THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN XHOSA VARIETIES :

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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Abstract.

This thesis examines two interrelated issues, namely,

> (a) the concept of language variety, also called linguistic diversity or linguistic variation
>
> (b) the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties in terms of standard and non-standard forms, respectively.

The thesis is conceived partly against the background of the pioneer work of Labov (1966) on language variety and partly against a heterogeneous background of developments in the area of language change. The study is essentially about the nature, causes and the result of language change. Consequently, such aspects as language variety, culture, speech community, lexical borrowing, terminology and language standardization are dealt with insofar as they relate specifically to language use and language change.

For purposes of the thesis, some parameters are set in terms of which the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties is conceived. Because the study is sociolinguistic, no detailed consideration of grammar as such is given. Such aspects of grammar as are treated relate specifically to the objective of the thesis.

Selected aspects of phonology, syntax and the lexicon are considered. The selection has been done on the basis of the possibility of these aspects being best suited to the kind of comparison the study undertakes.

One of the expectations of a research project is that its findings, or at least some of them, must be capable of being generalized in other areas. It is for this reason that this thesis considers some of the implications of the study of language varieties for language planning and language teaching. It does so especially in the light of some of the flaws that are identified sa in the areas of language planning

This thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.

20 November 1989

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

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Preface

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction : Theoretical and historical issues.

1.0 General remarks

Although Finlayson (1988:35) says the term `Bantu', as applied to a family of languages referred to as such is,

> internationally the most generally
> acknowledged term used to describe
> this vast `family of languages'

the present study will avoid the use of that term. The reason for doing this is that the term is considered to be offensive by the speakers of the languages concerned because of its unsavoury political overtones. In any case, Finlayson herself acknowledges the fact that the term has been `misapplied.' In the present study, therefore, `African languages' will be used although that term itself is not entirely appropriate.

Xhosa belongs to the Nguni group of African languages. Nguni languages constitute a subgroup in the Central Branch of the Niger-Congo Family. Xhosa is spoken by some five million speakers(cf.Pahl, forthcoming) . First attempts at codifying the language date back to 1823 when Scottish missionaries tried to reduce the language into writing at a place that is now known

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as Lovedale in the Eastern Cape. The apparent importance of
Xhosa lies not only in the number of its speakers, but also in
that it shows features that are alien to most other African
languages. One of the most outstanding features is the prevalence
of clicks. Such clicks are the result of the heavy influence of
Khoisan languages.

Despite its apparent importance, Xhosa seems to have received
very little attention in scholarly works. Analyses of Xhosa in
the form of theses appear to dwell predominantly on
phonology,morphology and tonology. Syntax has received very
little attention while sociolinguistics, the subject of the
present study, seems to be neglected.

The present work is, therefore, partly an attempt to focus on
Xhosa as a language, and partly an attempt to contribute in a
neglected field in the study of African languages in the Republic
of South Africa, namely sociolinguistics.

1.1 Objectives of the thesis

The present thesis will examine two interrelated issues, namely,

        (a)   the notion of language variety, also called
            linguistic diversity or linguistic variation

        (b)   the difference between rural and urban Xhosa

varieties in terms of standard and non-standard varieties, respectively.

1.2 Theoretical background

The research is conceived in part against the background of the pioneer work of Labov (1966) on language variety. In his pioneer work, which has also to be seen in the light of his other works (1963, 1965, 1970, 1972) he emphasizes the sociolonguistic structure of urban speech communities. He has laid a foundation for the study of language in its social context. His methodology has generated a set of principles or empirical findings which he calls 'sociolinguistic patterns.' Romaine (1982:1) says these principles can be taken to be,

> testable hypotheses concerning the basic principles underlying the organization, social differentiation and change of speech communities.

Labov's theory of language change, of which language variety is an aspect, specifically emphasizes speech communities where all the social groups use the variable concerned in the same way, but not necessarily to the same extent. Romaine (1982) calls such speech communities 'prototype variable rule communities.' Labov's claim then, as Romaine (1982:19) rightly sees it, is that,

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> the locus of the grammar is in the community
> or group and that the speech of any social
> group will be less variable than the speech
> of the individual.

There is the opposite which is advocated by the proponents of the so-called `dynamic paradigm.' They maintain that one must begin with the individual rather than with the group. According to this view, not every member of the community necessarily operates with the same set of rules.

Labov's theory is based on the assumption that the spread of linguistic innovations is dependent on the social prestige that goes with them. He uses the term `covert prestige' to account for the spread of change from below. That is, from lower-middle or working class. `Overt prestige', on the other hand, comes from upper prestige classes.

If, as Labov says, the norm of each group has its own prestige, why then is it that change does not originate in any group? Why, for example, is there no change from the very lowest social group?

Labov would argue that the very lowest social group is least affected by prestige norms.

Overall, Labov correlates linguistic variation with socio-

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economic class as the following diagram attempts to show,

```
                    Linguistic    variation
                         |
                         |
                    Socio-economic class
                       /            \
                      /              \
           Low class                   High class
              |                            |
              |                            |
    Non-standard varieties        Standard varieties
```
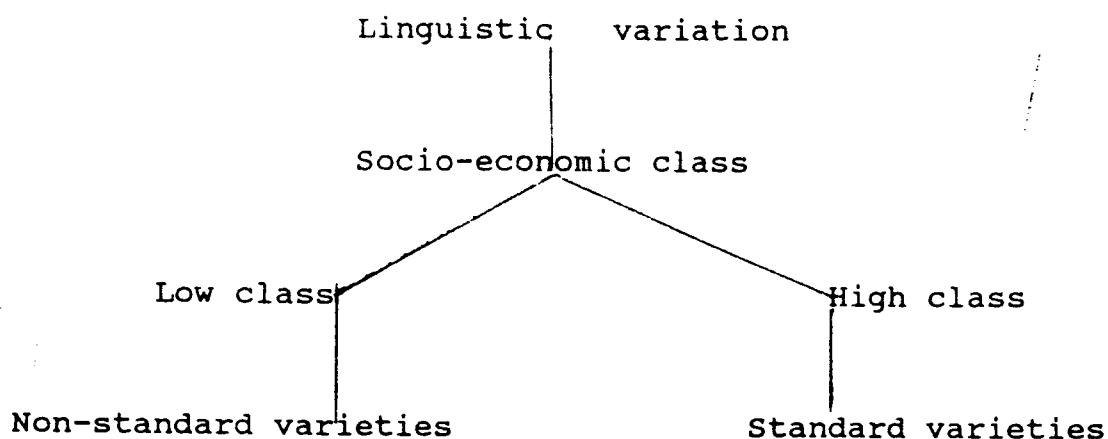
Labov maintains that non-standard varieties are used by the low class while standard varieties are used by the high class group of people. That makes his theory status-based and straightforwardly correlational. That the patterning of sociolinguistic behaviour can be correlated with status or social behaviour and be explained only in those terms is questionable. As will become apparent from the present study, both these ideas also apply to rural and urban Xhosa. Romaine (1982:4) says,

> A viable social theory of language must
> present a coherent account of how particular
> uses, functions and kinds of language
> develop within particular speech communities.

Romaine expresses the view that sociolinguistic phenomena need to

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be studied from several different perspectives, for example the individual, the social group and the speech community. She regards the main task of any sociolinguistic theory as being the clarification of the interface between the levels of abstraction which have been mentioned above, namely the individual, the social group and the speech community.

It is mainly for this reason that she criticises Labov's theory and considers it to be too rigid and narrow to accommodate a truly integrated view of language differentiation and change. Apart from that, she says the theory leads to 'a rather monistic conception' of language. However, she does not discount Labov entirely.

Since Labov's pioneer study in language variation with its emphasis on the sociolinguistic structure of urban speech communities, there has been much progress in the study of sociolinguistic variation. There have also been attempts at developing a more viable sociolinguistic theory. Such a theory seeks to make a coherent statement about the relationship between language use and social structures and patterns of various kinds.

According to Romaine (1982) recent sociolinguistic research, for example Irvine (1978) and Romaine (1978), seems to indicate that linguistic changes come about as a result of 'competing

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pressures' from two social groups in the speech communities which do not use language in the same way. In the case of the present study rural and urban Xhosa varieties constitute such social groups.

She continues to say that,

> These sorts of competing changes represent cases in which norms of speaking associated with different groups in the SAME community are crucial in providing an account of differentiation and change in the system. (1982:22).

So much then for Labov and his theory.

1.3 Possible theoretical approaches

Poulos (1982) points out that in a research project (such as the present one, for example) there are two options that are open to a researcher with regard to the approach that can be adopted,

(a) the researcher either follows a monotheoretical approach where the problems which have been identified in the study are accounted for or explained in terms of one coherent formal theory. Alternatively,

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(b) the researcher adopts a multitheoretical approach where formal and non-formal concepts are invoked in accounting for and explaining the problems which have been identified.

Basically, the present thesis is divided into two parts, namely the description of rural and urban Xhosa varieties on the one hand, and the application of the main thrust of the thesis to language planning and language education. The two distinct parts into which the thesis is divided do not seem to allow for a monotheoretical approach. Labov's theory for example, does not seem to have a direct bearing on language planning. Similarly, the theory of language planning does not seem to have a direct bearing on Labov's theory. The point that is being made is that there is no single formal theory that is applicable to the entire study.

Although Botha (1978) warns strongly against adopting a multitheoretical approach to language study, for the purpose of the present thesis the adoption of a multitheoretical approach seems to be inevitable. The main reason for this viewpoint is that, as will become apparent both from the thesis itself and from the review of some of the relevant literature, the thesis is conceived against a heterogeneous background of developments in the area of language change.

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The present thesis will, therefore, take cognizance of formal theoretical considerations and also of those considerations which are generally regarded as falling outside the scope of a formal theory.

1.4 The significance of the thesis

The significance of the thesis lies in the fact that it will fill a significant gap in the study of African languages in general and that of Xhosa in particular. In an article which goes as far back as 1951, White draws attention to the need for research in what he calls the `neglected field' of sociolinguistics. In his words,

> The diverse effects of the outer world
> upon modern Africa in the social sphere
> are well known and have been much studied;
> but little has been written upon the effects
> of modern influences on African languages.
> (1951:66).

This is the inference that can also be drawn from Hendrikse (1977). Wilkes (1978) remarks on the absence of sociolinguistic research in African language studies in the Republic of South Africa. In spite of the fact that these observations were made more than ten years ago, they are, to a very large extent, still valid.

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The significance of the present thesis is perhaps also underlined by the STANON Research Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council. It is also partly against the background of that Programme that the thesis is conceived.

The aims of that Programme according to the Newsletter of the African Language Association of Southern Africa (1988:6) are,

(i)   to describe the difference between the nine standard African languages and their non-standard varieties in selected areas of South Africa.

(ii)   to describe the influences of the non-standard varieties on the use of standard varieties in selected areas; and

(iii)   to make recommendations if and when required on these differences and/or influences for language education, language planning and other areas.

1.5 A review of some of the relevant literature

In making the proposed review, the point that needs to be made at the outset is that the present study is essentially about the nature, causes and the result of language change. Aspects such as language varieties, lexical borrowing, terminology and language

standardization therefore become relevant insofar as they relate variously to language use and language change.

Much of the sociolinguistic work related to the current research appears to have been done outside the Republic of South Africa rather than inside. Perhaps the hallmark in this particular area is the Ninth International African Seminar which was held at the University College, Dar es Salaam, during December 1968. The Seminar addressed the question of language use and social change, with particular reference to the problems of multilingualism in East Africa. Reference to some of the papers or studies which were presented at that Seminar, and which are relevant to the present study, is appropriate.

Andrzejewski (1971) discusses the role of broadcasting in the adaptation of the Somali language to modern needs. In other words, language change which occurs as a result of broadcasting or as a result of the language of the radio. Some of the data for the current research comes from the radio.

Fulass (1971) addresses the problems of terminology. He warns against indiscriminate linguistic innovation or language change which hinders rather than advances communication. He argues that what he calls `contamination' is both desirable and inevitable. But, he says, such `contamination' which he equates with

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linguistic innovation must facilitate communication and preserve the features of the vernacular language.

Mosha (1971) discusses lexical borrowing, or what he calls `adoptives', in Luganda. With adoptives as the starting point, he focuses on some of the mechanics for the adaptation of African languages to modern conditions. He considers morphological and phonological `Lugandanization.' Lexical borrowing forms an essential part of the present study.

If African languages are to cope with information explosion, if they are to avoid `perpetual dependency' and an `ever increasing lag' then the language of specialized information is necessary. This is what Nida (1971) says in his examination of the communication roles of languages in multilingual societies.
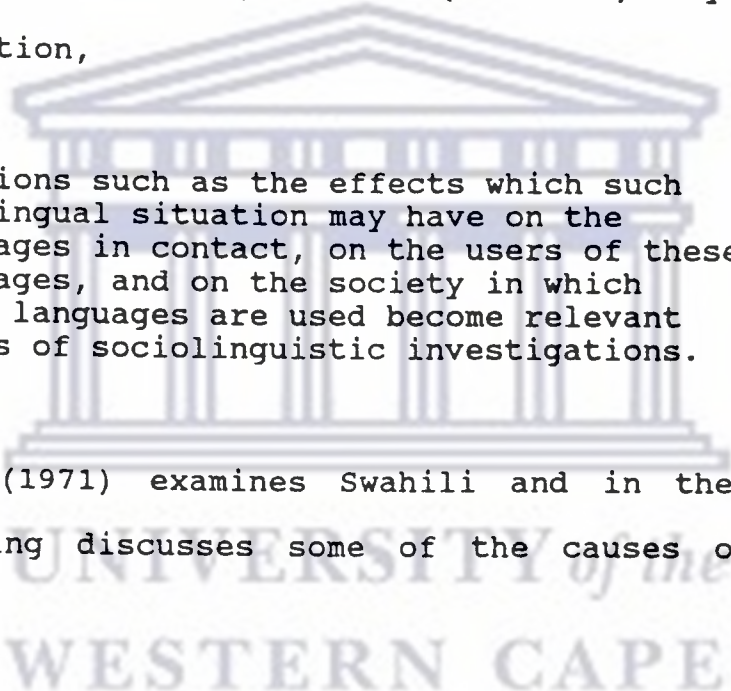
Lastly, Whiteley (1968) draws attention to what he calls `intergenerational problems of communication' and emphasizes the need to focus on the relationship and interplay between language use and social change.

So much then for the papers which were presented at the Ninth International Seminar. There have been other studies related to the present research, as the survey which follows will attempt to show.

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Epstein (1959) shows how in Bemba on the Copperbelt in Zambia linguistic innovations are made in order to fill gaps in that language. These are gaps that are created by the exposure of the native speakers of Bemba to new situations and experiences in the city. Richardson (1963) also deals with a similar theme in Bemba and considers lexical and grammatical aspects. White (1951) also examines linguistic innovations. He considers Lunda and Lwena, both of which are Zambian languages.

The question of how Nigerian languages are affected by English is dealt with by Akere (1981). Akere (1981:284) says that in a bilingual situation,

> Questions such as the effects which such a bilingual situation may have on the languages in contact, on the users of these languages, and on the society in which these languages are used become relevant issues of sociolinguistic investigations.

Margaret Ball (1971) examines Swahili and in the context of lexical borrowing discusses some of the causes of change in Swahili.

Carol Scotton and Okeju (1972) deal with some of the mechanics of lexical borrowing in Ateso, a Ugandan language, and with some of the reasons for such borrowing. Cooper and Horvath (1973) deal with a similar theme for Ethiopia, and attempt to show how

migration and urbanization can have profound consequences for language use. Mkanganwi (1980) tries to show how multilingualism can affect the standardization of African languages.

Nearer home, there have been attempts to address the question of language varieties and language change. Nkabinde (1968) addresses the question of the adaptation of foreign words into Zulu, and consequently considers aspects of lexical borrowing.

In an interesting article which departs from the usual trend of considering the various influences that are brought to bear on a `standard' language, Msimang (1987) examines Tsotsitaal which is largely a secret language. He attempts to show the impact of Zulu on this <u>lingua franca</u> of speakers of various ethnic groups.

Perhaps the only study in sociolinguistics in any Sotho language is Sekhukhune's(1988). In his unpublished M A thesis Sekhukhune makes a sociolinguistic study of North Sotho (Sepedi) speech varieties.

Another writer in the area under investigation is Schuring (1983, 1985). He works mainly in the area of North Sotho speech varieties, with particular reference to Pretoria Sotho.

In considering the difference between rural and urban Xhosa

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varieties it will be seen how Xhosa adapts to new situations and experiences through, among other things, lexical borrowing, coinages and neologisms. The effects of migration and urbanization on Xhosa will also become apparent. With these considerations in mind, the significance of the foregoing literature review for the current study becomes apparent.

1.6 The research problem

The `problem' under investigation is the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties in terms of standard and non-standard varieties. The study itself is, of course, sociolinguistic. An attempt will also be made to apply the study to the areas of language planning and language education. One of the points that will be made is that linguistic diversity or linguistic variation can be ascribed <u>partly</u> to culture.

For a better appreciation of the `problem', it is necessary to define some core concepts. Such concepts include,

- (a) sociolinguistics
- (b) language variety
- (c) rural and urban Xhosa
- (d) standard and non-standard
- (e) speech community

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(f) lexical borrowing

(g) culture

(h) language planning

1.6.1 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is, in broad terms, the study of the relationship between language and society. Although Hymes (1977:195) says sociolinguistics means,

> many things to many people, and...no one
> has a patent on its definition

there seems to be some general agreement on the above definition (Shuy, 1970; Fishman,1971; Pride,1979; Hudson,1980; Fasold,1984; Giglioli,1985).

Bright (1966) says sociolinguistics is not easy to define precisely (cf. Hymes, 1977, above). He regards the definition of sociolinguistics as the study of the relationship between language and society as `extremely vague.' More precisely, sociolinguistics , he says, considers language as well as society to be a structure rather than a mere collection of items. Bright (1966:11) then goes on to say,

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The sociolinguist's task is....to show
the systematic covariance of linguistic
structure and social structure.

Pride (1979:ix) defines sociolinguistics as,

the study of natural language in all
its various social and cultural contexts.

Fishman (1971), as quoted by Uribe-Villegas (1977:16), says sociolinguistics examines the interaction between two human aspects, namely,

the use of language which enables men to
communicate and the link between them due
to the norms which they have in common.

Insofar as sociolinguistics introduces a social dimension in the study of language, Hymes (1977:vii) sees sociolinguistics as,

an attempt to rethink received categories
and assumptions as to the bases of linguistic
work, and as to the place of language in
human life.

This is the view that is shared by Hudson (1980) who argues that an asocial approach to the study of language is futile and unwise. It is particularly in its scope that sociolinguistics becomes relevant for the present study.

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In broad terms the subject matter of sociolinguistics is the interaction of language and society. Crystal (1987:281-282) says sociolinguists study such matters as,

> the linguistic identity of social groups,
> social attitudes to language, STANDARD
> and non-standard forms of language, the
> patterns and needs of national language
> use, social VARIETIES and levels of language,
> the social basis of multilingualism, and so on.

Crystal lays emphasis on `standard', `varieties' and `multilingualism.' This seems to indicate that he sees these three aspects as the main focus of sociolinguistics. In varying degrees what Crystal regards as the focus and scope of sociolinguistics is also shared by some authors on the same subject.

Bright (1966), Hudson (1980) and Haugen (1977) for example see sociolinguistics as focusing on linguistic diversity or variation. Bright (1966) goes further and says that linguistic diversity is of interest to sociolinguists only when it can be correlated with social, and not linguistic, features. He refers to this as `the systematic covariance of linguistic structure and social structure.'

It is to be noted that Hudson (1980) warns against the use of `variety' as an analytical or theoretical construct. Instead, he

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speaks of 'individual linguistic items' of particular speakers where each item has to be seen in terms of its 'social description.' In other words, in terms of its users and in terms of when it is used. However, the distinction Hudson makes seems to be a matter of semantics and interpretation.

Hymes (1977) says sociolinguistics can be delineated in terms of what he calls 'orientations.' He mentions three such orientations. They are,

(a) the social and the linguistic which incorporate language policies as well as language and its use.

(b) 'socially realistic linguistics' which, in line with Labov's (1970) study of language in its social context, deals with the social context of speech acts. Language variation and data are included here.

(c) 'socially constituted linguistics' which is where sociolinguistics belongs. Concern here is with language as part of communication and social action and also with the reconciliation of linguistic features with 'social functions.'

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Pride (1979) points out that sociolinguistics is mostly concerned with who speaks to whom, when, how and why. In other words, it is concerned firstly, with communicative competence or the native speaker's ability to know which variety to use and when. Secondly, it is concerned with the speech community. It is for these two reasons that he considers sociolinguistics as being partly a study of all meaningful choices, cultural and social, that language users have and make.

For Shuy (1970) sociolinguistics encompasses the following,

      (a) dialect geography

      (b) languages in contact, including bilingualism and problems of interference

      (c) social dialectology, including studies of social stratification and minority group speech

      (d) language situations, for example standardization, functional styles, attitudes toward language and language as a means of group identification.

He then goes on to observe that sociolinguistics is interdisciplinary. It draws, _inter alia_, from anthropology and sociology. To anthropology it looks for the cultural interpretation of linguistic phenomena, and to sociology for

demography and an appropriate background for linguistic data.

Fasold (1984) is of the opinion that sociolinguistics includes, among other things,

(a) social multilingualism

(b) diaglossia

(c) language attitudes

(d) language choice

(e) language maintenance and shift

(f) language standardization and planning

(g) the use of language in education.

He does not differ much with those whose views have already been mentioned. The same can be said of Hymes (1977) who regards the scope of sociolinguistics as the following,

(a) language contact

(b) bilingualism

(c) social dialects

(d) attitudes and beliefs about language

(e) linguistic standardization, maintenance, shifting and planning

(f) the social stratification of linguistic features.

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Lastly, Uribe-Villegas (1977) says what he calls the 'favourite subjects' of sociolinguistics are,

> (a) linguistic variants
>
> (b) registers and their relation with different social situations
>
> (c) the theory of linguistic contacts
>
> (d) the internal diversity of each language and the explanation of that diversity in social terms.

The above survey of some of the views on sociolinguistics shows that sociolinguistics is quite wide and varied. The present study will focus on the following aspects with regard to Xhosa,

> (a) language varieties
>
> (b) the speech community
>
> (c) lexical borrowing
>
> (d) standard and non-standard varieties
>
> (e) language planning and language teaching.

1.6.2 Language variety

Variously called linguistic diversity and linguistic variation, Crystal (1987:324) points out that this is a term that is used in

sociolinguistics and stylistics to refer to,

> any SYSTEM OF LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION
> whose use is governed by SITUATIONAL
> VARIABLES.

He continues to say that,

> In some cases, the situational
> DISTINCTIVENESS of the LANGUAGE
> may be easily stated, as in many
> regional and occupational varieties
> (eg. London English, religious English);
> in other cases, as in studies of social
> class, the varieties are more difficult
> to define, involving the intersection
> of several variables (eg. sex, age,
> occupation).

Catford (1965:84), quoted by Gregory (1967), defines a language variety as,

> a subset of formal and/or substantial
> features which correlates with a
> particular type of socio-economic feature.

Gregory (1967) regards a language variety as a contextual category which correlates groupings of linguistic features with situational ones.

From the above description and definitions of a language variety, it seems that a language variety is a form of language or

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linguistic item which relates to a particular social setting or situation.

The question that arises then is : What is the difference between a variety and a dialect?

Crystal (1987:92) defines a dialect as,

> a regionally or socially distinctive
> VARIETY of a language, identified
> by a particular set of WORDS and
> GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES.

He goes on to say that,

> Spoken dialects are usually associated
> with a distinctive pronunciation, or
> ACCENT.

There is some overlapping though between a dialect and a variety. A dialect may be a variety. But a variety, on the other hand, is not necessarily a dialect. For example, Bhaca, Hlubi, Mpondomise, Thembu, Ngqika, Rharhabe and Bomvana are all DIALECTS of Xhosa. However, rural and urban Xhosa are not dialects but varieties, although they could also be loosely regarded as dialects.

Bright (1966) lists various `socially defined factors' or

parameters for language variety or linguistic variation. These are,

      (a) the social identity of the speaker

      (b) the social identity of the person spoken to

      (c) the setting or context of communication

      (d) the extent of the variation.

In the case of the first parameter one could think of sociolects or social dialects where speech differences are correlated with social stratification. With regard to the second parameter, one could think of special vocabularies, for example `in' words with groups, especially groups of young people. One could also think of cases where an older person is talking to a younger one, or where a rural person is talking to an urban one and vice versa.

In the current research, rural and urban Xhosa serve mainly as a context of communication. The fourth parameter refers for example to differences between varieties of a single language, an aspect that is the subject of the current research.

The view that will be taken of a language variety is that it is a linguistic expression which is governed by a particular social setting or situation.

1.6.3 Rural and urban Xhosa varieties

The distinction between rural and urban Xhosa varieties is not very easy to draw. That is mainly due to migration and urbanization. Rural people migrate to cities and towns mainly in search of jobs. Occasionally, they go back to their rural homes. Such migration and urbanization have profound consequences for language use and language change. Boundaries between the two varieties tend to be blurred.

However, for purposes of this study the difference between rural and urban Xhosa will be taken to include the following,

(a) urban Xhosa seems to show a greater tendency to borrow from English and Afrikaans than does rural Xhosa.

(b) related to the above, is the fact that urban Xhosa tends to be more 'innovative' than rural Xhosa which tends to be very conservative.

(c) as a consequence of (b) above urban Xhosa is subject to more rapid change than rural Xhosa.

(d) rural Xhosa can be taken to be characteristic of speakers who have been least exposed to western

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influences and experiences. Included here are non-literate speakers.

    (e)   red-blanketed Xhosa speakers can be taken to be representative of rural Xhosa.

