

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN ZULU:

**A CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CODES AND REGISTERS IN
THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

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DECLARATION

I declare that **Language Variation in Zulu: A case Study of Contemporary Codes and Registers in the Greater Durban Area** is my own work and that sources used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references

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SUMMARY

ABBREVIATIONS

CCR	Contemporary Codes and Registers
GDA	Greater Durban Area
GD	Greater Durban
CR	Code or Register
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language

SUMMARY

This study has been an attempt to clarify a number of basic problems regarding the phenomena of **Language Variation** and their implications for linguistic usage. The data were collected in the **GDA**. Very little has been done on **Language Variation** in Zulu owing to lack of interest in Sociolinguistics in the middle of this century. A study of this nature is imperative because language planners have to design policies for the Government of National Unity in South Africa.

There are two very important aspects to National Language Policies. These comprise the ideological aspect, which is concerned with mobilising the nation's sentiments and attitudes towards the acceptance and use of selected speech forms. The second aspect involves the technical side, which looks at the practical elements which are concerned with the problems of implementing the ideology (Whiteley 1963:150).

In order to fulfil the foregoing ideals, we had to look for applicable aims and objectives of **Language Variation**. The main objectives were:

- (a) to identify at least seven domains where different language varieties were employed in the Black Durban speech community;
- (b) to investigate the social attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards **CCR's**;
- (c) to trace the origin of and development of the non-standard varieties which are employed by the Black Durban speech community;
- (d) To investigate the impact of **CCR's** on the economy, and social conditions prevailing in the **GDA**.

In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, the term '**Language Variation**' and its dynamics had to be clarified. Empirical studies on research methodologies had to be resorted to in order to give a sound base to the theoretical framework. A number of theories were explored and they were found to be applicable to **Contemporary Codes and Registers** employed by the Black Durban speech community. These comprised **speech accommodation, cognitive uncertainty, affective reinforcement, gain-loss,**

social identity, functionalist and interactionist theories. In order to test these theories, I resorted to ethnomethodological and ethnographic approaches to empirical research. The choice of these approaches was to capture data on **CCR's** in the most objective and valid manner.

The next step was to take a deep plunge into field work. I became a participant observer in a number of domains around the Durban Metropolitan area. Interviews with prominent Zulu speakers were also conducted in order to obtain their input towards **CCR's**.

The research was conducted in seven Black townships, situated in the **GDA**. In addition to this, research was conducted in Westville prison, transportation modes, hospitals, streets, taverns, educational units, and in soccer clubs. I entered the aforementioned domains as a 'friend of a friend' a lecturer, or an ex-class teacher in order to become a participant observer in various activities of the Black Durban speech communities.

In addition to this, written questionnaires were administered and answered by respondents. The aim of the questionnaire survey was to measure the magnitude of linguistic transformations in the **GDA**. Another aim was to capture the attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards non-standard varieties of Zulu. Interviews were also conducted for the same purpose. Checklists were also resorted to in order to secure valid and objective information.

The collection and analysis of data alone was not adequate in accounting for **Language Variation**. Bokamba, (1988:21) mentions that we need data on the communicative behaviour of speakers - the whys and how's of[Language Variation].

A description of the social context of **CCR's** as observed in the Black speech community of the **GDA** was exposed. This involved a presentation of the origins and development of linguistic **CR's** used in the **GDA**. **CR's** included slang, Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, jargon, borrowing, interlarding, neologisms, which were covered under the term **CCR's**. The linguistic make up, characteristics and classification of **CCR's** were also carried out. I had to identify the speakers of **CCR's** in the various targeted domains, where they are employed, as well as the topics which are normally discussed by the interlocutors.

Socio-psychological functions of **CCR's** as spoken in the targeted areas were uncovered. It was revealed that **CCR's** entail elaborate and rich linguistic forms. They incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people at a particular era in the history of mankind.

At least 75% of the 800 collected lexical items which were regarded as non-standard and filtered talk were found to be known and used by most Black Durban speakers. School children were found to have carried these **CCR's** to the classroom situation where they were penalised for employing them.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study on **Language Variation** focuses on **Contemporary** speech **Codes** and **Registers** (hereunder referred to **CCR's**) which are employed by the Black Durban speech community. A few sociolinguistic terms which are employed in the thesis will be clarified in the succeeding section to enable the reader to follow the study.

1.2 DEFINITION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

Language Variation refers to the different ways of speaking and writing a particular language. These differences encompass the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of a language (Reagan, 1992:39). Variation in a language may be associated with geographical background, social class, educational background, age and gender. Montgomery (1986:62) also mentions that these differences are complemented by the imbalances which exist with respect to accessibility to material sources. This implies that a speaker who is exposed to various domains within a community will have more vocabulary than the one who is not.

Language Variety is a sociolinguistic concept referring to language in context (Holmes, 1992:9). It alludes to any system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by specific social circumstances. Language variety is a broad term embracing different styles of talking, accents, dialects and different languages of the world which contrast with each other for social reasons (Holmes, 1992:9).

In short, it is a general cover term for different varieties of language and includes any system of linguistic expressions which are governed by situational variables.

Standard Variety: This is a complex concept which will be fully discussed in chapter 2. Standard languages are not static, they also change just like the non-standard forms (Van Wyk 1992:32).

Non-standard language varieties: A non-standard dialect is a language variety which is not-standard¹. Comparatively, non-standard varieties of a language are used in casual domains whilst standard dialects or varieties are used in formal environments. It must be stressed that non-standard varieties are in no way inferior to the standard languages. They co-exist with standard languages and are employed by various speakers of all walks of life (Van Wyk 1992:32).

Speech community: A speech community comprises a group of speakers who share norms and rules for the use of at least one common language. They do not, however, necessarily use the same language all the time (Gumperz, 1972a:16). This means that members of the same speech community need to share at least one common language which is governed by rules, so that they can decode² the social meaning carried by alternative modes of communication (Gumperz 1972a:16).

Diglossia means the use of at least two distinct varieties of the same language, depending on the social functions of communication, of various communication subsystems, comprising dialects³, styles⁴, registers⁵, jargons⁶ et cetera, by the members of a single speech community who may equally be competent in all of them, (Ferguson, 1959, Gumperz, 1964; and Krysin, 1979). The first variety is High (H); it can be equated with the standard dialect and is used in formal settings. The other is a Low (L) variety which is employed in non-formal domains. Also refer to pages 21-25 of this study.

Bilingualism alludes to the command of two independent languages. It does not mean to be competent in speaking different varieties of the same language (diglossia) There is often a confusion between the two concepts that is, diglossia and bilingualism.

Interlingualism: A clear distinction can be drawn between bilingualism and interlingualism. Interlingualism refers to interlingual diglossia, which means a command of various subsystems of a single language. This is also known as inter-speaker variation⁷, which is explained in the next chapter (page 20). Interlingualism is observed in the various subsystems of a single national language. Instances of such subsystems comprise standard language⁸, local dialects⁹, professional jargon, cants¹⁰, slang¹¹, Tsotsitaal¹² et cetera. This view is proposed by Krysin (1979:141).

Multilingualism refers to speakers who have a command of more than two independent languages. Mackey (1968:555) maintains that multilingualism includes the alternative use of two or more languages by the same speaker. The term has been extended to include any passive knowledge of a written language or any contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language.

Code: Holmes (1992:89) distinguishes between the **code** and variety and states that a **code** is a neutral term, whereas **variety** is not quite neutral. She then states that: "a **code** can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication"

Holmes maintains that a **code** can also be used as a device to protect secrets (Holmes, 1988:89).

According to Barnhart and Barnhart (1986:395) a **code** is: "a system of words, letters, figures, or other symbols used to keep a message short and secret."

In this sense, Durban **codes** comprise words, figures, letters, signs and symbols which serve to conceal the meaning from they-**codes** members¹³ (out-group) members. A **code** is simply an unmodified style used to replace a piece of information with another feature for a different class, put in the form of words, letters, phrases, numerals and symbols.

These **codes** or **registers** (hereunder abbreviated into **CCR's**) are either contracted (including abbreviations), or simplified, or given a totally different label. In certain settings, symbols or signs are used to conceal the message to a new-comer.

For instance, a drop that is seen stuck on the body of a motor vehicle and looks like a splash of paint, is used for security purposes. Car thieves do not interfere with a vehicle which has a drop (splash) stuck on its body because they know that the owner comes from one of the Black townships and will automatically not be a *Lani* (rich person) who falls victim of exploitation. As a **code**, this sticker is called *iconsi* (a drop). There is no standard Zulu equivalent for this term. Hand signs are also used as **codes** by drivers and commuters to convey messages to each other. These usually comprise information about destinations and are also used to alert drivers of the cops ahead.

For instance, if a commuter puts his hand up and shows his five fingers, it means that commuter is travelling to Unit E, F or G of Umlazi township. Three fingers denote Unit C. et cetera. It must be mentioned that township units and hand signs do not always correspond to the letters of the alphabet. For instance, Unit AA is represented by the figure 4 or four fingers. Refer to Annexure 1; page 203.

A **code** is not necessarily a '**secret code**' Any communication system, including a standard language, is a **code**. Secret **codes** are restrictions of the general term. That is why sociolinguists use terms such as **code-switching** to indicate the switch a speaker makes between, two languages, like for example, Zulu and Sotho (language switch). There are however, other switches which involve dialects; for example, 'standard' Zulu and Thefuya (dialect switch) and variety switch, that is, between standard and non-standard variety or between other varieties. The speakers use more than one variety of a language in their speech repertoire, switching from Zulu to English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, et cetera, in order to enhance prestige and modernism¹⁴. Sometimes interactants switch from one language to another due to vocabulary deficiency in the host language¹⁵.

Another meaning of the term 'code' denotes a collection of laws. Our study will not delve on this type of code although we do hint at it under the prison code. The use of CCR's features prominently in the discourse of Zulu speakers particularly the educated sector and it is regarded as a status symbol.

A Register refers to a variety which is distinguished according to use in particular social situations. An interlocutor¹⁶ may use one variety in one setting and another variety in a different setting. We refer to hospital register, prison register, soccer register, et cetera, which are used by the same interlocutor when he visits these domains.

Contemporary: This term alludes to anything which is current, modern or fashionable. An entity that coexists with another thing is also said to be contemporary. Anything which is up to date and 'newflanged' is said to be contemporary. The opposite of **contemporary** is old fashioned and archaic.

filtered and unfiltered talk

McCormick (1989:203) mentions a progressive lawyer who had been helping working class tenants to deal with slum landlords, who said 'Hy het nie filter gepraat nie- hy het mooi plain gepraat dat n' mens kan verstaan.' He did not talk filter (ed)- he talked nice and plain so that one could understand,] McCormick (1989) then mentions that filter in cigarettes and speech are meant to keep impurities to a minimum; their unfiltered counterparts would seem to permit free access to whatever goes into making a strong cigarette or statement.' He mentions that **filtered speech** allows only Afrikaans words with Afrikaans grammar and English words, with English grammar. There are two concepts which are generated by McCormick's explanation of **filtered and unfiltered talk**. Firstly, **unfiltered talk** allows a wide variety of mixing and combination of two or more languages/varieties to take place in a speech event. **Filtered talk** does not permit mixing of words and phrases from other languages in a speech event. The advantage of **unfiltered talk** is that both interactants can understand each other very well as each interactant's speech converges towards that of the person s/he is talking to. This is known as speech accommodation theory; refer to p.43; number 2.3.2.2.6, isiNdiya and page 47, speech accommodation theory.

1.3 AIMS OF STUDY

1.3.1 Primary Objective:

The study seeks:

- a. To expose the existing language situation in the **Greater Durban Area**¹⁷ (hereunder known as **GDA**) with special reference to Zulu based language varieties.
- b. To identify at least seven categories of non-standard varieties of Zulu which are used in the **GDA**.
- c. To describe the functions and status of these varieties in relation to each other.
- d. To investigate factors and influences leading to the origin and development of these varieties.
- e. To describe their salient lexicological features, e.g. expressions, idioms and proverbs.
- f. To analyze their phonological, morphological and semantic features.
- g. To describe the influences of these varieties on the use of standard Zulu and to make recommendations, if and where necessary, on the influences of these varieties on language planning.
- h. To investigate social attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Zulu used in the **GDA**.
- i. To prove that the koinés¹⁸ can serve as a source from which to draw in order to improve the social and economic life of every South African citizen. Most South Africans have suffered tremendously due to their ignorance of the non-standard varieties spoken by their subjects and youth. The fore mentioned people have a tendency of speaking above the heads of their elders and superiors. This causes frustration to a person holding a high position when he fails to comprehend something said in Zulu or English because it is put in a cryptic (hidden) **code** .
- j. To make a contribution towards the unification and harmonization of non-standard varieties of Nguni and a move away from the purist view of a standard Zulu language (Nhlapho 1944, 1945, and 1953, Alexander 1989,

Msimang 1992).

- k. To establish the influence migration has on the language use of people originating from different geographical areas.
- l. To measure the direction and magnitude of sociolinguistic change within the territories under study. (Refer to Lieberman, (1981: 263) and (Hoenigswal, 1985).

1.3.2 Secondary objective

The study also aims at improving the aesthetic life of Durban residents. The mastery of CCR's would help interlocutors who though Zulu speakers, fail to comprehend the cryptic (hidden) varieties which are used by interlocutors in various domiciles.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

- a. The Zulu language is going through a stage of modernization. (Kamwangamalu 1988)
- b. A neutral standard Nguni language can be created out of all the existing dialects spoken in South Africa starting with regional non-standard varieties.
- c. The purist view of a standard language is challengeable and no man has control over language.
- d. The attitude of people towards non-standard varieties of Zulu is becoming positive.
- e. In a multilingual society, one language variety is resorted to in one class of situations and social roles while the other is primarily reserved for a different class of situations and social roles (Krysin:1979:149)
- f. Group pressure will persuade respondents to speak a non-standard variety in as many situations as possible when the need for the non-standard variety arises. That is to say, the choice of a non-standard variety will depend upon the speaker and his audience.
- g. Prolonged intensive contacts between two or more languages can lead to structural changes in one or more languages in contact.

- h. Lexical items comprising adopted words tend to appear more frequently in the speech of individuals of special socio-economic groups; that is, those who are well travelled or exposed to other languages either than the mother tongue are more prone to using adoptives than the less educated and the less travelled.

1.5 OVERVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A preliminary study on Zulu slang is cited in Ndlovu's (1963) M.A. dissertation entitled *A short study of slang in Zulu...* Ndlovu's study concentrates on the classificatory aspect of Zulu slang words. It also hints at the role slang plays in the development of the language. Ndlovu was the first linguist to analyze language change in Zulu in the GDA, hence, his study was a bit rudimentary.

On the other hand, Msimang (1987) in, "*The Impact of Tsotsitaal on Zulu*" noticed that this lingua franca is no longer a dialect spoken by the tsotsis *per se*, but is a variety which is employed by people of all walks of life, including educated and uneducated black urban dwellers. In this article, Msimang concentrated on the origin and semantic significance of a few lexical items. Cele (1990), in, '*A Comparison of Slang Code and IsiZulu in the Pietermaritzburg Area*' demonstrates the development of borrowing and neologism¹⁹ as spoken by the youth in the Pietermaritzburg area. He then compares slang-code with standard Zulu.

Mfusi (1988) deals with Soweto Zulu slang in an article entitled: "*A sociolinguistic Study of an Urban Vernacular in Soweto*". He makes an attempt to define Tsotsitaal according to its origin, its use and functions. He then analyses his data on greeting routines in social interactions, extension of the communicative capacity, and the attitudes towards this variety.

1.6 NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Owing to lack of interest in sociolinguistics in the middle of this century, very little is known of the origin, the social attitudes of the speech community towards CCR's

which are spoken in the various urban areas including their socio-psychological functions.

Also, no investigation has been undertaken to measure the direction and magnitude of linguistic change within the **GDA** with special reference to non-standard varieties which are employed by Black Durban speech community.

There is also no information on the possibility that these **CCR's** are ousting standard Zulu and its recognised regional dialects²⁰, i.e. Bhaca, Phuthi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele, Nhlangwini, Lala, Tekela et cetera. A further need for such a study emanates from the attitude of purists and some scholars who regard non-standard varieties as impure linguistic behaviour.

The employment of non-standard varieties of a language is regarded as corrupt, adulterated, bastardized and impure linguistic behaviour. In his article on "*Urban Slang in Compositions*", Swanepoel (1978:9) writes: " This type of language must be condemned in the strongest terms".

Purists are oblivious of foreign elements that succeeded in getting into the Zulu language in the introduction of Zulu written literature. Hence, a thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in Black urban areas is vital before policy makers can make decisions about the languages of South Africa. This issue is very important for the language planners.

Being in an advantageous position, the influential group normally eradicates or minimizes the influence of foreign elements in the mother tongue or in a standard dialect. This is primarily reflected in written literature where manuscripts are first screened by the various Language Boards and are only accepted for publication if they are written in the standard variety. Non-standard elements are either eradicated, or the whole manuscript is rejected on the grounds that it is impure because it is not 'standard'.

1.7 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

As this study focuses on **Language Variations** which are spoken in the **GDA** the findings should be of value to language planners and curriculum developers. It will serve as one of the guides on **Language Variations** for the Black Durban speech community. It is also hoped that the study will serve as reference to those who want to learn Zulu-based slang, Tsotsitaal, jargon and cant.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

The study is based on a corpus of approximately 800 spoken words gathered in the participant observation method and in conversations with 322 respondents in seven different areas around **Greater Durban** (hereunder referred to **GD**) plus 750 questionnaires comprising a set of 50 questions each. The research instrument is included in order to measure the magnitude and direction of the Zulu language in the **GDA**. The inclusion of the research instrument also aims at obtaining the attitudes of the interlocutors towards non-standard varieties.

The major concentration in this study was on **CCR's** which are used in the Black residential areas of the **GD**. These areas include townships like KwaMakhutha, Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clemaville, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma. It also includes hospitals, prisons, schools, soccer clubs, streets, and transportation modes, etc.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: Introductory Perspective

In this chapter, an attempt is made to give a brief overview of the major linguistic terms which are used in the study. It attempts to give a brief overview of **Language Variations** which are found in the Black Durban speech community. This chapter also sets the aims and objectives of the study including the hypothesis. Chapter One also gives an overview of studies on **Language Variations** comprising Zulu-based slang,

Zulu-based Tsotsitaal, cant and jargon.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Orientation

This chapter identifies and clarifies the various types of **Language Variation**. The two major divisions include **internal**²¹ and **contact** variations²². The chapter also includes a theoretical framework of the study which is constituted by ~~the~~ speech accommodation theory, cognitive uncertainty theory, casual attribution theory, affective reinforcement theory, gain-loss theory, identity theory, interactionist, and Marxist theories. ?

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter three explores research methods and procedures for collecting and treating data. Due to the previous and still prevailing political crisis and uncertainties in South Africa, five types of procedures were developed in the collection of data and in checking its validity and reliability. These were ethnography²³, ethnomethodology²⁴, questionnaires, interviews and check lists. Questionnaires were included in the study in order to measure the magnitude of interlocutors who employ these **Language Variations** in the **GDA**. In addition to this, a questionnaire was included in order to establish how language varieties impact on the standard Zulu variety. The chapter analyzes the findings based on the questionnaire and on data collected from ethnography and ethnomethodology, in the form of checklists.

Chapter Four: The Social context of CCR's

The chapter is divided into two parts. Part One describes the social context of **CCR's**. Part Two looks at the phonological features of Zulu-based adoptives.

Chapter Five: The Social Functions of CCR's

The social functions of cant, slang, jargon, Tsotsitaal, adoptives, and interlarded speech are covered in chapter five. In addition to this, the overall functions of CCR's are exposed in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Summary and Recommendations

Chapter six gives a summary of the study and draws various conclusions based on the objectives and hypothesis of the thesis and provokes thought for further research in the field of sociolinguistics.

There are a number of annexures which follow immediately after the end of chapter six. Annexure 1, is a chart showing **Transportation Signs** which were mentioned on page 3 of this study. Annexure 2, comprises endnotes which serve to clarify difficult concepts in the text. Annexure 3, furnishes a specimen copy of the pilot study (which was written in English) and its results. Annexure 4, presents lists of new vocabulary items drawn from the targeted domains. They are presented in the following order; 1 prisons, 2 hospitals, 3 educational units, 4 taverns/shebeens, 5 townships, 6 transportation modes and 7 soccer clubs.

References which were used for the present thesis, come right at the end of the appendices. It has been observed that placing the Bibliography before appendices makes cross referencing extremely difficult especially if there are a lot appendices

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION ON LANGUAGE VARIATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Trying to deal with issues related to **Language Variation** requires one to come to grips with some linguistic terms which are related to it. Thus, in this chapter, we are going to define and then clarify linguistic terms related to **Language Variation**. **Language Variation** is a broad term embracing styles, registers, regional dialects, social variations¹, sociolects², social networks³ et cetera.

2.2 LANGUAGE

According to Holmes (1992:142):

"A language can be thought of as a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups".

To simplify the foregoing quotation, one can state that a language is a group of local, regional or district varieties or dialects which originate from a common source. Each of these dialects or varieties may have its own common literary heritage and usage. Regional dialects descend by splitting from a common original variety. In other words, during the history of mankind, a common language differentiates itself internally as its speakers distance themselves from each other socially and linguistically over time and physical space (Wardhaugh; 1989: pp. 5-6, 22-54, 132-191).

2.3

LANGUAGE VARIATION

Language Variation alludes to individuals and groups of people who use a single language in a variety of ways and for different purposes. A closer look at language reveals that there is a lot of variation within interactants⁴ who seem to be using one and the same code. Wardhaugh (1992:5) maintains that no one speaks the same way at all times. People change their styles of speaking for various reasons.

It is not possible to divorce language from its users. Chomsky (1966) warns that one cannot study language in use or learn a language without first acquiring sufficient knowledge of what language is all about and even who its speakers are.

Illustration number 1, below, shows the various types of **Language Variations**. Examples given in the diagram reflect **Language Variation** which occurs in the Black Durban speech community. A few linguistic terms have been bestowed with Zulu slang names by the present researcher. For instance, the variety which is spoken in hospitals is known as **isiHhosi**⁵, prison **CCR's** is **isiNyuvesi**⁶, shebeen **CCR's** are **isiThaveni**⁷, transport **CCR's** will be called **isiTransi**⁸ soccer is **isiNgura**⁹ while **isiThawa**¹⁰ refers to township **CCR's**. **CCR's** used in educational units will be called **isiGura**¹¹

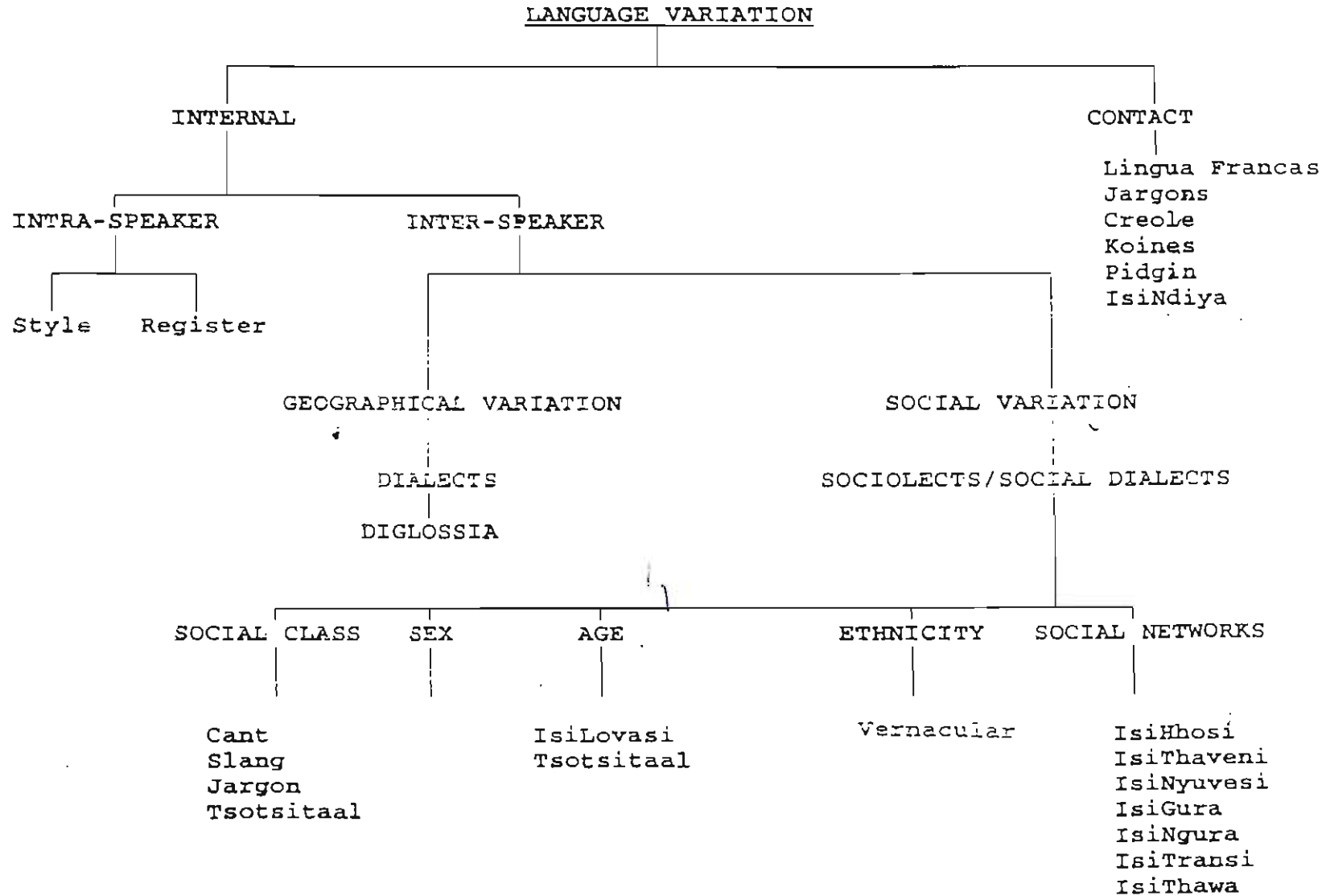


Illustration No.1

Language Variation

2.3.1 Types of Language Variation

Language Variation can be divided into two broad phenomena which are **internal variation** and **contact variation**.

2.3.1.1 Internal Variation

Internal variation alludes to **Language Variation** within one language. When we study any language we discover that there is a substantial amount of internal variation that takes place within the interactants' thesauri¹² in their conscious efforts to make themselves explicit. A single style speaker would be classified as abnormal (Wardhaugh, 1989). Internal variation comprises **intra-speaker** and **inter-speaker** variations.

2.3.1.1.1 Intra-speaker Variation

Intra-speaker variation is found in the language use of the same speaker. It alludes to varieties of language which a speaker is capable of utilising within a single language. Intra-speaker variation comprises a speaker's accent, tone of voice, word structure (morphology), sentence structure (syntax), semantics, vocabulary, and dialects. The term intra-speaker variation has to do with the competence and versatility of a speaker in adjusting himself sociolinguistically to the various domains in which he has contacts. The term intra-speaker may refer to all the language varieties which a speaker is capable of utilising in a single language.

Intra-speaker variation can occur at different levels within a conversation where an interlocutor employs alternative varieties within the same speech event. The speaker simply shifts from one variety to another during a discourse or as she or he moves from one domain to another.

There are various reasons for people to employ the variations contained in their thesauri. For instance, a speaker may want to give prominence to a part of the message or to the whole of it. Other variations may be resorted to in order to highlight a message. A speaker may use other varieties in his thesaurus in order to reiterate a message in a somewhat more modified form, or to clarify what was said in another code in order to amplify or emphasise a point. Intra-speaker variation is usually necessary for a speaker who moves from one domain to the other because people belonging to different domains do not use the same varieties.

Weinreich (1953) in Gxilitse (1994:94) asserts that:

"shifts [in varieties] tend to occur in situations which the designated quality of the vocabulary corresponding to any of the languages is inadequate to name new things, persons, personal experiences and concepts"

During a discourse, the speaker accesses, simultaneously, all the lexical items which are stored in his mind, including linguistic constructions, and draws the lexicon freely but selectively from his composite thesaurus, (Bokamba 1985). A speaker is capable of internalising as many grammatical systems as is the number of variations s/he speaks. The lexicons of these variations are treated as a synthesized thesaurus from which lexical items can be extricated freely as though they were synonyms. Intra-speaker variation can be divided into **style** and **register**.

(a) **Style**

Style refers to different ways of imparting information. It refers to an interactant's ability to play about with words in his or her speech repertoire. An interactant may speak very formally or very informally depending on the circumstances and his or her audience. In stylistic variation, speakers tend to speak more casually and in a relaxed way when conversing with people they know better. However, the same speakers will

use more standard varieties when speaking to people they do not know well. Vernacular¹³ forms are more common amongst friends (Holmes, 1992:246).

A message conveyed to a friend will be conveyed in a different style as compared to the one conveyed to a person of high rank, like a minister, teacher, doctor, lawyer et cetera.

The choice of a **code** depends on how it is used, why it is used, who uses it, where it is used and to whom it is used. It also depends on the context of the topic (Holmes: 1992,94).

An interlocutor's speech will in most cases reflect his or her group membership. It is influenced by solidarity which is also linked to how well the interactants know each other. The relative status of the speaker and the addressee is determined by such factors as sex, wealth, descent, education and age. Urban **CCR's** comprise occupational styles which are used by people when talking about their specialities. Social class and social context affects the speaker's linguistic styles. Each style also entails different levels of pronunciation which are deliberately produced by the speaker.

(b) **Register**

This linguistic term is often confused with other **Language Variations**. Hence, it is necessary to get a clear picture of its meaning. Register refers to vocabulary items which are linked to independent occupations or social groups. More often than not, the same speaker may control a variety of registers depending on the circumstances. Msimang (1989:9) maintains that; " A register is a speech variety that one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify vis a vis the person or group he is communicating with".

Other linguists present similar definitions. Crystal (1985:261) refers to register "as a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations".

Hawkins (1984:174) maintains that; "a register is a variety of language that is not typically identified with any speech community but is tied to a communicative occasion or context".

Register refers to lexical items linked to independent occupations or social groups. The speaker gets into a position where he is affected by the external situation comprising social context, work place, audience, et cetera. He then resorts to a register which will be apt to the situation and intelligible to the audience, through choosing appropriate words tailored to fit his/her audience which will also be engaged in the same register. One resorts to a certain speech variety in order to habituate himself with the conditions of the place. In other words, he converges to the vocabulary of the discrete occupational or social group at that particular place or time.

The distinction between register and style is often examined along a scale of etiquette which reflects situational considerations such as addressee, milieu, chore, or topic. Register tends to be associated with particular groups of people or sometimes specific situations of use. Holmes (1992:9) gives the following examples of the situations where usage of particular register is prevalent:

"Journalese, baby-talk, legalese, the language of auctioneers, race-callers, and sports commentators, the language of airline pilots, criminals, financiers, politicians and disc jockeys, the language of the courtroom and classroom"

The preceding quotation reveals that a single person can control a variety of registers as he moves from domain to domain. When an adult interlocutor meets a baby, s/he normally speaks to the baby in baby language. In the same vein, when the same interlocutor is exposed to other domains where he meets adult speakers, he engages in adult talk.

In the preceding section, we have mentioned that **Internal variation** is divided into two classes that is to say: **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variation**. We have so far elucidated the meaning of **intra-speaker variation**, including its branches. We shall now consider **inter-speaker variation**.

2.3.1.1.2 Inter-speaker Variation

Inter-speaker variation alludes to varieties which are found between **interlocutors** who speak the same language. It can be categorised into two distinct varieties which are **geographic or regional variation** and **social variation**.

A. **Regional or geographic variation**

Regional or geographic variation occurs when a common language splits internally as the speakers distance themselves from one another socially over time and physical space. It refers to dialects of the same language, which are spoken differently in different regions. Dissimilarities between dialects may be found in pronunciation, tone, accent, vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax (Nomlomo, 1993:6).

After many years, these dialects may grow into new languages when they become mutually unintelligible to various degrees. There are several other criteria to be considered for a dialect to be recognised as a language. These include the size and influence its speakers. For instance, unwritten varieties of a language are often called dialects, but once a dialect is used in formal settings comprising political gatherings, commercial transactions, and religious rituals, it forfeits its dialectal characteristics and reaches the status of an independent language. Once this process occurs, the need arises for dictionaries and grammar books to be written in order to be used in schools as well as in literature publications. Such a dialect can now be used in government transactions, in courtroom hearings, in educational units, in the media and in all official transactions, including holy scriptures, translations and readings.

At this stage, a variety which was once known as a regional dialect will have gained acceptance, status and prestige. It will be autonomous, having its own sovereignty (Msimang, 1989:6). A language variety, therefore, cannot be rejected off-handedly or be given an inferior status by the dominant group.

Kubeka (1979) and Msimang (1989) have worked on the classification of the Nguni and Zulu dialects respectively. Kubeka (1979) in Zungu (1989 : 5) classified Zulu dialects areally, that is, according to the area in which they are spoken. He classified Zulu into the following five dialects:

1. The Central Zulu Dialect
2. The Natal Coast Dialect
3. The Lower Natal Coast Dialect
4. The South Western Dialect
5. The Northern Natal Dialect

Msimang divides the Tekela Nguni dialects into: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguini, Phuthi, and Sumayela Ndebele. Since these dialects have digressed from a common source, they still bear certain characteristic correspondences. These will however not be discussed in this study.

(i) **The standard dialect**

A speaker does not rely on regional dialects, because they are regarded in most cases, as informal. There is always a dominant variety for each speech community. This variety overrides all others so as to be recognised as the 'standard' form. A standard variety or language has high prestige. This prestige is unique: it is not associated with a speaker's vernacular. A standard language is often the sum-total of the best characteristics found in its constituent dialect cluster.

(a) **Characteristics of a standard dialect**

A standard dialect will be characterised by amongst others, phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical similarities among all its component dialects. The linguistic components will be streamlined according to standardized rules. The literature will also propagate what is regarded as linguistically ideal and dwell on the speech community's culture including the oral traditions, traditional customs and religious beliefs. The history of the speech community involved, including that of its fore fathers, will also be codified.

(b) **Its shortcomings**

Standard dialect is not without flaws. People still resort to other language varieties or non-standard forms for various reasons, some of which are given below. There is always a desire for upward mobility amongst human beings. Thus, non standard varieties which include contact variation may be employed if it appears that their vocabulary is more expressive than their standard equivalents, or if the latter sounds old fashioned from a speaker's point of view. Speakers sometimes use a **CR** in order to avoid ridicule and the stigma of being called old fashioned or stereotyped.

There is always language deficiency for expressing new concepts in a speech community. Sometimes a standard variety takes a round about way by means of a lexicalised sentence in expressing something which can be said in one word in another language/variety. Hence, speakers resort to the shorter forms which are either non-standard or the result of contact variation. Speakers also resort to a contact variety if it is the only channel to the meaning of a concept. At times interactants are possessed by a desire to sound fashionable or refined and they interlard their speech with other varieties.

(ii) **Vernacular**

One has to make a distinction between vernacular and a standard dialect because some people confuse the two phenomena. According to Crystal, (1991:372): vernacular alludes to "the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community"

Richards et al. (1986:306): maintains that vernacular is " a term used of a language or language variety."

- (a) When it is contrasted with a classical language, such as Latin, e.g. Church services used to be conducted in Latin but now they are in the vernacular (e.g English, Italian, Zulu, et cetera) (classical vs national language)
- (b) When it is contrasted with an internationally used language such as English, e.g. If you want to teach English in that country, it will be useful to know the vernacular. =(national or native or standard language)
- (c) in bilingual or multilingual countries, when it is spoken by some or most of the population, but it is not the official or national language of the country. e.g. In addition to schools that teach in the national language, there are also vernacular schools. (native, non-official language)"

Milroy (1980:24) regards vernacular as a publicly unrecognized language variety which is employed by the majority of speakers in a city and is acquired during the adolescent years.

(iii) **The standardization process**

Msimang (1989:6) explains that the process of standardization comprises four stages, namely: **selection, codification, elaboration** and **acceptance**.

Selection refers to the process which is used by the speech community in choosing its dialect. A dialect is not just chosen at random. Speakers normally choose a dialect which is already in use in a number of respectable and prestigious public places.

There are certain other criteria which are taken into consideration for a dialect to become a language. Dialectologists look at the size of its speakers and its influence. This means that surveys have to be undertaken to obtain language statistics of the sum total of a population.

The second stage involves **codification or grading**. The linguistic peculiarities of the chosen dialect are then standardized in dictionaries, grammar books, published literature and other language units. This will include stages three, namely, elaboration. When this process is completed, the organisers will ensure that it reaches all the members of the speech community so that they can learn it as a standard dialect.

The fourth stage in standardizing a language comprises **acceptance**. The speech community is made aware of the standard dialect and is expected to recognise it as their national language. The speech community should acknowledge it as a symbol of its autonomy, independence and sovereignty (Hudson, 1980:33-37).

(iv) **Diglossia**

This category has already been explained in chapter one, page 2. Holmes (1992:32) states that **diglossia** has three crucial criteria and these are:

1. Two distinct varieties of the same language which are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (**H**) variety and the other a low (**L**) variety.
2. Each variety is used for quite distinct functions; **H** and **L** complement each other.
3. No one uses the **H** variety in everyday conversation.

Diglossia is a form of a speech variety which is used situationally. A church sermon is usually conducted in a standard variety which is a **H variety**. There is however a move away from adherence to **H variety** in religious sermons. One would expect to find or listen to **H variety** in radio news, and also in published literature, political gatherings et cetera, but nowadays this is not always the case. Slang words are infiltrating domains where standard varieties are normally spoken. Most speakers employ at least two language varieties. That is a **H variety** at work or school and a **L variety** at home or in non-formal settings.

The second dimension of **internal variation** entails social variation which is explained here under.

B. Social variation or sociolect

Social variation in language is associated with specific social classes or categories which are distinguishable from other social groups. This type of variation is a product of social dialects or sociolects. Quantifiable factors which distinguish people from each other include the social class to which a person belongs, his group membership, sex, age, ethnicity, and other social networks.

Anthropologists and sociologists employ various scales for classifying people within a social system. Wardhaugh (1989:149) maintains that people are distinguishable from one another by gradation of social class comprising regional origin, occupation, intermarriage, religion, church membership, sex, nationality, sport, leisure activities, psychological differences, linguistic skills, verballity, literacy, personality, and forms of entertainment.

Milroy in Wardhaugh (1989:149) hypothesised that it is a network of relationships into which an individual belongs which exerts the most powerful influence on individual's linguistic behaviour. In the following linguistic categories, speakers share special forms of greetings and suitable topics for discussions.

A sociolect is therefore a speech variety which is linked to social variation. Its status is lower than that of a dialect although dialects are also inferior to the standard language. The term sociolect refers to a speech community, that is, a group of people interacting through common speech which is analyzable according to social classes.

Its varieties comprise a shared body of verbal and non-verbal signs, which are identifiable by their linguistic peculiarities and used by identifiable groups. The speakers of a sociolect have certain norms which vary from sub-group to sub-group. Such varieties share linguistic peculiarities which warrant investigation.

In this study, the following aspects of social dialect or sociolect will be discussed briefly. These include social class, age, gang, sex or gender, ethnicity, and social networks.

(i) **Gender**

The inclusion of this section is necessary as it will serve as reference to those who are not aware that males and females speak differently in different situations.

There is great perception of sex distinction in the choice of vocabulary in linguistic books cited by the present researcher (Wardhaugh, 1989; Holmes, 1992). Topics discussed by men when they are alone will in most cases differ from those discussed by women. Men like to talk about their businesses, politics, legal and illegal transactions, taxes, sport and females. When men are together, they also like to talk about their prowess.

On the other hand, women's talk is influenced by context and patterns of socialisation. Holmes (1992:329) remarks:

"The norms for women talk may be the norms for small group interaction in private contexts, where the goals of the interaction are solidarity stressing-maintaining good social relations. Agreement is sought and disagreement avoided. By contrast, the norms for male interaction seem to be those of public referentially-oriented interaction. The public model is an adversarial one where contradiction and disagreement is more likely than agreement and confirmation of the statements of others."

The quotation implies that men are more assertive than women in their talk. Women like to talk about their personal experiences, related to their personal relationships, personal problems and their feelings and criticism of the behaviour of other people. They usually do not have the courage to criticise one another openly lest they spoil their social relationships (Holmes, 1992:329).

Sometimes, when they are discussing their personal relationships, they talk about the capabilities and incapacities of their partners in as far as satisfying their needs is concerned. Calteaux (1994:161) mentions that some women use nicknames such as **lunchboy**, **yinkukhu yami** (he is my chicken), etc. to refer to their boy friends. A boy friend is called a **lunch boy** because he pays for his girlfriend's lunch, or **yinkukhu yami** because she plucks all the feathers - meaning money - from the boy friend. Women also like to discuss their affiliation with others as well as their homes and family members. In other words, they like to discuss social life, children, books, food, and drink, life's problems and life styles (Wardhaugh, 1993:319).

Wardhaugh (1989:319) further states that women have a tendency of asking more questions when in the company of men thus leaving the platform to be dominated by men. Men seem to be aware of this because they tend to take the initiative in conversations in settings involving both sexes. Males are also accommodating and

will often choose topics which appeal to their female partners. In other words, men will choose topics which will stimulate talk from women. Women who work in taverns and places where they mix with men are also able to speak men's language varieties and can manipulate men through the use of these varieties.

Women also use more body language than men. Their language is more objective than men's. Men are more subjective in their speech. Women are not as resentful as their male counterparts but, like to express their anger openly and candidly. They are direct and straight forward in their speech (Holmes, 1992:329).

Men like to use language in an elusive manner. Under normal circumstances, men avoid putting others in an embarrassing situation and prefer to maintain a good intercourse in their relationship. Men's requests are usually delayed and unexplicit. In the same vein, men are more patient than women in their requests. The indirectness in the male speech is a sign of respect. Men are considered to be speech makers. This is because women are often left at home while men aspire for adventure as they move from one domain to another. Ordinary allegations by men are exact and disapproval is indirect.

Wardhaugh (1989) claims that men protest more, interrupt more, dispute more and they obviously ignore more. This is normally observed in national and political spheres. Such behaviour could be a clue to the awkward behaviour of men who normally avoid by all means to reach a stage where they are pushed to lose their temper, particularly with their female counterparts. They sometimes conceal their protest by simply becoming resentful. Women are not as challenging as men when they are interrupted.

Women like to speak standard languages in official settings while men adhere to vernacular forms. This is because naturally, men do not want to be restricted by rules. Holmes (1992:175) states that this is so because men like to carry their macho

connotation of masculinity and toughness. She also states that vernacular forms may be used to exhibit traditional non-standard values where the standard value is regarded as a rule. Adherence to vernacular forms can also express an anti-establishment demeanour where the standard form is viewed as the middle adult norm.

Women use more interjections than men. This is because they take a leading role in listening, reprimanding and caring for children. The most obvious difference between men and women is the pitch of the voice. It is apparent that the language used by the two sexes will differ here and there. On the other hand, Stevens (1986:33) argues that: "although data presented, states that women are less likely to become bilingual speakers than men, sociodemographic characteristics such as age, nativity, length of residence, education and labour force participation do not account for that difference.

(ii) **Age**

The simplest way of measuring the age of a speaker is to listen to the pitch of his or her voice. Sometimes older females tend to develop broad voices to the extent that their voices cannot be distinguished from men's. In some countries, older men have smaller voices as compared to their female counterparts. The type of variety that a speaker uses is also determined by his age. Varieties related to age include Tsotsitaal, slang, vernacular, and standard forms.

Most studies reveal that old and young males still use abusive language when provoked, but they restrict it to privacy or to certain settings. Females minimise using obscene language as they move towards adulthood (Holmes 1992:183). This is because they do not wish their children to pick up bad language.

Calteaux (1994:157) mentions that the young men aged approximately 21 and below use Tsotsitaal when they are gathered together because they are still in a 'township fever' and peer pressure which causes them to speak Tsotsitaal. Calteaux (1994:157)

also mentions that after the age of 22, young men start to use a language which is not characteristic of the street language. This is because by now they do not spend a lot of time on the streets and are engaged in their studies, work, or new families.

In the **GDA**, when a linguistic term is spreading over its speech community, there is always a regular increase of its usage by both the young and old. This is because most Durban residents have considerable opportunities for extensive social intercourse of all kinds. Even school children hear the varieties in the speech of adult commuters who happen to use the same transportation modes to and from school and work places.

Speaking of slang, Holmes (1992:183) mentions that the type of slang that a person employs reflects his age. She mentions that "current slang is the prerogative of young people and generally sounds odd in the mouth of an older person". Holmes 1992:183)

Although the investigator is aware that in some speech communities, a person who speaks slang is rated as inferior, in the Zulu society, slang is known and spoken by people of all walks of life depending on the circumstances (Ndlovu, 1963, and Msimang, 1987). This statement is revealed by the questionnaire survey conducted in the **GDA** as will be seen in Chapter Three, page 92: number 15(a) of this study.

A person's age can also be estimated by the type of slang words which he or she uses. There are slang words which will sound old fashioned to a youngster and those which will be contemporary and used by adolescents.

(iii) **Social Class**

The differences in speech associated with various social groups are known as **social variations**. As already mentioned, anthropologists and sociologists use various scales to classify people within a social system. This becomes a big task if a person belongs to a number of social groups because he will form a sub-set in various settings. One

and the same person may be so versatile in the use of **Language Variations** that he will be found to be fitting in a number of categories in a speech community.

Social groups are identifiable by their social positions. The principal factors in identifying social groups include religion, ethnicity, and the social class. Other factors which can be used to determine social groups include occupation, place of residence, education, 'new' versus old money, income, racial or ethnic origin, possessions, cultural background, caste, et cetera (Wardhaugh 1993:46).

(a) **Tsotsitaal**

Who is a tsotsi?

According to Coplan (1985:162)

"Tsotsis were originally young, city-bred 'confide men' able to speak some English and Afrikaans and to manipulate the white system. Aided by female counterparts called noasisas (watchers) the tsotsis initially relied more upon their wits than violence. The term tsotsi itself was an urban African pronunciation of 'zoot suit' a symbol of urban sophistication drawn from American popular culture, with its ready money and flashy clothes."

A similar type of Tsotsitaal but which is known as Indoubil is found in Nigeria. Goyvaerts (1988:231) traces the origin of Indoubil and states that, initially, the speakers of Indoubil were teenagers who considered themselves real 'men of action' who did

not fear danger and fully capable of getting sufficient money for self support and they employed an esoteric hybrid language that, in essence, was a mixture of Lingala, French and other European languages.

A South African tsotsi was initially a male person who had a background of both English and Afrikaans in order to manipulate the white system. There were also female tsotsis who assisted their male tsotsi partners. The tsotsi gang was good at contriving illegal operations. They dressed in classy outfits in order to disguise their occupation. They were typical urban dwellers who adopted the American culture in speech, dress and other possessions (Coplan 1985:162).

The South African tsotsi emerged from the ethnically mixed societies of the townships. The tsotsis came into existence in the black residential areas of the Witwatersrand during the Second World War and their language was known as Tsotsitaal. The tsotsi interlarded Afrikaans with his vernacular. Tsotsitaal itself was Afrikaans based. Initially, this dialect was adopted from the American slang. Coplan (1985:162) has this to say about Tsotsitaal:

"Borrowing heavily from American slang, Johannesburg Tsotsitaal was eventually spoken by most urban workers and became the language of African working-class culture. As conditions worsened, tsotsi turned to robbery, smuggling and other violent crimes. Meanwhile, the label broadened to include all urban criminals except for the gangs of migrants such as the maRashea (Russians) and Amalaita. The tsotsis were successors to the infamous Blue Nines."

Msimang (1989:82) regards a tsotsi as one of the pests which came into being during the Second World War. He is, however not opposed to Tsotsitaal as such. Durban CCR's, though not only Afrikaans based, have inherited some of the characteristics of the original Tsotsitaal which was not flawed with contemporary criminal elements.

CCR's which are employed in the GDA also borrow a lot of peculiarities from Tsotsitaal. A Zulu term for Tsotsitaal in the Rhawuteng area is known as **isicamtho**. To **camtha** means to talk. The word originates from the Zulu word **qamunda** (talk). Most Transvaal Nguni and Sotho speakers perceive the three click consonants /q, x

and c/ as /c/ Thus to **qamunda** (talk) ends up being **camunda >camutha >camtha**.

In the **GDA** the Zulu word for Tsotsitaal is **isiLovasi**. A tsotsi is also known as **isilovasi** (a loafer). The term does not refer to a loafer as such but to youngsters who are going through a 'township fever' and who regard themselves as real men of action. They usually engage in all sorts of illegal transactions. There are older men who do not outgrow this stage but remain tsotsis for a long time or for the rest of their lives.

CCR's will, however, not be called Tsotsitaal because they are employed by people of various sectors including professional people, university students, doctors, nurses, educated as well as uneducated township dwellers, soccerites and music fans, prisoners, educated as well as uneducated liquor drinkers, et cetera, who are not tsotsis.

(b) **Cant**

According to Barnhart and Barnhart (1986:294) cant refers to "the peculiar language of a special group using many words:argot"¹⁴. He further states that cant are stock phrases and expressions fashionable at a particular time or among a group or class of society.

Cant is peculiar to certain social classes such as school children, college and university students, the intelligentsia, Christians, criminals, prostitutes, tramps ducktails, social classes who live underground, as well as many other classes in society (Ndlovu, 1963). Cant words precede slang. The main purpose in employing cant words is (i) to provide pastime, (ii) to confirm one's membership to a group, and (iii) to guarantee secrecy when performing a task, particularly an illegal activity.

As soon as a cant word reaches the stage where it is universally accepted and freely used as a mode of expression, it ceases to be a cant word of a particular group or

class. Instead, it becomes a slang word that is employed by the whole language group. Functions of cant are discussed in Chapter 5; page 168.

This notion is also corroborated in Calteaux (1994:241) who states that an **argot**, which is a synonym of **cant**, belongs to the language varieties which lie furthest from the standard end of the language continuum. These are specialised varieties of language which are used when the purpose is to be secretive or to deceive. These varieties are often used by subcultures in a community especially criminals. This secretiveness is confirmed by Goyvaerts (1988:232) who states that:

"The main purpose of certain typical Indoubil features is to render the code incomprehensible to a non-initiate... the deliberate polysemy as well as the proliferation of absolute synonymy also serve to bring about ambiguity and hence will result in complete bewilderment on the part of the outsider.... At best, one could speak here of 'colloquialism'¹⁵."

(c) **Slang**

Barnhart and Barnhart, (1986:1960) refer to slang as words, phrases or meanings that are new, flashy and popular, usually for only a short time. Slang is a form of colloquial speech created in a spirit of vividness of the standard variety and aiming at freshness and novelty. Its figures are consciously far fetched and are intentionally drawn from the most ignoble of sources. Slang is heavily influenced by mixed language varieties including the vernacular of the speech community.

This is one of the reasons why we find one and the same person speaking different varieties because of the social groups into which he belongs.

(d) **Ethnicity**

When speakers are given a chance to choose a language, they normally prefer their

ethnic language which is a symbol of ethnic identity. Even when a speech community is constrained to learn the language of the dominant group, the most important symbol of their discrete ethnicity is seen in their resistance, and their adherence to their vernacular in their thought patterns. This is because vernacular is a variety which is intuitively acquired and is the very first code in which an individual translates his linguistic world. The human mind is very powerful in resisting radical language change.

Language resistance to change is inevitable although it is not the language itself that is resisting the change, but rather the attitude of people towards foreign elements in their language. There are a lot of positive grounds for resisting change in a language. Reasons for maintaining ethnic languages involve pride in the mother tongue. Also, a vernacular form serves as a source of reference and it also helps to keep family cohesion.

Accompanying language maintenance is another form of ethnic identity which embraces items such as food, dress, religion, parts of the body, language of respect and the various techniques which people use to distinguish themselves from the majority group (Holmes, 1992:192).

In support of ethnicity Holmes (1992:192) states that:

"For groups where there are no identifying physical features to distinguish them from others in society, these distinctive linguistic features may be an important remaining symbol of ethnicity once their language has disappeared."

Ethnicity can best be exhibited by speakers of a language which was imposed on them because although they may claim to be monolingual, their ethnic background will still betray them. To be specific, a young black scholar whose vernacular is Zulu and who attends a multi-racial school, speaks English differently from his or her white classmates. In the same vein, an interlocutor who only learned an indigenous

language as a second language (L2)¹⁶ and not as his or her vernacular (L1)¹⁷ will speak the vernacular differently from his or her colleagues who are mother tongue speakers. His ethnic language will betray him in his speech repertoire. Similar examples are found between the speech of African Americans and White Americans (Holmes, 1992:192). Most black Americans speak English differently from their white counterparts.

(e) **Social Networks**

Networks refer to all the domains in which an individual participates. It seeks to ask questions such as, how does an individual participate in a certain domain? On what occasion does he participate? How does he or she interact with individuals in the various domains and how profound is her or his relationships with the group members?

Wardhaugh (1989:128) confirms this statement when he writes:

"This 'network' concept is a very useful one because it focuses on the individual's relationship to society at large through the individual contacts that a person has rather than on some kind of abstract group and its statistical characteristics."

Wardhaugh (1989) distinguishes between two types of networks: that is **multiplex** and **uniplex networks**. Multiplex network alludes to a single individual who is tied to others in a variety of ways including occupation and encounters in various domains. Multiplex network yields powerful local relationships.

Uniplex network, on the other hand, refers to relationships which link individuals only in a single dimension. Individuals meet only once a day or a week and it ends there. This could be at a work place, in church, at school, during leisure activities,

as neighbours, et cetera. There is no intersection of relationships with acquaintances. As a result, the networks are loose and defused (Wardhaugh 1993:128).

Linguistic variation disperses through the social networks of the speakers. Speakers are, generally speaking, linguistic entrepreneurs (Holmes, 1992:236), that is, they are like businessmen who move from one area to the other while trying to sell their goods. Speakers of various variations which we have identified serve as links between diverse social groups.

They act as bridges or channels which relay new linguistic terms from one linguistic group to the other. One domain will not be enough for a new linguistic term to receive recognition and acceptance. Holmes (1992:237) mentions that for an innovation to have a good chance of adoption by the central members of the community, it will need to be transmitted in a number of different connections or bridges.

2.3.1.2 Contact Variation

Contact variation is a branch of **Language Variation** which arises as a result of contact with speakers of other languages. There is usually a basic need by speakers who speak different languages to find a common system of communication. This is usually in the form of a lingua franca. A lingua franca is a language which is employed by speakers in order to facilitate communication between them (Wardhaugh, 1993:56). For instance, English has been declared a lingua franca of all South Africans, although in certain regions, like the Orange Free State, Ghawuteng, including other black residential areas, the Western, Northern and Eastern Cape, Afrikaans is widely used as a lingua franca as compared to English.

2.3.1.2.1 **Lingua francas**

A lingua franca is a variety used by people whose mother tongues¹⁸ are diverse, in order to facilitate communication between them. Crystal (1985:180) describes lingua franca as "an auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different languages."

Fromkin and Rodman, (1983:260) mention that many areas of the world are populated by people speaking divergent languages. In such areas where groups desire social or commercial communication, one language is often used by common agreement. Such a language is called a lingua franca.

(Hudson,1980:8) maintains that a lingua franca is "a trade language which is widely spoken as a native language."

Durban **CCR's** will not be called lingua francas for people who speak different languages, because switching from **code** to **code** is deliberately tailored to suit a specific purpose other than the need for mutual intelligibility or commercial communication.

Sometimes a lingua franca comprises mixed varieties from different languages just like pidgins, jargons, creoles and koinés. In this respect, lingua francas do share some characteristic features with mixed varieties, koinés or codes. Jugmohan (1990) refers to IsiNdiya as an Indian - Zulu lingua franca. Ngcongwane (1986) was totally opposed to Fanakalo which is a lingua franca used in the mines. Epstein (1959:322) mentions that Fanakalo is a mark of social distance between two or more speakers and English is a mark of social acceptance and even equality between speakers.

2.3.1.2.2 Pidgins

Hymes (1964) quotes De Camp who proposes the following definition of a pidgin.

"Pidgin is a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterised by limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features."

A pidgin originates from two or more speech communities attempting to communicate and flourish in areas of economic development. The grammar and vocabulary of such a variety is very much reduced. A pidgin is no one's native language.

2.3.1.2.3 Creole

Fromkin and Rodman (1983:263) states that; "When a pidgin comes to be adopted by a community as its native tongue, and children learn it as a first language, that language is called a creole" According to Bell, (1976:160) Creoles come into being as a result of migration and urban growth and where children are born to parents who have no common language other than a pidgin.

In addition to this, parents have to make a conscious effort to teach their own mother tongues to the children and avoid using the pidgin in their presence (children). It is more likely that the pidgin will become the child's first language if parents from different linguistic backgrounds communicate among themselves and with their offspring, in a makeshift pidgin.

2.3.1.2.4 Koiné

According to Schuring (1992:57), "The koiné is an abbreviation of the Greek

expression koiné dialektos, that is the general dialect or Common Greek spoken by different nations around the Mediterranean approximately 2000 years ago."

A koiné is a common language employed for all kinds of interactions in a cosmopolitan community. It is a result of mixing between language subsystems that are either mutually intelligible or share the same superimposed standard language. A koiné is a mixture of slang, lingua franca, creole, pidgin and Tsotsitaal, and its salient functions are mainly social interaction in a cosmopolitan community. The status of slang, lingua franca, creoles and Tsotsitaal is lower than that of koinés which are used as tokens of urban status. **CCR's** can be equated with koinés in the sense that they also share a mixture of all the language varieties which are employed by speakers in a speech community.

2.3.1.2.5 Jargon

A. What is jargon?

According to Barnhart et al. (1986:1128):

"Jargon is commonly used to refer to any confused or unintelligible speech or writing... Among linguists, jargon is a technical word for a dialect composed of the mixture of two or more languages such as the Chinook jargon of the Pacific Northwest and the Chinese-English jargon, pidgin English."

In this study, jargon has been extended to include special or formal vocabulary used within a profession or groups of people sharing the same occupation. Under jargons we may include hospital **CCR's**, soccer **CCR's** and educational **CCR's**.

Professions have their own terminology or **Language Variation** which allows members to express themselves in an ambiguous manner to out-group members.

Jargon was first used in the fourteenth century in the sense of the twittering of birds. From then onwards, it passed on naturally to mean a talk that one does not understand, or gibberish, and so, to any form of speech or writing filled with unfamiliar terms which were peculiar to a particular group of persons (Hudson 1980:10).

Such terminology was not immediately understood by the man in the street. Hudson (1980:9) maintains that jargon:

1. reflects a particular profession or occupation;
2. is pretentious with only a small kernel of meaning within it;
3. is deliberately, or accidentally, mystifying.

The preceding explanation implies that jargon is a variety which is unintelligible to an out-group member. It contains special vocabulary which is used within a profession, or groups of people sharing the same profession.

B. What is a profession?

A need also arises to define what we mean by 'profession' because not all occupations are professions. Hudson (1980:8) states that a profession is recognised by its complex 'characteristics'. He states that a profession needs to satisfy the following requirements:

1. Entry into it, that is, full membership. It must be permitted only to those who have satisfied an examining and supervisory board that they have reached a satisfactory standard of training. There will be a document issued to successful candidates, which makes it clear that a register of the members of the profession will be maintained by the governing body.
2. Continued membership of the profession must be conditional on observing certain understood conditions of behaviour and competence.
3. Removal from the register of anyone who is judged unfit to practise must be under the direct control of the professional body itself, not of the courts.

There are a few occupations which meet these requirements. According to Hudson (1982:10), occupations which would meet these requirements include doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, actuaries and nurses. He states that where people are not obliged to have undergone any approved course of training, or possess any certificate of competence, then that occupation cannot be regarded as a profession. Hudson (1982:10) remarks that what lowers the status of an occupation is that, in some countries, people are free to work, say, as teachers, journalists, engineers, architects and actors without any form of paper qualification whatsoever. As a result, these occupations cannot be classified as professions (Hudson 1980:8).

Hudson (1980:9) further states that doctors have a piece of paper hanging in their offices which tells the world that they are qualified and licensed to practise medicine. Lawyers are in the same position. He states that:

"Anyone who attempts to work as a doctor or lawyer without possessing such a piece of paper is likely to find himself in a serious legal trouble and may well go to prison for his attempt to deceive the public." (Hudson 1980:8)

Jargon sometimes mystifies and awes the laity. Hudson (1980:9) mentions that the twentieth century laity is no longer as passive or as ignorant as it was fifty years ago. He remarks that the great days of medical jargon may be coming to an end from the amount of medical jargon that is known by the laity.

In this study, jargon will not be restricted to medical and legal terms. For instance, a lecturing doctor or professor is not inferior to a nurse, who, according to Hudson (1980) is regarded as more professional than a teacher. It is for this reason that I have chosen neutral linguistic terms, that is to say, **CR**, because there is a lot of controversy surrounding the term jargon. Vocabulary from other professions which have been identified as jargon have not been included in this study as they have not been included in my sample.

Jargon vocabulary is normally understood by we-code members¹⁹ (in-group members) because it contains technical terms which are difficult to be comprehended by the out-group members. Jargon is hardly accommodative of out-group members.

2.3.1.2.6 IsiNdiya

Jugmohan (1990) prefers the word isiNdiya to the term isiKula, a derogatory term which was used by Brother Otto Trapp (1908). According to Trapp, (1908), in Jugmohan (1990:14) IsiNdiya is a mixture of English and Zulu, used mainly as a means of communication between the Indians and the Zulus. He also mentions that isiNdiya is similar to Fanakalo in terms of grammatical structure and lexicon (Jugmohan, 1990:120). IsiNdiya is typically pidgin in nature because it is a mother tongue of no one.

IsiNdiya plays a vital role in respect of communication between the multilingual communities of Natal and elsewhere. Places where isiNdiya is spoken include domestic spheres, industry, commerce and the mines. Educated Zulu speakers react negatively to being spoken to in isiNdiya. They regard it as a form of 'talking down' to them. Semi-literate mother-tongue Zulu speakers like to be spoken to in isiNdiya. In other words, they converge to a speech event which is in isiNdiya. It will be observed that the gain loss theory on page 54, number 2.4.5 of this chapter explains that choice of a language or variety in any situation for anyone, can be determined by a sociolinguistic theory which views language transactions in multilingual groups as exchanges in which the participants choose a language by weighing the relative costs and rewards incurred in the choice. Myers-Scotton (1971:110) This explains the reason why semi-literate mother-tongue Zulu speakers who are usually servants of the Indian community, converge to isiNdiya because such a gesture has rewards for them. Jugmohan (1990:119) confirms the application of this theory by mother-tongue Zulu speakers when he states that 'it could be that their attitude 'is' one of accommodation of the Indians trying to speak 'Zulu' or, it could well be that they want to remain in

the employment of Indian employers. There are two theories which the Zulus and Indians apply when talking isiNdiya to each other. These are; speech accommodation (page 47) and gain loss theories. Also refer to the bottom of page 5 of this study, where I interpret unfiltered talk as being an element of the speech accommodation theory.

2.3.1.2.7 Interlarded Speech

According to Agheyisi (1977:23):

"a common pool of vocabulary has evolved, mainly from the diffusion of words from English, and that these items are so linguistically neutral in the way they are used that the IS (Interlarded Speech) resulting from their occurrence in indigenous language speech could appropriately be referred to as an urban variety of the particular language."

Interlarding refers to given varieties in a given speech event. This is done in the form of mixing varieties from different languages. We speak of interlarded speech when we mix Zulu with English, Afrikaans or any other language variety. This term embraces code-switching²⁰ and mixing²¹ of language-pairs.

2.3.1.2.8 Borrowing

Borrowing involves integration of linguistic units borrowed from one language into the grammatical system of the borrowing language (Kachru 1983). Language 1, which is the borrowing language, is often identified as the matrix code²² or host code; language 2, which is the borrower language, is perceived as the embedded code²³ or the guest code²⁴. Kamwangamalu (1988) terms this symbiosis a Matrix Code principle. The researcher calls it a symbiosis because the embedded code has to conform to the morpho-syntactic structure rules of the matrix code which is the language of the discourse, whilst, at the same time, in certain instances, retaining the rules of the embedded code.

The difference between borrowing and code switching or mixing is that borrowing can occur in the speech of both monolingual and bi/multilinguals as long as the monolingual speaker has at least a smattering command of the embedded code. By a bi/multilingual speaker we are referring to a person who can express himself/ herself in spontaneous, intelligible sentences in at least one other language in addition to his first language.

Individual bilingual competence is not necessary for borrowing to take place for a monolingual speaker except for lexical deficiency in his/ her first language. Akinnaso (1985:1) confirms this view where he argues that "Borrowing prototypically involves only one grammar (except where the borrowed items are fixed phrases or idiomatic expressions), whereas code-switching involves at least two grammars."

Even then, a caveat must be expressed because assimilation of lexical items into another language is accompanied by several considerations. For instance, genetic²⁵ and typological²⁶ relationship and the degree of lexico-grammatical adaptation is greatly involved in code switching/mixing. Akinnaso (1985: 1) confirms this notion by referring to Spanish-English (Pfaff, 1979), as well as Yoruba-English (Goke-Pariola, 1983), where the distinction between the two grammars are often blurred by excessive lexico-grammatical adaptation leading to a conclusion that only one grammar, usually the embedded code, is being employed.

When a researcher is aware of the indigenous language of a speech community, it is often easy for him to identify code switched passages or lexical items in a speech repertoire, given L1 as the matrix code and L2 as the embedded code, whereas there are restraints for items which have already been incorporated into L1 from L2. Lexical items already incorporated into the host language are often post-dated in the lexical history of the host language. This suggests that borrowed items can best be understood from a synchronic or diachronic point of view which requires a sound historical background of the lexical items of a language, particularly L1.

from other African languages as well as from non-Bantu and non African languages.

2.4 THEORIES OF LANGUAGE VARIATION

In this section, we are going to look at some of the theories which have reference to **Language Variation**. These theories have been chosen because they serve to validate the linguistic situation in the **GDA**, and will form the basis of the entire thesis.

It must be mentioned that not all theories mentioned below will receive illustration because of the limitations of the study.

2.4.1 Speech Accommodation Theory

Holmes (1992:255) mentions that when people talk to each other, their speech often becomes similar. This implies that each interactant's speech converges towards the speech of the person s/he is talking to. This theory is known as **speech accommodation**. When township boys greet each other or say goodbye, they normally say '**kuwusharp**' or simply say '**sharp**'. In other words second speaker converges to the variety used by the first speaker. The theory is also employed by prisoners. A 27 says '**Hhomu**' when greeting another 27 prisoner (p:121) who also converges in the same way of greeting. A twenty eight normally uses the expression '**Samani**' to greet another 28. (p.120). Should the respondent not converge in the same variety, then the listeners will know that he does not belong to the same group. The same theory applies in a number of instances which will however not be discussed because they appear to obvious to the readers.

Holmes (1992:255) states that speech accommodation occurs when speakers like one another. They like to discuss their problems, share and seek solutions and also give reassurance.

Interaction between human beings, particularly in conversational strategies, cannot function without the ability of the message of the sender which will weigh and calculate the apparent effects of its words on the listener. Each instance of a feed back from the listener conditions or alters subsequent messages. Hawkes (1982:83) observes that:

"All communication consists of a message initiated by an addresser whose destination is an addressee. The message requires a contact between addresser and addressee which may be oral, visual, electronic or whatever. It must be formulated in terms of a code: speech, numbers, writing, sound formation etc. And the message must refer to a context understood by both addresser and addressee, which enables the message to make sense."

It is thus important for both parties to interpret the responses of each other in order to keep the interaction going. If the responses are nil or neutral, it may mean that one of the interactants cannot interpret the message, and this may lead to the termination of the discourse or result in negative responses with the cancellation of rewards²⁷ and high costs²⁸. Myers-Scotton (1988:202) mentions that:

"The costs and rewards will depend on the addressee's response. Mildly marked choices may 'nudge' the addressee, allowing the speaker to make a point; but very marked choices, especially those potentially full of rewards for the speaker only, may cause the addressee to 'opt out' entirely. If this happens, the speaker stands to lose out."

Socio-psychology is concerned with how feelings, thoughts and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the presence of others or the imagined or implied presence of others (Allport, 1968). There are five theoretical frameworks proposed by Smith and Giles in Myers-Scotton (1983) which we have adopted for our study. These theories are concerned with understanding the cognitive arrangement that reconciles an individual's perception of another individual with his or her succeeding

behaviour. Sociolinguistics is interaction-centred, hence the emphasis is on impression-centred configuration. Smith and Giles in Myers-Scotton (1983) refer to this configuration as a **cognitive uncertainty theory**. The rest of their theoretical framework includes attribution of intent, which they call causal **attribution principles**, interpersonal attraction, termed **affective reinforcement, gain-loss theory**, and **interpersonal behaviour** or **social identity** theory.

2.4.2 Cognitive Uncertainty Theory

This theory proposes that when we meet others, we strategically attempt to make them predictable in such a way as to guide our behaviour appropriately. This theory is practised by prisoners who will want proof first that a prisoner belongs to the same gang before he can be welcome. The addresser prisoner normally says **Ungaphakama ngani?** How can you prove to me that you belong to the 25, 26,27, or 28 cell? This theory is well illustrated in chapter 4 under prison **CR**.

Choice of a **CR** may be guided by family norms, that is, the relationship between children and parents, between the siblings and between family members and strangers. Secondly, choice of a **CR** may depend on who is listening, in other words, who forms part of the audience. Thirdly, choice of a **CR** looks at the social context in which the speech event is taking place and examines whether the interaction is formal, private, personal or public (Holmes 1992:6).

Thus, this theory tries to reduce uncertainty amongst the speakers by adopting tactics which we develop at different phases of acquiring a relationship (Berger and Calabrese, 1975).

Cognitive uncertainty theory states that choice of a **CR** will depend on the relationship between the participants. A relevant factor in linguistic choices depends on how well we know the addressee, in other words, who we are and who we are talking to, the

domain and the social context of the talk, as well as the function and the topic of the discussion.

A person may choose a particular **CR** because it makes it easier to discuss a particular topic. It also makes it easier to transmit one's feelings effectively even if the participant does not understand the discourse, particularly in situations comprising abusive language and idle talk or gossip. The idea of choice of a **CR** is supported by Ndlovu (1963:98) who maintains; "Every man, no matter how learned he may be, will always use a common language when he converses with a common man in order that he may be understood well."

The better one knows someone, the more casual and relaxed the speech style one will use. With friends, it is common for the interlocutors to employ a colloquial variety. For instance, educated black inmates, normally use mixed varieties in order to maintain their status when interacting with friends. Myers-Scotton (1988:203) remarks that; "This is always the case in Third World communities among educated peers who alternate between their ethnic group language... and an international language..."

Different situations usually prevail elsewhere. For instance, at work, with higher management, the same speaker, if he is a subordinate, employs a different **CR** comprising respect terms, while, at very formal settings like in a court room situation, choice of a **CR** will be influenced by the setting which will compel the speaker to use more formal terms.

When rewards for using a **CR** outweigh the costs, the speaker will use English alone in the following situations: when addressing a well dressed stranger at work and when speaking with a boss. People sometimes wonder why black South Africans speak English or Afrikaans amongst themselves. In the African context, at work the educated African will speak English with a well dressed stranger, and s/he will also speak English with his/her boss. Educated speakers also address non-black persons

like Asians and Europeans in English or Afrikaans and not Fanakalo or isiNdiya (Jugmohan, 1990) pidgin. IsiNdiya is a mixture of English and Zulu used mainly as a means of communication between the Indians and Zulus. Trapp, (1908) This is an indication that the black interlocutor wants to reap rewards from the stranger, which include impressing him or her rather than look for friendship (Myers-Scotton, 1971:121).

In actual fact, official languages like standard English and Afrikaans are employed when speaking to well dressed strangers visiting the city or township, more than is done when talking to a fellow urbanite.

A high status official is addressed in the most frequently selected **CR** for official transactions, regardless of the speaker's ethnicity. Typical role relationships involve priest-parishioner, matron-nurse, doctor-patient, commander-constable, teacher-pupil, soldier-civilian, official-citizen, parent-child, chief-subject, et cetera. The role mentioned first in the above pairs is the one which is more statusful (Myers-Scotton, 1971:121).

The idea behind the above statement is that it is possible for a speaker to control the floor if he has some kind of status even if his audience does not comprehend the message. In the same vein, it is also possible for the speaker to gain favourable attention from his audience if his expertise and credentials are highlighted to the audience.

Our assumption is that a person with high status can obtain a lot of information from an addressee if he is able to address him in a **CR** which he can comprehend and which also makes the addressee more comfortable in expressing his feelings. This means that in every instance of speaking the **CR**, some assertion specifying the underlying interest or underlying maxim of the **CR** could be discovered.

In conclusion, this theory stipulates that when we meet others we tactically strive to guess what type of people they are in order to guide our behaviour appropriately and then we address them accordingly. That is why we are going to come across words such as **umreva**, (Reverend), nafu (nursing assistant female) et cetera.

2.4.3 Causal Attribution Theory

This theory asserts that when we observe the behaviour of other people, we attribute motives and intentions to them. The theory endeavours to determine the factors that influence the behaviour of individuals as regards stable internal dispositions like character, competence et cetera, or by temporary external factors operating on the situation at the time. The theory explains why people behave in unacceptable ways.

The culture of wanting to become self sufficient from an early age is very common amongst the urban youth, particularly the drop outs. It is this culture of wanting to possess things not belonging to an individual which makes us incorporate the following theory into the present study. We now look at the Marxist theory in order to explain some of the behaviour of urban residents. According to Marx (Haralambos, 1987:536):

"The primary aspect of man's social being is the social relationships he enters into for the production of material life. Since these relationships are largely reproduced in terms of ideas, concepts, laws and religious beliefs, they are seen as normal and natural. Thus when the law legitimizes the right of private property, when religious beliefs justify economic arrangements and the dominant concepts of the age define them as natural and inevitable, men will be largely unaware of the contradictions they contain. In this way, the contradictions within the economic infrastructure are compounded by the contradictions between man's consciousness and objective reality..."

Marx argues that man's consciousness is wrong because it presents a distorted picture of reality since it fails to reveal the basic conflicts of interest which exist in the world

which man has created. The conflict in man's consciousness creates tension which is only resolved in the dialectical process (the art or practice of logical discussion as a means of examining critically the truth of the theory or opinion,(Barnhart and Barnhart, 1986:578).

This theory is very obvious in urban communities, especially amongst the youth. Gangsters particularly in their teens simply steal property not belonging to them, particularly cars, cellular phones and computers, for their own material gain. They say that cars are their girl friends (*amathekeni*). Thus, if a boy does not possess a car it means that he has no girl friend and thus tries very hard to **ngcuka/ ngcoka** (pluck or steal one).

2.4.4 Affective Reinforcement Theory

This theory suggests that our attraction towards others is dependent on the extent to which we share important attitudes and beliefs. It is thought that perceived congruence on salient dimensions is positively rewarding for the individual, as it consensually authenticates his or her view of the world. The theory is concerned with determining those dimensions along which we seek similarities with (and dissimilarities from) others (Grush, Clore & Costin, 1975).

In English, this theory is similar to the expression, 'Birds of a feather flock together. At times, an addresser need not require proof of identity before accepting a stranger. For instance there are salient features which will tell that a stranger is a liquor drinker. That is why in chapter 4 we come across words such as **iphuza-face, iphuza-mouth, iphuza-eyes** et cetera. All these words depict that the stranger is a heavy drinker whose face, mouth and eyes have been affected by taking intoxicating beverages.

Other aspects contributing to affective reinforcement theory have already been mentioned under social dialects and sociolects. Speakers may share ethnicity, age,

social class, including political and religious affiliation, et cetera.

Choice of a **CR** also looks at referential and affective scales. Gossip, for instance, provides a great deal of referential information and also conveys how the speaker feels about those referred to. In most cases, vocabulary related to speakers who are attracted towards each other will be different from those who are not, as we saw in the interaction between males and females.

Affective reinforcement theory also goes to the extent of including language varieties. There are a lot of cryptic codes which are intelligible to we-code members. These have to do with love affairs and many other faculties; refer to chapter five, number 44.

2.4.5 Gain-Loss Theory

The gain-loss theory focuses upon the tendency people have for being attracted most towards those whose admiration and respect they want to gain. People generally tend to enjoy the rewarding experience of others' attraction towards them, so long as this is reciprocated. This is to say, that people enjoy most the increments in others' liking for them.

The gain-loss theory can well be illustrated when a addresser wants to reap rewards from his audience. Myers-Scotton (1988:199) recognizes two types of socially-situated power: that is, statusful power and interactional power. Statusful power is the extent to which a speaker shows himself off to advantage in an interaction relative to other participants in any of these ways: like controlling the floor, or the direction and outcome of the interaction, and also in terms of attracting favourable attention to oneself, for example, by highlighting one's expertise, one's other interpersonal associations and experiences (Myers-Scotton, 1988:199).

Myers-Scotton (1971:110) looks at some theoretical framework in explaining choice of a **language variation** for any social situation. She exemplifies with a variety which is spoken in the multilingual community of Kampala. Her theoretical framework largely follows that of Thibaut and Kelly (1959) who look at social interaction as a process of exchange. This exchange is made through a balance of costs and rewards by the participants in the social process, so that each participant achieves an outcome satisfying to himself. According to these theorists, rewards have a positive effect on the esteem, while costs have a negative effect.

Myers-Scotton (1971:110) simplifies this theory by explaining that:

"Choice of a language [variety] in any situation for anyone can be determined by a sociolinguistic theory which views language transactions in multilingual groups as exchanges in which the participants choose a language by weighing the relative costs and rewards incurred in that choice. Social norms influence the way costs and rewards are counted, and the expectations of all participants in terms of possible outcome and alternative relationships determine the roles taken."

Myers-Scotton's findings from a language variety which is spoken in Kampala are:

- (a) That for the speaker, the cost will be high and the rewards cancelled if he uses a prestige variety with persons of equal or low status in any but the most formal situation and/or if the person addressed does not possess the ability to speak that language well.
- (b) That for the speaker the reward will not be high but neither will be the costs if he uses a neutral variety. Although a speaker gains little prestige by using such a language, he does maintain his position as a friendly neighbour, approachable co-worker and pleasant companion.
- (c) That a speaker will acquire high rewards without high costs if he uses a neutral variety /prestige variety combination rather than either language alone among supposed peers who have some but perhaps not equal command of the

prestige language.

- (d) The costs will be low and the rewards high if the speaker uses almost exclusively a prestigious language with persons of high status who clearly possess the ability to speak that language well.
- (e) With those in higher positions, he will speak a prestigious international language which has official standing in the community in order to impress his superiors. In the questionnaire survey which is on page 97, number 24, 62.7% of our sample expressed that they preferred to be addressed in a neutral varieties befitting the forums rather than to be addressed in a 'standard' variety at all times. Only 21.4% percent favoured to be addressed in English or Afrikaans. These results confirm what Myers-Scotton mentions in (b) above.

In the interviews conducted with the Bishop and other people whom I rated as being purists, (pages 98-102) it was clear that the Bishop had a motive behind speaking non-standard varieties. For instance, he mentioned that speaking a particular variety which is employed by a speech community makes him popular with the crowds. People get the impression that he knows their hardships and in this manner, most of them convert to Christianity. In addition to this, his sermons have credibility. He gains a lot of rewards from his congregation because people feel that he identifies himself with them. In this manner, the rewards become high and the costs, very low. We shall also see that in our analysis of data on p.97, question 24, 62,7% of the respondents preferred to be addressed in their language varieties as against a standard dialect.

2.4.6. Social identity theory

This theory suggests that we are not only concerned with attaining rewards and positive self esteem, but also that we desire a favourable group esteem. The theory is concerned with exploring the conditions under which group members will attempt to search for and even create dimensions in which they are positively distinct from

other relevant groups, (Robert:1980:289). This theory is illustrated in a number of domains as will be seen in chapter chapter.

2.4.7 Symbolic interactionist Theory

One is compelled to turn to symbolic interactionist theory since it is an important strategy for communication in linguistic circles. The symbolic interactionist theory views human thought, experience and conduct as essentially social. According to Mead (1934:344), thought, experience and conduct; "owe their nature to the fact that human beings interact in terms of symbols, the most of which are contained in language."

Symbols are not language *per se*, but they are devices by which ideas too difficult, dangerous or inconvenient to articulate in common language are transmitted between people who have acculturated in common ways. People use symbols as a way of communicating messages.

Other groups of interactive symbols comprise icons. Icons are regarded as the most important aspects of human communication in society. There are symbolic metaphors which are linked to all forms of human activities. Speech codes are nothing else but metaphors.

For instance, the meaning of the word **kombi** does not only represent a category of automobiles, but it also looks at its line of action, like its speed and shape. In this way, a **CR** for a **kombi** is known as a **Zola Budd**, where the speed at which the **kombi** moves is proposed to be equivalent to that of Zola (nee) Budd (now Pieterse).

A loaf of bread is also equated with a **kombi** because of its shape

Intulo (lizard) is another **CR** which is proposed as equivalent to the speed of a kombi.

Zulu youngsters are often heard saying: *Ngizo-ry-a intulo (ry-Afrikaans) ngoba indlovu izongichithela isikhathi.* (I shall travel by a lizard (meaning a kombi/mini-bus

taxi) because the elephant (meaning the bus) will delay me or is slow)

Mead (1934:544) states that a symbol does not simply stand for an object or event: it defines the object and event in a particular way and indicates response to it.

"Symbols impose particular meanings on objects and events and, in doing so, largely exclude other possible meanings".

A symbol reveals various facets of an object. For instance, to the users of transport code, a **kombi** is a symbol of wealth. That is why it is given the **CR inkomo yomcebo/yomnotho** (a beast for wealth). A Mercedes Benz holds the highest status symbol amongst mobile facilities. That is why it is given the **CR inkosi yomgwaqo** (king of the road).

Mead (1934:546) further contends that in order for an interaction to take place each person involved must interpret the meanings and the intentions of others during the course of the interaction through the process of role-taking, and states:

"The process of role-taking involves the individual taking the role of another by imaginatively placing himself in the position of the person with whom he is interacting."

Interaction between human beings, particularly in conversations, cannot function without the ability of the message from the sender to weigh and calculate the apparent effects of its words on the listener. Each instance of a feed back from the listener conditions or alters subsequent messages.

In this chapter, we focused on **Language Variation** and its sub-disciplines. We discovered that language variation is divided into two broad phenomena. These are **internal variation** and **contact variation**. Internal variation can further be categorised into **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variation**. Intra-speaker variation produces **style** and **register**. On the other hand, inter-speaker variation has two dimensions which are **geographical/regional variation** and **social variation**. **Social variation** produces **sociolects** or **social dialects**. **Sociolects** are linked to social class, age, sex, ethnicity, social networks, and may further produce cant, slang and Tsotsitaal.

A component of **Language Variation** includes **contact variation**. Contact variation comprises all the varieties which are employed by speakers as a result of contact with speakers of foreign origin and this also includes interlarded speech which is also a product of contact variation.

The types of variations which we shall look at in this study include: **internal and contact variations** which are sub-divided into **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variations**.

All these **Language Variations** have found fertile ground in certain domains which are found in the Black Durban speech community. The domains where these variations are spoken include hospitals, transportation modes, educational units, soccer matches and stadiums, taverns, prisons, and township/street. In the next chapter we shall describe the research methodology of the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the previous chapter, we looked at **Language Variation** and the theories which linguists put forth to explain choices of language varieties. They state that the participants must first weigh the relative costs and rewards incurred in their choices when addressing an audience. Choice of a code depends on the relationship between the interactants. Speakers normally use a colloquial variety when interacting with friends, but use a more formal register when interacting with higher management or when exposed to formal settings. In other words, choice of a **CR** depends on the audience design. The interaction between participants must refer to a **CR** understood by both the addresser and addressee, so that the message can make sense.

This chapter describes the methodology employed in carrying out the empirical research. Two methodologies were adopted: that is, ethnography and ethnomethodology. It is important for linguists to be aware of the social class variations employed by a speech community before embarking on the real study on language variation in its entirety. Wolfson (1989:203) mentions that "Social class differences in speech interact with regional differences in such a way that features which are used by the prestige group in one region, may well be regarded as markers of low socio-economic status in another."

Wolfson implies that studies on social variation must not only highlight studies on standard dialects, but also look at specific dialect areas and at the variations employed within a speech community. This idea also embraces stylistic variation which was treated in Chapter One.

