

## THE AMPLEXIVES IN SETSWANA

Andy Chebanne

University of Botswana  
[chebanne@mopipi.ub.bw](mailto:chebanne@mopipi.ub.bw) / [chebanne@gmail.com](mailto:chebanne@gmail.com)

### Abstract

*Amplexives are nouns that morphologically do not fall within the normal nominal class system but are used as names of individuals which then mean they must be proper nouns. Therefore, Setswana has not only a complex verbal conjugational system but also the noun system is. The amplexives show that by not having a regular nominal prefixes or regular classification, they bring another dimension in the conceptual framework of the nominal system. Nouns exist not only to name individual entities but to provide sociolinguistic and ethnological information on these entities. The classification in types, superficially shown by a certain nominal morphology is the main characteristic of the class system. However, other nouns, such amplexives have no such morphology, but they are classed by association to other nouns in the system. For instances, kinship terms are associated with the human noun system (cl. 1/2); 1a/2a), the sub-categorization into 1a and 2a clearly indicating this irregularity. But not all humans are classed in the same classes. Those ethnic groups that do not belong to the Sotho-Tswana stock are classed elsewhere (le-/ma-: cl. 5/6). In certain cases amplexives may take a second prefix, either because the original prefix is no longer felt as functional prefix or two concepts are infused. This is the case with ma-sa-rwa which also elsewhere in Setswana dialects is ba-rwa. The paper seeks to examine these extra-noun class system nouns and to characterize their semantic amplification (derogation, exclusion, honorifics, etc.).*

**Key Words:** amplexives, nominal class, noun classification, Setswana.

### Introduction

Literature on amplexives comes preponderantly from linguistics who worked on Central African languages. Mangulu (2014: 73) admits that linguists have provided amplexives without any definition. One of the linguists on African languages who mentions amplexives, albeit in an indirect way, is Bastin (1985: 86) who observes that”

[Une des clés essentielles des associations et des relations sémantiques dans les langues bantoues repose sur les systèmes de classes et de suffixation verbale. D'autres mécanismes (synecdoque, métonymie, symbolisme...) s'y ajoutent pour former un système complexe et riche].

One of the essential keys in the associations of semantic relations in Bantu languages resides in the nominal systems and the verbal suffixation. Other mechanisms (synecdoche, metonymy, symbolism...) are added to constitute a complex and rich system.

While their specific lexical function and their grammatical roles are determined, the exact definition only comes later, and Bastin (1994: 5) cited in Mangulu (2014) attempts to define amplexives from their morphological and functional characterization.

[Ces morphèmes relativement productifs et de forme variable, caractérisent souvent les noms propres...]

These relatively productive morphemes with variable form, characterize proper nouns.

While Mangulu (2014) discusses amplexives he is also more interested in their functions and morphology than providing them with a specific definition. In his functional characterization, Mangulu (2014: 76) observes that:

[La piste pour parvenir à déterminer la valeur de ces particules se trouve dans les reconstructions de Meeussen [1967: 95]...ou (ils) sont décrits dans la structure des nominaux complexes comme des éléments médiaux ayant le sens de « propriétaire de » ou « possédant »...]

The direction to take to come to the determination of the semantic value of these particles is in the reconstructions of Meeussen (1967 : 95) ...where they are described (as) part of the structure of complex nominal as medial elements having the meaning of “owner of” or “possessor”.

While Mangulu (2014) concludes that amplexives are found elsewhere in Bantu languages, nothing exists in the treatment of these elements outside the Central Africa zones. The approach adopted in the analysis of amplexives is theoretically or methodologically better preferred because to understand their semantics and functions, it is important to look at them not as classifiable nouns but as nouns that occupy a sociolinguistic and discourse function in Bantu languages.