In using the terms `rural' and `urban' it must be pointed out that no offence is intended to the speakers concerned. If these terms are seen in their intended academic context they will have served their purpose.

1.6.4   Standard and non-standard varieties

Garvin (1959:29) gives what he calls a `tentative' definition of a standard variety as,

> a codified form of language, accepted
> by, and serving as a model to,
> a larger speech community.

Hudson (1980) says `standard language' is a somewhat imprecise term which refers to some sociolinguistically accepted features or characteristics.

Crystal (1987:286) points out that `standard language or variety or dialect' is a term that is used in sociolinguistics to refer

to a prestige variety of language that is used within a speech community and which cuts across,

> regional differences, providing
> a unified means of communication,
> and thus an institutionalized NORM
> which can be used in the mass media,
> in teaching the language to foreigners....

A language or language variety which does not conform to this 'institutionalized norm' is referred to as non-standard. Crystal hastens to add that non-standard (or even sub-standard) is not intended to suggest that other forms 'lack standards' in any linguistic sense. 'Standardization' would then refer to,

> The natural development of a standard
> language in a speech community (or an
> attempt to impose one dialect as a standard).

Johnson and Sager (1980:81) define standardization as,

> the deliberate imposition of a
> fixed set of interpretations on
> the meaning relations operative
> over a system of terms, with the
> aim of facilitating effective
> communication between users of the system.

The Newsletter of the African Language Association of Southern Africa (1988:6), with particular reference to the STANON Research Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council, has this to say

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about the concept of standard language which it describes as `vague',

> an accepted, written language which
> may be variable depending on the
> language concerned but which is by
> definition represented in the written
> form as developed over the years and
> as formalized by the language boards
> concerned....accepting that there is
> variability and that this variability
> will be different in the various languages.

What does one make of the foregoing definitions and characterization of the term `standard' and, by implication, the term `non-standard?'

Although the term is vague, imprecise and even subjective, some deductions can be made about the term from the definitions which have been considered.
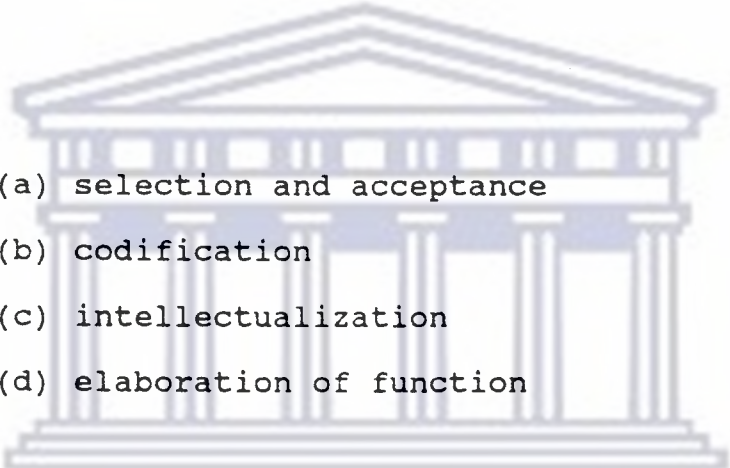
A standard variety is a codified form of language which is generally accepted as THE language in written and spoken forms. A non-standard variety is one which does not enjoy such acceptance.

Because the standard and non-standard varieties form an essential component of the current study, consideration needs to be given to some of the important characteristics of a standard variety and by implication those of a non-standard.

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1.6.4.1 Some of the characteristics of a standard variety

The basic assumption underlying standardization is the promotion of what is conceived as a model variety over rival models. This is usually done through approved terminologies. In the case of African languages, language boards usually consider, approve and recommend a standard variety.

The following are some of the important characteristics of a standard variety (cf. Hudson, 1980; Garvin and Mathiot, 1968),

(a) selection and acceptance

(b) codification

(c) intellectualization

(d) elaboration of function

`Selection' refers to the recognition by the speakers of a given variety as THE language. This usually, but not always, engenders some pride in the selected variety which is then `accepted' as a yardstick for propriety of expression and communication. In that respect, a standard variety enjoys some prestige.

`Codification' is the reduction into writing of the selected and accepted variety which is reflected in grammars, dictionaries and

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approved handbooks of terminology and orthography. Garvin and Mathiot (1968) speak of `flexible stability.' By this they mean appropriate codification which is flexible enough for modification in accordance with culture change. They maintain that such flexibility ought to allow for the systematic expansion of the lexicon and that of stylistic and syntactic possibilities.

A standard variety also needs to contribute towards more definite and accurate expression. Garvin and Mathiot (1968) refer to this as `intellectualization.' Such `intellectualization' may be both lexical and grammatical. Lexically, one is looking at the development of more clearly differentiated terms and at the increase in abstract and generic terms. Grammatically, on the other hand, one is looking at syntactic devices and at the development of word formation techniques.

Lastly, `elaboration of function.' Hudson (1980) uses this term to refer to the formal and official use of the selected and accepted variety, for example in government and educational institutions.

From the foregoing discussion of some of the characteristics of a standard variety, it seems that neither the rural nor the urban Xhosa varieties can lay any exclusive claim to being standard. Rural Xhosa varieties may or may not be standard. Similarly,
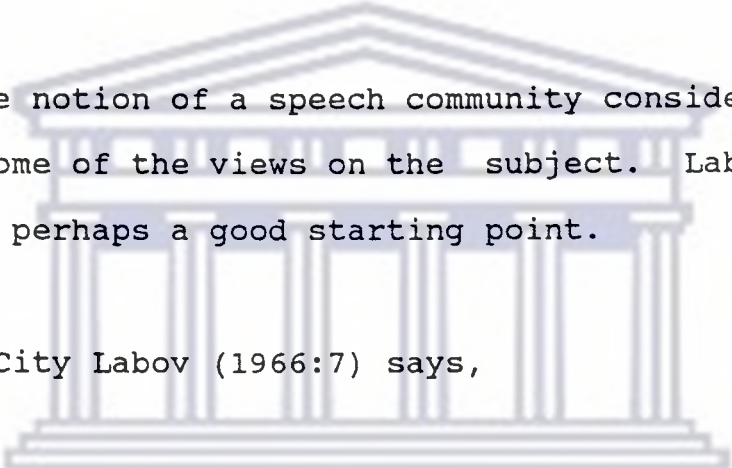
urban Xhosa varieties may or may not be standard. This is the position that is taken in the present thesis.

The discussion so far has merely mentioned the concept of a speech community. For a better appreciation of rural and urban Xhosa varieties it is perhaps necessary to consider whether such varieties can be delineated in terms of any corresponding speech communities. But, what is a speech community?

1.6.5 A speech community

In examining the notion of a speech community consideration will be given to some of the views on the subject. Labov's (1966) pioneer work is perhaps a good starting point.

About New York City Labov (1966:7) says,

> That New York City is a speech community, and not a collection of speakers living side by side, borrowing from each others' dialects, may be demonstrated by many kinds of evidence. Native New Yorkers differ in their usage in terms of absolute values of the variables, but the shifts between contrasting styles follow the same pattern in almost every case.

The above speech community as seen by Labov correlates with some unidirectional variation which is organized along a

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continuous sociolinguistic dimension. Labov tends to concentrate on situations such as these.

Labov (1972:120) says a speech community is,

> not defined by any marked agreement
> in the use of language elements, so
> much as by participation in a set of
> shared norms.

The emphasis on shared attitudes to language and not on shared linguistic behaviour is to be noted. Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972) share the same view.

Gumperz (1968:381) regards a speech community as,

> any human aggregate characterized by
> regular and frequent interaction by
> means of a shared body of verbal signs
> and set off from similar aggregates by
> significant differences in language use.

Two things are noticeable here. Firstly, there is no question of one community having one language. Secondly, there is emphasis on interaction and communication.

Gumperz (1972) regards a speech community as a sociolinguistic entity and a fundamental unit of analysis. His characterization

of a speech community may be represented as follows,

Speech community
|
Speakers

Same or different language   Shared norms and
                                  rules for language use
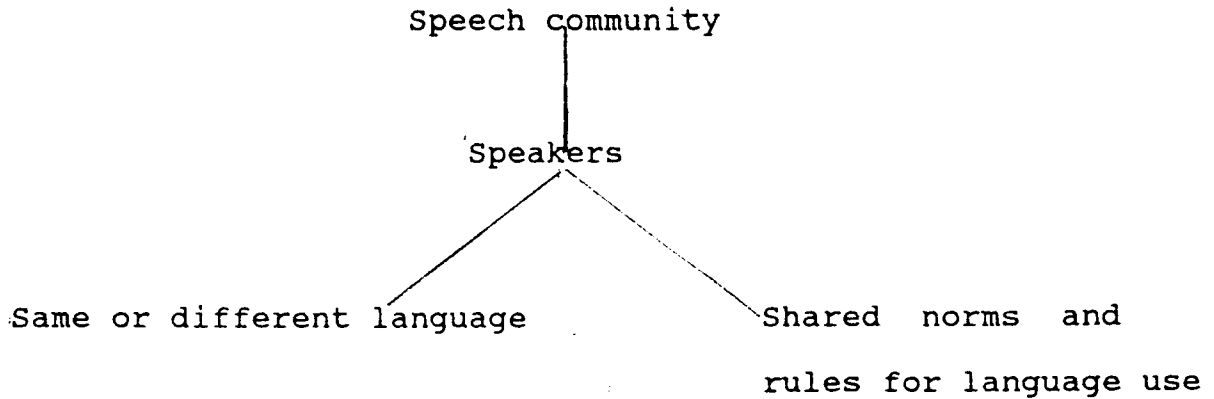
In other words, to Gumperz a speech community is a group of speakers who share norms and rules for language use but who do not necessarily use the same language. Romaine (1982) accepts Gumperz's characterization of a speech community. There is some contradiction though in that characterization. Romaine rightly poses the question : Is it possible to share norms and rules of a language without using the language in the same way? She says that it is possible and sees no necessary contradiction in that.

She draws attention to the suggestion by Hymes (1974) about KINDS of language and USES of language. A sociolinguistic theory has to reckon with how speakers manage relationships between KINDS and USES of language. Hymes maintains that the starting point in any consideration of a speech community is the social group rather than the language itself. Thereafter, consideration can be given

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to 'the entire organization of linguistic means within it.'

Corder (1973:53) defines a speech community as,

> people who REGARD THEMSELVES as
> speaking the same language.

He continues to say rather dogmatically that there is no need for any other defining attribute.

Hudson (1980) gives an impressive overview of some of the definitions of a speech community. The overview follows.

Lyons (1970:326) sees a speech community as,

> all the people who use a given
> language or dialect.

Hocket's (1959) definition of a speech community is,

> the whole set of people who
> communicate with each other,
> either directly or indirectly,
> via the common language.

Hocket introduces the element of communication. Sameness of language, but no interaction among speakers, makes for different

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speech communities.

Bloomfield's (1933:42) view also contains the element of communication; for he says a speech community is,

> a group of people who interact
> by means of speech.

Le Page (1968) does not use the term `speech community' but refers to groups in society with,

(a) distinctive speech characteristics

(b) other social features.

Hudson (1930) accepts all the above definitions as correct and as showing different perceptions of the same phenomenon. He draws attention to the following common features in the definitions,

(a) a group of people with some common linguistic characteristics

(b) interaction by means of speech

(c) a given range of varieties and relevant rules of usage

(d) given attitudes to varieties.

Furthermore, he accepts the views of Le Page as the most comprehensive and all-embracing. Nevertheless, he does not dismiss the other definitions which he regards as being acceptable in their own right because,

    (a)   they make generalizations about language possible

    (b)   they are helpful in delimiting clearly the `set of people' the sociolinguist wants to focus on, the way Labov did in New York City.

However, he doubts the real existence of a speech community and has reservations about the helpfulness of the concept of a speech community for the following reasons,

    (a)   the concept implies the existence of a group of people to be recognized by a sociolinguist who must then fit any given person in the said group

    (b)   such a group exists insofar as the researcher or speaker is aware of its existence

    (c)   such delineation as implied in (b) may be faulty

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(d)   it may be better in some cases to employ
network analysis which recognizes individual
relations rather than groups.

He then concludes with a bombshell,

> It is possible that speech communities
> do not really exist in society except
> as prototypes in the minds of people,
> in which case the search for the `true'
> definition of `speech community' is just
> a wild goose chase.

While it is perhaps true that there is no `true' definition of a
speech community the concept, it seems, cannot be dismissed
entirely. There is a sense in which one can speak of a speech
community, especially in terms of a group of people who speak the
same language or variety of a language. Hence Crystal (1987:284)
appropriately describes a speech community as,

> any regionally or socially definable
> human group identified by a shared
> linguistic SYSTEM.

Certainly, in the case of rural and urban Xhosa varieties there
is a sense in which one can speak of a rural and an urban speech
community. The only caution that needs to be taken, it seems to
the present reseacher, is not to refer to a speech community in
any absolute sense.

Another aspect which is vital for this study is that which is popularly known as borrowing. This aspect is vital because some, if not most, of the differences between rural and urban Xhosa are to be found in that area.

1.6.6 Borrowing

`Borrowing' is a term that is used in comparative and historical linguistics. In the words of Crystal (1987:36) the term refers to,

> linguistic FORMS being taken over by
> one language or DIALECT from another.

He then goes on to point out that such borrowings are usually referred to as `loan words.'

To `borrow' implies to possess an item MOMENTARILY. The item must then normally be returned to the lender. The same is true of `loan.' Given these considerations it is apparent that `borrowing' or `loan' words do not apply to language in the sense in which these terms are popularly used.

Another term that is commonly used is `adoptives.' To adopt is, according to The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982:13), to,

take (person) into a relationship
he did not previously occupy,
especially as one's child; take
(idea etc) from someone else.

`Adoptives' does not have the component of being temporary or momentary that `borrowing' has. There is in the term some permanent taking over, acceptance and incorporation. The term seems to be preferable to the other two, namely `borrowing' or `loan.'

Jean Aitchison (1981) prefers the term `copying.' There is something to be said for this view too; for it means to make something look like another.

`Borrowing,' also known as lexical borrowing, is a term which is popularly used and whose usage has come to be accepted. It is a term which will also be used in the current research.

Linguistic diversity, the subject of the present thesis, derives PARTLY from (and therefore not exclusively from) cultural diversity. That being the case, a consideration of `culture' is necessary.

1.6.7   Culture

Ever since Edward B. Tylor (1871:1), the generally acknowledged

founder of professional anthropology in the English speaking world, defined culture as,

> that complex whole which includes
> knowledge, art, morals, law, custom
> and other capabilities and habits
> acquired by man as a member of society

numerous definitions and characterizations of culture have been proposed, and their number continues to grow steadily.

The concept of culture is controversial and there does not seem to be any consensus about what culture is or is not. Broadly speaking, there seem to be two divergent schools of thought. On the one hand, there is the school of thought which considers culture as an inventory of items. On the other hand, there is the school of thought which defines culture in terms of ideas. Tylor (1871) represents the first school of thought.

The main problem in thinking about culture in terms of an inventory is that such an inventory has to be very extensive in its coverage. The inventory that is given by Tylor is not so extensive and is not very specific. For example, economics, religion and even education do not seem to be covered by the inventory. It is not clear also what the 'other capabilities and habits acquired by man' actually refers to.

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A definition such as Tylor's has the merit of showing how difficult it is to know what to include and what not to include under culture. Perhaps Keesing (1974:73) is correct when he remarks that there is a need,

> to narrow the concept...so that
> it includes less and reveals more.

There have been variations and modifications of Tylor's views. Anthropologists of his persuasion, for example Boas, Wissler, Benedict and Read (quoted by Norbeck, 1976) maintain that culture is a quality or an attribute of human social behaviour and, in general terms, embraces artifacts and the non-material, for example customs and ideals.

The other school of thought, represented among others by Marett, Redfield and Osgood, defines culture primarily in terms of ideas, as Norbeck's (1976:6) summary of their views shows,

> All things are part of the human
> knowledge of them and of the mind
> which knows them.

To advocates of this view, culture is an abstraction, a pattern and a configuration of behavioral norms and rules which have been abstracted from the observation of behaviour. These norms and rules exist in the minds of the bearers of culture who transmit

them to succeeding generations. It is not clear though what `abstraction' really means in this context.

Culture does consist of ideas, whether or not such ideas find expression in actual behaviour. But to maintain that culture embraces ideas primarily is perhaps to hold a one-sided view of culture.

Definitions of culture have undergone some evolution since the beginning of the twentieth century. Norbeck (1976) gives us a glimpse of some of that revolution.

From about 1920 to 1950 culture was regarded as some form of learned behaviour which was socially transmitted and also as the concrete product of such behaviour. From the middle of the twentieth century this idea of culture was extended and incorporated the idea that, like other phenomena in our universe, culture has order or pattern. The recent trend has been to view this order or pattern as composing a system. This system or unit is composed of interrelated parts which are mutually influencing.

Ember and Ember (1985) say that culture refers to the total way of life of any society and not simply to those aspects which the society regards as higher or more desirable.

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With particular reference to African culture, Asante and Asante (1985:4) define culture in the following terms,

> the sum total of African philosophy, behaviour, ideas and artifacts.

They continue to say that culture is,

> the total organization and arrangement of African people's thinking, feeling and acting. (1985:11)

From the foregoing discussion, it can be said that culture refers to innumerable aspects of life, for example the social, the religious, the political, the economic, the legal and the aesthetic. In this study, reference to culture is to an integrated unit which has various interdependent parts. Such an integrated unit or whole can be analyzed into certain components which are interrelated. The said components fall into three categories, namely ideas, activities and artifacts. Ideas refer, among other things, to thoughts, beliefs and rules which govern the behaviour of individuals. Activities refer to what people do as opposed to what they believe. Artifacts refer, among other things, to the man-made products of ideas and activities.

The view that culture refers to the TOTAL way of life of a particular group of people, and that it embraces both the

material and the non-material seems to be more tenable.

1.6.8 Language planning

Fishman (1972:55), following Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), says language planning is ,

> the organized pursuit of solutions
> to language problems, typically at
> a national level.

Haugen (1966) describes language planning simply as the evaluation of linguistic change. At the heart of language planning, he says, is the exercise of judgment in the form of options among available linguistic forms.

Tauli (1977:52) defines language planning as,

> The methodical activity of regulating
> and improving existing languages or
> creating new common regional, national
> or international languages.

Rubin (1983:4) sees language planning as,

> DELIBERATE language change....changes
> in the systems of a language code or
> speaking or both that are planned by
> organizations established for such
> purposes or given a mandate to fulfil
> such purposes.

Overall then, language planning is a problem-solving exercise. As Rubin and Jernudd (1971) point out, language planning is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems in order to find the best or optimal or most efficient decision or <u>modus operandi</u>.

1.6.9 The research design

The present thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 examines historical and theoretical issues so as to highlight some of the predominant issues that are explored in the research. The chapter is introductory, discusses and defines some of the core concepts. Chapter 2 investigates phonological and syntactic differences between rural and urban Xhosa. In Chapter 3 lexical differences are examined. The implications of the study for language planning and language teaching form the basis of Chapter 4. Chapter 5 concludes the study with some findings, suggestions for possible future research and some recommendations, with particular reference to language planning and language teaching. Then there is also an appendix which presents samples of rural and urban Xhosa varieties.

The study is descriptive and seeks to describe the differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties in terms of standard and non-standard varieties.

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1.6.9.1 Data or information sources and methods

Data or information sources for the research are both documentary and physical. Data comes from newspapers, magazines, the radio, television and from randomly interacting with Xhosa speakers and listening to some of their conversation. The analysis of the data is made in terms of the objective of the research.

The data is tested against, and compared with, Xhosa as spoken by native speakers who live in rural and urban communities. The credibility and relevance of the mass media lie in the fact that they can throw some light on some of the trends which may be of some relevance to the research. Some of these trends include the various strategies Xhosa invokes in order to cope with new or alien experiences. Such strategies include coinages, neologisms and semantic shifts. In other words, the whole question of linguistic innovation and some of its mechanics.

The exercise of choosing representative samples from the data from the mass media and from the researcher's random interaction with Xhosa speakers can be a scientifically unreliable one, apart from being subjective. One's intuition, one's experience, may be faulty and inadequate. That inadequacy may have an adverse effect on the research and its findings.

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One factor which will, to some extent, probably offset this inadequacy is the researcher's fairly extensive experience with rural and urban Xhosa communities. The researcher was not only born in a rural community in Transkei, but also spent some twenty years in that community. The researcher has also spent at least seventeen years to date in an urban environment both inside and outside Transkei. He has also had the opportunity of teaching and examining Xhosa at secondary school and at tertiary level.

In order to enhance the validity and the reliability of the present study, a representative sample of recorded conversation by subjects from rural and urban Xhosa communities is included in an appendix. While the researcher is one of the participants in some of the conversation, the language that he uses is that of the other participants. The reason for including a representative sample is also to prove that the description of rural and urban Xhosa in chapters 2 and 3 is representative of the actual language situation.

In order to minimize any sampling error and in order to obtain an unbiased sample, the sample referred to above will be taken randomly from the sampling frame. The sampling frame itself will be selected on the basis of its appropriateness with regard to the `universe' or `population' the researcher is interested in. As Simon (1969) points out, the secret of success in choosing a

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sampling frame is to fit the sampling frame to the intended purpose.

In the case of the current research the sampling frame for rural Xhosa are those speakers who have been, and still are, least exposed to western influences and experiences. Red-blanketed Xhosa speakers seem to be representative of that group. The randomness of a sample is important. In the words of Simon (1969:138),

> Only a random sampling process can guarantee you that the sample APPROACHES a fair picture of some characteristic of the universe.

How that is achieved depends on the size of the sample. In this connection, Sommer and Sommer (1986:470) give some sound advice,

> A more rational method of choosing the size of the sample is by balancing the dimunition of error expected with a larger sample, and its value, against the cost of increasing the sample size.

However, it is not only a question of cost but also that of having a sample that is not unwieldy.

The choice of a representative sample is not easy (Simon,1969; Golden, 1979; Sommer and Sommer, 1986). It seems that no sample

can ever represent the targeted `population' or `universe' perfectly. This observation applies equally to the sample for the current research. As will be pointed out in the actual study itself, a very clear dividing line between rural and urban Xhosa is not very easy to draw. Boundaries tend to be blurred, very largely because of migration and urbanization.

It is, nevertheless, envisaged that the inclusion of a representative sample of tape recorded conversation from rural and urban environments, after the description of rural and urban Xhosa which is based on the researcher's intuitive grasp of Xhosa, will enhance the validity, credibility, reliability and relevance of the data for the research. It is to be noted also that representativeness is related to other settings or to some broader `universe' or `population.'

Golden (1979) makes the point that findings which can be generalized to other settings have the important element of external validity. One of the standpoints that is taken in the current research is that some of its findings are applicable to language planning and language teaching.

Indeed, the potential value of the anticipated findings of the research lies in their possible application in the areas of language planning and language teaching. The presence of Xhosa

speakers in urban areas is a reality. That in some cases they tend to speak a language that is different from the normally accepted one is also a reality. All these are some of the realities which have to be reckoned with in syllabus planning, in devising terminology and in examinations.

Some of the pitfalls of intuition as applicable to the collection of data from the mass media have already been pointed out, for example subjectivity and consequent low reliability. The correction of this inadequacy by including a representative sample from a real life situation has already been mentioned, but has its own problems.

One of the problems that can be anticipated is the credibility of the researcher in the eyes of the subjects. Mistrust and suspicion can be expected to occur, especially when one is carrying a gadget such as a tape recorder. One of the ways of obviating this problem is for the researcher to legitimize himself. He has to present his credentials fully: who he is, where he comes from and what it is that he is trying to do. This has been done in the present research. The use of an intermediary who is known to the subjects can also help in allaying suspicion. Hence the use of an intermediary in some of the recorded conversation in this study.

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Another problem is the genuineness of the responses. The presence of a stranger, and the awareness by the subjects that they are being recorded, can have an adverse effect on the genuineness of their responses and on the anticipated results of the current study. Perhaps the greatest limitation is that the anticipated results will be subject to whatever bias there is in the data.

In some cases the size of the sample has been increased in order to facilitate the making of more valid generalizations and so partly enhance the scientific nature of the study.

Phonological and syntactic aspects.

2.1 Introduction

Kashoki (1972:161) has this to say,

> Although we generally say that such and such
> a people speak such and such a language, this
> does not imply that all the members speaking
> that language speak it without any difference
> whatsoever in the words they use (vocabulary),
> in the way they pronounce individual words
> (phonology), in the way they carry melody
> over phrases (intonation) or in the manner in
> which they construct their sentences (syntax).

What Kashoki says will be the main thrust of the present chapter. The focus will be on two of the aspects mentioned by Kashoki, namely phonology and syntax. A wider view of phonology than that which Kashoki takes will be taken. While phonology could be taken to include the pronounciation of individual words, a generally accepted view is Crystal's (1987).He defines phonology as a branch of linguistics which is concerned with the sound system of a language.

The first part of the present chapter will deal with selected aspects of phonology, and the second with selected aspects of syntax. The various aspects are selected on the basis of the

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possibility of their being best suited for the kind of comparison that is envisaged. The main objective of the present chapter is to investigate the differences in the selected aspects between rural and urban Xhosa in terms of standard and non-standard varieties.

It is therefore essential to start with a consideration of Xhosa speech sounds. In the treatment of phonology other aspects which will receive attention are the following,

(a)   borrowed or foreign consonant combinations

(b)   stress

(c)   phonemic shifts

(d)   factors which determine the terminal vowel of a borrowed word

(e)   the phonetic realization of the sound /r/ and the syllable structure of Xhosa

(f)   diphthongs.

2.2 The speech sounds of Xhosa

The speech sounds of Xhosa are divided into vowels and consonants, including clicks.