Stylistic variation is further confirmed in Labov's doctoral dissertation in linguistics at Columbia University entitled **Social Stratification of English in New York City** (Labov, 1966). This study is so famous that it is now known as Department Store Study. Labov hypothesized that speakers of all social classes would vary their speech behaviour according to the formality of the situation. The prestige pronunciation of the variables occurred more frequently in informal contexts, while the socially stigmatized variant was more frequently found in the casual contexts and that this was true of people of all social backgrounds (Holmes, 1992:192).

Labov's results were that speakers of all social standings were found to be using lower frequencies of the prestige variable in casual style speech and greater frequencies of these same variables in the context defined as careful style (Wolfson 1989:203) echoes this idea where she says "All social groups in Labov's sample showed their awareness of community norms in that, for each group, there was a considerably higher frequency of usage of prestige variables in formal contexts."

This means that, according to Labov's sample, people of all walks of life were conscious of when to use prestige forms and when to ignore them. Empirical research proves that the lower middle class uses the highest frequency of prestige forms in careful speech as compared to the prestigious or highest class.

Labov (1966:88) states that "The lower middle class speakers go beyond the highest status group in their tendency to use the forms considered correct and appropriate for formal style."

This quotation is also applicable to Zulu speakers. Those who speak regional dialects which are not standard, will imitate the styles of those they admire in their speech repertoires, particularly the styles of the news readers on television or the radio announcers. They do this by over using or over generalising a particular feature even in positions which are syntactically impermissible in standard Zulu. A researcher can actually count the frequency of occurrence of a prestigious expression used by a lower middle class speaker at wrong points. Social pressure is the motivating force behind

adopting upper-class or prestigious speech forms by the dominated people.

Wolfson (1989:195) states that "William Labov and Marvin Hertzog make a strong case for the need to base a theory of language change on data gathered through actual field work involving the collection of sociolinguistic data."

3.2 APPROACHES TO DATA COLLECTION

There are various approaches to gathering data from a speech community and, in this study, ethnography and ethnomethodology have been adopted.

3.2.1 Ethnography

The ethnographic methodology refers to spontaneous speech which is studied in its natural context. There are two approaches which can be followed in gathering oral data for linguistic analysis. These are: elicitation and participant observation.

3.2.1.1 Elicitation

By this method, the researcher may or may not be involved in the observation or gathering of oral data. Speech is elicited in various ways and hypotheses and variables are usually defined before the data are gathered. This approach is also based on the quantitative method.

3.2.1.2 Participant observation

In the participant observation method, the researcher involves himself physically in the observation. In the past, ethnographic approach was limited to groups who were foreign to the researcher. But recent researchers are turning to the investigation of speech behaviour among speakers of their own languages and also amongst groups of which they are affiliates. (Wolfson 1989: 203) states that this method is advantageous because "The researcher is not distinguishable from the group being studied and it is

possible to observe everyday behaviour without being noticed and without causing consciousness on the part of those being observed."

This method is corroborated by Labov (1966) who terms it 'anonymous observation'. He also used it most effectively in his Departmental Store study. In participant observation or qualitative method, hypotheses emerge from the data as they are collected unlike the quantitative method where the speech is elicited in various ways and hypotheses and variables are usually defined before the data are gathered. In this method the researcher has an obligation to share what he learns with the population under study (Wolfson, 1989:205).

This suggestion is supported by Labov (1970:47) who affirms that "sociolinguists need to have data on how people speak when they are not conscious of being observed." He mentions that this paradox can be solved by asking subjects, questions which will divert their attention from the interview situation causing them to become so involved in what they are saying they forget how they are saying it.

This implies that the investigator intervenes as little as possible during data collection and tries to understand what is going on from the perspective of the participants in the interaction. The researcher remains in the background and does not guide the participants. Observational approach to data collection is that it seeks to study speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson, 1989:204).

✓ 3.2.1.3 Advantages of participant observation

1. The observer studies speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson 1989:204).
2. The researcher finds it useful to behave as a participant observer in a wider range of interaction with those speakers who have been singled out for the study (Wolfson, 1989:204).
3. This method makes the interviewee less disturbed by the presence of the investigator, that is, if he is compelled to explain his position to the

interviewees that data which will be collected will offer service to those who want to learn new codes and thus also help to improve their linguistic skills and socialisation patterns.

4. The method diagnoses better the linguistic problems. In this way, data collected during participant observation help other speakers who have similar problems of not comprehending the new linguistic forms.
5. People who are insecure about their reading or writing proficiency feel at home in this method because they are hardly required to read or write anything. Our Zulu population still comprise a sizeable number of illiterate speakers. Others find it strange to have to read any text aloud.

3.2.2 Ethnomethodology

3.2.2.1 *The meaning of Ethnomethodology*

Ethnomethodology is a term which was created by Garfinkel (1968) while working on papers of jurors where the prefix ethno prevailed in a number of science related aspects such as ethnology, ethnophysiology and ethnophysics. Garfinkel (1968) then used the term ethno "to refer, somehow or other, to the availability to a member of common-sense knowledge of his society.

The prefix 'ethno' has something to do with one's knowledge of a concept. In 1968, Garfinkel then named a method of research wherein the investigator observes and reports how everyday organisation of the affairs of a society operate, 'ethnomethodology'.

Ethnomethodology is a cover term for a view of social organisation and a theoretical and methodological approach towards investigating the activities of day to day interaction (Wolfson 1989:60).

The aim of ethnomethodology is to uncover attitudes in the speakers' daily lives. Since human beings are mini-creators, they also create the same events that they are

engaged in. They share cultural knowledge, rules, ethics, and use the acquired knowledge to construct a social and communicative environment as they speak and respond to one another (Wolfson 1989:61). Researchers usually examine the organization of a discourse in order to unfold how speakers accomplish interaction.

3.2.2.2 Advantages of Ethnomethodology

1. Ethnomethodological analysis uncovers the speaker's unconscious cultural knowledge.
2. It uncovers the assumptions arising from the way speakers interpret and react to their experiences.
3. Speakers do not use this method only for cultural knowledge or rules to be shared, but they also use it to construct a social and communicative environment for each other as they speak and respond to one another.
4. While listening to one another's way of speaking, that is to say, while creating environments for each other in the conversation, the interactants are constantly aware of one another's reaction and conversational styles.
5. Through ethnomethodology, researchers are able to examine the organisation of the conversation in order to discover how speakers accomplish interaction.
6. What has been carefully transcribed in ethnomethodology become the data for detailed analysis aimed at uncovering the assumptions which speakers must share in order for what is said to have coherence (Wolfson, 1989:61).

Wolfson (1989:61) contends that:

"Assumptions which appear to be regularly made by members of the culture and which seem to make sense of each other's speech are analyzed in order to come to a more general understanding of how conversation is organized."

Put differently, an utterance can make sense only on the basis of a previous utterance by another speaker. Wolfson (1989) regards this method as an adjacency pair strategy

which involves turn taking where a question requires an answer and greetings require a greeting. A greeting in a particular **code** requires an answer in the same **code**. Expressions used for departure require the respondent to converge to the same style which was used by the first speaker for departure in a particular setting.

There are various methods of collecting data. Conversations are either audio recorded or transcribed according to the researcher's discretion. It is mostly relevant parts which are overheard from the conversation of the interactants which are written down, including the behaviour of each interactant during the conversation.

3.3 COLLECTION OF DATA

Group sessions with friends, family members, friends of friends, and university students were arranged for the collection of data. Individual interviews were conducted with everyday acquaintances at filling stations, bus depots and taxi ranks. As the major concentration was on **CCR's** which are used in the black residential areas in the Greater Durban area, the targeted residential areas comprised KwaMakhutha, Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clernaville, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma.

Further and final checking of the validity and reliability of the data was done through checklists.

The interviews were carried out and transcribed in Zulu. Questionnaires were initially in English, but this created problems for respondents who, though literate, could not follow most of the questions in English. This resulted in re-drafting the questionnaires in the Zulu language. It was also necessary to moderate their format. The problem experienced here was that of developing quantitative measures of linguistic variation in order to analyze data in an objective manner.

3.3.1 Sampling

I had to resort to sampling due to the complexity of the study. A sample is a subset of the population from which the researcher universalises his or her results. Luthuli (1990: 202) warns that:

"The matter of sampling should not be taken lightly. For studies in which samples are selected from large (and possibly complex populations, selection and acquisition of the sample may be a major activity of the research."

Before I could obtain a representative sample, I had to identify the population from which I had to obtain my results. Thus, the socio-demographic profile of the population of the Black Durban speech community as a whole had to be secured in order to sample from it.

3.3.2 Socio-demographic profile of the Black Durban speech community

3.3.2.1 The statistics according to the 1991 census

	Males	Females	Total
KwaMakhutha	6 527	7 062	13 589
Umlazi	159 054	140 000	299 054
Lamontville	13 496	11 318	24 814
Chesterville	2 114	2 487	4 601
KwaMashu	89 229	67 450	156 679
Ntuzuma	32 354	43 311	75 665
Clemlaville	19 521	18 904	38 425
TOTAL	322 295	290 532	612 827

Census = 1991

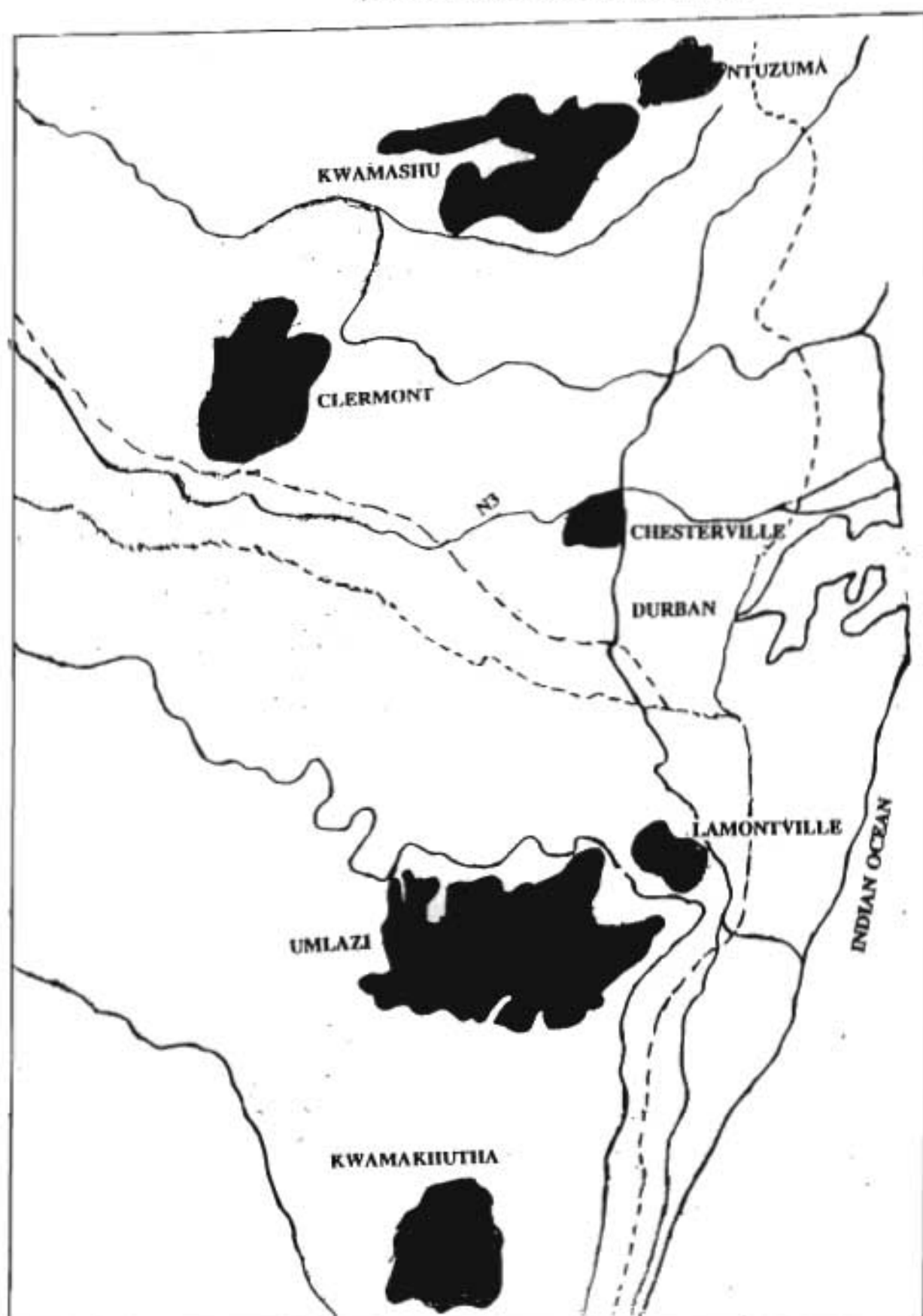
3.3.2.2 The ethnic composition of the Black Durban residential Areas

Zulu	1 584 500	96%
Xhosa	34 754	2.1%
Swati	997	0.6%
Southern Sotho	3 401	0.2%
Tswana	1 432	0.09%
Ndebele	114	0.006%
English	--	--
Afrikaans	--	--
Tsonga	1 824	0.11%
Venda	92	0.005%
Pondo	1 571	0.09%
TOTAL	1 628 685	100%

1991 Statistics

Illustration 2 below, is a map showing the location of the seven black townships which were targeted for this thesis. These were visited during field work.

Illustration Number 2: MAP SHOWING BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA



3.3.3 Domains for data collection

Areas for data collection were selected through the stratified random sampling. This method allows researchers to ascertain that the sample is evenly balanced in the classes that are represented. It also determines that the stratification is relevant to the problem.

The study concentrated on domains like hospitals, beer halls/ shebeens, educational units, prisons, and male and female hostels. The data was also collected at soccer matches and on various modes of transportation. These domains were selected: (i) Because of practical consideration which included transportation convenience, ease of administering questionnaires and securing interviewees. (ii) Because the investigator had a reasonable expectation that she would find a large concentration of speakers of CCR's in these domains.

3.3.4 Size of the sample

The sample for this questionnaire comprised 322 respondents from 9 different areas including unregistered urban residential areas. Each questionnaire contained approximately 24 questions.

From each domain visited, the researcher selected two respondents. The reason for such a choice was to make sure that the sample was equitable and that it covered the following variables: age, literacy, urban/rural, sex and social standing. The selection was as follows:

A. Prisons

Prisoners are grouped according to their cell numbers, for instance, a prisoner who is allocated to stay in cell number 14 will be called **i-14 (ifotini)**. Such prisoners serve short term sentences of about three months or less. This is how they were selected:

- (a) two 14 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 25 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 26 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 27 prisoners from the Westville prison
 two 28 prisoners from Westville prison
 two wardens from Westville prison
 two policemen from Westville prison
 two warrant officers from Westville prison
- (b) A least two ex-prisoners, meaning a prisoner who is free or out of gaol.
 $2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+14 = (30)$

B. Hospitals

- two doctors from each of the three hospitals
 two matrons from each of the targeted hospitals
 two nursing sisters from each of the targeted hospitals
 two staff nurses from each of the targeted hospitals
 two nursing assistants from each of the targeted hospitals
 two patients from each of the targeted hospitals
 two hospital clerks from each of the targeted hospitals
 $2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6 = (42)$

C. Educational units

- two students from each of the three universities around Durban
 two higher primary students from each of the targeted townships
 two high school students from each township
 two teachers from each of the targeted schools
 two lecturers from each of the three universities
 two black students from two reformatory schools
 $2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 2 = 4 = 58$

(d) **Street/ Township and other urban settlements**

two members from the Zulu Language Board

two Church officials

two members from Radio UKhozi Broadcasting Corporation

two journalists, one from ILanga LaseNatali and the other one, from UmAfrika

two Zulu writers who reside in the Greater Durban Area

two inspectors who examine the Zulu Language in the Department of Education and Culture.

two subjects each from four local squatter camps

two female subjects from four residential areas

two male subjects from the four residential areas

two pensioners from four paying stations

two female and male subjects who are self employed

two female and male domestic workers

$2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14+14+14+4=46$

(e) **Transportation modes**

two subjects each, in seven taxi ranks

two commuterseach, at seven bus terminals.

two passengers each, from seven railway stations

two petrol attendants each, in two filling stations

two motor mechanics each, in two industrial areas

$2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 2 = 4, 2 \times 2 = 4 = 50$

(f) **Shebeens/Taverns**

two male subjects from each of the seven targeted townships

two female subjects from each of the targeted townships

two male subjects from seven professional settings

two female subjects from seven professional settings

$7 \times 2 = 14, 7 \times 2 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14 = 56$

(g) **Soccer**

two soccer players from each of the targeted schools

two soccer players from each of the targeted universities

two members from seven Soccer Clubs found in four Durban men's hostels, that is, AmaZulu, Bush bucks, Butcher Birds, Swallows and any six football spectators.

two soccer players from each of the targeted townships

$$2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14 = 40$$

Grand total 322

3.4 Phases of the research

The field work and data collection lasted for almost three years due to the complexity of the study. The study was conducted in five consecutive phases that is:

Phase I

- (i) participant observation.
- (ii) follow up study to check the validity and reliability of speech terms gathered in participant observation method.

Phase II

- (i) Pilot study to measure feasibility of the study.
- (ii) Analysis of data from the pilot study

Phase III

Main research

Second amended questionnaire to measure social attitudes and **Language Variation** in the Black Durban speech community.

Phase IV

Analysis of the revised results of questionnaire

Phase V

Interviews with a few prominent Zulu speakers who reside in the Greater Durban area.

3.4.1 PHASE I - Participant observation

The procedure which was adopted follows on Milroy's approach (1977) who developed a somewhat different and innovative strategy for gaining access to viable audience position within the speech community.

She utilised the concept of a 'social network' (Boissevain, 1974) where an individual's everyday acquaintances are distributed in terms of first order relations (friends, family etc.) and second order relations (friends of friends). She then entered three Belfast communities to collect data not as a researcher qua researcher, but as a 'friend of a friend'.

In many of the places visited, I entered as a relative, a friend, teacher, friend of the wife or a friend of a friend. During this period, I became more socially involved in the activities of the community in order to gain acceptance by the people and also in order to plunge deeper into the study. I used Milroy's approach which is the first order relations, starting with relatives, friends and friends of friends.

I also went to schools where there were relatives and friends who helped me in obtaining data from the compositions written by scholars as will be seen below under method of obtaining educational code.

3.4.1.1 Method of obtaining Transportation CCR's

I either travelled by taxi, train or bus in order to observe the conversational strategies which were employed by commuters in the various transportation modes. Firstly, it was mere observation unobtrusively noting the speech codes of the commuters here and there. The classical method of carrying a tape recorder for the collection of data was not feasible because of the political situation in South Africa and the attitude of the community towards journalists and photographers during the time of data collection. The community viewed such persons as spies for the opposition parties. The researcher also visited filling stations, workshops for car repairs, panel-beaters, homes of taxi owners and taxi drivers. This involved exhaustive travelling from one

residential area to the other and, at times, I relied on friends and relatives who were well known in residential areas that were unfamiliar to me.

3.4.1.2 Method of obtaining Tavern CCR's

During the field work, the researcher followed Milroy's approach as described above. I established acquaintances with beer/liquor drinkers and signalled solidarity by switching to tavern code here and there. This created a feeling of trust between the subjects and I to the extent that they used to call me umxhasi (a Xhosa word for a supporter). The tavern code was so commonly used by the participants that it became unnecessary for the investigator to have to jot down the new terms.

3.4.1.3 Method of obtaining Educational CCR's

I had to obtain permission from the Education Departments to conduct interviews in schools under their jurisdiction. In most primary and secondary schools, I was given a chance to ask scholars to write compositions of about 25 lines (one page) on one of the following topics:

- (1) Mhla umfowethu eyongcoka iginsa.
(The day my brother went to steal a car.)
- (2) Okwafundwa umfowethu ngesikhathi esejele.
(What my brother learned when he was imprisoned.)
- (3) Liyagcwala ishibhi lakwaKhanyile/lakithi. Xoxa.
(Our or Mr Khanyile's tavern has a lot of patrons. Discuss)
- (4) Beyimnandi imeshi yebhola yayizolo.
(Yesterday's football match was exciting.)
- (5) Ngifunde olunye ulimi ngesikhathi ngilaliswe esibhedlela.
(I learnt new vocabulary when I was admitted to hospital.)
- (6) Yeyi mfowethu! Kumnandi emgura.
(School life is full of fun, my friend.)
- (7) Mhla ngicishe ngiyotapa Isigqoko
(The day I nearly died)

Samples of the students' compositions are available on request. At my work-place, I collected data through participant observation.

3.4.1.4 Method of obtaining Soccer CCR's

I inherited an interest in soccer from childhood where most of my family members were active participants in soccer matches. This was further strengthened by the fact that during my teaching career in Durban schools, students were actively involved in various soccer league matches. It was expected that teachers encourage and support their students particularly in the Soccer Milk Competition clubs. Besides, I am a strong supporter of one of the famous Soccer clubs from the South Coast of Natal where my relatives are members of the Butcher Birds Club.

The world matches of 1990 and June -July 1994 contributed a lot to increasing my soccer vocabulary from listening to commentators on Radio Zulu/UKhozi and soccer programmes on television. Here too, I applied the participant observation method in obtaining the latest data, and I used to exchange venues in order to watch the late soccer matches on television with relatives and friends.

In all instances, I used to jot down speech terms which were employed by (a) both players and fans in the soccer sports grounds during a match, (b) those which were used by friends while watching television, as well as (c) those which were used by commentators.

3.4.1.5 Method of obtaining Prison CCR's

The most convenient place for obtaining prison language was King Edward Hospital where I was given permission to interview visiting patients. Prisoners from Westville prison are escorted by policemen to King Edward Hospital on a daily basis.

I first went to Umlazi and Mayville prisons to obtain permission to interview prisoners there, but the prison superiors told me that I would not get much of what I wanted as prisoners found in these places were either serving short term sentences or awaiting trial. This meant that their prison vocabulary would be very limited.

I had a knowledge of a few prison terms which I had gathered from ex-prisoners in the neighbourhood. After repeated written requests and telephonic communications with prison authorities in Pretoria, I finally obtained permission to interview prisoners in the Westville prison. Initially, the prisoners did not welcome me. They associated me with their authorities who were their enemies. I was assisted in having access to Westville prison by another researcher who accompanied me to the Prison because he frequented the place for various research projects and was well known by most prisoners.

I was sometimes accompanied by a well known "28" who had recently been released from jail. There was a positive response in whatever information was released because of those who accompanied me. I endeavoured to address the prisoners in prison **code** in order to gain their support and confidence. The prisoners used to ask if I was also from the University (prison) because I understood their **code** very well. The reply would be. "Of course, I have also been 'At My Cousin's Place' (KwaMzala) (A code name for prison).

The prolonged period following the granting of permission to get to Westville prison helped me in switching to alternative methods and I seized the opportunity of interviewing a few prisoners who were patients in King Edward Hospital. I found this method more relaxed as it did not contain any time constraints. The prisoners who were guarded by policemen were interviewed while waiting for consultation in the queues or while awaiting X-Ray or blood test results which involved long delays.

As I sat near each prisoner or prisoners, I made a commitment to give them an **intaba**, which they also call **imowundeni** (mountain), meaning money, if they assisted me in supplying prison code for the same reason of wanting to increase Zulu

vocabulary for Zulu dictionaries. I usually asked them to relate stories pertaining to their prison life in prison code, and asked them the meaning of terms which were unfamiliar to me. A R5-00 note for buying **inkantini yesithathu or yesibili** (third or second canteen, meaning cigarettes or tobacco) was highly appreciated by them.

3.4.1.6 Method of obtaining Hospital CCR's

A lot of my relatives or friends are in the medical world either as nurses, doctors or nursing assistants, and I often listen to their dialogues which are often different from Standard Zulu because they entail a lot of code mixing and switching. In this manner, when collecting hospital **CCR's**, my lexicon contained a sizeable vocabulary which is employed in hospitals. I had to follow the same procedure which required obtaining permission from the hospital superintendents to observe the speech of hospital attendants.

This involved many months of waiting for permission to get to the targeted hospitals. During the waiting period, I made it my duty to transport two elderly relatives who are patients in King Edward Hospital once every week. In this manner, I collected a lot of fruitful vocabulary, which I entered on my list of hospital vocabulary.

I also took a break in consulting private doctors and took my family to hospitals where they were treated as ordinary patients who did not possess medical aid facilities when they were sick. This was intentional in order to get acquainted with the hospital setting and meet a lot of patients in waiting. This involved the three targeted hospitals. After finally obtaining permission to do the work in hospitals, I wasted no time in visiting the earmarked hospitals, now entering as an official or researcher.

This time, it was merely to check whether the vocabulary collected during the unofficial visits was similar in the three targeted hospitals. Having collected enough data, I moved on to the second phase which was the pilot study to test the feasibility of the study.

3.4.1.7 Method of obtaining Township CCR's

Obtaining township CCR's was not a problem at all because I am resident in one of the townships and I also use the varieties which are employed by the speech community. One hears these CCR's from visitors, school children, teachers, students, radio, television, tsotsis in the street, educated and uneducated women and men, et cetera. In fact, one is surrounded by interlocutors who use CCR's now and again in their speech repertoire. There is a new expression either on the radio or television or in the speech of one or two township residents, almost everyday.

3.4.2 PHASE II - Pilot study

3.4.2.1. Need for a pilot study

A pilot study had to be conducted in order to ascertain the duration of time for the final study and to obtain objective results from the respondents. According to Luthuli (1990:203) there are many advantages of a pilot study and a few are stated below:

- (a) It helps to check clarity in the wording of the final questionnaire. Items not useable are thus weeded out.
- (b) A pilot study is necessary because appropriate calculations, deletions and modifications of the final questionnaire are tested according to the responses in the pilot study.
- (c) A pilot study refines the final questionnaire and locates potential problems.
- (d) New approaches to the problems are revealed in the pilot study. In this manner, the researcher is able to abandon his original ideas in favour of new ones.
- (e) A pilot study provides an investigation on all techniques to be employed in order to test the researcher's hypothesis.

3.4.2.2 Questionnaire construction

Nisbet and Entwistle (1972) contend that the questionnaire can be rated as a form of interview on paper because the procedure in constructing it follows a pattern similar to that of the interview schedule. The only difference between the two is that the investigator does not explain ambiguities or explain misunderstandings in a questionnaire as any explanation may lead to biased opinions which may influence the subjects. Because of this, the questionnaire has to be carefully drafted and the wording clear and straightforward. There are numerous benefits which accompany the choice of questionnaire surveys as compared to other methods. Below are a few of these.

The reasons for choosing this method was because of its cost economy. Secondly, I did not have the problem of interviewer turnover and training. Questionnaires created more trust in the anonymity of the respondents' answers to personal aspects of the topic being researched. They allowed me to reach a large sample thus giving an allowance for a wide coverage (Mouly 1972).

In this study, the 50 questionnaires for the pilot study were given to the third year students of the University of Durban-Westville who were majoring in Zulu. These students come from various residential areas around Durban and there are a few who reside outside the Greater Durban area. All 50 questionnaires for the pilot study were returned because this was done in class and students had to leave the questionnaires in class at the end of the period.

This method was not without flaws. Some students did not understand the instructions from the questionnaire because these were drafted in English and were a bit complex for the average student. See annexure 1. The pilot study revealed uniformity in the group tested. For instance 90% of the students were unemployed, and their ages ranged between 19-24. This did not cover the wide population universe which was the aim of the final study. The pilot study was an eye opener to me. There were questions which were not answered at all and it was difficult for me to discern why. It was also difficult to determine why non-respondents differed from those who did respond to

certain questions.

3.4.2.3. Follow up studies

I made follow up studies in order to check the validity and reliability of the speech terms which were gathered in the participant observation method. I followed the same procedure which is that of visiting acquaintances, but, this time, they were approached at random. Respondents were asked to put a tick or 1 next to the terms which they were familiar with and a cross or a zero against those which they did not know. I had to read out the list of vocabulary for those who could not read for various reasons, which included illiteracy, poor eyesight and laziness to read.

3.4.3 PHASE III - Instructions and administration of the main research instrument

The questionnaires were conducted in the venues selected by the researcher. They were written in Zulu because the pilot study had proved unconvincing, as stated above. The questionnaires written in Zulu created a more relaxed atmosphere on the part of both the investigator and the subjects, in the sense that the respondents had no doubts in their minds about the choices they had to make.

I always started by explaining the purpose of my visit, that is, to find out whether most of the new terms which were not regarded as standard Zulu, although employed by a lot of Zulu speakers residing in the **GDA** were in actual fact known by the majority of the community. A recommendation would be made that these terms be incorporated into Zulu dictionaries (but only after a referendum) or, in "A Dictionary of Slang which is Zulu-based", provided the community proved to be familiar with the new terms and also approve of them.

On one occasion, a lady respondent felt that I had come to destroy the Zulu language and disapproved of my presence in her premises. In the interim, it so happened that members of the same family called a feared ex-prisoner who was passing by in order

to intimidate me. When the ex-prisoner was introduced to me, the family changed their minds because I was able to carry out a lengthy conversation with the ex-prisoner in prison code. After this incident, the family members were willing to fill in the questionnaires and they said they were very keen to learn **CCR's** employed in the various domains as this would protect them from being molested by hooligans. These questionnaires were conducted in single sessions, lasting for approximately thirty minutes.

3.4.4 PHASE IV - Analysis of the research instrument
General information about the respondents

1. SEX

V	X	TOTAL
MALES	FEMALES	
190	132	322
59%	41%	100%

According to the survey, 59% of the respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey were males and 41%, females.

2. AGES

V	X	0	1	2	3	4	Total
13-18	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	
40	64	53	36	47	46	36	322
12.4%	20%	16.6%	11.3%	14.7%	14.4%	11.3%	100%

According to the analysis, the highest percentage of respondents is between 19-24 years, followed by 25-29 years.

3. AREA

V	Chesterville	47	14.6%
X	Clermont	35	11.0%
0	KwaMashu	34	10.5%
1	KwaMakhutha	51	15.8%
2	Lamontville	39	12.1%
3	UMlazi	72	22.3%
4	Other black Areas	32	9.9%
5	White Areas	12	3.7%
6	Total	322	100.0%

The inclusion of residential areas was to establish whether respondents from various residential areas spoke CCR's. Secondly, it was to establish whether there was some kind of commonality in the use of CCR's which were employed in the GDA.

4. MARITAL STATUS

V	X	0	1	
Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Total
171	119	26	6	322
53.1%	37%	8%	1.9%	100%

This information was needed to check whether it is single persons or married couples who use CCR's in the GDA.

5.

PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME

	Less than R500-00	56	17.4%
X	R500-00	17	5.3%
0	R1000-R1499	21	6.5%
1	R1500-R1999	27	8.4%
2	R2000-R2499	39	12.1%
3	R2500-R2999	23	7.1%
4	R3000-R3499	54	16.8%
5	R3500-R3999	16	4.9%
6	R4000+	9	2.7%
7	No income/student	34	10.5%
8	No income/not working	26	8.7%
9	Total	322	100%

This information was necessary because my colleagues were under the impression that it was people with low income rates who spoke **CCR's**.

6. EMPLOYMENT

V	Full time (employment)	111	34.4%
X	Part-Time employment	32	9.9%
0	Housewife	30	9%
1	Scholar	96	29.8%
2	Self employed	13	4%
3	Pensioner	14	4.3%
4	No income	26	8.7%
	Total	322	100%

The highest percentage of respondents were either full time workers or scholars.

7. HOME

V	4 Roomed house	163	50.6%
X	Big house/ more than 4 rooms	52	16%
0	Shack/ informal house	43	13.4%
1	Hostel	26	8.1%
2	Flat	11	3.4%
3	Renting a flat	27	8.4%
4	Total	322	100%

Respondents who live in four-roomed houses and in other informal settlements had the highest percentage.

8. STAY

V	Less than a year	31	9.6%
X	1-2	42	13%
0	3-4	71	22%
1	5-6	20	6.2%
2	10+	158	49%
3	Total	322	100%

Most respondents had lived for more than 10 years in their present settlements.

9. PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE

number of children between 0 and 17 years adults above 18 years

X	Less than 2 in the house	30	11.2%	39	12%
V	2-3	21	6.5%	52	16.1%
0	4-5	53	16.5%	48	14.9%
1	6-7	98	30.4%	80	24.9%
2	8+	114	35.5%	103	32%
3	Total	322	100%	322	100%

The analysis revealed that most respondents come from big families of more than eight members. Female and young respondents, who had a lot of adult male siblings in their families, knew almost 100% of the township, tavern, transport, and soccer CCR's, and those whose brothers and sisters had experienced prison life knew most prison vocabulary although they themselves had never been imprisoned. This was revealed by the check lists

10. EDUCATION

		Respondent's		Mother's		Father's	
Primary	X	34	10.3%	122	39.5%	115	35.7%
Secondary	0	129	39.1%	87	28.1%	86	26.7%
Training Col.	1	139	43.2%	72	22.4%	73	22.6%
University/Tec	2	20	6.2%	41	13.3%	48	14.9%
Total	322	322	100%	322	100%	322	100%

From the analysis above, we learn that most respondents were literate. 10% of the respondents' mothers and 25% fathers, received primary education. The inclusion of this information was to test literacy.

Lieberson (1981:270) mentions that obtaining cross-tabulations between parents and children was helpful in that it generated additional information about the social characteristics which distinguish those parents who pass on the acquired language to their children from those bilinguals who do not.

Lieberson (1981:270) suggests that surveyors should learn not only about linguistic patterns among persons in their prime adult years, but also about their offspring, and, if possible, their ancestors. Hence the inclusion of mother tongue shift and the resurrection of obsolete expressions by the younger generation may reveal that older parents as well as grand parents also employed certain flashy terms which were being reproduced as new CCR's by modern speakers (Ndlovu, 1963:153).

11. MOTHER TONGUE

		RESP	%	MOTH	%	FATH	%
Zulu	V	289	89.7%	258	81.9%	290	90%
Xhosa	X	33	10.2%	45	14.3%	19	5.9%
Sotho	0	10	3.1%	12	3.8%	9	2.7%
Tswana	1	0	0	7	2.2%	0	0
Ndebele	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venda	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsonga	4	9	3%	0	0	0	0
English	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afrikaans	6	0	0	0	0	4	0.3%
Others	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	322	100%	322	100%	322	100%

Most respondents were Zulu and Xhosa speakers. Only a few spoke either Sotho or Tsonga.

12.

RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING

Hospital	V	70	21.7%
Educational Unit	X	96	29.8%
Tavern	0	113	35%
Township	1	106	32%
Soccer	2	135	41.9%
Transport	3	128	39.7%
Prison	4	148	46%
Zulu	5	166	51.5%
Other	6	71	22%
TOTAL		322	100%

A few respondents spoke English in certain domains while others engaged themselves in isiLovasi and Township register. Those who are liquor drinkers spoke tavern code. Those who come from small families who are not outgoing recorded that they speak standard Zulu amongst themselves.

13.

RECORD REGISTER BEING USED

Home Work Travel School Soccer

V	Hosp.	26=8%	73=22.7%	23=7.1%	0=0%	5=1.6%
X	Educ.	5=1.6%	49=15.2%	20=6.2%	20=6.2%	7=2.2%
0	Tavern	3=0.93%	10=3.1%	57=17.7%	9=2.8%	6=1.9%
1	Isilovas	70=21.7%	49=15.2%	60=18.6%	57=17.7%	26=8%
2	Soccer	3=0.93%	5=1.6%	39=12.1%	10=3.1%	148=45.9%
3	Transp.	2=0.62%	34=10.6%	32=9.9%	94=29.2%	9=2.8%
4	Prison	4=1.2%	54=16.8%	25=7.8%	3=0.9%	6=1.9%
5	Zulu	209=64.9%	48=14.9%	66=20.5%	129=40%	115=35.7%

Some respondents registered that they spoke hospital register at home. In most cases, those whose parents are educated, spoke mixed varieties of Zulu and English/Afrikaans while there are those who spoke pure Zulu at all times. Most linguists concur that the domains of language usage are important to speakers. This involves languages which are used at home, at work, among friends et cetera (Fishman, 1972; Lieberman and McCabe, 1978).

14.

STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE

Prestigious Respectable Secretive Neutralise

V	Hospital	57=17.7%	35=10.8%	74=22.9%	67=20.8%
X	Education	59=18.3%	68=21.1%	14=4.3%	31=9.6%*
0	Tavern	38=11.8%	3=0.9%	10=3.1%	47=14.5%
1	isiLovasi/ township	50=15.5%	83=25.8%	85=26.4%	63=19.6%
2	Soccer	32=9.9%	19=5.9%	30=9.3%	41=13%
3	Transport	25=7.8%	31=9.6%	31=9.6%	12=3.7%
4	Prison	5=1.6%	74=22.9%	74=22.9%	34=9.7%
5	Zulu	56=17.4%	4=1.2%	4=1.2%	27=8.4%

According to the analysis, Zulu remained the most prestigious **code**. Respondents recorded that Hospital code as well as isiLovasi served to neutralise critical situations.

Some respondents recorded educational **CCR's** as being prestigious. Others thought Hospital code was more prestigious than other varieties.

15.

RECORD REGISTER IN 15 (a) BELOW:

X	Which you know very well.
V	You understand when spoken.
0	You do not understand at all.
1	You have never heard of.
2	You would like to know and speak if necessary.
3	You do not wish to speak in your life time.

15(a)

	X	V	0	1	2	3
Hospit	23=7.1%	19=5.9%	15=4.7%	51=15.8%	194=60.2%	
Educat	10=3.1%	8=2.4%	10=3.1%	30=9.3%	163=50.6%	
Tavern	5=1.6%	23=7.1%	62=19.3%		140=43.4%	283=87.9%
Towns. isiLo- vasi	83=25.8%	74=22.9%	7=2.2%		223=72.3%	12=3.7%
Transp	19=5.9%	61=18.9%	10=3.1%		271=84.1%	
Soccer	41=12.7%	28=8.6%	94=29.1%	10=3.1%	81=25.2%	6=1.9%
Prison	6=1.9%	6=1.9%	124=38.5%	212=65.8%	192=59.6%	11=3.4%
Zulu	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	

Most respondents recorded that they would like to learn township, hospital, transportation, and prison codes. May be this was due to the unpleasant circumstances in which they have been exposed and wanted to make sure that they are not victimised. Again, as a measure of **Language Variation**, I did not come across **CCR's** which were not known by respondents, yet, most of these did not appear in written texts.

16.

RECORD NEWSPAPER WHICH YOU NORMALLY READ

UmAfrika	231	71.7%
ILanga LaseNatali	231	71.7%
Daily News	149	46.3%
City Press	71	22%
New Nation	5	1.2%
Mercury	44	13.6%
Sunday Times	109	33.9%
Sunday Tribune	106	32.9%
New Republic	11	3.4%
Sowetan	93	28.9%
Post	13	4%

The inclusion of this information was important in measuring modernism amongst the black urban residents because modernism accompanies linguistic prestige which comprises using language of the present day. Besides, most newspapers employ slang words e.g. UmAfrika, ILanga LaseNatali and the Sowetan and it is quite unlikely that readers of these Newspapers are unfamiliar with **CCR's**. Most respondents recorded that they read UmAfrika and ILanga LaseNatali.

17. LEISURE

I spend my leisure hours in

Reading Newspapers	231	71.7%
Listening to the radio	301	93.4%
Participating in sport	120	37.2%
Watching television/films	310	96.2%
Visiting friends/going out	294	91.3%

This information was necessary because most slang words are picked up from the media, that is; newspapers, television programmes, radio plays and from the radio announcers themselves. For instance, the term, **imoni** (morning sickness/ morning hang-over) is well known by most listeners because one of the Zulu news reader is very fond of using the term **imoni**.

18. WHEN TALKING TO FRIENDS I NORMALLY:

V	Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans	197	61.1%
X	Speak pure Standard Zulu	94	29.1%
0	non-standard varieties which are Zulu based	184	57.1%
1	Speak only English or Afrikaans	12	3.7%
2	Mix Zulu with other African languages	6	1.9%
3	Speak unfiltered Zulu	51	15.8%

This information revealed that **CCR's** were used by people of all ages. **61%** of the respondents recorded that they mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans in their speech. **57%** recorded that they spoke non-standard varieties when talking to friends.

19. WHEN TALKING TO ELDERLY PEOPLE OR PEOPLE OF HIGH RANK I:

V	Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans	103	31.9%
V	Speak unfiltered Zulu	193	59.6%
0	I speak non-standard varieties which are Zulu based	13	3.1%
1	Mix Zulu with other African languages	64	19.8%

Respondents recorded that they speak pure standard Zulu which could be a vernacular form, with people who are their seniors.

20. I HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO THIS PRESENT DOMAIN FOR:

V	the past 2-3 months	35	10.8%
X	more than a year	45	13.9%
0	3-4 years	63	19.5%
1	5-9 years	34	10.5%
2	more than 10 years	145	45%

I included this data in order to check the influence of a milieu on an individual's speech repertoire. Most respondents had settled in their present domains for more than ten years.

21. AT HOME WE OWN:

V	A car/ cars	123	38.2%
X	A taxi/taxis	71	22%
0	Vans	62	19%
1	Buses	0	0%
2	Lorries	0	0%
3	No vehicles	66	20.4%

The inclusion of this item was to test modernism amongst the Durban black residents. Transportation CCR's had the highest percentage.

22. AT HOME:

V	we have a telephone	197	61.2%
X	we have no telephone	125	38.8%

This information was included in order to measure contemporariness amongst respondents. Most respondents owned telephone facilities in their residential areas.

23. TO TRY AND LEARN ALL THE NON-STANDARD VARIETIES WHICH ARE ZULU-BASED AND SPOKEN IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA WILL:

V	promote unity, peace, respect, solidarity and understanding of cultural groups.	210	65.2%
X	Bring about violence and hatred	5	1.5%
0	Destroy the wealth of the country	11	3.4%
1	Disclose hidden agendas	27	8.4%
2	Don't know	69	21.4%

65.2% of respondents recorded that knowledge of CCR's would promote peace, unity, respect, solidarity and understanding of cultural groups.

24. THE BLACK POPULATION CAN LISTEN TO, AND COMPLY WITH THE ORDERS FROM THEIR LEADERS IF THEY ADDRESS THEM IN:

V	Registers which they use in specific domains	202	62.7%
X	English or Afrikaans	69	21.4%
0	Zulu/Xhosa or other Standard African Languages	51	15.8%

62.7% felt that their leaders should address them in their social class dialects.

3.4.5 PHASE V - Interviews

I adopted Nomlomo's (1993) approach in conducting interview surveys. Her study is on: *Language variation in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community and its impact on children's education.*

In her study she classifies conservative purists as

- (a) the Xhosa Language Board
- (b) Xhosa Radio and T.V. Service
- (c) the teaching profession
- (d) the inspectorate

In my case, I have identified the following people whom I would expect to be purists:

- (a) One member from a religious organisation who is above 50 years
- (b) An ordinary minister of religion
- (c) A senior member from the Radio and Television Services
- (d) A prominent Zulu Radio news reader
- (e) One member from the teaching profession

Appointments were made to meet the identified candidates and they were told that we would discuss the issue of non-standard varieties which are infiltrating the Zulu language.

Each interview was conducted in a session of approximately one hour, and this also included the filling in of the questionnaire. Inputs from the interviews were transcribed during the course of the interview because the interviewees were made aware of the purpose of the research. In the following few paragraphs, I shall give a brief summary of the opinions of each of these prominent members who are Durban residents.

3.4.5.1 Interview with a Bishop

I opted to interview a black Bishop because his sermons abound in **CCR's**. He is fifty one (51) years old and resides in the **GDA**. When asked why he did not adhere to standard Zulu in his sermons, he remarked that it was because his congregation comprised people of all walks of life and this was the only way he could communicate with the various subgroups. He remarked that his sermons carried a lot of rewards for church members as well as for himself.

He also mentioned that he had been gathering **CR**'s from various settings which he visits while preaching the Gospel. The forums included prisons, hospitals, soccer matches, political organisations, meetings with youth clubs, schools, Zulu newspapers, listening to the news on Radio UKhozi, from radio dramas, school children, prayer visits at the homes of church members, from friends who are lay people and at parties.

The mother tongue of the Bishop is Zulu and he grew up on a farm in the South Coast. He left home at the age of twelve to join Priesthood.

The Bishop was in favour of addressing the audience in a manner that was intelligible to them as this helps to promote peace and understanding between the various cultures. He recommended that standard Zulu should not be polluted with non-standard varieties, but separate dialects for non-standard varieties were inevitable so that the everyday language of the people can be put to record and serve as reference when a need arises.

3.5.5.2 Interview with a Priest

A young priest of approximately twenty five (25) years who was ordained three years ago mentioned that he was born in an urban setting in Umlazi. He did his high schooling at Umlazi and studied for two years at the University of Zululand-Umlazi Campus. Before joining the priesthood, he had been engaged in various community projects in an endeavour to improve his community. He mentioned that it is very difficult for him to complete a Zulu sentence without using a **CR** or English because this is the way he grew up. As a priest, he attempts to speak standard Zulu when preaching, in order to gain credibility and dignity from the congregation.

He said that he deliberately employed **CCR**'s with his colleagues who are young priests, with his friends, old and young, and when conversing with people in their respective settings. He felt it was important for him to update his knowledge of slang from time to time as one of his duties was to preach Christianity to misfits in society. Ministers of religion were compelled to come down to the level of the people at grass

roots in order to gain their credibility and to prove to them that they (priests) too are ordinary human beings.

When asked if **CCR's** should be included in the school curriculum and in dictionaries, he said that it would be better to maintain standard Zulu as our heritage. Standard Zulu was also useful to foreigners who wanted to learn the language. It is also useful as a source of reference. **CCR's** could be recorded elsewhere in the same manner that the English compile dictionaries of slang concurrently with dictionaries of standard English. People who wish to use Zulu slang words can refer to such a dictionary which is still non-existent in Zulu.

3.4.5.3 Interview with a Senior Radio Zulu Member

The age of the respondent is sixty two years and he now resides in a 'Grey area'. He has worked for Radio Zulu for the past twenty five (25) years. Before joining Radio Zulu he taught at a Boys' Seminary outside Durban. He maintains that **CCR's** abound in the media broadcast, especially in television series and radio dramas, because the playwrights have to write their plays in the dialogue of the day.

In drama, a tsotsi speaks Tsotsitaal, a nurse or doctor uses hospital jargon. Characters who represent political organisations speak political language which make the play plausible. They also use words such as **ukuyigxoba** (to stamp it), **itoyitoyi**, etc.

Finally, he mentioned that there is no way that we can stop people from creating new terms. New lexical items are created like newborn babies who arrive on earth every minute of the day. He said that the whole process was to enrich the Zulu language and must be allowed to take its course. According to this interviewee, standard Zulu must be retained by all means and it must not be polluted with mixed varieties.

3.4.5.4 Interview with a Zulu Language Board member who is also a Zulu News Reader

The interviewee is in his mid forties. He grew up in Durban and went to Durban township schools, then to the University of Zululand. He said that he uses various social dialects with people of all walks of life.

Coming to the point of standard Zulu and non-standard varieties, he mentioned the following:

- (a) There is no way that we can stop people from using non-standard varieties.
- (b) What should be happening is that we preserve standard Zulu as we are doing now, but also think in terms of compiling a dictionary of Zulu-based slang.

He said the only problem is that we always fall behind and by the time we submit our standard Zulu terminology, a lot of expressions have already taken off. There ought to be people who are fully employed to nurture the Zulu language if we have to stop what is happening now. In the meantime, standard Zulu should be taught concurrently with non-standard varieties because the language is dynamic and not static and this has been left to the discretion of the public for too long.

He also added that when it is time for speaking standard Zulu or a vernacular form, he does not hesitate to do so. In the same vein, when it is time to speak a non standard variety, he switches to that variety without any difficulty. He said it was the matter of one's proficiency and versatility which counted the most.

3.4.5.5 Interview with a lecturer from a Training College

This was a female lecturer who teaches Zulu in one of the Colleges of Education. She was in her mid-forties. She grew up on a farm near UMzimkhulu. She said she was totally opposed to non-standard varieties and penalised students who used them in their school work. At home, her children were not allowed to speak non-standard

varieties in the presence of their parents. She said, she reprimanded them and chased them out of the house if they spoke filtered Zulu (which is standard Zulu mixed with other languages or non-standard varieties). 'I simply chase them out of the house saying that they must use that language away from these premises!'

When asked what she thought of female teachers who used non-standard varieties, she replied that it was because they socialised with people of lower social classes and were not keeping up to their standard as professional people. By 'lower social class' she said she meant tavern patrons, ex-prisoners, tsotsis, et cetera. Her advice was that non-standard varieties ought to be completely discouraged.

3.4.6 PHASE VI - Validation of the study

3.4.6.1 Composition of the final checklists

The summary of the final checklists revealed the following information from the results of the questionnaires:

DOMAINS and VARIETIES used	TOTAL NO. of respondents	NO. concurring	PERCENT.
Prison/isiNyuvesi	30	17	56.6%
Hospital/isiHhosi	42	28	66.6%
Education/isiGura or isiGuru	58	32	55%
Township/isiThawa	46	41	89%
Transportation/isiTransi	50	42	84%
Taverns/isiThaveni	56	39	69.6%
Soccer/IsiNgura	40	20	50%

The checklists were based on a corpus of approximately 800 speech **CR**'s which are not accepted as standard Zulu in the **GDA** or elsewhere.

These new lexicons have not been included in standard Zulu dictionaries although most black Durban dwellers who reside in the **GDA** use them in their daily conversations. The method of obtaining these figures was as follows: Respondents were given the checklists at random. They were asked to mark new terms which they frequently use or which they have heard. Below is a graph showing the composition of the checklists.

It was presumed that if everyone in a given domain speaks the same variety, the *probability* that such individuals speak the same variety was *obviously a certainty*. On the other hand, if each individual spoke a different variety, then the probability was zero. Thus, a numeral **I** was placed next to a **CR** which was known by the respondent and a **0** or **X** against the unknown **CR**.

COMPOSITION OF THE FINAL CHECK LISTS

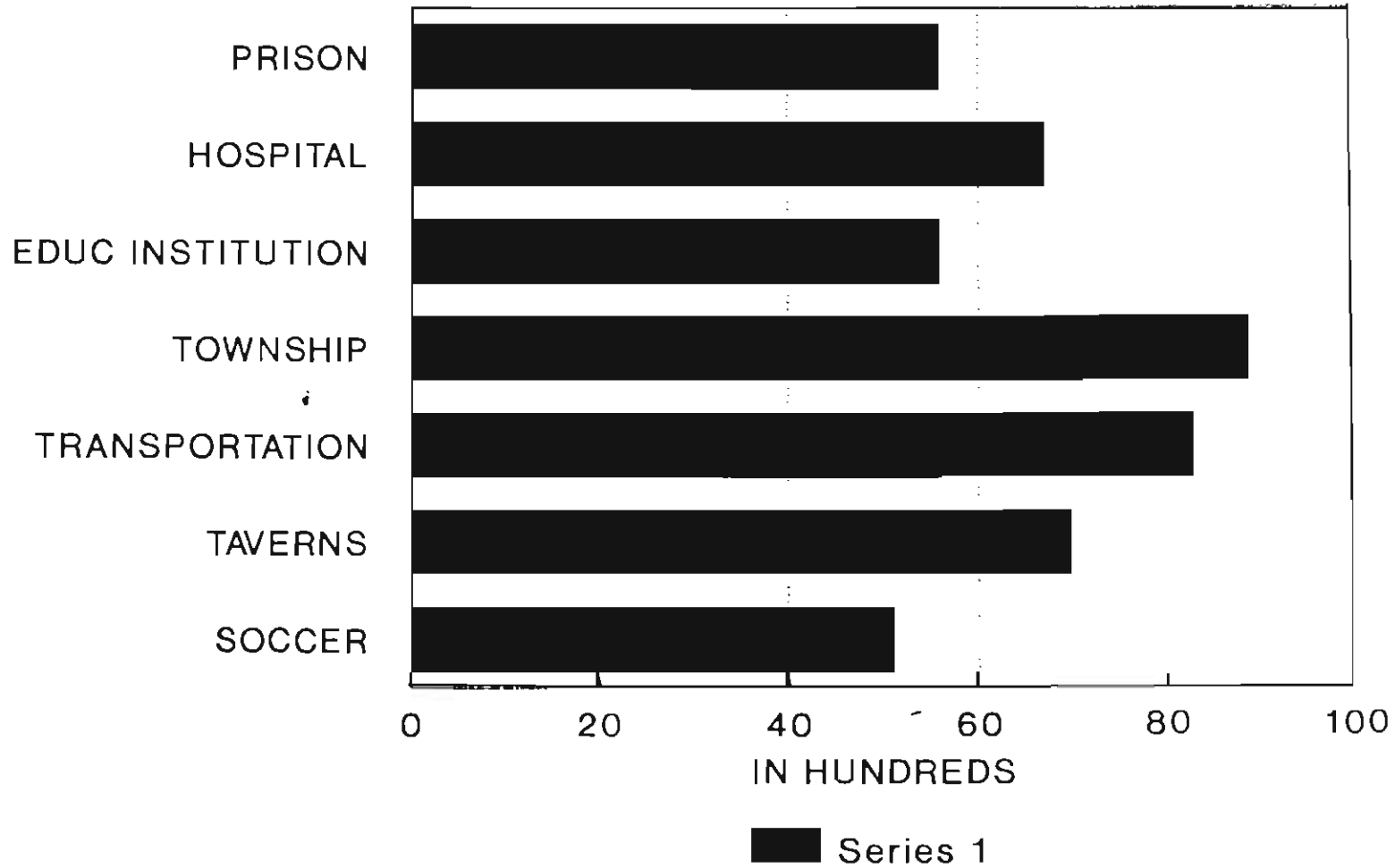


Illustration number 3.

The study is regarded as valid and proof that there is in actual fact, a lot of hidden and unrecorded vocabulary which is used by the Black Durban speech community. People of all walks of life including educated and semi-educated, recorded that they use **CCR's**. These were obtained in various ways, including family members who are well travelled and from the various mobile facilities. The use of **CCR's** reflects modernity on the part of the interlocutors. This modernity goes with prestige.

In a symposium held at the University of Zululand in 1994, Professor P. Zulu, who was the main speaker, gave a talk on the international indicators of modernism. He mentioned that there are three indexes which are considered when weighing modernism in a speech community. These are: communication, education, and consumption of durabilities. A society will be deemed modern if its inhabitants have a fairly reasonable consumption of mass media. This will include the number of newspapers that a community reads either on a daily or weekly basis, including a high percentage of readership by both males and females. If most people are in possession of television sets then that speech community is rated as modern. A high percentage of literacy also renders the community modern.

An educational index looks at the number of people who can read and write either their indigenous language or both indigenous and second language/s. In Durban, a standard 8 Zulu speaker has some smattering index of English and Afrikaans.

The last index, durability, looks at the community's durabilities, and then seeks to answer the following questions: What type of housing do you live in? How many tables, chairs, plates, spoons, et cetera, are there ? What is the combined family monthly income? et cetera.

In the next chapter, I shall describe the context in which **Language Variation** are employed in the **GDA**.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CCR'S

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the **social context of CCR's**. Part two looks at the linguistic features of Zulu-based **adoptives**. Firstly, the chapter gives a brief exposition of Zulu slang in the past sixty years. This is followed by a discussion on language varieties which are used in the **GDA**, such as cant, jargon, Tsotsitaal/ isiLovasi, and slang. **CCR's** have been arranged in the following systematic style comprising **participants, setting, and topic**. The topic is further broken down into a patterned trend as shown in 4.5 below.

A contact situation amongst speakers arises resulting in contact variation. Contact variation is a product of urbanisation and it results in the use of adopted words.

Groups of people are distinguished from each other by their social classes. These social classes comprise group membership, sex, age, ethnicity, common speech variations and other social networks. The more prominent non-standard varieties entail cants, Tsotsitaal, slang and jargons.

One of the main objectives of this study as found on page 6 was to analyze the phonological, morphological and semantic features of **CCR's**. This has been found to be in line with other cited studies on non-standard urban dialects. (Mfusi:1990) (Schuring, Koopman, Thipa, Radebe, Ntshangase:1992) and (Calteaux:1994). Besides, this, the inclusion of adoptives in this thesis will serve as reference to non-mother tongue Zulu speakers who wish to employ **CCR's** in their conversations because there seems to be a big problem related to the employment of adoptives by non-mother tongue Zulu speakers. Koopman (1992) has done extensive research on Zulu and English adoptives - 'Morphological and phonological interference.' Also, Khumalo

(1988:3) affirms my motivation when he states:

some non- isiZulu speaking linguists have come up with absurdities such as:

- (a) I-Sprite imnandi
Sprite is delicious. instead of:

I-Sprite simnandi
- (b) I-Star yami.
My 'The Star' (Newspaper) instead of:

I-Star sami'

Also refer to ; Ngicela iphetroli kaR50-00
Can I have petrol for R50-00. instead of;

Ngicela uphethroli kaR50-00 et cetera

Such shortcomings, including a lot more, are caused by failure to classify adopted words into their correct noun slots. For instance, in my long experience of teaching Zulu to non-mother tongue speakers, I have discovered that things which are intuitively learned by a mother tongue speaker, become problematic to a non-mother tongue speaker. In the case of Zulu, the greatest controversy revolves around classifying the new and old Zulu adoptives into their correct noun slots. Refer to pages 150 - 151, of this thesis. The second discrepancy emanates from the failure to apply phonological processes comprising Zulu adopted words in the manner employed by Zulu speakers .

It is because of these reasons, that the study incorporates characteristics and phonological features of **CCR's** in general.

In the **GDA**, the Black speech community normally speak 'standard Zulu' in formal domains. Sometimes they are compelled to use a non-standard variety in formal as well as informal domains.

Ndlovu was quite positive that some of the new expressions he had collected would one day receive recognition. He remarks that: " with the unpredictable changes that take place, even the town-Zulu of today, may become the standard educated Zulu of tomorrow, who knows". (Ndlovu, 1963:130)

4.2.1.2.1 Who employs Zulu cant?

Adopted Zulu cant words are employed by both educated and semi-educated Zulu speakers. Zulu cant is peculiar to certain social classes such as school children, college and university students, the intelligentsia, Christians, criminals, prostitutes, tramps ducktails, social classes who occupy underground, as well as many other classes in the society (Ndlovu 1963).

As stated in chapter two, cant consists of words and phrases used quite secretly by a particular group. Once they become generally known, they are considered slang expressions and used as such.

When a cant is adopted from another language, it often carries with it a cant element from that language. Examples of elements from English include such calque expressions as **i-ayiningi bhodi / i-ironing board (an ironing board)**. This cant expression refers to a female whose breast is as flat as an ironing board.

The flatness of her breast is related to her low morals of sleeping around with many men who rub themselves against her breasts (like someone ironing a dress) and automatically flattening the breasts. This expression carries the same meaning in English.

4.2.1.2.2 Who employs cant words adopted from jargon?

Cant words adopted from jargon are employed by both educated and uneducated people. This is because when a word is used within its circle, it is regarded as a jargon of that particular domain, but when it is used outside its domain by most people, it

4.2 PART ONE: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CCR'S

4.2.1 A Case of Zulu Slang in the GDA

4.2.1.1 Zulu Dictionaries

One of the earliest compilations of Zulu lexical items was done by Bryant in the Zulu-English Dictionary published in 1905. This was followed by Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary published in 1948. Many slang words which were found to be in common usage at the time Doke and Vilakazi wrote their Zulu-English Dictionary, were incorporated without much opposition from the community.

There was extensive adoption of terms from English and Afrikaans and Ndlovu (1963) maintains that people only reacted against words which were adopted from other Bantu languages particularly those belonging to the same language group like the Nguni. He states that many people shrug their shoulders against the use of Xhosa words. May be the reason for this was because they felt it was not really necessary to use a Xhosa word where there was an English equivalent. This still reflects the people's perception of a Bantu language as compared to a colonial language which is regarded as prestigious.

4.2.1.2 Ndlovu's account

Previous report on an almost similar study as this one, was done by Ndlovu (1963) in: *A Short Study of slang in Zulu...* It is now over 31 years since he reported language change in Zulu. He has about 350 slang words which had not been accepted as standard Zulu in 1963. Out of these, only 54 words are extinct, and a total of 296 lexical items are still in full use by both urban and rural speakers. Ndlovu's list comprises adoptives, from English, Afrikaans and other African languages, Tsotsitaal which he calls slang, and coinages. Most of Ndlovu's list has now been incorporated into standard Zulu literature including Dictionaries.

ceases to be jargon and becomes slang. Example : **iskizo** (Schizophrenia) - a person with psychological disturbances. A **skizo** in Zulu slang is a person with an unpredictable character.

4.2.1.2.3 Who employs Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi?

In Durban, Tsotsitaal is known as **isiLovasi** (**isiLovasi** is a language variety initially spoken by young male loafers). Older people employ Tsotsitaal expressions which were in use during their youthful years. They interact in Tsotsitaal when talking to their peers even though they may be elderly people.

4.2.1.2.4 Who employs slang words?

Ndlovu (1963) reports that slang is extensively used by both educated and uneducated, cultured and uncultured and urban and rural classes of Zulu speaking people. People of all walks of life employ Zulu slang in their oral speech Ndlovu, (1963:14, 21).

Ndlovu (1963) then classifies slang into five categories:

- "(a) neologisms comprising innovations of native origin;
- (b) borrowing, entailing introduction of lexical items of foreign origin;
- (c) current words which deal with standard words with new meanings;
- (d) corrupted words;
- (e) euphemistic terms."

According to Barnhart and Barnhart. (1986:1961) slang refers to words, phrases, or meanings that are new, flashy, and popular, usually for only a short time. Slang is often very vivid and expressive and is used in familiar talk between friends but is not accepted as good English when speaking or writing formal English.

It is clear that **CCR's** under discussion, entail slang words because most of them are restricted to a particular group of people depending on the speaker's age, social class, the situation at the time of the interaction, as well as the audience design. Most slang words are a product of cant words which were once employed by exclusive speech

communities rendering the discourse unintelligible to outsiders. Slang words are used in order to enhance one's prestige. Looking at the future of slang Ndlovu (1963:130) predicted that "the tempo at which Zulu is importing foreign words and expressions is a clear indication that most of the borrowings that are slang today will be accepted Zulu speech tomorrow."

He further states that "the lexicographer will no doubt take cognisance of the fresh vocabulary of slang that has become current again since the publication of Doke and Vilakazi's English-Zulu Dictionary." (Ndlovu, 1963:130)

A few slang words will fall by the wayside because of their ephemeral nature, while the rest will be accepted as standard educated speech. There is a lot of overlap between cant, jargon, Tsotsitaal, and slang. Once a secret expression is known by the entire speech community, it ceases to be ambiguous and becomes slang. Once a slang expression has received wide recognition, it ceases to be slang and becomes a standard expression.

A few examples of the varieties which have been identified as **CCR's** will be listed below. These were collected from hospitals, prisons, educational units, transportation modes, soccer stadiums and soccer clubs, Black townships, taverns/shebeens and in the streets.

4.2.2 CCR's in the various domains

Language varieties which are found in a single domain form subsets of other language varieties in other settings when the speakers employ them as **CR's** to protect their social standing.

CCR's which are employed in the **GDA** can be categorized according to the following format:

- (a) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with no change in original meaning and sound pattern

- (b) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with change in the original meaning and sound pattern.
- (c) Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning.
- (d) Words from non-South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning.
- (e) Newly created **CCR's**/Coinages.
- (f) Words from Zulu with a change in original meaning.
- (g) Words resulting from blending or clipping.
- (h) **CCR's** resulting from compounding.
- (i) narrowing
- (j) **CCR's** originating from onomatopoeic sounds.
- (k) **CCR's** used as expressions
- (l) Broadening
- (m) Abbreviations
- (n) Referents

Some domains will not bear all of the fore mentioned classification.

4.2.2.1 Soccer **CCR's**/isiGura

(a) **The setting**

Viewers and supporters of soccer matches and clubs have created a host of lexical items in order to describe what takes place in soccer stadiums and clubs. Males who have a flair for football and, to a lesser extent, their female companions, like to discuss soccer matches which have already taken place wherever they are gathered.

(b) **The participants**

They may discuss a match while travelling by train, bus, taxi, at social gatherings, at the work-place, or at any other place where they normally meet during their leisure

activities. Soccer fans also discuss a match which is still going to take place.

(c) **The topic**

They like to review a match by analyzing the performance of the players and the game itself. They usually blame, condemn, or appraise the players. During the match, the spectators also like to give instructions to the players as a way of encouragement. Spectators also like to describe styles of kicking the ball which are employed by the players and also call the players by the numbers written on their jerseys. At the time of the discussion, a person who is not acquainted with football, will not comprehend the discourse. Soccer fans use their own **CCR's** which are understood only by the initiated persons. They employ **CCR's** which have been classified in the following order:

(a) **English or Afrikaans words borrowed with change in original meaning but no change in the sound pattern**

i-via/ ivaya Various directions which are taken by the ball while it is being kicked are also given special names. When a ball takes a different direction from the one which was intended by the kicker but eventually lands to its ultimate destination, people name it **i-via/ ivaya** (a ball that went via)

u-free-way A useless player who does not offer his opponents a tough time. The opponents pass the ball freely from one player to the other like cars travelling on a freeway where there is a free flow of cars. The ball represents the free movement of cars and the player is like a freeway because he cannot obstruct the movement of the ball.

i-punter A player who runs up and down the field like a punter at the race course is known as a punter.

heel-a means kick the ball with the heel.

isaba — iusali

(b) **English or Afrikaans words borrowed with or without change in original meaning and sound pattern**

ibhantshi A useless goal keeper is known as **ibhantshi** (a coat). The adoptive originates from the Afrikaans word 'baadjie'. This code implies that the goal keeper simply stands at the poles like a coat hanging in a wardrobe, instead of saving the goals.

ikhothenga The adoptive means a coat hanger. Its meaning is the same as that of a useless goal-keeper who is known as **ibhantshi**.

Injini A player who wears jersey number six. Because he plays at the centre of the soccer field and initiates the kicking of the ball, he is equated with the engine of an automobile.

indele The numeral three is known as **indele**. The adoptive originates from the numeral three in Tsotsitaal.

isemeji A sandwich indicates that the ball is blocked with both legs or both feet. The ball is simply sandwiched between the legs.

(c) **Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without original meaning**

inqaku This is also a code for a goal itself which has been adopted from Xhosa in order to disguise its meaning. Thus, a goal is sometimes called **inqaku** (a goal or a point)

abaxhasi supporters (Xhosa)

(d) **CCR's with change in sound pattern.**

sheyinti When a player wants his playmate to leave the ball for him, that is, to give him a chance to kick the ball, he usually says **sheyinti**. (Leave the ball for someone else). The word originates from Tsotsitaal but it carries with it, the same meaning which is to refrain from doing something.

(e) **CCR's comprising Words from Non-South African languages with or without change in original meaning.**

i-zwayi/ means two. This word is derive from the German word 'zwei'

itswayi

i-ayine Refers to a referee and a player wearing a jersey marked one. The word is an adoptive from German, **eines**, meaning one. It originates from Tsotsitaal.

idreyishi It is derived from the German word, **dreish** which means three.

upotsho to pass the ball underneath one's legs. The word originates from the German word **putsch** which means insurrection. The word means a short cut in the Zulu context.

(f) **Neologisms**

indumeyana This **CR** refers to a player wearing jersey number six. The **CR** originates from the act of rushing at, charging, springing upon (Doke et al 1992:173). It is a synonym of **injini**. The word is used to create ambiguity to the they-code members and originates from Tsotsitaal. **Indumeyana** (goal-keeper) initiates the kicking of the ball. He constantly charges at the ball after it has been centred.

umtshokodo A player wearing jersey number one, which is the goalkeeper, is known as **umtshokodo**. The word refers to a long, slender and wavering object (Doke, et. al.) (1992:822). It is typically Tsotsitaal in nature.

injeje A player who plays a rough game or to play a rough game.

ispinsi The code means figure 2. It originates from the Zulu word **isibili**. This is a typical Tsotsitaal term.

(g) **Words from Zulu with a change in original meaning**

umchamo Soccer fans and players also discuss the various styles which are used by players in the football field. These styles have their own terms which are rarely used outside this arena. For instance, a short shot at a goal is known as **umchamo** (urine). When a man is urinating, his urine does not go very far from his position. People then compare the distance of the urine between its owner and the ground on which it

lands, with a short shot of a goal.

ixhama This word refers to a player wearing jersey number five. This metaphor originates from a species of a buck which has five horns on each side of its head. The word is mostly used by tsotsis.

Imanta refers to the passing of the ball underneath one's legs. This term has been adopted from the **hlonipha** word (language of respect) for **inkomo** (a cow or a beast). A vagina is also called **inkomo** because a Zulu girl is expected to remain a virgin so that her mother can claim **inkomo yomqhoyiso** (a beast for the vagina) from the bridegroom during **lobolo** negotiations. When a player opens his legs to allow the ball to pass between his legs, it is said that he is playing **imanta**. The shift in meaning is deliberate in order to conceal the meaning of the style from an outsider.

incwadi (letter/ book) This term refers to an inefficient soccer player who is a disappointment to his team and to the followers of the club. A book or letter is not able to defend itself. It is a passive object.

(h) **Words originating from Onomatopoeic sounds**

inkwahla A sound made by the ball on hitting the soccer net which sounds like 'khwahla' to the ears of the listener.

imbudlu is said when too many goals are scored in a short time. The **CR** originated from the idiophone **bhudlu** which suggests stabbing, goring, disintegrating. (Doke et al. 1990:49)

ingqamu sound made by the ball when bounced. **gqamu! gqamu!**

(i) **Compounding**

inkombankombane This **code** refers to the numeral seven. **iN+khomba+khomba** (point-point) > **inkombankomba** (seven). The term originated from Tsotsitaal and it refers to the pointer finger, that is, a player wearing jersey number seven.

(j) **Words used as referents**

Khabazela To kick is to **khaba** in Zulu. Hence if a player or spectators say '**Khabazela**' they are instructing the player, who is in possession of the ball, to pass it to another player. The code originates from the Mkhize clan name which is **Khabazela**.

uLanga **Mr Sun** refers to oneness. The **CR** refers to the player wearing jersey number one. **Langa** is a Zulu surname, used metaphorically here to refer to the goal keeper because he wears jersey number 1 and stands alone like the sun in the sky.

(k) **Broadening**

ispinsi This word is used when a player capsizes another player while playing soccer. The **CR** refers to numeral two, but its meaning has been broadened to refer to the act of capsizing another player on the play ground, using one's two legs.

(l) **Expressions**

ukukhuhla to polish the bench. To be a reserve soccer player.

ibhentshi

ukudlisa said when the ball hits one's face. The expression emanates from a loaf or half loaf or three quarter loaf of bread which is stuffed with meat or vegetables. The player who is hit by the ball looks as if he is eating a bunny chow when holding the ball in front of his face.

4.2.2.2 Prison CCR's/isiNyuvesi

(a) The participants

Because of political unrest in South Africa plus dire financial straits countrywide, a reasonable percentage of our youth and adults have experienced prison life. Even some respectable males and females have experienced prison life due to the present deteriorating financial situation in South Africa. Many people have contracted adverse reports from the Credit Bureau which subsequently land them in prison.

(b) The setting

Prison CCR's are used by both prisoners and staff within prison premises. Those who have experienced prison life but are now freed also speak prison cant amongst themselves outside the prison. This cant eventually becomes their register in the township. Ex-prisoners speak it in order to maintain social identity .

(c) The topic

Lexical items used in prisons reveal a lot about prison life. Generally, there is prison register comprehensible to the prison speech community at large, and cant words known only by prisoners and not by the rest of the prison community, that is to say, prison staff. There are things which must remain concealed from prison authorities. Prison vocabulary can be categorised in the following manner.

(a) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with or without change in original meaning and sound pattern.

i-klob A prison cell is known as a **klob**. Thus, we get **klob** number 1, 2, 3, 14, 25, 26, 27, and 28.

i-binneplaas A prisoner who is untrustworthy is called a **binneplaas** and is restricted to work within prison premises. The opposite of **binneplaas** is **freeman**, which is a prisoner who is allowed to work outside prison

premises.

i-school-boy A school-boy is a prisoner who has agreed to serve other prisoners in jail. A **school boy** is also known as 'n **wyfie**' meaning a female in Afrikaans. He takes the place of a wife or girlfriend of another male prisoner while in prison, although he himself is a male.

e-University (in prison.) From afar, prison buildings resemble university constructions. Besides this, another reason why a prison is called a university is linked to school life. When a local person is serving sentence in prison, colleagues usually disguise his absence from the vicinity by saying that he is at university. Most University students prefer to be residents at the universities in which they are registered and are only seen in the area after a long period of time, just like a prisoner who is serving sentence in jail. A third reason is related to the enormous amount of experience that one gains while serving his sentence. Those who want to improve themselves academically are allowed to do so. There are also those who teach '**ohlathi**' (new prisoners) how to behave towards authority as well as other prisoners.

i-Hollander A 27 is sometimes known as a **Hollander** from Afrikaans 'Hollander'. A **Hollander** is an expert in stabbing his victims. The 27's are a notorious group and they are known for stabbing other people even within prison premises. The reason why they are called **ama-Hollanders** is because they are like Hollanders who are noted for controlling power. They are a feared group.

(b) **Words borrowed from English or Afrikaans with a change in original meaning and sound pattern.**

isibhilivane a letter. The word is from Afrikaans 'brief'

ifleyi-mani a trustworthy prisoner who is allowed to work outside prison premises.

ibhesuka a visitor (from Afrikaans, n' besoeker)

(c) **Words borrowed from other South African Languages with or without change in original meaning**

unyana This **CR** is a synonym of school boy. It is adopted from the Xhosa word **unyana** meaning a baby. According to prison **code** the word means a boy friend who takes the place of a girl friend. The **code** also means a son. **Unyana** takes all the instructions from his partner who is a 26 and behaves exactly like a typical traditional Zulu wife who becomes very submissive to her husband.

Samani A 28 will simply say, 'Samani' when expressing that everything is alright.

(d) **Newly created CCR's (Coinages)**

uhlathi A prisoner who does not respond to prison **code** or who exposes his ignorance of prison life becomes a victim of circumstances. He will be nicknamed **uhlathi** (Mr Jungle) and will then be exploited by experienced prisoners, including forcing him to practise homosexuality, that is, if **uhlathi** is presentable facially and physically. The word originates from the Zulu word **ihlathi** (jungle/forest).

unozala **zala** means to bear, hence a bearer of mankind. Thus, a female prisoner is known as **unozala**.

inqatha the cant refers to a person who causes others to quarrel amongst themselves. **Qhatha** (cause dispute), iN+qhatha> inqatha according to this variety.

iJananda is a person of Indian origin.

(e) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

Kwamzala Some prisoners are so familiar with prison life that when they get arrested, they say they are going to **KwaMzala** (to cousin's place), meaning, they are going to prison.

unginike This word refers to a 26 prisoner who usually claims other people's possessions. **Nginike** means, 'give it to me' This **CR** is true of the 26 gangsters who are often arrested for armed robbery.

- (f) **Compounding**
umehlomane This jargon refers to an experienced prisoner who is familiar with prison life. **Mehlomane** means four eyed person. A person who has experienced a lot of hardships in life.
- (g) **CCR's with onomatopoeic intent**
hhomu A 27 will say: **hhomu**, when greeting another prisoner who lives in cell number 27. This is an onomatopoeic word referring to a noisy place.
- (h) **Cryptogrammic Numerals**
i-14, i-25, i-26, i-27, i-28,
Prisoners are categorised according to the offenses they have committed. For instance, a prisoner who is serving a short term sentence of less than three months, is known as a 14 (a fourteen). **14** refers to the cell number of such a prisoner and has nothing to do with the prisoner's age. For instance, a prisoner who resides in **klob** number 26 is called a **twenty six**.
i-16 This code refers to a policeman. It originates from the 16th letter of the alphabet which is 'p'. This code is mostly used by the tsotsis who regard policemen as their arch-enemies.
- (i) **Narrowing**
ishogani a fist or a shot gun. The word originates from 'shot gun'. The tsotsis sometimes pronounce it as **showugani** to disguise the meaning.
itoli the term **itoli** originates from **ukutolika**, to interpret.
- (j) **Expressions**
ukushaya To be able to defend one's case without the assistance of a lawyer
itoli or court interpreter who is known as **utolika** in Zulu.
bopha stab someone, especially an official, with a knife. When tsotsis
useveni say '**Bopha useveni**' they mean: Stab him/her! One is sentenced

to seven years imprisonment for stabbing with a knife.

ungaphakama

How can you prove to me that you are a 26?

ngani?

Ngingaphakama ngembilijisi yami. (I can prove it with my prison trousers)

4.2.2.3 Educational CCR's/isiGura

4.2.2.3.1 The participants

CCR's from educational units are employed by most educated urban dwellers, undergraduates and students of advanced educational institutions. The educated elite is highly influential on other social groups who see them as models for their aspirations. Speakers of educational CCR's include students from secondary and high schools, boarding schools, universities and technikons. They also comprise teachers and ex-students who have been exposed to the teaching fraternity. Educational CCR's are spoken by both young and old when talking to persons of their age groups who happen to be familiar with the same CCR's.

(a) The setting

The use of educational CCR's is rare in primary schools. The concentration of these is in secondary/high schools, boarding schools, universities and tertiary institutions. In fact, universities are the breeding areas for CCR's. This is because code-mixing and switching is closely linked to higher education. People who have been exposed to such a domain will use CR when talking amongst themselves.

(b) The topic

Delicate topics involving teachers', students' and lecturers' conduct are sometimes discussed in this setting. Educational CCR's are unintelligible to an outsider. A knowledge of CCR's reveals a lot about university or high school life. One of my teacher informants made the following remark to justify his behaviour of being in love

with a school girl:

"A nurse usually leaves hospital or clinic premises with some form of a t.t.o. (treatment illegally taken out of hospital or clinic premises). A builder pinches building material from a plant. We, teachers have nothing to steal except pieces of chalk. We have no short term fringe benefits. We can only pinch pieces of chalk. Because of this dry environment in our occupation, we resort to female students who are our only readily available fringe benefits."

(Source: teacher informant)

(a) **English or Afrikaans CCR's borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

- i-fringe benefit** a female student who is in love with a school teacher is called a **fringe benefit** (by the teacher concerned).
- i-intervarsity/
i-intavasithi** A student who has studied at various universities without obtaining a single degree is called an inter-varsity. Such a student seems to be representing all the universities in which he has studied and likes to refer or impose ideas from his former university in his speech like saying: 'When I was at ...X.....university'
- i-been to** Those who have been abroad or attended university education abroad are known as **been-to's**.
- i-unfinished
story** A person who ended up not attaining a single university degree after years of studying is known as an unfinished story.
- uku-dry
cleaner** Sometimes teachers do not do justice to the student's written tests or assignments. Some teachers merely **dry-clean** the relevant page/s with a red pen and award a mark without going through the student/s's work.
- i-Arabhu/
Arab** A male student who has no girl friend is known as an Arab, i.e. **i-Arabhu**. This **CR** emerged at the time when the Arabs imposed oil sanctions on South Africa. Because such boys have nobody to make love to, they are mocked by other students

saying that they are saving their sperms like the Arabs saving their oil. The opposite of i-Arabhu/ Arab is **iRomani**. (origin: Shakespeare's play: **Romeo and Juliet**, romance)

i-zest-a

The **CR** originates from the passionate feeling of ecstasy which one gets after smoking dagga. The **CR** refers to dagga and it originates from the English word 'zest'.

Other examples of words which are used lock stock and barrel in this domain include: i-lecture, u-lecturer, i-campus, e-hostel, e-hall, i-free period, i-meeting, i-seminar, i-codesa, i-fresher, i-Praktiese Taal, i-onder< from Afrikaans onderwyser (teacher)

(b) **English or Afrikaans Words borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

es'gele

at school, a place of knowledge. The word originates from **is'gele**, a body of old men, council or parliament.

itilosi

A teacher who is a womaniser is called **itilosi** (a sailor)
The word originates from Afrikaans- matroos.

ifresha

An inexperienced student who is attending university/technikon for the first time. A fresher is a student who is fresh from high school and does not understand life at tertiary institutions. She also becomes a victim of circumstances. Experienced male students go for 'freshers' at the beginning of each year.

(c) **Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

imigangatho

A Xhosa word referring to students who wear classy outfits. Such students will possess everything related to modern technology, including cellular phones, television sets, radios, C.D. players, et cetera.

(d) **Words borrowed from non African languages with or without change in original meaning and sound patterns**

e-mgura at school. (From Sanskrit **guru** meaning a learned or religious person) a spiritual priest.

(e) **Words from Zulu but with a change in original meaning**

imbuzi **imbuzi** (goat) refers to a question paper which has leaked and is seen by the students before it is written. When students assemble to copy the contents of a question paper which has not been written, it is said that they are slaughtering a goat. The synonym of this code is uDennis/ uDenisi. The **CR** emanates from a goat from EFolweni residential area near iSiphingo (about 35 kilometres South of Durban) which was treated like a human being by its owner Mr Sabelo.

impaka A student registered by a staff member without the permission of the school principal. **Impaka** is a witch-doctor's familiar and it is always secluded from the public.

isidumbu **Isidumbu** is a corpse. A corpse cannot speak for itself just like a student who is due to be registered privately by a staff member without the knowledge of the head master. He is called a corpse because he can not speak for himself or herself.

(f) **Words's resulting from broadening.**

tshweleza An adult who is in love with a young partner is said to be tshweleza-ing. The word originates from **itshwele**, which means a chicken. Hence chicken murder - tshweleza.

isigwajane A coward. The word originates from the Zulu word **unogwaja** (hare) and its behaviour when frightened.

ukuncwada to be learned. The term originates from the Zulu word 'incwadi' (book). **Ncwada** is a verb meaning to learn.

(g) **Words resulting from narrowing**

ifrinjo	A student who is in love with a teacher or lecturer is known as a frinjo . Such a student is a fringe benefit for the lecturer or teacher concerned.
imalthi	refers to a student who attended or is attending a multi-racial school.
(ukuba) fra	to be frustrated.
iHodi	A Head of Department.

(h) **Compounding**

amadabula-	students who are non-residents. (The word means the ones whose nyawo feet have cracks) dabula (tear) + unyawo (foot)
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(i) **Expressions**

ukushaya	To succeed to speak to the recipient of a telephone call without inserting a telephone card or coin money.
ibhasari	
ukupitshiza	(to squash a rat) To be in love with or to make love to a very young igundane female/school girl.
ukuphusha	To study very hard. (To study the Marxists theories) Any form of uMarx learning is associated with the Marxist theories by students.
ukubheka	To choose a wife to be, from the list of names for female
kuregister	students on the register.
ukuhlinza	To slaughter a goat. To assemble in order to copy examination
imbuzi	questions or to discuss a question paper or a test which is still to be written.

(j) **Blending**

uthiza	a teacher	(teacher - za)* tea-za >uthiza
igriza	a granny	(granny - za) gri-za >igriza

4.2.2.4 Hospital CCR's/isiHhosi

(a) **The participants**

In all the settings visited, it has been observed that hospital jargon contains terms which reveal that the hospital speech community is highly status conscious. Staff like to categorise each other, according to professional ranks. This suggests a gap between the various hospital infrastructures. There is a lot of marginalisation within the hospital speech community.

Varieties which are spoken in this domain can be divided into three groupings. These are jargon, register and slang. Jargon is employed by doctors and nurses. Register and slang are used by doctors, nurses, and non nursing staff. Slang is spoken by patients who frequent the hospital as well as those who have been admitted for lengthy periods. At this time these patients are also quite conversant with hospital register.

This domain has a wealth of abbreviated terms used to conceal the jargon from out-group members. In fact, nurses and doctors seem to abbreviate whatever they wish to conceal from the out group members. The main reason for using abbreviations in the medical profession is that every move or utterance has got to be performed in the fastest possible way. Lengthy explanations and instructions are avoided where possible, because these professionals deal with matters related to life and death.

(b) **The setting**

Hospital **CCR's** are spoken in hospital settings but sometimes nurses and doctors use medical terms outside this setting when they are talking amongst themselves. The variety still remains a jargon because the laity will not understand the meaning of the terms which they employ. Patients also use hospital register.

For instance, a mattress which is used by patients who spend a night in hospital is called **intshebe** (beard). This is a proverbial term originating from a historical event involving a bearded man from kwaMashu who was the victim of a train disaster. He was trying to board the train while it was in motion, but missed the handle. He then cried underneath the train, but it was all in vain. The accident occurred in the mid 60's near Effingham Road. He was popular for keeping his beard long.

A night pan is called a **four by four** 'bakkie' because it is high like a 4x4 vehicle. Patients employ slang words which they learn from the nurses and non-nursing staff. For instance, a place for sexually transmitted diseases is known as **emasokeni** (a place for males who are popular with females). Ordinary tablets or pills are known as **izinkobe** (boiled mealies). Thus, hospital **CCR's** are widely used in clinics, wards and in other out-patient departments.

