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**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN
LANGUAGE STUDIES**



EDITED BY ROBERT K. HERBERT

AFRICAN STUDIES • C. M. DOKE CENTENARY

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The first issue of 1994 marks the beginning of a new era for **African Studies**. Aiming to bring southern African scholarship back home, and to reflect the immediacy and vibrancy of local debate, **African Studies**, guided by its new editorial board and committee, is broadening its disciplinary focus and intellectual scope.

With the transformations under way in South African society and in South African academic establishments, **African Studies** aims to provide a forum for the local publication of the kind of scholarly output which, in the heyday of the academic boycott, was mainly published in British or US journals.

African Studies plans to reflect something of the unique quality of debate taking place within southern African universities. The end of the academic boycott has facilitated South Africa's re-entry into the field of international scholarship, which has made for a freer exchange of ideas between local academics and those from abroad or from other parts of Africa who have started to visit the region or to commence research here. Conferences have been held locally on areas as diverse as ethnicity, reconceptualising class, ethnomusicology, and oral performance, with extensive support and attendance both by local scholars and by those from abroad and from the rest of Africa. In the ensuing interaction, metropolitan concerns have been transformed and recast in the light of indigenously-generated ideas and debates.

Arising out of these debates are new areas of research, and innovative perspectives on old ones. As well as providing a forum for the publication of such work, **African Studies** will offer review articles on topics of current concern and publish sets of articles centred on thematic issues of local interest. Commentary and critique on conferences and workshops are provided in **Notes and Reports**, while our **Debates and Correspondence** section will offer readers an opportunity to express their views and to engage in discussion about matters of contention. These additional sections in the journal are designed, in part, to give readers an up-to-date overview of those issues which are of immediate concern to the local scholarly community.

While mirroring the character of local debate, the journal aims as well to contribute to broader and more international debates in the field of studies on Africa. Based at the University of the Witwatersrand and published by the Witwatersrand University Press, the journal's wide range of referees, both within southern Africa and beyond the country, will ensure that parochial concerns are transcended and will allow for a broad spectrum of insights into African studies.

First published as **Bantu Studies** in 1921, the journal included among its early editors and contributors many pioneering scholars in anthropology and linguistics: Schapera, Gluckman, Marwick, Mayer, Vilakazi, Rheinallt Jones, Doke and Cole. Most recently, the journal was edited by WD Hammond-Tooke, assisted by an Editorial Committee of PL Bonner, NJ Pines and T Traill, and an Advisory Board. Building on this legacy, the journal aims now to cast its net more broadly and to include history, sociology, politics, and literary and cultural studies.

ARTICLES

The Mystery of the Blue Ostriches: Clues to the Origin and Authorship of a Supposed Rock Painting

TA Dowson, PV Tobias and JD Lewis-Williams

The Social Origins of African Methodism in the Orange Free State, 1895-1913

Jim Campbell

Households and Gender in a South African Bantustan

A World Turned Upside Down: Households and Differentiation in a South African Bantustan in the 1990s

John Sharp

Angry Men and Working Women: Gender Relations and Economic Change in Qwaqwa in the 1980s

Leslie Bank

Disharmonious Spouses and Harmonious Siblings: Conceptualising Household Formation among Urban Residents in Qwaqwa

Isak Niehaus

Households and Gender in a South African Bantustan: A Comment

Henrietta Moore

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Beyond the Buzzwords: Report on a Workshop, Albert Einstein Civics Project, 18-21 August 1993.

Colin Bundy

Report on the 11th Symposium on Ethnomusicology held at Natal University Durban, 23-25 August 1993.

Carol Muller and Deborah James

Report on the Conference of the Association for Anthropology in Southern Africa, held at the University of the Witwatersrand, September 1993.

Chris de Wet

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Anthropology of Clothing and the Body

The Symbolic Significance of 'Traditional' Herero Dress

Hildi Hendrikson

A Man of Splendid Appearance: Angas's *Utimuni*, Nephew of Chaka the Late Zulu King

Sandra Klopper

Ethnicity in Africa

The Colonial and Post-Colonial Creation of Ethnic Identities in North-western Ghana

Carola Lentz

Ethnicity as Cultural Mediation and Transformation in Central-western Zambia

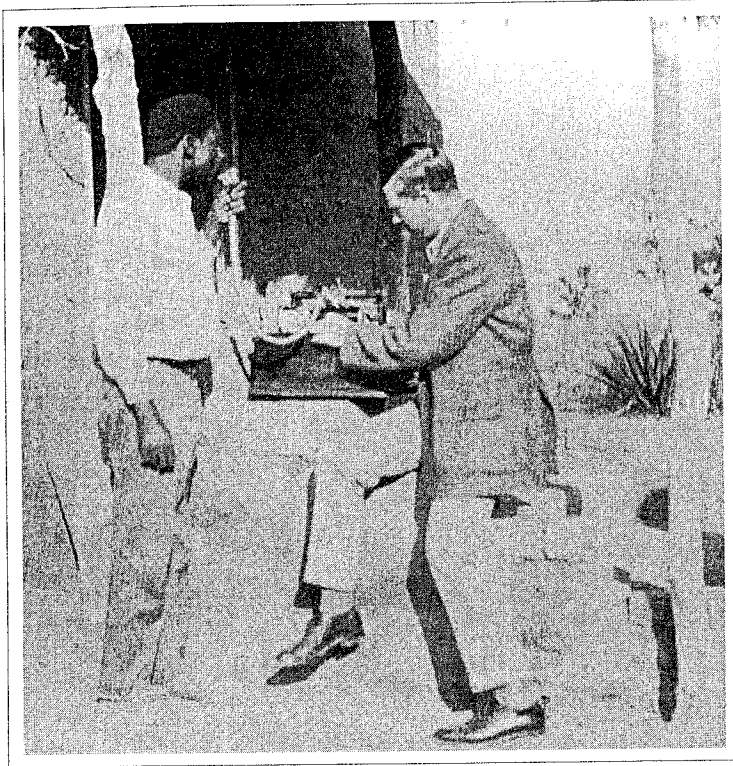
Wim van Binsbergen

DEBATES AND CORRESPONDENCE

Karin Barber on post-colonial theory

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Recording data in the field: C M Doke with a Shona-speaking informant, 1929
(Photo courtesy of Mrs G M Nixon)

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WUP

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Not With One Mouth

An Introduction

R. K. Herbert

Akanwa kamo ta komfwa bwalwa.
One mouth doesn't taste the beer.

Umulandu to wama akanwa kamo.
A case is not satisfactory at one mouth.

Lamba proverbs

The title of the present collection *Not with One Mouth* derives from the two Lamba proverbs cited above. The common element in these proverbs is the focus on community – scholarly community in the present application – rather than on individual responsibility and judgement. In the first case, beer must be passed around for all to pronounce the verdict as to whether or not it is ready to drink. In the second proverb we are reminded that one person cannot satisfactorily settle a dispute: many witnesses need to give the evidence before the case is clear. Each proverb, then, is an appeal for broadly based co-operation or, at the very least, reminds us of the value of hearing several voices in a critical evaluation.

Such an appeal is appropriate in the field of African language studies in Southern Africa today. The discipline finds itself at a crossroads in its development as the region prepares for new social and educational dispensations. There is a need, now, to consider the foundations of the discipline and assess its present state so that practitioners may actively assist in the process of transformation and enable others to participate in

the new dispensations. Indeed, the increased awareness of language as a key variable in public and private domains of everyday life has forced a new consideration of the past and future of language studies in Southern Africa.

The Lamba source of these introductory proverbs is entirely appropriate, given the intimate association between Lamba studies, both linguistic and anthropological, and C M Doke. It is no exaggeration to claim that Clement Martyn Doke is the single most important figure in the history of Southern African linguistics. That the linguistic documentation for this area is among the most complete on the African continent, and that the standard of language scholarship is as high as it is can in some real measure be attributed to the genius of C M Doke and the generation of scholars which he inspired.

Doke was one of the first Africanists to free African language study from the constraints of classical and European models and to develop a method for linguistic analysis based upon structures within the African languages themselves. The 'Dokean model' continues to be the dominant approach within educational establishments in Southern and Central Africa, although certain shortcomings and limitations in it have been apparent for some time. Doke's classification of the Bantu languages was for many years the accepted view of the interrelations among the African languages. Further, his works on linguistic historiography, lexicography, and grammatical description of the languages of Southern Africa remain valuable references for the analyst today.

The celebration of the C M Doke Centenary (1893-1993) provides us with an appropriate forum in which to consider the discipline critically, in particular Doke's shaping influence upon it. The present collection originates with papers which were first presented at a special Doke Centenary Session sponsored by the African Language Association of Southern Africa (ALASA) at its international conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand in July 1993. A range of distinguished scholars were invited to address the topic of change and continuity in their respective subdisciplines, with particular attention to the contributions of C M Doke. The invitation was neither to praise nor bury Doke but rather to assess his lasting influence – for good and for bad.

Doke's contributions to literature were considerably more limited than his linguistic work, but his influence on Bantu philology spans the range of subdisciplines. An evaluation of Doke's role is, then, an evaluation of the discipline itself. Doke retired from academic life more than four decades ago, and it is not surprising that many of his findings have been

superseded by later research; this fact does not diminish the centrality of his contributions.

Like several other prominent Africanists of his generation, Doke entered the world of scholarly research from a missionary background. His first service was as a missionary for the South African Baptist Church in Lambaland, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). He served in this capacity during the period 1914-1921. In one of the first entries in his diary, Doke noted that one of his greatest frustrations in mission work was his inability to communicate with the Lamba. There were, of course, no textbooks for the language and the only written material available included a translation of Jonah and a collection of forty-seven translated hymns. Nevertheless, Doke soon set out to master the language, and published his first book *Ifintu Fyakwe Lesa* (The Things of God, a Primer of Scripture Knowledge in Lamba) in 1917. His interest in language led him to enrol in Johannesburg at the extension of Transvaal University College for an M.A. during his first furlough in 1919. His thesis was published as *The Grammar of the Lamba Language*. Doke had not yet established his innovative method of analysis and description for the Bantu languages, and the book is couched in traditional grammatical terms. His later publication, *Textbook of Lamba Grammar*,¹ is a far superior work.