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2.2.1 Vowels

Xhosa has five vowel phonemes and seven vowel phones. The five vowel phonemes are /a e i o u / as in the following words,

                    phala (move fast, scrape)

                    phela (get finished)

                    phila (get well, be alive)

                    phola (get cold, be cool)

                    phula (break)

Two of the above phonemes are represented by two allophones each, as in the following examples,

                    [ɛwɛ] (yes)

                    [ezulwini] (in heaven)

                    [zɔla] (be quiet)

                    [zolule] (stretch yourself)

2.2.2 Consonants

In this section the following will be considered,

            (a) `permitted' consonant sequences in Xhosa

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(b) the realization of the consonant /r/

(c) the syllabic structure of Xhosa.

2.2.2.1 `Permitted' consonant sequences in Xhosa

In considering consonant sequences in Xhosa reference will be made to Lanham (1960), Davey (1975), Ziervogel (1967) <u>et al.</u> Lanham speaks of `permitted' consonant sequences in Xhosa. Such consonant sequences are those which are characteristic of standard Xhosa.

Lanham recognizes three groups of Xhosa consonants. These are,

  (a) the `N' group, namely [m], [ŋ], [ɲ]

  (b) the `C' group which includes all the consonants, except those of the `N' group and the `W' group

  (c) the `W' group where the consonant /w/ occurs.

The above three groups give rise to the following four consonant clusters or consonant sequences. The following examples of the words in which these consonant clusters occur are the researcher's and not Lanham's.

  (i) Nc, for example,

    /nty/ as in /intyatyambo/ (flower)

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/mp/   as in   /impahla/ (clothing)

/nt/   as in   /into/ (thing)

/nk/   as in   /inkunkuma/ (dirt, rubbish)

/nts/   for example   /intsomi/ (folktale)

/nj/   for example   /inja/ (dog)

/ntsh/   for example   /entshona/ (West)

/nz/   as in   /inzala/ (offspring)

The above group does not include /nd/ of `indalo' for example. This is probably accounted for by the fact that Lanham has the sound /ndz/ which no longer occurs in the practical orthography in Xhosa.

(ii)   Nw, for example /umnwe/ (finger)

(iii) Cw, as in the following examples,

/tyw/.... /utywala/ (liquor)

/kw/....../eKwindla/ (in March)

/thw/...../umthwalo/ (load, burden)

/tyhw/..../tyhwatyhwa/   (tremble with fear)

/khw/.../khwaza/ (shout)

/dw/..../dwekesha/ (speak randomly)

/gw/../igwala/ (coward)

/zw/..../ilizwi/ (voice)

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Lanham also includes the sound /dyw/ in this group. This sound, however, does not seem to occur without an immediately preceding nasal, as in /indywala/ (plentiful liquor).

(iv) Ncw, as in the following examples,

/ntw/...../intwala/ (louse)

The sound [ndzw] which Lanham includes in this group occurs as nzw in current orthography, for example /iinzwane/ (toes).

The above consonant clusters can occur either word-initially or word-medially as is evident from the examples given.

Although Lanham (1960:183) says,

> Except for particular non-permitted
> sequences....patterns of consonant
> clustering are exhausted in Nc, Nw,
> Cw, NCw

that is doubtful. For example, clicks and their combinations are not included in his classification. An adapted classification of `permitted' Xhosa consonants and Xhosa consonant clusters taken from Davey (1975), Ziervogel (1967) et al. is perhaps more lucid.

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It is as follows,

(a) labials :

/p, ph, b, bh, m, mh/

(b) dentilabials :

/f, v/

(c) alveolars :

/t,th,d,s, z,hl,dl,n,nh,r,l,ts,tsh,tl/

(d) prepalatals :

/sh, ny, nyh, tsh, j/

(e) palatals :

/ty, tyh, dy/

(f) velars :

/k, kh, g, rh, gr, kr/

(g) glottals :

/h, ɦ/

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(h) clicks :

    dental : /c, ch, nc, gc, ngc, nkc/

    palatal : /q, qh, nq, gq, ngq, nkq/

    lateral : /x, xh, nx, gx, ngx, nkx/

(i) semi-vowels :

    /w, y/

(j) nasals :

    /m, ŋ, ɲ/

The above consonants and their combinations constitute what is generally regarded as the standard sounds of Xhosa. There are other consonant combinations or clusters which have found their way into the sound structure of Xhosa, mainly as a result of the contact between Xhosa culture and Western culture. Some of those clusters will now be considered.

2.2.3.1 Foreign or borrowed consonant combinations

Foreign consonant combinations or clusters include the following,

    tr.......itreni (train)

    ....treyina (to train)

........imatriki (matric)

pr.......iprezidanti (president)

       iprofesa (professor)

       umprofeti (prophet)

dr.......idrayi (curve)

       ukudribula (to dribble)

       idrayiva (driver)

kr.......ikriva (wheelbarrow)

       iKrismesi (Christmas)

sk.......iskali (scale)

       iskithi (pound)

       iskoro (score)

bhl......ibhlawuzi (blouse)

......ibhlukhwe (pair of trousers)

....ibhlanti (brandy)

bhr......ibhranti (brandy)

       ibhrorho (bridge)

       ibhrayi (braai)

pl.......iplastiki (plastic)

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iplani(plan)

ipleyiti (plate)

fr......ifriji (fridge)

fraisha (fry)

frisha (ask for girl's hand in marriage)

gr......igrama (grammar)

igrabile (gravel)

igrosari (groceries)

ns......ikonsathi (concert)

ikhansile (council)

ibhalansi (balance)

nsh.....i-inshorensi (insurance)

ikonvenshoni (convention)

nv......ikonvenshoni (convention)

ukunvijileyitha (to invigilate)

kl......ikliniki (clinic)

iklabhu (club)

iklakhi (clerk)

```
        sl......ukuslima (to slim)

              isleksuti (slacksuit)


      ks......iteksi (taxi)

            isleksuti (slacksuit)


      ktr.....ifektri (factory)
```

In the context of the present study the question that arises is whether these consonant clusters, foreign though they are, are characteristic of rural or of urban Xhosa or both. A related question is whether they form part of standard or non-standard Xhosa.

The answer to these questions is not very clear-cut. Examples such as those under the sound /tr/ are characteristic more of urban than of rural Xhosa. Perhaps the explanation for that is not far to find. The examples all refer to Western concepts which are alien to Xhosa culture. In the rural areas one does find /itreni/ or /itleni/ being used, although /uloliwe/ is the Xhosa and standard term. On the other hand, /treyina/ seems to be urban Xhosa although literate Xhosa speakers, especially school- going ones in rural areas, also use the term.

With examples such as those given under /pr/, the Xhosa and

standard term for `professor' is `injingalwazi'. Admittedly, the concept is rather technical. But some illiterate Xhosa speakers seem to be increasingly associating it with omniscience and prestige. The Xhosa word for `president' is `umongameli'. `Umongameli' is quite common both with rural and urban Xhosa speakers. The borrowed words `iprofesa' and `iprezidanti' are more urban than rural. Both are acceptable in standard Xhosa and are fairly common in the mass media. `Umprofeti' is not problematic and is characteristic of rural and urban Xhosa. The word has been part of the Xhosa lexicon since the advent of Christianity among Xhosa speakers.

What about /dr/? The original Xhosa word for `idrayi' (curve) is `ijikojiko.' Of the fifty subjects against whom this word was tested none of the rural red-blanketed Xhosa speakers referred to `idrayi' as `ijikojiko'. While two out of the fifty subjects interviewed referred to `gravel' as `amatye' (stones), the rest called `gravel' `igrabile'. This seems to suggest that `idrayi' and `igrabile' have also found a place in the lexicon of rural Xhosa speakers. Consequently, the sounds /dr/ and /gr/ can be taken to be part of the phonological system of rural Xhosa speakers as well. In fact, there are some places in some rural places which are called `edrayini' (at the curve).

The sound /kr/ in the examples such as those given above, has

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found a permanent place in Xhosa vocabulary both with rural and urban Xhosa speakers. The same applies to /bhl/ and /bhr/ in the examples given. Similarly, the sounds /pl, st, fr/ are found in rural and urban Xhosa. Indeed, the same is true of the remaining sounds in the examples given under 2.2.3.1, namely /gr, ns, nsh,nv, kl, sl, ks, ktr/.

What conclusions can be drawn from the above examples of foreign consonant combinations?

Firstly, from the data which has been collected and which involved fifty subjects from an urban area and fifty from a rural one, it seems that all the foreign consonant clusters characterize both rural and urban Xhosa. The only qualification that needs to be added is that these consonant clusters characterize rural and urban Xhosa in varying degrees. The variation depends on the extent of the exposure to Western cultural influences. In that respect, urban Xhosa speakers seem to be more exposed to such influences than rural ones.

Secondly, and flowing from what has just been said, the data seems to show that urban Xhosa speakers have a tendency to use borrowed words more than rural speakers do. This seems to apply even to cases where there are Xhosa words as in `igrosari' (groceries) for Xhosa `ukutya'(food), `ukuslima' (to slim)

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for 'ukuncipha' (to become small), 'iprofesa' (professor) for Xhosa 'injingalwazi' and 'iprezidanti' for 'umongameli'. Such borrowed words go with borrowed or foreign consonant combinations.

A corollary to this is that where there are original Xhosa words rural Xhosa speakers tend to use them more frequently than urban speakers.

2.3 Stress

In standard Xhosa stress falls on the penultimate syllable as in,

isiphi'wo (gift)

su'la (wipe)

isiphithiphi'thi (confusion)

The above observation applies in general. For example, demonstratives of the first and second positions which are monosyllabic have stress as in the following examples,

lo' mfundisi (this priest)

loo' mfundisi (that priest)

On the occurrence of stress, Lanham (1960:161) says,

> Differences in relative loudness or
> prominence between syllables are
> heard in all forms of Nguni. An
> ability to separate satisfactorily
> differences in intensity from
> differences in pitch and quantity
> by ear alone, is a matter of some
> conjecture.

He goes on to say that stronger stress is an ingredient of `prominence' in Nguni. `Prominence' includes a feature of length and sometimes pitch.

In both rural and urban Xhosa stress, where applicable, falls on the penultimate syllable. Consider the following examples,

udrayi'va (driver)

umqhu'bi (driver)

ukugreyi'tha (to grate)

Stress is in fact an aspect of suprasegmental phonology. Hundleby (1963:41) makes the correct observation that in the linguistic structure of Xhosa stress is of no basic significance although strong stress `as an expressive feature is important'.

2.: Phonemic shifts

Borrowed sounds and borrowed words in which they occur are subject to phonemic adjustments when adapted in Xhosa, for example,

```
Divisional Commissioner.....iDivishinali Komishina
theatre........ithiyetha
Catholic.......umKatolika
```

An explanation of the shifts is this : Xhosa does not have the sounds [ʒ] and [θ]. When these sounds have to be used in borrowed words they are brought as closely as possible to existing Xhosa ones. Hence [ʃ], [th] and [t] respectively.

The principle which operates in such cases seems to approximate what has become known as the Lado Premiss (Hundleby, 1963).According to Lado (1957:2),

> ....individuals tend to transfer the forms....
> and the distribution of forms..of their native
> language...to the foreign language...

Literate Xhosa speakers do not experience any difficulty in pronouncing the English sounds given in the above examples. It is perhaps true also that urban Xhosa speakers would not readily substitute these English sounds with their Xhosa equivalents in actual speech. The same cannot, however, be said of rural Xhosa speakers, especially illiterate ones.

2.5 Factors determining the final vowel of a borrowed word

What Nkabinde(1968) says about the factors which govern the final or terminative vowel of a borrowed word in Zulu applies to a very large extent to Xhosa as well. He says the vowel which is suffixed to a borrowed noun which ends in a consonantal phoneme is mainly determined by the final consonantal phoneme itself.

Certain consonantal phonemes take particular final vowel phonemes. In this particular section consideration will be given to some of these consonantal phonemes and their corresponding terminative vowel phonemes.

If the final syllable of a borrowed noun ends with /f/, /v/ or /p/ the final vowel of the noun in Xhosa is /u/ as in,

    staff........istafu
    glove........iglavu
    drip.........idriphu

It is to be noted, however, that verbs assume the normal syllable structure and end with terminative /a/ that is, only in the moods, tenses and aspects in which this is a terminating morpheme as in the following examples,

    dive........dayiva

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```
skip........skipha

read........rida
```

If the final syllable of a borrowed noun ends with /s/ or /z/, the terminative vowel is /i/ as in the following examples,

```
bus..........ibhasi

plaas(Afr)...iplasi ( a farm)

fees.........ifizi
```

In the case where the final syllable of a borrowed noun ends in /sh, tsh, j/ the final vowel of the noun in Xhosa is /i/,

```
dish..........idishi

switch........iswitshi

badge.........ibheji
```

Where the final syllable of a borrowed noun ends with /n/, the final vowel of the noun in Xhosa is /i/. For example,