(c) **The topic**

Most topics involve illegal transactions at lower level. Doctors and nurses use **CCR's** to discuss patients. Any medication, whether legally or illegally obtained, is known as a **T.T.O.** (treatment taken out). Multilingualism features prominently in this setting. During my visits to this domain, I could hardly come across a nurse or Black doctor who did not code-switch from Zulu to English or Xhosa or employ abbreviated codes. The staff use jargon when discussing the conditions of their patients.

This was further confirmed in a CCV programme on television entitled **MINA NAWE** which featured on Wednesday 7 July 1993 between 18h00-19h00. The last episode

of this serial had a very sad ending where a highly educated father (principal of a school) wanted to know the condition of his son who had gassed himself. The reply from the doctor was:

Were you not aware that your son was a D.O.A.? The father replied with a smile: What does that mean Doctor ? The doctor then replied: Your son died on arrival.

CCR's are used when referring patients to their respective clinics, e.g. e-Number 8 is a clinic for alcoholics.

(a) **CCR's with English or Afrikaans words used with without change in their original meaning and sound patterns**

ama-last offices	at the mortuary
i-straight shift	to work from seven o'clock till 16h00 or 19h00
i-epistaxis	noise bleeding
i- kwashiorkor	kwashiorkor
u-half day	a hospital staff who goes off duty at 13h00

(b) **English or Afrikaans words with change in original meaning and sound pattern.**

umTopia	Patients with kwashiorkor are equated with Ethiopia a country which is infested with starvation. The Ethiopians live in a poverty stricken country and its inhabitants die in multitudes due to famine. Hence, a patient who show signs of kwashiorkor is known as uMtopia (Ethiopian)
iklabishi	A patient whose brain is malfunctioning due to head injuries is called iklabishi (cabbage.) The reasoning ability of such a patient is almost nil.

(c) **CCR's with change in sound pattern or twisting of segments.**

i-194

A patient with an aids virus is known as **i-194** where the **1** stands for **A**, **9**.....**I**, **4**.....**D**. Such a patient is also known as a **code** 'This patient is a **code**'. Nurses and doctors do not want to embarrass a patient who is HIV positive by calling a spade a spade. That is to say; by pronouncing the words **aids** or **HIV** because most people are aware of these terms. They simply use jargon.

(d) **Abbreviations used as CCR's**

A few examples of abbreviations which are ideal for the public to know are given below.

HOSPITAL	CODE
i-D.O.A.	Death On Arrival
i-P.M.	a nurse who is off duty after 13h00
i-A.M	a nurse who is off duty in the morning hours till 10h00
i-M.C.	A mental case
uNo.8.	An alcoholic is known as unamba 8 . This refers to clinic number 8 which is for alcoholics.

(e) **Words from other Bantu or non-Bantu languages with or without change in original meaning**

ukutofa	To inject. isitofu refers to an injection which is used as a contraceptive. The term originates from Afrikaans word 'stoof' and has been adopted by Zulu and Xhosa speakers. This term refers to the manner in which an injection is introduced into a patient's body. This action is equated with the pumping of a primus stove.
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(f) **Newly created CCR's or Coinages**

ififi

All that an **ififi** is able to do, is to blink a little, hence **ififi** means the one who blinks. An **ififi** is a hopeless case. His condition will be so bad that he cannot even open his eyes. The **CR ififi** also refers to taking a nap during working hours especially by the night shift staff. They refer to this habit as **ukufifiza**.

(g) **Narrowing in CCR's.**

ijeri

An **ijeri** (geriatric) refers to a forgetful person who has memory lapses.

unafu

A nursing assistant is known as **unafu** (nursing assistant, female).

utofu

A staff nurse is called **utofu** which is the narrowing of the word 'staff nurse'.

iskizo

schizophrenia. A person with hallucinations or psychological disorders

istrabhisi

a squint eyed person. A strabismus

(h) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

izinkobe

Pills are equated with boiled mealies, **izinkobe**, from their shape or size.

emafutheni

refers to a place where fat is obtained. This place is normally called an ultrasound clinic. Because the patient's stomach is smeared with fat or oil, it is known as **emafutheni** (at an oily place), an ultrasound clinic.

emasokeni

Emasokeni refers to a clinic for people suffering from sexually transmitted diseases. The register refers to a place for people who are sexually active.

esithombeni

Sometimes the doctor instructs the patient to go to **esithombeni** (at a photography), meaning to go for an X-Ray.

olaba (these, those) referring to hospital matrons. The speaker normally touches her shoulders to indicate that it is those with epaulettes on their shoulders, thus distinguishing and distancing herself from them.

(i) **Onomatopoeic sounds used as CCR's**

ithwiri a patient who is gasping for death is called **ithwiri**. The word originates from the sound 'thwiri' which is made by a patient when gasping for death.

4.2.2.5 Township CCR's or isiThawa

(a) **The participants**

People of all walks of life employ township register for various reasons. Sometimes circumstances compel a purist to use a **CR** if it is to his advantage. People living in the targeted residential areas employ **CCR's** for various reasons which are related to their physical and social life. **CCR's** which are very common amongst ordinary township dwellers include the following terms.

(b) **The setting**

People employed township **CCR's** in all the domains which I visited. They also employed township **CCR's** at their work places, in schools, and in a number of other places where they have contacts.

(c) **The topic**

(a) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

i-sight appearance, to be visible, to be seen a spectacle.

i-portable something, including a human being, that can be carried on the arms.

uku-splash-a to take a bath.

e-kerek-eni in church. The **CR** originates from Afrikaans 'kerk'
e-more-ni tomorrow, in the morning. The word originates from Afrikaans 'more'.

(b) **CCR's with change in original meaning**

i-roll on private lover. He/she is hidden like a roll-on in the armpit.

i-button a drug. Refers to the shape of a mandrax drug.

i-ironing board a person with flat buttocks like an ironing board.

i-Praktiese stale news, old fashioned information

Taal

i-album to sit and watch people passing by.

(c) **CCR's from other Bantu and non Bantu languages with or without change in original meaning**

iqabane An ANC member (Xhosa)

ishishini A business (Xhosa)

amatshotshombe shacks (Xhosa). Something that is short lived. singular-
itshotshombe.

umqhafi liquor drinker or participant (Xhosa)

upotsho a putsch, meaning a short cut in doing something.

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Coinages**

ichweba money

ithekeni a girl. The word originates from **intekane** (a young buck)

ukuzenda to die. **Enda** means to go to a far away land or to take a long journey, **isikithi** a girl friend (the English word 'skirt' has been twisted to isikithi)

insayizi, a girl/ friend (that which fits all sizes).

(e) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

ungane a baby, a young girl, a teenage girl.

umuntu a human being, a girl

ikhanda a head, a girl. The beauty of a girl lies in her head/hair

isihlahla a ten rand note, **CR** originates from the green colour of a shrub

ukugqashuka to die, to break, to disconnect

(f) **Blended CCR's**

umbhengane a bag (bag+ Zulu suffix -ana)

intshodi a shirt (shir+d+ Zulu terminative vowel -i)

ithiza teacher (tea+ Zulu suffix -za)

ivevezi n' weduwee (Afrik. we+we+ (Zulu suffix) -zi)
(a widow in English).

ivate water (Afrik. wat+ Zulu terminative vowel -e)

(g) **Compounding**

amadlandawonye The communists. Those who eat together, those who share.

isidlamlilo One who eats fire, a militant person. a conservative person

ontamolukhuni The ones with stiff necks. Partisan parties who resist reforms. Conservatives.

izifikanamthwalo Those who came with their possessions or luggage (immigrants)

ucelumendo a dress or skirt with a slit on the side or back. The showing off of thigh's is a temptation to men, hence, this fashionable attire which is worn by females is called **celumendo** (ask/propose marriage)

- (h) **CCR's generated by narrowing of a word**
- ingcosi** **Ingcosi** is a baby. The word has been narrowed from **ingcosana**, meaning little or few. The Zulu diminutive suffix **-ana** is deleted in order to shorten the word.
- imitasi** an imitation. Material of poor texture.

- (i) **Onomatopoeic sounds used as CCR's**
- isigwagwagwa** sound made by an A.K. 47 riffle after releasing the bullet.
- iphihliza** glasses, e.g. sunglasses -(something breakable) originates from the idiophone '**phihli**' which resembles the sound of something breakable according to the way the Zulus perceive it.
- itingitingi** sound of an auto-teller machine when someone presses its buttons., an auto-teller machine.
- isathwa** sound of a riffle when shooting. The soft sound of a silencer.

- (j) **expressions involving CCR's**
- uBaqwe** *ukuzenza uBaqwe ikati laserenki/ laseNdiya.* To claim to know everything or to claim to be smart or knowledgeable like the eyes of any cat which is seen hanging around bus depots/terminals. An Indian cat. There are some people who will not confess that they do not know a thing. These are the ones who are called **Baqwe**.
- amanabukeni** ukuneka **amanabukeni**. To hang the napkins. To be constantly smiling even when other people feel that there is nothing really amusing.

(k) **Referents in CCR's**

uThuleleni

Meaning -Why are you keeping quiet? **A black suit.** Such a suit is also known as **uNokuthula**. A dark colour is equated with silence.

uVelaphi

a heap of food in a plate is known as **uVelaphi**. (Velaphi means where do you come from, you who still dishes up such heaps of food in a plate). When the food is heaped up in a plate, in such a way that one cannot see a person who is sitting in the opposite direction of the heaped plate, people name the huge heap of food '**Velaphi**'. This is an interrogative in the sense that it asks the question, ' where do you come from? Thus, exposing his or her geographical background.

uPhawulina

Phawulina is a person who likes to make comments (phawula) at gatherings. The name derives itself from the English personal name Pauline.

uThulani

Thula means 'keep quiet'. This is said of a person who does not have an input when there are meetings. Thulani is a Zulu personal name meaning 'keep quiet'.

4.2.2.6

Tavern CCR's/isiThaveni

(a)

The participants

Liquor drinkers comprise people of various sectors. These include employed and unemployed members of the speech community. Both teenagers and adults are prone to drinking intoxicating beverages as a way of escaping stressful situations, although this does not solve their problems.

(b)

Setting

The unemployed are found hanging around township taverns, beer halls, bottle stores, parties et cetera, in search of good time. One of the hobbies which occupies many urban dwellers during their leisure hours is liquor drinking.

(c)

The topic

Liquor drinkers usually talk about various issues related to the community at large. This could be politics, a football match, boasting about a previous drinking spree, horse racing, family matters, love affairs, illegal transactions, et cetera. They are very fond of relating a previous drinking session if it was full of merriment. The interlocutors gloat about their drunkenness and the amount of liquor they were able to consume. Mathematics features prominently in a drinking session. Drinkers and the shebeen queens rely on measurements in order to carry out their business. They use CCR's which are only comprehensible to the in-group members.

Those who partake in liquor drinking also talk about the types of brandies they can consume and those they cannot consume for health reasons. Most of them will order beer but the name of the brandy will be disguised in various forms. Examples of tavern CCR's are given below.

(a)

CCR's with or without change in original meaning

i-sealed	a full bottle of liquor brandy.
i-25%	Sometimes the drinkers order a 25% from the shebeen queen. This code still refers to a nip or a quarter.
i-50%	is equivalent to half a bottle.
i-375mls bottle	375 mls of liquor brandy. It means three quarters of a or three nips.
i-hassling	To suffer a morning hang over. To feel miserable after a previous day's drinking spree.

(b) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

i-German tanker	a heavy drinker
i-enamel tank	A person who is not affected by liquor after drinking volumes and volumes of it.
i-saswitch	a person who takes all sorts of beverages. Originates from an auto-teller machine which accepts all kinds of auto-teller or bank cards.
i-chemist	A bottle store

(c) **CCR's with change in sound pattern/twisted segments**

NO17	Because the reverse side of LION Lager beer is NO17 interlocutors disguise its proper name by calling it NO17 .
9644	the jargon refers to Charles Glass Beer lager. The inscription of the word, 'glass' is disguised into 9644 . Hence Popzer 9644 refers to Charles Glass. 9 resembles g , 6 represents l , and 44 stands for -ss-

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Neologisms**

imbiri/	Beer lager is known as imbiri or isibharara . These lexical items isibharara do not exist in standard Zulu but have been coined in order to bring about ambiguity to an outsider.
isimiramuwa	Another term which is used to disguise the meaning of Smirnoff is ismiramumuwa or i-1818 (The year in which Smirnoff was introduced)

(e) **CCR's from Zulu with or without change in original meaning**

ichwane	ichwane (chick) in this CR refers to a nip of brandy. The similarity between a chicken and a nip of brandy is that they are both small, hence a small quantity of liquor brandy.
inkuxa	Sometimes the drinkers order inkuxa (man with a big tummy) This code refers to a 750ml, a full or sealed bottle of liquor.
Isilevu	isilevu (chin) is a metaphor for the remnants of liquor in a bottle. The face/head of a human being is equated with a liquor container. The chin is the bottom part of a human face. It is equated with remnants in a liquor bottle or glass which remain at the bottom of the container.
imbiza	imbiza is a traditional Zulu purgative. The colour of this purgative is similar to that of Castle Milk Stout.
amaqhizane	Beer lager is also called amaqhizane (brown ticks) from its colour isitibhili the dark brown excretion from a fowl. The excretion has a colour similar to that of a beer lager.
ibhubesi	Lion lager is also known as ibhubesi in Zulu. Ibhube si is a Zulu word for lion. Lion lager is known by its English meaning which is Lion lager and there is no Zulu word for it. As a result, an uninitiated person will not understand the meaning if a drinker orders ibhubesi .
izipikili	Smirnoff is also known as izipikili (nails) from the manner in which it pokes one's intestines as if one has swallowed nails.

(f) **Abbreviations used as CCR's**

i-P.M.	i-phuza mouth. Mouth affected by excessive intake of liquor.
i-C.V.C.	i-Cape Velvet cream. Wine brandy chilled with milk or ice cream.
N.B.S.	Nearest bottle store.
i-P.F.	i-Phuza face. A face affected by excessive intake of liquor
i-P.E.	i-Phuza eyes. Eyes affected by excessive intake of liquor.

(g) **Bicodal CCR's (from two distinct languages)**

i-phuza-mouth	Mouth affected by excessive intake of liquor.
i-Phuza-face	A face affected by excessive intake of liquor
i-Phuza-eyes	Eyes affected by excessive intake of liquor.

4.2.2.7 Transportation CCR's/isiTransi

(a) **The participants**

Most township dwellers use various modes of transport to and from their workplaces and schools. Most public commuters end up being compelled to employ transport register in order not to appear old fashioned. Thus, transport CCR's are employed by both young and old commuters who use public transport. This setting has also produced a wealth of terms which serve as transportation CCR's.

(b) **The setting**

Commuters, drivers and conductors use transport code and register in interactions related to transport. This could be in the trains, in drinking sessions, buses, taxis, at

work and at filling stations. Furthermore, some conductors or drivers are at times engaged in illegal transactions at **Kwashisanyama** (at a place for roasting meat), which means, a place which is frequently visited by drivers and conductors on Fridays, 'to beat' the Chinese *Ngesikhathi beshaya iShayina* meaning when the drivers steal the bosses money. The **code** is also used when they are engaged in illegal transactions such as frying a vehicle *uma befraya imoto*, meaning setting a vehicle alight) or when they are at the butchery or **slaghuis** (Afrikaans) *uma besesilaheni*, meaning a secluded place where stolen motor vehicles are stripped off their parts or have their engines and chassis digits transformed into new ones.

(c) **The topic**

The real **CR** is resorted to when males are discussing illegal transactions or when appraising themselves. They disguise the names of motor vehicles by equating them with various items which share similar characteristics. Certain vehicles have been accorded names of prominent figures in the society in order to disguise their meanings to the outsider.

Sometimes when the thieves or people holding powerful positions realise that there are strong witnesses to a case involving theft, they decide to silence the witnesses by organising other people to kill them.

Inside a taxi, there are names referring to certain localities. When a passenger occupies the back seat of a taxi or a bus it is said that he is sitting **in the kitchen**. The seat behind that of the driver which faces the commuters is called a **T.V.** because passengers face the rest of the commuters in the taxi, as if they represent a television set being watched by the rest of the passengers. The passengers watch those who occupy this seat in the same manner in which people watch television in operation.

This variety of language prevails amongst the taxi speech community and also amongst those who are involved in illegal transactions. Various metaphors are used to conceal the meaning of vehicles. Codes portraying various types of automobiles are a proof that the Durban community has great interest in transportation modes. The

following common codes are also used when the speakers are engaged in illegal transactions.

(a) **English or Afrikaans CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

o-first grade: Young and attractive females are allocated the front seats in a kombi and they are selected from the queue while awaiting their turn to board the taxi. Those who select them say they are choosing first grade tomatoes to decorate the taxi.

uku-ry-a to travel by. It originates from the Afrikaans word **ry** (travel, drive). **uku-fry-a** to burn or destroy a vehicle. From English-fry, roast

i-wiel a wheel, a vehicle

i-First a FIAT car.

In All Trouble

(b) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

igayidi a guide, a train, (because a train is guided by railway lines)

u-mosquito The van which is used by the South African Defence force or stability unit is called **umaskito** (a mosquito) because it is shaped like a mosquito.

Ikameli (a camel) is an old Isuzu minibus. What is being highlighted here is the shape of its roof which is like that of a camel. Also, its resistance to drought is paralleled with that of a camel, hence **ikameli**

ibramani **Iblamani** (a Brahman caste) is a Datsun E-20 kombi. The original meaning of Brahman relates to the South African Afrikaner beast which is strong and can resist bad weather conditions. The **CR** emerges from the

sound of an E-20 kombi which resembles that of an Afrikaner bull when it bellows. Another similarity stems from the fact that both are powerful and durable.

i-toilet

Should the **umjondolo** (a temporary seat in a taxi) not be available for a passenger to sit on, then the passenger is instructed to seat on a toilet - '**hlala ebhoshi/ e-toilet**', implying that the passenger should occupy the empty space between the seats which is almost equal to the size of a toilet hole. These passengers still pay the full fare even if they sit on the toilet.

(c) **CCR's with or without change in sound pattern or twisted segments**

iketisi

an automobile, especially a **taxi**. The syllables in the word **iketisi** have been twisted in order to create ambiguity to an outsider.

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Coinages**

ukungcoka

The act of stealing a vehicle is **ukungcuka** (to steal) or

ukungcuka

ukungcoka (to pluck)

iginsa

a stolen motor vehicle is **iginsa**

omathunzini

There are vehicles including taxis/ mini-buses which are called **omathunzini** (shadows). This **CR** implies that such vehicles cannot surface on the road during the day because they are either stolen or are not road worthy. In the evening when the police are no longer as active as during the day in stopping the cars, they show up in their numbers. Thus a kombi which is a **mathunzini** can still make a lot of money after 17h00 (when

most of the cops are off duty) and as long as there are no accidents involved.

(e) **Words from Zulu with or without change in original meaning**

impendulo an answer/ reply a stolen car whose parts have been converted.

ilahle/ coal Interlocutors will speak of **ilahle** when referring to a recently stolen car whose parts have not been altered. Brenda Fasi is a famous Black South African female musician. This **CR** emerges from her song **Ayashisa Amalahle**. (The coal is burning). Any stolen vehicle is equated with burning coal in the hands of the new owner because he will not relax until some parts have been altered. The thief cannot keep on holding something that is hot. There will be massive search for the stolen vehicle by the police and the owner of the vehicle. The thief can only relax after some parts of the stolen vehicle have been transformed. Hence, a **CR** for a stolen car is **ilahle** (coal). **abafana**. Those connected with car theft are known as **abafana** (boys) even if they are elderly people. Thus, it is very common to hear a vehicle owner commenting that he bought a certain part of his vehicle from the **abafana** (boys) meaning, from the thieves.

imbawula An unlicensed driver is known as **imbawula** (a brazier.) He is like a brazier which ends up being dangerous to the people if left in the house overnight. This code implies that although the driver may provide assistance to the passengers, the end result of his help may be catastrophic.

ingulube An old VW Beetle is called **ingulube** (a pig). What is being highlighted here is the noise made by a pig which

is compared to that of a VW. This **CR** arises from a Zulu myth entitled **The Lizard And The Chameleon**. It is said that the lizard was able to deliver the message from God that people must die before the chameleon which had been sent earlier on to tell them that they would not die. The **CR** thus means a fast moving vehicle, a fast taxi.

(f)

isimuvane

Blending

something moving (isi-move-ane), an automobile

(g)

i-transi

es'thawa

i-Ph.D.

Narrowing

transport (-port has been deleted to narrow the word)

in, to town. (-n of town has been deleted)

This **Ph.D** refers to a driver who drives as if he obtained his driving licence within a short span of time from a driving school in Lebowa or Northern Transvaal, which is known as **Phahladira**. The **CR** refers to a poor driver. It must be mentioned that drivers from this testing centre are not really poor drivers, but the time frame within which the licence is obtained is questionable.

(h)

isilahlamatende

Kwashisanyama

Compounding

That which throws away its tents. A convertible car.

(at a place for burning meat), which means a place which is frequently visited by conductors and taxi drivers on Friday 'to beat the Chinese'. *Ngesikhathi beshaya iShayina*, meaning to steal the boss's money.

umadumez'ezinqeni

An old beetle is called **umadum'ezinqeni** (the one who thunders in the buttocks). The sound of a VW Beetle engine is heard from the back because of the location of its engine system.

ungisondez'egodini

Road accidents, particularly those involving kombis, are numerous. That is why some passengers refer to a taxi as **ungisondez'egodini** (A thing that brings me nearer the grave).

(i)

expressions

ukuhlinza imoto

Interlocutors who are involved in illegal transactions also speak of **imoto uhlinsa imoto** (to (skin) strip a vehicle.) After slaughtering a beast in the abattoir, its parts are accordingly removed from the carcass. This **CR** refers to the stripping off of a vehicle or cutting out parts in the body of a vehicle with the intention of selling them or replacing them in another vehicle parts are worn out.

ukucwebezalisa

The cops sometimes require the vehicle owner to shine up or to cause to shine after passing a motor vehicle at the testing ground. In addition to this, when the cops do not desire to issue a driver with a ticket for a fine they say: **cwebezalisa** or **cwebezela** (cause to shine or shine). The driver or culprit will know that he has to pay for the favour rendered and he will do accordingly because they both understand that type of language.

(j)

Referents

uBrenda

a stolen car, from her song **Ayashisa Amalahle**

iZola Budd

a fast taxi. (The fastest South African athlete in the 1980s now married to Mr Pieterse).

uMaMbhense

Mercedes Benz

(k)

paralinguistic expressions

An uninitiated person will not understand transport **CCR's**. We saw in chapter one how commuters use hand signs to indicate their destinations.

(k)

paralinguistic expressions

An uninitiated person will not understand transport **CCR's**. We saw in chapter one how commuters use hand signs to indicate their destinations.

4.3 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF ZULU-BASED ADOPTIVES

4.3.1 Background

Both internal and contact variations consist of a basilect with a spectrum of variation. Speakers take lexical items from the various languages spoken within the speech community. Variations are characterised by interlarded speech which embraces code switching and code mixing of different languages which are Zulu-based. There is also a lot of borrowing and semantic shift in the speaker's repertoire. The lexical items are tailored to be unintelligible to an out-group person. The lexical items are also continually changing. While older ones are being relayed to the speakers who have not heard them, new ones are being coined or exhumed. Refer to Ndlovu (1963) **isikhilimikhwikhi** (kill me quickly) page 175 paragraphs 1-2 of this study. In this way, they end up spreading to formal forums like the class-room, radio and newspaper media, literature and magazines.

- (a) Some **CCR's** are characterised by interlarded speech which is usually perceived as a single code although entailing bicodal expressions. Adopted **CCR's** are converted into the morphological and phonological system of the Zulu language.
- (b) Though the speech of the interlocutors abound in English and Afrikaans elements, it is still identified as a variety of the indigenous language involved.
- (c) Foreign words which are commonly used are conjunctions and other fillers, which Agheyisi (1977:105) calls link-words such as: so, but, and, then, because, now, so, therefore, shame, okay, you know, hey man, etc; address terms such as Sir, ma, madam, brother, sister, uncle, aunty, mummy, daddy, granny, papa, mama, Meneer and chief.
- (d) The style which is employed by the educated elite in their verbal repertoire also includes adoptives comprising nouns and verbs. The mixture of English and Afrikaans with indigenous language is subject to systematic constraints.

- (e) There are adjustments which include simplification of consonant clusters, addition or loss of vowels in a word and other segments, and replacement of other segments in order to suit the phonological and morphological system of the Zulu language.
- (f) **CCR's** contain technical terms and expressions. The vocabulary of such technical terms is minimal and their use is clearly obvious in a speech event since they never assimilate fully to the speech of a native speaker. This means that words from a guest code are carried over lock stock and barrel from the guest to the host code.
- (g) It must be mentioned that **CCR's** are usually perceived as a variety of the indigenous language rather than that of a foreign language. This is further confirmed by Samarin (1977:133) when he remarks that the koines or mixed varieties are never detached from the languages from which they issue, that is to say, they are linked to the home language of the interlocutor.

4.3.2

CATEGORIES OF ADOPTED WORDS

This particular section serves to consolidate the uniqueness of this study as the approach used has not been cited in any written literature. In other words, the section on the linguistic make-up of Zulu-based adoptives is amongst the main contributions to the study of **CCR's**

The inclusion of adoptives also serves to cement the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter two, Myers-Scotton (1971:110) mentions that a speaker will acquire high rewards without high costs if he uses a neutral language/variety-prestige language combination rather than either language alone, among supposed peers who have some but perhaps not equal command of the prestige language. A speaker will gain a lot of rewards, and less costs, if he communicates in non-standard variety comprising adoptives with relevant subgroups, as will be noticed in the rest of this chapter.

The inclusion of adoptives is linked to **speech accommodation theory** where most interlocutors who want to gain rewards use either an English/Afrikaans-Zulu based variety in their speech repertoire. The tendency towards mixed varieties is also confirmed in our analysis on page 94 number 18 where 61% of the speakers pointed out that they speak mixed varieties.

Ohly (1987:124) distinguishes between four categories of adopted words which he calls loan words. He categorises loan words into 'domesticated', 'accommodated', 'adapted', and 'assimilated' loan words. In this study, loan words will be called adoptives. Professor Ohly's categorisation of loan words will be adopted partially as is demonstrated below.

4.3.2.1 'Domesticated adoptives'

'Domesticated' adoptives are pronounced by Zulu speakers according to regular English or Afrikaans pronunciation and written according to the orthography of these foreign languages. In other words, they are carried lock stock and barrel from L2 to L1 and they only employ a **proclitic/** formative, that is the pre-prefix or determiner which is attached to the beginning of the foreign word. The nasal-less /u-/ of class 3(a) and /i-/ of class 9a are affixed to these adopted words because they happen to constitute a sizeable list of foreign words which have been morphologised into Zulu as will be demonstrated below.

'Domesticated' adoptives are categorised into the various noun classes according to their broad semantic content and semantic categories are applied in the choice of class. Noun classes are categorised into the Zulu nominal and verbal systems. As this is not part of the present study, I have chosen not to expand on verbal categorisation.

Ohly (1987) and Canonici (1990) mention that broad semantic categories are applied in the choice of classifying an adopted word.

Ohly (1987:124) suggests that adopted words can be categorised according to their semantic features and asserts:

[...] it seems to be only important to establish the word-category (not the noun category) of the foreign word, whereas the base, the foreign word itself, serves as a carrier of meaning as a lexeme. As a result, the prefix serves only as a formal means, i.e. the sign vehicle, but does not fulfil the function of a prolexeme unless we would accept the semantic marker, + special faculties/ or features.

Canonici, (1990:55) gives the following classification of Zulu adoptives:

A. **Class 1a**

Personal (kinship, professions, titles, honorific appellation, et cetera)

Examples:

udokotela, uthisha, uKhisimusi, unesi, et cetera, translated as doctor, teacher, Christmas, nurse et cetera,

B. **Class 3a:**

(a) **non-personal** (mass nouns, liquids, food-stuffs et cetera)

Canonici, (1990:55) further gives the following examples of his classification.

i. ***Prepared food stuffs***

ushukela, ujamu, ufulawa, u-ayisikhilimu, ubhekeni et cetera, translated as sugar, jam, flour, ice-cream, bacon.

ii. ***Trees, fruits, vegetables, medicines***

ugwava, ukhokho, ukwatapheya, ubhanana, ulethisi et cetera, translated as guava, cocoa, avocado-pear, banana, lettuce

iii. ***Chemicals and liquids***

unemenayidi, uphalafini, uphethiloli, u-inki, uviniga et cetera translated as lemonade, parafin, petrol, ink, vinegar.

iv. *Objects, containers, diseases*

ubheseni, ubhasikidi, uleyisi, usinki, uthiyi, umata, et cetera translated as basin, basket, lace, sink, tie, mat

C. *Class 9a:*

(e) *mostly non-personal: Ndlanzi in Canonici, (1990:57)*

ibhodi, ibhobhini, ibheyili, ibheyi, ibha, isheyini et cetera. board, barometer, bail, bay, bar, chain.

Also consider the following examples of class 3a and 9a nouns which are part of the present study and which are carried lock stock and barrel from English and Afrikaans.

i-wiel	a wheel (meaning a motor vehicle)
i-First in all trouble	a Fiat
i-envelope	a Mercedes Benz
u-polony	a pink mouth
u-tamaties	a pretty and attractive young girl

The next method of incorporating foreign words into the Zulu language is known 'accommodated' adoptives.

4.3.2.2 'Accommodated' adoptives

According to (Ohly 1987:125) 'accommodated' adoptives open the final syllable of the adopted word but still retain irregular consonant sequences of the guest code. It

means that these ‘accommodated’ adoptives merely affix two vowel phonemes to the guest code; that is; the pre-prefix/proclitic vowel and the terminative or enclitic vowel. (N.B. An article which is attached to the guest code or host code is called a clitic. When appended to the beginning of a word, it is known as a **proclitic** vowel and a **clitic** affixed to the end of a word is labelled enclitic vowel. Also corroborated in Katamba 1989:174) Refer to the following sentences.

i-saswitch-i	A heavy drinker who consumes all types of beverages
u-board-e/	he has died or gone to a far away land
u-board-ile	he has died) He has boarded
i-light-i	a young boy
e-chemist-i	a bottle store
i-sealed-i	a full bottle of brandy /liquor

4.3.2.4 ‘Adapted’ adoptives

In explaining how foreign words are adapted into L1, Hyman (1970:14) states that: "a language first finds the closest phoneme that encompasses the phonetic characteristics of the extraneous sound, and then this foreign sound is appropriately phonemicized and, subject to the phonological constraints of the phoneme’s members. In fact, a language does not only look for the closest phonemes which encompass the foreign quality of foreign sounds, but it goes to the extent of linking the closest indigenous words with foreign words or names whose segments are perceived to be sharing similar places of articulation or manner of articulation in the ears of a L1 speaker in an effort to accommodate them in the host language. Refer to the surname Koopman. Most Zulu speakers identify Koopman with Khumalo, which is a well

known Zulu surname. The surname Posthumus is phonemicised into Phuz'amasi (Drink maas). Another example is that of Mc Kenzie, who is known as uMkhize.

In 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 we looked at simple adoption of lexical items into Zulu, where changes in the original forms are minimal. Complex changes are, however, noticeable, especially in the morpho-phonetic processes of noun classification.

A general traditional rule is that when an adopted word commences in a **nasal consonant**, then that adopted word should automatically fall under class 9 nouns. Consider: **imoto**; a motor car. To warm the car means to take a sip of liquor brandy in order to warm oneself. Hence **ukushisisa imoto**.

Whiteley (1963:161) affirms that; "When the initial element of the word is phonologically assimilated or is similar to one of the recognised prefixes, singular or plural then that word is usually allocated to the class of which the prefix is a mark.

The initial consonant of the adopted word, thus, plays an important role in placing the adopted noun in its rightful noun slot as seen below.

Refer to the following **CCR's** where the initial consonant is an s-cluster. The cluster is separated by a vowel.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------|---|
| a. | spyker | isipikili/izipikili | smirnoff |
| b. | sleutel | isihluthulelo | a bottle opener or key |
| c. | school boy | isikulibhoyi | male prisoner who serves another prisoner |
| d. | steen | isitini | stubborn person, R100-00 notes. |
| e. | skirt | isiketi/isikithi | any female |

In the following section, we shall look at the ways in which English and Afrikaans words are phonemicised in order to comply with the inventory of the Zulu sound system. Parts of this process can be described as partial adaptation or assimilation and parts, as complete assimilation. Examples are drawn from the **CCR's** in my research, even though many lexical items may already be part of the Zulu published and

accepted vocabulary.

4.3 Word final consonants

4.3.1 Word final consonants ending in labials

When an adopted word ends in a labial consonant, the terminative vowel of the adopted word will be a rounded vowel, that is /u/ or /o/.

bomb	ibhomu	a fat person, shocking news
knoop	inkinobho	a drug
clip	ikliphu	R1000-00
album	i-albhamu	to watch many people passing by.
florsheim	ifloshemu	a beast for slaughter
paragraph	ipharagrafu	a short person
klob (Afr)	iklobhu	a cell in jail
an Arab	i-Arabhu	a male who lives in celibacy
stoof	istofu	injection

4.3.2 Word final consonants ending in alveolars, palatals and velars

When the final consonant of the guest code is an alveolar, palatal or velar, the terminative vowel will normally be /-i/ provided that the vowel in the initial syllable of the foreign word is a front vowel /i/ or /e/ or a neutral vowel /a/ or pronounced like these vowels in Zulu.

kat (Afrikaans)	ikati	a goal keeper with acrobatic savings
dent	denti	a debt
monkeynut	amakinati	pimples on the face
seven	useveni	a prisoner who is serving seven years imprisonment for stabbing with a knife

Denis	uDenisi	a goat, a question paper which is illegally possessed by a candidate before the test or examination is written.
saswitch	isaswishi	a drinker who takes all sorts of beverages
cabbage	iklabishi	a patient with brain damage
sandwich	isemeji	a style in foot ball

4.3.3 Word final consonants ending in fricatives

When the final consonant of the adopted word ends in a fricative /-s/ or /-z/ the terminative vowel is usually /-i/. This includes double pluralisation of Zulu adopted words where the marked plural affix /-s/ of English is sometimes realised as part of the stem or as a /-z/.

pills	iphilisi/ ama-philisi	an active soccer player who runs to and fro as if he has taken a purgative which sends him to the toilet now and again.
matroos	itilosi/ amatilosi	an educator who has a weakness of falling in love with school children.
size	insayizi	a girl, that which fits all sizes.
boss	ibhosi	a bully or a gang leader
"	ibhoza	"
chappies	ishapizi	an unpopular person
checkers	ushekazi	a tale monger
jas	ijazi	a condom

4.3.4 Deletion of segments in word final positions

Sometimes the consonant/s of a guest code are deleted irrespective of whether they are in final positions or not. This involves single consonants as well as consonant

sequences. In the analysis that follows, we are concerned only with the deletion of syllables or segments in their final positions.

University	iNyuvesi	prison
foundation	ifowundeshi	food
Pretoria	iPitoli	Department of Afrikaans at University
gasoline	igazoli	petrol
chemist	ikhemese	bottle-store

In the above adoptives, the final syllables or elements occurring word finally, that is, {-ty}, {-n}, {-a}, {-t} and {-ne, respectively. } have been deleted;

4.3.5 Word medial consonants

Whenever a nasal consonant or a nasal stop or nasal affricate occurs word initially or word medially in the guest code the foreign word incorporates a Nasal prefix. This means that in the host code, the preceding nasal is homorganic with the obstruent sound that follows it.

Refer to:

attention	indesheni	to beg for a favour
canteen	inkantini	illegal sorghum beer
envelope	imvalaphu	mercedes benz
knoop	inkinobho	mandrax drug

Nasal de-aspiration will be realised in all the phonemes which were aspirated in the guest code resulting in ejected nasal stops.

4.3.6. Phonological Processes and adopted words

A few phonological processes which occur in Durban CCR's will be discussed below. Various languages choose varying methods from which they build their

phonological processes. In this study, we shall concentrate on those processes embracing assimilation.

4.3.6.1 Assimilation

Katamba, (1989:80) defines assimilation as " the modification of a sound in order to make it more similar to some other sound in its neighbourhood ".

He further states that, " The advantage of assimilation is that it results in smoother, more effortless, more economical transitions from one sound to another" (Katamba, 1989:80).

Foreign words are assimilated into the Zulu phonological system in various ways. Assimilation process is better illustrated in terms of its directionality. The following examples can be described in terms of directionality where a sound becomes more like either the one that precedes it or the sound that succeeds it. In the succeeding examples, the direction of assimilation is progressive because the nasal that precedes the consonant becomes more like the sound that follows it, hence, progressive or anticipatory assimilation.

The process of **nasal assimilation** can be elucidated by the following examples of **CCR's** examples involving **nasal affricatisation**.

size (saiz)	iN+s>ints	insayizi	a girl
suit	iN+s>ints	insengane/ insudi	a suit
			money at the end of the day
seep	iN+s>ints	insipho	a slippery person, a prostitute
shop	iN+sh>intsh	tshobha/ izintshobha	shop/s, at the store

We can also infer that, in most cases, voiceless stops or voiced obstruents which are preceded by vowels, including particularly those which are contiguous, automatically fall under the Nasal class which is class 9. When this process occurs, nasal affricatisation takes place. The case of **sweet** remaining **uswidi** cannot be swept

underneath the carpet. One might ask the following question: 'Why does **uswidi** from sweet fail to follow this phonological interference when it bears contiguous vowels like 'seep,' and 'suit' above? The noun, **uswidi** (sweet) falls under class 3a nouns which also comprise food-stuffs. Hence **uswidi**, is categorised under the class 3a noun slot because of its semantic valence and not under class 9 or 9a.

4.3.6.2 Syllabification

English or Afrikaans words with consonant sequences are usually solved by means of vowel epenthesis or anaptyctic vowel . Adopted consonant sequences are sometimes syllabified. The syllable is one of the most important elements in lexical phonology because it provides a basis for analyzing the internal structure of segments. A syllable indicates the number of rhythmic units or canonical elements present in a word. During the process of syllabification, vowels are inserted between consonant sequences (Frajzyngler (1980:40, 47, 56). Vowels are often inserted between consonants to facilitate pronunciation in forms that have developed articulatory difficult consonant clusters. Epenthesis is the most common term for this phenomenon.

Refer to:

brief (Afrikaans)	isibhilivane cl.7	(a letter or n' brief in Afrikaans) Prison language
simpleton	usebentini cl.1a	(a simpleton) a stupid person
dreish (German)	idweshu class 9a idreyishi	three (in soccer code)

In each of the above examples, one of the consonants is deleted in order to avoid complex consonant or vowel sequences in the speech of the semi-literate or uneducated speakers. Refer to **simpleton** which becomes **usebentini** in Zulu. Because Zulu does not have the consonant sequence - **mpl**- this foreign sound simply becomes /b/.

Many scholars have already indicated that Zulu as well as Xhosa languages are undergoing changes which incorporate consonant sequences with an /-r-/ cluster. Refer to Khumalo (1988),and Koopman (1992: 111), Thipa, 1992:81).

Khumalo (1988:5) exemplifies with words such as: **ibhathrumu**, **ibhethri**, **iprogrumu**, **iragbhi**, **egrawndini**, **udrayva**, **ihayphothesisi**, et cetera.

Koopman and Thipa (1992) exemplify with words such as, **ibhethri**, **ukhrimu**, **ukurileksa**, **ukudribula**, **umphristi**, **iprezident**, **ifriji**, et cetera. Thipa (1992:81) declares that "the variation depends on the extent of the exposure to western cultural influences and experiences. In that respect, urban....speakers seem to be more exposed to such influences than rural ones".

Koopman and Thipa (1992) also noted the following consonant sequences which are not of Zulu origin but are now incorporated into **CCR's**;

CS with /r/ pr-,tr-, kr-, br-, dr-, gr-, phr-, thr-, khr-, fr- vr-

CS with /s/ sp-, st-, sk-, spr-, str-, skr-, scr-, spy-, str-, sch-, sl-, shr-

CS with /l/ pl-, gl-, kl-, cl-, bl-

CS with /n/ nsh-, et cetera.

4.3.7 Word initial consonants

During the process of syllabification, the same rules which apply to final consonants and vowel assimilation when terminative vowels are suffixed to the root, also apply to consonant sequences occurring in initial positions. For instance, after the initial labial consonants /b, p, f, v/ the anaptyctic vowel is /u-/, except when a Zulu vowel, corresponding to the English vowel in the syllable in which the cluster occurs, is pronounced as /i/. Refer to the following examples, but, as explained earlier on, very few urban dwellers who have been exposed to western culture employ the real standard Zulu syllabic structures which are: / V, CV, CwV, NCV, and -m-/ when using adopted words.

u B renda	u B hulenda	a stolen car
i f lorsheim	i f uloshemu	a beast
i- f reeway	i f iliweyi/ u f uliweyi	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time.
i- f ridge	i m filiji/ i m fuliji i f iliji	a coward

4.3.8 Other Phonological Processes

4.3.8.1 Obstruent voicing

Stops, fricatives and affricates are collectively known as obstruents. A voiceless obstruent becomes voiced when it occurs between vowels. Here, I have tried to explain the existence of voiced obstruents from adopted voiceless obstruents. So far, I have not come across embarrassing exceptions which are inexplicable. Examples of obstruent voicing are:

b oss	> i b hoza
g asoline	> i g azoli
j as	> i j azi
g oods	> i g uzu

This type of obstruent voicing also includes consonant harmony which is discussed in 4.6.8.1. page 153. Other phonological processes to be noted in this study involve

stop voicing of adopted words. For instance, a voiceless stop becomes voiced when preceded by contiguous or single vowels or underlyingly when occurring word finally. (Lindau-Webb 1985:165). Consider the following examples:

Afrikaans:	skip >	isikebhe
	skepe (*skiepe)	izikebhe
	knoop >	inkinobho
English	suit >	is udi / insudi
	sweet >	us widi

4.3.8.2 Stop Voicing

It also appears that English stops become voiced when they occur in consonant sequences or in nasal stops preceded by a vowel. Consider:

<u>p</u> ort>	ebhodwe
f <u>o</u> rk>	imfologo
<u>t</u> ent	itende
<u>a</u> ttention>	indesheni

In English, voiced stops are phonetically realised as fully voiced between vowels; less fully voiced word initially and minimally voiced word finally (Katamba, 1989:41).

4.3.9 Harmony

Vowels and consonants which share the same place and manner of articulation usually harmonise. Carnochan, (1960:159) states that:

"The rounding or unrounding of the vowel sound in pronunciation is considered together with the rounding and unrounding of the consonant articulation. This has to do with the syllable tier. In addition to this, the degree of tongue raising as between close or half close and between half open and open, is considered for the vowel sounds in each example as a whole".

4.3.9.1 Consonant Harmony

Foreign words whose initial consonants are [+aspirated] or [+breathy] will harmonise with other spread sounds in a word, that is to say; aspirated stops and breathy voice sounds will adapt to the same tongue root feature of the initial consonant within the same root. Refer to:

English word	CCR word
gap	ukugebha

said when taxis close the gaps while queuing up for passengers.

In the above example, both [g] and [b] are [+depressed] or [+breathy] in the transportation CR although in the original English word, the two plosives do not harmonise, that is, their feature specifications are [+breathy], [+aspirated]. In the process of consonant harmony, these share the feature [+breathy]

	C	V	C	V
Hence uku#	g	e	bh	a
	[+breathy]		[+breathy]	
	<u>ukugebha</u> (to gap up)			

syllable tier		O		O
CV-tier	C	V	C	V
segmental tier	-cont	+syl	-cont	+syl
	-ant	-hi	+ant	+low
Laryngeal node	-cor	-lo	-cor	
	+dep	-rd	+dep	lo+
	g	e	bh	a
	gebha (close the gap)			

Other examples which include breathy voiced consonant harmony are the specified obstruents which share the same laryngeal node when phonemicised as seen below:

goods >	iguzu	not to succeed in a mission
kettle>	igedlela	a motor vehicle
boss >	ibhoza	a hero, a bully
jas >	ijazi	a condom
bottle>	ibhodlela	liquor brandy
at the port >	ebhodwe	in Durban
gasoline>	igazoli	petrol/ fuel

In the foregoing examples, the laryngeal feature [+breathy] spreads to all the obstruent sounds or breathy voiced sounds found within the root of the same word. This will also apply to [+aspirated] sounds. A detailed treatment of consonant harmony was done by Professor J. Khumalo for his D.Lit.et Phil. (1987)

4.3.9.2 Vowel constraints

4.3.9.2.1 Vowel commencing syllables

At times English words commencing in front vowels delete the initial vowel and the succeeding consonant becomes the stem initial consonant.

Ethiopian	umTopiya	one who suffers from starvation
engine	injini	a player wearing jersey number six
eleven	uleveni	a goat
Egyptian	umGibhithe	an oppressor.

4.3.9.2.2 Back and neutral vowels

Guest codes commencing in back vowels or neutral vowels retain these vowels but employ a glottal stop between the pre-prefix and the initial vowel of the adopted word.

oros	i-orosi	an old man who likes to fondle young girls.
Uno	i-uno	a person with flat buttocks
Arab	i-Arabhu	one who lives in celibacy
Africa	um-Africa	a freed prisoner
eines (German)	i-ayine	one (numeral) (/ei-/ is realised as /a-/ in German.)

4.3.9.2.3 Adoptives with vowels occurring word medially

At times the final vowel of the adopted noun assimilates all the characteristic features of the initial vowel that precedes the second consonant of the original guest noun.

Refer to:

doek (Afrikaans)	iduku	policemen
boek	ibhuku	lies
goods	iguzu	not to be successful
chemist	ikhemese	bottle store
square	iskwele	a new Toyota Hi-Ace
skip > skepe (Afrik)	iskebhe	R10-00 note
fork	imfologo	a pick pocket

putsch

upotsho

short cut

4.3.9.2.4 Adoptives ending in schwa

When English or Afrikaans adoptives end in a schwa the terminative vowel becomes /-a/ in Zulu irrespective of whether the consonant of the adopted word preceding the schwa is a labial sound or not. For example;

i-rubber	irabha,	fat cooks / condom
u-four finger	ufo:finga	a pick pocket
u-major	umeja	a prisoner holding a high position in jail.
uku-major	ukumeja	To wear one and the same thing everyday as if doing one's major subjects.
i-sponsor	isponsa	an extravagant liquor drinker who entertains everybody in a shebeen.
i-besoeker	ibhesuka	a visitor
i-suiker	ushukela	sugar daddy, an old man who is in love with a young girl

4.4 Recapitulation

In this chapter, I have tried to describe the social context of **CCR's**, their characteristics, and phonological features. The language varieties in question, entail a lot of adopted words which are deliberately used in order to make the speech ambiguous for an out-group member. There are English or Afrikaans words which are borrowed without change in original meaning; English or Afrikaans words which are borrowed with some change in the original meaning, words from other South African languages borrowed with or without the original meaning, newly created **CCR's coinages**; words from Zulu with a change in original meaning, new words resulting from blending segments belonging to different languages or varieties. **CCR's**

resulting from compounding, narrowing, broadening, abbreviations et cetera.

Interlocutors seem to be indirectly applying most of the theories which were found in chapter two. For instance, **the identity theory** (Tajfel, 1974:289) was seen in the prison **code** where a prisoner will not readily socialise with a stranger unless he is convinced that the stranger belongs to the same social class. Before establishing friendship, the first question which is asked by a prisoner when meeting a stranger-prisoner is; **Ungaphakama ngani?** (How can you prove to me that you belong to my social group?'. After this, the prisoners can establish a relationship. They first make

The study also revealed that the Black Durban speech community employ a lot of adoptives in their conscious efforts to avoid standard Zulu words, thus making the discourse ambiguous. In other words, **CCR's** are meant to be unintelligible to an out-group member. Some phonological and interferences employed in the adoption process of foreign words into the Zulu language.

In the next chapter, I am going to discuss the social functions of **CCR's**

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, we described the social context of **CCR's**. The chapter covered **Language Variations** which are spoken by the Black Durban speech community. A pattern of describing linguistic choices followed that suggested by Holmes (1992:94) which asks the following questions: Who are that participants? Where are they speaking? What are they talking about? et cetera.

In this chapter, we are going to look at the social functions of **CCR's** as used in the targeted domains. Examples will be supplied to substantiate each function.

5.2 FUNCTIONS OF SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE VARIATION

5.2.1 Functions of cant

The main function of cant is to render the speech incomprehensible to the out-group member. There is semantic shift and deliberate use of polysemous words which result in total confusion on the part of the uninitiated listener. Cant is characterised by neologisms. It is presumed that the same interlocutors who employ cant, Tsotsitaal, jargon, slang, become involved in the creation of new words. Speakers of cant are constantly creating new words because once a cant word is known by out-group members, it ceases to be a cant expression and thus, loses its purpose of secrecy.

5.2.2 Functions of slang

In summarising the reasons for employing Zulu slang, Ndlovu (1963) states that slang supplies a social need or satisfies a craving. It arouses the interest of the people in the whole Zulu language area. He further mentions that slang is felt appropriate for some

occasions because of its freshness, novelty and vivacity. It lends itself to shrewd expressions of one's wishes, desires, emotions, and feelings. Vocabulary which is slang is bound into one distinct variety, thus drawing a clear distinction between standard Zulu and the slang variety.

Ndlovu (1963) advises that adoptives that serve as school terminology are not slang. This occurs when there are no existing Zulu words for a new concept. Words which have been incorporated into the Zulu language due to technology are also not slang unless they are used to conceal the meaning. Examples such as material technological words include **umshini** (machine), **itafula** (tafel), **ipeni** (pen).

5.2.3 Functions of jargon

Jargon is hardly accommodative of out-group members. The main reasons for switching to jargons are motivated by factors such as secrecy, prestige and deliberate lexical avoidance. Speakers use jargon in order to attain social recognition.

They also employ jargon if it appears that the foreign word is more expressive than its Zulu equivalent, or if the latter sounds old fashioned from a speaker's point of view. Speakers may use jargon in order to avoid ridicule and the stigma of being called stereotyped. Educated speakers employ jargon in order to communicate their thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying about the language which they use during a normal conversation. This statement is supported by Hudson (1980:12) where he states that "it is also quicker and easier to use ready-made phrases, however well-worn or meaningless they may be, rather than to go to the trouble of thinking up precisely the right words for oneself."

5.2.4 Functions of Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi

Goyvaerts (1988:234-235) asserts that "on a higher level of obstruction, Indoubil (Nigeria), is an important factor for group membership amongst youngsters, and plays a crucial role in intergroup behaviour." Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi has become the language

of the younger generation in its entirety. Switching from Zulu to Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, English or Afrikaans, is motivated by factors such as secrecy, prestige and lexical avoidance. The idea of snobbery is very much present in today's Tsotsitaal. Tsotsitaal helps to maintain group exclusiveness and social identity on the part of the speakers. Like many other urban lingua francas, Tsotsitaal serves to neutralise and cancel all ill-effects of ethnicity. It reinforces solidarity.

5.2.5 Functions of adoptives

- (a) People use adopted words in order to express a concept that is new in a speech community.
- (b) An adopted word may be employed if it affords a much shorter or clearer way of expressing a concept.
- (c) It can be resorted to if it is the only way to the meaning of the concept (Appel and Muysken, 1987:118)
- (d) It can arise from an individual's desire to be fashionable or refined by interlarding his speech with foreign elements.

Speakers resort to adopted words when there is no existing translation of a particular lexical item. This happens when one is compelled to use adoptives due to exposure to a second or third language where there are no vernacular forms for the new concept. Migration also compels the new comer to use certain codes for protection, as well as for his self esteem in the new speech community. Speakers often abandon their vernacular forms in favour of other prestigious features to share or koinésise with those varieties which seem prestigious. The new comers like to keep abreast of times.

5.2.6 Functions of interlarded speech

The use of IS (Interlarded Speech) is instrumental rather than emotional. Most users of IS do so in order to attain social and economic recognition. English alone is used as one of the interlocutor's salient status symbol. Educated speakers employ IS in order to communicate their thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying

about the language which they use during normal conversation (Agheysi:1977).

Those who are in favour of **IS** do so in order to keep pace with technical, social and institutional developments. They speak it in order to enhance individual prestige through superabundant use of English or Afrikaans adoptives, with a view that English or Afrikaans have status. Sometimes an English word is employed because it is the first one that comes to mind in a speaker's intuition. A foreign word is preferred to Zulu because it has a wider currency in a polyglot society.

5.3 FUNCTIONS OF CCR's AS APPLIED IN THE VARIOUS DOMAINS

5.3.1 Functions of transportation CCR's or isiTransi

Without the knowledge of **CCR's** used in this domain, it is virtually impossible for a commuter to reach his destination because the taxi drivers rely on hand signs when picking up their passengers. It was mentioned in Chapter One that if a driver puts his hand outside the window and stretches it upwards, he is indicating to the passengers awaiting transport that he is heading for town. These signals are very vital for the smooth running of a business which relies on swiftness for its success.

5.3.2 Functions of soccer CCR's or isiNgura

Interaction within this domain depends on the existing degree of identity among participants. Speakers and players use the soccer **CCR's** in order to identify themselves with the soccer arena. They may also use soccer **CCR's** in order to contribute to the power arena. Switches from Zulu to English or Afrikaans are associated with the power arena. English/ Afrikaans are seen as appropriate languages for public places. Speaking the vernacular in public places like a soccer stadium, and other public domains identifies the speaker with uneducated rural life. In this way, the costs become high and rewards low, for the interlocutor.

Soccer **CCR's** have also been assimilated into the outside world in various ways thus resulting in slang. For instance, the **CR ibhinoni** meaning figure 4 (four), has been incorporated into the language of the community and is now employed by soccer fans outside the football arena. This word originates from the jersey worn by a famous soccer player who played for the Benoni United Brothers team in the 1960's. Because he wore a jersey marked four, anything which represents the numeral four is called **ibhinoni** by those who are acquainted with football.

Amongst the Zulu youth, impregnating a woman is regarded as a sign of prowess, control of life and a satisfaction of one's super-ego by the male concerned. Thus, males are often heard boasting about having kicked the ball into the net, meaning that the male sperms have managed to penetrate the virginal net of a virgin womb, just like scoring a goal in soccer. Hence, **ukulishaya enethini** (to kick the ball into the net, or to impregnate a woman).

In like manner, words not associated with soccer have been incorporated into soccer vocabulary. For instance, the clan name for the Zulu surname **Mkhize** is **Khabazela**. In the soccer arena **Khabazela** means to kick the ball with one's heels.

5.3.3 Functions of tavern **CCR's** or **isiThaveni**

The users of shebeen **CCR's** take life very light heartedly, where something fatal is expressed in a comical manner, as shown in the following funeral notice.

(a) **Funeral notice**

Friends are invited to the funeral of the late **Mr Smirnoff** who was kicked to death by **White Horse** on **Bols Avenue**, for his girl friend **Amstel**, the daughter of **Old Buck**. The late was staying at **Castle Lager** Street in **Mellow Wood** township, P.O. **Richelieu**, via **Black Label**. **Lion Lager** donated a coffin manufactured by **100 Pipers** to **Seven Seas Spirit**. The funeral service will be conducted by **Bishop Jonny Walker** and the Reverend **Oude Meester** of **Ohlssons**. The procession will leave the

House of Lords to **Chivas** cemetery, **Paarl Pele**. **Smirnoff** left his poor wife **Cellar Cask** and two children **Martell** and **Gilbys**, who still attend school at **Klipdrift** University, **Culemborg**. Present at the funeral will be the Minister. **Mainstay** and his wife **Autumn Harvest**, friends of the late, **Chatru**, his uncle, **Ballantine** and **Captain Morgan**. **Rum** will also be present. The family car will be driven by **Hankey Annister**. Coffin carriers will be the following delegates:

Milk Stout

Coco Rico

Vice Roy

The master of ceremonies will be:

Mr Count Pushkin of **Cape Velvet**

Reading of the wreaths will be done by: Miss **Castello Fizz**.

(Origin unknown)

Even the death of an individual is labelled with ludicrous terms to show that an alcoholic's destination, is death. We also come across the following liquor praises, which are frequently recited by modern liquor drinkers at a drinking session:

Jabula mphimb'uzogwinya

Maphaphu nani zibindi dedukani,

Naz' izimpophoma ziza.

(Throat be happy you will swallow,
Lungs and you liver give way,
Behold the waterfalls approaching.)

They recite these praises just before gulping down the contents in the glass (usually hot stuff). Drinkers indulge their fondness for liquor by drinking volumes and volumes of it, equating liquor with fountains or water falls. Even Biblical psalms have been adapted and regularised by educated liquor drinkers to suit their faith. This is communicated in the following blasphemous rendition of The Psalm : The Lord is my Shepherd:

(b) **Alcohol Psalm**

King alcohol is my shepherd, I shall not want,
He leadeth me to lie down in the gutters,
And leadeth me upon the rough dark places,
For thy effect's, sake.

Yea though I walk in the shadow of death
And have delirium, I shall
Constantly cling unto thee,
My glass instantly runneth over.

And though thou preparest an empty table
In the presence of mankind,
I constantly cling unto thee
Thy sting and thy bite they torment me

Surely destruction and misery shall follow me
All the days of my life
And I shall dwell in the house of the condemned
For ever and ever ...Amen.

(Origin unknown)

Although the foregoing text is regarded as another way of expressing indulgence in liquor drinking, as a **CR**, it reveals various facets of the consequences of alcoholism in the health of the drinker which are exposed in a light-hearted and humorous manner.

In the Daily News of 14 September 1992 there appeared an article entitled:

Swazi Shebeens Leave One's Head in the Clouds.

This article commented on new liquor brandies which are highly intoxicating because of some additives which Swazi shebeen queens, it is alleged, use while brewing them.

The additives used include methylated spirits and battery acid. These liquor brandies are given the following **CR's**; **isikhilimikhwikhi** (kill me quick), **indiza**(aeroplane), **pikiliyeza** (the diggers are coming with their spades), **khi' wasemoshwani** (key to the mortuary). These expressions bear a warning sign to the drinkers, but the twist in the tail is that they are the ones who label these brandies with names with such deadly connotations.

Ndlovu (1963:153) does include **isikhilimikhwikhi** in his list which means that it is not really a new term in the **GDA**. This **CR** is however known by the older generation and it is now being exhumed as a new expression after almost thirty years.

In a discussion with Professor Mazisi Kunene of the University of Natal, he mentioned that a synonym of **isikhilimikhwikhi** during his youthful years was **imbongolo** (a donkey). He demonstrated that the consequences of drinking **isikhilimikhwikhi** are equated with the kicking of a donkey, **imbongolo**, where the chances of escaping death after being kicked by a donkey are almost nil.

Liquor drinkers also get involved in interactional transactions where they discuss methods of obtaining liquor. There are those who are liquor slaves, who will end up buying it on credit because they cannot afford to buy it on a daily cash basis. The most feared person in their lives is the shebeen queen, whom they call with all sorts of names like **isibhemisane** (the one who causes others to smoke), meaning a serious minded person who will not tolerate nonsense. She is also equated with **igosti** (a ghost) implying that she speaks with a terrorizing voice when she starts chiding the tavern patrons.

Drinkers cannot bear the hassling or hangover and decide to buy liquor on credit. When this happens they are normally heard saying. *Ngisaya kohlikihla izandla laphaya kwasisi Maggie* (I am going to rub my hands there at sister Margaret's shebeen).

It is very burdensome for shebeen patrons with adverse records to arrange for 'a dent' (buying on credit) with a shebeen queen. Their courtesy when speaking to the

shebeen queen, is shown by the rubbing of their hands with simultaneous bending of the head. They are also fully aware that the shebeen queen is flattered by this gesture.

Thus, the drinkers behave in the most courteous manner on the surface, to appear as good, reliable and trustworthy customers to the shebeen queen. They use **CR's** such as **uku-denta** (to open an account, or buy on credit). Sometimes they use expressions such as *Ngicela ukubhalwa encwadini yokuphila* (I would like my name to be included in the book of life). The credit book parallels the Book of Life. They also use the expression *Ngicela uku-fly-a manje ngi-pay-e later; or Ngicela ukundiza manje ngikhokhe kamuva* (This expression originates from the commercial advertisement or an air-line facility which declares: Fly now and pay later). The idea of flying parallels a drinking spree because the drinkers are fascinated by losing their heads when they are nice and tipsy as if they are in a different world all together. Even a spacious shebeen is bestowed with the name which is one of the biggest aeroplanes in South Africa. Hence, **iBoeing 747** which refers to a spacious shebeen.

Drinkers also discuss money lenders who are nicknamed **omashonisa** (the ones who bring about downfall or inflation) because of their high interest rates.

5.3.4 Functions of prison CCR's or isiNyuvesi

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, prison **CCR's** are employed by both staff and prisoners. The staff does so in order to reach a wider scheme of interpreting the behaviour of prisoners which automatically helps to re-structure the environment. Turner (1974:149) mentions that dialogue between staff and researchers show that staff not only knew the prison **code** but how to use it as well. Staff used the prison code to define the residents' situation. Turner (1974:151) mentions that:

"Residents' actions are reasonable in the sense that they have no choice but to behave in the fashion that they do. In addition to this, the prison code implies that a particular event under consideration can be enacted by any prisoner because prisoners are constrained to act in that fashion."

Prison **CR** helps to re-structure staffs' environment by identifying the meaning of the residents' actions. The behaviour of the prisoners follow the same pattern. The first reaction of a prisoner is his opposition to staff. The crucial difference is that the **CR** is not encountered outside the scene it was purportedly describing, but is told only within and during the scene (Confirmed in Turner, 1974:151). That is why prison **CR** are hardly heard outside prison premises. Prison code is motivated by factors such as secrecy, lexical avoidance, exclusiveness and social identity. The first thing that a prisoner asks when he meets another prisoner is *Ungaphakama ngani?* (How can you prove to me that you are, or were imprisoned or that you were a 26 or 27?). And the reply is always. *Ngingaphakama ngezicathulo zami* (I can prove by the type of shoes that I am wearing) et cetera. This serves to confirm solidarity between prisoners before further friendship can be established.

5.3.5 Functions of educational CCR's or isiGura

Educational **CCR's** are used to expose irregularities in the teaching fraternity. They serve to mask the ugliness of the behaviour of certain individuals. Consider '**uku-dry clean -a**': To dry clean is a situation where a teacher/lecturer does not mark scripts properly, especially compositions and students' essays, because, when marking such questions, the teacher would have to read the scripts thoroughly, which is a very demanding and time consuming project. As a result, he merely awards a mark without reading the work.

The choice of **CR** also serves to ridicule and undermine out-group members. Within the teaching profession, those teachers who do not have a diploma are labelled 'Rainbow chickens' or '**imijondolo**' (shacks). They are labelled thus because they were trained for two years. Rainbow chickens are supposed to grow very fast because of force-feeding, unlike domesticated chickens. This means that these teachers are not adequately trained or academically enriched.

Educational **CR** serve to reveal the shortcomings of people holding responsible positions, like teachers. Hence, they serve to correct flaws in human society. This is

evident within the teaching profession. For example, *Wambheka kurejista*, (He looked her up in the register). This **CR** refers to a teacher who married a school girl who supposedly was in his register. The code reveals the personality of the teacher concerned.

5.3.6 Functions of hospital CCR's or isiHhosi

CCR's serve to neutralise critical situations. For example, when a doctor and a nurse discuss the condition of a patient, they do not use the term 'cancer' because it has an alarming impact on the patient, but instead refer to it as 'mitotic disease'. The Zulu word **umdlavuza** (cancer) is also as shocking as the English one. Most patients will be acquainted with these terms. We have already mentioned that a patient who is HIV positive is known as **Code** or a **194**. The patient does not understand these terms, and, in this way, the jargon saves him from shock.

Hospital **CCR's** help patients to simplify for themselves big medical terms. There are certain medical terms which are too difficult to be pronounced or even recalled by patients. 'Ethambutol' is a drug used in the treatment of tuberculosis. Patients have resorted to using the term **imbongolo** (donkey) whenever they refer to the aforementioned drug. The reason for choosing the donkey as a Zulu name for the drug is because of the drug's grey colour and also the character of the donkey which is stubborn by nature, just like tuberculosis which does not heal easily.

5.3.7 Functions of township CCR's or isiThawa

Functions of the township **CCR's** will be included below in 5.5: "Overall Functions of **CCR's**", because most interlocutors in the Black Durban speech community employ them.

5.4 SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S IN THE VARIOUS DOMAINS

CCR's play a vital role in the community in that they are ideally suitable for commenting on the behaviour of people or reporting delicate matters without causing violence, excitement, shock, enmity or resentment. In other words, they are ideally suited for commenting on the behaviour of people or on reporting delicate matters without causing friction. They also reveal the various facets of a particular object, individual or behaviour. In other words, CCR's uncover hidden facts about objects.

5.4.1 CCR's uncovering hidden facts

(i) Educational CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ukupitshiza	to squash a rat	to be in love with a school girl
igundane		
ukubheka	to look up in the	to marry a school girl
kurejista	register	

(ii) Hospital CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

uku-t.t.o.-wa	to take treatment out. To steal hospital property.	
ukuntontelisa	to repeat something to record untrue facts about a patient's condition. To record on paper that staff has been monitoring the condition of a patient when, in actual fact, she has not been checking the patient's condition and temperature, blood pressure et cetera.	
ukuphuzisa ikhofi	to serve coffee	medicine illegally given to a patient without the doctor's permission.
ukuthatha ififi	to take a nap	to sleep during working hours, especially when one is on night duty.

(iii) Prison CCR's uncovering hidden facts about prison life

i-school boy	a school boy	an inexperienced prisoner who practises homosexuality with experienced prisoners.
uNongalaza	Mr Nongalaza	A male prisoner who sleeps with another male prisoner
i-sikole	a school	prison code is taught underneath a blanket during the act. The performance is called a school (isikole)

(iv) Tavern CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

u-four finger	a four fingered person	a person who hides his drinking habits, will cover the glass with his four fingers.
igundane	a mouse	a person who hides his drinking habits
ukubhalwa	to be written	to buy liquor on credit
encwadini	in the Book of life	
yokuphila		

(v) Township CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

i-E-20	an E-20 Nissan	a prostitute. A girl who has many boy friends, like a kombi which accepts all sorts of passengers.
ibhathini	a button	one who deals with drugs
inkonkoni	a reed buck	a homosexual
umaphipha	a cleaner	a womaniser. One who leaves no stone unturned

(vi) Soccer CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ikhothenga	a coat hanger	a useless goal keeper
incwadi	a letter/ book	a useless soccer player. He remains passive like a book which cannot defend itself.
ibhantshi	a coat	also means a useless goal keeper
i-free-way	a freeway	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time

(vii) Transportation CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ugoqo	a master key	a home-made key which is used for stealing cars
usicabha	a door	a taxi or bus conductor
imbawula	a brazier	a driver who has no driving licence
i-Ph. D.	a Ph. D.	a poor driver who drives as if he obtained his driver's licence within a short span of time (it refers to Phahladira).

From the foregoing examples, we see that short-comings of people holding responsible positions are exposed in a light-hearted manner, whilst the behaviour is concurrently being corrected. They reveal that although they frequently relate to minor events, they often make reference to matters of highest anomalies in society, which are sometimes of national importance.

5.5 OVERALL FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S

1. **CCR's** are very useful when playing upon one's emotions because they sometimes serve as cover terms for elaborate instructions, explanations, and

misunderstandings. Refer to the following examples:

iRomani	a Roman	a man who is popular with girls
Ukubhanka	to bunk classes	to stay away from classes; to play truancy
Goba la ngigoba khona	bend where I bend	said by a teacher when he has run short of knowledge or subject matter. This means, that your knowledge must end where mine ends
uKwaMzala	he is at cousin's place	he is in prison
i-oros	an oros drink	an old man who likes young girls

2. A knowledge of **CCR's** helps the speaker to be accepted by we-code members. This bridges the gap between the members of we-codes and they-codes.

3. They facilitate the expression of respect. Although **CCR's** may be regarded as filtered talk, they do possess a lot of respectable vocabulary in terms of politeness. People holding certain positions are never addressed or referred to in an impolite manner. A minister of religion is called **umreva** (Reverend).

Other examples include:

uthiza	teacher	teacher
usigqoko	Mr Hat	head of department, school principal
ukuzenda	to go to a far away land,	to die (origin:Zulu- enda) to take a long journey
iHodi	a Head of department	an H.O.D.
ingamule	a boss	a white, a rich person

4. When **CCR's** are employed in formal settings, they are used to relax the tense formality normally characteristic of official transactional interactions. In this way, they help members to escape unhappy work situations.
5. They are a form of entertainment, as they inject a sense of humour in an otherwise tense situation. The listeners ponder at the **CR** and are bound to be amused at the metaphorical intent.

ubhuti-madlalisa	brother entertainer	a womaniser
i-Arabhu	an Arab	a male who is not interested in women
omathunzini	Mr Shadows	motor vehicles which are unfit to be on the road and are normally seen in the evenings when their owners are convinced that the traffic police are gone
ukwelula	to stretch something	to phone someone with a cellular phone
Ukuhluba umoba	to peel sugar-cane	said when someone is holding a telephone instrument and talking

6. **CCR's** are used to facilitate communication between peoples who speak different dialects/ languages (through the processes of code-mixing and code-switching). They also facilitate communication between people who have had a communication break down. **CCR's** abound in euphemistic terms which are direct yet pregnant with meaning.
7. They are a source from which a language feeds, grows, and develops into an effective tool for social interaction. New words are created while archaic and obsolete ones are retrieved and used when the situation is suitable.

8. They reveal one's personality and individuality

uSugar Daddy

Sugar Daddy

an old man having an affair with
a young girl

uPhawulina

Paulina

a person who likes to pass
comments

9. People of all walks of life use **CCR's** to suggest privacy and individuality. In other words, some of the older generation, including purists do use **CCR's** in privacy. The reason for this is that, under normal conditions, Zulus generally avoid calling a spade a spade.

10. **CCR's** are used to facilitate novelty, freshness and topicality in the language. Rather than listen to a standard form of speech, modern people resort to **CCR's** in order to escape from the confines of old fashioned traditional forms which are viewed as dreary, lifeless and boring. People want to listen to speeches which portray the addressee as keeping abreast of times: by being conventional and, though holding a high position, being able to come down to mother earth by speaking the language of the people at grass-root level. Those who speak a particular **CR** feel that the speaker who is addressing them knows their hardships, interests and aspirations.

11. Because **CCR's** are racy, they tend to secure freedom of expression in a conversation. A speaker uses words of his own choice without receiving criticism from the purists about his proficiency in the standard language concerned. Most educated speakers equate the use of **CR** with trying to communicate one's thoughts in an effective way rather than worrying whether the language used is mixed or not.

12. The **CCR's** satisfy man's irrepressible spirit of word creation. They tend to have different meanings according to the audience design and prevailing situation.

13. They reveal the degree of urbanity and progressive outlook of the speaker. In this way, they incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people

belonging to a particular era in the history of mankind. **CCR's** shed light on the way of life of Africans in urban areas.

14. These speech forms help to preserve the traditional nature of a language through the use of proverbs, idioms, pun, traditional music, dance and metaphors.

CCR's used as modern expressions

umninihashi	the owner of a horse	This is said by a boy
uphuzisa ihhashi	nurtures the horse	to a girl who asks him a favour
aligibelayo	he rides	instead of asking her boyfriend.
Uyoze ukubone	One day you will	One day you will experience the
okwabonwa uZulu	experience what the	tragedy, which was sustained by
eShell House	Zulus experienced	the Zulus in Shell House
	in Shell House	
Imali yishoba	Money is a fan for	Nothing is impossible when
lokuziphungela	cooling oneself from	one has money
	the heat of the sun	

The foregoing expressions are fresh, and they have not been recorded anywhere in Zulu literature.

15. CCR's used as metaphors

(Cooper, 1986:142) maintains that metaphor is sustained by the need we have to mark similarities. A metaphor makes comparisons between objects, and one of its advantages is linguistic economy. Thus a metaphor is a linguistically cost effective device for stating similarities.

- a. A metaphorical talk effects a familiarity or intimacy between speakers and their world. Like metaphors, **CCR's** make people feel at home.

b. People use **CCR's** in order to achieve a purpose. Others employ them for the fun of it. A **CCR** may be uttered in order to stimulate an image or to provoke an interesting comparison, or to register a beautiful turn of phrase.

c. **Those which provoke an interesting comparison**

iMonza	a Monza	a person with big protruding buttocks
i-Uno	an Uno	a person with flat buttocks
imvalaphu	an envelope	Mercedes Benz

d. **Those that indicate a turn of phase**

ikhanda	a head	modern urban girls take pride in their hair, as reflected in contemporary hairstyles
ugesi wekhadi	electricity card	something which is not going to last long (short lived)
ukushaya ngespeed trap	to hit with a speed trap	to bewitch someone

e. **Those that stimulate an image**

ingulube	a pig	a V.W. Beetle (because of its shape)
isigingci	a guitar	a Mazda 323 (because of its shape)
uMaskito	a mosquito	an SADF casspir (resembles a mosquito)

16. Mastery and employment of **CCR's** raises one's recognition in the society and enhances one's prestige in the eyes of his or her fellow-men. A versatile or multiplex speaker is more socially accepted in the various social groups than a uniplex speaker who is always kept at arms length.

17. They help to extend the meanings of words

There is shift of meaning in the use of **CCR's** but the choice is carefully selected.

ikameli	a camel	an Isuzu kombi. (because of its trouble-free endurance)
ukuncinza	to pinch	to steal
amasosha	soldiers	maggots in the food (boarding school code for bad food)

18. **CCR's** tend to preserve historical events not only of the community but of the world at large.

iLadeshi	Bangladesh	refers to bankruptcy. The CR originates from the name Bangladesh, a country which was infected with bankruptcy in the early 1990's.
umTopia	Ethiopian	Same meaning as for Bangladesh
i-Africa	Africa	The CR refers to a freed prisoner. Africa is regarded as a free country which is the opposite of prison life.

20. **CCR's** tend to be instructive, covering educational, economical, social, scientific and geographical matters.

21. They serve to bridge the gap between the educated and their semi-educated counterparts. Even those who never went to school are able to code-mix a lot of English / Afrikaans-Zulu based words. Examples are:

i-album	album	to sit and watch people passing by
ihalf-tiger	half-tiger	R5-00 note
i-Be My Wife	a BMW car	a BMW car

22. **CCR's** have a valid role to play in meeting the needs of those who have insufficient knowledge of English or Afrikaans or of a dominant indigenous language.

23. They entail extensions of reference.

uNtombifuthi	Miss Girl Again	a divorced woman
uMrs Mbhense	Mercedes Benz	a Mercedes Benz
uMaMgobhozi	Mrs MaMgobhozi	a talkative person

24. A knowledge of **CCR's** helps the speaker to be accepted by we-code members commonly known as in-group members in linguistic circles. This bridges the gap between we-code and they-code members. In this manner, misunderstandings and elaborate instructions and explanations are minimised. These **CCR's** also reveal the attitudes of in-group members towards their out-group counterparts and vice-versa.

ohahaha	those who nasalise their speech repertoire	scholars who attend/ attended a multi-racial school
ama-elite	the elite	students coming from affluent homes or who go to multi-racial schools
opendiwe	the painted one	a person who has rejected his culture in favour of the white culture. He seems to be a white man who has been painted black.

The preceding examples reveal the attitude of the members of the we-codes towards the they-codes members and vice versa. The speakers of a particular variety distance themselves from things beyond their reach. That is, things which are remote from them and which they know they will never achieve, are given distasteful names, revealing bitter feelings of envy and helplessness. This is done in order to suppress feelings of unaccomplished aspirations. In other words, **CCR's** act as symbols of

independence and they rebuff the middle class black society, especially if we-code members are semi-literate and feel that they cannot reach certain goals and attainments in life. Members belonging to the socially disadvantaged class console themselves by despising and condemning middle class society and their achievements.

25. **CCR's** are used in order to display one's wit and ingenuity in the use of language.

26. They serve to justify certain rituals

The slaughtering of a beast and wearing of a skin bangle is part of Zulu custom and culture.

i-florsheim	a florsheim shoe	a beast slaughtered for a ritual ceremony
uDenis	Dennis	a goat slaughtered for a ritual ceremony
iwashi	a watch	a skin bangle worn by the person concerned, after slaughtering a goat

27. **CCR's** are convenient for appraising behaviour in terms of approved norms

ukukeleza	to 'keleza'	to attend school
ukuphusha uMarx	to push Marx	to study hard
ukushaya umgwaqo	to hit the road	a taxi driver who works very hard
ukuphakama	to rise	to work, to entertain
ukurola	to roll someone	to take someone out; to entertain someone.

28. The choice of a particular **CR** serves to ridicule or encourage out-group members to aspire for upward mobility rather than remain horizontally satisfied with the little that they possess. Refer to the following **CCR's**.

umjondolo	a shack house	a teacher who has T4 or PTC, old teacher's certificate which is not diplomas.
i-unfinished story	an unfinished story	a student who did not complete his degree/diploma; a drop out

i-Ph.D.

Phahladira

a poor driver

29. They stress, emphasize and describe a situation so well that the listener usually feels that no better words could have been used. They intensify and reinforce the point under discussion.

Ukutoboza to fondle, poke to withdraw money with a bankcard. The **CR** refers to the punching of numbers on an auto-teller machine

icando that which has been/ food
is to be chopped

30. They serve as harmless substitutes for tabooed, shameful and embarrassing words

iroll-on roll-on a private lover
umlenze wepulangwe a wooden leg an extra-marital affair
ukukhotha to lick to drink liquor

31. Speakers are always in the process of substituting new words for older forms. Speakers tend to be observant in a manner different from that which is applied in the creation of proverbs, idioms or riddles. The **CR's** reveal that urban dwellers are great researchers.

32. **CCR's** are a symbol of admiration for the fast moving urban way of life while observing traditional law and order.

isimo sendlala poverty reason for stealing is low economy
resulting in poverty which compels
people to resort to theft
ukugxuma ne-chain to jump with a chain to be chained; to be arrested

33. **CCR's** are employed to condemn the characteristic of old fashioned stupidity demonstrating a spirit of revolt against established values, while glorifying the new at the expense of the old, even when the new is valueless.

usebentini	simpleton	a stupid person
istini	a brick	a conservative person
isibhemisane	the one who causes others to smoke	a pig headed person

34. They reveal one's standard of education

Illiterate and semi-educated speakers fail to pronounce consonant sequences incorporating an -r- cluster.

ukubhleka	to break	to abandon a habit for a while
uBhlenda	Brenda	to steal a car
iwindisikilini	a wind screen	a face

In this way, **CCR's** serve to bridge the gap between educated and their semi-educated counterparts. They have a valid role to play in meeting the needs of those who have insufficient English or Afrikaans.

	Semi-literate	
iphalagilafu	a paragraph	a short person
ilali	rally	rally
	Literate	
ipharagrafu	a paragraph	a short person
i-rali	a rally	a rally, a big crowd of protesters or followers.

35. They reveal one's proficiency in English and Afrikaans

One's standard of education is also revealed in a speaker's proficiency in the handling of English and Afrikaans or in code switching.

i-Praktiese Taal	Praktiese Taal	stale news or an old fashioned person.
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i-inter-varsity	inter-varsity	a student who has attended different Universities
Fly now, pay later	Fly now, pay later	to buy liquor on credit
i-N.B.S.	Natal Building Society	Nearest Bottle Store

36. They reveal the speakers state of mind

Songs which are sung by liquor drinkers reveal their state of mind. Drinkers also tend to use a lot of ambiguous expressions such as:

i-enamel tank	an enamel tank	a drinker who does not get inebriated after drinking immense volumes of alcohol
isimiramuwa	a 'smiramumuwa'	Smirnoff (coined word)
i-social worker	a social worker	a person who entertains people with all his money once he is drunk

37. **CCR's** encourage relationships/ marriages between formerly hostile clans. In this way, they form a new sense of brotherhood for African nationalism which does not betray one's origin. This happens when a listener realises that the speaker belongs to the same social class.

i-comrade	a comrade	a political affiliate
iqabane	ANC member	an ANC member

e.g. In the new Government of National Unity, speakers are sometimes heard saying 'My Nationalist Party comrade.'

38. **CCR's** contain elaborate and rich linguistic forms. The wholesale importation of words, particularly from English and Afrikaans, is rarely carried over lock stock and barrel. Inflectional and derivational affixations feature prominently in the

creation of **CCR's**. Secondly, there is a lot of blending, de-ideophonisation, contraction, compounding, coinages et cetera, in the creation of new Zulu terms.

39. They entail free spending and a fast living spree.

abafana	boys	Those who engage in illegal transactions, whether young or old
ukushaya	to beat the	a driver who steals his boss's
iShayina	Chinese	money
ukungcoka iginsa	to pluck a vehicle	to steal someone's vehicle

40. When they are employed in formal settings, they are used to relax the tense formality normally characteristic of official transactional interactions. In this way they help members to escape unhappy work situations.

ukuphusha uMarx	to push Marx	to study hard
ukugqunga	to turn dark	to fail
impinda mzala	a repetition cousin	to repeat a class or course

41. Euphemistic expressions

ijazi lomkhwenyane	a groom's coat	a condom
KwaMzala	at cousin's place	in jail
ukugqashuka	to snap	to die

42. Those which show gratitude and other sentiments

danki mlungu	Thank you, white man	to thank a passenger as he pays his taxi fare
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43. Most educated speakers attribute the use of **CCR's** with trying to communicate one's thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying themselves whether or not the language with which they accomplish this, is mixed.

44. Things which appeal to we-code members have a wealth of synonyms. Of primary importance to an urban dweller is money, a female or male partner and mobile facilities.

Goyvaerts (1988:235) mentions that in Nigeria "The domain or topic which scores highest in this respect is the one that involves reference to sexual matters, followed by those vocabularies related to illegal transactions."

CCR's referring to girls in the Black Durban speech community include the following terms: itsatsatsa, inapa, ithekeni (young buck), iponi (a young horse), inusta, ingane (baby), umuntu (human being), ikhanda (head), iphothebhuli (a portable), isikithi (a skirt), insikazi (a female), i-first grade, u-small-i

CCR's referring to Money

udenariya	denarius	money
u de Klerk	President de Klerk	R2-00
isihlahla	a tree /shrub/bush	R10-00 note

CCR's referring to vehicles

imvalaphu into	an envelope, a thing	a Mercedes Benz
yokuposa	for posting letters	
iBe My Wife	a B.M.W.	a B.M.W.
iconsi	a drop	a sticker stuck on a vehicle for security reasons

CCR's referring to Food

imendri	a mineral/drink	lemonade
inyetsi	meat	meat (disguising the Zulu word inyama)
uleveni	numeral 11	a goat

45. Things which do not appeal to the youngsters are also given a host of names.

(a) **CCR's referring to policemen**

iduku	a scarf	a policeman
i-sixteen	a sixteen	a policeman
amaphuza	those who delay	policemen
	those who drink	

(b).

CCR's referring to females with low morals

umziki	a reedbuck	a prostitute
ifisha	a fisher (of men)	a prostitute
i-16 valve	a 16-Valve Toyota	a girl who is very fast in accepting a man's proposal.

46. **CCR's** serve to fill the inevitable gaps in a speaker's vocabulary, where a new social environment impinges upon a Black interlocutor wherever s/he goes.

5.6 RECAPITULATION

In this chapter, we have looked at the social functions of **CCR's**. Scholars such as Turner (1974) mention that it is sometimes useful to know the **code** so as to re-structure an existing infrastructure. **CCR's** are a fertile field for further linguistic research.

Lastly, **CCR's** help us to realize that the Zulu language is going through a stage of modernisation and linguistic change. They are proof that Zulu is alive, dynamic and not static. This is a challenge to the purist view of a static language. Social functions of **CCR's** also reveal various factors which contribute to the behaviour of people including the influences of human behaviour on the society at large. **CCR's** are a source from which to draw when short of the relevant terminology. They are thus a source from which to draw in order to empower and enrich one's linguistic world.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the previous chapter, we looked at the social functions of **CCR's**. We discovered that they reveal a lot of information about human nature and the way people acquire items for their material use. These functions are an eye opener to most of the people who have read this thesis. The reader learns that **CCR's** have a great impact on the economy and social conditions of people living in the **GDA**.

6.1 SUMMARY

This study has been an attempt to clarify a number of basic questions regarding the phenomena of **Language Variation** and its implications for linguistic usage. The data were collected in the **GDA**.

There are two very important aspects to National Language Policies. These comprise the ideological aspect, which is concerned with mobilising the nation's sentiments and attitudes towards the acceptance and use of selected speech forms. The second aspect involves the technical side, which looks at the practical elements which are concerned with the problems of implementing the ideology (Whitely 1968:150).

