1955), pronouns are regarded as words used in place of nouns. This, according to the deletion process, proves to be misleading.

It was stated earlier that the grammatical agreement which exists between a **noun** and a corresponding **pronoun** which appears in apposition to the noun, forms the basis on which the deletion process rests. It is due to agreement between these two words that the **pronoun** may acquire a pronominal function when the noun is deleted, since it is this agreement which enables the pronoun to refer to exactly the same referent as the deleted noun; for example:

19. (a) **Basadi bona** ga ba na maikemišetšo.
(Women (on the contrary) do not have aims).
- (b) ... **bona** ga ba na maikemišetšo.
(...they don't have aims).

It must be clearly stated that in Northern Sotho nouns need to be pronominalised in certain syntactic environments in which pronominalisation cannot be accomplished through the process of deletion. Louwrens (1991) mentions three such syntactic environments, i.e. particle groups; objects of double transitive verbs and indirect relative clauses; for example:

Particle groups

20. (a) (i) O rema ka **selepe**.
(He chops with an axe).
- (ii) O rema ka **sona**.
(He chops with it).
- (b) (i) Re rogilwe ke **malome**.
(We were cursed by my uncle).
- (ii) Re rogilwe ke **yena**.
(We were cursed by him).

It is clear that in 20(a-b), the syntactic environments do not permit pronominalisation through the process of deletion. This is because no pronoun appears in apposition to those nouns which act as the complements of particles. The question raised is how nouns which act as the complements of particles are pronominalised if discourse pragmatics require it. Because pronominalised versions of nouns such as those in 20(a) do occur, there is a process accountable for that; for example:

(c) (i) O rema ka **sona**.
(He chops with it).

(ii) Re rogilwe ke **yena**.
(We were cursed by him).

It is established that due to the absence of a pronoun in apposition to the complement of the respective particles, in instances such as those pronominalisation above, is a result of substitution, and not deletion. It implies therefore that **sona** and **yena** substituted the nouns **selepe** 'axe' and **malome** 'uncle' respectively.

It can be stated that there appears to be constraints on the possible discourse contexts in which a pronoun like that in 20(b) is controlled by an absent antecedent. It is observed that the occurrence of such a pronoun is permitted only if the pronoun is an essential complement of a verb belonging to a certain class of predicates which, in some way or other, presupposes the existence of the object that the absent antecedent refers to.

In conclusion, it can be stated that there are instances where pronominalisation is brought about by a substitution process while in other instances pronominalisation is due to deletion. It must be noted that agreement as stated above, forms the cornerstone of which the deletion process rests. The following examples can be cited to show whether deletion or substitution has taken place:

21. (a) **Mosadi** o rata ngwana.
(The woman loves the child).

(b) **Mosadi yena** o rata ngwana.

(The woman in particular, loves the child).

(c) **Yena** o rata ngwana.

(She loves the child).

In 21(c) above, according to the substitution hypothesis, the pronoun **yena** has substituted the noun **mosadi** 'woman'. This means that **mosadi** 'woman' has been pronominalised because the pronoun **yena** substitutes the noun **mosadi** 'woman'.

In terms of the deletion hypothesis, 21(c) is said to be the pronominalised version of 21(b) because the noun **mosadi** 'woman' and the pronoun **yena** appeared in apposition. Therefore it cannot be claimed that 21(c) is a pronominalised version of 21(a), brought about by the deletion process. Thus it can be claimed that under the substitution process, (c) is the pronominalised version of (b) and not of (a).

As alluded to in the introduction, coreferentiality is a characteristic of a word to qualify as a pronoun. Coreference refers to the relationship between grammatical units which have the same reference; for example: a pronoun may refer to an identical referent in an earlier or later part of the text. **yena** in 21(c) refers to one and the same person as **mosadi** 'woman' in 21(a). coreferentiality also goes hand in hand with congruency. All words which agree with nouns are coreferential. It can be argued that it is possible that when a noun phrase is in the initial position, or has been mentioned recently, then it has a 'stronger' representation in explicit focus, and is more readily available as a potential antecedent. Comrie (1985: 39) states that it is not sufficient to say that a pronoun

and an antecedent noun phrase refer to the same thing in a given case. In fact what is required is a description of the mental operations which that pronoun brings about, and ultimately results in the establishment of coreference.

In concluding this section, i.e. 2.3, the following question is raised: Is pronominalisation a deletion process or a substitution process? The answer is that there are syntactic environments in which pronominalisation is due to deletion, while in others it is due to a substitution process. Louwrens (1981: 54) states:

dat die fundamentele verskille tussen pronominalisasie wat spruit uit delesie, enersyds, en vervanging, andersyds, stel in die aard van die sintaktiese omgewing waarbinne pronominalisasie plaasvind; en (b) die statusverskille tuseen die pronomina wat resulteer uit die toepassing van dié onderskeie pronominalisasiereëls. (that the fundamental difference between pronominalisation which comes out of deletion, on the other side, and substitution on the other side, states in (a) the basis of syntactical environment wherein pronominalisation takes place; and (b) the different status out of the implementation of different pronominalisation rules).

2.4 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PRONOUN AND A DETERMINER

2.4.1 Pronoun

In traditional grammar pronouns are used as substitutes of nouns or nominals. Grammar books teem with definitions that state that pronouns stand for nouns or things. In pragmatics we use pronouns to refer to nouns or nominal expressions. These nouns or nominals are antecedents and the pronouns are anaphors. The

pronouns as anaphors revive or re-introduce the nominals or antecedents in the discourse just like definite noun phrases do, as shown in the previous section. Instead of that pronouns stand for names or things, i.e. nominals, we say that they refer to or are anaphoric to their antecedents.

A pronoun, according to Cole (1955) and Doke (1974), is a word which signifies anything concrete or abstract without being its name; whereas Lyons (1981: 228) states it differently:

Traditionally, pronouns are thought of as noun-substitutes but most subclasses of pronouns also have a quite different function, which arguably is more basic than of standing for an antecedent noun or NP.

Basically, Lyons (1981) states that pronouns are used to replace a previously named thing or person and thus avoid useless repetition. This is their straightforward grammatical function.

Wainwright (1992) is also of the opinion that pronouns are very useful words, helping us to avoid repetition of nouns and noun phrases, and because of their referential function, they provide a cohesion, a cementing together or linkage between sentences or utterances. Jackson (1990) emphasises this point by stating that pronouns substitute for nouns and their associated words, that is what the term “pro-noun” means. They have an important textual function and contribute to economy in language by reducing the repetition of nouns.

It can be said that a pronoun is a word used instead of a proper or other noun to designate (without naming) a person or thing already mentioned or known from context or forming the subject of enquiry. The anaphoric use of pronouns will be dealt with in chapter 4. It must be noted that in Northern Sotho, pronouns take

their identity from a noun. The use of pronouns therefore, depends on shared knowledge between speaker/writer and listener/reader. For comprehension purposes listeners need to have a clear understanding of the nouns pronouns are replacing. It is only in this way that they make obvious links to previous sentences or utterances and shared discourse context.

Reibel (1969) states that most contemporary handbooks of English recognise a class of so-called “function words” with special inflection, called pronouns, together sometimes with a wider class of words which are said to replace pronouns in certain environments and are called perhaps ‘pronominals’; all are often classified as a subset of nouns. Reibel further argued that the very name ‘pronoun’, taken directly from French and Latin in its original meaning, is still understood etymologically and, we believe, quite correctly, as “words used in place of nouns”; but what is not so widely appreciated is that this replacement is subject to very rigid grammatical rules. We can say that one of such rules is that it replaces some noun phrase in a structure by a definite pronoun of the appropriate gender and number, when the first noun phrase is in the environment of another noun phrase which is identical to the first.

2.4.2 Determiner

A noun phrase has at least one modifier of the head, a determiner. In English, determiners, according to Wainwright (1992), introduce nouns or noun phrases. Chalker (1998) defines a determiner as a member of a mainly closed class of words that precede nouns, or strictly speaking, noun phrase heads, and limit the meaning in some way. He emphasises this by arguing that determiners are sometimes called limiting adjectives in traditional grammar. Accordingly, however, they not only differ from the class of adjectives by meaning, but also

must normally precede ordinary adjectives in noun phrase structure. Furthermore, among determiners themselves, these are co-occurrence restrictions and fairly strict rules of word order.

Determiners modify nouns or noun phrases in the sense that they give us information about them before we hear or read the noun itself. Wainwright (1992) further states that the most common determiners are the indefinite and definite articles 'a' and 'the'. However, it must be realised that there are other words which can function as determiners, like 'any'; 'either'; 'whatever'; 'more'; 'all'; and many others. They always indicate that a noun is going to appear; they are the most common first elements in noun phrases. The determiner is often separated from the noun, which is the ultimate head of the construction, by other modifiers of various sorts. Whereas it is said that a determiner is any of a class of words that determine the kind of reference a noun or noun-substitute has in English, it is not often the case in Northern Sotho. It is realised that a noun in Northern Sotho cannot be introduced by a determiner; for example:

22. (a) Monna yena o ja bogobe.
(The man eats porridge).

In 22(a) the Northern Sotho sentence has no article, whereas the English version has a determiner. A determiner in Northern Sotho occurs as a pronoun, and this is realised when the pronoun is used in apposition to its antecedent; for example:

- (b) Monna **yena** o ja bogobe.
(The man eats porridge).

Thus **yena** in 22(b) functions as a determiner, i.e. it qualifies the head noun **monna**. In languages such as English, a pronoun cannot be used with a noun. It can be said that the instructional job of a determiner is to ‘determine’ the noun that follows it. Some determiners do this by identifying the noun, some by quantifying. In Northern Sotho, such words are traditionally regarded as pronouns. They are not pronouns at all. These words, according to Louwrens (1991), primarily function as nominal determiners, i.e. nominal quantifiers, which may acquire a secondary status as pronouns in certain contexts of discourse. Pronouns on the other hand are words which stand in for nouns to avoid boring repetitions of those nouns.

2.4.3 **The different forms of so-called Pronouns/Determiners and the identification of different pronouns**

As explained in 2.4, determiners are modifiers of head nouns, and pronouns are words which stand in place of nouns. It will suffice to mention that there are different forms of pronouns which can also be used as determiners. Determiners play a major role in the NP contrasts singular versus plural, count versus mass, definite versus indefinite; for example:

23. (a) Nku e a fula.
(The sheep is grazing).

Versus

(b) Dinku di a fula.
(The sheep are grazing).

- (c) Maswika a mabedi.
(Two stones).

Versus

- (d) Maswika a boima.
(Heavy stones).

- (e) Monna yo mongwe o gama dikgomo.
(A certain man is milking the cows).

Versus

- (f) Monna yo o gama dikgomo.
(This man is milking the cows).

2.4.3.1 **Absolute Pronoun**

The general definition of pronouns, according to Huddleston (1988), is that it is a grammatically distinct class of noun-like words (typically a subclass of nouns) whose most central members are characteristically used either anaphorically or deictically. In normal communication we use the third person absolute pronouns to refer anaphorically. The first and second person absolute pronouns are not used anaphorically. Hendricks (1976), states that pronouns then are characterised by their signification being variable and essentially contained in a reference to some circumstance which is found outside of the linguistic expression itself and is determined by the whole of the situation, for example: like yena (he) outside of context is determinative in signification, whereas in context its signification is fixed (barring ambiguity).

An absolute pronoun, according to Doke (1957) is that type of pronoun which, while indicating a certain noun, does nothing further than indicating it in no way describes, or limit it, and is in short a 'concord' converted into a complete word. Louwrens (1981) refers to a pronoun, according to the Dokean theory:

...dat hulle woorde is wat in die plek van naamwoorde in sinne gebruik kan word. (... that they are words which can be used as nouns in sentences).

The semantic function of the absolute pronoun, especially the anaphoric usage, will be elicited in chapter 4.

2.4.3.2 **Demonstratives**

In the same way as absolute pronouns, the demonstratives are also not pronouns per se. They are determiners. They only gain pronominal status once their antecedents are deleted. This is discussed further in chapter 4. Prinsloo (1987) states:

...absolute voornaamwoorde wat as pronomina van weggelate subjekte optree, altyd die diskoerfunksies spesifisering en kontrastering markeer. (absolute pronouns which are used pronominally for deleted antecedents, are used as markers of the discourse function of specifying and contrasting).

The demonstrative pronoun may be used instead of the noun referred to, as subject or object of the sentence. This is the real discourse pragmatic which should be considered by all the scholars concentrating on the functions of the demonstrative pronouns.

2.4.3.3 Quantitatives

Doke (1974) states that quantitatives are restricted to the root **-ohle** 'all'. This stem assumes pronominal concords corresponding to various noun classes, but no form equivalent to the singular of class 1. This pronoun is commonly used alone, but when used in apposition with its noun (or absolute pronoun), it generally follows such noun or pronoun. Critical attention will be paid to the quantitatives in Northern Sotho in chapter 4.

2.4.3.4 The Qualificatives

The qualificative pronouns are qualificatives used substantively as subject or object of a sentence, or undergoing inflexion as a substantive. It is understood that qualificatives are never used without an accompanying substantive, and they always follow that substantive in word-order, but in chapter 4, it will be established that under the rule of pronominalisation, they may be used in apposition to their antecedent and stand a chance of being used without their antecedents. In this case they are used anaphorically. Hence Doke's contention that:

Should a substantive be omitted, or should it be placed in second position, the qualificative concerned will become a qualificative pronoun.

It must be stated that the absolute pronoun merely indicates the substantive to which it refers, and in no way limits or qualifies it to the other types of pronouns.

a. Adjectives as pronouns

An adjective is a word or phrase which qualifies a substantive, and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by the adjectival concord. On the grounds of morphology, this is characterised by the fact that the class prefix changes in accordance with the class of the noun which is being qualified. According to Ziervogel (1977), adjectives consist of a number of stems which have their own type of concords, termed adjective concords. The adjectival construction consists of a demonstrative, and adjective concord plus an adjectival stem. Both demonstrative and adjective concords refer to the same noun, the one which is qualified. Ziervogel further states that the adjective in English qualifies a noun and that there are a number of ways in which English adjectives are expressed in Northern Sotho. Because each way makes use of another type of concord, in other words, because each one is constructed in a different way, each is given a different name within the blanket term 'relative', although they all have the same function in the language, namely, to qualify a noun or pronoun.

Trask (1993) regards an adjective as a lexical category, or a lexical item belonging to this category, found in many, though not all languages, inflectionally and distributionally distinct from the categories Noun and Verbs, with which it typically shares the characteristic of being an open class whose members have real semantic content.

This adjectival construction can be pronominalised once the antecedent is deleted as known or old information. Let us examine the following text:

24. (a) Mošimane **yo mogolo** o rwele...
(A big boy is putting on ...)

- (b) ... mongatse **wo monyane**. O na le mekgwa ye mebe go feta bašimane ba bangwe.
(a small cap. He has worse manners than others).
- (c) Sekolo **se segolo, se sefsa** se agilwe kgauswi le motse wa gabo.
(A big school is built next to his village).
- (d) Motse **wo monyane** o eme ka thoko ye nngwe ya sekolo
(A small village is on the other side of the school).
- (e) Bana **ba bagolo le ba banyenyane** ba tsena mmogo sekolo seo.
(Big children and small ones attend together at that school).

The bolded phrases in Northern Sotho are known as adjectives.

The pronominalised version of the Northern Sotho is:

25. (a) **Yo mogolo** o rwele wo monyane.
(The big one puts on a small one).
- (b) **O** na le mekgwa ye mebe go feta bašimane ba bangwe.
(He has bad manners than other boys).
- (c) **Se segolo, se sefsa** se agilwe kgauswi le motse wa gabo.
(The new big one is built next to his village).
- (d) **Wo monyane** o eme ka thoko ye nngwe ya sekolo.
(The small one is on the other side of the school).

- (e) **Ba bagolo le ba banyenyane** ba tsenā mmogo sekolong seo.
(The big ones and small ones attend together at that school).