```
mine..........imayini

Britain.......iBhritani

van (Afr).....ifani (surname)
```

It seems that alveolars and alveopalatals are followed by /i/.

If the final syllable ends with /m/, the /m/ either becomes syllabic or is followed by /a/, /i/ or /u/, as in the following examples,

                   perm (hairstyle)......iphem
                   farm.................ifam or ifama
                   dam..................idam, idami or idama
                   skelm (Afr)..........isikelemu (a crook)

In the case of the last syllable ending with /mp/ the terminative vowel is /u/,

                   stamp..........istampu
                   camp...........ikampu or inkampu

But compare /stump/............istompi and not istompu. This is an exception.

Where the final syllable ends in /ng/ the final vowel is determined by the pronunciation of the immediately preceding vowel,

                   gang.................igenge
                   gang (Afrikaans)......irhanga (a passage)
                   strong...............strongo

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As with Zulu (Nkabinde,1968) so with Xhosa, the terminative vowel of a noun is also determined by vowel assimilation. The terminative vowel assimilates all the features of the adapted or Xhosaized vowel which precedes the terminative consonant of the original noun. Consider the following examples,

iswiti	from	sweet
istuphu	from	stoep (Afr)
irisiti	from	receipt

But compare /istulo/ from Afrikaans /stoel/. If what has just been said held in every case one would expect /istulu/.

From the above, it seems that the conclusion is inescapable that the vowel which is suffixed to a borrowed noun which ends in a consonantal phoneme is largely determined by that consonantal phoneme. Furthermore, some consonantal phonemes take particular final vowel phonemes. This phenomenon is not characteristic of urban Xhosa only. It applies equally to rural Xhosa when borrowed words are used.

2.6 The realization of the sound /r/ and the syllable structure

The sound /r/ is an `imported' or borrowed sound and is not an original component of Xhosa phonology. Lanham (1960:61) calls it

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a trill and goes on to say,

> (it) appears in acquisitions from English
> and Afrikaans in the speech of those who
> have fairly close contact with these languages.

He adds,

> In areas where there is least contact
> with Europeans, however, /l/ is usually
> substituted for /r/.

The borrowed words with /r/ which appear in the following table were tested against some fifty urban, and some fifty rural Xhosa speakers. These respondents were chosen randomly. Apart from being borrowed and apart from containing the sound /r/, the words in the table were chosen on the basis of their denoting objects which are fairly familiar in both rural and urban environments. Columns A, B, C and D indicate the different patterns of pronunciation which emerged.

	A	B	C	D
Cigarette	isigareth	isigarethi	isigaleth	isigalethi
Rice	irayis	irayisi	ilayis	ilayisi
Train	itren	itreni	itlen	itleni/itileni
Petrol	ipetrol	ipetroli	ipetlol ipetilol	ipetloli/ ipetiloli

	A	B	C	D
Rand	irant	iranti	ilant	ilanti
Paraffin	iparafin	iparafini	ipalafin	ipalafini
Receipt	irisit	irisiti	ilisit	ilisiti
Rank(bus)	irenk	irenki	ilenk	ilenki
Spirits (meth)	ispirith	ispirithi	ispilith	ispilithi
Christmas	iKrismes	iKrismesi	iKlismes iKilisimes	iKlismesi iKilisimesi

What does one make of these variations in pronunciation?

With regard to the present study, the question to consider is whether there is any correlation between the kind of variation indicated in columns A, B, C and D and social stratification. In other words, can the difference in pronunciation as indicated in columns A-D be ascribed to any sociological variable, for example social background or the rural:urban dichotomy? Or, to refer to Labov (1966), is there any sociolinguistic patterning here?

The answer is in the affirmative as we shall try to show. Columns A and C show words with a devoiced final vowel. This is a phonological feature of spoken Xhosa. Hundleby (1963:46) confirms this, even if indirectly when he says,

> In conversational as opposed to
> deliberate speech, final syllables
> are frequently partially or totally
> devoiced in utterances or phonologic phrases.

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In column A we have a case of what is probably a prestigious pronounciation. In other words, the words in that column are pronounced in a manner that approximates their English equivalents. This seems to be a characteristic feature of urban Xhosa. In the research that was conducted on the pronunciation of the English words given in the Table above, the vast majority of the respondents (about 90%) who lived in town pronounced the English words as in columns A and B. A very small percentage (about 28%) of those who lived in rural areas pronounced the English words as in columns A and B. That small percentage consisted mainly of literate Xhosa speakers.

Words in columns C and D were pronounced as given in the Table by most of the respondents in rural areas. One notable feature of words in columns C and D is the use of the alveolar approximant /l/ in place of the sound /r/. The last two observations seem to accord well with Lanham's (1960) observation that the sound /r/ is more common with speakers who have been exposed to Western cultural influences more than with those who have not been. The latter, usually substitute /l/ for /r/.

Another observation that needs to be made is that /r/ is murmured if it is stem-initial. Compare the following,

      irent (rent)   versus   ipetroli

iranti (Rand)   versus   iKrismesi

irisiti (receipt) versus   ispirithi

In the first three examples /r/ is murmured because it is stem-
initial whereas in the other examples it is not.

In the following words, however, /r/ is still murmured although
it is not stem-initial,

iBhritani (Britain)

ibhreki (brakes)

ibhranti (brandy)

The explanation for this is probably that the murmured /bh/
exerts its influence on the succeeding /r/.

There is also the question of the syllable structure of the words
in the Table. The syllable structure of Xhosa is CV (consonant
plus vowel), V (vowel), CCV,CCCV or syllabic /m/. As a rule no
Xhosa word ends with a consonant unless the consonant is
syllabic, as with syllabic /m/. But the syllable structure which
has just been mentioned is violated by words in columns A and C.
In the case of the words in column A such violation is probably
accounted for by the fact that words in that column accord, as we
have suggested, with prestigious pronunciation.

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Some comments about how syllabic /m/ arises. According to Lanham (1960:55),

> Either historically or in a synchronic process of alternation, syllabic /m/ has an origin in the syllables /mu/ or /mi/, more frequently the former than the latter.

He goes on to say,

> The tendency to reduce /mu/ and /mi/ to syllabic /m/ is strongest in Xh(osa).

Examples of syllabic /m/ include the following,

nam (and I) cf. Zulu nam<u>i</u>

umkam (my wife) cf. Zulu umkam<u>i</u>

umlam (brother-in-law) cf. Zulu umlam<u>u</u>

What about words in columns C and D? Is there any correlation between that syllable structure and the speaker's social background? It seems that syllabification does correlate with a speaker's social background. Rural Xhosa speakers show a greater tendency towards observing the standard Xhosa syllable structure than do urban Xhosa speakers. It must be noted, however, that this remark is meant to relate to the present context only.

Xhosa does not not have diphthongs. Let us look at the following diphthongs and their rendering in Xhosa,

            sign......................sayina

            title....................itayitile

            blouse...................ibhlawuzi

            join.....................joyina

            train....................itreni

All the above are borrowed words. Diphthongs which occur in borrowed words cease to exist as diphthongs when adapted into Xhosa. What happens instead is that they are normally replaced by two syllables which are then separated by /y/ or /w/. That applies equally to rural and urban Xhosa varieties.

But there are exceptions, for example where a pure vowel replaces a diphthong, as in the following examples:

        ijele   from   jail

        itreni   from   train

        istovu   from   stove

        isefu   from   safe (a noun)

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consideration will now be given to syntax, the second part of the present chapter.

2.8 Syntax

An in-depth consideration of syntax is not relevant to the present study. Consequently, this section will only deal with syntax, the study of sentence structure, in general. Particular attention will be given to the structure of the Xhosa sentence in general in the context of rural and urban Xhosa varieties. But before that is done, consideration needs to be given to what a sentence is.

What then is a sentence?

Brown and Miller (1980) refer to Lyons's (1968:173) definition,

> A grammatical unit between the constituent
> parts of which distributional limitations
> and dependencies can be established, but
> which can itself be put into no distribution
> class.

Lyons regards a sentence as the maximum unit of grammatical analysis. Brown and Miller (1980) point out that the implication of the definition Lyons gives is that a sentence has some unity for example,

(i)   grammatical completeness

            (ii)   context independence

            (iii)   some measure of semantic independence

Brown and Miller (1980:156) then define a sentence as,

            an abstract unit, established
            in order to account for distributional
            regularities of its contituents.

Crystal (1987:277) considers a sentence to be,

            The largest STRUCTURAL UNIT
            in terms of which the GRAMMAR
            of a LANGUAGE is organized.

Crystal goes on to point out some of the problems that are
inherent in the linguistic discussion of the sentence. He
mentions three such problems, namely identification,
classification and generation.

The identification of a sentence, he says, is `relatively
straightforward' in written language but not so in speech where
it is sometimes not so easy to draw boundary lines. The
multidirectional classification of sentence structure, for
example immediate constituent analysis or hierarchical analyses,
poses its own problems. He continues,

In GENERATIVE grammar, likewise, there
are several models of analysis for
sentence structure,with competing views
as to the direction in which a sentence
DERIVATION should proceed.

We shall not go into the problems of defining and describing a
sentence. Instead, we shall consider some aspects of the word
order of a Xhosa sentence and see whether there is any difference
in that respect between rural and urban Xhosa and between
standard and non-standard varieties of Xhosa.

2.8.1 The structure of a Xhosa sentence

Generally speaking, the structure of a Xhosa sentence in terms of
word order is not very different from that of any other African
language. The characteristics of the word order of African
languages, for example Greenberg (1963), Lehmann (1972:267) and
Greene (1982:78) are the following,

(i)   an SVO (subject, verb, object) structure

(ii)   an absence of prepositions

(iii)   the noun precedes its qualifying adjective,
        genitive (possessive) and relative.

In the case of Xhosa the question of an SVO structure perhaps
needs some qualification. An SVO structure is not particularly

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characteristic of a Xhosa sentence, as the following examples show,

bayambona (they see <u>him</u> or <u>her</u>)

si<u>ba</u>khalimile (we rebuked <u>them</u>)

In the consideration of the SVO structure, the following aspects will receive attention,

(a) the ordering of the sentence constituents

(b) the variability of the ordering of such constituents.

The discussion which follows has been influenced very largely by Nkabinde(1980) in his treatment of word order in Zulu.

2.8.2 The ordering of the sentence constituents

The ordinary ordering of the constituents of a simple sentence with transitive verbs in declarative and interrogative sentences is SVO, as in the following examples,

Ititshala ibuza umbuzo

(The teacher is asking a question)

Ititshala ibuza umbuzo?

(Is the teacher asking a question?)

Ummangalelwa uvuma ityala

(The accused admits guilt)

Ummangalelwa uvuma ityala?

(Does the accused plead guilty?)

Urban Xhosa has examples which are comparable with the above,

USipho urejistarisha ikhosizi.

(Sipho is registering courses)

Umakhi ukhatha isitshixo?

(Is the builder cutting the key?)

Abatshana babhukishe ikhol?

(Have the nephews booked the call?)

(May the nephews book the call?)

Imperatives have an implied subject. For example,

Ncokola iindaba

(Relate the news)

Bala imali

(Count the money)

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Culani iculo

(Sing a song)

The behaviour of the imperative is the same for urban Xhosa,

Ringela utata

(Telephone my father)

Avoyida i-aksident

(Avoid an accident)

Renta ifleth

(Rent a flat)

The above examples of urban Xhosa are non-standard. The reason for saying so is that these examples show a very heavy English influence and have borrowed rather extensively from that language.

In standard Xhosa the auxiliary verb usually precedes the main verb as far as word order is concerned,

Usana luphantse lwatsha

(The baby nearly got burnt)

Basoloko bekhalaza

(They are always complaining)

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Ndikhe ndimbone

(I sometimes see him)

The auxiliary verbs are /phantse/, /soloko/ and /khe/. The following are comparable examples of urban Xhosa,

Umsebenzi uphantse wa-ofa kwangoko

(The worker nearly knocked off too soon)

Ndisoloko ndimofarisha indawo eyadini

(I am always offering him a place in the yard)

Sikhe sigrosare sishophishe nokushophisha

(We sometimes do groceries and shopping as well)

The words /ofa/, /ofarisha/, /grosara/, /shophisha/ are neither standard nor rural Xhosa. Not only are they borrowed from English, but they also have acceptable Xhosa equivalents. For example, for /ofa/ there is /phuma emsebenzini/. In the case of /ofarisha/ there is /nika/ or /pha/. For /grosara/ one could say /thenga ukudla/ (buy food). Admittedly, the Xhosa equivalents are not commonly used.

The ordering of the sentence constituents can also be variable. This can come about in a variety of ways, for example by the postponing of the subject and the preposing of the object.

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2.8.3 The postponing of the subject

This happens with transitive verbs where the subject follows the object as in the following examples,

> VOS: Uhlafuna ukutya umntwana
>
> (The child is chewing food)
>
> Iza kucula iculo imvumi
>
> (The singer will sing a song)

Compare the following examples of urban Xhosa,

> Ugaranta isimodeni umdanisi
>
> (The dancer guarantees the modern way of
>   doing things)
>
> Iza kurekhoda imizuzu imitha
>
> (The meter will record minutes)

With intransitive verbs the subject is freely moveable,

> SV: Imoto iyabaleka
>
> (The car is running)
>
> VS: Iyabaleka imoto
>   (The car is running)

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Of course, these two examples are also examples of urban Xhosa. These examples illustrate how blurred the boundaries between rural and urban Xhosa tend to be. Other examples which show how blurred such boundaries can be, are the first two which appear under 2.8.4 below.

Compare the following examples which only occur in urban Xhosa,

SV: Umasitandi uyarentisa

(The standowner leases)

VS: Uyarentisa umasitandi

(The standowner is leasing ...property)

2.8.4 The preposing of the object

The following examples illustrate that aspect,

SOV: Ummangalelwa ityala uyalivuma

(The accused admits guilt)

OVS: Ityala uyalivuma ummangalelwa

(Literally,guilt he admits the accused)

(The accused admits guilt)

Comparable examples of urban Xhosa,

> SOV: Imeya amabhunga oluntu iyawavotela
>
> (The mayor is voting for community councils)
>
> OVS: Amabhunga oluntu iyawavotela imeya
>
> (Community councils he votes for the mayor)
>
> (The mayor votes for community councils).

The examples which have been considered in this section are perhaps sufficient to show some general tendencies with regard to some aspects of the ordering of the constituents of the sentence in Xhosa.

Although consideration has not been given to the N-adjective, the N-possessive and the N-relative sentence structures, on the basis of the common tendencies which have been noted in the foregoing discussion, it is perhaps justifiable to predict that the pattern for rural and urban Xhosa will be the same as for the SVO structure and its variability.

2.9 Conclusion

The present chapter set out to investigate the phonological and syntactic differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties in terms of standard and non-standard varieties. The following

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aspects were addressed,

(a)   the speech sounds of Xhosa, including borrowed consonant clusters and diphthongs

(b)   stress

(c)   phonemic shifts

(d)   factors which determine the terminative vowel of a borrowed word when adapted in Xhosa

(e)   the phonetic realization of the sound /r/

(f)   the syllable structure of Xhosa

(g)   syntax, with special reference to some of the principles underlying the ordering of sentence constituents.

With regard to Xhosa speech sounds, no difference was found between rural and urban Xhosa. Overall, there is no introduction of new sounds, except for /r/ which is a sound that is possibly borrowed from Scots or Afrikaans. But new sound sequences seem to abound.

Loan sounds are made to conform with the phonological structure of Xhosa. This is seen in some phonetic shifts, in the factors governing the type of final vowel which is suffixed to a borrowed word and in diphthongs which are re-analysed in Xhosa with the interpolation of /w/ and /y/, where applicable.

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It is evident that there is some phonological re-analysis which is done rather intuitively and without any conscious effort. Stress which generally falls on the penultimate syllable is the same for rural and urban Xhosa.

Generally then, the inventory of Xhosa vowels and consonants remains almost the same. This is perhaps not surprising because, as Aitchison (1981:123) says,

> Overall, foreign elements do not of themselves disrupt the basic structure of a language. They merely make use of tendencies already in the language.

It is in the phonetic realization of /r/ and in the syllable structure that the rural:urban dichotomy really begins to emerge.

The sound /r/ is realized as /l/ by Xhosa speakers who are illiterate. This seems to point to some correlation between certain linguistic features, for example the realization of /r/, and the speaker's social background.

With regard to the standard Xhosa syllable structure, namely CV, CCV, CCCV, V, or syllabic /m/, rural Xhosa speakers show a greater tendency towards observing the CV structure in particular, more than do urban Xhosa speakers.

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The claims which are being made point to the importance of the socio-cultural setting of the language contact situation. Scotton and Okeju (1972) draw attention to the importance of the sociological situation and the social profile of the speaker or borrower.

It seems that as Romaine (1982) says, sociolinguistic structure is woven in a complex way throughout the community. Different phonological elements are associated with various social groups.

With reference to syntax, no difference seems to exist in the basic word order of the Xhosa sentence or in the ordering of its constituents. No difference seems to exist either in the variability of the ordering of such constituents. These observations apply both to rural and urban Xhosa varieties.

Syntactic differences seem to occur only in cases where a sentence is a translation from English or Afrikaans. For example,

Bafuna ukusebenza hayi ukuhlala phantsi

(They want to work and not to sit down)

Sifunda igrama yodwa hayi ezinye izinto.

(We learn grammar only and not any other thing).

The above are examples of urban Xhosa.

Lexical differences.

3.1   Introduction

In considering lexical differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties in terms of standard and non-standard varieties, the point that needs to be made at the outset is that an important aspect that will emerge is that of language change.If language is part of culture, and if culture is dynamic, language can equally be expected to be dynamic, to be continually changing. That this is so will be shown in the present chapter.

Lehmann (1967:63) draws attention to the fact that it was in 1836 when the philosopher-linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt said,

> There can never be a moment of true
> standstill in language, just as little
> as in the ceaselessly flaming thought
> of men.By nature it is a continuous
> process of development.

In the same vein, but much later, the famous Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1915/1959:77) had this to say,

> Time changes all things: there is no
> reason why language should escape the
> universal law.

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The inevitability of language change is also mentioned by Aitchison (1981:16) in rather extravagant terms,

> In a world where humans grow old,
> tadpoles change into frogs, and
> milk turns into cheese, it would
> be strange if language alone
> remained unaltered.

And so it is then that language is in a continual process of change. It will be useful to give consideration to some of the background to this change, with particular reference to Xhosa.

Rural people migrate to urban areas mainly in search of jobs. When they do so, they have to adapt to a lifestyle which is often fundamentally different from that of the rural areas from which they come. They must also adjust to the linguistic diversity of the urban areas. They sometimes have to learn one or more languages or language varieties in order to communicate with their neighbours, their colleagues or their bosses.
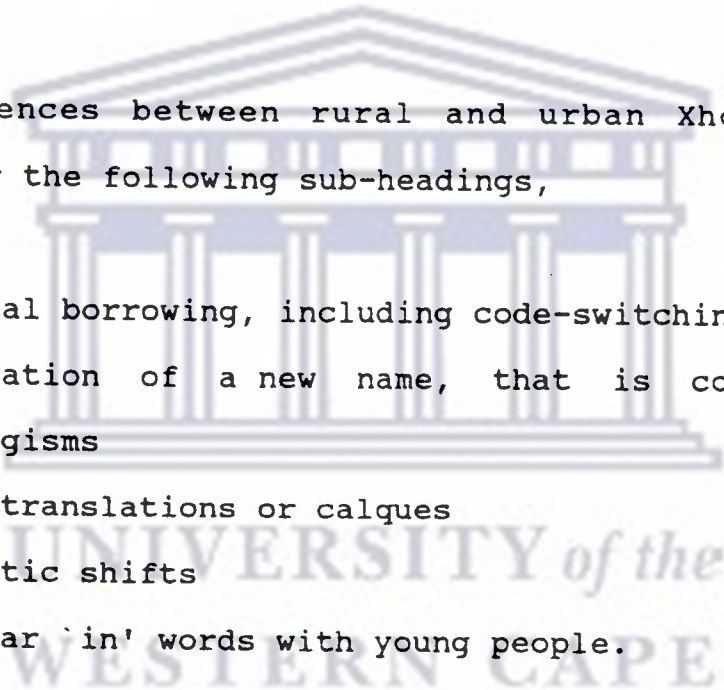
What Cooper and Horvath (1973:221-222) say of urbanization in Ethiopia applies equally to the urbanization of Xhosa speakers,

> Not only do migrants to the town learn
> new languages, which may ultimately
> displace their mother tongue or supplement
> it in a relationship of stable bilingualism,
> but <u>the language learned may be carried into
> the countryside when migrants return to the
> rural areas of their birth.</u>
>   (Emphasis added)

From the above, the claim is made that the process of urbanization, which is very largely the result of migration, can have profound consequences for language and its use. Another claim that is made is that urban Xhosa draws very largely on foreign languages, notably English and to a lesser extent Afrikaans. Perhaps this is not surprising. Sociolinguistic studies (Scotton and Okeju,1972; Cooper and Horvath, 1973; Higa,1979; Akere,1981) show that when two different cultures meet, and where one culture is dominant over the other, borrowing is unidirectional.

Lexical differences between rural and urban Xhosa will be considered under the following sub-headings,

(a) lexical borrowing, including code-switching

(b) innovation of a new name, that is coinages and neologisms

(c) loan translations or calques

(d) semantic shifts

(e) popular 'in' words with young people.

3.2 Lexical borrowing : Theoretical considerations

In a bilingual situation, writes Akere (1981:284),

    Questions such as the effects which such
    a bilingual situation may have on the

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languages in contact, on the users of these
languages, and on the society in which
these languages are used become relevant
issues of sociolinguistic investigations.

It is very largely against this background that lexical borrowing

has to be seen. It is to be noted that lexical borrowing is not

an isolated phenomenon. It has to be seen as some form of

cultural behaviour. It occurs in a specific cultural context.

Higa (1979:291) rightly sees lexical borrowing as,

a cultural behaviour and its process and
results reflect the basic aspects and
characteristics of the cultures of both
the borrowing and the borrowed.

There is in the above quotation an implied correlation between

linguistic performance and sociological or cultural variables.

That is how lexical borrowing should be viewed, namely as a

process. On the contrary, as Carol Scotton and Okeju (1973) point

out, there has been a tendency to focus on words themselves and

to ignore the actual process of borrowing.

According to them there are some unfortunate assumptions about

lexical borrowing in most of the works which treat this subject.

These assumptions are,

(a) the standard theoretical model for explaining and

describing kinds of lexical borrowing. Here the focus is on the borrowed words themselves.

(b) that lexical borrowings are new items in the culture of the borrowing language with rare mention of lexical borrowings which impinge on the core vocabulary of the borrowing language.

Carol Scotton and Okeju challenge these assumptions where,

(a) emphasis is on the results of language contact rather than on the attendant process of lexical borrowing

(b) new cultural items are presented as examples of lexical borrowing

(c) emphasis or focus is on borrowed items rather than on the speakers.

Fishman (1968) agrees with the above observations and condemns studies on lexical borrowing as `quite worthless', `misleading' and `almost invariably wrong'.

In their study of Ateso, a Ugandan language, Carol Scotton and

Okeju (1972) make the following points,

(a) an adequate model for lexical borrowing must first consider the process of borrowing itself. In other words, the nature and extent of cultural contacts and how they vary in relation to sub-groups within the borrowing group. The words themselves can then only be examined thereafter. The socio-cultural setting is more important.

(b) it is important to recognize borrowings of certain kinds into the core vocabulary of a language alongside borrowings for items which are new to culture

(c) the kinds of lexical items which are borrowed `may well' depend on the type of cultural contact. They note here that lexical items for new cultural items are more prevalent with the educated or the widely travelled.

It seems then that for a better appreciation of lexical borrowing both the individual lexical item and the attendant social or cultural factors need to be considered.

3.2.1 Lexical borrowing : An analysis of some examples

After the above theoretical consideration of lexical borrowing,
some examples will be examined.

    (a) Loo mbutho ubambe <u>irali</u> kwi<u>holo</u> yoluntu.

       (That organization is holding a rally at the community
       hall)

    (b) Bendisa<u>dayala</u> ndi<u>bhukisha</u> i<u>khol</u> nda<u>khathofeka</u>

       (I was still dialling and booking a call and I was cut
       off)

    (c) Uma<u>standi</u> u<u>tshaja</u> i<u>rent</u> eninzi nge<u>fleth</u>

       (The standowner is charging too much rent for the flat)

    (d) I<u>spidkoph</u> simbhalele <u>itikiti</u> ngoku<u>pakisha</u>

       kwi<u>mitha</u> ephelileyo.

       (The traffic cop gave him a ticket for parking at an
       expired meter)

All the underlined words are borrowed words. The above are mostly
examples of urban Xhosa for reasons which will now be discussed.

While the Xhosa word for a meeting is <u>intlanganiso</u>, a rally is a
special type of meeting, usually a political one. This is a
concept that is alien to Xhosa culture and there is no suitable

substitute for it. As a result the concept is borrowed as it is, namely _irali_. Community halls are found in urban areas, especially in townships. That distinguishes them from town or city halls. While `community hall' is an exclusively urban concept, `rally' is not. With the advent of homeland politics political rallies are also a common feature of rural life and are usually held at the tribal court or at the chief's kraal. That makes _irali_ both rural and urban.

The second example above, namely about dialling, is different from the one that has just been considered. It refers to an exclusively urban setting. Does that mean rural communities people do not use telephones? The answer is yes and no. Telephones are not very common in rural communities, certainly not with red-blanketed Xhosa speakers. In rural areas they are found mainly in shops where they are not for public use in any case. Therefore, the idea of _dialling_ in order to make a call is rather alien to rural settings.

Attempts have been made by the Xhosa Language Board to standardize the idea of making telephone calls. The standard expression is _tsala umnxeba_. But that expression is not very common, with literate Xhosa speakers who seem to prefer the expression given earlier on about dialling. Also, literate Xhosa speakers use the words _fowuna_ (make a telephone call) or _ringa_ (ring).

The point that is being made is that the idea of telephones is more common in urban than in rural communities. Consequently, the language that is used to make telephone calls is more urban than rural. Literate Xhosa speakers from rural areas do use these borrowed terms too.

The idea of owning flats or `stands' and of charging rent seems to be exclusively urban. Indeed, umastandi (standowner) is associated exclusively with urban environments. Of interest here is the morpheme /ma/ which normally designates a female person, as in uMaDlomo (a woman of the Dlomo clan) or uMaDlamini (a woman of the Dlamini clan). However, in umastandi /ma/ is indeterminate and can refer to either male or female standowner.

If an item is costly or too costly it is referred to as iyabiza in standard Xhosa. The accepted and standard word for `to charge' is ukubiza, to be distinguished from the same word which means `to call'. There is no Xhosa equivalent for `rent' or `flat'. As a result, these words have been borrowed and incorporated into the Xhosa lexicon and now form part of that lexicon.

The fourth example above, namely Ispidkoph simbhalele itikiti ngokupakisha kwimitha ephelileyo, is clearly urban Xhosa in that the idea that is being expressed pertains exclusively to urban environments. Parking meters are an urban phenomenon. So is the

idea of getting a ticket from a traffic officer for a traffic offence. The standard Xhosa term for a traffic cop or officer is _iqosa lendlela_ (literally, an officer of the road). That is the term that is acceptable in formal situations, for example in school examinations. In reality, the term that is more commonly used is _ispidkoph_. In any case, _iqosa lendlela_ could also refer to a member of the Road Safety Council and not necessarily to a traffic policeman.

Let us consider further examples,

(a) Umlilo wabangelwa _likhandlela elalilayitelwe_ ukugalela _ipetroli kumatshini_

(The fire was caused by a candle which was 1. : in order to pour petrol into the machine).

(b) Hlaziya _ilayisens (ilayisenisi) yemoto_

(Renew the motor vehicle license)

(c) _Pika itim_ ye_soka_ eza kudlala kule _lig_

(Pick a soccer team which will play in this league)

(d) Zininzi iindlela zoku_slima_: unga_dayetha_, u_jime_ okanye u_treyine_

(There are several ways of slimming:you can go on diet, to gym or do physical training)

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(e)   Banxiba ama<u>sekeni</u> baphile ngama<u>-owuva</u>

(They wear second-hand clothing and live on left-overs)

(f)   <u>Bhibha</u> usana ukuze lungawangcolisi ama<u>napkeni</u>.

A<u>duru</u>

(Put a bib on the baby so that it does not dirty the
napkins. They are expensive)

What does one make of the above examples? Are there some which are exclusively rural Xhosa or urban Xhosa while others are a combination of both rural and urban Xhosa?

The first example is a good illustration of borrowed words which have been assimilated fully into the lexicon of Xhosa and have become standardized. Although the Xhosa word for `to light' is <u>ukukhanyisa</u>, that word seems to be gradually giving way to the borrowed <u>ukulayita</u>. Hence,

layita isibane
(light the lamp)

layita apho endlwini

(light there in the house)

The borrowed words <u>ikhandlela</u> (candle), <u>layita</u> (light), <u>ipetroli</u> and <u>umatshini</u> (machine) have been fully assimilated into Xhosa.

Furthermore, these words are equally capable of being used in both rural and urban environments. The same can be said of the example, <u>Hlaziya ilayisens (ilayisenisi) yemoto</u> (Renew the motor vehicle license). The only difference here is that the literate or urban Xhosa speaker would perhaps tend to use <u>rinyuwisha</u> (renew) instead of the Xhosa <u>hlaziya</u>.

In his study of Town Bemba, Kashoki (1972) notes the possibility of differences of social dialect in Town Bemba. In other words, the difference between Town Bemba of young children and that of their elders or even between that of the educated and the uneducated. The following examples perhaps illustrate the latter point in the case of Xhosa,

<u>Pika</u> <u>itim</u> ye<u>soka</u> eza kudlala kule <u>lig</u>

(Pick a soccer team which is going to play in this league)

Zininzi iindlela zoku<u>slima</u> : unga<u>dayetha</u>, u<u>jime</u>

okanye u<u>treyine</u>

(There are several ways of slimming : you can go on diet, gym or do physical training)

<u>Pika itim yesoka</u> can be rendered in standard Xhosa as <u>khetha iqela lomdlalo webhola</u>. Although <u>bhola</u> (ball) is borrowed from English `ball' the word is now acceptable as correct Xhosa.

Insofar as the idea of a soccer league is an urban concept the example about picking a soccer team could be considered an example of urban Xhosa. But this observation is partly negated by the fact that the term pika itim is not necessarily used exclusively by urban Xhosa speakers. With the increase in the number of schools, especially secondary schools, in rural areas the use of this term is becoming common.

The example about slimming reflects an entirely Western concept which is found more in urban Xhosa communities than in rural ones. In African communities, especially rural ones, weight, particularly on the part of a woman, is usually regarded as a sign of status, prestige and good health.

Amasekeni refers to any second-hand item and is a word that has been assimilated fully into the Xhosa lexicon and has become standardized. Ama-owuva (left-overs) is not a widely used term and is very largely urban. It seems to derive remotely from some master-servant relationship and has not been standardized into Xhosa.

Bhibha (put a bib on) is not a very commonly used lexical item. Some seventeen out of twenty rural red-blanketed people against whom this item was tested did not know its meaning. When the meaning was subsequently explained to them, they rightly pointed

out that what they are familiar with is the use of scooped hands for the purpose served by a bib.

Amanapkeni (napkins) is both rural and urban. So is duru (expensive), from Afrikaans `duur'. Duru is in fact used more often than biza by both rural and urban Xhosa speakers.

In answer to the question we posed earlier on, that is whether some of the examples we have considered are exclusively rural Xhosa or urban Xhosa or a combination of both rural and urban Xhosa, the answer seems to be that most of them are a combination of both. This observation points to the fact that lexical borrowing is not an exclusive characteristic of urban Xhosa. Both rural and urban Xhosa use borrowed words in their growth and modernization. However, the claim still holds that urban Xhosa borrows more than rural Xhosa.

In order to validate this claim we need to examine further examples. In the examples which follow, indigenous Xhosa words appear after the English translation:

Khawuthraye ukumbona kuba emva kwe-meeting uza kuofa
(Please try and see him because after the meeting he will knock off)

(Khawuzame ukumbona kuba emva kwentlanganiso uza kuphuma emsebenzini)

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Mphresharayize umxelele ukuba uzakumsuwisha. Uza

kuadmitha

(Pressurize him and tell him that you will sue him. He
 will admit)

(Mxine umxelele ukuba uza kummangalela. Uza
 kuvuma)

Khonfesa, mhlawumbi uza kusikhonsidarisha isicelo

sakho.

(Confess, maybe he will consider your request)

(Vuma, mhlawumbi uza kusisabela /gwalasela
 isicelo sakho)

Lala uphripherishile kuba ibhasi iyafrurha.

(Go to bed having prepared because the bus leaves
 very early)

(Lala ulungisile kuba ibhasi ihamba kwangoko
 kakhulu kusasa)

The above examples show a deliberate use of loan words in place
of well-known indigenous and standardized ones. Such usage is an
important and significant characteristic which distinguishes
rural Xhosa from urban Xhosa. The question to consider is why
there is a preference for this practice. For one thing the
practice is invoked in order to impress and to display one's
knowledge of a foreign language. Other reasons will be considered
shortly when the phenomenon of code-switching is examined.

The practice which has just been considered is not peculiar to Xhosa only. Akere (1981:290) bemoans the same practice with Nigerians,

> The frequency with which literate bilinguals in
> Nigeria incorporate English words in utterances
> in their mother tongue is so high that an outsider
> would wonder whether the indigenous languages do
> in fact possess an adequate lexicon to cope with
> day to day communicative acts of the bilingual Nigerian.

This brings us to code-switching, that is the phenomenon of constantly switching between two languages....in our case Xhosa and a foreign language. There are two conflicting views on the functions of code-switching.These views are represented by Rowlands (1963) and Salami (1972) respectively.

In his consideration of code-switching in Yoruba, Rowlands (1963), as quoted by Akere (1981:296) says code-switching functions,

> either to express ideas with which the vocabulary
> of Yoruba cannot cope or sometimes merely to
> convey some nuance or particular shade of meaning
> which is felt to be lacking in Yoruba words which
> at first sight one would think to be perfecly adequate.

According to this view code-switching serves to fill gaps in the vocabulary of the mother tongue. Salami (1972) disagrees. He considers code-switching in most cases to be the consequence of the native speaker's unfamiliarity with, or ignorance of, an

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appropriate word. In circumstances such as these, according to Salami (1972:167), the bilingual speaker `has no choice but to use the English words with which, it seems, he is more familiar'.

The above views have implications for the linguistic theory of competence. If we go along with Salami's view that a native speaker's knowledge of the vocabulary of his language is inadequate, are we not for example contradicting Chomsky's linguistic theory of the competence of the native speaker? The answer is `No'. Our concern is with communicative competence in a bilingual situation and not with the competence of the `ideal' native speaker `in a completely homogeneous speech community'. (Chomsky, 1965:3).

