LANGUAGE VARIATION IN ZULU:
A CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CODES AND REGISTERS IN
THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

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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

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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.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I am forever grateful and indebted to GOD ALMIGHTY for His protection and for granting me the inner spiritual strength which enabled me to struggle along without tiring while working on this thesis.

Grateful acknowledgements are due to various persons who directly or indirectly contributed to the success of this thesis, particularly the following.

Professor C.T. Msimang, my promoter, for his able guidance, insight and patience. I say 'thank you for the opportunity of sharing your experience.

Professor J Maartens, the joint supervisor, for her scholarly and insightful guidance throughout this research.

To these Professors, I say thank you very much for passing on your academic experience to an inexperienced student like myself. You have never hesitated to offer your valuable guidance and insightful supervision up to the completion of this study. Please keep up the good work and do not hesitate to do the same for other aspiring academics.

I am also grateful to The STANON Programme of the HSRC and the University of Durban Westville management, for their financial support and personal encouragement. Special thanks go to Dr Karen Calteaux, the co-ordinator of The Stanon Programme for her untiring support and for supplying me with relevant information throughout this study.

Thanks also go to Stewart Baker who is a professional researcher from Delca Research Company for assisting me with research methodologies and also for accompanying me to places which seemed inaccessible.

I am also extending my gratitude to Hospital Superintendents for granting me permission to do research in their hospitals.

I wish to extend my gratitude to the old Department of Education and Culture (KwaZulu) and the Department of Education and Training for allowing me to conduct research in schools under their jurisdiction.

Thanks also go to my colleagues from the University of Durban Westville, especially Pops, our Secretary for her efficiency in attending to all urgent Departmental matters, as well as her support while I was busy with this work. Without her co-operation and support I would never have made it.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to Mrs A.C.T. Mayekiso, MaQwana, for her encouragement and support and for her amazing enthusiasm and stamina.
My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr Mavari Prabhakaran for making it possible for me to be computer literate and for her positive and prompt response whenever I was stuck with my P.C. She shared all her knowledge of computers without reservations. I would like to thank Mrs Victoria Mkize for fetching my children from school whenever I was stuck with the thesis. To Gugu Mkhize, Lolite Makhubu, Noleen Turner, Malini Ramsay, Thabi Luthuli, Sbusiso Mieka and Henry Gumede, I say thank you very much for taking charge of crucial departmental matters on my behalf and for constantly offering your services. My thanks go to all the staff from Academic Computer Services who did not get tired of seeing my face at Computer Services and for the prompt assistance and encouragement they gave me whenever needed. These are: Sandy Parks, Megan, Indrani, Terry, Maureen, Simon and Siva.

I also wish to thank my four sisters and two brothers: that is Doris, RoseMary-Matho, Iris-Zo, Ntokozo-Priscilla, Martin-Lu and Dumisani-Richard: I would never have made it without their concern and untiring support. Special thanks go to Matho for her assistance with her background on research methodologies and to Doris. Her background of English enabled her to assist with final proof-reading of the thesis.

My sincerest gratitude also goes to my husband Edward Boysie who had to play the role of mother as well as father to my children while I was busy with this thesis. I also wish to thank him for sacrificing his time in accompanying me during my fieldwork projects. To all my children for their support and assistance in typing the thesis: that is; Thulile, Ntsikie, Bu, Nothemba, Zipho and Onke, I say thank you very much for your patience and endurance. May you be blessed to work as hard as you did when you were assisting your mother to complete this thesis, so that you may also reap such fruits. My thanks also go to my niece Xolile Kineri for her support.

My sincerest gratitude goes to my mother Beatrice MaCaluza, and my late father, Peter Dlungwane who, through hard work, brought us up in a Christian way of life. This has always been their dream that we aspired for the highest academic achievements in life. I am glad that I have struggled to satisfy their aspirations, and challenge my sisters to follow suit or do even better.

Thanks go to Madudu Mkhize for her untiring stamina and for sitting for long hours while assisting me with typing the thesis. I would also like to thank the Mkhize family for offering me the services of their daughter.

I also wish to extend my sincerest indebtedness to Nhlanhla Xaba for his profound knowledge of computer technology. He was always ready to assist me whenever there was a technical problem with my P.C. and also helped in typing corrected chapters. To Nhlanhla I say: May God bless and help you to achieve your goals in life.

I also thank my domestic assistants who looked after my children and the house while I was busy with the research project, particularly Zibuyile, S'bongile, and Sindy.

To all my colleagues from the Universities of Zululand (Main Campus) and Natal, (both campuses) especially Professor Antony Davey, Dr Adriaan Koopman and Mashasha for offering Zulu Honours classes in Pietermaritzburg campus when our
Durban campuses could not afford to do so in the mid-1980's. My greatest gratitude also goes to the University of Zululand for opening an Extra-Mural Division of the University of Zululand in UMLazi. Had it not been for the initiatives of the people mentioned above, I would not be where, I am today. I can never forget Mr Nhlanhla Xala and Ntombenhle MaSkakane for motivating me to pursue studies in Socio-linguistics.

Final thanks go to Professor Canonici, our predecessor in the Department of Zulu at Durban-Westville, for agreeing to proof-read this thesis and sacrifice his precious holiday which he deserved so much. I say thank you very much Professor: You are a burning candle to most Natalian academics and students. Keep up the good work.
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/isiXosa, 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-standard. 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 decode 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 dialects, styles, registers, jargons 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 variation, 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 language, local dialects, professional jargon, cant, slang. Tsotsitaal 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 members (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 necessary 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 interlocutor\textsuperscript{\textit{16}} 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 (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 koinés 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 (Nhlapo 1944, 1945, and 1953, Alexander 1989,
To establish the influence migration has on the language use of people originating from different geographical areas.

To measure the direction and magnitude of sociolinguistic change within the territories under study. (Refer to Lieberson, (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.
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 neologism 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 dialects\textsuperscript{20}, 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, Clermaville, 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 and contact variations. The chapter also includes a theoretical framework of the study which is constituted by 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 ethnography, ethnomethodology, 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 variations, sociolects, social networks 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 interactants 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, prison CCR’s is isiNyuvesi, shebeen CCR’s are isiThaveni, transport CCR’s will be called isiTransi, soccer is isiNgura while isiThawa refers to township CCR’s. CCR’s used in educational units will be called isiGura.
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' thesauri 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 Gxilitshe (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. Vernacular\textsuperscript{13} 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 \textit{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, Nhlangwini, 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 forefathers, 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 incapabilities 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 straightforward 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
The 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 (Ndlova, 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". 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'".

(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) and not as his or her vernacular (L1) 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, Ghamuteng, 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 tongues 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 Koine

According to Schuring (1992:57), "The koine 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 members\(^9\) (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, genetic and typological 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 simple 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 feedback 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 rewards and high costs. 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.

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 feedback 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/regiona 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, Clermaville, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KwaMakhutha</td>
<td>6 527</td>
<td>7 062</td>
<td>13 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMlazi</td>
<td>159 054</td>
<td>140 000</td>
<td>299 054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamontville</td>
<td>13 496</td>
<td>11 318</td>
<td>24 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterville</td>
<td>2 114</td>
<td>2 487</td>
<td>4 601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaMashu</td>
<td>89 229</td>
<td>67 450</td>
<td>156 679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntuzuma</td>
<td>32 354</td>
<td>43 311</td>
<td>75 665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clermaville</td>
<td>19 521</td>
<td>18 904</td>
<td>38 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>322 295</td>
<td>290 532</td>
<td>612 827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Census = 1991
3.3.2.2 The ethnic composition of the Black Durban residential Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>1 584 500</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>34 754</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swati</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Sotho</td>
<td>3 401</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1 432</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0.006%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>1 824</td>
<td>0.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.005%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondo</td>
<td>1 571</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 628 685</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 administrating 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 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) At 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
    \[ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 3 = 6 = 42 \]

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
    \[ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 7 = 14, \ 2 \times 7 = 14, \ 2 \times 3 = 6, \ 2 \times 2 = 4 = 58 \]
(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 commuters each, 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 workplace, 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 later 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.
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, etcetera. 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.

PHASE II - Pilot study

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. AGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Chesterville</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Clermont</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>KwaMashu</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>KwaMakhutha</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lamontville</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>UMLazi</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Other black</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>White Areas</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than R500-00</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R500-00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1000-R1499</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1500-R1999</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2000-R2499</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2500-R2999</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3000-R3499</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3500-R3999</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4000+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/student</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/not working</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full time (employment)</th>
<th></th>
<th>111</th>
<th>34.4%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Part-Time employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Scholar</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No income</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7. **HOME**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than a year</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>number of children between 0 and 17 years</th>
<th>adults above 18 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Less than 2 in the house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Respondent's</th>
<th>Mother's</th>
<th>Father's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>X 34</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0 129</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Col.</td>
<td>1 139</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University/Tec</td>
<td>2 20</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10.3%</th>
<th>39.5%</th>
<th>35.7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RESP</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>MOTH</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>FATH</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most respondents were Zulu and Xhosa speakers. Only a few spoke either Sotho or Tsonga.
12. RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Unit</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few respondents spoke English in certain domains while others engaged themselves in isiLovanasi 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Travel</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Soccer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hosp.</td>
<td>26=8%</td>
<td>73=22.7%</td>
<td>23=7.1%</td>
<td>0=0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Educ.</td>
<td>5=1.6%</td>
<td>49=15.2%</td>
<td>20=6.2%</td>
<td>20=6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>3=0.93%</td>
<td>10=3.1%</td>
<td>57=17.7%</td>
<td>9=2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isilovas</td>
<td>70=21.7%</td>
<td>49=15.2%</td>
<td>60=18.6%</td>
<td>57=17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>3=0.93%</td>
<td>5=1.6%</td>
<td>39=12.1%</td>
<td>10=3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transp.</td>
<td>2=0.62%</td>
<td>34=10.6%</td>
<td>32=9.9%</td>
<td>94=29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>4=1.2%</td>
<td>54=16.8%</td>
<td>25=7.8%</td>
<td>3=0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>209=64.9%</td>
<td>48=14.9%</td>
<td>66=20.5%</td>
<td>129=40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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; Lieberson and McCabe, 1978).
### 14. STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prestigious</th>
<th>Respectable</th>
<th>Secretive</th>
<th>Neutralise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>V</strong> Hospital</td>
<td>57=17.7%</td>
<td>35=10.8%</td>
<td>74=22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>X</strong> Education</td>
<td>59=18.3%</td>
<td>68=21.1%</td>
<td>14=4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0</strong> Tavern</td>
<td>38=11.8%</td>
<td>3=0.9%</td>
<td>10=3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> isiLovasi/township</td>
<td>50=15.5%</td>
<td>83=25.8%</td>
<td>85=26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Soccer</td>
<td>32=9.9%</td>
<td>19=5.9%</td>
<td>30=9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> Transport</td>
<td>25=7.8%</td>
<td>31=9.6%</td>
<td>31=9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> Prison</td>
<td>5=1.6%</td>
<td>74=22.9%</td>
<td>74=22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> Zulu</td>
<td>56=17.4%</td>
<td>4=1.2%</td>
<td>4=1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UmAfrika</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILanga LaseNatali</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily News</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Press</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Tribune</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Republic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sowetan</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading Newspapers</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to the radio</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in sport</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching television/films</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends/going out</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak pure Standard Zulu</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-standard varieties which are Zulu based</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak only English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with other African languages</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak unfiltered Zulu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans</th>
<th>103</th>
<th>31.9%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Speak unfiltered Zulu</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>I speak non-standard varieties which are Zulu based</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mix Zulu with other African languages</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>the past 2-3 months</th>
<th>35</th>
<th>10.8%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>more than a year</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>more than 10 years</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A car/ cars</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Vans</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Buses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lorries</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No vehicles</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

22. AT HOME:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>we have a telephone</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>we have no telephone</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>Registers which they use in specific domains</th>
<th>202</th>
<th>62.7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Zulu/Xhosa or other Standard African Languages</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 interviewees 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 UMsazi. He did his high schooling at UMsazi and studied for two years at the University of Zululand-Umsazi 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:
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 1 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

- PRISON
- HOSPITAL
- EDUC INSTITUTION
- TOWNSHIP
- TRANSPORTATION
- TAVERNS
- SOCCER

IN HUNDREDS

Series 1
3.5 CONCLUSION

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 uphetroli 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.
**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 sandwiches between the legs.

**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)

**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.
CCR’s comprising Words from Non-South African languages with or without change in original meaning.

i-zwayi/itswayi
means two. This word is derive from the German word ‘zwei’

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.

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.

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) > *inkombankombane* (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/isiNyvesi

(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
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-mania trustworthy prisoner who is allowed to work outside prison premises.
ibhesuka a visitor (from Afrikaans, n' besoeker)
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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

Expressions

ukushaya

To be able to defend one's case without the assistance of a lawyer or court interpreter who is known as utolika in Zulu.

itoli

stab someone, especially an official, with a knife. When tsotsis say 'Bopha useveni' they mean: Stab him/her! One is sentenced
to seven years imprisonment for stabbing with a knife.

unganphakama  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/intervasithi 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.
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.

Words from Zulu but with a change in original meaning

imbuza

imbuza (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.

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.
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.

Compounding

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

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 students on the register.

ukuhlinza
To slaughter a goat. To assemble in order to copy examination questions or to discuss a question paper or a test which is still to be written.
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

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English/Afrikaans</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama-last offices</td>
<td>at the mortuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-straight shift</td>
<td>to work from seven o'clock till 16h00 or 19h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-epistaxis</td>
<td>noise bleeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- kwashiorkor</td>
<td>kwashiorkor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-half day</td>
<td>a hospital staff who goes off duty at 13h00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.**

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A patient with an aids virus is known as i-194 where the 1 stands for A, 9........1, 4..........0. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-D.O.A.</td>
<td>Death On Arrival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.M.</td>
<td>a nurse who is off duty after 13h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-A.M</td>
<td>a nurse who is off duty in the morning hours till 10h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.C.</td>
<td>A mental case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uNo.8.</td>
<td>An alcoholic is known as unamba 8. This refers to clinic number 8 which is for alcoholics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukutofa</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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

istrabhi

a squint eyed person. A strabismus

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.
(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
 e-more-ni

in church. The CR originates from Afrikaans 'kerk' 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 Taal

stale news, old fashioned information

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).

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

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)

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.
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.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>CCR's with or without change in original meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-sealed</td>
<td>a full bottle of liquor brandy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-25%</td>
<td>Sometimes the drinkers order a 25% from the shebeen queen. This code still refers to a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quarter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-50%</td>
<td>is equivalent to half a bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-375mls</td>
<td>375 mls of liquor brandy. It means three quarters of a bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottle</td>
<td>To suffer a morning hang over. To feel miserable after a previous day's drinking spree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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.

isimirimuwa  Another term which is used to disguise the meaning of Smirnoff is isimirimuwa or i-1818 (The year in which Smirnoff was introduced)
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. Ibhubesi 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.
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.

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

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.

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 ebhoshil 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

iketsi

an automobile, especially a taxi. The syllables in the word iteksi 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.

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.

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.

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

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.

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.
umadum'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)

ukuhlinza imoto

expressions

Interlocutors who are involved in illegal transactions also speak of imoto uhlinza 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.

ukucwezelisa

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: cwezelisa or cwebezelisa (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)

uBrenda

iZola Budd

Referents

a stolen car, from her song Ayashisa Amalahle

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

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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.

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.

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 Sama11n (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**

ugwawa, 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*  

*ubhesent, 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.

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

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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Terminative Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bomb</td>
<td>ibhomu</td>
<td>a fat person, shocking news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knoop</td>
<td>inkinobho</td>
<td>a drug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clip</td>
<td>ikliphu</td>
<td>R1000-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>album</td>
<td>i-albhamu</td>
<td>to watch many people passing by.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>florsheim</td>
<td>iftoshemu</td>
<td>a beast for slaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paragraph</td>
<td>ipharagrafu</td>
<td>a short person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klob (Afr)</td>
<td>iklobhu</td>
<td>a cell in jail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an Arab</td>
<td>i-Arabhu</td>
<td>a male who lives in celibacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoof</td>
<td>istofu</td>
<td>injection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/ or /u/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Terminative Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kat (Afrikaans)</td>
<td>ikati</td>
<td>a goal keeper with acrobatic savings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dent</td>
<td>denti</td>
<td>a debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkeynut</td>
<td>amakinati</td>
<td>pimples on the face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>useveni</td>
<td>a prisoner who is serving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seven years imprisonment for stabbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with a knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

155
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denis</td>
<td>uDenisi</td>
<td>a goat, a question paper which is illegally possessed by a candidate before the test or examination is written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saswitch</td>
<td>isaswishi</td>
<td>a drinker who takes all sorts of beverages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabbage</td>
<td>iklabishi</td>
<td>a patient with brain damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandwich</td>
<td>isemeji</td>
<td>a style in football</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.3 Word final consonants ending in fricatives

When the final consonant of the adopted word ends in a fricative /-s/ or /-zl/ 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 /-zl/.

- **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.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>size (saiz)</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints</td>
<td>insayizi</td>
<td>a girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suit</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints</td>
<td>insengane/ insudi</td>
<td>a suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seep</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints</td>
<td>insipho</td>
<td>a slippery person, a prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shop</td>
<td>iN+sh&gt;intsh</td>
<td>tshobha/ izintshobha</td>
<td>shop/s, at the store</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, iprogremu, iragbhi, egrawndini, udrayva, ihayphothesisi, et cetera.

Koopman and Thipa (1992) exemplify with words such as, ibhethri, ukhirimu, 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 /u/. 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.
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:

boss >ibhoza
gasoline > igazoli
jas >ijazi
goods >iguzu

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 > isudi / insudi
- sweet > uswidi

### 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:

- port > ebhodwe
- fork > imfologo
- tent > itende
- attention > 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word</th>
<th>CCR word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gap</td>
<td>ukugebha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [+brethy]

C V C V

Hence uku# g e bh a

[ +breathy] [+breathy]

ukugebha (to gap up)
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  
engine  
eleven  
Egyptian  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>umTopiya</th>
<th>injini</th>
<th>uleveni</th>
<th>umGibhithe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one who suffers from starvation</td>
<td>a player wearing jersey number six</td>
<td>a goat</td>
<td>an oppressor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oros</td>
<td>i-orosi</td>
<td>an old man who likes to fondle young girls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno</td>
<td>i-uno</td>
<td>a person with flat buttocks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>i-Arabhu</td>
<td>one who lives in celibacy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>um-Africa</td>
<td>a freed prisoner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eines (German)</td>
<td>i-ayine</td>
<td>one (numeral)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ids are 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:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doek (Afrikaans)</td>
<td>iduku</td>
<td>policemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boek</td>
<td>ibhuku</td>
<td>lies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goods</td>
<td>iguzu</td>
<td>not to be successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemist</td>
<td>ikhemese</td>
<td>bottle store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>square</td>
<td>iskwele</td>
<td>a new Toyota Hi-Ace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skip&gt; skepe (Afrik)</td>
<td>iskebhe</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fork</td>
<td>imfologo</td>
<td>a pick pocket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:tinga  a pick pocket
- u-major  umeja  a prisoner holding a high position in jail.
- uku-major  ukumeja
- i-sponsor  isponsa  To wear one and the same thing everyday as if doing one's major subjects.
- i-besoeker  ibhesuka  an extravagant liquor drinker who entertains everybody in a shebeen.
- i-suiker  ushukela  a visitor
  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/isiXhosa, 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 koinéize 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 (Agheyisi: 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, Culemberg. 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 waterfalls. 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 prepar'est 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), kbi' 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 kohlikhla 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 *undlavuza* (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 *imhongolo* (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukupitshiza</td>
<td>to squash a rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igundane</td>
<td>to be in love with a school girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubheka</td>
<td>to look up in the register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurejista</td>
<td>to marry a school girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Hospital CCR's which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uku-t.t.o.-wa</td>
<td>to take treatment out. To steal hospital property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuntontelisa</td>
<td>to repeat something to record untrue facts about a patient’s condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To record on paper that staff has been monitoring the condition of a patient when, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actual fact, she has not been checking the patient’s condition and temperature, blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pressure et cetera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphuzisa ikhofi</td>
<td>to serve coffee medicine illegally given to a patient without the doctor’s permission.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthatha ififi</td>
<td>to take a nap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to sleep during working hours, especially when one is on night duty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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 in the Book of life to buy liquor on credit
encwadini 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romani</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iRomani</td>
<td>a Roman</td>
<td>a man who is popular with girls to stay away from classes; to play truancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukubhanka</td>
<td>to bunk classes</td>
<td>said by a teacher when he has run short of knowledge or subject matter. This means, that your knowledge must end where mine ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goba la ngigoba khona</td>
<td>bend where I bend</td>
<td>he is in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uKwaMzala</td>
<td>he is at cousin’s place</td>
<td>he is in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-oros</td>
<td>an oros drink</td>
<td>an old man who likes young girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>uthiza</td>
<td>a Head of department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hat</td>
<td>usigqoko</td>
<td>head of department, school principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go to a far away land, to die (origin:Zulu-enda)</td>
<td>ukuzenda</td>
<td>to take a long journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Head of department</td>
<td>iHodi</td>
<td>an H.O.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a boss</td>
<td>ingamule</td>
<td>a white, a rich person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-madfalisa: brother entertainer
- i-Arabhu: an Arab
- omathunzini: Mr Shadows
- ukwelula: to stretch something
- Ukuhluba umoba: to peel sugar-cane

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 irressible 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umninihhashi</td>
<td>the owner of a horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uphuzisa înhashi</td>
<td>nurtures the horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aligibelayo</td>
<td>he rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyoze ukubone</td>
<td>One day you will experience the Zulus experienced in Shell House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okwabonwa uZulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eShell House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imali yishoba</td>
<td>Money is a fan for cooling oneself from the heat of the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokuziphungela</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is said by a boy to a girl who asks him a favour instead of asking her boyfriend.