The nouns from 25(a)-(e), that is: **mošimane** ‘boy’; **mongatse** ‘hat’; **sekolo** ‘school’; **motse** ‘village’ and **bana** ‘children’ are introduced into the discourse as new information in 24. In 25(a)-(c) they are all deleted because they are known or old information. This indicates that an adjective cannot only qualify an antecedent but can also be pronominalised. It is also realised that when adjectives are on their own, they function as definite noun phrases. In the discourse matters above, for example, in 25(a), **yo mogolo** ‘the big one’ is an adjective that qualifies the antecedent ‘mošimane’ in 24(a). In this case, it is anaphoric to it or refers to it. Both co-refer to the same referent or person.

b. Relatives as Pronouns

A relative pronoun can be defined as a word which qualifies a substantive, and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by a relative concord. It must be noted that the relative construction serves to qualify a noun or pronoun. We talk of the relative construction mainly because morphologically in Northern Sotho and other African languages, there are three main ways in which relatives are formed, namely; verbs, for example: any verb stem like **-sepela** ‘walk’, nouns, for example: **-bohlale** ‘cleverness’ and enumeratives like **-šele** ‘strange.

In contrast with the adjectives, relatives have bound class prefixes. According to Lombard (1985), the relative nominal root does not readily change its class prefix in accordance with the class of the noun which is being qualified.

The following Northern Sotho text may serve as a provisional illustration of some of the grounds on which this distinction is based:

26. (a) Monna **yo maatla** o rwele leswika **le boima** leo le bego le thibile tsela.
(A strong man carries a heavy stone which had blocked the road).

(b) Monna **yo a dišago** dikgomo tša gešo o be a etšwa go hlola bodika lešokeng.

(The man who looks after our cattle was coming from the circumcision school right in the bush).

(c) O be a beile selepe **se se remago** se bogale mo dinokeng.
(The sharp, chopping axe was hanged on his waist).

(d) O fihlile a bea leswika leo theng ga mokgalabje **o šele** a patlame moriting.
(On his arrival he put that stone next to a strange old man who was having a rest in the shade).

The bolded words in Northern Sotho are relative constructions. The antecedents, that is, 26(a)-(d) are first introduced as new information. In the following text they are deleted:

27. (a) Yo maatla o rwele le boima leo le bego le thibile tsela.

(The strong one carries the heavy one which had blocked the road).

(b) Yo a dišago dikgomo tša gešo o be a etšwa go hlola bodika lešokeng.

(The one who looks after our cattle was from the circumcision school right in the bush).

- (c) O be a beile se se remago, se bogale mo dinokeng.
(The sharp chopping one was hanged on his waist).
- (d) O fihlile a bea leswika leo theng ga o šele, a patlame moriting.
(On his arrival he put that stone next to a strange one, who was
having a rest in the shade).

The pronominalised version, that is, 27 above, shows us that despite the qualificative aspect of the relative, the noun which is qualified may also be implied, that is, deleted because it is known or old information.

It must be realised that both the adjective and the relative qualify the antecedent. The only difference is brought about by the morphological aspect.

Pronouns usually agree in number with the nouns or nominal expressions that they replace. All pronouns are words and may stand instead of a noun, or may be used in apposition thereto. They can be used emphatically or contrastively. These pronouns can be used as determiners. This is in line with Prinsloo's (1987) statement:

Ander bepalers wat pronominale status verkry wanneer die onderwerpsnaamwoord weggelaat word, is demonstratiewe, kwantitatiewe, adjektiewe, en naamwoordelike en werkwoordelike relatiewe. (Other determiners which get pronominal status after the deletion of the antecedents are: demonstratives, quantitatives, adjectives, and nominal and verbal relatives).

This means that words such as those in 2.4.3.4.1-2.4.3.4.2 obtain pronominal status once their antecedents are deleted as known or old information. Reibel (1969) claims that pronominalisation must be allowed to work in two directions:

it must be able to replace an NP to the right of an identical NP with a pronoun (as in the conversion of 26 to 27 in the above examples) and it must be able to replace an NP to the left of an identical NP with a pronoun. Such are called the forward and backward pronominalisation. Accordingly, the process of pronominalisation is, as assumed, a rule which specifies a noun stem as [+ Pro] if it is identical to some other noun in the same sentence, subject to appropriate and not entirely understood conditions. We will treat the environments in which pronominalisation takes place in the following chapter.

2.5 SUMMARY

In chapter 2 we realised that there are two strategies which make the pronominalisation process possible to take place. Attention was paid to the nature of the pragmatic factors which initiate pronominalisation and the conditions to which object noun phrases must comply in order to be accessible to the requirements of pronominalisation. We looked at the possible positions of an absolute pronoun in the sentence. It was discovered that an absolute pronoun always follows its antecedent as a complement, but may appear before its antecedent for further emphasis. It was also realised that an absolute pronoun may move to the position of the object and also between the verb and the object; but only if there is agreement between the verb and the object. Again it was discovered that an absolute pronoun can furthermore not move into any NP but may appear before or after it. An absolute pronoun, as shown in chapter 2, of the first and second person may regularly appear in the position of subject in surface structure without any antecedent. It was emphasised here that an absolute pronoun in this respect does not, however, function as a pronoun in this position, but retains its basic meaning of emphasis. It has thus the same possibility of appearing on its own such as all other modifiers of the noun.

It was further realised that an absolute pronoun can appear together with an objectival concord. Then in this way it is used to effect contrast between two sentences, by emphasising the object positions. The pronominal which appeared in the object position is found as an objectival concord in surface structure. This objectival concord has an obligatory position immediately before the verb. Again it was discovered that an absolute pronoun can appear in the typical position of an NP and may be used together with a noun as head; and it may also be found without the objectival concord, with or without a nominal head.

In chapter 2 we also discussed the difference between a pronoun and a determiner. Pronouns substitute nouns whereas determiners modify nouns or noun phrases in the sense that they give us information about them before we hear or read the noun itself. It was also discovered that a pronoun always agrees in number with the nominal expressions that they replace.

CHAPTER 3

3. THE SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENTS OF PRONOMINALISATION

3.1. INTRODUCTION

There are many authors who have undertaken research on pronominalisation, but this chapter will depend heavily on the works of Comrie (1985), Durant (1990), Louwrens (1991), Bosch (1986), Alshawi (1987) and Hinds (1977) as they have a bearing on Northern Sotho pronominalisation. This chapter explores the various contexts where pronominalisation is possible. It should be emphasised that the process cannot occur randomly. That is why this chapter will focus on the syntactic environment in which pronominalisation takes place.

As it is not possible to pronominalise all categories in Northern Sotho, the chapter will confine itself to those categories that can be pronominalised:

The subject

The object

Agreement (congruent morphemes)

Determiners.

3.2 PRONOMINALISATION OF THE SUBJECT

According to Louwrens (1991) the subject nouns may be pronominalised in Northern Sotho, i.e. the subject concord alone may realise a pronominal form. The subject concord together with the absolute pronoun may act as pronominal forms. This means that the subject concord and the absolute pronoun are

congruent morphemes and determiners. Thus in Northern Sotho the congruent morphemes and determiners may be pronominalised. These congruent morphemes obtain pronominal status after their antecedents are deleted as pointed out in chapter 2.

The following are some of the concordial morphemes found in Northern Sotho. The subject concord in Northern Sotho is a concordial morpheme which is derived from the class prefix of the subject noun. The following table indicates the concordial morphemes per noun class in Northern Sotho:

Noun Class	Subject Concord
1. mo-	O
2. ba-	ba
3. mo-	O
4. me-	E
5. le-	Le
6. ma-	A
7. se-	Se
8. di-	Di
9. n-	e/di
10. din-	Di
14. bo-	Bo
15. go-	Go
16. fa-	Go
17. go-	Go
18. mo-	Go

Take note that the subject agreement morpheme is an obligatory part of the finite verb in all African Languages. (*Obligatory parts are those that are inherently associated with the main referent or initiator*). Whether the subject noun itself is expressed or not, the subject concord is essential to complete the verb stem. Therefore, over and above marking concord between the noun and the verb, the subject concord has a pronominal function when the subject noun is omitted from the surface structure of a sentence; for example: *O a gafa*. (He is mad). *O gafa kudu morwa wa Lesiba*. (He is absolutely mad, Lesiba's son).

It should be pointed out that in the discussion of the pronominalisation of the subject, the question of 'agreement' is important, hence Bosch (1986) states that the subject agreement is obligatory due to pronominalisation which results from equi-NP-deletion. Bosch (1986) further states that subject agreement with denominal copulatives which are not directly preceded by their antecedents, is determined by pronominalisation. The concord or agreement morpheme represents the subject noun and links it with the verb; for example:

28. (a) Ngwana **o** bala puku.
(The child reads a book).
- (b) Basadi **ba** a lema.
(Women are ploughing).

The agreement morphemes in 28(a-b) above are **o** and **ba** respectively.

The following sentences in 29 are ungrammatical because of the absence of the agreement morpheme.

29. (a) *Nswana bala puku.
(The child reads book).
- (b) *Basadi a lema.
(Women are plough)

Bosch (1986) clearly explains the use of the subject agreement morpheme in combination with a verb stem by stating that the subject concord is an obligatory morpheme in the verb, except in the cases of the infinitive and the imperative; for example:

30. (a) Infinitives
- (i) Go dula go a lapiša.
(To sit is tiresome).
 - (ii) Go a lapiša
(It is tiresome).
 - (iii) Go bolela go bose.
(It is nice to talk).
 - (iv) Go bose.
(It is nice).
- (b) Imperatives
- (i) Rema!
(Chop ! (you singular))

- (ii) Remang!
(Chop! (you plural))

3.2.1 Pronominalisation of the subject by means of the subject concord

Bosch (1986) states that the subject concord shows formal agreement with the underlying prefix of a verb (fundamental or forming or serving as a base or simply the basis of). Bosch (1986) further argues that the concord or agreement morpheme represents the subject noun and links it with the verb. Consider the following examples:

31. (a) Dimpša **di** lomile ngwana.
(Dogs have bitten the child).
- (b) ... **di** lomile ngwana
(... they have bitten the child).

In 31 above, the subject is **dimpša** 'dogs' whereas the subjectival concord is **di**.

3.2.2 Pronominalisation of the subject by means of the absolute pronoun

In chapter 4 it will be realised that when an absolute pronoun is used in apposition to subject nouns, a pronoun may either appear pre-nominally or post-nominally.

3.2.2.1 Pre-nominal use of a pronoun

32. (a) **Tšona** diperekisi di budule.

(Peaches, in particular, are ripe).

(b) **Tšona** di budule.

(They are ripe).

3.2.2.2 Post-nominal use of a pronoun

33. (a) Diperekisi **tšona** di budule.

(The peaches, on contrary, are ripe).

(b) **Tšona** di budule.

(They, on contrary, are ripe).

Example 31(b) shows that the subject morpheme **di** has obtained pronominal status after the antecedent **dimpša** has been deleted. This is the secondary function of the subject morpheme because its primary function is that of establishing agreement.

The determiner **tšona** in 32(a) has also obtained pronominal status, and now has lost its primary function, and it functions as an antecedent.

Under scrutiny, it is realised that in 32(a) and 33(a) the absolute pronoun **tšona** appears pre-nominally and post-nominally respectively. Although it has obtained pronominal status in the (b) sentences, it particularises and contrasts respectively.

The foregoing discussion concurs with Prinsloo's (1987) thesis about pronominalisation of the subject in Northern Sotho:

“pronominalisasie van subjekte in Noord Sotho behels in alle gevalle die weglating van die subjek. Subjeknaam-woorde word in die meeste gevalle deur onderwerpskakele pronominaliseer wanneer dié naamwoordstuk weggelaat word omdat dit bekend is”.(pronominalisation of the subject in Northern Sotho entails in most cases the deletion of the subject. The subject noun in most cases is pronominalised by the object morpheme because it is known or old information).

3.3 PRONOMINALISATION OF THE OBJECT

3.3.1 The object concord

As in the case of the subject concord, the object concord is derived from the class prefix of the noun, but in this case it is the noun which acts as the grammatical object in the sentence. The following are some of the object concords in Northern Sotho. The object concord largely agrees with the subject concord. The object concord looks exactly like the class prefix:

Noun Class	Object Concord
1. mo-	Mo
2. ba-	Ba
3. mo-	O
4. me-	E
5. le-	Le
6. ma-	A
7. se-	Se
8. di-	Di
9. n-	E
10. din-	Di
14. bo-	Bo
15. go-	Go
16. fa-	Go
17. go-	Go
18. mo-	Go

Note that the object agreement unlike subject agreement, is not an obligatory phenomenon; for example: *Segafi se nwele bjala* (The insane drank beer). In this sentence, there is no object concord. As far as pronominalisation is concerned, however, the objectival concord is compulsory; for example: *Banna ga ba bo rate (bjala bja morula)*. (Men do not like marula beer). It is also realised that the object agreement is also obligatory when the object noun is moved from its position directly after the verb and is placed elsewhere in the sentence; for example: **Basadi ba di tsentšha ka šakeng dinku**. (The women let the sheep into the kraal).

The subjective and objective pronouns substitute for nouns in different syntactic contexts. For example, the subjective pronoun replaces nouns with the syntactic function of the subject; **tšona** in 33(b) replaces **diperekisi** in 33(a).

3.3.2 Voice

Our main concern in this section is the voice. Trask (1985) defines voice as the grammatical category expressing the relationship between, on the one hand, the participant roles of the NP arguments of a verb and, on the other hand, the grammatical relations borne by those same NPs. Crystal (1997) defines it differently when he says ‘voice is a category used in the grammatical description of sentences or clause structure, primarily with reference to verbs, to express the way sentences may alter the relationship between the subject and the object of a verb, without changing the meaning of the sentence’. Therefore it could be mentioned that voice refers to the relation of the subject of a verb to the action that the verb expresses shown by inflectional endings or suffixes in some languages and by word order, auxiliary verbs, and prepositions in others. Traditionally, a distinction has always been made between what have been

commonly called active and passive sentences. In this sub-section we shall show how Transformational Generative Grammar attempts to explain formally the relationship that exists between these two types of sentences; and again how pronominalisation is affected by such constructions.

3.3.2.1 Active Voice

In the active voice the person or thing denoted by the subject is said to do something to someone or something else. A sentence is said to be active when the subject of the sentence is performing the action described in the sentence. That is, when the subject is active the sentence is active; for example *Lesiba o ja bogobe*. (Lesiba is eating porridge). Therefore, in this sentence the form of the verb shows that its subject is performing the action which the verb expresses. Trask (1985) argues that the active voice denotes a construction, usually involving a transitive verb, in which the grammatical subject of the verb typically (though not exceptionally) represents the agent performing the action, and the direct object represents the patient.

Trask (1985) continues to say that in many (not all) languages, the active construction contrasts with an overt passive construction, and sometimes with additional voices. He states that in the vast majority of languages, the active construction is the unmarked construction for transitive verbs, involving the least marked form of the verb and the simplest possible case marking on the argument NPs. The active voice therefore is usually the morphologically simplest form of all those participating in voice contrasts.

It must be realised that object-verb agreement is governed mainly by intricate communicative effects which the language user strives to achieve within a particular context of discourse. Louwrens (1981) states that a close examination of Northern Sotho texts once more reveals that a comprehensive account of grammatical structures in language can only be given if the communicative function of languages are brought into consideration. Louwrens further argues that as regards verb-object agreement, it is concluded that the preposing with the verb, renders the communicative effect of focus on the NP, whilst the lack of agreement between a preposed object NP and the verb renders the effect of focus on the action expressed by the verb.

Focus as explained by Alshawi (1987) specifies the entity, or group of entities, which are currently most salient. In other words, focus can be viewed as a derived notion determined by the available contextual information. Focus can shift to an alternative focus if the anaphor cannot refer to the current focus. Alshawi (1987) further states that items that are associated with all these candidate entities are also considered as possible referents for anaphoric expression; i.e. the focus stock records such rejected items, so that items on the stock can be considered after the list of alternative foci, if they prove unsatisfactory.

It must be mentioned that in focus, a special prominence is given to some element in a sentence which represents the most important new information in that sentence or which is explicitly contrasted with something else. Engelkamp (1983) states that consciousness has a central focus and a periphery; that is, at any moment an especially small amount of information is maximally activated, while there is also a large amount of other of the information of which a person is to some extent conscious, but which is not being 'focused. Engelkamp further

states that the concept of focus is important not only at the level of a sentence or text, but also with regard to the semantic meaning of an individual concept. If the meaning of a concept is seen to consist of semantic features, then determining the meaning of a word can be described as the activation of these features. Thus the focus of attention assumes a prominent role in the cognitive structure.