This brief introduction is not the appropriate forum in which to discuss in detail any of Doke's many contributions to African linguistics. However, Doke's role in the unification and development of the Shona language cannot go without mention. At the request of the government of Southern Rhodesia, Doke investigated the range of dialect diversity among the languages of the country and made recommendations for 'Unified Shona'. His recommendations, accepted in broad outline, formed the basis for Standard Shona and, although there have been several sets of revision of Doke's principles for the orthography and word-division, it is not an exaggeration to name Doke the 'father' of Standard Shona. Whether the lessons of Shona unification will prove instructive in the various proposals to harmonise closely related languages in South Africa remains an open question.

Although not an active contributor as such, Doke was also an important force in the promotion of 'native literatures' in South Africa. He continued to work in the field of translation throughout the period of his career as a linguist and in his retirement. His major contributions here were of a practical nature, most of them involving Lamba, the language which he first learned in the mission field.

It was only on account of serious health problems that Doke retired from the mission field.² The missions' loss was a distinct gain for the newly-founded University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Doke was recruited and sent to London for formal training in Bantu linguistics and ethnology. He took up his post at the University in 1923 in the country's first Department of Bantu Studies. He moved quickly through the academic ranks, and was appointed Professor of Bantu Languages in 1931. Doke served at the University until his academic retirement in 1953.

Doke's numerous 'contributions to science and humanity' were marked by the award of the degree D.Litt. (*h.c.*) by Rhodes University and the degree Doctor of Laws (*h.c.*) by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1972, its diamond jubilee year. In its award citation, the latter university noted that Doke had

rendered outstanding and distinguished service to the University, to African linguistic studies, to the Christian Church and its missions, to the development of the Bantu languages as literary media, to African education, to the African peoples of the whole Southern African continent.

There is no need to review any further details of Doke's professional life here since several short biographies are available.³ It is more appropriate in the present context to allow the 'mouths' of the several contributors to take up relevant details and to evaluate the Dokean legacy in their individual fields. Similarly, the reader is invited to 'taste' what is offered here.

Akanwa kamo ta komfwa bwalwa.

NOTES

1. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1938.
2. Doke's own account of his seven years as a missionary among the Lamba can be read in *Trekking in South-Central Africa* (repr. Witwatersrand University Press, 1993).
3. The most accessible short biography of C. M. Doke is that by G. Fortune entitled 'Clement Martyn Doke: A Biographical and Bibliographical Sketch', appearing in *The Catalogue of the C.M. Doke Collection on African Language in the Library of the University of Rhodesia*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1972, pp. v-xix. Cf. also the present author's 'Contextualising a Missionary's Trek', in *Trekking in South-Central Africa*, pp. xi-xl.

C.M. Doke List of Publications and Manuscripts

1913

A missionary tour in north-western Rhodesia. *South African Baptist*, November, pp. 158-162.

1917

Through a land of streams. *Lambaland* No. 2, 3pp.

Lamba sketches: I. Lwambula and Walichupa. *Lambaland* No. 4, 1p.

Akasiwa ka Wenamofya. *Lambaland* No. 4, 2pp.

Ifintu Fyakwe Lesa (Primer of Scripture Knowledge in Lamba). South African Baptist Missionary Society. 22pp. (Several later editions: 2 ed. published at Kafulafuta, 1920.)

1918

The children of the forests. *Lambaland* No. 6, 1p.

Some strange Lamba beliefs. *Lambaland* No. 6, 1p.

Lamba sketches: II. Kasakambando. *Lambaland* No. 6, 1p.

Kace-Kace (Lamba Reading Book, No. 1; 2 ed. revised). South African Baptist Missionary Society. 16pp. (Several later editions.)

Ifisimikisyo (Lamba Reading Book, No. 2. Lamba Folk Tales). South African Baptist Missionary Society. 72pp. (Several later editions.)

Mako (Gospel of Mark in Lamba). London, Bible Translation Society. 68pp.

1919

With the gospel on the Lufwanyama. *Lambaland* No. 10, 3pp.

WaNsaka. *Lambaland* No. 11, 1p.

- ✓ The country of the Lamba people. *South African Geographical Journal* 3: 55-65.

1921

Ukulayana Kwa Wukumo (New Testament in Lamba). London, Bible Translation Society. 626pp.

Some notes on the infinitive in Bantu. *Bantu Studies* 1: 3-4.

1922

Jona (Book of Jonah in Lamba; 2 ed. revised). London, Trinitarian Bible Society. 7pp.

Ibuku Lyakwe Lufi (Book of Ruth in Lamba). London, Trinitarian Bible Society. 12pp.

Icewō cakwe Samweli Umwanike (Story of the Child Samuel in Lamba). London, Trinitarian Bible Society. 8pp.

Ukwikalo 'kuweme (Lamba Reading Book, No. 3. Health Reader illus.). South African Baptist Missionary Society. 48pp.

- ✓ *The Grammar of the Lamba Language*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. ix, 157pp.

1923

A dissertation on the phonetics of the Zulu language. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 2: 685-729.

Social control among the Lambas. *Bantu Studies* 2: 35-41.

Notes on a problem in the mechanism of the Zulu clicks. *Bantu Studies* 2: 43-45.

1925

An outline of the phonetics of the language of the (hū: Bushmen of north-west Kalahari. *Bantu Studies* 2: 129-165.

The linguistic aspect. In "Native Affairs", *The Natives of South Africa: An Ethnographic Review*. Official Yearbook, Union of South Africa, No. 8. Department of Census and Statistics. pp. 964-965.

Die Bantoetale. *De Volkstem*, 11 December.

The Qhung Bushmen of the Kalahari. *The Star*, 2 May.

The Bushmen – the need of the gospel. *South African Baptist*, May.

Bush Babies. *Young Africa*, December.

- ✓ The Qhung Bushmen of the Kalahari. *South African Geographical Journal* 8: 39-44.

Bantu filologiese navorsing. *Transvaal Educational News*, December. 3pp.

1926

- ✓ *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. xii, 310pp. Reprinted by Kraus Reprint, 1969. (Special Number of *Bantu Studies*, volume 2)

The folklore of the Lamba people. *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 September.

The music of the veld. *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 September.

- ✓ A call to philological study and research in South Africa. *The South African Quarterly* 7: 39-40.

1927

The hunters of Lambaland. *Rand Daily Mail*, February.

A study in Lamba phonetics. *Bantu Studies* 3: 5-47.

The significance of Class 1a of Bantu nouns. *Festschrift Meinhof*. Hamburg, Kommissions Verlag von Friederischen, pp. 196-203.

- ✓ *Text Book of Zulu Grammar*, 1 ed. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, xiv, 341pp. (Special Number of *Bantu Studies*, volume 3) (2 ed., 1931; 3 ed., 1939; repr. 1943; 4 ed., 1945; 5 ed., 1954; 6 ed., 1961.)

- ✓ Edited *A Grammar of the Sesuto Language* by the late E. Jacottet with the help of Z.D. Mangoela. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. xxvi, 209pp. (Special Number of *Bantu Studies*, volume 3)

Lamba Folk-lore (Folk-tales, Aphorisms, Songs, Riddles). New York, American Folk-lore Society, Memoir volume 20. xvii, 570pp.

The missionary programme of the Sunday school. *Sunday School Advancer*, June.

The Baila tribesmen. *The Star*, 6 August.

The giant Kafue of Northern Rhodesia. *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

1928

An outline of Ila phonetics. *Bantu Studies* 3: 127-153.

The linguistic situation of South Africa. *Africa* 1: 478-485.

- ✓ Lamba ideas of cosmogony. *South African Geographical Journal* 11: 18-21.
- ✓ The Orthography of South African Native Languages. In *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa*, ed. by J. D. Taylor. Lovedale, Lovedale Institution Press. pp. 159-163.

MS. The effect of Christianity upon the native of South Africa. Unpublished typescript. 3pp.

MS. The need for a Bantu classification in Bantu grammar. Unpublished typescript. 6pp. Sent to Dr. C.T. Loram for Carmichael Volume.

1929

In collaboration with B.H. Barnes, The pronunciation of the Bemba language. *Bantu Studies* 3: 423-456.

The Problem of Word-division in Bantu, with Special Reference to the Languages of Mashonaland. Salisbury, Department of Native Development. 22pp. (Occasional Paper, No. 2)

Ibuku lya Fyikutanga ne buku lya Kufuma (Genesis and Exodus in Lamba). London, British and Foreign Bible Society. 113pp.

1930

Additional Lamba aphorisms. *Bantu Studies* 4: 109-135, 181-192.

Twenty-five years of Bantu development. *South African Railways & Harbours Magazine*, October, pp. 1574-1577.

A motor trip to southern Africa's oldest town. *The Star*, 15 April.

1931

Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects (Presented to Legislative Assembly 1931). Hertford, Printed for the government of Southern Rhodesia by Austin. 156pp., plus maps, charts.

A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. viii, 298pp., illus., maps, charts.

The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia. London, G.G. Harrap. 408pp., illus.

1932

In collaboration with E.W. Grant, *Graded Zulu Exercises.* Lovedale, Lovedale Press. 56pp. (2ed., 1946.)

Edited *Amaculo ase-Baptist* (Xhosa Baptist Hymnal). South African Baptist Missionary Society. xii, 415pp.

MS. The standardization of Bantu dialects and the development of literature in the vernacular. Unpublished typescript, 6pp.

1933

A preliminary investigation into the state of the native languages of South Africa, with suggestions as to research and the development of literature.

Bantu Studies 7: 1-98.

✓ Phonetic Summary: Zulu. In E. Westermann and I.C. Ward, *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages.* London, Oxford University Press, for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. pp. 197-202.

Bible translation among the Bantu. *The Bible in the World*, July and August, pp. 107-109, 123-124.

A short Aushi vocabulary. *Bantu Studies* 7: 285-295.