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 phase.

c. **Those which provoke an interesting comparison**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iMonza</th>
<th>a Monza</th>
<th>a person with big protruding buttocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-Un o</td>
<td>an Uno</td>
<td>a person with flat buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imvalaphu</td>
<td>an envelope</td>
<td>Mercedes Benz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 | to hit with 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

ukuncinza to pinch

amasosha soldiers

an Isuzu kombi. (because of its trouble-free endurance)

to steal

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uNtombifuthi</td>
<td>Miss Girl Again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uMrs Mbhense</td>
<td>Mercedes Benz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uMaMgobhozi</td>
<td>Mrs MaMgobhozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a divorced woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a Mercedes Benz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a talkative person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohaahaha</td>
<td>those who nasalise their speech repertoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scholars who attended multi-racial school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>attended a multi-racial school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama-elite</td>
<td>the elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>students coming from affluent homes or who go to multi-racial schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opendiwe</td>
<td>the painted one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
  - a goat slaughtered for a ritual ceremony
  - 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
  - to work, to entertain
- ukuphakama: to rise
- 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 automatic-teller machine

icando that which has been/ is to be chopped food

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.
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
- **uBhlenda**: Brenda
- **iwindisikilini**: a wind screen

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-literate</th>
<th>Literate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>iphalagilafu</strong></td>
<td>a paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ilali</strong></td>
<td>rally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ipharagrafu</strong></td>
<td>a paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-rali</strong></td>
<td>a rally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-enamel tank</td>
<td>an enamel tank</td>
<td>a drinker who does not get inebriated after drinking immense volumes of alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isimiramuwa</td>
<td>a 'smiramuwa'</td>
<td>Smirnoff (coined word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-social worker</td>
<td>a social worker</td>
<td>a person who entertains people with all his money once he is drunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-comrade</td>
<td>a comrade</td>
<td>a political affiliate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqabane</td>
<td>ANC member</td>
<td>an ANC member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abafana</th>
<th>boys</th>
<th>Those who engage in illegal transactions, whether young or old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukushaya</td>
<td>to beat the</td>
<td>a driver who steals his boss’s money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iShayina</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukungcoka iginsa</td>
<td>to pluck a vehicle</td>
<td>to steal someone’s vehicle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ukuphusha uMarx</th>
<th>to push Marx</th>
<th>to study hard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukugqunga</td>
<td>to turn dark</td>
<td>to fail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impinda mzala</td>
<td>a repetition cousin</td>
<td>to repeat a class or course</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. Euphemistic expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ijazi lomkhwenyane</th>
<th>a groom’s coat</th>
<th>a condom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KwaMzala</td>
<td>at cousin’s place</td>
<td>in jail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugqashuka</td>
<td>to snap</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. Those which show gratitude and other sentiments

| danki mlungu | Thank you, white man | to thank a passenger as he pays his taxi fare |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Udenariya</th>
<th>Denarius</th>
<th>Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u de Klerk</td>
<td>President de Klerk</td>
<td>R2-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isihlahla</td>
<td>A tree/shrub/bush</td>
<td>R10-00  note</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CCR’s referring to vehicles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imvalaphu into</th>
<th>An envelope, a thing for posting letters</th>
<th>A Mercedes Benz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yokuposa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBe My Wife</td>
<td>A B.M.W.</td>
<td>A B.M.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iconsi</td>
<td>A drop</td>
<td>A sticker stuck on a vehicle for security reasons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CCR’s referring to Food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imendri</th>
<th>A mineral/drink</th>
<th>Lemonade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inyetsi</td>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>Meat (disguising the Zulu word inyama)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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
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 restructure 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 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 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.

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.
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 koine 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).
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. Msimang maintains that a register is a speech variety which one uses in a particular monolingual context in order to identify vis-à-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 (Msimang 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.

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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.

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, verbality, forms of entertainment and personality (Wardaugh, 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>13-18</th>
<th>19-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CHESTERVILLE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 an assessment is because Chesterville and Clermont/Clemaville 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[V]</th>
<th>[X]</th>
<th>[0]</th>
<th>[1]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than R500</th>
<th>[1]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V]</td>
<td>R500</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X]</td>
<td>R1000-1499</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>R1500-R1999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>R2000-2499</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>R2500-2999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>R3000-R3499</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>R3500-3999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>R4000+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>No income/not working</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>No income/not working</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Full time (employment)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Part-time employment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Scholar</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>4 roomed house</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Big House/ more than 4 rooms</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Shack/ informal house</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hostel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Renting a flat</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than a year</th>
<th></th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th></th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th></th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th></th>
<th>10+</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V]</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children between</th>
<th>Adults above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 and 17 years</td>
<td>18 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X] Less than 2 in the house</td>
<td>= 10 = 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V] 2 -3</td>
<td>=19 =7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0] 4-5</td>
<td>=11 =8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] 6-7</td>
<td>=7 =14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] 8+</td>
<td>=3 =15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50 =50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Mother's</th>
<th>Father's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>V=0</td>
<td>=2</td>
<td>=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>X=0</td>
<td>=19</td>
<td>=12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0=0</td>
<td>=20</td>
<td>=27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training College</td>
<td>1=0</td>
<td>=9</td>
<td>=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or technikon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University/Tech</td>
<td>2=20</td>
<td>=0</td>
<td>=0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Mother's</th>
<th>Father's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>V- 45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>X- 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Unit</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
## RECORD REGISTER BEING USED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>At Home</th>
<th>At Work/Amongst Travelling</th>
<th>Playing</th>
<th>School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isicamtho</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

## STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prestigious</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Township/isicamtho</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prestigious</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Make</th>
<th>Secretive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Township/Isicamtho</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 NAMPETEHLO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrika</td>
<td>freedom from prison life</td>
<td>ukukhululwa ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubhekile</td>
<td>you are intelligent</td>
<td>uhlakaniphile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibheneplasi/</td>
<td>a restricted</td>
<td>isiboshwa esingavunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibinneplaas</td>
<td>prisoner who is not allowed to work outside prison premises</td>
<td>ukusebenza ngaphandle kwamageke asejele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhigi-fayifu/</td>
<td>prisoners who are spies for iziboshwa ezizimplipimpi</td>
<td>zezikhulu zasejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-big five</td>
<td>prison authorities</td>
<td>ukumodela kwabesilisa ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhinca ithawula</td>
<td>a contest where partners are chosen</td>
<td>ukuze baqokwe ngabanye njengezintombi zabo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhilivane</td>
<td>a letter, n’ brief (Afrikaans)</td>
<td>incwadi ebhaliwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bophaseveni</td>
<td>a plot to do something grave</td>
<td>uzungu lokwenzakalisa omunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-efosi/ i-air force</td>
<td>prisoners who are experts in escaping from prison</td>
<td>iziboshwa ezisingempetha ekweqeni ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifleyi-manii/</td>
<td>a prisoner who is not dangerous who is allowed to work outside prison premises</td>
<td>isiboshwa esethenjiwe esingasebenza ngaphandle kwasejele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ vry man (Afrik.)</td>
<td>dagga</td>
<td>insangu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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 prison life serving a short term sentence of three months **isiboshwa esigwetshwe izinyanga ezintathu**

**iJananda**
an Indian person **iNdiya**

**ikheshi**
a string used by prisoners to escape from jail **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**

**ukhwinini**
a female prisoner **isiboshwa sesifazane**

**waseLandani**

**iklobhu**
a prison cell **igumbi leziboshwa ngokwacalala azo uhlalaphi?**

**ulindaphi?**
where do you live? **ukukhuluwa ejele uhlalaphi?**

**ukumasha**
to be released from jail **izingubo zasejele**

**imbilijisi**
prison attire **inkakha, eyazi ukusuka**

**umehlomane**
well versed with **inkakha, eyazi ukusuka**
prison life, 
experienced prisoner 
a prisoner who 
holds an official 
position while serving 
his sentence 

experienced prisoner yasejele 
isiboshwa 
esinesikhundla esikhulu 
khona ngaphakathi 
ejele 

food for prisoners 
which is regarded 
as insufficient 

i-mini-gate 

ukudla kwasejele 
okungazesuthisi 
iziboshwa 
amakhowa adliwa ejele 
adala ukuqumba kwesisi 

mush-room/ soup 
which causes 
constipation 

udonsa mfana 

making it difficult 
for someone to 
relieve himself. 

amakhowa adliwa ejele 
adala ukuqumba kwesisi 

police man and 
other authorities 
in jail 

unamba-2 

iziphathimandla 
ejele 

a prisoner who 
is serving sentence 
for committing theft, 
burglary and the like 

isiboshwa esiboshelwe 
ukugqeka 

dagga 

inkantini yesithathu 

insangu 

unozala 
a female prisoner 

inkantini yokuqala 

cigarettes 

uywayi njenge-Boxer 

inqathma 
a White person 

inkantini yesibili 
tobacco 

usikilidi 

inqoqo 
a police van 

inkantini yokuqala 
cigarettes 

isiboshwa sesifazane 

inqoqo 
a police van 

inkantini yesibili 
tobacco 

isiboshwa 

phakama 
be engaged in duty 

nesinye isiboshwa 

sebenza 

218
isipikili any type of money noma yiluphi uhlobo
Iwemali
ikuqhinwa to be hand-cuffed ukuboshwa ngozankosi
Samanzi 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 isiboshwa esenziswa
handy, who does all imisebenzi
sorts of odd jobs e y e j w a y e l e k i l e .
ukushaya itoli to win a case ukwazi amazwi ecala
because of answering ukuze likuthethe
questions asked in an intelligent manner.
isihogani shot gun isibhamu i-shot gun
i-slave a prisoner who isiboshwa esidayiselwe
is sold to a farmer ukuyosebenzela umnini-
while serving sentence pulazi ngesikhathi sisadonsa
isigwebo saso.
ustonyana a prisoner who is isiboshwa esivumile
submissive to the ukusebenzela
the instructions ama-26, 27, 28.
of the 26, 27, 28
itende a temporary hut a cell indlu yesikhashana
1-28 a prisoner who is isiboshwa esesatshwayo
feared by other prisoners
i-26 a prisoner who is isiboshwa esiboshelwe
serving sentence ukugqkeza nokubamba
for committing inkunzi
teft and burglary
i-27 a prisoner who is isiboshwa esiboshelwe
serving sentence for blood crimes

ivayiza

sleeping blanket for a prisoner

i-wyfie

a male prisoner who is treated as a girl friend or wife by another male prisoner.

Yes

hello!

A way of greeting which is employed by the 26’s

Yiza Ndoda!

E!choo!

Way of expressing pain used by prisoners

ziyakushiya

you are behind times

eziya encemeni

money

inhlamvu

a 28 prisoner.

isikhafula-magazi ngomlomo

Because he is always armed with a gun or knife.

nangamakhala

The first prisoner to resort to homosexuality was a 28 called Nongoloza.

uNongoloza

a prisoner serving over three months

injivane

a term for money (28’s)

isipikili

serving sentence for blood crimes

ingubo yokulala

isiboshwa

isiboshwa sesilisa esiyintombi yesinye

isiboshwa sesilisa

indlela yokubingelela

yama-26

esikhundleni sokukhala uma isiboshwa sishaywa sisimze sithi: Yiza Ndoda.

kushiwo esiboshweni

esingalulandeli ilimi lwasejele

A term used by the 26’s to refer to money


esinobudlelwane nesinye sesilisa kwezocansi.

isiboshwa esiboshwe

ngaphezu kwezinyanga ezintathu.

igama lama-28 lemali
2. Hospital Codes and Registers in the Greater Durban Area

(Ulimi lwasezibhedlela zasethekwininamaphethelelo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Zulu Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-fo</td>
<td>a night pan/bucket</td>
<td>isikigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>an aids patient</td>
<td>umuntu ophethwe yingculazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-aresta</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>ukufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iB.B</td>
<td>a boarder baby</td>
<td>ingane ehlwele ikwesinye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitofu</td>
<td>an injection for preventing pregnancy</td>
<td>umjovo wokuvimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-D.O.D.</td>
<td>Died on arrival</td>
<td>ofike esibhedlela esethule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.C.</td>
<td>a mental case</td>
<td>ogula ngengqondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.K.</td>
<td>mercy killing</td>
<td>ukwelekelela isiguli ukuba sife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.V.A.</td>
<td>motor vehicle</td>
<td>isiguli esishayiswe yimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.M.</td>
<td>post mortem</td>
<td>ukuhlolwa kwesidumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.I.P.</td>
<td>rest in peace</td>
<td>lala uphumule ethuneni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.D.</td>
<td>sexually transmitted diseases</td>
<td>izifo ezithathelwana ngocansi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-S.V.O.</td>
<td>sleep over night</td>
<td>ukulala / ukuhlwelwa esibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.I.D.</td>
<td>four times a day</td>
<td>kane ngelanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.R.N.</td>
<td>only when necessary</td>
<td>kuphela uma kuswelekile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.O.P.</td>
<td>plaster of Paris</td>
<td>ukhonkolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.D.S.</td>
<td>three times a day</td>
<td>kathathu ngelanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-T.T.O.</td>
<td>take treatment out</td>
<td>phuma nento yasesibhedlela ngaphandle kwemvume.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kungaba umuthi noma yini uma ungafuni ukusho
emasokeni to conceal her whereabouts
clinic for sexually transmitted diseases

isluyisi rumu/isluyisi (a sluice room)
any dirty home/house is called a sluice

stethi/stat urgently

ithwiri a patient who is in a critical condition

ewashawozi at the showers. Said when someone wants to conceal her whereabouts.

izinkobe tablets/ pills

i-streyithi shift/i-straight shift
a straight shift is from 7a.m. to 4p.m.

ijazi lomkhwenyana a condom

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.

ikhofi medicine illegally given to a patient

lapho uya khona
eklinikhi yababhajiwe
indlu ehlale ingcolile
(isithedlela
isluyisi rumu) sihlala
izingubo ezingcolile
zeziguli
ngokushesa okukhulu
isiguli osekwembulwa
kwembeswa kuso
lapho usuke ukhona uma
weqe emsebenzini
amaphilisi
osebenza kusukela ngo
7a.m. kuya 4p.m.
ikhondomu
ukusebenzisa imithi
y esiZulu, ubuthakathi
umuthi onikezwa isiguli
udokotela engashongo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iklabishi</td>
<td>without doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-Aids</td>
<td>permission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-aphgasko</td>
<td>mentally derailed patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ephansi</td>
<td>aids virus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukwenza icofi</td>
<td>to be down in the dumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to make a bed in such a way that it gives a picture of someone who is asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amadlelo aluhlaza</td>
<td>attire for theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entshebeni</td>
<td>to sleep on a matrass on the hospital floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ephisteksizi</td>
<td>nose bleeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um-Ethiyophiya/</td>
<td>starving child/person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umTopiya/</td>
<td>umLadeshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufaka izinyosi</td>
<td>to initiate labour pains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ififi</td>
<td>a patient who is in a critical condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ififiza</td>
<td>to take a nap during working hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isifonyo</td>
<td>a nabulasing machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-G.A.</td>
<td>General assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umgosi</td>
<td>a gossip/secret</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Isiguli esisikhubazeke: mentally derailed patient
- Umqondo: to be down in the dumps
- Ingculazi: to make a bed in such a way that it gives a picture of someone who is asleep
- Phansi: to sleep on a matrass on the hospital floor.
- Umongozima: nose bleeding
- Ophethwe yisifo: starving child/person
- Sendlala: to initiate labour pains
- Ukususela umuntu okhubelwe ukuze asikelwe: a patient who is in a critical condition
- Ukuhletha: to take a nap during working hours
- Ukuntshontsha uthathe: a nabulasing machine
- Isihlwathi emsebenzini: General assistant
- Okokuphefumulisa isiguli: a gossip/secret
- Owelekelelayo esibhedlela: without doctors
any stolen material is called ‘umgosì’

uguvela

HG. virus

uhhafu deyi/ to work half day

u-half day

amahhovisi okugcina/ mortuary

ama-last offices

imbongolo treatment for

imparampara a woman who has had more than 5 confinements

ingududu a pregnant woman

i-strabhisimusi a squint eyed person

ulo, olaba, ulaba those in charge superiors

umahlombe Sister or Matron

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.

mane at 4 o’clock

unamba 8 an alcoholic

enamba 8 clinic for alcoholics

ukundi-endishiya to gossip about other people. The word is coined from super abundant use of

intshontshiwe esibhedlela

u-Matron

igciwane lengculazi

uhhafu wosuku/ Uku

sebenza uhhafu wosuku

indlu yezidumbu/

isemakhazi

umuthi wokwelapha

i-T.B.

unkosikazi osezale

amasu angaphezu kuka 5

inkosikazi ekhulelwe

ingxemu

abasezikhundleni

ezibhedlela

onamaqhuzu emahlombe

imali ekhushuliwe

yamanesi

ngo 16h00

odakiwe, ophuze utshwala,
osaba yisigqila sotshwala.
ekliniki lalabo

abehlulwa wuphuzo

ukukhuluma ngabanye

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**nd and tsh** in the speech of the interactants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ingqovela</td>
<td>night pan</td>
<td>istiki/ isikigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuntontelisa</td>
<td>to record untrue facts about the patient’s condition</td>
<td>ukubhala amanga ezicwadini zesiguli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuntshontsha</td>
<td>to break regulations and give medicine to a patient without doctor’s permission.</td>
<td>ukuphula umthetho kadokotela mayelana nesiguli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiguli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusithapha/</td>
<td>to work from 7h00 till 19h00</td>
<td>ukusebenza kusukela ngo 7h00 ekuseni ku 19h00 ebusuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-sit up-a</td>
<td>19h00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskizo</td>
<td>a schizophrenia</td>
<td>ohlakaniphe kwaze kweqa onezinto zakhe ezingathandwa ngumphakathi. Osethathwa njengomsangano-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutofa</td>
<td>to take injection as a contraceptive</td>
<td>ukuthatha umjovo woku-vimba inzalo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. **EDUCATIONAL CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**  
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZIKOLENI ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-unfinished story</td>
<td>a student who did not complete his studies at University/school</td>
<td>Isitshudeni esingaqedanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-Arabhu</td>
<td>a male student who has no girlfriend</td>
<td>eNyuvesi/ esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-B.M. (Black Material)</td>
<td>to write the subject taught by lecturer so and so</td>
<td>isitshudeni esingaqo-nyiwe sesilisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhala uthisha bani</td>
<td>to write lecturer so and so. To write subject taught by lecturer so and so.</td>
<td>ukubhala isifundo sikathisha okufundisayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhala ulekshara bani</td>
<td>to write lecturer so and so. To write subject taught by lecturer so and so.</td>
<td>ukubhala isifundo selecturer ekufundisayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awucace njengefoya</td>
<td>be explicit in your explanation like an open space</td>
<td>khuluma kucace njengendawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhalansa</td>
<td>to have a lot of boy-friends</td>
<td>evuilekile okuthiwa yifoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhanka</td>
<td>to play truant</td>
<td>ukuba namasoka ama-ningi angaphezu kweilibodwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubheka kurejista</td>
<td>to marry a female student</td>
<td>ukungayi emaklasini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubola</td>
<td>to study hard</td>
<td>ukushada kukathisha nengane yesikole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba ngu Carl Meinhof</td>
<td>to be a Zulu lecturer</td>
<td>abeyifundisa ukufundu, ukutadisha ukuba nguthisha wesiZulu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukuchitha ileksha</td>
<td>to cancel a lecture</td>
<td>ukukhansela ikilasi kungafundwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icici elingestopha</td>
<td>not to have a boy-friend/girl-friend</td>
<td>ukungabi nasoka/nantombi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucothela</td>
<td>to propose love only to new students</td>
<td>ukweshela amantombazane aqalayo ukufika esikoleni angazi lutho ngempilo yakhona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amadabuka</td>
<td>a student who is a non resident</td>
<td>isitshudeni esihlala ngaphandle, hhayi ehostela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudayivelga</td>
<td>to rush for things that are far from you</td>
<td>ukugijimela izinto ezingaphezu kwakho imibuzo yephepha elingakabhalwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amagwava aluhlaza</td>
<td>A question paper for an examination that has not yet been written</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uDenisi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudla amakhozi</td>
<td>to pass all subjects</td>
<td>ukuphasa zonke izifundo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isidumbu</td>
<td>to speak on behalf</td>
<td>ukukhulumela ingane, ingane ekhulunyelwe esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isidumbu</td>
<td>a student who is due to be registered by a staff member without the knowledge of the school principal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukwenza ichelsea bun</td>
<td>to get too acquainted with a person. To take advantage of a person</td>
<td>ukwejwayela umuntu ngosekweqile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufaka eprentini</td>
<td>to do wrong things in front of people</td>
<td>uma kukhona abagila imikhuba phambi kwabantu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to engage in passionate acts in front of people

to visit O-Block at the University Of Durban Westville

to be frustrated a first year student.