Engelkamp (1983) further argues that in general, as is known from attention research, new information should attract the attention of the hearer and thus cause the new information to be focussed. This holds true especially when the hearer knows that an action has taken place, but not who the agent or the patient was. Therefore this new information should form a focus of attention.

According to Madadzhe (1999) focus is the material that is highlighted in a sentence. Any material may be assigned focus if it expresses new information in a particular discourse. In other words, focus may thus be described as the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer and presupposition as information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer; for example:

34. *Ke LESIBA yo a gapago dikgomo?*

(It is LESIBA who drives the cattle).

In the above sentence *yo a gapago dikgomo* can be equated to **someone drives cattle** and this is a presupposition as it is known information. This means Lesiba is the focus. Focus marks what is new or unexpected in a sentence. According to Horvath (1986) in Madadzhe (1999), there are two basic strategies for marking particular constituents as the focus of sentences in many languages

(Northern Sotho included). The first one is called **syntactic focus-marking** and the second one is **phonological focus-marking**. Büring (1997) argues that the main accent, it seems, is always on a word that belongs to the focus part of the sentence in the particular context. Although Büring (1997) agrees with Madadzhe (1999), he further argues that we thus have a correlation between a semantic/pragmatic notion-Focus and a phonological one-accent. Now, how does that explain why focus should be indicated in syntactic structure? First, in model of grammar we are assuming, the phonological representation of a sentence and its semantic/pragmatic representation are not connected directly, but only through the mediating level of syntax. In this aspect, syntax connects up with phonology and with semantics/pragmatic, but the latter two, according to Büring, have no direct link. Büring (1997) further states that something like Focus, which has both pragmatic and phonological impact, must necessarily be represented at the level that connects these two domains. Secondly, there are strong empirical arguments for the use of a focus feature in the syntactic representation. Typical examples of syntactic focus-marking are cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions. Phonological focus-marking, according to Madadzhe (1999) involves only stress and intonation.

Crystal (1985) is of the opinion that focus is used in a two-part analysis of sentences which distinguishes between the information assumed by speakers, and that which is at the centre (or focus) of their communicative interest: focus in this sense is opposed to presupposition (The contrast between given and new information makes an analogous distinction). For example, in the sentence: **Ke Mokgadi yo a tlilego sekolong**. (It was Mokgadi who came to school); **Mokgadi** is the focus (as the intonation contour helps to signal). Taking such factors into account, according to Crystal (1985), is an important aspect of inter-sentence relationships: it would not be possible to have the above sentence as

the answer to the question: **Ke eng seo Mokgadi a se dirilego?** (What did Mokgadi do?), but only to **Ke mang yo a tlilego sekolong?** (Who came to school?)

It must be stated that we have described as a focus of attention that part of the cognitive structure which forms an activation maximum, and the activation itself generally as a directing of attention. If objects attract attention because of such properties, according to Engelkamp (1983), then they are observed longer, and are more likely to be fixated. Engelkamp further posits that in listening to the speaker, the hearer should reconstruct the former's knowledge structure and set up a focus of attention corresponding to that knowledge. Engelkamp is also of the opinion that an object in the outside world which corresponds to this focus of attention should therefore be in the centre of perception, and be observed longer.

It was mentioned earlier in this subsection that cleft sentences play a vital role in the semantics of Northern Sotho. Madadzhe (1999) states that clefts are identifying constructions expressing a relationship between elements realised as highlighted element and the relative clause; for example:

35. (a) Monna o tshepišitše mosadi palamonwana
(The man promised to by his wife a ring)
- (b) Ke palamonwana yeo monna a e tshepišitšego mosadi.
(It is a ring that the man promised to by for his wife).

Sentence 35(b) is a cleft sentence generated from a simple sentence in 35(a). These two sentences are different because sentence 35(a) is just a single structure while sentence 35(b) is made of two distinct sections assigned to different clauses:

(b) [Ke palamonwana] [yeo monna a e tshepišitšego mosadi]
[It is a ring] [that the man promised his wife]

In 35(b), the highlighted element, **palamonwana**; that is, the element in focus, is identified as the item which satisfies the definition provided in the relative clause, **yeo monna a e tshepišitšego mosadi**. Madazhe (1999) posits that a cleft sentence refers to a construction where a single sentence has been divided into two parts, each with its own verb. Thus in the above sentences, **ke** in 35(b) is a copulative verb of the first clause while **tshepišitšego** is a verb of the other clause. Therefore, it can be emphasised that a fully- fledged sentence suppose to have a relative clause.

Madadzhe (1999) shows in a detailed manner the way cleft sentences originated in English. He contends that a cleft sentence is formed when the WH-morpheme is inserted before the original phrase while the object or subject NP is moved to the initial position. With regard to the pseudo-clefts, these are copular sentences with a subject clause that is introduced by WH-word; for example:

36. Seo a se dirilego ke go hlatswa dibjana.

(What he did was to wash the dishes).

37. Ke mang yo a re boditsego gore ke Ramaesela

(Who told us that it was Ramaesela).

Madadzhe (1999) further states that the pseudo-cleft is givenness-oriented. It expresses a given information., that is, the information being supplied is already known as a fact to both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, in reversed pseudo-clefts, the relative clause usually contains the main point of newness in the sentence. Madadzhe further states that the information being expressed is not known to the hearer; and that there is thus no presupposition at all. Therefore it is noticed that the relative item does not occupy the initial position of the sentence, but it occupies the position appearing in the second portion of the sentence.

The object agrees formally with the underlying prefix of the object noun of a sentence, but contrary to the subject concord, the object concord need not necessarily appear in a verb; for example:

38. (a) Bašimane **ba** gama dikgomo.
(Boys are milking the cows).

The objectival concord is compulsory when the noun object is preposed. The object in 38(a) is **dikgomo** 'cows'. It becomes pronominal when the object noun (the antecedent) is deleted; for example:

- (b) Bašimane ba a **di** gama.
(Boys are milking them).

Bosch (1986) adds that the object agreement, that is **di** in 38(b), is also compulsory/obligatory when the object noun is moved from its position directly after the verb and is placed elsewhere in the sentence; for example:

39. Bašimane ba **di** tsenya ka šakeng **dikgomo**.

(The boys are driving the cattle into the kraal).

The abovementioned information will be closely examined in the forthcoming chapter. It must be realised that there are certain conditions which must be recognised when dealing with object movement. Louwrens (1991) states emphatically that the most obvious amongst the pragmatic factors which necessitates the pronominalisation of an object NP by means of the object concord, lies in the need to avoid the necessary repetition of a referent which has already been established within the context of discourse.

It must be pointed out that the generally held view of how anaphoric pronominals receive their interpretation is based on a 'substitution' or 'referring back' relationship between the anaphor and its antecedent nominal. Again, Comrie (1992) is of the opinion that a syntactic option constituent in a sentence can be deleted if it is recoverable from the preceding context (refer to 38(a) and 39 above). This does not mean, however, that all such constituents are deletable. He argues that it is hypothesised that unacceptability does not result when the above pecking order of the deletion principle is violated due to the structural pressure of the language. It must further be noted that the abovementioned examples, i.e. 38(a)-(b) show the congruence morphemes (bolded). In all the sentences it is clear that the congruence morphemes are semantically and syntactically well placed.

Let us examine Northern Sotho examples 32, 33, 34 and 35 above, and endeavour to establish what role is played by pronominalisation. Louwrens (1991) points out that one of the conditions to which an object noun phrase must comply in order to be accessible to the rule of pronominalisation is that it must

present known or given information; that is, it must be coreferential with one or more noun phrases within the same context; see in this regard, 38(a) and 39. Coreferentiality refers to the relationship between grammatical units which have the same reference (for example: a pronoun may refer to an identical referent in an earlier or later part of the text). It is a well established fact that coreferentiality and congruency cannot be separated. Therefore it can be mentioned that these sentences (32, 33, 34 and 35) are in accordance with Durant's (1990: 137) opinion:

words and phrases in the text corefer(i.e. refer to the same entities, so providing continuity)

The concordial morpheme **di** in 38(b) and 39 respectively, refer back to a referent (**dikgomo**) previously mentioned in the text as in 38(a) or else refer back to people or things taken as recognisable in the speech situation. This implies that pronominalised forms like 38(b) above are derived from structures such as 38(a), and 39 is derived from below because of the **di** which is in the place of the antecedent **dikgomo**.

40. (a) Bašimane ba tsenya dikgomo ka šakeng.
(The boys are driving the cattle into the kraal).
- (b) Bašimane ba di tsenya ka šakeng.
(The boys are driving them into the kraal).

Note that the deletion of the noun **dikgomo**, (as in 40(b) above), the so-called pronoun acquires a secondary function which is pronominal in nature since its

concordial agreement with the noun enables it to refer to the same referent as the deleted noun.

It must be noted that the notion of **deletion** as a pronominalisation strategy in Northern Sotho is not new. Traditional grammarians recognised the existence of such a strategy, although they never expressed themselves clearly on this. Bloomfield (1979) for example, uses the word **substitution**. Under scrutiny, it seems as if his ‘substitution’ can really imply deletion. He describes substitution as:

“... a linguistic form or grammatical feature which, under conventional circumstances, replaces **any** one of a class of linguistic forms”.

Thus in Northern Sotho the substitution of a noun, like **diperekisi** in 32(b) and **dikgomo** in 38(b) by **tšona** and **di** respectively, underscores what Bloomfield (1979: 247) means by:

“ thus ...the substitution of... replaces any singular number substantive expression, provided that substantive expression denotes the speaker of the utterance in which the substantive is used”.

The subject concord and the object concord, as shown above, are of particular interest, especially when Bloomfield mentions that the substitutes for object expression pronominals will normally show the most varied substitution-type.

That the pronominal function of the subject concord arises from the deletion of the subject is clearly illustrated in 31(b) above where the dots represent the position previously occupied by the deleted noun. But, according to Louwrens (1991), again the subject concord is not primarily a pronominal form. It is an

agreement morpheme which marks the syntactic relationship between the subject noun and the verb. Agreement according to Crystal (1985), is a traditional term used in grammatical theory and description to refer to a formal relationship between elements, whereby a form of one word require a corresponding form of another. In such instances it has no pronominal characteristics. Only when the subject noun is deleted, does the subject concord acquire the secondary status of being a pronominal form due to the coreferential relationship which exists between the concord and the deleted noun. This issue can be elicited by citing examples from Matsepe (1968:13):

41. (a) Mosadi o kae?
(Where is the woman?)
- (b) O kae gomme a šetše?
(She is at home).
- (c) O šetše!
(She stayed!)
- (d) O šalela eng ke ile le tle bobedi bja lena?
(Why does she stay, whereas I said you should both come?)

It must be noted that the subject noun in 41(b-d) is deleted.

Givon (1979) states that one of the most acclaimed properties of subjects, that of grammatical agreement on the verb, is fundamentally a topic property, and that it arises diachronically via the re-analysis of topic into subject and -simultaneously- of an anaphoric pronoun into an agreement morpheme. With

this in mind, it can be deduced that **O** in 41 gains pronominal status in 41(b)-(d) after the deletion of the old/given information, **mosadi** ‘woman’. According to Akmajian (1990), anaphora involves a relation between, for example, a pronoun and an antecedent noun phrase where the two are understood as being used to refer to the same thing. It is true because under the right structural circumstances, the pronoun can precede the noun phrase and still be used coreferentially. Durant (1990) too, argues on the same principle, and agrees with Akmajian when he states that essays and literary texts, on the other hand depend less on substitutional references of this kind. Their referring expressions (such as pronouns and definite expressions) tend to be anaphoric, referring to things which have already been mentioned in the text itself, rather than exophoric, referring to things outside the text in the situation. Therefore it is correct to assert that **O** refers to one and the same thing as **mosadi** ‘woman’, and is, according to Durant (1979) and Akmajian (1979), anaphoric. Thus one could not say:

42. (a) **Mosadi o kae?**

(Where is the woman?)

(b) ***Mosadi o kae gomme a šctše?**

(The woman is not here, is at home).

(c) ***Mosadi o šetše.**

(The woman remained behind).

(d) ***Mosadi o šalela eng ke ile le tle bobedi bja lena?**

(How can the woman remain behind whereas I said you should both come?)

The repetition of **mosadi** ‘woman’ in 42(b)-(d) would not agree with the principle of ‘pronominalisation’ which applies freely once a referent is introduced, i.e. in 42(a). Therefore 41 is preferred because pronominalisation is viewed as, first of all, an economical textual device. But it must be kept in mind that there are limits to its use, i.e. where ambiguity might arise, pronominalisation tends to be avoided.

The following data indicates the position of the object and objectival concord. It was stated earlier that the grammatical agreement which exists between a noun and a corresponding ‘pronoun’ which appears in apposition to the noun, forms the cornerstone on which the deletion hypothesis rests. It is solely due to the agreement between these two words that the ‘pronoun’ may acquire a pronominal function when the noun is deleted, since it is this agreement which enables the pronoun to refer to exactly the same referent as the deleted noun. Consider the following:

43. (a) Dikgomo di fula **bjang** hleng ga thaba.
(Cattle are grazing along the mountain).
- (b) **Bjang** bjo botalana bo ratega kudu dikgomong tša tswetše.
(The green grass is liked by cows).
- (c) **Bo** a natefa.
(It is sweet).
- (d) **Bo** swana le mafela a matala.
(It is like green mealies).

(e) Taba ya go kgahliša ke gore ga **bo**_swe marega.

(The interesting thing about this, is, that it does not get dry even in winter).

The referent **bjang** ‘grass’ is first introduced in 43(a) and deleted in 43(c)-(e). It could not be repeated. This point is clearly stated by Reinhart (1983) when she says:

once a reference has been assigned to a D-head NP1 of a given domain, all other NPs in the domain of NP1 must be marked by pronouns as anaphoric, in order to be assigned the same reference.

According to Reinhart (1983) the linear order requirement on anaphora in such cases is attributed to discourse considerations. In normal, rational discourse, new referents are first introduced by their proper name or by description which enables the hearer to identify them, and once a reference is unmistakably established, it may be referred back to with a pronoun (refer to **bjang** and **bo** in 43).

It could be said that the actual selection of a reference for a pronoun in a given discourse, is a pragmatic procedure which is effected by considerations such as the previous context, pragmatic inferences or the identification of the topic of a given discourse, as in 41, 42 and 43 above. Consider the following extract from Matsepe (1968: 21):

44. (a) O be a le mo.

(He was here).

(b) Mang?
(Who?)

(b) Leilane.
(Leilane).

Because of the non-availability of the introduction of the antecedent, the addressee in 44(b) is forced to ask whom the speaker is referring to. 44(b) is in contrast with what has been said above about the given/new information. The speaker is not aware that he is introducing the topic into what Chafe (1970) says is the hearer's mind for the first time.

It is thus obvious that if the new information or the intention of the speaker is not well received by the addressee, it will either be confusing or ambiguous. Chafe (1970) further argues that some of it is information which the speaker and addressee already share at the time the sentence is spoken. This shared information constitutes a kind of starting point based on the concept already under discussion, to which the new information can be related, but this is not the case with 44(a). Hence the question in 44(b) which challenges the speaker to clarify the late introduction of the new information in 44(c), instead of having given it in 44(a).

It can be stated that old information may be shared from the common environment in which both the speaker and the hearer are interacting. It is frequently shared on the basis of sentences already uttered, in which case we might say that the common environment has been created linguistically. Thereafter, however, it becomes old information, part of the matrix of concepts present in the forefront of the minds of both speaker and hearer, as stated by

Chafe (1970). Therefore, although 44 does not satisfy the pronominalisation principle, it is later on realised by the speaker that he has committed an error. Hence the ratification in 44(c). The breakdown in successful communication can be overcome by introducing the referent referred to by the pronoun in the discourse.