The earliest vocabulary from Mashonaland. *Nada* No. 11, pp. 67-71.

English-Lamba Vocabulary. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. 134pp. (2 ed. enlarged, 1963.)

1934

✓ Lamba literature. *Africa* 7: 351-370

1935

✓ Vernacular text books in South African native schools. *Africa* 8: 183-209.

Early Bantu literature – the age of Brusciotto. *Bantu Studies* 9: 87-114.

✓ *Bantu Linguistic Terminology.* London, Longmans, Green. 237pp.

Edited *Baptist Catechism in Southern Sotho.* (2 ed. published in Johannesburg, 1949).

Edited *Baptist Catechism in Zulu.*

1936

The future of Bantu literature. *African Observer* 6: 18-22.

An outline of *khomani* Bushmen phonetics. *Bantu Studies* 10: 433-460.

Reprinted in *The Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari.* Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1937.

Games, plays and dances of the *khomani* Bushmen. *Bantu Studies* 10: 461-471, illus. Reprinted in *The Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari.* Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1937.

✓ The Bushmen of the Kalahari. *Transvaal Educational News*, December, pp. 11-14.

1937

✓ Two Zulu language pioneers. *The Missionary Herald* (Boston, Mass.) 133: 17-18.

MS. Lamba-English dictionary. Unpublished typescript. 1957pp.

Language. In *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, ed. by I. Schapera, London, Routledge. Chapter XIV, pp. 309-331.

1938

The earliest records of Bantu. *Bantu Studies* 12: 135-144.

Transliterated and edited *Incwadi Yenkonzo* (Methodist Prayer Book and Hymns in Zulu). Cape Town, Methodist Book Room, pp.295 and 328.

Amasamo (Psalms bound with 2 ed. Lamba New Testament). London, British and Foreign Bible Society. 193pp.

✓ *Text Book of Lamba Grammar*. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. viii, 484pp.

Edited *Baptist Catechism in Xhosa*.

MS. Umumbulu Wēulu. *The Hound of Heaven* by Francis Thompson, translated into Lamba by C.M.D. Unpublished typescript. 4pp.

1939

European and Bantu languages in South Africa. *Africa* 12: 308-319.

Lamba folk tales annotated. *Bantu Studies* 13: 85-111.

Transliterated and edited *Methodist Zulu Catechism, No. 1* (32pp.) and *No. 2* (pp. 91 and 47). Cape Town, Methodist Book Room.

1940

Some principles of Bantu lexicography. *Scientia*, January. pp. 23-29.

Bantu language pioneers of the nineteenth century. *Bantu Studies* 14: 207-246.

1941

Old Testament Stories (in Lamba). Kafulafuta Mission Press. 81pp. (2 ed. 1949.)

1942

The native languages of South Africa. *African Studies* 1: 135-141.

1943

The growth of comparative Bantu philology. *African Studies* 2: 41-64.

Outline Grammar of Bantu. 65pp. (roneoed)

Edited *First Aid to the Injured for the African People of the Witwatersrand and Southern Transvaal*, Centre of the St. John Ambulance Association. (In English, Zulu, Xhosa and Sesotho.) v, 170pp.

1944

Conjunctive writing for Bantu languages. *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, June, pp. 10-15.

An unusual Bantu tale of the Little-hare series. *African Studies* 3: 31-36.

Etudes relative aux langues bantoues en Afrique du Sud. *Aequatoria* 7: 152-154.

1945

Bantu: Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860. London, International African Institute. 119pp. (Reprinted by Dawsons, 1967.)

Edited *Baptist Ministers' Manual* in Southern Sotho.

Edited *Baptist Ministers' Manual* in Zulu.

Edited *Abridged Baptist Hymnal* in Xhosa.

Edited *Abridged Baptist Hymnal* in Zulu.

1946

Edited *Baptist Ministers' Manual* in Xhosa.

Imvulamlo. 26pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, 1st Primer)

Ingqamazinyo. 48pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, 2nd Primer)

Ufundukhuphuke. 92pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, Standard I)

1947

Unokuhlekisa. 91pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, Standard II)

Unoziwe. 113pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, Standard III)

Usokuzula. 124pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, Standard IV)

Utungulula. 53pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, 1st Primer, adapted)

Ukumlamazino. 48pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, 2nd Primer, adapted)

Uqinisinsini. 92pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, Reader I)

Bantu wisdom-lore. *African Studies* 6: 101-120.

William Carey. Paper read at Baptist Union Assembly, Johannesburg, 1934.

Reprinted in *South African Baptist*, March and April. 7pp.

✓ Vilakazi's contribution to Zulu Literature. *Catholic African Teachers' Federation Review*, December, pp. 4-5.

1948

Bantu, a family of languages. *Scientia*, January-February, pp. 22-28

A tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Number of Indian Opinion*, March, pp. 8-9.

In collaboration with the late B.W. Vilakazi, *Zulu-English Dictionary*. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. xxvi, 903pp. double col. (2 ed. 1953.)

The basis of Bantu literature. *Africa* 18: 284-301.

Suggestions for a Programme of Linguistic Research in Bantu and Other Native Languages of South Africa. Pretoria, The National Council for Social Research. 8pp. (Issued also in Afrikaans)

1949

Umakuhlekisa. 90pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, Reader 2)

Ulozizwe. 112pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, Reader 3)

Our Baptist witness for these days. Roneoed typescript of Presidential Address delivered at Baptist Assembly in Cape Town, and issued to delegates, October. 18pp.

Recollections of Mahatma Gandhi. In C. Shukla, *Incidents of Gandhiji's Life.* Bombay, Vora & Co., pp. 40-42.

Ifyewo Ifya' Kulayana Kwakale, 2 ed. of *Old Testament Stories* (1941). Fiwale Mission Press. 36pp.

1950

Izinkamb' eAfrika. 179pp. (Longman's Zulu Readers, Standard V)

Edited *Amaculo ase-Baptist* (Xhosa Baptist Hymnal, 3 ed.). 322pp.

Bantu languages, inflexional with a tendency towards agglutination. *African Studies* 9: 1-19.

Edited *Lifela tsa-MaBaptist* (Southern Sotho Hymn Book). Johannesburg, South African Baptist Press. 174pp.

Ambi Amabuku AmuKulayana Kwakale (Certain Old Testament Books in Lamba). London, British and Foreign Bible Society 610pp.

H.P.S. Schreuder som Språkforsker. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon* Årg. 4: 222-226.

Ukuhlakaniph' eAfrika. 185pp. (Longmans' Zulu Readers, Standard VI)

Umazula. 112pp. (Longmans' Ndebele Readers, Reader 4)

Article on "Bantu". *Chamber's Encyclopaedia.* London, Newnes. Volume 2. (New ed. 1959.)

1953

Zulu-English Dictionary; 2 ed. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press. xxvi, 918pp.

1954

The Southern Bantu Languages. London, Oxford University Press, for the International African Institute. 262pp. (Reprinted by Dawsons, 1967.)

The concept of hope among the Bantu. *The Bible Translator* 5: 9-19.

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1931-1941 Joint Editor: *Bantu Studies*

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Editor: "Bantu Lexicographical Archives" (One volume published)

A Personal Tribute to Clement Martyn Doke

L.W. Lanham

A new student's first interview with Professor Doke was a somewhat intimidating experience. There was no exchange of pleasantries, and information sought and given was strictly to the point. One was not asked to sit down. One was not given a sense of being disposed of as rapidly as possible, but of the Professor being intensely busy. And this was indeed true. His intensity of concentration was formidable. I know of no other academic capable of such sustained industry through long working days, and over months and years. There was, however, one day in the week on which all work stopped, for Clement Doke lived by the strictest of religious codes. Sunday was not so much a day of rest as a time for prayer and a reading of religious texts. On occasions, he preached and gave addresses in his local church, doubtless without rhetorical extravagance, but the sermon would have been prepared with thorough care.

I came to study with Professor Doke in 1948, older and more mature than the average run of students, and I remained to become his solitary senior student at the time of his retirement in 1953. One seldom saw Professor Doke outside his study on the first floor of the Cullen Library at Wits, nor, to my knowledge, did he ever frequent the staff common room. "Doc" Jeffreys (M.D.W. Jeffreys, who was Senior Lecturer in Anthropology) was among the more regular visitors to his study where conversation between the two would most likely be in the form of a good natured argument. No two men could have been more different in temperament, personality and belief: Jeffreys, bluff and hearty, with a cavalier attitude to data; Doke with the occasional fleeting smile and always meticulous about anything committed to writing.

From an early hour each day, Professor Doke would be closeted with J M Sikakane, working on the English-Zulu dictionary. An intruder would receive a mere dismissive word. Usually before lunch, he would give his lectures in his study, standing before a raised lectern. In his last years in the Department, he limited his teaching, confining himself mainly to advanced syntax – much as it appears in his *Zulu Syntax and Idiom* – and comparative Bantu. The programme of lectures was punctuated by long assignments (which were lengthy indeed) in both topics. More practical than theoretical, these projects required data collection and contact with informants. The Department of African Languages offered a representative range of languages at that time, all of which were expertly taught: C L S Nyembezi (Zulu), D T Cole (Tswana), F S M Mncube (Xhosa), and S M Mofokeng (Southern Sotho); the latter was deeply mourned when he died young. One project which took much of my time was writing a grammar – obviously in the Dokean model – of each of two remote Bantu languages for which I had access only to the New Testament and a concordance! This exercise stood me in very good stead in later years when, in the Molteno Project, I was required to prepare teachers' guides to teaching initial literacy in the mother tongue in Bantu languages of which I knew little. For the senior student, the main strengths in Doke's department lay in the comparative study of Bantu languages and in literature study (novels and poetry). After four years, I had been taken through all the better known works in Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Sotho in considerable depth. The department's main weakness was in the little success it achieved in imparting oral skills. The staff, distinguished in every other respect, had little training in method and approach.