Grammatically and lexically, these type of words amplify the internal lexical semantics of nouns. That is, they operate ethnolinguistically as referent anthroponyms in expressing honor, derogation and exclusion from ethnic groups (cf. Vansina, 1964; Mangulu, 2014). Anthroponymy are over-arch onomastics, the art of naming or giving names. Amplexives, especially those that relate to anthroponymy, pervade the whole personal name system as an ethnolinguistic system (Movu, 1983). Names and nouns are not only naming or identifying entities, but relate entities to the whole ethnolinguistic, socio-cultural and sociolinguistic realities of existence of entities, especially if such entities are human beings. Naming an entity and therefore a person, helps to contextualize and understand how such a noun or name helps understand the society in which it is given. Thus, amplexive as lexical information amplifiers, give indication of values of honor or disgrace that a noun or name is viewed and how that contributes to the social good or bad. This semantic characterization while it may exist in many languages of the world is particularly productive in Bantu (see Mangulu, 2014; Bastin, 1994).

### Amplexives in African Languages

Bantu literature by Bantuists, like Meinhof (1932), Meeussen (1959), Guthrie (1967-1971), amplexives are fairly treated within the nominal morphology but not so much suggesting their classification. This is the case of linguists like Cole (1955), Ashton (1944), Polomé (1967), Whiteley (1965) who treat them either as part of compounds or as clitics while the prefixes *la/2a* are treated as a special class. The weakness in the earlier treatment is that they overlooked amplexives as a specific nominal system which by its evolution or grammaticalization has produced a semantic characterization within the nominal system. Therefore, the approach taken in this discussion is first to show that in grammars of African languages, amplexives are rarely treated as a nominal category, yet they can be very productive in some languages such as Gombe (Mangulu, 2014: 73 -75) and Shona (Chimhundu et al., 2000; Wieschhoff, 1937).

The discussion on amplexives in Setswana is motivated by the need to demonstrate that in the nominal system, there are nouns that by their morphology and classification are assigned various classes that either are subsumed in the conceptually class of the base or in classes that ameliorate or negate certain of their qualities. This is the case of anthroponomy in class *1a/2a*, *5 / 6/ 7 / 8*, and *9 /10*. While class *1a / 2a* are more honorific, other classes have mixed values of exceptionality, strangeness, despicability and exclusion from human norm. In Shona the amplexive is very productive (cf Hannan, 1984 reprinted):

#### (1) Shona amplexives

a.	sa-pamberi	‘first-comer’
	sa-masimba	‘the all powerful’
	sa-manyika	‘lord of the land’
	sa-rurabenzi	‘odd person out ; odd object’

They can also be used as kinship terms.

b.	sa-imba	‘householder; landlord’
	sa-mukadzi	‘paternal aunt’
	sa-mukuru	‘elder’
	sa-rumbuya	‘great grandmother’
	sa-zawani	‘father-in-law’

Note that (1a7b) nouns are used in class *1a/2a*, because they are felt to be arising from anthroponomy and also establish a sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic function or kinship relationships. It may also be useful to point out that the */sa-/* is historically a contracted form *\*yice* (*yice+a > iceŋa > ca > sa*) plus a genitive “father of” or “owner of” in Proto-Bantu. Therefore, */sa-imba/* would be “father of the house, owner of the house/home”.

In Bantu languages, amplexives may amplify peculiar qualities, or qualify negative or positive qualities associated with a noun. Their complexity therefore is not just morphological but semantic. When the amplexive noun amplifies negative qualities or is used diminutively in Shona, class 12/13 is used.

(2) Class 12/13 amplexives

ka-mbiya	‘small earthenware bowl’
ka-ndirendire	‘Jameson fire-finch’
ka-kwende	‘offensive odour’
ka-munyonyororo	‘small thin path’
ka-mbudzi	‘small strange goat’

The form /ka-/ should be treated as diminutive from the Noun Classes 12/13, which are often used in Bantu languages as a belittling derivative, when juxtaposed on other inherent prefixes (named extra-dependent by Guthrie (1971)).