Xhosa equivalents or near equivalents appear after the English translation in the following examples of code-switching in Xhosa,

> Loo lecturer i-clear kuba iyarida
>
> (That lecturer is clear-headed because he reads)
>
> (Loo titshala inolwazi kuba iyafunda)

> Ndiza kufika late kuloo party. Ndise-busy
>
> (I shall arrive late at that party. I am still busy)
>
> (Andizi kukhawuleza ndifike kwelo theko. Ndisaxakekile).

I-<u>high blood pressure</u> ayipheli kwaphela. Kufuneka

umana usiya kwagqirha ufumane i-<u>injection</u>.

(High blood pressure does not really disappear. It is
necessary that you should always see the doctor in
order to get an injection)

(I-<u>high blood pressure</u> ayipheli kwaphela. Kufuneka
umana usiya kwagqirha ufumane i-<u>naliti</u> / <u>istof/</u>
<u>umjovo</u>).

`High blood pressure' has no real Xhosa equivalent. <u>Inaliti</u> from

Afrikaans `naald' (needle) and `entstof' (vaccine) are borrowed

words which have, however, been assimilated fully into Xhosa.

The above examples seem to accord with Salami's view that code-

switching is, in most cases, the result of the native speaker's

unfamiliarity with, or ignorance of, an appropriate word. That

then forces the native speaker, especially a bilingual one, to

resort to the language with which he seems to be most familiar,

namely English in most cases amongst the Xhosa.

On the other hand, there is something to be said for Rowlands'

view that code-switching serves to make up for lexical

inadequacies in the language of the native speaker.Examples such

as the ones above on high blood pressure illustrate this point.

There is no Xhosa equivalent for `high blood pressure'.

After the foregoing discussion of lexical borrowing and code-

switching, it is perhaps necessary to consider some of the reasons for the occurrence of these two related phenomena. From the examples given so far it will have become apparent that both lexical borrowing and code-switching are aspects of language change. Foreign words are introduced into Xhosa and that brings about some changes in the lexicon of Xhosa. Overall, the changes are the result of contact between Xhosa and foreign cultures and languages. As it was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, if culture changes as it indeed does, then language change becomes inevitable because language is an integral part of culture.

Cultures the world over are changing rapidly. Most of the changes are caused directly and indirectly by the expansion and dominance of Western communities. That, however, does not mean that cultures change because of outside influences only.

The main reason then for lexical borrowing and code-switching which are aspects of language change is culture change. Some of the factors which are responsible for culture change, and therefore for language change, are the following,

        (a) contact between different cultures and consequent intercultural influence..... a factor already mentioned

(b) technology, for example the idea of <u>imitha</u> (meter) and <u>umatshini</u> (machine) in the examples already given

(c) commercialization, for example <u>duru</u> (expensive), a term that has already been considered

(d) migratory labour

(e) political factors, for example the imposition of a foreign system of government as in <u>irali</u> (rally)

Lexical borrowing, as will have become apparent from the examples which have already been given, serves to express ideas with which the vocabulary of Xhosa cannot cope or ideas which are alien to indigenous Xhosa culture. In that respect lexical borrowing reflects progress in acculturation and is also an attempt to fill gaps in the lexicon of Xhosa. Lexical borrowing is also a reflection of the individual experience of the borrower. This is the kind of experience which is the result of one's education, travel and milieu or a combination of all these factors.

If lexical borrowing serves to fill gaps in the vocabulary of Xhosa then it is fulfilling a practical need, for example keeping pace with technical, social and institutional developments. This

has been shown in the examples which have been considered. In fact, studies in language change in other African languages also demonstrate this fact, for example Richardson (1963) for Bemba, a Zambian language, Margaret Ball (1971) for Swahili and Akere (1981) for Nigerian languages.

As Margaret Ball (1971:135) puts it,

> Whether or not the trend is approved, the fact is that African cultures .....are borrowing institutions and technology wholesale from Western civilisation.

Apart from fulfilling a practical need, lexical borrowing when coupled with code-switching can serve as a means of enhancing status and social prestige. In that respect it fulfils a socio-psychological need. As Higa (1979:284) points out,

> People who want to exhibit their familiarity with foreign cultures, especially so-called prestigeous cultures, tend to use foreign words as proud evidence of such familiarity.

Consider examples such as these,

    Siza ku_flaya_ ngomso

    (We shall _fly_ tomorrow)

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Andinaxesha le-<u>nice time</u> mna. Ndiya-<u>athenda</u>

(I have no time for <u>pleasure</u>. I am <u>attending</u>,

that is, attending lectures).

The following Xhosa rendition would detract from the social prestige of the above utterances,

Siza kukhwela <u>ieropleni</u> / <u>inqwelontaka</u>

Andinaxesha la<u>bumnandi</u> mna. Ndiya<u>funda</u>.

In the first two examples there is a display of one's erudition. The elements of social prestige and status are also present. After all, not everybody flies. In the city of Umtata <u>uku-athenda</u> is a particularly prestigious term and refers exclusively to attending lectures at the University of Transkei. Carol Scotton and Okeju (1972) would refer to examples such as these as `exotic emblems of sorts'.

But having mentioned the display of one's erudition and the fulfilling of a socio-psychological need, it is to be noted also that foreign words come to mind more readily than their first language counterparts. Akere (1981:297) notes that the mother tongue bilingual speaker,

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does not necessarily master all the functional
varieties within his mother tongue and.......
in a number of occasions he supplements this
inadequacy by using words and phrases from English.

Lexical borrowing and code-switching then are in varying degrees

manifestations of language change. Such language change is the

result of interlanguage contact and culture change.

The next aspect that will be considered is neologisms.

3.3 Neologisms

Neologism refers to the innovation or coining of a new word or

name. A new name or new word may be coined in order to express an

idea that did not exist originally in Xhosa culture. Such

coinage or innovation of a new name distinguishes neologisms from

lexical borrowing which refers to some 'taking over' of an item

from one language and incorporating it into another language.

Neologisms are varied, as will be shown. Like lexical borrowing,

they are also aspects of language change and are an attempt by

Xhosa to grapple with culture change. What Higa (1979:284) says

of neologisms in general applies equally to Xhosa,

When new things or concepts are learned
by one culture from another, there arises
a linguistic need to name them in its own language.

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The innovation or coining of a new word touches on morphology because various morphemes or formatives are used in such coinages. Bright (1966) makes the observation that linguistic diversity is of sociolinguistic interest if it can be correlated with social and not lingustic factors, what he calls the systematic co-variance of linguistic structure and social structure. This observation seems to suggest that grammar as such is of no `sociolinguistic interest' to the study of language varieties. This point is debatable.

In this section some aspects of grammar, namely morphology, will be considered. Neologisms will be treated under the following morphological sub-headings,

> (a) deideophonic
>
> (b) deverbatives
>
> (c) compounds
>
> (d) adverbs
>
> (e) /no/ + base
>
> (f) qualifiers

3.3.1 Deideophonic neologisms

Here an ideophone is used to coin a new word, as in the following examples,

ibhanyabhanya (bioscope)

inkamnkam (old age pension)

amashwamshwam (crispy chips)

Ibhanyabhanya is a rural term for `bioscope' and its urban counterpart is ibhayaskoph or, more commonly, ifilim. The duplication of the ideophone, namely bhanyabhanya, has the effect of enhancing the rapidity of the movement of a picture on the screen. Inkamnkam is also a rural term. Other terms that are commonly used both by rural and urban Xhosa communities are ipeyi (from English `pay') or udanki (from Afrikaans `dankie'). Old age pension is probably referred to as inkamnkam because its recipients regard it as something one gets without any effort; a kind of soft option. The Xhosa word refers to something soft, even very soft. Ipeyi probably speaks for itself, while udanki probably refers to something one has to be thankful for. Inkamnkam and ipeyi are standard terms.

Amashwamshwam (crispy chips) are a novelty in Xhosa culture and the word is probably derived from the sound made by the chips when they are being eaten. This is a rural term which has the borrowed itshiphs as its urban counterpart. However, itshiphs is also gradually becoming rural. The duplication of the ideophone reinforces the idea of being crisp and the resultant sound when the chips are being eaten.

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3.3.2 Deverbatives

Let us consider the following examples,

isiqholo (deodorant) <isi + qhola (preserve, make..smell sweet)

ukhwelakhwela (police van) < u + khwela + khwela (board or climb)

umsasazi (radio announcer) < um + sasaza (sow seed)

abangcuchalazi (squatters) < aba + ngcuchalaza (squat)

abagrogrisi (terrorists) < aba + grogrisa (frighten, terrorize)

abanqolobi (terrorists) <aba + nqoloba (pounce upon unexpectedly)

isigcayiseli (limpet mine) < isi + gcayisela (trap, ensnare)

In the above examples, the verb stem which normally ends in the terminative vowel /a/ ends in /i/ or /o/ or remains unchanged, as in the second example. The stem is preceded by the relevant prefix.

All the above examples are standard, commonly used and acceptable Xhosa. They are also both urban and rural. Perhaps an interesting term is <u>ukhwelakhwela</u> (police van).

This term refers to the not-so-kind call by a policeman for one

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to get into a police van. The duplication of the stem indicates the quickness or fastness with which the action indicated is supposed to be executed. In urban areas in particular, a police van is also called <u>iven</u> from English 'van', although this term is also used in rural areas. <u>Isiqholo</u> (deodorant), in the case of rural areas, is more commonly used by literate Xhosa speakers.

3.3.2.1 Verbal extensions

The following extensions will be considered,

(a) causative

(b) passive

3.3.2.1 (a)   The causative

isinambithisi (that which gives flavour) < isi- + nambitha (enjoy the taste of) + -is- + -a
isiyobisi (that which causes dizziness, drug) < isi- + yoba (be dizzy) + -is- + -a
isiqhushumbisi (that which causes explosion, bomb) < isi- + qhushumba (explode) + -is- + -a.

These neologisms which are formed by using the causative formative, are commonly used by the radio, television and the

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press. They are standard and are more commonly used in urban areas. Indeed, the use of drugs and the occurrence of explosions caused by bombs or limpet mines are more urban than rural.

Isinambithisi does not seem to be commonly used in everyday language, preference being given to the names of the actual `flavourers', for example,

> i-aromat (aromat)
>
> i-tomato sauce (tomato sauce)

3.3.2.1 (b)   Causative + passive

umphathiswa (cabinet minister) < um + phatha (rule) + -is- + -w- + a

inkulubaphathiswa (chief minister) < inkulu (eldest son)+ ba + phatha + -is- + -w- +a; /ba/ being from the posessive formative /yaba/ (of)

umthanjiswa (anointed one, priest) < um + thamb- + -is-+ -w- +-a; thambisa (smear with fat or oil)

In the last example, palatalization takes place. The first two examples are very commonly used. To be noted here is the political distinction Xhosa also makes between a chief minister

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and a prime minister, <u>inkulumbuso</u>. This is the kind of distinction that is commonly made in Government circles. 'Priest' is a religious term which is common both to rural and urban Xhosa. All the above three terms have been standardized into Xhosa.

3.3.3. Compounds

3.3.3.1 Deverbative noun + noun

ubhukuqombuso (coup) <u + bhukuqa (overturn) + umbuso (government)

umongameli-mbuso (state president) <um + ongamela (rule over, govern) + umbuso (government)

injingalwazi (professor) <i-N- + jinga (hang, hang on to) + ulwazi (knowledge); alternatively, < injinga (champion) + ulwazi (knowledge)

abaphicothi-zincwadi (bookkeepers, accountants) <aba + phicotha (examine thoroughly) + iincwadi (books)

The last two examples belong to some highly specialized language. Their categorization is therefore not very clear cut. All that can be said about them is that they are standard and, in this context, therefore acceptable Xhosa. The first two, on the other hand, are not only standard and acceptable Xhosa, but are also

used by both rural and urban speech communities. In addition, iprezidanti or uprezidanti is also commonly used.

3.3.3.2 Deverbative noun + jikelele (general)

ummelijikelele (consul general) < mela (represent) + jikelele

umlawulijikelele (director general) < lawula (govern, rule) + jikelele

umtshutshisijikelele (attorney general) < tshutshisa (prosecute) + jikelele

All these examples seem to belong to urban Xhosa. Although umtshutshisi (prosecutor) is a familiar term even in rural areas, umtshutshisijikelele is not so familiar in rural areas. Urban Xhosa also tends to use the borrowed English versions of the above terms.

3.3.3.3 Noun + noun

inkulumbuso (prime minister) < inkulu (eldest) + umbuso (government)

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igunyabantu (tribal authority) < igunya (authority) +
abantu (people)

Both words are standard Xhosa and are both rural and urban, with
tribal authorities being a rural institution.

3.3.3.4 Noun + qualifier

amazwe <u>azimeleyo</u> (independent states,or countries)

amazwe <u>azimele qeqe</u> (self governing states)

imfundo <u>enomsila</u> (university or degree education,
literally, education with a tail)

indlu <u>yowiso-mthetho</u> (legislative assembly; literally, a
house for laying down the law)

The qualifiers are underlined. With some of the current political
developments becoming part of Xhosa life, some of the
corresponding terminology is erupting into the vocabulary of
Xhosa .This includes even some of the political distinctions that
are often made, for example between what are called self
governing as opposed to independent states.

It is not clear why university education is called <u>imfundo</u>
<u>enomsila</u> (education with a tail). It is probably called thus

either because of the tassle of the mortar board or, more probably, because of the tail like nature of the academic gown. The above terms are both rural and urban. <u>Indlu yowiso-mthetho</u> is also popularly known as <u>ipalamente</u> (parliament).

3.3.3.5. /No/ + base

In this category there is a wide variety of lexical items. Some indicate female, some male and others are indeterminate and can indicate both male and female. Some of the lexical items which indicate female are the following,

> unongendi (nun) <u + no + enda (get married) and negative formative /nga/

> unobuhle (beauty queen) <u + no + buhle (beauty)

> unontlalontle (social worker) <u + no + ntlalo (life) + hle (good); /hle/ > ntle because it qualifies a nasal class 9 noun, namely `intlalo.'

> unoshibhini (shebeen owner) < shibhini (shebeen).

The morpheme /no/ normally indicates `owner of', a concept which can be extended to mean `one who possesses the attribute of..'. The particular attribute referred to then follows the /no/ as in <u>unobuhle</u> (beauty queen, one who possesses the attribute of being

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beautiful) as opposed to <u>unoshibhini</u> which means 'shebeen owner' and has no reference to any particular attribute.

The idea of a beauty queen (and of accompanying beauty contests) is very alien to Xhosa culture. It is an idea that is far more prevalent in urban areas, and is almost exclusively confined to those areas. In that sense, <u>unobuhle</u> is an urban concept.

The four lexical items given above are standard and can be either rural or urban Xhosa. There has, until fairly recently, been a tendency for social workers to be female. Hence the Xhosa term <u>unontlalontle</u> which, in this case, has a female connotation.

Some of the lexical items which refer to male persons are,

> unozinti (goalkeeper)
>
> unodipha (dipping foreman)
>
> onondaba (newsmen, journalists)
>
> unovenkile (shopowner)
>
> unoteksi (taxi owner)
>
> unoposi (postmaster)

<u>Unozinti</u> derived from /no/ plus /izinti/ (poles) is a term which indicates an attempt to standardize the concept of a goalkeeper. But the term is not commonly used, preference being given rather

to the borrowed terms <u>ugoli</u> and <u>ugolkhipha</u>. <u>Unodipha</u> (dipping foreman) refers to a very common concept, especially in rural areas where occasionally livestock has to be subjected to the process of being dipped in some disinfectant.

<u>Onondaba</u> (newsmen, journalists) is an urban concept. It is to be noted though that this term is exceptional in that it can also refer to a female person. The remainder of the words which have been given above, namely <u>unovenkile,</u> <u>unoteksi,</u> and <u>unoposi</u>, are not only standard but also both rural and urban.

The following lexical items are indeterminate and can refer either to male or female persons,

> unompilo (health worker)
>
> unolali (rural person)
>
> unobhala (secretary)
>
> unongxowa (treasurer)
>
> unoshibhini (shebeen owner)

<u>Onompilo</u> (health workers) are quite a familiar sight in rural areas where they give advice about ways of maintaining good health and, in some cases, also administer medicines. As a result the term is also commonly used in rural areas. <u>Unolali</u> is both a rural and an urban term. It can be used in a derogatory sense to

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refer to a rural person in the sense of a person who is not
'sophisticated' or 'refined'. <u>Unobhala</u> (secretary) and <u>unongxowa</u>
(treasurer) are familiar terms in both urban and rural Xhosa
communities. While a 'shebeen' is urban in origin as far as Xhosa
is concerned, shebeens are now becoming common in rural areas as
well. <u>Unoshibhini</u> (shebeen owner) is thus both rural and urban.
All the items under consideration are standard.

3.4 Semantic shift

Words, like chameleons which change their colour to suit the
environment in which they find themselves, change their meaning
in order to suit the environment in which they find themselves.
As with lexical borrowing and neologisms, this usually happens
when an idea that is alien to Xhosa is being expressed. Here are
some examples,

iqabane (companion, pal)......comrade

umzabalazo (struggle) cf. igwijo lomzabalazo
(freedom song)......political struggle

umgrogrisi (one who terrorizes).....freedom fighter

amaphandle (rural areas).....homelands

itayara (tyre)......'necklace'

isazisi (that which introduces a marriage
negotiator).....identity document

unozakuzaku (marriage negotiator).....ambassador

isirhoxo (blind alley).....shebeen

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isanuse   (witchdoctor)   +   sezulu

(weather)...weatherman

Imvo, a Xhosa newspaper published in Kingwilliamstown in the
Eastern Cape, has a section which calls for iqabane lembalelwano
(literally, a companion for writing, that is a pen pal). And so
it is then that that iqabane is a companion, a close friend. This
word has, however, taken on an exclusively political meaning. It
is particularly common with the youth, especially in urban areas,
who regard themselves as holding views which are to the left or
far left of the political spectrum. The word is regarded as
synonymous with `comrade' in the political sense. Hence amaqabane
(comrades) are sometimes affectionately referred to as
okhomkhom, a term that is derived from `com' of `comrade'

Comrades regard themselves as being involved in the struggle for
liberation, namely umzabalazo. Thus an ordinary word for
struggle, namely umzabalazo now has a political connotation.
Igwijo is a war song. But in an expression such as igwijo
lomzabalazo, igwijo assumes a political connotation and means
`freedom song'.

Ukugrogrisa simply means to terrorize or to instil fear or terror
in one. In its original sense, this word refers to the action
whereby a parent, for example, who wants to silence a troublesome

or crying shild will tell the child that some awe-inspiring figure, igroqro, will appear and swallow the child up. However, umgrogrisi is no longer understood in the sense which has just been explained. That word plus umnqolobi (one who pounces on something or on someone unexpectedly) are now almost exclusively used to refer to what some, depending on the side of the political divide in which they are, call terrorists or freedom fighters or guerillas.

The semantic shifts in the words which have just been considered have their origin in urban areas and that makes the words in question very largely urban Xhosa. Not only that. These semantic shifts reveal an interesting phenomenon, namely how the political scene and the language of political conflict have erupted into the vocabulary of Xhosa.

Amaphandle (rural areas) also has to be seen in the light of the current political scene. This word has increasingly come to mean areas designated as homelands for the various Black ethnic groups. The much dreaded itayara (tyre) or 'necklace' has become one of the most gruesome symbols of political expression and objection. Ukufaka impimpi itayara (to put a tyre around the body of an informer) has since become the worst form of torture for those who are believed to be informers and collaborators with the government of the day. This action is an exclusively urban

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phenomenon and so is the phrase.

At the very initial stages of marriage negotiations the party of the prospective bridegroom is asked to introduce itself, that is ukuzazisa, to the party representing the prospective bride. That usually entails handing over a beast or, latterly, a bottle of liquor. Whatever is handed over is called isazisi (that which introduces marriage negotiators). That word can shift its meaning to refer to an identity document or book, a characteristic of both rural and urban Xhosa communities these days.

Unozakuzaku is a person who negotiates marriage between two families. The idea of negotiation has been taken over in the use of unozakuzaku to mean 'ambassador'. In other words, Xhosa speakers see an ambassador as a kind of negotiator, a political negotiator.

Isirhoxo is normally a narrow gorge or a blind alley. Talk about isirhoxo these days and what comes immediately to mind is a shebeen. Hence isirhoxo can also mean a shebeen. The borrowed word ishibhini (shebeen) is also commonly used. Shebeens are in the vast majority of cases very narrow or small places. Hence isirhoxo. In the social life of the amaXhosa the idea of a shebeen is a novelty. Although the idea is essentially an urban concept, shebeens are becoming common in rural areas as well.

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The idea of the weather, _imozulu_, is not a strange one in Xhosa. What is strange is its prediction by weathermen. AmaXhosa think of a witchdoctor, _isanuse_, as the only person who can perform such a rare feat. After all, witchdoctors are people who are reputed to have supernatural powers. A weatherman then becomes _isanuse sezulu_, literally a witchdoctor of the heavens.

The foregoing are some of the examples of how the meaning of Xhosa words can be adapted to keep pace with some social and political developments.

3.5 Calques or loan translations

Calques or loan translations refer to instances where a speaker makes a literal translation into his own language of a foreign expression. The role that is played by calques in Xhosa is in some respects similar to that played variously by lexical borrowing and code-switching. Calques come easily and readily to mind. They can also serve as means of displaying one's familiarity with a foreign culture and language, for example English and to a lesser extent Afrikaans.

Let us consider some examples. Standard Xhosa equivalents or near equivalents appear after the English translation:

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umlenze wokuqala womdlalo

(the first leg of the game)

(isiqaba sokuqala somdlalo)

iingcango ziza kuvulwa ngentsimbi yesine

(doors will be open at four o'clock)

(kuza kuqalwa / kuqaliswa ngentsimbi yesine)

ukuvula ityala

(to open a case)

(ukumangala)

basengaphandle komsebenzi

(they are still out of work)

(abakasebenzi)

ngaphandle kwakhe ngesifile

(without him we would have died)

(okokuba ebengekho ngesifile)

uyalelwe yinkundla ukuba akhuphe intlawulo yomonakalo

(the court has instructed him to pay damages)

(uyalelwe yinkundla ukuba ahlawule umonakalo)

ubuyele ezingqondweni akuba enyangiwe

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(<u>he regained consciousness</u> after treatment)

(<u>uthe qabu / uqabukile</u> akuba enyangiwe)

<u>baphantsi</u> ngumkhuhlane

(<u>they are down</u> with 'flu)

(<u>balele</u> ngumkhuhlane)

It is not very clear whether, like lexical borrowing, it can be said that the above examples fill gaps in the vocabulary of Xhosa. It is doubtful though whether loan translations can play that role. As has been shown, examples such as the above can be rendered easily in standard and acceptable Xhosa. It is bilingual Xhosa speakers who tend to use such loan translations, usually for prestige.

Constant usage engenders familiarity and gives the impression that loan translations are in fact acceptable Xhosa renditions. While loan translations are a distinctive characteristic of urban Xhosa, it must be added, however, that insofar as in most cases they assume some knowledge of English or of a foreign language, they are also characteristic of educated Xhosa speakers. In that respect, they can also be rural but only to a very limited extent.

3.6 Popular `in' words with young people

In talking about popular `in' words with young people we are, in essence, talking about slang. A few examples will illustrate the kind of language young people sometimes use,

> ukujema (to participate in a drinking session)
>
> ukupalafina (to treate superficially)
>
> umshikashika / impintshi (cheating, fraud)
>
> ibholo (scandal) cf isimokho
>
> ibhari / umxhaka (unsophisticated, ignorant and young rural person)
>
> ukuncanywa (to like, to be enchanted with)
>
> utshayiwe (you are / he is mad)
>
> ukuba nesincwaso (to fancy a woman)
>
> ukurhaqaza (to flirt)
>
> sibali / sbali (friend)
>
> i-way (thing, matter, characteristic)

<u>Ukujema</u> (to participate in a drinking session) or `jam session' is a popular night pastime with young people, especially in urban areas. The pastime involves drinking, listening to music and occasional dancing.

The connection between paraffin and `to treat superficially', as in <u>ukupalafina</u> is not clear. The term refers exclusively to the

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kind of action where, for example, a teacher treats a lesson superficially and to the dissatisfaction of the class.

The difference between ukupalafina and umshikashika / impintshi (fraud, cheating) is that the latter terms refer to a fraudulent or dishonest practice and have nothing to do with a teaching-learning situation. All these terms are more commonly used in urban than in rural areas.

Ibholo usually refers to a big scandal. It is common to hear a person being referred to as usebholweni (he is having a big scandal). Ibhari / umxhaka is a derogatory term which is applied to a person who is considered to be ignorant and not so sophisticated. Originally, the term seems to have been applied by urban dwellers to rural dwellers. Nowadays, however, the term seems to be applicable either way.

Although ukuncanywa is in the passive and normally means `to be given up', in slang the passive is not expressed. Hence the word means `to like intensely, to be enchanted with.' Similarly, in utshayiwe (you are / he is mad) although the word is passive in its phonetic realization its meaning is not in the passive. No evidence was found that the terms ukuncanywa and utshayiwe are commonly used in rural areas.

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`To fancy a woman', that is <u>ukuba nesincwaso</u> is popularly used by the young womenfolk to refer to young menfolk who have the kind of desire that is expressed in the term, namely `to wish to be in love with'. That term with <u>ukurhaqaza</u> (to flirt) seems to be used by young people regardless of whether they live in rural or urban areas.

An interesting lexical item is <u>sibali</u> or <u>sbali</u> from Afrikaans `swaer' (brother-in-law). With young people and with those who consider themselves to be `with it', this lexical item means `friend' in a rather loose sense. The term transcends rural and urban boundaries.

Lastly, <u>i-way</u>. Let us consider the following examples,

andiyithandi le <u>way</u>

(I do not like <u>this</u>)

yi<u>way</u> yakho ke leyo

(that is your <u>way</u> of doing things, your <u>characteristic</u> way of doing things)

laa <u>way</u> ihamba njani?

(how is that <u>matter</u> proceeding?)

In the first example above <u>way</u> is indeterminate and can refer to

anything. The use of way in the second example almost approximates the English usage. In the third example, way means `matter' and is used in a manner that is almost similar to the first example. Like sibali or sbali, i-way transcends rural and urban boundaries.

The foregoing are but some of the examples of the kind of language young people sometimes use. It is to be noted that the use of slang is not characteristic of young people only. Almost every speaker uses slang on occasion. Furthermore, slang words rapidly become dated and never find their way into the lexicon of the standard language.

3.7   Conclusion

In the present chapter the following five types of lexical items were considered,

(a)   lexical borrowing or adaptation of borrowed words into Xhosa. Code-switching was also included here.

(b)   innovation of a new name, that is coinages and neologisms

(c)   calques or loan translations

(d)   semantic shifts

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(e)   popular 'in' words with young people

In each of the above types, an attempt was made to establish differences between rural and urban Xhosa against the background of standard and non-standard Xhosa varieties. Differences were found to be more significant in some types of lexical items than in others. It is, above all, in the area of lexical borrowing, codemixing and calques that rural and urban Xhosa seem to differ most markedly.

Urban Xhosa borrows far more from English in particular and also from Afrikaans than does rural Xhosa. The reason for this is probably that urban Xhosa speakers are exposed to Western influences and experiences far more than rural speakers. There are some loan words which have been assimilated into Xhosa and which have become part of the lexicon of Xhosa.

Some of the reasons for lexical borrowing and code-switching were considered and were seen to relate very largely, but not exclusively, to the concepts of culture and culture change. The concepts of culture and of culture change were also seen to account for coinages, neologisms and semantic shift.

The data relating to slang words revealed a tendency for young urban Xhosa speakers to use slang more than their rural

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counterparts. However, this observation must not be misunderstood to mean that rural young Xhosa speakers do not use slang. It is only that in the data that was collected slang words characterized urban speech communities more than rural ones.

In finally concluding this chapter the words of Jean Branford, editor of the <u>Dictionary of South African English</u>, are perhaps appropriate. In a paper she read at the congress of the Linguistic Society of South Africa which was held at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, during July 1988 she is reported as having said,

> Suddenly certain words do not have the same
> meanings to different speakers...Many do not
> have the same meaning as they used to have.
> Many don't mean what we expect them to and
> their meanings are often not static.

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CHAPTER 4

Language planning and language teaching.

4.0 Introduction
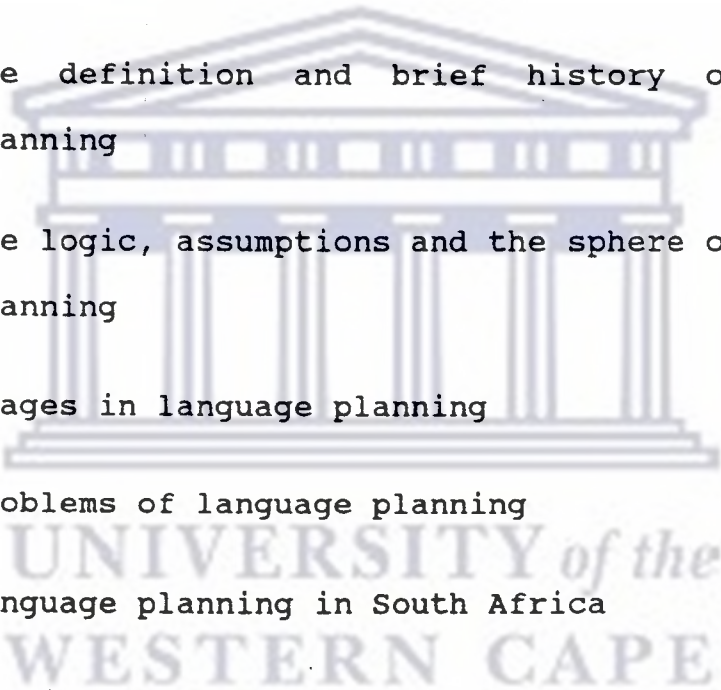
It has been pointed out in the abstract that a study such as the present one is expected to be capable of being generalized in other areas. In the introduction to the thesis in Chapter 1, it has been pointed out that the thesis has possible implications for language planning and language teaching. Particular reference here is to the possible place of the study of language varieties in language planning and language teaching. For purposes of the current study language teaching is regarded as part of language planning.

It is in the light of the considerations that have been referred to in the abstract and in the introductory chapter that the present chapter has to be seen.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from chapters 2 and 3 is that rural Xhosa varieties are nearer the standard form than are urban varieties. In that respect, and in the present context, rural varieties do not pose much of a problem. But urban Xhosa varieties, especially non-standard forms, do pose some problem.

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There is, for example, the problem of the acceptance of a `new form' or word. It is not very clear at what point such a form becomes generally acceptable. But it seems that it is usage which, in the main, determines whether or not a `new form' or word is accepted and survives as part of the language. Usage would include such factors as whether the form in question fulfils a practical need in the language or whether it fills a significant gap in the lexicon of the language.

The following aspects will be addressed,

    (a) the definition and brief history of language planning

    (b) the logic, assumptions and the sphere of language planning

    (c) stages in language planning

    (d) problems of language planning

    (e) language planning in South Africa

    (f) implications of the present study for language planning and language education.

    (g) the limitations of language planning.

4.1 The definition and brief history of language planning

Fishman (1972:55), following Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), says language planning is,

> the organized pursuit of solutions
> to language problems, typically at
> a national level.

To Fishman, language planning is closely interwoven with issues of nationalism and what he describes as `the nationalist impact' on language planning. Consequently, he regards language planning as modernization planning and as some form of nationality planning.

Haugen (1966:52) describes language planning simply as,

> the evaluation of linguistic change....
> the exercise of judgment in the form
> of options among available linguistic
> forms.

Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) criticise this definition on the grounds that it is open-ended. In a manner similar to Haugen's definition, Fasold (1984) regards language planning as a choice among alternatives.

Tauli (1977:52) defines language planning as,

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> The methodical activity of regulating
> and improving existing languages or
> creating new common regional, national
> or international languages.

Rubin (1984:4) sees language planning as,

> DELIBERATE language change.....changes
> in the systems of a language code or
> speaking or both that are planned by
> organizations established for such
> purposes or given a mandate to fulfil
> such purposes.

Language planning arises out of a need to solve a problem,
specifically a language problem. Because of that, Paulston
(1984:55) says that in discussing language problems it is
important in identifying, analysing and treating them to
understand whether,

> they are legitimately problems of
> language or whether the language
> situation is merely symptomatic
> of social and cultural problems.

Consequently, she distinguishes between what she calls `language
cultivation' and `language policy.' The former deals with
language matters while the latter deals with social and national
matters. Paulston sees `language cultivation' and `language
policy' as being interrelated.

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It is probably because language planning focuses attention on problem-solving that Neustupny (1983:2) defines language planning as,

> systematic, theoretical, rational
> (in other words, `rigorous') and
> future-oriented...forms of societal
> attention to language problems.

The problem may be the medium of instruction, standardization or the variety or language to be used. Of particular relevance to the present chapter is the standardization of the lexicon and the type of language variety to be used.

According to Fasold (1984) there are basically two approaches to language planning, namely the instrumentalist and the sociolinguistic approaches. The instrumentalist approach regards language as a tool which can be improved by conscious efforts. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards language as a societal resource which can be developed by planning efforts.

The following Table, reproduced and adapted from du Plessis (1985), represents the various approaches to, and definitions of language planning,

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```
                    Language planning

          Instrumental                Sociolinguistic
          approach                    approach

                    Language              Language
                    planning              correction

                              Language              Language
                              treatment             teaching

     Language                    Language              Language
     planning                    policy                cultivation
```
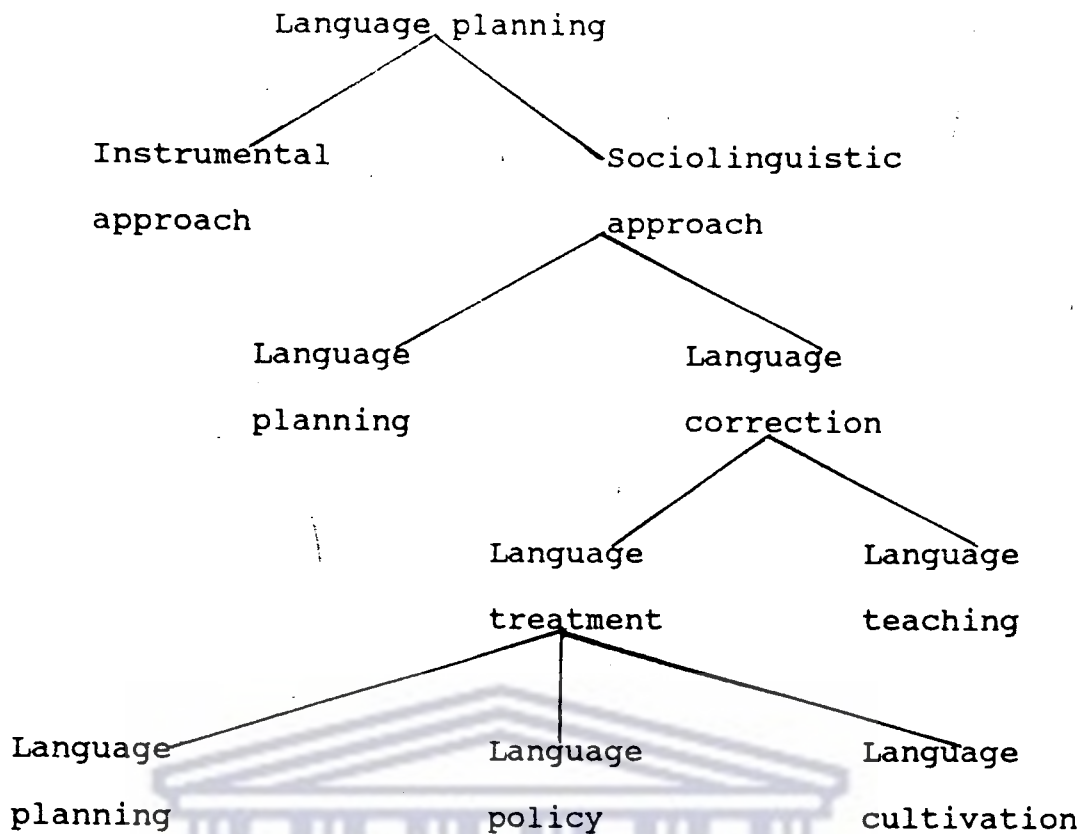
The difference in the three levels of language planning as
represented in the diagram represents the various approaches to
the subject of language planning and the various views on the
subject.