With the passing of the years, a rather easier relationship developed with Professor Doke. I was invited to his home in Cecil Avenue, Melrose, for cocoa and cake, and conversation centring mainly on his dictionary research and his work in Bible translation. He vouchsafed little personal information, for example, his experiences working with his missionary father in the wilder parts of the Copper Belt' and the anguish of a long vigil over a dying wife. In turn he asked little of me, but was interested in my intentions as to an occupation after leaving university and in my financial state.

Never an affable man, one sensed a special privilege when Doke did unbend. I owe much to him. Apart from what was gained from his department in the broadest of perspectives on Bantu linguistics, and enthusiasm for the subject, I had stern lessons in the full meaning of that most critical of terms in academe: scholarship. There was seldom any inkling of what Doke had done on one's behalf. The waiving of

University regulations allowing me to finish the Honours degree a year early was probably engineered by him. A financial windfall in the form of a bursary in my most impecunious moments was certainly his doing. In 1953, the year of his early retirement, he told me of his intention, with the explanation that a progressive illness contracted in his years on the Copper Belt was one reason for giving up. Another was the urge to get on with his last great work: the translation of the Bible into Lamba, the language of his early missionary days. Briefly, in passing, he mentioned that his departure might open a junior post in the Department for which I should apply. For this opportunity, I was duly grateful. Academic posts were not readily come by in the immediate post-war years.

Professor Doke retired to the remote Eastern Province town of Alice. In so doing he imposed an intellectual isolation on himself which few other academics would have stood. He built a house around a huge library-cum-study in which he maintained his full working-day routine, surrounded by possibly the largest and probably the most valuable collection of Bantu bibliotheca and linguistic Africana. He was cared for in his advancing years by his daughter Erica. I was then (1956-60) on the staff of Rhodes University and occasionally made the dusty, uncomfortable journey to Alice to spend the day with the Dokes. Our conversation was much as it had ever been, with the bequeathing of his library being added to the topics. I never quite knew why he decided on the University of Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) as the recipient for his academic library; the religious works went to the Baptist Theological College in Johannesburg.

My last meeting with Professor Doke was on the occasion of the tardy award of an honorary doctorate to one of the select few of truly distinguished scholars (in the strictest sense of the term) by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1972. Clement Doke's death in East London in February 1980 passed with little notice. That was the way he lived: single-minded in serving his God and pursuing his discipline.

NOTE

1. Doke's years as a missionary in the Copper Belt are described in his memoir *Trekking in South-Central Africa 1913-1919* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1993).

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C.M. Doke: A Critical Review by a Believing Outsider

E.B. van Wyk

It is indeed a privilege and an honour to contribute this paper to commemorate the centenary of the birth of a man whom I only met once, and then very briefly, a man who influenced the study of the African languages profoundly, and whose contributions cover an astonishingly wide range, substantively and theoretically. I shall concentrate on only one aspect of his work: his model of grammatical description which introduced what could be regarded as a paradigm shift in the African languages in its rejection of the inappropriate assumptions and terminology of earlier grammatical work, and which to this day exerts an influence on the grammatical description of South African languages, especially at pre-tertiary level.

The title of this paper is somewhat paradoxical. It describes the article as a 'critical review', because I shall argue that Doke's model is not scientifically valid. My rejection of the model, which in no way implies that the substantive aspects of Doke's contributions are negligible, therefore gives me the status of the outsider to which the title alludes. But I shall also show that the foundations of Doke's approach were so sound that they became the basis not only of my own thinking, but of all future research. That is why I can claim to be a believer. And because of this the paper acquires an autobiographical element, as it will also, by implication, reflect the evolution of my own thinking. Hence my frequent use of the past tense.

My mentor in African languages, the late JA Engelbrecht, was a student of C Meinhof and D Westermann. The historical paradigm in

which I was trained had undeniable merits but lacked a clearly defined descriptive basis. The terminology used to underpin the historical structure was largely based on traditional (that is, European) grammar. Doke's *Textbook of Zulu Grammar* therefore came as a revelation when I first became acquainted with it in the early 1950s. It had very much the same effect on me which Meinhof had and which later De Saussure, Bloomfield, Trubetzkoy, De Groot, and especially Reichling, and still later Chomsky, would have: the thrill of the discovery of exciting and audacious new intellectual horizons. Here was an author who offered a coherent and explicit model of linguistic description, with two cornerstones: a well reasoned theory of conjunctive word division and a persuasive classification of parts of speech. No author on African languages before Doke was so explicit about his theoretical assumptions. I was awed and became an ardent believer.

Doke's approach was outlined, illustrated, justified, championed and applied in numerous publications. The clearest and most complete expositions are found in his *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* and his *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* (1935). I shall refer to these two publications throughout the present work.¹ Quotations from the *Text-Book* will be taken from the fourth edition, published in 1945. I will use Zulu examples in the analysis which follows.

I started applying the model in the spirit of the following invitation issued by Doke in the preface to his *Outline Grammar of Bantu* (1943):

The author will be glad to receive criticisms of this outline, with a view to correcting errors, elaborating points that are not clear or adding to the information contained herein.

It soon became apparent that there were indeed shortcomings which had to be addressed.² The most obvious ones concerned the second of the two cornerstones of his approach: his classification of parts of speech. There proved to be inconsistencies and contradictions which could not be resolved. The classification simply did not stand the test of closer scrutiny. Many examples of such contradictions can be given, but I will confine myself to only one.³

Doke distinguishes six fundamental or basic parts of speech, '... taking each complete word as representing some part of speech, according to the work it does in the sentence ...' (1945:33). Four of these are sub-divided '... according to the form in which they appear ...' (1945:34), thus yielding twelve real or ultimate parts of speech. The complete system is

summarised by him as follows (cf. 1945:34):

Main/Fundamental/Basic	Real/Ultimate
I. Substantive:	(a) Noun 1 (b) Pronoun 2
II. Qualificative:	(a) Adjective 3 (b) Relative 4 (c) Enumerative 5 (d) Possessive 6
III. Predicative:	(a) Verb 7 (b) Copulative 8
IV. Descriptive:	(a) Adverb 9 (b) Ideophone 10
V. Conjunctive	11
VI. Interjective	12

The qualificative, one of the six main parts of speech, is defined as 'a word which qualifies a substantive' (1935:181; 1945:34). On closer scrutiny it is found, however, that qualificatives qualify not only substantives (that is, nouns and pronouns), for example, *umfazi omuhle* 'the beautiful woman', but also copulatives (that is, predicatives), for example, *ngumfazi omuhle* 'it is a beautiful woman', adverbs, for example, *ngezembe elikhulu* 'with a big axe', possessives (= qualificatives), for example, *abafana besikole sethu* 'the children of our school', and even vocatives (which Doke classifies under interjectives), for example, *mntwana wami!* 'my child!'

These contradictions cannot be explained away in terms of his approach. It cannot, for instance, be argued that *omuhle* qualifies the 'element' *umfazi* in *ngumfazi* and not *ngumfazi* as such. Doke is emphatic that his classification is based on 'complete words, and not the individual parts composing words ...' (1945:33). This means that neither a qualificative nor any other part of speech can relate to individual parts of words.

It may be argued that some of the problems arising from these discrepancies could be solved by modifications to the classification. Provision could be made, for example, for a word to belong to more than one part of speech. *Ngumfazi* could then be said to be a copulative as well

as a noun. When qualified by *omuhle* it would be in its capacity as a noun and not as a copulative. However, this would affect the basic principles of Doke's classification, which require words to be classified into main parts of speech. Once multiple membership of parts of speech on the basis of syntactic function is allowed, it invites the criticism that further divisions and sub-divisions will have to be made to accommodate still finer distinctions, which, again, would lead to unmanageable complexity.

This point brings me to the next discrepancy. When Doke's definitions of the six main parts of speech are analysed, it is found that only four of these refer to 'the work they do in the sentence', that is, to their syntactic functions. The substantive, for example, is defined purely in semantic terms, as 'a word signifying anything concrete or abstract, or any concept' (1935:205; 1945:34). The definitions of the 'real parts of speech' suffer from the same deficiency. Of the ten he distinguishes, only five are defined morphologically, that is, in terms of 'the form in which they appear'. The noun, for example, is defined semantically as 'a word which signifies the name of anything concrete or abstract' (1935:152; 1945:36).

It was obvious, then, that one of the two cornerstones of the Dokean model had to be rejected. A new and completely different classification of parts of speech, based on different principles, which would avoid problems such as those mentioned above, was called for.

I tried various alternatives. I toyed, amongst other approaches, with a modified concept of case, by which words such as *ngumfazi*, *ngezembe*, *besikole* and *mfazi!* could be regarded as realising different cases of the noun. This ran into new problems. A word like *nomntwana*, for example, could not be handled in this way since it would realise different 'cases' corresponding to its different syntactic functions. It would have to be regarded as 'inclusive' in *nomntwana ufile* 'the child also died', as 'connective' in *umfazi nomntwana bafile* 'the woman and the child died' and as 'associative' in *ngikhuluma nomntwana* 'I speak to the child'. (It may be pointed out in passing that only the last of these three functions can be accommodated in Doke's system.)

It eventually became apparent that the problems encountered with parts of speech sprang not so much from the way in which they were classified as from the conjunctive method of word division, the other cornerstone of the Dokean paradigm. The main defect proved to be the implicit assumption that 'formatives' such as **ngu* are derivational morphemes used to derive parts of speech (such as copulatives) from other parts of speech (such as nouns). It is obvious that it is not only *umfazi* in *ngumfazi*

omuhle which is made predicative by the prefixation of **ngu-*, but the whole phrase *umfazi omuhle*. In *ngumfazi nendoda* 'it is a man and a woman', again, it is the coordinate phrase *umfazi nendoda* which is predicative. The constituents of these phrases are [*ng[umfazi omuhle]*] and [*ng[umfazi nendoda]*] respectively, not [*ngumfazi*][*omuhle*] and [*ngumfazi*][*nendoda*] as assumed by Doke. This means that the morpheme **ngu* has a status different from that of regular derivational morphemes.

It was therefore necessary to investigate the validity of Doke's word theory. On closer inspection this also revealed serious flaws.