a female student involved with a school teacher.

violent boys. The Get Them Irritated gang.

students who wear classy oswenka abangabafundi clothes

school to occupy the front desk in class

said when a teacher has run short of the subject matter

when two people of the same gender are romantically involved

a dirty place to study

someone in high authority ophethe isikhundla

to fail/ to be depressed embarrassment

to go searching
for information from teachers' / lecturers' offices

iH.P.K. (N.I.P.) not in front of people

orharharha/ohahaha Black children who go to multi-racial schools

ukuhlazwa when one's name does not appear on the computer

yikhompyutha does not appear kusha uma igama

lakho lingaveli ku-
sibalimagama

ehlathini night school ezizinkhanya ezikoleni

ezikoleni zasebusuku

ukuhlinza imbuze to copy questions ukukopela imibuzo

ukuhola to withdraw money ukukhipha imali

for an examination yephepha elingaka-
bhalwa

which has not yet been written.

umhloli an old student at

an educational

institution

ukuhuzuka to fail

ukufeyila

i-ilithi a sophisticated student

isitshudeni esiyicwicwicwi

i-imphothi to be visited by

a lover

ukuvakashelwa yisi-
thandwa sakho

i-intavasithi/ a student who

isitshudeni esesawa-
qeda wonke amaNyuvuesi

i-inter-varsity goes from one University to

kodwa esingapasi noma

another without

esingaqedi.

finishing any course

ukukuphakazana

ukukeleza to study

ukufunda
ikhodesa a teacher’s meeting umhlangano wothisha, wabafundi
ilambu one who is not ongenamahloni okwenza shy to do things into ebukwa infront of other people
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 amaholo enyusiwe abe-
for females stifazane
ama-multiple choice stew with different isitshulu esididiyele
types of meat izinhlobonhlobo zezinyama
umalume an old student isitshudeni esidala
who has been esikade safika esikoleni attending at a school/university for a long
time
imbuзи questions from an exam that has not
imibuko eputshukile been written
emgura at school esikoleni
impaka a student registered umfundl abhalise nga-
without the knowledge phandle kwemvume of the headmaster yomphathi sikole
impinda mzala a student who is uma umfundl ephinda
repeating ora class/ ikilisi/ i-course
ukuncwada: course

amandondo: to be educated

ukuneka: indoor games

amanabukeni: to laugh/ grin/smile

ukungachithi: to be unintelligent

umphako: answers to an examination that is still to be written

ukuphusha uMarx: to study (from Marxism)

ukupitshiza: to have an affair with a young scholar

igundane: teachers without diplomas/degrees

iRainbow Chicken: othisha abangakabi

ukushaya ngeshawa: to allow lovers to use of your bedroom

ukushaya ibhasari: to make a free phone call

ukushisa erawundini: to be famous/popular

ukushuna: to meet with ones lover during a break

umshutheko: a student registered without the permission of a headmaster

ukusithela: a person who is very clear in his field of study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ukuskwata</th>
<th>to occupy a room which is not rented by you</th>
<th>ukulala ekamelweni lokulala ongalikhokheli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amasosha</td>
<td>maggots in the food</td>
<td>izimpethu ekudleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthatha</td>
<td>to visit a student</td>
<td>ukuvakashela izitshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-international</td>
<td>registered with another University at his campus</td>
<td>deni ezifunda kwenye iNyuvesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthatha</td>
<td>to visit a student residing</td>
<td>ukuvakashela izitshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idomestic</td>
<td>on the same campus or University/campus as yourself</td>
<td>deni ezifunda eNyuvesi yakho ezindlini zazo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthola idabuli</td>
<td>to attain 10% for a test or examination</td>
<td>ukuthola u 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekspoja (double exposure)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isithuthuthu</td>
<td>a pupil registered without the permission of the headmaster</td>
<td>umfundi obhalise ngaphandle kwemvume kathishanhloko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutilosa</td>
<td>male teachers involved with their female students thandana nezithudeni zabo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutoboza ngoKhansasi</td>
<td>to make a phone calls</td>
<td>ukushaya ucingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutshweleza</td>
<td>to be involved with a school girl (teacher)</td>
<td>ukuthandana nengane yesikole unguthisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphuzisa</td>
<td>to teach wrong matter to the pupils</td>
<td>ukufundisa izingane izinto eziphambene neqiniso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uphoyizeni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvula i-albhamu</td>
<td>to watch people as they pass by</td>
<td>ukupha amehlo ukudla kwawo/ ukubuka abantu bedlula noma behamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba yigundane</td>
<td>to go to work</td>
<td>ukuya emsebenzini kube</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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while other workers are on strike

ukuya ehlathini to go on strike

kutelekiwe ukuteleka
### Tavern Registers and Codes in the Greater Durban Area

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUPHUZA UTSHWALA ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CR</strong></th>
<th><strong>English Gloss</strong></th>
<th><strong>Zulu Gloss</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iBoeing 747</td>
<td>a spacious shebeen</td>
<td>ishibhi elibanzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhemisane</td>
<td>a big lounge</td>
<td>ilonji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igosti</td>
<td>a serious minded person, a stereo-typed person</td>
<td>onolaka, osheshe, ashaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhoza</td>
<td>one with a lot of money</td>
<td>onemali eningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhulwa</td>
<td>to be arrested</td>
<td>ukuboshwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isicathulo</td>
<td>dead drunk</td>
<td>odakwe kakhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umdayisi</td>
<td>always happy</td>
<td>ohlale ehleka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identi</td>
<td>a debt</td>
<td>noma kungasahlekisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusponja</td>
<td>to mix liquor with a mild drink</td>
<td>isikweletu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudesha</td>
<td>to mix liquor with a mild drink</td>
<td>ukuxuba utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudesha ngesibindi</td>
<td>to drink without mixing liquor</td>
<td>nesiphuzo esilula, ukuxuba utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusponja</td>
<td>to drink without mixing liquor</td>
<td>ukuzibulala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mixing liquor  ukungabudeshi
  utshwala
ukushaya iskuni  to drink without mixing liquor
  ukuzibulala
ukugqagqamuka  to show off to be over excited
  ukugcwaneka uma usuphuzile, ukubhayiza
igundane  a liquor drinker who conceals his drinking habits
  ofihlo ukuthi uyaphuza, ontshontshayo
i-hasling-i  to suffer from hasling
  ukomiwa, ukuqalekela utshwala
ukuduzuka  to be dead drunk
  ukuphuza kakhulu
ukudlalisa  to entertain females
  ukujabulisa abesifazane
ukwethenjwa  to buy liquor on credit
  ukukwelela utshwala
ukufakwa encwadini  to be entered
  ukubhalwa ebhukwini labakweletayo
yokuphila  in the credit book
  ukufakwa encwadini to be entered
  ukubhalwa ebhukwini labakweletayo
ufofinga  one who covers her glass with 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 ukukwelela
ukudenta  ukugqagqamuka  to show off to be over excited
  ukugcwaneka uma usuphuzile, ukubhayiza
igundane  a liquor drinker who conceals his drinking habits
  ofihlo ukuthi uyaphuza, ontshontshayo
i-hasling-i  to suffer from hasling
  ukomiwa, ukuqalekela utshwala
| **ukuhlikhla izandla** | to beg, for liqour | ukuncenga umuntu |
| **ikhofi** | a person who is dead drunk | ophuze kakhulu |
| **imbazo** | expensive liqour | utshwala obubizayo |
| **buyagawula** | expensive liqour | utshwala obubizayo |
| **buya-cost-a** | expensive liqour | utshwala obubizayo |
| **incwadi yokuphila** | a credit book | incwadi yabakweletayo |
| **inyuku** | money | imali |
| **iskwadroni** | many liqour drinkers in a drinking spree | abaphuzi abaningi |
| **itrikota** | three nips of | amaniphu amathathu |
| **izinwele zenayiloni** | nylon hair | uphuphusana lwezinwene |
| **due to excessive liqour intake** | olukhombisa izimpawu |
| **ukuba yi k.o.** | to be dead drunk | zokuphuza kakhulu |
| **ikhemisi** | a bottle store | ukweqiwa utshwala |
| **ukukhahlela** | to drink the last | ibhodlela-sitolo |
| **kokugcina kwehashi** | last straw of liqour in a bottle | ukuminya isichibi |
| **ukukhotha** | euphemistic name for drinking liqour | sokugcina ebhodleleni |
| **ukukhuza imoni** | to quench morning hang over | igama elihloniphisa |
| **ukulahla i-sight** | to disappear out of sight | ukuphuza |
| **ukulanda isigqoko** | to return to the place where there was party | ukuqeda ibhabhalazi |
| | the previous day to check lutho yini olusale ngayiazolo | |
| | if there are’nt any remnants from the | |
previous day’s drinking spree.

isilevu remnants of liquor isichibi ebhodleleni
in a bottle othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane

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

imoto encane illegal sorghum beer ibhabhalazi 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

to drink

ukunatha (hlonipha word for drinking) ukuphuza

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ukuncinda (hlonipha) to drink liquor ukuphuza utshwala

word for drinking liquor

ndiza manje, ukhokhe kamuva fly now and pay phuza ngesikweletu

latter ukhokhe kamuva

izindoni Castle milk stout Castle milk stout

ukungcolisa itafula to display various uku-oda utshwala

liquor brands on the obuningi ubudeke

table etafuleni

ngizokutshela ngo-4 you better forget khohlwa

ingqibhobho a fire arm isibhamu

ingadla a fire arm isibhamu

ingqayi a fire arm/something isibhamu

entertaining

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

ispensa man who likes to owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesimame

teach females with money and liquor

i-oros man who likes to owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa

entertain females with money and liquor

iP.E. (phuza eyes) eyes affected by amehlo asebukhombisa

(phuza face) izimpawu zotshwala

egazini

ubuso osebukhombisa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iP.M. (phuza mouth)</td>
<td>mouth affected by liquor intake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-poloni</td>
<td>mouth which has been affected by liquor intake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbebevane</td>
<td>mouth which has been burnt by liquor intake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umxhasi</td>
<td>man who likes to entertain females in a shebeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iphenguwini/i-penguin</td>
<td>one who is very stingy, who does not want to share liquor with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umaphipha</td>
<td>one who drinks all sorts of brands put before him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isaswishi</td>
<td>one who drinks anything put before him/who drinks all sorts of beverages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphonsa imfologo</td>
<td>to pick pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucwayitha</td>
<td>to pick pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuhayijekha</td>
<td>to pick pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iphophza 9644</td>
<td>Charles Glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izipikili</td>
<td>Smirnoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-1818</td>
<td>Smirnoff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- face affected by liquor intake: izimpawu zotshwala
- mouth affected by liquor intake: umlomo osushiwse
- mouth affected by utshwala: utshwala
- pinkish/reddish mouth: umlomo osushiwse
- mouth affected by utshwala: utshwala
- imbebevane mouth which has been burnt by liquor intake: utshwala
- umxhasi man who likes to entertain females: ukuxhasa abesifazane
- ejoyintini
- iphenguwini/i-penguin one who is very stingy, who does not want to share liquor with others: 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: iCharles Glass
- Castle Lager: Castle Lager
- izipikili Smirnoff: i-Smirnoff
- i-1818 Smirnoff: i-Smirnoff
ismiramuwa Smirnoff
isiphini a bottle opener
amaqhizane Castle Milk stout
isitibhili Castle Milk stout
umvusanduku Castle Milk stout
ukuringa to tell
ukuthuma to tell
ukusenta ibhola to initiate a drinking session
to open a liquor bottle
isikhiye the on who initiates a drinking session
ukushaya to vomit/ to drink by means of a bottle
i-trumpet/ itrampethi ukuphalaza
ukuflora to vomit
ukushaya icilongo ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukushaya ibhodlela to drink all the contents in a full liquor bottle
zinkila come here
zwakala lapha come here
khehla lapha come here
shayisa lapha come here
ukushiisisa imoto to warm oneself up by taking a sip
ukushunqa to scold
usonhlalohle an entertainer

i-Smirnoff
isiqakebuli
Castle Milk stout
CASTle Milk stout
Castle Milk stout
ukutshela
ukutshela
ukuba owokuqala
ukuphuza utshwala
uma ibandla
lihlange
lowo oqalela
abanye ukuphuza
uma ibandla
lihlange
ukuphalaza
ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukuphalaza
ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukuphuza lonke
ibhodlela lika-gologo
woza lapha
woza lapha
woza lapha
woza lapha
ukuqabula umzimba
ngokuthi qhabu otshwaleni
ukuthetha
umxhasi othanda ukusi-abaxakekile ejoyintini
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>isudi</td>
<td>full liquor</td>
<td>ibhodlela eligcwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-sealed</td>
<td>full liquor bottle</td>
<td>likagologolotshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusula umjuluko</td>
<td>to quench thirst</td>
<td>ukuqeda ukunxanwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isundu</td>
<td>few in number</td>
<td>abantu abayingcosana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitafu</td>
<td>different kinds</td>
<td>izinhlobonhlolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthela</td>
<td>to drink large guls of liquor</td>
<td>ukuqeda ukunxanwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izamba</td>
<td>unripe liquor</td>
<td>utshwala obungavuthiwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amazenze</td>
<td>drinkers who have no money to buy liquor for</td>
<td>abaphuzi abangenamali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for themselves, who are dependent on other drinkers</td>
<td>abankashela kwabanye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izimbungulu</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthinta</td>
<td>not to be a heavy drinker</td>
<td>ukungaphuzi kakhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitlamatlama</td>
<td>morning hang over a shebeen</td>
<td>ukuba nebhabhalazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umtholampilo</td>
<td>a shebeen</td>
<td>ishibhi, ijoyinti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isipoti</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitini</td>
<td>a stereo-typed person</td>
<td>onentamo elikhuni,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>onenkani, ongancengeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umhlabathi</td>
<td>heavily drunk person</td>
<td>oweqiwe utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uflorile</td>
<td>He is heavily drunk</td>
<td>weqiwe utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuhlabile</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyabuhubha</td>
<td>He drinks heavily</td>
<td>ophuza ngosokweqile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umqhafi</td>
<td>a person who partakes in liquor drinking</td>
<td>ophuzayo/ ngumphuzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umzingelgi</td>
<td>Hunter’s Gold</td>
<td>iHunter’s Gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu Term</td>
<td>English Term</td>
<td>Translated Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvusa</td>
<td>to commence</td>
<td>ukuhubeka nokuphuza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drinking after a</td>
<td>emva kwekhefu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>break in a drinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>session</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuxhuma ipayipi</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
<td>ukuchama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutshora</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
<td>ukuchama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukushibiza</td>
<td>to be a drinker of liquor</td>
<td>ukuphuza utshwala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. **TOWNSHIP CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EMALOKISHINI ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-16/sikstini</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- 6-5</td>
<td>to be a squint</td>
<td>ingxemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-andastenda/</td>
<td>to be flexible</td>
<td>umuntu ozikhulekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-understand-a</td>
<td>open-minded person</td>
<td>nangomqondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u- ankela</td>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>umalume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isathwa</td>
<td>firearm</td>
<td>isibhamu, ivolovolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- ayina/’eine’(German)</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>okukodwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- ayiningibhodi</td>
<td>a person with pliable</td>
<td>intombazane enama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legs and with flat back,</td>
<td>bele alengayo apaca-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flat buttocks/ breast</td>
<td>kile ngenxa yoku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngaziphathi kahle/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intombazane enambele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>akhombisa ukuthi se-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yadlula kubantu besilisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abaningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>umfowenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amanga/ into engekho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oMhlophe (umlungu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>izicathulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sobonana ekuseni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukukhipha imfihlo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuyilahla lento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eThekwini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>izidakamizwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isibhamu/ ivolovolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isikhwama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**UBAFO**

- brother

**IBALA**

- a lie, empty

**OWEBALA**

- White man

**IBHADU**

- pair of good shoes

**UKUBHALansa**

- to see each other

**EMORENI**

- in the morning

**UKUBHAMUKA**

- to reveal a secret

**KWEliKA BHANANA**

- in Durban

**IBHATHINi**

- mandrax drug

**IBHAZUKA**

- firearm

**UMBHENGANE**

- a bag
ukubhimba said when things are not running smoothly into ephikayo enga-sivumi isimo esithile
iBhinoni four/4
ukubhobha to wait okune
ibhomu fat person, an umuntu omkhulu/ okhuluphele
obess person
ibhodlela dagga
ublomu Government police insangu
ukubopha to stop/ to cease iphoyisa lakwa-Hulumeni
ibrazo brother umfowethu
ukubreka to cease for a ukuma kwento okwesikhashana/ kungaba
while/ to be out ukuphuza/ ukudayisa
of stock. ukuphuzwa/ ukudayisa
ibrowuni R20-00 note R20-00 oyiphepha
ubru brother umfowethu
ukuba buhlungu to be ugly (as if ukubu mbi sengathi
you are feeling uzwa izinhlu
pains) uzwa izinhlu
ukucamtha to talk ukukhuluma ngokwesiqisele abanye bangezwa
ukucanda to eat ukudla
icando food ukudla
ukuchama to bribe ukugwazisa
ukuchela to show off/ to ukwesabisa
frighten
umchilo a tie uthayi
ukuchitheka well read/ learned umuntu ofundile
person
ichweba money imali
cibuka to go and relieve ukuzikhulula, ukuhlala
one self/ to
stay/ live with

ukucijisa to pay back ones money/ to return someone’s thing

ukucikica to write

icikico a letter

ukucisha to die/ to cause to die

ziyacusha things are coming alright/ running smoothly

ngocwayiba at night
edastini down/ on the floor/ ground

ukudayisa one who likes to talk/ to laugh/ an extrovert.

ukudayivela to do something

amagwava aluhlaza beyond ones ability/to interfere in an affair

ude Klerk R2-00 coin

udenari money

uDenisi goat (a goat from Folweni which was treated like a human being by Mr Sabelo, the owner. It died in 1992, at Folweni
idisho
edladleni
edlozini
umadlandawonye
ukudoba
idrayishi
idreshu
idrishi
emDubane
iduku
idweshu
i-E-20
ukufahlala
ukufaka i-aromethi
ifakisa
ukuflasa
ifawundeshini
ifisha
ifloshemu
ifriji
ifrozana

food
at home
at home
S.A.C.P. member
to fall asleep/ doze
Three
three
three
in Durban
policeman
two
a girl who falls
in love with every man
who comes her way, like
a kombi/taxi which does
not choose passengers

to arrest
make a story
sound interesting
by adding lies
while narrating it.
food
to get married
food
a prostitute
a cow/ a beast
a coward
wife

ukudla
ekhaya
ekhaya
i-S.A.C.P.
ukulala
okuthathu
okuthathu
okuthathu
eThekwini
iphoyisa
okubili
intombazane ethandana
nabafana abaningi.
Intombazane eqoma wonke
umfana oyeselayo
Ifana neNissan E-20
evumela yonke inhlobo
yamaphasenja, engakhethi
munto.

ukubopha
ukuzakhela indaba
engekho uze uqambe
amanga, ukuhlobisa
indaba.