With regard to the history of language planning, Haugen
(1966) observes that the roots of language planning are traceable
to the work of ancient grammarians. In this context European
language academies are usually regarded as examples of the origin
of language planning. It was not, however, as recently as the 20th
century (Tauli, 1968) that there arose an awareness of language

planning as a field of study.

Uriel Weinreich used the term for the first time in 1957. It was he who also arranged a seminar under the title of language planning. However, Einar Haugen (1959) was the first American scholar to use the term in a scientific context. He was also the first to undertake a formal study of language planning. Consequently, he is regarded as one of 'the fathers of language planning' (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971).

The first comprehensive publication on language planning appeared in 1971 under the editorship of Rubin and Jernudd. That publication was a sequel to an international conference on language planning which was held at East-West Center, Institute of Advanced Projects, Hawaii. The conference was held,

> to consider what the nature of language
> planning might be, what problems it might
> be expected to solve, and how it might
> shed light on some of the problems that
> some social sciences have been trying
> to consider. (Preface. Rubin and Jernudd
> 1971).

4.2 The logic, assumptions and sphere of language planning

Apart from arising out of a need to solve a language problem which has been identified, the logic of language planning is also

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dictated by the recognition of language as a societal resource whose main function is communication.

According to Ferguson (1977:2) there are two assumptions which underly language planning. The first of these is that language changes in the course of time. The second is that language users in all speech communities evaluate the forms of language they use. In that respect, they regard it as `better', `more correct', or `more appropriate' than others,

> either in an absolute sense or
> for certain purposes or by particular
> people or in certain settings.

Much of the change a language undergoes is related to its evaluation by the users, and in some cases, to conscious, deliberate attempts to influence the course of change. That is done either to effect innovation, to preserve the status quo , or to contribute to the process of change. It is in the area of deliberate attempts to influence the course of change that the concept of language planning becomes useful in the analysis and understanding of language change.

The manner in which native speakers of a language evaluate their language may reflect shared values, individual attitudes, idealizations or even stereotypes. There may exist what Ferguson

(1977) calls 'rationalized evaluation' where a given linguistic form is preferred because it is regarded as consistent with other related forms, or because it is original or because it 'sounds better.' Most language planning involves such 'rationalized evaluation.

The sphere of language planning is quite vast and includes phonology, morphology, syntax, orthography and vocabulary. Ferguson (1977) distinguishes three categories of language planning. These are,

(a) graphization, for example spelling and orthography

(b) standardization

(c) modernization, that is the expansion and development of the lexicon.

For a better appreciation of the sphere of language planning it is useful to distinguish between two types of language planning, namely status planning and corpus planning. Status planning refers mainly to the selection of the kind of language to be used for official purposes in government and educational institutions. Corpus planning, on the other hand, relates to lexical development, for example the extension of the vocabulary, the creation of terms, codification and standardization.

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Language planning is likely to occur in situations where there is some linguistic diversity.

Given the vast area that is covered by language planning, it is the question of the lexicon that is of particular relevance to the present chapter.

4.3 Stages in language planning

Various stages have been suggested. Tauli (1977) mentions two,

(a) the evaluation of existing language varieties, and deciding on the basis of that evaluation the preferred and favoured variety or varieties

(b) the discovery of the deficiencies of the language which is targeted for planning.

Paulston (1984) speaks of determination, development and implementation. Determination refers to initial decisions about a preferred variety. Development relates to working out means and strategies to achieve the desired outcomes, for example the preparation of the necessary texts and vocabulary lists.

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Implementation refers to actual attempts to effect the desired goals.

Rubin (1984) mentions four stages,

> (a) fact-finding
>
> (b) actual planning
>
> (c) implementation
>
> (d) feedback or evaluation.

Fact-finding relates to getting relevant background information about the situation in which planning is to be effected, for example the sociolinguistic setting of the intended plan and the needs of the target group. In an earlier paper Rubin (1977) says it is important for the language planner to be familiar with the constraints, tendencies and rationales which existing social, cultural, political and economic parameters offer.
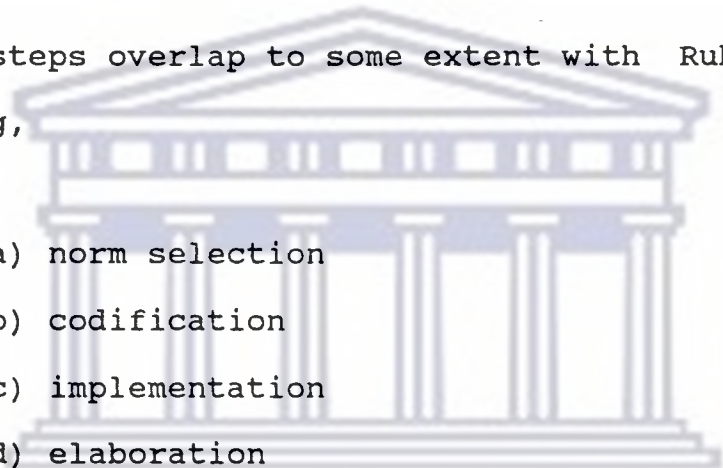
The second stage, that is actual planning, involves the establishment of objectives, the selection of means or strategies and the prediction of possible outcomes. Various decision-making personnel should be involved at this stage.

Implementation is the putting into effect of the proposed plan or of the planning decisions, for example by schools. The last stage

or feedback involves the discovery of how well the plan has worked. Here the planner assesses whether the actual outcome matches his predicted outcome. Rubin maintains that this is important to know so as to modify strategies to match the predicted outcome. All these stages notwithstanding, Rubin (1984:7) warns that it is,

> probably not a good thing to think
> of planning as a series of steps but
> rather to recognize that these steps
> may come into play at different points
> in the planning process.

Haugen's (1983) steps overlap to some extent with Rubin's. They are the following,

(a) norm selection

(b) codification

(c) implementation

(d) elaboration

Norm selection is the selection of a language or variety for official purposes among competing languages or varieties. Haugen points out , though, that there is no need for competing in every case.

Codification refers to the stabilization and standardization of a

selected norm. Implementation is the acceptance, the adoption and the use of the selected and codified norm by government, government institutions, mass media and so on. Haugen (1983:4) describes the last stage, namely elaboration, as,

> the expansion of language functions
> and the assignment of new codes, such
> as scientific and technological.

Elaboration is what is generally referred to as modernization (Ferguson, 1977) or intellectualization (Garvin, 1973).

4.4 Problems of language planning

There are a few problems inherent in language planning. Tauli (1977) mentions at least four. Firstly, there is the problem of the choice of a language variety on which the standard language is to be based. Secondly, having done that, there is the establishment of norms for the standard language. The third problem is the planning of appropriate improvements, that is the adaptation of a language or variety to meet new cultural and social needs. The fourth and last problem is the creation of an appropriate orthography.

Tauli (1977:256) perhaps summarizes some of the ways of obviating some of the above problems when he says,

>an appropriate language planning
>presupposes that it is based on
>the existing structural type of
>the respective language and takes
>into account the potentialities
>of its spontaneous development,
>likewise the possibility of directing
>the language toward a more efficient
>structural type.

Fishman (1984) also mentions four problems relating to language planning, but which are, however, different from Tauli's. There is , first of all, the priority problem. What Fishman probably means by this is the prioritization of language areas to be addressed in the planning process. Secondly, there is the value problem. That is, the value content within which language and language behaviour are formed. According to this view, language planning is difficult because it touches on human values, habits and emotions. As Fishman (1984:50, 52) says,

>There is very little empirical
>evidence that language values
>(or language attitudes) have been
>taken into explicit consideration
>in any planning ventures.

Thirdly, there is the role of planners themselves whose job description has seldom been examined. The fourth problem is evaluation, the objective evaluation of success or failure as reflected,

in the usage, knowledge and attitudes
of the target populations at whom
language planners and their clients
have been aiming.

Nearer home, Reagan (1985) draws attention to the problem of drawing language boundaries. For example, for language planning purposes what counts as a language and what counts as a dialect? Furthermore, there is the question of how and by whom language planning goals are decided. This is a very important question which needs to be addressed seriously in the case of African languages.

After the foregoing consideration of some aspects of language planning, attention can now be given to language planning in South Africa.

4.5 Language planning in South Africa

In South Africa, according to du Plessis (1985), the tradition of language planning can be traced back to the policy of dutchification applied by the Dutch East India Company. Then there followed the policy of anglicization of British governors. Finally, there was the policy of bilingualism which was introduced by the first Nationalist Government. du Plessis then goes on to observe that much of language planning which exists at present in South Africa can, in some way or another, be traced to

this early history.

Academic interest in language planning in South Africa has gained momentum only recently (Prinsloo and Van Rensburg, 1984). The study of language planning itself in South Africa probably owes its origin to Prinsloo (1984) in his article on language planning for South Africa. du Plessis (1987) says overall the study of language planning in South Africa relates to the concern for the future of Afrikaans. This is the kind of concern which has been initiated by the following major events,

> (a) the inauguration of the Afrikaans monument in 1975
>
> (b) the outbreak of the Soweto riots in 1976
>
> (c) the publication of the work of Steyn (1980).

Ever since, the study of language planning has been dominated by Afrikaans scholars. One consequence of this development has been the politicization of language planning. du Plessis (1987) is, in fact, accurate in his observation that language and language issues have gradually become one of the most politicized aspects of South African life.

4.6 Implications

In considering the implications of the present study for language planning and language teaching, it is perhaps useful to start with a consideration of the 'state of the art' of language planning and language teaching in the area of African languages. Because this is such a vast area, attention will be given to language planning and language teaching as they relate to senior secondary school, that is standards eight, nine and ten and to universities which offer Xhosa as a course. Particular attention will be given to schools which fall under the Department of Education and Training. The reason for doing this is that the Department of Education and Training, albeit with changing nomenclature over the years, has the longest history of language planning and language teaching in the area of African languages.

Because the current study is closer to language study as such than it is to literature, consideration will be given to language planning and language teaching as they relate to language usage and language study. Language study is commonly referred to as grammar in schools. Mention needs to be made of the fact that the Department of Education and Training has a common syllabus for African languages (first language) for senior secondary school. This means that what applies to Xhosa will generally apply to other African languages as well.

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4.7 The `state of the art' and implications

A consideration of the `state of the art' in language planning and language teaching necessitates a consideration of the relevant aspects of the syllabus for African languages in schools and at relevant universities. The syllabus for schools covers language usage and language study. Language usage covers semantic aspects with special reference to the following,

    (a) idiomatic expressions

    (b) literal and figurative expression

    (c) synonyms, antonyms and homonyms

    (d) the emotional value of words

    (e) one word for a description and vice versa

    (f) etymological words, neologisms, analogical words

    (g) adopted words and their usage

    (h) selected figures of speech

What is meant by `etymological words' is not clear.

Language study, on the other hand, covers speech sounds, selected sound changes, spelling, word division, syntactical, morphological and semantic characteristics of selected word categories. Overall, schools seem to concentrate predominantly on the study of the formal structure of language, with emphasis on standard language which is largely undefined.

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An examination of the African language sylabuses of university departments which offer Xhosa also reveals some preoccupation with the formal structure of the language. Phonology, morphology and syntax seem to enjoy the greatest attention. Syntax seems to enjoy much attention in predominantly White universities in particular, where it is treated in some great detail.

Semantics and sociolinguistics do not seem to receive much attention. In fact, the syllabuses of some departments make no mention of sociolinguistics at all. Where aspects of sociolinguistics are mentioned, for example lexical borrowing, the `weighting' of those aspects is not clearly indicated in some cases.

It seems that the existing Xhosa varieties, including rural and urban ones, have to be evaluated carefully. A variety that is recommended for use can then be based on that evaluation. That is an exercise that would need time and expertise. The expertise of language planners is, on current indications, not very clear.

It was pointed out in the discussion of the definition of language planning that language planning is based on the assumption that there is a language problem to be solved. That presupposes the identification of such a problem. The existence of rural and urban Xhosa varieties points to one such problem insofar as standardization and actual communication are concerned.

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Alisjahbana (1965:517) decries what he calls, `the failure of modern linguistics in the face of linguistic problems of the twentieth century' and suggests that `new nations' in Asia and Africa,

> are interested in the problem of how to change
> and mould the phonology, the morphology and the
> vocabulary of their languages, so that these
> languages not only become an integrating force
> but also an adequate vehicle for communication
> and progress in the modern world.

In the light of the language situation which is created by the existence of rural and urban Xhosa varieties and in the light of consequent problems, for example standardization and adequate communication, it seems that there is a need for some competent language planning which is based on a proper scientific theory, proper principles and proper methods.

A sound theory of language planning becomes even more indispensable if it is realized that there is a need to eliminate the inadequacies and inconveniences in the vocabulary of Xhosa. Such inadequacies and inconveniences arise very largely out of the necessity to adapt Xhosa to modern times so as to make the language more efficient.

Language planning must consider facts of language within a fuller social context. Rubin and Jernudd (1971:xix) rightly point out

that, if it is to be meaningful and productive, a theory of language planning must specify in detail,

> what kinds of language planning would be
> useful under what circumstances, for what
> kinds of people speaking what kinds
> of language.

Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) make the important point that the identification and understanding of language problems demands that focus should be both on linguistic phenomena and also on the socio-political motivation of language problems. Language problems, they maintain, can only be understood when they are related to the more general processes occurring within a society. Consequently, they stress the need for a broader identification of language problems and see the main task of language planning as the identification of areas of society which demand planned action with regard to language resources.

In modern society language is assuming increasing importance. The theory of language planning that is being suggested is, above all, necessitated by the demands of the modern times with their high technology for example. Problems of terminology, which are real in Xhosa, as in all other African languages, also highlight the importance of a sound and scientific theory of language planning. Such a theory, like any other theory, must be based on well-confirmed hypotheses. Partisan inclinations and ideological considerations need to be guarded against (Cobarrubias, 1983).

The current study seems to point to the need for a careful reassessment of the entire African language scene. Objectives of teaching such languages plus the content of what has to be taught need some re-evaluation, a clear statement and relevance to the situations for which they are intended. Tauli's (1977:258) warning is perhaps apt,

> The governmental interference.....
> is not only unsuitable in principle,
> but it may even have detrimental
> effects upon language where authorities
> are influenced by amateurish theories.

Paulston (1984:65) makes a similar point,

> Unfortunately, government officials
> do not often base language decisions
> on language data, either out of
> ignorance or because political
> considerations are given prominence.

It seems then that there is a need for clarity about goals and strategies to achieve them.

With particular reference to language teaching, the sociolinguistic concern shown in this study with situationally and functionally defined varieties can be extremely

useful. And as Fishman (1968) says, language teaching should some day be ready to give up its attachment to the myth of fully separate and unvarying languages. That is equally true of Xhosa.

1977 was perhaps a landmark in the history of the development of African languages in the Republic of South Africa. The Government made a major policy decision with regard to African languages. What was then called the `Bantu Languages Board' and its various committees was disbanded and decentralized. The Department of Education and Training recommended the creation of new language boards which were meant to be autonomous.

In theory the responsibility for African languages was given over to mother tongue speakers. It is, however, not clear how far that decision has actually been carried out in practice. One sometimes gets the impression that the Government somehow still has the kind of foothold which it had in these languages before the handover.

As far as language planning is concerned it is essential that mother tongue speakers should be actively involved. There is a need for language planning to be so designed that it neither panders to, nor safeguards the interests and sensitivities of, the ruling group. It has never been very clear to the present researcher why, for example, the standard ten syllabus includes phonetics. Candidates are expected to be able to transcribe <u>all</u>

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the words of their language phonetically. They are also expected to be able to describe <u>all</u> the speech sounds of their language in terms of their articulatory features. What useful purpose this phonetic exercise serves for mother tongue speakers at this level is not clear. The question of who does the planning, and how, is important and needs to be addressed more seriously than it seems to be at present.

Of course, to be a mother tongue speaker does not necessarily qualify one as language planner. The suggestion here is for mother tongue speakers who are not only academically qualified to handle their languages, but who also have some teaching experience. It is not being suggested that non-mother tongue speakers cannot make any valuable input into the process of language planning. What is being suggested very strongly is that language planning should first and foremost be the responsibility of competent mother tongue speakers.

Because language is part of culture, it seems that it is essential for decision-makers (and language planners are decision-makers) to be exposed to the cultural milieu within which language functions.

With regard to language teaching and language varieties the following questions seem to arise,

(a) can language varieties be taught?

(b) if so, what exactly about them should be taught?

(c) at what level should they be taught?

Linguistics has tended to neglect the child and the classroom with its attendant problems. Shuy (1975:316) is right,

> One might seriously ask what good it will do
> a child to learn how to talk about what he has
> already learned how to do.

He goes on to make the point that the importance of the study of language varieties lies in the fact that it makes `a better match' with the setting in which a child can be found. The study of language varieties according to Shuy (1975:317),

> gets to the heart of many problems involving
> writing, reading and talking. It is in this
> area of variability that answers can be found
> to perplexing questions about how to delimit
> styles, exactly how to effect acceptability
> in school writing and talking, how to appreciate
> the dynamics of variation in the language of
> others....how people set themselves off from
> each other through language, or how subtle
> variation between spoken and written language
> forms can cause problems in composition or reading.

The answers to the three questions which have been posed above, namely whether language varieties can be taught, what about them should be taught and at what level, are not clear. I am not sure

whether language varieties <u>per se</u> can actually be taught. Not only are they varied, but they are also many. There are rural and urban varieties, home languages and mother tongue, for example. A clear distinction among these may not be easy to draw.

The suggestion this thesis wishes to make is that the study of language varieties in general should be introduced in colleges of education where teachers are prepared for their profession. Emphasis could be on what language varieties are and on the various ways in which they manifest themselves. Prospective teachers can then be taught, and acquire the skills and the didactic tools, to handle varieties in the classroom. For example, in the actual marking, say of a letter or a composition, there could a scale whereby the use of varieties is accommodated and is not as heavily penalised as it seems to be at present. In terms of the current study one is thinking of those varieties which are considered to be non-standard.

It is useful to remember that children are more familiar with the language to which they are exposed in their immediate environment. It is therefore unfair to punish them for a situation that is neither of their own making nor over something over which they have no control.

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The suggestion about the introduction of a general study of language varieties in colleges of education presupposes that the relevant departments of education will, of course, include that study in their language planning. It seems that there should be an adoption of a language policy whereby while language varieties are not actively encouraged as such, their real existence is nonetheless recognized and accommodated.

It is at university that a detailed study of language varieties could be introduced. This calls for a detailed study of sociolinguistics. Aspects such as what language varieties are, why they occur and how they manifest themselves could be included in such a study. Consideration could also be given to the inclusion of such related aspects as speech communities, standard and non-standard forms.

Although language planning seems to have been glorified in the present discussion, language planning has its own limitations.

4.8   Limitations of language planning

From the discussion of language planning so far, it will have become apparent that language planning involves, if not presupposes, some change. It is partly in this aspect of change that the limitations of language planning lie.

The language planner has to reckon with and establish the limitations of change. The language planner, as Haugen (1966) points out, enters the situation of language planning at a given point in time and space. He reminds us that the first task, which is not an easy one, is to identify the language in question, that is the language which is the object of planning.

Furthermore, there are unpredictable variables which set limitations on the predictability of outcomes and vested interests which can run contrary to the entire exercise of language planning (Rubin, 1971).