In *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* and elsewhere Doke defines the word as 'that sound or group of sounds which is subject to one main stress and one only' (1935:220). The most detailed definition is found in his *Text-Book*, however. I quote the latter together with its preamble and other relevant remarks. The italics are Doke's unless otherwise indicated.

From an examination of the part played by length and stress in Zulu, the following law of word-division is elucidated: *In each word or word-group there is one and only one main stress, usually on the penultimate syllable, with secondary stresses falling at intervals. A word, then, is a mental concept signified by a part of speech which has in itself a main stress, and thus may be pronounced alone, not necessarily attached to anything else* [Author's italics] ... Words may be further analysed into formative parts, but these formatives can never stand alone; they are not 'parts of speech', but merely 'formatives in speech'. (1945:28)

This definition claims by implication that the Zulu word has four characteristics which could be regarded as criteria of word-division: (a) it is a mental concept, (b) it signifies a part of speech, (c) it has in itself a main stress (usually on the penultimate syllable), and (d) it may be pronounced alone. The claim that the Zulu word is a mental concept is totally unhelpful. Taken literally it implies that the word is a psychological phenomenon and not a linguistic unit. Taken to mean that words are the linguistic correlates or expressions or realisations of mental concepts brings us no further either, since it gives no indication of what mental concepts are. It may be assumed that a mental concept is that which is conceived by the mind, but then it can be argued justifiably that mental concepts may be expressed not only by words but also by 'formatives' such as *ngi-* (the concept 'first person singular'), and by phrases containing several words, such as *inkosi wesizwe* (the concept

'king of the nation'). It is obvious, then, that this component of the definition has to be rejected.

The second implicit claim implies that words are *grammatical units* which form the basis of grammatical analysis and description. This has to be granted, but read together with other arguments in favour of conjunctivism problems do indeed arise. These will be discussed later. For the present, however, it may be pointed out that this claim does not offer a criterion by which it can be decided which grammatical units are words and which not.

The claim that words have in themselves main stress cannot be substantiated either. Zulu, and indeed the other languages of the South-Eastern zone, do not have stress, but rather length on the penultimate syllables of words. This has been pointed out, amongst others, by Doke's ex-student, Desmond Cole (1955:xxxiii).

Amending the definition to allow for length instead of, or as alternative to, stress would not save this criterion, however. Not every word in a sentence has length on the penultimate syllable. Contrary to what Doke claims,⁴ stress (read: length) occurs in normal speech only on words in sentence-final and pre-pausal position, and in word-list and possibly declamatory style. Penultimate length is therefore not an *actual* feature of words, but at best only a *potential* feature. The definition would therefore have to be amended to allow for potential penultimate length.

But this would not save the definition either, since it would still not apply to monosyllabic words such as the conjunction *nxa* and the demonstratives *lo*, *le* and *la*.⁵ Neither would it apply to auxiliary verbs which have to be followed by complementary verbs and therefore cannot appear in sentence-final or pre-pausal position.

Stress as a criterion of word-division does not fail on these grounds only. The law of word-division as formulated by Doke in the preamble to his 1945 definition allows for word-groups such as *ngifun' ukuhamba* also to have one main stress only. Assuming that the law could be reformulated to accommodate potential penultimate length as a form of stress or accent, it would still not provide a criterion by which *words* could be distinguished from *word-groups*.

It would seem, then, that any attempt to define the word in terms of stress and/or length has to be abandoned. It remains to be seen whether the fourth implicit claim, that words may be pronounced alone, can save the conjunctive word concept.

Read together with Doke's remark that formatives can never stand alone, this claim implies that words may be used by themselves in and as

sentences, for example, *Hamba!* 'Go!'. However, as a criterion this also fails, since many words cannot be used in this fashion. Such words include not only conjunctions and auxiliary verbs but even regular verbs like *ngifuna* 'I want' in *ngifuna ukuhamba* 'I want to go'.

It is obvious that the definitions of *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* and *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* have to be rejected *in toto*. It remains, then, to try to find independent proof of the correctness of conjunctive word-division as advocated by Doke, on which a different and more valid definition can be based. In *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* he provided a number of arguments not reflected in his definitions, and these may be considered for this purpose.

With regard to the verb in the Bantu languages Doke argues that the various verbal formatives have fixed positions in relation to the verb stem and that such fixed positions do not exist in English and French (1935:11). From this he concludes that 'the very immutability of the Bantu positions indicates adhesion' (1935:12). While it is probably true that the transposibility of linguistic units as illustrated by him for English is an indication of word autonomy, it would be incorrect to claim that fixed positions with respect to other elements in a sentence are *proof* that linguistic units lack word status. Applied to English and French, it would mean that articles, prepositions, conjunctions and many other words lack word status because of their fixed positions with respect to following words, which, of course, is not the case.

Doke also mentions that the distinct individuality of English words is further emphasised by the fact that they are capable of receiving emphatic stress and may take final or isolated positions in a sentence (1935:12). Again, these phenomena are possibly valid positive indications of word status, but cannot be applied negatively. No words in the South-Eastern languages can receive emphatic stress, but this does not mean that there are no words in these languages. Furthermore, even in English, to which Doke refers, there are many words which cannot be used in final or isolated positions in sentences. These include, again, articles, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliaries, and so forth.⁶

Finally, Doke makes the following well-known claim (1935:14):

There is an inherent word-division in all Bantu speech, and Natives are able to divide accurately without fail, as soon as they understand what the investigator is seeking.

He illustrates this with reference to experiments conducted at Salisbury

(now Harare) and various mission stations in Zimbabwe. With the honesty of a great scholar he reports that some of his subjects did not respond immediately and that he had to resort to direct explanation. Some subjects even needed 'a few days of training' (1935:15). He also mentions that they sometimes joined more than one word together. By his own evidence, then, it is clear that their reactions were neither spontaneous nor consistent. If it was natural for mother-tongue speakers to divide conjunctively it would not have been necessary to explain to them what was needed and there would have been no inaccuracies.

The fundamental flaw in 'evidence' of this nature is that the concept 'word' as used in linguistics is a technical term. Neither in English nor in any other language should its technical meaning be confused with its non-technical, 'everyday' meanings. In order, therefore, for an unsophisticated mother-tongue speaker to react to attempts to elicit his intuitions about words requires that he be provided, explicitly or implicitly, with a word theory. And such a theory can only embody the preconceptions of the investigator. Doke admits as much in the following comment *à propos* of a Zezuru speaker at Salisbury who did not produce consistent results (1935:14):

His conception of *mazgwi* was very vague, when the term was applied in the sense of 'words'. For investigations of this type the ... subject must be either unsophisticated and unable to read, or else he must have sufficient education to be able to do a certain amount of self-analysis.

The problem would have been the same had Doke tried to determine the intuitions of his subjects about other linguistic units such as the phonemes, the morphemes or the adverbial clauses of their language. The only difference is that these terms have no counterparts in non-technical use. While such experiments or experiences may prove the ability of subjects to apply linguistic principles or concepts to language material, they do not prove the intuitive correctness of conjunctive word-division.

One other argument raised by Doke merits attention. He states (1935:14):

To-day, throughout Africa, mainly due to the exertions of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, phonetic principles are being applied to the revision and improvement of orthographies in many areas. The same principle,

based on the pronunciation, must be applied in the settlement of word-division. Full conjunctive word-division follows this method.

This means that word-division is primarily an orthographical concern and that it should be based exclusively on phonetic considerations. This is not reconcilable with the claim of the *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* definition that the word constitutes a part of speech and therefore a grammatical unit. It may be possible to establish phonetic units corresponding to conjunctively written words, but such units could not justifiably be used as the basis of grammatical description, just as it would be unjustified to base grammatical analyses on phonemes, syllables, rhythm groups or some other phonetic or phonological unit.

It is significant that full conjunctive word-division originated in the orthographies of the Nguni languages. Doke readily admits that as far back as 1905 Bryant concluded on much the same grounds that words should be conjunctively written (1935:16).⁷ The Nguni languages, perhaps more than any other African languages, are characterised by the frequent occurrence of vowel coalescence, for example, *nomfazi* (= **na+umfazi*) and vowel elision, for example, *ngumfazi* (**ngu+umfazi*). It seems likely that this characteristic gave rise to a number of implicit assumptions which were not reflected in any of Doke's definitions of conjunctivism or arguments in favour of it or, for that matter, in any other theory of conjunctive word division in the African languages.

These are the following:

- a. Words are basically orthographic units.
- b. The only manner in which words can be divided orthographically is by means of spaces.
- c. If linguistic elements cannot be divided orthographically by means of spaces they cannot be words.⁸
- d. Word boundaries always coincide with syllable boundaries. It is therefore impossible for a word to consist of, or end in, non-syllabic phonemes, or for a syllable to be spread over word boundaries.

The other cornerstone of the Dokean model therefore also crumbled, and with it the whole edifice collapsed for me. It was obvious that a new theory of the word in the Bantu languages was necessary, a theory not influenced by orthographical considerations such as the practicality of conjunctive or disjunctive division. Such a theory would be concerned

with the question: What *is* a word in the African languages? and not: How should words be *divided* orthographically?

Did it mean, however, that Doke had made no contribution to the analysis and description of the grammar of the African languages? Not at all. It is only the structure that could not withstand critical analysis; the foundations remained unshaken. And it is these foundations that exercised a lasting influence on me and on African linguistics in general.

The following words voice the principles on which Doke built his method and which I believe are as valid today as in 1935 and will be valid as long as African languages are studied (1935:2-3):

... Bantu grammatical structure is Bantu, and must not be expected to conform to European or Classical standards in every respect.

And:

Do we realise how much our accepted grammatical standards are dependent upon historical heritage? There is no real historical heritage for us in Bantu grammar today. We are therefore not bound down in any way to the past, and Bantu languages can be examined, recorded and classified according to their merits, untrammelled by what has gone before. This does not mean that we are to ignore what philology and grammar have through the centuries contributed. We find a remarkable underlying similarity in all grammatical systems, a uniformity of method in language expression and structure through all human speech; and what has been done in other languages – if done with care and precision – is of inestimable value in assisting us in real work upon Bantu.