In order to fulfil the foregoing ideals, we had to look for applicable aims and objectives of **Language Variation**. The main objectives were:

- (a) to identify at least seven domains where different language varieties were employed in the Black Durban speech community;
- (b) to investigate the social attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards **CCR's**;
- (c) to trace the origin of and development of the non-standard varieties which are employed by the Black Durban speech community;
- (d) To investigate the impact of **CCR's** on the economy, and social conditions

in the **GDA**.

In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, the term '**Language Variation**' and its dynamics had to be clarified. Empirical studies on research methodologies had to be resorted to in order to give a sound base to the theoretical framework. The study followed ethnomethodology and ethnographic approaches to empirical research in order to capture data on **CCR's** in the most objective and valid manner.

The next step was to take a deep plunge into field work. I became a participant observer in a number of domains around the Durban Metropolitan area. Interviews with prominent Zulu speakers were also conducted in order to obtain their input regarding **CCR's**.

The research was conducted in seven Black townships, situated in the **GDA**. In addition to this, research was conducted in Westville prison, transportation modes, hospitals, streets, taverns, educational units, and in soccer clubs. I entered the afore mentioned domains as a 'friend of a friend' a lecturer, or an ex-class teacher in order to become a participant observer in various activities of the Black Durban speech communities.

Furthermore, written questionnaires were administered and answered by respondents. The aim of the questionnaire survey was to measure the magnitude of linguistic transformations in the **GDA**. Another aim was to capture the attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards non-standard varieties of Zulu. Interviews were also conducted for the same purpose. Checklists were also resorted to in order to secure valid and objective information.

The collection and analysis of data alone was not adequate in accounting for **Language Variation**. Bokamba, (1988:21) mentions that we need data on the communicative behaviour of speakers - the whys and how's of[Language Variation].

A description of the social context of **CCR's** as observed in the Black speech community of the **GDA** was exposed. This involved a presentation of the origins and development of linguistic **CR's** used in the **GDA**. **CR's** included slang, Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, jargon, borrowing, interlarding, neologisms, which were covered under the term **CCR's**. The linguistic make up, characteristics and classification of **CCR's** were also carried out. We had to identify the speakers of **CCR's** in the various targeted domains, where they are employed, as well as the topics which are normally discussed by the interlocutors.

Socio-psychological functions comprising **CCR's** as spoken in the targeted areas were uncovered. It was revealed that **CCR's** entail elaborate and rich linguistic forms. They incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people at a particular era in the history of mankind.

At least 75% of the 800 collected lexical items which were regarded as non-standard, unfiltered /impure talk, were found to be known and used by most Black Durban speakers. School children were found to have carried these **CCR's** to the classroom situation where they were penalised for employing them.

This state of affairs is also reported by Nomlomo (1993). She mentions that students are penalised for using their home language at school (Nomlomo 1993:146).

In this study, it was revealed that certain lexical items have diverse meanings even though they share similar shapes. In addition to this there are lexical items which have different shapes but refer to one and the same entity. It was also revealed that poor communication between the in-group and out-group members is purposeful. The aim is to keep the conversation as cryptic as possible for the out-group members. Once a term is extensively known, it ceases to be a cant word, and contributes to the spread of slang which may ultimately become standard educated speech.

The study also revealed that many linguists are aware of the changes that are taking place in the Nguni languages and have published several articles to assist language

planners towards their task of identifying regional and non-standard dialects in South Africa (Mfusi: 1990) and (Schuring; Thipa; Radebe; Koopman; Msimang:1992)

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

A thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in Black urban areas is vital before policy makers can make decisions about recognised **language varieties** in South Africa. This issue is very important for language planners. For instance, it has been implied for a long time that the use of mixed languages or unfiltered talk in South Africa are posing a serious threat to indigenous languages. Language planners and purists cannot pretend that their indigenous languages are still static.

Msimang cites Thipa (1989: 181) who criticises the linguists' adherence to micro-linguistic while neglecting the importance of macro-linguistics, and argues that

"A balance needs to be struck between two approaches to language teaching ...the instrumental and the sociolinguistic approaches. The instrumental approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if standardised. This approach aims at improving the aesthetic and functional characteristics of language... It also sees some languages as being better than others. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards languages as a source which can be employed to improve social life."

Thipa (1989:181)

Ansere (1971: 163) looks at the long term implications of the influence of colonial languages on West African languages. He remarks that more and more linguistic items associated with social, technological, educational and political influence would continue to be incorporated into the local languages although purists would make attempts, either, to stop or lessen the flow. He argues that as more and more people who do not speak the same languages come together for various reasons including migration, and inter-marriages, they would be more likely to use English as a common language. In this way, they would gradually lose the ability to speak their mother tongue fluently. Elitism would also affect indigenous languages as speakers would claim to be modernised and prefer to employ prestigious languages at least in public

places.

However, optimistic factors still exist in the South African situation. There is a strong sense of pride in interlocutors' mother tongue. There is also a feeling of indigenous identity. Great efforts are being made to preserve indigenous languages in educational institutions, governmental transactions et cetera. Thus, it is very unlikely that the indigenous languages will be extinct in South Africa. Akere (1971) predicts that our indigenous languages "would continue to exist, but would contain a great many foreign elements from especially English".

Msimang (1992:18) also supports the idea of incorporating non-standard varieties of a language into the standard form where he states:

" It is regrettable that the varieties investigated [] are never taught in schools or discussed in grammar books because they are not standard. This has made the performance of the pupils to be very poor in their language studies because they are discouraged from learning the spoken language and forced to assimilate a language which only lives in textbooks. "

(Msimang, 1992:18)

Msimang supports Ansre when he suggests that when teaching a standard language, this should be described as a mother body of many registers. Msimang (1992:18) contends:

" While we need it as a formal register we must also recognise other formal registers, like **isikhwetha** (language of Xhosa initiates) **isicamtho**, or Tsotsitaal (lingua franca) used by urban youth, **Hlonipha** (language of respect by Nguni married women and even men) etc."

Calteaux (1994:283) emphasises the need to investigate the language use and language acquisition of small children in Black urban speech communities.

It is clear that there are many factors which contribute to the development of, and adherence to non-standard varieties. Some of these are linked to the massive migration of people from rural areas to the townships. In order to avoid ridicule in the new environment, the emigrants are compelled to use the urban non-standard varieties. Various other reasons have been highlighted in this study which contribute to the use of **CCR's**. The employment of non-standard varieties is manifesting itself in educational institutions and we cannot pretend that our vernacular forms as well as standard Zulu remain static. Positive measures to resolve the problem need to be considered in order to accommodate the new lexical items in schools and in the whole speech community.

Both standard and non-standard varieties of the Zulu language should be encouraged in the classroom. This would provide personal enrichment on the part of the interlocutors. In this manner, children would become mini researchers substituting and preserving old words while creating new ones. This should sharpen their wit and ingenuity in the use of language varieties. In this manner, they would become more observant and appreciative of their language.

Interlocutors should be gently discouraged from importing words from other languages. This process has, however, long term implications. Importing foreign words is an indication that contemporary interlocutors are not as competent as their Zulu forbearers in creating new words, and this leaves them with a big challenge. The Zulu interlocutors are capable of creating new words, as we saw in the case of isiLovasi and in various other language varieties where speakers coin their own expressions. In this manner, interlocutors would take pride in their own language because this would be their own creation. **CCR's** spoken in the Black Durban speech community are a Durban Zulu koiné because they are a mixture of the many languages which are spoken in this area.

The scope for this study was limited, covering only the **Language Variations** found in the Black Durban speech communities. Even the varieties from the targeted domains, could not be exhausted in this study. There is a lot of useful vocabulary

from domains not included here. For instance, language varieties which are employed in the race course, golf course, shacks, hostels, factories, music centres, varieties employed by the Rastafarians, words resulting from modern technology e.g. **isikhahlamezi** or **uthushu** 'fax' et cetera, leave a wide scope for further research in the field of **Language Variation** in Zulu. The domains and social classes mentioned in the foregoing paragraph have their own vocabularies which are different from the list procured for the present study.

It is also time that there was a **Dictionary of Zulu slang** or of **Zulu Koinés**, as is the case with other standard languages. We have seen that most of the vocabulary which is regarded as impure and unfiltered talk, is actually very fertile. Words such as **indumeyana**, (a centre player) **umtshokodi** (a goal keeper), etc are perfect Zulu words which lack recognition, although they are employed by approximately 60% of the Durban speech community. It must also be mentioned that radio Zulu is making a tremendous and appreciative effort in creating new terms which need to be disseminated into the entire Zulu society, including schools.

Ansre (1971:164) mentions that the trend is rather in the direction of multilingualism rather than loss of local languages. Perhaps one day at least, our Nguni and Sotho languages will merge just like the present day English which was basically a Germanic language but has now a lot of adoptives from the Romance languages especially French, Latin, and Greek (Ansre 1971:164).

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE 1 TRANSPORTATION SIGNS



TO TOWN



UNIT C



SECTIONS
E, F & G



SECTION
AA & BB



SECTION Q



LOCAL



TO ISIPHINGO

ANNEXURE 2

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. a **dialect** which is **not-standard** alludes to a variety which does not conform to the 'institutionalised norm'. It is the opposite of a standard dialect which refers to written formal form of language (Calteaux 1994:44)
2. The term **decode**, refers to the process whereby the super-ordinate or prestige variety is developed into grammars, dictionaries and literatures, by an academy or similar bureau.
3. **dialects**: According to Crystal, a **dialect** is a regionally or socially distinct variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Any language with a set of reasonably large number of speakers will develop into a dialect, especially if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from one another or if there are divisions of social class.
4. **styles**: Van Wyk maintains that style refers to the relationship between language and ceremony, usually manifesting itself in a continuous spectrum ranging between formal and informal. It does not occur independently but functions in complex interrelations with other components. Style depends on the interlocutor's audience and setting.
5. **registers**: a register refers to discrete sets of lexical items and expressions adapted to specific topics and social situations. Msunang maintains that a register is a speech variety which one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify vis a vis the person or group he is communicating with.
6. **jargons**: jargon refers to a language of the professionals.
7. **inter-speaker variation** refers to variations which are found between speakers who speak the same language.
8. **standard language**: According to (Msunang 1989) a standard language means a prestige variety of a language which is used within a speech community.
9. **local dialects** are varieties which are spoken within a geographical region.
10. **cants** refer to the peculiar varieties of language used by special groups who use many allusive terms in a speech event.
11. **slang** refers to words which are new, flashy and popular. Some of these words are short lived others last for ever.
12. **Tsotsitaal** is a language of the young city-bred 'confide men who are able to speak some English and Afrikaans (in the case of the Black Durban speech community) and are also able to manipulate the White system (Coplan 1985:162). Slabbert (1994:39) states that Tsotsitaal is not a 'serious language' It is a language people relax with and which they use when they are 'happy' among good friends, and when there is no possibility that their use of language will be frowned upon.

13. **they-code members:** According to Gumperz: (1972a), a **they-code** is a **code** that one uses to communicate with outsiders or non-group members.
14. **modernism** is measured according to international indexes which comprise communication, education and consumption of durability. It is accompanied by prestige, eliteness, power and civilization. Where modernism prevails, vernaculars bear a low profile and are of secondary importance. This is because the transplanted languages play a vital role in terms of job opportunities and socio-economic advancement.
15. **host language** means a language which receives vocabulary from other languages.
16. **interlocutors** refers to participants in a speech event.
17. **Greater Durban area (GDA).** In this study, **GDA** includes Black residential areas (formal and informal) within a radius of 35km from the City of Durban.
18. **koinés** Wardhaugh (1989:37) refers to koinés as a form of speech shared by people of different vernaculars. Some of the koinés comprise vernaculars of the speech community.
19. **neologisms** refer to creation of new words (see 4.4.2.4).
20. **regional dialects** refer to language varieties which are geographically distributed.
21. **internal variation** alludes to **Language Variation** within one language.
22. **contact variation** arises as a result of contact with speakers of other languages.
23. **ethnography** refers to spontaneous speech which is studied in its natural context.
a method?
24. **ethnomethodology** means the availability to a member of common sense knowledge of his society.

CHAPTER TWO

1. **social variations** refers to specific social groups or classes which are distinguishable from other social classes. Social classes refer to regional origin, occupation, intermarriages, religion, church membership, sex, nationality, sport, leisure activities, psychological differences, linguistic skills, verballity, forms of entertainment and personality (Wardough, 1989:149).
2. **sociolects** in language is associated with specific social classes or categories which are distinguishable from other social groups.
3. **social networks** refer to the individual's relationship to the society at large, through individual contacts that a person has rather than some kind of abstract group and its statistical characteristics.
4. **isiHhosi** is a variety that is spoken in hospitals.
5. **isiNyuvesi** refers to a variety spoken in prisons. This is so because prisoners usually speak of 'University' when referring to prison life including the structure of its buildings.
6. **isiThaveni** is a variety spoken in taverns and shebeens.
7. **isiTransi** alludes to a variety employed by public as well as private commuters.
8. **isiNgura** is a variety used by soccer players, fans and commentators.
9. **isiThawa** is a township variety. It originates from the 'township' code. 'Town' is known as **isithawa**, hence isiThawa variety.
10. **isiGura** is derived from 'guru' which means a place of learning in Sanskrit. Thus, IsiGura means a variety which is spoken in educational units.
11. **thesauri** is a plural of **thesaurus**. Thesaurus means the sum total of all the vocabulary which is stored in the human mind.
12. **vernacular** alludes to the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community.
13. **argot** refers to allusive language of a special group.
14. **colloquialism** originates from colloquial variety which refers to mixed language varieties.
15. **L2** is a language which is not one's vernacular.
16. **L1** is a speaker's vernacular.
17. a **mother tongue** is one's native language. It is an original language to which other languages owe their origin.
18. **creole** According to Lehiste (1988:94) a **creole** is a language from a pidgin, having become the native language (first language) of the children of a group of speakers.
19. **we-code members:** This term is used for interaction with in-group members. (Kamwangamalu, 1988:323)
20. **code-switching:** According to Bokamba (1989:278) code-switching is the mixing of words,

phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential switching

21. **code-mixing**, according to Bokamba (1989 :278) is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from distinct grammatical (sub-) system within the same sentence and speech event. That is CM is intrasentential switching.
22. **matrix code** is vernacular, host code, mother tongue or L1.
23. **embedded code** is the same as L2. It is a language which is not one's mother tongue.
24. **guest code** is a foreign language or L2. It is the same as number 24 above.
25. **genetic** is a term which has to do with origin of languages. It refers to the natural growth of languages.
26. **typological** The study of the evolution of types of languages. The classification according to type.
27. **rewards**: A reward means a favourable return made after an utterance.
28. **costs**: An unfavourable return made after an utterance results in a cost on the part of the speaker.

ANNEXURE 3

INSTRUCTIONS AND ANALYSIS OF THE PILOT STUDY

GENERAL INFORMATION

1 SEX

[V]	[X]	
Males	Females	Total
[16]	[34]	[50]

The preceding table reflects that there are more females who answered the questionnaire as compared to the males, which does not give a good picture of the study we are investigating. According to observation by the investigator, it would seem that most users of speech codes and registers are male subjects from the point of view of their occupations.

2 AGES

[V]	[X]	[0]	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	Total
13-18	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	
1	34	7	3	2	1	2	50

The bulk of the subjects who answered the questionnaire was between the ages 19 and 24. This is not surprising given the type of subjects who answered the questionnaire. This was also not a good representation of the population universe of the **GAD**.

3 AREA

V	CHESTERVILLE	0
X	CLERMONT	0
0	KWAMASHU	10
1	KWAMAKHUTHA	1
2	LAMONTVILLE	1
3	UMLAZI	15
4	OTHER BLACK AREAS	16
5	WHITE AREA	8
	TOTAL	50

The inclusion of residential areas was to establish the number of students who live in Black townships and who may be speaking the various CR's in question. Again, answers to this question, did not cover the Black residential areas needed by the study. It also revealed something about the composition of the class, that is; there were no Zulu 3 students who came from Lamontville and Clermont, although these areas constitute the strongest stronghold of non-standard varieties. The reason for such as an assessment is because Chesterville and Clermont/ Clernaville are the oldest Black townships with a powerful history of politics and other socio-economic dilemmas. Hence, the pilot study had to be re-organised.

4. **MARITAL STATUS**

[V]	[X]	[0]	[1]	
single	married	divorced	widowed	Total
40	9	1	0	50

This information was needed to check whether it is single or married couples who use codes and registers in the greater Durban Area. The questionnaire revealed that it was single persons who used speech CR's, thus producing unreliable results. A lot of older people both educated and uneducated, spoke non-standard varieties.

5. PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME.

[V]	Less than R500	1
[X]	R500	2
[0]	R1000-1499	1
[1]	R1500-R1999	1
[2]	R2000-2499	0
[3]	R2500-2999	1
[4]	R3000-R3499	4
[5]	3500-3999	1
[6]	4000+	1
[7]	No income/not working	2
[8]	No income/ not working	36
TOTAL		50

The above table indicated that most respondents were unemployed. This was another discrepancy in using a specific group of respondents for information affecting the whole Black Durban speech community.

6. EMPLOYMENT

[V]	Full time (employment)	17
[X]	Part-time employment	3
[0]	Housewife	0
[1]	Scholar	30
[2]	Self employed	0
[3]	Pensioner	0
	TOTAL	50

Some students misunderstood full-time as referring to **full time student** and put ticks under full time employment although they were not employed. This was an eye opener to the researcher and became imperative for the final questionnaire to be drafted in Zulu so as to avoid these misinterpretations caused by language deficiency.

7. HOME

[V]	4 roomed house	24
[X]	Big House/ more than 4 rooms	16
[0]	Shack/ informal house	0
[1]	Hostel	1
[2]	Flat	2
[3]	Renting a flat	5
	TOTAL	50

Although most students who live in four-roomed houses and in other informal settlements are speakers of speech **CR's** the results proved that students were bashful to reveal that they lived in such settlements. The investigator has knowledge of this from the problems of poor accommodation and overcrowdedness as the main reasons for poor performance at University level by students. The results reflect that a lot of respondents come from prestigious homes which renders a defective instrument.

8. **STAY**

[V]	Less than a year	5
[X]	1-2	3
[0]	3-4	11
[1]	5-6	6
[2]	10+	25
	TOTAL	50

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

Number of children between		Adults above
0 and 17 years		18 years
[X]	Less than 2 in the house = 10	=6
[V]	2 -3 =19	=7
[0]	4-5 =11	=8
[1]	6-7 =7	=14
[2]	8+ =3	=15
	TOTAL 50	=50

When I asked students to work on the check lists of Durban **CCR's**, it was surprising to notice that female students who had a lot of male siblings in their families knew almost 100% of non-standard varieties which were spoken in the various townships, taverns, et cetera, and those whose brothers and sisters had experienced prison life although they themselves had never experienced prison life. The same state of affairs was revealed in the soccer codes. For instance, even female students knew that the code, **iBhinoni** means standard 9. During the days of Bantu education, Standard 9 was known as **Vorm/Form 4**. I have already mentioned that the word '**Benoni**' stands for the figure four, following a player who wore a soccer jersey, marked **4**.

10 EDUCATION

		Respondent	Mother's	Father's
No Education	V	=0	=2	=8
Primary	X	=0	=19	=12
Secondary	0	=0	=20	=27
Training College or technikon	1	=0	=9	=8
University/Tech	2	=20	=0	=0
TOTAL	50	50	50	50

It became clear that the education of the parents contributed a lot in using mixed varieties. Those whose parents were educated, knew the **CR's** which were spoken in hospitals and educational units; that is; depending on their parents' professions. Those whose parents did not receive higher education, contributed a lot in the creation of township and transportation codes and registers because most of their brothers and fathers either owned taxis or were drivers/ taxi conductors et. cetera. Others worked in industrial areas dealing with motor mechanism.

11. MOTHER TONGUE

		Respondent	Mother's	Father's
Zulu	V-	45	45	45
Xhosa	X-	5	5	4
Sotho	0	0	0	0
Tswana	1	0	0	0
Ndebele	2	0	0	0
Venda	3	0	0	0
Tsonga	4	0	0	0
English	5	0	0	0
Afrikaans	6	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	1
TOTAL		50	50	50

New terms were created from standard Zulu language itself and from mixing standard Zulu with English or Afrikaans. This is usually done by the educated sector and those who attended/attend multi-racial schools. There is also a new trend towards mixing Zulu with Xhosa even if the parent/s are not mother tongue Xhosa speakers. This has political implications. Students mix languages for prestigious reasons even if they are standard Zulu speakers.

12 **RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING**

Hospital	V	-1
Educational Unit	X	-9
Tavern	0	-7
Township	1	-15
Soccer	2	-0
Transport	3	-0
Prison	4	-0
Zulu	5	-10
Other	6	-8
TOTAL		-50

A few students spoke English on campus, while others engaged themselves in Tsotsi and Township **CR's** even on campus. Those who are liquor drinkers spoke tavern code because most students own shebeens on campus residences as a means of survival and this enables them to pay their tuition fees. Thus, tavern dialect is very alive on university campuses, investigated. Those who come from small families and who are not outgoing, spoke standard Zulu amongst themselves. The rest of the students feel more at home with university life in their third year on campus. Thus, these students are well versed with University **CR's** particularly those who are residents on campus.

13 **RECORD REGISTER BEING USED**

		At Home	At Work/ friends	Amongst Travelling sport	playing	School
V	Hospital	-4	-2	-0	-0	-0
X	Education	-7	-14	-7	-6	-6
0	Tavern	-1	-3	-3	-1	-1
1	Isicamtho	-11	-3	-28	-7	-4
2	Soccer	-0	-0	-3	-0	-25
3	Transport	-0	-1	-2	-31	-3
4	Prison	-0	-0	-0	-0	-1
5	Zulu	-19	-7	-7	-5	-8
	Total	50	50	50	50	50

(a) At home

Some students spoke hospital register at home because their parents were in the Medical profession. Those whose parents are educated also spoke educational codes and registers at home.

14 **STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE**

		Prestigious	Neutral	Low
V	Hospital	-4	-4	-6
X	Education	-16	-14	-2
0	Tavern	-0	-0	-3
1	Township/ isicamtho	11	-26	-15
2	Soccer	-6	-2	-2
3	Transport	-10	-11	-5
4	Prison	-3	-0	-17
	TOTAL	50	-50	-50

16% of the students thought educational **CR's** were prestigious. This was because education is more linked to prestige as compared to other **CR's** which are all, a

product of education. Others thought transport CR's were more prestigious than others because owning a car is a sign of prestige. In short, respondents had mixed feelings regarding the various CR's and they claimed that those which were favourable to them were more prestigious and others were of a low status.

15 REGISTER USAGE PERCEIVED AS

		Prestigious	Zulu	Make moderate	Secretive
V	Hospital	5	18	-2	-4
X	Education	18	6	-7	-2
0	Tavern	6	1	-2	-15
1	Township/ Isicamtho	10	16	-23	-5
2	Transport	7	3	-5	-4
3	Soccer	9	1	-5	-5
3	Prison	0	5	-6	-15
		50	50	50	50

Most respondents thought that Zulu, educational and township CR's were the most prestigious varieties. This was followed by soccer and transport varieties. Prison and tavern varieties were the most secretive. According to the results, township variety was mostly used to normalise and make light of a tense situation.

ANNEXURE 4.

LISTS OF CCR'S

1. PRISON CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA (ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EMAJELE ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETEHLO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
Afrika	freedom from prison life	ukukhululwa ejele
ubhekile	you are intelligent	uhlakaniphile
ibhenepiasi/ ibinneplaas	a restricted prisoner who is not allowed to work outside prison premises	isiboshwa esingavunyelwe ukusebenza ngaphandle kwamagceke asejele.
ibhigi-fayifu/ i-big five	prisoners who are spies for prison authorities	iziboshwa eziyizimpimpi zezikhulu zasejele
ukubhinca ithawula	a contest where partners are chosen	ukumodela kwabesilisa ejele ukuze baqokwe ngabanye njengezintombi zabo.
isibhilivane	a letter, n' brief (Afrikaans)	incwadi ebhaliwe
bopha useveni	a plot to do something grave	uzungu lokwenzakalisa omunye
i-efosi/ i-air force	prisoners who are experts in escaping from prison	iziboshwa ezingompetha ekweqeni ejele
ifleyi-mani/ n' vry man (Afrik.)	a prisoner who is not dangerous who is allowed to work outside prison premises	isiboshwa esethenjiwe esingasebenza ngaphandle kwasejele.
ifolishi	dagga	insangu

hhomu	way of saying hello by the -28	indlela yokubingelela yama-28
isihlangu	a shoe	isicathulo (sasejele)
uhlathi	a prisoner who is not conversant with prison life	isiboshwa esingazi lutho ngempilo yasejele.
ifotini	a prisoner who is serving a short term sentence of three months	isiboshwa esigwetshwe izinyanga ezintathu
iHollander	a prisoner who is feared for stabbing people	isiboshwa esidume ngokugwazana
i-school boy	a prisoner who is a boy friend of another prisoner	isiboshwa esinobudlelwane neziboshwa ezingama-26
iJananda	an Indian person	iNdiya
ikheshi	a string used by prisoners to escape from jail	intambo esetshenziswa yiziboshwa uma zifuna ukweqa ejele.
ukukhipha intambo	to be hanged. a death sentence	ukugwetshwa intambo
khorekthi/correct	way of saying hello or fine which is employed by the 26's	indlela ama-26 abingelela ngayo
ukhwini waseLandani	a female prisoner	isiboshwa sesifazane
iklobhu	a prison cell	igumbi leziboshwa ngokwamacala azo
ulindaphi?	where do you live?	uhlalaphi?
ukumasha	to be released from jail	ukukhululwa ejele
imbilijisi	prison attire	izingubo zasejele
umehlomane	well versed with	inkakha, eyazi ukusuka

uMeyija	prison life, experienced prisoner a prisoner who holds an official position while serving his sentence	nokuhlala ngempilo ngempilo yasejele isiboshwa esinesikhundla esikhulu khona ngaphakathi ejele
i-mini-gate	food for prisoners which is regarded as insufficient	ukudla kwasejele okungazesuthisi iziboshwa
udonsa mfana	mush-room/ soup which causes constipation making it difficult for someone to relieve himself.	amakhowa adliwa ejele adala ukuqumba kwesisu
unamba-2	police man and other authorities in jail	amaphoyisa nezinye iziphathi-mandla ejele
unginike	a prisoner who is serving sentence for committing theft, burglary and the like	isiboshwa esiboshelwe ukugqekeza
inkantini yesithathu	dagga	insangu
inkantini yesibili	tobacco	ugwayi njenge-Boxer
inkantini yokuqala	cigarettes	usikilidi
unozala	a female prisoner	isiboshwa sesifazane
inqatha	a White person	umlungu
inqola	a police van	imoto yamaphoyisa
unyana	a prisoner who has an affair with another prisoner	isiboshwa esinobudlelwane nesinye isiboshwa
phakama	be engaged in duty	sebenza

isipikili	any type of money	noma yiluphi uhlobo lwemali
ikuqhinwa	to be hand-cuffed	ukuboshwa ngozankosi
Samani	every thing is alright	konke kulungile
uSayitsheni No. 1	a trustworthy prisoner	isiboshwa esenziswa imisebenzi yokwethenjwa edinga ukuqikekela
uSayitsheni No. 2	a prisoner who is handy, who does all sorts of odd jobs	isiboshwa esenziswa imisebenzi e y e j w a y e l e k i l e .
ukushaya itoli	to win a case because of answering questions asked in an intelligent manner.	ukwazi amazwi ecala ukuze likuthethe
ishogani	shot gun	isibhamu i-shot gun
i-slave	a prisoner who is sold to a farmer while serving sentence	isiboshwa esidayiselwe ukuyosebenzela umnini- pulazi ngesikhathi sisadonsa isigwebo saso.
ustonyana	a prisoner who is submissive to the the instructions of the 26, 27, 28	isiboshwa esivumile ukusebenzela ama-26, 27, 28.
itende	a temporary hut a cell	indlu yesikhashana
1-28	a prisoner who is feared by other prisoners	isiboshwa esesatshwayo
i-26	a prisoner who is serving sentence for committing theft and burglary	isiboshwa esiboshelwe ukugqekeza nokubamba inkunzi
i-27	a prisoner who is	isiboshwa esiboshelwe

	<p>serving sentence for blood crimes</p>	<p>amacala egazi</p>
ivayiza	<p>sleeping blanket for a prisoner</p>	<p>ingubo yokulala isiboshwa</p>
i-wyfie	<p>a male prisoner who is treated as a girl friend or wife by another male prisoner.</p>	<p>isiboshwa sesilisa esiyintombi yesinye isiboshwa sesilisa</p>
Yes	<p>hello! A way of greeting which is employed by the 26's</p>	<p>indlela yokubingelela yama-26</p>
Yiza Ndoda!	<p>E!choo! Way of expressing pain used by prisoners</p>	<p>esikhundleni sokukhala uma isiboshwa sishaywa sisimze sithi: Yiza Ndoda.</p>
ziyakushiya eziya encemeni	<p>you are behind times</p>	<p>kushiwo esiboshweni esingalulandeli ilimi lwasejele</p>
inhlamvu	<p>money</p>	<p>A term used by the 26's to refer to money</p>
isikhafula- magazi ngomlomo nangamakhala	<p>a 28 prisoner. Because he is always armed with a gun or knife.</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiyi-28. Kushiwo ngoba sikhala siphethe isibhamu noma ummese.</p>
uNongoloza	<p>The first prisoner to resort to homosexuality was a 28 called Nongoloza.</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiyi-28 esinobudlelwane nesinye sesilisa kwezocansi.</p>
injivane	<p>a prisoner serving over three months</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiboshwe ngaphezu kwezinyanga ezintathu.</p>
isipikili	<p>a term for money (28's)</p>	<p>igama lama-28 lemali</p>

**2. HOSPITAL CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN
AREA
(ULIMI LWASEZIBHEDLELA ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-fo bhayi fo	a night pan/ bucket	isikigi
i-194	an aids patient	umuntu ophethwe yingculazi
uku-aresta	to die	ukufa
iB.B	a boarder baby	ingane ehlwele ikwesinye isibhedlela
isitofu	an injection for preventing pregnancy	umjovo wokuvimba inzalo
i-D.O.D.	Died on arrival	ofike esibhedlela esethule
i-M.C.	a mental case	ogula ngengqondo
i-M.K.	mercy killing	ukwelekelela isiguli ukuba sife
i-M.V.A.	motor vehicle	isiguli esishayiswe yimoto
i-P.M.	post mortem	ukuhlolwa kwesidumbu
R.I.P.	rest in peace	lala uphumule ethuneni
S.T.D.	sexually transmitted diseases	izifo ezithathelwana ngocansi
i-S.V.O.	sleep over night	ukulala / ukuhlwelwa esibhedlela
Q.I.D.	four times a day	kane ngelanga
P.R.N.	only when necessary	kuphela uma kuswelekile
i-P.O.P	plaster of Paris	ukhonkolo
T.D.S.	three times a day	kathathu ngelanga
i-T.T.O	take treatment out	phuma nento yasesibhedlela ngaphandle kwemvume. Kungaba umuthi noma yini
ukuya ewashawozi	said when one wants	uma ungafuni ukusho

	to conceal her whereabouts	lapho uya khona
emasokeni	clinic for sexually transmitted diseases	eklinikhi yababhajiwe
isluyisi rumu/ isluyisi (a sluice room)	any dirty home/house is called a sluice	indlu ehlale ingcolile (esibhedlela isluyisi rumu) sihlala izingubo ezingcolile zeziguli
stethi/stat	urgently	ngokushesha okukhulu
ithwiri	a patient who is in a critical condition	isiguli osekwembulwa kwembeswa kuso
ewashawozi	at the showers. Said when someone wants to conceal her whereabouts.	lapho usuke ukhona uma weqe emsebenzini
izinkobe	tablets/ pills	amaphilisi
i-streyithi shift/ i-straight shift	a straight shift is from 7a.m. to 4p.m.	osebenza kusukela ngo 7a.m. kuya 4p.m.
ijazi lomkhwenyana	a condom	ikhondomu
ijiphsona	a gypsona. The act of practising witchcraft or the use of African medicines in hospital is called 'i-gypsona.' Nurses who use African medicines prepare the stuff in empty medical containers labelled gypsona.	ukusebenzisa imithi yesiZulu, ubuthakathi
ikhofi	medicine illegally given to a patient	umuthi onikezwa isiguli udokotela engashongo

	without doctors permission	ukusisza ezinhlungwini.
iklabishi	mentally derailed patient	isiguli esesikhubazeke umqondo
i-Aids	aids virus.	ingculazi
i-aphgasko	to be down in the dumps	ukuzizwa umzimba uphansi
ephansi	to make a bed in such a way that it gives a pi- cture of someone who is asleep	ukwembathisa imicamelo embhedeni imele umuntu ongekho
amadlelo aluhlaza	attire for theatre	izingubo zasethiyetha, isiguli esizoyiswa ethiyetha.
entshebeni	to sleep on a matrass on the hospital floor.	phansi kumatilasi wasesibhedlela.
i-ephisteksizi	nose bleeding	umongozima
um-Ethiyophiya/ umTopiya/ iLadeshi	starving child/person	ophethwe yisifo sendlala
ukufaka izinyosi	to initiate labour pains	ukususela umuntu okhu- lelwe ukuze asikelwe ukubeletha
ififi	a patient who is in a critical condition	isiguli esigulela ukufa
ififiza	to take a nap during working hours	ukuntshontsha uthathe isihlwathi emsebenzini
isifonyo	a nabulasing machine	okokuphefumulisa isiguli esehluleka ukuphefumula
i-G.A. umgosi	General assistant a gossip/ secret	owelekelelayo esibhedlela impahla efihliweyo ngoba

	any stolen material is called 'umgosi'	intshontshiwe esibhedlela
uguvela	a Matron	u-Matron
i-H.I.V.	HIV virus	igciwane lengculazi
uhhafu deyi/ u-half day	to work half day	uhhafu wosuku/ Uku sebenza uhhafu wosuku
amahhovisi okugcina/ ama-last offices	mortuary	indlu yezidumbu/ isemakhazeni.
imbongolo	treatment for T.B. (tuberculosis)	umuthi wokwelapha i-T.B.
imparampara	a woman who has had more than 5 confinements	unkosikazi osezale amasu angaphezu kuka 5
ingududu	a pregnant woman	inkosikazi ekhulelwe
i-strabhisimusi	a squint eyed person	ingxemu
ulo, olaba, ulaba	those in charge superiors	abasezikhundleni ezibhedlela
umahlombe	Sister or Matron	onamaqhuzu emahlombe
imali yamaqakala	increment for nurses which was effected in 1990. Most nurses have swollen ankles caused by the type of work that they engage in.	imali ekhushuliwe yamanesi
mane	at 4 o'clock	ngo 16h00
unamba 8	an alcoholic	odakiwe, ophuze utshwala, osaba yisigqila sotshwala.
enamba 8	clinic for alcoholics	ekliniki lalabo abehlulwa wuphuzo
ukundi-endishiya	to gossip about other people. The word is coined from super abundant use of	ukukhuluma ngabanye

nd and tsh in the speech of
the interactants.

ingqovela	night pan	isikiki/ isikigi
ukuntontelisa	to record untrue facts about the patient's condition	ukubhala amanga ezi- ncwadini zesiguli
ukuntshontsha isiguli	to break regulations and give medicine to a patient without doctor's permission.	ukuphula umthetho kadokotela mayelana nesiguli
ukusithapha/ uku-sit up-a	to work from 7h00 till 19h00	ukusebenza kusukela ngo ngo 7h00 ekuseni kuya ku 19h00 ebusuku
iskizo	a schizophrenia	ohlakaniphe kwaze kweqa onezinto zakhe e z i n g a t h a n d w a ngumphakathi. Osethathwa njengomsangano
ukutofa	to take injection as a contraceptive	ukuthatha umjovo woku- vimba inzalo

3. **EDUCATIONAL CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE
GREATER DURBAN AREA
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZIKOLENI ZASETHEKWINI
NAMAPHETHELO)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-unfinished story	a student who did not complete his studies at University/school	Isitshudeni esingaqedanga eNyuvesi/ esikoleni
i-Arabhu	a male student who has no girlfriend	isitshudeni esingaqo-nyuwe sesilisa
i-B.M. (Black Material)	private lover	ishende
ukubhala uthisha bani	to write the subject taught by lecturer teacher/so and so	ukubhala isifundo sikathisha okufundisayo
ukubhala ulekshara bani	to write lecturer so and so. To write subject taught by lecturer so and so.	ukubhala isifundo selecturer ekufundisayo
awucace njengefoya	be explicit in your explanation like an open space	khuluma kucace njengendawo evulekile okuthiwa yifoya
ukubhalansa	to have a lot of boy-friends	ukuba namasoka amaningi angaphezu kwelilodwa
ukubhanka	to play truant	ukungayi emaklasini
ukubheka kurejista	to marry a female student	ukushada kukathisha nengane yesikole abeyifundisa
ukubola	to study hard	ukufunda, ukutadisha
ukuba ngu Carl Meinhof	to be a Zulu lecturer	ukuba nguthisha wesiZulu

ukuchitha ileksha	to cancel a lecture	ukukhansela ikilasi kungafundwa
icici elingestopha	not to have a a boy-friend/ girl-friend	ukungabi nasoka/ nantombi
ukucothela	to propose love only to new students	ukweshela amantombazane aqalayo ukufika esikoleni angazi lutho ngempilo yakhona.
amadabuka	a student who is a non resident	isitshudeni esihlala ngaphandle, hhayi ehostela
ukudayivela amagwava aluhlaza uDenisi	to rush for things that are far from you A question paper for an examination that has not yet been written	ukugijimela izinto ezingaphezu kwakho imibuzo yephepha elingakabhalwa
ukudla amakhozi	to pass all subjects	ukuphasa zonke izi- fundo
isidumbu isidumbu	to speak on behalf a student who is due to be registered by a staff member without the knowledge of the school principal.	ukukhulumela ingane, ingane ekhulunyelwe esikoleni
ukwenza ichelsea bun	to get too acquainted with a person. To take advantage of a person	ukwejwayela umuntu ngosekweqile
ukufaka eprentini	to do wrong things in front of people	uma kukhona abagila imikhuba phambi kwa- bantu

ukufaka esithombeni	to engage in passionate acts in front of people	ukwenza izinto ezi-phathelene nezothando phambi kwabantu
ukuflayela eHearthrow Air Port	to visit O-Block at the University Of Durban Westville	ukuvakashela e O-Block yase Durban Westville
ukuba fra ifresha/i-fresher	to be frustrated a first year student.	ukukhathazeka umsila, isitshudeni esifikayo esikoleni
ifrinjo	a female student involved with a school teacher.	izintombi zothisha eziyizingane zesikole
i-G.T.I.	violent boys. The Get Them Irritated gang.	ama 'Get Them Irritated' abafana abanothuthuva
umgangatho	students who wear classy clothes	oswenka abangabafundi
isigele eGibhithe	school to occupy the front desk in class	isikole ukuhlala emadeskini aphambili ekilasini
goba lapho ngigoba	said when a teacher has run short of the subject matter	uthisha usho kanje uma esephelelwe ulwazi
ukugomora	when two people of the same gender are romantically involved	abesilili esisodwa abathandanayo
ogoqweni ukugqobha	a dirty place to study	indawo ewubunuku ukufunda, ukutadisha
isigqoko ukugqunqa	someone in high authority to fail/ to be depressed embarrassment	ophethe isikhundla ukufeyila/ ukuphatheka kabi/ ukuphoxeka
ukugudla amahhovisi	to go searching	ukuhamba uzifunela

	for information from teachers'/ lecturers' offices	ulwazi emahhovisi othisha
iH.P.K.	(N.I.P.) not in front of people	hhayi phambi kwabantu
orharharha/ohahaha	Black children who go to multi-racial schools	izingane zabaMnyama ezifunda ezikoleni zezinhlanga ezixubile
ukuhlanzwa yikhompyutha	when one's name does not appear on the computer	kushiwo uma igama lakho lingaveli ku-sibalimagama
ehlathini	night school	ezikoleni zasebusuku
ukuhlinza imbuzi	to copy questions for an examination which has not yet been written.	ukukopela imibuzo yephepha elingakabhalwa
umhloli	an old student at an educational institution	isitshudeni esidala endaweni yokufundela esikade safika.
ukuhola	to withdraw money from a students account	ukukhipha imali ebhange yisitshudeni
ukuhuzuka	to fail	ukufeyila
i-ilithi	a sophisticated student	isitshudeni esiyicwicwicwi
i-imphothi	to be visited by a lover	ukuvakashelwa yisithandwa sakho
i-intavasithi/ i-inter-varsity	a student who goes from one University to another without finishing any course	isitshudeni esesawaqeda wonke amaNyuvesi kodwa esingapasi noma esingaqedi.
ukukeleza	to study	ukufunda

ikhodesa	a teacher's meeting	umhlangano wothisha, wabafundi
ilambu	one who is not shy to do things in front of other people	ongenamahloni okwenza into ebukwa
umlenze	part of a course/ subject	ingxenye yekhozi/ ingxenye yesifundo (esasele)
oLundi	in the Department of Zulu	ophikweni LwesiZulu
ePitoli	in the Department of Afrikaans	ophikweni LwesiBhunu
imali yebhulukwe	raised salaries for females	amaholo enyusiwe abe-sifazane
ama-multiple choice	stew with different types of meat	isitshulu esididiyele izinhlobonhlobo zezi-nyama
umalume	an old student who has been attending at a school/university for a long time	isitshudeni esidala esikade safika esikoleni
imbuzi	questions from an exam that has not been written	imibuzo eputshukile
emgura	at school	esikoleni
impaka	a student registered without the knowledge of the headmaster	umfundi abhalise ngaphandle kwemvume yomphathi sikole
impinda mzala	a student who is repeating ora class/	uma umfundi ephinda ikilasi/ i-course

	course	
ukuncwada	to be educated	ukufundiswa
amandondo	indoor games	imidlalo edlalelwa endlini
ukuneka	to laugh/ grin/smile	ukuhleka uveze amazinyo
amanabukeni		
ukungachithi	to be unintelligent	ukungahlakaniphi
umphako	answers to an examination that is still to be written	izimpendulo zephepha lokuhlolwa eliputshukile umfundi angena nazo endlini yokubhala
ukuphusha uMarx	to study (from Marxism)	ukutadisha
ukupitshiza	to have an affair	ukuthandana nengane
igundane	with a young scholar	yesikole (esencane)
iRainbow Chicken	teachers without diplomas/degrees	othisha abangakabi nawo amajazi/iziqu
ukushaya ngeshawa	to allow lovers to use of your bedroom	ukudedela abathanda- nayo basebenzise ikamelo lokulala
ukushaya ibhasari	to make a free phone call	ukushaya ucingo mahhala
ukushisa erawundini	to be famous/popular	ukwaziwa/ ukuduma
ukushuna	to meet with ones lover during a break	ukubonana nothandana naye ngesikhathi sekhefu
umshutheko	a student regi- stered without the permission of a headmaster	umfundi obhalise nga- phandle kwemvume
ukusithela	a person who is very clear in his field of study	umuntu ofunde wagogoda emkhakheni wakhe

ukuskwata	to occupy a room which is not rented by you	ukulala ekamelweni lokulala ongalikhokheli
amasosha	maggots in the food	izimpethu ekudleni
ukuthatha	to visit a student	ukuvakashela izitshu
i-international	registered with another University at his campus	deni ezifunda kwenye iNyuvesi
ukuthatha idomestic flight	to visit a student residing on the same campus or University/campus as yourself	ukuvakashela izitshu- deni ezifunda eNyuvesi yakho ezindlini zazo
ukuthola idabuli eksvoja (double exposure)	to attain 10% for a test or examination	ukuthola u 10%
isithuthuthu	a pupil registered without the permission of the headmaster	umfundi obhalise ngaphandle kwemvume kathishanhloko
ukutilosa	male teachers involved with their female students	othisha besilisa aba- thandana nezitshudeni zabo
ukutoboza ngoKhansasi	to make a phone calls	ukushaya ucingo
ukutshweleza	to be involved with a school girl (teacher)	ukuthandana nengane yesikole unguthisha
ukuphuzisa uphoyizeni	to teach wrong matter to the pupils	ukufundisa izingane izinto eziphambene neqiniso
ukuvula i-albhamu	to watch people as they pass by	ukupha amehlo ukudla kwawo/ ukubuka abantu bedlula noma behamba
ukuba yigundane	to go to work	ukuya emsebenzini kube

	while otherworkers are on strike	kutelekiwe
ukuya ehlathini	to go on strike	ukuteleka

4. TAVERN REGISTERS AND CODES IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUPHUZA UTSHWALA ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
iBoeing 747	a spacious shebeen	ishibhi elibanzi
isibhemisane	a big lounge	ilonji
	a serious minded person, a stereo-typed person	onolaka,osheshe ashaye
igosti	a person who is serious minded, and who is ever scolding.	ohlale ethetha sengathi udla umanyazini
ibhoza	one with a lot of money	onemali eningi
ukubhulwa	to be arrested	ukuboshwa
isicathulo	dead drunk	odakwe kakhulu
umdayisi	always happy	ohlale ehleka noma kungasahlekisi
identi	a debt	isikweletu
ukusponja	to mix liquor with a mild drink	ukuxuba utshwala nesiphuzo esilula
ukudesha	to mix liquor with a mild drink	ukuxuba utshwala ukuxuba utshwala nesiphuzo esilula
ukudesha ngesibindi	to drink without mixing liquor	ukuzibulala ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukusponja	to drink without	ukuzibulala

	mixing liquor	ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukushaya iskuni	to drink without mixing liquor	ukuzibulala ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukuduzuka	to be dead drunk	ukuphuza kakhulu
ukudlalisa	to entertain females	ukujabulisa abesifazane
ukwethenjwa	to buy liquor on credit	ukukweleta utshwala
ukufakwa encwadini	to be entered in the credit book	ukubhalwa ebhukwini labakweletayo
ufofinga	one who covers her glass with fingers so that we cannot see what she is drinking	ofihla ingilazi yakhe ngeminwe emine ukuze kungabonakali ukuthi uphuzani, nokuthi uthele kangakanani
i-German tanker	one with a big tummy who takes large gulps of liquor	onesisu esikhulu esilayisha kakhulu utshwala
ukucela	to ask to buy on credit	ukucela ukukweleta
ukugqagqamuka	to show off to be over excited	ukugcwaneka uma usuphuzile, ukubhayiza
igundane	a liquor drinker who conceals his drinking habits	ofihlayo ukuthi uyaphuza, ontshontshayo
i-hasling-i	to suffer from hasling	ukomiwa, ukuqalekela utshwala

ukuhlikihla izandla	to beg, for liquor	ukuncenga umuntu
ikhofi	a person who is dead drunk	ophuze kakhulu
imbazo	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
buyagawula	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
buya-cost-a	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
incwadi yokuphila	a credit book	incwadi yabakweletayo
inyuku	money	imali
iskwadroni	many liquor drinkers in a drinking spree	abaphuzi abaningi
itrikota	three nips of	amaniphu amathathu
izinwele zenayiloni	nylon hair due to excessive liquor intake	uphuphusana lwezizwele olukhombisa izimpawu zokuphuza kakhulu
ukuba yi k.o.	to be dead drunk	ukweqiwa utshwala
ikhemisi	a bottle store	ibhodlela-sitolo
ukukhahlela	to drink the last	ukuminya isichibi
kokugcina kwehhashi	last straw of liquor in a bottle	sokugcina ebhodleleni
ukukhotha	euphemistic name for drinking liquor	igama elihloniphisa ukuphuza
ukuphuza imoni	to quench morning hang over	ukuqeda ibhabhalazi
ukulahla i-sight	to disappear out of sight	ukuhamba, ukusithela
ukulanda isigqoko	to return to the place where there was party the previous day to check if there are'nt any remnants from the	ukubuya ngakusasa uzo- bheka ukuthi akukho lutho yini olusale ngayiazolo

	previous day's drinking spree.	
isilevu	remnants of liquor in a bottle	isichibi ebhodleleni
umdlalisi	an entertainer of girls	othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane
umadlalisa	an entertainer females, a womaniser	othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane
umaphuza	a police man	iphoyisa
ukumashela	to die	ukufa
kwelesithathu		
ukubhoda	to die	ukufa
ukugqashuka	to die	ukufa
ukusenka	to die	ukufa
ukuphothuka	to die	ukufa
ukwemboza	to kill	ukubulala
umashonisa	money lender with high interest rates	obolekisa ngemali ezalayo
imbiri	beer-lager	ubhiya
isibharara	beer	ubhiya
imbiza	Castle milk stout	isitawoti
imoni	morning hang over	ibhabhalazi
imoni-face	sunken face due to morning hang-over	ubuso obukhombisa ibhabhalazi
imoto encane	illegal sorghum beer	ugavini
i-N.B.S.	nearest bottle store	ibhodlela-sitolo
unamba 17	LION Lager	i-Lion lager
ibhubesi	Lion Lager	i-Lion lager
inapa	a young girl	owesifazane osemncane
ukunatha (hlonipha	to drink word for drinking)	ukuphuza

ukuncinda (hlonipha	to drink liquor word for drinking liquor)	ukuphuza utshwala
ndiza manje, ukhokhe kamuva	fly now and pay latter	phuza ngesikweletu ukhokhe kamuva
izindoni	Castle milk stout	Castle milk stout
ukungcolisa itafula	to display various liquor brands on the table	uku-oda utshwala obuningi ubudeke etafuleni
ngizokutshela ngo-4	you better forget	khohlwa
ingqibhobho	a fire arm	isibhamu
ingadla	a fire arm	isibhamu
ingqayi	a fire arm/something entertaining	isibhamu
inkantini yesibili	beer lager	ubhiya
inkolotshe	a heavy drinker	ophuza kakhulu
i-German tanker	a heavy drinker	ophuza kakhulu
izintuthwane	illegal sorghum	isiqatha,into yaphansi
izinyembezi	European liquor	utshwala besilungu
zenkosazane		
isponsa	man who likes to entertain females with money and liquor	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesimame
i-oros	man who likes to entertainfemales with money and liquor	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa
iP.E.	(phuza eyes) eyes affected by liquor intake	amehlo asebukhombisa izimpawu zotshwala egazini
iP.F.	(phuza face)	ubuso osebukhombisa

	face affected by liquor intake	izimpawu zotshwala
iP.M.	(phuza mouth) mouth affected by liquor intake	umlomo osushiswe utshwala
u-poloni	mouth which has been affected by liquor intake. pinkish/ reddish mouth	umlomo osushiswe utshwala
imbebevane	mouth which has been burnt by liquor intake	umlomo oshiswe utshwala
umxhasi	man who likes to entertain females in a shebeen	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesifazane ejoyintini
iphenguwini/ i-penguin	one who is very stingy, who does not want to share liquor with others	ongafuni ukuthengela abanye utshwala ejoyintini
umaphipha	one who drinks all sorts of brands put before him	ophuza konke
isaswishi	one who drinks anything put before him/ who drinks all sorts of beverages	ophuza konke, noma yini ebekwe phambi kwakhe
ukuphonsa imfologo	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
ukucwayitha	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
ukuhayijekha	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
iphophza 9644	Charles Glass Castle Lager	iCharles Glass Castle Lager
izipikili	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff
i-1818	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff

ismiramuwa	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff
isiphini	a bottle opener	isiqekebuli
amaqhizane	Castle Milk stout	Castle Milk stout
isitibhili	Castle Milk stout	CAstle Milk stout
umvusanduku	Castle Milk stout	Castle Milk stout
ukuringa	to tell	ukutshela
ukuthuma	to tell	ukutshela
ukusenta ibhola	to initiate a drinking session to open a liquor bottle	ukuba owokuqala ukuphuza utshwala uma ibandla lihlangene
isikhiye	the on who initiates a drinking session	lowo oqalela abanye ukuphuza uma ibandla lihlangene
ukushaya	to vomit/ to drink by means of a bottle	ukuphalaza
i-trumpet/ itrampethi		ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukufloza	to vomit	ukuphalaza
ukushaya icilongo	to dink by means of a bottle	ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukushaya ibhodlela	to drink all the contents in a full liquor bottle	ukuphuza lonke ibhodlela lika- gologo
zinkila	come here	woza lapha
zwakala lapha	come here	woza lapha
khehla lapha	come here	woza lapha
shayisa lapha	come here	woza lapha
ukushisisa imoto	to warm oneself up by taking a sip	ukuqabula umzimba ngokuthi qhabu otshwaleni
ukushunqa	to scold	ukuthetha
usonhlalohle	an entertainer	umxhasi othanda ukusi- abaxakekile ejoyintini

isudi	full liquor	ibhodlela eligcwele likagologolotshwala
i-sealed	full liquor bottle	ibhodlela eligcwele likagologo lotshwala
ukusula umjuluko	to quench thirst	ukuqeda ukunxanwa
isundu	few in number	abantu abayingcosana
isitafu	different kinds of liquor brands	izinhlobonhlobo zotshwala
ukuthela	to drink large gulps of liquor	ukuphuza sengathi uyathela awusenawo umphimbo
izamba	unripe liquor	utshwala obungavuthiwe
amazenze	drinkers who have no money to buy liquor for for themselves, who are dependent on other drinkers	abaphuzi abangenamali abankashela kwabanye
izimbungulu	same as above	same as above
ukuthinta	not to be a heavy drinker	ukungaphuzi kakhulu
isitlamatlama	morning hang over	ukuba nebhabhalazi
umtholampilo	a shebeen	ishibhi, ijoyinti
isipoti	same as above	same as above
isitini	a stereo-typed person	onentamo elikhuni, onenkani, ongancengeki
umhlabathi	heavily drunk person	oweqiwe utshwala
uflorile	He is heavily drunk	weqiwe utshwala
ubuhlabile	same as above	same as above
uyabuhubha	He drinks heavily	ophuza ngosokweqile
umqhafi	a person who partakes in liquor drinking	ophuzayo/ ngumphuzi
umzingeli	Hunter's Gold	iHunter's Gold

ukuvusa	to commence drinking after a break in a drinking session	ukuqhubeka nokuphuza emva kwekhefu
ukuxhuma ipayipi	to urinate	ukuchama
ukutshora	to urinate	ukuchama
ukushibiza	to be a drinker of liquor	ukuphuza utshwala

5. **TOWNSHIP CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EMALOKISHINI ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-16/sikstini	policeman	iphoyisa
i- 6-5	to be a squint	ingxemu
uku-andastenda/	to be flexible	umuntu ozikhululekele
uku-understand-a	open-minded person	nangomqondo
u- ankela	uncle	umalume
isathwa	firearm	isibhamu, ivolovolo
i- ayina/‘eine’(German)	one	okukodwa
i- ayiningibhodi	a person with pliable legs and with flat back, flat buttocks/ breast	intombazane enama-bele alengayo apacakile ngenxa yokungaziphathi kahle/ intombazane enamabele akhombisa ukuthi seyadlula kubantu besilisa abaningi
ubafo	brother	umfowenu
ibala	a lie, empty	amanga/ into engekho
owebala	White man	oMhlophe (umlungu)
ibhadu	pair of good shoes	izicathulo
ukubhalansa	to see each other	sobonana ekuseni
emoreni	in the morning	
ukubhamuka	to reveal a secret	ukukhipha imfihlo/ ukuyilahla lento
kwelika Bhanana	in Durban	eThekwini
ibhathini	mandrax drug	izidakamizwa
ibhazuka	firearm	isibhamu/ ivolovolo
umbhengane	a bag	isikhwama

ukubhimba	said when things are not running smoothly	into ephikayo engasivumi isimo esithile
iBhinoni	four/4	okune
ukubhobha	to wait	ukulinda
ibhomu	fat person, an obese person	umuntu omkhulu/ okhuluphele
ibhodlela	dagga	insangu
ublomu	Government police	iphoyisa lakwa-Hulumeni
ukubopha	to stop/ to cease	ukuma
ibrazo	brother	umfowethu
ukubreka	to cease for a while/ to be out of stock.	ukuma kwento okweshashana/ kungaba ukuphuza/ ukudayisa
ibrowuni	R20-00 note	R20-00 oyiphepha
ubru	brother	umfowethu
ukuba buhlungu	to be ugly (as if you are feeling pains)	ukuba mubi sengathi uzwa izinhlungu
ukucamtha	to talk	ukukhuluma ngokwesisela abanye bangezwa
ukucanda	to eat	ukudla
icando	food	ukudla
ukuchama	to bribe	ukugwazisa
ukuchela	to show off/ to frighten	ukwesabisa
umchilo	a tie	uthayi
ukuchitheka	well read/ learned person	umuntu ofundile
ichweba	money	imali
cibuka	to go and relieve one self/ to	ukuzikhulula, ukuhlala

	stay/ live with	
ukucijisa	to pay back ones money/ to return someone's thing	ukubuyisela into obuyitshelekile
ukucikica	to write	ukubhala
icikico	a letter	incwadi
ukucisha	to die/ to cause to die	ukufa
ziyacusha	things are coming alright/ running smoothly	izinto zihamba kahle
ngocwayiba	at night	ebusuku
idark-zwaca/ idakhizwaca	beautiful person with a dark complexion	umuntu omuhle onebala elinsundu, indoni yamanzi
edastini	down/ on the floor/ ground	ukuvuka phansi othulini
ukudayisa	one who likes to talk/ to laugh/ an extrovert.	umuntu othanda ukuhleka 'njengo-sales man.
ukudayivela	to do something	ukugijimela izinto
amagwava aluhlaza	beyond ones ability /to interfere in an affair	ezingaphezu kwakho, ukugaxela endabeni
ude Klerk	R2-00 coin	uR2-00 omusha
udenari	money	imali
uDenisi	goat (a goat from Folweni which was treated like a human being by Mr Sabelo, the owner. It died in 1992, at Folweni	imbuzi eyayiphathiswa okomuntu yase Folweni ngo 1992

idisho	food	ukudla
edladleni	at home	ekhaya
edlozini	at home	ekhaya
umadlandawonye	S.A.C.P. member	i-S.A.C.P.
ukudoba	to fall asleep/ doze	ukulala
idrayishi	Three	okuthathu
idreshu	three	okuthathu
idrishi	three	okuthathu
emDubane	in Durban	eThekwini
iduku	policeman	iphoyisa
idweshu	two	okubili
i-E-20	a girl who falls in love with every man who comes her way, like a kombi/taxi which does not choose passengers	intombazane ethandana nabafana abaningi. Intombazane eqoma wonke umfana oyeshelayo Ifana neNissan E-20 evumela yonke inhlobo yamaphasenja, engakhethi muntu.
ukufahla	to arrest	ukubopha
ukufaka i-aromethi	make a story sound interesting by adding lies while narrating it.	ukuzakhela indaba engekho uze uqambe amanga, ukuhlobisa indaba.
ifakisa	food	ukudla
ukufasa	to get married	ukushada
ifawundeshini	food	ukudla
ifisha	a prostitute	isikhawundane/ isi- ndindwa
ifloshemu	a cow/ a beast	inkomo
ifriji	a coward	igwala
ifrozana	wife	unkosikazi

igada	dagga	insangu
imgalakada	prostitute	isikhawundane/ isifebe
igaqa	coin money	imali ewuhlweza
ukugejeka/	to be hungry/	ukulamba
ukugeyijeka	an empty stomach	ukulamba
igeji /igeyiji	food	ukudla
esigele	at school	esikoleni
umgelemba	prostitute	isikhawundane/ isifebe
ukugidla	to sleep	ukulala
ukuba yi-glavu	an ugly person	umuntu omubi
lokubhoksa/lesibhakela		
igoni	knife	ummese
ukugoqa	to propose love, to tell lies	ukweshela, ukuqamba amanga
ugoqo	master key/ universal key, home made key	ukhiye ongekho emthethweni woku- vula izimoto
igosti	something bad/bad news someone who is bad news	into ebhedayo
ukugqebeza	to display or show off/ to dress well	ukugqoka kahle
ogqoke umsebenzi	refers to workers who wear uniform at work	abasebenzi abafaka izingubo zokusebenza emsebe- nzini
isigqoko	a leader/ an authority	umholi
igrendi	R1000-00 note	R1000-00 oyiphepha
igrini	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
igriza	granny	ugogo
igrotha	ugly woman	inkosikazi embi
emgura	at school	esikoleni
isiGura	school register/code	ulimi olukhulunywa

		ezikoleni
ukugwaja	to be frightened/ afraid	ukwesaba
isigwajane	a coward	igwala
ugxa	a friend	umngane
ukugxuma nesheyini	to refuse to do something	ukunqaba ukwenza into
ihansi	a crook/ a person with a hoarse voice from smoking and drinking	umuntu oyisigebengu, onezwi elihoshozelayo ngenxa yokubhema noma ukuphuza.
ihanta	policeman	iphoyisa
ihata/ irhatha	policeman	iphoyisa
amahharha-shame (Ag! (Afrik.) Shame!)	black patches on the face	izishishi ezimnyama ebusweni
ukuhaza	to fail	ukungaphumeleli
iheheba	a letter	incwadi
ihhafu thayiga	R5-00 note	R5-00 oyiphepha
uhhayi-hhayi	toyi-toyi dance	itoyitoyi
ehhosi	in hospital	esibhedlela
isihhosi	hospital code ro register	ulimi lwasesibhedlela
ihhoki	matches	umentshisi
i-houtjie (Afrik.)	matches	umentshisi
isihlahla	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
umhlogosi	an umbrella, hat, cap	isambulela, isigqoko, ikepisi
ihlonyana	palm of a hand, five	impama, isihlanu
inkinobho	pill/ tablet/ mandrax	iphilisi lezidakamizwa
inyetsi/inyesi	meat	inyama
irhiye, i'g', 'igee'	R1000-00 notes	R1000-00 ongamaphepha
ukujampisa	to reveal a something concealed	ukukhombisa ukuthi kukhona okushaya

		amanzi, ukudalula into
ijangajanga	a person who is half clever and half stupid	umuntu ongahlaniphile
ukujayiva	to pick pocket	ukweba
ukujeka	to hold someone in a reckless manner	ukubamba omunye kabuhlungu
umajika	dancer expert	umpetha wokudansa
umjitha	boys	abafana
isijithazi	tsotsi language	ulimi loTsotsi
isikebhe	sleeping bed	umbhede
ukukeqa	to propose love	ukweshela
ekerekeni	in church	esontweni
ezikhindini	in prison	ejele
ukukhipha ubhozo	to show off	ukubukisa
ukukhipha unyawo	to show off	ukubukisa
ukuyokhomba	to go and perform a hold up/ to rob a shop/ bank, of goods or money with a gun	ukuyogqekeza uhlomile
ukhrimu kaPhreshi	a handsome guy	insizwa ebukekayo
ukukhumuka	run away	ukubaleka
umakhwapheni	a hidden lover	ishende
ukukhwifa	to show off	ukubukisa
ukuba namakinati	to have pimples on the face	ukuba nezinduna ebusweni
isikithi	girlfriend	intombi
ikliphu	R1000-00 notes	imali engu R100-00
ukukreya	to find something	ukuthola into ethile
ulanga	one	okukodwa

isilayi	dagga (small portions of)	insangu
ukulebula	to propose love	ukushela
umlenze wepulangwe	private lover	ishende
uleveni	goat	imbuzi
isileyi	old lady	umama
isiluka	old woman	inkosikazi endala
amadlandawonye	members of SACP	amalunga eSAPC
umagriza	grand mother/granny	isalukazi
umahosha	prostitute who is a thief	isikhawundane esi-ntshontshayo
umampara	a stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ukuba manzi	to be beautiful	ukuba muhle into eyenza umuntu ashintshelwe yisimo semizwa uma eyibuka
umbhayi	a stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
umasibhikili	street dwellers	abahlala ezitaladini
embizeni	in Johannesburg/Gouteng	eGoli
i-mendri lemonade (from 'mineral')	ulamula, unemenayidi	
uMengro	a person who claims to be intelligent whilst he is not	umuntu ozitshela uku- to be thi uhlakaniphile engahlakaniphanga
kwelikaMeyija (Major)	in the toilet (major thing in one's life)	endlini yangasese
ukumfumbatha	to hold him/her with closed hands, to contain him or her. To be liked by someone. A person	ukukhonzwa wumuntu

	who has high regards for you.	
ukufumbathisa	to let someone hide a gift/bribery with both hands	ukupha umuntu into kodwa umfumbathise ngesandla
itiye	bribery/fraud/nepotism	okutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
umngeni (colour of UMngeni river is like tea)	bribery/ fraud/ nepotism	okugwazelwe, ukutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
ukumphatha	to hold him her with closed hands, to contain him or her. To be liked by someone. A person who has high regards for you.	ukukhonzwa wumuntu
umlungu	to force to be superior	ukuthanda ukushayela abanye imithetho
ukuminya	to conclude, to come to an end	ukuqeda into obuyenza
imonza	a person with buttocks	umuntu onezinga ezinkulu
emoreni	in the morning	ekuseni
impandla	old shoe	isicathulo esidala
impatha	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
impintshi	friends	abangani
eMsamo	in Johannesburg/Gouteng	eGoli
umshini	a machine	a fire-arm
kwaMzala	in jail/ in prison	ejele
umzala	stupid person/ blood cousin	umuntu oyisilima
inapa	girl	intombazane

ukuncinza	to steal	ukweba
ukuncwada	to be literate	ukufunda
oncwadile	a learned person/ an educated person	umuntu ofundile
indele	three	okuthathu
indlovu	a bus	ibhasi
isandumbazi	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ukuncuka	to take/ to steal	ukweba
ingadla	a gun	isibhamu
ingam'le	rich (White) man, a boss	umlungu ocebile/oyisigwili
ingamule	rich (White) man, a boss	umlungu ocebile/oyisigwili
ingemu	rich White man	umlungu ocebile/ oyisigwili
ukushivara	to be scared	ukwesaba
ukungashivari	not to be afraid or frightened of a situation	ukungesabi
ingcosi	baby/ small child	ingane encane
ingijima	a watch	bheka
ingozi	one who likes to praise himself	umuntu ozitshelayo
ingqayi	film/ bioscope	ibhayisikobho
ukungqebeza	to scream/ cry loudly	ukukhala kakhulu
ingqibho	a gun	isibhamu, ivolovolo
ungqimu	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ingwe	a person with black marks on the face/ a person with scabies	umuntu onamabala ebusweni
ezingxazeni	in prison	ejele
ezincane		
ingxazi	trousers	ibhulukwe
injomane	a watch	iwashi

ukunika uMlazi 5	to slap someone with the palm of a hand	ukushaya umuntu nge- mpama
ukunkawuza	to smoke cigarette	ukubhema ugwayi
izinkobe	tablets (medication)	amaphilisi
inkomba/ inkombankombane	seven (7)	isikhombisa (7)
inkri-nkri	a telephone	iwashi
insengane	a suite	insudi
insikazi	female	umuntu wesimame
untanjana	a neck tie	uthayi
entshobha	at the shops	ezitolo
intshodi	shirt	ishethi/ iyembe
intwana	young boy	umfanyana
inusta	young lady	intombazanyana
inyamazane	a young A.N.C. member	ilunga le A.N.C.
eNyuvesi	in jail	ejele
isiNyuvesi	Prison code or register	ulimi lwasejele
inyuki	money (any kind)	imali
inzangane	any written document/ proof	noma yiliphi iphepha elikhomba ubufakazi
ipayipi	dagga	insangu
ukuspana	to work	ukusebenza
espanini	at work	emsebenzini
i-oledi	old lady	umama
opendiwe	a black-European/ a Black person who one behaves like a White.	uMlungu, umuntu ozenza umlungu
iphahlaza	glasses,	izibuko

	spectacles	
ipharagrafu	a short person	umuntu omfushane
iphaxiya	a gossip	ixoki, ohlebayo
iphihliza	glasses/ spectacles	izibuko
ukuphoqoza	to run away	ukubaleka
ukuphotha	to tell lies	ukuqamba amanga
iphothasi/shi	lies	amanga
iphothebhuli	to be small and dainty	omncanyanyana, othandekayo
ukuphusha	to study hard/ to be in love with someone	ukuthandana nomuntu, ukutadisha
eziPini	in Pinetown	e-Pinetown
isipinsi	two	okubili
iponi	young girl	intombazanyana
iqabane	member of the A.N.C./ P.A.C./ S.A.C.P. alliance	ilunga le A.N.C./ P.A.C./ S.A.C.P.
isiqeda	disliked person	umuntu ongafunwa muntu
oqeqeshekile	a spoiled child/ a rude person	ingane engenamfundiso
irabha	fat cooks/a condom	amagwinya/ ikhondomu
ukuba rayithi	to be considerate	ukuhambisana nesimo
umreva	Reverend	uMfundisi
ukureya	to travel	ukuhamba
irimu	old shoe	isicathulo esidala
ukuroja	to stab	ukugwaza
iroloni	private lover/ hidden lover	ishende
iruji	R50-00 note	R50-00 ongamaphepha
umSADAFU	Member of the	iphoyisa lezoku-

	South African Defence Force	vikela
ukusala	to be imprisoned	ukuboshwa
usebentini	a foolish person	isilima
ukusekena	to come back	ukubuyela emuva
isesteri	a sister	udadewenu
zisha ngani	what is going on	kwenzakalani
zishaphi	what is going on	kwenzekeni
ishapizi	to be unpopular	ukungadumi ngalutho/
	to be dislikable	ukungathandeki
ukushaya ingqayi	to go and see someone, to take a photograph	ukuyobona umuntu ukuthatha isithombe
ukushaya isigingci	to scratch one's body	ukuzenwaya
ukushaya ishayina	to take bosses' money without permission	ukuthatha imali kabasi ngaphandle kwemvume yakhe
ukushayisa	to come across fortune	ukuthola impahla elahlekile/ edukile
ushekazi	a gossip/ a scandal- monger	umuntu ohlebayo
ishibusi	a handsome boy	umfana obukekayo
ishisa	matches	umentshisi
ishokhi	R20-00 note	R20-00 oyiphepha
ukushweba	not to get what you wanted	ukungayitholi into obuyifuna
usiba	a policeman	iphoyisa
isigqoko	policeman	iphoyisa
ukusilayiza	to go/to walk	ukuhamba
islovasi	males with township fever	iqembu labantu abasazizwa bebasha, abakhuluma ulimi

		olungejwayelekile olukucashisayo, nabaphila impilo yokungaqondakali kahle ikheli labo.
isiLovasi	Tsotsitaal	ulimi lokweqisela lwaseThekwini
ukusphlesha	to take a bath	ukugeza
isuzela	a person with big buttocks	umuntu onezinqa ezinkulu
isuzu	a person with big buttocks	umuntu onezinqa ezinkulu
isitaka	money notes	imali eyiphepha
isitaki	money notes	imali eyiphepha
itanana	a young girl	intombazane encane/ intombazanyana
uthalala	stupid person/ not open minded	umuntu oyisilima
esithawa	in town	edolobheni
isithawa	person with pimples on face	umuntu onezinduna ebusweni
isiThawa	township code or register	ulimi lwasedolobheni lwaselokishini
ithayiga	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
ithayima	father	ubaba
ukuthayipha	to walk bare-footed	ukuhamba ngezinyawo
ithekeni	young girl/ girl	intombazanyana/ intombazane
etheshweni	at work	emsebenzini
uthiza	a teacher	uthisha
ithom'thomu	casual shoe	isicathulo sokuswenka
ukuthwasa	to see	ukubona
itingitingi	auto-teller machine	umshini wokukhipha

	(from the sound made by the autoteller machine when pressing its button)	imali
isitini	R1000-00 note	R1000-00 ongamaphepha
isitini	a ghost/ bad thing	into embi, umuntu ongancengeki
ukutoboza ngoCansas	to telephone someone	ukushaya ucingo
itoyitoyi	political uprising dance	itoyitoyi
ukutrowa	to get married	ukushada
itsatsatsa	R2-00	R2-00
umtshokodi	one, a goal keeper	okukodwa, unozinti
i-uno	a person with flat buttocks/back	umuntu onesishwapha
ukuvala	to be the best or worst	owedlulele entweni
ukuyivala	to stop	ukuma
ukuvaya	to go away	ukuhamba
ivevezi	a widower	umfelwa
iwindskrini	face of a human being	ubuso
ukuwitha	to talk	ukukhuluma
ixhama	five/ a slap	isihlanu/ impama
umziki	prostitute	isifebe
izimu	Member of Azanian Movement	Ilungu le Azanian Movement
ukuzwakala	to come/ to arrive	ukuza/ ukufika
ziyampompa	there is a lot of fun	ukuzitika ngenjabulo, ukungcebeleka, ukuzibusisa
ziyamporoma	there is a lot of fun	kuyabuswa, kujatshulwe

6. **TRANSPORTATION REGISTERS AND CODES WHICH ARE USED
IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA.
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUTHUTHA ABANTU
ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
u-Anti sosha	females who prepare and sell food to the taxi drivers and conductors	abesifazane abapheka badayise ukudla emarenke ezokuthutha
ukuyibamba esitobhini	the driver must stop the at the bus stop	ukuma esitobhini
esibayeni	enclosure for taxis, where taxis rank	lapho amatekisi elinda khona amaphasinja
i- Be My Wife	a B.M.W. motor vehicle	imoto ewuhlobo lwe B.M.W.
ibhanga	an empty taxi	itekisi engenabantu
ibhemile	the secret has been revealed	kuyabheda/ ukudaluleka kwecebo
ibheshu	rubber pads which flap up and down while the vehicle is in motion	amabheshu emoto
ibhlamani	Brahman cattle/ Datsun E20 Model	i- Datsun E20 Model
uBrenda ubuhlalu	a stolen car seat covers which are made of beads	imoto entshontshiwe amakhava esihlalo semoto enziwe ngobuhlalu
ukubuka iT.V.	the back part of	ukuhlala uncike

	a seat behind the drivers seat	esihlalweni esingemuva komshayeli, ubukwe ngamaphasenja
ukubuya kwegazi	things are going well	izinto ziyalunga
ukucela indlela	to indicate for overtaking	uku- indicator ukuthi uzodlula enye imoto
ukuchatha imoto	to put gasoline into a car	ukufaka uphethroli emotweni
ichunu	stolen car	imoto eyebiwe
iyaconsa	new taxi, which is appealing/ attractive	imoto entsha/ into entsha
iconsi	a secret message (sticker)	i-stikha esinanyathiselwa emotweni sokutshela izigebengu ukuthi imoto eyasekhaya azingayintshontshi
ucothoza	slow moving vehicle	into yokuthutha ehamba kancane
danki mlungu	passengers are called Europeans by the drivers. The assumption is that money is obtained from the White man. It is through the passengers in a taxi that a driver secures money	ngiyabonga phasa nje

ukudinga ngento ka 350 noma R250-00	to be fined R250 or R350-00	ukuhlawuliswa uR350-00 noma uR250
ukudla umjantshi	to travel by train	ukuhamba ngojantshi
ukudla upotsho	a short cut, method of obtaining something quicker than using the right channels	ikusika ngezimfuphi
ukudlisa	taxi drivers like to show off with their taxis. They take great pride of their motor vehicles	ukuhlabekisa
ukudlisa	to show off	hlabekisa
ukudliwa yisilwane	to be jealous	ukuba nomona
umdumakhanda	Traditional African tobacco	insangu
ukweqa umlilo	to escape from a road	ukubalekela
ukhihlika	block	amaphoyisa
ukufaka o- two bob	when taximen install copper rims in the wheels of their taxis	amarimu omthofu
ukufaka amafutha	accelerate the speed of a moving vehicle	ukwenyusa ijubane
ukufaka amacici	a taxi which has been decorated with white shiny steel, which is made up of chrome on the mudguard	itekişi ehlotshiswe ngensimbi emhlophe yohlobo lwe-chrome
isifalakahla	a vehicle which is	imoto esindala

	old and in a generally bad condition	
ukufasa	said when a taxi is full of passengers	uma imoto igcwele amaphasenja
imfengwana	a hooter on a vehicle is a device such as a horn or siren that makes a hooting noise	i-hooter
i-first in all troubles	Fiat	imoto ewuhlobo lweFiat
for only reckless drivers	Ford	imoto ewuhlobo lweFord
ukufutha	to have a lot of money	ukuba nemali eningi
ukuba ugandaganda	a vehicle that moves very slowly	imoto ehamba kancane
igazoli	petrol, fuel used for automobiles	u-petroli
ukugcwala ngokurhafa	to be prepared to pay fare	ukuzimisela ukukhokha imali
ukugejisa igazi	the absence of taxis in the various routes which serves as a gauge to judge the presence or absence of traffic cops or the impact of a stay-away	ukuhlala ekhaya ngoba ufuna ukuphumula noma ngoba ufuna ukuhlolisisa kable ukuthi kuyasebenzeka yini noma kukhona amaphoyisa omgwaqo, okanye kutelekiwe.
ukugidla efotini	to sleep in jail	ukulala ejele
iginsa	stolen car	imoto eyebiwe
goqa	to make a U turn/	ukujika eduze, ukuqamba

ugoqo	to tell lies artificial key used to open motor vehicles, a master key	amanga, ukukhohlisa uhlobo lukakhiye olu- vula izimoto
ukugqirha ngokhushukhushu	to travel by train	ukuhamba ngesitimela
ukuhlaba ngensimbi	to travel by means of a car.	ukuhamba ngemoto
ukuhlanza kweketsi	said when a taxi empties its passengers	uma itekisi seyehlisa amaphasenja
umjondolo	temporary arrangement, for a short time	into yesikhashana
ikameli	refers to the roof of a kombi called Isuzu which is high and can go for long distances without water	ikhumbi yohlobo lweSuzu
ukukapaka isiTswana	refers to fleeing away of a taxi driver from the police	ukubalekela amaphoyisa
ukupaka isiTswana	A car that is badly parked	imoto epake kabi
iketsi	refers to a motor vehicle	itekisi/ iteksi
ukukha amaphasenja ukukhabula ngembombozana	to load passengers to travel by a motor bike	ukulayisha amaphasenja ukuhamba ngesithuthuthu
ekhishini	back seat of a car, kombi, bus	isihlalo esingemuva emotweni

ukuyikhomba phezulu	when a passenger points up in the air it means that he is going to town	uma iphasenja likho- mba phezulu, liya eThekwini
ukuyikhomba phansi	When a passenger points down wards, it means, he is travelling within the vicinity of the township	uma iphasenja, likho- mba phansi, liya khona la eduzane ngaphakathi elokishini
ukukhuhlwa yingqayika amakhwapha	to fall from a bicycle place underneath the mudguard painted white	ukuwa ebhayisikilini indawo engaphansi emaceleni emoto.
isikwele	refers to a new kombi which is a 16 seater	uhlobo olusha lwe- Toyota. ikhumbi yakwa Toyota
isilahlamatende	refers to cars which have open roofs . A convertible motor car, like a B.M.W.	imoto evulekayo phezulu ibuye ivalwe.
ilahle	stolen car,	imoto eyebiwe
ukulanda inkomo yomnotho	to fetch or steal a taxi or kombi	ukweba itekisi noma ikhumbi
legedlela ikhabula ngamarimu	this vehicle has a puncture	le moto inamasondo aphantshile
le ketsi inosayidinsi	this taxi is overloaded/is full	le tekisi igcwele
ukulinda intulo imanzi	to wait for a taxi this taxi is	ukulinda itekisi/itekisi itekisi entsha

	newly bought	
imbawula	an unlicensed driver	umshayeli wetekisi ongenayo i-licence
umbombela	a train	isitimela
ukumemeza	the roaring of a	
kwensimbi	steel engine which the motor vehicle makes as a sign that it is in good condition	
impandla	a smooth tyre	isondo elinempandla
impendulo	a converted vehicle. whose parts have been altered so that it looks different from the the original form. This usually happens to a stolen car	imoto yokwebiwa esintshwe izicubu zayo.
impixi	a vast number of pa- ssengers who are su- pposed to be taken by taxis as their means of transport to and from work. Passengers awaiting a transport	amaphasenja amaningi alinde izinto zokuhamba
isiTransi	transport code or register	ulimi lwezokuthutha
itransi	transport	okokuthutha umphakathi noma amaphasenja

7. **SOCCER REGISTERS AND CODES IN GREATER DURBAN AREA
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EBHOLENI EZINDAWENI
ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)**

CCR'S	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
ukubamba	expert in saving balls	unozinti ongumpetha
ukubhacaza	incapable person who makes a lot of excuses	umuntu ongenalusizo lwalutho obika izaba njalo
isibhaxu	a team which lost the game, to be penalised	iqembu elingaphumelelanga, ukuhlawuliswa
iBhinoni	number 4, a player wearing jersey number 4. 4	ogqoke unombolo
ukuboza	to fumble	ukudlala umdlalo obhedayo
ukubuza epalini	a swift shot into the net	ukulishaya phakathi
umchamo	a weak and short shot of a ball which goes outside the playground	ishodi elingatheni eliphumela ngaphandle kwenkundla.
Ukuchitha ibhola	to throw the ball with both hands	ukuphonsa ibhola
ukucupha	to play a rough game	umdlali odlala kabi ngokukhahlelana
ukuchwesheza	smooth passing of ball from player to player	ukudlala ngesinono sekati lisuka kumdlali liya kumdlali
ukumdayisa	to make a fool of a player in front of spectators	ukubukisa ngomunye umdlali phambi kwezihlwele
ukudovola	to kick the ball	ukukhahlela
ufriweyi	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time	umdlali ongabajulukisi abanye abadlali umdlali ongenamsebenzi

		walutho
ukugawula	to be penalised during a soccer match	ukuhlawuliswa ngesikhathi somdlalo
ukugaxa	to form a cross ball	ukukhahlela ibhola
isikwele	to pass the ball from the sides to the 18 area	ngendlela yokuthi abadlali benze isiphambano ngaku 18 area
ihansi	a player who longs for a ball	umdlali olangazelela ibhola
ukuhlaba	to play a rough game	ukudlala kabi
ihura, ihhure, ihhule	a hurray, a goal	igoli, iwule, inqaku
ikati	a sharp goal keeper	unozinti ophapheme
Khabazela	please pass the ball with your heels	Khahlela uyise ngakomunye ngesithende
ukukhuhla ibhentshi	to be a reserver	ukuba yirizeva; ukuba ubhekingozi
ikhothenga	a useless goal keeper	unozinti ongenamsebenzi walutho
isikhwepha	rough soccer player	isigwebedla somdlali odlailisana kabana ngokuphusha
imanta	to pass ball underneath the legs	ukudlulisa ibhola ngaphansi
imbudlu	many goals which are scored with ease.	amagoli amaningi scored azingenela kalula
ummendi	a goal keeper mends all the mistakes of his playmates	unozinti, ngoba umenda/uchibiyela wonke amaphutha abadlali
impuphu	a useless player	umdlali ongenamsebenzi walutho
incwadi	a useless player	umdlali ongenamsebenzi

indele	three	walutho
ingqamu	a soccer ball	isithathu
ukungqomfa	to head a ball	ibhola likanobhutshuzayo
ingra	a soccer ball	ukudlala ibhola ngekhandanda
isiNgura	soccer vocabulary	ibhola likanobhutshuzwayo
injeje	to play a rough game	ulimi lwasebholeni
injini	a player who wears jersey number 6	ukudlala kabi ngokukhahlela
inkalakatha	experienced soccer player	umdlali othwele unombolo 6
inkomo	a useless soccer player	inkakha kwezebhola
inqaku	a goal	umdlali ongenamsebenzi walutho
inqola	backline of a soccer match	igoli
		a b a d l a l i a b a d l a l a emuva

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LANGUAGE VARIATION IN ZULU:

**A CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CODES AND REGISTERS IN
THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

PHYLLIS JANE NONHLANHLA ZUNGU

NEE-DLUNGWANA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

**IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ZULU, FACULTY OF ARTS, AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE**

**PROMOTER
JOINT SUPERVISOR**

**PROFESSOR C.T. MSIMANG
PROFESSOR J. MAARTENS**

JANUARY 1995

DECLARATION

I declare that **Language Variation in Zulu: A case Study of Contemporary Codes and Registers in the Greater Durban Area** is my own work and that sources used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references

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SUMMARY

ABBREVIATIONS

CCR	Contemporary Codes and Registers
GDA	Greater Durban Area
GD	Greater Durban
CR	Code or Register
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language

SUMMARY

This study has been an attempt to clarify a number of basic problems regarding the phenomena of **Language Variation** and their implications for linguistic usage. The data were collected in the **GDA**. Very little has been done on **Language Variation** in Zulu owing to lack of interest in Sociolinguistics in the middle of this century. A study of this nature is imperative because language planners have to design policies for the Government of National Unity in South Africa.

There are two very important aspects to National Language Policies. These comprise the ideological aspect, which is concerned with mobilising the nation's sentiments and attitudes towards the acceptance and use of selected speech forms. The second aspect involves the technical side, which looks at the practical elements which are concerned with the problems of implementing the ideology (Whiteley 1963:150).