Perhaps the greatest limitation of language planning is acceptance. The innovation in language which language planning may bring may not find easy acceptance by the target population for which it is intended. There are at least three criteria which may decide the acceptability of a given linguistic innovation.

Firstly, there is its efficiency. That is, ease of learning and use. Secondly, there is the question of adequacy or the conveying of information with the desired degree of precision. Lastly, there is its actual acceptance by the members of society where planning is taking place.

4.9 Conclusion

The current study, it seems then, has some implications for language planning and language teaching. These are implications which seem to point to the need to re-examine the role of language varieties in everyday communication and in the teaching situation.

It is important to realize that sociolectal and stylistic differences will always arise. Alisjahbana, quoted by Platt and Platt (1975:26) makes the apt comment that,

> We should only speak of language planning in
> a limited sense and for a very special goal.
> Nobody should think of planning for all the
> language behaviour of all the members of a
> nation. Such rigid regimentation would also
> mean the end of man as a thinking and free being.

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

The present study set out to investigate the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties against the background of standard and non-standard forms. Selected aspects of phonology, syntax and the lexicon have been considered. The basis of the selection has been the possibility of these aspects being best suited to the kind of comparison which is the main subject of this study.

The analysis of rural and urban Xhosa varieties in chapters two and three has been based partly on the researcher's intuitive grasp of Xhosa and partly on his experience with the language and his interaction with its speakers. Because of some of the dangers that are inherent in such an analysis, for example subjectivity and the possible inadequacy of one's experience, samples of rural and urban Xhosa varieties as actually spoken in a real life situation have been included in the appendix. The appendix follows this chapter.

With regard to phonology, the inventory of vowels and consonants remains essentially the same both in rural and urban Xhosa. In that respect, there is no significant difference between the two varieties. There seem to be at least two significant differences.

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Firstly, there is the preponderance of new sound sequences or combinations in urban as against rural Xhosa. Secondly, there is some re-analysis of certain sounds, for example borrowed [r] > [l] and [θ] > [th] while [ʒ] > [ʃ]. Rural Xhosa speakers seem to be more prone to doing this kind of re-analysis.

As far as syntax is concerned, differences in sentence structure in the two varieties are almost non-existent, except perhaps where urban Xhosa tends to adopt foreign expressions for reasons of style.

It is in the lexicon that some considerable differences exist. Differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties are more noticeable when style is considered. Stylistic features manifest themselves in the following,

    (a)   lexical borrowing or the use of loan words

    (b)   the use of calques or loan translations

    (c)   slang

    (d)   semantic shift

    (e)   coinages and neologisms.

These stylistic features manifest themselves in urban more than in rural Xhosa. This observation seems to be validated both by the analysis of the data in chapters 2 and 3 and also by the

samples which appear in the appendix.

Some observations on the appendix are appropriate. It is to be noted though that the appendix does not cover all the aspects that are given in the list of stylistic features which appears above.

There are some common characteristics of rural Xhosa which are discernible in Interviews A, B and C in the appendix. For example, examples of lexical borrowing are minimal, if not negligible. In most cases, such examples represent instances of lexical items which have become an integral part of the lexicon of Xhosa.
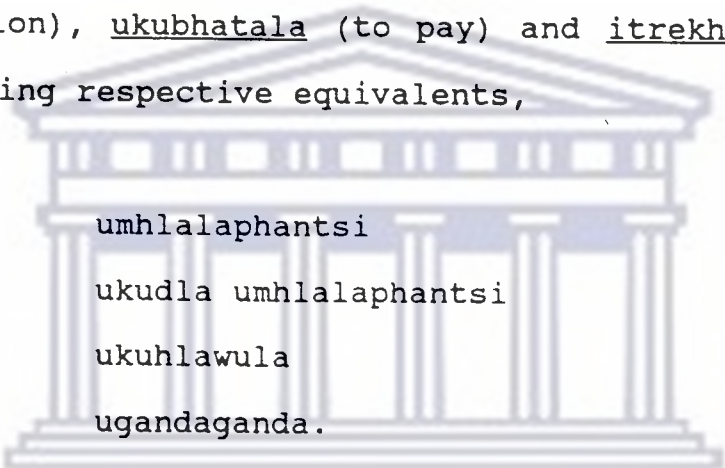
In the case of Interview A between Zekhala and Veveza for example, there are such established borrowings as <u>idolophu</u> (town) from Afrikaans `dorp', <u>iwekhshophu</u> (workshop), <u>iponti</u> (pound sterling), <u>ikharavan</u> (caravan), <u>ikhitshi</u> (kitchen), <u>ukulayisha</u> (to load) from Afrikaans `laai', <u>ipenshini</u> (pension) and <u>ukubhatala</u> (to pay) from Afrikaans `betaal'.

With regard to Interview B, there are such established borrowings as <u>ukupenshina</u> (to go on pension), <u>rhafa</u> (pay tax) from Dutch `opgaaf' and <u>ilabhorethri</u> (laboratory).

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Interview C has <u>itrektha</u> (tractor), <u>ikhemesti</u> (chemist), <u>ivenkile</u> (shop) from Afrikaans `winkel', <u>istofu</u> (vaccine) from Afrikaans `entstof', <u>amatikiti</u> (tickets), <u>imeslani</u> (bricklayer) from Afrikaans `messelaar' and <u>bhas</u> (boss) from Afrikaans `baas'.

The foregoing examples of lexical borrowing serve the function of filling gaps in the vocabulary of Xhosa in that they express concepts or ideas which are very largely alien to Xhosa culture. Some of the examples which have been cited do, however, have Xhosa equivalents. For example, <u>ipenshini</u> (pension), <u>ukupenshina</u> (to go on pension), <u>ukubhatala</u> (to pay) and <u>itrekhtha</u> (tractor) have the following respective equivalents,

umhlalaphantsi

ukudla umhlalaphantsi

ukuhlawula

ugandaganda.

However, lexical items which are used in most cases are the borrowed ones which have, in fact, become an integral part of the lexicon of Xhosa.

What about the following examples? (V, K and N represent the interviewees),

ndangena ngo-<u>54</u>   (V)

ngomhla wokuqala ku-<u>54</u>   (V)

ndizelwe ngo-<u>1931</u>   (K)

andikafiki kwi-<u>60</u>   (K)

ndine-<u>58</u>...apha ku-<u>89</u>   (K)

ndifundi<u>drayiving</u>   (K)

ndisamkeli<u>R5</u>   (N)

aye<u>strongo</u>   (N)

In the case of Veveza (V), the possibility is that the figures he quotes in English have somehow probably been hammered into his head over the years. His competence in numeracy is very questionable. For example, although he says he started working in 1954 the year 1989 is, according to him, his seventh.

Khwetshube's (K) case is perhaps slightly different. He says he has since made contact with some agency in Johannesburg and is learning to speak English. That raises the possibility of a prestige factor in his use of English. It may also account for the fact that he has no problem with pronouncing [r] in words such as 'laboratory' and 'driving.' He does not re-analyse them as [l].

On his own admission the third interviewee, namely Ngxabane (N), is illiterate. But he has no problem with the currency, for

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example R5. He also uses <u>ayestrongo</u> for <u>ayenamandla.</u>

There is a very common tendency in Xhosa to use English figures when talking about money. Another possibility in the case of the two examples which have just been quoted is that Ngxabane's travels to, and sojourn in, Johannesburg and Cape town exposed him to the anglicised versions. The prestige factor cannot be discounted entirely. Yet another possibility is the difficulty with counting in Xhosa. Now that it is common to count in large numbers it has become necessary to learn the English way of counting.

From a phonological point of view, there is some re-analysis of the English or Afrikaans [r] as [l]. Hence Veveza's <u>khalavan</u> for `caravan.' There is also some re-analysis of [O] of thousand as aspirated [th]. An interesting example is that of <u>inkwali</u> which is some curious re-analysis of `quarry' but which, in fact, conveys a completely different meaning. <u>Inkwali</u> can either mean the outer edge of the hand and foot or the red-necked pheasant.

Lastly, there is an isolated example of slang, as in the following utterance by Khwetshube where he uses <u>igem</u>,

Imfuyo yaphela kweya <u>gem</u>
(Stock got finished <u>during...</u>)

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Rural Xhosa then, as confirmed by the data in the appendix, shows the following characteristics,

      (a)   minimal lexical borrowing

      (b)   no code-switching

      (c)   phonological re-analysis of some sounds

      (d)   some isolated use of slang.

By contrast, urban Xhosa makes extensive use of lexical borrowing and code-switching. A cursory glance at the underlined examples of these aspects in the appendix proves this point.

Examples of lexical borrowing include the following,

      awunawuzuyi<u>plane</u> (you cannot <u>plan</u> it)

      e<u>bhenishiwe</u> (banned or banished)

      i<u>lokishi</u> (location, township)

      <u>khathela</u> (cut a curve towards...)

      uno<u>teksi</u> (taxi driver or owner)

      i<u>genge</u> (gang, guys)

      sa<u>bhoyikhotha</u> (we boycotted)

The following are some of the examples of code-switching,

      <u>N.</u> For instance xa usondela kwi-blind rise...

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(For instance when you approach a blind rise...)

And enyinto ibingeninzanga i-traffic...

(And also the traffic was not much)

Kodwa ke more than anything else....

(But then, more than anything else....)

S.   Sabhoyikhotha ixesha elide. A better part of the
      year....sabuya ngokubhala nje kwi-second semester...
      (We went on boycott for a long time. A better
      part of the year...and came back only to
      write during the second semester).

P.   Ufumanisukuba u-uneasy njengokuba elapha kwi-
      witness box...
      (You find that one is uneasy as one stands in
      the witness box).

      I-`processing aid'....kuxa usuwisha umntu
      engekho, like umntu engekho kule jurisdiction.
      (Processing aid ...is when one sues a person
      who is away, as when one is not under the
      relevant area of jurisdiction).

Urban Xhosa shows no signs of any phonological re-analysis of
some sounds. For example, [r] is pronounced as such in all cases
where it occurs,

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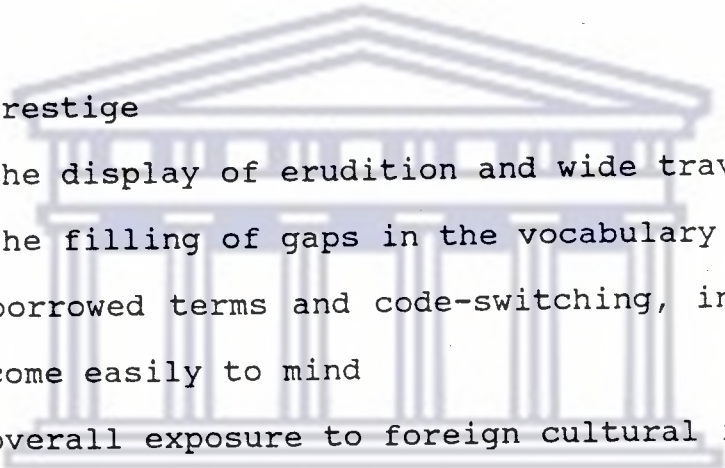
i-trick

i-experience

i-processing aid

i-traffic

With regard to the thesis as a whole, the use of calques, slang, semantic shift and neologisms seems to be more characteristic of urban than of rural Xhosa. Some of the reasons for the employment of these stylistic features are,

(a) prestige

(b) the display of erudition and wide travel

(c) the filling of gaps in the vocabulary of Xhosa

(d) borrowed terms and code-switching, in particular, come easily to mind

(e) overall exposure to foreign cultural influences.

Overall then, both rural and urban Xhosa varieties are characterized by lexical borrowing but in varying degrees. Lexical borrowing is not essentially bad and can, in some cases, be inevitable. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any language can survive without some form of borrowing.

It seems that overall differences between rural and urban varieties are not absolute. There is, in fact, a great deal of

overlapping between the two varieties. It seems that the best way to characterize the difference between the two varieties is to think of a continuum where the two varieties find some representation with differences and overlapping between them.

The question of standard and non-standard forms is problematic. The main problem lies in an accurate characterization of these forms. Standard and non-standard forms, it seems, cannot be defined with any precision. A consideration of these forms in this study reveals as much. Flexibility is, above all, what is needed in any attempt at delineating these forms. In spite of this problem of definition, rural Xhosa varieties seem to be nearer the standard form in the vast majority of cases.

Khubchandani (1984) makes the point that it is a myth to regard language as having a uniform and homogeneous structure. He observes that contemporary research shows that language may be a combination or conglomeration of different varieties. These varieties have diverse and heterogeneous structures. This point is taken for it has implications for language planning and language teaching.

This thesis has been looking at rural and urban Xhosa varieties. It is suggested that careful consideration needs to be given to the handling of these varieties in drawing up the syllabus for

Xhosa and in laying down the rules and content of what has to be examined. With such a plethora of varieties it is rather idealistic, if not unwise, for a speech community to identify itself through a standard language....a standard language whose definition is not only vague but also imprecise.

And now for some recommendations. We start with standard and non-standard forms. The position with regard to African languages at present, and with particular reference to standardization, is that Language Boards make final decisions on these matters, especially with regard to schools.

It is sometimes not very clear on what grounds they make some decisions. For example, the pronunciation of the sound that is underlined in the following Xhosa and and Sesotho words respectively, is similar,

       Xhosa : isi<u>ths</u>aba (a crown)
       Sesotho : se<u>tsh</u>aba (a crown)

       Xhosa : i<u>rh</u>amba (puffadder)
       Sesotho : se<u>kg</u>o (spider)

Although the pronunciation of these sounds is the same in both languages, their orthographic representation is different.

perhaps the difference does not really matter. It may be argued that, after all, one of the characteristics of language is arbitrariness. Nevertheless, the difference can be confusing.

A situation such as the above, and other similar ones, calls for a few things. Firstly, it seems that there is a need for closer liaison among the various African Language Boards. The liaison is being suggested in spite of the fact that each language may have its own distinctive features.

Secondly, The composition of Language Boards needs some closer examination. Language is the soul of its speakers. It is therefore too precious a commodity to be left in the hands of persons who are not properly qualified to handle it. Academic qualifications, especially postgraduate, and teaching experience should be some of the qualifications that are considered for membership of Language Boards.

Thirdly, and perhaps related to the second point above, Language Boards need to broaden their base. While the input of competent linguists cannot be overemphasized, it is equally important to note that nobody has absolute truth. It seems, then, that it is necessary for Language Boards not only to vary but also to extend their composition by consulting and liaising with speakers in the market place, as it were. This is a call for a greater

involvement of a cross section of the speakers : teachers, pupils and students plus the ordinary man in the street.

It is perhaps very largely in this way that more meaningful results can emerge in all the deliberations about standardization. It is only after some thorough research, including the sampling of terms with a variety of speakers, that a decision can be made about standardizing a term.

Fourthly, there is a need for some central standardization body which consists of members from various Language Boards. Such a central body could, through research, help in laying down some policy guidelines for standardization. Such policy guidelines could then be considered by the various Language Boards.

What about language planning and teaching?

In this study language teaching is taken to be part of language planning. There are two questions which need to be addressed with regard to language planning in Xhosa. These are who does the planning and how. As with standardization so with language planning, decisions that are taken have to be based on some empirical research. That means, among other things, language planners must be qualified to do their work. They must know what language planning is all about.

Language planning relates to education. Hence the involvement of education specialists, including specialists in child and educational psychology, is essential.

There is a broad spectrum of linguistic variation in Xhosa. Speakers have alternatives at their disposal and make their choice from available alternatives. It is such alternatives which make language planning possible. It is also against the background of such alternatives that language planning has to take place. The content and method of language teaching also has to reckon with these alternatives.

A balance needs to be struck between two approaches to language teaching. These are the instrumental and sociolinguistic approaches. The instrumental approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if it is standardized. This approach aims at improving the aesthetic and functional characteristics of a language as a tool or instrument. It also regards some languages as being better than others.

The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards language as a resource which can be employed to improve social life (Fasold, 1984). Language planning in Xhosa has tended to adhere rather tenaciously to the instrumentalist approach.

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Possible areas for future research include linguistic change across age groups, sex differences in language and home language. Other areas are those which have been suggested by the STANON Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council, for example colloquial varieties outside the home and standard varieties in and outside school.

We conclude this thesis with the words of Jean Aitchison (1981:16) on the inevitability of language change,

> In a world where humans grow old, tadpoles
> change into frogs, and milk turns into cheese,
> it would strange if language alone remained
> unaltered.

Appendix

Interviews

The first set of interviews, and which is marked A, B, and C, represents in the main what the researcher regards as rural Xhosa. All the interviewees have been least exposed to Western influences and experiences which are very largely found in urban speech communities. The interviewees have spent almost all their lives in rural areas. They are also illiterate and red-blanketed.

The interviewer, Zekhala Gqwetha, works with the interviewees at Umtata General Hospital in Umtata. He is therefore no stranger to them. The researcher himself was not present when these interviews were conducted. `Lab. people' refers to the laboratory staff of Umtata General Hospital.

Rural folk, and to a lesser extent urban folk as well, are commonly called by their clan names, iziduko. Hence Veveza or Khetshe, Khwetshube and Ngxabane respectively, in the interviews which are about to follow. `Z' represents Zekhala, the interviewer, while `V', `K', and `N' represent the interviewees Veveza, Khwetshube and Ngxabane, respectively. Translations appear in brackets.

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Interview A : Zekhala and Veveza

V. Hayi ke bantu baselebh., kangangokuba nenjenje ndingacingi ukuba ningenjenje.....konke. Kuthe kanti nyhani xa uhleli nabantu bayakuthanda. Khangeluba ndisithi, eh, namaxa ndizapha ndithi ngoku xa bebendize nenkosikazi yam izobona nayo ukuba tyhini aba bantu baselebh kuthe kanti bayamthanda umntu. Heke! Phofu nam nangoku ndiza kulitsho nam elo gama ndithi, Abantu baselebh njengoba uyibona le nto isuka kubo, kubantu baselebh. Kuba nangela xesha ndithi masihambe bendingazi phofu ukuba kuza kuba nje.

Bendisithi nje masihambe nje ukubheka edolophini. Wathi ke wena ke, ` Hayi, noko makhe ndiyogqiba ingca yam. Kwekh! Hayi bo, noko andinaluphosa olu suku.'

Hayi ke, ndayeka ke noko. Phofu ndibonuba naye akho nto akuyo. Akukho nto athe ulwile kutheni. Heke! Ndiyabulela kakhulu, bantu baselebh. Kuthe kanti nyhani bendihleli nabantu abandithandayo. Ndisitsho nje ndiyingwevu kakhulu gqitha. Ndineminyaka ndilapha.

Khangela, ukungena apha ndangena ngo-54 ngomhla wokuqala..ku-54 ngoJanuwali, ngomhla wesixhenxe aphekhaya. Ukungena aphekhaya. Heke! Nyhani ke ndizothi nje lona unyaka ibiza ngumhla....ibiza

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kuba ngunyaka wesixhenxe. Mithandathu yona endiyigqibileyo. Ibiza
kuba ngunyaka wesixhenxe lo ndiphume phakathi kuwo. Heke!
Ndisitsho nje kangangokuba nam ngokwam ndinexesha elikhulu
ndikhona.

Mandithi naseminyakeni ndazalwa mna nangalaa mfazwe yamaJalimani,
leya yokuqala ukuqaleka kwayo. Ndinamashumi asixhenxe
anesixhenxe...Bendiza kuthi anesibhozo. Andikawugqibi lona.
Ndiyaphela ke apho.

(V. Well, lab. people, you have done what I did not think you
could do. Indeed, when you live with people they like you. I wish
I had brought my wife along so that she could see that these lab.
people really like one. Nevertheless, I shall tell her that the
present she will see is from the lab. people. I did not know that
when I asked her to come with me there would be such an occasion.
I was merely asking her to go with me to town.

She said, `Let me go and finish up the cutting of the grass for
thatching. Oh, no! I cannot miss this day.'

And so I left her alone and realized that she had nothing against
my going. She is not fighting.

Right! Lab. people, I wish to thank you very much. Indeed, I have
been with people who like me. I am a very old man. I have long
been here. I started working here in 1954 on the first day... on
7 January 1954. Right! In actual fact, this year would have been
my seventh. I have completed six. This year, which I have not

completed, would have been the seventh. Right! I have lived for a very long time. I was born during the German war, at the beginning of the first World War. I am 77. I would be 78, but I have not completed this year yet. Let me stop there)

Z.   Veveza! Njengabantu besikhona apha ukuqaleka kweli theko lakho, kuye kwakho into yokuba _ikharavan_ yenze into engazangiyenze, into yokuwa kwayo. Yavele yawa, kwayinyikima nje konke apha ngaphakathi. Loo nto ayiqhelekanga.

(Veveza, as the people who were here at the beginning of your function, something happened to the caravan. And that has never happened before. It fell off its stand. There was some commotion inside. The collapsing of the caravan is unusual).

V.   Ayiqhelekanga.

(It is unusual).

Z.   Uyithatha njani wena loo nto, Veveza, yokuthi yenzeke ngalo mhla inguwe owenzelwa eli theko?

(How do you regard such an occurrence on a day when there is a function that is held in your honour?)

V.   Mandithi ke mna ndiyithatha ngokokuba njengokuba ndingumntu omkhulu osekudala ekho...

(I take it that as an elderly person who has long been in this life..)

Z.   Ewe.

(Yes)

V.   Kuba njengokuba isiwa nje le _khalavan_ ixeluba andimbanga. Nantso ke! Igungquke kwizinto ebezimiliselwe yona ngokunyathela kwam, kuba ndingumntu omkhulu.

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(Because the collapsing of the caravan indicates that I am not bad. That's it. It fell because I am an elderly person)

Z. Ewe.

(I see).

V. Nantso ke!

(That's it)

Z. Khawubalise ke, Veveza, njengomntu omdala usicacisele ke ngesi sibhedlela ubuphangela kuso, ukuba wena usiqale sinjani.

(Please tell us as an elderly person, about this hospital where you have been working. What was it like when you started?)

V. Utshunyanise ke, mntanenkosi. Esi sibhedlela ndasiqala sisamkela iiponti ezintlanu ngenyanga.

(Right, old guy! When I started I was earning five pounds a month)

V. Ewe. Konke kudeske kuze nangoku kuze kuthi iiponti ezintandathu nangeponti ezisixhenxe izinyukela. Heke! Ndibesewekhshophu ndade ndasekhitshini.

(Yes. Then it went up to six pounds and then to seven. I started at the workshop and ended at the kitchen)

Z. E...

(I see)

V. Kanti apho ndandiqale khona, ndandiqale kusekhwinkwali ngapha ngentla. Ndaqala kuloo nkwali. Ewe, simane silayisha ke sisenza indlela....

(I actually started at a quarry. We used to load trucks and work on roads).

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Z.   Ewe.

(Yes).

V.   ...zesibhedlela. Ndabuyapho ke ngokuna ndase<u>khitshini.</u>
Ndabuyapho ke <u>ekhitshini</u> ndeza apha ke ngoku kule <u>lebh.</u>
(...hospital roads. From there I worked in the kitchen. From the kitchen I came to the lab).

Z.   Ewe.

(I see).

V.   Ukuphuma kwam kule <u>lebh</u> ndiphume ngokuske ke ngoku ndigoduke.
(I left the lab. on retirement).

Z.   Khetshe, ungumntu osengaka ngoku. Uneminyaka engaka uphangela apha. Aba bantu ubashiyayo, ubashiya nelithini ilizwi ukuze nabo bafikelele kule ndawo ufikelele kuyo nawe?
(Khetshe, you are now such an old person. You have been working here for several years. What message do you wish to leave with those who are remaining behind so that they can also attain your age?)

V.   He..ke! Aba bantu ndibashiyayo ndibashiya ngelithi kulo mzi wasekhaya, bebengangathi bangabi nanto zimbi. Bangabi nanto zililelwa ngabantu. Bangabi nanyembezi, e.. apha bahamba khona, kuba mna nangoku njengokuba ndihambapha nje akukho nyembezi emva kwam.
(Right! My message is that I wish they do not do bad things. May they not make other people suffer! Let there be no tears..eh..wherever they go, because as I am leaving I am not leaving any trail of tears behind me).

Z. E..we.

(Ye..s).

V. Hayi, akukho nyembezi emva kwam, <u>toti</u> de ndibeske ndiphume nje apha. Akukho nto indililelayo nalapha. Ekuthathumntu, hayi ndathathimali yakhe ndemka nayo andamnika.

(No there are no tears behind me. That has been so until now. No one is complaining about me. No one can claim that I borrowed money and then left without repaying it).

Z. E..we. Awunatyala?

(Ye..s. You do not owe anyone any money?)

V. Andinatyala njengoba ndilapha nje. Kangangokuba naphaya emakhaya, kulaa ndawo ndikuyo phaya kule ndawo kuthiwa kuseLuthuthu..

(As you see me now I have no financial debt, even where I live at Luthuthu).

Z. E..we.

(Ye...s).

V. E, kuMpheko kuba ke iLuthuthu sisixeko soMpheko, andinatyala lamntu. Ndingenanto umntu xa athethayo athi mna ndakha ndeba negusha yakhe netakane lakhe.

(Eh, at Mpheko because Luthuthu is in Mpheko, I do not owe anyone money. No one can claim that I stole even a sheep of his or even a calf).

Z. E..we.

(Ye...s).

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V. Hayi, ndingumntu nje.

(I am an ordinary person).

Z. Oziphilelayo.

(Who is independent?

V. Oziphilelayo. Ndiziphilela ngamandla wam, kuba nangoku ndideske ndimke nje apha ndimka ndiphila ngamandla wam. Ukuba ngaba uphila ngamandlakho, uya kuphila nagoku kuba akukho mntu uza kushwabushwabulela. Into eyenzuba mawube ngumkhohloba kukushwatyulelwa ngabantu, abesithi umntu, `Kwowu, lowa wandenzintethile!'

(Who is independent. I exist through my own efforts, even up to this moment of my retirement. If you live through your own efforts no one will readily curse you. When people curse you, you become a wreck. People should not say, `Goodness, that one did this or that to me.'