3.3.2.2 Passive Sentences

Trask (1993) defines passive as a construction in which an intrinsically transitive verb is construed in such a way that its underlying object appears as its surface subject, its underlying subject being either absent (a 'short passive') or expressed as an oblique NP (a 'long passive' or 'passive-with-agent'), the construction usually being overtly marked in some way to show its passive character. Crystal (1995) puts it differently when he says that passive is a term used in the grammatical analysis of voice, referring to a sentence, clause or verb form where the grammatical subject is typically the recipient or 'goal' of the action denoted by the verb.

Ziervogel (1977) states that in other languages, the passive indicates that the subject undergoes the action or that it is subjected to the action by someone or something. Accordingly, in English the auxiliary verb 'to be' is followed by a participle: is/are (being). The passive predicate may also have an agent which executes the action; hence "**monna o lomilwe ke noga**" (The man is being bitten by a snake). In Northern Sotho the passive is expressed by means of a suffixal morpheme which may be suffixed to any of the verb stem. Lombard (1985) posits that passive verbs indicate that the grammatical subject is the logical object of the action/process; for example: **Monna oa longwa** (The man is bitten). Note that the bite action is expressed by '**monna**' The man', therefore

'monna' is the object (logically speaking) of the verb 'o a longwa'. Lombard, further states that if the logical subject is mentioned, it will appear as the agentive particle group.

Gorrell (1967) argues that usually the agent or actor should be mentioned first in a sentence, so that we know who or what we are talking about. Sometimes, however, the agent or actor is less important than the action or result; sometimes the actor is unknown or should not be mentioned; and sometimes continuity requires that some word other than the name of the actor appear first. One should take note that the passive construction provides for such variations.

In the passive voice the person or thing denoted by the subject is said to suffer something from someone or something. We must realise that in forming the passive voice, the object and subject of the sentence in the active voice are interchanged; and that the form of the verb is changed; and that pronouns of the first and third person forming the subject or object of the active voice sentence are also changed, as it will be shown in this subsection. In the passive sentences, therefore, a sentence tells who or what acts and what it does. According to Gorrell (1967), inversion through use of the passive verb throws stress on the receiver of the action and draws attention away from the actor-action pattern. It makes the receiver of the action the subject and the centre of attention. Although Gorrell puts it in this way, he warns that such a version is justified only in special circumstances, otherwise if it is used indiscriminately, it will weaken writing or a sentence.

Active and passive structures, according to Cobuild (1994), allow us to change our perspective on the 'actor' and the 'patient' by altering them in the topic position. Such alteration may produce the chainlike effect mentioned in the

preceding section; that is, the 'new' is immediately picked up as the 'given' in the following sentence and the pattern may be repeated a number of times in the text.

In passive sentences, however, the object topic becomes grammaticalised into the subject of the passive, with certain coding consequences arising simultaneously; for example:

45. **Monna o ja bogobe.**

(The man eats porridge).

(a) Bogobe **bo** lewa ke monna.

(Porridge is eaten (by the man)).

(b) **Bo** lewa ke monna.

(It is eaten (by the man)).

In the above sentences, it is realised that the two NPs, that is **monna** and **bogobe** are interchanged; that the verbal extension **-w-** is inserted in the verb **ja**, and the so-called copulative or agentive prefix **ke** is inserted before NP1 (refer 45b above). It may be pointed out here that the passivisation test may also be applied to sentences that incorporate indirect objects. In fact as the following sentences indicate, both the direct and indirect objects may be passivised in Northern Sotho; for example:

(c) Mošimane o fa tatagwe maswi.

(The boy gives milk to his father).

- (d) Maswi a fiwa tatagwe ke mošimane.
(Milk is given to the father by the boy).
- (e) Tatagwe o fiwa maswi ke mošimane.
(The father is given milk by the boy).

The passive, according to Gorrell (1967), then, has very definite uses. It is properly used when the subject is not known; the subject is known, but for some reason, cannot, or had better not, be mentioned; that the receiver of the action is so much more important than the actor that emphasis properly belongs on the receiver; and that one of the elements of the actor-action pattern must be moved from its normal position for stylistic reasons.

In general, the function of passive sentences in language is to code sentences in the context in which the non-agent is more topical. This according to Givon (1979), automatically means that the agent is less topical in a passive sentence, and the fact that it gets removed from the subject slot- the one which usually coincides with the topic- is an obvious means of achieving this end. Another general characteristic of passive sentences in text-discourse is that they are much less frequent than the active sentences.

In 41 above, the active subject case ceased to bear any grammatical relation to its verb, while the direct object in 45(a) becomes the subject. In this process, the direct object is pronominalised. Keenen (1975) as quoted by Givon (1979) views passivization primarily as a process of demotion of the agent from the subject position, with the promotion of a non-agent to subject status as a consequence.

Givon (1979) defines passivization as the process by which a non-agent is promoted into the role of main topic of the sentence. Keenen (1975) cites a number of languages where, in what is equivalent to passivization, the agent gets demoted or deleted while no other changes take place.

In all these cases the verb shows some passive morphology, the agent has been demoted either by total deletion or relegation by phrase, but it must be stated categorically that the new topic retains its non-agent case morphologically. Givon (1979) states that for the definition of passive as 'raising to grammatical subject', this analysis is presumably injurious since the non-agent does not acquire all coding properties of the subject and may not even acquire its characteristic syntactic position. In line with this, it can be mentioned that it must be remembered that the semantic case of the non-agent topic remains coded as it was in the neutral active pattern. Givon (1979: 195) concludes by stating:

the promoted object, while acquiring subject agreement, also retains its original object agreement on the verb.

This is what is realised in Northern Sotho, that is, the word **bogobe** 'porridge' in 45(b) has all the characteristics of an object.

Therefore the grammaticalization of topics into subjects does not mean that the language has lost the topic construction, but only that it has gained grammatical agreement as an added morphological coding for its grammatical subject, as mentioned in the introduction of passivization in 3.2.

It is generally accepted that an active sentence has the same cognitive content as its corresponding passive counterpart; for example:

45(f) Morutiši o rakile ngwana
(The educator chases the learner).

(g) Ngwana o rakilwe ke morutiši.
(The learner is being chased by the educator)

According to Gorrell (1967), the above sentences differ in their thematic meaning, though, since the organisation of the message in the second example 45(g) differs from that in the first 45(f): in the first example, **morutiši** is presented in the initial sentence position which results in the referent **morutiši** being interpreted as the theme of the utterance. In the second example, on the contrary, the referent **ngwana** is presented as being thematic whereas the educator is not. In both these sentences we realised that we are referring to the grammatical and semantic subject.

In conclusion, as stated by Louwrens (1991) the distinction between the concepts grammatical subject and semantic subject can be summarised by considering the relationship between active and passive sentences. In active sentence such as: **Moithuti o bala puku** (The learner is reading a book), the noun '**moithuti**' is both a semantic subject and a grammatical subject. It is a semantic subject, because it refers to the agent '**moithuti**' which is carrying out the act of reading. It is a grammatical subject, since it agrees with the verb '**o bala**' by means of the subject concord **o-**.

In the passive counterpart of the given sentence, that is, **Puku e balwa ke moithuti**, **moithuti** remains the semantic subject, since it is still the learner who

is carrying out the act of reading. However, it can be argued that **moithuti** is no longer a grammatical subject, since the noun lacks agreement with the verb **e balwa** by means of the subject concord. It is therefore discovered that the role of the grammatical subject in this sentence has been taken over by the semantic object **puku** as can be seen from the grammatical agreement between this noun and the verb which is marked by the subject concord **e-**.

It can also be argued that the semantic subjects which act as agents of passive sentences are predominantly indefinite in nature. This also applies, as stated by Louwrens (1991), to semantic subjects which follow verbs with the indefinite subject concord **go-**. The reason for this is that passive structures as well as structures with the indefinite subject concord **go-** are two major ones in Northern Sotho to introduce new information into a particular context of discourse.

3.4 PRONOMINALISATION WITHIN DISCOURSE

It is proper to make reference to pronominalisation within discourse. In its discussion it will be realised that pronominalisation is in fact controlled by paragraph level constraints. The presence of a pronoun or a full noun phrase in those instances in which either appears to be permissible, will be noticed as signalling a difference in the structural organisation of the paragraph.

Hinds (1977), on the position of the pronouns in the paragraph, is of the opinion that the basic generalisation that can be made about pronouns in this discourse is that, within a given paragraph, pronouns occur after the specific mention of a referent. However, even after the specific mention of a referent, a full noun phrase or pronoun appears to be completely optional. In order to expedite this

discussion, the following condition is proposed to account for pronominalisation within discourse. This is based on Hinds (1977: 80):

Within a given paragraph pronominalisation is possible if the referent is properly registered in the discourse registry; and there will be no vagueness or ambiguity created because of multiple antecedents.

The 'discourse registry', according to Hinds (1977), is a list of concepts. Some of which, such as the speaker and the addressee, are contained in a permanent section so that they may be pronominalised at any time in any paragraph. He further mentions that other concepts are listed as they are introduced into a discourse, in which case they may be pronominalised on subsequent mention as long as the paragraph topic does not change. It must not be forgotten that the primary purpose is to convey unknown information to the interlocutors.

A paragraph, as noticed by Hinds (1977), consists of an indeterminate number of sentences or sentence fragments. Although a paragraph is about only one topic, it may be divided generally into a number of segments, the sentences of which are related more closely to each other than to other sentences in the paragraph. These segments, it must be realised, are developments of the paragraph topic and exist in a specified number of relationships to one another.

Let us examine this paragraph from Ramokgopa (1980: 27):

46. (a) ...**Sefolo** a fela a eme gomme a tiile tumelong ya gagwe.
(Sefolo stood on the ground of his Christian belief).

- (b) Ka 1940 ... **a** nyala ngwana Setati gona kua tikologong ya Mogalakwena...
(In 1940 ... he married a Setati girl around his place, Mogalakwena...)
- (c) Ka 1942 **ba** segofatšwa ka go fiwa ngwana wa mosetsana yoo ba mo ilego ba mo kolobetša ka la Tryphina,
(In 1942 a baby girl was born, and **they** baptised her by the name Tryphina),
- (d) gomme **a** latelwa ke Albertina ka 1945.
(and **she** was followed by Albertina in 1945).
- (e) **Bao** ba babedi ba ile **ba** latelwa ke basetsana ba babedi gape le mošimane le basetsana ba bararo.
(**Those** two were also followed by two girls, and a boy who was followed by three other girls),
- (f) **bao** go sa hlokegego gore re laodiše ka ga **bona** tabeng ye, gomme go bile ga go hlokege gore re bolele maina a **bona**.
(**those** whom we need not talk about **them** in this case, and it is even not important or imperative to reveal **their** names).

The initial segment of this paragraph, that is, 46(a), which is the most important segment, according to Hinds (1977), is termed the introductory segment. Hinds (1977) states that within each of these segments there will be one, and only one, sentence of particular importance, termed here to peak sentence, or more simply the peak. Significantly, it will be realised that it is within the peak that a full

noun phrase occurs, that is, 46(a) above; while it is within non-peak sentences that pronouns occur, that is, (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) sentences.

It can be said, however, that an author is free to organise basic information in any way he feels will highlight or dramatise the points he wishes to stress, and one method of achieving this organisation, involves pronominalisation, as shown in the above paragraph. The choice of full noun phrase or pronoun thus contributes to the organisation of paragraphs. Hinds (1977) is of the opinion that, in essence, a full noun phrase is used to indicate information that is less important semantically.

It must be realised that, firstly, the name of the character, i.e. **Sefolo**, is stated in the peak of the first segment. It is usually the case that the initial sentence of the paragraph is a statement that contains as much information as possible. Secondly, it is within the peak of the introductory segment that a character will be referred to by full name. Succeeding occurrences of the name will be less complete information, unless special circumstances warrant a repetition of the full name.

Notice that it is possible to substitute the noun **Sefolo** for the subject concord **a** in 42(a). In addition, it is possible to substitute both **Sefolo** and **ngwana Setati** by **ba** 'they', in 46(c). These substitutions, while possible, will signal a distinct difference in the organisational content of the paragraph, and hence a difference in information content or focus.

According to this analysis, full noun phrases are not allowed in non-peak sentences. It has been shown that full NPs occur in peak sentences while pronouns occur in non-peak sentences. Therefore, it would be senseless to

always make use of the full noun phrase in each sentence. In this discussion we have realised that the object and subject concord expressions are a special part of speech, the substitutes for the noun make up part of speech; **the pronoun**, together constitute a greater part of speech, the **antecedent**. To a large extent, some substitution-types are characterised further by the circumstance that the form for which substitution is made, has occurred in recent speech. The substitute is used more often than any one of the forms in its domain, consequently, it is easier to speak and to recognise.

Perhaps, Bloomfield (1979) is right by noting that all languages use pronominal substitutes which combine anaphora with definite identification: the replaced form is an identified specimen of the species named by the antecedent which is compelled by the principle of language economy.

In concluding this chapter, it can be mentioned that we have realised that the grammatical subject is important as the theme of the sentence and the grammatical object as the focus of sentential assertion. The theme or topic of the sentence, as mentioned by Engelkamp and Zimmer (1983), is that which the sentence is about. The focus of the sentence is the high point or peak, as mentioned by Hinds (1977), of the new information imparted by the sentence. The topic of the sentence, as illustrated above in the extract from Ramokgopa (1980), may be defined as that part of the sentence which states what the sentence is about; i.e. which refers to what the speaker is talking about. Then thereafter, the comment as the rest of sentence which provides new information. Thus, sentential information can be presented in such a way as to indicate which part of it is to be taken as given and presupposed, and which is to be considered new and the focal point of the assertion.

It has also been discovered that the pronoun seldom precedes its principal (antecedent). It is usually better not to allow a pronoun to precede its principal (*Gowers in Journal of English Studies, 1981*). This is the trend in Northern Sotho. In certain environments, the pronoun is permitted to precede the antecedent, especially when it is for the purpose of emphasis.

It is obvious that pronominalisation constitutes an area of uncertainty. Why? Because it occurs under certain environments. Not only has it been incompletely mapped so far, but even where some mapping has been carried out, there is by no means always a consensus as to acceptability. It could be agreed with the grammarians who have written on pronominalisation, that repeatedly make the point that such and such a construction is not equally acceptable to all native speakers of a language, of which the native informants asked to comment on some of the examples, disagreed in several cases over acceptability.

In conclusion, because it is the language which is studied, Halliday (1978) is right when he states:

Language, unlike mathematics, is not a clear-cut or precise. It is a natural human creation, and, like many other natural human creations, it is inherently messy.

He continues to say that:

“anyone who formalises natural language does so at the cost of idealising it to such an extent that it is hardly recognisable as language any more, and bears little likeness to the way people actually interact with one another by talking”.

Sometimes it could be said that here it is the question of competency versus performance.

Finally, it can be said that a noun is subject to deletion-sometimes optionally, sometimes obligatorily- if it is not specified as new, if it conveys old information. The rationale is obvious. If a noun conveys old information, there is no need for the speaker to repeat it in its entirety. In some languages, such as Northern Sotho, the noun may be deleted altogether, under some circumstances. Such a complete deletion is especially common in those languages, as stated by Chafe (1970), where certain non-lexical units of the noun may have been transferred into the verb agreement process, leaving some traces in the verb of the noun's original semantic makeup as well as, perhaps, traces of its relation to the verb. This is also emphasised by Crystal (1985) when he states that deletion is the basic operation within the framework of transformational grammar, which eliminates a constituent of an input phrase marker. In classical Transformation Grammar, it counted for the imperative sentences, for example, where the subject and auxiliary verb of an underlying sentence is deleted.

Other applications of the notion have been found in the transformational treatment of dummy symbols, and in several specific transformational operations. Again several formal constraints on the use of deletion transformations have been suggested, especially that the deleted elements must be recoverable. Crystal (1985) argues that the deletion transformation must specify the elements to be deleted, and in the output phrase marker the effects of deletion must be clearly indicated. Otherwise there would be several unfortunate consequences.

It must be remembered that such constructions in 41 and 42 involve the omission of various obligatory clause or phrase elements, which are recoverable in their precise form from either the immediate context or the surrounding text,

or on the basis of our knowledge of grammar of Northern Sotho. In the following chapter we treat the pronominalisation of the determiners.