In order to fulfil the foregoing ideals, we had to look for applicable aims and objectives of **Language Variation**. The main objectives were:

- (a) to identify at least seven domains where different language varieties were employed in the Black Durban speech community;
- (b) to investigate the social attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards **CCR's**;
- (c) to trace the origin of and development of the non-standard varieties which are employed by the Black Durban speech community;
- (d) To investigate the impact of **CCR's** on the economy, and social conditions prevailing in the **GDA**.

In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, the term '**Language Variation**' and its dynamics had to be clarified. Empirical studies on research methodologies had to be resorted to in order to give a sound base to the theoretical framework. A number of theories were explored and they were found to be applicable to **Contemporary Codes and Registers** employed by the Black Durban speech community. These comprised **speech accommodation, cognitive uncertainty, affective reinforcement, gain-loss,**

social identity, functionalist and interactionist theories. In order to test these theories, I resorted to ethnomethodological and ethnographic approaches to empirical research. The choice of these approaches was to capture data on **CCR's** in the most objective and valid manner.

The next step was to take a deep plunge into field work. I became a participant observer in a number of domains around the Durban Metropolitan area. Interviews with prominent Zulu speakers were also conducted in order to obtain their input towards **CCR's**.

The research was conducted in seven Black townships, situated in the **GDA**. In addition to this, research was conducted in Westville prison, transportation modes, hospitals, streets, taverns, educational units, and in soccer clubs. I entered the aforementioned domains as a 'friend of a friend' a lecturer, or an ex-class teacher in order to become a participant observer in various activities of the Black Durban speech communities.

In addition to this, written questionnaires were administered and answered by respondents. The aim of the questionnaire survey was to measure the magnitude of linguistic transformations in the **GDA**. Another aim was to capture the attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards non-standard varieties of Zulu. Interviews were also conducted for the same purpose. Checklists were also resorted to in order to secure valid and objective information.

The collection and analysis of data alone was not adequate in accounting for **Language Variation**. Bokamba, (1988:21) mentions that we need data on the communicative behaviour of speakers - the whys and how's of[Language Variation].

A description of the social context of **CCR's** as observed in the Black speech community of the **GDA** was exposed. This involved a presentation of the origins and development of linguistic **CR's** used in the **GDA**. **CR's** included slang, Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, jargon, borrowing, interlarding, neologisms, which were covered under the term **CCR's**. The linguistic make up, characteristics and classification of **CCR's** were also carried out. I had to identify the speakers of **CCR's** in the various targeted domains, where they are employed, as well as the topics which are normally discussed by the interlocutors.

Socio-psychological functions of **CCR's** as spoken in the targeted areas were uncovered. It was revealed that **CCR's** entail elaborate and rich linguistic forms. They incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people at a particular era in the history of mankind.

At least 75% of the 800 collected lexical items which were regarded as non-standard and filtered talk were found to be known and used by most Black Durban speakers. School children were found to have carried these **CCR's** to the classroom situation where they were penalised for employing them.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study on **Language Variation** focuses on **Contemporary** speech **Codes** and **Registers** (hereunder referred to **CCR's**) which are employed by the Black Durban speech community. A few sociolinguistic terms which are employed in the thesis will be clarified in the succeeding section to enable the reader to follow the study.

1.2 DEFINITION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

Language Variation refers to the different ways of speaking and writing a particular language. These differences encompass the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of a language (Reagan, 1992:39). Variation in a language may be associated with geographical background, social class, educational background, age and gender. Montgomery (1986:62) also mentions that these differences are complemented by the imbalances which exist with respect to accessibility to material sources. This implies that a speaker who is exposed to various domains within a community will have more vocabulary than the one who is not.

Language Variety is a sociolinguistic concept referring to language in context (Holmes, 1992:9). It alludes to any system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by specific social circumstances. Language variety is a broad term embracing different styles of talking, accents, dialects and different languages of the world which contrast with each other for social reasons (Holmes, 1992:9).

In short, it is a general cover term for different varieties of language and includes any system of linguistic expressions which are governed by situational variables.

Standard Variety: This is a complex concept which will be fully discussed in chapter 2. Standard languages are not static, they also change just like the non-standard forms (Van Wyk 1992:32).

Non-standard language varieties: A non-standard dialect is a language variety which is not-standard¹. Comparatively, non-standard varieties of a language are used in casual domains whilst standard dialects or varieties are used in formal environments. It must be stressed that non-standard varieties are in no way inferior to the standard languages. They co-exist with standard languages and are employed by various speakers of all walks of life (Van Wyk 1992:32).

Speech community: A speech community comprises a group of speakers who share norms and rules for the use of at least one common language. They do not, however, necessarily use the same language all the time (Gumperz, 1972a:16). This means that members of the same speech community need to share at least one common language which is governed by rules, so that they can decode² the social meaning carried by alternative modes of communication (Gumperz 1972a:16).

Diglossia means the use of at least two distinct varieties of the same language, depending on the social functions of communication, of various communication subsystems, comprising dialects³, styles⁴, registers⁵, jargons⁶ et cetera, by the members of a single speech community who may equally be competent in all of them, (Ferguson, 1959, Gumperz, 1964; and Krysin, 1979). The first variety is High (H); it can be equated with the standard dialect and is used in formal settings. The other is a Low (L) variety which is employed in non-formal domains. Also refer to pages 21-25 of this study.

Bilingualism alludes to the command of two independent languages. It does not mean to be competent in speaking different varieties of the same language (diglossia) There is often a confusion between the two concepts that is, diglossia and bilingualism.

Interlingualism: A clear distinction can be drawn between bilingualism and interlingualism. Interlingualism refers to interlingual diglossia, which means a command of various subsystems of a single language. This is also known as inter-speaker variation⁷, which is explained in the next chapter (page 20). Interlingualism is observed in the various subsystems of a single national language. Instances of such subsystems comprise standard language⁸, local dialects⁹, professional jargon, cants¹⁰, slang¹¹, Tsotsitaal¹² et cetera. This view is proposed by Krysin (1979:141).

Multilingualism refers to speakers who have a command of more than two independent languages. Mackey (1968:555) maintains that multilingualism includes the alternative use of two or more languages by the same speaker. The term has been extended to include any passive knowledge of a written language or any contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language.

Code: Holmes (1992:89) distinguishes between the **code** and variety and states that a **code** is a neutral term, whereas **variety** is not quite neutral. She then states that: "a **code** can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication"

Holmes maintains that a **code** can also be used as a device to protect secrets (Holmes, 1988:89).

According to Barnhart and Barnhart (1986:395) a **code** is: "a system of words, letters, figures, or other symbols used to keep a message short and secret."

In this sense, Durban **codes** comprise words, figures, letters, signs and symbols which serve to conceal the meaning from they-**codes** members¹³ (out-group) members. A **code** is simply an unmodified style used to replace a piece of information with another feature for a different class, put in the form of words, letters, phrases, numerals and symbols.

These **codes** or **registers** (hereunder abbreviated into **CCR's**) are either contracted (including abbreviations), or simplified, or given a totally different label. In certain settings, symbols or signs are used to conceal the message to a new-comer.

For instance, a drop that is seen stuck on the body of a motor vehicle and looks like a splash of paint, is used for security purposes. Car thieves do not interfere with a vehicle which has a drop (splash) stuck on its body because they know that the owner comes from one of the Black townships and will automatically not be a *Lani* (rich person) who falls victim of exploitation. As a **code**, this sticker is called *iconsi* (a drop). There is no standard Zulu equivalent for this term. Hand signs are also used as **codes** by drivers and commuters to convey messages to each other. These usually comprise information about destinations and are also used to alert drivers of the cops ahead.

For instance, if a commuter puts his hand up and shows his five fingers, it means that commuter is travelling to Unit E, F or G of Umlazi township. Three fingers denote Unit C. et cetera. It must be mentioned that township units and hand signs do not always correspond to the letters of the alphabet. For instance, Unit AA is represented by the figure 4 or four fingers. Refer to Annexure 1; page 203.

A **code** is not necessarily a '**secret code**' Any communication system, including a standard language, is a **code**. Secret **codes** are restrictions of the general term. That is why sociolinguists use terms such as **code-switching** to indicate the switch a speaker makes between, two languages, like for example, Zulu and Sotho (language switch). There are however, other switches which involve dialects; for example, 'standard' Zulu and Thefuya (dialect switch) and variety switch, that is, between standard and non-standard variety or between other varieties. The speakers use more than one variety of a language in their speech repertoire, switching from Zulu to English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, et cetera, in order to enhance prestige and modernism¹⁴. Sometimes interactants switch from one language to another due to vocabulary deficiency in the host language¹⁵.

Another meaning of the term 'code' denotes a collection of laws. Our study will not delve on this type of code although we do hint at it under the prison code. The use of CCR's features prominently in the discourse of Zulu speakers particularly the educated sector and it is regarded as a status symbol.

A Register refers to a variety which is distinguished according to use in particular social situations. An interlocutor¹⁶ may use one variety in one setting and another variety in a different setting. We refer to hospital register, prison register, soccer register, et cetera, which are used by the same interlocutor when he visits these domains.

Contemporary: This term alludes to anything which is current, modern or fashionable. An entity that coexists with another thing is also said to be contemporary. Anything which is up to date and 'newflanged' is said to be contemporary. The opposite of **contemporary** is old fashioned and archaic.

filtered and unfiltered talk

McCormick (1989:203) mentions a progressive lawyer who had been helping working class tenants to deal with slum landlords, who said 'Hy het nie filter gepraat nie- hy het mooi plain gepraat dat n' mens kan verstaan.' He did not talk filter (ed)- he talked nice and plain so that one could understand,] McCormick (1989) then mentions that filter in cigarettes and speech are meant to keep impurities to a minimum; their unfiltered counterparts would seem to permit free access to whatever goes into making a strong cigarette or statement.' He mentions that **filtered speech** allows only Afrikaans words with Afrikaans grammar and English words, with English grammar. There are two concepts which are generated by McCormick's explanation of **filtered and unfiltered talk**. Firstly, **unfiltered talk** allows a wide variety of mixing and combination of two or more languages/varieties to take place in a speech event. **Filtered talk** does not permit mixing of words and phrases from other languages in a speech event. The advantage of **unfiltered talk** is that both interactants can understand each other very well as each interactant's speech converges towards that of the person s/he is talking to. This is known as speech accommodation theory; refer to p.43; number 2.3.2.2.6, isiNdiya and page 47, speech accommodation theory.

1.3 AIMS OF STUDY

1.3.1 Primary Objective:

The study seeks:

- a. To expose the existing language situation in the **Greater Durban Area**¹⁷ (hereunder known as **GDA**) with special reference to Zulu based language varieties.
- b. To identify at least seven categories of non-standard varieties of Zulu which are used in the **GDA**.
- c. To describe the functions and status of these varieties in relation to each other.
- d. To investigate factors and influences leading to the origin and development of these varieties.
- e. To describe their salient lexicological features, e.g. expressions, idioms and proverbs.
- f. To analyze their phonological, morphological and semantic features.
- g. To describe the influences of these varieties on the use of standard Zulu and to make recommendations, if and where necessary, on the influences of these varieties on language planning.
- h. To investigate social attitudes towards non-standard varieties of Zulu used in the **GDA**.
- i. To prove that the koinés¹⁸ can serve as a source from which to draw in order to improve the social and economic life of every South African citizen. Most South Africans have suffered tremendously due to their ignorance of the non-standard varieties spoken by their subjects and youth. The fore mentioned people have a tendency of speaking above the heads of their elders and superiors. This causes frustration to a person holding a high position when he fails to comprehend something said in Zulu or English because it is put in a cryptic (hidden) **code** .
- j. To make a contribution towards the unification and harmonization of non-standard varieties of Nguni and a move away from the purist view of a standard Zulu language (Nhlapho 1944, 1945, and 1953, Alexander 1989,

Msimang 1992).

- k. To establish the influence migration has on the language use of people originating from different geographical areas.
- l. To measure the direction and magnitude of sociolinguistic change within the territories under study. (Refer to Lieberman, (1981: 263) and (Hoenigswal, 1985).

1.3.2 Secondary objective

The study also aims at improving the aesthetic life of Durban residents. The mastery of CCR's would help interlocutors who though Zulu speakers, fail to comprehend the cryptic (hidden) varieties which are used by interlocutors in various domiciles.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

- a. The Zulu language is going through a stage of modernization. (Kamwangamalu 1988)
- b. A neutral standard Nguni language can be created out of all the existing dialects spoken in South Africa starting with regional non-standard varieties.
- c. The purist view of a standard language is challengeable and no man has control over language.
- d. The attitude of people towards non-standard varieties of Zulu is becoming positive.
- e. In a multilingual society, one language variety is resorted to in one class of situations and social roles while the other is primarily reserved for a different class of situations and social roles (Krysin:1979:149)
- f. Group pressure will persuade respondents to speak a non-standard variety in as many situations as possible when the need for the non-standard variety arises. That is to say, the choice of a non-standard variety will depend upon the speaker and his audience.
- g. Prolonged intensive contacts between two or more languages can lead to structural changes in one or more languages in contact.

- h. Lexical items comprising adopted words tend to appear more frequently in the speech of individuals of special socio-economic groups; that is, those who are well travelled or exposed to other languages either than the mother tongue are more prone to using adoptives than the less educated and the less travelled.

1.5 OVERVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A preliminary study on Zulu slang is cited in Ndlovu's (1963) M.A. dissertation entitled *A short study of slang in Zulu...* Ndlovu's study concentrates on the classificatory aspect of Zulu slang words. It also hints at the role slang plays in the development of the language. Ndlovu was the first linguist to analyze language change in Zulu in the GDA, hence, his study was a bit rudimentary.

On the other hand, Msimang (1987) in, "*The Impact of Tsotsitaal on Zulu*" noticed that this lingua franca is no longer a dialect spoken by the tsotsis *per se*, but is a variety which is employed by people of all walks of life, including educated and uneducated black urban dwellers. In this article, Msimang concentrated on the origin and semantic significance of a few lexical items. Cele (1990), in, '*A Comparison of Slang Code and IsiZulu in the Pietermaritzburg Area*' demonstrates the development of borrowing and neologism¹⁹ as spoken by the youth in the Pietermaritzburg area. He then compares slang-code with standard Zulu.

Mfusi (1988) deals with Soweto Zulu slang in an article entitled: "*A sociolinguistic Study of an Urban Vernacular in Soweto*". He makes an attempt to define Tsotsitaal according to its origin, its use and functions. He then analyses his data on greeting routines in social interactions, extension of the communicative capacity, and the attitudes towards this variety.

1.6 NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Owing to lack of interest in sociolinguistics in the middle of this century, very little is known of the origin, the social attitudes of the speech community towards CCR's

which are spoken in the various urban areas including their socio-psychological functions.

Also, no investigation has been undertaken to measure the direction and magnitude of linguistic change within the **GDA** with special reference to non-standard varieties which are employed by Black Durban speech community.

There is also no information on the possibility that these **CCR's** are ousting standard Zulu and its recognised regional dialects²⁰, i.e. Bhaca, Phuthi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele, Nhlangwini, Lala, Tekela et cetera. A further need for such a study emanates from the attitude of purists and some scholars who regard non-standard varieties as impure linguistic behaviour.

The employment of non-standard varieties of a language is regarded as corrupt, adulterated, bastardized and impure linguistic behaviour. In his article on "*Urban Slang in Compositions*", Swanepoel (1978:9) writes: " This type of language must be condemned in the strongest terms".

Purists are oblivious of foreign elements that succeeded in getting into the Zulu language in the introduction of Zulu written literature. Hence, a thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in Black urban areas is vital before policy makers can make decisions about the languages of South Africa. This issue is very important for the language planners.

Being in an advantageous position, the influential group normally eradicates or minimizes the influence of foreign elements in the mother tongue or in a standard dialect. This is primarily reflected in written literature where manuscripts are first screened by the various Language Boards and are only accepted for publication if they are written in the standard variety. Non-standard elements are either eradicated, or the whole manuscript is rejected on the grounds that it is impure because it is not 'standard'.

1.7 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

As this study focuses on **Language Variations** which are spoken in the **GDA** the findings should be of value to language planners and curriculum developers. It will serve as one of the guides on **Language Variations** for the Black Durban speech community. It is also hoped that the study will serve as reference to those who want to learn Zulu-based slang, Tsotsitaal, jargon and cant.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

The study is based on a corpus of approximately 800 spoken words gathered in the participant observation method and in conversations with 322 respondents in seven different areas around **Greater Durban** (hereunder referred to **GD**) plus 750 questionnaires comprising a set of 50 questions each. The research instrument is included in order to measure the magnitude and direction of the Zulu language in the **GDA**. The inclusion of the research instrument also aims at obtaining the attitudes of the interlocutors towards non-standard varieties.

The major concentration in this study was on **CCR's** which are used in the Black residential areas of the **GD**. These areas include townships like KwaMakhutha, Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clemaville, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma. It also includes hospitals, prisons, schools, soccer clubs, streets, and transportation modes, etc.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: Introductory Perspective

In this chapter, an attempt is made to give a brief overview of the major linguistic terms which are used in the study. It attempts to give a brief overview of **Language Variations** which are found in the Black Durban speech community. This chapter also sets the aims and objectives of the study including the hypothesis. Chapter One also gives an overview of studies on **Language Variations** comprising Zulu-based slang,

Zulu-based Tsotsitaal, cant and jargon.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Orientation

This chapter identifies and clarifies the various types of **Language Variation**. The two major divisions include **internal**²¹ and **contact** variations²². The chapter also includes a theoretical framework of the study which is constituted by ~~the~~ speech accommodation theory, cognitive uncertainty theory, casual attribution theory, affective reinforcement theory, gain-loss theory, identity theory, interactionist, and Marxist theories. ?

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter three explores research methods and procedures for collecting and treating data. Due to the previous and still prevailing political crisis and uncertainties in South Africa, five types of procedures were developed in the collection of data and in checking its validity and reliability. These were ethnography²³, ethnomethodology²⁴, questionnaires, interviews and check lists. Questionnaires were included in the study in order to measure the magnitude of interlocutors who employ these **Language Variations** in the **GDA**. In addition to this, a questionnaire was included in order to establish how language varieties impact on the standard Zulu variety. The chapter analyzes the findings based on the questionnaire and on data collected from ethnography and ethnomethodology, in the form of checklists.

Chapter Four: The Social context of CCR's

The chapter is divided into two parts. Part One describes the social context of **CCR's**. Part Two looks at the phonological features of Zulu-based adoptives.

Chapter Five: The Social Functions of CCR's

The social functions of cant, slang, jargon, Tsotsitaal, adoptives, and interlarded speech are covered in chapter five. In addition to this, the overall functions of CCR's are exposed in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Summary and Recommendations

Chapter six gives a summary of the study and draws various conclusions based on the objectives and hypothesis of the thesis and provokes thought for further research in the field of sociolinguistics.

There are a number of annexures which follow immediately after the end of chapter six. Annexure 1, is a chart showing **Transportation Signs** which were mentioned on page 3 of this study. Annexure 2, comprises endnotes which serve to clarify difficult concepts in the text. Annexure 3, furnishes a specimen copy of the pilot study (which was written in English) and its results. Annexure 4, presents lists of new vocabulary items drawn from the targeted domains. They are presented in the following order; 1 prisons, 2 hospitals, 3 educational units, 4 taverns/shebeens, 5 townships, 6 transportation modes and 7 soccer clubs.

References which were used for the present thesis, come right at the end of the appendices. It has been observed that placing the Bibliography before appendices makes cross referencing extremely difficult especially if there are a lot appendices

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION ON LANGUAGE VARIATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Trying to deal with issues related to **Language Variation** requires one to come to grips with some linguistic terms which are related to it. Thus, in this chapter, we are going to define and then clarify linguistic terms related to **Language Variation**. **Language Variation** is a broad term embracing styles, registers, regional dialects, social variations¹, sociolects², social networks³ et cetera.

2.2 LANGUAGE

According to Holmes (1992:142):

"A language can be thought of as a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups".

To simplify the foregoing quotation, one can state that a language is a group of local, regional or district varieties or dialects which originate from a common source. Each of these dialects or varieties may have its own common literary heritage and usage. Regional dialects descend by splitting from a common original variety. In other words, during the history of mankind, a common language differentiates itself internally as its speakers distance themselves from each other socially and linguistically over time and physical space (Wardhaugh; 1989: pp. 5-6, 22-54, 132-191).

2.3

LANGUAGE VARIATION

Language Variation alludes to individuals and groups of people who use a single language in a variety of ways and for different purposes. A closer look at language reveals that there is a lot of variation within interactants⁴ who seem to be using one and the same code. Wardhaugh (1992:5) maintains that no one speaks the same way at all times. People change their styles of speaking for various reasons.

It is not possible to divorce language from its users. Chomsky (1966) warns that one cannot study language in use or learn a language without first acquiring sufficient knowledge of what language is all about and even who its speakers are.

Illustration number 1, below, shows the various types of **Language Variations**. Examples given in the diagram reflect **Language Variation** which occurs in the Black Durban speech community. A few linguistic terms have been bestowed with Zulu slang names by the present researcher. For instance, the variety which is spoken in hospitals is known as **isiHhosi**⁵, prison **CCR's** is **isiNyuvesi**⁶, shebeen **CCR's** are **isiThaveni**⁷, transport **CCR's** will be called **isiTransi**⁸ soccer is **isiNgura**⁹ while **isiThawa**¹⁰ refers to township **CCR's**. **CCR's** used in educational units will be called **isiGura**¹¹

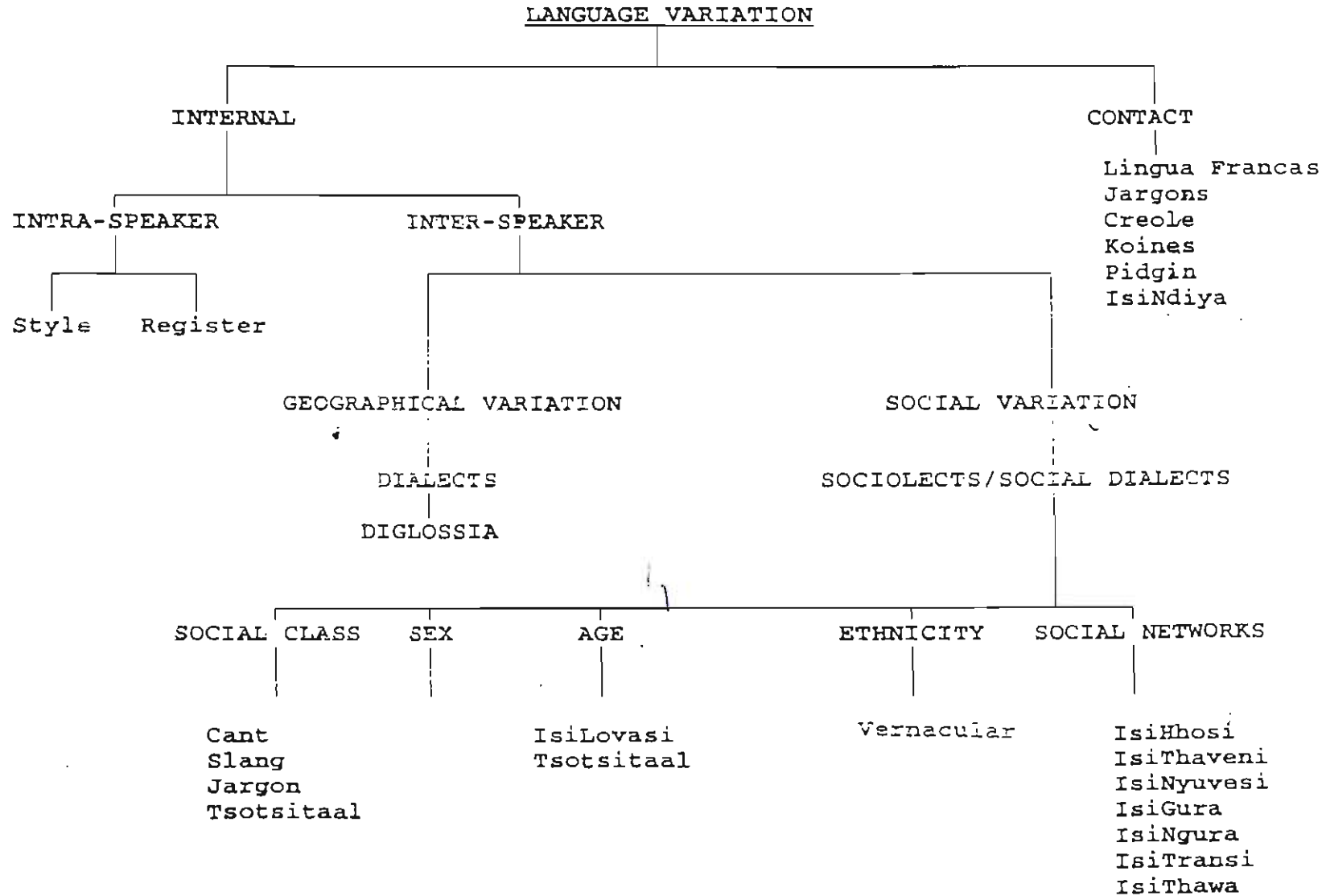


Illustration No.1

Language Variation

2.3.1 Types of Language Variation

Language Variation can be divided into two broad phenomena which are **internal variation** and **contact variation**.

2.3.1.1 Internal Variation

Internal variation alludes to **Language Variation** within one language. When we study any language we discover that there is a substantial amount of internal variation that takes place within the interactants' thesauri¹² in their conscious efforts to make themselves explicit. A single style speaker would be classified as abnormal (Wardhaugh, 1989). Internal variation comprises **intra-speaker** and **inter-speaker** variations.

2.3.1.1.1 Intra-speaker Variation

Intra-speaker variation is found in the language use of the same speaker. It alludes to varieties of language which a speaker is capable of utilising within a single language. Intra-speaker variation comprises a speaker's accent, tone of voice, word structure (morphology), sentence structure (syntax), semantics, vocabulary, and dialects. The term intra-speaker variation has to do with the competence and versatility of a speaker in adjusting himself sociolinguistically to the various domains in which he has contacts. The term intra-speaker may refer to all the language varieties which a speaker is capable of utilising in a single language.

Intra-speaker variation can occur at different levels within a conversation where an interlocutor employs alternative varieties within the same speech event. The speaker simply shifts from one variety to another during a discourse or as she or he moves from one domain to another.

There are various reasons for people to employ the variations contained in their thesauri. For instance, a speaker may want to give prominence to a part of the message or to the whole of it. Other variations may be resorted to in order to highlight a message. A speaker may use other varieties in his thesaurus in order to reiterate a message in a somewhat more modified form, or to clarify what was said in another code in order to amplify or emphasise a point. Intra-speaker variation is usually necessary for a speaker who moves from one domain to the other because people belonging to different domains do not use the same varieties.

Weinreich (1953) in Gxilitse (1994:94) asserts that:

"shifts [in varieties] tend to occur in situations which the designated quality of the vocabulary corresponding to any of the languages is inadequate to name new things, persons, personal experiences and concepts"

During a discourse, the speaker accesses, simultaneously, all the lexical items which are stored in his mind, including linguistic constructions, and draws the lexicon freely but selectively from his composite thesaurus, (Bokamba 1985). A speaker is capable of internalising as many grammatical systems as is the number of variations s/he speaks. The lexicons of these variations are treated as a synthesized thesaurus from which lexical items can be extricated freely as though they were synonyms. Intra-speaker variation can be divided into **style** and **register**.

(a) **Style**

Style refers to different ways of imparting information. It refers to an interactant's ability to play about with words in his or her speech repertoire. An interactant may speak very formally or very informally depending on the circumstances and his or her audience. In stylistic variation, speakers tend to speak more casually and in a relaxed way when conversing with people they know better. However, the same speakers will

use more standard varieties when speaking to people they do not know well. Vernacular¹³ forms are more common amongst friends (Holmes, 1992:246).

A message conveyed to a friend will be conveyed in a different style as compared to the one conveyed to a person of high rank, like a minister, teacher, doctor, lawyer et cetera.

The choice of a **code** depends on how it is used, why it is used, who uses it, where it is used and to whom it is used. It also depends on the context of the topic (Holmes: 1992,94).

An interlocutor's speech will in most cases reflect his or her group membership. It is influenced by solidarity which is also linked to how well the interactants know each other. The relative status of the speaker and the addressee is determined by such factors as sex, wealth, descent, education and age. Urban **CCR's** comprise occupational styles which are used by people when talking about their specialities. Social class and social context affects the speaker's linguistic styles. Each style also entails different levels of pronunciation which are deliberately produced by the speaker.

(b) **Register**

This linguistic term is often confused with other **Language Variations**. Hence, it is necessary to get a clear picture of its meaning. Register refers to vocabulary items which are linked to independent occupations or social groups. More often than not, the same speaker may control a variety of registers depending on the circumstances. Msimang (1989:9) maintains that; " A register is a speech variety that one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify vis a vis the person or group he is communicating with".

Other linguists present similar definitions. Crystal (1985:261) refers to register "as a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations".

Hawkins (1984:174) maintains that; "a register is a variety of language that is not typically identified with any speech community but is tied to a communicative occasion or context".

Register refers to lexical items linked to independent occupations or social groups. The speaker gets into a position where he is affected by the external situation comprising social context, work place, audience, et cetera. He then resorts to a register which will be apt to the situation and intelligible to the audience, through choosing appropriate words tailored to fit his/her audience which will also be engaged in the same register. One resorts to a certain speech variety in order to habituate himself with the conditions of the place. In other words, he converges to the vocabulary of the discrete occupational or social group at that particular place or time.

The distinction between register and style is often examined along a scale of etiquette which reflects situational considerations such as addressee, milieu, chore, or topic. Register tends to be associated with particular groups of people or sometimes specific situations of use. Holmes (1992:9) gives the following examples of the situations where usage of particular register is prevalent:

"Journalese, baby-talk, legalese, the language of auctioneers, race-callers, and sports commentators, the language of airline pilots, criminals, financiers, politicians and disc jockeys, the language of the courtroom and classroom"

The preceding quotation reveals that a single person can control a variety of registers as he moves from domain to domain. When an adult interlocutor meets a baby, s/he normally speaks to the baby in baby language. In the same vein, when the same interlocutor is exposed to other domains where he meets adult speakers, he engages in adult talk.

In the preceding section, we have mentioned that **Internal variation** is divided into two classes that is to say: **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variation**. We have so far elucidated the meaning of **intra-speaker variation**, including its branches. We shall now consider **inter-speaker variation**.

2.3.1.1.2 Inter-speaker Variation

Inter-speaker variation alludes to varieties which are found between **interlocutors** who speak the same language. It can be categorised into two distinct varieties which are **geographic or regional variation** and **social variation**.

A. **Regional or geographic variation**

Regional or geographic variation occurs when a common language splits internally as the speakers distance themselves from one another socially over time and physical space. It refers to dialects of the same language, which are spoken differently in different regions. Dissimilarities between dialects may be found in pronunciation, tone, accent, vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax (Nomlomo, 1993:6).

After many years, these dialects may grow into new languages when they become mutually unintelligible to various degrees. There are several other criteria to be considered for a dialect to be recognised as a language. These include the size and influence its speakers. For instance, unwritten varieties of a language are often called dialects, but once a dialect is used in formal settings comprising political gatherings, commercial transactions, and religious rituals, it forfeits its dialectal characteristics and reaches the status of an independent language. Once this process occurs, the need arises for dictionaries and grammar books to be written in order to be used in schools as well as in literature publications. Such a dialect can now be used in government transactions, in courtroom hearings, in educational units, in the media and in all official transactions, including holy scriptures, translations and readings.

At this stage, a variety which was once known as a regional dialect will have gained acceptance, status and prestige. It will be autonomous, having its own sovereignty (Msimang, 1989:6). A language variety, therefore, cannot be rejected off-handedly or be given an inferior status by the dominant group.

Kubeka (1979) and Msimang (1989) have worked on the classification of the Nguni and Zulu dialects respectively. Kubeka (1979) in Zungu (1989 : 5) classified Zulu dialects areally, that is, according to the area in which they are spoken. He classified Zulu into the following five dialects:

1. The Central Zulu Dialect
2. The Natal Coast Dialect
3. The Lower Natal Coast Dialect
4. The South Western Dialect
5. The Northern Natal Dialect

Msimang divides the Tekela Nguni dialects into: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlanguini, Phuthi, and Sumayela Ndebele. Since these dialects have digressed from a common source, they still bear certain characteristic correspondences. These will however not be discussed in this study.

(i) **The standard dialect**

A speaker does not rely on regional dialects, because they are regarded in most cases, as informal. There is always a dominant variety for each speech community. This variety overrides all others so as to be recognised as the 'standard' form. A standard variety or language has high prestige. This prestige is unique: it is not associated with a speaker's vernacular. A standard language is often the sum-total of the best characteristics found in its constituent dialect cluster.

(a) **Characteristics of a standard dialect**

A standard dialect will be characterised by amongst others, phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical similarities among all its component dialects. The linguistic components will be streamlined according to standardized rules. The literature will also propagate what is regarded as linguistically ideal and dwell on the speech community's culture including the oral traditions, traditional customs and religious beliefs. The history of the speech community involved, including that of its fore fathers, will also be codified.

(b) **Its shortcomings**

Standard dialect is not without flaws. People still resort to other language varieties or non-standard forms for various reasons, some of which are given below. There is always a desire for upward mobility amongst human beings. Thus, non standard varieties which include contact variation may be employed if it appears that their vocabulary is more expressive than their standard equivalents, or if the latter sounds old fashioned from a speaker's point of view. Speakers sometimes use a **CR** in order to avoid ridicule and the stigma of being called old fashioned or stereotyped.

There is always language deficiency for expressing new concepts in a speech community. Sometimes a standard variety takes a round about way by means of a lexicalised sentence in expressing something which can be said in one word in another language/variety. Hence, speakers resort to the shorter forms which are either non-standard or the result of contact variation. Speakers also resort to a contact variety if it is the only channel to the meaning of a concept. At times interactants are possessed by a desire to sound fashionable or refined and they interlard their speech with other varieties.

(ii) **Vernacular**

One has to make a distinction between vernacular and a standard dialect because some people confuse the two phenomena. According to Crystal, (1991:372): vernacular alludes to "the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community"

Richards et al. (1986:306): maintains that vernacular is " a term used of a language or language variety."

- (a) When it is contrasted with a classical language, such as Latin, e.g. Church services used to be conducted in Latin but now they are in the vernacular (e.g English, Italian, Zulu, et cetera) (classical vs national language)
- (b) When it is contrasted with an internationally used language such as English, e.g. If you want to teach English in that country, it will be useful to know the vernacular. =(national or native or standard language)
- (c) in bilingual or multilingual countries, when it is spoken by some or most of the population, but it is not the official or national language of the country. e.g. In addition to schools that teach in the national language, there are also vernacular schools. (native, non-official language)"

Milroy (1980:24) regards vernacular as a publicly unrecognized language variety which is employed by the majority of speakers in a city and is acquired during the adolescent years.

(iii) **The standardization process**

Msimang (1989:6) explains that the process of standardization comprises four stages, namely: **selection, codification, elaboration** and **acceptance**.

Selection refers to the process which is used by the speech community in choosing its dialect. A dialect is not just chosen at random. Speakers normally choose a dialect which is already in use in a number of respectable and prestigious public places.

There are certain other criteria which are taken into consideration for a dialect to become a language. Dialectologists look at the size of its speakers and its influence. This means that surveys have to be undertaken to obtain language statistics of the sum total of a population.

The second stage involves **codification or grading**. The linguistic peculiarities of the chosen dialect are then standardized in dictionaries, grammar books, published literature and other language units. This will include stages three, namely, elaboration. When this process is completed, the organisers will ensure that it reaches all the members of the speech community so that they can learn it as a standard dialect.

The fourth stage in standardizing a language comprises **acceptance**. The speech community is made aware of the standard dialect and is expected to recognise it as their national language. The speech community should acknowledge it as a symbol of its autonomy, independence and sovereignty (Hudson, 1980:33-37).

(iv) **Diglossia**

This category has already been explained in chapter one, page 2. Holmes (1992:32) states that **diglossia** has three crucial criteria and these are:

1. Two distinct varieties of the same language which are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (**H**) variety and the other a low (**L**) variety.
2. Each variety is used for quite distinct functions; **H** and **L** complement each other.
3. No one uses the **H** variety in everyday conversation.

Diglossia is a form of a speech variety which is used situationally. A church sermon is usually conducted in a standard variety which is a **H variety**. There is however a move away from adherence to **H variety** in religious sermons. One would expect to find or listen to **H variety** in radio news, and also in published literature, political gatherings et cetera, but nowadays this is not always the case. Slang words are infiltrating domains where standard varieties are normally spoken. Most speakers employ at least two language varieties. That is a **H variety** at work or school and a **L variety** at home or in non-formal settings.

The second dimension of **internal variation** entails social variation which is explained here under.

B. Social variation or sociolect

Social variation in language is associated with specific social classes or categories which are distinguishable from other social groups. This type of variation is a product of social dialects or sociolects. Quantifiable factors which distinguish people from each other include the social class to which a person belongs, his group membership, sex, age, ethnicity, and other social networks.

Anthropologists and sociologists employ various scales for classifying people within a social system. Wardhaugh (1989:149) maintains that people are distinguishable from one another by gradation of social class comprising regional origin, occupation, intermarriage, religion, church membership, sex, nationality, sport, leisure activities, psychological differences, linguistic skills, verbality, literacy, personality, and forms of entertainment.

Milroy in Wardhaugh (1989:149) hypothesised that it is a network of relationships into which an individual belongs which exerts the most powerful influence on individual's linguistic behaviour. In the following linguistic categories, speakers share special forms of greetings and suitable topics for discussions.

A sociolect is therefore a speech variety which is linked to social variation. Its status is lower than that of a dialect although dialects are also inferior to the standard language. The term sociolect refers to a speech community, that is, a group of people interacting through common speech which is analyzable according to social classes.

Its varieties comprise a shared body of verbal and non-verbal signs, which are identifiable by their linguistic peculiarities and used by identifiable groups. The speakers of a sociolect have certain norms which vary from sub-group to sub-group. Such varieties share linguistic peculiarities which warrant investigation.

In this study, the following aspects of social dialect or sociolect will be discussed briefly. These include social class, age, gang, sex or gender, ethnicity, and social networks.

(i) **Gender**

The inclusion of this section is necessary as it will serve as reference to those who are not aware that males and females speak differently in different situations.

There is great perception of sex distinction in the choice of vocabulary in linguistic books cited by the present researcher (Wardhaugh, 1989; Holmes, 1992). Topics discussed by men when they are alone will in most cases differ from those discussed by women. Men like to talk about their businesses, politics, legal and illegal transactions, taxes, sport and females. When men are together, they also like to talk about their prowess.

On the other hand, women's talk is influenced by context and patterns of socialisation. Holmes (1992:329) remarks:

"The norms for women talk may be the norms for small group interaction in private contexts, where the goals of the interaction are solidarity stressing-maintaining good social relations. Agreement is sought and disagreement avoided. By contrast, the norms for male interaction seem to be those of public referentially-oriented interaction. The public model is an adversarial one where contradiction and disagreement is more likely than agreement and confirmation of the statements of others."

The quotation implies that men are more assertive than women in their talk. Women like to talk about their personal experiences, related to their personal relationships, personal problems and their feelings and criticism of the behaviour of other people. They usually do not have the courage to criticise one another openly lest they spoil their social relationships (Holmes, 1992:329).

Sometimes, when they are discussing their personal relationships, they talk about the capabilities and incapacities of their partners in as far as satisfying their needs is concerned. Calteaux (1994:161) mentions that some women use nicknames such as **lunchboy**, **yinkukhu yami** (he is my chicken), etc. to refer to their boy friends. A boy friend is called a **lunch boy** because he pays for his girlfriend's lunch, or **yinkukhu yami** because she plucks all the feathers - meaning money - from the boy friend. Women also like to discuss their affiliation with others as well as their homes and family members. In other words, they like to discuss social life, children, books, food, and drink, life's problems and life styles (Wardhaugh, 1993:319).

Wardhaugh (1989:319) further states that women have a tendency of asking more questions when in the company of men thus leaving the platform to be dominated by men. Men seem to be aware of this because they tend to take the initiative in conversations in settings involving both sexes. Males are also accommodating and

will often choose topics which appeal to their female partners. In other words, men will choose topics which will stimulate talk from women. Women who work in taverns and places where they mix with men are also able to speak men's language varieties and can manipulate men through the use of these varieties.

Women also use more body language than men. Their language is more objective than men's. Men are more subjective in their speech. Women are not as resentful as their male counterparts but, like to express their anger openly and candidly. They are direct and straight forward in their speech (Holmes, 1992:329).

Men like to use language in an elusive manner. Under normal circumstances, men avoid putting others in an embarrassing situation and prefer to maintain a good intercourse in their relationship. Men's requests are usually delayed and unexplicit. In the same vein, men are more patient than women in their requests. The indirectness in the male speech is a sign of respect. Men are considered to be speech makers. This is because women are often left at home while men aspire for adventure as they move from one domain to another. Ordinary allegations by men are exact and disapproval is indirect.

Wardhaugh (1989) claims that men protest more, interrupt more, dispute more and they obviously ignore more. This is normally observed in national and political spheres. Such behaviour could be a clue to the awkward behaviour of men who normally avoid by all means to reach a stage where they are pushed to lose their temper, particularly with their female counterparts. They sometimes conceal their protest by simply becoming resentful. Women are not as challenging as men when they are interrupted.

Women like to speak standard languages in official settings while men adhere to vernacular forms. This is because naturally, men do not want to be restricted by rules. Holmes (1992:175) states that this is so because men like to carry their macho

connotation of masculinity and toughness. She also states that vernacular forms may be used to exhibit traditional non-standard values where the standard value is regarded as a rule. Adherence to vernacular forms can also express an anti-establishment demeanour where the standard form is viewed as the middle adult norm.

Women use more interjections than men. This is because they take a leading role in listening, reprimanding and caring for children. The most obvious difference between men and women is the pitch of the voice. It is apparent that the language used by the two sexes will differ here and there. On the other hand, Stevens (1986:33) argues that: "although data presented, states that women are less likely to become bilingual speakers than men, sociodemographic characteristics such as age, nativity, length of residence, education and labour force participation do not account for that difference.

(ii) **Age**

The simplest way of measuring the age of a speaker is to listen to the pitch of his or her voice. Sometimes older females tend to develop broad voices to the extent that their voices cannot be distinguished from men's. In some countries, older men have smaller voices as compared to their female counterparts. The type of variety that a speaker uses is also determined by his age. Varieties related to age include Tsotsitaal, slang, vernacular, and standard forms.

Most studies reveal that old and young males still use abusive language when provoked, but they restrict it to privacy or to certain settings. Females minimise using obscene language as they move towards adulthood (Holmes 1992:183). This is because they do not wish their children to pick up bad language.

Calteaux (1994:157) mentions that the young men aged approximately 21 and below use Tsotsitaal when they are gathered together because they are still in a 'township fever' and peer pressure which causes them to speak Tsotsitaal. Calteaux (1994:157)

also mentions that after the age of 22, young men start to use a language which is not characteristic of the street language. This is because by now they do not spend a lot of time on the streets and are engaged in their studies, work, or new families.

In the **GDA**, when a linguistic term is spreading over its speech community, there is always a regular increase of its usage by both the young and old. This is because most Durban residents have considerable opportunities for extensive social intercourse of all kinds. Even school children hear the varieties in the speech of adult commuters who happen to use the same transportation modes to and from school and work places.

Speaking of slang, Holmes (1992:183) mentions that the type of slang that a person employs reflects his age. She mentions that "current slang is the prerogative of young people and generally sounds odd in the mouth of an older person". Holmes 1992:183)

Although the investigator is aware that in some speech communities, a person who speaks slang is rated as inferior, in the Zulu society, slang is known and spoken by people of all walks of life depending on the circumstances (Ndlovu, 1963, and Msimang, 1987). This statement is revealed by the questionnaire survey conducted in the **GDA** as will be seen in Chapter Three, page 92: number 15(a) of this study.

A person's age can also be estimated by the type of slang words which he or she uses. There are slang words which will sound old fashioned to a youngster and those which will be contemporary and used by adolescents.

(iii) **Social Class**

The differences in speech associated with various social groups are known as **social variations**. As already mentioned, anthropologists and sociologists use various scales to classify people within a social system. This becomes a big task if a person belongs to a number of social groups because he will form a sub-set in various settings. One

and the same person may be so versatile in the use of **Language Variations** that he will be found to be fitting in a number of categories in a speech community.

Social groups are identifiable by their social positions. The principal factors in identifying social groups include religion, ethnicity, and the social class. Other factors which can be used to determine social groups include occupation, place of residence, education, 'new' versus old money, income, racial or ethnic origin, possessions, cultural background, caste, et cetera (Wardhaugh 1993:46).

(a) **Tsotsitaal**

Who is a tsotsi?

According to Coplan (1985:162)

"Tsotsis were originally young, city-bred 'confide men' able to speak some English and Afrikaans and to manipulate the white system. Aided by female counterparts called noasisas (watchers) the tsotsis initially relied more upon their wits than violence. The term tsotsi itself was an urban African pronunciation of 'zoot suit' a symbol of urban sophistication drawn from American popular culture, with its ready money and flashy clothes."

A similar type of Tsotsitaal but which is known as Indoubil is found in Nigeria. Goyvaerts (1988:231) traces the origin of Indoubil and states that, initially, the speakers of Indoubil were teenagers who considered themselves real 'men of action' who did

not fear danger and fully capable of getting sufficient money for self support and they employed an esoteric hybrid language that, in essence, was a mixture of Lingala, French and other European languages.

A South African tsotsi was initially a male person who had a background of both English and Afrikaans in order to manipulate the white system. There were also female tsotsis who assisted their male tsotsi partners. The tsotsi gang was good at contriving illegal operations. They dressed in classy outfits in order to disguise their occupation. They were typical urban dwellers who adopted the American culture in speech, dress and other possessions (Coplan 1985:162).

The South African tsotsi emerged from the ethnically mixed societies of the townships. The tsotsis came into existence in the black residential areas of the Witwatersrand during the Second World War and their language was known as Tsotsitaal. The tsotsi interlarded Afrikaans with his vernacular. Tsotsitaal itself was Afrikaans based. Initially, this dialect was adopted from the American slang. Coplan (1985:162) has this to say about Tsotsitaal:

"Borrowing heavily from American slang, Johannesburg Tsotsitaal was eventually spoken by most urban workers and became the language of African working-class culture. As conditions worsened, tsotsi turned to robbery, smuggling and other violent crimes. Meanwhile, the label broadened to include all urban criminals except for the gangs of migrants such as the maRashea (Russians) and Amalaita. The tsotsis were successors to the infamous Blue Nines."

Msimang (1989:82) regards a tsotsi as one of the pests which came into being during the Second World War. He is, however not opposed to Tsotsitaal as such. Durban CCR's, though not only Afrikaans based, have inherited some of the characteristics of the original Tsotsitaal which was not flawed with contemporary criminal elements.

CCR's which are employed in the GDA also borrow a lot of peculiarities from Tsotsitaal. A Zulu term for Tsotsitaal in the Rhawuteng area is known as **isicamtho**. To **camtha** means to talk. The word originates from the Zulu word **qamunda** (talk). Most Transvaal Nguni and Sotho speakers perceive the three click consonants /q, x

and c/ as /c/ Thus to **qamunda** (talk) ends up being **camunda >camutha >camtha**.

In the **GDA** the Zulu word for Tsotsitaal is **isiLovasi**. A tsotsi is also known as **isilovasi** (a loafer). The term does not refer to a loafer as such but to youngsters who are going through a 'township fever' and who regard themselves as real men of action. They usually engage in all sorts of illegal transactions. There are older men who do not outgrow this stage but remain tsotsis for a long time or for the rest of their lives.

CCR's will, however, not be called Tsotsitaal because they are employed by people of various sectors including professional people, university students, doctors, nurses, educated as well as uneducated township dwellers, soccerites and music fans, prisoners, educated as well as uneducated liquor drinkers, et cetera, who are not tsotsis.

(b) **Cant**

According to Barnhart and Barnhart (1986:294) cant refers to "the peculiar language of a special group using many words:argot"¹⁴. He further states that cant are stock phrases and expressions fashionable at a particular time or among a group or class of society.

Cant is peculiar to certain social classes such as school children, college and university students, the intelligentsia, Christians, criminals, prostitutes, tramps ducktails, social classes who live underground, as well as many other classes in society (Ndlovu, 1963). Cant words precede slang. The main purpose in employing cant words is (i) to provide pastime, (ii) to confirm one's membership to a group, and (iii) to guarantee secrecy when performing a task, particularly an illegal activity.

As soon as a cant word reaches the stage where it is universally accepted and freely used as a mode of expression, it ceases to be a cant word of a particular group or

class. Instead, it becomes a slang word that is employed by the whole language group. Functions of cant are discussed in Chapter 5; page 168.

This notion is also corroborated in Calteaux (1994:241) who states that an **argot**, which is a synonym of **cant**, belongs to the language varieties which lie furthest from the standard end of the language continuum. These are specialised varieties of language which are used when the purpose is to be secretive or to deceive. These varieties are often used by subcultures in a community especially criminals. This secretiveness is confirmed by Goyvaerts (1988:232) who states that:

"The main purpose of certain typical Indoubil features is to render the code incomprehensible to a non-initiate... the deliberate polysemy as well as the proliferation of absolute synonymy also serve to bring about ambiguity and hence will result in complete bewilderment on the part of the outsider.... At best, one could speak here of 'colloquialism'¹⁵."

(c) **Slang**

Barnhart and Barnhart, (1986:1960) refer to slang as words, phrases or meanings that are new, flashy and popular, usually for only a short time. Slang is a form of colloquial speech created in a spirit of vividness of the standard variety and aiming at freshness and novelty. Its figures are consciously far fetched and are intentionally drawn from the most ignoble of sources. Slang is heavily influenced by mixed language varieties including the vernacular of the speech community.

This is one of the reasons why we find one and the same person speaking different varieties because of the social groups into which he belongs.

(d) **Ethnicity**

When speakers are given a chance to choose a language, they normally prefer their

ethnic language which is a symbol of ethnic identity. Even when a speech community is constrained to learn the language of the dominant group, the most important symbol of their discrete ethnicity is seen in their resistance, and their adherence to their vernacular in their thought patterns. This is because vernacular is a variety which is intuitively acquired and is the very first code in which an individual translates his linguistic world. The human mind is very powerful in resisting radical language change.

Language resistance to change is inevitable although it is not the language itself that is resisting the change, but rather the attitude of people towards foreign elements in their language. There are a lot of positive grounds for resisting change in a language. Reasons for maintaining ethnic languages involve pride in the mother tongue. Also, a vernacular form serves as a source of reference and it also helps to keep family cohesion.

Accompanying language maintenance is another form of ethnic identity which embraces items such as food, dress, religion, parts of the body, language of respect and the various techniques which people use to distinguish themselves from the majority group (Holmes, 1992:192).

In support of ethnicity Holmes (1992:192) states that:

"For groups where there are no identifying physical features to distinguish them from others in society, these distinctive linguistic features may be an important remaining symbol of ethnicity once their language has disappeared."

Ethnicity can best be exhibited by speakers of a language which was imposed on them because although they may claim to be monolingual, their ethnic background will still betray them. To be specific, a young black scholar whose vernacular is Zulu and who attends a multi-racial school, speaks English differently from his or her white classmates. In the same vein, an interlocutor who only learned an indigenous

language as a second language (L2)¹⁶ and not as his or her vernacular (L1)¹⁷ will speak the vernacular differently from his or her colleagues who are mother tongue speakers. His ethnic language will betray him in his speech repertoire. Similar examples are found between the speech of African Americans and White Americans (Holmes, 1992:192). Most black Americans speak English differently from their white counterparts.

(e) **Social Networks**

Networks refer to all the domains in which an individual participates. It seeks to ask questions such as, how does an individual participate in a certain domain? On what occasion does he participate? How does he or she interact with individuals in the various domains and how profound is her or his relationships with the group members?

Wardhaugh (1989:128) confirms this statement when he writes:

"This 'network' concept is a very useful one because it focuses on the individual's relationship to society at large through the individual contacts that a person has rather than on some kind of abstract group and its statistical characteristics."

Wardhaugh (1989) distinguishes between two types of networks: that is **multiplex** and **uniplex networks**. Multiplex network alludes to a single individual who is tied to others in a variety of ways including occupation and encounters in various domains. Multiplex network yields powerful local relationships.

Uniplex network, on the other hand, refers to relationships which link individuals only in a single dimension. Individuals meet only once a day or a week and it ends there. This could be at a work place, in church, at school, during leisure activities,

as neighbours, et cetera. There is no intersection of relationships with acquaintances. As a result, the networks are loose and defused (Wardhaugh 1993:128).

Linguistic variation disperses through the social networks of the speakers. Speakers are, generally speaking, linguistic entrepreneurs (Holmes, 1992:236), that is, they are like businessmen who move from one area to the other while trying to sell their goods. Speakers of various variations which we have identified serve as links between diverse social groups.

They act as bridges or channels which relay new linguistic terms from one linguistic group to the other. One domain will not be enough for a new linguistic term to receive recognition and acceptance. Holmes (1992:237) mentions that for an innovation to have a good chance of adoption by the central members of the community, it will need to be transmitted in a number of different connections or bridges.

2.3.1.2 Contact Variation

Contact variation is a branch of **Language Variation** which arises as a result of contact with speakers of other languages. There is usually a basic need by speakers who speak different languages to find a common system of communication. This is usually in the form of a lingua franca. A lingua franca is a language which is employed by speakers in order to facilitate communication between them (Wardhaugh, 1993:56). For instance, English has been declared a lingua franca of all South Africans, although in certain regions, like the Orange Free State, Ghawuteng, including other black residential areas, the Western, Northern and Eastern Cape, Afrikaans is widely used as a lingua franca as compared to English.

2.3.1.2.1 **Lingua francas**

A lingua franca is a variety used by people whose mother tongues¹⁸ are diverse, in order to facilitate communication between them. Crystal (1985:180) describes lingua franca as "an auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different languages."

Fromkin and Rodman, (1983:260) mention that many areas of the world are populated by people speaking divergent languages. In such areas where groups desire social or commercial communication, one language is often used by common agreement. Such a language is called a lingua franca.

(Hudson,1980:8) maintains that a lingua franca is "a trade language which is widely spoken as a native language."

Durban **CCR's** will not be called lingua francas for people who speak different languages, because switching from **code** to **code** is deliberately tailored to suit a specific purpose other than the need for mutual intelligibility or commercial communication.

Sometimes a lingua franca comprises mixed varieties from different languages just like pidgins, jargons, creoles and koinés. In this respect, lingua francas do share some characteristic features with mixed varieties, koinés or codes. Jugmohan (1990) refers to IsiNdiya as an Indian - Zulu lingua franca. Ngcongwane (1986) was totally opposed to Fanakalo which is a lingua franca used in the mines. Epstein (1959:322) mentions that Fanakalo is a mark of social distance between two or more speakers and English is a mark of social acceptance and even equality between speakers.

2.3.1.2.2 Pidgins

Hymes (1964) quotes De Camp who proposes the following definition of a pidgin.

"Pidgin is a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterised by limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features."

A pidgin originates from two or more speech communities attempting to communicate and flourish in areas of economic development. The grammar and vocabulary of such a variety is very much reduced. A pidgin is no one's native language.

2.3.1.2.3 Creole

Fromkin and Rodman (1983:263) states that; "When a pidgin comes to be adopted by a community as its native tongue, and children learn it as a first language, that language is called a creole" According to Bell, (1976:160) Creoles come into being as a result of migration and urban growth and where children are born to parents who have no common language other than a pidgin.

In addition to this, parents have to make a conscious effort to teach their own mother tongues to the children and avoid using the pidgin in their presence (children). It is more likely that the pidgin will become the child's first language if parents from different linguistic backgrounds communicate among themselves and with their offspring, in a makeshift pidgin.

2.3.1.2.4 Koiné

According to Schuring (1992:57), "The koiné is an abbreviation of the Greek

expression koiné dialektos, that is the general dialect or Common Greek spoken by different nations around the Mediterranean approximately 2000 years ago."

A koiné is a common language employed for all kinds of interactions in a cosmopolitan community. It is a result of mixing between language subsystems that are either mutually intelligible or share the same superimposed standard language. A koiné is a mixture of slang, lingua franca, creole, pidgin and Tsotsitaal, and its salient functions are mainly social interaction in a cosmopolitan community. The status of slang, lingua franca, creoles and Tsotsitaal is lower than that of koinés which are used as tokens of urban status. **CCR's** can be equated with koinés in the sense that they also share a mixture of all the language varieties which are employed by speakers in a speech community.

2.3.1.2.5 Jargon

A. What is jargon?

According to Barnhart et al. (1986:1128):

"Jargon is commonly used to refer to any confused or unintelligible speech or writing... Among linguists, jargon is a technical word for a dialect composed of the mixture of two or more languages such as the Chinook jargon of the Pacific Northwest and the Chinese-English jargon, pidgin English."

In this study, jargon has been extended to include special or formal vocabulary used within a profession or groups of people sharing the same occupation. Under jargons we may include hospital **CCR's**, soccer **CCR's** and educational **CCR's**.

Professions have their own terminology or **Language Variation** which allows members to express themselves in an ambiguous manner to out-group members.

Jargon was first used in the fourteenth century in the sense of the twittering of birds. From then onwards, it passed on naturally to mean a talk that one does not understand, or gibberish, and so, to any form of speech or writing filled with unfamiliar terms which were peculiar to a particular group of persons (Hudson 1980:10).

Such terminology was not immediately understood by the man in the street. Hudson (1980:9) maintains that jargon:

1. reflects a particular profession or occupation;
2. is pretentious with only a small kernel of meaning within it;
3. is deliberately, or accidentally, mystifying.

The preceding explanation implies that jargon is a variety which is unintelligible to an out-group member. It contains special vocabulary which is used within a profession, or groups of people sharing the same profession.

B. What is a profession?

A need also arises to define what we mean by 'profession' because not all occupations are professions. Hudson (1980:8) states that a profession is recognised by its complex 'characteristics'. He states that a profession needs to satisfy the following requirements:

1. Entry into it, that is, full membership. It must be permitted only to those who have satisfied an examining and supervisory board that they have reached a satisfactory standard of training. There will be a document issued to successful candidates, which makes it clear that a register of the members of the profession will be maintained by the governing body.
2. Continued membership of the profession must be conditional on observing certain understood conditions of behaviour and competence.
3. Removal from the register of anyone who is judged unfit to practise must be under the direct control of the professional body itself, not of the courts.

There are a few occupations which meet these requirements. According to Hudson (1982:10), occupations which would meet these requirements include doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, actuaries and nurses. He states that where people are not obliged to have undergone any approved course of training, or possess any certificate of competence, then that occupation cannot be regarded as a profession. Hudson (1982:10) remarks that what lowers the status of an occupation is that, in some countries, people are free to work, say, as teachers, journalists, engineers, architects and actors without any form of paper qualification whatsoever. As a result, these occupations cannot be classified as professions (Hudson 1980:8).

Hudson (1980:9) further states that doctors have a piece of paper hanging in their offices which tells the world that they are qualified and licensed to practise medicine. Lawyers are in the same position. He states that:

"Anyone who attempts to work as a doctor or lawyer without possessing such a piece of paper is likely to find himself in a serious legal trouble and may well go to prison for his attempt to deceive the public." (Hudson 1980:8)

Jargon sometimes mystifies and awes the laity. Hudson (1980:9) mentions that the twentieth century laity is no longer as passive or as ignorant as it was fifty years ago. He remarks that the great days of medical jargon may be coming to an end from the amount of medical jargon that is known by the laity.

In this study, jargon will not be restricted to medical and legal terms. For instance, a lecturing doctor or professor is not inferior to a nurse, who, according to Hudson (1980) is regarded as more professional than a teacher. It is for this reason that I have chosen neutral linguistic terms, that is to say, **CR**, because there is a lot of controversy surrounding the term jargon. Vocabulary from other professions which have been identified as jargon have not been included in this study as they have not been included in my sample.

Jargon vocabulary is normally understood by we-code members¹⁹ (in-group members) because it contains technical terms which are difficult to be comprehended by the out-group members. Jargon is hardly accommodative of out-group members.

2.3.1.2.6 IsiNdiya

Jugmohan (1990) prefers the word isiNdiya to the term isiKula, a derogatory term which was used by Brother Otto Trapp (1908). According to Trapp, (1908), in Jugmohan (1990:14) IsiNdiya is a mixture of English and Zulu, used mainly as a means of communication between the Indians and the Zulus. He also mentions that isiNdiya is similar to Fanakalo in terms of grammatical structure and lexicon (Jugmohan, 1990:120). IsiNdiya is typically pidgin in nature because it is a mother tongue of no one.

IsiNdiya plays a vital role in respect of communication between the multilingual communities of Natal and elsewhere. Places where isiNdiya is spoken include domestic spheres, industry, commerce and the mines. Educated Zulu speakers react negatively to being spoken to in isiNdiya. They regard it as a form of 'talking down' to them. Semi-literate mother-tongue Zulu speakers like to be spoken to in isiNdiya. In other words, they converge to a speech event which is in isiNdiya. It will be observed that the gain loss theory on page 54, number 2.4.5 of this chapter explains that choice of a language or variety in any situation for anyone, can be determined by a sociolinguistic theory which views language transactions in multilingual groups as exchanges in which the participants choose a language by weighing the relative costs and rewards incurred in the choice. Myers-Scotton (1971:110) This explains the reason why semi-literate mother-tongue Zulu speakers who are usually servants of the Indian community, converge to isiNdiya because such a gesture has rewards for them. Jugmohan (1990:119) confirms the application of this theory by mother-tongue Zulu speakers when he states that 'it could be that their attitude 'is' one of accommodation of the Indians trying to speak 'Zulu' or, it could well be that they want to remain in

the employment of Indian employers. There are two theories which the Zulus and Indians apply when talking isiNdiya to each other. These are; speech accommodation (page 47) and gain loss theories. Also refer to the bottom of page 5 of this study, where I interpret unfiltered talk as being an element of the speech accommodation theory.

2.3.1.2.7 Interlarded Speech

According to Agheyisi (1977:23):

"a common pool of vocabulary has evolved, mainly from the diffusion of words from English, and that these items are so linguistically neutral in the way they are used that the IS (Interlarded Speech) resulting from their occurrence in indigenous language speech could appropriately be referred to as an urban variety of the particular language."

Interlarding refers to given varieties in a given speech event. This is done in the form of mixing varieties from different languages. We speak of interlarded speech when we mix Zulu with English, Afrikaans or any other language variety. This term embraces code-switching²⁰ and mixing²¹ of language-pairs.

2.3.1.2.8 Borrowing

Borrowing involves integration of linguistic units borrowed from one language into the grammatical system of the borrowing language (Kachru 1983). Language 1, which is the borrowing language, is often identified as the matrix code²² or host code; language 2, which is the borrower language, is perceived as the embedded code²³ or the guest code²⁴. Kamwangamalu (1988) terms this symbiosis a Matrix Code principle. The researcher calls it a symbiosis because the embedded code has to conform to the morpho-syntactic structure rules of the matrix code which is the language of the discourse, whilst, at the same time, in certain instances, retaining the rules of the embedded code.

The difference between borrowing and code switching or mixing is that borrowing can occur in the speech of both monolingual and bi/multilinguals as long as the monolingual speaker has at least a smattering command of the embedded code. By a bi/multilingual speaker we are referring to a person who can express himself/ herself in spontaneous, intelligible sentences in at least one other language in addition to his first language.

Individual bilingual competence is not necessary for borrowing to take place for a monolingual speaker except for lexical deficiency in his/ her first language. Akinnaso (1985:1) confirms this view where he argues that "Borrowing prototypically involves only one grammar (except where the borrowed items are fixed phrases or idiomatic expressions), whereas code-switching involves at least two grammars."

Even then, a caveat must be expressed because assimilation of lexical items into another language is accompanied by several considerations. For instance, genetic²⁵ and typological²⁶ relationship and the degree of lexico-grammatical adaptation is greatly involved in code switching/mixing. Akinnaso (1985: 1) confirms this notion by referring to Spanish-English (Pfaff, 1979), as well as Yoruba-English (Goke-Pariola, 1983), where the distinction between the two grammars are often blurred by excessive lexico-grammatical adaptation leading to a conclusion that only one grammar, usually the embedded code, is being employed.

When a researcher is aware of the indigenous language of a speech community, it is often easy for him to identify code switched passages or lexical items in a speech repertoire, given L1 as the matrix code and L2 as the embedded code, whereas there are restraints for items which have already been incorporated into L1 from L2. Lexical items already incorporated into the host language are often post-dated in the lexical history of the host language. This suggests that borrowed items can best be understood from a synchronic or diachronic point of view which requires a sound historical background of the lexical items of a language, particularly L1.

Borrowing usually consists of single or compound lexical items. It has a lexical need that fits into the phonetic, morphological, phonological and syntactic systems of L1. Its lexical items come from L2 to L1, and under normal circumstances, it is a result of deficiency of L1 equivalents.

This underlines the point that has already been mentioned that the principal goal of code switching is to provide socio-pragmatic rather than referential knowledge. Akinnaso (1985:3) phrases this notion clearly where he writes:

"While borrowing serves primarily referential functions, providing labels for concepts, objects and ideas that have no antecedents in the borrowing language culture, code switching serves primarily socio-pragmatic functions."

These socio-pragmatic functions may involve showing off, ostracising or excluding a they-code member or monolingual speaker from participating in the conversation, rephrasing a message so that it is better understood by the participants, designating a particular addressee, communicating an ambiguous message, et cetera.

2.3.1.2.9

Adoptives

In this study, the term 'adoptive' is used as the modern equivalent of borrowing/ loan words. Borrowing and adoption mean one and the same thing. To adopt means to take for your own or as your own choice with formal approval. The codes that are employed in the various settings are mostly adoptives from other languages. Once adopted into the host language, they are never returned to the donor language.

There are various reasons for incorporating adoptives into the Zulu language. These are discussed in Chapter 5 of the present study. Sometimes the adoption process in this study is from the Zulu language itself, where a term is given a different meaning when used as a **CR**. Speech terms are also adopted from non-standard Zulu varieties,

from other African languages as well as from non-Bantu and non African languages.

2.4 THEORIES OF LANGUAGE VARIATION

In this section, we are going to look at some of the theories which have reference to **Language Variation**. These theories have been chosen because they serve to validate the linguistic situation in the **GDA**, and will form the basis of the entire thesis.

It must be mentioned that not all theories mentioned below will receive illustration because of the limitations of the study.

2.4.1 Speech Accommodation Theory

Holmes (1992:255) mentions that when people talk to each other, their speech often becomes similar. This implies that each interactant's speech converges towards the speech of the person s/he is talking to. This theory is known as **speech accommodation**. When township boys greet each other or say goodbye, they normally say '**kuwusharp**' or simply say '**sharp**'. In other words second speaker converges to the variety used by the first speaker. The theory is also employed by prisoners. A 27 says '**Hhomu**' when greeting another 27 prisoner (p:121) who also converges in the same way of greeting. A twenty eight normally uses the expression '**Samani**' to greet another 28. (p.120). Should the respondent not converge in the same variety, then the listeners will know that he does not belong to the same group. The same theory applies in a number of instances which will however not be discussed because they appear to obvious to the readers.

Holmes (1992:255) states that speech accommodation occurs when speakers like one another. They like to discuss their problems, share and seek solutions and also give reassurance.

Interaction between human beings, particularly in conversational strategies, cannot function without the ability of the message of the sender which will weigh and calculate the apparent effects of its words on the listener. Each instance of a feed back from the listener conditions or alters subsequent messages. Hawkes (1982:83) observes that:

"All communication consists of a message initiated by an addresser whose destination is an addressee. The message requires a contact between addresser and addressee which may be oral, visual, electronic or whatever. It must be formulated in terms of a code: speech, numbers, writing, sound formation etc. And the message must refer to a context understood by both addresser and addressee, which enables the message to make sense."

It is thus important for both parties to interpret the responses of each other in order to keep the interaction going. If the responses are nil or neutral, it may mean that one of the interactants cannot interpret the message, and this may lead to the termination of the discourse or result in negative responses with the cancellation of rewards²⁷ and high costs²⁸. Myers-Scotton (1988:202) mentions that:

"The costs and rewards will depend on the addressee's response. Mildly marked choices may 'nudge' the addressee, allowing the speaker to make a point; but very marked choices, especially those potentially full of rewards for the speaker only, may cause the addressee to 'opt out' entirely. If this happens, the speaker stands to lose out."

Socio-psychology is concerned with how feelings, thoughts and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the presence of others or the imagined or implied presence of others (Allport, 1968). There are five theoretical frameworks proposed by Smith and Giles in Myers-Scotton (1983) which we have adopted for our study. These theories are concerned with understanding the cognitive arrangement that reconciles an individual's perception of another individual with his or her succeeding

behaviour. Sociolinguistics is interaction-centred, hence the emphasis is on impression-centred configuration. Smith and Giles in Myers-Scotton (1983) refer to this configuration as a **cognitive uncertainty theory**. The rest of their theoretical framework includes attribution of intent, which they call causal **attribution principles**, interpersonal attraction, termed **affective reinforcement, gain-loss theory**, and **interpersonal behaviour** or **social identity** theory.

2.4.2 Cognitive Uncertainty Theory

This theory proposes that when we meet others, we strategically attempt to make them predictable in such a way as to guide our behaviour appropriately. This theory is practised by prisoners who will want proof first that a prisoner belongs to the same gang before he can be welcome. The addresser prisoner normally says **Ungaphakama ngani?** How can you prove to me that you belong to the 25, 26,27, or 28 cell? This theory is well illustrated in chapter 4 under prison **CR**.

Choice of a **CR** may be guided by family norms, that is, the relationship between children and parents, between the siblings and between family members and strangers. Secondly, choice of a **CR** may depend on who is listening, in other words, who forms part of the audience. Thirdly, choice of a **CR** looks at the social context in which the speech event is taking place and examines whether the interaction is formal, private, personal or public (Holmes 1992:6).

Thus, this theory tries to reduce uncertainty amongst the speakers by adopting tactics which we develop at different phases of acquiring a relationship (Berger and Calabrese, 1975).

Cognitive uncertainty theory states that choice of a **CR** will depend on the relationship between the participants. A relevant factor in linguistic choices depends on how well we know the addressee, in other words, who we are and who we are talking to, the

domain and the social context of the talk, as well as the function and the topic of the discussion.

A person may choose a particular **CR** because it makes it easier to discuss a particular topic. It also makes it easier to transmit one's feelings effectively even if the participant does not understand the discourse, particularly in situations comprising abusive language and idle talk or gossip. The idea of choice of a **CR** is supported by Ndlovu (1963:98) who maintains; "Every man, no matter how learned he may be, will always use a common language when he converses with a common man in order that he may be understood well."

The better one knows someone, the more casual and relaxed the speech style one will use. With friends, it is common for the interlocutors to employ a colloquial variety. For instance, educated black inmates, normally use mixed varieties in order to maintain their status when interacting with friends. Myers-Scotton (1988:203) remarks that; "This is always the case in Third World communities among educated peers who alternate between their ethnic group language... and an international language..."

Different situations usually prevail elsewhere. For instance, at work, with higher management, the same speaker, if he is a subordinate, employs a different **CR** comprising respect terms, while, at very formal settings like in a court room situation, choice of a **CR** will be influenced by the setting which will compel the speaker to use more formal terms.

When rewards for using a **CR** outweigh the costs, the speaker will use English alone in the following situations: when addressing a well dressed stranger at work and when speaking with a boss. People sometimes wonder why black South Africans speak English or Afrikaans amongst themselves. In the African context, at work the educated African will speak English with a well dressed stranger, and s/he will also speak English with his/her boss. Educated speakers also address non-black persons

like Asians and Europeans in English or Afrikaans and not Fanakalo or isiNdiya (Jugmohan, 1990) pidgin. IsiNdiya is a mixture of English and Zulu used mainly as a means of communication between the Indians and Zulus. Trapp, (1908) This is an indication that the black interlocutor wants to reap rewards from the stranger, which include impressing him or her rather than look for friendship (Myers-Scotton, 1971:121).

In actual fact, official languages like standard English and Afrikaans are employed when speaking to well dressed strangers visiting the city or township, more than is done when talking to a fellow urbanite.

A high status official is addressed in the most frequently selected **CR** for official transactions, regardless of the speaker's ethnicity. Typical role relationships involve priest-parishioner, matron-nurse, doctor-patient, commander-constable, teacher-pupil, soldier-civilian, official-citizen, parent-child, chief-subject, et cetera. The role mentioned first in the above pairs is the one which is more statusful (Myers-Scotton, 1971:121).

The idea behind the above statement is that it is possible for a speaker to control the floor if he has some kind of status even if his audience does not comprehend the message. In the same vein, it is also possible for the speaker to gain favourable attention from his audience if his expertise and credentials are highlighted to the audience.

Our assumption is that a person with high status can obtain a lot of information from an addressee if he is able to address him in a **CR** which he can comprehend and which also makes the addressee more comfortable in expressing his feelings. This means that in every instance of speaking the **CR**, some assertion specifying the underlying interest or underlying maxim of the **CR** could be discovered.

In conclusion, this theory stipulates that when we meet others we tactically strive to guess what type of people they are in order to guide our behaviour appropriately and then we address them accordingly. That is why we are going to come across words such as **umreva**, (Reverend), nafu (nursing assistant female) et cetera.

2.4.3 Causal Attribution Theory

This theory asserts that when we observe the behaviour of other people, we attribute motives and intentions to them. The theory endeavours to determine the factors that influence the behaviour of individuals as regards stable internal dispositions like character, competence et cetera, or by temporary external factors operating on the situation at the time. The theory explains why people behave in unacceptable ways.

The culture of wanting to become self sufficient from an early age is very common amongst the urban youth, particularly the drop outs. It is this culture of wanting to possess things not belonging to an individual which makes us incorporate the following theory into the present study. We now look at the Marxist theory in order to explain some of the behaviour of urban residents. According to Marx (Haralambos, 1987:536):

"The primary aspect of man's social being is the social relationships he enters into for the production of material life. Since these relationships are largely reproduced in terms of ideas, concepts, laws and religious beliefs, they are seen as normal and natural. Thus when the law legitimizes the right of private property, when religious beliefs justify economic arrangements and the dominant concepts of the age define them as natural and inevitable, men will be largely unaware of the contradictions they contain. In this way, the contradictions within the economic infrastructure are compounded by the contradictions between man's consciousness and objective reality..."

Marx argues that man's consciousness is wrong because it presents a distorted picture of reality since it fails to reveal the basic conflicts of interest which exist in the world

which man has created. The conflict in man's consciousness creates tension which is only resolved in the dialectical process (the art or practice of logical discussion as a means of examining critically the truth of the theory or opinion,(Barnhart and Barnhart, 1986:578).

This theory is very obvious in urban communities, especially amongst the youth. Gangsters particularly in their teens simply steal property not belonging to them, particularly cars, cellular phones and computers, for their own material gain. They say that cars are their girl friends (*amathekeni*). Thus, if a boy does not possess a car it means that he has no girl friend and thus tries very hard to **ngcuka/ ngcoka** (pluck or steal one).

2.4.4 Affective Reinforcement Theory

This theory suggests that our attraction towards others is dependent on the extent to which we share important attitudes and beliefs. It is thought that perceived congruence on salient dimensions is positively rewarding for the individual, as it consensually authenticates his or her view of the world. The theory is concerned with determining those dimensions along which we seek similarities with (and dissimilarities from) others (Grush, Clore & Costin, 1975).

In English, this theory is similar to the expression, 'Birds of a feather flock together. At times, an addresser need not require proof of identity before accepting a stranger. For instance there are salient features which will tell that a stranger is a liquor drinker. That is why in chapter 4 we come across words such as **iphuza-face, iphuza-mouth, iphuza-eyes** et cetera. All these words depict that the stranger is a heavy drinker whose face, mouth and eyes have been affected by taking intoxicating beverages.

Other aspects contributing to affective reinforcement theory have already been mentioned under social dialects and sociolects. Speakers may share ethnicity, age,

social class, including political and religious affiliation, et cetera.

Choice of a **CR** also looks at referential and affective scales. Gossip, for instance, provides a great deal of referential information and also conveys how the speaker feels about those referred to. In most cases, vocabulary related to speakers who are attracted towards each other will be different from those who are not, as we saw in the interaction between males and females.

Affective reinforcement theory also goes to the extent of including language varieties. There are a lot of cryptic codes which are intelligible to we-code members. These have to do with love affairs and many other faculties; refer to chapter five, number 44.

2.4.5 Gain-Loss Theory

The gain-loss theory focuses upon the tendency people have for being attracted most towards those whose admiration and respect they want to gain. People generally tend to enjoy the rewarding experience of others' attraction towards them, so long as this is reciprocated. This is to say, that people enjoy most the increments in others' liking for them.

The gain-loss theory can well be illustrated when a addresser wants to reap rewards from his audience. Myers-Scotton (1988:199) recognizes two types of socially-situated power: that is, statusful power and interactional power. Statusful power is the extent to which a speaker shows himself off to advantage in an interaction relative to other participants in any of these ways: like controlling the floor, or the direction and outcome of the interaction, and also in terms of attracting favourable attention to oneself, for example, by highlighting one's expertise, one's other interpersonal associations and experiences (Myers-Scotton, 1988:199).

Myers-Scotton (1971:110) looks at some theoretical framework in explaining choice of a **language variation** for any social situation. She exemplifies with a variety which is spoken in the multilingual community of Kampala. Her theoretical framework largely follows that of Thibaut and Kelly (1959) who look at social interaction as a process of exchange. This exchange is made through a balance of costs and rewards by the participants in the social process, so that each participant achieves an outcome satisfying to himself. According to these theorists, rewards have a positive effect on the esteem, while costs have a negative effect.

Myers-Scotton (1971:110) simplifies this theory by explaining that:

"Choice of a language [variety] in any situation for anyone can be determined by a sociolinguistic theory which views language transactions in multilingual groups as exchanges in which the participants choose a language by weighing the relative costs and rewards incurred in that choice. Social norms influence the way costs and rewards are counted, and the expectations of all participants in terms of possible outcome and alternative relationships determine the roles taken."

Myers-Scotton's findings from a language variety which is spoken in Kampala are:

- (a) That for the speaker, the cost will be high and the rewards cancelled if he uses a prestige variety with persons of equal or low status in any but the most formal situation and/or if the person addressed does not possess the ability to speak that language well.
- (b) That for the speaker the reward will not be high but neither will be the costs if he uses a neutral variety. Although a speaker gains little prestige by using such a language, he does maintain his position as a friendly neighbour, approachable co-worker and pleasant companion.
- (c) That a speaker will acquire high rewards without high costs if he uses a neutral variety /prestige variety combination rather than either language alone among supposed peers who have some but perhaps not equal command of the

prestige language.

- (d) The costs will be low and the rewards high if the speaker uses almost exclusively a prestigious language with persons of high status who clearly possess the ability to speak that language well.
- (e) With those in higher positions, he will speak a prestigious international language which has official standing in the community in order to impress his superiors. In the questionnaire survey which is on page 97, number 24, 62.7% of our sample expressed that they preferred to be addressed in a neutral varieties befitting the forums rather than to be addressed in a 'standard' variety at all times. Only 21.4% percent favoured to be addressed in English or Afrikaans. These results confirm what Myers-Scotton mentions in (b) above.

In the interviews conducted with the Bishop and other people whom I rated as being purists. (pages 98-102) it was clear that the Bishop had a motive behind speaking non-standard varieties. For instance, he mentioned that speaking a particular variety which is employed by a speech community makes him popular with the crowds. People get the impression that he knows their hardships and in this manner, most of them convert to Christianity. In addition to this, his sermons have credibility. He gains a lot of rewards from his congregation because people feel that he identifies himself with them. In this manner, the rewards become high and the costs, very low. We shall also see that in our analysis of data on p.97, question 24, 62,7% of the respondents preferred to be addressed in their language varieties as against a standard dialect.

2.4.6. Social identity theory

This theory suggests that we are not only concerned with attaining rewards and positive self esteem, but also that we desire a favourable group esteem. The theory is concerned with exploring the conditions under which group members will attempt to search for and even create dimensions in which they are positively distinct from

other relevant groups, (Robert:1980:289). This theory is illustrated in a number of domains as will be seen in chapter chapter.

2.4.7 Symbolic interactionist Theory

One is compelled to turn to symbolic interactionist theory since it is an important strategy for communication in linguistic circles. The symbolic interactionist theory views human thought, experience and conduct as essentially social. According to Mead (1934:344), thought, experience and conduct; "owe their nature to the fact that human beings interact in terms of symbols, the most of which are contained in language."

Symbols are not language *per se*, but they are devices by which ideas too difficult, dangerous or inconvenient to articulate in common language are transmitted between people who have acculturated in common ways. People use symbols as a way of communicating messages.

Other groups of interactive symbols comprise icons. Icons are regarded as the most important aspects of human communication in society. There are symbolic metaphors which are linked to all forms of human activities. Speech codes are nothing else but metaphors.

For instance, the meaning of the word **kombi** does not only represent a category of automobiles, but it also looks at its line of action, like its speed and shape. In this way, a **CR** for a **kombi** is known as a **Zola Budd**, where the speed at which the **kombi** moves is proposed to be equivalent to that of Zola (nee) Budd (now Pieterse). A loaf of bread is also equated with a **kombi** because of its shape

Intulo (lizard) is another **CR** which is proposed as equivalent to the speed of a kombi. Zulu youngsters are often heard saying: *Ngizo-ry-a intulo (ry-Afrikaans) ngoba indlovu izongichithela isikhathi.* (I shall travel by a lizard (meaning a kombi/mini-bus

taxi) because the elephant (meaning the bus) will delay me or is slow)

Mead (1934:544) states that a symbol does not simply stand for an object or event: it defines the object and event in a particular way and indicates response to it.

"Symbols impose particular meanings on objects and events and, in doing so, largely exclude other possible meanings".

A symbol reveals various facets of an object. For instance, to the users of transport code, a **kombi** is a symbol of wealth. That is why it is given the **CR inkomo yomcebo/yomnotho** (a beast for wealth). A Mercedes Benz holds the highest status symbol amongst mobile facilities. That is why it is given the **CR inkosi yomgwaqo** (king of the road).

Mead (1934:546) further contends that in order for an interaction to take place each person involved must interpret the meanings and the intentions of others during the course of the interaction through the process of role-taking, and states:

"The process of role-taking involves the individual taking the role of another by imaginatively placing himself in the position of the person with whom he is interacting."

Interaction between human beings, particularly in conversations, cannot function without the ability of the message from the sender to weigh and calculate the apparent effects of its words on the listener. Each instance of a feed back from the listener conditions or alters subsequent messages.

In this chapter, we focused on **Language Variation** and its sub-disciplines. We discovered that language variation is divided into two broad phenomena. These are **internal variation** and **contact variation**. Internal variation can further be categorised into **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variation**. Intra-speaker variation produces **style** and **register**. On the other hand, intra-speaker variation has two dimensions which are **geographical/regional variation** and **social variation**. **Social variation** produces **sociolects** or **social dialects**. **Sociolects** are linked to social class, age, sex, ethnicity, social networks, and may further produce cant, slang and Tsotsitaal.

A component of **Language Variation** includes **contact variation**. Contact variation comprises all the varieties which are employed by speakers as a result of contact with speakers of foreign origin and this also includes interlarded speech which is also a product of contact variation.

The types of variations which we shall look at in this study include: **internal and contact variations** which are sub-divided into **intra-speaker variation** and **inter-speaker variations**.

All these **Language Variations** have found fertile ground in certain domains which are found in the Black Durban speech community. The domains where these variations are spoken include hospitals, transportation modes, educational units, soccer matches and stadiums, taverns, prisons, and township/street. In the next chapter we shall describe the research methodology of the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the previous chapter, we looked at **Language Variation** and the theories which linguists put forth to explain choices of language varieties. They state that the participants must first weigh the relative costs and rewards incurred in their choices when addressing an audience. Choice of a code depends on the relationship between the interactants. Speakers normally use a colloquial variety when interacting with friends, but use a more formal register when interacting with higher management or when exposed to formal settings. In other words, choice of a **CR** depends on the audience design. The interaction between participants must refer to a **CR** understood by both the addresser and addressee, so that the message can make sense.

This chapter describes the methodology employed in carrying out the empirical research. Two methodologies were adopted: that is, ethnography and ethnomethodology. It is important for linguists to be aware of the social class variations employed by a speech community before embarking on the real study on language variation in its entirety. Wolfson (1989:203) mentions that "Social class differences in speech interact with regional differences in such a way that features which are used by the prestige group in one region, may well be regarded as markers of low socio-economic status in another."