Z. E..we.

(Ye..s).

V. Uhamba nje uyalathwa, `Lowa wandenzintethile. Ngangaske abe yintethile.' Kanti ke xa ungazange wenze ntimbi mntwini, akukho mntu uya zubekwalatha esith, `Lowa wandenzintethile.' Hayi, uzihlalela nje. Uthasakubonumntu atshaske abe nobubele nguwe kuba uyayazi intokuba awuzange umone nganto. Awunatyala lamntu. Umntu namaxa akunika imali uyayazi uba le mali uza kuyizisa ngoku.

(As you move about people point a finger at you and say, `That one wronged me. Woe unto him!' And yet when you have never

wronged anyone no one will point a finger at you and accuse you of having wronged him. No. You relax. So much so that people become kind to you because they know that you have never wronged them. You are not indebted to anyone for anything. Even when one lends you money, one does so in the knowledge that you will pay it back).

Z. E..we. Ngoku ke, Khetshe, nangu umsebenzi uphela ngolu hlobo usisiwa kwi_penshini._ Njengokuba uza kuhlala nje, loo nto ithethuba ubomi bakho buphelile awuzuphinduthini, awuzuthini. Uzoguga njengesiziba?

(Ye..s. Now then, Khetshe, your working career is coming to an end and here you are going on pension. Now that you are retiring does that mean the end of your life? Are you going to be inactive and merely wither away?)

V. Njengokuba ndizawulahla nje?

(Now that I am retiring?)

Z. Ewe.

(Yes)

V. Hayi, ngaphandlubumntuthi, `Khawundenzelintethile!' Ndiyenze. Aske andi_bhatalubuyandibhatala._

(No, unless someone asks me to do some odd job for him. I shall do it. And he will pay me if he wants to).

Z. Mahle la mazwi uwathethileyo. Noko kuyacacuba ivela engwevini yonke le nto.

(The words you have spoken are fine. Indeed, it is clear that all this comes from a sage).

Interview B : Zekhala and Khwetshube.

Z. E, tatuKhwetshube!

(Khwetshube, Sir!)

K. Mhlekazi!

(Sir!)

Z. E, iintsuku nakuwe sezihambile.

(You are also advanced in years)

K. Kunjalo.

(That is so)

Z. UKhetshe uhambile.

(Khetshe has gone)

K. Kunjalo.

(That is so)

Z. Ukuba kungenzeka ke ngoku nawe kuthiwe mawuhambe, ungathini?

(If you were also to be asked to retire, what would you say?)

K. Ukuba kungenzeka ukuba kuthiwe mandihambe?

(If I were to be asked to retire?)

Z. Ewe.

(Yes)

K. Ndinokufaka isikhalazo kuba andikawadibanisi amashumi
amathandathu.

(I can lodge a complaint because I am not yet 60)

Z. E.. we.

(Ye...s)

Z.   Ngoba wena wazalwa nini?

(And when were you born?)

K.   Ngoba mna ndizelwe ngo-1931.

(I was born in 1931)

Z.   Oo...Awukabi mdala kakhulu?

(Oh, you are not very old?)

K.   Andikafiki kwi-60. Ndine-58 ngoku endiyigqibayo apha

ku-89.

(I am not 60 yet. I am completing 58 during this year 1989)

Z.   Oo... Wena ke ngoku njengokuba noko sewuyindoda eseyiqinile
nje, malungiselelo mani owenzileyo ukwenzela ukuba le   ntuba
kuthi   xa kufike into enje ngale eyenzeke kuVeveza kube njalo
nakuwe?

(Now that you are quite advanced in years, what arrangements have
you made so that what has happened to Veveza does not happen to
you?)

K. Amalungiselelo endiwalungiseleyo, ndakhe umzi. Eyesibini
indawo, ndifundidrayivinq   uba zendikwazukudlisonka nokuba
sendipenshene.

(The arrangements I have made include building a home. Secondly I
am learning driving so as to earn a living even when I am on
pension)

Z.   Oo... Njengoba usandufika apha, ngeli thuba ungekho, ngeli
thuba ubusekhayeni, ubuphila njani?

(Now that you have recently arrived here, before that when you
were at home, how did you earn a living?)

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K. Ngoku bendiingekezi apha eMtata ndisekhayeni, indlelebendiphila ngayo bendikhandamayezesiXhosa ndiphila ngawo, ndi_rhafa_ ngawo, ndizembathisa ndifundisa ngawabantwana.

(Before I came to Umtata and while I was at home, I earned a living by dispensing Xhosa medicines. That enabled me to pay taxes, to clothe myself and to educate my children)

Z. E..we.

(Ye..s)

K. Loo mali yoomayeza esiXhosa. Ke ngoku sendiziqhagamshele neJohanasbheg, ngoku ndilaphe_labhorethri_. Ndifunda isiLungu eJohanasbheg. Iincwadi zam zihambile, namagamabhekeJohanasbheg. Ndifuna ukufunda isiLungu.

(The money from those Xhosa medicines. Since I have been at the laboratory, I have now got in touch with Johannesburg. I am learning to speak English through Johannesburg. My documents and my particulars have been sent to Johannesburg. I want to learn how to speak English)

Z. Imfuyo yona, kunjani ekhaya?

(What about livestock at home?)

K. Imfuyo yandiphelela kweya _gem_ bekunetha imvulenkulu kwanyukamangcwaba, iibhokisi zamangcwaba eMzimkulu. Yafa yaphela neenkomezisixhenxe ngaphezulu. Andinayo negusha. Andinayo nebhokhwe.

(The livestock got finished during the heavy rains when corpses and coffins got exhumed in Umzimkulu. The stock all died. That included seven beasts. I do not even have a single sheep. Not even a goat).

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Interview C : Zekhala and Ngxabane.

Z. Le threktha tatuNgxabane, wawuyithengaphi?

(Honourable Ngxabane, where did you buy this tractor?)

N. Ndandiyithenge komnyumfana phayeXhwili.

(I bought it from a young man at Xhwili)

Z. Mh! Lo mfana u...ushishina ngayo?

(Does this man use it for business?)

N. Ewe, ushi.. usebenzisa zona.

(Yes, he uses it)

Z. E, wayithenga ngamalini?

(Eh, how much did you buy it for?)

N. Fayifa...Ndakhupha fayifathawuzeni.

(Five...I paid five thousand)

Z. 5000? Iyhuu! Wayibhatala yonke ngexeshelinye?

(5000? Goodness! Did you pay it all at once?)

N. Ngexeshelinye ifayifathawuzeni.

(All at once. 5000)

Z. Loo mali wawuyifumanaphemsebenzini?

(Did you get all that money from your earnings?)

N. Hayi, ndandingayifumanaphemsebenzini kuphela. Incinci eyasemsebenzini. Andifundanga nokufunda.

(No. I did not get it from my earnings only. My earnings are meagre. I am not even literate)

Z. Kodwa wena uneegusha ezininzi. Ungacebisa ntoni nam zendibe neegusha ezininzi?

(But you have many sheep. What advice can you give me so that I can have as many?

N. Hayi ke, icebo eli lona......into yecebo ayikho kakuhle, ngoba icebo...

(Well, as for advice...I do not really have one, because the advice..)

Z. Mh!

(Mh!)

N. Kukuba uzilandele.

(Is to care for them)

Z. E..we. Uzoluse.

(Ye..s. And look after them)

N. Uzoluse. Ayikokuthwala.

(And look after them. It is not to fortify oneself with Xhosa medicines)

N. Kwakhiyeza endilifumanayo lokuziseza ize ziqhubeke zibe ngaka.

(I got a certain medicine which I gave them to drink so that they could be so many)

Z. O..o..Wawulifumenemntwini wesiXhosa?

(Did you get it from a traditional medicine man?)

N. Ndalifumanekhemesti, evenkileni ukwenzelukuba iigusha zingafi.

(I got it from a chemist, at a shop so that the sheep should not die)

Z. Yintoni? <u>Istofu</u> sakho yintoni?

(What..? What is your vaccine?)

N. <u>Istofu</u> sam andisazi ukuba siyintoni amagamaso. Ndi<u>tofa</u> nje ngala mayeza ndimanukuwafumanaphedolophini.

(I do not know its name. I merely use the medicines I get from town)

Z. Awukazu<u>penshina?</u>

(You are not going on pension yet?)

N. No..ko..

(We..ll)

Z. Bendikhe ndakuva ngelinyithuba tatuNgxabane uthetha ngendaba yaseKapa. Wawusithi eKapa kwakutheni? Wawusebenza ntoni?

(At one point, honourable Ngxabane, I heard you talk about Cape Town. What did you say about Cape Town? What kind of work did you do there?

N. EKapa ndandisebenza....NdiqaleRhawutini, sendimdala emgodini. Ndasebenzinyanga ezilishumi. Ishumelinambini. Ama<u>tikiti</u> alishumi. Ama<u>tikiti</u> yayingamashumamathathu eentsuku.

(I worked in Cape Town...I started in Johannesburg in the mines and I was old. I worked for ten months. For twelve months. Ten tickets. Tickets were an equivalent of thirty days)

Z. Ama<u>tikiti</u> yintebunyanga?

(Tickets are roughly a month each?)

N. Ndathenga iinkomezimbini, kungekho nkomekhaya.

(I bought two beasts, there being no beasts at home)

Z. Yayiyimalini inkomo ngelo xesha?

(How much was a beast then?)

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N. Yayizipontezimbini.

(It was two pounds)

Z. Yiyiphi enye indawo okhe wasebenza kuyo?

(At which other place did you work?)

N. KuseKapa.

(In Cape Town)

Z. Ewe. Khawutsho NgeKapa?

(Yes. Please tell us about Cape Town?)

N. EKapa ndandisamkeli-R5.

(In Cape Town I was getting R5)

Z. Ngemini? Ngeveki?

(A day? A week?)

N. Ngeveki..

(A week)

Z. Emzini oyintoni?

(In what kind of business?)

N. Imeslani.

(At a bricklayer's)

Z. AyenjanamaBhulu ngelo xesha?

(How were the Boers during that time?)

N. Aye-strongo gqitha.

(They were very strong)

Z. E..we.

(Ye..s)

Z. Oo.. Ayestrongo gqitha.

(Oh, they were very strong)

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Z. E..we.

(Ye..s)

N. Hayi, yayingo<u>bhas</u> nyhani.

(Nay, they were real bosses)

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The following sets of interviews represent what is considered to be urban Xhosa for purposes of the present study. The interviewer in the first set is Zekhala Gqweta (Z). In the remaining two sets the interviewer is the researcher (R) himself.

The interviewees Ngenisile (N) and Phaphama (P) live in Ngangelizwe Township, Umtata. Siphetho (S) lives in Ginsberg Township, Kingwilliamstown. The three interviewees have lived in these urban areas ever since they were born.

Except for the interviewers whose abbreviated names are underlined, all the other underlined words represent codeswitching and lexical borrowings. Translations appear in brackets.

Interview D : Zekhala and Ngenisile.

<u>Z.</u>   Kodwa indima ye-<u>accident</u> nyhani inzima. Yenzeka ngohlobo olu... Awunawuzuyi<u>plane</u> tu tu tu.
(The question of an accident is a difficult one. It happens in a way.... You cannot plan it at all)
<u>N.</u>   Awunawuzuyi<u>plane</u> tu. <u>But</u> u.. ungazizamela. Into endiyibonayo...I-<u>trick</u> endiyibonayo endleleni mna, Nkomoshe, ngalo lonke ixesha lindela i-<u>accident.</u> Ungaqhubi uhalala. Ungaqhubi ngathi uwedwa nje.

(You cannot plan it at all. But you can try (to prevent its occurrence). The trick that I see when you are on the road is to expect an accident all the time. Do not relax too much. Do not drive as if you are alone on the road).

N.   For instance xa usondela kwi-<u>blind rise</u>...

(For instance when you are approaching a blind rise...)

Z.   Kufuneka wazi, ujonge ne-<u>road markings</u> ezi.

(You must be aware and observe the road markings)

N.   Yha. Ulindele ukuba hayi ikho <u>imoto</u> engathi gqi phaya kanene. Isi-<u>stupid</u> yona. <u>So</u> wazi ukuba ngoku ndiza kutya ngapha mpela.

(Yes. And expect a car to appear. It may act stupidly. So know which way to go)

Z.   Kwekh! Kodwa ke ezi ndlela zinkulu ziyanceda <u>sometimes</u> <u>because</u> ukuba laa ndlela ibincinci.....<u>anyway</u> ngendingakhanga ndi-<u>ovatheyikhe</u> ukuba laa ndlela ibincinci apha.

(Goodness! But these wide roads are helpful sometimes because if that road were narrow...anyway I would not have overtaken if that road were narrow)

N.   Yha, yha. Ifanele kaloku ivuliwe. <u>And</u> enyinto ibingeninzanga i-<u>traffic.</u> Inye nje into bendiza kungxolisela yona, Nkomoshe. Uyabona phayeMthentu, le <u>line</u> iphakathi yezibalekayo.

(Yes, yes. Of course it is wide. And also traffic was not heavy. There is something I wish to rebuke you for, Nkomoshe. You see, at Mthentu the middle lane is for fast cars)

Z. Yezibalekayo.

 (For fast cars)

<u>N.</u> Ezibheka ngapha, ezibhekeMonti zine-<u>line</u> enye.

(Going this way, those going to East London have one lane)

<u>Z.</u> Eziya ngapha. Kukho laa ndlela yesithuthuthu.

(The ones going this way. There is a lane for motorbikes)

<u>N.</u> Hayi ke, yiyeke leyo. EzibhekeMonti yi-<u>line</u> inye.

(No, leave that one. Those going to East London have one lane)

<u>Z.</u> Xa unyuka yi-<u>double line.</u>

(When you go up there is a double lane)

<u>N.</u> Xa unyuka.

(When you go up)

<u>Z.</u> Yeyezi-<u>fast</u> nezi-<u>slow.</u>

(It is for fast and slow cars)

<u>N.</u> Xa ubhekeMonti.

(When you go to East London)

<u>Z.</u> E... Xa uza nganeno. <u>Then</u> xa ubhekeMonti i-<u>line</u> inye.

(Eh, when you are coming this way)

<u>N.</u> Heke! Unento yokuhlala kule <u>line</u> i-<u>fast</u> ke wena.

(Right! You are in the habit of sticking to the fast lane)

<u>Z.</u> Hayi ndijonga ngemva.

(No, I check [vehicles coming from] behind)

<u>N.</u> Kanti ke... suza kule <u>line</u> ka-<u>slow.</u>

I<u>genge</u> iya<u>khathela</u> kule <u>line.</u>

(But then... do not go to the slow lane. Guys like to cut curves in that lane)

<u>Z.</u> Oo....Ngoku imnandi kangaka, Sukude.

(Oh no, not when it is so pleasant, Sukude)

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N. Hayi yincame. Hamba ngentsimbi.

(No. Give it up. Move close to the side rails)

Z. Uyaziqondezantsimbi zikude? Uba ungaqhwanyaza nje, yenyinto
leyo.

(Are you aware that those side rails are far? Within the
twinkling of an eye you can find yourself in trouble)

N. Kodwa ke zinyamezele. Le genge yonoteksi ikhathela kuwe.

(But then you just have to be patient. Taxi drivers cut curves
and move towards you)

Z. Then ke, Sukude, kulapho ndiza kubaleka khona.

(Then, Sukude, it is then that I shall run away)

N. Hayi, kodwa ndimncomile laa Mlungu ube fast ukucinga.

(But I take my hat off that White man. He thought fast)

Z. Ukucinga. Yha.

(Yes. He thought fast)

N. Because ebesecingile nokuyecaleni.

(Because he had already thought of moving aside)

Z. Ebesecingile nokuyecaleni.

(He had already thought of moving aside)

N. Yha.

(Yes)

Z. Wabonuba hayi undivulele lo mfo.

(And realized that I had allowed him to pass)

N. Kodwa ke, more than anything else i-truck inzima, Nkomoshe.

(But then, more than anything else, a truck is difficult to
contend with, Nkomoshe)

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Z. Yho!

(Indeed)

N. Kunzima ukuyi-<u>ovatheyikha</u> i-<u>truck.</u> Indawo yokuqala iyabaleki<u>truck</u>. Ungayidela.

(It is difficult to overtake a truck. In the first place a truck is fast. You may find yourself looking down on it)

Z. E..we.

(Ye..s)

N. <u>Because</u> okusithi <u>120</u> i-<u>truck</u> isithi <u>100.</u>

(Because you kept to 120km while the truck kept to 100km)

Interview E : Researcher and Siphetho

R. Khawutsho, yintoni ongathi inomdla ngeGinsberg?

(What would you say is interesting about Ginsberg?)

S. I-<u>experience</u> yam ngeGinsberg....Mandithi akho ndawo ndingayaziyo phaya. Ndikhulele phaya <u>and....especially</u> ezi ke...Izinto zenzeke sendithe qwa noko.

(My experience about Ginsberg...There isn't anything that I do not know there. I grew up there and..especially...Incidents occurred when I was already grown-up)

R. Khawutsho, zinto zini ezimbalwa nje ongathi mhlawumbi zinomdla?

(What, would you say, are a few interesting things perhaps?)

S. Mandithi aphekuhlaleni ezona zinto ezenzekayo ngeli lam

ixesha, kuleli xesha kanye lo kaBiko ephaya eGinsberg emveni ke ebhenishiwe kwathiwa makagoduke. Zininzi gqitha izinto ezenzekayo phaya, kangangokuba...

(My time coincided with Biko's in Ginsberg after he had been banned and banished to his home. Many things happened there, so much so that...)

R. Khawutsho kulo mbhenisho wakhe wawukhumbone?

(Did you usually see him during his banishment?

S. Ewe. Mandithi yena wayengahlali kude phayekhaya. Uba ngaba ndiphume phaya ekhaya ndema e-back ndiyakwazi ukubona nje kokwabo kakuhle.

(Yes. He did not live far from my home. From the back of my home I can see his home clearly)

R. Ezi ideas zakhe ezabangeluba abhenishwe bezingena njani phaya eGinsberg?

(How were his ideas which led to his being banned/banished received at Ginsberg?)

S. Mandithi ukufika kwale ndoda phaya eGinsberg yayithathela kuyo ngohlobo loba ayikhwenyinto yayisaziwa phaya. Yayizezi ideas zayo. Mandithi naphi, nobungena kweliphi na icala, ilokishi incinci. Kulula ukuba ungumntu, especially xa ungumntu waphaya, ubathathele kuwe bonkabantu beve kuwe. Enye into, iGinsberg ibingenazi-politics izaziyo kakuhle. And ngela xesha..ngela xesha lakhe kwasekudala zabhenishwa i-ANC nezinye ezi. Ngoku bokuyi-vacuum nje kungekhontikhoyo.

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(When this man arrived at Ginsberg he won it over because there was nothing else that was known there. It was these ideas of his. It does not matter from which side you come, the township is small. It is easy for one, especially if one resides there, to win over the people to oneself. Ginsberg did not have any politics that it knew well. And during that time...during his time organizations such as the ANC had long been banned. Now there was just a vacuum. There was nothing).

R.   So ufike wangena kule <u>vacuum</u> yena?

(So he came and filled that vacuum?)

S.   Ufike wangena kule <u>vacuum</u>, wafika wasishumayeza. Ibe yinto eza mva le yabahamba nge-<u>non-racial</u> kuze kubekho aba bahamba ne-<u>Black Consciousness.</u> Ngela xesha lakhe yayingekho loo nto leyo.

(He came and filled the vacuum, and advocated his ideas to us. The question of those who follow a non-racial doctrine is a later development. So is that of Black Consciousness. During that time all these things were not there)

R.   Sidlule apho. Ndiqaphela ukuba ukhe waya naseFort Hare.

(Let us move on. I notice that you have been to Fort Hare)

S.   Ewe, ndikhe ndaya naseFort Hare.

(Yes, I have been to Fort Hare)

R.   Khawutsho, ngeli xesha uphaya kwakunjani?

(What was it like when you were there?)

S.   Heyi, kwakunzima! Kwakunzima kunzima nyhani eFort Hare ngela xesha. Mandithi mna ndifika ngo-<u>79</u>. Kukho umbandela owavelayo we-<u>student</u>.....Sa<u>bhoyikhotha</u> ixesha elide. <u>A better part of the</u>

year sasi<u>bhoyikhothile.</u> Sabuya ngokubhala nje kwi-<u>second</u> <u>semester</u> emva kwe-<u>inquest.</u>

(Goodness, it was difficult! It was really difficult at Fort Hare at that time. I arrived there in 1979. A certain incident involving a student occurred. We went on boycott for a long time. For a better part of the year we went on boycott. We came back to write during the second semester after an inquest)

R. Wawuhlala kweyiphi i-<u>hostel?</u>

(In which residence did you stay?)

S. Ndifike ndihlala eJabavu. Kukho i-<u>hostel</u> apha yayi-<u>stout</u> gqitha.

(I stayed at the Jabavu residence. There was this residence which was too mischievous)

R. Zazikhona i-<u>rules</u> ?

(Were there any rules?)

S. Zazikhona. Kodwa i-<u>students</u> zazingazihoyanga ezo <u>rules.</u> Zazingazihoyanga tu tu tu. Zazi<u>ekzista</u> nje <u>on paper, otherwise</u> zazingahoywanga.

(There were. But students did not care for those rules. They did not care for them at all. They existed merely on paper, otherwise they were not observed.

Interview F : Researcher and Phaphama

R. Phaphama, une-<u>experience</u> apha emsebenzini. Khawutsho, <u>lately</u> umsebenzi wakho ubuyintoni?

(Phaphama, you are experienced in your work. Lately, what kind of work have you been doing?)

P. Bendingumtshutshisi nomantyi mna.

(I have been a magistrate and a prosecutor)

R. Mh! Utshutshisephi kuqala?

(Mh! Where did you first work as a prosecutor?)

P. Ndaqala ndangumtshutshisi phaya e-Regional Court.

(I first became a prosecutor at the Regional Court)

R. Ungathi yintoni ebinomdla ngokuya ubungumtshutshisi eMtata?

(What would you say was of interest while you were a prosecutor?)

P. Zininzi izinto ebezinomdla phaya ebutshutshisini, ikakhulu i-cases ze-car theft ne-stock theft. Izinto ezinjenge-stock theft zezalapha kwamantyi ke zona. Ne-fraud. Bendizithanda ke ezo zinto.

(There were many interesting things while I was a prosecutor, especially cases of car theft and stock theft. Cases of stock theft belong to the magistrates court. So are fraud cases. I used to like those)

R. O-accused aba xa bemi apha phambi kwakho, bebedla ngokuthini?
(When the accused stood in front of you, what did they usually say?)

P. Hayi, bayahluka. Abakwaziyo uba mhlawumbi ukhulele phaya elokshini, njengoba ndikhulele elokshini nje ndikhula nabo, wozathi efika e-court ufike encumancumeza ungazi ukuba uncumela ntoni, ngokungathi uekspektha ukuba mhlawumbi uzawumenzela i-favours apha emsebenzini. Babekhona ke aba beza mhlawumbi

bekoyika kuba beve ukuba laa mfo lowa akayingenanga into yase<u>lokshini</u> emsebenzini. Omnye ke, ngumntu nje wasezilalini ufumanise ukuba hayi woyika i-<u>court.</u> Ufumanisukuba u-<u>uneasy</u> njengoba elapha kwi-<u>witness box.</u> Uyalaqalaqaza. Kwambuzo obuzwayo ucinga ukuba kukho into ene-<u>hidden meaning</u> ngasemva.

(No. They differ. Those who know me since I grew up in a township with some of them, will come to court, smile a bit as if they expect a favour from you although you are at work. Some used to be afraid because they knew that I do not confuse my township life with my work. Another accused could be a person from a rural area who is afraid of being in court. You find that he is uneasy as he is standing in the witness box. He thinks that any question you ask has a hidden meaning)

R. Masiye ke ngoku kwi-<u>experience</u> yakho <u>as</u> imantyi. Usebenzephi naphi?

(Let us now move on to your experience as a magistrate. At which various places did you work?)

P. Iskakhulu ke...Mandithi ndaqala eMtata. Ndimane... Ndandi<u>riliva</u> kwindawo ezinjengomaPort St Johns, Tsomo.....

(Well, for most of the time...Let me mention the fact that I started in Umtata. I usually...I worked as a relieving magistrate at places such as Port St Johns, Tsomo....)

R. Khawutsho nje nge-<u>case</u> okanye i-<u>cases</u> ezathi zanomdla ngeli xesha uyimantyi.

(Would you like to relate a few cases which you found to be of interest while you were a magistrate)

P.   Kukho enye apho kwangena elinye igqwetha kuyi-<u>civil case.</u>
Langena lenza i-<u>application</u> ye-<u>processing aid.</u> Kwekh! Saxakeka
sonke.   Yintoni   le <u>processing aid?</u> Eli gqwetha lamela phaa kude
alafuna kuyichaza. Lathi sekukudala layichaza. <u>He was amused.</u>
(There is one which was a civil case. A certain lawyer got in and
made an application for `processing aid.' Goodness! We were all
confused. What is `processing aid.?' The lawyer in question stood
aside and did not want to explain. After some time he explained
it . He was amused).

R. Kanti yintoni kanye?
(What, in fact, is it then?)

P.   Kuxa u<u>suwisha</u> umntu engekho apha <u>like</u> umntu engekho kule
<u>jurisdiction</u>. Engaziwa apho akhoyo. <u>Then</u> kufuneka enze le nto...
i-<u>advertisement</u> emaphepheni. Wayeyithanda le nto lo mfo. Wayefuna
uku<u>khonfyuza</u> wonke umntu ngamagama.

(It is when one sues a person who is away, as when one is outside
the relevant area of jurisdiction. Then one must do this..place
an advertisement in the papers. This man liked this. He wanted to
confuse everybody with words).

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