The informed reader will recognise that in these somewhat outmoded terms Doke provided African linguistics with a sound and completely valid principle to handle the relation between language universals and language specific features, namely: Give due recognition to that which is genuinely universal, but do not force African grammar into false universal moulds. This principle placed the responsibility on future investigators to continually review their descriptive apparatus in order to do justice to both the universal features of language and the unique features of the African languages.⁹ After Doke it was no longer possible to use inappropriate preconceived concepts and terminology based on the grammars of European or classical languages.

On these foundations did Doke erect a grammatical edifice which was, for his day, surprisingly original and bold. That it did not stand the test of time is not important; what is important is that the foundations proved to be solid. I would like to recall in this connection the words of a modern linguist, Charles Fillmore, who said that if linguists were not prepared to risk being dead wrong, linguistics would never be able to progress. Doke risked, did not succeed, but left the study of African languages infinitely the richer by providing it with solid foundations for future development.

NOTES

1. The most important of his other publications relevant to present issues are listed in the bibliography.
2. I shall not discuss the definitions or arguments of other authors who held similar views or attempted to justify or amplify Doke's approach. The criticisms voiced here apply also to them, *mutatis mutandis*.
3. A more detailed analysis is found in my review of Cole's *Tswana Grammar* (1956).
4. 'According to the rule of 'one main stress one word' the mother-tongue speaker (author's term) speaks, whether slowly or deliberately or in quick narration' (1935: 18).
5. Doke admits by implication that monosyllabic words do not conform to his definition. Cf. 1935:17-18.
6. Non-isolatable words can, of course, be used in this manner, but only in *suppositio materialis*, where they refer to themselves and lack their normal grammatical functions, for example, *The first word in the sentence is 'the'*. *Suppositio materialis* causes morphemes, phonemes and letters also to be used as *ad hoc* words, for example, *The first morpheme in 'indispensable' is 'in'*, *The first phoneme in 'Peter' is /p/, etc.*
7. Earlier protagonists of conjunctive word division for the Nguni languages included Appleyard (1850), Wanger (1917) and Samuelson (1925), all of whom held views similar to those of Doke.
8. Doke admits this by implication in the following statement (1935:21):

In Zulu, when coalescence takes place, it is compulsory. There is

no alternative; and the resultant *must be one word*. (Author's italics)

9. This distinction makes it possible to identify the basic defect of Doke's word theory: it is language-specific. Words, if they can be proved to exist, are likely to be universal features of language. They may have particular attributes in individual languages, but these can be established and reflected in definitions only after the words of the relevant languages have been identified, and not before. Advocating a language-specific word theory is equivalent to developing language-specific theories of the morpheme, the phoneme, the sentence, etc.

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A Change of Mood

Towards a Re-analysis of the Dokean Classification

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Doke's contribution to Bantu linguistics can possibly be understood by analogy to a certain (possibly mythical) traditional people who never quite cleaned their cooking pots, but always left a little bit over. Cooking pots were handed down from generation to generation, so there was, in a sense, a continuity in the pot extending far beyond the immediate meal. Doke's model itself bears some of the hallmarks of European grammatical tradition,¹ and in most 'new approaches' Dokean influences continue to remain in evidence. The pot, in a way, has never been scrubbed clean.

In evaluating the impact of Dokean linguistics, it is fair to say that outside observers would be struck by the insularism that it has provided for linguistic enquiry in Southern Africa as well as its dominance as a frame of reference for such an extended period. While it is clear that such insularism has delayed the application of new models, at the same time it is important to note that Doke's model has also provided a workable frame of reference – a practical, accessible and easy to apply taxonomic framework whose productivity would have been equally striking to the outside observer.

MOODS: DOKE AND AFTER

The identification and classification of moods in Bantu languages is something that has been inherited, not directly from Doke, but in fact from the earliest grammars of Southern Bantu languages (Wilkes 1988).

The 'discovery' of moods in the Bantu language in this regard stems directly from the European grammatical tradition which formed the frame of reference and classificatory schema for the early Bantu pioneers. Languages were *expected* to have moods of the Indo-European sort, just as they were expected to have 'relative pronouns' and 'cases'. The early grammarians were thus 'primed' to discover moods in the first place according to the dictates of their tradition.

Although contested by Khoali (1993), Cole's claim that Doke's model freed linguistic description from the many presuppositions of the European tradition (Cole 1971) appears to have some truth at least in the analysis of moods. Doke maintained the term 'mood', but it became a label for classifying sets of verbal inflections not included under the traditional sets of moods and therefore took on a different significance. Mood was thus extended to cover distinctly a-European usages – no longer were there only such 'traditional' moods such as subjunctive and the indicative relating, in some way to 'speaker attitude', but also the *participial* (or *situative* as Doke initially called it) and *potential* moods. This particular usage allowed the subsequent identification of such non-traditional moods as the 'relative' mood, and 'consecutive' mood, which are certainly not drawn from the stock of Indo-European moods. It is probably such usage, and the strain it caused with the more limited traditional European usage of the term which has generated the considerable debate and problems of analysis regarding moods in the languages of Southern Africa.

A survey of the literature on moods in Southern Bantu language scholarship indicates that some authors have avoided the term 'mood' entirely (speaking about 'forms' or 'categories' instead), others have denied the existence of moods altogether, and yet others have vigorously defended their existence.² For those who have maintained the term and worked more or less within the traditional framework, what has emerged has been a puzzle-solving exercise involving, for instance, the determination of specific moods in particular languages, and the identification of forms which could not appropriately be termed moods.³ In the history of the classification of moods in Nguni at least, the number of postulated moods has varied from seven to three; see, for example, Davey (1973) and Van Rooyen (1984). Some landmarks in this exercise as applied to Xhosa have been (in more or less chronological order):

- the postulation of a jussive mood (Boyce 1834), a commentative mood (Jordan, undated) and a relative mood (Pahl 1967)

- the exclusion of the imperative as a mood on the basis that it is a 'non-finite form' (Louw 1963)
- the use of the term 'form' in certain instances (for example, the temporal and potential) in opposition to mood (Louw 1963).

There has also been some debate on the status of the participial – whether it a sub-mood, or a separate mood type⁴ – as well as similar debate on the so called past-subjunctive mood, with conflicting views emerging on its separate status *vis à vis* the present subjunctive (see for example, Wilkes 1991 and Posthumus 1991). What has been striking about such debates is that they have typically been focused on one language alone with the rather peculiar result that standard descriptions of various local Bantu languages show some variation – in many instances rather unmotivated – in the classification of moods. The literature also indicates another fairly influential approach which has been the classification of moods in terms of their syntactic distribution as either 'dependent' or 'independent', as discussed in detail by Davey (1973:124ff). In current formal syntactic analysis, the wholesale importation of a variety of moods reflects a continuity of Dokean and possibly even pre-Dokean classifications, for example, Visser and Du Plessis (1992).

Recent work by Louwrens (1990) and Fourie (1991) has emphasised, quite correctly in my view, that considerable problems have been created by the vagueness of the term 'mood' and how it has been applied in past scholarship. In this regard, Louwrens follows Palmer (1986) in stressing the importance of distinguishing *mood* and *modality*. While mood refers to a particular morphosyntactic form of the verb, modality is defined in essentially semantic terms as reflecting the speakers attitude to what s/he is saying. The two most important types of modality appear to be 'deontic' modality (which corresponds to the speech act category of directives) and 'epistemic' modality (which corresponds to the speech act category of assertives). It is Louwrens's opinion that 'many of the inconsistencies which prevail in existing descriptions in Northern Sotho have been brought about by grammarians' confusion of mood and modality' (1990:11); he notes that in order to identify the moods more accurately, those verbal inflections which are modally significant 'inasmuch as they distinguish one mood from another will have to be determined' (*ibid.*). Although he restricts his discussion to Northern Sotho, Louwrens's point has obvious implications to the application of the term 'mood' in Southern Bantu generally.

It seems to me, however, that despite Louwrens's insight in this regard,

the very traditional confusion he notes may feature in his own re-analysis. While rejecting the term 'mood' for the relative and infinitive as these are not 'modally significant' (1990:16), Louwrens considers (as is the case in traditional analyses) the participial and habitual as moods as they indicate the modality of 'epistemic simultaneousness' and 'epistemic habit' respectively. He also appears to imply that the consecutive use of the subjunctive is a particular sub-type of epistemic modality. If we take the definition of mode as reflecting a 'speaker's attitude to what s/he is saying', and we are concerned with 'modally significant inflections', then it becomes problematic in this sense to speak about 'habitual mood' or 'participial mood' at all: these surely have to do more with aspectual distinctions than with speaker attitude. Such an analysis may be stretching the meaning of modality beyond practical utility. In fact, it will be claimed in this paper that something quite different from 'modality' appears to form the basis of at least some of what have been traditionally labelled as moods, at least in the Dokean sense. If a definition of mood needs to be given, the one that is followed in this paper is that a mood is simply 'a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb' (Crystal 1980:230).

My own interest in moods arises from research into Xhosa narrative which indicated to me that verbal categories are organised at least partly on discourse pragmatic factors. Specifically, the concepts of *grounding* and *connexity* contribute significantly to explaining the structure of, at least, the Xhosa verbal system. Such an approach, of course, focuses on the idea that the structure of language can be described in terms outside that structure itself.

CONNEXITY / DEPENDENCE

The notion of syntactic connexity, or, in more traditional terms, 'dependence' obviously relates to a strand from previous analyses. Analysis of discourse reveals a basic and perhaps obvious principle that the relative syntactic dependence of a clause signals its relative conceptual connection or integration to its discourse context (Gough 1986:79, see also Givón 1990:826ff for a similar perspective). In addition, the more dependent a verbal form is, the less it shows the prototypical features of verbs such tense-aspect, modality and agreement (see Gough 1986:37) which together constitute the traditional category of 'finiteness' (Givón 1990). *Finiteness* then is a scalar quality which

corresponds to the degree of dependence of a verbal form.