3.5 SUMMARY

In chapter 3 we discussed the pronominalisation of the subject and the object. We discovered that the subject concord and an absolute pronoun are congruent morphemes and determiners. In this chapter concentration was paid on the pre-nominal and pro-nominal use of a pronoun. It was discovered that a pronoun obtains the pro-nominal status after the antecedent has been deleted. Once a pronoun obtains pronominal status, it loses its primary function, and it functions as an antecedent.

It was also discovered that the object agreement, unlike the subject agreement, is not an obligatory phenomenon. It was shown that the substitutes for object expressions, pronominals, would show the most varied substitution-types.

We also discussed the active and passive sentences to show how the process of pronominalisation works. We realised that the active voice relate to the role of verb's subject used to describe a verb whose subject is the person or thing performing the action described by the verb. We discovered that at the general level, according to Huddleston (1988), the terms **active** and **passive** apply to grammatically distinct clause constructions differing in the way the syntactic function of the subject matches up with its semantic role. The terms are defined by reference to the normal association between subject and semantic role clauses expressing an action: in active voice the subject normally corresponds to the actor, and in passive voice it normally corresponds to the patient or the undergoer. We furthermore discovered that sometimes circumstances make

passive construction convenient, or even imperative. The actor may be known, but there may be reasons for not mentioning him.

In chapter 3 we also looked at the concept focus, as an element or part of a sentence given prominence by intonational or other means. Usually it is discovered where there is contrast or emphasis, or a distinction of new versus given. The question of cleft sentences was also discussed. In cleft sentences the copula is preceded by **it** and followed by a noun phrase, and a relative clause, distinguished as such from pseudo-clefts. Cleft is a marked structure in which a focused constituent is extracted from its logical position and often set off with some additional material, including an extra verb; whereas pseudo-cleft sentence (also include WH-cleft) which a marked construction in which the non-focused constituents are extracted from their logical positions and preceded by a WH-item, this sequence being connected by a copula to the focused constituent, which comes last. We discovered what Madadzhe (1999) posits that cleft sentences are constructions where a single sentence has been divided into two parts, each with its own verb; whereas pseudo-clefts are givenness-oriented. To conclude then we realised that linguists such as Givon (1976) postulated the development of verbal agreement in African Languages and came to the conclusion that subject agreement originated from focus constructions, in other words, the function of the subject agreement morpheme was initially a focus morpheme. This focus morpheme eventually became redundant since most subject nouns are usually definite and consequently it was re-analysed as a mere subject agreement marker.

CHAPTER 4

4. PRONOMINALISATION OF THE DETERMINERS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to examine the semantic and syntactic aspects of the pronouns in Northern Sotho. These aspects are being treated simultaneously because oftenly the syntactic patterns have a bearing on the meaning being expressed. It is for this reason that the chapter will concentrate on the following topics:

Emphasis

Contrastiveness

Demonstrative determiners

Quantitatives

4.2 EMPHASIS

Trask (1993) defines emphasis as a very general term for any phenomenon which serves to draw particular attention to some element in a sentence or utterance, either to place that element in focus or to contrast it with some other element. Trask (1993) argues that emphasis in spoken English is often achieved merely by stressing the emphasised element, but English and other languages also exhibit a range of grammatical means for expressing emphasis, such as particles, distinctive word order and clefted constructions.

It will be revealed that the so-called absolute pronoun can express either emphasis or contrastiveness. The absolute pronouns may be used as means of conveying emphasis on the subject or object; for example:

47. (a) Sekolo sa gešo se fedile go agwa.
(Our school has been built).
- (b) Bana ba bantši ba tsenā go **sona**.
(Many learners attend at that school).
- (c) Barutiši ba re ruta dithuto tše ntši.
(Teachers are offering different subjects).
- (d) **Tšona** re ipshina ge **bona** ba di ruta.
(We are enjoying their lessons).
- (e) **Nna** ke phala **lena** ka dipalontshetshere.
(I beat you in mathematics).
- (f) Morutiši wa rena **yena** ke seithati.
(Our teacher is handsome).
- (g) **Yena** molomo wa gagwe ga a bapale ka **wona**.
(He does not like to talk much).
- (h) **Lona** letšatši leo a re rutago, re hlwa re ipshina.
(The day he teaches us, we enjoy ourselves).

The bolded words in the Northern Sotho text are absolute pronouns.

At the most general level the pronoun serves primarily as a device for maintaining previous references. Remember that the pronoun is constrained in its interpretation by the original interpretation of the antecedent. The function of the pronouns might be assumed to be universal in languages, i.e. it seems as if there is no language without pronouns. The use and interpretation of particular forms within a language, however, depend significantly on the full repertoire of referential devices with which they contrast. Mithune (1990) reports that in English, third person pronouns alternate with fully lexical noun phrases and reflexives. Mithune (1990) argues that in many languages free pronouns appear only for contrast or emphasis, while bound pronouns appear obligatorily in every clause, whether additional nominals are present or not. This also applies to Northern Sotho as illustrated in example sentences (48a-b) where the absolute pronoun *bona* is used for emphasis:

48. (a) Re bolela ka banna bale ba ditagwa ba go re ke **bona** dingaka
(We are talking about those intoxicated men who pretended to
be traditional healers).
- (b) **Bona** bale ba go se lebelelege.
(Those terrible men).
- (c) Ba mahlo a go tšwa dinameng.
(With big eyes).

The absolute pronoun is used for emphasis when and only when it appears prenominal. By ‘emphasis’ is understood special prominence with which a particular referent is presented at a given point in a discourse, depending on the requirements of the context. The referent of the antecedent, which is emphasised by the prenominal use of the pronoun, is not opposed to any other referent in the context; for example:

49. (a) Ke **tšona** taba tša ka tšeo.
(These are my problems).
- (b) Ke **ona** mathata a mošate.
These are the problems of the chief’s kraal.
50. (a) Ke bolela ka Matome.
(I am talking about Matome).
- (b) Ke bolela ka **yena** Matome.
(I am talking about Matome (specifically)).
- (c) Ke bolela ka **yena**.
(I am talking about him specifically).

The absolute pronouns **tšona** ‘those’; **ona** ‘these’ and **yena** ‘he’ or ‘she’ in 49 and 50 above are used **preminally**. Therefore they emphasise **taba**, **mathata** and **Matome** respectively. The absolute pronouns (as shown above), may be used as means of emphasising the subject or object noun; for example:

51. (a) Ke rata **tšona** ditloo tše.
 (I want only those nuts).
- (b) Ke **tšona** ditaba tša mogolwago.
 (These are your sister's problems).

It must be emphasised that the antecedent has been deleted (51a-b) and the meaning is intended. Therefore the antecedent is intuitively recognised (refer the question of old/new information in chapter 3). In 49, 50 and 51 above, the stress is laid on the words **tšona**, **ona**, **yena** and **tšona**, to indicate special meaning or importance. As indicated above and in chapter 3, absolute pronouns function as nominal qualificatives or determinatives to either emphasise or contrast. Note that absolute pronouns can appear pre-nominally or post-nominally. The following points are noticed under the discourse function-**emphasis**:

1. When the determiner is used in post-position to the subject noun, the subject is emphasised; for example:
 2. Banna **bona** ba tlile.
 (The men (in particular) have arrived).
 3. Emphasis is also bound with structure, i.e. the copulative as means of emphasis; for example:
52. (a) Ke **yena** mosetsanyana yo ke mo nyakago.
 (She is the lady I am looking for).
- (b) Ke tša tate **tšona** dinku tše ke di tsomago
 (It is my father's sheep I am searching for).

4. Various aspects of the meaning may be emphasised. The meaning which is emphasised is pronominalised. It must be emphasised that when the antecedent noun is deleted, the pronoun may either emphasise or contrast; for example:

53. (a) Ke rata go bolela ka **tšona**.
(I would like to talk about them).

5. Repetition of the referent.

It must be stated that emphasis does not occur when pronominalisation applies. Consider the following from Matsepe (1968: 21):

(a) “Ke sa go tsene ganong madi a kgoši,
maloba ke amogela molaetša wo o tšwago go **Ntlhobogeng**.
Ntlhobogeng a re re tle go mo lebogiša lesogana le lefsa le le
sa tšwago maotong a banna”.
 (“Not interfering with what you are saying, the chief’s relative,
I received a message the day before yesterday from Ntlhobogeng.

Ntlhobogeng said that we must come and enjoy with him, and
congratulate him for his son who is just from the mountain school
(circumcision)).

The occurrence of the proper name, **Ntlhobogeng** twice in the middle of the quotation may seem strange, and conveniently take us to the final point, which is a brief discussion of some cases where pronominalisation is absent. When the same referent is brought up more than once in the same context,

pronominalisation becomes the rule. And yet, there are cases where the repetition of a nominal is preferred to pronominalisation.

Some linguists, according to Gowers (1981), repeat the referent nominal, i.e. instead of using an absolute pronoun to refer to a previous noun phrase, they prefer to repeat the original noun phrase. Gowers (1981) further points out that presumably to prevent ambiguity, legal language is more sparing of pronouns than ordinary prose. In this regard Bolinger (1977) states:

I suspect that this is a side effect of the repetition of a personal name as a kind of 'reproof'.

Although Bolinger is right, it could be further stated that in a given context the repetition of personal names may convey ironical overtones as well; for example:

(b) Lefehlo bjalo ke Lefehlo, re ka fehla ka yena.

(Lefehlo is weak, now a wooden spoon, we can use him as an instrument to stir food).

Here, Lefehlo is the name of the chief and the speaker is ironically degrading the chief's powers.

Back to the topic, the pronominalisation of 53(a) above can be repeated as:

(c) Ke sa go tsene ganong madi a kgoši,

maloba ke amogela molaetša wo o tšwago go Ntlhobogeng,

yena a re re tle go mo lebogiša lesogana le lefsa le le
tšwago maotong a banna.

(Not interfering with what you are saying, the chief's relative,
I received a message the day before yesterday from Ntlhobogeng.
He said that we must come and enjoy with him, and
congratulate him for his son who is just from the mountain
School (circumsition)).

In (c), Ntlhobogeng is no longer repeated. Instead the pronoun **yena** has taken the place of the referent. It can be mentioned that where there is a repetition of the personal names, what is conveyed is simply a strong degree of focus. Hiyan (1987) mentions that such entities are referents for noun phrases playing syntactic roles regarded as foregrounding the referent.

In conclusion it is proper to mention Prinsloo's (1987: 31) contention:

There is a good reason to believe that when an anaphoric pronoun becomes cliticized as grammatical agreement on the verb, and then the more emphatic independent pronoun is used emphatically, sooner or later the anaphoric function of the clitic-agreement morpheme recedes, due to phonological attrition, and the erstwhile emphatic-independent pronoun becomes demarked toward simple-anaphoric pronoun.

With this in mind, it could be stated that congruency is still maintained, and where the antecedent has been introduced, it cannot be repeated, and once this applies, pronominalisation has taken place. It must furthermore be mentioned that in Northern Sotho and other African languages, however, substituting the noun anaphorically does not constitute the fundamental function of pronouns. In this case, morphemes and modifiers of the noun, according to Prinsloo (1987),

obtain pronominal status in addition to their function as markers of agreement or modifiers of the noun.

4.3 CONTRASTIVENESS

Louwrens (1985) states that the absolute pronoun is used for purposes of contrast, when and only when, it appears in the post-nominal position. Louwrens (1985) continues to say that in such instances the pronoun has the pragmatic function of contrasting the discourse referent referred to by its antecedent, with one or more other referents within the same context of discourse. Crystal (1997) defines contrastiveness as a term used in linguistics for a difference between units, especially one which serves to distinguish meanings in a language. Such differences are also referred to as distinctive, functional or significant. It must be remembered that the principle of contrast is considered fundamental to linguistic analysis. Crystal (1997) argues that emphasis often spreads to a string of adjacent segments, and the phenomenon is thus widely analysed as a prosodic or 'long' component of word structure.

In defining the term contrastiveness, Chafe (1975), lists three factors:

1. the awareness (on the part of the speaker and assumed to be shared by the hearer) that the event described by the contrastive sentence in fact occurred;
2. a set of possible candidates that might participate or participated in that event in some capacity; and
3. an assertion about which of the possible candidates is the correct one.

Payne (1987) asserts that a short-range coding device indicates exclusive contrast if it asserts the identity of a particular participant to the exclusion of another possible referent currently present on the discourse stage.

4.3.1 Pronominalisation of the Object

Chafe (1975) argues that in English a sentence like '**Ronald made the hamburgers**' with no stress at all on – **made the hamburgers**– it indeed seems reasonable that 'someone **made hamburgers**' must be a pre-supposition shared by speaker and hearer. However, an element can be contrastive without such a presupposition, for example; if someone says:

54. (a) Matome o apea bogobe, Lesiba o apea dipotata.

(Matome cooks porridge and Lesiba cooks potatoes).

The fact that someone cooked porridge and someone else cooked sweet potatoes is not necessarily presupposed knowledge. It could be said that working in these propositions is asserted rather than presupposed. What is contrastive with this kind of sentence, is that the speaker asserts that not only Matome cooks porridge, and Lesiba cooks sweet potatoes, but also that Lesiba is not cooking porridge, and Matome is not cooking sweet potatoes. Chafe (1975) on assertions like these, states that without contrastive stress these negative assertions would not be part of speech.

It must be pointed out that in 54(a) above, the objects **bogobe** 'porridge' and **dipotata** 'sweet potatoes' are contrasted. 54 can be rewritten as:

- (b) Matome o apea **bjona** bogobe, Lesiba o apea **tšona** dipotata.
(Matome cooks porridge and Lesiba cooks sweet potatoes).
- (c) *Matome o apea **bjona**, Lesiba o apea **tšona**.
(*Matome cooks it, and Lesiba cooks them).

What is noticed in 54(b) above proves Louwrens' argument right when he states that:

“in sentences with SVO word order the pronoun may either precede or follow the subject noun, while it may only precede the object noun, and never follow it”.

Hence it cannot be:

- (d) *Matome o apea bogobe **bjona**, Lesiba o apea dipotata **tšona**.
(*Matome cooks porridge (it), Lesiba cooks potatoes (they)).

According to Louwrens (1985), nouns which appear in the basic subject position may either be contrasted or emphasised, while nouns which appear in the basic object position may only be emphasised, and never contrasted. If the context requires the object noun to be contrasted, it must obligatorily be moved to the left of the verb in which case it will precede the subject. Consider 54(e) below:

- (e) Bogobe **bjona** Matome o a bo apea,
dipotata **tšona** Lesiba o a di apea.
(Matome cooks porridge (in particular),
Lesiba cooks sweet potatoes (emphatically)).

Note: The pronominalised form of 54(e) can be 54(f) below:

(f) **Bjona** Matome o a bo apea.

Tšona Lesiba o a di apea.

(Matome cooks it, Lesiba cooks them).

It is observed that if the absolute pronoun is used post-nominally with respect to the object noun in sentences with SVO- word order, the contrast is not restricted to the object noun alone, but the verb is also drawn into the domain of the contrast. Louwrens (1991) states that in a context which requires the contrasting of only the object, the post-nominal use of the pronoun has the effect of spreading the contrast beyond the boundaries of the category ‘object’, thus affecting the verb as well. Viewed as such it becomes clear why, as Louwrens (1991) argues, contrastive objects are obligatorily moved to the left of the verb, since the leftward movement of the object results in the exclusion of the verb from the domain of the contrast (refer 54(c)) above. It can further be stated that the notion of contrast presupposes at least two referents in the context of discourse of which the one is brought into a contrastive relationship with the other.

As stated above in the introduction in 4.3, a pronoun is used for purposes of contrast when and only when, it appears in the post-nominal position. It must be kept in mind that contrastiveness and emphasis operate on the same level.

One could align himself with Greenberg’s (1978) assertion that contrast is used by a speaker to mark a constituent as being in contrast with another structurally identical constituent; for example:

55. (a) Monna o gamile **pudi**. (reduced)
(The man milked a goat).
- (b) Aowa, monna ga se a game **pudi**, monna o gamile **kgomo**.
(No, the man did not milk a goat, the man milked a cow).
- (c) Aowa, **yena** ga se a game pudi, **yena** o gamile kgomo.
(No, **he** did not milk a goat, **he** milked a cow).