Amplexives in Bantu languages clearly show that they can have morphological regular prefixal morphemes (see Mangulu 2014: 73-75). However, conceptually these morphological characterizations do not necessarily make them comply with any regular class. The other important distinction is that the (sa-, ma-, ka) may have tonal properties that also do not necessarily appear to conform to the regular tonology of the nominal class system. In some languages the regularity of the amplexives morphology could be an instance of fossilized or obsolete noun class system, such as it is the case of classes 12, 13, 19, 20, etc. On the other side of possibilities, nouns that become amplexives can be a result of some grammaticalization process which impacts their semantics deriving from their specialized uses within the sociolinguistic, ethnic, and anthropological contexts. This is the evolution that Bickerton, (2005: 511) argues for when he states that,

What is happening (and has been happening for perhaps as many as a hundred thousand years) is cultural change (sometimes misleadingly described as “cultural evolution”); within the envelope of the language faculty, languages are recycling the limited alternatives that this biological envelope makes available.

This change affects all grammatical elements of a language. Vocabulary can change and be lost. Old words may derive new meanings through semantic shifts or some other grammatical operation that may occur on them. But having said that, it must be stated that within language, there are internal evolutions that will cause some parts of vocabulary to evolve and others to remain (Bickerton, 2005). The nominal system in Bantu may therefore be qualified as experiencing evolution and no evolution, that is, while its grammatical architecture remains, the number of classes may change and some may be lost.

### Amplexives in Setswana

Linguists whom pioneered work on Southern African languages such as Doke (1935), and Cole (1955) did not mention amplexives in their works, even though the words that fall within this category were treated under kinship nouns. Batibo (1999) in his treatment of the grammaticalization process in Setswana nouns does not make mention of the processes that could be near identification of amplexive nouns. In Setswana, as in many Bantu languages, amplexive nouns have no dedicated single morphology, but they are classed by association to other nouns in the system. In Setswana, except for the kinship terms, genitival characterization of certain habits of behaviors, amplexives have almost died off in the system. Amplexives that are active in the nominal system are those sub-categorized in classes 1a and 2a clearly indicate the morphological irregularity Kinship terms are associated with the human noun system (cl. 1/2); 1a/2a) and character nouns in other classes 5/ 6/, 7 / 8, and 9 /10. Setswana has some of these strategies albeit very obsolete and rare but it uses other compensatory strategy within the nominal class system. Vestiges of class 12/13 are found in some small insect and animal names (cf. Otlogetswe, 2012). Note that the recognition of this “kga- “nominal prefix is based on the fact that it is low-toned and also it is augmentative in some noun stems.

#### (3) Fossilized and obsolete class 12 amplexives in Setswana

kga-ladua	‘beetle, small type of’	
kga-tutswe	‘lizard, type of’	
kga-tlampane	‘lizard, type of’	> kga-tlapane
kga-rubane	‘small tortoise’	
kga-jane	‘small man; midget who used to lead initiates’	

The /kga-/ may also be treated as a contraction of earlier noun. In Bantu languages, there are several of such nominal forms which could be treated as prefixes or even suffixes (such as –gadi). Most of these types of nouns are pluralized in class 2a or class 10. Diminutive values that were associated with class 12/13 in Setswana are now expressed by the suffixation of the –ana or –nyana to nouns.

#### (4) Diminutives in Setswana

monna-nyana	‘small man’
mafokonyana	‘few words’
kgomo-nyana	‘small cow’
mots-ana	‘small settlement’

Diminutivization with suffixes –ana and –nyana is now the regular way to recreate semantics values that were lost with the loss of class 12/13. Semantics these suffixes can express contradictory values of endearment and hate or derogatory rejection of an entity. One could also cite the case of Kiswahili nouns which are often associated with other nouns as in:

## (5) Complex nouns as amplexives

i)	mwana-maji	“sailor”	(lit. child of water)
	mwana-funzi	“student”	(lit. child of learning)
	mwana-ume	“man”	(lit. child of male)
	mwana- jeshi	“soldier”	(lit. child of army)
	mwana-sheria	“lawyer”	(lit. child of law)
	mwana-nchi	“citizen”	(lit. child of country)
ii)	hali-joto	“temperature”	(lit. condition of heat)
	hali-mvua	“rain gauge”	(lit. condition of rain)
	hali-hewa	“air-condition”	(lit. condition of air)
	hali-maji	“water level”	(condition of water)
iii)	glosi-sawa	“isogloss”	(lit. equal gloss)
	gemo-sawa	“isogem”	(lit.equal gem)
	umbali-sawa	“equi-distance ”	(lit.same distance)
	urefu-sawa	“equi-length”	(lit.equal length)
	umbo-sawa	“uniform”	(lit same form)

The question to answer is whether these nouns should all be treated as cases of “amplexives”? From the definitions provided earlier; amplexives can be morphological and semantic complex. It is not so much the form they get but the function they take in the nominal system. Amplexives as semantic characteristic amplifiers can in nominal morphology i) take simple noun prefixes with irregular semantic notions, ii) be contracted forms of earlier lexical items, used as part of words in a compound form as the Kiswahili examples show in (5). It is also for some Bantu languages the fact that they fall out of the normal noun classification.

### The Noun and its formations

Bantu nouns operate like personal names of entities they refer to. Each visible and invisible object that is conceptually present in the existence of the Bantu must be named and classified as a way of identifying and relating with it. Nouns therefore describe referents in the world of existence. This conceptual framework forms the core system of the Bantu languages grammar (Poulos et al., 1994). Nouns are morphologically distinct in that they have a prefix and stem. In most cases, the prefix identifies the assigned classed. There could be homophony in class prefixes but the agreement system will sort out which class of reference is intended by the nouns.

### The noun prefixes

As a general rule, any noun in Setswana belongs to a class. A noun class is characterized by some grammatical elements that appear with it. The most common of such elements is the noun prefix. Nouns in a class have a common prefix, and this is what allows one to identify nouns as belonging to such and such class. The class prefix combines with a root to form a noun. The next important grammatical element in the noun system is the noun subject marker (SM). Like prefixes, the noun subject markers have a particular form which may be used to classify nouns. The following table illustrates:

Table1. The Noun and markers of the nominal system

Class	Prefix	Quality/role	SM	DEM	Example sentence
1	mo-	singular	o	yo	Motho o tsamaile (the person has gone)
1 a	zero prefix	singular	o	yo	Rre o gorogile (father has arrived)
2	ba-	plural of 1	ba	ba	Batho ba tsamaile (people have gone)
2 a	bo-	plural of 1a	ba	ba	Borre ba gorogile (the fathers have arrived)
3	mo-	singular	o	o	Motse o kgakala (the village is far)
4	me-	plural of 3	e	ye	Metse e kgakala (the villages are far)
5	le-	singular	le	le	Lethlare le ole (the leaf has fallen)
6	ma-	plural of 5,11,14	a	a	Mathare a ole (the leaves have fallen off)
7	se-	singular	se	se	Selo se kae? (where is the thing)
8	di-	plural 7, 11	di	tse	Dilo di kae? (where are the things)
9	n-	singular	e	e	Nku e ja bojang (the sheep graze grass)
10	di-n-	plural 9, 11	di	tse	Dinku di ja bojang (sheep graze grass)
11	lo-	singular	lo	lo	Logong lo a robega (the wood is breaking)
14	bo-	singular	bo	jo	Botagwa bo maswe (drunkenness is bad)
15	go	infinitive	go	mo	Go bua go thata (speaking is difficult)
16	fa-	locative	go	mo	Fa fatshe go metsi (it is damp on the ground)
17	go-	locative	go	mo	Godimo go go ntle(it is beautiful above)
18	mo-	locative	go	mo	Morago go botoka (behind is better)

**Note 1:** No nouns in Setswana take classes 12 and 13, instead it is the diminutive suffix in nouns that has taken up the function.