Before describing the concept of grounding, I would like to note that these points relating to dependence seem to explain to me the rather curious distribution of the present subjunctive in quite different contexts in Southern Bantu languages. It occurs, as we know, in the contexts of complements to non-factive verbs, in purpose clauses, hortatives and polite requests. This use readily motivates the term 'subjunctive', at least in the traditional sense. But it is also used to indicate connected actions – its so-called 'consecutive' usage, typically in the indicative present and future as well as after the imperative. It seems to me that no one has spent much time in trying to explain this, although Doke (1927) avoids the use of the term 'subjunctive' altogether for this reason, and speaks instead of the 'dependent mood' in describing the subjunctive.

Carlson (1992) has noted that this usage, while not being a feature of the 'Indo-European' subjunctive, is not unknown in the languages of Africa, outside of Bantu as narrowly defined. He cites similar uses for other Niger-Kordofanian languages, and, interestingly enough, for at least one Nilo-Saharan language.

Ignoring other 'moods' for the moment, we may follow Carlson in noting that the imperative, subjunctive and indicative form a scale from least to most finite in terms of the markings of finiteness mentioned above. The imperative has the least markings for finiteness, the subjunctive is marked at least for person (but has no aspectual or tense distinctions), while the indicative has a full house, as it were, of all the relevant markings. Given this as background, Carlson makes the significant claim that the subjunctive is used in contexts in which only limited coding of finiteness is required (1992:78).⁵

Why, then, is the subjunctive used in polite requests? Following Carlson, we may note that its medial position on the scale of finiteness makes it ideal candidate for this function in Bantu, generally being marked for person which thus encodes a degree of removal from the speech context. The hortative, in being a less manipulative speech act than an imperative, also involves a degree of removal from the speech context and its encoding as the subjunctive is similarly appropriate.

The subjunctive, in this light, is also suited to indicating connected events as Carlson notes. In basic terms, in connected discourse there will be an assumption of conceptual connexity or continuity unless otherwise indicated. In this respect, as long as successive clauses encode information which is conceptually connected, tense, aspect and modality markings need not be indicated, as these are, so to speak, carried over

from some previous point. This explains the occurrence of the subjunctive in examples like:

1. *Namhlanje ndiza kuya edolophini ndithenge inyama. Ngomso ndiza*
Today I-come to-go LOC-town I-SUBJ-buy meat. Tomorrow I-come
kuhlala ekhaya ndiphumle.
to-stay LOC-home I-SUBJ-rest.

'Today I am going to go to town and buy meat. Tomorrow I am going to stay at home and rest.'

Here two connected series of events are recounted with a break in conceptual coherence corresponding to the break in dependent clauses.

Of course, the situation in at least some of the Southern Bantu languages is a bit more complex than the one Carlson describes. Other less than finite forms include the so-called participial and consecutive which also need to be accounted for. And if these both show decreased markings of finiteness, what distinguishes them internally? In order to explain this we need to examine the concept of grounding.

Background and Foreground Information

The distinction between background and foreground is, of course, basic to human perception. It is also one of the most basic concepts in discourse analysis. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980:280):

Users of a language are constantly required to design their utterances in accord with their own communicative goals and with their perception of their listeners needs. Yet, in any speaking situation, some parts of what is said are more relevant than others. That part of a discourse which does not immediately and critically contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the material that supplies the main points of the discourse is known as the FOREGROUND.

In metaphorical terms the foreground event clauses of a narrative form its skeleton – its basic structure, which advances the story itself. The event clauses are arranged in terms of temporal sequence forming an *event line*.

The background information adds flesh to this skeleton, not advancing the story but rather characterising the backdrop against which the story develops. For this reason it is also known as *durative descriptive information* (to be referred to as d/d information in the discussion below). In this regard, consider the following example:⁶

2.
 - (a) *Yahamba lahamba.*
 - (b) *Lithe lisahamba njalo ladibana nomvundla.*
 - (c) *Lafika ijoni labuza kumvundla ukuba khangeliwubone umvundla.*
 - (d) *Umvundla lo naw wayenxiba indevu apha phezu komlomo.*
 - (e) *Wabuza umvundla, 'Unjani lo mvundla uwufunayo?'*
 - (f) *Lathi eli joni ukuphendula ukuphendula, 'Ufana nawe.'*
 - (g) *Wathi umvundla, 'Hayi, zange ndiwubone umvundla oneendevu.'*
 - (h) *Wathi umvundla, 'Hayi, hamba, mlhawumbi uphazamile.'*
 - (i) *Hayi ke, nejoni laqonda okokuba mhlawumbi liphazamile.*
 - (j) *Lahamba, labuyela umva.*
 - (k) *Lithe lisahamba njalo, laqonda ukuba, 'Hayi...'*
- (a) He travelled and travelled.
- (b) While he was so travelling, he met a rabbit.
- (c) The soldier arrived and asked the rabbit whether it had seen a rabbit at all.
- (d) (The rabbit was wearing a moustache here above the mouth)
- (e) The rabbit asked, 'What's this rabbit like that you're looking for?'
- (f) The soldier answered, 'He looks like you.'
- (g) The rabbit said, 'I've never seen a rabbit with a beard.'
- (h) The rabbit said again, 'No, go, maybe you're mistaken.'
- (i) Anyway, the soldier too thought he was perhaps mistaken.
- (j) He travelled and went back.
- (k) While he was so travelling, he thought, 'No...'

Here we may note that each successive event clause advances the story line and that it is either temporally or causally consequential to the clause that precedes it. Changing the order of any of these clauses would change our interpretation of the events they encode. The d/d information, however, is off the event line. We may note that (d) for example, is not temporally or causally related to the events that precede or follow it. Rather it represents parenthetical background information necessary for the comprehension of the events.

In conceptual terms, the distinction between durative descriptive and foregrounded 'event' information can be seen in terms of *temporal grounding*. Such temporal grounding is parallel to the organisation of visual information. According to Eysenck (1984:33) a fundamental way in which visual information is organised is the 'segregation of the visual field into one part called the figure and another part called the ground'. In general, the figure has 'thing-like' qualities, is well-defined and bounded, while the ground in which the figure is perceived is, in contrast, continuous, less definite and boundless. An example of this is the figure of a house perceived against the background of the sky. Events can be seen as temporal figures perceived as temporally bound and discrete against a temporal background of continuous and durative situations. Such grounding which is basic to perception thus also appears to form an important organisational principle in language. Wallace (1982:214), for instance, presents the hypothesis that certain linguistic categories 'function to differentiate *linguistic* figure from *linguistic* ground' while Longacre (1981:329) notes that the figure-ground categories once distinguished solely on semantic basis are 'more and more seen to correlate with the morphosyntactics of the world's languages'. This analysis supports this particular perspective.

TOWARDS A RE-ANALYSIS

It is the concepts of grounding and connexity as outlined above that I claim form the organisational basis of a good deal of the Xhosa verbal system. In particular I claim that the participial, consecutive and indicative moods as well as the so-called 'continuous tense' forms form a sub-system that is structured around grounding and connexity. In what follows I shall give a re-analysis of each in terms of the notions of grounding and connexity.

The Consecutive Mood

The consecutive marker is *-a-* (to be referred to here as CONS). The positive form of the consecutive is: *SC-VR-a*, for example,

ixhego li-a-thetha
old-man he-CONS-talk
ixhego lathetha
'and the old man spoke'

The consecutive has been traditionally described as a 'subordinate mood type' with the function of, *inter alia*, encoding consecutive actions in the past (Davey 1973:106). Consider the following example:

3. *UThemba uye evenkileni wathenga ukutya wagoduka*

Themba he-PERF-IND-go loc-shop he-CONS-buy food he-CONS-go-home
'Themba went to the shop, bought food and went home'.

Here the first (non-consecutive) clause of the sentence is in the 'independent' indicative mood (perfect) while the second (consecutive) clause is in the dependent consecutive mood. Connection is thus not expressed through an overt conjunction such as 'and' in English but rather through a verbal inflection.

The consecutive is not marked for tense or aspect and thus codes less finiteness than other verb forms. Consider the following textual example of the consecutive:

4.

- (a) *wabetha kuyo ephondweni*
he-CONS-hit to-it LOC-horn
- (b) *kwasuka kwaphuma ukuyta*
it-CONS-go it-CONS-come-out food
- (c) *watya*
He-CONS-eat
- (d) *wahlutha*
he-CONS-full
- (e) *wagoduka*
he-CONS-go-home
- (a) He hit it on the horn,
(b) some food came out,
(c) he ate,
(d) and was satisfied,
(e) and went home.

The consecutive according to this approach encodes two things:

connexity and foregrounded event information. Unlike the indicative past or perfect, the consecutive is marked for connexity, signalled by its less than finite form, to the clause that precedes it. Furthermore, unlike the participial which also encodes such connexity, it does not involve a focus on the internal structure of the situation it encodes. All the consecutive clauses in (4), for example, refer to temporally bounded situations that move the time of the story forward, and all can be answers to the question 'what happened then?'. With no focus on either the internal structure of situation nor its temporal orientation, the focus of the consecutive is the occurrence of the event itself.

If the consecutive signals connexity, then breaks in the conceptual relatedness of narrative should be indicated by the non-use of the consecutive. In such places the independent indicative mood should occur. This is indeed supported by the following example (here IND-PERF indicates the indicative perfect):

5.1

- (a) *hayi ke uhambile ke umntwana nenqwelo yakhe*
no-then *she-travel-PERF* then child with-carriage of-her
- (b) *wayifihla ke lo mtwana inqwelo etyholweni*
She-CONS-it-hid then this child carriage LOC-bush
- (c) *wafika apha emdanisweni*
She-CONS-arrived here LOC-dance
- (d) *yaye inkosi idanisa nezaa ntombi zimbini*
He-PCT chief he-PART-dance with-those girls they-two

5.2

- (e) *hayi okunene uyithathile le ntombi isangena emnyango*
no truly *he-her-take-PERF* this girl she-PART-enter LOC-doorway
- (f) *wayixhwila ngoko*
He-CONS-her twirl then
- (g) *wathi nanku umfazi ungenile*
He-CONS-say here-is wife she-PART-enter-PERF
- (h) *wadinisa naye ngobusuku bonke*
He-CONS-dance with-her with-night all

- 1a) So then, the child travelled with her carriage.
b) Then the child hid the carriage in the bush.
c) She arrived at the dance and entered openly.
d) The chief was dancing with those two girls.
- 2a) So then truly, he took the girl as she entered the door.
b) He seized her then,
c) and said, 'This is my wife, she has entered,'
d) and he danced with her the whole night.