Wolfson implies that studies on social variation must not only highlight studies on standard dialects, but also look at specific dialect areas and at the variations employed within a speech community. This idea also embraces stylistic variation which was treated in Chapter One.

Stylistic variation is further confirmed in Labov's doctoral dissertation in linguistics at Columbia University entitled **Social Stratification of English in New York City** (Labov, 1966). This study is so famous that it is now known as Department Store Study. Labov hypothesized that speakers of all social classes would vary their speech behaviour according to the formality of the situation. The prestige pronunciation of the variables occurred more frequently in informal contexts, while the socially stigmatized variant was more frequently found in the casual contexts and that this was true of people of all social backgrounds (Holmes, 1992:192).

Labov's results were that speakers of all social standings were found to be using lower frequencies of the prestige variable in casual style speech and greater frequencies of these same variables in the context defined as careful style (Wolfson 1989:203) echoes this idea where she says "All social groups in Labov's sample showed their awareness of community norms in that, for each group, there was a considerably higher frequency of usage of prestige variables in formal contexts."

This means that, according to Labov's sample, people of all walks of life were conscious of when to use prestige forms and when to ignore them. Empirical research proves that the lower middle class uses the highest frequency of prestige forms in careful speech as compared to the prestigious or highest class.

Labov (1966:88) states that "The lower middle class speakers go beyond the highest status group in their tendency to use the forms considered correct and appropriate for formal style."

This quotation is also applicable to Zulu speakers. Those who speak regional dialects which are not standard, will imitate the styles of those they admire in their speech repertoires, particularly the styles of the news readers on television or the radio announcers. They do this by over using or over generalising a particular feature even in positions which are syntactically impermissible in standard Zulu. A researcher can actually count the frequency of occurrence of a prestigious expression used by a lower middle class speaker at wrong points. Social pressure is the motivating force behind

adopting upper-class or prestigious speech forms by the dominated people.

Wolfson (1989:195) states that "William Labov and Marvin Hertzog make a strong case for the need to base a theory of language change on data gathered through actual field work involving the collection of sociolinguistic data."

3.2 APPROACHES TO DATA COLLECTION

There are various approaches to gathering data from a speech community and, in this study, ethnography and ethnomethodology have been adopted.

3.2.1 Ethnography

The ethnographic methodology refers to spontaneous speech which is studied in its natural context. There are two approaches which can be followed in gathering oral data for linguistic analysis. These are: elicitation and participant observation.

3.2.1.1 Elicitation

By this method, the researcher may or may not be involved in the observation or gathering of oral data. Speech is elicited in various ways and hypotheses and variables are usually defined before the data are gathered. This approach is also based on the quantitative method.

3.2.1.2 Participant observation

In the participant observation method, the researcher involves himself physically in the observation. In the past, ethnographic approach was limited to groups who were foreign to the researcher. But recent researchers are turning to the investigation of speech behaviour among speakers of their own languages and also amongst groups of which they are affiliates. (Wolfson 1989: 203) states that this method is advantageous because "The researcher is not distinguishable from the group being studied and it is

possible to observe everyday behaviour without being noticed and without causing consciousness on the part of those being observed."

This method is corroborated by Labov (1966) who terms it 'anonymous observation'. He also used it most effectively in his Departmental Store study. In participant observation or qualitative method, hypotheses emerge from the data as they are collected unlike the quantitative method where the speech is elicited in various ways and hypotheses and variables are usually defined before the data are gathered. In this method the researcher has an obligation to share what he learns with the population under study (Wolfson, 1989:205).

This suggestion is supported by Labov (1970:47) who affirms that "sociolinguists need to have data on how people speak when they are not conscious of being observed." He mentions that this paradox can be solved by asking subjects, questions which will divert their attention from the interview situation causing them to become so involved in what they are saying they forget how they are saying it.

This implies that the investigator intervenes as little as possible during data collection and tries to understand what is going on from the perspective of the participants in the interaction. The researcher remains in the background and does not guide the participants. Observational approach to data collection is that it seeks to study speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson, 1989:204).

✓ 3.2.1.3 Advantages of participant observation

1. The observer studies speech behaviour within the social context in which it normally occurs (Wolfson 1989:204).
2. The researcher finds it useful to behave as a participant observer in a wider range of interaction with those speakers who have been singled out for the study (Wolfson, 1989:204).
3. This method makes the interviewee less disturbed by the presence of the investigator, that is, if he is compelled to explain his position to the

interviewees that data which will be collected will offer service to those who want to learn new codes and thus also help to improve their linguistic skills and socialisation patterns.

4. The method diagnoses better the linguistic problems. In this way, data collected during participant observation help other speakers who have similar problems of not comprehending the new linguistic forms.
5. People who are insecure about their reading or writing proficiency feel at home in this method because they are hardly required to read or write anything. Our Zulu population still comprise a sizeable number of illiterate speakers. Others find it strange to have to read any text aloud.

3.2.2 Ethnomethodology

3.2.2.1 *The meaning of Ethnomethodology*

Ethnomethodology is a term which was created by Garfinkel (1968) while working on papers of jurors where the prefix ethno prevailed in a number of science related aspects such as ethnology, ethnophysiology and ethnophysics. Garfinkel (1968) then used the term ethno "to refer, somehow or other, to the availability to a member of common-sense knowledge of his society.

The prefix 'ethno' has something to do with one's knowledge of a concept. In 1968, Garfinkel then named a method of research wherein the investigator observes and reports how everyday organisation of the affairs of a society operate, 'ethnomethodology'.

Ethnomethodology is a cover term for a view of social organisation and a theoretical and methodological approach towards investigating the activities of day to day interaction (Wolfson 1989:60).

The aim of ethnomethodology is to uncover attitudes in the speakers' daily lives. Since human beings are mini-creators, they also create the same events that they are

engaged in. They share cultural knowledge, rules, ethics, and use the acquired knowledge to construct a social and communicative environment as they speak and respond to one another (Wolfson 1989:61). Researchers usually examine the organization of a discourse in order to unfold how speakers accomplish interaction.

3.2.2.2 Advantages of Ethnomethodology

1. Ethnomethodological analysis uncovers the speaker's unconscious cultural knowledge.
2. It uncovers the assumptions arising from the way speakers interpret and react to their experiences.
3. Speakers do not use this method only for cultural knowledge or rules to be shared, but they also use it to construct a social and communicative environment for each other as they speak and respond to one another.
4. While listening to one another's way of speaking, that is to say, while creating environments for each other in the conversation, the interactants are constantly aware of one another's reaction and conversational styles.
5. Through ethnomethodology, researchers are able to examine the organisation of the conversation in order to discover how speakers accomplish interaction.
6. What has been carefully transcribed in ethnomethodology become the data for detailed analysis aimed at uncovering the assumptions which speakers must share in order for what is said to have coherence (Wolfson, 1989:61).

Wolfson (1989:61) contends that:

"Assumptions which appear to be regularly made by members of the culture and which seem to make sense of each other's speech are analyzed in order to come to a more general understanding of how conversation is organized."

Put differently, an utterance can make sense only on the basis of a previous utterance by another speaker. Wolfson (1989) regards this method as an adjacency pair strategy

which involves turn taking where a question requires an answer and greetings require a greeting. A greeting in a particular **code** requires an answer in the same **code**. Expressions used for departure require the respondent to converge to the same style which was used by the first speaker for departure in a particular setting.

There are various methods of collecting data. Conversations are either audio recorded or transcribed according to the researcher's discretion. It is mostly relevant parts which are overheard from the conversation of the interactants which are written down, including the behaviour of each interactant during the conversation.

3.3 COLLECTION OF DATA

Group sessions with friends, family members, friends of friends, and university students were arranged for the collection of data. Individual interviews were conducted with everyday acquaintances at filling stations, bus depots and taxi ranks. As the major concentration was on **CCR's** which are used in the black residential areas in the Greater Durban area, the targeted residential areas comprised KwaMakhutha, Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clernaville, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma.

Further and final checking of the validity and reliability of the data was done through checklists.

The interviews were carried out and transcribed in Zulu. Questionnaires were initially in English, but this created problems for respondents who, though literate, could not follow most of the questions in English. This resulted in re-drafting the questionnaires in the Zulu language. It was also necessary to moderate their format. The problem experienced here was that of developing quantitative measures of linguistic variation in order to analyze data in an objective manner.

3.3.1 Sampling

I had to resort to sampling due to the complexity of the study. A sample is a subset of the population from which the researcher universalises his or her results. Luthuli (1990: 202) warns that:

"The matter of sampling should not be taken lightly. For studies in which samples are selected from large (and possibly complex populations, selection and acquisition of the sample may be a major activity of the research."

Before I could obtain a representative sample, I had to identify the population from which I had to obtain my results. Thus, the socio-demographic profile of the population of the Black Durban speech community as a whole had to be secured in order to sample from it.

3.3.2 Socio-demographic profile of the Black Durban speech community

3.3.2.1 The statistics according to the 1991 census

	Males	Females	Total
KwaMakhutha	6 527	7 062	13 589
Umlazi	159 054	140 000	299 054
Lamontville	13 496	11 318	24 814
Chesterville	2 114	2 487	4 601
KwaMashu	89 229	67 450	156 679
Ntuzuma	32 354	43 311	75 665
Clemlaville	19 521	18 904	38 425
TOTAL	322 295	290 532	612 827

Census = 1991

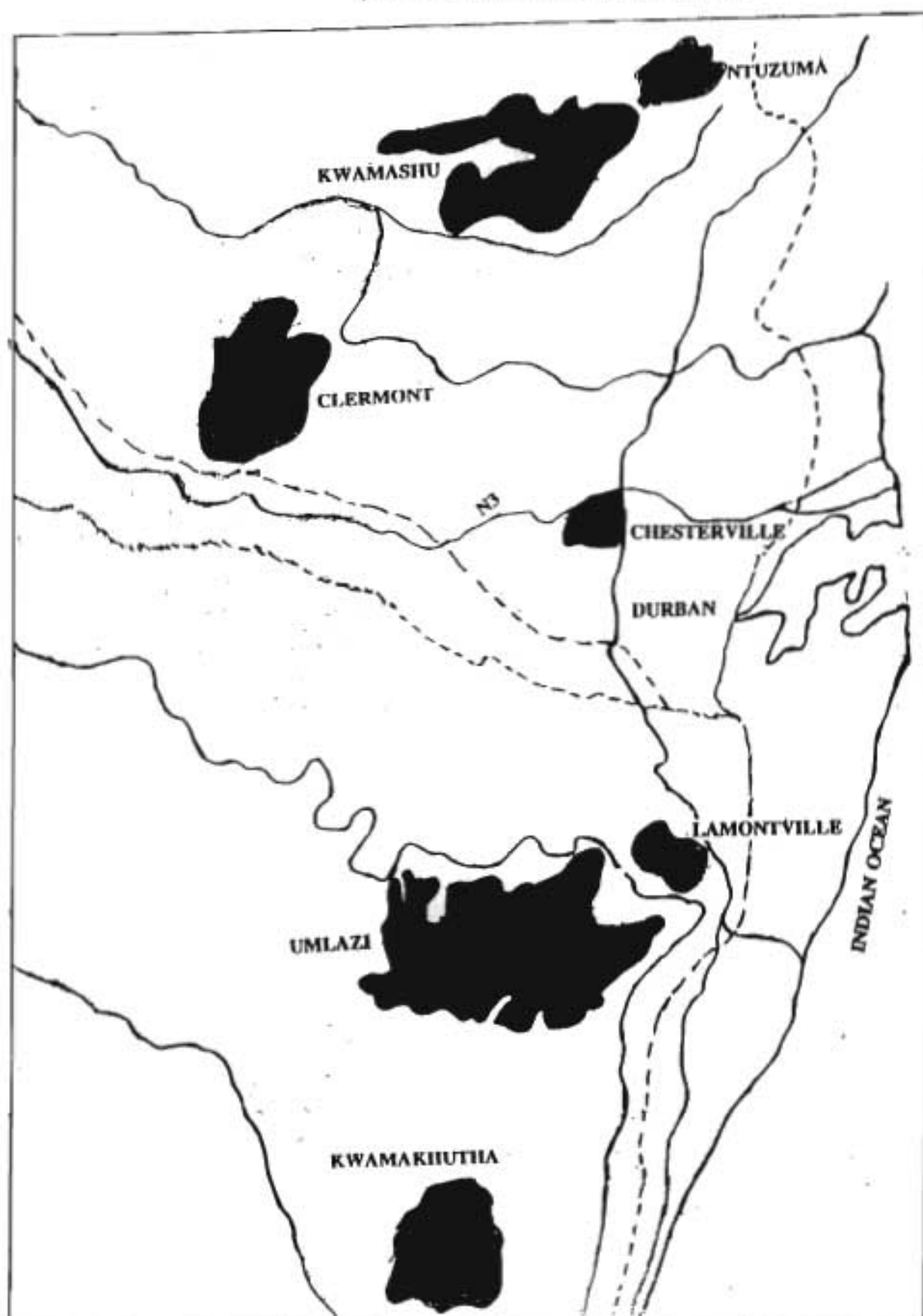
3.3.2.2 The ethnic composition of the Black Durban residential Areas

Zulu	1 584 500	96%
Xhosa	34 754	2.1%
Swati	997	0.6%
Southern Sotho	3 401	0.2%
Tswana	1 432	0.09%
Ndebele	114	0.006%
English	--	--
Afrikaans	--	--
Tsonga	1 824	0.11%
Venda	92	0.005%
Pondo	1 571	0.09%
TOTAL	1 628 685	100%

1991 Statistics

Illustration 2 below, is a map showing the location of the seven black townships which were targeted for this thesis. These were visited during field work.

Illustration Number 2: MAP SHOWING BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA



3.3.3 Domains for data collection

Areas for data collection were selected through the stratified random sampling. This method allows researchers to ascertain that the sample is evenly balanced in the classes that are represented. It also determines that the stratification is relevant to the problem.

The study concentrated on domains like hospitals, beer halls/ shebeens, educational units, prisons, and male and female hostels. The data was also collected at soccer matches and on various modes of transportation. These domains were selected: (i) Because of practical consideration which included transportation convenience, ease of administering questionnaires and securing interviewees. (ii) Because the investigator had a reasonable expectation that she would find a large concentration of speakers of CCR's in these domains.

3.3.4 Size of the sample

The sample for this questionnaire comprised 322 respondents from 9 different areas including unregistered urban residential areas. Each questionnaire contained approximately 24 questions.

From each domain visited, the researcher selected two respondents. The reason for such a choice was to make sure that the sample was equitable and that it covered the following variables: age, literacy, urban/rural, sex and social standing. The selection was as follows:

A. Prisons

Prisoners are grouped according to their cell numbers, for instance, a prisoner who is allocated to stay in cell number 14 will be called **i-14 (ifotini)**. Such prisoners serve short term sentences of about three months or less. This is how they were selected:

- (a) two 14 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 25 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 26 prisoners from Westville prison
 two 27 prisoners from the Westville prison
 two 28 prisoners from Westville prison
 two wardens from Westville prison
 two policemen from Westville prison
 two warrant officers from Westville prison
- (b) A least two ex-prisoners, meaning a prisoner who is free or out of gaol.
 $2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+14 = (30)$

B. Hospitals

two doctors from each of the three hospitals
 two matrons from each of the targeted hospitals
 two nursing sisters from each of the targeted hospitals
 two staff nurses from each of the targeted hospitals
 two nursing assistants from each of the targeted hospitals
 two patients from each of the targeted hospitals
 two hospital clerks from each of the targeted hospitals
 $2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6 = (42)$

C. Educational units

two students from each of the three universities around Durban
 two higher primary students from each of the targeted townships
 two high school students from each township
 two teachers from each of the targeted schools
 two lecturers from each of the three universities
 two black students from two reformatory schools
 $2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 2 = 4 = 58$

(d) **Street/ Township and other urban settlements**

two members from the Zulu Language Board

two Church officials

two members from Radio UKhozi Broadcasting Corporation

two journalists, one from ILanga LaseNatali and the other one, from UmAfrika

two Zulu writers who reside in the Greater Durban Area

two inspectors who examine the Zulu Language in the Department of Education and Culture.

two subjects each from four local squatter camps

two female subjects from four residential areas

two male subjects from the four residential areas

two pensioners from four paying stations

two female and male subjects who are self employed

two female and male domestic workers

$2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14+14+14+4=46$

(e) **Transportation modes**

two subjects each, in seven taxi ranks

two commuterseach, at seven bus terminals.

two passengers each, from seven railway stations

two petrol attendants each, in two filling stations

two motor mechanics each, in two industrial areas

$2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 2 = 4, 2 \times 2 = 4 = 50$

(f) **Shebeens/Taverns**

two male subjects from each of the seven targeted townships

two female subjects from each of the targeted townships

two male subjects from seven professional settings

two female subjects from seven professional settings

$7 \times 2 = 14, 7 \times 2 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14 = 56$

(g) **Soccer**

two soccer players from each of the targeted schools

two soccer players from each of the targeted universities

two members from seven Soccer Clubs found in four Durban men's hostels, that is, AmaZulu, Bush bucks, Butcher Birds, Swallows and any six football spectators.

two soccer players from each of the targeted townships

$$2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14 = 40$$

Grand total 322

3.4 Phases of the research

The field work and data collection lasted for almost three years due to the complexity of the study. The study was conducted in five consecutive phases that is:

Phase I

- (i) participant observation.
- (ii) follow up study to check the validity and reliability of speech terms gathered in participant observation method.

Phase II

- (i) Pilot study to measure feasibility of the study.
- (ii) Analysis of data from the pilot study

Phase III

Main research

Second amended questionnaire to measure social attitudes and **Language Variation** in the Black Durban speech community.

Phase IV

Analysis of the revised results of questionnaire

Phase V

Interviews with a few prominent Zulu speakers who reside in the Greater Durban area.

3.4.1 PHASE I - Participant observation

The procedure which was adopted follows on Milroy's approach (1977) who developed a somewhat different and innovative strategy for gaining access to viable audience position within the speech community.

She utilised the concept of a 'social network' (Boissevain, 1974) where an individual's everyday acquaintances are distributed in terms of first order relations (friends, family etc.) and second order relations (friends of friends). She then entered three Belfast communities to collect data not as a researcher qua researcher, but as a 'friend of a friend'.

In many of the places visited, I entered as a relative, a friend, teacher, friend of the wife or a friend of a friend. During this period, I became more socially involved in the activities of the community in order to gain acceptance by the people and also in order to plunge deeper into the study. I used Milroy's approach which is the first order relations, starting with relatives, friends and friends of friends.

I also went to schools where there were relatives and friends who helped me in obtaining data from the compositions written by scholars as will be seen below under method of obtaining educational code.

3.4.1.1 Method of obtaining Transportation CCR's

I either travelled by taxi, train or bus in order to observe the conversational strategies which were employed by commuters in the various transportation modes. Firstly, it was mere observation unobtrusively noting the speech codes of the commuters here and there. The classical method of carrying a tape recorder for the collection of data was not feasible because of the political situation in South Africa and the attitude of the community towards journalists and photographers during the time of data collection. The community viewed such persons as spies for the opposition parties. The researcher also visited filling stations, workshops for car repairs, panel-beaters, homes of taxi owners and taxi drivers. This involved exhaustive travelling from one

residential area to the other and, at times, I relied on friends and relatives who were well known in residential areas that were unfamiliar to me.

3.4.1.2 Method of obtaining Tavern CCR's

During the field work, the researcher followed Milroy's approach as described above. I established acquaintances with beer/liquor drinkers and signalled solidarity by switching to tavern code here and there. This created a feeling of trust between the subjects and I to the extent that they used to call me umxhasi (a Xhosa word for a supporter). The tavern code was so commonly used by the participants that it became unnecessary for the investigator to have to jot down the new terms.

3.4.1.3 Method of obtaining Educational CCR's

I had to obtain permission from the Education Departments to conduct interviews in schools under their jurisdiction. In most primary and secondary schools, I was given a chance to ask scholars to write compositions of about 25 lines (one page) on one of the following topics:

- (1) Mhla umfowethu eyongcoka iginsa.
(The day my brother went to steal a car.)
- (2) Okwafundwa umfowethu ngesikhathi esejele.
(What my brother learned when he was imprisoned.)
- (3) Liyagcwala ishibhi lakwaKhanyile/lakithi. Xoxa.
(Our or Mr Khanyile's tavern has a lot of patrons. Discuss)
- (4) Beyimnandi imeshi yebhola yayizolo.
(Yesterday's football match was exciting.)
- (5) Ngifunde olunye ulimi ngesikhathi ngilaliswe esibhedlela.
(I learnt new vocabulary when I was admitted to hospital.)
- (6) Yeyi mfowethu! Kumnandi emgura.
(School life is full of fun, my friend.)
- (7) Mhla ngicishe ngiyotapa Isigqoko
(The day I nearly died)

Samples of the students' compositions are available on request. At my work-place, I collected data through participant observation.

3.4.1.4 Method of obtaining Soccer CCR's

I inherited an interest in soccer from childhood where most of my family members were active participants in soccer matches. This was further strengthened by the fact that during my teaching career in Durban schools, students were actively involved in various soccer league matches. It was expected that teachers encourage and support their students particularly in the Soccer Milk Competition clubs. Besides, I am a strong supporter of one of the famous Soccer clubs from the South Coast of Natal where my relatives are members of the Butcher Birds Club.

The world matches of 1990 and June -July 1994 contributed a lot to increasing my soccer vocabulary from listening to commentators on Radio Zulu/UKhozi and soccer programmes on television. Here too, I applied the participant observation method in obtaining the latest data, and I used to exchange venues in order to watch the late soccer matches on television with relatives and friends.

In all instances, I used to jot down speech terms which were employed by (a) both players and fans in the soccer sports grounds during a match, (b) those which were used by friends while watching television, as well as (c) those which were used by commentators.

3.4.1.5 Method of obtaining Prison CCR's

The most convenient place for obtaining prison language was King Edward Hospital where I was given permission to interview visiting patients. Prisoners from Westville prison are escorted by policemen to King Edward Hospital on a daily basis.

I first went to Umlazi and Mayville prisons to obtain permission to interview prisoners there, but the prison superiors told me that I would not get much of what I wanted as prisoners found in these places were either serving short term sentences or awaiting trial. This meant that their prison vocabulary would be very limited.

I had a knowledge of a few prison terms which I had gathered from ex-prisoners in the neighbourhood. After repeated written requests and telephonic communications with prison authorities in Pretoria, I finally obtained permission to interview prisoners in the Westville prison. Initially, the prisoners did not welcome me. They associated me with their authorities who were their enemies. I was assisted in having access to Westville prison by another researcher who accompanied me to the Prison because he frequented the place for various research projects and was well known by most prisoners.

I was sometimes accompanied by a well known "28" who had recently been released from jail. There was a positive response in whatever information was released because of those who accompanied me. I endeavoured to address the prisoners in prison **code** in order to gain their support and confidence. The prisoners used to ask if I was also from the University (prison) because I understood their **code** very well. The reply would be. "Of course, I have also been 'At My Cousin's Place' (KwaMzala) (A code name for prison).

The prolonged period following the granting of permission to get to Westville prison helped me in switching to alternative methods and I seized the opportunity of interviewing a few prisoners who were patients in King Edward Hospital. I found this method more relaxed as it did not contain any time constraints. The prisoners who were guarded by policemen were interviewed while waiting for consultation in the queues or while awaiting X-Ray or blood test results which involved long delays.

As I sat near each prisoner or prisoners, I made a commitment to give them an **intaba**, which they also call **imowundeni** (mountain), meaning money, if they assisted me in supplying prison code for the same reason of wanting to increase Zulu

vocabulary for Zulu dictionaries. I usually asked them to relate stories pertaining to their prison life in prison code, and asked them the meaning of terms which were unfamiliar to me. A R5-00 note for buying **inkantini yesithathu or yesibili** (third or second canteen, meaning cigarettes or tobacco) was highly appreciated by them.

3.4.1.6 Method of obtaining Hospital CCR's

A lot of my relatives or friends are in the medical world either as nurses, doctors or nursing assistants, and I often listen to their dialogues which are often different from Standard Zulu because they entail a lot of code mixing and switching. In this manner, when collecting hospital **CCR's**, my lexicon contained a sizeable vocabulary which is employed in hospitals. I had to follow the same procedure which required obtaining permission from the hospital superintendents to observe the speech of hospital attendants.

This involved many months of waiting for permission to get to the targeted hospitals. During the waiting period, I made it my duty to transport two elderly relatives who are patients in King Edward Hospital once every week. In this manner, I collected a lot of fruitful vocabulary, which I entered on my list of hospital vocabulary.

I also took a break in consulting private doctors and took my family to hospitals where they were treated as ordinary patients who did not possess medical aid facilities when they were sick. This was intentional in order to get acquainted with the hospital setting and meet a lot of patients in waiting. This involved the three targeted hospitals. After finally obtaining permission to do the work in hospitals, I wasted no time in visiting the earmarked hospitals, now entering as an official or researcher.

This time, it was merely to check whether the vocabulary collected during the unofficial visits was similar in the three targeted hospitals. Having collected enough data, I moved on to the second phase which was the pilot study to test the feasibility of the study.

3.4.1.7 Method of obtaining Township CCR's

Obtaining township CCR's was not a problem at all because I am resident in one of the townships and I also use the varieties which are employed by the speech community. One hears these CCR's from visitors, school children, teachers, students, radio, television, tsotsis in the street, educated and uneducated women and men, et cetera. In fact, one is surrounded by interlocutors who use CCR's now and again in their speech repertoire. There is a new expression either on the radio or television or in the speech of one or two township residents, almost everyday.

3.4.2 PHASE II - Pilot study

3.4.2.1. Need for a pilot study

A pilot study had to be conducted in order to ascertain the duration of time for the final study and to obtain objective results from the respondents. According to Luthuli (1990:203) there are many advantages of a pilot study and a few are stated below:

- (a) It helps to check clarity in the wording of the final questionnaire. Items not useable are thus weeded out.
- (b) A pilot study is necessary because appropriate calculations, deletions and modifications of the final questionnaire are tested according to the responses in the pilot study.
- (c) A pilot study refines the final questionnaire and locates potential problems.
- (d) New approaches to the problems are revealed in the pilot study. In this manner, the researcher is able to abandon his original ideas in favour of new ones.
- (e) A pilot study provides an investigation on all techniques to be employed in order to test the researcher's hypothesis.

3.4.2.2 Questionnaire construction

Nisbet and Entwistle (1972) contend that the questionnaire can be rated as a form of interview on paper because the procedure in constructing it follows a pattern similar to that of the interview schedule. The only difference between the two is that the investigator does not explain ambiguities or explain misunderstandings in a questionnaire as any explanation may lead to biased opinions which may influence the subjects. Because of this, the questionnaire has to be carefully drafted and the wording clear and straightforward. There are numerous benefits which accompany the choice of questionnaire surveys as compared to other methods. Below are a few of these.

The reasons for choosing this method was because of its cost economy. Secondly, I did not have the problem of interviewer turnover and training. Questionnaires created more trust in the anonymity of the respondents' answers to personal aspects of the topic being researched. They allowed me to reach a large sample thus giving an allowance for a wide coverage (Mouly 1972).

In this study, the 50 questionnaires for the pilot study were given to the third year students of the University of Durban-Westville who were majoring in Zulu. These students come from various residential areas around Durban and there are a few who reside outside the Greater Durban area. All 50 questionnaires for the pilot study were returned because this was done in class and students had to leave the questionnaires in class at the end of the period.

This method was not without flaws. Some students did not understand the instructions from the questionnaire because these were drafted in English and were a bit complex for the average student. See annexure 1. The pilot study revealed uniformity in the group tested. For instance 90% of the students were unemployed, and their ages ranged between 19-24. This did not cover the wide population universe which was the aim of the final study. The pilot study was an eye opener to me. There were questions which were not answered at all and it was difficult for me to discern why. It was also difficult to determine why non-respondents differed from those who did respond to

certain questions.

3.4.2.3. Follow up studies

I made follow up studies in order to check the validity and reliability of the speech terms which were gathered in the participant observation method. I followed the same procedure which is that of visiting acquaintances, but, this time, they were approached at random. Respondents were asked to put a tick or 1 next to the terms which they were familiar with and a cross or a zero against those which they did not know. I had to read out the list of vocabulary for those who could not read for various reasons, which included illiteracy, poor eyesight and laziness to read.

3.4.3 PHASE III - Instructions and administration of the main research instrument

The questionnaires were conducted in the venues selected by the researcher. They were written in Zulu because the pilot study had proved unconvincing, as stated above. The questionnaires written in Zulu created a more relaxed atmosphere on the part of both the investigator and the subjects, in the sense that the respondents had no doubts in their minds about the choices they had to make.

I always started by explaining the purpose of my visit, that is, to find out whether most of the new terms which were not regarded as standard Zulu, although employed by a lot of Zulu speakers residing in the **GDA** were in actual fact known by the majority of the community. A recommendation would be made that these terms be incorporated into Zulu dictionaries (but only after a referendum) or, in "A Dictionary of Slang which is Zulu-based", provided the community proved to be familiar with the new terms and also approve of them.

On one occasion, a lady respondent felt that I had come to destroy the Zulu language and disapproved of my presence in her premises. In the interim, it so happened that members of the same family called a feared ex-prisoner who was passing by in order

to intimidate me. When the ex-prisoner was introduced to me, the family changed their minds because I was able to carry out a lengthy conversation with the ex-prisoner in prison code. After this incident, the family members were willing to fill in the questionnaires and they said they were very keen to learn **CCR's** employed in the various domains as this would protect them from being molested by hooligans. These questionnaires were conducted in single sessions, lasting for approximately thirty minutes.

3.4.4 PHASE IV - Analysis of the research instrument
General information about the respondents

1. SEX

V	X	TOTAL
MALES	FEMALES	
190	132	322
59%	41%	100%

According to the survey, 59% of the respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey were males and 41%, females.

2. AGES

V	X	0	1	2	3	4	Total
13-18	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	
40	64	53	36	47	46	36	322
12.4%	20%	16.6%	11.3%	14.7%	14.4%	11.3%	100%

According to the analysis, the highest percentage of respondents is between 19-24 years, followed by 25-29 years.

3. AREA

V	Chesterville	47	14.6%
X	Clermont	35	11.0%
0	KwaMashu	34	10.5%
1	KwaMakhutha	51	15.8%
2	Lamontville	39	12.1%
3	UMlazi	72	22.3%
4	Other black Areas	32	9.9%
5	White Areas	12	3.7%
6	Total	322	100.0%

The inclusion of residential areas was to establish whether respondents from various residential areas spoke CCR's. Secondly, it was to establish whether there was some kind of commonality in the use of CCR's which were employed in the GDA.

4. MARITAL STATUS

V	X	0	1	
Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Total
171	119	26	6	322
53.1%	37%	8%	1.9%	100%

This information was needed to check whether it is single persons or married couples who use CCR's in the GDA.

5.

PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME

	Less than R500-00	56	17.4%
X	R500-00	17	5.3%
0	R1000-R1499	21	6.5%
1	R1500-R1999	27	8.4%
2	R2000-R2499	39	12.1%
3	R2500-R2999	23	7.1%
4	R3000-R3499	54	16.8%
5	R3500-R3999	16	4.9%
6	R4000+	9	2.7%
7	No income/student	34	10.5%
8	No income/not working	26	8.7%
9	Total	322	100%

This information was necessary because my colleagues were under the impression that it was people with low income rates who spoke **CCR's**.

6. EMPLOYMENT

V	Full time (employment)	111	34.4%
X	Part-Time employment	32	9.9%
0	Housewife	30	9%
1	Scholar	96	29.8%
2	Self employed	13	4%
3	Pensioner	14	4.3%
4	No income	26	8.7%
	Total	322	100%

The highest percentage of respondents were either full time workers or scholars.

7. HOME

V	4 Roomed house	163	50.6%
X	Big house/ more than 4 rooms	52	16%
0	Shack/ informal house	43	13.4%
1	Hostel	26	8.1%
2	Flat	11	3.4%
3	Renting a flat	27	8.4%
4	Total	322	100%

Respondents who live in four-roomed houses and in other informal settlements had the highest percentage.

8. STAY

V	Less than a year	31	9.6%
X	1-2	42	13%
0	3-4	71	22%
1	5-6	20	6.2%
2	10+	158	49%
3	Total	322	100%

Most respondents had lived for more than 10 years in their present settlements.

9. PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE

number of children between 0 and 17 years adults above 18 years

X	Less than 2 in the house	30	11.2%	39	12%
V	2-3	21	6.5%	52	16.1%
0	4-5	53	16.5%	48	14.9%
1	6-7	98	30.4%	80	24.9%
2	8+	114	35.5%	103	32%
3	Total	322	100%	322	100%

The analysis revealed that most respondents come from big families of more than eight members. Female and young respondents, who had a lot of adult male siblings in their families, knew almost 100% of the township, tavern, transport, and soccer CCR's, and those whose brothers and sisters had experienced prison life knew most prison vocabulary although they themselves had never been imprisoned. This was revealed by the check lists

10. EDUCATION

		Respondent's		Mother's		Father's	
Primary	X	34	10.3%	122	39.5%	115	35.7%
Secondary	0	129	39.1%	87	28.1%	86	26.7%
Training Col.	1	139	43.2%	72	22.4%	73	22.6%
University/Tec	2	20	6.2%	41	13.3%	48	14.9%
Total	322	322	100%	322	100%	322	100%

From the analysis above, we learn that most respondents were literate. 10% of the respondents' mothers and 25% fathers, received primary education. The inclusion of this information was to test literacy.

Lieberson (1981:270) mentions that obtaining cross-tabulations between parents and children was helpful in that it generated additional information about the social characteristics which distinguish those parents who pass on the acquired language to their children from those bilinguals who do not.

Lieberson (1981:270) suggests that surveyors should learn not only about linguistic patterns among persons in their prime adult years, but also about their offspring, and, if possible, their ancestors. Hence the inclusion of mother tongue shift and the resurrection of obsolete expressions by the younger generation may reveal that older parents as well as grand parents also employed certain flashy terms which were being reproduced as new CCR's by modern speakers (Ndlovu, 1963:153).

11. MOTHER TONGUE

		RESP	%	MOTH	%	FATH	%
Zulu	V	289	89.7%	258	81.9%	290	90%
Xhosa	X	33	10.2%	45	14.3%	19	5.9%
Sotho	0	10	3.1%	12	3.8%	9	2.7%
Tswana	1	0	0	7	2.2%	0	0
Ndebele	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venda	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsonga	4	9	3%	0	0	0	0
English	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afrikaans	6	0	0	0	0	4	0.3%
Others	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	322	100%	322	100%	322	100%

Most respondents were Zulu and Xhosa speakers. Only a few spoke either Sotho or Tsonga.

12.

RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING

Hospital	V	70	21.7%
Educational Unit	X	96	29.8%
Tavern	0	113	35%
Township	1	106	32%
Soccer	2	135	41.9%
Transport	3	128	39.7%
Prison	4	148	46%
Zulu	5	166	51.5%
Other	6	71	22%
TOTAL		322	100%

A few respondents spoke English in certain domains while others engaged themselves in isiLovasi and Township register. Those who are liquor drinkers spoke tavern code. Those who come from small families who are not outgoing recorded that they speak standard Zulu amongst themselves.

13.

RECORD REGISTER BEING USED

Home Work Travel School Soccer

V	Hosp.	26=8%	73=22.7%	23=7.1%	0=0%	5=1.6%
X	Educ.	5=1.6%	49=15.2%	20=6.2%	20=6.2%	7=2.2%
0	Tavern	3=0.93%	10=3.1%	57=17.7%	9=2.8%	6=1.9%
1	Isilovas	70=21.7%	49=15.2%	60=18.6%	57=17.7%	26=8%
2	Soccer	3=0.93%	5=1.6%	39=12.1%	10=3.1%	148=45.9%
3	Transp.	2=0.62%	34=10.6%	32=9.9%	94=29.2%	9=2.8%
4	Prison	4=1.2%	54=16.8%	25=7.8%	3=0.9%	6=1.9%
5	Zulu	209=64.9%	48=14.9%	66=20.5%	129=40%	115=35.7%

Some respondents registered that they spoke hospital register at home. In most cases, those whose parents are educated, spoke mixed varieties of Zulu and English/Afrikaans while there are those who spoke pure Zulu at all times. Most linguists concur that the domains of language usage are important to speakers. This involves languages which are used at home, at work, among friends et cetera (Fishman, 1972; Lieberman and McCabe, 1978).

14.

STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE

Prestigious Respectable Secretive Neutralise

V	Hospital	57=17.7%	35=10.8%	74=22.9%	67=20.8%
X	Education	59=18.3%	68=21.1%	14=4.3%	31=9.6%*
0	Tavern	38=11.8%	3=0.9%	10=3.1%	47=14.5%
1	isiLovasi/ township	50=15.5%	83=25.8%	85=26.4%	63=19.6%
2	Soccer	32=9.9%	19=5.9%	30=9.3%	41=13%
3	Transport	25=7.8%	31=9.6%	31=9.6%	12=3.7%
4	Prison	5=1.6%	74=22.9%	74=22.9%	34=9.7%
5	Zulu	56=17.4%	4=1.2%	4=1.2%	27=8.4%

According to the analysis, Zulu remained the most prestigious **code**. Respondents recorded that Hospital code as well as isiLovasi served to neutralise critical situations.

Some respondents recorded educational **CCR's** as being prestigious. Others thought Hospital code was more prestigious than other varieties.

15.

RECORD REGISTER IN 15 (a) BELOW:

X	Which you know very well.
V	You understand when spoken.
0	You do not understand at all.
1	You have never heard of.
2	You would like to know and speak if necessary.
3	You do not wish to speak in your life time.

15(a)

	X	V	0	1	2	3
Hospit	23=7.1%	19=5.9%	15=4.7%	51=15.8%	194=60.2%	
Educat	10=3.1%	8=2.4%	10=3.1%	30=9.3%	163=50.6%	
Tavern	5=1.6%	23=7.1%	62=19.3%		140=43.4%	283=87.9%
Towns. isiLo- vasi	83=25.8%	74=22.9%	7=2.2%		223=72.3%	12=3.7%
Transp	19=5.9%	61=18.9%	10=3.1%		271=84.1%	
Soccer	41=12.7%	28=8.6%	94=29.1%	10=3.1%	81=25.2%	6=1.9%
Prison	6=1.9%	6=1.9%	124=38.5%	212=65.8%	192=59.6%	11=3.4%
Zulu	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	322=100%	

Most respondents recorded that they would like to learn township, hospital, transportation, and prison codes. May be this was due to the unpleasant circumstances in which they have been exposed and wanted to make sure that they are not victimised. Again, as a measure of **Language Variation**, I did not come across **CCR's** which were not known by respondents, yet, most of these did not appear in written texts.

16.

RECORD NEWSPAPER WHICH YOU NORMALLY READ

UmAfrika	231	71.7%
ILanga LaseNatali	231	71.7%
Daily News	149	46.3%
City Press	71	22%
New Nation	5	1.2%
Mercury	44	13.6%
Sunday Times	109	33.9%
Sunday Tribune	106	32.9%
New Republic	11	3.4%
Sowetan	93	28.9%
Post	13	4%

The inclusion of this information was important in measuring modernism amongst the black urban residents because modernism accompanies linguistic prestige which comprises using language of the present day. Besides, most newspapers employ slang words e.g. UmAfrika, ILanga LaseNatali and the Sowetan and it is quite unlikely that readers of these Newspapers are unfamiliar with **CCR's**. Most respondents recorded that they read UmAfrika and ILanga LaseNatali.

17. LEISURE

I spend my leisure hours in

Reading Newspapers	231	71.7%
Listening to the radio	301	93.4%
Participating in sport	120	37.2%
Watching television/films	310	96.2%
Visiting friends/going out	294	91.3%

This information was necessary because most slang words are picked up from the media, that is; newspapers, television programmes, radio plays and from the radio announcers themselves. For instance, the term, **imoni** (morning sickness/ morning hang-over) is well known by most listeners because one of the Zulu news reader is very fond of using the term **imoni**.

18. WHEN TALKING TO FRIENDS I NORMALLY:

V	Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans	197	61.1%
X	Speak pure Standard Zulu	94	29.1%
0	non-standard varieties which are Zulu based	184	57.1%
1	Speak only English or Afrikaans	12	3.7%
2	Mix Zulu with other African languages	6	1.9%
3	Speak unfiltered Zulu	51	15.8%

This information revealed that **CCR's** were used by people of all ages. **61%** of the respondents recorded that they mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans in their speech. **57%** recorded that they spoke non-standard varieties when talking to friends.

19. WHEN TALKING TO ELDERLY PEOPLE OR PEOPLE OF HIGH RANK I:

V	Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans	103	31.9%
V	Speak unfiltered Zulu	193	59.6%
0	I speak non-standard varieties which are Zulu based	13	3.1%
1	Mix Zulu with other African languages	64	19.8%

Respondents recorded that they speak pure standard Zulu which could be a vernacular form, with people who are their seniors.

20. I HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO THIS PRESENT DOMAIN FOR:

V	the past 2-3 months	35	10.8%
X	more than a year	45	13.9%
0	3-4 years	63	19.5%
1	5-9 years	34	10.5%
2	more than 10 years	145	45%

I included this data in order to check the influence of a milieu on an individual's speech repertoire. Most respondents had settled in their present domains for more than ten years.

21. AT HOME WE OWN:

V	A car/ cars	123	38.2%
X	A taxi/taxis	71	22%
0	Vans	62	19%
1	Buses	0	0%
2	Lorries	0	0%
3	No vehicles	66	20.4%

The inclusion of this item was to test modernism amongst the Durban black residents. Transportation CCR's had the highest percentage.

22. AT HOME:

V	we have a telephone	197	61.2%
X	we have no telephone	125	38.8%

This information was included in order to measure contemporariness amongst respondents. Most respondents owned telephone facilities in their residential areas.

23. TO TRY AND LEARN ALL THE NON-STANDARD VARIETIES WHICH ARE ZULU-BASED AND SPOKEN IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA WILL:

V	promote unity, peace, respect, solidarity and understanding of cultural groups.	210	65.2%
X	Bring about violence and hatred	5	1.5%
0	Destroy the wealth of the country	11	3.4%
1	Disclose hidden agendas	27	8.4%
2	Don't know	69	21.4%

65.2% of respondents recorded that knowledge of CCR's would promote peace, unity, respect, solidarity and understanding of cultural groups.

24. THE BLACK POPULATION CAN LISTEN TO, AND COMPLY WITH THE ORDERS FROM THEIR LEADERS IF THEY ADDRESS THEM IN:

V	Registers which they use in specific domains	202	62.7%
X	English or Afrikaans	69	21.4%
0	Zulu/Xhosa or other Standard African Languages	51	15.8%

62.7% felt that their leaders should address them in their social class dialects.

3.4.5 PHASE V - Interviews

I adopted Nomlomo's (1993) approach in conducting interview surveys. Her study is on: *Language variation in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community and its impact on children's education.*

In her study she classifies conservative purists as

- (a) the Xhosa Language Board
- (b) Xhosa Radio and T.V. Service
- (c) the teaching profession
- (d) the inspectorate

In my case, I have identified the following people whom I would expect to be purists:

- (a) One member from a religious organisation who is above 50 years
- (b) An ordinary minister of religion
- (c) A senior member from the Radio and Television Services
- (d) A prominent Zulu Radio news reader
- (e) One member from the teaching profession

Appointments were made to meet the identified candidates and they were told that we would discuss the issue of non-standard varieties which are infiltrating the Zulu language.

Each interview was conducted in a session of approximately one hour, and this also included the filling in of the questionnaire. Inputs from the interviews were transcribed during the course of the interview because the interviewees were made aware of the purpose of the research. In the following few paragraphs, I shall give a brief summary of the opinions of each of these prominent members who are Durban residents.

3.4.5.1 Interview with a Bishop

I opted to interview a black Bishop because his sermons abound in **CCR's**. He is fifty one (51) years old and resides in the **GDA**. When asked why he did not adhere to standard Zulu in his sermons, he remarked that it was because his congregation comprised people of all walks of life and this was the only way he could communicate with the various subgroups. He remarked that his sermons carried a lot of rewards for church members as well as for himself.

He also mentioned that he had been gathering **CR**'s from various settings which he visits while preaching the Gospel. The forums included prisons, hospitals, soccer matches, political organisations, meetings with youth clubs, schools, Zulu newspapers, listening to the news on Radio UKhozi, from radio dramas, school children, prayer visits at the homes of church members, from friends who are lay people and at parties.

The mother tongue of the Bishop is Zulu and he grew up on a farm in the South Coast. He left home at the age of twelve to join Priesthood.

The Bishop was in favour of addressing the audience in a manner that was intelligible to them as this helps to promote peace and understanding between the various cultures. He recommended that standard Zulu should not be polluted with non-standard varieties, but separate dialects for non-standard varieties were inevitable so that the everyday language of the people can be put to record and serve as reference when a need arises.

3.5.5.2 Interview with a Priest

A young priest of approximately twenty five (25) years who was ordained three years ago mentioned that he was born in an urban setting in Umlazi. He did his high schooling at Umlazi and studied for two years at the University of Zululand-Umlazi Campus. Before joining the priesthood, he had been engaged in various community projects in an endeavour to improve his community. He mentioned that it is very difficult for him to complete a Zulu sentence without using a **CR** or English because this is the way he grew up. As a priest, he attempts to speak standard Zulu when preaching, in order to gain credibility and dignity from the congregation.

He said that he deliberately employed **CCR**'s with his colleagues who are young priests, with his friends, old and young, and when conversing with people in their respective settings. He felt it was important for him to update his knowledge of slang from time to time as one of his duties was to preach Christianity to misfits in society. Ministers of religion were compelled to come down to the level of the people at grass

roots in order to gain their credibility and to prove to them that they (priests) too are ordinary human beings.

When asked if **CCR's** should be included in the school curriculum and in dictionaries, he said that it would be better to maintain standard Zulu as our heritage. Standard Zulu was also useful to foreigners who wanted to learn the language. It is also useful as a source of reference. **CCR's** could be recorded elsewhere in the same manner that the English compile dictionaries of slang concurrently with dictionaries of standard English. People who wish to use Zulu slang words can refer to such a dictionary which is still non-existent in Zulu.

3.4.5.3 Interview with a Senior Radio Zulu Member

The age of the respondent is sixty two years and he now resides in a 'Grey area'. He has worked for Radio Zulu for the past twenty five (25) years. Before joining Radio Zulu he taught at a Boys' Seminary outside Durban. He maintains that **CCR's** abound in the media broadcast, especially in television series and radio dramas, because the playwrights have to write their plays in the dialogue of the day.

In drama, a tsotsi speaks Tsotsitaal, a nurse or doctor uses hospital jargon. Characters who represent political organisations speak political language which make the play plausible. They also use words such as **ukuyigxoba** (to stamp it), **itoyitoyi**, etc.

Finally, he mentioned that there is no way that we can stop people from creating new terms. New lexical items are created like newborn babies who arrive on earth every minute of the day. He said that the whole process was to enrich the Zulu language and must be allowed to take its course. According to this interviewee, standard Zulu must be retained by all means and it must not be polluted with mixed varieties.

3.4.5.4 Interview with a Zulu Language Board member who is also a Zulu News Reader

The interviewee is in his mid forties. He grew up in Durban and went to Durban township schools, then to the University of Zululand. He said that he uses various social dialects with people of all walks of life.

Coming to the point of standard Zulu and non-standard varieties, he mentioned the following:

- (a) There is no way that we can stop people from using non-standard varieties.
- (b) What should be happening is that we preserve standard Zulu as we are doing now, but also think in terms of compiling a dictionary of Zulu-based slang.

He said the only problem is that we always fall behind and by the time we submit our standard Zulu terminology, a lot of expressions have already taken off. There ought to be people who are fully employed to nurture the Zulu language if we have to stop what is happening now. In the meantime, standard Zulu should be taught concurrently with non-standard varieties because the language is dynamic and not static and this has been left to the discretion of the public for too long.

He also added that when it is time for speaking standard Zulu or a vernacular form, he does not hesitate to do so. In the same vein, when it is time to speak a non standard variety, he switches to that variety without any difficulty. He said it was the matter of one's proficiency and versatility which counted the most.

3.4.5.5 Interview with a lecturer from a Training College

This was a female lecturer who teaches Zulu in one of the Colleges of Education. She was in her mid-forties. She grew up on a farm near UMzimkhulu. She said she was totally opposed to non-standard varieties and penalised students who used them in their school work. At home, her children were not allowed to speak non-standard

varieties in the presence of their parents. She said, she reprimanded them and chased them out of the house if they spoke filtered Zulu (which is standard Zulu mixed with other languages or non-standard varieties). 'I simply chase them out of the house saying that they must use that language away from these premises!'

When asked what she thought of female teachers who used non-standard varieties, she replied that it was because they socialised with people of lower social classes and were not keeping up to their standard as professional people. By 'lower social class' she said she meant tavern patrons, ex-prisoners, tsotsis, et cetera. Her advice was that non-standard varieties ought to be completely discouraged.

3.4.6 PHASE VI - Validation of the study

3.4.6.1 Composition of the final checklists

The summary of the final checklists revealed the following information from the results of the questionnaires:

DOMAINS and VARIETIES used	TOTAL NO. of respondents	NO. concurring	PERCENT.
Prison/isiNyuvesi	30	17	56.6%
Hospital/isiHhosi	42	28	66.6%
Education/isiGura or isiGuru	58	32	55%
Township/isiThawa	46	41	89%
Transportation/isiTransi	50	42	84%
Taverns/isiThaveni	56	39	69.6%
Soccer/IsiNgura	40	20	50%

The checklists were based on a corpus of approximately 800 speech **CR's** which are not accepted as standard Zulu in the **GDA** or elsewhere.

These new lexicons have not been included in standard Zulu dictionaries although most black Durban dwellers who reside in the **GDA** use them in their daily conversations. The method of obtaining these figures was as follows: Respondents were given the checklists at random. They were asked to mark new terms which they frequently use or which they have heard. Below is a graph showing the composition of the checklists.

It was presumed that if everyone in a given domain speaks the same variety, the *probability* that such individuals speak the same variety was *obviously a certainty*. On the other hand, if each individual spoke a different variety, then the probability was zero. Thus, a numeral **I** was placed next to a **CR** which was known by the respondent and a **0** or **X** against the unknown **CR**.

COMPOSITION OF THE FINAL CHECK LISTS

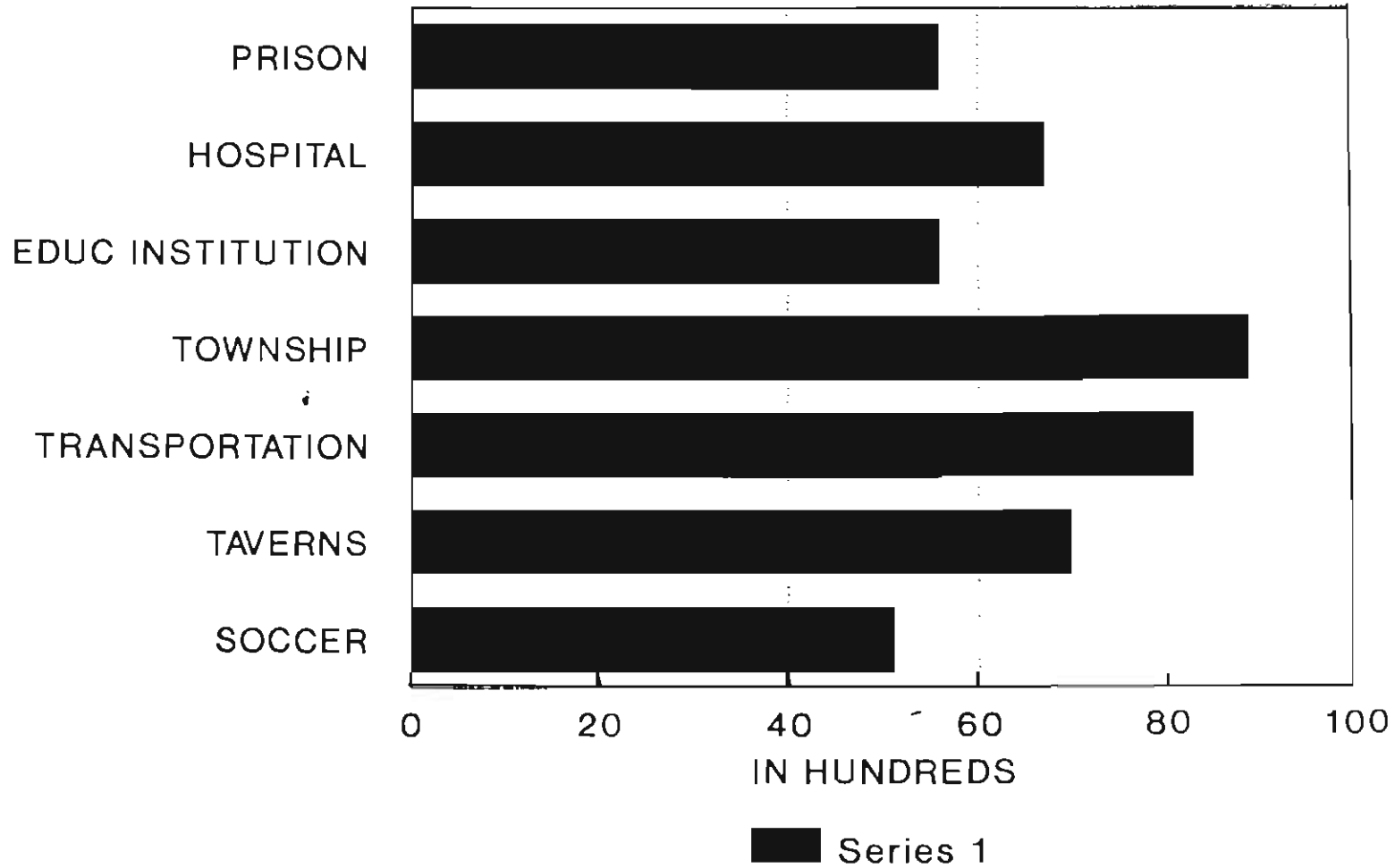


Illustration number 3.

The study is regarded as valid and proof that there is in actual fact, a lot of hidden and unrecorded vocabulary which is used by the Black Durban speech community. People of all walks of life including educated and semi-educated, recorded that they use **CCR's**. These were obtained in various ways, including family members who are well travelled and from the various mobile facilities. The use of **CCR's** reflects modernity on the part of the interlocutors. This modernity goes with prestige.

In a symposium held at the University of Zululand in 1994, Professor P. Zulu, who was the main speaker, gave a talk on the international indicators of modernism. He mentioned that there are three indexes which are considered when weighing modernism in a speech community. These are: communication, education, and consumption of durabilities. A society will be deemed modern if its inhabitants have a fairly reasonable consumption of mass media. This will include the number of newspapers that a community reads either on a daily or weekly basis, including a high percentage of readership by both males and females. If most people are in possession of television sets then that speech community is rated as modern. A high percentage of literacy also renders the community modern.

An educational index looks at the number of people who can read and write either their indigenous language or both indigenous and second language/s. In Durban, a standard 8 Zulu speaker has some smattering index of English and Afrikaans.

The last index, durability, looks at the community's durabilities, and then seeks to answer the following questions: What type of housing do you live in? How many tables, chairs, plates, spoons, et cetera, are there? What is the combined family monthly income? et cetera.

In the next chapter, I shall describe the context in which **Language Variation** are employed in the **GDA**.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CCR'S

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the **social context of CCR's**. Part two looks at the linguistic features of Zulu-based **adoptives**. Firstly, the chapter gives a brief exposition of Zulu slang in the past sixty years. This is followed by a discussion on language varieties which are used in the **GDA**, such as cant, jargon, Tsotsitaal/ isiLovasi, and slang. **CCR's** have been arranged in the following systematic style comprising **participants, setting, and topic**. The topic is further broken down into a patterned trend as shown in 4.5 below.

A contact situation amongst speakers arises resulting in contact variation. Contact variation is a product of urbanisation and it results in the use of adopted words.

Groups of people are distinguished from each other by their social classes. These social classes comprise group membership, sex, age, ethnicity, common speech variations and other social networks. The more prominent non-standard varieties entail cants, Tsotsitaal, slang and jargons.

One of the main objectives of this study as found on page 6 was to analyze the phonological, morphological and semantic features of **CCR's**. This has been found to be in line with other cited studies on non-standard urban dialects. (Mfusi:1990) (Schuring, Koopman, Thipa, Radebe, Ntshangase:1992) and (Calteaux:1994). Besides, this, the inclusion of adoptives in this thesis will serve as reference to non-mother tongue Zulu speakers who wish to employ **CCR's** in their conversations because there seems to be a big problem related to the employment of adoptives by non-mother tongue Zulu speakers. Koopman (1992) has done extensive research on Zulu and English adoptives - 'Morphological and phonological interference.' Also, Khumalo

(1988:3) affirms my motivation when he states:

some non- isiZulu speaking linguists have come up with absurdities such as:

- (a) I-Sprite imnandi
Sprite is delicious. instead of:

I-Sprite simnandi
- (b) I-Star yami.
My 'The Star' (Newspaper) instead of:

I-Star sami'

Also refer to ; Ngicela iphetroli kaR50-00
Can I have petrol for R50-00. instead of;

Ngicela uphethroli kaR50-00 et cetera

Such shortcomings, including a lot more, are caused by failure to classify adopted words into their correct noun slots. For instance, in my long experience of teaching Zulu to non-mother tongue speakers, I have discovered that things which are intuitively learned by a mother tongue speaker, become problematic to a non-mother tongue speaker. In the case of Zulu, the greatest controversy revolves around classifying the new and old Zulu adoptives into their correct noun slots. Refer to pages 150 - 151, of this thesis. The second discrepancy emanates from the failure to apply phonological processes comprising Zulu adopted words in the manner employed by Zulu speakers .

It is because of these reasons, that the study incorporates characteristics and phonological features of **CCR's** in general.

In the **GDA**, the Black speech community normally speak 'standard Zulu' in formal domains. Sometimes they are compelled to use a non-standard variety in formal as well as informal domains.

Ndlovu was quite positive that some of the new expressions he had collected would one day receive recognition. He remarks that: " with the unpredictable changes that take place, even the town-Zulu of today, may become the standard educated Zulu of tomorrow, who knows". (Ndlovu, 1963:130)

4.2.1.2.1 Who employs Zulu cant?

Adopted Zulu cant words are employed by both educated and semi-educated Zulu speakers. Zulu cant is peculiar to certain social classes such as school children, college and university students, the intelligentsia, Christians, criminals, prostitutes, tramps ducktails, social classes who occupy underground, as well as many other classes in the society (Ndlovu 1963).

As stated in chapter two, cant consists of words and phrases used quite secretly by a particular group. Once they become generally known, they are considered slang expressions and used as such.

When a cant is adopted from another language, it often carries with it a cant element from that language. Examples of elements from English include such calque expressions as **i-ayiningi bhodi / i-ironing board (an ironing board)**. This cant expression refers to a female whose breast is as flat as an ironing board.

The flatness of her breast is related to her low morals of sleeping around with many men who rub themselves against her breasts (like someone ironing a dress) and automatically flattening the breasts. This expression carries the same meaning in English.

4.2.1.2.2 Who employs cant words adopted from jargon?

Cant words adopted from jargon are employed by both educated and uneducated people. This is because when a word is used within its circle, it is regarded as a jargon of that particular domain, but when it is used outside its domain by most people, it

4.2 PART ONE: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CCR'S

4.2.1 A Case of Zulu Slang in the GDA

4.2.1.1 Zulu Dictionaries

One of the earliest compilations of Zulu lexical items was done by Bryant in the Zulu-English Dictionary published in 1905. This was followed by Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary published in 1948. Many slang words which were found to be in common usage at the time Doke and Vilakazi wrote their Zulu-English Dictionary, were incorporated without much opposition from the community.

There was extensive adoption of terms from English and Afrikaans and Ndlovu (1963) maintains that people only reacted against words which were adopted from other Bantu languages particularly those belonging to the same language group like the Nguni. He states that many people shrug their shoulders against the use of Xhosa words. May be the reason for this was because they felt it was not really necessary to use a Xhosa word where there was an English equivalent. This still reflects the people's perception of a Bantu language as compared to a colonial language which is regarded as prestigious.

4.2.1.2 Ndlovu's account

Previous report on an almost similar study as this one, was done by Ndlovu (1963) in: *A Short Study of slang in Zulu...* It is now over 31 years since he reported language change in Zulu. He has about 350 slang words which had not been accepted as standard Zulu in 1963. Out of these, only 54 words are extinct, and a total of 296 lexical items are still in full use by both urban and rural speakers. Ndlovu's list comprises adoptives, from English, Afrikaans and other African languages, Tsotsitaal which he calls slang, and coinages. Most of Ndlovu's list has now been incorporated into standard Zulu literature including Dictionaries.

ceases to be jargon and becomes slang. Example : **iskizo** (Schizophrenia) - a person with psychological disturbances. A **skizo** in Zulu slang is a person with an unpredictable character.

4.2.1.2.3 Who employs Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi?

In Durban, Tsotsitaal is known as **isiLovasi** (**isiLovasi** is a language variety initially spoken by young male loafers). Older people employ Tsotsitaal expressions which were in use during their youthful years. They interact in Tsotsitaal when talking to their peers even though they may be elderly people.

4.2.1.2.4 Who employs slang words?

Ndlovu (1963) reports that slang is extensively used by both educated and uneducated, cultured and uncultured and urban and rural classes of Zulu speaking people. People of all walks of life employ Zulu slang in their oral speech Ndlovu, (1963:14, 21).

Ndlovu (1963) then classifies slang into five categories:

- "(a) neologisms comprising innovations of native origin;
- (b) borrowing, entailing introduction of lexical items of foreign origin;
- (c) current words which deal with standard words with new meanings;
- (d) corrupted words;
- (e) euphemistic terms."

According to Barnhart and Barnhart. (1986:1961) slang refers to words, phrases, or meanings that are new, flashy, and popular, usually for only a short time. Slang is often very vivid and expressive and is used in familiar talk between friends but is not accepted as good English when speaking or writing formal English.

It is clear that **CCR's** under discussion, entail slang words because most of them are restricted to a particular group of people depending on the speaker's age, social class, the situation at the time of the interaction, as well as the audience design. Most slang words are a product of cant words which were once employed by exclusive speech

communities rendering the discourse unintelligible to outsiders. Slang words are used in order to enhance one's prestige. Looking at the future of slang Ndlovu (1963:130) predicted that "the tempo at which Zulu is importing foreign words and expressions is a clear indication that most of the borrowings that are slang today will be accepted Zulu speech tomorrow."

He further states that "the lexicographer will no doubt take cognisance of the fresh vocabulary of slang that has become current again since the publication of Doke and Vilakazi's English-Zulu Dictionary." (Ndlovu, 1963:130)

A few slang words will fall by the wayside because of their ephemeral nature, while the rest will be accepted as standard educated speech. There is a lot of overlap between cant, jargon, Tsotsitaal, and slang. Once a secret expression is known by the entire speech community, it ceases to be ambiguous and becomes slang. Once a slang expression has received wide recognition, it ceases to be slang and becomes a standard expression.

A few examples of the varieties which have been identified as **CCR's** will be listed below. These were collected from hospitals, prisons, educational units, transportation modes, soccer stadiums and soccer clubs, Black townships, taverns/shebeens and in the streets.

4.2.2 CCR's in the various domains

Language varieties which are found in a single domain form subsets of other language varieties in other settings when the speakers employ them as **CR's** to protect their social standing.

CCR's which are employed in the **GDA** can be categorized according to the following format:

- (a) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with no change in original meaning and sound pattern

- (b) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with change in the original meaning and sound pattern.
- (c) Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning.
- (d) Words from non-South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning.
- (e) Newly created **CCR's**/Coinages.
- (f) Words from Zulu with a change in original meaning.
- (g) Words resulting from blending or clipping.
- (h) **CCR's** resulting from compounding.
- (i) narrowing
- (j) **CCR's** originating from onomatopoeic sounds.
- (k) **CCR's** used as expressions
- (l) Broadening
- (m) Abbreviations
- (n) Referents

Some domains will not bear all of the fore mentioned classification.

4.2.2.1 Soccer CCR's/isiGura

(a) The setting

Viewers and supporters of soccer matches and clubs have created a host of lexical items in order to describe what takes place in soccer stadiums and clubs. Males who have a flair for football and, to a lesser extent, their female companions, like to discuss soccer matches which have already taken place wherever they are gathered.

(b) The participants

They may discuss a match while travelling by train, bus, taxi, at social gatherings, at the work-place, or at any other place where they normally meet during their leisure

activities. Soccer fans also discuss a match which is still going to take place.

(c) **The topic**

They like to review a match by analyzing the performance of the players and the game itself. They usually blame, condemn, or appraise the players. During the match, the spectators also like to give instructions to the players as a way of encouragement. Spectators also like to describe styles of kicking the ball which are employed by the players and also call the players by the numbers written on their jerseys. At the time of the discussion, a person who is not acquainted with football, will not comprehend the discourse. Soccer fans use their own **CCR's** which are understood only by the initiated persons. They employ **CCR's** which have been classified in the following order:

(a) **English or Afrikaans words borrowed with change in original meaning but no change in the sound pattern**

i-via/ ivaya Various directions which are taken by the ball while it is being kicked are also given special names. When a ball takes a different direction from the one which was intended by the kicker but eventually lands to its ultimate destination, people name it **i-via/ ivaya** (a ball that went via)

u-free-way A useless player who does not offer his opponents a tough time. The opponents pass the ball freely from one player to the other like cars travelling on a freeway where there is a free flow of cars. The ball represents the free movement of cars and the player is like a freeway because he cannot obstruct the movement of the ball.

i-punter A player who runs up and down the field like a punter at the race course is known as a punter.

heel-a means kick the ball with the heel.

isaba — iusali

(b) **English or Afrikaans words borrowed with or without change in original meaning and sound pattern**

- ibhantshi** A useless goal keeper is known as **ibhantshi** (a coat). The adoptive originates from the Afrikaans word 'baadjie'. This code implies that the goal keeper simply stands at the poles like a coat hanging in a wardrobe, instead of saving the goals.
- ikhothenga** The adoptive means a coat hanger. Its meaning is the same as that of a useless goal-keeper who is known as **ibhantshi**.
- Injini** A player who wears jersey number six. Because he plays at the centre of the soccer field and initiates the kicking of the ball, he is equated with the engine of an automobile.
- indele** The numeral three is known as **indele**. The adoptive originates from the numeral three in Tsotsitaal.
- isemeji** A sandwich indicates that the ball is blocked with both legs or both feet. The ball is simply sandwiched between the legs.

(c) **Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without original meaning**

- inqaku** This is also a code for a goal itself which has been adopted from Xhosa in order to disguise its meaning. Thus, a goal is sometimes called **inqaku** (a goal or a point)
- abaxhasi** supporters (Xhosa)

(d) **CCR's with change in sound pattern.**

- sheyinti** When a player wants his playmate to leave the ball for him, that is, to give him a chance to kick the ball, he usually says **sheyinti**. (Leave the ball for someone else). The word originates from Tsotsitaal but it carries with it, the same meaning which is to refrain from doing something.

(e) **CCR's comprising Words from Non-South African languages with or without change in original meaning.**

i-zwayi/ means two. This word is derive from the German word 'zwei'

itswayi

i-ayine Refers to a referee and a player wearing a jersey marked one. The word is an adoptive from German, **eines**, meaning one. It originates from Tsotsitaal.

idreyishi It is derived from the German word, **dreish** which means three.

upotsho to pass the ball underneath one's legs. The word originates from the German word **putsch** which means insurrection. The word means a short cut in the Zulu context.

(f) **Neologisms**

indumeyana This **CR** refers to a player wearing jersey number six. The **CR** originates from the act of rushing at, charging, springing upon (Doke et al 1992:173). It is a synonym of **injini**. The word is used to create ambiguity to the they-code members and originates from Tsotsitaal. **Indumeyana** (goal-keeper) initiates the kicking of the ball. He constantly charges at the ball after it has been centred.

umtshokodo A player wearing jersey number one, which is the goalkeeper, is known as **umtshokodo**. The word refers to a long, slender and wavering object (Doke, et. al.) (1992:822). It is typically Tsotsitaal in nature.

injeje A player who plays a rough game or to play a rough game.

ispinsi The code means figure 2. It originates from the Zulu word **isibili**. This is a typical Tsotsitaal term.

(g) **Words from Zulu with a change in original meaning**

umchamo Soccer fans and players also discuss the various styles which are used by players in the football field. These styles have their own terms which are rarely used outside this arena. For instance, a short shot at a goal is known as **umchamo** (urine). When a man is urinating, his urine does not go very far from his position. People then compare the distance of the urine between its owner and the ground on which it

lands, with a short shot of a goal.

ixhama This word refers to a player wearing jersey number five. This metaphor originates from a species of a buck which has five horns on each side of its head. The word is mostly used by tsotsis.

Imanta refers to the passing of the ball underneath one's legs. This term has been adopted from the **hlonipha** word (language of respect) for **inkomo** (a cow or a beast). A vagina is also called **inkomo** because a Zulu girl is expected to remain a virgin so that her mother can claim **inkomo yomqhoyiso** (a beast for the vagina) from the bridegroom during **lobolo** negotiations. When a player opens his legs to allow the ball to pass between his legs, it is said that he is playing **imanta**. The shift in meaning is deliberate in order to conceal the meaning of the style from an outsider.

incwadi (letter/ book) This term refers to an inefficient soccer player who is a disappointment to his team and to the followers of the club. A book or letter is not able to defend itself. It is a passive object.

(h) **Words originating from Onomatopoeic sounds**

inkwahla A sound made by the ball on hitting the soccer net which sounds like 'khwahla' to the ears of the listener.

imbudlu is said when too many goals are scored in a short time. The **CR** originated from the idiophone **bhudlu** which suggests stabbing, goring, disintegrating. (Doke et al. 1990:49)

ingqamu sound made by the ball when bounced. **gqamu! gqamu!**

(i) **Compounding**

inkombankombane This **code** refers to the numeral seven. **iN+khomba+khomba** (point-point) > **inkombankomba** (seven). The term originated from Tsotsitaal and it refers to the pointer finger, that is, a player wearing jersey number seven.

(j) **Words used as referents**

Khabazela To kick is to **khaba** in Zulu. Hence if a player or spectators say ‘**Khabazela**’ they are instructing the player, who is in possession of the ball, to pass it to another player. The code originates from the Mkhize clan name which is **Khabazela**.

uLanga **Mr Sun** refers to oneness. The **CR** refers to the player wearing jersey number one. **Langa** is a Zulu surname, used metaphorically here to refer to the goal keeper because he wears jersey number 1 and stands alone like the sun in the sky.

(k) **Broadening**

ispinsi This word is used when a player capsizes another player while playing soccer. The **CR** refers to numeral two, but its meaning has been broadened to refer to the act of capsizing another player on the play ground, using one’s two legs.

(l) **Expressions**

ukukhuhla to polish the bench. To be a reserve soccer player.

ibhentshi

ukudlisa said when the ball hits one’s face. The expression emanates from a loaf or half loaf or three quarter loaf of bread which is stuffed with meat or vegetables. The player who is hit by the ball looks as if he is eating a bunny chow when holding the ball in front of his face.

4.2.2.2 Prison CCR's/isiNyuvesi

(a) The participants

Because of political unrest in South Africa plus dire financial straits countrywide, a reasonable percentage of our youth and adults have experienced prison life. Even some respectable males and females have experienced prison life due to the present deteriorating financial situation in South Africa. Many people have contracted adverse reports from the Credit Bureau which subsequently land them in prison.

(b) The setting

Prison CCR's are used by both prisoners and staff within prison premises. Those who have experienced prison life but are now freed also speak prison cant amongst themselves outside the prison. This cant eventually becomes their register in the township. Ex-prisoners speak it in order to maintain social identity .

(c) The topic

Lexical items used in prisons reveal a lot about prison life. Generally, there is prison register comprehensible to the prison speech community at large, and cant words known only by prisoners and not by the rest of the prison community, that is to say, prison staff. There are things which must remain concealed from prison authorities. Prison vocabulary can be categorised in the following manner.

(a) English or Afrikaans words borrowed with or without change in original meaning and sound pattern.

i-klob A prison cell is known as a **klob**. Thus, we get **klob** number 1, 2, 3, 14, 25, 26, 27, and 28.

i-binneplaas A prisoner who is untrustworthy is called a **binneplaas** and is restricted to work within prison premises. The opposite of **binneplaas** is **freeman**, which is a prisoner who is allowed to work outside prison

premises.

i-school-boy A school-boy is a prisoner who has agreed to serve other prisoners in jail. A **school boy** is also known as '**n wyfie**' meaning a female in Afrikaans. He takes the place of a wife or girlfriend of another male prisoner while in prison, although he himself is a male.

e-University (in prison.) From afar, prison buildings resemble university constructions. Besides this, another reason why a prison is called a university is linked to school life. When a local person is serving sentence in prison, colleagues usually disguise his absence from the vicinity by saying that he is at university. Most University students prefer to be residents at the universities in which they are registered and are only seen in the area after a long period of time, just like a prisoner who is serving sentence in jail. A third reason is related to the enormous amount of experience that one gains while serving his sentence. Those who want to improve themselves academically are allowed to do so. There are also those who teach '**ohlathi**' (new prisoners) how to behave towards authority as well as other prisoners.

i-Hollander A 27 is sometimes known as a **Hollander** from Afrikaans 'Hollander'. A **Hollander** is an expert in stabbing his victims. The 27's are a notorious group and they are known for stabbing other people even within prison premises. The reason why they are called **ama-Hollanders** is because they are like Hollanders who are noted for controlling power. They are a feared group.

(b) **Words borrowed from English or Afrikaans with a change in original meaning and sound pattern.**

isibhlivane a letter. The word is from Afrikaans 'brief'

ifleyi-mani a trustworthy prisoner who is allowed to work outside prison premises.

ibhesuka a visitor (from Afrikaans, n' besoeker)

(c) **Words borrowed from other South African Languages with or without change in original meaning**

unyana This **CR** is a synonym of school boy. It is adopted from the Xhosa word **unyana** meaning a baby. According to prison **code** the word means a boy friend who takes the place of a girl friend. The **code** also means a son. **Unyana** takes all the instructions from his partner who is a 26 and behaves exactly like a typical traditional Zulu wife who becomes very submissive to her husband.

Samani A 28 will simply say, 'Samani' when expressing that everything is alright.

(d) **Newly created CCR's (Coinages)**

uhlathi A prisoner who does not respond to prison **code** or who exposes his ignorance of prison life becomes a victim of circumstances. He will be nicknamed **uhlathi** (Mr Jungle) and will then be exploited by experienced prisoners, including forcing him to practise homosexuality, that is, if **uhlathi** is presentable facially and physically. The word originates from the Zulu word **ihlathi** (jungle/forest).

unozala **zala** means to bear, hence a bearer of mankind. Thus, a female prisoner is known as **unozala**.

inqatha the cant refers to a person who causes others to quarrel amongst themselves. **Qhatha** (cause dispute), iN+qhatha> inqatha according to this variety.

iJananda is a person of Indian origin.

(e) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

Kwamzala Some prisoners are so familiar with prison life that when they get arrested, they say they are going to **KwaMzala** (to cousin's place), meaning, they are going to prison.

unginike This word refers to a 26 prisoner who usually claims other people's possessions. **Nginike** means, 'give it to me' This **CR** is true of the 26 gangsters who are often arrested for armed robbery.

- (f) **Compounding**
umehlomane This jargon refers to an experienced prisoner who is familiar with prison life. **Mehlomane** means four eyed person. A person who has experienced a lot of hardships in life.
- (g) **CCR's with onomatopoeic intent**
hhomu A 27 will say: **hhomu**, when greeting another prisoner who lives in cell number 27. This is an onomatopoeic word referring to a noisy place.
- (h) **Cryptogrammic Numerals**
i-14, i-25, i-26, i-27, i-28,
Prisoners are categorised according to the offenses they have committed. For instance, a prisoner who is serving a short term sentence of less than three months, is known as a 14 (a fourteen). **14** refers to the cell number of such a prisoner and has nothing to do with the prisoner's age. For instance, a prisoner who resides in **klob** number 26 is called a **twenty six**.
i-16 This code refers to a policeman. It originates from the 16th letter of the alphabet which is 'p'. This code is mostly used by the tsotsis who regard policemen as their arch-enemies.
- (i) **Narrowing**
ishogani a fist or a shot gun. The word originates from 'shot gun'. The tsotsis sometimes pronounce it as **showugani** to disguise the meaning.
itoli the term **itoli** originates from **ukutolika**, to interpret.
- (j) **Expressions**
ukushaya To be able to defend one's case without the assistance of a lawyer
itoli or court interpreter who is known as **utolika** in Zulu.
bopha stab someone, especially an official, with a knife. When tsotsis
useveni say '**Bopha useveni**' they mean: Stab him/her! One is sentenced

to seven years imprisonment for stabbing with a knife.

ungaphakama

How can you prove to me that you are a 26?

ngani?

Ngingaphakama ngembilijisi yami. (I can prove it with my prison trousers)

4.2.2.3 Educational CCR's/isiGura

4.2.2.3.1 The participants

CCR's from educational units are employed by most educated urban dwellers, undergraduates and students of advanced educational institutions. The educated elite is highly influential on other social groups who see them as models for their aspirations. Speakers of educational CCR's include students from secondary and high schools, boarding schools, universities and technikons. They also comprise teachers and ex-students who have been exposed to the teaching fraternity. Educational CCR's are spoken by both young and old when talking to persons of their age groups who happen to be familiar with the same CCR's.

(a) The setting

The use of educational CCR's is rare in primary schools. The concentration of these is in secondary/high schools, boarding schools, universities and tertiary institutions. In fact, universities are the breeding areas for CCR's. This is because code-mixing and switching is closely linked to higher education. People who have been exposed to such a domain will use CR when talking amongst themselves.

(b) The topic

Delicate topics involving teachers', students' and lecturers' conduct are sometimes discussed in this setting. Educational CCR's are unintelligible to an outsider. A knowledge of CCR's reveals a lot about university or high school life. One of my teacher informants made the following remark to justify his behaviour of being in love

with a school girl:

"A nurse usually leaves hospital or clinic premises with some form of a t.t.o. (treatment illegally taken out of hospital or clinic premises). A builder pinches building material from a plant. We, teachers have nothing to steal except pieces of chalk. We have no short term fringe benefits. We can only pinch pieces of chalk. Because of this dry environment in our occupation, we resort to female students who are our only readily available fringe benefits."

(Source: teacher informant)

(a) **English or Afrikaans CCR's borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

- i-fringe benefit** a female student who is in love with a school teacher is called a **fringe benefit** (by the teacher concerned).
- i-intervarsity/
i-intavasithi** A student who has studied at various universities without obtaining a single degree is called an inter-varsity. Such a student seems to be representing all the universities in which he has studied and likes to refer or impose ideas from his former university in his speech like saying: 'When I was at ...X.....university'
- i-been to** Those who have been abroad or attended university education abroad are known as **been-to's**.
- i-unfinished story** A person who ended up not attaining a single university degree after years of studying is known as an unfinished story.
- uku-dry cleaner** Sometimes teachers do not do justice to the student's written tests or assignments. Some teachers merely **dry-clean** the relevant page/s with a red pen and award a mark without going through the student/s's work.
- i-Arabhu/
Arab** A male student who has no girl friend is known as an Arab, i.e. **i-Arabhu**. This **CR** emerged at the time when the Arabs imposed oil sanctions on South Africa. Because such boys have nobody to make love to, they are mocked by other students

saying that they are saving their sperms like the Arabs saving their oil. The opposite of i-Arabhu/ Arab is **iRomani**. (origin: Shakespeare's play: **Romeo and Juliet**, romance)

i-zest-a

The **CR** originates from the passionate feeling of ecstasy which one gets after smoking dagga. The **CR** refers to dagga and it originates from the English word 'zest'.

Other examples of words which are used lock stock and barrel in this domain include: i-lecture, u-lecturer, i-campus, e-hostel, e-hall, i-free period, i-meeting, i-seminar, i-codesa, i-fresher, i-Praktiese Taal, i-onder< from Afrikaans onderwyser (teacher)

(b) **English or Afrikaans Words borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

es'gele

at school, a place of knowledge. The word originates from **is'gele**, a body of old men, council or parliament.

itilosi

A teacher who is a womaniser is called **itilosi** (a sailor)
The word originates from Afrikaans- matroos.

ifresha

An inexperienced student who is attending university/technikon for the first time. A fresher is a student who is fresh from high school and does not understand life at tertiary institutions. She also becomes a victim of circumstances. Experienced male students go for 'freshers' at the beginning of each year.

(c) **Words from other South African languages borrowed with or without change in original meaning including sound patterns.**

imigangatho

A Xhosa word referring to students who wear classy outfits. Such students will possess everything related to modern technology, including cellular phones, television sets, radios, C.D. players, et cetera.

(d) **Words borrowed from non African languages with or without change in original meaning and sound patterns**

e-mgura at school. (From Sanskrit **guru** meaning a learned or religious person) a spiritual priest.

(e) **Words from Zulu but with a change in original meaning**

imbuzi **imbuzi** (goat) refers to a question paper which has leaked and is seen by the students before it is written. When students assemble to copy the contents of a question paper which has not been written, it is said that they are slaughtering a goat. The synonym of this code is uDennis/ uDenisi. The **CR** emanates from a goat from EFolweni residential area near iSiphingo (about 35 kilometres South of Durban) which was treated like a human being by its owner Mr Sabelo.

impaka A student registered by a staff member without the permission of the school principal. **Impaka** is a witch-doctor's familiar and it is always secluded from the public.

isidumbu **Isidumbu** is a corpse. A corpse cannot speak for itself just like a student who is due to be registered privately by a staff member without the knowledge of the head master. He is called a corpse because he can not speak for himself or herself.

(f) **Words's resulting from broadening.**

tshweleza An adult who is in love with a young partner is said to be tshweleza-ing. The word originates from **itshwele**, which means a chicken. Hence chicken murder - tshweleza.

isigwajane A coward. The word originates from the Zulu word **unogwaja** (hare) and its behaviour when frightened.

ukuncwada to be learned. The term originates from the Zulu word 'incwadi' (book). **Ncwada** is a verb meaning to learn.

(g) **Words resulting from narrowing**

ifrinjo	A student who is in love with a teacher or lecturer is known as a frinjo . Such a student is a fringe benefit for the lecturer or teacher concerned.
imalthi	refers to a student who attended or is attending a multi-racial school.
(ukuba) fra	to be frustrated.
iHodi	A Head of Department.

(h) **Compounding**

amadabula-	students who are non-residents. (The word means the ones whose nyawo feet have cracks) dabula (tear) + unyawo (foot)
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(i) **Expressions**

ukushaya	To succeed to speak to the recipient of a telephone call without inserting a telephone card or coin money.
ibhasari	
ukupitshiza	(to squash a rat) To be in love with or to make love to a very young igundane female/school girl.
ukuphusha	To study very hard. (To study the Marxists theories) Any form of uMarx learning is associated with the Marxist theories by students.
ukubheka	To choose a wife to be, from the list of names for female
kuregister	students on the register.
ukuhlinza	To slaughter a goat. To assemble in order to copy examination
imbuzi	questions or to discuss a question paper or a test which is still to be written.

(j) **Blending**

uthiza	a teacher	(teacher - za)* tea-za >uthiza
igriza	a granny	(granny - za) gri-za >igriza

4.2.2.4 Hospital CCR's/isiHhosi

(a) **The participants**

In all the settings visited, it has been observed that hospital jargon contains terms which reveal that the hospital speech community is highly status conscious. Staff like to categorise each other, according to professional ranks. This suggests a gap between the various hospital infrastructures. There is a lot of marginalisation within the hospital speech community.

Varieties which are spoken in this domain can be divided into three groupings. These are jargon, register and slang. Jargon is employed by doctors and nurses. Register and slang are used by doctors, nurses, and non nursing staff. Slang is spoken by patients who frequent the hospital as well as those who have been admitted for lengthy periods. At this time these patients are also quite conversant with hospital register.

This domain has a wealth of abbreviated terms used to conceal the jargon from out-group members. In fact, nurses and doctors seem to abbreviate whatever they wish to conceal from the out group members. The main reason for using abbreviations in the medical profession is that every move or utterance has got to be performed in the fastest possible way. Lengthy explanations and instructions are avoided where possible, because these professionals deal with matters related to life and death.

(b) **The setting**

Hospital **CCR's** are spoken in hospital settings but sometimes nurses and doctors use medical terms outside this setting when they are talking amongst themselves. The variety still remains a jargon because the laity will not understand the meaning of the terms which they employ. Patients also use hospital register.