ukudla
ukushada
ukudla
isikhawundane/ isin-
dindwa
inkomo
igwala
unkosikazi

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>igada</td>
<td>dagga</td>
<td>insangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imgalakada</td>
<td>prostitute</td>
<td>isikhawundane/ isifebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igaqa</td>
<td>coin money</td>
<td>imali ewuhlweza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugejejka/</td>
<td>to be hungry/</td>
<td>ukulamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugeyijeka</td>
<td>an empty stomach</td>
<td>ukulamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igeji /igeyiji</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>ukudla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esigele</td>
<td>at school</td>
<td>esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umgelemba</td>
<td>prostitute</td>
<td>isikhawundane/ isifebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugidla</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>ukulala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba yi-glavu</td>
<td>an ugly person</td>
<td>umuntu omubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokubhoksa/lesibhakela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igoni</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td>ummese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugoqa</td>
<td>to propose love,</td>
<td>ukweshela,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to tell lies</td>
<td>ukuqamba amanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugoqo</td>
<td>master key/ universal key, home made key</td>
<td>ukhiye ongekho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emthethweni wokuvula izimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igosti</td>
<td>something bad/bad news into ebhedayo</td>
<td>someone who is bad news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugqebenza</td>
<td>to display or show off/ to dress well</td>
<td>ukugqoka kahle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogqoke umsebenzi</td>
<td>refers to workers</td>
<td>abasebenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who wear uniform</td>
<td>abafaka izingubo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at work</td>
<td>zokusebenza emsebenzini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigqoko</td>
<td>a leader/ an authority</td>
<td>umholi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igrendi</td>
<td>R1000-00 note</td>
<td>R1000-00 oyiphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igrinini</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
<td>R10-00 oyiphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igriza</td>
<td>granny</td>
<td>ugogo</td>
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<td>igrotha</td>
<td>ugly woman</td>
<td>inkosikazi embi</td>
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<td>emgura</td>
<td>at school</td>
<td>esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiGura</td>
<td>school register/code</td>
<td>ulimi olukhulunywa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>Zulu Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugwaja</td>
<td>to be frightened/ afraid</td>
<td>ukwesaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigwajane</td>
<td>a coward</td>
<td>igwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugxa</td>
<td>a friend</td>
<td>umngane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugxuma nesheyini</td>
<td>to refuse to do something</td>
<td>ukunqaba ukwenza into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihansi</td>
<td>a crook/ a person</td>
<td>umuntu oyisigebengu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with a hoarse voice</td>
<td>onezwi elihoshozelayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from smoking and drinking</td>
<td>ngenxa yokubhema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>noma ukuphuza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihanta</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihata/ irhatba</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amahharha-shame</td>
<td>black patches on the face</td>
<td>izishishi ezimnyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ag! (Afrik.) Shame!)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ebusweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuhaza</td>
<td>to fail</td>
<td>ukungaphumeleli</td>
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<tr>
<td>iheheba</td>
<td>a letter</td>
<td>incwadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihhafu thayiga</td>
<td>R5-00 note</td>
<td>R5-00 oyiphepha</td>
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<td>uhhayi-hhayi</td>
<td>toyi-toyi dance</td>
<td>itoyitoyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ehhosi</td>
<td>in hospital</td>
<td>esibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihhosi</td>
<td>hospital code ro register</td>
<td>ulimi lwasesibhedlela</td>
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<tr>
<td>ihhoki</td>
<td>matches</td>
<td>umentshisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-houtjie (Afrik.)</td>
<td>matches</td>
<td>umentshisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihlahla</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
<td>R10-00 oyiphepha</td>
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<tr>
<td>umhlogosi</td>
<td>an umbrella, hat, cap</td>
<td>isambulela, isiqoko, ikepisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihlonyana</td>
<td>palm of a hand, five</td>
<td>impama,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isihlanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkinobho</td>
<td>pill/ tablet/ mandrax</td>
<td>iphilisi lezidakamizwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inyetsi/inyesi</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td>inyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irhiye, 'i'g', 'igee'</td>
<td>R1000-00 notes</td>
<td>R1000-00 ongamaphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukujampisa</td>
<td>to reveal a something concealed</td>
<td>ukukhombisa ukuthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kukhona okushaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
amani, ukudalula into umuntu ongahlahakaniphi

ukweba

ukubamba omunye kabuhlungu

umajika
dancer expert

umjitha
boys

isijithazi
tsotsi language

isikebhe
sleeping bed

ukukeqa
to propose love

ekerekeni
in church

ezikhindini
in prison

ukukhipha ubhozo
to show off

ukukhipha unyawo
to show off

ukuyokhomba
to go and perform
a hold up/ to rob a shop/ bank, of goods or money with a gun

ukhrimu kaPhreshi
a handsome guy

ukukhumuka
run away

umakhwapheni
a hidden lover

ukukhwifa
to show off

ukuba namakinati
to have pimples on the face

isikithi
girlfriend

ikliphu
R1000-00 notes

ukukreya
to find something one

ulanga

umpetha wokudansa

abafana

ulimi loTsotsi

umbhede

ukweshela

esontweni

ejele

ukubukisa

ukubukisa

ukuyogqekeza

uhlomile

insizwa ebukekayo

ukubaleka

ishende

ukubukisa

ukuba nezinduna

ebusweni

intombi

imali engu R100-00

ukuthola into ethile

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 eSACP
umagriza | grand mother/granny | isalukazi
umahosha | prostitute who is a thief | isikhawundane esintshontshayo
umampara | a stupid person | umuntu oyi silima
ukuba manzi | to be beautiful | ukuba muhle

umbhayi | a stupid person | semizwa uma eyibuka
umasibhikili | street dwellers | umuntu oyi silima
embizeni | in Johannesburg/Gouteng eGoli | abahlala ezitaladini
i-mendri lemonade | ulamula, unemenayidi | | (from 'mineral')
uMengro | a person who claims to be intelligent whilst he is not | umuntu ozizhlela uku- to be thi uhlakaniphile engahlakaniphanga
kwelikaMeyija (Major) | in the toilet (major thing in one's life) | endlini yangase sese
ukumfumbathana | to hold him her with closed hands, to contain him or her. To be liked by someone. A person | ukukhonzwa wumuntu

250
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukufumbathisa</td>
<td>who has high regards for you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itiye</td>
<td>bribery/fraud/nepotism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umngeni</td>
<td>bribery/fraud/nepotism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukumphatha</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umlungu</td>
<td>to force to be superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuminya</td>
<td>to conclude, to come to an end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imonza</td>
<td>a person with buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emoreni</td>
<td>in the morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impandla</td>
<td>old shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impatha</td>
<td>stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impintshi</td>
<td>friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eMsamo</td>
<td>in Johannesburg/Gauteng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umshini</td>
<td>a machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaMzala</td>
<td>in jail/ in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umzala</td>
<td>stupid person/blood cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inapa</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- ukupha umuntu into kodwa umfumbathise ngesandla
- okutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
- okugwazelphe, ukutholakale ngendlela engekho emthethweni
- ukakhonzwa wumuntu

**Definitions:**
- (colour of UMngeni river is like tea)
- ukumphatha to hold him
- umlungu to force to be superior
- ukuminya to conclude, to come to an end
- imonza a person with buttocks
- emoreni in the morning
- impandla old shoe
- impatha stupid person
- impintshi friends
- eMsamo in Johannesburg/Gauteng
- umshini a machine
- kwaMzala in jail/ in prison
- umzala stupid person/blood cousin
- inapa girl
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukuncinza</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuncwada</td>
<td>to be literate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oncwendle</td>
<td>a learned person/ an educated person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indele</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indlovu</td>
<td>a bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isandumbazi</td>
<td>stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuncuka</td>
<td>to take/ to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingadla</td>
<td>a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingam’le</td>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingamule</td>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingemu</td>
<td>rich White man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukushivara</td>
<td>to be scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukungashivari</td>
<td>not to be afraid/ or frightened of a situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingcosi</td>
<td>baby/ small child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingijima</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingozi</td>
<td>one who likes to praise himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingqayi</td>
<td>film/ bioscope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukungqebeka</td>
<td>to scream/ cry loudly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingqibho</td>
<td>a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungqimu</td>
<td>stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingwe</td>
<td>a person with black marks on the face/ a person with scabies/ a crook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezingxazeni</td>
<td>in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezincane</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingxazi</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>injomane</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

umuntu, oyisilima: among White people.
ukunika uMlazi 5 to slap someone with the palm of a hand
ukunkawuza to smoke cigarette
izinkobe tablets (medication)
inkombankombane seven (7)
inkri-nkri a telephone
insengane a suite
insikazi female
untanjana a neck tie
entshobha at the shops
intshodi shirt
intwana young boy
inusta young lady
inyamazane a young A.N.C. member
eNyuvesi in jail
isiNyuvesi Prison code or register
inyuki money (any kind)
inzaNgane any written document/ proof
ipayipi dagga
ukuspana to work
espanini at work
i-olelidi old lady
opendiwe a black-European/ a Black person who one behaves like a White.
iphahlaza glasses
spectacles  a short person  umuntu omfushane
iphaxiya  a gossip  ixoki, ohelebayo
iphihliza  glasses/ spectacles  izibuko
ukuphoqoza  to run away  ukubaleka
ukuphola  to tell lies  ukuqamba amanga
iphothasishi  lies  amanga
iphothebhuli  to be small and dainty  omncanyanyana, othandekayo
ukuphusha  to study hard/ to be in love with someone  ukuthandana nomunt, u ukutadisha
eziPini  in Pinetown  e-Pinetown
isipinsi  two  okubili
iponi  young girl  intombazanyana
iqabane  member of the  ilunga le A.N.C./ P.A.C./ P.A.C./ S.A.C.P.
S.A.C.P. alliance
isiqeda  disliked person  umuntu ongafunwa muntu
oqequeshekile  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
irofoni  private lover/ hidden lover  ishende
iruji  R50-00 note  R50-00 ongamaphepha
umSADAFU  Member of the iphoyisa lezoku-
South African Defence Force

- ukusala: to be imprisoned
- usebentini: a foolish person
- ukusekena: to come back
- isesteri: a sister
- zisha ngani: what is going on
- zishaphi: what is going on
- isesteri: a sister
- ukushaya ingqayi: to go and see someone, to take a photograph
- ukushaya isingicci: to scratch one’s body
- ukushaya ishayina: to take bosses’ money without permission
- ukushayisa: to come across fortune
- ushekazi: a gossiper/ a scandal-monger
- ishibusi: a handsome boy
- ishisa: matches
- ishokhi: R20-00 note
- ukushweba: not to get what you wanted
- usiba: a policeman
- isigqoko: policeman
- ukusilayiza: to go/to walk
- islovasi: males with township fever

vikela
ukuboshwa
isilima
ukubuyela emuva
udadewenu
kwenzakalani
kwenzekeni
ukungadumi ngalutho/
ukungathandeki
ukuyobona umuntu
ukuththa isithombe
ukuzenwaya
ukuthatha imali
kabasi ngaphandle
kwemvume yakhe
ukuthola impahla
elahlekile/ edukile
umuntu ohlebayo
umfana obukekayo
umentshisi
R20-00 oyiphepha
ukungayitholi into
obuyifuna
iphoyisa
iphoyisa
ukuhamba
iqembu labantu
abasazizwa bebasha,
abakhuluma ulimi
<table>
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<tr>
<th>isiLovasi</th>
<th>Tsotsitaal</th>
<th>ulimi lokweqisela</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukusphlesha</td>
<td>to take a bath</td>
<td>ukugeza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isuzela</td>
<td>a person with</td>
<td>umuntu onezinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>big buttocks</td>
<td>ezinkulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isuzu</td>
<td>a person with</td>
<td>umuntu onezinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>big buttocks</td>
<td>ezinkulu</td>
</tr>
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<td>isitaka</td>
<td>money notes</td>
<td>imali eyiphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitaki</td>
<td>money notes</td>
<td>imali eyiphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itanana</td>
<td>a young girl</td>
<td>intombazane encane/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intombazanyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uthalala</td>
<td>stupid person/</td>
<td>umuntu oyi silima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not open minded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esithawa</td>
<td>in town</td>
<td>edolobeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isithawa</td>
<td>person with pimples</td>
<td>umuntu onezinga</td>
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<td></td>
<td>on face</td>
<td>ebusweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiThawa</td>
<td>township code or register</td>
<td>ulimi lwasedolobheni</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>lwaselokishini</td>
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<td>ithayiga</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
<td>R10-00 oyi phepha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ithayima</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>ubaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthayipha</td>
<td>to walk bare-footed</td>
<td>ukuhamba ngezinyawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>young girl/ girl</td>
<td>intombazanyana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intombazane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etheshweni</td>
<td>at work</td>
<td>emsebenzini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uthiza</td>
<td>a teacher</td>
<td>uthisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ithom’thomu</td>
<td>casual shoe</td>
<td>isicathulo sokuswenka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthwasa</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>ukubona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itingitingi</td>
<td>auto-teller machine</td>
<td>umshini wokukhipha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>isitini</td>
<td>R1000-00 note</td>
<td>R1000-00 ongamaphepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitini</td>
<td>a ghost/ bad thing</td>
<td>into embi, umuntu ongancengeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutoboza ngoCansa</td>
<td>to telephone someone</td>
<td>ukushaya ucingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itoyitoyi</td>
<td>political uprising</td>
<td>itoyitoyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutrowa</td>
<td>to get married</td>
<td>ukushada</td>
</tr>
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<td>itsatsatsa</td>
<td>R2-00</td>
<td>ukutrowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umthshokodi</td>
<td>one, a goal keeper</td>
<td>umtshokodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-uno</td>
<td>a person with flat buttocks/back</td>
<td>i-uno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvala</td>
<td>to be the best or worst</td>
<td>owedlulele entweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuyivala</td>
<td>to stop</td>
<td>ukuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvaya</td>
<td>to go away</td>
<td>ukuvaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iivevezi</td>
<td>a widower</td>
<td>iivevezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwindskrini</td>
<td>face of a human being</td>
<td>iwindskrini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuwitha</td>
<td>to talk</td>
<td>ukuwitha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ixhama</td>
<td>five/ a slap</td>
<td>ixhama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umziki</td>
<td>prostitute</td>
<td>umziki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izimu</td>
<td>Member of Azanian Movement</td>
<td>izimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuzwakala</td>
<td>to come/ to arrive</td>
<td>ukuzwakala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziyampompa</td>
<td>there is a lot of fun</td>
<td>ziyampompa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziyamporoma</td>
<td>there is a lot of fun</td>
<td>ziyamporoma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from the sound made by the autoteller machine when pressing its button)
6. TRANSPORTATION REGISTERS AND CODES WHICH ARE USED IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA. (ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUTHUTHA ABANTU ETHEKWINI NAMPHETHELO.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-Antisosa</td>
<td>females who prepare and sell food to the taxi drivers and conductors</td>
<td>abesifazane abapheka badayise ukudla emarenke ezokuthutha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuyibamba</td>
<td>the driver must stop the at the bus stop</td>
<td>ukuma esitobhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esitobhini</td>
<td>enclosure for taxis, where taxis rank</td>
<td>lapho amatekisi elinda khona amaphasenja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esibayeni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- Be My Wife</td>
<td>a B.M.W. motor vehicle</td>
<td>imoto ewuhlobo lwe B.M.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhanga</td>
<td>an empty taxi</td>
<td>iteksi engenabantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhemile</td>
<td>the secret has been revealed</td>
<td>kuyabhedu/ ukudaluleka kwecebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibheshu</td>
<td>rubber pads which flap up and down while the vehicle is in motion</td>
<td>amabhesu emoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhlamani</td>
<td>Brahman cattle/ Datsun E20 Model</td>
<td>i- Datsun E20 Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uBrenda</td>
<td>a stolen car</td>
<td>imoto entshontshiwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuhlalu</td>
<td>seat covers which are made of beads</td>
<td>amakhava esihlalo semoto enziwe ngobuhlalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubuka iT.V.</td>
<td>the back part of</td>
<td>ukuhlala uncike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ukubuya kwegazi

a seat behind the drivers seat

things are going well

to indicate for overtaking

to put gasoline into a car

stolen car

new taxi, which is attractive

a secret message (sticker)

slow moving vehicle

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

esihlalweni esingemuva komshayeli, ubukwe ngamaphasenja izinto ziyalunga

uku- indicator ukuthi uzodlula enye imoto

ukufaka uphethroli emotweni

imoto eyebiwe

imoto entshal into entsha

i-stikha esinanyathiselwa emotweni sokutshela izigebengu ukuthi

imoto eyasekhaya azingayintshontshi

into yokuthutha ehamba kancane

ngiyabonga phasa nje
ukudinga ngento ka 350 noma R250-00
ukudla umjantshi
ukudla upotsho
to be fined R250 or R350-00
to travel by train
a short cut, method of obtaining something quicker than using the right channels
ukudlisa
taxi drivers like
to show off with their taxis. They take great pride of their motor vehicles
ukudlisa
to show off
ukudliwa yisilwane
to be jealous
umdumakhanda Traditional African tobacco
ukweqa umlilo
to escape from a road
ukhihlika block
uku'aka o- two bob when taximen install copper rims in the wheels of their taxis
ukufaka amafutha accelerate the speed of a moving vehicle
ukufaka amacici a taxi which has been decorated with white shiny steel, which is made up of chrome on the mudguard
isifalakahla a vehicle which is imoto esindala
ukuhlawuliswa uR350-00 noma uR250
ukuhamba ngojantshi
ikusika ngezimfuphi
ukuhlabekisa
hlabekisa
ukuba nomona
insangu
ukubalekela
amaphoyisa
amarimu omthofu
ukwenyusa ijubane
itekisi chlotshiswe
ngensimbi emhlophe
yohlobo lwe-chrome
imoto esindala
260
ukufasa
old and in a generally
bad condition
said when a taxi
is full of passengers
a hooter on a vehicle
is a device such as
a horn or siren
that makes
a hooting noise

imfengwana

i-first in all troubles
Fiat

for only reckless
drivers
Ford

to have a lot of
money

ukufutha

a vehicle that
moves very slowly

ukuba ugangaganda

petrol, fuel used
for automobiles

igazoli

ukugcwala ngokurhafa
to be prepared to
pay fare

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

ukugidla efotini
to sleep in jail

iginsa

stolen car

goqa
to make a U turn/

uma imoto igcwele
amaphasenja
i-hooter

imoto ewuhlobo lweFiat

imoto ewuhlobo lweFord

ukuba nemali eningi

imoto ehamba kancane

u-petroli

ukuzimisela ukukhokha
imali

ukuhlala ekhaya ngoba
ufuna ukuphumula noma
ngoba ufsa ukuhlolisisa
kahle ukuthi kuyasebenza
yini noma kakhona
amaphoyisa omgwaqo,
okanye kutelekiwe.

ukulala ejele

imoto eyebiwe

ukujika eduze, ukuqamba
ugoqo  to tell lies
artificial key
used to open
motor vehicles,
a master key
amanga, ukukho hwisa
uhlobo lukanhiye olu-
vula izimoto

tukugqirha  to travel by train
ngokhushukhushu
ukuhlaba ngensimbi  to travel by means
of a car.
ukuhlanza kweketsi  said when a taxi
empties its passengers
umjondolo
for a short time
ikameli

ukukapaka isiTswana  refers to fleeing
away of a taxi
driver from the
police
ukupaka isiTswana  A car that is badly
parked
iketsi

ukukha amaphasenja  to load passengers
ukukhabula  to travel by a
ngembombozana  motor bike
ekhishini  back seat of a
car, kombi, bus
imo to epake kabi
itekisi/ iteksi
ukufayisha amaphasenja
ukuhamba ngesithuthuthu
isihlalo esingemuva
emotweni
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukuyikhomba phezulu</td>
<td>when a passenger points up in the air, it means that he is going to town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuyikhomba phansi</td>
<td>When a passenger points down wards, it means, he is travelling within the vicinity of the township</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukukhuhlwa</td>
<td>to fall from a bicycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yingqayika</td>
<td>place underneath the mudguard painted white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amakhwapha</td>
<td>refers to a new kombi which is a 16 seater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isikwele</td>
<td>refers to cars which have open roofs. A convertible motor car, like a B.M.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isilahlamatende</td>
<td>refers to cars imoto evulekayo phezulu ibuye ivalwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilahle</td>
<td>stolen car, imoto eyebiwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukulanda inkomol homnotho</td>
<td>to fetch or steal a taxi or kombi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legedlela ikhabula</td>
<td>this vehicle has a puncture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamarimu</td>
<td>this taxi is overloaded/is full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le ketsi inosayidinsi</td>
<td>to wait for a taxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukulinda intulo</td>
<td>this taxi is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imanzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uma iphasenja likhomba phezulu, liya eThekwini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma iphasenja, likhomba phansi, liya khona la eduzane ngaphakathi elokishini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuwa ebhayisikilini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indawo engaphansi emaceleni emoto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhlobo olusha lwe- Toyota.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikhumbi yakwa Toyota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imoto evulekayo phezulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibuye ivalwe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imoto eyebiwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukweba itekisi noma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikhumbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le moto inamasando aphantshile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le tekisi igwele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukulinda itekisi/iteksi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itekisi entsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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imbawula  newly bought

umbombela  a train

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

impendulo  a converted vehicle,
            whose parts have been
            altered so that it looks
            different from the original form.
            This usually happens to a stolen car

impixi  a vast number of passengers who are supposed to be taken by taxis as their means of transport to and from work. Passengers awaiting a transport

isiTransi  transport code or register

itransi  transport

umshayeli wetekisi ongenayo i-licence isitimela

isondo elinempandla imoto yokwebiwa esintshwe izicubu zayo.
amaphasenja amanini alinde izinto zokuhamba
ulimi lwezokuthutha okokuthutha umphakathi noma amaphasenja

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCR’S</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukubamba</td>
<td>expert in saving balls</td>
<td>unozinti ongumpetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhacaza</td>
<td>incapable person who</td>
<td>umuntu ongenalusizo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>makes a lot of excuses</td>
<td>lwalutho obika izaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>njalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhaxu</td>
<td>a team which lost the</td>
<td>iqembu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>game, to be penalised</td>
<td>elingaphumelelanga,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuhlawuliswa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBhinoni</td>
<td>number 4, a player wearing</td>
<td>ogqoke unombolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jersey number 4. 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuboza</td>
<td>to fumble</td>
<td>ukudlala umdialo obbedayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubuza epalini</td>
<td>a swift shot into the net</td>
<td>ukulishaya phakathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umchamo</td>
<td>a weak and short shot</td>
<td>ishodi elingatheni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of a ball which goes</td>
<td>eliphumela ngaphandle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outside the playground</td>
<td>kwenkundla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuchitha ibhola</td>
<td>to throw the ball with</td>
<td>ukuphonsa ibhola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>both hands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucupha</td>
<td>to play a rough game</td>
<td>umdlali odlala kabi ngokukahlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuchwesheza</td>
<td>smooth passing of ball</td>
<td>ukudlala ngesinono sekati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from player to player</td>
<td>lisuka umdlali liya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kumdlali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukumdayisa</td>
<td>to make a fool of a</td>
<td>ukubukisa ngomunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>player infront of spectators</td>
<td>umdlali phambili kwazihlwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudovola</td>
<td>to kick the ball</td>
<td>ukukhahlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufriweyi</td>
<td>a useless player who</td>
<td>umdlali ongabajulukisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>does not give his</td>
<td>abanye abadlali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opponents a tough time</td>
<td>umdlali ongenamsebenzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Kahlalela uyi se 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 ukudululisa 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/uchibiyla wonke amaphutha abadlali

impuphu a useless player umdlali ongenamsebenzi walutho

incwadi a useless player umdlali ongenamsebenzi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Zulu Word</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indele</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>isithathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingqamu</td>
<td>a soccer ball</td>
<td>ibhola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukungqomfa</td>
<td>to head a ball</td>
<td>likanobhutshuzayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingra</td>
<td>a soccer ball</td>
<td>likanobhutshuzwayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiNgura</td>
<td>soccer vocabulary</td>
<td>ulimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>injeje</td>
<td>to play a rough game</td>
<td>ukudlala kabi ngokukhahlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>injini</td>
<td>a player who wears</td>
<td>umdlali othwele unombolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jersey number 6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkalakatha</td>
<td>experienced soccer</td>
<td>inkakha kwezebhola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkomo</td>
<td>player</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkqaku</td>
<td>a useless soccer player</td>
<td>umdlali ongenamsebenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inqola</td>
<td>a goal</td>
<td>igoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>backline of a soccer</td>
<td>abadlali abadlala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>match</td>
<td>emuva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


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in the Sociology of Languages, Mouton: The Hague.