**Note 2:** Classes 16, 17, 18, have nouns with locative meaning and which function as adverbs. These three classes are better treated as one class of locative nouns, as indeed their subject markers and demonstrative show.

**Note 3:** Classes 8 and 10 demonstrative markers are actual compound, made of di-e (the plural and the singular demonstrative markers) which becomes *tse*.

**Note 4:** There are nouns that are often devoid of morphological characterization but they are nonetheless assigned class such as 9, 1a.

To understand the motivation of the noun class system, a quick consideration of the entities contained in each class will help.

(5) The nominal class architecture

Class 1 / 2

+Human

+Noun

Nominalization

Classes 16/17/18

-Human

-Noun

Locativization



Class 1 / 2 is put in Bantu languages as a class that is essentially reserved for human classification. It is for this reason that any other human noun, anthroponomy even though morphologically outside class 1 / 2 must be associated to this human beings class. This is the case with kinships terms, which are not marked morphologically, but are human, and they will be found in class 1a / 2a. Further from class 1 / 2 are non-human, abstract nouns (14), nominalized verbs (class 15), and locativized nouns (classes 16, 17, and 18).

The targeted amplexive words for discussion are those that describe or refer to human, but are assigned noun class concepts that contrast the 1 / 2 class.

Table 2. Setswana anthroponomy classes

Anthroponomical Noun Class	Amplexive (honorofic, derogatory, exclusion) classes
1 / 2	5 / 6
1a / 2a	7 / 8
	9 / 10

The amplexive nouns from classes 5 / 6, 7 / 8, and 9 / 10, are often adjectival and they can be qualified as "...the person who...", "motho yo o...", or; motho wa"... The classes 1 / 2 and 1a / 2a are also operating adjectivally but within the normal and accepted anthroponomical conceptual framework. The sections that follow will try to illustrate how the Setswana language amplifies semantico-lexical values in the nouns it has in and outside its nominal system.

**Setswana Anthroponomy**

These are nouns that name human being, not their characters or professional casts. They do not necessarily limit themselves to ethnonyms.

(6) Anthroponomy classes of Setswana

- a. Class 1 pluralized in class 2

motho/batho

mogwe/bagwe

modiri/badiri

- b. Class 5 pluralized in class 6  
 legodu/magodu  
 lefetwa/mafetwa  
 letwaga/matagwa
  
- c. Class 7 pluralized in class 10  
 setswerere/ditswerere  
 segole/digole  
 sekopa/dikopa
  
- d. Class 9 pluralized in class 10  
 kgosi/dikgosi  
 Ngaka/dingaka

Anthroponyms may in ordinary use have mixed conjugational morphology, especially when preceded by ‘motho’ and in syntax the agreement conjugation is flexible.

(7) Anthroponyms

- a. Kgosi e / o a busa. ‘The king rules’.
- b. Moto wa legodu o tshwere. ‘The thief has been caught’
- c. Legodu le tshwerwe. ‘The thief has been caught.’

The table below further illustrates this flexibility of the conceptualization of these anthroponymy within the nominal class agreement conjugation. As it can be observed in the table, these anthroponomic nouns also function as amplexives as they can be used descriptively. This gives them a peculiar semantic characterization.

Table 3. Descriptive nature of amplexives in classes other than 1 / 2

Anthroponymy	Genitival connector	Qualifying amplexive noun
Motho....	wa	... setswerere ...legodu ...ngaka

In class 1a/2a and some anthroponymy in class 5 / 6, there nouns can be used as adjectives to the base concept of human being assigned good or bad social behavior or roles. This is behaviors are clearly observable in classes 7/8 and 9/10, as the examples above (table 3) illustrate. The following section discusses the occurrence of amplexives that are the vestige of what examples (1) for Shona presents.