The above sentence 55 expresses what Langacker (1983) proposed, namely, that the crucial lexical opposition may be expressed in two ways in the surface structure, the negative/positive use of the same predicate from the use of a pair of antonyms. However, this is not our domain. We are only looking at the objects which are contrasted and pronominalised.

In conclusion, the following sentence can be examined in order to establish what Louwrens (1991) means by saying that contrast is especially used as a means of emphasising action; and what Chafe (1975) means by saying that in contrastive sentences those items which are new are always given high pitch, although in Northern Sotho the pitch is not prioritised when coming to such constructions.

56. Ga ke omanyane ke a bolela.
(I am not cursing, I am just talking).

But one can argue on the basis of Greenberg's (1978) proposal that languages used syntactic as well as phonological means to express contrastive emphasis (refer to 56 above). In the above examples, the coexistence of a noun and its coreferent pronoun is determined by the discourse context.

It is shown that pronominalisation of the object in Northern Sotho entails the object agreement morpheme and nominal determiners. Hence it is said that the object noun may coexist with the coreferent pronoun.

4.3.2 Pronominalisation of the subject

Pronominalisation of the subject in Northern Sotho entails the deletion of the antecedent. In order for pronominalisation to take place, according to Chafe (1970), it is necessary that the pronominalised noun be present in the semantic structure, where its identity of reference with another noun is established. Chafe (1970) continues to say that a lexical unit which is deleted leaves behind a trace in the form of certain non-lexical units that were semantically associated with it. The units it leaves behind form, according to Chafe (1970), surface structure pronouns. Thus a pronoun may acquire a secondary function after the subject noun is deleted. It will be discovered that to contrast the referent of the subject noun with another referent in the context of discourse, a pronoun occupies the post-nominal position. Consider the following:

57. (a) Mosadi o rata ngwana. (subject introduced)
(A woman loves the child).
- (b) **O** rata ngwana. (known and deleted)
(She loves the child).

In (b) the subject-verb agreement **O** functions as an anaphoric pronoun, after the noun is 'known' and deleted. In the following sentence, that is 58 below, the post-nominal position of a pronoun is shown.

58. Mosadi **yena** o rata ngwana.
(The woman (specifically) loves the child).

Note that the subject is followed by a pronoun in addition to the subject - verb agreement.

59. Mosadi o rata ngwana, monna **yena** o rata bjala.
(The woman loves the child, and the man likes liquor).

In the (59) sentence, the subject **monna** 'the man' is contrasted with **mosadi** 'the woman'. The pronoun **yena** signals the contrastive device.

It must also be noticed that there are other devices which can bring about contrast; for example, conjunctions like **eupša** in sentences like:

60. Mosadi o rata ngwana, **eupša** monna o rata bjala.
(The woman loves the child while the man likes liquor).

In 60 the conjunction **eupša** is used as a contrastive marker.

In both 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, it has been shown that for both the subject and the object, a pronoun is used in contrastive sentences once the coreferent noun is known. This is proved right by Chafe (1975) who maintains that a contrastive sentence conveys the information that the new semantic unit within it has been realised from various implied alternatives as the correct one to make the sentence a true sentence.

4.3.3 Contrast and the Subject Object – Verb Relationship

In sentences with subject-verb-object word order, a pronoun may either precede or follow the subject noun, while it may only precede the object noun, and never follow it; for example:

61. (a) **Yena** monna o rata dijo.
(The man (specifically) likes food).
- (b) Monna **yena** o rata dijo.
(The man (on the other hand) likes food).
- (c) Monna o rata **tšona** dijo.
(The man likes (on the other hand) food).
- (d) *Monna o rata dijo **tšona**.
*(The man likes food they)

It must be noted that the bolded words in 61 above are pronouns.

The ungrammaticality of 61(d) is due to the position of a pronoun which follows the object noun.

4.4. ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

The general definition of pronouns has been elicited in chapter 2. An absolute pronoun, according to Doke (1955), is that type of pronoun which, while indicating a certain noun, does nothing further than indicating. It in no way

describes or limits it, and is, in short a 'concord' converted into a complete word. Lombard (1985) argues that semantically speaking a pronoun indicates something concrete or abstract without being the name of the thing. Lombard (1985) claims that there are different kinds of pronouns in Northern Sotho and, apart from a common meaning which is characteristic of all pronouns, each has an additional meaning. An absolute pronoun, however, has no additional meaning. It merely stands in the place of the noun. But by prefixing secondary prefixes we may change its meaning and usability.

Lombard (1985) further indicates that an absolute pronoun, of course, always refers to a definite noun class; for example: **bona** 'they' to the **ba-** class. It may also appear with a noun and they are then said to be in apposition to one another. In such instances, as said above, it is usually used for emphasis; for example: *kgomo yona* (the cow itself) and also *yona kgomo* (the cow itself).

An absolute pronoun may also be used alone; for example: *O ra mang?* (Whom are you referring to?) With the answer being: "**Wena**" 'you'. It may also replace any noun as the object or subject of the sentence; for example: *Ke nyaka yona* (I want it), instead of *Ke nyaka mpša* (I want the dog).

Note, however, that an important characteristic of 'pronouns' or 'anaphoric elements' is that their signification can vary with one and the same discourse: that is to say '**wena**' (you), have a signification that can constantly shift as the discourse proceeds. It is this liability of the contextual determination of anaphoric elements that distinguishes them from lexical items that may also be said to be contextually modified.

Cole (1955) is of the opinion that pronouns are primarily emphatic in significance and are often used for purposes of contrast. But Cole (1955) further moves that when absolute pronouns are inflected by the addition of various prefix elements, as in the formation of possessives, copulatives and adverbs, they usually lose their emphatic significance. Doke (1957) is of the same opinion because he states that when absolute pronouns are inflected to form possessives, copulatives or adverbs, they are usually non-emphatic; for example:

62. (a) Ke nna.
(It is me).

(b) Ke **mo** iteile ka **yona**.
(I hit him with it).

These examples support what Doke (1957) means by stating that there is no emphatic case of use of an absolute pronoun when there are two pronominal objects to the same verb, i.e. **mo** and **yona** in 62(b).

With a compound subject or object, one member of which is pronominalised owing to its being in the previous context; for example:

63. (a) **Bona** le bana ba fihlile.
(They, together with the children, have arrived).

This is what is stated by Doke (1957) when he says that similar emphasis is expressed when an absolute pronoun is used in apposition to its noun; for example:

64. Dimpša **tšona** di ja nama mola dikgomo di fula bjang.
(Dogs eat meat when cattle graze grass).

Doke (1957) further states that the emphasis is retained if the inflected absolute pronoun is in apposition to the noun with which it agrees; for example:

65. Ke mo iteile ka **yona** thupa.
(I hit him with it, a stick).

The function of an absolute pronoun when used as subject or object, according to Doke (1957), is usually emphatic; for example:

66. **Yena** o rata kudu go bala dingwalwa.
(He likes reading literature).

Such emphasis is commonly shown when two absolute pronouns are used in contrast; for example:

67. Rena re bolela nnete, eupša **lena** le bolela maaka.
(We are speaking the truth but you are telling lies).

An absolute pronoun merely indicates the substantive to which it refers, and in no way limits or qualifies it as do the other types of pronouns like, **demonstratives**, **qualificatives** and **quantitatives**. The bolded so-called pronouns will be dealt with in the following section, generally, according to Greenberg (1978), deletion and substitution of pronouns or nominal expressions are common ways of introducing use of third person into the address system, i.e. pronouns are brought into prominence once the antecedent is deleted. Greenberg

(1978) further states that since pronouns in the third person are used to take the place of nouns and nominal expressions employed for reference in the same context, use of the third personal pronouns in address and self-reference is especially common in the speech of adults to young children; for example:

68. Bo papa **bona** ba tla go tlela malekere.

(Father them, they will bring you sweets).

Greenberg (1978) argues that the third personal pronoun is normally introduced into self-reference through substitution of nominal forms, proper names, common nouns or nominal expressions which also identify the speaker in the same place of discourse. Once the nominal form of reference has been employed, its replacement by a third person pronoun is determined by style and the requirement of textual **cohesion**. This is what is referred to as grammatical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion, as Hollo (2000) claims, may be achieved through the use of pro-forms, i.e. the grammatical items which may either co-referential or substitute. If the reference is to the same item as in the co-text, the link is said to be co-reference, in substitution the pro-form refers to a similar but different entity, i.e. a different token of the same type. According to Hollo (2000), if the linkage is by ellipsis, all mention of the original item is omitted the second time. It must be remembered that in anaphoric reference, the pro-forms point back, referring to items already mentioned. Hollo (2000) further states that grammatical cohesion is characterised by reduction, the maximally reduced option, ellipsis, generally being chosen whenever it is possible, especially in informal speech. It is noted that the purpose of such reduction is in part to avoid repetition and redundancy, and in part to force us to seek out for ourselves, in the adjacent text, the precise referent for the missing or vague items. It may also be mentioned that topics are often pronominalised: in prose fiction for example,

protagonists are usually referred to by personal pronouns; whilst in non-prose fiction pronoun reference is often made to sections of discourse rather than to concrete entities.

Pronouns, it must further be stated, usually agree in number with the nouns; for example:

69. (a) Monna **yena** o gama kgomo.
(The man, on the contrary, milks the cow).
- (b) **Yena**, o gama kgomo.
(He, on the contrary, milks the cow).

It is clear that the sentence in 69(a) cannot be :

- (c) *Monna o gama kgomo **yona**.
(*The man milks the cow it).

This is ungrammatical form that stems from the fact that a pronoun cannot follow the object noun. Doke (1974), on the question of agreement, states that the forms of the various pronouns of the third person show distinct concordial agreement with the various classes of nouns to which they refer; hence the form of these pronouns is regulated by the form of the noun prefix.

It was stated earlier that the grammatical agreement, which exists between a noun and a corresponding 'pronoun' which, appears in apposition to the antecedent, forms the cornerstone on which the deletion process rests. It is solely due to the agreement between these two words that a pronoun may acquire a

pronominal function when the noun is deleted, since it is this agreement which enables a pronoun to refer to exactly the same referent as the deleted noun. Consider again:

70. Matome **yena** ga se a bowe.
(Matome did not return).

As opposed to:

71. **Yena** ga se a bowe.
(He did not return).

The examples shown thus far illustrate the function of the so-called absolute pronouns in Northern Sotho. It should be clear by now that these words are used in apposition to nouns to fulfil one of two possible discourse functions; namely, emphasis or contrastiveness. The so-called absolute pronouns have no pronominal function when they are used in this way. They may, however, acquire a secondary function as pronouns when the antecedent noun is deleted.

In conclusion, Louwrens (1991) states that the kind of emphasis which is involved, whether it is the particularising of the subject or the contrasting thereof, will only be determined after the context of discourse in which an example occurs, has been analysed.

It is shown that whereas an absolute pronoun can appear either pre-nominally or post-nominally with regard to subject nouns, it may precede an object noun when the latter appears in its basic syntactic position, but may never follow it.

4.5. DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS

Just like the absolute pronouns, the demonstratives and quantitatives are not pronouns per se. They are determiners of nouns. Their semantic function is that they serve as qualificatives. There are no complications in their function, whether they appear post-nominally or pre-nominally, depending on the position of the demonstrative used. The important fact to be mentioned here is that the congruence between the qualificatives and their antecedents is compulsory. The agreement with the antecedent is coreferential once the information (antecedent) is known.

Cole (1955) states that absolute and demonstrative pronouns constitute the pronoun proper, being primitive forms which are not derived from any other part of speech. Cole (1955) argues that a feature of the primitive pronouns, an absolute and the demonstrative is that they are irreducible entities and cannot be broken up into elements which are identifiable as prefix or concords and stems, as in the case with nouns and qualificatives, though they may incorporate certain suffixal elements; for example: **a** as suffix to **yola**; more about this later. Nevertheless, Cole (1955) states further, they exhibit the characteristic alliterative relationship to the noun prefixes of their respective classes. Louwrens (1991) states further that demonstratives are primarily nominal determiners, which may acquire a secondary status as pronominal forms when antecedent nouns are deleted. This will be discussed in the proceeding chapter. Demonstratives indicate relative distance of the referent in relation to the speaker and addressee.

Demonstratives, just like personal pronouns and certain adverbs, according to Hendricks (1976), are deictic elements. Most of these same elements, Hendricks (1976) argues, can also be used anaphorically. Hendricks (1976) continues to say that deixis proper refers to the orientational features of language, which are relative to the time and place of utterance. This point is supported by Tool (1988) who says that the presence in any discourse of features such as **I** and **you** of tense choices, of discriminating adverbs and adjectives, means that discourse is consequently interpreted as grounded, or anchored, coming from a particular speaker at a particular place, at a particular time. Tool (1988) continues to say that deixis is the linguistic term for all those elements of a language that have a specific orientational function. According to Tool (1988), any text that contains deictic information is thereby understood as orientated from the spatio-temporal position that those deictics determine.

Lyons (1977) states that it is worth noting that what we now call demonstrative pronouns were referred to as deictic articles in earlier Greek tradition. By deixis, as understood by Lyons (1977), is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the fact of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee. Lyons is supported by Huddleston (1988) who states that an expression is used deictically when its interpretation is determined in relation to certain features of the utterance-act: the identity of those participating as speaker or writer and addressee, together with the time and place at which it occurs. It is thus important to say that Hendricks (1976) and Tool (1988) agree on the term deixis. Akmajian (1990) also basis his argument on the use of deixis on expressions, and supports the above-mentioned linguists by pointing out that an indexical or deictic expression is one that has an indexical use, and an indexical

use is a literal use to refer to something in virtue of its relation to the actual circumstances of the utterance.

4.5.1 The Deictic Function of the Demonstratives

With the above-mentioned information, one can now turn to the deictic function of the demonstrative pronouns, whose function according to Hall (1964), is that of pointing out. In pointing out, there is the speaker, the addressee, place and time. Traditionally, demonstratives are classified into different positions, depending on the demonstrative suffix which is employed. Three basic positions or distances are distinguished in Northern Sotho, i.e. the position close to the speaker which is **mo** (here); the position little removed from the speaker which is **moo** (there); and the position still further away from the speaker which is **mola** (yonder).

This is the traditional view on the demonstratives, which is based on deixis. The term deixis, as expounded above, is a concept which originated from the Greek traditional studies, meaning 'pointing' or 'indicating'. Therefore, it is not surprising then to learn that what is today called the demonstrative pronoun, was referred to as the deictic article in earlier Greek traditional studies. This term later found its way into the study of modern linguistics.

Certain roles are identified under the term deixis. Lyons (1977) states that deictic roles are derived from the fact that in normal language behaviour the speaker addresses his utterance to another person (or other persons) who are present in the situation, and may refer to himself, to the addressee(s) or to other persons and objects (whether they are in the situation or not) not by means of a name description, but by means of a personal or demonstrative pronoun, whose

reference is determined by the participation of the referent in the language-event at the time of the utterance. Moeketsi (1994) concurs with Lyons (1977) by stating that deixis is generally studied under five topics, namely: personal deixis; place deixis; time deixis; discourse deixis and social deixis.

Lyons further states that an utterance situation typically consists of at least one person, speaker, who normally addresses himself face-to-face to another; the hearer. The utterance could be about a third person, who could either be present or absent. It can also be about any other type of referent in the linguistic situation or outside in the extra-linguistic context of the discourse. The utterance is always made in a particular place at a particular time.

One important characteristic feature of the deictic terms mentioned in the above paragraph, is their egocentric nature. According to Bühler (1934), as understood by Wissenbom and Klein (1982: 9-30):

deictic expressions refer to an indexical field whose zero - the origo- is fixed by the person who speaks (the I), by the place of the utterance (the here), and by the time of utterance (the now).

It will be noticed how the speaker, just by virtue of being the speaker, casts himself in the role of ego. He is at the centre, that is, the origo, of the situation of utterance. He relates everything he says to his point of view. The central time is the time at which he produces his utterance, the central place, and his location at utterance time.

Levinson (1983) states that deixis concerns the way in which language grammaticalises features of the context of utterance or speech event. It concerns

the encoding of many different aspects of the circumstances surrounding the utterance, within the utterance itself.