For instance, a mattress which is used by patients who spend a night in hospital is called **intshebe** (beard). This is a proverbial term originating from a historical event involving a bearded man from kwaMashu who was the victim of a train disaster. He was trying to board the train while it was in motion, but missed the handle. He then cried underneath the train, but it was all in vain. The accident occurred in the mid 60's near Effingham Road. He was popular for keeping his beard long.

A night pan is called a **four by four** 'bakkie' because it is high like a 4x4 vehicle. Patients employ slang words which they learn from the nurses and non-nursing staff. For instance, a place for sexually transmitted diseases is known as **emasokeni** (a place for males who are popular with females). Ordinary tablets or pills are known as **izinkobe** (boiled mealies). Thus, hospital **CCR's** are widely used in clinics, wards and in other out-patient departments.

(c) **The topic**

Most topics involve illegal transactions at lower level. Doctors and nurses use **CCR's** to discuss patients. Any medication, whether legally or illegally obtained, is known as a **T.T.O.** (treatment taken out). Multilingualism features prominently in this setting. During my visits to this domain, I could hardly come across a nurse or Black doctor who did not code-switch from Zulu to English or Xhosa or employ abbreviated codes. The staff use jargon when discussing the conditions of their patients.

This was further confirmed in a CCV programme on television entitled **MINA NAWE** which featured on Wednesday 7 July 1993 between 18h00-19h00. The last episode

of this serial had a very sad ending where a highly educated father (principal of a school) wanted to know the condition of his son who had gassed himself. The reply from the doctor was:

Were you not aware that your son was a D.O.A.? The father replied with a smile: What does that mean Doctor ? The doctor then replied: Your son died on arrival.

CCR's are used when referring patients to their respective clinics, e.g. e-Number 8 is a clinic for alcoholics.

(a) **CCR's with English or Afrikaans words used with without change in their original meaning and sound patterns**

ama-last offices	at the mortuary
i-straight shift	to work from seven o'clock till 16h00 or 19h00
i-epistaxis	noise bleeding
i- kwashiorkor	kwashiorkor
u-half day	a hospital staff who goes off duty at 13h00

(b) **English or Afrikaans words with change in original meaning and sound pattern.**

umTopia Patients with kwashiorkor are equated with Ethiopia a country which is infested with starvation. The Ethiopians live in a poverty stricken country and its inhabitants die in multitudes due to famine. Hence, a patient who show signs of kwashiorkor is known as **uMtopia** (Ethiopian)

iklabishi A patient whose brain is malfunctioning due to head injuries is called **iklabishi** (cabbage.) The reasoning ability of such a patient is almost nil.

(c) **CCR's with change in sound pattern or twisting of segments.**

i-194

A patient with an aids virus is known as **i-194** where the **1** stands for **A**, **9**.....**I**, **4**.....**D**. Such a patient is also known as a **code** 'This patient is a **code**'. Nurses and doctors do not want to embarrass a patient who is HIV positive by calling a spade a spade. That is to say; by pronouncing the words **aids** or **HIV** because most people are aware of these terms. They simply use jargon.

(d) **Abbreviations used as CCR's**

A few examples of abbreviations which are ideal for the public to know are given below.

HOSPITAL	CODE
i-D.O.A.	Death On Arrival
i-P.M.	a nurse who is off duty after 13h00
i-A.M	a nurse who is off duty in the morning hours till 10h00
i-M.C.	A mental case
uNo.8.	An alcoholic is known as unamba 8 . This refers to clinic number 8 which is for alcoholics.

(e) **Words from other Bantu or non-Bantu languages with or without change in original meaning**

ukutofa	To inject. isitofu refers to an injection which is used as a contraceptive. The term originates from Afrikaans word 'stoof' and has been adopted by Zulu and Xhosa speakers. This term refers to the manner in which an injection is introduced into a patient's body. This action is equated with the pumping of a primus stove.
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(f) **Newly created CCR's or Coinages**

ififi

All that an **ififi** is able to do, is to blink a little, hence **ififi** means the one who blinks. An **ififi** is a hopeless case. His condition will be so bad that he cannot even open his eyes. The **CR ififi** also refers to taking a nap during working hours especially by the night shift staff. They refer to this habit as **ukufifiza**.

(g) **Narrowing in CCR's.**

ijeri

An **ijeri** (geriatric) refers to a forgetful person who has memory lapses.

unafu

A nursing assistant is known as **unafu** (nursing assistant, female).

utofu

A staff nurse is called **utofu** which is the narrowing of the word 'staff nurse'.

iskizo

schizophrenia. A person with hallucinations or psychological disorders

istrabhisi

a squint eyed person. A strabismus

(h) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

izinkobe

Pills are equated with boiled mealies, **izinkobe**, from their shape or size.

emafutheni

refers to a place where fat is obtained. This place is normally called an ultrasound clinic. Because the patient's stomach is smeared with fat or oil, it is known as **emafutheni** (at an oily place), an ultrasound clinic.

emasokeni

Emasokeni refers to a clinic for people suffering from sexually transmitted diseases. The register refers to a place for people who are sexually active.

esithombeni

Sometimes the doctor instructs the patient to go to **esithombeni** (at a photography), meaning to go for an X-Ray.

olaba (these, those) referring to hospital matrons. The speaker normally touches her shoulders to indicate that it is those with epaulettes on their shoulders, thus distinguishing and distancing herself from them.

(i) **Onomatopoeic sounds used as CCR's**

ithwiri a patient who is gasping for death is called **ithwiri**. The word originates from the sound 'thwiri' which is made by a patient when gasping for death.

4.2.2.5 Township CCR's or isiThawa

(a) **The participants**

People of all walks of life employ township register for various reasons. Sometimes circumstances compel a purist to use a **CR** if it is to his advantage. People living in the targeted residential areas employ **CCR's** for various reasons which are related to their physical and social life. **CCR's** which are very common amongst ordinary township dwellers include the following terms.

(b) **The setting**

People employed township **CCR's** in all the domains which I visited. They also employed township **CCR's** at their work places, in schools, and in a number of other places where they have contacts.

(c) **The topic**

(a) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

i-sight appearance, to be visible, to be seen a spectacle.

i-portable something, including a human being, that can be carried on the arms.

uku-splash-a to take a bath.

e-kerek-eni in church. The **CR** originates from Afrikaans 'kerk'
e-more-ni tomorrow, in the morning. The word originates from Afrikaans 'more'.

(b) **CCR's with change in original meaning**

i-roll on private lover. He/she is hidden like a roll-on in the armpit.

i-button a drug. Refers to the shape of a mandrax drug.

i-ironing board a person with flat buttocks like an ironing board.

i-Praktiese stale news, old fashioned information

Taal

i-album to sit and watch people passing by.

(c) **CCR's from other Bantu and non Bantu languages with or without change in original meaning**

iqabane An ANC member (Xhosa)

ishishini A business (Xhosa)

amatshotshombe shacks (Xhosa). Something that is short lived. singular-**itshotshombe**.

umqhafi liquor drinker or participant (Xhosa)

upotsho a putsch, meaning a short cut in doing something.

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Coinages**

ichweba money

ithekeni a girl. The word originates from **intekane** (a young buck)

ukuzenda to die. **Enda** means to go to a far away land or to take a long journey, **isikithi** a girl friend (the English word 'skirt' has been twisted to isikithi)

insayizi, a girl/ friend (that which fits all sizes).

(e) **Words from Zulu with change in original meaning**

ungane a baby, a young girl, a teenage girl.

umuntu a human being, a girl

ikhanda a head, a girl. The beauty of a girl lies in her head/hair

isihlahla a ten rand note, **CR** originates from the green colour of a shrub

ukugqashuka to die, to break, to disconnect

(f) **Blended CCR's**

umbhengane a bag (bag+ Zulu suffix -ana)

intshodi a shirt (shir+d+ Zulu terminative vowel -i)

ithiza teacher (tea+ Zulu suffix -za)

ivevezi n' weduwee (Afrik. we+we+ (Zulu suffix) -zi)
(a widow in English).

ivate water (Afrik. wat+ Zulu terminative vowel -e)

(g) **Compounding**

amadlandawonye The communists. Those who eat together, those who share.

isidlamlilo One who eats fire, a militant person. a conservative person

ontamolukhuni The ones with stiff necks. Partisan parties who resist reforms. Conservatives.

izifikanamthwalo Those who came with their possessions or luggage (immigrants)

ucelumendo a dress or skirt with a slit on the side or back. The showing off of thigh's is a temptation to men, hence, this fashionable attire which is worn by females is called **celumendo** (ask/propose marriage)

- (h) **CCR's generated by narrowing of a word**
- ingcosi** **Ingcosi** is a baby. The word has been narrowed from **ingcosana**, meaning little or few. The Zulu diminutive suffix **-ana** is deleted in order to shorten the word.
- imitasi** an imitation. Material of poor texture.

- (i) **Onomatopoeic sounds used as CCR's**
- isigwagwagwa** sound made by an A.K. 47 riffle after releasing the bullet.
- iphihliza** glasses, e.g. sunglasses -(something breakable) originates from the idiophone '**phihli**' which resembles the sound of something breakable according to the way the Zulus perceive it.
- itingitingi** sound of an auto-teller machine when someone presses its buttons., an auto-teller machine.
- isathwa** sound of a riffle when shooting. The soft sound of a silencer.

- (j) **expressions involving CCR's**
- uBaqwe** *ukuzenza uBaqwe ikati laserenki/ laseNdiya.* To claim to know everything or to claim to be smart or knowledgeable like the eyes of any cat which is seen hanging around bus depots/terminals. An Indian cat. There are some people who will not confess that they do not know a thing. These are the ones who are called **Baqwe**.
- amanabukeni** ukuneka **amanabukeni**. To hang the napkins. To be constantly smiling even when other people feel that there is nothing really amusing.

(k) **Referents in CCR's**

uThuleleni

Meaning -Why are you keeping quiet? **A black suit.** Such a suit is also known as **uNokuthula**. A dark colour is equated with silence.

uVelaphi

a heap of food in a plate is known as **uVelaphi**. (Velaphi means where do you come from, you who still dishes up such heaps of food in a plate). When the food is heaped up in a plate, in such a way that one cannot see a person who is sitting in the opposite direction of the heaped plate, people name the huge heap of food '**Velaphi**'. This is an interrogative in the sense that it asks the question, ' where do you come from? Thus, exposing his or her geographical background.

uPhawulina

Phawulina is a person who likes to make comments (phawula) at gatherings. The name derives itself from the English personal name Pauline.

uThulani

Thula means 'keep quiet'. This is said of a person who does not have an input when there are meetings. Thulani is a Zulu personal name meaning 'keep quiet'.

4.2.2.6

Tavern CCR's/isiThaveni

(a)

The participants

Liquor drinkers comprise people of various sectors. These include employed and unemployed members of the speech community. Both teenagers and adults are prone to drinking intoxicating beverages as a way of escaping stressful situations, although this does not solve their problems.

(b)

Setting

The unemployed are found hanging around township taverns, beer halls, bottle stores, parties et cetera, in search of good time. One of the hobbies which occupies many urban dwellers during their leisure hours is liquor drinking.

(c)

The topic

Liquor drinkers usually talk about various issues related to the community at large. This could be politics, a football match, boasting about a previous drinking spree, horse racing, family matters, love affairs, illegal transactions, et cetera. They are very fond of relating a previous drinking session if it was full of merriment. The interlocutors gloat about their drunkenness and the amount of liquor they were able to consume. Mathematics features prominently in a drinking session. Drinkers and the shebeen queens rely on measurements in order to carry out their business. They use CCR's which are only comprehensible to the in-group members.

Those who partake in liquor drinking also talk about the types of brandies they can consume and those they cannot consume for health reasons. Most of them will order beer but the name of the brandy will be disguised in various forms. Examples of tavern CCR's are given below.

(a)

CCR's with or without change in original meaning

i-sealed	a full bottle of liquor brandy.
i-25%	Sometimes the drinkers order a 25% from the shebeen queen. This code still refers to a nip or a quarter.
i-50%	is equivalent to half a bottle.
i-375mls bottle	375 mls of liquor brandy. It means three quarters of a or three nips.
i-hassling	To suffer a morning hang over. To feel miserable after a previous day's drinking spree.

(b) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

i-German tanker	a heavy drinker
i-enamel tank	A person who is not affected by liquor after drinking volumes and volumes of it.
i-saswitch	a person who takes all sorts of beverages. Originates from an auto-teller machine which accepts all kinds of auto-teller or bank cards.
i-chemist	A bottle store

(c) **CCR's with change in sound pattern/twisted segments**

NO17	Because the reverse side of LION Lager beer is NO17 interlocutors disguise its proper name by calling it NO17 .
9644	the jargon refers to Charles Glass Beer lager. The inscription of the word, 'glass' is disguised into 9644 . Hence Popzer 9644 refers to Charles Glass. 9 resembles g , 6 represents l , and 44 stands for -ss-

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Neologisms**

imbiri/	Beer lager is known as imbiri or isibharara . These lexical items isibharara do not exist in standard Zulu but have been coined in order to bring about ambiguity to an outsider.
isimiramuwa	Another term which is used to disguise the meaning of Smirnoff is ismiramuwa or i-1818 (The year in which Smirnoff was introduced)

(e) **CCR's from Zulu with or without change in original meaning**

ichwane	ichwane (chick) in this CR refers to a nip of brandy. The similarity between a chicken and a nip of brandy is that they are both small, hence a small quantity of liquor brandy.
inkuxa	Sometimes the drinkers order inkuxa (man with a big tummy) This code refers to a 750ml, a full or sealed bottle of liquor.
Isilevu	isilevu (chin) is a metaphor for the remnants of liquor in a bottle. The face/head of a human being is equated with a liquor container. The chin is the bottom part of a human face. It is equated with remnants in a liquor bottle or glass which remain at the bottom of the container.
imbiza	imbiza is a traditional Zulu purgative. The colour of this purgative is similar to that of Castle Milk Stout.
amaqhizane	Beer lager is also called amaqhizane (brown ticks) from its colour isitibhili the dark brown excretion from a fowl. The excretion has a colour similar to that of a beer lager.
ibhubesi	Lion lager is also known as ibhubesi in Zulu. Ibhube si is a Zulu word for lion. Lion lager is known by its English meaning which is Lion lager and there is no Zulu word for it. As a result, an uninitiated person will not understand the meaning if a drinker orders ibhubesi .
izipikili	Smirnoff is also known as izipikili (nails) from the manner in which it pokes one's intestines as if one has swallowed nails.

(f) **Abbreviations used as CCR's**

i-P.M.	i-phuza mouth. Mouth affected by excessive intake of liquor.
i-C.V.C.	i-Cape Velvet cream. Wine brandy chilled with milk or ice cream.
N.B.S.	Nearest bottle store.
i-P.F.	i-Phuza face. A face affected by excessive intake of liquor
i-P.E.	i-Phuza eyes. Eyes affected by excessive intake of liquor.

(g) **Bicodal CCR's (from two distinct languages)**

i-phuza-mouth	Mouth affected by excessive intake of liquor.
i-Phuza-face	A face affected by excessive intake of liquor
i-Phuza-eyes	Eyes affected by excessive intake of liquor.

4.2.2.7 Transportation CCR's/isiTransi

(a) **The participants**

Most township dwellers use various modes of transport to and from their workplaces and schools. Most public commuters end up being compelled to employ transport register in order not to appear old fashioned. Thus, transport **CCR's** are employed by both young and old commuters who use public transport. This setting has also produced a wealth of terms which serve as transportation **CCR's**.

(b) **The setting**

Commuters, drivers and conductors use transport code and register in interactions related to transport. This could be in the trains, in drinking sessions, buses, taxis, at

work and at filling stations. Furthermore, some conductors or drivers are at times engaged in illegal transactions at **Kwashisanyama** (at a place for roasting meat), which means, a place which is frequently visited by drivers and conductors on Fridays, 'to beat' the Chinese *Ngesikhathi beshaya iShayina* meaning when the drivers steal the bosses money. The **code** is also used when they are engaged in illegal transactions such as frying a vehicle *uma befraya imoto*, meaning setting a vehicle alight) or when they are at the butchery or **slaghuis** (Afrikaans) *uma besesilaheni*, meaning a secluded place where stolen motor vehicles are stripped off their parts or have their engines and chassis digits transformed into new ones.

(c) **The topic**

The real **CR** is resorted to when males are discussing illegal transactions or when appraising themselves. They disguise the names of motor vehicles by equating them with various items which share similar characteristics. Certain vehicles have been accorded names of prominent figures in the society in order to disguise their meanings to the outsider.

Sometimes when the thieves or people holding powerful positions realise that there are strong witnesses to a case involving theft, they decide to silence the witnesses by organising other people to kill them.

Inside a taxi, there are names referring to certain localities. When a passenger occupies the back seat of a taxi or a bus it is said that he is sitting **in the kitchen**. The seat behind that of the driver which faces the commuters is called a **T.V.** because passengers face the rest of the commuters in the taxi, as if they represent a television set being watched by the rest of the passengers. The passengers watch those who occupy this seat in the same manner in which people watch television in operation.

This variety of language prevails amongst the taxi speech community and also amongst those who are involved in illegal transactions. Various metaphors are used to conceal the meaning of vehicles. Codes portraying various types of automobiles are a proof that the Durban community has great interest in transportation modes. The

following common codes are also used when the speakers are engaged in illegal transactions.

(a) **English or Afrikaans CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

o-first grade: Young and attractive females are allocated the front seats in a kombi and they are selected from the queue while awaiting their turn to board the taxi. Those who select them say they are choosing first grade tomatoes to decorate the taxi.

uku-ry-a to travel by. It originates from the Afrikaans word **ry** (travel, drive). **uku-fry-a** to burn or destroy a vehicle. From English-fry, roast

i-wiel a wheel, a vehicle

i-First a FIAT car.

In All Trouble

(b) **CCR's with or without change in original meaning**

igayidi a guide, a train, (because a train is guided by railway lines)

u-mosquito The van which is used by the South African Defence force or stability unit is called **umaskito** (a mosquito) because it is shaped like a mosquito.

Ikameli (a camel) is an old Isuzu minibus. What is being highlighted here is the shape of its roof which is like that of a camel. Also, its resistance to drought is paralleled with that of a camel, hence **ikameli**

ibramani **Iblamani** (a Brahman caste) is a Datsun E-20 kombi. The original meaning of Brahman relates to the South African Afrikaner beast which is strong and can resist bad weather conditions. The **CR** emerges from the

sound of an E-20 kombi which resembles that of an Afrikaner bull when it bellows. Another similarity stems from the fact that both are powerful and durable.

i-toilet

Should the **umjondolo** (a temporary seat in a taxi) not be available for a passenger to sit on, then the passenger is instructed to seat on a toilet - '**hlala ebhoshi/ e-toilet**', implying that the passenger should occupy the empty space between the seats which is almost equal to the size of a toilet hole. These passengers still pay the full fare even if they sit on the toilet.

(c) **CCR's with or without change in sound pattern or twisted segments**

iketisi

an automobile, especially a **taxi**. The syllables in the word **iketisi** have been twisted in order to create ambiguity to an outsider.

(d) **Newly created CCR's/Coinages**

ukungcoka

The act of stealing a vehicle is **ukungcuka** (to steal) or

ukungcuka

ukungcoka (to pluck)

iginsa

a stolen motor vehicle is **iginsa**

omathunzini

There are vehicles including taxis/ mini-buses which are called **omathunzini** (shadows). This **CR** implies that such vehicles cannot surface on the road during the day because they are either stolen or are not road worthy. In the evening when the police are no longer as active as during the day in stopping the cars, they show up in their numbers. Thus a kombi which is a **mathunzini** can still make a lot of money after 17h00 (when

most of the cops are off duty) and as long as there are no accidents involved.

(e) **Words from Zulu with or without change in original meaning**

impendulo an answer/ reply a stolen car whose parts have been converted.

ilahle/ coal Interlocutors will speak of **ilahle** when referring to a recently stolen car whose parts have not been altered. Brenda Fasi is a famous Black South African female musician. This **CR** emerges from her song **Ayashisa Amalahle**. (The coal is burning). Any stolen vehicle is equated with burning coal in the hands of the new owner because he will not relax until some parts have been altered. The thief cannot keep on holding something that is hot. There will be massive search for the stolen vehicle by the police and the owner of the vehicle. The thief can only relax after some parts of the stolen vehicle have been transformed. Hence, a **CR** for a stolen car is **ilahle** (coal). **abafana**. Those connected with car theft are known as **abafana** (boys) even if they are elderly people. Thus, it is very common to hear a vehicle owner commenting that he bought a certain part of his vehicle from the **abafana** (boys) meaning, from the thieves.

imbawula An unlicensed driver is known as **imbawula** (a brazier.) He is like a brazier which ends up being dangerous to the people if left in the house overnight. This code implies that although the driver may provide assistance to the passengers, the end result of his help may be catastrophic.

ingulube An old VW Beetle is called **ingulube** (a pig). What is being highlighted here is the noise made by a pig which

is compared to that of a VW. This **CR** arises from a Zulu myth entitled **The Lizard And The Chameleon**. It is said that the lizard was able to deliver the message from God that people must die before the chameleon which had been sent earlier on to tell them that they would not die. The **CR** thus means a fast moving vehicle, a fast taxi.

(f)

isimuvane

Blending

something moving (isi-move-ane), an automobile

(g)

i-transi

es'thawa

i-Ph.D.

Narrowing

transport (-port has been deleted to narrow the word)

in, to town. (-n of town has been deleted)

This **Ph.D** refers to a driver who drives as if he obtained his driving licence within a short span of time from a driving school in Lebowa or Northern Transvaal, which is known as **Phahladira**. The **CR** refers to a poor driver. It must be mentioned that drivers from this testing centre are not really poor drivers, but the time frame within which the licence is obtained is questionable.

(h)

isilahlamatende

Kwashisanyama

Compounding

That which throws away its tents. A convertible car.

(at a place for burning meat), which means a place which is frequently visited by conductors and taxi drivers on Friday 'to beat the Chinese'. *Ngesikhathi beshaya iShayina*, meaning to steal the boss's money.

umadumez'ezinqeni

An old beetle is called **umadum'ezinqeni** (the one who thunders in the buttocks). The sound of a VW Beetle engine is heard from the back because of the location of its engine system.

ungisondez'egodini

Road accidents, particularly those involving kombis, are numerous. That is why some passengers refer to a taxi as **ungisondez'egodini** (A thing that brings me nearer the grave).

(i)

expressions

ukuhlinza imoto

Interlocutors who are involved in illegal transactions also speak of **imoto uhlinsa imoto** (to (skin) strip a vehicle.) After slaughtering a beast in the abattoir, its parts are accordingly removed from the carcass. This **CR** refers to the stripping off of a vehicle or cutting out parts in the body of a vehicle with the intention of selling them or replacing them in another vehicle parts are worn out.

ukucwebezalisa

The cops sometimes require the vehicle owner to shine up or to cause to shine after passing a motor vehicle at the testing ground. In addition to this, when the cops do not desire to issue a driver with a ticket for a fine they say: **cwebezalisa** or **cwebezela** (cause to shine or shine). The driver or culprit will know that he has to pay for the favour rendered and he will do accordingly because they both understand that type of language.

(j)

Referents

uBrenda

a stolen car, from her song **Ayashisa Amalahle**

iZola Budd

a fast taxi. (The fastest South African athlete in the 1980s now married to Mr Pieterse).

uMaMbhense

Mercedes Benz

(k)

paralinguistic expressions

An uninitiated person will not understand transport **CCR's**. We saw in chapter one how commuters use hand signs to indicate their destinations.

(k)

paralinguistic expressions

An uninitiated person will not understand transport **CCR's**. We saw in chapter one how commuters use hand signs to indicate their destinations.

4.3 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF ZULU-BASED ADOPTIVES

4.3.1 Background

Both internal and contact variations consist of a basilect with a spectrum of variation. Speakers take lexical items from the various languages spoken within the speech community. Variations are characterised by interlarded speech which embraces code switching and code mixing of different languages which are Zulu-based. There is also a lot of borrowing and semantic shift in the speaker's repertoire. The lexical items are tailored to be unintelligible to an out-group person. The lexical items are also continually changing. While older ones are being relayed to the speakers who have not heard them, new ones are being coined or exhumed. Refer to Ndlovu (1963) **isikhilimikhwikhi** (kill me quickly) page 175 paragraphs 1-2 of this study. In this way, they end up spreading to formal forums like the class-room, radio and newspaper media, literature and magazines.

- (a) Some **CCR's** are characterised by interlarded speech which is usually perceived as a single code although entailing bicodal expressions. Adopted **CCR's** are converted into the morphological and phonological system of the Zulu language.
- (b) Though the speech of the interlocutors abound in English and Afrikaans elements, it is still identified as a variety of the indigenous language involved.
- (c) Foreign words which are commonly used are conjunctions and other fillers, which Agheyisi (1977:105) calls link-words such as: so, but, and, then, because, now, so, therefore, shame, okay, you know, hey man, etc; address terms such as Sir, ma, madam, brother, sister, uncle, aunty, mummy, daddy, granny, papa, mama, Meneer and chief.
- (d) The style which is employed by the educated elite in their verbal repertoire also includes adoptives comprising nouns and verbs. The mixture of English and Afrikaans with indigenous language is subject to systematic constraints.

- (e) There are adjustments which include simplification of consonant clusters, addition or loss of vowels in a word and other segments, and replacement of other segments in order to suit the phonological and morphological system of the Zulu language.
- (f) **CCR's** contain technical terms and expressions. The vocabulary of such technical terms is minimal and their use is clearly obvious in a speech event since they never assimilate fully to the speech of a native speaker. This means that words from a guest code are carried over lock stock and barrel from the guest to the host code.
- (g) It must be mentioned that **CCR's** are usually perceived as a variety of the indigenous language rather than that of a foreign language. This is further confirmed by Samarin (1977:133) when he remarks that the koines or mixed varieties are never detached from the languages from which they issue, that is to say, they are linked to the home language of the interlocutor.

4.3.2

CATEGORIES OF ADOPTED WORDS

This particular section serves to consolidate the uniqueness of this study as the approach used has not been cited in any written literature. In other words, the section on the linguistic make-up of Zulu-based adoptives is amongst the main contributions to the study of **CCR's**

The inclusion of adoptives also serves to cement the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter two, Myers-Scotton (1971:110) mentions that a speaker will acquire high rewards without high costs if he uses a neutral language/variety-prestige language combination rather than either language alone, among supposed peers who have some but perhaps not equal command of the prestige language. A speaker will gain a lot of rewards, and less costs, if he communicates in non-standard variety comprising adoptives with relevant subgroups, as will be noticed in the rest of this chapter.

The inclusion of adoptives is linked to **speech accommodation theory** where most interlocutors who want to gain rewards use either an English/Afrikaans-Zulu based variety in their speech repertoire. The tendency towards mixed varieties is also confirmed in our analysis on page 94 number 18 where 61% of the speakers pointed out that they speak mixed varieties.

Ohly (1987:124) distinguishes between four categories of adopted words which he calls loan words. He categorises loan words into 'domesticated', 'accommodated', 'adapted', and 'assimilated' loan words. In this study, loan words will be called adoptives. Professor Ohly's categorisation of loan words will be adopted partially as is demonstrated below.

4.3.2.1 'Domesticated adoptives'

'Domesticated' adoptives are pronounced by Zulu speakers according to regular English or Afrikaans pronunciation and written according to the orthography of these foreign languages. In other words, they are carried lock stock and barrel from L2 to L1 and they only employ a **proclitic/** formative, that is the pre-prefix or determiner which is attached to the beginning of the foreign word. The nasal-less /u-/ of class 3(a) and /i-/ of class 9a are affixed to these adopted words because they happen to constitute a sizeable list of foreign words which have been morphologised into Zulu as will be demonstrated below.

'Domesticated' adoptives are categorised into the various noun classes according to their broad semantic content and semantic categories are applied in the choice of class. Noun classes are categorised into the Zulu nominal and verbal systems. As this is not part of the present study, I have chosen not to expand on verbal categorisation.

Ohly (1987) and Canonici (1990) mention that broad semantic categories are applied in the choice of classifying an adopted word.

Ohly (1987:124) suggests that adopted words can be categorised according to their semantic features and asserts:

[...] it seems to be only important to establish the word-category (not the noun category) of the foreign word, whereas the base, the foreign word itself, serves as a carrier of meaning as a lexeme. As a result, the prefix serves only as a formal means, i.e. the sign vehicle, but does not fulfil the function of a prolexeme unless we would accept the semantic marker, + special faculties/ or features.

Canonici, (1990:55) gives the following classification of Zulu adoptives:

A. **Class 1a**

Personal (kinship, professions, titles, honorific appellation, et cetera)

Examples:

udokotela, uthisha, uKhisimusi, unesi, et cetera, translated as doctor, teacher, Christmas, nurse et cetera,

B. **Class 3a:**

(a) **non-personal** (mass nouns, liquids, food-stuffs et cetera)

Canonici, (1990:55) further gives the following examples of his classification.

i. ***Prepared food stuffs***

ushukela, ujamu, ufulawa, u-ayisikhilimu, ubhekeni et cetera, translated as sugar, jam, flour, ice-cream, bacon.

ii. ***Trees, fruits, vegetables, medicines***

ugwava, ukhokho, ukwatapheya, ubhanana, ulethisi et cetera, translated as guava, cocoa, avocado-pear, banana, lettuce

iii. ***Chemicals and liquids***

unemenayidi, uphalafini, uphethiloli, u-inki, uviniga et cetera translated as lemonade, parafin, petrol, ink, vinegar.

iv. *Objects, containers, diseases*

ubheseni, ubhasikidi, uleyisi, usinki, uthiyi, umata, et cetera translated as basin, basket, lace, sink, tie, mat

C. *Class 9a:*

(e) *mostly non-personal: Ndlanzi in Canonici, (1990:57)*

ibhodi, ibhobhini, ibheyili, ibheyi, ibha, isheyini et cetera. board, barometer, bail, bay, bar, chain.

Also consider the following examples of class 3a and 9a nouns which are part of the present study and which are carried lock stock and barrel from English and Afrikaans.

i-wiel	a wheel (meaning a motor vehicle)
i-First in all trouble	a Fiat
i-envelope	a Mercedes Benz
u-polony	a pink mouth
u-tamaties	a pretty and attractive young girl

The next method of incorporating foreign words into the Zulu language is known 'accommodated' adoptives.

4.3.2.2 'Accommodated' adoptives

According to (Ohly 1987:125) 'accommodated' adoptives open the final syllable of the adopted word but still retain irregular consonant sequences of the guest code. It

means that these ‘accommodated’ adoptives merely affix two vowel phonemes to the guest code; that is; the pre-prefix/proclitic vowel and the terminative or enclitic vowel. (N.B. An article which is attached to the guest code or host code is called a clitic. When appended to the beginning of a word, it is known as a **proclitic** vowel and a **clitic** affixed to the end of a word is labelled enclitic vowel. Also corroborated in Katamba 1989:174) Refer to the following sentences.

i-saswitch-i	A heavy drinker who consumes all types of beverages
u-board-e/	he has died or gone to a far away land
u-board-ile	he has died) He has boarded
i-light-i	a young boy
e-chemist-i	a bottle store
i-sealed-i	a full bottle of brandy /liquor

4.3.2.4 ‘Adapted’ adoptives

In explaining how foreign words are adapted into L1, Hyman (1970:14) states that: "a language first finds the closest phoneme that encompasses the phonetic characteristics of the extraneous sound, and then this foreign sound is appropriately phonemicized and, subject to the phonological constraints of the phoneme’s members. In fact, a language does not only look for the closest phonemes which encompass the foreign quality of foreign sounds, but it goes to the extent of linking the closest indigenous words with foreign words or names whose segments are perceived to be sharing similar places of articulation or manner of articulation in the ears of a L1 speaker in an effort to accommodate them in the host language. Refer to the surname Koopman. Most Zulu speakers identify Koopman with Khumalo, which is a well

known Zulu surname. The surname Posthumus is phonemicised into Phuz'amasi (Drink maas). Another example is that of Mc Kenzie, who is known as uMkhize.

In 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 we looked at simple adoption of lexical items into Zulu, where changes in the original forms are minimal. Complex changes are, however, noticeable, especially in the morpho-phonetic processes of noun classification.

A general traditional rule is that when an adopted word commences in a **nasal consonant**, then that adopted word should automatically fall under class 9 nouns. Consider: **imoto**; a motor car. To warm the car means to take a sip of liquor brandy in order to warm oneself. Hence **ukushisisa imoto**.

Whiteley (1963:161) affirms that; "When the initial element of the word is phonologically assimilated or is similar to one of the recognised prefixes, singular or plural then that word is usually allocated to the class of which the prefix is a mark.

The initial consonant of the adopted word, thus, plays an important role in placing the adopted noun in its rightful noun slot as seen below.

Refer to the following **CCR**'s where the initial consonant is an s-cluster. The cluster is separated by a vowel.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------|---|
| a. | spyker | isipikili/izipikili | smirnoff |
| b. | sleutel | isihluthulelo | a bottle opener or key |
| c. | school boy | isikulibhoyi | male prisoner who serves another prisoner |
| d. | steen | isitini | stubborn person, R100-00 notes. |
| e. | skirt | isiketi/isikithi | any female |

In the following section, we shall look at the ways in which English and Afrikaans words are phonemicised in order to comply with the inventory of the Zulu sound system. Parts of this process can be described as partial adaptation or assimilation and parts, as complete assimilation. Examples are drawn from the **CCR**'s in my research, even though many lexical items may already be part of the Zulu published and

accepted vocabulary.

4.3 Word final consonants

4.3.1 Word final consonants ending in labials

When an adopted word ends in a labial consonant, the terminative vowel of the adopted word will be a rounded vowel, that is /u/ or /o/.

bomb	ibhomu	a fat person, shocking news
knoop	inkinobho	a drug
clip	ikliphu	R1000-00
album	i-albhamu	to watch many people passing by.
florsheim	ifloshemu	a beast for slaughter
paragraph	ipharagrafu	a short person
klob (Afr)	iklobhu	a cell in jail
an Arab	i-Arabhu	a male who lives in celibacy
stoof	istofu	injection

4.3.2 Word final consonants ending in alveolars, palatals and velars

When the final consonant of the guest code is an alveolar, palatal or velar, the terminative vowel will normally be /-i/ provided that the vowel in the initial syllable of the foreign word is a front vowel /i/ or /e/ or a neutral vowel /a/ or pronounced like these vowels in Zulu.

kat (Afrikaans)	ikati	a goal keeper with acrobatic savings
dent	denti	a debt
monkeynut	amakinati	pimples on the face
seven	useveni	a prisoner who is serving seven years imprisonment for stabbing with a knife

Denis	uDenisi	a goat, a question paper which is illegally possessed by a candidate before the test or examination is written.
saswitch	isaswishi	a drinker who takes all sorts of beverages
cabbage	iklabishi	a patient with brain damage
sandwich	isemeji	a style in foot ball

4.3.3 Word final consonants ending in fricatives

When the final consonant of the adopted word ends in a fricative /-s/ or /-z/ the terminative vowel is usually /-i/. This includes double pluralisation of Zulu adopted words where the marked plural affix /-s/ of English is sometimes realised as part of the stem or as a /-z/.

pills	iphilisi/ ama-philisi	an active soccer player who runs to and fro as if he has taken a purgative which sends him to the toilet now and again.
matroos	itilosi/ amatilosi	an educator who has a weakness of falling in love with school children.
size	insayizi	a girl, that which fits all sizes.
boss	ibhosi	a bully or a gang leader
"	ibhoza	"
chappies	ishapizi	an unpopular person
checkers	ushekazi	a tale monger
jas	ijazi	a condom

4.3.4 Deletion of segments in word final positions

Sometimes the consonant/s of a guest code are deleted irrespective of whether they are in final positions or not. This involves single consonants as well as consonant

sequences. In the analysis that follows, we are concerned only with the deletion of syllables or segments in their final positions.

University	iNyuvesi	prison
foundation	ifowundeshi	food
Pretoria	iPitoli	Department of Afrikaans at University
gasoline	igazoli	petrol
chemist	ikhemese	bottle-store

In the above adoptives, the final syllables or elements occurring word finally, that is, {-ty}, {-n}, {-a}, {-t} and {-ne, respectively. } have been deleted;

4.3.5 Word medial consonants

Whenever a nasal consonant or a nasal stop or nasal affricate occurs word initially or word medially in the guest code the foreign word incorporates a Nasal prefix. This means that in the host code, the preceding nasal is homorganic with the obstruent sound that follows it.

Refer to:

attention	indesheni	to beg for a favour
canteen	inkantini	illegal sorghum beer
envelope	imvalaphu	mercedes benz
knoop	inkinobho	mandrax drug

Nasal de-aspiration will be realised in all the phonemes which were aspirated in the guest code resulting in ejected nasal stops.

4.3.6. Phonological Processes and adopted words

A few phonological processes which occur in Durban CCR's will be discussed below. Various languages choose varying methods from which they build their

phonological processes. In this study, we shall concentrate on those processes embracing assimilation.

4.3.6.1 Assimilation

Katamba, (1989:80) defines assimilation as " the modification of a sound in order to make it more similar to some other sound in its neighbourhood ".

He further states that, " The advantage of assimilation is that it results in smoother, more effortless, more economical transitions from one sound to another" (Katamba, 1989:80).

Foreign words are assimilated into the Zulu phonological system in various ways. Assimilation process is better illustrated in terms of its directionality. The following examples can be described in terms of directionality where a sound becomes more like either the one that precedes it or the sound that succeeds it. In the succeeding examples, the direction of assimilation is progressive because the nasal that precedes the consonant becomes more like the sound that follows it, hence, progressive or anticipatory assimilation.

The process of **nasal assimilation** can be elucidated by the following examples of **CCR's** examples involving **nasal affricatisation**.

size (saiz)	iN+s>ints	insayizi	a girl
suit	iN+s>ints	insengane/ insudi	a suit
			money at the end of the day
seep	iN+s>ints	insipho	a slippery person, a prostitute
shop	iN+sh>intsh	tshobha/ izintshobha	shop/s, at the store

We can also infer that, in most cases, voiceless stops or voiced obstruents which are preceded by vowels, including particularly those which are contiguous, automatically fall under the Nasal class which is class 9. When this process occurs, nasal affricatisation takes place. The case of **sweet** remaining **uswidi** cannot be swept

underneath the carpet. One might ask the following question: 'Why does **uswidi** from sweet fail to follow this phonological interference when it bears contiguous vowels like 'seep,' and 'suit' above? The noun, **uswidi** (sweet) falls under class 3a nouns which also comprise food-stuffs. Hence **uswidi**, is categorised under the class 3a noun slot because of its semantic valence and not under class 9 or 9a.

4.3.6.2 Syllabification

English or Afrikaans words with consonant sequences are usually solved by means of vowel epenthesis or anaptyctic vowel . Adopted consonant sequences are sometimes syllabified. The syllable is one of the most important elements in lexical phonology because it provides a basis for analyzing the internal structure of segments. A syllable indicates the number of rhythmic units or canonical elements present in a word. During the process of syllabification, vowels are inserted between consonant sequences (Frajzyngler (1980:40, 47, 56). Vowels are often inserted between consonants to facilitate pronunciation in forms that have developed articulatory difficult consonant clusters. Epenthesis is the most common term for this phenomenon.

Refer to:

brief (Afrikaans)	isibhilivane cl.7	(a letter or n' brief in Afrikaans) Prison language
simpleton	usebentini cl.1a	(a simpleton) a stupid person
dreish (German)	idweshu class 9a	three (in soccer code)
	idreyishi	

In each of the above examples, one of the consonants is deleted in order to avoid complex consonant or vowel sequences in the speech of the semi-literate or uneducated speakers. Refer to **simpleton** which becomes **usebentini** in Zulu. Because Zulu does not have the consonant sequence - **mpl**- this foreign sound simply becomes /b/.

Many scholars have already indicated that Zulu as well as Xhosa languages are undergoing changes which incorporate consonant sequences with an /-r-/ cluster. Refer to Khumalo (1988),and Koopman (1992: 111), Thipa, 1992:81).

Khumalo (1988:5) exemplifies with words such as: **ibhathrumu**, **ibhethri**, **iprogrumu**, **iragbhi**, **egrawndini**, **udrayva**, **ihayphothesisi**, et cetera.

Koopman and Thipa (1992) exemplify with words such as, **ibhethri**, **ukhrimu**, **ukurileksa**, **ukudribula**, **umphristi**, **iprezident**, **ifriji**, et cetera. Thipa (1992:81) declares that "the variation depends on the extent of the exposure to western cultural influences and experiences. In that respect, urban....speakers seem to be more exposed to such influences than rural ones".

Koopman and Thipa (1992) also noted the following consonant sequences which are not of Zulu origin but are now incorporated into **CCR's**;

CS with /r/ pr-,tr-, kr-, br-, dr-, gr-, phr-, thr-, khr-, fr- vr-

CS with /s/ sp-, st-, sk-, spr-, str-, skr-, scr-, spy-, str-, sch-, sl-, shr-

CS with /l/ pl-, gl-, kl-, cl-, bl-

CS with /n/ nsh-, et cetera.

4.3.7 Word initial consonants

During the process of syllabification, the same rules which apply to final consonants and vowel assimilation when terminative vowels are suffixed to the root, also apply to consonant sequences occurring in initial positions. For instance, after the initial labial consonants /b, p, f, v/ the anaptyctic vowel is /u-/, except when a Zulu vowel, corresponding to the English vowel in the syllable in which the cluster occurs, is pronounced as /i/. Refer to the following examples, but, as explained earlier on, very few urban dwellers who have been exposed to western culture employ the real standard Zulu syllabic structures which are: / V, CV, CwV, NCV, and -m-/ when using adopted words.

u B renda	u B hulenda	a stolen car
i f lorsheim	i f uloshemu	a beast
i- f reeway	i f iliweyi/ u f uliweyi	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time.
i- f ridge	i m filiji/ i m fuliji i f iliji	a coward

4.3.8 Other Phonological Processes

4.3.8.1 Obstruent voicing

Stops, fricatives and affricates are collectively known as obstruents. A voiceless obstruent becomes voiced when it occurs between vowels. Here, I have tried to explain the existence of voiced obstruents from adopted voiceless obstruents. So far, I have not come across embarrassing exceptions which are inexplicable. Examples of obstruent voicing are:

b oss	> i b hoza
g asoline	> i g azoli
j as	> i j azi
g oods	> i g uzu

This type of obstruent voicing also includes consonant harmony which is discussed in 4.6.8.1. page 153. Other phonological processes to be noted in this study involve

stop voicing of adopted words. For instance, a voiceless stop becomes voiced when preceded by contiguous or single vowels or underlyingly when occurring word finally. (Lindau-Webb 1985:165). Consider the following examples:

Afrikaans:	skip >	isikebhe
	skepe (*skiepe)	izikebhe
	knoop >	inkinobho
English	suit >	is udi / insudi
	sweet >	us widi

4.3.8.2 Stop Voicing

It also appears that English stops become voiced when they occur in consonant sequences or in nasal stops preceded by a vowel. Consider:

p <u>o</u> r t >	ebhodwe
f <u>o</u> r k >	im fologo
t <u>e</u> n t	it ende
a <u>t</u> t e n t i o n >	in desheni

In English, voiced stops are phonetically realised as fully voiced between vowels; less fully voiced word initially and minimally voiced word finally (Katamba, 1989:41).

4.3.9 Harmony

Vowels and consonants which share the same place and manner of articulation usually harmonise. Carnochan, (1960:159) states that:

"The rounding or unrounding of the vowel sound in pronunciation is considered together with the rounding and unrounding of the consonant articulation. This has to do with the syllable tier. In addition to this, the degree of tongue raising as between close or half close and between half open and open, is considered for the vowel sounds in each example as a whole".

4.3.9.1 Consonant Harmony

Foreign words whose initial consonants are [+aspirated] or [+breathy] will harmonise with other spread sounds in a word, that is to say; aspirated stops and breathy voice sounds will adapt to the same tongue root feature of the initial consonant within the same root. Refer to:

English word	CCR word
gap	ukugebha

said when taxis close the gaps while queuing up for passengers.

In the above example, both [g] and [b] are [+depressed] or [+breathy] in the transportation CR although in the original English word, the two plosives do not harmonise, that is, their feature specifications are [+breathy], [+aspirated]. In the process of consonant harmony, these share the feature [+breathy]

	C	V	C	V
Hence uku#	g	e	bh	a
	[+breathy]		[+breathy]	
	<u>ukugebha</u> (to gap up)			

syllable tier		O		O
CV-tier	C	V	C	V
segmental tier	-cont	+syl	-cont	+syl
	-ant	-hi	+ant	+low
Laryngeal node	-cor	-lo	-cor	
	+dep	-rd	+dep	lo+
	g	e	bh	a
	gebha (close the gap)			

Other examples which include breathy voiced consonant harmony are the specified obstruents which share the same laryngeal node when phonemicised as seen below:

goods >	iguzu	not to succeed in a mission
kettle>	igedlela	a motor vehicle
boss >	ibhoza	a hero, a bully
jas >	ijazi	a condom
bottle>	ibhodlela	liquor brandy
at the port >	ebhodwe	in Durban
gasoline>	igazoli	petrol/ fuel

In the foregoing examples, the laryngeal feature [+breathy] spreads to all the obstruent sounds or breathy voiced sounds found within the root of the same word. This will also apply to [+aspirated] sounds. A detailed treatment of consonant harmony was done by Professor J. Khumalo for his D.Lit.et Phil. (1987)

4.3.9.2 Vowel constraints

4.3.9.2.1 Vowel commencing syllables

At times English words commencing in front vowels delete the initial vowel and the succeeding consonant becomes the stem initial consonant.

Ethiopian	umTopiya	one who suffers from starvation
engine	injini	a player wearing jersey number six
eleven	uleveni	a goat
Egyptian	umGibhithe	an oppressor.

4.3.9.2.2 Back and neutral vowels

Guest codes commencing in back vowels or neutral vowels retain these vowels but employ a glottal stop between the pre-prefix and the initial vowel of the adopted word.

oros	i-orosi	an old man who likes to fondle young girls.
Uno	i-uno	a person with flat buttocks
Arab	i-Arabhu	one who lives in celibacy
Africa	um-Africa	a freed prisoner
eines (German)	i-ayine	one (numeral) (/ei-/ is realised as /a-/ in German.)

4.3.9.2.3 Adoptives with vowels occurring word medially

At times the final vowel of the adopted noun assimilates all the characteristic features of the initial vowel that precedes the second consonant of the original guest noun.

Refer to:

doek (Afrikaans)	iduku	policemen
boek	ibhuku	lies
goods	iguzu	not to be successful
chemist	ikhemese	bottle store
square	iskwele	a new Toyota Hi-Ace
skip > skepe (Afrik)	iskebhe	R10-00 note
fork	imfologo	a pick pocket

putsch

upotsho

short cut

4.3.9.2.4 Adoptives ending in schwa

When English or Afrikaans adoptives end in a schwa the terminative vowel becomes /-a/ in Zulu irrespective of whether the consonant of the adopted word preceding the schwa is a labial sound or not. For example;

i-rubber	irabha,	fat cooks / condom
u-four finger	ufo:finga	a pick pocket
u-major	umeja	a prisoner holding a high position in jail.
uku-major	ukumeja	To wear one and the same thing everyday as if doing one's major subjects.
i-sponsor	isponsa	an extravagant liquor drinker who entertains everybody in a shebeen.
i-besoeker	ibhesuka	a visitor
i-suiker	ushukela	sugar daddy, an old man who is in love with a young girl

4.4 Recapitulation

In this chapter, I have tried to describe the social context of **CCR's**, their characteristics, and phonological features. The language varieties in question, entail a lot of adopted words which are deliberately used in order to make the speech ambiguous for an out-group member. There are English or Afrikaans words which are borrowed without change in original meaning; English or Afrikaans words which are borrowed with some change in the original meaning, words from other South African languages borrowed with or without the original meaning, newly created **CCR's coinages**; words from Zulu with a change in original meaning, new words resulting from blending segments belonging to different languages or varieties. **CCR's**

resulting from compounding, narrowing, broadening, abbreviations et cetera.

Interlocutors seem to be indirectly applying most of the theories which were found in chapter two. For instance, **the identity theory** (Tajfel, 1974:289) was seen in the prison **code** where a prisoner will not readily socialise with a stranger unless he is convinced that the stranger belongs to the same social class. Before establishing friendship, the first question which is asked by a prisoner when meeting a stranger-prisoner is; **Ungaphakama ngani?** (How can you prove to me that you belong to my social group?'. After this, the prisoners can establish a relationship. They first make

The study also revealed that the Black Durban speech community employ a lot of adoptives in their conscious efforts to avoid standard Zulu words, thus making the discourse ambiguous. In other words, **CCR's** are meant to be unintelligible to an out-group member. Some phonological and interferences employed in the adoption process of foreign words into the Zulu language.

In the next chapter, I am going to discuss the social functions of **CCR's**

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, we described the social context of **CCR's**. The chapter covered **Language Variations** which are spoken by the Black Durban speech community. A pattern of describing linguistic choices followed that suggested by Holmes (1992:94) which asks the following questions: Who are that participants? Where are they speaking? What are they talking about? et cetera.

In this chapter, we are going to look at the social functions of **CCR's** as used in the targeted domains. Examples will be supplied to substantiate each function.

5.2 FUNCTIONS OF SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE VARIATION

5.2.1 Functions of cant

The main function of cant is to render the speech incomprehensible to the out-group member. There is semantic shift and deliberate use of polysemous words which result in total confusion on the part of the uninitiated listener. Cant is characterised by neologisms. It is presumed that the same interlocutors who employ cant, Tsotsitaal, jargon, slang, become involved in the creation of new words. Speakers of cant are constantly creating new words because once a cant word is known by out-group members, it ceases to be a cant expression and thus, loses its purpose of secrecy.

5.2.2 Functions of slang

In summarising the reasons for employing Zulu slang, Ndlovu (1963) states that slang supplies a social need or satisfies a craving. It arouses the interest of the people in the whole Zulu language area. He further mentions that slang is felt appropriate for some

occasions because of its freshness, novelty and vivacity. It lends itself to shrewd expressions of one's wishes, desires, emotions, and feelings. Vocabulary which is slang is bound into one distinct variety, thus drawing a clear distinction between standard Zulu and the slang variety.

Ndlovu (1963) advises that adoptives that serve as school terminology are not slang. This occurs when there are no existing Zulu words for a new concept. Words which have been incorporated into the Zulu language due to technology are also not slang unless they are used to conceal the meaning. Examples such as material technological words include **umshini** (machine), **itafula** (tafel), **ipeni** (pen).

5.2.3 Functions of jargon

Jargon is hardly accommodative of out-group members. The main reasons for switching to jargons are motivated by factors such as secrecy, prestige and deliberate lexical avoidance. Speakers use jargon in order to attain social recognition.

They also employ jargon if it appears that the foreign word is more expressive than its Zulu equivalent, or if the latter sounds old fashioned from a speaker's point of view. Speakers may use jargon in order to avoid ridicule and the stigma of being called stereotyped. Educated speakers employ jargon in order to communicate their thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying about the language which they use during a normal conversation. This statement is supported by Hudson (1980:12) where he states that "it is also quicker and easier to use ready-made phrases, however well-worn or meaningless they may be, rather than to go to the trouble of thinking up precisely the right words for oneself."

5.2.4 Functions of Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi

Goyvaerts (1988:234-235) asserts that "on a higher level of obstruction, Indoubil (Nigeria), is an important factor for group membership amongst youngsters, and plays a crucial role in intergroup behaviour." Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi has become the language

of the younger generation in its entirety. Switching from Zulu to Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, English or Afrikaans, is motivated by factors such as secrecy, prestige and lexical avoidance. The idea of snobbery is very much present in today's Tsotsitaal. Tsotsitaal helps to maintain group exclusiveness and social identity on the part of the speakers. Like many other urban lingua francas, Tsotsitaal serves to neutralise and cancel all ill-effects of ethnicity. It reinforces solidarity.

5.2.5 Functions of adoptives

- (a) People use adopted words in order to express a concept that is new in a speech community.
- (b) An adopted word may be employed if it affords a much shorter or clearer way of expressing a concept.
- (c) It can be resorted to if it is the only way to the meaning of the concept (Appel and Muysken, 1987:118)
- (d) It can arise from an individual's desire to be fashionable or refined by interlarding his speech with foreign elements.

Speakers resort to adopted words when there is no existing translation of a particular lexical item. This happens when one is compelled to use adoptives due to exposure to a second or third language where there are no vernacular forms for the new concept. Migration also compels the new comer to use certain codes for protection, as well as for his self esteem in the new speech community. Speakers often abandon their vernacular forms in favour of other prestigious features to share or koinésise with those varieties which seem prestigious. The new comers like to keep abreast of times.

5.2.6 Functions of interlarded speech

The use of IS (Interlarded Speech) is instrumental rather than emotional. Most users of IS do so in order to attain social and economic recognition. English alone is used as one of the interlocutor's salient status symbol. Educated speakers employ IS in order to communicate their thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying

about the language which they use during normal conversation (Agheysi:1977).

Those who are in favour of **IS** do so in order to keep pace with technical, social and institutional developments. They speak it in order to enhance individual prestige through superabundant use of English or Afrikaans adoptives, with a view that English or Afrikaans have status. Sometimes an English word is employed because it is the first one that comes to mind in a speaker's intuition. A foreign word is preferred to Zulu because it has a wider currency in a polyglot society.

5.3 FUNCTIONS OF CCR's AS APPLIED IN THE VARIOUS DOMAINS

5.3.1 Functions of transportation CCR's or isiTransi

Without the knowledge of **CCR's** used in this domain, it is virtually impossible for a commuter to reach his destination because the taxi drivers rely on hand signs when picking up their passengers. It was mentioned in Chapter One that if a driver puts his hand outside the window and stretches it upwards, he is indicating to the passengers awaiting transport that he is heading for town. These signals are very vital for the smooth running of a business which relies on swiftness for its success.

5.3.2 Functions of soccer CCR's or isiNgura

Interaction within this domain depends on the existing degree of identity among participants. Speakers and players use the soccer **CCR's** in order to identify themselves with the soccer arena. They may also use soccer **CCR's** in order to contribute to the power arena. Switches from Zulu to English or Afrikaans are associated with the power arena. English/ Afrikaans are seen as appropriate languages for public places. Speaking the vernacular in public places like a soccer stadium, and other public domains identifies the speaker with uneducated rural life. In this way, the costs become high and rewards low, for the interlocutor.

Soccer **CCR's** have also been assimilated into the outside world in various ways thus resulting in slang. For instance, the **CR ibhinoni** meaning figure 4 (four), has been incorporated into the language of the community and is now employed by soccer fans outside the football arena. This word originates from the jersey worn by a famous soccer player who played for the Benoni United Brothers team in the 1960's. Because he wore a jersey marked four, anything which represents the numeral four is called **ibhinoni** by those who are acquainted with football.

Amongst the Zulu youth, impregnating a woman is regarded as a sign of prowess, control of life and a satisfaction of one's super-ego by the male concerned. Thus, males are often heard boasting about having kicked the ball into the net, meaning that the male sperms have managed to penetrate the virginal net of a virgin womb, just like scoring a goal in soccer. Hence, **ukulishaya enethini** (to kick the ball into the net, or to impregnate a woman).

In like manner, words not associated with soccer have been incorporated into soccer vocabulary. For instance, the clan name for the Zulu surname **Mkhize** is **Khabazela**. In the soccer arena **Khabazela** means to kick the ball with one's heels.

5.3.3 Functions of tavern **CCR's** or **isiThaveni**

The users of shebeen **CCR's** take life very light heartedly, where something fatal is expressed in a comical manner, as shown in the following funeral notice.

(a) **Funeral notice**

Friends are invited to the funeral of the late **Mr Smirnoff** who was kicked to death by **White Horse** on **Bols Avenue**, for his girl friend **Amstel**, the daughter of **Old Buck**. The late was staying at **Castle Lager** Street in **Mellow Wood** township, P.O. **Richelieu**, via **Black Label**. **Lion Lager** donated a coffin manufactured by **100 Pipers** to **Seven Seas Spirit**. The funeral service will be conducted by **Bishop Jonny Walker** and the Reverend **Oude Meester** of **Ohlssons**. The procession will leave the

House of Lords to **Chivas** cemetery, **Paarl Pele**. **Smirnoff** left his poor wife **Cellar Cask** and two children **Martell** and **Gilbys**, who still attend school at **Klipdrift** University, **Culemborg**. Present at the funeral will be the Minister. **Mainstay** and his wife **Autumn Harvest**, friends of the late, **Chatru**, his uncle, **Ballantine** and **Captain Morgan**. **Rum** will also be present. The family car will be driven by **Hankey Annister**. Coffin carriers will be the following delegates:

Milk Stout

Coco Rico

Vice Roy

The master of ceremonies will be:

Mr Count Pushkin of **Cape Velvet**

Reading of the wreaths will be done by: Miss **Castello Fizz**.

(Origin unknown)

Even the death of an individual is labelled with ludicrous terms to show that an alcoholic's destination, is death. We also come across the following liquor praises, which are frequently recited by modern liquor drinkers at a drinking session:

Jabula mphimb'uzogwinya

Maphaphu nani zibindi dedukani,

Naz' izimpophoma ziza.

(Throat be happy you will swallow,
Lungs and you liver give way,
Behold the waterfalls approaching.)

They recite these praises just before gulping down the contents in the glass (usually hot stuff). Drinkers indulge their fondness for liquor by drinking volumes and volumes of it, equating liquor with fountains or water falls. Even Biblical psalms have been adapted and regularised by educated liquor drinkers to suit their faith. This is communicated in the following blasphemous rendition of The Psalm : The Lord is my Shepherd:

(b) **Alcohol Psalm**

King alcohol is my shepherd, I shall not want,
He leadeth me to lie down in the gutters,
And leadeth me upon the rough dark places,
For thy effect's, sake.

Yea though I walk in the shadow of death
And have delirium, I shall
Constantly cling unto thee,
My glass instantly runneth over.

And though thou preparest an empty table
In the presence of mankind,
I constantly cling unto thee
Thy sting and thy bite they torment me

Surely destruction and misery shall follow me
All the days of my life
And I shall dwell in the house of the condemned
For ever and ever ...Amen.

(Origin unknown)

Although the foregoing text is regarded as another way of expressing indulgence in liquor drinking, as a **CR**, it reveals various facets of the consequences of alcoholism in the health of the drinker which are exposed in a light-hearted and humorous manner.

In the Daily News of 14 September 1992 there appeared an article entitled:

Swazi Shebeens Leave One's Head in the Clouds.

This article commented on new liquor brandies which are highly intoxicating because of some additives which Swazi shebeen queens, it is alleged, use while brewing them.

The additives used include methylated spirits and battery acid. These liquor brandies are given the following **CR's**; **isikhilimikhwikhi** (kill me quick), **indiza**(aeroplane), **pikiliyeza** (the diggers are coming with their spades), **khi' wasemoshwani** (key to the mortuary). These expressions bear a warning sign to the drinkers, but the twist in the tail is that they are the ones who label these brandies with names with such deadly connotations.

Ndlovu (1963:153) does include **isikhilimikhwikhi** in his list which means that it is not really a new term in the **GDA**. This **CR** is however known by the older generation and it is now being exhumed as a new expression after almost thirty years.

In a discussion with Professor Mazisi Kunene of the University of Natal, he mentioned that a synonym of **isikhilimikhwikhi** during his youthful years was **imbongolo** (a donkey). He demonstrated that the consequences of drinking **isikhilimikhwikhi** are equated with the kicking of a donkey, **imbongolo**, where the chances of escaping death after being kicked by a donkey are almost nil.

Liquor drinkers also get involved in interactional transactions where they discuss methods of obtaining liquor. There are those who are liquor slaves, who will end up buying it on credit because they cannot afford to buy it on a daily cash basis. The most feared person in their lives is the shebeen queen, whom they call with all sorts of names like **isibhemisane** (the one who causes others to smoke), meaning a serious minded person who will not tolerate nonsense. She is also equated with **igosti** (a ghost) implying that she speaks with a terrorizing voice when she starts chiding the tavern patrons.

Drinkers cannot bear the hassling or hangover and decide to buy liquor on credit. When this happens they are normally heard saying. *Ngisaya kohlikihla izandla laphaya kwasisi Maggie* (I am going to rub my hands there at sister Margaret's shebeen).

It is very burdensome for shebeen patrons with adverse records to arrange for 'a dent' (buying on credit) with a shebeen queen. Their courtesy when speaking to the

shebeen queen, is shown by the rubbing of their hands with simultaneous bending of the head. They are also fully aware that the shebeen queen is flattered by this gesture.

Thus, the drinkers behave in the most courteous manner on the surface, to appear as good, reliable and trustworthy customers to the shebeen queen. They use **CR's** such as **uku-denta** (to open an account, or buy on credit). Sometimes they use expressions such as *Ngicela ukubhalwa encwadini yokuphila* (I would like my name to be included in the book of life). The credit book parallels the Book of Life. They also use the expression *Ngicela uku-fly-a manje ngi-pay-e later; or Ngicela ukundiza manje ngikhokhe kamuva* (This expression originates from the commercial advertisement or an air-line facility which declares: Fly now and pay later). The idea of flying parallels a drinking spree because the drinkers are fascinated by losing their heads when they are nice and tipsy as if they are in a different world all together. Even a spacious shebeen is bestowed with the name which is one of the biggest aeroplanes in South Africa. Hence, **iBoeing 747** which refers to a spacious shebeen.

Drinkers also discuss money lenders who are nicknamed **omashonisa** (the ones who bring about downfall or inflation) because of their high interest rates.

5.3.4 Functions of prison CCR's or isiNyuvesi

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, prison **CCR's** are employed by both staff and prisoners. The staff does so in order to reach a wider scheme of interpreting the behaviour of prisoners which automatically helps to re-structure the environment. Turner (1974:149) mentions that dialogue between staff and researchers show that staff not only knew the prison **code** but how to use it as well. Staff used the prison code to define the residents' situation. Turner (1974:151) mentions that:

"Residents' actions are reasonable in the sense that they have no choice but to behave in the fashion that they do. In addition to this, the prison code implies that a particular event under consideration can be enacted by any prisoner because prisoners are constrained to act in that fashion."

Prison **CR** helps to re-structure staffs' environment by identifying the meaning of the residents' actions. The behaviour of the prisoners follow the same pattern. The first reaction of a prisoner is his opposition to staff. The crucial difference is that the **CR** is not encountered outside the scene it was purportedly describing, but is told only within and during the scene (Confirmed in Turner, 1974:151). That is why prison **CR** are hardly heard outside prison premises. Prison code is motivated by factors such as secrecy, lexical avoidance, exclusiveness and social identity. The first thing that a prisoner asks when he meets another prisoner is *Ungaphakama ngani?* (How can you prove to me that you are, or were imprisoned or that you were a 26 or 27?). And the reply is always. *Ngingaphakama ngezicathulo zami* (I can prove by the type of shoes that I am wearing) et cetera. This serves to confirm solidarity between prisoners before further friendship can be established.

5.3.5 Functions of educational CCR's or isiGura

Educational **CCR's** are used to expose irregularities in the teaching fraternity. They serve to mask the ugliness of the behaviour of certain individuals. Consider '**uku-dry clean -a**': To dry clean is a situation where a teacher/lecturer does not mark scripts properly, especially compositions and students' essays, because, when marking such questions, the teacher would have to read the scripts thoroughly, which is a very demanding and time consuming project. As a result, he merely awards a mark without reading the work.

The choice of **CR** also serves to ridicule and undermine out-group members. Within the teaching profession, those teachers who do not have a diploma are labelled 'Rainbow chickens' or '**imijondolo**' (shacks). They are labelled thus because they were trained for two years. Rainbow chickens are supposed to grow very fast because of force-feeding, unlike domesticated chickens. This means that these teachers are not adequately trained or academically enriched.

Educational **CR** serve to reveal the shortcomings of people holding responsible positions, like teachers. Hence, they serve to correct flaws in human society. This is

evident within the teaching profession. For example, *Wambheka kurejista*, (He looked her up in the register). This **CR** refers to a teacher who married a school girl who supposedly was in his register. The code reveals the personality of the teacher concerned.

5.3.6 Functions of hospital CCR's or isiHhosi

CCR's serve to neutralise critical situations. For example, when a doctor and a nurse discuss the condition of a patient, they do not use the term 'cancer' because it has an alarming impact on the patient, but instead refer to it as 'mitotic disease'. The Zulu word **umdlavuza** (cancer) is also as shocking as the English one. Most patients will be acquainted with these terms. We have already mentioned that a patient who is HIV positive is known as **Code** or a **194**. The patient does not understand these terms, and, in this way, the jargon saves him from shock.

Hospital **CCR's** help patients to simplify for themselves big medical terms. There are certain medical terms which are too difficult to be pronounced or even recalled by patients. 'Ethambutol' is a drug used in the treatment of tuberculosis. Patients have resorted to using the term **imbongolo** (donkey) whenever they refer to the aforementioned drug. The reason for choosing the donkey as a Zulu name for the drug is because of the drug's grey colour and also the character of the donkey which is stubborn by nature, just like tuberculosis which does not heal easily.

5.3.7 Functions of township CCR's or isiThawa

Functions of the township **CCR's** will be included below in 5.5: "Overall Functions of **CCR's**", because most interlocutors in the Black Durban speech community employ them.

5.4 SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S IN THE VARIOUS DOMAINS

CCR's play a vital role in the community in that they are ideally suitable for commenting on the behaviour of people or reporting delicate matters without causing violence, excitement, shock, enmity or resentment. In other words, they are ideally suited for commenting on the behaviour of people or on reporting delicate matters without causing friction. They also reveal the various facets of a particular object, individual or behaviour. In other words, CCR's uncover hidden facts about objects.

5.4.1 CCR's uncovering hidden facts

(i) Educational CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ukupitshiza	to squash a rat	to be in love with a school girl
igundane		
ukubheka	to look up in the	to marry a school girl
kurejista	register	

(ii) Hospital CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

uku-t.t.o.-wa	to take treatment out. To steal hospital property.	
ukuntontelisa	to repeat something to record untrue facts about a patient's condition. To record on paper that staff has been monitoring the condition of a patient when, in actual fact, she has not been checking the patient's condition and temperature, blood pressure et cetera.	
ukuphuzisa ikhofi	to serve coffee	medicine illegally given to a patient without the doctor's permission.
ukuthatha ififi	to take a nap	to sleep during working hours, especially when one is on night duty.

(iii) Prison CCR's uncovering hidden facts about prison life

i-school boy	a school boy	an inexperienced prisoner who practises homosexuality with experienced prisoners.
uNongalaza	Mr Nongalaza	A male prisoner who sleeps with another male prisoner
i-sikole	a school	prison code is taught underneath a blanket during the act. The performance is called a school (isikole)

(iv) Tavern CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

u-four finger	a four fingered person	a person who hides his drinking habits, will cover the glass with his four fingers.
igundane	a mouse	a person who hides his drinking habits
ukubhalwa	to be written	to buy liquor on credit
encwadini	in the Book of life	
yokuphila		

(v) Township CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

i-E-20	an E-20 Nissan	a prostitute. A girl who has many boy friends, like a kombi which accepts all sorts of passengers.
ibhathini	a button	one who deals with drugs
inkonkoni	a reed buck	a homosexual
umaphipha	a cleaner	a womaniser. One who leaves no stone unturned

(vi) Soccer CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ikhothenga	a coat hanger	a useless goal keeper
incwadi	a letter/ book	a useless soccer player. He remains passive like a book which cannot defend itself.
ibhantshi	a coat	also means a useless goal keeper
i-free-way	a freeway	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time

(vii) Transportation CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

ugoqo	a master key	a home-made key which is used for stealing cars
usicabha	a door	a taxi or bus conductor
imbawula	a brazier	a driver who has no driving licence
i-Ph. D.	a Ph. D.	a poor driver who drives as if he obtained his driver's licence within a short span of time (it refers to Phahladira).

From the foregoing examples, we see that short-comings of people holding responsible positions are exposed in a light-hearted manner, whilst the behaviour is concurrently being corrected. They reveal that although they frequently relate to minor events, they often make reference to matters of highest anomalies in society, which are sometimes of national importance.

5.5 OVERALL FUNCTIONS OF CCR'S

1. **CCR's** are very useful when playing upon one's emotions because they sometimes serve as cover terms for elaborate instructions, explanations, and

misunderstandings. Refer to the following examples:

iRomani	a Roman	a man who is popular with girls
Ukubhanka	to bunk classes	to stay away from classes; to play truancy
Goba la ngigoba khona	bend where I bend	said by a teacher when he has run short of knowledge or subject matter. This means, that your knowledge must end where mine ends
uKwaMzala	he is at cousin's place	he is in prison
i-oros	an oros drink	an old man who likes young girls

2. A knowledge of **CCR's** helps the speaker to be accepted by we-code members. This bridges the gap between the members of we-codes and they-codes.

3. They facilitate the expression of respect. Although **CCR's** may be regarded as filtered talk, they do possess a lot of respectable vocabulary in terms of politeness. People holding certain positions are never addressed or referred to in an impolite manner. A minister of religion is called **umreva** (Reverend).

Other examples include:

uthiza	teacher	teacher
usigqoko	Mr Hat	head of department, school principal
ukuzenda	to go to a far away land,	to die (origin:Zulu- enda) to take a long journey
iHodi	a Head of department	an H.O.D.
ingamule	a boss	a white, a rich person

4. When **CCR's** are employed in formal settings, they are used to relax the tense formality normally characteristic of official transactional interactions. In this way, they help members to escape unhappy work situations.
5. They are a form of entertainment, as they inject a sense of humour in an otherwise tense situation. The listeners ponder at the **CR** and are bound to be amused at the metaphorical intent.

ubhuti-madlalisa	brother entertainer	a womaniser
i-Arabhu	an Arab	a male who is not interested in women
omathunzini	Mr Shadows	motor vehicles which are unfit to be on the road and are normally seen in the evenings when their owners are convinced that the traffic police are gone
ukwelula	to stretch something	to phone someone with a cellular phone
Ukuhluba umoba	to peel sugar-cane	said when someone is holding a telephone instrument and talking

6. **CCR's** are used to facilitate communication between peoples who speak different dialects/ languages (through the processes of code-mixing and code-switching). They also facilitate communication between people who have had a communication break down. **CCR's** abound in euphemistic terms which are direct yet pregnant with meaning.
7. They are a source from which a language feeds, grows, and develops into an effective tool for social interaction. New words are created while archaic and obsolete ones are retrieved and used when the situation is suitable.

8. They reveal one's personality and individuality

uSugar Daddy

Sugar Daddy

an old man having an affair with
a young girl

uPhawulina

Paulina

a person who likes to pass
comments

9. People of all walks of life use **CCR's** to suggest privacy and individuality. In other words, some of the older generation, including purists do use **CCR's** in privacy. The reason for this is that, under normal conditions, Zulus generally avoid calling a spade a spade.

10. **CCR's** are used to facilitate novelty, freshness and topicality in the language. Rather than listen to a standard form of speech, modern people resort to **CCR's** in order to escape from the confines of old fashioned traditional forms which are viewed as dreary, lifeless and boring. People want to listen to speeches which portray the addressee as keeping abreast of times: by being conventional and, though holding a high position, being able to come down to mother earth by speaking the language of the people at grass-root level. Those who speak a particular **CR** feel that the speaker who is addressing them knows their hardships, interests and aspirations.

11. Because **CCR's** are racy, they tend to secure freedom of expression in a conversation. A speaker uses words of his own choice without receiving criticism from the purists about his proficiency in the standard language concerned. Most educated speakers equate the use of **CR** with trying to communicate one's thoughts in an effective way rather than worrying whether the language used is mixed or not.

12. The **CCR's** satisfy man's irrepressible spirit of word creation. They tend to have different meanings according to the audience design and prevailing situation.

13. They reveal the degree of urbanity and progressive outlook of the speaker. In this way, they incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people

belonging to a particular era in the history of mankind. **CCR's** shed light on the way of life of Africans in urban areas.

14. These speech forms help to preserve the traditional nature of a language through the use of proverbs, idioms, pun, traditional music, dance and metaphors.

CCR's used as modern expressions

umninihashi	the owner of a horse	This is said by a boy
uphuzisa ihhashi	nurtures the horse	to a girl who asks him a favour
aligibelayo	he rides	instead of asking her boyfriend.
Uyoze ukubone	One day you will	One day you will experience the
okwabonwa uZulu	experience what the	tragedy, which was sustained by
eShell House	Zulus experienced	the Zulus in Shell House
	in Shell House	
Imali yishoba	Money is a fan for	Nothing is impossible when
lokuziphungela	cooling oneself from	one has money
	the heat of the sun	

The foregoing expressions are fresh, and they have not been recorded anywhere in Zulu literature.

15. CCR's used as metaphors

(Cooper, 1986:142) maintains that metaphor is sustained by the need we have to mark similarities. A metaphor makes comparisons between objects, and one of its advantages is linguistic economy. Thus a metaphor is a linguistically cost effective device for stating similarities.

- a. A metaphorical talk effects a familiarity or intimacy between speakers and their world. Like metaphors, **CCR's** make people feel at home.

b. People use **CCR's** in order to achieve a purpose. Others employ them for the fun of it. A **CCR** may be uttered in order to stimulate an image or to provoke an interesting comparison, or to register a beautiful turn of phrase.

c. **Those which provoke an interesting comparison**

iMonza	a Monza	a person with big protruding buttocks
i-Uno	an Uno	a person with flat buttocks
imvalaphu	an envelope	Mercedes Benz

d. **Those that indicate a turn of phase**

ikhanda	a head	modern urban girls take pride in their hair, as reflected in contemporary hairstyles
ugesi wekhadi	electricity card	something which is not going to last long (short lived)
ukushaya ngespeed trap	to hit with a speed trap	to bewitch someone

e. **Those that stimulate an image**

ingulube	a pig	a V.W. Beetle (because of its shape)
isigingci	a guitar	a Mazda 323 (because of its shape)
uMaskito	a mosquito	an SADF casspir (resembles a mosquito)

16. Mastery and employment of **CCR's** raises one's recognition in the society and enhances one's prestige in the eyes of his or her fellow-men. A versatile or multiplex speaker is more socially accepted in the various social groups than a uniplex speaker who is always kept at arms length.

17. They help to extend the meanings of words

There is shift of meaning in the use of **CCR's** but the choice is carefully selected.

ikameli	a camel	an Isuzu kombi. (because of its trouble-free endurance)
ukuncinza	to pinch	to steal
amasosha	soldiers	maggots in the food (boarding school code for bad food)

18. **CCR's** tend to preserve historical events not only of the community but of the world at large.

iLadeshi	Bangladesh	refers to bankruptcy. The CR originates from the name Bangladesh, a country which was infected with bankruptcy in the early 1990's.
umTopia	Ethiopian	Same meaning as for Bangladesh
i-Africa	Africa	The CR refers to a freed prisoner. Africa is regarded as a free country which is the opposite of prison life.

20. **CCR's** tend to be instructive, covering educational, economical, social, scientific and geographical matters.

21. They serve to bridge the gap between the educated and their semi-educated counterparts. Even those who never went to school are able to code-mix a lot of English / Afrikaans-Zulu based words. Examples are:

i-album	album	to sit and watch people passing by
ihalf-tiger	half-tiger	R5-00 note
i-Be My Wife	a BMW car	a BMW car

22. **CCR's** have a valid role to play in meeting the needs of those who have insufficient knowledge of English or Afrikaans or of a dominant indigenous language.

23. They entail extensions of reference.

uNtombifuthi	Miss Girl Again	a divorced woman
uMrs Mbhense	Mercedes Benz	a Mercedes Benz
uMaMgobhozi	Mrs MaMgobhozi	a talkative person

24. A knowledge of **CCR's** helps the speaker to be accepted by we-code members commonly known as in-group members in linguistic circles. This bridges the gap between we-code and they-code members. In this manner, misunderstandings and elaborate instructions and explanations are minimised. These **CCR's** also reveal the attitudes of in-group members towards their out-group counterparts and vice-versa.

ohahaha	those who nasalise their speech repertoire	scholars who attend/ attended a multi-racial school
ama-elite	the elite	students coming from affluent homes or who go to multi-racial schools
opendiwe	the painted one	a person who has rejected his culture in favour of the white culture. He seems to be a white man who has been painted black.

The preceding examples reveal the attitude of the members of the we-codes towards the they-codes members and vice versa. The speakers of a particular variety distance themselves from things beyond their reach. That is, things which are remote from them and which they know they will never achieve, are given distasteful names, revealing bitter feelings of envy and helplessness. This is done in order to suppress feelings of unaccomplished aspirations. In other words, **CCR's** act as symbols of

independence and they rebuff the middle class black society, especially if we-code members are semi-literate and feel that they cannot reach certain goals and attainments in life. Members belonging to the socially disadvantaged class console themselves by despising and condemning middle class society and their achievements.

25. **CCR's** are used in order to display one's wit and ingenuity in the use of language.

26. They serve to justify certain rituals

The slaughtering of a beast and wearing of a skin bangle is part of Zulu custom and culture.

i-florsheim	a florsheim shoe	a beast slaughtered for a ritual ceremony
uDenis	Dennis	a goat slaughtered for a ritual ceremony
iwashi	a watch	a skin bangle worn by the person concerned, after slaughtering a goat

27. **CCR's** are convenient for appraising behaviour in terms of approved norms

ukukeleza	to 'keleza'	to attend school
ukuphusha uMarx	to push Marx	to study hard
ukushaya umgwaqo	to hit the road	a taxi driver who works very hard
ukuphakama	to rise	to work, to entertain
ukurola	to roll someone	to take someone out; to entertain someone.

28. The choice of a particular **CR** serves to ridicule or encourage out-group members to aspire for upward mobility rather than remain horizontally satisfied with the little that they possess. Refer to the following **CCR's**.

umjondolo	a shack house	a teacher who has T4 or PTC, old teacher's certificate which is not diplomas.
i-unfinished story	an unfinished story	a student who did not complete his degree/diploma; a drop out

i-Ph.D.

Phahladira

a poor driver

29. They stress, emphasize and describe a situation so well that the listener usually feels that no better words could have been used. They intensify and reinforce the point under discussion.

Ukutoboza to fondle, poke to withdraw money with a bankcard. The **CR** refers to the punching of numbers on an auto-teller machine

icando that which has been/ food
is to be chopped

30. They serve as harmless substitutes for tabooed, shameful and embarrassing words

iroll-on roll-on a private lover
umlenze wepulangwe a wooden leg an extra-marital affair
ukukhotha to lick to drink liquor

31. Speakers are always in the process of substituting new words for older forms. Speakers tend to be observant in a manner different from that which is applied in the creation of proverbs, idioms or riddles. The **CR's** reveal that urban dwellers are great researchers.

32. **CCR's** are a symbol of admiration for the fast moving urban way of life while observing traditional law and order.

isimo sendlala poverty reason for stealing is low economy
resulting in poverty which compels
people to resort to theft
ukugxuma ne-chain to jump with a chain to be chained; to be arrested

33. **CCR's** are employed to condemn the characteristic of old fashioned stupidity demonstrating a spirit of revolt against established values, while glorifying the new at the expense of the old, even when the new is valueless.

usebentini	simpleton	a stupid person
istini	a brick	a conservative person
isibhemisane	the one who causes others to smoke	a pig headed person

34. They reveal one's standard of education

Illiterate and semi-educated speakers fail to pronounce consonant sequences incorporating an -r- cluster.

ukubhleka	to break	to abandon a habit for a while
uBhlenda	Brenda	to steal a car
iwindisikilini	a wind screen	a face

In this way, **CCR's** serve to bridge the gap between educated and their semi-educated counterparts. They have a valid role to play in meeting the needs of those who have insufficient English or Afrikaans.

	Semi-literate	
iphalagilafu	a paragraph	a short person
ilali	rally	rally
	Literate	
ipharagrafu	a paragraph	a short person
i-rali	a rally	a rally, a big crowd of protesters or followers.

35. They reveal one's proficiency in English and Afrikaans

One's standard of education is also revealed in a speaker's proficiency in the handling of English and Afrikaans or in code switching.

i-Praktiese Taal	Praktiese Taal	stale news or an old fashioned person.
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i-inter-varsity	inter-varsity	a student who has attended different Universities
Fly now, pay later	Fly now, pay later	to buy liquor on credit
i-N.B.S.	Natal Building Society	Nearest Bottle Store

36. They reveal the speakers state of mind

Songs which are sung by liquor drinkers reveal their state of mind. Drinkers also tend to use a lot of ambiguous expressions such as:

i-enamel tank	an enamel tank	a drinker who does not get inebriated after drinking immense volumes of alcohol
isimiramuwa	a 'smiramumuwa'	Smirnoff (coined word)
i-social worker	a social worker	a person who entertains people with all his money once he is drunk

37. **CCR's** encourage relationships/ marriages between formerly hostile clans. In this way, they form a new sense of brotherhood for African nationalism which does not betray one's origin. This happens when a listener realises that the speaker belongs to the same social class.

i-comrade	a comrade	a political affiliate
iqabane	ANC member	an ANC member

e.g. In the new Government of National Unity, speakers are sometimes heard saying 'My Nationalist Party comrade.'

38. **CCR's** contain elaborate and rich linguistic forms. The wholesale importation of words, particularly from English and Afrikaans, is rarely carried over lock stock and barrel. Inflectional and derivational affixations feature prominently in the

creation of **CCR's**. Secondly, there is a lot of blending, de-ideophonisation, contraction, compounding, coinages et cetera, in the creation of new Zulu terms.

39. They entail free spending and a fast living spree.

abafana	boys	Those who engage in illegal transactions, whether young or old
ukushaya	to beat the	a driver who steals his boss's
iShayina	Chinese	money
ukungcoka iginsa	to pluck a vehicle	to steal someone's vehicle

40. When they are employed in formal settings, they are used to relax the tense formality normally characteristic of official transactional interactions. In this way they help members to escape unhappy work situations.

ukuphusha uMarx	to push Marx	to study hard
ukugqunga	to turn dark	to fail
impinda mzala	a repetition cousin	to repeat a class or course

41. Euphemistic expressions

ijazi lomkhwenyane	a groom's coat	a condom
KwaMzala	at cousin's place	in jail
ukugqashuka	to snap	to die

42. Those which show gratitude and other sentiments

danki mlungu	Thank you, white man	to thank a passenger as he pays his taxi fare
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43. Most educated speakers attribute the use of **CCR's** with trying to communicate one's thoughts in the most effective way rather than worrying themselves whether or not the language with which they accomplish this, is mixed.

44. Things which appeal to we-code members have a wealth of synonyms. Of primary importance to an urban dweller is money, a female or male partner and mobile facilities.

Goyvaerts (1988:235) mentions that in Nigeria "The domain or topic which scores highest in this respect is the one that involves reference to sexual matters, followed by those vocabularies related to illegal transactions."

CCR's referring to girls in the Black Durban speech community include the following terms: itsatsatsa, inapa, ithekeni (young buck), iponi (a young horse), inusta, ingane (baby), umuntu (human being), ikhanda (head), iphothebhuli (a portable), isikithi (a skirt), insikazi (a female), i-first grade, u-small-i

CCR's referring to Money

udenariya	denarius	money
u de Klerk	President de Klerk	R2-00
isihlahla	a tree /shrub/bush	R10-00 note

CCR's referring to vehicles

imvalaphu into	an envelope, a thing	a Mercedes Benz
yokuposa	for posting letters	
iBe My Wife	a B.M.W.	a B.M.W.
iconsi	a drop	a sticker stuck on a vehicle for security reasons

CCR's referring to Food

imendri	a mineral/drink	lemonade
inyetsi	meat	meat (disguising the Zulu word inyama)
uleveni	numeral 11	a goat

45. Things which do not appeal to the youngsters are also given a host of names.

(a) **CCR's referring to policemen**

iduku	a scarf	a policeman
i-sixteen	a sixteen	a policeman
amaphuza	those who delay	policemen
	those who drink	

(b).

CCR's referring to females with low morals

umziki	a reedbuck	a prostitute
ifisha	a fisher (of men)	a prostitute
i-16 valve	a 16-Valve Toyota	a girl who is very fast in accepting a man's proposal.

46. **CCR's** serve to fill the inevitable gaps in a speaker's vocabulary, where a new social environment impinges upon a Black interlocutor wherever s/he goes.

5.6 RECAPITULATION

In this chapter, we have looked at the social functions of **CCR's**. Scholars such as Turner (1974) mention that it is sometimes useful to know the **code** so as to re-structure an existing infrastructure. **CCR's** are a fertile field for further linguistic research.