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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.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I am forever grateful and indebted to GOD ALMIGHTY for His protection and for granting me the inner spiritual strength which enabled me to struggle along without tiring while working on this thesis.

Grateful acknowledgements are due to various persons who directly or indirectly contributed to the success of this thesis, particularly the following.

Professor C.T. Msimang, my promoter, for his able guidance, insight and patience. I say thank you for the opportunity of sharing your experience.

Professor J Maartens, the joint supervisor, for her scholarly and insightful guidance throughout this research.

To these Professors, I say thank you very much for passing on your academic experience to an inexperienced student like myself. You have never hesitated to offer your valuable guidance and insightful supervision up to the completion of this study. Please keep up the good work and do not hesitate to do the same for other aspiring academics.

I am also grateful to The STANON Programme of the HSRC and the University of Durban Westville management, for their financial support and personal encouragement. Special thanks go to Dr. Karen Calteaux, the co-ordinator of The Stanon Programme for her untiring support and for supplying me with relevant information throughout this study.

Thanks also go to Stewart Baker who is a professional researcher from Delca Research Company for assisting me with research methodologies and also for accompanying me to places which seemed inaccessible.

I am also extending my gratitude to Hospital Superintendents for granting me permission to do research in their hospitals.

I wish to extend my gratitude to the old Department of Education and Culture (KwaZulu) and the Department of Education and Training for allowing me to conduct research in schools under their jurisdiction.

Thanks also go to my colleagues from the University of Durban Westville, especially Pops, our Secretary for her efficiency in attending to all urgent Departmental matters, as well as her support while I was busy with this work. Without her co-operation and support I would never have made it.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to Mrs. A.C.T. Mayekiso, MaQwana, for her encouragement and support and for her amazing enthusiasm and stamina.
My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr Mavari Prabhakaran for making it possible for me to be computer literate and for her positive and prompt response whenever I was stuck with my P.C. She shared all her knowledge of computers without reservations.

I would like to thank Mrs Victoria Mkhize for fetching my children from school whenever I was stuck with the thesis. To Gugu Mkhize, Lolie Makhubu, Noleen Turner, Malini Ramsay, Thabi Luthuli, Sbusiso Mfeka and Henry Gumede, I say thank you very much for taking charge of crucial departmental matters on my behalf and for constantly offering your services. My thanks go to all the staff from Academic Computer Services who did not get tired of seeing my face at Computer Services and for the prompt assistance and encouragement they gave me whenever needed. These are: Sandy Parks, Megan, Indrani, Terry, Maureen, Simon and Siva.

I also wish to thank my four sisters and two brothers: that is Doris, RoseMary-Matho, Iris-Zo, Ntokozo-Priscilla, Martin-Lu and Dumisani-Richard: I would never have made it without their concern and untiring support. Special thanks go to Matho for her assistance with her background on research methodologies and to Doris. Her background of English enabled her to assist with final proof-reading of the thesis.

My sincerest gratitude also goes to my husband Edward Boysie who had to play the role of mother as well as father to my children while I was busy with this thesis. I also wish to thank him for sacrificing his time in accompanying me during my fieldwork projects. To all my children for their support and assistance in typing the thesis: that is; Thulile, Ntsikie, Bu, Nothemba, Zipho and Onke, I say thank you very much for your patience and endurance. May you be blessed to work as hard as you did when you were assisting your mother to complete this thesis, so that you may also reap such fruits. My thanks also go to my niece Xolile Kineri for her support.

My deepest gratitude goes to my mother Beatrice MaCaluza, and my late father, Peter Dlungwane who, through hard work, brought us up in a Christian way of life. This has always been their dream that we aspired for the highest academic achievements in life. I am glad that I have struggled to satisfy their aspirations, and challenge my sisters to follow suit or do even better.

Thanks go to Madudu Mkhize for her untiring stamina and for sitting for long hours while assisting me with typing the thesis. I would also like to thank the Mkhize family for offering me the services of their daughter.

I also wish to extend my sincerest indebtedness to Nhlanhla Xaba for his profound knowledge of computer technology. He was always ready to assist me whenever there was a technical problem with my P.C. and also helped in typing corrected chapters. To Nhlanhla I say: May God bless and help you to achieve your goals in life.

I also thank my domestic assistants who looked after my children and the house while I was busy with the research project, particularly Zibuyile, S'bongile, and Sindy.

To all my colleagues from the Universities of Zululand (Main Campus) and Natal, (both campuses) especially Professor Antony Davey, Dr Adriaan Koopman and Mashasha for offering Zulu Honours classes in Pietermaritzburg campus when our
Durban campuses could not afford to do so in the mid-1980's. My greatest gratitude also goes to the University of Zululand for opening an Extra-Mural Division of the University of Zululand in UMLazi. Had it not been for the initiatives of the people mentioned above, I would not be where I am today. I can never forget Mr Nhlanhla Xala and Ntombenhle MaSkakane for motivating me to pursue studies in Socio-linguistics.

Final thanks go to Professor Canonici, our predecessor in the Department of Zulu at Durban-Westville, for agreeing to proof-read this thesis and sacrifice his precious holiday which he deserved so much. I say thank you very much Professor: You are a burning candle to most Natalian academics and students. Keep up the good work.
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-standard. 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 decode 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 dialects, styles, registers, jargons 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 interspeaker variation, 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 language, local dialects, professional jargon, cants, slang. Tsotsital 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 members (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 iconsì (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 necessary 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 modernism. Sometimes interactants switch from one language to another due to vocabulary deficiency in the host language.
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 interlocutor 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 ‘newfangled’ 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 (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 koinés 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,

To establish the influence migration has on the language use of people originating from different geographical areas.

To measure the direction and magnitude of sociolinguistic change within the territories under study. (Refer to Lieberson, 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.
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 neologism 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 dialects\textsuperscript{20}, 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'.

9
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, Clermaville, 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,
Chapter Two: Theoretical Orientation

This chapter identifies and clarifies the various types of Language Variation. The two major divisions include internal and contact variations. The chapter also includes a theoretical framework of the study which is constituted by 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 ethno-ography, ethnomethodology, 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 where 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 variations, sociolects, social networks 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 interactants 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, prison CCR’s is isiNyuvesi, shebeen CCR’s are isiThaveni, transport CCR’s will be called isiTransi soccer is isiNgura while isiThawa refers to township CCR’s. CCR’s used in educational units will be called isiGura.
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' thesauri 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 Gxilitshe (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. Vernacular 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, Nhlangwini, 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, verability, 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 incapabilities 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 straightforward 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
The 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 (Ndlova, 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 flaved 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, etc., 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”. 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'".

(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)\textsuperscript{16} and not as his or her vernacular (L1)\textsuperscript{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, Gwuteng, 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 tongues 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 members\(^9\) (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-switching and mixing 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 code or host code; language 2, which is the borrower language, is perceived as the embedded code or the guest code. 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, genetic and typological 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 simple 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 feedback 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 addressee 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 rewards and high costs. 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

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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.

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 yomgwago (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.
2.5 RECAPITULATION

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 Colombia 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, Clermaville, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KwaMakhutha</td>
<td>6 527</td>
<td>7 062</td>
<td>13 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMLazi</td>
<td>159 054</td>
<td>140 000</td>
<td>299 054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamontville</td>
<td>13 496</td>
<td>11 318</td>
<td>24 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterville</td>
<td>2 114</td>
<td>2 487</td>
<td>4 601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaMashu</td>
<td>89 229</td>
<td>67 450</td>
<td>156 679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntuzuma</td>
<td>32 354</td>
<td>43 311</td>
<td>75 665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clermaville</td>
<td>19 521</td>
<td>18 904</td>
<td>38 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>322 295</td>
<td>290 532</td>
<td>612 827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Census = 1991
3.3.2.2 The ethnic composition of the Black Durban residential Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>1 584 500</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>34 754</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swati</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Sotho</td>
<td>3 401</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1 432</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0.006%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>1 824</td>
<td>0.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.005%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondo</td>
<td>1 571</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 628 685</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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.
\[2+2+2+2+2+2+14 = 30\]

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
\[2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 3 = 6 = 42\]

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
\[2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 7 = 14, 2 \times 3 = 6, 2 \times 2 = 4 = 58\]
(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

\[2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14+14+4=46\]

(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

\[2\times7=14, 2\times7=14, 2\times7=14, 2\times2=4, 2\times2=4 =50\]

(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

\[7\times2=14, 7\times2=14, 2\times7=14, 2\times7=14 =56\]
(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 me 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)

   (Yesterday’s football match was exciting.)

5. Ngifunde olunye ulimi ngesikhathi ngilaliswe esibhedlela.
   (I learnt new vocabulary when I was admitted to hospital.)

   (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 workplace, 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, etcetera. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. AGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chesterville</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>14.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Clermont</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>KwaMashu</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>KwaMakhutha</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lamontville</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>UMLazi</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other black Areas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>White Areas</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than R500-00</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R500-00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1000-R1499</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1500-R1999</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2000-R2499</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2500-R2999</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3000-R3499</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3500-R3999</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4000+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/student</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/not working</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

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

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

7. **HOME**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Less than a year</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>9.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Less than 2 in the house</th>
<th>0 and 17 years</th>
<th>adults above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>RESP</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>MOTH</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>FATH</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most respondents were Zulu and Xhosa speakers. Only a few spoke either Sotho or Tsonga.
12. RECORD COMMON REGISTER IN THIS SETTING

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hospital</strong></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Unit</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tavern</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Township</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soccer</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transport</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prison</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zulu</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>322</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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; Lieberson and McCabe, 1978).
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.

### 14. STATUS OF REGISTER/CODE

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

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

### 15. RECORD REGISTER IN 15 (a) BELOW:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Which you know very well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>You understand when spoken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>You do not understand at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>You have never heard of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>You would like to know and speak if necessary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>You do not wish to speak in your life time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading Newspapers</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to the radio</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in sport</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching television/films</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends/going out</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak pure Standard Zulu</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-standard varieties which are Zulu based</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak only English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with other African languages</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak unfiltered Zulu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak unfiltered Zulu</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I speak non-standard varieties which are Zulu based</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix Zulu with other African languages</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the past 2-3 months</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than a year</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 10 years</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A car/ cars</th>
<th>123</th>
<th>38.2%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>A taxi/taxis</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Vans</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Buses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lorries</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No vehicles</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

22. AT HOME:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>we have a telephone</th>
<th>197</th>
<th>61.2%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>we have no telephone</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>promote unity, peace, respect, solidarity and understanding of cultural groups.</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Bring about violence and hatred</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Destroy the wealth of the country</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Disclose hidden agendas</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Registers which they use in specific domains</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>English or Afrikaans</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Zulu/Xhosa or other Standard African Languages</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.4.5 PHASE V - Interviews

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 interviewees 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.

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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 Tsotsitala, 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:
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 1 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Series 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educ Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taverns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 CONCLUSION

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 uphetroli 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 shrugged 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 CCR’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.

*isaka* = *imde*
(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 sandwiches between the legs.

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(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)

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(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.
CCR’s comprising Words from Non-South African languages with or without change in original meaning.

i-zwayi/
itswayi
means two. This word is derive from the German word ‘zwei’

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.

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.

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.

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!

Compounding

inkombankombane
This code refers to the numeral seven. iN+khomba+khomba (point-point) > inkombankombana (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.
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.

In prison, 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.

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.

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)
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.

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

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.

Jananda
is a person of Indian origin.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

Expressions

**ukushaya**
To be able to defend one’s case without the assistance of a lawyer or court interpreter who is known as **utolika** in Zulu.

**itoli**
stab someone, especially an official, with a knife. When tsotsis 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 ngembilihisi 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 pages with a red pen and award a mark without going through the student’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.
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.

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.

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.
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.

Compounding

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

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 students on the register.

ukuhlina
To slaughter a goat. To assemble in order to copy examination questions or to discuss a question paper or a test which is still to be written.
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.

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A patient with an AIDS virus is known as **i-194** where the 1 stands for **A**, 9........1, 4........0. 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.

**Abbreviations used as CCR's**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-D.O.A.</td>
<td>Death On Arrival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.M.</td>
<td>a nurse who is off duty after 13h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-A.M</td>
<td>a nurse who is off duty in the morning hours till 10h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.C.</td>
<td>A mental case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uNo.8.</td>
<td>An alcoholic is known as <strong>unamba 8</strong>. This refers to clinic number 8 which is for alcoholics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukutofa</td>
<td>To inject. <strong>isitofu</strong> 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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**.

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

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
e-more-ni

in church. The CR originates from Afrikaans ‘kerk’
tomorrow, in the morning. The word originates from
Afrikaans ‘more’.

(b) CCR’s with change in original meaning
i-roll on
i-button
i-ironing
i-Praktiese

CCR’s from other Bantu and non Bantu languages with or
without change in original meaning

iqabane
ishishini

amatshotshombe

CCR’s with change in original meaning

CCR’s from other Bantu and non Bantu languages with or
without change in original meaning

umqhafi
upotsho

(d) Newly created CCR’s/Coinages

ichweba

a girl. The word originates from intekane (a young

ukuzenda

money

a girl. The word originates from intekane (a young

a putsch, meaning a short cut in doing something.

end a means to go to a far away land or to take

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).

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

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)

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.

izifikamthwalo 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)
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.

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.

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.
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

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCR’s</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-sealed</strong></td>
<td>a full bottle of liquor brandy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-25%</strong></td>
<td>Sometimes the drinkers order a 25% from the shebeen queen. This code still refers to a nip or a quarter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-50%</strong></td>
<td>is equivalent to half a bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-375mls bottle</strong></td>
<td>375 ml's of liquor brandy. It means three quarters of a or three nips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-hassling</strong></td>
<td>To suffer a morning hangover. To feel miserable after a previous day's drinking spree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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 isimiramuwa or i-1818 (The year in which Smirnoff was introduced)
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. *Ibhubesi* 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.
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.

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 ebhoshil 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**

**iketsi**

an automobile, especially a taxi. The syllables in the word *iteksi* 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 Amalale*. (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.

**Blending**

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

**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.

**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.
umadum'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)

ukuhlinza imoto

Interlocutors who are involved in illegal transactions also speak of imoto uhlinza 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.

ukucwebezelisa

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: cwebezelisa or cwebezel (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)

uBrenda

iZola Budd

Referents

a stolen car, from her song Ayashisa Amalahle

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

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.

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**

*ubhesent, 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.

- isaswitch-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 isike tilisiki thi 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/.

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

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/ or /e/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kat (Afrikaans)</td>
<td>ikati</td>
<td>a goal keeper with acrobatic savings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dent</td>
<td>denti</td>
<td>a debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkeynut</td>
<td>amakinati</td>
<td>pimples on the face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>useveni</td>
<td>a prisoner who is serving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seven years imprisonment for stabbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with a knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

155
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 isemjeji a style in football

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 iphili/ 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 itilos/ amatilos 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 tjazi 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>isiXhosa</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>iNyuvesi</td>
<td>prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foundation</td>
<td>ifowundeshi</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>iPitoli</td>
<td>Department of Afrikaans at University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasoline</td>
<td>igazoli</td>
<td>petrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemist</td>
<td>ikhemese</td>
<td>bottle-store</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>isiXhosa</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attention</td>
<td>indesheni</td>
<td>to beg for a favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canteen</td>
<td>inkantini</td>
<td>illegal sorghum beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>envelope</td>
<td>imvalaphu</td>
<td>mercedes benz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knoop</td>
<td>inkinobho</td>
<td>mandrax drug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Assimilation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>size (saiz)</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints insayizi</td>
<td>a girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suit</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints insengane/ insudi</td>
<td>a suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seep</td>
<td>iN+s&gt;ints insipho</td>
<td>a slippery person, a prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shop</td>
<td>iN+sh&gt;intsh tshobha/ izintshobha</td>
<td>shop/s, at the store</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, iprogremu, 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 /l/. 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-l when using adopted words.
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:

- boss > ibhoza
- gasoline > igazoli
- jas > ijazi
- goods > iguzu

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> isudi/ insudi
- sweet> uswidi

### 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:

- port> ebhdwe
- fork> imfologo
- tent itende
- attention> 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word</th>
<th>CCR word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gap</td>
<td>ukugebha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
C & V & C \\
\end{array}
\]

Hence uku# g e bh a

[ +breathy] [ +breathy]

ukugebha (to gap up)
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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethiopian</th>
<th>umTopiya</th>
<th>one who suffers from starvation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>engine</td>
<td>injini</td>
<td>a player wearing jersey number six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eleven</td>
<td>uleveni</td>
<td>a goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>umGibhithe</td>
<td>an oppressor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>doek (Afrikaans)</th>
<th>iduku</th>
<th>policemen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boek</td>
<td>ibhuku</td>
<td>lies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goods</td>
<td>iguzu</td>
<td>not to be successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemist</td>
<td>ikhemese</td>
<td>bottle store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>square</td>
<td>iskwele</td>
<td>a new Toyota Hi-Ace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skip&gt; skepe (Afrik)</td>
<td>iskebhe</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fork</td>
<td>imfologo</td>
<td>a pick pocket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \( \rightarrow \) irabha, fat cooks / condom
- u-four finger \( \rightarrow \) ufo:finga, a pick pocket
- u-major \( \rightarrow \) umeja, a prisoner holding a high position in jail.
- uku-major \( \rightarrow \) ukumeja, To wear one and the same thing everyday as if doing one's major subjects.
- i-sponsor \( \rightarrow \) isponsa, an extravagant liquor drinker who entertains everybody in a shebeen.
- i-besoeker \( \rightarrow \) ibhesuka, a visitor
- i-suiker \( \rightarrow \) 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 the 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 koinésize 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
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, Culemberg. 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 prepar'est 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), kbi’ 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 *undlavuza* (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukupitshiza</td>
<td>to squash a rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igundane</td>
<td>to be in love with a school girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubheka</td>
<td>to look up in the register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurejista</td>
<td>to marry a school girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Hospital CCR’s which uncover hidden facts about people and their behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uku-t.t.o.-wa</td>
<td>to take treatment out. To steal hospital property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuntontelisa</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphuzisa ikhofi</td>
<td>to serve coffee medicine illegally given to a patient without the doctor’s permission.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthatha ififi</td>
<td>to take a nap to sleep during working hours, especially when one is on night duty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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 in the Book of life  to buy liquor on credit

encwadini  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

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(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iRomani</th>
<th>a Roman</th>
<th>a man who is popular with girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukubhanka</td>
<td>to bunk classes</td>
<td>to stay away from classes; to play truancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goba la</td>
<td>bend where I bend</td>
<td>said by a teacher when he has run short of knowledge or subject matter. This means, that your knowledge must end where mine ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngigoba khona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uKwaMzala</td>
<td>he is at cousin’s place</td>
<td>he is in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-oro</td>
<td>an oros drink</td>
<td>an old man who likes young girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uthiza</th>
<th>teacher</th>
<th>teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>usigqoko</td>
<td>Mr Hat</td>
<td>head of department, school principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuzenda</td>
<td>to go to a far away land,</td>
<td>to die (origin:Zulu-enda) to take a long journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iHodi</td>
<td>a Head of department</td>
<td>an H.O.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingamule</td>
<td>a boss</td>
<td>a white, a rich person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ubhuti-madlalisa</td>
<td>brother entertainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-Arabhu</td>
<td>an Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omathunzini</td>
<td>Mr Shadows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukwelula</td>
<td>to stretch something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuhluba  umoba</td>
<td>to peel sugar-cane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umninikhashi</td>
<td>the owner of a horse</td>
<td>This is said by a boy to a girl who asks him a favour instead of asking her boyfriend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uphuzisa ihhashi</td>
<td>nurtures the horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aligibelayo</td>
<td>he rides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyoze ukubone</td>
<td>One day you will experience what the Zulus experienced in Shell House</td>
<td>One day you will experience the tragedy, which was sustained by the Zulus in Shell House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okwabonwa uZulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eShell House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imali yishoba</td>
<td>Money is a fan for cooling oneself from the heat of the sun</td>
<td>Nothing is impossible when one has money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokuziphungela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 phase.

c. **Those which provoke an interesting comparison**

   - iMonza: a Monza
   - i-Uno: an Uno
   - imvalaphu: an envelope

   - a person with big protruding buttocks
   - a person with flat buttocks
   - Mercedes Benz

d. **Those that indicate a turn of phase**

   - ikhanda: a head
   - ugesi wekhadi: electricity card
   - ukushaya ngespeed trap: to hit with a speed trap

   - modern urban girls take pride in their hair, as reflected in contemporary hairstyles
   - something which is not going to last long (short lived)
   - to bewitch someone

e. **Those that stimulate an image**

   - ingulule: a pig
   - isigingci: a guitar
   - uMaskito: a mosquito

   - a V.W. Beetle (because of its shape)
   - a Mazda 323 (because of its shape)
   - 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
- ukuncinza: to pinch
- amasosha: soldiers
- an Isuzu kombi: (because of its trouble-free endurance)
- to steal
- 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
- umTopia: Ethiopian
- i-Africa: Africa

refers to bankruptcy. The CR originates from the name Bangladesh, a country which was infected with bankruptcy in the early 1990's.