The background given shows that with the development of study of language, the definition of deixis has shifted from mere 'pointing' or 'indicating' to a more specific notion whereby discourse participants, the time and place of utterance, the social and cultural circumstances of the interlocutors, and in fact the whole universe of discourse, are identified.

It will be noted that objects can be identified by social roles, places deixis and local deixis. Social roles, according to Lyons (1977), are culture specific functions, institutionalised in a society and recognised by its members. For example; in Northern Sotho, it can be stated clearly that the demonstratives **lena** and **bona** (you-plural) are used for grown-ups (especially in addressing them), and **wena** and **yena** (you-singular) are used for equals; for example: in sentences like **ke ra lena** (I mean you), referring to your father. Lyons (1977) further states that social roles may also determine the selection of personal pronouns and associated components of the grammatical structure of utterance.

According to Moeketsi (1994), place deixis is basically that part of spatial semantics in which the relationship between space and the location of the discourse participants and referents, in a natural conversation situation is shown. The physical bodies of the participants in a communication act are of the essence, and are taken as indispensable reference points for spatial specification. Moeketsi (1994) further points out that local deixis involves referring to the locations in space of discourse participants. However, the deictic space of speaker and addressee need not be identical for successful communication, but they must be sufficiently similar, such that, for example, the discourse referents

in the extra-linguistic context are identifiable by both. What seems to be of importance therefore, is that the discourse participants should agree about what actually constitutes their deictic space.

Place deictic seems to differ from language to language only in having two or three categories. English has two, namely, **proximal**, that is, near or at the speaker at utterance time (here, this) and **distal**, that is, away from the speaker at the time of speaking (there, that). Lyons (1977) states that demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, like in English 'this' and 'that', as well as demonstrative adverbs such as 'here' and 'there', are primarily deictic; and when they have this function, they are to be interpreted with respect to the location of the participants in the deictic context.

Local deixis in Northern Sotho, on the other hand, differentiates between three spatial regions, namely, **proximal**, **medial** and **distal**.

The following section classifies the demonstratives according to their different positions by means of their stems only, that is, without their prefixes, because in Northern Sotho and many African languages, the prefix of the demonstrative is determined by the prefix of the antecedent it qualifies.

Let us examine the following positions:

Position **one** is, according to Louwrens (1991), characterised by the roots **-o**, **-a** or **-e**; for example:

72. (a) Mosadi **yo** o a fokola.
(That woman is not well).

(b) Dinku **tše** ke tša ka.
(These sheep belong to me).

(c) Bana **ba** ke ba ka.
(These are my children).

From the above examples, it is discovered that the pragmatic uses of demonstratives refer to the physical context and are accompanied by some bodily gesture or gaze, which help to establish that referent. This view is based on Lyons' (1977) observation that deixis originate in the notion of gestural reference: this is, in the identification of the referent by means of some bodily gesture on the part of the speaker. Therefore any referring expression, as stated by Lyons (1977), which has the same logical properties, as a bodily gesture is, by virtue of that fact, deictic.

Position **two** is characterised by the suffix **-o**; for example:

73. (a) Mosadi **yoo** o a fokola.
(That woman is not well).

(b) Bana **bao** ke ba ka.
(Those children are mine).

Position **three** is characterised by the suffix **-la**; for example:

74. (a) Mosadi **yola** o a fokola.
(That woman (over there) is not well).

- (b) Dinku **tšela** ke tša Somo.
(Those sheep (over there) belong to Somo).

The above-mentioned three series of demonstratives represent the basic distances with reference to the speaker.

Looking at the examples provided, it is clear that what appears to be involved with the use of the demonstratives in Northern Sotho is another space which we might term thematic space. Like the use of the demonstrative reference as outlined for discourse space, some notion of proximity is involved in thematic space. In terms of thematic space, Gough (1992) states that the discourse entity is proximate, not in the sense that it has just been mentioned, but rather that it is close to the speaker's concern or centre of attention.

The proximate reference locates an entity close to the speaker. It is further argued that the implication for discourse is that a discourse entity referred to by means of the proximate demonstrative is also close to the speaker, not in terms of physical space, but in terms of discourse space.

Gough (1992) argues that the proximate demonstrative used, rather than specifically locating the relevant entity in terms of the area of discourse, locates that entity in the area of the narrator's thematic concern. In this way it appears that the demonstrative may act as a nominal topic marker.

Although Lombard (1985) is silent about the other type of demonstratives like **e**; **eno**; **ekhwi**; **euwe**; **ewe** and **ela**; it is a fact that variant forms exist in the spoken language and are even used in literature; such as:

75. (a) Mosadi **yokhwi**.
(This woman).
- (b) Kgomo **ewe/euwe**.
(That cow).
- (c) Kgomo **ela**.
(Yonder cow).

Such forms as used in (74) are realised in the Polokwane dialect, especially in the Sekhukhune district. This issue is emphasised by Louwrens (1991) when he concludes that **-uwe**, **-no** and **-khwi** are restricted to certain dialects. Louwrens (1991) mentions that Kotze (1985) made an important contribution since he explicated the factors which govern the usage of the different positions of demonstratives in Northern Sotho. Louwrens (1991) bases his arguments on one crucial assumption, that the deictic functions of demonstratives can only be correctly understood if three reference points are taken into consideration, namely the position of the speaker, the addressee and the object referred to relative to one another.

Louwrens (1991) further states that when the speaker, the addressee and the object referred to are taken as major reference points within a particular speech situation, the following functions of different positions of the demonstrative reveal themselves:

4.5.1.1 Demonstratives of position 1a

These demonstratives are used when the speaker and the addressee are close to one another, while the object referred to is relatively near them; for example:

76. (a) Mosadi **yo** ke wa ka.
(This one is my wife).

(b) Kgomo **ye** ke e humane maabane morago ga ge e ile ya timela
kgwedi tše pedi.
(I found this cow yesterday, after it was lost two months back).

In these situations, that is, 76(a)-(b), the speaker points towards a woman and a cow respectively.

4.5.1.2 Demonstratives of position 1b

These demonstratives are used in speech situations in which the speaker and the addressee are at a distance from each other, while the object referred to is directly next to the speaker and very often within his reach. These demonstratives are characterised by the suffixes **-khwi** and **-no**; for example:

(c) Kgomo **yekhwi** e ntšha mafsi a mantši, ka fao nka se e rekiše.
(I will not sell this cow because it gives much milk).

(d) Kgomo **yeno** e a lwala, ke swanetše go e hlabela.
(This cow is ill, I have to give it an injection).

4.5.1.3 Demonstratives of position 2 a

Such forms are used in speech situations in which the speaker and the addressee are relatively far apart, while the object referred to is near the addressee, but still some distance away from him; for example:

- (e) Nke o mpušetše kgomo **yeo**.
(Can you please drive that cow back to me).

According to Louwrens (1991), demonstratives of this position exhibit the suffix **-uwe** and refer to objects which are very close or directly close to the addressee, where the addressee and the speaker are some distance away from each other; for example:

- (f) A ke o buše dikgomo **tšeuwe** di tsene ka šakeng.
(Please drive those cattle back so that they can be driven into the kraal).

4.5.1.4 Demonstratives of position 3

These demonstratives are used in situations in which the speaker and the addressee are very close to one another, while the object referred to is far away from them. If they are some distance apart and a long way from the referent, the medial region, as stated above, comes into prominence. They are characterised by the suffixes **-la** or **-le**; for example:

- (h) Dikgomo **tšela** di ya mabeleng.
(Those cattle yonder are going to the mealie fields).

It can be further mentioned that, according to Ziervogel (1977), the demonstrative may either follow the noun to which it refers, or may precede it or may stand on itself; for example:

77. (a) Mosadi **yo**.

(This woman)

or

Yo mosadi.

(This woman).

or

Yo o a fokola.

(This one is not well).

The demonstrative may also be used after an absolute pronoun to indicate a particular person or object; for example:

(b) Ke rata **yena yo**.

(I love this very one).

4.5.2 The referential function of the Demonstratives

Let us examine the referential function of the demonstratives. Reference as noted by Tool (1988) is the semantic system whereby participants are identified in English text. This is the same pattern in all languages in which demonstratives are involved. Reference discusses a basic distinction between participants that the speaker thinks the addressee knows the identity of and those he introduces to the text.

Louwrens (1991) further states that demonstratives used referentially have no deictic meaning; that is, they do not refer to an object which is physically present in the speech situation. The referential usage of demonstratives is necessitated by the pragmatic need to refer back to a referent which has previously been mentioned in a given context of discourse. This can best be illustrated by referring to a text such as Matsepe's (1968:10-11):

“Na le tšwa neng go tsoma?”

“Ga se nke re eya”.

“Nama ye anthe ke ya eng?”

“Serapolotšwana”.

“Eng?”

“Serapolotšwana sa kgomo **yela** e bolailwego ke letlema”.

“Anthe e a lewa?”

“Ga se nama anthe...?”

“O hlatšišwa ke eng?”

“Serapolotšwana **seo** o se jago”.

“Ka mantšu a mangwe ke gore ke ja dibese ee!”

Leilane ga a ka a senya sebaka sa go mo thiba lehlatšo ka lepara...
mosadi **yoo** gwa se be ka **moo** a ka se tšhabelego ka lapeng le lengwe.

(“When were you from the hunting expedition?”

“ We have never been there”.

“What kind of meat is this one?”

“The still-born calf”.

“What?”

“It is the meat of that cow which was killed by Letlema, the animal disease”.

“Is it edible?”

“Isn’t it meat?” Then the woman started vomiting.

“What makes you sick?”

“The still-born which you are eating”

“Do you mean that I am eating rubbish!”

Leilane wasted no time. He hit her with a stick to stop her vomiting...

The poor woman could not stop, running to the neighbours for help)

In this text, **serapolotšwana** (the dead calf), **kgomo** (the cow) and **mosadi** (the woman) are known information, since they are introduced earlier in the story. When the speaker finds it necessary to refer back to these referents, he uses the demonstratives **yela**, **seo** and **yoo** in the phrases like **yela e bolailwego** (that which was killed), **seo o se jago** (that which you eat) and **mosadi yoo** (that woman), to indicate that **kgomo** (the cow), **serapolotšwana** (the calf) and **mosadi** (the woman) referred to here are exactly the same as those three which were under discussion earlier.

In conclusion it can be mentioned that demonstratives are used deictically. In 4.5.1 their appositional use to their antecedent; and their anaphorical use, that is, where the antecedents have been deleted; (refer to 77(a) above as illustrated). This is in line with what is established in chapter 3. This is the function of pronominalisation; that once the information is identified, it is regarded as old/given/known, and is liable for deletion. It is true, as stated by Tool (1988) that ‘given’ participants are realised through demonstratives, the definite article

and pronouns, whereas 'new' participants are presented in indefinite nominal groups.

It is true then that the demonstratives **yo** 'this' and **yola** 'that' are mostly used deictically. Deixis, as stated by Hall (1964), may involve a single two-way contrast; **this**, near the speaker; **that**, away from the speaker. This is not the case in Northern Sotho. It can be said, in emphasising Hall's (1964) contention, that it is noticed that the referents **yo** and **yola** normally differ in respect of their location: relatively close to the speaker in the case of **yo** 'this', relatively further away for **yola** 'that'. Mira (1990) is also of the opinion that demonstratives are quite often divided into proximal and distal ones, and a language may have a system of marking quite a few degrees of proximity and distances. Note that the proximity factor is not limited to spatial distance.

Givon (1979:295) has this to say about deictic terms:

...they may point to the most perceptually salient object figuring in the desired state, or direction where an invisible object is or a desired activity is to take place. Somewhat inconsistently, they may also 'point at the interlocutor, the desired agent of the action.

In their deictic use they are characteristically accompanied by some pointing gesture, although not necessarily, this is what makes the general term 'demonstrative' applicable. They are also used anaphorically, most often with the antecedent or absolute pronoun. Hendricks (1976) notes that the subtlety of the demonstratives consist in speaking of one thing and later point to it with a deleted name, as if it has become something else in the meantime, rather like a syllogism with the middle premise.

Finally, the demonstrative pronouns, as noted by Cole (1955), are normally used in reference to things which are in sight; but in narrative they may be used of things which have been seen at some time in the past, and in conversation they often refer to something which has been previously mentioned; for example:

78. Molwela-sefoka wa pele šo.

(The former boxing champion is this one).

Thus, according to Louwrens (1991), the referential function of the demonstrative is therefore observed in that it is used to refer back to referents which are already known to the reader.

4.6 QUANTITATIVES

The quantitative root in Northern Sotho is **-ohle**. These quantitatIVES in Northern Sotho can also be used just like the demonstrative and absolute pronouns. They are used as determiners and agree with the nouns, and obtain pronominal status once their antecedents are deleted. Cole (1955) defines a quantitative as a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by a quantitative concord. Crystal (1997) asserts that the quantitative is a term used in semantics or logical analysis, referring to a set of items which express contrasts in quantity, such as all, some, each. Crystal further states that the status of some of these items has particular significance in the construction of logical systems, and the distinctions made in logic between universal quantification. It must be realised that in some models of grammatical description quantifiers refer to a class of items expressing contrasts in quantity occurring with restricted distribution in the noun phrase; for example: **ka moka** 'much', **ka bontši** 'many'.

If quantitatives are regarded as qualificatives, then according to Cole (1955), the qualificatives include all words of qualificative type when acting as subject or object in a sentence, and are therefore having substantial function.

The root **-ohle** assumes pronominal status when it is used alone and is coreferential. Doke (1974) states that this pronoun is commonly used alone, but when used in apposition with its noun or absolute pronoun, it generally follows such noun or pronoun. This will be elicited in the examples to follow.

The root **-ohle** assumes the pronominal concords corresponding to the various classes, however, there is no form equivalent to class 1. Lombard (1985) states that the first group of the qualificative pronoun is characterised by the fact that the class prefix changes in accordance with the class of the noun which is qualified. This is further emphasised by him when he says that morphologically the quantitative pronoun consists of the concordial morpheme as the prefix. This concordial morpheme is obligatory.

Cole (1955) states that in Tswana there are two main types of quantitatives, that is, qualificative words which signify quantity or number, the **inclusive** stem **-hle/-tlhe** and the **exclusive** stem **-si**. This is also the case in Northern Sotho as Ziervogel (1977) mentions that there are two types of quantitatives in Northern Sotho, namely, **inclusive** and **exclusive** quantitatives. The **inclusive** quantitative is expressed by the root **-ohle**, whereas the exclusive quantitative is expressed by the noun **nnoši**. It could be said that the exclusive quantitative is not a quantitative pronoun, especially that Ziervogel (1977) mentions that it is a noun. This is true because neither Lombard (1985) nor Louwrens (1991) refers to it. It is also revealed by Trask (1993) when he argues that the quantifier is a determiner whose meaning expresses some notion of quantity, but some analysts

regard quantifiers as forming a distinct category from determiners, but the distinction is different to justify in syntactic terms.

It is noticed that **-ohle** (inclusive) expresses the English 'all, the whole' and **nnoši** (exclusive) expresses the English word 'alone'.

It has been mentioned earlier in this section that the quantitative can be used in apposition to the nouns expressed or it may stand alone. Consider the following examples:

79. (a) Lerole **lohle** le tsene ka ntlong.
(All the dust has settled in the house).

(b) **Lohle** le tsene ka ntlong.
(All the dust has settled in the house).

The observation above suggests that the quantitative precedes or follows the noun it qualifies. It is revealed that 79(a) shows that the quantitative can be used in apposition to the noun, whereas 79(b) reveals that the quantitative is used anaphorically.

Observe that it is revealed that once the antecedent is known, as shown by 79(a) above, it can be deleted because it is then old/given information; refer to 79(b) sentence above.

It is also revealed that Northern Sotho has no exclusive quantitative pronoun, however, this meaning can be expressed by the noun **nnoši**; for example:

80. (a) Monna o **nnoši**.
(The man is alone).

Or it can be expressed by the *instrumental ka* or *copulative verb le* which precede **nnoši**. If this is the case, **nnoši** is pronounced **noši**, with only one n; and the meaning is also that of alone; for example:

- (b) Monna o phumile ntlo ye ka **noši**.
(The man demolished this house alone).
- (c) O tsuba a le **noši**.
(He is smoking being alone).