**The Amplexives ma-/ra-**

Anthroponymy with these prefixes or zero prefix are in class 1a pluralized in class 2a. They denote kinship terms.

## (8) Class 1a pluralized in class 2a

- a. ra-lebiibii (bird)
  - ra-lekgotla
  - ralophalo
  - ra-kgadi/borakgadi
  - ma-lome/bomalome
  - nkoko/bonkoko
  
- b. ma-kgonatsotlhe
  - ma-jaalela
  - ma-binagotsholwa
  - ma-jakathata

While the nominal derivation in (8) may be said to be productive or active, it is not altogether the case with nouns that depict ethnic groups that are outside the Sotho-Tswana stock. There is either sociolinguistic or ethno-linguistic fluctuation of their designation. Non Setswana ethnic groups, that is, groups that do not belong to the Sotho-Tswana ethnic stock are characterized by the use of the le-/ma-classification in 5/6.

## (9) Class 5 pluralized in class 6

Le-tebele	/	ma-tebele
Le-sa-rwa	/	ma-sa-rwa
Le-setedi	/	ma-setedi

The idea of such classification among human of despicable behavior (see below) clearly shows how the Setswana want to view ethnic groups that do not belong to their ethnic stock.

## (10) Anthroponomy that are assigned despicable human qualities

Le-tagwa	/	ma-tagwa
Le-godu	/	ma-godu
Le-kgwelwa	/	ma-kgwelwa

Amplexive that designate ethnonyms are therefore derogatory and intended to alienate all such groups that do not form part of the ethnic Setswana stock.

**The sa- amplexive**

The sa- amplexive is by its morphology derived from a genitival prefix and commonly used with nouns to associate some perceive qualities:

- (11) Amplexive in sa- depicting qualities that are excluded and despised.
- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Sa-mesese | ‘a man interested in woman’                    |
| Sa-basadi | ‘a man interested in woman’                    |
| Sa-malapa | ‘a person moving from one family to the other’ |

While these semantic values describe habits that are disapproved in the socially, they are not altogether alienating than in the following:

- (12) Meaning of Sa-rwa
- |        |             |                                 |
|--------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Sa-rwa | / Ma-sa-rwa | ‘of hunter gatherer or bushman’ |
|--------|-------------|---------------------------------|

The alienation of the humans labeled “Twa”, from which “Rwa” is derived, which is hunter-gatherer, is found among many Bantu groups. Hunter-gatherers in Botswana are “Ba-sa-rwa” or “Barwa among the Barolong and Batlhaping in the south. A hunter-gather is therefore an alienable person from the Setswana ethnic stock. In the case of the amplexive sa- it may take a second prefix, either because the original prefix is no longer felt as a functional prefix or two concepts are infused.

- (13) Anthroponomy of Mo-sa-rwa
- |                       |
|-----------------------|
| Mo-sa-rwa / Ba-sa-rwa |
|-----------------------|

The amplexives as the presentation has shown are nouns that are assigned to many morphologically and conceptually varied noun classes. They therefore can be said to show that they have regular or irregular nominal prefixes or regular or irregular classification. This is the case of kinship terms. They are obviously human and conceptually attached to the regular and inalienable human relational properties. They bring another dimension in the vision of the world and a re-analysis of the conceptual framework of the nominal system.

In any language, words in general and nouns in particular exist not only to name individual entities but to provide sociolinguistic and ethno-linguistic information on these entities (cf. Vansina, 1964). The classification in in the nominal class system has two aspects, the linguistically superficial type that is shown by a certain nominal morphology, and the sociolinguistic and cultural anthropological and ethnic coded aspect that encode attitudes and other relative systems of respect and avoidance.

However, other nouns, such as amplexives have no such morphology, but they are classed by association to other nouns in the system. For instances, kinship terms are associated with the human noun system (cl. 1/2); 1a/2a), the sub-categorization into 1a and 2a clearly indicating this irregularity. But not all humans are classed in the same classes. Those ethnic groups that do not belong to the Sotho-Tswana stock are classed elsewhere (le-/ma-: cl. 5/6).