Same meaning as for Bangladesh

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uNtombifuthi</td>
<td>Miss Girl Again a divorced woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uMrs Mbhense</td>
<td>Mercedes Benz a Mercedes Benz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uMaMgobhozi</td>
<td>Mrs MaMgobhozi a talkative person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohahaha</td>
<td>those who nasalise their speech repertoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama-elite</td>
<td>the elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opendiwe</td>
<td>the painted one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scholars who attended a multi-racial school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>students coming from affluent homes or who go to multi-racial schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  
   - uDenis Dennis  
   - iwashi a watch  

   a beast slaughtered for a ritual ceremony  
   a goat slaughtered for a ritual ceremony  
   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’  
   - ukuphusha uMarx to push Marx  
   - ukushaya umgwaqo to hit the road  
   - ukuphakama to rise  
   - ukurola to roll someone  

   to attend school  
   to study hard  
   a taxi driver who works very hard  
   to work, to entertain  
   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  
   - i-unfinished story an unfinished story  

   a teacher who has T4 or PTC, old teacher’s certificate which is not diplomas.  
   a student who did not complete his degree/diploma; a drop out
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

icando that which has been/ is to be chopped

to withdraw money with a bankcard. The **CR** refers to the punching of numbers on an automatic teller machine.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-literate</th>
<th>Literate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iphalagilafu: a paragraph, a short person</td>
<td>a paragraph, a rally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilali: rally</td>
<td>a rally, a big crowd of protesters or followers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipharagrafu: a paragraph, a short person</td>
<td>i-rali: a rally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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
- isimirimuwa: a 'smiramuwa'
- i-social worker: a social worker

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
- iqabane: 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.

- abufana boys Those who engage in illegal transactions, whether young or old
- ukushaya to beat the a driver who steals his boss's money
- iShayina Chinese
- ukungcoka iginza 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

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 for posting letters | a Mercedes Benz |
| yokuposa       | a B.M.W.                                      |
| iBe My Wife    | a drop                                       |

CCR’s referring to Food

| imendri      | a mineral/drink | lemonade |
| inyetsi      | meat            |
| uleveni      | numeral 11      |

45. Things which do not appeal to the youngsters are also given a host of names.

(a) CCR’s referring to policemen
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 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 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.

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.
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 koine 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 Koiné*, 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. Msimang 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 (Msimang 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.
they-code members: According to Gumperz: (1972a), a they-code is a code that one uses to communicate with outsiders or non-group members.

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.

host language means a language which receives vocabulary from other languages.

interlocutors refers to participants in a speech event.

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.

koinés Wardhaugh (1989:37) refers to koiné as a form of speech shared by people of different vernaculars. Some of the koiné comprise vernaculars of the speech community.

Neologisms refer to creation of new words (see 4.4.2.4).

regional dialects refer to language varieties which are geographically distributed.

internal variation alludes to Language Variation within one language.

contact variation arises as a result of contact with speakers of other languages.

ethnography refers to spontaneous speech which is studied in its natural context.

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, verbality, forms of entertainment and personality (Wardaugh, 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[V]</th>
<th>[X]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[V]</th>
<th>[X]</th>
<th>[0]</th>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>[2]</th>
<th>[3]</th>
<th>[4]</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V CHESTERVILLE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X CLERMONT</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 KWAMASHU</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 KWAMAKHUTHA</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 LAMONTVILLE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 UMLAZI</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 OTHER BLACK AREAS</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 WHITE AREA</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[V]</th>
<th>[X]</th>
<th>[0]</th>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[V]</th>
<th>[X]</th>
<th>[0]</th>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>[2]</th>
<th>[3]</th>
<th>[4]</th>
<th>[5]</th>
<th>[6]</th>
<th>[7]</th>
<th>[8]</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than R500</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1000-1499</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1500-R1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2000-2499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2500-2999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3000-R3499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3500-3999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/not working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income/ not working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL | 50  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V] Full time (employment)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X] Part-time employment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[O] Housewife</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] Scholar</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Self employed</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] Pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V] 4 roomed house</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X] Big House/ more than 4 rooms</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[O] Shack/ informal house</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] Hostel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Flat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] Renting a flat</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than a year</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V]</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[X]</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE**

Number of children between Adults above
0 and 17 years 18 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 2 in the house</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[X]</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V]</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Mother's</th>
<th>Father's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>V=0</td>
<td>=2</td>
<td>=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>X=0</td>
<td>=19</td>
<td>=12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0=0</td>
<td>=20</td>
<td>=27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training College</td>
<td>1=0</td>
<td>=9</td>
<td>=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or technikon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University/Tech</td>
<td>2=20</td>
<td>=0</td>
<td>=0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50 50 50 50</td>
<td>50 50 50</td>
<td>50 50 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Mother's</th>
<th>Father's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>V-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>X-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Unit</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>At Home At Work/ Amongst Travelling playing School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isicamtho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prestigious</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Township/</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isicamtho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prestigious</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Make</th>
<th>Secretive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tavern</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Township/Isicamtho</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 EMAGELE ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETEHLO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrika</td>
<td>freedom from prison life</td>
<td>ukukhululwa ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubhekile</td>
<td>you are intelligent</td>
<td>uhlakaniphile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibheneplasi</td>
<td>a restricted</td>
<td>isiboshwa esingavunyelwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibinneplaas</td>
<td>prisoner who is not allowed to work</td>
<td>ukusebenza ngaphandle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outside prison premises</td>
<td>kwamagceke asejele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhigi-fayifu</td>
<td>prisoners who are spies for</td>
<td>iziboshwa eziyizimpimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-big five</td>
<td>prison authorities</td>
<td>zezikhulu zasejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhinca ithawula</td>
<td>a contest where partners are chosen</td>
<td>ukumodela kwabesilisa ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuze baqokwe ngabanye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>njengezintombi zabo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhilivane</td>
<td>a letter, n’ brief (Afrikaans)</td>
<td>incwadi ebhaliwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bopha useveni</td>
<td>a plot to do something grave</td>
<td>uzungu lokwenzakalisa omunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-efosi i-air force</td>
<td>prisoners who are experts in escaping from prison</td>
<td>iziboshwa ezingempetha ekweqeni ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illeyi-manu</td>
<td>a prisoner who is not dangerous who is allowed to work outside prison premises</td>
<td>isiboshwa esethenjiwe esingasebenza ngaphandle kwasejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ vry man (Afrik.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifolishni</td>
<td>dagga</td>
<td>insangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Zulu Meaning</td>
<td>English Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhomu</td>
<td>way of saying</td>
<td>indlela yokubingelela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihlangu</td>
<td>a shoe</td>
<td>isicathulo (sasejele)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhlathi</td>
<td>a prisoner who is not conversant with prison life</td>
<td>isiboshwa esingazi lutho ngempilo yasejele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifotini</td>
<td>a prisoner who is serving a short term sentence of three months</td>
<td>isiboshwa esigwetshwe izinyanga ezintathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iHollander</td>
<td>a prisoner who is feared for stabbing people</td>
<td>isiboshwa esidume ngokugwazana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-school boy</td>
<td>a prisoner who is a boy friend of another prisoner</td>
<td>isiboshwa esinobudlelwane neziboshwa ezingama-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iJananda</td>
<td>an Indian person</td>
<td>iNdiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikheshi</td>
<td>a string used by prisoners to escape from jail</td>
<td>intambo esetshenziswa yiziboshwa uma zifuna ukweqa ejele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukukhipha intambo</td>
<td>to be hanged, a death sentence</td>
<td>ukugwetshwa intambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khorekthi/correct</td>
<td>way of saying hello or fine which is employed by the 26's</td>
<td>indlela ama-26 abingelela ngayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukhwinu</td>
<td>a female prisoner</td>
<td>isiboshwa sesifazane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waseLandani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iklobhu</td>
<td>a prison cell</td>
<td>igumbi leziboshwa ngokwamacala azo uhlalaphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulindaphi?</td>
<td>where do you live?</td>
<td>ukukhululwa ejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukumasha</td>
<td>to be released from jail</td>
<td>izingubo zasejele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbilijisi</td>
<td>prison attire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umehlomane</td>
<td>well versed with</td>
<td>inkakha, eyazi ukusuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

217
prison life, experienced prisoner
a prisoner who holds an official position while serving his sentence

i-mini-gate
food for prisoners which is regarded as insufficient

udonsa mfana
mush-room/ soup which causes constipation making it difficult for someone to relieve himself.

unamba-2
dagga

inkantini yesithathu
tobacco

inkantini yesibili
cigarettes

inkantini yokuqala

unozala a female prisoner

inqaththa a White person

inqola a police van

unyana a prisoner who has an affair with another prisoner

phakama be engaged in duty

nokuhlala ngempilo
ngempilo yasejele
isiboshwa
esinesikhundla esikhulu
khona ngaphakathi
ejele
ukudla kwasejele
okungazesuthisi
iziboshwa
amakhowa adliwa ejele
adala ukuqumba kwesisu
amaphoyisa nezinye
iziphathi-mandla
ejele
isiboshwa esiboshelwe
ukugqeqeza

insangu
ugwayi njenge-Boxer
usikilidi
isiboshwa sesifazane
umlungu
imoto yamaphoyisa
isiboshwa
esinobudlelwane
nesinye isiboshwa
sebenza

218
isipikili any type of money noma yiluphi uhlobo

ikuqhinwa to be hand-cuffed
Samani every thing is alright

uSayitsheni No. 1 a trustworthy prisoner

uSayitsheni No. 2 a prisoner who is handy, who does all sorts of odd jobs

ukushaya itoli to win a case because of answering questions asked in an intelligent manner.

ishogani shot gun

i-slave a prisoner who is sold to a farmer while serving sentence

ustonyana a prisoner who is submissive to the instructions of the 26, 27, 28

itende a temporary hut a cell

1-28 a prisoner who is feared by other prisoners

i-26 a prisoner who is serving sentence for committing theft and burglary

i-27 a prisoner who is

219
ivayiza
serving sentence
for blood crimes

i-wyfie
sleeping blanket
for a prisoner

a male prisoner
who is treated as a
girl friend or wife
by another male prisoner.

Yiza Ndoda!
hello!
A way of greeting
which is employed by
the 26’s

E!choo!
Way of expressing
pain used by
prisoners

ziyakushiya
you are behind
times

isiboshwa sesilisa
esiyintombi yesinye
isiboshwa sesilisa

inhlamvu
money

A term used by the 26’s to
refer to money

isikhafula-
magazi ngomlomo
a 28 prisoner.

Because he is always
armed with a gun or
knife.

nangamakhala

isiboshwa esiyi-28. Kushiwo
ngoba sihlala siphethe
isibhamu noma ummese.

uNongoloza

The first prisoner to
resort to homosexuality
was a 28 called Nongoloza.

injivane

a prisoner serving over
three months

isiboshwa esiboshwe
ngaphezu kwezinyanga
ezintathu.

isipikili

a term for money (28’s)

igama lama-28 lemali
## 2. Hospital Codes and Registers in the Greater Durban Area

(ULIMI LWASEZHEDLELA ZASETHEKWINI NAMPHETHELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Zulu Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-fo bhayi fo</td>
<td>a night pan/ bucket</td>
<td>isikigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-194</td>
<td>an aids patient</td>
<td>umuntu ophethwe yingculazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-aresta</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>ukufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iB.B</td>
<td>a boarder baby</td>
<td>ingane ehlwele ikwesinye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitofu</td>
<td>an injection for preventing pregnancy</td>
<td>umjovo wokuvimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-D.O.D.</td>
<td>Died on arrival</td>
<td>ofike esibhedlela esethule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.C.</td>
<td>a mental case</td>
<td>ogula ngengqondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.K.</td>
<td>mercy killing</td>
<td>ukwelekelela iguli ukuba sife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-M.V.A.</td>
<td>motor vehicle</td>
<td>isiguli esishayiswe yimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.M.</td>
<td>post mortem</td>
<td>ukuhlolwa kwesidumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.I.P.</td>
<td>rest in peace</td>
<td>lala uphumule ethuneni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.D.</td>
<td>sexually transmitted diseases</td>
<td>izifo ezithethelwana ngocansi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-S.V.O.</td>
<td>sleep over night</td>
<td>ukulala / ukuhlwelwa esibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.I.D.</td>
<td>four times a day</td>
<td>kane ngelanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.R.N.</td>
<td>only when necessary</td>
<td>kuphela uma kuswelekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-P.O.P</td>
<td>plaster of Paris</td>
<td>ukhonkolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.D.S.</td>
<td>three times a day</td>
<td>kathathu ngelanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-T.T.O</td>
<td>take treatment out</td>
<td>phuma nento yasesibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngaphandle kwemvu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ukuya ewashawozi</td>
<td>Kungaba umuthi noma yini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>said when one wants</td>
<td>uma ungafuni ukusho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

221
emasokeni to conceal her whereabouts
clinic for sexually transmitted diseases

islyisi rumu/ islyisi (a sluice room) any dirty home/house is called a sluice

stethi/stat urgently

ithwiri a patient who is in a critical condition

ewashawozi at the showers. Said when someone wants to conceal her whereabouts.

izinkobe tablets/ pills

i-streyithi shift/ a straight shift

i-straight shift is from 7a.m. to 4p.m.

ijazi lomkhwenyana a condom

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.

ikhofi medicine illegally given to a patient
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iklabishi</th>
<th>without doctors</th>
<th>ukusisza ezinhlungwini.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-Aids</td>
<td>menally derailed patient</td>
<td>isiguli esesikhubazeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-aphgasko</td>
<td>aids virus.</td>
<td>umqondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ephansi</td>
<td>to be down in the dumps</td>
<td>ingculazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukwenza icofi</td>
<td>to make a bed in such a way that</td>
<td>ukuzizwa umzimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it gives a picture of someone</td>
<td>uphansi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who is asleep</td>
<td>ukwembathisa imicamelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>attire for theatre</td>
<td>embhedeni imele umuntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ongekho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amadlelo aluhlaza</td>
<td></td>
<td>izingubo zasethiyetha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isiguli esizoyiswa ethiyetha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phansi kumatulasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wasesesibhedelela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entshebeni</td>
<td>to sleep on a matrass on the</td>
<td>umongozima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hospital floor.</td>
<td>ophetwe yisifo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sendlala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ephisteksizi</td>
<td>nose bleeding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um-Ethiyophiya/</td>
<td>starving child/person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umTopiya/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iLadeshi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufaka izinyosi</td>
<td>to initiate labour pains</td>
<td>ukususela umuntu okhulelwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuze asikelwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukubelethathubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ififi</td>
<td>a patient who is in a critical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>condition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ififiza</td>
<td>to take a nap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>during working hours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a nabulasing machine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isifonyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-G.A.</td>
<td>General assistant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umgosi</td>
<td>a gossip/ secret</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

223
any stolen material is called ‘umgosi’

a Matron

HIV virus
to work half day

mortuary
......
treatment for
T.B. (tuberculosis)
a woman who has had more than 5 confinements

a pregnant woman

a squint eyed person those in charge superiors

Sister or Matron

increment for nurses which was effected in 1990. Most nurses have swollen ankles caused by the type of work that they engage in.

at 4 o’clock

an alcoholic

clinic for alcoholics

to gossip about other people. The word is coined from super abundant use of
ingqovela  
night pan  
isikiki/ isikigi

ukuntontelisa  
to record untrue  
facts about the  
patient’s condition

ukuntshontsha  
to break regulations  
and give medicine to  
a patient without  
doctor’s permission.

isiguli  
ukuphula umthetho  
kadokotela mayelana  
nesiguli

ukusithapha/  
to work from 7h00 till  
9h00  
ukusebenza kusukela ngomphakathi

uku-sit up-a  
19h00  
ku 19h00 ebusuku

iskizo  
a schizophrenia  
ohlakaniphe kwaze  
kweqa onezinto zakhe  
ezingathiwa 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-unfinished story</td>
<td>a student who did not complete his studies at University/school</td>
<td>Isitshudeni esingaqedanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-Arabhu</td>
<td>a male student who has no girlfriend</td>
<td>esingaqa esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-B.M. (Black Material)</td>
<td>private lover</td>
<td>isitshudeni esingaqo-nyiwe sesilisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhala uthisha bani</td>
<td>to write the subject taught by lecturer teacher/so and so</td>
<td>ukubhala isifundo sikathisha okufundisayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhala ulekshara bani</td>
<td>to write lecturer so and so. To write subject taught by lecturer so and so.</td>
<td>selecturer ekufundisayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awucace njengefoya</td>
<td>be explicit in your explanation like an open space</td>
<td>khuluma kucace njengendawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhalansa</td>
<td>to have a lot of boy-friends</td>
<td>evulekile okuthiwa yifoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhanka</td>
<td>to play truant</td>
<td>ukuba namasoka amaningi angapehezu kwelilodwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubheka kurejista</td>
<td>to marry a female student</td>
<td>ukungayi emaklasini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubola</td>
<td>to study hard</td>
<td>ukushada kukathisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba ngu Carl Meinhof</td>
<td>to be a Zulu lecturer</td>
<td>nengane yesikole abeyifundisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

226
ukuchitha ileksha  to cancel a lecture  ukukhansela ikilasi
icici elingestopha  not to have a  kungafundwa
a boy-friend/  ukungabi nasoka/
girl-friend  nantombi
ukucothela  to propose love only to  ukweshela amantombazane
new students  aqalayo ukufika esikoleni
amadabuka  a student who is  isitshudeni esihlala
a non resident  ngaphandle, hhayi
ehostela
ukudayivela  to rush for things that  ukugijimela izinto
are far from you  ezingaphezu kwakho
amagwawa aluhlaza  A question paper for an  imibuzo yephepha
examination that  elingakabhalwa
has not yet been
written
uDenisi
ukudla amakhozi  to pass all  ukuphasa zonke izi-
subjects  fundo
isidumbu  to speak on behalf  ukukhulumela ingane,
isiidumbu  a student who is due  ingane ekhulunyelwe
a staff member without  esikoleni
the knowledge of the
school principal.
ukwenza ichelsea bun  to get too acquainted  ukwejwayela umuntu
with a person. To take
advantage of a person
ukufaka eprentini  to do wrong things in
front of people  uma kukhona abagila
imikhuba phambili kwabantu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukufaka esithombeni</td>
<td>to engage in passionate acts in front of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuflayela</td>
<td>to visit O-Block at the University of Durban Westville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eHeartrow Air Port</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba fra</td>
<td>to be frustrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifresha/i-fresher</td>
<td>a first year student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifrinjo</td>
<td>a female student involved with a school teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umgangatho</td>
<td>students who wear classy oswenka abangabafundi clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigele</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eGibhithe</td>
<td>to occupy the front desk in class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goba lapho ngigoba</td>
<td>said when a teacher has run short of the subject matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugomora</td>
<td>when two people of the same gender are romantically involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogoqweni</td>
<td>a dirty place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugqobha</td>
<td>to study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigqoko</td>
<td>someone in high authority ophethe isikhundla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugqunqa</td>
<td>to fail/to be depressed embarrassment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugudla amahhovisi</td>
<td>to go searching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukwenza izinto ezi-</td>
<td>phathelene nezothando phambili kwabantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvakashela e O-Block</td>
<td>yase Durban Westville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umsilá, isitshudeni</td>
<td>esifikayo esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izintombi zothisha</td>
<td>eziyizingane zesikole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama ‘Get Them Irritated’</td>
<td>abafana abanothuthuva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abesilili esisodwa</td>
<td>abathandanayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indawo ewubunuku</td>
<td>ukufunda, ukutadisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inbusha, inikhundla</td>
<td>ukufeyila/ukuphatheka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabi/ukuphoxeka</td>
<td>ukuhamba uzipunina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
for information from teachers' / lecturers' offices

iH.P.K. (N.I.P.) not in front of people

orharharha/ohahaha Black children who go to multi-racial schools

ukuhlanzwa when one's name does not appear on the computer

yikhompyutha does not appear on the computer

ehlathini night school

ukuhlinza imbuzi to copy questions for an examination which has not yet been written.

umhloli an old student at an educational institution

ukuhola to withdraw money from a student's account

ukuhuzuka to fail

i-ilithi a sophisticated student

i-imphothi to be visited by a lover

i-intavasithi/ a student who goes from one University to another without finishing any course

i-inter-varsity

uKukeleza to study

ulwazi emahhovisi othisha

hhayi phambi kwabantu

izingane zabaMnyama ezifunda ezikoleni zezinhlanga ezixubile

kushiwo uma igama lakho lingaveli kusibalimagama

ekukopela imibuzo yephepha elingaka-bhalwa

isitshudeni esidala endaweni yokufundela esikade safika. ukukhipha imali ebhange yisitshudeni

ukufeyila isitshudeni esiycwicwicwicwi ukuvakashelwa yisi-thandwa sakho isitshudeni esesawa-qeda wonke amaNyuvesi kodwa esingapasi noma esingaqedi.