In conclusion it can be mentioned that the root **-ohle** assumes the pronominal status once the antecedent is deleted, and can be used in apposition with its antecedent. In most African languages the vowels of the inclusive quantitative root **-ohle -o** and **e** and these are always of raised semi-open quality.

To sum up this chapter, we think that none of the arguments presented is irrefutable. It should have become clearer, however, that no straightforward solution suggests itself, and any attempt at despending with deletion and substitution has to account for the asymmetries between syntax and semantics pointed out in the previous chapters.

4.7 SUMMARY

In chapter 4 we discussed the pronominalisation of the determiners; looked at the concepts emphasis and contrastiveness. We realised that a proper name may

appear twice in the middle of the sentence. This seems strange. It was discovered that where the referent is brought up more than once in the same context, pronominalisation becomes the rule, but yet there are cases where the repetition of a nominal is preferred to pronominalisation.

We realised that pronominalisation of the subject in Northern Sotho entails the deletion of the antecedent. We looked at the demonstratives. Demonstrative substitution in Northern Sotho is made by the pronouns **yo**, **yoo** and **yola**, which differ by class-cleavage, from the limiting adjective, or by phrases consisting of these limiting adjectives plus anaphoric one. We discovered that demonstrative substitution-types are not always fully distinct from definite, and similarly, demonstrative limiting modifiers may merge with mere definite markers of the type. Again it was discovered that many languages distinguish more types of demonstrative substitution. Substitutions frequently are tied up with special syntactic functions, that is, they are confined to certain positions in the sentence. It is noted that some languages have special pronouns for predicative use.

We also discussed sentences in which the subject-verb-object word order, a pronoun may either precede or follow the subject noun, while it may only precede the object noun, and never follow it. We also discussed demonstratives as deictic elements. We realised that deictic position occur in perhaps all languages, which serves to express distinctions of reference, particularly with respect to location. According to Trask (1993), deictic systems are almost always egocentric, that is, they express location primarily with reference to the speaker, though they may secondarily include reference to the addressee or to other entities. We realised that deictic systems always include reference to distance, though they may also involve reference to other dimensions, such as direction visibility, size, motion or previous mention.

We also discussed the demonstratives of 1a and b, 2a and position 3. We further demonstrated the referential function of the demonstratives. It was discovered that the referential usage of demonstratives is necessitated by the pragmatic need to refer back to a referent which has previously been mentioned in a given context of discourse. Furthermore, quantitatives were discussed. It was realised that they assume pronominal status once the antecedent is deleted, and can also be used in apposition with their antecedents.

We dealt with anaphors and apposition. We discovered that anaphor, according to Trask (1993), is an item with little or no intrinsic meaning or reference which takes its interpretation from another item in the same sentence or discourse-its antecedent. Therefore pronouns are the most anaphors, but pro-bars, pro-VPs and pro-sentences also exist. We noted that traditional grammarians restricted the term “anaphor” to an item which follows the antecedent, preferring cataphor for similar items which precede their antecedents, but the distinction seem to be without significance and is not normally made today. We discussed the appositiveness of the noun phrase, in which a noun phrase which immediately follows another noun phrase of identical reference, of which the whole sequence behaving like a single noun phrase with respect to the rest of the sentence. Therefore, one agrees with Trask (1993), who argues that appositives are most typically non-restrictive: the reference of the first noun phrase is clear, and the appositive serves only to provide additional information. An appositive is said to be in apposition to the preceding noun phrase.

In summing up this chapter, one would agree with Lyons (1977) that the term “pronoun” carries quite different implications from “article”. It suggests that the characteristic function of pronouns is to operate as substitutes for nouns. But to say that pronouns deputise syntactically and semantically for nouns and that this

is their primary, or basic, function is seriously misleading in two respects: Firstly of all, it fails to draw the distinction between nouns and nominals, and they are syntactically equivalent to nominals, not nouns. Secondly, to say that pronouns are primarily substitutes, whether for nouns or nominals, is to imply that their anaphoric function is more basic than their deictic function.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSION

The main objective of this concluding chapter is to give a summary and the recommendations about the findings of this research paper. The research paper in totality is concerned about the impact of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho.

Our goal was to answer the following question about Northern Sotho: Under what conditions can a definite noun phrase be used to pronominalise an identical noun phrase? Reibel (1969) asserts that the analysis to be followed in this regard is essentially neutral with respect to various alternative ways of representing pronominalisation in a generative grammar. For example, it makes no difference for our purposes whether a single transformational rule or whether a series of operations is involved to effect pronominalisation. Likewise, it makes no difference whether reducing fully specified underlying noun phrases derives pronouns or whether they are present in deep structure (although we have adopted the former alternative for purposes of our exposition).

It could be mentioned that one function of natural languages, perhaps even their prominent ones, is to convey information, where information means a description of the way things are. One peculiarity of natural language use, or presumably human communication in general, as observed in this research paper, is that it does not just randomly convey information, but does so in an orderly way. We typically relate what we say to the things said before, link them to the information given in previous discourse (refer to new/old information above). In that way, information grows like a tree. The information is not normally given in unrelated bits and pieces.

We have attempted to embed our treatment within a formal theory of syntax and semantics. The research is organised as follows: in chapter 1 we presented the basic assumptions underlying this paper. Chapter 1 devoted to the definition of terms used in this work. In chapter 2 we presented a formal characterisation of pronominalisation, in particular deletion and substitution. We introduced a formal presentation of certain aspects of discourse and a number of conditions which restrict the operation of pronominalisation. This means that there are certain constraints which prohibit pronominalisation to operate.

In chapter 3 we introduced what we call the syntactic environments under which pronominalisation operates. After a brief discussion of such environment, we explored its pragmatic effects and proposed to give it a uniform semantic interpretation which merely consists of, according to Büring (1997), a characterisation of its appropriateness conditions and its implications. This is formally implemented in the form of sets of propositions, which we call pronominalisation-semantic values. In chapter 1 to 3 we also provided the relevant definitions to interpret the logical language in terms of such objects.

In chapter 4 we discussed the pronominalisation of the determiners. The upshot of these three chapters; that is chapters 2, 3, and 4, is that the general treatment of pronominalisation in Northern Sotho given in chapter three, in particular, combined with a proper syntactic analysis and huge “chunk of pragmatics, can explain all these phenomena without any additional assumptions”. As we said before, this research combines aspects of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. We therefore tried to keep specific presuppositions to a minimum, introducing every ingredient on quite an elementary level.

We have seen that the linear order of constituents is relevant for pronominalisation when NP1 and NP2 are separate conjoined structures and when they are in the same simple sentence structure. Again another observation which may be pertinent concerns the relative importance of a subject NP and a direct object NP. According to Reibel (1969), the subject is on a par with the predicate as one of the two major constituents of a sentence, whereas the direct object (when there is one) is only one several constituents of the predicate. Thus it is interesting in the present context to observe that it is much more common in languages for the subject to precede the object in normal word order than for the object to precede the subject. Though they may prove nothing in themselves, these facts are at least compatible with the contention that A tends to assume some degree of primacy over B when A precedes B.

The study on the pronominalisation of pronouns has revealed that the absolute pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, adjective pronoun, relative pronoun and quantitative pronouns are deprived of their accompanying antecedents. They automatically lose their characteristics and obtain the pronominal status. The demonstratives of Northern Sotho are determiners on the surface structure as well as pronouns. These are grammatical determiners, which show congruent with their antecedents. We realised that the demonstrative is also a pronoun which, like other pronouns, indicates something concrete or abstract, but has the additional meaning of indicating position relative to the speaker, and thus indicates here, there and yonder. Lombard (1985) states that the demonstrative can be used together with the noun to which it refers, either before or after the noun; for example: **motho yo** or **yo motho**. It is realised that the latter is not often used. Therefore the demonstrative and noun are in apposition to each other. When the demonstrative is used together with the noun, it qualifies the noun. This is not the only function of the demonstrative because it is also used to

link the adjective and relative to the noun; for example: **monna yo a sepelago** (the man who is walking); **ntlo ye kgolo** (a big house).

It is better to give a general definition of the term determiner by starting from the notion of definiteness of reference. From the preceding chapters, it has been demonstrated that a determiner is any element whose function it is to enter into the structure of referring expressions and to determine their reference as definite rather than non-definite.

Since Northern Sotho has no definite article, the demonstrative adjective satisfies the criteria for determiners. Determiners are, therefore, modifiers, which combine with nouns to produce expressions whose reference is thereby determined in terms of the identity of the referent. A determiner explains the membership of a subset of a set of entities which is being referred to.

It was discovered that the antecedent of an anaphoric pronoun is an expression, which, as the term 'antecedent' implies, normally precedes the correlated anaphoric pronoun in the text or co-text. In certain languages, and under certain conditions, the antecedent may follow the correlated anaphoric pronoun.

Certain grammarians regard the absolute pronouns of Northern Sotho as words, which can substitute nouns in sentences. This is the Dokean theory, which does not hold water anymore.

We have dealt with two principles, namely substitution and deletion in the analysis of pronominalisation. Underlying the notion of anaphoric reference is the principle of substitution, in the sense in which Bloomfield (1979) and his followers use the term 'substitution'; but there are, in fact, two different ways of

defining the notion of anaphoric reference. One can say that a pronoun refers to its antecedent: and this is perhaps the more traditional formulation of the relation between a pronoun and its antecedent.

Alternatively, one can say that an anaphoric pronoun refers to what its antecedent refers to. From the given information one can say that according to the deletion hypothesis, pronominalisation does not result from the substitution of a pronoun for a noun, but rather from the deletion of the antecedent noun which appears in apposition to a pronoun.

Pronominalisation may be viewed as, first of all, an economical textual device. But there are limits to its use; for example: where ambiguity might arise, pronominalisation tends to be avoided, and there are other constraints on its use.

In this research, the researcher examined the relationship between full noun phrases and pronouns in a discourse context. The basic generalisation that can be made about pronouns in discourse is that, within a given sentence, a pronoun occurs after the specific mention of a referent. In these cases, the choice of full noun phrases or pronoun appears to be completely optional.

Despite this, and other similar examples, optional pronominalisation at the discourse level does not exist; pronominalisation is in fact controlled by sentence level constraints. In fact, Reibel (1969) argues that the strong implication of most contemporary treatments is that the choice of pronominals is dictated, if at all, purely by the intended meaning of the sentence. We have noticed that pronominalisation often applies freely once a referent is introduced. The choice of full noun or phrase or pronoun thus contributes to the organisation of sentences. In essence, a full noun phrase is used to indicate semantically

prominent information, while a pronoun is used to indicate information that is less prominent semantically.

This alternative formulation, according to Lyons (1977), which is based on a quite different sense of the term 'refer', has the advantage of bringing anaphoric reference within the scope of the current philosophical concept of reference, and more important, to relate anaphora and deixis in terms of a single notion of pronominal reference.

Furthermore, by adopting this alternative, less traditional usage of the term 'refer', we can avoid the confusion that often arises in modern treatments of anaphora. Henceforth we will not say that a pronoun refers to its antecedent, but rather that it refers to the referent of the antecedent expression with which it is correlated.

The conditions under which the deletion of the antecedent takes place are determined by the pragmatics of discourse, namely, when the noun's referent is presupposed to be known, that is given information.

The alternative is to say that language is not only used in particular circumstances, at particular times and places by speakers and addressees to send and receive particular messages of interest, but the words may reveal a particular reference into the particular context. This process of expressing information as revealed in chapter 4, which a speaker can assume is accessible to his addressee from the context of utterance is called deictic reference. According to Posthumus (1988), everyday language-utterances are made in a particular place, at a particular time and by a particular person (the speaker) and are addressed to some other person (the addressee). The notion of deixis is therefore introduced

to handle these orientational features of language, which are relative to the time, place and speech participants in a language-utterance. The speaker is always at the centre of the situation of utterance.

It is observed that the main hypothesis is that deictic expressions refer to a deictic field of language whose zero point – the origo- is fixed by the person who is speaking, the central place being the speaker's location at the time of speech and the central time being the time at which the speaker encodes the utterance. By emphasis one means the part which is placed first; that is, given precedence over the others in the mind of the speaker; for example:

81. (a) **Banna** ba rata bjala. (Men like liquor).

Uppermost in the mind.

(b) **Bjala**, banna ba a bo rata. (It is liquor what men like).

Uppermost in the mind.

(c) **Ba a bo rata** bjala banna. (Men like liquor too much).

Uppermost in the mind.

- It is not easy to use pronouns sentence initially.
- Nouns, which appear in the basic subject position, may either be emphasised or contrasted.
- Nouns which appear in the basic object position may only be emphasised and never contrasted.
- If the context requires the object noun to be contrasted, it must obligatorily be moved to the left of the verb, for example:

82. (a) Dijo **tšona** monna o a di rata.
(The man likes food).

(b) Monna dijo **tšona** o a di rata.
(The man likes food itself).

(c) **Tšona** o a di rata.
(He likes them).

- Contrastive objects are therefore obligatorily moved to the left of the verb.

Most of our grammarians on demonstratives in African languages have concentrated on hypothetical constructs, which are, in my opinion, of less importance. To a large extent, much concentration has been on the category membership of the demonstrative. Some grammarians such as Doke, take the demonstrative as a pronoun while others regard it as a qualificative. The other hypothetical construct that grammarians have stressed is the formation of this demonstrative.

One definitely agrees with those who maintain that agreement between the head noun and the demonstrative is based on the noun prefix. This is true not for demonstratives alone, but also for all qualificatives.

Markers for the different positions relative to the speaker are attached after the noun prefix of the noun qualified by the demonstrative.

We have demonstrated in this research that a clearer understanding of apposition can be obtained if it is viewed as a grammatical relation whose realisations have specific syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics. We have also shown that the study of a grammatical category (in this case apposition) can be greatly enhanced, according to Altenberg (1991) by text corpora: they provide researchers with a wealth of linguistic data upon which to base their explanations, and they allow these explanations to include information on the actual use of the construction being studied. As the development of text corpora continues, they ought to play an increasingly important role in linguistic description and linguistic theory. Altenberg (1991) argues that apposition is best viewed as a grammatical relation having various realisations. These realisations, in turn, have specific syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics that both define the relation of apposition and distinguish it from other grammatical relations.

In this research we discussed the realisations of apposition we found in the corpora we investigated, and then described some of their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics. Syntactically, it is realised that apposition is a grammatical relation between two or more units that can be analysed in terms of their syntactic form, their syntactic function and their continuity. It must be emphasised that even though apposition is realised by a variety of syntactic forms, it is predominantly a relation between two noun phrases.

When discussing the semantics of apposition, we realised that units in apposition are typically coreferential. Altenberg (1991) seems to be right when he states that from the point of view of information structure, apposition is a relation in which the second unit provides new information about the first unit and 'adds' to the flow of discourse. According to Altenberg, this characteristic of

apposition explains two tendencies that were present in the corpora: appositions were especially common in some genres, and certain semantic classes of apposition occurred much more frequently in some genres, than in others. Accordingly this skewed distribution indicates that appositions were communicatively more necessary in some genres than in others. Specifically, appositions are most necessary in genres characterised by a degree of shared knowledge.

In conclusion we can mention that language is a fascinating object of study, and what we have managed to consider in this research is only a small part of it. Language is complex, but it has order, organisation, and structure or otherwise we would be unable to use it for communicating with each other. We hope that this research has shown the reader some of the ways in which aspects of language we call grammar and meaning combine to enable the multitude of communication functions that we call up language to serve, and we hope that it will stimulate the readers to go on with the study of language in all its richness and diversity.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The research paper suggests the following recommendations:

- ❖ Pronominalisation deals with pronouns and other proforms which are frequently used anaphorically to avoid repetition. This is done unconsciously.
- ❖ That there is a considerable variation in the use of pronouns in Northern Sotho. This variation has a pragmatic explanation.

- ❖ That we must realise that members of the word-class of nouns most often represent participants. A noun is not generally restricted to a particular participant role in the way that verbs are associated with particular states, events or actions. When we communicate, these aspects are brought into prominence.

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