From the discussion, it is evident that amplexives as anthroponomy are semantically varied and can be motivated by complex social and linguistic considerations. It is also clear that morphologically they present regular and irregular nominal conjugation. Some have not evolved and the social and cultural dynamics of the language have left them fossilized, and in that regard they do not seem to fall under the regular normal nominal class system. However, in most instances they still retain the historical function

of being used as appellations of entities which then mean they must be proper nouns. In Setswana their paucity and reduced functionalization can be explained by the general degradation of the nominal class system where classes 12 and 13 have been lost and where other strategies such as diminutivization have been left out from the class system but developed as a lexical system.

In the general evolution of the Setswana language various categorial grammaticalization processes have occurred. Not only has Setswana complex verbal conjugational system, but also the noun system is fairly complex. The discussed amplexives examples show that by not all having a regular nominal prefixes or regular nominal classification, they bring another complex dimension in the conceptual framework of the Bantu nominal system in general and in particular in Setswana. Further, it has been palpable that although nouns exist to name or characterize entities within the world of experiences of people in a society, they however also provide a clear evidence of how sociolinguistic and ethnological information is coded into these entities. Thus, nouns or names can be said to have qualificative or adjectival function. In this regards, amplexive nouns also provide a historical idea that the classification in types, superficially shown by a certain nominal morphology is the main characteristic of the class system. Historically this morphology was either pervading or underlying as certain class 9 noun morphology shows – not on the noun but on its syntax.

Further, amplexives are clear social construct guided by the sociology of the language than by the linguistics of it. This explains why some have no regular nominal or lexical morphology. However, because they are nouns, they are must still classed by association to other nouns in the nominal system. The example of, kinship terms which are associated with the human noun system are classed in cl. 1/2 conceptually but because they do not take the regular form thereof they are given classes 1a/2a. This sub-categorization into 1a and 2a which is motivated by morpho-phonological irregularity is a surface semantic value of terms that have more to their nominal designation – to amplify their social designation. Conversely, the discussion has shown that not all human entities are classed in the same nominal classes. The amplexive conceptual framework dictates that human entities are not the same. For instance, ethnic groups that do not belong to the Sotho-Tswana stock are marked for exclusion by being classed elsewhere in the nominal class: *le-/ma-* (cl. 5/6).

It has been shown also that in certain restricted cases anthroponomical amplexives may have complex prefixes that is, compounded or fused together. The reason for this is not evident but one could allege that, either the original prefix is no longer felt as functional prefix or two concepts are infused to amply the intended social group exclusion. The example of the Khoisan ethnic group labeled *ma-sa-rwa* is the case in point. This term elsewhere within the Setswana dialects is *ba-rwa*, and it is a regular human class 1 and 2. Thus, amplexives seek to associate in the already class distinction secondary values of derogation, exclusion, honorifics, and any other social values that the language may general in its sociolinguistic function.

## Conclusion

Aplexives are complex morphemes in their semantics as well as in their morphology. However, as Bastin understood them, they are, although relatively productive morphemes with variable form,

essentially characterizing proper names, and therefore not necessarily operating in established nominal classes. Also, as anthroponyms they reflect the ethno-linguistic and historical values of a language group's subtle endogenic and exogenic use of proper names. In this regard, a language used amplexives to code not only meanings but cultural attitudes in words. The way names at individual levels denote or connote attitudes shows how the society or a language group has organized itself, socially. The attributes given by amplexives of kinship terms shows that Setswana has not just an extensive relationship structure, but attached to such structures are respect systems accorded to relatives. While it is clear that contrastive amplexives are dying and are therefore very few, it is equally means that this respect system has its opposite and values of derogatory, rejection, and alienation are assigned. More research is needed to understand the amplexives in Setswana.

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