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ihodesa a teacher's meeting umhlango wothisha, wabafundi
ilambu one who is not shy to do things into ebukwa ongenamahloni okwenza
infrotn of other people
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-
ima-multiple choice stew with different types of meat isitshulu esididiyele izinhlobonhlobo zezi-
umalume an old student who has been attending at a school/university for a long time
imbuzi questions from an exam that has not been written
imbuzo eputshukile
emgura at school esikoleni
impaka a student registered without the knowledge of the headmaster umfundl abhalise nga-
impinda mzala a student who is repeating ora class/ yomphathi sikole
ikilasi/ i-course
ukuncwada - course
amandondo - to be educated

ukuneka - to laugh/ grin/smile
amanabukeni - to be unintelligent

ukungachithi - answers to an
umphako - examination that is still
to be written

ukuphusha uMarx - to study (from Marxism)
ukupitshiza - to have an affair
igundane - with a young

iRainbow Chicken - teachers without
diplomas/degrees

ukushaya ngeshawa - to allow lovers
to use of your bedroom

ukushaya ibhasari - to make a free phone call

ukushisa erawundini - to be famous/popular

ukushuna - to meet with ones
lover during a
break

umshutheko - a student regis-
tered without
the permission
of a headmaster

ukusithela - a person who is very clear
in his field of study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukuskwata</td>
<td>to occupy a room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amasosha</td>
<td>maggots in the food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthatha</td>
<td>to visit a student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idomestic</td>
<td>on the same campus or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-international</td>
<td>registered with another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flight</td>
<td>University at his campus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthola idabuli</td>
<td>to visit a student residing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekspoja</td>
<td>University/campus as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(double exposure)</td>
<td>yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isithuthuthu</td>
<td>to attain 10% for a test or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutilosa</td>
<td>a pupil registered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutoboza ngoKhansasi</td>
<td>to make a phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutshweleza</td>
<td>to be involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphuzisa</td>
<td>to teach wrong matter to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uphoyizeni</td>
<td>the pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvula i-albhamu</td>
<td>to watch people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba yigundane</td>
<td>to go to work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ukulala ekamelweni, lokulala ongalikhokheli
izimpelethu ekudleni
ukuvakashela izitshu
deni ezifunda kwenye
iNyuvesi
deni ezifunda eNyuvesi
yakho ezindlini zazo
ukuthola u 10%
ufundisi izingane
izinto eziphambene
ukupha amehlo ukudla
kwawo/ ukubuka abantu
bedlula noma behamba
ukuya emsebenzini kube
while other workers are on strike

ukuya ehlathini to go on strike

kutelekiwe ukuteleka
4. **TAVERN REGISTERS AND CODES IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA**

(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUPHUZA UTSHWALA ETHEKWINI NAMPHELELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iBoeing 747</td>
<td>a spacious shebeen</td>
<td>ishibhi elibanzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a big lounge</td>
<td>ilonji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhemisane</td>
<td>a serious minded person, a stereo-typed person</td>
<td>onolaka, osheshe, ashaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igosti</td>
<td>a person who is serious minded, and who is ever scolding.</td>
<td>ohlale ethetha, sengathi udlu, umanyazini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhoza</td>
<td>one with a lot of money</td>
<td>onemali eningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhulwa</td>
<td>to be arrested</td>
<td>ukuboshwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isicathulo</td>
<td>dead drunk</td>
<td>odakwe kakhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umdayisi</td>
<td>always happy</td>
<td>ohlale ehleka, nomakungasahlekisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identi</td>
<td>a debt</td>
<td>isikwelelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusponja</td>
<td>to mix liquor with a mild drink</td>
<td>ukuxuba utshwala, nesiphuzo esilula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudesha</td>
<td>to mix liquor with a mild drink</td>
<td>ukuxuba utshwala, nesiphuzo esilula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudesha ngesibindi</td>
<td>to drink without mixing liquor</td>
<td>ukuzibulala, ukungabudeshi utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusponja</td>
<td>to drink without</td>
<td>ukuzibulala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mixing liquor  ukungabudeshi
utshwala

ukushaya iskuni to drink without ukuzibulala
mixing liquor ukungabudeshi
utshwala

ukuduzuka to be dead drunk ukuphuza kakhulu
ukudlalisa to entertain ukujabulisa
females abesifazane

ukwethenjwa to buy liquor on credit ukukweleta utshwala
ukufakwa encwadini to be entered ukubhalwa ebhukwini
yokuphila in the credit labakweletayo
book

ufofinga one who covers ofihla ingilazi yakhe
her glass with ngeminwe emine ukuze
fingers so that kungabonakali ukuthi
we cannot see uphuzani, nokuthi
what she is uthele kangakanani
drinking

i-German tanker one with a big onesisu esikhulu
tummy who takes esilayisha kakhulu
large gulps of utshwala

ukucela to ask to buy on ukucela ukukweleta
credit

ukudenta

ukugqagqamuka to show off ukugcwaneka uma
to be over usuphuzile, ukubhayiza
excited

igundane a liquor drinker ofihlayo ukuthi
who conceals his uyaphuza, uyaphuza,
drinking habits ontshontshayo

i-hasling-i to suffer from ukomiwa, ukuqalekela
hasling utshwala
ukuhlikhla izandla  to beg,  ukuncenga umuntu
for liquour
ikhofi  a person who is  ophuze kakhulu
dead drunk
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  abaphuza abaangingi
in a drinking spree
itrikota  three nips of  amaniphu amathathu
izinwele zenzayoni  nylon hair  uphuphusana lwezinwele
due to excessive  olukhombisa izimpawu
liquor intake  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  sokugcina ebhodleleni
a bottle
to be dead drunk
ukukhuelo  euphemistic name  igama elihloniphisa
for drinking liquor  ukuphuza
ukukhuza imoni  to quench morning  ukuqeda ibhabhalazi
hang over
ukulahla i-sight  to disappear  ukuhamba, ukusithela
out of sight
ukulanda isigqoko  to return to the place  ukubuya ngakusasa uzo-
where there was party  bheka ukuthi akukho
the previous day to check lutho yini olusale
if there are’nt any  ngayiazolo
remnants from the
previous day’s drinking spree.

isilevu remnants of liquor in a bottle

udlalisila an entertainer of girls othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane

udlalisila an entertainer females, a womaniser othanda ukujabulisa abesifazane

umaphuza a police man iphoyisa

ukumashela to die ukufa

kwelesithathu

ukuhhoda 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 ubuso obukhombisa

to morning hang-over ihabhalazi

illegal sorghum ugavini

imoto encane beer

i-N.B.S. nearest bottle store i-bhodlela-sitolo

unamba 17 LION Lager i-Lion lager

ibhubesi Lion Lager

ina a young girl

ukunatha (hlonipha to drink

word for drinking) ukuhuza
ukuncinda (hlonipha) to drink liquor
word for drinking liquor

ndiza manje, ukhokhe kamuva fly now and pay latter

izindoni Castle milk stout

ukungcolisa itafula to display various liquor brands on the table

ngizokutshela ngo-4 you better forget khozlwa

ingqibhobho a fire arm

ingadla a fire arm

ingqayi a fire arm/something entertaining

inkantini yesibili beer lager

inkolotshe a heavy drinker

i-German tanker a heavy drinker

izintuthwane illegal sorghum

izinyembezi European liquor

zenkosazane

ispansa man who likes to entertain females with money and liquor

i-oros man who likes to entertain females with money and liquor

i-P.E. (phuza eyes) eyes affected by liquor intake

i-P.F. (phuza face)
face affected by liquor intake

iP.M. (phuza mouth) umlomo osushiswe
mouth affected by utshwala

u-poloni mouth which has been affected by utshwala
liquor intake.
pinkish/ reddish mouth

imbebevane mouth which has been burnt by liquor intake

umxhasi man who likes to entertain females in a shebeen
owesilisa othanda ukuxhasa abesifazane ejoyintini

iphenguwinini/ one who is very ongafuni ukuthengela
i-penguin stingy, who does not want to share ejoyintini
liquor with others

umaphipha one who drinks all sorts of brands ophuza konke
put before him

isaswishi one who drinks anything ophuza konke, noma yini
put before him/ who drinks all sorts of beverages

ukuphonsa imfolozi to pick pocket ukukhuthuza
ukucwayitha to pick pocket ukukhuthuza
ukuhayijekha to pick pocket ukukhuthuza
iphophza 9644 Charles Glass iCharles Glass
Castle Lager Castle Lager
izipikili Smirnoff i-Smirnoff
i-1818 Smirnoff i-Smirnoff
ismiramuwa Smirnoff
isiphini a bottle opener
amaqhizane Castle Milk stout
isitibhili Castle Milk stout
umvusanduku Castle Milk stout
ukuringa to tell
ukuthuma to tell
ukusenta ibhola to initiate a drinking session
to open a liquor bottle

isikhiye the on who initiates a drinking session

ukushaya to vomit/ to drink by means of a bottle
i-trumpet/ itrampethi to vomit
ukuflora to drink by means of a bottle
ukushaya icilongo to dink by means of a bottle
ukushaya ibhodlela to drink all the contents in a full bottle
ukushaya ngebhodlela to drink all the contents in a full bottle
zinkila come here
zwakala lapha come here
khelila lapha come here
shayisa lapha come here
ukushisisa imoto to warm oneself up by taking a sip
ukushunqa to scold
usonhlalohle an entertainer

i-Smirnoff
isiqeqebuli Castle Milk stout
CAstle Milk stout
 CASTle Milk stout
ukutshela
ukutshela
ukuba owokuqala
ukuphuza utshwala
uma ibandla
lihlangene
lowo oqalela
abanye ukuphuza
uma ibandla
lihlangene
ukuphalaza
ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukuphalaza
ukuphuza ngebhodlela
ukuphuza lonke
ibhodlela likagolo
woza lapha
woza lapha
woza lapha
woza lapha
ukoqabula umzimba
ngokuthi qhabu otshwale
ukuthetha
umxhasi othanda ukusi-
abaxakekile ejoyintini

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Umbhali Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>isudi</td>
<td>full liquor</td>
<td>ibhodlela eligcwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>likagologolotshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-sealed</td>
<td>full liquor bottle</td>
<td>ibhodlela eligcwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>likagologolo lotshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusula umjuluko</td>
<td>to quench thirst</td>
<td>ukuqeda ukunxanwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isundu</td>
<td>few in number</td>
<td>abantu abayingcosana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitafu</td>
<td>different kinds of liquor brands</td>
<td>izinhlobonhlombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthela</td>
<td>to drink large gulps of liquor</td>
<td>ukuphuza sengathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uyathela awusenawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>umphimbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izamba</td>
<td>unripe liquor</td>
<td>utshwala obungavuthiwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amazenze</td>
<td>drinkers who have no money to buy liquor for themselves, who are dependent on other drinkers</td>
<td>abaphuzi abangenamali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abankashela kwabanye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izimbungulu</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuthinta</td>
<td>not to be a heavy drinker</td>
<td>ukungaphuzi kakhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitlamatlama</td>
<td>morning hang over</td>
<td>ukuba nebhabhalazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umtholampilo</td>
<td>a shebeen</td>
<td>ishibhi, ijoyinti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isipoti</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isitini</td>
<td>a stereo-typed person</td>
<td>onentamo elikhuni,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>onenkani, ongancengeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oweqiwe utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weqiwe utshwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ophuzay/o ngumphuza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umhlabathi</td>
<td>heavily drunk person</td>
<td>iHunter’s Gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uflorile</td>
<td>He is heavily drunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuhlabile</td>
<td>He drinks heavily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyabuhubha</td>
<td>a person who partakes in liquor drinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umqhafi</td>
<td>Hunter’s Gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umzingel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvusa</td>
<td>to commence drinking after a break in a drinking session</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuvusa</td>
<td>ukuphuza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuxhuma ipayipip</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuxhuma ipayipip</td>
<td>ukuchama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutshora</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutshora</td>
<td>ukuchama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukushibiza</td>
<td>to be a drinker of liquor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukushibiza</td>
<td>ukuphuza utshwala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TOWNSHIP CODES AND REGISTERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

(ULIMI OLUKHUNYWA EMALOKISHINI ASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-16/sikstini</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- 6-5</td>
<td>to be a squint</td>
<td>ingxemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-andastenda/</td>
<td>to be flexible</td>
<td>umuntu ozikhulekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku-understand-a</td>
<td>open-minded person</td>
<td>nangomqondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u- ankela</td>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>umalume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isathwa</td>
<td>firearm</td>
<td>isibhamu, ivolovolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- ayina/’eine’ (German)</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>okukodwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- ayiningibhodi</td>
<td>a person with pliable</td>
<td>intombazane enama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legs and with flat back,</td>
<td>bele alengay o pacak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flat buttocks/ breast</td>
<td>kile ngenxa yoku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ngaziphathi ka hle/</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intombazane enamebele</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>akhombisa ukuthi se-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>yadlula kubantu besilisa</td>
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<td>umfowenu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>amanga/ into engekho</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oMhlophe (umlungu)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>izicathulo</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>sobonana ekuseni</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ukukhipha imfihlo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuyilahla lento</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>eThekwini</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>izidakamizwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isibhamu/ ivolovolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isikhwama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubafo</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibala</td>
<td>a lie, empty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owebala</td>
<td>White man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhadu</td>
<td>pair of good shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhalansa</td>
<td>to see each other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emoreni</td>
<td>in the morning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhamuka</td>
<td>to reveal a secret</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwelika Bhanana</td>
<td>in Durban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhathini</td>
<td>mandrax drug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhazuka</td>
<td>firearm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbhengane</td>
<td>a bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhimba</td>
<td>said when things are not running smoothly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBhinoni</td>
<td>four/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhobha</td>
<td>to wait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhomu</td>
<td>fat person, an oppressor person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhodlela</td>
<td>dagga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ublomu</td>
<td>Government police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubopha</td>
<td>to stop/to cease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibrazo</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubreka</td>
<td>to cease for a while/to be out of stock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibrowuni</td>
<td>R20-00 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubru</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba buhlungu</td>
<td>to be ugly (as if you are feeling pains)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucamtha</td>
<td>to talk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucanda</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icando</td>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuchama</td>
<td>to bribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuchela</td>
<td>to show off/to frighten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umchilo</td>
<td>a tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuchitheka</td>
<td>well read/learned person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ichweba</td>
<td>money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cibuka</td>
<td>to go and relieve oneself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ukubhimba: said when things are not running smoothly
- iBhinoni: four/4
- ukubhobha: to wait
- ibhomu: fat person, an oppressor person
- ibhodlela: dagga
- ublomu: Government police
- ukubopha: to stop/to cease
- ibrazo: brother
- ukubreka: to cease for a while/to be out of stock.
- ibrowuni: R20-00 note
- ubru: brother
- ukuba buhlungu: to be ugly (as if you are feeling pains)
- ukucamtha: to talk
- ukucanda: to eat
- icando: food
- ukuchama: to bribe
- ukuchela: to show off/to frighten
- umchilo: a tie
- ukuchitheka: well read/learned person
- ichweba: money
- cibuka: to go and relieve oneself

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- ibrowuni: R20-00 note
- ubru: brother
- ukuba buhlungu: to be ugly (as if you are feeling pains)
- ukucamtha: to talk
- ukucanda: to eat
- icando: food
- ukuchama: to bribe
- ukuchela: to show off/to frighten
- umchilo: a tie
- ukuchitheka: well read/learned person
- ichweba: money
- cibuka: to go and relieve oneself

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ukucijisa  
to pay back ones money/ to return someone’s thing
ukucikica  
to write
icikico  
a letter
ukucisha  
to die/ to cause to die
ziyacusha  
things are coming alright/ running smoothly
ngocwayiba  
at night
idark-zwaca/  
beautiful person
idakhizwaca  
with a dark complexion
edastini  
down/ on the floor/ ground
ukudayisa  
one who likes to talk/ to laugh/ an extrovert.
ukudayivela  
to do something
amagwava aluhlaza  
beyond ones ability/to interfere in an affair
ude Klerk  
R2-00 coin
udenari  
money
uDenisi  
goat (a goat from Folweni which was treated like a human being by Mr Sabelo, the owner. It died in 1992, at Folweni

stay/ live with
ukubuyisela into obuyitshelekile
ukubhala
incwadi
ukufa
izinto zihamba kahle
ebusuku
umuntu omuhle
onebala elinsundu,
indoni yamanzi
ukuvuka phansi
othulini
umuntu othanda ukhuleka ‘njengo-sales man.
ukugijimela izinto ezingaphezu kwakho,
ukugaxela endabeni uR2-00 omusha
imali
imbuzi eyayiphathiswa okomuntu yase Folweni ngo 1992