In each of these cases, the (1) and (2) sections deal with units or stretches of information which are distinct from each other; in Givón's terms, there is a thematic break between these sections (1990:826). In (1) the common orientation of the clauses is the events leading up to the girl's arrival at the chief's party. The ideas in (2) are distinct from those in (1) as the orientation now switches to focus on the chief's actions. Just as there is a break in conceptual connexity, there is a matching break in syntactic connexity or dependence with the occurrence of a clause in the indicative mood.

The Participial Mood

The form of the (present) participial is: pos: *SC-VR-a*, for example,

ixhego li-cul-a
old-man he-PART-sing
ixhego licula
the old man singing

The participial is also characterised by a specific tonal contour and an absence of tense marking.

Consider the following individual examples with their associated discourse contexts:

6.

- (a) *baya emdanisweni elila njalo lo mntwana*
They-CONS-go LOC-dance *she-PART-crying* like-this this child
- (b) *wahamba ethwela umthwalo*
She-CONS-travel *she-PART-carry* load

(c) *wafika engekho*
He-CONS-arrive *she-neg-PART-there*

- (a) They went to the dance, this child crying so.
(b) She travelled, carrying her load.
(c) He arrived, she not being there.

Traditionally participial clauses of the above type have been described as a mood type occurring only in subordinate clauses and encoding actions simultaneous to those in the main clause (for example, Du Plessis 1978:135).

We should note that if this were an adequate description then the information encoded in the participial would have the same status as that encoded in consecutive clauses, that is, encoding foreground events. However, it appears that the information is of a different status — encoding rather background information as defined above.

The participial clauses in the examples above, as well as participial clauses more generally, do not, I claim, code events and do not thus form part of the event line advancing the story line. They, like the consecutive, encode syntactic connexity to the clauses they follow. Unlike the consecutive, however, they are marked for 'stative' aspect, and thus, rather than representing actions, or in our terms events, they encode unbounded temporally continuous situations. It is in terms of these situations that the associated consecutive, representing bound events, are foregrounded. The situation is thus not simultaneous to the event, but forms, rather, its durative background. The bounded and momentary event is thus located within the temporally durative framework established by the participial. Thus, in (6a) above, for example, the event of the girl's going to the dance is given the temporal backdrop of the girl's crying and in (b) the girl's travelling is similarly located in the durative backdrop of her carrying a load. Neither of these clauses contributes to the movement of narrative time.

Research into the participial in other Bantu languages supports this view. Wald (1975) and Poulos (1982) argue, respectively, that in Swahili and Zulu the participial is, in both form and function, a temporal relative clause. Poulos (1982:210) states that the participial, like other relative clauses, has 'a restrictive force'; what participial clauses restrict as relative clauses is the 'dimension of time' (1982:219). This approach is supportive of the present view of the participial in terms of its backgrounding function. The situations encoded in the participial clauses

do not encode discourse events moving the narrative forward. Rather, they contribute information which grounds the events in terms of the ongoing situation they describe. Such information is not crucial to the story line but is rather supportive of it.

THE CONTINUOUS TENSES

Form: (pos) *SC-a-(ye/be) participial*, for example:

si-a-(ye/be) sihamba
we-PAST-PCT we-PART travel

sasihamba
'we were travelling'

The form given above has been traditionally labelled the (remote) past continuous tense (PCT) which has been described as indicating 'an action which was in progress ... at some time in the past' (Davey 1973:87).

The PCT, typically a fully finite form, is a compound utilising an auxiliary verb *-be* (also realised as *-ye*) which encodes the notion of 'being'. As complement to this auxiliary, the participial indicates the temporal domain or durational situation of this being. In the illustration above the being is restricted to the temporal domain of 'travelling'. The PCT encodes, in terms of this durational basis, an unbounded situation as opposed to an event. It is important to note in this respect that the PCT does not as a whole form the durative background of a contingent event as does the participial on its own. Rather, the PCT indicates an independent 'scene'. In narrative, PCTs usually cluster together to form the initial settings of the tale which functions as an orientation to the body of the story events. Consider the following example:

7.

- (a) *kwakukho umntwana ekwakisithiwa nguJon nabanye*
It-PCT-it-present child PART-it-PCT-said COP-John with-others
abantwana bakokwabo
children of-home
- (b) *ke ngoku ke lo mntwana wayengathandwa kokwabo*
Then now then this child *he-PCT-NEG-like-PASS COP-home*
enikwa iinkonzo zombona
he-PART-give-PASS husks of-maize

- (a) There once was a child called John and other children at home.
 (b) Now then, this child was not liked at home, being given maize husks.

In such settings there is no focus on the movement of narrative time as such. Rather, the durative setting orientating the audience to the story world is described before the events occurring in this backdrop are described.

The following examples illustrate the use of PCTs, not in the initial setting, but in the body of the narrative itself:

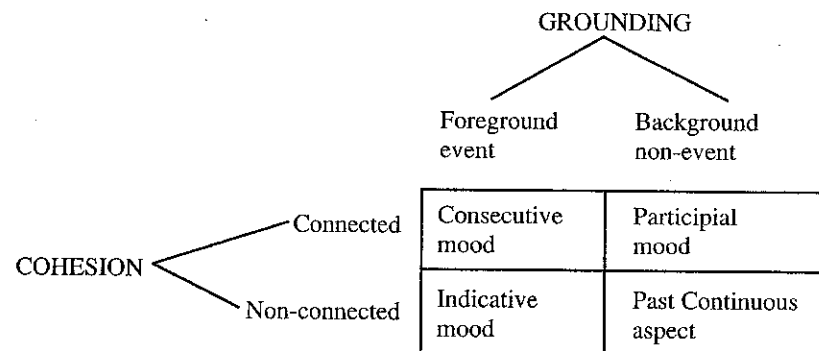
- 8.
- (a) *lafika ijoni labuza kumvundla ukuba*
 He-PCT-arrive soldier he-PCT-ask LOC-rabbit that
khange uwubone na umvundla
 ever he-IT-see-SUBJ QUES rabbit
- (b) *umvundla nawo wayenxiba indevu apha phezu komlomo*
 Rabbit with-it he-PCT-wear moustache here above of-mouth
- (c) *wabuza umvundla unjani lo mvundla uwufunayo*
 He-CONS-ask rabbit it-how this rabbit you-it-want-REL
- (a) The soldier arrived and asked the rabbit whether it had seen a rabbit at all.
 (b) (The rabbit was wearing a moustache here above the mouth)
 (c) The rabbit asked, 'What's this rabbit like that you're looking for?'

In these examples we may see that PCT clauses are clearly off the event line, representing background information.

The PCT forms are thus backgrounding in function. They encode, not the bounded events holding only for the moment of their occurrence, but temporally unbounded situations which hold for the narrative world in general. Furthermore, unlike the participial, the PCT indicate independent scene.

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to see how the concepts of grounding and connexity are fundamental to the organisation of verbal system. This can be represented in the following diagram:



Traditionally, the Dokean framework uses the term 'mood' as a convenient label to refer to different categories of verbal inflections. This use is thus purely descriptive; which is in keeping with the descriptive basis of Doke's model. In this use, the label 'mood' was somewhat extended beyond its traditionally association with modality. It was applied both to such traditional modally-based distinctions as 'imperative' vs. 'indicative' on the one hand, and to the distinction between, say, the 'participial' and 'indicative' (which is not modally based) on the other. The result was a mixed bag of verbal inflections all falling under the same general rubric.

Where attempts have been made to explain the basis of the Bantu moods, reference has, however, typically reverted back to the concept of 'modality'. Such explanations are by definition problematic, given the diversity of items called 'moods'.

The framework proposed here attempts to explain the systematic basis of some instances of what have been labelled 'moods' in terms of discourse functions. It suggests that 'moods' examined have some organisational basis (which is not offered in the descriptive Dokean framework) and that this basis is expressed in discourse terms rather than modality. It is an open question whether the term 'mood' could be appropriately used in this context. Another, possibly more appropriate term, would be 'aspect'. What is clear, however, is that the concept of modality *per se* is not of direct application to the moods examined here.

Taken as a whole, the analysis suggests that, contra the Dokean approach, a distinction should be made between sets of items traditionally labelled as 'moods'. In particular, it suggests that contrasts such as those among the imperative, indicative and, to a lesser extent, subjunctive may

be fruitfully analysed in terms of modality, but that contrasts such as those among the 'consecutive', 'indicative', 'participial' and 'past continuous' tenses are best explained in different terms, specifically in terms of grounding and connexity.

I would like to end with what is perhaps a more savoury metaphor than the one given in the introduction. It seems to me that we all circle and flutter around this bright and mysterious thing we call the truth, and sometimes we scorch our wings. Perhaps we can best remember Doke in the words of the anonymous poet:

And when our candle is burnt down quite
Cooled to a pool of wax and wick
There will lie in their enchanted tomb
The embalmed riches of a moth's flecks.

NOTES

1. See Khoali (1993) for a detailed critique in this respect.
2. See Hendrikse (1981) and Fourie (1991) for references.
3. See Davey (1973:1-7) for an overview.
4. Cf. Fourie (1991) for a recent perspective.
5. Carlson (1992:81ff) notes further that across languages the imperative typically displays reduced finiteness. This can simply be explained by the fact that in face-to-face interaction the information coded by finite markings (such as tense and person) are directly specified by context which thus allows the non-finite form.
6. All textual examples in this paper are taken from narrative material collected by Gough (1986).

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