Lastly, **CCR's** help us to realize that the Zulu language is going through a stage of modernisation and linguistic change. They are proof that Zulu is alive, dynamic and not static. This is a challenge to the purist view of a static language. Social functions of **CCR's** also reveal various factors which contribute to the behaviour of people including the influences of human behaviour on the society at large. **CCR's** are a source from which to draw when short of the relevant terminology. They are thus a source from which to draw in order to empower and enrich one's linguistic world.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the previous chapter, we looked at the social functions of **CCR's**. We discovered that they reveal a lot of information about human nature and the way people acquire items for their material use. These functions are an eye opener to most of the people who have read this thesis. The reader learns that **CCR's** have a great impact on the economy and social conditions of people living in the **GDA**.

6.1 SUMMARY

This study has been an attempt to clarify a number of basic questions regarding the phenomena of **Language Variation** and its implications for linguistic usage. The data were collected in the **GDA**.

There are two very important aspects to National Language Policies. These comprise the ideological aspect, which is concerned with mobilising the nation's sentiments and attitudes towards the acceptance and use of selected speech forms. The second aspect involves the technical side, which looks at the practical elements which are concerned with the problems of implementing the ideology (Whitely 1968:150).

In order to fulfil the foregoing ideals, we had to look for applicable aims and objectives of **Language Variation**. The main objectives were:

- (a) to identify at least seven domains where different language varieties were employed in the Black Durban speech community;
- (b) to investigate the social attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards **CCR's**;
- (c) to trace the origin of and development of the non-standard varieties which are employed by the Black Durban speech community;
- (d) To investigate the impact of **CCR's** on the economy, and social conditions

in the **GDA**.

In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, the term '**Language Variation**' and its dynamics had to be clarified. Empirical studies on research methodologies had to be resorted to in order to give a sound base to the theoretical framework. The study followed ethnomethodology and ethnographic approaches to empirical research in order to capture data on **CCR's** in the most objective and valid manner.

The next step was to take a deep plunge into field work. I became a participant observer in a number of domains around the Durban Metropolitan area. Interviews with prominent Zulu speakers were also conducted in order to obtain their input regarding **CCR's**.

The research was conducted in seven Black townships, situated in the **GDA**. In addition to this, research was conducted in Westville prison, transportation modes, hospitals, streets, taverns, educational units, and in soccer clubs. I entered the afore mentioned domains as a 'friend of a friend' a lecturer, or an ex-class teacher in order to become a participant observer in various activities of the Black Durban speech communities.

Furthermore, written questionnaires were administered and answered by respondents. The aim of the questionnaire survey was to measure the magnitude of linguistic transformations in the **GDA**. Another aim was to capture the attitude of the Black Durban speech community towards non-standard varieties of Zulu. Interviews were also conducted for the same purpose. Checklists were also resorted to in order to secure valid and objective information.

The collection and analysis of data alone was not adequate in accounting for **Language Variation**. Bokamba, (1988:21) mentions that we need data on the communicative behaviour of speakers - the whys and how's of[Language Variation].

A description of the social context of **CCR's** as observed in the Black speech community of the **GDA** was exposed. This involved a presentation of the origins and development of linguistic **CR's** used in the **GDA**. **CR's** included slang, Tsotsitaal/isiLovasi, jargon, borrowing, interlarding, neologisms, which were covered under the term **CCR's**. The linguistic make up, characteristics and classification of **CCR's** were also carried out. We had to identify the speakers of **CCR's** in the various targeted domains, where they are employed, as well as the topics which are normally discussed by the interlocutors.

Socio-psychological functions comprising **CCR's** as spoken in the targeted areas were uncovered. It was revealed that **CCR's** entail elaborate and rich linguistic forms. They incorporate everyday situations, thus recording the activities of people at a particular era in the history of mankind.

At least 75% of the 800 collected lexical items which were regarded as non-standard, unfiltered /impure talk, were found to be known and used by most Black Durban speakers. School children were found to have carried these **CCR's** to the classroom situation where they were penalised for employing them.

This state of affairs is also reported by Nomlomo (1993). She mentions that students are penalised for using their home language at school (Nomlomo 1993:146).

In this study, it was revealed that certain lexical items have diverse meanings even though they share similar shapes. In addition to this there are lexical items which have different shapes but refer to one and the same entity. It was also revealed that poor communication between the in-group and out-group members is purposeful. The aim is to keep the conversation as cryptic as possible for the out-group members. Once a term is extensively known, it ceases to be a cant word, and contributes to the spread of slang which may ultimately become standard educated speech.

The study also revealed that many linguists are aware of the changes that are taking place in the Nguni languages and have published several articles to assist language

planners towards their task of identifying regional and non-standard dialects in South Africa (Mfusi: 1990) and (Schuring; Thipa; Radebe; Koopman; Msimang:1992)

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

A thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in Black urban areas is vital before policy makers can make decisions about recognised **language varieties** in South Africa. This issue is very important for language planners. For instance, it has been implied for a long time that the use of mixed languages or unfiltered talk in South Africa are posing a serious threat to indigenous languages. Language planners and purists cannot pretend that their indigenous languages are still static.

Msimang cites Thipa (1989: 181) who criticises the linguists' adherence to micro-linguistic while neglecting the importance of macro-linguistics, and argues that

"A balance needs to be struck between two approaches to language teaching ...the instrumental and the sociolinguistic approaches. The instrumental approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if standardised. This approach aims at improving the aesthetic and functional characteristics of language... It also sees some languages as being better than others. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards languages as a source which can be employed to improve social life."

Thipa (1989:181)

Ansere (1971: 163) looks at the long term implications of the influence of colonial languages on West African languages. He remarks that more and more linguistic items associated with social, technological, educational and political influence would continue to be incorporated into the local languages although purists would make attempts, either, to stop or lessen the flow. He argues that as more and more people who do not speak the same languages come together for various reasons including migration, and inter-marriages, they would be more likely to use English as a common language. In this way, they would gradually lose the ability to speak their mother tongue fluently. Elitism would also affect indigenous languages as speakers would claim to be modernised and prefer to employ prestigious languages at least in public

places.

However, optimistic factors still exist in the South African situation. There is a strong sense of pride in interlocutors' mother tongue. There is also a feeling of indigenous identity. Great efforts are being made to preserve indigenous languages in educational institutions, governmental transactions et cetera. Thus, it is very unlikely that the indigenous languages will be extinct in South Africa. Akere (1971) predicts that our indigenous languages "would continue to exist, but would contain a great many foreign elements from especially English".

Msimang (1992:18) also supports the idea of incorporating non-standard varieties of a language into the standard form where he states:

" It is regrettable that the varieties investigated [] are never taught in schools or discussed in grammar books because they are not standard. This has made the performance of the pupils to be very poor in their language studies because they are discouraged from learning the spoken language and forced to assimilate a language which only lives in textbooks. "

(Msimang, 1992:18)

Msimang supports Ansre when he suggests that when teaching a standard language, this should be described as a mother body of many registers. Msimang (1992:18) contends:

" While we need it as a formal register we must also recognise other formal registers, like **isikhwetha** (language of Xhosa initiates) **isicamtho**, or Tsotsitaal (lingua franca) used by urban youth, **Hlonipha** (language of respect by Nguni married women and even men) etc."

Calteaux (1994:283) emphasises the need to investigate the language use and language acquisition of small children in Black urban speech communities.

It is clear that there are many factors which contribute to the development of, and adherence to non-standard varieties. Some of these are linked to the massive migration of people from rural areas to the townships. In order to avoid ridicule in the new environment, the emigrants are compelled to use the urban non-standard varieties. Various other reasons have been highlighted in this study which contribute to the use of **CCR's**. The employment of non-standard varieties is manifesting itself in educational institutions and we cannot pretend that our vernacular forms as well as standard Zulu remain static. Positive measures to resolve the problem need to be considered in order to accommodate the new lexical items in schools and in the whole speech community.

Both standard and non-standard varieties of the Zulu language should be encouraged in the classroom. This would provide personal enrichment on the part of the interlocutors. In this manner, children would become mini researchers substituting and preserving old words while creating new ones. This should sharpen their wit and ingenuity in the use of language varieties. In this manner, they would become more observant and appreciative of their language.

Interlocutors should be gently discouraged from importing words from other languages. This process has, however, long term implications. Importing foreign words is an indication that contemporary interlocutors are not as competent as their Zulu forbearers in creating new words, and this leaves them with a big challenge. The Zulu interlocutors are capable of creating new words, as we saw in the case of isiLovasi and in various other language varieties where speakers coin their own expressions. In this manner, interlocutors would take pride in their own language because this would be their own creation. **CCR's** spoken in the Black Durban speech community are a Durban Zulu koiné because they are a mixture of the many languages which are spoken in this area.

The scope for this study was limited, covering only the **Language Variations** found in the Black Durban speech communities. Even the varieties from the targeted domains, could not be exhausted in this study. There is a lot of useful vocabulary

from domains not included here. For instance, language varieties which are employed in the race course, golf course, shacks, hostels, factories, music centres, varieties employed by the Rastafarians, words resulting from modern technology e.g. **isikhahlamezi** or **uthushu** 'fax' et cetera, leave a wide scope for further research in the field of **Language Variation** in Zulu. The domains and social classes mentioned in the foregoing paragraph have their own vocabularies which are different from the list procured for the present study.

It is also time that there was a **Dictionary of Zulu slang** or of **Zulu Koinés**, as is the case with other standard languages. We have seen that most of the vocabulary which is regarded as impure and unfiltered talk, is actually very fertile. Words such as **indumeyana**, (a centre player) **umtshokodi** (a goal keeper), etc are perfect Zulu words which lack recognition, although they are employed by approximately 60% of the Durban speech community. It must also be mentioned that radio Zulu is making a tremendous and appreciative effort in creating new terms which need to be disseminated into the entire Zulu society, including schools.

Ansre (1971:164) mentions that the trend is rather in the direction of multilingualism rather than loss of local languages. Perhaps one day at least, our Nguni and Sotho languages will merge just like the present day English which was basically a Germanic language but has now a lot of adoptives from the Romance languages especially French, Latin, and Greek (Ansre 1971:164).

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE 1 TRANSPORTATION SIGNS



TO TOWN



UNIT C



SECTIONS
E, F & G



SECTION
AA & BB



SECTION Q



LOCAL



TO ISIPHINGO

ANNEXURE 2

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. a **dialect** which is **not-standard** alludes to a variety which does not conform to the 'institutionalised norm'. It is the opposite of a standard dialect which refers to written formal form of language (Calteaux 1994:44)
2. The term **decode**, refers to the process whereby the super-ordinate or prestige variety is developed into grammars, dictionaries and literatures, by an academy or similar bureau.
3. **dialects**: According to Crystal, a **dialect** is a regionally or socially distinct variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Any language with a set of reasonably large number of speakers will develop into a dialect, especially if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from one another or if there are divisions of social class.
4. **styles**: Van Wyk maintains that style refers to the relationship between language and ceremony, usually manifesting itself in a continuous spectrum ranging between formal and informal. It does not occur independently but functions in complex interrelations with other components. Style depends on the interlocutor's audience and setting.
5. **registers**: a register refers to discrete sets of lexical items and expressions adapted to specific topics and social situations. Msunang maintains that a register is a speech variety which one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify vis a vis the person or group he is communicating with.
6. **jargons**: jargon refers to a language of the professionals.
7. **inter-speaker variation** refers to variations which are found between speakers who speak the same language.
8. **standard language**: According to (Msunang 1989) a standard language means a prestige variety of a language which is used within a speech community.
9. **local dialects** are varieties which are spoken within a geographical region.
10. **cants** refer to the peculiar varieties of language used by special groups who use many allusive terms in a speech event.
11. **slang** refers to words which are new, flashy and popular. Some of these words are short lived others last for ever.
12. **Tsotsitaal** is a language of the young city-bred 'confide men who are able to speak some English and Afrikaans (in the case of the Black Durban speech community) and are also able to manipulate the White system (Coplan 1985:162). Slabbert (1994:39) states that Tsotsitaal is not a 'serious language' It is a language people relax with and which they use when they are 'happy' among good friends, and when there is no possibility that their use of language will be frowned upon.

13. **they-code members:** According to Gumperz: (1972a), a **they-code** is a **code** that one uses to communicate with outsiders or non-group members.
14. **modernism** is measured according to international indexes which comprise communication, education and consumption of durability. It is accompanied by prestige, eliteness, power and civilization. Where modernism prevails, vernaculars bear a low profile and are of secondary importance. This is because the transplanted languages play a vital role in terms of job opportunities and socio-economic advancement.
15. **host language** means a language which receives vocabulary from other languages.
16. **interlocutors** refers to participants in a speech event.
17. **Greater Durban area (GDA).** In this study, **GDA** includes Black residential areas (formal and informal) within a radius of 35km from the City of Durban.
18. **koinés** Wardhaugh (1989:37) refers to koinés as a form of speech shared by people of different vernaculars. Some of the koinés comprise vernaculars of the speech community.
19. **neologisms** refer to creation of new words (see 4.4.2.4).
20. **regional dialects** refer to language varieties which are geographically distributed.
21. **internal variation** alludes to **Language Variation** within one language.
22. **contact variation** arises as a result of contact with speakers of other languages.
23. **ethnography** refers to spontaneous speech which is studied in its natural context.
a method?
24. **ethnomethodology** means the availability to a member of common sense knowledge of his society.

CHAPTER TWO

1. **social variations** refers to specific social groups or classes which are distinguishable from other social classes. Social classes refer to regional origin, occupation, intermarriages, religion, church membership, sex, nationality, sport, leisure activities, psychological differences, linguistic skills, verballity, forms of entertainment and personality (Wardough, 1989:149).
2. **sociolects** in language is associated with specific social classes or categories which are distinguishable from other social groups.
3. **social networks** refer to the individual's relationship to the society at large, through individual contacts that a person has rather than some kind of abstract group and its statistical characteristics.
4. **isiHhosi** is a variety that is spoken in hospitals.
5. **isiNyuvesi** refers to a variety spoken in prisons. This is so because prisoners usually speak of 'University' when referring to prison life including the structure of its buildings.
6. **isiThaveni** is a variety spoken in taverns and shebeens.
7. **isiTransi** alludes to a variety employed by public as well as private commuters.
8. **isiNgura** is a variety used by soccer players, fans and commentators.
9. **isiThawa** is a township variety. It originates from the 'township' code. 'Town' is known as **isithawa**, hence isiThawa variety.
10. **isiGura** is derived from 'guru' which means a place of learning in Sanskrit. Thus, IsiGura means a variety which is spoken in educational units.
11. **thesauri** is a plural of **thesaurus**. Thesaurus means the sum total of all the vocabulary which is stored in the human mind.
12. **vernacular** alludes to the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community.
13. **argot** refers to allusive language of a special group.
14. **colloquialism** originates from colloquial variety which refers to mixed language varieties.
15. **L2** is a language which is not one's vernacular.
16. **L1** is a speaker's vernacular.
17. a **mother tongue** is one's native language. It is an original language to which other languages owe their origin.
18. **creole** According to Lehiste (1988:94) a **creole** is a language from a pidgin, having become the native language (first language) of the children of a group of speakers.
19. **we-code members:** This term is used for interaction with in-group members. (Kamwangamalu, 1988:323)
20. **code-switching:** According to Bokamba (1989:278) code-switching is the mixing of words,

phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential switching

21. **code-mixing**, according to Bokamba (1989 :278) is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from distinct grammatical (sub-) system within the same sentence and speech event. That is CM is intrasentential switching.
22. **matrix code** is vernacular, host code, mother tongue or L1.
23. **embedded code** is the same as L2. It is a language which is not one's mother tongue.
24. **guest code** is a foreign language or L2. It is the same as number 24 above.
25. **genetic** is a term which has to do with origin of languages. It refers to the natural growth of languages.
26. **typological** The study of the evolution of types of languages. The classification according to type.
27. **rewards**: A reward means a favourable return made after an utterance.
28. **costs**: An unfavourable return made after an utterance results in a cost on the part of the speaker.

ANNEXURE 3

INSTRUCTIONS AND ANALYSIS OF THE PILOT STUDY

GENERAL INFORMATION

1 SEX

[V]	[X]	
Males	Females	Total
[16]	[34]	[50]

The preceding table reflects that there are more females who answered the questionnaire as compared to the males, which does not give a good picture of the study we are investigating. According to observation by the investigator, it would seem that most users of speech codes and registers are male subjects from the point of view of their occupations.

2 AGES

[V]	[X]	[0]	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	Total
13-18	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	
1	34	7	3	2	1	2	50

The bulk of the subjects who answered the questionnaire was between the ages 19 and 24. This is not surprising given the type of subjects who answered the questionnaire. This was also not a good representation of the population universe of the **GAD**.

3 AREA

V	CHESTERVILLE	0
X	CLERMONT	0
0	KWAMASHU	10
1	KWAMAKHUTHA	1
2	LAMONTVILLE	1
3	UMLAZI	15
4	OTHER BLACK AREAS	16
5	WHITE AREA	8
	TOTAL	50

The inclusion of residential areas was to establish the number of students who live in Black townships and who may be speaking the various CR's in question. Again, answers to this question, did not cover the Black residential areas needed by the study. It also revealed something about the composition of the class, that is; there were no Zulu 3 students who came from Lamontville and Clermont, although these areas constitute the strongest stronghold of non-standard varieties. The reason for such as an assessment is because Chesterville and Clermont/ Clernaville are the oldest Black townships with a powerful history of politics and other socio-economic dilemmas. Hence, the pilot study had to be re-organised.

4. **MARITAL STATUS**

[V]	[X]	[0]	[1]	
single	married	divorced	widowed	Total
40	9	1	0	50

This information was needed to check whether it is single or married couples who use codes and registers in the greater Durban Area. The questionnaire revealed that it was single persons who used speech CR's, thus producing unreliable results. A lot of older people both educated and uneducated, spoke non-standard varieties.

5. PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME.

[V]	Less than R500	1
[X]	R500	2
[0]	R1000-1499	1
[1]	R1500-R1999	1
[2]	R2000-2499	0
[3]	R2500-2999	1
[4]	R3000-R3499	4
[5]	3500-3999	1
[6]	4000+	1
[7]	No income/not working	2
[8]	No income/ not working	36
TOTAL		50

The above table indicated that most respondents were unemployed. This was another discrepancy in using a specific group of respondents for information affecting the whole Black Durban speech community.

6. EMPLOYMENT

[V]	Full time (employment)	17
[X]	Part-time employment	3
[0]	Housewife	0
[1]	Scholar	30
[2]	Self employed	0
[3]	Pensioner	0
	TOTAL	50

Some students misunderstood full-time as referring to **full time student** and put ticks under full time employment although they were not employed. This was an eye opener to the researcher and became imperative for the final questionnaire to be drafted in Zulu so as to avoid these misinterpretations caused by language deficiency.

7. HOME

[V]	4 roomed house	24
[X]	Big House/ more than 4 rooms	16
[0]	Shack/ informal house	0
[1]	Hostel	1
[2]	Flat	2
[3]	Renting a flat	5
	TOTAL	50

Although most students who live in four-roomed houses and in other informal settlements are speakers of speech **CR's** the results proved that students were bashful to reveal that they lived in such settlements. The investigator has knowledge of this from the problems of poor accommodation and overcrowdedness as the main reasons for poor performance at University level by students. The results reflect that a lot of respondents come from prestigious homes which renders a defective instrument.

8.	STAY		
	[V]	Less than a year	5
	[X]	1-2	3
	[0]	3-4	11
	[1]	5-6	6
	[2]	10+	25
		TOTAL	50

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

	Number of children between 0 and 17 years		Adults above 18 years
[X]	Less than 2 in the house	= 10	=6
[V]	2 -3	=19	=7
[0]	4-5	=11	=8
[1]	6-7	=7	=14
[2]	8+	=3	=15
	TOTAL	50	=50

When I asked students to work on the check lists of Durban **CCR's**, it was surprising to notice that female students who had a lot of male siblings in their families knew almost 100% of non-standard varieties which were spoken in the various townships, taverns, et cetera, and those whose brothers and sisters had experienced prison life although they themselves had never experienced prison life. The same state of affairs was revealed in the soccer codes. For instance, even female students knew that the code, **iBhinoni** means standard 9. During the days of Bantu education, Standard 9 was known as **Vorm/Form 4**. I have already mentioned that the word '**Benoni**' stands for the figure four, following a player who wore a soccer jersey, marked **4**.

10 EDUCATION

		Respondent	Mother's	Father's
No Education	V	=0	=2	=8
Primary	X	=0	=19	=12
Secondary	0	=0	=20	=27
Training College or technikon	1	=0	=9	=8
University/Tech	2	=20	=0	=0
TOTAL	50	50	50	50

It became clear that the education of the parents contributed a lot in using mixed varieties. Those whose parents were educated, knew the **CR's** which were spoken in hospitals and educational units; that is; depending on their parents' professions. Those whose parents did not receive higher education, contributed a lot in the creation of township and transportation codes and registers because most of their brothers and fathers either owned taxis or were drivers/ taxi conductors et. cetera. Others worked in industrial areas dealing with motor mechanism.

11. MOTHER TONGUE

		Respondent	Mother's	Father's
Zulu	V-	45	45	45
Xhosa	X-	5	5	4
Sotho	0	0	0	0
Tswana	1	0	0	0
Ndebele	2	0	0	0
Venda	3	0	0	0
Tsonga	4	0	0	0
English	5	0	0	0
Afrikaans	6	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	1
TOTAL		50	50	50

New terms were created from standard Zulu language itself and from mixing standard Zulu with English or Afrikaans. This is usually done by the educated sector and those who attended/attend multi-racial schools. There is also a new trend towards mixing Zulu with Xhosa even if the parent/s are not mother tongue Xhosa speakers. This has political implications. Students mix languages for prestigious reasons even if they are standard Zulu speakers.

12 **RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING**

Hospital	V	-1
Educational Unit	X	-9
Tavern	0	-7
Township	1	-15
Soccer	2	-0
Transport	3	-0
Prison	4	-0
Zulu	5	-10
Other	6	-8
TOTAL		-50

A few students spoke English on campus, while others engaged themselves in Tsotsi and Township **CR's** even on campus. Those who are liquor drinkers spoke tavern code because most students own shebeens on campus residences as a means of survival and this enables them to pay their tuition fees. Thus, tavern dialect is very alive on university campuses, investigated. Those who come from small families and who are not outgoing, spoke standard Zulu amongst themselves. The rest of the students feel more at home with university life in their third year on campus. Thus, these students are well versed with University **CR's** particularly those who are residents on campus.

13 **RECORD REGISTER BEING USED**

		At Home	At Work/ friends	Amongst Travelling sport	playing	School
V	Hospital	-4	-2	-0	-0	-0
X	Education	-7	-14	-7	-6	-6
0	Tavern	-1	-3	-3	-1	-1
1	Isicamtho	-11	-3	-28	-7	-4
2	Soccer	-0	-0	-3	-0	-25
3	Transport	-0	-1	-2	-31	-3
4	Prison	-0	-0	-0	-0	-1
5	Zulu	-19	-7	-7	-5	-8
	Total	50	50	50	50	50

(a) At home

Some students spoke hospital register at home because their parents were in the Medical profession. Those whose parents are educated also spoke educational codes and registers at home.

14 **STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE**

		Prestigious	Neutral	Low
V	Hospital	-4	-4	-6
X	Education	-16	-14	-2
0	Tavern	-0	-0	-3
1	Township/ isicamtho	11	-26	-15
2	Soccer	-6	-2	-2
3	Transport	-10	-11	-5
4	Prison	-3	-0	-17
	TOTAL	50	-50	-50

16% of the students thought educational **CR's** were prestigious. This was because education is more linked to prestige as compared to other **CR's** which are all, a

product of education. Others thought transport CR's were more prestigious than others because owning a car is a sign of prestige. In short, respondents had mixed feelings regarding the various CR's and they claimed that those which were favourable to them were more prestigious and others were of a low status.

15 REGISTER USAGE PERCEIVED AS

		Prestigious	Zulu	Make moderate	Secretive
V	Hospital	5	18	-2	-4
X	Education	18	6	-7	-2
0	Tavern	6	1	-2	-15
1	Township/ Isicamtho	10	16	-23	-5
2	Transport	7	3	-5	-4
3	Soccer	9	1	-5	-5
3	Prison	0	5	-6	-15
		50	50	50	50

Most respondents thought that Zulu, educational and township CR's were the most prestigious varieties. This was followed by soccer and transport varieties. Prison and tavern varieties were the most secretive. According to the results, township variety was mostly used to normalise and make light of a tense situation.

ANNEXURE 4.

LISTS OF CCR'S

1. PRISON CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA (ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EMAJELE ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETEHLO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
Afrika	freedom from prison life	ukukhululwa ejele
ubhekile	you are intelligent	uhlakaniphile
ibhenepiasi/ ibinneplaas	a restricted prisoner who is not allowed to work outside prison premises	isiboshwa esingavunyelwe ukusebenza ngaphandle kwamagceke asejele.
ibhigi-fayifu/ i-big five	prisoners who are spies for prison authorities	iziboshwa eziyizimpimpi zezikhulu zasejele
ukubhinca ithawula	a contest where partners are chosen	ukumodela kwabesilisa ejele ukuze baqokwe ngabanye njengezintombi zabo.
isibhilivane	a letter, n' brief (Afrikaans)	incwadi ebhaliwe
bopha useveni	a plot to do something grave	uzungu lokwenzakalisa omunye
i-efosi/ i-air force	prisoners who are experts in escaping from prison	iziboshwa ezingompetha ekweqeni ejele
ifleyi-mani/ n' vry man (Afrik.)	a prisoner who is not dangerous who is allowed to work outside prison premises	isiboshwa esethenjiwe esingasebenza ngaphandle kwasejele.
ifolishi	dagga	insangu

hhomu	way of saying hello by the -28	indlela yokubingelela yama-28
isihlangu	a shoe	isicathulo (sasejele)
uhlathi	a prisoner who is not conversant with prison life	isiboshwa esingazi lutho ngempilo yasejele.
ifotini	a prisoner who is serving a short term sentence of three months	isiboshwa esigwetshwe izinyanga ezintathu
iHollander	a prisoner who is feared for stabbing people	isiboshwa esidume ngokugwazana
i-school boy	a prisoner who is a boy friend of another prisoner	isiboshwa esinobudlelwane neziboshwa ezingama-26
iJananda	an Indian person	iNdiya
ikheshi	a string used by prisoners to escape from jail	intambo esetshenziswa yiziboshwa uma zifuna ukweqa ejele.
ukukhipha intambo	to be hanged. a death sentence	ukugwetshwa intambo
khorekthi/correct	way of saying hello or fine which is employed by the 26's	indlela ama-26 abingelela ngayo
ukhwini waseLandani	a female prisoner	isiboshwa sesifazane
iklobhu	a prison cell	igumbi leziboshwa ngokwamacala azo
ulindaphi?	where do you live?	uhlalaphi?
ukumasha	to be released from jail	ukukhululwa ejele
imbilijisi	prison attire	izingubo zasejele
umehlomane	well versed with	inkakha, eyazi ukusuka

uMeyija	prison life, experienced prisoner a prisoner who holds an official position while serving his sentence	nokuhlala ngempilo ngempilo yasejele isiboshwa esinesikhundla esikhulu khona ngaphakathi ejele
i-mini-gate	food for prisoners which is regarded as insufficient	ukudla kwasejele okungazesuthisi iziboshwa
udonsa mfana	mush-room/ soup which causes constipation making it difficult for someone to relieve himself.	amakhowa adliwa ejele adala ukuqumba kwesisu
unamba-2	police man and other authorities in jail	amaphoyisa nezinye iziphathi-mandla ejele
unginike	a prisoner who is serving sentence for committing theft, burglary and the like	isiboshwa esiboshelwe ukugqekeza
inkantini yesithathu	dagga	insangu
inkantini yesibili	tobacco	ugwayi njenge-Boxer
inkantini yokuqala	cigarettes	usikilidi
unozala	a female prisoner	isiboshwa sesifazane
inqatha	a White person	umlungu
inqola	a police van	imoto yamaphoyisa
unyana	a prisoner who has an affair with another prisoner	isiboshwa esinobudlelwane nesinye isiboshwa
phakama	be engaged in duty	sebenza

isipikili	any type of money	noma yiluphi uhlobo lwemali
ikuqhinwa	to be hand-cuffed	ukuboshwa ngozankosi
Samani	every thing is alright	konke kulungile
uSayitsheni No. 1	a trustworthy prisoner	isiboshwa esenziswa imisebenzi yokwethenjwa edinga ukuqikekela
uSayitsheni No. 2	a prisoner who is handy, who does all sorts of odd jobs	isiboshwa esenziswa imisebenzi e y e j w a y e l e k i l e .
ukushaya itoli	to win a case because of answering questions asked in an intelligent manner.	ukwazi amazwi ecala ukuze likuthethe
ishogani	shot gun	isibhamu i-shot gun
i-slave	a prisoner who is sold to a farmer while serving sentence	isiboshwa esidayiselwe ukuyosebenzela umnini- pulazi ngesikhathi sisadonsa isigwebo saso.
ustonyana	a prisoner who is submissive to the the instructions of the 26, 27, 28	isiboshwa esivumile ukusebenzela ama-26, 27, 28.
itende	a temporary hut a cell	indlu yesikhashana
1-28	a prisoner who is feared by other prisoners	isiboshwa esesatshwayo
i-26	a prisoner who is serving sentence for committing theft and burglary	isiboshwa esiboshelwe ukugqekeza nokubamba inkunzi
i-27	a prisoner who is	isiboshwa esiboshelwe

	<p>serving sentence for blood crimes</p>	<p>amacala egazi</p>
ivayiza	<p>sleeping blanket for a prisoner</p>	<p>ingubo yokulala isiboshwa</p>
i-wyfie	<p>a male prisoner who is treated as a girl friend or wife by another male prisoner.</p>	<p>isiboshwa sesilisa esiyintombi yesinye isiboshwa sesilisa</p>
Yes	<p>hello! A way of greeting which is employed by the 26's</p>	<p>indlela yokubingelela yama-26</p>
Yiza Ndoda!	<p>E!choo! Way of expressing pain used by prisoners</p>	<p>esikhundleni sokukhala uma isiboshwa sishaywa sisimze sithi: Yiza Ndoda.</p>
ziyakushiya eziya encemeni	<p>you are behind times</p>	<p>kushiwo esiboshweni esingalulandeli ilimi lwasejele</p>
inhlamvu	<p>money</p>	<p>A term used by the 26's to refer to money</p>
isikhafula- magazi ngomlomo nangamakhala	<p>a 28 prisoner. Because he is always armed with a gun or knife.</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiyi-28. Kushiwo ngoba sikhala siphethe isibhamu noma ummese.</p>
uNongoloza	<p>The first prisoner to resort to homosexuality was a 28 called Nongoloza.</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiyi-28 esinobudlelwane nesinye sesilisa kwezocansi.</p>
injivane	<p>a prisoner serving over three months</p>	<p>isiboshwa esiboshwe ngaphezu kwezinyanga ezintathu.</p>
isipikili	<p>a term for money (28's)</p>	<p>igama lama-28 lemali</p>

**2. HOSPITAL CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN
AREA
(ULIMI LWASEZIBHEDLELA ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-fo bhayi fo	a night pan/ bucket	isikigi
i-194	an aids patient	umuntu ophethwe yingculazi
uku-aresta	to die	ukufa
iB.B	a boarder baby	ingane ehlwele ikwesinye isibhedlela
isitofu	an injection for preventing pregnancy	umjovo wokuvimba inzalo
i-D.O.D.	Died on arrival	ofike esibhedlela esethule
i-M.C.	a mental case	ogula ngengqondo
i-M.K.	mercy killing	ukwelekelela isiguli ukuba sife
i-M.V.A.	motor vehicle	isiguli esishayiswe yimoto
i-P.M.	post mortem	ukuhlolwa kwesidumbu
R.I.P.	rest in peace	lala uphumule ethuneni
S.T.D.	sexually transmitted diseases	izifo ezithathelwana ngocansi
i-S.V.O.	sleep over night	ukulala / ukuhlwelwa esibhedlela
Q.I.D.	four times a day	kane ngelanga
P.R.N.	only when necessary	kuphela uma kuswelekile
i-P.O.P	plaster of Paris	ukhonkolo
T.D.S.	three times a day	kathathu ngelanga
i-T.T.O	take treatment out	phuma nento yasesibhedlela ngaphandle kwemvume. Kungaba umuthi noma yini
ukuya ewashawozi	said when one wants	uma ungafuni ukusho

	to conceal her whereabouts	lapho uya khona
emasokeni	clinic for sexually transmitted diseases	eklinikhi yababhajiwe
isluyisi rumu/ isluyisi (a sluice room)	any dirty home/house is called a sluice	indlu ehlale ingcolile (esibhedlela isluyisi rumu) sihlala izingubo ezingcolile zeziguli
stethi/stat	urgently	ngokushesha okukhulu
ithwiri	a patient who is in a critical condition	isiguli osekwembulwa kwembeswa kuso
ewashawozi	at the showers. Said when someone wants to conceal her whereabouts.	lapho usuke ukhona uma weqe emsebenzini
izinkobe	tablets/ pills	amaphilisi
i-streyithi shift/ i-straight shift	a straight shift is from 7a.m. to 4p.m.	osebenza kusukela ngo 7a.m. kuya 4p.m.
ijazi lomkhwenyana	a condom	ikhondomu
ijiphsona	a gypsona. The act of practising witchcraft or the use of African medicines in hospital is called 'i-gypsona.' Nurses who use African medicines prepare the stuff in empty medical containers labelled gypsona.	ukusebenzisa imithi yesiZulu, ubuthakathi
ikhofi	medicine illegally given to a patient	umuthi onikezwa isiguli udokotela engashongo

	without doctors permission	ukusisza ezinhlungwini.
iklabishi	mentally derailed patient	isiguli esesikhubazeke umqondo
i-Aids	aids virus.	ingculazi
i-aphgasko	to be down in the dumps	ukuzizwa umzimba uphansi
ephansi	to make a bed in such a way that it gives a pi- cture of someone who is asleep	ukwembathisa imicamelo embhedeni imele umuntu ongekho
amadlelo aluhlaza	attire for theatre	izingubo zasethiyetha, isiguli esizoyiswa ethiyetha.
entshebeni	to sleep on a matrass on the hospital floor.	phansi kumatilasi wasesibhedlela.
i-ephisteksizi	nose bleeding	umongozima
um-Ethiyophiya/ umTopiya/ iLadeshi	starving child/person	ophethwe yisifo sendlala
ukufaka izinyosi	to initiate labour pains	ukususela umuntu okhu- lelwe ukuze asikelwe ukubeletha
ififi	a patient who is in a critical condition	isiguli esigulela ukufa
ififiza	to take a nap during working hours	ukuntshontsha uthathe isihlwathi emsebenzini
isifonyo	a nabulasing machine	okokuphefumulisa isiguli esehluleka ukuphefumula
i-G.A. umgosi	General assistant a gossip/ secret	owelekelelayo esibhedlela impahla efihliweyo ngoba

	any stolen material is called 'umgosi'	intshontshiwe esibhedlela
uguvela	a Matron	u-Matron
i-H.I.V.	HIV virus	igciwane lengculazi
uhhafu deyi/ u-half day	to work half day	uhhafu wosuku/ Uku sebenza uhhafu wosuku
amahhovisi okugcina/ ama-last offices	mortuary	indlu yezidumbu/ isemakhazeni.
imbongolo	treatment for T.B. (tuberculosis)	umuthi wokwelapha i-T.B.
imparampara	a woman who has had more than 5 confinements	unkosikazi osezale amasu angaphezu kuka 5
ingududu	a pregnant woman	inkosikazi ekhulelwe
i-strabhisimusi	a squint eyed person	ingxemu
ulo, olaba, ulaba	those in charge superiors	abasezikhundleni ezibhedlela
umahlombe	Sister or Matron	onamaqhuzu emahlombe
imali yamaqakala	increment for nurses which was effected in 1990. Most nurses have swollen ankles caused by the type of work that they engage in.	imali ekhushuliwe yamanesi
mane	at 4 o'clock	ngo 16h00
unamba 8	an alcoholic	odakiwe, ophuze utshwala, osaba yisigqila sotshwala.
enamba 8	clinic for alcoholics	ekliniki lalabo abehlulwa wuphuzo
ukundi-endishiya	to gossip about other people. The word is coined from super abundant use of	ukukhuluma ngabanye

nd and tsh in the speech of
the interactants.

ingqovela	night pan	isikiki/ isikigi
ukuntontelisa	to record untrue facts about the patient's condition	ukubhala amanga ezi- ncwadini zesiguli
ukuntshontsha isiguli	to break regulations and give medicine to a patient without doctor's permission.	ukuphula umthetho kadokotela mayelana nesiguli
ukusithapha/ uku-sit up-a	to work from 7h00 till 19h00	ukusebenza kusukela ngo ngo 7h00 ekuseni kuya ku 19h00 ebusuku
iskizo	a schizophrenia	ohlakaniphe kwaze kweqa onezinto zakhe e z i n g a t h a n d w a ngumphakathi. Osethathwa njengomsangano
ukutofa	to take injection as a contraceptive	ukuthatha umjovo woku- vimba inzalo

3. **EDUCATIONAL CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE
GREATER DURBAN AREA
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZIKOLENI ZASETHEKWINI
NAMAPHETHELO)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-unfinished story	a student who did not complete his studies at University/school	Isitshudeni esingaqedanga eNyuvesi/ esikoleni
i-Arabhu	a male student who has no girlfriend	isitshudeni esingaqo-nyuwe sesilisa
i-B.M. (Black Material)	private lover	ishende
ukubhala uthisha bani	to write the subject taught by lecturer teacher/so and so	ukubhala isifundo sikathisha okufundisayo
ukubhala ulekshara bani	to write lecturer so and so. To write subject taught by lecturer so and so.	ukubhala isifundo selecturer ekufundisayo
awucace njengefoya	be explicit in your explanation like an open space	khuluma kucace njengendawo evulekile okuthiwa yifoya
ukubhalansa	to have a lot of boy-friends	ukuba namasoka amaningi angaphezu kwelilodwa
ukubhanka	to play truant	ukungayi emaklasini
ukubheka kurejista	to marry a female student	ukushada kukathisha nengane yesikole abeyifundisa
ukubola	to study hard	ukufunda, ukutadisha
ukuba ngu Carl Meinhof	to be a Zulu lecturer	ukuba nguthisha wesiZulu

ukuchitha ileksha	to cancel a lecture	ukukhansela ikilasi kungafundwa
icici elingestopha	not to have a a boy-friend/ girl-friend	ukungabi nasoka/ nantombi
ukucothela	to propose love only to new students	ukweshela amantombazane aqalayo ukufika esikoleni angazi lutho ngempilo yakhona.
amadabuka	a student who is a non resident	isitshudeni esihlala ngaphandle, hhayi ehostela
ukudayivela amagwava aluhlaza uDenisi	to rush for things that are far from you A question paper for an examination that has not yet been written	ukugijimela izinto ezingaphezu kwakho imibuzo yephepha elingakabhalwa
ukudla amakhozi	to pass all subjects	ukuphasa zonke izi- fundo
isidumbu isidumbu	to speak on behalf a student who is due to be registered by a staff member without the knowledge of the school principal.	ukukhulumela ingane, ingane ekhulunyelwe esikoleni
ukwenza ichelsea bun	to get too acquainted with a person. To take advantage of a person	ukwejwayela umuntu ngosekweqile
ukufaka eprentini	to do wrong things in front of people	uma kukhona abagila imikhuba phambi kwa- bantu

ukufaka esithombeni	to engage in passionate acts in front of people	ukwenza izinto ezi-phathelene nezothando phambi kwabantu
ukuflayela eHearthrow Air Port	to visit O-Block at the University Of Durban Westville	ukuvakashela e O-Block yase Durban Westville
ukuba fra ifresha/i-fresher	to be frustrated a first year student.	ukukhathazeka umsila, isitshudeni esifikayo esikoleni
ifrinjo	a female student involved with a school teacher.	izintombi zothisha eziyizingane zesikole
i-G.T.I.	violent boys. The Get Them Irritated gang.	ama 'Get Them Irritated' abafana abanothuthuva
umgangatho	students who wear classy clothes	oswenka abangabafundi
isigele eGibhithe	school to occupy the front desk in class	isikole ukuhlala emadeskini aphambili ekilasini
goba lapho ngigoba	said when a teacher has run short of the subject matter	uthisha usho kanje uma esephelelwe ulwazi
ukugomora	when two people of the same gender are romantically involved	abesilili esisodwa abathandanayo
ogoqweni ukugqobha	a dirty place to study	indawo ewubunuku ukufunda, ukutadisha
isigqoko ukugqunqa	someone in high authority to fail/ to be depressed embarrassment	ophethe isikhundla ukufeyila/ ukuphatheka kabi/ ukuphoxeka
ukugudla amahhovisi	to go searching	ukuhamba uzifunela

	for information from teachers'/ lecturers' offices	ulwazi emahhovisi othisha
iH.P.K.	(N.I.P.) not in front of people	hhayi phambi kwabantu
orharharha/ohahaha	Black children who go to multi-racial schools	izingane zabaMnyama ezifunda ezikoleni zezinhlanga ezixubile
ukuhlanzwa yikhompyutha	when one's name does not appear on the computer	kushiwo uma igama lakho lingaveli ku-sibalimagama
ehlathini	night school	ezikoleni zasebusuku
ukuhlinza imbuzi	to copy questions for an examination which has not yet been written.	ukukopela imibuzo yephepha elingakabhalwa
umhloli	an old student at an educational institution	isitshudeni esidala endaweni yokufundela esikade safika.
ukuhola	to withdraw money from a students account	ukukhipha imali ebhange yisitshudeni
ukuhuzuka	to fail	ukufeyila
i-ilithi	a sophisticated student	isitshudeni esiyicwicwicwi
i-imphothi	to be visited by a lover	ukuvakashelwa yisithandwa sakho
i-intavasithi/ i-inter-varsity	a student who goes from one University to another without finishing any course	isitshudeni esesawaqeda wonke amaNyuvesi kodwa esingapasi noma esingaqedi.
ukukeleza	to study	ukufunda

ikhodesa	a teacher's meeting	umhlangano wothisha, wabafundi
ilambu	one who is not shy to do things in front of other people	ongenamahloni okwenza into ebukwa
umlenze	part of a course/ subject	ingxenye yekhozi/ ingxenye yesifundo (esasele)
oLundi	in the Department of Zulu	ophikweni LwesiZulu
ePitoli	in the Department of Afrikaans	ophikweni LwesiBhunu
imali yebhulukwe	raised salaries for females	amaholo enyusiwe abe-sifazane
ama-multiple choice	stew with different types of meat	isitshulu esididiyele izinhlobonhlobo zezi-nyama
umalume	an old student who has been attending at a school/university for a long time	isitshudeni esidala esikade safika esikoleni
imbuzi	questions from an exam that has not been written	imibuzo eputshukile
emgura	at school	esikoleni
impaka	a student registered without the knowledge of the headmaster	umfundi abhalise ngaphandle kwemvume yomphathi sikole
impinda mzala	a student who is repeating ora class/	uma umfundi ephinda ikilasi/ i-course

	course	
ukuncwada	to be educated	ukufundiswa
amandondo	indoor games	imidlalo edlalelwa endlini
ukuneka	to laugh/ grin/smile	ukuhleka uveze amazinyo
amanabukeni		
ukungachithi	to be unintelligent	ukungahlakaniphi
umphako	answers to an examination that is still to be written	izimpendulo zephepha lokuhlolwa eliputshukile umfundi angena nazo endlini yokubhala
ukuphusha uMarx	to study (from Marxism)	ukutadisha
ukupitshiza	to have an affair	ukuthandana nengane
igundane	with a young scholar	yesikole (esencane)
iRainbow Chicken	teachers without diplomas/degrees	othisha abangakabi nawo amajazi/iziqu
ukushaya ngeshawa	to allow lovers to use of your bedroom	ukudedela abathanda- nayo basebenzise ikamelo lokulala
ukushaya ibhasari	to make a free phone call	ukushaya ucingo mahhala
ukushisa erawundini	to be famous/popular	ukwaziwa/ ukuduma
ukushuna	to meet with ones lover during a break	ukubonana nothandana naye ngesikhathi sekhefu
umshutheko	a student regi- stered without the permission of a headmaster	umfundi obhalise nga- phandle kwemvume
ukusithela	a person who is very clear in his field of study	umuntu ofunde wagogoda emkhakheni wakhe

ukuskwata	to occupy a room which is not rented by you	ukulala ekamelweni lokulala ongalikhokheli
amasosha	maggots in the food	izimpethu ekudleni
ukuthatha	to visit a student	ukuvakashela izitshu
i-international	registered with another University at his campus	deni ezifunda kwenye iNyuvesi
ukuthatha idomestic flight	to visit a student residing on the same campus or University/campus as yourself	ukuvakashela izitshu- deni ezifunda eNyuvesi yakho ezindlini zazo
ukuthola idabuli eksvoja (double exposure)	to attain 10% for a test or examination	ukuthola u 10%
isithuthuthu	a pupil registered without the permission of the headmaster	umfundi obhalise ngaphandle kwemvume kathishanhloko
ukutilosa	male teachers involved with their female students	othisha besilisa aba- thandana nezitshudeni zabo
ukutoboza ngoKhansasi	to make a phone calls	ukushaya ucingo
ukutshweleza	to be involved with a school girl (teacher)	ukuthandana nengane yesikole unguthisha
ukuphuzisa uphoyizeni	to teach wrong matter to the pupils	ukufundisa izingane izinto eziphambene neqiniso
ukuvula i-albhamu	to watch people as they pass by	ukupha amehlo ukudla kwawo/ ukubuka abantu bedlula noma behamba
ukuba yigundane	to go to work	ukuya emsebenzini kube

	while otherworkers are on strike	kutelekiwe
ukuya ehlathini	to go on strike	ukuteleka

4. TAVERN REGISTERS AND CODES IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUPHUZA UTSHWALA ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
iBoeing 747	a spacious shebeen	ishibhi elibanzi
isibhemisane	a big lounge	ilonji
	a serious minded person, a stereo-typed person	onolaka,osheshe ashaye
igosti	a person who is serious minded, and who is ever scolding.	ohlale ethetha sengathi udla umanyazini
ibhoza	one with a lot of money	onemali eningi
ukubhulwa	to be arrested	ukuboshwa
isicathulo	dead drunk	odakwe kakhulu
umdayisi	always happy	ohlale ehleka noma kungasahlekisi
identi	a debt	isikweletu
ukusponja	to mix liquor with a mild drink	ukuxuba utshwala nesiphuzo esilula
ukudesha	to mix liquor with a mild drink	ukuxuba utshwala ukuxuba utshwala nesiphuzo esilula
ukudesha ngesibindi	to drink without mixing liquor	ukuzibulala ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukusponja	to drink without	ukuzibulala

	mixing liquor	ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukushaya iskuni	to drink without mixing liquor	ukuzibulala ukungabudeshi utshwala
ukuduzuka	to be dead drunk	ukuphuza kakhulu
ukudlalisa	to entertain females	ukujabulisa abesifazane
ukwethenjwa	to buy liquor on credit	ukukweleta utshwala
ukufakwa encwadini	to be entered in the credit book	ukubhalwa ebhukwini labakweletayo
ufofinga	one who covers her glass with fingers so that we cannot see what she is drinking	ofihla ingilazi yakhe ngeminwe emine ukuze kungabonakali ukuthi uphuzani, nokuthi uthele kangakanani
i-German tanker	one with a big tummy who takes large gulps of liquor	onesisu esikhulu esilayisha kakhulu utshwala
ukucela	to ask to buy on credit	ukucela ukukweleta
ukugqagqamuka	to show off to be over excited	ukugcwaneka uma usuphuzile, ukubhayiza
igundane	a liquor drinker who conceals his drinking habits	ofihlayo ukuthi uyaphuza, ontshontshayo
i-hasling-i	to suffer from hasling	ukomiwa, ukuqalekela utshwala

ukuhlikihla izandla	to beg, for liquor	ukuncenga umuntu
ikhofi	a person who is dead drunk	ophuze kakhulu
imbazo	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
buyagawula	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
buya-cost-a	expensive liquor	utshwala obubizayo
incwadi yokuphila	a credit book	incwadi yabakweletayo
inyuku	money	imali
iskwadroni	many liquor drinkers in a drinking spree	abaphuzi abaningi
itrikota	three nips of	amaniphu amathathu
izinwele zenayiloni	nylon hair due to excessive liquor intake	uphuphusana lwezizwele olukhombisa izimpawu zokuphuza kakhulu
ukuba yi k.o.	to be dead drunk	ukweqiwa utshwala
ikhemisi	a bottle store	ibhodlela-sitolo
ukukhahlela	to drink the last	ukuminya isichibi
kokugcina kwehhashi	last straw of liquor in a bottle	sokugcina ebhodleleni
ukukhotha	euphemistic name for drinking liquor	igama elihloniphisa ukuphuza
ukuphuza imoni	to quench morning hang over	ukuqeda ibhabhalazi
ukulahla i-sight	to disappear out of sight	ukuhamba, ukusithela
ukulanda isigqoko	to return to the place where there was party the previous day to check if there are'nt any remnants from the	ukuphila ngakusasa uzo- bheka ukuthi akukho lutho yini olusale ngayiazolo

	previous day's drinking spree.	
isilevu	remnants of liquor in a bottle	isichibi ebhodleleni
umdlalisi	an entertainer of girls	othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane
umadlalisa	an entertainer females, a womaniser	othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane
umaphuza	a police man	iphoyisa
ukumashela	to die	ukufa
kwelesithathu		
ukubhoda	to die	ukufa
ukugqashuka	to die	ukufa
ukusenka	to die	ukufa
ukuphothuka	to die	ukufa
ukwemboza	to kill	ukubulala
umashonisa	money lender with high interest rates	obolekisa ngemali ezalayo
imbiri	beer-lager	ubhiya
isibharara	beer	ubhiya
imbiza	Castle milk stout	isitawoti
imoni	morning hang over	ibhabhalazi
imoni-face	sunken face due to morning hang-over	ubuso obukhombisa ibhabhalazi
imoto encane	illegal sorghum beer	ugavini
i-N.B.S.	nearest bottle store	ibhodlela-sitolo
unamba 17	LION Lager	i-Lion lager
ibhubesi	Lion Lager	i-Lion lager
inapa	a young girl	owesifazane osemncane
ukunatha (hlonipha	to drink word for drinking)	ukuphuza

ukuncinda (hlonipha	to drink liquor word for drinking liquor)	ukuphuza utshwala
ndiza manje, ukhokhe kamuva	fly now and pay latter	phuza ngesikweletu ukhokhe kamuva
izindoni	Castle milk stout	Castle milk stout
ukungcolisa itafula	to display various liquor brands on the table	uku-oda utshwala obuningi ubudeke etafuleni
ngizokutshela ngo-4	you better forget	khohlwa
ingqibhobho	a fire arm	isibhamu
ingadla	a fire arm	isibhamu
ingqayi	a fire arm/something entertaining	isibhamu
inkantini yesibili	beer lager	ubhiya
inkolotshe	a heavy drinker	ophuza kakhulu
i-German tanker	a heavy drinker	ophuza kakhulu
izintuthwane	illegal sorghum	isiqatha,into yaphansi
izinyembezi	European liquor	utshwala besilungu
zenkosazane		
isponsa	man who likes to entertain females with money and liquor	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesimame
i-oros	man who likes to entertainfemales with money and liquor	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa
iP.E.	(phuza eyes) eyes affected by liquor intake	amehlo asebukhombisa izimpawu zotshwala egazini
iP.F.	(phuza face)	ubuso osebukhombisa

	face affected by liquor intake	izimpawu zotshwala
iP.M.	(phuza mouth) mouth affected by liquor intake	umlomo osushiswe utshwala
u-poloni	mouth which has been affected by liquor intake. pinkish/ reddish mouth	umlomo osushiswe utshwala
imbebevane	mouth which has been burnt by liquor intake	umlomo oshiswe utshwala
umxhasi	man who likes to entertain females in a shebeen	owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesifazane ejoyintini
iphenguwini/ i-penguin	one who is very stingy, who does not want to share liquor with others	ongafuni ukuthengela abanye utshwala ejoyintini
umaphipha	one who drinks all sorts of brands put before him	ophuza konke
isaswishi	one who drinks anything put before him/ who drinks all sorts of beverages	ophuza konke, noma yini ebekwe phambi kwakhe
ukuphonsa imfologo	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
ukucwayitha	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
ukuhayijekha	to pick pocket	ukukhuthuza
iphophza 9644	Charles Glass Castle Lager	iCharles Glass Castle Lager
izipikili	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff
i-1818	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff

ismiramuwa	Smirnoff	i-Smirnoff
isiphini	a bottle opener	isiqekebuli
amaqhizane	Castle Milk stout	Castle Milk stout
isitibhili	Castle Milk stout	CAstle Milk stout
umvusanduku	Castle Milk stout	Castle Milk stout
ukuringa	to tell	ukutshela
ukuthuma	to tell	ukutshela
ukusenta ibhola	to initiate a drinking session to open a liquor bottle	ukuba owokuqala ukuphuza utshwala uma ibandla lihlangene
isikhiye	the on who initiates a drinking session	lowo oqalela abanye ukuphuza uma ibandla lihlangene
ukushaya	to vomit/ to drink by means of a bottle	ukuphalaza
i-trumpet/ itrampethi		ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukufloza	to vomit	ukuphalaza
ukushaya icilongo	to dink by means of a bottle	ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukushaya ibhodlela	to drink all the contents in a full liquor bottle	ukuphuza lonke ibhodlela lika- gologo
zinkila	come here	woza lapha
zwakala lapha	come here	woza lapha
khehla lapha	come here	woza lapha
shayisa lapha	come here	woza lapha
ukushisisa imoto	to warm oneself up by taking a sip	ukuqabula umzimba ngokuthi qhabu otshwaleni
ukushunqa	to scold	ukuthetha
usonhlalohle	an entertainer	umxhasi othanda ukusi- abaxakekile ejoyintini

isudi	full liquor	ibhodlela eligcwele likagologolotshwala
i-sealed	full liquor bottle	ibhodlela eligcwele likagologo lotshwala
ukusula umjuluko	to quench thirst	ukuqeda ukunxanwa
isundu	few in number	abantu abayingcosana
isitafu	different kinds of liquor brands	izinhlobonhlobo zotshwala
ukuthela	to drink large gulps of liquor	ukuphuza sengathi uyathela awusenawo umphimbo
izamba	unripe liquor	utshwala obungavuthiwe
amazenze	drinkers who have no money to buy liquor for for themselves, who are dependent on other drinkers	abaphuzi abangenamali abankashela kwabanye
izimbungulu	same as above	same as above
ukuthinta	not to be a heavy drinker	ukungaphuzi kakhulu
isitlamatlama	morning hang over	ukuba nebhabhalazi
umtholampilo	a shebeen	ishibhi, ijoyinti
isipoti	same as above	same as above
isitini	a stereo-typed person	onentamo elikhuni, onenkani, ongancengeki
umhlabathi	heavily drunk person	oweqiwe utshwala
uflorile	He is heavily drunk	weqiwe utshwala
ubuhlabile	same as above	same as above
uyabuhubha	He drinks heavily	ophuza ngosokweqile
umqhafi	a person who partakes in liquor drinking	ophuzayo/ ngumphuzi
umzingeli	Hunter's Gold	iHunter's Gold

ukuvusa	to commence drinking after a break in a drinking session	ukuqhubeka nokuphuza emva kwekhefu
ukuxhuma ipayipi	to urinate	ukuchama
ukutshora	to urinate	ukuchama
ukushibiza	to be a drinker of liquor	ukuphuza utshwala

5. **TOWNSHIP CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EMALOKISHINI ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
i-16/sikstini	policeman	iphoyisa
i- 6-5	to be a squint	ingxemu
uku-andastenda/	to be flexible	umuntu ozikhululekele
uku-understand-a	open-minded person	nangomqondo
u- ankela	uncle	umalume
isathwa	firearm	isibhamu, ivolovolo
i- ayina/‘eine’(German)	one	okukodwa
i- ayiningibhodi	a person with pliable legs and with flat back, flat buttocks/ breast	intombazane enama-bele alengayo apacakile ngenxa yokungaziphathi kahle/ intombazane enamabele akhombisa ukuthi seyadlula kubantu besilisa abaningi
ubafo	brother	umfowenu
ibala	a lie, empty	amanga/ into engekho
owebala	White man	oMhlophe (umlungu)
ibhadu	pair of good shoes	izicathulo
ukubhalansa	to see each other	sobonana ekuseni
emoreni	in the morning	
ukubhamuka	to reveal a secret	ukukhipha imfihlo/ ukuyilahla lento
kwelika Bhanana	in Durban	eThekwini
ibhathini	mandrax drug	izidakamizwa
ibhazuka	firearm	isibhamu/ ivolovolo
umbhengane	a bag	isikhwama

ukubhimba	said when things are not running smoothly	into ephikayo engasivumi isimo esithile
iBhinoni	four/4	okune
ukubhobha	to wait	ukulinda
ibhomu	fat person, an obese person	umuntu omkhulu/ okhuluphele
ibhodlela	dagga	insangu
ublomu	Government police	iphoyisa lakwa-Hulumeni
ukubopha	to stop/ to cease	ukuma
ibrazo	brother	umfowethu
ukubreka	to cease for a while/ to be out of stock.	ukuma kwento okweshashana/ kungaba ukuphuza/ ukudayisa
ibrowuni	R20-00 note	R20-00 oyiphepha
ubru	brother	umfowethu
ukuba buhlungu	to be ugly (as if you are feeling pains)	ukuba mubi sengathi uzwa izinhlungu
ukucamtha	to talk	ukukhuluma ngokwesisela abanye bangezwa
ukucanda	to eat	ukudla
icando	food	ukudla
ukuchama	to bribe	ukugwazisa
ukuchela	to show off/ to frighten	ukwesabisa
umchilo	a tie	uthayi
ukuchitheka	well read/ learned person	umuntu ofundile
ichweba	money	imali
cibuka	to go and relieve one self/ to	ukuzikhulula, ukuhlala

	stay/ live with	
ukucijisa	to pay back ones money/ to return someone's thing	ukubuyisela into obuyitshelekile
ukucikica	to write	ukubhala
icikico	a letter	incwadi
ukucisha	to die/ to cause to die	ukufa
ziyacusha	things are coming alright/ running smoothly	izinto zihamba kahle
ngocwayiba	at night	ebusuku
idark-zwaca/ idakhizwaca	beautiful person with a dark complexion	umuntu omuhle onebala elinsundu, indoni yamanzi
edastini	down/ on the floor/ ground	ukuvuka phansi othulini
ukudayisa	one who likes to talk/ to laugh/ an extrovert.	umuntu othanda ukuhleka 'njengo-sales man.
ukudayivela	to do something	ukugijimela izinto
amagwava aluhlaza	beyond ones ability /to interfere in an affair	ezingaphezu kwakho, ukugaxela endabeni
ude Klerk	R2-00 coin	uR2-00 omusha
udenari	money	imali
uDenisi	goat (a goat from Folweni which was treated like a human being by Mr Sabelo, the owner. It died in 1992, at Folweni	imbuzi eyayiphathiswa okomuntu yase Folweni ngo 1992

idisho	food	ukudla
edladleni	at home	ekhaya
edlozini	at home	ekhaya
umadlandawonye	S.A.C.P. member	i-S.A.C.P.
ukudoba	to fall asleep/ doze	ukulala
idrayishi	Three	okuthathu
idreshu	three	okuthathu
idrishi	three	okuthathu
emDubane	in Durban	eThekwini
iduku	policeman	iphoyisa
idweshu	two	okubili
i-E-20	a girl who falls in love with every man who comes her way, like a kombi/taxi which does not choose passengers	intombazane ethandana nabafana abaningi. Intombazane eqoma wonke umfana oyeshelayo Ifana neNissan E-20 evumela yonke inhlobo yamaphasenja, engakhethi muntu.
ukufahla	to arrest	ukubopha
ukufaka i-aromethi	make a story sound interesting by adding lies while narrating it.	ukuzakhela indaba engekho uze uqambe amanga, ukuhlobisa indaba.
ifakisa	food	ukudla
ukufasa	to get married	ukushada
ifawundeshini	food	ukudla
ifisha	a prostitute	isikhawundane/ isi- ndindwa
ifloshemu	a cow/ a beast	inkomo
ifriji	a coward	igwala
ifrozana	wife	unkosikazi

igada	dagga	insangu
imgalakada	prostitute	isikhawundane/ isifebe
igaqa	coin money	imali ewuhlweza
ukugejeka/	to be hungry/	ukulamba
ukugeyijeka	an empty stomach	ukulamba
igeji /igeyiji	food	ukudla
esigele	at school	esikoleni
umgelemba	prostitute	isikhawundane/ isifebe
ukugidla	to sleep	ukulala
ukuba yi-glavu	an ugly person	umuntu omubi
lokubhoksa/lesibhakela		
igoni	knife	ummese
ukugoqa	to propose love, to tell lies	ukweshela, ukuqamba amanga
ugoqo	master key/ universal key, home made key	ukhiye ongekho emthethweni woku- vula izimoto
igosti	something bad/bad news someone who is bad news	into ebhedayo
ukugqebeza	to display or show off/ to dress well	ukugqoka kahle
ogqoke umsebenzi	refers to workers who wear uniform at work	abasebenzi abafaka izingubo zokusebenza emsebe- nzini
isigqoko	a leader/ an authority	umholi
igrendi	R1000-00 note	R1000-00 oyiphepha
igrini	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
igriza	granny	ugogo
igrotha	ugly woman	inkosikazi embi
emgura	at school	esikoleni
isiGura	school register/code	ulimi olukhulunywa

		ezikoleni
ukugwaja	to be frightened/ afraid	ukwesaba
isigwajane	a coward	igwala
ugxa	a friend	umngane
ukugxuma nesheyini	to refuse to do something	ukunqaba ukwenza into
ihansi	a crook/ a person with a hoarse voice from smoking and drinking	umuntu oyisigebengu, onezwi elihoshozelayo ngenxa yokubhema noma ukuphuza.
ihanta	policeman	iphoyisa
ihata/ irhatha	policeman	iphoyisa
amahharha-shame (Ag! (Afrik.) Shame!)	black patches on the face	izishishi ezimnyama ebusweni
ukuhaza	to fail	ukungaphumeleli
iheheba	a letter	incwadi
ihhafu thayiga	R5-00 note	R5-00 oyiphepha
uhhayi-hhayi	toyi-toyi dance	itoyitoyi
ehhosi	in hospital	esibhedlela
isihhosi	hospital code ro register	ulimi lwasesibhedlela
ihhoki	matches	umentshisi
i-houtjie (Afrik.)	matches	umentshisi
isihlahla	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
umhlogosi	an umbrella, hat, cap	isambulela, isigqoko, ikepisi
ihlonyana	palm of a hand, five	impama, isihlanu
inkinobho	pill/ tablet/ mandrax	iphilisi lezidakamizwa
inyetsi/inyesi	meat	inyama
irhiye, i'g', 'igee'	R1000-00 notes	R1000-00 ongamaphepha
ukujampisa	to reveal a something concealed	ukukhombisa ukuthi kukhona okushaya

		amanzi, ukudalula into
ijangajanga	a person who is half clever and half stupid	umuntu ongahlaniphile
ukujayiva	to pick pocket	ukweba
ukujeka	to hold someone in a reckless manner	ukubamba omunye kabuhlungu
umajika	dancer expert	umpetha wokudansa
umjitha	boys	abafana
isijithazi	tsotsi language	ulimi loTsotsi
isikebhe	sleeping bed	umbhede
ukukeqa	to propose love	ukweshela
ekerekeni	in church	esontweni
ezikhindini	in prison	ejele
ukukhipha ubhozo	to show off	ukubukisa
ukukhipha unyawo	to show off	ukubukisa
ukuyokhomba	to go and perform a hold up/ to rob a shop/ bank, of goods or money with a gun	ukuyogqekeza uhlomile
ukhrimu kaPhreshi	a handsome guy	insizwa ebukekayo
ukukhumuka	run away	ukubaleka
umakhwapheni	a hidden lover	ishende
ukukhwifa	to show off	ukubukisa
ukuba namakinati	to have pimples on the face	ukuba nezinduna ebusweni
isikithi	girlfriend	intombi
ikliphu	R1000-00 notes	imali engu R100-00
ukukreya	to find something	ukuthola into ethile
ulanga	one	okukodwa

isilayi	dagga (small portions of)	insangu
ukulebula	to propose love	ukushela
umlenze wepulangwe	private lover	ishende
uleveni	goat	imbuzi
isileyi	old lady	umama
isiluka	old woman	inkosikazi endala
amadlandawonye	members of SACP	amalunga eSAPC
umagriza	grand mother/granny	isalukazi
umahosha	prostitute who is a thief	isikhawundane esi-ntshontshayo
umampara	a stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ukuba manzi	to be beautiful	ukuba muhle into eyenza umuntu ashintshelwe yisimo semizwa uma eyibuka
umbhayi	a stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
umasibhikili	street dwellers	abahlala ezitaladini
embizeni	in Johannesburg/Gouteng	eGoli
i-mendri lemonade (from 'mineral')	ulamula, unemenayidi	
uMengro	a person who claims to be intelligent whilst he is not	umuntu ozitshela uku- to be thi uhlakaniphile engahlakaniphanga
kwelikaMeyija (Major)	in the toilet (major thing in one's life)	endlini yangasese
ukumfumbatha	to hold him/her with closed hands, to contain him or her. To be liked by someone. A person	ukukhonzwa wumuntu

	who has high regards for you.	
ukufumbathisa	to let someone hide a gift/bribery with both hands	ukupha umuntu into kodwa umfumbathise ngesandla
itiye	bribery/fraud/nepotism	okutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
umngeni (colour of UMngeni river is like tea)	bribery/ fraud/ nepotism	okugwazelwe, ukutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
ukumphatha	to hold him her with closed hands, to contain him or her. To be liked by someone. A person who has high regards for you.	ukukhonzwa wumuntu
umlungu	to force to be superior	ukuthanda ukushayela abanye imithetho
ukuminya	to conclude, to come to an end	ukuqeda into obuyenza
imonza	a person with buttocks	umuntu onezinga ezinkulu
emoreni	in the morning	ekuseni
impandla	old shoe	isicathulo esidala
impatha	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
impintshi	friends	abangani
eMsamo	in Johannesburg/Gouteng	eGoli
umshini	a machine	a fire-arm
kwaMzala	in jail/ in prison	ejele
umzala	stupid person/ blood cousin	umuntu oyisilima
inapa	girl	intombazane

ukuncinza	to steal	ukweba
ukuncwada	to be literate	ukufunda
oncwadile	a learned person/ an educated person	umuntu ofundile
indele	three	okuthathu
indlovu	a bus	ibhasi
isandumbazi	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ukuncuka	to take/ to steal	ukweba
ingadla	a gun	isibhamu
ingam'le	rich (White) man, a boss	umlungu ocebile/oyisigwili
ingamule	rich (White) man, a boss	umlungu ocebile/oyisigwili
ingemu	rich White man	umlungu ocebile/ oyisigwili
ukushivara	to be scared	ukwesaba
ukungashivari	not to be afraid or frightened of a situation	ukungesabi
ingcosi	baby/ small child	ingane encane
ingijima	a watch	bheka
ingozi	one who likes to praise himself	umuntu ozitshelayo
ingqayi	film/ bioscope	ibhayisikobho
ukungqebeza	to scream/ cry loudly	ukukhala kakhulu
ingqibho	a gun	isibhamu, ivolovolo
ungqimu	stupid person	umuntu oyisilima
ingwe	a person with black marks on the face/ a person with scabies	umuntu onamabala ebusweni
ezingxazeni	in prison	ejele
ezincane		
ingxazi	trousers	ibhulukwe
injomane	a watch	iwashu

ukunika uMlazi 5	to slap someone with the palm of a hand	ukushaya umuntu nge- mpama
ukunkawuza	to smoke cigarette	ukubhema ugwayi
izinkobe	tablets (medication)	amaphilisi
inkomba/ inkombankombane	seven (7)	isikhombisa (7)
inkri-nkri	a telephone	iwashi
insengane	a suite	insudi
insikazi	female	umuntu wesimame
untanjana	a neck tie	uthayi
entshobha	at the shops	ezitolo
intshodi	shirt	ishethi/ iyembe
intwana	young boy	umfanyana
inusta	young lady	intombazanyana
inyamazane	a young A.N.C. member	ilunga le A.N.C.
eNyuvesi	in jail	ejele
isiNyuvesi	Prison code or register	ulimi lwasejele
inyuki	money (any kind)	imali
inzangane	any written document/ proof	noma yiliphi iphepha elikhomba ubufakazi
ipayipi	dagga	insangu
ukuspana	to work	ukusebenza
espanini	at work	emsebenzini
i-oledi	old lady	umama
opendiwe	a black-European/ a Black person who one behaves like a White.	uMlungu, umuntu ozenza umlungu
iphahlaza	glasses,	izibuko

	spectacles	
ipharagrafu	a short person	umuntu omfushane
iphaxiya	a gossip	ixoki, ohlebayo
iphihliza	glasses/ spectacles	izibuko
ukuphoqoza	to run away	ukubaleka
ukuphotha	to tell lies	ukuqamba amanga
iphothasi/shi	lies	amanga
iphothebhuli	to be small and dainty	omncanyanyana, othandekayo
ukuphusha	to study hard/ to be in love with someone	ukuthandana nomuntu, ukutadisha
eziPini	in Pinetown	e-Pinetown
isipinsi	two	okubili
iponi	young girl	intombazanyana
iqabane	member of the A.N.C./ P.A.C./ S.A.C.P. alliance	ilunga le A.N.C./ P.A.C./ S.A.C.P.
isiqeda	disliked person	umuntu ongafunwa muntu
oqeqeshekile	a spoiled child/ a rude person	ingane engenamfundiso
irabha	fat cooks/a condom	amagwinya/ ikhondomu
ukuba rayithi	to be considerate	ukuhambisana nesimo
umreva	Reverend	uMfundisi
ukureya	to travel	ukuhamba
irimu	old shoe	isicathulo esidala
ukuroja	to stab	ukugwaza
iroloni	private lover/ hidden lover	ishende
iruji	R50-00 note	R50-00 ongamaphepha
umSADAFU	Member of the	iphoyisa lezoku-

	South African Defence Force	vikela
ukusala	to be imprisoned	ukuboshwa
usebentini	a foolish person	isilima
ukusekena	to come back	ukubuyela emuva
isesteri	a sister	udadewenu
zisha ngani	what is going on	kwenzakalani
zishaphi	what is going on	kwenzekeni
ishapizi	to be unpopular	ukungadumi ngalutho/
	to be dislikable	ukungathandeki
ukushaya ingqayi	to go and see someone, to take a photograph	ukuyobona umuntu ukuthatha isithombe
ukushaya isigingci	to scratch one's body	ukuzenwaya
ukushaya ishayina	to take bosses' money without permission	ukuthatha imali kabasi ngaphandle kwemvume yakhe
ukushayisa	to come across fortune	ukuthola impahla elahlekile/ edukile
ushekazi	a gossip/ a scandal- monger	umuntu ohlebayo
ishibusi	a handsome boy	umfana obukekayo
ishisa	matches	umentshisi
ishokhi	R20-00 note	R20-00 oyiphepha
ukushweba	not to get what you wanted	ukungayitholi into obuyifuna
usiba	a policeman	iphoyisa
isigqoko	policeman	iphoyisa
ukusilayiza	to go/to walk	ukuhamba
islovasi	males with township fever	iqembu labantu abasazizwa bebasha, abakhuluma ulimi

		olungejwayelekile olukucashisayo, nabaphila impilo yokungaqondakali kahle ikheli labo.
isiLovasi	Tsotsitaal	ulimi lokweqisela lwaseThekwini
ukusphlesha	to take a bath	ukugeza
isuzela	a person with big buttocks	umuntu onezinqa ezinkulu
isuzu	a person with big buttocks	umuntu onezinqa ezinkulu
isitaka	money notes	imali eyiphepha
isitaki	money notes	imali eyiphepha
itanana	a young girl	intombazane encane/ intombazanyana
uthalala	stupid person/ not open minded	umuntu oyisilima
esithawa	in town	edolobheni
isithawa	person with pimples on face	umuntu onezinduna ebusweni
isiThawa	township code or register	ulimi lwasedolobheni lwaselokishini
ithayiga	R10-00 note	R10-00 oyiphepha
ithayima	father	ubaba
ukuthayipha	to walk bare-footed	ukuhamba ngezinyawo
ithekeni	young girl/ girl	intombazanyana/ intombazane
etheshweni	at work	emsebenzini
uthiza	a teacher	uthisha
ithom'thomu	casual shoe	isicathulo sokuswenka
ukuthwasa	to see	ukubona
itingitingi	auto-teller machine	umshini wokukhipha

	(from the sound made by the autoteller machine when pressing its button)	imali
isitini	R1000-00 note	R1000-00 ongamaphepha
isitini	a ghost/ bad thing	into embi, umuntu ongancengeki
ukutoboza ngoCansas	to telephone someone	ukushaya ucingo
itoyitoyi	political uprising dance	itoyitoyi
ukutrowa	to get married	ukushada
itsatsatsa	R2-00	R2-00
umtshokodi	one, a goal keeper	okukodwa, unozinti
i-uno	a person with flat buttocks/back	umuntu onesishwapha
ukuvala	to be the best or worst	owedlulele entweni
ukuyivala	to stop	ukuma
ukuvaya	to go away	ukuhamba
ivevezi	a widower	umfelwa
iwindskrini	face of a human being	ubuso
ukuwitha	to talk	ukukhuluma
ixhama	five/ a slap	isihlanu/ impama
umziki	prostitute	isifebe
izimu	Member of Azanian Movement	Ilungu le Azanian Movement
ukuzwakala	to come/ to arrive	ukuza/ ukufika
ziyampompa	there is a lot of fun	ukuzitika ngenjabulo, ukungcebeleka, ukuzibusisa
ziyamporoma	there is a lot of fun	kuyabuswa, kujatshulwe

6. **TRANSPORTATION REGISTERS AND CODES WHICH ARE USED
IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA.
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUTHUTHA ABANTU
ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)**

CR	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
u-Anti sosha	females who prepare and sell food to the taxi drivers and conductors	abesifazane abapheka badayise ukudla emarenke ezokuthutha
ukuyibamba esitobhini	the driver must stop the at the bus stop	ukuma esitobhini
esibayeni	enclosure for taxis, where taxis rank	lapho amatekisi elinda khona amaphasinja
i- Be My Wife	a B.M.W. motor vehicle	imoto ewuhlobo lwe B.M.W.
ibhanga	an empty taxi	iteksi engenabantu
ibhemile	the secret has been revealed	kuyabheda/ ukudaluleka kwecebo
ibheshu	rubber pads which flap up and down while the vehicle is in motion	amabheshu emoto
ibhlamani	Brahman cattle/ Datsun E20 Model	i- Datsun E20 Model
uBrenda ubuhlalu	a stolen car seat covers which are made of beads	imoto entshontshiwe amakhava esihlalo semoto enziwe ngobuhlalu
ukubuka iT.V.	the back part of	ukuhlala uncike

	a seat behind the drivers seat	esihlalweni esingemuva komshayeli, ubukwe ngamaphasenja
ukubuya kwegazi	things are going well	izinto ziyalunga
ukucela indlela	to indicate for overtaking	uku- indicator ukuthi uzodlula enye imoto
ukuchatha imoto	to put gasoline into a car	ukufaka uphethroli emotweni
ichunu	stolen car	imoto eyebiwe
iyaconsa	new taxi, which is appealing/ attractive	imoto entsha/ into entsha
iconsi	a secret message (sticker)	i-stikha esinanyathiselwa emotweni sokutshela izigebengu ukuthi imoto eyasekhaya azingayintshontshi
ucothoza	slow moving vehicle	into yokuthutha ehamba kancane
danki mlungu	passengers are called Europeans by the drivers. The assumption is that money is obtained from the White man. It is through the passengers in a taxi that a driver secures money	ngiyabonga phasa nje

ukudinga ngento ka 350 noma R250-00	to be fined R250 or R350-00	ukuhlawuliswa uR350-00 noma uR250
ukudla umjantshi	to travel by train	ukuhamba ngojantshi
ukudla upotsho	a short cut, method of obtaining something quicker than using the right channels	ikusika ngezimfuphi
ukudlisa	taxi drivers like to show off with their taxis. They take great pride of their motor vehicles	ukuhlabekisa
ukudlisa	to show off	hlabekisa
ukudliwa yisilwane	to be jealous	ukuba nomona
umdumakhanda	Traditional African tobacco	insangu
ukweqa umlilo	to escape from a road	ukubalekela
ukhihlika	block	amaphoyisa
ukufaka o- two bob	when taximen install copper rims in the wheels of their taxis	amarimu omthofu
ukufaka amafutha	accelerate the speed of a moving vehicle	ukwenyusa ijubane
ukufaka amacici	a taxi which has been decorated with white shiny steel, which is made up of chrome on the mudguard	itekişi ehlotshiswe ngensimbi emhlophe yohlobo lwe-chrome
isifalakahla	a vehicle which is	imoto esindala

	old and in a generally bad condition	
ukufasa	said when a taxi is full of passengers	uma imoto igcwele amaphasenja
imfengwana	a hooter on a vehicle is a device such as a horn or siren that makes a hooting noise	i-hooter
i-first in all troubles	Fiat	imoto ewuhlobo lweFiat
for only reckless drivers	Ford	imoto ewuhlobo lweFord
ukufutha	to have a lot of money	ukuba nemali eningi
ukuba ugandaganda	a vehicle that moves very slowly	imoto ehamba kancane
igazoli	petrol, fuel used for automobiles	u-petroli
ukugcwala ngokurhafa	to be prepared to pay fare	ukuzimisela ukukhokha imali
ukugejisa igazi	the absence of taxis in the various routes which serves as a gauge to judge the presence or absence of traffic cops or the impact of a stay-away	ukuhlala ekhaya ngoba ufuna ukuphumula noma ngoba ufuna ukuhlolisisa kable ukuthi kuyasebenzeka yini noma kukhona amaphoyisa omgwaqo, okanye kutelekiwe.
ukugidla efotini	to sleep in jail	ukulala ejele
iginsa	stolen car	imoto eyebiwe
goqa	to make a U turn/	ukujika eduze, ukuqamba

ugoqo	to tell lies artificial key used to open motor vehicles, a master key	amanga, ukukhohlisa uhlobo lukakhiye olu- vula izimoto
ukugqirha ngokhushukhushu	to travel by train	ukuhamba ngesitimela
ukuhlaba ngensimbi	to travel by means of a car.	ukuhamba ngemoto
ukuhlanza kweketsi	said when a taxi empties its passengers	uma itekisi seyehlisa amaphasenja
umjondolo	temporary arrangement, for a short time	into yesikhashana
ikameli	refers to the roof of a kombi called Isuzu which is high and can go for long distances without water	ikhumbi yohlobo lweSuzu
ukukapaka isiTswana	refers to fleeing away of a taxi driver from the police	ukubalekela amaphoyisa
ukupaka isiTswana	A car that is badly parked	imoto epake kabi
iketsi	refers to a motor vehicle	itekisi/ iteksi
ukukha amaphasenja ukukhabula ngembombozana	to load passengers to travel by a motor bike	ukulayisha amaphasenja ukuhamba ngesithuthuthu
ekhishini	back seat of a car, kombi, bus	isihlalo esingemuva emotweni

ukuyikhomba phezulu	when a passenger points up in the air it means that he is going to town	uma iphasenja likho- mba phezulu, liya eThekwini
ukuyikhomba phansi	When a passenger points down wards, it means, he is travelling within the vicinity of the township	uma iphasenja, likho- mba phansi, liya khona la eduzane ngaphakathi elokishini
ukukhuhlwa yingqayika amakhwapha	to fall from a bicycle place underneath the mudguard painted white	ukuwa ebhayisikilini indawo engaphansi emaceleni emoto.
isikwele	refers to a new kombi which is a 16 seater	uhlobo olusha lwe- Toyota. ikhumbi yakwa Toyota
isilahlamatende	refers to cars which have open roofs . A convertible motor car, like a B.M.W.	imoto evulekayo phezulu ibuye ivalwe.
ilahle	stolen car,	imoto eyebiwe
ukulanda inkomo yomnotho	to fetch or steal a taxi or kombi	ukweba itekisi noma ikhumbi
legedlela ikhabula ngamarimu	this vehicle has a puncture	le moto inamasondo aphantshile
le ketsi inosayidinsi	this taxi is overloaded/is full	le tekisi igcwele
ukulinda intulo imanzi	to wait for a taxi this taxi is	ukulinda itekisi/itekisi itekisi entsha

	newly bought	
imbawula	an unlicensed driver	umshayeli wetekisi ongenayo i-licence
umbombela	a train	isitimela
ukumemeza	the roaring of a	
kwensimbi	steel engine which the motor vehicle makes as a sign that it is in good condition	
impandla	a smooth tyre	isondo elinempandla
impendulo	a converted vehicle. whose parts have been altered so that it looks different from the the original form. This usually happens to a stolen car	imoto yokwebiwa esintshwe izicubu zayo.
impixi	a vast number of pa- ssengers who are su- pposed to be taken by taxis as their means of transport to and from work. Passengers awaiting a transport	amaphasenja amaningi alinde izinto zokuhamba
isiTransi	transport code or register	ulimi lwezokuthutha
itransi	transport	okokuthutha umphakathi noma amaphasenja

7. **SOCCER REGISTERS AND CODES IN GREATER DURBAN AREA
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EBHOLENI EZINDAWENI
ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)**

CCR'S	ENGLISH GLOSS	ZULU GLOSS
ukubamba	expert in saving balls	unozinti ongumpetha
ukubhacaza	incapable person who makes a lot of excuses	umuntu ongenalusizo lwalutho obika izaba njalo
isibhaxu	a team which lost the game, to be penalised	iqembu elingaphumelelanga, ukuhlawuliswa
iBhinoni	number 4, a player wearing jersey number 4. 4	ogqoke unombolo
ukuboza	to fumble	ukudlala umdlalo obhedayo
ukubuza epalini	a swift shot into the net	ukulishaya phakathi
umchamo	a weak and short shot of a ball which goes outside the playground	ishodi elingatheni eliphumela ngaphandle kwenkundla.
Ukuchitha ibhola	to throw the ball with both hands	ukuphonsa ibhola
ukucupha	to play a rough game	umdlali odlala kabi ngokukhahlelana
ukuchwesheza	smooth passing of ball from player to player	ukudlala ngesinono sekati lisuka kumdlali liya kumdlali
ukumdayisa	to make a fool of a player in front of spectators	ukubukisa ngomunye umdlali phambi kwezihlewele
ukudovola	to kick the ball	ukukhahlela
ufriweyi	a useless player who does not give his opponents a tough time	umdlali ongabajulukisi abanye abadlali umdlali ongenamsebenzi

		walutho
ukugawula	to be penalised during a soccer match	ukuhlawuliswa ngesikhathi somdlalo
ukugaxa	to form a cross ball	ukukhahlela ibhola
isikwele	to pass the ball from the sides to the 18 area	ngendlela yokuthi abadlali benze isiphambano ngaku 18 area
ihansi	a player who longs for a ball	umdlali olangazelela ibhola
ukuhlaba	to play a rough game	ukudlala kabi
ihura, ihhure, ihhule	a hurray, a goal	igoli, iwule, inqaku
ikati	a sharp goal keeper	unozinti ophapheme
Khabazela	please pass the ball with your heels	Khahlela uyise ngakomunye ngesithende
ukukhuhla ibhentshi	to be a reserver	ukuba yirizeva; ukuba ubhekingozi
ikhothenga	a useless goal keeper	unozinti ongenamsebenzi walutho
isikhwepha	rough soccer player	isigwebedla somdlali odlailisana kabana ngokuphusha
imanta	to pass ball underneath the legs	ukudlulisa ibhola ngaphansi
imbudlu	many goals which are scored with ease.	amagoli amaningi scored azingenela kalula
ummendi	a goal keeper mends all the mistakes of his playmates	unozinti, ngoba umenda/uchibiyela wonke amaphutha abadlali
impuphu	a useless player	umdlali ongenamsebenzi walutho
incwadi	a useless player	umdlali ongenamsebenzi

indele	three	walutho
ingqamu	a soccer ball	isithathu
ukungqomfa	to head a ball	ibhola likanobhutshuzayo
ingra	a soccer ball	ukudlala ibhola ngekhandanda
isiNgura	soccer vocabulary	ibhola likanobhutshuzwayo
injeje	to play a rough game	ulimi lwasebholeni
injini	a player who wears jersey number 6	ukudlala kabi ngokukhahlela
inkalakatha	experienced soccer player	umdlali othwele unombolo 6
inkomo	a useless soccer player	inkakha kwezebhola
inqaku	a goal	umdlali ongenamsebenzi walutho
inqola	backline of a soccer match	igoli
		a b a d l a l i a b a d l a l a emuva

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