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>idisho</th>
<th>food</th>
<th>ukudla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>edladleni</td>
<td>at home</td>
<td>ekhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edlozini</td>
<td>at home</td>
<td>ekhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umadlandawonye</td>
<td>S.A.C.P. member</td>
<td>i-S.A.C.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudoba</td>
<td>to fall asleep/ doze</td>
<td>ukulala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idrayishi</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>okuthathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idreshu</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>okuthathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idrishi</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>okuthathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emDubane</td>
<td>in Durban</td>
<td>eThekwini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-E-20</td>
<td>a girl who falls</td>
<td>intombazane ethandana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in love with every man</td>
<td>nabafana abaningi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who comes her way, like</td>
<td>Intombazane eqoma wonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a kombi/taxi which does</td>
<td>umfana oyeshelayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not choose passengers</td>
<td>Ifana neNissan E-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>evumela yonke inhlobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yamaphasenja, engakhethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muntu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufahla</td>
<td>to arrest</td>
<td>ukubopha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufaka i-aromethi</td>
<td>make a story</td>
<td>ukuzakhela indaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sound interesting</td>
<td>engekho uze uqambe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by adding lies</td>
<td>amanga, ukuhlobisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>while narrating it.</td>
<td>indaba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifakisa</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>ukudla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukufusa</td>
<td>to get married</td>
<td>ukushada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifawundeshini</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>ukudla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ifisha        | a prostitute   | isikhawundane/ isi-
<p>|               |                | ndindwana     |
| ifloshemu     | a cow/ a beast | inkomo        |
| ifriji        | a coward       | igwala        |
| ifrozana      | wife           | unkosikazi    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>igada</td>
<td>dagga</td>
<td>insangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imgalakada</td>
<td>prostitute</td>
<td>isikhawundane/ isifeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igaqa</td>
<td>coin money</td>
<td>imali ewuhlweza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugejeka/</td>
<td>to be hungry/</td>
<td>ukulamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugeyijeka</td>
<td>an empty stomach</td>
<td>ukulamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igesi /igeyiji</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>ukudla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esigele</td>
<td>at school</td>
<td>esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umgelemba</td>
<td>prostitute</td>
<td>isikhawundane/ isifeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugidla</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>ukulala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba yi-glavu</td>
<td>an ugly person</td>
<td>umuntu omubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokubhoksa/lesibhakela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igoni</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td>ummese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugoqa</td>
<td>to propose love,</td>
<td>ukweshela,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to tell lies</td>
<td>ukuqamba amanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugoqo</td>
<td>master key/ universal</td>
<td>ukhiye ongekho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>key, home made key</td>
<td>emthethweni wokuvula izimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igosti</td>
<td>something bad/bad news</td>
<td>into ebhedayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>someone who is bad news</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugqebza</td>
<td>to display or show off/</td>
<td>ukugqoka kahle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to dress well</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogqoke umsebenzi</td>
<td>refers to workers</td>
<td>abasebenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who wear uniform</td>
<td>abafaka izingubo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at work</td>
<td>zokusebenza emsebenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigqoko</td>
<td>a leader/ an authority</td>
<td>umholi</td>
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<tr>
<td>igrendi</td>
<td>R1000-00 note</td>
<td>R1000-00 oyiphepha</td>
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<td>igrini</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
<td>R10-00 oyiphepha</td>
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<tr>
<td>igriza</td>
<td>granny</td>
<td>ugogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igrotha</td>
<td>ugly woman</td>
<td>inkosikazi embi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emgura</td>
<td>at school</td>
<td>esikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiGura</td>
<td>school register/code</td>
<td>ulimi olukhulunywa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>ukugwaja</td>
<td>to be frightened/ afraid</td>
<td>ezikoleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isigwajane</td>
<td>a coward</td>
<td>ukwesaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugxà</td>
<td>a friend</td>
<td>igwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukugxuma nesheyini</td>
<td>to refuse to do something</td>
<td>umngane</td>
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<tr>
<td>ihansi</td>
<td>a crook/ a person with a hoarse voice from smoking and drinking ngenxa yokubhema</td>
<td>ukuqaba ukwenza into ihansi a crook! a person umuntu oyisigebengu, onezwi elihoshozelayo noma ngenxa yokubhema</td>
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<tr>
<td>ihanta</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihata/ irhatà</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>iphoyisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amahharha-shame (Ag! (Afrik.) Shame!)</td>
<td>black patches on the face</td>
<td>izishishi ezimnyama ebusweni</td>
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<tr>
<td>ukuhaza</td>
<td>to fail</td>
<td>ukungaphumeleli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iheheba</td>
<td>a letter</td>
<td>incwadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihhafu-thàyiga</td>
<td>R5-00 note</td>
<td>R5-00 oyiphepha, itoyitoyi, esibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhhayi-hhayi</td>
<td>toyi-toyi dance</td>
<td>in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehhosi</td>
<td>in hospital</td>
<td>esibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihhosi</td>
<td>hospital code ro register</td>
<td>ulimi lwasesibhedlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihhoki</td>
<td>matches</td>
<td>umentshisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-houtjie (Afrik.)</td>
<td>matches</td>
<td>umentshisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihlahla</td>
<td>R10-00 note</td>
<td>R10-00 oyiphepha, isambulela, isigqoko, ikepisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umhlogosi</td>
<td>an umbrella, hat, cap</td>
<td>impama, isihlanu, iphilisi lezidakamizwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihlonyana</td>
<td>palm of a hand, five</td>
<td>inyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkinobho</td>
<td>pill/ tablet/ mandrax</td>
<td>R1000-00 oyiphepha, ukukhombisa ukuthi, kukhona okushaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inyetsi/inyesi</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irhiye, i'g', 'igee'</td>
<td>R1000-00 notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukujampisa</td>
<td>to reveal a something concealed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ijangajanga  a person who is half clever and half stupid

ukujayiva  to pick pocket

ukujeke  to hold someone in a reckless manner

umajika  dancer expert

umjitha  boys

isijithazi  tsotsi language

isikebhe  sleeping bed

ukukeqa  to propose love

ekerekeni  in church

ezikhindini  in prison

ukukhipha ubhoyo  to show off

ukukhipha unyawo  to show off

ukuyokhomba  to go and perform a hold up/ to rob a shop/ bank, of goods or money with a gun

ukhirimu kaPhreshi  a handsome guy

ukukhumuka  run away

umakhwapheni  a hidden lover

ukukhwifa  to show off

ukuba namakiniati  to have pimples on the face

isikithi  girlfriend

ikliphu  R1000-00 notes

ukukreya  to find something one

ulanga  amanzi, ukudalula into umuntu ongahlahakaniphile

ukweba  ukubamba omunye kabuhlungu

umpetha wokudansa abafana

ulimi loTsotsi umbhede

ukweshela esontweni

ejele

ukubukisa

ukubukisa

ukuyogqeqeza

uhlomile

insizwa ebukekayo

ukubaleka

ishende

ukubukisa

ukuba nezinduna

ebusweni

intombi

imali engu R100-00

ukuthola into ethile

okukodwa
isilayi dagga (small portions of)
ukulebula to propose love
umlenze wepulangwe private lover
uleveni goat
isileyi old lady
isiluka old woman
amadlandawonye members of SACP
umagrizi grand mother/granny
umahosha prostitute who
is a thief
umampara a stupid person
ukuba manzi to be beautiful

umbhayi a stupid person
umasilaphiki street dwellers
embizeni in Johannesburg/Gauteng eGoli
i-mendri lemonade umalula, unemenayidi
(from ‘mineral’)
uMengro a person who claims
 to be intelligent whilst he is not
kwelika Meyija (Major) in the toilet
(major thing in one’s life)
ukumfumbatha to hold him
her with closed hands, to contain
him or her. To be liked by someone. A person

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ukufumbathisa

who has high regards for you.

to let someone

hide a gift/bribery

with both hands

itiye

bribery/fraud/nepotism

to let someone

hide a gift/bribery

with both hands

umngeni

(colour of UMngeni river is like tea)

bribery/fraud/
nepotism

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.

umlungu

to force to be superior

ukuthanda ukushayela abanye imithetho

ukuminya

to conclude, to come to an end

ukuqeda into obuynenza

imonza

a person with buttocks

umuntu onezinga ezinkulu

everni

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

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to steal</td>
<td>ukuncinza</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be literate</td>
<td>ukuncwada</td>
<td>to be literate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a learned person/ an educated person</td>
<td>oncwadile</td>
<td>a learned person/ an educated person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>indele</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bus</td>
<td>indlovu</td>
<td>a bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stupid person</td>
<td>isandumbazi</td>
<td>stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to take/ to steal</td>
<td>ukuncuka</td>
<td>to take/ to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gun</td>
<td>ingadla</td>
<td>a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
<td>ingam'le</td>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
<td>ingamule</td>
<td>rich (White) man, a boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich White man</td>
<td>ingemu</td>
<td>rich White man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be scared</td>
<td>ukushivara</td>
<td>to be scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not to be afraid</td>
<td>ukungashivari</td>
<td>not to be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or frightened of a situation</td>
<td>ukungashivari</td>
<td>or frightened of a situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby/ small child</td>
<td>ingcosi</td>
<td>baby/ small child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a watch</td>
<td>ingijima</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one who likes to praise himself</td>
<td>inqozi</td>
<td>one who likes to praise himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film/ bioscope</td>
<td>ingqayi</td>
<td>film/ bioscope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to scream/ cry loudly</td>
<td>ukungqeba</td>
<td>to scream/ cry loudly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gun</td>
<td>ingqibho</td>
<td>a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stupid person</td>
<td>ungqimpu</td>
<td>stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a person with black marks on the face/ a crook</td>
<td>ingwe</td>
<td>a person with black marks on the face/ a crook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in prison</td>
<td>ezingxazeni</td>
<td>in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>ezincane</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a watch</td>
<td>ingxazi</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a watch</td>
<td>injomane</td>
<td>a watch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ukunika uMlazi 5 to slap someone with the palm of a hand ukushaya umuntu nge-

ukunkawuza to smoke cigarette ukubhema u-gwayi

izinkobe tablets (medication) amaphilisi

inkombakombane seven (7) isikhombisa (7)

inkri nkri a telephone iwashi

insangane a suit insudi

insikazi female umuntu wesimane

untanjana a neck tie uthayi

entshobha at the shops ezitolo

intshodi shirt isethi/ 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

lnzangane any written noma yiliphi documen/ proof iphepha elikhomba

ubufakazi

ipayipi dagga insangu

ukuspana to work ukusebenza

espanini at work emsebenzini

i oledi old lady umama

opensiwi a black-European/ a Black person who umlungu, umuntu ozenza

one behaves like umlungu

iphahlaza glasses izibuko
spectacles
a short person
a gossip
a short person
iphili
a short person
ipsi
a short person
iphothe
a short person
ukuphoqoza
to run away
ukuphotha
to tell lies
iphotshisi/shi
lies
iphothebhu
a gossiper
faithful
ukuphusha
to study hard/to be in love with someone

eziPini
in Pinetown
two
isipinsi
young girl
iponi
member of the
isqabane
A.N.C./P.A.C./S.A.C.P. alliance
isiqeda
disliked person
oqeqeshekile
a spoiled child/a rude person
irabha
fat cooks/a condom
ukuba rayithi
to be considerate
umreva
Reverend
ukureya
to travel
irimu
old shoe
ukuroja
to stab
iroloni
private lover/hidden lover
iruji
R50-00 note
imSADAFU
Member of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South African Defence Force</td>
<td>ukusala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be imprisoned</td>
<td>usebentini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a foolish person</td>
<td>ukusekena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come back</td>
<td>isesteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a sister</td>
<td>zisha ngani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what is going on</td>
<td>zishaphi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what is going on</td>
<td>isapizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be unpopular</td>
<td>ukushaya ingqayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be disliked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go and see someone, to take a photograph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to scratch one's body</td>
<td>ukushaya isigingci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to take bosses’ money without permission</td>
<td>ukushaya ishayina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come across fortune</td>
<td>ukushayisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gossiper/ a scandalmonger</td>
<td>ushekazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a handsome boy</td>
<td>ishibusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matches</td>
<td>ishisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20-00 note</td>
<td>ishokhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not to get what you wanted</td>
<td>ukushweba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a policeman</td>
<td>usiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>isigqoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go/to walk</td>
<td>ukusilayiza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males with</td>
<td>islovasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>township fever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vikela
ukuboshwa
isilima
ukubuyela emuva
udadewenu
kwenzakalani
kwenzekeni
ukungadumi ngalutho/
ukungathandeki
ukuyobona umuntu
ukuthatha isithombe
ukuzenwaya
ukuthatha imali
kabasi ngaphandle
kwemvume yakhe
ukuthola impahla
elahlekile/ edukiile
umuntu ohlebayo
umfana obukekayo
umentshisi
R20-00 oyiphepha
ukungayitholi into
obuyifuna
iphoyisa
iphoyisa
ukuhamba
iqembu labantu
abasazizwa bebasha,
abakhulumulimi ulimi
isiLovasi | Tsotsitaal | olunjegwayelekile
ukusphlesha | to take a bath | olukucashiyo, nabaphila
isuzela | a person with big buttocks | impilo yokungaqondakali
isuzu | a person with big buttocks | kahle ikheli labo.
isitaka | money notes | ulimi lokweqisela
isitaki | money notes | lwaseThekwini
itanana | a young girl | ukugeza
uthalala | stupid person/ not open minded | umuntu onezinga
esithawa | in town | ezinkulu
isithawa | person with pimples on face | imali eyiphepha
isiThawa | township code or register | umuntu onezinduna
ithayiga | R10-00 note | ebubeni
ithayima | father | ulimi lwasedolobheni
ukuthayipha | to walk bare-footed | ulimi lwasedolobheni
ithekeni | young girl/ girl | lwaseThekwini
etheshweni | at work | umuntu onezinkulu
uthiza | a teacher | imali eyiphepha
ithom’thomu | casual shoe | ubaba
ukuthwasa | to see | ukuhamba ngezinyawo
itingitingi | auto-teller machine | intombazanyana

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(from the sound made by the autoteller machine when pressing its button)

isitini  R1000-00 note  R1000-00 ongamphepha
isitini  a ghost/ bad thing  into embi, umuntu ongancengeki

ukutoboa ngoCansa  to telephone someone  ukushaya ucingo
itoiytoyi  political uprising  itoyitoyi
dance

ukutrowa  to get married  ukushada
itsatsatsa  R2-00  R2-00
umthokodi  one, a goal keeper  okukodwa, unozinti
i-uno  a person with umuntu onesishwapha
flat buttocks/back

ukuvala  to be the best owedlulele entweni
or worst

ukuyivala  to stop ukuma

ukuvaya  to go away ukuhamba
ivevezi  a widower umfelwa
iwindskrini  face of a human ubuso
being

ukuwitha  to talk ukukhuluma

ixhama  five/ a slap isihlanu/ impama
umziki  prostitute isifebe
izimu  Member of Azanian IsiZulu Azanian
Movement

ukuzwakala  to come/ to arrive ukuza/ ukufika
ziyamponpa  there is a lot of fun ukuzitika ngenjabulo,
ziyamporoma  there is a lot of fun ukungcibe, ukuzibusisa
kuyabuswa, kujatshulwe

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6. TRANSPORTATION REGISTERS AND CODES WHICH ARE USED IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA. 
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EZINDAWENI ZOKUTHUTHA ABANTU ETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-Anti sosha</td>
<td>females who prepare and sell food to the taxi drivers and conductors</td>
<td>abesifazane abapheka badayise ukudla emarenke ezokuthutha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuyibamba</td>
<td>the driver must stop the at the bus stop</td>
<td>ukuma esitobhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esitobhini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esibayeni</td>
<td>enclosure for taxis, where taxis rank</td>
<td>lapho amatekisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- Be My Wife</td>
<td>a B.M.W. motor vehicle</td>
<td>lwe B.M.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhanga</td>
<td>an empty taxi</td>
<td>iteksi engenabantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhemile</td>
<td>the secret has been revealed</td>
<td>kuyabheda/ ukudaluleka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibheshu</td>
<td>rubber pads which flap up and down while the vehicle is in motion</td>
<td>amabhesu emoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibhlamani</td>
<td>Brahman cattle/ Datsun E20 Model</td>
<td>i- Datsun E20 Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uBrenda</td>
<td>a stolen car</td>
<td>imoto entshontshiwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuhlalu</td>
<td>seat covers which are made of beads</td>
<td>amakhava esihlalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubuka iT.V.</td>
<td>the back part of</td>
<td>ngobuhlalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuhlala uncike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ukubuya kwegazi
Things are going well

ukucela indlela
To indicate for overtaking

ukuchatha imoto
To put gasoline into a car

ichunu
Stolen car

iyaconsa
New taxi, which is appealing/

attractive

iconsì
A secret message (sticker)

ucothoza
Slow moving vehicle

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.
to be fined R250
or R350-00

a short cut, method
of obtaining something
quicker than using
the right channels

taxi drivers like
to show off with
their taxis. They
take great pride of
their motor vehicles

to show off

to be jealous

Traditional African
tobacco

to escape from a road

block

when taximen install
copper rims
in the wheels of
their taxis

accelerate the
speed of a moving
vehicle

a taxi which has
been decorated
with white shiny
steel, which is
made up of chrome
on the mudguard

a vehicle which is
ukufasa
old and in a generally bad condition
said when a taxi is full of passengers
a hooter on a vehicle is a device such as
a horn or siren that makes
a hooting noise

imfengwana
uma imoto igcwele
amaphasenja
i-hooter

i-first in all troubles Fiat

for only reckless drivers Ford

ukufutha to have a lot of money

ukuba ugangaganda a vehicle that moves very slowly

igazoli petrol, fuel used for automobiles

ukugcwala ngokurhafa to be prepared to pay fare

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

ukugidla efotini to sleep in jail

iginsa stolen car

goqa to make a U turn/
ugoqo to tell lies amanga, ukukohlisa
to open artificial key uhlobo lukakhiye olu-
used to open vula izimoto
motor vehicles, a master key

ukugqirha to travel by train ukuhamba ngesitimela
ngokhushukhushu

ukuhlabanqensimbi to travel by means ukuhamba ngemoto
of a car.

ukuhlanza kweketsi said when a taxi uma itekisi seyehlisa
empties its passengers amaphasenja
umjondolo temporary arrangement, into yesikhashana
for a short time

ikameli refers to the roof ikhumbi yohlobo lweSuzu
of a kombi

called Isuzu which
is high and can go
for long distances
without water

ukukapaka isiTswana refers to fleeing ukubalekela amaphoyisa
away of a taxi amoto epake kabi
driver from the itekisi/ iteksi
police

ukupaka isiTswana A car that is badly
imoto epake kabi
parked

iketsi refers to a motor vehicle

ukukha amaphasenja to load passengers ukufayisha amaphasenja
ukukhabula to travel by a ukuhamba ngesithuthuthu
ngembonbozana motor bike

ekhishini back seat of a isihlalo esingemuva
car, kombi, bus emotweni
_ukuyikhomba_ phezulu

when a passenger points up in the air it means that he is going to town

_ukuyikhomba phansi_

When a passenger points down wards, it means, he is travelling within the vicinity of the township

_ukukuhlwa_

to fall from a bicycle

_yingqayika_

place underneath the mudguard painted white

_amakhwapha_

refers to a new kombi which is a 16 seater

_isikwele_

uhlobo olusha lwe-Toyota.

_ikhumbi yakwa Toyota_

_isilahlamatende_

refers to cars which have open roofs. A convertible motor car, like a B.M.W.

-ilahle_

stolen car, imoto eyibiwe

_ukulanda inkomo_

to fetch or steal a taxi or kombi

_yomnotho_

le moto inamasando

_legedlela ikhabula_

this vehicle has a puncture

_ngamarimu_

le tekisi igwene

_le ketsi inosayidinsi_

this taxi is overloaded/is full

_ukulinda intulo_

to wait for a taxi

_imanzi_

this taxi is itekisi entsha

uma iphasenja likho-mba phezulu, liya eThekwini

uma iphasenja, likho-mba phansi, liya khona la eduzane ngaphakathi elokishimi

ukuwa ebhayisikilini

indawo engaphansi emaceleni emo.

uhlobo olusha lwe-Toyota.

imoto evulekayo phezulu ibuye ivalwe.

imoto eyibiwe

ukweba itekisi noma

ikhumbi

le moto inamasando

aphantsile

le tekisi igwene

ukulinda itekisi/iteksi

itekisi entsha
newly bought
an unlicensed driver
umbombela
a train
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
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
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
isiTransi
transport code or register
itransi
transport
umshayeli wetekisi
ongenayo i-licence
isitimela
isimule
isaTransi
okokuthutha umphakathi
noma amaphasenja
7. SOCCER REGISTERS AND CODES IN GREATER DURBAN AREA
(ULIMI OLUKHULUNYWA EBHOLENI EZINDAWENI
ZASETHEKWINI NAMAPHETHELO.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCR'S</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
<th>ZULU GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukubamba</td>
<td>expert in saving balls</td>
<td>unozinti ongumpetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubhacaza</td>
<td>incapable person who</td>
<td>umuntu ongenalusizo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>makes a lot of excuses</td>
<td>lwalutho obika izaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>njalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isibhaxu</td>
<td>a team which lost the</td>
<td>iqembu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>game, to be penalised</td>
<td>elingaphumelelanga,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukuhlawuliswa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBhinoni</td>
<td>number 4, a player</td>
<td>ogqoke unombolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wearing jersey number 4.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuboza</td>
<td>to fumble</td>
<td>ukudlala umdlalo obbedayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukubuza epalini</td>
<td>a swift shot into the net</td>
<td>ukulishaya phakathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umchamo</td>
<td>a weak and short shot</td>
<td>ishodi elingatheni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of a ball which goes</td>
<td>eliphumela ngaphandle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outside the playground</td>
<td>kwenkundla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuchitha ibhola</td>
<td>to throw the ball with</td>
<td>ukuphonsa ibhola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>both hands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukucupha</td>
<td>to play a rough game</td>
<td>umdlali odlala kabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngokukahlelelana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuchwesheza</td>
<td>smooth passing of ball</td>
<td>ukudlala ngesinono sekati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from player to player</td>
<td>lisuka kumdlali liya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kumdlali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukumdayisa</td>
<td>to make a fool of a player</td>
<td>ukubukisa ngomunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>infront of spectators</td>
<td>umdlali phambi kwezihlwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukudovola</td>
<td>to kick the ball</td>
<td>ukukahlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufiwweyi</td>
<td>a useless player who</td>
<td>umdlali ongabajulukisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>does not give his</td>
<td>abanye abadlali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opponents a tough time</td>
<td>umdlali ongenamsebenzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ukugawula to be penalised during a soccer match ukuhlawuliswa ngesikhathi somdlalo
ukugaxa to form a cross ball ukukhahlela i bhola ngendlela yokuthi abadlali benze isiphambano ngaku 18 area
isikwele to pass the ball from the sides to the 18 area

ihansi a player who longs for a ball umdlali olangazelela ibhola

ukuhlabana to play a rough game ukudlala kabi i goli, iwule, inqaku
ihura, iihure, iihule a hurray, a goal unozinti ophapheme
ikati a sharp goal keeper Khabazela Khahlela uyise ngakomunye ngesithende

Khabazela please pass the ball with your heels

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 ukudululisa 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indele</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Walutho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inqamvu</td>
<td>A soccer ball</td>
<td>Isithathu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukungqomfa</td>
<td>To head a ball</td>
<td>Ibhola likanobhutshuzayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingra</td>
<td>A soccer ball</td>
<td>Ukhola likanobhutshuzwayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiNgura</td>
<td>Soccer vocabulary</td>
<td>Ulimi lwasebholeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injeje</td>
<td>To play a rough game</td>
<td>Ukudlala kabi ngokukhahlela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injini</td>
<td>A player who wears</td>
<td>Umdlali othwele unombolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkalakatha</td>
<td>Experienced soccer player</td>
<td>Inkakha kwezebhola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkomo</td>
<td>A useless soccer player</td>
<td>Umdlali ongenamsebenzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inqaku</td>
<td>A goal</td>
<td>Walutho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inqola</td>
<td>Backline of a soccer match</td>
<td>Igoli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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